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VOL. 14 No. 43 | SUNDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1968 | CTS. 25

## EXAMINATION MESS A MAJOR BLOW: TO DELAY FRESH EXAMINATION UNTIL MARCH IS CRIMINAL: MINISTER'S RESPONSIBILITY

It is bad enough to have to postpone the country's most important public examination, but it is worse to have it put back for a period of over three and a half months. In reality, it will set back a whole generation of students by a whole year. It will also upset the working of all secondary schools because they will have to provide one extra term for students who would have normally ended their school career by the end of December this year. It is reported that nearly 300,000 students were due to sit for the GCE Ordinary Level examination which should have started last week. The question whether the system of education should be such that 300,000 students should come up for an academic examination like the GCE Ordinary Level is a matter for the country's planners — because, in a properly orientated education-

al system a very large number of the 300,000 should have been diverted earlier to occupational and practical training without having to prepare for this examination which in the present context is only a passport to educated unemployment and permanent frustration. Every one of these 300,000, like the millions before them in the recent past, expect *either* to enter the University *or* secure some white-collar type of employment. They turn to industrial or agricultural work only because they cannot do anything else and become misfits in their jobs. The much-boasted Iriyagolle Reforms in education have not improved matters — if anything the situation has become worse. And, to add to confusion to the already existing mess, this year's examination at the apex of the secondary school system was postponed

papers were tampered with in the "strong room" of the Department of Examinations. In any other country, the Minister of Education would have resigned on a scandal like this, but in the state of Sri Lanka Ministers and other VIPs thrive on scandals, blunders and disasters. In defence, it is said that the Minister was not *personally* responsible for the mess, but if this Government believes, as it claims to, in parliamentary democracy with Ministerial responsibility, then the Minister in question must tender his resignation. But, if the Prime Minister thinks that the Minister concerned should be in the Cabinet for political or other reasons, he can easily keep him by a reshuffle and a switching of Ministeries. But, a drastic change in the educational set-up is urgent.



## Headlines Of The Week

**FRIDAY, December 6** — The Government yesterday decided to freeze the respective deadlines for various departments under the Essential Services Order and terminate the services of all strikers who had not returned to work at their expiry. Three new divisions are to be set up in the Ministry of Commerce and Trade shortly. Fears of a new war in the Middle East mounted yesterday following Wednesday's massive Israeli air raid on northern Jordan which Tel Aviv claimed was intended to halt attacks on Israeli villages across the River Jordan. National strikes have completely paralysed many cities in Italy. North Vietnam has accused America of being responsible for the delay in agreement on preparations for the expanded Vietnam peace talks.

**SATURDAY, December 7** — The Prime Minister Mr. Dudley Senanayake gave a categorical assurance at yesterday's Government Parliamentary Group that there was no cause for anxiety and that he would tackle the strike situation effectively. The President of India has accepted an invitation from the Prime Minister to visit Ceylon early next year. The Minister of Education yesterday indefinitely postponed the GCE (Ordinary Level) examination scheduled to commence on December 12 after the strongroom of the Examination Department was found broken into and examination papers stolen. Twenty one Govi Rajas left for India yesterday. The National Chamber of Industries has appointed a Commission to go into the question of unemployment among graduates and also to find them employment in existing establishments. Bitter fighting along the Cambodian border was today reflected in the latest weekly American death toll in South Vietnam of 228 men—highest for two months.

**SUNDAY, December 8** — The Chinese Trade delegation led by the acting Minister of Foreign Trade will arrive in the country on the 13th instant for negotiations with the Government to review the Sino-Ceylon trade agreement. Speaking on the public servants' strike in the House of Representatives the Prime Minister said that he felt like going to the polls on the issue and added that the Government had no alternative to the steps it had taken to deal with the situation precipitated by the striking public servants. The Police yesterday questioned fifty five employees of the Examination Department in connection with the loss of GCE (OL) papers. Troops with fixed bayonets patrolled the East Pakistan capital as anti-Government disturbances flared and crowds burned a police jeep and stoned cars.

**MONDAY, December 9** — The Commissioner of Examinations said that all GCE examination papers would be re-set and work on them had already commenced. The Leader of the Opposition, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, has submitted her resignation from the Central Board of the Lanka Mahila Samiti. The strike by the Ceylon Transport Board, the Health Department and the Petroleum Corporation whose employees were

expected to come out on strike today will not do so, according to a report published in the *Daily Mirror*. The South Vietnamese Prime Minister said that his country would not insist on the surrender of its opponents at the enlarged Paris peace talks. Pope Paul told a group of priests that the Roman Catholic Church was in a state of self-criticism bordering on self-destruction, but that he welcomed the trials this brought to the Papacy.

**TUESDAY, December 10** — A deputation of Opposition leaders yesterday met the Prime Minister for discussions on the current public servant strike. The Ministry of Industries and Fisheries has set up planning committees for ten industrial groups. There are two million men and women unemployed throughout the island. The Minister of State, Mr. J. R. Jayawardena, in the course of an address at the Institute of Chartered Accountants of Ceylon said that the Companies Ordinance would soon be revised to give more protection to shareholders. American and South Vietnamese negotiators at the Paris peace talks commenced an urgent round of talks in order that they might map out a common strategy for the opening of the broadened peace talks. China and Albania are reported to have concluded an arms agreement amidst speculation that Chinese missile and naval units are being installed in the Adriatic coast.

**WEDNESDAY, December 11** — The Government has almost completely lifted the moratorium on profits, dividends and remittances going out of the country. *The Times of Ceylon* reported that an influential section of Ministers was in favour of taking back the strikers, including those who defied the Essential Services Order, without punishment. Egypt has said that it will end the state of war with Israel once Israeli troops withdraw from the Sinai desert territory they occupied in the last Middle East War.

**THURSDAY, December 12** — *The Daily News* reported that some eleven thousand public servants who had vacated office by contravening the Essential Services Order would be dealt with firmly - but humanely in terms of established public service procedures. The Balapitiya and Welimada by-election campaigns are now in full swing. Tea exports to South Africa during the first eight months of this year have dropped. According to the Rice Bulletin published by the Commonwealth Division of the Commonwealth Secretariat in London, Ceylon can be self-sufficient in rice by 1969. The President-Elect, Richard Nixon, said that the United States and Europe must help keep Communist China's neighbours economically strong and politically healthy. American and North Vietnamese negotiators failed to make progress on arrangements for expanded Vietnam talks at a secret meeting in Paris. Russia is to boost its defence spending to a new record level and brighten domestic austerity by stacking more consumer goods in shop windows despite signs of economic difficulties.



*A Philosophical Disquisition*

# One Thing And Another— Analysis And Solutions

by Titus Handuna

A CARDINAL FACTOR ANYWHERE, when facing problems, might be said to be the relation of religion to the people and their daily life, and to the State. It was not so many months ago that it was an explosive subject here. Religion has been called the opium of the people; this is not quite an apt description. There are three, what we might call, higher sciences - theology, metaphysics and philosophy. Religion is, as it were, the cement which binds these three and all life to an Eternal Truth Who is One Power, One Intellect and One Substance.

There is this point about religion, that it is a growth, an historical process embedded in its roots. The finest point about religion is that it reaches out beyond the confines of merely national states, and a religion well lived makes the man who lives so one with Eternal Truth, the Primordial End to which he tends. A man without religion is a man without roots, and he is neither coming or going, brilliant intellect though he may be, or man of action.

If everybody needs religion, it goes without saying that, to be authentic, religion must come in in the first instance from the First Cause and Final or Primordial End towards which all life tends. It will inevitably sprout human excretions. I prefer that word to accretions. Religion must be institutional, and the more authentic the religion, the more will it survive the shipwrecks that, because of human nature, must follow in its wake.

The world is far from being one world yet, and its biggest unit is the national state. Cutting across national boundaries we have the giant corporations, industrial

or trading units, (see Rhoda Miller de Silva in *Ceylon Daily News* of Thursday, 5 December), that play a vital part, such as it is, in making modern life flow smoothly on, according to its lights. The real but hidden tension is between the national state and these neo-colonialist units, and the tension arises because, although these last offer a service, there is something of the buccaneer about the way they offer it, and their power is immensely stronger than that of most national states, because their wealth is larger. This is the chief problem that the governments of the so-called developing states have to contend with, aggravated because the economies of the so-called developed states depend very largely on the success or failure of the large corporations.

Out of this tension, which goes back to colonial times, there has risen a confusion about what constitutes the integrity of a national state. The newly-independent countries have accepted from the pre-independent era, to a very large extent, a packet of controls which were originally designed to safeguard the monopoly, or such as it was, that the trading corporations had, against - not, surprisingly, the subject peoples, but - their own countrymen. It was the fellow countrymen of the directors of these trading corporations, their countrymen who were considered to have no "legitimate" business in the colonies, who were kept out or shipped out by the colonial governments.

**NOW IT GOES without saying that this kind of restriction in travel does not help trade and is against the real - not the apparent - interests of the countries whose governments continue to sanction these controls.**

Any restriction in travel (for the refusal of a visa means just this), any regulations which make it possible for only the wealthy to travel, must always be a step in the wrong direction.

One of the biggest hold-backs to the expansion of trade, particularly of new exports, must be the gamut of regulations, of form-filling, and of departments and offices of which one has to run the gauntlet, in order to get anything moving. All these are so unnecessary, and for a very elementary reason. It is that no Tom, Dick or Harry is going to export a thing without some return, and this return, whether it be in kind or in money, accrues to the wealth of the country, no matter it be something luxurious, commonplace or in great demand. There is no need for a whole sheaf of forms to record this transaction, or, put in another way, to make it any more real.

It might be easy, but tedious at read, to draw up a list of all that afflicts the modern state. They are pretty much common to all countries, and there is one that Ceylon does not have. It is a run on its currency; or else, the run on the rupee is so much taken for a fact, to wit, the Black Market, that no one gives it a thought. In England there is the extraordinary phenomenon of an undervalued currency under periodic attack. In Ceylon the rupee is overvalued, and the Black Market merely reflects its true value. In England we hear of the government constantly propping up the £, of "coming to its rescue". It seems that the beneficiaries of an undervalued £ cannot have too much of a good thing. It is the undervalued £ which is one of the chief causes of England's present immigration troubles, for it encourages immigration. The contrary is also true - it places an intolerable burden on the Englishman who wishes to take a holiday abroad, unless he is one of those privileged few with assets abroad.

The correct way to tackle population explosion all the world over



is to encourage much more movement of peoples between one country and another. Any contrary policy can only be disastrous. There are many spaces on this earth waiting to be filled up, and if they are not filled up now, the eventual breaking through of one quarter of the world's population from behind the barriers of one country, China, is going to come like a flood there will be no resisting, not even with hydrogen bombs. The impact of this flood will be far less without all this talk and practice of birth control, for with more people around to meet this flood of Chinese, their movement will be arrested more easily and far sooner. Any other policy is like building on sand.

Strikes, cost of living, constant rises in wages in both the public and the private sectors, unemployment, restrictions on industry and on trade, balance of payments, are one kind of trouble that afflict modern governments. There is another kind of trouble, more akin to the spirit, such as racial and language tensions, which I shall deal with later. Can we reduce the first kind of trouble and its solutions to a few simple rules? The points I have mentioned have all to do with persons, for even restrictions in industry and trade, and balance of payments, strike a blow directly at the freedom of man. A man is not free when he cannot import what he likes, or travel where he wishes, or manufacture or trade as he list.

Strikes come as a result of the exploitation of labour. This issue cannot be settled by a mere rise in wages. Those issues like constant rises in wages, cost of living, cannot be solved unless the person of man is analysed and taken into careful consideration. What is man? He is a unified complex, an essential whole manifested in diversity. He is a man of many parts, which can for convenience be classified under three chief heads — organic, sensory and intellectual; or, put in another way, he is biological, sensitive and rational. Above all these he is an integrated whole. Any cultural

or economic system, whether it has grown up by design or higgledy-piggledy, which fails to take into account the being that man is, must breed its own discords.

It follows from this that the solutions to perennial problems that afflict the modern society, the modern state, and are the plague of any government, must give ample scope for man to realize himself, to reach out and grasp his true nature, to integrate his personality with his surroundings. Man cannot do any of these things unless he has recourse to the Potter who formed his clay, the Exemplar after which man was made.

**THE MORE TRULY** we understand God, the more truly shall we come to a satisfactory solution to the problems that afflict the modern state. The trouble is not scarcity of employment opportunities but an economic barrier debarring men from using the capital that God gave them, in favour, instead, of a capital, real or imaginary, calculated in the currency of the national state, proffered or withheld at the whim of a much-calculating fellow human being, and/or occupational opportunities stifled by red tape and a heavy-handed bureaucracy tied by laws and ordinances.

There are many administrative matters and matters of policy that no government which seeks to govern, should allow to pass unnoticed. For instance, the motor-car was invented, one might say, to aid speedy travel. In parts of England and America, the density of cars at peak hours and peak seasons (the holiday season, for example, when there is a general exodus to the coast) is so great, that traffic jams pile up, and speed is reduced to that of a tortoise, cars crawling along bumper for bumper for hours on end.

Then there is the tremendous waste of resources and man-hours that mass production entails, where goods, instead of lasting a lifetime, are replaced every two years or

even more often, the used products being virtually consigned to the scrap-heap. Work in a factory is not far removed from being one of the machines oneself. Yet people love it. They love the closeness of fellowship that factory work entails. A woman once told me that she would not miss the peak-hour crush in a suburban train or underground railway for the world.

All this brings one to the principle of totality, that no problem can be solved in isolation, that experts, each in his field, have their limitations. It takes a man with a wide culture, a man deeply grounded in one subject so that all the world is his field, knowledge barred is none, rather than a man with a smattering of subjects' with no depth and sense perception, or an expert, narrow in his field, with no ramifications, it takes such a man, I say, to form a global picture of any problem. The expert simply will not do. The expert is the tradesman - we need them both - but his advice must be tempered, by the man who makes decisions, to the existential situation that requires a global view. And the most important factor in any situation is the personality of man.

**THE SECOND** most important factor is that man lives in an existential situation, which has as many parts as he is composed of molecules; and yet both are unities. What it comes down to is this. Man's need for society must be met; and, at the same time, his uniqueness, the unique personality that each man has, must be given its full scope. Modern society satisfies the first requirement; it does not satisfy the second. But even this is a simplification. The sense of what is leisure and what is idleness must be deeply ingrained in each man. Man needs leisure to think.

Generalizations are easy, but it is the exception proves the rule and the rule seems to be that western man, or the product of industrialized Europe, America and



Japan, to be more specific, is too busy to have leisure to think, and eastern man makes of his leisure an idleness. Someone said, to find wisdom you must starve yourself of doing, but many people do not even know the discipline that finds wisdom, and discipline is an activity. In these niceties of thought, words seem to be inadequate to express one's meaning. This is perhaps why people write books - for they are continually qualifying themselves.

How easy it would be if the Dhammapadam, the Bible, the Bhagavad Gita and the Koran could each be reduced to three words ! There are no less than four official versions of the life of Christ - the four Gospels - one as necessary as the other, and as authentic. Life cannot be summed up in clichés.

So much for generalizations and patter. Some people are excellent in picking holes in existing institutions and situations. The analytic is strong in man. To suggest solutions is harder, because in a true sense, our solutions to be valid must encompass the whole world and all its ramifications. This requires thought, and not just a slick tongue.

So we suggest here, for what it is worth, six solutions, which are yet one: six points which make up a whole. To start with, we should like to mention the points briefly under their headings. They are:- trade, a land policy, cultural freedom, the infrastructure, training, information.

**IF TRADE** is going to make its mark on this country, if Ceylon is to be no longer dependent on tea, rubber and coconut for its foreign exchange, then every kind of ship, hull and sailing craft must be pressed into service to explore the coasts of the world, to make friends among the bureaucracy of other lands, to let other people sample a little of Ceylon wares, to barter goods. What are we to trade ? This is covered in part by an adequate land policy, and, in part, by cottage industries, indigenous crafts.

Ceylon has her villages, her colonization schemes, her youth settlements and land army. What she has not, or is fast losing the little she has, is an industrialized country with roots in the soil. Let the government allow all, who will have roots in the soil, a maximum of ten acres in any one type of soil to do with as they like, providing they do something with it, little by little; to make it into a beautiful garden if they can do nothing else, on the strict proviso that the land is returned to government for re-allotment if the owners feel they cannot carry on with it at any time during the first ten years of ownership. In other words, they they may not sell their property for ten years.

The cultural problem can be solved by not just allowing, but encouraging every kind of cultural diversity, so that the Portuguese language which is still known and remembered by some of the older generation in the island is resuscitated before it is altogether lost, and that there be pockets where Arabic is spoken, and Malay, as it still is spoken, and that the Veddah songs be encouraged, and the Hindus and the Moslems be encouraged to develop their own traits. Let this country imitate Tanzania in its policy of insisting that her new settlers on the land (they prefer that word to colonists) fend for themselves without any form of government assistance right from the word go, but not imitate Tanzania in insisting that all the precious heritage of tribes (with their distinct languages) be a thing of the past, and in its endeavour to bring in uniformity of language and race.

The infrastructure is best served by encouraging parallel institutions and services, instead of the paltry one of nationalization, which is often a catchword to cover the fact that the taxpayer is being called up to take up the burden of ownership of an enterprise whose owners are too tired to keep it profitable, or are far-seeing enough to see will make a sustained loss.

By training I mean education and apprenticeship. Both as they are today are exculpated by their reputation of training people for jobs. In fact they do the exact opposite,

for both, by the mere fact of their existence, debar many people from jobs which they would have been quite competent to handle if they had been mug enough to swot for, and those who were fool enough to fall for their academic grind they make quite incompetent to handle anything but an executive's post. or, in the case of an apprentice, that of a workman's mate.

The last point is this: that lack of information, for which newspapers are notorious - for they go all out for the riotous stuff, for which the local cinema, and television, when it comes, would do as well - does more than anything else, perhaps, to cripple trade, retard its growth, exacerbate feelings, and set people chasing after the red herrings. When will the newspapers give us facts and not wishful thinking served up as *fait accompli*, red herrings drawn across the track?

**IN BRIEF.** Hulls mean harbours. Let every point along the coast be a harbour for the export-import trade. Let every man, who is able, have a stake in the country-side — it will do more than anything else to bring down the cost of living. Do not saddle the public purse with uneconomic enterprises, but rather let the government build parallel institutions and run these better if it can. Let education set the people free rather than the reverse. Let every man with a bent follow it - do not stifle his initiative with a long period of apprenticeship, which restricts entry into each trade. Let the newspapers give us good solid stuff, and not lop-sided news. As man is a social animal, let him form groups with those with whom he has an affinity culturally, for why should not a country, like a man, have two coats of different pattern, or three, or more?

The years since the war have seen governments round the world pursue a series of measures to keep their economies functioning smoothly, and the periodic and frequent economic crises have proved they have failed. While we need some radical thinking, the answers are probably quite simple. It is more



within Ceylon's power to remedy the situation and blaze a new trail than for countries with longer established patterns of modern living. The solutions will be largely experimental, but that is the stuff of life. We have to accept every hardship if we are to achieve our goal. The fruits of what we achieve will be noted by the world, and they will make our patterns their own, ours modified to meet their existential situations.

### SMOKING ON THE INCREASE

Rome, Oct. 4:

Rich or poor, a lot of time and money are going up in smoke. The Food and Agriculture Organization said today latest statistics showed total cigarette production has reached 2.8 trillion, that is 800 a year for every man, woman and child in the world. And a 34-member FAO committee said that production figures are rising. So is trade and consumption despite medical warnings in the United States, Britain and other countries. Studies showed consumption is growing faster in poor countries and socialist States. No reason was advanced for the growth.

In richer western nations, the committee said, campaign to discourage smoking had not sharply reduced the level of consumption. It had merely changed the market. "Consumers now are moving to ward filter tip cigarettes, which share about one half of the market outside (socialist) economies" the committee said. "Another effect is that a rapidly growing demand for low nicotine and low-tar content cigarettes in the United States, Canada and several European countries".

*In Retrospect*

## ★ Government & Strike

### ★ Debate On Strike

### ★ Foreign Aid

IT HAD BEEN abundantly clear that the strike by the public service trade unions was a miserable failure. Indeed, nobody realised this more than the leaders of the Opposition themselves who last week met the Prime Minister Mr. Dudley Senanayake and urged the Government to enter into negotiations with the strikers. It is now only a question of time when the union leaders will decide to call off the strike and ask the rank and file to get back to work. Any further prolongation of the strike will only end in disaster. But at the time of writing it has been reported that the Consultative Committee of the Clerical, Technical and other Allied Services will not call off the strike.

It is difficult to say what the situation will be by the time this issue appears on the newsstands. It appears that the Government is in no mood to deviate from its original stand of return to work and then begin talks. According to a frontpage report in the *Sun* of 13/12 the Cabinet Ministers have unanimously reiterated that the question of granting some form of relief to public servants must follow their unconditional return to work and that public servants who had defied the Essential Services Order would have to produce either medical certificates or place onus on leadership for their inability to turn up for work. The report said that this was an indication that the Government would take a hard stand against leaders who might be accused by the membership of obstructing them to report to work.

DURING the debate on the strike in the House of Representatives the Minister of State, Mr. J. R. Jayawardena, said that if the Government had kept quiet the peo-

ple would have been greatly inconvenienced and that was the reason why it had to declare certain services essential services. If the Government permitted processions, demonstrations, picketing and public meetings, there would be room for violence and thuggery. The point at issue was whether the Government was going to allow the strike to be a success. If the strike succeeded, the Government would be brought to its knees which in a democracy could and should be done only by the vote of the people. He concluded by saying that if the means and methods of the strike succeeded, there would have been a series of explosions, cholera, other diseases, riots, thuggery, rape, loot and rebellion.

THE OPPOSITION speakers said that whenever there was a strike by public servants the Minister of State thought it was a revolution to bring down the Government. It was deplorable that the Government had used the Ceylon Broadcasting Corporation to break up the strike. The strike was one form of protest against the rising cost of living. The Essential Services Order was never intended to be used in the case of a strike on an economic demand, and the late Mr. Bandaranaike negotiated with workers in 1959 when they were on strike. They expressed the hope that the Prime Minister would meet the leaders of trade unions and work out a settlement.

The Prime Minister said that whatever government was in power it was its duty to ensure to the people a certain amount of protection against the denial of essential services, and the Minister of State, as acting Head of State during his absence from the country, had taken certain steps to provide



those essential services. The appointment of a Salaries Commission was not to shelve the issue of granting an increase in salary. If that was so he would not have asked the Commission to submit an interim report within six months and he made that request with a view to considering their demands in the next budget. But the unions wanted their full demands and they acted most unreasonably.

Continuing the Prime Minister said that the Government while losing Rs. 530 million last year on falling prices of tea and rubber, had to pay more for rice. When the country was placed in those difficult circumstances, it was the cultivators who came to its rescue. If they did not produce the rice the country needed and if Ceylon had to buy the rice, there would have been hundreds and thousands of deaths by starvation, as there would have been no money to buy the rice. He said that in spite of the financial difficulties the Government had granted two interim allowances which cost it Rs. 125 million.

In conclusion the Prime Minister appealed to the strikers to return to work so that something could be done. They could never succeed in their strike. They would only damage the economy and prevent the betterment of their conditions in the not so distant future.

Commenting on the debate on the strike the Communist weekly *Forward* in its issue of 10/12 said, "...Mr. J. R. Jayawardena was unable to give a rational answer to the question why the Government had suppressed democratic and trade union rights and unleashed an unparalleled show of armed force against the strikers.

"After a feeble attempt to justify these extraordinary measures as necessary to keep water, electricity scavenging, conservancy and other essential

services functioning, Mr. Jayawardena dropped the mask and bluntly admitted that the government could not allow a strike of its employees to succeed and would do everything to make it fail. While the government controlled radio (and even the Minister of Education who sees Communists behind everything) daily accuse the Opposition parties of secretly fustering the strike with the aim of "overthrowing the democratically elected government", neither the Prime Minister nor the Minister of State made this charge in Parliament. In fact, they even dissociated themselves from the charge. If the government does not believe that the strike is aimed at its overthrow or that it is a threat to the security of the state, then what justification is there for resorting to such extraordinary steps in order to crush a strike by its employees for some more money? Public meetings have been banned - apart from election meetings and meetings by state - sponsored "ultra-Leftists" like Tampoe to explain why they do not intend to ask their unions to strike. Peaceful picketing has been prohibited. So have demonstrations and processions. The distribution of handbills and leaflets has been made an offence. The police and the armed forces have been allowed to act in the most arbitrary manner."

The *Forward* urged the Government to grant an interim salary increase pending the report of the Salaries Commission which would help restore confidence in its bonafides in the matter and concluded by saying "It is in this way, and not by repression and victimisation, that the present situation should be resolved."

IT NOW SEEMS that the Government will give a measure of relief to public servants. The *Daily Mirror* of 9/12 exclusively reported that an official announcement would be made on 19th instant regarding the grant of an interim allowance to all categories of public servants. The report said that

this was the assurance given by the Minister of State, the Minister of Finance and the Minister of Public Works and Posts to four Post and Telecommunication Trade Union representatives. The paper said it understood that the proposed interim allowance would not be less than Rs 20 because the postal representatives urged the three Ministers that nothing less would be offered by the Government.

THE RECEIPT of foreign aid was very much in the news last week when the House of Representatives debated the Bretton Woods Agreements (Special Provisions) Bill. The Opposition said that it did not object to the Government getting money from Western countries, but they were the very people who had created Ceylon's financial crisis by not paying the proper price for the country's exports. They offered loans as a sop and for those loans this country had to pay interest. The Government was piling up a considerable public and foreign debt-though it had often said that this country was now just turning the corner with regard to the financial crisis.

It contended that the Government did not have any set plan with regard to foreign aid and the manner in which it should be utilised. The country's economy was tied up with that of the Western world and the Minister of Finance should take heed of the monetary situation in which it was placed and the changes that were taking place in those parts of the world. The Government was only raising more and more loans and not making any attempt to pay them back. The Government should take steps to improve the country's export trade because that was the only way of saving it from its present financial crisis.



*Inheritor Of The Aztec Empire*

## Mexico—The Land Of Revolution

MONTEZUMA and Hernan Cortes: the contrast between the dignity and the suffering of Mexico and the greed and sensualism of the West. The combat, which began when the Spaniards landed on the coast of Mexico, has not ended. Empires have crumbled, Mexico has been drenched with the blood of its native sons, the Yankee has replaced the Castillian as the Lord of Earth, and poor Mexico, so near to the United States and so far from God, is still fighting its battle against internal and external oppression. The 1968 Olympics has brought this tragic land into the headlines. Its pre-conquest civilization, which was one of the glories of the New World, did not fail to make an impact on the journalists and tourists who visited Mexico for the Olympics.

For, Mexico, apart from Cuba, is the most significant country in the New World. There are countries which are richer, immensely more powerful and with great potentialities of development than Mexico. It has one great advantage which makes it unique — or almost unique. It has rediscovered its past; it has gone beyond the conquest to the great Indian civilization which flourished in the area. It is immensely proud of its past — it is the Aztec feats of arms that are commemorated; of Cortes but Cuauhtemoc is the national hero, here is a great deal of pride in Indian blood. It is wrong to speak of Mexico as the New Spain; it is old Mexico which has assimilated and subdued the conqueror. Other Latin American countries, particularly the Andean states, can boast of a pre-conquest civilization, but they have deliberately kept the Indians out of the political system, he emphasis is on their Spanish and not Indian ancestry.

MEXICO is therefore the only country in America which is not a rootless state; it is the inheritor of the great Aztec empire. Aztec monuments are everywhere, and more are being unearthed. It is not a spaghetti civilization by a genuine people's culture, that is the pride of Mexico.

The Indians have played a great role in Mexico's history. It was the great Juarez who led the struggles against Archduke Maximilian who had been imposed on Mexico by Napoleon III. Juarez brought the peasants in to politics; there had been peasant rising from 1810, but he was the first effective President to take action against the landlords. It was the harnessing of the revolutionary clan of the peasants to the service of the state—he did this by nationalizing the land of the higher clergy — that preserved Mexico as an independent state. It was Zapata who in 1910 refused to lay down arms until Article 27 of the Constitution, giving the right to the state to impose on private property the moralities dictated by public interest, to divide the latifundios and develop the ejidos — the communal landholdings of Indians. It was in our own time that President Cardenas — still one of the most outstanding leaders of the Left in Latin America and a string supporter of Castro—carried out a great land redistribution programme — 16m hectares of land to over a million peasants.

The revolutionary tradition is still strong in Mexico. The Left-wing revolution of 1917, the first of its kind in Latin America, made Mexico a semi-socialist country; Mexico has revolted at its economic alienation: it wanted to be master of its natural resources. The nationalization measures brought

Mexico into conflict with Yankee imperialists. Today the Left-wing generals of the revolution, their friends and direct successors are not challenged, but the peasants and intellectuals are revolting at the institutionalization of revolution. It has smothered a revolution; the President continues to be chosen by a group of high officials of the party; the trade unions and peasants' unions continue to be under strict party control. Latifundias have reappeared and the workers on them are paid a miserable wage: 9,600 persons own more than 80 million hectares of land, the ejidos find it impossible to obtain credit at reasonable rates. With State encouragement, rapid industrialization has taken place and a new bourgeoisie, which has considerable influence in the State and the party, has grown up. The result is that Mexico is no longer an underdeveloped country, but a country with lop-sided development. More than half the people live in the city but the peasants are among the poorest in the world. In the towns, too, the new proletariat is facing all the rigours of industrialization.

Mexico is a formal democracy where the bourgeoisie is in power. The contrast between the prosperity of the new class and the plight of the proletariat is shocking. The vested interests want a ranch economy but peasants want ejidos, and unless the agrarian problem is solved Mexico will continue to be in the doldrums.

THE MEXICAN revolution of 1917 was a genuine revolution, but the revolution failed. It was arrested in the middle. The state is all powerful and the President is a monarch for his six-year period. It is the greatest entrepreneur, the patron of the Mexican bourgeoisie, and the new class has captured it. This has stood in the way of development, for till the peasants and workers are integrated into society, Mexico will always face a revolutionary situation.

Throughout the fifties and sixties there have been peasant revolts,



and equally significant, the students are solidly Fidelist. In 1962, the autonomous university of Puebla proclaimed a free and independent state of Puebla. In Merelo — Zapata's own state — the peasant leaders wanted to create a peasant community. In 1966 there was a strike in Mexico university and the rector was forced to resign. And now for the last two months the university has been fighting the police. Mexico's days of stability are over. A new generation has grown up which demands that the

promise of social justice be implemented. Fideliam is strong, but above all the new generation depends on the revolutionary tradition of Mexico and the tenacity of its peasant communities. The revolution cannot be delayed long, but Mexico has one great advantage. Within the ruling party there is a strong Left-wing faction led by ex-President Cardennas. It is therefore possible that the party may rejuvenate itself and become the instrument of the new revolution.



**4,500 US AIRCRAFT LOST  
IN VIETNAM**

*Saigon, Oct. 26*

The U.S. in Vietnam has lost more than 4,500 aircraft and helicopters since the start of the war, a US spokesman announced yesterday. Of course 2,415 were planes and 2,119 helicopters. On the battlefront, the US and South Korean forces reported 'smashing victories' over guerilla forces yesterday listing 436 killed with the aid of air artillery and naval bombardment. One of the fights centred 1.6 km inside the Demilitarized Zone, north of the Con Thien combat bases. The elements of the US fifth infantry division said 232 Viet Cong were killed in seven hours of fighting.

US losses in the action were six men killed and 29 wounded seriously enough to be evacuated. The second major fighting yesterday took place 9.6 km southwest of the coastal city of Mha Trang and involved elements of the South Korean white horse division setting up a cordon in the area. some 320 km northeast of Saigon. The Korean troops reported having killed 36 Viet Cong during the morning without suffering any casualties of their own. An Air Force F4 Phantom jet was shot down by ground fire 22 miles southeast of Dong Hoi. One member of the two-man crew was rescued.

AFP



The performance of Soviet dancer Erri Radkevich always attract art lovers. Here you see her performing the African dance "Rain Storm".



*Pakistan Newsletter*

## Ali Bhutto Tried To Exploit Rampant Jingoism

by: Ayub Syed

**THE ARREST OF** former Foreign Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and National Awami Party President Abdul Wali Khan is aimed at frustrating their efforts to create and then institutionalize a formidable opposition to the Ayub regime in Pakistan. But the sudden and violent upsurge of anger in a dozen cities and pitched battles between students and the police indeed mark the beginning of a new and perhaps an uncertain phase in the country's political life. The abortive attempt on the life of President Ayub Khan by a youth also indicates that he has ceased to be the unassailable hero that the controlled information media still made him out to be. Worse, the incidents have taken place when the regime was proudly celebrating the "Decade of Progress" with the entire bureaucratic machinery geared to highlight achievements since the advent of the military regime. Its basic scheme was that under the 'sagacious', 'benign' and 'magnanimous' leadership of the greatest and 'noblest' son of Pakistan, the country has achieved prosperity and stability. Mr. Bhutto's popularity and emergence as a formidable challenge to the regime nearly exploded this myth.

**MR. BHUTTO** is not a politician of the traditional type. He is an individualist consumed by his ambition. His horizons are narrowed by his own discomfitures and the jingoism without which he could not catch the imagination of the frustrated intellectuals and the youth. In today's Pakistan his emergence was inevitable and had he not assumed leadership of this section, somebody, perhaps with less glamour, might have done so. Miss Fatima Jinnah had a halo but not the capacity to rouse enthusiasm. All other opposition leaders, including

Chowdhry Mohammed Ali, former Premier and leader of the Nizam-e-Islam Party and Maulana Bhasani in the Eastern wing, had been tried and were found wanting. Mr. Bhutto alone was in a position, with his unqualified hatred of India, his youthful looks and his manoeuvring capacity at the UN and in the world capitals to attract a large number of urbanised youth who would not compromise with any soft line towards India. The Tashkent Declaration had come as a shock to them and they knew that Mr. Bhutto had opposed it. He later called it a "sell-out" and attempted to dissociate himself from this "ignominious document" after he was forced out of the Cabinet.

Mr. Bhutto could not have aimed at less than challenging President Ayub Khan and the political and economic system established under his leadership. But he had also been his most vigorous and flamboyant defender. A complete turnaround now required jingoism of an extreme kind. His arrogance did not permit him to join one among half a dozen opposition parties which sought to enlist him. He could not temperamentally agree with Maulana Maudoodi's Jamaat-e-Islami because of its religious obscurantism; the Nizam-e-Islam of Choudhry Mohammed Ali was a oneman show. His aim was to unite all the disgruntled elements in a party which could offer each what he wanted.

**THE RESULT** was the birth of the People's Party in November 1967. Its first convention was attended by nearly 300 delegates who, like Mr. Bhutto, were either denied power or were the victims of the authoritarian regime. In this convention the expanded

'ideology' of the new party which consisted of three 'articles of faith' — Islam, Socialism and Democracy. "Islam is our faith, democracy is our policy, and socialism is our economy, and we believe in the supremacy of the people", he told the delegates. His brand of Islamic socialism, he elaborated, would not allow the intensification of class tensions and free enterprise would be subservient to the principles of socialism. At the end, he assured them that given authority he would wrest Jammu and Kashmir from India.

In the beginning he was ignored by the regime though West Pakistan Governor Gen. Mohammed Musa and also Commander-in-Chief Yahya Khan advised President Ayub to cut him to size in time. Mr. Bhutto's visit to Europe and England during which he tried to win over Pakistani students there and especially Leftist youth leader Tariq Ali, and a series of big welcomes in Karachi, Lahore and all over Sind put the regime on the alert. A campaign of calumny against him began. Spearheaded by Gen. Musa, it assumed enormous proportions after Mr. Bhutto declared in Dacca that opposition leader Mujibur Rehman's six points could be considered with sympathy and Pakistan would break into pieces if the One-Unit was not demolished and regional autonomy not conceded to East Bengal, Pakhtoons, Sindhis and other groups.

**ON HIS RETURN** from Dacca he delivered a speech at Hyderabad which was censored by the press but which the Government received from its intelligence. In this speech he accused the present rulers of Pakistan as traitors and said: "And if they continue to practise this kind of politics, then a time must come when this country will be plunged into bloodshed. I want to tell you plainly that this is not my prediction. This is what is called in the English language 'commonsense'. It is not that I am spreading rebellion. I am not afraid of spreading rebellion and if need be I shall spread it. You do your duty. You should appear



in the arena fully prepared for death". In this meeting for the first time the slogans "Jiya Sind" were raised by the audience and he was asked to reply to the charge levelled against him by President Ayub Khan. He answered: "Did you (President Ayub) not, for immediate consultation, have me flown to China? And when I came back, you embraced me. Now answer, through whom did aeroplanes and submarines come here? How did these powers give you the submarines and aeroplanes? God forbid, if there is another war, let alone the submarines and aeroplanes you won't get even a tiny cog."

Gen. Musa reacted quickly and said in a speech at Lahore that Mr. Bhutto had committed a breach of official secrecy. Mr. Bhutto, he said, "did not mind revealing some of the defence secrets of the State...the disclosure of our defence secrets is not only a heinous crime but is also betrayal of the nation". The stage was thus set for the arrest of Mr. Bhutto.

**BEFORE THIS** the newspapers had already launched a fierce campaign of character assassination of the man who, till a few months ago was credited to be the "brains" behind President Ayub's internal and external policies. 'Dawn' fired the first salvo. Its editorial said: "Mr. Bhutto makes the amusing declaration that the biggest sin he ever committed was to be associated with the present regime. In view of the mischief that it has created. Mr. Bhutto's association with the regime as a Minister was a sin indeed". It attacked the scrubbiness of his mind and reminded him of the "scandalous issue" of his nationality, which he had claimed as late as 1958 was Indian in order to retain his property in India and denying on oath in the court of law that he had ever adopted the citizenship of Pakistan. At one time he was simultaneously claiming the nationality of both countries.

Mr. Bhutto's recent meeting with the Indian High Commissioner in

Pakistan almost scared the regime. A Cabinet Minister asked him publicly how a person who described India as the worst enemy of Pakistan could have the face to visit the High Commissioner of that country. Mr. Bhutto gave two statements in reply to the insinuation. In the first, at Hyderabad, he said that the High Commissioner wanted to know his (Bhutto's) attitude towards India after his removal from the Cabinet. In the second made in Peshawar, he said that he discussed with the Indian High Commissioner the usefulness of Mr. Khaliquzzaman's visit to India to improve relations between the two countries. Gen. Musa has not yet pronounced his verdict he has already made oblique hints about his being an Indian agent.

*A Joint Venture*

## Japan's World's Biggest Seaberth

THE world's biggest "seaberth", capable of accommodating two 200,000-ton tankers at the same time, has been built right in the middle of Tokyo Bay. The construction of this seaberth was started in September last year jointly by four major oil firms-Idemitsu Kosan Co., Kyokuto Oil Co., Fuji Oil Co., and Maruzen Oil Co.,

It has a dual purpose - namely (1) to avoid the danger involved in the direct berthing of big tankers alongside wharves, and (2) to minimize the space occupied by mammoth tankers on the sea in the age of heavy sea traffic.

The berth is connected with the refineries on land by submarine pipelines about 10,000 metres in length. The pipes, with the world's largest dia-

meter of 1.2 metres, are capable of carrying 10,000 kilo - litres of crude oil (equivalent to 50,000 drums of oil) per hour.

Japan's crude oil imports have been increasing year after year. In this connection, the size of tankers has become incomparably larger than that of ordinary freighters. If these tankers enter port and berth alongside wharves, they constitute big obstacles to other ships because of their great size.

Moreover, if a mammoth tanker catches fire, it might cause a catastrophic accident since rows of giant oil storage tanks stand on the shore. Therefore, the new seaberth enabling a tanker to unload oil at a point eight kilometres from the shore spells a great advantage from the viewpoints of both the effective use and safety of port.

On August 11th, the 195,000 ton, Hien Maru, arriving with a full load of crude oil from Kuwait, was hitched to the seaberth to discharge oil via the submarine pipe line for the first time. In this trial run, it took thirty hours for the tanker to discharge the 230,000 kilo-litres of oil. Under present plans, the seaberth is to handle a monthly average of 10 tankers to carry 1,500,000 kilo-litres of crude oil to the refineries on land.

The seaberth has an overall length of 450 metres and a width of 50 metres. Its construction cost was 1,600 million yen, excluding the submarine pipelines.

—Japan News





*Violation Of Human Rights*

## Cruelty And Repression Perpetrated On Thousands Of Indonesians

*Jakarta*

For over three years the world public and press have been watching with anxiety the events on the Indonesian islands where injustices and cruel repressions are inflicted upon hundreds of thousands.

Then pressed by the progressive forces to stop terror and outrages, Indonesian government spokesmen usually reply with feigned perplexity that this is an internal affair of the country and that the government has the right to decide whom to execute and whom to pardon.

**CERTAIN** quarters in Jakarta apparently hope that if the problem is transferred from the moral field in which their positions are extremely feeble to the juridical field, they will be able if not to justify themselves than at least protect themselves from criticism. The point is however that the juridical arguments of the advocates of terror do not hold water either.

The Indonesian government signed among other states, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights the 20th anniversary of which was marked this month. A mere comparison of the clauses of this declaration with the present — day situation in Indonesia gives ground to believe that not less than 20 of its 30 articles are crudely flouted.

Article 9 of the declaration says that no one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile. The languishing of hundreds of thousands in prisons and concentration camps in Java, Sumatra,

and Kalimantan for several years without incrimination or trial indisputably shows that sovereignty in the sphere of justice is understood in Indonesia as the freedom to infringe norms of justice.

Article 5 of the declaration says that "no one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment". Yet, Vice-General Procurator of Indonesia, Mr. Sutrisno Hamidjojo admitted that the treatment of prisoners still contradicts the basic human rights and that the suspects are beaten before they give evidence.

**THE SOVIET** and world press has repeatedly pointed out to the appalling conditions in which political prisoners are being kept in Indonesia. Even foreign journalists, who are far from being left, write on visiting prisons and camps that they are incredibly congested.

Hunger and physical and moral sufferings aggravated by tropical heat and dampness are conducive to the dissemination of diseases of every kind. Medical aid is practically non-existent. Hunger and diseases take a toll of dozens of people every day.

There are grounds to say that Indonesian authorities are pursuing genocide for political motives towards tens and hundreds of thousands of people in the sense this practice was defined in the international convention of 1948 as a deliberate creation of such living conditions for a certain group which are calculated on a complete or partial destruction of it. It can be concluded from the reports in the Indonesian press that Jakarta is fully aware of the adverse impression produced by Indonesian events on the world

public opinion. Attempts are therefore being made to justify the outrages and, if possible, to mask them.

One of such plans of 'masking' presupposes the setting up of a sort of reservations of faraway islands, or concentration camps, to speak in plain language. The authorities are going to transfer to these camps political prisoners from Java and Sumatra where they can be 'hidden'. The aim of this plan is also to protect the government from criticism abroad. The government wants to achieve this purpose by applying to the United Nations for material aid in the building of such reservations. As the newspaper *Angkatan Bersend Jata* said on November 14, the UN consent to this 'aid' has been received.

It follows from foreign press reports that the idea of UN participation in the carrying out of this disgraceful plan was advanced by some representatives of this international organisation in Southeast Asia who offered the Indonesian government their services and also recommended inviting the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation into this undertaking. It can be asked on whose behalf these gentlemen speak when they promise UN material 'aid' for the lawless actions perpetrated in Indonesia.

The United Nations which proclaimed 1968 a year of Human Rights can and must voice its opinion on the violation of elementary universally accepted norms of law in Indonesia. This would be in keeping with its Charter which obliges all member countries to promote universal respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all. The moral duty of the United Nations is to dissociate itself from any attempts to cover up the arbitrariness by its flag and to condemn those who pursue the policy of terror and repression towards hundreds of thousands of innocent people.

APN



*Return To The Dullesian Era*

## NATO Is Bringing The Cold War Into The Mediterranean

THE COLD WAR has come back, and its icy blast is already being felt. The warning issued by the NATO to the Soviet Union that any intervention which directly or indirectly affects the situation either in Europe or in the Mediterranean will create an "international crisis with grave consequences" is merely a signal that we are returning to the Dullesian era. Mr. Nixon, who played a significant role in that era, is the President-elect of America, and the cold warriors who flourish in a period of tension are riding again.

The NATO powers maintain that this is their response to events in Central Europe. They claim that the presence of Soviet troops on the western frontiers of Czechoslovakia has drastically altered the balance of power in Europe; the efficiency and elan with which Soviet troops were moved has created a sense of insecurity. This, however, was not the first reaction. A considerable number of politicians felt that the Soviet action was defensive and was directed at ensuring the security of the Socialist states; it was an attempt to maintain the *status quo* rather than alter it. No less a person than Britain's Defence Minister Dennis Healey holds this view. Even the United States called for a non-provocative but realistic response. What then has changed, for the NATO to issue an insolent and outrageous challenge to the Soviet Union?

THE NATO ALLIANCE is no longer what its founding fathers intended it to be. Mr. Healey may claim it as "the buttress of Western security and freedom" and Mr. Schroeder might talk of the continuing threat of Communist power, but the smaller states were convinced that the detente made the NATO an anachronism. Even during the NATO meeting, after the Soviet

threat to the West had been fabricated, countries like Canada and Denmark were not prepared to take NATO at face value. Since the alliance is coming up for renewal, an atmosphere of tension had to be artificially created so that the smaller allies could be made to toe the line. The Brezhnev doctrine, the growing Soviet naval presence in the Mediterranean, the so-called threat to the independence of Rumania, Yugoslavia and Albania, were all grist for the mill. The effort was to show that the Soviet leadership is divided and hence unpredictable. Soviet power, they said, is once again a threat to Western Europe and everything must be done to strengthen the alliance.

There are wheels within wheels, and though the major Western Powers are united on the need for strengthening NATO their objectives are different. West Germany as usual was the most ardent champion of NATO. Bonn is divided on the question of the policy towards Eastern Europe. Reunification and recovery of lost territories remain the primary aim of West German policy. This, it was believed, could be achieved by a policy of detente, by improving relations with the East European countries and undermining the socialist character of the regimes in these states. The Czech crisis showed that this was not possible; the Soviet Union's warning made it clear that any attempt to overthrow the socialist regimes of the East European countries will be met with force, Bonn reverted to the policy of confrontation: if the lost territories cannot be won back by charm, it will depend on force. Immediately after the Czech crisis Kiesinger sent Burrenbach as his personal envoy to Washington to raise the issue of sending 20,000 troops and four squadrons of F-4 fighter-bombers as a temporary measure. The

ex-Nazi also talked of the need to strengthen the NATO alliance and negotiate from strength. He threatened Moscow that the Western alliance stands ready to defend West Germany and any Soviet action would unleash an allied response. The *Washington Post* commented on Kiesinger's "hip-shot call for a NATO meeting" West German Chancellor but the is a pupil of Goebbels. He knows that West Germany stands to lose by a relaxation of tensions. It was during the Dullesian era that West Germany was allowed to create its own defence forces, and Bonn has been hankering to become a nuclear power. The Soviet threat had to be created, and Kiesinger exploited the situation to his advantage. This he was able to do because the Americans have been insisting for a considerable time on a strengthening of NATO. The USA is anxious that the European countries should take the responsibility for defence on land, and this could only be done through NATO.

BRITAIN'S POLICY has been even more perfidious. It does not believe that the military balance has been drastically altered, or that there is a fundamental shift in Soviet policy. It wants to enter the European community, and since the front door has been shut in its face, it is trying the back door. Mr. Healey has talked of improved European cooperation in matters of defence, and the need for presenting a collective view to the United States. He, like Kiesinger, wants to establish a European defence caucus. Healey wants it to be institutionalized, but Kiesinger with one eye on de Gaulle wants nothing formal. Britain's sudden enthusiasm for NATO is mainly because it feels that the European defence caucus will permit it to overcome the French veto.

The most surprising fact was that though NATO talked of the Soviet threat to the West, very little was done to strengthen NATO forces in Western Europe. The Americans have agreed to rotate two brigades and switch four



squadrons from F-102 to F-4 Phantoms, to create bomb-proof shelters for aircraft in Holland and West Germany, and earmark the Rapid Reaction Force for use in an European emergency. Britain has agreed to station one more battalion of infantry and a squadron of RAF without any increase in its defence budget. The main burdens of the new NATO posture will be borne by Italy, whose defence budget will increase by seven per cent (\$140 m) or four per cent of its 5.1 billion dollar defence budget. The whole crisis has been used by Bonn to increase its military strength; the 12 divisions are to be brought to full strength, 33,000 officers and NCOs are to be recruited, the million-man reserve is to be made capable of rapid mobilization and 600 American planes and helicopters are to be acquired.

**THE EMPHASIS**, on the other hand, was on the Mediterranean which till now was a closed Anglo-Saxon lake. The presence of a powerful Soviet naval force has affected the Anglo-Saxons more than the events in Europe. It will no longer be possible for the USA to mount another Lebanon operation or practise nuclear gunboat diplomacy against the Arab States. Soviet presence in the Mediterranean is a threat to the imperialist pretensions of the United States in West Asia and North Africa, and behind the talk of a Soviet threat to Yugoslavia and Albania the Americans fear that the Soviet naval presence will hinder their action in West Asia. The Arab countries are friendly to the Soviet Union, and thus the problem of supplies will not act as a restriction on the Soviet navy. It is this that has led NATO to create a new Maritime Air Command in the Mediterranean with headquarters in Naples. It is this that has led Britain to station important naval units, including an aircraft carrier, and according to unconfirmed reports the nuclear submarine Resolution, in the Mediterranean. It is this that has led France to participate in NATO naval manoeuvres in the Mediterranean. The talk about the

Soviet threat to Yugoslavia and Albania is the facade behind which the NATO alliance is bringing the cold war into the Mediterranean.

K.M.P.

*In Britain*

## How To Conceal Millions

Modesty is a virtue, sometimes a very profitable one. Wealthy Britshers will agree with that. While the whole world knows all about the Rockefellers, the Mellons and other American multi-millionaires, or about the Krupps in West Germany, knows very little about their British counterparts. Their modesty is due not so much to traditional British reserves as to their efforts to conceal their incomes since super-profits are heavily taxed in Britain.

Worst off in this respect are those who cannot conceal their incomes — popular writers and film stars, for instance. That is why they often emigrate or stay away from their country for lengthy periods of time. Among them you will find novelist Graham Greene, playwrights Noel Coward and Terence Rattigan, stars of stage and screen like Richard Burton, Vanessa Redgrave, Julie Andrews, and Sean Connery.

As for businessmen and landowners, it is much more difficult to keep track of their incomes. All the more so since in the world of Big Business tax evasion has become something of a fine art practised with the aid of a horde of legal experts. The result is that only 170 Britons are known to be eligible for membership in the Millionaire Club — an income upwards of £100,000 is the requirement. In reality, the number of such rich people is very much greater. The fortunes and incomes of the owners of old family estates, for example, often remain a secret until after their death when their property is divided, among the heirs. The prudent rich however, often divide up their wealth while still alive. An idea of the capital

of business tycoons may be obtained only when they conclude big deals.

Big taxes bring the Treasury about £10,000 million a year but the 7,300 "official" rich people (with annual incomes of more than £20,000 a year) account for only £200 million, or 2 per cent.

All one need add is that, according to the *Financial Times*, the capitalists' profits this year have increased by 15 per cent.

### NEW WINDOW ON UNIVERSE

A new 2.2-ton astronomical observatory to be sent into space by the US will open a new window on the universe with telescopes that "see" across the electromagnetic spectrum. The Orbiting Astronomical Observatory II (OAO-II) was launched on 12 November by a high-energy Atlas Centaur rocket. Launch crews aim for a circular orbit 768 kilometres out from earth. OAO-II is an eight-sided cylinder three metres tall and 6.3 metres wide with its two solar wings unfolded. It carries 11 telescopes to view stars in the ultra-violet, infrared, X-ray and gamma-ray portions of the spectrum, extending a thousandfold the narrow portion of the spectrum that is visible light. The largest telescope is a 16-inch instrument. In all, OAO's telescopes and related equipment weigh 450 kg.

Key to the performance of OAO are six star trackers, small telescopes that automatically seek out and lock on to reference stars, giving the satellite a pointing precision of one minute of arc. This pointing accuracy is equivalent to a person distinguishing the right or left eye of another person at a distance of 500 ft. Without precise and sustained pointing accuracy, astronomers cannot get the needed data on individual stars.



*Land Of The Incas*

## Land Or Death: Cry Of The Peru Indians

THE KINGDOM of the Incas was one of the most splendid in South America, and the Mrs. Indira Gandhi was unlucky to have missed the massive and magnificent ruins that still remind us of the achievements of the Amerindians. The Peruvian road system was even more imposing than that of the Romans. With a hierarchical social system, with their terraced agriculture and their fine cotton and pottery, they were able to sustain the pomp and luxury of an imperial court and the elaborate rituals of a highly evolved religion. All these, through fortuitous events, were destroyed within a short time by Pizarro and his band of conquistadores. Even after Peru won its independence from the Spanish Crown, the Indians remained hewers of wood and drawers of water.

Peru is an Indian country as South Africa is African, but in both it is a minority of European origin that effectively holds power. It is this internal colonialism that distinguishes the white settled countries of America and Africa from that of Europe. And in Latin America, the condition of the Indians of the Andean region is perhaps worse than elsewhere. The Indians constitute 60 per cent of the population of Peru which can be divided roughly into three parts: a narrow coastal region, the Sierra (the high plateau), and montana, the virgin forests of the east. It is on the coast and the Sierra that the population is concentrated and the Sierra is almost totally Indian. The only political problem in Peru is who will organize the Indians to overthrow white colonialism. For Peru, it needs to be emphasized, is a colonial society. It is one country but with two nations. The descendants of the Spanish conquerors do not consider the Indians as full citizens. In the large estates of the

conquerors they work as labourers without political rights, living at subsistence level and using the same implements that their ancestors used four or five hundred years ago. In fact, the independence of Peru, as far as the Indians are concerned, was repression. It meant that the authority of Madrid, which occasionally controlled the settlers' avarice, was removed. There has been a progressive reduction of cultivable land per head and the Sierra does not feed itself.

The National Club is the holy of holies of these princes who govern Peru. If San Salvador has its twenty families, Peru has its hundred, but real power is held by about a dozen and the oligarchs are linked to one another by economic interests and family relationship. It is however not a closed society or even exclusively a club of the heirs of the colonial elite. There are some descendants of the conquistadores among them, but equally there are Slavs, "Turcos" (Lebanese) and other men whose fortunes are recent. What matters is not blood but money. The former President Manuel Prado, can perhaps be considered the archetype of these princes. The Prados have the biggest bank in the country, they head the cement trust, control a part of the fish paste industry, and have large interests in iron ore mines. Other important men in the oligarchy are Wisse, who has export houses in every Peruvian town and interests in many banks; Fereyeros, the "boss" of industrial equipment and the biggest construction man and Bancharo, king of the fish paste Industry.

THE oligarchy has the money; the State lacks it. The Government is the issuing authority, but Peru lacked a real Central Bank and was

at the mercy of the oligarchy who used the mechanism of credit to put pressure on the Government. It was one of the major achievements of Belaunde Terry that he got the Deposit Bank out of the hands of the oligarchy. The Caja was owned by the principal banks, its employees were paid by the State, it collected taxes for the State and lent money to the Finance Ministry from the taxes collected. It was an extremely profitable business for the oligarchy; the State was their private property, and till Terry moved, they exploited it to the full.

It is therefore not surprising that the peasants have been in a state of continuous revolt. In the Andean highland, guerilla activity, often dismissed as banditry in Lima, has been common, but since 1960 there has been an organized attempt to change the social structure. The army has been using commandos and parachutists against the guerillas who are active all over the country. The Government warned that all those caught with arms or aiding subversion would be tried by court martial and given the death penalty. By the middle of 1965 the Government had become alarmed at the spread of guerilla activity. The old Indian cry of protest, 'Land or death' was being heard all over the Andean region, and the middle class students and Fide-lists were organizing the peasants. The Terry Government, unable to implement agrarian reforms, relied more and more on a policy of repression. It resorted to aerial bombardment and napalm attacks on the Indian villages. It was only after two years of fighting that the guerilla movement was contained. The guerillas are once again active in the Andean region, and till the descendants of the conquerors accept the Indians as full citizens the cry of "land or death" will echo in the Sierra.

K. M. P.

in *Patriot*,  
New Delhi



*Experiment In Czechoslovakia*

## Washington's "Quiet" Struggle Against The Socialist Countries

**DESERVING OF NOTE** in one of the recent issues of the American magazine *Fortune* - which is intended mainly for a select reading public of Big Businessmen and corporation executives — is an article penned by professor Herman Khan. With staggering candour he sets out far-reaching designs for subversion against the socialist countries, firstly Czechoslovakia, and analyzes the lessons the authors of these designs draw from the failure of their operations in that country.

Professor Khan needs no recommendation. Indeed, to imagine what sort of a guy this American scholar is will suffice to recall his book "**On Thernuclear War**", which he wrote back in 1960 and in which he called for a "pre-emptive" strike at the USSR, or his other treatise "**On Escalation**" in which five years later he worked out a stage-by-stage plan for embroiling humanity in a global thernuclear war — those notorious "44 steps" going down to hell.

Having started off his political career as a member of the staff of the notorious Rand Corporation, which in the USA has been dubbed the Pentagon's "brains trust", he then rose to the office of director of the Hudson Institute which claims to be the "brains trust" now of the White House, as it is assigned the task of drafting political recommendations for the US Administration.

The curious thing, though, is that in recent years Mr. Khan has suddenly stopped rattling the sabre. In line with the latest Washington trends he has regeared to the evolution of ways and means of "quiet" struggle against the socialist countries. Vigorously touting the notorious "convergence" theory, by which is meant the gradual approximation of the two

systems, and also the "Bridge-building" method, on which Washington pins such great hopes Mr. Khan all of a sudden proclaimed himself a partisan of "stronger peace.

Evidently, some ideologists of the crusade against the socialist countries have seen for themselves that the world balance of forces has changed to such a degree that to unleash a universal thernuclear conflict would be suicidal for imperialism. Consequently subtler and shrewder devices were worked out and a new strategy evolved.

For a time the sum and substance of this new strategy was not fully revealed. However, the American press made public enough of the details for attentive observers to realize that the aim has not changed and is still an attempt to overcome the socialist world. All that has changed is the method. What is now meant is the gradual escalation again — of subversion against the socialist countries in the endeavour to provoke "ideological erosion". But this, of course, was not all, because kept in perspective, as Khan now frankly admits, were plans also for military action.

To judge from Khan's *Fortune* article the first such experiment had Czechoslovakia as its object. The experimenters wanted to see, first, whether they would be able to detach this country from its socialist camp and return it to the capitalist fold, and, second, how Czechoslovakia's Warsaw Treaty allies would react to this.

The hotheads in Washington and Bonn, who included Khan which he now publicly admits had cherished the illusion that the fraternal socialist countries would "not inter-

So how was the further development of the "decisive experiment" — as this professor terms the events in Czechoslovakia — planned by the circles who patently staked rather heavily on it? The answer to this question, which Khan furnishes in full frankness in this magazine for US businessmen, is rather interesting. Especially when viewed in the light of certain, mildly speaking hastily conceived, deliberations of some apologists for the Czechoslovakian "experiment" who claim that on the agenda was only "democratization" and "humanitarianization" and by no means counter-revolution!

Anyhow let us listen to what Herman Khan has to say. The Professor with his characteristic straightforwardness in the following way expounds the plan for the offensive of anti-socialist forces in Czechoslovakia as he claims was pictured by "the majority of Western experts": (A) Recognition in the near future of Bonn which would be followed by West German credits, trade and influence (B) The establishment of strong Western, especially French and German, influence in the sphere of culture. (C) The renunciation of "democratic centralism. . . . (D) The coming into being in the near future of a government standing above the party; a general weakening of the party's influence. (E) The appearance of opposition parties and the setting up of an effective political opposition. (F) The appearance of the halo of an 'economic miracle'. (G) The possible appearance. . . . of social democracy with capitalist shades."

**THUS** the picture is clear: a "quiet" counter-revolution was planned which was to be carried out by anti-socialist forces operating within Czechoslovakia, using the active assistance from without and in the first place from the FRG.

At first the notorious "bridge-building", then these "bridges" were to be used for "influence" including so-to-say materialized influence in the form of "credits and



trade" — then the undermining and liquidation of the party's leading role, then the "knocking together of an 'effective' opposition and finally the replacement of the socialist system by a capitalist regime which for the sake of decency would have the shingle of 'social democracy with capitalist shades'".

The next section of the plan is the overthrow of the party leadership and the government in Poland and its replacement, and I once again quote Khan: (A) "Either by an independent, super-nationalist and comparatively anti-Soviet but communist group, (B) Either by a reformist regime which could also be independent, super-nationalist and anti-Soviet".

The further we go the more the plan unravels: the further "escalation" of subversive activities against other socialist countries is envisaged, in the first place against the GDR and, incidentally, as Khan specifies, this could "take place in a rather stormy and dangerous way" and "perhaps" would be connected "with an attempt to unite Eastern and Western Germany (read - the annexation of the GDR to the FRG ! — Y.Zh.)".

And finally the last point: Mr. Khan notes that the "weakening of the Warsaw Pact together with the strengthening of Western Germany.....could in one fine day end with an attack of West Germany on the USSR with the support of the United States". True enough, he at any rate makes the reservation claiming that "the majority of Western specialists consider such a prospect as absolutely unrealistic" and nevertheless he crowns the ladder of his escalation precisely with this rung!

Today, when these plans have met with fiasco, Herman Khan attempts to engage in an agonizing reappraisal" of what was done, engages in self-criticism and extracts lessons for the future. Naturally, he has no intentions of giving up the main strategic idea - Khan would thus cease to be Khan if he renounces

the struggle against the socialist world. He, however, as a true servant of imperialism ponders over, and once again most frankly (there is no need to feel shy in one's own circle) why this "experiment" had failed.

Beating his chest with his fist the professor several times repeats: "Many American specialists on the Soviet Union, including myself as well, just as in the past underrated the ability of the leadership (of the socialist countries — Ed.) to act resolutely in defence of their interests"; "We truly fantastically underrated the resolution of the Soviet leaders"; an "incredible underestimation of the strength of the nerves and the resolution of the Russians" was permitted.

**KHAN PRESENTS** an entire table of nine points showing that Washington really engaged in wishful thinking, considering that "the conceptions of 'the socialist community' and 'communist internationalism' were allededly being subjected to erosion, etc. Basing themselves on such illusions, "the majority of Western experts", Khan claims, considered that the "disintegration of the unity" of the socialist countries would take place and "anarchy" would arise.

The director of the Hudson Institute endeavours to work out, as he puts it, the "accountant's balance" of the operation, counting up the "assets" and the "liabilities" of the "Czechoslovak experiment" and makes guesses about what is going to happen in the future. In doing so he again makes several interesting confessions.

First, Khan gives warning that the energetic activities of the socialist countries will help to "reduce to the minimum or stop" the development of the tendencies on which the patrons and inspirers of this "experiment" staked.

Second, he considers that these actions are "biased": "one should not go too far" for the Soviet state "will not be impassive under the

influence of its desire to achieve a relaxation with the West".

Third, he admits that the "patience and at the same time indomitable determination" displayed by the Soviet Union in rendering assistance to the Czechoslovak people in the struggle against the anti-socialist forces "can evoke a new feeling of admiration and respect for the Russians". Many countries may start regarding the Soviet system as better (than the capitalist)", writes Khan.

This theorist is particularly alarmed by the conclusions that are drawn by the peoples of the young Afro-Asian states which are watching with obvious sympathies how the socialist countries, acting in a united front, are offering a concerted and resolute rebuff to imperialism and its agents.

He writes that the example offered by them "may seem particularly enticing to the developing states" and that "it is much easier for Communists now, than a year ago, to repeat and expand some of the arguments which they used formerly when they addressed the countries of the 3rd world: we can show you how you can preserve your dignity and self-respect, how you can quickly and effectively modernise your society without sacrificing at the same time the values which you have grown accustomed to treasure. We know how to make men accustomed to labour and discipline, we know how to accumulate capital, we know how to preserve our national unity".

Khan is alarmed by all this and all the more so that the peoples of the young countries see the real successes in the life and concerted struggle of the socialist countries against the intrigues of the imperialists, whereas the West according to him, offers a "picture of anarchy and internal decomposition with its characteristic continuing riots and disorders".



Even as he consoles the supporters of the "experiment" in Czechoslovakia disillusioned and discouraged by this turn of events, the director of the Hudson Institute resorts to hazy deliberations to the effect that from now on the socialist community may have appearing in it....'a change in the direction of isolationism — the modern variant of 'socialism in one country'".

However, such underground assertions naturally will not look convincing even to the readers of *Fortune* who have grown accustomed to regard Herman Khan as an oracle whose word carries great weight in the US ruling circles.

Let us return, however, to the main essence of the deliberations of that very prominent American theorist of war, cold and hot. What is its gist? It is first of all in the fact that Khan has quite frankly admitted: an "experiment" was made in Czechoslovakia, and in the course of it the possibility was checked of restoration of capitalism in a "quite" way with the subsequent embarking on the road of open aggression against the USSR and other socialist countries.

Second, this gist is in the fact that he was equally frank in admitting the failure of this experiment resulting from its organisers, as Khan writes, obviously underestimating the determination of the socialist states to defend jointly the gains of socialism in every separate country. Conclusion: the enemies of peace who, naturally, will not be satisfied to admit their failure and will seek new ways for achieving their treacherous goal. Mr. Khan had good reason to engage in self-criticism — it certainly forecasts another revision of strategy and tactics. So let us be on the look out!

\* \* \*

### *Something To Think About*

## The Present Clinical Death Test is Inconclusive

*Tel Aviv*

The problem of whether a human being is dead was dramatically raised at the Israel Surgical Society Congress in a remarkable paper read by a young Israeli surgeon. Since it became clear that the old test of the cessation of the heartbeat can no longer determine the extinction of life, most countries leave it to the neuro-surgeon to decide when the brain has ceased to function. The test generally used to determine whether the brain is dead is to take an EGG (electroencephalogram) to record brain waves. If these are stopped for some time, and the EGG is flat, the man is pronounced dead.

Dr. Mordechai Shalit reported to the Congress about five patients treated at the Padassah Hebrew University Medical Centre in Jerusalem. In all of them the EGG

was flat for a considerable time accompanied by deep coma, no spontaneous breathing, non-reactive widely dilated pupils, no reaction to stimuli and a fall in blood pressure. Yet all of them recovered with various degrees of mental and physical incapacities.

A 15-year old boy who had fallen into a deep pit, stopped breathing and had a completely flat EGG for 2 weeks. He recovered and is normal. A 14-year old boy, wounded in the head by a shell fragment during the six Day-War, recovered after 3 weeks of coma and is now physically and mentally normal.

We started looking for other criteria of life, said Dr. Shalit. "The one that seems best is the oxygen consumption of the brain". Neuro-surgeons from abroad stressed the importance of the paper in assessing the medical, ethical and legal questions involved in transplants of organs from the dead to the living.

Four hundred foreign surgeons have come to the Congress instead of the 200 anticipated, Professor Hanoch Milwidsky, the President of the Society, stated to the press.

## Reanimation After Clinical Death

*Moscow*

Professor Aram Sarkisyan believes that the success of reanimation of organism depends on the state of the endocrine glands. The paper of the staff member of Yerevan's medical institute was read at a symposium in Moscow devoted to problems of reanimation. Experiments have shown that it was much more difficult to restore cardiac activity of animals whose sex glands had been removed. The process was easier when male sex hormones had been introduced in the blood of reanimated even not operated on animals. Scientists noticed a constant blood pressure, for instance. On the basis of observations and experiments, Sarkisyan drew the conclusion that hormones favourable affect organism at the moment of the struggle for life of the animal. They enlarge the coronary blood vessels and regulate capillary circulation. The problem of reanimation after clinical death has been attracting the interest of medics of many countries in recent years. Practically, scientists learned to revive animals after a 15-20 minute interval in the functioning of the heart. Man's higher nervous activity is intricate and reanimation is more difficult.



*What Many Forget*

# Cigarettes Are Dangerous: A Major Hazard Of Modern Living

by Michael Girdansky

ACCORDING to such health sources as the U.S. Public Health Service and the American Cancer Society, "cigarette smoking is a health hazard of sufficient importance in the United States to warrant appropriate remedial action".

These words are those of the 1964 Surgeon General's Report, but they reflect the considered judgment of many other medical and scientific agencies, governmental and private, American and foreign.

In the United States alone, the rise in occurrence and death from lung cancer has been steep enough to be thoroughly shocking. Since 1930, the yearly toll taken in lives by lung cancer has risen to approximately 10 times what it was. From less than 4,000 per year, "bronchogenic carcinoma" has climbed to reap an annual harvest of an estimated 52,000 Americans of both sexes.

Emphysema - a swelling disease of lung tissue — has increased five-fold in the decade 1954-63.

An approximate 300,000 'surplus' coronary heart attacks have also been attributed to cigarette smoking - as well as a host of lesser ills, sick-time absence from work, and general malaise.

All of this has made the task of cigarette defense more difficult. Yet you find your "knights of the white tube", even so. A fairly well-publicized example was Mr. Stanley Frank, whose article, "To Smoke or Not to Smoke — That is Still the Question"

appeared in the January 1968 issue of *Time* magazine. Unfortunately, the greater part of the Frank article was made up of old-hat apologies and attacks which are beside the point mistaken, or misleading.

ONE OF HIS favourite tactics was to quote various figures in science or medicine who doubted, or rejected, the idea that rising lung cancer was the result of cigarette smoking. Some of the individuals quoted sounded impressive: but the innocent reader never realized that all of them put together were only a vanishingly small fraction of the total opinion of scientists and physicians.

The reader never realized, for example, that every major health organization that has considered this here and abroad has concurred in the finding that cigarette smoking is a hazard to health and also that something like 1 million Americans yearly give up cigarette smoking; that the evidence of cigarette-harm has been shown in laboratory animals, and not 'only' in statistics; and that recognition of the smoking-peril has gained international acceptance.

You would never guess, for instance, that there was such a thing as The First World Conference on Smoking and Health held in New York City in September, 1967, under the management of the American Cancer Society, and sponsored by the U.S. Public Health Service.

At this Conference were more than five hundred representatives of better than 30 nations, all coming together-

to discuss the problem of the cigarette and what could be done about it.

They were not professional "health nuts" or fanatics. Some of the finest scientific, medical, educational and public-health minds of our generation came together in genuine concern over what they all felt was a worldwide epidemic. In Italy, cigarette advertising of any kind is *proibito* — forbidden. In Great Britain, the TV cigarette commercial is a thing of the past. In Scandinavia such organizations as Norway's Landes-forenningen mot Kreft (The National Society Against Cancer), a semi-private group something like our American Cancer Society, produces posters and other educational materials which frankly set out the dangers of cigarette smoking. Its counterparts in Denmark, Sweden, and Finland do much the same thing.

In recent years, the United States has begun to catch up with foreign lands in its official recognition of the hazards posed by cigarettes. The Surgeon General's Report of January 1964 was one of the first examples. An official, governmentally sponsored and accepted document, authored by a blue-ribbon panel of experts — half smokers, half non — the Report was the first concession by the U. S. Government that cigarettes were, in fact, a danger.

Given the importance of tobacco and the cigarette, it was a very large concession indeed. That it was confirmed, late in 1967, by the Government's monograph "The Health Consequences of Smoking", is evidence that time has not changed the verdict. Smoking was indicted as a danger. Additional evidence since then only confirms it.





India

# Danger Of U.S. Cultural Aggression In Education: Growing Protest

New Delhi

American infiltration in the field of education, which has been making subtle inroads into the academic life of the country over the last few years, has spread its tentacles so wide and so deep into the affairs of Delhi University that the vast sprawling campus is threatened with complete subjugation and control by US "benefactors".

Subversion, both open and clandestine, has been going on ever since the time of C. D. Deshmukh, who was the first to open the doors of the University to American ideas for its development projects. **But the pronouncedly pro-Western and disgustingly reactionary overtones of these ideas and plans have become so clearly manifest now that a militant group of over two dozen lecturers, belonging to different colleges in the campus, have taken up cudgels to meet this aggression on the intellectual freedom of the country.**

**WITH THE** announcement of the 5 million dollar - assistance by the Ford Foundation, approval for which has been given by the Government of India, to the Delhi University's development projects in the next five years, these lecturers have organised a "Front Against U. S. Imperialist Penetration" to arouse public consciousness.

Among the chief American Advisers in the University's Planning Group, set up in 1964 to do perspective planning for a period of ten years, is a "visiting professor" called Gill Patricks, who makes no secret of his active association with the notorious spy agency, the CIA. Though he claims to have severed

his connections with it, confirmation of this has not come from any other source.

Though in the last three years and over many so-called visiting professors have come and gone. Gill Patricks has been operating in this period among the various faculties with sustained influence. A BA degree from Harvard and a Rhodes scholarship are the main props of his academic claims, for he has no publications to his credit. But that from "teaching" subjects as diverse as philosophy, music, political science and agriculture.

**THROUGH OVERTLY** the Planning Group and its administrative wing, the planning unit, were set up at the behest of the University Grants Commission, the fact that the Ford Foundation came out with an annual grant of Rs. one lakh for the latter makes it obvious on whose dictates the machinery was set in motion.

Although there are only two Americans — Gill Patricks being one of them — among the selected departmental heads and principals who constitute the Group, the plans, some of which have since been implemented, have been conceived in the United States and elaborated by the delegations of American universities.

To facilitate the unhampered implementation of these plans, some department were bluntly told that funds would be available only if American-enunciated policies are followed.

It was thus that the Faculty of Law had introduced the American system. So much so, that "visiting"   
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American professors are teaching Indian civil and criminal law in Delhi University. One of the methods of selective subversion sought to be achieved by the Americans in the Law Faculty was by offering to pay Rs. 200 to each student who took up law, thus ensuring a permanent subjugation of their minds. But this part of the plan was vehemently opposed by a sizable section in the Faculty and the UGG had to bow to their wishes.

Sinister contours of the 'Fourth Dimension' (economic, military and political being the other three) of American foreign policy are manifest in the principles for the future development of Delhi University as enunciated by the Americans and accepted by the institution.

**BUT WHAT** is actually going on now in the University is that funds from the Ford and other foundations as well as several US Universities are freely being doled out to finance trips by young teachers and promising students to various American institutions with a view to freeing their minds of any revolutionary ideas.

The indoctrination starts here itself, sometimes openly but mostly by subtle means. By pumping in money from the PL 480 funds and foundation sources, the Americans are even determining the course of scientific study, for, most of the research projects are not oriented to the needs of the country.

The truth of this is amply borne out by the fact that out of 21 M.Ds. from the Indian Institute of Medical Sciences 16 are in the United States, the course of their study having compulsorily landed them there.

**THE HUGE FUNDS** made available by the Americans for developing area studies in the University is nothing but an extension of their propaganda machinery. Take for instance the Department for Chinese studies. Only known anti-Communists with political motivations are being brought as visiting professors.



Delhi University and its affiliated colleges have been particularly signed out for large-scale infiltration by the Americans because of its sensitive locale and strategic connections of some of its alumni. Agreements for exchange of professors have been reached independently between some American Universities with affiliated colleges like Miranda House, Indraprastha College and Kirorimal College. Now this aggression on the educational front will be further stepped up by the latest Ford Foundation assistance of 5 million dollars, which constitutes 75 p.c. of the developmental expenditure of the University during the Fourth Plan period.

In the light of these and the reported comments of no less a person than Prime Minister Indira Gandhi during her recent Latin American tour about the deleterious effect and bad influence of direct American aid to Indian universities and institutions, the fears expressed by the Delhi University lecturers' 'Front Against U.S. Imperialist Penetration', cannot be simply brushed aside as a "vilification campaign" against the Ford Foundation to "malign" it.

Letter To The Editor

## Kitulampitiya V.C. Election

Sir,

On the 29th November, 1968, I went to vote at the Kitulampitiya V.C. election. A lady at the "In" gate asked me for my registered number which I did not know. She then motioned in the direction of the Presiding Officer sitting apart. I approached him and he too wanted the registered number. I confessed my inability to produce it. He said that nothing could be done. I ventured to inquire whether I was to depart without casting my vote.

At this psychological moment some kindly soul blustered out the all important number.

At the entrance sat three ladies in a row — the first to ascertain by reference to the list of voters, whether I was entitled to the vote, the second to point my little finger and the third to throw the ballot paper at me. They performed these assignments efficiently in a few seconds with expressions so frozen as to transform their not too attractive faces. There were two other actors in this drama, the dark complexioned peon standing rigidly at attention and the stern faced Police Constable representing the Majesty of the law. This apparently ill assorted crowd appeared to possess one common feature, judging by their facial expressions, namely, an air of self-importance bordering on the ludicrous.

What intrigued me, however, was not their peculiarities but the meaningless wastage of money. Any

one can see that the work entrusted to the three ladies could easily be performed by one. If maximum expenditure was the objective two others—one to usher "In" and the other to usher "Out" the voters might have been added.

The law relating to elections was amended and I am not familiar with its provisions. May I, therefore, inquire whether the production of the registered number by a voter is required by law for the purpose of casting his vote ?

A V.C. election to one ward is a small affair. Such elaborate expensive arrangements are not required. What is important is to secure the secrecy of the vote and to ensure that every voter is afforded the opportunity to cast his vote. The production of the registered number is not always possible.

W. A. GOONETILLEKE

"Deepthis", Hapugala,  
Wackwella,  
Galle.

### STRIKE THE NOTE OF HARMONY

Strike the note of harmony which makes us less apart !  
Strife of the quarrelling disease be a thing of the past !  
Light the illuminating light where light can play a part !  
Bright Sun ! Right Rain ! Please give fruits in heaps vast !  
Right wrong economics to give all a right and full part !  
Re--armament and dis-armament let us rightaway start !  
Smiling faces and growing backs rise from labour right !  
Willing bees on bearing trees be a pleasant sight !

Live to play fine harmonies befitting heavenly ovation  
Give us the genius that can give timely devotion —  
For joy, purity, beauty, true links of the heart  
Love, sanity, plenty, do not play a proper part  
In this mysterious, beauteous thing called life.  
Treachery, harm, jealousy, traps, useless lies,  
Vanity, false pride, quarrels, hates mis-information  
Exploitation, confrontation, pain-infliction  
Generousness of heart to too narrow a section  
Do dominate ispite of many a good religion.  
Drugs, doctor-machines, notes, rules, a soul-less grant  
Are not what we need to enliven Man's sad heart.

M. K. ANAWARATNE



# FILM PAGE

## ● RAHASIYA POLICE 115

(Secret Police 115), Padmini Pictures Tamil Eastmancolour movie, released through Ceylon Threatres Ltd., now showing at the *SELLA-MAHAL*, *EROS* and other centres, is an espionage film, providing entertainment. There are impressive gadgets at the disposal of the characters, a series of quarrels and romantic scenes between the hero M. G. Ramachandran and the heroine Jayalalitha, who looks charming. Although based on a story, there are certain original and imaginative touches as the film attains the climax. Asokan and M. N. Nambiar in a dual role are the villains, providing fast action. Asokan changes towards the end, when his fraternal feelings are roused by his sister Jayalalitha. Nagesh providing the comic interludes, and Nirmala plays the role of a vamp. There are some really good fights, especially in the cellar and later in the den involving MGR.

Air Conditioned  
**LIBERTY**

3rd Week

WB—7 ARTS

## “BATTLE OF THE BULGE”

Technicolor  
Ultrapanavision 70mm

FROM 21st DEC.  
**CENTRAL**

Ramazan & X'mas Release

Sivaji, Saroja Devi &  
Balaji in

**EN  
THAMBI**

The musical score is by M. S. Wiswanathan, and the movie is produced and directed by B. R. Panthulu.

## ● MARY POPPINS, Walt

Disney's musical fantasy in Technicolor, the Christmas attraction now at the *MAJESTIC*, stars vivacious Julie Andrews who makes her movie debut in the title role, and Dick Van Dyke, one of Hollywood's brightest new personalities. The movie running for two hours and twenty minutes is the first completely original film musical to come along in some time and could easily start a whole new trend, reviving this type of screen entertainment. The technique of combining live-action photography with the animated cartoon on the same screen has long been considered one of Walt Disney's major contribution to the motion picture medium, but never has it been used more expertly or effectively than in this exciting musical fantasy. To bring the delightful P. L. Travers stories to the screen, every magical Disney trick has been employed to strengthen the credibility of the fantasy and to enhance the enchantment of the fabulous feature. When Dick Van Dyke as Bert, a sidewalk artist, invites Mary Poppins, played by Julie Andrews, and her two young charges, Jane Banks played by Karen Dotrice and Michael Banks enacted, by Matthew Garber, to come for an outing in one of his chalk drawing pictures, they step into a fantasy world of painted backgrounds inhabited by a wide assortment of appealing Disney cartoon characters. This colourful, fun-filled adventure is one of the many highlights of the Disney production and features a musical number, in which Van Dyke is joined by four rollicking cartoon penquins in a rousing dance, that's a real show stopper.

The movie is based on the whimsical story of the nurse maid, whose amazing out of this world adventures have been related in five children's classics by P. L. Travers, and enhanced by some of the brightest, most original songs

ever written for a film musical. The movie is directed by Robert Stevenson from a screenplay by Bill Walsh and Don DaGradi. Walsh was also co-producer of

AWAIT !

X'mas Attraction

CINEMAS'

## ATAVENI PUDUMEYA

2nd Crowded Week

**KINGSLEY  
PLAZA  
MYLAN**

2.6 & 9.30 P.M.

Sivaji, Devika, Rajshree  
in

**Neelavanam**

5th Week

**CAPITOL**

2, 6 & 9.30 P.M

● Ravichandran ● Jayalalitha  
in

**Ethirigal Jakrathai**

20th 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**



this film, released through Buena Vista.

● **BORN FREE** in Panavision and Eastmancolor by Pathe, an Open Road-Highread Atlas co-production, presented by Columbia Pictures and Carl Foreman, the Christmas attraction which opens this week at the *REGAL*, is based on Joy Adamson's international best seller about Elsa, the lion cub who grew up as a member of her own family. The movie, a love story, is a rare screen achievement, truly unique, dramatic and exciting. There is suspense, humour and adventure. all against a background of breathless beauty. Also present in the film is that wonderful affinity between the woman and the little lion she cares for like a baby, and helps raise to maturity. Mc Kenna and Bill Travers, world famous husband and wife acting team, play the roles of Joy Adamson and her husband. The film was made on location in Kenya over a strenous eight month period. The movie produced by Sam Jaffe and Paul Radin is directed by James Hill.

The book "Born Free" became an immediate best seller, winning critical acclaim everywhere. It was translated into 21 languages, most recently into Hebrew, in Israel. It was serialised by leading magazines and newspapers in France, Italy and Germany. It was as much a best seller in Scandinavia and Japan as in the United States. Total readership of the "Elsa" books is estimated at close to 100 million people.

George Adamson (**BILL TRAVERS**), game warden in the wilds of Kenya, brings three female lion cubs home to his wife, Joy (**VIRGINIA McKeena**), after being forced to kill their mother and their man-eating father. Joy tends the little animals, and falls in love with Elsa, the youngest, who becomes her constant companion. When the District Commissioner points out

that the lions are growing into potential menaces, Joy and Adamson take the cubs to the Nairobi airport, to send them off to a zoo, but Joy's reluctance to part with Elsa is persuasive. George sends off only the other two. Still a member of the family, Elsa becomes a full-grown lioness, but her playfulness now is becoming a major concern. The District Commissioner is determined that she be sent to a zoo before someone kills her, as nearly happens; Joy and George persuade him to give them to teach her to fend for herself in the jungle. For three weeks, they do what they can to teach Elsa to kill for her food; finally, they succeed. When the mating season comes up, Elsa disappears into the bush. A year later, George and Joy, returned from their long leave are visited by Elsa and her own three cubs, while her lion-mate sits on the heights outside the camp. When Elsa and her cubs leave to rejoin him, Joy and George Adamson know there will be other reunions, but Elsa will carry on in accord with her birthright; she was born free, and will live free.

● **BATMAN** in Colour by De Luxe, 20th Century-Fox attraction, which opens this week at the *SAVOY CINEMA*, stars Adam West in the dual roles of Batman and Bruce Wayne and Burt Ward as Robin and Dick Grayson. Instead of one guest villain, as in the Television series, there are four in the movie. Lovely Lee Meriwether, former Miss America, steps into the role of the feline enchantress, Catwoman, and Caesar Romero, Burgess Meredith and Frank Gorhin return in the roles they created, Joker, Penguin and Riddler. New Batgadgets have been added, like the Batcopter, Batboat and Batcycle, with each vehicle an actual performing gimmick and not merely a prop. The movie is based on the National Periodical Publications comic book originally written by Bill Finger and illustrated by Bob Kane for National Periodicals. The screenplay is by Lorenzo Semple, Jr.

The Greenlawn Productions is produced by William Dozier and directed by Leslie Martinson.

\*

**EMPIRE** Air-Conditioned  
From Thurs- X'mas Attraction  
Charlton Heston—Senta Berger  
**in MAJOR DUNDEE**  
in Panavision & Colour

**MAJESTIC** Air-Conditioned  
From Thurs—For X'mas  
Walt Disney's  
**Mary Poppins**  
in Technicolour

**REGAL** Air-Conditioned  
From Thurs — For X'mas  
Columbia's  
**BORN FREE**  
in Technicolour

From Tomorrow  
**ELPHINSTONE—ROXY**  
Supriya Films'

## Wahal Dupatha

Produced & Directed by:  
Shanthi Abeysekera

From Tomorrow  
**SELLAMAHAL**  
M. G. Ramachandran in

**Rahasiya Police 115**  
in Eastman Colour

5th Week  
**CROWN**  
Asha Parekh—Dharminder in  
**AAYE DIN BAHAR KE**  
in Eastman Colour

**SAVOY** Air-Conditioned  
From Thurs — for X'mas

**BATMAN**  
in Technicolor



*A Chain Without An End*

## A Comparative Study Of Expenditure On Armaments

WE EXPECT Europe to take better care of its own defence, the American president declared in September, this year. Shortly afterwards, referring to the entry of the armies of five Warsaw Treaty countries into Czechoslovakia, Washington defined 'Johnson's wish in more concrete terms: European allies should "raise their defence budgets by up to 15 per cent". It is reasoned: twelve West European countries expended last year roughly 4.7 per cent of their gross national products on military purposes, while the United States spent 9.6 per cent.

This insistence called forth immediately several - mildly said - dissident voices. The most remarkable of them is the Institute of Strategic Studies in London. This Institute has been watching very carefully the problems of defence, world security, and disarmament since its foundation in 1958. A report of the Institute on the actual state of military potential in the world states that the whole world spends around 150,000 million dollars a year on armaments. Of this, two thirds are expended by the two super powers, the United States and the Soviet Union. All the other states share the balance. The greater part, three-fifths, of these two thirds is the share of the United States, while the Soviet Union takes two-fifths.

Military expenditure in the United States in 1967 ran at a per capita average of 368 dollars and absorbed 9.6 per cent of the gross national income. The Institute, however, thinks the official American data on defence expenditure to be inaccurate and states that the U.S. military budget in 1967 stood at 73,000 million dollars, increasing to 78,500 million dollars in 1968.

It is reckoned that the next budget will reach, if expected additional augmentations are added to the amount allocated now, the highest sum in the history of the United States - around 80,000 million dollars.

The Institute of Strategic Studies in London published also other interesting findings. Thus, for example, military expenditure of Britain, the German Federal Republic and France combined amounts to nearly 15,000 million dollars. The Warsaw Treaty countries, apart from the Soviet Union, spend 3,000 million dollars on defence, according to the Institute. Compared with the group of West European countries, these states "contribute" therefore much less towards the defence of the Soviet Union.

IT IS also interesting to note that the People's Republic of China, which stands outside the great political and military blocs, spends about 6,000 million dollars a year, which puts it practically at a level of such important West European states as Britain, France, etc. It is, of course, not very much if expressed in expenditure per inhabitant - only about 9 dollars a year.

From among the West European countries, the German Federal Republic spends ever more on armaments. Its military expenditure in 1967 (including that of West Berlin) reached the amount of 104 dollars per head. This is 4.8 per cent of the national revenue. Britain expended 97 dollars per head on defence last year, which is 5.7 per cent of its national revenue. In spite of its considerable financial problems, Britain has been constantly increasing its defence expenditure. It amounted to 5,300 million dollars

in 1967, whereas it is going to be 5,450 million this year.

The one state that is well ahead in military expenditure in the Middle East is Israel. It spent 124 dollars per capita last year on armaments. This represents as much as 13.8 per cent of its gross national product. But this expenditure is mounting here, too. While last year's military budget called for 447 million dollars, it stands at 628 million dollars this year.

These data disclose fairly clearly the potential sources of military tension in the world at present. If Washington exerts a pressure on its European allies - and let it be said only that even the American Senate urges Johnson's administration to increase military expenditure - the trend of future development seems to be pretty clear and is to be explained to the world by an insufficient military preparedness of the West.

This was one of the main subjects of the talks of thirteen foreign ministers of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization countries (NATO) who met in New York at the beginning of October, at the initiative of the chief of American diplomacy Dean Rusk. However, formal agreements on an increase of defence budgets of United States European allies were concluded at the November of the NATO Council.

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