



| | |
|----|--|
| 3 | AN ESSAY INTO PHILOSOPHY OF THE ABSOLUTE |
| 4 | SOVIET NAVAL PRESENCE IN THE MEDITERRANEAN |
| 8 | PORTUGAL'S LOSING BATTLE |
| 11 | CATHOLIC REVOLUTION IN LATIN AMERICA |
| 14 | SILICATES CAUSE NEPHRITIS ? |
| 16 | BEHIND THE PLASTIC CURTAIN |
| 17 | CEYLON & INDIA — PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPONDERABLES |
| 22 | FILMS |

| | | |
|----------------|--------------------------|---------|
| VOL. 14 No. 46 | SUNDAY, JANUARY 19, 1969 | CTS. 25 |
|----------------|--------------------------|---------|

SOVIET UNION'S DAZZLING TRIUMPH IN SPACE: BUT TENSIONS INCREASE ON EARTH

The Soviet Union has demonstrated that it is not far behind the United States of America in space achievement. In fact, some scientists seem to think that in spite of the Apollo Eight's feat, where three cosmonauts looped round the moon, the USSR has the edge over the USA in the matter of space technology and the know-how in certain important fields. Sir Bernard Lovell, Britain's topmost space expert, has said that the link-up between Soyuz 4 and Soyuz 5 gave the Russians a four-year lead over the US in assembling space equipment in orbit. Sir Bernard was of the view that if all went well with the Soviet programme, "My guess is that the Americans will be looking rather small fry by the middle 1970's." In this connection, one is reminded of the recent remark made by US cosmonaut Borman that moon flights were "chancy" — mean-

ing thereby that Apollo 8 flight was fraught with great risk and that it was the element of "chance" (or "luck") that made the flight a success. The Soviets, in characteristic style, want to reduce the risk element to the lowest possible point, and the Soyuz 4 and Soyuz 5 flights indicate how careful the Russians are in probing their way to the moon. For cosmonauts to switch craft in weightless space is no mean feat — but it also shows the technological advance which has been attained by the Soviets.

But, whilst man is scoring triumph after triumph in space, here on earth he seems to be getting tied up in bigger and bigger knots in various regions of the world. The Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference which has just concluded in London indicated that the problem of Rhodesia

and the principle of majority rule will remain unsolved in Africa for a long time to come — with guerilla fighting springing up in many parts where white rule is maintained by force of arms or where colonialism still prevails. In the Mediterranean, the crisis between Israel and the Arab countries continues to mount in intensity and in spite of the new efforts by the Big Powers to resolve the confrontation no progress seems to have been made. There is growing tension in several countries in Latin America and the Vietnam impasse seems as complicated as ever despite the enlarged talks in Paris.

And, more than all this, the monetary system of the capitalist world has begun to flounder — and this has caused imbalances and economic anarchy all over the globe where capitalism rules supreme.

Headlines Of The Week

TUESDAY, January 7 — The World Bank Mission that visited Ceylon recently to study and report on conditions here for the Aid Consortium meeting in March has paid a warm tribute to the Ministry of Agriculture and Food and Planning Committees, including the Department of Plan Implementation for the measures that have been taken to monitor the various development projects. The Leader of the Opposition, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, told SLFP MPs and key members of the party that there was no question of abrogating the common programme that the party had struck with the LSSP and the CP. The Ugandan Prime Minister said in London yesterday that forty thousand Asians with British passports would have to leave Uganda in time.

WEDNESDAY, January 8 — Under the barter agreement signed yesterday, Ceylon will buy 200,000 tons of rice from China to be exchanged for 62,000 tons of sheet rubber. The Postmaster-General has interdicted fourteen employees of the Posts and Telecommunications Department following the strike. The Ceylon Prime Minister Mr. Dudley Senanayake responding to the British Prime Minister's opening address at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference stressed the major issue of economic development and the narrowing gap between rich and poor nations, but he said that the problem appeared to be more remote than that of Rhodesia and Biafra.

THURSDAY, January 9—A new trade union, the United Corporations and Mercantile Union, has been formed as a rival to the Ceylon Mercantile Union by Mr. Anil Moonesinghe. Another textile mill is to be set up in Ceylon with the assistance of the People's Republic of China. The Singapore Prime Minister told the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference that the Commonwealth should not be converted into a mini-United Nations, but should be re-shaped for economic development. Sixty were feared dead as a bus plunged into the river Nile.

FRIDAY, January 10 — The *Times Weekender* reported that donations varying from one to three thousand rupees had been charged from parents for the admittance of their children to private schools this year. The Prime Minister said at a luncheon given in his honour in London by the Confederation of British Industries, that he was convinced that the worst was over regarding Ceylon's basic economic difficulties. The Indian Prime Minister refused to discuss Kashmir in a speech to the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference.

SATURDAY, January 11 — The *Sun* reported that the Government had commenced special projects in major colonisation schemes as part of a rehabilitation programme intended to increase the yields in these schemes since adequate returns from investment in these

places had not been received. According to an assessment of a World Bank Mission, a more aggressive buying policy by the Government can bring in thirty thousand tons more of locally produced rice, saving the country some Rs. 30 million in foreign exchange. The *Times of Ceylon* reported that UNP circles predict that Parliament may be dissolved in April for a general election. The Ceylon Prime Minister said that trusting Mr. Ian Smith to lead Rhodesia to majority rule would be like trusting a chicken coop to a fox. Mr. Kamaraj, former Congress President, won the by-election for the Nagercoil Parliamentary seat with a massive majority.

SUNDAY, January 12 — The Government has ruled that no refunds of the cost of FEECs will be made to those repatriats under the Indo-Ceylon agreement who left Ceylon before a recent ruling by the Ministry of Finance. A Permanent Council of Asian Ministers is to be formed shortly to promote Asian Economic Co-operation. The Indian Deputy Prime Minister said in Calcutta that India was determined to recover her territories illegally occupied by Communist China. The British Prime Minister rejected the demand for the use of force on Rhodesia.

MONDAY, January 13 — Nearly 5,500,000 voters will be eligible to poll at the next general election. Four airliners will inaugurate flights through Ceylon in the first half of this year. The Chairman of the Ceylon Chamber of Commerce has embarked on a campaign to lure the small investor away from normal house and property buying. Two young men hoisted the Union Jack over Rhodesia House and then lashed themselves to the flagpole to thwart attempts at hauling it down. Vietcong troops stormed an American infantry position fifty five miles south-west of Saigon in the Mekong Delta, killing nine men and wounding seventeen.

TUESDAY, January 14 — Mr. S. Nagarajah, of the Federal Party was elected Mayor of Jaffna. A gale hit Colombo yesterday. Vietcong guerillas stormed Can Tho airfield and destroyed at least five aircraft with satchel mines. Mr. Senanayake told the Commonwealth Conference that some developing countries faced a total lack of hope in struggling towards a better standard of living and added that development aid was often negated by adverse terms in world trade which cut down the export earnings in poorer countries.

WEDNESDAY, January 15 — Ceylon's external payments position is still causing anxiety to the Government, according to a report to the Aid Ceylon Club. Local medical specialists are up in arms against the proposal to retain for one year the services of certain specialists attached to the Hope. The Soviet Union launched a 41 year old spaceman into earth orbit. The International Air Transport Association today called for the hijacking of airlines to be declared an international crime and asked United Nations member states to bring criminal charges against the hijackers.

Not A Treatise On Religion But

An Essay Into Philosophy Of The Absolute

by Titus Handuna

WHETHER it is nirvana (nibbana) or God, we all strive, in varying degrees, towards the Absolute, which we strive to make our own. The trouble is this, that those whose love for the Absolute is not so very strong get bogged down *en route* by passing pleasures or by a god that is less than the Absolute. Whether it is by meditation and the elimination of desire, or a path of good works and contemplation, this Absolute, for the reasoning man, is not achieved without effort. That is sound Buddhist doctrine, as it is Christian.

As to the varying interpretations of the Absolute, throughout history and down the ages, each system has its own interpreter: the Buddha; the various incarnations of the Hindu Vishnu, culminating in that of the Krishna of the Bhagavad Gita, a book of that wonderful legend, the Mahabharatha; Confucius; Christ, the Son of God; Mohamed (Mohomet) the Prophet; and many others. Both Krishna and Christ have each, in words very similar, claimed that they are the Way, Truth and Life, and the End of man's journey.

This is not a treatise on religion, and the object of this essay into philosophy is to try to show that the reality of an Absolute - One, Indivisible, All-powerful - the good man can but despair, his efforts seeming an utter waste of time. That there is a joy in doing what is best, what is right and noble, there can be no denying, but there is no man in the spiritual life but knows that the good life is anything but a path of roses. It is not so much that the path is strewn with thorns, but that there come times of utter negation, a dark cloud of unknowing (John of the Cross), a penitential ascent of

Mt. Carmel (Teresa of Avila), a hell. It is at such times that worldly wisdom seems to outmatch spiritual insight.

TO AMASS MONEY to achieve recognition, to gain power, to get to the top of one's profession, to have the security of a home — these are men's ambitions. In contrast to them, the life of a Benedict Joseph Labre, a nobleman - come - dirty - verminous beggar, seems a life ill-lived. A Joan of Arc burnt at the stake, by the civil power, for alleged heresy, seems a poor contrast to the victorious peasant girl who humiliates the English in clash of arms. Saul of Tarsus, stoned, beaten with rods, flogged with a lash, let down in a basket from a window in the wall, spending years at a stretch in prison, hardly bears contrast with the same Saul, surnamed Paul, whose name is a household word in Christian circles. Yet all these men and women were raised to fabulous honour after their death, Joan of Arc as much as five hundred years after the events that caused it. These are people who achieved recognition, but what of the unknown? What compensation do they get for a life ill-spent in the eyes of the world? Unknown, neglected, cast out, a sign of failure an object for ridicule, put at one with the dregs of humanity, what made them tick? Yet, their case, at least, is fairly simple.

What of the successful? The Thomas Mores, the John Fishers of Canterbury, the Elizabeths of Hungary, the Stanislas of Poland — kings, queens, chancellors, holy men: men who had it in their power to do wrong and get away with it, but who chose to go straight rather than compromise with the world and mankind's ways? We know for

certain that their lives would not have achieved the pinnacle of fame that those others did, those outcasts that lived, had they too not been prepared and willing to live, each in his own way, as King Louis of France, Louis IX, did, with a hair-shirt beneath his kingly robes. They did it — all of them — for the Absolute.

Buddhist philosophy and the Hindu religion have this sense of sacrifice. The monks (the Sangha) and the mystics are the visible manifestation of this, but, obviously, a religion is not judged solely by its priests; it is the spirit which animates the rank and file which shows the true nature of that religion. The apathy towards work, which is said to be the curse of the Sinhalese race by the Sinhalese themselves, in part reflects that unworldliness towards which all men should strive. Their apathy towards work is like the protest of a Benedict Joseph Labre against the worldliness and utterly selfish materialism of a society which sets the world its standards. Obviously, if the correct intention could be inculcated, that of service to mankind, this alleged apathy might largely disappear. The moments of despair will come, as it always does, and it is those that believe in an Absolute, an ever-living life-giving Absolute, that will hold despair at bay, for it is the Absolute that made the world that we must serve.

ALL RELIGIONS acknowledge the existence of free will, and it is the Absolute that made free will to make or mar the world. If we were not free we would not be men. We come now to a consideration of the direction this freedom should take. It is said that Christ, the Way, Truth and Life as he declared himself, manifests himself best in the tabernacle and on the cross. From the tabernacle he gives himself as a life-giving sacrament, at the behest and in the own good time of those who partake of this sacrament. On the cross he manifests himself as a sacrifice given unto death for the

life of the world. In the tabernacle he exists as a life-giving sacrament giving himself as often as he is asked; on the cross he has also surrendered himself wholly into our hands, albeit once for all, to die at the hands of wicked or ignorant men, to save those very men from their sins. He did not commit suicide; indeed, he had deliberately avoided death on other occasions as the gospels relate, but there came a time when he no longer felt obliged to avoid it, and he then let history take its course. It was at the hour appointed by his Father, the Absolute, whom Christians know as God. The tabernacle, or rather what it contains, is a living memento of the sacrifice on the cross, and the Eucharist, which is the name for the mystery which the tabernacle signifies, for it is the Eucharist which is the living sacrament, not the man-made tabernacle, the Eucharist, as I have said, was instituted by Christ himself as a memento of the sacrifice on the cross on the very eve of that Sacrifice.

Both are a giving of self for the good of mankind. Can anything seem more useless than to be shut up all day, and in a tiny hole, such as the tabernacle is, at that? Can anything seem more useless than three hours of agony spent on a cross, an agony culminating in death? This is the kind of blank despair that all must face, and all do face, in their lives; but there is a difference: the wicked have indeed cause for despair, for all their works must come to nothing; the good have cause for rejoicing, for so far as they die what they did with a good conscience and with a good will, they have trust that an Absolute, the Absolute, whoever He is, will not let the wreck which is so often the consummation of their work, against their will, be lost for ever in an abyss of nothing; for the Absolute is quite capable of turning all to good account, and, as they know, He does just this.

Not To Pursue Territorial Aggrandizement

Soviet Naval Presence In The Mediterranean To Prevent Imperialist Adventure

by P. Unnikrishnan

THE WEST has suddenly woken up to the Soviet naval presence in the Mediterranean and big plans are being made for expansion of NATO bases there. An entirely new establishment is to be built at Naples on the strength of a theory elaborated by the Secretary-General of NATO, Mr. Manilio Brosio of Italy, that the Soviet Union might move into Yugoslavia and Albania and that such a move would bring Soviet military power to the shores of the Mediterranean sea. Non-aligned Yugoslavia has obligingly stepped up the barrage of propaganda against an imaginary threat from the Soviet Union, disregarding the presence of the Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean and its known record as an instrument of interference.

The reason for this sudden dramatised interest in the Soviet presence in the Mediterranean is not very mysterious. It has the same purpose as the bogey of a Soviet threat to West European countries raised after the Warsaw Pact action in Czechoslovakia. And that is to gain a new *raison d'etre* and lease of life for NATO which has been grinding to a halt and becoming a purely American show after the French withdrawal and the sustained climate of *detente* which the Soviet Union has striven to create in recent years.

Soviet naval interest in the Mediterranean is neither new nor inexplicable. For a number of years, at least from 1964 as far as can be traced, the Soviet navy has been there, performing patrol duty, and after the West Asian crisis of 1967 it made its presence obvious. It cannot be that NATO was unaware of this because there was nothing secret about Soviet naval activities on the open sea.

If this had not been objected to before it is only for the reason that none of the countries bordering at Mediterranean regarded it as a threat to its security, and for the Americans to raise it would have only meant attracting undue attention to the Sixth Fleet operating in an area of no special strategic interest to the United States.

SINCE THE BIRTH of the Soviet State in 1917, Moscow's effort had been directed towards building bridges of friendship and undertaking with neighbours, particularly with Turkey which controlled the only outlet to the warm waters of the south. The Soviet state voluntarily relinquished the rights that accrued to Russia over Constantinople and the Dardanelles Straits under the secret agreements following the dismemberment of the Ottoman empire. In his Manifesto of 3 December, 1917, Lenin proclaimed, "The Russian Republic and its Government, the Council of People's Commissars, are opposed to the seizure of foreign territory. Constantinople must remain in the hands of Moslems". Soviet policy ever since has recognized Turkish rights and sovereignty over Constantinople and the Straits.

The conviction on the basis of which the Soviet Government pursued this policy was that given goodwill and good neighbourly relations, Soviet passage to the warm waters would not be under any threat. It was only after Turkey became part of the NATO alliance that relations with Turkey came under a cloud but even then no question was ever raised of annexing or controlling the outlet.

Thus the Soviet navy has never sought and does not hold any foreign bases. If it has felt the need for ef-



fective patrolling of the Mediterranean the one obvious reason is that it was to assert its position as a Mediterranean power, and secondly, it does not want, after the Cuban experience, to permit the American fleet to blockade its supply routes. Apart from helping the Arabs to resist imperialist-backed Israeli aggression, the Soviets also wish to contain and counteract the Sixth Fleet's role as a means of pressure and blackmail.

THERE ARE many points of contrast between the presence of the US and the Soviet navies. The US had been intruding there for over 150 years to protect what are only its imperialist interests and to wage wars against sovereign states. This tradition is part of its global policy, considering that it has today more than 100 military bases in Europe, Africa and Asia, holds several countries on the leash, keeps more than half its armed forces, or roughly 3.5 million men abroad and maintains an effective *cordon sanitaire* around the socialist countries. The Soviet record, on the other hand, is purely defensive.

That the Soviet policy has had its impact is evident not merely from the nervous reaction of the NATO commanders but also from the comments of people who are far from sympathetic towards the Soviet Union or its policies. For instance, David Vital wrote recently in *Jerusalem Post* "An American decision to repeat the kind of operation that was mounted in Lebanon in 1958 would now have to take the Russians into account and would, therefore, either not be made at all, or could be in a much warrier and less determined spirit. This result, a straight forward consequence of Russian naval presence in the Mediterranean is in itself no small gain."

Quite true, but where David Vital goes wrong is in his calculation that "the very presence of the Red Fleet in the Mediterranean is likely to accelerate the American disposition to disengage and limit their commitments, rather than the reverse."

ANOTHER WRITER, Boris Guriel in the London Journal, *The New Middle East*, traces Russian interest in the Mediterranean back to two hundred years and expresses alarm at the "new development" of a permanent Soviet fleet in this sea. But he concedes that "in contradiction to the other great imperialist nations, Russia was not pursuing territorial aggrandizement in distant waters, nor seeking faraway bases or strongholds. Neither migration nor colonization was the object of her sea-bound expansion. The landlocked Russian-held Eurasian continent, obstructed by incessant land invasions, seems to be trying to enforce its security by a seaborne naval circuit in distant waters. The Russian sea-borne presence in the Mediterranean was focussed in the past on the Straits — the Bosphorus and

the Dardanelles. It is at present being adjusted to the Mediterranean outlets, in an attempt to assume Oceanic proportions."

Indeed, any increase of tension and the danger of confrontation of two super nuclear powers in any part of the world should cause concern to people everywhere. But in the Mediterranean context, the Soviet entry, far from being the cause of tension only corrects an imbalance which encouraged the US to make many dangerous gambles in the past. A balance of fear is certainly no answer to the demand for peace and security. The Soviets argue that they cannot be blamed for advancing enlightened self-interest when such interest also helps to prevent imperialist adventure.

Enemy Of Socialism

Monopolists In India Receive Support From US To Enlarge Their Own Spheres Of Influence

by A Special Correspondent

GRINDING POVERTY stalks the length and breadth of India, While the majority of the people are penurious, the wealthy are fabulously rich.

Pointing an accusing finger at Indian monopolists, experts in economic matters are firmly of the opinion that the root of the evil lies in the enormous power they exercise. Big Business tycoons, however, try to convince the Indian public that such assertions are no more than a myth, propagated by left-wing Congressmen, socialists and communists.

The most influential persons among them has said that not only is there no monopoly in the country, but even concentration of economic power is mere fiction. According to him, the conclusions arrived at by the Government appointed Commission headed by Professor Mahalano-

bis were based on "political concepts" and not on economic analysis." With such statements influential businessmen have tried — not unsuccessfully — to influence the work of the special commission set up by the Indian Government in 1965 to inquire into the operations of monopolists. In spite of such pressure, the Commission decided to be forthright and came to relevant conclusions. Its report points out "the creation of a new caste in this already caste-ridden country — the very rich. Many of them flaunt their superiority in riches, in palatial buildings, limousines, and a retinue of servants, and make no secret of the fact that they think themselves to be a class apart, well above the rest of their fellow-countrymen."

THE COMMISSION says that in India there are 75 groups which with a paid-up capital of 6.5 bil-

lion rupees, summarily control 1,536 companies operating 26.1 billion rupees or 46.9 per cent of all the productive capital in the private sector. What we witness here is a huge concentration of capital, the medium that nourishes monopoly.

These data furnished by the Commission are by far incomplete since they do not take into consideration the bank capital and the covert forms of financial control. In the course of a memorandum, some Congress MPs state: "Each big industrial house owns a bank and a large number of other financial institutions. The Big Five banks are controlled by five big industrial houses, eg., the Tatas control the Central Bank of India, the Birlas control the United Commercial Bank, the Dalmias and Jains control the Punjab National Bank."

Indian monopolists grow rich primarily because of the laws of private enterprise, which T. T. Krishnamachari compared, to the law of the jungle. In any drive for profits the advantages are all on the side of big capital. Indian monopolists amass wealth even during slack periods of business. For example, In 1966, the Century Rayon owned by the Birlas made 96 million rupees, while its own capital did not exceed 43.6 million rupees. In other words the company's profits exceeded 225 per cent. And this is not a solitary instance.

Indian capitalists resort to the sweating systems of the West, at the same time sticking to the old time-tested methods of exploitation. Many monopolists possess expensive plots of land which they rent to tenants on harsh terms. The Tata family are the biggest zamindars in the whole of Bihar State. The Birlas have 10,000 acres of land in the Punjab and 18,000 acres in Mysore.

QUESTIONS were frequently heard in the Lok Sabha with regard to instituting special proceedings against the financial excesses of the Birlas. In the two memoranda submitted to the Minister of In-

dustrial Development, a prominent figure in the Congress Party, Mr. Chandrasekhar, has quoted "100 cases of criminal machinations of the Birla companies. Mr. Chandrasekhar says that big biz tycoons maintain two types of financial records. One is completely phoney, while the other shows the real state of affairs and is kept under lock and key together with gold and jewels.

In their own interest the monopolists pay great attention to the public sector. They realise its growing importance in a joint economic system. The Central Government mostly by using the taxes levied on the public and by resorting to foreign loans, is setting up metallurgical and machine - manufacturing plants, and work mines, power stations, etc.

In other words, the Government is engaged in projects which require considerable capital investment and time to reimburse the expenses. The private sector profits by obtaining its requirements in metal, raw materials, electric power, etc. from the relatively cheap products of State-owned enterprises. It is said that Mr. Birla has described the public sector as "a generator of private enterprise."

Moreover, the financial agencies belonging to the Central Government give considerable amounts of loans to the monopolists. The 75 groups, mentioned by the Commission which inquired into the operations of monopolists, obtained credits amounting to 97 million rupees from an insurance corporation, while other companies could raise only 36.5 million rupees.

Conditions favourable for the growth of Indian monopolies are created by the support given by the Western powers, primarily the United States.

American aid to India is channelled mostly into the private sector. The scandalous case of the Bokaro steel plant showed that the American and Indian tycoons make up a united front. They do not even hesitate

to make a profit from starving people. The profits from the majority of grain shipments from the US to India go to the big Indian companies collaborating with the Americans.

THE INDIAN monopolists, on their part, do all they can to facilitate the expansion of business of their overseas colleagues. Year after year joint companies are formed in which foreign capital especially American plays a prominent role.

According to the estimates of the Reserve Bank of India, the rupee companies controlled by the Americans yield the highest profit — 22.9 per cent while the average is 11.12 per cent. The figure is far in excess of the profits of American monopolists in other countries (10.2 per cent) and in India (9.1 per cent.)

Collaboration between India's Big Business and Americans is not based on economic stimuli alone. The Indian tycoons are concerned with getting foreign aid only to enlarge their own influence in the country.

IT IS necessary to find out the relevance of the monopolies to the efforts being made to eliminate the poverty of India's teeming population and to provide for the country's independent economic development.

If one were to hear what the monopolies themselves have to say on this issue, one would gain the impression that the chieftains of Big Business are defending national interests and are upholding the democratic system and law and order — that they desired nothing but the dawn of a millennium. Let us see how the words of the monopolists tally with their deeds.

Big capital has certainly contributed to the economic progress of Independent India. There has been a notable increase of 65 per cent in agricultural output; industrial production rose by as much as 146 per cent, and the

per capita income went up by 28 per cent.

But what is the real value of this contribution? It is not out of place to recall the programme put forward at the time of independence by the leaders of Big Business, primarily regarding India's economic development, better known as the Bombay Plan.

The plan propounded creation of a society of mixed economy. The salient features of such a society would be development of industrial production and a relatively high standard of living. The plan envisaged the investment of a hundred billion rupees for a 15 year term which, in the opinion of its authors, would lead to a 500 per cent increase in industrial production, a 130 per cent increase in agricultural production and a two-fold rise in the per capita income.

This comparison alone testifies to the considerable discrepancy between planning and the practical results achieved in increasing production and income in the past 15 years.

THE ROOT of the country's economic ills should be sought not in the words but in the deeds of the monopolists. They are interested in production not as a goal but as a means of their own enrichment. Thus in their drive for profits large companies and banks try, with the least possible expense, to grab capital which does not belong to them.

For example, the Big Five private banks with a paid-up capital of only 155 million rupees, control the colossal sum of 11.018 billion rupees.

Money begets money. This is a fact. The big monopolists could not care less about increasing production. The difficult situation in which the textile industry has of late found itself shows that Big Business tycoons systematically curtail the capital investments ear-

marked for the modernisation of machinery and equipment and instead use the money for other purposes.

This is happening at a time when the Birlas, Mafatials and other monopolists are increasing the flow of capital to countries beyond India's borders in order to extract high profits. **Today more than 100 branches of prominent Indian companies and banks are operating abroad when the home market is still weak and there is a dire need of money.**

This aspect of the activities of Indian monopolists is further proof of the fact that they need nothing but their own interests.

Participants in an annual session of the UN Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) have pointed out in their report that if the status quo is maintained it will take India at least 136 years to catch up with Japan. **Big Business is all set for an attempt to achieve supreme power in the country. To this end, it has struck up a union with neo-colonialism and local feudalism. Its attacks are directed against socio-economic achievements, freedom and an independent foreign policy.**

At this most crucial hours in the life of the nation, the words of Jawaharlal Nehru acquire fresh force and significance. "MONOPOLY" he warned shortly before his death. "is the enemy of socialism. To the extent it has grown during the last few years, we have drifted away from the goal of socialism".

The threat of monopolies was strongly felt as long ago as July 1956, when the Forum of Free Enterprise was convened for the first time. The secret documents which fell into the hands of the authorities revealed its real goal: to replace the narrow front inside and outside the Congress with a conservative group. The Forum, which from its very inception has been receiving aid from various

American organisations and foundations, has not ceased its subversive activities for a moment - right now, against the Government headed by Nehru's daughter.

Pressure is also brought to bear on India from outside. Suffice it to recall the notorious report for the Bell Mission, which represented the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development, in order to see the correctness of the words of Mr. Gyan Chand, the noted scientist.

In effect he said that it is from abroad that the programme that determined the trend of development of India's monopolies has been dictated. Indian and foreign Big Business launched a joint attack in an attempt to devalue the rupee, limit the functions of the public sector and eliminated all forms of control by the Central Government.

Today we witness the results. A number of statesmen were forced to resign because they held progressive views. Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari said before resigning: "Any Finance Minister who is compelled to take action even under the law of the land against the vested interests has to face heavy odds.... If I were to say more, I would be accused of being an enemy of the capitalistic system which has not yet been outlawed under our Constitution. I can only hope that my successors will not be made to depend on the goodwill of the small but a selfish section of the population that may have cornered a large part of the tools of economic power."

It is due to the pressure of monopolists that the second part of the report prepared by the Mahalanobis Commission has been kept from the public. This part of the report exposes the hidden springs activating Big Business.

THINGS wouldn't be so bad if only a few individuals suffered from the arbitrariness of anti-national activities of the monopolists. The situation, however, is entirely different: the rupee

has dropped in value; the implementation of important reforms has ground to a virtual stop, especially the reforms planned by Nehru himself; the Fourth Five-Year-Plan has been frozen until March 1969.

The monopolies have also let loose extreme right-wing parties and Fascist organisations, like Swatantra, Jan Sangh, RSS and Shiv Sena. These organisations not only eat out of the hands of the monopolists, but all their actions are co-ordinated by those hands.

Fascism is raising its ugly head—this does not bode well for the country. Donning the robes of a democrat, Big business has called for the elimination of the existing parliamentary system and the banning of all Communist parties, that is, for the creation of a regime of personal or, which is virtually the same, military dictatorship. The Indian monopolists are emerging as a formidable international and anti-democratic force. Is this the price which the country and each of us must pay? I don't think so, but it merits further analysis.

petroleum and iron-ore phosphates and copper has strengthened Portuguese determination to hang on, whatever the cost.

AT Cassinga in Angola, 340 miles from the coast, on the central plateau, two huge deposits of iron ore have been developed with a loan of 100 million dollars from an international consortium. Cabinda Gulf has developed the petroleum resources of Cabinda and with coffee and diamonds Lisbon hopes that Angola will pay for the war against Angolan nationalists. Development of the Angolan economy is taking place at a furious pace with the object of making Angola pay for the war. An intensive effort is being made to settle Portuguese in Angola. After two years of service in the army the soldier is given land and becomes a soldier-colonist with responsibilities and duties in the provincial organization for defence. Since Portugal suffers from chronic unemployment and land hunger, the settlement scheme provides an incentive for the peasants to join the army. The number of Portuguese settlers has gone up in recent years and the Whites now number over 400,000; with immigration at 11,000 persons a year Angola will soon have a sizable White population.

While Lisbon Fights A Losing Battle

Liberation Forces Are Making Great Headway In The Portuguese Colonies

PORTUGAL is fighting desperately to keep the African colonies in bondage. Its valour against ill-equipped African guerrillas has drawn commendations from Bonn, London and Washington, who, mistaking, senile obstinacy for vigour, have paid tributes to the Lustinian spirit. Yet the war which started in Angola and has slowly spread to Guinea and Mozambique, is slowly reaching its culmination. Nearly half of Portugal's budget goes into it and over 100,000 troops are engaged in fighting to maintain its hold on the African territories, without any great success.

After six years of war the nationalists are in control of the major part of Guinea; 35,000 Portuguese soldiers are confined to towns or fortified hamlets and supplied by means of helicopters. The enclaves in the North and an area in the Fulani territory limit the boundaries within which Lisbon's writ runs. In the liberated areas the nationalists have established a rudimentary administration. Guinea's liberation is therefore not a problem; the nationalists are

in a position to mount an offensive on Bissau but they prefer to keep the Portuguese troops immobilized. Apart from the Fulani, all the other tribal groups have rallied to the movement for national liberation. The liberation movement has an armed force of 10,000 elite soldiers, trained in Guinea itself and equipped with machine-guns, cannons and bazookas. The army is supported by a militia armed with light weapons.

GUINEA, however, is of little economic significance, though its independence will mean the death knell of Portuguese colonialism in Africa. There have been suggestions in Lisbon that Portugal should cut its losses and withdraw from Guinea, but the conservatives in the National Union and the army brass have fought the idea tooth and nail. A fraction in the army, however, want to utilize the troops now in Guinea in Angola and Mozambique, which are politically and economically more important to Portugal. These two territories form part of Southern Africa and their mineral wealth is enormous. The recent discovery of

In Mozambique the situation is similar. The accent is on agricultural development. The great new dam in Central Mozambique, which Portugal is building with the help of the international consortium, will help industrial development, but for the moment cotton and export of labour dominate the economy. European and American firms are feverishly exploring the country for minerals, but Portuguese interests in Mozambique are not of the same dimensions as in Angola. It is more important for the settler regimes; and the defence of the two outer bastions of South Africa is a common interest and the three regimes co-operate and co-ordinate their defence policies.

Mozambique was lucky. The Fermimo, the nationalist Front,

was well organized, and in Tanzania, it had a giant base. Small groups of guerillas infiltrated into the northern provinces and formed a liberation army in the territory. Soon the entire north was in the hands of the nationalists and except for the towns and fortified places, the Portuguese abandoned the area and withdrew to the central provinces. In the North, nationalists have succeeded in establishing a rudimentary administration and in consolidating their hold, but the true trial of strength will come in the central provinces. Here guerilla activity is on the increase and the target the nationalists have in mind is the destruction of the great barrage which the Portuguese are building. This will be a body blow, and if the nationalists succeed in their mission, the colonies and businessmen will be convinced that Mozambique is not safe. South Africa however will not remain aloof; if Portuguese authority crumbles, it will interfere in Mozambique as it is interfering in Rhodesia.

THE STRUGGLE for Angolan liberation was the first to start, but because of political differences between the Holden group and others there never was unity in the nationalist ranks. Till recently Holden's Government, despite its internal dissensions and occasional coups, was recognized by the African governments. It was only in June this year that a special committee of the Organization of African Unity recommended that it should no longer be recognized. In the North, Holden's movement, because of Leopoldville's support, had always been strong, but had dissipated its energy in fighting the Popular Movement's units. The MPLA had a difficult time till the overthrow of Youlou in Brazzaville, but since then it has slowly strengthened its position. It has been active in Cabinda and recently, in combination with the third nationalist movement UNITA, it has been active in eastern Angola. Zambia provides a safe base for the guerillas operating in the eastern provinces. While Holden's troops are contained

in the Dembos mountains, MPLA and UNITA troops have made deep incursions into Angola to reach the thickly-populated central district. The Benguela railway is the main target, and the guerillas have scored a number of successes. This is shown by the continuous attacks by the Portuguese on Zambian territory. The colonialists realize that a second front has been opened and they are aware that the MPLA will be more difficult to handle than Holden's army.

The struggle for the liberation of Portuguese colonies is bound to become more bitter. There will be no sudden collapse in Lisbon's resistance, for the Western alliance backs it and South Africa extends armed support. The war will merge into the wider struggle for the liberation of Southern Africa, for the settler Government in Pretoria will not tolerate the fall of the outer bastions.

K.M.P.

Economic Notes

Indira Gandhi — Morarji Desai Agreement To Destroy Planning: Will Have Disastrous Consequences

New Delhi

It has now been officially proclaimed. India's attempt at planning her economy is now abandoned and the planning system is to be smashed. This is the only conclusion that can be drawn from the infamous unanimous communique issued by the Planning Commission with regard to the Fourth Plan on December 24.

IT WILL BE recalled that the communique says that plan outlay in the central sector will Rs. 8,300 crores. It, however, immediately goes on to state that the figure is a purely "national" one. It adds that while the Five Year Plan will provide some kind of framework, it will be the annual plans that will be operative.

There is absolutely not a single word as to how the financial resources are to be raised, how much of this and how much by the states will be done by the Centre. The entire initiative in this sphere has been left to the Finance Ministry.

The question of reduction of defence expenditures and of general revenue expenditure has been side-stepped. The plan allocation for the

coming year—1969—70—has been frozen at the same level as this year, that is Rs. 2,290 crores in the public sector both at the Centre and in the states.

IN EXACTLY 35 minutes the entire Planning Commission in full plenary session endorsed the agreement that had been earlier reached between Indira Gandhi and Morarji Desai. Thus, even without the formality of a funeral oration the plan and the concept of planning as the mechanism of economic liberation was cremated by the planners themselves.

It was quite appropriate, therefore, that addressing the golden jubilee session of the Indian Economic Association at Hyderabad on December 26, Professor Gautam Mathur of the Osmania University should remind the audience that India was now regressing to the position of leaving everything to annual budgets, a position that Britain had come to as early as 1963!

It cannot be overemphasised that the decision to smash the limited planning mechanism that had been built up in the past two decades is as important as the decision to de-

value the rupee. It is likely to have even more disastrous consequences.

And, as in the case of devaluation, the inspiration and the driving force behind the decision is located not in New Delhi but Washington. The operation has, this time, been carried out more subtly and over a prolonged period so that popular vigilance would not be aroused and popular anger would not find a particular focus.

The strategy had been worked out quite some time ago by John P. Lewis in his book "Quiet Crisis in India". This gentleman, who is the head of the US AID mission in India, had stated that with the conclusion of the Third Plan, certain hard policy decisions would have to be taken by the Government of India.

It would no longer be possible for the public and the private sectors to merrily continue their expansion in an atmosphere of peaceful co-existence. So while the extreme of *laissez-faire* should be avoided, the US could and should exert its influence to ensure a shift in the direction of the private sector, he claimed.

It may be asked as to why one regards planning as so crucial and this, too, against the background of the palpable failures of the Indian planning forces, failures which have produced the present crisis and its nemesis of planning?

This question can best be answered by asking another one — is it possible to achieve economic independence and social justice, to say nothing of socialism, without planning the economy? Is it possible in conditions of scarce capital stock, abundant labour, scarce skills and any number of vulnerable spots in the economy to achieve an economic breakthrough by relying on the elemental forces of the market and the lords of Big Business.

Quite obviously the answer to the counterquestion can only be in the negative and, therefore, planning

becomes the only possible route by which India can achieve economic independence. The conclusion to be drawn from the terrible failures of Indian planning to date is not to abandon planning but to go in for more planning, better planning, genuine planning.

This point was very well put by Professor A. K. Das Gupta, Director of the AMS Institute of Social Studies, Patna, in this golden jubilee commemoration lecture at the Indian Economic Conference on December 27.

He pointed out that from the present crisis one could decide to shift the economic mechanism decisively to the private sector (a course advocated by Dr. A. J. Anjaria, Deputy Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, at the same conference only a few hours earlier) or one could decide to adopt genuine planning.

DAS GUPTA went on to point out that* in the Indian context this genuine planning could not be realised without comprehensive nationalisation of the means of production which were being used for purposes of private profit involving very large blocks of capital and employment of a large number of wage earners.

While small and medium-scale industries and rural holdings could be fitted in, large monopolistic agglomerations could not, especially if planning was to be employment-oriented. He significantly added that while these measures could be implemented in a genuine democracy, in India we had a democracy based on the vested interests.

Let us also remember that the so-called private sector on which the saboteurs of the planning process propose to rely is dominated by the 75 monopoly houses (themselves controlled by 20 odd families). And that the practices of these monopoly houses are counter-productive have been proved to the hilt by recent official and semi-official investigations.

Dr. R. K. Hazari had drawn attention to Birla's practice of pre-emption of licenses which prevented the establishment of industries which other, smaller, industrialists were willing to take up. The terrible speculative and dishonest practices of the Birlas are so rampant that official probes are being "considered" by the government.

EARLIER the Vivian Bose Commission had drawn a devastating picture of the position in the Dalmia-Jain empire. The recent furor over the attempt to the Goenkas (acting as brokers for the Birlas) to corner the shares of the Indian Iron & Steel Company showed the strongly speculative character of yet another top monopolist.

K. T. Merchants' minute of dissent in the Tariff Commission's examination of the automobile industry showed the colossal waste and lack of progress there — again a field dominated by the monopolists.

Countless examples can be cited to demonstrate that the tycoons of India are not a factor of production at all but a parasitic overgrowth in our economy which threatens to choke its development. It is to these forces and their imperialist patrons whom the Congress government now intends to fully hand over the national economy.

Incidentally, the "solicitude" of the imperialists for India's economic "development" has again been demonstrated. On December 24, K. C. Pant informed Parliament that in the years 1961-62 to 1964-65 while the net private foreign capital (equity) inflow came to Rs. 92 crores as much as Rs. 160 crores was pumped out by these very same "investors" in that period by remittances of profits and royalties.

So, now foreign debt repayments will entail more foreign exchange expenditure than the foreign "aid" we receive from the imperialists and private foreign capital will take out more than it invests. Thus does foreign private monopoly and state monopoly capital hold us to ransom

while our Congress rulers sing their praises and follow their instructions.

It is these facts that led the *Economic and Political Weekly* (December 7) to editorially comment: "Morarji's attempt to make the tail wag the dog in trying to stimulate the economy by prodding private corporate investment (which constitutes less than 15 percent of total investment) while holding down public investment (which accounts for three times as much) has failed. The much-vaunted credit liberation has been utilised mainly to finance speculation and for cornering of shares, even as term lending institutions' funds have gone a-begging for want of investment proposals...."

"Gadgil may still talk of producing the draft plan in January and the final plan soon thereafter, but it is not difficult to see what sort of plans these will be. They will be made up of Pitamber Pant's internally consistent' input-output tables, Gadgil's six per cent growth rate and Morarji's estimate of financial resources. And connection between the three will be purely accidental, of course."

It is, thus, that the real poser before the Indian people is not either planned development to economic freedom or implanned, *laissez-faire* development to the same goal. The poser is either planned development or economic slavery,

Attention has, therefore, to be focussed on the point as to how to make planning in India possible and effective. It is the Left and democratic parties and forces that have now to take up the banner of planning which has been thrown overboard by the Congress government.

They have to work out an alternative plan which is both radical and feasible and to make this plan the banner of the entire nation which wants to strengthen and develop political independence by building the base of economic swaraj.

MOHIT SEN
NEW AGE

Catholic Revolution In Latin America

Hierarchy Veering To The View Reforms Cannot Be Won Peacefully—In Search For A Theology Of Just Violence

by George Anne Geyer

The writer, a roving foreign correspondent for the Chicago Daily News, has just returned from Latin America, where she interviewed church officials in six countries. In 1967 she received an Overseas Press Club award for "the best article or report on Latin America in any medium."

AT A CONFERENCE of top Latin American and North American Catholics in St. Louis last winter, there was a distinct new restlessness. Priests paced up and down, discussing radically new concepts and praising their Marxist "brothers."

Nuns, no longer dressed in their habits symbolic of peace and resignation, talked soberly about a sister who had the order to work with the Guatemalan guerillas. From the podiums in the provocative sessions of the Catholic Inter-American Cooperation Program (CICOP) came constant rumblings of what turned into the major, spontaneous theme of the conference — a "theology of Christian revolution."

In the closing CICOP session, Richard Schaul, a Protestant guest from Princetown Theological Seminary, said: "For an increasing number of Catholic young people, there is only one hope: the organization of armed movements of national liberation, with all the sacrifice and bloodshed that it involves.

In recent months, I have been

groups of Catholics and Protestants have moved to this conclusion.."

Dr. Schaul himself is not a guerilla at heart. In the next few minutes, he added, "I suspect that for most of us, reliance on guerilla warfare is not an attractive prospect. We are rightly horrified by the price this would demand in bloodshed, the sacrifice of a new generation, and the long delay in urgent steps toward development. But, "he asked finally, "do we have any alternative to offer?"

This is the question that haunts the corridors at church meetings these days, the question that hangs over Catholics in every country in Latin America today. It is the question that Pope Paul VI will find the most pervasive when he makes his first trip to Latin America in August for the International Eucharistic Conference in Bogota, Colombia.

In the background of the continent is the steady buzz of whispers of discontent; in the foreground, the strongest, shrillest cries are those of the young Catholic revolutionaries who see violent revolution as the only way out.

Just a few years ago the overwhelming concept among Catholics, those who were flocking to the Christian Democrat parties and doing the socio-economic research designed to lay the groundwork of peaceful revolution, was precisely the idea that real revolutionary structural change in Latin America could come through non-violent, non-totalitarian means. I recall sitting at the 1965 CICOP meeting (where each year you can

feel the winds of change) and talking to L'Abbe Francois Houtart, the Belgian priest who is head of all Catholic socio-religious research in Latin America.

"If we look at the history of Europe, the rupture with the old order was always violent", he said. "Now we know more, we are in a better position to do it in a peaceful way. It is theoretically possible to change society peacefully. I hope it is practically possible."

Why, then, has the mood of the Latin Church changed so much and so dramatically in only three years? The change seems to have come about mostly because everything else has failed.

The Alliance for Progress is not dead. It is simply irrelevant, burdened by a philosophy in Washington that says "revolution is no longer necessary in Latin America." Without the necessary backing from Washington for true and profound revolutionary change, the most violence-prone frustrations are built up on the part of those Latin Americans who sincerely want change. Yet nothing is changing. Indeed, in many countries conditions are becoming worse. The birth rate is growing; the economic growth rate is not keeping up. Instead of exports rising by \$300 million last year, they decreased by \$300 million. In many countries, illiteracy is worsening and so is the number of people living on a subsistence level. One impatient young American priest working in Bolivia told me recently, "I am tired of seeing little coffins put into the ground."

THE REALIZATION of failure and decline — coming from everyday experience and backed up by the economic figures — has led many of the best Latin American priests to the conclusion that reform can not be won peacefully. Above them and at the same time backing them up, beyond the conservative cardinals and bishops who remain, are the Vatican's and the Pope's increasingly supportive pronouncements. There is even talk from the Vatican of such a pheno-

menon as a "theology of just violence." The Jesuit priest G. Jarlot of the Gregorian University in Rome held a press conference in March on the first anniversary of the encyclical, "The Development of Peoples", and said that in many cases in Latin America: "There is only one way to escape from an unjust situation: An unjust violence can only be defeated by a just violence, and you know as well as I that in many channels people are searching for a theology of the just violence."

Father Joseph Michenfelder, a Maryknoll who heads the Catholic Information Center in Lima, Peru, supported this position: "The Catholic revolutionaries are basing their efforts on the Pope's encyclicals, especially the recent 'Development of Peoples', which says that in places where peaceful change has failed, violent revolution may be the final necessity."

He raised his hand symbolically above his head. "You have the Pope's pronouncements up here and the Alliance for Progress and below is the void. The struggle that is going on today is because Catholics are trying to experiment to fill the void."

The folk hero of the new "experimenters" is the late Colombian priest Father Camilo Torres, a handsome and charismatic priest who is now the prime martyr for the Catholic radicals. The metamorphosis of Camilo is important because his development parallels that of so many of the young radicals.

When I saw him in his little apartment in Bogota in July, 1965, Camilo talked about starting a political movement to produce pressure groups that would "enable the majority to take power." "I consider the work of a priest is to take a person to God," he said, "to work toward the love of one's brother. I consider there are circumstances that do not permit a man to offer himself to God. A priest must fight those circumstances, and for me they are political."

By the following February, in 1966 he had given up hope of a political

solution and had taken to the hills with the Marxist guerrillas. There, peasants told a visiting Mexican correspondent, "he walked through the mountains like a God." He was killed in an ambush by government troops.

The Camilo legend grew steadily, with Camilo Torres cells forming all over Latin America; today he is more of a hero among students than is Fidel Castro. And the spirit of violence spread.

In Brazil, young priests were arrested for distributing leaflets advocating violent overthrow of the government.

In Guatemala, three Maryknoll priests — Father Arthur Melville, Father Thomas Melville, Father Marian Peter — were accused of taking part in the Marxist guerrilla movement there and were forced to leave the country. They immediately went to Mexico, where they announced the formation of a Christian guerrilla front — the first in history, according to Latin American priests.

What is crucially important in "the Melville affair" is the fact that such radical priests are no longer curiosities in the church. Increasingly, what they have done is looked upon with open favor by other clergy and laymen, who say they would—and perhaps will do the same thing.

The "violence question" hit the GICOP meeting this year with hurricane force. For a time it appeared that it might even break up the conference. All the speeches on Christian violence, a Christian theology of revolution, and the Christian-Marxist dialogue frankly horrified the old style traditional priests who had started the CICOP in the late 1950s as a means of giving more traditional types of pastoral aid to Latin America. At one point, the traditionalists, led by men like Boston's venerable Richard Cardinal Cushing, staged a backstage effort to have the meeting held every two years instead of annually which the radicals were certain would mean its death. The move

failed, but no one is yet certain which way the whole program will go.

It is indicative, too, that the strife between the two predominant sections in North American-Latin American thought is no longer between the liberals and the conservatives. Indeed while there are still plenty of conservatives around, they no longer feel that center stage is theirs and are seldom heard from. Now the fight is between the progressives or liberals and the radicals, with the liberals (the Christian Democrats and the basically non-violent Catholic action movements) arguing that the radicals will, in their excess of revolutionary enthusiasm, serve only to delay the substantive revolution with their impatience.

Men like Panama's leading Christian Democrat and university professor, Dr. Ricardo Arias-Calderon, believe strongly that using violence only carries you from one totalitarian tyranny to another: "I personally see pre-Castro to the post-Castro stage Dr. Arias said: "I want to see Latin societies pass from the type of society that tries to avoid change to a society that installs avenues for change a revolution to institutionalize revolution, not to create the scene for another revolution. The problem is very complicated: how to find the means that really foster change and not condemn us to a new means of non-participation".

The major characteristic of the young rebels is that they do not accept this kind of reasoned critique. As one young American priest in Peru said recently, "These decisions are not always rational ones."

Ironically, the rebels' fascination with guerrilla warfare as the "only way" comes precisely at the time when guerrilla warfare in Latin America could most truly said to have failed: Che Guevara dead in Bolivia, his movement in pieces; other movements, in Peru, Venezuela and Colombia, bankrupt or irrelevant

But there is a kind of vague, unformed quality to the rebels' psycho-

logy—that and desperation. It is almost as if taking a step, doing something, anything, is better than just silently watching conditions get worse. They reason that "the church has always used violence", that violence is already institutionalized in most Latin societies, and that it is the creative counter-violence which will end violence for all time. Mexico's independence wars were begun by a priest, Father Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, who led a pack of ragged and unkempt Indians. France's worker priests are in this tradition as are elements of the Catholic action movements.

The present changes in the Latin Catholic church stem from the post-World War II period, when the Vatican suddenly became aware that Latin America was slipping away—to secularism, Protestantism, the African cults. A series of reforms and reorganizations were launched which effectively began to liberalize the once dormant church. There was so much change so fast that even now there is a vast confusion in church circles. Much of what is happening today is happening because no one knows what the church of the future is going to be. In Latin America, there is far more freedom to innovate than in the established churches of the United States and Europe.

Another aspect of the revolution toward violence in the Catholic church is the dramatic trend toward union with the Marxists in Latin America. While in Europe the Christian-Marxist dialogue has progressed largely on an intellectual level, in Latin America it is progressing rapidly on an activist level.

Within the past year some of the most prominent Catholic clergy in Latin America have come to praise Fidel Castro, once seen by the church hierarchy as the church's most deadly enemy in their jurisdiction. The Papal Nuncio in Havana, Bishop Caesar Zacchi, recently was host of Fidel Castro for the first time at a reception in the Nunciature. Bishop Zacchi went further and praised Castro as "ethically a Christian, if not ideologically" and instructed

Catholics to work for the revolution—the Marxist revolution.

The celebrated Colombian priest, Father Rafael Garcia Herrerros, known for his radio broadcasts as a kind of "Colombian Bishop Sheen", followed Bishop Zacchi with: "Fidel Castro could be a good Christian. He has a profound faith in the progress of his country, in his people, and in the social liberation of man, which is an aspect of faith in God and of a good Christian."

What the Catholics and the Marxists have in common in Latin America is not so fragile as it might have appeared several years ago. It no longer seems to some of the Catholic clergy such an outrageous idea that Christians can again take up violence in the name of the cross and that they could work hand in hand with their favourite anti-Christ.

THE CATHOLIC CLERGY in Latin America is increasingly anti-United States. One top Bolivian priest estimates that "half the American priests here are anti-American." This attitude has developed both because of the anti-capitalist tinge of "The Development of Peoples" encyclical and because of the short-sighted policies of Washington toward Latin America. By its support of military dictatorships as well as—and sometimes in preference to—democratic regimes, the United States has antagonized and lost the support of the more idealistic Catholic elements.

"The Development of Peoples" encyclical, warning as it does against "exploitative capitalism," has played a key role in the shift to the far left. In the 1967 document, Pope Paul VI said that liberal capitalism "has been the source of excessive suffering, injustices, and fratricidal conflicts whose effects still persist."

With these indictments and with their common ideas about the necessity of revolution, the radical Catho-

lics are growing far closer to the Marxists on the social and economic level, if not always on the political level. The major point of difference, naturally, is still the apparent conflict between materialism and spiritualism. But the important point is that from all sides now in Latin America you can see the changes: the dramatic turn to revolution; the extraordinary dependence upon violence as the only way out of the abyss into which Latin America is slipping; the rapprochement with the former enemy.

How the church hierarchy and Rome will react if these ever become actively-instead of passively—dominant ideas, no one can force. But the fact of the presence, on a massive scale, of such ideas portends great changes not only in the future of the Catholic church but in the future of Latin America. At the moment you still can see only the forms, the amorphous shadows pushing across the ecclesiastical stage. What the revolutionary theology will lead to no one knows. A massive Christian

revolution being carried out on various even uncoordinated levels? A kind of new style, revolutionary, united front between the Catholics and the Marxists?

It is possible, of course, that this phase may be a passing phenomenon which will disappear as changes out-date it. But this does not seem likely. On the contrary, the shadows are dark, but lively. They seem to be taking on a life of their own.

Medical

Nephritis Caused By Silicates, Says A Yugoslav Physician

AFTER FIVE YEARS of intensive research work, the Yugoslav physician Dr. Borislav Markovic of Gnjilane (Southern Serbia) had discovered that nephritis, a serious kidney disease which is lethal in most cases and with which modern medicine is not yet able to fight successfully caused by silicates.

He has collected numerous scientific and practical proofs which deny all the former theories that nephritis is caused by some metals and viruses. Dr. Markovic says that the hotbeds of this lethal and rather wide spread disease in Yugoslavia lie in granite blocks from which rains in uninhabited mountainous regions and erosive grounds wash down silicates and carry them to river beds and subterranean waters. In this way, non-metallic minerals appear in many village wells and even in water supply systems wherefrom they easily reach human organism.

As a specialist in microbiology, Dr. Markovic began to study the causes of this disease in some parts of Serbia in 1962 where it is more widespread than in other parts of the country. After careful analyses

he explained his hypothesis six years ago that the cause of this disease should be sought in erosion and that it is most often registered in erosive regions, along rivers.

Dr. Markovic shaped his hypothesis in greater detail and supplemented it later. Its substance is: during heavy rains, water washes down silicates from granite blocks in erosive regions and carries them to nearby rivers. Carried along river beds and under constant pressure of the enormous water mass, this material penetrates through subterranean waters to all nearby wells. In rainy periods and at the time of high water level in rivers, the inhabitants of these parts do not dream that, together with drinking water from wells, they introduce certain death into their organisms. For, there is no remedy when nephritis once attacks the kidneys. However, when rains cease to fall and when river waters become clear again, this lethal cause disappears from them.

YUGOSLAV medical experts have been reluctant in accepting Dr. Markovic's hypothesis for a long time. Namely, there is a number of

other hypotheses as well behind which prominent medical experts stand. The most widespread hypothesis in Yugoslavia has been that nephritis is caused by lead covering milling stones. Allegedly, lead slowly mixes with flour during the milling season and then comes to village tables in the form of bread or cakes. The author of another theory (from Bulgaria) asserts that this kidney disease is caused by uranium. Some Swedish scientists hold that the cause of nephritis is cadmium. According to other hypotheses, likely causes are zinc, viruses or parasites.

Although without the help of domestic institutions, Dr. Markovic finally shaped his theory in the past two years and elaborated it in detail from the standpoint of causes, from the experimental, pathomorphological and clinical aspects. His work aroused keen interest in the medical public. Hundreds of letters are addressed to him from various parts of the world. Particularly interested of late are medical institutes of the United States, Japan, Canada, Italy, the United Kingdom, Sweden and Israel.

Commenting on Dr. Markovic's notable success, the representative of the World Health Organization Dr. Francis Raybi, University Professor of Berne, Switzerland, has offered the Yugoslav physician on behalf of the Organization considerable financial assistance so as to enable him to continue and complete his systematic scientific research.

New Treatment Of Injuries And Burns

SPECIALISTS of the Military Medical Academy of Belgrade, one of the Belgrade, one of the largest and most modernly equipped medical institutions in Yugoslavia, carried out interesting research work in 1968 about the consequences of traffic accidents and the treatment of injuries and burns. They came to the conclusion that the most frequent in traffic accidents are the so-called "Jeep injuries suffered by people who drive small cars. Most of these injured die in 24 hours, chiefly because of brain injuries. However, people who reach the hospital have good chances to be

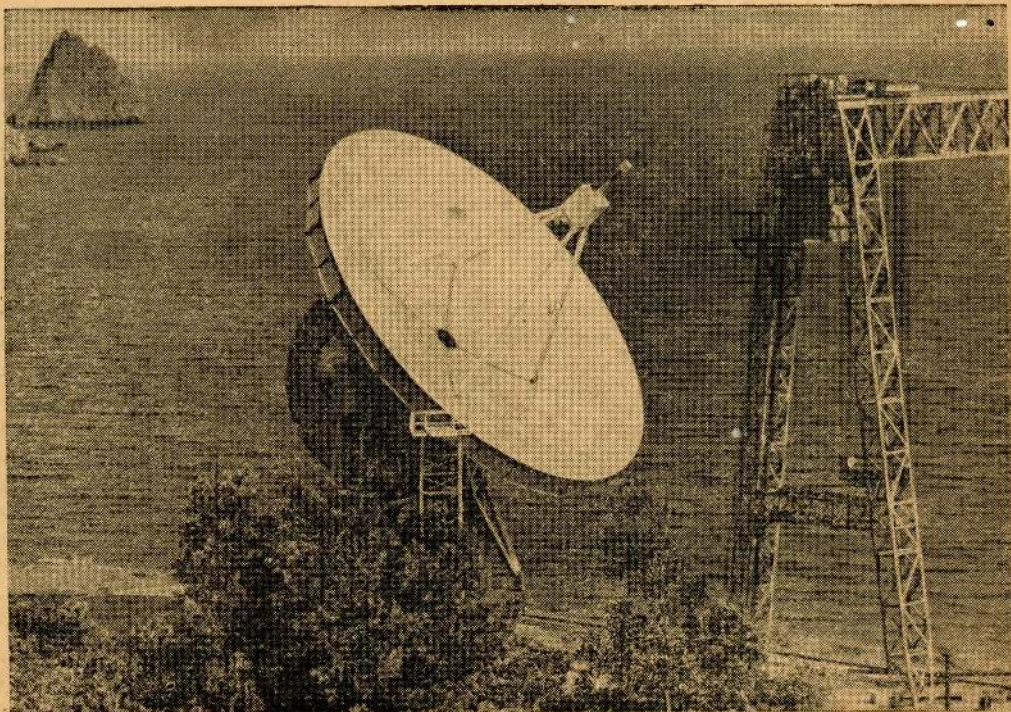
cured. Practice proves that even the most serious injuries are successfully treated and cured.

Professor Dr. Vinko Arneri, who works at the Academy, has elaborated an especially interesting and significant novelty in the treatment of injuries and burns. He departed from the assumption that the number of persons with serious damages of skin and other tissues is growing in modern traumatology. The treatment of such injuries can be successful only in co-operation between traumatologists and specialists in

plastic surgery. Dr. Arneri therefore holds that every surgical institution should have a specialist in plastic surgery.

In the course of this year, Dr. Arneri began to treat burns, serious and deep injuries by using special sponge-like bandages. These are polyuretan bandages for the treatment of wounds which cannot be closed by plastic surgical intervention immediately. The method enables early transplantation, keeps the wound dry and clean so that these special bandages prevent infection themselves.

It is expected after Dr. Arneri's success that all other surgical institutions in Yugoslavia will adopt this new method of treatment.



Scientists continue to peer into the expanses of the Universe, and all over the planet they are raising skywards the bowls of their radio telescopes, thereby supplying science with more information about the distant space. In this photo you see one of the new radio telescopes under construction in Crimea. The scientists of the Crimean astrophysical observatory are extending their observations of the radio emissions of celestial bodies.

Book Review

A Pakistani Doctor X-rays The Dollar Democracy

BEHIND THE PLASTIC CURTAIN by Dr. Muhammed Yusuf Toor, published by the Islamia Electric Press, Share Iqbal, Quetta. Price Rs. 15/-

THE author, a well-known figure in the medical world of Pakistan, went to America, not with the idea of writing a book about the country and its people but to study medicine. He spent nearly three years there, during which he had plenty of opportunities to study the American way of life.

As he puts it, "here is a straightforward student's attempt to tell about the facts of American life.... The America puffed with pelf and power making a bid for world domination and sacrificing all principles and losing all her prestige in the bargain. America is befooling the world and is being befooled by destiny."

Although Dr. Toor confesses in the preface that "this is not a book about the American politicians and their politics", the book strips the Americans naked in all their manifold ugly aspects, not the average Americans but the Americans who are trying to rule the world.

The book is fascinating despite its poor printing and get-up. It is definitely not sponsored or subsidised. There is objectivity and sincerity on the part of the writer and his approach to the subject is full of passionate sympathy for the ordinary American. Writing on mental health, the author concludes that in spite of the riches of the country and hygienic surroundings, the mental health of the Americans is going from bad to worse.

Penetrating deep into the American way of life, with the meticulousness of a pathologist, the doctor exposes the hollowness of their

claim that everything American is the best and shows that it is a deliberate distortion of facts as 'creating deceiving, maladministration, corruption and nepotism have become rampant everywhere.'

The author has taken enormous pains to present examples of corruption, jobbery, nepotism etc. in every field of public activity and has rightly concluded that these malpractices in their various forms and varieties are the manifestations of the spirit of gangsterism which looks upon the world as a booty to be grabbed by intrigue and chicanery. This spirit of gangsterism he found everywhere — from Presidential elections to foreign policy. "It has gone into the making of American and a part of American life."

The chapter on Business Morality exposes the conspiracy of big business against the poor hapless consumers. Writing on Wall Street, the author says that a visit to America would open the eyes of one to the evils of capitalism and its exploits.

He emphatically dubs foreign aid as the most dishonest and unscrupulous exploitation of the countries for in reality it is aid to America herself.

The American, the author says, must have sex in all spheres of activity. Many big business deals are settled with the help of callgirls. Some companies maintain one or two call-girls on their payrolls as part of their public staff. An executive, who is the president of a large international firm, admitted that "prostitution does help business."

Sex has become almost a part of students' extra-curricular activities and has reached menacing proportions. Indiscipline has turned so reckless that students hang a tie on

the knob of the door to indicate that they are having fun!

According to the author's investigations, every fifth child in a class roll is illegitimate, that is, in a class of 50 there are about 10 illegitimate children. Such is the atmosphere in the United States today, the author observes.

In American society today, where sex has free play without let or hindrance, there is a complete breakdown of moral discipline leading to rape and murder and other crimes.

TALKING about the role of the Church, Dr. Toor says the Church is supposed to conquer the heart and soul in true Christian spirit, but in America contrary is true. The spiritual aspect is completely neglected by the Church in its anxiety to make money and gain membership because it feels that it is its numerical strength which enables to make its voice heard in the affairs of the nation.

Dr. Toor describes the obnoxious part played by the American missionaries who come to the countries of the East. Their mission is imperialist rather than spiritual. Their schools and hospitals, which are supported by unlimited financial resources exploit the unwary Asians. He concludes that the hospitals ostensibly built for the humanitarian purpose of relieving the sufferings of the poor do in reality pry on the sick and innocent people.

After studying and analysing various aspects of American life with an inquiring mind, the author lays bare the nefarious activities of the world's most deadly organisation called the Central Intelligence Agency, which "has its workers travelling under their own names as scientists, students, economists, engineers, hotel clerks, housewives" and so on.

The CIA, he points out, has as many employees as there are in the State Department. In one section of the huge office, the CIA stocks its files on foreign nations with a perfect index system. In a matter of seconds anybody from anywhere in the world who is listed

can be traced with the help of computers.

The CIA has a hand in all the trouble spots of the world: "The CIA takes upon itself the job of the State Department, the job of the Army, Air Force, Marine and the Secret Service."

The director of the CIA can write out a cheque for millions of dollars and no questions are asked or answered.

In a note of warning to India, Dr. Toor asserts that India is dreaming of honeymoon with America, but that dream may not come true. "Poor India has walked right into the spider's web and she may never be able to extricate herself. . . ."

The author's observations should serve as an eye-opener to everyone the Government and especially those leaders who are trying to import the American way of life. Summing up, he says that, "Uncle Sam and his CIA have assumed a dangerous role. The CIA has its rings around the world."

FISH IS WARNED OFF DANGEROUS AREAS

Moscow. The biologists and associates of the All-Union Research Institute of Geophysical Survey have designed a device warning fish about any impending danger of an explosion. The seismic prospectors make their paths not only on the ground but through water as well. The new device will help avoid the killing of fish which comes to be near the place of an explosion. The explosive charge is sunk on the bottom after which a special loudspeaker is put underwater. The fish, as it were, is given a warning signal to keep out of the place. Scored by the sound signals coming from the loudspeaker, the fish leave the dangerous area. The point is that the recorded "threatening voices" of the fish of prey are transmitted through the loudspeaker.

Ceylon And India

Psychological Imponderables

by *Urmila Phadnis*

We publish with acknowledgements to the Hindustan Times of 27/11/68 an article by Urmila Phadnis under the heading "Ceylon and India — Psychological Imponderables." The article was written the day our Prime Minister Mr. Dudley Senanayake went on a State visit to India.

IN AN INFORMAL TALK on Ceylonese politics with me during my visit to Ceylon, a prominent leftist leader in Ceylon remarked that Ceylonese politics was affected in more than one way by political developments in India. "If a rightist regime comes to power in Delhi" he said, "the left parties' coalition cannot have a future here. We in Ceylon watch political developments in India not only with interest but also with great concern." And, curiously enough, he along with several other leaders of the leftist parties in Ceylon had spent some years in India participating in Indian politics out of a conviction that Ceylon's independence would follow India's.

This conversation took place in 1967, but as far back as 1948, the leader of the right-wing United National Party (UNP) and the first Prime Minister of Ceylon, Mr. D.S. Senanayake, arguing the case for closer relations with the UK maintained that in the event of Communists taking over South India, Ceylon's existence as a distinct political entity might be imperilled.

This concern about the political developments in India amongst Ceylonese politicians is an expression of the best and worst of geopolitical compulsions in Indo-Ceylonese relations. The island is separated from other land mass (apart from peninsular India) by more than two thousand miles. India is barely

22 miles across a shallow gulf. It is not surprising therefore that from India has come 'salvation' as well as causes of "deep offence." if Buddhism, the fountain-spring of ancient Ceylonese culture and civilization, was the gift of India, so was the invasion of the Cholas and the Pandyas. In the days of colonial rivalry between the European powers it was only because renewed reinforcements were available from India that the island was subdued finally by the British. And, last but not least, it was the export of labour from South India which made it possible for the British to develop the revenue potential of the island.

These people of Indian origin who worked mostly on plantations and are known as "Indian Tamils" are the largest minority (12 per cent), followed by the 'Ceylon Tamils' (those who migrated from India to northern and eastern parts of Ceylon centuries before and have citizenship rights) who account for 11 per cent of the island's population. Thus, comprising about a fifth of the total population, the Tamil community has been heavily concentrated in areas in close proximity to Southern India across the straits. A geographical coincidence, it is a fact that some of the areas heavily populated by the Indian estate labour are adjacent to the Tamil populated provinces. The Tamil community not only predominates in the north of Ceylon but also overweighs the majority Sinhalese community in some districts in the Central province which was the traditional bastion of Sinhalese royalty.

WITH such geographical compulsions, it is easy to grasp the remark of some of the commentators that though a majority community (comprising about 65 per cent of Ceylon's population), the Sinhalese flanked as they are not only by 2-1/2 million Tamils in the island but also by 27

million Tamils across the Palk Straits (with whom the Tamils in Ceylon have close cultural affinity), suffer from an acute minority complex. It is not surprising therefore that they should be acutely sensitive to the activities of the Dravidian nationalist parties in India. Talk of Pan-Tamil movement has further heightened the Sinhalese awareness of its majority status. For instance, in a recent editorial, the SLFP daily "Sri Lanka" claimed that the DMK's territorial ambitions should cause concern not merely for the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, but for the entire Sinhalese people. It further maintained that the "We Tamils" movement was perpetuating the dream of a Tamil kingdom embracing the Tamil speaking areas of Ceylon. Though the DMK leader in Tamilnad, after becoming the Chief Minister, emphasized time and again that the DMK had no territorial designs over Ceylon such statements do not seem to have carried conviction in the island. A DMK goodwill delegation to Ceylon last year was keen to meet Mrs. Bandaranaike but she declined to meet them. She made it clear also that she was unwilling to believe that the DMK's advent to power in Madras had brought about an awareness of responsibility and brought genuine and real change of heart on its part.

It must be emphasized in this context that in its search for an identity as a nation, the Ceylonese have tended to draw on the Sinhalese past in which the Tamils emerge as interlopers. Further, in 1950's, amongst other things, it was on the majority community's sense of grievance as against the minority's privileged position that the SLFP rode to power. Taking cudgels on behalf of the majority community the Sri Lanka Freedom Party has taken on itself the role of a watchdog of the Sinhalese community's interest against any possible intrusion on its rights from any quarter.

In New Delhi, Sinhalese fears might seem exaggerated but they can be understood in the context of Ceylon's immediate past in which the Sinhalese as a majority

community did have an underprivileged status. The cry of Sinhala nation in danger', whether from the 'aliens' or the indigenous in the small island with its excellent communication media, pays handsome political dividends which no political party in Ceylon — from extreme right to the extreme left — can afford to ignore specially after the elections of 1956.

Unfortunately, occasional utterances of the DMK leaders, either on Ceylon in general or on people of Indian origin, in particular, contain enough material to kindle Sinhalese apprehensions. As such, an unstable India with a weak centre and stronger units the Ceylonese feel, will have its repercussions on the politics of the island. Significantly, the Centre-Southern States equation* is watched by both the major political parties in Ceylon — the SLFP and the UNP — with concern but this concern emanates from divergent sources. If the SLFP finds in a strong DMK ruled Tamilnad a danger to the existence of Ceylon as a land of the Sinhala, the UNP looks with dismay the moves for greater autonomy on the part of Kerala, for it believes that a strong Communist state in the South might endanger the future of democracy and democratic institutions in Ceylon.

THE image of India in the mind of an average Sinhalese not only seems to have the prejudices of the political parties but also reflects an ignorance which is more than reciprocated by Ceylon's image of an average Indian specially in the north where 'Lanka' is meaningful only as the land of Ravana. As regards the commonman in Ceylon his image of India could be compared with the two sides of a coin — one side showing a continuous stream of admiration for the land of Buddha, Gandhiji, Nehru and Shastri and the other side imprinting on his mind's eye India as the land of the Cholas, the Pandyas and the DMK. This division of India in the North and South along with its divergent images has probably been nowhere

as real, as it is in the minds of the Ceylonese — often a Sinhalese.

In 1967, the issues pertaining to India that dominated the Ceylonese newspapers were (apart from the discussion on the Indo-Ceylonese Act) the 'paper invasion of India' and the famine. The common man's reaction to newspaper reports and comments on the latter was one of concern. This was however one side of the picture. On the other hand, certain newspapers complained time and again that the 'cheap trash' was being dumped on their country from South India costing the island its hard earned foreign exchange. It was explained that this campaign was started by a certain group of Ceylonese newspapers with a view to push their own Tamil publications specially the magazines in place of the magazines from South India. But then — this was an inside story. The general public continued to be fed on the stories as to how South India was squeezing poor Ceylon.

What was noteworthy in this context was the fact that when put in the proper perspective — whether the issue of famine or any other issue — the man in the street in Colombo tried to grasp the facts but often failed to accept them. It seemed difficult for him to believe that the fabled India where his affluent womenfolk made pilgrimages as many times as possible to buy Manipuri (the confusion was appalling for they inevitably meant Banaras sarees) sarees and other fancy goods could also have a famine. To him it seemed hard to believe that an average Indian was poorer than an average Ceylonese; that India was struggling much harder than Ceylon to minimise the yawning disparities in various fields; that slums were an inevitable part of the Indian landscape as were skyscrapers; that political articulation in certain areas in India was on a much lower pitch than it was in the remotest corner of Ceylon that in the totality of its many faces — its extremes in social, political and economic spheres — lay 'India' and finally that it was not the 'elder brother' who had always to give but there were some spheres in

which the 'younger brother' had taken a stride and could help the 'elder by providing guidelines. . .

It is in this spirit that Indo-Ceylonese economic collaboration on tea after years of impasse, has been reached and it was in the same spirit of 'give and take' that the Sirimavo-Shastri Pact attempting to solve the long drawn question of the political status of people of Indian origin in Ceylon was signed.

Every Government in Ceylon has to tread wearily in its attitude to the big neighbour. For India is assessed critically and any concession to India is prone to be regarded as "weakness." And there is an expectation too that as a big neighbour, India should be more accommodating to Ceylon.

India, the psychological complex poses a dilemma. If it is over eager to help, it might tread upon the sentiments of the small neighbour; if it is overcautious, it is blamed for its indifference towards a sister country. There is no doubt that at times the charge of India being complacent and smug towards her neighbour could be upheld but it could also be emphasized that cultural relations were not always binding for good bilateral relations as is maintained in virtually all the official Indo-Ceylonese joint statements; that geographical proximity did not always facilitate friendly ties but had its reverse side too and that the size of a country itself was an imponderable leading to certain inhibitions which might be minimized but could not altogether be eroded. These are some of the constants which could also prove to be irritants in bilateral relations between a small and a big country.

THIS is the frame of reference which might determine the outcome of discussion during the forthcoming visit of the Ceylonese Premier in the Capital. Amongst the issues the one which might keep the officials of both the sides on their toes appears to be Kachchathivu, Situated almost in the middle of the Palk Straits, the political status of the small barren island, which has been a subject of controversy between the Governments of India and Ceylon, has drawn

considerable attention in India. So far, the Government as well as opposition in Ceylon have asserted unequivocally that legally and politically Kachchathivu belongs to Ceylon.

In India, while some of the political parties have stoutly presented the Indian case, the Government of India, while admitting that there has been a controversy between both the Governments on this issue, appealed to the opposition leaders to show restraint and not put India's relations with Ceylon "to test on a small issue like this."

Meanwhile the premiers of both the countries have reiterated that the issue could be solved by joint discussions between the officials of India and Ceylon. The reaction of Ceylonese officials after the statement of Pakistan's Law Minister during his recent visit to Ceylon that Kachchathivu belonged to Ceylon not only evinced embarrassment but

brought forth expression of a firm belief in finding a solution to this issue without external assistance and through mutual consultations.

A study of the Kachchathivu controversy makes one feel that it could not be laid to rest by legal arguments but by a bold political decision mutually acceptable to both the countries. If posed as a test case of either Government's ability to guard its respective political sovereignty the resolution of the dispute might seem unsolvable. The joint parleys of the premiers on the dispute, however, could be more meaningful if discussed in the wider context of the Indo-Ceylonese interests in the Indian Ocean in general and the possibilities of their joint fishing ventures in the Palk Straits and Gulf of Mannar, in particular. In an attempt to explore common ground for such a joint venture, India has as much to look towards Ceylon as Ceylon to India.

SURGEONS ARE ASSISTED BY ELECTRIC STIMULATORS

Moscow, The treatment of grave injuries of the spinal cord was discussed recently at a scientific session in the Institute of Surgery of the Academy of Medical Sciences. Staff members of this institute spoke about the results of using radio-frequency electric stimulation to restore functions of the bladder and bowels in patients with injured spines. Ten such different accident cases have been treated at the institute headed by the prominent Soviet Surgeon Alexander Vishnevsky. Thin electrodes were implanted into the wall of the bladder of each patient. These electrodes were linked with a tiny receiver inserted into a muscle of the abdominal wall. When necessary, the patient issued an impulse-command by means of a special autonomous transmitting device. The receiver immediately relayed this impulse to the wall of the bladder, causing its contraction and emptying.

The observations conducted at the clinic for two and a half years showed that the electric stimulation of the bladder not only brings about a restoration of its function but also has a stimulating effect on the bowels and patient's entire organism. In particular, it helps the quick healing of bed-sores, which are a source of great suffering for patients with injuries of the spinal cord. Alexander Vishnevsky's new works are a continuation of the studies conducted by his father Alexander Vishnevsky Sr. (1874-1948), the founder of the Institute of Surgery. The scientific session was convened in connection with the 20th anniversary of his death. The famous scientist was the author of the methods of treating a number of surgical diseases with novacaine blockade which influences the organism through the nervous system.

The new method of radio-frequency electric stimulation of internal organs is the next step in the search of means of acting on the trophic nervous system.

Leads The World

Britain--Capital Of Gambling, Drugs, Sex And Crime

by K. P. Ghosh

London

Gambling is a big-booming fastest-growing industry in Britain today. The British are the keenest and the most sophisticated gamblers in the world.

Britain is the "Gambling Capital of the World", says William Hill, Britain's leading bookmaker. Some people are worried about it.

SOME MPs would like the Labour Government to take steps soon to slow down this moral decadence of the nation. It has acquired recognisable characteristics here which are

worrying men and women not concerned with politics.

Gambling is only a part of the whole picture, which includes sexual permissiveness, drug trafficking, increasing crimes against property and person, racial intolerance and pornographic excesses on the stage and in art and literature; above all the spending spree by more and more people to satisfy their cravings for consumption.

All these have increased since the coming of affluence in the mid-fifties, and have multiplied by leaps and bounds since the Tories passed the

Betting and Gaming Act, in 1961. "Great Gambling Britain" was the title of a recent television programme.

With gambling legalised, betting and nightclub businesses "saw the promised land stretching before their feet."

LONDON'S leading nightclubs like Aspinalls and Crockfords could play big-money games like baccarat and chemin-de-fer, and could take profitable toll.

Clubs outside London began playing roulette, blackjack, and craps while serving their clients with drinks and floor shows. All began minting money. Within a few months, the value of Crockfords shares rose by 21,000 per cent.

Exclusive clubs pay as much as 50,000 pounds in annual licence fees. In their rooms, as much as 4,000



Vast are the pastures of Kazakhstan where shepherd is the main man whose work is not easy at all. Yet, even far away from big cities the local people do not feel themselves separated from their country. Here you see shepherd Abdulla Abdullin and his youthful assistant listening to the radio.

pounds changes hands on the turn of a single card.

Americans fly over for a weekend's game of luck, and many of them spend 10 to 15 thousand dollars each.

Playboy Club, in London, open 24 hours where "correctly undressed" girls are a greater attraction than the croupiers. The top dealer's pay is 75 pounds a week, and he deals over 1,000 pounds each night.

Of the unrivalled variety of gambling offered in these clubs, only blackjack, played with four packs of cards, is claimed as a game of skill, because some players are said to be able to keep track of all cards. All others are, admittedly, games of chance.

Besides the rich men's clubs, there are 1,000 licenced gaming clubs for those with less money to burn; but, as a licence is needed only to sell alcoholic drinks, no one knows how many clubs are run without licences.

In addition to the gaming clubs, there are 16,000 betting shops for placing bets on race horses and dogs. No shopping centre is without one or more betting offices, always crowded with men. Housewives can place their bets by telephone as well as watch the races with all its excitement on the telly.

These takings, between 1,000 and 4,000 pounds, are counted as small fry.

The total for last year's betting on races was 1,200 million pounds. Bookmakers made, on an average, 20,000 pounds each. William Hill owns two million pounds worth of bloodstock and 30,000 credit customers on his books. Even some working men own greyhounds for racing priced between 60 and 150 pounds each. A champion greyhound may cost up to 2,000 guineas.

SEVERAL MILLION POUNDS yearly, are spent on football pools. In the fifties, their first dividends used to be 75,000 pounds; but in the sixties, they had to raise it to over 30,000 pounds to attract punters.

The pool competition has forced the Government to raise its premium bonds weekly lucky dip to 25,000 pounds.

Bingo has the largest gambling clientele of all. In 1961, it was regarded as a passing craze, but now it is in full swing in 20,000 halls, drawing housewives and middle-aged women several times weekly.

Many unremunerative cinemas have been turned into bingo halls and churches have lost their regular worshippers.

Britain is an enormously rich and stable society, but how much dissipation can it stand?

"It gets into your blood", say men addicted to gambling. Sociologists say that the people get addicted because of a lack of other social and cultural activities.

A bookmaker and one-time teacher philosophised. "When young, I used to think that one should leave the world a better place — but now I think life is much too short, and no one had any obligation but to his own satisfaction."

He was speaking for the growing fraternity of the millions of British gamblers.

Without Comment From The Forward On

Transfer Of Presidents Of Labour Tribunals

We publish the comment by columnist Chitra which appeared in the Communist weekly Forward of January 9 under the heading "SINISTER SHUFFLE"

"It is hardly surprising that a number of trade unions should have protested against the round-robin transfer of Presidents of Labour Tribunals by the Department of Labour.

For there is good ground to suspect that the real purpose of these transfers is not to effect general changes in the interests of the service, but to shunt off the sidelines two particular Labour Tribunal Presidents who are in the black books of the employers and the friends of the employers in the Labour Department.

It is no secret that Labour Tribunal Presidents Subramaniam and Abeysekera who operated until now in Colombo, where the biggest employers and the biggest QC's whom they retain are to be found, incurred the displeasure of the big bosses.

Mr. Subramaniam's award against Messrs Malibans Ltd., whose proprietor is the father-in-law of the new Commissioner of Labour, has not increased his popularity in these circles.

And one learns that Messrs Lever Brothers, even objected in

open Court to Mr. Abeysekera hearing a case in which they were involved.

It is also interesting to note that Mr. Abeysekera on 30th October, 1968, announced in Court that he was not proceeding with the hearing of the case that day as the Minister of Labour had wanted to see him on the matter.

It is learnt that the trade unions will be raising these matters at very high levels soon.

They are especially indignant at the arbitrary way in which the present Commissioner of Labour conducts his office.

In particular they want to know why no action has been taken against the Commissioner for his arbitrary and illegal action in "instructing" the banks to freeze the accounts of several railway trade unions whose members were on strike.

This high-handed action was rightly condemned even by the *Daily News* and other sections of the monopoly newspapers.

What people want to know is whether the Commissioner is more interested in helping another relative, Mr. Rampala, to have a whack at the trade unions rather than his legitimate function of helping to promote a settlement of industrial disputes."

FILM PAGE

● **PARISU**, Cinemas Ltd. release, now showing at the *KINGSLEY*, *PLAZA*, *MYLAN*, *EROS* and other centres, is presented in such a manner as to keep audience intrigued. There's a sufficiency of action, suspense and drama in this Tamil movie directed by Yoganand. The visual action and the tempo of the film grips the audience, and the songs in the movie are carefully tuned by K. V. Mahadevan.

A jeweller is robbed and killed. The Police Inspector (M. G. Ramachandran) of the area tracks the leader of the gang (Nambiar) to the hide-out. In the process he falls in love with a village girl (Savithri) and promises to marry her. Later owing to forced circumstances he is compelled to marry another girl who is partially mad. Then in a dramatically built-up climax, after many fights, chases, escapes and killings, the leader is arrested, and the Inspector is united with the girl of his choice.

Air Conditioned
LIBERTY

TONY CURTIS
ROSSANA SCHIAFFINO

in
**Arrivederci
Baby**

Technicolor From Paramount

2nd Month

CENTRAL

Sivaji — Sarojadevi
Nagesh in

**EN
THAMBI**

The cast also includes M.R. Radha Ragini, Raja Sulochana and Nagesh.

● **ARRIVEDERCI BABY**, Seven Arts-Ray Stark production in Technicolor, released through Paramount Pictures, now showing at the *LIBERTY CINEMA*, is a delightful comedy that promotes laughs at any cost, starring Tony Curtis as Nick Johnson, a con man, whose speciality is to love, marry and leave dead, with himself as the beneficiary of the estates. Nancy Kwan plays Baby, a luscious, lithsome belle who is out to marry Nick, until she comes across another character later with more wealth. New sensational beauty Rosanna Schiaffino is Francesca, and her mere sight causes her 75 year old husband to fall dead with excited anticipation during the honeymoon. The story commences here with Parker (Ionel Jeffries) reporting the happy occurrence immediately to his boss Nick in Nice. Nick leaves for Rome. On the plane, he recalls how he conned his way out of the orphanage by getting himself adopted by a kindly and very rich Aunt Miriam (Anna Quayle), and eventually killed her and inherited the house and fifty thousand dollars. Landing in Rome, Parker informs Nick, Francesca is worth ten million dollars. At the funeral of her husband, Nick recalls to himself how he met his first wife Gigi (Zsa Zsa Gabor) sent her in a rocket into orbit, and inherited her yacht, jewels, money and Parker. Nick then indulges in memories of his third wife, the Right Honourable Lady Fenella Fawcett (Fenella Fielding), her death by jumping into a gravel pit, and the inheritance he gained with the help of Parker. Nick finally manages to marry Francesca and her ten million dollars. Baby then tries to break up the marriage, Nick calms her down with the story she will die soon. Meanwhile all attempts made by Nick and Parker to do away with Francesca fails, and she begins to realise what's going on and attacks Nick. Baby later learns that Max is the new Conte de Rienzi, and turns her attention to him. Nick unaware of the developments tries to kill Francesca, and learns that she is no

longer the owner of the Conte's property. Francesca knows he has spent his last cent in the campaign to win her. Both realise at last that they have something more valuable than money, love. They begin a new kind of life in a Neapolitan slum tenement, with Parker helping them.

2nd Week

EMPIRE Air-Conditioned

Gina Lollobrigida in

Death Laid An Egg
in Colour — (Adults Only)

From Thurs Jan 23

MAJESTIC Air-Conditioned

in 70 m.m.

MGM's **GRAND PRIX**

5th Week

REGAL Air-Conditioned

Columbia's

BORN FREE

in Panavision & Colour

2nd Week

ELPHINSTONE—ROXY

2, 6, 9.30 p.m.

Samanala Films'

SENEHASA

Shortly at

SELLAMAHAL

M G. Ramachandran in

Kudiyruntha Koil

in Eastman Colour

2nd Week

CROWN

Mala Sinha—Manoj Kumar in

HIMALAY KI

GODMEIN

in Eastman Colour

3rd Week

SAVOY Air-Conditioned

George Peppard—Ursula

Andress in

The Blue Max

in Cinemascope & Colour

● IN MGM's "GRAND PRIX" in Super Panavision 70mm and colour, The Viewer becomes a Participant in the vivid thrills — The great puzzlement for first-time spectators at Grand Prix auto races, such as the one filmed near Spain, Belgium, for Grand Prix, opening this week at the *MAJESTIC*, John Frankenheimer's spectacular film for MGM is that nearly 100,000 spectators sit patiently for more than two hours seeing very little of the race itself "There's a magnetic excitement", explains director Frankenheimer. "composed of the big league competition of sixteen drivers risking their lives and their expensive machines against the ever-present possibility of instant disaster. If the spectator knows something about the personalities of the drivers and the capabilities of the vehicles it becomes more fascinating. Even the thundering din and the noxious fumes of the engines add to the atmosphere." But if the typical spectator can see more than a half-mile of track he is one of a fortunate few. Frankenheimer was determined to show movie audiences what Grand Prix racing really looks like. For the complex task he assembled a small army of actors, technicians and the world's top racing drivers. The latest electronic equipment was pioneered in movie photography for the first time, with remote control devices and television monitors used in conjunction with camera cars that travelled 200 m.p.h. or faster than the Formula I cars themselves. To film the Belgium Grand Prix, Frankenheimer spent one week before the race and one week afterward with a conclave of expert drivers, including Graham Hill, Jack Brabham, Bob Bondurant, Jochen Rindt, Richie Ginther and Bonnier. They acted as consultants, and drove the camera cars, a Ford G.T. and a Cobra, as well as the film company's own racing cars. They even gathered in a country inn near the track at Francorchamps for a scene showing a typical racing drivers' association meeting. The Belgium Automobile Club officials who administered the race proved co-operative in adapting themselves to movie requirements. Because of

the need of the story, which has James Garner winning in a Japanese entry, Frankenheimer had persuaded Bruce McLaren to paint his cars with the white Japanese racing colours so that the actual race footage could be intercut with scenes the movie unit staged itself. However, the McLaren cars dropped out in the trials and Frankenheimer was still without a white car in the race. Overnight, Bob Bondurant's privately run BRM was painted white without a murmur from track officials. In the 17th and final position on race day itself, Phil Hill was permitted for one lap to take around one of the film company's own racers with a camera mounted on its nose. As chance would have it, Hill managed to drive through a massive accident on that first lap which put out more than half the field and sent Jackie Stewart to the hospital. Naturally enough, the camera got the only picture of the scene. Portraying drivers in the movie and spending much time behind the wheel themselves were James Garner, Yves Montand, Brian Bedford and Antonio Sahato, with Toshiro Mifune as owner of the Japanese team. Eva Marie Saint, Jessica Walter and Francoise Hardy are the all-important girls in the precarious lives of the racing dare-devils. The movie a Douglas & Lewis Production, has a screenplay by Robert Alan Arthur.

● THREE HATS FOR LISA, (Eastmancolor), opening this week at the *EMPIRE*, was filmed on location in and around London, and completed in Pinewood Studios. Producer Jack Hanbury and Director Sidney Hayers team up again, with an original story, screenplay, music and lyrics by Leslie Bricusse and additional material provided by Talbot Rothwell. Joe Brown (without his Bruvvers), continental star Sophie Hardy, Sidney James, Una Stubbs and new discovery Dave Nelso all contribute to the high jinks. This is Sophie Hardy's first film in Britain, although she has a string of continental successes to her name.



2nd Week

KINGSLEY PLAZA

2, 6 & 9.30 p.m

M. G. R.
Savithiri

PARISU

with

TAMIL PAGEANT

(Eastman Colour)

5th Week

GAMINI SAPPHIRE

2, 6 & 9.30 p.m

CINEMAS'

ATAVENI PUDUMEYA

2dn Week

LIDO

10.30 a.m. 2.30, 6 & 9.30 p.m.

President's Gold Medal Winner

CHEMMEEN

(Eastmancolor)

Music:- Salil Chowdhury

5th Week

CAPITOL

2, 6 & 9.30 P.M

Alibaba & Forty Thieves

Gevacolor

Moscow Exposes

Fleet Street Links With British Secret Service To Step Up Anti-Soviet Barrage

London

Moscow has done it again. Following the Soviet Note of December 2 which was aimed at drawing the attention of the British people to the dangerous drift in Britain's foreign policy vis-a-vis the Soviet Union, the Soviet press has now attacked some important British newspapers and the great British establishment known as the BBC.

The Soviet Government newspaper "Izvestia" has charged some top newspapers, the BBC and some prominent persons connected with these institutions of keeping up an anti-Soviet barrage and riviving the Cold War atmosphere.

The specific form of the present accusation is that, these institutions and personalities are serving the British secret service with which they are alleged to be closely connected.

Last week, "Izvestia" published photographs of a pile of documents headed "Special Operation" as alleged proof of the fact that sinister links existed between the British secret service and Fleet Street.

In a two page article entitled, "The Intelligence Services, the BBC and others" the authors, Lyadov and Rozin, quoted from documents said to be in their possession about procedures for secret intelligence use of the BBC.

SOME of the prominent persons who have been named as working closely with the espionage apparatus are Mr. Charles Curran, BBC's Director of External Broadcasting who is to be the new Director-General early next year, Lord Arran of the "Daily Mail" Lord Hartwell and Mr. Roy Pawley of the "Daily Telegraph", Messrs. David Astor, Mark Arnold Foster, Wayland Young and Edward Crankshaw, all of "The Observer", Henry Brandon, Washington correspondent of the "Sunday Times", and Brian Crozier, who used to work for the "Economist".

Needless to say, all these important persons have rejected the charge as utterly false, either indignantly, or with a dash of sarcasm.

Although Whitehall has not reached to these developments officially, so to say, it has taken note of them.

There are some who consider these moves as sign of Moscow's efforts to cut down the number of BBC listeners in the Soviet Union. They suggest that Moscow is nervous about the evergrowing popularity, inside the Soviet Union, of the BBC broadcasts in Russian, as also in English, and this attempt to "smear" the BBC and some other important pillars of mass communications in Britain is no more than a clumsy defensive political act by the Kremlin to safeguard the home front.

It would be somewhat naive to imagine that Moscow took such a step to safeguard the home front; there are other, more effective, means available to it had such been the aim.

WHAT SEEMS more logical is that Moscow is keen on reminding the British people of the folly of anti-Sovietism, blatant or clever, in the hope that British public opinion would succeed in exerting a moderating influence on the policy-makers.

That such is the aim is borne out by the other steps that Moscow appears to be taking. There seems to be little doubt that diplomatic channels are being used by Moscow to assure London that, far from desiring a worsening relationship between the two countries, Moscow would rather work for an improved one.

Moscow, it would appear, is pointing out that, as the events in Czechoslovakia have admittedly not changed the power balance in Europe, it is highly undesirable on Britain's part to make political capital out of it and inspire such steps within NATO, and elsewhere, as would lead to a steady deterioration of the total European situation.

Whether such a two-pronged effort by Moscow would yield the desired results remains to be seen.

