

# YOUNG SOCIALIST

**EDITORIALS ON:** At Home.....;.....and  
abroad.

A Closer look at the Sino-Indian Border Dispute

by Osmund Jayaratne

Inside South Africa

by Zola Sankosi

The Public Security Ordinance No. 25 of 1947 (Part I)

by S. S. Sahabandu

The Case History of Guantanamo

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Liberty or Death! Venceremos!

by Robert F. Williams

Tripoli Programme

An Introduction to the Philosophy of Marxism (Part III)

by R. S. Baghavan

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# YOUNG SOCIALIST

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Volume 2 Number 3

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## *Editorial Notes*

AT HOME....

THESE notes are written on Independence Day, 1963.

Fifteen years have passed since 4th February, 1948, the day when complete political independence was legally granted to Ceylon by the British Government. The period divides itself into two parts whose dividing line is provided by the years 1953-1956. 1953 witnessed the great hartal of August 12th which constituted a general rebellion of the people against the United National Party regime. 1956 witnessed the great electoral overturn which reduced the United National Party Parliamentary representation from 70 to 8 and brought the Sri Lanka Freedom Party to power in the guise of the Mahajana Eksath Peramuna.

Six years after 1956 it is possible to discern the precise scope of the changes marked and heralded by the eclipse of the United National Party and the rise of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party. The so called people's revolution has not in any material way affected the class and the property structure of the country. Despite the nationalisations, the economic and property structure remains substantially as before. The stranglehold of foreign capital on our economy continues. We have not moved towards economic independence.

In other fields, however, great and irreversible changes of a radical nature have been set going. The adoption of swabasha as the national media of education ensures that swabasha will prevail in all spheres of

national life. Despite the halting nature of the switch over to Sinhala in the administration, and despite the cruel discrimination that has been and is being practised against Tamil legislatively and administratively, the administration of the country in the swabasha can only gather momentum. English, as the first and most popular and widespread foreign language in Ceylon, has yet to find its correct place but that its correct place will be only as the principal foreign language resorted to in this country is beyond doubt.

The drawing out of the consequences of these and other changes, such as the demi-official supremacy accorded to the Buddhist religion, will of course take a much longer time; but that the changes reflect and in turn stimulate a certain national revival especially amongst the Sinhalese and the Buddhists is clear. That this revival should take the form of an anti-minority political drive is the tragedy of our times which serves to cloud fundamental realities.

Important as the changes adverted to above are, they do not drive down to the basic foundation of society but remain substantially in the realm of society's super structure. After all, at the foundation of all society is the economy. It is here that those changes originate which necessitate and ultimately end up in the radical and complete transformation of the entire social system. How is it with Ceylon in this field since 1953-56?

If we regard the situation today in the light of the last years of the United National Party regime we may find a surprising contemporariness in the earlier period. We are today living in a period of grave financial difficulties for the Government and serious economic difficulties for the people. It was also thus in the United National Party's fading years. Financial stress leading to severe taxation measures and an attack on the social services culminated in the withdrawal of the rice subsidy which resulted in

the trebling of the price of rationed rice. The consequent political turmoil reached its climax in the August hartal and the resignation of Mr. Dudley Senanayake. His successor, Sir John Kotelawela, uncomprehending heir of a hollow heritage, went some two and a half years later in wooden certitude into a General Election which brought the United National Party unmitigated electoral disaster.

What have we today? A Government which increased its revenues by over a hundred million rupees a year found itself with

a budget deficit which yawned ever wider. A country which witnessed enhanced production and exports of Tea and Coconut products found itself with a recurring foreign trade deficit. A Government which cut down expenditure severely and imposed a wage freeze surreptitiously in the name of a development programme which never materialised, found its foreign balances and assets declining so fast and so precipitately that it had, willy-nilly, to impose the most severe import restrictions this country has ever known. Superimposed as these import restrictions measures were on lagging domestic production of consumer goods, accompanied as the financial situation was with inflationary finance, internal prices soared to levels that neutralised previous wage and income gains. Despite the frantic appeals of the living Sri Lanka Freedom Party, to the name and memory of the assassinated Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, politics manifestly could not go on as before.

And so it proved. The events accompanying the presentation to Parliament of Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike's 1962 Budget as well as the events that led to his redrafting of that Budget and to his own resignation, are now part of history and anyhow require no recapitulation here. Our notes relate in this respect to the period after the remodelled budget was accepted by Parliament in the context of Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike's resignation.

The remodelled budget solved nothing but staved off everything. The unpopular Sales Tax, which nearly precipitated a hartal situation, had been withdrawn before the budget was voted upon. The proposal to cut the rice ration by half a measure was abandoned on the very day and indeed almost at the very moment of the division on the budget after the second reading debate in the House of Representatives. In other words, what was apparently unpopular was abandoned in order to save the Government and to resolve its internal crisis; but nothing whatsoever of positive nature was proposed in relation to the financial and economic crisis. Even the fate of the proposed remodelling of the tax structure was and remains uncertain. The Finance Bill for implementing the changes has not yet been passed by Government.

## YOUNG SOCIALIST

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The fall of the Prime Minister's favourite and nephew from public, Parliamentary and Party grace, marked a period of governmental instability. Cabinet and Government party discipline, both inside and outside Parliament, broke down. A whole group of Government M.P.'s had defied the Prime Minister openly during the budget debate on the proposal to cut the rice ration. They clashed in open debate on the floor of the House with the supporters of Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike. The anti-Felix Dias Bandaranaike wing of the Cabinet rode the political storm craftily to its own advantage. Despite a sharply fought rear guard battle by Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike after his resignation and despite the Prime Minister bringing him back to the Cabinet as a Minister without Portfolio, the year ended with quiet in the Cabinet because Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, still the Prime Minister's favourite and confidante, stood almost completely isolated within the Government Party.

Governments may survive great internal convulsions by slickness of manoeuvre or simply by just hanging on; but they cannot altogether escape the consequences. There could be no doubt even at the time of the events to which we have been referring that the Sri Lanka Freedom Party Government had ebbed seriously in popularity. Its indiscriminate taxation measures in particular had hurt badly and alienated generally whole sections of those who may be termed the intermediaries between itself and the wider masses of the people. All those petty and middling traders, for instance, who had gone with the Sri Lanka Freedom Party in reaction against big business and capital and in sympathy with the stress on the rights of the Sinhalese and of the Buddhists as against the rest of the population, turned against it with the Registration Tax and allied imposts. The sympathy the Government won with the Coup events, stood dissipated. The labouring population in the organised trade unions, fresh from the experiences of the great strike of December 1961-March 1962, was sullen with anger against a regime which used the Emergency powers to impose a wage freeze. They all awaited the opportunity to teach the Sri Lanka Freedom Party Government, a lesson which would have been more direct, more severe, and come much earlier, if the ration cut had been imposed.

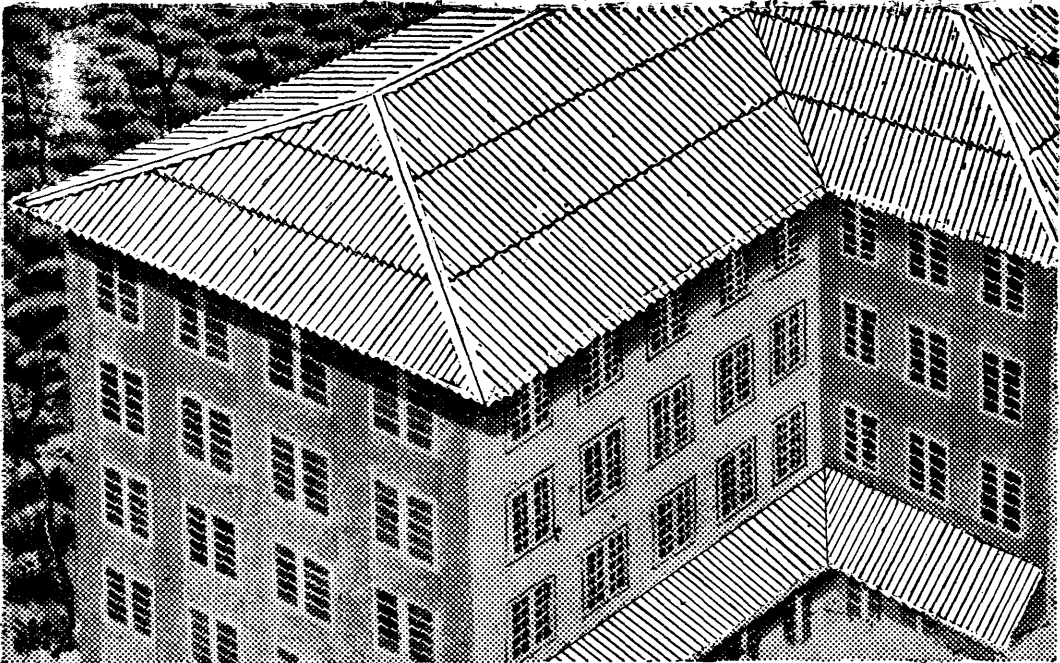
The opportunity for the expression of mass dissatisfaction came with the Local Government Elections which took place on a wide scale in November and December 1962. A reorganised, reinvigorated and strongly campaigning U.N.P. won these Local Government Elections in a fashion that suggested that they were at the moment the principal beneficiaries of the recession in the S.L.F.P. Government's popularity. However, these results should not be misread. Behind the seat results are the voting figures which themselves carry a message. What is this message? Firstly, that the Left vote, that is to say in particular the vote for the Front of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party and the Communist Party wherever such a Front operated, held substantially. Secondly the intermediate parties between the Left Front and the U.N.P. on the Right provided, by reason of their own erosion the main gains of the U.N.P. All of property and all that is influenced by property rallied to the U.N.P.

Thus, from the point of view of political dynamics and basic mass trends, what the Local Government Elections point to is the beginning, even if it is only the very beginning, of a regrouping of forces, a repolarisation at the Right and at the Left.

From the point of view of the future, this beginning of repolarisation is much more important and significant than the apparently overwhelming nature of the U.N.P.'s victory in the current Local Government Elections. This importance derives from the context of current politics. The financial crisis of the Government is not over. On the contrary it continues to mature in new ways and directions because Government's essential policy is that of haphazard under expenditure as a means of making ends meet. The rice question prevails. The unemployment question remains. In a word, the development question, that is to say the planning of the use of the country's resources to determined ends, continues to grow more acute in spite of a certain volume of substituted industrial development which has been induced by the import restrictions. Thus the two fold aspect of the situation which in the last two years has induced political crisis continues in undiminished acuteness. On the one hand mass living standards are being undermined in such a

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manner as will induce mass action and especially working class action to counteract the consequences. On the other hand the Government cannot afford concessions and profit levels are such that the capitalist class also is likely to deny concessions. However, Government itself is taking steps to bring the private sector also within the area of its wage freeze policy. The Engineering Employers Federation has recently referred to Government the wage demands made to it, with a view to a Government ruling. This indicates that the employers are hand in glove with the Government regarding the wage freeze also. However, as the Government has already told the Unions of the Ceylon Transport Board Employees, plans are well forward to set up a National Wages Council or Board without whose sanction no wage increases will be permitted in any branch of the economy. The national wages council of course is to have only a small minority of workers representatives.

The stage is thus being set for all wage struggles to have direct political implications. Indeed every strike struggle will tend to become politicalised from the outset. What is more the situation itself is bound to generate these struggles. Thus we are moving into a politically stormy period.

Struggles in such a context will speed up the polarisation adverted to earlier. The speed of development may not be entirely in the control of the working class organisations but the outcome of these struggles will increasingly depend upon the capacity of the working class organisations to shape a common policy and to implement common policy through joint activity. Great issues are coming up for decision and the forces of the Right are certainly concentrating for the struggle on these issues. No less must the working class concentrate its forces as the necessary means to drawing the broader masses into the arena. The manner in which unity in action has been achieved once again in the current C.T.B. strike as well as the determination manifested by the strikes are an earnest of the future, just as the United Front for action achieved in January 5th 1962 and the United Front achieved by the LSSP and CP for the Local Government Elections in November-December 1962 are pointers of hope

for the Left. The task is to provide a clear, active and fighting centre as a rallying point on the Left for the masses of the country.

#### .....AND ABROAD

In the field of foreign affairs four major occurrences call for comment. These are the Sino-Indian conflict, the events centering upon the establishment of the Soviet-controlled missile bases in Cuba, the breakdown of Britain's negotiations to enter the European Common Market, and the now open Sino-Soviet dispute on theory and International Policy of shallow historical interpretation.

It is no longer possible for anyone except the blind or the dishonest to deny that the Sino Indian conflict centers upon and is confined to a dispute between the two countries on where precisely the boundary between them lies. The Colombo Conference of non-aligned countries has by its activities served to bring this fact out before the world. Whether the mediation of these countries will succeed in bringing India and China back to the Conference table remains to be seen at the time of writing; but it is hard to see that there is anything substantial to prevent the resumption of the negotiations which the military moves of both sides interrupted.

The roots of the Sino Indian conflict are not to be found in the alleged traditional expansionism of the Chinese. Such talk merely seeks to cast a veneer of shallow historical interpretation over the profound social transformation which the new Chinese Peoples Republic represents. It is racialism masquerading as historical analysis.

Contemporary China is a China which has not merely won political independence from the imperialists but veritably uprooted imperialism and imperialist exploitation from its political, economic and social soil. Contemporary China is a workers' state in the selfsame sense that the USSR has been a worker state since the October Revolution of 1917. It is, to say the least, hardly enlightening to measure this new China with the old pre-revolutionary rod. The social, economic and political forces operating within the new China are so different that their impact on Chinese foreign policy require a different measuring.

The key to the conflict is manifestly Tibet, and especially the social transformation set going in Tibet in 1959. It is idle to represent the destruction of feudalism in Tibet as the destruction of the independence of the Tibetan people. India herself has, after independence, recognised the suzerainty of China over Tibet; and it is impossible to believe that those who recognised this suzerainty seriously expected that the Chinese People's Republic would leave the feudal structure of Tibetan society untouched. And to utilise the fact that Tibetan feudalism was characterised by large llamaseries or monastery land holding in order to represent an anti-feudal drive as an anti-religious or anti-Buddhist drive is to sink to the depths of deliberate and dangerous drivel.

All the world knows that the social changes in Tibet set going within India itself and amongst the reactionaries of the world, a movement for the "liberation" of Tibet. These were the people who inflated the extent and meaning of the Khampa rebellion to the level of a war of national resistance. These were the people who sought to utilise the refugee Dalai Lama for a political adventure against the Chinese Peoples Republic, and let it be remembered that associated with this movement were such men as Sri Jayaprakash Narayan who was often been presented as a suitable successor to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru himself.

Be that as it may, it is pretty clear today that the border between India and China became a matter of new and urgent interest to the Government of India, after the Tibetan overturn. Certainly, it was only after the revolutionary events in Tibet that India adopted a "forward policy" in respect of the establishment of military posts in the frontier regions. Since Chinese military posts and indeed an entire military road had been set up or built already, by the Chinese in areas which India claimed to fall within her frontiers, the seeds of military conflict began to be sown at that time.

The history of the mutual moves to out-flank or to get behind each other's military posts can have no place in this note. Unpublicised little clashes began to take place until there developed the big generalised military explosion which reverberated throughout the world.

The military events came as a kind of heaven sent opportunity for reaction not only in India but the world over. All the opponents of non alignment came forth anew and aloud. As military reverse followed upon military reverse, for India, the Nehru Government came under ever rising pressure both at home and from abroad to align itself with the imperialist world camp. It is to Pandit Nehru's credit that he contrived to cling on to non-alignment amidst it all.

The attack of world reaction was two-pronged. On the one hand, the situation was used for the world drive against communism as a whole. China's policy was said to exemplify, only nakedly, the drive of world communism for world domination by military means. On the other hand, another section of world reaction tried to utilise the opportunity to drive a wedge into the Sino-Soviet alliance by contrasting the mature co existence policy of the U.S.S.R with the callow revolutionism of the Peoples Republic of China. Incidentally, if we may intrude little matters upon great events, the local U.N.P., unable to make up its mind regarding the wing of world reaction with which it would identify itself, decided on a proper localism and came forth with a "Buddhist line." "Yesterday Tibet; today Buddhagaya; tomorrow Ceylon!" It was indeed a master stroke of subtlety to represent an alleged Chinese invasion of India as an attack upon the Buddhist religion!

The masterly political stroke of China's unilateral cease-fire and withdrawal from all or wellnigh all that she had occupied since the generalised military explosion has enabled India to draw breath, the Colombo Conference to mediate, and the whole world to have a second look. The realities have thus been enabled to re-emerge; but the consequences of the September-October 1962 events look like being beyond erasing. Sino-Indian relations have been addled for years to come. The militarisation of India has been set going, with all the consequences that it will carry in Southern Asia and the world. The Indian Left stands divided, derelict and disconsolate in surrender to chauvinist pressures. The Indian Right has gained much ground and has been fended off by the Nehru Government and the Indian National Congress only at the cost of consi-



derable concessions. Imperialism's foothold in independent India, strengthened by India's financial involvements with the West, has been further strengthened by the involvement in military supply arrangements. Who would have thought a year ago or even six months ago that imperialist military missions would be ranging India openly and publicly at the invitation of the Indian Government. It is manifest that the negotiation of a statement on the boundary question between India and China early is necessary in the interests of both India and China, and also of the entire Asian movement for the radical transformation of Asian society. War between these two countries in the present situation can only assist world reaction.

The Sino-Indian border explosion came on the morrow of an U.S.A. announcement of a blockade of Cuba in the name of a right to prevent the establishment of Soviet missile bases in Cuba. The Kennedy administration's power-display shocked the world which believed widely that it brought the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. to the brink of war. However, Kennedy got away with this particular adventure in brinkmanship; no doubt because no local war was possible over Cuba as had been possible, for instance, in Korea. It was world war or nothing; and the Soviet Union rightly drew back from a situation which need never have arisen if the distinction between the right of Cuba to arm herself with missiles from any source and the enterprise of establishing bases in Cuba under Soviet control had been carried in mind when the establishment of these bases was decided upon. The success of Kennedy's power-enterprise constitutes a set back for the Cuban Revolution in as much as it has resulted in the open military isolation of Cuba. The United States, which is publicly engaged in organising Latin America politically and militarily against Cuba, finds itself as a result of this episode in a better position to engage in the subversion of the Castro regime. In the face of this, what is the value of any United States undertaking not to invade Cuba? The one gain from it all is the sensible relaxation of tension in American-Soviet relations. It looks as if the end of competition in nuclear explosions is at last conceivable. Are we at the point of saturation of nuclear armaments?

While United States Policy has won a signal victory in relation to Cuba, it has

suffered a set back in regard to the widening of the European Defence Community. Britain's application for admission into the European Common Market has failed by reason of French opposition.

It is difficult immediately to work out the consequences of this occurrence. Certainly it is a heavy set back to the United States—supported scheme for a united Western Europe which would counterpose itself militarily and politically to the Soviet bloc of countries. Further the forward development of the integration of Europe through the E.C.M. has also suffered a grave set back. The interplay of European rivalries has prevailed over the trend towards integration in respect of Britain's application for admission to the E.C.M. What the consequences will be in Britain itself cannot be anticipated with certainty because of the deep division that infact existed in Britain itself regarding entry into the E.C.M. It undoubtedly is a major policy set back for the Macmillan Government and may strengthen the trend against it which has been manifesting itself in recent months.

From the point of view of the under-developed countries the failure of Britain to gain admission to the E.C.M. takes on another appearance. The unification of capitalist Western Europe including capitalist Britain represents also a ganging up of the industrialised nations in relation to the agricultural and raw material producing countries. Many of the under developed countries, not to mention countries like New Zealand and Australia in the British Commonwealth will draw a sigh of relief in face of Britain's discomfiture. How Britain reshapes her international policies in this situation may well depend on the outcome of the next General Election.

Whilst the above international developments were going forward, a development of a different nature also reached a new stage. This development concerns the working out of the relations between worker states in a period when possible centres of rival power have arisen within the workers state system of the world.

To the percipient, the success of the Chinese revolution changed the situation for the

workers states in respect of their relations with each other. Until the victory of the Chinese revolution, the workers states outside the USSR were in such a situation that they could not easily assert the right to an independent policy. "The leading role of the USSR" was an axiom of inter state relations amongst the worker states of the Stalinist era. It was the theoretical form in which Stalinist monothilism was imposed on the workers states within the Soviet bloc.

The first great crack in the structure of Stalinist theory and practice was provided by the revolt of Yugoslavia which successfully asserted its right to an independent existence as a workers state. But of course Yugoslavia was too small a country to be a possible rival power centre in the world of workers states even if she had wished to be such. Some bigger country with a mightier power potential had to go revolutionary before there could be amongst worker states a rival power centre to the USSR. Such a revolutionary country, such a workers state, emerged with the victory of the revolution in China.

The facts should be borne in mind regarding the Chinese revolution's victory or, if you like, the coming of the Chinese Communist Party to power. In the first place, the Chinese communists came to power independently, that is to say, on the basis of an independent line of policy and of an independent military struggle based on an authentic revolution. Stalin opposed Mao's policy of the seizure of power to the end.

The Chinese situation regarding accession of the Communist Party to power was thus similar to the case of Yugoslavia. They did not come to power like so many Eastern European Communist parties, in the baggage-train of an advancing Red army. They came to independent power on the basis of authentic revolutions in their own countries.

From the beginning it was clear that a revolutionary China could not be a kind of

revolutionary dependent of the USSR. They had to be equals; they were equals; and they had to work out their state and party relations as equals.

The passing of Stalin from the scene facilitated the working out of a proper relationship and there is little doubt that the Krushchev Government looked to the unbreakable collaboration of the two revolutionary regimes in the context of a permanent alliance. So also no doubt did the Mao Government.

However, Marxism consists not of the dead monothilism of Stalin but of the rich variety which reflects life itself. What should surprise the world is not that there are differences in the Marxist movement but that it was even assumed that there never could be authentic differences of a deep-going character. The latter misconception is a legacy of Stalinism which not only the outer world but also the inner world of communism itself has to outlive.

We are not in this note concerned to attempt either an outline or a review of the differences between the Soviet Communist Party and the Chinese Communist Party. We are concerned only to stress their right to have differences and the need to resolve them by comradely discussion and by objective assessments of the results of different lines in practice. In the meantime, we cannot doubt that the gleeful expectations of the forces of world reaction that the Sino-Soviet differences will result in a Sino-Soviet rift which will enable world imperialism to drive through the gap will be frustrated. If you can have a firm Anglo-American alliance despite inter-imperialist rivalries, how much more can you have an unbreakable alliance between the workers states which cannot and do not have that kind of rivalry to complicate their relations. Messieurs the imperialists deceive themselves. The world revolutionary movement has the necessary resources within itself to resolve a problem such as this without recourse to the imperialist foe.

*4th February, 1963.*

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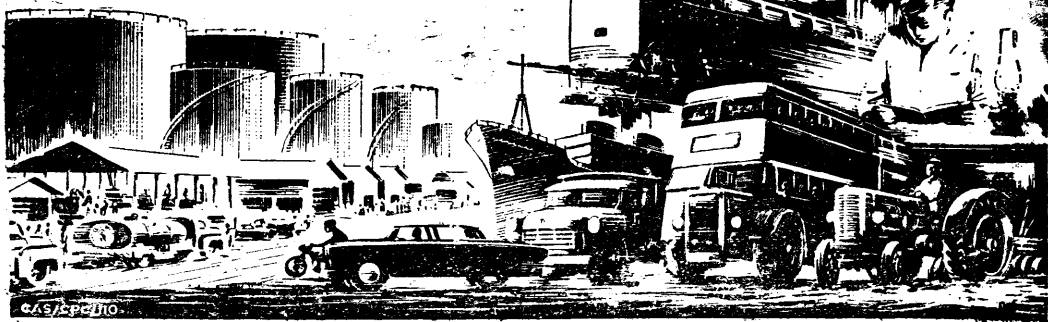
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# A CLOSER LOOK AT THE SINO-INDIAN BORDER DISPUTE

By OSMUND JAYARATNE B. SC.

WESTERN imperialism and neo-colonialist forces in Asia have not been slow to utilise the Sino-Indian border conflict as one more opportunity to castigate the Chinese People's Republic as an "aggressor" and a "threat to world peace." The Khrushchevite tendency in the world communist movement has sought to utilise these events in an unprincipled way in the context of its own ideological conflict with the Chinese worker's State. To sift reality from propagandistic fiction it is necessary to analyse dispassionately the history of the border dispute and the politics that preceded the outbreak of hostilities. Class realities, it will be seen, have played here too a much greater role than is generally accepted, and the so-called "non-alignment" of Nehru's India does not emerge in a particularly favourable light.

## The Sino-Indian Border

The boundary between China and India is bleak mountainous terrain, over 10,000 feet above sea level and sparsely inhabited by a few tribes. It is divided into three sectors:—

- (1) **The Western Sector** is known as the Area of the Aksai Chin Plateau and Linzi Tang plains—separating the Sinkiang and Tibet regions of China from Ladakh
- (2) **The Middle Sector** is on the Nepal-Bhutan-Sikkim northern border and separates the Tibetan province of Ari from the Punjab and Uttar Pradesh.
- (3) **The Eastern Sector** covers 90,000 square kilometres of the Himalayan southern slope from the east point of Bhutan to the junction of the Indian, Chinese and Burmese borders, covering Kameng, Subhansiri, Sitang and Lohit divisions.

All three sectors have been under dispute.

India stakes her claims on the **Western Sector** on the basis of her own maps and

the 1842 Kashmir-Tibet Convention which resulted from a war between the rulers of Ladakh and Tibet. China, however, contends the 1842 treaty did not state alignment of boundary and that 80 per cent of the disputed area is in Sinkiang. On December 22nd, 1959, Nehru stated in the Lok Sabha: "The present history of Ladakh goes back to 1842 when after war between the ruler of Ladakh and the ruler of Tibet... ended in the victory of Gulab Singh's forces and that resulted in a treaty acknowledging Ladakh was part of Kashmir State territory. Later this area, **this boundary was not demarcated**, but laid down in maps by some English surveyors." Again, on August 28th, 1959, Nehru had stated in the Lok Sabha: "This was the boundary of the old Kashmir State with Tibet and Chinese Turkestan. **Nobody had marked it.**" Major Cunningham's book, "Ladakh", carried a map of Punjab, the Western Himalayas and Adjoining parts of Tibet by John Walker **whose boundary lines corresponded to the traditional line found in Chinese maps.** Prior to 1865 this sector of the boundary was drawn on on Indian maps in the same way as it is in Chinese maps. On the official map issued by the Survey of India in 1943, no boundary line was as yet marked on this sector. The official Indian maps published in 1950 still carried the words "boundary undefined." **But in 1954 and after this "undefined" boundary suddenly became a defined one on Indian maps.**

In actual fact India never used this area as it was inaccessible to her across the great mountain ranges. Two hundred years ago the Manchu government had already set up **karens** (check-posts) here, and before the Chinese People's liberation Army entered Tibet Kuomintang troops were to be found in this region. The ancient caravan route which passed through this territory from Sinkiang to Tibet had been used in 1949 by the Chinese Communists when they took over the Sinkiang sector from the Kuo-

mintang, and in late 1950 they used it to enter Tibet. Thereafter they developed it as a permanent motorable highway.

Thus, official maps—prior to 1954—and Nehru's own declarations in the Lok Sabha clearly establish that this boundary was as yet undermarked and therefore subject to negotiation.

In the **Middle Sector** there are disputes over nine populated points. Of these Sang, Tsungsha and Puling-Sumdo were shown in official Indian maps published between 1880 and 1900 as being in Chinese territory. Forty years ago Sang and Tsungsha were forcibly occupied by the British, despite protests from the local authorities of China's Tibet. The other seven, including Puling-Sumdo have been occupied by Indian troops since 1954. It is worth noting that Puling-Sumdo is one of the ten places the Chinese government agreed to specify as market towns within Chinese territory in the 1954 Sino-Indian Agreement on Trade and Intercourse.

### The "Mc Mahon Line"

Territory in the **Eastern Sector** is claimed by India on the basis of the so-called Mc Mahon Line, supposed to have been drawn by a British officer named Mc Mahon at a Conference in Simla in 1914 between Britain, China and Tibet. This Conference, which was ostensibly for the purpose of deciding the so-called boundary between Outer and Inner Tibet and that between Tibet and the rest of China, **did not discuss the so-called Mc Mahon Line.** There is no reference to it in any of the 11 Articles constituting this Treaty. Instead, one of the Tibetan delegates—Lobchen Shatra—unknown to the rest of his delegation, struck a private deal with Mc Mahon and signed this line illegally in **Delhi** on March 24th, 1914, prior to the signing of the Simla Treaty. It was then surreptitiously introduced into the map attached to the Simla Treaty as part of the boundary between Tibet and the rest of China. It is in fact noted explicitly in the Treaty that the Chinese representative, Ivan Chin, refused to sign the Simla Treaty. Formal notes of protest were delivered to the British government on July 3rd and 7th, 1917 by the Chinese government.

On September 2nd, 1959, Sir Henry Twyman, British governor of Assam—the adjacent Indian province—in 1939, wrote in the London "Times" : "The Mc Mahon Line does not exist and never did." It was for this reason that Britain never officially claimed this line and did not include it in any of her Indian maps until after 1938, when China was pre-occupied with the Japanese invasion. Until then Indian maps more or less agreed with the traditional line indicated by China. This is evident in the map "Tibet and Adjacent Countries" published by the Survey of India in 1917. Even in 1938 the Mc Mahon Line was not indicated on the official map of this region published by the Survey of India. Despite Nehru's claim that the Mc Mahon Line represents the Indian frontier and that "all our (i.e. Indian) maps say so," it is often conveniently forgotten that the map "India 1945" in his own book "The Discovery of India" shows the eastern sector of the boundary approximately in the same way as on the Chinese maps! It is no less significant that the map attached to the 1929 edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* also conforms with the Chinese maps. The official maps of India published in 1950 and 1952 by the Survey of India have the Mc Mahon Line marked on them, but still in the form of an undefined boundary. It was only in 1954 that this line suddenly became a defined boundary line on Indian maps. Areas which the Mc Mahon Line claims for India paid tribute to Lhasa until India troops seized them in 1951.

On February 7th, 1951, Indian troops attacked Tawang in the centre of the disputed territory and displaced the Tibetan magistrates and "Living Buddhas" who had run that area for Lhasa. In this way Indian forces occupied an area claimed by China, about 90,000 square kilometres in extent, an area three times the size of Belgium. It is to the credit of the Chinese People's Republic that she made no attempt to retake the territory by arms but proposed negotiations instead.

Generally speaking, the boundary on all sectors marked on official Indian maps prior to 1865 is about the same as on Chinese maps. The official Indian maps published between 1865 and 1952 acknowledged that the Western and Middle Sectors of the

boundary were undefined and so did not mark them. Some of these maps even defined as Chinese territory many of the places in these sectors now claimed by India.

On November 22nd, 1959, the British "Observer" commented: "Britain, having conquered India, pushed out her frontiers as far as they could be carried without a major war. In doing this, Britain occupied a border area much of which was inhabited by non-Indian peoples. The frontier with China, where demarcated at all, was fixed arbitrarily and surreptitiously, or by treaties which Peking now denies were correctly negotiated with the Chinese Central Government of the time." (*Our emphasis*)

What British imperialism had plundered the "socialist" Nehru seeks to hold by force of arms. But, as we shall see by and by, deeper motives governed the actions of the Delhi government, and explain logically the time-table of events in the border conflict.

Ever since India began to stake her claims to this border territory China has declared that this question must be settled amicably "through friendly negotiation conducted in a well-prepared way step by step." (*Declaration by the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, October 26th, 1959*). On January, 23rd, 1959, Chou En-Lai had written to Nehru: "Precisely because the boundary between the two countries is not yet formally de-limited and some differences exist, it is unavoidable that there should be discrepancies between the boundary lines drawn on the respective maps of the two sides.... But it would be inappropriate for us to make changes without having made surveys and without having consulted the countries concerned.... Our Government would like to propose as a provisional measure the two sides temporarily maintain the *Status Quo*, that is to say, each side keep for the time being to the border areas at present under its jurisdiction and not go beyond them." And to this eminently reasonable proposal Nehru replied on March 22nd, 1959, re-affirming the validity of the McMahon Line. On September 4th, 1959, he declared in the Lok Sabha: "But, having accepted broadly the McMahon Line, I am prepared to discuss any interpretation of the McMahon Line, minor interpretation

here and there. **But the Broad McMahon Line has to be accepted and so far as we are concerned it is there and we accept it.**" (*Our emphasis*). In short, with respect to what was clearly an undemarcated border line and subject to dispute, the **only condition** under which Nehru was prepared to enter into negotiations was the **prior acceptance by the Chinese of his own unilateral claim!**

In keeping with this provocative stand, Indian troops in 1959 proceeded to enter and establish outposts within the disputed territory. This is a fact frequently ignored by critics of Peking and by the world's capitalist press which seeks to paint China in the role of "aggressor." Indian troops even crossed to the north of the McMahon Line and occupied Khinzemane. Since May, 1961, additional Indian strong-points were established in the Demchok area of the Western Sector, and in the Middle Sector troops were stationed in Wuje in violation of the 1956 Sino-Indian agreement which stipulated that neither side should send troops into the Wuje area.

From Spring 1961 to early October 1962, India set up an additional 38 strong points inside territory in the Western Sector claimed by China, and made similar incursions on the Middle and Eastern Sectors. On May 3rd, 1962, Nehru stated in the Lok Sabha: "We have continued to send patrols and we have established a number of check posts too. **Sometimes our check posts are behind their check posts, behind their line....** and this is rather annoying them, our progress in this way...." (*Our emphasis*) On June 20th, 1962, he said: "India had opened some new patrol posts endangering the Chinese post.... **Our movements sometimes going behind the Chinese positions**—have created some apprehension in the minds of the Chinese." (*Our emphasis*)

The recent armed conflict was preceded by Nehru's declaration on October 2nd that he would resort to armed force to deal with China. Ten days later, on October 12th, he stated that he had issued the order to "clear out the Chinese troops."

The course of events has demonstrated beyond doubt that the Indian government has consistently avoided any amicable nego-

tiation of the disputed territories. Instead it has unilaterally moved its troops into these areas by force and imposed on China the acceptance of its own claims as a precondition for any discussion of the border.

It is necessary at this stage to understand the possible reasons that have motivated Delhi's actions on the border. Despite public utterances to the contrary, "national prestige" has seldom been the driving force in armed conflicts between nations. Deeper motives—social motives—are always involved. The question also remains to be answered why, after being uninterested for so long in the Chinese presence in these regions—despite the existence even of a Chinese highway in the Aksai Chin area—Nehru became aware of them so late in the day and decided to dislodge them by military force.

The first Indian "protest notes" regarding the border were handed to the Chinese around 1952 and 1953. The first significant border clashes occurred in 1959. Is it accidental that in 1951 the Tibetan region was re-united with the Chinese People's Republic, and that 1959 witnessed the first social consequences of this re-unification? The defeat of the serf-owner's revolt compelled the Chinese to introduce far-reaching social reforms, including the abolition of serfdom (July 16th, 1959), in Tibet and along her borders.

On November 28th, 1959, the London "Times" organ of the British big bourgeoisie, commented:—"Ever since Chinese power was re-asserted in Tibet, the whole Himalayan region has been given a new importance. At times, in the past, this area may have served as a buffer zone. But it has also been for long periods under the influence of either India or China.... Now Chinese influence could return again to Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim. All these territories have at times recognized some kind of shadowy authority in Peking. To say that Chinese power threatens to spread in the area is not to impute any present aggressive designs to the Chinese. They have indeed been expressly denied in Peking. But the steady transformation of Tibet cannot go on in total isolation. Changt will always filter through these high valleys and across these bleak plateaus, where most of the inhabitants are Tibetans by race. This

is true of Ladakh, of parts of Nepal and Sikkim, of most of Bhutan and of some pockets along the McMahon Line. For the moment the rulers and the priests in these territories have reacted sharply against Peking and its works. But absolute rule is being questioned even in these remote places and those who question it may not be so ready to abhor the changes going on across the frontiers. The long-term possibility is therefore quite simple. Either progress in Tibet—ruthlessly imposed maybe, but visible in its material change—will slowly draw the people of these other territories into its orbit, or India must make a move to assure her own northern frontiers from this possibility as well as re-affirming lines on maps." (*Our emphasis*).

That the masses in these areas are not all that enthusiastic in their loyalty to Delhi becomes further apparent from the following dispatches.

The correspondent of the British "News Chronicle" in Khatmandu wrote (Nov. 30th 1959): "The land of Gurkha warriors surrounded by mountains and sandwiched between Red China's Tibet and the Ganges plain, is determined not to get dragged into Delhi's squabbles with Peking." The correspondent of the British "Daily Express" in Calcutta wrote (Dec. 2nd, 1959): "India has withdrawn almost all its crack Gurkha troops from the two vital strategic areas of Sikkim and the North East Frontier Agency, and replaced them by Punjabi regiments of Sikhs. The move follows repeated reports of disaffection and intensive political activity among the Gurkhas, the hardy hill fighters from Nepal and the surrounding districts. An organization called the Gurkha League has been active among Gurkha troops." Members of this League "talk of a Mongol Brotherhood in which Nepal, Tibet and China would be 'blood brothers.' When the Gurkha troops found that the people they were supposed to shoot at were exactly like themselves, some units became completely demoralized."

Nehru, speaking in the Lok Sabha on February 23rd, 1961, declared: "When the Chinese forces first entered Tibet, that is ten years ago in 1950-51, frankly we did not expect any trouble on our border but, naturally, looking at things in some historical



perspective, we **thought** that the whole nature of our border had changed. It was a dead border, it was now becoming alive, and we began to think in terms of the protection of that border, that is, the border with Tibet at that time. . . . In 1950, that is before this had happened, there were only five check-posts on the border—two in Himachal Pradesh and three in NEFA, along the northern border. Within a year, **because of these changes that took place in Tibet**, by April 1951 this number had been increased to 25, and most of the important routes were covered."

The nine years of "friendship" with Revolutionary China were bolstered up in large part by the existence of a "buffer zone"—the feudal regimes of the Himalayan region—separating the two countries. To some extent this zone insulated Indian territory from the influence of the Chinese Revolution. But the Tibetan events brought these areas within the orbit of social change. A "dead border" was becoming strangely "alive". The revolutionary infection was threatening to spread over the great mountain ranges, into the Indian borderlands themselves. It was precisely at this stage that Nehru—representative of the Indian capitalist class—decided to take note and act against the Chinese presence.

"Anti-Communism", apart from anything else, was a necessity for the bourgeois Indian government at this stage in the context of a deteriorating economic situation, rising mass discontent with Congress policies, and her increasing dependence upon imperialist, and particularly U.S., "aid". The foreign policy of a government can never be isolated from its internal policy. The one is a continuation of the other, and both derive essentially from social and economic developments nationally and their interaction with social forces on the international plane.

The Indian bourgeoisie, represented politically by the Congress Party, shares with the rest of the colonial and ex-colonial bourgeoisie an essentially comradre character *vis-a-vis* imperialism. Created in the first place by imperialism, it continues to be bound by a million economic ties to economic imperialist monopoly interests. While its

aspirations to economic independence drive it on occasions to oppose imperialism, as against the more positive danger of mass intervention to change the social order, it seeks refuge in its community of interests with imperialism. This dual character of the India bourgeoisie was evident in the period of the Independence Struggle when its opposition to imperialist rule led it to support the civil disobedience campaigns, but every time independent mass action threatened to carry the movement on to a higher social plane it ended by acting as a brake on the movement in the name of "non-violence". That the Indian bourgeoisie envisaged no perspective of social change is evident from Nehru's own words in his "*Autobiography*" (*The Bodley Head, London, 1949*, pp 366-67). He writes that the Indian national movement "has been not a change of the social order, but political independence. . . . It is absurd to say that the leaders betray the masses because they do not try to upset the land system or the capitalist system. They never claimed to do so."

After the attainment of political independence the Indian bourgeoisie strove hard to assert itself as an independent social force. Hence its frequent declarations of "neutrality" and "non-alignment" in the mounting imperialist offensive against the Workers' States. On one occasion mass pressure in India, supported by pressure from anti-imperialist movements on the African continent even forced it to strike a blow against the weakest link in the imperialist chain: Portuguese-dominated Goa. But its basic dependence upon imperialist monopoly interests underwent no change. In fact towards the middle fifties economic difficulties at home tended to drive it closer and closer towards alignment with imperialist vested interests.

Despite political independence, imperialism continued to retain its grip on India's economy. According to figures submitted by the Secretariat of the Indian Cabinet in 1951, foreign capital controlled 97 per cent of India's petroleum industry, 93 per cent of the rubber industry, 90 per cent of match manufacture, 89 per cent of the jute industry, 86 per cent of the tea industry and 62 per cent of the coal mining industry. Even in the textile industry—the traditional "national"

industry of India—21 percent was controlled by foreign capital. The number of enterprises jointly owned by Indian and foreign monopoly capital, but actually controlled by the latter, has also grown rapidly. According to the Indian "*Economic Times*" of July 23rd, 1962, such enterprises increased by 103 in 1958, 150 in 1959, 380 in 1960 and 403 in 1961. Foreign private capital investment in India totalled 2,560 million rupees in June, 1948. In 1960 this sum had increased to 6,550 million—that is, an increase of 150 per cent in thirteen years!

The significant feature of India's relations with imperialism in recent years is the growing role of the U.S. in her economic life. From 1948 to 1959, British investment in India doubled, but U.S. investments increased seven-fold. From 1948 to 1960-61 the proportion of India's imports from Britain decreased from 22.8 to 19.8 per cent, while the U.S. share increased from 16 to 27 per cent. A further significant feature is the increasing dependence of the Nehru government on foreign aid. Foreign aid accounted for 9.6 per cent of total expenditure under India's first "Five Year Plan", and for 20.6 per cent under her second "Five Year Plan". It is estimated to account for 30 per cent under the third "Five Year Plan." According to the October, 1961 and April, 1962 issues of "*Foreign Aid*", published by the U.S. International Co-operation Administration, the U.S. extended or promised to extend to India between 1949 and July 1962 "Aid" to the extent of 4,754.2 million U.S. dollars. If the "aid" granted to India in the same period by international financial organizations controlled by the U.S. is added to this figure, the total will reach 6,598.2 million U.S. dollars.

The bulk of this foreign aid consists of loans with annual interest rates as high as 6 per cent. India's foreign debt burden consequently continues to mount. In 1960 she had a foreign debt of 9,260 million rupees as against 2,000 million rupees in 1959.

Obviously it is not altruism that determines the U.S. policy of "aid" to underdeveloped countries. Economic dependence of this order must inevitably lead in the final analysis to political dependence upon imperialism. The debtor with a halter

round his neck must willy-nilly sing to the creditor's tune—and even more so when this ensures a liberal increase in the "aid" proffered. It is indeed significant that U.S. "aid" to India (inclusive of loans granted by U.S.—controlled international financial organizations) has grown in almost direct proportion to the intensity of the anti-Chinese border campaign. From 1949 to the end of the first half of 1956 U.S. "aid" to India amounted to 789.1 million U.S. dollars. From the second half of 1956 to the end of the first half of 1959 it was 1,936.7 million U.S. dollars. And from the second half of 1959 to the end of July 1962 it mounted up to 3,872.4 million U. S. dollars.

Despite this colossal inflow of foreign aid, the main targets in India's second Five Year Plan (1956-60) remained unfulfilled. The concentration of wealth in fewer hands has continued to grow. With the spiralling of prices the plight of the masses has worsened. In 1951-52, for instance, an Indian Ministry of Labour Survey showed that the number of indebted peasant households was 44.5 per cent of the total. In 1956-57 this figure had risen to 64.5 per cent. It is in this context that recent years have witnessed a sharpening of mass struggles—the hunger demonstrations in West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh in 1958, the struggle of the Punjab peasants in 1959 against taxation, the food riots of West Bengal in 1959 and the struggles against taxation and for land that occurred in many areas in 1961-62.

Apart from re-assuring the imperialist creditor and ensuring the continued inflow of "aid," the anti-Chinese campaign has also served the Nehru government temporarily to divert the attention of India's discontented millions from their economic plight to the border "danger". That this has not entirely succeeded, despite the unprecedented wave of chauvinism generated, is evident from the following dispatch by Rawle Knox, the London "*Observer*" correspondent in New Delhi:— "Indians say proudly that the Chinese assault has made them a nation. In a sense this is true and one immensely admires it. But already you can find many in the Punjab and the 'martial' provinces who are asking why their sons should die to protect the businessmen of Calcutta and Bombay.

A long war without result could intensify this emotion." (November 25th, 1962).

Chavinism must ultimately give way before the pressure of harsh economic realities. The worker staggering beneath the burden of mounting prices, the peasant suffering from the twin mill stones of debt and landlessness may be temporarily assuaged by the hysteria of chauvinism, but not for long—as the history of two successive world wars has proved. When the turn does come the right wing leadership of the Communist Party of India will find that its opportunistic retreat before the pressure of bourgeois chauvinism will have left it far behind the mainstream of the Indian working class movement. Those that languish today in Nehru's gaols for their principled opposition to jingoism will undoubtedly constitute the new working class leadership in the years to come. The recovery of the Indian working class movement, of course, has not been made any the easier by the political methods of the Chinese bureaucracy themselves. It is difficult to discover in any of their utterances the substance and the spirit of that appeal to proletarian internationalism which characterised the declarations of the revolutionary militants of an earlier era or even of the Cuban revolutionaries of today.

But we live in the sixties, in a period when the relentless surge of the colonial and proletarian revolutions can no longer be contained by the devices and subterfuges of the past. In this context the recovery of a temporarily dis-oriented mass movement must necessarily be a speedier process than before. Only a principled opposition to bourgeois chauvinism—despite the isolation this might entail for the present—the provide a rallying point for the re-groupment of India's revolutionary forces in the years to come.

London 24th December, 1962

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# INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

By ZOLA SANKOSI

THE so-called Republic of South Africa is seething with tension and uneasiness. Misunderstandings and divisions amongst the 3 million whites are increasing. This is one of the rare advantages to the 12 million Africans who live under bondage, slavery and political, social, economical and cultural domination by these whites. There is no running away from the fact that at least 95 per cent of the South African whites are very reactionary, Nazi minded and ardent believers in racialism, imperialism and all forms of anti-socialism. Only these whites have a vote in national and all elections. They alone exercise all the rights. The Africans have after all no rights whatsoever. The Government of Dr. Verwoerd, is considered to be illegal by the Africans because it did not come into power because of popular support but because of secret military support by the British, French, West German and American Governments. This Government lacks the support and confidence of all the Africans.

South Africa fell into the hands of the imperialists in 1820 but the first Europeans arrived and settled in South Africa in 1652. From 1652 to 1820 the Africans tried to resist this invasion by force but because of lack of proper weapons and tactics the Africans were defeated. So this defeat gave a chance to the imperialists to take all the land and dictate conditions to the Africans. This white savages ruled since then up to now with an iron rod, with Africans being subjected to all forms of ill-treatment and forced to be sub-servient to the new white masters. In 1909 events took a new turn in South Africa with the English and other European whites reaching an agreement on exploitation of the country and to the fundamental use of Africans as source of cheap labour. The British Parliament meeting in 1909 framed the "Union of South Africa Act" uniting the four provinces of South Africa.

In 1910 South Africa had its first Prime Minister and some form of Dominion Status

under the British Commonwealth. The first "all" white parliament in 1910 passed laws, permanently forbidding ownership of land by any Africans making it a serious crime for any white person to sell, sub-let or rent house or land to an African. The Government set aside only 12 per cent of the South African land for African settlement. The rest of the land which is fertile and rich in minerals was reserved exclusively for the "blessed" whites. Unfortunately the 12 per cent of land for Africans is semi-desert, arid and soil eroded—about 8 per cent of the 12% covers the Transkei and Pondoland Territories (combined) and the rest African reserves of Zululand, Zeerest and Sekhukhuni-land.

The African land is so poor that Africans find it hard to reap any crops. As a result of this South Africa does not have a peasant class. All Africans are workers and about 80 per cent of the African workers are employed in the Mines and white-owned farms where conditions are very bad and are poorly paid. There are very few Africans employed in industry, commerce or doing general work. Even the few Africans employed in industry, commerce and general work are being replaced at a terrific speed by cheap labour being recruited from Italy, Greece and Spain. The main aim is to drive all Africans to the mines and farms. The other reason is the fact that South Africa has an acute shortage of cheap or slave labour for its mines and farms because the independent or about to be independent states of Africa are withdrawing all their Africans working in South Africa. At this moment 40 per cent of the cheap labour in South African Mines alone is composed of Africans from outside South Africa.

To give a brief picture of the working conditions in the mines I can state that first Africans between the ages of 15 and 65 years are forcibly surrounded in their African reserves by the police and the police pick up the number of Africans on demand

in each mine and any surplus is forcibly sent to the white owned farms. The Africans think that the conditions in the mines are a bit better than in the farms.

Once an African reaches a mine, he is forced to sign a 2-year contract binding him for that period to the mercy of the mine authorities. The mine authorities then pay a substantial amount of money for each African recruited, to the Government. Under this contract an African has to work every-day from 4 a.m. to 6 p.m.—seven days a week. The only day of rest for an African Mine Worker is “Christmas” day. He is made to think of nothing else but digging gold and diamonds to enrich the wicked imperialists and their South African lackeys—the “S.A. Dutch”.

The African workers in the Mines are accommodated in hostels which look like prisons in that they are built with no windows but air ventelators in the roof, each room overcrowded with no beds, Africans being made to sleep on cement bunks. These mine hostels are surrounded by high walls and mines to prevent any African escaping. The entrances are guarded by armed police and there are vicious police dogs. The Africans are not allowed to bring their families with them. This alone means a starting point in breaking up African family life and their communal way of living. African Mine Workers are poorly paid despite their long and unprecedented working hours. An African is paid an average wage of about £4 (English pounds) a month.

On the other hand the whites are allowed to bring their families. They are given suitable accommodation and not imprisoned as the Africans, they work only 8 hours a day and are paid overtime wages if they work on week-ends or on public holidays. The Whites get an average wage of about £70 a month though the Africans are doing more arduous work than they.

As a result of these poor wages, Africans have to borrow money or ask loans from the mine authorities to send to their families back in the African reserves. When a 2 year contract does expire an African is refused leave because of the debt incurred whilst working and no African can leave work in

the mine if his contract expires as long as he is still owing money to the mine authorities. As a result of this bondage an African gets tied up to the mine forever and the only exemption and freedom for him is to incur permanent physical disability or death. There is no pension scheme, leave pay or sick leave pay for an African. The African mine workers are not allowed by law to appeal for better working conditions, better wages. They are forbidden from forming or joining trade Unions or political parties. They are not allowed to move outside the mine area or make contacts with the outside world. They live under daily surveillance by the secret police. Most of them lose their wives and families because of long term separation.

Surplus African cheap labour to the Mines is directed to white individually owned farms and Estates. Most of the supporters of the present Government own big farms. The average size of a farm in South Africa is about 30 square miles and indeed very few whites own farms. This is a privilege for the “very” rich whites. These farms grow mostly citrus fruits, maize, wheat, sugar, vegetables, potatoes and other varieties. The world Market is flooded with these South African products which because of cheap labour used are being sold at very low prices.

Africans working in these farms are not paid cash wages but are paid in kind, in the form of boarding and lodging and working clothes. They are in fact lodged in prison-like hostels which in the real sense are not fit and suitable for human habitation. They are ridden with fleas and all sorts of cockroaches.

The African farm labourers work from sunrise to sunset with no break. Any African who shows signs of being tired or takes a short rest whilst on duty, is beaten up by the foreman. Many Africans have been so far brutally beaten to death in these farms and despite exposure of these atrocities in the Press, very little action has been taken by the Government to bring the criminals to trial.

There is such a demand for South African products in the World Market that African workers have to be rushed to produce a

certain daily quota to be exported. It is this rush at a point of a Sjambok that leads to death and misery to an African worker and his family. Once an African is recruited to these farms he has no chance of ever going back home. His is a permanent labour contract, and only death is the relief.

It is for this very reason that workers all over the World are being asked not to buy South African products as those who produce them work under conditions of hardship and slavery. Workers all over the World should refuse to buy South African goods until slavery conditions have been ended in South Africa. This will be a sign of workers solidarity and will not mean that we can win and overthrow imperialism in South Africa only by economic sanctions.

The government controls the movement of every African. It is very difficult for an African to move from one area to another within the country, even for a mere visit. Every African has to carry a document, the size of a Bible known as the "PASS". An African has to carry this document with him at all times and failure to produce it on demand by an authorised officer may lead to summary arrest and being sentenced to work without pay in a Government farm colony for 2 years. The "PASS" includes the identity of the African, his place of residence, place of employment, his tax payments, his criminal and political record, and also areas in which he is allowed to visit in the country and those areas which he is not allowed to enter. There is a column in the pass which the african has to have signed by his employer every month or by the police if he is not working because he is sick or underage. Many Africans are arrested daily for minor disorders in their passes or for having forgotten and left them at home whilst going to work. They are not given any chance to go and fetch it but have to undergo 2 years hard work in a government farm colony without pay for these minor mistakes. Europeans carry identity cards only and they are never stopped by the police for them. This is humiliation to the Africans only, to make them feel that South Africa is a haven for the whites only.

South Africa has entered a stage of nazi-like regementation. Dr. H. Verwoerd, the so-called Prime Minister of South Africa, has steeped himself, nay, soaked and nourished himself on the spiritual cultural stuff of Natural Socialistic education. He has banned higher education for Africans with effect from 1967. Africans can now go as far as secondary education after which they are drawn for work in the mines and farms and those African students who show signs of intelligence are sent to specially created Higher Indoctrination Schools, where they are expected to qualify as graduate spies, and puppets of the imperialists.

Even in secondary schools for Africans the curriculum likewise is fundamentally altered from that of the white student. An inordinate amount of time is given to religious instructions and devotional activities. The longest teaching time is given to manual training. And there is plenty of practice. Broom, pick and shovel are the tools they must be familiar with. It sometimes happens that children spend as much as a whole week in the brickyard making bricks for school buildings or they have to stop school work to go road-making. The three R's, which are a golden rule in any educational system, are almost crowded out. These basic tools for the acquisition of education cannot possibly be polished, sharpened and given to the child who is being prepared for slavery. More properly speaking they are used as an excuse for gathering the children together to pursue a course in indoctrination. They must, of course acquire a rudimentary knowledge of the two official languages, Afrikaans (*Dutch*) and English, suited to the requirements of their official inferior position.

The Africans are being reduced to utter threlotry, the African schools are no longer centres of education, but of indoctrination for the docile acceptance of this position. African education is being used to serve as an instrument for creating and ensuring the continuance of a voteless, rightless and ignorant community whose main purpose in life, apart from reproducing their kind is to minister to the whites. The invoking of a dead tribalism and of certain areas for each African tribe on a separate basis wherein "education will find its fullest expression"

is cynical political claptrap. The plain fact is that government is robbing an African of education, cutting him off from the main stream of modern culture and shutting him up in a spiritual and intellectual ghetto.

The South African whites represented by these political parties such as the Nationalist, United, Liberal and Progressive Parties are themselves capitalists standing four-square on the heights of a fully developed capitalism. In fact, they are confronted with the problems of capitalism in crisis, and it is in an attempt to solve these that they fall back on formulae that others have already evolved, while leaning heavily on the efficacy of religious training, they have found inspiration in the Nazi ideology which was formulated in the thirties to meet the crisis of capitalism in Germany. It is a well known fact that the majority of South African whites have looked up to German fascism as their ideal and have modelled themselves on it. During the last war they expressed themselves as great admirers of the Hitlerite system and the Fuhrer Prinzip: Their calvinist uprising, with its emphasis on discipline and control, had prepared South African white nationalists for the ready acceptance of the rigidly controlled educational system of the nazis.

All African political activities have been banned. Under the General Law Amendment Act of 1962 (Sabotage Act) nobody is allowed to criticise the government's policy of apartheid and white domination. Africans cannot join or form political, social, cultural, sports or trade union organisations, Africans are not allowed to assemble anywhere in groups of more than 10 persons. Any person who shows signs of being a marxist or ordinary left-wing socialist of the European type can be sentenced to a maximum prison sentence of 5 years or a maximum sentence which is death. All books advocating communism and even the classics are banned to Africans. Publishers and newspapers cannot publish any political articles without first obtaining the approval of the government established censorship Board. The government has further issued publicly a list of about 400 people who are alleged to be Communists or Trotskyites or have "red" lining as it is said in S. Africa. Statements, articles etc. from

these people cannot be published, and even their books cannot be read. They cannot be quoted in any newspaper. They have to live under permanent house arrest i.e. to be in their houses between 6 p.m. and 6 a.m. and can be visited during the day only by their doctors and close relatives. Most unfortunately most of our comrades are among these vultures. They can move during the day within a radius of six miles from their houses. The Government has claimed that a further list of another 500 such persons will be gazetted very soon.

There are already more than 4,000 africans in special restricted areas commonly known as detention camps. These were rounded up during the 1960 uprisings in Sharpeville and Pondoland in the Transkei. It may be stated that these arrests and killings have not the least discouraged the African masses from fighting to overthrow imperialism. The workers have instead become militant and organisation is now being done underground. The few comrades who escaped from being arrested are now secretly organising the workers all over the country, mines and farms using various methods of infiltration. Marxist cells have been established in various parts of the country. The process is long and going at a very slow pace but sure of success in the long run. It is aimed at building an African cadre that will know what they are fighting for and for a proper socialist economy thereafter, based on the Chinese system of land reform which is incidentally similar to the long-practised communal system in Africa which the imperialists dismantled at its root when they invaded Africa. It is clear that the African workers in South Africa will adopt a similar system of ownership of industries etc. as in Yugoslavia—a system of "Workers Councils". As South Africa is highly industrialised already and has all the resources, there will be no difficulties of patterning and following a clear socialist economy.

A few African cadres are receiving military training outside the country in various methods, for though the South African Government is well armed and has the support of the Nato group, the Africans are confident that they will soon win the struggle. Arrangements are being made to send to Algeria some of the young Africans for training. The Algerian



Government is willing to accept them. It is clear and planned that the revolutionary armed struggle now sweeping Angola will spread further South and that 1963 should be the year of self-determination by South African oppressed masses; and every African with the exception of the few lackeys of the imperialists are convinced that United Nations' and pacifists' methods will never bring us our salvation but only misery. So now every worker thinks of, and is prepared for an armed struggle and if necessary, to die for the cause. But the comrades in South Africa feel it necessary to equip these African masses ideologically because a revolution without an ideology is as good as no revolution.

Things have even been made hard with the banning of our publications in South Africa and the arrests of some of the comrades. Besides the struggle has been delayed because of various factions and deviationists within the party and a few comrades who were power hungry and opportunistic. We are trying to resolve these ideological dif-

ferences. Besides our South African Trotskyist movement has been cut off for a very long time from the Fourth International.

The present secretariat of the Fourth International in Rome is taking an active part in the African revolution in Angola, South West Africa, Mozambique, Rhodesia and South Africa. It is to be hoped that all true socialists at heart will roll up their sleeves and do all in their means to help the Africans.

I may also state that even the African National Congress, led by pacifist Chief Albert Lutuli (nobel prize winner) has its youth wing all out for an armed revolutionary struggle on a marxist pattern. The Pan-Africanist Congress of South Africa has militants also within its ranks who are all out for the struggle, though the Pan-Africanist Congress has great affiliations with Western Imperialists. The South African Trotskyite movement is known as the NON-EUROPEAN UNITY MOVEMENT.

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# THE PUBLIC SECURITY ORDINANCE

## No. 25 OF 1947

By S. S. SAHABANDU B.A. (CEY.)

### PART I.

THE main cause for the introduction of the Ordinance was the General Strike of 1947. The Hon. Mr. Mahadeva, during the course of his speech in introducing the Bill stated "A considerable part of my task has been made easier by the very full statement of the Hon. Leader of the House on the Strike Situation this afternoon."

On 7th July, 1948 Dr. N. M. Perera, the M.P. for Ruwanwella, moved the following Motion in the House. "That in the opinion of this House the Public Security Ordinance should be forthwith repealed". This Motion was only a method of voicing the deep resentment that sections of the people had against the Public Security Ordinance. During the course of the debate on this Motion, the Government promised to Amend the Bill, in order to democratize it, though they were opposed to its complete removal from the Statute Book. This Ordinance was amended by Act No: 22 of 1949. Mr. D. S. Senanayake stated, "Two very important amendments are proposed to make the principal ordinance more democratic."

In August, 1953 the 'Hartal' took place and the Government introduced Act. No: 34 of 1953 to amend the Ordinance. The Government felt that the original Ordinance was not capable of dealing with a situation like the 'Hartal' and they wanted to strengthen the Ordinance. The most important amendment was moved to the Ordinance by the Public Security Amendment Act No: 8 of 1959. This Amendment, which added Part III, to the original Ordinance was a direct sequel to the communal riots that took place in May 1958, and the wave of strikes that had taken place shortly before the riots. The late Mr. S. W. R. D.

Bandaranaike, the author of the 1959 amendment, stated, "In the interest of peace and order, in the interest of all concerned, in the interest of the whole community, the amendment permitting certain steps to be taken in certain circumstances, reported to this House, gazetted and so on, are necessary or else, of course, we can wait till some enormous catastrophe overtake the country before we take action."

An interesting feature with regard to this Ordinance is that those who sit on the opposition benches castigate the Bill and the Government benches go on adding teeth to it by way of amendments. For example, the late Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike supported it in 1947, opposed it in 1953 while in the opposition, promised to repeal it in 1956 in Article 18 of the M. E. P. Manifesto which read as follows:—"We shall repeal the Public Security Ordinance . . . .", and later without repealing it introduced a new amendment in 1959 to the original Ordinance. Mr. W. Dahanayake opposed it in 1947 but as a Minister in the Bandaranaike Government he supported the 1959 Amendment. The conclusion to be drawn by these changes in attitude to the Ordinance is that a Government in power feels itself insecure and unable to govern without the Ordinance if the normal functioning of the Governmental machine is disrupted. Whether a Government can handle a situation called an Emergency without this Ordinance, by means of ordinary laws will be dealt with later.

Let us now turn our attention to the Ordinance and analyse its salient features. Before attempting this we have to keep two things in mind. Our constitution does not embody any emergency powers unlike the Constitution of India. There is no definition of the word Emergency in the Public Security Ordinance. An Emergency may be termed 'A sudden occurrence that demands immediate action'. To attempt a

definition is not an easy task, but some light may be thrown if we examine why Emergencies have been declared at different times in our Country. The Hartal of 1953 was considered sufficient to declare a state of Emergency. The Communal Riots of 1958 was dubbed an Emergency. The Murder of a Prime Minister in September, 1959 led to the invoking of Emergency Powers. The situation created by the Federal Party Satyagraha campaign led to the declaration of a State of Emergency in April, 1961. Thus we see that an economic crisis that led to mass discontent in 1953, a communal riot sparked off by a language crisis in 1958, the murder of a national leader in 1959 and organised resistance on an extra Parliamentary level by a Political Party against the policies of the Government in power, have led to declarations of Emergencies in our country.

The title of a Statute is helpful in ascertaining its general scope, though the construction of a statute is not limited by its title. The long title states, "This is an Ordinance to provide for the enactment of Emergency Regulations or the adoption of other measures, in the interest of the Public Security and the preservation of Public Order and for the maintenance of supplies and services essential to the life of the Community". The Ordinance states the method by which Emergency Regulations are enacted when Part II comes into Operation. What the draughtsman meant by "or the adoption of other measures" is by no means clear. Emergency Regulations or other measures would be adopted only in the interest of Public Security, the preservation of Public Order and the maintenance of supplies and services essential to the life of the Community. The Public Security Ordinance is unique for the absence of important definitions which are normally found in the interpretation clause of a statute. Section 24 of the Ordinance which is the interpretation clause, throws light on the connotation of 'Armed Forces', 'Explosive,' and, 'Gun'. Important words like 'Emergency', 'Public Security' and 'Public Order' have not been defined. On the other hand when you compare with the Industrial Disputes Act for example we find how inadequate the Ordinance is with regard to definitions. The Industrial Disputes Act in its Interpre-

tation Clause defined what it means by 'Essential Industry', 'Industry' 'Industrial Dispute' and 'Trade Union'. Most terms that need interpretation are defined. The effect of embodying a weak interpretation Clause is to enhance the powers of the Executive.

Section (2) (1) of the Ordinance gives the Governor General the power to declare an Emergency, and by Proclamation published in the Gazette declare that the provisions of Part II of this Ordinance shall come into operation. This may be done if an Emergency exists or if there is an imminence of a State of Public Emergency. This Section should be read together with Section 3 and Section 12 (1) of the Amending Act of 1959. Section 3 of the Amending Enactment, attempts to localise the area in which the operation of the Act may be confined to. It states, "shall, forthwith or on such date as may be specified to in the Proclamation, come into operation throughout Ceylon or in such part or parts of Ceylon as may be so specified." This new addition to Section 2 of the Original Ordinance has been criticised. It has been said that an unscrupulous Prime Minister would be able, to use the Ordinance to suppress a strike in the Harbour or to curtail Political activity of opponents during a Parliamentary By-Election. This criticism looks sensible especially in view of Section 12 (1) of the Amending Act. 12 (1)—"Where circumstances endangering the Public Security in any area have arisen or are imminent and the Prime Minister is of opinion that the Police are inadequate to deal with such situation in that area, he may, by Order published in the Gazette, call out all or any of the members of all or any of the Armed Forces for the maintenance of Public Order in that area." The Prime Minister is a Politician and to place in his hands the calling out of armed Forces, to deal with a situation where public security is threatened, especially when Public Security has not been defined, is dangerous. Everything would depend on the person who occupies the position of Prime Minister but when laws are made, they should not assume that every Prime Minister would not abuse his powers.

Section 2 (2) states that when Part II of the Ordinance comes into operation by Proclamation under Sub Section (1) of Section 2 it shall be in force for a period of one

month, unless renewed by a further proclamation at or before the end of that period. The Proclamation made shall be communicated to Parliament, "forthwith", and if Parliament is adjourned or prorogued as will not expire within ten days, Parliament, shall be summoned within ten days. The sub-section further states that, if either House do not meet when summoned, the validity of the Proclamation or the Provisions of Part II are not invalidated, but the Proviso states that in such an event Parliament should be summoned as soon as possible. The informing of Parliament about such a situation is correct on principle, but mere communication is not sufficient. What is communicated to Parliament would be read by Mr. Speaker to the Members. Though it is possible for Members to discuss the Proclamation when the House adjourns, what should be done is to debate the Proclamation and seek the ratification of the Proclamation by the House.

Section 3 has far reaching effects as a State of Public Emergency cannot be called in question in any Court. This Section removes the right to appeal to the Court to interpret a Statute and safeguard the liberties of the subject. With regard to the interpretation of the Constitution of Ceylon, it is permitted to appeal to the Courts. The exception created by this Ordinance, destroys the right granted in the Bracegirdle judgment. In *Rex vs. Superintendent of Chiswick Police-Station ex-parte Sacksteder* 1918 I KB. page 578 at page 589 Scrutton L. J. stated "I approach the consideration of this case with the anxious care which his Majesty's Judges have always given, and I hope will always give, to questions where it is alleged that the liberty of the subject according to the Law of England has been interfered with . . . this jurisdiction of His Majesty's Judges was of old the only refuge of the subject against the unlawful acts of the Sovereign. It is now frequently the only refuge of the subject against the unlawful acts of the Executive, the High Officials, or more frequently the sub-ordinate officials. I hope it will always remain the duty of His Majesty's Judges to protect those people." This quotation from this great Judge has to be looked especially in view of Section 3 stated earlier and Section 4. Section 4 "The expiry or revocation of any proclamation under Section 2 shall not affect or be deemed

to have affected—(a) the past operation of anything duly done or suffered to be done under Part II of this Ordinance while that part was in operation. (b) Any Offence, committed or any right, liberty or penalty acquired or incurred while that Part was in operation. (c) The institution, maintenance or enforcement of any action, proceeding or remedy under that part in respect of any such offence, right, liberty or penalty.

Section 8 and Section 9 should be scrutinized, at this stage. Section 8 states "No Emergency Regulation, and no order, rule or direction made or given thereunder shall be called in question in any Court." The withdrawal of the right to challenge even a regulation that is made, in the Courts of Law, makes it possible for those who make these regulations to take the law into their own hands. Section 9 of the Ordinance states that the written sanction of the Attorney General is necessary to institute an action against a person who has used powers given to him by any Emergency Regulation, or of any order or direction made or given thereunder. Moreover even if an action is brought, if the person has acted in good faith he cannot be punished. Though it is essential that officers performing their legitimate duties must be protected, it should also be remembered that the subject must be safeguarded from the abuse of powers, especially when they are performed by members of the Armed Forces. It would be interesting to quote at this juncture what the Late Mr. Bernard Aluwihare said in Parliament "You will understand that had this Act been in force in 1915, Sly and Bayley could not have been punished at all because they could very well have pleaded, drunken or not, that they acted bonafide, mistakenly or otherwise."

Let us now turn our attention to Part II and Part III of the Act. Part II of the Act enables the Governor General to make Regulations upon the recommendation of the Prime Minister or a Minister if the Prime Minister is absent or incapacitated. When Part II is in operation government by regulation begins. The regulations that may be generally made are "in the interest of public security and the preservation of public order and the suppression of mutiny, riot or civil commotion, or for the maintenance of sup-

plies and services essential to the life of the community." There are special regulations that may be made within the framework of the general regulations. The Special Regulations are (i) to authorize and provide for the detention of persons (ii) authorize (a) the taking of possession or control, on behalf of her Majesty, of any property, or undertaking (b) The acquisition on behalf of Her Majesty, of any property other than land (iii) authorize the entering and search of any premises (iv) provide for amending any law, for suspending the operation of any law and for applying any law with or without modification (v) provide for charging, in respect of the grant or issue of any licence, permit, certificate or other document for the purposes of the regulations, such fee as may be prescribed by or under the regulations (vi) provide for payment of compensation and remunerations to persons affected by the regulations (vii) make provisions for the apprehension and punishment of offenders and for their trial by such Courts, in accordance with procedure laid down by the regulations, and for appeals from those Courts. The regulations that could be framed are many, and diverse topics are covered. For example regulation (i) quoted above is a serious limitation on the liberty of the subject, especially in view of the fact that these regulations cannot be questioned in the Courts. The same could be said about the acquisition of property and the arbitrary searching of any premises. Regulation (iv) would give very wide powers to the Executive, it would enable the Executive to negate the actions of the legislators. Regulation (v) is the only one that shows some consideration to the difficulties that the people would have to undergo, during a period of Emergency.

Section 5 (3) though not sufficient, is a refreshing feature in the Ordinance. It states "Any Emergency Regulation may be added to, or altered or revoked by resolutions of the House of Representatives or by Regulations made under the preceding provisions of this Section". Thus this sub section enables the Members of the House to discuss the operation of the Emergency viz. the Regulations. Though this is a healthy feature, what should be placed before the House for ratification is the Proclamation itself, which goes to the very root of the declaration of a State of Emergency.

Section 6 makes provision for delegation of powers to persons to make orders and rules for any of the purposes for which such regulations are made. Section 7 ascertains that the Emergency Regulations when declared would have supremacy and priority over all other laws, whenever there is any inconsistency. This is another attempt to allow the Emergency Regulations, to ride rough-shod over the existing laws made by our legislators. This is extremely dangerous in view of the fact that what is supreme are the Emergency Regulations made by the Governor General on the recommendation of a Prime Minister.

Let us now turn to Part III which refers to the Special Powers of the Prime-Minister. When the Armed Forces are called out under Section 12 (1) they have the powers of search and arrest. They would also have the power to disperse unlawful assemblies, conferred on them by an amendment of the word 'peace-officer' in Section 99 of the Criminal Procedure Code. Under Section 16 (1) the Prime Minister is granted the power to clamp down a curfew in any area for the maintenance of Public Order. The imposition of a curfew limits the movement of the individual, and to hand this over to a politician like the Prime-Minister can lead to much abuse. Section 17 while further increasing the powers of the Prime-Minister, seriously limits trade-union activity. The Prime-Minister has the right to declare any service to be an essential service to the life of the community. When this declaration is made several consequences flow viz., it becomes an offence to keep away from work, it becomes an offence to refuse to carry out the instructions of your employer having come to work, it becomes an offence for any person to impede, obstruct and delay work, it becomes an offence for any person to induce or encourage another to depart from his employment (whether that person departs or not), it becomes an offence to prevent any other person from offering or accepting employment in that service and lastly it is an offence for any person to make a speech or produce a writing which induces or encourages a person to do any of the aforementioned things. Though an order made under Section 12 with regard to the calling out of Armed Forces, under Section 16 with regard to a curfew and under Section 17 with regard to a declaration of anything

as an essential service, cannot be questioned in any Court of law, it is possible under Section 20 (4) for the House of Representatives to rescind it by a Resolution.

Let us for a moment examine the arguments that have been adduced against the Bill as a whole. There is no necessity for this Ordinance. The normal laws of the land are sufficient to deal with a situation that would be termed an Emergency. "This bit of legislation is an attempt definitely to override the supremacy of the rule of law." "This is a complete and absolute negation of the civil liberty, the liberty of the subject." This Bill confers the Executive with very great powers. This Ordinance could be utilized for the establishment of a dictatorship. This Ordinance removes the well known safeguard known as Habeas Corpus. This Ordinance negates Article 10 of the Charter of Human Rights viz. "He has the right to be protected by law from illegal arrest, brutality, torture, cruel and unjust punishment and double jeopardy. In the case of illegal arrest, he has the right to a speedy and public trial by the process of law." Dr. N. M. Perera stated "It is an Ordinance that can be used by a party that is in power for the purpose of completely annihilating their opponents. They can use this Ordinance on the ground that there is an Emergency on the ground of Public order and security. They can imprison their political opponents without any semblance of trial and just detain them for years on end." 7th July, 1948. It removes the right of the subject to invoke the help of the Courts against the illegal acts of the Executive. The Ordinance has been abused while in operation. The M.P. for Kalutara Mr. Cholomondely Goonawardene stated in Col. 622 of Wednesday, 11th February 1959 Hansard, "When I asked about David Silva this is what the A.S.P. said. "Oh!" he said, "there is nothing to worry. He was taken into custody for questioning, given a curfew pass, and released. We asked him, whether, he would like a lift in the Jeep. He refused the lift and said that he can go on his own." Up to date what happened to David Silva is not known to the Country.

Let us consider the arguments that have been adduced in favour of the Ordinance. It has been said that Ceylon is not the only Country that has an Ordinance of this

nature. Mr. J. R. Jayawardene stated "We have copied our Bill from the Madras Act". The late Mr. D. S. Senanayake stated "So when we at the last moment did bring that Ordinance forward it was because of the absolute conviction we had of the necessity to safeguard the property and the lives of the people." It has been argued that the Ordinance is a necessity, emergencies arise in a Country, and they should be effectively handled. The Executive needs special powers to deal with a special situation like an Emergency. The ordinary laws of the land are inadequate to deal with a situation like an emergency. The strongest argument for the Ordinance is that Emergency Powers are needed to deal with an Emergency. Let us for a moment examine whether a situation of emergency could be dealt with under the normal laws of the land.

The laws beside the Public Security Ordinance that are capable of dealing with an Emergency situation are the following viz., The Penal Code, Criminal Procedure Code, Army Act, Navy Act, Air Force Act, the Police Ordinance (together with Police Departmental Orders) and lastly the Industrial Disputes Act. We have in the Penal Code Chapter VI with the new amendments added by the Criminal Law (Special Provisions) Act No. 1 of 1962 which deals with the offences against the State. There is Chapter VIII of the Penal Code which deals with offences against the public tranquility. Special mention must be made of Section 138 of the Penal Code which deals with Unlawful Assembly and section 146 which makes every member of an unlawful assembly guilty of an offence committed in prosecution of the Common Object of such Assembly. It has been said that action under Section 138 would be limited to the definition of Unlawful Assembly embodied in the section. But the section seems wide enough in view of sub-section (3) which says "To commit any mischief or Criminal Trespass or other offence". There are sections 427 and 428 of the Penal Code that deal with criminal Trespass and House Trespass. The Criminal Procedure Code empowers a Police-Officer to arrest without a warrant a person who in his presence commits any breach of the peace. Section 32 of the Criminal Procedure Code lays down further instances where arrest could be

carried out without a warrant. This relates to cognizable as well as non-cognizable offences. Section 68 deals with the circumstances in which search warrants may be granted. Chapter VIII deals with unlawful assemblies. This group of Sections have been made use of in the Ordinance in Section 12 (3). There is Chapter XI of the Criminal Procedure Code which refers to preventive actions by Peace Officers. Section 115 states "Every Peace Officer may interpose for the purpose of preventing and shall to the best of his ability prevent the commission of any cognizable offence". We should also keep in mind Section 19 of the Code which refers to public help to suppress a riot or an affray.

Let us now scrutinize the provisions in the Army, Navy and Air Force Acts. Section 23 of the Army Act makes provision for the performance of non-military duties. The new Army Amendment Act No. 6 of 1962 enables the Governor General to order members of the Army to perform non-military duties as he may consider necessary in the national interest. There is Section 19 (1) of the Army Act which empowers the Governor General to call out the Army for the following purposes. (a) For the defence of Ceylon in time of war; (b) For the prevention or suppression of any rebellion, insurrection or other Civil Disturbance in Ceylon or (c) for the performance of such duties as are referred to in Section 23 (that is the performance of non-military duties). Section 16 (1) of the Navy Act No. 34 of 1950 gives the Governor General similar powers pertaining to the Navy. Under Section 21 (1), the Navy could be called to perform non-naval duties on the Orders of the Governor-General. There is Section 19 (1) of the Air Force Act No. 41 of 1949 which grants the Governor General similar powers with regard to the Air Force. that are conferred on him by Section 16 (1) of the Navy Act and Section 19 (1) of the Army Act, pertaining to the Navy and the Army.

There is the Police Ordinance No. 16 of 1865 which has been profusely amended to make it suitable for modern conditions. Section 6 of the Ordinance makes it possible for the quartering of Police in disturbed or dangerous districts or districts the inhabitants

of which misconduct themselves. Section 56 of the Police Ordinance states that it shall be the duty of the Police Officer (a) to use his best endeavours and ability to prevent all crimes, offences and public nuisances (b) To preserve the peace (c) To apprehend disorderly and suspicious characters (d) To detect and bring offenders to justice (e) To collect and communicate intelligence affecting the Public peace and (f) promptly to obey and execute all orders and warrants lawfully issued and directed to him by any competent authority. Section 77 relates to the power to give directions, prohibiting or regulating processions. Section 79 deals with possession of dangerous weapons at Public Meetings and Processions, and use of words or behaviour tending to cause breach of the peace. Section 98 deals with the spread of false reports to alarm people and create a panic and the penalties that could be imposed for such an offence. There are Departmental Orders that could be made by the Police. During the Debate on the Public Security (Amendment) Act, 1959 Mr. C. Suntheralingam the M.P. for Vavuniya pointed out the far reaching consequences of the orders. Col. 305 of Hansard of 30th January, 1959 states "Fire upon the mob to protect the persons and property in danger. Before ordering fire to be opened consider whether immediate action is necessary, or whether the mere presence of the armed party will not be sufficient to cause the mob to desist."

In Col. 307 it is continued--Paragraph 5—"The orders quoted below need not be learnt by heart but will be made the subject of frequent instructions to all ranks—(a) Fire should be opened only when such action is absolutely necessary to prevent the commission of any of the crimes mentioned above and it is clear that the mob intends to persist in its action. When, however, a Police Officer is of opinion that delay will lead to death or grievous hurt being caused to any person, or the burning or damaging by explosives of any house, shop, store or place of worship which is used for the custody of property or in which there are persons living, he is justified in ordering fire to be opened immediately."

(Continued on Page 171)



# Case History of Guantanamo

by Henry Gitano

**I**F an invasion eventually is launched against Cuba," notes the *Wall Street Journal* (Oct. 23), "the U.S. already has what in effect is a beachhead in Cuba: the U.S. Naval Base at Guantanamo Bay" which is "a potential springboard for a military offence should war come."

Guantanamo consists of 28,000 acres with about 1,400 buildings. There are two airfields within its confines, the 5,000 foot runway of McCalla Field and an 8,000 foot strip for jets on Leeward Point. It is the largest enclosed harbor in the world; the anchorage can accommodate 50 ships. The normal resident military complement is 2,950 men, dependents number about 2,500. In addition there are usually 5,000 men aboard ships in the bay. Some 3,600 Cubans work on the base. The U.S. has arrogated to itself perpetual exclusive rights over the area, paying Cuba \$3386.25 annually for this occupied territory or about a penny an acre on a monthly basis.

The presence of American troops in Guantanamo against the wishes of the Cuban people is ever-present aggression. The offensive nature of American bayonets in Cuba was spotlighted during Kennedy's latest attempt to crush the Cuban Revolution, in which Guantanamo played a key role. "Guantanamo Marines Rarin' To Go" was the eight column head across the front page of the *N.Y. World Telegram* (Nov. 12). Jim G. Lucas, reporting from Guantanamo quoted Corporal Jerome Golden: "There's not a man here who doesn't want to go over that fence. That's why we thought we came here."

Reporting from Cuba's occupied territory, David Kraslow of the *Miami Herald* (Nov. 14) saw an "eerie stillness" on the Cuban side. "On the American side there are 'over 8,000' tough Marines spoiling for a fight." Tad Szulc of the *N.Y. Times* (Nov. 12) noted that "the Pentagon could not foresee" if "the crisis would lead to . . . offensive operations that would require support from Guantanamo." He reported that

alongside of heavy troop concentrations, there were "Navy underwater demolition teams, its warships, its Navy attack jet fighters, propeller-driven bombers.."

Reinforcing the concept of an offensive buildup. Marine Commandant Gen. W. R. Collins gave his evaluation: "There are no signs the Cubans are preparing an attack on the base" (*UPI*, Nov. 13)! The same day, a tank march along the fence was projected, to impress Cubans who had allegedly thrown rocks—Goliath had second thoughts, and called it off. The *N.Y. Times* (Nov. 18) displayed a large photo of Douglas Skyraiders on "alert" at Guantanamo airfield, noting that they were "capable of delivering . . . nuclear bombs."

A blueprint for subjugating Cuba was reported by the (Oct. 9) *Los Angeles Times*. Homes Alexander reported from Guantanamo Bay: "We would be lucky if an 'incident' at this naval base provided us with a new chance to establish a free Cuba on this island. The opportunity would enable us to set up a fighting front. . . Nothing else, except this uncompromising joining of battle in a limited war, with the avowed intention of victory, seems to be in the picture as viewed here." *U.S. News World Report* (Nov. 26) blustered: "Heavy reinforcement of Guantanamo. . . showed Cuba had been placed at the mercy of U.S. Military force and that the U.S. was ready for action if it were needed." Guantanamo was set on a collision course aimed at overthrowing the Cuban Revolution by armed force, meanwhile undertaking provocations, espionage and subversion.

During the past sixty-four years, Guantanamo has been an integral part of the U.S. drive to transform and maintain the Caribbean as an American lake and Latin America as vassal states. The stakes are very high. They were summarised by Herbert Matthews in the *N.Y. Times* (April 26, 1959): "U.S. private investments in Latin America now reach the amazing total of about \$9.5 billion . . . At every point it has to be said: 'If we did not have Latin America on our side, our situation

would be desperate. To be denied the products and markets of Latin America would reduce the U.S. to being a second-rate nation and cause a devastating reduction in our standard of living. . . . Latin American raw materials are essential to our existence as a world power."

The end result of U.S. colonial policy was editorially stated by England's respected *Manchester Guardian Weekly* (Jan. 12, 1961) while discussing Cuban-U.S. relations. "In most parts of the world, it is no longer Britain or France—or even the Soviet Union—which is regarded as the arch imperialist. It is the United States." The story of U.S. imperialism is also the story of Guantanamo—America's oldest foreign base.

The U.S. government in its White Paper in reply to Cuban charges (Oct. 13, 1960) spoke of "the historic friendship between Cuba and the U.S.," adding that the U.S. "never took upon itself" or "imposed by force" any right respecting Guantanamo." History tells a different story.

The American government consistently opposed Cuban liberation. Until the U.S. was ready to swallow Cuba, it wanted the Island to remain part of a declining Spain.

Secretary of State John Quincy Adams wrote to the American Minister in Spain on April 28, 1823: "There are laws of political as well as of physical gravitation; and if an apple, severed by the tempest from its native tree, cannot choose but fall to the ground, Cuba, forcibly disjoined from its unnatural connection with Spain and incapable of self-support, can gravitate only towards the North American Union."

On the other hand, Cubans had the curious belief that Cuba had a natural connection with them. This belief was so profound that from 1868-1878—the first phase of Cuba's 30-year struggle for independence—Spain lost 80,000 soldiers. In this war "the U.S." says Herbert Matthews, "helped Spain" (*The Cuban Story*).

Eventually, America embarked on her own career of overseas imperialism. The concept that it was the destiny of the U.S.

to have this Hemisphere as its private preserve was asserted with inimitable candor by Secretary of State Richard T. Olney in a message to England over the Venezuela dispute in July 1895: "The U.S. is practically sovereign on this continent and its fiat is law . . . its infinite resources combined with its isolated position render it master of the situation and practically invulnerable against any or all other powers."

The U.S. was not in business to free Latin America; its aim was to change the locale of domination to Washington. In 1895 another Cuban insurrection against Spain began. President Cleveland said that the U.S. because of "its large pecuniary stake" in the fortunes of Cuba was "inextricably involved."

Expansionists were convinced by 1898 that the fruit had ripened sufficiently for McKinley's intervention. An editorial in the *Washington Post* just before the war, explained: "A new consciousness seems to have come upon us—the consciousness of strength—and with it a new appetite, the yearning to show our strength. The taste of Empire is in the mouth of the people even as the taste of blood in the jungle."

On February 15, 1898, the battleship "Maine" blew up in Cuban waters with the loss of 258 crew members and two officers. The origin of the explosion has never been determined. Those were the days during which William Randolph Hearst's scribblers fabricated Our-Man-In-Havana stories to stir up war.

Artis Frederic Remington cabled his desire to return from Cuba: "Everything is quiet, there is no trouble here. There will be no war." Hearst replied: "Please remain. You furnish the pictures and I'll furnish the war."

Spain agreed early in April 1898 to suspend hostilities, call a Cuban parliament and grant generous local autonomy. There had been widespread indignation over the atrocities committed by Spain's General Weyler and he had been recalled. The American Minister in Spain, General Woodford, cabled McKinley that the Madrid government was willing to grant any autonomy which the insurgents would accept, even complete.

# PEOPLE'S BANK

Prosperity brings friends, adversity tries them. Countries, like individuals, have periods of economic prosperity and adversity. The country is at present passing through a period of economic adversity and each one of us as citizens is on trial. It is the testing time for your patriotism and sincerity of purpose towards raising economic standards. There is always the People's Bank, the friend in adversity, to help you make the most of your money not only for your own benefit but also for the well-being of the nation at large. This is when you call on the Manager of the nearest Branch. You are assured of courteous attention and efficient service.

independence for Cuba. But McKinley "without making public the latest concession from Madrid, sent a militant message to Congress on April 11, 1898 declaring that his efforts were brought to a standstill and the issue was in the hands of Congress" (Charles and Mary Beard, *The rise of American Civilization*, Vol. 2) Congress interpreted the message as a demand for a declaration of war.

In the Senate, Populists suspecting a ruse for imperialist conquest forced the adoption of a supplement disowning all subterfuges. On April 19, 1898, the U.S. was at war with the most powerless, European colonial state, one that had offered to capitulate before the battle started.

The intent of the Joint Resolution for the Recognition of the Independence of the People of Cuba (*U.S. Statutes at Large*, Vol 30), April 20, 1898, was clear: "Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the U.S.A. in Congress assembled, First, That the people of the Island of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent; That the U.S. hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction or control over said Island except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination, when that is accomplished, to leave the government and control of the Island to its people." This was the will of the American people. McKinley had become president on a platform calling for Cuban independence.

After four months, hostilities, were over. Contrary to our jingoistic textbooks, it was Cuba's General Gracia who provided the strategy for the Battle of Santiago and a troop of 5,000 Cubans who barred the advance from Holguin of the main Spanish body. *Leatherneck*, (Nov 1962), the Marine Corps magazine, stated in its historical roundup: "There was little opposition on the beach...the Spanish American War did not amount to much militarily."

Cubans, who had borne the brunt of the fighting, "were not invited to the conferences of the commanders, which closed with the Spaniard's unconditional surrender. And Cuban troops with arms were not admitted to enter the liberated city!" (Waldo Frank —*Cuba Prophetic Island*?)

At the peace treaty signed in Paris (Dec. 10, 1898) Cuba was not even represented. Referring to Cuba, the Treaty states: "Spain relinquishes all claim of sovereignty over and title to Cuba. And as the Island is, upon its evacuation by Spain to be occupied by the U.S., the U.S. will, so long as such occupation shall last..." and so on in like vein. The American people wanted Cuban independence. The Joint Declaration of April 20 embodied this desire. Now the deceit was unveiled, "free and independent" was transformed into "occupation".

In his message of December 1897 President McKinley had declared that "forcible annexation...would be criminal aggression." Later he remarked, "when the war is over we must keep what we want." Thus, the U.S., as part of its war for the liberation of Cuba, grabbed Puerto Rico, Guam and the Philippines.

On January 1, 1899, Spanish troops evacuated Cuba to be replaced by U.S. General Leonard Wood's dictatorial occupation. The Cuban army had not yet been disbanded. "Wood invited Generalissimo Gomez and a small group of Cuban leaders to a day's picnic sail on his yacht. While the Daiquiris glittered cold, he assured Gomez that the President meant to honor absolutely the promises of Congress. Moreover McKinley had a balance of dol. 3 million from the war budget voted by Congress, with which he was ready to pay a dol. 75 bonus to every Cuban veteran, with one proviso: that the army dissolve. Gomez believed Wood and accepted" (Waldo Frank).

On November 5, 1900, General Wood called a constitutional convention in Havana. The delegates were instructed to write a Constitution and frame a treaty defining future relations between Cuba and the U.S.

Washington faced a problem. There was the resolution of Congress proclaiming to the world that the U.S. desired only peace and not jurisdiction over Cuba. But if power were transferred to the Cuban people, would investments be safe? The situation involved profit versus honor. Then as now it was resolved for profit through falsifications, betrayal and armed might.

With Cubans drafting a treaty and their army dissolved, Senator O. H. Platt defined the relations whereby imperialist domination was assured behind a false facade. Sandwiched between liability of officers for failure to report and longevity payments for engineer battalions, was the nullification of Cuban sovereignty:

"The President is hereby authorized to leave the government and control of the island of Cuba to its people so soon as the government of Cuba consents that the U.S. may exercise the right to intervene for the preservation of Cuban independence, the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property and individual liberty. . . the government of Cuba will sell or lease to the U.S. lands necessary for coaling or naval stations (Guantanamo Bay). . . That by way of further assurance the government of Cuba will embody the foregoing provisions in a permanent treaty with the U.S."

The Cuban people who had fought and suffered for thirty years to win their freedom understood this betrayal. They protested in Cuba and in Washington, but to no avail. The alternative to accepting the Platt amendment was indefinite military occupation. On July 12, 1901 by a vote of 17 to 11, it became part of Cuba's constitution.

On May 20, 1902, U.S. military occupation ended—but not for long. By 1906 U.S. Marines again intervened to "restore order . . . and establish a stable government after serious revolutionary activity," remaining until 1909 (*Situation in Cuba*, U.S. Senate, Sept. 17, 1962).

The formal "treaties" which transformed Guantanamo into occupied territory were signed on February 16 and July 2, 1903. They provided American imperialism with "complete jurisdiction and control over and within said areas." The treaty gave the U.S. a perpetual lease on the base which can be changed only at Washington's whim.

In a rare instance of historical candor, a memorandum on Guantanamo prepared by the Department of Defense for its 1961 Appropriations clarified the record: "It is perhaps worthwhile to note that the two lease agreements of 1903 were executed by the Presidents of the two countries and were

not submitted to the Congresses of either country for approval." Thus Guantanamo was stolen from Cuba behind the backs of both the American and the Cuban peoples.

That didn't stop the *N. Y. Times* (Oct. 29, 1962) from palming off the "exceptionally low" rental as "indicative of Cuban gratitude to the U.S., for having helped Cuba win independence from Spain." (The revolutionary government of Castro feels no "gratitude" for an enemy base on its territory—it has refused to accept payment of the yearly rental since coming to power). The origin of the Guantanamo Base is illegitimate, it derives from arbitrary occupation and imperialist aggression. It is based on naked force—as befits such a treaty, it was to extend forever.

In his vivid study, *The Shark and the Sardines*, spotlighting American colonialism in action, Dr. Juan Jose Arevalo, former President of Guatemala, exposed these "treaties." "From these pages we denounce once more the go-between function of International Law, shamelessly placed at the service of the Empire, to hide its fraud, to give an honest appearance to the plundering done by its bankers, to cover up carefully the butchering done by its marines and aviators. . . . There is only one contracting party—the one that swallows. . . Law without authority for appeal is not Law. And when orders are dictated by foreign troops, how long does such Law last?"

Marion E. Murphy who was Commander of Guantanamo Base in his "*History of Guantanamo Base*" records that "Some indication of the future role of the (Marine) barracks was noted in 1903. A battalion under Major L. C. Lucas spent about a month on the Station awaiting further transfer to Panama. . . . The following decades saw a procession of Marine units enroute to or returning from Caribbean actions."

Guantanamo Bay has been used as a staging area, or as a concentration point of troops and weapons whenever imperialist domination was endangered in the Caribbean. This is partially documented in Murphy's book and more fully in a mimeographed 163-page monograph titled "180 Landings of U.S. Marines, (in time of peace) 1800-1934" by Captain Harry Alanson Ellsworth, U.S.

Marine Corps, Officer in Charge, Historical Section, August, 1934. A concise listing of armed interventions is available by writing a Senator requesting *Situation in Cuba*, U.S. Senate Sept. 17, 1962—89479.

The following are typical examples from this list. To suppress a Haitian revolt, the 24th Company of Marines, under Capt. William G. Fay from Guantanamo Bay, was transported to Haiti and landed on July 29, 1915. Two thousand Haitians were killed in this Marine operation which lasted until August 15, 1934. In Nicaragua "the revolutionary activities begun in the latter part of 1926 increased to such an extent that additional American forces were necessary" (Ellsworth). Guantanamo Bay answered the call with the 2nd Battalion of the 5th Regiment. The Marines left Nicaragua in 1933.

The land laws imposed under U.S. occupation made Cubans landless while laying the basis for vast North American plantations. Four years after military occupation ended, the Marines returned to smash "a revolution of considerable proportion" which Ellsworth tells us, "was well underway" Guantanamo Commandant Ackerman "armed nine steam launches and two tugs and organized a landing force. . . U.S., intervention had the requisite steadying effect" (Murphy).

On September 29, 1906, William Howard Taft proclaimed that Cuba, left without a government "at a time when great disorder prevails," would be governed by the U.S. Taft proclaimed himself provisional governor. Charles E. Magoon succeeded him, administering Cuba under this second occupation until 1909 when the Marines withdrew.

By 1912 "this Island showed distinct signs of again breaking forth in Revolution" (Ellsworth). The First Regiment landed at Guantanamo on May 28 and a few days later was distributed to different points in the eastern end of Cuba.

In 1917 the Marines acted as strike brakers and Pinkertons for the Cuban Railroad; they were camped on railroad property. The request for additional Marines who remained until 1922 was motivated by Minister to Cuba Boaz Long, "In event of Revolution

or other disturbances American interests will be (the) first to be destroyed." General Crowder in 1922 stated that if any disturbances developed, "the Marines could be rushed back from Guantanamo within 48 hours. Thus the Cuba Railroad would still have recourse to marine protection, if needed" (*The U. S. and Cuba*, by Robert F. Smith.

Two ships of the U.S. Navy were sent to Havana for their "moral" effect in 1933. Murphy relates that when the bloody Machado dictatorship fell, "financiers, owners of sugar mills business men and high ranking Cuban officials found a haven on the station U.S. naval vessels cruised around the coast of Cuba ready to act for the preservation of lives and property." It is worthwhile to note that during Machado's regime of the "Sawed-Off Shotgun" (1925-1933) labour leaders, students and political opponents were butchered; Noske Yolab and Claudio Brouzon were thrown to the sharks; there were machine-gun elections; Luis Blanco Neuman was murdered by the police for presenting a petition of the American Embassy; but the Marines never intervened. Franklin D. Roosevelt once said of Trujillo: "He may be an S.O.B., but he is our S.O.B."

Following a general strike, Gerardo Machado was overthrown in August 1933 and a new government under Dr. Grau San Martin enacted "an eight hour day. . . a minimum wage for cutting sugar cane. . . the initiation of a program for agrarian reform. . . a reduction in electricity rates. The Grau government aroused intense hostility on the part of business interests. Mr. Summer Welles, the American Ambassador, was strongly opposed to the regime, and the U.S., refused to recognize it. In January, 1934, the army (under Batista) finally turned against Grau, who was forced to resign. The resentment of many Cubans has been increased by the accusation that the Mendieta coalition, which succeeded Grau, was and is largely the creature of American diplomacy. It is pointed out that Washington extended recognition to President Mendieta five days after he took office, although it had denied recognition to President Grau, who stayed in office four months" (*Problems of the New Cuba*—Foreign Policy Association, 1935).

The marines at Guantanamo Bay had earned their keep. Carleton Beals reviewed

American domination over Cuba in 1933 (*The Crime of Cuba*) Nearly 90% of the cultivated land was owned or controlled by Americans. "Eighty per cent of the sugar industry belongs to citizens of the U.S.; the rest is controlled chiefly by American creditors. Cuba's second industry—tobacco—is also mostly American. Nearly all the banks, railroads, streetcar lines, electric plants, telephone systems and other public utilities are owned by capital from the U.S."

During Grau's presidency, the U.S., ordered at least twenty nine naval vessels to proceed to Cuba or Key West. Marine air squadrons were alerted; guns and bomb racks were mounted on the planes. Regiments of Marine infantry were assembled at Key West, Florida. In case this would prove insufficient inducement, Secretary Cordell Hull and Ambassador Welles "discussed the possibility of armed intervention in some detail" (*The U.S. and Cuba*, Robert F. Smith).

Ruby Hart Phillips, *N.Y. Times* correspondent, in her book, *Cuba—Island of Paradox* recounts the political atmosphere in 1933 "with Cuban officialdom trembling in their shoes as to the final action which would be taken by the U.S., a word from the Ambassador was usually sufficient. The memory of U.S., intervention in 1907 still gave an American Ambassador considerable prestige." In addition to the Ambassador, there is the army: "Camp Columbia (which revolutionary Cuba has now transformed into a school) controls not only Havana but the entire Island and the government." Controlling the army, "Batista is doing everything he can to please Consul General Dumont. He has the arms and ammunition and the soldiers. From now on Cuba is in the same category with all Latin American countries—the army rules." President Mendieta signed a decree on March 7, 1934 suspending constitutional guarantees and placing the country under martial law.

R. H. Phillips understood Washington's purpose: "The U.S., was chiefly interested in the amount of sugar Cuba could produce, and was not going to have sugar production hampered by Revolution."

Machado, whose army was trained by U.S., officers, could guarantee U.S., profits

until a general strike overthrew him. Now Batista's army would try the same. The military machine had become so powerful and was in such "responsible" and "friendly" hands, that the U.S. could see no reason for using its own troops when Batista would do the job more cheaply. Meanwhile Roosevelt, who refused to recognize Dr. Grau but in short order embraced the Batista-Mendieta axis, added prestige to a Cuban government which protected U.S. business interests by modifying the hated Platt Amendment on May 29, 1934, retaining control over Guantanamo.

While the original Guantanamo treaties were imposed under threat of continuing U.S. military occupation, the 1934 treaty, reaffirming U.S. seizure of Guantanamo exactly as it was codified in 1903, was in essence a treaty which the U.S., signed with itself using puppets as front men during a period of martial law with a "Provisional President" in Cuba. This is what Washington means when it says, "The U.S., is in Guantanamo by right of treaty."

In June of 1958 two of Batista's planes presumably bombing Cuban revolutionaries in the Sierra Maestra, made emergency landings at Guantanamo and were refueled there. About the same time, Angel Saavedra, an agent of the July 26 Movement at the Cuban Embassy in Washington, secured documents showing that 300 5-inch rocket warheads, weighing nine tons, were delivered to Batista's Air Force on May 19, 1958, from Guantanamo. The U.S., State Department later confirmed this transaction.

Tad Szulc and Karl E. Meyer in their recent book, *The Cuban Invasion*, revealed that "In Cuba, the Central intelligence Agency (CIA) worked mostly out of Havana and Guantanamo Naval Base." In discussing leaders of a counter revolutionary group, we are told: "They were captured hours after (Sergio) Sanjenis in cooperation with AIC agents spirited Nino Diaz into the Guantanamo Navy Base from Havana. There are good reasons to believe that Diaz had gone into the hills from Guantanamo Navy Base and that the CIA had given him some support."

The CIA had a plan whereby some Cuban torpedo boats would escape from the naval base at Baracoa in Oriente province, but

they would have to be refueled. "To help the potential defectors, a privately owned undersea-cable repair ship, the Western Union, put in at Guantanamo to lead on her deck several thousand drums of high-octane gasoline. But on her way to the Baracoa rendezvous, the vessel was intercepted by a Cuban warship. Anguished radio messages to Guantanamo sent a U.S. destroyer and Navy aircraft rushing toward the Western Union, and, in the end, the Cuban captain let himself be stared down by the American forces and allowed the cable ship to go. Once discovered, however the Western Union could no longer pursue her mission..." (*The Cuban Invasion*)

A May 10, 1961 *UPI* dispatch, dateline Washington, disclosed that during the CIA organized invasion a U.S. sub marine was on hand. It was not learned whether the USS *Spikefish* was acting as an escort for the rebel landing craft or merely observing the operation...The Navy declined to say anything on the subject...The sub...later showed up at the Guantanamo Naval Base."

Items datelined Guantanamo Naval Base, beginning with "Sources in contact with the Cuban underground say..." (*AP* Sept.18) are by now routine.

Following the U.S. break in diplomatic relations with Cuba Admiral Arleigh Burke reaffirmed U.S., obligation to return fugitives from Cuba (in accordance with Article 4 of the July 2, 1903 treaty, reasserted May 29, 1934). An *AP* dispatch (*San Juan Star*, Oct. 19) reported: The Navy said its Guantanamo Base in Cuba is sheltering about 350 Cubans who fled from Fidel Castro's regime but is not allowing them to leave the Island." Within less than one month, 300 Cubans had evaporated. An *AP* dispatch from Guantanamo (*N.Y. World Telegram*, Nov. 12). divulges that "50 refugees from Castro are here now, although U.S. officials do not admit that." This item also claims that "Cuban workers...are a source of information."

This fits in well with the views of Admiral Burke as expressed in an interview with *U.S. News & World Report* (Oct. 3, 1960): "We shouldn't be apologizing to the world. We're powerful and we're the leader of the world" (Question: Is the Navy

concerned about the situation in Cuba?") "Oh, yes, the Navy is concerned—not about our base at Guantanamo, but about the whole Cuban situation."

What is the present function of foreign military bases, specifically Guantanamo? On March 28, 1961, Kennedy requested Congress to cut back military bases. The *N.Y. Times* reported that Kennedy "has already taken steps to have 73 domestic and foreign installations discontinued." The U.S. maintains a total of 2,230 military installations overseas (*Times*, Nov. 9).

In analyzing overseas bases, the *Wall Street Journal* (Oct. 29) admits: "Ironically, the Navy would probably have been willing to give up Guantanamo at the start of the Castro era; it's basically a convenient, warm-water training base for newly outfitted ships and is no longer vital for guarding the Panama Canal. Now such a pullout might be interpreted as a surrender and so is considered undesirable."

In our age of guided missiles, the occupied territory of Cuba does not protect the U.S., mainland; it remains important to Washington's drive against the Cuban Revolution and against the struggles of the Latin American people for their national liberation. The presence of U.S. armed troops in Guantanamo has been a persistent violation of Cuban sovereignty.

The final declaration (Sept. 6, 1961) of the Belgrade Conference of Nonaligned Nations including India, Algeria, Morocco and the United Arab Republics demanded the immediate elimination of all manifestations of imperialism including the abolition of all foreign military bases. The Conference of 25 nations, declared that "the North American military base a Guantanamo, Cuba to the permanence of which the Government and people of Cuba have expressed their opposition affects the sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country."

Dr. Fidel Castro in his November 1, 1962, speech asked for "the withdrawal of the naval base at Guantanamo and the return of the territory occupied by the U.S.A. truly convincing deed would be for the U.S., to return the territory which it occupies at the naval base at Guantanamo,"



Herbert L. Matthews in his book, *The Cuban Story* (1961), declares: "Sooner or later we are going to have to give up Guantanamo Bay because in the modern world it is not possible indefinitely to hold a military base in a foreign country against the wishes of the people of that country. France, Britain and Spain were unable to hold on to their bases in the Middle East and North Africa, and we are having to give up our air bases in Morocco."

Hanson Baldwin maintains that Guantanamo's importance lies in providing "comparative values," it is "a sanctuary of freedom."

J. Robert Moskin in a feature story from *Guantanamo* (*Look* April 11, 1961) concretizes these lofty values. "Guantanamo's greatest fame has been as a recreation center for the fleet." In the "old days" this "was a lazy, luxurious station and a playground for the men from the ships. Rum and sin in the neighboring towns, were mighty attractions."

But there's something for everybody; there are attractions for upholders of togetherness. The *Wall Street Journal* (Jan. 10, 1961) reports: "About 500 Cuban women clean the homes and cook meals of military men. Top pay £35 a month plus meals. . . An officer's wife, sunning herself at the swimming pool here while a Cuban band plays pleasant music worries that her maid may never come back into the compound from the vacation she is now on."

An old American custom was introduced to Guantanamo in March, 1960, when the

militant leader of the base workers' union, Frederico Figureas Larrazabal, was fired for allegedly making offensive remarks.

Though the workers are in daily contact with American values, including the twice-daily bodily frisking by Marines, an *AP* dispatch from the base on May 1, 1961, reported only forty-five workers had entered Guantanamo Base on May Day morning.

To give credit where it is due, we note President Kennedy's press conference of March 8, 1961, at which he announced to the world that the Red Cross and the U.S., Navy at Guantanamo had cooperated that very day with the Cubans "to combat a polio outbreak" in nearby Guantanamo City. Permission was granted "to send all the vaccine which could be spared." The Cuban Red Cross man upon entering the U.S. gate was met by photographers ready to record this humane act for posterity.

Kennedy's statement closed with these moving words: "I want to take this opportunity—and this incident—to emphasize once again that our difference of opinion on matters affecting Cuba are not with the Cuban people. Rather, we desire the closest and harmonious, and friendly and most sympathetic ties with them." (The "outbreak" consisted of four suspected cases, none of which developed into polio).

The Cubans gave no thanks for this generous, though not anonymous contribution—the vaccine was both ineffective and dangerous; it had an expiration date of December 16, 1960.

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# LIBERTY OR DEATH! VENCEREMOS!

By ROBERT F. WILLIAMS

**H**OW sad, but oh how true, that it is becoming more and more difficult for Afroamericans to survive in the so-called "free world" of the racist USA. There is hardly a square mile left in our native land that has not been christened with the blood of our people. It is even more tragic that there is hardly a nation left where black men of the U.S.A. have not shed blood in phoney crusades for so-called representative democracy. The fact of the matter is that a black man, Crispus Attucks, was the first to make the supreme sacrifice in the American Revolution, and almost 200 years hence Afroamericans are still begging and praying for "democracy" and "justice." Oh how long-winded we are in our dream of fantasy. The human dignity we hope and pray for can never be obtained through the power of magic. God helps those who help themselves. He has already helped us when he gave us the ability to fight. The final step to freedom is man made. Freedom, like life, is born in labor and blood.

All men are born equal. Men are not born to crawl eternally at the feet of brutal oppressors. Men are born to walk upright in human dignity. Yes, there is a fate worse than death. It is a fate wherein men are condemned forever to live in a no man's land, a living hell that saddens the heart, even of beast of burden. No, a thousand times no, it is not the nature of men to willingly submit to misery and oppression. To live in misery and oppression and to die in misery and oppression is no human accomplishment, for is this not the accomplishment of the jackass and the stupid little burro?

Even the common alley cat prefers death for her offspring than birth and life in captivity. Yes, in the racist USA today, there are 20 million captive people. The government of the barbaric USA has the audacity to arm captive black men to conquer foreign lands, to add even more captives to its stockyard of human bondage. Yes, it is an insult to black manhood, that a Negro-hating government can arm such oppressed

people and expect them to respond to orders like insensate robots. If the great mass of black men, who have died for rich-white-man-only justice, had died for true democracy in the USA, our race would have long ago been free. We must ask ourselves if the black man's life is to forever be a toy, a thing for play, to be expended in games of death and false crusades. Yes, is the black man always to be a fighting robot without the intelligence to distinguish his enemies from his friends? Every Afroamerican, full well, knows who the hater of the Negro is. Even our children know who would bar them from the good schools and thus deprive them of effective education. Yes, it is common knowledge, even among our children, that the USA has less respect for them and their mothers than for common street dogs. What Afroamerican does not know of the race hatred and brutality of policemen toward our people? What Afroamerican does not know of the dehumanizing effect of racial discrimination in employment? Yes, what Afroamerican has never been denied the right to live as a first-class citizen in the USA?

Every colored person in the racist USA knows the terror that can be unleashed in a moment's notice by racist brutes, who are antagonized by the fact that black people won't stay in the inferior places reserved for them by the would-be master race. Yes, and what is the U.S. Government's position in the case of racial discrimination and brutality? One who cannot answer this question must be lost in the realm of gullibility. The U.S. Government practices jimcrow the same as any other racist. In fact, it encourages them. The U.S. Government is the biggest business in racist America. Negroes are discriminated against in armed forces classification, in civilian job assignment and in federal housing. J. Edgar Hoover's racist FBI displays the greatest of sympathy for savage, racist policemen who maim and murder helpless Afroamericans. The brute agents of the racist FBI are always at the service of the Ku Klux Klan, to capture and surrender Freedom

Fighters and run-a-way peons to Southern lynch law and mob justice. Afroamericans can be lynched, raped and beaten to death by racist thugs, and the FBI refuses to raise a finger. Freedom Riders and Negroes trying to vote can be beaten by sadistical jailers and policemen, as if their lives have no more value than cockroaches, while the FBI looks on like a frozen mummy's mammy. Yes, Negroes can be shot by trigger happy thug cops, while their hands are cuffed behind their backs, pregnant women and children can be mauled and maimed worse than dogs. Yes, and even black soldiers in uniform can be gunned down by heathen lawmen, while the U.S. Government winks at the cold blooded murderers. The ready-made stock phrase of the U.S. Government and its running dog FBI is that they have, "no jurisdiction, in these local matters," Well Mack, if you happen to be gunned down by a Charlie thug lawmen, even if you're in the olive drab, somehow, it just aint the business of what you call your government. What Mr. Charlie really means, Mack, is that you're the boss's Nigra, and he is free to do whatever he wishes with you . . . including murder. We must ask ourselves, what kind of government is it that refuses to assume the responsibility for the welfare and safety of its people? What kind of government is it that will send black men a million miles from home to fight for some phoney dung called representative democracy that smells worse than a Mississippi skunk?

Yes, in the jails of the South teenage girls, who protest racial injustice, are being packed into jails like, sardines. Some are being forced to undress before racist perverts and to lie down on cold, concrete floors. Brave and honest young men are having their skulls fractured and jawbones broken, while some are being rigged up with electrical wiring and subjected to horrible shock treatment, just for the amusement of racist apes who have less human dignity than the apes of the jungle. Yes, this is the nature and conduct of the savages of the social jungle called the "free world." Yes, this is the Negro's share of the much boasted about, "American way of life." Yes, this is the conduct of a people who would have the world believe that they alone are capable of setting a universal standard of justice. Yes, this is the conduct of so-called Christian America. . . Yes, this is the selfrighteous and

pious nation that claims to be leading a world-wide fight against what they call "unGodly Communism." If what we see in the U.S.A. is Godly Democracy, then the Negro had better flee from it with all deliberate speed.

No, a thousand times no, things are not going to get better in the racist U.S.A. They are going to get much worse, and unless the Afroamerican wakes up, his blood is going to flow like water. All of this pious and noble sounding talk about a great white American crusade against Communism is just a pile of what the birds left on the flag pole. The black man had better start crusading for himself and his own freedom. Communism is not lynching black people! Communism offers equality. If it were not for Russia, the oppressors of the Negro would have already conquered the world, and we can rest assure that it would be a racist world. If it were not for the power of the Soviet Union, all oppressed peoples everywhere would have very little hope of ever acquiring the means of freeing themselves. If it were not for the Soviet Union, the racist of the U.S.A. would already feel free to wage a campaign of total extermination against the Afroamerican. Afroamericans who constantly listen to news reports about the integration struggle in the U.S.A. know that U.S. officials are more concerned about Russia's criticism than they are about the Negro's dislike for Jim Crow. Yes, most of the meager concessions made in the field of race relations have been made on the basis that the communist would use racial brutality against the Negro in the U.S.A to help prove the failure of so-called democracy. It is just common knowledge that a few concessions have been given on this basis, rather than from a moral point of view.

Last year in Monroe, North Carolina, terror town, U.S.A, when Afroamericans were indiscriminately attacked by 5,000 racist thugs and savage policemen, the U.S. Government joined the Ku Klux Klan against the peaceful colored people. One Afro-american mother, who pleaded in vain with racist policemen to release her innocent husband from jail, wept bitterly and in help less frustration told the state police that, "It'll take Krushchev and Castro to make you lowdown dogs treat us colored folks right." Yes, it is time for Afroamericans to realize

who our enemy is. How can a people be so asinine as to allow themselves to be led into a life and death crusade against people who have never done them any harm? Yes, how can they be led against their true friends by their worse enemies? yes if Mr. Charlie believes in democracy and justice, there is no more fit place for him to start proving it than right in his own front yard. Yes, Mr. Charlie bathes in the sunlight of glory, enjoying his privilege and comfort, purchased with the misery and blood of black serfs. He winks and glories in his skill of deception as he plays colored people for fools. Yes, Afroamericans are told, by their would-be white Jesuses, that communism will deprive them of their rights and freedom. **WHAT FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY HAVE AFROAMERICANS GOT TO LOSE?** Does Mr. Charlie mean the freedom of being lynched, of being raped, of being jimcrowed, of having our brains pulverized by Klansmen and thug cops, the freedom to starve, the freedom to live as captive dogs in a make-believe "free world?" Yes, the downtrodden Afroamerican has only his bloody chains to lose.

I can personally bear witness to the fact that when the Klu Klux Klan, the racist police and the FBI tried to frame and lynch my family and me, that only Cuba would give us sanctuary from the howling savages. Yes, only Cuba, because sanctuary, in the so-called "free world" is reserved for white people and birds!

Let's examine a specific case of democracy and Christian benevolence in the U.S.A. Let's look, at the kind of freedom that Mr. Charlie proudly tells us that we are in danger of losing. Yes, the following case of democracy in the "free world" of the U.S.A. is a news report from the solid-in-mutual-madness Southland. The dateline is: August 1962, GREENWOOD, MISSISSIPPI—USA—:

"A 14-year old Negro child was severely beaten by local police in what was called another attempted Emmett Till case that just didn't go through.

"The attack on Welton McSwine, Jr. was so described by Sam Block, field secretary here for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

"Block said that young McSwine was saved from further assaults, and possible death, by the arrival of his father at the police station during the beating.

'Block described the boy as a hard-working Church going kid, who had never even been to the police station before in his life.

"The boy was taken to the station for investigation after a white woman's house was broken into. The officers said to him Alright, nigger, you know why you are here, and we want to know who broke into that white woman's house Wednesday morning.

"The child replied: 'I don't know anything about anybody breaking into nobody's house. I go to the cotton field all the time and back home. You can ask my mother. She can tell you the same thing.'

"The officers then took the Negro child to a back cell and beat him unmercifully. They first hit him in the head with a black jack. Then they made him sit in a chair while five officers gave him the third degree. The child told his brutal torturers; Please, Mr. Policeman, I swear I don't know anything about that. I was in the field.' Whereupon one of the policemen beat him in the face with his fist. Another hit the boy in the stomach with his billy club.

"When the child still did not confess, the officers made him lie naked on the floor on his side while they savagely beat him with a whip. Block reported that, 'Everyone they carry up to the police station comes back and tells me about the whip that they whip you with up there.'

"The beating of the young boy was interrupted by the sounding of a buzzer. This was a signal to stop the beating in order to end the boy's screaming and to turn on the television in order to cover any screams.

"Welton McSwine, Sr. the boy's father, had arrived. The officers ordered the boy to stop crying, wash his face, and put his clothes. He was then told to go and sit quietly in the courtroom. Not knowing where the courtroom was, he went into the wrong room. Whereupon a policeman hit him in the head, shoved him, and said; That room nigger.'

'Block said the boy had to be taken to a doctor the next day, 'Because the bruised places had begun to swell very badly.

"The boy's father had seen the policeman hit his son and shove him when the boy went into the wrong room. The older McSwine told Block: 'I don't think anything can be done, but if there is something that can be done, I hope you will please help me. I have other boys growing up and they will be whipping them the same way if I don't try to put a stop to it now."

Yes, while black women and children's welted flesh quivers from the impact of bull whips and billy clubs, while pregnant black women's unborn babies are kicked like footballs in their mother's wombs by the white masters of the "free world," black men stand like obedient robots with their weapons of death aimed at the hearts of their true friends in foreign lands. Yes, black men are asked to kill their friends by Negro hating degenerate thug politicians like THURMAN

of South Carolina, EASTLAND of Mississippi RUSSELL of Georgia and ELLENDER of Louisiana. Yes, it is no mere coincident that these racist rats are the most vocal advocates of military aggression against Cuba, for they are also the most vocal advocates of Jim Crow and lynch law for Negroes, The "free world" of the U.S.A. is, indeed, in a sad state of affairs when Ku Klux Klan vultures like these propose to send black troops to safeguard DEMOCRACY that meets THEIR approval. Civilized soldiers, black and white, who are really honest about defending democracy and destroying enemies of a would-be free world, had better move out on the double toward Mississippi and Washington, D.C. Let us remember that freedom and human dignity are not won just by hope and prayer. God helps those who help themselves! If we must pray. . . Let us PRAISE THE LORD AND PASS THE AMMUNITION! Let our battle cry be heard around the world. . . LIBERTY LIBERTY! LIBERTY OR DEATH!.. VENCEREMOS!

## R. C. L. ATTYGALLE

1919 — 1963

We record with deep regret the untimely death of R. C. L. Attygalle, a contributor to this journal.

R. C. L. Attygalle belonged to the first group of Marxists of the Ceylon University College and was active in the underground organisation of the LSSP from 1939 to 1945. After the war he was on the Editorial Board of the FIGHT, an English Weekly of the BLPI published in Colombo. He was for a time on the staff of Royal College Colombo and his healthy influence produced a large number of Young Socialists from this institution, many of whom are active in the movement to this day. He left Ceylon in 1951 to join UNESCO (Paris) and was Director of the Adult Programme at the time of his resignation in 1961. On his return to Ceylon he was appointed to the National Education Commission.

We lower the banner to his memory.

# THE TRIPOLI PROGRAMME

*Adopted unanimously by the National Council of the Republic of Algeria in June 1962.*

*YOUNG SOCIALIST is glad to be able to publish the main portion of the Tripoli Programme which, like the Second Declaration of Havana, is a beacon-light to colonial people engaged in freeing themselves from the political and economic domination of colonialism and imperialism.*

## THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

**T**HE victorious war of liberation conducted by the Algerian people restores to Algeria its natural sovereignty and independence. The fight is not, however, over. On the contrary, she is called upon to continue the struggle in order to extend and consolidate the gains of the armed struggle by a revolutionary construction of the state and society.

The tasks of the people's democratic revolution demand an examination of the objective facts of reality.

### 1. Characteristics of Algeria :

Generally speaking, Algeria can hardly be said to have freed itself from colonial domination and the era of semi-feudalism.

This double characteristic will not disappear automatically with the advent of independence. It will persist as long as the radical transformation of society remains unrealised.

(a) **A Colonial country**, Algeria has for over a century undergone a foreign domination aimed at introducing a preponderant population of settlers and at imperialist exploitation.

The French colonialists have attempted by war, extermination, pillage and sequestration systematically to destroy the Algerian nation and society. It has been more than a simple colonial conquest intended to secure control of the natural resources of the country. It has been an effort aimed, by every means, at substituting a foreign population in place of the indigenous people.

In effect, the French invaders had attempted, in the 19th century itself, to repeat against the Algerians the policy of annihilation of which the indigenous inhabitants of America were the victims from the end of the 15th century.

The failure of this unnatural plan is due to the fact that Algerian society, organised as a conscious and evolved nation, was able to mobilise, during a period of forty years, all its strength and courage to face the danger.

Its economic prosperity, the extraordinary vigour of its people, its traditions of struggle, the sharing of a common culture and civilisation with the Maghreb countries and the Arab world, these are so many factors that have for a long time sustained national resistance.

The prolonged fighting, if it has not, in the last resort, led to the repulsing of the invader, has nevertheless had the historic merit of having to a large extent thwarted the process of extermination and safeguarded the permanence of the nation.

Having failed to attain completely its initial aim, French colonialism attempted, by other methods, to promote the decomposition and slow death of Algerian society.

The large-scale expropriation of lands, the systematic driving back of Algerians to waste regions, the despoiling and pillage of the natural wealth of the country and of national products, the suppression of culture and elementary liberties have had these results:

(1) The increasingly intensive settling in the country of a foreign population,

which was regarded both as an instrument of imperialism and as a society of colonists on whom devolved political and administrative leadership and the exploitation of the Algerian people.

(2) To establish and consolidate in Algeria the economic and strategic structure of French imperialism for the purpose of its hegemony over the Mahgreb countries and North Africa.

(3) To contain Algerian society, stripped in this manner of its means and its possibilities, within narrow confines which would place it outside the pole of modern development.

By doing this, colonialism condemned it to retrogression, through a return to the feudal system and an out-dated mode of life.

(b) A semi-feudal country, Algeria like the majority of the countries of Asia and Africa, has had feudalism as an economic and social system. This system has lasted more or less till now, after having undergone, since 1830, a series of set-backs and changes.

Feudalism is a social concept that belongs to a certain stage of development in the history of humanity. This stage has been passed, and feudalism is today a retrogressive phenomenon and an anachronism.

(1) At the time of colonial conquest, the Algerian feudalists who were already unpopular, hastened to ally themselves with the enemy and did not hesitate to participate in its war of pillage and repression. Emir Abdel Kader, head of the Algerian state and organiser of the Resistance, conducted a determined struggle against them. In this way he destroyed their coalition by the two battles of Meharez and La Mina in 1834. The traditional policy of colonialism has been always to lean on the Algerian feudalists against the aspirations of the nation. It was in order to save them from destruction and popular vengeance and to organise them as a permanent force that colonialism took a mandate in 1838.

From a military and territorial caste, the Algerian feudalists have progressively become an administrative caste. This role has enabled them to pursue their exploitation of the people and to increase their landed properties. The organ of the Caid<sup>s</sup>,\* as it has lasted to this day, is the most typical example of this feudalism.

Alongside this agrarian and administrative feudalism, it is worth noting the existence of another kind of feudalism: The maraboutism of the brotherhoods.\*\*

This latter, which before 1830 and episodically up to 1871, had however played a positive part in the national struggle; was often partially converted into an administrative feudalism. In the obscurantist context of the colonisation, it has not ceased to exploit religious sentiment with superstition and crude practises.

Thus, the ally of Colonialism at the beginning of the conquest feudalism had become its obedient instrument.

In its liberation struggle, the forward moving Algerian people, while causing the edifice of colonialism to totter, have given a mortal blow to feudalism as an administrative and patriarchal system.

(2) However, if feudalism in its organised form is dead, its ideological survivals and social remnants still exist. They have contributed to alter the spirit of Islam and brought stagnation to Muslim society.

Feudalism, a product of the decadence of the Maghreb countries at a certain point in their history, can only be perpetuated in the context of a set of social, cultural and religious values that are themselves debased.

Resting on the principle of a patriarchal and paternalist authority which is the source of despotism, it represents also an acute form of parasitism. It is from these two points of view that it helps the survival of forms and concepts of another age: the tribal spirit, regionalism, contempt for and segregation of women, obscurantism

\* Arab Military Chiefs or Judges.

\*\* A Religious cult in Algeria.

and taboos of all kinds. All these retrograde ideas and practices which still exist in a diffused state in Algerian rural life constitute an obstacle to the progress and liberation of man. The Algerian peasantry, which has always fought against the oppression and stagnation inherent in the feudal system, could not alone triumph over them. It has been left to the Revolution finally to abolish the anti-national, anti-social and anti-popular remnants of feudalism.

## 2. The Social content of the Movement of National Liberation:

Since November 1st, 1954, a new dimension has made its appearance in the life of hitherto static Algerian society; the movement resulting from the collective participation of the people in the national struggle.

This movement, by its deep-going nature and its continuity, has placed in question all the values of the old society and posed the problems of the new.

What were and what are the social components of this movement?

First of all, let us take the people as a whole and particularly its most oppressed layers:

(1) The poor peasants, the chief victims of the expropriations of land, military cantonnement and colonial exploitation. It is a matter of regular seasonal agricultural labourers, of Khammes\* and small farmers to whom we can add the really small owners.

(2) The proletariat, relatively less numerous and the lower proletariat of all varieties in the towns. These are constituted in their majority of expropriated and declassed peasants who have been compelled to search for work far from the countryside and even to emigrate to France where they are employed, very often, in work that is the most unpleasant and the lowest paid.

(3) Another intermediate social category is that of the employed artisans, small and

medium, officials, small traders and certain members of the liberal professions, all of them constituting what one could call the petty bourgeoisie. This category has often actively participated in the liberation struggle by giving it political cadres.

(4) Finally there is a bourgeois class of relatively small importance, composed of businessmen, big traders, heads of firms and a few industrialists.

To this class should be added big landed proprietors and high-ups in the colonial administration.

The last two social layers have participated in the movement in an episodic manner, may be through patriotic conviction or may be through opportunism. Exceptions should be made in the case of well known feudal administrators and traitors who have sided with colonialism.

*An analysis of the social content of the liberation struggle discloses that it was the peasants and workers in general who were the active base of the movement and gave it its essentially popular character. Their massive participation drew in its train the other social layers of the nation. Notably it gave rise to an important phenomenon: the total participation of Algerian youth regardless of social origin. It should be noted in this regard that in a majority of cases it was the young people coming from the bourgeoisie who caused the adherence of this class to the cause of independence.*

The people's movement in the course of the armed struggle went beyond the objective of national liberation towards a further perspective, that of the Revolution. By its continuity, its sustained effort and the immense sacrifices involved it has helped to give to the fragmentary national consciousness a more homogeneous form. More, it has developed this into a collective consciousness oriented towards the revolutionary transformation of society.

This is a fact that we cannot stress too much and which gives to the movement of

\* Tenants who get only one fifth of the Crop.



Algerian liberation its special character compared with other nationalist movements of the Maghreb countries.

The Algerian Revolution is not the abstract product of a mental vision or a theoretical dogma. It resulted from a compelling historical necessity which was determined by the objective process of the struggle for liberation.

### 3. The Principal Tasks of the People's Democratic Revolution

In all the preceding, we have examined the general situation of society at the time of the attainment of independence by Algeria as well as the principal features of the national liberation movement.

*All the gains of this struggle must be studied, organised and completed; this is the historic task of the people's democratic revolution.*

This necessarily implies an adequate effort at analysis and formulation, a correct and firm orientation, and a clear choice.

Two necessities must inspire our action:

(1) To start from the Algerian reality with its objective realities and the aspirations of the people;

(2) To express this reality, taking into consideration the demands of modern progress, of the conquests of science, of the experience of other revolutionary movements and of the anti-imperialist struggle in the world.

Just as it is necessary to avoid fitting all facts into theories without reference to the concrete reality in Algeria, it is necessary in the same way to guard against falling into the error of those who claim to be able to pass over the experience of others and revolutionary contributions of our epoch.

By what is the Algerian revolution characterised?

The word "Revolution" has for long been used wrongly and in a garbled sense in the absence of a precise content. However, it has not ceased to rouse the spirit of the popular masses who have instinctively given

it a meaning going even beyond the war of liberation. What they lacked and is still lacking to them in order that its full meaning may be grasped, is the indispensable support of ideas. During the war of liberation, the momentum of the struggle itself sufficed to propel and draw out the revolutionary aspirations of the masses. Today this has been arrested with the end of the war and the re-establishment of independence, and it is a matter of prolonging it without delay on the ideological plane. *The ideological fight must follow the armed struggle; the people's democratic revolution must follow the struggle for national independence.*

*The people's democratic revolution is the conscious construction of the country in the framework of socialist principles and of power in the hands of the people.*

#### (a) The democratic content

The Revolution has as its task the consolidation of the nation which has become independent by restoring to it all its values which colonialism had deprived them of or destroyed: a sovereign state, a national economy and culture. These values have necessarily to be conceived of and organised in a modern perspective. This implies the abolition of the economic and social structures of feudalism and its remnants and the establishment of new structures and institutions calculated to facilitate and guarantee the emancipation of man and the full and open enjoyment of his liberties.

The economic conditions of the country determine its social and cultural situation. In order that the development should be rapid, harmonious and directed towards the satisfaction of the needs of all in the framework of a collective system, such a development must necessarily be conceived in a socialist perspective.

The democratic spirit must not be a merely theoretical idea. It must be concretised in well defined state institutions and in all the sectors of the social life of the country.

The sense of responsibility, the truest product of the democratic spirit, must be substituted everywhere for the principle of authority which is essentially feudal and paternalist in character.

**(b) The popular content:**

The fate of the individual being tied to that of society as a whole, for as democracy must not only be an expansion of individual liberties, it is above all the collective expression of popular responsibility.

The building of a modern state on democratic anti-imperialist and anti-feudal foundations, can only be rendered possible by the initiative, vigilance and direct control of the people.

*The tasks of democratic revolution in Algeria are immense. They cannot be realised by a social class however enlightened it may be; only the people is capable of carrying them out, that is to say, the peasantry, the workers in general, the youth and the revolutionary intellectuals.*

The experience of certain newly independent countries teaches that a privileged social layer can seize the power to its exclusive advantage. Having done this it deprives the people of the fruits of their struggle and separates itself from them to ally itself with imperialism. In the name of national unity which it exploits in an opportunist manner, the bourgeoisie claims to act for the good of the people and calls on the people to support it.

However, its relatively recent origin, its weakness as a social group without deep roots, and the absence within it of real traditions of struggle, limit its ability to promote the construction of this country and to defend it against the designs of imperialism.

*The seizure of power in Algeria demands that it should be done with clarity.*

*National unity is not a unity around the bourgeois class. It is the affirmation of the unity of the people on the basis of the principles of the people's democratic revolution to the needs of which the bourgeoisie itself must subordinate its interests.*

The logic of history and the higher interests of the nation make this imperative.

For us, the patriotism of the bourgeoisie will be measured by whether it accepts this necessity, gives its support to the revolutionary cause and gives up the desire to direct the destiny of the country.

The bourgeoisie is a purveyor of an opportunist ideology whose principal features are defeatism, demagoguery, alarmism, contempt for principles and lack of revolutionary conviction, all of which provide a breeding ground for neo-colonialism.

Vigilance demands that in the immediate future these dangers should be combatted and that the extension of the economic base of the bourgeoisie in alliance with neo-colonialist capital be prevented by adequate measures.

**(c) For a conscious vanguard**

The realisation of the aims of the people's democratic revolution demands the separation and formation of a conscious vanguard which will understand people coming from the peasantry, workers in general, youth and revolutionary intellectuals.

This vanguard will have for its role to elaborate a political and social thinking which faithfully reflects the aspirations of the masses in the framework of the people's democratic revolution.

The Revolution is not a collection of practical recipes that one applies in an indolent and bureaucratic manner. There is no ready-made ideology; there is a constant and creative ideological effort.

The war of liberation has involved, during seven and a half years, considerable destruction in Algerian society. *This entirely new situation and the installation of an entirely new political regime that it demands, compels us to create a new thinking.*

(1) The building of a modern state and the organisation of a revolutionary society necessitates a recourse to scientific methods and criteria both in theory and practice. The concept and the exercise of political responsibility must be based on an objective analysis of the facts and a correct appreciation of reality. This involves also a natural spirit of research and a concrete effort at experimentation.

(2) This will not work, naturally, without an absolute rejection of all forms of subjectivism: improvisation, approximation, intellectual laziness, the tendency to idealise reality while retaining only those features that are spectacular and free. Further, it means that we should mistrust moralism, an idealist and infantile attitude of mind, which consists of desiring to transform society and solve its problems with the help of moral values alone. This is a wrong and confusionist conception of revolutionary action in its constructive phase. The moralism which some voluntarily profess, is an easy alibi for the inability to act on the social reality and to organise it positively. Revolutionary effort is not limited to good intentions, however sincere they may be; it requires above all the utilisation of objective materials.

Individual moral values, worthy of respect and accessory though they may be, cannot be decisive in the construction of society. It is the satisfactory progress of the latter that creates the conditions for their collective expansion.

**(d) For a new definition of culture:**

The need to create a system of political and social thought nourished on scientific principles and fortified against erroneous attitudes of mind, causes us to realise the importance of a new conception of culture.

Algerian culture will be national, revolutionary and scientific.

(1) The role of a national culture will consist, in the first place, to give to the Arabic language which gives expression to the cultural values of our country, its dignity and effectiveness as a language of civilisation. For this purpose, it will work to reconstitute, restore and make known the national heritage and its two fold humanism, both classical and modern, in order to introduce these qualities once again in intellectual life and in the sentiments of the people. It will thus fight that cultural cosmopolitanism and western influence which have contributed to instil in many Algerians a contempt for their language and for national values.

(2) In its capacity as a revolutionary culture it will contribute to the work of the emancipation of the people, which consists in liquidating the rubbish of feudalism, anti-social myths and retrograde and conformist attitudes of mind. It will be neither the culture of a caste insulated against progress nor an extravagance of the mind. Popular and militant, it will give light to the struggle of the masses and the political and social fight in all its forms. By its conception of an active culture in the service of society, it will aid the development of revolutionary consciousness by always reflecting the aspirations of the people, their reality, and their new conquests, as well as all the forms of their artistic traditions.

(3) A scientific culture in its methods and its bearing, Algerian culture must have a rational character, a technical equipment, a spirit of inquiry to animate it, and must systematically spread out to all layers of society.

From this flows the necessity of giving up routinist conceptions which could thwart creative effort and paralyse education by aggravating the obscurantism inherited from colonial domination. This becomes all the more necessary because the Arabic language, as an instrument of modern scientific culture, has undergone such a delay in development, that it has to be given an impulsion to assume its future role, by strictly concrete and improved means.

Algerian culture conceived in this way will have to constitute the living and indispensable link between the ideological effort of the people's democratic revolution and the concrete and day-to-day tasks that the building up of the country demands.

In this respect, the indispensable raising of the cultural level of militants, of cadres, of leaders and of the masses in general, takes on a capital importance.

This will in particular permit the inculcation in all of a sense of work, and thus raise the level of production in all fields.

The revolutionary vanguard of the people must set the example by raising its own cultural level and by making this aim its constant motto.

It should be remembered that the peasants and workers, who have been the chief victims of colonial obscurantism, will succeed in raising their cultural level in order to tackle more effectively the tasks and responsibilities that the Revolution has imposed on them.

It is appropriate at this point to denounce vigorously the tendency to underestimate intellectual efforts and to profess, sometimes, a misplaced anti-intellectualism.

To this attitude corresponds, often, another extreme which coincides, in more than one respect, with petty bourgeois moralism. It is a question of the conception which consists of utilising Islam for demagogic purposes in order to avoid posing the real problems. Certainly, we belong to Muslim civilisation which profoundly and lastingly made its impress on human history; but it is to render a disservice to this civilisation to believe that its renaissance is subordinated to simple subjective formulae concerning general behaviour and religious practices.

It is to be ignorant of the fact that Muslim civilisation, as a concrete edifice of society, was commenced and has been going on for a long time by a positive effort on the twofold plane of work and thought, of economy and of culture. More, the spirit of inquiry which dominates it, its rational outlook on science, foreign cultures and the universality of the epoch, have established a fruitful exchange between it and other civilisations. It is above all these qualities of creativeness and efficient organisation of values and contributions that have made it

participate greatly in human progress in the past, and, it is in these ways that any true renaissance must commence. Apart from such a necessary effort, which must be undertaken in the first place on a tangible basis and following a strictly regulated procedure, nostalgia for the past is synonymous with impotence and confusion.

For us, Islam, freed of all the excrescences and superstitions that have stifled it or altered it, in addition to being a rebellion as such, must express itself in these two essential respects, *culture and personality*.

Besides, linked to the many needs of a national revolutionary and scientific culture, the importance of the development of our personality is self-evident. The victorious struggle for national liberation has just succeeded in redeeming these major features of our personality which have been unknown or hitherto ignored.

Algerian personality will strengthen itself further in the future, so great is the capacity of our people to follow the movement of history without breaking with their past.

Resolutely oriented towards the realisation of its revolutionary tasks, the conscious vanguard of the Algerian people will commence first of all by clearing the path that leads to the collective progress of society through the liquidation of the survivals and remnants of past systems, and through dissipating ambiguities and demagogic myths. This is the price of the success of the People's Democratic Revolution.

*(To be Continued)*

# AN INTRODUCTION TO THE PHILOSOPHY OF MARXISM (III)

By R. S. BAGHAVAN

## VII. DEVELOPMENT THROUGH CONTRADICTION

### Truth Through Conflict

THE word dialectics is derived from the Greek "dialektikos" — argument.

It is claimed that Socrates was the father of the method of reaching for the truth through debate, discourse and disputation.

A proposition, put forward, would be contradicted, and a new proposition be reached in the union between the original proposition and the contradiction. This new proposition would itself be contradicted, leading to a closer approximation to the truth, and so on.

This method is best illustrated by Fichte's descriptive formula:

Thesis — Antithesis — Synthesis.

The Synthesis — Its Antithesis — A higher Synthesis, and so on.

Marx, in a similar word play, said that dialectics reached towards the truth by proposing, opposing and composing the differences. (104.)

Krupskaya, in one of her memoirs, writes:

" 'Truth is the consequence of conflicting opinions,' says a French proverb. Ilyich (Lenin) liked to quote it." (105.)

In his Philosophical Notebooks, Lenin remarks that "Truth is a process." (106.)

Indeed, Marxism recognizes no other way of arriving at the truth. It has no place for inspired revelations claiming to be the final word on all matters.

As Trotsky said:

"There is no book which sets in advance the correct orbit for the first workers' state. The head does not and cannot exist which can contain the ready-made formula for socialist society. The roads of economy and politics must still be determined only through experience and worked out collectively, that is, through a constant conflict of ideas." (107.)

This is the simplest illustration of Hegel's concise statement:

"Contradiction leads forward." (108.)

### The Cause of Change

It is not only in the field of ideas that change is brought about by contradiction.

The whole of nature moves forward through this process.

At a very early stage of his development Man recognized that external causes or agencies could produce effects or changes. In fact, the first act of early man that was not motivated by instinct implied a recognition of this principle. (Animal psychologists may claim the same power for their subjects, but let us not digress).

It was not long before attempts were made to define the connection between cause and effect.

Let us take one of the most important scientific formulations of the relationship.

Classical mechanics rests on the foundations laid by Newton, the first of whose laws of motion defines force as the external agency that causes change in the state of rest or uniform linear motion of a body.

In such views of development of ideas and things the cause of change is external.

By abstracting bodies from their natural contexts and by counterposing force and acceleration as cause and effect, Newton arrived at a simple law of motion which proved undeniably useful in the scientific investigation of the physical world. Newton's formulation was, in fact, a milestone in the history of science.

But Hegel criticised this view. He insisted that what was separable in thought was not separate in nature. To quote him on the subject of Newton's laws:

"Such separation of external and essential motion belongs neither to experience nor to the notion, but only to abstracting reflection. It is one thing to *distinguish* them, as is necessary, as well as to characterise them mathematically as separate lines, to treat them as separate quantitative factors, and so on—it is another thing to regard them as physically independent existences." (109.)

It was Hegel's immortal merit that he drew attention to the fact that changes are brought about by the *inner contradictions* of a system, that all things by virtue of the inherent unity of opposites have the quality of *self-movement*.

### Contradiction

According to Hegel, the co-existence, the unity and inter-penetration of opposites constitute an inner and inherent contradiction, a basic instability in all things which leads to development and change.

Hegel says:

"...All opposites which are taken as fixed, such as, for example, finite and infinite, or individual and universal, are contradictory, not by virtue of some external connection, but rather are transitions in and for themselves...." (110)

Marxists have adopted Hegel's conception of inherent contradiction.\*

In his drafts of "Anti-Duhring", Engels noted:

\* Lenin warns, however, that, "Antagonism and contradiction are by no means the same thing. Under Socialism the first will disappear and the second will remain." (113)

"Antithesis—if a thing is saddled with its antithesis it is in *contradiction* with itself, and so is its expression in thought. For example, there is a contradiction in a thing remaining the same and yet constantly changing being possessed of the antithesis of 'inertness' and 'change'." (111.)

Having seen that all things are a unity of opposites we can appreciate that all things are, therefore, self-contradictory and unstable.

As Hegel insisted:

"All things are contradictory in themselves." (112.)

### Self-Movement.

It is the existence of contradictions in all things that gives rise to self-movement.

In his "Encyclopaedia" Hegel writes:

"Contradiction, above all things, is what moves the world: and it is ridiculous to say that contradiction is unthinkable." (114)

And again in his "Logic".

"Contradiction is the root of all movement and vitality, and it is only insofar as it contains a Contradiction that anything moves and has impulse and activity." (115) Contradiction is "the principle of all self-movement." (116.)

That which has no contradictions, Hegel says, is "sterile within itself." (117) "Abstract self-identity has no vitality." (118)

Explaining himself Hegel writes:

"Something moves, not because it is here at one point of time and there at another, but because at one and the same point of time it is here and not here, and in this here both is and is not. We must grant the old dialecticians the contradictions which they prove in motion; but what follows is not that there is no motion, but rather that motion is *existent* Contradiction." (119.)

Marx says that: "The Hegelian contradiction. (is). . the main source of all dialectics." (120.)

Lenin summarizes the Marxist view:

"The condition for the knowledge of all processes of the world in their '*self-movement*', in their spontaneous development, in their real life, is the knowledge of them as a unity of opposites. Development is the '*struggle*' of opposites. . The struggle of mutually exclusive opposites is absolute, just as development and motion are absolute. ." (121)

Even this aspect of Hegelian dialectics had been anticipated with brilliant intuition by Heraclitus who taught that "Everything happens through struggle." which is the source, the "father" of all things. (122)

There is little that Marxists have had to add to this view.

In answer to the American journalist, John Swinton, who asked the ageing Marx what he saw in the future, Marx replied in one word: "Struggle!" thus summing up the law of life. (123.)

### VIII: NEGATION—THE TRANSFORMATION OF OPPOSITES

Hegel not only showed that contradictions lead to development, he also pointed out that development leads to "negation," that is, the self-transformation of a phenomenon into its opposite, the self-replacement of one form of existence by its antithesis, the self-suppression of all things.

In his "Encyclopaedia", Hegel writes:

"But the essence of the matter is that what is definite is not only limited from without, but is bound to be destroyed and to pass over into its opposite by virtue of its own inherent nature." (124)

In explanation he says:

"We say for instance, that man is mortal, and seem to think that the ground of his death is in external circumstances only: so that if this way of looking were correct, man would have two special properties, vitality

and—also—mortality. But the true view of the matter is, that life, as life, involves the germ of death, and that the finite, being radically self-contradictory, involves its own self-suppression." (125)

According to Hegel, this dialectical self transformation is universal. To quote his "Encyclopaedia" again:

"Wherever there is movement, wherever there is life, wherever anything is carried into effect in the actual world, there dialectic is at work. It is also the soul of all knowledge which is truly scientific.

"Dialectics gives expression to a law which is felt in all grades of consciousness, and in general experience. Everything that surrounds us may be viewed as an instance of dialectic. We are aware that every thing finite, instead of being inflexible and ultimate, is rather changeable and transient: and this is exactly what we mean by the dialectic of the finite, by which the finite, as implicitly other than it is, is forced to surrender its own immediate or natural being, and to turn suddenly into its own opposite." (126)

In his "Logic" Hegel repeats this point:

"The understanding may demonstrate that the idea is self-contradictory, because, for instance, the subjective is only subjective and is always confronted with the objective; that Being is something quite different from the notion and therefore cannot be extracted out of it; and that likewise the finite is only the finite and the exact antithesis of the infinite, and therefore not identical with it; and so on with all the determinations. Logic, however, demonstrates the opposite of all this, namely, that the subjective, which is to be subjective only, the finite, which is to be finite only, the infinite, which is to be infinite only, and so on have no truth, but contradict themselves, and pass into their opposites." (127)

As an example, Hegel gave the instance that every abstract justice carried to its logical conclusion becomes an injustice, in illustration of which Plekhanov cites Shakespeare's "The Merchant of Venice." (128)

Marx accepted Hegel's concept of negation. He writes:

"No development that does not negate its previous forms of existence can occur in any sphere." (129)

Lenin says that, "The fundamental proposition of Marxian dialectics is that all boundaries in nature and society are conventional and mobile, that there is *not a single* phenomenon which cannot be transformed into its own opposite." (130.)

In his "Philosophical Notebooks", he defines this aspect of dialectics:

"*Dialectics* is the teaching which shows how *Opposites* can be and how they happen to be (how they become) *identical*—under what condition they are identical, becoming transformed into one another—why the human mind should grasp these opposites not as dead, rigid, but as living, conditional, mobile, becoming transformed into one another.." (131)

### Mechanical Negation

It must be emphasized, however, that the Hegelian concept of negation, is not artificial, not a mere placing of a minus sign before a given quality but a self-transformation of a phenomenon into its opposite.

Hegel warns that negation should not be abstract or empty but that "the self-contradictory resolves itself not into nullity, into abstract Nothingness, but essentially only into the negation of its particular content." (132)

Engels, following Hegel, says that dialectical negation is not mechanical:

"Negation in dialectics does not mean simply saying no, or declaring that something does not exist, or destroying it in any way one likes. . . If a grain is crushed or an insect killed, *it is not negation* but destruction. . . Each class of things therefore has its appropriate form of being negated in such a way that it gives rise to a development, and it is just the same with each class of conceptions and ideas." (133.)

### Self-Transformation

Once we grasp the unity of opposites (Section VII) we can readily understand this aspect of Hegel's teachings.

We have seen Tolstoy's man "becoming unlike himself," when a hidden trait becomes a dominant characteristic.

Error emerges from truth justifying the old saying that the science of one age becomes nonsense in the next.

The reverse is also true. Engels writes:

".. According to an old and well known dialectical law, incorrect thinking, carried to its logical conclusion, inevitably arrives at the opposite point of departure." (134.)

Pain gives rise to pleasure, love turns into hate. Freud supports this view from experience. He writes:

"Clinical observation shows not only that love is with unexpected regularity accompanied by hate (ambivalence), and not only that in human relationships hate is frequently a fore-runner of love, but also that in many circumstances hate changes into love and love into hate." (135)

### Inertia and Activity

Our fundamental premise is that change is universal. But also universal is inertia, a fundamental and active tendency of all things to avoid change.

Inertia and activity are not only opposites. Inertia gives rise to activity.

In physics, we have, among other minimal principles, the principle of least energy, according to which a system tends to keep its energy at a minimum. Increase in energy gives rise to such excitation or activity as tends to dissipate the increase of energy and restore the system to the minimum energy level possible in the circumstances.

The effect of the activity is, thus, to counteract the change.

In chemistry this phenomenon is recognized in Le Chatelier's principle: "If a system is upset by a change of conditions, the system reacts in such a way as to undo the effect of the change."

Physiology has given us the concept of the reflex arc. The reaction of living tissue to a stimulus is such that the further excita-



tion by the stimulus is avoided. Thus one involuntarily drops a hot plate, or reacts, again involuntarily, to blinding light by blinking or shutting one's eyes.

Freud adopted this concept in his psycho-analytical explanations of mental phenomena.

Inertia causes activity in the social behaviour of men. Human beings are fundamentally conservative, weighed down by tradition, and kept in subjection by various forces, the least of which, as Trotsky pointed out, is the "force of habit." (136)

Trotsky observes, however, that this very characteristic also gives rise to progress.

"As a general rule, man strives to avoid labour. Love for work is not at all an inborn characteristic: it is created by economic pressure and social education. One may even say that man is a fairly lazy animal. It is on this quality, in reality, that is founded to a considerable extent all human progress; because if a man did not strive to expend his energy economically, did not seek to receive the largest possible quantity of products in return for a small quantity of energy, there would have been no technical development or social culture. It would appear, then, from this point of view that *human laziness is a progressive force.*" (Our Italics) (137)

"The negation of living is contained in life itself," says Engels, supporting Hegel's point that vitality and mortality are not separable phenomena. Recognizing the self-suppressing tendency of life, Engels says "Living means dying." (138)

Hegel says:

"We say that all things (i.e. all that is finite as such) must be submitted to the judgement of dialectics and by the very fact we define it as a universal, invincible force, which must destroy everything, no matter how lasting it may seem." (139)

Plekhanov points out that, "The important thing is that Hegel's view of social phenomena is far more profound than that of people who know only one thing, namely that *there is no action without cause.* Neither

is that all. Hegel brought out a far more profound and more important truth. He said that every particular aggregate of phenomena in the process of its development creates *out of its very self* the forces that lead to its negation, i.e., its disappearance; that consequently every particular social system, in the process of its historical development, creates *out of its very self* the social forces that destroy it and replace it by a new one." (140.)

We can readily appreciate why the Russian radical Herzen hailed the Hegelian philosophy as "the algebra of revolution." (141)

Once more we have to pay tribute to Heraclitus of Ephesus according to whom the basic law of the world is "the law of transformation into the opposite." (142.)

#### IX: NEGATION OF THE NEGATION (143)

No negation is final. Each negation leads to a new series of opposites, disclosing them, giving rise to their interpenetration and conflict, and these in turn, lead to a new negation. Each negation is thus negated, giving rise to unceasing development and change.

Hegel says:

"The bud disappears when the blossom breaks through, and we might say that the former is negated by the latter; in the same way when the fruit comes, the blossom may be explained to be a false form of the plant's existence, for the fruit appears as its true nature in place of the blossom. These stages are not merely differentiated; they supplant one another as being incompatible with one another. But the ceaseless activity of their own inherent nature makes them at the same time moments of an organic unity, where they not merely do not contradict one another, but where one is as necessary as the other; and this equal necessity of all moments constitutes alone and thereby the life of the whole." (144)

Engels gives another example of the negation of the negation from plant life:

"Let us take a grain of barley. If such a grain meets with conditions which for it are

normal, if it falls on suitable soil, then under the influence of heat and moisture a specific change takes place; it germinates; the grain as such ceases to exist, it is negated, and in its place appears the plant which has arisen from it, the negation of the grain. But what is the normal life process of this plant? It grows, flowers, is fertilized and finally once more produces grains of barley, and as soon as these have ripened the stalk dies, is in its turn negated. As a result of this negation of the negation we have once again the original grain of barley, but not as a single unit, but ten, twenty or thirty fold." (145)

Engels adds that with plants that are modified by cultivation, (and recent scientific research has shown that all plants are thus modified) each repeated negation of the negation improves the quality of the plant. (146).

He gives also the example of the life cycle of the butterfly, which pairs, lays eggs and dies and then each egg after its various metamorphoses emerges, once again, as a butterfly. (147.)

In his polemic against the critics who ridiculed the law of negation of the negation by saying that "oats do not grow according to Hegel," Plekhanov quoted the botanist Ph. van Tieghem who wrote that "Whatever be the form of the plant... it reproduces itself in the same way as it was born: by dissociation." (148.)

Tolstoy who had an acute insight into human relationships has left us a delightful short story, "A Happy Married Life," which illustrates the negation of the negation very graphically. It concerns the passions of the first period of love of a newly married couple transforming themselves into misunderstanding and finally hate which in turn changes into a new love based on gratitude, affection and understanding. (149.)

Freud was the first psychologist to point out the "diphasic" development of the sex life of human beings. At the end of the fifth year of infancy, sexuality undergoes a lull in what he calls the "Latency period" and with the onset of puberty re-emerges in its normal adult form. (150)

### Repetition of Form

From what has been said above and from the examples given it will be clear that each

negation of the negation apparently brings us back to our point of departure and that there is thus a repetition of form.

Plekhanov comments:

"Every phenomenon developing to its conclusion, becomes transformed into its opposite; but as the new phenomenon, being opposite to the first, also is transformed in its turn into its own opposite, the third phase of development bears a *formal resemblance to the first.*" (151)

Thus negation of the negation, is, according to Lenin, "A development that seemingly repeats the stages already passed, but repeats them otherwise, on a higher basis." (152)

And this, Lenin notes, gives rise to "the repetition, at a higher stage, of certain features, properties, etc., of the lower, and... the apparent return to the old..." (153)

To give two examples from history: The English Civil War (1640-1660) saw the smashing of the feudal power and the execution of Charles I. After the consolidation of bourgeois power, in 1660, there was the "Restoration": another Charles (the Second) was brought back to the throne on the invitation of Parliament. This was, however, only an apparent return to the old, the repetition at the higher, bourgeois stage of state power, of the monarchist features of the feudal. Charles II might have reigned, but it was the Parliament that ruled. In reality, Charles II was only a civil servant of the new state. As the French Ambassador to England at the time observed to Louis XIV: "This government has a monarchical appearance because there is a King. But at bottom it is far very from being monarchy." (154)

A similar development took place in France, which in 1789 witnessed the end of feudalism and Louis XVI. Napoleon Bonaparte crowned himself Emperor some years later and was a "monarch" in the sense that he had the feudal trappings of the monarchy, the crown and the throne. In essence, however, he was the first bourgeois dictator of France, as Cromwell was of England.

A repetition of form would not blind us to the reality of the change of content.

Superficial observers have in recent times sought to prove the identity of the state forms

in Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia. They ignore the basic difference between a capitalist state in convulsion and a workers' state however degenerate. The destruction of democratic rights in the first instance was a symptom of the last phase of a society in its

death throes; in the second it was a phase in the post-revolutionary development of an economically backward society encircled by imperialism.

(To be Continued)

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(Continued from page 144)

Section 17 of the Public Security (Amendment) Act covers a situation pertaining to essential services. There is the Industrial Disputes Act No. 43 of 1950 which could be used to deal with a situation created by a Strike. Section 4 of the Act states "The Minister may by an Order in writing, refer an Industrial Dispute to an Industrial Court for settlement if such dispute is in an essential industry or if he is satisfied that such dispute is likely to prejudice the maintenance or distribution of supplies or services necessary for the life of the community, or if he thinks that it is expedient to do so." Twenty one days notice is needed to resort to strike action, in such a situation. An employer cannot order a lock-out unless at least 21 days notice is given. In all these various Acts and Ordinances mentioned earlier, there are provisions to deal with a special situation like an Emergency. However today the main repository of emergency powers is the Public Security Ordinance. The most prudent method of enacting Emergency Laws and at the same time safe-guarding the liberties of the subject is by incorporating them in the Ceylon Constitution.

(To be Continued)

## Book Reviews

### The First Ten Years of American

**Communism:** Report of a Participant, by James P. Cannon.

Jim Cannon once said, "I have thought many times that, if despite my unbelief, there is anything in what they say about the hereafter, I am going to be well rewarded—not for what I have done, but for what I have had to listen to." Actually, if Cannon is in line for rewards it should be given because of this book, his best yet. And obviously he wrote this book with deep enjoyment and not from onerous duty. Here is a book about the past, written for the future.

The author, who began, as a Wobbly and a Socialist in Debs' day, was a central leader of the Communist Party of the U.S. in its early years. He writes about that period as he experiences it and sees it in retrospect as an unreconstructed American Leninist.

*The first Ten Years of American Communism* is not a history in the usual meaning of that term. It is more accurately a narrative, by a participant and witness, of the first decade of the American communist movement—its earlier heroic days and its later corruption. *The First Ten Years* tells what happened and why, and perhaps more important to its purpose, it tells how it happened.

Cannon's work is the outgrowth of correspondence initiated in 1954 by Theodore Draper. The book is a gathering of letters extending over a five-year period plus related essays, resultant from Draper's probing questions, on such divergent topics as the Negro question, Eugene V. Debs, the I.W.W. and a critical review of Theodore Draper's history. Surprisingly this compilation hangs together as a unit.

The reason is that the book has a line—a central theme. Several related themes run through the narrative all bound together. Cannon's book is really a critique of Theodore Draper's volumes, *The Roots of American Communism* and *American Communism and Soviet Russia*. Draper's thesis is that the course of the American CP was determined

at the beginning when it became influenced by the Russians and looked to Moscow for advice. Looking toward Soviet Bolshevism at the beginning, in Draper's view, led to the downfall of the American communists in the end. Cannon's line, on the other hand, is defense of the Russian Revolution and its influences here expressed in its genuine internationalism and in the validity and applicability of Lenin's organizational methods for American soil.

*The First Ten Years* traces the assembling of the socialist left wing under the impact of the first world war and the 1917 Russian Revolution. It depicts the Bolshevizing of the American communists as the militant spirit of the Russian Revolution fused with native radicalism. It helped make them thoroughgoing American revolutionists determined to build a vibrant movement. These were the years the Comintern played a helpful advisory role.

Cannon's narrative tells about the years of degeneration, 1924 to 1928, when the movement became permeated with blind factional dog fights and its original aims became blurred and then buried. Cannon describes this atmosphere:

"In the underworld of present-day society, with which I have had contact at various times in jail and prison, there is a widespread sentiment that there is no such thing as an honest man who is also intelligent. The human race is made up of honest suckers and smart crooks, and that's all there is to it; the smartest crooks are those who pretend to be honest, the confidence men. Professional factionalism unrelated to the living issues of the class struggle of the workers, is also a sort of underworld, and the psychology of its practitioners approaches that of the other underworld."

The moral fibre of the CP and its leaders were sapped by the prosperity of the Twenties and the effects of Russianization and finally Stalinism. "These two combined national and international factors," Cannon wrote, "operated interactively on the American Communist party in the later transition period of its gradual degeneration, which began in the middle of the Twenties and was virtually completed by the end of the decade. At that conjuncture the deadening conservatism of American life, induced by the unprecedented boom of post-war American

capitalism, coinciding with the reactionary swing in Russia, caught the infant movement of American communism from two sides, as in a vise from which it could not escape.

Cannon takes the reader through these broad stages and their various phases and turns. The witch hunted party, its Americanization and legalization, the disputes over the labor party question, the Passaic strike, the different party regimes and factions, the Comintern plenums and Moscow's interventions are kaleidoscopically presented in these letters. They are like nails aimed at anchoring a point firmly in the reader's mind.

Interwoven in this narrative is another important theme. Along the way, the CP lost its character as a self-governing party and the great majority of its members and leaders lost their bearings. How did this happen? How did it happen that most of those who started as honest revolutionists ended by serving either the Soviet bureaucracy or American capitalism? Why did they succumb? Foster, Browder, Lovestone, Bittleman, Pepper, Fraina, Gitlow, Bill Dunne are representative character types who change on the way and are perceptively portrayed in the pages of the story. "Revolutionary politics takes a lot out of people who take it seriously," Cannon tells us. Eventually, in one form or another, most of the leaders lost their way or forgot what they stood for.

All were affected, but those that survived retained their youthful ideals and stood by their principles. It was a question of character.

Can such qualities as character and principled politics be learned? Cannon tells this story as one who believes it can be learned and that perhaps today's youth can do better than his generation. That's the purpose of his book. That is why he tells it as it really happened.

C. F.

**Stalin.** By Isaac Deutscher.

This paperback issue of the political biography of Stalin first published in 1949 is about the best value for money one could hope to get. The scholarship, scrupulous regard for the evidence, and meticulous attention to detail that have gone into this book all make for a work of the highest order.

The work deals with the period from the birth of Stalin in 1879 to the immediate

post-war period. It was, of course, written before the well-known revelations made by Khrushchev at the 20th Congress of the CPSU and therefore before the first major breakthrough of the Stalinist ice-age; probably for this reason the work is informed by a sense of the inevitability of the triumph of Stalin and the ideology that goes with his name. In his introduction to the present edition, Deutscher deals with this criticism of 'inevitability' by arguing that from the historian's point of view the events leading to the triumph of Stalinism were irreversible.

Significantly enough, in the introduction to the present edition the author acknowledges that if he were to write the book anew he would probably do it in somewhat different style, differently in detail and with shifts of emphasis; though on the whole he would stand by the interpretation of Stalin and Stalinism given in the work.

The development of Stalinism is traced predominantly from the angle of the backwardness and isolation of Russia, the weariness of the Russian masses, the failure of the European revolution and the pressure of world imperialism on Bolshevism. All this is well-authenticated and documented. There is very little of the other side of the Trotskyist critique of Stalinism, namely, the growth of a privileged bureaucratic caste which usurped the political power won by the masses after 1917, fattening on their poverty and for whom Stalin emerged first as spokes man, eventually as supreme tyrant—that is, the treatment of the social basis of Stalinism in Russia itself is, on the face of it, deficient in this regard.

The picture emerges of man—with an iron will, sly, aloof, suspicious, self-sufficient ruthlessly essentially pragmatic with a profound contempt for revolutionary theory, possessed of a shrewd knowledge of the practical 'psychology of the ordinary people, supremely resilient, in a word well qualified as the most successful absolute despot of our time—the embodiment of Russian traditionalism and yet the stern and terrible guardian of the essential fabric of the October revolution; but not without the final prognosis 'But in order to save it for the future and to give to it its full value, history may yet have to cleanse and reshape Stalin's work as sternly as it once cleansed and reshaped the work of the English revolution after Cromwell and of the French after Napoleon.'

R. S.

## *Film Reviews*

### BLOOD & ROSES

Roger Vadim, the discoverer of Brigitte Bardot and the Director of the highly controversial film "Dangerous Affairs" has now given the filmgoers a new suspense drama—"Blood and Roses"—now showing at the Liberty.

What is unusual about the film is the nightmare scene which creates a dream sequence of Georgia Monteverdi (Elsa Martinelli) the fiance of Leopoldo de Karnstein (Mel Ferrer) the head of an old aristocratic Italian family.

This dream sequence includes a setting made up entirely of bicycles lying on the

ground amidst ancient ruins in which the only life consists of two faceless riders who pass on bicycles; an outdoor ball at dawn and a disembodied swimming pool. A musical score by Podromines, one of France's leading composers, highlights another section of this dream sequence where Georgia runs past a line of hundreds of silent women and show-window mannequins lined up in a long tunnel.

A bizarre twist is given to the suspense-ridden drama by Leopoldo's beautiful cousin Carmilla (Annette Vadim) who is possessed by the spirit of Millarcia one of the alleged vampires associated with the de Karnstein family. A succession of strange incidents helps to keep the cinema goer in animated suspense throughout the entire length of the film.

Verdict—a daring, shocking suspense drama.

A. M.

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