

# TRIBUNE

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CEYLON NEWS REVIEW

5

August 29, 1971

17

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● POLITICS OF  
PAPER TIGER

● BANGLA DESH

● NIXON AND  
THE DOLLAR

● HEADLINES

● REVOLT IN  
CEYLON '71



# From the Editor's Desk

**THIS ISSUE** of *Tribune* has come much later than scheduled. It would seem trite to trot out the "usual" reasons for the delay. It would be an indefensible cliché to assert that the causes "were beyond our control". Whatever it is we can only make efforts to produce the paper in future on the dates scheduled—but it will be sometime before we can appear on the dot

—as *Tribune* used to do in the old days, and as any magazine should. For our sad lapse in the matter of time schedules, we hope to make amends by providing our readers with material which will illuminate the events that are daily bursting around them in the most inexplicable fashion.

For the cover this time, we have chosen to commemorate

the **Apollo 15** flight. Many events of major significance have no doubt since superseded the historic **Apollo 15** flight, but many of these events, although they may seem immeasurably important at the moment—and there is no doubt that they are—are ephemeral when compared to the long-range significance of the moonflight. The monetary crisis which has virtually ended the convertibility of the dollar, the Indo-Soviet Treaty, the trade war between the US and Japan, the renewal of the bloody fighting in Northern Ireland and a whole host of other problems have crowded themselves into the horizon in the last fortnight—but nevertheless **Apollo 15** is a human achievement that will stand the test of time.

In July 1969, Neil Armstrong took the first giant leap in the **Apollo** series to land on the moon. Three moon landings later, **Apollo 15's** crew roamed over a considerable extent of the lunar surface, motorised as well as mechanised, driving substantial distances and digging 10ft through the surface and incidentally through at least one rock layer, with electric drills. There is no doubt that the **Apollo 15** expedition displayed a new and highly professional dimension. The contact maintained between the men on the moon and on the ground was so close that the quarter of million miles between them ceased to have any meaning. The photographs brought back by the team are of great importance. The spaceship had paired cameras and the pictures they have taken would end the distortion which earlier cameras created—for in a panorama of less than 60ft what appeared as apparently a flat plain could turn out on arrival to be a battlefield of boulders and craters. Major Al

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Worden had to walk out into space during the flight back to collect the films from the cameras mounted on the command module and the pictures so secured mark a triumph which cannot be evaluated in ordinary terms.

**THERE WILL** be only two more Apollo flights because the money voted for the programme has been cut. The Budget of NASA has been shrunk to \$2 1/2 billion for the coming 12 months which is said to be below the minimum necessary for a manned space programme. When the last two scheduled flights have been made, the Americans will not be able to go back to the moon in the seventies and no one can be certain when in the 1980's they will have equipment to land men on the moon again. Several of the rockets built for the Apollo programme have been diverted into an orbiting laboratory project which does no more than duplicate what is already being done by the Russians. It is difficult to understand why American public interest in the Apollo series waned so rapidly compelling the Administration to cut down the vote. It is ironic that the Americans should abandon their own uniquely successful space techniques in manned flights to the moon to adopt the Russian system of orbiting space platforms or, is there some inherent weakness in manned moon landing which has not yet been revealed?

It is yet too early to say what the Apollo 15 mission has really achieved in scientific terms—after all the spectacular showman's hullabaloo is forgotten. The most important single job, Houston

mission control kept telling Colonel Scott, was the difficult digging of a 10 ft core sample, difficult because the drill hit solid rock half way down and Colonel Scott was put out at being asked to keep on cutting through it. But he did, and went through to softer material on the other side, and has brought the lot home. It is just possible that he may have only cut through one single rock, or he may have brought back a fair specimen of the multi-layered structure of the lunar surface in the Apennines and Faru Mauro area. Another significant point scored by the mission is added validity for manned space flights. "The skill, speed and judgement of the Apollo 15 crew have silenced the old cliches of machines working more easily than men. A machine can only sit on the surface signalling plaintively when it cannot work; a man with a spanner will make it work as the astronauts did with the Rover, their drills, their leaky pipes, their blinking circuits and with the empty Falcon lunar module when it clung around Endeavour like a puppy that refuses to be lost. Virtually every American moon landing would have been a failure if men had not been on board". But the problems arising from the realities of "weightlessness" have to be seriously tackled if space travel is to develop. Even the Americans have begun to admit that after a period of weightlessness it takes a great deal out of a man to adapt himself to gravity—even to the little gravity on the moon. The reports of the three men on Apollo 15 on weightlessness will undoubtedly help man to know more about this problem.

**BUT THE GLORY** of the Apollo 15 flight was dulled by the sharp dive the Dollar has taken away from convertibility and the gold ratio it had tried to maintain for some years now. The new Nixon proposals are tantamount to a minimum ten percent devaluation of the dollar with the imposition of an equivalent duty on nearly all imports into the USA. The USA is now wanting the countries with stronger currencies like West Germany, Japan, Netherlands Italy, France, Belgium and Switzerland, to revalue their currencies upwards—pleading with them to share the burden of the crisis and thus save America's economy from suffering greater discomfiture than it already has suffered. If these countries do not readily oblige, the USA will have no alternative but to cut down on its military expenditure abroad, its so called foreign aid. But the imposition of the 10% tariff will adversely affect West Germany and Japan—thirty percent of the latter's foreign trade is directed towards the the USA.

Another setback suffered by the US, this time in the diplomatic field, was the conclusion of the Treaty of Peace and Co-operation between India and Russia. The USA had overplayed its hand in regard to backing blindly Yahya Khan at a time when he was making warlike statements against India and this combined with the Kissinger threat in New Delhi before his trip to Peking that should India get into conflict with Pakistan and China joined the fray against India, the USA would not lift a finger to help India. This was undoubtedly intended to curb Indian enthusiasm regarding Bangla Desh, but

what Washington had not expected was that New Delhi would proceed to sign a treaty with the Soviet Union. Whatever critics of the Treaty may say about India "over-reacting" to the Bangla Desh problem, there is not the slightest doubt that the new Treaty was accepted in India with universal approval—and the arguments of those having second thoughts about the Treaty, like the Jana Sangh, do not appear convincing or impressive.

**ANOTHER MAJOR** diplomatic imbroglio the US has landed itself in is by formulating a new version of its "two China" policy to bring the Peking regime into the UN, while not allowing the expulsion of Taiwan. Both Mao and Chiang regard China as one, and neither favour the two China stand of the USA. How Nixon and Kissinger will find a way out of this mix-up, it is difficult to say. Or, is all this only play-acting agreed upon in secret talks in Peking in order to sell the Mao-Nixon detente to an unbelieving world?

In fact, it is now difficult to say now different countries will get out of the unbelievable mix-up generally prevalent in the world today. Not so long ago, political observers, divided the world into the capitalist camp, the communist camp and the third world of a heterogeneously miscellaneous collection of countries proclaiming different degrees of non-alignment. But today, within the last decade in particular, such division of the world has become an unrealistic oversimplification. The USA is still the leader of the capitalist world, but Western Germany and Japan have stronger currencies and the USA has

to fight an open trade war with them. The mighty dollar is today a kind of a god who has failed. In the communist camp, the picture is equally confusing. Peking claims that it follows the pure brand of Marxism-Leninism, although many observers assert that its ideological sloganising is only a cover for ultra nationalism. A small number of socialist countries follow China in its schism from Moscow's ideological formulations. Some of the communist parties outside the socialist bloc follow Maoism, but the majority are aligned with Moscow. Nevertheless a few who are generally with Moscow criticise Moscow for particular actions—this was unthinkable in the days of Stalin and the Comintern. For instance, over the intervention in Czechoslovakia in 1968, from which has stemmed the much discussed Brezhnev Doctrine, certain leading communist parties in Europe still hold views which differ sharply from the orthodox Moscow line. The British Communist Party boycotted the latest Congress of the Czech CP Congress because the latter would not allow the British delegate to make a speech which criticised the Brezhnev doctrine, and re-iterated its earlier decaration that "..... the military intervention in Czechoslovakia in August 1968 was a grave mistake and a violation of the commonly agreed principles of the international communist movement concerning relations between socialist states and relations between communist parties in the entire movement ....."

The Italian Communist Party also adopted a similar line to the British, and influential sections in the French and Spanish Parties also

had expressed similar views about the Russian intervention in Czechoslovakia. Peking made much of the Czech episode in its own cold war against Moscow and branded Russian action as part of the "imperialism" of the revisionists. However, the British and Italian parties do not see eye to eye with Peking on "revisionism," and both parties are violently opposed to the "adventurism" of the Maoist line and strategy.

Gone is the old monolithism of the Communist world! All this creates confusion of the highest order. And it makes it extremely difficult for a political observer to thread his way through this maze of conflicts and contradictions.

The picture is no different within Ceylon itself. Even with the blue pencil of the Competent Authority slashing the political comments of daily newspapers which have specialised for years in making mountains out of molehills (of petty political differences) anyone reading the daily newspapers today in Ceylon will be overwhelmed by the bizarre pattern of events which are slowly unfolding themselves even through the columns of print scrutinised by the Competent Authority.

OWING TO TECHNICAL DIFFICULTIES THERE ARE MANY SHORTCOMINGS IN THE PRODUCTION OF THIS TRIBUNE. THESE WILL BE REMEDIED IN COMING ISSUES AND THE USUAL TECHNICAL EXCELLENCE IN PRODUCTION WILL BE RESTORED.

# CEYLON: MARGINAL NOTES

by

Serendib

**THE MANY PROBLEMS** inside Ceylon have, in the period under review, been overshadowed, to a very large extent, by events in the world around. The terrible tragedy in Bangla Desh has stirred human compassion throughout the world and in Ceylon too public sympathy is with the people of East Pakistan who have suffered so much at the hands of the brutal military rulers from West Pakistan. At the time of writing over 7 1/2 million refugees have crossed over into India and this has created an oppressive problem for New Delhi. Whilst sympathy has not been wanting for the victims of the military repression in East Pakistan, there does not seem to be sufficient awareness in Ceylon of the political implications of the events which have unfolded themselves in Pakistan recently.

The only crime which Mujibur Rahman and the Bengalis of East Pakistan had committed was to have elected 167 Awami League candidates out of a possible of 169 allotted to the Eastern wing of Pakistan. Moreover, the 167 constituted a majority in the National Assembly. The Awami League stood for greater autonomy for the eastern wing.

President Yahya Khan would not convene the Assembly unless Mujibur Rahman and the Awami League watered down the autonomy demand. This the Bengalis could not do after having won a popular mandate for this demand. When Yahya Khan persisted in his determination not to convene the Assembly there was mass civil resistance in the Eastern zone to the Administration. At this stage Yahya Khan staged the mock drama of a summit talk with Mujibur Rahman and used this as cover to bring down troops and military equipment to crush the Bengali demand for autonomy. And the repression which began on March 25, and which has still not been relaxed in any way, has shocked the world. The number murdered in cold blood is not known but the estimates by independent observers place the figure in terms of millions of innocent men, women and children. It is this savagery which has driven over 7 million people to escape to India leaving behind all they possessed. The administration of President Nixon chose to turn a blind eye to these events, but public opinion within the USA has been perturbed in a way that the White House cannot ignore. In Ceylon, too, the Government has been cautious because Ceylon maintains very friendly relations with both India as well as Pakistan. It is known that Ceylon has offered its good offices to help reduce the tension between India and Pakistan — war was talked about in a way as if it was an accomplished fact. It is not the Ceylon Government alone which has been over-cautious in this matter.

**THE LOCAL BRANCH** of the Afroasian Solidarity Committee, which is usually quick to protest when repression takes places anywhere, has been silent so far. Whispers in the political circuit indicate that an active section within the Movement allege that the Secretary of the Solidarity Association, A. Aziz, Appointed M.P., had soft-peddled the issue and had even failed to call up a meeting — because it is said that Mr. Aziz has intimate ties and sympathies with Pakistan. It is likely that a storm will break out in the local branch of the Afroasian Solidarity Committee in the not too distant future. It is not yet known whether the Ceylon Government's efforts to bring about a "settlement" in the current Indo-Pakistan crisis has borne any fruits as yet, but it is not often that a small country like Ceylon can succeed in being a mediator when the prestige and interests of three major powers like China, the USA and the USSR have already become involved in the Indo-Pakistan conflict.

Whilst the Ceylon Government has been treading warily on the Bangla Desh question, its reactions were even more negative on two other matters of major significance which took place in the last fortnight. On August 9, India and the USSR concluded a 20-year Treaty of peace, friendship and co-operation — a treaty which will have far-reaching consequences particularly in the geopolitics of the South Asia region in particular. Except for the Communist Party of Ceylon there has been no "official" reaction to this Treaty. The CP, as was to be expected, welcomed the Treaty as a major landmark in the

forward march of peace and socialism in Asia and the world. No other Party in Ceylon had thought it necessary to comment on the Treaty or make a statement about it. The Government too has not made any statement on this Treaty. The editorial and other comments in the daily papers are no indication of what the Government will say or even what the different Parties in Parliament will say about the Treaty.

IT IS ALSO surprising that there has been no official reaction to the world-shattering reversal of US economic and fiscal policies announced by President Nixon on August 15. Not since Roosevelt proclaimed the New Deal in 1933, when the US went off the Gold Standard and adopted rather drastic measures to contend with the impact of the Great Depression of 1929-30, has the United States adopted measures which are tantamount to a one hundred and eighty degree turn-around in monetary and trade matters. With the Bretton Woods agreement of 1943-44, the dollar assumed the role (with the pound sterling as its junior side-kick) as the basic world currency, freely convertible to gold at 35 dollars to the ounce.

By the late sixties, with over two decades of recessions inflationary upswings, deflations, rebations, and what not, the dollar began to limp behind stronger currencies which had come upon the scene, particularly the west German mark, the franc, the yen and a few other western European currencies. The real value of the dollar dropped to about 45 dollars per fine ounce of gold but the official ratio was doggedly maintained. With the huge US expendi-

ture abroad on "aid", arms assistance and bases, and the Vietnam war, US dollar commitments abroad outstripped the gold reserves. The balance of trade had also turned against the US with stiff competition from West Germany and Japan in particular. All this shattered the regulated "free-trade" which had been organised under the IMF, IBRD, GATT UNCTAD, ECAFE and the like.

The US which had hoped to become world-supreme through this IMF-GATT regulated "free trade" and also show that the capitalist system was superior to socialism through competitive performance, found in the second half of the sixties that the "free trade" had caught her on the wrong foot. Some of her own junior partners had outstripped her in some fields and were sucking tremendous profits from her through this "free trade". The dollar had become undervalued and her cold war insistence not to trade with socialist countries had only helped other capitalist countries, nominally under her wing, to leap forward into prosperity — all at the expense of the US. And what was worse was that most of the socialist countries individually, and all of them collectively, and grown stronger in the economic sphere.

THE NIXON PACKAGE proposal of August 15 knocked the "free-trade" (regulated by the IMF-IBRD-GATT) complex for a six. The ten percent surcharge on imports will hit trade rivals like West Germany and Japan hard. The freeing of the dollar from the 35 dollar gold ratio will compel an upward revalu-

ation of the mark and the yen, and this will make American goods cheaper abroad and German and Japanese goods more expensive inside the USA. For the moment, the ten percent surcharge will not be imposed on some of the primary products from developing countries—but this cannot ensure that world price levels of all export commodities will drop in value in terms of the dollar. What it means is that the dollar has been devalued (ten to fourteen percent) although the devaluation is hidden behind euphemistic terminology.

Whether Ceylon likes it or not, whether it realises it or not, or even whether it will be ostensibly apparent immediately or not, there is not the slightest doubt that Nixon's proposals (essential no doubt to safeguard the national interests of the US) will adversely affect the economic development plans of Sri Lanka. The United States, while it was still able to do so, has passed part of the burden of the economic crisis to the other countries in the capitalist world. Ceylon will also have to bear its due share of the burden.

How it will really affect the country must be worked out by the competent bodies which the Government has created for the purpose of safeguarding and developing the economy of the country. But, so far, no indication of what the impact of the Nixon proposals (to save the sick dollar) will be on this island has been forthcoming from any governmental source. The daily papers have, of course, published platitudes, allegedly from semi-official sources that the Nixon proposals will not affect Ceylon "very much".

This is a dangerous kind of apathetic complacency to slip into. After August 15, 1971 the capitalist world is in new kind of economic stratosphere, with Bretton Woods, IMF, IBRD, GATT-UNC-TAD and the like, slowly drifting away into outer space.

**SUCH ARE** the perspectives for the Budget which is scheduled for November 7 and the mini-Budget for September 7. The much-talked about "package deal" has not yet been made public. It is likely that on September 7 some of the underlying proposals of the new Economic Policy of the United Front will manifest themselves in of the measures put forward. Different Ministers, however, have made statements which give some inkling of what many of the proposals may be: land ceilings, income ceilings, supreme emphasis on the public sector, limited safeguards for the private sector, massive agricultural credits for peasants and owner cultivators, promotion of export projects based on industry as well as agriculture etc—these are some of broad contours that have emerged in the last four or five weeks.

However, it is felt that a kind of dormant somnolence has settled down on the political scene in the island. The Senate had finally approved the Holidays Bill—after the new weekend had been brought into existence under the Emergency Regulations. The United Front coalition is, for all intents and purposes, stronger than ever. The FP has been pushed into the wilderness—or, it would be more correct to say, that it has sought the wilderness with its decision to boycott

Constitution making, quibbling over the terminology of language rights. If the FP had walked out over the question of federalism or even regional autonomy, it would have been more understandable than the boycott over language rights. It is becoming more and more clear that what the FP is after is not rights for the Tamil minority to develop its "soul" in an autonomous region—but only language rights to ensure a minimum of jobs in the government service and adequate earnings in the self-employed professions like law and medicine. With the FP following negative policies, the TC fraction in Parliament is going great guns merging itself with the UF. Just as the TC, in the era of Ponnambalam's heyday, trailed behind the UNP, the TC today has thrown its lot behind the SLFP—not only to pick up a few plums for the Tamils from the Governmental larder but also to wage its own political battle against the FP. The TC is thus doubly negative: both vis a vis the UF as well as the FP. The absence of a strong and positive leadership among the Tamils is a factor which contributes to the current lop-sided situation so far as a fundamental solution of the Tamil minority problem is concerned. The Left—the LSSP and the CP—and even the SLFP with all the patronage they have been able to distribute among certain Tamils ever since the UF government came to power have still not been able to destroy the confidence the bulk of the Ceylon Tamil voters have in the FP and the TC.

**IN RECENT DAYS** too here has been a growing uncertainty about the future of the CP as a unit of the UF government. There have been rumblings about discontent in the rank and file of the CP, about the slow implementation of the Common Programme. The *Aththa*, the unofficial organ of the CP, has been over-critical about certain members of the Cabinet and certain leading supporters of the Government. It has waged, more recently, a bitter campaign against the present Chairman of the CBC. It has made no secret of the fact that it did not approve of many actions of the Minister of Home Affairs, Local Government and Public Administration. It has even ventured to mildly criticise the Prime Minister for allegedly curbing the Minister of Agriculture and Lands in his policy of large-scale acquisitions of agricultural lands and plantations. The *Aththa* also picked a quarrel with the Chairman of the CTR for reviving the old LSSP-CP controversy about the virtues of Trotskyism as against Stalinism. All this and more—after repeated intervention by the Competent Authority—seems to have evoked governmental action by withholding advertisements to the *Aththa*.

In the meantime, the *Sun* and the *Weekend* and their Sinhala counterparts, have been spreading banner headlines that the CP was likely to quit the UF government. It was suggested that some of the top leaders of the CP had gone to the Soviet Union for consultations about this matter. In the *Daily News*, the local hierarchy of the CP had denied this.

# HEADLINES

August 1—August 20

## SUNDAY, AUGUST 1:

Finance Minister, Dr. N. M. Perera, addressing Union leaders and representatives, at the signing of the Collective Agreement between Ceylon Employers' Federation and the three UF Union Federations, urged the unionists to change their attitudes and act with greater responsibility. It was reported that the Tea Research Institute, Sugar Corporation, and Uda Walawe Projects have been adversely affected due to an acute shortage of agricultural graduates. According to SUN, the salaries of Chairmen and other Chief Executives of Statutory Boards and Corporations, who do not show at least ten per cent increase in the output, are likely to be reduced by the Government. The Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, will pay her first visit to Jaffna on the occasion of the Annual Police Day celebration which is scheduled for September 19. The Ministry of Industries and Scientific Affairs is to set up a separate Corporation to deal with the import and distribution of cotton thread and dyes. Yugoslavia has offered assistance to Ceylon to set up three factory units to process and can passion fruit, pine-apple and tomato. Apollo 15 astronauts David Scott and James Irwin returned to the lunar landing ship after an excursion in their moon-car lasting about six hours. In a Soviet-UAR joint communique released last night, the two sides have expressed their belief that hostility to Communism only inflicts harm on the liberation hopes of the people and serves only world imperialist and reactionary circles.

## MONDAY, AUGUST 2:

A permanent Land Commission, vested with wide powers regarding both private and Crown land in the country is to be set up and a top-level Official Committee has been appointed to prepare basic data for this. The Railway is

to be converted into a Corporation on the recommendation of several foreign and local experts. The working committee of All-Ceylon Muslim League has decided to lodge a protest against a booklet titled "The Soviet Union and Islam" which is alleged to be written by Mr. Rafik Nishanov, Ambassador for USSR in Ceylon. Ceylon is negotiating with the People's Republic of China to operate a regular shipping service between the two countries. The Opposition yesterday foiled an attempt made in the Senate by the Government to close the debate on Holidays Bill which seeks to make Saturdays and Sundays as weekly holidays. A separate Unit was set up yesterday at the Treasury to decide on the fate of about 10,000 public servants who had failed to gain proficiency in Sinhala. Apollo 15 astronauts David Scott and James Irwin left the landing craft "Falcon" last night to drive to the foothills of the Ape line on the second of Apollo 15's three excursions across the lunar surface. China last night lashed out at the United States and the Soviet Union for plotting together to rule the world. Almost 7,100,000 refugees from East Pakistan have crossed into India in the past four months. Japan's Defence Minister, Keikichi Masuhara offered his resignation yesterday to accept responsibility for Friday's mid-air collision between a jet fighter and an airliner that killed 162 people.

## TUESDAY, AUGUST 3:

The United Front Government's second Budget which is expected to outline several measures for the restructuring of the country's socio-economic pattern will be presented in the House of Representatives by Finance Minister, Dr. N. M. Perera, on November 7th. A ministerial Export Promotion Council headed by the Prime Minister herself will be set up as a prelude to a sustained drive to push Ceylon's non-traditional exports. Senator K. M. P. Rajaratna yesterday asked the Government to declare the Soviet Ambassador in Ceylon a 'persona non grata' for allegedly publishing a book which hurt the religious susceptibilities of the Muslims in Ceylon. The Prime Minister and Minister of Public Administration, Local Government and Home Affairs, were reported to be consulting legal opinion this morning about introducing the Sunday week-end Holiday under the Public Security Act. Sudan has asked senior diplomats from the Soviet Union and Bulgaria to leave the



country accusing them of having had contact with local Communists who staged an abortive coup, recently against President Nimeiry. Moonship Falcon today lifted off the moon rocketing explorers Dave Scott and Jim Irwin up towards rendezvous with the orbiting command craft after 67 hours on the lunar surface. People's China has categorically rejected a meeting of five nuclear powers and urged Moscow and Washington to pledge that they will never use atomic weapons first. Burmese Premier General Ne Win will visit China this month.

### WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 4:

The Government yesterday invoked the provisions of the Emergency Regulation to declare the new Holiday Scheme. The Ministry of Industries and Scientific Affairs is busily preparing a Sectoral Corporation Bill which would enable the State to participate in any private industry if it is considered to be operating against the national interest. The Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, is slightly indisposed and has cancelled all her engagements for one week on medical advice. Ceylon and Indian Police forces will launch a combined operation to smash up the smuggling rackets on both sides of the Palk Strait. The Minister of Education, Dr. Badiuddin Mahmud, has decided to allow schools to start classes at any reasonable time from next year provided they work six hours a day. The Government has released the funds lying in banks to the credit of the United National Party that were frozen immediately after last year's demonetization. The Cabinet has accepted the draft of a Mines and Minerals Act which will be presented in Parliament shortly. The US Secretary of State, William Rogers yesterday announced that US will vote for China's UN entry, but will oppose Taiwan's expulsion. An oxygen leak which threatened to plunge the Apollo 15 astronauts into a major crisis last night was sealed and repaired successfully. South Vietnam's Vice President Nguyen Cao Ky has decided to drop out of South Vietnam's Presidential election contest as he was having trouble with meeting the requirements of a new electoral law.

### THURSDAY, AUGUST 5:

In a special Gazette notification, issued under the Public Security Act by the Governor-General yesterday, it was decided that all places of public performances including cinemas,

night clubs, and dance halls should be kept closed on Full Moon Poya days. The Government has decided to introduce a Guaranteed Price Scheme for fish and as a result of this almost 75,000 families who depend on fishing will be benefitted. Sixty families from a shanty town in Grandpass moved into neat little cottages built for them at Maligawatte by the Housing Ministry. Professor A.D.P. Jayatilake who had functioned as the Competent Authority for the University of Ceylon, in a confidential report submitted to Education Minister has made a strong case for the appointment of a Royal Commission to probe malpractices, irregularities and fraud at the University. Ceylon will buy 6,000 metric tons of chillies from the People's Republic of China. The annual Vel Festival began yesterday. A legislation which would enable the Government to have a stricter supervision over Finance Companies, is now being prepared by the Minister of Finance, Dr. N. M. Perera. The Kelani Valley train service which has been in existence for over a century, will not transport passengers beyond Homagama from next month. China described yesterday the US decision to vote for Peking's entry into United Nations as a clumsy, illegal, and futile trick. The Apollo 15 astronauts launched a baby satellite into lunar orbit yesterday to complete their scientific mission and then ignited their main engine to boost them homewards. Indian Foreign Minister Swaran Singh yesterday told Parliament that India would welcome improvement of relations with China.

### FRIDAY, AUGUST 6:

Dr. N. M. Perera, Minister of Finance, speaking at a seminar on banking yesterday said that the time had come to wind up the co-operative banking system because it did not have the ability to help the co-operative movement participate in the development of the economy in the manner now needed. The Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs has appointed a top-level Committee to report on the feasibility of manufacturing bus and truck chassis locally. Hundreds of temples across the country are holding special religious services to usher in the first Full Moon Day holiday under the new holidays scheme. Dr. Osmund Jayaratne, head of the Higher Education Committee, at a press conference, said that for the first time in the history of University education, undergraduates would be represented in all governing bodies of the Univer-

sity, if his proposals are accepted. A fisheries delegation from Russia has arrived in Ceylon. Over 20 circuit education officers have been appointed by the Education Department to direct and supervise courses in agriculture in schools. Al Worden floated out of the hatch of the home-bound Apollo 15 and walked 500 miles in the air. Speaking at a press conference in his White House office, President Nixon ruled out any summit meeting with Soviet leaders before undertaking his trip to China. Mrs. Indira Gandhi's Government yesterday received overwhelming Parliamentary support for a Bill giving full authority to Parliament to amend any part of the Indian Constitution. Fifteen East Pakistanis yesterday announced their mass resignation from Pakistan's Diplomatic Missions in United States and expressed their support to Bangla Desh.

### SATURDAY, AUGUST 7 :

Industries Minister, Mr. T. B. Subasinghe, yesterday appointed a top-level committee of Government officials and private sector executives to advise him on the export of locally manufactured industrial goods. Several hundred students from leading Government and private schools in Colombo have been found to have "copied" at the last G.C.E (O/L) Examination. Twenty more Chinese technicians from People's Republic of China arrived in the island yesterday. The Ministry of Industries has found that most of the country's industrial projects are not being worked to maximum capacity. About 20 new Police Stations and Police Posts will be opened within the next year. Apollo 15 is heading back from the moon after man's most extensive exploration. Apollo 15 Commander David Scott in a televised press conference from the spaceship said that their mission would be of immense help to the mankind. Cambodia's Deputy Premier Sirik Matak left for United States yesterday to seek more military and economic aid. The Middle-East ceasefire becomes one year old amid intensive efforts by big powers to avert a renewal of hostilities along the Suez Canal.

### SUNDAY AUGUST 8 :

The Kachcheri system is to be re-organised shortly and under the new system technical men such as Engineers, Surveyors and Valuers, will take over regional planning and co-ordinating functions, which would be the essential

function of G.A.s. Soon, Family Courts will be set up by the Ministry of Justice to hear "family affairs" that are in dispute. Over three thousand insurgents are to be transferred to the latest open prison camps acquired by the Ministry of Justice at Koggala, Ridiyagama, Pallekelle, and Mirihana. The new Building Materials Corporation set up by the Ministry of Housing and Construction will provide employment for fourteen thousand young men. According to a survey conducted by the Treasury recently, women employed in the Public service attend offices more regularly than men and they could hold onto secrets far better than men though they are notorious gossips. Incidence of venereal disease in the city and the suburbs has increased alarmingly. America's Apollo 15, with the priceless cargo of moon rocks and films safely stowed away, sped home accurately without a main engine course-correction for a Pacific Ocean splashdown at 12.15 a.m. Ceylon time today.

### MONDAY, AUGUST 9 :

The Government has clamped down on private sector tea-buyer's bidding for socialist countries at the Colombo tea auctions. The Mahaweli Development Board will introduce three systems of irrigation for the 10,000 acres that will be cultivated under the Mahaweli Scheme during the 3 year period from 1972. Fishermen are to be given every encouragement to form Co-operative Societies in their fishing villages. The Government is to keep a close eye on the progress made by the country's plantation industry and all planting concerns are to be asked to submit to the Govt. periodical progress reports giving details of production, strength of labour and other relevant details. With the implementation of the single university scheme, the University of Ceylon will have a new Faculty—a Faculty of Ayurvedic Medicine. The Department of Small Industries proposes to set up three Textile Training Colleges initially in Kandy, Kalutara, and Galle. The Soviet News Agency Tass yesterday accused Peking of pursuing a policy of great-power chauvinism towards its non-chinese population and seeking to destroy their national traditions. China has handed over two of the branches of the Bank of China in Pakistan as gifts to the Pakistani Government. Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko arrived in New Delhi yesterday for high-level talks with Indian leaders.

**TUESDAY, AGUSUGT 10 :**

Dr. N. M. Perera, Minister of Finance, in the course of his lecture at the Institute of Chartered Accountants of Ceylon, said that statistics collected on the recent insurgency in Ceylon had proved that only twenty percent of the insurgents were unemployed. Ceylon expects to earn around Rs. 270 million from non-traditional exports next year. The Bar Council of Ceylon has welcomed the Government's decision to abolish appeals to the Privy Council. All private schools will be vested in Government and brought in line with the general education scheme now being formulated. A recommendation that three oil wells be dug in the Jaffna Peninsula has been made to the Government by a Russian Geological team. A protest note denying any Soviet connection in regard to the authorship or the distribution of the book, "The Soviet Union and Islam" was handed over to the Ministry of External Affairs by the Soviet Embassy this morning. India yesterday signed a far-reaching Treaty of peace and co-operation with the Soviet Union, which in effect provides for direct-Soviet intervention in case of any attack on India. According to a Pakistani Govt. statement, East Pakistani leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman will be tried by a Special Military Court for "waging war against Pakistan". President Anwar Sadat said yesterday that he would not soften Egypt's terms for reopening the Suez Canal no matter what Israel demanded. Japanese Prime Minister, Eisaku Sato, will pay an official visit to Moscow very soon.

**WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 11:**

The Minister of Public Administration, Local Govt. and Home Affairs Mr. Felix R. D. Bandaranaike told the House of Representatives yesterday that some scurrilous pamphlets purporting to be from the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna has been posted to M.P.s and Trade Unionists and that four persons had been arrested in this connection. The Bill to abolish Privy Council Appeals was unanimously passed by the House of Representatives yesterday. The Government's new development plan, covering the five-year period 1972-76, will be implemented from the next Budget. Railway authorities are considering the possibility of introducing Electric trains in the island. The Labour Ministry will soon evolve a scheme for the benefit of nearly lakh of shop employees who have been retrenched

as a result of the Government's trade policy. A statutory organization called the Coconut Development Authority is to be set up shortly to take charge of the development and regulation of Coconut industry. Model Junior Schools are to be set up in every electorate to inspire and serve as a guide to other junior schools. The Soviet Union yesterday reminded the United States of the importance of Soviet-American dialogue and issued a fresh warning against the use of the Washington-Peking rapprochement for anti-Soviet intrigues. The New York Times yesterday editorially said that the new Soviet-Indian friendship treaty could increase the danger of a local war leading to a big-power confrontation on the Indian sub-continent. In Belfast (N. Ireland) fifteen people were killed and hundreds of persons were arrested in the bloodiest riots which burst following the imposition of internment without trial for suspected terrorists.

**THURSDAY, AUGUST 12:**

Education Minister, Dr. Badi-ud-din Mahmud, said yesterday that a Royal Commission would be appointed soon to investigate various aspects of University's administration for the last ten years. Under the new Agricultural Employment Scheme over four thousand educated youth who are interested in agriculture will be ensured a ready monthly income of Rs. 200/- each and several thousand others will be given job openings. A Secret Mission from Bangla Desh, consisting of a Member of Parliament and a Buddhist monk, have come to Ceylon to plead for recognition of Bangla Desh and for help for the people of Bangla Desh. The Senate failed to pass the Holiday Bill yesterday despite an assurance by the Opposition that the Bill would be passed on August 11th. On a suggestion made by the Prime Minister Mrs. Bandaranaike, the Lotteries Board is considering offering houses as first prizes instead of cars. The Housing Ministry commemorates today the 18th Anniversary of 1953 Hartal with the inauguration of the Sirimapura housing scheme for shanty dwellers in Grandpass. Secretary-General U Thant yesterday informed the Pakistan Government that the trial of Awami League leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahaman would inevitably have repercussions outside the borders of Pakistan. Sudan has banned all the imports from Soviet Union since the abortive coup staged three weeks ago. Fierce

fighting between troops and terrorists continued in Belfast for the third day. India is giving serious consideration to a suggestion to send a special mission to China to explain India's stand on the Bangla Desh issue.

#### FRIDAY, AUGUST 13 :

The Prime Minister Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike and all her Ministers will lead the nation in the drive for thrift and austerity by voluntarily accepting a cut in their salaries and emoluments and this scheme is expected to be implemented with the next Budget. The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Ceylon Communist Party in a press release yesterday has described the new Indo-Soviet treaty as "a positive contribution to the maintenance and defence of peace in South East Asia". Government is actively considering the introduction of a five-day week for the public sector soon. The Minister of Housing, Mr. Pieter Keuneman, addressing Graduate Trainees in his Ministry yesterday, lashed out at those educated men and women who after having reaped the benefits of free education, had deserted the country in its hour of need. Education Minister, Badi-ud-din Mahmud, said yesterday that the Government has decided to take over all Estate schools. All licences to possess and use guns have been cancelled by the Minister of Public Administration, Local, Govt. and Home Affairs, Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike. In a joint communique issued yesterday, India and the Soviet Union called for a political settlement to the crisis in East Pakistan. Vice President Nguyen Cao Ky said yesterday that there was a possibility of a coup in South Vietnam if the October Presidential elections were rigged. In the heavy fighting reported to be raging on the Syrian-Jordanian frontier four Jordanian tanks had been destroyed. Australian Defence Minister, Mr. John Gorton, has agreed to resign from his post at the climax of a week of internal party bickering and public outcry.

#### SATURDAY, AUGUST 14 :

The Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Public Administration, Mr. B. Mahadeva, has warned all the new entrant public servants, who have not sat for any of the language proficiency examinations during their period of probation, that they would be dismissed. Ceylon will switch over to the Metric System of Weights and Measures from the beginning of the next

year. The Ceylon Committee for the Defence of Human Rights in East Pakistan yesterday urged the Pakistan President Yahya Khan to release East Pakistani leader Sheik Mujibur Rahman immediately. A massive agricultural credit scheme for farmers has been planned by Government for this Maha Season. Dr. E. M. V. Naganathan, former M.P. for Nallur, and a former President of the Federal Parly, is seriously ill and is warded at the Colombo General Hospital. Finance Minister, Dr. N. M. Perera, has agreed to exempt all imported sports material from FEECs. Mr. Pieter Keuneman, addressing a meeting after inaugurating the Gurnagar Housing Scheme in Jaffna, said that the use of Tamil in courts would be incorporated in the new Constitution. Ceylon's first Collective farm for youth set up at Walasmulla, Batuwit, in the Kamburupitiya electorate, was opened by the Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Planning Dr. Gunaseketa, yesterday. The President, General Yahya Khan, has expressed his determination to transfer power to the elected representatives of the people within three or four months. Sudanese Deputy Prime Minister Babakar Awadalla said yesterday that his country did not want to escalate tensions with Moscow and wanted to normalise relations with USSR. The Apollo 15 astronauts have still not fully recovered from their 12-day journey to the moon.

#### SUNDAY, AUGUST 15 :

The Royal Commission which has been appointed to report on Agency Houses and Brokering firms has asked these firms to supply all details about their organisation and structure. Under Government's new import policy, all cars imported must not be higher than Rs. 10,000 cif value. A Textile Corporation will be set up shortly under the State Trading Corporation Act. The Department of Education is considering the possibilities of awarding bursaries and scholarships to needy students who wish to follow Vocational Courses in Agriculture. The Minister of Industries has appointed a special Committee to study the feasibility of manufacturing motor vehicles in Ceylon. The Army is stepping up its campaign to recruit more officers and soldiers into the regular force. Honorary titles are to be conferred again on people who render valuable service to the country after Ceylon becomes a Republic later this year. Daniel Ellsberg, the man who leaked the secret Pentagon Papers on the Vietnam war, stands trial today

in a Los Angeles court. People's China's Communist Party organ, the "People's Daily, turned down as 'lies' Western allegations on contacts between Israel and People's China aimed at establishing diplomatic relations. In the Indian province of West Bengal, which is the stronghold of the pro-Chinese Naxalities, at least 12 people were murdered when the wave of terror erupted again.

### MONDAY, AUGUST 16 :

The Ceylon Transport Board loses approximately Rs. 100,000 daily as a result of fraud by conductors and overriding by commuters. A liner service to be jointly owned and operated by Ceylon and People's Republic of China will be established shortly. The Insurance Corporation has launched a scheme of Title Insurance to help owners of land to get maximum economic benefit from such ownership. Under the scheme of reorganisation of the Administration of the Island, 110 new District Revenue Offices divisions will replace all District Agricultural Committees and Co-ordinating Committees. The Government has issued an ultimatum to all persons who have gone into arrears in the payment of housing loans that if they do not pay up the sums in default within 12 months, the Dept. of National Housing will take over their properties. A workers' education programme for trade union officials in the private sector begins today at Labour Secretariat, Narahenpitiya. Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, said yesterday that India did not want war and threatened none but at the same time would not be frightened by threats from other countries. A high-powered nuclear bomb was exploded over Mururora Lagoon at France's Pacific Ocean Testing centre yesterday. About 1,500 trained Communist cadres have gained complete control over 100 villages in North-Eastern Thailand. Pakistan yesterday protested to UN Secretary General U Thant that his remarks on the trial of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had exceeded the competence of the United Nations.

### TUESDAY, AUGUST 17 :

The Minister of Public Administration, Local Government and Home Affairs, Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, has prepared a separate Draft Constitution and forwarded it to the Minister of Constitutional Affairs. The controlled prices of all manufactured goods will be revised soon. A separate division

headed by a Director will set up in the Ministry of Justice to handle the work in connection with the implementation of the Language of Courts Act. The News Division of the CBC will be re-organised from September. Dr. E.M.V. Naganathan, former M.P. for Nallur and former President of FP, died last night at the General Hospital, Colombo. The Ceylon Government is closely watching the reaction on Sterling after President Nixon's announcement yesterday of suspension of gold backing for the dollar and of other fiscal measures. A covered crystal relic casket with a golden Dagoba on its top containing valuable gems and golden beads has been discovered in the thick jungle near Wilgam Vihare, 8 miles off Trincomalee. US President Richard Nixon yesterday announced far-reaching plans to fight inflation, revive the flagging economy, create more employment, and stabilize the dollar. Senator Edward Kennedy, speaking at a press conference in New Delhi, said that he was convinced that Pakistan had committed genocide in East Pakistan and that he would recommend a halt to all American aid to the military-regime. China and North Korea have concluded in Peking an agreement providing for increased economic co-operation. Actor Richard Burton is to play Russian Revolutionary Leon Trotsky in a forthcoming film, "The Assassination of Trotsky".

### WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 18 :

The Minister of Finance, Dr. N. M. Perera, yesterday dismissed speculation that Ceylon might be compelled to effect an upward revision of FEEC rate in the light of US Govt's announcement of new moves to save the dollar. Eleven regional offices of the Paddy Marketing Board will be set up in the major paddy growing areas following the Board taking over the monopoly on the purchase, milling and sale of paddy. A National Apprenticeship Board to formulate, implement, and supervise a scheme of training to cover various categories of apprentices, will be set up shortly. Over 200 lawyers in Ceylon have signed a statement expressing their grave concern at the secret military trial of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and urging that this trial be not proceeded with. Speaking at the ceremonial opening of new LSSP headquarters at Union Place, Dr. N.M. Perera said that LSSP had changed with the times, and its ideas and strategy for a Socialist state were not the same today as they were at the beginning in 1935. The mili-

tary trial of East Pakistani leader Mujibur Rahman had to be adjourned because he refused to defend himself. Iran today recognised Peking as the "sole Legal Government of China" and said the two countries were to establish diplomatic relations. Turmoil reigned again in Tokoyo's stock and currency markets yesterday following Nixon's new fiscal measures. Adrian Herbert, South Africa's latest heart transplant patient, died yesterday. Leaders of Egypt, Syria, and Libiya are to meet in Damascus today to approve final steps towards linking their countries in the Federation of Arab Republics.

#### THURSDAY, AUGUST 19 :

The new three-tiered Ceylon Administrative Service structure will come into operation on October 1. Nearly four thousand persons, it was revealed, held in custody for alleged insurgent activity are likely to be freed shortly. All employees in State sponsored Corporations and Boards who have been retired on reaching the age of 55 will now be recalled to the service. Over five thousand have applied to the Government to find employment in Zambia. A large majority of foreigners resident in Ceylon on Temporary Residence Permits will quit the country by the end of this year. Dr. Colvin R. de Silva is to head a Ceylon delegation to the forthcoming Food and Agriculture Organization's Consultative Committee on Tea which will meet on September 13. The funeral of Dr. E. M. V. Naganathan took place at Kanatte this evening. The Chinese Table Tennis team, the World Table Tennis Champions, were given a rousing welcome at the Bandaranaike International Airport when they arrived yesterday for a three-week tour. Australian Prime Minister William McMahon announced last night that most of Australia's troops would be withdrawn from Vietnam by December this year. The Indian Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, will visit France and West Germany and perhaps the United States in the near future. Thousands of householders in battle-ravaged Belfast (Northern Ireland) were reported to be paying a 'terror tax' to gunmen to stop their homes getting burned to the ground as the intimidation was spreading throughout the province and outstripping the ability of security forces to cope with it.

#### FRIDAY, AUGUST 20 :

The Minister of Education, Dr. Badi-ud-din Mohamed, has recommended to the Government that English be made compulsory at all levels of higher education. Mr. Mohamed Yunus, Special Secretary of Indian Ministry of Foreign Trade, had talks yesterday with high officials of the Government on the prospects of strengthening economic co-operation between India and Ceylon. The first prize of one lakh including, an Austin 1300 car in the National Lottery Sweep No. 353, has been allegedly awarded to the wrong person on a forged ticket. The Kelani has overflowed its banks in its upper reaches inundating several areas and the river is rising steadily, poses a threat of minor flood in Colombo. A Public Commission will soon be appointed by the Minister of Finance to probe the banking system in Ceylon. The rates in paying wards in all Government Hospitals are to be doubled soon. A forty-cents commemorative stamp will be issued on August 31 to mark the birth centenary of Vladimir Illyich Lenin. An agreement between Ceylon and USSR on co-operation in marine fisheries was signed yesterday. President Kamuzu Banda of Malawi and Prime Minister John Vorster of South Africa yesterday held a historic black-white summit meeting. British-born Soviet spy Kim Philby has accused the Central Intelligence Agency of being responsible for writing the Nikita Khrushchov's memoirs. Common Market Finance Ministers yesterday began a decisive meeting at which they would try to find a joint position in the present monetary crisis.

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# International Affairs

By ARIEL

**MANY EVENTS** have shaken the world during the last one month and some of them are likely to have fundamentally far-reaching consequences for mankind and the world. Undoubtedly the most important of these events centre around the collapse of the monetary system laboriously built up after the Second World War around the US dollar. With the value of the 35 US dollars pegged at one ounce of gold, all other currencies revolved round it through the Bretton Woods system operated through the IMF and IBRD tied to the GATT system of trade. Any changes in value of currencies necessitated devaluation, or revaluation, through the machinery of the IBRD. But all this was based on the assumption that the value of the dollar would remain immutable through all storms and stresses. For well over twenty years, the dollar had reigned supreme as the basic currency with its partner in convertibility, the pound sterling undergoing more than one devaluation since the end of the second world war.

But today the dollar has literally "collapsed", and the USA has broken all the rules of its creation in the IMF,

IBRD and GATT in order to restore confidence in the "sick dollar" on a new basis of convertibility to gold—the ratio to be fixed at their own levels. The system has collapsed and neither the IMF nor the GATT is able to impose any discipline among the leading nations of the capitalist world. The dollar, which was until recently regarded as a "land rover on which one could circle the globe", began to run into serious difficulties during the last year or more. Before that for about two or three years, there were warning "red signals" that the monetary system had run into stormy weather and that unless something drastic was done to restore discipline, the economic structure of the entire capitalist system would be jolted by a monetary earthquake which would bring the international fiscal infrastructure tumbling down—and all the King's soldiers and all the King's men would be needed to set up a new Humpty Dumpty to reign over the capitalist world of free trade and free enterprise (or what is left of it)

**THE DANGER SIGNALS** had gone up in the financial world of the West sometime ago; here was one money crisis after another; and the US wanted the stronger currencies of Western Europe and Japan to be revalued upwards on an agreed ratio so that the over-valued dollar, with billions of notes issued abroad without adequate gold backing, could continue to service the monetary system as before. But the countries of Western Europe were unable to come to any agreement either between themselves or with the USA. A few, revalued their currencies upwards, others began to

"float" them. This started a run of anarchy in the monetary world in which speculators pushed "hot" dollars hither and thither in a piratical attempt to make quick money through financial juggling.

This could not go on forever, and with its over-valued currency the US was badly placed with its current trade rivals, Japan and West Germany, both with regard to domestic trade within the USA itself and in the world outside. The dollar became a sick currency and it began to touch very low exchange rates especially after the Finance Subcommittee of the US Congress had insisted that either the main West European currencies should be revalued upwards or that the gold parity of the dollar should be abolished. A West German paper *Weltwoche* commenting on this situation recently stated:

"Nobody wants dollars any more..... billions of them are roaming from one country to another. Nobody has an accurate idea as to how many of them are in existence. However, the sum of 50,000 million dollars which are alleged by some to be floating about Western Europe, is not a figment of imagination....." Strictly speaking the billions of "nomadic" dollars could have been exchanged for gold, until the US suspended such payments. But the billion reserves of the USA cannot secure even a quarter of this mass of money. The gold reserves in Fort Knox are said to be 10,000 million dollars, the lowest since 1937. The result was that many rich countries like West Germany and Japan were inundated with devalued dollars very poorly secured.

In these circumstances President Nixon had no alternative but to resort to what the *Newsweek* (23/8/71) described as "Nixon's Stunning Turn-around—A Bold Plan to Bolster the Economy". On August 15, Nixon proclaimed a new programme—"the most comprehensive new economic policy to be undertaken by this nation in four decades....." The *Newsweek* commenting stated: "...and that was no mere hyperbole. For in measured sober tones the President discarded nearly all the basic elements in the free-market, free-trade, hands-off economic philosophy he brought to the White House, and substituted a mix of some new ones that could prove as telling as some of the reforms of FDR's first 100 days".

**HE IMPOSED** "a voluntary 90-day freeze on wages, prices and rents, he freed the dollar from its mooring to inviting global devaluation of the dollar and opening the way of the first re-ordering of the international monetary system in a quarter of a century; he slapped a 10 per cent tax on most imports to protect many U.S. products; and he outlined a package of tax breaks designed to stimulate the economy, along with a set of Federal budget cutbacks to curb inflation". To assure the American and the world that he was not abandoning the basic tenets of capitalism, he said that "every action I have taken tonight is designed to nurture and stimulate the competitive spirit, to help snap us out of the self-doubt, the self-disparagement that saps our energy and erodes our confidence in ourselves." He also stated that "we are going to move forward to the new

prosperity without war as befits a great people—all together....."

The Nixon proposals sent shock waves throughout the world—the capitalist world. Either by "floating" their currencies, or by decree, the leading nations revalued their currencies upwards in the way the US had wanted. GATT and other bodies protested against the unilateral imposition of the ten per cent import surcharge by President Nixon, but apart from the protest there was precious little the GATT or anybody else could do. And there was very little that the USA could itself do. The downfall of the dollar really comes against the background of continuing economic downturn in the USA which began in 1969 and which continues to this day.

US officials themselves admit that this long recession had been followed by the slowest recovery since the end of the Second World War. Industrial production had gone up to 174.6 in mid-1969 (1957-59=100) and slumped to 161.5 in the last quarter of 1970 and is still at 169.9 in mid-1971, i.e. has not been able to go back to the position two years ago. Complete unemployment (i.e. not counting those partially unemployed) stands as at the end of July according to official figures, at 5.3 million or 5.8 per cent of the total civilian labour force—the comparable percentage was a little above the three per cent in 1969. Simultaneously, prices continued to rise and had, according to US statisticians, cut 12 cents off the dollar in the past two years.

Side by side with this had come the tremendous balance-of-payments deficits. These deficits had been a conspicuous

feature of the US economy for the past five years and more. But it has jumped up tremendously in the past few years. It came to \$10,000 million in 1970 and to \$12,000 in the first six months of 1971, and for the first time since 1893, for the first six months of 1971, the US had an adverse trade balance, i.e. in sheer goods-exchange the US had imported more than it exported in value terms. These enormous deficits in the balance-of-payments are basically due to two factors). One is what the *International Herald Tribune*, 12/8/71, calls the "special circumstances of our vast and wasteful military adventures in Southeast Asia". In plainer language this simply means that the heroism of the Vietnamese, together with support from the Soviet Union and other anti-imperialist forces, has made Vietnam aggression too expensive for US imperialists. The other is the enormous export of US capital, above all, to the advanced capitalist countries of Western Europe. In order to bypass the barriers raised by the ECM, the US monopolies have started putting up their factories as well as buying up European companies on a tremendous scale. And billions of dollars have flowed into Europe for this purpose, and to a lesser extent to Japan. The result has been that the dollar holdings of the Western European countries and of Japan have vastly increased. And the US is pledged to redeem these dollars for gold (or a certain percentage of this, to be more exact, after the establishment of a two-tier gold price system in 1968 following the tumble that the dollar took at that time). But the gold stock which once stood at \$24,000 million has now come down to about



\$10,000 million. And the dollar holdings in the hands of public authorities or private persons outside the USA are now well over \$40,000 million or more.

**ALTHOUGH** THE NIXON PROPOSALS to save the dollar and the repercussions they have caused in the major money and trade markets of the world undoubtedly constitute the major event of inter-

national significance pregnant with long-range consequences for the world, there are a number of other events which have staggered the world in the recent past. The Indo-Soviet Treaty of August 9 is something more than a major event. It brings a new force and dimension into the geopolitics of Asia and the world. The emerging federation between the UAR, Sudan and Syria creates another kind of

force in the Arab World and it is not yet clear how long it will exist (if, at all)—remembering that it was born only after massacre and bloodbath of the Communists and others who had opposed the Federation in the Sudan. The renewal of the bloody fighting in Northern Ireland and the threats which President Yahya Khan continues to utter against India—all these are events which merit individual attention.

CALENDER-CHRONICLE

## Revolt in Ceylon '71:

May 1 — May 4

**SATURDAY, MAY 1:**

The 47th day of Emergency. The curfew was relaxed from today and it was lifted one hour earlier at 4.30 a.m. and was re-imposed one hour later at 7.30 p.m.

Today is the first of the four days for the insurgents to surrender themselves to government. The official communique stated that a large number of insurgents had surrendered ahead of time. In the meantime, "the armed services are continuing to attack hard-core terrorists who are concentrated in the Sinharajah forest. Fifty handbombs and improvised mortars were captured by the army..... Terrorists seem to be inflicting wanton damage public property, now that they had lost militarily ....." Terrorists had surrendered at Anuradhapura, Padawiya, Kegalle, Nelundeniya, Polonnaruwa, Giritale, Matale, Kurunegala and Deniyaya. In Moneragala, some terrorists responsible for the attack on Kadugannawa Railway Station, claiming to be from Mawanella, surrendered to the Police. The Army continued its operations in the Horowapātana area. All road blocks from Vavuniya to Kibilitigollawa had been cleared.

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

The police station at Galebindunuwewa had been re-opened. Combing operations were carried out in the Elahera area where a large number of guns, handbombs and detonators were taken. The Dedigama police station was re-established yesterday. There had been a clash at Enselwatte in Deniyaya where two terrorists were injured and two others captured. A CTB bus driver was shot dead by terrorists at Uragaha. A dynamite buried under a road near Habarana exploded yesterday and a lorry was da-

amaged, injuring two. According to the CTB, 44 buses had been taken by the terrorists—of these 5 had been completely burnt and other seriously damaged. So far 32 buses had been recovered. Estimated loss to CTB property was in the region of Rs. 850,000.

The SUN, under the headline ORDER RESTORED IN THE MATARA DISTRICT—SOUTHERNERS SIGH WITH RELIEF—had a special story by staff reporter Nihal Jayasuriya that “.....the insurgents, who launched a surprise onslaught on all but two police stations in the Matara district on the night of April 5, entrenching themselves firmly in the respective areas thereafter, have now been totally defeated and are taking cover in the nearby jungle. Deniyaya, Akuressa, Hakmana, Morawaka, Kamburupitiya, Weligama, Dondra and Maverella have all been cleared of terrorists and security forces and the police are being welcomed with warm greetings in these areas. All police stations, save those at Matara and Dickwella, which ceased to function following occupation of the towns by the terrorists, have now been re-established. From April 13, the date on which the Army was rushed to Matara, the hotbeds of insurgent activity have been flushed out by bringing the terrorists into open combat with the security forces. The terrorists had suffered heavy losses in these skirmishes.....” The report also emphasised that ‘the residents of the Matara district are now flying National and Buddhist flags to celebrate the restoration of law and order following the take-over of all insurgent controlled areas here by Government security forces.....’ The SUN reporter had been taken by helicopter to have an aerial view and also by military land vehicles to survey the area. He saw “at first hand the trail of destruction left by the terrorists”. Eight of the ten police stations had been attacked and had been reduced to shambles. All damaged police stations had been reestablished in new premises. Damage to telecommunication and power lines were extensive. Culverts and small bridges on all roads leading out of Matara had been destroyed and they were temporarily repaired by the army. Road blocks with huge boulders and big trees had been cleared. Shops, boutiques and stores had been looted by the terrorists and the goods taken away to the jungle hide-outs. Cars, jeeps and lorries taken by the insurgents for their use had been abandoned, some burnt and other damaged.

The Prime Minister broadcast a May Day message this morning. This was the first time, she said, since her husband had declared May Day a holiday, it was not being celebrated. She thanked all trade unions and workers for their unstinted and magnanimous support to Government in the present crisis. “.....In this, your finest hour, you have given your resounding support to preserve the decent values of life.....” The Minister of Labour also broadcast a May Day message. The leading trade unions and trade union federations also issued statements. The leaders of the different Parties also issued May Day Messages. The CO published the text of last night’s CBC’s BEHIND THE NEWS on the task of winning the peace. It emphasised that the peace could be won only by a change of outlook. “This change must spring in the minds of men. The need of the hour is a change in mental attitudes..... No one can deny that what has happened in the last two weeks is tragic. It must not happen again. If it is not to happen again we must all think hard why it happened at all. Besides the immediate political and economic causes there are also other causes which must be eliminated even at this stage.....”

Egypt’s 360—member National Assembly yesterday unanimously approved the establishment of a federation with Libya and Syria. Radio Pakistan said that Zulfikar Ali Bhutto thought that war between India and Pakistan was a possibility but not imminent.

#### SUNDAY, MAY 2 :

The 48th day of Emergency. The curfew was lifted 4.30 a.m. and was re-imposed at 7.30 p.m. Poya Day.

The official communique stated that 260 terrorists had surrendered yesterday while 150 had surrendered on April 30. Meanwhile terrorists “are continuing to harass the civilian population” in many areas. The reception given to the Armed Services who took back the areas which had been in terrorists hands “has been magnificent.....National flags have been raised by the the people in buildings at Deniyaya and Elpitiya where the flags of the insurgents had been hoisted.....” The transport services were “normal”, a limited number of trains were run during non-curfew hours whilst larger number of buses were daily on the roads. The CO published an on-the-

spot-survey of terrorist activities in the Kalutara District—in Uragama, Elpitiya, Karandeniya, Maha Edanda, Dunnagahawala, Watugedera and Kiripedda—“at all these villages one could see the villagers in a daze, seated their doorsteps bewildered by the incredible happenings in their once placid lives.” The evidence of carnage and vandalism of the terrorists were everywhere—houses, vehicles, petrol stations lay burnt at every turn..... Today this little group of villages stand devoid of life, the devastation caused by the terrorists is unbelievable”.

The *Times Weekender* and the *Weekend* published reports from their London correspondent of the TV interview over the CBC given by Dr. N. M. Perera yesterday. He had answered a series of questions. Dr. Perera had said that the Government had information on a rebel movement but they had never expected to be of such a serious nature. “There were rumours”, he said, of this organisation functioning but we never bargained they would resort to violence of this type.....” Most the rebels and their leaders were those already in employment and as such unemployment was not the cause of the present rebellion. Dr. Perera was questioned regarding his own political beliefs as a Trotskyite revolutionary. This part of Dr Perera's reply was, according to the *Weekend*, censored by the Competent Authority, but he was quoted as saying “..... Revolution is a change of power from one class to another and this cannot happen in a week. The Chinese Revolution started in 1911 and ended only in 1948.....”.

Pakistani troops are reported to have shelled areas along the Indian border at fleeing refugees and many Indians had been injured. Israeli Foreign Minister, Mr. Abba Eban, declared that it was wrong to expect any dramatic changes in the Middle East situation as a result of US Secretary of State William Roger's recent visit to the area. In the May Day parade, at Moscow, Brezhnev assured the people of Indo-China and the Arab countries full support in their fight against aggression. There was a spectacular fireworks display in Peking's giant Tien An Men (Gate of Heavenly Peace) when May Day was celebrated in the presence of Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

### MONDAY, MAY 3:

The 49th day of Emergency. The curfew was lifted at 4.30 p.m. and was re-imposed at 7.30 p.m.

According to the preliminary figures released in the official communique 898 terrorists had surrendered in the first two days. The final figures would be available only after all the the information came in from the outstations. The surrenders came mainly from Kegalle Anuradhapura, Matara, Matale, Elpitiya, Balangoda, Moneragala, Ambalangoda, Kurunegala, Vavuniya, Walapone, Ratnapura, Puttalam, Galle, Mahiyangana, Welimada and Amparai. At a news conference held yesterday, a Government's Security Forces spokesman had said “the safety of those who surrendered was guaranteed. He added that till May 4, the last day for the surrender, the Security Forces will not be on the offensive, but would continue to be very vigilant. The Kolonne police station had been re-established. The K. dugannawa police station which was damaged had been re-established at the resthouse. Meanwhile isolated terrorist activity was reported from the Kekirawa area. Information about insurgent activities “from Kochchikade to Tanamalwila” was given by a terrorist produced before the Panadura Magistrate by a member of the public.

The afternoon CO and TOC quoted the official communique released today to state that the government security forces had been forced to go on the offensive yesterday in the Kekirawa, Polonnaruwa and Habarana areas. Instead of responding to the calls to surrender, terrorists in these areas had during the last two days “carried out barbarous attacks on the people”. Yesterday, the insurgents had burnt down the police station at Kekirawa, looted boutiques and homes, and raped a woman. “Similar incident have been reported from other areas still in the hands of the terrorists”.

The CDN published special reports and photographs by their staff reporter Manik de Silva and cameraman Wally Perera. They had covered the South and the lead story related the life in the little town of Uragasmanhandiya in the Balapitiya electorate. It was described as a “little ghost town” now. Next the story about the events in Deniyaya was told, particularly about the recapture of the transmitting station at Enselwatte. Girls had been dragooned to cook for the insurgents. It was also reported that “dummy guns had been extensively used by the insurgent.....many of them had been realistically done. Only an expert would have known that they were harm-

less—and that too not at a distance..... most of the dummies have been made of wood. Some have been made with pieces of steel and S-lon piping..... But during the heat of the insurrection they had looked formidable—not only to the Police but also to the public”.

The CDN also reported that the Army had cut off all access routes to the Sinharajah Forest, 24,000 acres of virgin jungle stretching from a Kalawana in the Sabaragamuwa to Deniyay in the South. Hard core insurgents were expected to head for this forest. There had been several skirmishes on the outskirts of the forest. The military co-ordinating officer at Matara, Lt. Col. Duleep Wickramanayake, had told the CDN reporter that the army was extremely anxious not to hurt civilians by mistake. “Troops are under orders not to kill unnecessarily. Shooting is being kept down to a minimum now, absolute necessity and the self-defence rule being the exception to the don't kill rule”.....”

“ We never killed unnecessarily”, a ranking army officer said. “ We did not want to indulge in any kind of massacre.....” The Sun reported that “ the Minister of Justice is confronted with the serious problem of getting the Courts back into working order as a result of the terrorists damage to over 100 police stations in various parts of the country”. With the relaxation of the curfew the Railway had put a number of additional trains on all lines. The Tourist Board was determined to put Ceylon back on the tourist and travel map.

President Anwar Sadat had relieved Vice-President Ali Sabry of his post, it was announced in Cairo yesterday. Premier Indira Gandhi yesterday increased her Government team from 37 to 55 members with the appointment of new Cabinet members, seven Ministers of State and 12 Deputy Ministers.

### COALITIONS IN CEYLON - 3

## The National Government of 1965

by Urmila Phadnis

*This is the third instalment of a paper read by Urmila Phadnis, of the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi at the SEMINAR ON POLITICS OF COALITION GOVERNMENT IN INDIA, sponsored by the Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, at the end of last year. This paper was entitled POLITICS OF COALITION-GOVERNMENTS IN CEYLON and it had been included in the Seminar's programme because the politics on the Indian continent are in many ways inter-linked with the politics of Ceylon.*

The March 1965 election confirmed further the trend towards a two major party system; both the SLFP and the UNP contested about two thirds of the total number of seats and had electoral arrangements with five out of seven minor parties contesting the election. Thus, the SLFP had its electoral pact with the LSSP and the CCP as in the past. The UNP concluded a no contest pact with the Lanka Prajatantrawadi Pakshaya (LPP) which had fielded most of the defectors from the SLFP in the election. With the other two minor parties—the MEP and the Jatika Vimukti Peramuna (JVP-National Liberation Front)—an implicit electoral understanding existed in the declaration of the

UNP that it would not put candidates against the leaders of those parties who believed in a ‘democratic way of life’. The only two parties outside such electoral arrangements were the regional Tamil parties—the FP and the TC.

The electoral verdict gave a further impetus to the trend towards a bi-party system. Although neither the UNP nor the SLFP was able to secure an absolute majority in the legislature, the UNP emerged as the largest single party with 66 seats against the 41 seats won by the SLFP. Soon after, the LPP agreed to join the UNP after forming the government and later merged with it.

The UNP was thus able to secure a near working majority, with 6 nominated members; it also negotiated with the two Tamil parties as well

as with the MEP and JVP and succeeded in getting all of them in a coalition. Thus out of the nine parties which contested the election, five joined the UNP. The rest—the LSSP and the CCP—formed a solid opposition front under the leadership of the SLFP leaders.

The common impulse which brought such a heterogeneous group under the UNP umbrella was no doubt the urge for sharing power. The parties like the MEP, the JVP and the TC, having a few seats did not have much of a bargaining position *vis-a-vis* their entry in the government. The only party which had a definite understanding with the major partner in coalition was the FP. Within months it had succeeded in securing fulfilment of one of its major demands, namely, the promulgation of regulations under the Tamil Language Act which had been drafted by S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike as early as 1958. However, on other issues *i.e.* formation of District Councils providing greater regional autonomy; the founding of a university in the the Tamil populated provinces and related issues, the FP met tough opposition. By the end of 1968 the FP had joined the opposition benches.

The political withdrawal of the FP was a tactical move. Securing on an average about half of the 24 seats in the northern and eastern provinces, the FP, if unaligned, could be in a better position to bargain with whichever party emerged dominant in the 1970 election. Also, the withdrawal at this stage satis-

fied the Tamil Youth which was on the verge of revolt as it felt that the FP's entry in the government had compromised the party's bargaining position without proportionate benefits to the Tamils.

The FP's decision to step out of power also highlighted the dilemma of a regional party emphasising its communal character, joining the government. As an opposition party, its agitational approach went along with its communal regional character; its coalition with one of the major party drawing its support from the majority community however necessitated a 'give and take' approach which, perforce put its political strength on the anvil. The process of coalition formation thus brought in its wake the dilemma of identity preservation which was more important for the minor parties than for the major ones.

It might be mentioned that though the UNP had formed a coalition government, its numerical strength was reasonable enough to ensure support from the minor allies. Organisationally the UNP seemed to be cohesive enough. In fact, its major challenge was not so much in terms of organisation as in relation to its image. Its dilemma lay in maintaining its distinctiveness *vis-a-vis* SLFP and yet project itself as a party of the common man.

In the past the UNP was regarded as a party of *status quo*—a party of the rich dominated by the Western educated elite with an alien outlook, out of tune with the hopes

and aspirations of the rural Sinhalese populace which felt that it had done precious little for giving Buddhism its rightful place.

Aware of this backlog, the first impulse of the Senanayake Government was to refurbish the party's image by picking up issues on which a near consensus existed between the major parties and to implement them. These were reflected in the Senanayake government's decisions to declare Poya-day—a day of prayer for the Buddhists—the weekly holiday as against Sunday and to start a month university in Anuradhapura—the one time ancient capital of the island. There were also several other issues in foreign relations on which the compulsions of an 'alternate' government led Senanayake declare at times that he was carrying in to effect the Bandaranaike policies.

It was in the economic sphere that the difference in the UNP and the SLFP approach became more apparent. While the SLFP's emphasis was on the development of an indigenous industrial sector, the UNP pinned its hopes on the 'green revolution' and tried to find ways and means to make it a success, against an increasing emphasis on State control by the SLFP, the UNP, emphasising mixed economy, gave ample incentives to the private sector. In foreign relations it decided to end up the stalemate in Ceylon-US relations. This had resulted in the suspension of the US aid during the SLFP regime. It also attempted to get as much foreign

aid from the Western bloc as possible.

But the end of its five year term, the UNP premier had claimed that the country was well on its way towards prosperity and stability. The average voter however did not seem to share his enthusiasm. The national income increase in real terms rose by 8.3 per cent in 1968 as against an increase of 4.4 per cent in 1967 had been the highest in the island. But so had the cost of living. Similarly, notwithstanding an increase in rice production claimed by the government, the large output in rice did not seem to have brought about relief to the average consumer.

Under the scheme which was in force in the island until the end of 1966, the consumer was entitled to two measures (equivalent to about four pounds) of rice at a price of 50 cents. In December, 1966, the UNP government reduced the subsidised rice ration to one measure but gave it free. But the market price of rice went up as a result of the increased demand to something like one rupee a measure, hitting the average consumer. In other words increased rice production thus benefitted the producer at the cost of consumer. Last, but not least, the number of unemployed graduates, not to talk of youth in general, touched the peak 15,000. In a country where the 'new' voters accounted for about one fifth of the total votes in the electorate, the behaviour of the youth seemed to be a crucial variable in the determination of the electoral verdict. That it decided to be

'anti-establishment' was evident from the virtual rout of the UNP on 27 May 1970s. It secured only 17 seats as against 66 in 1965. The SLFP won 91 seats and its United Front partners the LSSP and the CCP had secured 19 and 7 seats respectively.

After 14 years thus Ceylon had once again embarked on a 'Front Government' but with a major difference. The 1956 MEP was *ad hoc* in character; the 1970 UF on the other hand had emerged after long drawn negotiations between the constituent parties, leading to the conclusion of a United Front Agreement in 1968. It was on a common election manifesto incorporating the UF programme that the UF had contested the elections and it was the implementation of this programme that the LSSP and the CCP had promised, under the leadership of Mrs. Bandaranaike of the SLFP.

Soon after, the UF allies became partners in a coalition government. This was the first time that the CCP leaders had found place in the government; this was also the first time, when the SLFP premier Mrs. Bandaranaike, despite the absolute majority of her party in election had decided to honour the commitment inherent in the electoral alliances.

The first phase of honouring the election pledge began soon after as was evident by the government's radical postulates in the foreign and administrative spheres. The ministry wise 'performance race' had also begun and it seemed obvious that the backstarters

would be under fire from the party radicals as much as from the opposition parties.

The stability of the coalition government thus depended upon the extent to which the coalition cabinet could deliver goods and effect change commensurate with the hopes and aspirations of the radicals within the constituent parties of the Front.

## VI APPRAISAL

A review of the various coalition governments reflects the different phases of the party system in the island; if the Senanayake coalition of 1947 was the consequence of a fragmented party system, the MEP Coalition of 1956 set in motion the trend towards two major party system which became the basis of subsequent coalition governments.

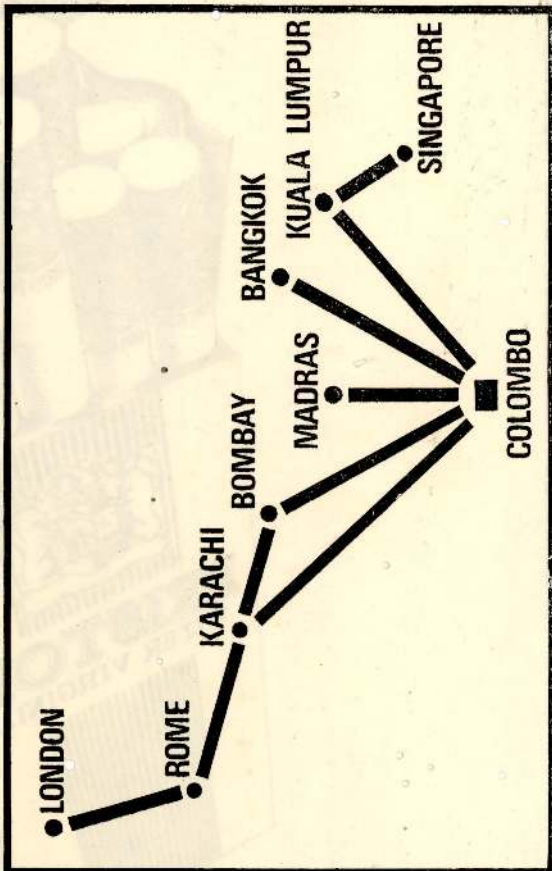
The party pattern as it has evolved in Ceylon is different from a bi-or multiple party system but has features common to both. Broadly speaking, it is structured round two parties with almost equally strong support base (as reflected in the percentage of vote polled by each of them in the elections) sharing between themselves two thirds or more of the total votes polled as well as the total seats won, with minor parties sharing the rest of the seats and votes. It is in this context that a certain amount of manoeuvrability remains with the minor parties specially the ones which have been in the field for long.

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