

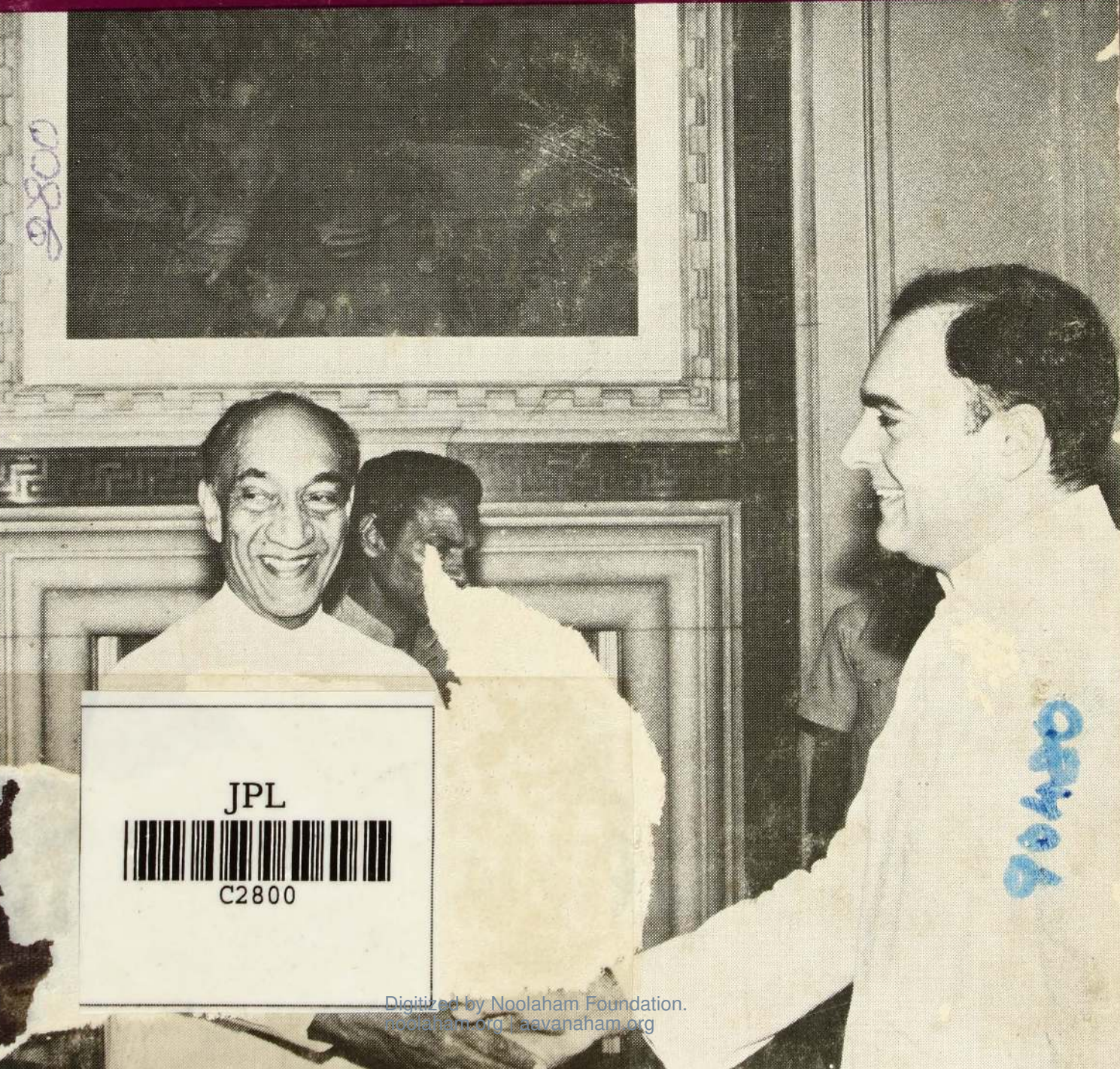
J.R. Jayewardene

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MEN AND MEMORIES

Autobiographical Recollections and Reflections



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The spirit of Buddhist compassion, clarity and conspicuous honesty and independence of thought are the distinctions of this work of autobiographical recollections and reflections by Junius Richard Jayawardene, the first Executive President and undoubtedly the most respected elder statesman of Sri Lanka.

Not strictly an autobiography of a man with a rich and distinguished political contribution to the birth and growth of a free and democratic Sri Lanka as well as the South Asian international affairs, this book is a record of men and memories who were the architects of the new South Asian world with all its turmoils, triumphs and tantalising agencies and challenges in this twentieth century.

Basically reflecting the hopes and aspirations of his own island-nation, its perceptions, problems and positions on both national and international affairs, it is an account of events and personalities by a man who has been one of the key participants in the making of modern Sri Lanka and the present South Asian political ethos.

None has dared tell the truth with such dispassionate honesty about controversial phases of Sri Lanka's triumphs and troubles and about Indo-Sri Lanka relations of mutual love and suspicion, as the man who has now voluntarily decided to retire from active politics but live in active retrospection and reflection on men and memories.

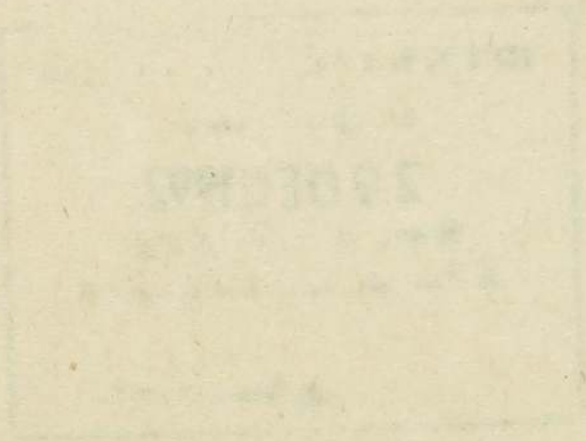
For those who want to understand the Sri Lanka perceptions on crucial issues like the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord, the role of the IPKF in Sri Lanka, the island-nation's long drawn and difficult battle against ethnic strife, militant terrorism of varied shades and ideological complexions, and secessionism, this work provides rare insights.

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MEN AND MEMORIES ✓

Autobiographical Recollections and Reflections

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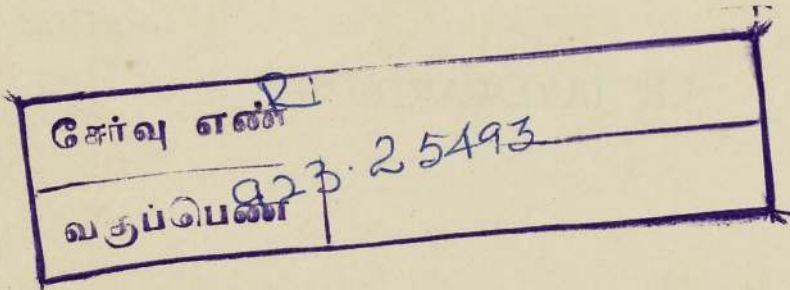
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Preface

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I was born on 17 September 1906. My father was E.W. Jayawardene, K.C. and a Judge of the Supreme Court and my mother was Agnes Helen, the daughter of Tudugala Don Philip Wijewardene and his wife Helena Wijewardene. My maternal grandmother is remembered as a pious and noble lady who made munificent gifts for the restoration of the Kelaniya Raja Maha Viharaya, the 2500 years old Sacred Buddhist shrine.

I was affectionately called 'Dickie' and was taught English and music by a Scottish governess, Miss Monro. At an early age I learned to play the piano. I entered the Royal College in 1911 and pursued my studies there till 1925 when I left Royal and entered the Ceylon University College. At the Royal College I was awarded the prize for general merit and the best speaker in 1925, the year in which I passed the London Matriculation Examination. I boxed, played cricket, rugger and football for the School, and played for the winning team in the annual Royal-Thomian encounter in 1925. At the University College I studied English, Logic, Latin and Economics.

In 1928 I joined the Law College and the following year I was awarded the Hector Jayewardene Gold Medal for Oratory and the Walter Pereira Prize for Legal Research. In 1932 I took my oath as an Advocate of the Supreme Court. The

most symbolic act of my unconventional conduct as a law student was to hang of Mahatma Gandhi's portrait in the parlour of the Law College. This sensational episode gained me much publicity at that time, for it amounted to a challenge thrown at the British Raj.

Born to a family of eminent lawyers whose private lives were played out in the public arena, I was propelled into politics in my youthful years. For a while my attention was directed to the Trade Union Movement launched by A.E. Goonesinghe and in 1930 I addressed a meeting of Tramcar workers who were on strike.

Being the lawyer son of a lawyer father it did not take long for me to be recognised at Hulftsdorp. I never deviated from the high code of ethics of this learned profession. A voracious reader, I preferred history, current affairs, biography and political science to pure literature. The dynamic national liberation movement of India under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi and his band of able lieutenants headed by Nehru was a source of inspiration to me.

I linked my fate with Elina B. Rupasinghe on 28 February 1935. Her affluence enabled me to pay more attention to politics and relegate law into the background although I was making my mark in the legal profession. We have one child, Ravindra, who qualified and worked as a Commercial Pilot in the Air Lanka until ill-health compelled him to resign. He was a champion marksman representing his country in many International Games and led the Sri Lankan team to the Tokyo Olympics in 1954.

The Ceylon National Congress was dominated by politicians of Victorian vintage who followed the principles of liberal democracy of the era of Gladstone and Disraeli. The masses were either apolitical or showed total indifference to national problems. But in the neighbouring Sub-continent of India a mass movement was in full swing. Mahatma Gandhi, the frail ascetic, was the general who planned the Swaraj Movement, and his technique of *Satyagraha* or the power of Truth was the basis of the Indian freedom struggle. I was much

impressed by the role played by Pandit Nehru for whom I developed a great affection.

In the Ceylon National Congress I built up a significant relationship with D.S. Senanayake and the other elder statesmen. Always receptive to new ideas, a band of young radicals with myself bent our energies to transform the Ceylon National Congress into a mass political organization similar to the Indian National Congress. When I became the Joint Secretary of the Ceylon National Congress in 1940 with Dudley Senanayake we took steps to restructure and provide muscle and clout to this political forum which was dominated by members of elite families and representatives of the legal profession. We drafted a new Constitution and made great efforts to broadbase the organization.

I led the Ceylon National Congress delegation consisting of J.E. Amaratunga and P.D.S. Jayasekare to the Annual Session of the Indian National Congress held at Ramgarh in March 1940.

The Ceylon National Congress nominated candidates for the Colombo Municipal Council elections in 1940 and I was elected as Member of the New Bazaar East Ward. At this time a group of young Marxists who had returned from English universities were busy organizing the urban working class and were active in rural areas as well. I cherished the friendship of Marxist intellectuals but I was not prepared to accept any ideology based on violence or which went against our national ethos, or conflicted with the ethics and tenets of Buddhism.

When I sought election to the State Council for the vacant seat of Kelaniya created by the resignation of Sir D.B. Jayatillake I had to face a formidable rival in E.W. Perera, the doughty freedom fighter. On 18 April 1943, I won the Kelaniya seat by a majority of 10,195 votes. On 25 May 1943, I took oath as Member of the State Council for Kelaniya and before long I became a recognized spokesman on major national issues. I introduced a bill in the State Council to make Sinhala the official language of Ceylon, later amended to

include Tamil also. Though immersed in national politics I also took a keen interest in Kelaniya. I never forgot to nurse the electorate and before long many rural hospitals, dispensaries and schools were built and numerous roads were constructed in the Kelaniya electorate which stretched from the banks of the Kelani River to the heartland of Siyane Korale. The State Council was no Mecca of mediocrities for it had a galaxy of brilliant young legislators and I worked hand in hand with them.

A founder member of the United National Party, which was formed in 1944 to contest the General Election of 1947, I was a follower of D.S. Senanayake and was offered the portfolio of Finance in the first Cabinet. Within a short period I understood the essentials of Public Finance and the first Six Year Plan was drawn up under my guidance. I had the reputation of being one of the hard working Ministers in D.S. Senanayake's Cabinet, and I was able to get the best out of my subordinates as well as my advisers.

I become known in the international scene in September 1951 when I opposed Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko's attempt to sabotage the Japanese Peace Treaty at San Francisco to the infinite relief of war-torn Japan. The sponsorship of the Colombo Plan also made me known in the international arena.

In Sir John Kotelawala's Cabinet I was assigned the portfolio of Food and Agriculture. Before long storm clouds were gathering over the political horizon and the popularity of the United National Party slid down as the resurgent nationalist force with the accent on Buddhist revival and enthronement of Sinhala as the language gathered momentum.

In the General Elections held in April 1956 the party which ruled Ceylon since independence was beaten by the Mahajana Eksath Peramuna, headed by S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike. The UNP was reduced to a mere rump of eight seats and I was one of the many casualties in this electoral holocaust.

This reminds one of a remark in Winston Churchill's War

Memoirs, written about the great French Prime Minister Clemenceau who was rejected by the electorate, Churchill said, "Ingratitude towards their Leaders is a hallmark of a cultured race". Perhaps he was making a veiled allusion or an insinuation against the British electorate which rejected his party at the polls after the Second World War. Kelaniya electorate rejected its representative in Parliament. I had done much for the electorate but was defeated by an intruder in April 1956.

The thinking in the country was that the UNP was a spent force which had outlived its purpose. Sir John was not inclined to attend Parliament and as a political party the UNP became rudderless and began to drift in a troubled sea of uncertainty. Dudley Senanayake had left the Party.

I did not withdraw into a political wilderness. I advised my defeated friends that "In defeat, defiance should be the slogan." I was able to discern the dilemmas which the nation faced and assessed correctly the incompetence and inability of the new regime to deliver the goods. With neither an organization, ideology nor a programme, it was destined to an untimely end.

The Mahajana Eksath Peramuna possessed seeds of disintegration within itself. The 'Sinhala Only' Act was passed with much fanfare and the canker of communalism began to eat into the body politic of Ceylon. Very soon problems began to pile up and the Mahajana Eksath Peramuna began to tear at the seams.

The time was ripe for a review of the UNP's future, the only party in the opposition based on principles of democracy and it fell to my lot to undertake this task. With a band of courageous and faithful followers I organized mass meetings and rallies throughout the country and took steps to correct the image of the UNP which was considered a conservative, capitalist party. Very soon I was able to pick up the broken pieces of the UNP and to amend them. Thus I was able to rebuild the fortunes of my party and the UNP was ready to face its adversaries in an electoral combat.

I championed the rights of the common man in Ceylon during the dark days of the MEP regime. When President, I was questioned by the 'Leaders' magazine as to my single greatest accomplishment during my political career. I mentioned that the most remarkable and fruitful thing I had achieved was keeping my party together and reviving it after the defeat in 1956. It is my firm conviction that Democracy lives in Sri Lanka today because of that.

The United National Party was prepared to stage a come back in 1960 mainly due to the Herculean efforts made to re-fashion and revitalize it. I regained my Kelaniya seat but it was a Pyrrhic victory for the UNP Dudley Senanayake had rejoined the Party and his government lasted only for three months and the formidable Opposition was able to defeat it. In the General Elections of June 1960 the pendulum once more swung in favour of the SLFP, but the UNP was a sizeable party in the opposition and a force to be reckoned with in the country. Dudley Senanayake became the Leader of the Opposition and I directed the assault on the establishment. The Marxists joined the SLFP in a grand coalition and proposed a bill to nationalise the Press. This attempt was foiled and the coalition government was defeated on a motion of 'No-Confidence'.

In the General Election held in March 1965 the UNP defeated the coalition. I became the Minister of State. I rendered assistance to Premier Dudley Senanayake to launch the 'Green Revolution'. I did much to develop tourism in Sri Lanka and the tourist boom we are witnessing today stems from those policies. I am an ardent environmentalist. I caused areas like the Horton Plains and Laggala to be declared as nature reserves. Though much was done to increase food production, yet the electorate once more gave a massive mandate to the United Front in the General Elections held in 1970. There was much youth unrest in the country specially among educated young men from rural areas for want of employment opportunities and they backed the United Front.

Though reduced in electoral strength the UNP with me as

the Leader of the Opposition had to fight many a battle in the parliamentary arena and outside. The armed insurrection of those who were disillusioned with the United Front Government brought in its wake a plethora of problems. I was quite sincere when I wanted to render assistance to the government which was in great difficulties. My attention was directed to the problem of the 'functions of the Opposition' in a parliamentary democracy or specially in a developing country like Sri Lanka. I questioned whether it was always necessary for the Opposition to oppose the party in power. My move to cooperate with the Government was vehemently opposed by a powerful section of the UNP.

Very soon cracks began to appear in the United Front Government and rule by 'Emergency' became the order of the day. Sri Lanka was in a total mess in every way. The protracted 'Emergency' coupled with the short-sighted economic policies of state ownership it pursued, paved the way for its inevitable collapse.

After the death of Dudley Senanayake, I was unanimously elected as the Leader of the UNP on 26 April 1973. I streamlined the party organization and built up a strong party and was prepared to confront the SLFP which disregarded the democratic rights of the people. By the strategy which I planned and executed, the UNP was in a position to deal a crippling blow on the SLFP and all the forces of the Left in the July 1977 election.

I took oath as Prime Minister on 23 July 1977. In a series of new measures which were a great wrench away from the short-sighted policies of the previous regime we swept away the muck and ineptitude of the former regime in a short time in a massive effort of cleaning the Augean stables. We refashioned a new Constitution, and a new page in the history of Sri Lanka was turned when I took oath of office as the first Executive President of Sri Lanka in February 1978.

We caused a major overhaul of economic and political priorities and paved the way for a liberalized, open economy and dismantled the previous government's array of quotas,

import restrictions and subsidies. These were some of the achievements after I became the Executive President. The accelerated Mahaweli Development Programme which my government started has brought about a transformation in a vast area of the Dry Zone where a new civilization is being created.

The first Presidential Election was held on 20 October 1982 and I won by a majority of over nine lakhs. In the first referendum held in Sri Lanka on 22 December 1982, I received a mandate from the people to extend the term of Parliament in order to continue with the Development Programme launched by me and the response of the people has continued to be positive.

It was my destiny to steer Sri Lanka through one of the traumatic periods of its history during the eighties. The very peace and tranquility of the island-nation was torn by violence and ethnic strife. It was during this period that the Sri Lanka-India Accord was signed between Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and myself.

Now I am no longer in active politics, but often watch the world around me, gripped by senseless violence born of suspicion, fear and by not understanding the perceptions and positions of one another in both the national and the international spheres. As I watch the events and personalities in these events, I hope that the Buddhist spirit of compassion would prevail, and peace return to our island once again.

In this account of *Men and Memories*, which is not strictly an autobiography, I seek to present some autobiographical recollections and reflections which were inseparable from my life, and for over more than half a century of work. This I do in the hope that the contemporary and future generations would be enabled to understand the Agony and Ecstasy of Sri Lanka and her people with more insight, understanding and compassion.

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1

Sri Lanka's Quest for Freedom

My life and memories are essentially inseparably woven into the story of Sri Lanka's quest for freedom, like the lives of many patriots who inspired us to ceaselessly strive for the creation of a free, united and democratic Sri Lanka. So, the story has to begin at the beginning.

Though the Portuguese, from 1503-1658; the Dutch from 1658-1796; and the British from then till 1815, had ruled the maritime provinces of Sri Lanka, the rule of the Sri Lankan monarchs extended over the rest of the island. They belonged to various dynasties, some from the mainland of India, especially the last four, who belonged to the Nayakkar Dynasty from South India. The last Sinhalese monarch was Narendira Singh who ruled from 1707-1739.

We can accept 2 March 1815 as the date of the signing of the Convention between the Chiefs of the Kandyan Provinces and the representatives of the British Government of George III. On this day, the independence of Sri Lanka was snuffed out after a continuous and recorded history from 544 BC extending to 2359 years.

As the Dutch offered little or no resistance, the maritime provinces of Ceylon ruled by the Dutch were declared a Crown Colony and Honourable Fredrick North assumed duties as the Governor on 12 October 1796.

The Chiefs who signed the Convention thought it was only a change of Royal dynasties and that their role in a free Lanka would continue. It was not to be so. The British treated the situation created by the Convention as a capitulation and Sri Lanka as a colony after that.

This caused the first attempt to regain freedom in 1818 when the people of many of the Kandyan Provinces, led by the Chieftains, rose in revolt against British rule. The revolt that commenced in the Province of Wellassa in Uva, spread fast and by March 1818, except for a few Korales (Districts) to the West of Kandy, all the other areas led by their Chieftains were up in arms against British Rule. The Chieftains Keppetipola, Ellepola, Pilima Talawwa, son of the late Adigar, Madugalle and several others were arrested. Keppetipola and Madugalle were executed. Ellepola and Pilima Talawwa were banished and so was Ehelepola, who had quarrelled with the King and was banished to Mauritius earlier. By the end of 1818, the revolution was crushed. This was the first and most serious violent attempt by the Sinhalese to regain the freedom they had lost under the Convention of 1815.

After the Kandyan Convention and the suppression of the 1818 rebellion, the report of the 1829-31 Royal Commissioners, Colebrooke and Cameron, was implemented in 1833 by an Order-in-Council. Ceylon was now considered as one unit, a unitary state. The Executive and Legislative Councils--the Executive with important officials and the Legislative with unofficial members--were created to assist the Governor in 1833.

The first Legislative Council consisted of sixteen members, the Governor (ex-officio Chairman) nine officials and six un-officials. The six unofficials were nominated by the Governor to represent the Sinhalese, Tamil, Burgher, several European planters and mercantile communities. This Council existed for 77 years and the only change was the addition of two unofficial members to represent the Kandyan Sinhalese and Mohammedan communities. A. Coomaraswamy Mudaliyar (1783-1836) was the first Tamil member. In 1861 Sir Muthu,

his son, was appointed. They were grandfather and father of Ananda Coomaraswamy (1877-1947).

A rudimentary separation of powers lurked in the constitutional arrangements. A centralised administration was set up, with jurisdiction over the whole island. The Judiciary was independent. Trial by Jury had already been initiated by the Charter of 1810. The White Dominions excepted, no part of the British Empire had gone so far in the way of Constitutional Government.

A complete scheme of representative government submitted by Sir Alexander Johnston, Chief Justice, failed to become law by the unexpected resignation of the colonial Minister of the British Government, who had favoured the reforms. If implemented then, Ceylon would have been the first free dominion in the British Empire.

The age of conquest under British rule from 1796 to 1820 was now over. The years up to 1848 were years of consolidation and material development; roads were constructed up to the inaccessible mountains and over them; bridges over the rivers; new and refined methods of construction; opening of lands, planting coffee; and the influx of capital, gradually changed the economic and social environment of the people living in the provinces where the changes took place and who were enjoying over 30 years of peace after several centuries.

But Buddhism and all things Sinhalese, Tamil, Hindu or Muslim, had reached a nadir, the lowest point. It was possible for a Christian Prelate to say in the 1860s that "Buddhism will die out in a few years time".

The next violent attempt was in 1848. This happened during the governorship of Viscount Torrington. The Governor who was a "youthful and poor member of the Peerage", suppressed the violence so severely that the British House of Commons appointed a Parliamentary Commission which consisted of leaders like Gladstone and Disraeli, who later became Prime Ministers of England, to report on the Governor's actions. The report was not favourable to him

and he retired in 1850.

The British Parliamentary Reports and official reports of the period speak of the invasion of the Kandyan Provinces by the influx of hundreds from the maritime provinces, seeking employment and money that was available by the large influx of capital for the opening of coffee estates and roads. Arrack and Toddy renters encouraged the drinking of liquor and a peaceful people were corrupted. Reading the evidence given before the Parliamentary Commission by distraught British public servants, one is saddened by the fate that overtook the people of the Kandyan Provinces, especially those living round Kandy and Matale, where coffee was being planted.

In 1848, some of them led by people from the low-country, especially Puran Appu of Moratuwa and Gongalgoda Banda of Wanawasala, Kelaniya, rose in revolt and tried to march to Kandy and to Kurunegala. They were easily suppressed and the feeling of the British Government in England was that Governor Torrington had exceeded his powers in carrying on the suppression after violence had subsided.

Thus ended the second rebellion in 1848 itself.

After that there were no more violent actions. We have to wait till the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century when the off-springs of those born after 1815, and now educated in English, initiated non-violent and constitutional movements for cultural and political reforms.

Culturally, they sought the revival of the preaching and practice of Buddhism; revival of the indigenous arts and languages; and politically more seats in the legislative and executive bodies. There is not a word about independence or freedom till the 1930s.

The religious and cultural movements which originated then, helped the agitation for constitutional reforms. The first political organisation to talk politically was the 'Ceylon League' formed in 1865 under the leadership of an English merchant of great ability and breadth of view, George Wall.

A monument to him stands in front of the Baptist Church and the Eye Hospital, at the De Soysa Circus in Colombo.

He rallied all the unofficial members of the then Legislative Council who had resigned in protest against the Governor's decision on a question of military expenditure, in a political organisation called the Ceylon League, to agitate as Ceylonese against the government. This was the first movement to seek a share in the administration of the government; the election of members to the local legislature; and control over the finances of the island. The grant of elected Municipal Councils for Colombo and Kandy in 1865 and later to Galle, may be traced to this movement.

In the 1870s, the spiritual condition of the Buddhists caused anxiety to the Buddhist clergy and chief laymen. To stem this anti-religious tendency, "Pirivenas" or Buddhist Universities to teach the *Dhamma* and its practice to laymen who wished to be *bhikkhus* or monks were started. The chief of them were the Vidyodaya in Maligakanda, Colombo, in 1872, and the Vidyalankara in Kelaniya, established in 1875, both of which were given university status in 1959. They exist and flourish to this day.

Colonel Olcott of America, a Theosophist, and Madame Blavatsky, crossed over from Madras, where they had founded the Theosophical Society. With Buddhist leaders they formed the Buddhist Theosophical Society in 1915 to establish Buddhist schools. The Maha Bodhi Society of India, to restore the control of the Bodh-Gaya Temple in India to Buddhist hands, was founded by Anagarika Dharmapala and a branch of it was organised in Sri Lanka in 1891.

The Buddhist movement began to spread with the publication of papers in Sinhalese in the 1860s. Buddhist education was encouraged by the founders of the Vidyodaya and Vidyalankara Pirivenas and later the Maha Bodhi Society. The Young Men's Buddhist Association was founded in 1898 with D.B. Jayatillake as the President, a position he held till his death in 1944.

On Easter Sunday 1883, riots broke out between the

Catholics and the Buddhists at Kotahena and the action of the British authorities in not persecuting the Catholic offenders annoyed the Buddhists who were awakening to an understanding of their rights. The movement now covered school education. The Sinhalese newspapers campaigned to preserve all that was characteristic of Sinhalese dress, customs and manners, which had well-nigh disappeared under the impact of foreign disintegrating forces. This also led to a movement for the revival and preservation of Sinhalese arts and handicrafts, such as painting, carving and metal ore, still languishing in the Kandyan districts. Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy, after his education in England, gave his scientific advice and encouraged the movement through his publications, one of them being the classic "Medieval Sinhalese Art". A Kandyan Society of Arts and a Museum of Kandyan Art was also established at the beginning of the twentieth century.

In the meantime, the Ceylon National Association, which had replaced the Ceylon League, took up the agitation for the repeal of the unpopular Toddy Tax. Throughout the 1880s and 1890s, this association, with branches throughout the island, agitated for more employment for Sinhalese in the public sector. In both these campaigns, they were successful.

While the movement for a religious and cultural renaissance proceeded without a halt, for, there was nothing the British Government could do to stop it except wash their hands off any control of Buddhist temporalities and the Dalada Maligawa and the Perahera. They of course continued their "Divide and Rule" policy and favoured in appointments, honours and "largess" only those loyal to them, especially if they were non-Buddhists.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, many Ceylonese associations were formed, the Low-country Products Association, the Jaffna Association, the Ceylon National Association and the Ceylon Reform League. They had diverse objectives, agricultural, social and political. The political

part was to prepare and send memoranda to the Governor and the Secretary of State for the colonies, asking for more members to be added to the Legislative Council and by election. This was to be followed by enlarging the Executive Council with a few members from the elected members of the Legislature. James Peiris, Ponnambalam Arunachalam, D.B. Jayatilaka (all three became Knights later) and H.J.C. Pereira, were the foremost to prepare and send these memoranda. They also sought interviews with the Governor or the Secretary of State in England.

The first was readily granted with few results and the second meant several weeks, sometimes months, stay in England. One of the chief associations active in this campaign was the Ceylon National Association which started as the Ceylon Agricultural Association, formed by the great philanthropist Charles de Soysa in the 1870s, had been converted into the Ceylon National Association in 1884 with Ponnambalam Ramanathan succeeding de Soysa. Arthur de Alwis was the President and A. St. V Jayewardene the Hony. Secretary.

The Sri Lanka leaders held meetings, addressed memoranda to the Secretary of State and the Governor asking for an enlargement of the Legislative Council and elected members. Since the original Council of 1833, except for enlarging the number of appointed members, no changes of a major nature were made till 1910, when the elective principle was first introduced.

As a result of this agitation, certain changes were made in the Constitution, notably the introduction of the Legislative Council franchise for the first time in 1910. Out of the ten unofficials in this new Council, four were to be elected, viz. one for the Europeans (Urban), one for the Europeans (Rural), one for the Ceylonese, and one for the Burghers. The minimum qualifications for a voter on the Ceylonese electorate was a pass in the Cambridge Senior or Junior Examinations. The Electorate comprised the whole island. The Hon. P. Ramanathan, (later Sir), was the first elected

Ceylonese member. He had retired having acted as Attorney-General and was living in India. Hector Jayewardene and his brothers invited him to contest a seat, campaigned for him and he defeated Marcus Fernando (later Sir) in a historic election in 1911.

2

A New Chapter in History

I joined the Ceylon National Congress in December 1938 and began my political career. We attained Freedom in 1948 and I became Minister of Finance in the first Free Government since 1815.

The World War of 1914-1918, the atrocities committed by the British in Ceylon, during the riots of 1915, and the growing Indian movement for freedom, led by the Indian National Congress, caused the educated section of the people of Ceylon, to think in terms of self-government.

The Ceylon Reform League came into existence in May 1917 with Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam as leader with the sole objective of securing political reforms. The Ceylon National Conference was more representative than the others.

The Conference was summoned as a conference on Constitutional Reform convened by the Ceylon Reform League and the Ceylon National Association, and met on 15 December 1917 in Colombo. D.R. Wijewardene was the Secretary and the live-wire behind these conferences. He summoned a second conference as Organising Secretary and this met on 13 December 1918 in Colombo. Arunachalam was again the President and his two addresses at both these conferences were masterpieces of political reasoning, advocating Ceylon's achievement of greater freedom in her political organisations.

The Ceylon National Congress originated at this second

Conference on Constitutional Reforms held in December 1918 on a resolution moved by E.W. Jayewardene (later K.C. and Justice) reading as follows:

That a permanent organization be formed for the purpose of co-ordinating public opinion and political thoughts and work in Ceylon by periodically convoking a representative Congress and carrying out its resolutions.

With the formation of the Congress, Ceylon opened a new chapter in her history.

The Sinhala-Muslim riots of 1915 gave an opportunity to the British administration to declare Martial Law. Some of the British planting community took advantage of it to clamp down on the people, whether rioting or not, with a heavy hand. The events of Governor Torrington's regime of 1848 were repeated with the same inevitable results. The Ceylonese united to form the Ceylon National Congress to agitate for a share in the government and an inquiry into the massacres during Martial Law, including the shooting of several in jail, the most notable being that of Edward Henry Pedris, who was recognized as a martyr to the cause of freedom. At this time, F.R. Senanayake founded the Mahajana Sabha for which he and his brothers, D.C. and D.S., were jailed.

The Indian Congress movement, across the seas, for a share in the government, emboldened our people. Indian leaders spoke of *Swaraj*. "Freedom is my birthright, and I will have it!" proclaimed Tilak and was banished to the Andamans. The Ceylonese leaders now sought a reform of the Constitution with a view to the realization of a responsible government in the country as an integral part of the British Empire.

The First Session of the Congress was held in December 1919 and Sir P. Arunachalam was elected the first President. He delivered his fourth great speech, the others being delivered two years prior to the birth of the Congress. The Congress now sought a Legislative Council of about 50

members of whom at least four-fifth should be elected according to territorial divisions upon a wide male franchise and a restricted female franchise. The remaining one-fifth should consist of official members to represent important minorities. The Council was to elect its own Speaker as President, later presided over by James Peiris (later Sir).

The Council to have full control over the budget, there should be no division of reserved and transferred subjects.

The Executive Council should consist of the Governor as President assisted by official and unofficial members, of whom not less than half should be Ceylonese officials chosen from the elected members of the Legislative Council.

A proportion of not less than 50 per cent rising up to 75 per cent of the higher appointments in the Ceylon Civil Services and the other branches of the Public Service should be reserved for the Ceylonese.

This motion was moved by the Hon. P. Ramanathan (Sir) and seconded by A. St. V. Jayawardene, K.C. (later Justice).

The Congress members were now busy sending deputations to the Governor and the Secretary of State in England pressing for the implementation of their proposals. In July 1920, the British Government made public its proposals which the Congress in a Special Session, presided over by James Peiris in October 1920, condemned and decided not to take part in the new elections under the reform proposals. Some of the proposals were condemned by the Congress on these grounds:

- a) Curtails the power of the Legislative Council,
- b) Increases the autocratic power of the Governor,
- c) Restricts freedom of discussion and control of the executive,
- d) Imposes humiliating disabilities on the peoples' representatives,
- e) Introduces invidious distinctions between communities,
- f) Denies even the beginning of responsible government.

On an assurance given at a Special Session held in December 1920 by the Governor Sir William Manning to the Congress deputation consisting of James Peiris, E.W. Jayawardene, E.J. Samarawickrema, D.B. Jayatilaka and G.A. Wille that certain adjustments would be made to the reform proposals, the Congress decided to participate in the elections and to send in candidates pledged to support the Congress views on amending the Constitution.

C.W.W. Kannangara, A.F. Molamure and Victor Corea, opposed the resolution and Victor Corea in the course of his speech formally repudiated British rule and demanded *Swaraj* for Lanka.

This was a sign of things to come.

The years 1921 to 1923 were critical years for the Congress. Sir P. Arunachalam, the "father of the Congress", and a large number of Tamil members left the Congress because James Peiris was nominated to the Colombo seat in the elections held in 1921 to the new Legislative Council and not Arunachalam. The Tamils did not come back to the Congress again and they made various attempts to obtain communal representation.

The Congress won a large number of the unofficial elected seats. In October 1922, a Special Session supported the Congress members who had resigned protesting against the Governor imposing a salaries scheme and taxation against their wishes. They were all re-elected unopposed but did not take their seats till their right to financial control was agreed to. The Congress Unofficial Members were: C.E. Corea (N.W. Province), D.H. Kotalawala (Uva) James Peiris (Colombo), W.M. Rajapaksa (W. Province (A) Division), H.L. De Mel (L.C.P.A.), O.C. Tillekaratna (S.P.), Rev. W.E. Boteju (Sab. Province), S.D. Krisnaratne (N.C. Province), E.W. Perera (W.P (B), Division) and A.C.G. Wijekoon (C.P.).

The new proposals for the reform of the Constitution were tabled in the Legislative Council in February 1923. The Fourth Session of the Congress under the Presidency of H.J.C. Pereira, Q.C., held in March 1923, condemned these

proposals and asked for an elected majority in the Legislative Council. The new proposals, which mainly increased the elected seats, were made public in February 1924 and Congress members seeking election were asked to give a pledge that caste and religious cries would not be raised at elections. Many Congressmen were returned to the Legislative Council for which elections were held in 1924.

At the Seventh Session in December 1925, in Kandy presided over by Francis de Zoysa, a resolution to take steps to ensure a full measure of self-government at the next revision of the Constitution was moved by C.E. Corea and seconded by S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike and passed. While the older members and the founding fathers were passing away, like Arunachalam, H.J.C. Pereira, F.R. Senanayake, E.T. de Silva, the younger generation like S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike were joining.

The Congress was very active in 1926 and 1927, holding meetings all over the Island and stressing the need for self-government.

In 1927, the British Government for the first time announced the appointment of the Donoughmore Commission which would visit Ceylon to study the political situation. The Congress welcomed this and a deputation led by E.W. Perera, who presided over the Eighth Session in December 1926 in Galle went before the Commission on 23 November 1927 and pressed the claim for self-government, opposed communal representation, and expressed a wish that universal franchise should not be granted till Ceylon citizenship was defined.

At that time, all Ceylonese and Indians were British subjects, and the fear was that if all Indians in Ceylon obtained votes as British subjects, they would swamp many up-country electorates.

The Congress continued to hold its sessions. In 1928, the President was W.A. de Silva; in 1929, A.C.G. Wijekoon, in 1930, Geo E. De Silva and in 1931, C.W.W. Kanangara. The Secretary of State, Lord Passfield, issued a White Paper in

October 1929 on "Constitutional Reforms" and since the recommendations were adopted from the Donoughmore Commission Report, they have since been called the Donoughmore Constitution when implemented.

On November 1, 1929, the Congress Committee decided to recommend to the Legislative Council to reject the Donoughmore Scheme of Reforms. S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, Col. T.G. Jayewardene, Francis de Zoysa and T.B. Jayah, moved the relevant motions.

At the Tenth Session held in December 1929, Geo E. de Silva in his Presidential Address, supported the resolution that the Congress while reaffirming its demand for full responsible government at the revision of the Constitution, recommended the acceptance for a short period of the proposed modified Donoughmore Scheme of Reforms.

The Congress now prepared to face the General Elections under the Donoughmore Constitution and universal franchise. At the Eleventh Session held in Kandy in December 1930, C.W.W. Kannangara was elected President.

At the 1931 General Election, though the Congress did not work as a Party and nominate candidates, Congress members won a majority of seats and Congressmen became Ministers, with Sir D.B. Jayatilaka as Leader of the House.

In the meantime, many senior members resigned from the Congress, namely, A.E. Goonesinghe, R.L. Pereira, E.W. Perera, T.B. Jayah, Dr. E.V. Ratnam, rejecting the Donoughmore Reforms. A number of these, led by E.W. Perera, formed the Ceylon Liberal League to oppose the acceptance of the Donoughmore Constitution.

S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike was elected President for 1932 and the Congress decided to give the Donoughmore Constitution a trial and after a time to ask for full self-government and accept nothing less.

The Congress worked the Donoughmore Constitution and the Presidents were: in 1933, G.C.S. Corea; in 1934, G.K.W. Perera; in 1935, E.A.P. Wijeratne; in 1936-38, H.W. Amarasuriya and Sir D.B. Jayatilaka in 1939.

Decisions were taken during these years to attend a Conference summoned by the Ceylon Liberal League to discuss Dominion status of Ceylon; to send a deputation to meet the relevant Ministers in the UK to revise the Constitution; to introduce a Reform Bill in the State Council and approve a Draft Constitution. A motion to appoint a Nominations Board to consider candidates for the next General Election due in 1936 was defeated at a Special Session held on 28 September 1935. A General Election was held in 1936 and many Congressmen were returned. Sir D.B. Jayatilaka met the British Ministers and officials in the UK in 1937. Resolutions were passed urging that Ceylon be granted a full responsible government and a deputation met the Governor in July 1938.

H.W. Amarasuriya (Leader), E.A.P. Wijeratne, J.N. Jinendradasa, W.R. Wijemanne, P.D.S. Jayasekera and Victor C. Perera were appointed to the delegation.

H.W. Amarasuriya, E.A.P. Wijeratne and G.E. de Silva were selected as a deputation to the UK to meet the Secretary of State for the Colonies to discuss Constitutional Reforms in July 1938.

At the Panadura Sessions held on 7 December 1938, the Nineteenth Session, Sir D.B. Jayatilaka in his Presidential Address, recommended the passing of the resolution dealing with:

- a) Removal of Officers of State,
- b) Abolition of Executive system of government,
- c) Introduction of Cabinet system,
- d) Independent Public Service Commission,
- e) Increase in number of seats from 50 to 60,
- f) Curtailment of Governor's powers,
- g) Retention of adult suffrage for the permanent population.

I joined the Congress at this meeting and soon after that Siripala Samarakkody, Dudley Senanayake, Stanley de Zoysa,

F.C. de Saram, C.P.G. Abeywardene, J.E. Amaratunga, J.A.L. Cooray, H.A. Kottegoda and several other young men joined too.

Our aim was to revitalize the Congress and not give room for communal organisations like the Sinhala Maha Sabha to grow; to organise a direct movement based on the Indian Congress ideals for Freedom and to give up talking of Reforms, Deputations and Memoranda.

Many of these new members were elected to the Executive Committee. A Special Commission was appointed by the Cabinet of Ministers to inquire into a dispute Sir D.B. Jayatilaka, the Home Minister had with IGP Banks. It had held against the Minister and believed Banks. At the first meeting of the Committee in January 1939, a resolution was sponsored requesting Sir D.B. Jayatilaka to resign from the post of Home Minister, if the IGP, P.N. Banks assumed office.

The new and younger members voted for the resolution but D.S. Senanayake and the older members voted against it and defeated it. The meeting was held in the verandah of the house of the President Sir D.B. Jayatilaka as the Congress had no office, no home. The first thing we did was to remedy this and permanent quarters were found.

The Congress was thinking ahead. It was decided to appoint a committee to draft a social and economic programme to be implemented by a Congress Government in a free Lanka.

A conference with the Indian National Congress leaders to discuss political and economic matters affecting the two countries was arranged. At a Special Session of the Congress held on 4 March 1939, it was decided not to co-operate in the working of any future constitution that did not contain the Congress demands which were adopted at the Nineteenth Session at Panadura held in 1938.

At the Twentieth Session held in Kandy in December 1939, G.C.S. Corea, the President, outlined Dominion Status as the Congress goal and that the implementation of the March 1939 Special Session resolution on constitutional reforms should be guaranteed before the next general

election; that the elections should not be postponed beyond the period provided in the Constitution unless it is necessary for the purpose of inaugurating a constitution which satisfies our demands.

The Twentieth Session also elected Dudley Senanayake and myself as Secretaries and J.E. Amaratunga as Treasurer in 1940. We organised Congress branches throughout the island, educating the people that our goal should be Dominion Status and that we should move away from meeting Governors and Secretaries of State; that the future of Ceylon is in our hands and should be shaped by our own efforts. Congress branches were organised throughout the island and delegates were meeting at district conferences for the first time.

While action was being taken to rally the minorities around the Congress, steps were being taken to dissuade Congress from supporting communal organisations.

Congress supported the Ministers in their conflict with the Governor regarding Home Minister Jayatilaka's conflict with IGP Banks. The Board of Ministers resigned on 27 February 1940 on the Governor's refusal to accede to their request. Congress fully backed them and arranged mass rallies throughout the island. One of the largest meetings upto now was held on the Galle Face Green where many other parties co-operated with the Congress. A message was sent to the State Council by the Governor restoring their rights to the Ministers and the Congress decided that they should co-operate and resume office.

The Congress decided for the first time to contest the Colombo Municipal elections for December 1940 and nominate candidates. The following were nominated:

Dr. R. Saravanamuttu

R.A. de Mel

Dr. A. Ratnapala

Gilbert Perera

J.R. Jayewardene

Justin Kotalawela

J.N. Jinendradasa
George R. de Silva
Dr. A.F.J. Classiechetty

Four candidates were elected unopposed and of the remaining five, four were elected.

For the first time, a Congress deputation was sent to India to attend the Indian National Congress Session at Ramgarh in Bihar. J.R. Jayewardene, P. de S. Jayasekere and J.E. Amaratunga, participated in this Session in March 1940.

We were working closely with the Indian National Congress and were to meet a deputation of the Indian National Congress in November. Pandit Nehru, who was largely responsible for these arrangements, was arrested and further negotiations were not possible owing to the political crisis in India.

The Congress accepted a five-point Congress Social Code, viz.:

- 1) Simple weddings, funerals and other functions,
- 2) Simple dress,
- 3) Temperance,
- 4) Abstinance from gambling,
- 5) Patronise *swadeshi* goods.

The Congress for the first time moved to its own quarters in the Borella Flats. It was used for all future meetings and we did not meet in the President's verandah after that!

The Twentyfirst Annual Session of the Congress was held at Mirigama on 20, 21 and 22 December 1940. D.S. Senanayake was the Chairman of the Reception Committee and E.A.P. Wijeratne the President. For the first time, a Swadeshi Exhibition was held and large crowds attended the Congress Meeting and the public sessions held over the next two days.

The work during this period consisted of extending the Congress branches to cover the whole Island and by strengthening our influence throughout the country to secure

freedom. The Congress members travelled throughout the country and spread far and wide the Congress message. The party organisation was strengthened by removing those who were not loyal to the Congress principles and as far as possible nominating Congress candidates to municipal and local elections.

In the meantime, the Atlantic Charter was proclaimed and it gave some hope that the object of the Charter was to give freedom to the subjects within the Empire. Winston Churchill, however, denied that the Charter applied to subjects within the Empire.

The Secretary of State made an announcement that a Parliamentary Commission would be sent to Ceylon to discuss reforms after the War.

On 9 November 1941, the Congress decided to boycott this Commission as the people of Ceylon had the immediate right to be free and an islandwide campaign was organised against this Commission. The following steps were decided upon:

- a) Propaganda in England,
- b) Agreement with the minorities,
- c) Preparation of the draft of a Free Constitution to be introduced in the State Council as a Parliamentary Bill.
- d) If the Bill is passed and not implemented, Congress members to seek a dissolution of the Council and not to cooperate.

The Congress position was that Ceylon should have such a political status as would ensure for the people of this country the unfettered right to determine their domestic and foreign policies and to frame their own constitution. The Congress protested against the postponement of the general election which was due in 1936, beyond the statutory period with sufficient guarantees that it was for the purpose of inaugurating satisfactory reforms. For the first time a

Congress candidate was nominated to contest a State Council seat at a by-election. Dr. R. Saravanamuttu the candidate for the Colombo North by-election was defeated.

The Congress took an interest in forming workers' associations at Ratmalana, Kolonnawa, Kelaniya, Colombo Municipality and at Badulla. The Secretaries reported that it was not possible to convene meetings of Congress members of the State Council as these members did not take an interest in the meetings as none of them had been nominated by the Congress, though they were Congress members.

The Twentysecond Session was held at Dummaladeniya in December 1941 and a Swadeshi Exhibition was also held. G.C.S. Corea was elected the President for 1942.

As the State Council had passed a resolution urging the grant of Dominion Status to Ceylon and it was in line with the goal of the Congress, a Draft Constitution for a free Lanka prepared by the Congress was not introduced in the State Council. The Board of Ministers, acting on the Congress decision, requested the Secretary of State for the Colonies to make a Declaration promising Dominion Status to Lanka immediately after the War.

As Sir Stafford Cripps had been sent to India by the British Government in April 1942, the Congress invited him to Ceylon, but since he could not come, the President of the Congress met him in India and discussed the question of Dominion Status for Ceylon, urging that a statement declaring that Ceylon be granted Dominion Status after the War would help the war effort throughout the world. Three members of the Congress were present as guests at the momentous meeting of the All India Congress Committee held in Bombay in August 1942 when the "Quit India" resolution was passed. They were:

J.R. Jayewardene, C.P.G. Abeywardene and P.D.S. Jayasekera.

Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru in their speeches referred to Ceylon as one of the countries whose freedom

India demands as one of the aims of the United Nations and for the achievement of whose freedom India herself would fight.

The Congress urged that the four detenues detained without trial in Ceylon be immediately released. They were N.M. Perera, Colvin R. de Silva, Philip Gunawardene and Leslie Gunawardene. The Congress was agitating for their freedom when they escaped from prison.

The Congress decided to nominate candidates for the elections at Moratuwa and Colombo central by-elections. G.K.W. Perera and P. Givendrasinghe were nominated, but both were defeated. H.W. Amarasuriya, Susantha de Fonseka and Thomas Amarasuriya were expelled from the Congress for working against the Congress candidate at the Moratuwa by-election. Col. John Kotalawela (later Sir) was warned for not replying to Congress letters inquiring whether he had worked against the Congress candidate. An allegation had been made that he had done so but there was no evidence to that effect.

The Twentythird Session was held from 18 to 20 December 1942 in Kelaniya and the President was P. de S. Kularatne. The usual Swadeshi Exhibition and committee meetings were held. For the first time, the Congress which had moved from Reforms to Self-government and then to Dominion Status as its political goal, at the Kelaniya Sessions by an overwhelming majority decided that the object of the Congress was the attainment of Freedom. This resolution was communicated to the leaders of the United Nations namely, President Roosevelt, Chaing Kai Shek, Stalin and the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

The resolution was moved by me, supported by Dudley Senanayake and opposed by D.S. Senanayake, who was then Leader of the State Council and one of the original members of the Congress. The resolution was passed by 100 votes to four.

Sir D.B. Jayatilaka resigned from the Kelaniya seat as he was appointed Ceylon's representative in New Delhi. J.R.

Jayewardene was nominated as the Congress candidate. E.W. Perera, who had left the Congress and led the Liberals, contested him. The voting took place on 17 April and the Congress candidate won by 10, 195 votes. The Congress decided not to nominate candidates for the Municipal Elections to be held in December 1943. The Congress tried to find a solution with regard to the admission of members of other political parties into the Congress and the question was left for decision at the Twentyfourth Annual Session to be held in December 1943.

The Draft Constitution for Ceylon prepared by J.A.L. Cooray was forwarded to the Board of Ministers. Mass meetings were organised throughout the Island.

The Twentyfourth Session was held on 17, 18 and 19 December 1943 in Ambalangoda. Siripala Samarakkody was elected the President for 1944. Unfortunately, he died in June 1944 and his courageous leadership was not available in the months of crisis that lay ahead.

D.S. Senanayake had now left the Congress and his correspondence with the Congress President and Secretaries from 18 December 1942 to 22 February 1944 has been published.

Soon after the Kelaniya Sessions of December 1942, D.S. Senanayake resigned from the Executive Committee on the following grounds:

- 1) that by making the attainment of freedom the objective and not by attaining Dominion Staus, we will not obtain freedom.
- 2) the only method should be by appealing to England,
- 3) that Congress should not be responsible for sending members to the State Council and thus working for political power for a section of the people and will not be speaking for the whole country.

After the Ambalangoda Session in December 1943, D.S. Senanayake resigned from the Congress itself mainly on the

ground of the admission of the Communists.

The Congress continued its work leading the country to accept freedom as its political goal. At the session at Mirigama in 1940; at Dummaladeniya in 1941; at Kelaniya in 1942, its resolutions enabled the whole island and the State Council to close ranks behind this goal. The Board of Ministers drafted a Free Constitution and sent it up to the Secretary of State.

Since the Secretary of State had decided to appoint a Commission of Inquiry instead of accepting the Constitution, it was decided to boycott the Commission at a Special Session held in September 1944 in Colombo.

At the Session held on the 27 January 1945 in Colombo, among the resolutions passed was the decision to boycott the Commission headed by Lord Soulbury.

The Annual Session was held in Matara on 11, 12 and 13 January 1946, with A.F. Wijemanne as Reception Committee Chairman and Geo E. de Silva as President. A resolution to condemn the Secretary of State's declaration on the Soulbury Constitution because it did not give us the right to freedom, but nonetheless to support the motion in the State Council to implement the Constitution as it would give us a more effective instrument to carry on our struggle for freedom, was passed.

I can speak with personal knowledge of the "Quest for Freedom" by the people of Sri Lanka from 1939 when Dudley Senanayake and I and several young men, having joined the Congress at the Panadura Sessions in December 1938, were selected to the Congress Committee.

We changed the campaign of the Congress from the 'begging bowl' politics. S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike who had himself disagreed with the Congress and had formed the Sinhala Maha Sabha, but still remained in the Congress, had on the 30 December 1939 at a meeting of the Sinhala Maha Sabha, said:

Congress, like many other associations in Ceylon, fell soon after its inception under the domination and control

of a small clique, the 'Old Gang'. Their chief object was to utilize any association with which they were connected merely to lend a semblance of public opinion to their own opinions and wishes.

Members of the associations who did not come within the magic circle were given the cold-shoulder at every turn.

Some of the 'Old Gang' who were responsible for butchering all that was valuable in the Congress as a powerful national organization, tried to bolster up their tottering position by an effort to revitalize their victim. I must confess that I viewed the experiment with a certain measure of cynical amusement. For this purpose, a number of enthusiastic young men were brought into the Congress. But nemesis was at hand, for these young men, instead of playing the part which they were intended to play, were guilty of the gross misconduct of displaying a certain amount of sincerity and independence.

I have condensed into a few pages the history of 130 years. In the first hundred years, there are really two events of importance pertaining to our freedom, the two violent attempts to regain freedom in 1818 and 1848.

We begin then the constitutional and non-violent attempts to gain back our lost rights and heritage covering many fields, religious, cultural, social and political.

The most vigorous and decisive was after the 1915 riots when the Sinhalese leaders thought this should never happen again and joined with the other communities to form the Ceylon National Congress to obtain control over their own affairs. I have dealt with that period in detail mentioning events, personages and their actions. We can be proud of what they did, facing two World Wars 1914-1918 and 1939-1945 and the consequent stern actions taken by the British rulers.

I have used the word "quest" and not "movement" or any other word, for our leaders were firstly not certain

about their goal, expansion of the Legislature, Elections, Reform of the Constitution, Responsible Government, Dominion Status and finally Freedom. The goal is noble, whatever it is called, like the quest for the Golden Fleece; when in the mythological period of Greek History, Jason and his companions called the Argonauts set out to find the Golden Fleece.

When in the Soviet Union, with the Parliamentary Delegation of 1972, we visited a city in the northern coast of the Black Sea, we were informed that this was the mythological city of Colchis where the Golden Fleece was. We were informed that the Golden Fleece derived its name from the fleece of the sheep which used to be dipped in the waters of the rivers which had golden sediments and the sediments clinging to the fleece made it look golden!

It must be remembered that the Second World War commenced in August 1939 and continued till 1945. In 1942, Japan which had joined the War on the side of Facist Powers, bombed towns in Ceylon. The Indian Congress Movement was suppressed. All the Indian leaders were in jail. Ceylon was put under a Commander-in-Chief, Admiral Layton. It was also the Headquarters of the South East Asia Command (SEAC) under Lord Mountbatten, for the conduct of the whole war from the Indian Ocean to the Pacific. The Freedom of Ceylon was wound up in these momentous happenings.

D.S. Senanayake did not object to our actions or speeches. He said, "You carry on, if I disagree with you I will say so. If I cannot work with you, I will leave you and act alone." When we moved the Freedom Resolution, he left us. He told us, "The Americans and the British will win this war. The British Empire cannot survive after this war, India will be free. We need not defy or annoy the British. India can afford to do so, we cannot. By working with them and friendship with them now when they are in trouble, will bring results after they win the War. That is my method of winning Freedom. I don't seek help from the Japanese or

anyone else." He said this because Dudley and I had sought Japanese aid to help us in our Freedom movement.

These words now appear to have been words of wisdom. He also did not encourage us in our efforts nor dissuade us. He said, "I tell the British, 'You have no friends among the youths, not only my son and his friends, all the youths are against you, the Samasamajists and others are already in jail'." He used this argument to strengthen his claims to be heard and followed.

How true were his words, for the Soulbury Commission recommended Dominion Status with a few restrictions, which were soon removed. The task to perform which we joined the Congress in December 1938 was done. For better or for worse, Ceylon was free on February 4, 1948!

3

Message from Ramgarh to Ceylon

The Ramgarh Session of the Indian National Congress, the last Session before Freedom was held in March 1940, in a small village, in Bihar Province, "sanctified by the touch of the feet of Gautama, the Buddha", said the Reception Committee Chairman, Rajendra Prasad, later President of Free India. I attended the Session as a delegate of the Ceylon National Congress and recorded my impressions then.

The little village of Ramgarh is today famous throughout the world. For here gathered the men and women of the new India with her beauty and her chivalry, intent on freeing their motherland from foreign rule.

It was a pretty countryside that we passed through on our way, for over a hundred miles to the west of Calcutta. Ramgarh itself is very similar to Diyatalawa, undulating valleys, large plains and mountain streams abounding.

It is also a countryside with a history unequalled in the world. The founders of Buddhism and Jainism both spent large portions of their lives in this province, now called Bihar. Bodh-Gaya is hardly a hundred miles away towards the north. "Every particle of dust in this province", said the retiring President, Rajendra Prasad to the delegates, "is sanctified by the touch of the feet of Gautama, the Buddha."

And as a tribute to India's greatest son and to his disciple, Asoka, India's greatest monarch, a facsimile, of one of Asoka's pillars, over a hundred feet high, had been erected at the entrance to the Congress town. On this pillar the Congress flag was later hoisted, and as it fluttered in the breeze, the people of India paid their homage. The new India they wished to create called them to action and this flag was their symbol. And how appropriate it was that a symbol of India's ancient greatness should bear it aloft.

Three huge *pandals* marked the entrances to the Khadi Exhibition, the open air arena and the Congress town or *nagar*. What was scrubby jungle had been converted into a small town. The main street was over a mile long and as broad as the Galle Road at Kollupitiya. Electric lights and a water service had been installed. A railway station, radio and telephone exchange and a post office completed the township. Policemen there were, but none from the British Government. Men and women volunteers recruited as honorary workers from the district, controlled the traffic, helped those in trouble and guarded the leaders' huts.

And then came the inhabitants to this township. Over a lakh of people, a population larger than that of Kandy or Galle lived here for four or five days and then disappeared. They came from the North-West Frontier; they came from Madras, over two thousand miles away. The women and children from every part of India, from every race in India, from every religion in India. Delegates and visitors from Burma, Ceylon, England and America. A Japanese monk was there beating his drum to drive away the evil spirits. The streets were packed with a mass of humanity. There was bustle but no bluster. Everyone was friendly.

The mention of Ceylon brought forth a kindly smile and a word of greeting.

The leaders of India were there, living simply like the rest, sitting on the floor while they ate, and mixing with the crowds. Mahatma Gandhi alone had a hut to himself. Wherever he went he was mobbed. Crowds would suddenly

break all barriers, rush up to his hut and shout: "Gandhi ji ki Jai". His stay there was an endless series of interviews. And thus to business.

The work of the session begins with the opening of the Exhibition and the sitting of the Working Committee. The Working Committee was the "Cabinet", and composed of about 12 members chosen by the President. After that the All-India Congress Committee consisting of about 375 delegates from all the Congress Provincial Committees held its meetings. These meetings are held in a huge covered *pandal* capable of seating about 10,000 people. These were really the most interesting meetings. For here took place the moving of motions and amendments for debate. For this purpose the Committee converted itself into the Subjects Committee. No motion or amendment rejected by the Subjects Committee had any chance of being accepted by the Session.

The Burma and Ceylon delegations were permitted to witness these deliberations. The Patna Resolution on Independence was the only official motion to be discussed. M.N. Roy attempted to bring in a Communist amendment but found very little support. The motion was accepted without much trouble.

It was interesting to see these leaders of India. Perfect order was maintained. The leaders and the invited guests were on a huge platform covered with a large mattress and carpet. The delegates sat on low benches in the body of the hall. The other visitors sat on the floor round the delegates. There were no chairs. Girl volunteers in orange sarees kept order and served water. The Congress colours and flags were used to decorate the platform and the *pandal*.

Abdul Gaffar Khan, over six feet in height, was there almost sleeping on the platform. Mrs Sarojini Naidu found the low table on which a model *charkha* was kept more comfortable than the mattress.

Pandit Nehru, quick of temper was calmed down by Jamnalal Bajaj, the Congress treasurer. He lost his temper

more than once. It was to a speaker from the Punjab who said, that "country is ready to fight, we are ready, the Congress is ready, but Nehru and Gandhi are not ready." Nehru thereupon angrily retorted: "I am ready." A young Communist speaker angered him terribly. He rushed to the presidential table and exchanged a few words before calm was restored.

And then came Gandhiji. Vallabhai Patel was speaking when he arrived, yet, it was only necessary to whisper, "Gandhiji is coming," for the cheering to break out. He slipped in quietly and sat on the floor.

No remarks could anger him. When one of the speakers said, "It is this little man whom I can put into my pocket who is delaying us," he laughed loudly and beckoned him to do so.

The resolution was passed unaltered and then Gandhiji spoke. He spoke for about an hour. There was no interruption. There was no stir. Even those on the platform crowded round the speaker to hear his words.

There is no doubt that Mahatma Gandhi, though not a member of the Congress, was its leader, nay, a dictator. He said so himself. Congress, he said, cannot be a democratic assembly when it is waging war. It must become a fighting unit and it must have one general. As long as they have him as general he expected unquestioned obedience. If they wished they could replace him and follow another. But could they? Thus concluded the meetings of the Subjects Committee. And then to the sessions.

Three days had been allotted for the open sessions. The Congress Sessions were held in a huge open air amphitheatre as large as the Victoria Park. The members of the Congress Committee throughout India are entitled to vote, numbering over a thousand. At one end of the stadium was a platform and a rostrum for the President. The first day was allotted for the Presidential Address and the other two days for discussion on motions. A crowd of over a lakh of people had assembled by 5 p.m. on the 19 March.

The President was expected at five-thirty. More people

were coming in. And then came the rain!

In half an hour the vast amphitheatre was one sheet of water and in some places the water was knee deep. The President's speech was taken as read. Thus ended the Congress Session.

The next morning a make-shift session was held under the Asoka pillar, as the theatre was still wet and in a few hours the Patna resolution urging "Independence outside the orbit of the British Empire", was passed.

By the evening the crowds had started to leave. In a few days Ramgarh would assume its normal quiet. The jackals would wander through the empty streets and huts. The aborigines will weave into their history the legends of Ramgarh, the story of a town which sprang up in a few days, of motor cars and trains and electric lights and of an "avatar", an incarnation of God, whom they saw--Mahatma Gandhi.

But what does Ramgarh mean to India and to the world? How were we in Ceylon to adjust ourselves to the results that flowed in from Ramgarh?

Two facts were clear. First, India was united in her demand to be free and she wanted her freedom outside the British Commonwealth of Nations. Secondly, Mahatma Gandhi was still the unquestioned leader of India. There was, no doubt, opposition was to his leadership. Subhash Chandra Bose held a counter show at Ramgarh with his anti-compromise and Forward Bloc ideals. These meetings were attended by the Kisan (Peasant) organisations and had the support of over a lakh of people. The opposition were not, however, to Gandhi's leadership: it was to his refusal to begin the fight. His opponents wished to push him on to act at once. But Gandhi believed that the country was not ready and if he was the leader, he must give the signal to begin. In the Congress itself there was no opposition.

That India will begin her struggle again there was no question. That she would soon be free was also not to be doubted. In their minds and in their actions, the Indians were free. They wore clothes made in India and used articles

made in India. They did not recognise the British flag nor the British connection. To the men and women who thought as the political parties did, the British Crown and British ideals and customs meant nothing. India was determined to travel on her own path to chart its own course.

We, in Ceylon, had to learn many things. First, the idealism and complete absence of racial or personal feeling which characterised the political discussions at Ramgarh was a contrast to the petty methods prevalent among us. No man or woman we met, be he/she leader or the follower, talked except in terms of ideals of social and economic construction, of a new world order based not on exploitation but according to a planned economy. In the field of politics, the masses were trained to think not in terms of race or personalities, but in terms of social equality, equal opportunity for all and anti-imperialism.

Could we in Ceylon close our eyes to these movements so close to our shores? Was it not the duty of our leaders, our men of letters and culture, or newspapers and all those who love this country, to quicken the awakening consciousness of our people and help them too to feel the impulse of that idealism which emanated from India?

During the Ramgarh Session, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who visited our quarters, after the torrential rains, asked us to visit him at Allahabad and stay with him for a few days. Pandit Nehru was the only leader who visited all the guests and saw to their comfort after the rains. We gladly accepted his invitation and on our way to Delhi we called on him at Allahabad.

John Ameratunge and I--Jayasekera had business in Bombay--stayed for a few days in Nehru's house, "Anand Bhawan" on 26, 27 and 28 March. We were treated with the greatest kindness and hospitality, as if we were old friends. Mrs Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, Nehru's sister as the hostess, used to sit down for morning breakfast with us to a typical Western breakfast with bacon and eggs, toast and marmalade. The host presided and sat with us. He would generally be

out for lunch and return for dinner. Indira Gandhi, his daughter, was not in India at that time, and we were the only guests.

We had long discussions with Pandit Nehru though we were far removed from his activities which covered almost twenty years of direct and indirect non-violent campaigns, to free India from foreign rule. That campaign was now in its final stages and we talked to him quite freely about his role in these movements. Like all other youths of our generation throughout the British Empire, we hero-worshipped Jawaharlal Nehru and his leader, Mahatma Gandhi. The friendship thus formed enabled me to correspond with him. Some of our letters have now been published. They are letters that speak for themselves and unfortunately the correspondence terminated with Pandit Nehru's incarceration. He was released just before the War ended and became Prime Minister of Free India and I became the Minister of Finance of Free Ceylon (Sri Lanka). We had many contacts but did not renew our correspondence.

**“Quit India”--Indian Congress Meeting
--Bombay 7, 8 August 1942**

The Indian National Congress had been preparing for a final move against the British rule since the Ramgarh Session. Its leaders had been arrested, tried, jailed and released. The British Government had sent Sir Stafford Cripps on a special mission to meet the Indian leaders; his mission had ended in failure. The War in the West and in North Africa could not have followed a more disastrous course for the Allied Powers. In the East, Japan was in command of the Indian Ocean and had bombed Ceylon twice after the fall of Indonesia, Singapore and Burma. They were knocking at the doors of India on the Assam frontier. It was at this moment that Mahatma Gandhi sought the sanction of the Congress to implement his “Quit India” programme.

I could not miss this opportunity. P.D.S. Jayasekere, one of the Treasurers, C.P.G. Abeywardene and I were deputed

to represent Ceylon at the Indian National Congress Committee meeting to be held in Bombay to discuss the "Quit India" Resolution. We accordingly left for Bombay through Madras by train on 31 July 1942. On arrival at Bombay, we contacted Jawaharlal Nehru on the telephone and he very kindly sent us tickets for admission to the special enclosure. We met him, his sister Mrs Krishna Huthee Singh and his son-in-law Feroze Gandhi at Mrs Singh's flat where he was staying. He was interested in hearing of the air-raids on Ceylon, the damage caused, and the consequences on the morale of the people. He was confident that India would be free after the War and did not favour a victory for the Axis powers. However, he said, he could not help the Allies as long as they (the Indians) were a subject people.

We met Mahatma Gandhi also at Birla House where he was staying. At our request he included Ceylon too in the Resolution demanding freedom for Asiatic nations. "Why do you think that Ceylon is not included in India's demand for freedom?" he asked. "My love for Ceylon is even greater than my love for Burma."

There was an amusing incident in the room. The late Mahadev Desai was seated on a cushion by the side of Gandhiji taking down his reply to a British paper. At one stage Gandhi referred to the 380 millions of Indians. Desai playfully refused to take this down saying, "No, Bapuji, it's not 380 millions but 400 millions".

Some of the others in the room also joined in the discussion regarding the exact number of India's population.

Desai clinched the issue by saying that the latest census figure was 400 millions. Gandhi smilingly gave in, and allowed Desai to write "400 millions".

In spite of the bitterness that had arisen as a result of this conflict between Britain and India, it was true that in the mind of India's great leader there was no hate whatever towards his adversaries.

The meeting of the Congress Committee was held under a large *pandal* seating 10,000 on the Gowalia Tank Maidan

on 7 and 8 August. The meeting was more like a mass rally. The leaders were accommodated on a platform without chairs and we sat on the cushioned stage with them. Mahatma Gandhi outlined his non-cooperation movement and called upon the British to "Quit India", coining the now famous phrase "*Karange Ya Mareng*"--"Do or Die". He was, by unanimous consent, accorded full powers to lead the movement.

Soon after the meeting rioting broke out and as we left that very night for Madras we could not witness the varied forms into which it spread. The train we travelled in was also stoned and throughout India similar occurrences were reported. Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and the other leaders were arrested. India was again set on the Gandhian path to freedom.



4

Peace Treaty For Japan

I attended the Japanese Peace Treaty Conference, San Francisco, USA, in September 1951 as the representative of Ceylon (Sri Lanka). The Foreign Ministers of the major nations and Prime Minister Yoshida of Japan attended. Yoshida shed tears when I stood up for Japan and made a speech which was hailed as the turning point of the Conference.

Some of the Press accounts are as follows:

As Ceylon's representative I travelled to America through Japan and the Pacific. During my stay in Japan for a few days, I met leading Japanese Buddhists and gathered impressions of the political post-War conditions in Japan.

At the Conference my two speeches made me 'the Hero of the Conference', in the words of Mr. John Foster Dulles.

The value of this contribution could be gauged by the tributes paid by the world press.

San Francisco Chronicle. "The generalized, philosophical argument for forbearance was ably stated by Ceylon's Minister of Finance, J.R. Jayewardene".

The Salt Lake, Tribune. "The address of Jayewardene, Ceylon's articulate delegate, will go down as one of the most historic of the conference. He called Russia's bluff at every turn and quoted Buddha in an effective plea for a

merciful peace for Japan”.

The London Times. “A skilful answer to the case was propounded by Jayewardene. He recalled that the United Kingdom, in face of the Russian request that the Treaty be prepared by the Council of Foreign Minister, with the power of veto in operation, had insisted that the British Dominions be consulted, and he claimed that the case for restoration of a completely independent Japan was first considered at the Colombo Conference”.

San Francisco Chronicle. “There was the Minister of Ceylon--a man of great dignity and keen grasp of subtleties--who stripped the very hide off the Soviet position with his declaration: ‘It is interesting to note that the amendments of the Soviet Union seek to insure to the people of Japan the fundamental freedoms--which the people of the Soviet Union themselves would dearly love to possess and enjoy”.

San Francisco Examiner. “A darkly handsome diplomat from the seldom considered Island of Ceylon spoke up resoundingly for international decency and magnanimity to a world that has of late known little of either. He was J.R. Jayewardene, the rubber rich Island’s Minister of Finance. Dispassionately and with fine logic he tore Russia’s wrecking crew to pieces in his address”.

News Week. “A swarthy Sinhalese named J.R. Jayewardene with a clear Cambridge accent shared honours as the most popular speaker with the fiercely bearded Moslem, Sir Mohamed Zafrulla Khan of Pakistan. To the delight of American officials both spoke eloquently as Asiatics to Asiatics”.

Time. “Ablest Asian spokesman at the conference was Ceylon’s delegate, Finance Minister J.R. Jayewardene, a slim, soft-spoken man with a razor-like tongue”.

Life. “Crucial support for West comes as Ceylon’s J.R. Jayewardene protests against Soviet assumption of a ‘protector’ role in Asia, adds that the eight Asian nations present would speak for themselves”.

New York Herald Tribune. “Ceylon’s Jayewardene led the spokesmen for 13 of the 52 nations at the conference in

proclaiming their intention to sign the Anglo-American sponsored treaty”.

I was to attend the Annual Conference of Governors of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund to be held in Washington during the second week of September, 1951. A conference of 52 nations to discuss a Peace Treaty for Japan was also summoned to meet at San Francisco in the first week of the same month, and the American Ambassador was very anxious that the Prime Minister D.S. Senanayake should attend, as the other nations were sending their Foreign Ministers and President Truman was to open the conference. The Prime Minister was unable to leave Ceylon and instead suggested that I should represent him. I gladly agreed because I had to be in America during this period of time, and as the Peace Conference was to be held at San Francisco it was possible for me to arrive there travelling eastwards, through Japan and the Pacific. After San Francisco I could attend the Washington Conference; cross the Atlantic, represent Ceylon at the Economic Conference which was to be held in September in London, and then return to Ceylon. It was indeed a journey that would put a girdle round the world by air and sea.

The BOAC Constellation Liner took off from Katunayake Airport Negombo, at 6.30 a.m. on Sunday, 26 August. Our delegation consisted of R.G. Senanayake, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs, and my Private Secretary, R. Bodinagoda. I thought the plane would first travel along the western coast and after leaving the southern tip of Ceylon charter her course eastwards. I was surprised therefore, on looking out after about half an hour's flight to see range upon range of mountains. The plane was travelling over the central hills. In a few minutes I found my bearings, for the summit of Adam's Peak with the white building of the monastery was easily recognisable. We soon flew over the plains in the south-east corner of Ceylon and headed for the sea and Singapore.

At 4 p.m. we landed at Singapore. Our Commissioner

Peace Treaty For Japan

Saravanamuttu, and Malcolm Macdonald's representative were there to meet us. We dined with Malcolm Macdonald who was the Special Commissioner of the UK Government for South-East Asia. Dinner was served in the magnificent palace of the Sultan of Johore, "Bukit Serene", where Macdonald was staying. I had been here on an earlier occasion on my way from Australia after the Colombo Plan Conference in June 1950. I had met Macdonald at the Ceylon Independence celebrations in 1948, and at the Colombo and Sydney Conferences in 1950, and knew him fairly well. We could not spend much time over our dinner as we had to leave early the following morning.

At 3 p.m. we sighted Hongkong and owing to the absence of rain and mist landed safely in this hill-locked bay. We were able to look round the town which is built on the side of a hill facing the bay, the side facing the sea not being built upon. A Chinese restaurant where the real Chinese food was served was one of the places we visited. Early the next day we were again in the air. In the last stage of our journey while flying over Okinawa Island I could see the hulls of ships sunk during the War. Here was fought one of the bitterest battles in which the Americans and the Japanese were involved; where thousands of lives were lost, yet a few years later the two nations were friends, and the conference at San Francisco was to discuss how Japan could again enter the comity of free nations.

We were now approaching Tokyo, and who does not look out to see the peak of Fujiyama, as we did? I stayed five days in Tokyo. The first two days were spent in paying official calls on the American Representative, the Japanese Prime Minister, Yoshida, and the Supreme Allied Commander, General Ridgeway. I also met the Indian Representative at lunch and the British Representative at dinner. Leading members of the Japanese public life were present at these functions. I was able to gather useful information on Japan's political and economic state after the War. In my meetings with the Japanese Buddhist leaders I discussed the possibility

of holding the next session of the World Fellowship of Buddhists in Japan as requested by Dr. Malalasekera, its President, before I left Ceylon.

A nation that had enjoyed Independence and an unbroken historical record since the sixth century BC was defeated in 1945. The atomic explosions over Hiroshima and Nagasaki compelled a proud people to surrender though their armies were still unconquered. The Allied Forces landed in Japan in August 1945, and on 2 September, General MacArthur, having assumed duties in Japan as Supreme Commander, accepted the surrender of the Japanese on board the US Battleship 'Missouri'. SCAP (Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers) was in charge of the occupation and control of Japan. His main task was to implement the basic policies laid down by the USA, China and the UK in the Potsdam Declaration of July 1945, defining the terms for Japanese surrender. The main terms relevant to the occupation were:

- (1) to eliminate the authority and influence of irresponsible militarism,
- (2) destruction of Japan's war-making power,
- (3) disarming Japan's military forces,
- (4) stern justice to be meted out to all war criminals,
- (5) the revival and strengthening of democratic tendencies among the Japanese people.

McArthur, who had the choice of direct or indirect government, chose the latter and utilized the existing government of the country. He issued orders to them or made suggestions as he thought fit. The Japanese Government, which could do nothing contrary to SCAP policy, had also to carry out his wishes. The people, however, looked to the Prime Minister and his government for the elected government continued to function.

After the resignation of the Cabinet that surrendered, a Cabinet headed by Prince Higashikuni assumed office in August 1945. This difficult period of demobilization and

food scarcity caused conflict between the SCAP and the Government. On the Prime Minister's resignation in October, K. Shidehara, once Ambassador to the USA was nominated Prime Minister. He accepted and implemented the policy of SCAP which the previous Prime Minister had refused to do, among these being the abolition of the secret police, dismissal of high officials and the liberation of political criminals.

The Shidebara Government functioned until May 1946, and during its tenure of office many measures for the establishment of a democratic constitution were initiated, such as the drafting of a new constitution, a declaration of the sovereignty of the people and the granting of universal franchise. The formation of trade unions was encouraged, and the functioning of political parties resumed. In spite of the liberal measures adopted by the government, the insufficiency of food and its bad distribution caused grave distress, ending in food riots. In the General Election held in April 1946, the Liberal Party led by Hatoyama was elected with the largest number of members. When Hatoyama was about to be recommended for the office of Prime Minister, SCAP ordered that he should be excluded from office. This was in pursuance of a law which 'purged' from office almost two hundred thousand who had militaristic tendencies. The Liberal Party, which was the largest party in Parliament, elected Shigeru Yoshida, the Foreign Minister as its President, and the retiring Prime Minister recommended him to the Emperor as the proper person to succeed him.

The Yoshida Government was constantly faced with labour troubles; strikes were averted only by the intervention of the armed strength of the SCAP; and the Communists and the Left-wing socialists were gaining in strength by clever manipulation of labour troubles. In view of the mounting opposition, the SCAP suggested a General Election, which was held in April 1947, the Socialists becoming the largest party. Yoshida resigned and was succeeded by Katayama, head of the Socialist party, who could not carry on for long owing to dissension in his party. He resigned when a

supplementary budget proposal was defeated due to absence of his members from the House during voting. Ashida, the Democratic Party leader, was voted Prime Minister by the House under the new law which empowered the House of Representatives to elect the Prime Minister by a majority vote. Ashida's Government was assailed as corrupt from the very first day it assumed office. It was openly stated that Ashida, head of the third largest party was chosen as Prime Minister by the use of money. Financial transactions of members of the Cabinet were investigated into by the police and Ashida unable to face opposition from without, and corruption within his ranks, resigned.

A vote in the House elected Yoshida as Prime Minister for the second time in October 1948. As Yoshida's Liberal Government was a minority-government, a General Election was held in December, when the Liberals won a great victory, securing an absolute majority over all other parties. The people showed their disapproval of incompetence and corruption, favoured the constitutional methods adopted by Yoshida and approved his plans for removing controls. In spite of opposition from organised labour and the Communists, the government carried through a series of economic reforms. In spite of initial sufferings which the people had to bear, the government pursued its policy with determination. By the end of 1950, the Yoshida Government could proudly claim that the finances and economy of Japan were established. The government then turned its attention to the problems arising from the Korean war and the preparation of a treaty of peace leading to the freedom of Japan.

The Japanese people felt keenly the occupation of their country by foreign troops but their feelings were not exhibited. In September 1951, the Japanese were not allowed to enter the hotels we stayed in, in Tokyo. They were made to feel that they were a conquered nation. The re-gaining of their ancient freedom was one of the achievements of Premier Yoshida and his Ministers.

The six years of occupation, ending with the Peace Treaty

of 1951, saw a revolutionary change in the political, economic and social institutions that existed before the War. The concept of the Emperor as the source of all authority was removed by the new Constitution, which came into operation in May 1947. Parliamentary democracy, similar to that of England, was embodied in the Constitution. The first principle was that 'sovereign power resides with the people'. The will of the people is expressed through their elected representatives in the Diet who choose the Executive, namely, the Prime Minister and his Cabinet. The Emperor was declared to be 'the symbol of the state and of the unity of the people'.

The concomitants of this change were also seen in the reform of the government machinery, the independence of the Judiciary and the extension of the local government. As stated earlier, the grant of universal franchise to men and women and the liberty allowed for the formation of trade unions took the mind of the people away from the disgrace of defeat and turned it towards a desire to better their conditions, worsened by the collapse of the economy after the close of the War. Another major and useful step was the attempt at agrarian reform. A large-scale transfer of land ownership from owners to tenants was carried out over a period of years. The principle applied was that he who tills the land must be its owner. These reforms, as well as the breaking up of monopolies and trusts, and the reform of the banking system, convinced the masses that the SCAP did not intend to use its victory for the benefit of a few.

Japan was thus ready to regain her freedom in 1951. Her stability, politically and financially, was due to the wise leadership of the SCAP and the elected governments that co-operated with it.

I had read about and published a short essay on, 'Buddhism in Japan'. I was afforded an opportunity of meeting some of the leading scholars and wished to make the best use of the time available to me. A common friend, an Englishman residing in Colombo who had recently visited Japan, contacted Christmas Humphreys, one of the leading British Buddhists,

and provided me with a list of those whom I should meet. Humphreys who had spent some time in Japan a few years back as the prosecuting counsel in the International War Trials, had in his book *Via Tokyo* published his impressions of Buddhist Japan. I was anxious to meet some of the distinguished Buddhist leaders, and to visit the historic places mentioned there. Professor Malalasekera, President of the World Fellowship of Buddhists, a newly-formed international Organisation whose first convention was held in Ceylon in 1950, proposed to hold the second convention in Japan in August 1952. He requested me to discuss with the Buddhist leaders this proposal and find out their views.

Owing to the difficulty of corresponding with the Japanese directly, I contacted them through the British Embassy in Japan. On the second day after my arrival in Tokyo I was able to meet many of the Japanese leaders at the house of one Mr. Redman of the British Embassy. On this day, and during the course of the next few days, I met Mr. Yoshimuzu and Professor Kumura, Managing Editor and Editor of a well-known Buddhist journal, *The Young East*; Dr. Tachibana, the well-known author, and Dr. Miyamoto, Professor of Buddhism at the Tokyo University. I also met Dr. Nagai, ex-Professor of the Tokyo University, and Mr. Tomamaisu who was taking the keenest interest in the forthcoming conference. Preparations were being made to hold the conference in September or October, and I realized that owing to the conditions that then prevailed in Japan much work would have to be done to organise it successfully. The attainment of freedom made this work easier, and the conference held in 1952 was very successful.

With these Japanese friends and the two Englishmen interested in Buddhism, I visited as many places as I could. I was also able to visit and spend some time with Dr. Suzuki one of the great minds of Japan, and the leading scholar of the Zen sect which he introduced to the world outside Japan. On the third day of our stay, I received a message from the British Embassy that Professor Suzuki would receive

us at 3 p.m. the next day at the Matsugaoka Library at Kamakura, which is 70 minutes drive from Tokyo. The world famous bronze statue of the Buddha is also situated in this town; so we were doubly pleased. The temple (Ji) of Full Enlightenment, Engaku-Ji, was the present home of Dr. Suzuki. The library was on the opposite side of the valley and was reached by a steep climb.

I had heard and read of Dr. Suzuki. He was now eighty years of age; had written several major works on the Zen sect and was renowned for his learning as well as his piety. The name of the sect is an abbreviation of Zenna, a transcription of the Sanskrit word 'Dhyana', meaning meditation. The sect traces its origin to Bodhidhamma (520 AD) himself. The Zen philosophy appealed specially to poets and artists and became the religion of the Intrepid Samurai of yore. The sect owned 20,000 temples, monasteries and chapels. It had more than 7800 abbots, 36,000 monks and 800,000 perpetual members. Training centres for monks were attached to the principal temples.

Dr. Suzuki was in his library when we met him after a pleasant drive to Kamakura from Tokyo. He was a small man with a delicate frame, yet virile, mentally and physically. He took me to his library recently constructed and full of books even on the floor. He talked softly, and his answer to my question, "What is the difference between Hinayana and Mahayana Buddhism?" was typical of his detached mind. Buddhism is broadly divided into two schools. The Hinayana (Little Vessel), or Thera Vada (the teaching of the Elders), practised by the southern countries, viz. Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam and parts of India. The Mahayana (Great Vessel) was followed by the majority of inhabitants in Tibet, China, South Mongolia and Japan. He said, 'Why do you stress upon the differences? Why not find out the points of similarity? We attempted to do so together.

Both teach--

(a) The three characteristics of phenomena: *Anicca*

- (transiency); *Dukka* (suffering); *Anatta* (no entity or soul).
- (b) The Four Noble Truths: the omnipresence of *Dukka* (suffering); its cause, *Tanha* (craving); its cure, the removal of the cause; the Noble Eightfold Path which leads to the removal of the cause and the attainment of *Nibbana*, the highest bliss.
- (c) The Eight-fold Path, which consists of Right Understanding, Right Thought; Right Speech; Right Action; Right Livelihood; Right Effort; Right Mindfulness; Right Concentration.

“We seek to obtain deliverance from the fetters that bind us to this transient phenomena. We follow the same path as you do. We know that each man his prison makes and that self-salvation is the immediate task. The Buddha was one who realised (*Tathagatha*), by his own efforts the way to Peace and Happiness. He was the All-Compassionate as well as the All-Enlightened one. The path he trod and advised us to tread is the only path to supreme bliss, (*Nibbanam Paramam Sukkham*). So we do not differ very much. It may be that you emphasize one aspect of the teaching and we another. National customs, geographical and climatic conditions may have given rise to different practices and rules of conduct. We preach a simplified life. Master yourself. The ideal is to do good without seeking a reward, neither from others nor from oneself. Man is Buddha. All men are builders of the world according to Buddha.” This was his theme.

I wish I could have continued listening to the teacher, as I considered him to be. My time was running out. Though I felt I was listening to a master of his subject and one who practised what he preached, I had to ask his permission to leave. Before doing so he showed me round his new library and some of the books it contained.

We then visited the Kotoku-in Monastery where stands the famous Dai-Batsu or Great Buddha, made of bronze.

This notice greeted us at the entrance: "Stranger, whosoever thou art, and whatsoever be thy creed, when thou enterest this sanctuary, remember thou treadest upon ground hallowed by the worship of ages". For seven hundred years pilgrims had worshipped at this shrine. At one time the capital of East Japan, Kamakuru had then a population of a million people. Wars, tidal waves and earthquakes had reduced her to the size of a small village. The great statue had its temple swept away almost five hundred years ago and since then stands alone, open to the sun and rain. From a height of 42 feet the eyes of the seated statue gaze down at the pilgrim with a calm and serene look. The statue shows the Buddha in a seated posture, legs bent at the knees and feet placed one over the other, with the folded hands on them. The whole statue breathes an air of repose and has been described as "the most complete work of the Japanese genius in regard both to art and to the religious sentiment". We met the Prior, who, following the custom of certain sects lives with his wife and children in a building not far away from the statue.

Our last visit to a Buddhist institution was to the Sojo-Ji situated in the Tsurumi Ward in the outskirts of Yokohama City. The temple, though dating back six hundred years, was moved from its original site to the present one in 1893 after a disastrous fire. The oldest building is less than 50 years of age and therefore young in comparison with other shrines. The main buildings are on a hill, and are surrounded by a park, eighty acres in extent. We were shown the Hon-Do (Hall of the Shrine), the Zen-Do (meditation Hall) and the other buildings used by the community of monks residing there. The Zen-Do is the most important building and is very plain in exterior decoration and furniture. Here the monks perform their daily meditation and seek bliss through the way taught by the Buddha. We had tea with the Abbot Watanabe, all of us seated on the floor, and departed.

My short stay in Japan enabled me to obtain a first-hand knowledge of conditions after the War. Japan was recovering

rapidly from the physical destruction caused by bombing. Her government was democratic and disciplined, subject of course to the superior authority of the SCAP. The vast mass of her people, as I gathered from the Buddhist leaders and from what I saw, were peace-loving and engaged in the daily pursuit of life, and not interested in imperialistic ventures.

I had obtained a useful background for the Peace Treaty discussions which many of the other delegates did not possess. I also made many friends, some of whom still write to me, thus maintaining a friendship which I value, with a cultured and courteous people.

After six days spent in Tokyo and its suburbs we left by a Pan-American Stato-Cruiser on Sunday, 2 September at 2 p.m. Our long flight took us over the Pacific Ocean further east up to the date line, and from west to east after that. We crossed the dateline on Sunday the September 2 and had to spend another Sunday in the air. Thus, having left Japan on Sunday the 2nd at 2 p.m., we arrived at Honolulu, Hawaii Islands, 4300 miles away, on Sunday the 2nd at 4 p.m. On the way, a halt was made at Wake Island in the heart of the Pacific. As the time was 2 a.m., we did not get down but continued our sleep in the comfortable berths provided us.

Hawaii has been called a fleet of islands, "the loveliest anchored in any ocean". Having known the beauty of another Island, in the East, the lure of Hawaii did not attract us. Waikiki Beach was no more attractive than our beaches on the eastern and southern coasts. The flowers and vegetation were also familiar. We motored round the town and saw the statue of King Kamehameha the Great. It was he who united all the islands under one authority at the close of the eighteenth century. Soon after, the real influx of *haolis* (Whites) commenced and Hawaii came under American influence. We were not able to spend more than a few hours on land, and that too only at Honolulu, before we were again on our journey. Flying into, and away from Honolulu, we looked down on Pearl Harbour and only the hulls of a few ships jutting out of the calm sea reminded us

of the beginning of the end of World War II, for it was the attack on Pearl Harbour by the Japanese that brought America fully into conflict with Japan and the other Axis Powers.

The last lap of our journey was the longest, and the 2,600 miles from Honolulu to San Francisco was flown entirely over the Ocean. Early on Monday, 3 September morning we awakened to see layer upon layer of clouds but no land or sea. We were informed that San Francisco was below us and that as the sun rose the clouds would clear. The pilot found an opening in the clouds and in a few minutes we saw the Bay and the Golden Gate Bridge, and after circling round the aerodrome for a few minutes our long journey was brought to a close with a perfect landing in perfect weather.

Claude Corea (later Sir), together with officials of the conference, received us. This was my first visit to America and the main thing that struck me was the speed with which traffic moved. The road from the aerodrome had several lanes for traffic and rarely did I see a vehicle move at less than sixty miles an hour. Road crossings were so constructed that speed need not be lessened when negotiating them. We drove to our hotel, the Mark Hopkins, famous for its cocktail bar on its top floor. San Francisco is built on hills and the 'Top of the Mark' Bar, as it is called is on one of them. The panorama of the city, lit up for the night, can be seen from the bar where the lights are deliberately dimmed, so that the glittering scene outside may be better appreciated.

San Francisco is probably the most international of American cities. Peoples of many nations, Spanish, Chinese, Japanese, as well as immigrants from Western Europe, helped found and build it. Chinatown has the largest population of Chinese in America, and the Japanese too are well represented. Many of them fought with the American armed forces in the war. The main buildings of the fashionable quarter are built on steep hills and steel cables drag little cars to the top, then they career down to the bottom on the other side. It is a beautiful sight to see the lights of cars and other vehicles on the hill opposite to the one you are travelling down. On

the top of these hills the *Nabobs* of a hundred years ago, business tycoons, built palatial mansions. The most famous of these called Nob Hill, faced our hotel.

San Francisco had a famous past, and today it was again the centre of world interest. The United Nations Organisation was born here in 1945 and now the representatives of 52 nations had assembled to consider a Treaty of Peace.

“If the hopes and plans of the founders of the United Nations... and the architects of the Japanese Peace Treaty... are realized, San Francisco will come to be known as ‘The City of Peace’. It was in this spirit that our deliberations were looked forward to by the citizens of this great city.

The intention of the Allies towards Japan was first announced in a statement signed by President Roosevelt, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek and Prime Minister Churchill, and issued from Cairo in December 1943 (Appendix ‘A’). The War was to be pursued with unrelenting pressure until the unconditional surrender of Japan, when she would be stripped of all the territories she had seized or occupied since the first World War of 1914. No mention was made of the Soviet Union for she was not at war with Japan.

It was fourteen months later that the Soviet Union first entered the Japanese scene when at the Yalta Conference in February 1945, Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill agreed that within a few months of the defeat of Germany, the Soviet Union would enter the War against Japan on the side of the Allies, subject to certain conditions. (Appendix ‘B’). The main condition was the restoration of Russian rights lost on the mainland of Asia; namely, the return of territory taken by Japan after the 1904 war, and the handing over of Kurile Islands. Sakhalin and Kurile Islands are situated to the north of the four main islands of Japan and adjacent to Soviet Union territory. Only the southern half of Sakhalin was taken over by Japan in 1904, the northern half was Soviet territory.

Churchill in his book on the War, meets criticism of the concessions made to the Soviet Union by stating that though

he joined in the Yalta agreement he took no part in making it. "It was regarded as an American affair, and was certainly of prime interest to their military operations. It was not for us to claim to shape it. Anyhow, we were not consulted, but only asked to approve. This we did. The concessions made to the Soviet Union became important in the light of later events. She declared war on Japan on 8 August 1945, after dropping of the first atomic bomb on 6 August, and before the dropping of the second, on 9 August. Though Japan collapsed within one week of the declaration of War and the Soviet Union did not lose one life nor fire a single shell, she claimed her full rights as a belligerent. She also sought to impose her will, after wartime friendships with America and the United Kingdom had been strained, on the Peace Treaty negotiations too.

Roosevelt died on 12 April 1945, and was succeeded by Harry S. Truman, the Vice President. Churchill had attended the First Plenary session at Potsdam and subsequent sessions from 17 July. The results of the General Election were announced on the 26 July, and Churchill, whose party lost, resigned and advised the King to send for Mr. Attlee, leader of the victorious Labour Party who attended the Potsdam Conference from then on.

The next and most important declaration made by the Allies was the Berlin (Potsdam) Conference Declaration of July 1945. (Appendix 'C') Truman, Chiang-Kai Shek and Attlee, who had succeeded Churchill, sent an ultimatum to Japan asking for an immediate unconditional surrender of her armed forces.

Earlier, I have referred to the implementation of the Potsdam Declaration by the Supreme Commander (SCAP), after the occupation of Japan. The terms of the Cairo Declaration were to be carried out, Japan was to be disarmed, irresponsible militarism eliminated and a new democratic order established. The Declaration continued:

We do not intend that the Japanese shall be enslaved as a

race or destroyed as a nation... The occupying forces of the Allies shall be withdrawn from Japan as soon as those objectives have been accomplished and there has been established in accordance with the freely expressed will of the Japanese people a peacefully inclined and responsible government.

There was some resentment among the Allies that the occupation policy was determined mainly by the SCAP and the American Government. A Far Eastern Advisory Commission, consisting of the United Kingdom, the Dominions, except South Africa, India (she was not then a Dominion) China, France, the Netherlands, America and the Philippines was set up in Washington. The Soviet Union declined to serve on the Commission as they wanted a four power control council composed of the United Kingdom, the USA, the USSR and China.

The Moscow Meeting of Foreign Secretaries decided in December 1945 to replace the Advisory Commission with a Commission that could act on a majority vote, provided the representatives of the USA, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union and China all concurred. These arrangements were all concerned with the occupation. Two years had passed since the defeat. America was spending a fabulous sum of money, almost \$500 million a year, in maintaining the economy of Japan. The War Allies had parted and the necessity for a permanent settlement with Japan could not be delayed.

In July 1947 the American Government proposed the calling of a preliminary Peace Conference of the Far Eastern Commission countries, with a two-thirds majority vote procedure, to draw up the principles on which the peace settlement should proceed. The Soviet Union contended that the peace settlement was the function of the Council of Foreign Ministers of the United Kingdom, the USA, the USSR and China, and no further progress could be made.

The Commonwealth countries then met at Canberra, Australia, in August 1947 and informally decided on a certain

course of action the main purpose of which was to see that a Peace Conference was summoned at an early date. On the question of those who should take part in the conference, it was agreed that countries:

- (a) which contributed to the defeat,
- (b) which suffered at the hands of Japan, and
- (c) which had vital interests in the Pacific, should be represented. This would have added Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon and Indonesia to the countries already in the Far Eastern Commission, as participants to the Treaty.

The opposition of the Soviet Union to this proposal too, and its insistence of the four countries mentioned earlier, made it difficult to proceed further with the negotiations. Another two years elapsed before a fresh attempt was made to discuss this question. It was in February 1950 at the Colombo Conference of Commonwealth Foreign Ministers, that the new dominions, India, Pakistan and Ceylon strongly supported the ending of the occupation of Japan. Bevin, who was associated with the Potsdam Declaration and was a member of the Council of Foreign Ministers, outlined the history of Japan after the occupation and strongly supported the proposal to make Japan a free nation once again. He pointed out that the obstacle in the way was one of procedure, namely, who should draft the Treaty and who should discuss and approve of it finally. A working group of officials was appointed to co-ordinate, under the direction of High Commissioners or Ambassadors, the views of the Commonwealth countries and to report to their respective governments.

In September of the same year, President Truman authorised the State Department to initiate informal discussions about a Peace Treaty with the other members of the Far Eastern Commission. He appointed John Foster Dulles, later America's Foreign Secretary, as a Special Ambassador to consult with other governments about a peace treaty. Though Dulles belonged to a different political party from President

Truman, he enjoyed the President's absolute confidence and support in his task. He visited the statesmen in their own countries and after a year of cooperative effort produced a text of a treaty which was circulated in 1951 to the nations to be represented at the Conference. The President in his opening address at the Conference paid a tribute to the manner in which Dulles "performed this task faithfully and well, guided by the highest traditions of statemanship".

At the time the Treaty was made public, Dulles introduced it through a nationwide broadcast, on 16 August, in these words:

.... nations have been invited to conclude peace, 'on the terms' of the present text which was prepared following extensive international consultation. The invited governments are free he added to sign the treaty, acquiesce without formal signing, arrange to sign similar bilateral treaties on their own, or decline to act...

Discussing Soviet acceptance of an invitation to attend the Conference, Dulles said:

.... We are not yet clear as to what this means. We hope that it does not mean that the Russians are sending a wrecking crew to try to demolish a structure of Japanese peace which has been built carefully and soundly until now it is complete save for the formal dedication.

If such tactics should be tried we are confident that they would fail.

Every nation which has constructively interested itself in the treaty can claim authorship of important parts of the final text.

Also each of these nations can claim the equally honourable role of voluntarily subordinating some special interest so that a broad base of unity might be found...

There has been no deviation from the basic principles which General MacArthur largely inspired as Supreme

Commander for the Allied Powers. The Treaty is a non-punitive, non-discriminatory Treaty, which will restore Japan to dignity, equality and opportunity in the family of nations. As shown by successive drafts, it has been found increasingly possible to do justice to particular situations without violating these basic principles.

The Ceylon Government had been consulted during the early stages of drafting and its views had been generally incorporated in the amended drafts. While accepting the principles of the Potsdam Declaration, the Ceylon Government also stressed that Japan should be able to build up an adequate defence against external aggression and internal subversion; that there should be no restrictions on Japan's economic recovery and political freedom; that if reparations were insisted on they should not be such as would harm her economy and finally that the Treaty should enable Japan to be restored as early as possible to a position of sovereignty, equality and dignity, among the free and democratic nations of the World.

This was the background to the Conference convened at San Francisco on 4 September, 1951 to which the United States of America had invited fifty governments, including the Government of Ceylon, for conclusion and signature of a Treaty of Peace with Japan.

In the afternoon of the day I arrived, 3 September, I was invited to an informal meeting to discuss the rules of procedure. The meeting was held in the Palace Hotel and in addition to Sir Oliver Franks, the British Ambassador to America who presided, and myself, there were present only four others, Spender and Lester Pearson, the Foreign Ministers of Australia and Canada, Kenneth Younger, MP, Minister of State, who represented the United Kingdom until the arrival of Herbert Morrison, the Foreign Secretary, who had taken Bevin's place after his death, and Dulles.

Dulles detailed the rules of procedure and said that they had adopted the negotiating method in drafting the Treaty.

The text now presented was the product of a unique co-operative effort. The Presidential mission had visited ten capitals. The draft produced after these visits and the United Kingdom draft produced after several conferences of Commonwealth delegates had been held, were both studied by twenty countries. A joint draft reflecting the latest views was then prepared and circulated to the nations concerned, and the final draft included several suggestions made then. He had met the Soviet representative, Jacob Malik, and exchanged ten memoranda and drafts. He took an active though non-cooperative part in these proceedings. The main purpose of the Conference was to sign the Treaty and not to amend it.

We then discussed the rules one by one mainly with the idea of seeing that we left no loophole for obstruction or delay. It was reported that the Soviet delegation was prepared to stay even one month and delay the signing of the Treaty by obstructionist methods. I suggested a few amendments, one fixing a time-limit not only on speeches dealing with the terms of the Treaty but even on points of order relating to procedure. I thought that power should be given to the Chairman to restrict all speeches, beyond a set time limit, so that delay over interpretation of rules, so common at United Nations meetings, would not arise and unduly protract the proceedings. Dulles who thought the idea excellent warmly supported me, and my amendments were included in the final draft to be placed before the delegates.

The Conference opened at the Opera House the same evening at 6.30 p.m. Public interest in the proceedings had resulted in a large number of inquiries regarding tickets of admission to the Conference sessions. Delegates of 52 nations, correspondents from the world's press, radio commentators and television crews and equipment already occupied much of the space. The large, spacious hall was packed with invitees, among whom were my wife and cousins who had flown with me from Ceylon. After a moment of meditation or prayer for Peace, remarks were made by the temporary

President of the Conference, Dean Acheson; the American Foreign Secretary; the Mayor of San Francisco, the Hon. Elmer E. Robinson; the Governor of California, the Hon. Earl Warren, and now the Chief Justice of the Federal Court of the United States.

The President of the United States of America, the Hon. Harry S. Truman then delivered his address. Truman who delivers his speeches forcefully and with deliberation, appeared to me a lively and alert man. I met him later at a reception and he impressed me as one who was confident of himself, for he knew what he wanted and how to obtain it.

His remarks were characteristic of him:

The Treaty we are gathered here to sign has not been drawn in a spirit of revenge. The Treaty reflects the spirit in which we carried on the War. The principles for which we fought were clearly set forth by President Franklin D. Roosevelt right after Pearl Harbour...

...But we have not forgotten that our goal is peace. We will not let the present conflict deter us from taking every step we can toward peace. We will not let that happen now, anymore than we let the existence of War in 1945 hold up our efforts for the United Nations.

...We believe in peace based on freedom and international justice. We know that a free and independent people have more vigour and staying power, and can do more to help secure the peace, than a people held under alien control. We believe that the whole great effort for peace will be strengthened if Japan is now restored to independence and linked to other free nations by ties of mutual friendship and responsibility.

There were, of course, differences of opinion among the nations concerned as to many of the matters covered by this Treaty. The text of the Treaty now before us is the product of long and patient negotiations among the nations, which were undertaken to reconcile these differences.

I think it is fair to say that it a good treaty. It account the

principal desires and ultimate interests of all the participants. It fair to both victor and vanquished.

But more than that, it is a treaty that will work. It does not contain the seeds of another war. It is a treaty of reconciliation, which look to the future and not to the past.

The Treaty re-establishes Japan as a sovereign, independent nation. It provides for the restoration of Japanese trade with other nations, and it imposes no restrictions upon Japan's access to raw materials.

The Treaty recognizes the principle that Japan should make reparations to the countries which suffered from its aggression. But it does not saddle the Japanese people with a hopeless burden of reparations which would crush their economy in the years to come.

The treaty expresses Japan's intention to apply for membership in the United Nations. The other countries who sign the Treaty be counted on to work for the admission of Japan to membership. But even so, there may be delays before Japan can be admitted.

Under the Treaty, therefore, the Japanese people bound themselves to accept immediately the basic obligations of a United Nations member—namely, to refrain from aggression, to settle disputes peacefully, and to support the efforts of the United Nations to maintain peace. At the same time, the other nations who sign the treaty specifically recognise that Japan entitled to the protection of the United Nations Charter.

In a sense, these provisions the heart of the Treaty. Under them, Japan became part of the community of nations pledged to outlaw aggression and to support a world order based on justice.

This tying together of the Japanese peace treaty and the United Nations Charter a long step toward building security in the Pacific...

...Our people have suffered from past aggression in the Pacific and are determined that Japan should do its part for peace. In recent days, we have joined with other

Pacific nations in that locality in important mutual security agreements.

Last Thursday, the Philippines and the United States signed a treaty of mutual defence. Under this treaty, each country recognized that an armed attack on the other in the Pacific area would be dangerous to its own peace and safety, and declared that it would act to meet the common danger.

Last Saturday, a similar security treaty was signed by Australia, New Zealand, and the United States.

These treaties are initial steps toward the consolidation of peace in the Pacific.

It is vital that Japan be included, as soon as possible, in appropriate security arrangements for keeping the peace in the Pacific. This is necessary for her own protection, and the protection of other countries.

The peace treaty, therefore, recognizes that Japan, as a sovereign nation, must possess the right of self-defence and the right to join in defence arrangements with other countries under the United Nations Charter.

The development of regional arrangements for defence in the Pacific will mean that such Japanese defence forces as may be created would be associated with the defence forces of other nations in that area. Japan's security would not depend exclusively on Japanese forces but on inter-related security arrangements with other countries. The Japanese contribution, by itself, would not constitute an offensive threat. But Japanese forces, together with the forces of other nations, would provide mutual security against threats to the independence of the nations of the Pacific, including Japan.

At present, of course, Japan is totally unarmed. In view of the open aggression taking place near Japan, the Japanese Government has requested the United States to enter into a bilateral treaty for Japan's immediate security. Under such a Treaty, the United States would maintain armed forces in Japan for the time being as a contribution to

international peace and to Japan's defence against attack. We have come here to take a single step--but a step of utmost importance.

The Treaty now before us offer more than talk of peace; it offers action for peace. This Conference will show, therefore, who seeks to make peace, and who seeks to prevent it; who wishes to put an end to war, and who wishes to continue it.

We believe this Treaty will have the support of all those nations that honestly desire to reduce the tensions which now grip the world.

I pray that we shall be united in taking this step to advance us toward greater harmony and understanding.

As we approach the peace table, let us be free of malice and hate, to the end that from here on there shall be neither victors nor vanquished among us, but only equals in the partnership of peace.

The passages I have omitted dealt mainly with matters I have already referred to; the success of the occupation of Japan; the prolonged negotiations that preceded the Treaty; the desire of the United States to support the independent nations in the Pacific area and Asia, and the part a Free Japan could play in this partnership of peace.

After Truman's address the Conference adjourned for the day. The American delegation entertained the other delegates at a magnificent reception at the Palace Hotel later in the evening. I tried to converse with Andre Gromyko, the Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister who was leading his country's delegation but he was not communicative. Gromyko rarely smiled and he and his colleagues kept to themselves. It was known that he had instructions to attempt to delay the signing of the Treaty, and arrangements had been made for the Soviet delegation to stay a month at San Francisco. Unlike the other delegates who stayed in Hotels, the 32-member Soviet delegation had rented a 37-room mansion several miles away from the city and motored down daily.

The Conference had brought together some of the important men of the world. I saw among the guests my friends, Spender of Australia and Pearson and Mayhew of Canada. Pearson sat next to me in the front row of the Conference Hall during the sessions and his experience of international conferences as Canada's Foreign Minister was very useful to me during the debates. There was the tall and stately Schuman, ex-Prime Minister of France leading the French delegation; the bearded Zafrulla Khan of Pakistan and Van Zeeland of Belgium, both Foreign Ministers. Romulo the well-known statesman of the Philippines moved with Yoshida, the Prime Minister of Japan, though a few years ago their two countries were locked in mortal combat.

India, Burma and China were not there. India thought the Treaty did not give Japan the full freedom she was entitled to, and Burma was not satisfied with the settlement of the reparations problem. It was not possible to decide which China should be invited--Red China or Nationalist China--so both were kept out. Indonesia and the Philippines though present had not decided yet whether to sign the Treaty, for the Japanese armies had ravaged their lands and the wounds were not fully healed. It was in an atmosphere of tension and uncertainty that the delegates mingled with each other and dispersed to meet the next day.

The precautions taken to safeguard the person of the President of the United States were such as I had not seen in any other democratic country. At the reception the delegates were all lined up in the hall and the doors closed. Security-men then entered it and seemed to be inspecting the premises and our movements, without actually informing us. The doors through which the President later entered were opened and several armed men entered and stood by the doors, some facing the delegates. The President then entered, preceded and followed by armed service personnel who never left the room as long as he was in it. Similar precautions were taken at the open sessions when he addressed it. Armed men were on the platform and security police were

scattered among the delegates, one sitting temporarily by my side in the front row in a seat reserved for a delegate. The United Kingdom and the Dominions, I have no doubt, adopt careful measures to safeguard the heads of their states, but I have not seen measures adopted so publicly like this, savouring more of the dictatorship countries.

The delegates settled down to business on the second day of the Conference, Tuesday, 5 September. The Soviet delegate showed his hand by proposing that Red China should be invited to attend the Conference, Acheson still acting as President, ruled the motion out of order on the ground that the discussion was on the rules of procedure. The voting on this ruling, fortyfive for and three against, set the pattern for the future divisions too. The Soviet, Polish and Czech delegates continued to vote together without any change in their numbers throughout the proceedings.

The next contest was over the adoption of the rules of procedure. Gromyko moved that a committee be appointed to consider the rules drafted for the Conference. He was supported by the Polish delegate, the excitable Stefan Wishblowski, and the only woman delegate, Dr Gertruda Sekavinova of Czechoslovakia. For more than two hours the three of them appeared on the rostrum in turns to convince the delegates that no one could limit the right of a delegation to submit amendments to the Draft Treaty. At one moment Kenneth Younger of the United Kingdom was on the rostrum at the same time as the Polish delegate, who refused to accept the Chairman's order that he had exceeded his time limit and should stop speaking. The strategy of these three became clearer when the Czech delegate moved that committees should be appointed to deal with the political, military, economic and drafting aspects of the Treaty, and Gromyko proposed that the hour's restriction on speeches should be deleted and the President's powers considerably curtailed. Gromyko gave me an opportunity of replying to him when he stated that India and Burma were not here and their views had not been taken into account.

I pointed out that we had fiftyone nations to consider the rules. This procedure had already been accepted though Russia was now singing a different tune. Instead of each participating country considering the rules separately we had agreed that America and the United Kingdom should draft the rules, and we had now met to consider those rules. The suggestions of Poland and Russia to appoint a small committee at that stage would only delay the signing of the Treaty and those of them who had come from far away could not stay too long in the United States considering the treaty, however much they wished. Referring to Gromyko's remarks that India and Burma were not present, I asked him whether he had forgotten how Russia had once insisted that only the Council of Foreign Ministers, consisting of the Big Four nations, should draft and sign the Treaty. I added:

That is an example of the desire of Mr Gromyko's Government to invite all nations for the Treaty. But now we have fiftyone nations invited, and Mr Gromyko adopts a different attitude and wants even more nations. If Russia's earlier views were accepted, Ceylon, and even India and Burma would have been shut out from consideration of the Treaty. We, though a small country, have suffered much from the War. We have been constantly consulted in drafting the Treaty and we are thankful to the United States and Britain for not accepting the earlier Soviet demand, and for inviting all countries that were at War to the Japanese Peace Conference.

The rules of procedure were put to the House and passed by 48 votes to three. The Conference then proceeded to elect the permanent Chairman. Dean Acheson was elected to this post and Spender to the post of Vice-President. The attempt of the Soviet delegate to re-introduce the question of a seat for Red China was overruled by the Chair on the ground that representation at the Conference was restricted to those nations invited to San Francisco by the United

States. This ruling was also accepted by the Conference by a large majority while the Polish delegate was still wildly gesticulating on the rostrum that he should be heard.

In the afternoon the views of the delegates on the Draft Treaty were heard. Dulles and Kenneth Younger were the first to speak. Dulles spoke with emotion and made frequent gestures to illustrate his points. As one who had laboured for almost a year and travelled round the world to reconcile differences of opinion, it was natural that he should be impatient of the tactics of the Soviet team, which he called "a wrecking team". He demonstrated features of the Treaty by reference to a large map and no one doubted his sincerity when he said that this was "a treaty of reconciliation and not of vengeance".

The debate on the Treaty occupied the whole of the next day. I had given in my name as a speaker in the morning session and I felt that the delegates were interested in what I had to say, for there were several inquiries as to when the Ceylon delegate would address the session. I thought that the delegates were anxious to know the views of Asian countries, for India, Burma and China were not represented, and no other Asian delegate had yet spoken on the rules or the Treaty. It was not yet known whether the Phillipines and Indonesia would even sign the Treaty. The charge made by the Soviet "bloc" that this was only an Anglo-American Treaty would be proved if Asian support was not forthcoming. I also felt that my speech the previous day, exposing the tactics of the Soviet Union, which at one stage wished to confine the Treaty-making countries to four or five Big Powers, even excluding India, and now thought that a Conference of 52 nations was insufficient, had been appreciated.

Before the day's proceedings commenced the delegates were provided with a series of amendments which the Soviet delegation proposed to the Draft Treaty. They dealt with Japan's recognizing the sovereignty of territories claimed by Red China and the Soviet Union, and Japan's sovereignty being extended to certain islands which the United States

claimed to possess for security reasons; the withdrawal of the Allied armed forces from Japan; reparations for war damage; Japan not to enter into military alliances and to limit her armed forces; and the Japanese people to be permitted to enjoy the fundamental freedoms of expression, press, publication, religious worship, political opinion and public meetings. I spoke as follows:

Mr Chairman, I consider it a great privilege to be afforded the opportunity of placing before this Assembly of fifty-one nations the views of the Government of Ceylon on the Draft Treaty of Peace which we have been invited to approve of. My statement will consist of the reasons for our acceptance of this Treaty, and I shall also attempt to meet some of the criticisms that have been levelled against it. It is true that I can speak only on behalf of my Government, but I claim that I can voice the sentiments of the people of Asia in their general attitude towards the future of Japan. I need not deal with the events that led to the formulation of the final Draft of the Treaty which we are considering. Mr Dulles, the American representative, and Mr Kenneth Younger, the British representative, have given us a full and fair account of those events, beginning with the capitulation of Japan in August 1945. It may, however, be mentioned that there was a serious conflict of opinion between the four major powers as to the procedure that should be adopted to draft this Treaty. The Soviet Union insisting that the four major powers alone--that is, the Council of Foreign Ministers of the USA, UK, China and the USSR--should alone undertake it, and that the power of veto should be reserved to them if any others were admitted for the purpose of drafting the Treaty.

The United Kingdom insisted that the Dominion should be consulted, and the United States of America agreed with them. They also supported consultation with all the countries that took part in the war against Japan.

Among these countries, too, there was a difference of opinion as to the actual terms of the Treaty actuated by various considerations, some by a fear of the rising of a new militaristic Japan, and others yet unable to forget the damage and the horrors caused by the Japanese invasions. I venture to submit that it was at the Colombo Conference of Commonwealth Foreign Ministers held in January, 1950, that for the first time, the case for a completely Independent Japan was proposed and considered. The Colombo Conference considered Japan not as an isolated case, but as part of the region known as South and South-East Asia, containing a large proportion of the world's wealth and population, and consisting of countries which have only recently regained their freedom, whose people were still suffering as a result of centuries of neglect. Two ideas emerged from that Conference--one, that of an Independent Japan, and the other, the necessity for the economic and social development of the peoples of South and South-East Asia, to insure which what is now known as the Colombo Plan was launched.

Mr Kenneth Younger has explained how, after that Conference, a Working Committee of Commonwealth High Commissioners worked on a Draft Treaty, and later had consultations with the American representative, Mr Dulles.

The Treaty now before us is the result of those consultations and negotiations. It represents some of the views that my Government had, and some of them which it did not have. I claim that at the present moment it represents the largest commonmeasure of agreement that could be attained among the countries that were willing to discuss peace with Japan.

The main idea that animated the Asian countries, Ceylon, India and Pakistan, in their attitude to Japan was that Japan should be free. I claim that this Treaty embodies that idea in its entirety. There are other matters which are external to the question of Japan's freedom--namely, should

that freedom be limited to the main Islands of Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu, and Shikoku, or should it extend to several minor Islands in the neighbourhood. If not, what should we do with those Islands? Should China be invited to the Peace Treaty Conference? If so, which government? Should reparations be exacted from Japan? If so, the amount. How is Japan to defend herself until she organizes her own defence?

On the main question of the freedom of Japan, we were able to agree ultimately, and the Treaty embodies that agreement. On the other matters, there were sharp differences of opinion, and the Treaty embodies the majority views. My Government would have preferred it if some of those questions were answered in a different way, but the fact that the majority don't agree with us is no reason why we should abstain from signing the Treaty, which contains the central concept of a free and independent Japan.

We feel that the allied matters I mentioned earlier are not insoluble if Japan is free, that they are insoluble if Japan is not free. A free Japan, through, let us say, the United Nations organization, can discuss these problems with the other free nations of the world and arrive at early and satisfactory decisions. By signing this Treaty we are enabling Japan to be in a position to do so, to enter into a treaty of friendship with the Government of China which she decides to recognize, and I am happy to state, enabling her to enter into a Treaty of peace and friendship with India. If we do not sign this Treaty, none of those eventualities can take place.

Why is it that the peoples of Asia are anxious that Japan should be free? It is because of our age-long connections with her, and because of the high regard the subject peoples of Asia have for Japan when she alone, among the Asian nations, was strong and free and we looked up to her as a guardian and friend. I can recall incidents that occurred during the last War, when the co-prosperity

slogan for Asia had its appeal to subject peoples, and some of the leaders of Burma, India and Indonesia joined the Japanese in the hope that thereby their beloved countries may be liberated.

We in Ceylon were fortunate that we were not invaded, but the damage caused by air raids, by the stationing of enormous armies under the South-East Asian command, and by the slaughter-tapping of one of our main commodities, rubber, when we were the only producer of natural rubber for the Allies, entitle us to ask that the damage so caused should be repaired. We do not intend to do so, for we believe in the words of the great Teacher whose message has ennobled the lives of countless millions in Asia, that "*hatred ceases not by hatred, but by love*". It is the message of the Buddha, the great Teacher, the founder of Buddhism, which spread a wave of humanism through South Asia, Burma, Laos, Cambodia, Siam, Indonesia and Ceylon, and also northwards through the Himalayas into Tibet, China, and finally, Japan, which bound us together for hundreds of years with a common culture and heritage. This common culture still exists, as I found on my visit to Japan last week on my way to attend this Conference; and from the leaders of Japan, Ministers of State as well as private citizens, from their priests in the temples, I gathered the impression that the common people of Japan are still influenced by the shadow of that great teaching of Peace, and wish to follow it. We must give them that opportunity. That is why I cannot subscribe to the views of the delegate of the Soviet Union when he proposed that the freedom of Japan should be limited. The restrictions he wishes to impose, such as the limitation on the right of Japan to maintain such defence forces as a free nation is entitled to, and the other limitations she proposes, will make this Treaty not acceptable, not only to the vast majority of the delegates present here, but even to some of the countries that have not attended this Conference, particularly India, which wishes to go even further than this Treaty visualizes.

If again the Soviet Union wishes the Islands of Ryukyu and Bonin returned to Japan, contrary to the Cairo and Potsdam Declarations, why should then South Sakilin, as well as Kuriles be also not returned to Japan?

It is also interesting to note that the amendments of the Soviet Union seek to insure to the people of Japan the fundamental freedoms of expression, of press and publication, of religious worship, of political opinion and of public meeting--freedoms which the people of the Soviet Union themselves would dearly love to possess and enjoy. The reason why, therefore, we cannot agree to the amendments proposed by the Soviet delegate, is because this Treaty proposes to return to Japan sovereignty, equality and dignity, and we cannot do so if we give them with qualifications. The purpose of the Treaty then is to make Japan free, to impose no restrictions on Japan's recovery, to see to it that she organizes her own military defence against external aggression, and internal subversion, and that until she does so, she invites the aid of a friendly power to protect her and that no reparations be exacted from her that harm her economy.

This Treaty is as magnanimous as it is just to a defeated foe. We extend to Japan a hand of friendship, and trust that with the closing of this chapter in the history of Man, the last page of which we write today, and with the beginning of the new one, the first page of which we dictate tomorrow, her people and ours may march together to enjoy the full dignity of human life in peace and prosperity.

Thank you.

As I came out to the verandah during the lunch interval, I was mobbed by well-wishers who insisted on shaking me by the hand, and women of all ages who sought my autographs. It was with the help of a member of the American Security Police that I was able to join the rest of the delegation.

After my speech, the delegates of Pakistan, Laos and

Cambodia supported the Treaty. "The voice of free Asia, eloquent, melancholy and strong with the lilt of an Oxford accent, dominated the Conference today", said the *New York Times* of 6 September.

On 7 September the speeches continued. Fortynine nations had announced their intention to sign the Treaty and their delegates had spoken at the Conference. The only attacks came from the woman delegate, Dr Sekavinova of Czechoslovakia, and Gromyko who spoke for a minute over the hour prescribed as the time limit.

Speculation was rife as to whether the Soviet Union and its supporters would sign the Treaty or leave the Conference. They were working in such close unison that any action by Gromyko who was sitting behind the other two delegations was immediately copied by them. On one occasion, when the debate was drawing to a close, Gromyko suddenly rose and left the hall walking down the aisle to the back entrances. All eyes were turned on him. Up jumped the woman Czech delegate and the Polish delegate, gathered their papers and walked swiftly out following Gromyko. They evidently thought this was a signal for a walk-out.

Later, when Gromyko returned and sat down in his seat, with a smile on his face for the first time, we learned that he had gone out to use the lavatory. The other two who had followed him returned rather sheepishly to their seats a little later. In the last stages of the debate the Polish delegate declared, "Those countries not under US dictatorship will not sign the Peace Treaty", meaning thereby the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Poland, though the Japanese Prime Minister in a dignified speech accepted the Peace Treaty as the best in the circumstances.

The Conference concluded according to schedule, on Saturday, 8 September morning, and watched by some 40 million people, a feat made possible by the inauguration of coast-to-coast and transcontinental television for the first time, 48 nations signed a treaty of peace with Japan and thus concluded a ten-year war and occupation.

The social side was not neglected by the hosts. Whenever I could I avoided them and travelled round the city and its suburbs. Claude Corea was able one evening to take us to the Laurel Brook Farm in Sonoma Valley made famous in Jack London's books. The open-air swimming pool, the food served in the well-arranged garden and the courtesy of the hostess, Mrs Jorgensen, made the visit one that I will not forget.

Acheson invited me to a private lunch in his sumptuous apartments in the Palace Hotel, enabling me to understand the man who had been America's Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs since 1945, and Secretary of State since 1947, thus handling the affairs of this great democracy for almost six years. He had won the confidence of both Roosevelt and Truman, and though not popular was respected for his ability. The Peace Conference gave him an opportunity of proving his Parliamentary skill and it was the general opinion that his conduct of the debates as Chairman, as seen through the nationwide television, enabled the masses of America to know him more intimately, and his speech reflected these qualities. His career as a successful lawyer had moulded his nature, and it was difficult for the people to get to know him. He had his opportunity at San Francisco and he made good use of it.

Herbert Morrison, Britain's Foreign Secretary, arrived only on Friday to take over the leadership of his country's delegation and to sign the Treaty. I met him at a reception given by Kenneth Younger where shaking me by the hand he congratulated me on "a very distinguished speech".

Thus ended a week in history.

I left on Sunday morning by air for Washington. At least I should have. We arrived at the aerodrome at 8 a.m. and heard the news that an engine was giving trouble. A few minutes later we were invited to enter the plane. After we were airborne I noticed that one of the two engines on the right-hand side was not working. The plane circled round, emitted streams of black smoke and was attempting to unload

fuel before landing. A lady with a baby in her arms said she felt faintish. Claude Corea upbraided us for not permitting him to travel back to Washington by train with my wife and the other ladies. After an hour of tension we landed at the aerodrome and were again at the starting point. As we walked down the tarmac and returned to the aerodrome, the mother who was feeling sick thrust her baby into R.G. Senanyake's hands to carry and hand over to her relations, who seeing that the plane was in trouble in the air had not left the aerodrome. Abeynaike, the *Ceylon Daily News* press correspondent, who was travelling with us, dutifully reported it for the benefit of the Ceylon readers. It was not until late in the evening that we were able to procure another plane and leave for Washington. I was sorry I could not see the Grand Canyon, the Rockies, the Indian Trails, and the American scenery, as I had planned to do from the air.

When I arrived in Washington, McGhee the Assistant Secretary of State was very annoyed with the State Department for not providing me with a serviceable plane. At luncheon at his bungalow, he mentioned to me that the whole of America knew the service Ceylon had rendered at San Francisco. "You can win the American Presidential Election tomorrow if you stand. You are so well known and admired," he laughingly concluded.

I had some proof of the result of the East-to-West television a few days later for, which in the train travelling from Washington to New York, and at Maceys (the great departmental store) a few came up to me, and apologizing, inquired whether I was the Ceylon delegate who had spoken at San Francisco.

The kindest references and expressions of personal affection came to me from Japan. If I may, I wish to refer to three letters, one from the Prime Minister of Japan, the other from the Head of the Japan Centre of the World Fellowship of Buddhists, and the third from a peasant.

Prime Minister Yoshida on his return to Tokyo wrote me this letter:

The Prime Minister's Office,
Tokyo

September 20, 1951

Excellency,

I was so moved by what you had to say at the San Francisco Peace Conference on Asia's aspiration to freedom and the magnanimous stand of the Ceylon Government toward Japan that I feel I must send you a word of appreciation. Let me assure you that all Japanese have been equally impressed by your noble utterance.

Now that the peace treaty has been signed, it is my earnest hope that Japan will be able to cooperate freely and fully with all her neighbour nations toward the preservation of peace and freedom and the furtherance of stability and progress in all Asia.

Yours sincerely,
(Signed) Shigeru Yoshida

His Excellency
Mr J.R. Jayewardene
Minister of Finance
Colombo
Ceylon.

He had since then kept up correspondence with me, and even in 1952 referred in a letter to:

The speech you delivered before the San Francisco Peace Conference last September, expressing so eloquently the goodwill, sympathy and friendly sentiments of Ceylon toward Japan which has not been forgotten by my nation. I confidently hope that the future will witness steady development of the economic and cultural intercourse between our two countries, contributing to the peace, progress and prosperity of Asia and of the whole world.

Archbishop Rousen Takashina was touched by my reference

reference to Buddhism and wrote in September 1951:

The Soto Shumu-Cho,
36, Shiba Shimbori-Cho,
Minato-ku, Tokyo, Japan

Tokyo, Sept. 18, 1951

J.R. Jayewardene Esq.
Minister of Finance, and
Chief Delegate of Ceylon to S.F.

Dear Sir,

We, Buddhist Japanese, were all deeply impressed and moved to tears by your speech given before the 52-nation gathering which assembled in War Memorial Opera House at San Francisco the other day.

Ceylon is a well-known Buddhist country and you, her Chief Delegate to the San Francisco Peace Treaty Conference, quoted the "Great Teacher"--Buddha--to plead for a merciful peace for Japan, calling on all the skill of the oratory which won you prizes at Ceylon's Royal College.

"Hatred ceases not by hatred, but by love" was the Buddha's message you left with the delegates. "Hatred ceases only by Love" is "the eternal law" as was taught by our Lord Buddha in the *Dharmapadasutra*.

Words fail indeed to express our hearty gratitude for your and your nation's absolute and profound Love of Buddhism shown toward us Japanese. We should and would never forget this agape-Love of yours Buddhistic.

Both nations, Ceylon and Japan, will surely be firmly combined with each other forever in the spirit of the Buddhist Law and tread the road upward, however thorny, always arm in arm on good terms to realize an ideal Buddha-Land of eternal peace in this earth below.

I remain,

Yours truly,
(Signed) Rousen Takashina
Archbishop
Head of the Japan Centre
World Fellowship of Buddhists

One of the most interesting letters I received was from an unknown farmer writing in Japanese from an obscure village in Japan and conveying to me the gratitude of the Japanese people. The writer was under the impression that I visited Japan to attend the World Buddhist Conference in 1952:

Higashiyama Village
Sanmon-Gun
Fukukuoka Prefecture
Japan

4th October 1952

To: Hon'ble Mr J.R. Jayewardene

Your Excellency,

It is cold now in Japan, as the latter part of autumn has already arrived. It was on an auspicious day in September last year that Your Excellency's name, now dear to me, appeared in the newspapers, and later on I had the great satisfaction of seeing Your Excellency's photograph. It came to my knowledge that Your Excellency came a long way to my country to inspire and encourage the propagation of the faith of Lord Buddha. I pay my sincere respects to you for your services rendered in this connection.

Although I am a humble farmer, I have never failed to recite the precepts of the Buddha without also having your speech, delivered for the benefit of my country, and your photograph beside me. This is my practice ever since your speech and photograph appeared in the

newspaper last year.

I should like to take this occasion to express my sincere thanks for your kindness shown in the past.

I feel sorry that you are going back from this country.

I hope you will have long life and do great services for the propagation of the faith of the Lord Buddha.

I pray for your happiness and health.

Yours sincerely,
(Signed) Tokuhei Haraguchi

5

The Asian Scene from Colombo

I participated in this Conference held in Colombo in 1954 at which many of the Asian Regional States were represented by their Prime Ministers and led to Conferences in Bogor and Bandung and to the Non-Aligned Movement. It also gave ideas for the SAARC Organisation in the 1980s.

In April 1954, Sir John Kotelawala, Prime Minister of Ceylon, invited the Prime Ministers of Burma, India, Indonesia, and Pakistan, to meet at a conference in Colombo "for an informal discussion of matters of common interest". In his autobiography *An Asian Prime Minister's Story*, Sir John relates how he thought of the idea of a Colombo Powers Conference and makes this comment:--

The South-East Asian Prime Ministers Conference began in Colombo on April 28, 1954, and ended in Kandy early in the morning of May 2. It was a historic occasion for Ceylon, and Colombo went gay for the visitors, who were received with acclamation and whom everyone united to make happy and comfortable during their short stay with us. The visitors too made themselves immensely popular. I had known Nehru of India, Mohammed Ali of Pakistan, and Nu of Burma before, but this was the first time I was meeting Ali Sastroemidjojo of Indonesia. I took to him

instantly. It was interesting to observe the personalities of my distinguished colleagues. Each carried his individual quality and his individual charm--Nehru, earnest, disinterested, fiery; Mohammed Ali, debonair, forceful, practical; Nu, serene, dispassionate, brief, but very much to the point; Ali Sastroemidjojo, courteous, understanding, dedicated.

I was one of the members of the Ceylon Delegation. Here I give an account of two important discussions of the Conference regarding the Indo-China war and the menace of International Communism, and relate how the final decisions, after heated debates, were arrived at.

The Colombo Powers Conference led to the Bandung Conference where 30 nations of Africa and Asia met at Bandung, in Indonesia, in April 1955, to--

- (a) promote goodwill and cooperation among the nations of Asia and Africa; to explore and advance their mutual as well as common interests; and to establish and further, friendliness and neighbourly relations;
- (b) consider the social, economic and cultural problems and relations of the countries represented;
- (c) consider problems of special interest to Asian and African peoples--e.g., problems affecting national sovereignty and of racialism and colonialism;
- (d) view the position of Asia and Africa and their peoples in the world of today and the contribution they can make to the promotion of world peace and co-operation.

It is not my purpose to write of the Bandung Conference, for I was not present, Ceylon being represented by the Prime Minister, Sir John Kotelawala. Suffice it to say that the final decisions arrived at Bandung have become world-famous as the Bandung Ideals, a code of international morality that nations should seek to follow.

The Colombo Powers Conference was Sir John's idea. His original proposal was to invite his colleagues, the Prime Minister of Ceylon's close neighbours, Burma, India and Pakistan, for an informal discussion on matters of common interest. Indonesia was included later. These Prime Ministers represented five nations having a population of almost 500 million people and immense resources that still awaited development. The international tensions then existing in Korea, Formosa, and Indo-China made the Conference more important than it originally appeared to be. Fortunately, the Korean war concluded by dividing Korea into two, North and South, and the future of Formosa had not assumed that stage which nearly caused a war between America and Red China early in 1955. It was the war in Indo-China, now in its seventh year, which interested the world, and simultaneously with the meeting of the five Colombo Powers, nine nations which included the United Kingdom, France, and Red China, met at Geneva to find a way of preventing the Indo-China war from becoming a Third World War. No nation had a greater interest in a just and peaceful settlement in Indo-China than the five nations that now met at Colombo.

The Asian Scene

The first few years after the end of the Second World War saw more changes in the Asian scene than had occurred previously during much longer periods lasting hundreds of years. When the War commenced in 1939, the whole of Asia with the exception of Japan and the portion of Russia in Asia was under Western rule, or controlled by Western Powers as was China. Nations with great cultural traditions and ancient civilizations were, during a period of 400 years, commencing with the rounding of the Cape of Good Hope in the latter part of the fifteenth century, brought under the rule of some Western power--England, Holland, France, and Portugal--who divided Asia among themselves and in the nineteenth century. America sought to exercise her authority over China and the countries in the Pacific. Japan alone

remained free and showed that an Asian nation could equal the great nations of the West in achievements. The five years after the end of the War in 1945 saw the consummation of the hopes of many Asian leaders, the attainment of freedom by their native lands. India, Pakistan carved out of India, Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia and the Philippines, attained freedom. Malaya was on the road to freedom. She attained freedom in 1957. China, now a red colossus, challenged the great Western powers. The wheel of destiny turned a full circle. The subject nations attained freedom and Japan was occupied for six years.

New problems now arose. The great movements that had been launched in these countries for the attainment of freedom had unleashed forces that continued to stir the masses. Men of varying political views had joined together to secure freedom for their countries, but after freedom they differed as to how that freedom should be used. Racial and religious conflicts arose in India and Ceylon; democrats and Communists fought in Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, and the Philippines. These differences were not yet resolved, but it could be stated that there was now no threat to the sovereignty of these new nations. They had also all accepted the principle of the well-being of the largest number, and not of a privileged few, as their economic goal. Through the Colombo Plan the developed nations had joined them in an cooperative effort to help in their economic and social development. The Colombo Plan was an example of the Asian nations joining together to protect their freedom, and to ensure peace in the Asian countries through their unity of purpose.

Indo-China required that an agreement on a cease-fire should be reached without delay. The Prime Ministers felt that the solution of the problem required direct negotiations between the parties principally concerned, namely, France, the three Associated States of Indo-China and Viet-Minh, as well as other parties invited by agreement. The success of such direct negotiations will be greatly helped by an agree-

ment on the part of all the countries concerned, particularly, China, the UK, the USA and the USSR, on the steps necessary to prevent a recurrence or resumption of hostilities. The Prime Ministers contemplated that this negotiating group would report to the Geneva Conference for final decision. They proposed that France should declare at the Geneva Conference that she is irrevocably committed to the complete Independence of Indo-China. In order that the good offices and machinery of the United Nations might be utilised for the furtherance of the purposes of the Geneva Conference and the implementation of its decisions on Indo-China, the Prime Ministers were of the opinion that the Conference should keep the United Nations informed of the progress of its deliberations on Indo-China.

3. The Prime Ministers viewed with grave concern the developments in regard to the Hydrogen Bomb and other weapons of mass destruction. They welcomed the current efforts of the United Nations Disarmament Commission to bring about the elimination and prohibition of such weapons and hoped that the Commission would be able to reach an agreed solution to this problem urgently. The Prime Ministers were of the opinion that, pending such an agreement, no further explosions of the Hydrogen Bomb should take place and that the United Nations and the Powers principally concerned should take steps to publish authoritative information regarding the destructive capabilities and the known and probable disastrous effects of these weapons. They believed that such publication by rousing the conscience of the world would help in the search for an agreed solution of the grave problems that threaten humanity.

4. The Prime Ministers considered the question of the representation of China in the United Nations by the Government of the Peoples' Republic of China. They felt that such representation would help to promote stability in Asia, ease world tensions and assist in bringing about a more realistic approach to the problems concerning the world, particularly in the Far East.

5. The Prime Ministers discussed the problem of colonialism, which they regretted, still existed in various parts of the world. They were of the view that the continuance of such a state of affairs was a violation of fundamental human rights and a threat to world peace.

6. The Prime Ministers also considered, particularly, the problems of Tunisia and Morocco. They were of the view that the national sovereignties of these countries and the legitimate demands of their peoples for independence should be recognised and that they should be enabled to exercise the right to self-determination.

7. The subject of communism in its national and international aspects was generally discussed and the Prime Ministers made known to each other their respective views on and attitudes towards Communist ideologies.

8. The Prime Ministers affirmed their faith in democracy and democratic institutions and, being resolved to preserve in their respective countries the freedoms inherent in the democratic system, declared their unshakeable determination to resist interference in the affairs of their countries by external Communist, anti-Communist or other agencies.

9. They were convinced that such interference threatened the sovereignty, security, and political independence of their respective states and the right of each country to develop and progress in accordance with the conceptions and desires of its own people.

10. In considering the situation in the Middle East, the Prime Ministers indicated their grave concern over the sufferings of the Arab refugees in Palestine. They urged the United Nations to bring about a solution to this problem and to expedite the rehabilitation of these refugees in their original homes.

11. The Prime Ministers expressed their deep sympathy with the Arabs of Palestine in their sufferings and affirmed their desire to see a just and early settlement of the Palestine problem.

12. The Prime Ministers considered certain proposals



E.W. Jayewardene, K.C.



Mrs. E.W. Jayewardene



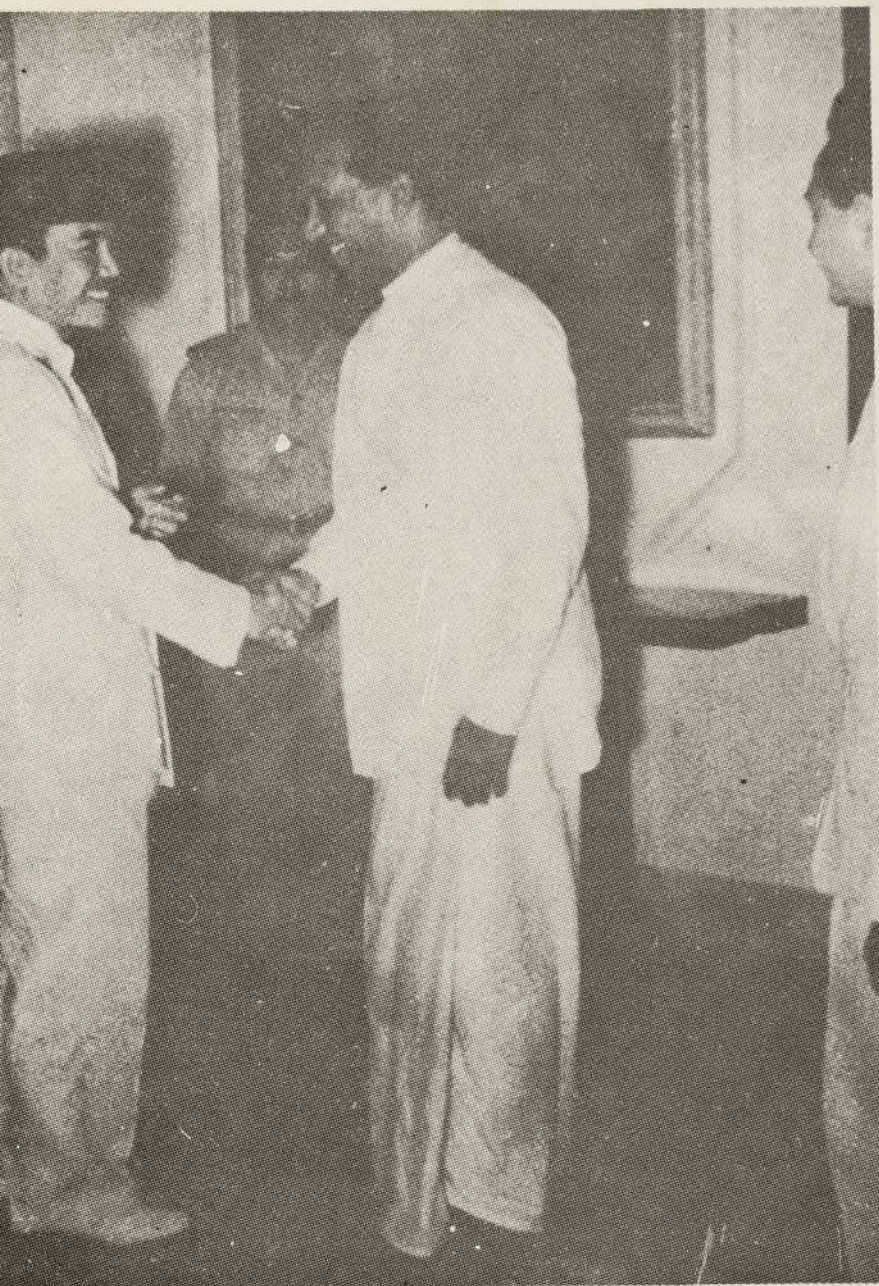
*A family of Lawyers. J.R.'s father and four brothers
who are lawyers*



*J.R. in the Royal College Cricket 1st eleven, March 1925
(1st figure from the left seated on the ground)*

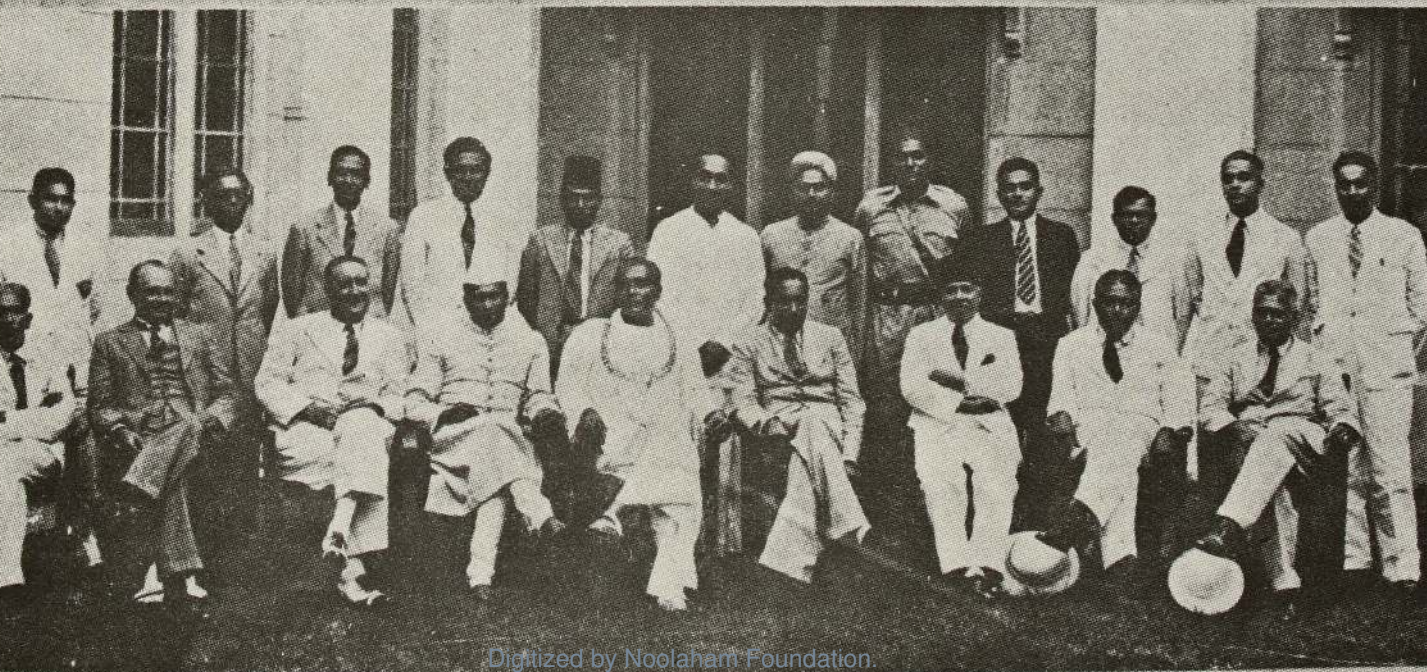


*As a young lawyer (reading from the left) with
'N.E. Weerasooriya, K.C., J.R.J., H.V. Perera, K.C.,
E.B. Wickremanayake, K.C. and L.A. Rajapakse, K.C.*

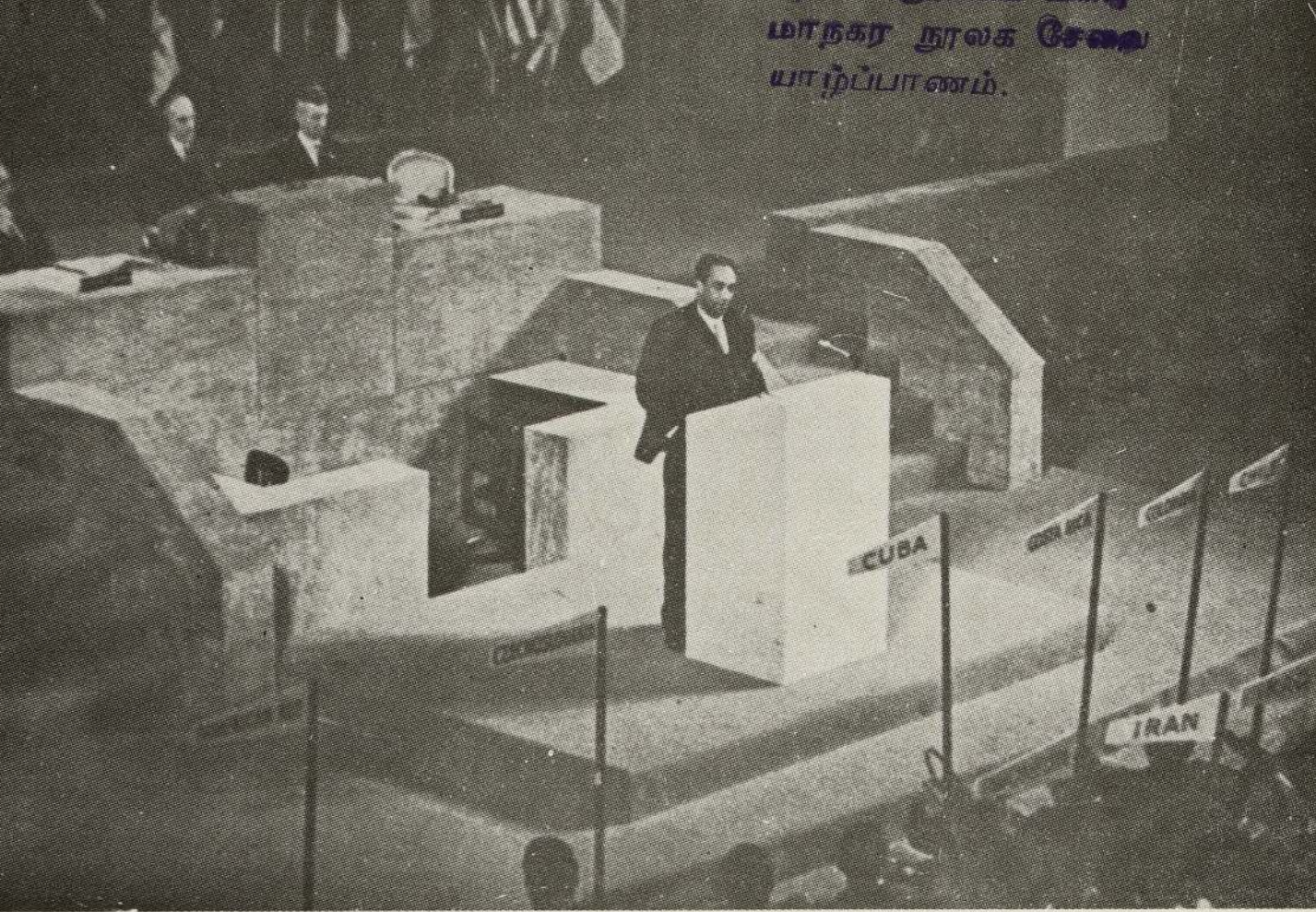


*With President
Sukarno of
Indonesia*

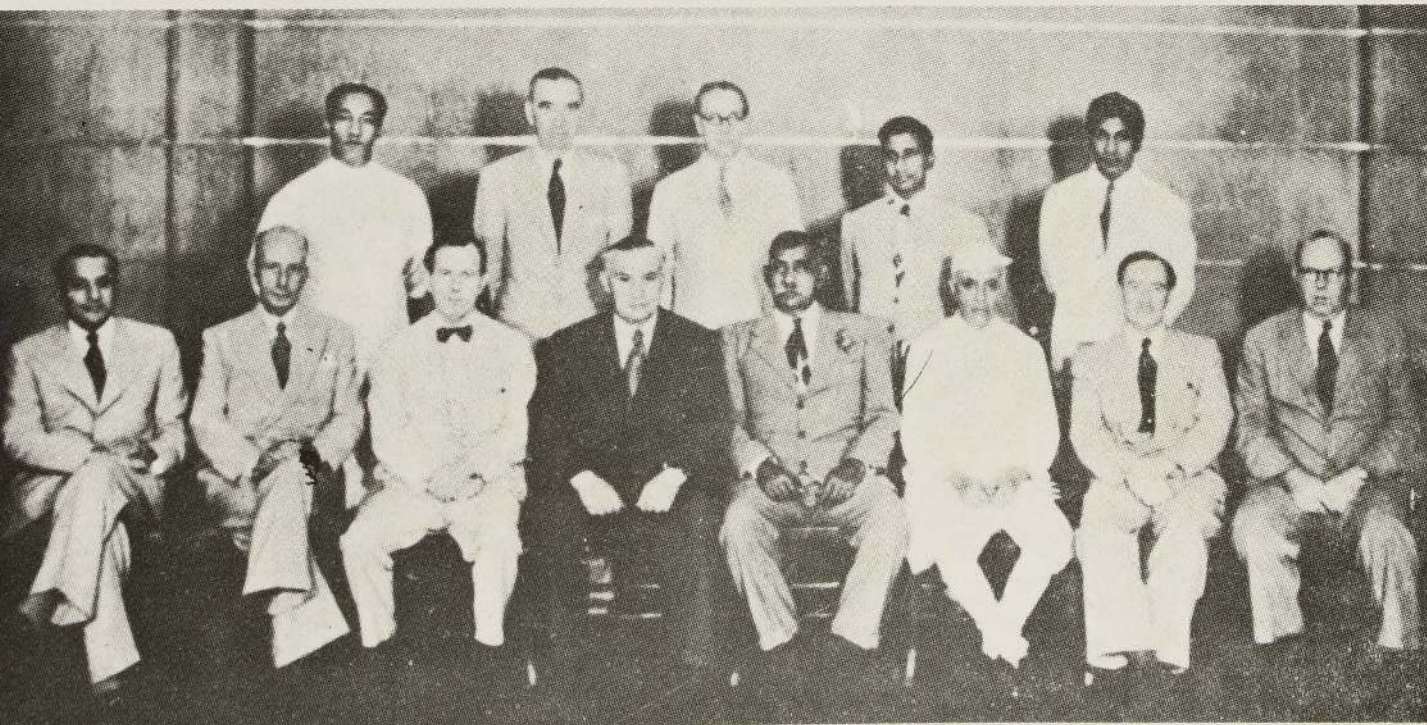
*As a Municipal Councillor,
Colombo in 1940 with the
Mayor R. Saravanamuttu,
seated in front. J.R.J.
standing behind him in
the centre in national
costume*



மாநகர நூலக சேவை
யாழ்ப்பாணம்.



Speaking at the Japanese Peace Treaty Conference



At the Commonwealth Conference in 1951 where the Colombo Plan was inaugurated, with Prime Minister D.S. Senanayake sitting in the centre. On his left is Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, and on his right Ernest Bevin, Foreign Minister of the United Kingdom. J.R.J. is the first figure on the left in the standing group.



*Signing the Japanese Peace Treaty Agreement
in San Francisco in 1951*



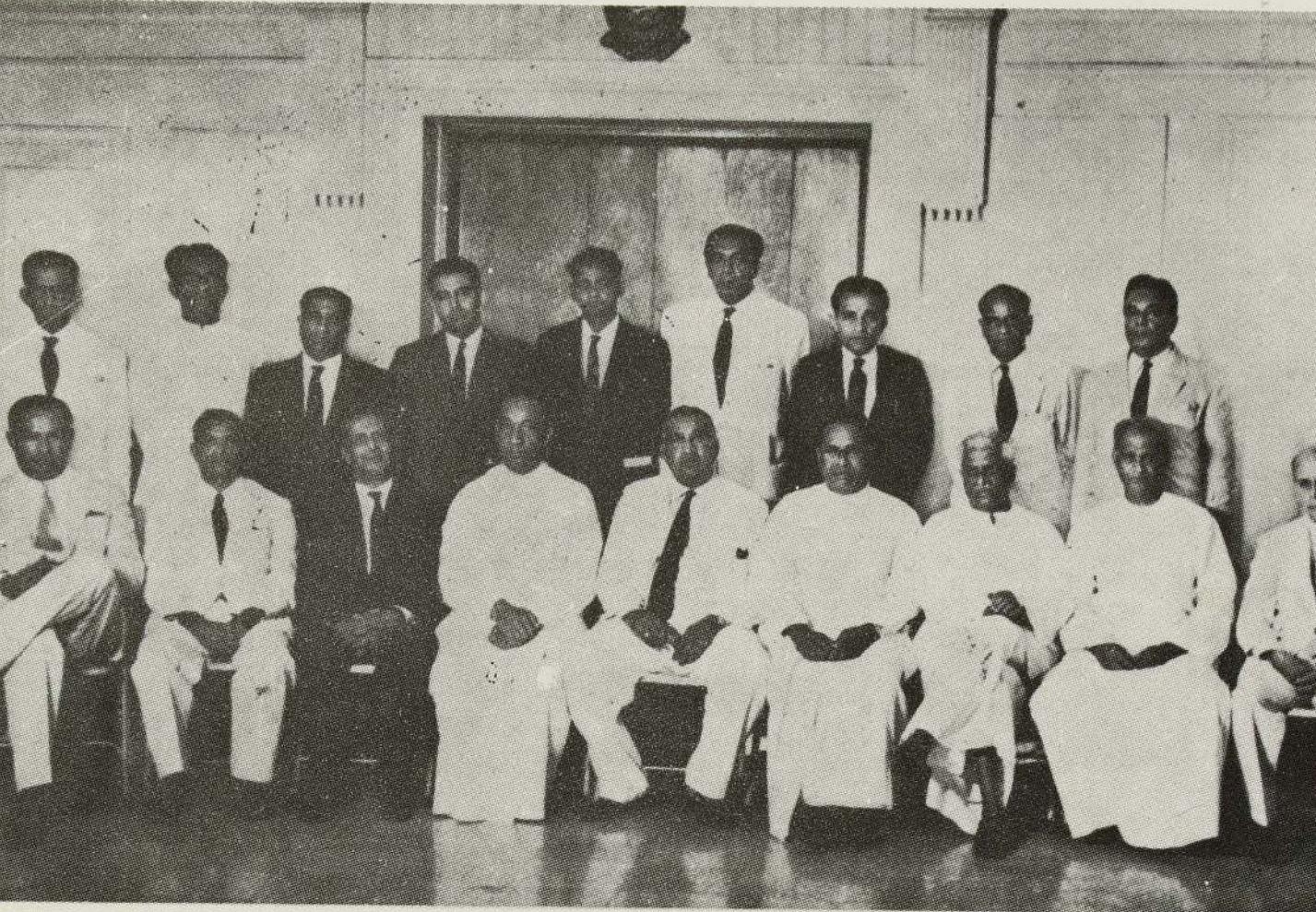
*With Prime Minister Yoshida and his daughter at the
Japan Peace Treaty Conference in San Francisco,
Mr. & Mrs. Jayewardene in 1951.*



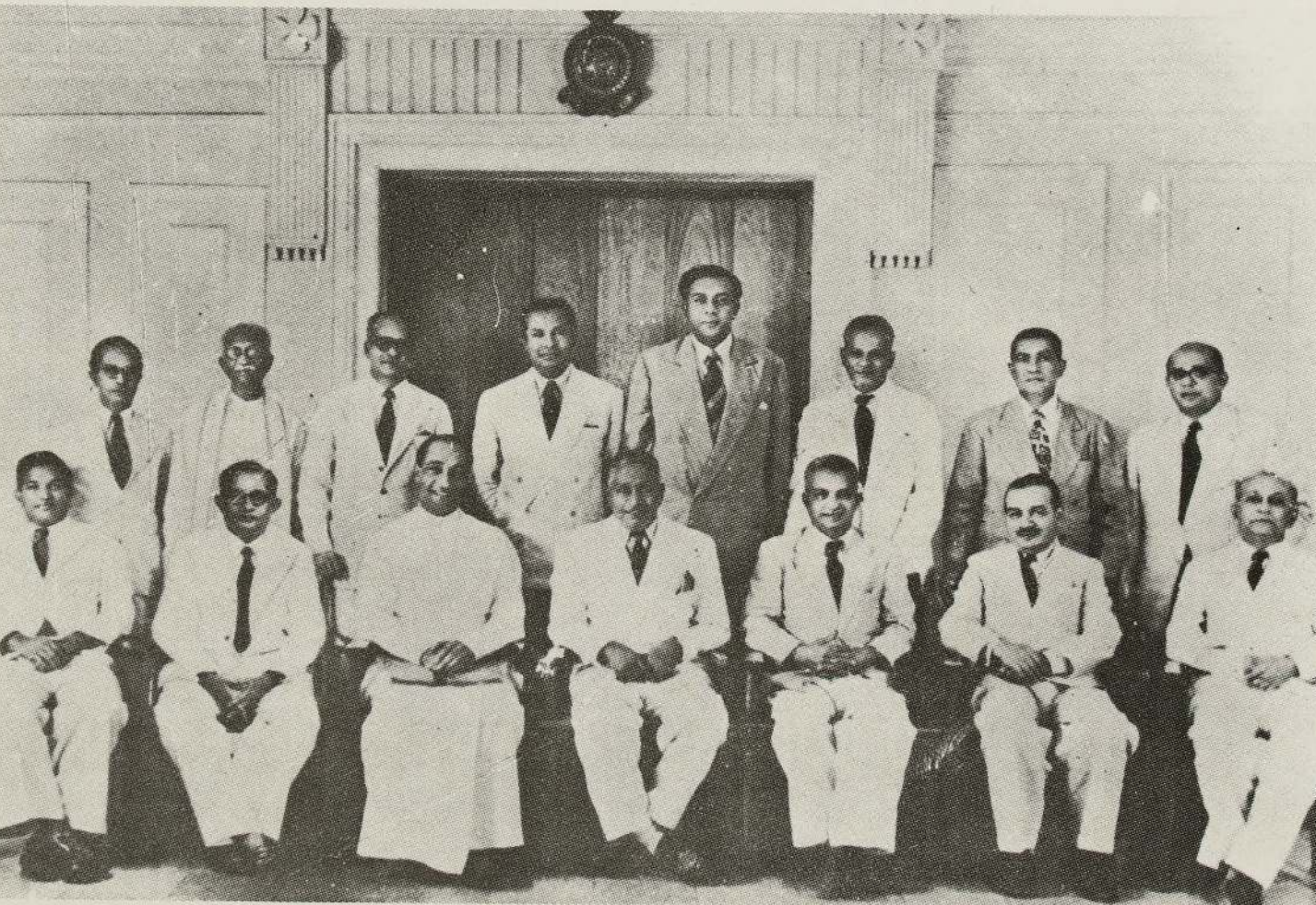
Pandit Nehru at a reception at President Jayewardene's House "Braemar", Ward Place, in 1951



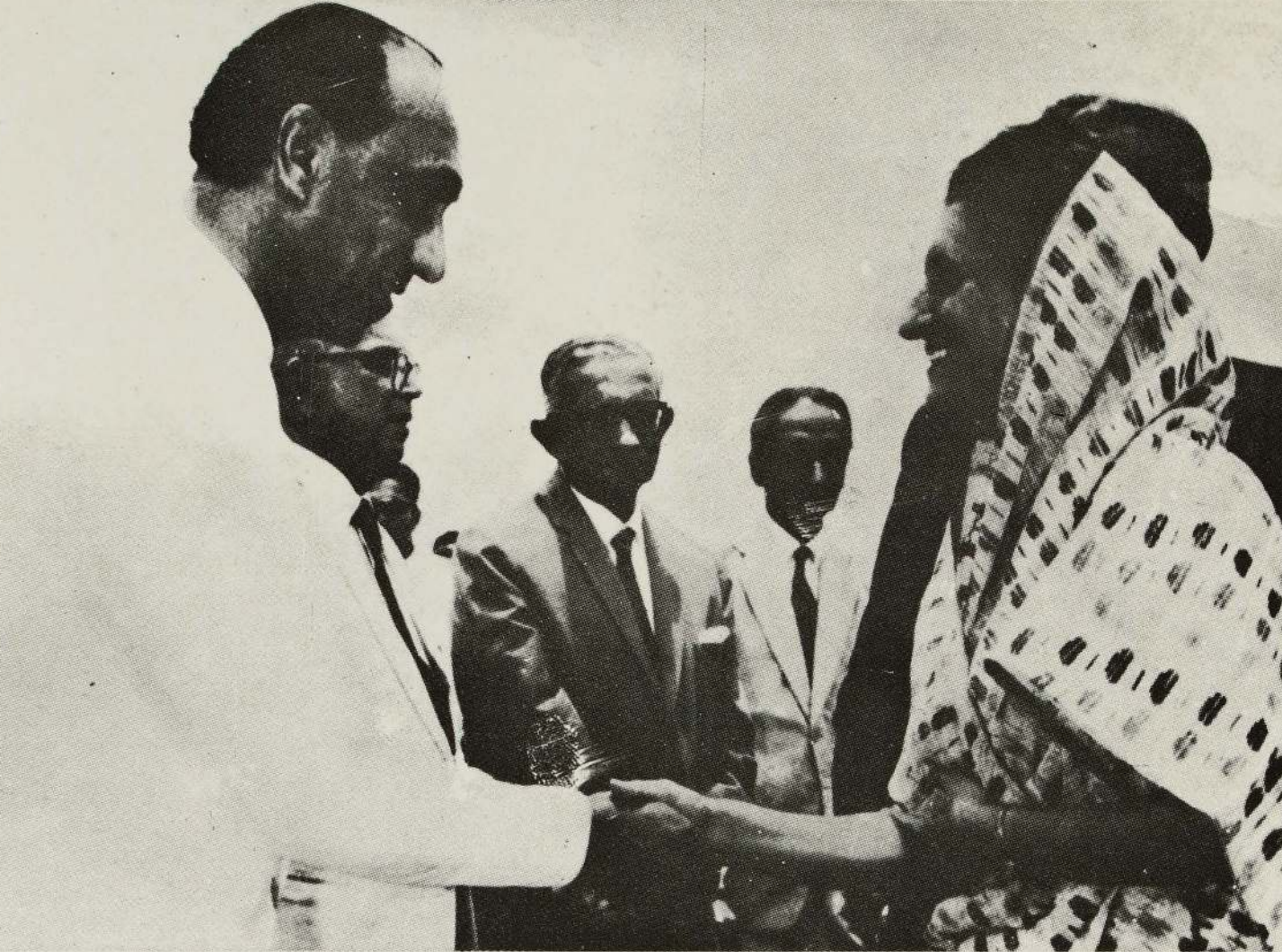
Pandit Nehru at a reception at "Braemar", Ward Place residence of J.R.J. in 1951 Mrs. Indira Gandhi and Mrs. J.R.J. are seated watching them.



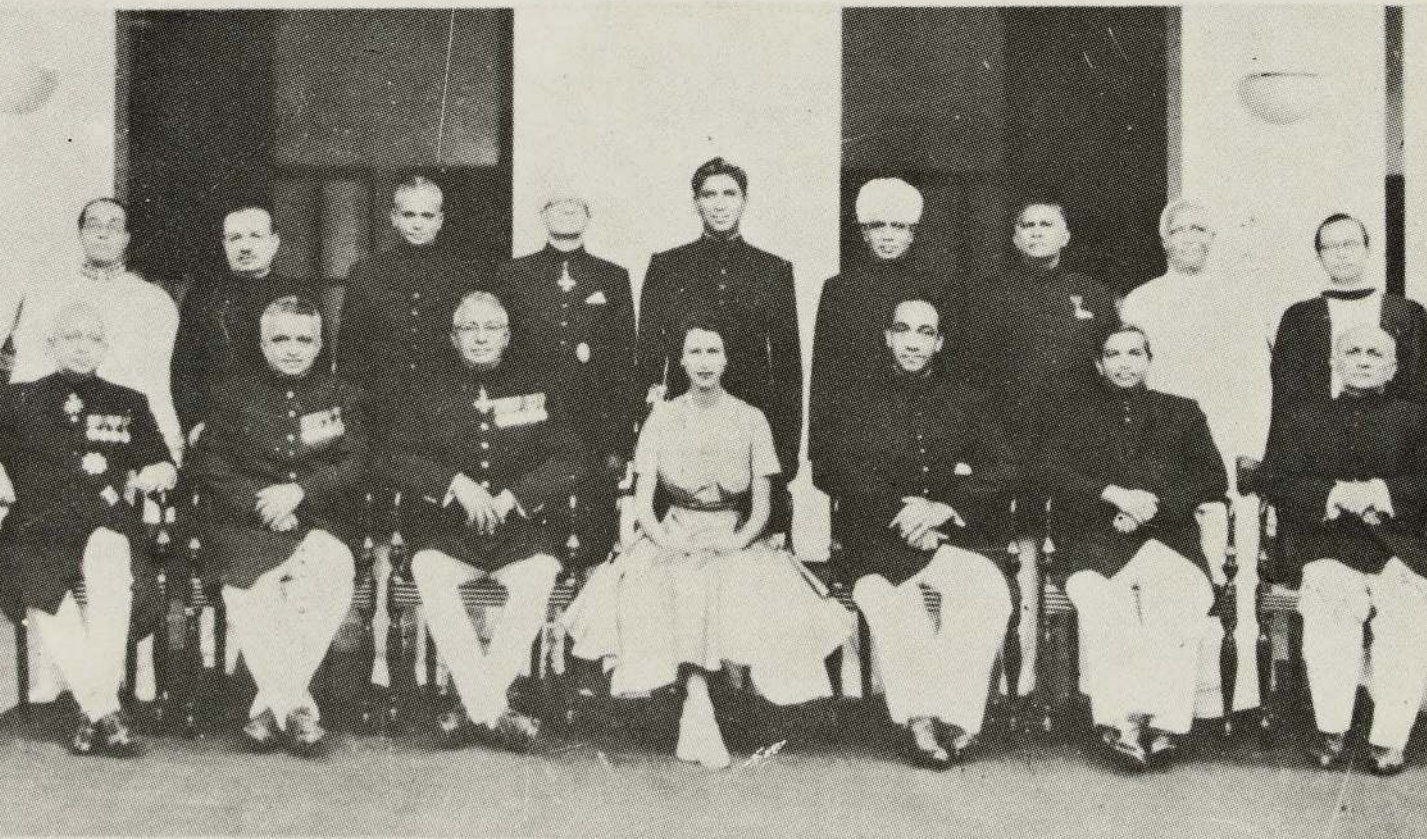
In Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake's Cabinet in 1965



In Sir John Kotelawala's Cabinet in 1953



Receiving Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India



Queen Elizabeth seated with Prime Minister Kotelawala on her right and J.R.J. on her left and other members of the Cabinet, 1954



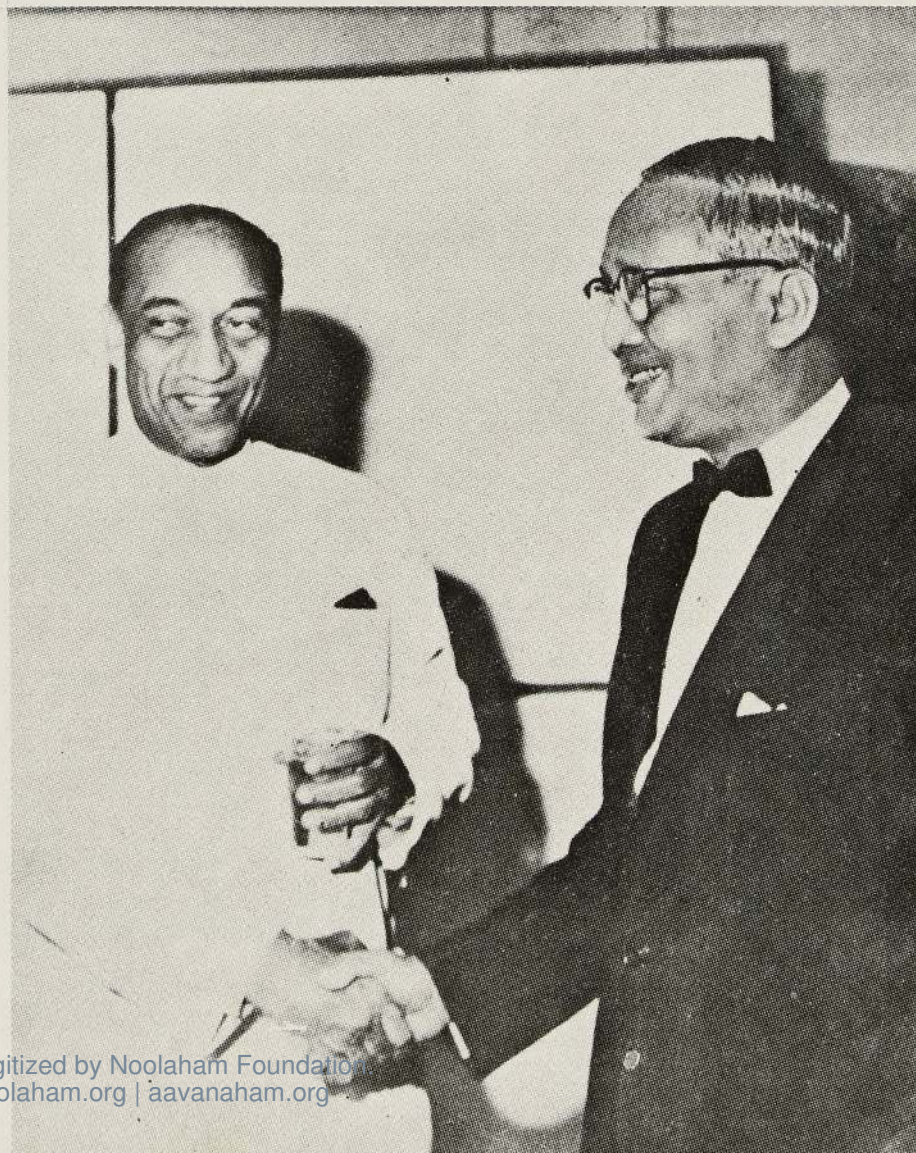
J.R. Jayewardene and Mrs. Jayewardene (signing) in the presence of President Reagan and Mrs. Reagan, during their visit to the White House in 1981



With Harold Wilson taken in the House of Commons, UK



*With John
Foster Dulles*

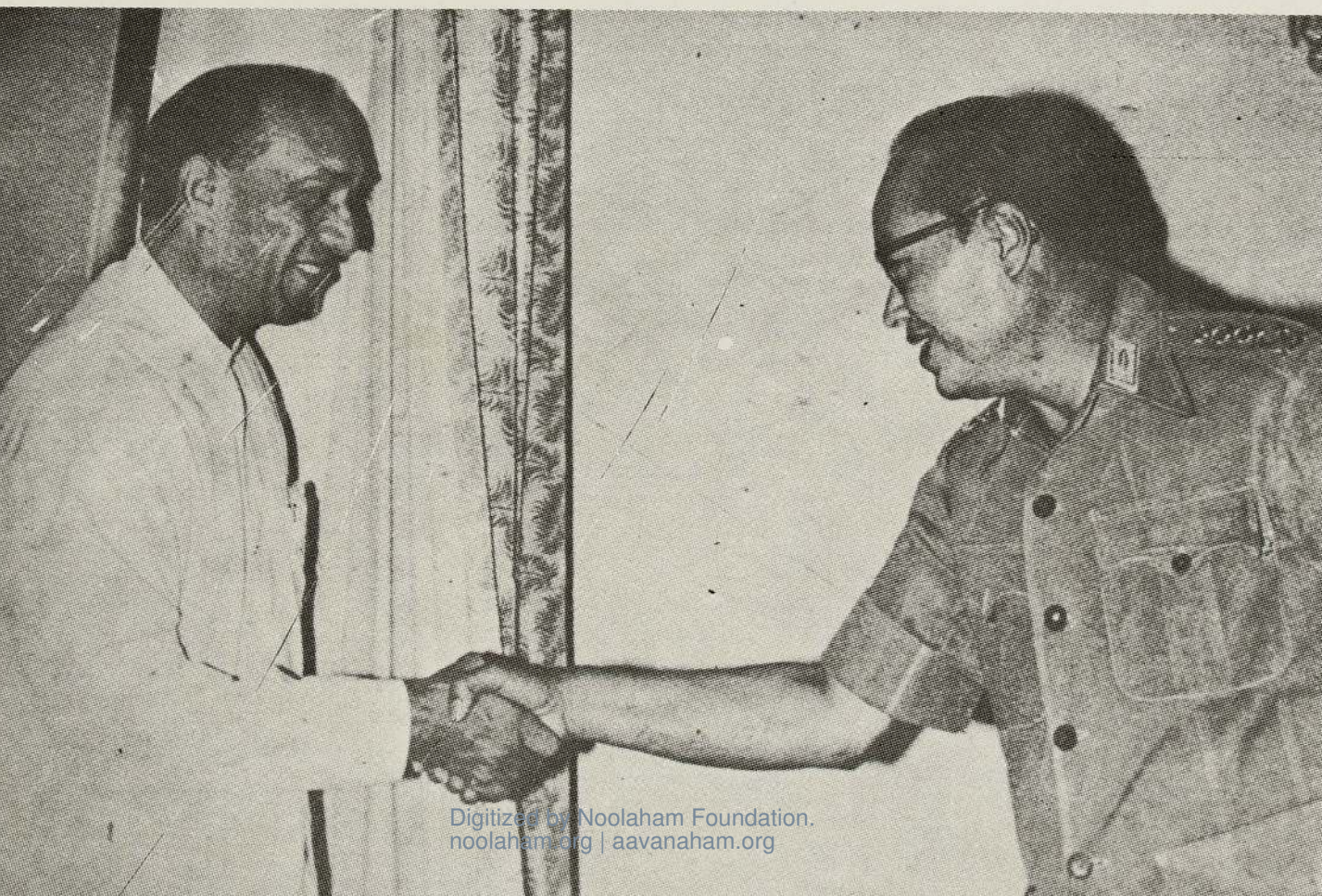


*With U. Thant,
Secretary-General
of the UNO*



*At his wedding
ceremony - in
February 1935*

*Receiving President
Newin of Burma*





*Seated on the left of President Naguib of Egypt.
On his right is Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake*



*Emperor Hiro Hito toasting President Jayewardene
at his banquet in Japan, in 1979*



*With Crown Prince Akihito and Crown Princess Michiko,
Mr. & Mrs. J.R.J. at the Dalada Maligawa, Kandy*



With Queen Elizabeth II and Duke of Edinburgh in Colombo



*With President Assad of Syria and President Saddam Hussain of Iraq taken at the
Non-Aligned Conference in Cuba, 1979*

*With Mrs. Thatcher,
Prime Minister of the
United Kingdom*



90480

His son Ravindra

relating to economic cooperation and mutual aid and decided that these proposals should be referred to the governments represented at the Conference for their consideration.

13. The Prime Ministers discussed the desirability of holding a conference of African-Asian nations and favoured a proposal that the Prime Minister of Indonesia might explore the possibility of such a conference.

14. The Prime Ministers expressed their satisfaction that the Conference had paved the way for similar meetings in the future.

Kandy, 2 May 1954

Apart from platitudes and expressions of goodwill the communique showed that the following items were discussed:

- (1) The situation in Indo-China
- (2) The Hydrogen Bomb
- (3) The Peoples' Republic of China and the UNO
- (4) Colonialism
- (5) Tunisia and Morocco
- (6) Communism
- (7) The Middle East
- (8) Mutual Aid
- (9) Afro-Asian Conference

On seven out of the nine items mentioned in the communique there was no disagreement among the delegates. They were items (2) to (5) and (7) to (9).

There was disagreement, violently expressed differences of opinion, and ultimately compromise, on two, namely, items (1) and (6), on Indo-China and Communism.

Let me deal with them in this order.

The Situation in Indo-China

The area known as Indo-China is in the land mass that juts out into the South China sea from the south-west portion of China. Before the War it consisted of the Protectorates of

Tong-king, Laos, Annam, Cambodia and the colony of Cochin China, and formed part of the French Colonial Empire. These territories covered an area of almost 300,000 square miles and had a population of about 28 millions. A thousand years ago, Cambodia was a great Hindu Empire in Indo-China stretching from the Gulf of Bengal to the China Sea. The present Cambodia is only a feeble remnant of that great empire of the Khmer people, which at the height of its power produced great cities such as Angkor. Laos, to the north-east of Cambodia, is a smaller state with a population of a million and a half and was founded by the Thai people who also founded the Kingdom of Siam or Thailand. Both these states were monarchies and the French ruled through the reigning monarchs. Tong-king, Annam, and Cochin-China, the largest land group known as Vietnam, lie between the Protectorates mentioned above and the South China Sea, and have a population of 23 millions. The vast majority of the inhabitants are of Mongolian stock, closely allied to the Chinese in religion and culture and were governed by their own monarch before the War. The Laotians and Cambodians are Buddhists of the Theravada School, as are the Siamese, Burmese, and Sinhalese, and their culture is Hindu.

The Japanese armies swept through these territories and at the end of the War, together with other Asian countries, the peoples of French Indo-China clamoured for freedom. The French negotiated with the Kingdoms of Laos and Cambodia and agreed with them in 1949, to grant them complete internal sovereignty within the French Union. In Vietnam, the position was different, for there were two nationalistic movements, one led by Bao-Dai which was pro-democracies and purely nationalistic; and the other led by Ho-Chi-Minh was pro-Communist and was supported by Red China.

Ho-Chi-Minh had resorted to force to achieve his goal, and the war with the French had now been waged with varying degrees of fortune for almost seven years. The French had employed large armies but their efforts had been in

vain. Ho-Chi-Minh had gained many successes and the intervention of America on the side of the French was imminent when the Geneva Conference met to seek a way of avoiding a Third World War.

This was the position on the eve of the Colombo Conference. The Colombo Powers who were intimately concerned with the Indo-China events were not invited, yet the Conference became all the more important for that reason.

The Conference had before it certain proposals made by Nehru in the Indian Parliament, viz:

- (1) An immediate ceasefire.
- (2) The parties to the ceasefire should be France and the actual belligerents, the three Associated States and Viet-Minh (i.e., the territory occupied by Ho-Chi-Minh's forces).
- (3) A complete transfer of sovereignty by the French.
- (4) The setting up of machinery for direct negotiation between France and the Indo-Chinese.
- (5) Non-intervention in Indo-China by any of the Great Powers.
- (6) Supervision by the UNO of the implementation of these proposals.

The Prime Ministers were in agreement with the main principles underlying these proposals but differences of opinion were expressed with regard to their implementation. Indonesia thought that if Red China was admitted to the UNO the tension would cease and any help she was giving to Ho-Chi-Minh would also cease. The majority were not in favour of tying up this question with the Indo-China problem, though they all agreed that Red China should be admitted to the UNO. The other question that raised a difficulty was the part to be played by the Western powers in the negotiations before and after the ceasefire, and also the scope of non-intervention.

Pakistan's Premier saw the conflict as one between Communism as represented by Ho-Chi-Minh, and Colonialism as represented by France. He was not keen that either should win, but if one was to succeed, he preferred colonialism as it was a decaying force. Ultimately, a solution was found by limiting the non-belligerent invitees to the negotiations, to those "parties invited by agreement". With regard to non-intervention the burden was placed on the Great Powers "to agree on the steps necessary to prevent a recurrence or resumption of hostilities". The stage was set for the final communique and this was telegraphed to Anthony Eden at Geneva. His hands were strengthened by the unanimous decision of the five Colombo Powers and the Geneva Conference ended successfully with the cessation of hostilities and the possibility of a permanent settlement in Indo-China. Today Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam are independent nations. The original Vietnam was divided into two states, the dividing line being the 17th parallel.

Communism

The problems caused by the spread of Communism and the influence exercised by International Communism raised a heated debate. The controversy showed more the attitude of certain countries towards the Soviet Union and Red China rather than their views on Communism, which academically they unanimously disliked. There was also the influence of local Communist parties, such as in Indonesia, which made that country's Prime Minister lean heavily on the side of Red China and Communism. Burma, led by its Buddhist Prime Minister U Nu, while expressing its strong disapproval of Communism, did not wish to annoy Red China, its neighbour. India and Pakistan carried their private quarrel into the international sphere too, and Nehru and Mohammed Ali clashed violently.

Ceylon's Prime Minister opened the discussion and pointed out that the greatest danger to the countries of the region arose from the subversive activities of International Commu-

nism. He said:

The countries of the region should, therefore, combine and assist each other in meeting this menace. The infiltration activities of International Communism took many forms. Funds were brought into the country by various means to help local Communists and Communist organizations. The countries of the region were flooded with Communist literature. Russian agents established contacts with local Communists. At the recent ECAFE Conference held in Ceylon, for instance, the Soviet Delegation had consisted of 22 persons while the other delegations contained far smaller numbers. These delegates had attempted to establish clandestine contacts with local Communists. Another of the undesirable activities of International Communism was the attempt made by Communist countries to induce nationals of non-Communist countries to visit them by awarding generous scholarships and arranging attractive free tours. During these tours the persons concerned were indoctrinated with Communist ideas. All these activities involved interference in the internal affairs of other countries, and the conference should therefore adopt a strongly worded resolution condemning the activities of International Communism.

Pakistan and Burma supported Ceylon. India thought otherwise. She was anxious to avoid aligning with any one of the two Great Power blocs. The countries of the region were aware of the dangers of Communism, yet each must decide how best to deal with the problem in the context of the country's politics. England dealt with it in one way and America in another. He preferred the former. Dr Sastroemidjojo adopted India's attitude. In Indonesia they permitted Communist parties to function, and they were of the Tito brand and not Stalinist. His government was "non-Communist" but not "anti-Communist".

The debate produced fierce words between India and

Pakistan, and was adjourned for the discussion to be continued in the cooler atmosphere of Kandy, up in the hills. Here too, it was not until in the morning of 2 May that an agreement was reached and the signatures of all five Prime Ministers appended to the communique. Nehru's contributions had a great effect in producing this unanimity. On one occasion he used eloquent words.

He said that in his long experience of dealing with issues involving large numbers of human beings, he always felt that the better approach was to try to win the confidence of the people and wean them away from something which was evil rather than attempt to suppress anything by force. Such a course often had the effect of encouraging and strengthening the very thing it was desired to suppress.

He was certainly in favour of each country taking all possible steps, either by law or more efficient administrative methods, to stop Communist intervention or infiltration into its territory, but he thought that in dealing with Communism little could be achieved by merely denouncing it. A different approach was necessary: an approach to people's minds and an attempt to influence them against the attractions of Communism would, he thought, be more effective.

He said that, after all, if one attempted an analysis of the situation, one would find intellectuals in every country who were strongly attracted towards Communist ideologies. The challenge of Russian Communism today was really the challenge of her economic system. The real test was which economy, Communist or Capitalism, would pay better dividends to the people. It therefore boiled down to a conflict of ideas. The idea that would prevail in the end would be that which would be more acceptable to humanity, and it was for this reason that the approach should be by reason and persuasion, rather than by compulsion.

Ultimately, the difference of views could not be reconciled. So the communique mildly stated that: "The Prime Ministers make known to each other their respective views on land attitudes towards Communist ideologies" and continued to

affirm “their faith in democracy and democratic institutions”. They were all resolved “to resist interference in the affairs of their countries by external Communist, anti-Communist or other agencies”.

On other matters there was controversy and the Conference adjourned. The Colombo Powers met again at Bogor in 1955. Another meeting was held New Delhi in 1956. It would be a pity if the unity, on many matters of national and international interest forged at Colombo was allowed to weaken; the one way of preserving this unity was for these Powers to meet often and express their views, which carry weight in the Councils of the World.

6

The Executive Presidency

The elected Executive Presidency was adopted in Sri Lanka in 1978. The original idea was mine and there is controversy about it in Sri Lanka now. I explained the Constitution in this lecture delivered in July 1991.

The first suggestion to introduce the Executive Presidency system of Government in Sri Lanka was made by me while I was a Minister in the Dudley Senanayake Government of 1965-1970, in a speech to the Science Students Association of the Colombo University in December 1966. Some of the remarks I made then were as follows:

In some countries, the executive is chosen directly by the people and is not dependent on the legislature during the period of its existence, for a specified number of years.... The new French Constitution is a combination of the British and the American systems. Such an executive is a strong executive, seated in power for a fixed number of years, not subject to the whims and fancies of an elected legislature; not afraid to take correct but unpopular decisions because of censure from its parliamentary party. This seems to me a very necessary requirement in a developing country faced with grave problems such as we are faced with today.

The next occasion I raised this questions was when I was in the Opposition. Mrs. Bandaranaike's government was considering amending the Constitution, to introduce the Republican Constitution of 1972.

I suggested to the United National Party Working Committee that we put forward our views supporting the Executive Presidential system at the Constituent Assembly. The Party did not agree. But Dudley Senanayake who did not support it, stated that we must remember that the most powerful country in the world today, America, has attained that stature under an Executive Presidential system.

On 2 July 1971, at the Meeting of the Constituent Assembly, I was permitted to propose that we adopt the Executive Presidential system in place of the Westminster model. R. Premadasa, who was in the Opposition with me, seconded the proposal. We received no support and the motion was defeated.

One reason for adopting the Presidential system was the instability that was attached to a government under the Westminster type of Constitution. Let us look at our own country since we attained independence in 1948.

At the General Election of 1947, no party obtained an overall majority. The UNP under D.S. Senanayake had the largest number of members and was invited by the Governor to form a government which he did. He was able to carry on his work through a parliamentary majority which had the support of 21 Independent members, who called the tune. The Independents could defeat the government at any time by voting against its proposals. The support of the Independents was obtained largely through the influence and stature that D.S. Senanayake wielded as "Father of the Nation" and one chiefly responsible for obtaining freedom from the British.

On his (D.S. Senanayake's) death in March 1952, Dudley Senanayake, the new Prime Minister, called for a General Election within a month and he was returned with a two-thirds majority. However, there was much trouble within

the Government Parliamentary Party. A few Cabinet Ministers combined together to make it difficult for Dudley Senanayake to govern.

As a result of the resignation of Dudley Senanayake in 1953, Sir John Kotelawala became the Prime Minister. He too, facing trouble from within the party, called for elections in February 1956, fifteen months before the life of the Parliament was over.

S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike formed a government with the aid of other parties, after the 1956 elections. He found it difficult to maintain the government as several parties that had helped him to form a coalition government were pulling in various directions. Resort to a long prorogation did not help. His death in September 1959 deepened the crisis and Parliament was dissolved soon after his death by his successor W. Dahanayake, after a regime that lasted three and a half months.

As a result of this dissolution, a "Hung Parliament" was elected in April 1960. Dudley Senanayake leading the UNP had the largest number of members in the House but did not have a majority in Parliament. Being defeated on the "Throne Speech" debate, he dissolved Parliament.

Mrs. Srimavo Bandaranaike's Party had the largest number of members in the June 1960 elections and in December 1964, after a long prorogation which did not help, the government was defeated and she dissolved Parliament before her term was over in 1965.

The 1965 April elections put Dudley Senanayake in office with a majority in Parliament and he was able to govern the country for the full period from 1965 to 1970. It was the first occasion since independence in 1948 that a political party was able to govern the country for a full period of five years.

Mrs. Bandaranaike won the 1970 General Election, this too with the help of several other parties and she formed a coalition government. She extended her period of five years which ended in 1975 by another two years with the help of

all the coalition members. As some of the coalition members left soon after, she also decided to go to the electorate and dissolved Parliament in 1977.

In the 1977 July elections, the UNP was returned with a 5/6 majority and I became the Prime Minister. With the consent of the Cabinet and the Parliamentary Group, we introduced the Executive Presidential system of government in the Constitution Bill of 1978, a few months after the government was formed in July-August 1977. The Bill was passed in Parliament by a 2/3rd majority, after a Parliamentary Committee of all parties considered the Draft Constitution Bill at public sittings.

In the Westminster form of government which we had followed from 1947 to 1972 and as a Republic from 1972 to 1977, the executive power lies in the Parliament and is exercised through the Prime Minister and the Cabinet of Ministers. The Prime Minister is chosen only if he has a majority of members in the Legislature and can command their support. If he loses that support in the United Kingdom, the monarch can request him to resign and call upon another member to be the Prime Minister, or dissolve Parliament. With slight amendments, this is the system adopted by most of the dependencies of the UK now free, and the self-governing dominions. We too had a similar Constitution though we became a Republic in 1972.

The Executive Presidency was followed in the USA and later in France, under President De Gaulle. The founders of the American Constitution, after they defeated the British, made the President elected by the whole country, the executive authority, and the Legislature consisting of the House of Representatives and the Senate, both elected, the Legislative Authority. The President could choose his Cabinet from any American citizen, except a member of the Legislature.

An Independent Judiciary; the powers of the Legislature vis-a-vis the President, which enabled it to act as a check on Presidential power, and an Independent Press, were the checks and balances which made the Constitution work

democratically.

The French Constitution of De Gaulle followed the same pattern with a few differences. For example, the President had to choose his Cabinet from elected members of the Legislature and once they were chosen they had to resign their seats.

The Constitution maintained continuity while effecting change. Some countries had written constitutions, some were governed by conventions and some had none. The USA, France, Sri Lanka, India and many countries had written constitutions. The UK was an example of a country having no written constitution but governed by consent, conventions and ad hoc laws. Some had no constitutions. It was better that they did not have because they were governed by Dictators and under Military Authority.

Sri Lanka was a monarchy under Asian dynasties, Sinhalese and Dravidian, till 1815; and Western till 1972. It was till then one of the oldest monarchies in the world, having an unbroken history since 600 BC, from King Vijaya to Queen Elizabeth II, when we became a Republic in 1972.

From 1815 till 1931, all executive authority was exercised by the Governor on behalf of the monarch. In 1931, the Donoughmore Constitution created the Executive Committee system and the Legislature performed two functions--legislative functions as a State Council as it was called, and executive functions by the State Council through Executive Committees to which its Members were elected by the Council. The Ministers were the elected Chairmen of these Committees. The State Council and all its members were elected by universal franchise. The Sri Lankans were the first people in Asia to enjoy this privilege.

In 1947, under the Soulbury Constitution, the Westminster Constitution was introduced, where following the British pattern, the Prime Minister who led the majority in the Legislature was appointed as such by the Governor General.

In February 1948, Sri Lanka was given the status of a Dominion by an Independence Act introduced in the British

House of Commons and she became a Free and Independent Member of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

In 1972, after the Constituent Assembly had met and deliberated and accepted a new Constitution, Ceylon was made a Republic, but the Westminster model was retained.

In February 1978, a complete change took place with the executive power vested in a President elected by the whole country with a 50 per cent majority and legislative power being vested in the elected Legislature.

The 1978 Constitution had been tailor-made for a democracy. Let us examine its provisions under the heading made famous by the American President Abraham Lincoln's speech in 1863, opening the memorial to the dead, commemorating the decisive victory of the Federal forces at Gettysburg. He defined Democracy as "a government of the People; by the People; for the People".

Chapter I, Sec. 3, proclaims the sovereignty of the People and Sec. 4 states how it is exercised; (a) the legislative power by Parliament consisting of elected representatives of the People and by the People at a Referendum; (b) the executive power by the President of the Republic elected by the People; (c) the judicial power by Parliament through Courts, etc. created and established or recognized by the Constitution or created and established by law. This Section also refers to fundamental rights and the franchise.

The Cabinet of Ministers shall consist of the President as the Head, and the Prime Minister and Ministers from among the Members of Parliament, Chapter VIII, S.43 and S.44.

The Sections dealing with the sovereignty of the people and certain Fundamental Rights cannot be amended without a two-thirds majority in Parliament and approved by the people at a Referendum. Similar approval is necessary for legislation to extend the term of office of the President or the duration of Parliament for over six years. This is a unique feature for even if the whole Parliament votes in favour of such an extension, unless approved by the people at a Referendum, it does not become law.

I think no democratic nation in the world has this unique power given to the people by its legislature. It was with this power that the people extended the period in office of the Parliament elected in 1977 by six years. All previous extensions for example in 1975, were by parliamentary approval only, or by an Order-in-Council before freedom.

The government is clearly based on an elected President, with executive powers, responsible to Parliament as Head of an elected Cabinet, chosen from Parliament; charged with the direction and control of the government; and collectively responsible and answerable to Parliament (Chapter VIII).

Many interesting questions for discussion can arise on an interpretation of the sections dealing with the Cabinet of Ministers and their executive powers. Do they derive them as agents of the Executive President or with power vested in them when they are charged under S.43(1) with the direction and control of the government? I leave this question for constitutional experts to decide.

To complete the part dealing with sovereignty of the People, the Independence of the Judiciary is vital. While the Judiciary is clearly stated as exercising the judicial power of the people, they do so through courts, tribunals and institutions that are created by Parliament. Their independence is secured in various ways spelled out from Sections 107 to 117.

Appointments to the Supreme Court and the Court of Appeal are by the President by warrant under his hand. They shall not be removed unless the majority in Parliament so address the President to remove them. Their salaries, once determined by Parliament, shall not be reduced after appointment. Judges of the High Court are also appointed by the President and are subject to disciplinary control of the President on the recommendation of the Judicial Service Commission.

All other judges are appointed by the Judicial Service Commission which consists of the Chief Justice and two

other judges of the Supreme Court. Disciplinary action is also taken by them.

Under the previous Constitution of 1972, all the minor Judiciary appointments were made by the Cabinet of Ministers. This Constitution attempts as far as humanly possible to create conditions for the Judiciary to be independent; the rest is in the hands of the Judges themselves, "who must be men of courage, men of wisdom".

There are other sections of the Constitution which deal with Buddhism (Chap. II), Language (Chap. IV), and Citizenship (Chap. V); also with Superior Courts (Chap. XVI), Parliamentary Commissioner (Chap. XIX), Emergency Laws S.15 & 16 and (Chap. XVIII).

A government of the people and by the people, is adequately provided for and protected. Only through approval by the people at a Referendum can these provisions be amended or taken away democratically.

It should be mentioned, however, that fundamental rights may be temporarily restricted in the interests of national security, racial and religious harmony, national economy and a few other reasons mentioned in Chapter III, Section 15.

The power to make regulations under the Public Security Ordinance which can overrule, amend or suspend the operation of the provisions of any law except the provisions of the Constitution, is dealt with in Chapter (XVIII). Within 14 days of the Proclamation of an Emergency, Parliament must be informed and approve it, see (Chapter XVIII, Section 155(6)).

No earlier Constitution required the approval of Parliament for the Declaration of an Emergency or the operation of Emergency Laws.

The emergence of a multi-party system so essential for a democracy is made possible by the inclusion among the "Fundamental Rights" to every citizen of "Freedom of Speech, Publication, Assembly, Trade Union rights, etc." in Section 14(1).

The part dealing with "for the people" is also not forgotten.

In Chapter VI-S.27 to 29, these are enumerated. I need cite only one Section S. 27(2). If it is possible to fully implement these economic and social policies, it must bring peace and prosperity, but terrorism and other forms of violence are a hindrance. Also it must be remembered that from June 1960 to 1964 and 1970 to 1977, we had governments following Communist principles which even the Soviet Union has now abandoned. Recovery from these policies had begun from 1977-1983 with the Free Market Policy and other policies laid-down in the Constitution when terrorism reared its head and hit us like a tornado from 1983 onwards.

Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement-1987

The Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement of 1987 was signed by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and myself as President on July 29, 1987. It was a Peace Treaty and brought Peace, till one group of the LTTE broke it in October 1987. India then had to oppose them till March 1990, when the Sri Lanka Government took over and this led to a bloody war with the LTTE, which still continues.

The Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement was signed on Wednesday, 29 July 1987, by the Prime Minister of India, Rajiv Gandhi, and myself as President of Sri Lanka. On the next day, when Rajiv was inspecting a Naval Guard of Honour, prior to his departure, a Naval Rating attempted to assassinate him by raising the butt-end of his rifle and bringing it down on Rajiv's head. Seeing the movement in time, Rajiv bent his head and escaped death by a few inches.

A few weeks later, on the 18 August, two bombs were thrown at me and Prime Minister Premadasa, while we were sitting at the Chairman's table at a meeting of the Government Parliamentary Group held in a Committee Room of the Parliamentary Complex. Both bombs missed us. One hit our table and bounced off, and the other went over our heads. An official standing behind us was hit by a pellet and fell dead; a Minister sitting where the two bombs burst a few

yards away from us, was killed. Several Ministers and Members of Parliament were injured and hospitalised.

A few days later, at a public lunch, when I was congratulated on my escape by a speaker in these words, "Blessed are the Peace-makers for they shall soon be in Heaven," I replied, "Rajiv missed Heaven by a few inches, and I missed it by a few seconds!"

Though I spoke in a lighter vein of these incidents, it was evident that there was much feeling against Rajiv's arrival in Sri Lanka. I can understand the opposition to Rajiv at that time for his government had violated our sovereignty by sending food by air and ship to the Jaffna Peninsula against the express refusal of the Government of Sri Lanka to entertain them.

Many of those who caused riots throughout the Island were not interested in the Agreement but opposed Rajiv's visit. They were against the Indian help to the northern terrorists with arms, money and training. The Agreement itself was forgotten. It, however, brought peace to Sri Lanka. As President Ranasinghe Premadasa said in the Manifesto with which he won the Presidential Election of November 1988:

The Indo-Sri Lanka Accord was signed to obtain India's assistance to restore peace, law and order in the North and East. In the process, we succeeded in strengthening our good relations with India. Its basis is the geopolitics of the region. It put our relations with her on a new and firm footing. Its sincerity is unquestionable. We will build upon its positive achievements through dialogue and reciprocity.

The peace lasted till October 1987, when one of the groups that accepted it, namely, the LTTE, broke it and have continued their lone fight against the Government of Sri Lanka to this day and earlier against the Government of India till the last soldier of the IPKF* left in March 1990.

Before the Agreement was signed, Sri Lanka fought the LTTE* and several other groups aided and abetted by the Government of Tamil Nadu, with the knowledge and acquiescence of the Central Government of India. After the Agreement, the LTTE was left alone and by a strange quirk of fate, the Government of India fought them for a year and a half losing over 1500 men, 5000 injured and spending billions of rupees in Sri Lankan currency.

When a few days after the signing, peace reigned in the North and the East, I was praised by all. Prime Minister Premadasa said on 19 October 1987, that my "skill of diplomacy had turned the protectors of terrorism to being hunters of terrorism"--referring to India.*

From America it was said that "India had been turned from a part of the problem to being a part of the solution."*

In these pages I write of the events that preceded the signing of the Agreement, of the Agreement and its aftermath. I kept in mind throughout the words of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, "If your enemy extends a hand, however dishonestly, you grab it. If there is good faith, you have responded. If not, then at least you have one of his hands immobilised!"

There had been negotiations between the Sri Lankan and Indian Governments for a few years prior to the signing of the Agreement of July 1987. An Agreement had been reached between the two governments in New Delhi in 1983 and embodied in a document known as "Annexure C" and tabled before the All Party Conference in Sri Lanka. (Anx. 'C' attached)---

Sri Lanka had opposed meeting the separatist and terrorist groups as some of the leaders of these groups were wanted by the Police for a wide range of criminal charges. However, they lived in India, protected by the Indian Government.

Prabhakaran, the LTTE leader, had been suspected of responsibility for the killing in 1975 of the then Mayor of Jaffna, Mr Duraiappa, a fellow Tamil and Government

Party (SLFP) Member of Parliament.

In June 1985, direct talks took place in New Delhi between me and Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, on how to deal with Sri Lanka's Tamil problem. While the Sri Lankan Government agreed to talk to the Tamil groups, there also began a struggle among these groups for leadership and to be recognized as the chief spokesmen. They were the PLOT, TELO, LTTE, EPRLF and the non-violent group, the TULF. All the terrorist groups were provided with arms, arms training, money and other help, as is now admitted by the Government of Tamil Nadu, with the knowledge and authority of the Central Government of India.

The first round of talks was held in Thimpu, Bhutan in June 1985. The Sri Lanka delegation consisted of a group of senior lawyers led by my brother, H.W. Jayewardene, Q.C. The talks broke down, but a second round of talks were held in August. For the first time, a system of Provincial Councils was discussed in response to the claim of the representatives of Tamil groups that their right to self-determination be recognized, and alongwith the right to a Tamil homeland, i.e., the Northern and Eastern Provinces. In regard to the latter, the TULF also joined the terrorist groups. Though the talks did not yield results, the two governments carried on their negotiations with their representatives led by H.W. Jayewardene on one side and the Indian officials led by Romesh Bhandari, who had succeeded G. Parthasarthy, as India's Foreign Secretary.

From these talks emerged certain decisions, namely that the unit of devolution was to be a Province and not a District and that the powers to be devolved to be wider than had been discussed earlier. A document was initiated, led by Romesh Bhandari on the Indian side and E.F. Dias Abeysinghe, Secretary of the Sri Lanka delegation, for Sri Lanka. It became known as the Delhi Accord of August 1985. Relations between Sri Lanka and India began to improve now with Rajiv Gandhi as Prime Minister.

All the while, the Tamil terrorist groups continued to have their training and other facilities from bases in Tamil Nadu. The Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu that time was M.G. Ramachandran, who played a prominent role in these events. After 1985, his health broke down, he could hardly speak but he still continued to govern Tamil Nadu expressing his wishes through lip-reading, and movements of his eyes and hands.

In the meantime, the internecine fighting between the Tamil groups led to a bloody victory for the LTTE over its main rivals in April 1986, especially TELO.

The terrorist groups now began to attack more than before the civilian population adjoining the Northern and Eastern Provinces, specially unarmed Sinhalese civilians. In May 1985, in a surprise raid in Anuradhapura, 150 civilians were killed near the Sacred Bo-Tree. Gradually the terrorist groups become a formidable guerilla force and the Sri Lanka Government spent a large proportion of its annual budget, which rose from Rs 550 million (US\$ 18 m) in 1980 to Rs 3500 million (US \$115 m) in 1987, for the expansion and equipping of its armed forces.

The Government of Central India continued to campaign throughout the world against the Government of Sri Lanka. The Indian embassies abroad became centres of support for the terrorists and separatist groups. This led to the reluctance on the part of some of the Western powers to supply arms and other aid to Sri Lanka. They were all anxious not to offend India.

In April 1986, the Indian Government sent to Sri Lanka a new delegation led by a Minister of State, P. Chidambaram (40), a young Tamil and Natwar Singh, the Minister of State for External Affairs. An official communique in May 1986, announced that the Sri Lanka Government agreed to make further concessions beyond the terms of the Delhi Accord, concessions that dealt with Law and Order, Land Settlement etc.

Sri Lanka meanwhile, embarked on a new political initiative,

the Political Parties' Conference with eight political parties, that met me on 25 June 1986.

These talks continued in July 1986. A TULF delegation also arrived in Sri Lanka from India and had formal talks with me in July and August 1986. The following Ministers also participated regularly--the Minister of Foreign Affairs, A.C.S. Hameed; the Minister of Finance, Ronnie de Mel; the Minister of National Security, Lalith Athulathmudali; the Minister of Lands, Land Development and Mahaweli Development, Gamini Dissanayake and several others off and on.

The discussions between the Government of Sri Lanka and the TULF and the discussions and debates within the Political Parties Conference, continued for over three months. The SLFP boycotted these discussions. All the other parties, including the traditional Left parties which were not represented in Parliament, also participated in these discussions.

The Conference drafted Constitutional Amendements, a Draft Provincial Councils Bill, schedules setting out the Reserved, Concurrent and Provincial lists as well as detailed memoranda dealing with Law and Order, Land and Land Settlement and Education. The subjects of Finance and Administration were discussed in detail but no final agreements were reached. An official statement issued by the Sri Lanka Government on 26 November 1986 stated that "apart from subjects not finalized, these proposals constituted a package which would have been a reasonable basis of settlement fair to all sections of the people of Sri Lanka."

The agreed to proposals formed the basis of discussions between me and Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi when we met in Bangalore at the SAARC Summit on the 17 and 18 November 1986. At the end of the Conference, it was announced that apart from the subjects of Finance and Administration, which were not clarified by the TULF, the matters which required further clarification, modification and agreement, were fully set out in a working paper on the Bangalore discussions dated 19 November 1986.

The LTTE alone refused to accept these proposals. For

the first time, the Indian Government imposed restrictions on Sri Lanka Tamil terrorists operating from Indian territory. These were nullified by the Tamil Nadu Government's non-cooperation in these moves. Attempts were made by the Central Government to prevent the LTTE leader Prabhakaran from leaving India for Jaffna, unsuccessfully.

A time-table was worked out between the two governments for signing an Accord based on these proposals to take place preferably in January 1987. Chidambaram and Natwar Singh visited Colombo for further discussions with me for the third time on 17 December 1986. No agreement could be reached at these discussions for (a) (the merger of the two Provinces (the North and the East) or (b) exclusion of the Amparai District from the Eastern Province.

An official statement issued after the 19 December meeting, made the following points:

President J.R. Jayewardene and the two Indian Ministers discussed further ideas in continuation of the discussions held in the past. At the end of the discussions, the following proposals emerged:

- i) The present territory comprising the Eastern Province minus the Amparai Electoral District may constitute the new Eastern Province.
- ii) A Provincial Council will be established for the new Eastern Province.
- iii) The institutional linkages between the Northern Province and the Eastern Province discussed earlier will be further refined in order to make it more acceptable to the parties concerned.
- iv) The Sri Lanka Government will be willing to consider a proposal for a second stage of constitutional development providing for the Northern Province and the new Eastern Province coming together subject to modalities being agreed upon for ascertaining the wishes of the people comprised in the Northern Province and the Eastern Province separately.

- v) The Sri Lanka Government is willing to consider the creation of an office of Vice-President to be appointed by the President for a specified term.
- vi) The five (5) Muslim M.P.s of the Eastern Province may be invited to visit India and to discuss matters of mutual concern with the Tamil side under the auspices of the Government of India.

It would appear that the LTTE was intent on scuttling the agreement that the two governments were on the verge of signing and as a means of preventing this they hit upon the notion of a unilateral declaration of Independence in the North of the Island. The Sri Lanka Government's response to this was predictably tough. In an attempt to pre-empt such a declaration, the government sent troop reinforcements into the Eastern and Northern provinces with instructions to clear these areas of the LTTE and other separatist groups. Contrary to expectations, the LTTE did not put up much of a fight. The LTTE forces fled to the Jaffna peninsula.

The Indian Government, much perturbed by this turn of events, put considerable pressure on the Sri Lankan Government to abandon these military moves and to resume the search for a political solution. These public expressions of displeasure from New Delhi strained relations between the two countries in February and March 1987. On 14 March 1987, an Indian emissary, another Minister of State, Dinesh Singh, was sent to meet me in the hope that the political process could be revived. In response, the Sri Lankan Government offered the Tamils a ceasefire for the duration of the national holidays in April 1987. The LTTE spurned this offer and responded with the Good Friday-Bus Massacre in April where 130 persons were mowed down by automatic weapons on the road from Trincomalee to Colombo. The LTTE's allies followed this up with a bomb explosion in Colombo's main bus station in which over 100 persons were killed.

Faced with a serious erosion of political support as a

result of these outrages, the government decided to make an attempt to regain control of the Jaffna peninsula. 'Operation Liberation', which began in April 1987 in the Vadamarachchi division of the North-Eastern part of the peninsula, was directed at preventing the hitherto easy movement of men and material from Tamil Nadu. By the end of May, Sri Lankan forces had gained control of this area. The LTTE, the most formidable Tamil separatist group, had suffered a serious setback, and in a region they had dominated for long.

At this point, India moved swiftly to prevent the subjugation of the Jaffna peninsula by the Sri Lanka forces. The Indian High Commissioner, J.N. Dixit, pointedly informed Lalith Athulathmudali, Minister of National Security, that India would not permit the Sri Lanka Army to take Jaffna town. The same message was conveyed to me.

In the course of my speech at the Bank of Ceylon's new headquarters building opening on 27 May, I dwelt at some length on the Vadamarachchi operation, and the government's intention to proceed with that till the LTTE forces were defeated. In the evening, Dixit called on me at my home in Ward Place and conveyed a message from Rajiv. The gist of it was written by Dixit on an envelope! It read as follows:

1. Deeply disappointed and distressed
2. Thousands of civilians killed since 1983, has aroused tremendous indignation.
3. Your latest offensive in Jaffna peninsula has altered the entire basis of our understanding.
4. We cannot accept genocide.
5. Please do not force us to review our policies.

The "review of our policies", which Dixit threatened on behalf of the Indian Government, came very quickly. There was first a public monetary grant of US\$3.2 million from the Tamil Nadu Government to the LTTE and its allies. The Indian Government, for its part, escalated the level of its

own involvement in Sri Lanka when it announced that it was sending shipments of food and petroleum products to Jaffna, which, it claimed, was facing a severe shortage of these items through a blockade by the Sri Lankan forces. Despite the refusal of the Sri Lankan Government to accept this offer or concede the need for it, a first shipment, in a flotilla of about 20 Indian fishing vessels, was dispatched on 3 June 1987, but was turned back by the Sri Lanka Navy. When this happened, the Indian Air Force in a blatant violation of International Law and of the Sri Lankan airspace, dropped food and medical supplies to Jaffna on the following day. All these constituted an unmistakable demonstration of Indian support for the Tamil separatist movement in Sri Lanka. The Indian supply of food to Jaffna continued over the next few weeks by sea with the formal, but clearly reluctant, agreement of the Sri Lankan Government. In the rest of the country, the mood was a mixture of anxiety over a long war of attrition in the North.

The demonstration of India's sea and air power achieved a number of objectives. It saved the LTTE from imminent destruction, stopped any further expansion of the Sri Lanka Army's campaign after Vadamarachchi, and reduced the Sri Lanka Government to military impotence if India continued to give more help to the terrorist movement, especially the LTTE.

In June 1987, Minister Gamini Dissanayake received a letter from N. Ram, the Associate Editor of the Madras based Indian newspaper *The Hindu*. Dissanayake and Ram had known each other from some time as Gamini was on the Board of Control for Cricket in Sri Lanka, and during his visits to India to discuss cricket affairs, he got to know Ram who was also interested in cricket. Ram was also known to Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi.

The letter underlined proposals for a possible settlement of the Sri Lanka crisis through Indian mediation.

After talks with Dixit, who was given a mandate by his government to discuss with me the principles in Ram's letter,

I received word from Rajiv, sometime after 9 July 1987, that he was intent on helping to break the deadlock in the negotiations on the settlement of Sri Lanka's ethnic conflict, and that he would force the Tamil separatists to accept a settlement on the basis of the agreements reached between the Governments of India and Sri Lanka between May and December 1986. The gist of the offer was as follows:

If the Sri Lanka Government would agree to a joinder of the Northern and Eastern Provinces on a temporary basis, India would impose a settlement on the Tamils. If the LTTE would not agree, the settlement would still go ahead, and they would be forced to comply.

I suggested that the temporary joinder should have a time-limit and that a referendum be held in the Eastern Province to decide whether or not people there wished their Province to be linked to the Northern Province.

The Indians agreed to this. I took a calculated risk, as I had in 1957, opposed the Bandaranaike--Chelvanayagam Pact on this very issue. There was however the escape clause of a referendum which I hoped would mollify critics of this move, because the Sinhalese and the Muslims who together constituted 60 per cent of the population of the Eastern Province would not willingly accept this merger and that at a referendum the 60 per cent would win.

By mid-July, the Indian Government agreed to underwrite the settlement, provided some of their foreign policy concerns were included in the letters that were to be exchanged. Rajiv too was tired of Prabhakaran and the LTTE and decided to go along with me, with the acquiescence of the LTTE, if possible, or even without it. He agreed to afford such military assistance as was necessary to implement these proposals if the Sri Lanka Government accepted it. Sri Lanka insisted that the agreement should be between the two governments and not between the Sri Lanka Government and the LTTE and other terrorist groups. India agreed to this.

Sri Lanka also agreed to the mention of the foreign policy concerns of the Indian Government in the exchange of letters which formed part of the annexures to the agreement to be incorporated in a treaty between the two countries at a later date.

Minister Gamini Dissanayake on my behalf and High Commissioner Dixit on behalf of Rajiv Gandhi, did much of the preliminary drafting which were put up to the two leaders for their approval.

The draft of the agreement was ready by 15 July 1987 for discussion by the Cabinet at its meetings. Mr. Dixit attended the meetings of the Cabinet held on 15 and 25 July. Rajiv Gandhi, in the meantime, informed me that he was prepared to come to Colombo on Saturday, 25 July, to sign the Accord. I requested him to delay the arrival till Wednesday, 29 July. I needed to get the support of the Cabinet, the Working Committee of the UNP and Prime Minister Premadasa, who was out of the island and was due to return on 25 July.

The final Cabinet meeting was fixed for Monday the 27 July. On 27 July, the Cabinet approved of my signing the Accord on the scheduled date, that is, 29 July. One member of the Cabinet, Minister Gamini Jayasuriya, resigned a few weeks later when the Provincial Council Bill was approved by the Cabinet to be presented in Parliament.

On 29 July 1987, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi arrived in Sri Lanka and the Agreement was signed, while there was violent opposition to its signing in certain parts of the island, especially in Colombo.

I was informed by the Inspector General of Police that 4000 of his men were deployed in Kandy where the annual Perehera (religious procession) to do honour to the Buddha's Tooth Relic was being held and large crowds were expected. Seeing my predicament, Rajiv offered to help. We agreed that he would provide me with planes and helicopters to bring down some of our troops from the North to the South and that he would send a few of

his troops to do ground duty in the North. It was peaceful after the Agreement was signed. This was done.

The main points of the Agreement were as follows:

1. A complete cessation of hostilities, and the surrender of all weapons held by the Tamil separatist activists, within seventy-two hours of the implementation of the Accord.
2. The provision of Indian military assistance to help in its implementation.
3. The establishment of a system of Provincial Councils in the island based on the island's nine Provinces.
4. The joining together of the Northern and Eastern Provinces into a single administrative unit with a Provincial Council for it to be elected within three months.
5. The holding of a referendum in the Eastern Province to determine whether the mixed population of Tamils, Sinhalese and Muslims there would support its merger with the Northern Provinces into a single Tamil-dominated province.
6. A general amnesty for all Tamil separatist activists in custody, imprisoned or facing charges, after the general surrender of arms.
7. The repatriation of about 100,000 Tamil refugees in India to Sri Lanka.
8. The resumption of the repatriation of Indian citizens to Sri Lanka, under the terms of agreements reached between the Governments of Sri Lanka and India in 1964 and 1974.
9. The prevention of the use of Indian territory by Tamil separatist activists for military or propaganda purposes; the prevention of the military use of Sri Lanka ports, Trincomalee in particular, by any country in a manner prejudicial to Indian interests; and
10. Tamil and English to have equal status with Sinhala,

as official languages in Sri Lanka.

Rajiv Gandhi narrowly escaped serious injury, if not death itself, as stated earlier, at the Guard of Honour Ceremony prior to his departure from Colombo on 30 July. Four years later on 20 May 1991, the LTTE succeeded in doing precisely that in Tamil Nadu.

On his return to New Delhi on 31 July 1987, Rajiv Gandhi was informed that Prabhakaran had at last agreed to accept the Agreement. He conveyed this information to me on 2 August 1987 in a document that reads as follows:

1. In the light of offers conveyed through Dixit in August, about interim administrative arrangements in the North-Eastern Province to be created, and offers concerning employment of Tamil separatist cadres after they surrender their arms, Prabhakaran, leader of the LTTE has:
 - (a) agreed to *participation in the implementation of the agreement*;
 - (b) *agreed to the surrender of arms*; and
 - (c) Prabhakaran would like to be in Jaffna personally to organize surrender of arms.
2. In the interest of conciliation and peaceful implementation of the Accord, Prabhakaran will be air-dropped at Jaffna by the evening of today, 2 August. Prabhakaran has agreed to the following schedule for the surrender of arms, etc. as given by the Government of India:

| | | |
|------------------|----|---|
| 2 August evening | -- | Arrive in Jaffna |
| 3 August noon | -- | Indian Army to fan out into all parts of the Jaffna peninsula, including Jaffna City. |
| 4 and 5 August | -- | Surrender of arms by LTTE. Events to be witnessed by the Press and TV. |
| 5 August | -- | President Jayewardene may |

kindly announce the decision in principle, to set up an Interim Administration in the North-Eastern Province before Provincial Council elections. Details to be worked out in consultation with Government of India.

3. I would like to assure you that if Prabhakaran goes back on his word in any manner or fails to organize surrender of arms, *the Indian Army will move to disarm LTTE by force.*
4. In the light of the above, time limit for the surrender of arms *will have to be extended from 1530 hours of 3 August to the evening of 5 August: another 48 hours extension is envisaged.* Ceasefire will be maintained by the Indian forces.
5. *I request that no publicity should be given to these arrangements till the late afternoon of 3 August. The above arrangements can be announced on the 3 August afternoon.*

For three months there was peace. In October 1987, when certain prominent LTTE leaders were captured illegally conveying arms to Sri Lanka, the Sri Lanka Government insisted that the captured men be brought to Colombo for interrogation. When they were to be brought to Colombo by plane, 17 of them consumed cyanide and 12 of them died. Their deaths gave the LTTE the excuse to do what they had always intended to do. They turned their guns on the Sinhalese in Jaffna, Batticaloa and Trincomalee. Since that date, the LTTE have been fighting the IPKF, till the IPKF was withdrawn at the request of the Sri Lanka Government.

However, because of the Agreement, except the LTTE, all the terrorist and other groups had given up violence and were cooperating with the government and in the democratic way of life. They were the EPRLF, TELO, EROS, PLOT and

TULF.

Provincial Council elections were held for the combined Northern and Eastern Provinces on 19 November 1988 and an EPRLF Chief Minister was elected.

Much of this has been nullified by the LTTE's violent opposition. They have fought some of the other groups mentioned above and killed many of their supporters. Today they alone are fighting a battle with the present Government of Sri Lanka whereas the others have all joined in the democratic way of life and some are representatives of their areas in the supreme legislature, the Parliament of Sri Lanka. India no longer helps them. They instead fought them in Sri Lanka and are fighting them in India.

Some of the abbreviations used in this account are explained below:

| | | |
|-------|----|--|
| IPKF | -- | Indian Peace Keeping Force |
| PLOT | -- | Peoples Liberation Organisation of Tamils |
| TELO | -- | Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization |
| LTTE | -- | Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam |
| EPRLF | -- | Eelam Peoples Revolutionary Liberation Front |
| TULF | -- | Tamil United Liberation Front |

ANNEXURE C

In terms of paragraph six of the President's statement of December 1st, 1983, the following proposals which have emerged as a result of discussions in Colombo and New Delhi are appended for consideration by the All Party Conference. These proposals are in the context of the unity and integrity of Sri Lanka and will form a basis for formulating the Agenda of the All Party Conference:

- (1) The District Development Councils in a Province be permitted to combine into one or more Regional Councils if they so agree by decisions of the Councils and approved by Referendum in that district.
- (2) In the case of the District Councils in the Northern and Eastern Provinces respectively, as they are not functioning due to the resignation of the majority of Members, their union within each province to be accepted.
- (3) Each Region will have a Regional Council if so decided. The convention will be established that the leader of the party which commands a majority in the Regional Council would be formally appointed by the President as the Chief Minister of the Region. The Chief Minister will constitute a Committee of Ministers of the Region.
- (4) The President and the Parliament will continue to have overall responsibility over all subjects *not transferred to the regions and generally for all other matters relating to the maintenance of the sovereignty, integrity, unity and security and progress and development of the Republic as a whole.*
- (5) The legislative power of the region would be vested in the Regional Councils which would be empowered to enact laws and exercise executive powers in relation thereto on certain specified listed subjects including *the maintenance of internal Law and Order in the Region, the Administration of Justice, Social and*

- Economic Development, Cultural matters and Land Policy. The list of subjects which will be allocated to the Regions will be worked out in detail.
- (6) The Regional Council will also have the power to levy taxes, cess or fees and to mobilise resources through loans, the proceeds of which will be credited to a Consolidated Fund set up for that particular Region to which also will be credited grants, allocations or subventions made by the Republic. *Financial resources will be apportioned to the Regions on the recommendations of a representative Finance Commission appointed from time to time.*
 - (7) Provision will be made for constituting *High Courts in each Region*. The Supreme Court of Sri Lanka will exercise appellate and constitutional jurisdiction.
 - (8) Each Region will have a Regional Service consisting of (a) officers and other public servants of the Region and (b) such other officers and public servants who may be seconded to the Region. Each Region will have a Regional Public Service Commission for recruitment and for exercising disciplinary powers relating to the members of the Regional Service.
 - (9) The armed forces of Sri Lanka will adequately reflect the national ethnic position. *In the Northern and Eastern Regions, the police forces for internal security will also reflect the ethnic composition of these Regions.*
 - (10) A Port Authority under the Central Government will be set up for administering the Trincomalee Port and Harbour. The area which will come under the administration of the Port Authority as well as the powers to be assigned to it will be further discussed.
 - (11) A national policy on land settlement and the basis on which the Government will undertake land colonization will have to be worked out. All settlement schemes should be based on ethnic proportions so as not to alter the demographic balance *subject to*

agreement being reached on major projects.

- (12) The Constitution and other laws dealing with the official language, Sinhala, and the national language, Tamil, be accepted and implemented as well as similar laws dealing with the National Flag and Anthem.
- (13) The Conference should appoint a committee to work out constitutional and legal changes that may be necessary to implement these decisions. The Government would provide its Secretariat and necessary legal offices.
- (14) The consensus of opinion of the All Party Conference will itself be considered by the United National Party Executive Committee and presumably by the executive bodies of the other parties as well, before being placed before Parliament for legislative action.

8

Birth and Progress of SAARC

The South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation (SAARC) of which I was called one of the founding fathers, consists of Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. I attended the first meeting in Bangladesh and later meetings in India, Nepal and Pakistan between 1985 and 1988.

In my speech at the closing session of the First SAARC Summit Conference at Dhaka, Bangladesh (8 December 1985) I spoke of our hope in the following words:

For almost four years we have built a ship. The idea first emanated in Bangladesh. Foreign Ministers, Foreign Secretaries and numerous officials of our countries came here; carefully, laboriously, efficiently, fashioned and built the ship of the South Asia Association for Regional Cooperation. There were ideas before that. The concrete steps to build it were taken in Bangladesh. We have launched that ship during the weekend. We have much more work to do. We have to fashion it; we have to man it; we have to furnish it; we must make it travel the seas around the world. It may have to face turbulent storms and even mutiny on board. Let us make it fit to enter the portals of friendly harbours.

This is not the first time that there have been international organisations. Early in the nineteenth century, Europe was dominated by Napoleon. After his defeat, for the first time the countries of Europe met together and established the Vienna Congress. For some time the nations of Europe worked together and the war was forgotten.

In the 1870s, there was another Congress, the Congress of Berlin, where the main powers of Europe met to discuss the troubles in the Middle East, what they should do with Cyprus and Greece. The dominating figure in that Congress was Disraeli, the Prime Minister of England. He came back after the Congress and said he had brought peace with honour. It was not long before they were fighting again. From 1914 to 1918 there was the First World War. When the War was over and the League of Nations was formed, people thought that war was left behind forever. It was not so. The Great War broke out in 1939--the Second World War. At the end of that war the United Nations Organisation was formed. Fortunately it is still alive, still active and still useful.

Together with the United Nations Organisation, several other organisations were formed, CENTO, SEATO, NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Some of them do not seem to exist now, some of them are still surviving. Some of the countries in the South East Asia region formed themselves into a group called the ASEAN to improve their economic conditions.

There were other movements like the Non-Aligned Movement, like the Commonwealth Movement, like the Movement of the Panchasheela which were attempts on the part of people--some of them may have been visionaries--to live in peace and without war or conflicts. For the first time the people of this region, the countries of this region, meet today; of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Nepal, Maldives and Sri Lanka. I am not going in the alphabetical order or any other order, but as it comes to my mind. Therefore nobody should take offence.

We are, therefore, setting this ship afloat today. As I said, there may be mutiny on board, I hope not. The seas may be stormy but the ship must sail on and enter the ports of poverty, hunger, unemployment, illiteracy, malnutrition, disease and seek to bring comfort to those who need it.

I think in all our speeches we have stressed many important factors.

I say to the nations of this Organisation, to the leaders, that we should go forward. We are meeting again next year, we are meeting again the year after. We are meeting next year in India, and the year after in Bhutan. Let us go forward together, hand in hand, looking neither to the right nor to the left but marching straight on. Let us help those who are stretching their hands towards perfection, the poor, the lowly and the low.

“Om mane padme hum. The sunrise comes. The dewdrop slips into the glistening Sea.”

May our ship enter the glistening Sea and reach the harbours I have mentioned for the benefit of humanity.

Bangalore-1986

In my speech at the Second SAARC Summit Conference--16 November 1986--at Bangalore I talked of the heritage of non-violence in the following words at the meeting hosted by India and chaired by Rajiv Gandhi:

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 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 people 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.

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 cannot build this Association if we allow bilateral issues to grow. If we bring the bilateral issues to this forum, then we may 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...

Addressing the Sri Lanka Parliament in 1985 and 1986 I had said, and I repeat, "Non-violence is a creed of faith 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 *Abimsa*, non-violence, handed down to us from time immemorial, from the *Hindu Vedas*, from the *Buddha Dhamma*, the Christian Gospel 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.

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 we are now afloat; and we must take the current when it serves, or lose our venture."

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...

You, Mr. Chairman, 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. So I said at the Japanese Peace Treaty Conference in USA in 1951.

Zafrulla Khan of Pakistan who spoke after me at the same Conference said that the Prophet Mohammed also had a similar view. Certain enemies were defeated in a war 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 *Bhagwad Gita* asks us to do right without fear of consequence. Christ forgave his enemies on the Cross.

I am reminded of all these 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 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 Ramgarh Congress Session--the last session 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 of wearing garments made from 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 *Karenge ya Marenge--* "Do or Die"...

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.

Kathmandu-1987

At the Third SAARC Summit Meeting in Nepal on 2-4 November 1987, I had called for going "full sail ahead" with the King of Nepal in the host's chair. I said:

As we all know, regionalism in South Asia has had a late beginning. One of the remarkable developments since the Second World War has been the spread of regionalism, manifested in the setting up of regional organisations which have to cover most of the globe. The fact that SAARC came to be formed so late has been explained by the disparities and imbalances within our region. Nevertheless, there is at the same time, an underlying homogeneity among South Asian countries, on which we hope to build an enduring regionalism for the common benefit of all of us.

We have to recognise the fact that whether we make a success of SAARC or not, will have to depend on the extent to which we can confront and solve bilateral problems we may have between us. We have also to recognise the fact that our internal problems sometimes have an external dimension, for instance, by causing a spill-over effect in a neighbouring country. And we have furthermore to acknowledge that our bilateral problems could have an effect on the region as a whole to the detriment of all of us.

Your Majesty, Sri Lanka's separatist problem provides a

convincing illustration in support of the generalised observations that I have been making. For several years Sri Lanka has been struggling with the problems caused by a group of terrorists who have used the separatist problem to seize power. For several years my government has tried to solve the separatist problem through the good offices of India. In July this year we concluded a Peace Agreement under which India will assist Sri Lanka in settling this separatist problem. At the same time, we have established the basis for the conduct of our foreign relations on the principle that nothing would be done by either that could be detrimental to the other in any way. This has to be regarded as an unexceptionable principle, and indeed a prerequisite for good neighbourly relations... The Peace Agreement demonstrates the importance of not confronting each other but of confronting our bilateral problems together. Above all, it demonstrates the importance of our engaging in consultation as frequently as possible...

We have also demonstrated how we can help each other in times of distress and emergency through the establishment of the South Asian Food Security Reserve, which is a further example of our sense of brotherhood and willingness to help each other.

Still we are a long way from resolving our own economic problems. We have not been able to promote trade among countries of our region, and it is ironic that in each of our countries the volume of our trade with other member countries does not exceed five per cent of our trade...

We are meeting under the shadow of the most majestic mountain range on Earth, from where arise mighty rivers flowing into the plains of this great sub-continent giving sustenance and life to the people who live here. Physically we cannot climb higher than Mount Everest which we see in front of us. Mentally our minds can soar even above these mighty mountains. It can also soar above the jealousies, intrigues and the ambitions of man. Cannot

even a sunbeam from these heights illuminate us in wisdom and elevate our thoughts towards purity and compassion... Mr Chairman, from Dhaka to Bangalore and to Kathmandu, we have come a long way in a relatively short period of time. At Dhaka the SAARC ship set sail; in Bangalore, we found we were away out in the open sea, and here in Kathmandu, I am happy to state that we are firmly on course and proceeding full sail ahead.

At the concluding session of the third SAARC Summit at Kathmandu, I had tried to underline Democracy. Following were my thoughts and words:

When I came here I knew that Nepal was a part of the area in which Gautama the Buddha was born, lived and preached for over 50 years. He walked all the way from Lumbini to Buddha Gaya, up and down the Gangetic Plain, and passed away at Kusinara, where the Mallas lived. The Mallas are still in Nepal. They lived in the area around the Palace Complex, and their leaders lived in some of the places we visited yesterday. The Mallas were democratic people, and so were the Lichchavis who also lived in Nepal till some time ago. During the time of the Buddha they were the republics of the Gangetic Plain. To them, he preached the doctrine of democracy. When they came and asked him; what they were to do if attacked, he replied; "Do your assemblies meet often? Do they follow the rules of procedure? Do they respect their elders? Do they follow the laws of the country?" The reply was "Yes". Then he said, "Oh, Lichchavis, Mallas, then you cannot be defeated". That is the message of the Gangetic Plain; the message of democracy; the freedom of the people. The other message he preached was also of love and non-violence, that is also the message of the Gangetic Plain.

It was this period of history, the sixth century before Christ, that H.G. Wells said, "saw the adolescence of the

human race”; when in Greece, Socrates, Aristotle and Plato preached doctrines which saw the birth of European civilisation, when humanity there moved away from idol worship and animism to what we now know as modern civilisation. In this period in Persia, Zoroaster preached a similar doctrine. In China, Confucius preached a doctrine still relevant and in India, Gautama the Buddha preached the doctrine of Love, Maithriya, Non-violence and Democracy....

I remember another great orator, Surendranath Banerjee from Bengal, when he addressed an assembly of Oxford students in England, before the First World War (1914-1918), and they derided the Indian people, and scoffed at their language, and customs, saying in his reply; “My friends, when your ancestors were swinging by their tails from the trees of your primeval forests, my ancestors had perfected a system of philosophy which is still the wonder of the world, and practised it”.

When you meet here, when you talk of freedom of the media, of the other matters that have been part of our discussions, when you talk of terrorism and seek to join together to see that violent ways of life can be done away because of man’s ultimate adherence to non-violence, by and large that we can live together. It is because of this adherence to Truth, to Love, to Democracy, that in spite of Empires; in spite of those who believe in violence and nuclear arms, that man is able to survive. So many other species of animals have disappeared. That is the message that SAARC must give not only to our region but also to the world....

Islamabad-1988

And at the fourth SAARC Summit at Islamabad in Pakistan--29-31 December, 1988--chaired by Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto I had tried to draw the attention of my distinguished colleagues and those present to our “common history and heritage”. These were my words:

On the eve of my relinquishing duties as President of Sri Lanka, a post which I have held for eleven consecutive years, I consider it an honour to be able to participate in this Fourth Summit Meeting of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation, for I have been one of those associated with the development of SAARC in its various stages from its inception in 1985....

Though we are all members of various international organisations, it is SAARC which is our own Association which is dear to us because all of us share a common history and heritage and our political and economic welfare is bound together by our proximity to each other and the geographical necessities that exist in this region.

South Asia is the home of one-fifth of humanity. Though this region is rich in resources, its people are among the poorest. Our first objective, therefore, as rightly embodied in the Dhaka Charter of 1985, is the promotion of the welfare of the people and improving their quality of life. The alleviation of poverty and malnutrition is our primary task. It seems to me, however, that the various programmes of regional cooperation that we are now implementing will not have an immediate impact in meeting the common challenge facing us. We should therefore re-examine our priorities and our programmes of action to ensure that we do not lose sight of the objectives of our Charter.

In the past year, our region has seen several natural calamities: floods, cyclones and earthquakes have taken a heavy toll of human lives and caused devastation on a scale unprecedented in recent times. When we last met in Kathmandu, we commissioned a study of the causes and the consequences of natural disasters; the protection and preservation of the environment; regional cooperation to strengthen our disaster management capabilities....

One of the meaningful steps we have taken to assist one another in times of calamity is the setting up of the "Food Security Reserve". This is a notable achievement, but the mechanisms for the action must be sufficiently flexible

and effective so that the reserve can be speedily utilised when needed in a time of calamity. We should think of what other measures we can take for immediate assistance. Our Association is young and though we have taken up about 15 areas for regional cooperation, we have still a long way to go. If regional cooperation is to be meaningful and is to have a beneficial effect in improving the quality of life of our people, we must now address ourselves to the feasibility of cooperation in the core areas of trade, industry and economic cooperation....

The members of SAARC, with a market of more than a billion people, could take a lesson from the experience of other associations and take urgent steps to lay the foundation for greater economic cooperation. The time is opportune to set up a Ministerial Committee to examine issues such as the promotion of intra-regional trade, preferential tariffs, joint marketing mechanisms for the export of selected commodities and generally greater economic cooperation among all countries of the region...

For SAARC to become really meaningful and a living reality, our peoples must also get to know each other, and understand and appreciate each other's culture. It is to achieve this that at this forum we have been stressing the importance of people to people contacts. We can be happy that the areas we have taken up for cooperation such as tourism, exchange of youth, volunteers and academic exchanges are resulting in greater contact between the peoples of our various countries....

Madame Prime Minister, our cooperation is based on the firm belief that the good of all presupposes the good of each. In whatever programmes we undertake, there can be no meaningful cooperation until there is a meeting of the hearts and minds of all the peoples of the region. I stress "the peoples" not only of that of their political leaders....

9

The Nehru Letters

One of my treasured possessions has been my correspondence with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister and maker of modern India. These were a collection of letters exchanged between us between 1940 and 1947. In July 1971, in response to an appeal published in the newspapers by Mrs Indira Gandhi, I forwarded photostat copies of the correspondence to her. I also sent her a letter explaining the spirit and framework of the correspondence. The collection of letters is reproduced here, as a token of my treasured recollections of one of the most remarkable leaders I was privileged to know.

AN APPEAL

To persons having letters, photographs, movie films, voice recordings of Jawaharlal Nehru

The Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has undertaken the publication of the Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru and the preparation of an archival/documentary film on him. In order to make these two works the most important and authentic source of material for future historians and research scholars, I appeal to all those possessing letters written by Jawaharlal Nehru, his photographs, film shots

and recordings of his speeches to send them to us and thus assist in this work of national importance. The donors will be supplied copies of the originals. In the alternative, copies will be made for our purpose and the originals returned to the donors. Due acknowledgement will be made if the material is used in the Selected Works or in the Film. All communications may be addressed to the

Administrative Secretary,
Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund,
Teen Murti House, New Delhi-11

(Signed) Indira Gandhi

* * *

23rd July, 1971

Dear Mrs Gandhi,

I read in the newspapers your appeal to those possessing letters written by Jawaharlal Nehru to make them available to the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund.

I have in my possession a few letters written to me during the period 1940-1947, photostat copies of which I am enclosing, together with copies of my own letters to which they were replies. If they are necessary I can send the originals.

The circumstances in which some of the letters were written arose as a result of my attending the Ramgarh Session of the Indian National Congress held in March 1940, which was the last Congress Session held before India became independent.

Early in 1940, Dudley Senanayake and I joined the Ceylon National Congress and were elected Joint Secretaries. We were determined to revitalise that body and stir our leaders to action against the British.

As a first step we thought we should meet the leaders of

the Indian National Congress, discuss with them the re-organisation of the Ceylon National Congress on the lines of the Indian one, and seek to make it the focus of a mass movement against British rule. Collaboration with the Indian Freedom Movement was also one of our objectives. Hence the visit to Ramgarh, which was the first occasion on which the Ceylon Congress had sent delegates to a Session of the Indian Congress.

We lived in the Congress Camp for almost a week and our tent was next to that of the Burmese delegation led by the late Aung San.

Unfortunately, the open-air sessions fixed for the 19, 20, and 21 March was abandoned owing to the torrential rain that fell on the first day. Our temporary quarters provided us little shelter. Your father visited us and the other guests on several occasions and expressed great concern at the inconvenience we had to undergo. He invited the Burmese and Ceylonese delegates to stay with him a few days at Allahabad before returning home. We (J.E. Amaratunge later an M.P. and I) stayed at Anand Bhavan for three days, on the 26th, 27th and 28th March as the guests of your father and Mrs Pandit. You were not in India then. It was as a result of the discussions I had with your father that I began writing to him.

Another meeting was in August 1942, when the Congress adopted the "Quit India" Resolution at Bombay. I met your father at the residence of Mrs Huthee Singh. I refer to this meeting in my letter dated 29.6.45.

Unfortunately, the British Government did not permit an unbroken and intelligent exchange of letters; yet we were able to discuss the War and its effect on the British Empire, especially in relation to India and Ceylon; India-Ceylon relations after Independence which we thought would be achieved by India as a result of the War; and the Communists in our organisations. I was very keen that a "Summit Meeting" of Indian and Ceylon leaders should be held: this was agreed to on both sides, but as the correspondence shows external

events prevented such a meeting.

On our side we modelled the Ceylon Congress on the lines of the Indian Congress. We held Sessions in the villages, adopted "Independence" as our goal; boycotted the Soulbury Commission and began preparations for a direct action campaign against British Rule. The War ended and Independence came within sight. In Ceylon we merged the Congress in the United National Party and formed the first free government, in which Dudley and I were Ministers. The entire Asian political scene changed and new relationships and problems arose.

I thought that these introductory remarks would explain more fully the letters we exchanged.

I am now in the Opposition as its Leader and I must say I am not too unhappy. We cooperated fully with the government during the difficult days of April and we are grateful to you for the quick response to the Prime Minister's request for help.

With best wishes,

Yours Sincerely

(Signed) J.R. Jayewardene

Hon'ble Mrs Indira Gandhi, M.P.
Prime Minister of India
New Delhi
India

"The Nehru Letters"

J.R. Jayewardene

Braemar
66, Ward Place, Colombo
20th July 1940

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
"Ananda Bhawan"
Allahabad

Dear Mr Nehru,

I should really have written to you some months ago, but

various reasons have hindered my doing so. I hope you received the Handbook of the Ceylon National Congress and the other pamphlets I sent you. I enclose a few copies of photographs taken by Mr Amaratunga during the Ramgarh Session.

We often think of our visit to India and wish we can come again.

Events are moving with such rapidity in the World today that a slave India and Ceylon may be free tomorrow, without a struggle. The possibility of India passing into the hands of an armed invader is remote. The jealousy of the great powers alone will prevent this.

What of Ceylon? If nothing else happens, is it possible that she may be bartered away by a peace treaty? This is a question that is troubling many of us in Ceylon.

Some of us--the number is increasing--think that our future lies with India, and we are endeavouring to arrange for the sending of a representative deputation from Ceylon to meet the Indian leaders.

Would it be possible for the Indian Congress to meet a deputation from the Ceylon National Congress some time this year? Federation or closer union between a free India and a free Ceylon would certainly be a subject we wish discussed.

Do you think it would be possible to arrange such a conference? The best time for our men would be in September.

We would like to meet you, the President of the Congress, Mr Gandhi and any others that you wish us to meet. If such a conference could be arranged please let me know when and where it can take place.

With my best wishes for India's struggle for freedom.

Yours truly,

(Signed) J.R. Jayewardene

Air Mail

Sakina Mansion
Carmichael Road, Bombay, August 1, 1940

J.R. Jayewardene Esqr.
Braemar
66, Ward Place
Colombo (Ceylon)

Dear Mr Jayewardene,

Your letter of the 20th July unfortunately missed me in Allahabad and had to follow me to Poona, where I received it only two or three days ago. The Handbook and pamphlets that you sent me reached me and I was grateful for them. I read them with interest. The photographs have not reached me yet, but they might be awaiting my return in Allahabad.

I entirely agree with you that the pace of events in the world is very rapid and is likely to lead to big consequences in India and Ceylon. Indeed for the last two or three months we have given the most earnest attention to not only the present situation but the possible developments in the near future. This has led us to a consideration of certain basic matters which did not arise merely in our struggle for freedom. To some extent there has been a re-orientation of our policy, though this does not affect the present. This has resulted in Gandhiji dissociating himself, to some extent, with certain policies of the Congress. This does not mean of course that there is any separation between the Indian National Congress and Gandhiji. But it does mean that he is not prepared to take the responsibility for the decisions of the Indian National Congress and to that extent he wants a free hand.

What the immediate future will bring, no one can say. But it is clear that the present position cannot continue. Personally I am quite convinced that whatever the result of the War may be, the British Empire cannot survive it, nor can such spread-out empires exist in the future. It is too much to hope that a real World Federation of free nations will emerge out of this terrible conflict. But one must presume that the

day of small nations is past and only large federations or compact empire states will survive. India is a big enough country, to stand by itself even in such a world. But it will take some years to arrive at that stage, and in any event I see no reason why India should not join a larger federation if that is conducive to her own good as well as the advancement of the world. I do not see India remaining part of a fundamentally British Federation, though it is conceivable that we might be members of a Federation which includes Britain as well as non-British countries. In the event of the defeat of Britain in the War, it is exceedingly unlikely that any British Federation will emerge. What might then happen is some Federation with its centre in America.

Personally I should like India to be closely associated in a future order with China, Burma and Ceylon, as well as other countries which fit in. Our relations with China have become very close during the last year or two, and I am sure that the leaders of China look upon this possibility with favour.

Ceylon is too small a political and economic unit to stand by itself in the future world. I quite agree with you that there might be danger ahead for Ceylon under these circumstances. It will, therefore, be highly desirable to discuss the future relations of India and Ceylon, so that our minds may be clear and we should know what we are aiming at. Your proposal, therefore, is a welcome one.

I have today discussed this matter with our Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, and he told me to convey to you that he welcomed the idea very much and he and his colleagues would gladly meet a deputation from the Ceylon National Congress to discuss this matter. It is a little difficult to fix any definite date for this at present. It would not be desirable to delay such a discussion too much. At the same time the present situation is so complex and many new developments are so likely to take place within the next few weeks, that the future is uncertain. Still, provisionally, some time in the latter half of September or early in October might be suitable.

If Gandhiji's presence is necessary, and we think that his presence is certainly desirable, we shall have to meet at Wardha.

If you let me know the dates that suit you we shall keep them in mind.

With all good wishes,

Your Sincerely,

(Signed) J.R. Jayewardene

* * *

Braemar
66, Ward Place
Colombo
15th August, 1940

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
"Ananda Bhawan"
Allahabad
India

Dear Pandit Nehru,

The members of the Ceylon Congress to whom I have shown your letter, welcome its contents and are grateful to you for your interest in Ceylon.

We have discussed various dates and find that the first week in November is most convenient for our visit. I am sorry that this date is a few weeks later than the dates you suggested. Certain private family matters and meetings of the State Council which is now discussing the Budget, make the first week in November most suitable for our visit.

Our deputation will consist of G.C.S. Corea, the President of the Congress, D.S. Senanayake, Minister of Agriculture, and a few others. We would wish to meet Gandhiji also, if it is possible to arrange such a meeting.

As soon as I hear from you, I shall see that an official letter is sent by the President of the Ceylon Congress to the

President of the Indian Congress confirming these arrangements.

Our discussions should not, I think, be restricted to any particular issues, but should, as you suggest, cover the future relations between India and Ceylon.

Much as I wish to find out, and discuss with you, the exact position of the Communist Party in the Indian Congress, and also Gandhiji's separation from the Congress and his intention to form a different organisation as reported in our papers, I think I should not intrude on your busy hours, but reserve that for discussion during our visit to India.

With best wishes

Yours truly,

(Signed) J.R. Jayewardene

• * * *

Wardha
August 24, 1940

J.R. Jayewardene Esqr.
Braemar
66, Ward Place
Colombo

Dear Mr Jayewardene,

Thank you for your letter of the 15th August which I have shown to our President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. We shall be glad to meet the deputation from the Ceylon National Congress whenever it comes here. I agree with you entirely that our discussions should not be restricted to any particular issues but should cover future relations with India and Ceylon.

If you have been following developments in India, you will no doubt notice that the situation here is undergoing a complete change and the crisis that I hinted at in my last letter has arrived. This makes it very difficult for us to say

definitely when and where we can meet you. It may be that long before November we shall not be in a position to meet you, or rather, that we shall be incapacitated from doing so. But apart from this uncertainty about the future, we shall look forward to meeting you early in November. Gandhiji will be pleased to meet your deputation.

The developing world situation makes it incumbent on all of us to look ahead and to think of the future. Whatever this future may be, it is certain that it will be very different from the past and the present.

About the exact position of the Communist Party in the Indian Congress not much can be said. The Communist Party is not a legal party in India. For many years the Government of India has banned it. Nevertheless, many individual Communists exist and proclaim their faith in communism. They describe themselves openly as Communists. There are a fair number of others who, though not official Communists, are near communists. Between the Communist and Socialist Party here there has been almost continuous conflict. For sometime the Communists were members of the Congress Socialist Party but later many of them left it. Since the War began many of the wellknown Communists have been arrested under the Defence of India Act and interned.

So far as the Congress is concerned, it has no rule banning any organisation or individual except one preventing members of communal organisations with objectives opposed to that of the Congress. All other persons can join the Congress if they accept its objectives and methods. Of course they are supposed to remain within the general discipline of the Congress. If Communists wish to join the Congress, they are perfectly at liberty to do so and, indeed, many have joined it in the past. Some of these have been important office bearers in different Provinces or districts. There has often been some trouble in local committees with Communist members and strictly speaking they have not always kept with Congress discipline. But no disciplinary action has been

taken against them except in very rare instances. This may partly be due to the fact that they are often good and earnest workers and partly because the British Government here is persecuting them so much.

It is not easy to write briefly about the recent differences of opinion between Gandhiji and the Working Committee. These differences are largely based on the theory and application of non-violence. They have been exaggerated somewhat in the press and it is quite likely that they will not affect materially any action that the Congress might take. There is no question of Gandhiji doing anything hostile to the Congress or of forming a different organisation. All that he intended doing at one time was to invite those who fully believed in non-violence, even for a future state, to get into touch with him so that he might take some action through them. Such action would of course not have been against the Congress in any way. It is quite possible, and indeed probable, that by the time you come here all these problems will be of the past.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) J.R. Jayewardene

* * *

17th Sept.,

The President
The Indian National Congress
Swaraj Bhawan
Allahabad

Dear Friend,

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has written to us, that you as President of the Indian National Congress and other leading members of the Congress welcome the idea of meeting a deputation from the Ceylon National Congress to discuss all present and future relations between India and Ceylon.

Our deputation will consist of myself as President of the Ceylon Congress, D.S. Senanayake, Minister of Agriculture and Lands and a few others. We hope to be in India during the first week of November and shall make arrangements to be free to meet you during the second week of November, probably 9th and 10th November. As we are anxious to meet Gandhiji also, I take it the meeting will be arranged at Wardha.

With best wishes

Yours truly,

(Signed) G.C.S. Corea

President, Ceylon National Congress

* * *

17th October 1940

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
 "Ananda Bhawan"
 Allahabad
 India

Dear Mr Nehru,

I delayed writing to you as we were expecting a reply from President Azad to our letter dated the 17 September 1940, a copy of which I am enclosing.

I do not know whether he has received the letter. We are making all arrangements to meet the Indian Congress on the days mentioned in that letter.

Please let me know when you intend to hold the meeting. I have just read in the papers that Gandhiji has started the Civil Disobedience Campaign instructing Mr Vinoba to make an anti-War speech. I will not detain you longer but please accept my very sincere wishes for the success of India's struggle. It is our struggle too that you are waging.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) J.R. Jayewardene

* * *

7th May, 1941

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
 Swaraj Bhawan
 Allahabad
 India

Dear Mr Nehru,

I have not written to you since you were interned, because, I was not sure whether you would receive my letters. I wonder whether you will receive even this? I am however writing in the hope that the censor may pass it. I suppose any reference to politics would mean that the letter may not

be passed. Therefore I have refrained from writing about things which are now playing such a large part in the lives of the people of India and Ceylon.

You may have read in the papers about the Indo-Ceylonese differences. They exist. Yet, the wish of an increasing number here is that a free Ceylon should some day, and that very soon, march together with a free India.

Our Congress Party in Ceylon had much success in the Colombo Municipal elections last December, and we were able to have our Congress Mayor.

The 21st Session of our Congress Party was held in December and it was modelled on the lines of the Indian Congress with Swadeshi exhibitions, open air mass meetings & etc. Our visit to Ramgarh enabled us to introduce many of the features we saw there.

I have sent today to Swaraj Bhawan a small memento of our visit, a few hand-woven Ceylon mats.

Wishing you are in the best of health,

Yours truly

(Signed) J.R. Jayewardene

* * *

Air Mail

May 29, 1941

(This letter is handwritten)

From Jawaharlal Nehru
District Jail
Dehra Dun

To J.R. Jayewardene Esqr.
Braemar, 66 Ward Place
Colombo

Dear Mr Jayewardene,

Your letter of the 7th May has reached me and I was

happy to hear from you again. As you realise it is not possible for me at present to carry on an intelligent correspondence about things that matter and are in our minds. Events are marching fast all over the world and it surprises me that many people are still **thinking** in the old way and cannot get out of the ruts. But the future, whatever it is going to be, is not going to wait or to **confirm** itself to their slow-moving minds.

In person especially, when one is cut off from the present, the mind fixes itself more on the future. In the thoughts that fill my mind, Ceylon often recurs and the difficulties of the present day do not worry me much.

My good wishes to you and to the people of Lanka.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Jawaharlal Nehru

* * *

5th December, 1941

Dear Pandit Nehru,

It is with great relief that we in Ceylon read in the papers of your release and the release of the other political prisoners from gaol.

Does this mean that, at long last, the British Government intends to consider the question of India's freedom? We too hope that if any discussion takes place between the British Government and the Indian Congress, you will advocate Lanka's claims to freedom too. Do you think it will be useful to send a representative of ours to India at this time?

The Ceylon National Congress is meeting at its 22nd sessions from 27th-30th December. We hope to hold one of the biggest national assemblies ever held in Ceylon. We have invited representatives from India and Burma, but unfortunately the Indian National Congress has not been able to accept our invitation.

I wonder whether you could come, or send a message? If

you could come even for a short stay, I can make arrangements for a quiet holiday in the Hills. I trust you received the books I sent to you in gaol.

With best wishes

Yours truly,

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Swaraj Bhawan
Allahabad
India

(Signed) J.R. Jayewardene

* * *

Space for envelope

J.R. Jayewardene

Braemar
66, Ward Place
Colombo
28th July, 1942

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Anand Bhavan
Allahabad
India

Dear Pandit Nehru,

My letter to you dated the 5th December 1941, and the books I sent with that letter have evidently been stopped by the censor, for I have received no reply or acknowledgement. Though I wanted very much to writ to you again, I thought it better that I should not, as any reference to political affairs would have met with the censor's disapproval.

I have therefore refrained from any such reference and only wish to ask you whether it would be possible for me to meet you if I happen to be in Bombay between the 4th and 8th August.

I am sending separately a small booklet of Essays on Buddhism which I published recently.

With best wishes

Yours truly,

(Signed) J.R. Jayewardene

* * *

J.R. Jayewardene

66, Ward Place
Colombo
29.6.45

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Swaraj Bhawan
Allahabad
India

My dear Pandit Nehru,

I wonder whether you remember our last meeting? It was on the day before the AICC Meeting, in August 1942. A few of us, members of the Ceylon National Congress had come to Bombay, and you very kindly spared a few minutes of your time, discussing with us, problems affecting our two countries, at Mr Huthee Singh's residence.

With your help we were able to attend the first day's meeting. The next day the leaders were arrested, and on our way to the meeting place, we found the Police dispersing the crowds, with violence. We visited your residence that same day, bade good-bye to Mrs Huthee Singh, and left for Ceylon that very evening. On our way back, our train was stoned at one or two places, near Bombay, but without injury to anyone. Mr Satyamurthi, who was travelling with us, was arrested near Madras. We reached Colombo a few days later.

Three years have gone by since then; years which have seen many changes and stirring events, but few have been so eagerly received here as the release of the Indian leaders. I hope you received our message of goodwill. I think the main reason for this is, that we in Lanka feel that our fight for freedom is being fought largely in India, and India's freedom is Lanka's freedom too.

The urge for freedom has grown immensely here, during these three years. Soon after our return, the Ceylon National Congress in December 1942 rejected Dominion Status and adopted Freedom as its objective. Soon after this, I was nominated as the Congress candidate, for the vacancy created,

by Sir D.B. Jayatilleke's appointment as Representative in India, and fighting the election on the issue of "Independence" vs "Reforms", against an elder politician, E.W. Perera, I was able to win by over 10,000 votes. The State Council and all political parties too, now ask for freedom, and India's help will be a great asset to us. It is to acquaint you with the latest developments in Ceylon that I thought of writing these few lines.

I am sending you the following Sessional Papers which give an account of what has happened here; S.P. 13 of 1943; S.P. 17 of 1943; S.P. 12 of 1944; S.P. 14 of 1944, the draft of an Ordinance to provide a new constitution for Lanka, and the Agenda of the 25th Congress Sessions.

On the 26th May 1943, the British Government declared that it would grant full responsible government to Ceylon, in all matters of internal civil administration. This declaration is printed in S.P. 17 of 1943, together with the Ministers interpretation of it. The Ministers drafted a Constitution and sent it to the Secretary of State in February 1944. They were then informed that a Commission would be sent out to Ceylon. The Ministers objected to the sending out of this Commission, withdrew their Draft and decided not to co-operate with the Commission, vide S.P. 12 of 1944. The Ministers' Draft Constitution is in S.P. 14 of 1944.

The Commission, an "all White one", held its sittings from December 1944 to April 1945, and was boycotted by all progressive political bodies, following the lead of the Ceylon National Congress.

While the Commission, which consisted of Lord Soulbury, Sir F.J. Rees and Mr F.J. Burrows, was hearing evidence, we introduced in the State Council, an Ordinance to provide a new Constitution for Lanka. This Ordinance contained the Ministers' Draft Constitution, shorn of certain limitations, and provided a Constitution of the recognised Dominion type for a Free Lanka. The third reading of this Ordinance was passed in March 1945, with only two elected members, both members of the Tamil Congress, a new body created

to give evidence before the Commission voting against it. The Ordinance has now been reserved for His Majesty's assent.

I understand that the Soulbury Report is now ready, and the Leader of the State Council, Mr D.S. Senanayake, has been invited to England to discuss future constitutional problems with the British Government. I do not think that either the State Council, or the country will accept anything less than has already been promised to India and Burma, that is the status of a free and equal partner, in the Commonwealth of Nations.

The latest Resolution of the Indian Congress Working Committee, demanding freedom for the Colonies, has heartened us, for even the moral support of a powerful neighbour gives strength to our cause.

You may remember in August 1942, I suggested that Ceylon too, should be included in the resolution to be placed before the AICC, as one of the countries for whose freedom the Indian Congress would strive. Specific reference of this nature to Ceylon is of great psychological value to us, in our work.

It is not possible to suggest, just now, any means whereby India can help us. We anxiously await the outcome of the Simla Talks. I have only attempted to provide you, with a summary of recent political events in Ceylon, so that, if you have the time and the desire, you may yourself consider what help you can render us. I am afraid, I have already taken too much of your time, but I cannot close, without extending to you and to any of your friends, you wish to bring, a cordial invitation to be my guests in Ceylon, if you can find the time for a short holiday. The best time would be January, a cool month, when moreover, we will be holding our 26th Congress Session.

With my best wishes to you,
Yours very sincerely,

(Signed) J.R. Jayewardene

* * *

Space for envelope

Anand Bhawan
Allahabad

This letter is handwritten
Oct 13, 1945

Dear Mr. Jayewardene,
My father, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, has asked me to
thank you for your telegram of good wishes.

Your sincerely,

(Signed) Indira Nehru Gandhi

* * *

20th October, 1945

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Swaraj Bhawan
Allahabad
India

My dear Pandit Nehru,

I wrote to you on the 29th June 1945, soon after your
release from goal. Since I have received no reply, I presume,
the Censor prevented the letter from reaching you. I am

enclosing a copy of it. Instead of the Sessional Papers, mentioned in the 5th paragraph, I am sending you a copy of the Soulbury Report, which contains the relevant Sessional Papers, and a few notes of mine on it. I particularly, draw your attention to Chap. 10 & 11. I do not think, that any Indian, who seeks freedom for India, can object to the recommendations, in para 242 (i) & (ii). The Ceylon Indian Congress, however, while pleading for Ceylon's independence, in the same breath insists, that the British Government should include in the Constitution, Articles relating to immigration, and the Indian franchise, in accordance with the demands of the Congress. Mr. Aney is now at Simla to press this point of view on the British Raj. I do hope, for the sake of friendly feelings, which you, as well as many others, in India and in Ceylon wish to promote between our two countries, he will not be successful.

I wish you will be able to accept our invitation to come to Ceylon in January.

With best wishes,

Yours very sincerely,

* * *

Anand Bhawan
Allahabad

Camp: Simla
12 May 1946

Joint Honorary Secretaries
Ceylon National Congress
Borella Flats, Colombo

Dear friends,

Thank you for your letter of the 11th April. I am glad of your resolution welcoming the movement to organise an Asian conference. Probably the initiative in this will be taken

by the Indian Council of World Affairs, 63/2 Daryaganj, Delhi. I suggest you keep in touch with them.

Yours sincerely

(Signed) Jawaharlal Nehru

* * *

Congress Office
Berella Flats
Colombo
22nd May, 1946

Dear Pandit Nehru,

Your statement to the Press about Indians in Ceylon has surprised many of us. The Ceylon Government is contemplating no action in regard to the Indians here. An artificial agitation has, however, been raised by the Ceylon Indian Congress against the recommendations of the Soulbury Commission, which recommendations were accepted by the British Government, embodied in the White Paper of October 1945 and accepted by the Ceylon State Council by 51 votes to 3. These proposals have now been enclosed in the Order-in-Council promulgating a new Constitution for Ceylon.

I am sending you a copy of the Soulbury Report, and I wish to draw your attention particularly to paragraphs 202 to 203 and paragraphs 224 to 242. The first few paragraphs deal with the impoverishment of the Indian immigrant labourer and show that the franchise rights possessed by those labourers under the Donoughmore Constitution are now preserved in the new Constitution. "Did not seem to His Majesty's Government to involve any racial discrimination against Indians, whereas some of the Indians' protests amounted in effect to a claim to a position of privilege rather than of equality". (vide para 209)

The second group of paragraphs deals with immigration and the political status of Indians in Ceylon. The new Constitution accepts these proposals and gives Ceylon for the first time the right to determine the future composition

of her population and the right to prohibit or restrict immigration into Ceylon without any overriding powers being vested in the British Government.

Surely you will agree that the powers granted to Ceylon under the new Constitution, a copy of which is sent with this letter, are consistent with her progress toward freedom, and that the request of the Ceylon Indian Congress to the British Government to include in the Constitution articles relating to franchise and immigration in accordance with its demands is a negation of that freedom? The Ceylon Indian Congress also talks of a general strike as a protest. As a protest against what? Against Ceylon's march to freedom; against vesting in the people of Ceylon the right to determine the composition of the country's population and the rights which its citizens should be entitled to. Surely you will not accept for India any restriction on the freedom that Britain will soon give her? Then why should Ceylon not enjoy a freedom as full and as unqualified as yours?

As Mr Senanayake has informed you, the relations between India and Ceylon, and any questions relating to Indians in Ceylon which are not already settled, will be the subject of negotiations between a free India and a free Ceylon; until then your influence should be used to prevent misguided actions by these Indians in Ceylon who are adopting tactics so correctly criticised by you in your latest book as follows: "Some Indian businessmen in Ceylon are demanding exactly the same kind of protection which they rightly resent having been given to British interests in India. Self-interest not only blinds one to justice and fairplay but also to the simplest applications of logic and reason." (*Discovery of India*, p. 43).

We want you to judge our actions by logic and reason, but that too requires a knowledge of the facts, and I am always prepared to send you the fullest information.

With my best wishes,

I remain

Yours sincerely,

(Signed)

By Air Mail

17, York Road
New Delhi
27th February, 1947

Dear friend,

I have just received your letter of the 20th February informing me that the Ceylon National Congress will celebrate "Independence Day" on March 2nd. May I send you, and through you to the people of Ceylon, our greetings on this occasion and our good wishes for the rapid realisation of the Free Lanka of your dreams? I have no doubt that a free India and a free Lanka will have the closest of associations with each other for their mutual advantage and for the furtherance of peace and progress in Asia.

Yours sincerely,

The President,
Ceylon National Congress,
Congress Office,
Borella Flats, Borella,
Colombo

(Signed) Jawaharlal Nehru

* * *

President,
Ceylon National Congress
Borella
Colombo

Our greetings on Lanka's Independence Day. We trust that Lanka will be free soon and play her full part as a free nation in the advancing destinies of Asia. Letter follows.

Jawaharlal Nehru

27th February 1947

* * *

J.R. Jayewardene

Braemar
66, Ward Place
Colombo

12th February, 1964

My Dear Sri Nehru,

It was with great regret we heard of your recent illness. You are aware of the great affection the people of Ceylon have for you and the members of your family; this was quite manifest here during the first few days after the news reached us. We were all relieved to hear of your recovery and wish you many more years of good health, to serve India and the cause of Peace and Democratic Progress throughout the World.

You may remember I spoke to you about conditions in Ceylon when I met you in New Delhi, in June last year. The Government finances are in a perilous state and it is difficult even to pay for food imports. Our Party as well as many in the country are also worried about the Government's leanings towards China. We are pressing for a debate in the House on Foreign Affairs, when we hope to compel the Government to disclose its hand.

I can see no early solution to our problems under this Government. I think the people are realising this too, for recent Parliamentary by-elections and local elections have gone heavily against Government nominees, and our Party has had successes beyond our hopes.

I will not detain you longer with a recital of political events here, for I am sure your High Commissioner's reports are accurate and full. I may be in India on a pilgrimage to the Buddhist shrines in March/April and I hope I will be able to meet you once again in the best of health.

Believe me,
I am
Yours Sincerely,
(Signed) J.R. Jayewardene

High Commissioner for India in Ceylon
Colombo

No. Col/SCR/121/1/64

February 29, 1964

My dear J.R.,

You will recall giving me a letter for the Prime Minister of India, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. This was duly forwarded and has been received by the Prime Minister who has asked me to thank you for the kind enquiry after his health and for your good wishes. He has asked me to let you know that he is much better now and that he will be glad to see you when you go to India on your pilgrimage in March/April next. You mentioned that you might go to Delhi for a couple of days during the visit. If you will let me know the approximate date of your arrival there, I have no doubt the Government of India will wish to welcome you as their guest during your stay in the capital.

(Signed) B.K. Kapur

J.R. Jayewardena, Esq.,
Braemar
66, Ward Place
Colombo

* * *

The "Nehru Letters" were also part of my bond with three generations of the Nehru family on the human and personal level. I had also maintained contact with Nehru's daughter, Indira Gandhi and her son Rajiv Gandhi. Perhaps the last link in this relationship was my reaction to the shocking assassination which had vitiated peace and normalcy of human existence, both in Sri Lanka and India. On 31 May,

1991, I had written down and signed a statement of my shock and grief at the sad demise of Rajiv Gandhi. The following is the statement which expressed my honest feelings and impressions about Rajiv Gandhi, which must be viewed as a link in the same chain of relationships:

President J.R. Jayewardene
66, Ward Place, Colombo 7, Sri Lanka

31st May 1991

By Rajiv Gandhi's cruel assassination I have lost a friend. This was my immediate reaction and public statement. I feel it more as the days go by.

I do not wish to comment on the political consequences of his untimely death for I did not look upon him or trust him other than as a friend.

We wrote to each other on matters of common interest and just a month ago he sent me his latest book, a collection of his speeches and statements, entitled, *World View*.

He advocated a central authority among nations to possess and control armaments and their use so that individual nations may not be able to go to war with one another. This would ultimately lead to the abolition of war.

It was unfortunate that he inherited, as Prime Minister, a situation where the Tamil Nadu Government was openly helping the several terrorist groups in Sri Lanka with the Central Government's knowledge and acquiescence. The result was the dropping of food over Sri Lanka, violating its sovereignty, etc. in June 1987.

Fortunately, he received wiser counsel later and by the end of July 1987, both countries accepted the proposals I had tabled in our Parliament in December 1986. The whole country was aware of these and Parliament raised no objection to them. He made a new and special request to consider the temporary merger of the Northern and Eastern Provinces, subject to a Referendum. I agreed and obtained Cabinet

approval as well as the approval of the Parliamentary Group and my party.

The Agreement was a political document and there was no mention of the Indian military forces coming to Sri Lanka. This was not necessary, as the Agreement ushered in peace and all the groups fighting against Sri Lanka, there were five of them, agreed to the Agreement.

Rajiv further promised to me that he would forcibly disarm any group that broke the Agreement. The Indian Peace Keeping Force was invited by me as a military decision to disarm the enemy as Sri Lankan troops were then wholly engaged in fighting the terrorists in the South. As President and Commander-in-Chief, I invited them to help us and having lost about 1200 lives, 5000 injured and billions of rupees, when they were requested to go by the President as Commander-in-Chief, they went.

Such situations have occurred in the world and in Sri Lanka before. King Devanampiya Tissa invited Emperor Asoka to help him to secure the throne against his own relations and he succeeded with their help. So did other Kings when they fought for the throne and invited Indian help.

In the Russian Civil War of 1917, forces loyal to the monarchy invited the Allies in the Great War to help them against Lenin's Armies and they did, unsuccessfully.

India invited the USA to help them against China, and foreign planes and troops were in New Delhi for two years. We know how the USA helped the Allies in the 1939-1945 war and there are about 60 American Air Bases still in the UK.

The IPKF came here to protect our unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity which, at that time, was under threat. I cannot conceive of any sensible Commander-in-Chief not accepting the offer of India to help him, especially as they were giving up helping terrorists and were to help us instead.

(J.R. Jayewardene)

10

Of Gandhi and Ahimsa

Ahimsa (Non-Violence) is one of the cardinal principles of my life. I am a great admirer of Mahatma's Gandhi's life and work. Ahimsa was a cardinal principle of his life too. I met him on several occasions and studied his writings carefully. In November 1989, I delivered a lecture in London on Ahimsa to a meeting of the Joint Commonwealth Societies. On October 2, 1991, I spoke about Gandhi and Ahimsa, at a commemoration meeting held in Colombo on Gandhi's birth anniversary. But here, I would like to present what I said about Gandhi first, and then what I said about Ahimsa.

October 2, 1991

It was indeed very gracious on the part of the India-Sri Lanka Society to have invited me to speak a few words on this occasion, commemorating the birthday of Mahatma Gandhi. It may be because very few in Sri Lanka, and even very few among the politicians of India are alive, who lived in the era in which Mahatma Gandhi played such an important role in Indian and World History.

It is possible for me to speak of some events that others may not know of or may not even have heard of. I am happy to have this opportunity of doing so. It has already been

mentioned that Mahatma Gandhi, or Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, was born on 2 October 1869. He was born in Porbandar, a village to the North-West of Bombay, and was the fourth child of his father's fourth marriage! He (Gandhi) married Kasturba Bai at the age of 14. She was younger. The marriage lasted for 62 years. At the age of 19, he went from India to London to study law. He was there for a few years and came back to India as a full-fledged lawyer in 1891. The story of his life in London is stated in his biography and it is not necessary to refer to it now.

When he was practising in Bombay, he received an invitation from South Africa in 1893 to appear in a case and he decided to go to South Africa for a short time. When he was there, he found the life of a Black man different from what he had experienced in India. The White people in India treated the natives badly but in South Africa it was much worse.

He appeared in Court with a turban and the Judge said, "Take the turban off." He refused to do so. The Judge said, "You cannot appear in this Court." He had to leave the Court.

On another occasion, he was travelling by train. He bought a 1st Class ticket and boarded the train. After some time, some White people got in and said, "Get out of this compartment." He replied that he had bought a 1st Class ticket. The White man used some words which I cannot repeat to this audience. Gandhi refused to get out. At the next station, they got the police and Gandhi was ejected. He was left on the station platform for a whole night, freezing in the cold.

He was once travelling in what was then called a bus. It was a horse-carriage vehicle. He was asked to climb up and sit with the driver because a White man was travelling inside the carriage. He refused. He was assaulted and pulled out.

He found life in South Africa different, and saw how the Black people were treated there. Gandhi thought that he should try and help them because most of them were uneducated and a large number were also indentured labour brought from India.

After some years, he decided to go to India. On the day in 1894 he was to go back, he was given a farewell lunch. He heard that a law had been passed which prohibited Indians registering marriages, because Indians were marrying White people and this was the best way to prevent such marriages. All Indian marriages became illegal and the children became illegitimate. Various other laws were also being passed; some which prevented Indians from registering as voters. Gandhi was persuaded to stay. He promised to stay for another year but at the end he stayed for 20 years, up to the end of the nineteenth century, and the first decade of the twentieth century upto 1914.

During his stay in South Africa, he began to think of the social and political life led by the Black people in South Africa and, in his own country, India. He was wondering how to educate them to free themselves. He published a small paper, and organised a competition to ask the people their views to suggest a name for the non-violent way he had thought of to free the people from bondage or apartheid, as it was called. The prize was ultimately won by his own son for the word "Satyagraha". 'Satya' means truth and 'Graha' means holding, that is, "holding to the truth". It is not a new word. "Satya Kriya" is a word used in the Buddhist vocabulary. When Gautama the Buddha was faced with certain difficulties, he had performed "Satya Kriya"--'Truthful Action'. By the power of his mental ability, which he called "Satya Kriya", he was able to overcome those difficulties. When you attend a Buddhist wedding ceremony, you hear "Jayamangala Gathas"--"Happy Wedding Verses", being sung. They describe the "Satya Kriyas" performed by Gautama the Buddha.

Our own king, Siri Sangabo, had performed a 'Satya Kriya' when there was no rain. He had sat in front of the Ruwanweliseya Dagoba and decided not to get up till there was rain. His 'Satya Kriya' brought rain. Later, when he abdicated and gave up his throne and went into the jungles at Attanagalla, his brother who succeeded him feared that

he might come back as he was very popular. He announced a reward for anyone bringing the head of his brother. People started bringing heads to the King. A beggar came to Attanagalla and met Siri Sangabo who was a mendicant there and related the story. He performed a 'Satya Kriya' and gave his head to the beggar. The beggar took it to Anuradhapura and gave it to the King and got the reward, for people who were bringing false heads could not do so after that.

Gandhi, greatly influenced by the Russian writer Tolstoy, on non-violence, started the 'Satya Graha' movement in South Africa and it was a great success. All the Indians there, as well as others, flocked to him. He was able to dispel the fear of the people. When he said, "Break the law", they broke the law. They did not fear being arrested and going to jail. This went on and the whole tempo of South African politics changed and it was due to Gandhi's leadership.

People in India began to invite him, "Why don't you come to India? We are beginning our freedom movement. You have been successful in South Africa, why don't you come back. We do not know what to do. We are making speeches, we are sending memoranda. Why don't you come back and teach us how to regain freedom?"

In 1914 he decided to come back. Unfortunately, the First World War was going on at that time. He said, "We will have to help the British." Even at that time the Germans were not very popular. He said, "We do not want the German regime to come here." He went round the country but did nothing to hurt or hinder the British movement.

There were occasions when he helped the people to perform 'Satyagraha'. One was when there was an agitation in Champaran in Bihar in 1917, where the people used to grow indigo by agreement with the British planters. They grew the indigo, spent all the money, but they had to share the crop and the profit. Three-fourths of the crop went to the British planter, and one-fourth to the man who grew the crop. There was great distress and Rajendra Prasad who

was one of the Indians who lived there, said, "We must resist this," but did not know how. Gandhi came in and started the first 'Satyagraha' movement in India. It was a great success. The British Government of the area decided to acquire all lands of the 'Satyagrahis'. They acquired all their buildings, furniture and other assets. Ultimately, they were sent to jail. The peasants did not change. The British said they had had enough of it, and "came to terms; the planters and the peasants."

While he was carrying on these campaigns at that time, he was wearing the normal costume of an Indian, the *dhoti*, *banian* and turban.

Gandhi was invited to a meeting at the Benares University where the Governor was presiding. As usual, when the Governor was presiding, all the Maharajas would come with their ritual costumes and jewellery, and their rich turbans. He made a speech criticising the Maharajas. He said: "Look at Your Highnesses, look at the jewellery and clothes you are wearing. Why don't you gift some of your jewellery so that it may be sold to feed these poor people around, for months?" The Maharajas were angry and left the meeting. Some insulted him and asked him to shut up. He went on and on until all the Maharajas walked out of the meeting and only the ordinary people were left. He was a very bold man. He did not mind who was annoyed as long as he spoke the Truth.

He decided to start a campaign in India to win back Freedom. He said, "Let us encourage our people to wear their costumes, woven of handmade cloth. Let us encourage them to speak and study their language. We must break down caste distinctions, especially untouchability. We must abolish social customs that are contrary to modern civilisation." All this he tied up into one bundle and was thinking of joining the Indian National Congress to start his movement there to secure freedom and social justice.

It was at this time that the British also committed a number of mistakes. The War was over, but the government decided that India should be governed by the same rigorous laws

that prevailed during the War. In 1919, they passed an act called the Rowlatt Act and imposed all the Emergency Regulations that they had used during the War. Gandhi resisted this. He said we must start a campaign against this. We will first burn all the foreign cloth, we will boycott all foreign goods. We have to find some issues. For instance, we will wear clothes which are only woven in India. So he started a tremendous movement throughout India, throughout the 700,000 villages, to boycott all foreign goods and use local things instead. It was so effective that it created a tremendous stir all over India.

During this period, at a place called Jallianwalla Bagh in Amritsar, a British official called Dyer had prohibited meetings being held. People gathered at a small place surrounded all round by buildings with only one door to enter, and had a meeting. Dyer ordered his soldiers to surround the crowd and fire at all the people. Hundreds were killed and hundreds were injured. This happened on 17 April 1919. He (Dyer) was later summoned before a Commission in London, called the Hunter Commission. There he said, "My intention was not to arrest the people but to kill them." The British Government gave him a large sum of money and commended him.

This incident gave Gandhi enough reason to decide to start a civil disobedience 'Satyagraha' campaign. The Amritsar incident gave a tremendous momentum to his 'Satyagraha' movement.

During that campaign, at a place called Chauri Chaura, in February 1921, hundreds had gathered and were demonstrating peacefully. Some people behind the rally were attacked by the police. They all turned back and attacked the police, set fire to a police station and killed some policemen. The non-violent campaign turned into violence. When Gandhi heard this, he called off his movement. He was asked by his colleagues like Jawaharlal Nehru why he did it when they were on the verge of success. He said, "I don't want to achieve freedom by violence. Our people are still not ready for a non-violent movement and I am calling off my

movement." It shows how sincere he was.

Soon after that he was charged before a Judge in 1922. The Judge himself was a man of repute and he said, "I am proud to see a prisoner of your stature, would you tell me whether you are guilty or not guilty?" He said, "Your Honour, I am guilty and I am not asking for any mercy. You can impose the highest penalty on me." The Judge himself did not know what to do and said, "Since you are pleading guilty, I sentence you to prison." That was the type of man Gandhi was.

Now we come to the 1928 period, when the British thought something must be done about India. The talks between Indian leaders and the Governors and Viceroys were not sufficient. The British Government sent Sir John Simon in February 1928. They did not say that the Simon Commission was to discuss freedom, for no such thing had been even mentioned in the terms of reference of the Commission. Gandhi decided to boycott the Simon Commission all over India. The Simon Commission had to go back empty-handed.

The Prince of Wales came on a tour to India. He was met with black flags, 'satyagraha' campaigns and protest rallies. It became quite clear that India was preparing for a long struggle for freedom, violent or non-violent.

One of the leaders in this freedom movement, Bal Gangadhar Tilak of Bombay, who was senior to Gandhi, was the first man to say "*Swaraj* is my birth-right and I will have it." He was banished to the Andaman Islands for life. One of the young leaders was Jawaharlal Nehru. There were the Patel brothers, Rajagopalachari, Rajendra Prasad, Motilal Nehru, Subhash Chandra Bose, and so many others who were now working with Gandhi. They all said, let us now work for complete Independence and separation from the British Empire.

In January 1930, for the first time, Jawaharlal Nehru raised the Indian Flag and said, "We are for Complete Independence, *Poorna Swaraj*." That was the 26 January 1930, at the Lahore Congress. That day is still remembered as the Indepen-

dence Day of India (now celebrated as the Republic Day).

The British were then led by a Labour Leader, Ramsay Macdonald, as Prime Minister. He thought being Labour, he should do something and summoned a Round Table Conference in London in 1931. Gandhi was sent as the sole representative. He was invited to Buckingham Palace and was asked what he would wear. This story was related to me by a Sri Lankan, Bernard Aluvihara, who was there and one of the young Sri Lankans who joined the Indian movement. Gandhi had looked at himself and said, "I can wash these clothes and wear them," meaning his *dboti*. When at the Palace, he was told, "Mr. Gandhi, you don't seem to have many clothes on your body," he had replied, "His Majesty, is wearing enough clothes for both of us." Another official had said, "Mr. Gandhi, you are not wearing enough clothes." Gandhi had replied, "You British wear Plus-Fours while playing golf. I am wearing Minus-Fours." He was a man with a sense of humour. He knew what to say and when to say it.

Nothing happened at the Round Table Conference and Gandhi came back to India.

In 1930, he planned a 200 mile walk from Sabarmati Ashram to Dandi Beach, to make salt which was a government monopoly. Nobody was allowed to pick or make salt. Gandhi thought this was a most appropriate law to break, as millions were using salt. The whole of India rose as a man. Gandhi's salt march made it very clear that India was ready for a complete revolution and that they would consider nothing less than freedom. Gandhi's 'salt march' proved that all the political parties and masses were behind him in the struggle for complete freedom.

We, in Ceylon, were much affected by this movement in the 1930s. When Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru came here, I know how our young people felt. I myself was a law student at the Law Faculty. We decided to unveil a photograph of Gandhi in the Law College in the year 1932. We got the famous painter, David Paynter, to do the portrait for us. We law students collected money and the President of the Law

Society, a distinguished lawyer, gave us a big sum of money, but when he found that Gandhi was not very popular with the British businessmen here, he withdrew his contribution. So we told him, "You go to hell", collected the money, and unveiled the portrait which is still hanging in the Law College premises.

Sir Lanka was very much affected by this movement, especially the youth of our period, myself, Dudley Senanayake, the Gunawardena brothers, S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, the De Zoysas and many others. The older people like D.S. Senanayake looked a bit differently at Gandhi and the events of the period, but that did not matter to us and we carried on.

Gandhi had not yet come to the stage where he said, "I am bringing a movement for the freedom of India." He took the Bihar indigo incident; the Rowlett Act and the laws of that time; the salt march, to break the salt law of the British; to begin his campaign. He thought he must make the final decision to tell the British to "Quit India". He took that step at the Indian National Congress Committee Meeting in 1942.

In 1942, I had the privilege of attending that meeting with the help of Jawaharlal Nehru. We were seated behind Gandhi in a huge hall on the sea beach at Bombay. There were more than 100,000 people listening to him. He came in and made a long speech.

He said, 'This is a movement we have started with one objective and we will not stop till that objective is realised that is "Quit India." He ended up his speech by saying: "*Karenge Ya Marengen*", that is, "Do or Die". The leaders were arrested and locked up in prison the next day.

The British found that the freedom movement was gathering strength all over India, in all the villages despite their attempts to stop it. They said, "India is already free, we cannot keep her down anymore." They finally thought that they would give freedom and sent Sir Stafford Cripps to discuss with the Indian people how India should be given freedom. At that time, they also decided that the

division of India should be considered. I do not know whether Gandhi completely approved of that, but he would never have resisted a movement for the Muslims to safeguard their own interests. I think that is why he was murdered in 1948. He was sympathetic to the Muslims; he was sympathetic to the Hindus; he was sympathetic to all lovers of freedom. It did not matter to him whether a person was a Hindu, Buddhist or a Muslim, what mattered was the principles of Freedom, Truth, Righteousness and all these principles are essentials of all religions. That was Mahatma Gandhi.

He was a politician who never deviated from these principles. As a religious man he followed the principles which were enunciated by the Hindu *avatars*, by the Buddha, by Christ and Mohammed. This combination made him in the words of Rabindranath Tagore the "Maha Atma" the 'Great-Soul'.

When I was invited to deliver the Inaugural Lecture of the Commonwealth Series, there seemed no better place to do so on "Ahimsa" other than in London, the Chief City of the Greatest Empire the World had seen, and now of the Common-wealth of Nations which had taken its place. What better forum could there be for me to express my views than this, and to an audience which was attentive, democratic and intelligent; and possessing other qualities the people of the United Kingdom, through three and a half centuries of Parliamentary Democracy, had inherited and developed.

I had said, "We read daily in the media both worldwide and local, of acts of violence and of the commission of criminal offences. I wish, however, to stress and to prove that it is not Violence, Hatred or Fear that governs the relations between the majority of human beings in the World today."

I referred to crime in England, Wales and Sri Lanka at that time and said:

If we examine the crime statistics of England and Wales in 1987, the number of notifiable offences recorded by the police was 3.9 million of which 33 per cent were cleared up.

Some 95 per cent of crime is against property, much of this being relatively small-scale. The majority of the population of these two countries, numbering 50 million, are therefore, living in friendship with their neighbours and acting non-violently in daily life, as you here are now listening to me, and as many more are doing so through their radios or will do so later.

These statistics are of one of the most influential nations of the world, whereas my country is not only one of the poorest, just now owing to an outbreak of terrorist violence its statistics of crime have soared upwards. Yet the notifiable criminal offences in 1988, including homicide and similar offences were 56,003 in a population of 16 million. Thus the majority of citizens in any country in the world today, live in friendship. Of course terrorists in your country and mine upset these statistics, on and off. Their number is small though their deeds and victims are many.

Then turning to my main theme, *Ahimsa*--non-violence, I said:

I am speaking this evening of the feelings that bind human beings throughout the World together. It is not violence but non-violence; it is not hatred but affection; it is not fear but friendship. It is this non-violence (*Ahimsa*) that governs the lives of human beings from China to Peru, except during World Wars, that I am speaking of this evening. Human beings throughout the world speak the language of peace to each other and think and act non-violently in daily life.

I am not dealing with the acceptance and practice of non-violence by individuals as a "Way of Life" the noblest exponents of which in recent years were Count Tolstoy in Russia (1828-1910) and Mahatma Gandhi in India (1869-1948), whom I have met, conversed with and followed.

"Non-Violence sometimes calls upon us to put an end to the life of a living being," says Mahatma Gandhi. He applies this principle to putting an end to the life of a calf incurably sick in his Ashram and suffering terribly. This action, he

says, was non-violent, as it was unselfish and the sole purpose was to relieve the calf's pain.

This is not an occasion to study the various aspects of non-violence which those interested may do by reading the works of Count Tolstoy and Mahatma Gandhi, who more than others, preached non-violence in daily life.

However, it is well to remember some of the sayings of Mahatma Gandhi--"Times change and systems decay. It is only non-violence and things that are based on non-violence that will endure." Christ's central teaching was "Love your enemy." Six centuries later Prophet Mohamed preached, "Islam is unadulterated peace." The central theme of Buddhism, Hinduism, as well as Christianity and Islam, is non-violence, (Ahimsa), which arising from Universal Love (Maithriya), preach not only "Thou shall not kill", but "Harm not the meanest thing upon its upward way."

Let us consider the development of human civilisation and the gradual evolution of a society based on Law and Order replacing the Law of the Jungle.

The early humans hunted each other for food, sex and safety. Other animals do so even now. We call it the law of the jungle! Man was the first, and still the only example of animal life, that began to live in common settlements. He did this when he learnt to cultivate and grow raw material for his food, for example, wheat and rice. History does not tell us just when man passed from hunting to agriculture--perhaps in the Neolithic Age and through the discovery that grain could be sown to add to the spontaneous growth of wild wheat.

Once they began to live together such communities had to abandon their free-for-all and create a central authority which passed rules, later called laws, to govern their behaviour. This gave rise to organizations to enforce those laws, and to judge and punish those who broke them. Gradually these primitive settlements began to organise themselves into urban settlements, where houses were built, communication ways constructed, and community life

developed. Laws accepted by the community or its leaders took the place of the law of the jungle, and the relationship between citizen and citizen, and citizens and the central authority began to be governed not by violence but by non-violence, in speech, discussion and writing.

History says that the first town was in the Middle East, called Jericho, and its ruins have been excavated. These settlements had a leader or leaders who created the necessary organisations mentioned above and others to enforce their leadership. The leaders assumed leadership by force or by descent. The former gave rise to dictatorships and the latter to monarchies. When it was by election, democracies emerged, like the Greek city states and the Republics in the Indian Gangetic Plain in the time of the Buddha, both in the 6th Century B.C.

One sees the gradual development of these urban settlements into nations, and during that period the leaders realised the necessity for the continuance of the peaceful relations between Man and Man as a normal method of behavior between those who composed the unit, village, or town, or combination of them. The individual humans that comprised these nations had to surrender their weapons of violence to the central authority, or possess them under license from it. Those who broke the laws were dealt with, even violently, by the central authority and its relevant parts, the judiciary and the security services. The community accepted that the relationship between individual and individual, between the individual and the central authority, had to be non-violent in speech, writing and action.

There were occasions when the rules were broken not only between individuals, but between the central authority and citizens seeking to usurp its authority by using violence; for example, an attempt to overthrow the central authority or government by force, by a coup. Oliver Cromwell and his supporters did it in England in 1653 AD; the French and Russian Revolutions of 1789 AD and 1917 AD are also examples. A group is attempting to overthrow a lawfully elected

government in my country, while I am addressing you today.

Once states began to develop, rules and regulations became laws. Those dealing with crime, where citizens used violence, were embodied in the criminal laws of the state and their penal codes. Violence to "persons and property"; violence against the state, were the chief crimes. Once the teachings of the founders of the world's major religions from the sixth century BC onwards were accepted by many states, the principles enunciated by them were also included in the respective penal codes. For example, "Thou shall not kill," "Thou shall not steal", "Thou shall not lie", are precepts common to many of these religions and basically they spring from a non-violent attitude to fellow citizens. The foundation of a modern state is, therefore, non-violence between citizen and citizen; between the citizen and the state. The state alone has the right, after impartial inquiry, to use violence against citizen wrong-doers, if found guilty.

While states were developing, some states attacked and conquered other states and empires began to grow. We are particularly aware of the empires that grew in the river valleys of the Nile; the Euphrates and Tigris; the Ganges and the Indus, and further East in China. Attempts were made to conduct their affairs according to laws and to give special privileges to those who were citizens of these respective empires; this was specially so in the Roman and British empires. For example, "Civis Romanus Sum" or "Civis Britanicus Sum"--gave the privileges of freedom from arrest and other civic rights of freedom to such citizens.

The well-known episode in the New Testament speaks of the arrest of Paul, later St. Paul, in Damascus after his miraculous conversion to become a follower of Jesus, while travelling there from Jerusalem. When the Roman commander ordered Paul to be whipped, he claimed that he was a Roman citizen. Paul said to the officer standing there, "Is it lawful for you to whip a Roman citizen who hasn't even been tried for any crime?"

When the officer heard this, he went to the commander

and asked him, "What are you doing? That man is a Roman citizen!"

So the commander went to Paul and asked him, "Tell me are you a Roman citizen?"

"Yes", answered Paul.

The commander said, "I became one by paying a large amount of money."

"But I am one by birth", Paul answered.

At once, the men who were going to question Paul drew back from him; and the commander was frightened when he realised that Paul was a Roman citizen and that he had put him in chains.

1900 years later, in 1937 in Ceylon (Sri Lanka), the Chief Justice, Sydney Abrahams, a Jew and brother of the well-known British Olympic athlete, Harold Abrahams, acquitted and released from custody an Australian Communist named Bracegirdle, on an application for a Writ of Habeas Corpus. The judges held that his arrest and detention, and the order to place him on board a ship bound for Australia was invalid.

The Judgement stated that "throughout the Empire the system of Government is distinguished by the predominance of the Rule of Law". Thus 'Civis Romanus Sum' and 'Civis Britanicus Sum' were in harmonious agreement on this occasion. Of the judges who constituted the bench, and the lawyers who appeared for the Crown and for the petitioner, only I am alive today and so was Bracegirdle, a few years ago.

Christianity and Islam incorporated some of the ideas in the religious systems of their own. These were embodied in many state constitutions and legal and judicial codes. In spite of the application of non-violence and its enforcement by the central authority in the relationship between citizens, the central authority or state itself adopted very cruel methods in punishing its local prisoners or those who broke its laws, and also in its treatment of foreign enemies of the state in war and after capture. The empires of the Middle East and Egypt (3000 B.C.) and similar empires that flourished in

other parts of the world are examples. The influence of the religions I have mentioned, gradually changed this attitude. The benign and civilised teachings of Buddhism were spread throughout the eastern world by Asoka the Great, when he assumed leadership of what became the Mauryan Empire, after he gave up war and accepted Buddhism (262 BC).

At the time of the beginning of the Christian era, the Roman empire was governed by a succession of many great Caesars, beginning with Augustus (30 BC) and ending with Marcus Aurelius (AD 180). The Pax Romana operated throughout this period from the Atlantic to the Euphrates and from Scotland to the Black Sea. In the Far East, the Chinese Empire followed similar humane methods.

It was from small, independent and wild tribes, no better than groups of wild animals, to city states and then to a combination of city states like the Greek and Roman republics, and later to empires that the non-violent attitude in the relationship between citizens, began to be accepted. Sixteen centuries after the Christian era began, in the British Isles, the Government began to take the form of parliamentary democracy which was spread throughout the world by the British Empire. The election of rulers by the use of the franchise at regular intervals; the right of those who opposed the government non-violently, to express their views publicly and in the accepted assemblies; freedom of speech and writing; the independence of the judiciary and the media, and all the other component parts of elected democracies, began to flourish in many other parts of the world too and wherever the British Empire had spread.

The British Commonwealth of Nations, which began as an extension of the idea of empire, now covers the area covered by the British Empire at the end of the Second World War in 1945. It is a voluntary association of 48 independent states with a combined population of some 1200 million, nearly a quarter of the world today. Commonwealth members are a representative cross-section of nations at all stages of social and economic development. They include,

some of the richest and poorest members of the world community and also some of the largest and smallest. Their peoples are drawn from practically all the world's main races, from all continents and from many faiths. In its relations among its members, non-violence is the policy. Its members have not indulged in violence between each other except on two occasions.

On 12 April 1954, when Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth II, during her visit to Sri Lanka, opened a session of the Parliament of Sri Lanka, the oldest sovereign and elected Parliament in Asia, I presented an address on behalf of the House of Representatives as the Leader of the House. I said then, 35 years ago, that "the members of the Commonwealth seek to settle their disputes by agreement rather than by force. I see in the Commonwealth the quintessence of the idea of the Parliament of Man and the Federation of the World."

We find similar examples in the American states, which after the Independence War in 1776, formed the United States of America, and conduct relations between each other non-violently. Some of the provinces of India were independent states fighting each other and the Moghul Emperors two hundred years ago. It was the British that welded them into one united British India and now the Republic of India.

The latest example is in Europe, when at midnight on 31 December 1992, the integrated Commonwealth of Europe will be born. the European Community of 12 members with a population of 323 millions; a gross national product second only to the United States, and more than a quarter of the world trade in its control, will be the most affluent and dynamic market the world has known. Will it follow similar common and non-violent measures governing the security relations between the member states as it has adopted in its economic, social and political relations among its members?

What of its relations with the rest of the world? The German Federal Chancellor, Helmut Kohl, says "Why not?"

To make the following an article of faith:

Never again war, never again dictatorship. In only 35 years, the German people experienced two World Wars, the end of an empire, the Weimar Republic and its tragic downfall, and eventually the barbarism of the national socialists as well as the great upheaval of the years of occupation after 1945, which involved flight and forced expulsion and finally the division of the nation.

If this arrangement lasts and the nations of Europe also accept non-violence as the principle that should govern security relations with each other and surrender their arms to a central authority, one sees a similar answer to the problems facing the Soviet Union too, namely, the break up of those forces in the Union which savour of imperialism, and democratic methods and non-violence taking the place of the earlier violent relations. The same urges to freedom based on non-violence, are sweeping over the countries of Central and South America, of Africa and the whole of Asia, where such freedoms are defined. Events bear ample testimony.

In the Commonwealth, English is the language commonly in use and the language of Commonwealth associations and conferences. It is the language of the United States of America and more in use in the Indian sub-continent than ever before. In the European countries too, it is used widely. In Sri Lanka we have, under the Constitution, made it in the link language.

While not seeking to displace any other language, the English language can and will be able to bind the peoples of the world in non-violent harmony.

I have attended many International and Commonwealth conferences as my country's representative in the past ten years, in the five continents. At all these, I have expressed the view that "just as the citizens of a state do not arm themselves without authority because the state looks after the safety of its citizens, so the United Nations Organisation should be empowered to create and control a Super Authority

to police the world; to see that wars do not occur; to prevent small countries from being absorbed in bigger spheres of influence; to monitor the manufacture of arms and their sale for selfish purposes. If this happens, I think the world would have advanced in a few years, more than it has advanced in the whole period of its history." I spoke thus in Australia at the Sydney Meeting of the Commonwealth Heads of Government of the Asian and Pacific Region, in February 1978.

As Chairman of the Sixth Non-Aligned Summit Conference held in Havana, Cuba, in July 1979, I concluded my speech as follows:

The words I speak now will be forgotten. I hope however that the principles which I have sought to convey through them will be remembered. Let no man raise his hand against man. Let him speak the language of peace and friendship. Let the love that passeth human understanding prevail. Let there be peace among peoples. May they seek to solve their problems by discussion and not by war. I feel that if you (Fidel Castro) follow these principles, under your leadership, this great movement will grow from strength to strength and will emerge stronger than ever at the end of your period of office.

I reiterated these ideas at the Commonwealth Summit Conference held in New Delhi, India in 1983 and said that: "A United Nations group was considering this and other similar proposals and pleaded that all nations should give up arms altogether, not only nuclear weapons, and that we should talk of non-violence not only in church, mosque and temple, but at summit conferences also."

At the Second South Asian Regional Conference at Bangalore in November 1986, I concluded my speech as follows:

The common heritage of humanity is non-violence (Ahimsa)

handed down to us from time immemorial, from the Hindu Vedas; from the Buddha Dhamma; the Christian Gospels; and Islam's Koran.

My argument is complete. I have described the facts as they exist. How the human species developed from beast to man and then to civilised man. How the law of the jungle was replaced by law and order; the individual bully by the central collective authority. Within a few hundreds and thousands of years, at the dawn of the twentyfirst century, we live and speak of a human world where in a world population of 5.2 billions, 99 per cent live in harmony with each other and acting non-violently towards each other; where governments, central and local, enforce the laws and maintain order. May this extend to the relations between the states too and the world would be a place:

“Where war drums throb no longer and battle flags are furled.

In the Parliament of Man and the Federaton of the World.”

Appendix 'A'

**The Cairo Conference,
November 22-26, 1943**

**Statement by President Roosevelt, Generalissimo
Chiang Kai-Shek, and Prime Minister Churchill,
December 1, 1943**

The several military missions have agreed upon future military operations against Japan. The Three Great Allies expressed their resolve to bring unrelenting pressure against their brutal enemies by sea, land and air. This pressure is already rising.

The Three Great Allies are fighting this war to restrain and punish the aggression of Japan. They covet no gain for themselves and have no thought of territorial expansion. It is their purpose that Japan shall be stripped of all the islands in the Pacific which she has seized or occupied since the beginning of the first World War in 1914, and that all the territories Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa, and the Pescadores, shall be restored to the Republic of China. Japan will also be expelled from all other territories which she has taken by violence and greed. The aforesaid three great powers, mindful of the enslavement of the people of Korea, are determined that in due course Korea shall become free and independent.

With these objects in view the three Allies, in harmony with those of the United Nations at war with Japan, will continue to persevere in the serious and prolonged operations necessary to procure the unconditional surrender of Japan.

Appendix 'B'

**The Crimean (Yalta) Conference,
February 4-11, 1945
AGREEMENT REGARDING JAPAN**

The leaders of the three Great Powers--the Soviet Union, the United States of America and Great Britain--have agreed that in two or three months after Germany has surrendered and the war in Europe has terminated the Soviet Union shall enter into the war against Japan on the side of the Allies on condition that:

1. The status quo in Outer-Mongolia (The Mongolian Peoples' Republic) shall be preserved;
2. The former rights of Russia violated by the treacherous attack of Japan in 1904 shall be restored, viz:
 - (a) the southern part of Sakhalin as well as all the islands adjacent to it shall be returned to the Soviet Union,
 - (b) the commercial port of Dairen shall be internationalized, the preeminent interests of the Soviet Union in this port being safeguarded and the lease of Port Arthur as a naval base of the USSR restored,
 - (c) the Chinese-Eastern Railroad and the South-Manchurian Railroad which provides an outlet to Dairen shall be jointly operated by the establishment

of a joint Soviet-Chinese Company, it being understood that the pre-eminent interests of the Soviet Union shall be safeguarded and that China shall retain full sovereignty in Manchuria.

3. The Kurile Islands shall be handed over to the Soviet Union.

It is understood that the agreement concerning Outer-Mongolia and the ports and railroads referred to above will require concurrence of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek. The President will take measures in order to obtain this concurrence on advice from Marshal Stalin.

The Heads of the three Great Powers have agreed that these claims of the Soviet Union shall be unquestionably fulfilled after Japan has been defeated.

For its part the Soviet Union expresses its readiness to conclude with the National Government of China a pact of friendship and alliance between the USSR and China in order to render assistance to China with its armed forces for the purpose of liberating China from the Japanese yoke.

February 11, 1945

Joseph V. Stalin
Franklin D. Roosevelt
Winston S. Churchill

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Appendix 'C'

**The Berlin (Potsdam) Conference,
July 17 to August 2, 1945**

**Proclamation Defining Terms for Japanese Surrender
July 26, 1945**

(1) We--the President of the United States, the President of the National Government of the Republic of China, and the Prime Minister of Great Britain, representing the hundreds of millions of our countrymen, have conferred and agree that Japan shall be given an opportunity to end this war.

(2) The prodigious land, sea and air forces of the United States, the British Empire and of China, many times reinforced, by their armies and air fleets from the West, are poised to strike the final blows upon Japan. This military power is sustained and inspired by the determination of all the Allied Nations to prosecute the war against Japan until she ceases to resist.

(3) The result of the futile and senseless German resistance to the might of the aroused free peoples of the world stands forth in awful clarity as an example to the people of Japan. The might that now converges on Japan is immeasurably greater than that which, when applied to the resisting Nazis, necessarily laid waste to their lands, the industry and the method of life of the whole German people. The full application of our military power, backed by our resolve,

will mean the inevitable and complete destruction of the Japanese armed forces and just as inevitably the utter devastation of the Japanese homeland.

(4) The time has come for Japan to decide whether she will continue to be controlled by those self-willed militaristic advisers whose unintelligent calculations have brought the Empire of Japan to the threshold of annihilation, or whether she will follow the path of reason.

(5) Following are our terms. We will not deviate from them. There are no alternatives. We shall brook no delay.

(6) There must be eliminated for all time the authority and influence of those who have deceived and misled the people of Japan into embarking on world conquest, for we insist that a new order of peace, security and justice will be impossible until irresponsible militarism is driven from the world.

(7) Until such a new order is established and until there is convincing proof that Japan's war-making power is destroyed, points in Japanese territory to be designated by the Allies shall be occupied to secure the achievements of the basic objectives we are here setting forth..

(8) The terms of the Cairo Declaration shall be carried out and Japanese sovereignty shall be limited to the islands of Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu, Shikoku and such minor islands as we determine.

(9) The Japanese military forces, after being completely disarmed, shall be permitted to return to their homes with the opportunity to lead peaceful and productive lives.

(10) We do not intend that the Japanese shall be enslaved as a race or destroyed as a nation, but stern justice shall be meted out to all war criminals, including those who have visited cruelties upon our prisoners. The Japanese Government shall remove all obstacles to the revival and strengthening of democratic tendencies among the Japanese people. Freedom of speech, of religion, and of thought, as well as respect for the fundamental human rights shall be established.

(11) Japan shall be permitted to maintain such industries

as will sustain her economy and permit the exaction of just reparations in kind, but not the (industries) which would enable her to re-arm for war. To this end, access to, as distinguished from control of, raw materials, shall be permitted. Eventual Japanese participation in world trade relations shall be permitted.

(12) The occupying forces of the Allies shall be withdrawn from Japan as soon as these objectives have been accomplished and there has been established in accordance with the freely expressed will of the Japanese people, a peacefully inclined and responsible government.

(13) We call upon the Government of Japan to proclaim now the unconditional surrender of all Japanese armed forces, and to provide proper and adequate assurances of their good faith in such action. The alternative for Japan is prompt and utter destruction.

MEN & MEMORIES

E R R A T A

Jacket (Front Page)

| Page | Para | Line | Error | To be read as |
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| | 2 | 5 | the South Asia | South Asia |
| | 2 | 6 | memories | memories of those |
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Back cover

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| | 2 | 8 | family who were Anglican Christians since the 18th Century. | family where the father was an Anglican Christian and the mother a Buddhist. |
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Preface

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| VI | 1 | 2 | hang of Mahatma Gandhi's portrait | hang Mahatma Gandhi's portrait. |
| VI | 3 | 6 | in the Air Lanka | In Air Lanka |
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| VII | 4 | 5 | I took oath | I took oaths |
| VIII | 1 | 8 | galazy | galaxy |
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| XI | 4 | 1 | oath | oaths |
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| 1 | 3 | 6 | to 2359 years | for 2359 years |
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| 6 | 1 | 2 | persecuting | prosecuting |
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| 11 | 5 | 2 | Jayawardene | Jayewardene |
| 12 | 1 | 1 | at a special session held in December 1920 by the Governor Sir William Manning to the Congress deputation consisting of Sir James Peiris, E. W. Jayewardene, E. J. Samarawickrema, D. B. Jayatilaka and G. A. Wille that certain adjustments would be made to the reformed proposals. | by the Governor, Sir William Manning to the Congress deputation consisting of James Peiris, E. W. Jayewardene, E. J. Samarawickrema, D. B. Jayatilleke and G. A. Wille that certain adjustments would be made to the reformed proposals, the Congress decided at a Special Session held in December 1920, |
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Chapter 4

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| 41 | 2 | 1 | Shidebara | Shidehara |
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| 49 | 3 | 3 | Europe, | Europe |
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| 58 | 1 | 2 | It fair | It is fair |
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| 62 | 2 | 3 | showed his and | showed his hand |
| 62 | 2 | 4 | Conference, | Conference. |

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| 66 | 3 | 5 | commonmeasure | common measure |
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| 73 | 1 | 1 | my reference reference | my reference |

Chapter 5

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| 80 | 3 | 5 | associated | associated |
| 82 | 4 | 4 | unshakeable | unshakable |

Chapter 6

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| 92 | 5 | 1 | April | March |
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Chapter 7

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Chapter 8

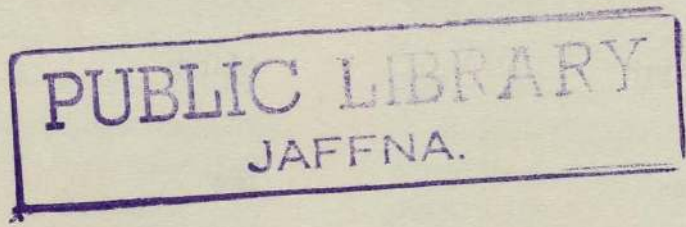
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| 134 | 7 | 3 | arrnaged | arranged |
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Chapter 9

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| 137 | | 8 | (Signed) J.R. Jayewardene | (Signed) Jawaharlal Nehru |
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Junius Richard Jayewardene, at 86, is the elder statesman of Sri Lanka, reputed to be the third most experienced statesman-politician in the world today. In his own country, he has been among the well-known freedom fighters, international negotiators and among the architects of the Japanese Peace Treaty, the Colombo Plan and SAARC, the Finance Minister, then Prime Minister and twice the Executive President. For over half a Century, he has remained in the forefront of the mainstream of Sri Lanka politics, helping shape the destiny of a free and democratic Sri Lanka through good times, bad times and sad times. It was on his Initiative that the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord was signed and the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) went to the island country to help it fight militant terrorism and secessionism.

Born on September 17, 1906, J.R.J., as his friends and admirers call him, has been a brilliant student, a tenacious liberal politician, Buddhist and humanist in spirit and a great admirer of Gandhi and Nehru. He calls himself with some pride "a practising Buddhist" even though he was born into a family who were Anglican Christians since the 18th Century.

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