

TRIBUNE

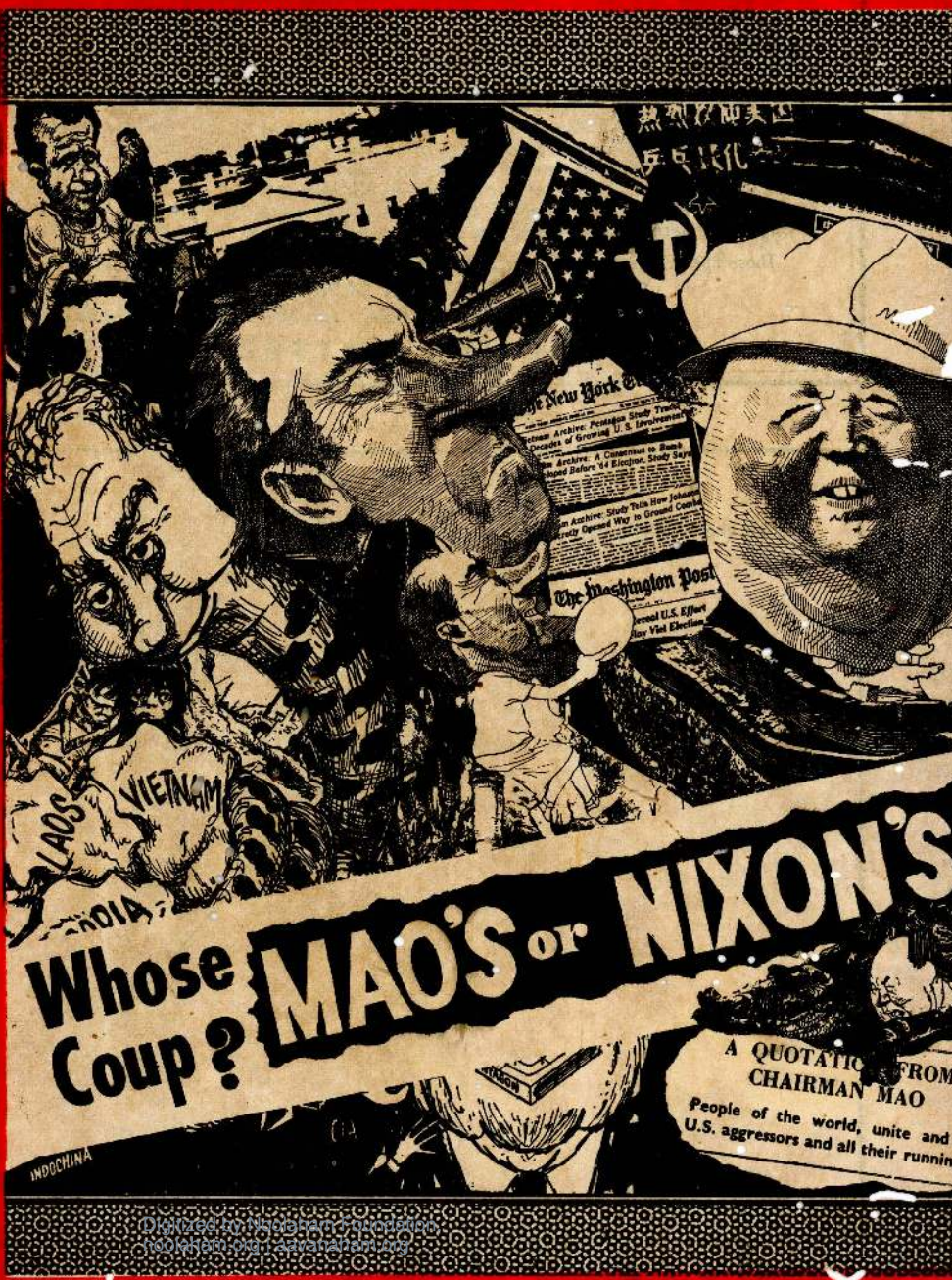
3

CEYLON NEWS REVIEW

50 C

July 28, 1971
Vol. 17
No. 5

- FROM PING PONG TO STOMACH UPSET
- SINGAPORE HERALD
- BANGLA DESH
- SOYUZ - 11
- REVOLT IN CEYLON '71



BUY A MAHAJANA SAMPATHA TICKET TODAY !

Mahajana Sampatha Brings You Many a Sampatha Again !

RARE INDIAN SILK & COTTON SAREES, PALAYAKAT SARONGS, SILK & COTTON VERTIES, IMPORTED TETRON SHIRTINGS, IMPORTED COTTON SUITINGS AND WRIST WATCHES AS SPECIAL PRIZES FOR THE 28TH MAHAJANA SAMPATHA DRAW ON 31ST JULY, AT 5.15 P.M. AT TISSAMAHARAMA.

The first three prize winning tickets will be entitled to one rare INDIAN KOORAI SAREE on payment of Rs. 1,000/- to the National Lotteries Board.

The first three prize winning tickets, and the five tickets immediately preceding and the five tickets immediately following the first three prize winning tickets will be entitled to one INDIAN MANIPURI PURE SILK SAREE with gold and silver work on payment of Rs. 200/- to the National Lotteries Board.

All the 100 numbers in which the winning tickets are included, inclusive of the winning tickets, are entitled to one WRIST WATCH on payment of Rs. 300/- to the National Lotteries Board.

All the 1,000 numbers of the same series, in which the winning tickets are included, including the 203 winning tickets, will be entitled to one INDIAN KASHMERE SILK PRINTED SAREE on payment of Rs. 65/- OR one INDIAN KASHMERE SILK PLAIN SAREE with border on payment of Rs. 60/- OR one INDIAN ART SILK SAREE on payment of Rs. 45/- OR one INDIAN COTTON DACCA SAREE on payment of Rs. 30/- OR one INDIAN COTTON PRINTED VOILE SAREE on payment of Rs. 15/- OR one INDIAN COTTON PALAYAKAT 80 x 80 white sarong on payment of Rs. 20/- OR one INDIAN COTTON PALAYAKAT 80 x 80 coloured sarong on payment of Rs. 18/- OR one Indian art silk vertie with art silk shawl on payment of Rs. 42/- OR one Indian art silk vertie without shawl on payment of Rs. 30/- OR one Indian cotton vertie with cotton shawl on payment of Rs. 22/50 OR one Indian cotton vertie without shawl on payment of Rs. 15/- OR 7 yards of imported cotton suitings on payment of Rs. 35/- OR 2 pieces of 2½ yards each of imported Tetron Cotton Shirtings on payment of Rs. 32/50 to the National Lotteries Board.

These Special Prizes shall be Issued on the Basis of First Come First Serve, Since we have Limited Stocks.

BUY A MAHAJANA SAMPATHA TICKET TODAY !

Mahajana Sampatha Brings You Many A Sampatha Again!

NATIONAL LOTTERIES BOARD

With the Compliments of

C. V. Bhatt

From the Editor's Desk

JULY 20, 1971.

THOUGH we had planned to have a cover picture this week depicting peasant effort to grow chillies and onions as part of the national endeavour to make the country self-sufficient in food, the world-shaking news about President Nixon's intended visit to Peking before next May made us change our cover picture. The news was flashed round the world on July 16 and we had to strain our meagre resources in old files of news cuttings, photographs and cartoons to fashion a new cover symbolising the biggest political typhoon that has struck the two largest countries

on either side of the Pacific. The news was not entirely unexpected (both Mr. Nixon and Mao Tse-tung had hinted at the possibility several months ago), but it came like an unexpected thunderbolt unnerving many staid politicians in several capitals of the world.

American commentators immediately greeted it as a *coup* in the grand diplomatic manner and stated that it will help Mr. Nixon in the next Presidential campaign. Nixon's popularity rating had reached a low ebb in June. An

AP report, date-lined July 12, had stated: "public confidence in the United States President, Mr. Richard Nixon, has reached a new low according to the two most recent Gallup polls. They indicated that 48 percent of Americans approve of his performance in office, 39 percent disapprove and 13 percent no opinion. The polls show Mr. Nixon's current rating to be below that recorded for his four predecessors at a comparable point in time during their administrations. After 27 months in office, Lyndon Johnson's approval rating was 57 percent, Mr. John Kennedy's 61 percent, Mr. Dwight Eisenhower's was 69 percent and Mr. Harry Truman's was 55 percent. . . ." If all goes well and the visit really takes place, it will mean (apart from the problematic question of what impact Nixon's *detente* with Mao will have on the next US Presidential elections), at the very least that one of the greatest anomalies of the present epoch—the lack of contact between two of the world's giants—has been removed. The USA and China will henceforth be able to speak to each other directly and even if this will not guarantee understanding or friendship, it will help to sustain a dialogue which will contribute to the growth of international understanding and world peace.

But the question that seems to trouble many is what this new rapprochement between China and the USA will mean for the world. *Tribune* publishes in this issue a knowledgeable article by its special correspondent, *Scrutator*, entitled PINGPONG TO STOMACH UPSET, detailing the torturous and devious methods which had been adopted by the USA and China to effect this *coup*. As to whose *coup* it really is, Nixon's or Mao's, is also examined by him. But the finest piece we have this week on the US-China problem comes from our Correspondent in New York who takes the story back to 1945/46 when US Ambassador Hurley and US President's Special Envoy Marshal had negotiated with Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai. Some of the papers on these negotiations, so far held secret in the State Department, had been made public before the US Foreign Relations Committee towards the end of June.

WITH THE WAR of no return in Vietnam, the *New York Times* was brave enough to take the lead in publishing the secret Pentagon papers on the Vietnam war, and even a person like Richard Nixon

Tribune

CEYLON NEWS REVIEW

Founded 1954
A Journal of Ceylon and
World Affairs

JULY 28, 1971
Vol. 17. No. 5

43, Dawson Street, Colombo 2.
Telephone: 33172

CONTENTS

SOYUZ--II	4
MAO'S or NIXON'S ?	6
FROM OUR CORRESPONDENTS	9
New York, Washington, Calcutta, New Delhi Singapore.	
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS	16
REVOLT IN CEYLON '71	17
CEYLON: MARGINAL NOTES	20

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

Minimum Subscription
Rs. 30 per 60 issues
post free in Ceylon.

For air mail and Sea mail rates abroad, please write to the Circulation Manager, mentioning the country of destination.

TRIBUNE makes no attempt to exact complete conformity from its contributors, but rather welcomes a variety of opinions consistent with general policies.

MANUSCRIPTS. TRIBUNE cannot assume responsibility for unsolicited articles and letters. None will be returned unless so requested and is accompanied by a stamped self-addressed envelope.

who believes in *Pax Americana* (sustained by a Dullesian cold war logic now suitably jargonised in the idiom of the seventies) has thought it necessary to warn his fellow countrymen in the language of the Domsday Book. In a recent speech in Kansas city, President Nixon referred to federal buildings in Washington and said: "Sometimes when I see those pillars, I think of seeing them on the Acropolis in Greece, I think of seeing them also in the Forum in Rome—great stark pillars—and I have walked in both at night. I think of what happened to Greece and Rome, and you see what is left—only the pillars. What has happened, of course, is that the great civilisations of the past, as they have become wealthy, as they have lost their will to live, to improve, they have become subject to the decadence that eventually destroys the civilisation. The United States is now reaching that period". Nixon, as was to be expected, hastened to assure his listeners that he had the confidence that the US had the "vitality, courage and strength" to remain morally and spiritually healthy.

It is likely that President Nixon presently thinks that his chances for re-election would be better if US voters could be persuaded to believe that he alone could save the United States from the fate that overtook Greece, Rome and every other Empire man had built. But even such a staunch upholder of the Republican establishment as the *Time* (19-7-71) was constrained to comment on Nixon's statement that despite the "upbeat note, the overall effect was one of instant Spenglerism", and went on to say that "it was an odd allusion for an incumbent President who presumably must build a case for re-election. If there really is an inexorable process that dooms civilizations, can Richard Nixon—or any President—halt it? There are indeed a great many alarming symptoms in the U.S. that suggest loosening morals and declining will. But decadence is a big word, historical parallels are treacherous, and time frames too easily ignored. The decadence of Rome was proclaimed by many after the end of the Republic in 44 B.C. It took four centuries before the Visigoths sacked Rome in 410 A.D."

What *Time* seems to forget is that what took a hundred years at the beginning of the Christian era takes no more than ten years (or

even less) to mature in the second half of the twentieth century. Furthermore, it would also be wrong to dismiss arguments on this controversy—if it can be called one—as wishful thinking by the committed, for and against. The *Time* would naturally like the American century to extend into the Twentyfirst, and undoubtedly there are those whose envy—incensed by the stupid dollar arrogance of ebullient Texan millionaires—makes them to think that Judgement Day was already upon the United States. Whatever it be, the US still stands supreme in many heights of glory, but the continuing corrosion of the dollar monetary economy, the long-haired addicts of pot and marijuana, the heroin plague stemming from the Vietnam war and a hundred other symptoms of decadence, no doubt justify Nixon's outburst of "instant Spenglerism".

In this context, many questions arise from Washington's decision to embrace Peking—leaving many, if not all, its allies like Japan, Taiwan and the like, in the cold. Is this decision to "normalise" relations with Communist China part of the "upbeat" of US civilisation demonstrating that it had "the vitality, courage and strength" to change in order to meet the realities of the day, or is it another symptom of the "decadence" that has begun to afflict the State Department and the White House?

IN THIS ISSUE correspondents from New Delhi, Calcutta, Singapore and Washington discuss, respectively, the Indian Budget, Bangla Desh, the *Singapore Herald* and Aid to Pakistan. *Ariel* makes a quick survey of international developments, whilst *Serenidib* takes an analytical look into recent trends in Ceylon. The *Calendar-Chronicle* of the *Revolt in Ceylon '71* covers the period April 18 to April 23. The series on *Who is Behind the Revolt?* will start from a later issue.

Tribune has received a large number of articles, reviews, poems, short stories and letters for publication, but we just do not have the space for them, at the moment. When *Tribune* secures an additional two to three thousand pre-paid subscriptions and a regular advertising covering four to five pages, the number of pages in each issue can be increased without increasing its price—and we will then be able to publish every week all that topical which is "fit to print".

At the time of writing, July 22, the *Apollo-15* moon flight is scheduled for launch on July 26, and Soviet scientists had informed the Americans that there was nothing to fear from a return to earth after a long spell of weightlessness in space. This was done after a Soviet Government commission had investigated the *Soyuz-11* tragedy of June 30 and had reported that the death of the three cosmonauts—Georgi Dobrovolsky, Vladislav Volkov and Viktor Patsayev—thirty minutes before landing was because of a "rapid drop of pressure within the descent vessel" and that the pressure drop had occurred because of a "loss in the ship's sealing". It ruled out structural failure of the spacecraft itself, as "an inspection of the descent vehicle, which made a soft landing, showed that there are no failures in its structure". The report further said that a technical analysis had suggested several probable causes for the seal failure—this aspect was being studied and the report did not detail what the probable causes were. This official announcement has put at rest speculation that long spaceflights might fatally damage the human system.

Whilst most qualified Western observers tend to agree with the Soviet Commission's finding, they still do not discount the possibility that the three cosmonauts had died due to some form of space sickness. Long periods in weightlessness are known to cause a complex set of changes in the body. Among these are a loss in body fluids and a softening of the bones caused by loss of calcium. The heart, which quickly gets accustomed to an easier pumping action in the absence of gravity, takes a longer time to acclimatise itself to the extra load under gravity. This inherent weakening of the body, coupled with the severe forces that accompany re-entry procedure—reportedly more stringent for Russian spacecraft than American Apollocraft—could easily have caused death either due to heart failure or oxygen starvation of the brain. The Soviet investigation, however, clearly showed that this was not the case in the *Soyuz-11* tragedy. The Soviet cosmonauts had died because of a failure of the machine, and therefore it cannot be said that the *Soyuz-11* record of 24 days sets a limit to the time man could spend in space. Though this mishap may slow down the Soviet space programme and may

lead to major changes in the *Soyuz* spacecraft design, it is not likely to affect the long-term goals and strategy of the programme itself. The Americans too will be much more cautious than before the *Soyuz-11* misadventure, but they will undoubtedly push through their scheduled space programme.

Apollo-15 is a 12-day manned moon landing flight, and is to be followed by *Apollo-16* in March 1972 and *Apollo-17* in December 1972. After that no other *Apollo* missions of any kind are being planned. The production of *Apollo* equipment is being halted. Manufacturing facilities are being dismantled and production teams are being disbanded. US Space planners are now looking beyond the *Apollo* era—into the era of the *Skylab*, the shuttle space stations. The first *Skylab* is expected to go into orbit in March 1973. It will

be a real house in orbit, as big as a five-room house, with a kitchen, a bedroom for three men, a bathroom with a shower and a large laboratory. Over an eight month period, three crews of three astronauts each will alternately visit and live in the *Skylab* for up to nearly two months at a time. Whilst *Soyuz-11* weighed only 25 tons, the *Skylab* will weigh 90 tons and have three times as much space for crewmen.

WHILST MAN looks longingly into the unknown in space, a freak discovery has turned the spotlight on a long-lost tribe believed to have lived in the stone-age, presently isolated in rain forests deep in the mountainous interior of Mindano island in the Philippines. They had never known cultivated plants and had never tasted sugar or smoked tobacco. The Tasadays

have a language of their own belonging to the great Malayo-Polynesian group of languages. They subsist on wild tubers and animal meat which they cut with stone-sharpened bamboo knives and cook in bamboo containers above a fire built by rubbing sticks. They use stone tools for shaping wood and bamboo, and when first seen they did not wear anything except for a few adults who wore G strings made from woven leaves of a ground orchid to protect their genitals from "evil spirits". They worship the departed and have a cult of the dead. They are said to be "sharp and intelligent" and use a decimal system in counting which can go up to more than 20.

U. S. ENVOY MARSHALL WITH MAO AND CHOU IN YENAN



In Yen-an during his attempt to mediate the Nationalist - Communist conflict in 1946, U. S. Special Envoy, General George C. Marshall photographed with (from left) Chou En-lai, Chu Teh, Nationalist General Chang Chih-chung and Mao Tse-tung. Mao is now on top — but will US try to bring Mao and Chiang together again?

GOODBYE AMBER

By Jayantha Somasundaram
Vice-President, Space Club of
Ceylon

Salyut-1, the world's first space Station was placed in orbit around the Earth on April 19, 1971 by the Soviet Union. It was followed by the manned *Soyuz-10* which docked with the station, and then boosted it into a higher parking orbit. At 7.55 Moscow time June 6, *Soyuz-11* took to space. Aboard the craft were Pilot-Cosmonaut Lt. Col. Georgi Debrovolsky, Flight-Engineer Vladislav Volkov, Hero of the Soviet Union and Test Engineer Viktor Patsayev.

At 13.50 hours orbit corrections were made by manual control. This put the ship in an orbit 217 Km above the Earth. Its orbital period was 88.3 minutes and its inclination 51.6 degrees.

On June 7, *Soyuz-11* drew up towards the *Salyut*. Until they were within 100 metres of the Station the approach was effected automatically. But the final approach was handled by the *Soyuz* crew itself. A new coupling operation was then performed. This enables the Craft and Station to be more firmly joined. Their ends contact each other as tightly as possible, and insure a more effective hermetic sealing. After testing the hermetic joining of the vehicles the *Soyuz* crew detached the hatch on their Craft, regulated the air pressure, and broke open the *Salyut's* hatch. They then entered the station. From the transfer compartment they made their way to the operational compartment.

Salyut-1 weighs 25 tons. It consists of three cylinders hermetically sealed together. The cylinders are 2, 3, and 4 metres in diameter. Attached to the largest cylinders in the stern are the fuel tanks and engines, and on wing panels protruding from them are the Solar batteries. At the opposite, or narrower end of this Cigar shaped Complex is the docking unit, into which *Soyuz-10* and *Soyuz-11* moored themselves. The length of the Station is 20 meters and its capacity 100 cubic meters.

THE TRANSFER compartment which the Cosmonauts first entered contains the astrophysical instru-

ments, and also several control panels. They then passed through a hatch into the operational compartments. In this compartment there is a small Platform on which are chairs. In front of them are several control panels and dashboards, flanked on each side by command signal devices. There is also the post for measuring the parameters of the Plasma around the station. The craft also has a porthole.

Further away from the hatch are two more chairs, on either side of which are the main on-board equipment, regeneration installations, filters and the equipment for medico-biological research. The on-board equipment is that which ensures the functioning of the station.

At the time of the link-up, the *Salyut* was in a 210-243 Km orbit. Two course corrections were made on the 8th and 9th. The station was boosted into 259-282 Km orbit. This is its optimum orbit. The crew first familiarised themselves with the station, adapting themselves to the weightless condition. They were helped in this by their 'penguin' suit which maintains terrestrial stress on bone and muscles, and thus prevents the bone from losing calcium. From time to time they tested the calcium content of their bones with a calimeter. A special device took the cosmonauts' electrocardiograms to measure arterial pressure and observe the functioning of the heart. Blood samples were taken with the aid of an automatic microanalyser. The density of bone and tissue were measured and acuity of vision and strength of hands observed. One of the *Salyut's* four compartments was a gymnasium. They spent four hours a day at vigorous exercises. They ran on a special treadmill and even lifted weights.

The first few days in the station were given over to 'making everything on board ship-shape'. On the fourth day they began a long series of experiments. They began rearing a colony of tadpoles into frogs, because believe it or not, frogs have an inner-ear structure

that is similar to that of a fish. Thus, their sense of balance would be affected to the same degree as man's. The cosmonauts then raised a garden of cabbages and onions in a special solution.

The cosmonauts used dosimetric instruments to obtain the data on the radiation safety of space flights. They also tested a new instrument, the wide-angle sight for precision orientation by the sun and Planets. Flight-Engineer Volkov oriented the Station with the aid of a Gemma telescope, and then switched it on to automatic stabilisation.

SOLID PARTICLES called aerosols are ejected into the near-earth medium from volcanoes, industrial smoke stacks, and so on. They pollute the terrestrial atmosphere and influence the weather. Aerosol research was an important component of the flight programme of *Salyut-1*.

Complete scientific instruments on board the *Salyut* enabled the cosmonauts to perform many intricate and beneficial operations. The main ones being: "checking up and testing out the design, the instruments, the on-board systems and equipment of the manned orbital station; testing the methods and independent means of orientation and navigation of the scientific station, and also of the systems for controlling it when manoeuvring in orbit; studying geological and geographical objects on the surface of the Earth, atmospheric formations, and the snow and ice blanket on the Earth with the aim of evolving methods of using these data in the performance of economic tasks; studying the physical characteristics, phenomena and processes in the atmosphere and outer space in various bands for the spectrum of electromagnetic radiation; medico-biological research for determining the possibility of performing different tasks by the cosmonauts in the Station, and studying the effects of factors of Space flight upon the human organism".

On June 24, the crew of *Soyuz-11* broke the space endurance record of Andrian Nikolayev and Vitaly Sevastyanov, 18 days. They ultimately clocked 10 million miles in 24 days.

There are two main reasons for sending up a costly station like *Salyut-1* and dangerously manning it with cosmonauts from *Soyuz-11*. Firstly it is an experimental test

flight, that assures us that the Station functions properly and that we have learnt to build such sophisticated machines. Secondly it is instrumental in carrying out complex scientific experiments in the interest of astrophysics economics and engineering. As pilot-cosmonaut Konstantine Feoktistov says, "orbital stations are our laboratories in space".

Boredom was an important factor in this flight. A few days before the close of mission Dobrovolsky wearily radioed mission control, "We have had enough; but no matter, we are fulfilling our programme diligently and completely".

During the course of the flight Viktor Patsayev celebrated his 38th birthday. He was given an onion and a lemon by his fellow crew members to mark the occasion.

On Tuesday the 29th Soviet Mission Control at Baikonur directed *Soyuz-11* back home. On Wednesday morning after spending 24 record breaking days in an orbital station, the cosmonauts prepared for re-entry. They returned to the *Soyuz* and then proceeded to jettison *Salyut*. Using his call-sign Lt. Col. Georgi Dobrovolsky notified Earth: "This is Amber one. Every thing on board in order.... ready for landing". As the station drifted away from them Flight-Engineer Vladislav Volkov exclaimed, "I can see the station. It's drifting beautifully in the Sun". Before they terminated radio contact with the Earth Dobrovolsky was told: "Goodbye for now Amber, until we meet again soon, back on mother Earth". "Thank you", he replied, "until we meet.... I am starting orientation". Those were his last words.

THE CREW switched on a radio tracking beacon used only for re-entry and prepared for the plunge into the Earth's atmosphere.

High over Africa the ship's rocket engines fired, braking the craft. Then the *Soyuz* began its descent, twenty minutes later it passed through the ionosphere experiencing total radio silence. A silence that the *Soyuz* was never to break.

Frantically the Baikonur radio tower called out to the *Soyuz*. "Amber this is Dawn... come in please... Amber this is Dawn... come in please...."

A recovery helicopter found the craft in a few moments. It had made a perfect landing, but all three members on *Soyuz-11* were found dead, strapped to their seats. They had died during re-entry. They died at their posts with their hands on the controls, heroes to the very end. The Soviet Union's ace Cosmonaut Vladimir Shatalov said "So long as their hearts beat we heard their voices in full optimism".

Tass said: "In conformity with programme, after aerodynamic braking in the atmosphere, the parachute system was put into action; and before landing the soft-landing engines were fired. The descent ended in a pleasant area.... A recovery group found the crew of the *Soyuz-11* in their seats without any signs of life".

On July 11, *Tass* reported that the cause of the accident was a sudden loss of pressure in the *Soyuz-11* capsule. If the cabin depressurised during re-entry two things would have happened. Firstly the cosmonauts would have been subjected to anoxia, oxygen would have been forced out of their lungs and even blood streams. Secondly they would have been affected by dysbarism, as a result of reduced atmospheric pressure on the body. Embolisms or air-bubbles were found in the cosmonauts circulatory systems. The actual source of the leak has not been identified as yet. A technical analysis made it possible to establish a number of probable causes of the sealing failure, the study of which continues.

The cosmonauts were given a Red Square funeral with full military honours. Their remains were carried to the Square on red and black draped gun carriages, drawn by armoured cars. They were preceded by their orders and medals. Behind the gun carriages came their families and their national leaders of the Soviet Union. Leonid Brezhnev, Nikolai Podgorny and Alexei Kosygin who had earlier had been part of the honour guard, helped to carry the urns to their final resting places in niches of the Kremlin Wall.

Tributes to the dead cosmonauts poured in from every part of the globe. Thousands of weeping Soviet citizens filed past their remains at Central House of the Soviet Army in Moscow. On be-

half of President Nixon, White House Counsellor Robert Finch dedicated the 10th Track and field meet between the USSR and the USA to the memory of the Cosmonauts, with this oft heard, yet appropriate epitaph:

*They shall grow not old, as we that are left grow old:
Age shall not weary them, nor the years condemn.
At the going down of the Sun
and in the morning
We will remember them.*

IF THERE IS ANY MATTER YOU FEEL STRONGLY ABOUT

Please
write in
to **TRIBUNE**
the only non party,
non-partisan,
independent journal
of Ceylon and
world affairs
in this country.

TRIBUNE
43, Dawson Street,
Colombo-2.
Phone : 33172

Ping Pong to Stomach Upset

By Scrutator

HISTORY has rarely witnessed a transformation such as the one which has overtaken Sino-American relations in recent months. The announcement on July 16 that President Nixon would visit Peking before next May is the culmination of a devious process of secret negotiations which had begun ever since Nixon had been installed at White House. They had surfaced partially when China invited a team of US ping pong players to Peking last April. This had been followed by diplomatic cooing and wooing and the climax for this round was reached when Presidential adviser Kissinger had developed a *stomach upset in Karachi* in order to disappear into China for two days of negotiations with Chou En-lai.

There has been a great deal of romantic undergroundism about the manner in which the first stage of the *detente* between Peking and Washington has been reached—a great deal of hullabaloo about ping pong and a cloak and dagger air of secrecy about a *stomach upset*. The nett result so far achieved is that the President of the greatest power on earth today (or the greatest ever on earth) has announced his willingness to accept the invitation to visit a country which the United States has not yet thought fit to recognise in a formal manner—either *de jure* or even *de facto*.

In the broad panorama of the Dullesian cold war atmosphere, which has prevailed during the last twenty two years, when China and the USA had taken strongly antagonistic postures, what has taken place today may appear to be inexplicable *somersaults* by each of the countries concerned. In a sense, there has occurred a double somersault unparalleled in the modern history of mankind, but if one penetrates a little below the surface one can detect an undercurrent which could have enabled a discerning observer to predict this turn of events. There is no guarantee, however, that the present *detente* between China and the USA would

lead to everlasting friendship: it may turn sour within a short time and lead to a new era of devastating conflict between these two Pacific giants.

Before one speculates about the future, even as to whether the Nixon visit to Peking before next May would really materialise, it is interesting to examine how the present position was reached. Washington had always been scared by the word "communism" and even when the Chinese communist leaders sought the hand of friendship of the United States in 1945-47, the State Department rejected the overtures of Mao and Chou and planked heavily on the fading Chiang Kai-shek entrenched in Taiwan. The United States has now revealed (*vide* despatch from New York p. 9) that Mao and Chou had been willing to visit Washington in 1946-47 to come to terms with the USA in order to ensure that China did not have to lean too heavily on the USSR.

WASHINGTON had then miscalculated. Truman had prepared to place all US-China eggs in the Chiang basket and sought to denigrate the Mao-Chou group established in Peking by seeking to isolate them on the international level. This began in 1949 and for over twenty years, Peking and Washington have carried on the most vigorous propaganda war against each other. If one took the words that had been hurled against each other seriously, one could not come to any other conclusion other than that China and the USA were implacable enemies who would not rest content until one or the other was wiped off the face of the earth. Each country had organised a group of countries to assist them in this verbal and diplomatic war and these allies outdid each other in cold war propaganda and posturing.

The history of China-US relations from 1949 to 1969 are well known. Apart from ambassadorial talks held in Warsaw, there had been no open negotiations between the two countries to normalise rela-

tions. The Chinese intervention in the Korean war in 1950 and the growing conflict in Vietnam from 1955 had made matters worse. Even when China drifted away from the USSR, beginning from 1960, Washington still thought it necessary to carry on a bitter campaign of "anti-communist" propaganda and trade boycott against Peking. Even before the cultural revolution, the hostility China displayed towards the USSR had openly surfaced and from 1964 a vicious ideological conflict had developed between China and the USSR. Washington, nevertheless, continued its old Dullesian policies and persisted in blocking China's entry into the UN.

Stanley Karnow, writing recently in the *Washington Post*, stated "...In mid-1964, contrastingly, they (Mao-Chou group) reportedly signalled through Rumanian, Indonesian, Pakistani and other intermediaries that they were eager to talk with President Johnson, indicating that they sought to improve their ties with the United States in order to offset the threat of a growing Soviet build-up on their borders. According to University of Michigan, Prof. Edward Friedman, the covert messages from Peking to Washington suggested that Mr. Johnson sent a secret emissary to the Chinese capital. But, Friedman said that those appeals were rejected by White House. So the Chinese made it plain that they looked forward to negotiating with the Republicans and sought contact with President Nixon from the moment he was elected. On November 26, 1938, the Chinese issued a statement agreeing to resume the suspended Sino-American talks in Warsaw after Mr. Nixon took office. Among other gestures reflecting their receptivity to the Republicans, their main ideological journal *Red Flag*, published the full text of President Nixon's inaugural address...."

RICHARD NIXON too was ready for these overtures. In 1966 Nixon, then a Wall Street lawyer, had made a trip in Asia for his client *Pepsi Cola*, and had thereafter in an article in *Foreign Affairs* put down certain ideas which he was to elaborate later in the 1968 campaign. "Taking the long view", Nixon had said, "we cannot simply afford to leave China for ever outside the family of nations, there to nurture its fantasies, cherish its hates, and threaten its neighbours. There is no place on this small planet for a billion of its potentially most able people to

live in angry isolation." Fifteen days after he took office, Nixon ordered a major review of US policies towards China. Assistant Secretary of State Marshall Green, US consul general in Hongkong from 1961 to 1963 and later Ambassador in Indonesia, advocated a change most persuasively. According to *Time*, (26-4-71), ".... Presidential Adviser Henry Kissinger also played a major role. He was unhappy over the fact that the US, through its lack of contact with Peking, seemed by default to side with Moscow in the Sino-Soviet dispute. Nixon and he agreed that the US was not the prime adversary of either China or Russia, but that each was the other's worst foe. In that situation, they saw a possibility for manoeuvre. In measured moves, Nixon began relaxing Washington's rigid policy towards China...."

In July 1969, the US permitted US tourists to bring home 100 dollars worth of Chinese goods—thus taking the first step towards relaxing the trade embargo in force since 1950. By the end of 1969, the 100 dollar ceiling was removed and tourists and firms doing trade with China could transact business without limit. Nixon then lifted the travel ban to allow Americans to visit China for a "legitimate reason". (In late 1969, Nixon during his visit to Rumania had stressed that the USA would deal with communist countries on the basis of their foreign policy and not on their internal policies—this was undoubtedly a presidential overture to China).

A WHOLE SERIES of moves took place in 1970. Various restrictions on trade and communication between the two countries were removed by Nixon. When the Rumanian President went to Washington on a State visit, Nixon referred to "the mainland regime" by its official name: the People's Republic of China. When he later enunciated the Nixon Doctrine in Guam he indicated to China that the USA envisaged a gradual withdrawal of troops from Asia. In his 1970 state of the nation message, Nixon referred to the Chinese "as a great and vital people who should not remain isolated."

On March 15, 1971, the US lifted all travel restrictions on Americans wishing to visit China. On April 10, 1971 a 15-member American table tennis (ping pong) team arrived in Peking by invitation. On the same day, the State Depart-

ment in Washington had ordered US oil companies not to explore for oil resources in "disputed areas" in the Yellow and East China seas—thus virtually recognising Red China's claims that these areas came within her legitimate sphere of sovereignty. On April 14, the US removed further restrictions on trade and this began a new "thaw" in trade and diplomatic relations.

In Peking Chou feted the ping pong players and told them that a "new page" had been opened in Sino-American relations. On April 26, the US State Department acknowledged that it had used other governments for diplomatic contact with China after the Warsaw talks had been suspended in February 1970. On the same day, a Presidential Commission recommended to White House that the US should support admission of China to the UN under a "two Chinas policy" with Taiwan also retaining a seat. On May 15, the US Treasury removed controls on the use of dollars in transactions with China and eased other trade restrictions. On June 10, the President ended the embargo on direct trade.

WITHIN A MONTH thereafter Presidential Adviser Henry Kissinger was in Peking (the *stomach upset* visit), and on July 16 Nixon made his historic announcement about his intended visit to Peking. Every important capital in the world has reacted to this new and important change in world affairs, but it is yet too early to attempt any proper evaluation of these reactions.

The *Time* magazine, (26-4-71), writing about the *The Ping Heard Round The World*, raised a series of questions which become more valid and relevant today. "The Chinese Communists will not abruptly change the nature of their goals. Even so, all kinds of heady possibilities and difficult questions were suddenly in the air. What role would China assume as a no longer isolated power? Would the Russians get mad? Could the US start playing Peking against Moscow? (A dangerous but almost irresistible thought.) Would global geometry turn into a triangle of Washington, Moscow and Peking? Or into a quadrangle, counting Tokyo? Would China's attitude affect the Vietnamese war?...."

More questions obtrude into the scene. What is the position of Taiwan? Would Mao and Chiang

toast each other again as they did during the United Front against Japan between 1941-46? Where does Pakistan come into the picture—it was from Karachi that Kissinger flew to China after his celebrated *stomach upset*? What about New Delhi? What about the loyal allies of the US in South-east Asia and elsewhere who had faithfully echoed Washington's anti-communist and anti-China slogans all these years?

THE ANSWERS to these questions will not become clear for a long time, but there is universal relief that the dreary stalemate in US-China relations has been broken. Even if this "break might bring new risks, they seemed preferable to the old paralysis. In short, the great Ping Pong mission had turned the familiar big power contest into a whole new game—intricate, fascinating and almost certain to influence international relations for decades to come." This is what the *Time* of April 26 had anticipated after the ping pong bout. What will it say after the great *Stomach Upset*?

But the most interesting question which will baffle students of political affairs for a long time is: whose *coup* is Nixon's visit to Peking? is it Nixon's or Mao's?

American commentators have hailed it as a major diplomatic *coup* for Nixon which will help him to win the Presidential election next year? If Nixon can succeed in disengaging the US from the Vietnam war as a result of its *delente* with Peking, then this Peking visit, if it materialises, will be a victorious *coup* for him so far as the American voters are concerned. At the moment, ordinary American people will tend to view any action of the President by the impact it will have on the Vietnam war. Furthermore, the sagging American economy will get new vitality and life from trade with China.

But on an international level, observers will tend to think that Nixon's visit to Peking is really a diplomatic and political triumph for Mao. In 1946-47, Mao and Chou had pleaded with US envoys to arrange a visit for them to meet the President in Washington. The United States had spurned this request and had treated China like an outcast and a leper for twenty-two years. The United States had spent billions of dollars on military alliances, and on hot and

cold wars, to contain "communist China", and had "dragged a whole lot of countries to be hostile to China.

Now, without even an apology the United States set in motion a chain of events which induced the Chinese to send an invitation to Nixon through a secret emissary which he accepted with the utmost haste. Peking sent the invitation only after making sure that the President of the United States would accept it. Whether Nixon goes to Peking or not is another matter—so many imponderables may subvert the visit—but so far as Mao is concerned he has

scored a major political triumph. The United States has knuckled down to the People's Republic of China; Nixon is going to Peking, and not Mao to Washington; Washington has invited China to trade with it on a large scale.

All the "loyal" allies of America in Asia, who had taken hostile and aggressive postures against China, to please Washington have been let in the lurch—they have now to make their peace with Mao, and that it will be on his terms.

And what about Taiwan and Chiang Kai-shek? Many surprises are probably in store? Will Mao

and Chiang form a new United Front as the one they had in the early forties to fight Japanese imperialism? Will this new United Front be encouraged by the US to fight Russian "revisionism"? Or will this new Front turn on American imperialism itself? And what will Japan do? Where will she fit in?

The questions that can be asked is legion, and the answers will not be forthcoming immediately. But as matters stand at the moment, there is not the slightest doubt that the *coup* in the Pacific is Mao's and not Nixon's.

WILL MAO AND CHIANG TOAST EACH OTHER AGAIN?



Chiang and Mao smilingly toasted each other at a banquet in Chungking in August 1945 and then negotiated for six weeks — and failed to agree. Will they negotiate again in 1971?

From Our Correspondents

◆ New York ◆ Washington ◆ Calcutta
◆ New Delhi ◆ Singapore

U.S. — CHINA

SECRET NEGOTIATIONS 1945—47

New York.

For the last few weeks astounded Americans have been submerged in a whirlwind disclosure of secret and other classified documents euphemistically called the Pentagon Papers. They retrospectively gave the world a glimpse into the horrifying debris of White House policy making in Vietnam. But, Americans, as well as foreign commentators, had more surprises in store.

Carefully timed for the 50th anniversary of Mao's Communist Party (1-7-71), the inexhaustible Senator Fulbright brought to light secret documents, at a meeting of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee toward the end of June, about the hush-hush negotiations between the Chinese Communist leaders and top American diplomats in 1945-47. Whilst hawks and doves were pecking at the stinking heap of Pentagon papers, hearings in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee revealed the intriguing and hitherto secret story of the negotiations Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai had carried on with American envoys in 1945 and 1946. This was just before the Communist take-over of mainland China.

AT THIS SITTING of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, it was revealed that the State Department had at its disposal a secret report on Sino-American relations. The report pointed out that way back in January 1945, Chou En-lai, the present Prime Minister of Communist China, and Mao Tse-tung, the Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party, had informed the then President of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt, that they were willing and ready to pay a visit to Washington for the express purpose of holding preliminary talks with the US President.

Mr. A. Whiting, a former State Department official, a well-known Sinologist and a member of the Chinese Studies Centre of the Michigan University, appeared before the Fulbright Committee. He stated that in March 1945 Mao Tse-tung had a very confidential talk with a high-ranking American diplomat in which he had stressed that the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party (CPC) would like to establish the most cordial and friendly relations with the United States to avoid "too close" ties with the Soviet Union.

It would appear that Mao Tse-tung had expanded on his "concept" that China and the USA could well be complementary to each other in the field of economic development. China was an ideal market for American industrial production and could offer the US unlimited possibilities for capital investment. On the other hand, Mao is said to have stressed, China could supply the United States with raw materials and agricultural produce. Mao had further emphasised that there must not be and could not be rivalry between the two countries. Moreover, the US was the only country that was in a position to shoulder the burden of economic aid to China.

MAO, it is reported, had gone on to state that the United States should not be scared of the "socialist" orientation of China, that the Chinese people in general were not ready for socialism and that it would take a long time before socialism could begin to function. According to Mao, the Chinese would have to go through a long period of "democratically regulated private initiative".

In 1946, talking to George Marshall, special envoy of the United States, Chou En-lai had declared that China "would certainly have the propensity to lean on a certain country (presumably the USSR), but the degree of such 'leaning' would undoubtedly depend on the USA."

For a number of historical reasons, the Sino-American alliance, as then envisaged by Mao Tse-tung,

had not come into being, but Mao Tse-tung had obviously never given up the idea of finding a way to come to terms with the USA. In this connection, many knowledgeable Sinologists in this country have on several occasions declared that one major aim of the "cultural revolution" of 1968 was to eliminate the supporters of "pro-Soviet orientation" in the CPC and outside who were declared to be the "enemies of Chairman Mao's political line". The State Department and the White House had obviously not been willing to accept this analysis until very recently.

Political observers here have openly hinted that this recent meeting of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee had been timed with a purpose. The secrets of 1945-47 negotiations were undoubtedly revealed for the purpose of preparing American public opinion for the visit of Mr. Kissinger to Peking and President Nixon's subsequent declaration of his forthcoming visit to Communist China. In retrospect, it would seem that every move in the current Sino-American game of chess was to prepare the public and the world for the President's announcement about his intended visit to Peking before May next year.

There is a great deal of speculation here as to whether Mao's long cherished dream about the Sino-American alliance will come true? What impact will such an alliance, if it materialises, have on international relations? Will the USA let down its allies in Asia -- allies who had displayed open hostility to China at the behest of the USA? Will China's doctrines about its "communism" undergo changes in the context of its rapprochement with the USA?

These questions cannot be answered immediately. Only the history that unfolds itself in the coming months will provide the answers.

U.S.A.

AID TO PAKISTAN

Washington,

After several postponements, the meeting of the representatives of leading Western nations and Japan on the Aid-Pakistan Consortium which was held in Paris recently, it is learnt here, has decided to postpone indefinitely any further aid to Pakistan. Further, the Paris meeting of the Aid-Pakistan Consortium has declined to fix any date for its next meeting—a clear indication that it is not happy about the way Pakistan has managed its affairs.

The decision of the donor countries was based on a report submitted to them by the World Bank Mission led by Mr. Peter Cargill, director of the Bank's South Asia division and Chairman of the Aid-Pakistan Consortium. The Mission had spent several days touring East Bengal and was shocked with what it had seen and heard and its report gave no option to the donors but to refuse aid. The Mission's report is said to have been so categorical about the reign of terror Gen. Yahya Khan had unleashed in East Bengal that even some mild supporters on the Consortium of the Rawalpindi regime were silenced.

Among the facts that the Mission placed before the Consortium were: (1) the continuing reign of terror in East Bengal and the Army being given a free hand to shoot to kill, those killed being mostly Hindus and other minorities; (2) shattering of urban life to a point that many towns have no more than a tenth of the original population; (3) paralysis of the economy with jute and tea production being at the lowest levels possible.

The Cargill Mission had also held discussions with Pakistani authorities in Islamabad, and it was only after this it had also recommended to the Consortium that it was essential to continue relief assistance to the hapless people of the region and the refugees under the surveillance of the United Nations. Many representatives on the Consortium were also of the view that some sort of arrangement should be made with the elected representatives of East Bengal. But they did not openly publish these views in the hope that President Yahya Khan

himself would shortly announce measures for creating conditions of stability and security in the region. Only when purposeful measures are successfully implemented to bring real normalcy to the region will the Aid-Pakistan Consortium think of reconvening.

Britain too had taken a strong stand against granting any further aid to Pakistan until it was convinced of progress towards a political settlement in East Bengal. Britain would continue the projects in hand but would not initiate any new projects or grant new credit. The British Foreign Secretary, Sir Alec Douglas Home, in a speech in Parliament had stated: "..... But there can be no question of new British aid to Pakistan until we have firm evidence that real progress is made towards a political solution..." Regarding the hope expressed by President Yahya Khan that refugees who had fled to India should return, Sir Alec stated that "the British Government has represented to him the importance of restoring peaceful conditions in which confidence can once again take root and normal political life can be resumed..."

Sir Alec's statement came in the wake of a statement signed by a large number of British MPs who had, among other matters, stressed that: "widespread murder of civilians and the atrocities on a massive scale by the Pakistan Army in East Bengal was contrary to the UN genocide convention and is confirmation that the military government of Pakistan has forfeited all rights to rule East Bengal..."

The State Department of the United States too has had several misgivings about the policies followed by the Yahya Khan regime. There have been hints that aid would be stopped. Consortium aid has now been postponed indefinitely. But US authorities are tempted to render unilateral aid especially in arms' supplies. There is growing public opinion against further US military aid to Pakistan. The *New York Times* in an editorial stated the shipment of US arms to Pakistan put America "in the position of abetting an act of repression." The editorial had gone on to say that these recent arms shipments "represent a breach of faith with the American public, with Congress and a friendly foreign power. They serve further to undermine the credibility of the US government and put the US in the

position of abetting an act of repression which is not only morally repugnant but also constitutes a serious threat to this country's own long-term interest in peace and democratic development in the Indian sub-continent."

All this, especially the reluctance of the Aid-Pakistan Consortium to extend further aid is clear indication that the Western countries, US and Japan however sympathetic they may be to the military regime of Islamabad, are in no mood to throw away money on Pakistan with the overhanging possibility of a break-up of that country. In the meantime, political observers in Washington are awaiting some meaningful steps by the Yahya Khan regime to guarantee the safety of refugees returning to Bangla Desh. The "compromise" solution, however makeshift, had to receive the approval of India and allow UN presence in East Bengal.

But more discerning observers who have intimate knowledge about the problems of Pakistan realise that a short-term makeshift solution will serve little or no purpose. Many of them are already convinced that even autonomy to Bangla Desh on the basis of Sheik Mujibur Rahman's six-point programme was now outdated. Only true and complete Independence for the region could provide an answer.

In the meantime, Prince Sadru-din, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, and a person known to be sympathetic to Pakistan, was busy canvassing a temporary arrangement, undoubtedly in consultation with the West Pakistan government, but even he seems to have become pessimistic. He had indicated that a temporary solution based on some kind of autonomy would not be acceptable to most people in Bangla Desh today.

There is growing awareness in Washington that only a political solution between the Islamabad regime and the leadership of the Awami League would be acceptable to the people in East Bengal, and only a solution of this kind would be acceptable to India. It was felt that only a civilian government in Bangla Desh could give credible guarantees that refugees could return home in safety and security. A mere UN presence in Bangla Desh could not ensure the safety of the unfortunate refugees who agree to return to their homes.

PAKISTAN

BANGLA DESH

Calcutta,

The euphoria is gone but the hard realism is yet to be accepted: instead, there is demoralisation and disappointment. No war is won by a short shrift, less so an unarmed people's struggle against a well equipped modern army. This is the plain hard truth that has to be realised when one thinks of Bangla Desh. The first two or three weeks it was glory all the way with spontaneous mass upheaval against Pakistani army brutalities, and this was splashed as victory round the corner, by our press untaught in the vagaries of war reporting. In the next phase came sorrow at the inevitable retreat of resistance forces and this sorrow was tinged with angry frustration that we did not or could not intervene. Significantly this was the phase when demand for recognition of Bangla Desh was at its peak; obviously the implication was that on the morrow of recognition there would be intervention in support of the recognised Bangla Desh Government. The latest phase covers massive influx of millions of refugees whose poignancy and magnitude have overwhelmed all those who have to deal with it.

As spontaneously as there was cocksure confidence of victory in the first phase, there is today a lot of loose talk of defeat even in circles claiming to be educated. But destinies of nations are not determined by bouts of wishful thinking, alternating with those of despair and demoralisation, nor are the fortunes of war settled by Delphic oracle based on spontaneity. Such oracles had written off the Red Army when it had to retreat for nearly six months and the Chinese partisans had to take a decade before they could launch their counter-offensive.

It is true that the almost unending trek of refugees across the frontier has taken not only the public but also the Government by surprise. Whoever had visited the border regions round East Bengal, could not help noting that local administrative machinery had been thrown out of gear. In one single district of West Dinajpur, as many as fifteen lakhs have been jampacked and in practically all border districts of West Bengal, local officials are physically at breaking point.

There is confusion as to what is meant by the "political settlement" of Bangla Desh problem. Does it mean freedom fighters are being let down? This is being asked in many circles. At the same time, it is recognised that without some political settlement, this colossal number of refugees would not be able to go back. When Smt. Indira Gandhi spoke about the need of credible guarantees so that the refugees could return, it was obvious that she meant a political solution. Obviously, how such a solution could be reached, could not be spelt out at this stage when the world powers have to make up their minds; but it would be idle to deny that there is a misgiving that perhaps we are just drifting; critics of the Indian Government have already started whispering that having no-policy is being passed off as the Policy. In situations like these when sensitive diplomatic soundings have to be combined with accountability to the public in a democracy, there is no gainsaying that the Government is put in an uncomfortable position.

There could be no question of letting down the resistance inside Bangla Desh because it is to India's basic self-interest to see that a popular, democratic and friendly regime is installed in East Bengal. While this basic policy holds good, there may be difference of opinion how this policy is to be implemented. *Many have even seriously suggesting military intervention as the only way out, painting a rosy picture that it would be an easy job lasting a few days, with China unlikely to intervene.* As against this, others point to the possibility of the UN Security Council immediately intervening with cease-fire proposal making it difficult to proceed ahead. In the bargain what is today a genuine struggle for national self-determination of Bangla Desh people, will be in danger of being turned into another Indo-Pak confrontation with all its communal overtones—the very thing the Pak envoy in the UNO, Agha, Shahi, has almost wished for.

It will be rather naive to think that Peking will keep quiet. Already its troops' concentration of the Indian frontier is worth notice, particularly as snows have cleared off the passes. It is understood, when Pakistan's official delegation to China's National Day on October 1, 1970, visited Peking, Chou En-lai warned it of the danger of letting the demand for autonomy

grow in East Bengal, stressing how China had smothered it in both Tibet and Inner Mongolia. Chou had further explained that Islamabad, Dacca and Peking formed the crucial axis by which India could be contained. It would be equally naive to think that Pakistan would not make the maximum effort to retain East Bengal, and that the operation would just be a walk-over.

In contrast with this, there is a bright but arduous vista for Bangla Desh resistance fighters themselves, and the months of the monsoon provide them with the opportunity for consolidating their bases inside Bangla Desh, constantly harassing the Pak army which will be largely deprived of air cover during these months of heavy rains. The essential point to note about the perspectives before the freedom fighters is that the enemy has to be bled white and more protracted the war, the greater is the chance of success. Every month of war costs Islamabad crores of rupees through the loss of foreign exchange, revenue and market. In desperation, a regular army can fight hardest a positional war against another regular army, but gets more and more out of joint when faced with partisan guerilla bands dealing constant surprise attacks.

There is little understanding in our country, as also among a large section of freedom fighters of Bangla Desh, about the character of guerilla warfare. In vulgarised form, it is taken to mean Charu Mazumdar's caricature of it, throwing crackers and using pipe-guns. Partisan action demands highly trained mobile forces with an infrastructure that requires a network of units, all politically imbued with one single objective of ousting the enemy, while being extremely well-disciplined. In classic guerilla actions whether in Eastern Europe under Nazi occupation or in China or in South Vietnam or in Cuba, the ideological integrity helped to hold ground for obvious reasons. Here perhaps the model of the French resistance against the Nazis will be more to the point as it was built up from among diverse political elements.

Talking to some of the Awami League elements, one gets the impression that the realisation of the need for a united command is yet to dawn upon them. While formally there is no objection to united action, the urge to build it up still

lacks urgency. *What is perhaps not fully realised is that an election winning machinery cannot automatically transform itself into an organ for armed struggle; and the Awami League was much more dependent on the charisma of a single personality than even Indira Gandhi's Congress. And when that personality allowed itself to be imprisoned by the enemy, there is a big void in both organisation and in stature of the leadership.*

The redeeming feature is that three major components of Bangla Desh's political life, apart from the Awami League, have pledged support to Government set up under Tajuddin, whereby making the first opening

for united action. These are Maulana Bhasani's wing of the National Awami Party, the Wali Khan-led wing of the National Awami Party (whose leader in East Bengal is Professor Muzaffar Ahmed) and the Communist Party of Bangla Desh. Of these three, Muzaffar Ahmed-led National Awami Party and the Communist Party have already given calls for setting up a united front with the Tajuddin Government. Veteran Maulana Bhasani has so far avoided giving such a call for a united front at the top and has urged village-level united resistance groups, without a single co-ordinated command at the top. But there could be no effective

concerted action against a highly centralised enemy without such a command at the top.

All this demands that there should be urgent top-level consultations among the political entities in Bangla Desh, leading to the building of an effective liberation front which will not only electrify and inspire millions of Bangla Desh patriots, but also help to launch effective, planned, armed actions inside Bangla Desh. Besides their very appearance together will go a long way to lift the spirit of millions of refugees and instil in them a sense of hope about the prospect of their returning home.

TWENTY-SIX YEARS AGO — MAO AND HURLEY



In August 1945 enthusiastic US Ambassador Patrick Hurley (right) and Nationalist General Chang Chih-chung escorted Mao Tse-tung to Chungking to meet Chiang Kai-shek for the first time in 20 years.

A fairly extended period of continuous clashes and harassment of the Pak army units, leading to a *de facto* establishment of a partisan authority even in pockets, will strengthen the credibility of the freedom fighters before the world as an independent force, giving the lie to a Pak slander of their being products of Indian propaganda, or, at best, being Indian agents. As the tempo of such guerilla actions mount, directed and co-ordinated by a unified political front of different parties fighting shoulder to shoulder, the nucleus of a future state power of Bangla Desh, born in the ordeal of hard struggle, will emerge which will earn recognition by virtue of its own indisputable strength. And at the stage, India both its people and Government will be able to come forward more effectively in its support.

Meanwhile, the hospitality of our borders is already guaranteed to them, ensuring what is known in technical terminology of armed struggle, the advantage of a friendly rear. Bangla Desh struggle for freedom means a long haul, not only for our brothers across the border, but for us as well.

INDIA

CHAVAN'S BUDGET

New Delhi.

Finance Minister Y. B. Chavan's has not been an easy task to frame the Budget proposals for the current year. Seldom had the Government been burdened with responsibility not only to satisfy the aspirations of the people, but also to face the challenge of Pakistani perfidy on our eastern border. The task has been all the more difficult by the Government's economic strategy of "growth with social justice", discarding the former slogan of "growth with stability". The earlier concept had ensured growth of the monopolies, enrichment of the already rich, and excluded the interests of the masses from its purview. The people were forced to contribute for this growth, without asking for a share in it. But that policy succeeded only in adding to the distress of the people and their anger.

The result was neither substantial growth, nor any perceptible stability in the economy. The Government and the planners of that time could

find no solution to the ever-growing problems of their own creation. They tried to cover up their criminal action with the euphemism of "plan holiday". The common people who had suffered for the last twenty-three years were not prepared to wait any more for the promise of adequate food, clothing, shelter and jobs, their basic needs, to be fulfilled at some distant future. The radicalised masses amply punished those who conspired against their interests, not only forcing them out of the Government, but also making some of the notorious ones suffer ignominious defeat in the mid-term elections to the Lok Sabha. Instead, the people put into power those who had pledged to reverse the process, make the people's interest the first charge on the Government, and mobilise resources for economic progress from those quarters which had cornered the fruits of planning and development all these years. When Sri Chavan referred to the people's mandate in his Budget speech, he meant not merely the massive vote cast for his party or the number of seats won for ensuring a stable government for Smt. Indira Gandhi, but mainly this expectation of the people. It was "a mandate for socialism, a mandate for rapid economic growth matched by increased social justice".

The Budget of this Government has, therefore, to respond to the people's aspirations, meet their legitimate demands and thus justify the mandate. There are a number of welcome departures from the past Budgets, including an attempt to widen the base of taxation. In an indirect manner, the Budget has imposed a ceiling on personal income, pegging it at Rs. 6,000 per month of total emoluments. But then, under Indian conditions today, it would require much daring to ascribe to this measure any socialistic concept. Another measure with regard to the regulation of the valuation of urban property will be welcome. It will help in plugging loopholes and check the multiplication of black money through property transactions. However, when resource mobilisation is the basic task of this Budget, it is strange that the Finance Minister allowed both the corporate sector and the rural rich to escape from his tax net. Whatever changes that Sri Chavan has introduced in respect of the corporate sector, are only by way of rationalisation, rather than with a view to raise resources. He has, no doubt, served an advance notice that the development rebate

for new industries would not be available after the Fourth Plan period. He would expect the potential entrepreneur to take advantage of the existing concession and establish new industries.

If the Finance Minister had the necessary data on hand, he would have noticed that a large number of "new" industries during this period had been floated by the already established giant concerns. Moreover, there is no guarantee that the withdrawal of this concession would not be reviewed if his hopes of a sufficient number of new industries being established were belied. But the most glaring gap in the scheme of taxation that will strike anybody is the refusal of the Government to tax the rural affluent who continue to remain the most potent untapped source of Budgetary resources. Sri Chavan has recognised the anomaly of "growing inequality in rural areas" when the basis of taxation "has to be the size of wealth irrespective of whether it is derived from agriculture or non-agriculture". Yet, this is being avoided under the plea of agriculture being a state subject. It defies logic when the centre puts forward this plea, and most of the State Governments are run by the same Congress Party.

In other words, the ruling party while recognising the correctness of taxing the rural rich, is unable or unwilling to make its State units follow this policy, at this juncture at least probably in view of the impending elections to nine State Assemblies in early 1972.

It is part of the same understanding which concedes the need for implementing urgent land reforms, but refuses to introduce any measure in that direction. It is true that income-tax on agricultural sector will not directly flow into the Centre's coffers. But its indirect benefits will be immense. It will not only augment the States resources, but also reduce their huge overdrafts with the Reserve Bank of India. And to that extent, the draft on Centre's resources will be reduced. On the other hand, a failure to take energetic steps to reduce the growing income disparities in the countryside is fraught with grave dangers—it will not only affect industrial development but also engender unmanageable social tensions.

The freedom from taxation in the agricultural sector will naturally open the way for diversion of inves-

tible capital and savings from industry, when the terms of trade have already shifted in favour of agriculture. With the enlargement of inequality in the rural areas and further accretion to social tensions, the danger of "green revolution turning into red revolution", about which Sri Chavan had warned a couple of years ago, will be accelerated. To this has to be added the tension between the town and the countryside that inequitable tax measures will generate, leading to the rise of political feudalism. Already, the landed gentry and the kulaks exert sufficient influence over the majority of the State Governments to forestall any measure favouring the rural poor. At the same time, the indirect imposts in the Budget will definitely push up the cost of living for the low income group and the poor in both urban and rural areas. Even though the Government spokesmen have explained that these duties were of a marginal nature, the fact is that they enlarge into a considerable sum at the retailers' end. It is meaningless for the Government to assure of a marginal rise in prices when it does not possess any machinery to ensure it at the point of distribution.

Can the Government afford to take a complacent view of the price rise now after nearly 7 percent increase in the wholesale prices during the past twelve months and with a deficit of Rs. 220 crores in the Budget? If remedial measures were not forthcoming and pretty soon, the economy would undergo another bout of inflationary pressure with the concomitant rise in cost of production. The first victim of any failure to offset inflationary pressure will be the development programmes of the Fourth Plan. Even if its financial targets are achieved, the physical targets will remain largely unfulfilled. In other words, there might be a high rate of investment but without commensurate return, and much larger gaps would be left over for the Fifth Plan to cover.

We have also to take into account the added responsibility of providing necessary shelter, food, clothing and medical assistance for over 60 lakhs of refugees who have already crossed over to Indian territory to escape Pakistani genocide. As yet the response of the international community of this unforeseen contingency is too meagre. It is this country, in keeping with its commitment and pledge of support to the people of Bangla Desh, which

will have to bear the major burden. Moreover, the growing provocative actions of the Pakistani military junta against our border must call for adequate preparedness to face any emergency. That would inevitably require putting our economy on a war footing. Sri Chavan's Budget hardly reflects a realisation of the danger of unpreparedness against a wily and cornered military regime that is already trying to solve its problems at the cost of this country's economic well being.

It is quite correct for the External Affairs Minister to visit the capitals of USSR, USA, Britain and France, and apprise their Governments of the grave dangers created in the sub-continent by Pakistan's colonial war in Bangla Desh. But it will be unwise on the part of any Government similarly situated as ours, and fully aware of the aims of the Islamabad junta, to hesitate still to prepare the people for the necessary sacrifices they will be called upon to make.

If our armed forces are alert and defending our borders, the people are still inadequately conscious of the impending danger. Sri Chavan's Budget does little to instil this consciousness among the people. The Budget speech of the Finance Minister has no doubt referred to some of the urgent responsibilities that this Government will have to shoulder. But his Budget is too inadequate a response to discharge those responsibilities to the satisfaction of the people who have put this Government into power.

SINGAPORE

DEATH OF THE HERALD

Singapore,

This little island, 27 miles by 14 miles, went through a mini-crisis in May which had attracted world attention. When the Government closed down four Chinese newspapers which preached Chinese chauvinism, mainly on the ground that they were pseudo-leftist, nobody said a word. But when Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew brought the sledge hammer down on two English Language papers which were rightist in every way, there was a general hullabaloo in the columns of the establishmentarian Fourth Estate throughout the world.

The *Eastern Sun* and the *Singapore Herald* were both closed down in

May. Both papers were accused of having received foreign funds in "black market" operations from outside Singapore presumably to undermine the island's stability. The *Eastern Sun* had shut down on May 17 at the mere mention of its having received funds from Hongkong. The *Singapore Herald* tried to fight back, and vigorously denied having been involved in any underground financial transactions, and struggled to survive for about 10 days and was finally shut down on May 28 when the Government withdrew its printing licence. The *Singapore Herald* was in need of money for survival but the Government barred foreign funds coming to its rescue. It even put pressure on an American Bank, which had given it an overdraft, to stop that credit.

This now leaves Singapore with two English dailies, both wholly owned by foreign finance (British and Australian), both docile in their attitude to the Government and avowedly commercial.

The *Herald* had occasional mild criticism of the Singapore Government, which it felt was needed to improve life in this country. The Government did not take the criticism in that light but considered it "a cover for eroding the will and attitudes of the people in regard to certain fundamental matters." The Government also suggested that the criticism was also inspired by foreign interests which had put in money last July to start the paper.

Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew is of the view that in an emergent country complete press freedom led to chaos. He gave the example of India and Ceylon both of which he said were in chaos because of the freedom which had been given to the press. Both the *Eastern Sun* and the *Singapore Herald* were not leftist papers. They were admittedly Rightist. It was because of this that the whole of the Rightist opinion in and around Singapore, right up to Philippines and Hongkong, which had always applauded the Singapore Government's strong-arm methods in crushing leftist opposition, rose up in protest this time and shouted 'murder' in unified chorus.

The *Singapore Herald* was started last year by two Singapore and one South Korean journalists, with money provided mainly by a former Chief Minister of Sabah (East Malaysia) and currently Malaysian High Commissioner in Australia,

Donald Stephens. His contributions towards the papers total subscribed capital of about Singapore \$ 2 million was about Singapore \$1.32 million (Rs. 33 lakhs), Stephens had not given the money directly to the paper. A company was registered in Hongkong under the name 'Heeda' with the Southern Korean journalist who became the Managing Director of the *Herald* as one of the partners and *Heeda* channelled the money to the newspaper.

The paper ran into difficulties with the Singapore government right from the time it began publishing in July, 1970. The Government had expelled an American research worker, Shirley Gordon, attached to the Malaysian Sociological Research Institute. The PM's Press Secretary had telephoned the *Singapore Herald* three times not to print any report about the expulsion. The newspaper had however published a small story without any comment, because it felt that if it suppressed a story, which many people knew about, it would undermine confidence in the paper. This was considered an act of defiance by the Government and all official news sources were closed to the paper: it was barred from press conferences and denied official press releases. These facilities were restored in September, 1970, when the editor of the *Herald* met Mr. Rajaratnam, the Foreign Minister and assured the Government of his co-operation.

Soon afterwards, the paper began printing complaints in its 'letters' column from National Servicemen and their parents. National Service is compulsory and there has been a great deal of heart burning among people about this matter. Left-wing elements had resisted National Service and had fought court cases against it. The 'Letters' in the *Herald* did not attack National Service, but had brought out complaints of men undergoing it. This had annoyed the Government greatly.

The paper got into greater difficulties at the time of the Commonwealth PMs' Conference. It printed a story that American Negroes coming to Singapore were being harassed by the Immigration authorities. This the Government had considered as damaging Singapore's image abroad. The paper also printed a story about Zambian plan to retaliate against Britain if the latter sold arms to South Africa. The Zambian delegation

denied it and the paper was accused of trying to wreck the Commonwealth Conference. In sheer frivolity the paper had described the lower garment of the Samoan delegation as a "midi" skirt. The Samoan delegates took the description in good humour, but the Singapore Government was furious and alleged that the paper was showing disrespect to visiting dignitaries.

A week after the Commonwealth PMs' Conference, the Government came down heavily on the *Herald*. Government departments cancelled their subscriptions to the paper, staff was forbidden to bring the paper into the office, Government and quasi-Government institutions withdrew their advertisements to it. The *Herald* was again denied access to all official news sources.

At this point of time, the paper had used up all its initial capital. New investors were not coming forward because it was known that the paper was *persona non grata* with the Government. Its founding editor, Francis Wong, resigned from the newspapers in the hope that without him the paper might normalise its relations with the Government. Then, a Hongkong publisher, Miss Aw Sian, came forward with Singapore \$500,000 and promised to obtain more finance for the paper from Australian, Filipino, South Korean, US and British sources. Thereupon, the bankers of the paper, the Chase Manhattan Bank provided it with an overdraft of Singapore \$ 1 million.

But even under the new editor, the paper continued its "Letters to Editor" column open to views mildly critical of the Government. The Government branded this as irresponsible journalism and Foreign Minister Rajaratnam went on record to say that the *Herald* carried "articles and letters, under cover of criticism to work up agitation over our labour laws, over the Internal Security Act, over communist detainees, over the permissive society and so on."

In early May when Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew began to "look into" the question of foreign funds which had been pumped into Singapore newspapers, he raised very basic questions about the *Herald*. Why did a Malaysian politician, Donald Stephens, provide Singapore \$1.32 million for starting a newspaper in Singapore, which he knew had no

chance of making money for a few years? Why did he register a company under two dummy names in Hongkong to channel money for this paper? Was that money really his own? Whose money was the Singapore \$ 500,000 which Miss Aw Sian had given the paper this year to keep it afloat? Why did the Chase Manhattan Bank provide it with a generous overdraft of a million dollars when the paper had no real financial backing? Was there a secret US guarantee behind the scene?

Malaysian High Commissioner in Australia, Donald Stephens, said nothing. He also did not answer the charge that it was not his own money. In mid-May, Lee Kuan Yew called Miss Aw Sian and after a discussion, Miss Aw Sian wrote down a statement on the PM's stationery that she would not provide the paper with any more money—it is said that she had insisted that it was her money. The PM then showed the letter to the Chase Manhattan Bank and told them that it was foolish for the Bank to sustain the overdraft in view of Miss Sian's backing out. Lee Kuan Yew suggested to the bank that it should foreclose and try to recover its credit by liquidating the assets of the paper. The Government then announced that the *Herald* would be allowed to continue only if Singapore financiers came forward to invest in it. And that if none came forward the paper's printing licence would be withdrawn.

The bank following the PM's hint appointed a Receiver to recover its loan. Only one local financier came up trying to buy the paper for the proverbial song, but the Chase Manhattan bank was not prepared to sell at that price. On May 28, the Government cancelled its printing licence and the *Herald* went out of existence.

The Singapore Government has successfully ignored the protests organised by the IPI, an organisation set up and managed by richer newspaper organisations of the world and sustained by funds from certain US foundations. Everything is quiet in Singapore now, and even if there are foreign investors willing to lose money (for some years at least) in running a newspaper in Singapore, Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew and his colleagues have made it clear that they will not tolerate any newspaper in the "Island Paradise" which does not toe their line.

International Affairs

US and China: Set back for The Democrats

By ARIEL

July 23, 1971

THE FIRST six months of this year have witnessed far more changes in the world than during any other comparable period in the post-second-world war era of the twentieth century. But in the first three weeks of July have packed events which are likely to have far-reaching consequences for the next two or three decades. The most important changes centre around the United States. The publication of the secret documents on the Vietnam war by the *New York Times*, then the *Washington Post* and other leading newspapers in the US, was a bombshell that burst inside the USA in June, but the decision of the Supreme Court that the Government could not prevent the publication of even such "secret" documents in advance was more a reflection of popular sentiments in the country rather than the strict interpretation of the law prevailing in the US.

The Pentagon papers, as these documents are now known, have taken the lid off the Vietnam war. The Administration, and more especially the Democratic Party which was in power during the relevant period, have emerged in the most despicable light—despicable by whatever standards that may be applied. It was the American citizen who was fooled most of all. Cloak and dagger incidents were "manufactured" by the CIA and ballooned into hysterical slogans by state-sponsored propaganda machines to stampede the people into supporting the most indefensible actions by the military in the hope of a quick victory and everlasting glory to the Stars and Stripes.

The Pentagon papers have been followed by other disclosures which are equally damaging to the United States, and more especially the Democratic Party. Even with this deluge swamping the United States,

President Nixon has effected a *coup* in the Pacific which he thinks will help him and the Republican Party in the next elections. For some strange reason, the Democratic Party in the United States has always taken a strong anti-Chinese position ever since the death of Roosevelt in 1945. When Mao and Chou told Marshall and other US envoys in 1945-46 that they would like to go to Washington to come to terms with the US President, it was Democratic President Truman who turned down the offer and relied on Chiang Kai-shek in the belief that he could re-take mainland China. Truman started the cold war on a large scale and laid the plans to "contain" China (and the USSR). He went head-long into the Korean adventure which brought the Chinese into the fray.

Although it was Dulles and Eisenhower (together with Nixon) who extended the cold war and gave it teeth with military alliances, it was really a continuation of the Truman era cold war policies. Eisenhower was realist enough to bring the Korean war to a close, but he could not stand up to the Pentagon and Administration which insisted on intervening more and more in Vietnam. But as long as Eisenhower was in power, the US intervention in Vietnam was on a low key with a relatively small number of "advisers". Though John F. Kennedy came to power on the promise of ending the Vietnam war, it was really during his Democratic regime that the war in Vietnam escalated, step by step. The fiasco in the Bay of Pigs subdued his enthusiasm for foreign intervention, but by the time he was assassinated the stage had been set for major US participation in the Vietnam war. And, it fell to the lot of *ultra* Democratic President Johnson to turn the war into a full scale one. (The Pentagon papers tell this story of escalation in a way that literally makes a reader's hair stand on end).

AND RIGHT THROUGH this period of Democratic supremacy in the US, neither White House nor the State Department thought it necessary to face the realities about China. Chiang was a joke and the real power was in Peking, but the United States pretended that Taiwan was enough to represent the 800 millions of Chinese in the world forum. In 1964, when China had started its cold war against the USSR, Mao and Chou had made a fresh effort to come to terms with Washington through various inter-

mediaries. But the Democratic President would not have anything to do with Mao's China.

When Mao and Chou had sought to come to terms with the USA in 1964-66, there were certain elements in the Chinese Communist Party and in the country, who were opposed to it and who had endeavoured to establish a new rapprochement with the Soviet Union. The cultural revolution, which started in 1967-68, has wiped out all these pro-Soviet elements and even all those who had opposed overtures to Washington—as "enemies" of Mao's thoughts and policies. Mao and Chou emerged supreme from the cultural revolution determined to make China a super power. China made the atom bomb and is in a position to join the nuclear club as a junior member. It has displayed its hostility to the USSR in no uncertain terms, but Washington and White House under the Democrats were unmoved.

THE CHINESE therefore, had no alternative but to await the return of a Republican President. Nixon had already indicated in 1966-67 that he was for a review of US policies towards China, and when he became President he has given effect to it in gradual stages. But the finale of the first phase came with a bang this year starting with ping pong and ending with Kissinger's dash to Peking in true James Bond style to secure an invitation from Chou which Nixon promptly accepted.

This is undoubtedly a *coup* of the greatest magnitude. Its impact cannot yet be assessed. But whilst this mighty *coup* was shaking the Pacific region and astounding the rest of the world, there was a bloody bath in Rabat (in Morocco) when some top army men tried to oust King Hassan in a coup timed on his birthday. The coup was put down in an equally ferocious manner with everybody suspect being shot down by a firing squad within a few hours of their arrest. Within a week of the Morocco affair, there was another palace *coup* in Sudan. Some of the leaders of the new coup were in London, and when they sought to get back to Khartoum in a BOAC commercial flight, the Libyan Government (which was in sympathy with the ousted leader) ordered the plane, when it came over Libyan airspace, to land at Benghazi and took the Sudanese coup leaders into custody. This is a new form of hijack and international piracy, interfering

with international commercial travel. But in the Arab world and the Middle East, anything can happen today. Within a few minutes of the coup in Khartoum, Iraq had immediately recognised the new regime. But the UAR, Syria and Libya set out to help the old leader Neimery. There were confused reports about the embassies of the UAR, Libya and Syria in Khartoum being surrounded by troops, but together with the news of the forced landing of the BOAC plane in Benghazi came the news that Neimery had staged a counter coup. At the time of writing, nothing more is known about the situation in the Sudan.

King Hussein of Jordan, fully backed by the US, is waging a full scale war against the Palestinian commandos, and this has taken him out of the mainstream of Arab opinion under Egyptian-Libyan-Syrian (and Sudanese) influence.

Whilst the USA has taken many strides in re-establishing diplomatic contact with the UAR, there are whispers that the USSR and Israel might resume diplomatic relations in the not too distant future. In Africa, there is tension in many places, but the current conflict between Uganda and Tanzania might flare up into something

really bloody in the near future. It is said that Israel had helped General Amin to throw out Obote and establish his regime. Amin is now on a visit to Israel, and he is *persona non grata* with Tanzania, Kenya and other east African countries. General Amin has alleged that Chinese guerilla and military experts were helping Tanzanian forces which were causing border incidents in certain areas of Uganda. China is building a railway in Tanzania which will also connect Zambia to the sea, and Western propaganda has made much about the presence of the Chinese in Tanzania.

In India, there is a slow build up of tension against Pakistan with the influx of 6.4 million refugees from East Pakistan. The Hindu population in that region has been virtually eliminated: those who could not escape to India were wiped out by the West Pakistani army in a holocaust which amounted to genocide. But, in addition, millions of Muslims have also run away to India and all Muslims suspected of being active supporters of the Awami League were murdered with ruthless efficiency.

In Britain, the great debate over whether the UK should join the

ECM, on the terms negotiated by Heath and Ripon, has begun to boil over. The continental partners of the ECM have laid down their terms and Heath has accepted them. The Labour Party, or a majority of them, supported by certain trade unions, are opposed to entry on these terms. But the basic undercurrent is whether Britain should continue to fly the insular flag of a separate country, or become merged with the leading countries of Europe in a joint effort to make the Western European bloc into a super world power unit. England will lose its identity, but after a few years of austerity Britain may be able to re-establish its economy on a new footing.

Without an Empire, and with the Commonwealth in tatters, Britain will become sooner or later a depressed and "poor" area within a few years—unless it is able to merge with the ECM and rehabilitate itself on a new basis with part of its sovereignty subordinate to the Council of Western Europe. The vote on the ECM is due to take place in England in October. It will be a fateful decision not only for Britain but for all countries which, like Ceylon, had been appendages of Britain for over one hundred years and more.

CALENDAR - CHRONICLE

Revolt in Ceylon '71:

April 18 - April 23

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 21:

The 37th day of Emergency. The House of Representatives met at 2 p.m. today and adjourned until May 4.

The curfew was lifted at 5.30 a.m. and was re-imposed at 6.30 p.m. throughout the country.

Government offices and workplaces will open at 8 a.m. and close at 3.30 p.m. Private sector firms have been asked to re-schedule their working hours to suit the curfew hours. According to the Government communique: "... There were no attacks in any part of the country by terrorists who were now regrouping in pockets and avoiding the Armed Services in other parts. ... The morale of the Security Forces was very high despite the long hours of military duty ... the terrorists seem to have run out of supplies of arms and food. The number of attacks on food stores had increased in the last few days. In Moneragala a band of insurgents attacked a lorry conveying rice from Kalmunai and took 102 bags. ... The Security Services in Kegalle cleared the Aranayake area which had

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.

been a stronghold of terrorists and re-established the Aranayake Police Station. The Aranayake hospital which had been closed down by the terrorists was being re-opened. ..."

The Government had asked Mr. Mort Rosenblum of the Associated Press to leave Ceylon for sending "false reports" about the situation in the country. Under the Emergency Regulations, no citizen of Ceylon will be permitted to leave the island unless he

obtains an exit permit. Applications for exit permits have to be made to the Controller of Immigration and Emigration on forms to be obtained from his office at least two weeks prior to the date of the proposed departure. The House of Representatives met today, briefly for 18 minutes and adjourned until May 4, after the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene had declared that his Party (the UNP) and the entire Opposition extended whole-hearted co-operation to the Government in its efforts to restore law and order in the country. He said "... Let us work together to prevent any more deaths among our brothers and sisters some of them acting in the performance of their duty to safeguard the democratic way of life; and others in the misguided belief that through violence can be created a better society. We deplore any attempt to use the present sad moment for fault-finding or to gain political advantage. We must all co-operate to preserve the democratic way of life. That alone is the way of peace and progress. There is no other way." The Cabinet at its meeting yesterday entrusted Mr. Maithripala Senarayake with the responsibility of co-ordinating civil welfare and administration with the Armed Services and the Police.

The Soviet space-ship *Salyut* continued to circle the globe whilst Moscow kept silent about its progress. US Vietnam war veterans continued the anti-war demonstrations which had been scheduled for a week in Washington. Prime Minister Siaka Stevens yesterday declared Sierra Leone a Republic after obtaining constitutional approval from Parliament. The refugee exodus from East Pakistan into India assumed mammoth proportions as West Pakistani troops gained the upperhand. Malaysian Prime Minister said in Paris today that it was up to China and the US to bring about a neutral zone in South-east Asia.

THURSDAY, APRIL 22:

The 38th day of Emergency. The curfew was lifted at 5.30 a.m. and was re-imposed at 6.30 p.m.

The official communique stated that the Security Forces were being greeted with "warm welcomes" by people of areas being cleared of insurgents... The people in the few areas which are still controlled by the terrorists are waiting for the Government Security Forces to 'liberate' from the so-called 'liberators'... Terrorists continued to harass the civilian population. Boys are being abducted at gun point to join the ranks of the terrorists since there were large scale desertions. Parents are warned that they should look after their children and that they ensure their safety... Plans of terrorists to blow up bridges and culverts in order to distribution of food were in government hands... Government Security forces fought the terrorists at Meetiyaogoda and Naula..."

The *Sun* today published an on-the-spot account of what happened in certain areas in Kandy, Kurunegala and Kegalla by a special team of staff writers and a camera man. Headlined **TERRCRISTS RUN AMOK IN VILLAGES**, the report, which was a summary of a 36-hour fact-finding tour, opened thus: "Poor, innocent villagers in Kandy, Kurunegala and Kegalle districts have been subjected to a reign of terror by marauding gangs of insurgents from the time they launched their blitzkrieg attacks on the police stations in these areas. The horrifying tales told by the villages, the confessions made by defecting terrorists and the extensive defection, devastation and

murder in these areas extending from Marakapola to Peradeniya bridge are sordid and gory accounts of the massacre of innocents never before known in the history of our country... Telephone wire is missing along the road for miles and concrete posts have been partly demolished. Police stations have been attacked and we learnt that many who were maintaining law and order in these areas lost their lives. The marks of bullets and explosives on the walls of these police stations tell a woeful story. It is hard to believe that such brutality could have occurred in a democratic country such as ours... At the giant Thulhiriya textile mill now completely under the control of an Army Major, we learnt that there was not one single vehicle left by the insurgents. The heavy earth moving equipment, mobile generators, lorries, tractors, trailers and every other vehicle had been seized by them. All doors of strong rooms, stores and power rooms had been opened. The dangerous weapons found stored there could have been sufficient to destroy half the country's population but for the timely action of the Government and the Armed Services this may have well been so..."

The afternoon *TOC*, under the headline, **FIGHTING AGAIN OFF KEGALLA—29 TERRORISTS KILLED ARMS SEIZED**, quoted the official communique: "—twenty nine terrorists were killed in combat with security forces off Kegalla yesterday. Security forces flushed out areas in Mawanella and Aranayake. A large quantity of arms, ammunition and equipment was seized at Giritale..." The *CO* published the full text of CBC's last night's **BEHIND THE NEWS** commentary which had analysed the composition of the forces working against the Government. Pointing out that broadbased progressive governments have had to face opposition both from the ultra left and the ultra right, the commentary stated that this attack was both internal as well as external, and it had happened in Indonesia, India and other countries. The broadcast concentrated mainly on attacking Foreign Correspondents who the *CBC* stated had given a wrong picture of the nature of the terrorist movement.

Whilst the soviet spaceship *Salyut* entered the third day orbiting the earth yesterday, there was growing speculation whether another craft would blast off with cosmonauts in it to rendezvous with the orbiting craft. The ECAFE conference opened in Manila yesterday. Egypt has demanded an urgent official explanation from the United States on reports that it is supplying Israel with another 12 Phantom jet fighters. Egypt's Foreign Minister Mahmoud Riad was on a six-day visit to Moscow and agreement was announced on further USSR-UAR measures to normalise relations and this gave rise to speculation whether the Soviet Union was likely to begin a more active phase in its Middle East policy. An earth tremor shook Catania as red hot lava continued to pour out of Mount Etna in Sicily which had started erupting from April 5.

FRIDAY, APRIL 23

The 39th day of Emergency. The curfew which was lifted at 5.30 a.m. was re-imposed at 6.30 p.m.

All teachers in all schools had to report today. Those who failed to report and who had no satisfactory explanation for their absence would be dismissed. The morning papers published the official communique with the following headlines: **THE CDN—INSURGENTS LOSE MANY STRONGHOLDS—VIGILANCE COMMITTEES FORMED IN SEVERAL**

ELECTORATES ; The CDM—VIGILANCE COMMITTEES IN MANY ELFTROATES—RELELS ON THE RUN ; The Sun—TREMENDOUS PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR SECURITY FORCES. The communique stressed: "... twenty five insurgents were killed in encounters with Security Forces in hill country trouble spots—Rambukkana, Warakapola, Galigomuwa." Reports from other areas indicated "patrols of the Security Forces have killed several insurgents, particularly in Mawanella, Hewatte, Moragoda and Naulla... Insurgents continuing to loot food stores. A co-operative at Kebitigollewa was attacked..." Konduru was the centre of insurgent activity in the NCP this was attacked by a combined Army and Navy force.

The *CDN* reported that the Minister of Finance had authorised the Central Bank to raise a loan of Rs. 50 million for the Government. The Petroleum Corporation had warned oil dealers in the Jaffna region against blackmarketing. The *CDM* published a Reuter message that the US Pacific Fleet had sent an aircraft carrier, four destroyers and a submarine into the Indian Ocean for exercises. Though the Pentagon had given no reasons for this move, Reuter commented that this was the US response to Soviet naval presence in the Indian Ocean. The *Sun* drew attention to government's directive to fishermen not to carry out fishing operations in lagoons and inland waters during curfew hours. However fishing could be carried out even during curfew hours provided the fishermen left the shore and returned to shore outside curfew hours and provided they operated within six miles of the coast.

The evening *TOC* had a banner headline that **BOMBS AND DYNAMITE HIDDEN IN TOMB—COURT TOLD OF RAID.** "Hidden inside a tomb at public cemetery at Panadura the police found 16 hand-bombs, 60 sticks of dynamite, fuse wire, long sharpened wire nails and chemicals sufficient for the manufacture of 50 to 60 more bombs. The *CO* under a headline **SECURITY FORCES RETAKE ELPITIYA** quoted an official communique: "... Security forces yesterday captured Elpitiya from the grip of insurgents who had entrenched themselves in this district. The government announced over the CBC this morning that steps are being taken to restore civilian administration and to ensure law and order..." The *CO* published the text of last night's CBC's **BEHIND THE NEWS.** The commentary had assured the terrorists that the return to a peaceful way was still open to them. It appealed to them to lay down their arms and stop this bloodshed. It said that it was not the government's intention to decimate its own people, and that it wants, even those who have taken to terrorism, to take to a peaceful and creative life. The commentary concluded: "Must they (the terrorists) in the flower of their youth suffer for the folly of their leaders who have led them to the wilds."

Russia today officially announced that the three-man spaceship, *Soyuz 10*, which went up yesterday was functioning normally. West Pakistani forces have captured many towns and areas held by Bangla Desh supporters. A Reuter message, datelined London April 24, stated that "Britain had responded promptly to Ceylon's requests for supplies of small arms, ammunition, communications equipment and vehicles, Government Minister Anthony Royle stated today. Mr. Royle, Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary, was

answering a question in Parliament about helping Ceylon to fight insurgents. Mr. Royle said the British Government had also bought on behalf of Ceylon six helicopters which had been delivered to Colombo under arrangements made in co-operation with the United States. Assurances had also been given of Britain's willingness to help Ceylon as fellow member of the Commonwealth in the present emergency, the Minister added." US Secretary of State, William Rogers, was scheduled to fly to Ankara, Amman, Cairo and Jerusalem in a few days in a bid to resolve the Middle East crisis.

To be continued.

If you have
moved,
please notify
your change of
address

To :

The Circulation Manager,
TRIBUNE,
43, DAWSON STREET, COLOMBO 2.
Phone : 33172

READERS WHO GET THEIR COPIES FROM NEWSAGENTS ARE ADVISED TO PLACE FIRM, IF NECESSARY PREPAID, ORDERS WITH THEM.

TRIBUNE WILL HENCEFORTH SUPPLY COPIES TO NEWSAGENTS ONLY AGAINST ADVANCE PAYMENTS.

A DIRECT SUBSCRIPTION WILL ENSURE YOUR COPY OF TRIBUNE. MINIMUM SUBSCRIPTION RS. 30 FOR 60 ISSUES POST FREE IN CEYLON.

For more particulars, write to
The Manager
TRIBUNE
43, Dawson Street, Colombo 2.
Phone : 33172

CEYLON: MARGINAL NOTES

By

Serendib

July 22, 1971

AS A FIRST step in its programme of Rehabilitation, the Government seems to believe that if it implements the United Front manifesto without delay it would be able to solve all the problems of insurgency as well as others confronting the Government. Many believe that the insurgency broke out because there was delay in implementing the election programme of the UF. The problem is not as simple as all that. Much of what was promised in the election manifesto is unrealisable even within five years, but apart from this, April 5 has changed many things, and unless this is realised, the Government will flounder into greater instability than ever before. It is in the belief that the immediate implementation of the UF programme would bring results that the Government has rushed through the new Constitution through the Constituent Assembly. There are many reasons why it is difficult to arouse enthusiasm for a Constitution which cannot be said to have consensus based on conviction after appropriate discussion. Anything done in a hurry always carries flaws which are not immediately apparent. The Government is entitled to rush through the Constitution, but this awesome hurry itself tends to create scepticism. The Senate will soon be abolished and a new system of government will come into being before the end of the year. But the question of how far the new Constitution will resolve the political confrontation between the forces of the *status quo* on the one hand and the *revolutionaries* on the other is yet to be seen. The *statusquoists* claim that the new Constitution was necessary to bring about the radical economic measures essential to cut the ground under the feet of the insurgents. More important than a new Constitution, in our view, is an understanding of what is necessary and what is to be done, and there is no indication yet that there has either been a careful and accurate analysis of the *malaise* which presently envelops the country or the steps essential to remedy them. Superficial analysis,

whatever be the jargon of expression and however profound it may appear, will crumble like a house of cards in the face of reality.

In the period after April this year, the Emergency Regulations on newspaper publications have been severe, and understandably so. The rules were created as each new emergency situation arose but it must be admitted that within the bounds of what the Government consider national security and the limits of governmental activity in a period of stress, the Competent Authority has permitted much more leeway than in many other countries placed under similar circumstances. Once the ground rules of the Competent Authority are appreciated, it is possible to convey to readers the gist and essence of the matters in the forefront of public consciousness.

One certainly looks forward to the time that commentators can write without having to keep in mind the ground rules of a Competent Authority, and at the same time one must hope that sections of the press which had used the freedom newspapers have enjoyed in Ceylon to create political mischief and disruption through irresponsible sensationalism, will not revert back to their old gimmicks, after the excruciating experience the country has gone through owing to the April insurrection.

BY JULY 10, the 31 main basic resolutions had been adopted by the Constituent Assembly which stands adjourned at the moment in order to adopt the more detailed provisions which will give body and flesh to the basic ideas underlying the new Constitution. Though there were some heated debates on some of the resolutions, the Government with its more than steamroller majority was able to have every resolution adopted with the customary majority. All attempts to delay the adoption of the basic resolutions were defeated, and all Parties even in the Opposition accepted the decisions of the Constituent Assembly with good grace—except the Federal Party, which after the resolution on language decided to boycott the Assembly.

Government speakers, both from the SLFP and the LSSP, had pledged with the FP to have confidence in the Government that the new Constitution would not discriminate against the Tamil community in any way and that the provisions proposed, (the fur-

thest which the Sinhala *ultras* would tolerate), were a lequate to protect the language rights of the Tamils. But the FP wanted the *i's* dotted and *l's* crossed before it would agree to support this particular resolution. The FP stressed that it had been cheated in the past in regard to language. The UF spokesman, however, indirectly admitting that the FP had much to complain about, got out of their way to reiterate the mistakes of the past would be repeated in this regard.

When the FP could not have its way, it decided to walk out of the Assembly and stay in the wilderness, but the FP member of Jaffna, Mr. C. X. Martyn, revolted against the Party and attended the subsequent meetings of the Constituent Assembly. This has caused a first class major rift within the FP: Martyn thrown out of the FP and angry statements were made by certain FP leaders about the Martyn betrayal. But the resilient member for Jaffna has fought back—statement for statement with a favourable daily press to give him headlines and columnage. Martyn's position is that the boycott policy of the FP was suicidal in the larger interests of the Tamils and that he would be no party to it. It is likely that sooner or later one or two MPs of the FP would go the way Martyn has gone, and in the meantime the TC members of the Parliament, who are falling over the heels of the supporters of the UF among the Tamils in extending responsive co-operation to the Government, have reason to gloat over the Martyn affair.

THE FP is not the only party which is torn with internal digestive pains. The LSSP has had similar problems for sometime but they began to surface during the last fortnight. The daily papers published extracts from a resolution said to have been passed by the Central Committee in which the Government was sharply criticised for not implementing the UF programme with vigour and determination. It is believed that the majority in the Central Committee were also critical about various other aspects of the tactics, strategy and policies of the party leadership. One section within the LSSP want a merger with the SLFP and this wing was led by LSSP MP for Dehiowita, Mr. Dhanapala Weerasekera. When he failed to have his way in the Central Committee

he has resigned from the Party and has joined the SLFP and is now carrying on a campaign among LSSP rank and file to bring about such a merger.

There are said to be rumblings with the Communist Party as well, but what the grievances of the rank and file are is not very clear and their problems have not surfaced. Everything seems to be quiet within the SLFP, but the forces which are resentful of the radical measures which are being pushed through in Parliament and the Constituent Assembly seem to be purposely withholding their hand. Knowledgeable observers say that the more conservative wing of the SLFP would show their teeth at a later stage, but there is as yet no indication of any such development. Within the UNP, there is the gloom and silence of the graveyard with leader Mr. Dudley Senanayake behaving like the proverbial ostrich. After his long letter to the Prime Minister on April 25 on the problems of the insurgents, he has not made an important or lengthy statement on any matter of consequence.

THE ONLY PROTEST against the current UNP line evolved by J. R. Jayewardene, of inducing (if possible) responsive co-operation from the Government, came from K. M. P. Rajaratne in the Senate over the Holidays Bill. In the Lower House, the UNP fraction supported the return to the Saturday-Sunday weekend without even as much as a murmur. The UNP readily admitted that the Poya weekend scheme had not worked and that it was better to revert back to the old calendar. Only the inimitable Dr. Dahanayake and the pro-SLFP "loner" Mudiyanse Tennekoon opposed the Bill and harked to the Buddhist longing to enshrine the Poya. In the Upper House, K. M. P. Rajaratne has, at the time of writing, successfully maintained a filibuster for over four sittings by advancing various arguments against the Bill. His appeal was to the Buddhist public and he stressed that the Poya scheme was the rightful heritage of the Buddhists and that it was wrong to take it away from them especially when there was no evidence that the Poya weekend had caused any dislocation, as alleged by some, in foreign trade or in local organisation of work. In the course of the debate it was made clear by Rajaratne (and this was confirmed by the UNP leader in the Senate,

A. F. Wijemanne) that he was not a member of the UNP. He had certainly collaborated closely with the UNP during the last four or five years, and for all intents and purposes he had acted like a member of the UNP. It may be that he never became a "card-holder", but it is significant that he has chosen this moment of time and this particular Bill (with nostalgic inhibitions for *ultras* among Buddhists) to cut himself away from the UNP.

It is also noteworthy that the opponents to the new return to sanity embodied in the internationally accepted Saturday-Sunday weekend come from the old brigade of the Sinhala Basha Peramuna of the 1954-60 era—they were part of the first MEP government of S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike and had been responsible for the *ultra* flavouring on all language and minority legislation. When Dahanayake formed the LPP, the Basha Peramuna (which had disintegrated earlier with the intransigence and other activities of Buddhakkita and his Peramuna of Buddhist priests), this group has been scattered among all the parties. Will the Basha Peramuna doctrinaires now re-emerge anew in the seventies and become active as they were in the fifties?

IN THE MEANTIME, nothing concrete has as yet emerged regarding the short-term or long-term programme of the UF after the April insurrection. It will be clear even to the most innocent (in political matters) that there has to be basic re-orientation in the plans for economic development and rehabilitation. There has been talks and news about an economic package programme based on some proposals by the Prime Minister, and although different newspapers had reported that the programme would be made public "within a week", nothing has happened as yet. This continuing drift will add to the problems of the Government, especially because the new Budget has to be passed before the end of October.

Parliament, (meaning the House of Representatives and the Senate, with assent of the Governor-General), has to pass the Budget. At the moment the Bill to abolish the Senate has been adopted by the Lower House for the second time, and it is thought that this will be law after the expiry of the customary period set out in the Constitution. This provision really relates to Money Bills. Can the "abolition

of the Senate" be regarded as a "money bill"? To prevent any legal battles over the question of the abolition of the Senate, there is also a Bill to abolish appeals to the Privy Council. Can even this Bill be adopted only by the Lower House? Until the whole Constitution is changed, it is moot point whether the Lower House by itself can legislate on constitutional matters which are not "money bills". And, even if the Senate is "abolished" before October, can the Lower House by itself adopt the Budget? Can citizens and taxpayers be legally compelled to pay their taxes on a Budget adopted only by the Lower House?

Furthermore, after the Constituent Assembly has finished its work, the new Constitution has to come before Parliament to receive the necessary two-thirds majority. All this takes time however much one tries to rush the procedure. And, will there be changes of attitudes within sections of different parties on different issues which would make the requisite two-thirds majority somewhat more difficult than it is today. At a time of flux and change of a rapid order, it is difficult to predict what the next few months will bring.

In Parliament, the Prime Minister made a lengthy and exhaustive statement on the insurgency, on July 20th, and this columnist will deal with it in the next article together with several problems relating to the economy of the island.

To Ensure
Your Copy
of
TRIBUNE

become a subscriber.

Fifty Cents a Copy.

**Rs. 30 minimum
Subscription for 60
Copies post-free
in Ceylon.**

Write to: Manager,
TRIBUNE,
43, Dawson Street,
Colombo 2.

Phone: 33172



BRISTOL

belongs to the world
of today



RIGHT SIZE
RIGHT TASTE
RIGHT PRICE

