

# TRIBUNE

CEYLON NEWS REVIEW

50 Cts

Vol. 18 No. 21

September 15, 1973

- GHOST OF LIN PIAO
- THE SUB-CONTINENT ALGIERS
- WORLD BANK
- INANIA
- CHRONICLE
- INDIAN OCEAN
- MOTOR INSURANCE

## FOOD CRISIS

WITH all the blah-blah talk of triumphant socialism, most people in the island of Sri Lanka have not yet realised the seriousness of the food crisis confronting the country. The crisis is no longer something on the distant horizon. It is already upon us. One of these days, either at the end of this month, or in the beginning of October, the crisis will begin to manifest itself in the lack of rice, bread, flour and sugar. Money will not buy rice or flour. The Government will have no alternative but to cut down on the rations they give or sell to both taxpayers and non-taxpayers. In a radio forum over SLBC, an official estimated that the shortfall for the next three months to meet the rice and wheat flour rations may be well over 150,000 tons, and that the only supplies one could depend upon was what would be grown in the coming Maha. Another official bemoaned the fact that there did not seem sufficient awareness of the extent scope and depth of the food crisis among the ordinary people of the country and he wondered whether this was the cause for the absence of enthusiasm to grow more food. *Tribune* has been at pains, during the last one to two years, to point out that the measures the Government was implementing in double-quick time in order to achieve an egalitarian classless society were self-defeating in terms of actual immediate production. It is no doubt a desirable objective, according to the textbooks, to abolish landlords and landlordism, capitalists and capitalism, exploitation and all the other evils which afflict mankind, but it would have been prudent on the part of the Government to examine whether this attempt to bring about an immediate social revolution will induce production adequate to compensate for the loss caused by expropriating the classes which have so far produced most of the food. The Government has, indeed, wrought a social revolution during the last three years but, in our view, this was done in a way which has undermined the earlier system of production, however defective, without making concrete provisions for an alternative system of higher productive capacity. Speeches exhorting people to produce or perish will have no impact on the productive output of the nation as presently constituted. The persons and classes who, will benefit, or have benefited, from the radical measures which the United Front government has adopted, are in no position immediately to help in the production of food. The dispossessed classes, who had been the traditional producers of food, are in no mood to produce more than for own personal requirements. Unless the Government can immediately offer ample inducements to those who can still deliver the goods in food production to get down to hard work, the future is bleak.

# Tribunania

## THE GHOST OF LIN PIAO

IN THIS ISSUE, we publish the second and concluding part of Wilfred Burchett's article on the Lin Piao story. As we indicated in a post-script last week, the news about the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of China shortly after the column was written but before we actually went to print. The first official announcement from Peking was made through the official news agency *Hsinhua* on August 29, with a further communique on August 30, setting out the names of the new Central Committee, the Politburo and the Standing Committee of the Politburo. At the time of writing these notes, there have been a few of analytical articles about the Tenth Congress, some of which have been carried by the local daily papers.

It is unfortunate that interpretative analytical articles from Chinese sources, especially those close to the Establishment, are not made available to enable commentators, like ourselves, to find out what really goes on in China and thereafter make an attempt to furnish an analysis-in-depth for our readers. We are, therefore compelled to rely on comments of the regular China-watchers and also interpretative

analysis in prestigious magazines like *The Economist* and the *Far Eastern Economic Review*.

We will, in the first instance, publish extracts from the *Hsinhua* despatch of August 29, and readers will be able to see for themselves that the official communique is not very helpful to get an understanding of what really goes on in China.

This is what the Press Communique stated:

"The Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China was held solemnly in Peking from August 24 to 28. It was a congress of unity, a congress of victory and a congress full of vigour. The great leader of our Party Comrade Mao Tsetung presided over the congress. The agenda of the Congress were: 1. Comrade Chou En-lai delivered the political report on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China; 2. Comrade Wang Hung-wen delivered the report on the revision of the Party Constitution on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and submitted to the congress the "Draft of the Constitution of the Communist Party of China"; 3. the Tenth Central Committee

of the Communist Party of China was elected.

"The congress formally opened on August 24. When Chairman Mao appeared on the rostrum, cheers resounded through the hall. The delegates excitedly greeted him with prolonged and hearty applause and cheered, 'Long live our great leader Chairman Mao! A long, long life to Chairman Mao! Chairman Mao warmly waved to the delegates.

"The congress elected a Presidium composed of 148 delegates. The Congress unanimously elected Chairman Mao Tsetung Chairman of the Presidium, Comrades Chou En-lai, Wang Hung-wen, Kang sheng, Yeh Chien-ying and Li Teh-sheng Vice-Chairmen of the Presidium and Comrade Chang Chun-chiao Secretary-General of the Presidium. Also seated in the front row on the rostrum were: Comrades Liu po-cheng, Chiang-Ching, Chu Teh, Hsu Shih-yu, Chen Hsi-lien, Li Hsien-nien, Yao Wen-yuan, Tung Pi-wu, Chi Teng-kuei, Wang Tung-hsing, Hua Kuo-feng and Wu Teh.

"The Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China convened at a time when the Lin Piao anti-Party clique has been smashed, the line of the Party's Ninth National Congress has won great victories and the situation both at home and abroad is excellent. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Comrades throughout the Party made full preparations for this historic Congress. A total of 1,249

delegates were elected to the Congress at the end of an extensive democratic process, which included repeated deliberations and consultations about the candidates and seeking the opinions of the masses both inside and outside the Party in the areas or organizations to which the candidates belonged. Prior to the formal opening of the Congress, all the delegates had seriously discussed the drafts of all the Congress documents. Inspired and joyful, the people of the whole country greeted the Tenth Congress with concrete deeds."

THE COMMUNIQUE then went to describe the composition of the delegates to show that all sections of the working people were included with special emphasis that minority groups, (non-Han peoples), were also among the delegates.

"On the day the Congress normally opened, the delegates from the four corners of our great socialist motherland entered the stately assembly hall by way of a spacious lobby with huge portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on the wall. Among the delegates were those from the Party membership of the industrial workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants, those from the Party membership in the People's Liberation Army, who came from frontier outposts where they vigilantly guarded our motherland, and those from the Party membership of revolutionary cadres, revolutionary intellectuals and other working people.

Delegates from among the worker, peasant and soldier Party members accounted for 67 per cent of the total number. Over 20 per cent of the delegates were women Party members. Delegates of fraternal nationalities other than the Hans also constituted a certain proportion of the total. Delegates elected from Party members in various places of our country, who were natives of Taiwan Province, our motherland's sacred territory yet to be liberated, attended a National Congress of the Party for the first time. Bearing the mandate of the twenty-eight million Party members throughout the country and bringing with them the aspirations of hundreds of millions of people of all the nationalities, the delegates worked together with our great leader Chairman Mao in an atmosphere of unity, alertness, earnestness and liveliness."

Thereafter, the communique described the actual work of the Congress: that a political report by Chou En-lai and a Report on the revision of the Constitution was made by a new "star", youngish Wang Hung-wen. The point stressed was that fundamental basis of the Report was to expose the deviations and traitorous activities of Lin Piao. This is what the Communique said: "On August 28, after serious and lively discussions, the Congress unanimously adopted the political report given by Comrade Chou En-lai, the report on the revision of the Party Constitution given by Comrade Wang Hung-wen

and the Constitution of the Communist Party of China. The delegates said with joy that these documents, guided by—Marxism—Leninism—Mao Tsetung Thought, analyse the excellent situation both at home and abroad, fully affirm the great victories won on all fronts under the guidance of the line of the Ninth Congress, sum up the basic experience of the two-line struggle, especially that of



Founded in 1954

A Journal of Ceylon and World Affairs

Published Weekly Every Saturday

SEPTEMBER 15, 1973

Vol. 18, No. 21

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

One Year	Rs. 25
Two Years	Rs. 40
Three Years	Rs. 60

Post Free in Sri Lanka

For surface and air mail rates to foreign countries

write for particulars:-

**TRIBUNE,**

43, Dawson Street,

Colombo-2.

Telephone : 33172

the struggle to smash the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and further define the orientation and tasks of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and that they constitute the fighting programme for the whole Party, Army and people."

It must be noted that the communique spoke about "serious and lively discussions," but it is not clear whether it was all done during the short Tenth Congress, or whether it was done elsewhere before or during the Congress. Another significant point, which was stressed, was the need for the "unity" between the Party, Army and the People.

After this, the communique went on to record what took place in regard to the third item on the agenda and perhaps the most important, i.e. the elections to the

### IN NO HURRY

Agatha Christie's Play "The Mousetrap" has been running in London's Ambassador since 1947. And all these twenty-six years Adelaide Woodvine had been selling tickets at this theatre without having seen the play. When she announced that she would retire, the management kindly presented her two complimentary tickets for a matinee. Miss Woodvine is in no hurry to use them. "It's sunny outside land I don't want to be locked up indoors," she says.

Central Committee, and thereafter the Politburo and the Permanent Standing Committee, which is virtually the new "collective leadership" of the Party. "After repeated deliberation and discussion, the Congress elected the Tenth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China by secret ballot. When the results of the election were announced, thunderous and enthusiastic applause and cheers reverberated again through the hall."

THE PHRASE to be noted is "after repeated deliberations and discussions", the elections were held by secret ballot. Reports from China indicate that behind the mask of a united collective leadership, there is sharp conflict between individuals and groups for power—it would not be normal if it were otherwise. Human nature, being what it is, the quest for power is a natural hallmark of human activity and it cannot be any different in China even under the omniscient power of Mao's Thought.

Many observers feel that the secrecy which enshrouded the Tenth Congress was mainly imposed to ensure that the vast millions in China and the rest of world did not know how sharp the conflict really was. Of the 28 million party members only a small fraction would probably be involved in this struggle. This is what the communique said about the newly elected rulers of China.

"The 195 members and 124 alternate members elected to the Central Committee embody the combination of the old, the middle-aged and the

young. Some are proletarian revolutionaries of the older generations, who went through the first and second revolutionary civil wars in the early years of the Party, some are leading cadres from various fronts, who stood the test of gun-fire in the war of resistance against Japan, the war of liberation and the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, others are outstanding fighters in the three great revolutionary movements (i.e. class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment) and in the struggle against imperialism, revisionism and reaction during the period of socialist revolution, and still others are young comrades who newly joined the Party during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Gathered together, the old, the middle-aged and the young studied side by side and encouraged each other. The delegates said gladly that the composition of the Tenth Central Committee fully demonstrates that our Party is flourishing and has no lack of successors and that it is firmly united on the basis of Marxism - Leninism - Mao Tsetung Thought."

There has obviously been a serious attempt to have what many have described as a "tactical unity" between the conservative Centre — Right symbolised by Chou En-ai, the Leftists (extremists, pragmatists and others), and the Army which was probably more to the Right than even the Chou group. Mao Tsetung alone could have effected this "tactical unity" at this stage, and there is no

doubt that he is anxious to have a collective leadership representing all these trends to succeed him. The young leftist Wang Hung-wen has now been moved to third place—Mao, Chou and Wang—and this is a significant pointer to the balance of forces within the ruling hierarchy in China.

The communique laid special emphasis on the importance attached to the fight against Lin Piaoism. "The Congress indignantly denounced the Lin Piao anti-Party clique for its crimes. All the delegates firmly supported this resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China: Expel Lin Piao, the bourgeois careerist, conspirator, counter-revolutionary double-dealer, renegade and traitor from the Party once and for all; expel Chen Po-ta, principal member of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique, anti-communist Kuomintang element, Trotskyite, renegade, enemy agent and revisionist from the Party once and for all, and dismiss him from all posts inside and outside the Party. The delegates unanimously supported the decisions made and all the corresponding measures taken by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China with regard to the other principal members of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique."

This part of the Report ended with an exhortation to Party members and others to learn Marxism and Mao-tse-tung Thought—but what is interesting is the advice that they should *practice Marxism not Revisionism, unite and not split* and finally to be

*open and aboveboard and not intrigue and conspire.*

**Splitting, intriguing and conspiring may be the evils of Lin Piaoism, but these are also the inherent weaknesses of human beings in the political arena, whatever the political system, or whatever the social milieu.** "The Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China called on the whole Party, army and people to study its documents conscientiously and implement them thoroughly, persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, adhere to the basic principles 'practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split: be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire,' and unite to win still greater victories."

THE COMMUNIQUE then described the main political task before the Party and the people as decided by the Congress as follows: "The Congress pointed out: At present we should continue to put the task of criticizing Lin Piao and rectifying style of work above all else. We should make full use of that teacher by negative example, the Lin Piao anti Party clique, to educate the whole Party, army and people in class struggle and two-line struggle, and should study Marxism-Leninism — Mao-Tse-tung Thought and criticize revisionism and the bourgeois world outlook. We should continue to do well the work of struggle criticism-transformation in the superstructure including all spheres of cul-

ture, work hard to grasp revolution and promote production, other work and preparedness against war and do our work better in all fields. We should act in accordance with the political line defined by the Tenth Congress and the new Party Constitution adopted by it, and build our Party into an ever stronger and more vigorous party, which will lead the people of all nationalities in the country and unite with all the forces that can be united to further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat."

**It is clear that the main political platform on which the Tenth Congress seeks to unite the country is against the ghost of Lin Piao. Hate is one of the emotional factors which help to unite people, whether the object of hatred be described as capitalists, black marketeers, Jews, Muslims, Hindus, Blacks or what not. In China today, unity is being insisted upon internally to fight Lin Piao deviationist treachery and externally the social imperialism of the Soviet Union.**

But before the communique went on to refer to the "international" section of the political report, great emphasis was laid on the fight against Lin Piaoism, as the passage last cited indicates.

FINALLY, the communique referred to the "international" section, and repeated the current Chinese line about the "hegemonism" of the two super-powers, the USA and the USSR, with

special emphasis on fighting revisionism (rather than imperialism). The communique did not contain any abuse about either imperialism of the USA or the social imperialism of the USSR. (What the full published Report of Chou contains will be examined in a subsequent note.) "The Congress pointed out: The present international situation is characterized by great disorder on the earth. Such great disorder is a good thing, and not a bad thing, and it is further developing in a direction favourable to the people of all countries and unfavourable to imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction. We must uphold proletarian internationalism, adhere to the consistent policies of our Party, strengthen our unity with the proletariat, the oppressed people and nations of the whole world, strengthen our unity with all the countries subjected to imperialist aggression, subversion, interference, control and bullying and form the broadest united front against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and in particular against the hegemonism of the two superpowers—the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. We must unite with all genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations the world over and carry the struggle against modern revisionism through to the end. The Congress called on the working class, the poor and lower-middle peasants, the commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army and the people of all nationalities in our country to strengthen without fail their preparations

against wars of aggression, be on guard against the outbreak of an imperialist world war and particularly against surprise attacks by social-imperialism and be ready to wipe out resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely any enemy that dare invade us."

The final slogans set out the tempo of the Congress and also the atmosphere in which China is enveloped. "Long live the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China! Long live the Tenth National Congress of the Party, a congress of unity and victory! Long live Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought! Long live our great leader Chairman Mao! A long, long life to Chairman Mao!"

WE HAVE now received a *Hsinhua* despatch setting out the Political Report of Chou Enlai, but we will examine this in a later issue. In the meantime it will be interesting to see how *The Economist*, 1/9/73, and the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 3/9/73, interpret the Tenth Congress, and more especially the personalities which have emerged at the meeting. *The Economist*, under the heading *Peking Has a New Red Star—Chou And His Allies Were Prominent At China's Party Congress, But Up Jumped A Young Revolutionary*.

"Where in the world could a thousand people file in and out of the most prominent building in the capital for several days running in full view of foreign correspondents and not one of the thousand leak a word about what was happening inside?

Nowhere but China. And where in the world could a thousand of the most prominent people in the country be spirited in and out of the most prominent building in the capital for several more days without anybody apparently noticing at all? Right again. But on Wednesday the Chinese at last revealed what the two sets of mystery meetings were about: their tenth party congress had taken place after all. In a brisk five days the Congress ran through a three-item agenda; the political report by Chou En-lai, the presentation of a revised party constitution by the new man to watch, Wang Hung-wen, and the election of a 195-man central committee. On Thursday the new committee elected the politburo."

*The Economist* also pointed out: "It seems to have been the main political task to perform a ceremonial exercise if Lin Piao and all things connected with him. Lin was at last denounced by name in a resolution expelling this 'bourgeois careerist' and 'traitor' from the party 'once and for all'. Curiously, even greater opprobrium was reserved for his alleged chief collaborator, Chen Po-ta, who was labelled an 'enemy agent'—apparently a Russian one...."

Before one examines the comments about the personalities and certain other questions of significance, it would be pertinent to see how Leo Goodstadt approached CHINA'S TENTH CONGRESS in the *Far Eastern Economic Review*. Under the heading, *The Prince is dead*;

long live the Prince, he stated: 'Lin Piao is dead, Long live Premier Chou En-lai' was the keynote of China's 10th Communist Party Congress. Its 1,249 delegates left Peking last week to report their deliberations to the country's 28 million party members. The news that the Congress had convened its formal sessions between August 24 and 28 came as no surprise. The Chinese had deliberately leaked to foreign diplomats and journalists news of an impending Congress and the main topics on its agenda.

"The Congress seems to have conducted its business like a well-oiled machine. Ample evidence exists that the central government is still not completely satisfied about the extent to which it has eradicated the more extreme ideas pumped into the minds of the masses from 1966 to 1971. However, the Congress deliberations were organised with considerable ease. indeed, the handful of men who control the party's destinies were able to take time out to receive foreigners in Peking for the international table tennis tournament between African, Asian and South American countries. The official communique indicated that problems over the documents presented to the party's representatives for approval had been debated before the Congress itself began. The reference to 'serious and lively discussions' of the Prime Minister's political report on the state of the nation must have been a covert reference to the heated discussions which the country had been

encouraged to hold while the Congress delegates were expressing their preliminary views on the guidelines for the future, laid down by Mao Tse-tung, Chou and their closest associates. The Congress found it unnecessary to speak of divisions within the party, of any need for tolerance and moderation in clearing up the debris of the cultural Revolution, or even to attack Lin Piao except in the broadest terms. For the first time, Lin was identified by name as the source of the nations' most serious political headaches of late. But the real venom was reserved for a much less important figure—Chen Po-ta, Mao's former secretary and onetime editor of the party's own monthly, *Red Flag*." EXAMINING the achievements of the Congress *The Economist* felt that the Congress had resolved the problem of immediate leadership "in favour of the elderly prime Minister and his rehabilitated cadres." But *The Economist* went on record to say: "...but the five-day session, the shortest on record,

was equally plainly not intended to provide a forum for thrashing out the disputes that still divide the left and right wings of the party. Except for the posthumous removal of Lin Piao, nothing laid down by this week's congress is likely to prove a permanent solution."

Other commentators confirm this view of *The Economist* that internal political crisis has not subsided, and was not likely to subside, but that the conflicts among the different groups would tend to get worse. It is also said that the extreme secrecy which was imposed on the Congress was an indication that no permanent solution had been found for many urgent problems including a coherent programme for economic development. The crucial question that seems to interest china-watchers is whether Chou En-lai has really come out on top.

ALTHOUGH many observers insist that Chou has won the day, it has been pointed out that the Chou group

YOU'VE DISCOVERED THE TRIBUNE

**Why not subscribe Today?**

ONE YEAR OF EXCITING, STIMULATING COMMENTARY ON THE IMPORTANT ISSUES OF THE DAY FOR RS. 25.

Post Free in Sri Lanka

**TRIBUNE**

43, DAWSON STREET, COLOMBO-2.

Telephone: 33172

has not really succeeded in strengthening its positions in the leading organs like the Politburo. It is said that one of Chou's most active deputies, Li Hsian Nian, was not elected to the Standing Committee of the Politburo. Chou has two of the old guard to back him, Kang Sheng, a security specialist, and Yeh Shien-ying, who has kept "the armed forces under control since Minister of Defence Lin Piao fell from power".

But ahead of these two has moved the new red star, Wang Hung-wen. He is said to be only 36 years old (some reports say 39). This is how *The Economist* views the rise of Wang Hung-wen. "The meteoric promotion of Wang Hung-wen—he was listed third after Mao and Chou as a vice-chairman of the central committee and joined the exalted ranks of the politburo's standing committee as well—was the nearest the congress came to dealing with the vexed succession question (the communique blithely observed 'our party is flourishing and has no lack of successors'). Wang who became a local luminary during Shanghai's cultural revolution, has two important qualifications for top job: he is a genuine urban worker in a 'proletarian' party which is in fact overloaded with peasants and intellectuals; he is in his late thirties, decades younger than almost everybody around. He has now clearly outdistanced his only contemporary in the top ranks, another Shanghai radical, Yao Wen-yuan, who was left out of the politburo's ruling group

along with his powerful patron, Mrs. Mao. The eclipse of Mrs. Mao and Yao must be seen as a setback for the radical forces in the leadership, though Wang Hung-wen and the Shanghai boss, Chang Chun-chiao may represent them at court."

Whether this slight switch from Mrs. Mao and Yao Wen-yuan to Wang Hung-wen has a special significance it is difficult to say, but this could not have been possible without the consent of Mao. However, it is clear that he wants a bedrock of "leftists" in the central committee, the politburo and the standing committee probably to counter the mandarin pragmatism of Chou. Though the Army groups have not been as prominent as in the days of Lin Piao and the Ninth Congress, influential commanders of large military districts like Chen Hsi-lian and Hsiu Shi-lu have been elected to the politburo—this is a clear indication that the Army will play an important and active part in inner-party affairs in the future.

IT IS DIFFICULT as yet to say what the final outcome will be, but for the moment there is a "tactical balance" as between the three groups contending for power in China: the "leftists", the Chou pragmatists and the Army. Though Premier Chou has a leading role, the presence of Wang Hung-wen and rehabilitated Teng Hsiao-ping will tend to counter Chou's supremacy. On a cursory examination of the 195-member Central com-

mittee, observers feel that the predominant group are elderly and aged leaders who have always been close to Mao Tse-tung, leaders like Tung Pi-wu, Lin Po-cheng and Kang Sheng. For the same reason even leaders from Inner Mongolia and Sinkiang, who have been in disgrace for some time have been brought into the central committee. *The Economist* stated: "An unknown element has been introduced in the new faces at the top—two of them factory workers, one a 'model peasant' and four provincial leaders. And the old guard and Chou En-lai's palace guard have made notable gains. Four former members of the politburo have got back into the central committee. The most eminent of these is the former secretary general, Teng Hsiao-ping, who was dramatically resurrected last April. Two others made their first public appearance last weekend—Ulanfu, the only Mongol to make his mark in China since Kublai Khan, and Tan Chen-lin, the former Agriculture spokesman. The fourth ex-politburo man, Li Chiang-chuan, whom the red guards call the 'emperor of the southwest', surfaced for the first time at the congress. The quartet cannot be called Chou's men, though they are certainly closer in spirit to Chou than to the cultural revolutionaries who had ousted them. In fact, Teng and Tan probably owe their rehabilitation partly to a special relationship to Mao."

How this "tactical balance" in the new central committee,



the politburo and the permanent standing committee will work out is yet to be seen, but *The Economist* pointed out: "...for weeks before the Congress, the Chinese press gave an unusually extensive airing to radical themes ranging from a commemoration of the Red Guard anniversary (for the first time in five years) to an extended debate over the revival of university entrance examinations (the abolition of which was one of the key reforms of the cultural revolution). But the strongest hint that China's radicals were spoiling for a fight came in allegorical form in a *People's Daily* article by a philosophy professor who was ostensibly attacking Confucius.

And what was the crime of Confucius that had the greatest relevance to today? His decision as prime minister to 'call back into office those who have retired into obscurity', to restore the 'old and the moribund' in order to consolidate his reactionary rule."

This is why many commentators have raised the question whether "Chou was in trouble?" Sidney Liu, *Newsweek's* man in Sydney had cabled his magazine from Hongkong: "what all this surely means is that Chou En-lai, the man who initiated the post-cultural revolution relaxation, must devote his full time to resisting pressure from the left."

(*Newsweek*, 3/9/73)

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BY ARIEL

### \* The Sub-Continent

#### \* Algiers

A GREAT MANY THINGS have happened on the international scene in recent weeks which have a great deal of significance for Ceylon. The most important is undoubtedly is the defusing of the situation on the Indian subcontinent. On August 28 an agreement was concluded in New Delhi which brought to an end the vexed problem of the POWs and the interconnected problems of the Bengalis held up in Pakistan and the non-Bengalis in Bangladesh. Although the agreement was only a bilateral agreement between India and Pakistan, it was officially admitted that the agreement had the approval of the Bangladesh authorities.

There will be a three-way movement of population: the ninety one thousand odd POWS in India will begin to return to Pakistan almost simultaneously as the Bengalis in Pakistan are sent back to Bangladesh, but this process will start only after Pakistan and Bangladesh had met as equal and sovereign states to determine the number of non-Bengalis who will be sent back to Pakistan from Bangladesh. This means, that the full recognition of Bangladesh by Pakistan will precede the process of repatriation.

The difficult problem of the 195 POWs, who were to

be charged for war crimes, has been shelved for the moment. They will stay in India until Pakistan and Bangladesh decide what should be done with them. Bangladesh has so far insisted that it has a right to try them, but Pakistan thinks that it would not be conducive to cordial relations if Bangladesh staged such a trial. Pakistan, on the other hand, has hinted that it would put these officers and men on trial because the alleged crimes had taken place in a part of the country which was still Pakistan. Anyway, this difference of opinion is not likely to disturb the main agreement.

There is not the slightest doubt that this agreement, the foundations of which were laid at the Simla summit last year, will help to normalise relations on the subcontinent. Such a normalisation was an urgent need for the region particularly because nature too has been extremely hard on all the territories in the northern part. During the last five years, in fact during the last ten years, large parts of Pakistan, India and what is now Bangladesh, have been regularly afflicted by drought, floods, cyclones, earthquakes and other natural disasters. The most spectacular of all the disasters is the current flood which is sweeping through the Indus valley in Pakistan, the Gangetic Plain in India and the delta of the Brahmaputra in Bangladesh. The damage runs into millions of rupees and several tens of millions of people have already been rendered homeless. These floods have come

at a time when the three countries had been devastated by drought, more especially India, and food production had been very adversely affected.

SRI LANKA had made small profits in foreign exchange out of the conflicts and tensions between Pakistan and India. Though avowedly neutral, Sri Lanka had tilted a wee bit towards Pakistan and that this had caused major misunderstandings in India. Sri Lanka had earned the wee bit of foreign exchange servicing and re-fuelling Pakistan ships and planes when India had stopped overflights and relations between the two countries had been broken. Sri Lanka had also exported betel leaves to Pakistan—a trade which had been in Indian hands before. Sri Lanka had, in turn, expected Pakistan to send this country rice—even at a price—but the current floods has put a stop to this.

Nevertheless, the normalisation of relations between India and Pakistan will compel Sri Lanka to re-think some of its policies and attitudes towards these three major countries on the sub-continent. It is not enough to take cover behind a glib declaration of neutrality and non alignment. The neutrality towards each of these three countries has to be concretely formulated and implemented in terms which would be realistic in the context of the big power presence in the Indian Ocean—Britain, France, USA, USSR and China.

AT THE TIME of writing these notes, the focus of

attention is on the Algiers Summit. This summit is being held at a time when not only significant changes in the international situation have taken place but after there had also been changes in the functioning of non-aligned gatherings. The Algiers meeting also comes after the detente in Western Europe with Brandt's *Ostpolitik* and the due recognition being accorded to the GDR as a separate sovereign state. This meeting also comes after President Nixon's meetings with Mao Tse-tung and Leonid Brezhnev. The detente between the USA and China and the USA and the Soviet Union have been followed by increased trade—especially as between America and Russia.

Small and even big non-aligned countries have wondered whether detente and peaceful co-existence between the big powers would adversely affect them and one of matters which will come up for consideration in Algiers will no doubt centre around this question. Yugoslavia has taken the initiative to ensure that the Algiers summit comes to conclusions on this matter in a way that will have an impact on world opinion.

One of the difficult questions which will trouble this Summit is how "consensus" is to be arrived at. The Preparatory Committee which had met in Kabul in July tackled this question. "It has been the practice of the non-aligned gatherings to evolve conclusions by a 'consensus', effort being made to adjust or accommodate divergent view points. Hitherto voting

in non-aligned meetings has been avoided. Malaysia and Indonesia wanted a clear definition of the term 'consensus' so that what happened in George Town at the Foreign Ministers Conference in August 1972 would not be repeated. But the African countries were not in favour of such a precise definition. Of course, 'consensus' cannot mean that even one country could veto the unanimous decision of the rest. On the other hand if a significant minority is opposed to a particular proposition, should the majority be permitted to take a decision and describe it was the 'consensus'?

"At the George Town meeting the provisional Revolutionary Government of Vietnam and Sihanouk's Cambodian government were admitted as full members. Malaysia, Indonesia and Laos walked out of the conference in protest. This is the first walk out at a non-aligned gathering. What happened was that the countries of the Organisation of African Union (OAU) and the Arab League, who are all members of the non-aligned gathering, had earlier taken a definite view on the subject and their view was made to prevail in George Town. It was a case of the majority thrusting its views on the others. At the Lusaka Summit in September 1970 the heads of Governments and States decided to accord 'observer' status on the PRG and Sihanouk's government. But the Conference of Foreign Ministers who met at George Town reversed the decision of the heads of Governments

and States. Could not the issue be left to the heads of Governments and States to be settled at Algiers?"(FNF)

The problem which had arisen at George Town, was that the pre-determined agreement among a majority was made to appear as a consensus. This was brought home in a dramatic manner in Georgetown when the question of the venue for next Summit had come up. This is how the FNF described the tussle: "Another issue on which the majority view was made to prevail in George Town was the choice of the venue for the fourth non-aligned Summit. It was the general view that as no non-aligned summit has been held in Asia so far, the venue should now be in Asia and Colombo was suggested. But the African countries who formed the majority insisted that Algiers should be the venue. This would mean that one summit was held in Belgrade and the next three in Africa (Cairo, Lusaka and Algiers). Naturally Ceylon was greatly annoyed and the spokesman of that country made the sarcastic comment that "if decisions were taken before the non-aligned meeting by the OAU and the Arab League then what Asian countries could do was to send observers to future non-aligned gatherings." India has maintained that the solidarity of the non-aligned countries must be emphasised and preserved even in the midst of diversity. The OAU and the Arab League are wellknit organisations and there is no similar organisation in Asia. But if the African countries decided to assert

their superiority in numbers the non-aligned group may well face serious difficulties."

Some of these problems were thrashed out at the Kabul meeting. "The joint communique issued by the Preparatory Committee in Kabul, for instance, while expressing concern over the difficulties in the implementation of the Paris agreement in regard to Vietnam, said that the difficulties have arisen due to the violations of the Paris agreement by the United States and the South Vietnam regime. Obviously this was a one-sided comment loaded heavily against the United States. Malaysia and Indonesia opposed the reference and urged that true facts should first be ascertained before condemning any country by name. India too did not like this reference. But what countries did when they disagreed with something is to express their reservation and allow the proposition to go through in the name of 'consensus.' What happened at George Town was that the countries of the OAU and the Arab League came to the meeting after a great deal of homework and presented a united front. It was subsequently that India and Yugoslavia and a few other countries began consulting with each other and at Kabul they sought to urge caution and moderation. What would happen at Algiers is difficult to speculate now. Every Big Power has friends among the non-aligned countries and the deliberations of the Algiers summit should indicate which power has a larger pull. The

stage is a long way off before the nonaligned countries could stand either individually or collectively as a force, in the economic or military sense, without any dependence on one or the other of the Big Powers."

*It is in this setting that the Algiers summit is taking place and it will be interesting to examine the final conclusions of the meeting. There are indications that the Arab and African countries will not seek to impose their views on the rest, and Sri Lanka is also likely to be the venue of the next Summit.*

\* \* \*

STAY WITH

TRIBUNE

*Renew*

YOUR SUBSCRIPTION

- o One Year Rs. 25
- o Two Years Rs. 40
- o Three Years Rs. 60

Post Free in Sri Lanka

Tribune

43, Dawson Street,  
Colombo-2.

Telephone: 33172

IN SRI LANKA TODAY

# RE-THINKING ON THE WORLD BANK

by  
Lankaputra

An agonising reappraisal, to use a phrase made famous by the late John Foster Dulles, seems to be going on within the United Front Government *vis-a-vis* their relations with the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

The ball was set rolling by the Prime Minister herself who is reported to have said at a public meeting at Attanagalla that her Government was not prepared to obtain loans from these two institutions subject to their conditions. She has added that by getting loans that way would only result in the further subjugation of the country and that the Government has decided to embark on the development of the country without depending on the help of the World Bank or the IMF.

Mrs. Bandaranaike has been followed by her SLFP Ministers T. B. Illangaratne and Hector Kobbekaduwa. The former is alleged to have said: "The happiest day for Sri Lanka would be the day the World Bank and the IMF refused to give loans to our country or when Sri Lanka stopped getting loans from those institutions."

Nor has this new thinking regarding the World Bank and the IMF been confined to SLFP Ministers alone. Finance Minister N. M. Perera is reported to have told a public meeting at Kimbūlapitiya that we have reached a crucial stage in our history when we have to decide whether to live or die.

Communist Minister Pieter Keuneman has been more specific. He has told a public meeting in Jaffna last week-end that the United Front Government was not

prepared to dance to the tune of the World Bank and the IMF.

AT LEAST one SLFP branch has passed a resolution complimenting the Prime Minister for the courageous step to shake off the shackles of the World Bank and the IMF, and pledged all support to her Government for any step she may take to safeguard the country's self-respect and sovereignty.

The *Janavegaya* a newspaper close to the highest SLFP circles, went to town on the news with a first page editorial under the banner headlines: "The Struggle Begins: Conflict between two opposing policies: No delegates from Sri Lanka for World Bank meeting." The editorial called it the beginning of the anti-imperialist struggle. It said that though certain hardships and difficulties may have to be faced

at the beginning, a decision to sever all ties with the World Bank would benefit the country immensely and ultimately end the differences between the haves and the have-nots."

This newspaper said that a final decision concerning our relations with the World Bank and the IMF would be taken soon after the Prime Minister returns from the non-aligned conference in Algiers,

What the final decision of the Government on the matter would be, it is not possible to guess now. But, while many supporters of the United Front have welcomed the proposal to sever all our links with the World Bank and the IMF, according to the *Sun* of the 1st September, leading economists and businessmen in Sri Lanka are reported to be apprehensive about any move to find a 'political solution' to the present economic crisis. They have pointed out to the possibility of such a political solution seriously imperilling our foreign policy of non-alignment and also putting the economy in complete jeopardy.

THE PROBLEMS created for the country by the conditions stipulated by the World Bank under which they grant loans is not something new for the United Front Government. In fact, this was one of the first things that they took into consideration in formulating the country's plans for the future soon after the present Government took office in 1970.

Thus, Dr. N. M. Perera in his very first speech in 1970 said, after explaining the conditions under which the former UNP Government obtained loans from the World Bank and IMF: "Today we must recognise the situation to which we are heir. However much we might deplore and decry the actions of the previous Government that has pushed this country to this sorry pass, we have to recognise the stark, naked reality that we cannot brush aside and completely ignore these international institutions. We can repudiate and reject their advice and their terms and conditions. We can only do so if we are prepared to face the far-reaching dislocations that would be attendant upon such defiance."

After giving an account of the short-term debts due to the IMF, Dr. Perera asked: "Can we repudiate these debts? If we do, the banks throughout the world will ostracize us. We shall find ourselves in the position of refusing to honour the bills that come up for payment from day to day. We shall then be treated as a bankrupt nation in the eyes of the world. We shall thereafter be unable to raise any moneys or obtain any loans from any country whatsoever except perhaps the countries of the socialist bloc whose resources are limited. We shall also be compelled to abandon some of our industrial projects and slow down the whole industrial mechanism internally. We shall also be greatly prejudiced in the sale of our three export commodi-

ties to the western world. Therefore, such a course of action is not one to be lightly contemplated."

DR. PERERA went on: "What then is the alternative? There is no reason to be pessimistic. There is a third way—a *via-media*—between the undiluted acceptance of the terms and conditions of foreign institutions and the foolhardy rejection of all aid. We have to discipline ourselves to concentrate on productive effort. We must be prepared to do without present pleasures for future welfare. The magnitude of our development effort, the rapidity with which we can increase the production of those goods and services upon which our general welfare depends, and the speed at which we can affect the transformation to socialistic forms are determined by the extent to which we are willing to make a sacrifice now and by the extent to which we are willing to increase our productive work. Austerity, Mr. Speaker, must be the keynote of our social thinking during the next few years."

Dr. N. M. Perera touched on this same theme in his Budget speech the following year (1971). In the course of this he said: "Ultra-left critics do not seem to understand or deliberately refuse to understand that Ceylon is a small country still dependent on an import-export economy. We are heirs over 20 years of haphazard, lackadaisical economic activities with no consistent perspectives, but merely content to exist from hand to

mouth. In the process all these years we have accumulated a crippling burden of temporary and permanent debts without a corresponding growth in productivity.

"There are many things that a big country can dare which a small country dare not without inviting disaster economically and financially. We cannot live in isolation from the rest of the world. Some of the shortsighted policies of the previous Government are being righted, and their benefits we shall gradually reap."

CONCERNING Sri Lanka's relations with the IMF, the Finance Minister said on that occasion: "In accordance with the promise that this Government gave the House and the country that we shall not keep the people in the dark with regard to our foreign commitments, I placed before this House the exchange of

### WHY NO TRAINS

The Manhattan Central Station in New York is locked up from 12 midnight to 4 a. m. because, the West German DPA reports, the railway company has cancelled night trains since they are no longer a paying proposition. And it has done so because New Yorkers, terrified by rampant holdups in the city's streets, prefer to get home early. The new arrangement has hit thieves less than the homeless. It has deprived the latter of a free place to sleep in.

# Inania

A New Feature—of  
This, That and The Other

## OPENING TO THE LEFT

By INNA

PEOPLE always tend to like People. They may be within peoples' Republics or outside them, it's all the same. People are basically good. Years ago a European country tried an opening to the Left and succeeded. A famous leader called Pope John looked at Communism and found that there was a lot of "good in it. My friend—I can't help it, George is his name—George, told me that there is a lot of good in the Communism of today, and to prove it, stuck a Tribune with its back-cover: *Is It True*, under my nose, adding: "Who else will tell us what we want to know about fibre boards and treacle?" How George, who is a christian, ever got

to reading Tribune, I do not know, but then, I met my Waterloo saying this out loud to him, when he thrust another, more vigorous Tribune under my nose (which doesn't stick out that far) showing how "even the Tribune is anxious about purifying the christian church."

I'm wondering: if the Communists are interested in christians, why shouldn't the christians get interested in Communists, to see what they are saying and to look at what they are doing?

It is my hope that I'd be able to present situations where we can and must work

letters with the IMF. We have therein indicated the policies we intend to follow in the coming years. We have there also undertaken to consult with the Fund from time to time if any major changes are contemplated in the policy that is set out in that declaration. As a result of a number of dialogues we have had with the representatives of the Fund, I am glad to express my appreciation of their sympathetic understanding of the efforts that we are making to solve our problems."

**In view of the above important policy statements made by the Finance**

**Minister on behalf of the United Front Government, the people will want to know whether the Government is now preparing to make a complete volte face regarding their attitude to the World Bank and the IMF.**

**Is the Government getting ready to "brush aside and completely ignore these international institutions" and in the process preparing "to face the far-reaching dislocations that would be attendant upon such defiance?"**

**This is the million dollar question of the moment.**

together, (collaborate is the big word). Who wouldn't want to do this. In fact an American show "Up with People" said so one day in song:

*"If all peoples were for people, there'd be lots of people interested in lots of people"*  
—or something like that..

OF COURSE it might be like an 'inna' (mole?) on your wrist. You know it's there; it's embarrassing to have it; embarrassing to get rid of it, what with trying to find time, a doctor-specialist, and so on. Hope there won't be too much embarrassment either way, but we sign as 'Inna' and though we modestly label it "inania", we assure you they won't be inanities. I'm telling you.

Isn't there in black and white in Mao's Red Book (pardon the technicolour sentence): "Persons are more important than things". Chairman Mao said this as early as 1938, and what a wealth of truth is found in that sentence in a country which believes in *maitreya*, whereby persons are subjects, and rejects *tanha*, which wants to treat persons as objects (things).

Persons make people and people help persons to be more personal. This is Sol-jenitsyn's discovery and everybody's finding it true because deep down in their hearts, everyone is looking for the Truth, back-page, front cover, middle-page, all over: "Is It True?"

## CHRONICLE

## JULY 10-15

*A Diary of Events in Sri Lanka and the World compiled from English-language dailies published in Colombo.*

**TUESDAY, JULY 10:** The *Sun* published results of the Dedigama by-election as its front page lead: Mr. Rukman Senanayake, the UNP candidate who polled 23,306 had a majority of 4508 votes over the SLFP candidate Mr. Dharmasiri Senanayake. The two independent candidates had polled a mere 227 and 205 votes: the *Sun* and the *Daily News* reported several incidents of thuggery in the electorate. A gang armed with knives and other dangerous weapons are reported to have robbed passengers on the Badulla night mail on Thursday night. A new Ministry of Plan Implementation was created yesterday and the Prime Minister Mrs. Bandaranaike was sworn in as the Minister: with the creation of this new Ministry, the Ministry of Planning and Employment will now be known as the Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs. Mrs. Bandaranaike was also sworn in as Minister of Planning and Economic Affairs: According to the *Daily News*, Sri Lanka is expected to get less aid from the World Bank sponsored consortium. The evening papers reported the death of Mr. V. A. Sugathadasa, MP for Colombo North and former Minister of Nationalised Services and Sport. The Pakistan National State Assembly has approved the recognition of Bangladesh. New Zealand has send a frigate to the danger zone and is openly challenging the French nuclear tests. Chinese Premier Chou-Enlai has described the nuclear war prevention treaty concluded during the recent US-Soviet summit as untrustworthy and dangerous. In Geneva, according to a Reuter report, the management of the UN has considered the possibility of dropping the US dollar as the guiding currency.

**WEDNESDAY, JULY 11:** All morning dailies carried the decision of the Constitutional Court regarding the Associated Newspapers (Special Provisions) Bill: the Speaker of the National State Assembly, Mr. Stanley

Tillekeratne, has told the Assembly yesterday that none of the provisions of the Bill is inconsistent with the Constitution: the three member Constitutional Court has unanimously rejected all six petitions challenging the validity of the Bill: Party leaders have decided to debate the Bill on July 17 and 18. Several people were taken into custody in connection with certain unruly incidents that took place during the polling at Dedigama. The Junior Minister of Defence and External Affairs, Mr. Lakshman Jayakody, assured the House that every complaint made to the police regarding incidents at Dedigama will be impartially inquired into. The number of persons registered for jobs at various employment exchanges reached an all time high of 449,148 at the end of March this year. Mr. John Mitchell, President Nixon's former election campaign manager and Attorney General, said that he strongly believed Mr. Nixon was unaware of a cover up of the Watergate bugging scandal until March this year.

**THURSDAY, JULY 12:** Dedigama's new representative, Mr. Rukman Senanayake took his oaths in the National State Assembly yesterday. The *Daily News* published in full the decision of the Constitutional Court on the ANCL (Special Provisions) Bill. In order to provide a bigger intake of students to the higher forms of Colombo schools, the Education Ministry yesterday ordered five more of the Colombo area Government schools to close their kindergartens. The UF Government's *Places of Worship Bill* was defeated in the House yesterday by 14 votes to 3. The latest addition to the National Merchant marine "Lanka Shanthi", arrived in the port of Colombo today. In a memorandum submitted to the World Bank, Sri Lanka has stated that international price increases of essential food commodities have hit this country on an unprecedented scale. Lionel Bopage, the second suspect told the CJC yesterday that at the Kandy police station he was asked to swallow some bullets. The NSA yesterday approved two motions moved by the Leader of the House, Mr. Maithripala Senanayake, for the appointment of select committees to probe the National Milk Board and to examine the role of the Members of NSA in relation to public administration.

New Zealand defied the French warning of the nuclear test and sent its frigate *Otago* into the prohibited area in the Pacific. Three Pakistan POW's were shot dead in India when they tried to escape from custody.

**FRIDAY, JULY 13:** The acting UN Representative in Colombo, Mr. Michael Priestly, visited the 11 Ugandan and British passport holders still encamped at the Bandaranaike International Airport: Mr. Priestly requested the passport holders to return to India first and from there to obtain the necessary travel documents to enter Britain. According to the *Daily News*, the US authorities have informed the Government that till December 1973 Sri Lanka will not be supplied with flour under the PL 480 agreement. The Prime Minister yesterday inaugurated the ILO/SIDA sponsored multi-million rupee Co-operative Management Services Centre at Grandpass: this is the first such centre in the world. All TRP holders resident here and Sri Lanka's various representatives abroad are exempted from the 2000-rupee income ceiling. The annual 'Vel' festival will start in Colombo today. The talks held yesterday between the Ceylon-Eire-UK Conference lines and the Ceylon Shippers Council, on the proposed new freight rates, ended in a deadlock. Over 300 trade unionists carrying placards stormed the French Embassy at Rosmead Place yesterday, demonstrating against the proposed French Nuclear tests. The much-awaited Indo-Pak talks will be held in Islamabad from July 24. About 129 people including a Brazilian Senator were killed when a boeing 747 airline crashed at Saul-les-chartreux, south of Paris.

**SATURDAY, JULY 14:** According to the *Daily News*, the expelled members and other dissidents of the Communist Party (Moscow wing) are expected to form a new Party with the support of Mr. Pieter Keuneman. The Minister of Communications has been redesignated Minister of Transport, but will continue to carry out the same functions. At a meeting of several pro-estate worker Unions, presided by Mr. A. A. Aziz, it was decided to launch a seven-day strike from September 13. With the sanctioning of a credit of \$ 7.8

million for a massive tea project in West and Central Java, by the IDA, the *Observer* has posed the question whether this will be a threat to the Sri Lanka's tea industry. The Communications Satellite Corporation of America (COMSAT) has been awarded the contract as consultants for the proposed earth (ground) satellite telecommunications station project to be set up in Sri Lanka. The Senate Watergate Committee warned President Nixon that he faced a possible constitutional confrontation over his refusal to hand over White House documents relating to the Watergate bugging scandal. President Nixon has been admitted to the Navy hospital suffering from viral pneumonia.

**SUNDAY, JULY 15:** Flour totalling 34,000 tons has been gifted to Sri Lanka by Canada, West Germany and the European Economic Community: according to Food Department sources, these gifts will temporarily solve the shortage of flour in the country. The Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Public Administration has decided to allow teachers in private schools to continue in service till their 60th year. The *Times* had a front page lead about the Maldivian Government's decision to open nudist colonies to attract tourists: according to the *Times* this has worried many tourist agents here because they think that this will be a threat to tourism in Sri Lanka. Mr. Dharmasiri Senanayake, the defeated SLFP candidate at Dedigama, has issued a statement in which he alleges thuggery on the day of the by-election. According to the *Weekend* the Prime Minister was considering a scheme to establish a Bureau of Foreign Employment to assist qualified Ceylonese who are unemployed, or underemployed, or even retired, to find jobs abroad. The New Zealand frigate *Otago* was back in the danger zone around France's South Pacific nuclear test site. President Idi Amin of Uganda has despatched two "insulting" cables to President Nixon advising him on how to deal with Watergate and telling him not to interfere with the affairs of Uganda. Pakistani President Bhutto's state visit to the US in September is postponed owing to the hospitalisation of President Nixon,



LOOKING AFTER TOURISTS

## Anyone for Rice-and-Curry?

By  
CANAX.

Those of you who have been losing your sleep of late—having lost your hair already—dreading disaster on the food front and helpless to avert it will be happy to learn that all is well, and you can catch up on lost sleep once again. (As for your hair, I'm afraid that's lost forever). Seems a mean thing to do, I admit, but it just had to be done. From now on tourists will simply have to learn to get along on four rice-and-curry meals a week.

If they don't make it, their kith and kin back home should at least find solace in the knowledge that they died for a worthy cause, though some tourists don't seem to know it themselves. Not many here know it, either, but believe me it's worthy. I know.

ONE of the many who don't know is my friend Tom, an elderly guy who would rather lose sleep than miss out on his early morning walks on Galle Face. Now he feels the rice cut doesn't go far enough, and advocates asking tourists to bring their own food along, or do without it. Tom's problem, as you may have figured by now, is that the sight of tourists makes him sick.

To make matters worse, he swears he overheard a foreigner strolling on the Green the other day grumble to another of his kind, "Hell, this place is in a worse mess than I thought!"

Replied the other thoughtfully, "Hmm..mm..starving the natives has its uses, perhaps, but where's the socialism if they pick on us poor tourists every time they find themselves in a spot?"

To say Tom was mad at hearing that doesn't do justice to his wrath. Even making the necessary allowance for the general level of intelligence of the average tourist, says Tom, he was mystified to hear the two finally agree that genuine socialism would not have given them such a raw deal, and that the brand we were using was as close to the real thing as was the cricket little boys played with a tennis ball.

All he could think of then was that one was soft and the other hard, which is easy enough for any schoolboy to understand, if it's cricket one is thinking about. He says he never realised socialism had anything in common with that capitalist of all games and wonders if Comrade Pieter would enlighten us on the subject if we dropped him a line. I'll do that, I think, but first let me collect

enough money to buy myself a postcard.

I MAY not know the dubious links between socialism and cricket, but I do know my friend has something in common with Richard Milhous Nixon; he too can play the Devil's Advocate admirably, and often does, though I doubt he puts himself and others secretly on tape in the process. Executive Privilege is so hard to come by, he once remarked.

So I wasn't sure what role Tom was playing when he suddenly said, "Let's look at it objectively." I looked and I looked but couldn't see beyond my nose, a failing I have learned to live with. "Now why would tourists flock in their thousands to this country?" he enquired at last.

"Because Air Ceylon is off-loading them here with gay abandon?" I asked eagerly.

"Enough of your putrid jokes," he said irritably. "Be serious and objective—why do they come?"

"For fun," I said, trying hard to be both serious and objective yet uncertain I was meeting the dual criteria.

"Go on," Tom prodded me impatiently.

"Then there's our girls, of course," I ventured.

"You said that already," he retorted. "I mean, what else do they come here for?"

"How the hell should I know," I shouted. "I thought they come here only to have a ball."

"Don't worry yourself too much," he advised, "but I think you have a dirty mind. They may come here to have a ball, but fortunately it's not quite the ball you have in mind."

IT WAS now my turn to ask the questions. "Well then, what do they come here for?"

He was ready with the answer. "They come here," he said, "for our wonderful weather, our beautiful countryside, our unspoiled beaches."

"And our fantastic FEEC—rate?" I asked helpfully.

He ignored me and went on, "...our famous ruins and our delicious food."

That was a bit much, even for me. "You're joking," I said, though he didn't sound like he was. "Not for food, surely?"

"Yes, and what's so funny about that?"

"Darned funny," I laughed, "that our tourist hotels should turn out a better bacon-and-egg than they do out in the West, or that our cold suppers are worth all that trouble and travel."

"I'm talking about *our* food," he growled.

"That's even more funny," I cried, holding my sides and laughing uncontrollably. "They've actually heard of manioc and bathala?"

He scowled with ill-concealed anger. "Let me know when you've finished making a fool of yourself," he said, but without giving me time to do that, he went on, "They come here because they love our rice-and-curry."

I turned serious the moment I heard that. "You may have a point there," I conceded, for I'd heard it rumoured that tourists found our rice - and - curry the best laxative they've had in all their lives except perhaps once when Mr. Kalugalla himself hosted some visitors with a strinhopper concoction that proved even better, but the Minister, understandably, was reluctant to divulge the top secret formula for fear the tourists would then stop coming here for more.

I FIND the Tourist Board, unlike my friend, is genuinely concerned about the rice cut, which it feels will be a death blow to tourism. Said a Board official, pensively stroking his goatee, "It's a complete reversal of our policy.. whoever heard of depriving tourists of their rice merely because the natives don't have any for themselves?"

From the Board's point of view, tourism would be doomed if at this stage, and without any justification, people started putting the country's welfare before that of the tourist. Indeed, the whole purpose of Dharmasiri's return to the Board would be defeated, I was told, and just how many defeats was a man expected to suffer in silence?

"How do you think we built up tourism so far?" the official asked. "True, the natives have had to do without essentials like cheese and imported delicacies, imported meats and liquor, but not so the tourists. We made sure they had it all

for the mere asking. So if you want my frank opinion, we should now forget about the country and import enough rice to keep tourists happy."

The Board official is, of course, talking in the dark, which can be as perilous as walking in it. He simply doesn't know, and neither does my friend (which matters little since he hates tourists, anyway). What they both don't know, and I do, is that under the guise of tourists the rapacious West is now sending hundreds of hungry agents to hit us where it will hurt most. The imperialist bullies, not content with cutting off aid, refusing stand-by credit and also threatening to stop sending flour, also clearly want to ensure quick chaos—by having their agents gobble up what little rice is left in the country.

I SHOULD'N'T really be revealing this, but I will. The dastardly plot came to light when two of the agents, meeting in the lounge of a leading hotel, had had one too many and began openly discussing details of their real mission out here. As our luck would have it, one of the waiters overheard the conversation, and passed it on.

The Management did a quick check with the Chef who confirmed an extraordinary switch in tourist tastes of late. Whereas over the years tourists seemed to prefer curry-and-rice, they now showed a marked fondness for rice-and-curry. It was an open-and-shut case, as far as the Management was concerned.

# Plot to Blow Up Mao's Train

By

Wilfred Burchett

In the late summer of 1971, Mao made a tour of some of the vital military regions, explaining the sort of conspiracy which he already knew his "heir-apparent" was hatching, securing the loyalty of commanders of key military units. (Lin had used the May 16 Movement to discredit veteran marshals such as Ho Lung, Chen Yi, and others. He had also put his own men in many of the key posts at the top where it was relatively easy to guard the secrecy of the plot. It was not the same with the commanders of field units. As the Deputy Commander of the PLA's 179 Division, stationed in the Nanking area, told me in regard to Lin Piao's influence: "Ours is a people's army created and led by Chairman Mao. It was so, is so and will always be so..." In other words, Lin could only resort to a top level plot. In any confrontation of loyalties to himself or Mao, he knew, he would not stand a chance).

On September 12, 1971, Mao was returning to Peking from Shanghai by train. Lin had arranged to blow up the train somewhere north of Nanking. If anything went wrong a second attempt

So now you know why the Galle Face Hotel was the first to act, moving swiftly to cut the agents down to size—and to four rice meals a week for a start. The few genuine tourists will doubtless suffer as a result, but that can't be helped. One can only hope they understand, for the truth can never be told officially.

Thank goodness we still have people who know a plot when they hear one. It's not everyone who could have twigged on that, having failed to beat us into submission, the capitalist West was now trying to eat us into it.

would be made further along the line. (Lin seemed to have been impressed by the way the Japanese blew up the Manchurian warlord, Marshal Chang Tso-lin, in his train in December 1931, thus precipitating the Japanese takeover of Manchuria; there is a reference to this in some captured documents relating to the plot).

BUT LIN ran into just those sort of difficulties that could be anticipated once details of the plot had to be diffused to lower operatives. The Officer in charge of the first attempt had misgivings at being ordered to perform such an extraordinary task. He was torn between the iron discipline of a PLA man to obey orders, and revulsion at being asked to blow up a passenger coach. He confided in his wife, a doctor and party member. She was

This is the second and concluding part of the article by the well known journalist, Wilfred Burchett. The first part had appeared in the last issue of *Tribune*. The article had been despatched from Peking dated August 20—that is, four days before the 10th Congress had met in great secrecy in Peking.

horrified, but found a solution whereby his PLA honour would be saved and the plot thwarted. She gave him an injection which produced a temporary severe blurring of his eyesight at a moment when hair-breadth coordination of eye and hand was decisive. So he did not touch off the explosion. And his wife informed her party branch committee.

So Mao travelled over the first charge safely, unaware of any danger. Messages were flashed to Peking after the doctor's warning. A few stations before the second charge was to be exploded, the train was halted; Mao was urged to descend rapidly and move into a car, ordered by Chou En-lai to bring him to Peking with an appropriate escort. Thus the first two assassination attempts were foiled.

Later that night, Chou learned that Lin (still not suspected as being behind the assassination attempts) had ordered a couple of Trident passenger aircraft to an airfield near Peitaho, a seaside resort six hours by train east of Peking where Lin, his wife and "genius"

son and some top staff people were supposed to be holidaying. (Lin had used his conviction about the "genius" qualities of Lin Li-kuo to secure his son's rapid promotion as Deputy Director of Operations of the Chinese Air Force at the rapid age of 24. His "expertise" may well have been a decisive factor in the disaster that followed).

A daughter of Lin Piao from his first marriage, Lin Do-do, told Chou that the family was leaving on a night flight for some where or other. Chou, still not linking Lin with a plot, telephoned Peitaho to ask whether this was so. According to an account I heard from a high cadre, his intention was simply to advise that Lin should not take off on any night inspection trips because of the imperfections of facilities for night take-offs and landings. Lin was at a concert, but his wife, Yeh Chun, took the call and assured Chou that he was entirely mistaken: No plans for a night flight or any other flights. Chou En-lai's suspicions were aroused and he immediately issued an order that all planes were to be grounded, unless authorisation was produced signed by three people, including Lin Piao and himself.

Another incident in that drama-filled night was the appearance of an officer at Chairman Mao's Peking headquarters, urgently demanding an audience with Mao to deliver a "safe-hand" message of the utmost urgency. Enough suspicions were aroused by that time to arrest and

search the officer—and it was found that the "safe-hand message" was an order to assassinate Mao on the spot—a fact he speedily admitted.

MEANWHILE, Yeh Chun had rushed panic stricken to the concert hall to warn her husband that Mao was evidently very much alive; that Chou was privy to their flight plans; that they must leave immediately. Within a very short time a convoy was hurtling through the night towards the Peitaho airport, with Lin Piao's car in the lead. A guard in the car, objecting to what was obviously an unseemly flight, was shot by Lin Li-kuo and pushed out of the speeding vehicle. (He was later picked up, still alive, with a near-incredible story to tell). At the airport Lin was confronted with the Chou order banning all flights. He bluffed his way around this by saying the order was garbled and that authorisations were valid if signed by one of three persons named. So he immediately drafted and signed an authorisation. It turned out to be his own death warrant.

One plane was fuelled—whether the tanks were filled is not clear but one can assume that the "genius"—by now a would-be murderer had his eye on his wristwatch in case of pursuit and that probably no great margin of fuel was taken on for the first leg of the flight to Ulan Bator. As the plane began to taxi, a suspicious member of the fuelling crew parked a huge fuel truck squarely across the runway. The plane

had to make a detour over rough ground and, in order to take off on what was left of the runway, had to make as nearly a vertical takeoff as possible with the fuel consuming boosters fully exploited. The plane later ran out of fuel and crashed in Mongolia, killing everyone who was still alive by the time it crashed. According to Soviet sources, there was a gunfight on board; some of the charred bodies bore bullet holes.

After the plane took off, a helicopter with three of Lin's top staff officers and several cases of documents also took to the air. But it circled several times around Peitaho Air port, until the pilot was shot for refusing to follow the direction taken by Lin Piao. By the time the helicopter started on course, fighter planes were airborne, and they forced it to land. It transpired that the three officers were pledged to destroy the documents and commit suicide in the event of plans being thwarted. Two did shoot and kill themselves as militiamen raced towards the helicopter.. the third succeeded only in inflicting a headwound. He was captured and the documents—including some revealing diaries of Lin Piao and his wife—were seized intact.

ALL the above elements of the "Lin Piao case" I have been able to check and cross check from authoritative sources, but there is one tantalising detail I was not able to clear up. Did Lin take Wu Fa-Hsien, the then head of the Air Force, the head

of the Navy, and other officers of the General staff with him, as is generally rumoured? One of my informants assured me that they were to leave on a second plane, but that all were arrested and that the second plane did not take off. This seems plausible as it is hardly likely that Lin would have had all his general staff officers at his side during the Pictaho "holiday" and it was so planned that they would join him at the time for the original departure time — probably just about dawn—in case the assassination attempt failed. This detail, and whether the Soviet Union was informed and ready to receive the fleeing ploters, will become clear only when the official report is available.

If this account seems to reflect only a personal obsession of Lin Piao to seize power, the Chinese party members and public are encouraged to see it as part of the eternal "struggle between two lines"—a sort of twin to that which is denounced as Lin Shao-Chi's plot to divert the Chinese revolution into a restoration of bourgeois capitalism. However, the drive for personal power emerges as a much clearer additional motive in the case of Lin than in that of Liu.

In any case it is one more extraordinary episode in the drama of the Chinese revolution, not to mention another of those triumphs which Mao Tse-tung continues to bring off against all odds.

(Concluded)

## THE INDIAN OCEAN

# FOREIGN PRESENCE—U.S. BASES

By J. P. Anand

*Institute For Defense Studies & Analyses, New Delhi.*

The U.S.A has a sizable presence in the Indian Ocean. This article sets out the bases and facilities the U.S.A. has in the Indian Ocean region.

The Indian Ocean, a vast expanse of water lying between Australia, South Asia, Africa and Antarctica—stretching from Suez to Tasmania (Australia) and Cape Town to Singapore and Darwin, is the third largest Ocean in the world with an area of over 28 million square miles. From Cape Town (South Africa) to Perth (south-west Australia) the distance is 6,400 miles. Aden to Colombo is 2,500 miles and Colombo to Singapore 1,750 miles. Distance along the line of Equator between Indonesia and East African Coast is 4,300 miles.

External powers interested in extending their maritime activities in the Indian Ocean or other activities in countries on the rim of the Indian Ocean or its hinterland states are USA, UK, USSR, China and Japan. Of late France has revived its interest in its former territories and left-over colonial dependencies in the south-western region of the Indian Ocean.

I. US BASES. According to American analysts, US naval presence in the Indian Ocean till 1970 was barely visible, weakly represented and only spasmodically present. They felt that the time was due for the US Navy to take a fresh look at the neglected Ocean. The emergence of the Indian Ocean as an arena of activity in the global power struggle in seventies has highlighted the long neglect.

Following the British Government's decision in mid-sixties to pull out East of Suez, the US has been trying to develop a capability for deploying a big force at short notice without perma-

nently stationing a large fleet. To start with, it began constructing a chain of communication stations or centres which can perhaps be developed into fulfilled bases later.

*Bases in Thailand and Philippines.* In Thailand, the US had six strategic bases at Utaoap, Udorn, Korat, Nakhon Phamon and Dboi. The base at Takhli, near Bangkok, was reopened in May 1972 to handle the increase in US air activity in the wake of the spurt in the war in Vietnam. Yet another base was opened at Nom Phong in June 1972. Thai Deputy Foreign Minister Brig-Gen Chartchai Chunhwan

said in Bangkok on 26 January 1973 that American military personnel will remain "at the present level" in Thailand even after the cease fire agreement in Vietnam. The number of American military personnel had varied between 55,000 and 75,000. In early 1973, the number was about 50,000.

In the Philippines, the US has two major bases- the Subic Bay naval base and the Clark airbase. Lt. Gen William G. Moore jr., the Air Force Commander based at Clark, told a Press briefing on 6 February 1973 that the base would continue to play a strategic role in the American defence posture in South East Asia in the post-Vietnam war period. The US, he added, also needed to secure access to the lines of communications for the furtherance of the area's trade and economic development. The bases provide logistic support for half a million US forces in the region.

*US Communication bases.* The US has been quite active in the establishment of staging and communications facilities in the Indian Ocean areas as well as Australia and other countries in the hinterland.

America has a large military communication base near Asmara, capital of Eritrea, Ethiopia's northernmost province bordering the Sudan and the Red Sea. The base is a primary relay and satellite tracking station in USA's global communications network. It has also an intelligence function—monitoring communications with the Soviet Union and elsewhere. A

measure of its size may be judged from the presence of 1,700 American servicemen and about the same number of dependents at the base in 1971. The base is served by Massawa port on the Red Sea. The USA has certain facilities for submarines and other vessels at the former naval base at Massawa.

The US has tracking and telemetry facilities at the British Radio Naval Station at Vacoas in Mauritius. The US Air Force has been using airport facilities available in Mauritius. A communications station started functioning at Mahe, the principal island in the Sechelles Group in 1969-70. The electronic 'spy nest' near Peshawar in Pakistan, set up in late fifties, was closed in July 1969 and finally handed over to Pakistani officials on 7 January 1970.

One of the most powerful very low frequency communication stations in the world was commissioned in April 1967 by the USA at the North West Cape, on the Indian Ocean coast of West Australia. The base, designed to communicate with submerged missile submarines, has been serving Polaris and other submarines operating in the area. It is an important link in America's strategy of nuclear deterrence under its new undersea long-range ballistic missile (ULMS) system. It overlaps with other American stations in the system based at Honolulu, Guam, Philippines and Asmara.

Work on the Australian naval base at Garden Island in Cockburn Sound, along

the Indian Ocean coast of South-west Australia, commenced in 1970. The US has accepted an Australian offer for the use of naval facilities by ships of friendly countries. The US considers Cocos Islands, Australian territory in the eastern region of the Indian Ocean, a potential site for a staging post.

*Space Communications Stations.* In Australia, the US has at least fourteen installations ranging from balloon launching stations to space tracking stations, all of which conduct both civil and military research programmes. Four major installations are located at Woomera, Pine Gap, Alice Springs and North West Cape. The joint defence research facility, located at Pine Gap in Central Australia, is believed to be the only one in Asia and Australia with equipment sophisticated enough to monitor US satellites. In September 1971, the base was manned by 200 Americans and about an equal number of Australians.

The Alice Springs Geophysical project could be used to guide orbiting missiles to East Asian targets and to monitor photo reconnaissance spy satellites.

The US has set up a defence space communication station at Woomera in the remote desert of South Australia. The station will monitor and control American military satellites carrying out surveillance on Russia, China and elsewhere. It could also give early warning of a missile attack.

## U. S. Bases

Australia occupies a key position in the American naval strategy in the Indian Ocean as the US plans obviously are aimed at integrating its chain of bases in the area with bases in Australia. UK's military satellite communications system, code named 'SKYNET', operates in conjunction with the US satellite network.

*Diego Garcia: Naval Communications Centre.* Work on the joint Anglo-American base—a naval communications centre—at Diego Garcia in Chagos Archipelago, began in March 1971. It is scheduled to be completed in 1973. The station's complement will number 274 US and British personnel.

The island has an area of 11 square miles—13 miles long and upto 4 miles wide. The island has a good harbour and a site for large airfield. It was of some strategic importance during the second World War as a naval port of call—the anchorage was used as a fuelling base for naval vessels. The US has built a 8,000 feet coral runway. USAF C-130 aircraft have been using the airstrip.

The announced purpose of the naval facility is to fill a gap in the worldwide US naval communications and provide support for British and American ships and aircraft in the Indian Ocean. The base would have an important role in monitoring the Indian Ocean area as the US has plans for launching surveillance, reconnaissance and communication satellites in geo-stationary orbit over the area.

The island's strategic significance lies in the fact that it is just in the centre of the Indian Ocean—half way between US communications centres at North West Cape (West Australia) and Asmara (north-east Africa). The base could also serve as "an intelligence listening post" to monitor the growing Soviet naval presence and possible Chinese presence later in the region. It can be developed as an alternative to the one at Gan, if the Maldivian Government chose not to make available facilities there after their agreement with the UK expires at the end of 1986.

*Bahrein Naval Base.* On 23 December 1971, the USA signed an agreement with the ruler of Bahrein to use the former British naval base there as a station for its task force—an amphibious assault ship and two destroyers, following the pull-out of the British forces from the Persian Gulf. The task force had been "a guest" of the British for the past 25 years. State Department Press Officer Charles Bray said on 6 January 1972 that the US needed the base to continue its small naval force as "a flag-showing operation to manifest US interest in the area". The *New York Times*, in an editorial dated 10 January 1972, said that the force could offset an expanding Soviet naval presence and fill the "vacuum" left by Britain's withdrawal from the Gulf at the end of 1971.

Pentagon spokesman Jerry W. Freedheim said on 6 January 1972 that the strength of the base would be

increased from 200 to 260. The base, he said, will serve as a port for the Middle East Task Force and as a communications station. According to some observers, the base could be used to organise surveillance against others, if need be.

The US Navy had been participating in CENTO's annual manoeuvres *Midlink* and air exercises *Shahbaz* with its allies, conducted since 1958 in the Arabian Sea near the shores of Iran and Pakistan.

*US Military Assistance Programme (MAP).* US provides sizeable military aid to Pakistan, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Israel and Somalia. In South East Asia, it has provided aid to Thailand and the Philippines. The US has started giving such aid to Indonesia and Sri Lanka. It is not unlikely that the US will be able to get base facilities from these countries as and when they feel the need for them.

(To be concluded)

FOR

NEWS  
BEHIND  
THE  
NEWS

Read

TRIBUNE

Regularly

TRIBUNE, September 15, 1973

# IS IT TRUE?

## Sherlock Holmes

### ON MOTOR INSURANCE

IS IT NOT TRUE that the motor section of the state-owned sole-monopoly Insurance Corporation has been showing unnecessary losses during the last few years? That the Government has instituted an inquiry into the working of the motor department? That allegations have been made that, apart from other malpractices, the losses were caused by collusive frauds between certain corporation officials and a number of "approved garages" which did accident repairs? That the enormity of the racket was brought home to Sherlock Holmes last week when a car belonging to a friend met with an accident? That the damage to the car was very slight—a dented mudguard and a bent headlight hood (even the glass was not broken)? That the friend first took the car to a big "approved garage" close to his residence? That the first question he was asked was "will it be an insurance job?" That my friend had been taken aback by this question? That nevertheless he blurted out "what would it cost if it were an insurance job?"

That pat the reply had come that they would give an estimate for "about Rs 1500 or so" and that he was also told don't worry we will get the estimate okayed? That the friend thinking of the no-claim bonus for his next premia payment, then, asked what the job would cost if it was a "private" job where he would pay the bill himself? That there was a little hesitation and the reply was that it would cost anything from Rs 350 to Rs 400? That even this figure had seemed too much for the job?

That he had thereafter taken the car to another "approved garage" of standing some miles away from his residence—in fact, to the agency which looked after that particular brand of cars—and asked them what they would want for the job? That, again, he was asked the question whether it would be an insurance job? That when he had said that "it might be", he was told that they would tender an estimate for Rs. 1500 to Rs. 1750 and get it okayed by the corporation? That he had only to sign on the dotted

line? That Sherlock's friend then had asked what the job would cost if he paid for it privately? That the garage executive, without bothering to hide his all-too-obvious disappointment, had grudgingly told him that the job could be done for around Rs. 400—but that he might have to pay a little more to get the correct shade of paint to touch up the damaged bodywork?

That this job was ultimately done by a garage which is not on the "approved list" of the Corporation for a sum less than Rs. 250? That the job was also done in one third the time the "approved garages" had wanted? That the extra time was no doubt required to justify the inflated estimates? That all's well that ends well? That, however, unless the Corporation can break this racket between its officials and the "approved garages", the motor section of the Insurance Corporation will continue to lose its millions? That one would have expected that, after all the hullabaloo about the Corporation's losses, "approved garages" would prepare estimates which were realistic? That what was staggering was the cool assurance displayed by the executives of the "approved garages" that they would get the inflated estimates approved by the Corporation? Or is it that the rates originally fixed as schedules for specified jobs were inflated and that the racket is now built into the existing system?