

TRIBUNE

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Vol. 17

No. 9

★ S. W. R.-D.

★ ASSASSINATION

★ LOOK & PRAVDA

★ ATTYGALLE REPORTS

★ REVOLT IN CEYLON '71



From the Editor's Desk

WITH this issue, *Tribune* is well on the way to catching up with time. And, readers will also see that it has regained some of its old quality of technical excellence in production. And it will not be long before we appear more frequently, and also with a larger number of pages.

Our references in the last issue to the success which has attended the American magazine *Playboy* has made a reader write to us that in recent years the trend has been for magazines and papers to fold up rather than reach the dizzy heights of success. A large number of papers and magazines and newspapers in the USA and the UK have either closed down or merged with other papers. Survival has become extremely difficult even for the best of magazines and the most recent example is the US magazine *Look* — undoubtedly one of the best news pictorials of its kind. Gardner Cowles, *Look's* creator and editorial chairman, announced in mid-September that the magazine would cease publication on October 19.

At a press conference in New York, Cowles had stated: "When it came time to make this decision, I thought back over *Look's* 35 years of constructive, responsible and award-winning journalism and my heart said 'keep it going'. But my head said 'suspend it', and really there was no other way." Ironically, he mentioned, that reader response to subscription offers had recently been the best in *Look's* history. "Now at the end," Cowles continued, "we have the most interested and best educated audience we ever had. We tried to be serious without being solemn, entertaining without being frivolous, angry without being bitter, and hopeful without being complacent. And generally, I believe, we succeeded."

RIISING COSTS, a depressed economy and competition from television for consumer advertising all contributed to the difficulties, but Cowles stated that it was the proposed increase in the second class postal rate which had proved to be the "crusher" that compelled him to close down *Look*. The proposed new rates would more than double mailing costs for all US magazines, and would have sent up *Look's* postal

bill rocketing from \$ 4,000,000 to \$ 10 million in five years. Cowles called the increase "unconscionably high and a complete reversal of US postal policy since the days of Benjamin Franklin, who felt that the cost of transporting magazines and newspapers should be kept low. The postal rate increases were the one thing which impelled us to act now."

Look had appeared in 1937, less than two months after *Life's* appearance. It was first a monthly, then it came as a bi-weekly. In the early years it had spotlighted fads, fashions, movie stars and sports heroes. But after World War II, Cowles made it a more ambitious magazine and increasingly devoted to political issues of national significance. It had many memorable scoops and interviews. In 1967, it serialised (despite objections from the Kennedy family) William Manchester's *The Death of a President*. After 21 years of profitability, *Look* went into the red in 1969. Losses increased in 1970, and in mid-1971 it had topped \$ 10 million. Cowles had put up a valiant fight and during 1970 he had sold out a great deal of his other assets to keep *Look* going, but it was in vain.

It is not easy for a well-established magazine like *Look* to shut down. About 260 editorial and advertising employees along with 800 subscription personnel will lose their jobs. Their severance pay will total over \$ 3,000,000. The other big problem was to "settle" *Look's* unexpired subscriptions. Time Inc. had agreed to take over about 20% of these unexpired subscriptions — *Life* taking up to 800,000, *Time* 400,000, *Sports Illustrated* 50,000, and 15,000 for *Fortune*. *Look* was also offering subscribers the choice of Readers Digest, Ladies Home Journal, American Home and several other magazines, selections among *Time-Life Books*, and in certain instances, a cash refund.

With *Look* out of the way, *LIFE* is the sole survivor in the USA in the field of pictorial magazines that

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once included *Collier's* (shut down in 1956) and the *Saturday Evening Post* (1969).

WHILST MOST PAPERS and magazines in the US and UK are having a lean time, compared to the prosperity and power they had enjoyed a few years ago, behind the so-called "Iron Curtain", the *Pravda*, for instance, was doing exceptionally well. The prestigious *Wall Street Journal*, of September 15, 1971, had a full feature about the *Pravda*. It was entitled **KREMLIN'S VOICE** and the subheadings read: **PRAVDA IS CALLED DULL, BUT IT ISN'T IF YOU READ BETWEEN THE LINES.....IT OFFERS CLUES TO PARTY LINE, SELLS OVER 9 MILLION COPIES, ENJOYS FAT PROFIT MARGIN.** The article was by the paper's staff correspondent in Moscow, Ray Vicker.

Commenting on *Pravda's* approach to events, Vicker said: "News coverage that is strange or stale to Western eyes is standard fare in *Pravda*. For a typical lead front-page item one recent day, the paper carried a verbatim transcript of a government directive on farm irrigation. The same day, the paper featured inside a picture of three computer engineers stressing the need for increased industrial efficiency. But Soviet citizens read *Pravda* with avid fascination. Unlike any Western newspaper, this principal organ of the Soviet Union's Communist Party is the rule book and the source of current ideology for a whole nation. If you know how to read them, all these dry reports — like the belated handling of the Krushchev death — are full of intriguing clues about what is really going on in Russia.

"Dull as *Pravda* might seem to American readers, it is in many ways one of the world's most successful — and most profitable — publications. With a circulation of 9.3 million, *Pravda* has become the

world's largest selling daily newspaper. Circulation has soared 41% from the 6.6 million in 1965. The party paper has thus decidedly bypassed its closest competitor, the government paper *Izvestia*, which sells about 7 million copies a day."

This year, said Vicker, *Pravda* expected to earn a profit "that would make many publishers of far jazzier capitalist papers drool: \$ 22 million, or more than 27% of sales. This despite a news-stand price of 3 kopecks (3.3 US cents) and advertising revenues zero." Vicker then goes on to analyse the make-up and content of the *Pravda*. He stated that "*Pravda*" (means "truth" in Russian) is top priority reading for Westerners trying to detect shifts in Soviet policy — providing they know how to find the clues." Commenting on the 60-odd May Day slogans this year, Vicker declared that they "treated the United States and most other Western countries mildly. They seemed to treat Zionism as the biggest outside enemy and stressed Arab-Soviet solidarity."

VICKER QUOTES the managing editor of *Pravda*, Serge Tsukasov, on editorial policy: "Our approach to stories is different from a paper like, say, *The New York Times*. We direct ourselves to problems, not to events." Thus crime, catastrophe or celebrity news "that might rate page one treatment in the US rarely rates a single line in *Pravda* unless it helps to convey an editorial point. Many *Pravda* news stories editorialise heavily to support a party position. A story on Russian blackmarket profiteering is reported in a scolding manner. The news story of Washington D.C. Police beating up an anti-war demonstrator helps support an accompanying article criticising the US. But the points being are often the real news because they show what the Soviet hierarchy is thinking. The Communist Party's ruling body, the Central Committee, appoints all key editors....."

Although the paper's editors claim that they are "free" and are not "mouthpieces of the Central Committee", Vicker says that *Pravda* never publishes any criticism of the Kremlin leadership and there was little chance that the paper will ever deviate from the CC line. "But if you are a Russian trying to follow the Party line, this has a value of its own....." A most valuable key to the line was the "leader", a 900-word article printed on the left of the first page nearly every day. It interprets or stresses some phase of current party doctrine. Other serious articles on domestic or international subjects fill the rest of page 1. On most other days another five pages complete the paper. ("*Pravda's* thinness, of course, is one reason the paper can sell so cheaply and still show a profit"). Page 2 covers internal party affairs, official appointments, economic problems and letters to editor. The third page is devoted to science, literature, the arts and culture. Page 4 stresses reports of foreign communist and socialist parties. Page 5, the newsiest in the paper, carries reports from *Pravda's* 42 bureaus abroad. And page 6 covers sports, theatre, travel and other leisure activities.

According to Vicker, *Pravda* carried out a capitalist-style readership survey some years ago. Though over 70% of readers stated that they read the "leaders", the paper fared poorly in the under-25 market (the average reader was 40) and that readers in general wanted more coverage of day to day events. Since the survey, *Pravda* has tried to brighten its pages and this effort had boosted its popularity. "Says one diplomat who has been here for years: 'It's nowhere near as dull as it used to be. In fact I would be lost without it.....' "

One very popular section is the letters to editor department. "This part of the paper has turned into a combination of a national complaint bureau and idea exchange. Last year

Pravda received 371,000 letters to the editor." The paper employs a big staff to investigate these letters and publish those which had been checked for authenticity. When the letters department notices something significant, a memo is prepared and is sent on a hot line to Kremlin. Letters often produce action. Citizens who wage a frustrating battle with bureaucrats often find that a letter to *Pravda* gets things done.

CONSIDERING THE CIRCULATION, *Pravda* has a small staff, 300 editorial employees, including 140 writers. But two-thirds of *Pravda's* copy comes from outside. Printing *Pravda* is a big job. The Soviet Union stretches 6,000 miles from East to West, and the paper prints in 42 locations. Sixteen plants furthest from Moscow get the image of the page via cable or satellite and printing plates are made in those plants. A special Aeroflot service delivers matrices of the paper to other printing plants. Delivery of the printed paper also creates special problems. In some remote areas, the daily *Pravda* is flown by helicopter. And Vicker concludes his article quoting *Pravda's* circulation manager, Ivan Ponomarev; "You can get the paper the same day in all major places in the Soviet Union, and Vicker thereafter sums up: "With a seven hour time difference, citizens in the Far East city of Khabarovsk may be reading their morning *Pravda* before some Moscovites have even gone to bed the previous night."

It is not often that one gets an "inside" view of *Pravda* from a western angle that provides facts as well as reasonably objective analytical comment. To most people in Ceylon, the *Pravda* is a "party organ", and our experience of such mouthpieces of political parties does

not inspire either confidence or enthusiasm. Readability has never been a strong point with party organs in this country, but *Pravda* seems to have broken the readability barrier by securing a 9 million readership — boosting the circulation 41% since 1965. But having been brought on the tradition (western) of having newspapers deal with "events", the *Pravda* insistence on tackling "problems" (and making events subservient to problems) will leave most Ceylon readers "bored."

But what is most unfortunate in Ceylon today is that the educational system that has prevailed for some time now has created a generation of people who seem neither interested in serious news nor in tackling problems in a concretely realistic manner. Gossip has become the essence of our journalistic credo and intrigue has been elevated to the position of the most important problem. For the rest, we look to the rest of the world to provide us aid to solve all our problems. **This may seem a sweeping statement to make, but the more one ponders on our affairs the more one will be convinced that we are still very far from wanting to solve our problems under our own steam in a self-reliant manner.**

IT IS NOT OFTEN that Ceylon hits the headlines in the world press. The April 1971 insurgency no doubt kept Ceylon on the front pages of the world press for a few days. Thereafter, the April revolt was the subject matter of feature articles and comments in some of the more serious newspapers and journals of the world. Within three months, however, Ceylon was again virtually forgotten. And now, only little items of news occasionally creep into print, from time to time, and certainly not on page one. In mid-September agency reports from

London stated that "an international committee has been set up here to conduct an independent inquiry into 'recent atrocities, torture and killings of a large number of people' in Ceylon. The formation of the Committee was announced on Friday (September 17) at a news conference here which was addressed by Prof. Rene Dumont of France, who was once invited by the present Ceylon Government to act as an economic consultant.

"The Ceylon Committee, which functions from the premises of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, has alleged that 14,000 political prisoners are being held without trial in Ceylon. The International Committee of Inquiry for Ceylon announced today includes Miss Peggy Duff and Mr. Peter Hain of Britain, Prof. Dumont of France, Prof. Maom Chomsky of America, and Prof. E. F. C. Ludowyk and Mr. C. R. Hensman of Ceylon. The Committee will endeavour to arouse world attention to the state of affairs in Ceylon and help to set up an independent commission of inquiry there."

All this sounds very exciting and interesting, but those in Ceylon who know the situation will know that the Committee is far off the mark. What must be investigated is not the "killings", but a great many other things including the activities of a few professorial pundits who had preached that revolution was round the corner in Ceylon and who had found safe berths in far away places when a vague kind of terroristic revolution did indeed descend upon this country.

In so many places and in so many meetings, during the last four decades, ever since adult franchise was thrust upon this country, revolution was held out to be a pancea — but the kind of revolution that overtook the island in April 1971 took all the pundits by surprise.

ALL REVOLUTIONS have interesting repercussions. The emancipation of women in Ceylon has often been hailed as a major revolution. We have a woman Prime Minister no doubt, but what is more, women have equal opportunities as men for employment in most trades. And they have equal pay and equal rights. But there are people who find this revolution which has emancipated our women painful. *Tribune* regularly receives many letters on this topic, but the one we reproduce below is symptomatic of a throwback in the form of a personal tragedy.

A lady who seeks to hide her identity under the pseudonym *A Protesting Wife*, entreats us thus: "Please publish this painful and miserable truth in the letter to the editor in *Tribune*....." Under the title *Beware Wives*, the protesting wife states: "Many women are getting into the Public Services and other jobs as staff officers, typists and secretaries. At a time when there are thousands of educated young men unemployed, it is sad to see all this. It even hurts more to think and know that not only have men to be partly jobless on account of these thousands of employed women, the men in the offices indulge in staff entertainment with the men and women. The wives at all times are left out officially and unofficially. How much can a wife bear over such indifferent treatment, when men are having good time among women office workers, and office women are spending their time in flirtation and smiles with the men, and wasting everybody's working hours, when the country has to pay wages to all these people?....."

This is a plaintive and poignant cry. It is not confined to one protesting wife. Many others, both men and women, decry the fact that very little work is being done in many government offices and workplaces. This is certainly not solely due to the fact that women have been given employment. But, what then are the causes of the lethargy which undoubtedly pervades this country?

DRIVEN BY DESTINY

S. W. R. D. BANDARANAIKE

— *Twelfth Anniversary of His Passing* —

by ASOKA

AS THE YEARS ROLE BY, it becomes increasingly obvious, even to the most indifferent amongst us, that this country lost in S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike one of its most illustrious men for many generations.

He was an intellectual giant who combined extensive learning with a deep love for his fellow-men. His was the ideal combination of a fine head and warm heart such as few statesmen have been known to possess. True greatness springs from LOVE NOT HATE.

It was when he was a small boy that he showed his inborn concern for his country — Ceylon.

Internationally-renowned journalist, D. B. Dhanapala, has recorded that when proud father, Sir Solomon Dias Bandaranaike, presented his little son to the Governor of Ceylon, Sir Robert Chalmers, Sir Robert asked "are you going to make this little fellow a Mudaliyar?" The child, not waiting for his father to reply, promptly answered "No thank you Sir, I shall work for my country". The Governor, it is said raised his eyebrows, and the august father, much embarrassed, hurried the child home.

ONE IS USED TO HEAR the sneering remark that S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike changed his religion and became a Buddhist to enter the political arena in Ceylon. This was not so. He was converted to Buddhism at the age of sixteen years, perhaps, when as a school boy attending St Thomas' College he rushed up to Kandy with a small group of fellow students in order to be a spectator on the last day of the Kandy Perahera. It was the first chance he had of seeing it. He had some vague conception of a great religious festival to which people

flocked from all parts of the country "the holiday season of the poor". To quote his own account of the experience, written in the third person, Bandaranaike says: "They stood on the verandah of the Queen's Hotel, watching the procession go by; the temple officials in their gorgeous robes the long row of elephants bright with their gaudy trappings, with the finest of them all in the centre, bearing the sacred relic He looked, and as he looked, the barriers of time seemed to roll away, and he seemed to be transported to an age long past, to a time of his country's glory and its power, when that same procession passed along these same streets... and then something seemed to snap in him: a wild, throbbing love surged through them 'my country, my people' he muttered 'how wonderful it all is, and I never knew it till today'. His fingers fumbled at his stiff shirt front and collar, in an instant he would have torn away those highly respectable garments of civilization and mingled with that surging mass his people Just then he heard the voice of one of his fellow students 'you fat-head come and

make up a four for Bridge'. The reaction made him reel and stagger and he went".

It was that day that S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike became a Buddhist in his heart, but he did not divulge this to anyone, except for promptly writing his short story entitled "Perahera". He was still a minor with his studies uncompleted. Taking this storyette to Oxford with him in 1919 he had the joy of seeing it published there in a varsity magazine, "The Cardinal's Hat," in the year 1920. Later on, about 1925, he himself published this story in the "Island Review" of which he and J. Vijayatunga were joint editors. Bandaranaike openly professed the Buddhist faith after he returned to Ceylon as a full-fledged barrister. He came from a family of devout Christians. His relations did not show much sympathy in this matter of his religious apostasy. Also in those days it was officially frowned upon.

ADDRESSING A MAMMOTH gathering to welcome him on his return home after his studies in Europe in 1925 Bandaranaike spoke



In the clothes of the Maha Mudaliyar era

as follows to the people of Udugaha Pattu: "I am proud to think that I possess the goodwill of so many of my fellow countrymen, and especially of the fact that such goodwill is felt by those among whom my ancestors have lived and worked for generations past. There is a saying that the place where one is honoured least is amongst one's own people, and nothing could make me prouder than the thought that you, my immediate neighbours, have such kind feelings towards me. You have so kindly referred to me as one of your leaders. There is one thing I would have you remember, that I consider myself entirely one of yourselves, and if fate has decreed for me a prominent place amongst you, it is not that I may be your master, but that I may be your servant....."

His concern and love for his countrymen and the underprivileged was not a whit less, than the concern of other socialist leaders in any part of the world. But Bandaranaike's approach was the approach of a man born and bred in Lanka, a man whose heart and imagination had been set aflame by reverence and devotion to the Great Enlightened One. S. W. R. D. was aware that the task of a Government in a Buddhist Country was to harmonise the Buddhist way of life with the functions of the State. And this he unswervingly set himself to do.

In his own life Bandaranaike set an example of self-sacrifice and self-denial. He was a man of true humility and love. A man who gave up wealth, power and security to serve his countrymen. It was J. Krishnamurti who said:— "A man who has love and is kindly and affectionate has no longing for power and position".

WITH NO THOUGHT for himself Bandaranaike applied his brilliant mind to the tasks before him. He constantly reminded people that "we were living through a period of transition, between the old and the new about to be born,

during which all kinds of conflicts arose, ideological, national, economic and political. The world was in a state of flux. This was an age when we had to live and let live, when we could not afford to hate each other and sacrifice all mankind in the name of peace or for some other reason". According to Bandaranaike, Lanka had to build up a new Society which was "BEST SUITED TO THE GENIUS OF OUR COUNTRY".

D. B. Dhanapala has also recorded that the moment S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike returned to the country the whole of the Ceylon Press was geared against him. According to this journalist, Bandaranaike "was maligned without mercy, libelled this side of the law, more than any other man in the island. He has never had what is called a free 'build-up'. In fact for twenty five years he had a journalistic DEMOLITION SQUAD working overtime on him, but unable to finish the job". Again Dhanapala wrote "he fought prejudices single handed with a contempt that astounds us. He was the first man who expounded what may be called the philosophy of neutralism."

As independence for Ceylon changed from a dream to reality in 1947 under the British Labour Government, headed by Premier Clement Attlee, Bandaranaike joyfully accepted office under a Ceylonese political elder, Mr. D. S. Senanayake, who was the choice for premiership of Lord Soulbury and Whitehall. It did not irk the learned barrister and scholar to serve under a local leader who could claim no academic achievements.

IT IS ON RECORD that S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike has himself exhorted his countrymen to serve the leader of a government in Independent Ceylon with steadfastness and loyalty "whoever he be" in the larger interests of the nation. Thus he threw himself unsparingly into the work of the Health Ministry. The world was astonished at Bandara-

naike's competent eradication of Malaria throughout the island during his tenure of office as Minister of Health. It was only when he found that the Senanayake Government was failing in its duty towards the people of the country that he crossed over with some supporters and founded a new party.

S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike's love for his country was sustained by his profound acceptance of Buddhism. Had he lived, Lanka would have travelled the way pointed out by Asoka. A Chinese traveller passing through India during the latter part of Asoka's reign has recorded that:—"Theft was unknown, people were extremely honest and truthful, and peace and happiness reigned all over the country; there was no fighting between the rulers and the ruled; between employer and employed; and there was equitable distribution of wealth".

How close to Asoka's thought and political way of life Solomon Bandaranaike came, can be seen from the following address at a public meeting of the Lanka Dharmaduta Society of Colombo as recorded in the Religious Digest — a Ceylon publication — of October, 1956: "We cannot spread Buddhism either in this country or in other countries unless we live the Dharma in our country. Our spread of Buddhism is only possible by founding our own actions on Buddhist principles and in our refusing to be un-Buddhistic in our attitudes towards others."

HE LIVED UP to those words to the very last hours of his life which is so plainly seen in his last message to his countrymen. Mortally wounded, awaiting the surgeon on a stretcher in the operating theatre of Colombo's General Hospital, in the presence of doctors, nurses and near relatives, he made the following last appeal to his countrymen. At his special request his personal Secretary, who was standing near, took down his message in long-hand so that it could be easily re-read to the injured Prime Minister:—

"A foolish man dressed in the robes of a Bhikkhu fired some shots at me in my bungalow this morning. I appeal to all concerned to show compassion to this man and not wreak vengeance on him. I appeal to the people of my country to be constrained and patient at this time. With the assistance of my doctor I shall make every endeavour to continue such service as I am able to render. I appeal to all to be calm, patient and do nothing that might cause trouble to the people. To those closely connected with me, Mrs Bandaranaike and my children, to

the members of the Government and all my friends and well-wishers, I make a particular appeal to be calm, and face the present situation with courage and fortitude."

Let us pause here for a moment to ask ourselves can nobler words or more selfless thought be expressed? And these from a man whose injuries would have caused a complete collapse in mind and speech in an ordinary being. Perhaps he was not ordinary.

Another incident in the life of Solomon Bandaranaike was his meeting the great Yogaswamy of



Ascetic Yogaswamy of Jaffna had advised him either to enter a monastery or get married

Jaffna, before the last war, when he was Minister of Local Administration, who after speaking for nearly 2 hours advised him to get married, if not to enter a monastery and become a Bhikkhu in which case he would reach Nirvana.

But fully aware of his own mission in his life, and never having sought his own bliss in this world or the next, Bandaranaike resolved on marriage. In 1940 he married Miss Sirimavo Ratwatte our present courageous and heroic Prime Minister, who so nobly justified her husband's wise choice of her.

May she be thrice blest in her noble endeavour to continue the great work.

FLASHBACK

TRIBUNE — S. W. R. D.' S
ASSASSINATION

We reproduce the editorial published in *Tribune*, on October 2, 1959, immediately after the assassination of the S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike. What we said of terrorism and terrorist techniques are of great relevance today.

BANDARANAIKE—The assassin who struck Premier Bandaranaike has indeed struck at the very roots of democratic life in this country. No grievance, personal or otherwise, can justify an act of terrorism, and the motive for such an act can only be political whichever way one looks at it. "I do not know why he shot at me", Premier Bandaranaike had speculated during the last hours of his life. From this it will be clear that there was no personal reason which was known to the dead leader why a Buddhist monk should fire at point-blank range at him with a heavy calibre revolver. That the alleged assailant had some reason for doing what he did, there can be no doubt, but it is absolutely clear that Bandaranaike had done him no personal injury or injustice to warrant any grievance.

The basis of democratic life among other things, is that an aggrieved person should seek his remedy through constitutional procedures. To resort to violence and terrorism is to destroy the fundamental principles of democratic existence. That a person who had donned the robes of a religious order founded by the Buddha should have become the medium for a terroristic movement to raise its head in Ceylon is only an unhappy reflection that religion is often a cover for unscrupulous and degenerate elements thirsting for power to perpetrate anti-social acts of the worst magnitude. It is not enough to condemn the dastardly act by which the late Prime Minister was killed. It was a cruel, inhuman and a cold-blooded murder, and it is difficult to find words to describe the horror which this act invokes. To shoot a man who was bending low in obeisance before



A happy picture

a person only because he was clothed in yellow robes is bad enough, but it was worse that the alleged assailant should be the one to whom such reverence was paid.

Mere condemnation of the act in the strongest terms is not sufficient to ensure that the malady which gave rise to it is rooted out of the body politic. Every effort must, therefore, be made to trace and probe into the social, economic and political roots from which this horrible act has stemmed. Terrorism unchecked gives rise to further terrorism. To pass this act of assassination off as an act of madman or a person suffering from an obsession of personal injustice is to condone the spirit and philosophy of terrorism. Many persons, who disliked the policies of Bandaranaike or the fact that he did not implement what he set out in the Manifesto are easily tempted to regard the murder of Bandaranaike as the desperate act of a mentally diseased man. Such persons do not seem inclined to want to trace this crime to its grass roots. This will be fatal for the future welfare of the country.

All persons, therefore, interested in preserving the democratic way of life in Ceylon should insist that the fullest investigations be made into the whole affair. The death and removal of Bandaranaike from the political scene will no doubt be welcomed by persons who were opposed to his politics, but even these persons must realise that the manner of his removal spells disaster for the country. Today, it is Bandaranaike the terrorists have put out of the way: tomorrow it will be any other person whom they dislike. Whether a person supports the UNP, the SLFP, the VLSSP, the LSSP, the FP or the CP does not matter, but no sane person believing in the democratic process can tolerate terrorism even for a moment. That an outstanding person of the calibre of Bandaranaike, holding the office of Prime Minister, was the victim of such an act should be

a warning that such terrorists would be even more daring in attacking others who do not hold such high office.

While extending our sincerest sympathies to the family of Bandaranaike and while joining the rest of the nation in paying tribute to the memory of the first truly nationalist progressive leader this country has produced, *Tribune* reiterates that the country will dishonour the memory of Bandaranaike if all efforts are not made to root out the social, economic and political basis of terrorism. The alleged assailant himself may be dealt with compassion, according to the law, to meet the wishes of the late Prime Minister, but he no doubt made this plea because

he must have realised that the monk assailant was no more than a tool in the hands of other designing persons. Who are these persons behind the scenes? What are the ramifications of this terrorist movement? The state organs centred in the police must provide the people of this country with answers to these questions. If this is not done, terrorism will grow. At a time of national crisis like this all persons who have the welfare of the country at heart should get together to fight the menace of terrorism which has shown its ugly fangs. This would be the best memorial to late Premier Bandaranaike who has set in motion the greatest socio-economic revolution in this country since ancient times.



Next Week

★ MAHIYANGANA PROJECT

— Tobacco Co's successful venture in
Agricultural development

★ GREAT BIG MYSTERY

— more about gems smuggling and
exchange frauds.

★ REPORTS FROM ABROAD

— PEKING, PARIS, SANTIAGO

HEADLINES

September 1 — 12

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 1: The Communist Party (Moscow wing) leaders in Colombo vehemently refuted some newspaper reports that the Party would break with the United Front Government. The curfew, which was re-imposed in the Puttalam, Anuradhapura, Polonnaruwa and Vavuniya areas on August 21, was lifted today. The Cabinet sub-committee on cost of living has decided to enlist the services of women's organisations to fight the blackmarket. The Kandyan Peasantry Rehabilitation Programme is to be re-vamped and speeded up under a new 5-year plan. The Ministry of Justice has decided to set up an International Law Review Committee. The Minister of Finance, Dr N. M Perera, speaking at the ceremony held at GPO yesterday to mark the cancellation of the first day issue of a stamp to commemorate the birth centenary of Lenin, said that a Socialist State could not be ushered in overnight and it required proper economic planning and dedicated effort by all sections of people. Government medical specialists have been debarred from waiving fees to be charged from patients before consultations. The Indian Prime Minister, Mrs Indira Gandhi, reaffirmed yesterday that her Government would continue an independent foreign policy which would not be dictated by other powers. Japan yesterday asked United States to lift its 10 per cent import surcharge. About 800,000 people have been affected by fresh floods in the Southern part of West Bengal.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 2: The Prime Minister, Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaike, in a message to mark the 20th anniversary of the SLFP, expressed confidence that the struggle of the progressive people of this country towards a happier era would succeed. It was reported that Big names in Colombo — including one who is a household word in sporting and entertainment circles and three lawyers — are among those who are being held by the police in connection with a big gem smuggling and currency racket. 'Sravasti', the hostel for Members of Parliament, is to be scrapped and the large subsidy expended to maintain 'Sravasti' will be used to pay M.P's an extra allowance of Rs 50/- per sitting of the House. The monopoly of importing all requirements of supplies to the country's estates is likely to be vested solely in the Sri Lanka State Trading Corporation. The Trincomalee Port will be the major bunkering port in the Indian Ocean soon. An International Law Review Committee, consisting of officials from the Ministry of

Justice, Ministry of External Affairs and the Attorney-General's Department will be set up in the near future. The Ceylon Insurance Corporation officials have detected a fraud whereby thousands of employees in the CTB found themselves insured without their consent. Secretary of State William Rogers yesterday said that President's coming trip to China would not lead to any weakening of US commitments to friends and allies in Asia. According to Peking's theoretical journal *Red Flag*, the guidelines for China's ping pong diplomacy which has led to a thaw in relations with the West was laid down in a work by Chairman Mao over 30 years ago. Iraqi President Ahmed Hassan Bakr was hit by two bullets in his left arm in an unsuccessful assassination attempt by an army officer yesterday.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 3: The Government has accepted in full the educational reforms recommended by the Minister of Education, Dr Badiuddin Mahmud. Over 2,000 employees face the threat of losing their jobs with the CWE ceasing to operate its net-work of retail shops and loss of business due to the establishment of State Trading Corporation. Speaking at the stone-laying ceremony at the Party's new headquarters yesterday, Prime Minister, Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaike said that although the SLFP is the youngest political party in Ceylon, it had the proud achievement of being returned to power thrice. According to a decision taken by the Ministry of Defence, Inspectors and sub-Inspectors of Police are to be up-graded to the rank of gazetted officers. Nearly eight thousand landless families in the Jaffna District will be immediately given lands under a scheme drawn up by the Government. The Health Minister of Kenya, Mr I. E. Omolo Okera and a Kenyan MP, Dr J. F. C. Munene, arrived in Ceylon yesterday as State guests. The trial of banned Awami League Party leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman has been postponed for three months. China has succeeded in producing a missile with a 1,000-mile range capable of delivering nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union yesterday slightly "devalued" the rouble in relation to 15 other currencies for non-commercial exchanges in USSR. The Soviet Union yesterday launched the latest in its Lunar space craft series — "Luna-18" to explore the moon.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 4: The Prime Minister Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaike's package plan for economic development will create an additional 160,000 jobs in industrial sector for unemployed youth of the country. The import of drugs will be vested in the Government from January next year. The Ministries of Plantation Industry and Industries and Scientific Affairs have drawn up a joint programme to resuscitate the palmyrah industry. A rush has begun on the private sector labour front to join the three big UF trade unions which signed a collective agreement with the Employers Federation of Ceylon recently. The purchasing of paddy,

milling and distribution of rice will be taken over by Paddy Marketing Board from next season. Essential consumer items such as dhal, chillies, maldive fish and onions will be allocated to the various districts of the island on the basis of demand and consumption in the future. Mr Swaran Singh, Minister of External Affairs of the Government of India, will arrive in Ceylon on September 9. The long-awaited Berlin agreement designed to end East-West tension over the city, was signed yesterday by the US, USSR, Britain and France. India will send a 'ping-pong' team to Peking to play in the Afro-Asian Friendship tournament in November. According to West Berlin sources, Prime Minister Willi Stoph is to replace Walter Ulbricht as Chairman of the Council of State.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 5: The *Weekend* reported that the Housing and Construction Minister, Mr Pieter Keuneman, had registered his vehement protest at the proposal by one faction of his Party to break away from the United Front and that he would pull out of the Ceylon Communist Party to become a member of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party to continue his stewardship as Housing Minister. The Ministry of Education intends to make visits to industrial centres by students as part of the school curriculum. More soldiers in the ranks of Sergeants and Corporals are to be recruited into the National Service Regiment of the Ceylon Army. The nominations for Kesbewa electorate fixed for September 9 has been postponed under Section 5 of the Public Security Ordinance. The Pakistan Government yesterday withdrew its press censorship imposed throughout the country on March 26 following the upheaval in East Pakistan. Egypt's Prosecutor-General yesterday asked for death sentence against former Vice-President Ali Sabry and eight other leading defendants charged with high treason. The Soviet Press launched a major attack on China yesterday, charging that Maoism contained nothing constructive and its aims inflict enormous damage on the Communist and Workers' movement.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 6: A serious shortage of doctors has hit country's health institutions due to the exodus of doctors from Ceylon in search of better prospects abroad. A scheme to set up satellite towns around the provincial capitals of the country, is now being considered by the Government. Private industrialists are to be given greater incentives and assistance for the setting up of export-oriented and other industries which would help exploit local raw materials. A State Transport Corporation, to tackle the transport problems of consumer-oriented Government Departments, is to be set up soon. According to Postal sources, sending several thousands of telegrams by post had now become almost routine procedure. The rural electrification programme will be intensified from next year and continued at the rate of 125 new villages per year. At the moment, five

Ministers and 15 MPs are out of the island. Three days after the signing of the Big Four agreement on Berlin, East and West German Government delegations met today to hammer out details of free movement to the divided city. An Alaska airlines Boeing 727 slammed into a sheer mountain wall yesterday, killing all 109 people aboard in the worst single-plane disaster in US civil aviation history. President Yahya Khan of Pakistan granted a 'general amnesty' to all those who committed offences during the disorders in East Pakistan since March, 1.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 7: Mr T. B. Ilangaratne, Minister of Foreign and Internal Trade, has set up high-level Flying Squad to fight sabotage of Government policies, corruption, waste, negligence of duties and misuse of State property in the Corporations and Departments. The first Janata Committees were appointed yesterday by the Acting Minister of Public Administration and Home Affairs, Mr Neale de Alwis. Mr Dhanapala Weerasekera, MP for Dehiowitta, in a press interview, has stated that the current coconut pest — *Promecothecca Cumingii* — which is posing a serious threat to the local coconut industry, was deliberately introduced by certain international business rivals to ruin the industry. State Corporations and Departments engaged in commercial ventures have been directed by the Treasury to revise their pricing policy. The Finance Minister Dr N. M. Perera presented his "On Account" budget today. President Nixon pledged yesterday that the United States would not build protective walls against honest competition from imports. The Prime Ministers of Britain and the Southern Irish Republic yesterday began crucial talks on political moves to stop the guerilla warfare in Northern Ireland. A leading American Scientist yesterday predicted that nuclear-propelled rockets would carry man to Mars and instruments to Jupiter by the end of this century.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8: The Leader of the Opposition, Mr J. R. Jayawardene, speaking on the 'On Account' budget in the House of Representatives, appealed to the Government to restore the democratic rights of the people and in particular those of all MPs who should have the freedom to express their views on the recent insurgency. Three top officials of the Indian Government arrived in Colombo yesterday to discuss Indo-Ceylon economic co-operation. The entire Opposition walked out of the Senate yesterday when the Government refused to take up the Senate Abolition Bill. The Ceylon Medical Association has warned the Health Ministry of an impending shortage of drugs in the country, if a cut in the allocation of drugs is not restored. The pre-school child will become the responsibility of the Ministry of Social Services and not the Ministry of Education. The Ministry of Foreign and Internal Trade announced yesterday that the maximum retail price of

locally produced synthetic textiles is being raised with immediate effect. Several members walked out of the Northern Province CP (Moscow Wing) meeting held at the Party Office at Jaffna as a protest against an announcement that the election of a new District Committee had been postponed. A Singapore housewife has given birth to a son with 15 fingers and 12 toes. East Pakistan's leading newspaper "*Pakistan Observer*" has editorially praised Ceylon Premier, Mrs Bandaranaike, for her initiative to settle the Pakistan crisis.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 9: The new Territorial Engineering Service of the Ministry of Irrigation, Power and Highways, has given over 40,000 casual jobs across the country within two months. The Ceylon Committee for Human Rights in East Pakistan has asked the Ceylon Board of Cricket to cancel the proposed Pakistan Cricket tour of Ceylon. The visiting official Indian delegation held two rounds of preliminary discussions with Government officials yesterday. The Government will impose a ceiling on the extent of land an individual could own. Dr Colvin R. de Silva, Minister of Constitutional Affairs, replying to certain statements made by the leader of the Opposition, said that the former Prime Minister Mr Dudley Senanayake, had failed the country when he did not place before the United Front Government the information that was available about the insurgent movement. Indian Foreign Minister, Mr Swaran Singh, is expected to arrive at the Bandaranaike International Airport today at noon. Ceylon will become a member of the UK-Ceylon-Eire and Continental Shipping Lines Conference by next month. President Anwar Sadat yesterday dissolved Egypt's Parliament and ordered new elections on October, 27. Soviet Prime Minister Alexei Kosygin will visit Canada soon. China is to provide North Korea with free military aid.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 10: Indian Foreign Minister, Sardar Swaran Singh, arrived in Colombo yesterday on a three-day visit rounding off his Asian tour. The Royal Commission that probed certain matters affecting the Associated Newspapers of Ceylon Ltd, and other connected companies has held that the Company and individual Directors have committed a series of acts or omissions which contravene the laws of the country. The Supreme Court yesterday re-affirmed the order of the Election Judge and dismissed with costs the Vadukodai election petition appeal. A massive crackdown has been ordered in order to round up over 3,000 visa-tax defaulters — all of them Indian non-nationals who are engaged in business activities in Ceylon. Public Servants will not be given bank loans for consumption purposes in future. Almost four years after the defacement of the priceless rock paintings at Sigiriya, a 3-man team to probe the incident has been appointed by the Government. The United States yesterday urged a major upward revaluation of the Japanese Yen and other foreign

currencies. UN Secretary-General U Thant yesterday declined to comment on the Soviet Union's call for a world-wide nuclear disarmament conference. President Yahya Khan will pay a short visit to Iran soon.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 11: The India's Foreign Minister, Sardar Swaran Singh, explaining India's policy regarding the Indo-Soviet treaty at yesterday's talks with our Premier, said that India had in no way jettisoned her policy of non-alignment. A team of top-flight engineers are to be flown from the United Arab Republic to help run the Sapugaskanda Oil Refinery, operations of which have been affected as a result of the work stoppage by a section of its employees. A Fruit Board is to be set up shortly by the Government in order to co-ordinate, direct and organize the fruit industry. The Government has taken steps to acquire over 50,000 acres of land in up-country areas for alienation among the landless. The Ministry of Defence and External Affairs has decided to give posthumous promotions to all police personal killed during the April uprising. An agreement has been signed between the Government of Japan and the Ministry of Health for the setting up of a drug quality control laboratory in Ceylon. President Nixon yesterday assured that the 90-day wage and price freeze would not be extended. West German Chancellor Willy Brandt will visit the Soviet Union on September 16. According to Indian External Affairs Secretary T. N. Kaul, India is likely to recognize the Bangla Desh Government very soon probably after Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's tour of US, Britain and other European countries.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 12: Private Medical Practice will be abolished and all doctors will come under a United National Health Scheme. According to a joint communique issued yesterday at the conclusion of talks between the Prime Minister and Indian Foreign Minister Sardar Swaran Singh, Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaike, has accepted an invitation to visit India. A "Republic Coin" is to be released on the day Ceylon is declared a Republic. The Minister of Plantations Dr Colvin R. de Silva has decided to intensify his Ministry's program of bringing the un-irrigable Mannar coastal belt under cashew. The Ministry of Post and Telecommunications is to launch an all out war against wire thieves. Doctors will not be given exit visas to leave the country and accept jobs abroad in future. India has agreed to extend new lines of credit of Rs 60 million. Nikita Khrushchev, the former Prime Minister of Soviet Union, died around mid-day in a Kremlin hospital. Israel said yesterday that its troops had shot down an Egyptian fighter-bomber in the Suez Canal area. More than eight million Egyptians voted yesterday in a referendum on Egypt's new Constitution the country's first 'permanent' one since the 1952 revolution.

CEYLON: MARGINAL NOTES

EMERGENCY, INSURGENCY AND THE ATTYGALLE REPORTS

By
Serendib

WHEN THE ON ACCOUNT budget was presented on September 7 by the Finance Minister to validate payments from October 1 to December 31, 1971, (the Budget to be presented in early November will be for a January to December accounting year), the Opposition took the opportunity to force a debate on the continuing Emergency in the country, declared on March 16 owing to the activities of the insurgents. Incidentally, the *On Account Budget* did not reveal any underlying policy trends — even as a distant herald of the much talked-about “package deal” of the Government which is said to be the motivating factor behind the Budget of the UF government in November.

In fact, neither the Government nor the Opposition paid any special attention to the *On Account Budget*, (it sanctioned an aggregate of Rs 972,160,905 payable out of the Consolidated Fund of Ceylon, and Rs 862,332,820 payable by way of advances). The Opposition, however, took the opportunity of the debate on the *mini-on-account-budget* to discuss the emergency, insurgency and a multitude of other problems (FP members ventilated their grievances on the language question and the “synthetic Tamil minister” who goes to the Tamil areas only with an armed guard of about 200 soldiers).

The Leader of the Opposition, Mr J. R. Jayawardena, in the grand parliamentary manner of which he has become a master, full of wit, irony and sarcasm, deplored the fact that the Emergency was still continuing and stressed that democracy had vanished in Sri Lanka. He regretted that the Government had not taken the House into its confidence. Mr Jayawardena delved into history to stress that even during times of greater emergency, as when Britain was under direct attack during the first stages of the second world war, the British Prime Minister took the House of Commons, including the Opposition, into confidence and set out the real security position as it stood from time to time. If democracy had any meaning at all, Mr Jayawardena felt that the Government should have kept the House informed of all developments. If this had been done, anomalies like the case where five persons with arms and bombs were released whilst 10,000 who were completely innocent were still kept behind bars could not have happened. Either, the Members of the House, he said, should be treated with confidence, or it would be better to abolish the Parliament. MPs should not be treated like ordinary *yes-men*. He pointed that this Parliament and this Government had begun well as a respected body with a great deal of goodwill but all that had ended with the insurgency. In order to bolster the status and importance of MPs, Mr Jayawardena with biting sarcasm suggested increased salaries, more privileges, more motor cars, or even a Cabinet of more Ministers — the USSR had forty ministers, why should Ceylon not have at least thirty? Dr W. Dahanayake wanted a Commission of Inquiry into the Emergency and also wanted the State of Emergency to be lifted — but even before that he wanted the press censorship to be ended.

MR JAYAWARDENA'S SPEECH drew spirited replies from government benches (Parliamentary Secretary Ratnayake — External and Internal Trade — was the first to deal directly with this speech). Ratnayake felt that JR's sacrastic quips about more salaries and better cars was only an attempt to mislead and create confusion and that this did not merit a serious reply from Government. Ratnayake's was a guileless and naive contribution in which he confessed that he was not an economist and had not even read any books on economics. However, he felt that it was his duty to inform the House that the Government intended to release all innocent persons now under custody and also bring down prices and the cost of living. But these were problems he re-iterated which could not be solved overnight. Whilst Mr Jayawardena's and even Mr Premadasa's contributions (and also others like Dr W. Dahanayake's) did not evoke any serious counterblast from the Government, the speech of the former Prime Minister, Mr Dudley Senanayake, virtually stirred a hornet's nest and provoked at least three major battering rams of the Government to be deployed into action.

Mr Dudley Senanayake had started on a low key but he had warmed up to his subject when he declared that it was the United Front government which was responsible for the insurgency and the Che Guevara movement. What Mr Dudley Senanayake stated was that the present government was aware of the existence of the imminent insurgency movement and did nothing to curb it. He briefly covered a great deal of ground from the take-over of the Bogala Mines to the Mahaveli Project and stressed that he was not against the emergency, but was against the abuse of power under Emergency. Persons had been detained for attending a Che Guevara meeting at Hyde Park or having been a member of the Land Army

— but persons with more against them were still scot free. Mr Dudley Senanayake was of the view that the United Front government was itself to blame for the insurgent attack.

THE FIRST REPLY came from the redoubtable orator, Dr Colvin R. de Silva, of the LSSP. What had happened in April, said Dr Silva, was not a joke but a serious civil war, and wars were not conducted by discussion but by fighting. It was a civil war, *not* with the backing of the workers or the peasants, but a civil war led by a small section, without the backing of the people, to overthrow the government. It was a civil war, reiterated Dr Silva, and no leader of any country in the midst of fighting had done what the Prime Minister, Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaike, had done for fairness and justice. This was in answer to the charge that there had been abuse of the powers under the Emergency.

Whilst, Dr Colvin R. de Silva had waxed eloquent in a vehement sort of manner, Mr Deshapriya Senanayake, now Member for Minneriya, went into near-hysterical fury in denouncing the Member for Dedigama, Mr Dudley Senanayake, who in his speech had directed a few well-aimed darts at Mr Deshapriya Senanayake (who had contested him in two former elections at Dedigama and whose brother had stretched him on the last occasion). People living in glass houses should not throw stones warned Mr Deshapriya. Who had killed S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike?, he asked. A criminal in a monk's garb may have fired the fatal shot, but was it not the UNP which had been always behind the trouble? Its present air of innocence convinced nobody. The people were up in arms against the UNP and the reaction it represented.

The UNP came in for attack from many sides, and in summing up, the Leader of the House, Mr

Maithripala Senanayake, speaking on behalf of the Prime Minister, launched an attack on the former Prime Minister, and this has set in motion a chain reaction pushing up a great deal which had been simmering underneath the surface. Mr Maithripala Senanayake's "defence" to the charge laid by Mr Dudley Senanayake that the UF government was "responsible" for the insurgency owing to its "inaction" was that the former Prime Minister had not taken the then Leader of the Opposition, Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaike, into confidence when the Attygalle Reports had been presented to the former Government. Furthermore, said the present Leader of the House, neither the former Prime Minister nor his Permanent Secretary had drawn the attention of the present Prime Minister to the existence of the Attygalle Reports at the time of the change-over or any time thereafter — until several days after the attack on April 5.

MR MAITHRIPALA SENANAYAKE stressed the "riddle of the vanishing (Attygalle) reports". In a memorable speech, which received a good press and favourable comment from political columnists in all three big national daily groups, he accused the UNP and the former Government of having deliberately suppressed the Attygalle Reports. Extracts from his speech relevant to the Attygalle Reports are worth quoting *in extenso*. ".....Mr John Attygalle has sent his first report to the then Permanent Secretary of the Minister of Defence and External Affairs, Mr G. V. P. Samarasinghe, in April, 1968. In that report it is stated that certain persons in this country who have no faith in parliamentary democracy were attempting to overthrow this form of government by terrorism. It also states that persons were being given training in guerrilla warfare. If the former Prime Minister read this report he could not have missed this sentence in the report. In another place in

the report it is stated that a person called Wijeweera was making preparations for a dangerous terrorist movement in 1970. What action did the former Prime Minister take on these reports?"

In the second report submitted in September 1969, the places where clandestine meetings were held were mentioned. Mr John Attygalle's report entitled *The New Left sets out these places* — Colombo, Kegalle, Mount Lavinia, Kandy, Anuradhapura, Galle, Matara, Elpitiya, Karadeniya, Polonnaruwa, Panadura, Ambalantota, Amparai, Udawalawe and Passara. Were not these places where the trouble had reputed later, asked Mr Maithripala Senanayake.

".....Why did not the then Prime Minister take action on these reports? Apart from taking action one could not even trace these reports.....In the Report entitled *The Revolution of the Armed Struggle Groups in Ceylon*, these details are given — the places where these lessons were given, and it also names the points marked down for attacks. It gives the names of the police stations that were to be attacked first.....This report also makes another interesting observation. What is it? It states that there will be no disturbances during the election campaign or on the day of the elections. Then it goes on to state that in the event of a UNP victory terrorist attacks would begin on the same day while in case of a UF victory it would occur after sometime....."

Mr Maithripala Senanayake then referred to the *oath* taken by the revolutionaries as mentioned in the Attygalle reports. ".....There is a very interesting oath mentioned in this report. It shows how these people had prepared themselves for their activities. It is in the report submitted in September, 1969. This is how it goes:

'I, fully convinced of all consequences in the path of the revolutionary activities of this country with my heart and soul take this revolutionary oath to take up any position entrusted to me by the revolutionary organisation and I assure that I shall never shake my position in the cause of the revolutionary struggle even at the risk of my life and family?'

"Even when he read this," asked Mr Maithripala Senanayake, "did it not occur to then Prime Minister that these men were bent on a dangerous undertaking?....." he pointedly asked Mr Dudley Senanayake: "What in God's name did you do when these reports were made?"

READING MORE EXTRACTS from these reports, he showed how accurate some of the predictions from the Attygalle reports had turned out to be. When the former PM stated that the reports had been sent to officials with suitable instructions, Mr Maithripala Senanayake said there was no evidence of any action taken. He then turned to another matter—and told the former PM that these reports had been tucked away or removed, and they had not been made available to the new Government. Dismissing Mr Dudley Senanayake's assertion that the then Permanent Secretary of Defence and External Affairs had told his successor where to find the documents ten months later, Mr Maithripala Senanayake told the House that the outgoing Permanent Secretary had an hour long meeting with the Prime Minister Mrs Bandaranaike before he relinquished office. Why of did not mention the existence of these reports?

Mr Maithripala Senanayake then referred to some of the lesser known aspects of the insurgent attack ".....On the night of April 6th at Temple Trees we continued to receive messages from throughout the island of attacks on this police

station or that. None of us knew what was to follow the next minute... If on April 5th a certain person did not reveal this secret, the members of the Cabinet and perhaps a majority in this House will not be here today....."

Referring to those now in custody he said: ".....The total number of the captured and surrendered was 16,355. Of these 1,651 have already been released. The number of persons detained in the interest of internal security is 148. The number in custody at present is 14,704. Each of these persons will be fully investigated. The question of their future is now being discussed in the Cabinet. The Cabinet has no intention of keeping them in indefinite captivity. In fact the investigations are being rapidly conducted. But there is bound to be some delay in these matters. There was no question of banishing these people from society. That is why there are allowed parental visits. Those who wish to sit for public examinations will be given the necessary facilities including special examination centres....."

Mr Maithripala Senanayake was particular to stress the role of the Prime Minister, Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaike, in dealing with the crisis: ".....this nation should be eternally grateful to the Prime Minister who while safeguarding democratic traditions preserved the country's policy of non-alignment and steered the country victorious through a civil war.....Let the people of this country under her stewardship go from strength to strength towards a socialist society that is the goal of every one of us....."

DR N. M. PERERA, Minister of finance, and leader of the L S S P, who also spoke at the tail end of the parliamentary debate pointed out that some of the Opposition speakers had attempted to show that the insurgents were mainly innocent persons who had been misguided.

Indignantly, he had insisted that it must not be forgotten that these people had tried to overthrow the existing social setup and impose on the country the rule of a small clique. They had not received the support of the workers or the rural population. Some of them were prepared to kill their parents. Such persons will have to be completely reformed before they could be re-admitted to society.

In regard to the Attygalle papers, Dr N. M. Perera confessed that he was impressed by the accuracy of the predictions in those reports, they were some of the best police reports prepared in any country, and challenged the former PM, Mr Dudley Senanayake thus: ".....Al-right, you were not prepared to take the Opposition into your confidence. Did you then show those documents to your Cabinet colleagues?....." This question went answered by the present Leader of the Opposition who was present at the House at that time. He remained silent. But, the ebullient Dr W. Dahanayake, provided the answer. He stated that as a member of the previous Cabinet under Mr Dudley Senanayake, he did not know anything of the Attygalle reports. Dr N. M. Perera also took the opportunity to mention that the previous Government had not even been prepared to disclose in Parliament the negotiations it had with the IMF. Dr Perera stated that he had now told the House frankly what the IMF had wanted — further devaluation of the currency — and that he had in no way given in to the dictates of the IMF.

THIS DEBATE in Parliament had interesting repercussions. The former PM Mr Dudley Senanayake, a few days after Mr Maithripala Senanayake's speech, issued a press statement emphasising that he had not "suppressed" the Attygalle Reports and the Permanent Secretary, Mr G. V. P. Samarasinghe, had taken the necessary action on them.

Mr Samarasinghe also issued a lengthy statement about what he had told the person who had taken over the keys from him when he relinquished office—pointing out that he had mentioned the fact that the special Security Cabinet had important papers on security. Mr Samarasinghe also referred to the conversations he had with the new Permanent Secretary, and the messages he had conveyed to the PM — about two or three weeks after April 5. This statement brought an angry rejoinder from the present Permanent Secretary Mr Arthur Ratnavale, who claimed that when he scrutinised the Security Cabinet ten months later he found no trace of the Attygalle papers. What had happened to these reports asked Ratnavale?

This brought another reply from Samarasinghe in which he asked the new Permanent Secretary what he had done for ten months before looking into the Security Cabinet and also raised a number of other queries. Ratnavale replied hotly and the point he tried to convey was that if the Attygalle papers were in the Cabinet he would have noticed them when he had a cursory examination of the Cabinet no sooner he took over. This battle of statements between two bureaucrats only added to the general disillusionment ordinary people have developed towards top bureaucrats. It was a most unbecoming spectacle to witness two giant-sized bureaucrats indulge in a debate in which little ant-sized officials should have been ashamed to participate.

Although the insurgent attack has been brought under the control, the overhanging shadow of the 14,000 — 16,000 taken into custody casts a gloom over everything in the country. This cannot be easily erased.

About 1,500 of them seemed to have been released, and there seems to be a prevailing opinion in Governmental circles that until the rest of these youth have been "reformed"

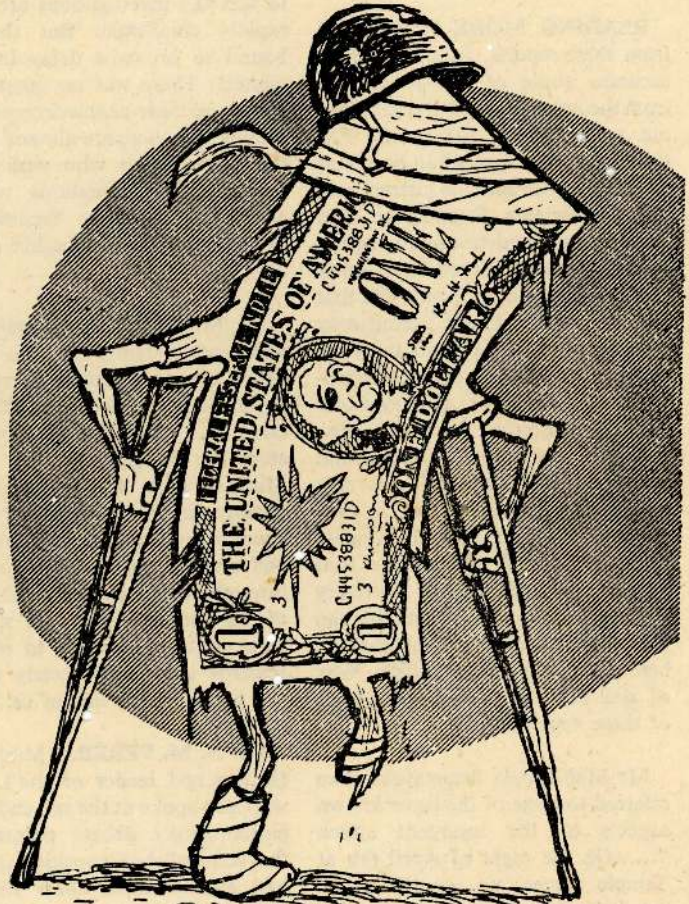
International Affairs

with appropriate "brainwashing", (to eradicate all traces of the "revolutionary ideology" implanted by the organisers of the insurgency), it would be unsafe to let them free back into society. But, whether the process of reform and counter-brainwashing can be done successfully in the present rehabilitation camps and work sites organised by the Government is one of the most problematic questions of the day.

INTENSE DIPLOMATIC
ACTIVITY
POKER—CHESS—PIN-PONG
INDO-SOVIET TREATY

By ARIEL

STARTING FROM JULY, and more particularly in August and September, this year, the international scene has witnessed such intense political and diplomatic (and even economic) activity as has not been known for a long time. In this era of space travel and technological miracles, the world is a shrunken place and every little thing in any place has its repercussions in one or more places in the rest of the world.



U.S. WAR CASUALTY

It is difficult to say where it all began, or when it began, or how it began. The seeds for this period of intense activity had been laid a long time ago, and material factors which affected the situation had begun to mature during the last two or three years. The economic and monetary crisis, which had begun to afflict the capitalist world, the ideological conflicts within the communist camp, the disintegration of the third world of non-alignment and neutralism and above all the cynical disregard of all values sacred to the older generation by the young in every country — have all contributed to the many unexpected and un-anticipated events of the last two months.

On July 9, Kissinger was in Peking; on July 15, President Nixon announced that he would visit Peking shortly. Sometime in June, the USSR and the UAR had signed a Treaty of Friendship (and Defence); and on August 9 India and the USSR also signed a Treaty, similar in many ways but very different in many others. These two Treaties have introduced a new dimension into the geopolitics of the two regions. Then, there came the Big Four Agreement about Berlin — an agreement which had eluded them for 18 years. Chancellor Willy Brandt went to the Soviet Union, and the three top leaders of Soviet Union have visited the Balkans, Western Europe, Canada, North Africa and Asia (Iran, Burma, North Vietnam and India). The British Foreign Secretary has begun to woo Egypt, Mrs Indira Gandhi is to visit the USSR, Canada, the USA, France and other countries. Top level Chinese trade and military delegations have been moving from capital to capital in the Balkans, Western Europe, Africa and Asia. China herself seems to have decided to create a new image about herself. She has begun to adopt a softer diplomatic line even against her old "enemies" like India, Malaysia and other countries in Asia and Latin America which she had labelled as "running dogs of imperialism."

In the meantime, the economic policies of President Nixon centred on the revaluation of the dollar and the protection of US trade has set in motion another kind of upsurge in the economic sphere not known in the world at any time before. All the international organisations which had been carefully set up after the second world war, the IMF, the IBRD, GATT, UNCTAD and the like are in turmoil. Feverish activity has been going on all through August and September to see whether some kind of order could not be brought into current disarray.

All this has created new developments. Old friends have drifted apart and in some cases taken contrary positions. The USA and Japan had been firm allies and partners ever since the end of the second world war. Japan is today one of the world's economic super-powers — though not in the military nuclear sense. But recent American decisions

in regard to policy — Nixon's proposed visit to China, the revaluation of the dollar and the trade import surcharges, amongst others — have set Japan and the USA on a collision course. China is drawing closer to the USA and also to a number of other countries which had been regarded as its traditional and inevitable enemies. Ideological re-alignment within the communist world has assumed new dimensions, but China continues to maintain its tough line against the USSR.

WHAT WILL COME of all this is not clear. It is not even clear what will happen in the UN. Will China be seated in the UN and take its place in the Security Council? And, this can happen only with the expulsion of Taiwan. Will U Than continue as Secretary-General for a short time longer, or will a new person emerge as the top executive of the UN? What changes will the UN undergo with its finances so much in the red?



BALTIMORE SUN

There has been much talk about ping-pong-diplomacy and Peking has certainly done a great deal to make the most of ping-pong. Will Moscow now adopt a chess diplomacy and will the Americans resort to poker games to streamline its diplomatic manipulations. In an article in the *Washington Post*, 14.8.1971, Charles W. Yost, former US Ambassador to the United Nations, suggesting "more and regular summit meetings" on a "poker vs chess vs ping pong" basis, stated that: "it has been suggested that the very different game styles of the Americans and the Russians create gross discrepancies of action and reaction which aggravate the already hazardous competition between them. The very words poker and chess convey the flavour of the difference, the style of each seeming both arcane and sinister to the player of the other. Now the Americans — in a typical display of poker — have chosen further to complicate the competition by precipitating the direct involvement of a third incipient super-power and a third quite different game style — ping pong or mah jong. It remains to be seen whether this gamble — brilliantly executed and plausible though it was — will serve the long range US interest any more effective than did the other recent spectacular American gamble — massive involvement in Vietnam....."

Yost argued that it was essential to bring China into the community of nations and normalise US relations with her. This had been long overdue and if this had been done in 1960's, as Adlai Stevenson had suggested, the course of the Vietnam war would have run very differently. "In any case," stated Yost, "President Nixon deserves credit for bringing upto date, despite his own past association with it, a policy towards China which had become a serious obstacle to the intelligent conduct of our own foreign relations and those of some of our principal allies....."

In his own style and logic Yost pointed out that "one of the chief current complaints of the Russians about the Americans is what they call the 'zigzags' of our policy, what seems to them its unreliability and unpredictability. They exaggerate because they misunderstand and are confused; this is the reaction of the chess player to poker. Similarly we are upset by the seeming dogmatic consistency of their policy — the master plan for checkmate and world domination which we attribute simplistically to them. Actually, if imitation is the sincerest form of flattery, we should be pleased, since the current phase of Soviet foreign and military policy mimics remarkably ours of the past two decades — the IBCM build-up, the ever wider naval deployments, the massive military and economic aid to the Third World countries. One wonders how long it will take the Russians, like ourselves, to learn their lessons the hard way, to be constrained by events into their versions of military 'sufficiency' and the Dixon Doctrine."

YOST IS A LITTLE CAUTIOUS about the entry of China into the international scene under the sponsorship and patronage of the USA. "In any case it is far from clear how and how much of the vertiginous agility, the cool steady pressure, of the ping pong player will further disturb and unbalance the powers already trying to match chess with poker. Certainly, the Chinese, with so much going for them, will not give up a single one of the long range objectives nor, with so many courting them, make things particularly easy for any one of the courtiers. On the other hand they will presumably, for a whole series of pragmatic reasons, curb for a time their national and ideological appetites outside their boundaries — and display their traditional urbanity and patience in the United Nations...."

Yost was unhappy that US-Japanese relations had become strained and wanted the damage to be repaired. He also suggested it would be a "serious mistake" if the deep and dangerous gap in understanding between "players of poker and chess" were allowed to widen. He wanted to US-SOVIET summits to be held at least once a year. This is how he concludes his article — which has already seemed to have had the effect of Nixon announcing a visit to Moscow — ".....now that the die is cast, however, the part of wisdom is probably to multiply and regularise summits over coming years, preceeding next with the Russians and the Japanese. On the other hand, it is imperative to quiet the fears of the rest of the world that their fate will be settled behind their backs by a directorate of super-powers, even a most incongruous one. For this reason summits among super-powers should normally be held within the framework of the United Nations preferably in close association with its Security Council. With Peking in the United Nations this should be easier. The symbolic game there might be volleyball and of course the victor, if there were one, the side that could keep the ball in the air longest."

JUST AS MUCH as the Nixon decision to make up with Peking has created one set of major reactions, the Indo-Soviet Treaty also set in motion another diplomatic tidal wave. It stands out as a major landmark in Asian diplomatic history. D. P. Dhar, India's former Ambassador to Moscow, and presently the policy planning chief in Indira's Foreign Ministry, and regarded as one of the architects of the Treaty stated in reply to critics: ".....all that I wish to add is that the Treaty does not in any way abridge India's sovereign right to take any action in keeping with our national interests on any problem that confronts us....."

Americans were puzzled and bitter that New Delhi had rushed into signing this agreement — puzzled because they did not think that Nixon's acceptance of Chou's invitation and the tight-rope walking done about Bangla Desh (to help Yahya Khan) would stampede India to enter into a twenty-year Treaty with the Soviet Union and bitter that India had slipped out of their orbit. But what surprised Washington even more was that this Treaty was received with acclaim by all parties including the Jana Sangh and the Swatantra (though these two parties have done some back-sliding now), and that redoubtable anti-communists like Sri Rajagopalachari had hailed the Treaty as a sheet anchor of Indian security.

There is no doubt that Washington had been taken aback by the Indo-Soviet Treaty. The *New York Times*, did not make any comment for three days and, on August 12, while editorially admitting that it was only a defence alliance, felt that it was dangerous to the USA, because India encouraged by Russia may get out of hand in its conflict with Pakistan over Bangla Desh. The paper also came to the conclusion that "the Soviet-Indian friendship accord, signed in New Delhi, strengthens Soviet influence in the second most populous nation in Asia — and the world — at the expense of the United States. It could increase the danger of a local war leading to a big power confrontation on the Indian sub-continent. The Soviet Indian accord is clearly intended to discourage any attack on India by Pakistan with Peking's support....."

Most western papers felt that India had drifted away from non-alignment and all efforts by Indian leaders to assert the contrary were ignored by commentators in the USA and the UK. The *Pravda*, however, described this Treaty of peace, friendship and co-operation as a "genuine act of peace", and

went on to state that "its signing advances the Soviet-Indian friendship and co-operation to a high level and conforms to the policy of the active defence of peace and consolidation of international security...The treaty is not directed against any third party and has no aims other than the further development of friendly co-operation between the two states and activation of their joint peace efforts....." The *Pravda* said that the commitment of the two countries to start immediate mutual consultations if one of them was attacked or threatened with attack answered the interests of international peace and the interests of the parties to the Treaty.

The Indo-Soviet Treaty was unexpected, but it has had a tremendous

impact on the world. Just as unexpected was the visit of Queen Juliana of the Netherlands to her former colony (and now an independent Republic), Indonesia. About the same time as the arrival of the Dutch Queen, a top-level team of Soviet experts arrived in Jakarta to study the problems of renewing aid. Ever since the abortive Maoist coup in Indonesia in 1965 and the virtual annihilation of the Communists, the Soviet Union had meaningfully suspended all aid to Indonesia. The USA (and Japan) has entrenched themselves in Indonesia in the years 1965-70, but the Indonesians seem to think it essential to have the Russians around as well.

AN AMERICAN VIEW OF THE INDO-SOVIET TREATY



THE NEW FAKIR

—Washington Star

Revolt in Ceylon '71

May 8 — May 12

SATURDAY, MAY 8:

The 54th day of Emergency. The curfew, lifted at 4.30 a.m., was reimposed at 7.30 p.m. Today was Prophet Mohamed's birthday, and a public holiday.

The official communique stated "intelligence reports indicate that the trek of small insurgent groups from the Central Province into the North Central part of the Island continued". There had been increased attacks on villagers and this had happened in Kekiris Handa in Ambalangoda, and in Kehelella in Divulapitiya. There had been more looting at Nochchiyagama and bombs and explosives had been recovered from Arankele (in Kurunegala district), Beligomuwa (Matale) Bandarawela (Badulla) and Weligama (Matara). There were several skirmishes yesterday where many terrorists were arrested and some killed: at Hikkaduwa (7 arrested) in Pitigala (1 killed), at Uragama (2 killed), at Kegalle (three killed). In a terrorist ambush at Kahatagasdigiliya, one Army officer and four army personnel were injured. Thirteen insurgents including a woman were arrested at Matugama.

The *CDN* published an on-the-spot survey by Manik de Silva and Wally Perera about the situation in the North Central Province. The hard core insurgents had taken refuge, according to the report, in the Ritigala hill range in the NCP. The highest mountain was 2,514 feet high, but due to its abrupt rise on all sides it offered excellent sanctuary to those who knew their way about especially with the multitude of caves in this and other hills in the range. The Army would have to use armour and heavy fire-power to dislodge these terrorists. The *CDN* had similar stories from the Kurunegala and Kegalla areas.

The *Sun* published an on-the-spot survey of the Anuradhapura district by Iqbal Athas. The Army had now complete control of the area he said. Peasants who had fled from their homes due to insurgent activities were now drifting back. The worst was over, according to the G.A., Mr Manamperi, and life was returning to normal thanks to the Armed Services. "It had indeed been a terrible nightmare.....Ripened paddy still stand desolate and unharvested in the fields. Broken down homes and blown-up bridges are other tell-tale evidence of

This *Calendar-Chronicle* is based on factual reports, official communiques 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.

insurgent activity. Acres and acres cultivated with chillies and onions have also suffered through terrorist activity....." The *CO* continued its series of on-the-spot surveys by Kirthie Abeysekera. Today the spotlight was turned on Warakapola, Kegalle-Bulathkohupitiya areas.

Government, according to the *CDN*, estimated the foreign exchange loss due to the disturbances at about Rs 100 million, but private sector estimates placed the loss nearer the Rs 200 million mark. The West German Embassy here issued a communique to state that it was wrong to say that Bonn had backed out of the Consortium Aid Club to assist Ceylon. It would continue its old aid, but any new additional assistance would be only given after examining trends in economic developments here. Tomorrow was Wesak day and it would be celebrated on an austere basis — no pandals, no decorations, no dansalas and the like.

The US Senate Foreign Relations Committee yesterday approved a resolution, over Administration opposition, calling for suspension of all US military aid to Pakistan until the East Pakistan conflict was resolved. US Secretary of State Rogers began a series of discussions with Israeli leaders in Jerusalem yesterday seeking a solution to the Middle East problem.

SUNDAY, MAY 9:

The 55th day of Emergency. The curfew, lifted at 4.30 a.m., was reimposed at 9.00 p.m. Today was a Poya Day and was also Wesak Day, and the curfew had been temporarily relaxed.

The *CO* magazine edition published the full text of the Prime Minister's Wesak Day message broadcast over the CBC last night. She appealed to misguided youth on this Wesak Day to return to the pale of decent society and eschew the violence and murder which not only corrupts our social fabric but also brings no achievement, but death and destruction to themselves. Owing to the actions of the insurgents Wesak could not be celebrated in the traditional manner. The insurgent movement was a breakaway from the 2500 years of the way of life taught by the Buddha.

The curfew was extended for May 9 and 10 until 9 p.m., but after that it would be 7.30 p.m. again. The papers also published the Wesak messages of the Governor General and Mr Maithripala Senanayake and others. The *CO* published a number of reports of what had happened in different parts of the island during the days the terrorists had been in control. The timely action taken by the Police in the days just before April 5 had saved many police stations. In the Kandy district, for instance, among the police stations so saved were Yatiya Hanguranketa, Hasalaka, Hunnasgiriya, Galagedera, Panwila and Talatuoya. The paper also published a story about some of the surrendered insurgents now held at the camp at Vidyodaya University.

The official communique stated that "the government security forces continued their operations against terrorists yesterday and naval detachments cleared a 20-mile stretch of road held by terrorists on the approach to Moneragala. At Dompegahawela the Central School was bombed and the insurgents were driven away..... The terrorists have taken refuge in the jungles.....but small bands were roaming about in the NCP area....." Security forces had confronted such gangs at Medirigiriya and Hingurakoda. A special Emergency regulation was gazetted yesterday empowering the Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Justice to designate any place in Ceylon to be a prison. The Rehabilitation Fund was declared to be a Tax Free Fund.

The battlefields of South Vietnam were reported quiet as the opposing sides began the 20th ceasefire of the decade long conflict. There was alarm in the US financial circles by the West German threat to "float" the mark to enable it to find its exchange level. Over 4½ millions were unemployed in the US, making it about 7% of the working population — a rather high figure because 3 to 4 per cent was regarded as a "safe" figure. US has removed all controls on the dollar in transactions of any kind with China.

MONDAY, MAY 10:

The 56th day of Emergency. The curfew, lifted at 4.30 a.m., was re-imposed at 9 p.m. Today was a Public Holiday being the day following Wesak.

A government communique issued last night stated that Ven Madihe Pannasecha Maha Nayaka Thera delivered yesterday "a sermon on the Compassionate One to nearly four thousand insurgents housed at the Vidyodaya and Vidyalankara Campus rehabilitation centres. After the insurgents had observed the Five Precepts, Ven Maha Nayaka Thera delivered a sermon on Buddhist compassion as opposed to violence. A government spokesman said that the insurgents listened attentively to two sermons delivered at the two rehabilitation centres by the Maha Nayaka who spearheads a campaign to 'win the battle of hearts' of misguided youth."

It was announced that all preventive and security measures had been taken at Kataragama and pilgrims were permitted to visit the place as from today. The police station had been re-established at the Pilgrims' Rest. The insurgents had been at Kataragama from April 5th until May 9th. The *CO* continued its series by Kirthie Abeysekera about the Warakapola area. The Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Justice has been entrusted with the authority under Emergency Regulations to make order for the release of any person held in custody.

Moscow announced yesterday that a flight of eight unmanned Soviet satellites, launched from a single carrier rocket on Friday (May 7) continued whirling round the earth today. America's *Mariner* space probe to Mars ran out of control and plunged into the Atlantic Ocean just after blast off on the night of May 8. West Germany had decided to "float" the mark yesterday after the Ministerial Council of the ECM had failed to reach agreement on May 8. It was announced that Turkey and the People's Republic of China would establish diplomatic relations soon.

TUESDAY, MAY 11:

The 57th Day of Emergency. The curfew, lifted at 4.30 a.m., was reimposed at 7.30 p.m.

The *CDN* reported that "there was an unofficial truce in the government security forces' offensive against insurgent violence. There were no reports of engagements between security forces and insurgents....." The Government clamped down further on the publication of news relating to the present situation in the country. The Competent Authority has informed all newspapers that "all news reports, articles and editorials which have a bearing on the present Emergency" should be referred to him before publication. "This measure is taken in the interests of national security." It was understood that Government wanted emphasis on "reconstruction". The *CO* stated that all on-the-spot news reports submitted to the censor have been stopped.

A team of 200 hand-picked public servants who will conduct investigations in regard to the degree of involvement of individuals who have surrendered were briefed today by Mr Nihal Jayawickreme, Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Justice, and Mr Eleric Abeygoonewardene, former IGP, on how these investigations should be carried out. Mr Maithripala Senanayake presided at the briefing. By gazette notification, the Governor General has suspended the National Council for Higher Education. The powers vested in the NCHE were transferred to the Minister of Education who was also empowered to delegate such powers as he thought fit to any person or body he nominated. The *CDM* reported that the Government would introduce certain urgent educational reforms in the light of the current situation.

According to the *CDN*, "the acute shortage of red and Bombay onions is likely to last only a few days more, sources in the *CWE*, the sole importer of these commodities said yesterday. The scarcity was caused by a sudden change in India's export arrangements the sources said. Onions will be available in plenty next week the *CWE* said." The dislocation had arisen because all Indian exports were solely in the hands of the state-sponsored National Agricultural Federation (*NAFED*).

L. A. C. Kumarasiri Jayasinghe, the bank clerk wanted in connection with the Rs 57,000 robbery from the Bank of Ceylon York Street Branch was arrested by the Chilaw Police in a temple off Bangadeniya. He was clothed as a Buddhist monk and gave his name as Kosgama Vijitha Thera. It is reported that he stated that he had given the money to the insurgent movement. This arrest led to the discovery of guns and ammunition in this and other temples.

European currencies strengthened against the dollar when the foreign exchange markets opened yesterday when many governments effected vital changes in exchange ratios. The West German mark and the Dutch guilder were allowed to float whilst Switzerland and Austria revalued their currencies by 7 and 4 per cent respectively. Sources close to the IMF said that this was the greatest challenge to the world monetary system since the Fund was set up at Bretton Woods in 1944.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 12:

The 58th day of Emergency. The curfew, lifted at 4.30 a.m., was reimposed at 7.30 p.m. The Senate sat today to debate the Throne Speech.

The official communique stated that although the surrender had lapsed, Army and Police posts had been instructed to provide insurgents who give themselves up the same facilities as during the Amnesty. Many

"leaders" had surrendered. There had been surrenders at Kurunegala, Kegalle, Badulla, Matale, Kandy, Galle, Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa. "Several terrorists who had committed suicide had addressed letters to the Government before taking their lives. The letters had named accomplices and given details of insurgent plans. Several of the writers blamed their leaders for having misled them" The Army had engaged terrorists in the Anuradhapura area and had cleared the Ritigala area.

The *CDM's* editorial entitled **MUST THE CONSTITUTION BE RUSHED?** was censored by the Competent Authority. The paper also published a plea by the Citizens Committee to put off the sittings of the Constituent Assembly until the situation returned to normal. Public servants taken into custody under the Emergency were to be dealt with severely. The administration of four districts — Amparai, Kalutara, Moneragala and Badulla — had been restored to civilian authorities from yesterday and the PM had revoked the appointments of the Military Co-Ordinating Officers. The Ministry of Education had decided to collect details of the attendance of all students in Grades 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12 for the first term of 1971 and the third term in 1970. Details of students in Grade 8 were to be collected first.

A mild earth tremor shook Rawalpindi yesterday. Senator Edward Kennedy warned yesterday of a possible "nightmare of death for millions" in East Pakistan unless concerned relief measures were mounted. European money markets were quieter after the recent hectic days stemming from the dollar crisis. The dollar had rallied but was "weak".

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INVESTIGATIONS CONTINUE

By

TRIBUNE'S PRIVATE EYE

THERE WAS A LULL in the news about the investigations about the gem and currency racket for a few days after September 5 — the Sunday on which the news had broken out big in the weekend papers.

But the lull was of short duration. From Wednesday 8th September the daily English papers carried stories which indicated that the Police were conducting their investigations without any interruption and that the investigations showed that the ramifications of the racket were far flung and they were interlinked with global racketeering.

No official pronouncement or statement was made and there was no direct reference to these investigations when the Parliament met on September 7 to discuss the On Account Budget which, in fact turned out to be a discussion on the Emergency. Except for oblique references to these investigations and dark hints about pending investigations, nothing transpired in the proceedings in Parliament to throw additional light on what had been revealed in the press.

In this week's instalment, attention will be drawn to the reports which appeared in the local English press from September 8 to September 12. In these five days there appeared a great deal in the papers and for a few days thereafter there was a short lull — as in the previous week.

The *Ceylon Daily News*, on September 8, startled its readers with a banner headline which read:

AS POLICE PROBE INTO THE CURRENCY RACKET PROCEEDS — FORGED INDIAN NOTES FOUND IN SEA STREETRs 12 MILLION HAUL UNCOVERED. The report which followed stated: "A massive cache of forged Indian currency notes in varying denominations totalling nearly Rs 12 million (Indian) was uncovered by police operatives in a backroom of the Pettah's Sea Street early this week. This is believed to be a major breakthrough in current investigations of the "big currency cum gem racket" now under way here and abroad.

"Police, however, maintained a tight-lipped secrecy. Beyond venturing general comment that the investigation 'was proceeding', the CID refused any comment on this stage of the inquiry. The investigation which began nearly three weeks ago is being carried on by CID operatives in Colombo, London, Singapore and Hong-Kong with the assistance of Interpol and Scotland Yard."

"Several persons including big names in Colombo's sporting and entertainment circles and lawyers have been detained under the Emergency regulations. Several other persons of public prominence have been questioned in this connection."

IT WAS NOT CLEAR whether this forging of currency notes was part of the major racket which had been discovered earlier and which was being investigated at the moment — or, whether it was a subsidiary racket

operated by other adventurers who had hit upon the idea of "exchanging" dud Indian notes for good Ceylon currency from Indians who were being repatriated under the Sirima-Shashtri Pact. Something evidently had gone wrong — even before the business of "exchanging" dud for genuine had got off the ground!

On the same evening, September 8, the *Times of Ceylon* splashed a front page banner headline reading: INDIAN POLICE TO ASSIST CID SEQUEL TO FAKE NOTES FIND The report which followed read as follows: "Special police investigators from India are expected today to assist the Ceylon Police in their investigations of the gem-cum-forged foreign currency racket. The Indian police have taken an interest in the case after the discovery of several million rupees worth of forged Indian notes in the Petah. A team of Interpol Officials is also expected later this week to join in the investigations. CID men who raided a business establishment in the Pettah after a tip-off by one of the persons being questioned by them in regard to the racket found the forged Indian notes neatly bundled and packed in wooden cases."

"The raid was conducted late at night and took the occupants of the business establishment by complete surprise. Already eight persons have been taken into custody in this connexion and inquiries are being conducted simultaneously in Colombo, London, Singapore and Hong-Kong. On September 3, the *Daily Telegraph* published a report from its Geneva correspondent that forged American dollars worth £2 million had been seized by the Swiss police. A Swiss couple were charged with printing the notes in one hundred dollar denominations."

This report did not add much additional light, but the public began to wake up to the fact that a great many things had gone on in

Colombo and elsewhere — for a long time — without anybody being the wiser for it.

The next morning, September 9, the *Daily Mirror* stepped into the picture with a frontpage report under the heading: INDIAN POLICE TO HELP CID. This is what the report stated: "The CID will be assisted by a team of Indian investigators in their inquiry into an alleged gem racket and counterfeiting of currency notes. Earlier this week CID personnel discovered several million rupees of forged Indian currency notes in a business establishment in Pettah. The raid was a sequel to a tip off given by a suspect now being questioned by the CID. The raid took place in the night and the occupants of the house were taken by surprise. Stacks of notes amounting to several million rupees were packed in neat bundles when the police raided the premises.

"The Indian police has shown considerable interest in the case after learning that the racket involved the counterfeiting of Indian currency notes. Interpol officers are also expected to assist the team of Indo-Ceylon investigators over the week end. Meanwhile eight persons are in police custody for alleged participation in the racket. Investigations are being carried out simultaneously in other countries as well as this smuggling and forgeries have been on an international scale. Meanwhile the *Daily Telegraph* of September 3rd carries a report from its Geneva correspondent that a Swiss couple were being charged for printing American currency to the tune of two million dollars."

From Colombo, the story had begun to link up with forged currency note-printing in Geneva and the role of Interpol was stressed more and more.

On the evening of September 9, the investigations appeared to take a dramatic turn when the *Times of Ceylon* proclaimed on its frontpage that: DPL MISSION MAN

QUZZED! NAMED BY SUSPECT IN CURRENCY FRAUD CASE. The report naturally aroused a great deal of interest in political and diplomatic circles in Colombo, and it was not long before most people in cocktail circuits in Colombo knew what it was all about.

The report stated that "An official of a diplomatic mission was questioned by CID investigators who are probing the gem and forged currency racket. The investigators were trying to clarify a statement made by one of the suspects. It is understood that in a statement the suspect had alleged that the diplomatic official had also helped in certain transactions. The CID also questioned a business man and his wife in connexion with certain business deals."

"Meanwhile the investigations of the haul of forged currency notes found in the Pettah continue. It is understood that forged notes were being taken to India by some TRP-holders when they returned to their homeland. "

"Indian police investigators have taken custody of a few of the forged notes and will make a report on them."

THOUGH THIS NEWS had come out in the afternoon paper, it was talked about as much or even more than some of the clues which the *Sun* had revealed in its edition that morning under the banner headline: LOCAL BUSINESSMAN USED BANGKOK HOTEL FOR GEM & CURRENCY RACKET.

The Report was rather long but was full of spice: "The CID operatives who are investigating the forged currency-cum-gem smuggling racket have uncovered evidence which point to the fact that a leading tourist hotel in Bangkok was being used as the headquarters by the racketeers. This hotel it is said, is under the management of a prominent local businessman who has now been found to be connected

with the racket. The carriers of smuggled gems from Ceylon were being treated free board and lodging by the hotel management. According to a conservative estimate by the Police, the forged foreign currency cum-gem smuggling racket runs into over 1,000 million rupees.

"Imported machines to counterfeit foreign currency, particularly Indian rupees and American dollar notes, had been installed in the establishments of some people in the highest echelons of our society, reliable Police sources said yesterday. The Police are now combing the City with a view to apprehending several culprits said to be in the pay of the racketeers. Already jewellers and businessmen believed to have acted as the 'go-between's' and whose establishments have been used as disposal points have been roped in for questioning.

"It is envisaged that the latest detection of forged Indian currency notes has a bearing on the mass exodus of T.R.P. holders, following Government's decision not to renew their visas. Police are now in search of the 'mastermind' behind the operation and more arrests are expected in the next few days."

"It is understood that the tip-off which sparked off the lightning raid into the Pettah backroom which unearthed the 12 million rupee haul of Indian notes was as a result of disillusioned persons spilling the beans after a haggles over the percentage of the profits. Police are inclined to believe that several foreigners residing in posh hotels in the City are the carriers of these counterfeit notes. They also contend that local personnel as well as foreigners in certain airlines are the carriers of smuggled gems.

"A pilot of an airline following a squabble with regard to the ten per cent reward is said to be the person who had tipped off the authorities when a foreigner was about to board an airliner. Under grilling the

foreigner is said to have pointed the finger at the others in the racket."

"It is reliably understood that the printing of counterfeit American dollars, Indian rupees and the transporting of gems is linked to one another by designing persons with a view to conducting anti-national activities. This whole racket that has blown-up like a keg of gun-powder is said to have had its origin many years ago."

This report gave many people much food for thought — especially people who were in the same social circle and coffee-party set as the businessmen and other elite who were involved in the racket — and some of whom had been detained indefinitely under the Emergency Regulations.

The next morning, September 10, the *Sun* once again had a front-page report, a double-column item, under the heading: CURRENCY-CUM-GEM RACKET HONG-KONG SHIPOWNER ALSO IN THE RING. The report was not very exciting but it created serious repercussions in some leading circles: "A leading businessman in Hong-Kong, reputedly the owner of over twelve ships, has been found to be the latest link in the forged currency-cum-gem racket which is being investigated by the CID. A close watch is also being kept on the activities of a millionaire gem merchant in the South who is said to be the owner of two luxury flats, one in Singapore and the other in London. According to CID sources the Hong-Kong shipowner, who is said to have offered the Ceylon Government a ship on the pay-as-you-earn basis is expected to be questioned by Interpol, shortly.

"Police have also established that this man is the sole owner of two twenty storied flats in Hong Kong. The question posed now by the authorities is whether he helped his friends in Ceylon to dispose of the gems and American dollars in that country. Though the main centre

of the racket is believed to be the luxurious hotel in Bangkok, the CID do not rule out the possibility of places such as Madras, Kuala Lumpur and Singapore being stop-over places for the exchange of currency and gems. Already, eight persons have been taken into custody for the alleged counterfeit of Indian currency. Among them are several businessmen who are Temporary Residence Permit-holders."

WHILST THE PUBLIC were seeking answers to the points raised by the *Sun*, in the morning, the *Ceylon Observer* on the evening of September 10, had an exciting headline on its front-page: **THREE MORE TAKEN INTO CUSTODY POLICE TO QUESTION 13 OTHERS.**

The racket in this particular case was a subsidiary off-shoot which concerned ration books. Many suspected that even this racket was in some way tied up with the underworld which was bedrock of the gem and currency racket.

The report was brief but it had meat. It read: "Three more persons have been taken into custody by the police, in connection with an alleged fraud involving over 1,000 rice ration books. Earlier two persons were arrested by the police in this connection. One of the suspects now in custody is a clerk attached to the Food Control Department. Police have also seized 693 rice ration books from the house of one of the suspects now in custody. Police want to question about 13 more persons in connection with the alleged fraud. It is suspected the rice ration books had been issued from nine co-operatives in the city. Police believe that most of these ration books may have been issued to non-nationals and illicit immigrants"

There were no reports about these rackets in the papers on September 11th, but on Sunday September 12, the weekend papers once again covered their front pages with disclosures about these investigations.

The weekend *Ceylon Observer* opened with a headline: **CURRENT INVESTIGATION WIDENS..... MORE QUESTIONED, STAY-PUT ORDERS, TELEXED CODES** The report was more comprehensive than what had appeared in the Lake House papers since these investigations started. It was a revealing report: "During the last week, investigations going on into the multi-million rupee gem and currency operations have unearthed one curious fact: the exchanging of dollars forged or otherwise for nearly 2 million Ceylon rupees. Where the money went, what was done with it—these are the questions now which can affect internal security. Persons questioned last week include businessmen and their wives, doctors, bank and corporation men, contractors and men with connections in air traffic. In the last two categories the CID questioning was directed in an attempt to find out the men who were the forged dollar-carriers. The foreign project contract man mentioned last week is alleged to have been involved in the cashing of cheques for 1 million dollars. The encashment involved several dealers.

"A lawyer detained earlier has been questioned also on several such cheques: one of which is believed to be for about 100,000 Ceylon rupees. This deal also involves foreigners, and a detention order is also understood to be out for a woman, in this connection.

"A Ceylonese in Paris is also believed to have been questioned regarding such transactions. Among the other lines of investigation: whether a local businessman with international connections had any dealings in Paris: whether machinery in Soho and Singapore had been used for the printing of forged currency notes—and the possibility that such a printing machine might have been brought into Ceylon.

"Police are also now investigating the possibility that a private telex located outside the City of Colombo

had been used for transmission of coded messages involving foreign exchange. During the height of the recent insurgency, foreign correspondents had used this telex to file their stories. Copies of these have shown that there were indecipherable texts sent through the same machine. These have been handed over to the CID for investigation."

"Meanwhile, a list of persons who are not to leave the country has also been circulated to the relevant departments. Although the requirement of obtaining an exit visa is now in force, this special list has also been circulated as an additional precaution. The lines of investigation outside Ceylon involve London, Paris, Singapore, Hong-Kong and Bangkok. Persons travelling East are believed to have stayed as guests of others who have known connections with gems. Whether there was anything illegal in these 'transactions' is another line of investigation.

"Police sources have indicated that the questioning of persons should in no way be taken as an immediate reflection on the integrity of such persons. In such a farflung operation, no chances would be taken, and every possible line of contact would be explored. Meanwhile government sources have reiterated that there would be no interference with the investigations".

But the *Weekend* of September 12 went to town with a big bang under hyperbolic headings: SHOCKING DISCLOSURES ABOUT ASIA'S BIGGEST FRAUD TOP POLITICO ALSO IN THE BIG-TIME MULTI-RACKET The report was long and somewhat repetitive, but meaty: "Is a top politico involved in the multi-faceted racket which is now subject to a searching probe by the CID, Interpol, Scotland Yard and other foreign organisations? This is the multi-million dollar question posed by investigating officers who have unearthed startling information in their quest to discover the master-

minds behind the entire operation — considered Asia's largest — involving gem smuggling forged currency, international espionage and narcotics.

"The rumours circulating that the foreigner, apprehended by the Customs whilst in the act of boarding an aircraft, was and Interpol agent have been discounted by the investigators. It is believed to be a deliberate attempt to frustrate investigations with this 'red herring' thrown across the trail. Police have also not ruled out the possibility that interested parties have used this 'red herring' to circumvent investigations that would have inevitably led to their complicity in this racket.

"This is the sequel to inquiries conducted into the currency-cum-gem smuggling racket, the conservative estimate of which runs into over 1,000 million rupees. Eight persons are presently in custody and police are questioning several people believed to have been involved in the racket.

"It is reliably understood that Interpol agents have already questioned the manager of an airline office and his assistant in Madras. Though the CID is of the opinion that the shady activities have been centred in a certain tourist hotel in Bangkok they have not discounted the theory that places such as Singapore, Kuala Lumpur and Hong Kong have been used as dispersal points for the gems and forged currency.

"A high official of an airline related to a leading financier and who was seen in the company of the influential politico mentioned earlier is now being grilled by the CID operatives. Singapore authorities have remarked that conduct of certain airline officials have been noticed in the frequent company of well-known smugglers.

"The CID are of the opinion that the foreigner who had virtually been the carrier of counterfeit notes and gems had staged a double cross. They

believe, too, that the foreigner was in the act of leaving our shores with a "stake" when his 'double-cross' came to light, hence the tip-off which resulted in the lid being blown off the entire racket.

"The latest 'twist' in the investigations that are shrouded in a cloak of secrecy is that Singapore has been used as the base for the printing of counterfeit American dollars. It has been ascertained, however, that illicit gems and Indian currency have had its origin in Ceylon.

"Interpol agents combing the Sub-Continent and exotic cities in the East have unravelled a mystery that perplexed authorities in many countries in the past few years. In their net are also ship owners and leading businessmen who have been found to be involved in the swindle.

"A small time local politico who has been under the surveillance of the Customs and the CID for quite some time is reputedly the 'contact' man for the big-time racketeers. A close watch is also being kept as an affluent local gem merchant who is said to maintain luxurious flats, in Singapore and in London, exclusively for the use of smugglers who carry his gems abroad. The CID are also investigating a theory that some of the carriers of gems were treated to orgies and free liquor, whenever they completed an assignment."

In the same issue of *Weekend* there was another box item of interest under the heading INTERPOL MEN, FORGED NOTES AND MACHINES and took the story back to Switzerland and Europe, and other capitals where the underworld had roots in a bigtime way. "Recent detections of forged currency notes printed in Singapore involving prominent Ceylon citizens was revealed to be part of a international counterfeit racket and inter-pol, Scotland Yard and FBI are presently carrying out investigations in Colombo, Singapore, Hong-Kong, London and Geneva."

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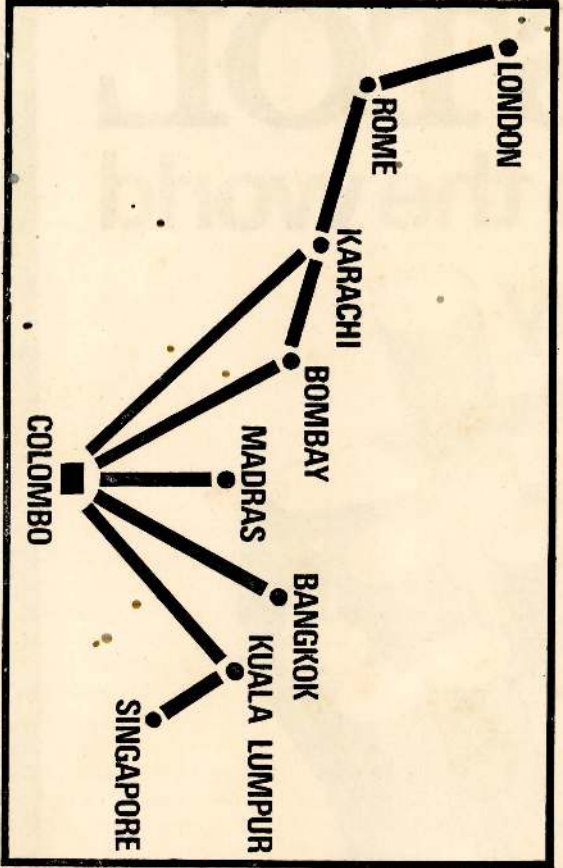
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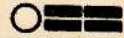
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