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◆ MCGOVERN,
TANAKA &
LIN PIAO

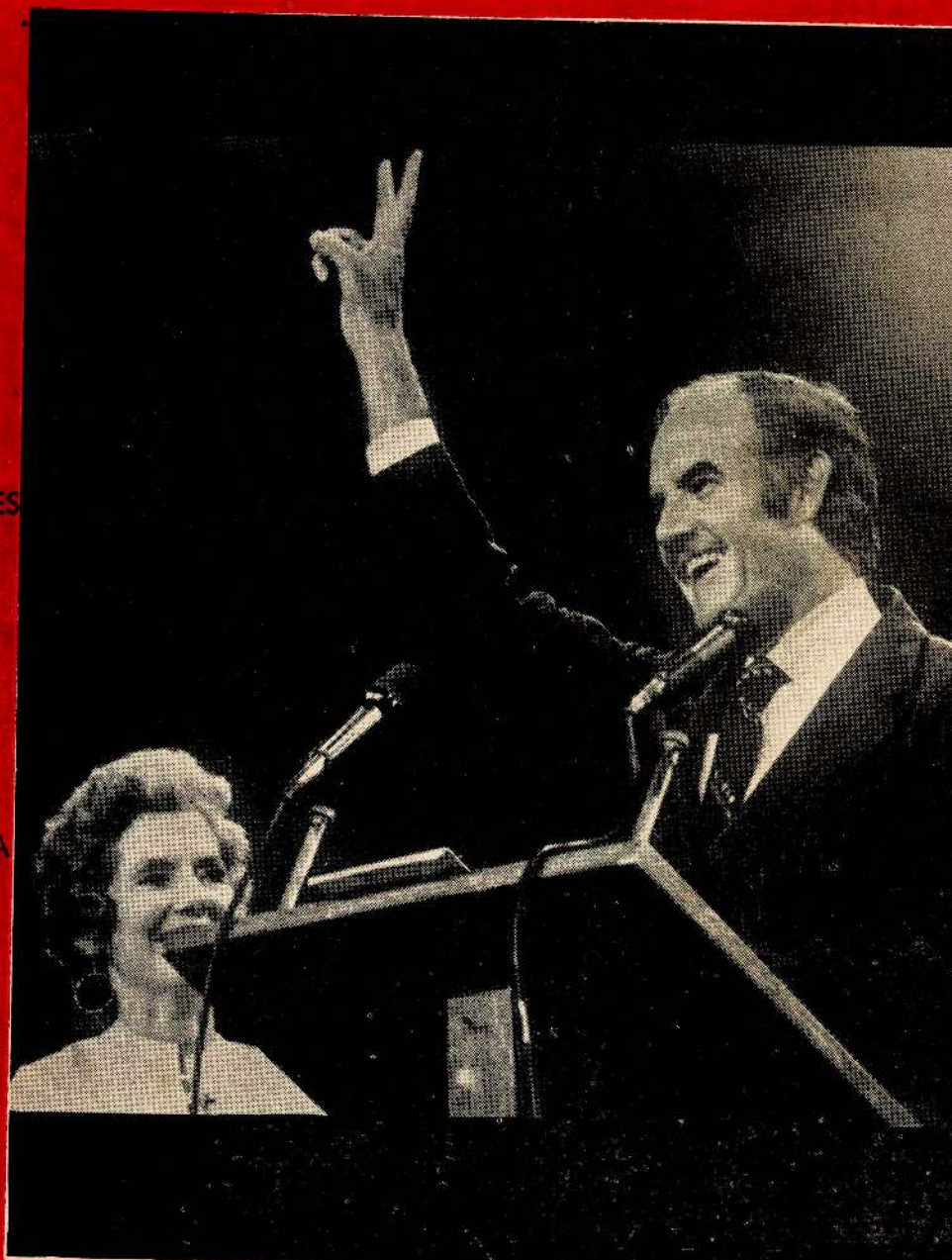
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About this Issue

THIS issue of *Tribune* has a preponderance of articles on foreign affairs and about developments in foreign countries. Apart from the fact that there was a backlog of articles from correspondents abroad, a number of our regular contributors who write on local matters were on holiday and this created a gap which we will bridge in forthcoming issues. *Tribune* being a paper of comment has to depend on contributors who over the years have become infused with the spirit of *Tribunania*. Newer and younger writers, adept at political comment, are slow in the making, but *Tribune* is hoping to slowly build up a team of new writers. In the first phase of euphoria after the victory of the United Front in May 1970 there was a sudden void in the field of writers who were willing to adopt detached and objective attitudes. Even those who had earlier been able to view a matter from many facets of objectivity were drawn into the maelstrom of strong pro and anti postures. But two years after, and more especially after the trauma of the 1971 insurrection and the deadening stagnation stemming from the continuing chronic economic *malaise* which has this country in its grip, there is a growing trend towards a

genuine desire to examine every question on merits. Old premises and assumptions have proved inadequate to explain many matters and there is a searching and a quest for new values and new yardsticks. The pages of *Tribune* will reflect these developments in the coming months.

In this issue, *Ariel*, who appears in our pages after a long time, has an interesting piece on McGovern, Tanaka and Lin Piao. About the first two there is plenty of material from the press of the USA and Japan, but the Lin Piao affair has been shrouded in mystery for a long time. China, like other communist countries, still believes that people should be informed about certain developments only when it is good for them to know. Foreign observers and the foreign press had noted that Lin Piao had faded out from the political scene from the early part of 1971, and that from mid-1971 he was definitely out of favour with Chairman Mao and the ruling hierarchy in Peking. Then there was news about the crash of a Chinese Trident jet on September 12, 1971, in Mongolia and soon after that there was speculation that Lin Piao and his party had perished in that crash. Normal curiosity had impelled many of us to probe into the mystery of Lin Piao who had been proclaimed as the number two in the Chinese hierarchy. But there was a stone wall of silence from official Peking. One felt that questions

about Lin Piao were regarded as symptoms of anti-China attitudes. But today, a leak from the Chinese Embassy in Algeria and confirmed "unofficially" from other quarters has shown that most of the speculations about Lin Piao were correct.

Friends of China and all others interested in that great country will be happier if the facts of incidents like the Lin Piao episode are released officially with a certain amount of promptitude. This will lead to a greater and better understanding of things in China. Understandably there is a great deal of confusion and misunderstanding about many developments since the exit of Lin Piao. And his exit seems to have caused many repercussions in the pro Peking CPs in Europe and Asia. The strong "barrel of the gun" policies, which were identified with Chinese revolutionary strategy, are now said to be part of the ultra leftism of Lin Piao and the 517 group. This has left many pro-Maoist parties and groups in Europe and Asia high and dry—and even in Ceylon the pro-Peking CP is now in the throes of a crisis and a dilemma. Has Shan been sacked? Or has he sacked the others? And whose is the true voice of Maoism in Ceylon?

- ★ McGovern
- ★ Tanaka
- ★ Lin Piao

by ARIEL



ON THE COVER this week we have a picture of Senator George McGovern with his wife taken immediately after the Democratic Party Convention at Miami Beach had nominated him as the party's choice for the Presidential election in November this year. The US presidential elections,


once every four years, is an important event, not only for people in the USA but throughout the world—taking into consideration the fact the USA is one of most important countries which plays a significant role in the affairs of the world. Admittedly Nixon, according to all reports, is running as the prime favourite. He has a great many things in his favour and the fact that he has been able to start peaceful dialogues in Peking as well in Moscow will go a long way in his quest for a second term. The war in Vietnam is the skeleton in the cupboard, but he may yet be able before November to make the US voters believe that he is sincere in his desire to effect a peaceful settlement of the Vietnam problem.

pirant for Presidentship wondering how to unite the three images of himself—McGovern as hippie, McGovern as campus rebel and McGovern as himself. The fifty year-old Senator from Dakota has stirred the strongest support among the idealistic, Establishment-hating, anti-war youth. The leader of one of these groups who pitched their camp at Miami Beach to see that their voice would be heard by delegates to the Democratic Party National Convention said ominously on the eve of the meeting, "We are going to have some action" if McGovern is not nominated. Now that his nomination as Mr. Nixon's main challenger in the Presidential elections on 14 November, is settled, he has to try hard to unite the disparate elements that make up his popular support.

But the Democratic Party is a powerful force in the US and the anti-war sentiment on which McGovern has stormed into the Presidential race appears to be a dominant factor in US politics today. It is important therefore to understand the reasons why a backbencher like McGovern has been able to come right to the front within a short time. There is not the slightest doubt that the ideas on which McGovern has polevaulted to the top will have a major impact on US politics in the immediate future.

But the forces against McGovern even within the Democratic Party were powerful and significant. A regular 'Stop McGovern' campaign began when it looked as though the Senator, in spite of the wishes of the party machine, might walk away with the nomination. Initiated by the centre of the Democratic Party, it was led by Senator Henry Jackson who disguised it in a proposal that he thought the Democratic party's best vote-winner was Sen. Edward Kennedy who however has stuck to his position that he will not be either a Presidential or Vice-Presidential candidate. The big unions, the AFL-CIO, hinted

A RECENT, widely published American cartoon on Senator George McGovern shows him standing before a three-sided mirror as a puzzled as-



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that they might "sit-out" a Nixon-McGovern contest. Their neutrality could be for either of two reasons: they wanted to wrest concessions from Sen. McGovern or by the threat of standing aside, or prevent his nomination.

The Credentials Committee of the Democratic Party did its worst to see that if they could not push Sen. McGovern out of the race, since it was too late and the Senator had put up an impressive showing at the primaries, it should try to discourage him by making it impossible for him to get a first-ballot victory at the nominating convention. A first-ballot victory is traditional and any contender unsure of it could be advised or persuaded to leave the race to a rival more certain of victory. The Credentials Committee refused to allot him all the 271 California delegate votes due to him on the basis of his victory in the primaries in the state. An appellate court to whom the Senator took the matter, ruled in his favour but the party challenged the ruling before the Supreme Court.

THE SUPREME COURT, which had formally adjourned for the summer two weeks ago, held an emergency meeting and by a 6-3 majority of a bench which Mr. Nixon has taken extraordinary care to pack with conservatives, blocked the appellate court's verdict. The majority of the court said, "For nearly a century and a half the national political

parties themselves have determined controversies surrounding the seating of delegates to their conventions" and, therefore, this system should not be altered by federal courts. Two of the dissenting judges, however, pointed out that though the court was formally granting stays that blocked temporarily the verdict of the appellate court, it was in effect deciding the case.

The issue thus went for decision before the floor of the Convention. At the Convention, a ruling by the Convention chairman barred the disputed 151 California delegates from voting on the credentials issue and thus virtually ensured Sen McGovern's victory. The withdrawals by Sen Humphrey and Sen. Muskie came soon after, the former virtually bowing out, by his withdrawal of a 12-year effort to reach the presidency-

Sen. McGovern enjoys the unrivalled advantage of being untainted with advocacy of the war in Vietnam and being one of its consistent critics. His programme runs a little ahead, in many respects, of the Democratic Party programme which has itself been described as "the most liberal in US history". At the core of his platform is the ending of the Vietnam war and what he calls "Vietnam thinking". In an article he wrote to explain why he had decided to run for Presidency, he said, "we have heard many times that Vietnam will no longer be an issue by

the time the fall election approaches. I don't know whether it will be or not. For the sake of the thousands of Vietnamese peasants still dying from American bombing raids, the GIs still dying of booby traps and heroin, the American POWs rotting in the jails of Hanoi, I sincerely hope it will not be an issue. But "Vietnam thinking" surely will be an issue, regardless of what happens in Indo-China in the next four months. By "Vietnam thinking" I mean wasting our strength on paranoid defence policies while neglecting the needs of our own people."

"Vietnam thinking" according to him, means spending not only 14.2 billion dollars on Vietnam in the last fiscal year but another 44 billion dollars "to implement our military aid commitments to forty five other nations." Vietnam thinking means "voting" to keep all of our present NATO forces of half a million men in Europe at a cost of 14 billion dollars." It was "Vietnam thinking", he maintains, that made President Nixon send an American nuclear-powered aircraft carrier into the Bay of Bengal during the India-Pakistan war "in a vain show of outmoded gunboat diplomacy".

BUT WHILE standing for reducing American military commitments abroad and cutting down the military budget to a little above half of its present size, Sen McGovern is not the dove all down the line. There is the large Jewish vote

that no Presidential aspirant can afford to ignore. While the Democratic Party platform pledges military aid to Israel, Sen McGovern's own stand runs a little ahead of his party in this respect too. His all-out support to Israel has brought the exclamation from a liberal commentator that "he has embraced the cause of Israel more hawkishly than anyone since Gen. Dayan". McGovern liberalism stops at Arab nationalism and regards Israel as a cause that needs to be supported.

Sen McGovern's domestic programme provides for drastic reform—in his words, "a phase III in economic policy—and that is to phase Mr. Nixon out of office and back into private life". The biggest and perhaps the most important measure that has given Wall Street the jitters is to plug tax loopholes which favour wealthy individuals and large corporations. He hopes that the reforms he proposes will increase the annual federal tax revenue by 58 million dollars. But many McGovern supporters fear that by Election Day, the Senator who is not without supporters among the very rich may come round to thinking that the tax loophole be better left untouched.

Sen McGovern's alternative economic proposals for the nation talk of federal investment of 10 million dollars to create 2.6 million new jobs, inflation insurance for those with fixed incomes, full application of the wage provisions of existing

collective bargaining agreements, an excess profits tax for windfall profits and increases in farm income supports. A pledge is also given to restore public trust in Government by giving the electorate reliable information and abandoning deceptive practices followed by Nixon administration officials.

The Democratic Party's platform which has been endorsed by the Miami Beach convention says tersely what Sen McGovern puts in campaign rhetoric. Its foreign policy commitment clearly says that the United States should defend America's real interests in the world and maintain alliances but should neither act as the world's policeman nor abandon old friends. These are formulations that can be interpreted as suits the interests of a President in office. John Kennedy in his inaugural address had warned his people that there was no American solution to every world problem and yet it was during the Kennedy regime that the tragic American involvement in Vietnam really began.

McGOVERN has been nominated at a very interesting stage in world politics, especially in Asia. In Japan, the US-favourite as successor to Sato, Fukuda, failed to win; and Tanaka, more acceptable to Peking, has become Japan's new Prime Minister. From all accounts, Kakuei Tanaka is a man who knows what he wants and it is said that his Cabinet

line-up is designed to see that he gets it. But he has sought to ensure a new "unity" in the Liberal Party by endeavouring to have personalities like Takeo Kimura and Yasuhiro Nakasone alongside proteges of the defeated contender Takeo Fukuda. The main problems in foreign affairs before the new Premier of Japan is to chart the policies *vis a vis* China on the one hand and the USA on the other. Although foreign affairs will play a major part in the affairs of the

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new government, competent observers from Tokyo have reported that Tanaka has his eye chiefly on domestic affairs and that his choice of Ministers indicated that he was anxious to control money, industry, education and security. Takeo Kimura, who was Tanaka's campaign chief in the bitter weeks leading up to the party election, now Construction Minister and Chairman of the National Security Agency, is known to follow the "pan-Asian" line and is deeply committed to anti-white nationalism which had marked Japan's pre-war politics. Kimura and most of the other Cabinet Ministers are well to the Right in Japanese politics.

When Tanaka started naming names for the Cabinet, defeated rival Fukuda embarrassed him publicly by refusing to join the Cabinet or even let members of his faction participate. Later, he changed his mind and let two of his cronies, Makoto Miki and Kiichi Arita, accept the portfolios of Posts and Telecommunications and Economic Planning respectively. Further, Tanaka is reported to have agreed to give the Fukuda faction "due regard" in future Cabinet reshuffles.

But the first test of the new Government will come when a new round of trade talks between the US and Japan open in Tokyo shortly. Washington is unhappy about Tanaka and US press reports have stated that Tanaka was the "toughest negotiator" in post-war Japan. And Nakasone who

will be of the chief negotiators in the talks has already said that one of his tasks will be to "expose American egoism." Furthermore, within a few days of its inception, the Tanaka government has put China at the top of its priority list. The public commitment to a government-level dialogue with Peking had indicated the new leadership's positive approach to normalisation of relations. Premier Chou promptly announced that China was willing to invite Tanaka for talks in Peking, and it is now definite that within the next two months Tanaka will go to Peking for talks.

This policy towards China was in the making even before the Liberal Democratic Party's presidential election, when Tanaka had formed a 'Troika' alliance with Masayoshi Ohira and Takeo Miki against Takeo Fukuda, considered a hawk in Japanese politics. The troika had agreed that the question of resuming normal relations with Peking should be tackled on the principle that Peking represented "the sole legitimate" government of China. This was a notable departure from the position of Eisaku Sato, who recognised Peking as a legitimate government but deliberately left its "soleness" in question. Sato clearly made allowance for Taiwan. But Tanaka's position seems to indicate that his administration will be willing to renounce Taiwan and terminate the Taiwan-Japan Peace Treaty—the biggest obstacle to

the opening of government-level contacts between Tokyo and Peking. It is admitted that today it is not so much the timing of Japan's renunciation of the Treaty with Taiwan but how and in what manner it does so. The Government does not seem to have reached any definite conclusion on this aspect which involves a fundamental re-writing of the policy which has guided the nation for the past quarter of a century—in strict obedience to the cold war policy followed by the US. One development of significance is that Premier Chou had reportedly made a statement to members of Komei Party delegation in May that "a declaration of intent to renounce the Treaty would be sufficient to open government-level talks between Tokyo and Peking."

China has also recently indicated great flexibility in its Japan policy, although it had never retracted from its statements that both Sato and Fukuda were *personae non gratae*. Internal opposition to Tanaka's new policy towards China said to be more emotional than theoretical (or ideological) and the opposition would mainly stem from financial interests which have a stake in Taiwan. The most formidable opposition to Tanaka's new policy towards China will come from the Liberal Democratic Party's hawkish rightwing sector controlled by former prime ministers Nobusuke Kishi and Sato, and Takeo Fukuda, who have formed an 80-man anti-Tanaka

group in the Lower House. This sector guards the \$100 million investment in (and \$900 million annual trade with) Taiwan. Behind it is a powerful rightwing group of business leaders deeply committed to Taiwan and South Korea and is led by Kogoro Uemura the President of *Keidanren* (the Federation of Economic Organisations). How soon Tanaka will be able to respond to Chou's "invitation" will depend on how soon he is able to surmount the stiff resistance the Kishi-Sato-Fukuda group will put up against the attempt to ditch Taiwan.

Even more significant than Tanaka's elevation as the Prime Minister of Japan, so far as global geopolitics is concerned, is the news that, at Simla, India and Pakistan had decided to negotiate rather than fight and the news that North and South Korea had begun bi-lateral talks on re-unification. The election of Tanaka, the bilateral agreement between India and Pakistan and the dialogue between North and South Korea marked the beginning of the end of cold war politics which had dominated Asia since the second world war. The great Powers of the West had decreed that the cold war was the best form of maintaining their supremacy in Asia and that bi-lateral talks were bad for "developing nations" because only the powerful and rich negotiators from the "advanced countries" could settle the problems of Asia and of the world. Current events in

Asia demonstrate that Japan and China, India and Pakistan and North and South Korea are willing to bury the hatchets which had been imposed between them by the cold war policies initiated by Truman, Churchill and Dulles. If this trend gathers momentum, a major *de rente* in Asia is on the cards.

AN EVEN MORE staggering item of news was officially confirmed last week when the Chinese Embassy in Algeria released the story that Lin Piao had been killed in a plane crash in Mongolia on September 12-13 last year and that Lin Piao had tried to oust Mao (through an assassination attempt). This story has now been confirmed by Chinese sources in Paris, London and in Peking. The timing of the news release may have some significance, but the reasons for it are not yet clear. But for some weeks now, the story about Lin Piao was slowly filtering out from official quarters in Peking. Earlier, it was asserted that Lin Piao (without being named) had been the leader of an ultra leftist revolutionary group—named the 517 group—which had given a bizarre and unhealthy touch to the Cultural Revolution.

At the same time, the little *Red Book*, compiled and edited by Lin Piao, containing the gems of *Mao's Thoughts* had gone out of favour. Reports indicated that though the Little Red Book is still used by party-member guides, it has

"lost all its aura of greatness: today it is merely a reference book." The original edition had an introduction by Lin Piao: the new edition has no such foreword. Commentators had pointed out that Lin Piao's foreword had statements about Mao himself which were "unmaoist". For instance he had stated that Mao "has inherited, defended and developed Marxism with genius". According to Mao this attribution of *genius* even to Mao was unmaoist. Only the masses, according to Mao, could claim the accolades of heroism. Lin Piao, like all "sham marxists" is accused of having peddled the theory of "geniuses", "great men," and "emperors"—a true Marxist would have only hailed the masses as true heroes. The official line today is that "heroes" appear out of historical necessity—they are products of mass struggles. As the *Peoples Daily* recently put it: "every time class contradiction intensifies and mass struggle unfolds tempestuously, heroic characters who represent the interests of the masses and their will always appear..... it is absolutely not the hero who makes circumstances but the circumstances the hero". The main ideological accusation against Lin Piao, as against Liu Shi-Chi and his "swindlers", was that they had tried to make out that they as self-appointed heroes, could influence history.

The *Far Eastern economic Review* of July 22 had an

Interesting article datelined Yennan by a writer called Cheng Huan. In the light of what has since happened it is worth quoting in *extenso* from this article. "Marshal Lin Piao, once Mao Tsetung's 'close comrade, in arms' and a companion on the Long March 37 years ago, is now officially dead. Communist Party members here and in Kwangchow, Soochow, Nanking, Shanghai and Peking have been told Lin's Trident jet was shot down over Mongolia last September, killing all aboard including his wife, son and four unnamed army officials. The demise of Chairman Mao's former protege, in fact, appears to have been nothing short of an aerial execution.

"High on the list of Lin Piao's official crimes was an accusation that he had promoted the 'sham-Marxist theory of genius, which maintains that it is the genius who makes world history rather than vice versa. Somewhat less seriously, he stood accused of over-emphasising the theory rather than the practice of literature and art. Lin's special invention, the Little Red Book hung like an albatross round his neck. Ever since this celebrated book of Mao quotations appeared in 1966, it seems, Lin's days were numbered in the minds of many influential party members. And the present Hundred Flowers campaign (REVIEW, May 13) concentrates on the role of the revolutionary hero for a very special reason: to refute the utterances to Lin Piao and his

ilk who had suggested that geniuses, emperors, generals, princes and prophets are the real heroes of history.

"I was first told of Lin's death in Amoy last December, and card-carrying communists are now filling in many of the crevices surrounding the saga. Lin is said to have been responsible for a paper called the *571 Document*, distributed by his 'trusted subordinates,' in which he proposed that Mao's title be changed from "Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party" to "Chairman of the People's Republic of China." Such a change, of course, would have reduced Mao's status overnight to that of a mere figurehead.

"Even more rashly, so the official story goes, Lin expressed disapproval of the manner in which Mao did away with old comrades such as Wang Ming, Chou Yang, Liu Shao-chi and Chen Po-te. To add salt to the wound he was opening, Lin reportedly encouraged suspicions that his supporters had been responsible for the 1967 Wuban Uprising which directly threatened Peking's authority.

"The numbers 571 when translated into Mandarin (*Wu-tsu-yi*) can also mean 'Wu-(han) Uprising.' Some observers, misreading the meaning behind this code number, have suggested there was such a deep division within the army that it erupted into a shootout at Wuhan last September. On the contrary, it seems that Lin

Piao was capitalising on the 1967 Wuhan Uprising to gather PLA support for his 'plots' against Mao. What is certain is that the 1967 uprising was much more serious than most people have been led to believe. When General Chen Tsai-tao, whose command included the vital Yangtze River city of Wuhan, seized two top Mao emissaries sent from Peking to bring him to heel, fresh encouragement was given to anti-Maoist elements in central China who were sapping the strength of the Cultural Revolution.

"At secret meetings of top revolutionary committees in January and February this year, an official paper—*Study of the 571 Document*—apparently was used to explain Lin Piao's crimes. Copies of the *Study*, sealed in Peking, were hand-delivered by loyal northern PLA soldiers to places such as Canton and Shanghai; this may be taken as a clear indication that former chief of staff Huang Yung-sheng or his successor still commands support in some parts of southern China.

"The *Study*, setting down the official story, reveals that Lin planned to assassinate Mao in Shanghai last year and that his son, Lin Li-kuo, then Deputy Director of the Air Force Combat Department, played a central role. The plot failed only because his daughter gave the plan away at the last minute. There is no evidence to suggest that Lin disapproved of China's policy towards the United States."

Continued on p. 21

INDIA

Future of Planning: What Next?

New Delhi,

THE Indian capital is at the present moment passing through a strange political climate when it is difficult to forecast what will happen next. After the massive electoral victory for Smt Gandhi, all eyes are naturally turned on the question of radical economic measures implied in her call for *Garibi Hatao*.

The debate on the economic policies—or the new economic policy as some would prefer to call it—has now entered a new and crucial phase. The preparation of the approach to the Fifth Five Year Plan document is the critical preliminary exercise to lay down the basis on which the pace and direction of the Fifth Five Year Plan will be determined. The current exercises aimed towards evolving an integrated approach to various economic problems and the debate within the ruling party on the implementation of its poll promises need now to be raised from the level of generalities to that of precise formulation of immediate national objectives.

THE AGENDA for the National Development Council in fact puts the entire political

leadership in the country to test. The technocrats and the experts have thrown the ball in the court of the politicians. Shorn of all its verbiage the Planning Commission's note to the Central Cabinet and the National Development Council on the question of determining the broad postulates of the Approach to the Fifth Plan can be described as a series of straight questions from the experts to the political leadership, namely, are you really serious in your declared objective of eradicating poverty? Are you really serious in achieving self-reliance? It is economically and technically feasible to achieve these objectives if you are serious or you are prepared to take the necessary policy decisions and administrative and political steps. If you are not prepared to take these harsh decisions please let us know which of the objectives you would like to forego.

The *Garibi Hatao* slogan has been given a concrete content with the formulation of a two pronged programme incorporating schemes for generation of employment on a big scale and a national minimum needs programme to supplement the low levels of wage earnings in the rural areas. The Planning Commission feels th-

at it is possible to provide guaranteed employment to all the job-seekers in the rural areas by the end of the Fifth Plan, and also to provide employment to all the jobless technically trained engineers, diploma holders, science graduates etc within two or three years.

Unemployment among the uneducated can also be tackled in a big way. Broad outline of programmes aimed at tackling the main cause of abject poverty—which have been identified as open employment, under-employment and low resource base of a very large number of producers in agricultural and service sectors—have been taken up. These employment intensive schemes pertain to minor irrigation, soil conservation, area development, dairy and animal husbandry, forestry, fishery, warehousing and marketing small-scale industries including agro-industries, roads and special programmes such as SFDA, MFAL, CSRE and drought-prone areas programmes.

SINCE THE WAGE levels in such employment programmes will essentially be below the minimum national needs programme is envisaged as an effort to provide for social consumption in the form of education, health, nutrition, drinking water supply, housing, communications and electricity upto a minimum level.

This is necessary because people living in twenty-five per cent of the Indian villages who have no source of portable

drinking water supply from the available water sources, have become a severe health hazard; the objective of having at least one primary health centre for the population of eighty thousand to one lakh has still many deficiencies; and the estimated achievement of provision of electricity to 40 percent of villages by the end of Fifth Plan may lead to gross regional disparities and distortions in economy. All this can be checked only by a minimum needs programme.

If the political leadership accepts these objectives, then it will also have to undertake the job of raising of additional resources to the extent of Rs. 6,000 to Rs. 7,500 crores. Will the Kulak lobby and the Chief Ministers who have not yet demonstrated the strength to resist the pressure from this lobby, allow the mopping up of resources from the affluent farmer? If the recommendations of the K. N. Raj Committee have to meet the fate which overtook the recommendations of the Land Reforms panel over the last decade, it will only demonstrate that the political leadership has failed the country at a critical time.

THERE is a feeling, or at least an argument, in some of the decision-making quarters that the development in the industrial field require an involvement and participation of the big monopoly houses also. This argument is built up on two pillars: First, the character of Indian monopoly and

its relationship with the State has undergone a change with active participation on a big scale by the public sector financial institutions in the investment structure of the monopoly houses. The State has become to an increasing degree a co-owner of these industries. Secondly it is argued that the public sector lacks the managerial cadre to man industries and therefore nothing should be done which will upset production.

It was perhaps in this background that Sri Subramaniam told the Parliament that while the monopoly structures have to be pulled down, it should be done in a gradual manner so that the economy is not pushed into chaos and production does not suffer.

SUCH AN approach according to its critics, is largely an impressionistic reflex of mind which refuses to see that the growth of monopolies has already pushed the Indian economy into a state of virtual chaos. The Indian monopoly houses have grown not out of maximisation of production but out of maximisation of profit. They have discarded mercilessly all such industries which contributed to their initial phase of capital accumulation and moved down to the area of higher profitability.

If the Government wishes to implement the national minimum needs programme or to hold the price line, many in both the Government and the political leadership feel that it

will never be able to do so unless it breaks the control of the monopolists over the economy. Only physical control of the Government over the production and distribution of essential commodities can curb the erratic behaviour in the field of prices and supplies.

IF INVESTMENT has to be directed towards production of consumer goods in order to meet the needs of the common people, it can be done only if the State enters the consumer goods industry in a big way. Because if the choice is between ordinary or medium quality cloth with a low profitability, and superfine cloth with high profitability, the capitalist investor will opt for the latter and not for the former.

More than anything else public control of monopoly houses is likely to emerge as one of the principal instruments of resource mobilisation for the further growth of economy. If the economy of the country is not to subsist on public borrowings but on public savings, the State take-over of a large number of industries in the realm of high profitability appears to be one of the major instruments to achieve the policy objective.

Public-sector investment in private industries is not an unwelcome development but it cannot be forgotten that in all capitalist countries during the period of crisis, the capitalist state seeks to safeguard the monopolist structure by pumping in public investment..."

Black money is being generated continuously every moment. To a very great extent the reason for this is to be found in the concentration of economic power in a small number of magnates. The objective of curbing conspicuous consumption or injecting a climate of austerity will all be subverted as long as monopolies are not broken and the evil influence that they wield on the entire socio-economic ethos of our country is not ended.

Thus breaking the concentration of economic power in the rural areas as also in the urban areas and free the forces of production from the clutches of these affluent sections, cannot be escaped if the premises which are sought to be made in the Fifth Five Year Plan are not to meet the fate which overtook the previous prescriptions turning into pious platitudes.

SELF-RELIANCE by 1978-79 in the sense of no net concessional aid from foreign sources is regarded by Yojana Bhavan experts as a feasible proposition. Attempt has also been made to spell out in concrete terms the implications of accepting such a deadline as a national objective. This will call for concentrated efforts to develop the output of iron and steel, aluminium, copper, engineering goods, fertilisers, petro-chemicals, basic chemicals, cotton, oilseeds and fish. The output of foodgrains, tea, coffee, cashew nuts and jute manufactures should continue to im-

prove. Vigorous efforts will also be needed to develop shipping, marine insurance and tourism and to mobilise remittances of Indian nationals abroad. "The required effort", a Yojana Bhavan exercise points out, "though many sided, is not excessively onerous".

It is for the political leadership to indicate if they are willing to take up the challenge implicit in the acceptance of such a time-bound objective which will make the Fifth Five Year Plan a landmark in the nation's economic history, doing away with net concessional aid in the same way as the Fourth Five Year Plan, in spite of all its inadequacies, will be remembered as a period when India stopped imports of foodgrains. In fact, given the necessary determination and readiness to take the appropriate policy decisions it may be possible to improve on this objective by targetting reduction of dependence on foreign aid even for debt servicing.

THE RESOURCE mobilisation mechanism in the country has reached a stage when the public sector expansion has to be visualised in future as a principal means of mobilisation of savings for necessary capital accumulation and a catalytic agent for the development of managerial and technical talent.

To the extent that the Planning Commission skirts these issues, it leaves room for suspecting its capacity to comprehend or the willingness to work

out, a total reordering of the economic structure which alone can ensure that the Fifth Plan Approach does not ultimately turn out to be another plethora of platitudes. Industrial peace, so necessary for maximising production, is dependent on releasing the energies of the worker in the factory, and then all along the line in production and management. This cannot be achieved unless the ownership and management structure are changed and brought under ownership and control.

With all these exercises one is left with the impression that despite all the good intentions, a clear-cut strategy of economic development with a long-range and short-term programme is yet to emerge both at the Government and the political levels. There is the inescapable feeling that we are still at the stage of generalities and have only just now started coming to grips with the complexities of the problems that any serious advance in a radical direction has to encounter and overcome.

The twilight is about to set in over New Delhi.

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Managing the World's Water Resources

by JOHN T. STARR

SO MUCH attention is paid to the political activities of the United Nations and even to such actions as the General Assembly's recent creation of a new Under-Secretary, with staff and machinery, to deal with natural disasters of international importance, that little thought is given to the U.N.'s day-to-day activities in fields which affect large numbers of the world's peoples. One of these has to do with water.

It may seem trite to say that water is an integral part of man's environment and that the extent to which it is abundant or scarce, clean, or polluted, beneficial or destructive has a profound effect on the quality of his life, but it is nevertheless true. The relentless increase in the demand for water brought about by population growth and economic development, as well as inefficiency in the use of water and the pollution of water supplies, raises serious problems.

THE UNITED NATIONS is playing a leading role in solving these problems. In addition to the U.N. itself at its headquarters on the East River, many members of the

U.N. family of organizations have keen interest in many activities associated with the development and management of the world's water resources.

The Food and Agricultural Organization is concerned with the utilization of surface waters and groundwater for agriculture, by far the greatest user of water. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has been responsible for outstanding advances in the educational and scientific aspects of water use and development, including the current International Hydrological Decade. The World Health Organization provides special assistance in problems concerned with water supplies and waste disposal, with water pollution control, and with the health aspects of water resources development projects.

THE WORLD Meteorological Organization concerns itself with hydrometeorology and hydrology and has been of great help to the developing countries in these areas. The International Atomic Energy Agency carries out programs of research on the development and application of isotope techniques in the investigation

and development of water resources. Even the United Nations Children's Fund (the UNICEF of Christmas cards) is interested in water as it affects programs connected with health and nutrition.

To these might be added the U. N. regional economic commissions for Europe, for Africa for Asia and the Far East, and for Latin America.

A major effort is the encouragement of thinking on subjects of major concern to developing countries. This "think" function is followed up with "clearing house" activities to get the ideas across to policy makers, technical people, and civil servants around the world. Recent activities in the "think and discuss" area have been concerned with floods, the desalination of sea and other saline waters, the legal and institutional aspects of international water resources development (there are some 170 major international river basins, 56 in Africa alone with drainage areas of more than 10,000 square kilometers), and policies for water development and management.

THIS LAST is extremely important. Many of the developing countries, and indeed the developed countries, do not have clearly defined policies for the development and management of their water resources, and it is vital to their economic development and social well-being that they do if they are going to successfully

meet the challenges and opportunities of the next several decades.

Toward this end, the United Nations set up a panel of experts in various areas of water policy which met first in Buenos Aires in June 1970 for a full discussion of the problems encountered in formulating water policy and more recently in Delft, in the Netherlands, for consideration of the U.N. draft report. The final report, which is now in preparation, will be put into the hands of all officials around the world concerned with water. Its aim is to assist countries in formulation well-thought-out policies so that their peoples will get the most out of their water resources.

ANOTHER EFFORT worth mentioning is the providing of technical assistance to developing nations under the United Nations Development Program, which was headed for some time by Paul G. Hoffman, who played a prominent part in the administration of the Marshall Plan. In the field for the comprehensive development of the Vistula River in Poland, a navigation study of the Paraguay River in Paraguay, a study of the regulation of the Senegal River in Africa, assistance to the government of Afghanistan in the establishment of a water management organization are only several. There are many more.

New issues in water management on a global scale will require the involvement of the

BURMA

Political Manoeuvres: Rival Leaders Prepare to Return to Civilian Rule

by THAUNG MYINE

BURMA'S head of state U Ne Win and former Prime Minister U Nu, who are sworn entire U.N. family. We are becoming more aware, for instance, that the hydrological cycle is an international system shared by the entire world community and management of one phase of it, the water in the atmosphere (what Dr. A. A. Agappan, Chief of the Water Resources Section of the U.N. recently referred to as "the river of the sky"), can have profound implications.

Water resources is only one area which affects the social and economic well-being of the people of the world, but it is an important one. With its broad experience and through its world-wide contacts with experts in the field, the United Nations is making a more than significant contribution toward the effective management of the world's water. And have no doubt about it. Although the world's population will increase, it will have to make do with the water resources this planet now has, and the most effective management possible of these resources is a must.

enemies locked in a deadly power struggle, have recently made surprise political moves to strengthen their positions. Both have resigned from the leaderships of the organizations backing their causes, for political reasons.

U Ne Win on April 20 retired from the Burmese Army as its only general and dropped his military title to reorganize the Government as its civilian prime minister. Gen. Ne Win ousted U Nu from power in a lightning coup in 1962, and since then he and his Army colleagues have been ruling Burma tightly with military discipline.

U Nu left Burma in 1967, after five years under military detention, to seek support abroad for his efforts to overthrow the Ne Win regime. The former premier raised a rebel coalition of the Karens, Mons and the Burmese followers of his own Parliamentary Democracy Party while in exile in Bangkok in 1969.

Early this month, U Nu announced his resignation from the leadership of the rebel National United Liberation Front (NULF) and the Parliamentary Democracy Party (PDP)

U Ne Win's retirement from the Army and U Nu's withdrawal from the rebel leadership are seen by informed sources here as manoeuvres to give themselves freedom of action in the struggles that lie ahead.

U Ne Win took several of his military followers into retirement with him and they have re-emerged as civilian cabinet ministers of the reorganized Government. They have also given up their military titles to be designated simply as U (Mr.) according to the Burmese custom.

ALL THIS was done in preparation for the promulgation of a new constitution and return to the civilian rule, the sources said. The new constitution is being drafted under the guidance of the Burma Socialist Program Party led by U Ne Win.

The party is the only political organization allowed in Burma and its members are the personnel of the armed forces, civil servants and U Nu's political enemies. The sources said that although U Ne Win had given up his military rank and position, he continued to enjoy a popular following in the powerful Burmese Army which is the most potent instrument of politics in Burma.

Gen. San Yu, who succeeded U Ne Win as the chief of the defense staff and defense minister, is a faithful follower since World War II when the two fought together first against the British colonial rule and then against the Japanese army of occupation.

U Nu quit the rebel alliance because he disagreed with Karen and rebel leaders over their demand for the right of succession of racial minorities from the Union of Burma. His own PDP gave in to their demands rather than force the break-up of the NULF.

ALTHOUGH the Karens, Mons, Shans and Chins has promised not to exercise their newly-won right of secession, U Nu apparently felt that the recognition of this right would open the way for foreign subversion and intervention once the rebels came into power in Burma.

U Nu resigned despite the entreaties of minority rebel leaders and his followers to stay on under protest, because he wanted to be free to fight the right of secession when the time came for the rebels to give Burma their own constitution, the sources added. However, U Nu remained on the executive committee of the PDP, for which he raised more than 2,000 fighting men equipped with U.S. M-16 and M-79 weapons obtained from gun runners and international arms merchants. Thus U Nu was still the kingpin in the armed struggle of the rebels against the Burmese Government, the sources stated.

They claimed that U Nu's guerrillas forces were more than holding their own against the Army in the Burmese jungles stretching from Merguic district on the southern tip of the country to Toungoo about 200 miles (320 kms.) north of

Rangoon. Both 65-year-old U Nu and 61 year-old U Ne Win are experienced in turbulent Burmese politics since their student days and realize that besides victory in a guerrilla war, they must also win over the active support of the people if their opposing causes are to prevail.

THE CONSTITUTION being drafted by U Ne Win's party seeks to make Burma a one-party unitary state with a large measure of participation by peasants and workers in the administration. The new constitution will also assure help for Burma's backward minority races, called the nationalities, to achieve economic, social and political equality with the majority Burmese—but within a unitary state.

On the other hand U Nu promises to remove economic hardships and disabilities he alleges the people are now suffering through nationalization policies of U Ne Win's Government, and equal opportunities of economic enterprise for all. The former premier also aims to make Burma a fully federal state in which serious grievances of the racial minorities will be removed and they will have complete autonomy, including the right to raise their own militia forces for protection.

EGYPT

The Cost of War

by
ANTHONY McDERMOTT

Cairo,

THE COST to Egypt and the Soviet Union of military involvement in the Middle East conflict has been divulged by Arab sources for the first time. The Beirut weekly *Al-Nahar Arab Report* says, that Egypt spends £2 millions a day to maintain its armed forces and has run up a debt of £3,000 millions to the Soviet Union. The disclosure comes in an article on "Egypt's new found suspicion of the Soviet Union and its real motives in offering military support."

The Cairo newspaper *Al-Ahram* recently described a conference held in Cairo by Russians and Arabs to discuss their differences. Its report also revealed "official Egyptian statistics" of military spending which put the overall debt at £2,000 millions.

Al-Ahram said the conference brought together leading Soviet historians and commentators and Egyptian scholars, journalists, and commentators and Palestinian guerrillas at the Centre of Political and Strategic Studies, affiliated to the *Al-Ahram* publishing inter-

prise. It added that the Soviet participants made it clear that Moscow remained doubtful whether the Egyptian armed forces could achieve victory in a fight with Israel.

THE SEMINAR revealed strong differences on the role of political parties and communism. Palestinian unity and active support for its cause. Jewish immigration to Israel, and the need for a political settlement in the Middle East.

Western diplomatic sources in Cairo recently reported discontentment in the Egyptian leadership that the Soviet Union had transferred some of its jets from Egypt to India during the Indo-Pakistan war. President Sadat was said to have complained bitterly that Moscow was willing to provide active support for the Indians in their war while refusing "decisive" backing for Egypt against Israel.

President Sadat's energetic travels to work up support continue. According to *Al-Ahram*, he is to fly to Algeria, and possibly Tunisia, later this month. This comes after visits in the last few weeks to Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, and Libya, and after contacts with Iraq.

The meeting in Algeria is likely to be important. Algeria has not accepted UN resolution 242. It actively backs the Palestinian guerrillas and calls for a military solution to the Middle East conflict.

More recently President Sadat has been increasing his vo-

cal militancy. He recently told air force units: "The decision to take part in the battle has been taken and is irrevocable. There can be no peaceful solution. During the whole of 1971, I made innumerable efforts and declared I was ready to go to the end of the world to reach a solution, but unhappily the Americans have shown themselves to be not only liars but also forgers. They forge the sense of words: they forge everything."

Nevertheless, he has revealed that contacts with the Americans have been resumed, although earlier he said he wanted nothing more to do with Washington's mediating efforts. Also on his mind has been King Hussein's plan for a federal Jordan which he described as "an American initiative which demolishes the very foundations of the Palestinian problem"

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Sudan Likely to Move Away from Arab World

by MADAN M. SAULDIE

Addis Ababa:

AS A consequence of the ratification of the Addis Ababa agreement between the Sudanese Government and the rebel leaders in southern Sudan, recently, Sudan's move away from the Arab world has become a certainty.

This impression in diplomatic circles became evident when after the ratification at the Jubilee Palace, the official residence of Emperor Haile Selassie I of Ethiopia, the rebel leader Maj-Gen Joseph Lagu, stated categorically that the crux of the problem that kept southern Sudan burning for over 17 years during the civil war for secession was that while the southerners always regarded their northern compatriots as their brothers, the northerners looked to the Arabs in North Africa for brotherly relations.

The implication was that as Khartoum moved closer to the Arab world, the southerners got the unmistakable impression that their interests were no longer dear to the rulers in the north. The feelings became even more intense since the

north was mostly Muslim while the south had a predominance of Negro pagan and Christian Africans.

EXPLAINING his point, Gen. Lagu pointed to the similarities of colour of the skin and hair of people in both the north and the south which, he said, symbolised their common African, rather than Arab, identity. He reiterated the same point in the presence of African diplomats who received the two delegations at the Organisation of African Unity headquarters.

It is therefore clear that if the Addis Ababa agreement has to be implemented in letter and spirit, the Sudanese Government will have to proceed cautiously in regard to the pending question of the country's joining the Arab Federation of Egypt, Libya and Syria. The issue has been shelved from time to time and now President Gafar el-Nimeiry has stated categorically that the issue would be decided only after a referendum throughout Sudan.

Parts of the agreement have already been implemented. A ceasefire has become effective; a general amnesty has been

announced to facilitate the repatriation of refugees; and arrangements are being made for their relief and rehabilitation and above all, an organic law for self-government for the south was enacted on March 3.

THE ACT provides for a singlehouse regional assembly in the southern region with headquarters at Juba, which will be governed by a High Executive Authority appointed by the President of Sudan on the advice of the regional assembly. The authority will also have a president appointed on the recommendation of the assembly by the President.

Among the subjects falling essentially within the jurisdiction of the central government are: national defence, external affairs, currency and coinage, air and inter regional river transport, communications and telecommunications, customs and foreign trade, nationality and immigration, planning for economic and social development, educational planning and public audit.

The southern Government will have control over regional financial resources, regional and local administration in the three provinces of the region—Equatoria, Upper Nile and Behr-el-Gazal—legislation on traditional law and custom, prisons and reformatory institutions, public school, local language and culture, town and village planning, trade and local industrial development,

Religion and Politics in Africa

by RUSSELL WARREN HOWE

RELIGION AND LAW have been the two well-beaten paths to power in modern Africa. Lawyers, priests and pastors enjoyed a special respect from whites and blacks: they

SUDAN

public hospitals, health services, animal husbandry, tourism, trade and cultural exhibitions, mining and quarrying, recruitment of personnel for police and prison administration, proper land use, forests, self help schemes and any other subject presided by the President of Sudan.

President Nimeiry on an extensive tour of the southern provinces received an enthusiastic welcome from the masses which indicated how sick the people in the south had become of the prolonged civil war.

The Emperor of Ethiopia has played a key role in bringing about a rapprochement between the two sides and tributes to his personal diplomacy are being paid by several African Heads of State and Government. What, however, remains to be seen is how effectively and efficiently the Addis Ababa agreement is actually implemented.

were super-subjects, protected from most colonial harassment: churchmen had mystic power as well. A primary reason for English Africa's constitutional advance over the rest of the continent was the greater accessibility of both careers or vocations in the British system. To be a lawyer, in Britain, required two years study for Bar exams, and no degree. Several Protestant pastorates made few demands and as a final resource you could always find a store-front church of your own.

French law degrees are more difficult than Bar exams, and the Catholic priesthood, which had cornered the religious-power field in Latin (French, Spanish, Portuguese) Africa was intellectually and ascetically demanding.

LAW largely attracted the city modernists, religion the rural traditionalists. Some of Africa's most ambitious politicians were rural children who wanted to be Catholic priests—the Congo's late president Joseph Kasavubu, Senegal's president, Leopold Senghor, Ghana's late president, Kwame Nkrumah (who died last month in Bucharest) and Brazzaville's ex-president, Abbe Fulbert Youlou—who went all the way to booze, broads and papal ba-

nishment—and who died last week in Madrid.

THE WORLDLY Mr. Nkrumah, who was no great scholar, switched from Catholicism to Anglicanism in the Gold Coast. Advised that he would probably not achieve a degree in Britain, he went to a Negro College in Pennsylvania that specialized in helping substandard African students, Lincoln, and got a Bachelor's degree in divinity there. Then he preached and studied in Philadelphia. After ten years in America, he spent three more in London trying for Bar exams as well, but failed.

His political style remained that of the revivalist, whether seeking martyrdom in jail for independence, paraphrasing the Bible in political slogans, meting out punishment to the damned, having hymns written about himself or postcards designed that showed Jesus sitting on his right hand (whitemen, someone said, could hardly expect to be more than presidential advisers in independent Africa).

He was religiously convinced of his own infallibility. He plotted against fellow-presidents because they were heretics in nationalism. He fought against the creation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) because it was a liberal reform schism that rejected his fanaticism, his view of himself as the true Prophet. In private, he had graduated from Christianity back to ju-ju.

Kwame—Saturday's Child, in Twi—has gone, but the taste for the supernatural of restless Saturday-children remains the driving force in African politics: nothing else in African political analysis makes much sense unless this is taken into account. The fidelity to tribe or clan is ordained by the deity who made the tribe. Just as Belfast folk are not fighting over trans-substantiation, but over which side of Falls read they were born on, so fate rather than reason decides African allegiances.

IDEOLOGY and statute law are seen as part of greater commitment. Hence the strange blend, in African politics, of extremism and conciliation, violence and gentleness, death penalties (for the victim's own good, of course) and early amnesties (for the prodigal son over whom there is more rejoicing, etc.).

The Marxist president of Algeria and the absolute monarch of Morocco both claim Mohamed's endorsement as much as the Inquisitorial witch-burning president next door in Libya. Tunisia's Habib Bourguiba derives his problems from trying to be the archbishop of a protestant Islam: a non-African would simply have sidetracked religion altogether. The power of Haile Selassie of Ethiopia springs largely from the fact that he is the lay head of a Christian church that existed when Jupiter was still big in Rome and the British were painting themselves blue to appease the spirits.

Population Planning for the World's Poor

By HERBERT BRATTER

Washington,

EVER SINCE the World Bank made its first development loans to raise the standard of living of the teeming millions in Asia, Africa and Latin America it has been clear that reducing the death rate but allowing the birth rate to

WHEN western faiths cross swords with dictators, these summon deeper African beliefs to fight them. If President Mobutu of Zaire and President Toure of Guinea have nothing else in common, they share a hatred of the Catholic church. Religion caused the Nigerian war and keeps a brigade of French troops in Senegal. Kenya's leaders shrewdly encouraged storefront churches, whose congregations now outnumber Catholics and "orthodox" Protestants. The resistance movements in Catholic Portuguese Africa are largely Protestant affairs.

Race is a myth but culture is a reality, and the African culture is marked by an extraordinary preoccupation with metaphysics.

continue uncurbed was to walk a hopeless treadmill. It took the bank nearly a quarter century to make its first loan—\$2 million to Jamaica—for a project to reduce human fertility. By June 1976 the bank's commitments for such projects are expected to total at least \$160 million to 22 countries with 70 per cent of the population of the bank's developing member nations.

ELEVEN years ago Eugene R. Black, then president of the bank said: "All the evidence points to a greater flow of aid in the coming years. But I find myself increasingly doubtful whether domestic savings and foreign aid together will be sufficient to allow real progress I must be blunt. Population growth threatens to nullify all our efforts to raise living standards in many of the poorer countries."

Now, in an 83-page booklet, "Population Planning," the World Bank notes a "dramatic increase in both public and governmental interest, concern and action, though present efforts to reduce population growth rates in developing countries are dwarfed by the magnitude of the problem."

TRIBUNE, July 30, 1972

Even with a maximum effort to reduce fertility, which the bank deem unlikely, the booklet estimates that population in today's less developed countries will reach 6,700 million before stabilizing in about 100 years. If present efforts are not intensified, growth will be faster and will continue for another 50 years, reaching about 13,400 million in the developing countries and 15,300 million in the world as a whole."

THE PAPER summarizes available information on the world demographic situation and gives the latest population projections. Also it analyzes the economic effects of today's unprecedentedly high rates of population growth. It's appendix on contraceptive methods would have been the envy of the late Mrs. Margaret Sanger. The booklet is available without charge from the bank's publications office in Washington.

"No other phenomenon casts a darker shadow over the prospects for international development than the staggering growth of population," the Pearson Commission said in 1969. It took more than 1,000 years for the world's population to increase from 210 million to one billion. The second billion required about 125 years; the third only 30 years. It is now taking only 15 years to add a fourth billion. At present rates the current population of more than 3.6 billion will double in 35 years and by the year 2000 will be increas-

ing at the rate of one billion every eight years.

THE HEART of the population problem in today's developing countries is the considerably more rapid decline in mortality compared with the birth rate, creating a greater imbalance than ever. If, on the other hand, the fertility rate can be reduced, the economic effects will be profound. "Population Planning" declares. These include growth of per capita incomes, with a cumulative effect over time. If fertility is halved in a generation, by the end of the period per capita incomes can be 20 to 50 per cent higher than if fertility remains constant.

While efforts to reduce population growth rates still are dwarfed by the problems magnitude, we read, over the past decade there has been a dramatic increase in public and governmental interest, concern and action. By 1970, 30 heads of government, including 19 in developing countries, had signed the U.N. Declaration on Population, which termed "unplanned population growth as one of the world's great problems and called on governments to view family planning as vital."

About 20 million women in 18 countries with programs, or 10 per cent of the married women of reproductive age in those countries, have become "acceptors" during the last five years. There is considerable unevenness in the strength of commitments to population

control in developing countries ranging from mere pronouncements to firm policies and programs with varying degrees of budgetary support.

POLITICAL cultural and religious objections are still serious, even in areas where national programs exist, while administrative and organizational difficulties are common. There are many additional constraints, including technological. In most cases, the World Bank has found, a lack of foreign exchange is not the principal constraint on effective implementation of population policies. Often the greatest need and the bank's most useful contribution is not finance, but technical aid.

This fiscal year the bank has already sent or plans to send population missions to Colombia, Egypt, India, Jamaica, Malaysia, Mauritius, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Ghana and the Philippines. Pre-investment studies have been completed for Iran, Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda.

Among bilateral programs the biggest budget for population aid is that of the U.S., operating chiefly through the Agency for International Development (AID). In 1971 it totaled \$ 100 million. AID has supported bilateral programs in 33 countries and has helped finance activities in many other countries through a variety of agencies.

In 1971 AID provided contraceptives for family planning

Argentine Chief Forced to Make Up With Peron

Buenos Aires,

WHEN President Alejandro A. Lanusse of Argentina strode into the library of Quinta Olivos, the official residence 14 miles from the city center, he looked so remarkably like Lyndon B. Johnson that for a fleeting moment the visitor wondered if this meeting were taking place on the Federnales or the River Plate.

Both men are capable of temper flare-ups and of great personal dislikes, but both also know when it is better to compromise than to continue an animosity.

Lanusse has just made the greatest compromise of his life. In public and private, he has let it be known that he has made his peace with his enemy

POPULATION PLANNING

ing programs in more than 70 countries and made supplies and equipment available to a number of institutions. In addition, research on population and family planning in developing countries is carried out by HUD, largely, by agencies under the Public Health Service. Some 100 Peace Corps volunteers have worked in population programs abroad.

former President Juan Peron 75, who is in exile in Spain. Lanusse was asked if it was not true that because of the four years he spent in Peronist jails (1951-55) he had sworn that if Peron ever returned to Argentina one of them would be dead within 24 hours.

Lanusse laughed, "It is strange you should remember that. Yes, I said it, but times change. Peron is free to return to Argentina any time he wishes. I don't think he will, but he can; what happened between us is water under the bridge. We must look forward now, not backward into time."

Lanusse was only a captain of cavalry when Peron imprisoned him, he said then, and later repeated, that he would never tolerate the old dictator's return.

BUT NOW because of political expediency and Lanusse's desire to return Argentina to the democratic process. He and Peron are to all intents and purposes allies. Lanusse's fellow officers wonder at it, because his volcanic temper is well known to them. He is referred to out of his hearing as the "doberman pincher" because that animal is reputed to bite friends as well as enemies when angry. It is political

necessity, not a mellowing temperament, that has caused the Peron-Lanusse rapprochement. Lanusse says, there is no way to have democracy in Argentina without the Peronist movement participating.

THE NEO-PERONISTAS or Justicialistas, are by far the largest homogeneous political group in the country. Their strength is based on the powerful trade unions, and Peron's long absence has made his name a watchword to people who were not even in school when the dictator was exiled.

Lanusse doesn't say it in so many words, but he and Peron need each other. The alliance already is formalized through formation of a political party called Hora del Pueblo (Hour of the People). For today's Argentina it is a strange marriage combining the Peronists, the Radicals, a Centrist Party, and the armed forces. "I am the necessary bridge to this coalition for the presidential and national elections we will hold in April 1973," said Lanusse, "because I am the only one who can hold the army in line to make this Coalition work."

Since 1930, only two Argentine presidents have managed to complete their terms. The nation of 24 million people has been under rule since the armed forces took power by a bloodless coup from President Arturo Illia in June 1966.

Peronist activity has been banned in Argentina since 1955 but 85 percent of organized

labour is Peronist-oriented and even as an illegal group the neo-peronists are the largest cohesive political group in Argentina. For Lanusse to realize his dream of returning the nation to civilian rule, he had to make an accommodation with the Peronists. This great National Agreement as it is called here, paves the way for democratic government.

LANUSSE is vague about whether he will be a candidate, and given the problems facing the country and the 13 months until the elections, almost anything could happen.

Lanusse, according to the most attentive observers, will run and would like to win a fair-and-square election but this depends on whether economic conditions improve or worsen. They are pretty bad now.

Lanusse was asked why he did not return to the austere economic policies of Adalberto Krieger Vasena, who was economic czar of Argentina in the early part of the military dictatorship, since these policies brought Argentina the greatest prosperity it has known since World War II.

"I do not believe we can hope for an economic solution until the political situation is solved," Lanusse said. "That is why I recently made three cabinet changes. The three ministers who have charge of the economy must work as a team and the changes I have made were to accomplish that."

But he indicated his priorities are focussed primarily on the political solution. The trouble with the Krieger Vasena formula of wage-price freeze and open courting of capitalism was that it ran counter to the nationalistic fervor of many Argentines and damaged the pocketbooks of the agricultural sector.

Lanusse can hardly afford to offend labour by an absolute freeze on wages because this goes to the heart of his tenuous new allies, the Peronist labour groups. It may be that he has no choice but to defer hard economic decisions until the political arrangements are solidly packaged. That is what he is doing.

The pro-U.S., upper-class and basically conservative Lanusse, born to wealth but inclined toward democracy rather than military rule, seems a strange partner for the tough labor leaders who in varying ways subscribe to Peronism.

But the differences are more apparent than real. Peron became an absolute dictator by catering to the working men. Lanusse is an absolute although bland, dictator who can only let go of rule by decree through a joining of hands with the class Peron created.

The Quinto Olivos is a nice place to live but Lanusse is still the boss at the Camp de Mayo army base outside Buenos Aires, where governments have traditionally been made and broken.

But in the last analysis, what will settle his role in history is whether the Argentine man in the street gets his daily two pounds of beef.

Unless the armed forces turn on him, which does not at this point seem likely, there is no way Lanusse can lose. If he does not become the president at the head of the Hora del Pueblo ticket, he will remain in command of the army.

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Brazil Seen Gaining Economic Growth at High Cost

Rio De Janeiro,

BRAZIL'S uneven economic growth is, in many cases, achieved at a very high price, but travels from the backlands of the Northeast to the industrial dynamo in Sao Paulo make it clear that there is substantial growth. Yet, economic growth seems so unrestrained, and often so brutally unbalanced, as to recall accounts of frontier times in the United States. The well-to-do receive incentives to become rich, but although the capital is put to work, so far most poor people stay poor. Regionally, Sao Paulo increases its industrial dominance, while the rural Northeast remains stagnant and sometimes—as during the recent drought—nearly starves.

Archbishop Helder Canara of Recife in the Northeast is among critics who say that the official statistics that show a 9 per cent annual growth rate are artificial. They just show how the privileged class has improved its lot, he declared.

BUT SIGNS of development are broader than that:

- Taxes are paving roads to end the isolation of the farm villages that lie inland from

Recife. All but the absolutely indigent ride buses providing mobility for jobs, markets—and internal migration.

- Highways linking the 22 states are said to have doubled to 16,000 miles since 1966.

- Thousands of low-cost houses are going up in the coastal cities, in Brasilia's satellite suburbs and in such growing inland towns as Gravata and Arcoverde in poor and crowded Pernambuco. Housing is still insufficient, but Brazil's housing construction outpaces that in nations with higher per capita incomes.

- Schools, too, are in short but growing supply in states that not long ago had none.

SOME of what look like dynamic growth goes just to keep up with the 25 per cent annual growth in Brazil's present 93 million population. Whole cities spring from the diamic geography of the coast.

Between Recife and Salvador, both with populations of over 1 million, is a plane stop called Aracaju, almost as big as Richmond. Its present population (183,000) is 60 per cent greater than it was in 1960. There are over two dozen Brazilian cities that are bigger. All have skyscrapers and hospitals and

at least some industry. Greater Sao Paulo has 8 million people, and greater Rio has 9 million.

The differences between rich and poor in the cities is as startling as the regional gap between north and south. A Recife newspaper editor put it this way: "My electric bill is more than the monthly minimum wage." That wage ranges from the equivalent of \$32 per month in the Northeast up to \$44 in the high-rent city of Sao Paulo.

A SURVEY of Sao Paulo families on the minimum wage found they had \$ 1.32 left for clothing and entertainment after they had paid the month's food, transport and rent bills. Most of them had never attended a soccer game—the supposed opiate of Brazil's masses.

In the Northeast, the official minimum wage is far out of reach of the farm laborer, whose going daily income is widely acknowledged to be 65 cents. He works a day and a half to buy his hoe, usually his only capital equipment.

The nine-state Northeast is, in effect, an undeveloped nation of 30 million people within Brazil. Its main crop is sugar, subsidized by the national government as a hedge against social unrest. Such capital as exists tends to move south.

To reverse the flow of funds, former planning Minister Roberto Campos, and later finance Minister Delfim Netto devised tax incentives. Corpo-

rations of individuals can put much of their taxes—which are collected at higher rates for most brackets than in the United States—into investments in the Northeast. International banks lend heavily.

THE MOMENTUM of investment has picked up, until now the industrial parks around Recife are crowded with impressive plants about to go into production. The success of the incentives programs, and perhaps Delfim's reputation, turns on the ability of these plants to operate near capacity and compete with the giants of Sao Paulo for markets.

Despite the diversion of capital from the south—which has helped push overall Northeast growth rates above the national average—and the shift of managers from Sao Paulo to implement it, the key objective of mass job creation was not achieved.

Just one year's new job seekers exceed the product of four years of job creation via the capital-intensive factories. Rural workers have not advanced government officials admit. Now the emphasis of incentives and federal investment will shift to agriculture.

For the sceptics, architecturally impressive manufacturing plants around Recife are the industrial equivalent of building of a new capital at Brasilia, or of cutting a highway across the Amazon Basin. This is the Brazilian school of development—the grand gesture.

BRASILIA, new from the sky down, was expensive all the way. "Our Apollo project," said an economist. But it did point the population toward the center of a nation that for centuries was settled only along the coast.

The Trans-Amazon Highway is also seen as a means of relieving the population pressures on the Northeast. It's enthusiasts are legion in Brazil, but there are some critics.

Economist Kenneth D. Frederick of the California Institute of Technology, said in an agricultural study sponsored by U.S. AID that the highway "may well turn out to be the most expensive means yet devised by the government of Brazil to settle rural dwellers."

Frederick and others see such ventures as attempts to avoid the socially disruptive land redistribution that they see as necessary in the Northeast.

Disputy Marcos Freire of Pernambuco, a member of the officially sanctioned opposition party, advocated thorough agrarian reform in speeches that received wide press coverage.

Freire quoted figures showing that 210,000 properties in the Northeast represented 79 per cent of the land, while the remaining land was divided among 943,000 properties.

"We have the instruments for redistribution, but do not apply them", said Freire in an interview in Brasilia.



TRIBUNANIA

from p. 6

China has endeavoured to explain the liquidation of Lin Piao on a high ideological level. Lin Piao, like Liu Shichang, had believed in the theory of heroes. A hero in China can be only a stylised proletarian hero—a social character. Even the drama which had evolved after the Liberation in 1949 is being revised in order to bring the "heroes and heroines" to be in line with the current ideological stand.

Cheng Huan in the *Far Eastern Economic Review* article continues: "But it seems that there is now a shortage of heroes, at least on the stage. This is because too few revolutionary operas and plays are being produced; the Peking authorities want a rapid increase in output. One report has described the situation by saying that the total number of operas and plays 'can be counted on the fingers of one hand.' And the two research scholars at the Yenan museum admit that the new Hundred Flowers campaign has yet to reach its zenith and that in the coming months many more revolutionary productions will appear.

"The slogan 'Let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools of thought contend' serves to encourage hitherto silent or reluctant artists and writers to come out of their shells. The flowers, according to the two research scholars, have begun to emerge but are not yet in full bloom. That will happen only when a new

RAMBLING NOTES

From the Editor's Desk

or revised batch of operas and plays is produced at the national level. Already, this year has seen the reappearance of historical plays such as *Dream of the Red Chambers* and *The Three Kingdoms*. In these revised productions of course, the heroic roles formerly attributed to princes, generals and geniuses have been eradicated; only the masses are permitted to emerge as heroes and makers of history.

Chang Huan concluded: "Of all the sins that it is possible to commit in China today, the greatest is to attempt to establish oneself as a national hero; officially speaking, Lin Piao attempted to do so. More seriously Lin is accused of having proclaimed Mao a 'genius'. He had to pay with his life..."

"The Marshal's contribution to the Chinese Revolution has been totally eradicated, even from the Eighth Route Army Headquarters in Sian. In his place today is another 'close comrade in arms,' Premier Chou En-Lai. Of the Chinese leaders, only Mao and Chou enjoy the privilege of having their portraits woven in silk.

"As products of the masses' revolutionary will, both Mao and Chou presumably can be referred to as 'leader-heroes'. But, there are many vacancies in the political hierarchy for budding 'heroes'-provided they are not self-appointed, of course."

This is only the first chapter of the Lin Piao story. The other chapters will slowly unfold themselves in the coming period.

THE MONTH of July was a rather significant one in Sri Lanka. The Prime Minister went to China on a state visit on June 24 and was in Peking until June 29/30, and before she left for a tour of the Northeast signed Agreements on Economic and Technical Co-operation and for the Construction of a Cotton Mill. It is estimated that this massive project aid will total over Rs. 300 million. She concluded her visit on July 6 and after the official communique was issued, there was a hint that a cash hard currency loan would be also forthcoming and the sum suggested was said to be somewhere in the region of US\$5 to \$10 million. The full text of these agreements have not yet been released and there is as yet no confirmed news about the hard currency loan which will be made available to Ceylon. It has been stressed, however, that the aid was *interest-free*—thus marking Chinese aid as being qualitatively different from aid or credit from any other source.

It is as yet difficult to assess the value and impact of the economic assistance which Ceylon will receive from China this year, but the political significance of the visit is tremendous. Mrs.

Bandaranaike received a welcome which has astounded the world. It was clear that China attached great importance to "friendship" with Sri Lanka. For China the little island of Ceylon had a political, diplomatic and strategic significance of great value. Ceylon too in her geopolitical calculations in the framework of her version of non-aligned neutralism indicated that she fully responded to Chinese overtures. The economic assistance was only one facet of this close friendship between China and Sri Lanka. Another is the military assistance in equipment which is being given *free*. Two more gunboats have been brought and they were off-loaded and fitted up in Trincomalee harbour. Apart from this, vast quantities of small arms and other gear have also been received and a military delegation to instruct and train local army cadres in their use were in Ceylon recently.

But even more significant than all this was the "advice" which the Chinese leaders seemed to have tendered to Sri Lanka. Prime Minister Mrs. Bandaranaike had stated in one of her speeches that Chou En-lai had told her that "free rice and free education was not socialism" and that nothing was given away *free* in China. This

means that in China people had not only to work to produce the goods (for which they received a wage but they had to pay for what they consumed). This was certainly excellent advice and what is important is that this advice has *not* been resented by the Government or the people of this country. When the World Bank tendered similar advice it was regarded as "interference" in the internal affairs of this country. If the leaders of any other country, particularly from the West or even India, had told any Ceylonese leader that free education did not amount to socialism (nor that it would take the country towards socialism) there would have been a *furor*. But, in this case, the advice given by Chou En lai was repeated with great acceptance by the PM and there has not been any protest even by her leftist partners in the Cabinet.

BESIDES THESE many developments, centred around China. July saw other interesting developments. The betting and gambling shops which had proliferated in the last one year (after bookmaking was semi-legalised by being brought under the Turnover Tax) were suddenly closed down because the police had reported that crime and violence were being generated from these places. Highway bandits masquerading as "insurgents" have been robbing people all over the country, and a coach containing German package tourists were waylaid in the Habarana area

and were relieved of nearly £ 2000. The Government made good this money in hard currency in order to keep the tourists coming.

The Government has announced that the four pending by-elections would be held shortly. This seems to indicate that the Government feels that it has overcome the impact of the insurrection of 1971 and elections could fruitfully be held at this time. The Government also probably feels that the time is now more favourable to it than sometime ago so far as popularity rating was concerned. The coup trials, they also feel, will also provide a good backdrop to induce popular sympathy for the government.

Meanwhile, everything does not seem to be allright within the UNP in spite of the much publicised "unity" between the Dudley and JR factions. Dudley Senanayake continues to be President and is still plugging his line with vigour, while the JR group want to fashion a new programme and a new image for the UNP. R. Premadasa has set out in a letter to the UNP President (a letter which was released to the press) that a major change in UNP policies was essential to keep in tune with the times. It is unlikely that the UNP will be able to effect this change before the by-elections and the UF government probably feels that it would be advantageous to hold the by-elections before the UNP can assume a new image—if it can. However, po-

litical observers have noted that Dudley Senanayake and the UNP have drawn large crowds to their meetings.

The United Front also seems anxious to close its ranks, and at the "summit" of UF leaders, to be held shortly, it is likely that formula would be evolved to get the 4 "sacked" CP members of parliament back into the fold. There are also indications that the Wickremasinghe wing, whatever be their differences with the Keuneman wing, also want to stay within the UF and the Government. The CP Congress is scheduled to take place on August 20, and though many expect fireworks of some kind, knowledgeable sources say that it would turn out to be a tame affair in the end. While the CP with its Moscow orientation seems to be able to order its affairs in an organised and disciplined manner, the Peking-wing CP led by Shanmugathasan seems to be in a shambles. Shan had gone abroad in April on the grounds that he needed medical treatment and it now transpires that he has been to Albania, China, the UK and other countries. In addition to receiving medical treatment he seems to have been involved in "politics" which has infuriated his Peking wing CP colleagues. A section of the Central Committee claim that they had "sacked" Shan when he was away and they insist they want to support the Government. Shan however is not enamoured of the Government (which had kept him under

defection for nearly a year) and he seems intent to adopt an independent line, critical of the government—in a “constructive” sort of way. Though Shan’s “sacking” had taken place during his absence, one of his loyalists had stood up for him and stated that the “sacking” was “illegal”. Shan has now returned to the island and statements have been flying about in our political atmosphere from both factions. Shan had met Chairman Mao—it is stated. Mrs. Bandaranaike of the United Front had met Chairman Mao—this is admitted and acknowledged. If Shan had met Chairman Mao and if Shan’s claim that he is the true voice of Marxim-Maoism in Ceylon, it would be interesting to see what line Shan will formulate in the present context.

Another significant development is that the Tamil United Front seems to be holding out in spite of strains and stresses within it. One consequence of this “unity” among the Tamils is that the caste-ridden Hindu Tamils who had all these years prevented the Harijans from entering certain Temples have opened the doors to them especially at Maviddapuram and Vallipuram. While the TUF is yet uncertain of the strategy it will follow to win the rights for the Tamils in a constitutional manner, there have been ugly incidents of violence in the Northern Province said to have been engineered by frustrated and extremist youth. Government circles

however feel that there is growing support for it among the Tamils.

However encouraging certain developments are from the Government’s point of view, there cannot be anything but gloom where economic affairs are concerned. China has given project aid for over Rs. 300 million and it is claimed that Mr. T. B. Subasinghe has collected project aid of over Rs. 250 million from the socialist countries of Eastern Europe, but such project aid does not help to solve the liquidity problem confronting the Government both in regard to domestic cash currency needs as well as foreign exchange to finance essential imports. To meet local needs the Government obtained sanction from the National Assembly to raise Rs. 500 million on Treasury Bills. It will be necessary to examine the debate in the National Assembly when this question was discussed, but there is no doubt that this will lead to massive inflation and an unpredictable lowering of the real value of the rupee. Already the Government has raised the first instalment of Rs. 50 million—no doubt to cover the month’s current expenditure and to regularise advance tax collections.

This hand-to-mouth existence has certainly placed the Government in a delicate situation. The foreign exchange position has also further deteriorated, and the government has been compelled to impose

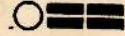
cuts on imports of raw materials. Many local industries will grind to a halt soon unless some relief was forthcoming. Many had expected China to grant another hard currency cash loan as in 1971, but this has so far not been forthcoming. It is said that Ceylon had felt certain of another cash hard currency loan from China when it conducted negotiations with the IMF in May-June this year. Not having received any cash loan from China, Ceylon will probably seek another standby credit from the IMF. And this country will undoubtedly cut out free rice and free education and everything else free in stages—and this will satisfy the World Bank. But Sri Lanka will do this not because the IMF wanted it, but because Chou En-lai has said so. *All is well which will end well for Sri Lanka.*



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WITH COMPLIMENTS

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