

TRIBUNE

CEYLON NEWS REVIEW

FEBRUARY 20, 1972

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ON CHINA

HEADLINES

REVOLT
IN CEYLON '71

CHOU'S INTERVIEW
WITH AMERICAN
SCHOLARS

CRITICAL ANALYSIS
OF MAO'S POLICIES

REPORT FROM
KARACHI



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MAVANELLA**

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HOOVER ELECTRIC IRONS
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From the

Editor's Desk

We were not able to publish any of the despatches from our correspondents abroad in our last issue (Feb. 10th) because the notes on local matters plus *Ariel's* International Affairs covered more than the 20 pages we printed. We were also able to revive the column *Contemporary Notebook* by *Agastya*. In this issue we have included the despatches from abroad which were held up


last week. By the time this issue appears on the newsstands President Nixon would have very nearly reached Peking to begin his momentous visit. We have therefore chosen a cover picture representing the youth of China. Although the big National Day October celebrations and parade in Peking have been discontinued from last year, similar celebrations were held on a smaller scale in all parts of the country, in towns and villages.

The youth of any country is its future and what Chinese youth will be in the next twenty years is as unpredictable as anything else in the world of today. Orthodoxists in Peking will swear that the present day youth in China will grow in the image of Mao Tse-tung. They say that the age of Confucius has ended, and that the youth of new China will develop the way Chairman Mao has ordained. A hundred years ago, one could have with some certainty stated that the anticipations of orthodoxists, or even non-orthodoxists, in power, would be fulfilled at least for a minimum length of time, but in the world

of change and flux today there is nothing which one can predict or anticipate with any sense of sureness. What the youth of China will think five, ten, fifteen or twenty years hence is anybody's guess. Opinions with regard to China vary violently, but without such differing views it is not possible to assess the tempo of development in a big country like China.

There have also been unbelievably rapid changes in that country during the last twenty years. In the period of the hundred flowers that bloom China was friendly and cordial - to all but "imperialists" and "reactionaries". But from 1958/59, and more particularly after Sino-Indian border war of 1962, China entered a new phase. China was not merely against the imperialists (and the running dogs of imperialism) but had added Soviet revisionists and Indian expansionists to the list of enemies (and therefore the enemies of mankind). And what was worse that all those who did not see eye to eye with Peking doctrinaires on US imperialism, Soviet revisionism and Indian expansionism were also regarded as "reactionaries" collaborating with the enemies of China (and thoughts of Mao Tse-tung which was hailed as the supreme gospel developed from the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and even Stalin).

In this period China lost a great many friends. The



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Chinese lost the art of carrying on a dialogue with those who held views which differed from those advocated by the high-priests of Maoism and the strategists in Peking. The situation became worse in the period of the cultural revolution from 1965 to 1969. It was also the period when redoubtable figures like Liu-Shao-chi were politically annihilated and Lin Piao became the anointed successor of Mao. The *ultras* in this period of the cultural revolution played havoc but though they have now been brought under control, the extremism and intolerance which they generated have left their mark. And now, Lin Piao and many his colleagues are no more in a political sense—physically, their fate is immaterial.

They disappeared from the political scene in China at a time when a new kind of thaw had begun to motivate Peking. The hand of cordial friendship was held out to the rest of the world especially to the smaller nations and undeveloped countries which are now regarded as a *Third Force*. China was also willing to begin a dialogue even with those who maintained friendly contact with US imperialists, Soviet revisionists and Indian expansionists, with the emergence of Chou En-lai as the second most potent force in China after Mao, Chinese diplomacy assumed a new image. Soviet revisionism was regarded as

enemy number one, but Indian expansionism and US imperialism were still branded as dangerous forces which had to be liquidated. About the time China opened a direct dialogue with US through ping-pong and Henry Kissinger, Lin Piao faded away from the scene. The mystery about Lin Piao may remain unsolved for a long time. And it is not important just now. And while Peking was doing its best to isolate Soviet revisionism as enemy number one, and had begun contacts with the US and invited President Nixon to Peking (low key contacts were also made with New Delhi), the Indo-Soviet Agreement and the Indo-Pak war compelled Peking to lump the Soviet revisionists and the Indian expansionists into one camp. China, in the meantime, had been admitted to the UN, and the first UN battle China fought in favour of Pakistan ended in failure even though the US was its temporary ally in this matter. And so the political and diplomatic battle goes on, and what the next set of zig zags will be is as problematic as what Nixon will achieve in Peking. Interwined with the Peking-Moscow-Washington-New Delhi confrontations are a whole host of others centred around capitals like Hanoi, Taipeh, Pnom Penh, Cairo, Khartoum, Bucharest and Tirana.

The Americans in the period of Dullesian cold war

antagonisms and McCarthyism witch hunting had displayed the same intolerance, as the Chinese did in the past 1960 era, towards all those who did not accept (or pretend to accept) what the ideological pundits in Peking and Washington decreed as the current gospel. The US had a whole heap of dirty words to brand those who were not willing to believe in the scriptures as interpreted by Dulles—*commies, fellow travellers, un-american popular frontiers, etc.* etc. The Chinese too when wrapped up in extreme intolerance coined similar dirty words to describe those with whom they were not willing to hold a dialogue, *revisionists, expansionists, running dogs of imperialism, etc.* etc. Each one of these terms undoubtedly contained elements of truth in them, and in a broad general sense may have properly described the persons concerned. But these terms are over-simplifications and all oversimplifications not only distort the truth but also often create false impressions. Furthermore, this kind of witch-hunting made it easy for unscrupulous persons to attach one of these labels to persons they did not like—and then hang them.

America emerged from the intolerance of the Dullesian-McCarthyian era isolated from a large part of humanity from which the US need not have cut itself adrift. Depending on *uglyamerican* diplomatic tech.

niques, the US drove many potential friends and allies into the enemy's camp. The Chinese, while denouncing US imperialism, adopted the same intolerant attitudes towards all those who did not agree with everything Peking did and said. The Chinese failed to realise that persons could disagree with what governments did, *but* have respect for individuals, peoples and cultures; that friendships could continue whilst disagreements about policies persist. What the Nixon visit to Peking would achieve is hard to say, but both China and the US have travelled a long way to have this meeting. They have had to put aside prejudices and dislikes, and even if the *detente* was motivated and prompted by national interests, there is a new doubt that the Nixon visit is a historic landmark.

And Nixon himself is playing his cards very carefully. He had announced his visit to Moscow shortly after the Peking trip was arranged and the preparations for the journey to Russia are now being made with fanfare. What Nixon will achieve in Peking and Moscow is not yet clear but if there is a general lessening of tension and the way is paved for a genuine *detente* mankind may be able to breathe a sigh of relief that peace may be possible at a time when the world is full of small and little wars in every corner of the globe.

Bangla Desh has come to stay. After Russia recognised it *de jure* on January 24, over 20 other countries have recognised it. On January 29, Bhutto proclaimed that Pakistan would leave the Commonwealth because he had been informed that Britain and some of the senior Commonwealth countries would recognise Bangla Desh. Australia and New Zealand did so on Monday January 31, and Britain followed suit on February 4. Bhutto quit the Commonwealth but did not break diplomatic relations with Britain, Australia or New Zealand. One reason for breaking away from the Commonwealth may have been to impress Peking that Pakistan would stand no nonsense from a Commonwealth of colonialists, imperialists, reactionaries and expansionists—not to mention revisionists. Bhutto certainly received a red carpet welcome in Peking, and apart from getting the loans converted into grants (if news comments are to be believed), there was very little else which was concretised. Promises were made about military and economic assistance, but no details are yet forthcoming.

From any realistic angle, China by herself is not in a position to pull all of Bhutto's chestnuts out of fire. West Pakistan cannot now be said to be an economically viable unit, and China cannot afford to take Pakistan completely under its wings. Bhutto

on his arrival has announced that he will go to Moscow (which he will do on February 13) and thereafter he wants to visit Delhi and Dacca. If he had got everything he wanted in China, he would be snooty about going to Moscow. His desire to go to Delhi is understandable—he must in the first instance secure the release of the war prisoners (nearly 90,000 of them) now in India,

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If he does not obtain their release quickly, Bhutto's popular base in Pakistan will be undermined in double quick time. But Dacca and New Delhi have made it known that the release of the prisoners had to be negotiated jointly with India and Bangla Desh. And as for Bhutto's visit to Dacca for talks, Mujibur Rahman has made it quite clear that there could be talks only after Pakistan recognises the reality of Bangla Desh. How Bhutto will untie the Gordon Knot is difficult to say, but it is not likely that he will get the kind of help he wants in Moscow. The Kremlin will be willing to maintain correct bi-lateral relations, but will refuse to intercede on behalf of Pakistan with either India or Bangla Desh. And Mujibur Rahman has been invited to the Soviet Union, and Dacca has announced that the visit will be made on March 1. In the meantime, the US is undergoing an "agonising reappraisal" in order to re-adjust its policies to the new realities in South Asia.

From news reports it is clear that the US will soon find a *modus vivendi* to co-exist with Bungla Desh, but any major diplomatic readjustment will certainly not be put through until Nixon concludes his Peking visit. Whilst even the US will soon be able to formulate realistic policies towards Bangla Desh and also India, it is not clear just how Ceylon will react to

this problem in the immediate future. Will Ceylon, like Indonesia, insist that recognition could be granted only after (a) all Indian troops leave Bangla Desh, and (2) Bhutto has come to terms with Mujibur Rahman, and Bhutto has given the *okay* that Bangla Desh could be recognised? Britain and a number of western countries have recognised Bangla Desh without waiting for the withdrawal of Indian troops, and without receiving an *okay* from Bhutto. Japan has declared that it will announce its recognition very shortly.

But, there is not the slightest doubt that Ceylon will recognise Bangla Desh sooner or later. Even the CBC has begun to use the term *Bangla Desh* - a few days after Britain had announced her recognition. The CBC has taken a long time to get where it has now got. East Pakistan, East Bengal, What is known as Bangla Desh, the Dacca Government, the Dacca Administration—and now finally Bangla Desh. We are certainly going places.

The unnecessary hue and cry about *small pox* which is said to have been brought into the island by a couple of German tourists, who flew in from Pakistan, has certainly not done Ceylon's tourist industry any good. The scare was bad enough, but the harassment which has been inflicted on some of the tourists who were regarded

as "contacts" will do even greater damage to the industry. It is well to remember that the bulk of the tourists who come to Ceylon are "low budget" tourists who come either singly, or in couples, or as members of package tours. Except for those who in packaged charters, others live in low budget hosteleries and guest houses. Some of them are hippies. Not all tourists are the affluent dollar rich—who are nowadays few and far between. The couple who had brought the small pox had stayed in a guest house in Hikkaduwa, and all tourists who had gone there subsequently were rightly quarantined as "contacts". Since proper quarantine arrangements could not be made in Hikkaduwa, they were brought to Colombo, and the first the public heard about the "trouble" was a front page three-column headline story in the Daily News on Tuesday Feb. 8th POLICE SUMMONED TO FEVER HOSPITAL FOREIGN SMALL POX CONTACTS IN ROW WITH DOCTORS. Then followed a report which implied that all the contacts at the IDH at Angoda were "hippies" and that they had given a great deal of trouble to the hospital authorities and that the Police had to be summoned to restore order.

From reports which have reached *Tribune*, the story is a tendentious one strung to-

gether on a series of half-truths. The tourists had expected a basic minimum in amenities which were not available to them and it would seem that some bureaucrats had even thought that these foreigners did not have a right to communicate with their embassies. This naturally made the tourists indignant, and some of the younger ones (hippies included) had raised hell. The Police had to be summoned, but no trouble would have arisen if the "foreigners" had been handled in a normal humane manner. To cover up what could be a genuine complaint from the tourists, some bright spark had managed to get a frontpage *Daily News* story heaping all the blame on the tourists by the smear tactic of branding them as hippies.

Tribune has no love for hippies, though people in this part of the world must not forget that for countless centuries we have had in our midst *fakirs*, *sanyasis*, and other mendicants who took to a life of wandering disgusted with society (and the Establishment). The hippies are a similar tribe from the West and one must look on them with sympathy and understanding. They are a disappointment to all those who think that every foreigner who comes into this country is a "tourist who must be made to disgorge as much hard currency as could be fleeced from him. But in

the tourist business, it would be suicidal to make a distinction between "rich" tourists and "low budget" tourists, and any country which seeks to cater to tourists must take them all in, the rich, the poor, the hippies, the flower children, the smugglers, the dilettantes and what not.

Press reports indicate that the Tourist Ministry is now seeking to define a "tourist" on a financial means test—a return ticket and five US dollars a day for every day the foreigner wished to spend in Ceylon. This will create more problems not only at the place where they issue a visa—the person may have enough cash at that time, but also when he lands at Katunayake he must be scrutinised again because he may have spent the money on the way. And, what if the tourist declares that he expects to receive a remittance from abroad when he is in Ceylon? And even if he states that money awaits him at a local bank, what is an official to do at the airport? Taking all in all, the financial test for entry into Ceylon is not going to give this country top marks in the tourist world. And the way tourists suspected of being small pox "contacts" were dealt with by our officialdom at the IDH, (or rather the Fever Hospital), at Angoda, will not help when word about it gets around among the jet set which flits round the world. Even the affluent

tourist will be aghast, and the smear word of *hippie* will not make them think otherwise — because hippies are mostly the children of the affluent, just as *sanyasis* were in Hindu India and *fakirs* in the Muslim world.

It is time that somebody in the Government sat down and thought things out: how we can attract tourists with our austerities, our inhibitions and our predilections about hippies and the like, Singapore can ban "bippies" because Singapore caters to the affluent — it is a free port with a multi-million bazaar for shopping sprees, topping night life and cheap liquor, classy brothels and topnotch prostitutes galore. But, Singapore also caters for tourists of low income brackets. Singapore's PM however does not like the "long-haired tribe". Singapore can afford to be choosy, but Ceylon cannot do what Singapore can do.

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HEADLINES

Jan. 1 - Jan. 15

SATURDAY, JAN. 1:

The (Christian) New Year Day is not a holiday in Ceylon, but the day was observed as the National Heroes' Day. Police personal are expected to get higher salaries when the Salaries Commission report is implemented. The International Press Institute (IPI), in its Annual Report, has stated that the freedom of the world's press was slowly being eroded by the threats from Governments, pressure groups, sponsors, and advertisers. Pakistan's President Zulficar Ali Bhutto said yesterday that Pakistan wants friendly relations with India on the basis of equality and tolerance.

SUNDAY, JAN 2:

According to reliable sources the Government is considering raising the ceiling on disposable income from Rs. 2000 to Rs. 3,000 or Rs. 3,500. According to *Week-end*, one of the top men who master-minded the recent gem smuggling cum forged currency racket, has flown away to Spain and is hibernating there till the heat wears off. The Communist Party of Bangla Desh (CPB) held a two-hour rally in

Dacca yesterday to mark its emergence as an official political party after 17 years underground.

MONDAY, JAN, 3

The Government is reported to be considering releasing over 5,000 persons now in custody in connection with April revolt against whom it seems difficult to frame charges. Absenteeism at the Ceylon Cement Corporation plant at Puttalam has resulted in the loss of over Rs. 9,450,000 annually. Most industrial ventures, state and private, are working at a 33 percent capacity. President Zulficar Ali Bhutto has nationalised 10 major industries in Pakistan.

TUESDAY, JAN. 4:

The Constituent Assembly, which met yesterday, appointed 11 chairmen to head the Committees to study various sections of the draft Constitution which was accepted as conforming to the Basic Resolutions adopted earlier. The Minister of Health, Mr. W. P. G. Ariyadasa, said yesterday that no channelled practice would be permitted within the Colombo District from next month. A "pirate" interpolation in a broadcast

over the C. B. C, heard on Rediffusion, announcing certain Cabinet changes is now the subject of a full-fledged inquiry by the CID. Sheik Mujibur Rahman, the East Pakistani leader, was released yesterday. *London Observer* reported that Russia is 'reasonably certain' that Chinese Defence Minister Lin Piao, official heir to Chairman Mao, is dead.

WEDNESDAY JAN. 5:

The Prime Minister. Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, yesterday promised the Govt. Parliamentary Group to make an early statement on the pirate interpolation over a CBC broadcast announcing certain Cabinet changes. Indian Foreign Minister, Mr. Jagajiva Ram declared yesterday that Indian troops would not withdraw from the occupied areas in Wets Pakistan for the present.

THURSDAY, JAN. 6:

The Government's far reaching decision to place a ceiling on land holdings is expected to be announced before the end of January. The Government has decided not to open any colonization schemes in the future and instead greater emphasis will be placed on Co-operative farming. Secret White House papers dealing with the Indo-Pakistan conflict was published by columnist Jack Anderson in Washington. President Pompidou yesterday accused US military command of taking measures in Vietnam which hampered the Paris talks.

FRIDAY, JAN. 7:

All Opposition MPs made an appeal to the Prime Minister to release Mr. Vasudeva Nanayakara, MP for Kiriella, who has been held without charge and without trial. A leading US space expert, Dr. Werner Von Braun, said yesterday that man will live on the moon and the first baby will be born there before the year 2000. President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto has said that he is prepared to travel to Dacca for further talks with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman who will soon be free.

SATURDAY, JAN 8:

The House of Representatives yesterday passed the University of Ceylon Bill with several amendments. Some Government backbenchers are reported to be up in arms against the Health Ministry's decision to abolish Channelled Consultation Practice. World Bank President, Mr. Robert McNamara, will arrive in Ceylon on January 22. India has extended full diplomatic recognition to North Vietnam.

SUNDAY JAN 9:

A private transmitting station inside Ceylon is reported to be operating with the intention of spreading false and malicious propaganda. The Government will soon introduce legislation to avoid the necessity of imprisonment for non-payment of fines. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman arrived in London yesterday from West

Pakistan. According to *Berliner Morgenpost*, Bonn Chancellor Willy Brandt might visit Peking next year.

MONDAY JAN 10:

The Ministry of Foreign and Internal Trade has ordered a probe into the activities of the State Trading Corporation. Federal Party MPs representing the electorates in the Eastern Province boycotted yesterday's FP Working Committee meeting following a inner-party Chairmanship. The pro-United Front JCTUO has urged the Government to scrap Workers Councils and advisory Committees functioning in Government Departments and Corporations. Former Pakistan President Yahya Khan and Chief-of-General Abdul Hamid were put under house arrest yesterday. America's fifth moon-shot, Appollo-16, will be postponed for a month due to technical snags.

TUESDAY, JAN. 11:

Those appointed to the Public Service after January 1, 1972 will not be entitled to pensions but will contribute to the Public Service Provident Fund. The Executive Committee of the GMOA yesterday decided to give full support to the Government's policy of abolishing private practice. Differences within the membership of Ceylon branch of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Association over Bangla Desh are expected to become acute at the Organization's Cairo conference which be-

gan yesterday. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman who returned to Dacca yesterday told to the pressmen that Bangla Desh would have no links with West Pakistan in the future.

WEDNESDAY, JAN. 12:

According to the Minister of Education, Mr. Badiud-din Mahmud, the insurgents housed at the Vidyodaya and Vidyalankara campuses have caused damage estimated at Rs. 6,000,000. All major fields of investments in the industrial sector will in future be reserved for the State. Two agreements signed yesterday will provide Ceylon with a four million pounds sterling line of credit from Hungary and Denmark. East Germany has recognized the Independent People's Republic of Bangla Desh. The Chinese people yesterday mourned the death of Foreign Minister Chen Yi.

THURSDAY, JAN 13:

It is reported that the Government will get down two thousand toddy tappers from India. The General Secretary of the FP yesterday declared that it was time that the FP gave up its stand for Federalism and demanded a separate state like Bangla Desh. According to official figures, Ceylon's tea earnings last year rose by Rs. 107 million over the previous year. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was yesterday proclaimed Prime Minister of Bangla Desh. Bulgaria yesterday recognised the state of Bangla Desh.

FRIDAY, JAN. 14:

In a press conference yesterday, the Minister of Industries admitted that his Ministry would not be able to help employees who may be retrenched as a result of a cut in allocation for the import of raw materials. The Government hopes to enforce price control on the sale of locally grown rice. The Communist Party (Moscow) stands for the full recognition of the new sovereign state of

Bangla Desh. A new Army-Civilian group seized power in Ghana, ousting Prime Minister Kofi Busia in a rapid coup yesterday. Pakistan has broken off diplomatic ties with Poland, Mongolia and Bulgaria.

SATURDAY, JAN. 15:

An estimated 25,000 houses are expected to come into Government hands with the implementation of the policy

on the restriction of ownership of houses. The new Constitution is expected to be inaugurated on March 2, the day the Kandyan Convention was signed. The Prime Minister Mrs. Srimavo Bandaranaike, was operated this morning for appendicitis. The Soviet Union yesterday expelled U.S. Congressman James Scheuer when he tried to meet a group of Jewish wouldbe emigrants. King Frederik, Denmark's monarch since 1947, died yesterday.



CALENDAR - CHRONICLE

Revolt in Ceylon '71:

MAY 26 — MAY 28

WEDNESDAY, 26

The 72nd Day of Emergency. The curfew, lifted at 4.30 a.m., was reimposed at 7.30 p.m. The Senate sat at 1.30 p.m. today. The interest free Rs 150 million Chinese loan in convertible currency was announced over the CBC today.

The official communique stated that the Security Forces attacked and destroyed a terrorist camp inside the Willpattu Game Sanctuary near the Talawila—Kalaoya Road. Several arrests were made in Anuradhapura, Kuttikulama, Elpitiya and Gonadeniya. There had been no case of organised terrorists activity during the the last few days. Twelve women terrorists

This *Calendar-Chronicle* is based on factual reports, official communique and ministerial statements from the English-language papers published in Colombo — the *Ceylon Daily News* (CDN), the *Ceylon Daily Mirror* (CDM), the *Sun*, the *Ceylon Observer* (CO), the *Times of Ceylon* (TOC), and the Poya weekend editions, the *Ceylon Observer* (Magazine Edition), the *Times Weekender* and the *Weekend*. Relevant extracts have also been taken from the broadcasts of the *Ceylon Broadcasting Corporation* (CBC). No comments, editorial or otherwise, have been included in the *Calendar-Chronicle*: nor any extracts from reports and comments in foreign newspapers and journals. Some significant items of international news have been included in the *Calendar - Chronicle* every day after March 16 to make our readers aware of the international setting in which events unfolded themselves in Ceylon.

surrendered at Hungama. Rupees fifty thousand worth of implements belonging to Archaeological Department in Anuradhapura were recovered from the insurgents and restored to the departmental stores.

All daily papers had a big splash in headlines about an SLFP plan for resuscitating the economy. The *CDN*: ALL-OUT MEASURES TO DOCTOR OUR SICK ECONOMY — QUICK IMPLEMENTATION STRESSED BY PRIME MINISTER. The *CDM*: SLFP MINISTERS BACK TO THE HILT — PMs BLUEPRINT FOR REFORMS: The *Sun*: SIGNIFICANT SPEEDY ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CHANGES PROPOSED IN PACKAGE DEAL: PRIME MINISTER'S PLAN FOR A NEW CEYLON — LAND REFORM, HOUSING, EDUCATION, FOREIGN EXCHANGE, INCOMES, FISCAL MEASURES. The *TOC*: RADICAL SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC REFORMS MOOTED. The measures in the package deal were reported to have been decided upon by the SLFP Ministerial group presided over by the Prime Minister at a series of long sessions held during the course of last week.

The *CDM* published a news item that Mr. Felix R Dias Bandaranaike will visit Washington and London after attending the Executive Committee Meeting of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association in Prince Edward Island, Canada. "According to diplomatic sources, Mr. Bandaranaike is expected to discuss in Washington offers of aid to place the island in a state of military preparedness in the future. It is likely that Mr.

Bandaranaike will meet Mr. Nixon. In London he is due to meet the British Prime Minister, Mr. Edward Heath, and the Foreign Secretary, Sir Alec Douglas Home. Both America and Britain were among the nations who rushed military assistance to Ceylon to contain the insurgent uprising. The British purchased from America 8 helicopter gunships which were sent to Ceylon. America sold them to Britain at a normal price of just 10% of the actual cost. The helicopters were transported to London free of cost. They were transported to Ceylon in British transport planes. According to diplomatic observes, Ceylon needs fast moving gunboats or frigates (and transport helicopters) to maintain a protective cordon around her shores."

President Nikolai Podgorny was given a tumultuous welcome in Cairo. The Israeli Prime Minister, Mrs. Gold Meir, described the Egyptian President Sadat as a man of courage and said he would go down to history as a great leader of his people. A mighty new wall of red hot lava was rolling slowly down Mount Etna towards the village of Fornazzo less than half a mile away. Other streams of lava which oozed down the side since May 12 have begun to solidify. Frequent tremors accompanied by explosions and the opening of new fissures are signs that the 49-day old eruption—the worst since world war two—is not yet over.

THURSDAY, MAY 27 —
The 73rd Day of Emergency. The first anniversary of the UF government. The curfew, lifted at 4.30 a.m., was reimposed at 7.30 p.m. The agreement for the Chinese loan of Rs.150 million was signed today. The Senate sat today.

The official communique stated that except for a few isolated attacks in the Kurunegala district, there were no reports of insurgent activity yesterday. There were several arrests and surrenders. The gang which had attacked the Viraketiya transmission station of the CBC was captured. There were surrenders (and arrests) in Kurunegala, Monegala, Hambantota and Galle. There were also surrenders from Maradankadawela (including two women), Padawiya and Vavuniya. "Rebel action is thinning out in most areas due to poor morale and the effective flushing out operations mounted by the security forces so far"

The *CDN*, under the headline CHINA OFFERS Rs. 150m LOAN INTEREST-FREE: CONDEMNS 'REBELLION PLOTTED BY REACTIONARIES', published the text of the government communique which had come over the CBC yesterday evening, with the following brief introduction: "China has offered Ceylon a Rs. 150 million long-term loan in convertible foreign exchange and is willing to deliver a portion of it this month and sign an agreement

on it. The offer was made by China's Prime Minister on April 26 in a message to Prime Minister, Mrs. Srimavo-Bandaranaike, according to the text of a letter from China's Prime Minister, Mr. Chou en lai, to Mrs. Bandaranaike which was released yesterday. Mr. Chou En-lai makes these points in his letter. FRIENDSHIP between Ceylon and China is in the fundamental interest of both countries and no one would ever succeed in sabotaging their friendly relations. The CHINESE people are glad that the chaotic situation created by 'a handful of persons who style themselves as Guevarists' into whose ranks foreign spies have sneaked in has been brought under control. "The rebellion plotted by reactionaries at home and abroad" was bound to fail, CHINA has consistently abided by the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence and has never interfered in the internal affairs of other countries and is also firmly opposed to any country interfering in another country's internal affairs."

The text of the full letter contained among other declarations the following: ".....no one with ulterior motives will ever succeed in trying to sow discord and sabotage our friendship. Following Chairman Mao Tsetun's teaching the Chinese people have all along opposed ultra 'left' and right opportunism in their protracted revolutionary struggles In the interests of the friendship between China and

Ceylon and in consideration of the needs of the Ceylon government, the Chinese government in compliance with the request of the Ceylon government, agrees to provide it with a long term interest free loan of 150 million rupees in convertible foreign exchange. We would like to hear the views which your Excellency might have on this matter. We are prepared to deliver a portion of this loan in May and sign a document on it. As for other material assistance, please let us know if it is needed"

The government communique stated that the Prime Minister of Ceylon had thanked the Chinese Prime Minister in her reply to him. The *CDN* also published a brief account of the assistance that China had extended to Ceylon in the past. The *CDM* and the *Sun* also gave this news about the massive Chinese loan major prominence in their news columns. The *CDM*, under the headline **FELIX WILL NOT DISCUSS MILITARY AID WITH US**, stated "the Daily Mirror carried a news item yesterday under the Headline 'Felix Seeks Military Aid' in which it was stated that he would visit the United States to discuss Military aid. We now learn that this is incorrect. The error is regretted."

In the Senate yesterday, according to the *CDN* and *CDM* report, Senator Tiruchelvam continuing his speech, had wanted the Government to

name the people behind the insurgent movement. A bill to empower Government to increase railway fares was passed, and in the course of these discussions Senator Kumarasurier, Minister of Posts and Telecommunications, had said that in future "nothing could be given free in the country . . . and money may have to be paid soon even for certain facilities provided by Government"

One year ago today the country had gone to the polls and the United Front government had been elected with a sweeping and massive majority. The *Sun* in a news report about educational changes stated English was to be made compulsory from standard 6.

President Podgorny conferred with President Sadat who had explained the circumstances leading to the drastic political purge that had taken place. The Sudan government fully backed the actions of President Sadat. Over 1000 persons with leftist leanings were detained in various parts of Turkey because they were suspected of having plans to set up a violent Maoist state. President Nixon in a speech yesterday said that an era of peace appeared to be in sight as a result of the winding down of the Vietnam war, the improvements in US relations with the Soviet Union and China and developments in the Middle East. Secretary General U Thant said that his

that his decision to retire at the end of the year was final.

FRIDAY, MAY. 28.-

The 74th day of Emergency. The curfew, lifted at 4.30 a. m., was reimposed at 7.30 p.m. Special Cabinet Meeting today and tomorrow to discuss Mrs Bandaranaike's radical package plan as well as a variety of proposals by Ministers for the rehabilitation of the country.

All papers reported that the agreement for China's Rs. 150 million interestfree loan to Ceylon was signed yesterday. There were no conditions attached to the loan and the first repayment was in September 1974. The loan would be given in three instalments before September 1971.

The official communique stated that security forces had succeeded in preventing insurgents from setting on fire the log cabin bungalow in the Wilpattu sanctuary in Maradanmaduwa. In Enselwatte in Deniyaya terrorists had yesterday tried to attack the CBC transmission station once again but had been repulsed. There were nearly one hundred arrests and surrenders yesterday reported from Kegalle, Galle, Kurunegala, Anuradhapura, Matale, Nuwara Eliya, Hambantota and Matara. "There was a lull in insurgent activities throughout the island." The proceedings of the Senate were reported in the daily papers;

The Cabinet decided that the preliminary census scheduled for the period July 8 to July 17, 1971 and the final census fixed for July 27, 1971 be postponed for a date sometime between October to December, 1971. All bank loans to undergraduates were suspended. The CA, under a new Emergency law, was empowered to take over any printing press after due warning—for publishing material which was objectionable.

Malaysian Prime Minister Tun Abdul Razak yesterday revealed a plan designed to give Malays, the country's major racial group, control over commerce now dominated by the Chinese and other foreigners. The FAO in Rome reported that the People's Republic of China had a record rice crop in 1970. President Sadat of Egypt declared that US support for Israel stood in the way of peace. Israeli Defence Minister Moshe Dayan foresaw no possibility of a Suez Canal settlement and threatened the Egyptian army with total defeat. Whilst President Podgorny promised the UAR renewed aid, the US Secretary of Defence warned the USSR against further increasing its arms build up in the Mediterranean. A heavy wall of smoking lava from Mount Etna was creating more panic among villagers on the slope of the mountain.

(To be continued)



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China

Interview with American Scholars

Following is an excerpted transcript of a tape recording made by members of the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars' Friendship Delegation to China during their four - hour interview with Premier Chou En-lai on July 19, 1971, in Peking, China. As mentioned by Chou En-lai at the beginning of the interview, what transpired was an informal discussion and exchange of views, rather than an official, formal statement of the Chinese government.

In addition to Chou En-lai, other Chinese officials speaking were Yao Wen-yuan and Chang Ch'un Ch'iao, both members of the political bureau of the central committee of the Chinese Communist party. Fifteen members of the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars were present.

The text of the interview was given to the New York weekly "Guardian" by Frank Kehl, a member of the delegation. It will be printed in two parts.

CHOU-EN LAI: Since we are meeting you, of course we will speak freely. Maybe

I will say something wrong here, or perhaps these other two comrades might say something wrong, or the interpreter might interpret wrong. It doesn't matter. It's a free exchange of views. People should be allowed to say wrong things. Isn't that so? Otherwise what is the need for exchange? If every one had the same view, what would be the purpose of an exchange of views? And how would we be able to act about these ideas? When you get back to the United States, you must make a statement at the beginning and say there are bound to be some wrong statements in this recording... What matters is that we stand on the right position and we have the right views. And as for the concrete expression, there might be some flaws. Of course we stand on the position of the stand of the proletariat, and you of course are clear about that. As for our views we do our utmost to see that they are in accordance with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought...

You can also take photographs. Of course you will

do so from a position of comparison of the old and new society. At the same time current phenomena are also in the process of development. There are some progressive aspects and there are also some backward aspects.

You can see the two screens here are empty. Do you know why? Because in the past we had red slogans, red background and gold slogans on them, with some quotations from Chairman Mao Tsetung. It was very irritating to the eye and Chairman Mao did not like it.

At the beginning of the cultural revolution, there was a necessity to do so. There was a necessity to make it able for Chairman Mao Tsetung's thought to be grasped by the broad masses of the people. In this aspect Comrade Lin Piao has made a great contribution. He selected some of the best quotations of Chairman Mao and made them into a book of quotations. At that time Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-p'ing were opposed to the application of the study of Chairman Mao Tsetung's thought. So at that time Comrade Lin Piao was the first to do so and to advocate the study of Chairman Mao Tsetung's thought and the book of quotations among the People's Liberation Army. And as the great cultural revolution rose up, the broad masses, the millions

of the students and the other sections of the people rose up to participate in it. And in the movement, the over-whelming majority of the masses were able to grasp some of the crucial points of Chairman Mao Tsetung's thought in order to solve some of the problems at the time.

But by now the cultural revolution has deepened; it is already five years since we began. We now call it the stage of struggle, criticism and transformation. The time has come for us to study in a deeper way Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought. Those who have had some education should very conscientiously study the works of Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao Tsetung. Therefore these formalistic things should be cut down a little. And this matter was also written in an editorial in *The People's Daily* (Jenmin Jihpao), the *People's Liberation Army* paper (Chieh Fang Chun-pao), and *Red Flag* (Hung Chi).

Have you seen the editorial that was put out on the anniversary of the founding of the party, the first of July? In the editorial the struggle between the two lines in the party from the beginning up to the present day was very comprehensively dealt with in simple words. From that editorial it can be seen why Chairman Mao Tsetung has such a high prestige throughout the whole party, the whole people and

the whole army, and why we have been able to mobilize the broad laboring masses throughout the country, and also been able to unite with all the patriotic forces, to fight against the common enemy. The result was that we were able to overthrow the Chiang Kai-shek regime and to drive out the imperialist forces, and then we established the new People's Republic of China. Chairman Mao is now leading us in the socialist revolution...

SUSAN SHIRK: I have a non-philosophical question. The ping pong team came to China and now we are in China and we hear that President Nixon is coming to China. I think it's a good time to ask a question of Premier Chou. How did it happen? What is there that has changed the relationship between the Chinese and American people after 22 years of separation? How does Premier Chou see the situation now, what does he think might happen in the future, and what are the biggest problems we still have in developing the friendship between the Chinese and American people?.....

CHOU EN-LAI: The development of the contact between people, in itself alone, is not enough. Because in the world of today, the state structures of various countries still exist. Different states still exist in the world today. If there is no normalisation

or no restoration of the relations between the two states, then it would be impossible for the contact between the two peoples to develop completely unhindered.

The governments of the two countries will bear the main responsibilities for the normalization of relations between the two countries and the restoration of these relations. If Susan Shirk was the president of the United States, then the matter would be easy to solve. But the problem isn't so simple. Isn't that so? Our philosophical friend understands (laughter).

It still takes a process of continuing cognition, that is there still needs to be a process of practice and understanding, a process of the integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the United States. There still must be such a process before things can develop. It will take such a process and time. Isn't that so?

I believe that it was also Susan Shirk who said that though the revolutionary movement in U. S. is developing, it cannot be said that it would be able to transform the entire system at the present date. For instance, the opinions in your family differ, don't they? So you can see it will take time to transform society,

In recent years, Chairman Mao himself has paid atten-



Commune members buy daily necessities in a store in Pinghu County.

tion to the American situation and he has also asked us all to note the fact that it can be said that the United States is now on the eve of a great storm. But the question of how this storm shall be developed exactly is your task, not ours. We can only tell you about something of our hopes. But now, at the present date, in contacting your government to normalize relations we must contact those who are in authority in your country. Your system

is that you have a president. Your president said that he wished to move towards friendship and he also has said that he hopes to visit China. And, of course, naturally we can invite him, in order to seek the normalization of relations between the two countries, and also to discuss questions concerning both sides. And this can promote the solution of the normalization and improvement of the relations between the two countries.

But what are the obstructions in the improvement of the relations between China and U.S.? What would you say?

Everybody: Taiwan.. ...

Paul Levine: Taiwan certainly will be liberated.

Rhea Whitehead: Indochina.

CHOU EN-LAI: You have all mentioned the right problems. It shows that you have all studied those things. I would like to take this opportunity to re-affirm our stand.

(1) If state relations are to be established with China, then it must be recognised that the government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legitimate government representing the Chinese people.

(2) Taiwan is a province of China and it is an inalienable part of China's territory. After the Second World War Taiwan had already been restored to China. The liberation of Taiwan by the Chinese people is an internal affair of China which brooks no foreign intervention.

(3) The so-called theory that the status of Taiwan is yet unsettled, which is the theory that is going about, some people in the world are spreading it, is absurd. Towards the end of the 19th century, in 1894, China was at war with Japan and China was defeated in that war and after China's defeat, Taiwan was taken away by Japan. But during the Second World War in the Cairo Declaration and later in the Potsdam Proclamation it was reaffirmed that Taiwan should be returned to China. And then in 1945, when Japan surrendered, the Chinese Government at the time had already accepted the return of Taiwan to China, in taking Taiwan back,

(4) We oppose any advocacy of a two-China policy, a one-China-Taiwan policy, or any similar policy. And

if such a situation continues in the United Nations, we will not go there.

(5) We are resolutely opposed to the so-called "Taiwan Independence movement." Because the people in Taiwan are Chinese. Taiwan was originally a province of China. And a thousand years ago it had already become a part of China. The dialect spoken in Taiwan is the same dialect spoken in the area around Amoy in Fukien Province. Of course there are minority nationalities like the Kaoshan nationality in Taiwan, the minority that lives on the high hills. There is the same case on the mainland. There are also various national minorities on the mainland and we pursue a policy of national equality. Besides, the "Taiwan Independence movement" is *not* a native movement in itself. It is a special movement which has behind it the special manipulation from foreign forces. One of their leaders is P'eng Ming-min who was originally a student at Harvard, who then went back to Taiwan to become a professor, and now is also back in the United States. There are also some elements of them in Japan. They are supported by the Japanese government.

(6) The United States should withdraw *all* of their present military strength and military installations from Taiwan and the Taiwan

Straits. And the defense treaty which was concluded between the United States and Chiang Kai-shek in 1954 about the so-called "defense of Taiwan and Penghu" is illegal, null and void. The Chinese people do not recognize that treaty. This is our stand. And we stick to our stand. Our stand has not changed from the beginning of the ambassadorial talks between China and the U.S. that began on the first of August, 1955, first in Geneva, and later on in Warsaw. They began after the Bandung Conference. Our stand has not changed from that time up to the present time. And it shall not change.

The question also mentioned very correctly that we are also concerned with the Indochina issue.

This question also concerns China and the United States. You have also said that one of your aims is opposition to the aggressive policies of the U.S. in Indochina and Asia Isn't that so?

GROUP: Yes.

Now this question lies before the people of the United States and the people of Indochina. The only way to solve this problem is that we show our complete support for the seven-point proposition put forth by Mme. Nguyen Thi Binh on the first of July on behalf of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam and the Vietnamese people. The Chi-

nese government and the Chinese people completely support this proposition. The Chinese government and the Chinese people also fully support the stand of the declaration of the four sides and three countries of Indochina which was issued at their summit conference in April last year.

I believe you have already met our Vietnamese friends and Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and I believe that on this issue we have the same stand. We know that the broad masses of the people of the U.S. are also opposed to the aggressive war in Vietnam which has now expanded into the whole of Indochina.

We are a neighbour of the Indochinese countries. We assisted them, supported them, in their war of resistance against France. And in the same spirit support them in their war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

This is known to the world: No matter whether in the U.S. itself or abroad, we believe the greatest cry is for the U.S. to withdraw its troops from Vietnam and the whole of Indochina. And the troops of other countries which have followed the U.S. into Indochina should also be withdrawn. I believe that our stand on this is also clear. We also believe that at the present day among the American people this issue is the most outstanding. Isn't that so?

Not only for the U.S. to withdraw its troops from Vietnam but also from the whole of Indochina, not only troops but all military forces and all military installations.

It might also be said that this demand is even stronger than the demand to restore relations between the Chinese and American people. Because the people of the U.S. do not wish to sacrifice the lives of their people in a dirty war. Isn't that so?

Therefore we believe that the question to be solved first should be the question of Indochina, and by doing so we would be satisfying not only the interests of the Indochinese people but also of the people of the U.S.

But we should also mention that Indochina is the Indochina of the Indochinese people and we should respect the stand of the three Indochinese countries. At the summit conference they've already said that the war of aggression waged by the U.S. has linked them up in a common fight and after they achieve victory in the war against American aggression, the peoples of the three countries shall solve their own problems in accordance with the borders that they have already recognized between themselves.

The Chinese people should respect and support the revolutionary stand of the people and revolutionary govern-

ments of the three countries, that is, the governments of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, the government of National Union under the leadership front of National Union of Cambodia, and the patriotic front, the Pathet Lao. They are all victims of aggression and we should respect their stand.

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Situation Deteriorates

KARACHI

Everything is not well here in West Pakistan. Bhutto's visit to China has obviously not yielded the results anticipated. Before he left for Peking there had been talk about a defence pact with China. After his return there is none. There is now talk about a defence treaty with the USA. In the meantime, Bhutto had announced that he would go to Moscow no sooner he returned from China. The date freely mentioned was February 13, but no word had come from Moscow about the date when Bhutto would be received there. It is not known when he would go to Moscow.

There is such confusion in Islamabad and Rawalpindi. Karachi, which is still the commercial capital - and still the most important town in the country - is in the grip of tension. On February 7, several thousands of students took to the streets violently protesting against the reported attacks on some non-Bengali Muslims in Bangladesh. The students on rampage set fire to a cinema theatre, stoned private and public vehicles and barricaded

roads leading into the city's crowded Liaqatabad and Nazimabad slum areas. They also set fire to a cinema house near the Lasbella bridge, about 8 km outside the city, and prevented firemen from putting out the fire and damaged a fire engine in the process. In Karachi most shops and schools were closed in a general strike called by the students, but the students made no attempts, according to official sources, to attack Begali communities in Karachi. The Governor of Sind, Mumtaz Ali Bhutto, asked people to "conduct themselves in a manner which would ultimately result in safeguarding the lives of non-Bengali Muslims in East Pakistan.... to consider the situation in East Pakistan in all sobriety"

But what has caused the greatest disappointment in Pakistan is the fact that fledgling Bangladesh had scored such a big diplomatic victory within a short time. Already over thirty countries have already recognised Bangladesh including some Big Powers. Some recognition had come in the face of Pakistani pleadings and pressures, and the powerful support

lent by China — in the Sino-Pak communique after Bhutto's visit, it was stated that both countries appreciated Islamabad's request to various countries to refrain from precipitating any action which would frustrate negotiations between Pakistan and Bangladesh. Bhutto's hasty severance of diplomatic ties with a number of the smaller countries which had recognised Bangladesh had only tended to isolate Islamabad on a global scale. All this has caused disappointment and unrest has spread even to President Bhutto's own Peoples Party when on February 9 an 18-member action committee seized the party's central secretariat in Karachi. The committee, which is said to represent disgruntled party workers in the Pakistan People's Party, occupied the offices by force to spotlight demands for changes within the Party. Senior party officials and even the President's wife, Begum Nusrat Bhutto, could not talk them into leaving the office. Finally, after a day the group was persuaded to leave the offices on the promise that President Bhutto would meet them when he came to Karachi.

Meanwhile the National Awami League (Wali group) has appealed to the progressive elements in all the smaller parties to join it as it offered a scientific and socialist programme to solve the various problems facing the country. In the first week of February, the National Awami Party had a

meeting with representatives of the Bashani group and the Raza Progressive group (of the Pakistan People's Party) to discuss the formation of a united front. A little earlier a convention of like-minded people from various parts of Pakistan was held in Lahore to establish a leftwing political party. Sponsored by former members of the Awami League, the Bashani group of the National Awami League, trade union and kisan workers, the proceedings of the convention had been held in camera. The decisions of the convention, it was stated, would be made public after final consultations with the Wali group. The main objective of all this political activity was to forge a united front for the restoration of democracy. Wali Khan has warned President Bhutto that the situation in Pakistan would deteriorate if there was any attempt to obstruct the growth of democratic processes.

In the leftwing and progressive groups in Pakistan, it must be noted, that there is general disillusionment about China. Most leftwing persons are cautious about assessing China's role in the Indo-Pak conflict and war — but invariably end up by saying that it was difficult to understand Chinese mentality" which they say was "impossible to understand." Only those who are carried away by sentiment and feelings of intense emotionalism still swear by China. All others are trying hard to

arrive at an objective understanding, and are puzzled by what has happened. The Chinese had gone into East Pakistan with the usual slogans and had begun to woo some of its top leaders including Mujibur Rahman. They had established close links with the Awami League. The Chinese had distributed many books and booklets on the theory and practice of Maoism- books which had stressed the slogans that "power grows out of the barrel of a gun", "when storms rage and continents are shaken, only guerilla war can bring victory", etc., etc. East Pakistani leftwing elements had fondly believed that China would support their aspirations for self-determination and regional autonomy.

But when the conflict arose between the military administration of dictator Yahya Khan and the nationalist-minded patriots in East Pakistan, China sided with the Yahya Khan clique. Leftwing circles in East Pakistan, from March 1971 had felt that China had betrayed the progressive elements which had then only wanted a limited measure of independence and autonomy to manage the affairs of the eastern region. Even before the war had broken out, there was bitterness that the ideas which the Chinese had claimed as something tried and tested in the course of the Chinese Revolution "are being trampled in the mud and resolutely condemned."

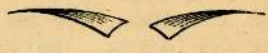
Many Pakistanis in the Western region now feel that they do not know where they stand with the Chinese. They feel that the Chinese had encouraged the "national liberation movement" in East Pakistan, but had switched their support to the military administration when a confrontation arose with India. At one time, the Chinese hailed the Russians as their best friends, but they had quarrelled with them later. In the same way they had treated the Awami League as their best friend, but had later let them down.

Even in commercial and business circles in Karachi there is a great deal of disappointment about the Chinese. West Pakistan ruling circles had confidently expected China to render more aid when the fighting had started. They had fondly believed that China would give direct military assistance. They were naturally happy that China had not given even cover support to the Awami League in the eastern region, but they had expected the Chinese to help the military regime to win the war. Vice President Nurul Amin had expressed this sense of disappointment, more than once, in public speeches. In *bazaar* circles, they wonder why the Chinese helped the Yahya Khan regime so inadequately that the furthest they had gone was to send volunteers to man some of the tanks. Pakistan had expected China to open a second

front against India. Cynical businessmen who have no love for communism or China ask: "what can a few dozen Chinese-made T 59 tanks even with Chinese crews do?" The military assistance from China was symbolic and such symbolism had only helped Pakistan to lose the war in double quick time.

Many Pakistanis now feel that the Yahya Khan regime had bungled everything especially its relations with the eastern wing. That is why there is a growing demand for a more democratic setup. Dictatorial administration, even if disguised with the cover of "basic democracy", has reduced Pakistan to this

mess. That is why the demand for democratic forms has become overwhelming and even Bhutto cannot resist it.



SPOTLIGHT ON CHINA

Paris,

The much publicised visit by President Nixon to China has resurrected a new wave of incisive probing not only into the motives which made Nixon to reach out to Mao but also the reasons why the Chinese were willing to enter into negotiations with the Americans on the level and dimension they have done. Nixon's motives and objectives have been dissected threadbare. It is not difficult to see what Nixon was after especially because political life in the USA is, to a large extent, an "open" book. The press and other mass media like the radio and the TV in the USA cannot be persuaded to keep silent for long on any matter.

The pressure of party tensions and the desire for newspaper scoops brings everything to the surface sooner or later. And occasionally, leaks like the Pentagon's Papers and the Anderson Papers literally take the lid off everything.

Not so with China and the Chinese. The politics of Maoism is still an enigma. China, which had stood as a paragon of ideological firmness and high principles, has displayed a feet of clay, according to a number of the recent admirers of Mao in Western Europe. Jacques Grippa of Belgium was one of the earliest apostles of Maoism in Europe. During the cultural revolution he sided with Liu Shao-chi and denounced Mao Tse-tung and his followers in harsh terms, even calling them murderers and usurpers. Naturally, Peking disowned Grippa and his group disintegrated.

At the closing stages of the cultural revolution, Peking's contacts with European Trotskyites, which had developed on a cautious basis,

also began to dissolve. The Trotskyites had hailed Mao's social experiments in the hope that they would help China to get rid of the "power of bureaucracy" and to bring to power the "revolutionary popular masses". However when many demoted and disgraced leaders in China were reinstated, and the *hunweipings* and *tsaofans* (of the Red Guards) were suppressed, the leaders of European Trotskyism, the Italian Livio Maetana among them, declared it as the new "betrayal of the interests of the Chinese people".

But the process of China's rapprochement with the West, especially with the USA, followed by the Chinese reluctance and unwillingness to support anti-government struggles in a number of countries triggered off a powerful wave of indignation among western European Maoists. These elements felt that Peking had betrayed the revolutionary extremist movement in many countries-movements which had drawn inspiration from Maoist slogans about

power being drawn "from the barrel of a gun". Countries like France, Canada, Ceylon and Burma are mentioned as places where Peking denounced revolutionaries as reactionaries in order to maintain friendly relations with the respective peoples of those countries. This has not done the Maoist movement in Europe much good.

The admission of China to the UN only added fuel to the flames. European Maoists had always hailed Peking's hostile and negative attitude to the UN as being a correct one and they had never expected that the Chinese Communists would want to enter what they believed to be a "reactionary bourgeois international organisation". Peking has for years now denounced the UN as a tool in the hands of imperialists and other undesirable elements. Furthermore, European Maoists and other leftwing extremists in Europe disagree with the Sino-US approach to the Indo-Pak war and the problem of self-determination in Bangla Desh. They were also disappointed that China voted with the USA and Israel on the resolution moved by Afro-Asian countries on the situation in the middle East.

The great preparations being made in China to greet President Nixon has undermined confidence in the revolutionary fervour of Peking which was once said to be the hallmark of the philosophy of the "great helmsman". There is also much talk about "collusion" between China and the USA; that the USA let down Taiwan because it expected some concessions from China over Vietnam. Reports have appeared that the Chinese had tried to persuade

Hanoi from launching any military offensive in South Vietnam - it must be remembered that North Vietnam gets a great deal of military and economic assistance from China and the 1972 quota is now due. European Maoists also believe that there is some "secret understanding" between Peking and Washington to keep alive the confrontation in the Indian sub-continent - it would divert public attention away from the Vietnam conflict.

This new trend in Chinese policies has naturally caused consternation in Pro-Peking groups in Europe. The Vanderlinden group in Belgium was in deep confusion. Vanderlinden had replaced Grippa several years ago as the leader of the Pro-Peking group in Belgium. In Italy the efforts to unite all Pro-Maoist groups into a single party had run into difficulties. The Strobl group in Austria is in similar trouble. The political activists of Maoists in Britain and West Germany had also slowed down. A similar process was noticeable in Holland.

It would also appear that even the Albanians have begun to express disappointment with the new policies of China. According to reports, although there were 26 fraternal parties at the 6th Congress of Albanian Party of Labour, the Chinese delegation was absent. Many fervent Maoists had spoken in private in Tirana about the "cooling off" in Peking towards revolutionary activity in down-trodden countries. Nothing was said in public, but the trends were ominous.

Whilst noting the slackening of the revolutionary firmness of the Chinese, Euro-

pean extreme leftwingers who had found faith in Maoism, are perturbed by what they call increasing Sino-American co-operation, not only in the UN but elsewhere as well. What is said is that Chinese actions although they are basically directed to support China's national interests, in the long run and on a global basis help the USA *vis a vis* the other great powers like the USSR, Britain, France, Japan, etc. China is now strengthening her positions in countries like Ethiopia, Somalia, Tanzania, Sudan and the like, and European Maoists are busy analysing trends in these countries to see whether their current belief that Peking was only supporting wars of national revolution and even ordinary revolutionary struggles against reactionary regimes was true.

It is inevitable when a major shift in world alignments, like the current *detente* between China and the USA, takes place, it gives rise to the kind of political effervescence which is now churning the extreme leftwing *ultras* in Europe. They are changing. Maoism has adopted new tactics and strategy for furthering China's objectives and this has caused an intellectual upheaval everywhere. Where this will lead to is hard to say.

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