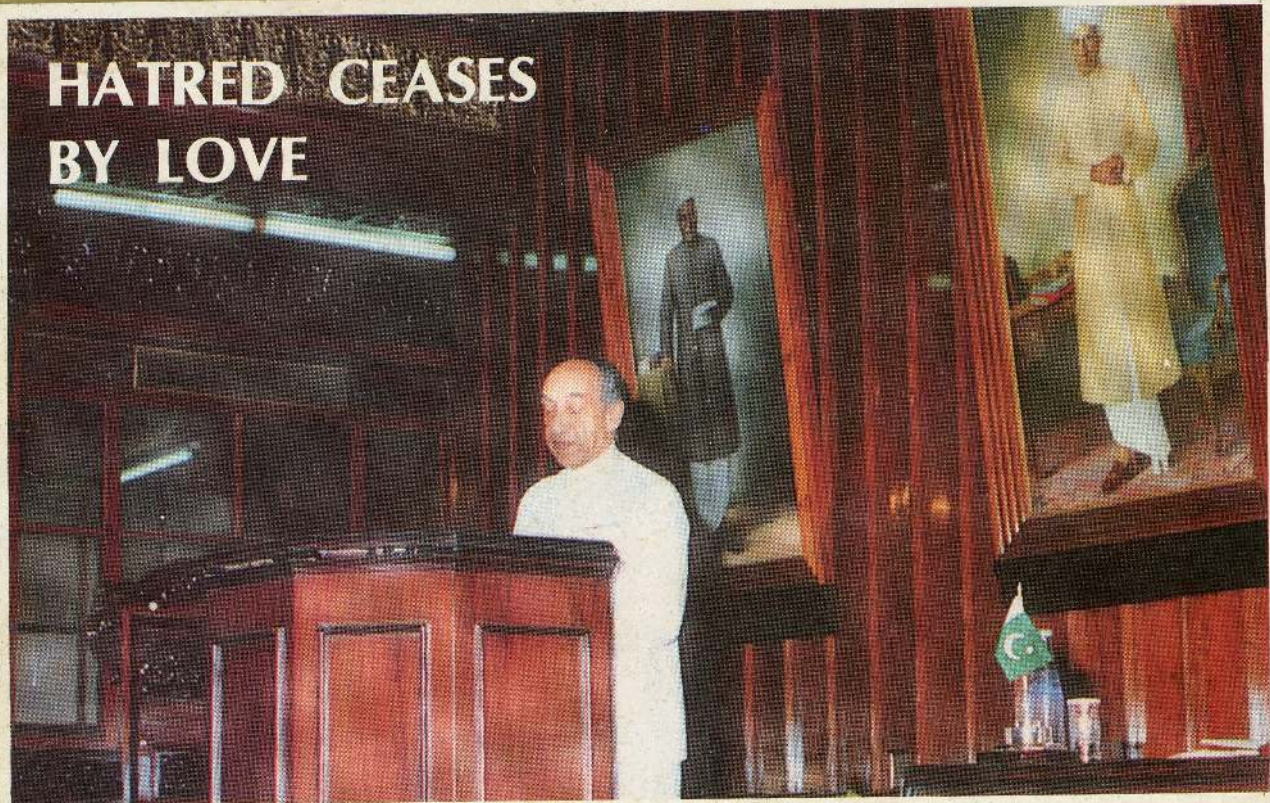


HATRED CEASES BY LOVE



**THE STATEMENT BY HIS EXCELLENCY
J. R. JAYEWARDENE**

President of the
Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka

**AT THE SECOND SAARC SUMMIT AT BANGALORE
November 1986**



SAARC

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Second
ARC Summit
Bali



*Mr. Chairman, Sir,
Your Excellencies, Heads of State and Heads of
Government,
Hon'ble Foreign Ministers,
Distinguished Foreign Secretaries and Delegates,
Ladies and Gentlemen,*

It is my privilege and pleasure, Mr. Prime Minister, to congratulate you on your assumption of Chairmanship of the Summit Meeting. I also bring to you and to the Government and People of India the warm greetings and sincere good wishes of the people of Sri Lanka.

We thank you and your Government deeply for the warm welcome that we have found here

and the most generous hospitality that has been extended to us. We are most appreciative of the careful and excellent arrangements made for our meetings.

Our inaugural Summit at Dhaka laid the foundation for our Association. We have to now build on this foundation. We have completed the formalities of creating a structured framework for regional cooperation. We have given expression to our regional collectivity and a regional identity is appearing.

All of us around here are practical men. We know our expectations and our limitations. Our annual meetings at Summit level and meetings at Foreign Ministers' level and meetings of officials and technocrats from our countries will certainly

help to promote our commitment to work together within our region.

It is important that the message of SAARC should be taken to the people because in the final analysis our peoples must not only accept this process but must also be involved in it. This is why at Dhaka we decided to foster people to people contacts within our region. This approach is being advanced by the organisation of seminars, meetings and exchanges at various levels. We have much more to do in this field.

On the other hand, popular consciousness and involvement in regional interaction will not by itself achieve regionalism. We are all aware that initiatives of this nature cannot succeed unless it has the necessary political will.

Important areas of activities

Our regional cooperation today is confined to areas where there has been no conflict between national and regional interest. I believe we have to expand and enlarge our activities. We will have to enter important areas as trade and commerce. The growth of our Association would depend on the growth of mutual trust and confidence.

We have taken every precaution to ensure the smooth conduct of business at our meeting. The ground rules require that in taking decisions unanimity should be the criteria. We have excluded bilateral and contentious issues from our deliberations.

We cannot build this Association if we allow bilateral issues to grow. If we bring the bilateral issues to this forum, then may be we would be crippled before we could walk. I am sure the Summits will provide us opportunities of talking to one another very informally in friendly environments about our bilateral issues. It must be so. I believe a day would soon come when we would be able to bring bilateral and contentious issues before this forum. To do so, we will have to build greater understanding and trust among us.

We must also know each other and our problems. Let me speak for a few moments of the terrorist problem in Sri Lanka.

Till 1983 the Governments of Sri Lanka dealt with terrorists' acts in the North and East as normal acts of criminality. When 13 soldiers were killed by a bomb in the North in July 1983, riots broke out in various parts of the Island. Terrorism now began to take a different form, as a direct challenge to the authority of an elected Government. The Government of India at this stage began discussions with the Sri Lanka Government, through Sri G. Parathasarathi who visited Sri Lanka in August and November 1983, at the request of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and myself.

Steps taken towards a Solution

The Sri Lanka Government since then took various steps to arrive at a political solution, e.g.,

the All-Party Conference of 1984; the visits of my Ministers and myself to Delhi in 1984 and 1985; Secretary Bhandari's visit to Sri Lanka in April 1985; the Thimpu-Delhi talks and the Delhi Accord of July/August 1985; the Chidambaram visit to Sri Lanka in April/May 1986. This process still continues.

The statements made by me to the Parliament of Sri Lanka on 20.02.1985 and on 20.02.1986 give a detailed history of these steps and the rejection of the proposals by the representatives of the Separatist groups.

The Sri Lanka Government has now, with the good offices of the Government of India and the Government of the State of Tamil Nadu, placed before the representatives of the Separatist

groups proposals which create Provincial Councils with Chief Ministers and Boards of Ministers, all elected by the people of each province, and the devolution of functions and authority to these Councils, without violating the Constitution of Sri Lanka. The Government of Sri Lanka has outlined these wide reaching proposals.

Path of Non-violence

Addressing the Sri Lanka Parliament in 1985 and 1986 I have said, and I repeat, "Non-violence is a creed of faith of the Government of Sri Lanka and of the founding fathers of India's Freedom and Constitution. The use of violence to achieve political goals is totally against the ideals preached by the great sons of

India, particularly Gautama the Buddha and Mahatma Gandhi. We in Sri Lanka have tried to follow these ideals.

We cannot compromise with violence. Whatever form of agitation is used to attain political goals it must be non-violent and follow the Buddhist and Gandhian method of Satyakriya or Satyagraha.

The heritage of India is universal and permanent. We in Sri Lanka are proud that even a shadow of this noble heritage has fallen on our land enabling us to share it even in a small degree. It is the heritage of "Ahimsa", "Non-violence" handed down to us from time immemorial, from the Hindu-Vedas, from the Buddha Dhamma, the Christian Gospels and

Islam's Koran. Mahatma Gandhi personified these ideals, and lived them in his life and teaching of Truth and Maithriya, inspiring others also to follow his example.

To uphold the rule of law

It is my earnest desire that all my fellow members of this Conference realise, that my Government and the freedom loving and democratic people of Sri Lanka are committed, to uphold throughout the Island the Rule of Law; to protect Democratic Institutions; to safeguard the Independence, Integrity and Unity of our country.

This is a moment of destiny for us. Not only as fellow members of SAARC, but also as



neighbours that share common aspirations and ideals, we need your understanding and appreciation, as we face the challenge of violence that confronts us.

When I spoke at Dhaka at our first Summit I said that the SAARC ship has set sail—that it has started its journey and that there should be no mutiny on board. I am reminded of a few words from Shakespeare's 'Julius Caesar':

"On such a full sea are we now afloat; And we must take the current when it serves, Or lose our ventures."

I believe, that these lines are very relevant. We are now afloat on such a full sea. We must have the courage and determination to take the current and make it serve us. We must not lose

our venture. If we do so, history will say that we failed the teeming millions in South Asia languishing in hunger and poverty.

Mr. Chairman, I spoke those words for the record.

You quoted a poem from Rabindranath Tagore which is close to my heart. Tagore wrote, "if life's journey be endless, where is the goal". I think the goal and the road are one. Every step must be as pure as the goal itself. There can be no impure steps to attain a pure goal. I say this because I know that violence brings hatred. Hatred cannot be conquered by violence; but by non-violence and by love. When I spoke at the 1951 San Francisco Conference on the Japanese Peace Treaty soon

after the war, I cited the Buddha's words. I said "Hold out the hand of friendship to the Japanese people. Hatred ceases not by hatred, but by love".

Hatred ceases by love

Zafrulla Khan of Pakistan, spoke after me. He said that the Prophet Mohammed also had a similar view. Certain enemies were defeated by arms and they were brought before the Prophet with all the goods that were captured. He said, "release them, release everything you have taken from them, except their arms. Forgive them", he said.

Hindu Vedas and the Bhagwat Gita asks us to do right without fear of consequence. Christ forgave his enemies on the Cross.

I am reminded of all this because every time a bullet, whether it be a terrorist bullet or a bullet from the security services in my country, kills a citizen it goes deep into my heart. I do not know how to stop it. Violence achieves nothing, except distress and hatred.

I am reminded of a story of Gautama the Buddha. He was meditating in a jungle near a village. A young mother lost her only child. She could not believe that he was dead. She carried the body round the village trying to find some medicine. She could not find it. She was told "why don't you go and see that holy man. He may help you." She went to him. He told her, "Sister, can you bring a mustard seed? But it must be from a house where there has been no

death." She went back to the village carrying this dead child. She visited house after house; but there was no house where there was no death. In every house somebody had died. She came back and told the Buddha, "Lord, I could not find such a house to bring a mustard seed." So he said, "Sister, thou hast found, looking for what none finds, the bitter balm I had to give thee. He thou lovest, slept dead on thy bosom yesterday. Today, thou knowest the whole wide world weeps with thy woe. The grief that all hearts bear grows less by one. Go, bury thou thy child."

democratic objectives

Whenever I hear of death it grieves me more than I can explain. One of your leaders, the great

Mahatma Gandhi personified in his life the non-violence that I mentioned. He showed the world that non-violence can be employed to attain political and democratic objectives. Whether it be freedom from foreign rule, or the elimination of Capitalism and the formation of a Communist State or whether it is Separatism or Federalism, this is the only way that can be supported by civilised people. That is the way of non-violence or "ahimsa".

I was privileged, Mr. Chairman, as a young man just entering politics in the 1930s to witness a great movement which began to stir India. Mr. Chairman, I knew your mother and grandfather Jawaharlal Nehru. I stayed with him in his house. I was his guest at the Congress Ramgarh Sessions—the last sessions before freedom. I was

his guest in Bombay when the "Quit India" Resolution was passed. That was the first occasion on which Mahatma Gandhi, in his long service to India, tried the non-violent way to attain freedom for his country. He was training his people in non-violence. He walked to the Dandi beach to break the "salt laws." He broke the laws of the British Government after the Amritsar massacre. He broke the habit regarding the wearing of foreign cloth and encouraged the Swadeshi Movement. He said you are in a movement not only to attain freedom. At the Bombay session when he spoke on the "Quit India" Resolution, I was sitting behind him when he ended his speech with *KARANJE YA MARANGE* "DO OR DIE".

Gandhiji's inspirations

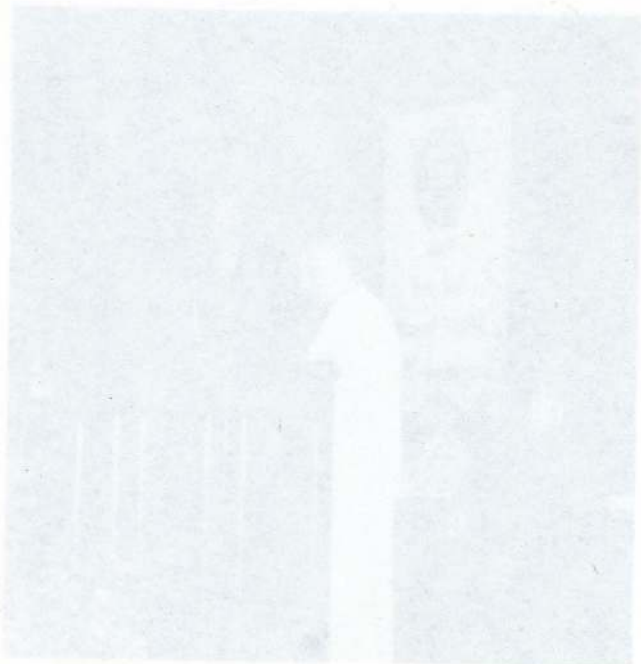
Mr. Chairman, I was returning back to Sri Lanka when I was told that your grandfather was arrested. Throughout his long life, Gandhiji never stressed any means other than non-violence. I remember when there was an agitation in Bihar and the police station was set on fire in Chauri Choura. Some policemen were killed during the non-cooperation campaign. Jawaharlal Nehru and other leaders were in jail. Mahatma Gandhi called off the agitation because violence had broken out. Jawaharlal Nehru from jail asked why did he do so, when they were about to attain their objective. ***Mahatma Gandhi said, "No! I do not want to attain freedom through violence." That was the man that inspired me. Those are the***

men who brought freedom to all our countries. Not only in Asia, but throughout the world. And I say again violence means hatred. Hatred cannot be conquered by violence, but by non-violence and by love. That is the way I would like to follow.

Mr. Chairman, as I said before and I say now, "I am a lover of India, I am a friend of its people and you its leader, Mr. Chairman. I am a follower of its greatest son, Gautama the Buddha."

Thank you.





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Thank you

**THE STATEMENT BY HIS EXCELLENCY J. R. JAYEWARDENE AT THE
CLOSING SESSION OF THE SECOND SAARC SUMMIT
(17.11.86)**

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CLOSING SESSION OF THE SECOND SAARC SUMMIT
(17.11.86)

*Your Majesties,
Your Excellencies,
Distinguished Delegates,
Ladies and Gentlemen,*

Mr. Chairman,

We have come to the conclusion of our deliberations and it is my duty to thank the Government of India, the Government of Karnataka, yourself Prime Minister, Chief Minister and those who helped to make our stay happy, helped us in our work to come to the end of a successful session.

Looking to the future we are setting up our Secretariat in Kathmandu. Secretary-General of

the Secretariat is Mr. Abul Ahsan from Bangladesh who is aided by the 7 Counsellors from our 7 countries. We wish the Secretariat and its officials the best we can offer. The next Summit meeting will be in Nepal next year. We have not decided upon the date as yet. The Summit meeting after that, it has been decided should be in Sri Lanka. The date has not yet been decided. As far as we can now judge the events, we have considered many proposals. Some of them we decided to implement. When they are implemented, I could see, we will increase knowledge. They will increase wealth and employment to millions of people living in our region, stretching their hands towards perfection.

Mr. Chairman, the ship of SAARC is now sailing under your guidance. We know the qualities you possess, the qualities you inherited, are sufficient that this ship looks neither to the right nor to the left but goes straight on to its cherished goal.

May in the years to come your guidance help all those who are the leaders of the 7 nations, help all people of our countries to attain prosperity, peace and happiness.

Thank you.

COMMENTS IN THE INDIAN MEDIA

Indian Express

President Jayewardene kept the audience spell bound for nearly ten minutes when he spoke extempore at the end of his written speech, at the inauguration of the SAARC Summit at Vidhana Soudha.

Most of the media men considered his speech was outstanding and many listeners were moved by his closing remarks. Following is the front page story which appeared in the "**Indian Express**" (17.11.86) under the title "In the end a surprise."

"He was the last speaker in the alphabetical order. Yet he was the one who got the suddenly rivetted attention of an electrified audience when he gave them a sweeping view of history, of nostalgia and personal reminiscences and immediately transformed the mood of the Summit's Opening Session."

President Jayewardene had initially attracted attention of a different sort. After saying that SAARC would be crippled before it could walk if bilateral issues were taken up on its public forum. He proceeded to take up the bilateral Sri Lanka-India negotiations over the Tamil issue.

However, the experienced and astute politician in him saw to it that his observations did not quite amount to a raising of the controversial aspects of the issue for SAARC to discuss the basic etiquette of SAARC remained intact.

What actually made the listeners sit up with undivided attention was Mr. Jayewardene's closing of the text with the remark. "I said those words for the record" and then launching into a 10 minute extempore exposition of the philosophy Satyagraha.

It was virtuoso performance which at once set the octogenarian apart from his

fellow Summiteers, as he described his close association with the great leaders like Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. It dawned on all that Jayewardene was the lone surviving representative of South Asia's first generation National leaders. It seemed to fill his younger colleagues with a new respect and affection for the veteran.

He vividly recalled the Old 'Quit India' Session of the Congress. Described how Gandhi had withdrawn mass Satyagrahas when they turned violent even when other leaders like Nehru had difficulty comprehending his reasoning. *Gandhiji knew, Mr. Jayewardene said that violence only produced hatred and that hatred could only be cured with love.*

He recalled how at the Japanese Peace Treaty Conference in San Francisco, he had spoken about the Buddha's concept of forgiving. Zafrullah Khan who was the next speaker had then reminded him that Prophet Mohamed also had propagated the same teaching. Mr. Jayewardene then pointed out how the Bhagawad Gita had taught the sanctity of doing one's duty in a spirit of Ahimsa. As for Christ, he had forgiven his tormentors while he was on the cross.

Every time a bullet kills a person, Mr. Jayewardene said "whether it is a terrorist bullet or a bullet from the security services of my country, it goes deep into my heart. I do not know how to stop it."

As the audience sat rock still, Mr. Jayewardene intoned in a steady and impassioned voice, "I am a lover of India. I am a friend of its people and its leader, and I am a follower of its greatest son, Gauthama Buddha."

He then stopped dramatically and walked slowly back to his seat looking like a sage.

"Indian Express" in a separate colourful piece on the poetic talents of the Heads of States, commented.....

"The poetic muse appeared to have cast its spell on the Heads of States. Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi set the mood by concluding his inaugural address with a quote from Rabindranath Tagore."

"If life's journey be endless where is its Goal? The answer is, it is everywhere. The world is not a mere road but a Home."

Sri Lanka President, Junius Jayewardene, who appeared to be in a particularly rhapsodic and philosophical mood, picked up the string from Tagore's query. "Where is its Goal?" and composed his own reply. "The Goal and the Road are one, and every step we take must be pure as goal." He also quoted extensively from Shakespere, Buddha and Mahatma Gandhi.

'Times of India' of 17.11.86 on President Jayewardene's speech.

"In several respects, the Octogenarian Sri Lankan President, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene proved that he is a senior politician amongst the seven

SAARC Leaders. While all the others spoke from prepared texts, Mr. Jayewardene deviated from the text to dwell at length on the need for non-violence. "Civilised people can't encourage violence and the means to an end should be as pure as the end itself." He said quoting Mahatma Gandhi, Jawarharlal Nehru and Mrs. Gandhi.

His speech was replete with anecdotes and personal references to Jawaharlal Nehru and Mrs. Gandhi."

THE HINDU

The 'HINDU' of 17th November in a colourful comment on the Summit States "From an improvised platform at the pedestal of the Vidhana Soudha fluttered the national flags of the seven SAARC nations – India, the host, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhutan and the Maldives.

The seven heads of States and Governments were the cynosure of all eyes, as they walked into the Assembly Chamber and took their seats on a newly made long and curved table which had displaced the Speaker's imposing podium.

The Hall itself has been redone with the flooring covered with green carpet.

As the two-hour long ceremony came to an end the man who stole the limelight was the frail-looking and lungi-clad President of the strife-torn Sri Lanka, Mr. Jayewardene with his telling exposition of ahimsa, non-violence and Gandhism. ***His speech was partly a prepared text and partly extempore. The latter part took the house by storm.***

The 'Hindu' of 17th November, 1986 in a separate article—"The Sri Lanka President Mr. J. R. Jayewardene and the Pakistan Prime Minister Mr. Mohammed Khan Junejo, brought in matters which were uppermost in their minds in the context of the situation in their countries.

The most-talked of was the performance of Mr. Jayewardene who, it was clear, had in mind

not merely the small gathering in the main hall of Vidhana Soudha, but also the vast audiences in India and Sri Lanka who watched the live telecast of the inauguration on their television sets. ***Devoting a large part of his address to the "terrorist problem in Sri Lanka", he referred to his faith in non-violence – the ideal preached by Buddha and Gandhi—and expressed his resolve not to compromise with violence.***

Departing from the prepared text, he recalled his association with Nehru and other leaders of the Indian freedom struggle, his presence at the 1942 Bombay Congress session which gave a "Quit India" call to the British rulers. Gandhi's action in withdrawing non-cooperation movement when it turned violent. "The

heritage of India is universal and permanent. We in Sri Lanka are proud that a shadow of this noble heritage has fallen on our land enabling us to share it even in a small degree. It is the heritage of ahimsa, non-violence".

Some said Mr. Jayewardene had stolen the show by getting out of the grooves of cold formality that was the hallmark of other speeches. (THE HINDU)

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