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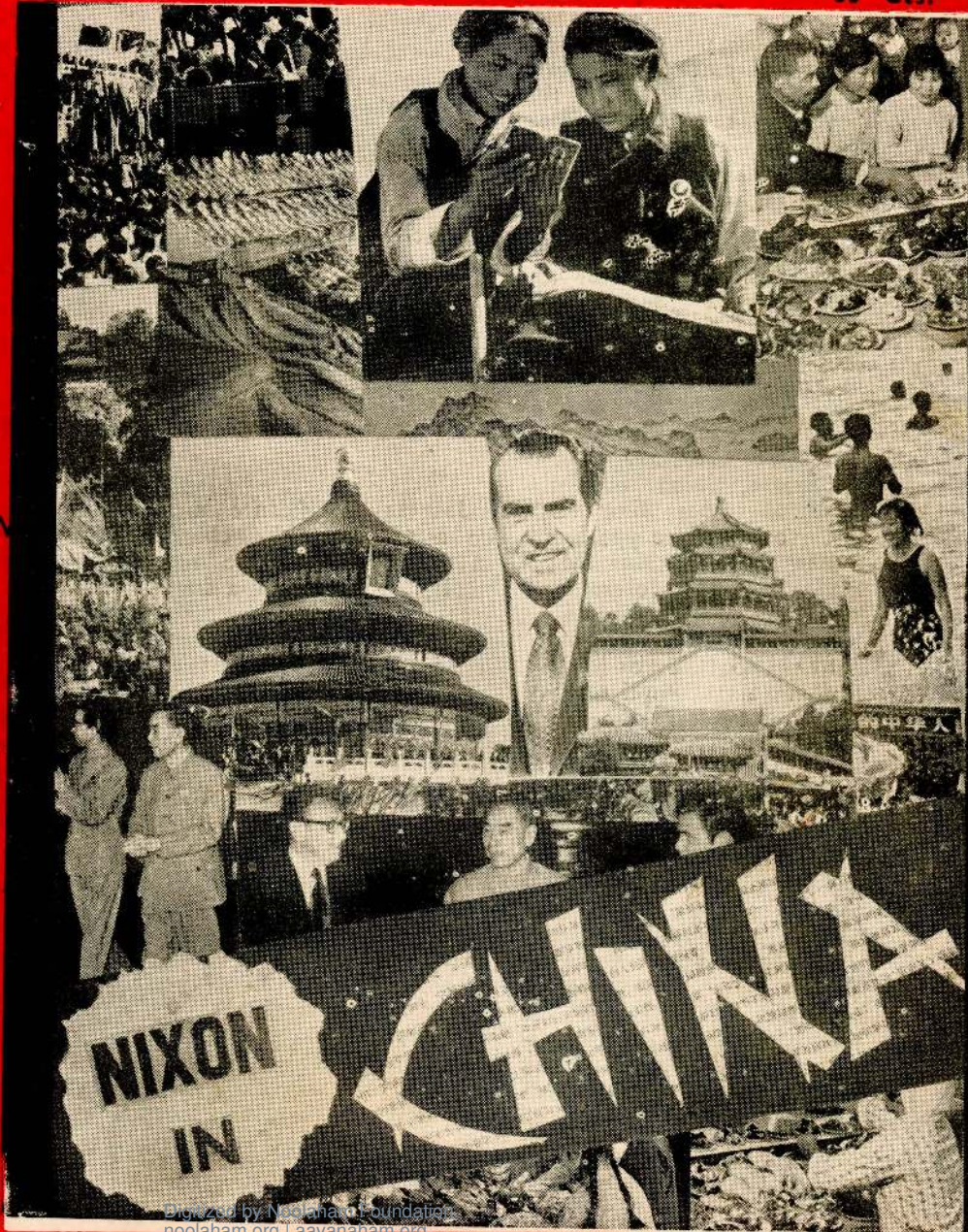


SOUTH ASIAN
POLITICS

CHOU'S INTERVIEW
WITH AMERICAN
SCHOLARS - 2

NIXON'S VISIT
TO CHINA

REVOLT
IN CEYLON '71



Nixon in China

Our cover picture this week is a hotch-potch with Nixon, Kissinger and Chou as the central figures set in medley of scenes from the Chinese capital as well as from the rest of China. Right on top we have two Tibetan girls, freed slaves it is said, enthusiastically posing for the shot wearing Mao badges and with the little *Red Book* of *Mao's Thoughts* in hand. Incidentally, just one week before Nixon's arrival in Peking, the little *Red Book* of Chairman Mao's quotations, which had disappeared from view since last November, reappeared in a new edition minus the introduction by his former heir-apparent Lin Piao, who is believed to have been originally responsible for the selection and compilation of the quotations in the little *Red Book*.

Another interesting development in Peking, probably anticipating Nixon's visit, was that the *Anti-Imperialist Hospital* in Peking had been renamed, early in January this year as the *Capital Hospital*. This is said to be another symbolic relaxation of the hard-line politics of the Chinese cultural revolution. This hospital had originally been built by the Rockefeller

Foundation in 1916 and the latest change of name was effected on January 1 this year. It had been called *Anti-Imperialist Hospital* right from the beginning of the cultural revolution in 1966, at the same time as the name of the hospital, which treated Soviet and East European embassy staff, had been similarly re-named *Anti-Revisionist Hospital*. This *Anti-Revisionist* hospital had reverted to the former name of *Friendship Hospital* towards the end of last year. Despite the change in the names of the hospitals, there is still an *Anti-Imperialist Street* in Peking—formerly *Legat on Street*—and an *Anti-Revisionist Street* which leads to the entrance of the Soviet Embassy. It will be a long time before the imprint of the cultural revolution in its more extreme and bizarre forms is removed, although the *ultras* of the 516 movement have faded away from the scene.

Just as significance must be attached to the change in the names of these hospitals, the timing of a statement made in Washington just before President Nixon left for China by Admiral Thomas H. Moorer, the Chairman of the Joint Chief of Staffs, to the Congress must be noted by political observers all over the world. Moorer had said that regardless of how US-Soviet-China relations may develop in the future, the United States must always retain enough nuclear power "to cope with both the Soviet Union and China simultaneously." This was necessary, he explained, because "even if we were involved in a nuclear war with only one of these nations,

we would still need sufficient strategic forces to deter, simultaneously, a nuclear attack from the other." Moorer's timing may have been an accident wholly unrelated to Nixon's visit to China, but it only served to illustrate the difficulty in the US of trying to move, in the words of James Reston, "from the language of the cold war to the 'new era of negotiation' Nixon is seeking both in Peking and Moscow."

The Nixon-Mao talks in Peking will not be easy, with the whole world looking on via satellite television which "in itself is a factor in China's rising prominence among the nations". Columnist Reston believes that both statesmen (with Chou thrown in) "will require all the skill and philosophy both sides can muster" in order to achieve some results. "Yet it is undoubtedly a worthwhile if spectacular experiment."

Just before he left Nixon had said that "no step in international relations is taken without some painful adjustments and potential costs. Indeed the tendency is to focus on the risks that might flow from a departure from familiar patterns and so lose sight of the possible benefits. It is precisely this tendency that inhibits major initiative and perpetuates established policies which sustains the *status quo*." A Chinese proverb, which Reston quoted in his piece, put the point more simply: "Even the highest towers begin from the ground."




from The Editor's Desk

With this number in February, *Tribune* reaches its immediate target of publishing three issues a month. In March also we hope to bring out three numbers, on the 10th, 20th and the 30th. We are deeply conscious that the number of pages we print in each issue is totally inadequate considering the needs of the times. We are also equally conscious that we have yet to catch up in matters of technical excellence; that our typography, layout and the like, are not yet what they should be or what we would like to see. But, as we have stressed so often in these

columns, the struggle at the moment is to achieve regularity—and be thus able to comment on the most significant events of our times contemporaneously. We have had good response from our readers who are happy that we are able to reach them at least three times a month. Many have urged us to increase our pages and also make our appearance once every week. To be able to do this we must have more readers, more subscribers, more advertisers—in fact, more money to improve the quality of our printing and also increase the number of photographs and illustrations we publish.

Many people have also begun to appreciate that the new *Tribune* (which emerged in the second half of 1971, after a long period of suspension of the old *Tribune*) has maintained a sturdy independence and non-partisanship in regard to all matters, both national and international. We have no axe to grind. We want to mirror developments in the times we live in and throw revealing light on men and matters behind the scenes. At the moment, we can, without being accused of self-adulation, say that *Tribune* is the only journal in this island which seeks to analyse events and trends from an objec-

tive angle. We are neither *pro*-this or *anti*-that as a matter of course or inhibition. On different particular issues, we may appear *pro* or *anti*, but this stems only from our desire to examine every matter from a critical angle. We may be *anti* *this* today, and *pro* *this* tomorrow, just as we may be *pro*-*that* today and *anti*-*that* tomorrow—but that is all in the day's work in our efforts to help our readers to view matters in the broadest possible perspective. As we have mentioned so often, *Tribune* reflects the attitudes of its correspondents, and we also have in our pages a multiplicity of views on all matters and events of consequence. It is our hope (our fervent hope—to use a pardonable *cliche*) that in the course of 1972 *Tribune* find it possible to appear once a week having at least fifty pages in every issue. This country, more than ever before, needs a paper which will *not* be inhibited from calling a spade a spade, a paper which will *not* be circumscribed by party loyalties or ideological predilections, and a paper which readers will find enjoyable whilst at the same respect it for its non-partisan objectivity. Working within the ground rules of the Competent Authority in a period of regimentation through emergency rule, we have to express ourselves with caution and care, but readers of *Tribune* know just how to read between the lines.



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It is a euphemism to call *Tribune* a non-profit undertaking. In the seventeen years of its existence, it has broken even in its finances only during three or four years when we got a reasonable amount of advertising. In all other years, *Tribune* has been subsidised by a few who were willing to make sacrifices in time and money to keep the paper going. It is still being run on that basis, but we hope that our new policy of being totally non-partisan will produce results in the course of 1972 or 1973. There is a crying need for a paper like the *Tribune* in Ceylon, and many of our readers and friends have told us that it would be possible to run *Tribune* as a profitable undertaking, making sufficient profit for re-investment capital to improve the quality of the paper.

It would be foolish on our part to be optimistic at a time when everything in Ceylon seems to be bleak and dismal. Verily, Sri Lanka seems to have struck a stretch of *lean* years—we hope that it will be not more than the seven lean years of Biblical times. Our exports fetch lower prices in world markets and our foreign exchange reserves have been reduced to almost nothing. We have borrowed from all and sundry and we are now finding it difficult even to pay the interest on our loans. We have increased our domestic expenditures to levels which threaten to reduce this country

to bankruptcy. We have so many paid and unpaid holidays that our productive capacity has been greatly lowered. We have developed a sense of helpless frustration among our workers, peasants and others so that we all think that only foreign aid can help us out. We have lost all sense of shame and we go out with a begging bowl through the length and breadth of the world—for aid. We still think that we can build this country on borrowed money — with the result we are now living on borrowed time.

But apart from the man-made disasters we have brought upon ourselves, nature seems to have turned against us. The Maha crop this year will not be the success optimistic Ministers had anticipated. Rainfall was not adequate in the main rice producing areas in January. And the coming Yala will also be adversely affected. The water conserved in the tanks from the December rains have been partially used for the Maha, and the Yala will be starved, of water — and Yala cultivation is chiefly based on tank irrigation. There is very little rain-fed cultivation for Yala. The rain-fed crop for Maha this year will be very nearly a complete loss in the dry zone areas which produce the bulk of the paddy. All the paper calculations of our bureaucrats and politicians regarding our paddy production for 1972 will not be

fulfilled. It is not in paddy alone that we have fallen on bad times. Our coconuts are in the doldrums not only because world prices have dropped but also because the pest *cumingii* has continued to flourish in spite of all the grandiose schemes to eradicate it. With a great deal of magul bera beating and CBC publicity the parasites to destroy the pest *cumingii* were propagated (after many failures) and were released by the honourable Minister himself. But, so far, the results have been most disappointing. The pest continues to spread and reports indicate that it has struck the heart of Ceylon's coconutland stretching from Negombo northwards and northeastwards. If the pest is not brought under control very soon, Ceylon will cease to be an exporter of coconuts and will even be compelled to import coconuts for domestic consumption. Such a contingency is not far-fetched pessimism. And, we do not know what other plants the *cumingii* or its enemy parasite will attack.

But besides the disasters which nature seems to inflict upon us, our best efforts to inaugurate the new Republican constitution have been beset with delays of the most inexplicable and un-understandable nature.

This Government had promised to have the new Constitution ready before Independence Day, i. e. Feb. 4th, in

1971. But it could not fulfil this promise. Then there was the insurgency, but from June 1971 we have been assured that the Constitution would be a reality within a short time. It was expected that everything would be finalised by last October, then it was December, and the ultimate date was said to be the 4th of February in 1972. When this target could not be kept, it was suggested that everything would be ready for the inauguration of the new Republic on March 2, a historic date because it was on March 2, 1815, that the Kandyan Convention was signed by which the British took over the whole of Ceylon. Learned articles appeared in the daily press as to why the date March 2 was the most appropriate for the inauguration of the Republic. Cynics, however, had pointed out that March 2 was inauspicious because it would mark a day of shame when the Kandyan territory and kingdom was surrendered to the British by a group of chieftains — for selfish and dynastic reasons. Astrologically too, March 2, 1972 was not thought propitious. And papers like the *Sun* and *Dawasa* had suggested that the Sinhala New Year on April 14 would be a more appropriate date to inaugurate the new Republic. But there are doubts now whether the new Constitution would be ready even by that date. This is a great calamity — because this Government had promised to

deliver the goods with the help of the new Constitution. And it would soon be two years since this Government came to power and the Constitution is still not ready. Moreover, the much-talked about Cabinet Reshuffle has been postponed until the new Constitution was ready for promulgation. The nett result is that we continue to drift. We have even forgotten the Rs. 400 million deficit in the budget which must be bridged. Already three months have passed since this budget deficit was left untouched in the 1971 - 72 Budget and very soon we will have to think about the next Budget.

But while we continue to drift in several matters of vital importance to us, we are very firm in keeping our flag flying from the topmost mast in certain other matters. We are so proud of our “non-alignment” and “neutrality” that we still refuse to recognise that a new reality called Bangla Desh has come into being almost on our doorstep. The CBC—shortly after Britain had formally recognised the new nation — had used the term Bangla Desh to describe the new country, but went back to the term *Dacca Administration* a few broadcasts later. Even President Nixon had decided to call Bangla Desh by its proper name, but not the CBC. Last week, we were amused to hear over the CBC that Canada had extended formal recognition to the “Dacca Admins-

tration”. It was forcefully brought home to the listeners of the CBC that Canada was being foolish or premature to recognise a government which was no more than an “administration” in the eyes of Ceylon. It, no doubt, tickles our vanity that we are so uniquely different from the rest of the world — unless our government formally recognises a new nation, we must continue to call it by an anachronism. The bankruptcy

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which confronts us in the economic sphere seems to have penetrated the logical processes of the brains' trust in our external affairs responsible for matters of this kind. Ceylon's delay in recognising Bangla Desh is stupid — and it will have fatal consequences in the years to come. And to add insult to injury we continue to revel in calling the new government the "Daca Administration" when many of the major nations of the world have already formally recognised the new government of Mujibur Rahman.

But in the midst of all this gloom, we are merrily importing new cars—for the police, for corporation chiefs and for a few of the favoured. Our streets are full of new Peugeot's, Renaults, Toyotas and the like. We use the lines of credit offered to us to import more cars. We are increasing our debt burdens for the future. The countries which give us aid want to sell their cars, and we buy them (on credit) whether we can afford them or even need them. We do not have clothes, we do not have essential medicines, we do not have so many other things we should have—simply because we have no foreign exchange, but we get new cars. This paradox in governmental thinking and action has already sunk deep into the consciousness of ordinary people and we dread to think of the repercussions.

SIR ALEC & NIXON

On South Asian Politics

BY ARIEL

February, 22 1972

Nixon has arrived in Peking. But total secrecy will surround his talks until they are ended. The US and Chinese governments had decided that they would make no announcements about the agenda for their talks before the meetings began and while they were in progress. It is expected that a communique will be issued at the end of the talks between Nixon, Chou En-lai and Mao-tse-tung which would set out what their discussions had involved. President Nixon had already indicated that his own itinerary for his visits to Peking, Hangchow and Shanghai would be kept flexible and he did not expect to do a great deal of public sightseeing. He had hoped that he would see some of the places of interest the Chinese Government was arranging for him to visit. "But this visit is one in which first priority must be given to our talks.... We have agreed we will not get frozen into any extended travel in the event it might interfere with extended conversations".

President Nixon had also declared that the trip should not be viewed either with over-optimism or over-pessimism. Twenty years of hostility would not be swept away

in one week of discussions. "However, it will mark a watershed in relations between the two governments." Mr. Nixon had also stressed that the United States would make no new concessions on Vietnam until the North Vietnamese government replied to his eight-point peace plan. It is also obvious that President Nixon has done a lot of homework in preparation for his meeting with the Chinese leaders. One of the last briefings he got was on February 14 when he got a firsthand analysis of China's leaders from France's former Minister of Culture, Andre Malraux, at a White House meeting. Malraux, now 70, had known Mao for three decades and last saw him in Peking in 1965. At a Paris interview a few days earlier, Malraux was quoted as saying that Mao would probably ask Nixon at the outset of their talks if he would provide aid to China to help it on the road to progress. If Nixon answered in the negative, Malraux predicted that the exchange would degenerate into generalities.

It is not likely that Mao will ask for aid directly at the outset. Even if China was anxious to get aid, Mao would naturally induce the offer of aid from Nixon

rather than ask directly, China has already made is clear that the talks will be on "equal" terms. There had been a great deal of talk and speculation, for instance, that China was angling for dollar credits from the US to buy a fleet of Boeings for civil aviation. The American aircraft industry had confidently expected to give new life to the sagging fortunes of the US aircraft industry with big sales to China. But on February 10, it was announced that China had bought five four-engined Ilyushin - 62s from the Soviet Union. Two of these aircraft seating 186 each, had already arrived in Peking under a trade agreement negotiated in 1970 and three more were on order. China's decision to buy Soviet planes is a blow to the US.

A. W. Stoffel, director of international affairs of Boeing, said: "The People's Republic is probably reluctant to depend on the Soviet Union. but it is also very reluctant to depend on us because they know our predilection for cutting off supplies by use of our export controls whenever something happens - such as the recent Indo-Pak, disturbance" The IL-62 currently flies the Moscow-New York route and is the pride of the Soviet air fleet.

A *New York Times* despatch said: "American aviation industry officials, whose business has suffered severely in the last two years, had hoped

to sell some long-range aircraft to China in the wake of improved relations between Washington and Peking and the lifting of the American trade embargo. But at the moment, authoritative sources said, such expectations are premature".

The *New York Times* report is a fair assessment of the situation. China may yet buy Boeings and a large number of them, but the timing of the announcement about the Ilyushin-62 purchases is only a warning to US aircraft magnates that China would drive a hard bargain: that Americans must not take it for granted that China would not buy aircraft from the Russians and that the US had a wide open sellers' market in China once Nixon gave the okay. This is Chinese diplomacy and trade, and it has run in their blood for hundreds of centuries, and although Maoism has replaced Confucianism, the Chinese genius in these matters remains unimpaired.

While the talks continue in Peking, the backwash of Sir Alec Douglas-Home's visit to India has set in motion ripples in the Indian Ocean which may grow into mighty ocean waves. The main purpose of Sir Alec's visit was to readjust Britain's relations to the new power pattern in the region. India had emerged as the supreme power in the region, and if Pakistan did not look sharp, Bangla

Desh would leave it far behind. Sir Alec had the difficult and unenviable task of realigning Great Britain in the new power complex. At his memorable press conference in New Delhi on February 8, he had said that the United Kingdom would have to maintain a "minimal naval presence" in the area to honour obligations under the five-nation pact (with Australia, New Zealand, Malaysia and Singapore) and to protect the vital trade and oil routes round the Cape of Good Hope. For this reason, he also justified British arms supply to South Africa.

Asked whether he envisaged negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union to bring about some kind of balance of forces in the Indian Ocean, he said any agreement could be reached only in the context of general disarmament. Disarmament talks, however, had not produced much result over the past several years.

The Soviet Union and the US had established fruitful contact through the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks and perhaps this could provide a beginning for negotiations on the Indian Ocean area. He did not expect a rapid solution in a situation where the Russians are "continually increasing their presence while our presence is diminishing". One difficulty, though not an insuperable one, was verification of any nation's

presence when submarines which could stay under water for long periods were deployed.

Asked whether he thought the littoral States could play a useful role, he said it was for India to see "what action she feels may be taken." Answering other questions, Sir Alec said the United Kingdom had no misgivings about the Indo-Soviet treaty. "We think India has a total capacity to preserve her own independence" he added.

Sir Alec readily answered questions on the Sino-Soviet syndrome and its interaction in influencing the course of events in Asia and elsewhere. While Britain itself had no misgivings about the Indo-Soviet Treaty, it was not possible at this stage to foresee how this was going to work in the future. He pointed out that the Soviet Union was quite apprehensive about Chinese intentions and it tended to view every move by Peking with some degree of suspicion. The Soviet Union was also reinforcing its military strength on China's borders and keeping a close eye over its shoulders all the time. And only time could reveal what impact the increasing Sino-Soviet rivalry, the Indo-Soviet treaty, the involvement of China in the South-East Asian developments, the American bid for a detente with China and the European attitudes to these complex problems would have on the Asian scene.

Sir Alec defended the flexibility of the European countries in dealing with China, describing it as both pragmatic and sensible in ending its artificial isolation. China wanted to increase its contacts with the outside world and the right thing to do was to encourage this trend in the larger interests of peace and stability in Asia.

On the questions regarding the Indian subcontinent, Sir Alec declared in the most unequivocal fashion that Britain wanted to maintain the friendliest of relations with India, Bangla Desh and Pakistan. If Britain could help in any way in getting good relations started off between Bangla Desh and Pakistan, it would be happy to do whatever was possible. But this was essentially a bilateral matter between them.

The starting point for the restoration of normalcy in the subcontinent was the acceptance by all concerned of the existence of a totally independent Bangla Desh. Any future contact between Pakistan and Bangla Desh was something that had to be contrived in that context. He hoped that the processes of reconciliation would commence soon in the common interest of all the three countries in the sub-continent.

Sir Alec neatly evaded all questions relating to American policies in the region. He also stoutly defended the

British policy on Rhodesia and Northern Ireland. About Indo-China, he said, as Co-Chairman of the Geneva Conference, Britain felt that it would be useful to keep up the structure of the International Control Commission despite the Soviet reluctance to activate it.

Bangla Desh, and all that it implied was what had mainly concerned Sir Alec on this trip. It is well to remember that the problem of India and Pakistan was the creation of Britain when she decided to quit India. Britain had wanted a balance of power in the region, and had felt that a single united India would enjoy a monopoly of power that would threaten the position of Britain itself east of Suez. Hence India was divided and many bones of contention were thrown in for good measure to keep both countries, India and Pakistan, occupied with small wars and disputes. Furthermore, Indian princes and the like were given certain guarantees and if these princely enclaves and states had continued to exist, India would never have been able to establish cohesive unity within itself. Patel liquidated the princely states by a judicious use of threats, blackmail, force and money. The princes were finally bought over with lavish privy purses and India achieved a political oneness not known even in British times. But Pakistan was a source of constant

trouble. There was Kashmir and a number of other conflicts — all of which had erupted into several small wars. Finally, Pakistan threw 10 million refugees into India in the hope, no doubt, that this would keep India bogged down for a long time.

Pakistan had been for twenty years and more the lever by which the West hoped to maintain the balance of power in the region—meaning thereby keeping India in check. However, all British and Western calculations on this score have collapsed — like a flimsy house of cards. In the first place Britain had to fade out east of Suez for compelling economic reasons, and Pakistan, propped up militarily by the West, and latterly by China also, crumbled up in the 1971 Indo-Pak war and Bangla Desh became a reality. Britain has faced the new situation squarely. Sir Alec in his press conference at New Delhi set out his Government's position on this problem in the most realistic terms. He declared that any future contacts between Rawalpindi and Dacca would have to be in the context of "a totally independent Bangladesh." The important problem was one of reconciliation. If Britain could be of any help in bringing about good relations between Pakistan and Bangladesh, "we certainly are willing to do it." But, he emphasised, it was essentially a matter that must

be settled bilaterally. Sir Alec, who will be visiting Pakistan later this month, said Britain wanted to help Pakistan recover economically. The British Government would see to it that Pakistanis in Britain did not become "alien citizens" as a result of Pakistan's withdrawal from the Commonwealth.

Whilst Britain had adopted realistic attitudes to the problem of Bangla Desh almost from the very beginning, the USA had thrown its weight behind Pakistan. This has put the USA into a difficult position *vis a vis* India as well as the new reality of Bangla Desh. While the Nixon administration endeavoured to justify its policies, there was a growing volume of opinion inside the USA which criticised the President for having ignored the genocide and mass slaughter inflicted by the Yahya Khan regime as well as the deliberate chasing out of 10 million people from East Pakistan as refugees into India and the consequent emergence of Bangla Desh. The Nixon administration has had to take into consideration public opinion inside the USA as well as the realities which stemmed from the total and convincing defeat of Pakistan in the 14-day war. The most disturbing thing for Washington was that its relations with India had deteriorated, and India was a country into which the USA had poured billions in order to "preserve

democracy". Furthermore, it was not in the global interests of the USA to be estranged from the most significant military and political force in the South Asia region, and undeniably one of the most important countries in Asia. The Nixon Administration had therefore to undergo one of the most difficult of the many "agonising re-appraisals" the USA has had to suffer in recent years.

In this annual State of the World message to the Congress, President Nixon, on February 9, offered India "a serious dialogue" on "our political as well as our economic relationship" and any issues which India might like to add to the agenda. He looked forward to a "fruitful discussion" and said "if India has an interest in maintaining balanced relationships with all major powers, we are prepared to respond constructively. Of interest to us also will be the posture that South Asia's most powerful country now adopts towards its neighbours on the sub-continent." Mr. Nixon gave the assurance that there was no United States-Chinese alignment and said that a "more constructive approach to great power relations in South Asia and elsewhere will be one of the goals I hope to further in my discussions in both Peking and Moscow." Mr. Nixon said: "India's basic policy choices are India's to make. We both, nevertheless, have an interest in finding

common ground. We can search out ways of transcending our recent differences and resuming our traditionally close relationship."

Mr. Nixon was silent on the issue of recognition of Bangladesh but said "our relief effort in East Bengal will continue. The authorities face the grim challenge of creating a viable political structure and economy in one of the most impoverished and now newly devastated areas of the world. We have never been hostile to Bengali aspirations... We have no intention of ignoring these 70 million people."

Mr. Nixon said Pakistan "remains a close friend. Its people face the ordeal of rebuilding the society and economy of a shattered State. The United States stands ready to help. Our concern for the wellbeing and security of the people of Pakistan does not end with the end of a crisis"

He justified his attitude before and during the Indo-Pakistan war and reiterated his charges and allegations against India i. e. that India indicated "little interest" in discussions for a peaceful settlement and that after the "capture" of East Pakistan she was "seriously contemplating" seizure of Pakistan-held portions of Kashmir and the destruction of Pakistan's military forces in the West.

Nixon took the credit for saving Mujibur Rahman's life, and went on to comment about the actions of the Soviet Union. Mr. Nixon said: "We obtained assurance from President Yahya that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman would not be executed." He denied that the US supported or condoned Yahya Khan's military action in East Pakistan. Mr. Nixon complained that during the Indo-Pakistan war the Soviet Union was willing "to make military moves to deter China on India's behalf" and that the Soviet Union "threatened" China.

Mr. Nixon said that prior to the Indo-Pakistan war over the summer "we made the point repeatedly to the Soviet Union that it behoved the two super-powers to be forces for peace. We asked the Soviet Union for its ideas on possible joint action." However, he said the Soviet Union "played a restraining role" only in the end. He warned that "Soviet attitudes during the crisis in South Asia have dangerous implications for other regional conflicts"

Mr. Nixon then went to say why the US was interested in India and its future. He said that India was a free and democratic nation in whose future as a model of progress for the developing world the US had invested its hopes and resources. The US had also maintained a close tie with Pakistan. The

US told India that it attached the greatest importance to close US-Indian relations and would do all it could to help with the burden of the refugees but could only regard an Indian resort to armed attack as a tragic mistake. As early as August 11 Secretary of State Rogers told the Indian Ambassador that the Administration could not continue economic assistance to a nation that started a war.

Speaking on the war itself, Mr. Nixon gave his version of the arms build up in Pakistan and India and stated that it was a "foregone conclusion" that India will win the war. He stressed the fact that it was the assistance from the Soviet Union which had tilted the military balance so much in favour of India. Moreover, India had developed its own heavy arms industry and this placed it at a distinct advantage over Pakistan.

Mr. Nixon said that "in late November open war or a broad front erupted between India and Pakistan." It was a foregone conclusion that if war broke out India would win but the US viewed war as neither inevitable nor acceptable. Without referring to earlier US military deliveries to Pakistan, Mr. Nixon said that over the six years of the embargo since the 1965 war American military deliveries to both India and Pakistan were only 70 million dollars

against over 730 million dollars worth furnished by the Soviet Union to India. India's total military procurement after 1965—"not a period of increasing tension with China"—was more than four times that of Pakistan. While China supplied Pakistan 133 million dollars in arms over this period India obtained from abroad almost twice the quantity of arms as Pakistan. Moreover, at the same time India built up its capacity to produce its own heavy arms a capacity which Pakistan did not have. As a result the military balance shifted decisively towards India between 1966 and 1971.

Thereafter President referred to another reason why the USA had adopted the attitudes it did in the Indo-Pak conflict: viz the impact this war had on People's China. He wanted to make it clear, he said, to China, which was emerging into the community of nations, that the democratic system stood against war and since India had "initiated" the war, the USA had no alternative but to follow the policies it did. Among the reasons Mr. Nixon gave for his attitude towards India during the war was the impact on China. The war in South Asia, he said, was bound to have serious implications for the evolution of the policy of the People's Republic of China. That country's attitude towards the global system was certain to be profoundly in-

fluenced by its assessment of the principles by which this system was governed, whether force and threat ruled, or whether restraint was the international standard.

President Nixon also took the opportunity to preach a sermon to India on the dangers of encouraging separatism, and other fissiparous tendencies. In retrospect, it would seem that the USA and certain other countries had counted on the fact that India, with so many ethnic and linguistic problems would not encourage the concept of Bangla Desh. Yahya Khan too must have based some of his calculations on this misconception of what he thought India would do. Mr. Nixon said India, more than most, had a heavy stake in the principle that instabilities due to internal ethnic conflicts and separatist strains should not be exploited by other countries through subversion or resort to arms. The alternative was a formula for anarchy. The "unanimity of third world countries" against the war was testimony to the universality of this concern.

And finally, Nixon asked the question where do we go from here? And said that it made no sense to assume that a country's democratic political system or its size required America's automatic agreement with every aspect of its foreign policy. Mr. Nixon continued, "We dis-

agreed with specific Indian actions in November and December and we said so. We did not expect this to be popular in India. Great nations like our two nations, however, do not make their policy on so ephemeral a basis. For this reason we could not accept the argument that our criticism would drive India into the arms of the Soviet Union. India itself we knew had the strongest interest of all in its own democracy and non-alignment. And India and the Soviet Union already had a political tie of a kind that the US could not attempt to match. This tie inherent in the expanding Soviet-Indian military supply relationship after 1965 originated long in advance of the November war, the August treaty of friendship, our July China initiative or the March crisis in Pakistan. When the August treaty was signed both sides told us that it had been in preparation for more than two years."

Mr. Nixon said that just as the success of Indian democracy and progress was important to the US, "we also have a continuing interest in India's independence and non-alignment." Mr. Nixon said that a tragic irony of 1971 was that the conflict in South Asia erupted against a background of major developments, global and regional which had offered unprecedented hope. Regionally there were breakthroughs in economic development. The green

revolution in agriculture was laying the basis for industrial development and steady growth. Trade earnings were financing an increasing proportion of development needs, strengthening economic and political self-reliance.

“Our purpose now,” said Mr. Nixon, “will be to recapture the momentum of these positive developments. The 700 million people of the sub-continent deserve a better future than the tragedy of 1971 seemed to portend. It is for them to fashion their own vision of such a future. The world has an interest in the regional peace and stability which are the preconditions for their achieving it.”

Later at an impromptu press conference on February 11 to discuss his Peking trip, President Nixon was questioned about India and Bangla Desh among other matters. He said he would not be making any decision about Bangla Desh until his return from China. Asked to explain the credibility gap created by his adviser, Dr. Kissinger, first saying (during the war) that his Administration had no bias against India, and then complaining later (as disclosed in the Anderson papers) that he was “getting hell from the President every hour for not tilting against India”; Mr. Nixon said that he had only been anti-war.

“At this point, we are going to do everything we can

to develop a new relationship with the countries in the sub-continent that will be pro-Indian, pro-Bengali and pro-Pakistan, but mostly pro-peace”. At this point Mr. Nixon pointedly recalled that it was from Jawaharlal Nehru that he had borrowed the phrase “a generation of peace”.

Mr. Nixon also contended that “Our policies—certainly we have made mistakes—had the purpose of avoiding war, of stopping it once it had begun, and now of doing everything we can to heal up the wounds”.

Regarding his solicitude for India, Nixon gave his reasons frankly. The largest non-communist democracy in the world had to be “saved” he said. He also pointed out that during his 25 years in public office, he had supported every Indian aid programme. This was because “I believe that it is very important that the world’s largest non-communist country should have a chance to make a success of its experiment in democracy, in comparison with its great neighbour to the north (China). That and of course other reasons are involved”

It has been necessary to pay this detailed attention to what President Nixon had to say about the South Asian region and the problems which arose from the Indo-Pak war because the USA is one of the two super-powers whose policies have a profound influ-

ence in this area. One has to pay equal attention to the view of the Soviet Union, but there has been no major policy statement on this question by any of the Soviet leaders in recent weeks. The attitude of the USSR on these matters has been made clear and there has been no need for any “explanations” by the Soviet Union as the USA has had to offer. What the impact of Nixon’s visit to Peking will be on the South Asian region is hard to say at this moment.

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Five - year plans,
But will to work together
In little groups of friends
Will make Ceylon an island
Of power and fame and sense.

Titus Handuna.

Interview with American Scholars - 2

Following is the second and concluding part of an excerpted transcript of tape recordings 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 mention-

ed 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 Guardian" by Frank Kehl, a member of the delegation.

Chou En-Lai: Besides these two issues (Taiwan and Indochina) I think that there should be two other issues that are worth your attention.

I believe you have seen the friends at the Embassy of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Perhaps you know less of this issue, as it has been a long time before, because there was a ceasefire in 1953. I should like to bring to your attention the fact that in Korea up to the present day there is only a ceasefire, only an armistice agreement was passed. After that there was a meeting held in Geneva, the same Geneva Conference, in 1954.

The first stage of that conference was devoted to Korea. I can try to describe the meeting to you. It was completely without results. On the final day of that stage, as there was no result whatsoever with regard to the Korean question, we put forward the question, what was the use of our coming? We said that at least we should

adjourn, we should at least set a date for another meeting. At that time the foreign ministers of certain countries were persuaded, for instance Mr. Spaak of Belgium. He had worked with the UN. The chairman of the meeting at that time was Mr. Eden, At that time he wavered a bit and he tended to agree with this view. Also at that time there was an authoritative representative who was seated at the conference and who waved his hand in opposition and the result was that it was not passed. You probably know who he was; the deputy of Mr. John Foster Dulles, Mr. Smith. Of course, it might not have been his own personal opinion but he did so on instructions. He didn't say anything, he couldn't find any words. He just waved his hand.

As a result of this, the meeting was called off with no result whatsoever. And so now at the 38th parallel in Korea, there is a military armistice commission that meets every week. One side is the American representative and the representative of the South Korean puppets, and on the Northern side there is a representative of the People's Army of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and also a representative of China. They meet once about every two or three weeks. There's only a ceasefire, there's no other treaty whatsoever. According to international law the state of war

has not yet ended and I believe that there must be people among you who study international law. It is the same case between China and Japan. The state of war has not been called off yet...

Uldis Kruze: I'm very interested in the movement to study philosophy. I believe it has great significance, not only for China, but also for the American movement. I'm very interested in the way Marxism - Leninism is practically applied. I've asked numerous questions about how people apply philosophy in their ordinary lives and have gotten many answers on how Marxism - Leninism has direct application to their situation. Could I ask either Comrade Chang or Comrade Yao how they particularly study philosophy and how they apply it in their daily work?

Yao Wen-yuan: I agree with your idea and your question. That is, that the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism must be combined with concrete practice. And there are many among the workers, peasants and the People's Liberation Army who have studied Marxism-Leninism in a much better way than we have. Because through their practice they have come to truly understand the points and the views of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought. They've also summed up their own experience that they

have accumulated through their own practice and they have been able to relate these two things.

In studying philosophy we study some philosophical works of Chairman Mao Tsetung and also some of the philosophical works of Marx and Lenin. The aim in studying philosophy is to come to know the world and to transform the world. And in transforming the world there are two aspects: to transform society and also to transform one's own ideas. Whether you call it "brain-washing" or the transformation of one's world outlook, what we are talking about is about the same, whatever you want to call it. That is, the transformation of one's own ideology.

For instance, Chairman Mao Tsetung put forward a thesis of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is in itself also a very important philosophical problem. That is to say, in a socialist society there still exists classes, there still exists class contradictions, and there still exists class struggle. There exists the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and also the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road. And personally it has taken me a gradual process to come to understand this question. Throughout the whole process in the beginning of the



Vegetables produced on the outskirts of Peking are ready for delivery to the city.

cultural revolution and in the present stage of struggle-criticism-transformation, this process of understanding Chairman Mao's thesis of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat has never ceased. To take part in the class struggle, to have some practice, to go back to study Chairman Mao Tsetung's works, to summarize one's positive and negative experience in this practice, to transform one's world outlook and then to come into con-

tact with new problems, then to solve them through practice again, then to study Chairman Mao Tsetung's works again—this is a continuous process of understanding, this is a process of cognition. Throughout the whole process of the cultural revolution there is the struggle between the two lines—the struggle between Chairman Mao Tsetung's revolutionary line and the revisionist line advocated by Liu Shao-ch'i—the struggle between Marxism and revisionism.

There also is the struggle between the correct proletarian views and various erroneous views, various right or "leftist" tendencies. All this in the final analysis is a question of one's world outlook, a question of philosophy. And if one does not study dialectical and historical materialism in the gradual process, then one would not be able to make clear distinctions between genuine and fake Marxism, between Marxism and revisionism. This is what we call "to study with problems in mind."

In my practice in the revolution the problems that I have come up against most are questions like the ones that I have just now stated, that is ideological ones. My study in this field has not been as good as the advanced elements of the workers, peasants and people's Liberation Army. I should continue to learn from them. To study philosophy one must study the present situation, history, theory, and make the correct analysis and draw out the correct conclusions, and be able to find the laws guiding the development...

(A question was asked on Chinese - American exchange visits.)

Chou En-lai: The foremost thing is that the Chinese and American people wish to exchange visits with each other and this strong desire has broken through the barriers. During the Pacific War, there were a lot of opportunities for the Chinese and American people to contact each other. Taking myself as an example, I know a lot of old friends from your country of an older generation. Isn't there one point in your Committee aims, that you believe the older generation of Asian scholars has gotten mixed up with the government? Or they have become silent?

Group: That's right.

Chou En-lai: First, I agree with your idea. But secondly, I must say some

words of sympathy for them. They happened to be oppressed in the 1950's, during the McCarthy period, and this was a great harm for them. So I recall what I said at the Bandung Conference in 1955. I said that the peoples of China and the United States wish to have contact with each other, friendly contact. It cannot be said that there was no response to my words. There were some. I believe a few progressive correspondents wished to come to China, but the Secretary of State at that time, John Foster Dulles, denied them that right. I believe that this issue could be found in the files of the State Department. And I don't think that they should be classified documents (laughter). And in this way we were separated.

But now we have passed through the 1960s and entered the 1970s. It's your generation, your era, and you have broken through the barriers. So with one sentence of Chairman Mao's we invited the U. S. table tennis team that wanted to come to visit China. And so they came! And the barriers were broken through. And so for this we must thank the new forces of your era. Isn't that so? And these new and friendly contacts are bound to continue . . .

Your CCAS, the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars (this he himself said in English) has also invited us,

and since you are so kind, I think that our young Chinese friends should also return the visit. There are a lot of young friends in Shanghai, they should take the lead. There are a lot of people who would like to go. Of course I believe that you will welcome not only men, but also women (laughter).

Yao Wen-yuan: And complete equality in numbers. I believe that the main thing should be the content.

Chou En-lai: It also would be a good thing to make it equal in numbers. Even though we are a socialist country, a country of the dictatorship of the proletariat, yet, still, male chauvinism comes up now and then. Of course subconsciously.

In relation to the question of Japan, you are a Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars so you are probably also very familiar with the Japanese question. Have you seen their movies advocating militarism? We should have Comrade Yao Wen-yuan tell you about them.

Yao Wen-yuan: Under the present regime of Sato, the Japanese government personally looked into this matter and put forward a number of films which were on the topic of Japanese militarism. They laid special emphasis on making propaganda about Japanese navy because in the Japanese aggression against the countries they relied upon

the navy in the past. Because during the wars of aggression the air force took off from their carriers.

One film is called "Great Sea Battle in the Sea of Japan" and another film was called "Yamamoto." And another was called "Our Navy" Another film was called "Warlords." Another film was called "War and Man," but we haven't completed the translation of that film yet. It is specialized on the war of aggression against China.

In the films "Yamamoto" and "Our Navy" they emphasize the Japanese war in the Pacific. They describe the sneak attack on Pearl Harbor. The common aim of all these films is to distort history. In actual point of fact it was the Japanese militarists who launched aggression against China, against Korea and the Asian peoples. But they turn all these facts up-side down and make out as if this war of aggression launched by the Japanese militarists was forced upon them because Japan, they said, lacked resources. They made out as if what they called Manchuria of China was one of their life-lines. South Asia too was a life-line. This precisely conforms to the propaganda now spread by the Japanese militarists; that is that expansion and aggression is reasonable. The Japanese militarists are now saying that the Malacca Strait is their life-line. This

place is a life-line; that place is a life-line, So on and so forth...

Chou En-Lai: It is a fact that Japanese militarism is being revived because the Japanese economy is developing in a lop-sided way. They lack resources, they must import their natural resources and for markets too they depend on foreign countries. After the war they were not burdended by paying reparations. Also for quite some time they spent very little on armaments.

How was the Japanese economy developed? There is one characteristic of the development of their economy, that is, they made a fortune on wars fought by others, that is, the war of aggression against Korea and the war of aggression against Vietnam. After the conclusion of the Second World war, the Chinese civil war broke out...

After the conclusion of the Pacific War the American Air Force shifted Chiang Kai-shek's troops from the rear areas to the places which were occupied by Japan to accept the surrender of the Japanese authorities, and did not allow the people's Liberation Army led by the Chinese Communist party to accept the Japanese surrender in those places, So after the surrender of the Japanese warlords all the Japanese weapons were handed over to Chiang Kai-shek...

American forces also guarded many of the air bases and naval ports. As for the transporation base in the rear, the U.S. mainly went through Japan. So even back at that time Japan already was making a fortune through this war, And then with the Korean war and the Vietnam war and now this war throughout Indochina. Although Japan does not directly take part in these wars and Japan is a defeated power, Japan makes fortunes through these wars. For instance, the United States estimates that within the past 10 years, 120 billion American dollars was used on the Indochina war. I believe that out of this Japan made quite a lot of money from the military repairs and transportation costs and costs for vacationing of the U.S. troops and also some means of communication. So 25 years after the Second World War, Japan, a defeated power, now has become the number two economic power in the Western countries. President Nixon praises Japan as his biggest partner Where did Japan get such resources? Where did Japan get these markets?

Paul Levine: Some resources come from Australia.

Chou En-lai: And not only Australia, also Latin America, India, the African countries and also Indonesia. This lop-sided development of Japan, what will issue from it! She needs to carry out an economic expansion abroad. Other-

wise, she cannot maintain her economy. And so, being in a capitalist system, following this economic expansion, there is bound to come with it, military expansion. Isn't that so?

Now Japan is already co-operating with the U.S and Australia in building a nuclear reactor and nuclear power, and Japan is already able to manufacture guided missiles, ground-to-air and ground-to-ground guided missiles without a nuclear warhead. So the only problem remaining is how to manufacture a nuclear warhead to put on these missiles. So there does exist this danger.

But of course, the Japanese people of the present are not the Japanese people of the 1930s, or the 1940s. They have awakened to a certain extent. What is more, the peoples of the Pacific and first of all the peoples of the Far East are no longer the peoples of the 1930s or the 1940s. For instance the people of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the people's Republic of China, and the three Indo-chinese countries, And even those countries where there are now still stationed American troops, such as the Philippines and Thailand. Or Australia, Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore, they still have a fairly good memory of the disaster of the Second World War.

I think the American people too remember the Pacific

War. And first of all the Japanese people are aware of the fact that if Japanese militarism is revived, it will not be of benefit to Japan. It will be harmful to themselves... None of these Asian problems can be separated from one another, nor can they be separated from the United States either, nor from the world. You have 5000 in your organization?

Group: That's all, More or less.

Chou En-lai: Are all of them college graduates?

Group: The majority are.

Chou En-lai: Then in our country, you would be considered high intellectuals, and you have a heavy responsibility. It is your responsibility to link the truth, the general truth, with actual practice. That must be put into implementation through you. Some of your friends have said that foreign experience cannot be mechanically brought over to your country. That's right. And Chairman Mao tells us that one must rely on one's own efforts. We cannot impose on you, nor can you just mechanically copy from us. You can see the American youth is gradually raising their political consciousness. According to our experience, it is always intellectuals who start out, because it is easier for them to accept revolutionary theory, and revolutionary experience from books. But for the movement to succeed, you must go among the workers.

because in the U. S. the working class is the great majority of the people and the peasantry is quite small. To do that, you must go into them deeply. We have only our experience, but we are not at all well acquainted with your situation. So that must depend upon your own efforts.

Paul Levine: Self-reliance.

Chou En-lai: Self-reliance proceeds from independence and taking the initiative in your own hands. Yes, one must go through some arduous process. When you go back to your homes you may read over our article commemorating the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Communist party. That's only a preliminary, a simple summary of our fifty years...

Ann Kruze: I would like our Chinese friends to know one thing: while we have shortcomings, and that is a serious consideration to us, but we are also aware of our strengths: we do exist as a group. We are aware, we are making progress. We are forming alliances. We are starting to do something. We will not be moved away from this aim . . .

Chou En-lai: You have addressed yourselves to various problems throughout the world. Yes, indeed, your American friends should have a broad perspective and have a broad range of knowledge because as you know the

United States has extended itself everywhere in the world (Laughter). After the Second World War, it stretched its hands out everywhere in the world. As Chairman Mao said, they look into other people's affairs everywhere in the world. And as a result, they were merely putting nooses about their own necks.

There is a saying in China that, that is like trying to catch ten fleas with ten fingers. When you are trying to catch one flea, another one jumps out. And the result is that all of them escape. And at the most, you can only catch one flea by freeing one of your hands and letting go five fleas instead.

That is the predicament that President Nixon is now facing. But it would be fairer to say that it is not only of his own making but also something created by the system itself. Because after the Second World War, monopoly capitalism developed to such a tremendous extent. And in some of these things, not only did your President not conceive it, not even you could preconceive it. As for us, we could even less preconceive of these aspects...

Just citing a single figure would be quite surprising which is relevant to every single one of you. The internal debt in the U.S. now is approaching 400 billion American dollars. The interest being paid this year al-

ne is already 19 billion American dollars. That is the figure of the annual budget prior to the Second World War during the Roosevelt regime, that is, about 20 billion. So how was that conceivable at that time? That was just at the conclusion of the Second World War. At that time U.S. imperialists appeared to be almighty. The world is changing, undergoing tremendous changes. But the American people, you should not feel any discouragement. There is great hope for the American people...

We are a country just in the process of development. If we compare with you, in accordance with the population ratio, then we are far behind you. Although we are a socialist country, we must be vigilant against ourselves. Since Chairman Mao constantly teaches us that we must at all times be on the alert against committing the mistake of big-power chauvinism both at home and abroad. Because in the world there is another country which is learning from you and sending its hand out everywhere competing with you. Economic competition is bound to bring with it military competition. Economic development combined with military expansion is bound to occupy various places throughout the world. Having carved up the various continental areas and now wanting to carve up the oceans...

And so if, after you go back to your country, you are harassed, you should not become discouraged. Now you will also encounter such things. In our revolution, many of our comrades sacrificed their lives. And Chairman Mao often says that we are those left over from the revolutionary wars. What should we do then? Continue the revolution. Only so can we stand up to our martyrs, to our people. You have the spirit of pioneers...

You have, as I have learned, liked to compare your present situation with the May 4th Movement in China. Five years after the Chinese May 4th Movement great changes had taken place, the great revolution had already begun...

Although the time may not be so long, but if one puts in efforts and struggles hard, great results will take place. For instance, when the Chinese Communist party was founded in 1921 there were only twelve deputies to the First Party Congress, and the total number of Communist Party members at that time did not exceed 70. But only about three years later in 1924 it had changed tremendously. ...By 1926 our forces were already above fifty thousand. What is more, your era is totally different from the era of those days. History will not re-enact itself, and while we can make the comparison it will not completely

re-enact itself. Since we can always say that times are advancing, and time will not turn back, so we hope to see you again in 5 years (laughter and applause)...

Paul Pickowicz: We believe that this visit to China and this meeting tonight has been a big step in the direction of uniting closer with the Chinese people. On the question of unity, we also know that it is very important for us that people who are in the anti-war movement in the U. S. will unite even closer within our own ranks, for we have many problems and many shortcomings. And we want to say that, yes, we are representatives of the anti-war movement in the U.S., and, yes, we have done some work in the U. S., but we firmly believe again that the real heroes of the anti-imperialist struggle in Asia are in fact the Asian people—the Indochinese people, the Korean people, and the Chinese people.

Chou En-lai: But if you make efforts, you will become world heroes.

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NIXON'S VISIT TO CHINA MAJOR STEP TOWARDS ENSURING PEACE IN OUR TIMES

By Stanley Joseph

(of the Govt. of Ceylon's Dept. of Information)

China is now holding the spotlight on the world stage with the historic visit to that country of U. S. President Richard M. Nixon. No diplomatic observer, even the most sanguine, expects instant solutions to the issues which have bedevilled the resumption of relations between these two great countries for over 20 years. Problems such as the ending of the war in Vietnam, Cambodia, the future of Taiwan etc, cannot be solved overnight. Nevertheless, the visit of Nixon to China is significant in that it paves the way for a rapprochement between these two countries and may eventually result in the lowering of world tension and ensuring peace in our part of the world. Even if this limited result is achieved, Nixon's visit to China may go down in history as one of the most noteworthy events in the second half of this century in the epoch after World War II.

Let us now have a quick look at the country which the U.S. President is visiting and on which the eyes of the world are now focussed, I was in the People's Republic a few months ago and was able to study at first hand the life of the country

which prides itself on being the follower of Marxism in its purest form. Unless one has visited China, it will be difficult to realise to what extent the life and activities of this country is dominated by Chairman Mao Tse-Tung. Pictures of this great leader are hung everywhere, his statues are displayed at every airport, railway station, hotel and every other public place. Every Chinese wears a Mao badge and the "Red Book" or Mao's thoughts is a sort of Bible which guides all activities. In short, Maoism has taken the place of conventional religion in the People's Republic. Whatever we, who are dedicated to the democratic way of life, may think of such a system, there is no doubt that this central direction and control has brought order out of chaos to this vast country, and enabled 700 million people to lead well ordered lives. This has in no small measure been responsible for the country's success story during the past 20 years.

China's production figures officially released recently for the first time in 11 years is a clear pointer to the vast strides that this country is making. The total value of agricultural production has

risen in 1971 by 10 per cent over the 1970 figures with grain production reaching 246 million tons. Meanwhile, a 10 per cent increase in industrial production has been recorded during the same period, steel production reaching 21 million tons. Chemical fertilisers so vital for agriculture production has risen by over 20 per cent over the 1970 figures. In fact, it is becoming increasingly clear as China's fourth five-year-plan (1971-1975) progresses that it is based entirely on Mao's ideas—take industry to the countryside, use local resources and build up a series of industrial and agricultural units.

I cannot think of a more disciplined people than the Chinese. A visit to any of their huge cities like Peking, Nanking or Shanghai will prove it. I have travelled on their highway by car, and by bus and was impressed with the road sense and strict observance of traffic rules by motorists, cyclists, and pedestrians. No one appears to be in a hurry. The cyclists keep strictly to their lanes and there is no jay walking. Hence there are hardly any road accidents and traffic police have very little to do. At bus stops and railway stations the same passion for law and order is evident.

In the factories, fields and work places, there is complete discipline. Each person performs the task allotted to

him without any supervision. I remember that whenever we visited their factories, the workers greeted us in their traditional manner with hand-claps and immediately continued their work without in any way being distracted by our presence. And mind you, many of these people were seeing foreigners on one of the rare occasions of their lives.

The Chinese are also passionately devoted to their work. No task is considered too low that it should not be performed with pride and conscientiousness. On my tour of the Chinese country-side, I was impressed with the military precision with which members of the production brigades marched to their respective fields and after hoisting the red flag got down to do an honest day's work. The result is that the vast barren hinterland of China has been turned within a few years into a land where wheat, paddy and other food crops are grown in great abundance. Hence China is in a position to produce all her food items and is therefore not dependent on other countries.

China is also developing her industries without laying the same emphasis on heavy industries like, for example the Soviet Union. I have visited some of the country's textile and other factories and was impressed with the great progress made. The machinery in these factories

may not be as modern and sophisticated like those in Western countries, but they are all manufactured locally. China is utilising to the fullest her rich material resources like oil, coal, iron and steel. The general volume of output is also greater than most other countries because of the greater discipline and dedication with which the people work.

However, it is clear, that in her general pattern of development, China is laying greater emphasis on agriculture.

This I believe, holds the key to the understanding of the Chinese experience. It is the peasant around whom the country revolves. Chairman Mao has laid down the principle: "Take grain as the key link and ensure all round development". While taking a firm grip on grain production, each locality in this vast country has paid attention to the growing of other crops such as cotton, sugarcane, soya beans etc., and ensured the development of a diversified economy appropriate to local conditions.

Like in other advanced countries the mechanization of China's agriculture is proceeding apace. But unlike elsewhere the displaced peasantry are not permitted to flood cities in search of alternative employment. Instead cottage industries based on agriculture are being estab-

lished and now employment opportunities created in the countryside.

On my visit to a few of China's communes on the outskirts of Peking, I found at least an agricultural machinery repair shop if not a factory for farm implements attached to each of them. I was made to understand that similar factories as well as small iron and coal mines, fertiliser plants and steel wor-

ks have been opened up throughout rural China. The income from these projects are ploughed back into agricultural development.

In this way, China has been able to keep down the population of its cities to manageable size.

Even the population explosion which threatened to increase China's population to 1,000 million by the turn

of the century has been kept in check by a successful birth control campaign. I was told that 60% to 70% of the women in Peking practice birth control.

Hence, on my recent visit I saw a China built solidly on discipline and hardwork; a China still humble though marked by success; a China that was willing to open its doors to the outside world and renew its friendly ties with all nations.

CALENDAR - CHRONICLE

Revolt in Ceylon '71:

MAY 29 — MAY 31

SATURDAY, MAY 29

The 75th day of Emergency. The curfew lifted at 4.30 a. m., was re-imposed at 7.30 p. m. The government communique stated that "yesterday was a quiet day. There were no attacks by insurgents." Security services continued to search for terrorists. Arms and explosives were found in Kegalle, Moneragala and Pelmadulla. The communique also stated that information on 9000 of the detained insurgents would be available by the end of the month. They would then be transferred to camps in the outstations to take part in reconstruction work. Rehabilitation centres had been set up in Anuradhapura, Pallekelle, Mirigama, Koggala, and Watupitiwela.

The *CDN* reported that the public service Trade Union Federation in a statement on

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.

the first anniversary of the victory of the United Front declared that the Government must honour its election pledges: Much had been done to honour the pledges but much more had to be done: trade should be fully controlled; landownership must be reformed; banks must be nationalised; rent restriction should be introduced and education

must be changed. In view of the speculation about Cabinet discussions on vital issues in the papers, a Gazette Extraordinary last night banned the publication of proceedings of Cabinet meetings without prior authorisation. The ban also covered publication of proceedings of Cabinet sub-committees or documents sent to Ministers by the Secretary of the Cabinet.

President Anwar Sadat of the UAR and President Podgorny of the USSR signed a 15-year friendship and co-operation treaty yesterday, renewable every five years until either party terminated it by giving a year's notice. The treaty gave full scale Russian military and political support to the UAR. Red hot lava swallowed up the village of Fornazzo on the slope of Mount Etna. The volcano showed no signs of calming down after 52 days of its worst eruption since World War Two, and a new crater was blasted open high on the slopes of 10,877 feet mountain yesterday.

SUNDAY MAY 30—The 76th day of Emergency. The curfew, lifted at 4.30 a.m., was reimposed at 7.30 p.m. The Senate sat today at 1.30 p.m. and proceedings adjourned until June 10 at 1.30 p.m. The government communique issued yesterday said that only two cases of terrorist activity were reported. Insurgents had set fire to Singharajah Estate Factory in the Deniyaya area on May 27. The other incident was at Ihalagama in the Anuradhapura area. Forty five terrorists had and 43 others had been arrested at Kegalle. Pol-

gahawela, Badulla, Kandy and Rammalkande in Hambantota.

In a radio talk yesterday, the Minister of Communications, Mr. Leslie Goonewardena, explained why bus, rail and air fares had to be raised from June 1. The Education Ministry announced that the re-opening date for schools had been postponed to June 9 from June 2 because of the epidemic of sore eyes. The Department of Education issued a warning to private schools that the Minister had the power to compel them to comply with a six-day week and increase the number of school days from the present 180 to 220 days.

Russia yesterday launched another Mars probe named Mars 3. Soviet President Podgorny left Cairo yesterday for Moscow satisfied that USSR's relations with the UAR had been placed on a firm footing for 15 years. Israeli opinion was that Podgorny's visit to Cairo was a blow to US peace efforts in the Middle East.

MONDAY, MAY 31—The 77th day of Emergency. The curfew, lifted at 4.30 a.m., was re-imposed at 7.30 p.m. The official communique stated that a terrorist leader who called himself Lumumba was arrested by the Government Security Forces at Dombagahawela in the Moneragala area and the security forces felt that with the capture of this man and his group the area would be free of terrorist activity which began on April 5th. The Army continued its combing out operations in the 24,000-acre Singharajah Forest. The army also combed the Pallekelle

Forest in the Kurunegala area. There were no reports of insurgent activity yesterday. "Many insurgents are believed to have deserted their ranks and gone back to the villages." There were surrenders in Kurunegala and Anuradhapura and arms' caches were found in High Forest Estate in Maturata and in Elpitiya. According to the CDM, terrorist damage was estimated at Rs. 400 million, and this was believed to be a conservative estimate. The Government was setting up District Development Councils from June 2 in order to promote development from the grass-roots. The TOC reported that there was a chorus of protests against the six day week for children. Unemployment among the low-country Sinhalese was the highest in the rural sector according to a survey by the Central Bank in the period October 1969 and January 1970. Mr. H. E. Tennakoon was appointed as the Governor of the Central Bank as from June 1. With effect from June 1, no permits were required to enter the Bandaranaik International Airport at Katunayake.

Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban was optimistic about a Middle East settlement. President Nixon said that the US had hopes for a new era of world peace which would be a turning point in world history.

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