

LANKA

GUARDIAN

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**AFTER
DELHI**

**Mrs. B
the
Missing
Card ?**

**WHAT
NEXT ?**

— *Mervyn de Silva*

**RIISING STAR DINESH — between Leftism and
Chauvinism**

FIDEL — The Truth about Grenada

TOM WICKER — Nicaragua Next Stop ?

**MEDIA — Third World's Communication Needs — Bella Mody
— Grenada and News Manipulation**

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ISLAMIC REVIVALISM ?

It was this journal which first spotted the emergence of what it termed two years ago "the New Dutugemunuism" in an item that appeared in this column. Reference was made to Elle Gunawansa Thero and the spread of militant Sinhala-Buddhist Thought outside the framework of orthodox politics.

The ethnic issue has now made each community think in terms of its own interests, particularly jobs and university places. The 'open economy' which abolished the quota system of a State-supervised national economy has now opened the door to Bhumi-putran demands.

Although President Jayewardena himself has rejected 'the Malaysian model' (L.G. Nov. 15) some Sinhala organisations are insisting on quotas.

Now a Moslem group, whose representative character and power-base are difficult to assess, has put out a demand for 8% of all state sector jobs and places in the main university campuses.

What of a Muslim political party? The Moslem weekly AL VATAN rejects the idea firmly though it concedes that "the voices clamouring for such a formation" has reached "a crescendo of deafening proportions". Says AL VATAN contemptuously: "Noises inside the ear do not mean ideas inside the head..... these are voices of desperation"

DEFENCE DOUBLED

The ISLAND was obviously in a mischievous mood when it juxtaposed a picture of Lt. General Walters and an accompanying report headlined "Reagan's envoy, President Hold Talks on Mutual Interests" with its front page

lead story headlined "DEFENCE VOTE DOUBLED OVER LAST YEAR".

One of Sri Lanka's well justified claims for aid and international understanding has been its refusal to follow the Third World practice of fat defence budgets. Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake had a standard riposte to the more sternly critical World Bank pundits who reserved a glacial stare for our food, health and education subsidies. It was much wiser, he argued correctly, to keep a people above the starvation line than purchase arms to frighten or crush a discontented population.

In 1982 the defence vote was Rs. 1.1 billion. In 1984 we shall spend Rs. 2.3 billion. Despite this doubling, though, the cost of defence is comparatively low — about 4% of total expenditure.

ANTI-TAX

The Unions are flexing their muscles. The immediate issue is the rehabilitation tax which was introduced by the Finance Minister in the budget he presented on Nov. 9. The tax amounts to 1% from all wage earners and 10% of earnings from tax payers.

At a first glance, it did look as if the pressure was coming from the CWC which has been attending many of the meetings in Colombo, except the consultations sponsored by the GCSU. The CWC view is: "Why should we pay when our members were the victims?"

But the anti-tax move is also strongly supported by many of the major TU's affiliated to the SLFP, LSSP, CP and other smaller organisations.

**TRENDS
+
LETTERS**

Excellent Report

Thank you very much for making available the excellent report prepared by the Committee for Rational Development, on the myths and realities of the ethnic problem.

It is one of the best and most useful contributions that we have seen in years to clearing the air with regard to the false perceptions that fuel communal conflict in our country.

We hope that it will be available in both Sinhala and Tamil and as widely distributed as possible. Please inform us if a Sinhala version is available.

(Continued on page 2)

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Letters. . .

(Continued from page 1)

Would you consider reproducing pages 7 to 16 of the GUARDIAN as pull-out?

The only revision that we thought might be worth mentioning is in regard to the section on **Central Government Capital Expenditure** — perhaps this would benefit by some comparative figures for other districts (both on a district and a district/per capita basis).

**Manel Fonseka and
Senake Bandaranayake**

Dehiwela

Fresh Air

Congratulations Sir! When the state-controlled media churns out garbled versions, half truths and lies, your article "Sri Lanka's ethnic problems — myths and realities" is a fresh cool air in an unfriendly humid climate.

Wishing you strength.

E. S. Mahendrarajah

Matale

Bishop Lakshman

It is very thoughtful of you to have dedicated the last issue of the Lanka Guardian to the memory of Bishop Lakshman Wickremesinghe who had a genuine feeling for three elemental qualities — truth, beauty and justice in a world which has become hardened to the spectacle of inhumanity. His death at this juncture is a pole-axe blow for the many wide visioned causes he espoused and symbolised in his long career. He was a human, gentle, warm and compassionate being and will be remembered as one who always strived to live up to his ideals and his sense of duty.

I came to know him while he was at Keble, Oxford and was present at his ordination at Poplar in the East End of London along with his mother and aunt. As a postgraduate student, he had the priceless notion that education never stops and that knowledge is power. But knowledge without character

and wisdom is nothing and these he had in rich measure. He hated verbosity and though he rejoiced in political science he hated the wordiness of the political craft. He had the rare gift of using strong political language without ever making a personal enemy or becoming a "controversial dean". He never opened his mouth without having something to say as is evident from the valedictory address on ethnic conflict which is a masterpiece in clearheaded thinking pinpointing his independence, his sincerity, his impartiality and his sense of responsibility. It displayed a heightened awareness combined with an inner quiet and a degree of humility which helps you to see things in the correct perspective.

He is gone when we need him most. The outpouring of grief was not just in Colombo or Kurunegala. It was everywhere. For when he died, people young and old cried in Jaffna, people who never knew or saw him. Remembering the diversity of his interests, one grieves with the CRM that some part of the world which we valued most is irretrievably gone and pose the question that was at the tip of the tongue of the Harvard-educated poet E. E. Cummings — 'Mr. Death, how do you like your blue-eyed boy'?

S. K. Ratnasamy

Point Pedro

Foreign Policy

I was intrigued by H.N. Ahanagama's reference to Lord Palmerston's remark that Britain has no permanent friends, only permanent interests. This is old hat. In recent times, Dag Hammerskjold enunciated a doctrine on the relationship of national to international interests. It originated from an aide-memoire written in 1907 by Sir Eyre Crowe of the British Foreign Office on the need to adjust Britain's overseas representational effort to changing national and international requirements. Crowe outlined that Britain's best safe-

guard for the future would be a national policy that is so directed as to harmonise with the general desire and ideals common to all mankind and more particularly that is closely identified with the primary and vital interests of a majority, or as many as possible of the other nations.

Ambassadors have no battle-ships — their weapons are words and opportunities. In important transactions, opportunities are fleeting. Once they are missed they cannot be recovered. An Ambassador must have knowledge tact and patience as well as firmness. He represents something more than a state, he represents a way of life, while it is true that an Ambassador has to promote good will and strengthen the bonds between his own country and the country of accreditation it does not follow either that he should seek to ingratiate himself with the host govt and its people.

The Foreign Office should take steps to ensure that an Ambassador is not allowed to remain in an overseas post for more than five years. He gets corroded and will soon become an irrelevance in the host country. This dilemma was summed up neatly by Mrs. Viyayalakshmi Pandit in a valedictory speech in London when she ceased to be accredited to the Court of St. James.

"There comes a time in one's life when one is interpreting the country to which one is accredited with greater ability than one's needs, aims and aspirations and I am afraid I have just reached the borderline. If I were to stay on here in an official capacity for very much longer I would be your Ambassador instead of being the Indian Ambassador — so I hasten home before any tragedy befalls my reputation".

Finally, a word about career diplomats — their first loyalty is to the Foreign Office. Whereas the political appointee owes his primary loyalty to the party.

Varuna Mendis

Dehiwala

J. R., INDIRA — a new diplomatic 'space'

Mervyn de Silva

NEWS
BACKGROUND

The conflicting despatches sent by the Sri Lanka contingent of correspondents in Delhi have not presented too clear a picture of multi-lateral discussions in the Indian capital on the island's national question nor of their precise outcome. The two most favoured expressions in these daily reports — "deadlock" and "breakthrough" — reflect this lack of clarity in the sharpest form.

The reporters, burdened by old, familiar constraints and confined by new difficulties, are not to be blamed. The exercise involves several parties, and reports based on disclosures made by this or that individual or group spokesman are likely to be "coloured" by the sectarian interests of the source. Secondly, the Delhi operation has a hard core of "secret diplomacy". Nobody for instance has 'penetrated' the private half-hour session between President Jayewardene and Premier Indira Gandhi. Thirdly, our journalists operating in alien terrain appear to have relied greatly on Indian commentaries which doubtless are equally 'coloured' by source or by editorial policy.

Over and above all this is the central figure of President Jayewardene in an extraordinary dramatic situation. Delhi is the stage, by no means 'neutral' ground. The audience and the critics whose opinion matters most to him are across the Palk Straits in Sri Lanka; that is, the Sinhala constituency. Consequently, his words, tone and gestures are carefully measured in terms of the right audience impact. And these in turn become 'signals' to the immediate audience in Delhi — reporters, politicians, diplomatic observers. The main actor may be able to change the script a bit, *ad lib* sometimes, and even direct the play up to a point but his obsessive concern is always to make absolutely certain that such 'signals' are not mis-read at home.

The strains of this dramatic / diplomatic performance would have been all the more exacting in view of the Tamil forces mobilised on the other side. Delhi witnessed the maximum mobilisation of Tamil interest-cum-pressure groups from Tamilnadu MP's courting arrest to a phalanx of opposition politicians and opinion-makers. TAMILNADU HOUSE the official Delhi residence of Lower and Upper House members from Madras, was the visible symbol of such mobilisation. It became a meeting place, a clearing house and an operational base, for TULF and pro-Eelam activists.

Substantive issues apart, the Delhi discussions established certain other points which I think deserve special attention, as the scene shifts once more to Colombo.

(1) Delhi has a definite diplomatic role and what took place in the Indian capital is tacit acknowledgement of this fact. However, it is in the mutual interest of Colombo and Delhi — Colombo more than Delhi — that this point is under-stated. If mis-read, it could be denounced as too large a diplomatic concession to India. And jingoists would seize it as ready-made propagandist material to argue that the exercise constitutes an abridgement of Sri Lankan sovereignty and a contradiction of our basic position that this is strictly an internal affair.

The practical outcome is a compromise, not always clear, between conflicting considerations — the principles of national sovereignty and international law, and the politics of Sri Lankan self-respect and Sinhala susceptibilities on the one hand, and on the other dictates of geo-political realities plus the perceived self-interests of a Colombo regime in the grip of a crisis which cannot obviously be contained physically within our borders. The compromise in-

corporates some seemingly paradoxical elements. If Delhi is conceded a role, it is not out of any pressing desire to do so. It is in order to contain Madras, the main pressure-point.

Alive to these prickly sensitivities what President J.R. and Premier Gandhi have in effect done is to open some political "space", a grey area, so to say, of Indo-Sri Lankan relations and diplomatic effort, which at the moment eludes strict demarcation. But both understand the nature of the exercise, and are trying to assist each other, appreciative of the constraints and countervailing pressures which neither can afford to disregard.

So language, as usual, has become the tool of diplomacy. Mr. Jayewardena speaks of India's "good offices" and of a "limited" role, while of course re-stating the principle of non-interference in internal matters. Mrs. Gandhi also speaks of "good offices", stresses the principle of "internal affairs" but takes care to express India's "great concern" over Sri Lankan developments. Whether J. R. and Indira, Colombo and Delhi can defend the ill-defined boundaries of this "grey area" under the continuous pressure of highly charged, inter-acting Sinhala/Tamilnadu politics is an open question. President J. R., it is patently clear, bears the bigger burden.

(2) The tough line of the TULF (it speaks not only of the "security of the Tamil speaking people and their property", which is perfectly understandable but also of the "territorial integrity of the Tamil areas") cannot conceal the party's rising desperation. Indeed what the toughness reveals is the TULF's 'time-is-running-out', cul-de-sac psychology. It simply must have a deal that sticks,

(Continued on page 5)

Dinesh and new Opposition formations

The many strong and strident voices of criticism heard in the budget debate reminds us that the economic crisis draws the parameters of Sri Lankan politics today. Equally, this politics is dominated by what used to be called the minority problem, but is now more accurately defined as 'the national question'.

The nature of the global crisis and its devastating impact on our own economic discontents formed the framework of Finance Minister de Mel's budget speech, which was unusually forthright. Opposition critics from radical Left (Sarath and Dinesh) to moderate Centre (Maitripala and Lakshman) were able to demonstrate however that our current difficulties could also be traced to the IMF-IBRD sponsored economic strategy and its consequences for the deprived and increasingly impoverished majority.

While the economics can still sustain old established categories and ideological labels (Right, Left and Centre) the politics, overshadowed by an ethnic issue, tends to blur the long accepted distinctions. Young, dynamic Dinesh Gunawardena symbolises the state of confusion and dramatises the new problem of differentiation. He is Left-oriented and yet vigorously pro-Sinhala-Buddhist. He is an uncompromising left-inclined critic of UNP economic policy and yet seems to speak with the same voice as the UNP's hardliners on the ethnic question. One way of trying to resolve this paradox is to identify two "faces" of the Sinhala-Buddhist movement — the populist, left-oriented and the chauvinist, hard Right.

Dinesh, the son of the 'Father of the Revolution' and the political patron of the Bauddha Jatika Bala-

vegaya, illustrates the complex conflicts of the day as well as the medley of social-political pressures that appear to be making way for a 'Third Force' (from Ilangaratne and the Kumaratunges to the C.P. and LSSP) and the dilemmas which confront such a new formation.

Meanwhile, analysts in the anti-UNP, camp see three 'lines' identified broadly with three categories of political thinking:

(a) The UNP, from JR at the apex down to the lowliest union goon, is the main (monolithic) enemy against whom all patriotic progressive forces should unite. There is a difference on issues and tactics. Should the ethnic issue be subsumed in the anti-UNP or given priority?

(Continued on page 17)

Agreed approach yet to emerge in talks with T.U.L.F.

G. K. Reddy

NEW DELHI

The talks with the TULF leaders on the Sri Lanka President Mr. J. R. Jayewardene's latest proposals for a settlement will be continued during the week-end, since the three rounds of discussions that have already taken place with them have not yet led to the crystallisation of an agreed approach for a reasonable settlement of the ethnic problem to the satisfaction of the Tamil people in the island.

The Prime Minister's special emissary, Mr. G. Parthasarathy, is however striving hard to establish a mutually acceptable basis for carrying forward this dialogue to the stage of substantive discussions, before Mr. Jayewardene arrives in Delhi on Monday for talks with Mrs. Indira Gandhi on this problem on the eve of the Commonwealth conference.

The TULF leaders, led by Mr. M. Sivasithamparam and Mr. A. Amirthalingam, have been debating

the pros and cons of these proposals after each round of talks with Mr. Parthasarathy, in the light of the clarifications given by him. The President of the Ceylon Workers Congress, Mr. S. Thondaman, who represents the so-called Indian Tamils has been participating in the talks with Mr. Parthasarathy, but not taking part in the TULF confabulations.

The Sri Lanka Government claims that the latest proposals of Mr. Jayewardene are a marked improvement on the Dudley Senanayake-Chelvanayakam agreement of 1965 under which the district development councils were set up to give the Tamil people some semblance of local authority in limited spheres. But the problem is that with the sharpening of ethnic tensions the deep-rooted fears of the Tamil minority, which has suffered so grievously in recurring riots cannot be dispelled with some cosmetic changes without substantial con-

cessions even within the framework of the present political system.

Mr. Jayewardene's proposals for devolution of power, it is said, do not confer on the regional councils any local autonomy more than control over primary and secondary education, agriculture, cooperatives, internal trade and such other issues. The councils will have powers to regulate resettlement in areas covered by local irrigation schemes, but the Central Government will continue to exercise overall authority for settling people of different ethnic origins on a proportionate basis with the plea that it has the responsibility to ensure an even distribution of benefits to all communities in the northern districts under the Mahaweli project and in the south by the Lunugam Vehera project.

The police, like the Army, Navy and Air Force, will remain under

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DE-STABILISING INDIRA

U.D.I. In partitioned Cyprus, the US-led invasion of Grenada another small Commonwealth country, the frustrating stalemate in Namibia and continuing South African intransigence and aggression (Will South Africa produce its own Grenada?) and of course the mounting economic problems of the Third World, highlighted by President J.R., dominated the recent Delhi conference. But diplomats and journalists, including a sizeable Sri Lanka contingent, found that conversation at the Vigyan Bhavan complex, outside the conference chamber itself, were overshadowed by another issue — the troubled situation in India itself, and the obvious signs of increasing tension between India and Pakistan.

This trend was set in motion by no less a person than Mrs. Gandhi herself. Although there had been charges, denials, and mutual accusations between India and Pakistan in the last several weeks, the Indian premier put the question in a new perspective when she addressed the Lok Sabha a few days before the Delhi conference opened. Mrs. Gandhi said there was "circumstantial evidence" (if not solid facts) to show "that foreign forces are involved in efforts to create chaos and disunity in India". (HINDU lead story).

The HINDU's special correspondent and other Indian commentators then noted that Mrs. Gandhi appeared to view the situation from a broader angle. "She wanted the problem to be viewed in totality, especially after the 'happenings in Cyprus and in Grenada earlier—and not in isolation'"

What did not become immediately clear to correspondents was the significance of this connection in the light of the fact that India was host to two important conferences this year—the Nonaligned summit, and the Commonwealth.

The day after the Delhi declaration Washington reacted in the strongest language, denouncing it was totally one-sided and anti-US. State Dept. officials were already counting the number of times the US was "named" and isolated for criticism and censure.

In the months after March., the US and its allies, the western media and the pro-US members of the NAM launched a concerted attack on the "Delhi Declaration" in general and Mrs. Gandhi in particular. The line of attack became evident as the campaign got into high gear (a) Mrs. Gandhi was primarily responsible for the "imbalance" in the document and (b) she had deviated from NAM principles and was in fact violating the principles of "genuine nonalignment". Into the campaign was drawn pro-US NAM members, co-opted 'moderates' and Third World media.

This anti-Gandhi campaign achieved the character of a planned diplomatic offensive, according to
(Continued on page 24)

J. R., INDIRA...

(Continued from page 3)

not just paper promises, and it must have a deal of substance, a package of tangible concessions. Any other negotiated bargain will be near-suicidal.

At just below summit level, Mr. Parthasarathy is the top negotiator but his position like that of Mr. H. W. Jayewardena and Foreign Minister Hameed combined, is official. A key figure whose role has another political dimension is Mr. Thondaman. Vis-a-vis the TULF he may be weaker with the intensely emotional Tamilnadu constituency but his hand in Delhi is much stronger. And his contact with President J. R. gives him the unusually varied role of a party-to-the-dispute (CWC and Indian Tamil interests) plus mediator. He has maximised his

different strengths as Minister, CWC boss, intimate associate of M.G.R., the Madras Chief Minister, and a long-standing confidante of Delhi.

The main issue as I see it is the geographical limits of an autonomous region (or regional autonomy, a measure of autonomy etc) and the powers vested in such a new structure.

On the geography, any amalgamation of North and East, in any form is clearly non-negotiable and I can't see any change of that position under any Colombo administration.

As for powers (in effect, the substance of devolution) the sticking points seem to be the alienation of land and colonist-settlers (the TULF's fear of a re-animated Senanayakist policy of altering the demographic composition of delicately balanced areas) and the degree of supervisory control or authority over the security forces within these regions — unarmed police or home guards or whatever.

Once agreement is reached on these substantive issues, the next problem is popular endorsement and its modalities — all-party conference, referendum (national or local) and ratification by party conventions etc.

Time is running out, but not only for the TULF. At three points in his budget speech, Mr. de Mel paused to emphasise the economics of the ethnic issue. Nobody is better equipped to speak on that subject and the financial prospects of a heavily aid-dependant government. He spelt out the grim message in the only way that the UNP's upper echelons and Sri Kotha's supportive coteries and business lobbies can understand. Any more violent outburst, any more signs of political instability, he warned, and Sri Lanka can say farewell to the 'open economy' — meaning goodbye to the gravy train and all the goodies which the contractors and the commission agents, the 'tender-trade' and the new Credit-Card cohorts, the high-spending Supermarket consumers and the globe-trotting families hold so dear.

The buck, the big bucks and the buckshee stop right there.

Parthasarathy tries to break deadlock

Gamini Weerakoon

While the special envoy of the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. G. Parthasarathy, continues to hold talks with TULF leaders in New Delhi, diplomatic observers here do not expect any immediate dramatic breakthrough.

A senior diplomat in New Delhi said that the discussions were still at the stage of 'attempting to break the deadlock.' Statements by leading South Indian politicians and TULF politicians appear to have complicated the Parthasarathy-TULF talks. Diplomatic sources say that an essential requirement to contain the Sri Lanka ethnic problem is to quieten the war drums that are being beaten vigorously in South India by some leading politicians there and also unguarded statements by TULF leaders. The Madras Hindu recently reported that Tamil Nadu Chief Minister M. G. Ramachandran had said that his party was committed to support the Tigers now seeking refuge in South India.

Mr. Parthasarathy is holding the talks at his New Delhi residence with the TULF leaders and Ceylon Workers Congress leader and Minister of Rural Industrial Development Mr. S. Thondaman. According to informed sources, Mr. Thondaman who arrived in New Delhi last week for the talks is playing a major role in narrowing down differences. TULF participants do not number more than four. The main participants are Mr. A. Amirthalingam, Mr. Sivasithamparan, Mr. Sambandan and Mr. Tiruchelvam. Other TULF leaders like Mr. V. N. Navaratnam and Mr. Yogeswaran, the ex-MP of Jaffna, are staying at Tamil Nadu house in New Delhi and are in consultation with Mr. Amirthalingam and others.

Informed sources also said that some leaders of Sri Lanka's Tamil terrorist groups are in New Delhi and their views are also being sought out. Other sources however denied presence of northern terrorists here and said that only TULF youth leaders like Casinathan and Eelaventhan were in New Delhi and that they were being kept informed of the progress of the talks.

According to diplomatic sources here, officials in New Delhi were by and large sympathetic towards Sri Lanka but pointed out the tremendous pressure being exerted in New Delhi by Tamil Nadu politicians. Political analysts here point out that with the Indian General Elections in the offing next year, Mrs. Indira Gandhi is very interested in the politics of the South. 'It is not that she can lose — there being no political party in sight that could defeat her party — but what she wants is not a simple majority but an absolute majority' a political analyst here said.

President J. R. Jayewardene is scheduled to arrive in New Delhi on Monday and Mr. Parthasarathy is expected to brief him on the outcome of the talks with TULF leaders. The Indian concern about Sri Lanka's ethnic conflict is not merely the racial problem but there are also the geopolitical considerations. India's investigative journal 'Probe India' in its latest issue carries a geo-political analysis under the heading 'Weinberger stopovers at Beijing, Colombo and Islamabad spell danger to India'. Former Indian diplomat S. N. Chopra in this analysis in 'Probe India' says: 'As rivalry escalates between super powers India, a country of strategic importance to both USA

and the Soviet Union finds itself enmeshed in the web of strategies arms deployment and cold war rhetoric. The long journey of Caspar Weinberger, US Defence Secretary from Washington, with stopovers at Beijing, Colombo and Islamabad bodes ill for India.'

The former Indian diplomat says that Weinberger's visit to Colombo has a political if not as yet a military significance 'which India can ignore only at its peril.'

Meanwhile India is laying out the red carpet for visiting heads of the Commonwealth for the Commonwealth Conference that is being held in New Delhi this week. This is third biggest extravaganza staged in India in recent times. The earlier events were the Asian Games and the Seventh Non-Aligned Summit Conference.

The Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh are now on a state visit here. While New Delhi is spruced up for the occasion, Goa, the former Portuguese colony is reported to be 'under the siege of bulldozers.' The Commonwealth Heads will be spending their weekend in Goa and according to the Indian Express the Indian Government is spending Rs. 200 million for the weekend.

— Island
21. 11. 83

C. R. D. REPLIES TO BOYD ALMEIDA

Trincomalee as a Predominant Tamil Area

WITH REGARD to Mr. Boyd Almeida's assertion that we have classified Trincomalee as a "predominantly Tamil area", we must point out that our document states that Zone III, a Central Bank classification including Jaffna, Mannar, Vavuniya, Trincomalee and Batticaloa District is "predominantly Tamil", a fact proved by Appendix "A Statistics on Ethnic Breakdown" in the North and East.

However, his question does raise a more important and fundamental issue — what is the unit that must be looked at by commentators in determining what is "predominant" and what is "majority"? For eg. we, as Sri Lankans always stress the fact that Sri Lanka is 74% Sinhalese 18% Tamil and 7.4% Muslim. However if one focuses on "provincial reality" instead of "national reality", the Tamils are 92% of the Northern province and 68% of the Eastern Province. If we look further into "district reality" the figures quoted by the writer for Trincomalee are of course relevant. This only goes to underscore our point that an enlightened government must cope with the many and possibly conflicting realities which constitute contemporary Sri Lanka. One must also remember that these figures have changed over time in the recent past. Trincomalee is a case in point.

Prestigious Courses

The Committee does not deny the fact that Engineering and Medicine are "prestigious courses" and an important aspect of our social reality. We quote our document.

"They are the faculties which matter most to elite groups com-

peting in the fields which are most privileged in respect of status and material rewards. But while this is certainly an important part of the social reality, we must also remember what a small part of the nation is engaged in this race".

The Committee accepts the fact that admission into the University is one of the crucial factors with regard to inter-ethnic controversy. This is partly due to the fact that in popular belief Tamil participation in these fields is considered to be around 50%. The admission figures from 1974 show that this belief is generally unfounded. Yet, the Committee does accept that without standardisation and/or district quotas, Tamil participation in these faculties will at present be in excess of their proportion in the population. However, the "Solution" of imposing ethnic quotas is no solution at all as it only serves to accentuate the cleavages which presently divide the two communities and **hides** the real problems of poverty, underprivilege and the increasing disparity between rich and poor. The real solution should focus on the improving standards of underprivileged schools, and reducing the rural-urban disparities.

Cheating

The Committee for Rational Development does not seek to assert that individual lecturers of either Community have not cheated to favour family friends or ethnic Community. Wherever this occurs and for whatever reason, we condemn it without reservation.

However the allegation which is often made seeks to impute that there is an ethno-centric conspiracy

among Tamil lecturers to organise and manipulate marks on a large scale. The Keuneman Report appears to state that such large scale manipulation is not possible. Such serious allegations which impute the integrity of a whole community should not be given credence without a full, fair and independent inquiry.

IATR Conference

We accept Mr. Almeida's criticism with regard to the inadequacy of our statement on the violence surrounding the IATR Conference. Yet, we must highlight the difference between the findings of the magisterial inquiry on the one hand and the unofficial inquiry conducted by senior private citizens, reports of the Amnesty International and International Commission of Jurists and the testimony of foreign participants at the IATR Conference on the other. Though we concede that the principles of natural justice should require a Commission to take cognizance of police testimony. We cannot accept the fact that police testimony at a hearing to inquire into their own conduct can be the crucial and decisive factor. In any event, we are of the view that a full and fair and independent hearing should have been immediately conducted into the circumstances which led to the deaths. It cannot be denied that the use of force at a prestigious international conference of scholars of the Tamil language and culture from different countries, has accentuated Tamil perceptions of injustice.

C.R.D. replies to 'Lotus Eater'

Classification of Kandyan Sinhalese, Low-country Sinhalese, Indian Tamils, Ceylon Tamils

We have used classifications as stated in the relevant government statistics. In most cases the government has classified both Indian Tamils and Sri Lankan Tamils as Tamils in general. Similarly, low country Sinhalese and Kandyan Sinhalese have been categorised as Sinhalese in general. It must also be understood that during times of communal disturbance these distinctions are usually not relevant with regard to victims of violence. Misperceptions about an ethnic community attach that community as a whole whether they be Ceylon Tamil or Indian Tamil, Kandyan Sinhalese or low country Sinhalese, rich or poor.

The Committee for Rational Development recognises that gross disparities exist **within** each ethnic group — disparities which are far greater than those which exist **between** ethnic communities. Income distribution figures clearly reveal this aspect — the highest ten percent get 32 times what the lowest ten percent get. (Report of Consumer Finances and Socio-Economic Survey p. 96)

Discussion on ethnic quotas and the like only serve to conceal the real inequalities which exist in our society.

Sinhalese buying land in Jaffna

We have been unable to uncover the figures with regard to the extent of land bought by the Sinhalese in the North and similar

figures for Tamils buying land in the South in recent years. We will be grateful if you would forward the relevant statistics.

However with regard to the two districts we mention in our report, we reproduce below the percentage Ethnic Breakdown (overtime) in the Jaffna District and the Hambantota District (these are of course population figures)

The gradual increase of Sinhala population in Jaffna upto 1971 suggests the irrelevance of the Thesawalamai to Sinhalese migration to the North. Its subsequent decrease may be easily explained due to a sense of instability and lack of economic opportunity in the area. Colombo district must of course be dealt with separately since it is the capital of the country and capitals throughout the world are cosmopolitan in character and composition.

Why Sinhalese should learn Tamil

The Committee for Rational Development is not the CWC (there is a difference between RD and WC). We did not state in our report that Sinhalese should compulsorily learn Tamil. However we do believe that it would be in the interest of communal harmony if Tamils and Sinhalese learn each other's languages. It may interest Lotus-Eater to know that even in Great Britain there is a move to teach Indians and Pakistanis Urdu and Hindi. In any event unlike the recent immigrants in the UK, Tamils regard Sri Lanka as their indigenous homeland and a Tamil presence has been chronicled since the days of the Mahavamsa.

Jaffna	1921	1946	1953	1963	1971	1981
Sinhalese	.32%	1.1%	1.2%	1.2%	2.9%	.6%
Tamils	98.24%	97.3%	97.1%	97.2%	95.5%	97.7%

Hambantota

Sinhalese	96.17%	96.6%	96.7%	97.0%	97.1%	97.4%
Tamils	.86%	1%	0.7%	0.5%	.6%	.5%

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How News Control Distorted the Facts

WASHINGTON

The Regan administration's bid to control tightly the release of information during the US-led invasion of Grenada has led to what journalists say are serious distortions of facts and provoked a sharp confrontation with the American press.

The distortions began a day before the attack, when reporters who asked about a rumoured invasion plan were told by White House spokesman Larry Speakes and other officials that the idea was "preposterous."

It later turned out that Speakes and his aides had been kept in the dark, which led to the resignation this week of White House foreign policy spokesman Les Janka, who said he was distressed at having inadvertently misled the press.

US officials said keeping the impending action from the press was essential for surprise, but news reports about invasion were circulating in the Caribbean before it occurred.

With reporters barred from the island and relying almost entirely on official communiques during the early days of the invasion, moreover basic facts such as the number of Cubans and US troops on the island were not reported accurately.

Reporters rushed to nearby Barbados, but from there they were unable to ascertain whether some 1,000 American civilians on the island had been in danger following a bloody coup the previous week, as Reagan asserted in justifying the invasion.

After initially estimating the number of Cuban fighters at about 700, US officials raised total as tough fighting continued to as many

as 1,600 leading reporters such as veteran military correspondent Drew Middleton of the New York Times to conclude that a long guerrilla war was in the offing.

But Havana insisted there were only about 780 Cubans on the island and US Defence Department reversing itself, said it would not dispute the figure, leading Middleton and others to report that prospects for an early US withdrawal had improved overnight.

The Pentagon never did explain the reasons of its sudden escalation and subsequent de-escalation of the Cuban numbers.

Restricted official reports on the US troop count also made it appear that the American invading force had doubled overnight since last Thursday, when administration officials said about 3,000 US marines and soldiers had landed. Late Friday afternoon, Admiral Wesley McDonald the top US commander of the operation, pushed the number up to about 6,000.

Other misleading information leaked by the administration included its assertion that Grenada's Pearls airport had been closed the day before the October 26 invasion, preventing US and other foreign nationals from fleeing the disorder.

In fact, as Speakes later admitted, four charter flights did leave the island that day.

It also was not until restrictions on reporting had been eased that journalists got wind of the accidental bombing of a hospital in which patients were killed.

Some reporters say the hospital bombing episode shows that having journalists at hand can be useful even to the military.

But some top military officers did not agree. Many of them were

convinced that saturation media coverage turned the American people against the US war effort in Viet Nam, contributing to defeat, and they were determined to prevent such a result in Grenada, according to US officials.

Officially news organizations were told reporters had been barred from Grenada for their own safety an explanation they rejected, noting that the press has covered many more dangerous wars.

Admiral Joseph Metcalf, commander of the US task force on Grenada received full discretion for dealing with the press and television reporters from defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger, and he used it to keep reporters off the island for several days and to tightly supervise the initial press visits.

He told one group of reporters that coup leader Bernard Coard had been captured by Grenadian citizens but later said he knew all along that Coard had been seized by US marines.

Metcalf also threatened, presumably in jest, to fire upon unauthorised press charter boats that tried to reach the island. Navy planes buzzed such boats with their bomb bay doors open, according to television news broadcasts.

Henry Catto until recently the Pentagon spokesman, said in an article published on Sunday that the press restrictions were unwise.

The restrictions antagonised the press, he said, quoting a Pentagon press spokesman as saying. "We have done more to hurt the military in the last few hours than in the last 200 years."

In fact, news management during the Grenada invasion has led to the

(Continued on page 10)

GRENADA

NEWS CURBS HURTING U.S. STAND ON CONTROLS

Jonathan Friendly

NEW YORK

Some American reporters and press organizations say the Reagan administration's restrictions on the press in covering the invasion of Grenada may damage Washington's position in a continuing international debate over press controls.

Western news organizations and most Western countries, including the United States, have been fighting proposals for controls on the gathering and dissemination of news. The suggestions have been put forward by the Soviet Union and many developing countries.

Those proposals, advanced in the last decade in forums of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, include giving governments a right to force the press to report positively about government actions and licensing journalists as a way to protect them in war zones.

In a move broadly criticized by press groups, the Defense Department barred reporters from covering the first two days of fighting in Grenada and then provided limited guided tours of some parts of the island for two more days. The Pentagon said the limitations were initially needed to prevent advance disclosure of the operation and were later retained because the military could not assure the safety of correspondents.

On Sunday, the man who approved the news restrictions, General John W. Vessey Jr, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said he would create a panel of officers and journalists to review the restrictions in the first days of the invasion.

Leonard R. Sussman, executive director of Freedom House, a New

York organization that has fought against press restrictions, said he anticipated the news controls in Grenada would be cited this week at a UNESCO conference in Paris.

Mr. Sussman is a member of the U.S. delegation to that meeting, which is scheduled to discuss a range of communications proposals, including a Soviet resolution that, among other things, affirms the right of governments to control some kinds of news.

An official in the State Department's Office of Communications and UNESCO Affairs said the delegation to the Paris meeting had been instructed on the Grenada news-control question because "it is likely some mention will be made" of the issue. But he declined to say what the instructions were.

Mr. Sussman said that although he thought the controls were wrong, he intended to respond to any criticism by noting that the controls were less restrictive than those routinely imposed by other nations and that they were finally lifted after an "uproar in the press of the kind that only happens in a free society."

Seymour Topping, managing editor of The New York Times, said, "The extraordinary restriction imposed on the press in the coverage of the Grenada invasion prejudices the position the United States has taken in international forums on freedom of the press." Mr. Topping is chairman of the international communications committee of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, which, like other press groups, protested the controls.

He said the Western arguments to be made in Paris "inevitably will suffer as a consequence of the ex-

ample set by the Defense Department in denying access to correspondents in the coverage of the Grenada operation."

Journalists were particularly critical of the Defense Department's reasoning that reporters should not be allowed in Grenada until their safety could be assured. UNESCO has debated the issue of identification cards to journalists as a way to protect them in combat zones, but the Western press has said, as it did in Grenada, that reporters are responsible for their own security and that the proposed cards could easily turn into a system for governmental licensing of journalists.

R. M. White 2d, publisher of the Mexico Ledger of Mexico, Missouri, and chairman of the American Committee of the International Press Institute, said the idea of protecting journalists was an insult to the memory of war correspondents killed "so that the American public could have an accurate accounting" of the progress of fighting.

— New York Times Service

How News . . .

(Continued from page 9)

most intense acrimony between the news media and the administration since President Reagan took office in 1981, according to many Washington journalists.

Editors and publishers across the United States have strongly protested against the restrictions and some regular White House correspondent have protested even more strongly.

—(Reuter via Xinhua)

WAS GRENADA INVASION A TRIAL RUN FOR NICARAGUA ?

Tom Wicker

DALLAS

Was Ronald Reagan's invasion of Grenada a trial run for an invasion of Nicaragua? Even if that was intended, the result ought to disabuse the president of any such notion.

Indeed, Alan Riding of The New York Times, one of the most knowledgeable reporters on Central America, the Caribbean and Mexico reasons that the invasion of Grenada has isolated the United States among its principal allies, and earned it the disapproval of Great Britain, France and West Germany—not to mention Mexico and most of the other Latin American nations.

Speaking at a conference on Latin American questions organized by the Foundation for American Communication, Mr. Riding suggested that Reagan probably would not wish for the even more severe world condemnation an invasion of Nicaragua surely would produce. The unity of the Western allies, moreover could be badly damaged by U.S. military action against the Sandinistas.

Already reports from Great Britain and West Germany suggest that public opposition to the scheduled U.S. deployment of medium-range missiles in Western Europe may have been reawakened by the adventure in Grenada. The Reagan administration's credibility in the pursuit of peace, these reports indicate has been badly damaged.

In an invasion of Nicaragua, the United States would not have the excuse that it was acting primarily to save U.S. lives, since few U.S.

citizens are resident in that country. And it is doubtful that Mr. Reagan could use the cloak of collective security, as the support of seven small Caribbean nations allowed him to do in the case of Grenada. He might hope for the support of Honduras, a U.S. client state, and Guatemala, with its right-wing military government, but that kind of backing would carry little international weight.

Ambassador Stephen W. Bosworth chairman of the State Department's Policy Planning Board, pointed out to the Dallas conference that Grenada was surrounded by democratic governments—those that invited Mr. Reagan's invasion—that have undertaken to re-establish democracy on that island. This important condition he noted, would be absent in the case of Nicaragua.

Besides, Mr. Bosworth pointedly asked if a relatively few Cubans could mount the unexpectedly stiff resistance they did on tiny Grenada, what might the 6,000 Cubans he estimated were in Nicaragua do in resisting a U. S. invasion ?

This question takes on added force in view of the possibility U. S. military officials have raised that Cuban and Grenadian forces may wage a long guerrilla campaign in the island's hilly interior.

In much larger Nicaragua, with its mountain terrain and its jungles a guerrilla war now would be as bloody and difficult as it was a half-century ago when U. S. Marines failed for years to defeat the forces of the Nicaraguan hero, Augusto Sandino. And much of the Nicaraguan population, as well as the

Cuban forces, could be expected to support guerrilla resistance following any initial U. S. success in an invasion of Nicaragua.

Nicaraguans are not now responding favorably to the "contras," the CIA-backed force waging war against the Sandinista regime from sanctuaries in Honduras.

Given the long history of U. S. military intervention in their country as well as U. S. backing of the repressive Somoza regime, the likelihood is that most Nicaraguans would fight not welcome, a new gringo invasion, even one mounted in the name of democracy.

Mr. Reagan's domestic support for such an invasion—let alone for the guerrilla warfare sure to follow—would be considerably less than it was for the smaller more manageable operation against Grenada.

And after initial hesitation, the Democrats—including the House speaker, Thomas P. O'Neill—generally oppose the Grenada operation. Application of the War Powers Resolution to the invasion force, moreover shows that both congressional parties have strong reservations; so does the congressional move to send a committee of inquiry to Grenada.

No doubt Mr. Reagan reclaimed the support of his right-wing base by crunching Grenada, and sent a macho message to the world. Considered soberly, however, little to encourage an invasion of Nicaragua can be found in the Grenada experience, or in the vastly different circumstances that would surround such an adventure in Central America.

— The New York Times.

LIGHTS ! CAMERA ! RESPECT !

Russell Baker

NEW YORK

In Washington there was a crisis of respect. Men who thought of themselves as men deserving respect met at the White House. "We are men of respect, yet we get no respect," they acknowledged.

It was true. Everywhere the world saw evidence of disrespect and laughed and said, "The White House men are paper men of respect". And when it was noted that Jeane Kirkpatrick, who is a member of the group, was a woman, the world said, "And Mrs. Kirkpatrick is a paper woman of respect."

It was bad. In the first place it was a bad phrase, a weak variation on Mao Zedong's phrase about the United States being a paper tiger. But Mao was dead, and the world had no great phrasemakers left, but only Margaret Thatcher and men named Helmut and Moscow commissars who, reliving the early days of American television, talked like John Cameron Swayze.

And everywhere disrespect was upon the face of the globe. In Lebanon the Marines were devastated by obscure sects. In Nicaragua insolent Latin revolutionaries cried "Flee to your gringo CIA!" and preached the doctrine that Babe Ruth was no better than Roberto Clemente.

*

In the White House there was lamentation and fear for the future of the race, and they studied the enviable success the old men of Moscow had enjoyed at getting respect for clues about how the thing might be done.

"We could shoot down a big jetliner full of civilians to show the world how nervous and paranoid we are," someone said. This was quickly rejected. The Russians had already done it. No American man or woman of respect wanted to flatter Moscow by copying its methods.

"Suppose we invade Mexico," was the next proposal. It was just different enough from the Russians' invading Afghanistan to pass for an original idea, at least in a world with a 15-minute attention span.

The overruling objection? Angry Mexican guerrillas might retaliate by destroying Acapulco, thereby depriving Henry Kissinger of a lovely winter vacation spa.

Anyhow, Mexico was even bigger than Vietnam. At the mention of Vietnam everybody shuddered. Invading Mexico looked like a "no-win" adventure. What was needed was a "can't-lose" expedition.

"Some place we can conquer and straighten out for democracy in a couple of days so we can show how tough we are without getting bogged down in a real fight" — that was the consensus. An island seemed ideal, but Australia was ruled out because it was too big and Coney Island because after the conquest the president might be expected to go there for a triumphal ride on the Ferris wheel.

*

That's then when attention focused on Nantucket. Only 15 miles long and 3 miles wide, it could be mopped up in a few days. The Pentagon could persuade Martha's Vineyard, Block Island and Cape Code to form a Northeast Tourist Resort Defense Alliance. The alliance would ask Washington to help it invade Nantucket and stop the government there from infecting the rest of the area with a dangerous philosophy that all streets should be paved with cobblestones,

"Dangerous?" asked the president.

"There may be some students from the Rhode Island School of Design on Nantucket. We would certainly want to rescue them from

an island where their cars are being shaken to pieces by a government that makes them drive on cobblestones," said Secretary of Defense Weinberger.

The president's mind wandered as it often did since the release of "The Right Stuff" Wouldn't he need a new movie of his own to wage a successful re-election campaign? Something with the flavor of the great Southwest, starring somebody like the late Warner Boxter as the young Reagan. There would be the sound of mariachi music. What was that great mariachi song?

He hummed softly as the National Respect Council awaited his decision. Ah. that was it — "Grenada."

"All right," said Secretary Weinberger, "let's get cracking on this right away." And so we had the Grenada war, and Nantucket still has its cobblestones.

— New York Times Service

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FIDEL SPEAKS

'No forces can ever prevail over internationalism'

Grenada was one of the smallest independent states in the world. Both in territory and population. Even though Cuba is a small, under-developed country. It was able to help Grenada considerably. Because our efforts — which were modest in quantity though high in quality — meant a lot for a country less than 400 square kilometres in size, with a population of just over 100,000.

For instance, the value of our contribution to Grenada in the form of materials, designs and labour in building the new airport came to Dls. 60 million at international prices — over Dls. 500 per inhabitant. It is as if Cuba — with a population of almost 10 million — received a project worth Dls. 5 billion as a donation. In addition, there was the cooperation of our doctors, teachers and technicians in diverse specialities, plus an annual contribution of Cuban products worth about Dls. 3 million. This meant an additional annual contribution of Dls. 40 per inhabitant. It is impossible for Cuba to render considerable material assistance to countries with significantly large populations and territories, but we were able to offer great assistance to a country like tiny Grenada.

Many other small Caribbean nations, used to the gross economic

Funeral address given by Commander-in-chief Fidel Castro, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba and President of the Council of State and of the Council of Ministers in tribute to those Cubans killed in Grenada.



Fidel Castro

and strategic interests of colonialism and imperialism were amazed by Cuba's generous assistance to that fraternal people. They may have thought that Cuba's selfless action was extraordinary. In the midst of the US Government's dirty propaganda, some may even have found it difficult to understand. Our people felt such deep friendship for Bishop and Grenada, and our respect for that country and its sovereignty was so irreproachable. That we never dared to express any opinions about what was being done there or how it was being done. In Grenada, we followed the same principle we apply to all revolutionary nations and movements, full respect for their policies, criteria and decisions, expressing our views on any matter only when asked to do so. Imperialism is incapable of understanding that the secret of our excellent relations with revolutionary countries and movements in the world lies

precisely in this respect. The US Government looked down on Grenada and hated Bishop. It wanted to destroy Grenada's process and obliterate its example. It had even prepared military plans for invading the island — as Bishop had charged nearly two years ago — but it lacked a pretext.

Socio-economically, Grenada was actually advancing satisfactorily.

The people had received many benefits, in spite of the hostile policy of the United States. and Grenada's Gross National Product was growing at a good rate in the midst of the world crisis. Bishop was not an extremist, rather, he was a true revolutionary — conscientious and honest. Far from disagreeing with his intelligent and realistic policy, we fully sympathized with it, since it was rigorously adapted to his country's specific conditions and possibilities. Grenada had become a true symbol of independence and progress in the Caribbean. No one could have foreseen the tragedy that was drawing near. Attention was focused on other parts of the world. Unfortunately, the Grenadian revolutionaries themselves unleashed the events that opened the door to imperialist aggression. Hyenas emerged from the revolutionary ranks. Today no one can yet say whether those who used the dagger of divisionism and internal confrontation did so on their own or were inspired and egged on by imperialism.

Were those who conspired against Bishop within the Grenadian Party, Army and Security, by any chance, a group of extremists drunk on political theory? Were they simply

a group of ambitious, opportunistic individuals, or were they enemy agents who wanted to destroy the Grenadian revolution?

History alone will have the last word, but it would not be the first time that such things occurred in a revolutionary process. In our view, Coard's group objectively destroyed the revolution and opened the door to imperialist aggression.

In spite of his very close and affectionate links with our party's leadership, Bishop never said anything about the internal dissensions that were developing. To the contrary, in his last conversation with us he was self-critical about his work regarding attention to the armed forces and the mass organizations. Nearly all of our party and state leaders spent many friendly, fraternal hours with him on the evening of October 7, before his return trip to Grenada.

Coard's group never had such relations nor such intimacy and trust with us. Actually, we did not even know that group existed.

On October 12, Bishop was removed from office by the Central Committee. He was placed under house arrest. On the 19th, the people took to the streets and freed Bishop. But, on the same day, Coard's groups ordered the army to fire on the people and Bishop, Whiteman, Jacqueline Creft and other excellent revolutionary leaders were murdered.

As soon as the internal dissensions which came to light on October 12 were manifest the Yankee imperialist decided to invade.

The message sent by the leadership of the Cuban Party to Coard's group on October 15 has been made public. In it, we expressed our deep concern over both the internal and the external consequences of the split and appealed to the common sense, serenity wisdom and generosity of revolutionaries. This reference to generosity was an appeal not to use violence against Bishop and his followers.

This group of Coard's that seized power in Grenada expressed serious reservations toward Cuba from the

very beginning because of our well-known and unquestionable friendship with Bishop.

The national and international press have published our strong denunciation of the events of October 19, The day Bishop was murdered.

Our relations with Austin's short-lived government, in which Coard was really in charge, were actually cold and tense, so that, at the time of the criminal Yankee aggression there was no coordination whatsoever between the Grenadian army and the Cuban construction workers and other cooperation personnel. The basic points of the messages sent to our embassy in Grenada on October 12 through 25, the day on which the invasion took place, have been made public. Those documents stand in history as irrefutable proof of our clean principled position regarding Grenada.

Imperialism, however, presented the events as the coming to power of a group of hard-line Communist, loyal allies of Cuba. Were they really Communist? Were they really hard-liners? Could they really be loyal allies of Cuba? or were they rather conscious or unconscious tools of Yankee imperialism? Look at the history of the revolutionary movement, and you will find more than one connection between imperialism and those who take positions that appear to be on the extreme left. Aren't Pol Pot and Ieng Sary — the ones responsible for the Genocide in Kampuchea — the most loyal allies Yankee Imperialism has in South-East Asia at present?

We could not accept the idea of leaving the Grenadians without doctors or leaving the airport, which was vital to the nation's economy, unfinished. Most certainly, our construction workers were to leave Grenada when that project was completed, and the weapons that Bishop had given them were to be returned to the government. It was even possible that our very bad relations with the new government would make it necessary for us to leave much earlier.

The thing that placed Cuba in a morally complex, difficult situation was the announcement that Yankee naval forces were enroute to Grenada.

Under those circumstances, we couldn't possibly leave the country. If the imperialists really intended to attack Grenada it was our duty to stay there. To withdraw at that time would have been dishonourable and could even have triggered aggression in that country then and in Cuba later on.

In addition, events unfolded with such incredible speed that if the evacuation had been planned for, there would not have been time to carry it out.

In Grenada, however, the government was morally indefensible, and, since the party, the government and the army had divorced themselves from the people, it was also impossible to defend the nation militarily, because a revolutionary war is only feasible and justifiable when united with the people. We could only fight, therefore, if we were directly attacked. There was no alternative.

It should nevertheless be noted that despite these adverse circumstances. A number of Grenadian soldiers died in heroic combat against the invaders.

The internal events, however, in no way justified Yankee intervention.

Since when has the Government of the United States become the arbitrator of internal conflicts between revolutionaries in any given country? What right did Reagan have to rend his mantle over the death of Bishop, whom he so hated and opposed? What reasons could there be for its brutal violation of the sovereignty of Grenada — a small independent nation that was a respected and acknowledged member of the international community? It would be the same as if another country believed it had the right to intervene in the United States because of the repulsive assassination of Martin Luther King or so many other outrages, such as those that have been committed against the Black and Hispanic minorities in the United States, or to intervene because John Kennedy was murdered.

The same may be said of the argument that the lives of 1000 Americans were in Danger. There are many times more US citizens

in dozens of other countries in the world. Does this, perchance, imply the right to intervene when internal conflicts arise in those countries? There are tens of thousands of Grenadians in the United States, England and Trinidad. Could tiny Grenada intervene if domestic policy problems arose that pose some threat to its compatriots in any of those countries? Putting aside the fallacy and falseness of such pretexts for invading Grenada, is this really an international norm that can be sustained? A thousand Marxism Lessons could not teach us any better about the dirty, perfidious and aggressive nature of imperialism than the attack unleashed against Grenada at dawn on October 25 and its later development.

In order to justify its invasion of Grenada and its subsequent actions, the US Government and its spokesman told 19 lies, Reagan personally told the first 13.

1. — Cuba had to do with coup d'etat and the death of Bishop.
2. — The American students were in danger of being taken hostage.
3. — The main purpose of the invasion was to protect the lives of American citizens.
4. — The invasion was a multinational operation undertaken at the request of Mr. Scoon and the Eastern Caribbean Nations.
5. — Cuba was planning to invade and occupy Grenada.
6. — Grenada was being turned into an important Soviet — Cuban military base.
7. — The airport under construction was not civilian but military.
8. — The weapons in Grenada would be used to export subversion and terrorism.
9. — The Cubans fired first.
10. — There were over 1000 Cubans in Grenada.
11. — Most of the Cubans were not construction workers but professional soldiers.
12. — The invading Forces took care not to destroy property or inflict civilian casualties.

13. — The US troops would remain in Grenada for a week.

14. — Missile silos were being built in Grenada.

15. — The vessel Viet Nam Heroico was transporting special weapons.

16. — Cuba was warned of the invasion.

17. — Five hundred Cubans are fighting in the mountains of Grenada.

18. — Cuba has issued instructions for reprisals to be taken against US citizens.

19. — The journalists were excluded for their own protection.

None are true and all have been refuted by the facts. This cynical way of lying in order to justify invading a tiny country reminds us of the methods Adolf Hitler used during the years leading up to World War II.

The US students and officials of the medical school located there acknowledge that they were given full guarantees for US citizens and the necessary facilities for those who wanted to leave the country. Moreover, Cuba had informed the US Government on October 22 that no foreign citizens, including Cubans had been disturbed and it offered to cooperate in solving any difficulty that might arise so that problems could be settled without violence or intervention in that country. No US citizen had been disturbed at all prior to the invasion.

Assertion that the airport was a military one — an old lie that the Reagan administration had dwelt on a lot — was categorically refuted by the English capitalist firm that supplied and installed the electrical and technical equipment for that airport. The British technicians of the Plessey company which has made a name for itself internationally as a specialist in this field worked alongside the Cuban construction workers to whose civilian worker status they attest several countries of the European community that are members of the Atlantic Alliance cooperated in one way or another with the airport. How can anyone imagine them help-

ing Cuba to build a military airport in Grenada?

However, the idea that Grenada was being turned into a Soviet-Cuban base is refuted by the proved fact that there wasn't even one Soviet military adviser on the Island.

The supposedly secret documents that fell into the hands of the United States and were published by the Yankee administration a few days after the invasion refer to the agreement between the governments of Cuba and Grenada by virtue of which our country was to send Grenada 27 military advisers. Which could later be increased to 40 — figures that coincide with the ones Cuba published on the number of advisers, which was 22 on the day of the attack, to which were added a similar number of translators and service personnel from the mission. Nowhere in those documents that they have been crowing over is there something that has anything to do with the idea of military bases in Grenada. What they do show is that the weapons that the Soviet Union supplied to the Government of Grenada for the army and the militia were subject to an Article that prohibited their export to third countries, which refutes the idea that Grenada had been turned into an arsenal for supplying weapons to subversive. Terrorist organizations, as the present US administration likes to call the revolutionary and national liberation movements. No weapons ever left Grenada for any other country and therefore, Reagan can never prove that any did.

The assertion that Cuba was about to invade and occupy Grenada is so unrealistic absurd crazy and alien to our principles and international policy that it cannot even be taken seriously. What has been proved is the absolutely scrupulous way in which we refrained from meddling in the internal affairs of that country, in spite of our deep affection for Bishop and our total rejection of Coard and his group's conspiracy and coup, which could serve only the interest of imperialism and its plans for destroying the Grenadian revolution.

The civilian status of the vast majority of the Cuban cooperation personnel in Grenada has been shown to the whole world by the hundreds of foreign journalists who saw them arriving in our country and who were able to interview each and every one of them. Nearly 50 percent of them were over 40 years old. Who could question their status as civilian cooperation personnel and workers with long years of experience on their jobs? When the US Government spokesmen asserted that there were from 1000 to 1500 Cubans in Grenada at the time of the invasion and that hundreds of them were still fighting in the mountains. Cuba published the exact number of Cuban citizens who were in Grenada on the day of the invasion 784, including diplomatic personnel with their children and other relatives. The agencies that sent them and the kind of work they did were also reported, as well as the instructions given them to fight in their work areas and camps if attacked, and the fact it was impossible — according to the information we had — for hundreds to remain in the mountains. Later, the names and jobs of all cooperation workers were published, as well as the known or probable situation of each one. The facts have shown that the information provided by Cuba was absolutely true. There isn't a single fact in all that information that could be proven false.

The assertion that the Cubans initiated the acts of hostility is equally false and cynical. The irrefutable truth is that the Cubans were sleeping and their weapons were stored at the time of the air drop on the runway and around the camps. They had not been distributed. There weren't enough to go around, and they weren't distributed until the landing was already underway, and that is when the Cuban personnel went to the places assigned to them for that emergency. Even so, our personnel now organized and armed had time to see the US paratroopers regrouping on the runway and the first planes landing. That was the invader's weakest moment. If the Cubans had fired first, they would have killed or wounded dozens —

perhaps hundreds — of US soldiers in those early hours. What is strictly historical and strictly true is that the fighting began when the US troops advanced toward the Cubans in a belligerent way. It is also true that when a group of unarmed cooperation personnel was captured, they were used as hostages and forced to lead the way in front of the US soldiers.

The invasion of Grenada was a treacherous surprise attack with no previous warning at all — just like Pearl Harbor, just like the Nazis, the note from the Government of the United States to the Government of Cuba on Tuesday, October 25, in an attempted response to our note of Saturday, October 22, was delivered at 8.30 in the morning, three hours after the landing had taken place and an hour and a half after the US troops began attacking our compatriots in Grenada. Actually, on the afternoon of the 25th. the US Government sent the Government of Cuba a deceitful Note that led us to believe that the fighting would cease in a reasonable and honorable manner.

As a pretext for keeping the Viet Nam Heroico — which was in the Port of St. George's on the day of the invasion — from being used as a means of transportation for evacuating the Cuban hostages from Grenada, it was alleged that it carried special weapons. Its captain was immediately asked if by any chance he carried weapons on board, and the only thing that was determined was that it had just one fearful weapon — its name "Viet Nam".

Mr. O'Neill, Speaker of the House of Representatives, said that it was sinful that a man who was totally uninformed and ignorant about international problems and who doesn't even read the documents was President of the United States. If we consider that the United States has powerful sophisticated means of conventional and nuclear warfare and that the President of that country can declare war without consulting anyone, it is not only sinful but truly dramatic and tragic for all mankind.

An air of triumph reigns in the Reagan administration. The echoes

of the last shots in Grenada have barely died away and already there is talk of intervening in EL Salvador, Nicaragua and even Cuba. In the Middle East and Southern Africa, imperialisms acts of interference and military aggression against progressive countries and national liberation movements continue unabated.

In Europe, the first of the 572 Pershing and cruise missiles are already being deployed, surrounding the USSR and other Socialist countries with a deadly ring of nuclear weapons that can reach their territories in a matter of minutes. Not just the small countries, but all mankind is threatened, the bells tolling today for Grenada may toll tomorrow for the whole world.

Grenada has already multiplied the Salvadoran, Nicaraguan and Cuban revolutionaries' patriotic conviction and fighting spirit. It has been proved that the best US troops can be fought and that they are not feared. The imperialists must not ignore the fact that they will encounter fierce resistance wherever they attack a revolutionary people. Let us hope that their Pyrrhic victory in Grenada and their air of triumph don't go to their heads, leading them to commit serious, irreversible errors.

They will not find El Salvador, Nicaragua and Cuba the particular circumstances of revolutionaries divided among themselves and divorced from the people that they found in tiny Grenada.

In more than three years of heroic struggle, the Salvadoran revolutionaries have become experienced, fearsome and invincible fighters. There are thousands of them who know the land inch by inch, veterans of dozens of victorious combats who are accustomed to fighting and winning when the odds are one to ten against elite trained, armed and advised by the United States. Their unity is more solid and indestructible than ever.

In Nicaragua, the imperialists would confront a deeply patriotic and revolutionary people that is united, organized, armed and ready to fight and that can never be subjugated. With regard to Cuba, if in Grenada, the imperialist had to

bring in an elite division to fight against a handful of isolated men struggling in a small stronghold, lacking fortifications, a thousand miles from their homeland, how many divisions would they need against millions of combatants fighting on their own soil alongside their own people? Our country — as we have already said on other occasion — might be wiped off the face of the earth, but it will never be conquered and subjugated.

The Cubans who were captured and virtually turned into hostages had an unforgettable experience of what a country occupied by Yankee invading troops is like. The physical and psychological treatment given the cooperation personnel who were taken prisoner was insulting and a cause for indignation, and promises of all kinds were made to each of them to try to get them to go to the United States. But they were not able to break their steel-like staunchness. Not a single one deserted his homeland.

There was no manipulation of the news, nothing was hidden from the people, in our country. All reports concerning the invasion that were received directly from Grenada were transmitted to our population just as they arrived, even though the ones on October 26 turned out to be exaggerated.

As a matter of principle, at no time were efforts made to play down the seriousness of the situation or to minimize the magnitude of the dangers facing our compatriots. We are deeply grateful to the International Committee of the Red Cross for its interest, dedication and efficient efforts to identify and evacuate the wounded, sick and other prisoners and the dead as quickly as possible. We are also grateful to the Governments of Spain and Colombia for the immediate efforts they made in this regard.

In bidding farewell to our beloved brothers who died heroically in combat, fulfilling with honour their patriotic and internationalistic duties, and in expressing our deepest solidarity to their loved ones, we do not forget that there are Grenadian mothers and US mothers

who are crying for their sons who died in Grenada. We send our condolences to the mothers and other relatives of the Grenadians who were killed and also to the mothers and other relatives of the US soldiers who died — because they, who also suffer from the loss of close relatives, are not to Blame for their government's war-mongering.

However, they are not corpses — they are symbols. They did not even die in the land where they were born. There, far away from Cuba, where they were contributing with the noble sweat of their internationalist work in a country poorer and smaller than ours, they were also able to shed their blood and offer their lives. But in that trench, they also knew they were also defending their own people and their own homeland.

It is impossible to express the generosity of human beings and their willingness to make sacrifices in a more pure way. Their example will be multiplied, their ideas will be multiplied and they themselves will be multiplied in us. No power, no weapons, no forces can ever prevail over the patriotism, internationalism, feelings of human brotherhood and communist consciousness which they embody.

We shall be like them, in work and in combat.

**Patria O Muerte
Father or Death !**

Dinesh and . . .

(Continued from page 4)

(b) There are 3 group identities (political positions) which transcend UNP-SLFP conflicts. Leading figures in both parties can be identified as "realists", "vacillatory centrist" or "extremist". J. R., Premadasa, Sirima, Hameed, Thondaman etc are classified as "realist" who should be supported now.

(c) A lunatic fringe within the UNP and pro-UNP propagandist circles pushing a conspiracy theory of "northern terrorists" and "southern naxalites" which has no credibility, here or abroad.

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the report of
the Committee for
Rational
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on 'Sri Lanka's
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Myths and
Realities', will be
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Nationalist threats to Ethiopia's stability

Kirsty Wright

LT-COL MENGISTU Haile Mariam, the Ethiopian leader, recently celebrated the ninth anniversary of overthrowing Emperor Haile Selassie by releasing more than 1,000 prisoners, but at the same time castigating his countrymen for idleness, irresponsibility and thieving from nationalised industries.

He called for renewed efforts to build a socialist society and to defend the country against "the destructive mission of individualism and the plots of reactionaries and imperialists."

But he barely mentioned the two greatest threats to the stability of his regime: widespread drought through much of Northern Ethiopia and the continuing challenge of guerrilla movements seeking devolution of power or outright independence for some regions.

Despite increasingly largescale Soviet military assistance, Lt-Col Mengistu has failed to control the spread of such movements — operating from Eritrea and Tigray in the north, to the Ogaden in the south-east, and Sidamo in the far south — while trying to cope with a drought affecting more than 2m people in Eritrea, Gondar, Tigray and Wollo similar to the 1972-74 drought which was a major factor in the downfall of the former regime.

The province most seriously affected both by drought and the guerrilla conflict is Tigray, where three years of failed rains have caused widespread famine and caused mass movements of people in search of food. Moreover, international relief efforts have been severely hampered by having to operate on both side of the bitter war in which the Ethiopian Army is facing the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF).

On a four-week trip with officials of the Relief Society of Tigray (Rest), the humanitarian wing of

the TPLF, I saw evidence to suggest that effective military and administrative control has been established over as much as 85 per cent of the province. All that is left in the control of the Ethiopian armed forces, after eight years of war which have included several offensives, is a handful of garrison towns and the main roads between them.

The TPLF has become one of the most successful nationalist movements fighting in Ethiopia, along with the Eritrean People's Liberation front (EPLF) in neighbouring Eritrea. **Yet, unlike most self-styled liberation movements, the Tigrayan demands are remarkably modest. The war is being fought not for secession, but merely for greater local autonomy.**

The origins of the conflict go back to the turn of the century, when the province was incorporated into the expanding Ethiopian territory of Emperor Menelik. After years of sporadic protests, matters came to a head in 1974, when the former Ethiopian Government refused to acknowledge the last disastrous drought in Tigray and Wollo provinces. That resulted in the central highlands, and fuelled the revolt which caused the regime's downfall.

However the new regime failed to live up to its promises to grant a measure of local autonomy to the outlying provinces. which had so long resented the rigid authority of the Amhara dynasty in Addis Ababa. If anything, central control became stricter. So, in 1975, the Tigray National Organisation set up to foster the cultural identity of Tigrayans, began military operations in the north of province. In the last eight years it has gradually extended its influence to control most of the countryside.

The TPLF is essentially a peasant based movement, and its educated young leaders, many of them teachers or students, have made big efforts to develop civilian services and organisa-

tions such as health co-operatives and women's associations in the wake of their military operations.

However, the prolonged drought has wreaked havoc on the life of the province. Huge numbers of the population of the central, southern and eastern regions have been forced to move to the west of Tigray, the only part unaffected in search of food shelter and support. More than 500,000 people in the western region are now almost totally dependent on relief supplies distributed through the Rest organisation.

The problem for the international aid agencies is that they have to perform a political balancing act to be active on both sides of the front lines.

As far as fund-raising is concerned, most of the organisations set aside an agreed proportion of cash donated for Ethiopian relief to be used in the guerrilla-controlled areas. In Tigray, Rest is the only organization actually implementing relief operations the role of donor agencies is limited to information-gathering and monitoring aid distribution.

In spite of the difficulties, more belated aid is now reaching the famine-stricken population in TPLF-controlled areas. Some 2,000 tonnes of donated grain and medicine have been trucked into distribution centres and clinics in Tigray's western region where fugitives from the drought gather about ever 10 days for emergency rations before dispersing again to surrounding villages.

Transport across the territory appears to be quicker. But relief agencies active in the operation point out that a further 120,000 tonnes of grain must be shipped into Tigray by December to avoid both widespread starvation and massive emigration.

The case of Tigray illustrates the paradox of Ethiopian politics. **By refusing to recognise the right of the Tigrayans to a**
(Continued on page 24)

WHAT THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES NEED: A THIRD SYSTEM

Bella Mody

It is true that all countries have external and internal power structures that limit their freedom to decide. What then is so significant about the decision-making context in Third World countries?

The developed North with a population of 1.1 billion has a per capita GNP of around US \$ 6,500 while the underdeveloped South has twice as many people living on 15 times less. Financial capital limits are probably the most significant constraint on the freedom of Third World countries. And Africa feels them the most. Thus, many African countries are grateful to be able to buy an entertainment package of US TV programs at the incredibly low price of US \$ 3 a minute; they cannot afford to produce much programming beyond their newscasts extolling those in power. Third World leaders who thought they were buying regional prestige and a good national press through a palace TV system ignored the cost of foreign dependence and cultural domination they simultaneously purchased. If Norway has to make compromises in the design of its pilot cable TV project in Jevnaker in the light of financial constraints, imagine how much worse the financial constraints must be in debt-burdened Third World countries.

How equally financially strapped Third World countries choose to exercise the limited freedom they have depends on the domestic economic and political power structure in each country. I understand your Minister of Cultural Affairs Lars Langslet would not have been able

to make Norway the big media laboratory it currently is, if a coalition government of the three non-socialist parties had come about in 1981. Please correct me if I am wrong. The political reality in Third World countries is much more complex because of the travesty of democracy left behind by the hastily departing colonizer — a patchwork of election procedure that have led to *de facto* one party states with the military hovering in the wings, if not on center stage.

It is not surprising that the religious, ethnic, racial and linguistic mixture in Third World countries is probably more complex in some Third World countries when compared to Norway: the First World divided Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean among themselves on the basis of the availability of gold, silver, spices and slaves and not on the basis of respect for traditional boundaries and contagious religious and tribal settlements.

While I am trying to stress that the freedom of Third World countries to choose from a supermarket of options is different from First World countries, I am not saying this freedom is the same from one Third World country to the next, across regimes and issues. India's first Prime Minister Nehru managed to resist the option to introduce any TV into the country and President Nyerere of Tanzania is still a valiant resistor, while the governments of Indira Gandhi, Pakistan and the Central African Republic have felt TV was necessary...

What communication technological scenario meets the eye in Third

World countries today? True, the supermarket offers radio, TV, film printing presses, telephones, satellites, multiple channel cable and combinations of these. True, the convergence of telecommunications channels such as TV, cables and satellites with information storage and processing machines like computers is being heralded in futuristic utopian terms. For example the French government's World Center for Computing and Human Resources is generating good will for future French computer products in Third World countries through pilot projects just like the U. S. Agency for International Development did with radio and TV in the 60s and 70s. Twenty years ago, radio and TV were to make the deserts bloom, eradicate disease, promote literacy and integrate all these well fed healthy educated citizens into a single body public. They did not; in fact, those who were well off gained more, as usual. In the 1980s today, there is talk of the "barefoot chip" and the promise of a computer terminal for every farmer, unqualified by the lessons of the 60s and 70s.

Down-to-earth Third World communication reality actually consists primarily of a radio system that reaches more people than any other medium. Radio was introduced into most Asian and African countries for law-and-order and political control by the then colonizer; private profit and missionary activity was the objective in Latin America. All Third World countries have an urban press and many

(Continued on page 21)

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What Third World . . .

(Continued from page 19)

sport a city-centered TV and telephone system some are doing better, e. g. Mexico and Brazil export TV programs, India exports feature films and sports a domestic multi-purpose satellite. Two facts stand out: an urban focus and government control. Nevertheless, attempts are being made to reach out to rural areas through community radio a rural press and domestic satellite systems. A high level of government control if not outright government ownership is typical out constructive attempts are being made to build parallel community control mechanisms.

Where do we go from this present scenario? What do Third World countries need?

1. Each Third World country needs a systematic communication policy study in the tradition of the **Power in Norwegian Society** study series so policy options at the macro level can be generated systematically in light of the national power structure and preferred development policy directions. Recommendations for a Third World country that sees its future in close association with the world business system and the super powers (e. g., Kenya or Singapore) would be different from the communication strategies that a believer in selective disengagement might follow (e. g. Tanzania), and these would be different from the communication infrastructure for a policy of complete dissassociation chosen by Burma or Mao's China. Preparation of a twenty year blue print or prospective plan for the development of the communication infrastructure in a nation might make it just a little more difficult to make *ad hoc* purchases and accept Trojan horses as gifts.

2. Each Third World country also needs a blue print for emancipatory decentralized open-ended use of the media for community development. All citizens must be trans-receivers, senders and receivers, rather than passive audiences. A community-in-communication micro plan is required to facilitate free

horizontal flows of information between people. I have been working with such a community radio station in Central Jamaica. I know similar grassroots projects are taking place in many countries. Rather than be paralyzed by the overwhelming constraints I have described, we have to identify community groups who will gently and persistently work in the spaces between the cracks and cervices of constraints. Like the hopeful camel that keeps putting his/her head in the tent, we must keep working on small community projects that help us keep a foot in the doorway that leads to change, lest it slam shut.

3. Teaching and training institutes for Third World communication practitioners need "de-colonizing" training curricula that encourage us to exercise the option to innovate in the design and deployment of technology rather than imitate Western European and North American models of organization, financing, hardware deployment, programming, and professionalism. Knowledge of what works in Norway is important for us but not an uncritical transfer of Norwegian systems. No technology is neutral, be it from Eastern Europe or the United States — these technologies were designed and deployed for foreign conditions and not for ours; these systems cannot be ours without modification.

4. I take offense at the suggestion that "intermediate" technology is the **appropriate** technology for the intermediate status of Third World countries. A domestic satellite for rural telephon, education and meteorology may be relevant for a Third World country, along side community radio stations. Third World technology does not have to be restricted to kerosene-lamp adaptations of slide projectors, nor does it always have to be labor-intensive.

A rather powerful lady said recently, science, and its advances cannot be only for the haves. Independent Third World centers of excellence in communication teaching, research, design and development on a range of options from

kenaf manufacture to satellite parking spaces to radio repair are essential at the regional if not national level, to help make well-informed decisions free of pressures from sales persons and aid givers.

Over 12 years of experience in the villages of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean have taught me to ask four very hard questions of every option:

a) Does the country have the financial resources and technical infrastructure to sustain this technology?

b) Is the design and deployment of the technology going to cosmetically deal only with the symptoms of underdevelopment or is going to tackle the root cause?

c) Is the option going to promote dependency in hardware, programming, organizational structures or professional values or will it encourage domestic innovation?

d) Will it benefit the poor more than the rich?

5. We Third World countries need to be strongly supported by well-intentioned individuals, groups and countries other than the super powers to help exercise our option **not** to buy, and **not** to play the game when we do not like the rules. Yes, it is important that we choose the issue and the occasion for disassociation carefully, that we negotiate from a position of strength, that we simultaneously offer our adversary a face-saving option. However, saying "no" is a lonely and risky business for beggars who want to be choosers. We Third World countries need a support system beyond the polarizing choice between the U. S. and U. S. S. R. that was Cuba's only option, and is now Central America's dilemma. Third World countries need a **Third System** — a system of supportive individuals, groups and countries, perhaps like Norway, that will help us fulfil our own potential in our own multiple ways.

(Concluded)

IMF, IBRD uneasy and pessimistic

The major theme of the international Monetary Fund's Annual Report, is the need for countries to reduce their budget deficits in order to create the condition for a sustained recovery of the world economy.

It says: "Budget deficits are a source of concern, not only because of their absolute magnitude but because of their size in relation to available savings.

It also makes the point that developing countries need to pay attention to the way in which government spending is allocated. It says there has been a tendency for cuts to be made to investment plans rather than to current consumption.

It says continued restraint on the demand of developing countries will be needed while they continue to face the present very high burden of debt service and repayments.

In the longer term, it says the countries worst hit by import restrictions in the industrialised world will be those developing nations which have followed the IMF's advice to develop outward looking growth strategies and the liberalisation of their domestic economies.

As the annual report of the World Bank underlines, increases in the Bank's activities are puny in relation to the financial crisis faced by many Third World countries. The world-wide recession has cut drastically into Third World exports and private lending to developing countries has dwindled from \$48bn in calendar 1981 to \$35bn in 1982 and to little more than a trickle for much of the past 12 months. Non-oil-producing developing countries have been forced to reduce their imports by \$25bn between 1981 and 1982, according to the

Bank's estimates, with no major improvement yet in sight.

At the broadest level, the Bank is clearly uneasy about the continuing emphasis on restrictive policies in both developing and industrialised countries. It warns that "if further stagnations in the world economy continues, even more severe cutbacks in imports will be required" by developing countries. This will further reduce growth in the industrialised world. With an apparent touch of despair it notes that in the past few years "the world dealt with the worst recessions since the Second World War by collectively reducing demand."

The Bank repeatedly praises the IMF and points out that without its intervention "the reduction in imports could have been even greater" in many developing countries. But its analysis emphasises the desirability of rapidly restoring world economic growth and increasing, international capital flows, rather than urging developing countries to "adjust" even further to their strained circumstances.

"A number of major borrowers that are now experiencing difficulties have (in the 1960s and 1970s) proved their ability to achieve high rates of export and income growth." Although their debt levels might not be considered excessive under the appropriate conditions of rapid economic growth, the current "austerity programmes and attempts to achieve trade surpluses are exacting a heavy toll," particularly on investment, the report notes.

— *Financial Times* (London)



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(Continued from page 4)

central administrative control in every respect. The DIGs in different regions will, however, be instructed to maintain what is called a working collaboration with the elected executives of the regional councils in charge of the local administration. The regional councils will be permitted to raise local police forces on a voluntary basis to function like Home Guards in assisting a regular police in the maintenance of law and order in the districts.

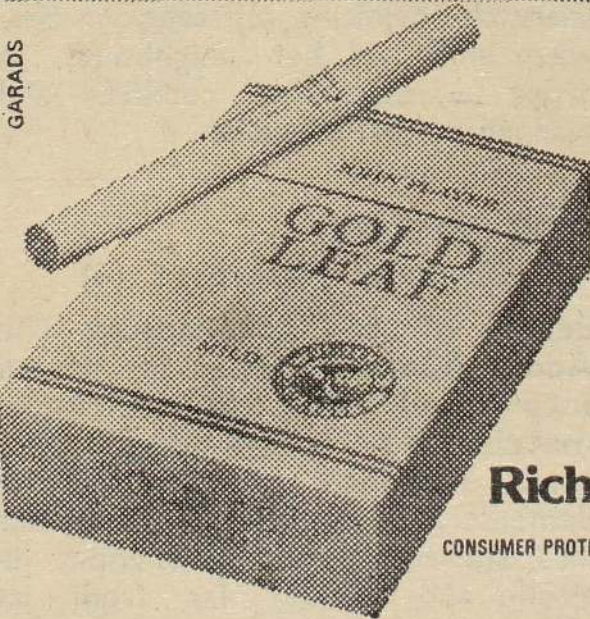
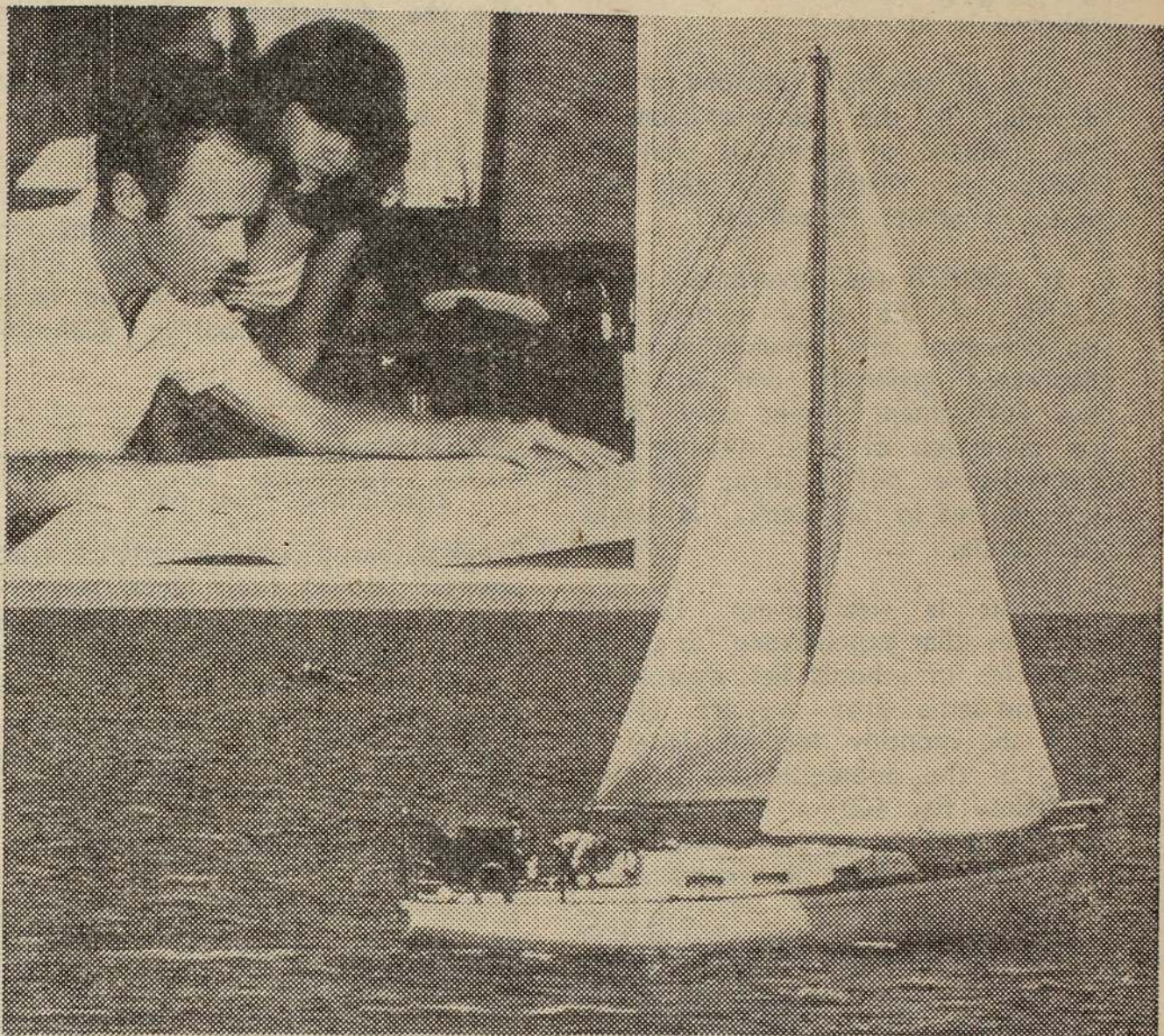
The Jayewardene proposals also empower the regional councils to function as mini legislatures in respect of the subjects delegated to them, but the resolutions adopted by them will have to be approved by Parliament. The proposals also deal with the procedures for quicker implementation of the decisions already taken, or to be taken, about the language question giving Tamil and Sinhalese their due status as national languages, while English continues to be retained as a third language.

The Sri Lanka President's ideas on treating Trincomalee as a centrally-administered area also need to be spelt out to the satisfaction of the TULF leaders that what is being thought is only the establishment of a port authority and not a separate administrative zone. The Tamil community which is in absolute majority in the North and in substantial numbers in the East will not agree to any wedge being driven between the two regions to deny them contiguity by bringing the area in and around Trincomalee under central rule.

All these issues need careful consideration to avoid misunderstanding later on, before even a tentative accord in principle is reached for engaging in detailed negotiations. But in making its good offices available, the Government of India is trying to narrow down the basic differences and help the two sides evolve an agreed structural concept of a broad-based solution that could be given a concrete shape in due course through detailed negotiations.

— HINDU, 19. 11. 83

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SPORTS IN SCHOOLS

THE standard of sports in Sri Lanka is on the decline. Our performance in various sports at international level were poor. But a few decades ago our sportmen were a force to reckon in Asia. Today all Asia except for a few countries like Maldives, Nepal and Bangladesh are surging ahead of us in various spheres in sports.

One of the main reasons to this downfall is the deterioration of the standard of sports in schools. What are reasons for this sad state of affairs in schools?

In 1969/70 the government spent 14.5% of the total expenditure on education and annually this has decreased generally and in 1981 the government spent only 2.7% on education of total expenditure. Expenditure per student by the government in Sri Lanka is lower than India.

So it is clear from 1969/70 onwards that expenditure for sports activities in schools has decreased. At the same time we are aware that the monthly income level of 80% of the people in this country is below Rs. 400/-. This situation is the main cause for the poor standard of sports in schools.

The establishment of a Ministry of Sports also has crippled sports in schools. Because a lot of sports instructors who were doing yeoman service in the Education Department joined the Ministry of sports for better salaries and other facilities. Though there is a separate Ministry for sports functioning in this country for the last 20 years country's standard of sports has not improved.

A few months ago the Ministry of Education created a new post and appointed a sports officer from the Ministry of Sports as an assistant secretary in-charge of sports in schools. We firmly believe that this type of patchwork is not going to raise the standard of sports in schools, in the long run.

Some of our proposals to remedy this sad plight of affairs are given here:

1. Bring down the cost of sports goods.

2. The Ministry of Education should take steps to supply sports goods to all schools. And there should be an equitable distribution.

3. Every school should be provided with a sports instructor. Or else the department should train teachers for the purpose. Sports instructors in schools should be paid an extra monthly allowance.

4. The Ministry of Sports and the Ministry of Education should jointly launch a programme to improve sports in schools. The Ministry of Education should establish a sports school in each district.

5. A sports institute similar to the Indian Institute of Sports in Patiala should be established in Sri Lanka.

6. There are talented boys and girls in rural areas and in slum and shanties in the towns. These talented children should be awarded scholarships for scientific training.

7. There are a large number of veteran sportsmen in the country who shone nationally and internationally and whose experience are not utilised. We appeal to the Minister of Education to draw up a scheme to utilise their knowledge and experience.

H. N. Fernando.

*General Secretary,
Ceylon Teachers Union*

De-Stabilising. . .

(Continued from page 5)

Bangkok-based correspondents who pointed out to their Delhi counterparts that at a regional conference of US envoys held in the Thai capital, Mr. Schultz, Secretary of State himself outlined the basic aims. Apparently this did not come as "hot news" to some of the reporters who specialise in South and South-east Asian coverage.

Diplomatic initiatives would be designed to exploit to the full (a) separatist and oppositional politics within India (b) India's economic and financial difficulties (c) tensions between India and her neighbours in order to exacerbate conflicts and sharpen mutual suspicion.

The threats. . .

(Continued from page 18)

degree of self-government the Addis Ababa regime is drawn into a fruitless spiral of violence matched by the growing military strength of the TPLF demonstrated by recent incursions into the heartlands of Ethiopia in Wollo and Gondar far from its native bases.

On the other hand, the military aims of the TPLF are necessarily limited. The might of the Ethiopian machine, supported and continuously

SARC, the South Asian grouping which was a Bangladesh initiative strongly supported by India, Sri Lanka etc, is also a target because a larger unit which includes Burma, Nepal, Pakistan (the last two are members of SARC) could be given an ASEAN-type 'security dimension'.

Top target of course is Mrs. Gandhi and her prestige in the NAM and internationally. With the Indian leader making a hard-hitting speech on Grenada and describing the African-Caribbean exchange on Grenada as the "stormiest" she has witnessed at Commonwealth gatherings, both diplomats and analysts with a special interest in regional politics studied US western reactions to Mrs. Gandhi's handling of the latest Delhi confab.

re-inforced by sophisticated and expensive Soviet weaponry and air cover, is unlikely to be crushed by guerilla forces.

In the long-run a political settlement is the only solution to the military stalemate. However, if the TPLF fails to make any progress with its current demand for autonomy within a democratic federation of Ethiopia, it may be forced to pursue the more radical path to secession and independence.

— *Financial Times, London*



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