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● *We apologise to our readers that owing to the Postal Strike we could not publish TRIBUNE on December 1.*



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## Mixed-Up Strike That Seems To Get Nowhere: Multiplicity Of Unions Add To The Confusion : Early Normalcy Essential

The strike of the public servants began on November 28, and except for the postal workers of whom about 80 percent seem to have struck, the strike among sections of the clerical servants was only partial. By the time other sections of the non-white-collar workers of the public service decided to strike, the main leadership of the postal workers had decided to call off the strike. At the moment, most of the postal workers seem to be back at work, but it is not clear how many other workers who came out later are still on strike. Even if one discounts official figures and propaganda, it is clear from an independent assessment of the situation that most strikes are only partial and that unless other sections of workers in key industries come out fully on strike, the Government can sit pretty until the present strikers drift back to work.

So far as the Unions are concerned, the strike being partial from the very beginning, the bargaining power they had has been greatly diminished. The initiative from the beginning had passed to the Government which thereupon has utilised all the powers at its command to defeat the immediate objectives of the Unions which went on strike. One feature which is of significance is that the multiplicity of unions in each government department militates against united trade union action. It is said that in the postal services alone there are about 17 big and an equal number of small unions. Every section in the postal department has a full - fledged union, viz. registered letter delivery peons, parcel post delivery peons, etc. etc., and the Joint Committee or Federation which combines these unions into a single unit for trade union

for effective action during a crucial time. It is not our purpose to hold a post-mortem investigation into the causes of the divided trade union movement in this country, but it is necessary to stress that the bizarre and haphazard strikes which are being staged today will not advance the cause of the workers and add to the stature of trade unionism itself. This kind of crazy-cat partial strikes will not take anybody anywhere, except to bring trade unionism into disrepute *vis a vis* the rest of the public.

It is therefore essential that the sooner normalcy is restored the better it would be for everybody. Partial and ineffective strikes only disrupt normal life, but achieve no purpose. This is not to decry trade unionism nor betray the rights of the workers. It is only a realistic approach to the current situation.



## Headlines Of The Week

**FRIDAY, November 22** — *The Times of Ceylon* reported that moves were again afoot to bring the UNP and the SLFP together. Ceylon has opposed an FAO proposal that steps be taken now to work towards an international rice agreement. The Balapitiya parliamentary by-election has been fixed for December 17. An early morning fire at the CWE stores destroyed large stocks of chillies, dhal, gram and other subsidiary foodstuffs. Tetanus now ranks as one of the worst killer diseases in Ceylon, according to the latest statistics compiled by the Health Department. Financial leaders from ten leading non communist industrialised countries were trying to resolve an apparent deadlock in the monetary talks now being held in Bonn.

**SATURDAY, November 23** — The US Export-Import Bank will provide a dollar credit of Rs. 18 million for the construction of Hotel Ceylon Intercontinental. Over 7,000 graduates are unemployed or under-employed, according to officials of the Planning Ministry and the National Council of Higher Education. The People's Bank had granted loans amounting to Rs 3 million through its chain of 39 rural banks as at the end of August this year. The Prime Minister Mr. Dudley Senanayake was yesterday given a free hand by the Ministers to deal with the strike of the Public Servants fixed for November 28. The world's leading industrial nations will give France credit of 2,000 million dollars to halt massive speculation against the Franc. The British Government piled many new consumer taxes to beat the international monetary crisis, but ruled against devaluing the pound sterling.

**SUNDAY, November 24** — Talks between the President of the UPTO and the Prime Minister ended inconclusively yesterday. The Government has decided to seek foreign aid for a new project to assist colonists in the colonisation schemes. There was a sensational drop in the tea prices at the Colombo tea auctions yesterday. The Government has applied to the World Bank for a loan of Rs 175 million to finance Phase One of the Mahaveli Diversion Project. The Government yesterday alerted all volunteers of the Army and the Navy to be in readiness for mobilisation. The British Conservative leader yesterday accused the Labour Government of the false pretences, mis-applying funds and gross negligence, following Friday night's economic clampdown.

**MONDAY, November 25** — The Prime Minister told a press conference that he was totally opposed to granting public servants any salary increase at the moment. The Permanent Secretary to the Treasury in a circular to all Permanent Secretaries and Heads of Departments has requested them to cancel with immediate effect the leave of public officers. All Egyptian universities were closed down yesterday following disturbances at the Alexandria University. Gustav Husk, a member of the Czechoslovakian government has criticised the Dubcek regime and defended the Soviet invasion of the country.

**TUESDAY, November 26** — *The Sun* reported that a number of Public Sector Trade Unions came out against the proposed general strike. Industries which commence production after March 31, 1969, will not be entitled to the five-year tax holiday. The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr. W. Dahanayake, has submitted a memorandum to the Cabinet requesting the Government to exempt the import of cotton yarn and raw cotton from the FEEC scheme. The SP Colombo Division, Mr. Jack Van Sanden, informed trade union leaders that the demonstration for today's rally had been banned. The French Government yesterday imposed a limit on foreign currency permitted for foreign travel. North Vietnam has formally denounced the American shelling of the de-militarised zone and reconnaissance flights over North Vietnam.

**WEDNESDAY, November 27** — The Postal men walked out from post offices, CTO and GPO from midnight today. The Government has decided to retire all apprentices, probationers and public servants over fifty five years of age who participate in the strike. The President of the GSCU said at a meeting held at De Mel Park that government servants were launching the strike not to bring about the downfall of the Government but to get a basic increase of Rs. 40 and the demand had no politics. The Prime Minister left for India yesterday.

**THURSDAY, November 28** — Just before he emplaned for India the Prime Minister said that the people who think about a strike should think of the rest of the nation, and hoped that even at the last moment public servants would reconsider their decision and play fair by the rest of the population. The Prime Minister said in Bombay that evolving solutions to problems facing India and Ceylon were not beyond the ingenuity of the two nations. The Republic of Vietnam will join and play a leading role in the Paris talks aimed at ending the war, the US Government announced last night. The French Prime Minister announcing the government's new austerity program said yesterday that though the nation had survived the immediate crisis France had not won the war.

**FRIDAY, November 29** — The daily papers reported that the public servants' strike launched yesterday was peaceful and there were no incidents. While the Government claimed that the strike by public servants was a failure, the President of the GCSU claimed it was a success. The Prime Minister told the Indian Prime Minister that Indian repatriates would be exempted from the FEECs and would be allowed to take with them up to seventy five thousand rupees without any FEECs. US officials have set December 7 as the likely date to open the expanded Vietnam peace talks. Britain was the first amongst the major nuclear powers to notify the treaty banning the spread of nuclear weapons. Russia and the United States are expected to follow suit.



## Headlines Of The Week

**SATURDAY, November 30** — Three Coalition-led trade union federations in the public sector yesterday decided to call their membership out on strike from December 2. Fourteen undergraduates of the University of Ceylon (Colombo) were yesterday suspended for the duration of this term following disturbances on the campus. All sections of the Public Security Act came into force as from midnight yesterday. Damage to printing equipment and school textbooks estimated at Rs. 15 to 20 thousand was caused at the Government Press shortly before 1,053 employees of the Press walked out yesterday. The Prime Minister expressed the hope that before long India and Ceylon would come to a satisfactory settlement of the Kachchativu issue. A curfew was imposed in three Indian towns after Hindu-Muslim rioting led to widespread looting and arson.

**SUNDAY, December 1** — The Leader of the Opposition, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, yesterday wrote to Mr. J. R. Jayawardena, acting Head of the State, protesting against various measures taken by the Government in connection with the current public servants' strike. The Colombo University authorities suspended a further five graduates for defying the Vice-Chancellor's orders and attempting to hold a meeting at the campus premises. Trade Unions in the public sector have decided to defy the essential services order which came into force from midnight yesterday. American and North Vietnamese officials are expected to hold this weekend a crucial meeting to arrange a date for the opening of the broadened peace talks which are likely to be held in the second week of December. A newly-formed "White" opposition in Salisbury has called on Rhodesians to denounce an alleged plan to pack Parliament with supporters of apartheid.

**MONDAY, December 2** — The strike of the Posts and Telecommunications Front of 19 trade unions were called off shortly before midnight yesterday after a delegation met the acting Head of State at his residence. A fire broke out in the Jaffna hospital today destroying the pathological laboratory on the first floor and damaging the building. Mr. Jayawardena in his reply to Mrs. Bandaranaike said that the Government had put into operation only some of the measures adopted by her Governments. Striking undergraduates of the Colombo University yesterday pelted stones at the University buildings and the Police were called in to bring the situation under control. The *Sun* reported that India would extend credit amounting to two hundred million rupees over a five-year period to finance imports from that country. President Ayub Khan announced concessions today to Pakistan's agitating students but at the same time criticised political opponents who wanted to change the system of government. President Tito said that Yugoslavia was strong enough to stand alone, did not feel threatened by the Soviet Union and would not seek help from the United States.

**TUESDAY, December 3** — New personnel will be recruited from today to fill the places of striking employees in the essential services who have failed to report to work by 4.30 p.m. yesterday. The consensus among the postal and telecommunication employees who were on strike was that they had been betrayed by their leaders. Mr. Justice de Kretser yesterday held that the election of Mr. M. C. Ahamed to the Kalmunai seat in the House of Representatives was void as he was guilty of a charge of impersonation. Mr. Dudley Senanayake received a rousing reception at Sanchi. The advance party of South Vietnam's delegation to the enlarged Vietnamese peace talks in Paris is expected to leave for Paris on Thursday. Isrelai comandos penetrating deep into Jordan have blown up the bridges.

**WEDNESDAY, December 4** — The Ministers decided at a meeting yesterday not to take action against strikers who returned to work up to midnight yesterday. At a conference held yesterday the Minister of Education, Mr. I. M. R. A. Irriyagolle, paid a tribute to the teachers for upholding the dignity and the tradition of their vocation and refusing to strike in spite of attempts of certain interested parties. The Federal Party took a severe beating at the Jaffna Municipal Council elections. The President of the Phillipines called on Asian nations to give priority to industrialisation instead of agriculture. Some 33,000 Renault motor workers in France decided on a token strike as the French Prime Minister opened a round of talks with trade union leaders aimed at averting a new outburst of industrial troubles.

**THURSDAY, December 5** — The strike of public service trade unions entered its eighth day today. Mr. K. R. Britto, a member of the Dehiwela—Mt. Lavinia Municipal Council, was arrested for inciting and obstructing workers who were not prepared to strike. The Commissioner of Prisons has made arrangements to release 600 prisoners tomorrow in terms of the new remissions scheme for which Parliamentary approval has been obtained by the Minister of Justice. The Prime Minister returned to the island yesterday from his Indian visit. He said that his visit was a very enjoyable, very pleasant and a very useful one. Possibilities for fruitful collaboration in the Palk Bay and the Gulf of Mannar were informally discussed by the Prime Ministers of India and Ceylon stated the joint communique issued yesterday at the end of Prime Minister Mr. Dudley Senanayake's official visit to India. A wave of strikes and street demonstration has hit Italy in angry protest against a clash between police and farmhands in Sicily that left two dead and 52 injured. The UN General Assembly's Economic Committee has voted to expel South Africa from UNCTAD membership.



An Essay On

## HOW FOUR POETS VIEW GOD

MAN'S relationship to God depends on his understanding of and belief in divine attributes. The extent of variation in that relationship is in evidence in the four poems — "*The Convergence Of The Twain*" by Thomas Hardy<sup>1</sup>, "*Hurrahing In Harvest*" by Gerard M. Hopkins<sup>2</sup>, "*Batter My Heart, Three-person'd God*" by John Donne<sup>3</sup> and "*Ballad Of The Goodly Fere*" by Ezra Pound<sup>4</sup> — with which this article is concerned.

Since Hardy does not, by his reference to "*the Spinner of the Years*" in this poem "*The Convergence of The Twain*" contemptuously mean a God<sup>5</sup>, there is no attempt on his part to attribute the loss of about one thousand and five hundred lives on board the "Titanic" to an act of God. As the ocean liner nears completion in the shipyard, far off and unknown to any human being, the iceberg, destined to cause the ruin of life and property, grows in size. The ship leaves port, and the iceberg in its habitat, pursuing paths that bring one against the other to send the former to the bottom of the ocean. The will inherent in the two objects, not God, brings them on their course of collision.

According to this interpretation, man's function in his relationship with "God" is reduced to bearing everything that happens to him; he cannot do otherwise. With no assumption of a God, calamities befall him one after the other according to a preconceived plan, and no amount of piety can bring about any change in that plan. Man has then to seek solace resignedly in the belief; *What will be, will be*.

To convey such a forlorn situation to the reader, Hardy relies on his adaptation of the Italian terza rima. The eleven tercets rhyme

by Kantha Retnam

aaa-bbb-ccc-ddd-eee-fff-ggg-hhh-aaa-ccc-iii. A simple verse form is thus utilised to deal with a topic that is devoid of any complexity.

The metre of one tercet is seldom the same as that of another. The only feature common to each three-lined stanza is the length of the third line: it is longer than either the first line or the second. Uniformity in rhythm is, therefore, absent. This, however, is not a disturbing characteristic for it is quite in accord with the subject of the poem. The uncertainty with which man's life is fraught in the absence of any reliance on a God to guide him, is given emphasis by the unevenness of the rhythm.

Pin-pointing the scene of desolation in a world that has no place for God is the choice of words. In the ocean depth where "solitude" is said to prevail, the "Titanic" "stilly couches" with her steel enclosures which had been transformed into "pyres" at the time of the disaster. In these funereal surroundings, the animate bodies are restricted to a few "dim moon-eyed fishes" and a "grotesque, slimed, dumb, indifferent" and crawling sea-worm. The iceberg that spelled the doom of the ship is referred to as "a sinister-mate" which had had its home at a "shadowy silent distance". The scene is certainly not the type that will cause anybody to sing hallelujahs.

Consonant with this gloomy event is the alliteration employed. The jewels that must surely gleam in the sunlight "lie lightless.... bleared....black....blind" on the ocean floor. The fishes that "gaze" at the sunken "glided gear" know that it is wasted where it lies. Like the "jewels" made "in joy", the "mirrors meant" to serve a specific purpose are in a watery grave.

Giving the finishing touches to the macabre scene is imagery of two kinds — visual and auditory. Visual imagery caused by the reference to the cold currents that weave through the ship's holds gives way to auditory imagery when those holds are metaphorically transformed into "tidal lyres" by the action of the under-water currents. However, it is the former that gains prominence as much of the poem is descriptive. Almost everything presents a picture of gloom, thereby pointing to the stark truth that the world which does not account for God cannot make a fit place to live in.

IN MARKED contrast with the dismal outlook given expression in "*The Convergence Of The Twain*" by Hardy is the ecstatic outburst of Hopkins in "*Hurrahing In Harvest*". In the beauty of nature all around him, the poet sees the majesty of God. Natural beauty, by itself, is meaningless to man's unless he realises, as does Hopkins, that it is a gift from God.

The vehicle of expression of his observations and thankfulness is a sonnet which maintains the distinctive features of the Italian form. Its fourteen lines constitute an octave which rhymes *abbaabba*, and a sestet where the rhyme pattern is *cdcdcd*. The Italian practice of differentiating between the purposes of the octave and sestet is to a very great extent kept in view by this English poet who devotes a large part of the first group of eight lines to observation of the beauty of God's gifts to man, and much of the second group of six lines to interpretation of his observations. This distinction between the two groups enables Hopkins to bring the relationship between Creator and Created into perspective. The proper way by which man can express his appreciation of the beauty of nature is by being lost in wonder, love, and praise of his Saviour.

The entire sonnet, with the exception of the middle two lines of the sestet moves the reader,



just as it did the poet, to ecstatic heights. The emotional experience of awe is in harmony with the rhythm. The wonder that drifts across the skies, that is stacked in the fields, that fills the horizon conduces to fill the sonnet with exclamations. Such wind-walks! Such beautiful movements of the clouds! Has anything like it been seen before? Up, around, above — wherever he turns his eyes - there is scenic splendour. The repetition of words such as “now” and “what” and groups of words such as “I lift up”, “these things”, and “hurls for him” shows that the beholder, imbued with rapture, has difficulty in proceeding smoothly from one logical thought to another. The thoughts and arrangement of words and exclamations engage the attention of the reader. He brims with gaiety. His spirits rise: he walks, and lifts up his eyes and heart to God. Thus the attention-arresting sequence of words accords with the emotional outburst to contribute to the production of a rhythm appropriate to the occasion. The metre, however, does not follow an established norm; it is chequered. This is as it must be as it underlies the belief that man cannot fathom God’s goodness, and that only the latter can make His works plain. In other words, only God can be His own interpreter. Man can never claim to know everything there is to know of the Creator’s wondrous works; the God that can be, like a chemical, taken to a laboratory and analysed is not worth worshipping.

The alliterative effect of the words used keep ablaze the spirit of adoration. The title itself is aptly alliterative; “*Hurrahing In Harvest*” well reveals the joys that have come about in the vicinity of the harvested fields. As the stocks preserve their naturalness by keeping the grain, straw, and stalk intact, they are “Barbarous in beauty”. The poet wonders whether “silk-sack clouds” of different shapes and sizes (“wilder, wilful-wavier”) have ever formed and dispersed (“moulded...and melted”) before in the skies. “Rapturous” greetings of realer...

rounder replies” can find manifestation only through God’s love made plain to man in the beauty of the countryside.

Although the caption of the sonnet hurrahs about the harvest, the poet, besides describing the scene of the harvest, is appreciative of the beauty that greets his eyes not merely in the fields, but everywhere - around and above him at the tail end of summer. The “azurous hung hills” are metaphorically depicted as God’s “world-wielding shoulder”. In the comparison of these to a sturdy horse (“majestic - as a stallion stalwart”) is a simile that denotes the firmness of the work formation. Since a major part of the sonnet is descriptive, imagery is resplendent with an appeal to the sense of sight which leads to intense feeling.

**THE BEAUTY** that confronts the poet has dazzled others’ eyes before. But the beholder, if he is to realise God’s majesty, must be receptive to the implications of that majesty as revealed in nature.

Divine revelation in nature is not sufficient for Donne. He states in his holy sonnet beginning with the request, “*Batter my heart. Three-person’d God*” that he cannot, in his own strength, become true to the triune God. He is desirous of that God’s reciprocation of his love. Since his reason is incapable of defending him from the viles of Satan, he implores his Maker who has been seeking to bring about a change in him, to take possession of him forcibly and dwell in him.

In this sonnet which is not divided into an octave and a sestet, the rhyme pattern of the first eight lines conforms to the traditional form of *abbaabba*. The last six lines rhyme *cacedd* but the second line of this group is probably intended to rhyme with the fourth line of the same section. Since the theme pin-points the dependence of man on God, uniformity of thought is kept in view by the avoidance of the octave and the sestet with their cleavage in meaning. In true

English fashion, the summing up is provided in the last two lines after enlarging in the first twelve lines on man’s helplessness to reform himself in the absence of God’s influence.

That man solely by his will cannot lead a good life is made plain by the choice of words. In order to make himself the winner (“That I may rise and stand” Donne entreats God to use his force (“power”) to “o’erthrow” his wicked self, making him “new” in the process. His struggles to pull himself free of Satan’s hold (“Labor to admit you”) prove unavailing (“but oh, to no end”). There is, therefore, the need for God to sever the tie (“Divorce... unite, or break that knot again”) that binds him to their mutual enemy. The words chosen serve to convey the feeling that redemption is not possible for man without God’s assistance. The rhythm resulting from the selection of words and the method of presentation which is basically emotional is in keeping with that of the metre made use of. The exposition of the thoughts uppermost in Donne’s mind to good advantage stems in part from the conformity of the sonnet to the iambic pentametrical standard.

The use of a alliteration here in this poem too is not an artifice, for it performs the function of adding weight or colour to the supplication. Just as a light penetrates darkness, even recesses, God does “shine and seek to mend.” His tremendous power to make Donne a changed man is recognised by the plea to “break, blow, burn” the confessing supplicant.

Serving a specific purpose are figures of speech like simile and metaphor. They are contributors to the explanation of the theme, not mere ornamental appendages. In the simile “I, like an usurp’d town” is recognised the lamentation that Satan has taken possession of God’s abode, that is, the poet himself. The metaphor “Reason, your viceroy in me” impresses one with the value of this gift of God.



In the metaphors "Reason...is captiv'd", and "But a betroth'd unto your enemy", the power of Satan over Donne is easily seen. The anxiety to break off that betrothal so that he may become God's own is well portrayed by the metaphorical use of "Divorce me, unite, or break that knot again" and "imprison me". These figures of speech together with words such as "batter...knock...breathe...shine...seek...o'erthrow...force...break...blow...burn...town...enemy...knot...chaste" make use of images rich in impressions associated with the senses of seeing, hearing, and touching.

TO Pound who spotlights mainly the last moments of God the Son in His mortal form imaginarily through the mouth of Simon Zelotez in the "Ballad Of The Goodly Fere", Jesus Christ is a companion, a brother, and a master of men.

Christ's sufferings on the Cross are related with realistic candour. And the medium employed is a ballad. This verse form trips along merrily. One must not rush to the conclusion that the sprightliness of the rhythm is certain to be incongruent with the afflictions that descended upon Christ's mortal form. There is no necessity for reliance on a verse from reminiscent of steps solemn, mournful, and slow, for the narrative never takes a defeatist attitude. It brings the heroic deeds of Jesus into the limelight. His whipping those who made God's House a den of thieves, healing the lame and the blind, giving life to the dead, calming the turbulent sea maintaining stoic calm when he was surrounded by armed soldiers, and being steadfast in his purpose on the Cross lend cause to a mental echo of those words uttered by an onlooker at the time of His death: "Truly, this is the Son of God". The ballad shows that Christ triumphed over the grave and death, for Simon Zelotes, who is emphatic that he saw the risen Lord, pours scorn on those who believe that Christ's power ended with his ignominious death on the tree.

THE thirteen verses, each of them a quatrain rhyming *abab*, except for the seventh and the thirteenth verses in each of which the rhyme patterns *abab*, are given a flourish with a rhymeless couplet. The importance of this couplet is self-explanatory; it proclaims as the grand finale the glad tidings that Christ, long after His crucifixion is alive. Death has lost its sting, and the grave its victory.

Though the technique is narrative, the ballad is far from impersonal. The emotion of grief at Christ's crucifixion is subdued after the joyful revelation of His immortality. This emotional approach combines with the choice of words and metrical structure to produce the rhythm that the ballad has. Important incidents in the early life of Christ are related in words that focus the attention of the reader on the entire poem. "First let these go...or I'll see ye damned", Why took ye not me when I walked about alone in the town?", and "I'll go to the feast...though I go to the gallows tree" are examples. Again, apt alliteration in "ships and the open sea", "man o' men", and "high and holy house" contributes to the maintenance of reader interest.

Since word pictures of events in the life of a personage in history are created, imagery of a high order in unfolded before the mind's eye. The similes "With his eyes like the grey o' the sea", "Like the sea that brooks no voyaging" and "Like the sea that he cowed at Genseret" heighten the attractiveness of the image formed by giving details.

From Pound's presentation of the attributes of the man called Jesus, it is clear that God the Son, a terror to the ungodly, lives on in the hearts of the faithful.

In every way examined, the individuality of each poet's exploration of man's relationship to God draws attention to that aspect which is most dear to him. God who to Hardy can be identifiable with tribulations, is the praiseworthy

author of the world's beauty as Hopkins holds. Man cannot turn his back on evil without God's help as Donne points out. Divine help is never denied to those who seek it, for, as Pound shows, God is everlasting.

1. Hardy, Thomas, "The Convergence Of The Twain" in Williams Oscar (ed.) : **The Mentor Book Of Major British Poets** (New York, The New American Library, 1963), page 342.
2. Hopkins, Gerard M., "Hurrahing In Harvest" in *ibid*, page 352.
3. Donne, John, "Batter My Heart, Three-person'd God" in Warhaft. Sidney, Woodbury, John, and O'Flaherty, Patrick, Toronto, Canada, Macmillan, 1966), page 109.
4. Pound, Ezra, "Ballad of The Goodly Fere" in Herbert, David, (ed.); **The Penguin Book Of Narrative Verse** (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, Penguin Books, 1960), pages 401-402.
5. Glad, A. H. in Lecture 8 (Poetry) page 128 read in conjunction with notes on page 126.

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*Third and Concluding Part*

# ACROSS SIBERIA: AN ODYSSEY SKIRTING BAIKAL; IMPACT OF SOVIET-CHINESE DIFFERENCE

by P. Unnikrishnan

THE SECOND HALF of the Siberian odyssey — from Irkutsk to Khabarovsk and on to Nakhodja in the Far East—is rewarding for an artist looking for exciting landscape. Lakes and rivers, sun-drenched wooded expanses and gold-bearing rocks, farmsteads and forests with their crimson-tinged yellowing autumnal wear appear in a fast-changing sequence. For hundreds of kilometres the double-tracked Trans-Siberian railway line from Irkutsk runs along the famed Baikal, the world's largest fresh water reservoir, whose spell and serenity have lent themselves eternally to poetic ecstasy.

Past Baikal is Ulan Ude, capital of the Buryat Autonomous Republic, from where the Trans-Siberian railway branches off towards Ulan Bator, in Mongolia, and on to Peking. Despite the deterioration in Sino-Soviet relations, the Railway operates the service to Peking twice a week with this difference that, unlike in the years of brotherhood, the train and the crew change at the border. The traffic is reduced to a trickle after the Red Guard attacks on passengers at the height of the Cultural Revolution.

From Ulan Ude it is a day's journey to Nerchinsk where China and Tzarist Russia signed the first ever treaty in 1689 establishing diplomatic relations. The route which virtually marks the northern border of Mongolia is dotted with the most commonplace - looking stations whose names, however, are associated with heroic chapters of Russian revolutionary history, with the Decemberists and the battles put up by the hastily got

up worker-peasant army of the Bolsheviks against the advancing forces of the White Russian Admiral Kolchak. Of these Chita has since become famous also for its rich deposits of diamond and gold.

FOR THE REST of the journey from Nirchisk, the Trans-Siberian Express runs in the vicinity of the Chinese border till Vladivostok. At places the border is within twenty kilometres especially in the descent from Khabarovsk to the Pacific. But many towns like Belogorsk and Bulaya which one passes earlier are also border towns. From Belogorsk one changes for Blagoveshensk which is right on the border and is closed even to Soviet citizens except on special entry permits.

This stretch of Siberia provides a measure of the impact that Sino-Soviet differences have made on life. One is inevitably made aware of these differences by the sight of uniformed men strolling on the station platforms, their preponderance and the traffic of army trucks on the automobile tracks that for long stretches run parallel to the railway.

The Chinese have laid claims to about 60,000 kilometres of territory in Siberia. The drive for recovery of lands once held by China had been characteristic of successive regimes in that country. Sun Yat Sen and Chiang Kai-shek have in their time bemoaned the loss of Thailand, Vietnam, Burma, Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim, Java and Indonesia. Mao himself did not hide his ambition to incorporate Mongolia in China once he set himself up in power in Peking.

It took some time for the world to know that his professed faith in Marxism and respect for international obligations it-cast have not cured Mao of his excessive obsession with China's past glory and the desire to restore it.

MAO did not press his claims with the Soviets until recently although cartographic annexation of parts of Siberia and Central Asia had taken place in the fifties and textbooks of history in Communist China's schools and pushed that country's border well into the other neighbouring territories too, Mao came up with the claim in public for the first time when he spoke to a group of Japanese socialists in 1964. He told the, "About a hundred years ago the area to the east of Baikal became the territory of Russia and from then on Vladivostok, Khabarovsk, Kamchatka and other points are territory of the Soviet Union. We have not yet presented our account for this list". This naturally infuriated the Soviets who hit back saying that if arguments based on history were to be valid then China might find it difficult to retain hold of any territory outside the Great Wall which passed within 100 kilometres of Peking since the border of China once did pass there and the wall itself was a testimony of this.

This has not quietened the Chinese who have kept up physical pressure on the border in addition to propaganda. As late as in November 1966, the Minister of Education Tuan Lo-fu reminded the Red Guards of Mao's saying that Chinese people were normally prepared to use their own force to struggle for a return of lost territories.

CHINA MAY be morally strong but it is not yet physically able to push northward. It is partly for reasons of logistics. The areas immediately south of the present borders with Siberia are uninhabited and undeveloped. Until such time as these areas are industrialized and communication facilities are developed, China may not be able



to mount effective pressure. In the meantime, Soviet Siberia is economically marching ahead, which while widening the disparity with the adjoining territory also accentuates Chinese distress.

Viewed from Siberia, the Soviet charges of arrogant nationalism and petty bourgeois adventurism hurled at China acquire a new meaning. For instance, Chinese attempts to create territorial disputes between the Soviet Union and Japan over the Kurile islands and to encourage the West German drive to alter post-war Central European borders can have no other aim but to mount as much trouble for the Soviets as possible. China's growing trade with the West Germans, the secret help it gets from West Germany for developing nuclear weapons and their delivery system, the private contacts the Chinese maintain with the Americans and their refusal to fall in line with the rest of the world on questions of disarmament—all these held out the same disturbing message to the Soviets as they do to India. The divergence in the reactions and postures of India and Soviet Union is due only to the Soviet sense of ideological obligation and lingering hope that the situation may still be saved for the Chinese people, the people of the Soviet Union and the world communist movement.

The tensions that these factors must necessarily give rise to do not find expressed in the daily life of the people of Siberia. In Khabarovsk, which is linked by a current-unused waterway with Harbin, there not long ago used to be many Chinese, students and traders and plain tourists. Today there is not a single Chinese. Many local inhabitants speak the dialect spoken across the border. Some of them bear the same physical features but they are Soviet citizens and have little else in common with those on the other side of the Amur and Ussuri. They are the builders of the new Soviet life in Siberia and its stoutest defenders.

China is not even a talking point with people whom one ordinarily confronts along this border which stretches 4,300 miles from the Pacific to the Pamirs. They have many other things to occupy their minds, the cities and enterprises they are creating and the future that is taking shape before their very eyes. If there had been skirmishes and there is tension the civilian population is not unduly affected by them. When I raised this question of the uneasy border with an army officer who was travelling with me

he did not shun the topic "Of course we are guarding our borders. They are inviolable. It is a duty we perform not only for our sake but for the sake of our 'sick' neighbour," he told me adding enigmatically, "If you are thinking of possible armed conflict, dismiss the thought It takes two sides for it".

These were words of confidence. They were still ringing in my ears when we sailed from Nakhodka and the Siberian landscape gradually disappeared behind the receding waves of the Pacific.

*Old Wine In New Bottles*

## WASHINGTON'S NEW ASIAN REGIONALISM: IT FOOLS NOBODY

by V. PAVLOVSKY

THE POLITICAL barometer in Southeast Asia is constantly rising and falling, and these fluctuations are due chiefly to the tense atmosphere created there by the continuing U.S. aggression in Vietnam. Along with the growing public support everywhere for the Vietnamese people's just demands there is an increasing desire to find a way to establish a lasting peace throughout this extensive area.

The problem of promoting regional co-operation, particularly insofar as it concerns the economy and security, is being widely discussed. But the approach to this problem is not everywhere the same.

This was clearly revealed at the conference of the Association of Southeast Asia Nations (ASEAN) Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand and the Philippines held in Djakarta in early August. The same issues were on the agenda of the Asian Pacific Council session which was held a week earlier in Canberra and was attended by the delegations of Japan, Australia, New Zealand,

the Saigon, Seoul and Taiwan puppet regimes, as well as by an observer from Laos. Somewhat earlier, in June, representatives of Australia, New Zealand, Malaysia and Singapore met in Kuala Lumpur for a conference which was attended also by Britain.

Although all these conference discussed more or less the same problems, the results showed more plainly than ever that the search for ways of promoting Southeast Asian security and co-operation was proceeding along different lines. It is also clear that external imperialist forces are trying to capitalize on these problems.

Particularly noteworthy in this respect is the heightened activity of the members of the aggressive military groups which have been poisoning the atmosphere in Southeast Asia for many years. Although the SEATO and ANZUS military blocks are going through a profound crisis as a result of the failure of the U.S. aggression against the Vietnamese people, some of their Asian members continue to affirm that there can be no regional security without these



blocs. That, for instance, is the gist of many of the public statements made by Thai Foreign Minister Thanat Khoman.

**BUT**, in the changing Southeast Asian situation even the most zealous proponents of pro-Western policies have come to realize that some new, less discredited forms are needed. The Kuala Lumpur conference is a striking illustration. Its five participants met to discuss the defence of Malaysia and Singapore following Britain's decision to withdraw her troops from areas "East of Suez" by 1971. Some of the participants, Australia, for instance, used this only as a pretext for raising the question of the "Communist menace" and for proposing steps to fill the "vacuum" thus created.

This was a frank attempt to avoid discussing measures to eliminate the main threat to peace in Southeast Asia—U.S. aggression in Vietnam. Which is hardly surprising considering that two of the five states represented at the conference—Australia and New Zealand—have troops fighting in Vietnam, while Britain openly condones Washington's Vietnam policy.

The talk about the "vacuum" in Southeast Asia is actually intended to minimize the part played in regional policies by the sovereign states in the area and to allow alien forces to aspire to the role of their guardians as in the recent colonial past. And although the exponents of these typically neo-colonialist plans were spokesmen of Australia and New Zealand, Uncle Sam's shadow was clearly lurking in the background.

On the eve of the Kuala Lumpur conference Australian Prime Minister John Gorton visited the United States and discussed arrangements for this meeting with President Johnson. "The power inside this country", the Australian Prime Minister then said to the accompaniment of American bombing raids on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, "utilized as it is being utilized by this country, is to me the only sure—the only hopeful beacon...."

It is by this American "beacon" that some statesman in Southeast Asia are guided in their attempts to make the decisions adopted in Kuala Lumpur (on joint manoeuvres establishment of a joint body to plan them, etc.) the basis for setting up another military group. What is more, Canberra and Wellington are now examining the possibilities of integrating these plans with the activities of ANZUS, the bloc made up of Australia, New Zealand and the United States.

All this shows up the intentions of the neo-colonialists. While keeping in the background for the time being for tactical reasons. Washington is using its partners to induce some of the non-aligned states to assume military commitments and to help it police Southeast Asia. Speaking of stationing "a joint armed force" in Malaysia and Singapore, Gorton openly declared that this would be a police force designed to prevent minor wars and insurrections (read: the national-liberation struggle and other revolutionary action).

**THE KUALA LUMPUR** talks also revealed that the United States' fiasco in Vietnam and its growing isolation are forcing Washington and its accomplices to slow down their aggressive plans. The United States is feverishly seeking for other, more stable ways of winning over as many non-aligned states as possible and overcoming the resistance of some of its vacillating allies. That is why it has latterly been paying so much attention to the idea of promoting closer regional co-operation among Asian countries, taking care, however, to play down its military aspect, which is what interests the Pentagon most.

**THE** Southeast Asian countries are objectively interested in promoting broad regional ties, especially in the economic field, in order to overcome the pernicious consequences of colonial rule and to achieve economic independence. The possibilities for that are plentiful but they are far from fully utilized. According to data released by the U.N. Economic Commission for Asia and

the Far East (ECAFE), trade among the countries of this region is negligible. And if one excludes Hongkong and Singapore, which engage mainly in re-exporting the goods of the developed countries, trade among the developing Asian countries will be seen to be smaller still—6 per cent of their overall imports and 7.7 per cent of their exports.

There nevertheless exists a tendency towards extending regional co-operation, notably through ECAFE, under whose auspices the Asian Institute for Economic Development and Planning, the Asian Council for Industrial Development, and a number of other organizations have been set up to help the developing countries build their own industries, train specialists, etc. The United States and its accomplices are countering this tendency with attempts to keep the countries of the region divided and preserve the conditions for their exploitation. One cannot help noticing also the attempts they are making to divert regional efforts into anti-Communist channels, a task made all the easier by the fears engendered in some Asian countries by the Great Power expansionist policy of the present Peking leaders.

That is why in the American interpretation the very principle of regionalism and its place in the general concept of Southeast Asian security had undergone a complete metamorphosis, turning into its direct opposite.

It is easy to discern in the regional organizations sponsored in recent years by the United States traits typical of the blocs imposed upon in Asia in Dulles's day.

**THIS APPLIES** for example, to the Association of Southeast Asia (ASA) which was set up in 1961 with the officially declared aim of promoting co-operation "especially in the economic and cultural fields." Since then, its participants, SEATO members Thailand and the Philippines, and also Malaysia, have tried to realize at least one joint economic



plan but without success. On the other hand by isolating themselves from the other Southeast Asian countries, this trio, with their extremely limited resources, have only weakened their power to resist imperialist pressure and diktat still more. The United States has used ASA to wrest concessions, mainly political, from its members. As Thai Foreign Minister Thanat Khoman has admitted, the establishment of this Association paved the way to the formation in 1956 of a broader political organization known as the Asian Pacific Council which is utterly anti-Communist in its orientation.

Another case in point is the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, set up in the summer of 1967. It consists of Thailand, Malaysia and the Philippines (the three ASA member states that have failed to realize a single one of their joint plans) and Indonesia and Singapore. It is hard to expect that this quintet will be any more successful than the ASA trio if they follow the same course and stand aloof, to put it mildly, from the struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism. What's more, as the bitter Malaysian Philippine conflict over Sabah shows, the differences among the member states are growing and the imperialist powers are quick to turn them to their own advantage.

The establishment of exclusive pro-Western groupings leads to the division of Southeast Asian countries and plays into the hands of the neo-colonialists. It is not fortuitous that, after joining the Asian Pacific Council, Thailand, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines and South Korea were compelled to increase their contingents in Vietnam. At the last ASPAC session in Canberra its participants openly voiced support for the Saigon puppet regime and reiterated many of Washington's cliché formulations in their communiqué.

Nor is it an accident that there is no longer any talk in ASEAN coun-

tries about abolishing foreign military bases, a demand raised by some of the delegates, notably the Indonesian at the inaugural conference of the Association. Moreover, it is after joining this organization that Indonesia began to promote ties with the Chiang Kai-shek clique and the South Vietnamese puppets, and that pro-Western tendencies appeared in her policy.

The only reason why ASPAC and ASEAN have not yet been made appendages of SEATO is because the United States and its allies have not given up hope of inveigling as many non-aligned states as possible into these blocs. It was recently said in Tokyo, for instance, that it would be desirable to have Burma, Cambodia, Singapore and Indonesia in ASPAC. At the same time Washington, aided by its allies, has begun to prepare the ground for remodelling regional economic organizations first into political and then into military blocs. A trial balloon was sent up last March during Thai Deputy Premier Prapat Charusathien's visit to Japan, South Korea and the Philippines. While there, he reportedly discussed the possibility of setting up a new military bloc based on the Asian Pacific Council and other regional associations. The Japanese *Mainichi* commented in this connection that the idea had originally been advanced by the United States, whose position in Vietnam has badly deteriorated. The plans to turn ASPAC and ASEAN into military organizations were also discussed at their last sessions.

**HIGHLY** important in these circumstances are the efforts made by independent Asian countries seeking a way to Asian security that would accord with the national interests of the states in this part of the world. Despite differences on minor issues, realization and the problem of Southeast Asian security can be solved only if the United States ends its Vietnam aggression provides a common ground for this search. Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the Cambodian head of state, has

stressed that there can be no peace and stability in Southeast Asia so long as the United States insists on playing the role of policeman.

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of India has said that the best way for the Southeast Asian countries to ensure their security is by joining efforts and helping one another. Another Asian statesman who is opposed to any new military blocs is General Ne Win, Chairman of the Burmese Revolutionary Council, who favours broad ties among the Southeast Asian countries on a genuinely regional basis. Cambodia has rebuffed all attempts to drag her into any blocs of the ASPAC and ASEAN type. While claiming to be promoting Asian co-operation, these associations in reality serve the interests of the Western neo-colonialist forces, notably the United States, a Cambodian government statement points out.

Even in those Southeast Asian countries whose rulers favour military co-operation with the Western Powers there is a growing realization that the solution of the security problem should be sought elsewhere. Prime Minister Abdul Rahman and other Malaysian leaders, for instance, suggest non-aggression pacts between Southeast Asian countries and neutralization of this area under appropriate international guarantees.

All these are questions for discussion. Many other suggestions and ideas will no doubt be advanced. But it is already obvious that the Southeast Asian nations are learning by their own experience that only genuine co-operation based on the principle of peaceful co-existence can ensure peace and security.





*A New Tactic*

## British Bridge - Building To the Commonwealth Countries : Device To Expand Its Cultural Hold On Them

A Special Correspondent

"Bridge - building" has become in recent years a fashionable term in Western political usage. Its main connotation is penetration into the socialist countries to undermine their unity, impede their economic and political co-operation, and create seats of bourgeois influence in them.

But the term is also used in relation to the newly-free countries of Asia and Africa. It represents a new tactic by means of which the capitalist countries, and primarily the former colonial powers, seek to dominate newly-emerged nations when other devices have failed.

The most active of the "bridge builders" is British imperialism, and its main targets are the youngest members of the Commonwealth.

THE BRITISH ruling circles hoped that by transforming their colonial empire into the Commonwealth they would be able to preserve their countless imperial ties and continue exploiting the former colonies as before. But for a variety of reasons of a political and economic order, and also owing to the inter-imperialist struggle for spheres of influence, the Commonwealth is cracking up. It is symptomatic that since 1966 there have been no Commonwealth conferences which once used to be held annually.

The weakening of links between Britain and her Commonwealth partners is apparent above all in the two basic spheres of trade and export of capital. In the ten years from 1957 to 1967 the share of Commonwealth countries in Britain's exports, which increased in these years by 53 per cent, dropped from 41 to 26 per cent, and in terms of value, from £1,353 million to £1,311

million. The reasons for this were the inability of British export goods to withstand competition; the lifting under Washington pressure, in a number of Commonwealth countries of restrictions on dollar purchases; the shrinking of foreign currency reserves, especially in India, and, finally, orientation on the part of many British firms on more promising markets in Europe.

Something of the same has happened in the sphere of imports. Since 1964 Western Europe has increasingly replaced the sterling area (of which the Commonwealth countries are the core) as the principal supplier of goods to Britain. In 1967 British imports from continental Europe exceeded her imports from the sterling area by nearly £ 300 million.

Monopoly investments used to be the main form of exploitation of Britain's overseas possessions, with money put into plantations and mining bringing in particularly lush returns. The picture remained basically unchanged until the early sixties, but in the recent years the situation has radically altered. While the total sum of British monopoly investments abroad increased in 1960-68 by nearly 50 per cent, the share of the Commonwealth dropped by about 5 per cent, mainly because of cuts in India and the newly independent African countries. And the process is still going on.

Political rifts in the Commonwealth are also deepening, with the main cleavages running in two directions. First, the white dominions are drifting away from Britain. As regards New Zealand, its "external relations now tend to emphasize regional co-operation for defence, trade and aid rather than general arrangements and con-

sultations through...the Commonwealth", to quote *The Times*. Efforts are being made to inject new life into the ANZUS pact linking Australia and New Zealand with the United States. Australia, according to the *US News and World Report*, "is become an increasingly important American ally in the Far East." As for Canada, it is more a partner of the United States than of Britain.

The second and most important cleavage is the political one between Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, on the one hand, and the rest of the Commonwealth, on the other. The support given by the four to the US aggression in Vietnam and their direct participation in it, and London's conciliatory tactics towards the Rhodesian racists have largely destroyed the political foundations of the Commonwealth.

Political decentralization has been accompanied by a weakening of military ties, to which London once attached prime importance. The military-political concept of the British Empire was founded on the twin assumption, as *New York Times* put it, that "God was an Englishman and the road to India must be kept open." Hence the military bases girdling Britain's overseas possessions and, later, the series of military agreements with Commonwealth members. Today both the imperial defence concept and the bases and agreements are mere memories. The disintegration of the "military infrastructure" of the Commonwealth was due not so much to London's inability to foot the bill as to the strengthening of the newly-free countries and their reluctance to tie their future to Britain's dangerous strategic doctrine.

The prospect of a second metamorphosis — the "transformation" of a colonyless Britain into a mere over-populated island without adequate natural resources to draw on — is causing serious anxiety in London. Hence the emphasis on ways and means available to Britain and at the same time according with the "spirit of the times." Already in September 1960 the journal *Round*



Table called for building a "bridge to the whole uncommitted world." Later it was found necessary to create a whole system of "bridges" to prop up the disintegrating structure on a new basis.

**FOR YEARS** Britain ruled her dependencies basically through a system of indirect administration. While seeing to it that the key posts were in the hands of British officials, she manned the lower-rungs with tribal chiefs and elders and ran local affairs through the customary agencies of government. This created the illusion that the local authorities were independent while ensuring British political, ideological and psychological domination.

This could not go on after the countries concerned became independent members of the Commonwealth. The efforts made to leave the former colonial civil servants in government posts proved unsuccessful. As the London Overseas Development Institute pointed out in one of its publications, it was risky to leave the former colonial officials in the newly-free countries since this would have been qualified as neo-colonialism.

What London decided to do was to cast the old content into a new form. Capitalising on the shortage of experienced administrators and experts of all kinds in the new states, the British ruling circles set to building their main bridge to the Commonwealth by replacing the old colonial administration with a neo-colonial equivalent.

According to British figures, the number of colonial officials who had to be recalled from the newly independent overseas territories was about 15,000. But by 1967 some 20,000 new British personnel had been sent in, including about 10,000 administrators. Most of them had gone through a special course of training which included, besides the purely professional aspect, instruction in a new "code of behaviour" in the emergent countries, ways and means of establishing relations with the local authorities, and even in the rudiments of diverse reli-

gions. The emissaries thus sent back to the former colonies included advisers on the administrative matters, technical specialists, lawyers, engineers, doctors, accountants, stenographers, typists, private secretaries and translators.

**Particular importance is attached to the infiltration of the government machinery, primarily the police and security authorities, for this not only gives Britain access to the first-hand information on the situation in the given country but also facilitates the activities of the official and unofficial representatives of British institutions and services.**

**The requirements presented to this personnel, the nature of their training and the functions they perform show that the object is to heighten British influence, consolidate the positions of British monopoly capital, and undermine the national-liberation movement — all in the name of "cementing Commonwealth ties."**

This new "overseas service" is distributed as follows: 50 per cent in East Africa, 20 per cent in West Africa, 15 per cent in South Africa, 7 per cent in Southeast Asia, 3 per cent in the West Indies, and 5 per cent in other areas. The emphasis, then, is on preventing the erosion of ties with the African members of the Commonwealth. Official British spokesmen make no secret of this. For instance, ex-Commonwealth Secretary Bottomley told the House of Commons that "today African countries made up nearly half the over-all membership of the Commonwealth association...Our historical, administrative, and other links with the Commonwealth countries in Africa were very close... It must be Britain's constant and patient policy to preserve those links and to forge new ones whenever the occasion arose".

The practical end in this bridge-building is attended to by a number of organizations specially set up for the purpose, such as the Overseas Service Aid Scheme and Voluntary Service Overseas. An active part is also played by such traditional agencies as the Foreign and Common-

wealth offices, the British Council, and special services.

**ACCORDING** to the book "*Britain and Education in the Commonwealth*" published in London, in the course of two centuries the British government opened three schools in the colonies in Sierra Leone, Nigeria and Gambia. Nobody in London was particularly concerned with education for the natives. But when the colonies began to break away from foreign overlordship, the British ruling circles turned into zealous enlighteners. One of the first proponents of the new "educational policy" was Prime Minister Anthony Eden, who pointed out to his Foreign Secretary that "there might be much to be gained" from British-controlled education in the emergent countries.

Within a few years the idea became official policy. To carry it out new co-ordinating and executive agencies were set up and old ones recognized. In 1963 the Commonwealth University Association was founded in London. In 1964 the Commonwealth Education Liaison Unit was reconstituted as the Education Division under the Commonwealth Secretariat. In 1966 a centre for the revision of curricula on promoting education in overseas countries and permanent committees for training foreign students were established.

The doors of British universities were opened wide to young people from Commonwealth countries. If in the early postwar years the total number of Commonwealth students averaged 1,000, in 1967 there were 44,500 students from the former colonies and dependencies alone. At the same time there was an outflow of teachers to the Commonwealth countries at a rate of roughly 2,500 a year.

The programmes of aid to the newly freed countries include appropriations for elementary, secondary and higher education, as well as the technical and vocational training of local personnel. Funds for the purpose come also from private sources, reli-



gious organizations, the Nuffield, Dulverton and other foundations, and from the monopolies. It is symptomatic that although Britain is cutting expenditures on practically all budget items, aid to the developing countries of the Commonwealth in 1968-69 and 1969-70 is not being curtailed. Speaking in Parliament, the Minister of Overseas Development stressed that the aid programme was a "necessary and vital part of the government's overseas and economic policies".

The British teachers working in Commonwealth countries are expected to introduce curricula drawn up in Britain and promoting the "Commonwealth spirit". The same purpose is served by the British literature, text-books, etc., exported by the millions to the Commonwealth countries and sold there at a fraction of the nominal price. The British Council has established over 60 libraries.

All this is done ostensibly to help the former colonies train national personnel. The real objectives, however, are quite different, as is testified, for instance, by the British sociologist Richard Harris in his book "*Independence and After*", where he speaks of a "process of Anglicization" and points out that people subjected to it "are unlikely to be participants" in the struggle against imperial rule. The keynote of his argument is that Anglicized local people and governments made up of them are independent only formally.

#### BRITAIN'S SCIENTIFIC LINKS

with her overseas possessions were confined to a few branches of institutions specializing in fields such as tropical medicine. Considerable changes have taken place in this area too since the colonies gained independence. For one thing, Britain has begun sending researchers to the developing Commonwealth countries. By 1964 their number reached nearly 800 and it has been increasing since then.

Co-ordinating bodies such as the Commonwealth Scientific Committ-

ee and the Overseas Scientific Research Council have been established. This year the office of Scientific Adviser to the Commonwealth Secretary General was instituted. Scientific periodicals, for instance, the journal *Nature*, call for more scientific aid to the newly independent countries and the building of a "corps of people who will spend much of their working lives on overseas development".

London attaches major importance to the scientific bridge to the youngest members of the Commonwealth. The main object is to establish control over scientific development and to prevent the former colonies from turning to other countries for assistance. Scientific conferences are convened regularly. In 1967 the Royal Society sponsored the first broad conference of Commonwealth scientists at Oxford. This was preceded by a Commonwealth Medical Conference in Edinburgh in 1965 and a Conference on the Teaching of Science in Ceylon in 1963.

The British government is spending substantial sums in this sphere. For instance, it put more than £1,000,000 into the construction and equipment of the Indian Institute of Technology in Delhi, the staff of which now includes twelve British scientists, including eight professors. The Imperial College of Science and Technology in London has "adopted" the Delhi Institute, and the Duke of Edinburgh, who laid its cornerstone, observed in a message sent to the Indian President in March 1968 that this joint undertaking "gives expression to the continuing close and friendly association between Britain and India in the fields of education and technology".

A noteworthy feature of this scientific bridge between Britain and the Commonwealth countries is that it has been designed for two-way traffic; it is also a device for appropriating the achievements of local researchers. It puts Britain in possession not only of the numerous joint undertakings but also of the individual researches of Commonwealth scientists. Particularly active in this

respect are the Royal Society, the British Council, the specialized Rutherford Memorial and Overseas Visiting Professors schemes, and such consultative bodies as the Commonwealth Advisory Committee on Defence Science and the Commonwealth Advisory Aeronautical Research Council.

**The direct "brain drain" from the young Commonwealth countries to Britain has also assumed wide proportions. Of the annual immigration quota of 8,500, about two-thirds are specialists. In 1966, according to official figures, 3,976 researchers and technicians came to Britain from India and 629 from Pakistan.**

At first glance this might seem to narrow down the channels of British influence. Actually, however, the opposite is the case. By reducing the research potential of her partners, Britain makes them increasingly dependent on herself, while assigning the defence of British interests to the "Anglicized" medium skilled local specialists.

Irrespective of their purely functional features, Britain's "bridges" to the newly-independent Commonwealth countries are all directed at facilitating the political, economic and ideological expansion of British imperialism in its former colonies. But it is questionable whether they will be able to stand the test of time. For the gulf between Britain and the rest of the Commonwealth is increasingly widening, and London is compelled constantly to lengthen the spans of these bridges. And this will eventually cause them to collapse.

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## Yugoslavia's Experiment With Free Market Economy A Flop

by SARAL PATRA

YUGOSLAVIA'S experiment with fostering "free market" economy in a Socialist country has run into trouble. What was aimed as a rectification of the imbalances that crept into the economy in course of development, has boomeranged. The 1966 reforms providing for a "self-regulating economy" by the virtual withdrawal of the directing and co-ordinating role" of the State, has not only brought the economy to a halt, but also clearly indicates a process of retardation.

The new turn in Yugoslav economy, the effects of the "reforms" that have been introduced, are in many ways instructive to us in India, particularly when our Fourth Plan is under preparation. Insistence on almost similar "reforms" in our economy, demand for "decentralisation", etc. have been voiced here with much fervour. The extreme position is to do away with planning altogether. An amended version of it is what is euphemistically called "indicative" planning, wherein the State's responsibility in economic development ends with providing infrastructure and public funds for the private sector, and the "self-regulating free market" economy taking over then onwards.

Mid-1965 marks the beginning of the new "reforms" in Yugoslav economy. A series of laws were adopted which in their totality made for the acceptance of the regulating role of the market in the process of development. The directing role of the Socialist State was put in the background in the name of decentralisation. The steps towards "liberalisation" in foreign economic relations — exports and imports — were meant to provide incentives for increasing production. The object according to the official organ, *Borba*, was that the State's directing and coordinating role should be undertaken by the economy itself."

What the reforms actually did was not an improvement or streamlining of centralised planning, removing the defects engendered by bureaucratic sloth and inefficiency, nor endowing it with the capacity to combine State control with initiative and independence to production units. On the contrary, the "reforms" paved the way for creating a "free market" with the "law of value" having an unrestricted field of operation.

THE BASIC objectives of these "reforms" were to tackle the problems of transition from extensive economy, the acceleration of technological progress, improvement of the quality, pattern and profitability of production, increasing labour productivity, expansion of foreign trade, etc. It was hoped that the measures adopted would uncover hidden potentials and enable the country to tap new resources for economic growth.

This new objective guided Yugoslavia to frame its 1966-70 plan of economic development. The plan in reality reflected the expectations of its authors, that were to fructify as a result of the reforms. They were more forecasts of growth based on hopes than hard economic and financial calculations. Starting with a 9-10 per cent annual rate of industrial growth, the plan envisaged 4.6 per cent yearly increase in agricultural production. The estimate of annual rise in national income was, however, pegged at 7.5 — 8.5 per cent as against an average annual rise of 8 per cent achieved during 1957 to 1965.

The immediate effects of the "reform", positive as they were, heartened the Yugoslav planners. In fact, they were convinced of having chosen the right path. The inflationary trends were checked and prices were somewhat stabilised in

the home market. Greater material incentives were provided for rising farm output, while stimulating concentration in industry. Above all the exchange rate of Yugoslav dinar was strengthened.

But these were as short-lived as they proved to be illusory. The "reforms" failed to check the downward trend in the economy.

Industrial output rose by as much as 16 per cent in 1964 compared to the previous year. But, in 1965, when the new "reforms" were adopted the rise was halved to 8 per cent, and recorded a rise of only 4 per cent in the following year. The worst position was reached in 1967 when industrial output dropped by 0.4 per cent. The hurried measures to check the trend has brought about a rise of only 3.6 per cent during the first five months of this year as compared to the corresponding months of 1967. But the damage has already been done and even the better showing on the agricultural front has failed to halt the crisis. Last year, national income rose by only 0.8 per cent.

On top of reduction in the industrial production, another affliction is the rise in the accumulation of unsold stocks of a number of commodities. The acute problem of selling the output is borne out by the official figures showing rise in the share of circulating funds and the accumulation of stocks of finished goods in the total production, from 46.4 per cent in 1964 to 64.5 per cent in 1967. There has been a fall in the number of factory and other workers over the past two years and the rate of the growth of labour productivity in the industry dropped to 1.4 per cent.

THE DIFFICULTIES are further accentuated by the systematic fall in investments in the economy during the past several years. Compared to preceding years, investment in fixed assets (in comparable prices) was 10 per cent lower in 1965, 12 per cent in 1966, and 9 per cent in 1967, aggregating as much as 28 per cent in the past three years compared to 1964.



Consequently, the programme of modernisation of operating plants has also fallen behind. Lack of new investments had led to the factories "eating up" their fixed assets. In 1967, the investment in fixed assets were even 1,600 million dinars lower than was necessary and wear and tear replacements.

These are difficulties which cannot be overcome in a short time, much less in the two years left for the completion of the current plan. To Belgrade's *Kommunist* it was "obvious that we can no longer expect the lag to be eliminated in the remaining two years, or that the plan will be fulfilled by 1970."

One of the important postulates of the "reforms" was the regeneration of the country's economy in such a manner as to make possible a much larger volume of foreign trade and increase in foreign exchange earnings. Last year, for the first time, factories and trade organisations were permitted to enter foreign markets independently. The expectation was that there would be a considerable increase in exports, but the result turned out to be quite the opposite. Compared to 1965, when exports rose by 22 per cent, it was only a 12 per cent rise in 1966. But exports reached a new low for several years when they recorded a rise of only 2.7 per cent in 1967.

On the other hand, there was hardly any measure to peg imports at the planned level. Last year, overall imports went up by 8.4 per cent, in which those of manufactured goods increased 14.2 per cent. This was the result of increasing the number of items in the "free imports" list which were taken advantage of by the enterprises and trade organisations.

Much of these imports were from the Western countries. In 1967, Yugoslavia's imports from the Common Market and the EFTA countries increased by 35-40 per cent exports to them recorded a rise of only 5-6 per cent during the same period. Like all other developing countries, Yugoslavia was unable

to break through the customs and quota barriers imposed by these countries, even though it opened the "sluice gates" of imports from them with no small hope of reciprocity.

**THE HUGE INCREASE** of imports over exports has beset the Yugoslav economy with a new critical balance of payments position. The deficit in trade balance which amounted to \$196.4 million in 1965, shot up to \$355 million the next year and reached \$455 million in 1967. The increase in invisible earnings during these years through tourism, remittances from abroad, etc., however, was far too meagre to straighten out this acute deterioration in the balance of payments curve. As a result, the Federal Government was forced to raise customs duty on imports and introduce certain restrictions in foreign trade relations at the end of last year. It has also added to Yugoslavia's difficulties in repayment of foreign loans and credits and interest on them.

The only redeeming feature in this rather dismal picture is Yugoslavia's trade with the CMEA countries of Eastern Europe. In 1966, about 55 per cent of its engineering goods exports, about 40 per cent of its ferrous metals exports, over 60 per cent of footwear exports, 45 per cent of knitwear exports, 50 per cent woollen fabrics exports, and about 15-20 per cent of its farm produce exports went to these countries.

The unrestricted flooding of the domestic market with imports of manufactured goods, has in turn plunged the Yugoslav enterprises into a new crisis. While products for exports accumulated, imported foreign goods made it well nigh impossible for them to market their products at home. It is not for nothing that they have curtailed production. Finding themselves as they do in acute financial difficulties, they have resorted to discharging more and more workers from the factories.

**THE HAZARDS** of all this has been acutely felt in the domestic sphere. The substantial rise of wholesale prices of some commodities re-

sulted in the rise in retail prices. Retail prices of manufactured consumer goods rose by 25 per cent in 1965, 23 per cent in 1966 and by another 8 per cent last year, while those of farm products by 45, 21 and 2 per cent respectively during the same period.

In order to compensate the workers against soaring prices, industrial enterprises used up a large part of the funds allocated for the expansion of production. Although there were wage rises, the average rate of growth of the increase in income dropped by almost 50 percent compared to 1964. Moreover, with the curtailment of consumer credits, there was less purchase by the people and the shops and enterprises found themselves loaded with unsold stocks.

The worst affected by the "reforms" is the employment position. Large deterioration in employment started along with the introduction of the "reforms". Unemployment figures rose from 228,000 in 1964 to 267,000 in 1965, fell to 265,000 in 1965 but shot up to 291,000 in 1967. In April this year 344,000 or 10 percent of the registered workers in Yugoslavia were busy job-hunting, while about an equal number were working abroad, mostly in West Europe.

An inevitable result of this deterioration in the economy, has been the growth of social unrest. There are reports in Yugoslav press of strikes by factory and office workers, and demonstrations by students. It has also affected the relations between different republics. Regional imbalances have continued to grow owing to the different levels of their economic growth. For example, the republics like Bosnia Herzegovina, Montenegro and Macedonia continued to remain comparatively backward — both economically and culturally — than, for example, Slavonia and Croatia. With the "reforms" emphasising on the utilisation of own local resources, the developed republics find more funds for their own requirements, whereas the backward ones are unable to produce them on their own. The Federal



Government, in pursuance to the "reforms", has substantially reduced the volume of aid hitherto provided to these republics.

There a good number of Yugoslav economists who believe that the slowing down of the economy is a temporary phase and inevitable because the effects of the "reforms" would take time to be felt in all the spheres of activity. In fact, according to them, the slowing down was necessary owing to reorganisation of

the economic life and the intensification of market relations.

But it would be untrue to say that such views are shared universally in Yugoslavia. Vaio Skendjic of the Presidium of the Central Council of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia, for example, feels that "if a certain policy cannot ensure the extension of production, secure modernisation and in this context provide more employment, then something is wrong with this policy."

*Mainstream, New Delhi.*

### *Defence Department Figures*

## **US Dropped Greater Tonnage Of Bombs Over Vietnam Than Were Dropped In World War II**

**DURING** the US air war over Vietnam, American planes dropped a greater tonnage of bombs than were dropped in World War II, and lost more aircraft and men than in the Korean war.

Latest Defence Department figures show that between 1963 and last July, a total of 2,581,876 tons of bombs were dropped over Vietnam: 2,057,244 tons were dropped by US planes during World War II, and 635,00 tons were dropped over Korea.

The Vietnam tonnage figure is not broken down to show the amount dropped over North Vietnam alone. The Department said that between 4 August, 1964, and 8 October, 1968, a total of 915 fixed-wing planes and helicopters were downed or lost in action over North Vietnam.

Since 1961, a total of 400 fixed-wing aircraft and helicopters were shot down or lost over South Vietnam. Planes lost in non-combat situations—including ground mortar shellings and pilot error—total 2,377. Total US aircraft losses during World War II were 25,889 and in the Korean war 1,939. Air Force personnel killed in Vietnam up to last July totalled 1,789 in hostile air action, and 1,323 in ground action the Defence Department said.

The only comparable figures the Department has for the Korean war were a total of 1,200 Air Force battle deaths. These were not broken down into air combat death or crew and other Air Force personnel deaths caused by ground attacks.

During World War II, US air operations were carried out by the army air corps, a part of the US army. US forces headquarters in Saigon said that since February, 1966, American pilots have flown 94,081 missions over North Vietnam. The number of missions flown today prior to Mr. Johnson's complete bombing halt order was not immediately available.

A mission generally averages two to four planes. Mission records were not kept during the first year of the air war over North Vietnam. 25,000 sorties—one flight by one plane—were flown during the year. Since 1966 the US command stopped reporting the number of sorties and disclosed total mission only, Mr. Johnson's bombing halt order will affect even air force bases in Thailand, two air force and marine bases in South Vietnam, and three navy ships in the Tonking Gulf. The ships include the only active American battleship, the 56,000 ton "New Jersey."

Mr. Johnson's order will group an estimated 800 to 1000 air force navy and marines corps planes from flying missions over the north.

Whether there will be a cutback in air power deployment was not immediately known, but presumably some of the warplanes that normally fly missions over the North will be used to attack "infiltration" routes, supply trails and storage areas in Laos and South Vietnam.

**THE US** bombing against North Vietnam began on 7 February 1965. It had been halted or curtailed on ten previous occasions—13 to 17, May 1965; 24 December 1965 to 31 January 1966,—Christmas truce 24-25 December, 1966, Christmas truce: 31 December 1966 to 1 January 1967, New year's truce: 8-14, February 1967, observance of Buddha's birth anniversary: 25 December, 1967, Christmas truce: 31 December 1967, combined New Year's day and Tet; January, 1968, 36-hour bombing pause for Tet.

On 31 March, 1968, Mr. Johnson announced a bombing halt in an area north of the 10th Parallel. This curtailment was followed by the agreement for the Paris peace talks.

On 7 April, 1968, US military sources in Saigon said US units had been ordered to bomb no further north than the 19th Parallel.

### **CHLORELLA'S RIVAL**

Botanists from Kazakhstan have proposed the use of water meal, a small aquatic plant, instead of chlorella to outer space hothouses. This plant is a globule, about as big as a millet seed, which floats in water. It reproduces at a faster rate than chlorella and has a protein which the human organism digests more easily. Water meal attracts the scientists by its unusual reactivity to changes in its environment. For example, the increase from 20° to 30°C, in the temperature of the water in which it is placed leads to an almost 3-fold increase in its harvest.



For the Record

# THIRUKONESAR KOVIL: WHAT PAST REVEALS

by J. R. SINNATAMBY

IN VIEW of the publicity that the Hindu Temple at Trincomalee, referred to by De Queroz as the Rome of the gentiles of the Orient, receives from time to time, I think the following article from *Indiophilus* published by the Government Gazette about 140 years ago, will interest your readers.

"Among the various monuments of Hindu antiquity found in Ceylon, and which induced the late excellent and learned Sir William Jones to express an opinion that this Island 'was peopled time out of memory by the Hindu race' the Temple which stood at Trincomalee is not to be forgotten. It would have remained to the present day as a venerable relic, had not the misguided religious zeal of the Portuguese, razed it to the ground in 1622 to supply materials for one of their fortifications".

Some time ago, through the kindness of a friend of mine, I was obligingly put in possession of a small manuscript poem composed in Tamil by Kavi Raja Varothayen (a celebrated bard among the ancient inhabitants of Ceylon) which though enveloped in a cloud of fable, gives an account of the origin and history of this sacred edifice; I was consequently induced to translate it, and have now the pleasure of laying the same before the public for their information.

"A king named Manu Niti Kanda Solen who ruled over the country of Solamandalan learning from the Kailasa Puranam the Wonders of Tirukonathamalai and the magnificent state of its inhabitants, came over to the place; his son Kulak'otu Maharajah who followed him thither afterwards raised the Temple, the spire, the pavilion, and the sacred cistern,

in the year 512 of Kaly ug on Monday the 10th day of the month of Vaikasi".

"After having built the Temple, the king finding that much difficulty was experienced in obtaining rice and other things from Solamandalam for the daily use of the Temple he meditated on means to obviate it, and accordingly caused (to the extent of 2800 Amonams) to be converted to the cultivation of paddy, and a tank to be converted in the vicinity for the irrigation of the said lands, both of which he consecrated to Koneser Swami. He afterwards proceeded to the village of Marukoor, on the north, on the 24th day of Panguni in the year 516 and brought from thence in a vessel to Tirukonathamalai seven families of the Velala caste whom he settled there, assigning to them the Temple and the lands appertaining to the same, as a hereditary possession. To these seven families, were entrusted the care of the temple Treasury, the regulation of the income and expenditure, the celebration of the festivals, and the presentation of silk vestments to the kings. As more people were required for the service of the Temple, the king went to the village of Karakadoe and by compulsory means, brought from thence on the 10th day of Vaikasi (of the year aforesaid) twenty more families, whom he likewise settled at the place, and appointed for the robing of the Lingam (Phallno) and to the offering flowers at his shrine, to sweeping and illuminating the Temple daily cleaning the sacrificial implements-performing libations of water-husking the paddy, and smearing the floor of the Temple with cow-dung, singing and playing of musical instruments-spreading cloth at animal sacrifices, hoisting and lowering of the flagstaff on solemn days, preparing essence of sander wood, and purifying the

ornaments of the Temple. These people were also endowed with hands for their subsistence and five of them dignified with the title of Panda-rattar.

"AS THE first seven families who were settled there were brought willingly from their country they received the common name of Tanattar in contra distinction to the twenty families who settled after them, who were called Varippattar because they were impressed, one out of every ten men in their country.

"The king contemplating that there were none to judge these Tanattar and Varippattar in the event of any dissension among them, determined to appoint a chief over them, he accordingly proceeded to Madurai and brought from thence a nobleman of the name of Taniunna Pupalen, whom he invested with the title of Wanniya, and ordained him Governor of Tirukonathamalai, authorizing him to punish offences by fine, imprisonment in chains, or by death, according to their extent, or magnitude, strictly enjoining him to keep his institutions inviolate, and to conduct the affairs of the Temple and ceremonies thereof, without omission'.

"The king further ordered that the citizens of Kattucolam should render their services to the Temple; that the citizens of Nilaveli should preside over the celebration of the festivals, and supply the Temple with six Amonams of paddy, also pay the tithes, taxes, and customs of their country to the Temple; that the citizens of Cottiyaram should furnish the Temple with betel, plantains, sander wood, curdled milk, clarified butter, 100 Amonams of rice, and the seeds of Amaneka, Punnei, and Ulippe trees. These later mentioned seeds should be delivered to the citizens of Irativoe, to be made into oil, and then again delivered to the Tottiyen of Kovulimune who after entering the quantity into the accounts of the Temple, should pour it into the reservoir, where the same was to remain for lighting lamps. There were seven reservoirs built at the



south side of the Temple for the reception of oil; they were enclosed with walls which were provided with doors, and a person appointed to overlook them, called Adikaree.

"When the above orders had been given the king next proceeded to regulate the affairs of (the interior apartments of) the Temple. He ordered the servants to illuminate it every day with 1000 lamps lighted with butter, and 1100 lamps lighted with oil, to be placed both inside and out; and to sprinkle the ground with rose water impregnated with musk, and sander wood; he further ordered that they should at stated periods make oblations of rice mixed with milk, curds; — to Supermaniya in 12 silver trays, and to the rest of the deities in 128 copper trays. Besides these he directed oblations of several thousands balls of rice to be made, and a lamp with a thousand camphor wicks to be burnt on particular occasions."

After detailing the foregoing particulars relative to the foundation of the Temple, and the institution of its ceremonies Kavi Raja Varothen proceeded to relate the prophecies delivered by the king with reference to its future magnificence, and the revolutions which it would undergo by foreign invasions, but they are so incongruous, and confounded with fable, as is common with Hindu productions, that I have omitted the whole of it, and resume the translation as follows:

"The king (one day) after having performed ablution in the sacred pool, and his oblations and prayers, wearing around his head a wreath of Ottracha beads, painted his forehead with the holy ashes, went round the court of the Temple, holding in his hand nosegay of flowers, and then entered into the sanctum sanctorum. He remained there so long that it raised the suspicions of his courtiers, who proceeding inside to look for him, found that he had become metamorphosed into a lotus flower, at the shrine of the God, upon which they made great lamentations".

**THE STORY** of the king's transformation into a flower akin to what is related of the disappearance of Romulus, and like that prince, Kolakotu Maharajah also became counted among the Gods' and sacrifices were accordingly made to him by the inhabitants of Tirukonathamalai.

"Many years after this metamorphosis of Kolakotu Maharajah, a certain king called Gaja Bahu Maharajah made a pilgrimage to Tirukonathamalai, and on his arrival finding that the Pasupaler who had hitherto ministered in the Temple were dead, and none had succeeded them, he was plunged in grief: and invoked the deity to repair the breach which death had made in the priesthood. While the king was thus engaged in acts of devotion, he perceived two Brahmin youths floating on the surface of the ocean with the Vedas in their hand. As soon as he saw them, greatly delighted, he rose from his seat, advanced towards them, into the sea, and seizing them one by each hand brought them to the shore, calling them at the same time, by the epithet of Irupahei, (or the right and left hand as he had held them). He conferred on them the priesthood of the Temple, and gave directions to the Wanniya, Tanattar and Varipattar to respect and obey them, and also to render their services to them.

"Gaja Bahu Maharajah sent for the five tribes of townservants (namely smiths, potters, barbers, washers, and parreas) from Solamandalam, and fixed them at Tirukonathamalai, allotting to them land and paddy fields for their maintenance".

"Afterwards he caused a Tank to be built at Cottiarum in the neighbourhood of the river Mahavali ganga, and paddy lands to the extent of 6350 Amonams to be improved and groves of punnei, Illipe, Amanaka, and cocoa trees to be planted thereabouts, he also gave orders that one-tenth part of their produce should be appro-

priated for the service of the Temple. This he performed in order to expiate a sin which consisted in his having once entertained the idea of pulling down the Saiva place of worship, and of building one of Buddha in its room.

"Gaja Bahu Maharajah afterwards called together the citizens of the country and having charged them to preserve the institutions of Kolakotu Maha-rajah inviolate, he dignified the Irupahor Brahmins with the title of the Raja Guroos of sovereign pointiffs and entrusting to them all the jewels and treasure the Temple returned to his capita Anuradhapura, where after reigning for a long period he at length entered into the bliss of Siva."

**WHAT I** have translated above, though not literal, is the substance of the account contained in the manuscript, and I humbly hope that it may be of some use as a clue to persons who may make further researches into the antiquities of Ceylon.

The above references to the Temple are confirmed by an inscription I came across in the village of Kankuveli in Trincomalee district. A reference to this was made in the Survey Department News Letter No: 14 of January 1949 by its editor Dr. R. L. Brohier. Extract from his reference is as follows:-

"This monument was found set up in the compound of a Sivan Temple in the village of Kankuveli about 4 miles west of the 62nd mile stone on the road from Trincomalee to Batticaloa. It is of granite, dressed one foot square and about 2½ feet above ground level. The inscription, reproduced below, appears on two of its sides. The third bears the symbolic trident of the Sivan deity, while the fourth has not been used.

"The inscription registers a grant of one veli of land in the village Kankuveli to the deity Konainatan (the god of Tirik-Konai-malai) by a certain vanniar. It ends with the usual malediction, that "any



person who violates the grant will bring on himself the sin of those who slaughter black cows on the banks of the Ganges."

The conclusions drawn from the inscription, which was, as a matter of fact, passed over as something of no importance, are, first that the veli, a South Indian surface measure, was in use in Ceylon during the 13th century. The unit of the system was a kuli or about 144 feet square. A hundred kulis representing one Ma, and 20 Mas a Veli. Secondly, that the extent of land under this grant was about 6½ acres. Thirdly, it discloses the derivation of Trincomalee. It also reminds us that "black cows" are animals of greater sacredness than those of other colour.

This inscription was seen by Dutch Governor Van Sanden in the year 1786, who has made the following interesting observation in his diary of 24-5-1786.

"ON THE east side was figure sculptured which the Malabars say is the Weapon of the God of War Waireven who had authority over the sea and sea coast, and, as it is in some respects similar to Neptune's Trident, it may serve as a further proof of Apegyer and M de Sommerat's assertion that the Greeks derived their system of mythology from India. And on the West and South sides were inscriptions in Malabar but the north was vacant. My interpreter translated the inscription thus.

"The wannia of Trincomalee and the seven headmen or the Adipanars of the village of Cangoevelly (Kankuveli) have dedicated this field and other advantages to be derived from that village to their God Konyraden. Whosoever intrudes on this gift or takes any of these advantages to himself will grievously sin. This dedication was confirmed in presence of two priests of the Castes Tanam and Warralle-pattoem".

Nevill who published a journal, on oriental subjects, called "*Tapro-*

*banian*", had also seen this inscription. He has pointed out that the importance of this inscription lies in the fact that it confirms the authenticity of the Trincomalee Kalvettu.

There is another inscription which refers to this Temple and that is the inscription which was found on the Temple buildings by Constantine de Sa, the Portuguese Commander who destroyed the temple. He sent a copy of the inscription about the year 1627 AD to the king of Portugal with a letter to the following effect "when I went there to make this Fort, I found engraved on the

Pagoda among many other inscriptions one which ran thus:— 'This Pagoda has been built by—. Nevertheless shall the time come that a nation of the Frangis will destroy it and thereafter shall no king of the Island of Ceylon rebuild it'.

This was found among the Portuguese manuscripts at the Hague by Mr. E. B. Reimers, the Government Archivist. The inscription can still be seen at the entrance to Fort Frederick.

By Courtesy,  
THE CO—OPERATOR  
JAFFNA.

*Topical*

## American Cultural Penetration Aims And Methods

by Lajpat Rai

IT CAN EASILY be demonstrated that economic and cultural underdevelopment in the countries of the Third World go together. Imperialism today not only encroaches upon people's sovereignty and dominates and exploits their economies, but also corrupts and endangers their cultures. The backwardness and cultural alienation of these countries are nothing but a reflection of the backwardness and economic alienation of their superstructure.

Today, American imperialism is mounting an economic, political and cultural offensive against the peoples of the under-developed world, including our own, for neo-colonial exploitation of their economies, open or clandestine subversion of their sovereignty and domination and corruption of their national cultures.

The cultural aggression against peoples assumes diverse forms, which include the subjugation and control of academic life, especially at the

higher levels, to achieve the neo-colonialist ends of imperialism.

This offensive against our culture is causing anxiety even in high official circles. Speaking about foreign aid in Bogota (Columbia) during her recent Latin American tour Mrs. Indira Gandhi is reported to have spoken of the deleterious effect of direct American aid to Indian universities and institutions and the bad influence it has had among the Indian intellectuals. Unofficial reaction is even stronger. A group of Delhi University teachers has organized a "Front Against US Penetration" to combat the deleterious effect of direct American aid in this premier educational institution of the country.

THE AMERICANS themselves do not make any bones about it. A reputed American educational journal wrote editorially in the issue of 7 October 1965: "There are many indications that we are beginning to use education as an instrument for our international objectives". In January 1966 the



the US Committee on Educational Interchange Policy expressed the following view: "Today academic exchanges are increasingly being sponsored by organizations whose primary function is not education but which believe that education can be effectively used as a means of fulfilling other purposes."

One such organization "interested" in educational help to under-developed countries is the US Defence Department. Recently its activities in this sphere came to light during the hearings of the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Committee Chairman Senator Fulbright disclosed that he had got a letter from a California University professor saying that the Defence Department was financing the University's programmes in India.

Milton Eisenhower, former president of more than one American university and a famous educationist, in 1961, visited 14 Latin American universities in 10 countries, on a "special assignment" from his brother who was then President. In his book "*Wine is Bitter*" Milton Eisenhower made the following observations about the US army's role in influencing education in developing countries: "We cannot afford to neglect colleges and universities. It is here, where the seeds of revolutionary disorder germinate, not only in Latin America but also in the countries of Asia and Africa, that we must concentrate on educational institutions which influence to a considerable degree of public opinion in these countries, to win support for our ideas, policies and way of life".

**RECENTLY** a book was published in the United States entitled: "*The Fourth Dimension of Foreign Policy*" by Prof. Philip H. Coombs. According to this educationist, and expert on foreign affairs, American foreign policy so far had three dimensions — political, economic and military.

Now it must have another — the educational. "Educational exchanges should be employed as useful levers to mobilize people's ideas and thoughts — levers which alone will succeed in accomplishing the arduous tasks of our foreign policy where other approaches have either failed or did not succeed to the desired extent".

American imperialists thus do not hide their aims in influencing education in under-developed countries through 'aid' and other means. Their aims admittedly are "to fulfil other purposes", to combat revolutionary ideas which germinate inside universities, to use education as an instrument of foreign policy — a policy of subversion, intervention and aggression all over the Third World. If education in the hands of the American imperialists is an instrument of subversion of the cultures of the peoples of the under-developed world, its two important agencies are some of the American universities and most of the so-called private educational foundations financed by industrial monopoly groups.

The universities of America have become willing collaborators of the US Defence Department and the CIA — a recent example being the so-called Columbia University 'research project' in the Himalayan border region, in the garb of investigating the cultural patterns of Tibetan refugees.

**THE AMERICAN** educational foundations which dole out millions of dollars to young teachers, students, writers and universities and colleges are so many 'Trojan horses' planted in our educational and cultural life. While Mrs. Gandhi talks of the "deleterious effects" of American aid to our universities and intellectuals, Delhi University has accepted a Ford Foundation grant of \$5,000,000 and has sought the approval of the Government for its utilization. The grant will constitute nearly 75

percent of the total developmental expenditure of the university in the fourth Plan period.

A few years ago a photostat copy of a Ford Foundation circular was published in the *East African Standard* of Nairobi. The circular issued from the Foundation's headquarters in Washington to its branches in East Africa stated in part: "The purpose is to reorientate the minds of young Kenyans with a view to changing their pro-British bias into pro-American sentiment — our aim is to educate and create a new pro-American generation of Africans who will eventually take power from the old pro-British leaders and lead Africa in the American way." Later Mr. Oginga Odinga, the then Minister of Education of Kenya, said: "It seems our involvement with American educational foundations has gone too far. Young students are being subjected to subtleties and pressures to continue serving the interests of foreign elements. It is time to review the whole scholarship policy of these agencies....".

**IN JANUARY** this year 500 intellectuals from 80 countries met at the Cultural Congress of Havana. The Congress discussed the problems of US cultural aggression, particularly against the peoples of the under-developed countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The Congress arrived at a common understanding with regard to the aims and objects of the American offensive. The Congress appealed to all the progressive and nationalist intellectuals the world over, and particularly in the Third World countries, to come together to combat this imperialist cultural offensive against their peoples. The Havana appeal also said: "All honest intellectuals of the world should refuse to co-operate, to accept invitations or financial help from the Government of United States and its official bodies, or from the so-called educational foundations which are agencies of the peoples' cultures and faithfully serve the imperialist policies of the US Government".



*In The Mediterranean*

# USSR Asserts Right To Check Sixth Fleet

by Ziaul Hasan

Moscow

SOVIET Vice-Admiral Nikolai Smirnov has sharply rejected sensation-mongering in the West about the presence of Soviet warship in the Mediterranean Sea. The Soviet Union, he said, was a Mediterranean power and it could not permit the American Sixth Fleet to carry out with impunity adventurist plans of the Pentagon.

## JOBS ABROAD

The President of Somali (East Africa), Dr. Abdirashid Ali Shermarke, and the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, today exchanged views (in Delhi) on bilateral relations. Dr. Shermarke praised the work of Indian technical personnel now in Somali. He asked for the services of more doctors and teachers from India. Prospects of enlarging bilateral relations in technical, economic, trade and commercial spheres were explored. A joint communique is expected to be issued at the end of the President's visit to India on Nov. 30th.

Union Education Minister Triguna Sen told the Somali Education Minister, Mr. A. I. Ahmed, there was a shortage of teachers in India itself but was hopeful that young men and women could be trained and sent to Somali. Dr. Sen offered to train Somali students in science, engineering and medicine in India.

Extract From  
*Indian Express* 26-11-68

Writing in the issue of the Soviet Army paper "*Red Star*" Admiral Smirnov said: "The actions of the US Fleet and repeated statements by American officials show that the fleet is staying in the areas, thousands of miles away from US shores, in order to control communication lines running through the zone of the Black Sea Straits and the Mediterranean; and also in order to be prepared to strike blows from the sea and air against enemy targets by using nuclear and conventional weapons. What is more, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are named as the principal enemy", he said.

In such conditions, he emphasized it was imperative for the Soviet Union to strengthen its defensive capacity. The Soviet Union as a Black Sea and, therefore, a Mediterranean power "could not remain indifferent to the machinations of those who love to stage military adventures often, in proximity to the borders of

the Soviet Union and other socialist countries".

The Admiral pointed out that the presence of Soviet ships would not allow the Sixth Fleet "to carry out the Pentagon's designs with impunity and behave as unceremoniously as it did before".

The latest issue of the Soviet Government paper "*Izvestia*" also commented on the situation in the Mediterranean. It accused America of creating the "crisis of the Mediterranean". The presence of the Sixth Fleet and the encouragement given by America to the "aggressive and expansionist policies of Israel" were calculated to ensure "American domination of the Mediterranean area". For the same reason, it said, America was doing its best to rally all reactionary regimes in the area, acquire air force bases in Spain, "and spin a web round Turkey".

Italy, according to *Izvestia*, could play a constructive role by the virtue of its strategic position and economic potential. But the pro-Atlantic circles of Italy supported the stationing of the Sixth Fleet and welcomed the proposal of setting up a NATO naval base at Naples or some other major port.

*PATRIOT, New Delhi*

## THE MUSE AGAIN

It's time we wrote a poem true,  
Of birds and bats and mice,  
Of men who could a lion tame,  
And elephants so vast.

We'll not resort to fairy tales,  
It's not that they're a bore,  
The trouble is they take such time  
To think out true or right.

We'll talk of things — reality,  
No need to hoodwink you,  
It's fiction that is not so strange,  
The Truth leaves us aghast.

Now when the muse doth tread her way  
Through labyrinths so dark,  
And gets you safe through mud and slush,  
Just throw up hands, and laugh !

ARUL MANUEL



*Soviet Standpoint*

## The Brussels Session Of Nato And USSR Presence In The Mediterranean

*Moscow, November 23*

In connection with the Brussels session of the Council of the North Atlantic Alliance, *Tass* has been authorised to state that any actions of the participants in the NATO war bloc will be taken into consideration in the implementation by the Soviet Union, jointly with other parties to the Warsaw Treaty, of proper measures to safeguard the security of the states of the socialist community.

The following is the full text of the *Tass* statement:

A SESSION of the Council of the North Atlantic Alliance was held in Brussels a few days ago. It was preceded by a massive campaign, openly hostile to the socialist countries, which was conducted by the governments of a number of NATO members and their propaganda agencies. The purpose of this campaign was to create an appropriate political mood, above all, in the West European countries as part of the preparation for intensification of the military activity of the North Atlantic bloc on the plea that in recent months the situation in Europe has changed—not in NATO's favour. To create the appearance of an emergency, the session of the council was held a month earlier than scheduled. In other words, the aggressive NATO quarters did their utmost to create at the Brussels session and around it such an atmosphere which would make impossible a sober approach to an appraisal of developments by individual member states of the North Atlantic bloc, and their lack of preparedness to step up, following the Federal Republic of Germany, Britain and the United States, war preparations

resulted in accusations of violating Atlantic solidarity.

As follows from the reports on the progress of the NATO council session and the final communique issued upon its conclusion, the tune in Brussels was set up by those who connect their calculations with the maintenance of tension, who think in 'cold war' categories, who reject the road of peaceful co-operation of states on a general European basis. The Brussels session passed decisions aimed at carrying out additional military measures within NATO framework and increasing the military budget of its member nations. All indications are that the tax payer has not yet been told fully what is in store for him and to what degree the taxation burden will be increased to squeeze out new appropriations for carrying out military programmes outlined in Brussels.

How are these decisions to be tallied with the task of disarmament, peaceful settlement of disputed international problems and development of peaceful co-operation between states? The sponsors of the NATO session seemed to have been least of all concerned about such problems. What they discussed had for its aim to block for the peoples a prospect for the positive development of the international situation and make them accept the inevitability of a continued arms race and unavoidability of frictions and conflicts.

ON THE threshold of 1969, when each participant in the North Atlantic Treaty has the legal right to withdraw from it, the NATO council session tries hard, resorting to the shopworn thesis on a 'Soviet menace' to suppress the tendencies,

apparent in a number of NATO member countries, to greater independence in their pursuit of a European and international policy. The NATO leaders are prepared to create new, may be more acute, international problems in addition to the existing intricate ones. With this object in view they seek to present their interpretation of international law, the United Nations Charter, quadripartite allied agreements on Germany, to include new states into the NATO 'sphere of interests' without even asking their opinion on this score, to define, in their own fashion, in conformity with the requirements of their aggressive policy, the status of international waters.

When the North Atlantic bloc had just been set up, the Soviet Government noted that it was a tool of subordinating weak states to strong, imperialist ones, that the meaning of the existence of this alliance was the struggle against democratic, liberation and anti-colonial movements. The period of almost 20 years that has since elapsed, fully confirmed the correctness of this appraisal. The North Atlantic bloc has caused more than one crisis in Europe, Asia, and Africa. It is responsible for the fact that hundreds of billions of dollars, pounds sterling and West-German marks were spent on war preparations instead of being used for the good of the people, and solving urgent economic and social problems in which the whole of mankind is interested.

The results of the Brussels session and statements of its participants to the effect that NATO may extend its sphere of operation also to states which are not members of the North Atlantic treaty, shows up again this military bloc before the whole world as an aggressive, imperialist coalition of states. These men who feign concern for other people's interests have not, as a matter of fact, invented anything new. They are using the old and utterly false method which was employed more than once by those who encroached on the



freedom and independence of the peoples - from the organizers of colonial wars to the nazi aggressors. It is indicative that the Governments which hold dear the interests of security and sovereignty of their countries reject in no uncertain terms NATO claims to impose itself on these countries as their guardian.

**THE** participants in the session displayed a heightened interest in the Mediterranean region. Of course, it would suit the leaders of the North Atlantic bloc if they had an opportunity of running, as they thought fit, various parts of Europe, other continents, the Mediterranean, the Middle East. These leaders regard as absolutely natural the presence of the American Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean, though the United States is separated by many thousands of kilometres from that region and has no direct bearing on it. However, the presence of the Soviet fleet in the Mediterranean is inconvenient for them. It hampers their aggressive attempts.

The Soviet Union, as a Black Sea and, hence a Mediterranean power, exercises its irrefutable right to a presence in that region. Soviet warships are in the Mediterranean not to create a threat to any people or state. Their task is to promote stabilisation and peace in the Mediterranean region. No matter how actively and nervously certain quarters in the North Atlantic bloc act, the peoples will never tolerate their desire to cross out the results of the tremendous work done by the peace-loving states in establishing co-operation in Europe, achieving relaxation on that continent and strengthening of general European security. European and international security cannot be safeguarded through the arms race or through stepping up war preparations. The decisions of the Brussels NATO session have nothing in common with the genuine interests of the European peoples, with the interests of a stable peace, no matter how the aggressive essence of NATO would be disguised.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries counter the programme of expanding war preparations by a programme of solving existing international problems peacefully, round a conference table, by a programme of specific disarmament measures, proposals for the development of relations between all states irrespective of existing differences in their social order.

The Soviet Union's line in international affairs is clear-cut and consistent. It was determined by the decisions of the 23rd CPSU Congress and the plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, the decisions of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and documents adopted by the Soviet Union jointly with other socialist states. It is a policy of strengthening the security of the countries of the socialist commu-

nity, a policy of detente, extending international co-operation and developing good-neighbourly relations with all states which, for their part are striving for this. It is a policy of repelling and helping the liberation struggle of the peoples.

It is hoped in the leading circles of the Soviet Union that a realistic approach would finally prevail in the states of the North Atlantic bloc because the future of their peoples, too, is inseparably linked with strengthening peace and averting military clashes. *Tass* is authorized to state that any actions by members of the NATO military bloc will be certainly considered in carrying out by the Soviet Union jointly with other members of the Warsaw Treaty appropriate measures to ensure the security of the states of the socialist community".

*Despite Obstacles*

## Algeria Follows A Policy Of Achieving Total Economic Independence

by JULIO HERNANDEZ

**ON THE** fourteenth anniversary of the beginning of its struggle against colonialism, Algeria is making a great effort to achieve total economic independence by building up national industry.

After the nationalization that took place in the first months following independence and the taking over of the mines in 1966, a new wave of nationalization placed in the hands of the Algerian Government the most important industries excluding for the moment, the extraction of petroleum.

The last series of nationalizations began on May 14 with the taking over of the entire gas and gasoline distributing network owned by foreign companies in the country. The measure affected the Shell, Total and Berly monopolies.

In 1967 the government had already nationalized the gasoline distribution system controlled by British Petroleum and Esso. We can grasp the scope of this if we consider that the nationalized properties were valued at 50 million dollars and that Sonatrach, the state-owned company, now has the complete monopoly over the marketing of oil products. This has made it possible for the government to lower the price to the consumer. The arrival of the first reduced bills in Algerian households has been enthusiastically received.

A week later, 27 foreign industrial enterprises — in the field of fertilizers mechanics and construction materials — were taken over by the state. This second blow provoked a vertiable panic among the rest of the administrators of European branches in Algeria. With this measure, the Government was also reaffirming



the policy on which it was based: "This is a new step" the presidential office communique stated "along the road of our economic emancipation".

Three weeks after the panic turned into terror: eighteen foreign companies became the property of the corresponding Algerian state enterprises. This time the nationalization included the Lafarge cement factory and the artificial cement plant in the Oran district, the Unilever razor blade factory and the Lesieur vegetable oil plant, well known in France.

These nationalizations have been accompanied by the methodical absorption of the operations of the foreign banks in the country.

The banks have been disappearing one after another: the Credit Territorial d'Algerie et de Tunisie, the Credit Lyonnais, the Societe Generale, the Barclays Bank the Trade and Industry Bank, the Bank of Paris and the Netherlands, the Industrial Bank of Algeria and the Mediterranean and the Northern Credit. There are still a few foreign banking establishments left but their operations now carry very little weight in comparison with the National Bank of Algeria's monopoly.

THESE of course, are the preliminary steps. The policy of economic independence assumes greater proportions when we consider the volume of trade between Algeria and France. Algeria is supplied from France and under that certain circumstances, this entails an economic risk. For example, to Algeria's detriment France had considerably reduced its purchases of Algerian wine, greatly upsetting the balance of trade.

Following the first incidents in connection with wine, the Algerian Government adopted a clear policy of diversification of imports and trade in general. The Government has signed important agreements with the Soviet Union, Italy and Spain, and several economic delegations from member countries of the European Common Market have visited the country and discussed the prospects

for a greater trade exchange. At the same time, the Government raised custom duties on imports from France in order to balance trade as much as possible.

Now the business establishments in the capital display not only goods from France but also from many other countries. But this policy of diversification is just beginning.

An example of the consequences of economic dependence became evident during the past months, during the "May Revolution" in France, when a milk shortage developed. This product comes from France, since the Algerian pastures are used almost entirely for raising sheep. In a later speech, the head of state. Hourai Boumediene, explained the situation, adding that the Government would take the necessary measures for creating a national dairy industry that would supply the need of the nation.

Considering other sectors of the economy, it cannot be said that such measures in connection with milk are anything new. Let's take, for example, the importation of textiles. The stores are selling more and more clothing made in the country. This is due to the fact that a pair of twin textile mills were built more than a year ago in Oran and a mill was inaugurated last May in Constantine, the third most important city in the country. Another one, which will be built in the city of Batna, will be the last in the network of textile mills.

The fertilizer industry is an outstanding example. Possessing an extraordinary wealth of phosphate and natural gas, Algeria will be made self-supplying in fertilizers within a few years by means of a network of plants that are already being set up at different points.

The road to economic independence however, is filled with many obstacles domestic and foreign. The problems of organization, lack of administrative cadres and technicians are very obvious in this country where only six years earlier the native population was deprived of everything by the one million European settlers. And there is the problem of foreign pressures

Foreign companies, especially in the oil sector (the sector in which the lack of national cadres is the most serious), constantly exert pressure of one sort or another on the Government.

These troubles, however, are minor incidents in carrying out the policy but the leaders of the nation are resolutely determined to follow through to the end, no matter what obstacles they encounter along the way.

PRENSA LATINA

### US BLAMED FOR LOW PAY AT UN

*United Nations, Oct. 26*

Saudi Arabian chief delegate Jamil Baroody told the UN General Assembly's Budgetary Committee yesterday that the US as a host country wanted to hold down the salaries of the low-paid staff at the world body. Reacting to Tuesday's one-day strike by two-thirds of the UN security force and protest by other low-paid workers, Mr. Baroody said it amounted to employing "slave labour" and that "pretty guides may be tempted to become kept women". He said until now members had not realised that the secretariat's lower echelon employees were not receiving a living wage.

Was it not "slave labour", he asked, when a UN guard received only \$440 (Rs. 3,200) a month in take-home pay. "A high school girl gets about the same amount for working at a supermarket", he said. Guides were even worse off, making \$372 (Rs. 2,790) a month, he said, "Do we want them to become kept women?" This is the most expensive city in the world, yet girls who work in the automat make more than many working here.



*Intriguing Visit*

# What Was McNamara After In India ?

*Calcutta*

IT IS CLEAR that World Bank President, Robert McNamara's current visit to India, particularly to Calcutta, is directed to screen out Indian Big Businessmen who are prepared to undertake collaborationist ventures with Americans in the country's eastern sector.

The American motive became apparent to some chamber circles from a secret American letter, urging sponsors of McNamara's visit to this country to arrange exclusive meetings with selected business and manufacturing groups for the World Bank Chief.

AT ONE LUNCH for McNamara at Birla House only nine members of Calcutta's Big Business were present. This angered a few others who were left out.

Among the invitees to the Birla lunch were Sir James Lindsay of Metal Box, Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar of Indian Steamship, Mr. Bhaskar Mitter of Andrew Yule, Mr. Kedarnath Mukherjee of National Rubber, Mr. Chiranjilal Bajoria of MacLeod Mr. R. P. Goenka of Duncan Brothers, Mr. G. K. Bhagat, President Indian Chamber of Commerce, Mr. H. S. Singhanian of J. K. Industries and Mr. Shyamsunder Kanoria of Kanoria & Co.

McNamara's visit to Calcutta, interestingly, coincided with a sudden spurt in American interest in eastern India, particularly Calcutta. Only recently, America's leading daily, the *New York Times*, carried a long article on Calcutta—a special coverage done by the news paper's chief of South Asia Bureau, who stayed in the city for about a week.

Last week, another leading American weekly, *Time*, sent its South Asia Chief Dan Coggin to do features on Calcutta for both *Time* and *Life*.

*Life* magazine sent one of its senior most photographers and feature writers, *Eliot Elisofon*, to shoot pictures on the food habits in Calcutta.

In fact, American interest in Calcutta started growing as the United Front was running the State Government, last year. There is evidence to suggest that considerable money was spent by business circles to topple the United Front Government. American financial assistance in the venture was suspected.

SOON AFTER the United Front was ousted from West Bengal, the American ambassador, Mr. Chester Bowles, and the Chief of the United States Aid Agency, Mr. John Lewis, visited Calcutta and after discussions with the State Government officers, offered Rs. 50 crores straightaway for Calcutta's improvement. They promised further sums as and when required.

The American offer could not then be accepted because of technical reasons. The Union Government held that the Americans could not offer money directly to a State Government. Such an offer needed to be screened and processed by the Union Government. The offer which stands, is still being processed in Delhi.

Delhi's delay has disappointed the Americans and, hence, McNamara's current visit to the city where he had shown special interest in visiting bustees where the people live like animals.

**BLITZ**

## IGLOO HOUSES BUILT IN ONE DAY

A new building system which makes it possible to put up an igloo-shaped house within a day was demonstrated at the Technion by the inventor, Architect Haim Hefetz. Before an audience of Army and government experts, he put up a two-story igloo with a floor space of 50 sq. metres on the ground floor, and 25 more on the top. Mr. Hefetz, told *The Post* that the system which took him 20 years to develop will be 50 per cent cheaper than conventional "hard" building, and has the advantage of being earthquake, blast and soil-movement proof. The house is sprayed onto a balloon from in five layers, including a thermal insulation, from the internal plaster to the outside stucco, together totalling only 7 cms. According to him, it has all the properties of a reinforced concrete wall three times as thick. The day's construction includes the installation of doors, windows, a shower, kitchenette and w.c. By nightfall, all that remained to be done was painting, flooring and some interior work. He has already put up five smaller units of 30 sq. metres floor space, for use by the Technion, and nine of two rooms each, at the Tantura Beach holiday village. The government-owned I.P.D. company is considering using this system to put up 500 rooms in Congo Kinshasa, whose Government has asked for the lightning erection of housing, for next year's June fair there. It is also being considered by the Government, for the building of several dozen houses, in the earthquake-stricken areas of Iran as a gift to its people.

BRITAIN



*Penetration*

# AFL-CIO Ties Up With CIA And State Dept To Stem Revolutionary Movements In The Third World

by RICHARD E. WARD

AFL-CIO leaders, working with corporate interests, the CIA and the State Department, are stepping up their efforts to promote reactionary trade unions in the third world. Such unions, a former top Labor Department official has written, can be "first line of defence against" communism and "an essential piece of social insurance" for the "survival and success" of U.S. business in Latin America.

A report on U.S. "Labor Policies and Programs" in Latin America prepared by the staff of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and issued July 15, 1968, and other newly available government documentation and private research, together reveal a clear picture than was previously available of the collaboration between the CIA and U.S. trade unions. This collaboration continues despite public assurances last year that such ties would be discontinued. This year the AFL-CIO has expanded its activities in Africa and Asia, including Vietnam, but the Latin American Program remains the largest.

U.S. intervention in Latin American trade unions is coordinated by the American Institute for Free Labour Development (AIFLD), a rather singular agency, Chartered as a non-profit corporation in Delaware in August, 1961, it was founded, say its spokesmen, out of a disinterested desire of the AFL-CIO to combat communism in Latin America. However, after the debacle at the Bay of Pigs, President Kennedy, according to the Senate study, endorsed the idea of a trade union agency for combating the influence of the Cuban revolution. Doubtless this high-level patronage

was the decisive factor in the actual founding of the AIFLD.

For a trade union agency, the AIFLD has some very strange workers as its chief officers. George Meany, AFL-CIO president, is also president of the AIFLD, and his taste in political bedfellows is obviously reflected in AIFLD board chairman J. Peter Grace, who is president and director of W.R. Grace and Company, director of Ingersoll-Rand Company, First National City Bank of New York, Kennecott Copper Corporation, Brazilian Light and Power Company, Ltd., Stone and Webster, Inc., and Deering Milliken, to name about half of his business connections. Another very odd unionist is AIFLD vice-chairman Berent Friele, who besides sitting on a few corporate boards is also an officer of the Rockefeller Foundation and senior Vice-president of the American International Association for Economic and Social Development, an organization founded by Nelson Rockefeller and supported by other U.S. business interests operating in Latin America. The American International Association does not engage in business ventures; but it promotes conditions that will facilitate investments.

WITH SUCH a roster of top leaders it is hardly surprising that the AIFLD claims it "reflects the unique pluralism and consensus in American society: Labour-Government-Business", or that the AFL-CIO should say the AIFLD "seeks to provide an atmosphere conducive to free enterprise" in Latin America. This is precisely the aim of U.S. foreign policy in Latin America. Though the AIFLD is nominally a

private agency, for the last two years some 92 percent of its admitted annual budget has come from foreign aid appropriations, reports the Senate study, which adds that because of its government contracts "the AIFLD has become the principle instrument of the U.S. government" for dealing with Latin American trade unions. (The remaining 8% of the AIFLD budget comes from U.S. trade unions and corporate donations.)

From its Washington headquarters AIFLD directs the training of anti-communist cadres to work in Latin American trade unions. To date, more than 75,000 persons have been trained in centers located in most of the Latin American countries. For a small number of the most promising students, there is an AIFLD institute at Front Royal, Va. In this center, the training places "particular emphasis on the theme of democracy versus totalitarianism". Field trips around the U.S. allow the students to see true democracy in action. And after they return home, some receive a stipend of \$250 per month for nine months to teach and lead their brethren toward the AFL-CIO way.

The Senate report gives an example of the activities of AIFLD cadres, quoting directly from the words of an AIFLD source, as follows: "In Colombia the local union in Celanese Colombiana S.A. (a subsidiary joint venture of the Celanese Corporation of America, which is a contributor to AIFLD) has been debilitated by its Castroite orientation. Within a few months, several illegal work stoppages had taken place, plus a sympathy strike in favour of Castro. The Company retaliated with mass firings". Then, the report continues, "AIFLD graduates, together with other democratic elements, were able to gain control of the union." Following this takeover, Celanese allegedly gave the new union one of the best labor contracts in Colombia.

In this typical example of union busting, there is a clue to the main purpose of the AFL-CIO class



collaboration type of "business-unionism" upon Latin American workers, and to break workers' organizations which understand the importance of political struggle'

The great fear of the U.S. is a revolution which would sweep away the prerogatives of U.S. investors. J. Peter Grace expressed in 1961 his concern for the future of U.S. investments in Latin America: "Very high stakes are at issue, because the political, military and economic interests of the United States are affected. Furthermore, the communist campaign has broadened beyond the stage of attacking American companies alone: it is now concentrating on the very basic system of private enterprise to which the American republics are dedicated."

In the eyes of AIFLD, opposition to American imperialism is equivalent to communism. For this reason AIFLD attempts to combat the Latin American Confederation of Christian Trade Unionists (CLASC), which opposes U.S. exploitation and interference in Latin America. In CLASC's view, the Organization of American States (OAS) is a mask for U.S. intervention, and all U.S. sponsored schemes for economic or political integration of Latin America would be "the same thing as putting a fox in a chicken coop."

Leaders of AIFLD and the AFL-CIO have accused CLASC of being under communist domination, but such is not the case. CLASC in a manifesto issued last year indicated its opposition to both communism and U.S. intervention, saying, in part: "It serves no purpose to denounce international communist intervention, if one fails in the hypocrisy and the conformism of tolerating, accepting, and even helping North American intervention in the Latin American trade union movement, at both the national and regional levels. Such intervention certainly has been made evident with the recent denunciations of the CIA's massive penetrations of the Latin American labor movement...."

The Senate study does not deal with the subject of CIA activity, aside from citing CLASC's reference to it. Last year during the initial revelations about the CIA's ties to trade unions, George Meany indignantly denied the existence of any AFL-CIO tie with the CIA. However, after several union leaders, including the Reuter brothers and Thomas W. Braden, former CIA official in charge of trade union programs, all admitted the existence of such collaboration. Meany eventually backtraced and conceded that others might have dirty hands, but his AIFLD was pure of any taint. Why would it need any CIA money, he countered to the charges, if it gets ample funds from the foreign aid budget ?

Of course, the basic question is not which agency finances the AIFLD, but rather the nature of its policies, which clearly are to provide support for U.S. imperialism. However, the issue of the CIA role remains. For one thing, there is the likelihood of an iceberg situation: the CIA could be conducting similar programs on a vaster scale than has so far come to light. This is a real possibility. When some of the trade union programs were exposed during early 1967, others obviously remained undiscovered. For example, in a dispute between Finnish trade unionists during the latter part of the year it was revealed that the CIA had been financing a right-wing trade union federation, in Finland at \$20,000 per month since its founding in 1960.

**BESIDES** the probable existence of unknown programs, there is another question about the CIA relationship to the AIFLD. Even if its public statements as to the sources of its funds are accurate (which remains uncertain), the CIA could be directing many of the programs and gaining intelligence on potential revolutionaries and other matters from the vast contacts AIFLD has established in Latin America. It would be extremely naive to assume that AIFLD is not providing such intelligence.

The AIFLD training program itself

is also undoubtedly being utilized to select possible U. S. proteges, and to nurture a relationship with them like the ties established with military officers under U.S. military aid programs. There are other possibilities of CIA links, such as the use of AIFLD graduates as agents assisting the overthrow of regimes to which the United States is opposed. This is no mere hypothesis, but something which actually happened in the Dominican Republic, Brazil and Guyana.

Whatever its full extent, the existence of the tie between the CIA and AIFLD is clearly authenticated. William C. Doherty, Jr., the administrator of AIFLD, has been identified as having links with the CIA. Although AIFLD is under nominal contract to the Agency for International Development (AID), and receives most of its funds from AID, AID officials in the field often find that they have little or no authority over AIFLD activities, a characteristic situation when the CIA is involved.

**CONSIDERING** all available evidence it is likely that the basic AIFLD budget comes from AID, but that there is considerable supervision and surveillance of the AIFLD by the CIA and that the CIA is utilizing the AIFLD for intelligence work and political objectives.

The current intensification of the efforts of the AIFLD is most clearly manifested in the enlargement of its training programs, in which 20,000 cadres are expected to be included this year.

This activity on the part of the AIFLD, as was noted at the beginning of this article, is only one facet of a much wider U.S. foreign trade union program in the third world, which is at present in the process of a very significant expansion. The aims and the range of this program can be illustrated by the activities of Irving Brown, a long-time labor operative working with the CIA and the State Department. Brown, originally from the International Ladies Garment Workers'



Union (ILGWU), was instrumental in creating the Force Ouvriere in France, in a U.S. government directed program which split the French labor movement shortly after World War II. He is now one of the two top AFL-CIO staff members in charge of international operations, a sort of General Landsdale of the trade unions.

The African-American Labor Center, founded in 1965, coordinates AFL-CIO activities in Africa. Brown is its executive director; and he accompanied Hubert Humphrey on his visit to Africa at the beginning of 1968. This year, there was established an Asian-American Free Labor Institute; and it was Irving Brown who headed its mission to South Vietnam last April.

These new institutions, like the AIFLD, are part of the growing U.S. effort to arrest revolutionary movements abroad through the penetration and control of workers' organizations.

*GUARDIAN, New York*

## *In Retrospect*

### ★ Strike & Government's Stand

#### ★ PM's Tribute To J.R

#### ★ Mrs. Bandaranaike & J.R

SINCE NOVEMBER 28 the country has been plagued by strikes by trade unions of the public sector. Aware of the grave danger that could be inflicted to the country if the trade unions escalated the strike and to afford greater protection to life and property, the National Government, headed by Mr. J. R. Jayawardena, acting Head of State, moved fast by enforcing all the regulations under the Public Security Act.

But for the short-lived strike by nineteen trade unions of the Post and Telecommunications Front which paralysed the entire postal

services throughout the country, the people did not feel that a strike was on and it is more than clear that the Government itself is not unduly perturbed by the strike launched by the General Clerical Service Trade Unions.

What was particularly intriguing was the manner in which the Postal Union leaders called off the strike after holding out for a few days. With the most unexpected suddenness they informed Mr. Jayawardena that they were calling off the strike and seeking redress for the grievances of their members through negotiations. After receipt of this letter Mr. Jayawardena met a delegation to work out the mechanics for the ending of the strike. He assured the leaders that there would be no victimisation of those returning to work and that the Essential Services Order would be withdrawn as soon as the strike was ended.

The action of the Postal leaders immediately threw the Clerical Service trade unions into complete disarray. Its leaders knew that the ending of the Postal strike was a mortal blow to the Clerical Service trade unions. Its leader, Mr. I. J. Wickrema said, that it was a sell-out by the Postal leaders and urged the Postal unions to hitch their bandwagon to the Consultative Committee to carry on the strike for a wage increase.

THE National Government seems determined to adopt a tough policy with the strikers who do not return to work. All the Poya weekend papers reported that the Ministers had decided that strikers who did not return to work by the fifth instant would automatically lose their jobs and that no action would be taken against those who

### ROOTS OF RACISM

At the end of September French and British scientists met in Britain to discuss the problem of relations between people of different races and nationalities. This is a problem of vital concern for these two countries which have large contingents of immigrants from the former Afro-Asian colonies. Britain, for instance, has about two million foreigners, one million of them coloured. In France, the figures are three and one million, respectively. The participants pointed out that the immigrants are often regarded as "second-rate" citizens and are victims of widespread racial prejudice. Last February for instance, the British Parliament passed a bill limiting immigration from the Commonwealth countries. The immigrants who have been "lucky" enough to settle down in the former metropolis constantly meet with difficulties. Their life is a regular "obstacle race", to quote French scientist Francois Raveau who has analyzed the causes of the high rate of nervous breakdowns among the immigrants.

Summing up what had been said at the conference about the sources of the animosity towards coloured people entertained by part of the local population, the Paris *Express* wrote that "racism is not a permanent feature, it is more often than not a reflection of economic conflict. In the cities, the conflict is caused by competition for jobs". London Underground employees, for instance, object to coloured people helping block wage increases by agreeing to work for lower pay. It is thus the capitalist economic conditions with their unemployment and fight for a place in the sun that nurture racial prejudices in "civilized" European countries. And the propertied classes skilfully play on these prejudices to direct social discontent into the desired channel.



returned to work. The *Times Weekender* quoted Mr. Jayawardena as saying that with regard to the letter sent by the Consultative Committee of the Public Service Trade Unions seeking negotiations with the Government on their demands, negotiations could commence only after their entire membership returned to work and that in no way was the Government prepared to negotiate while the strike was on.

Judging from newspaper reports, it would seem that the strike is at the time of writing of these notes is petering out. What the situation would be when this issue of *Tribune* appears on the newstands is difficult to say. But, meanwhile, the *Daily News* of 5/11 reported that trade unions controlled by the Coalition threatened to call more workers out on strike. The same paper quoted Government sources as saying that this was an empty threat and that big name union leaders had been pleading for early negotiations.

THE Leader of the Opposition, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, in a letter to Mr. Jayawardena has protested against various measures taken by the Government in connection with the current public service strike. She said that the Government was misusing the State controlled radio to broadcast tendentious and often false propaganda designed to incite the public against the government employees who were engaged in a legal and legitimate and peaceful strike on issues which even the Prime Minister had agreed merited sympathetic consideration. She also protested against the manner in which the Police were prohibiting the distribution of leaflets and misusing the move-on by laws to disperse persons legitimately gathered in private premises.

Mr. Jayawardena in his reply to Mrs. Bandaranaike said that the Government had put into operation

only some of the measures taken by the late Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike and her when essential services were affected and the security of the State threatened and that her Government went further in refusing to implement the twenty one demands, detaining citizens without trial, threatened to confiscate property and forced Government employees to work at the point of the bayonet and suspended the functioning of the Courts of Law to restore normalcy. He ended his letter by saying that if she thought the National Government was not doing enough not to hesitate to write to him.

Replying to this letter Mrs. Bandaranaike deplored the tone of levity displayed by him on a matter which concerned the democratic rights of the people as well as those of the Government and other employees for their economic demands. She reminded Mr. Jayawardena that her husband and she had to use extraordinary powers to deal with grave threats involving the security of the State and did not resort to such powers to deny their demands for higher wages.

THE Prime Minister, Mr. Dudley Senanayake, who returned to the island after his state visit to India, was obviously happy in the manner in which his chief lieutenant had tackled the strike situation. The *Sun* quoted him as saying to Mr. Jayawardena. "Well handled. Thank you".

The *Daily Mirror* reported that the fate of those public servants who had defied the Government's Essential Services Order was now in the hands of the Prime Minister. At the time of writing of these notes the Prime Minister is having an emergency Cabinet meeting.

The Joint communique issued by the Indian Prime Minister and the Ceylon Prime Minister reiterated their conviction that the principles

of non-alignment had a vital contribution to make in the search for an enduring peace and the promotion of a stable, just and equitable international order.

The Prime Ministers noted with satisfaction the progress made by both Governments in implementing the Indo-Ceylon Agreement of October, 1964. Among the matters that were discussed was the future of the remaining 150,000 persons mentioned in paragraph 4 of the Agreement. Since applications for grant of citizenship has been called for only in Malaya it was felt that this matter should be taken up when some further progress had been made in the implementation of the Agreement. The Prime Minister of Ceylon stated that the repatriates leaving Ceylon under the Agreement would now be able to transfer all their assets up to the full limit permitted under the current Exchange Control Regulations without purchasing foreign exchange entitlement certificates for the purpose.

The Prime Minister of India expressed her appreciation of this decision. The Prime Ministers were pleased to note that matters pertaining to the implementation of the Agreement had been satisfactorily dealt with by the Joint Committee and through discussions at official level and expressed their determination to continue to implement the Agreement in a spirit of mutual co-operation and goodwill as hitherto.

The Prime Ministers exchanged views on matters of common interest in the Palk Bay and Gulf of Mannar, including territorial waters, delineating of median line, fishing right and sovereignty over Kachchativu. They informally explored possibilities for fruitful collaboration between the two countries in this area and agreed that discussion of these matters should continue.



# FILM PAGE

● **ADARAWANTHAYO**, Hettiararchi Group's latest production, produced by D. M. Hettiararchi, released through Ceylon Theatres Ltd. now showing at the *ELPHINSTONE, ROXY, ASOKA* and other centres, is entertaining as well as deserving praise. There are two characteristics of the film which are its general excellence of quality and its absolute sincerity and the brilliance with which it is presented. The highly purposeful story has been told through a smart and well-visualised screenplay with a tightly built structure. All the subtle ideas, suggestions and techniques of the script are smooth. Especially remarkable are the cut-links — between the scenes conceived with a deeper meaning, and the contrasts are put over in a very telling manner. Sex-appeal and Western club sequences, comedy, romance, and the picturisation of the songs are very well integrated without making them look like clichés. The plot developments are throughout well linked with the spirit of the subject and its presentation. The maiden directorial efforts by journalist turned film director Amaranath Jaya-

tilake is commendable, and he has shown talent in bringing highly cinematic results, which are harnessed at the same time to the realistic and symbolical presentation of the subject in an enjoyable way for the entertainment of all classes. The pleasant musical score by Kemadasa, and the impeccable camera work enhance the production. Tony Ranasinghe, Sunila Jayanthi, Joe Abeywickreme, Malini Fonseka, Wally Nanayakkara D. R. Nanayakkara and Michael Subasinghe are good in their portrayals.

The story is of a woman who wrongs her husband who has been crippled after a motor race accident. She tries to fall in love with their employee, a mechanic, and failing in her efforts, as he likes a simple girl, a taxi driver's daughter: the mistress induces her friend a club proprietor, to bring maximum harm to the employee. In the process the club's proprietor meets with his death in a car race. The woman then realising her own faults asks forgiveness from her husband.

● **BATTLE OF THE BULGE**, a Milton Sperling-Philip Yordan-Sidney Harmon production in 70mm and Technicolor, now showing at the *LIBERTY CINEMA*, was filmed in Europe under the same kind of conditions that characterized the

Ardennes Forest encounter which began on December 16, 1944, as an idea of Hitler's to shatter the Allied forces, breakthrough the North Sea and continue the war. The story is of this dramatic version of one of the great moments of World War II when the Allies were faced with a surprise German breakthrough of such ferocity that

From Monday 9th at  
**KINGSLEY  
PLAZA  
MYLAN**

and at 5 other centres

Sivaji—Devika in

**Neelavanam**

**KINGSLEY**

2, 6 & 9.30 P.M.

**KUMARI PENN**

4th Week

**CAPITOL  
PLAZA**

2, 6 & 9.30 P.M.

● Ravichandran ● Jayalalitha  
in

**Ethirigal Jakrathai**

Last Week

**LIDO**

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

**WEMBLEY—Kandy**

9 a.m. 1, 5-30 & 9-30 p.m.

Raj Kapoor's

**SANGAM**

Technicolor

Music: Shankar, Jaikishan

**GAMINI**

2, 6, & 9.30 p.m.

**GAMPERALIYA**



\* \* \*  
Muthuraman as film  
director Muthu in *Devar*

Films Tamil movie

**THER THIRUVILA**

Ceylon Entertainments Ltd.

release, now showing

at the

**CENTRAL**

and other centres



it could easily have turned the tides of war and of history.

This Sidney Harmon in association with United States Pictures, Inc. production has music composed and conducted by Benjamin Frankel and played by the New Philharmonic Orchestra. The movie is produced by Milton Sperling and Philip Yordan, and directed by Ken Annakin.

By December, 1944, an optimistic feeling exists among the Allied forces that the war in Europe has been won and that the Nazi armies are on the brink of total collapse. One man who doubts it is Col. Kiley (HENRY FONDA). He suspects that the assault amidst the fog-shrouded, snow-bound Ardenne Forest, is a failure. His suspicious are ridiculed by Col. Pritchard (DANA ANDREWS) and questioned by Gen. Grey (ROBERT RYAN). But German Col. Hessler (ROBERT SHAW) is the man who could have the validity of Kiley's uneasiness. For behind the Siegfried Line he is mounting a surprise attack with a

formidable array of Tiger tanks that could split the Allied forces and turn the tide of war. German soldiers, led by Schumacher (TY HARDIN), masquerading as American military police, will also be parachuted behind this line, to create confusion. While he prepares for this massive, last-ditch attack, the colonel is favoured by the attention of a blonde courtesan (BARBARA WERLE). The attack begins. The Americans are overwhelmed by the mighty Tiger tanks of frenetic Col. Hessler, who accompanied by the doubting orderly Conrad (HANS CHRISTIAN BLECH). The disguised paratroopers turn the road signs, to confuse the American retreat, and blow up bridges. Sgt. Guffy (TELLY SAVALAS) a tough tank fighter, makes a detour to check his farmhouse, place of business and bid goodbye to his Belgium sweetheart Louise (PIER ANGELI). War hardened Sgt. Duquesne (GEORGE MONTGOMERY) is unable to avoid capture along with a green officer Lt. Weaver (JAMES MACARTHUR). At Malmédy they are among the prisoners assembled in a clearing. As they attempt to escape, the sergeant is shot down while the lieutenant flees. Gen. Grey and Col. Kiley are forced to retreat from Ambleve as it is systematically destroyed by the Germans. It occurs to Kiley that Hessler's greatest weakness must be gasoline; without it he cannot move his tanks. The American general lines up small Sherman tanks in battle formation to face the onslaught of the Germans. By playing hide and seek in the woods, he hopes to run them out of petrol. It almost works. But Hessler catches on to the strategy and taking 15 of his tanks, heads out of battle towards a depot stocked with fuel which will enable him to go on to Antwerp. The depot, he knows, has been

seized by German MP's in disguise, who have slaughtered the Americans under orders to burn the fuel.

**EMPIRE** Air-Conditioned

Elvis Presley,  
Julie Adams—Jocelyn Lane in

**TICKLE ME** (Col.)

**MAJESTIC** Air-Conditioned

Rod Steiger—Virna Lisi  
in MGM's

**The Girl & The Gene**

in Colour

3rd Week

**REGAL** Air-C

Franco Nero—Elisa M.

**TEXAS, AD**

in Colour (For Adul

3rd Week

**ELPHINSTONE**

Hettyrachchi Gro.

**Adarawanthay**

with Govt. Film Unit's  
**RANWAN KARAL**

**SELLAMAHAL**

From Tomorrow  
M. G. Ramachandran,  
Jayalalitha—Nambiar

**Rahasiya Police 115**

in Eastman Colour

**GAIETY**

Anandan—Rajshree in

**Lorry Driver**

4th Week

**CROWN**

Asha Parekh—Dharminder in  
**AAYE DIN BAHAR KE**  
in Eastman Colour

Air Conditioned

**LIBERTY**

WB—7 ARTS

**“BATTLE OF  
THE BULGE”**

Technicolor  
Ultrapanavision 70mm

**CENTRAL**

2nd Month

M. G. R. — Jayalalitha

**THER  
THIRUVILA**

**SAVOY** Air-Conditioned

Sean Connery as James Bond  
in  
**FROM RUSSIA WITH  
LOVE**

in Technicolor



New US Strategy

## For Massive Build-Up In Pacific

New Delhi

While U. S. troops concentration on the Cambodian border is seen by observers in New Delhi as part of the quiet process of regrouping the U. S. and allied forces in preparation for the Paris peace talks, they do not rule out possibility that it might be part of the Pentagon's strategy worked out in the expectation of Mr. Nixon's

...ing to Robert L. Dono-  
...ing the views of the  
...t and his advisers,  
...f the final peace terms  
...formidable US military  
...l be assembled in the  
...fic."

LSO borne out by the  
...s displayed by the US  
...ar the North Korean  
...and the refusal to withdraw  
...of the American strength  
...Japanese bases.

This is seen against the back-  
ground of Mr. Sihanouk's comment  
that in view of the openly belligerent  
attitude of China he wanted some  
strong power to guarantee the  
security of countries like Thailand  
and Cambodia. He has not specified  
power he meant.

The US has, for quite some  
time now, been trying to put  
pressure on Cambodia. Last year,  
it went to the extent of threatening  
to send US troops into Cambodian  
territory in alleged "hot  
pursuit" of NLF Forces.  
The threat was followed by  
strong Cambodian protests and  
considerable US efforts to pressurise  
Phnom Penh to provide facilities for  
US military operations against the  
NLF on Cambodian territory.

Observers feel that the US might,  
in the context of the climate for

peace talks created by the bombing  
halt in Vietnam, now expect  
Cambodia to take a more favourable  
attitude towards their "presence"  
in the area.

New Delhi has, meanwhile,  
declined officially to comment on  
the Prince's reported remarks. How-  
ever, it is known that the view

Israel Moves Fast

## Increasing Export Of Milch Cows

Tel Aviv

Over 2,000 milch cows  
in calf will have left Israel's pas-  
tures this year for foreign lands,  
earning over \$ 1,000,000 for their  
breeders. Not so long ago, Israel,  
was still importing cattle for up-  
grading its herds.

The main market for our pedigreed  
milch cows is at present in Iran,  
a spokesman for the Israel Cattle-  
breeders' Association revealed. Last  
year Iran imported 600 head,  
while this year the figure is expected  
to reach 1,400. A trial shipment  
of 20 head was sent to Greece and  
more orders are being talked about.  
Southern Italy may also become a  
sizeable customer: 200 cows have  
been sold to a big farmer in Sicily,  
and the Italian agency for agricul-  
tural development has ordered a  
batch of 75 head which may bring  
larger orders in its wake. Rumania  
is another potential market, with an  
imminent shipment of 200 head.  
Contacts exist with Spain, Portugal  
and Turkey. Enquiries have been  
received even from Thailand, though  
sale there is unlikely to overcome  
the transport difficulties. To Iran  
the cows are shipped in chartered  
planes, but airlift to Bangkok  
would be much too expensive,  
while the ships plying on that

expressed by the Prince is not shared  
by India. The Indian position all  
along has been that the presence of  
foreign troops in or near the territory  
of nations of South East Asia  
is no guarantee of their safety  
and security and it is on this basic  
stand that India has been opposed to  
the idea of foreign military bases.  
India has also gone on record  
that the security and stability of the  
countries of this region can be best  
guaranteed by themselves.

A Special Correspondent

route, from Eilat on the Red Sea,  
are not fitted for conveying cattle,  
the spokesman regretted.

Although faced with the keen  
competition of veteran stock breed-  
ers — in particular the Danes  
and the British — our success,  
said the spokesman for Israel's  
breeders, is due to two major causes:  
only healthy cows included in the  
pedigree herdbooks, yielding at  
least 5,000 litres of milk per year,  
can qualify for export; and also the  
fact that the breeders' association  
sends a special instructor with  
every shipment of at least 100  
head for the first time to three  
months crucial period of adaptation.

All exported cows come from  
collective kibbutz-farms where they  
are pedigreed for milk and meat  
production. They are chosen from  
among the over 100,000 pedigreed  
milch cows in Israel's herds, the  
spokesman concluded.

