

TRIBUNE

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CEYLON NEWS REVIEW

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August 15, 1971

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No. 6



① PRIME MINISTER
on
INSURGENCY

① SENATE

① CHILLIES

① APOLLO 15

① HEADLINES

① REVOLT IN
CEYLON '71

THE TROPICANA

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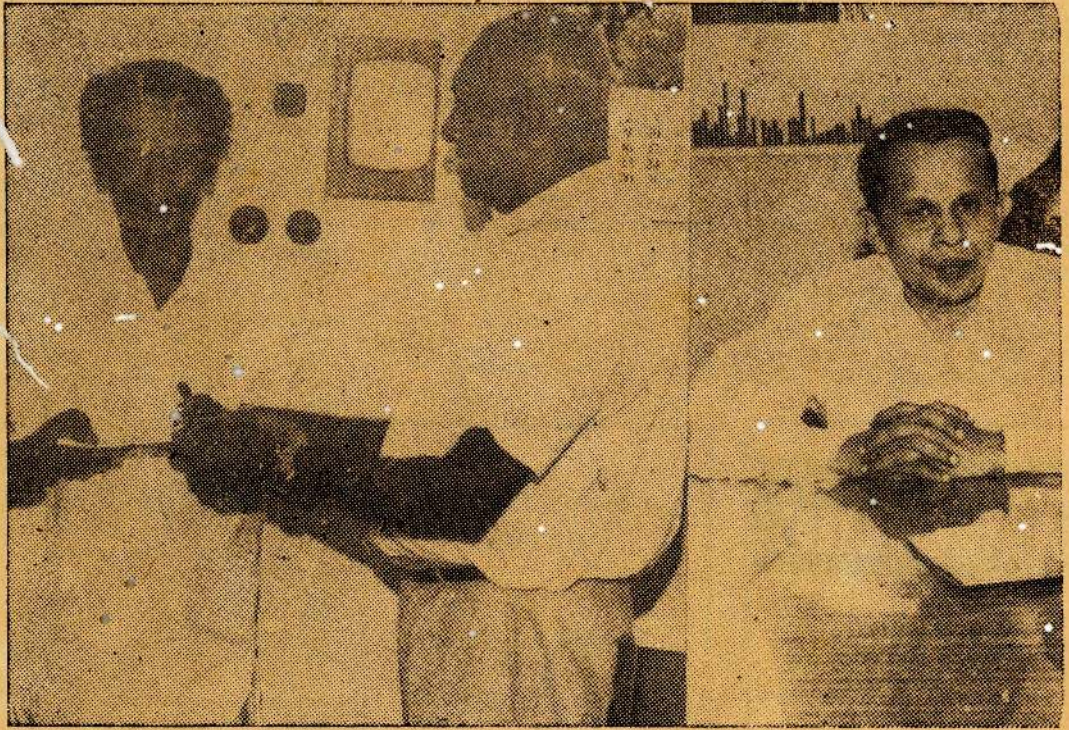
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- Rupees One-Lakh First Prize Winner of 354th National Lottery, Mr. H. A. Sumaneris of Battaramulla, Talangama, receives his cheque from the Chairman of the National Lotteries Board, Major Alex Navaratne (on the left).
- The first prize winning ticket of 357th National Lottery, 26 T 0930 also fetched the bumper cash prize of Rupees One Lakh!

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From the Editor's Desk

AUGUST 2, 1971.

THE LAST ISSUE of *Tribune*, 28-7-71, has already evoked a great deal of comment and discussion. The cover brought forth many commendatory compliments even from those who do not generally agree with everything *Tribune* says. And there was admiration also for the selections of the three photographs published depicting the course of Sino-American negotiations in 1943-47 between Mao and Marshall with Chiang Kai-Shek thrown in for good measure.

But there was one general complaint about the last issue: that there was too much of the foreign

and too little of the local. There is no doubt that the issue was lopsided—evaluated from this angle. With the very severe limitations we have on space, we have to cramp everything into 20 pages. And with so much happening in the world outside it is difficult even to cover a fraction of significant international events that seem to overwhelm the world regularly. And, with the overhanging restrictions imposed by the Competent Authority, it is difficult to discuss and analyse domestic developments in the way we would like to do.

Tribune, therefore looks forward to the day when it can freely provide its readers with interpretative analysis and comment about local affairs, without being inhibited by the ground rules of the Competent Authority, as well as publish a full coverage of international developments. In this issue, we have endeavoured to devote more space to local matters, at least to maintain a record of events which have significance for today and tomorrow. But in the political and diplomatic circles in Colombo, the Nixon visit to China continues to dominate conversation. The change in the US, even if the current flexibility was motivated by selfish national interests in the game of super-power politics, is undoubtedly a manifestation of a ferment and upheaval which is bound to have far-reaching consequences in the US and in the rest of the world also. The profound and fundamental changes that have overtaken the United States has shocked the rest of the world which had believed that the United States could not ever be shaken out of its cold war inhibitions. That the United States—the State Department and the White House—is receding from the era of the cold war, pressurised by the sentiments and feelings of the younger generation, there cannot be the slightest doubt. But the *establishmentarians* and the cold war diehards have fought a powerful battle to preserve the *status quo* for over a decade and during this time many sections of the young had been driven in their frustration into various kinds of escapism—drugs, hippyism, pornographic permissiveness, occultism, yogism and what not. But the mainstream of the young in the US seems to have persisted in a healthy radicalism which has now begun to make its impact on the ruling groups in the US who will no doubt turn and twist in every conceivable way to re-clothe and re-jargonise cold war logic to make it more acceptable.

BUT IN THE RUSH, the person who has gained most in the Nixon-Kissinger rapprochement with Mao and Chou is President Yahya Khan of Pakistan. He acted as the broker between the US and China, and had provided a special plane for Kissinger to fly from an airport near Rawalpindi to Peking while the story was spread that he had a "stomach upset". Flushed with success, Yahya Khan is said to have offered his services to other countries, left in the lurch by the sudden US detente with Communist China, to act as a kind of broker to help normalise their relations with Mao. Countries like Malaysia, Thailand,

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Philippines, among others, are delicately placed where China is concerned because they had for two decades adopted all the hardline cold war postures of the Dullesian era egged on by the State Dept. But Mao and Chou are consummate diplomats and long before Yahya Khan can start his brokering, Peking will establish direct links with these countries.

In the US, in the meantime, questions are being asked about the help the State Department was extending to Yahya Khan because of his role in the cloak and dagger secret diplomacy in which Kissinger seems to specialise. According to an AFP despatch datelined Washington, July 28, Senator George McGovern had questioned whether a reported 2 million dollar shipment of US arms was being sent to Pakistan in return for that Government's assistance in the secret trip to China of Mr. Kissinger. Mr. McGovern in a letter to the Secretary of State, Mr. William Rogers, had noted that the State Department had announced on April 15 that no arms had been delivered and none were in the pipeline "for Pakistan". But the Senator had stressed that the Pakistani ship *Fadma* was bound for Karachi with 2 million dollars worth of US arms.

It is very clear from all this that events in Bangla Desh are not likely to break up the US-Pakistani axis. And what is more than likely is that, at least for a time, this axis would be strengthened by a third partner, China. Countries in Asia and especially those bordering the Indian Ocean on the one hand and all other countries in the world on the other, which have interests in this region, cannot but base their new alignments and appraisals with the hard reality of an emerging US-China-Pakistan axis. The CENTO, SEATO and other alliances of the Dullesian era have been tottering for some time, but with this turn of events they are in shambles. They are already anachronisms in the dustheap of history. For over two decades the State Department and the establishmentarians in the US had maligne'd everything "Chinese", but suddenly they are discovering new virtues in ancient Chinese civilisation. *Acupuncture* is being acclaimed as some revolutionary discovery under the impact of Mao's Thoughts and US publicists are falling over each other in hailing the magic of Chinese medicine. The *New York Times* columnist James Reston developed acute appendicitis whilst in Peking

and he was operated upon with acupuncture anaesthesia. It was a success—both the operation by Chinese surgeons and the acupuncture anaesthetic experiment—and the news was flashed round the world.

WHILST IT IS difficult to envisage the zig-zags American foreign policy manipulations would take in the coming weeks, and while one cannot but view with anything but cynicism the manner in which the State Department had fooled a lot of big as well as small countries over many international problems, there can be only straightforward admiration for the achievements of *Apollo 15*. At the time of writing these notes, Scott and Irwin are still on the moon. They were scheduled to complete their tasks on the moon today and rejoin the command craft to return to earth. In terms of the hazards involved and the scientific experiments to be carried out, *Apollo 15* is a far more dangerous and far more important mission than the three moon-landings American astronauts have already made. The lunar module, in which Scott and Irwin will descend, had to cross the 15,000-foot high Apennine mountain range, the tallest on the moon, and land in as safe a rock-strewn spot as the astronauts can find. They were scheduled to spend 67 hours on the lunar surface—double the previous longest stay—during which period they were expected to go down and explore a mile-wide, 12,000 feet gorge, called Hadley Rille, whose sides slope 25 degrees. Unlike previous moonwalkers who used Shanks mare, Scott and Irwin used a four-wheeled battery-driven car, called the *Rover* for transportation. This 4 million dollar "buggy", equipped with the latest scientific instruments, can negotiate 25-degree slopes and reach heights and depths that cannot be traversed by foot.

The exploration of Hadley Rille was to be the climax of *Apollo 20*, which had begun with the US lunar landing series starting with *Apollo 11* in July 1969. But the work of exploring Hadley Rille was advanced to *Apollo 15* because the rock samples and other data collected during the three previous landings are said to have posed more questions than they answered about why the moon is where and what it is. It is believed that both the earth and the moon had taken solid shape about five billion years ago but whilst the earth had slowly become habitable and "civilised", the moon has remained a lava-hardened rock with craters, with no sign of life. The moon samples so

far brought back have been found to be young rocks (about 3½ billion years old) and scientists expect samples of the original rock to be found in the depths of Hadley Rille and possibly some traces of life like amino acids. They seem to think that Hadley Rille may hold the clue to the origin of the solar system. All earlier *Apollo* missions have had happy endings, but after the last minute tragedy which befell the *Soyuz-11* cosmonauts, nothing can be taken for granted. Even a minor mechanical error can turn triumph into tragedy. But the whole world wishes that everything goes well with *Apollo 15* and hope the astronauts will return safely to earth.

THIS HAS BEEN the most expensive *Apollo* mission so far. It will cost 445 million dollars breaking the record cost of *Apollo 14* by 45 million dollars. One reason for the record cost of *Apollo 15* is the record length of 12 days, three on the surface of the moon and six days (including the three on the surface) in lunar orbit. This added 10 million dollars by itself to the operational costs. The lunar rover cost an extra 4 million dollars. Another million dollars went on a lunar drill and an enlarged laser reflector, both of which are being taken to the moon for the first time. The biggest increase came from the changes made in the command and landing craft of the *Apollo 15* mission—changes necessary to enable the craft to carry more equipment. Additional instruments carried on this mission include a mapping camera, a panoramic camera, a laser altimeter and an 84-pound satellite which the crew will leave in moon orbit when the astronauts leave the moon and head back towards earth.

The special feature of the American space missions is the publicity which attends the performance. The Russians envelop their space trips in comparative secrecy, but the Americans take an extrovert's delight in making a splendid exhibition of these space odysseys. This most spectacular space flight has already provided the greatest show on the moon—for the mere man on earth. As the astronauts moved across the lunar surface the television camera gave the viewers on earth a complete record of the activities of every step they made. The present camera can be controlled from the Houston Space Centre—for the first time—and this camera will be left on the moon to film Falcon's lift-off from the surface.

Furthermore, the camera on *Apollo 15* will be able to photograph the city of Perth in Western Australia, and the government of Western Australia has agreed to have street lights in Perth switched on and off for the experiment which will be on Saturday, August 7—during an eclipse of the moon—the day the astronauts are due to splash down in the Pacific. It is hoped that as the earth moved in between the sun and the moon, the sun's rays will be blocked out and the camera will be able to pick up the flashing lights of Perth.

FACED WITH the declining public interest in the US in the space programme the space agency has gone out of its way to portray *Apollo 15* as the first truly scientific expedition to the moon. The *Apollo* programme director, Mr. Rocco Petrone, had declared with pardonable hyperbole that *Apollo 15* was "certainly one of the greatest scientific endeavours ever undertaken." Colonel Scott had told engineers at Cape Kennedy that "the vastly improved scientific returns will be almost overwhelming and with your help we'll bring back enough data to keep the scientific community busy for 30 years". He and the other astronauts had received additional scientific training for the flight. The satellite which will be released into moon orbit is designed to study three matters: gravity, magnetism and solar wind in the area of the moon for about a year. The photographs of the lunar eclipse will provide not only information about the moon, but also the refraction caused by the earth's atmosphere. *Apollo 15* is expected to splash down in the Pacific on August 7 at a point north of Hawaii at 21.47 Greenwich Standard time. Although four or five more *Apollo* missions had been originally planned, under current plans, the financially straightened US Space Agency will fly only two more manned *Apollo* missions. There is also speculation in the US and other countries whether a new plan will emerge to launch *Apollo* spacecraft to link with Soviet *Salyut* space stations.

Whilst the Americans are thus conquering the moon, the *lunar Poya Weekend* has proved a tough nut for the United Front Government of Ceylon to crack. After the tacit consent of all parties, including the UNP, was obtained for the reversion to the Saturday-Sunday weekend, the Government with the blessings of the Maha

Nayakes of Malwatte and Asgiriya rushed the Holidays Bill through the House of Representatives with the protests only from Galle's Dr. W. Dahanayake and Nikaweretiya's Mudiense Tennekoon. It was thought, that because the UNP High Command had signified their support for the Bill, the UNP caucus in the Senate, which controls the majority, would pass the Bill without any unnecessary delay. Senator Rajaratne, claiming that he had always been only a member, of the JVP, carried on a four-day filibuster against the Bill echoing all the slogans of Sinhala-Buddhist *ultraism* which had marred the politics of this country for over three decades. He had concluded his speech at the last meeting of the Senate in June, and it was thought that the Senate would finally pass the Bill on August 2. But it was not to be. UNP official speakers, while stating that the Party would vote for the Bill, insisted that they must be heard. Senator D. L. F. Pedris had carried on a secondary filibuster on August 1 and 2, assisted by other UNPers (who are yet to speak)—and the closure could not be applied on August 2 because the majority of Senators are not with the Government.

The debate stands now adjourned to August 11 and 12 (August 3 being a Private Members motions day), and UNP circles, it is reported, have agreed to the vote being taken on August 11 (or August 12?). In any case, the Senate, which is smarting under the UF Government's attempt to "abolish" it, has successfully frustrated the Government from introducing, in the normal way, the Saturday-Sunday weekend with the Full Moon Poya being a holiday as from August 6. In the Lower House the Government had announced that the new Holiday scheme would come into operation as from this weekend, and the Senate has undoubtedly scored its point that until it is legally abolished and the present Constitution is superseded by another Constitution in a lawful manner, the Senate is a force which had to be taken into consideration. It is a moot point whether the Government will use its powers under the Emergency to declare August 6 to August 8 as special holidays in anticipation of the Senate adopting the Bill on August 11-12. But what would be the repercussions on the Senate and the UNP if such a step were taken? Would they then go back on their undertaking to support the Bill?

THE COVER on this week's issue shows women plucking chillies in a farm in the Vavuniya district. As late as in 1970, Ceylon spent about 39 million rupees in foreign exchange in importing dried chillies. This drain on our meagre foreign exchange resources, it has been pointed over the decades, could easily be stopped. Chillies have been successfully grown in this country and adequate quantities can easily be grown not only to make the island self-sufficient but for export as well if the proper incentives and methods are adopted to promote production.

The GPS price of chillies has been increased and this provides one kind of incentive, but it is not by itself enough to make peasants and other farmers to increase either the acreage of cultivation or enable them to obtain higher levels of productivity. As a commercial crop, the chillie is essentially a dry zone one, but to get high levels of productivity, it is essential that it is grown under controlled irrigation, essentially from wells. Rain-fed chillie production cannot ever meet the needs of the country. Knowledgeable persons realise that, in the first instance, medium-term credit (three to five years) has to be provided to farmers, in areas where groundwater can be tapped at 25 to 35 feet, to sink wells. Such wells will cultivate anything from four to ten acres depending on the re-charge capacity of the wells. But even if only four acres are cultivated, it would be possible to return the capital plus a reasonable interest well within five years—only from the cultivation of subsidiary food crops like chillies, onions and the like. The loan must be adequate to cover the cost of a water pump too.

SECONDLY, the cultivator must have in addition seasonal short-term credit facilities to finance the actual cultivation: money for fertilisers, extra labour charges and the like. This money can be recovered from the crop together with repayment on the bigger medium-term loan. Without controlled irrigation chillie cultivation will not make any serious headway and it would be foolish to think that tank irrigation can provide enough water for the chillies Ceylon needs. Irrigation from tanks must go mainly for the cultivation of rice. As in the Jaffna district (and now increasing in the Kilinochchi, Vavuniya and Mannar districts) subsidiary crops are best and most economically cultivated under well irrigation.

Experience has shown that medium-term loans for the sinking of wells and for the purchase of a water pump, plus short-term loans for seasonal cultivation, are the fundamental rock-bottom imperative essentials for any scheme to increase the production of chillies, onions and the like. It is also absolutely essential that repayment should be on a seasonal basis—after each crop; and certainly not monthly as the two big State Banks have so far demanded. There seems to be some healthy re-thinking about the mode of repayment, but the rules for granting of loans are as rigid as ever before in spite of assurances to the contrary. Our local bank managers still want income tax payers (including wealth tax payers) to be guarantors even to grant small loans. Though the top brass have proclaimed that the managers have the discretion to accept "suitable" guarantors, the diehard mentality of the loan departments of the banks operate in such a way that it is extremely difficult for an ordinary cultivator to get his loans direct from the banks.

And with all the red-tape in the Co-operative Movement, in spite of the current reorganisation, only the old and new vested interests in the co-operative sector are able to get the necessary loans for themselves and their friends. The real cultivators, especially the new cultivators who have come into the scene, have no time to hang after bank managers or lobby co-operative functionaries, and cannot therefore ever hope, in the present circumstances, to get credit facilities from government source, either for subsidiary foodstuffs or even for rice production. The more venturesome among such cultivators obtain credit at very high rates of interest from private money-lenders, for capital expenditure like sinking wells and the purchase of water pumps—and unless they sell their crops at higher than GPS prices (in the open market at black market prices) they will never be able to repay the interest or the capital of the loans they have obtained. That is why even the present high GPS prices will not, by themselves, induce a sizable breakthrough in production. For the extension of the acreage under cultivation and an increase of productivity per acre, the cultivator—be he peasant, middle class or even a bloated capitalist (most of them today do not have excess fluid cash for capital development)—must, in addition, to stable GPS prices, have facilities to obtain medium and short-term loans on

reasonable rates of interest with repayment on a seasonal basis after each crop.

Furthermore, loans and credit must not be channelled solely, or even mainly, through the co-operative movement because the red-tapism, bureaucratism and corruption within the movement restricts the credit facilities to the favourites of local co-operative vested interests presently dominated by certain officials. In agricultural credit, the cultivator and his record of production, and the reputation he has for creditworthiness, should be the determining factor. A percentage of bad debts is always inevitable, but bank managers once they rid themselves of the inhibitions of out-dated credit banking will easily be able to spot the cultivators who are credit worthy. For this purpose, bank managers in the rural and agricultural areas must move out of their seats and visit farms in the areas covered by their banks. Most of these bank managers tend to sit on their haunches and pick up gossip from their clerks and peons, on the one hand, and also from government officials, on the other, regarding the creditworthiness of cultivators and their guarantors. This leads them into the same vicious stagnancy which has bedevilled agricultural credit so far.

THE TOP MANAGEMENT of the two State banks must realise the dynamics of credit in our rural areas, and change the ground rules for branches in rural areas, to provide credit to real cultivators whom the managers must meet and know on their farms itself. In the past, and even now, agricultural credit has been given to persons who have a "pull" with bank officials and who can roll up with two-good guarantors—even if the land which they are supposed to cultivate is not cultivated at all. Those who know how to operate within the rules of the Bank and who have the necessary connections to get their papers through the bank's bureaucratic red tape have, under cover of agricultural expansion, obtained loans for other purposes. But the vast majority of the actual cultivators cannot break through either the rigid mechanistic and unimaginative rules of the bank or satisfy the bank officials about the creditworthiness of themselves and the guarantors they can mobilise.

That is why, in spite of the millions which have, on the records, gone out as agricultural loans in the last ten

years, there has not been a proportionate increase in production in chillies, onions or even rice. There has certainly been a marked increase, but it is not in proportion to the credit given by the banks. The reason is not far to seek—a substantial proportion of the loans had gone into the pockets of persons who never really cultivated anything. Without proper and adequate agricultural all credit schemes of the government, however lavish they may appear, will remain paper schemes, as they have done in the past, and the returns will not be proportionate to the effort or the trumpet-blowing which attended these efforts.

POSTSCRIPT...

August 11

OWING to the change in the system of holidays, the issue of *Tribune* scheduled for August 10 will be published on Sunday, August 15. Until we are in a position to publish the *Tribune* weekly, or even tri-monthly, the magazine will appear on Sundays every fortnight. The August 10 issue could not be advanced to Sunday August 8 because of the three days of holidays and owing to the uncertainty that had prevailed about the new holiday scheme itself. The filibuster in the Senate was defeated by the Government by issuing a Gazette notification under the Emergency Regulations and the new holiday scheme was inaugurated as announced earlier from August 6. There was a great deal of disappointment in quarters that had opposed the abolition of the Senate about the manner in which it had conducted itself over the Holidays Bill which many regard as the one of the most sensible and welcome steps taken by the UF government. Even a staid weekly like *Catholic Messenger* had editorially characterised the actions of the Senate on this question as "sophisticated cussedness."

Since writing the notes, on August 2, a few events had made headlines which merit notice. The *Apollo 15* astronauts, who were then on the lunar surface (and one in orbit around the moon), have returned safely to earth bringing with them, among other things, valuable moon rocks and a whole range of new and exciting pictures, including photographs of the lunar eclipse which occurred on August 6-7. The new "treaty for peace" concluded between India and the Soviet Union

had come as a surprise, but after Nixon (a redoubtable cold warrior of the fifties and the sixties) had readily accepted an invitation to visit Maoland, nothing will ever surprise anybody. With the USA and China drawing together with Pakistan as the kingpin, it was inevitable that the USSR and India should come closer to each other. Will Japan also endeavour to join the USSR-India axis or will the US be able to accommodate Japan in the new scheme of things which Washington wants to create in the Pacific?

NEARER HOME. in Ceylon, there was *fiore* about a book entitled **THE SOVIET UNION AND ISLAM** alleged to have been written by the Soviet Ambassador in Ceylon, Mr. Rafik Nishanov. The story burst upon the country with a frontpage box item in the *Ceylon Daily News* on August 2 that some leading level Muslims were up in arms against certain comments in this booklet which, it was reported, was printed in Moscow, published by the Novosti Press Agency and distributed by the Soviet Embassy in Colombo. On the same afternoon pro-UNP Senator K. M. P. Rajaratne blew himself up into a frenzy of indignation in the Senate and demanded that the Soviet Ambassador should be declared *persona non grata* because of the anti-religious views he had sought to propagate in this "blasphemous book". This was on August 2. The newspapers also announced that several Muslim organisations had organised a mass rally in Colombo to protest against the booklet and demand the recall of the Ambassador.

In the meantime, wires must have hummed between Colombo and Moscow and *vice-versa*, and on August 10, the local papers published the news that the Soviet Embassy had handed in a note to the Government (even before they were formally asked about it) that the book was a "total fabrication" and a "forgery" published and distributed by elements who sought to malign the Soviet Union and create misunderstanding between Muslims throughout the world and the USSR, particularly at a time when the Soviet Union had become an active force in the Arab world and the Mediterranean. The reports stated that some copies were alleged to have been airmailed from Moscow, and that the Soviet Embassy claimed that the franking and postmark were "crude forgeries". The Em-

bassy denied that it had distributed any copies of the booklet.

The last has not been heard about the booklet. As a forgery it was a neat and clever job. At a superficial glance, it has all the normal features and appearance of a typical *Novosti* booklet. But the contents were, to say the least, surprising. At a time when the USSR was seeking to woo the Muslims and the Arab world, it was inconceivable that one of its up and coming political figures from the Uzbek Republic, now serving as Ambassador in Ceylon, should have wanted to write a booklet which even a tyro in these matters will realise would offend Muslim susceptibilities and create resentment among believers. Furthermore the *Novosti* Press Agency is an organisation which is politically alive and alert, and it is hard to imagine that it could have been responsible for a *faux pas* of this kind.

Ariel's INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS has been edged out of this issue because of space. So much has happened in recent days that it is extremely difficult to condense everything that happens into a small article. In the last fortnight events centering around China dominated the world scene. Starting from the pingpong sensation in mid-April, Peking has held the centre of attention until now. On July 9-11, Kissinger was in Peking and on July 15 Nixon announced that he would visit China before long. Pakistan had acted as one of the brokers for this deal, but had played a key role in the secret cloak and dagger dash Kissinger had made from Rawalpindi to Peking under cover of a stomach upset. Washington and Nixon were therefore committed to stand by Yahya Khan in spite of a storm of protest which has arisen in the USA over the atrocities and genocide in Bangla Desh. The emergence of the US-China-Pakistan axis had created major repercussions in Asia and the world, and one direct result (provoked no doubt by the warlike slogans which had emanated from Islamabad and the Yahya Khan caucus) was that India and the Soviet Union have concluded a 20-year treaty described as a "treaty of peace". It is yet too early to evaluate the implications of this new Moscow-New Delhi alignment. Other countries in Asia too are in a pickle as to what they should do, especially countries like Japan, Taiwan, South Korea, South Vietnam Thailand, Philippines,

and Indonesia. The recent election in Indonesia and Japan have maintained the *status quo* and the forthcoming Presidential election in South Vietnam is likely to have a similar result. Ne Win has gone to China and he has been welcomed with much greater fanfare than ever before. In the midst of all this the genocide in Bangla Desh has evoked universal condemnation of the Yahya Khan regime.

Even in the US there is a swelling tide of indignation against the atrocities which Yahya Khan has perpetrated in East Pakistan. The *Newsweek* of August 2 had a leading story with a cover depicting **BENGAL—THE MURDER OF A PEOPLE**. The *Time*, 2-8-71, had a more sober cover headline—**PAKISTAN'S AGONY** but the story inside was even more telling and gruesome than *Newsweek's*. But White House is a prisoner of Yahya Khan's. Many in the USA feel that Nixon himself will soon become a hostage of China if the present stamped out to woo Mao continues.

Bangla Desh is not the only mess which now plagues the USA. With the leakage of top secret FBI and Pentagon Papers, the anti-war upsurge, the dollar crisis and a whole lot of other economic and political problems the US has to tread warily in every part of the world. The problem of Europe is on its hands with the subject of Eurodollars, the floating mark, the threat to revalue of the franc and the difficulties facing the Heath government about entry into the ECM. Iceland has asked the US to quit the bases whilst Malta does not want NATO ships to dock in Valetta. There is already talk about the devaluation of the mighty dollar.

The Arab world is ablaze with coups, counter-coups, massacres, liquidation of commandos and inter-Arab state squabbles—all mixed up with "hatred" for Israel which hate was used successfully for some time, by leaders like Nasser to unify the Arab states at least on a superficial basis. Every Arab state now stands with its pants down—and war may be the only thing that can clothe them with some semblance of respectability. But Israel is an adroit opponent and makes the fullest use of every cleavage in the Arab world to keep the post-1967 *status quo* static—until it becomes the reality, which everybody will accept, with new frontiers and problems superseding the 1967 ones to keep them occupied.

CEYLON : MARGINAL NOTES

by

Serendib

August 4, 1971

ON TUESDAY, JULY 20, the Prime Minister made her long-awaited speech on the insurgent problem in the House of Representatives. It is expected that this statement will be the starting point for a debate on the Emergency and the Insurgent Movement in the House and the Senate in the not too distant future. The UNP is pressing for an early debate, but there are no indications as yet about the dates on which this problem will be debated.

Speaking in Sinhala, for a little over half an hour, the Prime Minister gave the House a detailed account of what had happened. Many had expected sensational disclosures, but she did not provide any thrills of that kind. She emphasised that the back of the insurgent movement had been broken and that everything was improving. There was no evidence of foreign involvement of any kind. With regard to casualties, she said, that deaths during the insurrection did not exceed 1200. This figure included the casualties among Police and Armed Services personnel as well as the terrorists killed in action and the combing out operations, and even those killed by the terrorists themselves for various reasons such as on suspicion of giving information to the Police and the like. However, she did not claim that these figures were absolutely correct as it was difficult to ascertain the fate of those missing or in hiding. The breakdown among the security forces was as follows: *police*—35 killed and 194 injured; *army*—15 killed and 89 injured; *navy*—6 killed and 16 injured; and *air force*—4 killed and 13 injured.

In regard to the total damage done to both public and private property during the insurrection together with loss to production, she said that the sum total seemed to be in the order of Rs. 100 million. The figures were tentative and the final assessment would take some more time as reports done to public property were still coming in from the Government Agents.

- ① PRIME MINISTER
- ① HOLIDAYS & THE SENATE
- ① ON PLANNING

The total number of police stations attacked was 74, and serious damage had been caused to a large number of them. She paid a glowing tribute to the armed services and also thanked the large mass of peace-loving citizens who had co-operated readily with the Government in crushing the murderous attack on persons and property. She further said that the insurgent uprising had dealt a severe blow in economic terms to the country and a great deal of money would have to be diverted to merely repairing the damage caused by the insurgents.

The custody of the youth in detention camps and prisons was costing the Government millions of rupees and would continue to cost a great deal of money in the future. Money would have to be channelled also to maintain the security set-up on an efficient basis as it would not be possible to take any risks in the future regarding a recurrence of further insurgent trouble.

Detailing the story from the beginning, she said that the Emergency had been declared on March 16, and that it was over three months now "since an attempt was made to unleash a reign of terror in the country, probably unprecedented in our history." She had spoken to the country three times so far and kept the people informed of the various aspects pertaining to this situation. She had not made a statement to the House earlier because "I wished to make a comprehensive statement when most of the facts were in my possession and also because a full statement made too early might perhaps have been prejudicial to the investigations that were being conducted." She wished to make a statement in chronological order as far as it was possible so that the whole subject could be seen in perspective by the honourable members of the House.

THE PRIME MINISTER'S statement is a document of great historical significance, and for purposes of record, if not for anything else, it is proposed to quote *in extenso* from the English text of

the speech. This is what she said about the background to the insurgent movement: "... From information available it would be seen that the seeds of the insurgent movement were sown sometime in late 1964, or early 1965. There have been certain valuable studies made about this movement and the various patterns that it has taken as well as certain personalities involved during the time of the previous Government. Two reports have been prepared and handed over to the then Government, one in 1967 and one in 1969 by Mr. John Attygalle, who was one time D.I.G. in charge of the C.I.D., and at the time the Reports were prepared, Special Security Adviser to the Ministry of Defence. For a period of five years during the administration of the last Government various information that has been coming in about this movement have been collected and his Reports have been based on this information. I cannot help feeling that had a proper evaluation and early action been taken on these Reports, perhaps we might have been able to have avoided the situation which came upon us later.

"When I assumed office in May, 1970, I was not aware of the existence of these reports, nor was their existence brought to my notice by anybody until sometime in late April after the insurgency broke out. I happened to hear from various sources of the existence of these Reports. I contacted Mr. John Attygalle and he had been good enough to send me copies of the reports which he had retained with him.

The C.I.D. and various personnel entrusted with security had also brought to the notice of my Government from time to time various activities carried out by various persons, such as the conducting of secret classes, secret meetings, and the putting up of posters exhorting the so-called 'wealthless' mass of the people to rise against the Government. Little bits of information like this have been coming in from the inception of my Government and right through 1970.

"I had instructed the Police to be very vigilant and to follow up every case energetically, as it was necessary to forge a clear picture as soon as possible from the rather disjointed and sporadic material that was coming in from time to time. This situation continued during the first two months of 1971 as well. That is, information was being received and the security arm of the Government was making relevant

investigation, and carefully collecting and collating the material that was coming in. Increasing discovery of a fairly large quantity of arms and ammunition, handbombs, gelegnite, dynamite and other lethal material was causing serious concern to the Government, and I have, on many occasions, discussed these reports with the Cabinet. However, the Government had to work against what appeared to be a clandestine movement which seemed to be rapidly arming itself for violence with a set of laws which are no doubt suitable to investigate normal crime but certainly not conducive to the proper investigation of a movement, such as the one we seemed to be investigating.

"Therefore, the Cabinet considered, somewhere in the early part of 1971, the question of bringing in a separate Bill which would have given the Government wider powers to deal with those planning insurrection or the overthrow of the Government by violence. This Bill would have empowered the Government to detain in Police custody without producing before a Magistrate a suspect for a month or two and would have also enabled investigating officers to take him from place to place for the purpose of furthering the investigation, etc.

"These steps were contemplated, because, under the existing law, a suspect could not be kept in custody for more than a very short period and if no concrete evidence could be adduced during that period, he had to be released. However, the Cabinet, after discussion, took the view that a fundamental liberty of the subject, such as this should not be tampered with unless it was absolutely necessary to do so, and though the news and information that had been coming in up to that time and during that period was causing grave concern, yet the Government did not wish to strengthen its hands at the expense of the liberties enjoyed by subjects."

IT IS CLEAR from the PM's statement that there were elements both in the Government and outside who did not take the movement seriously. It is known that even the political vanguard in the Left Parties did not attach much importance to the JVP (and the insurgents) on the basis that they did not have a working-class base and that the SLFP had a unique mass charisma in the villages. Therefore, it was felt by many that any special legislation would be tantamount to making heroes out of slogan shouters.

The Prime Minister's statement of facts showed how wrong these political pundits turned out to be. It will be recalled as early as 1966-67, then again in 1968-69, and finally in 1970, *Tribune* had drawn attention to the growth of the JVP insurgency movement and that it would be foolish to underestimate the potential of this youth movement which was seeking to capitalise on the acts of commission and omission of the UNP, the SLFP and all the Left Parties. She said: "By late February, 1971, rapidly increasing reports pertaining to an Island-wide movement, which definitely seemed to be aiming at the overthrow of the Government by violence was causing serious concern. Large caches of handbombs, arms and ammunition, uniforms, material for the manufacture of handbombs such as nails, barbed-wire, detonators, fuses, etc. were being discovered in various parts of the Island. Reports were increasingly also coming in about secret meetings being held in various parts of the Island.

"Having reviewed all the information available to me at the time I took the decision that it was necessary to have a special officer of high rank who could devote his full attention to the security threat that was posed. I therefore appointed, on the 1st of March, 1971, an Additional Permanent Secretary to be in sole charge of National Security. This appointment resulted in a number of important decisions. The Service Chiefs and the I.G.P. met almost daily, sometimes twice a day, and discussed the information available. An Operations Room was set up and the deployment of Service personnel properly controlled. There was a gradual build-up to a state of readiness in the Army, Navy, Air Force and Police. All Services entered into a no-leave period and the Services were put on practice alert at short notice in order to quicken their responses.

"On 6th March, 1971, there was an attack on the American Embassy, in the course of which an Inspector of Police was killed. This was another extremely disconcerting incident in the context of the situation when other information of a serious nature was also coming in. On 7th March, 1971, therefore, Part III of the Public Security Act was brought into force."

There is no doubt that the Prime Minister took precautionary steps

as early as March, 1971. If she had not done so, the situation would have been very different, when the insurgents began to attack in early April. It may even be that the JVP and the insurgents were stampeded into a hasty and premature attack on April 5 because their ranks were getting depleted by arrests and large caches of arms and bombs were being captured by the Police.

THEREAFTER, the Prime Minister went on to outline the immediate reasons which had compelled the Government to declare a State of Emergency. It is a story of mounting acts of violence and the Prime Minister has set out succinctly and graphically the compelling facts which had made the Government declare the State of Emergency. She indicated that the depth, extent and the scope of the movement and of the attack on April 5, when over seventy police stations all over the island were simultaneously threatened, had come as a surprise. "On 10th March, 1971, there was a serious bomb explosion in the Dedigama electorate, resulting in several deaths. During this period, I summoned the I.G.P., all the D.I.Gs and S.Ps to a conference to discuss the security situation at the time and gave categorical instructions to the Police to go all out and carry out investigations systematically and unrelentingly. The Police made island-wide searches, the results of which satisfied me that something really dangerous was afoot. Therefore I recommended to H. E. the Governor-General the declaration of an Emergency on the 16th of March, 1971. In a broadcast to the nation, thereafter I gave the full reasons for the declaration of the Emergency and I trust that I need not go into any details about this here once again.

"On the 20th of March, 1971, there was an explosion in one of the Halls of Peradeniya University. Combined Army and Police searches were conducted in all the Halls of Residence and what was discovered was a veritable arsenal. Several halls of residence contained boxes of fuses, bags of gunpowder, cases of detonators, bags of potassium nitrate, sticks of gelegnite, thousands of empty condensed milk tins for the manufacture of handbombs, pieces of dynamite coil, daggers, cartridges of various bores, dynamite, handbombs, petrol and numerous other materials necessary to manufacture various lethal wea-

pons. In addition, we found several blue uniforms with pockets to carry handbombs, cartridges, etc. and also boots, tin-hats, etc.

"We also discovered that some of the students had apparently fled the scene. I cannot understand what the university administration was doing whilst the entire campus was being systematically turned into a munitions factory. It is impossible to believe that these activities were not known to the authorities, and particularly the Hall authorities. On the 2nd April, 1971, the Peliyagoda Police found in a house a very large stock of bombs and other lethal weapons. I do not think I should weary the House with a long list of the various places at which lethal weapons were discovered or where bombs exploded etc. during this period.

"In the early hours of the morning of April 5th the Wellawaya Police Station was attacked and two policemen killed. On the same morning a Police party who attempted to check a lorry at Moneragala was shot at by the occupants of the lorry who were insurgents, which resulted in the deaths of one Police Officer and injury to others. A restricted curfew was imposed with effect from 5th April, 1971 in Badulla, Kandy, Moneragala, Amparai and Nuwara Eliya, and an All-Island Curfew was imposed with effect from 6th April, 1971 as a result of a concerted attack by terrorists on a large number of Police Stations and public buildings, which commenced on the night of 5th April, 1971.

"Insurgent activity was particularly bad in certain parts of the Kegalle district, the Kurunegala district, the Anuradhapura district, Polonnaruwa district, Deniyaya, Elpitiya, Ambalangoda, Amparai and Wellawaya. I have, during the course of my addresses to the nation after 5th April, given full and frank details as was available at the time to the people and I do not think that it would be necessary for me therefore to reiterate all this during the course of my statement today. These statements were given wide publicity over the Broadcasting Corporation and in the Press and I am sure all Members are familiar with the details that I have given."

IN RETROSPECT, the uncertainty and the terrible anxiety during the week immediately after April 5, now seems very distant. But those who had lived through this trauma-

tic experience can never forget the moments of deep anguish which had brought many to the verge of utter despair.

The Prime Minister described in a sober and detached manner the highlights of that vital week and the measures through which the insurgency was brought under control. In more than one place in her statement she had stated how the Armed Services and the Police had risen to the occasion and had quickly brought the situation back to normal. "I might state at this point that the week immediately following the 5th of April was an extremely vital week and the Armed Forces and the Police had to struggle against many odds during this period. They were virtually without sleep or rest and had to perform security duties round the clock and, in the areas I have mentioned, also repulsed repeated attacks by terrorists armed with handbombs, shot-guns, geleignite and dynamite, although they were inadequately equipped. It is to their everlasting credit that they acted on this critical occasion in a spirit of the highest traditions of their respective Services, and I am sure that this House would join me in paying a sincere tribute to them. After the first critical weeks were over, Security Forces were able to move from purely defensive action into the offensive. Co-ordinating Officers were appointed to the following districts, in order to combine with the civilian administration and free certain areas of those districts from terrorists and terrorists control as well as to supervise the surrenders of terrorists—Kegalle Kurunegala, Matale, Anuradhapura, Kalutara, Galle, Matara, Hambantota, Ratnapura, Polonnaruwa, Amparai, Badulla and Moneragala. Some of the Co-ordinating Officers have now been withdrawn from some districts such as Matale, Badulla, Amparai etc. since they have completed their functions."

"I might also mention that an amnesty was granted to the insurgents with effect from 1st May to 4th May, 1971. During this period approximately 3,978 insurgents surrendered. The second Amnesty was granted with effect from 7th June 1971, when 236 insurgents surrendered. The total number in custody today is of the order of 14,000. Of this figure, 4,200 approximately are those who have surrendered on the Amnesty, the balance of roughly 10,000 in custody, is made up of

those arrested and those who surrendered outside the period of Amnesty."

The Prime Minister then went on to discuss the wild rumours which had circulated throughout the island and the even wilder and more fantastic rumours which had been circulated in the world outside. The rumours were most persistent about the number of casualties, and Mrs. Bandaranaike gave the official figures of the dead and injured on the figures available to Government. These statistics had been referred to earlier in this article, and the PM had also stressed that it was not easy to obtain accurate information owing to the various circumstances which had enveloped the insurgency. "The House is aware that wild rumours had been circulating, some no doubt deliberately circulated with malicious intent in order to tarnish the good name of the Government, that several thousand people were being killed by the Armed Services and the Police. These reports appeared in some foreign newspapers as well. Hon. Members are no doubt aware of the speed with which these rumours spread and the exaggerations that take place during the course of these passing from mouth to mouth. Therefore it is my duty to give you some idea, as far as is possible, of the number of casualties, which have been the result of this whole episode....."

"Hon. Members will appreciate that obtaining accurate figures in a situation where there has been fighting going on in various parts of practically the whole of Ceylon is by no means an easy matter. For instance, there may be persons who would have received injuries in their skirmishes with the Security Forces and then fled into the jungle, where it is quite possible that some of them might have succumbed to these injuries. Then there are persons whom the terrorists had kidnapped and about whose whereabouts there is still no word. It is difficult to say whether these people are now dead or alive, but the figure I have given the House today is a figure which is based on the best available information as it is today."

THE QUESTION OF EXCESSES worried everybody and the PM then went on to advert to the question of atrocities which the Armed Forces and the Police had committed during the time they had sought to bring the insurgency

under control. She pointed that the Government had taken a serious view of any excesses and had set up two Ministerial Committees to look into every complaint and allegation of police or army excesses. "Whilst on the subject of casualties, I wish to deal with another matter which has come to my notice in various ways. I am aware that certain allegations have been made that there have been excesses on the part of the Armed Services and the Police. I might state straightaway that I do not condone any excesses committed by the Security Forces and in the instances where there have been actual proof, investigations have been ordered and some of these are now proceeding, and the persons concerned, if found guilty, would be dealt with in accordance with the law. I had also ordered the setting up of two Ministerial Committees, one headed by the Hon. T. B. Tennakoon, to receive complaints from M.P.'s with regard to their constituents who may have been taken into custody or who may be missing etc., and the other by the Hon. P. B. G. Kalugalle, in order to look into any complaints against the Police and the Armed Services. These two committees were set up in addition to the Rehabilitation and Reconstruction Committee, of which the Hon. Maithripala Senanayake is the Chairman. In addition to all this, on my instructions various Ministers, the I. G. P. and the D. I. G. and some of the Service chiefs had visited various areas of the country and specially counselled the Security Services against the committing of any excesses. I have also given written instructions to the I. G. P. and the Service Commanders on this very matter."

In regard to the problem of atrocities and excesses, the Prime Minister stated that excesses, if any, were not confined to one side alone. The insurgents too had been guilty of atrocious acts of inhumanity and whilst not seeking to make use of them as an excuse to condone army and police excesses and atrocities, the Prime Minister insisted that this question must be viewed in the proper perspective. "Having said this, I wish to also draw the attention of the House of an aspect which we must not forget, when we hurl criticism and freely exercise our judgements in the relative safety of July 1971. In the days of April however, when this murderous attack was launched, I do not think that anybody had the time or the inclination to be

pre-occupied with this question of excesses because everybody was too busy in that tense situation, in wondering what was going to happen. It has to be appreciated that the Security Services worked under considerable strain. In the month of April in particular they worked almost round the clock without proper food or rest. They also did not have the confidence of being well-equipped; they were also suffering from the strain of having a fairly large number of their colleagues being either killed or wounded by the terrorists before their very eyes. I do not think they had also lost sight of the fact that what was really attempted on the night of April 5th was a murderous surprise attack on Police Stations which, if it succeeded, would have wiped out a very large number of Officers and also their wives and children who were in their quarters very often within the premises of the Police Stations themselves. It is in this context that we should assess the so-called charges of excesses. I repeat that I do not condone any excesses, but it is also well for us to remember that had not the Security Services measured up to their task, we may not have been here today.

"Whilst on the subject of so-called atrocities, we must not also forget the long and terrible list of atrocities committed by the insurgents against public officers as well as peace loving citizens of this country. We must not forget that there were Policemen who were burnt alive; we must not forget that there were Grama Sevakas brutally murdered; we must not forget the fact that certain persons who had helped the Security Forces to clear road-blocks etc. have been hacked and cut to pieces and the remains deposited on those very roads, we must not forget the incidents of rape, kidnapping, of arson, of looting and of the terrorising of innocent men and women of this country. We must not forget the little children who have suffered death at the hands of insurgents ostensibly for the suspected crime of the parents being informers and, finally when we speak of atrocities, we cannot forget the fact that what the insurgents planned for this country was a terrible bloodbath, in which thousands of innocent men and women would have been killed with brutality and without any compunction whatsoever. The crimes committed by these insurgents and the crimes which they intended to commit were against the overwhelming mass of peace-loving and, civilised people of this land."

MRS. BANDARANAIKE then dealt with the much-talked of problem centering around the allegation that one or more of the foreign powers had been involved in the insurgency. She repeated what she stated on earlier occasions (and what had been also stressed by every Government spokesman on every possible occasion); that there was no evidence of any kind that any foreign power had been involved in the insurrection. "Hon. Members are also aware that there have been various rumours circulating that all sorts of foreign powers were involved in assisting and supporting this insurrection. I have had no evidence of such foreign involvement. As for the reasons for the closing down of the North Korean Embassy in Ceylon, I have already given those in my broadcast to the nation on 24th April, 1971. However I would like to quote that statement in order to refresh the memory of Hon. Members of this House. This is what I said.

In the case of one foreign Embassy, I had occasion to point out to them some time ago that the effect of certain activities carried on by them was giving strength and support to these terrorists who were then preparing themselves for their nefarious tasks and that they should desist from these activities. As they did not do so, in accordance with my request, I had to ask the Ambassador to close the Embassy and leave the country. Non-alignment in foreign affairs must not be misunderstood. It means that Ceylon extends the hand of friendship to all countries. But it does not mean that we can give any country licence to subvert our independence as a nation. As Prime Minister, I have acted in accordance with my duty to protect the interests of this country.

"I might add that had I had evidence of any foreign country which is represented here in Ceylon acting in any manner that would have appeared to me to be detrimental to our interests as a nation, then I would not have hesitated to take all possible action to safeguard the integrity of this country."

After having stated all this, the Prime Minister went on to assure the House and the public that the situation was improving day by day, she had also said that if the armed and security services were "alert" the insurgent movement would not be able to launch attacks again. "I am now satisfied that the security situation in the country

has improved enormously. It is for this reason that I have lifted the curfew in 8 of the 9 Provinces. Curfew is being kept on in the Western Province because it is necessary for the Government to make further investigations. I am now satisfied that the insurgency is broken and that, given alertness on the part of the Security Services, it will not be possible for these insurgents to launch any concerted attack on governmental authority. However, there could be for some time a possibility of isolated attacks on institutions and individuals by certain desperate terrorist elements who have not yet been apprehended, so that we will have to continue to be vigilant.

"There is one matter to which I must refer before I wind up. That is, that several persons including various self-styled defenders of democracy, condemned the Government for declaring an Emergency on the 16th of March. They said that this was a pretext to do away with the liberties... of the people and in order to camouflage the inability of the Government to deal with the problems of the country. They went out of their way to tell people that the Government was magnifying several small and sporadic incidents with ulterior motives in view and that Democracy itself was not safe in the hands of this scheming set of people. I hope that these persons would have realised at least now the depth of their error. I might add that if the Government, in fact, did not take the steps it had taken, some of those great defenders themselves may not have been here to defend anything anymore."

AFTER-THIS SWIPE at elements which had prevented action against the insurgents at the time when the sordid activities of the insurgent movement had begun to surface, the Prime Minister made a special point of expressing gratitude to all sections of the population, especially the trade unions, which had stood by the Government in the hour of crisis. She also referred to the help given to Ceylon by friendly governments owing allegiance to various ideologies and political systems, and pointed out that this had been possible only because of the policy of neutrality and non-allegiance initiated by the late Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, and which this Government had followed. "May I at this stage, express on the floor of this House, my very special thanks to the large mass of peace-loving citizens of this country who co-operated so

readily with the Government in crushing this murderous attack launched on persons and property. The public had been most helpful to the Police and Service personnel and have provided them with valuable information about the whereabouts of terrorists and other details pertaining to their movements, at the risk of their own lives... I deeply appreciate the wide and courageous public support which I and my Government received during this critical period.

"I wish also to take this occasion to express my grateful thanks and those of my Government to the organised trade unions of this country who, with only one or two exceptions, gave overwhelming support to the Government. All of the public sector trade unions in particular gave massive support and, in spite of the many inconveniences, not only kept vital institutions, industries and services working smoothly and effectively, but also dipped into their pockets generously and gave freely to the Terrorist Victims' Fund which had been set up by the Government to assist the families of Armed Services, Police Services and Essential Service personnel who had lost their lives due to terrorist attacks.

"Finally, I wish to take this opportunity of recording our thanks to the Governments of numerous friendly countries which had assisted us so promptly and generously in our hour of need, by supplying us with arms, ammunition and essential military equipment, particularly during the early vital days of the insurrection. I have already mentioned these countries in the course of my broadcast to the nation on 25th April, 1971. You would remember that these countries, all came to our assistance, irrespective of their political philosophies or social systems, a fact which clearly has vindicated our firm belief in pursuing a non-aligned policy in international affairs, which our Government has been persistently following and which has been originated by the late Prime Minister Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike."

LASTLY the Prime Minister under-lined the enormity of the problem which stemmed from the fact that nearly 15,000 young people were in custody. Rehabilitation was not easy and it would cost the country a tidy sum. She detailed in brief the nature of the difficulties which confronted the Government and referred to onerous burdens which had been cast upon those in

charge of investigations. "Before I conclude I think it would be useful to Members of the House if I referred briefly to our activities in regard to the 14,000 people who are now in custody. Perhaps some Members may be aware that a special Investigating Unit has been set up. The task of this Unit is to go into each one of these 14,000 cases and to categorise them according to the degree of involvement of these persons and to release those who in the opinion of the investigators need not be detained any longer. As of today, when I am making this statement, almost 2,500 persons have been recommended for release, out of about 7,000 cases which have been processed so far. Those recommended for release principally fall into two categories.

"They are those who had committed no offence but have surrendered through fear etc. because, for instance, someone connected with their family has been an insurgent and those who have been arrested on suspicion. These categories of persons would be released on certain conditions and they would be required for some time to come to report to their Police Stations regularly and not leave their Police area without prior permission etc. There is also an added category in custody, such as Curfew-breakers. These persons also are being released. Those persons who, on investigation, have been found to have engaged themselves in criminal activity of any sort, would be charged under the laws of this country.

"There is also another category of persons about whom I should inform the House. Those are various detenus who are now in custody. They were originally taken because the Government thought that they were security risks. Subsequently, however, a number of persons among the detenus have been implicated in the course of the investigations. Therefore, it will be difficult for the Government to release these detenus until the investigations due on the 14,000 cases in custody are completed, because there is the likelihood that some more persons presently in detention could be implicated when the other 7,000 persons who have not been still investigated, are investigated. I wish to place on record my deep appreciation of the services rendered by the Investigating Unit, which is working long hours in order to expedite these inquiries."

CONCLUDING, she reminded members of the House that the most serious outcome of the insurgency was the damage done to the economy of the island and the economic development plans the Government had hoped to introduce. Nevertheless, she was hopeful that the corner had been turned and that the future was assured. "In conclusion, I might say that this insurgent uprising has dealt a severe blow to this country, particularly in economic terms, at a time when we had to strain every nerve and sinew to ensure rapid economic growth. A great deal of money will have to be diverted to merely repairing the damage caused by these insurgents. A great deal of money will also have to be channelled to maintain the security set up on a basis of efficiency because it would not be possible to take any risk with regard to this aspect in the future. Keeping in custody these misguided youths is also costing the Government millions of rupees and will continue to cost a great deal of money in the future. These factors are no doubt going to aggravate the economic situation and I appeal to all people of goodwill to co-operate with the Government in its task of national reconstruction and help us to build up this country and ensure a bright future for all of us."

The Parliamentary debate on the Prime Minister's statement of July 20, when it does take place, would undoubtedly prove to be most interesting. Just after the 1958 riots and while tensions were dominant, Parliament held closed and in "secret sessions", but the Hansard record of the debate was released much later. It is not known whether the Government will seek to have a "secret session" of the House to debate April '71—in view of the investigations which are still being carried on into the roots and causes of the insurgency movement as well as about the leaders and personalities involved.

THE SENATE FILIBUSTER on the Holidays Bill compelled the Government to exercise powers under the Emergency laws to declare August 6 as a holiday to mark the full moon on August 7 and 8 as holidays being Saturday and Sunday. Saturday, August 7 should really have been a half day, but the "pre-poya" day of August 5 was turned into a full working day to enable the Government to grant a three-day holiday—long weekend to mark the reversion to the old Saturday-Sunday weekly holiday—together with an extremely austere fullmoon

poya holiday. The Government having announced, when the Bill was adopted in the House of Representatives, that the new scheme would start from the weekend of August 6-8, it could not afford to sit idly by while the Senate continued its indefinite filibuster. Right up to the night of August 3, there was uncertainty whether the new holidays would really begin from August 6, but a Gazette Extraordinary was issued late in evening of August 3 decreeing that the new Holidays would start as announced earlier.

It must be admitted that even the little public sympathy for the beleaguered Senate, which was under attack by the Government and the United Front, has disappeared because of its filibuster tactics over the Holidays Bill. The UNP too has suffered much discredit by the conduct of its members in the Senate. While loudly proclaiming that the caucus would vote for the Bill, UNP members and camp-followers in the Senate spoke against the Bill and carried on a filibuster which understandably evoked feelings of disgust among practically all sections of the public. Many felt that the UNP was indulging in hypocritical duplicity in the way it sought to make a mockery of the parliamentary system itself. A school debating society cannot but be ashamed of such conduct as the Senate was guilty of on this occasion. The Holidays Bill was a piece of legislation which had the widest and broadest consensus in the country, and it was the height of double-tongued chicanery for the UNP-dominated majority in the Senate to obstruct the Bill in order to derive sardonic delight in scoring points in its petty intra-party squabble. Whatever grievances the Senate may have against the Government, it should act in a more responsible way. Those who defended the Senate have always taken high ground that the wisdom of elder statesmen would be denied to the country if the Senate were abolished, but the behaviour of the Senate over the Holidays Bill (and some of the earlier legislation that it had blocked) will compel many to revise their views about the need for a second chamber (of elders).

BUT WHILST all this tension was built up over the Holidays Bill, many serious minded people are worried that concrete economic development plans have not yet got under way. However the CBC and the newspapers are daily fed

with reports, which originate from the different Ministers, about five-year and other plans to bring *Eldorado* to this country. But such piecemeal "planning" is not likely to take the country very far, especially because a question mark now hangs over the methodology the country had adopted for the development and modernisation of this little island. The core of this methodology is composed of a number of economic concepts which underpin the mixed economy which has grown up in Ceylon in the post-Independence era. It is more than obvious that these concepts have proved bankrupt. A new model development plan has to be evolved, a model sparked and motivated by policies designed to foster a radically different kind of future in which the needs of the people are the central concern of the Government. During the last twenty-two years, the so-called "socialist endeavour" (UNP's efficient socialism concocted by Sir John Kotelawala, Dudley's democratic socialism, the Bandaranaike socialism, etc. etc.) has not delivered the goods. Something more than what has been done in the past has become an imperative necessity. The evolving of a mass political line, the building of a new growth model for development, the launching of a revolution in social practice and the mobilisation of an integrated attack on poverty, call for immense thought and preparation. Major contradictions have to be resolved within the democratic framework of this country. Economics and politics have to march hand in hand. Productivity in agriculture and industry has to be enthroned as the supreme god-head. Privilege, whether feudal, bureaucratic, or even working class, has to be ironed out. The assault on all corruption has to be conducted with a new ruthlessness—particularly the corruption of the sophisticated variety which is sanctioned by the social conventions of the day.

And, unless secularity in thought and deed is made supreme, it will be another story of one step forwards and two steps back. The planning necessary for the current period must achieve all this—or else the country will only register massive failures and topple the very democracy we have been seeking to build. Narrow ideologies must be brushed aside. Pressure groups must be defeated. The future of Ceylon must become the dominant concern of thinkers, planners and implementers.

HEADLINES

July 15—July 31

THURSDAY, JULY 15 :— The Parliamentary Secretary to Minister of Health, Mrs. Siva Obeysekera, has stated that sex education would be introduced in schools for the first time as a part of the Family Planning Programme. According to Education Minister, Al Haj Dr. Badi Ud-din Mahmud, Ceylon's Educational system will undergo radical changes next year. Mr. C. X. Martyn, Federal Party M. P. for Jaffna, in a letter to his Party Chief, Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam, has stated that he would be acting against his conscience if he subordinates his views to the decisions taken by the Party and therefore he would continue to attend the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly. Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike and four Ministers of her Cabinet are to launch a top scheme to bring a major part of the country under cultivation of paddy and other subsidiary crops. The cremation of Mr. Somaweera Chandrasiri, Junior Minister of Cultural Affairs, took place today. Leading officials of Chinese and Korean parties held talks on Wednesday at Pyongyang, and pledged to strengthen their militant friendship and revolutionary unity.

FRIDAY, JULY 16 :—The Central Committee of Lanka Sama Samaja Party, in a meeting held to analyse the current situation in the country, voiced dissatisfaction about the Government's delay and vacillation in implementing the Common Programme. The General Council of the Federal Party, which met in Jaffna last night, decided to expel M.P. for Jaffna, Mr. C. X. Martyn from the Party. The Directorate of CWE has protested to the Minister of Foreign and Internal Trade that the CWE would find it difficult to function as an economically viable institution in the view of changes now being effected under the State Trading Corporation set-up. Mr. Singleton Salmon, a former appointed M.P. and Chairman of BCC, died yesterday in a Private Nursing Home. President Nixon announced yesterday that he had accepted Chinese Premier Chou En-Lai's invitation to visit China to seek normalization of relations between the two countries. Uganda President, Idi Amin, charged that Chinese experts were helping the guerillas who attacked his country from Tanzania.

SATURDAY, JULY 17 :—Ceylon reacted favourably to the news of US President Nixon's projected visit to China. The director of Foreign Relations, Mr. Vernon Mendis, described this visit as "dramatic and significant". Flying squads have been set up by the various Ministries to check corrupt activities and practices in the Departments and Corporations under them. According to *Sun*, a number of MPs representing the Northern constituencies have begun to canvass public opinion on the question of getting the Ceylon Government to recognize the break-away Pakistani state of Bangla Desh. A new scheme of land alienation in which all allottees will receive equal acreage, has been proposed by the Ministry of Agriculture and Lands. Mr. Dhanapala Weerasekera, LSSP M.P. for Dehiowita, is reported to be seeking a mandate from his voters whether to continue as a Sama-Samajist or join the SLFP. It is reported that a plan to set-up an Animal Husbandry Corporation has been mooted by the Minister of Agriculture and Lands. According to a Pakistani Foreign Office spokesman, Pakistan was giving serious thought to the desirability of quitting the Commonwealth.

SUNDAY, JULY 18 :—The House of Representatives debated today the second reading of "Court of Appeal of Ceylon" Bill. In the Senate, Senator K. M. P. Rajaratne, as he was continuing his overnight speech on the Holidays Bill, threatened to speak for another three days. General Secretary of LSSP, Mr. Bernard Soyya, announced this morning that Mr. Dhanapala Weerasekera, M. P. for Dehiowita and an ardent advocate of SLFP-LSSP merger, had been expelled from the Party. According to *Sun*, Labour Ministry officials have made a startling discovery of defrauding several lakhs of rupees of valuable foreign exchange out of the country by the persons of Indian origin utilising concessions afforded to repatriates. It is reported that Indian political observers were deeply intrigued by the implications behind President Nixon's planned visit to Peking. The *Patriot*, a leftwing Indian daily, saw it not only as a stunt to distract attention from Mr. Nixon's problems at home, but also as a part of a wider US plan to encircle Urasia.

MONDAY, JULY 19 :— The Government has decided to accede to the twenty year old request of Government Clerical Servants for an amalgamation of the Clerical grades and as a result of this 20,000 clerical servants will be benefited. Pressmen, who had been invited by the Ceylon Shipping Corporation to a press luncheon aboard "Lanka Rani", indignantly walked out of "Lanka Rani" as they were cold-shouldered and completely ignored by the Corporation officials. The Parliamentary Committee appointed to enquire into certain activities of Mr. V. A. Sugathadasa, a former Cabinet Minister, has stated that there was no evidence of Mr. Sugathadasa misusing or seeking to take undue advantage of his official position for his personal benefit. The Government has decided on a major reform in the Public Service by restructuring the CAS from the present 5-class structure to a 3-class one. Mr. R. S. Pelpola, Ceylon's High Commissioner in Malaysia, died in a Kuala Lumpur hospital yesterday. Mr. Bhutto had a second round of talks with President Yahya Khan on the question of a possible transfer of power.

TUESDAY, JULY 20 :—Home Minister, Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, had stated yesterday that around 300 persons may face charges of treason when the investigations are completed against 13,500 odd insurgents now in detention camps and prisons. In the House of Representatives, Prime Minister Mrs. Bandaranaike made a complete review of the events that led to the insurgent uprising in April in addition to the developments that have taken place since. The Cabinet has decided to raise the age of admission to schools to six years from January 1972. The five-year plan to revitalize the economy of the country formulated by the Ministry of Planning was ready now and had been submitted to the Cabinet sub-committee on Planning. Senator Reggie Perera, Ambassador-designate for Cairo, resigned from the Senate today. Major Al-Atta, a former member of the Sudanese Revolutionary Council, ousted President Jaafar Nimeiry and took over power in Sudan. North Vietnam, apparently reacting to Nixon's planned visit to China, made it clear that it would not be bound into accepting a big-power compromise on Indo-China and that it would carry on with the war alone if necessary.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 21 :—The Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, told the House of Representatives yesterday that she estimated the total number of deaths as a result of the recent insurgency at not more than 1,200. With the introduction of 'Pay As You Earn' scheme for income tax from October 1st, the Department of Inland Revenue has decided to utilize the redundant staff on its "war" against the big sharks and tax-dodgers. The Government has accepted

Osmond Jayarante Committee's recommendation of setting up a Single University, with a number of affiliated Colleges and Campuses. Dr. Nath Amarakone, Permanent Secretary to the Minister of Housing and Construction, told at a press conference that steps were being taken by his Ministry to set up a Building Research Institute by next year. The CTB, for the first time, will send Mechanics and Foremen on Scholarship abroad. President Nixon has given a renewed reassurance last night that his forthcoming trip to China would not be made at the expense of Taiwan, Soviet Union or any other country.

THURSDAY, JULY 22:—The Govt. was seriously considering the proposal of a number of MPs that a substantial number of youth now being held for incidents connected with insurrection of April 5 be released to go back to their kith and kin on September 26—Bandaranaike Commemoration day. One hundred and eighty-four local bodies including the Colombo and eleven other Municipalities had been given 'red notices' by the Ministry of Irrigation and Power, and if arrears were unpaid electricity supplies would be taken over by the Ministry. Mr. C. X. Martyn, M.P. for Jaffna, in his second letter to FP leader Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayagam, has stated that F.P. has no exclusive monopoly of looking after Tamil people's interests. According to Ministry of Sports and Parliamentary Affairs, over two thousand unemployed young men and women who have excelled at least in one sport, would be shortly employed by the Govt. as Physical Training Instructors and Games Masters in Govt. Schools. Two men, who are alleged to have planned to assassinate Mr. Dhanapala Weerasekera, M.P. for Dehiwita, were produced before Additional Colombo Magistrate, Mr. R. L. de Silva. Ceylon will participate in a UN Parliamentary Conference on Trade and Development, first session of which will be held in Bangkok shortly.

FRIDAY, JULY 23:—Mr. Hector Kobbedkaduwa, Minister of Agriculture and Lands, has stated that eighteen Tea and Rubber estates in the Kandyan district will be taken over by the Government to help the Kandyan peasantry. On a recommendation made by the Minister of Education, Government has decided to scrap the G.C.E. (Ordinary Level) Examination after the December this year. Government has acquired idle land belonging to the "high caste" people in the North to distribute it among landless persons from the depressed communities. The statistics compiled by the statistician of the Health Ministry show a giant leap in the number of families seeking advice on Family Planning. Sudan's Omdurman Radio reported that President Jaafar El-Nimeiry, ousted by an Army Coup on Monday, was back in power last night after a successful counter-coup in Khartoum. It was reported that an Iraqi aircraft carrying a high-level delegation to congratulate the leaders of Sudan Coup d'etat crashed in Saudi Arabia last night, killing a number of prominent Iraqi Officers.

SATURDAY, JULY 24:—Government was busily preparing special legislation to place the accused insurgents on trial and law courts will be required to give priority to cases against persons accused of being involved in the recent insurgency. Mr. I. J. Wickrema, deposed President of GCSU, will contest the post again when the Union picks new officials at its 51st annual sessions. The Audit and Accountancy profession has complained to the Government that numerous Trade Unions in both the Private and Public Sectors have been guilty of fraud in the matter of annual membership fees. The draft Constitution which is now being put to shape

at the Ministry of Constitutional Affairs, is expected to go before the Steering and Subjects Committee next week. Government has decided to develop Trincomalee as the country's major International Seaport. The supervision of all Montessori schools would be brought under the Dept. of Education from next year. Three leaders of last Monday's abortive coup, including Major Al-Atta were executed yesterday.

SUNDAY, JULY 25:—Hundreds of fishermen and dozens of fishing craft have been reported missing as a result of a severe gale that swept the West coast of Ceylon in the early hours of Saturday. Forty-four new special lists will be appointed to the Government Hospital by the Dept. of Health Services with immediate effect. A three-member commission of inquiry was appointed by the Governor General yesterday to investigate and report on the purchase of 87 diesel locomotives by the Ceylon Government Railway. According to Mr. Lionel Fernando, Head of the Dept. of People's Committees, every member of a People's Committee will be empowered by law to take action in the interest of the community when he comes across malpractice in any form. Ceylon will press for the setting up of a supplementary financing body to help the under-developed countries in the forthcoming 3rd UNTACD. Six rotation collars for emergency use in connection with *Apollo 15* flight were found to have been slashed with a knife and FBI agents are investigating about this apparent sabotage. It was disclosed yesterday that Sheik Mujibur Rahman suffered a heart attack while in detention in West Pakistan. Millions of people are reported to be affected by floods sweeping across the Indian states of Bihar and West Bengal.

MONDAY, JULY 26:—The World Bank is reported to be satisfied with the measures adopted by Ceylon to place the country's economy on a sound footing and as a result of this more aid from the World Bank is likely to be forthcoming. A Consultancy Corporation is to be set up by Minister of Irrigation and Power to provide consultancy services for various development projects in the country. The Ministry of Industries has undertaken the task of registering all export industries. Ceylon's gift of two million rupees worth of sarongs to East Pakistani refugees in India was formally handed over this morning. The CPSU newspaper '*Pravda*', in a first official comment on President Nixon's visit to China, said that none in the Soviet Union saw anything "sensational" in the new Sino-American contacts. Cairo's allegations that the abortive coup against President Nimeiry in Sudan was directed from the Bulgarian Embassy in Khartoum were flatly refuted by Bulgarian official news agency. Chinese Vice-Premier Li Hsien-Nien last night called on the people of the world to unite and defeat "U.S. aggressors and all their running dogs."

TUESDAY, JULY 27:—The Government had, on the recommendation of the Minister of Education, decided to set up a unified Education Service to ensure the proper deployment of available talent. Professor Seers, who is now in Ceylon, has stated that Ceylon's unemployment and balance of payments position cast a "horoscope" for all Asia. The Ministry of Justice will launch an offensive against Justices of Peace, who should not be holding this office. According to the *Sun*, Mr. S. Sittampalam, former Commissioner of Inland Revenue, and presently Adviser to the Finance Ministry, was being tipped as Ceylon's new High Commissioner to Malaysia. Ceylon Shipping Corporation's first cargo line "*Lanka Rani*" was due to leave for Australia this evening. Ceylon Tea producers are highly perturbed by

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reports reaching here that Russia and China are going headlong into tea production. *Apollo 15* which streaked for the moon last night, after flawless counting and launch, is circling the Earth. It was reported that People's Republic of China has approached Israel with a view to establishing diplomatic relations. Yesterday's *Time* magazine said that an agreement with Soviet Union and US on limiting arms was possible even before President Nixon goes to China.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 28:—The Supreme Court this morning dismissed the Jaffna election petition appeal challenging the election of Mr. C. X. Martyn to the Jaffna constituency of the House of Representatives. Several thousand new-entrant public servants who have been denied their increment and seniority for not obtaining proficiency in Sinhala are to get their increments. The Minister of Finance, Dr. N. M. Perera, has appointed a high-powered Committee to curb exchange frauds, evasion of income tax payments and smuggling. An Agro-Industrial Corporation is to be set up to provide manufacturing facilities for agro-industries. The annual Esala *perahera*, Ceylon's biggest and most colourful cultural pageant, begins today. Mr. Arthur Bottomley, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations in the last Labour Govt., will arrive in Ceylon in August on a five-day private visit. An Export Market Intelligence will be started shortly by the Ministry of Industries and Scientific Affairs. UN Secretary General U-Thant had separate meetings both the Indian and Pakistani ambassadors yesterday to discuss the continuing tension along the border between their two countries. A statement by Soviet news agency *Tass* protested against the execution of Sudanese rebels and a 'hysterical anti-communist campaign by the news media in Sudan. President Sadat was unanimously empowered to take whatever action he deemed necessary to dislodge Israel from occupied territories of UAR.

THURSDAY, JULY 29:—The Ministry of Defence and External Affairs yesterday warned again that any person who continued to be a member of the proscribed Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) faced serious consequences. According to Inland Revenue Authorities, there would be an 18-month tax holiday for all persons whose income was derived from employment when the Pay As You Earn (PAYE) comes into operation shortly. Ceylon's rice breeders have won the highest plaudits of the world's leading rice research station—the Manila based International Rice Research Institute. A National Certificate Education Examination will replace the present G.C.E. (O.L) Examination. The Dept. of Social Services will shortly set up about 6,000 Montessori schools throughout the island. The Minister of Finance, Dr. N. M. Perera will shortly submit to the Parliament a Bill to set up a National Savings Bank which will take over all other existing Savings Institutions. The *Apollo 15* astronauts, well rested after a long period of sleep, were speeding towards the moon. Rumania and Hungary yesterday joined the condemnation voiced by the East European States against the execution and imprisonment of left-wing leaders in Sudan.

FRIDAY, JULY 30:—This week will see the birth of the National Engineering Research Development Council, the brain-child of Minister of Industries, Mr. T. B. Subasinghe and his top aides. In a press interview, Mr. C. Kumarasooriar, Minister of Post and Telecommunications, has stated that with foreign collaboration a Telephone Assembly Plant would be set up and Ceylon would produce her own telephone equipment shortly. Ceylon Tea, desiccated Coconut, and Coconut

oil exports to the Socialist Bloc will be channelled through Consolexpo with immediate effect. According to Minister of Social Services, Mr. T. B. Tennekoon, Bhikkus will not be paid emoluments for their services to the community in the future. Drastic changes would be made in the Price Control Order on synthetic textiles to tighten the screws on certain errant textile dealers. Five Gold Medals, first-ever won by the five-member Ceylon Rifle Association team and sent to Ceylon from London, has been lost in the post. *Apollo 15*, which was put into the lunar orbit last night, is now circling the moon.

SATURDAY, JULY 31:—After eighteen months of hard bargaining, the Employers Federation of Ceylon and the three big United Front-oriented Trade Union Federations today signed a series of Collective Agreements covering more than 25,000 non-white collar categories of private sector workers. Almost all the Public Sector Trade Unions have voiced protest against the abolition of the concession of short leave for public servants. Housing has been given top priority in the five-year development plan formulated by the Ministry of Planning. Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, during her tour of inspection of the Katukurunda Police Training School, has stated that the current outlook of the Police which would have admirably suited the colonial era must be changed to meet the aspiration of a free people. Plans are afoot to change the system of awarding degrees at the Universities. *Apollo 15* astronauts David Scott and James Irwin landed their moonship *Falcon* on a mountain-fringed lunar plain last night. Soviet Union yesterday issued a stern warning to Sudanese regime that repression of Communists was bound to influence the close relations between Sudan and USSR. A Japanese Boeing 727 airliner crashed after a mid-air collision with a Jet fighter over Northern Japan, killing 162 people on board.



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Revolt in Ceylon '71:

April 24 - April 30

SATURDAY, APRIL 24

The 40th day of Emergency. This was Poya day, and the curfew was lifted at 5.30 a.m. and was re-imposed at 6.30 p.m.

The Government announced that it would set up at Vidyodaya University a rehabilitation centre to help re-integrate youth who have been misled into the path of violence with society once again. The rehabilitation will be mainly for youth between 16 and 25 years who were not directly involved in terrorist activities and the operation of the scheme will be under the direct control of the Prime Minister. The Government was not asking for the proverbial pound of flesh from the misguided youth who have joined the ranks of the insurgents, and there would be no place for punitive action against these youth in the scheme said Mr. Maithripala Senanayake, Chairman of the Rehabilitation Committee appointed to wean the insurgents to a democratic way of life. Instead, facilities would be laid, he emphasised, on plans to re-educate these youths by installing democratic values through lectures on current social, economic and political trends. Buddhist monks, clerics from the Catholic Church and other denominations will be drawn to help the rehabilitation programme. The centre will be conducted on the lines of a Cadet Camp, and there will be no restriction on the apparel worn. Parents or guardians will be allowed to visit their wards periodically.

The official communique stated that the armed services had carried out attacks on insurgents at Hathwanguwa and Yakkala in Anuradhapura district. Terrorists had attacked the coop store at Moragoda and killed the manager. The armed services had consolidated their position in Elpitiya, Batapola and Pitigala which had been "liberated" from the insurgents two days before. The Prime Minister, Mrs. Srimavo Bandaranaike, had thanked the British Prime Minister for responding promptly to Ceylon's request for military supplies. (The PM was due to address the nation over CBC tonight at 7.30 p.m.). The Ceylon Government will extend its fullest support for the candidature of Mr. Shirley Amerasinghe for the post of UN-Secretary General.

The CO Magazine edition had a number of feature articles which contained first hand information of the outbreak of violence. Kirithie Abeysekera in a piece entitled **THEY FOUGHT FOR LAW AND ORDER**, after referring to the fact that the Japanese attack on Ceylon as on April 5 in 1942 stated that "Twenty-nine years later, to day, history repeated itself, though in a different form—in a deadlier way. On April 5, a wave of disaster swept through the country, spreading gloom and despondency amongst a peace-loving people who have never fought among themselves in their long and cherished history. The communal riots of 1915 and the language riots of 1958, both of which were spontaneous outbreaks, pale into insignificance. On that day, (April 5, 1971) the Ceylon Broadcasting Corporation interrupted its normal programs to bring intermittent flashes of terror that had been unleashed with

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

hurricane-like fury. The first blow struck by the terrorists was reported from Wellaway, a jungle infested area, some 150 miles from Colombo where the insurgents attacked the police station in the early hours of the morning. Two policemen were killed. In a hospital ward at Elpitiya, police sergeant 3484 Mendis was shot dead. From then on, it seemed endless. From day to day insurgents were reported to be attacking public buildings, blowing up bridges and culverts, blockading roads, cutting off communication lines, disrupting power supplies and spreading terror in the areas of their operations. The chief targets of insurgent attacks were, of course, police stations, particularly those in the distant rural areas—stations manned by a handful of men with limited weapons and ammunition, in places where communication was difficult. Reports came pouring in. Avissawella and Hanwella police stations reported attacks by insurgents. Kegalle, Kurunegala, Karawanella, Alawwa, Divulapitiya and Bulathkohupitiya were big trouble spots. Kadawatta police was attacked. Mirigama and Gampaha saw much insurgent activity. Mawanella and Aranayake police stations were also attacked. Confrontations with insurgents were reported from Deniyaya and other southern towns. Hakmana, Akuressa and Kamburupitiya, Ambalangoda, Balapitiya, Kosgoda, Dodanduwa and Elpitiya, Galle, Weligama, Matara, Weeraketiya and Hambantota reported terrorist activities. In the North Central Province police were attacked at Medawachchiya, Nochchiyagama, Padawiya, Rajangane and Galenbidunuwewa. Ballale in the Maho District, a reported hideout of terrorists, was concerning grave concern. Amarai, Polonnaruwa and Hingurakgoda were other terrorist strongholds. Since the death of police constable Namis the death toll of policemen had mounted."

After recounting the action taken by the Government to help the families of policemen and other security and essential services forces, the writer told the stories given him by wounded men from hospital beds: that of a leading Aircraftsman wounded between Kurunegala and Maho when a military convoy was attacked by insurgents; policemen Managkoon was wounded when the Rajangane police station was attacked; and the story of the attack on Kadawatta police station. The *Weekend Sun* had similar stories written by Neville Balasuriya about the trouble at Warakapola, Thulhiriya, Dedigama, Aranayake, Kegalle, Kadugannawa, Alupotha, Bulathkohupitiya, Palakelle, Hasakelle, Teldeniya, Hunasgiriya, Wattagama and Galagedera.

Soviet spaceship *Soyuz 10* was likely to rendezvous with the scientific space station *Salyut*. Democratic hopefuls for the next US presidential elections went on record to state that it would be best if the Vietnam war was not made an election issue. A group of international scholars issued a statement in New York that the West Pakistani army was responsible for "the premeditated massacre" of the most leading professors of the Dacca University, together with their families and many students on the night of March 25-26. A mighty anti-war demonstration estimated between 250,000 to 500,000, shook Washington — many Vietnam veterans threw down their medals and ribbons.

SUNDAY, APRIL 25:—The 41st Day of Emergency. The curfew which was lifted at 5.30 a.m. was re-imposed at 6.30 p.m.

All newspapers spread banner headlines to report the PM's broadcast to the nation last night over the CBC. The *CDN* — SURRENDER CALL TO INSURGENTS BEFORE FINAL MOP-UP—PM TAKES NATION INTO HER CONFIDENCE ON EVENTS SINCE APRIL 5; The *Sun* — PREMIER APPEALS TO TERRORISTS: GIVE UP YOUR FOLLY AND SURRENDER; The *CDM*—PM IN STATESMAN-LIKE SPEECH CALLS FOR SURRENDER and the *TOC*—PM APPEALS TO TERRORISTS—GIVE UP FOLLY AND SURRENDER. The PM urged the terrorist insurgents to give up their folly and surrender themselves or face a concerted military offensive by the Armed Services. Details of the surrender arrangements would be announced, but "no violence would be suffered by those who surrender. Once this insurrection is ended, as your Prime Minister I can assure you I know how to be reasonable." She described the insurgents as "a group of disgruntled and designing persons from the rejects and the unwanted of practically every recognised political party, motivated by overwhelming personal ambitions, personal frustrations and disappointments and ready for instant solutions to all ills of the world. The designing and ambitious leaders of the movement had led their supporters to believe that arms supplies and moral support would be forthcoming from certain powers and their supporters seemed to have believed this..." In the case of one foreign embassy, as they did not comply with her earlier request to desist from certain activities, she had asked the personnel to leave the country.

The PM stated that the insurrection which broke out on April 4 and 5 with attacks on police stations throughout the island was no haphazard adventure. It was part of a carefully prepared plan to seize governmental power in one day. Many parts of the plan could not be put into operation as originally devised because the terrorists lacked the means to put them into operation after the Government had discovered their caches of weapons and taken suspects into custody in certain areas. The terrorists had depended upon their members in the universities to spearhead certain operations like crucial attacks on Colombo and Kandy, certain vital installations and the Army Camp at Panagoda.

The PM also emphasised that the few police stations which had to be abandoned because of terrorist activity and some of the smaller police stations abandoned deliberately as part of government strategy in concentrating forces at the main stations during the height of the crisis were being re-established with military support. The number in custody was increasing so rapidly that the

Government had freed a number of short-term prisoners to make room in the prisons. At present there were over 3000 persons in custody with more being taken into custody daily. On the 5th of April, the Government was militarily unprepared for the kind of concentrated attack that the terrorists launched and found they had inadequate weapons, ammunition and aircraft to meet a sustained threat over a long period of time. The government had to make urgent purchases of military equipment. The PM expressed gratitude to the Government of India, Britain, the US, the USSR, the UAR, Pakistan and Yugoslavia for the speed with which they rendered assistance. No foreign military personnel were used to combat terrorist insurgent activity. Today, the whole country knew that the so-called One Day Revolution had failed and that it could not also hope to succeed. It would be only a matter of time before the terrorist insurgents were hunted down. If they did not surrender "I shall have to give the order for a military offensive by the Armed Services."

The PM said that the government did not propose to remain in the state of military unpreparedness that we were in. But the immediate strengthening of the security set-up will involve much money and a diversion of scarce resources away from other vital sectors of the economy. The damage done by the insurgents to telecommunication equipment, power equipment, government buildings, bridges and culverts, roads, buses, cars and vans would have to be made good. This would mean the diversion of millions of rupees not for development but for restoring what had been wantonly damaged. She paid warm tributes to the Armed Services and the Police and the millions of the people in the country "who have in their peaceful, law-abiding and steady way, had no hand whatsoever in these terrorist activities, and who have in no way assisted these killers to destroy the values held dear by all of us..."

The Competent Authority proscribed nine publications which had been published from time to time by JVP groups and sympathisers. Further, no new publication could be released without a permit from the CA. Another Foreign Correspondent was asked to leave Ceylon for trying to beat the censorship by sending photographs and reports by air. The official communique stated that Security Forces entered Deniyaya area yesterday and cleared one of the most affected insurgent areas. The *TOC*, in the afternoon, under the headline MORE REBEL FORTS FALL, stated that government troops had recaptured Bulathkohupitiya yesterday. The situation in Anuradhapura was reported to be normal again.

Ceylon's Ambassador in the UN, Shirley Amerasinghe, formally announced his candidature for the post of UN Secretary General, if U. Thant persisted in his intention to retire at the end of the year. The newly set up Provisional Government of Bangla Desh appealed for recognition to many countries in the world.

MONDAY, APRIL 26:—The 42nd day of Emergency. The curfew which was lifted at 5.30 a.m. was re-imposed at 6.30 p.m.

The Government has offered suitable rewards for information leading to the detection of insurgents and insurgent activity in the island. Meanwhile mopping up operations were going on in areas which had been affected by insurgent activities. Elpitiya was returning to normal. Banking hours were extended in future it could be from 9.30 a.m. to 12.30 p.m. The ban on foot-board travel on CTB buses was re-introduced. The

TOC reported that according to official sources batches of terrorists in the NCP and NWP surrendered in Anuradhapura and Kurunegala police stations. The *CO* published the text of the CBC's BEHIND THE NEWS broadcast last night. It commented on the PM's broadcast to the nation asking the insurgents to surrender, and emphasised that all patriotic people on both sides of the political arena had extended their support to the Government. It warned against "people who are playing politics, perhaps for high stakes. They are neither in the Government, nor in the more responsible Opposition. People who yell out from the platform that they will shed their last drop of blood in defence of democracy prefer to remain mum in public when democracy itself is on trial. In private they choose to raise doubts, arouse suspicion, and make the basest allegations. They are the people who play politics. They are false heroes who already stand exposed even among their erstwhile supporters. . . ."

The USSR's *Soyuz 10* spacecraft returned to earth yesterday after a 52 hour link-up with *Salyut*. There was much political and diplomatic activity in Cairo in view of the impending visit by US Secretary General Rogers. India accused Pakistan of calculated and studied diplomatic escalation when the Indian Mission in Dacca was asked to shut down by the Islamabad authorities. Tension was mounting between India and Pakistan after Pakistani troops had attacked posts on the Indian frontier with East Bengal.

TUESDAY, APRIL 27—The 43rd day of Emergency. The curfew which was lifted at 5.30 a.m. was re-imposed at 6.30 p.m.

The official communique stated that the Government was receiving "mass scale assistance from the people in its efforts to stamp out the three-week old campaign of terrorism." Arrests with assistance from the police had been made in Mahara, Pindeniya and Nochchiyagama. Terrorists, however, had been active at Dambahawela, Navakkullama and Pahalagama. Arrests had been made in Moneragala, Buttala and Matale. Conditions in Elpitiya and Deniyaya were returning to normal. Government had also decided to reopen police stations which fell before terrorist attacks in the Anuradhapura and Kurunegala areas. The police station at Nochchiyagama was to be re-opened with a police and army unit in occupation. The Rajangane police station will be re-opened at Tambuttegama. The Galenbindunwewa police station would be opened after the completion of military operations in the area. The Pannala police station was to be re-opened immediately, also the police station at Alawwa with military help. The Ambanpola and Galgamuwa police stations were to be reopened as a combined unit at Galgamuwa. The telecommunication damage was now assessed at Rs. 5 million and foreign exchange was needed to import spares and equipment. The General Manager of Railways planned to recommence passenger services on all lines tomorrow, viz. Colombo-Jaffna, Colombo-Kandy, Colombo-Anuradhapura and Colombo-Trincomalee. Trains were already in operation between Colombo and Matara and Puttalam.

The *TOC* quoted an official communique to say that Rs. 45,000 had been found on a terrorist arrested at Elpitiya. This money was part of the sum looted from the Waturawila branch of the People's Bank. Earlier Rs. 36,000 of the money robbed from the same bank had been recovered. The Minister of Education had said that some of the teachers who reported for work on April

23 had gun-shot injuries and these teachers had been handed over to the police. The *CO* published extracts from an article in the weekly *Nation* by Minister of Communications, Leslie Goonewardena (LSSP). He had emphasised that the terrorist uprising had been "doomed to defeat" from the beginning because the organisers did not have the support of ordinary people and the masses. He said that if the insurrection had succeeded there would have been a "rightwing coup d'etat ostensibly with the aim of restoring law and order" and perhaps at the start with the professed aim of saving the life of the PM herself. He stressed that every precaution must be taken against senseless massacre or cruel vengeance following the defeat of the uprising. He also emphasised that the essence of the matter was that it was a revolt of the youth. Among the factors which contributed to the insurrection was the slowness of the radical reform as this was likely to have impatience and exasperation. Leaders must draw the proper lessons from the recent events and must realise that they will be called upon to lead Ceylon a very different from what they have known in the past. The *CO* also published the text of CBC's BEHIND THE NEWS broadcast last night. Summing up the situation, the commentary stated that ". . . the beginning has ended, and the end has begun. All that remains to be done is the mopping up. But before the mopping operations the Prime Minister has very graciously called upon the insurgents to surrender their arms and themselves. . . ." It appealed to all men of goodwill to help these unfortunates to surrender and change their ways.

India and Pakistan closed down their missions in Dacca and Calcutta respectively. Malaysian Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak, said in Kuala Lumpur yesterday that he hoped that China would be admitted into the United Nations this year.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 28—The 44th day of Emergency. The curfew was lifted at 5.30 a.m. and was re-imposed at 6.30 p.m.

The official communique stated that the army continued to search out terrorists who are reported to be re-grouping in certain areas. Security arrangements in Colombo had been strengthened. Meanwhile a large number of terrorists had surrendered to the Army and the Police following the Prime Minister's broadcast. There had been surrenders at Kuliyapitiya and Pannala, Buttala, Okkampitiya and Moneragala, Elpitiya and Deniyaya, and Palugaswewa and Kekirawa. Individual houses of villagers were attacked and looted at Minneriya and Bakanma. In the Kurunegala district at Rambodagalla two buses, a VC office and a post office were burnt. The Morowita post office was attacked. The Army also arrested terrorists in Ranbodagalla and Ridigama. In the Kegalle district, the armed service carried out "offensive patrolling" in Bulathkohupitiya, Hemmatagama, Aranayake, Warakapola and Rambukkana. In Galle the district headquarters of the terrorists was discovered.

The afternoon communique, published in the *CO* and *TOC*, stated that while surrenders were increasing, others were seeking refuge in the impregnable Sinharaja forest. At Pallewella security forces secured the release of a doctor held by the terrorists. Many had fled from Horowapotana following a wave of terrorism, extortion and arson by insurgents. There were clashes yesterday in which 31 insurgents were killed in Kuliyapitiya, Buttala, Moneragala, Pallewella and Nildandahena. A bridge in Elpitiya blown up by the terrorists had been

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repaired. Factories, houses, Tata Benz lorries, tractors, 4 Sri and 5 Sri cars, miles of power lines and telephone wires, all estimated to cost about Rs. 10 million, have been destroyed in the Elpitiya, Batapola and Meetiya-goda area by terrorists, according to the *TOC*. The Batapola residence of Mr. P. H. William de Silva, Ceylon's envoy in Canada, was said to be "in shambles". The factory of Kahatapitiya Estate, which is close to the bungalow, was used by the terrorists to manufacture handbombs, and was later destroyed. Buildings beyond repair are the Meetiya-goda power loom factory, the police station and over 50 large houses. "The people have still not got over the nightmare they went through for 31 days when the terrorists were in control. Many of them had to starve for days." The *TOC* published an on-the-spot reportage on to Elpitiya area. The *CO* published the text of the CBC BEHIND THE NEWS broadcast last night. The commentary drew a sketch of an insurgent leader and also sought to debunk the policies and tactics of the JVP. Reference was also made to the organisational structure of the JVP to show that it was a conspiratorial underground movement bent on subversion.

The Minister of Finance, Dr. N. M. Perera, left for Paris yesterday, unexpectedly. Earlier he had been scheduled to attend the ADB and ECAFE meetings in Singapore and Manila, but had cancelled this trip owing to the situation in the country. After his visit to Manila, he had also hoped to go to Peking for talks. This too had been cancelled. The Ceylon delegation to the Paris Consortium Aid Meeting had left earlier and Dr. Perera would join them to lead the delegation for the final round of talks. After Paris he would go to London for talks.

In London yesterday Prime Minister Edward Heath, at the Annual Conference of SEATO, pledged Britain's support for SEATO's defences against communist aggression and subversion in Asia. Indo-Pak relations continued to deteriorate. An influential panel of leading personalities in the US has urged that China should be admitted to the UN. There was speculation as to how long the Soviet space laboratory could stay up. A ministerial team from the UK was likely to visit China as a result of the improved relations between the two countries.

THURSDAY, APRIL 29—The 45th day of Emergency. The curfew was lifted at 5.30 a.m. and was re-imposed at 6.30 p.m.

The morning papers reported that the Prime Minister, Mrs. Srimavo Bandaranaike, appealed to the misguided young men and women in the camps of the insurgents to lay down their arms, "not to continue their senseless and destructive struggle in the face of certain defeat", and surrender. She repeated the assurance that she had given in her radio talk last Saturday that those who give themselves up would not be subject to any violence. The surrender terms would be valid between May 1 to May 4. Places where such surrenders could be made were specified. Royal Ceylon Air Force planes and helicopters dropped half a million leaflets setting out the terms of the surrender. The leaflet stated that the planned insurrection had failed on the first day itself, and that except for a few jungle areas the country was in government hands; that leaders of the JVP were in custody and they had confessed their plans and named accomplices; that claims by terrorist leaders that they would get foreign assistance had proved false; and that terrorists could never hope to win the

battle—they had no public support, they had no arms and ammunition, they were short of food and did not possess equipment, and their leaders were imprisoned. Arrangements had been made to surrender in a number of places in 17 (of the 22) administrative districts of Ceylon.

Five more military co-ordinating officers had been appointed in Amparai, Moneragala, Ratnapura, Kalutara and Badulla. Fifteen persons had been arrested for spreading false rumours. The official communique stated that the number surrendering had increased. Civilians were being harassed. In Rajangane, the police station and Land Commissioner's office had been set on fire. In Horowapotana insurgents had prevented peasants from harvesting their paddy. All teachers, lecturers and other employees of government schools and training colleges had to report for work from May 3. They had to work thereafter on every working day. The date for opening of schools would be notified later. The Railway began its long distance passenger services yesterday: a single train would be on the Colombo-KKS run both ways every day and it was the same on all other main lines. The Government had ordered a survey of all damage done. The *CO* published CBC's last night's BEHIND THE NEWS and summarised the extent and scope of the damage caused by insurgent activity. It was yet difficult to make a full estimate in monetary terms of the total damage caused by the destructive and nihilist actions of the terrorists.

India yesterday warned Pakistan that dangerous consequences could follow if its troops intruded into Indian territory and fire across the border from East Pakistan. SEATO leaders welcomed China's apparent foreign relations thaw, but had reservations about Chinese motives.

FRIDAY, APRIL 30—The 46th day of Emergency. The curfew was lifted at 5.30 a.m. and was re-imposed at 6.30 p.m.

The official communique stated that surrenders had increased and many had given themselves up in Kamburupitiya, Kuliya-pitiya, Mawanella, Polonnaruwa and Kurunegala. Those who surrendered would be first taken to a central camp in the district and later transferred to Colombo. There had been a clash at Dodangaslanda. Government security forces had yesterday recaptured CBC's transmitting station at Anselwatte, Deniyaya, after overcoming terrorist resistance. The damage to the equipment was valued at Rs. 550,000. A number of insurgents had been killed, and several wounded when government forces retook the transmitting station. The police stations at Uragaha, Meetiya-goda and Gokarella could be restored soon. Two persons, a well-known socialist and the other a member of a well-known club, were taken into custody yesterday for rumour-mongering.

At the Planters Association Meeting yesterday, Dr. Colvin R. de Silva, Minister of Plantations and Constitutional Affairs, declared "... let everybody understand, please, that the task of reconstruction will be carried out in the perspectives of the transformation of society as undertaken by the United Front—not its abandonment." The insurgents he said had hoped to topple the government with one blow without encountering retaliation. The Government will fight back to make the island a better place to live in. Those who had attacked the lawful arrangement were already repenting. The conspirators, he said, had contemplated on seizure of power to uproot every tea, coconut and rubber plant

and to replace them with yams. They had called for maximum suffering for a minimum period of ten years. The Government will not let any plantation to go extinct or even decline. Nothing should be left to chance or profit-making. The CBC in its BEHIND THE NEWS last night warned against the dangers of witch-hunting and pursuing personal vendettas in the present context. " . . . A state of emergency has its own dangers. Our society is far from being a perfect society. Everybody is not guided by human and honourable considerations. As is known, the terrorist movement has cut across all party lines. We must be careful in raising the accusing finger. The wrong-doer must face the consequences of his actions. But we must also take care that the less scrupulous, no matter where is or who he is, does not take advantage of the emergency to take personal revenge or pursue vendettas When one ponders on the damage to our human values during the past weeks one realises to what depths of degradation the terrorist leaders were prepared to lead this country to . . . The Government will see to it that they will not be martyrs. It will tell the whole story to the country at the opportune time The Government's liberal conduct was mis-

taken by this minority for weakness. Some of the terrorist leaders had the impertinence to say that the Government could have been brought down in fifteen minutes Economic, social, political and cultural regeneration of our society is the supreme task facing the Government. The Government with the full support of the people will surely put its shoulder to the wheel and bring about the necessary changes peacefully. Let us be patient and vigilant"

The Ministerial Council of SEATO yesterday concluded its meeting in London after reviewing the situation in South-east Asia paying special attention to communist aggression, subversion and terrorism. Holland was thrown into confusion and political uncertainty following the defeat of the ruling Coalition of Catholics, Protestants and Liberals in the General Elections. Haiti's new President was the 19-year son of the old dictator Dr. Duvalier — the son was declared Life President just as his father had been. Cambodia's political crisis was still unresolved. About two million refugees are believed to have crossed into India from East Pakistan.

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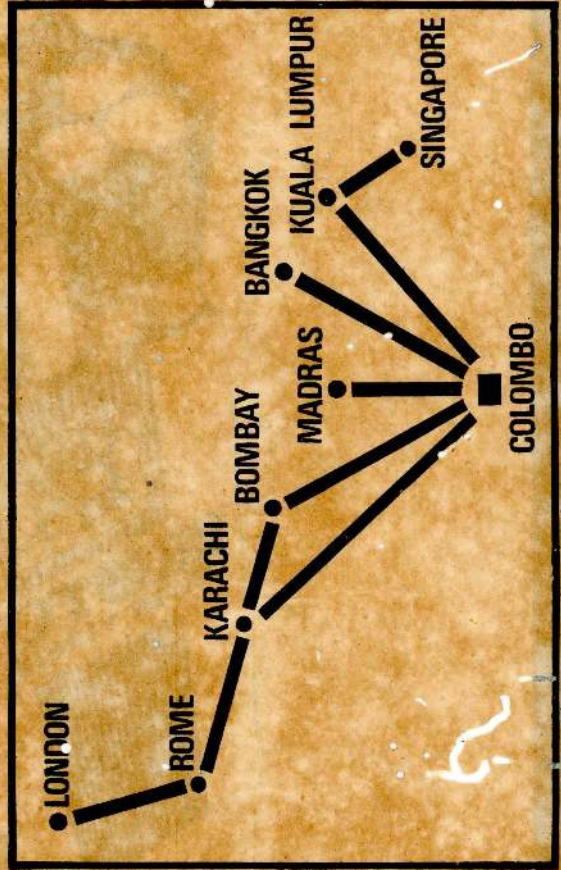
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