

# MY QUEST FOR PEACE





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J.R. Jayewardene

A Collection of  
Speeches  
on International  
Affairs

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*To the people of my Country  
for whose Freedom, Prosperity and Harmony  
I have dedicated my life*



## INTRODUCTION

Junius Richard Jayewardene, born in 1906 President of Sri Lanka since 1978 has been a central figure in the country's political life for a period of over 50 years. Sacrificing what promised to be a highly lucrative and rewarding career at the Bar, he joined the national independence movement which was at that time being steered by the Ceylon National Congress and committed himself at the age of thirty with his youthful vigour and single-minded resolve to the cause of independence. With that goal achieved in 1948 he went on to become one of Sri Lanka's national leaders of the post-independence era who had to grapple with the twin challenges of dismantling the old colonial social order characterised by over-powering dominance of a privileged few and the restructuring of a just and fair society, responding to the goals and aspirations of all the people of Sri Lanka, of different races, speaking different languages, adhering to different faiths and heirs to a rich variety of cultures.

Mr Jayewardene who became a member of the Legislature in 1943 was, following Independence in 1948, appointed the first Minister of Finance of the First Parliament of Ceylon. From then onwards he went on to hold several other portfolios. In 1970 he became Leader of the Opposition. In 1977, following his Party's sweeping electoral victory he became the Prime Minister, and, in 1978, the first Executive President of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka.

Mr A.C.S. Hameed, Minister of Foreign Affairs, in inviting President J.R. Jayewardene to declare open the Conference of

Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries held at Colombo on 6th June 1979, introduced the President as follows:

“You have had a long association with international affairs. In 1950, together with Sir Percy Spender of Australia, you conceived of and helped to set up what was at that time a bold innovation in the field of international economic co-operation, the Colombo Plan. That was perhaps the first bridge built in the post-war period between North and South, a bridge of hope which, happily, continues to carry substantial traffic even today. With the same vision, you worked vigorously in the ‘sixties’ within the forum of UNCTAD to bring about a restructuring of the international economy, and contributed significantly to formulating the Charter of Algiers adopted by the Group of 77. At UNCTAD II in New Delhi, you dealt with the question of commodities, approaching the problem with a vision that could be described as prophetic in the light of a framework-agreement for a Common Fund being reached between North and South, in Geneva earlier this year.

“One year after the Colombo Plan was established, and that was in 1951, you led the delegation of Sri Lanka to the Japanese Peace Treaty Conference in San Francisco. There, in the midst of rancour and feelings of revenge, you took a profoundly Buddhist view, pointing out that ‘Hatred does not cease by Hatred but by Love’. In spite of the damage Sri Lanka had suffered during air raids, despite the social and economic distortions caused by the stationing of the Allied South East Asia Command in our country, and by the slaughter tapping of one of our main commodities, rubber, you declared that we would not be seeking reparation or revenge, because our philosophy was based on love and not hate. Those same inward stirrings, derived from the teachings of the Compassionate One, received practical manifestation yet again when you argued the case for a World Disarmament Authority as part of a strategy aimed at bringing about total disarmament.

“Your presence this evening at our meeting has a historical aptness. In 1954 you were Deputy Leader of the Sri Lanka Delegation at the conference that led to the Bandung Conference of 1955 which we today look upon as one of the main springs of the Non-Aligned Movement. Today, over two decades later, history has bestowed on you the responsibility of guiding our people in



their search for a better life, and of being Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement which is committed to ensuring security, justice and dignity to all our peoples.

“Few political leaders are able to keep even a single tryst with destiny. In your case you have kept not one, but several. Such a remarkable series of interlinked events cannot come about by accident. In a very real sense they are the result of events and trends that you helped to shape and determine. Thus, it is as a statesman who had learned from the lessons of history as much as one who has helped to make history that you assumed the leadership of our Movement.”

President Jayewardene was one of the founding fathers of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) and continues to take an abiding interest in creating an atmosphere of confidence and mutual understanding necessary for the future growth of the Association.

This volume presents the major speeches made by President J.R. Jayewardene during his long and illustrious political career in which he deals with foreign affairs, international peace and security, regional co-operation and peaceful co-existence, development co-operation, disarmament and peaceful settlement of disputes.



# CONTENTS

1. THE COLOMBO PLAN	1
Speeches at Conferences of Foreign Ministers held in Colombo on 10th January 1950; in Sydney on 15th May 1950; and in London on 25th September 1950	
2. THE JAPANESE PEACE TREATY — AS MAGNANIMOUS AS IT IS JUST.	8
Speech at the Conference for the Conclusion and Signature of the Treaty of Peace with Japan held in San Francisco, USA — 6th September 1951	
3. ASIA AND THE COMMONWEALTH	13
A BBC Broadcast — 1953	
4. OUR FOREIGN POLICY	17
Address to International Law Association (Ceylon Branch) — 15th December 1954	
5. IF PROSPERITY IS INDIVISIBLE, SO IS POVERTY	28
Speech at UNCTAD II, New Delhi — 5th February 1968	
6. THE GOLDEN THREAD THAT RUNS THROUGH SRI LANKA'S FOREIGN POLICY	37
Address at Convocation of the Bandaranaike Centre for International Studies — 26th September 1977	
7. DISARMAMENT AND DEVELOPMENT	41
Address at the Meeting of the Commonwealth Heads of Government of the Asian and Pacific Region, Sydney — February 1978	

8.	OUR COMMON DEMOCRATIC TRADITIONS	47
	Speech at Banquet given by the President of India — 27th October 1978	
9.	SOVEREIGNTY LIES IN THE PEOPLE	50
	Speech at Civic Reception accorded by the Mayor of New Delhi — 29th October 1978	
10.	WE ARE COMMITTED TO PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES	52
	Speech at Civic Reception held in Kathmandu, Nepal — 5th November 1978	
11.	BUDDHISM RUNS LIKE A GOLDEN THREAD IN THE AGE-LONG RELATIONS BETWEEN SRI LANKA AND NEPAL	56
	Speech at Royal Banquet given by Their Majesties King Birendra and Queen Aishwarya of Nepal, Kathmandu — 14th November 1978	
12.	THE BOUNDARIES OF PRESS FREEDOM	58
	Address at the Tenth Assembly of Press Foundation of Asia held in Colombo — 27th November 1978	
13.	NON-VIOLENCE, MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES	65
	Speech at Sixth Non-Aligned Summit Conference, Havana, Cuba — 3rd July 1979	
14.	WHEN I SPOKE ON YOUR BEHALF AT SAN FRANCISCO I SPOKE FROM MY HEART	80
	Speech at Imperial Banquet given by Their Majesties the Emperor and Empress of Japan, Tokyo — 11th September 1979	
15.	SRI LANKA'S FRIENDLY TIES WITH JAPAN	83
	Speech at luncheon given by the Prime Minister of Japan — 11th September 1979	
16.	STRENGTHENING OUR BONDS OF UNDER- STANDING AND FRIENDSHIP	87
	Speech at Banquet in honour of Their Majesties the Emperor and Empress of Japan — 12th September 1979	
17.	BANDUNG IS A LESSON IN HISTORY	89
	Message to mark the 25th Anniversary of the Bandung Conference — 19th April 1980	



18.	THE FIVE PILLARS OF PROGRESS	92
	Address at the Meeting of the Commonwealth Heads of Government of the Asian and Pacific Region — 4th September 1980	
19.	I AM AN ADMIRER OF INDIA, A LOVER OF ITS PEOPLE AND A FOLLOWER OF ITS GREATEST SON	97
	Speech at Banquet given by the President of India during the meeting of the Commonwealth Heads of Government of the Asian and Pacific Region — 4th September 1980	
20.	DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM AND HUMAN RIGHTS	101
	Speech on the occasion of the Human Rights Day — 10th December 1980	
21.	ENDURING FRIENDSHIP	104
	Speech at Banquet in honour of Their Royal Highnesses the Crown Prince and Princess of Japan — 4th March 1981	
22.	SAFEGUARDING DEMOCRATIC FREEDOMS	106
	Speech at Seventh Non-Aligned Summit Conference, New Delhi, India — 8th March 1983	
23.	THE PATH OF NON-VIOLENCE	117
	Speech at Commonwealth Summit Conference, New Delhi — 1983	
24.	THE INTERNATIONAL DEBT PROBLEM	120
	Speech at Commonwealth Summit Conference, New Delhi — 1983	
25.	THERE CAN BE NO COMPROMISE IN WHAT YOU THINK IS RIGHT	127
	Speech at Banquet given by the President of India to Heads of Government of the Commonwealth Countries, New Delhi — 1983	
26.	A FORCE FOR PEACE	131
	Speech at Banquet by the President of the People's Republic of China and Madame Li Xian Nian during State Visit to China — 22nd May 1984	
27.	DEMOCRACY CANNOT SURVIVE ON A DIET OF WORDS	133
	Address at welcoming ceremony, White House, Washington D.C. — 18th June 1984	

28.	OUR STRONGEST BOND IS OUR MUTUAL COMMITMENT TO DEMOCRACY	137
	Speech at Banquet given by Secretary of State of USA, Mr George P. Shultz and Mrs Shultz, Washington D.C. — 18th June 1984	
29.	IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF THE BUDDHA	140
	Address at Conference of the World Fellowship of Buddhists, Colombo — 2nd August 1984.	
30.	MUSLIM COMMUNITY IS AN INTEGRAL PART OF OUR NATION	144
	Address at Seminar on Islam for Muslim Theologians, Colombo — 7th March 1985	
31.	CLOSE BONDS OF FRIENDSHIP	144
	Speech made during State Visit to Pakistan — 29th March 1985	
32.	MADAME PRIME MINISTER, I WANT PEACE, NON-VIOLENCE	147
	Speech at Banquet given in honour of the British Prime Minister, the Hon. Margaret Thatcher and Mr Dennis Thatcher, MBE — 12th April 1985	
33.	THE CONCEPT OF NON-ALIGNMENT WAS CONCEIVED IN COLOMBO IN 1954, NURTURED IN BANDUNG IN 1955 AND WAS BORN IN BELGRADE IN 1961	152
	Speech at the inauguration of the Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non- Aligned Countries — 18th April 1985	
34.	SAFEGUARDING OUR SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERITAGE	161
	Speech at Commonwealth Summit Conference, Bahamas — 17th October 1985	
35.	A MOMENTOUS SUMMIT	167
	Speech at First SAARC Summit Conference, Dhaka, Bangladesh — 7th December 1985	
36.	THE SHIP HAS SET SAIL	171
	Speech at closing session of First SAARC Summit Conference, Dhaka, Bangladesh — 8th December 1985	

37.	THE HERITAGE OF NON-VIOLENCE	173
	Speech at Second SAARC Summit Conference — 16th November 1986	
38.	FROM BANGALORE TO KATHMANDU	179
	Speech at closing session of Second SAARC Summit Conference — 18th November 1986	
39.	WE ARE WITH YOU IN YOUR STRUGGLE FOR JUSTICE	181
	Message to United Nations Special Session on Palestine — 3rd February 1987	
40.	SRI LANKA'S FOREIGN POLICY	183
	Address at Convocation of the Bandaranaike Centre for International Studies — 24th October 1987	
41.	INDO-SRI LANKA ACCORD — AN AGREEMENT OF FRIENDSHIP NOT ENMITY; OF PEACE NOT WAR; OF LIFE, NOT DEATH	188
	Speech at Third SAARC Summit Conference in Kathmandu — 2nd November 1987	
42.	WE HAVE ACHIEVED MUCH AND WE HOPE TO ACHIEVE MORE	192
	Speech at closing session of Third SAARC Summit Conference, Kathmandu — 4th November 1987	





*His Excellency J.R. Jayewardene*



# THE COLOMBO PLAN

*Speeches at Conferences of  
Foreign Ministers held in  
Colombo on 10th January 1950;  
in Sydney on 15th May 1950;  
and in London on 25th Sep-  
tember 1950*

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## Colombo Conference

At the meeting of Commonwealth Finance Ministers in London, in July 1949, it had been agreed that plans should be made for the development of the underdeveloped countries of the Commonwealth. In my view, the aim should be not only to bridge the dollar gap but also to eradicate poverty throughout the Commonwealth.

In India, Pakistan and Ceylon, living standards were dangerously low. Even in Ceylon the average income per head was only twenty rupees a month; milk consumption was 1.7 ounces a day (compared with 50 ounces in New Zealand); and the expectation of life was 35 years (as compared with 67 in New Zealand). The objects of policy must be to increase production, to enlarge the national income, to maintain full employment and to secure a more equitable distribution of wealth.

Agricultural and industrial development was urgent; dependence on imports must be reduced; and producers must be assured of guaranteed prices for basic commodities, such as, rubber,

tea and copra. The problems of poverty and the dollar deficit might be solved by way of increased trade between Commonwealth countries. This was more important than financial expedients.

Figures showed that the net gold and dollar deficit of the sterling area was not a passing phase. I doubt whether it could be made good before the end of Marshall Aid in 1952. Before the war the sterling area as a whole had had a favourable balance of trade with the dollar area, but the financial sacrifices involved by the great efforts which the United Kingdom had put forth during the war had turned this dollar surplus into a dollar deficit.

Although the United Kingdom now had a favourable trade balance with the countries outside the dollar area and the sterling area, they could not use this to offset their dollar deficit because of the inconvertibility of sterling. Within the sterling area as a whole, some Commonwealth countries had a favourable trade balance with the dollar area.

Ceylon in particular had contributed to the dollar pool of the sterling area since 1939 a total of Rs. 750 million or £60 million. This represented a big sacrifice and a substantial burden upon her people. Devaluation had caused an increase in the cost of living in Ceylon. The prices of wheat flour, rice and sugar had all gone up, although it was true that the selling price of rubber had also increased.

The Commonwealth was the largest single exporting unit in the world. It might be possible for the developed countries in the Commonwealth to help its underdeveloped members with technical skill, money and capital goods in return for raw materials. From a recent statement by the President of the Board of Trade, it appeared that the United Kingdom Government had arranged to import plywood from West Africa. Ceylon might have been able to supply this.

It was encouraging to learn that the United Kingdom Government had made a long-term contract for the purchase of meat from Australia over the next fifteen years, and I hoped that something similar might be done for Ceylon produce. Ceylon had available for export a considerable quantity of copra and it was disappointing that the United Kingdom Government had not been able to offer a higher price for this.

They were all aware of the precarious position of some of our industries as a result of devaluation. Such problems as these ought

to be solved on a Commonwealth basis and I suggested to the Conference three methods by which a solution of this problem could be reached:

(1) The underdeveloped areas of the Commonwealth should be developed. Each country should have its own field of national development, whether agricultural or industrial. The other countries of the Commonwealth should then indicate what capital goods they could provide since the underdeveloped countries were finding it difficult to get the necessary equipment in the sterling area. For instance, Ceylon had been compelled to import equipment from the United States for the construction of the *Gal-Oya* dam.

(2) The other Commonwealth countries should guarantee a market at fixed prices for the products of the less-developed countries.

(3) A start should be made in building up the Commonwealth as a single trading area. In order to achieve this object, I would like the Conference to consider the following draft resolution:

“To ensure a high and stable level of employment and to raise the standard of living of underdeveloped countries in South-East Asia, whether within the Commonwealth or outside it, it is necessary to develop their agricultural and industrial economies.

This Conference, therefore, agrees to appoint a Committee of Officials of the countries concerned to obtain information and to prepare a Ten-Year Plan for the development of these countries. The other members of the Commonwealth should consider means of providing such assistance as may be necessary for the implementation of this Plan with money, guaranteed prices, technical skill and machinery.

The Plan should be examined by a Committee of Experts who, after visiting the countries concerned, shall make recommendations with regard to the help which the Commonwealth countries can give in carrying out this Programme.”

It is realised that the economic development of each country is its own concern. This Conference will seek to draw up a plan for the most effective way of helping each other.



The Conference is at present confined to Commonwealth countries, but I hope that non-Commonwealth countries in this region would come in later and obtain assistance and that non-Commonwealth countries interested in the area who are in a position to help would offer such assistance as they can give in course of time.

The first step to take is to find out the long-term and short-term development plans of the countries concerned, and what obstacles there are in the way of fulfilment of those plans. Organisations, such as the ECAFE, have already obtained material which would be of use. The machinery for obtaining these plans and supplying the requirements for the fulfilment of these plans need an international organisation.

Assistance may be required by way of money and capital goods or trained cadre. It will be the duty of the Conference to set up the machinery necessary to carry out these purposes and to make recommendations to the respective governments. We realise that immediate results cannot be expected.

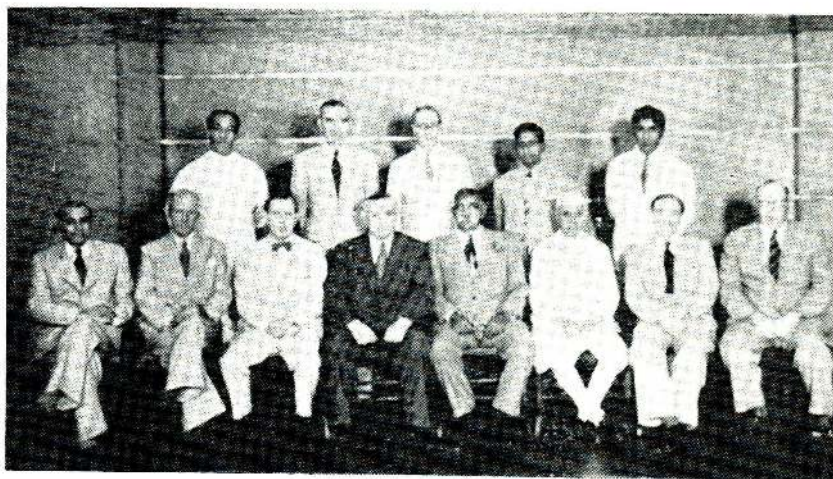
Not only does the process of development of a country take time to yield results, but if international co-operation is not sought there may be other delays. But if the co-operation is forthcoming a great step would have been taken for the advancement of the people of Asia and South-East Asia.

The people of this part of the world have been forced to lie idle during the last three or four centuries while the peoples of the West who ruled over them progressed. Today the majority of these countries are free and the citizens of these new states want to progress and to recover from the ravages of the past.

The economy of these undeveloped countries depends largely on agricultural products and the production and sale of raw materials for industry. If even the low level of national income which just enables these countries to maintain a stable government, is not maintained, the consequences would be chaos and disruption. While we therefore think in terms of an advance in economic development and by tireless striving, seek to improve the present conditions, we must also prevent a fall below a certain level in the prices that are paid for these commodities in the markets of the world.

### **Sydney Conference**

Mr Chairman, this Conference takes us a step beyond the



*Commonwealth Conference on Foreign Affairs (Colombo Plan) January 1950.*

*Back row*

*J.R. Jayewardene (Ceylon), R.W. Mayhew (Canada), Philip Noel-Baker (UK), Sir Lalita Rajapakse (Ceylon), R.G. Senanayake (Ceylon)*

*Front row*

*Gulam Mohammed (Pakistan), F.W. Doidge (New Zealand), Lester B. Pearson (Canada), Ernest Bevin (UK), Rt. Hon. D.S. Senanayake (Ceylon), Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (India), P.C. Spender (Australia), Paul Sauer (S. Africa)*



progress we made at Colombo. We made it clear there that the basis of aid was to be mutual, that it would be co-operative and not competitive, and that it would be given only when asked for and not forced upon any unwilling party. While stressing these principles once again, I wish to add that there is no question whatsoever of interference with the independence and the internal affairs of those who seek and obtain aid. The conception that we in the Commonwealth have today with the accession of India, Pakistan and Ceylon to it, is a world of diverse nationalities, each developing its own individuality and, while preserving its freedom, contributing its quota of culture to make a composite and harmonious federation of mankind.

I trust therefore that this Conference will be fruitful of results which will help the millions living in Asia and South-East Asia to lead a decent human existence where the basic needs of food and clothing and democratic liberties are ensured to them.

We are now proceeding from the arena of words to the arena of deeds. Some of the ideas on which this concept would be built are the democratic way of life, where the rulers govern with the consent of the people, the rule of law where no man can be deprived of his liberty without a proper trial. I am sure we can follow this great conception not by competition but by co-operation. The peoples of Asia are on the march. No man has the right to say, "thus far and no further".

### **London Conference**

Since the Colombo Conference, within the comparatively short period of eight months, we have travelled far towards our goal. The Sydney Conference enabled us to form a clearer view of the work ahead; we were able there to put into concrete shape such ideas as would accomplish our objects. Now we know the full nature and scope of the problems confronting us, and here in London our task is to devise such methods as may help in solving them.

All the underdeveloped countries of the Commonwealth in South and South-East Asia have now prepared their plans for economic and social development covering a period of six years.

I wish to point out that Ceylon is a much smaller country than either India or Pakistan and its economic development programme was therefore on a much smaller scale. Its total population was 7 million, of which one-third lived in the dry-zone and two-thirds in the



wet-zone, although the latter covered less than one-third of the country. The development plan followed the pattern of those for India and Pakistan in aiming at an increase of the national wealth of the country and a higher standard of living for its inhabitants. Ceylon had already made progress in economic development and had started a six-year plan which would be completed in 1953. The plan being considered by the Committee overlapped the one already in existence but followed the same general pattern. Ceylon's economy was undiversified, specialising in the production of tea, rubber and coconut products, and it was these three major commodities which were the main sources of Ceylon's revenue. One of the ultimate aims was to attain self-sufficiency in agriculture; food imports were at present a heavy drain on Ceylon's external resources. This would be achieved not only by more intensive cultivation of the land already under cultivation but also by the development of areas in the dry zone which were at present under-cultivated. Large irrigation works would be established, and the jungle cleared. Ceylon did not intend to compete with the industrial countries of the West, but would concentrate on those industries which could use indigenous resources; for example, cement, glassware and textile industries were being set up. As far as social services were concerned, Ceylon had already established free education for all, from the kindergarten to the university. This was a heavy drain on existing revenues. The medical service was completely nationalised and free facilities were available. The principal field of capital development in the health service would be institutional expansion and the provision of the most advanced technical equipment in these institutions. There was at present an acute housing shortage in Ceylon, particularly in the urban areas, and provision had been made in the plan for some alleviation of this position. As far as power was concerned, Ceylon had large potential resources, and it was expected that there would be sufficient power to keep pace with planned degree of industrialisation. Work would be started shortly on the first stage of the enlargement and modernisation of the port of Colombo. Railways which, during the war, had suffered from shortage of raw materials, would be improved, and the Government were proposing to secure power to ensure economic co-operation between road and rail services.

Arrangements had been made to finance the six year scheme which had already been started from existing financial resources,

but for the scheme under discussion external assistance would be required. If the present high level of commodity prices prevailed, Ceylon did not expect any balance of payments difficulties, but it was of course impossible to depend on the continuance of these prices. It was not possible to forecast the movement of prices far ahead, but it was estimated that an additional £40 million would be required to finance the plan. The plan had been based on the assumption that prices of the three export commodities would be somewhat lower than those now prevailing, but they were subject to considerable fluctuations, and in order to maintain the present standard of living it was essential to devise means of stabilising these prices. As far as the administration of the plan was concerned, all economic projects were subject to approval by the Minister of Finance, and a strict control existed over the funds voted by Parliament to finance the projects.

To sum up, Ceylon did not wish to compete with the industrial West, and aimed to secure the basic needs of food, clothing and housing for its inhabitants. Once the basic material needs had been provided, happiness was not to be found in further material wealth but through mental and spiritual development.

## THE JAPANESE PEACE TREATY — AS MAGNANIMOUS AS IT IS JUST

*Speech at the Conference for the  
Conclusion and Signature of the  
Treaty of Peace with Japan held  
in San Francisco, USA — 6th  
September 1951*

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Mr Vice-President and Friends,

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. 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 insisted 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 Dominions should be consulted and the United States of America agreed with this. 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 raising 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 ensure which, what is now known as the Colombo Plan was launched.

Mr Kenneth Younger has explained how, after the 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 common measure 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 Formosa be returned to China in accordance with the Cairo Declaration of 1943? If so, to which Government of China? 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 organises 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 Organisation, 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 if she decides to recognise her, 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 these 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-tap-





*Addressing the Conference for the Conclusion and  
Signature of a Treaty of Peace with Japan, held in  
San Francisco, USA on 6 September 1951*





ping of one of our main commodities, rubber, when we were the only producers 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 Teacher 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 proposes 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 he proposes, would 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, who wished 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 Sakhalin, as well as the Kuriles be not also 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 that 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 organises 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.

### 3

## ASIA AND THE COMMONWEALTH

*A BBC Broadcast — 1953*

It is indeed a happy thought that prompted the BBC to arrange a series of talks during the month of the Coronation of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II on 'Concept of the Commonwealth.' I have accepted with pleasure the invitation to speak in this series on 'Asia and the Commonwealth', and I am glad that my friends in other parts of the Commonwealth, such as Mr Lester Pearson, Sir Douglas Coupland and Mr Walter Elliott will speak with reference to North America, the Pacific and the United Kingdom respectively. It is the Commonwealth which has brought us together, and there are many other equally distinguished and sincere men and women whom I have met during the last five years in all parts of the world and at various international conferences and with whom I have made enduring friendships, all due to the fact that they are members of this great Commonwealth of Nations.

It is not necessary for me to relate the history of the growth of the Commonwealth idea. Suffice it to say that today "the Commonwealth consists of a number of independent states, equal in status, in no way subordinate to one another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, and freely associated as members of the Commonwealth of Nations". The majority of these states are monarchies; one is a republic. Some have a unitary form of government and others a federal form. Their constitutions differ, and they are peopled by men and women of various races, religions and different



colours. When during the last seven years India, Pakistan and Ceylon became equal partners with the rest in this Commonwealth, a new concept arose, and for the first time a free Asia joined in partnership with the other continents for the welfare of humanity. Since that time the Commonwealth has spread out over the whole world and has its member-states in every continent. It is today closer to a world federation than any similar institution has been in the past long history of humanity.

The people of Asia represent some of the most ancient civilizations of the world. There was a time when the culture of Asia illumined the thoughts of mankind. During the last 400 years one part or other of Asia lost its freedom, and the independent states were reduced to a handful and were of little importance in world affairs, except Japan. The regaining by these ancient nations of their freedom once again is a fact of tremendous importance, and we are daily seeing its repercussions on world events. History will associate the names of Gandhi and Nehru of India, Jinnah of Pakistan, Aung San of Burma, Sukarno of Indonesia and Senanayake of Ceylon with the opening of this new era in the history of the world. Three of these nations which rejoiced in their newly found freedom, India, Pakistan and Ceylon, continue to be members of the Commonwealth, adding influence to it in worldly affairs and wisdom to its deliberations.

What are the ideals of the Commonwealth which have made us remain as members? In medieval days imperial conquest meant the extension of brute force, and when that conquest disappeared very little was left behind, except the memory of oppression and violence. The Roman empire for the first time founded a civilization and broadcast the twin conceptions of law and citizenship. The Commonwealth of Nations too has evolved certain ideals which will influence the actions of men for centuries to come. To me these ideals are:

- (a) the concept of national freedom;
- (b) democratic institutions and the freedoms inherent in such institutions;
- (c) the rule of law, and
- (d) negotiation, rather than force, for the settling of disputes.

Let me examine for a moment these four principles which are the foundation of the Commonwealth. The Coronation of Her Majesty, who is the Head of the Commonwealth, symbolises the in-

dependence of the units that compose it. Today, the Queen is a symbol of free association of independent states and, as far as we in Ceylon are concerned, she is the Queen of Ceylon, independent of her being sovereign of any other state. She will be crowned as Queen of Ceylon, and at her Coronation the Prime Minister of Ceylon will play an important and independent part. The Crown is today not single but multiple. From this flows the other convention that Her Majesty's Government in Great Britain would not tender to Her Majesty advice on any matter pertaining to the affairs of any of her Dominions against the views of the government of that Dominion. We are independent nations, free in peace as in war, with the right to be a monarchy or a republic, to frame our own constitution and to live our own lives. If we so desire, we can secede from the Commonwealth and live apart from its other members. Among the free nations of the world Ceylon is one.

The establishment of democratic institutions is also universally accepted as characteristic of the Commonwealth. Those who rule the members of the Commonwealth are those who are elected by the free vote of the people, and they rule only so long as they retain the confidence of the people who returned them. Those who oppose the government in office have the freedom to do so in Parliament or outside, in speech or through writing. In Ceylon, from the smallest village to the largest town, freely elected bodies manage the affairs of their area, just as Members of Parliament, elected by the people by the free exercise of their adult franchise, manage the affairs of State. The concept of Commonwealth recognises Prime Ministers elected by the people, but not dictators.

The rule of law is as equally important as the right of electing one's rulers. Independent courts protect the life, liberty and property of the citizen. Neither the Executive nor the Legislature would ever seek to encroach upon the independent functioning of the courts in any part of the Commonwealth. The rule of law applies equally to a Monarch, Prime Minister or the humblest individual. A citizen of the Commonwealth can walk without fear of tyranny and oppression.

The fourth concept is an experiment in political association which was tried out on a large scale in the League of Nations without success and is now being put to the test again in the United Nations Organization. The Commonwealth is kept alive by agreement rather than by force. At the conferences that are frequently held



among members of the Commonwealth, either at the level of Prime Ministers or Ministers, or at official level, we seek to reach agreement on matters in dispute, voluntarily. There is no sanction behind these conferences other than voluntary agreement. A decision or compromise by force is not even thought of. It has been my privilege to attend during the last five years several Commonwealth conferences, and the only sanction that I have been able to see is the sincere desire of the members to work together and the knowledge that obstruction and pettiness would force this mutual and free association into dissolution. The thought that inspires such a conference is "a great Commonwealth and little minds go ill together".

What of the future? The period of physical expansion is over. New additions into the comity of free nations will come in the same way that the Asian nations joined the Commonwealth, by the evolution from colonial status to freedom, of other parts of the British Empire. I am one who believes that this should happen as early as possible, and that our strength lies in the liquidation of the Empire and its merger with the Commonwealth. It may also be that countries which are independent today outside the Commonwealth may wish to be more closely associated with us, and if there are any, I am sure the other members of the Commonwealth will welcome their joining us. I see the future development of the Commonwealth to lie more in the path, firstly, of a joint effort to maintain within itself, and to preserve and also to encourage in other parts of the world, the ideals of the Commonwealth which I have already mentioned; and, secondly, to seek to add to the happiness and prosperity of the people living within the Commonwealth as well as outside it. The Colombo Plan for the co-operative development of the peoples of South and South-East Asia, which had its origin at the Commonwealth Conference of Foreign Ministers held in Colombo in 1950, is symbolic of this new conception. It is with gratitude that I mention the aid, financial as well as technical, which the developed and older members of the Commonwealth have given to the developing and younger members. A nation, as well as a group of nations, can in the final analysis be judged by the happiness of those who live therein. I believe that the purpose of the Commonwealth is to provide an example of successful co-operation for the achievement of the ideals I have mentioned.

## 4

# OUR FOREIGN POLICY

*Address to International Law  
Association (Ceylon Branch) —  
15th December 1954*

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It is now seven years since we attained Freedom. Since prior to that we were a colony and unable to frame and practise an independent foreign policy, one may say that the principles of our foreign policy have been accepted and declared during this period. Seven years is a sufficiently long period of time to permit of well-defined policies to be accepted and certain fundamental principles of such policies to appear. I am dealing purely with the policies accepted by the Government since Independence. Prior to Ceylon's complete subjugation to the British in 1815, it had a foreign policy of its own. Particularly since the advent of the Western powers to the East, the kings of Ceylon had their own views on the relationship that should exist between Ceylon, her neighbours and the Western powers. I do not intend to discuss Ceylon's foreign policy prior to 1815, but it would not be out of place to mention the reply of King Wimala Dharma Suriya to the Dutch General who visited him at Kandy — "If it is war let it be war; if it is peace, peace." It would be interesting to study the foreign policy of Ceylon prior to 1815, but it would require very detailed examination of papers now in the Archives. My address confines itself purely to facts within my own knowledge while I have been a Minister of State just prior to Independence, and from Independence continuously up to date. I



have been therefore in a position to know as well as to help in the formulation of Ceylon's foreign policy since February 1948 when we attained once again the status of a free country. During the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century the nations of South-East Asia were controlled by Western powers and had no means of following a foreign policy of their own. It was during this period that man's economic environment changed from feudalism to capitalism; that the great discoveries which gave man greater control over the forces of nature were made; and the industrial revolution was ushered in. The foreign policies of the Western powers, which alone counted, had their beginning during this period, and the theory of balance of power commenced then. During this formative period in the history of mankind, Ceylon, together with so many of her neighbours, were tied to the chariot wheels of the British Empire, and their foreign policy was the foreign policy of the United Kingdom.

When independence came in 1948 we were not only able to govern our country but also to direct its foreign policy. It is fortunate that at this important stage in our recent history we had a man of wisdom and balance, such as the late Mr D.S. Senanayake to direct us.

I may say at the outset that it seems to me that Ceylon's foreign policy has grown out of the idealism which a small nation like ours can afford to preach and practise. But there has never been absent also the realism which arises from our geographical and strategic position in the Indian Ocean. This idealism has inspired us to speak of friendship with all nations and to recognise the Government of the Republic of China and to sell her rubber when no other nation in the world is doing so, as well as to avoid committing ourselves to adherence to any power blocs. A realistic appreciation of our position in South-East Asia has made us enter into a military alliance with the United Kingdom and to permit ships and aircraft carrying troops of the Western powers to refuel in Ceylon on their way to the battlefronts of Korea and Indo-China.

Let me go back for a moment to the situation as it was when Ceylon attained her freedom. The legislation conferring freedom was passed in the House of Commons and that Independence Bill was preceded by two documents signed by the then Prime Minister, Mr D.S. Senanayake, on behalf of Ceylon, and the Governor, Sir Henry Monck Mason-Moore, on behalf of the United Kingdom

Government. One dealt with the position of public servants and the other dealt with the military relationship that should exist between Ceylon and United Kingdom. The latter agreement was a purely mutual one, and under the terms of that agreement the two Governments agreed to give each other such military assistance as was necessary for the security of their territories. The United Kingdom forces could be maintained in Ceylon for the defence of Ceylon as may be mutually agreed upon. This agreement is still operative. The purpose of this agreement was defence and it was not aggression. Ceylon had no Army, Navy nor Air force. Freedom meant that the British forces could be asked to leave. This agreement was therefore entered into in order to protect our recently-won freedom. Mr D.S. Senanayake, as Prime Minister and Minister of Defence, quite openly stated in Parliament: "I cannot accept the responsibility of being Minister of Defence unless I am provided with the means of defence." Unlike India and Pakistan whose forces had fought with credit in several wars, we had only a few volunteers. During the war we relied on the British to defend us and to maintain our food supplies. We occupied a strategic position militarily in the Indian Ocean and may have been sought after by any nation which wished to dominate this part of the world. Apart from purely military considerations, the sea and air routes to Ceylon had to be kept unobstructed in order to bring in the food imports upon which we rely so much. If therefore we could not defend ourselves, the next best thing was to seek the assistance of someone who could. At that time we could not think of any one better than our old friends with whom we had been associated for almost a century and a half, who had very substantial financial and trade interests in Ceylon, whose own interests required the keeping of the Indian Ocean free for traffic for the east-west trade of the world, and so this military agreement was entered into voluntarily. This Defence Agreement in no way whittles down our Independence, for there are military agreements entered into by all the independent nations of the world. But while it lasts it must necessarily colour our foreign policy. It was entered into in our own interests as much as in the interests of the United Kingdom. This gives the clue to the way in which Ceylon's foreign policy has evolved since then. One may say that the Government thought as follows: "The British people helped us to become a free nation once again. They can keep us free even from the intrusion of the Russians. If we come to an agreement with them to de-



fend us at our request, and we to help them if they seek our assistance, it is in our common interests. We need not now consider the policy the British people pursued in the past or whatever good or bad they may have done to us." It is on this very realistic foundation that our foreign policy had been built.

From the Defence Agreement with the United Kingdom, it is an easy transition to consider our relationship with the Commonwealth. Ceylon decided to remain an independent member of the Commonwealth. All the democratic political parties in Ceylon, the Government, supporters of the Government as well as the Opposition, wished to remain in the Commonwealth. Some of course, are anxious that Ceylon should be a Republic. But still, like India, they wish Ceylon to continue its membership of the Commonwealth. Marxist parties of course, proclaim that their goal is to sever all connections with the Commonwealth, and of these parties the Communist Party would wish us to join the Soviet group of nations. Membership of the Commonwealth also presupposes other considerations, such as an acceptance of the democratic way of life, for we know that the Commonwealth stands for this ideal. The present Government, which has been in power since independence, is definitely pledged to maintain a democratic government in Ceylon, and this policy has been endorsed by two general elections. While not seeking to interfere with the forms of government adopted by other countries, and seeking friendship with all, Ceylon wishes to entertain the closest relationship with all peace-loving nations and especially with other governments of the Commonwealth. This view has been repeatedly emphasised in the Speeches from the Throne. For example, one Speech stated: "My Government reiterates its firm faith in the democratic way of life in which the rule of the moral law holds sway, and in which, instead of force as the arbiter of international disputes, mutual confidence and co-operation arise as a prerequisite to peace." And in another Speech — "My Government is keenly aware of the significance and unity of purpose of the Commonwealth in the effort to preserve peace in the post-war world, and will use its utmost endeavour to cherish and safeguard these valuable associations." We are convinced that the Commonwealth has no expansionist ideas; we are convinced that the Commonwealth seeks to preserve peace in the world; and since we seek peace in Ceylon and outside it, we have thrown in our full weight as a member of the Commonwealth. Another reason which

makes our membership of the Commonwealth necessary is the fact that our trade, both import and export, is largely with the nations of the Commonwealth. It is therefore politically wise to be in the Commonwealth, and financially helpful to be members of the sterling area. Membership of the Commonwealth also gives strength to a small nation like Ceylon. She is an equal partner of a large Federation; her representatives take part in Commonwealth Conferences on an equal footing with representatives of other nations and they have acquitted themselves so well that Ceylon has been able to play an important role in world affairs, far beyond the influence which her size warrants. The decision of India and Pakistan to remain in the Commonwealth adds weight to the other arguments which I have adduced above. We are now seeing more clearly, with the peace that prevails both in Korea and Indo-China that the influence of the Commonwealth, as far as Asia is concerned, is to give the Asian peoples freedom and democratic institutions. Membership of the Commonwealth therefore has become an important aspect of our foreign policy.

While our main friendship has been with members of the Commonwealth, we have sought to build up friendship with countries outside the Commonwealth too. There are countries with whom we have had age-long friendships, such as Burma, which is not a member of the Commonwealth, and countries with whom we are tied by bonds of religion, such as Japan, and at one time, China. These ties have been renewed since we obtained freedom; we are seeking to strengthen them. Recently the Prime Minister of Ceylon summoned a conference of Asian powers, now known as the Colombo Powers, at which, in addition to the members of the Commonwealth, Burma and Indonesia were represented. They decided upon common policies in various matters, and it was their attitude to the Indo-China conflict which helped to bring peace. They have reiterated their faith in democracy and have agreed to combat all international forces which seek to interfere with their internal sovereignty. There is no doubt that the Asian countries represented at the Colombo Conference all seek peace and a long period of stability in which they can develop their resources and plan the future progress of their countries in accordance with the conceptions and desires of their people. Apart from the countries just around us we have stretched out a hand of friendship to Japan in the East, and in the West to several countries in the Continent, as well as to that



great power, the United States of America. The recent visit of the Prime Minister to all these countries and the welcome he received has shown that they are true friends of Ceylon. Ceylon's attitude to foreign countries therefore is one based on friendship. We have no desire to expand or to interfere with other people. We wish to be left alone and are concerned primarily with our own development. If any nation does not wish to be friendly with us, we will leave them severely alone.

One cannot talk of foreign policy today without knowing our attitude to countries which have adopted Communism as distinguished from Democracy. Ceylon has followed the principles laid down by the late Mr D.S. Senanayake in her attitude to Communist countries. He several times expressed the view that even at his advanced age he was in politics to protect Ceylon from Communism, that he believed in rebirth, and felt that he would be born over and over again to help in the fight against Communism. His attitude to International Communism was governed by the knowledge that he felt that International Communism did not seek peace, but sought to bring about trouble in other countries. This, he thought, tended to war. He openly stated that he did not approve of these methods. He identified International Communism with the policy of the Soviet Union. He said: "Enslavement of the world is what we believe to be their attitude . . . . We will never be with Russia until she gives up her policy." He did not believe in the "Russian method of penetrating into other countries and disturbing the good relations that exist in those countries and trying by force or insidious methods to bring trouble to those countries". Ceylon has followed these ideals since then. We are not concerned with the internal governments of Communist countries. We will recognise them and be friendly with them and trade with them though we do not agree with their internal policies and even disapprove of their foreign policies. But this does not prevent us from saying that we do not agree with their policies and that we feel that their ways would be the enslavement of the world under the banner of a dictatorship.

## USA

The Prime Minister's recent visit to the United States of America has, I think, laid at rest many bogeys that our opponents sought to raise. We have been, and intend to be, on the terms of the greatest friendship with the USA. We can adopt no other course if



we are true to the ideals of political freedom and democracy. The United States of America today is the most powerful country in the democratic world, and has been called "the Arsenal of Democracy". If she is laid low, Communism will sweep throughout the world. The late Mr D.S. Senanayake, the founder of our foreign policy, realised this. In July 1950 he told the House of Representatives:

"As far as the United States is concerned, there is not the slightest doubt that she holds the view that we hold. That is, they are for democracy. As long as they are for democracy, and as long as it becomes necessary for us to associate ourselves with either the United States or with anyone else, we will join that side."

And again—

"I do not agree that it is only through America that the living standards of the Asian peoples could be raised. But, at the same time, I feel that if it is only with the assistance of America that the standard of living of the peoples of Asia could be improved, there is nothing wrong in obtaining that assistance."

In the light of these remarks, which shows his attitude to both the Commonwealth and America, he refused to accede to the request of the Opposition to deny harbour facilities to an American flotilla on its way to the Korean war. While Mr Senanayake thought he should take no part in the Korean war as it was a UNO matter and Ceylon was not a member of the UNO, he saw no reason why facilities which were available to the Americans in the past should not be made available now. He drew a distinction between this incident and the refusal to grant facilities to the Dutch to use our aerodromes in their military action against the Indonesians. The distinction was that in one case the Dutch were opposing a movement for freedom and in the other the UNO was opposing aggression by International Communism.

### **India and Pakistan**

Our attitude to India and Pakistan is also important as they are our closest neighbours. The recent agreements with India have settled for some time the problems of Indian settlers in Ceylon. In foreign policy, of course, we are all members of the Commonwealth and we are all pledged to democracy. They are also members of the Colombo Powers and on many matters we agree. The disputes that

have arisen have been with regard to the question of the status of Indians who have settled in Ceylon. We have now passed our own citizenship laws enabling Indian and Pakistani residents to acquire citizenship by registration. Whether after some years of the working of the recent agreement there will be a class who are neither Indians nor Ceylonese remains to be seen, and the problem will have to be reconsidered if that is so. Our attachment to India, our close association with India, whether it be cultural or otherwise, makes us feel that it is very necessary for us to be in close friendship with that country. We consider India to be one of the greatest nations in the world, but we do not expect India to play the role of trying to establish rights where they have no rights, or privileges where they have no privileges, or of trying to deprive other countries of their rights.

### **UNO and International Organisations**

Ceylon applied for membership of the United Nations Organisation. Her application was vetoed by the Soviet Union on the ground that Ceylon was not free. A few years after our first application, Commonwealth countries pressed very strongly that Ceylon should be admitted as a member. This time Russia did not raise the plea that Ceylon was not free, but bargained for the admission of some of her satellite countries as members of the UNO if her objection to Ceylon's admission was to be withdrawn. This made the Government rather bitter about Ceylon's admission into the UNO and we did not renew our application nor press for admission. The Government, however, took full advantage of the organisations set up by the United Nations dealing with health, food, education, etc., and Ceylon continued to play an important part in the activities of these international organisations. Delegates were sent to their meetings and some of the meetings were held in Ceylon at which representatives from many countries of the world attended. One of the chief organisations which the Government was keen that Ceylon should join was the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, better known as the World Bank. We became members of these organisations in 1950 and since then have attended the annual meetings held in Paris, Washington and Mexico. Here, too, Ceylon played an important part in the proceedings and gave her decision on all matters that needed a decision, independent of all countries and guided by

her own views. The World Bank was of considerable help both in sending out an Economic Mission and in granting us a substantial loan towards the completion of the second stage of the Laxapana Hydro-Electric Scheme. It was Ceylon's inability to join the UNO that enabled us to enter into a trade pact with China. Ceylon therefore enjoyed a dual advantage, namely, the advantages that the UNO gave to its members, as well as any advantages that she derived from her not being a member.

### **Foreign Trade**

With regard to foreign trade, our view was that we should trade with foreign countries, irrespective of their political views and ideologies. When questioned in Parliament whether we had refused to have anything to do with Russia in regard to the sale of rubber, the reply was:

“If Russia wants our rubber let her become another competitor and compete with these people . . . . The Russian representatives can come here and buy in the open market. When it is a question of money, I do not mind taking even from my enemies. I have no scruples about that so long as I do not cheat anybody.”

With this idea we permitted the private sale of rubber to China even after the United Nations Organisation had decided that its members should not sell strategic materials, such as rubber, to China which was held to be an aggressor in the Korean conflict. Though America was anxious that we should not permit the private trade to sell rubber to China, we did not impose an embargo on such sales. We were, however, negotiating with America with regard to the sale of our rubber in bulk to America. There were difficulties about agreement on the question of price, and while the discussions were proceeding Mr Senanayake died. It was after his death that the Rubber-Rice Pact with China was entered into.

### **Commonwealth Conferences**

We availed ourselves of every opportunity of participating in Commonwealth Conferences. Our Prime Minister always attended conferences of Prime Ministers and sent his Ministers to Ministerial Conferences. We went further and invited Commonwealth Foreign Ministers to meet in Ceylon. This was the first occasion on which a Commonwealth Conference at Ministerial level had met outside



the United Kingdom. It was a compliment to Ceylon and a compliment to Mr D.S. Senanayake that not only was such a conference held in Colombo in 1950, but that he was chosen to preside over a conference attended by such world figures as Pandit Nehru and Mr Bevin. In replying to a vote of no confidence soon after the Colombo Conference, Mr Senanayake outlined his views on Commonwealth Conferences as follows:

“Ceylon”, he said, “is now a member of the Commonwealth and she has to take her place at these conferences . . . . These are held periodically, primarily for the benefit of the members of the Commonwealth . . . . The recent Commonwealth Conference was of great importance. We discussed things that concern all the Commonwealth countries and not plans, as some people say, to overthrow governments and countries and unite them all under one banner.”

He went on to defend these conferences by saying that there was nothing secret in these meetings nor were they summoned for any particular purpose or to achieve any sinister design. The Commonwealth countries had a common interest and they meet from time to time to see how their common interests could be furthered, and that common interest was to achieve the well-being of the Commonwealth countries and thereby to see that the peace of the world was assured.

## **Japan**

The question of freedom for Japan was mooted at the Colombo Conference of Commonwealth Foreign Ministers. There was some hesitation among some of the countries before agreeing to complete freedom for Japan. We were very strongly on the side of complete freedom. It was our view that a nation of 80 million people could not be kept in subjection without danger to the peace of the world, and the Conference decided that steps should be taken to make Japan free. On Mr Senanayake's instructions, his representative in London pressed the same point of view at the Conference of Commonwealth Ambassadors, and ultimately America took the same view and steps were taken to draw up the Japanese Peace Treaty. This Treaty came up for consideration at San Francisco in September 1951 and Mr Senanayake instructed me to represent Ceylon to support freedom for Japan and not to ask for reparations. He said



in the House of Representatives that he had taken a step towards peace with Japan and to make Japan a sovereign state.

## Conclusion

The foreign policy that we have sought to build up has therefore been based on certain fundamentals —

(1) The defence of Ceylon's recently regained freedom; and

(2) Membership of the Commonwealth of Nations as a sovereign State.

We are not concerned about favouring this bloc or that bloc. We are concerned about maintaining peace in this world. Any little action that we can take, however small that may be, we shall take as far as Ceylon is concerned. Ceylon feels that peace cannot be established in this world by hatred or revenge or by suspicion or by keeping nations under subjection. That would only develop into greater wars and greater misery. We support these views because they mean peace for Ceylon, peace for Asia and for the world. On these foundation has been built the superstructure of our foreign policy, and that superstructure contains the following further principles:

(a) Friendship with foreign countries, particularly those that believe in peace.

(b) Ceylon throws in her weight on the side of those who wish to preserve peace.

(c) We are opposed to those countries that wish to enslave the world and seek to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries.

Ceylon has not considered the question of joining any power blocs because peace in the world cannot be established by abusing each other or by building up hatred or revenge against our opponents. These are the main principles of our foreign policy. They appear now quite clearly and are known to the nations of the world. They have been proclaimed at International Conferences and emphasised and underlined by our Prime Minister on his recent world tour. Ceylon seeks to preserve her freedom, to strengthen democracy, to pursue peace, to refrain from aligning herself with power blocs and to contribute to the peace, progress and welfare of humanity.

## 5

# IF PROSPERITY IS INDIVISIBLE, SO IS POVERTY

*Speech at UNCTAD II, New  
Delhi — 5th February 1968*

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Mr President,

We meet to discuss issues of vital importance to the peoples of all nations. We who are assembled here feel honoured that it has fallen to our lot to represent our governments on this historic occasion. I am sure all of us approach the tasks before us with humility and sincerity, for so much depends on the decisions we will ultimately take.

It is fitting that this conference should meet in the capital of India, New Delhi; an ancient city whose “history is half as old as time”. India is in many ways the largest of the developing nations; the problems that face them exist here in different forms and in varying degrees. We have also the good fortune to meet under the chairmanship of a representative of a government which inherits the noble ideals of Mahatma Gandhi, and seeks to follow the moral leadership given to the world by Jawaharlal Nehru. Having been associated with our President during the past six months in the work that preceded this conference, at Bangkok and at Algiers we can rest assured that Shri Dinesh Singh’s ability and his dedication to the cause of the developing nations will enable him to guide us in the difficult days that lie ahead.

Mr President, this conference is the second on trade and development to be held under the auspices of the United Nations; the Second UNCTAD. It has been summoned because of a serious problem; a problem which causes many other problems to arise, faces the world. The first UNCTAD directed the attention of the world to that problem in 1964. The speeches made at the opening of this conference by the President and the Prime Minister of India, by the President of the Conference and the Secretary General, show that the nature of the problem, its causes and the issues involved, and some of the solutions are not unknown. Several Committees have also submitted reports and masses of statistics have been published. We have talked and written enough. It is time indeed that we proceed from the region of talk to the region of action. We have met not as we met in Geneva in 1964, to discover or to understand a problem but to find a solution to a problem that we are aware of — to find a way out of the difficulties that face international trade — to find a path that will lead the peoples of the developing nations to a humane level of prosperity in the shortest possible time.

Let me restate for the purpose of my address the problem as I understand it and the cause or causes that create it. Permit me then to enumerate how those causes can be removed so that the problem caused by them disappears itself. Let us then debate and discuss the path to be followed to achieve our goal and see how far we can collectively and unitedly follow that path.

The developing world has 80 per cent of the world's population, yet 90 per cent of the world's income belongs to the developed world. If we compare the *per capita* gross national product of the members of these two groups, if we look at the recent growth of international trade in relation to the growth of the trade of the individual nations of these two groups, we not only see a wide disparity, but we see that this disparity is growing annually to the disadvantage of the developing portion. To put it bluntly, the developed portion of the world which is the smaller portion, with a smaller population, is growing richer, while the developing portion of the world which is much larger both in extent and in population is growing poorer, annually. This must necessarily create a troubled relationship on the economic front between these two groups. When disparities exist in the relationship between the economic conditions of different classes of people in any particular nation, the government of that nation will seek to set it right. Every govern-



ment responsible to the people in the developed portion of the world has faced this problem in their countries and has sought to set it right.

There are various causes for this state of affairs. For several centuries the developing world was not politically free. Today, fortunately, that situation has ceased to exist. One can say that all the nations of the world, except for a very few, are politically free and members of the United Nations Organisation and of this conference. As free nations they now seek to develop their economies. The developing nations are now ready not merely in desire, but in unity of aspiration and with plans and personnel to develop their resources to the fullest. The process of development requires finance, and where the internal financial resources of a developing nation are not adequate, external financial aid must be provided to bridge the gap. Scientific research and knowledge are equally necessary for development programmes. The produce of the developing world must also find a free market. The developing world is dotted with vulnerable points where armed conflicts of limited duration can take place. These are inheritances from colonial days. Years are wasted and money is spent in meaningless conflict, when time is running out, which time could be better spent in common action and for the common good. Peace and stability are essential for the fruition of development programmes.

Developing nations are without exception proud of their freedom and they would prefer to use their own resources for development. They find, however, that the major part of their trade is still channelled to the developed countries, and the goods they import also originate mainly from them. They find the price they have to pay for their imports show a constant upward trend while the revenue from exports grows less yearly. In my own country, Ceylon, export proceeds from our three major products, namely, tea, rubber and coconut, dropped from Rs. 1910 million (about \$382 million) in 1965 to Rs. 1630 million (about \$326 million) in 1966, i.e. a drop of Rs. 280 million (\$56 million) in one year; our programme of development was based on the export earnings anticipated for the year 1965. Not only did export prices drop but import prices began to rise. We reduced the ration of rice by half, but the consequent reduction in foreign exchange was negated by the price increase of 50 per cent in the price of rice over the 1966 figure. You may wonder then how a developing nation such as Ceylon is able to enter the ranks of the developed nations. We have been able to



maintain the standard of living which we have been accustomed to since freedom, in spite of the tendencies I have mentioned above, by increases in the volume of production of tea, rubber and coconut. It is this pricing policy for our primary products and for imported manufactured goods which creates the imbalance. This is a new form of exploitation of the developing world. Our neighbour countries too depend on the export of raw products for use in the factories of the developed world. Malaysia, as well as all the other rubber producing countries of Asia, including ourselves, were severely affected by the recent fall in the price of rubber. The release of stockpiles and the manufacture of synthetic substitutes were the major causes.

Let us pause here to consider some of the solutions to these problems. The developing nations have their own plans of development. In the Asian region the Colombo Plan has, during the last 15 years, helped to organise plans of development and to implement them through the provision of finance and experts. That good work must continue on a progressive scale. The aid that is given must be adequate, and given in time, to effect an economic break-through where necessary. Such aid should be strategically invested. It should also be without strings and on favourable terms, not tied to imports from a particular country but from the cheapest source. Aid payments have risen so much that if this trend continues repayment by way of interest and principal will soon be more than the aid itself. UNCTAD's study of aid shows that in 1970 net lending for the developing nations would become negative. It is frightening even to conceive of the results that would follow.

In order that financial assistance so given be adequate it is necessary that an immediate programme for the implementation of the one per cent target of gross national product flowing to the developing countries should be adopted. Clear time tables should be set for the achievement of this international undertaking. We strongly support the proposal of the Secretary General in his report that a separate target be established for the only predictable and controllable element in the flow of financial resources, namely, his target for flow of aid from the gross national product. As far as one's external assistance requirements are known and accepted, there should be no scaling down of aid requirements and no delays in disbursement of the pledged aid.

As I said earlier, external aid becomes necessary only to the ex-

tent that a developing nation's own financial resources are inadequate. As far as possible, through the production and export of goods, a developing nation must rely on its own resources. Sometimes there is a sudden drop in annual earnings owing to causes beyond its control. What can we do in such a situation? Firstly, we feel that there should be international agreements to stabilise world commodity prices. Over 88 per cent of the export earnings of developing nations are produced by primary commodity exports. The prices paid for these commodities have either been static or have decreased during the last 10 years, ironically called the "Development Decade". They are meeting relentless competition from synthetics and substitutes. The developing nations faced with manifold problems find it not possible for them to make the necessary adjustments in their economies to meet these dangers. While these adjustments are being made, the necessity for commodity agreements becomes imperative. The international record of commodity agreements in the post-war years is a tragic tale. Only a few such agreements have been reached during this period. Recently a revised Wheat Agreement was concluded and as the interested parties were predominantly developed countries, they fixed higher minimum and maximum prices. This increased prices to the developing nations which buy these commodities. The peoples living in the developing nations of Asia seek urgent commodity agreements for stabilising the export prices over a period of years for the chief commodities grown in this region, namely, tea, rubber, coconut and jute.

Until commodity agreements are effected it is necessary that a developing nation's economy, if its development programme is to be accomplished without delay, should be cushioned against a sudden fall in export prices.

I would commend to this conference the use of the technique of buffer stocks for appropriate commodities, and the adoption of appropriate financing methods for these buffer stocks. This should be accompanied by a system of supplementary finance and we have here the good fortune to have several reports from study groups set up at the request of the First UNCTAD. There need be no further delay in setting up the machinery for implementing a system of supplementary financing. The schemes proposed visualise its operation in a manner consistent with the sovereignty of participating countries. It also lays down the financing limits and the principles



of rationing, should claims exceed available resources. We seek the immediate implementation of this system which will remove from any developing country the fear that a planned programme of development upon which it has embarked will be adversely affected by a sudden fall in export prices.

As the economic plans of the developing nations enter the field of manufacture and semi-manufacture, the question of their entry into the markets of the developed nations becomes important. We are gratified that the institution of a system of general and non-discriminatory preferences for these goods is now considered sufficiently mature for a decision. Though such a scheme may immediately benefit only a few of the many developing nations, since it opens up fresh avenues for increasing the exports of these countries, we support it. This alone, however, is not satisfactory and does not solve the problems of trade and development that face the developing countries. We also seek the removal of such preferential tariffs as exist on processed primary products. Such tariffs are a barrier to the expansion of trade. They inhibit the processing of raw materials in the producing countries. This conference should decide on a phased programme for the total elimination of all quantitative restrictions and other non-tariff barriers on the primary products of developing countries in their natural or processed state. The example of Australia which granted preferential treatment to goods from developing countries is an example worthy of imitation.

We attach considerable importance to the trade between socialist nations and the developing nations. We welcome the growth of this trade and should seek ways to expand it. It is necessary that during this conference consultations should be held with a view to making trade and payment with these countries more flexible.

These are some of the proposals which would lead the developing nations out of the economic darkness in which they are today. They ask that the conditions which impede their development, conditions created not by them, but when they were not politically free, should be removed, so that not only individually but collectively also, through regional economic co-operation among themselves, they can hasten the process of economic growth.

It is necessary that we should also examine, in the light of experience in the past, the structure and procedures of the UNCTAD machinery. We feel that the procedures of this organisation should

be much more flexible. We feel that this institution should continue to function not only as a forum for discussion and formulation of new ideas, but also as a negotiating body to help to implement the programmes of action which this conference formulates.

This conference opened and continues amid rumours and counter rumours of concession and recession in various fields. Rumours are part of international conferences of this nature but we have to ignore them and address our minds to our one common objective, that we must in New Delhi agree on a course of action to achieve the ideals of the First UNCTAD.

I had the good fortune, Mr President, to be associated with you and many other distinguished delegates from the Asian region when we met at Bangkok last year. We met again, and this time together with the distinguished delegates of the entire developing world, in our memorable meeting at Algiers. Throughout these talks there was one feature that stood out from the mass of words that are a necessary part of international conferences, and that was a resolve that the developing world should be united in its efforts to seek a global strategy for world trade as would help programmes of economic development. Some of them were laid down in the Charter of Algiers. Soon after Algiers and as a result of a decision taken there, I had the privilege of leading a mission from the developing nations to five of the developed nations. As I have already reported to the President of our conference in Algiers and to the Secretary General of UNCTAD in Geneva, the attitude of understanding and the great goodwill for the aspirations of developing nations shown during that mission make me feel confident that whatever be the difficulties, there will be no stepping back by the developed nations in their attitude to the problems of the developing nations. During that mission, Mr President, our case was often eloquently expressed by the Heads of States and Ministers and officials with whom we conferred (and many of whom it gives me great pleasure to see here in New Delhi) as by us. The consensus of their view was that prosperity is indivisible. The converse of this is equally true, that poverty too is indivisible.

While we are here in conference, millions of people knocking at the door for employment and for better standards of living, are watching and waiting. They pose the question: is this an exercise in futility or does a meaningful purpose animate the participants?

Though we are not satisfied with the efforts of the developed



nations to implement the recommendations of the First UNCTAD and though there is a danger that the Second UNCTAD may be a repeat performance of the first, I am, myself, not pessimistic. The twentieth century will be known in history as a century which saw war and peace on a global scale. After the First World War the League of Nations attempted to lay the foundations of world peace. After the Second World War the United Nations Organisation was created for a similar purpose. No one will say that it has succeeded in accomplishing this great ideal. No one would also say that it should be abolished. The decisions taken at Bretton Woods leading to the creation of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund, the various other organisations flowing from the United Nations Organisation, the aid provided in various ways by the Marshall Plan and the Colombo Plan, the international tariff agreements centering round GATT and the Kennedy talks, UNCTAD itself, are several international organisations created after the Second World War to achieve peace and prosperity. They may not have fully achieved the ideals that inspired their founders. They have however set up new standards of international behaviour. UNCTAD, through the various conferences held under its auspices, has created the necessary background for the economies of developing nations to build upon. It has created a new outlook in the world, namely, that international co-operation in the sphere of economic development, is necessary for developing nations to implement their programmes.

This conference meets for the very reason that both the developing and the developed nations believe that such co-operation and assistance are necessary.

This is because there is a global understanding of the changes taking place in the world today on the role of sovereign nations both developed and developing, to bridge the gulf between the rich and the poorer nations. When soon after the Second World War large areas of the world achieved political independence and their dependence on the great powers ceased to exist, necessary steps were not taken to remove the existing barriers and discriminations against them. The countries of Europe and Japan recovered quickly from the damage caused by the Second World War because they had achieved industrial efficiency, because they had the necessary knowhow and readymade markets. What they needed was finance and machinery, and when that was provided these nations were

once again in the forefront of the developed nations of the world. Some of the developing nations in spite of 20 years of political freedom still find it difficult to eliminate past influence and conditions and to create new sources of work and strength. It is the task of the Second UNCTAD to help those who are stretching their hands towards prosperity.

## 6

# THE GOLDEN THREAD THAT RUNS THROUGH SRI LANKA'S FOREIGN POLICY

*Address at Convocation of the  
Bandaranaike Centre for Inter-  
national Studies — 26th Sep-  
tember 1977*

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I am very happy indeed for several reasons to be able to address this function and this audience today. Firstly, this institute works under the auspices of the Bandaranaike Foundation of which I have been a member since its inception, firstly as Leader of the Opposition and now as Prime Minister and its President. Secondly, this institute is associated with the name of the late Mr Bandaranaike, one whom I knew since 1925 when I was a student possibly before anybody else in this assembly without exception.

I knew him as an undergraduate and we were enthralled by his oratory as he has just come from Oxford University. I knew him later at the tennis court and as a friend; I joined him in the Ceylon National Congress and we formed the United National Party together. Sir Francis Mollamure, Mr Bandaranaike and I were responsible for drafting the constitution of the United National Party which with a few amendments survives to this date. He was a colleague of mine in the first Cabinet of Sri Lanka. He left us in 1951 either for better or worse, I do not know.

The principle of the democratic governments as an alternative to the government of the day became possible when Mr Bandaranaike became leader of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party. His name is associated with the contemporary political history of this country and it is well that he together with other heroes of Lanka should be remembered . . . You can remember during the 19th and 20th centuries, the names of Keppetipola, of Wariapola Unnanse, of Anagarika Dharmapala, of Sir D.B. Jayatilleke, of Walisinghe, of D.S. Senanayake, of F.R. Senanayake, of Sir James Peiris, of Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan, of Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam and so many others as contributing to the welfare of the people of our country.

I am also happy that I am associated with this foundation because as the Prime Minister of this country I am naturally interested in the Foreign Affairs, not only of the contemporary world, but of the Foreign Affairs that has been followed in this country since we obtained independence. Before the British came to our shores in 1815, I do not think it necessary to deal with the Foreign Affairs of the Sinhala Kingdom. But I would like to invite this institute to do some research with regard to the Foreign Policy of the Sinhalese nation during the long period it was independent from the time of Vijaya up to the time of Sri Wickrema Rajasinghe.

The foreign policy of our country from 1815 to 1947 was governed by the British Imperial Policy and I doubt very much that our people had any say in the drafting and implementing of that Foreign Policy. But from 1947 began a new era and I have been associated with the Foreign Policy of our country from 1947 to 1977, either in the government, as a Minister or in the opposition as Leader of the Opposition or his deputy. I can, therefore, speak with some knowledge of the Foreign Policy of our country . . . yesterday, today and I hope about the Foreign Policy tomorrow. I would like just to refer to one or two matters because I have had not the opportunity of speaking about our Foreign Policy after I became Prime Minister.

I was reading a speech of mine made in 1954 when I was a Minister of the government on the Foreign Policy of Sri Lanka. I ended my speech by saying that in the Foreign Policy of our country there are certain principles that run like a golden thread through that policy. Our country — they called it Ceylon then — Sri Lanka, stands for the preservation of its freedom; it works for the democra-



tic ideal; it refrains from aligning itself with any power bloc; and is devoted to the peace, prosperity and welfare of humanity. Those are the principles, which I feel, every government has adopted since 1947 with the emphasis on one aspect or the other.

In 1947 when we for the first time after almost 140 years became a free country, we were facing various difficulties. Mr Bandaranaike and I knew very well those difficulties. We had no Armed Services to protect us. We were at the mercy of any country that wished to take us. Therefore, Mr D.S. Senanayake decided to remain in the Commonwealth of Nations and to sign a military agreement with the United Kingdom, Chief Partner of the Commonwealth, to come to our aid if we sought. That agreement still survives today and has not been revoked. Whether it is applicable or not I do not know. Upto this date no government, there have been several governments from 1947, no government thought it fit to revoke it.

Because of this agreement, although our country thought to enter the United Nations we were not permitted to enter until in 1955 almost a period of 8 years. Various members of the United Nations blocked us from joining the United Nations Organisations for 8 years. That is one reason why it was not possible for the governments of 1947, 1952 to exchange diplomatic relations with the countries which blocked us from joining the United Nations Organisations.

In October 1955 however for some reason of their own, as a result of a package deal, the countries that were preventing us from joining the United Nations suddenly realised that we were free though the military agreement was still there with the United Kingdom and *hey presto* we became members of the United Nations Organisations. In a few months the United National Party was defeated by the party of the late Mr S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike and the way was open for him to recognise even the countries that were blocking us from joining the United Nations Organisation.

I thought before this audience, on the first occasion when I am speaking of the Foreign Policy, it is my duty to put the record, straight because the party to which I belong, just as much as the party to which Mr Bandaranaike belongs, stands for certain principles that no government will seek to vary and they are, as I said, that the freedom of Sri Lanka must be preserved; the democratic traditions of Sri Lanka must be strengthened; that there should no

no alignment with power blocs wherever or however they may appear; and Sri Lanka should work for peace, prosperity and welfare of humanity.

I am also happy that I am here this evening because this institute as I can see from its work performs very useful and necessary functions. I see from its catalogue of work that it arranges lectures; very important people in the world have delivered lectures. It arranges seminars where people of our country can come and listen to lectures and talks on Foreign Affairs. It also conducts classes whereby a student can equip himself with the knowledge of Foreign Affairs. I think, as Head of the Government, not only as President of the Foundation, we should make more use of this Institute, we should permit our diplomats to come here and derive such knowledge as they can from the services this Institute can offer. I feel that this Institute has a great part to play in informing the people of our country about the affairs of other countries and Foreign Affairs of our world today as you know it.

I feel also that the classes we hold in the teaching of foreign languages should be made much wider and opportunity is given not only to the members of the diplomatic service but to others also to come here and avail themselves of those classes. So in many ways, Ladies and Gentlemen, this Institute I think has a great future, and if there is anything I can do as the head of this Government to make use of this Institute and to develop it, I shall certainly do so.

Thank you very much for listening to me. I hope that your presence here at this Convocation, the first of its kind, will make the people of our country realise the value of the services this Institute is offering to the people of Sri Lanka in general.

## 7

# DISARMAMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

*Address at the Meeting of the  
Commonwealth Heads of Gov-  
ernment of the Asian and Pacific  
Region, Sydney, February 1978*

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Mr Chairman,  
Friends,

It is very useful that the Regional Meeting of the Commonwealth should be held, and that it should be held in Australia. This region, as was described by some of the speakers, is one of the largest areas which contain countries of the Commonwealth and possibly, the largest in the world in terms of population, natural wealth and the number of developing countries, not only within the Commonwealth, but outside the Commonwealth.

It is fitting also that we should meet in Australia with its high tradition of generous hospitality. I must thank you, Mr Chairman, and your Government for the kind and generous way in which you have looked after us.

We have peace in this region, except for a relatively minor border conflict between Vietnam and Kampuchea, from the western shores of India right up to the Pacific, peace prevails.

That is a very good omen. I do not think that any of the countries of the Commonwealth, or those countries outside it, are in-



terested in aggression or attempts to seize land to build empires.

I stress peace because I wish to express my ideas in this contribution in regard to two main subjects. The subject of peace and disarmament is the first; development and aid is the second subject. These are two of the major matters that not only this region and the Commonwealth, but also the whole of humanity is crying for.

Peace, as you know, generally prevails in the world today. Yet, since the conclusion of the Second World War, I understand that there have been about 100 armed conflicts most of them border conflicts. Unfortunately, when border conflicts occur, sometimes before them, sometimes during them or sometimes after them, the Great Powers take an interest, as happened in Vietnam, as happened in West Asia, and as is happening now in the Somalia-Ethiopia conflict.

I am stressing peace because, money spent on armaments and the use of armaments today forms such a large proportion of the expenditure of certain countries; and the manufacture of armaments naturally leads to conflict. Armaments are used not only by the countries that manufacture them. They are also sold to countries that seek to violate the peace of the world.

I feel, therefore, that the Commonwealth through our Regional Meeting, and at the next meeting of all Commonwealth countries, should stress the importance of endeavouring, and indeed take it upon itself to make an endeavour, to strive for total disarmament in the world, not merely the limitation of armaments but total disarmament and to ensure that the money devoted to the manufacture of arms is used for a better purpose.

After all, in the world as we know it today, I do not think even the Great Powers, either individually or together seek aggression for aggression's sake. No one wishes to create new empires as was the case in the days of the Roman Empire and the British Empire. I do not think it is possible to do so today. I do not think anybody is so minded.

There seems to be more conflict with respect to ideologies — one set preaching a particular ideology and another set preaching a different ideology. My own view is that ideologies can never be made to last or be enforced by the power of arms. Perhaps for a temporary period people will be forced to accept certain ideologies, but I do not think that the effect will be lasting.

At one time, I believe, the United Nations was considering

proposals for total disarmament and also for creating a world authority which would not only manufacture armaments, if necessary, but also would control them and their use. The United Nations has been requested to convene a Special Session by the Non-Aligned Movement to consider the question of disarmament. If I may throw out an idea, I think it would be very good for the Commonwealth, which is a peaceful organisation, to propose at this Session, after the Commonwealth countries themselves consider it, the question of total disarmament, and the creation of a World Authority which would consider, if necessary, the question of the manufacture of armaments, the control armaments, the provision of armaments and the distribution of armaments.

If one takes the analogy into another sphere, one takes the example of a state. The citizens in a state do not arm themselves against marauders or against their opponents. In this context, I refer to the incident here last night. In so doing I wish to express the regrets of my Government and my people at what happened. I join with those who have expressed their sympathy to the people who suffered. Because of such an incident, one does not ask all the people of the country to arm themselves as they wish, to put on warpaint and to manufacture arms and to go about with arms. Who does that? Who looks after the citizens? The central authority, the state. I am sure, Mr Chairman, that your country already is taking steps to see that such situations do not occur again. It is the state that protects the citizen.

In the same way, if you can create a super authority controlled by the United Nations Organisation to police the world as it were, to see that wars do not recur, to see that the small countries are not absorbed in a bigger sphere, to see that the Great Powers and others manufacturing arms do not sell armaments across the border for their own selfish purposes, I think the world would have advanced. If we adopt such a proposition and put it into effect, the world will advance in a few years, more than it has advanced in the whole period of its history.

I am preaching peace and disarmament not only from a utilitarian point of view but because I am one who has been a follower of the teachings of the Buddha who preached compassion and love to all beings and I have been greatly influenced, particularly during my early career, by the great apostle of peace in our contemporary world, Mahatma Gandhi, and by how he led his country to freedom without preaching violence. I will give you one example to show



how peace and non-violence are indivisible and cannot be compromised under any circumstances whatsoever.

I think the Prime Minister of India, who was in that great movement, will remember when Mahatma Gandhi began his non-co-operation movement. It was on the verge of success and violence broke out in a district near Bombay. A police station was burnt and people were killed. Mahatma Gandhi halted the whole movement. He was blamed for doing so when he was on the verge of success. He said: "No, I do not wish to have success through violence." Non-violence is an ideal in itself and it cannot be compromised in principle.

Therefore, if we believe in the human race living in peace, in all sections of our communities, then I feel that the Commonwealth, because it is a peaceful organisation, should consider total disarmament. The use of arms should be controlled by a super authority for the welfare of humanity; arms should not be used for the advancement of ideologies or to serve the interests of powers who are able to make nuclear weapons.

From peace and disarmament, I feel that the next step should be development and aid. I need not give figures to show the members of this gathering that millions of people in all parts of the world live on the borderline of starvation. In my own country about 50 percent to 60 percent of the people do not earn a living wage. There are 1,200,000 youth without employment. It is the same or worse in some other parts of the world. During the last 25 to 30 years the world has considered that aid should be given to countries that we refer to as developing countries.

A great movement was started at the Colombo Conference of Foreign Ministers in 1950 to which your country, Mr Chairman, gave great help and assistance. The idea was born in Colombo. It was nourished in Australia and implemented in London. Within one year we started the Colombo Plan for the social and economic development of the people of South and South-East Asia. That plan has existed now for 26 years. At the last meeting, in Nepal, the plan was widened to include the whole of the Pacific.

It began with a few Asian Commonwealth countries, such as India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka, but now covers almost the whole of Asia. The aid givers and the aid receivers enter into bilateral agreements; and aid is given without any strings whatsoever. It is given as a gift. I must thank members of the Commonwealth such as



Britain, Australia and Canada for giving aid to those who need it and for doing so without conditions and without any ideal of repayment.

I find that aid given on a world-wide scale except on the principles followed by countries such as those referred to earlier, sometimes causes damage to the receiver. We find that, as days go on, the debt servicing obligations entail repayments even larger than the aid received by each recipient country. Therefore we have to consider the whole question of aid because aid often becomes a burden when the money has to be returned. Some countries tie their aid to their own products. We find in our own country that those products are not always suitable to our needs and that spare parts and servicing are not available when required. If aid is given it should be given untied. It should be given without strings.

If we are able to secure complete disarmament, then the money that is spent on the manufacture of armaments will be sufficient for us to put the developing world on its feet. To my mind, one of the greatest threats to the stability of governments, whether they be socialist or democratic governments, is the lack of development in countries such as ours. Every man and woman likes to own his or her own house and to have the basic food that is necessary to keep the human being alive. It is not possible with the world as it is composed today for developing countries to achieve this if they have to pay more for their imports and the money that is earned by exports in real terms is becoming less and less.

Therefore, Mr Chairman, I would like this meeting to consider the question of aid in the sense that I have mentioned here.

I do not think it is necessary for me to take up any more time but I would like to stress again to the Commonwealth Heads of Government at this Regional Meeting that I do not think it would be possible to create stability in the world without complete disarmament, without control over the manufacture of arms and control over their use so that they are used only for peaceful purposes. Without such stability it will not be possible for the developing countries to develop and find the necessary financial assistance for that purpose. Without such development it would be difficult for us to imagine that there would be stability in large portions of the world.

I am putting these views forward not as an ideology but as ideals. Ideals always are difficult to attain but I think they should be the sole, underlying objective of people who are in politics or who

are in charge of human affairs. It may be that we cannot realise the ideal but what does it matter? I will use the words of the great Indian poet Rabindranath Tagore who said:

“If in this thy great heart fails bring me thy failure.”

So let us plan and let us have great ideals and not be worried about ideologies which change with the years and with men.

We all have an interest in well-being, as the Secretary General said. Let us feel that that interest is devoted to the attainment of these ideas — peace throughout the world, disarmament, development of the developing countries, and aid given by those able to afford it without strings and without attachments.

Mr Chairman, I thank you for giving me the opportunity of speaking. I hope that this regional conference will recommend to the Commonwealth itself that it stands for great ideals and not for petty ideas which are not consistent with the Commonwealth as it has existed.

## OUR COMMON DEMOCRATIC TRADITIONS

*Speech at Banquet given by the  
President of India — 27th  
October 1978*

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The association between India and Sri Lanka extends as you said, Sir, to the realms of mythology. It is mentioned in the *Ramayana*, it is mentioned in the *Mahabharata*, and even in several places in our country the names of Rama and Sita are still used as places where Sita was kidnapped and hidden and where Ravana dwelt. Whether he came by aeroplane or hanging on the monkey Hanuman's tail — it is not possible for us to identify but the place names are still part of our geography.

Coming to history, it was Vijaya, who came from Orissa or from Bangladesh and created the Sinhala race. For 2500 years we preserved our Independence until in 1815 by the consent of our people we handed over the monarchy to King George III of Great Britain. When we became a Republic in 1972, Queen Elizabeth gave up what next to the Japanese monarchy was the oldest, uninterrupted monarchy in the world. Older than the Persian one.

We are today a Free, Democratic, Socialist Republic. In all the countries that attained freedom after the Second World War, in South America, in Africa and Asia only your nation and our nation have preserved the democratic traditions without any interruption.



We were the first to change our Governments by constitutional process. We have done this on several occasions and I have been at the receiving end of several of those changes. Today, I am the President of Sri Lanka by the choice of its people and not by any constitutional or military coup.

Your country too has set an example to the democratic world by changing its Government by the democratic process. I will not go into recent history, but there are many parallels that can be drawn between events that took place in your country during the last two years and the events that took place in our country during the same period.

You may not know but my one and only son was put into jail and up to date he has not been charged for any offence. My nephew who is my Private Secretary, was put into jail. Up to date he has not been charged for any offence. Several of my Members of Parliament were put into jail, including some of my Cabinet Ministers, and up to date they have not been charged for any offence.

I was not put into jail because our opposition was too powerful to put the Leader of the Opposition into jail, as they did in the case of Morarji Desai.

But we are all now free men and women, and to see that this sort of thing does not happen again in our country we drafted a new Constitution. I do not say that coups may not take place but they will have to take place by military force and not by constitutional process.

I would like to mention one or two features in that Constitution. One, the life of Parliament cannot be extended, the period of office of the President cannot be extended, even by a two-thirds majority without a referendum and the permission of the people obtained for such an extension. Therefore, as was done by the previous Government, the life of the present Parliament and the future Parliaments cannot be extended by a vote of the legislators alone.

The Public Security Act which is similar to yours cannot be enforced in our country today under the new Constitution without a debate and a vote in Parliament. If it is extended for more than three months a debate and vote of two-thirds of the Parliament must be obtained.

Prior to this the Public Security Act was imposed for six years in our country and no occasion was even given to Parliament to debate that extension of the Public Security Act.

It is under such legislation that the people were imprisoned without trial, that laws were enacted by *Gazette* notification and the whole process of democracy nullified.

I will not go into the details of our new Constitution because it seeks to combine the best in the American system, the British system and the French system; and to find ways and means of meeting situations which arose in our country since we obtained freedom. Under that Constitution we have the functioning of a democratic Parliament and an Executive President whose period of office extends beyond the period of Office of Parliament, thus ensuring stability to the Executive.

Under that Constitution we hope to create a better and a more prosperous life for our people by the development of our resources and the division of those resources equally among all those who need it. Our plans depend on the new irrigation, the agricultural, and the industrial systems which we hope to introduce into our land.

We need the help of our neighbours, we need the help of all those who are willing to help us in the international sphere, and of our neighbours the greatest, the most important and the friendliest is your Republic of India.

I am happy therefore that I have been able to come here, to meet all of you, Members of the Cabinet, the Prime Minister whom I have known for quite a long time, and you, Sir. The portraits of these great men in this hall, the Presidents of the Free Republic of India all of whom — as I was telling my neighbours on my right and on my left — I have known — for I have had a long association with the Indian National Congress; all of whom I have known and who have loved our country as I have loved yours and who lived on the greatest terms of friendship with Sri Lanka. I hope that will continue and in the years to come your country and our country will work for the benefit of our people and for the peace of mankind.

## SOVEREIGNTY LIES IN THE PEOPLE

*Speech at Civic Reception accorded by the Mayor of New Delhi — 29th October 1978*

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No country however great can progress without the aid of its friends and neighbours. International organisations help your country, help others and help us too to progress. In my discussions with your Prime Minister and his colleagues, we have been able to agree upon many spheres of friendship and co-operation.

This is a great city, ancient in its history and modern in its administration. Many events both good and bad, have happened both within and outside this historic Red Fort. This Red Fort has been the centre of many events from the time of the Mogul Emperors. Today this Red Fort is dedicated to peace and democracy. This is where the leaders meet the people and explain their policies to the people. I am also happy to participate in a proceeding which is not superior but similar.

In your country and ours the sovereignty lies in the people. We are their elected representatives who work and serve them for a period of time.

I started my political career as a Member of the Colombo Municipal Council. If I may add a personal note, I may mention that my grandfather came forward as a candidate of the first Municipal Council of Colombo. After him, my father and his two brothers and ultimately I represented the same constituency in that Council



for almost a 100 years. In our new Constitution we have enshrined the sovereignty of the people. We have seen to it that no ambitious leaders could interfere with the sovereignty of the people by extending the life of the Parliament. The period of the term of the elected President also cannot be changed or amended even by a two-thirds majority. The Public Security Act which is similar to yours cannot be invoked without a debate and vote in Parliament. If the Security Act is to be extended beyond the period of three months it must be approved by a two-thirds majority in Parliament. These democratic freedoms are being enjoyed by only your country and ours among the developing nations of the world. I hope and trust that they will be able to preserve these freedoms for the prosperity and welfare of mankind.

Democratic freedoms alone do not bring food and clothing for the people. As I am aware, in your country and ours programmes for development have been inaugurated and are in progress. You the Mayor mentioned some of them.

I regret that the plans for development in India have been hindered by unfortunate events such as floods in the last two months. Sri Lanka has attempted to help in a small way.

I have spoken of material matters. But that alone does not make man civilised. Your country from time immemorial has produced great men. Even the shadow of the teaching of your greatest son, Gautama, The Buddha which fell upon our land, enlightened our people. Your great Emperor Asoka was a loyal follower of the Buddha's teachings and sent his children Mahinda and Sanghamitta to our land to preach the doctrine of the Buddha. Sanghamitta brought a branch of the *Bo* Tree under which Buddha attained Enlightenment. That branch was planted in our ancient city of Anuradhapura. After 2400 years it is still growing, the oldest historical tree in the world. I have come here, therefore, not only as the elected President of the people of Sri Lanka but as a pilgrim to your hallowed shrines.

I thank you and the Councillors for the reception accorded to me and also wish to thank the Prime Minister and his colleagues in the Government.

Let the cordiality and friendship that exist between our two countries be an example to others in the world.

## WE ARE COMMITTED TO PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES

*Speech at Civic Reception held  
in Kathmandu, Nepal — 5th  
November 1978*

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I did not expect that I would be treated with all this hospitality when I decided to visit Lumbini. I must thank Their Majesties and the Government of Nepal and the people and the officials for the careful and disciplined arrangements made for my visit.

I originally came as a pilgrim to visit the shrines hallowed by Gautama, the Buddha. Lumbini, in Nepal, is the place Gautama, the Buddha was born a little more than 2500 years ago.

Sri Lanka has very ancient connections with Gautama, the Buddha, and His teachings. Our history records that Gautama, the Buddha, Himself visited Sri Lanka. Emperor Asoka sent his son, *Arahat* Mahinda to convert the people of Sri Lanka and the Monarch of Sri Lanka to follow His teachings. The Emperor Asoka also sent his own daughter, *Theri* Sanghamitta with a branch of the sacred *Bo* tree under which Gautama, the Buddha, attained Enlightenment. That tree still flourishes in our country. It is almost 2500 years old and it is the oldest historical tree in the world.

Since then our people have preserved the pristine teachings of Gautama, the Buddha, up to this day. We try in a humble way as a nation and as a people to follow in the footsteps of Gautama, the

Buddha. We try to respect His teachings of *Maitriya* and *Ahimsa*, non-violence.

It is based on these teachings that the Non-Aligned Movement was started at Bandung and among its original members were Sri Lanka and Nepal. The developing nations of the world in this movement wish to live in peace to develop their countries and to gain prosperity for their peoples.

Your country and ours therefore are dedicated to the principles enunciated in the Non-Aligned Movement and the Disarmament Conference. I understand from the members of your Government that you are dedicated to non-interference with the affairs of other people's countries, that you believe that nations should seek to settle their problems by discussions and cordiality. You feel with us that nations should give up war and seek not to arm themselves.

We in our country have enunciated a similar proposition that Nepal should be a zone of peace. I feel that the whole world should be a zone of peace.

I will discuss with the members of my Cabinet and make a decision about our attitude particularly to the Nepal zone of peace. I would like to say what I am mentioning to you comes from the bottom of my heart.

The great Emperor of the Indian sub-continent Asoka, gave up war and preached *Maitriya*. It is said that at the conclusion of a war in which thousands of people were killed, the parents of a dead child brought the child to the Great Emperor. The parents presented the child to the Emperor and said, "Please Emperor, give back life to our child".

The Emperor said, "I cannot do that". The parents said, "Then why do you go to war and kill innocent people?"

That incident made Emperor Asoka give up violence. I would like to mention to the leaders of powerful nations who live in air-conditioned rooms and in tents, and camps, while their people go to war and are slaughtered, that they should go out to the battlefield and fight.

If they do that, there will be no war. That is why I think we in the smaller nations say sincerely to the bigger nations "Lay down your arms."

Your country is the birthplace of Gautama, the Buddha, who said to the human race, "Do not harm the meanest thing upon its upward way" — let this message go round the world once again.



I am happy that, so many of you turned up this evening. It reminds me of one of my election meetings. It was one year and a few months ago that my party and I were returned to power with an unprecedented majority.

Today out of 168 seats in Parliament we have 143. We won those seats not by rigging the elections. We could'nt do it because we were in the Opposition. And we have governed our land one year and three months and we have five years more to rule. During these five years we wish to be friends of all and enemy of none.

We wish to develop our resources so that the fruits of that development will be equally distributed among our people.

In your address you called me the leader of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka. You have called me the *Rashtrapati* of the *Prajathantra Samajavadi Lanka*.

My language and your language are similar. We use similar words and we speak a similar language, because we want to create a society that is supreme and a society that is free and just. That is the society that we are trying to create.

We have freed our people from many of the laws that were repulsive. Many of our people were in prison without trial. My own son was in prison without trial and was not charged. He was locked up in a cell and fed out of a tin plate.

My private secretary who has come with me, a relative, was locked up without trial. He was not allowed to see his wife or children, his friends or his lawyers. Several of my Ministers were similarly treated and never charged. I am sending one of them to India and Nepal so that you may have a look at him. He is the Minister of Trade and he was the President of the Oxford Union. Several of my members of Parliament were treated in the same way.

A large number of young men and women were in prison for a period of six years. I have repealed those laws and released those people. The people can criticise our Government, vote against our Government and they can defeat our Government five years hence. We have therefore as much freedom as any nation in the world. A just society is more difficult to achieve. You cannot gain this in the lifetime of our Parliament. We think a Socialist economy will give rise to the just society we are trying to create.

In the years to come gradually we hope to develop our resources by our own means and with the help of international organisations. That is why my friends, we hope to create a free and

just society. We may succeed or we may fail but the ideal is one which is worth trying to achieve. Throughout my election campaign I preached what I am saying now. As I said, what we are seeking to achieve, we must also live as leaders. We have laid down a code of conduct for our Members of Parliament and Ministers. If any one violates this code then all we have got to tell him is good-bye.

## 11

# BUDDHISM RUNS LIKE A GOLDEN THREAD IN THE AGE-LONG RELATIONS BETWEEN SRI LANKA AND NEPAL

*Speech at Royal Banquet given  
by Their Majesties King  
Birendra and Queen Aishwarya  
of Nepal, Kathmandu — 14th  
November 1978*

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Your Majesties, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentleman. May I on behalf of Mrs Jayewardene and the other members of my party, thank Your Majesties and your Government for so kindly inviting us to visit your country to enable us to see the birthplace of Gautama, the Buddha. It was the teachings of Gautama, the Buddha which came to our land over 2500 years ago enabling us to adopt them and thus attempt to follow in his footsteps. It is Buddhism that runs like a golden thread in the age-long relationship between Nepal and Sri Lanka. I must thank you for the hospitality and the kindness which you are showing us on our visit to this land.

There is another bond that binds us. As you mentioned in your speech we are members of the Non-Aligned Movement, the movement with whose origin we have something to do and the Movement which has great ideals. I am hoping that we would be able to



steer it to make that great Movement accomplish its ideals of helping the developing nations and other nations of the world to steer clear of power-politics and power-blocs.

There is also another bond. We are one of the smaller nations that live in the Indian Ocean region. It is necessary as smaller nations in the region to co-operate with each other, learn to work together and help each other to develop our countries for the prosperity of our peoples. I had something to do with the formulation of the Colombo Plan twenty seven years ago and I am happy that Nepal as a member is able to realise some benefits from our common relationship. In the future too, I trust that Your Majesty, Your Government and our Government would be able to co-operate in developing our young economies.

There are many problems that face us since we obtained freedom and I think we have begun to realise how we can help each other. In December I hope that my Minister of Commerce will visit your country and discuss with you some of the problems that we face and how we can help each other to overcome them.

I am also glad to tell you that whatever help our country — a Buddhist country — can give to develop the Lumbini project, we will certainly do.

Your Majesty, I will not detain this audience any longer. May I request my party to drink to the health, to the prosperity and welfare of Your Majesty, Her Majesty, the Government of Nepal and its people.

## 12

# THE BOUNDARIES OF PRESS FREEDOM

*Address at the Tenth Assembly of  
the Press Foundation of Asia  
held in Colombo — 27th  
November 1978*

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I am sure one of your discussions would be about the “free press”, that if you look at it in depth, it involves many other considerations. The Free Press, the concept of a Free Press is derived from the right to think freely, to express oneself freely in word and writing.

We must go back in history to the period of the adolescence of the human race. In the sixth century B.C. the great philosophers of Athens, chiefly Socrates, of Gautama, the Buddha, in the Gangetic plain, of Zoroaster in Persia, of Confucius in China. It is strange that during that period all these great thinkers lived and taught and their thoughts were spread throughout the world firstly by word and then in writing. Some of them were killed for their thinking. Others were sought to be harmed, but I think the concept of free thought and free expression of that thought, began in the sixth century B.C. Gradually when writing developed the Epistles of St. Paul and the writings of the *Tripitaka*, the Gospel, the other teachings spread these doctrines throughout the world, and man began to feel that he had a right to think freely and to communicate his

thoughts. With the invention of printing in the sixteenth century A.D. writing took a more wide form and spread throughout the world. Pamphlets were the main method of communication. The ideas of Milton, who taught free thinking and the free communication of ideas; of Martin Luther who was a great Pamphleteer. Pamphlet printing again helped in the spread of free thought, with the invention of the press, if I may call it at the end of the 18th century, and the beginning of the 19th century. I may refer to the "Times of London", which was one of the first newspapers to be published at that time. Even at that early stage of the 19th century the press-newspapers-were formidable engines. I am using the words which Charles Dickens put to the mouth of one of his characters, a Mr Pott, who addressed Mr Pickwick and referred to the press as a "Mighty Engine" which was becoming powerful. The free press, the press we know it, began by the middle of the 19th century after the Industrial Revolution when various machines were invented to print and the Rotary Press came into being and the printing of newspapers became not only a method of pamphleteering but also a means of earning a living and a part of the capitalist structure, specially in Europe.

That is the free press that we are talking of today. A press where you have to consider not only the freedom of expression, of freedom of various classes of people, freedom of the proprietor, the owners of the means of printing, who are interested primarily in making their living. Of the freedom of the editor, how far is the editor entitled to express his views without conflicting with the owner of the press? The freedom of a formal correspondent, the reporter who goes about, how far is he free to express his ideas? The freedom of the advertiser and ultimately the freedom of the reader. All those considerations have to be taken into account when one talks of the free press.

You have then to consider (I will deal with that later) the freedom of the press in developed nations, in developing nations, but I am confident that nowhere in the world can anybody say that there will be no freedom of the press. Freedom of thought, freedom of expression, freedom of printing or freedom of speaking. Their problem and the discussion, the debate is not about the freedom of the press, but what are boundaries of that freedom? Where do you set those boundaries? Already the boundaries are accepted that there should be no propagation of sex, of violence, of sedition, of



infamy about individuals. Throughout the world those boundaries are accepted. Therefore, it is not a problem or a dispute about the freedom of the press. But what are the boundaries that one is to set to that freedom?

Now I would like to quote, the only quotation I am making, is a statement made by Samuel Johnson in his *Life of Milton*, printed in 1779. What he said then has not yet been resolved. If you permit me to cite the passage from his book, he says, "If every dreamer of innovations may propagate his projects, there can be no settlement. If every murmurer at government may defuse discontent, there can be no peace, and if every sceptic in theology may teach his follies, there can be no religion. The danger of such unbounded liberty and the danger of bounding this liberty has produced a problem in the science of government which human understanding seems, hitherto, unable to solve". That's almost 200 years ago and human understanding has not solved the problem even now. I thought that expressed very clearly what I think is the problem facing the freedom of the press, the boundaries of that freedom, the boundaries that each nation or individual or rulers or even those five groups, I mentioned in the press itself, the proprietors, the editors, the correspondents, the advertisers and the readers set up themselves. I will not therefore try to solve a problem that has troubled the world for 200 years.

I wish to get on to the freedom of the press, particularly in my country. In developed nations where they accept completely the freedom of the press, the United Kingdom for instance, governments have been troubled by the boundaries that should be set. There have been two commissions in the United Kingdom. In 1947, and in 1977. They have yet not resolved the problem that Samuel Johnson discovered 200 years ago. I do not know about the other developed nations. In developing nations this problem is acute. There are countries which have one-party government, both in the developed and developing nations. About them there can be no problem that I need discuss. We will leave it to them to decide their own fate.

Among others, India and Sri Lanka occupy a unique position because they have democratic freedom like in the developed nations; they both permit freedom of speech and freedom of opposition; governments have been replaced by the people without the bullet, through the ballot, several times in our country more than

any other country in the world. There is freedom of the press and to see how far that freedom should be exercised commissions have been appointed in India in 1952 to 1954 and in Sri Lanka in 1967 and 1977.

I will not deal any more with India, I would like to come to my own country, Sri Lanka. In 1977 July, in the same way that the British inherited the entirety of the Mogul Empire, I inherited the Sri Lanka Sirimavo Bandaranaike Family Empire, without asking for it, without wanting it. With all its assets and liabilities this Empire came into my hands. I have tried, during this one year, to get rid of some of the liabilities, very hard. People were detained without trial in this country. There were thousands in jail. There were laws which permitted detention without trial. The acquisition of property without any investigation. The passing of laws without recourse to Parliament by *gazette* notification. The extension of the life of Parliament without even a two-third majority or by a referendum of the people.

I have untied all those — myself and my Government. We have released everybody who was in jail without trial. No one can be detained today without an inquiry or without a judicial decision. There can be no extension of the life of Parliament or the period of office of the President without a referendum. Even by a two-thirds majority as was done in the past, we cannot extend the life of Parliament. No laws can be passed unless Parliament considers them and comes to a decision. No Emergency regulations — we call it the Public Security Act, which gives complete dictatorial powers to the government — can be imposed without Parliament debate and decision, and after three months, such decision needs a two-thirds majority.

Like that, we have tried to untie some of the boundaries that were placed on freedom. The press today is free. There are national papers which have the right to criticise the government and do so; anybody can start a newspaper organisation, anybody can import the most powerful printing machine in the world. There is freedom to import, raw material can be obtained and they can print anything they like.

The party papers are free to criticise the government — and they do, very vigorously. There is no boundary to what they can say except the normal laws; they are given government advertisements; they are entitled to use the government transport system to transport their papers.



We were wondering how far, in our manifesto, in our discussions, we can give freedom to the two institutions that now belong to the State. One of the major printing establishments in our country was taken over by the previous government. It was one of the heritages that I got with the 'Empire' — the Lake House papers. We took over another the 'Times' group of papers, because they were bankrupt. They were unable to pay their debts and one morning I saw in the newspapers that the building was to be sold for the payment of rates to the Municipality. That was a very old newspaper, over a hundred years old. We thought it would be a calamity if that happened, and took it over. Otherwise we would not have done that.

The Lake House papers and the 'Times' group, according to the Commission appointed by Mrs Bandaranaike in the 1960s produced at that time 800,000 copies. They published about twelve newspapers; I do not know how much they publish now. All the other newspapers publish 20,000. The Lake House group, which produces 700,000 out of 800,000 belongs to a family — of which I am also still an insignificant member, holding a few shares even after nationalisation.

It was founded by my mother's brother and one of your founders, Mr Esmond Wickremesinghe, is a common relation. Of course, I was at the receiving end of a lot of their criticism, but that didn't matter.

What is one to do with this, this mighty engine that has come into our possession? None would say, I think, that it should be handed over to the proprietors, because I don't think families should own such an important organisation such as a powerful press.

The Commission appointed by Mrs Bandaranaike suggested that the shares should be handed over to co-operatives and to trade unions. Some of that has been done but the majority shares are still in the hands of the government. I do not know what to do with that organisation — I wish some of you tell me. Such a powerful engine of propaganda; in whose hands should it be? I wish your organisation would help me. We thought we would associate the opposition in policy-making. I said so in my election speeches. But the people thought otherwise and eliminated the opposition. In Parliament there is not a single member of the Communist Party or the Marxist parties. There is only a small rump of the Sri Lanka Free-



dom Party. The main opposition is of the Tamil United Liberation Front which wants a separate State. I don't think the people will allow me to advocate a separate state through the Lake House Papers.

So, we are in that difficulty. What am I to do? What is this government to do with the Moghul Empire that I have inherited? Am I to hand it back to the Moghul Emperors? It is not possible. So that is the situation we are faced with as a Government. And more so — and this is the theme I would like you to discuss — in a developing country, what is the role of a free press?

Developing nations have problems which developed nations do not have. I saw in your own statement which you gave to me a very apt phrase — the people in the developing countries ask a little more food in the stomach, a little more clothes on one's back, a little more roof on one's head. You're quite right. More than ever today, the disasters that we have had to undergo — I thank you for your kind words of sympathy; thousands are in distress, millions of rupees' damage has been caused, hundreds of houses have been destroyed. Do they care about a free press? I don't think they do. Even our freedom of speech and freedom of opposition? They have to live, they have to find their food, they have to develop.

In a developing country there are three main problems arising — freedom from hunger, freedom from unemployment and freedom to develop. If a nation is going on that path, can one permit unbounded liberty to people to disrupt that path? We have allowed it, up to now. But if that liberty comes to the stage where the government is disrupted, where we cannot carry on our work, where people have to suffer, what is the government to do? Resign? Hand over the reins of government to the free press and say, "Carry on"? Or are we to restrict them and to see that the people have food, clothing, a roof and employment?

That is the dilemma that a government as my government is in with a five-sixth majority in parliament, with 143 of the 168 member's coming from the rural areas, where every day the House is surrounded by the voters, asking for bread and food and employment — to find that all the work they do, because of some ideological difference or, as Johnson says in the quotation I cited, "some sceptic, some murmurer against the government, some theologians wants to preach his philosophy", ending in destruction.

I have not resolved that question. Please address yourselves to

that. Mr Chairman, Mr Bodinagoda, and let us know what a government in such a circumstance should do. What are the boundaries? I am not telling about freedom of speech or freedom of meeting or freedom of the press. That is accepted. What are the boundaries for that freedom in a developing country such as Ceylon that you would like a government to impose? That should be your main topic. And whatever help, as I mentioned to Mr Wickremasinghe and your Chairman, we as a State can provide your organisation, a very useful organisation, we are prepared to do so. For your propaganda, for your officers, for your research, for your meetings, I find that you need money. We need money, too. But such as we can give, we will give you. Because freedom of thought, much more than freedom of the press, freedom of thought and the expression of that thought, in words and in writing, we hold very sacred. We hold it sacred because it was the foundation of democratic government. In our country in the last seventy years we have had that democratic system. I would like to leave behind, when our party ceases to hold office, as it must some day, a tradition that in this country democracy has been preserved and as far as possible, that democracy has been preserved by the United National Party of which I am proud to be the Head and Leader.

## 13

# NON-VIOLENCE, MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES

*Speech at Sixth Non-Aligned  
Summit Conference, Havana,  
Cuba — 3rd July 1979*

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Your Excellencies and Friends,

I wish on behalf of the Government and people of Sri Lanka to convey to the Government and people of Cuba our fraternal greetings. We have received a warm welcome in keeping with the traditions of your beautiful country and we are grateful for all the elaborate arrangements made for our comfort. The hospitality that you have lavished on us will be remembered in the future as it is enjoyed today. The people of Cuba have also received us with warmth and affection and the officials associated with our meetings have shown enthusiasm and efficiency. We will do our best to help them in their work.

I am also happy to welcome Cuba to the Chairmanship of the Non-Aligned Movement for the next three years. I wish to urge all members to co-operate with the new Chairman not only in making this Conference useful and productive, but also in ensuring that our founding principles are preserved and strengthened.

In my opening address to the Meeting of the Non-Aligned Bureau held in Colombo in July, I traced the origin of this Movement to the Colombo Powers Conference held in Colombo in April, 1954. It was there that, as far as I am aware, the word "Non-



Aligned” was first used at an international conference. The Colombo Powers held two Conferences at Bogor and Bandung in Indonesia in the years 1954 and 1955. The Bandung Conference sought to bring the peoples of Asia and Africa together and led to the Conference at Belgrade in 1961. The Belgrade Conference introduced a new dimension to the earlier concept of these Conference. Since Belgrade, we met at Cairo in 1964, Lusaka in 1970, Algiers in 1973, and Colombo in 1976, and now we meet in Havana for the Sixth Summit.

The association between Cuba and the Non-Aligned Movement goes back to the Belgrade Summit. Cuba has participated in every meeting and all activities of the Non-Aligned Movement since then. Seven Latin American and Caribbean countries are now among our members. Applications for membership from four more will be considered at our Conference. In the light of Cuba’s pioneering role, it is natural that the Non-Aligned Movement’s first meeting in Latin America at the level of Heads of State or Government should be held here.

Your Excellency, President Fidel Castro Ruz,

We have all discovered, I am sure, that among your people you are affectionately known as *Companero*, a Spanish word which means a mixture of companion and comrade. Throughout your leadership of Cuba, your attitude — as seen in your writings, statements, and interviews — has been that a nation’s progress can and must be achieved through ceaseless effort directed at bringing the greatest good to the greatest number.

I am convinced that at the end of our deliberations in Havana, and beyond, we will realize and remember that we are all *companeros*, despite those differences of approach and emphasis that are inevitable in a Movement as large and diverse as ours. Non-Aligned countries represent a wide spectrum of political philosophies, economic strategies and cultural backgrounds. We have never aspired to add to the trials and tribulations of the 20th century by setting ourselves up as a bloc. We have always permitted and encouraged the expression of all points of view at our gatherings. And yet, we are bound by links and inspired by circumstances that rise above and go beyond differences. We are all companions in a quest for international justice; and we are all comrades in struggles against forces that impede the progress of our peoples.

Your Excellencies and Friends,

It is my pleasant duty to sum up the activities of the Non-Aligned Movement during Sri Lanka's period in office as its Chairman from 1976-1979. I would also wish to make some suggestions as to what priorities we should follow in the immediate future under the leadership of Cuba, our host country today. Before that however, I wish to state that I appear before you not only as the outgoing Chairman in office of the Non-Aligned Movement, but also as the elected Head of State and Government of a nation whose history and traditions make global rivalry and confrontation alien to our way of life and thought. Of the influences that have shaped our nation's destiny, Buddhism was the strongest and remains the most enduring. The great Emperor Asoka of India, in the third century B.C. sent his son the *Arahat* Mahinda to preach the *Buddha Dhamma* to the King of Sri Lanka, Devanampiyatissa and his people. Since then for over 2300 years the majority of our people have attempted in our humble ways to follow His teaching of peace and non-violence. Asoka's benign views were inscribed in rock edicts, one of which enjoined his people not to "extol one's own sect or disparage another's".

"On each occasion we should honour another man's sect, for by doing so one increases the influence of one's own sect and benefits that of the other man."

Translated into modern political terms, this instruction gives us a firm philosophical base for tolerance, mutual respect, non-aggression and co-existence — all essential features of Non-Alignment as we understand and practise it.

In our own national and historical context, therefore, the choice of Non-Alignment as the guiding principle of our foreign policy was an obvious one. Successive governments in Sri Lanka have adhered to this principle because it is rooted in a set of fundamentals which no government can vary or seek to vary, unless it chooses to destroy our political and philosophical heritage. Describing those fundamentals, I said in 1954, as a Minister of the then Government:

"Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) seeks to preserve her freedom, to strengthen democracy, to preserve peace, to refrain from aligning herself with power blocs and to contribute to the peace, progress and welfare of humanity."



We in Sri Lanka are committed to these ideals and I hope that when you look back on our stewardship of the Non-Aligned Movement, you will agree, that we have been as faithful to those ideals in our Chairmanship of this Movement as we have been in the conduct of our own affairs.

Your Excellencies, Distinguished Delegates and Friends,

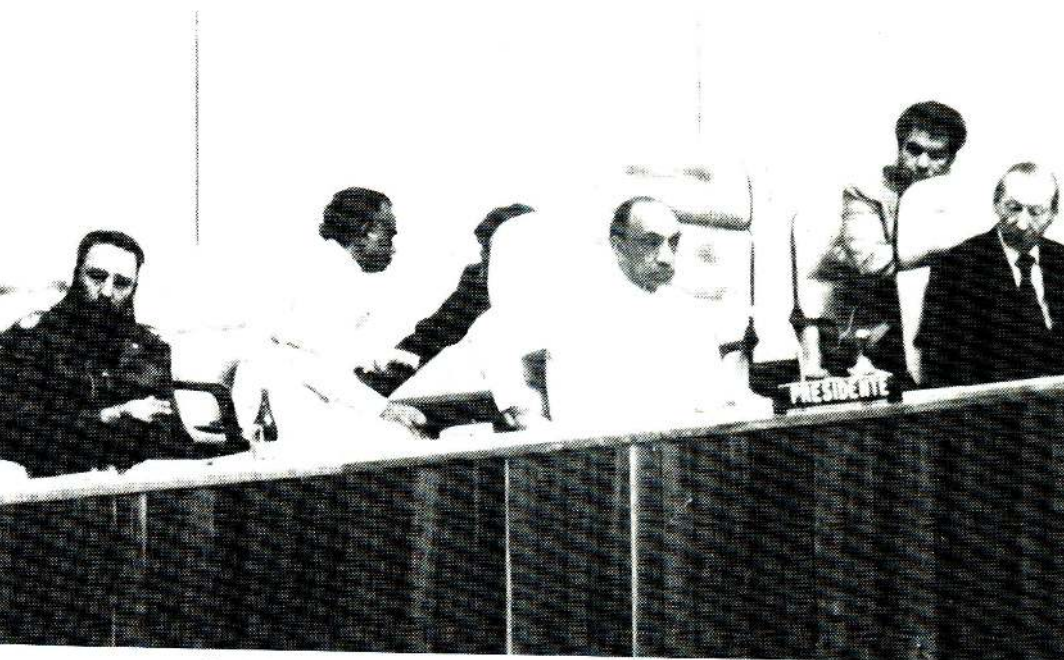
A description and analysis of Sri Lanka's role as Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement has to be set against the international context especially of the past two years. In many ways, they were difficult years. Within the Non-Aligned Movement, for instance, they sometimes produced self-doubt and self-questioning about the role and scope of Non-Alignment in a world substantially different from 1961. Different points of view were expressed on the direction we should take, and on the tactics and strategy required for us to meet our objectives. Some of the issues that caused us anguish at the Movement's founding — such as, for instance, a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, and complete decolonisation in Africa — could not be resolved despite many efforts. The ideal of a world at peace free from the terrors of the arms race, remains elusive. The difficulties faced by developed countries in their attempts to manage their own economies made them hesitant to embark on a major restructuring of the international economic order. To add to these complexities, the Non-Aligned Movement was disturbed by bilateral disputes between member countries which have threatened the unity of our Movement.

I have placed this litany of difficulties on record, not because my mood is one of pessimism, but because I believe that unless the conduct of international relations is based on a sound grasp and acceptance of realities, we run the risk of living in a world of fantasy. Self-congratulations are pleasant, but only when they are fully deserved.

As a Movement, we have continued to make progress and our achievements are all the greater for having been attained in a confused and confusing international environment. So, as we look back at the past in order to plan for the future, we should unfailingly remember that our Movement, no less than the rest of the world must squarely face up to issues which cannot be settled by the swelling sound of rhetoric.

Sri Lanka's conception of the role of Chairman, and con-





*Presiding at the Sixth Non-Aligned Summit Conference in Havana, Cuba*



*During State Visit to the USA with President Ronald Reagan and Mrs Nancy Reagan*



sequently, our actions in this role, have been based on five principles. First, all of us in the Movement are arbiters, playing the part of a referee who intervenes only when an infraction of the rules of the game threatens to destroy the game itself. Second, we have been committed to seeking and widening areas of agreement through informal consultations, rather than encouraging acrimonious and emotional public outbursts. Third, we have sought to concentrate the Movement's efforts on selected areas of discussion and negotiation which are of particular importance to the peace and prosperity of mankind. Fourth, we have as far as possible tried to democratise our proceedings, while remaining within the letter of the law of earlier decisions which govern our activities. Fifth, we have encouraged all efforts at strengthening the Movement, and re-asserting its usefulness and effectiveness in world affairs.

The results of our exertions are now part of the official record, and are therefore well known to you. I wish, however, to consider a few examples which I believe are in themselves important and which also provide us with guidelines as to the path our Movement might try to follow in the years ahead.

The introduction of an elaborate process of informal consultation as a prerequisite for consensus was particularly effective at the Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries held in Colombo, Sri Lanka, in June this year. Sri Lanka pursued this practice throughout its period as Chairman, but at Colombo, in response to the ramifications of some of the issues involved, it was necessary to make the consultative process the rule and not the exception.

As a result of informal soundings, free from the restrictions of fixed public positions from which there is often no retreat, compromise and consensus emerged even on questions that at various stages appeared intractable, inevitable. Compromise does not satisfy everybody. But without compromise, progress can turn out to be impossible. Rigid adherence to fixed positions can lead to the disintegration and destruction of any institution or group. May I suggest, therefore, that we should consider the possibility and the desirability of making this consultative process — adapted, changed, or refined — as a necessary and integral aspect of our procedures?

In selecting areas of concentration for international negotiation and discussion, perhaps the most important work of the Non-Aligned Movement in recent times was in connection with, and at,



the Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to Disarmament. This is not surprising because this Special Session, like those devoted to international economic affairs, was convened as a result of agitation by our Movement.

Humanity has lived under the threat of nuclear war for 34 years. Some might argue that it is the very awesomeness of that threat which has dissuaded nuclear powers from “pressing the button” during that time. Whatever validity there could be in that argument, it is indisputable that a process of arms control leading to total disarmament will make the world safer and more permanently secure than it is under a “balance of terror”. It should be remembered, too, that nuclear weapons are not the only means of destruction in the world today. Of the billions spent on armaments, the largest part is spent on producing conventional or non-nuclear weapons. This lethal manufacturing process must be controlled and dismantled if we and generations yet unborn are to be saved from destruction. It is in the light of this objective that Non-Aligned countries agitated for and participated in the UN General Assembly’s Special Session on Disarmament.

Sri Lanka, like other members of the Non-Aligned Movement, was less than satisfied with the outcome of these meetings where practice and precept were not matched. The Special Session on Disarmament did, however, have three significant results. It refocused attention on the issue as one of global concern which cannot be left for arms-producer to resolve in a “club” of their own. It reactivated a number of moribund UN institutions, and led to the creation of others. It also gave the whole question of international negotiation for disarmament a new sense of urgency.

My own proposal for the establishment of a World Disarmament Authority within the UN family was adopted by the Non-Aligned Movement and is one of the options available to negotiators at the UN. I remain convinced that the concentration of disarmament efforts in a single centre of operations is likely to be more effective than a series of disjointed and sometimes overlapping activities.

Our areas of concentration during our stewardship include matters of grave concern to our African-Arab colleagues. The notion that political structures and practices should be based on theories of racial superiority is grounded in the outmoded thinking of an earlier century. Such a notion has no place in our day and age. We in Sri Lanka consider such beliefs reprehensible. Our commit-

ment to the values of human brotherhood makes it impossible for us to condone ugly manifestations of prejudice and discrimination. Our own constitution entrenches human rights, and it is in the same spirit which inspired us to adopt our constitution of September, 1978 that we have approached these problems internationally. We are also opposed to the annexation of territory through expansionism, and we believe that those who have been dispossessed must be assisted to regain their homelands.

On the basis of those principles and beliefs, the Non-Aligned Movement under Sri Lanka's chairmanship vigorously espoused the causes of our African and Arab colleagues.

We have, perhaps, aided them in their resolve to continue their struggle for justice in full measure. We want an end to carnage. We want human dignity restored. We want to resolve the underlying problems that provoke conflicts. We realise that makeshift solutions are necessarily short-lived. That attitude has been shared by the Non-Aligned Movement as a whole and, I make bold to say, will continue to guide us until justice has been done.

I am proud to state, too, that throughout its chairmanship, Sri Lanka has done its utmost to preserve and enhance the unity of our Movement. The unity of the Movement has been assailed by bilateral disputes — unhappily in our own continent, as elsewhere. Some of those developments struck deep at the roots of our Movement, and a search for principled and acceptable answers became vitally necessary. The task of seeking those answers was entrusted in July, 1978 to a Working Group under Sri Lanka's chairmanship. This provided a forum for crucial discussions, and has produced some convergence of views. More time and more discussion are required for all the questions raised to be settled. Whether this Working Group is to continue its work, in what form, and for how long, is a matter for the Movement as a whole to decide. Sri Lanka, needless to say, is fully prepared to continue its active participation in all these efforts.

In these and other endeavours Sri Lanka has gained immeasurably from the co-operation of its fellow-members. We appreciate this and pledge to work closely with the new Chairman and the other members of the Movement in the months and years ahead.

Your Excellencies, Distinguished Delegates, and Friends,

History clearly shows us that despite disruptions, distractions



and distortions, there is a certain continuity in the story of mankind. For instance, most of the countries and organisations represented at this meeting were at one stage separated from each other by the nature of what has come to be known as the Colonial Period. We, whose basic instinct should be unity and whose basic interest should lie in co-operation found ourselves isolated. Yet, as time went on, we rediscovered each other and we felt the need to work together as partners reaching out towards common objectives. Just as primitive man found strength in unity when combating natural forces which stood in the way of his progress, we have realised that by pooling our ideas, our experiences and our resources, we have a greater hope than otherwise of overcoming some of the problems and issues that impede the progress and prosperity of our peoples. We meet in historic Havana therefore, as part of that community in continuity, with the responsibility of striving just as hard as we did at Belgrade, Cairo, Lusaka, Algiers and Colombo, not only to preserve our unity, but to use that unity wisely and well.

Philosophers and statesmen down the years have warned us that those who refuse to learn from the lessons of history are doomed to re-live them. The warning is salutary. It will serve us well to look at those moments of history when opportunities are lost as a result of wrong decisions being made and hence wrong directions being pursued. Some of our countries fell into colonial bondage because they failed to negotiate effectively with the trading vanguard of the colonial powers. Others lost their freedom when they chose to seek the protection of one set of roving marauders against others. The nascent unity which characterise the activity of some newly de-colonised countries in the post-Second World War period floundered and failed as national differences took precedence over common aims. Negotiations in the global market place have failed not because we set our target too high, but because our sense of collectivity was weak. These are all lessons of recent history, and we would do well to consider them, and others, during this pause for introspection and preparation before our Movement sets out on the next phase of its journey.

I believe that the choice before us as we prepare for the 1980s is clear cut. Should we fritter away our energies on issues that divide us or should we join together in unity with all the resources at our command, to bring a better life within the grasp of our peoples who are stretching their hands out towards prosperity? Twelve years



ago, at a meeting of the Group of 77 held in Algiers in preparation for UNCTAD II, I said that "a common purpose should animate us, a noble and unselfish one, namely to raise the living standards of people we represent". Much has happened over the expanse of time since then, but my perception of priorities has not changed. I am not arguing for an over-emphasis on material goals at the expense of spiritual and cultural values. The latter are very much the preserve of individual initiative, requiring neither massive government intervention nor regional and international co-operation at State level. Nor am I minimising the importance of political questions. These are of utmost importance, and must be adequately dealt with, in their proper time and place. What I am saying is that if we do not steadfastly work towards the goal of improving the lives of our people we will fail them, because we would have ignored or downgraded their hopes and aspirations. We will fail them, by not channelling our unity and strength in the correct direction. And we will go down in history as a generation of political leadership that failed to grasp its opportunities.

Together, we represent some two-thirds of the world's population. That might be considered an exhilarating statistic. . . and it is. But if we examine that statistic more closely, we will find that many of the people we represent are counted among the world's poor, neglected, or disadvantaged. Twenty nine (29) countries are considered as being the world's "least developed". Of these, 24 or over 80 percent, are Non-Aligned. Forty five (45) countries are considered to be "most seriously affected" by balance of payments deficits, food deficits and inflation. Thirty eight (38) of them, again over 80 per cent, are Non-Aligned. Some of us are better off than others, but among the disadvantaged, comparisons are sometimes a little more than a relative measure of hardship.

According to a recent study conducted by UN agencies, 500 million people in the world are undernourished; 100 million lack clean water; 800 million are illiterate; 350 million are unemployed; 250 million live in slums; 1.6 billion lack basic health care. For them there is no human dignity, nor joy, and, who knows, perhaps for some, no hope and certainly no care about Non-Alignment. What is important then? Should we engage in fervent discussions over political schisms and semantic nuances or should we summon the political will to combat human sufferings?

Several of the political issues that threaten to divide us, and

therefore catch our attention and consume our time, are intrinsically important. They cannot be glossed over because if they are neglected, they will continue to grow until they are beyond solution. So we must deal with them as expeditiously and as reasonably as possible. I would like to suggest therefore that these contentious issues be dealt with, by a small "good offices" group or groups. Such a group or groups could deal with such matters as bilateral disputes, border disputes, the credentials of delegations, and so on, keeping a "watching brief" on trouble spots and offering their good offices in a search for compromise and agreement before any set of disputants reach a "point of no return" in their mutual relations. Similarly, the Working Group set up in 1978, could continue with its efforts to refine and where appropriate, redefine the Non-Aligned Movement's position and procedures. The main thrust of our activities as a whole could then be in the direction of retaining Non-Alignment as an independent, non-bloc global factor in international relations and of removing the indignities and iniquities which today assail mankind.

If after thoughtful discussion at this Conference in Havana, and at subsequent meetings as well, you agree with the overall approach I have formulated, I would further suggest that for the immediate future we should agree on clearly defined areas of concentration. Several such areas seem obvious.

The theme of anti-subjugation has been a consistent rallying point of the Non-Aligned Movement. The Declaration of the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned countries held at Belgrade in 1961 included the following affirmation: "The participants in this Conference emphasize . . . that the policy of co-existence amounts to an active effort toward the elimination of historical injustices and the liquidation of national oppression, guaranteeing at the same time to every people their independent development." The Movement must continue to uphold that theme, working towards the final elimination of all forms of subjugation.

Arms control leading to disarmament must remain core-objectives of the Movement because these are essential components of the state of peace we desire. Real progress is not possible in a world at war, or continuously producing the instruments of war. Non-Aligned countries, because they are committed under the criteria for membership in the Movement, to stand aside from the competition for influence among great Powers, are particularly qualified to



suggest ways in which tensions could be reduced in all regions of the world.

The world's energy situation continues to be a destabilising factor in the world economy. Several proposals have been made for cushioning the impact of the energy situation on the global economy, and for monitoring the effects of inflation. These must be pursued. Equally important is the search for new sources of energy. Global demand for energy is expected to double by the year 2000. The most important sources of energy are finite, and the world's energy-producers cannot be expected to deplete their resources to satisfy unrestricted demand. Wasteful uses of energy must be curtailed, while research into new sources of energy moves into high gear. In other spheres, too, economic co-operation between developing countries can give us cohesion. A further growth to regional groupings might be necessary to make co-operation more effective. Co-operation should not be restricted to technology, trade and increased productivity, but should include a pooling of ideas and experience that will show us how best our national incomes, when increased, can be equitably shared. Many patterns of income distribution have failed the test of time. Innovation and expertise are necessary if suitable alternatives are to be devised.

Non-Aligned countries have recognised UNCTAD as the principal instrument for international economic negotiations on international trade and related problems of economic development. So it is logical that we should strive to strengthen UNCTAD which first came into being as a result of initiatives by Non-Aligned countries. The record so far of negotiations for a Common Fund has shown how commitment and co-operation can be combined under the UNCTAD umbrella. Closer interaction between the Non-Aligned Movement and the Group of 77 can make that umbrella even wider, and more helpful to our peoples.

Information is a precondition of development in Non-Aligned and other developing countries. The Non-Aligned Movement has already recognised this and at the Colombo Summit, stressed the need for action to be taken to achieve the objective of a continuous flow of information among Non-Aligned countries. The Non-Aligned News Pool is a manifestation of the action being taken. However, the flow of news has been extremely limited, particularly due to prohibitive telecommunication tariffs.

I would earnestly entreat all other member countries of the



Non-Aligned Movement to introduce the same tariffs for communication among ourselves as adopted at the recent conference held in Kuala Lumpur as a contrite step towards the realisation of a New International Information Order.

Conferences, Meetings, Seminars and Discussion Groups take place perennially. I do not doubt the value of these opportunities for discussion, exchanges of views and for joint action on the global issues that confront us. I cannot however, escape the impression that we have lapsed into a fixed mould.

If in the existing international forums, we have failed to achieve what we hoped for, should we not look inwards at ourselves to seek the reasons for this? If the United Nations has failed to fulfil its role, is it not more because of ourselves and less because of any philosophical or structural faults in that organisation? Let us then look forward to a better international environment, where there will be greater understanding and appreciation of one another's problems. Without this appreciation, we cannot hope for a better tomorrow.

Your Excellencies,  
Distinguished Delegates, and Friends,

I have placed before you some thoughts on how best our priorities could be re-shaped. It would give me happiness to add your thoughts to them. That is as it should be for we have met here to bring our collective view to bear on the most pressing problems faced by the peoples we represent. A harmonious mosaic of ideas combining the traditional strength of the cultures in our different continents could give the millions we represent a period of real achievement where their lives will be lives of dignity.

I have spoken to you about the period 1976-1979. I have dealt with some of the priorities that I thought may be considered in the years to come. I have mentioned some of the principles and ideals which inaugurated the Non-Aligned Movement and which I think we should adhere to.

We, as a nation since we became free, and those of us who form the Government of Sri Lanka today have followed these principles; principles of anti-imperialism, anti-colonialism and anti-racism. We have opposed any ideas which seek to subjugate peoples and have followed those ideas that seek to liberate peoples. We have stood for and struggled for them. We are among the founder mem-

bers of the Non-Aligned Movement. I am glad and proud that under the leadership of my Foreign Minister Mr Shahul Hameed, we have been able to hand it down to His Excellency Fidel Castro untarnished and unaltered. May it remain so in the years to come.

Why did we do so? We did so because we ourselves were subject to foreign rule for four centuries. In the 16th century, to be exact in 1503, for the first time invaders from the West landed on our coast and till the 19th century for 300 years, the Portuguese first, the Dutch second, and then the British invaders sought to subjugate us. Certain portions of our country were subjugated. However, somewhere in our country, our people never lowered the flag of liberty, they never gave in. They were never conquered. In 1815, by the free consent of our people, the sovereignty of our nation was handed over to the British. King George III of England was accepted as King of Sri Lanka. We did not realise then that we were jumping from the frying pan into the fire. Very soon the British took the whole island. As your country and possibly all the countries represented here in South America, in Africa, and in Asia, we were made a colony. An independence we had enjoyed unbroken from the 6th century B.C. till 1815 for a period of 2,400 years was lost.

We regained our freedom without bloodshed in 1948, we became a Republic in 1972. Since we became independent, we have enjoyed a system of democratic government. For 30 years we have changed our governments several times through the ballot without bloodshed. I have been a Member of our Legislature, an Elected Member, since 1943 and a Member of our Free Legislature from 1948 except for a short period of time when our people thought in their wisdom that I should be out of Parliament. I have been a Minister in our first independent Cabinet. We changed Governments not by force but by speeches, by expressions of opinion, by persuasion. We taught our people how to change a Government and how to choose a new one, how to put into office a defeated Government and replace it by the ballot. In 1977 by a General Election conducted by our opposing party, then the Government, myself and my party were returned with 141 out of 168 seats. At the Colombo Summit Conference I was sitting with the public as Leader of the Opposition. Today I am sitting here as Chairman of the Fifth Summit Conference by the choice of the people as the Head of Government at that election. Today, we have 143 out of 168 seats in our



Parliament. I think if His Excellency Fidel Castro spoke for us at our General Elections, we would have won all the 168 seats and not 141.

We have maintained a Democratic Socialist Government. Socialist because land is nationalised, no one is allowed to own more than 50 acres. Tea, rubber and coconut plantations now belong to the people. The state lands which cover almost three million acres cannot be alienated to the capitalist. They belong to the landless. All our public utility services like the telecommunication services belong to the people. Our transport services belong to the people and also sections of our trade, both import and export trade and the distribution of essential services. Essential foodstuffs belong to the people and are distributed through state organisations or co-operatives. Sixty percent, one can say, of the means of production, distribution and exchange in our country belong to the people. Therefore we call ourselves socialist.

We are also democratic — for the last 30 years our people have exercised the right of universal franchise, men and women over 18 years have the right to vote. They can elect representatives from the villages or the town to local authorities and to Parliament. They can elect a Government of their choice as they have done on several occasions. Our new Constitution protects the sovereignty of the people and safeguards them against any dictatorship. The President cannot extend his period of office by an Act of Parliament even if he obtains 100 percent of the votes unless a Referendum is held and the people give him a right to do so. Rightly can we say that in our democratic Constitution the sovereignty of our people has been enshrined.

We have carried these democratic ideals into the arena of world politics; we look at world politics through the same eyes. Where in our Constitution we have enshrined the sovereignty of the people, in world politics we feel that the sovereignty of man should be enshrined.

When God created man he did not create him black or white or brown or yellow. The superiority of the white races was a theory enunciated by the Western powers in the 16th century when they conquered all parts of the world. We believe that when their ancestors in the West were still living in the primeval forests of their countries, our ancestors in Asia had developed a system of philosophy which even today arouses the wonder of the world and



which modern scientific discoveries have not been able to contradict.

From the neighbouring continent of India, her greatest son Gautama, the Buddha sent his message of peace and compassion which ennobled us. Later in our lifetime Mahatma Gandhi preached the doctrine of non-violence and *ahimsa*. Thus he brought to its knees the greatest empire the world has seen. They did not use force, they preached and practised non-violence. That is the code which my Government seeks to follow in our country and to follow in the field of world politics.

Having heard you and seen you, Your Excellency Fidel Castro, I can understand how the people of this country follow you and made you their leader. You and I have the same ideals. We may not agree on the methods of attaining them and the path to be followed. In this magnificent hall, in the elaborate convention building you have built, looking round your beautiful country and feeling the warmth of your people and of their leader in their reception of us, I am convinced that your own life is part of the contemporary history not only of Cuba, but of the world.

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 not 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 people. May they seek to solve their problems by discussion and not by war. I feel that if you 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 thank you for listening to me so carefully.

## WHEN I SPOKE ON YOUR BEHALF AT SAN FRANCISCO I SPOKE FROM MY HEART

*Speech at Imperial Banquet  
given by Their Majesties, the  
Emperor and Empress of Japan,  
Tokyo — 11th September 1979*

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Your Imperial Majesty, Your Excellency the Prime Minister, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen.

I come from a land and represent a people in many ways as ancient as yours.

The people of Sri Lanka practising the same religion, Buddhism, speaking the same language, Sinhala, lived throughout the Island as an independent nation till 1815 for 2300 years. The British monarchical rulers then replaced the local monarchs under a convention accepted with the consent of the people and not by conquest. Under King George III of the United Kingdom and his descendants the British Government ignored the Convention and ruled Sri Lanka as a colony till 1948. We were governed by monarchical dynasties in an unbroken line as an independent nation, as a colony and as a Dominion from 544 BC to 1972 when we became a Republic. Under foreign rule the faith of the people, their language and their customs almost died away. Because of this, not only we, but all Asian nations which suffered similar fates under Western

imperialism admired and looked up to Japan. During the last 80 years Japan stood out in Asia as an independent nation. When the Western Powers dominated the whole world with their military might and their commercial enterprises, you competed with them, equalled them and often defeated them. When Your Majesty visited Sri Lanka in the 1920's as Crown Prince, I remember visiting the harbour with pride to see the ship in which you travelled.

I do not support wars or violence. I did feel, however, that the 1939 War would end British imperialism and that we would be free. Together with my friend and colleague, the late Mr Dudley Senanayake, an ex-Prime Minister and son of our first Prime Minister since freedom, we even discussed with the then Japanese Consul in our country in the 1940's how we could help the Japanese if they landed in Sri Lanka, provided they helped us to attain freedom. Fortunately we were saved the bloodshed consequent upon an invasion.

In 1951, I was selected by my Prime Minister the late Mr D.S. Senanayake, to attend the Japanese Peace Treaty Conference at San Francisco in the USA. I thought I should travel through Japan to be able to meet some of the Buddhist leaders about whom I had read. Your country was then still suffering from the disasters of the War. Some cities were completely destroyed and Tokyo was more than half destroyed. The Japanese people whom I met were only permitted to meet me outside the hotel in which I stayed. I met some of the Buddhist leaders and visited several temples and discussed Buddhism with them. I remember meeting Professor Suzuki who was then an acknowledged world authority on Zen Buddhism. I asked him what the difference was between *Mahayana* Buddhism which you practise and *Hinayana* Buddhism which we practise. He said, "Why do you emphasise the difference? On the contrary consider the points of agreement: The *Buddha*, the *Dharma* and the *Sangha* we all accept: The Noble Eightfold Path which leads to the realisation of *Anichcha*, *Dukkha*, *Anatta*, we both follow."

I felt there was a very strong bond that bound Buddhist Japan and Buddhist Sri Lanka together. I realised the influence on your civilisation created by the introduction of Buddhism to Japan almost 1,500 years ago by the great Apostle Bodidharma. When I spoke on your behalf at San Francisco I spoke from my heart and cited the words of the Great Teacher whom we both follow. "Hatred ceases not by hatred, but by Love. Forgive the Japanese people and



do not seek to impose penalties on them.” Your great Prime Minister, the late Mr Yoshida wrote to me how much he appreciated my remarks. I am only sorry that I was unable to accept his invitation and visit Japan during his lifetime.

I came again in 1968 and what a change there was in your material prosperity. Today the miracle of the Japanese nation’s resurgence has made you wealthy and economically one of the leading countries in the world. That alone is not civilisation as I understand it. When the great edifices built by man that we see around us, disappear and “leave not a rack behind”, the words of the Buddha which I quoted in my speech at San Francisco exactly 28 years ago, will be remembered. In Japan too as in every other country in the world, when the pomp of power arrives at its inevitable end, the ideals spread from your temples, the meditational practices of your priests, the words of piety they express will be remembered, will persist and mould the lives of human beings for generations to come.

Your Majesty’s Government has invited me to visit a land and people that I cherish very much. You have all been very courteous and kind to us. On behalf of my Government and the people of Sri Lanka permit me to thank Your Majesty and to wish you, your Government and your people prosperity and happiness in the future.

*Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,*

*May I now request you to join me in a toast to the health of Their Imperial Majesties, the continued progress and wellbeing of the people of Japan and the strengthening of the ties of friendship between our two countries.*

## SRI LANKA'S FRIENDLY TIES WITH JAPAN

*Speech at Luncheon given by the  
Prime Minister of Japan – 11th  
September 1979*

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Your Excellency the Prime Minister and Mrs Ohira, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am greatly honoured by the sentiments that you have expressed, and wish to convey to you the gratitude of my wife, of myself and my delegation for the friendliness and generous hospitality that is being accorded to us.

During this visit I hope to see something of your country and your achievements in recent years. Japan is known in Sri Lanka and all over the world for its economic and other achievements, which have been regarded as among the more spectacular performances in the modern era in history. The transformation of your country began to take place only during the last century and against great odds, as Japan has not been well-endowed with natural resources. This transformation has to be explained, therefore, in terms of the hard work, the resourcefulness, and the dynamism of the people of Japan and their leaders. This continuing dynamism was amply manifested by the performance of the Japanese economy in making a remarkable recovery so soon after the ravages caused by the Second World War.

The economic development of your country has involved what has been called the “modernisation” of your society, and in this connection, I would like to make special mention of a noteworthy aspect of modern Japan. As the inheritors of an ancient culture, your people have successfully engaged in the process of modernisation, without losing their cultural roots and the distinctive character of the civilisation of Japan. The performance of Japan provides inspiration for all other countries, which are trying to emerge into the modern world, while avoiding the destruction of all that is valuable in their national heritage. In Sri Lanka also we are engaged in a process of social and economic development, which entails a process of “modernisation”, while trying to preserve the heritage of the civilisation of Sri Lanka.

My Government came into office in July 1977 with a majority unprecedented in the annals of the several elections held in Sri Lanka since the time of our Independence in 1948. My Government has adopted a new Constitution declaring Sri Lanka a Democratic Socialist Republic. The people and the present Government of Sri Lanka have a firm commitment to democracy, and we have sought to ensure that Sri Lanka will continue to enjoy a genuine democracy through several provisions in the Constitution, including a chapter on fundamental rights. Sri Lanka and Japan are among the democracies in Asia, and this constitutes an important bond between our two countries.

My Government has inherited a widespread State sector which has grown over the years, as well as a framework of welfare services which have been notable for meeting the basic needs of the people. We are continuing with the State sector while trying to make it dynamic, and we are continuing also with the welfare services as part of our strategy to effect a socialist transformation of Sri Lanka. We have therefore an economy that is 60 per cent, State owned and thus socialist. At the same time, the present Government is providing for an appropriate role for private enterprise. Sri Lanka has had a mixed economy with a place for private enterprise, but it has been greatly hampered in the past by controls and restrictive practices. My Government has had success in bringing about a liberalisation of the economy, which has been a notable factor in a growth rate last year of 8.2 per cent, which we are happy to say is twice the average growth rate achieved during the last decade. We are now looking forward with reasonable confidence to further



economic progress in Sri Lanka, while recognising difficulties which to a great extent are caused by factors outside the control of the Government and people of Sri Lanka.

Japan and Sri Lanka have always had excellent relations. We are looking forward to further economic and other co-operation between our two countries, particularly as under the present Government. Sri Lanka has re-oriented its economic policy to make it more outward-looking. Relations between our two countries are not, of course, limited to the sphere of economic co-operation only, but take many forms and go back to a very long period because of our common religious inheritance. Our religious contacts have been flourishing in recent years, as shown for instance by the erection of the Peace Pagoda last year with the assistance of Japanese Buddhists. It was erected on Adam's Peak, the Holy Mountain of Sri Lanka, and I myself had the privilege of participating in the opening ceremony. During my present visit to Japan, I am looking forward with much anticipation to visiting Nara which is renowned as a former centre of the great Buddhist civilisation of Japan. We have no doubt that the bilateral contacts and co-operation between Japan and Sri Lanka will continue to flourish during the forthcoming years.

Relations between our two countries have to be viewed in the context of a world that is becoming increasingly interdependent. It has become quite a familiar point that no country, or region of the world, can exist in isolation, and what this means among other things, is that the economy of every country is subject to international economic trends. The countries of the under-developed world are now facing the serious consequences of the Western economic recession, which it appear could go on for the foreseeable future. There is also widespread disillusionment over the prospects for restructuring international economic relations and bringing about equitable North-South economic relations. Nevertheless, it is coming to be recognised that the further dynamic development of the North cannot be dissociated from the further development of the South in an increasingly interdependent world. It is our earnest hope, therefore, that the present period of difficulty will not lead to total disillusionment, but rather that it will provide an impetus to both North and South to grapple effectively with the problems that affect our common destinies. It is the hopeful expectation of Sri Lanka that Japan will play a notable role in bringing about better North-South economic relations.

It is not only international economic relations that have to be sorted out, but also international political relations as we are living in a world which is full of tension and conflict, in which some problems have proved intractable for many years while other problems arise leading to further anxieties. One of the major problems confronting us today is that of disarmament. The most destructive weapons continue to get more sophisticated and there is great danger of their proliferation. We now face a situation which is unique in all human history, the possibility of a nuclear holocaust which can put an end to humanity altogether. It is appropriate for me to refer to this possibility while on a visit to Japan, as it is the only country in the world which has actually experienced the horrors of nuclear war. Japan itself has provided an example of international good behaviour and it has not misused in any way its redoubtable economic strength. We in Sri Lanka believe that Non-Alignment provides the best hope for a better order in international relations, based on the true independence of States, equality in State relations, and peaceful co-existence between all States in the world irrespective of ideological and other divisions. We in Sri Lanka are well aware of Japan's commitment to promoting a peaceful world, and we look forward to co-operating with you further in this endeavour.

*Your Excellency the Prime Minister and Mrs Ohira, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen. I invite you to join me in a toast –*

*To the health and success of His Excellency the Prime Minister and Mrs Ohira.*

*To the health and prosperity of the people of Japan, and*

*To the further strengthening of the friendship and co-operation between our two countries.*

## STRENGTHENING OUR BONDS OF UNDERSTANDING AND FRIENDSHIP

*Speech at Banquet in honour of  
Their Majesties the Emperor and  
Empress of Japan – 12th Sep-  
tember 1979*

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Your Majesty, Your Excellency the Prime Minister and Mrs Ohira, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

As the time of my departure from Tokyo draws nearer, I am happy to have this opportunity to welcome all of you, and to thank Your Majesty and the Japanese Government for all the friendship and hospitality shown to me and the others accompanying me on this visit. We have found demonstrations of goodwill and friendliness towards us, by the leaders of your Government, by your officials, and the people of Japan whom we happen to have encountered during this visit.

I have found my visit to be not only very pleasant but also extremely useful. I have been deeply honoured to have been received by Your Majesty. In addition, I have had the opportunity of engaging in exchanges of views with representatives of the Government of Japan. These discussions have confirmed me in my view of the excellent relations prevailing between our two countries, and I feel that the bonds of understanding and friendship between us can be strengthened further. It is the hope of my Government that my



present visit to Japan will be followed by further exchanges of visits between Sri Lanka and Japan, which would lead to the full realisation of the potential that exists for co-operation between our two countries.

Sri Lanka is now engaged in trying to bring about an economic and social transformation through the adoption and practice of new policies. Notably, we have brought about a liberalisation of the economy and taken measures to ensure that it is outward-looking, which means that opportunities for co-operation with countries such as Japan have become greater than ever before. It is our earnest hope in Sri Lanka that economic relations with other countries will prove to be a dynamic factor in bringing about a satisfactory development of Sri Lanka's economy, and my present visit convinces me that there is plenty of scope for the interaction between Japan and Sri Lanka in the sphere of economic relations.

Our discussions have also shown that we have common ground regarding the international political situation. Both Japan and Sri Lanka have a commitment to peace, and are aware of the difficulties in trying to bring about a truly peaceful and co-operative international order. Although we are not in geographical proximity, both Japan and Sri Lanka are Asian countries, and this too constitutes a bond between us. Sri Lanka looks forward to co-operating with Japan in every way possible to bring about better international relations.

I will be spending a few more days in this country, and hope to see more of the achievements of Japan, which cannot fail to impress anyone even during a brief visit. I know, of course, that the rest of my stay in Japan will also be very pleasant and I can say in all sincerity that I and other members of my delegation will always cherish our memories of this visit to your country.

Your Majesty, Your Excellency the Prime Minister and Mrs Ohira, Excellencies Ladies and Gentlemen, I invite you to join me in a toast –

*To the health and success of Their Majesties,*

*To the health and success of His Excellency the Prime Minister and Mrs Ohira,*

*To the health and prosperity of the people of Japan, and*

*To the further strengthening of the friendship and co-operation between our two countries.*



*Official visit of Crown Prince Akihito and Princess Michiko of Japan*



*President and Mrs Jayewardene being received by President Ramaswamy Venkataraman at the commencement of State Visit to India*





## BANDUNG IS A LESSON IN HISTORY

*Message to mark the 25th  
Anniversary of the Bandung  
Conference*

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Twenty-five years ago in April/May, 1954, the Prime Ministers of Burma, Ceylon (Sri Lanka), India, Indonesia and Pakistan met in Colombo at the South-East Asian Prime Ministers' Conference. As deputy leader of my country's delegation I am proud to have been personally associated with this Conference which was the first occasion when the Prime Ministers of what came to be known as the Colombo Powers, had met together. Among other important issues, we discussed the desirability of holding a conference of Asian and African Nations and as a consequence the Prime Minister of Indonesia was entrusted with a mandate to explore the possibility of holding such a conference.

A year later, Indonesia hosted the historic Bandung Conference of Asian-African countries convened on the invitation of the Prime Ministers of the five Colombo Power countries. Bandung in turn is today accepted as the precursor of the Belgrade Summit of 1961 which inaugurated on a broader geographical basis, that unique coalition of countries which stood outside military alliances conceived in the context of great power rivalries, which is the Non-Aligned Movement. Thus, the idea conceived in Colombo in 1954, nurtured in Bandung in 1955 was born in Belgrade in 1961. It is gratifying that Indonesia and Sri Lanka have been associated in lay-

ing the foundation of a power trend in international politics embodying the fundamental principles of Non-Alignment as a framework for a new international order based on freedom, peace, equality and justice for all nations. The contribution which our two countries have made and continue to make in international affairs has helped to gain wider acceptance of these principles in the international arena.

The Bandung Conference assembled together the leaders of twenty-nine Asian-African countries, many of whom were newly independent while others were on the threshold of freedom. Their deliberations and conclusions have together become a symbol of the emergence of the Third World, a source of inspiration for the Non-Aligned Movement and one of the earliest manifestos reflecting the needs and aspirations of the under-privileged nations of the world. We commemorate this epochal event of international significance at a time when the Third World has become a significant factor on the international scene and when the membership of the Non-Aligned Movement embraces as many as 94 countries.

Despite the great diversity of nations represented at Bandung, certain principles bound us together. These principles formed the shield protecting our security, independence, peace and economic prosperity. They were clearly defined in the final communique of Bandung and remain valid today. I refer particularly to the recognised urgency of promoting economic co-operation in the Asian-African Region which has to make more progress. Co-operation for development, collective action to stabilise commodity trade, transfer of technology, regional co-operation in banking were some of the concepts which stand out in the Bandung Communique heralding the agenda which pre-occupies the developing countries today. The development of cultural co-operation and support for human rights was also emphasised.

Looking back on the conclusions that were reached at Bandung, one is struck by the recognition of our common problems and the common vision of a brighter future for the peoples of our countries based on co-operation in all fields and the adherence to the principles of international life guaranteeing international peace and stability. We must rededicate ourselves to these goals in order to ensure political independence and economic development within the framework of our distinctive cultural patterns.

Bandung is a lesson in history — a lesson in the value of unity

and co-operation amongst the developing countries. At no other time has this unity and co-operation been more urgent than today when we have to achieve rapid economic development to provide our people with a standard of living that will permit them to live in dignity, free from hunger, poverty and disease.



## THE FIVE PILLARS OF PROGRESS

*Address at the Meeting of the  
Commonwealth Heads of  
Government of the Asian and  
Pacific Region — 4th September  
1980*

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I attended the first regional meeting in Sydney with some doubts. I have now changed my mind for I feel that the mere fact of our meeting, our coming to collective decisions and our knowledge of the common problems that face us has turned out to be very useful.

The region covered by the Conference contains about two billion people. It produces 93% of world tea, 90% of its raw rubber, 88% of its tin and 87% of its coconut. The region is also rich in various types of minerals, iron-ore and even oil. Therefore if those who control the destinies of the people of this region, meet and consult each other that in itself could be of great use to the development and prosperity of their people.

I agree with the Prime Minister of Singapore that we have to consider the question of the increase of prices not only of oil but even the prices of goods that come to us from the developed countries.

I wish to tell my colleagues how our country has tried to meet the situation arising from these oil and other price increases. We have had discussions with various international organisations, many

of which are helping us in some way. But the World Bank and IMF have asked us to consider certain proposals of theirs. In short, they say that Sri Lanka's economy was over-heated. My reply was that it must be so, because all these have oil as one of the reasons for the over-heating.

Our Government was formed in July, 1977. The first thing we did was to amend the Constitution, because with the experience gained since freedom in 1947, both in and out of the Government we felt that the first thing in a democratic constitution was to ensure the stability of the Government in office between one election and another. And also to enshrine the democratic freedoms in the Constitution. Next we have to consider development on a massive scale, from which employment and wages flowed. The five pillars of the present progress of our country in the new Constitution are stability, democratic freedom, development, employment and wages.

In our Constitution, the French Presidential system and the British parliamentary system have been combined. The President who is the Executive is elected by popular vote for a term of six years. His period of office cannot be extended even by 100% majority in the House without a referendum. The Parliament's life is also six years and it is not coterminous with the President's term of office and if the Government is defeated in the House, Parliament could be dissolved. Its life could not be extended even by one day without a referendum.

Our Government has enshrined fundamental rights in the Constitution and made them justiciable. We also introduced a system of proportional representation, which has ensured that there would not be massive swings from one party to another, as in the past. Nor could the Constitution be amended easily unless the various parties in Parliament get together for it is difficult or almost impossible for one single party to obtain a two-thirds majority.

Our Government has therefore ensured stability of the elected Government by another method. In other words a member of the House, whether in Government or Opposition cannot leave the party through which he came into the House. If he resigns from that party then he loses his seat and the party to which he belongs nominates another member. There are no by-elections under our Constitution. That was essential under the system of proportional representation.

To ensure the stability of the Government between elections

was very important because in all developing countries Governments had to take what may be termed unpopular decisions; for example, they may have to raise the price of essential food items. Our Government has had to raise the price of sugar overnight because of increases in the world price and recently removed the subsidy on rice. This Government has introduced various other measures to help those who are living on the border of starvation. But we have decided to concentrate on development rather than on subsidies. We have been able to take these difficult decisions because the Government is stable between one election and another. That is the foundation of all development. Our development includes the promotion of irrigation, we have embarked on the Mahaveli Ganga Development Programme which originally was supposed to take 30 years to complete, which we hope now to complete in six years. Work on five major dams with the help of the World Bank and the Consortium operating under the World Bank has started. Unfortunately the cost in the last six years of these major dams has increased by  $3\frac{1}{2}$  times. For example, one dam estimated to cost a billion rupees would now cost 9 billion rupees. Fortunately, the World Bank and the Consortium of nations working under them have come to our aid and the five dams now being built by five different countries, we hope, will be completed in the next few years. The cost involved is enormous and no single country and certainly not Sri Lanka, could afford to spend for even one of them. The question now which concerns our Government is whether the World Bank and the Consortium are prepared to meet the cost of the increased expenditure not only on the dam but on the down stream development which is a part of the construction of these dams for the purpose of settlement of people.

Sri Lanka's own cost of living in January-February 1980 has gone up by 34 percent compared to January-February, 1979; this is what hurt the people most. They do not care so much for ideologies and philosophies when their stomachs are hit. One of the causes of this discontent is inflation. The rate of inflation in Sri Lanka has been steadily going up during the last 10 years. Fortunately for our Government, since we took office, we have also seen to it that the economic growth has also gone up. In 1970-76 the economic growth was 2.6% which was less than the population growth, less than the expenditure. In 1978, one year after we assumed office, it went up to 8 percent, but more recently it had declined to 6 percent. We are trying to keep it at 7 to 8 percent in the next few years.



Our imports, particularly due to increases in the price of imported goods caused by price increases in Arab countries as well as in the developed nations, has gone up from 2.6 billion to 6.7 billion rupees. This I think causes one of the major problems we have to meet. We are faced also with a very massive unemployment problem. There were 1½ million unemployed youths to which 200,000 are being added every year.

The accelerated development is, to my mind, the only answer and we are making headway in this direction. The irrigation and dam programme as well as the housing programme, as well as the Free Trade Zone development programme and the urban development programme would result in some dent in the unemployment figures. For example, in the cultivation which we hope to do under the new irrigation scheme, 240,000 acres will be opened up and about 800,000 people will be settled in the next six years.

Following a minor outbreak of violence in the capital city, Opposition and unions had wanted to stage a general strike. The Government felt that if this was allowed it would have meant stoppages of essential services, including transport and food distribution. Although the Government allowed complete freedom of speech and assembly, it could not afford even a single day of idleness when people were living on the borderline of starvation. We therefore decided to impose an Emergency and ask the people either to come to work or to vacate office. That was within the democratic framework. The Emergency lasted only a month. If an Emergency was declared, Parliament had to be summoned and a vote taken under our Constitution. If the Emergency went on for more than three months, Parliament had to approve it by a two-thirds majority. In the past, an Emergency was declared for six years and Parliament was not even given a chance to vote on it. Now there is no Emergency and conditions have returned to normal, public meetings are allowed, there is freedom of the press and the opposition is entitled to express their views in Parliament and outside.

What I am trying to emphasise is that Sri Lanka wants to maintain a democratic system and to have elections regularly. But during the period it was in office, the Government of the day had to meet various challenges. Of those challenges, some are beyond our control; some were caused by world situations; some were caused by our own past experiences. We have been able, I feel, to tackle them

successfully and, with the international assistance we are getting not only from the developed nations but from OPEC and the Arab countries, I think our development programme can be taken to a successful conclusion.

I agree very strongly with the Prime Ministers of Singapore and New Zealand that some way must be found to help developing countries to cope with price increases. If our meeting could concentrate on this and make a united progress towards a solution, it would have achieved something very valuable. The traditional method of combatting inflation, by cutting down public expenditure or cutting down on development work is of little use in a developing country. It must do just the opposite if we are to meet the challenges that face us even if it causes more inflation, even if it means that the economy is over-heated. I cannot advocate the cutting down of employment. Therefore we are not prepared in our country where 1½ million people are unemployed to increase unemployment even by one percent.

I hope the meeting can in some way, influence OPEC, the developed countries, the World Bank and the IMF to help developing countries tide over the next two to three crucial years that they face throughout the world.

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## I AM AN ADMIRER OF INDIA, A LOVER OF ITS PEOPLE AND A FOLLOWER OF ITS GREATEST SON

*Speech at Banquet given by the  
President of India during the  
meeting of the Commonwealth  
Heads of Government of the  
Asian and Pacific Region — 4th  
September 1980*

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Your Excellency, Distinguished Friends,

I am privileged to be given the opportunity of replying to the kind words you have just expressed. I am happy that we are able to meet once more as a part of the Commonwealth. It is also fitting that we should do so in India, one of the oldest members of the Asian region of the Commonwealth. On behalf of all the delegates I offer my thanks to Her Excellency Mrs Indira Gandhi, her Government and her officials for the efficiency of the arrangements made for this Conference and for the warm hospitality with which we have been treated.

During my visit to India in the latter part of 1978, I said on my arrival that I was an admirer of India, a lover of its people and a follower of its greatest son.

I am an admirer of India because here flourished some of the original human civilisations – civilisations which were contem-



porary or even older than those of Egypt, Babylon and Assyria. Events mentioned in the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharatha* were possibly even more ancient than the Mohenjodaro civilisation. India has been the home of a long and unbroken heritage of philosophies, cultures and civilisations, which continue to flourish even now, unlike the civilisations I mentioned earlier which are now no more.

In more recent times India was the home of one of the great and noble movements of history. The Indian Congress' non-violent movement for the achievement of freedom led by Mahatma Gandhi, the Nehrus, the Patels and so many other great men and women brought freedom to India from the most powerful Empire the world has seen and also inspired and helped other countries to attain independence from modern imperialism.

It is also to India that we owe the term "Non-Alignment" a word used first by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as Prime Minister of India at the Colombo Powers Conference in 1954 held in my country. I too attended this Conference as Minister of Finance and a delegate of Sri Lanka. This led to the Bandung Conference and the beginning of the Non-Aligned Movement. Today the Non-Aligned Movement which covers the whole world has 94-member nations and has become a powerful factor in the conduct of international affairs.

I am a lover of the people of India the vast majority of whom live simple and gentle lives, nurtured by the non-violent traditions of the great religions which had their birth in India. The Sinhalese and Tamils of Sri Lanka have come from India – the Sinhalese 2,500 years ago from *Vangadesa*. Our ancestors brought the Aryan language, their customs and ceremonies.

I am a follower of India's greatest son. Two thousand three hundred years ago the Great Emperor of India, Asoka the Just, sent his only son Mahinda Thera to teach us the *Buddha Dhamma* and his daughter Sanghamitta with a branch of the sacred *bo* tree which remains to this day in our ancient capital of Anuradhapura. Since then the majority of the people of Sri Lanka have followed that teaching in its purest form. Hundreds of thousands daily lay forests of flowers upon his stainless shrines and repeat the stanza:-

"I take my refuge in the Buddha,

I take my refuge in the *Dhamma*,

I take my refuge in the *Sangha*."

A shadow of that teaching illumined our lives then as it does

now. It was a photograph of a statue carved out of rock in the fourth century A.D., still to be seen in our ancient capital of Anuradhapura that Pandit Nehru refers to in his autobiography as a gift sent to him by a friend in Sri Lanka which helped him to keep a calm and compassionate mind while in jail during the movement for freedom.

I attended as a youth the Ramgarh sessions of the Congress in the State of Bihar in 1940. It was the last session of the Congress held before freedom. We came as delegates from the Ceylon National Congress which we were attempting to revive, reorganise and revitalise, on the lines of the Indian Congress. The night before the final session and the speech of the President Moulana Azad, torrential rain poured down in such quantities that the session had to be abandoned. Pandit Nehru, who was always so solicitous about his guests, came to the hut occupied by us and the Burmese leader Aung San and other delegates and inquired as to how we were. He invited us to stay a week-end with him at Allahabad on our way back home which we did.

Two years later I again attended the August Committee Meeting of the Indian National Congress held in Bombay. Here Mahatma Gandhi supported the "Quit India" resolution when the Indian Congress under his leadership decided to organise a movement — non-violent non-co-operation, civil disobedience and *satyagraha* — which would not be abandoned until freedom was attained. Very soon after that all the leaders were arrested and the train in which we were returning to Madras and to Sri Lanka was stoned. That movement inflamed us to adopt Mahatma Gandhi's methods to regain our own freedom.

Mahatma Gandhi followed the teaching of the Buddha that the means are as important as the end to be achieved. "On no account should truth or non-violence be compromised," he said.

We of the smaller nations around the Indian Ocean look up to India for the moral leadership that these noble leaders gave to her and the role to free us from imperialism. The leaders of India and its men and women alone can lead the Non-Aligned Movement and the developing world to stand up for what is right in international affairs. There can be no compromise with righteous principles.

What if you fail? It was the great poet Rabindranath Tagore, a friend of Jawaharlal Nehru, who said to those who strove unceasingly to achieve great ideals,

“If in this thy great heart fails, bring me thy failure.”

Rise India to the grandeur of the moral leadership that is yours! We await your leadership to follow you to lead us to a better and more righteous world.



## DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM AND HUMAN RIGHTS

*Speech on the occasion of the  
Human Rights Day — 10th  
December 1980*

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In the latter part of the 19th century, nations began to think of the rights that individuals should possess, freedom of speech, freedom of meeting, freedom from arrest and all that is embodied in the Declaration of Human Rights.

In the 20th century, especially after the First and the Second World Wars, these declarations became crystallised, and ultimately on the 10th December, 1948, the United Nations for the first time in the history of man declared the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Much earlier, individuals such as Gautama the Buddha, Jesus Christ Mohammed and other religious leaders had stressed the value of the human individual. But it was only with the Declaration in 1948 that the world collectively as an international body declared that all governments should seek to incorporate in their systems of government the Declaration of Human Rights. In our Constitution of 1977-1978, the Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, find every one of the thirty clauses of that Declaration incorporated either in the same words used in the Universal Declaration or in some other form, but every one of those rights are included in our new Constitution.

In our new Constitution, every one of these clauses are incorporated. This was the part of the manifesto which was placed before the people in July, 1977. This will attempt to create a new society leading to a new goal based on human and moral considerations. When man changes, the structure of society changes. When the structure of the society changes, man changes. Both must go together — both are necessary. Our goal is to create a just and a free society.

The Parliament is independent. Parliament is the sovereign Legislature representing the sovereignty of the people. We gave it such independence as it required. We created an Executive President, chosen by the people and gave him the liberty to carry out the functions of the Executive. He cannot perform his functions alone as the Parliament is a check.

Without a declaration of Emergency the people under our Constitution cannot be arrested without trial, cannot be detained without trial. They cannot be kept in a police station for more than 24 hours. They must be brought before court and the court decides whether they should be kept in jail or not. Every man is free to speak as he wishes, his freedom from detention. He is not tortured. He can have his meetings and he can have his elections.

The President cannot function for more than six years under the Constitution even with an unanimous vote of Parliament unless the people by a referendum give him that right. Parliament cannot function for more than six years even if they pass such a decision unanimously without a referendum and the people give that right. The people are sovereign in law and they are sovereign under the Constitution. Parliament functions for a period of time — for six years only — after that the people elect their new Government. Those are the freedoms this Constitution gives all of us.

We repealed all the laws that we thought violated human rights. Laws which enabled the Government to detain people without trial, which created new offences, which harassed and worried people. Not only that did we repeal them, we released from jail hundreds we thought were those without trial. Today any citizen can walk the streets of our land with his head held high, knowing that no arm of the law will touch him unless the courts have so decided. But then what are the restrictions? In a developing country the main task of a people is to find them employment, to find them food, to find them clothing and to find them housing. Those are also included in the human rights.

Supposing a group of misguided people take arms against the Government and seek to destroy it. Surely that Government must defend itself. Surely every citizen must defend that Government, elected by the people, until the people again decide to turn it out. We did so when the previous Government was in distress, we thought it correct that it should be defended. Supposing some misguided people again try to create communal frenzy, racial riots, hasn't the Government the right to defend the citizens of this free land from assaults by the people of that nature? We have done it in the past, and we have to do it in the future. No government can give in to a riotous mob. Those are then the restrictions and those restrictions each leader, each Head of a government must decide when he is in a position to act, how far human rights and freedoms should be restricted.

We want this country to consist of free men and women where rightful ambitions, courage, initiative are applauded and enterprise rewarded. We emphasised the fact that our policies are not socialism alone but democratic socialism. We shall endeavour to provide a future government that is efficient, free from corruption and fair to all.

We are a democracy and as we have enshrined the sovereignty of man in our Constitution, we want the sovereignty of man to be protected universally. Men and women who are threatened by guns and bombs are not sovereign. Nor are men and women sovereign who are unable to secure their basic needs from day to day.



## ENDURING FRIENDSHIP

*Speech at Banquet in honour of  
Their Royal Highnesses, the  
Crown Prince and Princess of  
Japan — Colombo, 4th March  
1981*

Your Imperial Highnesses, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

We welcome to our land Their Imperial Highnesses, the Crown-Prince and Princess of Japan, Prince Akihito and Princess Michiko.

Your Imperial Highnesses are heirs to the most ancient and unbroken Monarchy that exists in the world today – the Imperial Monarchy of Japan. Your country is therefore unique. Sri Lanka also was a Monarchy from ancient times till we became a Republic in 1972.

We are happy to recall the visit of His Imperial Majesty to this historic capital — the City of Kandy — more than half a century ago, in a similar capacity as Your Imperial Highness. We welcome Your Imperial Highnesses also as our true friends; a friendship that began long years ago when Japan alone among Asian nations held aloft the torch of freedom while the rest of Asia was under the administration of Western powers.

Your people equalled them in economic and political development.

As a result of World War II, your country's economy was in shambles. I myself on my way to the Japanese Peace Conference at San Francisco in 1951, was a witness to some of the conditions that existed in Tokyo.

After the restoration of freedom, the recovery of Japan was rapid and since the 1960s your country ranks among the first five of the advanced and prosperous industrial nations of the world.

Japan and Sri Lanka have many common features, just as we differ in many other ways.

We are both islands. The majority of our people follow, each in their own way, the *Buddha Dhamma*. Since the end of the Second World War, our two countries have enjoyed internal peace and stability for thirty-five years.

We both follow and preserve democratic principles. Our country commemorates fifty years of universal franchise this year.

Our people value family life, and respect our parents and elders. We also love and cherish our children.

We also differ in many aspects. Sri Lanka is still a developing country inhabited by a comparatively poor people.

We are small in size and numbers.

We can progress quicker and be more prosperous if we follow the discipline that is a characteristic of your people.

Till we develop we need the help of developed nations.

We are appreciative of the help we have received. Japan particularly has helped us to build hospitals, harbours and irrigation schemes. Your Imperial Highnesses have seen some of the tasks we have completed together.

May our friendship continue. May our two countries grow in strength for the wellbeing of our people and the peace of the world.

I now invite you to join me in a Toast —

To the health and wellbeing of Their Imperial Majesties the Emperor and Empress of Japan;

To the health and wellbeing of Your Imperial Highnesses;

To the success of the Government of Japan and the prosperity and wellbeing of the people of Japan; and

To the continuing friendship and co-operation between our two countries.

## SAFEGUARDING DEMOCRATIC FREEDOMS

*Speech at Seventh Non-Aligned Summit Conference, New Delhi, India – 8th March 1983*

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Madame President, Your Excellencies,

Sri Lanka joins all those who spoke with appreciation of the contribution made by President Castro and Cuba to the Non-Aligned Movement during the term of office which has just ended.

President Castro is one whose name will be written in the history of our age not only for his contribution to the freedom of Cuba but also for the inspiration he has given to revolutionary and independence movements throughout the world. I do not agree with some of the things he says, but he is the man whom I like and one who I think has made a great contribution to the Non-Aligned Movement.

I am happy to welcome the new members who have joined us and I thank you Madame Indira Gandhi for this hospitality with which our delegations have been received.

Madame President, let me extend to you on behalf of the government and people of Sri Lanka our most sincere felicitations and good wishes on your election as President of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned countries.

I am personally aware of the great responsibility that devolves



on the President of the Non-Aligned Movement and we look forward very much to your wise and just leadership in the years to come.

You have worked closely with the founders of the Movement, which, combined with your ability and experience, make you aptly suited to steer the Movement at this hour.

May I, Madame President, recapitulate some of the history, having been a member of the Sri Lanka delegation at the Colombo Powers Conference of 1954 at which your distinguished father, Pandit Nehru first used the word, "Non-Aligned". This conference led to the Bandung Conference of 1955. Pakistan, India, Burma, Indonesia and Sri Lanka, then called Ceylon, participated in the Colombo Conference. Mohamed Ali represented Pakistan, Pandit Nehru, India, U Nu, Burma, and Sastromidjojo, Indonesia and our Prime Minister, Sir John Kotelawela, who had sponsored this conference, represented Sri Lanka. I was a member of the Sri Lanka delegation. I remember that that was the first occasion that the word "Non-Alignment" was used and by Pandit Nehru. By Non-Alignment we meant that we should not align ourselves to the super powers, either the United States of America or the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republic. After Colombo, the Colombo Powers met at Bogor in Indonesia and then at Bandung. Several other countries participated in this Conference, including Egypt and the People's Republic of China. It was from the Bandung Conference that the First Non-Aligned Conference was held in Belgrade.

We are a small country but have been associated with this Movement from the very beginning, and helped it to grow. We are happy that this year you have become the Chairman of the Movement, and that you have inherited the political views of your father whom we respected, adored and followed.

I was also privileged in 1950 to be a co-sponsor of the Colombo Plan, one of the oldest institutions in the field of international co-operation.

The Colombo Plan drew attention to the need of the developed nations to help the new nations that had recently acquired independence. These nations were a "No Man's Land".

Europe after the last war was reconstructed through the Marshall Plan and the efforts of one country, the USA. It was useful if a similar arrangement was made to help the new nations. Today of course the Colombo Plan has been superseded by so many other

aid-giving organisations. The Colombo Plan idea was the realisation that developed nations must help the developing nations.

There is a proposal for sending delegations to meet the leaders of the developed nations about which I have written to the Prime Minister of India. I have also proposed certain basic recommendations. We could suggest an emergency meeting of the Governors of the IMF and we can ask for a major new allocation of SDRs, increased borrowing from the IMF, and doubling of IMF quotas. The debts of developing countries should be waived or a moratorium declared. We are partners in debt as you said. Let us ask them to "Forgive us our Debts".

There have been similar delegations to developed nations before. I was present in Algiers in 1967 when the Charter of Algiers for UNCTAD was drawn up. There we decided to send delegations to various countries. I was on the delegation that went to the United Kingdom and the Scandinavian countries.

A delegation went to the European countries and another delegation went to the Soviet Union, the third went to America and the fourth went to Japan. I cannot remember what success we had but the delegations were received by Heads of Government and there was a response to some extent of what we were seeking to achieve.

We meet once in three years for five days and we must ensure that this august assembly of Heads of State or Government should use their time responsibly and frugally to address themselves to the key issues directly touching the lives of our people.

Madame President, there are a number of pressing political issues before us on the Agenda. If I touch on them briefly, it is only because Sri Lanka's position on these issues has been reiterated at all Non-Aligned gatherings and at the United Nations.

Although last year we signed a convention on the Law of the Sea and are progressing towards a just and rational use of the resources of the deep sea for all mankind, it is disappointing that certain countries have still not seen the benefits of this great venture. We hope they will soon be able to join us in subscribing to this historic convention.

The efforts of the Non-Aligned States in our region to implement the declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace have met with only very limited success and the Great Power confrontation in the area has escalated sharply. I make a fervent appeal to all States to co-operate more positively with the UN *ad hoc* Committee



on the Indian Ocean, so that the Colombo Conference could be convened in 1984 as a first step towards the implementation of the declaration.

Mutual suspicion and distrust between the two major powers has led to further escalation in the arms race and the present arsenals of nuclear weaponry are adequate to destroy this planet several times over.

In Africa, racist oppression continues under the pernicious doctrine of apartheid and holds the people of South Africa and Namibia in captivity.

Peace will elude the troubled Middle East until Israel withdraws completely from all occupied Arab and Palestinian territories and the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people have been restored.

We cannot accept the regime called the People's Republic of Kampuchea because it has been set up, and is sustained by the use of foreign troops. We, therefore, call for the withdrawal of all foreign troops and a political solution.

We reiterate the call made in January 1980 for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan and an end to all foreign intervention in her internal affairs. We support the efforts of the Secretary General of the United Nations for a negotiated political settlement in Afghanistan.

In Cyprus, the use of foreign troops has led to a virtual division of a unitary Non-Aligned State and we earnestly hope that inter-communal talks will bring amity and confidence between the two Cypriot communities and a viable political solution acceptable to them.

It is tragic that for over two years two Non-Aligned countries, Iran and Iraq, have been involved in a military confrontation. Sri Lanka, which has friendly ties with both these countries, will support every initiative that could lead to an early settlement of their dispute.

These political issues will be engaging our attention in the days to come.

The fact that the Non-Aligned Movement has grown from an initial membership of 25 in 1961 to nearly 100 today, is itself a tribute to the viability, validity and relevance of the policy of Non-Alignment. Disagreements, of course, we are bound to have. We are, after all, a vast plurality of nations stretching over all regions of



the world. We represent an astonishing range of political systems and a rich variety of religions and cultures. Each of us nevertheless constitutes a sovereign, separate, national identity. None of us would wish, therefore, to submit ourselves to the rigid conformity of a monolithic bloc. Our commitment to the principles of Non-Alignment remains undiluted and our unity in defence of these principles unimpaired.

We have not linked together in a coalition for the purpose of confrontation against other nations. On the contrary, we have offered to co-operate with those who would accept us on equal terms on a just and equitable basis, and respect our commitment to Non-Alignment.

Our deliberate choice has been to co-operate for development rather than to contribute to destruction. Non-Alignment offers a viable alternative to antagonistic military alliances. A stable world order cannot be built on aggression, hostility or military force. Mahatma Gandhi rejected the use of physical force. His technique of *satyagraha* or the power of truth was the basis of the Indian freedom struggle. It was a practical alternative to violence, oppression and guns.

At the Havana Summit in 1979, we were unanimously of the view that the world economic situation was not at all conducive to the economic and social development of our countries. We expressed our views very strongly on the iniquitous world economic system and called upon the international community to launch global negotiations without delay. It was clear to us that in an interdependent world economy no single country or group of countries, however strong and powerful they may be, could any longer shape the future course of their economies, independent of the rest of the world. It would be futile for a group of countries to chart a course of economic expansion without considering the needs and requirements, and the impact their development would have on other countries. In the Non-Aligned Movement, we have recognised this very clearly. We have called upon all countries to join in dialogue and co-operation to solve the acute problems facing all of us. Any tinkering with the system with piecemeal solutions would at best give temporary relief, and the problems would reappear with increasing intensity and growing magnitude.

I am happy to note that at various Summit meetings held since Havana, several countries have subscribed to this view. At the 1981

Cancūn Summit, leaders of a selected group of countries representing a wide cross-section of the world community have supported the call for global negotiations. The Summit meetings of the major industrialised countries too have accelerated this approach though with a somewhat limited scope. The developing countries have at all times been urging the commencement of such negotiations at important meetings held during the past few years. There is no further time to be lost in considering whether global negotiations are needed or not. We are now meeting in New Delhi at a time when the world economy is facing one of the worst and most prolonged of crises. There is still no indication that the crisis situation is easing off. We are in the throes of a recession similar to the great depression of the 1930s but with markedly more sinister features. Some of the statistics quoted by our eminent economists even indicate that we are in a much graver situation than during the great depression. The current crisis is threatening all mankind. The economies of the industrialised countries are in difficulty. This has a very pervasive drag effect on our economies. On the one hand, the stringent and protectionist policies adopted by these countries to tide over the crisis situation has created immense difficulties to established patterns of trade and investment. On the other hand, due to the heightened economic problems faced by these countries, aid flows to developing countries are becoming more and more difficult to obtain. Many of the multilateral institutions which have been set up to assist developing countries are now cutting back on their programmes in the face of falling support from the donor countries. Bilateral assistance has also been seriously curtailed. We are thus being assailed from all sides and there is little hope for us to survive in the situation.

In Havana, I drew attention to some stark realities of economic deprivation facing us, whether we are in the company of least developed countries, most seriously affected countries, poorest of the poor or whatever other tag one chooses to stick on the majority of the countries in our Movement. Could we, as world leaders, tolerate a situation where we cannot provide a glimmer of hope to the vast number of people who are under-nourished and illiterate? These people have no access to the basic amenities of life – basic health care, safe water for drinking, housing and sanitation and other basic necessities of life. Is it not our prime responsibility to give the highest priority in the discussions and negotiations not only



at Summit meetings of this nature, but also at other national and regional level discussions to end the untold suffering and misery which is the lot of the vast majority of our people? Does it not make sense to start at the bottom? If the deprived and less privileged sections of our society are given a helping hand we would be helping the rest of the world also to move forward. Any society with sharp contrasts between the haves and have-nots cannot survive for long. There is bound to be unrest, political turmoil and anarchy. On the other hand, if these sections of society are brought into the mainstream of development, it will contribute significantly for growth and dynamism in an expanding world economy.

In most of our countries there is acute unemployment, serious balance of payments difficulties and many other problems to contend with. Many of us have already cut down on our development programmes to the barest minimum. There is no further belt-tightening possible without considerable social strain. Is it therefore reasonable to expect us to make any further cuts on our development expenditure? Can we delay any further the employment oriented projects that we had developed with great care? If we are pushed any further, we would only be inviting anarchy – riots, rebellions and revolutions which would disrupt the peaceful and orderly manner in which we are developing our economies.

For the developed countries on the other hand, the adjustment process in many respects is much simpler. At worst, people of these countries are called upon to forego luxuries, reduce holidays and limit their purchasing power. But not down to intolerable levels. The general standard of living in those countries, by and large, is not seriously affected or threatened. Even their unemployed are cushioned by generous social security. These countries can afford to cut down on development expenditure as they have already reached a certain level of development. They could, with justification, lay by such development schemes for better times.

No one can tell precisely what will be the general result if present trends continue; but it is now clear that it would be little short of catastrophe for most countries. The scenario of a recession deepening into a depression is becoming probable, and in terms of chain reaction and impact on the lives of people, we have the 1930s to remind us of what could ensue in economic, social, political and eventually military terms.

Then the world community was one of relatively few States —



perhaps 60 as against today's 160. There were many more factors making for geo-political cohesion. But national socialism in Germany emerged during the depression and, in turn, led to World War II.

If we could see present trends in terms of threat to security, we would all be less diffident about committing ourselves to the decisions, and costs, involved in averting those dangers. And yet, even without projecting a major future war, it is the security of all States and their peoples that is at risk. If the welfare cheques that support the more than thirty million unemployed in OECD countries were to provide reduced benefits as the unemployment rose dramatically and national budgets contracted, who can tell what the socio-political consequences would be. The South does not have protection. There is no welfare support for the unemployed. Economic collapse will be widespread and governments will fall. The pattern of events may vary — elections here, *coup d'etats* there, but a move to authoritarianism everywhere. The political geography of Africa, Latin America, and large parts of Asia could change with threats to the balance of power in many areas of the world. Preserving some balance, shoring up regimes, protecting supplies, defending national interests in innumerable ways will be a costly affair.

The cost of the emergency measures we may adopt are small in terms of their implications for national budgets. Indeed some such, as SDR allocations and quota increases in the IMF are virtually costless. And on the whole the total public expenditure involved is very modest compared to the vast amounts being spent on military ventures. World military spending is now over dollars 650 billion per year. A very small fraction of this expenditure — the equivalent of that of a few days — is all that is needed to finance the emergency programmes. It is not a small amount of money; its provision is not without sacrifice. But its return in terms of national security in its broader sense and in the avoidance of human suffering is incalculable, and its real value is its investment in a future of a more peaceful and prosperous world.

The cost of the Marshall Plan was dollars 14 billion — in today's terms dollars 45 billion; and it was met by one government. Can we not summon the vision and the will to emulate together the boldness and the wisdom of that act of enlightenment, that small investment, that helped to produce the prosperity of the post-war era? We face another era and another need for investment

in the future. While we pledge support to the preparations to achieve a successful UNCTAD VI, to launch the global negotiations and to initiatives on South-South co-operation, there is need for us to act swiftly in the face of the grave international economic crisis by adopting a programme of immediate measures in areas of critical importance to developing countries.

I, therefore, suggest that the Prime Minister of India as the leader of our Movement, take the initiative in mobilising a representative group of Heads of State of a few countries drawn from the various regions to talk to the Heads of Government of the major developed countries that support those institutions. It would be necessary for us to impress upon these countries, the reality of interdependence and the consequent need to understand our problems better, the need to appreciate our positions and the need to adopt greater flexibility in applying guidelines and rules in supporting our economies. This initiative, I am certain, will help to create a better understanding amongst us and provide us the relief that we so urgently need.

The Non-Aligned Group of Heads of State or Government will meet the Heads of State or Government of the principal developed countries, individually or jointly. Particularly Canada, Federal Republic of Germany, France, Italy, Japan, UK, USA and like-minded countries and also the USSR. Her Excellency Shrimathi Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, would be the Chairman of this Committee.

We are carrying out consultations with other members of the Movement on this proposal and I am happy to state that consultations so far held reveal widespread support for it. Based on the views, expressed so far, I am of the view that this committee could consist of about twenty to twenty-five Heads of State or Government from which about four Heads of State or Government could constitute a Mission. There could also be a contact group of a reasonable number, at the level of Foreign Ministers, who could collectively and individually prepare the ground for each Mission.

Even if we have the capacity to do so, the Non-Aligned have no intention of becoming another bloc or military alliance to confront those that already exist.

I have chosen to speak at length on the urgency of the economic crisis that confronts all nations and affects the every day life of the billions of people we represent.



Everybody today has spoken of the economic collapse, including the Chairman of the Conference and President Fidel Castro who has produced a book. He gave me a copy dealing with facts and figures of the situation facing the world today. Everyone has spoken of the threat of economic collapse. Some of the developing nations cannot find food, clothing, machinery and oil. Their debts amount to 600 billion dollars. In 1974 three countries were in arrears of their external payments. At the end of 1982 the number was increased to 42. Forty nations of the Non-Aligned Movement have large debts, each country owing four billion dollars.

Your Excellency, every two seconds a child is dying without food, and without shelter. Developed nations are in difficulty themselves. Thirty million people are unemployed, but they make armaments to the value of 640 billion dollars and Madame Chairman, you said that an aircraft carrier costs over four billion dollars to make. That is why I thought we should meet the leaders of the developed nations. Let us make the Non-Aligned Movement a movement for action. There can be no harm in this initiative. Perhaps some good can come.

The developing nations' biggest problem is the question of development of their resources. I like to say that in my country we have embarked on a development programme which is unequalled in our history. We could not have done that if we did not get the help of the IMF and the World Bank and all other friendly nations. During the last five years we have found employment for 1.2 million people. We have succeeded at four democratically run elections. Why, because development means employment, employment means wages and wages enables people to meet the increased cost of living.

We have had to raise the price of all our commodities. This was unavoidable, because the IMF would cut off help. We must tell the IMF there are other ways to deal with developing countries. Otherwise at the entrance door of the IMF will be inscribed the words "abandon hope, all ye who enter here". We must re-negotiate our debts and reduce interest. We must have some discussion or debate and reach decisions when we go to UNCTAD VI. Seven developed country leaders are meeting at Williamsburg in the USA. Let us give them a plan. My idea is that from a panel of leaders from three or four continents we can choose a delegation as we did in Algiers to visit some of the leaders of the developed world.



Everyone need not go. It will be a confrontation not in arms but in ideas. Talk to them as friends and say if you do not stretch out your hand and help, you will collapse; we will collapse.

It is not by violence nor by hatred nor by the use of brute force that the world can advance. We are all, developed and developing, Nato, Warsaw, Neutral, Non-Aligned and others, of one world, and progress cannot be conceived of as the triumph of one group of nations and the defeat or destruction of another. The problems of war and peace, of economic deprivation, or sickness and ignorance and of sharing rationally and harmoniously, the limited resources of this planet call for nothing less than a bold concerted effort of peaceful global co-operation — an effort in which the Non-Aligned can play the decisive role. Our world and the world around us is burning. Let us, the poor nations of the world, unite; we have only our poverty to lose.

## THE PATH OF NON-VIOLENCE

*Speech at Commonwealth Summit Conference, New Delhi — 1983*

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We have been listening for two days to talk of armaments, nuclear weapons, and the spread of violence. I cannot forget that we are in the land of Mahatma Gandhi and of Gautama the Buddha. Mahatma Gandhi was an apostle of non-violence. He led his people to freedom through non-violence. On one occasion in the 1920s when his non-violence campaign led to violence he gave up the entire movement to the dismay of Nehru and his followers. Mahatma Gandhi said, "I will not let my movement become corrupted by acts of violence". It took him almost ten to fifteen years to start his non-violent movement again but never once did he compromise the great ideal of non-violence. The Buddha taught this same doctrine 2,500 years ago and when I attended the Indian National Congress Sessions at Ramgarh in 1940, as a youth, it was held, Mr Secretary General in the land to which your ancestors belonged, in Bihar, Mr Rajendra Prasad, Reception Committee Chairman, who hailed from Bihar himself said, "We are living in the land hallowed by the touch of the feet of Gautama, the Buddha.

I have not heard one word yet about non-violence at this conference. We have talked of nuclear weapons and I think quite correctly the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom said that the possession of nuclear weapons by the super powers prevents the

break-out of a major war. That is partly true. A major war between those two powers is prevented by nuclear weapons which they possess but they are keeping on making these nuclear weapons more and more powerful and they are getting more and more frightened of each other. But it has not prevented the break-out of other wars in Central America, in the Falklands, between Syria and Lebanon, in the Middle East, between India and Pakistan and Bangladesh, in the Vietnam region and also many years earlier the Soviet Union invaded Czechoslovakia and Hungary and Poland is subject to their authority. So wars are not prevented. I feel that we should talk about non-violence ourselves.

Sri Lanka is a small country. We have fifteen million people. Anybody can invade us. I am not arming to fight anybody. Our arms are purely for self-defence. If I have the strength and the life, I will not let my people be subject to anybody. Fifteen million people will die if an atomic bomb is exploded on Sri Lanka; fifteen million people can decide to die if they are invaded by someone else and decide never to give in.

What would Mahatma Gandhi have done if he came to this Conference? He would not have agreed with anything anyone of us have said, he would have said, "Give it all up, you cannot change the world. You cannot succeed in development if you go on the lines of violence".

At the meeting we had in Australia of the Regional Commonwealth Conference, I suggested that we should have complete disarmament throughout the world, that we should have some system of monitoring the manufacture of arms so that the UNO will know who is manufacturing what and where they are deployed. It was accepted and the UNO is considering that as well as other proposals. I therefore, feel that we sitting around this table, cannot influence the USA or the USSR to give up their desire to manufacture more powerful nuclear weapons. I feel you cannot ask other nations not to defend themselves with more and more weapons. Some day there will be breakthrough in the knowledge of the manufacture of nuclear weapons; nations will begin to manufacture them without the help of the USA and USSR. I do not know whether Israel can do so; but she has got the knowledge that these two big countries have.

Therefore, though this suggestion is something that none of you will accept, I feel, Madame Chairman, that you should lead this





*With the late Mrs Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India*



Commonwealth on the path that Mahatma Gandhi led your country to freedom. It may be in a minor way; it may not be accepted by everybody; but somebody must say, "Let us give up arms altogether". Not only nuclear weapons but other arms. Let us train our people in the gospel of non-violence preached by Mahatma Gandhi, preached by the Buddha, preached by Jesus Christ, preached by Mohammed and all the great religious leaders. Why do we practice non-violence only in the church, in the mosque, in the temple, why not at the Summit Commonwealth Conference?

At least let us talk about it. The President of Guyana I think said something very fundamental that goes to the root of what we are discussing. I hope that what I say will also be considered in some way or another at their talks.

Thank you.



## THE INTERNATIONAL DEBT PROBLEM

*Speech at Commonwealth Summit Conference, New Delhi — 1983*

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I wish to deal with one aspect of the problem, about the debts of the developing nations. It is very relevant here as the Commonwealth has 48 member countries, and while four of them are developed nations others are recognised as developing nations.

**1983 — Conferences**

The year 1983 is an year of important conferences on the world economic situation. There has been much talk and much writing on these problems but the solutions seem still to be far away. We had the Brandt Commission's issue of their new proposals in the book that was published in January on 'The Common Crisis'. There was the Bankers Conference in Panama city in March where a Debtor's 'Cartel' to soften debt ills, to force more generous repayment terms from foreign bankers was mooted; in Buenos Aires, the Group of 77 met in April; the Williamsburg meeting in the USA in May, of the seven major developed nations; the UNCTAD sessions in Yugoslavia in May; the UNO Annual Sessions in September; the IMF and World Bank Annual Meetings in September; and now the Commonwealth Summit in November in New Delhi.

We have come to the end of 1983 and after all these talks and

writings we have not moved much from where we were at the beginning of the year.

### **Economic Crisis**

There is neither north-south or east-west when economies collapse. Like a cyclone which does not recognise these differences, ignores latitudes and longitudes, the equator and the poles, and leaves destruction behind wherever it travels, it is so with economic cyclones. We are all sufferers, the poverty stricken and the wealthy. We heard of moveable kitchens distributing food in the United States of America. 35 million were unemployed in the developed countries. Distress was universal and so was unemployment.

The people living in the developing countries are the poorest in the world. Their life span is low and mortality rate is high; their medical care including doctors, nurses, hospitals, medicine is minimum; in education and housing and provision of pure water, their standards are distressing. Some of the causes are high oil prices, high interest rates leading to current account budget deficits and increase of foreign debts.

The highest priority of aid which is channelled through the World Bank is for agriculture and rural development. If aid helps the poor, and the poorest live in the agricultural areas, and they can increase their standard of living, then something permanent is created, e.g. through irrigation and transportation systems, and institutions such as health and education. The method to judge the effect of this aid is, has the standard of living gone up? Has infant mortality come down? Are literacy figures and health figures improving? The developed nations in the world must realise that the developing countries cannot pull themselves out of the economic mess that they find themselves in by their own strength. The developing countries need the developed countries and *vice versa*.

### **Asia**

In this grave situation Asia shows more resilience in fighting recession. Asia will be the fastest growing economic region of the world this year. Although the growth rate for many countries in the regions will still be quite low, a recovery from the 1982 trough of the recession is now seen by economic forecasters.

Inflation in the Asian region is expected to be fairly stable this year. Prices are predicted to rise, on an average by around 7.5 per cent in the developing countries — about the same as last year and in line with average for the region's three developed countries — Japan, Australia

and New Zealand. China will again score top marks on this front, by keeping price increases down to 2 per cent.

In Sri Lanka a somewhat faster growth rate is expected, compared to last year's 4.5 per cent. An increase in output of about 5 per cent is thought likely by forecasters. Agriculture, accounting for 25 per cent of GDP is expected to contribute to this improvement, if weather conditions are reasonable. Industry will also benefit from an expansion in the world economy. Non-traditional manufacturing, such as electronics, are expanding. But little overall rise is expected in either exports or imports.

The predictions assume a US growth of 2 per cent, but do not take fully into account the recent falls in oil prices. If the US economy expands faster than expected resulting in greater purchases of Asian goods, or the oil price declines further, Asian economic growth could be faster overall, than now projected. However, Indonesia and Malaysia would be adversely affected by lower oil prices.

By contrast, European gross domestic product is likely to increase by barely one per cent this year. The economies of Latin America will be stagnant or declining in many cases; and Africa is likely to show little progress.

### **Global Trends**

The global debt problem has been one of the hottest subject discussed at various international forums for the last ten years. In July 1973 the UNCTAD established an *ad hoc* group of governmental experts on debt problems of developing countries to consider various possible international measures to be taken and to evolve measures that would minimise debt problems and avoid possible debt crisis. It is most regrettable that the amount of attention given was not equal to the size of the problem, mainly because debt had not reached crisis proportions until recently.

Latin American countries had to hit the headlines on their debt problems for anything worthwhile to be done in this respect. During the period when the big debtors like Mexico and others mentioned were in a debt crisis the developing world suffered a net foreign exchange loss of \$200 billion in that period. Their total debt burden shot up to \$600 billion and their debt servicing to \$120 billion. We, in the Commonwealth should not try to steal the headlines from them on this particular issue, but it is possible for the Commonwealth to be an example to others, both on the curative and preventive sides.

Fifty per cent of the debts of the developing nations is shared by



Brazil, Mexico, the Argentine, Chile, Poland, South Korea and Yugoslavia and a few others.

In 1982, the debt service burdens of low-income countries was 23 per cent of exports while the interest payments alone were 9 per cent. It is estimated that since 1979 the high interest rates accounted for 40 per cent of the increase in total debt. Any increase in the interest rates by one percentage point is estimated to add \$ three billion to the debt service burden of developing countries. We can see the gravity of the situation when we take into consideration the estimate made by OECD of a drop of \$10 billion of exports of non-oil developing countries as a result of a decline in the growth rate of OECD countries by one percentage point.

The total external debt of the developing countries had grown by 54 per cent in 3 years from \$406 billion in 1979 to \$626 billion in 1982. The debt service burden has grown by 72 per cent and from 1979 to 1982 from \$76 billion to \$131 billion. While the average growth of total debt has grown by 15 percent per annum, the debt service burden has grown by 20 per cent per annum. During the same period, interest costs on outstanding debt increased by nearly 14 per cent.

It is evident that in order to meet interest costs alone exports will have to rise by 18 per cent in the next two years. Between 1976 and 1980 the growth rate in export for these countries reached an average of 21.7 per cent per annum. But this was accompanied by high growth rate in GNP in developed countries by nearly 4.1 per cent. In 1982 the growth rates were negative and they are not expected to rise to 2 per cent even in 1983. The growth rate in GNP is to rise at least by 3 per cent to allow an increase of exports by \$10 billion. A two percentage point reduction in interest rates will save another \$6 billion.

### **The Commonwealth**

There is a greater degree of interdependence of Commonwealth countries due to historical, political and economic ties than elsewhere. In this common crisis it would, therefore, be pertinent to examine the possibility of meeting at least the debt problems of the Commonwealth countries with a sense of determination and fervour.

The disciplined civil service, availability of an educated work force, together with the availability of management skills, could raise the existing potential for export — lead growth thereby increasing their debt-servicing capacity. Most Commonwealth countries are fortunate in that they inherited from Britain political institutions, pragmatic attitudes, aptitude for innovation and change in the social and economic fields.

This Commonwealth of nations is a cohesive group capable of withstanding even the most adverse inclemental weather. The present crisis has given to it yet another challenge and an opportunity to work in unison to improve the lot of the developing Commonwealth countries. If these countries are to succeed in their major task of economic development, the world economic environment itself has to be stable.

The developing countries are faced with three interrelated problems. They are, insufficiency of foreign exchange earnings from trade caused by protectionism and trade restrictions; the rising debt burden, and, the inadequate flow of development assistance. These can be overcome if the developed countries make every effort to understand sympathetically the plight of these developing countries and provide the necessary political will to implement the measures required in the fields of trade and aid.

The events in Mexico stress the need to formulate an emergency plan to assist our members. Ever since UNCTAD sessions in Santiago in 1972 emphatically suggested the re-scheduling of debts of the less developed countries, it had been influentially canvassed. Slow recovery and difficulties of achieving structural adjustment without proper relief of this nature are portent reasons given for advocating such a re-scheduling. We are aware that the debtor countries are compelled to fight for survival rather than for progress and socio-economic transformations of their countries. They are at present pre-occupied with their external debt problem and continue to honour their liabilities at the expense of growth. The need for placing more resources in their hands without adding further burdens has to be emphasised.

### **Adjustment of Debts**

Re-scheduling of debt has to be approached on a bilateral basis. In 1973, the United States and India agreed to the cancellation of most of the Rupee counterpart funds owed by India. Earlier in 1940, under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act it was decided to write off nearly 11 million of the debts of the West Indian Governments. The British Government took the initiative to promote economic development of these Caribbean countries unfettered by heavy debt-servicing burdens. It is this type of initiative and understanding that is required at this time when the whole world has plunged into a crisis.

Turkey and Sudan re-schedulings included new money but no deferment of future debt-service. In the case of Peru and Zaire future debt-service payments were postponed and re-arranged but no new



funds were provided. But banks whilst agreeing to re-schedule principal, have always insisted that the debtors must settle the interest payments on time. Except in very special cases, banks have not allowed accumulation of interest payments. In a climate of high interest rates this type of re-scheduling does not attempt to minimise the short-term financial burden of the borrower. In fact, it makes it more difficult to meet the repayments on time despite the underlying strength of their economies, mainly because of the vulnerability to prolonged decline in exports.

Undoubtedly, postponement of the debt will help; but there must be certainty of exports increasing at a faster rate than the debt servicing burden. Can there be any such certainty under the environment of increased protectionism. As long as re-scheduling with increased funds are meant to cover interest and amortisation payments on outstanding debt, there is no prospect of increased investment for supporting further growth through foreign borrowing. Adjustment processes under strict conditionalities will not only become painful and devoid of social and political realities, but also tend to retard growth. Lenders may not extend further loans as the re-scheduling exercise has placed limits. In fact the creditworthiness of these countries have been seriously impaired and their borrowing capacity drastically reduced. In the event of a rise in import prices, amidst lack of growth, a larger proportion of export incomes will have to be set aside for debt-servicing thus reducing the ability to finance essential capital goods. Thus the liquidity crisis that the debt re-scheduling exercise hopes to eliminate will in fact be enhanced.

Evidently any re-scheduling of debts has to be approached on a bilateral basis. Already several countries provide grants directly. There is a grant element in bilateral loans on concessional terms. In 1981, direct grants by developed countries and private voluntary agencies amounted to US\$15 billion. In fact grants and grant like flows from DAC countries comprised 52 per cent of net flows of financial resources to developing countries. This percentage will be much higher when the grant element in concessional flows is included. Grant aid is normally confined to meeting the basic needs of the poorest people in developing countries with the main emphasis on agriculture, rural development and health. However, in recent years it is indicated that export credits are perhaps the only non-concessional flows to grow in importance.

### **Future Aid Programmes**

In the future aid programmes it is most desirable to increase the grant element on the soft loans provided. Already several donor coun-



tries provide grants directly. What is required is more aid in the form of grants and concessional assistance. It has been estimated that the increase in current account deficits of all developing countries from 1978 to 1981, more than one third is attributed to a rise in net interest rates. Terms of trade effects which are severely adverse to these countries, account for another one third of the deficit. The two oil shocks may have had their share and the adverse oil trade balance is estimated to have contributed yet another one fourth to the deficit. This would indicate that less than 10 per cent of the deficit is attributed to bad management and lack of proper adjustment of their economies. It needs hardly be emphasised that economic management improves with economic growth. An emergency plan with a safety net to assist the developing countries of the Commonwealth is urgently called for. This no doubt has to be studied in depth. I would, therefore, suggest that a committee be set up to study this problem with a view to taking immediate action. The economic peace and political stability of these countries can be safeguarded if we act swiftly and take corrective action early.

It is indeed significant that in Mr Muldoon's check list of issues that need to be tackled by a preparatory process leading up to an international conference, the management of outstanding sovereign-debt, along with international liquidity has pride of place. Given the importance of the debt issue, it may be that we cannot afford to delay the professional examination of this and related questions until a fully-fledged preparatory process for an international conference gets under way, of the kind canvassed in the Commonwealth study group report towards a new Bretton Woods. Therefore, my suggestion is that in the meanwhile a group is setup within the Commonwealth to study the problem of sovereign-debt in all its implications, with a view to taking appropriate action.

I have dealt with the developing countries' debt problem not because it is conspicuously a Commonwealth problem, but because the manner of its resolution in the world outside is vital to the economic fortunes of all developing and developed countries given the facts of global economic interdependence. A recent study has shown that if a critical threshold for industrialised country growth between 1984 and 1986 of three per cent annually is achieved, the developing country debt problem should be manageable. We ought therefore to give serious thought to both the kinds of policies required for realising growth of this order, and the alternatives, for managing sovereign debt, in case this critical growth threshold is not passed, and this a Commonwealth group could do.

Thank you.

## THERE CAN BE NO COMPROMISE IN WHAT YOU THINK IS RIGHT

*Speech at Banquet given by the  
President of India to Heads of  
Government of the Common-  
wealth Countries' New Delhi —  
1983*

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Your Excellency, the President of India, Your Excellency the Prime Minister of India, Honourable Ministers, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is a great privilege that I have been afforded the opportunity of thanking Her Excellency, Madame Prime Minister, the Government, the officials, and all those who were concerned with the elaborate and efficient conduct of this Conference and for the friendliest way in which you have treated us.

The Commonwealth is one of the oldest human associations formed by free people, one not superior to the other, for their mutual benefit. It is also fitting that we should meet in India, which is one of the oldest members of the Asian group of the Commonwealth. During my visit to your country, Sir, about one and a half years ago, I said that I was an admirer of India that I am a lover of her people and a follower of her greatest son I would like to explain what I meant by those words. You have just said that India is continuity of an idea, an entity through countless ages. I would say that India is a civilisation going back even further than the Egyptian, the

Assyrian, the Babylonian, and even the Mohenjo-Daro civilisation. The *Ramayana* and the *Maha Bharatha* referred to events which occurred in the far distant history of mankind. Your civilisation continues through these countless ages and today your people still worship in the same shrines, possibly talk a language derived from the original languages and follow the same customs through these countless ages. You not only adhere to them in this great sub-continent; you have spread them throughout Asia — to Bali in one corner, through Indonesia, Indo-China (as it was called) and Malaysia, and down in the South, to Sri Lanka.

Your country produced in recent times one of the greatest movements in history. The Indian National Congress' Movement for freedom led by Mahatma Gandhi, the Nehrus, the Bhoses and so many men and women whose names I need not mention now, was based on the principle of truth and non-violence and throughout Asia and the world it inflamed the youth who were subject to imperialism. Not only did that movement bring freedom to India, it brought freedom to all the colonies which were under the rule of imperialism.

You were also the first nation to coin the word "Non-Alignment". I had the privilege of being a member of the Sri Lanka Delegation to the first meeting of the Colombo Powers, when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru used the word "Non-Alignment". From that Colombo Powers Conference in 1954 grew the Bandung Conference and later the whole Non-Aligned Movement. Therefore, I can say for this and so many other reasons which are too many to mention now, that I am an admirer of India. I am a lover of its people, because we, the Sinhalese, and Tamils in Sri Lanka are from India — the Tamils from Tamilnadu and the adjoining Dravidian districts, and we the Sinhalese are supposed to have come about 600 B.C. — 2,500 years ago — from what was then called *Vanga Desa* — I think it was *Bangladesha* that my good friend, the President of Bangladesh represents. They said it was from Bihar. We talk the same language, or a very similar language derived from Sanskrit, an Aryan language; we follow many customs that are similar to your people. I am, therefore, a lover of your people. Not only for that reason, but because hundreds of millions of them who live in villages, humble citizens of the world, toiling daily, working their fields, worshipping at the great shrines of Hinduism and Buddhism which were born in this country, and



Islam and Christianity, living simple and hardy lives, non-violent in their behaviour, though there may be instances of violence which one cannot take into account in a land populated by 760 million people. I am a follower of your greatest son, Gautama the Buddha, who is supposed to have visited Sri Lanka during His lifetime. We still revere the places that He came and preached. In the time of the Asoka the Great, in 300 B.C., he sent his only son *Thera Mahinda* to Sri Lanka, he sent his only daughter, *Sanghamitta* with a branch of a *Bo* tree which still grows in our sacred city, and Mahinda preached the doctrine, the Enlightened One's doctrine, and since then the majority of the Sinhalese people are Buddhists. We were ennobled by the shadow of the great doctrine that fell upon our land.

These are some of the reasons why I am a lover of these people, a follower of its greatest son and admirer of India.

My first visit to your country, Mr President, was in the year 1940, when I attended the Ramgarh Session as a youth. It rained the whole night — if any of you were present you will remember — and Moulana Kalam Azad who was the President had to give up his speech because the rain would not permit him to speak. In the morning Pandit Nehru came to the hut we were staying — he was very kind — he came to the next hut where Aung San the Burmese leader was staying and asked us whether we have got wet. It wasn't necessary to ask because we did get wet. It was such a downpour as I had never seen even in the monsoons of Sri Lanka. He invited us to stay with him at Allahabad. Both Aung San and I did so for a weekend. My second visit was on an equally important occasion, when in Bombay the Indian Congress Committee met and passed the "Quit India" resolution. I was a young man and I well remember Mahatma Gandhi coming amidst cheers, sitting on the platform — on which platform Abdul Ghaffar Khan was almost reclining — he was such a tall man — and that very night itself I think your great leaders were all arrested. When I was returning home our train was stoned — that wasn't very non-violent but I don't think one could blame the leaders for the lapses of some of their followers. Therefore, I have had a long connection with the leaders of India, the great movement and the achievements of that movement. I feel, therefore, that India should rise to the heights of the moral grandeurs that was hers. The people of this part of Asia, the developing countries, the Non-Aligned Movement want a great

country like India to stand up and say what is right and when it is right, without fear of consequence. That was the spirit in which Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the other great Indians led that movement. What do you feel? It was Jawaharlal Nehru's friend Rabindranath Tagore who said, "If in this thy great heart fails, bring me thy failure". Right is right and there can be no compromise in what you think is right.

I therefore, ask the leaders of India to give us the leadership which we all in this part of the world need to put the Non-Aligned Movement in its correct perspective, to help the developing nations to prosper and, may I on behalf of all of you say how much we appreciate if India could give us that lead.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you, therefore, to stand and drink to the health of His Excellency the President of India, Mr Sanjiva Reddy and Mrs Sanjiva Reddy, to Her Excellency, the Prime Minister Mrs Gandhi of India, the Government and the people of India; May I wish them all happiness, good luck and prosperity in the future.

## A FORCE FOR PEACE

*Speech at Banquet by the President of the People's Republic of China and Madame Li Xian Nian during State visit to China  
— 22nd May 1984*

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Your Excellency, Madame Li Xian Nian, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

My wife and I are deeply honoured to welcome you and Madame Li Xian Nian to this Banquet. My wife and I also welcome all our distinguished Chinese guests here today.

I have been in your country for only three days, but have been able to grasp in some measure what the Chinese people have achieved in their civilisation which stretches over thousands of years. Your civilisation, Excellency, is so rich and refined that it is natural for you to handle relations between peoples and countries with such grace that one of your greatest writers on war, Sun Tzu, said that the greatest victory a General can win, is to win the enemy over without shooting an arrow. It is this tradition that we see in your relations with States and which has earned you the respect and admiration of nations big and small around you and all over the world.

Your Excellency, your country is one of the largest countries of the world with a population of over one billion. My country is perhaps one of the smallest countries in the world with 15 million



people. But, what has impressed me most is that in your policy, relations between countries are based on the five principles of peaceful co-existence, and in doing so, you treat small countries and big countries alike. You also champion the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other nations. It is with gratitude I recall the message you sent through my brother when he visited China in September last year that Sri Lanka's internal problems are Sri Lanka's internal problems and no other country has any right to interfere in Sri Lanka's affairs. It is these sentiments that has made your country respected throughout the world, and I am sure your policy will have a positive influence in world affairs.

Your Excellency, Sri Lanka and China are Third World countries. Our peoples are struggling to achieve a decent standard of living. In this struggle China has helped the Third World and the Non-Aligned Movement in championing our cause to bring about an equitable economic order. We are grateful to you for this crusade. We rejoice in your success. A prosperous and powerful China can only be a force for peace both in Asia and in the world. We wish you well.

Your Excellency, in our bilateral relations we have today contact at many levels. Your technicians have controlled floods in my country; taught our farmers improved methods of cultivation; made our people realise the potential of fresh water fish; and helped us in achieving self-sufficiency in cloth. The Bandaranaike Memorial International Conference Hall is an edifice symbolising our close and friendly relations. We consult each other on many international developments, and see eye to eye on many of them. I am sure this relationship which has a solid foundation, will grow further in the years to come, and be a shining example of how a small country and big power could arrange their relations to mutual benefit. Like the Great Wall of China that has withstood the elements for thousands of years, may our relations flourish for thousands of years.

Now I propose a toast to —

Your Excellency and Madame Li Xian Nian,

To Your Excellencies,

To all our Chinese friends present here today

and

To the greater friendship of our two countries.



*With President of the People's Republic of China Li Xiannian, during State Visit to China in May 1984*



*With Singapore Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew and Mr A.C.S. Hameed Foreign Minister of Sri Lanka*





## DEMOCRACY CANNOT SURVIVE ON A DIET OF WORDS

*Address at Welcoming Ceremony,  
White House, Washington D.C.  
18th June 1984*

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I am glad that Mrs Jayewardene and I were able to accept the invitation extended by Mrs Reagan and you to visit your great country. We have come a very long way from home, yet already we feel we are among friends who believe in and try to follow common ideals for the welfare of humanity.

This is not our first visit. We came in September 1951 to your west coast to attend the Japanese Peace Treaty Conference held at San Francisco. I came as my country's representative. I received then a full measure of praise and gratitude from members of the United States Government of the day; Dean Acheson, John Foster Dulles, and others who attended the Conference, for helping to secure the acceptance by the Conference of the Peace Treaty with Japan. The Japanese leaders, Prime Minister Yoshida and others were equally grateful. Those alive are still so. I mentioned that because the thinking of the people of my country which was expressed by me on that occasion was that we should not ask for reparations from a fallen foe who had harmed our land and people also; that we should forgive those who were our enemies; quoting the words of the Buddha, that, "Hatred ceases not by Hatred but by Love". I pleaded that we should restore to Japan the freedoms of democracy. Those were the ideals which inspired us then, and inspire us now.

Our history and civilisation have survived in an unbroken sequence from the 5th century BC for 2500 years. There were glimpses of modern democracy even then as in the appointment of Mayors to our ancient cities. The ruins of state buildings still contain carvings in stone where the Cabinets of the Kings and their Ministers sat. We were the first in Asia in 1865 to elect members to the Municipalities that governed our major cities; and in 1931 under universal franchise to exercise our right to elect the Government of our choice.

We also have in our country an unbroken historical record extending over the same long period of a line of Heads of State; Monarchies of different Dynasties, from Sri Lanka and abroad, including India and the United Kingdom; of two Presidents, one selected and one, myself elected by the whole country. I happen to be the 193rd in the line of Heads of State from 483 BC to date.

In our modern history we cannot forget the contribution made by an American, Colonel Olcott, when he helped the Buddhists leaders of Sri Lanka, 100 years ago, to establish a movement for the revival of education through schools owned and managed by the Buddhists themselves and thus laid the foundation for the revival of Buddhism and the movement for freedom. The United States of America since it was born out of a revolution which freed it from foreign rule has not been known to be hankering after territory or supporting imperialism.

Sri Lanka has been for 53 years a practising democracy; where the freedoms of speech and writing, of electing governments by universal franchise at regular intervals and the Independence of the Judiciary and of the Opposition are safeguarded. Fundamental rights which are justiciable are guaranteed under the Constitution. Though there are occasions when emergency powers have had to be exercised fundamental freedoms remained intact.

Democracy cannot however survive on a diet of words. The people require food for their stomachs, clothing for their bodies and roofs over their heads. In the Non-Aligned world of developing nations which covers the whole of Central and South America, the whole of Africa, the whole of Asia, from the Mediterranean Sea to the Seas of China and Japan, there are very few countries which could be called a democracy such as is your country. Ours is one. That is why the assistance that developing nations of the world receive from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund is appreciated though there are many matters on which we feel there should be change to help them to exist as free countries. We in the developing world have problems similar to

those who live in the developed world have deficit budgets, high interest rates, over-valued currencies and unstable exchange rates. These are the classical examples of the symptoms that affect both the developed and developing nations. Those who speak so eloquently on behalf of the developing nations have been pressing for the opening of commodity markets of the developed world for their manufactures without protective laws, stable prices for raw products, and re-scheduling of debts borrowed for development. Consider these requests, Mr President, with sympathy and generosity.

In our own case, with the aid received we have been able to commence and have almost completed, the largest development programme which in our long history has ever been attempted by King or President. A programme possibly unequalled in magnitude by any development programme in any country in the contemporary world or earlier. This was possible due to the efforts of my Government which was elected to office in 1977 in an election conducted by our opponents, the previous Government. We obtained 51% of the votes and won 5/6th of the seats in the legislature. Since then we have won five elections including the Presidential election, by-elections, District Council elections, local elections and a referendum.

We have however our problems. Some of them are unique to our country. Excessive rains, sometimes floods, landslides, cyclones, common to all countries, but still difficult for us to bear.

Another and a modern problem and one of universal occurrence today, is terrorism. This happens in the extreme North of our country where a group of misguided people of Tamil birth who were favoured by the American people in the latter half of the 19th century by the erection of schools and hospitals, seek separation from a united Sri Lanka. There are more Tamils living in the East and among the Sinhalese than in the regions that seek separation, who do not support them. My Party holds 10 out of 12 seats in the Eastern Province which separatists seek to join to the North. The terrorists are a small group who seek by force including murder, robberies and other misdeeds to support the cause of separation, including the creation of a Marxist State in the whole of Sri Lanka and in India, beginning with Tamil Nadu in the South.

Since we assumed office in 1977, members of the Armed Services and Police, politicians who leave the ranks of the separatists and join us and others, and innocent citizens numbering 147 have been murdered in cold blood. I am glad, Mr President, that your country is taking a lead in creating an international movement to oppose terrorism. If I may suggest



it may be called the United Nations Anti-Terrorism Organisation. It is vital and essential that as the developed world helps us with the finances, that we help each other in this sphere and that all nations co-operate to eliminate the menace of terrorism from the civilised world.

I was very happy when I read your address to the Irish Parliament on June 4th. You made an appeal to nations to reaffirm the principle not to use force in their dealings with each other. You said the democracies could inaugurate a programme to promote the growth of democratic institutions throughout the world. You spoke on behalf of hundreds of millions who live on the borderline of starvation while nations will spend next year a trillion dollars on the manufacture of armaments for destruction of human beings and their products.

At meetings of members of the Commonwealth in Sydney, in New Delhi, at meetings of Non-Aligned nations in Havana and in Goa, India, I have never failed to express similar ideas. Non-violence is *Maithri*, compassion, and the Great Teacher whom I follow, Gauthama the Buddha, and the Great Teacher you follow, Jesus Christ, and India's great son, Mahatma Gandhi, preached and practised the doctrine of non-violence successfully.

Let your great and powerful nation take the lead in implementing these ideals and the world will remember that the President of the United States of America, Ronald Reagan, preached the laying down of arms, not through fear but by the strength of his conviction that to follow right for right is right, without fear of consequence, is the way for civilised man to follow. The Voice of America will then become the Voice of Righteousness.

## OUR STRONGEST BOND IS OUR MUTUAL COMMITMENT TO DEMOCRACY

*Speech at Banquet given by  
Secretary of State of USA, Mr  
George P. Shultz and Mrs  
Shultz, Washington D.C.*

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Mr Secretary, Mrs Shultz, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Thank you for your kind words, and for your gracious hospitality. We will all take back happy recollections of this event to Sri Lanka.

In our continuing dealings with your colleagues in Colombo and Washington and particularly in the planning of this State visit, we have at all times experienced courtesy and efficiency. We appreciate that.

This is a unique occasion; the first State visit to your country by a Sri Lankan Head of State. At the same time, it is part of a continuity which has lasted over many years. Our views on world political situations do not always coincide, yet we have been united in many common endeavours down the years.

Our strongest bond is our mutual commitment to democracy. Modern democracy in Sri Lanka is over 50 years old, but the practice of government with the consent of the governed is fully in keeping with the long-established philosophical traditions guiding our

people. Democratic institutions flourished at the grassroots level in Sri Lanka hundreds of years ago. Today, our Constitution enshrines the sovereignty of the people, preserves human rights and guarantees fundamental freedoms to all citizens. These rights are justiciable before an independent Judiciary.

Today's world faces the new and repugnant threat of terrorism. Civilised human beings cannot accept the argument of force as a substitute for the force of argument. We must all be united and unflinching, therefore, in resisting the vicious threat of terrorism, whatever mask or disguise it sometimes wears.

Sri Lanka faces this threat, from separatists who want to divide our country. The extent to which they will go was recently demonstrated when they kidnapped an American couple working in Sri Lanka. We are all relieved that it was possible to secure the safe release of these two young people. This criminal act however could have had a very different ending because terrorists do not respect human life and moral values.

The Government of Sri Lanka is pledged to safeguard the rights of all communities. We will not be diverted from the responsibility of seeking a negotiated settlement of any issues that divide our communities. We will never agree to the division of our country. We will never submit to terrorism. We have never been conquered nor ever will be.

Our own approach to world affairs is to extend to our dealings with the world around us, those principles of our religion — the *Dhamma* — that guide us in our daily life and in domestic affairs. We seek to eliminate greed, hatred and delusion from our lives. If we could reach that goal individually and collectively both at home and abroad we would be well on the way to creating a perfect world.

We are a democracy, and just as we have enshrined the sovereignty of man in our Constitution, we want the sovereignty of man to be protected universally. Men and women who are threatened by guns and bombs are not sovereign. Nor are men and women sovereign who are unable to secure their basic needs from day to day.

We look to you, Mr Secretary, and to your great country to help maintain peace and stability in as many regions of the world as you are able to do. Disparities within and among societies contribute significantly to domestic, regional, and international instability. All of us in the human family owe it to ourselves to be



resolute about ending such disparities. We are confident that America in its role of leadership, will continue to strengthen those institutions which contribute to international stability and development.

Mr Secretary,

Our two countries enjoy a long-standing history of co-operation. Our discussions in Washington have paved the way to closer and more detailed co-operation in the years ahead. The agreements to be signed by representatives of our two countries later today will lead to new areas of co-operation. You have become a closer partner in our progress. May that partnership endure.

May your influence on the world for the good of all humanity increase. May you be guided in these efforts by principles, and not prejudice (*Samma Vayama*); endowed with right intention (*Samma Ditthi*); and moved by compassion (*Maitriya*).

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Please join me in drinking a toast to Secretary and Mrs Shultz; to all men and women who strive within this building and beyond it to keep the peace of the world.

## IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF THE BUDDHA

*Address at Conference of the  
World Fellowships of Buddhists,  
Colombo — 2nd August 1984*

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The World Fellowship of Buddhists was founded in 1950. I was present at the first meeting held in Colombo and as a member of the Government of Sri Lanka rendered such help as was necessary.

We remember today all those Sri Lankans and others who helped to inaugurate this noble venture. I am sure no one will object if I specially mention the name of the late Dr G.P. Malalasekera, one of the great pioneers of this movement. We remember him with affection and gratitude.

There are 350 delegates from 34 countries present with us today. I welcome all of you to the land of *Theravada* (*Hinayana*) Buddhism, to which the majority of the Sinhalese people have been faithful for twenty-five centuries. They have been so since the day that *Arahat* Mahinda, son of the Emperor Asoka, on the hill of Mihintale converted Sri Lanka's Monarch, Court and people to take refuge in the Triple Gem, (the *Trividha Ratna*); the Buddha, the *Dhamma* and the *Sangha*.

It was the Chinese pilgrim Hsuan Tsang in 600 A.D., unable to cross over to Sri Lanka from a Port in Western India owing to a revolution here, lamented his inability to visit, "Sri Lanka the Holy Land, centre of the *Theravada Sasana*, without a knowledge of whose books one cannot obtain a true knowledge of Buddhism".

The followers of *Mahayana* and *Theravada* accept in common many tenets of the Buddha's Word.

They take refuge in the *Triple Gem*.

They accept the three characteristics of phenomena; *Anicca*, *Dukkha*, *Anatta*.

They believe in the Four Noble Truths (*chaturarya satya*); *dukkha*, the cause of *dukkha*, the elimination of *dukkha*, and the way of elimination.

They try to follow the Noble Eightfold Path (the *arya astanga marga*).

I inquired from one of the best known scholars and students of *Mahayana*, Dr Suzuki, when I met him in Tokyo in 1951 about the difference between the two and he said, "Why worry about the differences. Consider where they agree" and he mentioned what I have just stated.

Modern physicists, as a result of their experiments and research conclusions, are coming close to acceptance of the Buddha's explanation of phenomena.

Based on these Truths, the Buddha advised humans to so behave that the endless journey of Birth and Death in *samsara* ceases, and *Nibbana* is attained. *Nibbana* he said is *alobha*, *adosa*, *amoha*; the eradication of *lobha* (greed), *dosa* (hatred), *moha* (ignorance).

That is the goal of all Buddhists and the only way to attain that State is to follow the Eightfold Path of *seela*, *samadhi*, *pragna*; to live according to the moral code preached by the Buddha (*seela*); to practise Meditation outlined in the *Sati-Patthana Sutra* (*samadhi*); and the attainment through Meditation of Wisdom beyond the Mundane (*pragna*).

"Perhaps never while the world has lasted", a Buddhist scholar of repute has written, "has there been a personality who has wielded such a tremendous influence over the thinking of humanity. And who so recognises this will also recognise that almost two and a half millenniums ago the Supreme Summit of spiritual development was reached, and that at that distant time in the quiet hermit groves along the Ganges already had been thought the highest man can think".

If each one of us tries in his humble way to practise what the Buddha preached and what the World Fellowship of Buddhists seeks to persuade us to do, to follow in the footsteps of the Buddha, Peace will prevail among us, in our lands and in the world.



## MUSLIM COMMUNITY IS AN INTEGRAL PART OF OUR NATION

*Address at Seminar on Islam for  
Muslim Theologians, Colombo  
— 7th March 1985*

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I am happy to be present here among you at the Seminar and Workshop for Muslim Theologians organised by the World Supreme Council of Masjids, Mecca, and its Sri Lanka branch of Muslim Religions and Cultural Affairs and the Minister in charge of Muslim Religions and Cultural Affairs. We have among us several distinguished delegates who have so kindly accepted the invitation to participate in this Conference. Their presence will no doubt be a source of great encouragement to the organisers and the other participants.

The Muslim Community of this country has always been an integral part of our nation and the Muslims have worked side by side with the other communities over the decades and in the struggle for national independence.

I find that this is a Seminar and Workshop to train Muslims who officiate in Mosques as *kateeb*s and *ulemas* for the purpose of elevating the standard of religious knowledge among the community.

I am of the view that religion plays an essential part in the building of a righteous society. A true follower of any of the great

religions will always be a good and responsible citizen respecting the views and practices of others, and would always be a good member of society. It is in this context that Seminars and Workshops of this nature aimed at educating the different peoples in the process of living together in amity and peace play a vital role.

All great religious systems preach the doctrine of universal brotherhood and if the adherents of these religions practise the fundamentals and the precepts laid down by their respective founders, then this world of ours would be devoid of rancour, envy and hatred, as a consequence of which wars and dissensions have sprung up all over the world.

## CLOSE BONDS OF FRIENDSHIP

*Speech made during State Visit  
to Pakistan — 29th March  
1985*

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I thank you, Mr President, most sincerely for your kind words of welcome and the tributes you have paid to my country. My wife and I and the members of my delegation have been greatly touched by the warm and generous hospitality afforded to us. We are happy to be in this beautifully planned city of Islamabad, which not long ago was bare land but now stands transformed into a magnificent capital by the creative imagination of your people.

The famous centre of Buddhist thought and learning for over a thousand years, Taxila, exchanged Buddhist scholars with Sri Lanka in the distant past. Indeed virtually the whole of North-West Pakistan was a cradle of the unique Gandhara sculpture, some of the finest manifestations of Buddhist art in the world. We are thankful to the people of Pakistan for having safeguarded these treasures.

As two South-Asian Nations of the Third World, and as members of the United Nations and the Colombo Plan, we have similar problems and also share similar perceptions on a number of matters. We have co-operated closely in the past and we shall continue to do so in the future.

More recently, the countries of South-Asia joined together to



harness our resources in various fields for the betterment of our peoples through South-Asian Regional Co-operation. Pakistan has played a notable role in ensuring the progress and success which has been achieved in this endeavour so far. We look forward to your continued co-operation and wise counsel in realising the first Summit Meeting at the end of this year.

Your Excellency, the concept of co-operation in South-Asia envisages a widening of exchanges and contacts especially in economic and commercial fields. Indeed, it implies a shared commitment to the principles of non-interference in each other's affairs, and mutual respect for each other's sovereignty. These same principles have given us the strength to transcend bilateral differences in our common search to achieve a regional identity. This same identity should in turn enrich these principles and translate them into vigorous and continuous action for the mutual benefit of the underprivileged millions in our region.

The situation in Afghanistan continues to elude the search for a political settlement in accordance with the resolution of the United Nations. I share your concern for the urgency of such settlement. It is encouraging that some progress towards achieving a solution is being made in Geneva. I am confident that these efforts will not be in vain and that a solution will emerge which will restore Independence to Afghanistan and ensure that the refugees could return to their homeland in safety and honour.

I shall have the opportunity to see at first-hand, the progress of modern Pakistan. I have been informed of Your Excellency's ambitious endeavours for the economic development of Pakistan which, I understand, involves a major breakthrough in agricultural production, the acceleration of industrial growth, the strengthening of the role of the private sector in socio-economic development and the utilisation of the country's vast human and material resources.

Sri Lanka has also launched a major development programme in our economy, based on our largest river, the Mahaweli Ganga. It holds out great promise for the country's future. We have also liberalised and diversified our economy, removed debilitating restraints and given individual enterprise a place in our development programmes.

When our efforts were beginning to bear fruit, we have been faced by the new monster of terrorism. I cannot add further momentum to the process of development because of terrorism that

seeks to destroy the age-old peaceful society in Sri Lanka, built on the foundations of compassion and understanding.

I strove throughout last year to find a political solution to the perceived grievances of a section of the Sri Lanka Tamil minority in my country. I invited the groups representing various shades of opinion to a round table conference which had 37 formal sessions and a series of informal sessions. Based on the consensus that emerged at the round table conference, I presented draft legislation but the major party representing the Tamil People at the Conference rejected them. While Conference Members sat and searched for a political solution, the terrorists equipping themselves with modern and sophisticated arms and ammunition increased their brutal attacks on the members of the armed forces, the police, civil servants and civilians of all races.

This has made a political solution difficult in the present environment. A political solution should not be a decorative ornament. It should be a pragmatic answer capable of implementation and a climate for such an exercise can be achieved only if terrorism is brought under control. I thank Your Excellency, for your support of Sri Lanka's sovereignty and territorial integrity and your actual help to defeat the violent forces that threaten to destroy them.

Your Excellency, my wife and I and the members of my delegation look forward to seeing something of the progress which your country has been able to achieve, its scenic beauty, the richness of your ancient and modern culture, the warmth and friendliness of your people. We shall cherish this experience and take back with us happy memories of a country, its leadership, and its people who are very dear to us.

I thank you.

I now request Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen to join me in a Toast to the health and happiness of His Excellency the President, General Mohammad Zia Ul Haq and Begum Haq, The peace, prosperity and progress of Pakistan and the enduring friendship between Pakistan and Sri Lanka.





*With President Zia Ul-Haq, during State Visit to Pakistan. Also in the picture are Sri Lanka's Foreign Minister A.C. Shahul Hameed and Pakistan's Foreign Minister Sahabzada Yakub Khan*





## MADAME PRIME MINISTER, I WANT PEACE, NON-VIOLENCE

*Speech at Banquet given in  
honour of the British Prime  
Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher  
and Mr Dennis Thatcher, MBE  
— 12th April 1985*

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The Right Hon. Prime Minister and Mr Thatcher, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

There are many reasons why my Government and I and the majority of our people are happy that you accepted my invitation to visit us.

Madam Prime Minister, the strong bonds that exist between our two Nations were forged over two centuries of association. They date back to 1796 when the representatives of the British Government decided to take over the former Dutch possessions in the maritime areas of Sri Lanka. The destinies of our two Island nations were thenceforward inextricably intertwined.

So many aspects of life in Sri Lanka today emerged from moulds that were cast during this association. Foremost among these is our democratic tradition, upon which we pride ourselves.

In 1833 Trial by Jury was instituted. In 1866 the Municipalities of Colombo, Kandy and Galle were created with members elected by the people. They were the first such institu-

tions in Asia. In 1933 the State Council, with Ministers chosen from among members elected by universal franchise was created and functioned till 1947 and Freedom. Mr Dahanayake, M.P., a former Prime Minister and I are the only two alive from that Legislature.

We choose our leaders through the ballot. Since 1931 the country has had ten General Elections and a Referendum, when the people by a 53% vote postponed the General Election until 1989. Parliament cannot postpone a general election nor the election of a President even by a two-third majority. Governments have been returned and defeated on several occasions and I myself bear the scars of these electoral battles as few democratic leaders alive today can claim.

Our Buddhist traditions dating back for 25 centuries re-inforce our determination to abjure violence as a mechanism of change. The practice of governing with the consent of the governed is also fully in keeping with the long established philosophical traditions guiding our people. We take justifiable pride in the fact that democratic institutions flourished at the grassroots level in Sri Lanka hundreds of years ago, following the traditions existing in the 6th century B.C. among some of the peoples of the States in the Indian Gangetic Plain where the Buddha lived and preached. H.G. Wells calls this period of History, the period of the adolescence of the Human Race, for in the West lived Socrates, Aristotle, Plato and their contemporaries; in Persia, Zoroaster; in India, Gautama the Buddha and in China, Confucius, all preaching modern concepts of Physics and Philosophy.

We have always cherished and followed such tenets of Democracy as individual liberty, the Writ of *Habeas Corpus*, freedom of speech and association, and the right to vote. We have in our Constitution declared them as Fundamental Rights and made them justiciable. Yet today we have been reluctantly compelled to impose some restrictions on the exercise of these freedoms since "terrorists" are exploiting the opportunities afforded by a free society to destroy these very freedoms.

We in our country have been concerned with the forms of democracy, and not with democracy itself which the majority accept. Successive Governments have amended our Constitution, from time to time, yet always retaining its democratic principles. Today the President is the executive authority elected once in six





*With British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, during her State Visit to Sri Lanka*



*President and Mrs Jayewardene with President Maumoon Abdul Gayoom of the Maldives and Mrs Gayoom*



years by the whole nation, and exercises it with a Cabinet of Ministers chosen from the Legislature. We have attempted to create a strong and stable executive so necessary in a developing country. The elected members enact laws in the sovereign Legislature, which functions for six years. An independent Judiciary interprets them.

I hope future generations will use the powers they exercise through the Presidency, Legislature and Judiciary wisely, for the welfare of the many.

While we and a few others among the developing nations consider the forms of democracy as important, a growing number of nations consider as important the substance of democracy itself, as they did not enjoy it earlier, and are turning to it now.

Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil and Turkey are dramatic examples. Colombia, Jamaica and Nigeria are somewhat less dramatic. El Salvador looks as if it may become an example. Portugal, Spain and Greece took steps a few years earlier to establish democratic institutions. India among the people of the world's second most populated country has recently underscored the strength of democracy. Pakistan, which I visited last week is the latest example. I wish her well. We who know the value of democracy should help her to preserve it.

The menace of terrorism is a danger aimed at the democratic fabric of society, threatening to rend it asunder. We in the democratic world have to co-ordinate our strategy to eradicate this menace. There is no alternative. Any delay on our part to counter terrorist violence will only encourage these forces of evil to escalate their campaign and subvert our democratic system.

I have repeatedly said there is a "Terrorist Problem" and not an "Ethnic Problem" in Sri Lanka. I go back to the Manifesto issued by my Party to the electorate in 1977 where we referred to the "Problems of the Tamil-speaking people" as follows:

"The United National Party accepts the position that there are numerous problems confronting the Tamil-speaking people. The Party, when it comes to power, will take all possible steps to remedy their grievances in such fields as —

- (1) Education;
- (2) Colonisation;
- (3) Use of Tamil Language;
- (4) Employment in the Public and Semi-public Corporations.



We appointed a Select Committee of Members of all Parties in Parliament to consider the above proposals as well as others.

Since 1977 the Government has implemented the recommendations of this Committee. Tamil was made a National Language in the Constitution; rules governing entrance to the universities were amended and any racial bias governing those rules removed; the regulations prescribing racial considerations governing entry to the Public Services and promotion in the Services were also removed.

District Councils were created and District Ministers appointed. Elections were held; our candidates were assassinated and so were members of the Police leading to riots in Jaffna; meetings and polling booths were broken up by armed gangs.

The riots of July 1983, largely in Colombo and Kandy were the culmination of the terrorists killing members of the armed services in the North. The terrorists say they are seeking to change the elected democratic government of the whole of Sri Lanka and not only to create a separate State of *Eelam*. They say so publicly in statements appearing in the Indian Press; they are interviewed by journalists and move freely in Tamil Nadu and the rest of India, appearing on platforms with members of the TULF and other Indian leaders. At the same time they openly admit murdering citizens of Sri Lanka of all races, religions, castes and sexes.

What is the nature of the friendship that permits a human being or people to associate with criminals who openly admit murder of, and plan to commit further crimes on, one's friends. I adopt a different attitude to my friends whether they be nations or individuals.

Your nation and its people have suffered millions of deaths in several wars during the last 100 years. We have not. Some of our citizens though, fought side by side with you in all these and suffered with you air raids and the other consequences of war in the 1940s. The protective shelter of the British Empire spared us the lives and property you lost.

I am against violence. I said so at the Commonwealth Conference presided over by Mrs Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, at Delhi in November 1983, at which you were present, Madam Prime Minister. The Goa Declaration accepted my idea and included non-violence.

We are fighting a war in some parts of the North and East of our Island. Nine Policemen were killed by one bomb in the Eastern

Province two weeks ago. Are they not human? Have they no parents, wives and children? Do they not feel the warmth of human friendship and do not their dependents yearn to feel the touch of their varnished hands and the sound of their voices that are still?

You quoted Bismark to the American Legislators, as saying "Do I want War? Of course not, I want Victory."

Madam Prime Minister I want Peace, Non-Violence.

Your country keeps troops stationed in some parts of Central America to sustain democracy. You have troops in Cyprus, in the South Atlantic, in the Sinnai and Beirut. You have loaned some to 35 foreign countries. In the Atlantic and the Indian Oceans your Navies are on duty across the world. You said to the American people,

"We do not believe that Force should be the final arbiter in human affairs."

"Britain meets her responsibilities in the defence of Freedom throughout the world. She will go on doing so."

Madam, I salute you.

You also touched on terrorism in Ireland. You called it "a threat to Freedom both savage and insidious". How true.

We have also lost some of our best young lives.

Your citizens too are being misled to contribute to seemingly innocuous groups. They are used to buy narcotics and weapons to harm and kill Sri Lankans.

The future of Democracy in our Motherland is in danger. We will not succumb to the threats of the assassin's gun or the coward's mines. Come such evil forces against us as they may, we shall so behave that a United Sri Lanka, Free and Democratic, yet shall stand.

May the words I have spoken be taken across the Seas to the United Kingdom, the Home of Freedom and Democracy.

## THE CONCEPT OF NON-ALIGNMENT WAS CONCEIVED IN COLOMBO IN 1954, NURTURED IN BANDUNG IN 1955 AND WAS BORN IN BELGRADE IN 1961

*Speech at the inauguration of the  
Ministerial Meeting of the Co-or-  
dinating Bureau of Non-Aligned  
Countries*

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Your Excellencies, Distinguished Delegates and Friends,

I consider it a privilege to be able to inaugurate this Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries, preparatory to the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in Havana in September 1979.

It is interesting to remember that the first idea of a meeting of Afro-Asian nations, which later led to the first meeting of Non-Aligned nations, originated in Colombo at the Colombo Powers Conference held here in April/May, 1954.

U Nu of Burma, Sir John Kotalawela of Ceylon (Sri Lanka); Jawaharlal Nehru of India, Mohamed Ali of Pakistan, and Ali Sas-troamidjojo of Indonesia, attended as the Prime Ministers of their respective countries.



As Leader of the House of Representatives, together with Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, the Leader of the Senate, I was one of the members of the Ceylon delegation.

Among other decisions we unanimously declared our faith in democracy and democratic institutions, and our unshakable determination to resist interference in the internal affairs of our countries. We also discussed the desirability of holding a conference of Afro-Asian nations and favoured a proposal that the Prime Minister of Indonesia might explore the possibility of such a conference.

It was at the Colombo Conference that Jawaharlal Nehru in his opening address on 28th April, 1954, said, "The main problem in the world was the continuing problem of the 'Cold War' between two blocs of big powerful countries. Most of the countries represented at the Conference had attempted to follow a policy of non-alignment with these great power blocs and to live their own lives according to their wishes without dictation or compulsion from abroad".

As far as I am aware, this was the first public occasion and conference where the word "Non-Aligned" was used.

The Colombo Powers met again at Bogor in Indonesia, in December 1954. The main object of the meeting was to consider matters concerning an Afro-Asian Conference first suggested at the meeting in Colombo in April. The purpose of the Afro-Asian Conference was:

- (a) To promote goodwill and co-operation 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) To consider social, economic and cultural problems and relations of the countries represented;
- (c) To consider problems of special interest to Asian and African peoples – for example, problems affecting national sovereignty and of racialism and colonialism;
- (d) To 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.

The following 25 countries were to be invited: Afghanistan, Cambodia, the Central African Federation, People's Republic of China, Egypt, Ethiopia, the Gold Coast, Persia, Iraq, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Nepal, the Philippines, Saudi

Arabia, the Sudan, Syria, Siam, Turkey, North and South Vietnam, and the Yemen.

This Afro-Asian Conference met in Bandung, Indonesia, from 18th to 25th April, 1955. It was attended by delegates from 29 countries with a total population of about 1,400 million people. An astonishing range and diversity of race and opinion was represented at the Bandung Conference. The variety of religions and doctrines included, as was observed by Dr Soekarno in his opening address, "Buddhism, Islam, Christianity, Confucianism, Hinduism, Jainism, Sikhism, Zoroastrianism, Shintoism, and Marhaenism, Socialism, Capitalism and Communism." This was the first major conference of the newly independent nations of Asia and Africa.

This diverse assembly had certain bonds which bound them together. The spirit of independence and nationalism, and the common feeling of anti-colonialism. The whole of Africa and the whole of Asia, except Japan, had been under the rule or dominance of the Western Powers. They were now free. They felt that they were not adequately recognised by the rest of the world as an independent force in international affairs. Throughout their declarations, firstly at Colombo, and later at Bogor and at Bandung, they were not only talking of economic development but trying to stretch their hands out to be able to take a leading part in the shaping of world events. They also feared that the powerful nations may again seek to dominate them, if not territorially, in some other ways.

The speeches made by some of the delegates showed the fear some of them had of the use of atomic weapons in the possession of the USA and USSR at that time, and the possibility that the world could gang up behind one or other of these countries. There were also many countries which had not aligned themselves to one bloc or another and refused to be camp followers of one or more of the bigger powers.

In addition to adopting several resolutions on international affairs and political, economic and social, issues, the Bandung Conference also recommended that the five sponsoring countries consisting of Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia and Pakistan consider the convening of the next meeting of the Conference, in consultation with the participating countries.

Six years later, in September 1961 and on a broader geographical basis, a group of countries now calling themselves Non-Aligned Countries met at Belgrade. This was the first Conference of Heads



of State or Government of this Movement. Thus the idea conceived in Colombo in 1954, nurtured in Bandung in 1955, was born in Belgrade, in 1961.

This was a time during which the Cold War polarised the world into two antagonistic blocs. Non-Alignment with either of the two Super Powers constituted and still constitutes the fundamental tenet of the Movement.

The history of the Non-Aligned Movement is the history of the evolution of an important aspect of international relations during the last twenty-five years. It began as an alternative to the military alliances of the Super Powers. It now represents the most comprehensive political coalition outside these alliances. Eighty-six countries and two organisations today identify themselves with this Movement, beginning with 25-members at the Belgrade Summit in 1961; 47 members at the Cairo Summit in 1964; 53 members at the Lusaka Summit in 1970; 75 members at the Algiers Summit in 1973; and 86 members at the Colombo Summit in 1976. The observers and guests have also increased from 3 at Belgrade to 19 observers and 7 guests at Colombo.

This is an opportune moment for reflection. As the Non-Aligned Movement approaches another Summit meeting, we have to consider the resolutions and declaration which will guide our Movement over the next few years. Debates within the Movement are dynamic and vibrant. That dynamism must be preceded by a thoughtful examination of where we are today; whither we are going, and how we are trying to get there.

It is argued that the bi-polar world does not exist any longer and that Non-Alignment as a middle course between two contending power blocs is no longer relevant. The end of bi-polarity as the dominant feature of international relations makes Non-Alignment to my mind even more relevant than before, because the existence of different centres of power makes it all the more necessary that the Non-Aligned countries pursue even-handed relationships with all of them, without getting drawn into any of their conflicts.

Some of the new centres of power are economic, not political. Our countries must deal with them, while pursuing our own interests, and without turning ourselves into economic appendages of any particular economic power. Other centres of power continue to remain political. We have to deal with them, too, carefully avoiding the risk of potential alignment in the contest of rivalry between



powers. How to achieve this state of balance is something that your deliberations will have to take into account.

Your Agenda shows that many of the issues that worried us in the past have been solved, some exist in different forms and some remain unresolved. That should not deter us. History proves to us that in affairs between nations there are no quick answers to difficult problems. We in Asia have always believed that time is a dimension that has to be taken into account as a vital element of any discussion or negotiation.

It will take time to resolve the problems that you discuss. But time alone will not suffice. There must be determination too — determination in terms of commitment to achieve specific goals and objectives; determination in terms of the desire and sincerity to remain united and strong.

Your presence here gives continuity to a historic tradition of important meetings being held, and far-reaching decisions being taken, in our Capital, Colombo.

In 1951 the Colombo Plan was born here.

The decision to draw the emergent nations of Asia and Africa that had newly regained their freedom to a Conference was taken here in 1954.

The word “Non-Aligned” as far as I am aware was first used here.

The Fifth Summit Meeting of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries was held here in 1976.

The proposal to make the Indian Ocean a Zone of Peace and the creation of a World Disarmament Authority, both now under consideration by the United Nations are Sri Lanka’s initiatives.

Today we meet to prepare for the Havana Summit Conference.

Several international organisations have also met here to plan strategies aimed at improving relations among peoples, and among governments in what has turned out to be a rather trying age. Colombo has thus earned a reputation as an international “Conference City” and Sri Lanka, as a Non-Aligned and neutral nation. For that reason alone your presence here is appropriate and welcome.

Sri Lanka has therefore a commitment to the policy of Non-Alignment and has contributed to the growth of the Movement. Non-Alignment runs like a golden thread through the fabric of our country’s Foreign Policy, though changes may take place in the

quality, colour and shape of that fabric from time to time. At no stage has our country deviated from that policy. At no stage, I make bold to say, will it do so in the future.

The post-Second World War years have brought about substantial changes in the living conditions of people in the less developed nations. In Sri Lanka, for instance, there has been a steady rise in standards of health, in literacy and overall, in the physical quality of life. Similar achievements have been recorded in many other countries. Yet, millions of people in the Third World go to bed hungry every night. Is there no hope for them? That is the question which the Non-Aligned Movement should ponder because the prosperity and health of every citizen is what we must seek to establish in all our countries.

Technicians and other experts see these situations against a background of statistics and theories. We must look at them differently. We are talking about people, not figures. Governments, of whatever persuasion, are formed to so organise society that human suffering is at least reduced if not eliminated. This is an exacting task. It is also a vital task. It is a task involving a combination of many factors from social policy to international trade. If we remain united, and if we use that unity to turn men's minds away from destruction and domination towards creativity and friendship, then there is some hope that in our lifetime we will at least lay the foundation for a better tomorrow.

It has to be a tomorrow of peace. That is why we must strive as Non-Aligned countries for such goals as disarmament and the peaceful settlement of disputes. A better tomorrow must also be a tomorrow of economic justice, within our countries as well as in international relations. We must endeavour to bring about a successful completion of negotiations such as those set in motion at UNCTAD, whose objective is not charity, but justice. Above all, we must ceaselessly remember that our primary aim is to enrich the various aspects of human activity which add up to the sum total of human life, avoiding violence of speech and action but seeking by peaceful means to achieve prosperity for those whose need is greater.

I spoke to you as the Chairman of the Fifth Conference of Non-Aligned Countries. I speak to you now and welcome you on behalf of the Government and the people of Sri Lanka. I hope you will have the opportunity during your stay to get better acquainted with Sri Lanka and its people. They will give you a warm welcome.



I wish to speak to you a few words about my own country, and in doing so my thanks and our thanks are due to the Foreign Minister of Sri Lanka, Hon. A.C.S. Hameed, for the patience, care and dedication with which he has performed the tasks entrusted to him of presiding over the meetings of the Non-Aligned countries.

There are political, philosophical and geographical reasons for Sri Lanka's adherence to a policy of Non-Alignment throughout its period as an independent nation. Freedom came to us soon after the Second World War had ended. The Big Powers seemed ready to embark on a new type of confrontation, which has since come to be known as the Cold War. A new nation, just learning the art of standing on its own, cannot afford the "luxury" of any form of war. Thus, while in the earliest phase of independence we looked to our friends abroad for assurances of support in the event of our having to defend ourselves against any external threat, we scrupulously avoided alignment with one power bloc or another. Friendship with all and the enemy of none was our policy and it so remains.

Almost all the great religions of the world are found in our island home. Of these, Buddhism has played a dominant part in shaping our destiny, and continues to occupy a position of veneration and influence throughout the country. Buddhism has been a source of personal inspiration to me, as it has been to the majority of the people of Sri Lanka. It is historically demonstrable that Buddhism is the only world religion over which no wars have been fought, and whose followers have not felt the urge or the need to impose their beliefs on others. That gives our policy of Non-Alignment a firm philosophical base which, in turn, affects the nature of our policy, making it unshakeable under any circumstances and under all forms of pressure.

Geographically we are lucky that the Indian Ocean surrounds us on all sides and make us an emerald isle set in a silver sea; it protects us and helps us in various other ways.

We adopted a new Constitution last year which combines the Presidential form of Government and the Parliamentary system of Government. The President who is the Head of the State and the Head of the Government is elected once in every six years by the whole country. He chooses his Prime Minister and Cabinet of Ministers from the Members of Parliament and presides over their deliberations. They constitute the executive authority of the State.

The Parliament is elected once in every six years by universal



franchise but the elections are not contemporaneous with the Presidential elections. It is the supreme legislative authority. It considers and has to approve all laws and by-laws.

The judiciary once appointed, some by the President and others by the Judicial Services Commission, functions as an independent authority. The rights of minorities — religious, racial and social, are included among the fundamental rights and are justifiable. So are the other fundamental rights, such as Freedom of Speech, Writing, Assembly and the Right to Vote.

Emergency powers cannot be assumed by the Government without the sanction of the Legislature. After three months of such assumption a two-thirds majority in Parliament is necessary to continue it. Any decision to extend the term of office of the President, or the life of Parliament, beyond six years must be approved by a referendum. The sovereignty of the people is thus preserved.

It is a Constitution that seeks to combine the best features of Freedom and Justice contained in the British, American and French Constitutional systems.

The Parliamentary and Local Government elections are conducted according to the system of Proportional Representation. Local Government elections were held recently after 11 years, under this system.

The right to practise the religion of one's choice is guaranteed under the Constitution. Every citizen is treated alike irrespective of his race, religion or social status. The Cabinet of Ministers today has been chosen and functions on that basis.

We have enjoyed universal franchise since 1931. Men and women over 18 years now have the right to vote. General elections on that basis have been held since then and governments changed by the vote on several occasions. We are accustomed to the ballot and not the bullet to change Presidents, Prime Ministers, Governments and elected Members.

You are therefore in a land, which can call itself one of the Free and Democratic nations of the world. .

We are also Socialists. Sixty per cent of our means of production, distribution and exchange are owned by the State on behalf of the people. They will remain so and we hope under more efficient and honest management than in the past.

It is because of the Democratic Freedoms we enjoy, and the Socialist system and philosophy of equal opportunity for education,

jobs, health and housing which prevail, that we called our country, The Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka.

You have a heavy Agenda before you. I express the hope that your deliberations will be guided by the thought that righteousness must ultimately triumph. Keep for ever in mind the futility of force and the sanctity of life. May the thoughts I have left with you today lead you along the Path that culminates in right livelihood and right understanding for us all.

## SAFEGUARDING OUR SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERITAGE

*Speech at the Commonwealth  
Summit Conference, Bahamas  
— 17th October 1985*

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The speeches of the distinguished representatives of Cyprus and Granada showed us the dangers some countries are facing. It was at the New Delhi Conference that the question of Cyprus was raised for the first time and I hope that the question raised by the distinguished representatives of Granada will also be resolved satisfactorily before our next meeting. Similar ideas were expressed by the distinguished representatives of India and the United Kingdom. We see in their speeches the same theme of terrorism ending in violence and riots. The distinguished representative of Singapore has in the same way expressed an academic view of these problems.

Let me first thank you Mr Chairman, and your government and people for the generous hospitality we have enjoyed during our stay here.

Exactly 500 years ago Christopher Columbus and his Spanish conquistadors if I may so call his sailors, invaded these islands. They landed at San Salvador, exterminated the native Indians and changed the course of history of many nations. If he lived today we will call him an international terrorist but today he is recognised as a great leader.



Today the leaders of 49 nations living in all the continents of the world meet in peace and amity to discuss some of the illnesses that the world suffers from and to seek solutions to them.

While we talk of these problems we must know each other so that we may be the better judge of the comments each of us makes.

For example, countrymen of some of the leaders present here have made such atrocious statements about my country and its government that I consider it my first task to put the record straight before I proceed further.

For example, one has said that Sri Lanka should be classed with South Africa because of the recent apartheid policy it is following. The media has helped to create these very impressions and I feel that at least among my friends, the Heads of Governments of the Commonwealth, there should be no doubt about the events that occur in Sri Lanka today and the policies of its government.

I have myself attended innumerable Commonwealth Conferences during the last 37 years, beginning with the London Economic Conference of February 1948, presided over by Sir Stafford Cripps, Chancellor of the Exchequer. I have met and worked with several of the leaders of the Commonwealth during these years, and I can speak through experience of its value and usefulness to its members, especially to the small members.

In 1948 the Commonwealth consisted of its founder members, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa, the United Kingdom and the new post-Second World War Dominions, Ceylon (Sri Lanka), India and Pakistan. Today we number forty-nine, from all five continents. It was largely the influence of the late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru which kept India in the Commonwealth and thus paved the way for all the new Dominions to follow his example. I wish to pay my tribute to him now for acting as he did.

Sri Lanka is one of the smaller members, but not too small in size or population to be ignored, and geographically so situated as to make it important. I wish therefore to speak first of Sri Lanka as it is today, in the context of its past history and its future hopes.

Our recorded history is ancient, and goes back in an unbroken sequence to the arrival from North India of King Vijaya in 543 BC. They have been ruling our country since then. Kings and Queens of various races and dynasties, Sinhalese, Indians, Cholas and Telugu, British, Hannover and Windsor, and two Presidents, one selected in 1972 and myself, elected in 1977 and 1982, the 193rd in

this long and unbroken line of Heads of State, possibly the oldest of its kind and unique in the world.

Sri Lanka has been an Independent, United and Democratic Monarchy since 1948, and a Republic since 1972.

We have had universal franchise, elected Ministers since 1931 and a limited franchise at the centre, since 1911. We have had elected Municipalities for 120 years. The democratic process of elected governments of Legislators and Mayors, is well established and efficiently operative over a long period of time. From 1931, we have had ten general elections, changed governments on six occasions and have had innumerable by-elections, and local government elections also down to the smallest village level. We believe in the ballot and not in the bullet.

At the 1977 General Election held by the government of the day, now in opposition, my party in opposition was elected to office till 1983. We have now 143 out of a total of 168 members. An islandwide Referendum extended our term of office for another six years from 1983-1989.

The new Constitution of 1978, introduced by my government made the President, elected as Executive President, Head of State and Government, combining the British and American systems of government and followed closely the French model. At the Presidential election held in November 1982, I was elected for 6 years by a majority of 903,373 votes and polled 52.9 per cent of the votes in this islandwide election, polling 3.4 million votes. I stress the islandwide election for in the Northern and Eastern Provinces where there is now a Tamil terrorist secessionist movement, my chief Sinhala opponent and I polled 56 thousand, out of 73 thousand votes in the North, and 144 thousand out of 163 thousand votes in the East.

We have continued and protected the democratic process since the General Election of 1977 by holding up to date, twenty-five by-elections. My party lost only four of them. We have held several District and Urban Council elections in 1979 and 1981 and won a majority in these councils, except, in some Councils in the Northern and Eastern Provinces.

We held a Presidential Election and a Referendum in 1982 and won both.

The 1978 Constitution has for the first time created certain fundamental rights, among which are the equality of races and re-

ligions, freedom of speech, writing and opposition, the right to vote and assemble, and freedom from arbitrary arrest. These are all justiciable. The elections to the Presidency and Parliament, and the fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution, cannot be postponed or amended without the approval of the people at a referendum.

Very few countries in the world, if any, have similar freedoms guaranteed by its Constitution as we have.

Of course the Government can assume emergency powers when the security of the state is involved. This action again is justiciable and in some cases the courts have held against the Government. Every month the emergency is extended after debate and a two-thirds majority is required to do so.

It is with a knowledge of these aspects of our political and constitutional life that I wish to inform my colleagues of the unfortunate events of violence that have plagued our national life in the Northern and Eastern parts of our Island, engineered by Tamil terrorists, particularly since 1980.

Sri Lanka's population contains four major ethnic groups, *viz.*

	<i>Percentage</i>	
Sinhalese . .	74	11,000,000
Sri Lanka Tamils . .	12.6	1,870,000
Muslims . .	7.4	1,200,000
Indian Tamils . .	5.6	825,000
Burghers . .	.26	38,236

In a population of 14,900,000 (1981 Census Data).

The majority of the Sinhalese are Buddhists. The majority of the two Tamil speaking groups are Hindus, and Muslims who are followers of Islam. The Christians belong to all communities.

The voting, district by district, in the 1977 General Election, for the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF), the moderate group that campaigned for a separate state of *Eelam* in the Northern and Eastern provinces was as follows:

<i>District</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
<i>Northern Province —</i>	
Jaffna	71.81
Mannar	52.44
Vavuniya	58.82
Mullaitivu	52.16



*Eastern Province —*

Trincomalee	27.18
Batticaloa	32.14
Ampara	20.25

In the other seven provinces they did not contest.

The right of each community to use its own language, practise its own culture and customs is recognised. The Government guarantees these rights to them throughout the Island, however small their number may be. We recognise the whole of Sri Lanka as the Homeland of every individual member of each community.

We have agreed that recruitment to the State services and entrance to the universities will reflect the ethnic proportion of the Island. The Chief Justice, the Attorney-General, the Inspector-General of Police, till a few months ago, several Ambassadors and important public officials are Tamils.

The Constitution enacts that the Official Language is Sinhala, and the National Language, Tamil. Every effort is made to teach English to make it the link language.

### **Constitutional Changes**

The Government has agreed on the principles and forms of participatory democracy from the village, urban and district level, to Provincial Councils within a province. They will be vested with executive powers by the President.

Only a fraction of the 1.36 million Tamils who live in the Northern and Eastern Provinces supported the idea of a separate state in the 1977 election. The entirety of those who live outside the Northern and Eastern Provinces and the entirety *viz.*, 2 million of the other communities, including 800,000 Indian Tamils, too oppose it.

This then is the factual position. Terrorism reared its ugly head first in 1976, with the murder of the Tamil Mayor of Jaffna, who was also a Member of Parliament of the then ruling government party. Since then hundreds of innocent civilians, members of the security services, men, women and children have been killed by the terrorists, including two ex-Members of Parliament of the moderate group, and several members of my own party. The security services in defence and retaliation have also killed several. It is a massacre without a purpose and with no hope of success.

The classic pattern of terrorism is repeated in my country.

They openly say they wish to create a Marxist state in the whole of Sri Lanka and not only a separation of the Island. Their international lobby is wide and effective. The umbrella of the grievances of the Tamil minority, and the unfortunate riots of 1983 — when in Colombo and some cities in the South, the Sinhalese civilians were misled into harming Tamil lives and property, in retaliation for the deaths of 13 Sinhala soldiers in the North by a terrorist bomb — help them to function as a legitimate racial group seeking to redress grievances. The Government is shown as the aggressor or suppressor. Money is collected, arms are purchased, and terrorists are trained to disrupt the smooth functioning of one of the few democracies among the developing nations — a founder Member both of the New Commonwealth and the Non-Aligned Movement.

It is a shame that the help that should come to us to maintain the high principles of these two movements are denied, and that instead there is a vilification of our purposes and behaviour by politicians and the Press. I hope that it may be possible to bring peace once again to the troubled North and East of our Motherland, and that the leaders of the terrorist groups living and operating outside our shores will cease to function.

I believe in democratic principles of non-violence, and the principles proclaimed by Gautama the Buddha and Mahatma Gandhi. I hope that the great ideals they stood for, can be proclaimed to the world and remain the principle guiding the members of the Commonwealth.

## A MOMENTOUS SUMMIT

*Speech at First SAARC Summit  
Conference, Dhaka, Bangladesh  
— 7th December 1985*

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Mr Chairman, Sir, Your Majesties and Your Excellencies The Heads of States and Government, Hon. Foreign Ministers, Distinguished Foreign Secretaries and Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I wish to reiterate the historic significance of this occasion though others have done so before me. Let me begin by conveying to you Sri Lanka's congratulations and very warm felicitations on your assumption of the Chairmanship of this momentous meeting. We face a heavy responsibility: to impart further momentum and set a steady course for our attempt in regional co-operation. My delegation and I approach this task with optimism, because we have confidence in you to guide our deliberations to a successful conclusion.

My last visit to your country, made in the company of His Excellency Shri Rajiv Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, at a time of great trial and sorrow for you and your people, resulting from a major natural disaster, reflected one aspect of our brotherhood: the sympathy and solidarity of family members, one for another, at times of stress. Today, we are gathered as a family in recognition of that very brotherhood: to reflect upon our common objective and consider common means to achieve our goals.



Before expanding on that theme, permit me, first to record our deep gratitude for the warmth of welcome and generous hospitality with which we have been received here, as well as to express our admiration for the excellent arrangements made for this Meeting.

The countries in the South-Asia Region assembled at this Conference consist of Monarchies, Republics with elected Presidents and multi-party systems, and Republics with Presidents but no multi-party system yet.

They are populated with people of Aryan, Dravidian, Arab and Mongolian descent. A billion and a quarter people live here; some of them the richest and some the poorest in the world.

Two of the world's great religions, Hinduism and Buddhism originated here, and Christianity and Islam have millions of followers going back to the years of their origin.

History records events that occurred in these countries 6000 years ago and some have a recorded and continuous history of over 2500 years.

A unique region looking not backwards but to the future, its people stretching their hands towards perfection, economically, socially and politically.

Can our meeting together help? If so, how can we do so?

Firstly, we must trust each other. India the largest in every way — larger than all the rest of us combined — can by deeds and words create the confidence among us so necessary to make a beginning. Mr Rajiv Gandhi is its chosen leader. On him we rest our hopes. He must not fail us. He cannot. Our duty is to help him to the utmost. He should tell us what each of us should do and we must respond as best as we can.

Economically, we have worked out our development programmes. It is the task of each one of us to consider what help we can give the others.

In the spheres of investment and aid, trade between our countries, wherever we can exchange and train experts, there should be co-operation and help.

Socially, all our countries protect our citizens and there is no violation of human rights willingly, and as State policy, by anyone of our governments. We should study this aspect together and remedy any defects that exist.

Politically, each country has its own Constitution and some have fully fledged democratic constitutions with elected Heads of



*President and Mrs Jayewardene being received by President Muhammad Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, during their State Visit to Egypt*



*With Bangladesh President Hossain Mohammad Ershad. At left is Mr A.C. Shahul Hameed, Foreign Minister of Sri Lanka*





State, multi-party systems, freedom of speech and opposition. Others are seeking to achieve similar goals.

South-Asia had been slow in organising regional co-operation. It is no secret that certain clearly identifiable historical as well as geo-political factors have militated against regional closeness. Historical legacies of conflict, vast prevailing disparities of size and resources, different levels of development, both socio-economic and technological, and differences of strategic perception stemming from these factors. These were a stumbling block. This does not mean that the need for a desirability of the countries of our region getting together in their collective interests had not been recognised or articulated earlier.

It is time that countries in our region derive strength from each other by way of enhanced trade, institutional linkages, sharing of technology, improving human resources and mutual investment. Regional political stability and human development should have priority in regional co-operation. Regional co-operation is not a fancy intellectual exercise divorced from mundane needs. Indeed, it is a constructive element in the development process. We all are agreed that the only way to improve the lot of our people is through development. If so, regional co-operation must be looked upon as an instrument that could help the lives of the millions who are in South-Asia.

All the countries in South-Asia speak English. Therefore, there is a link language and this medium should be developed to ensure an uninterrupted programme of information exchanges. Let us share knowledge together. The greater we understand each other, easier becomes the realisation of our goals. There can be no successful regional co-operation without mutual confidence, without mutual trust.

All the countries in South-Asia speak English. Therefore, there freedoms they have. Terrorist movements have raised their heads among several of our countries. Heads of State and Government have been assassinated and violence preached and practised. Their leaders hide under the umbrella of racial and minority discrimination and seek separation.

At the Commonwealth Conference held in Delhi in 1982 the Goa Declaration emphasised non-violence as the main creed of those assembled. Let us also say so more forcibly.

Sir, as I stated at the outset, we are present at the making of

our collective as well as individual future — this is by any standard a historic occasion.

The responsibility we face is heavy; the stakes are high, the expectations attaching to our meeting are great. We approach our task with hope and with optimism, for we believe that as the full potential of our venture comes to be realised, its benefits will be incalculable to the welfare of our several peoples and countries.

Mr Chairman, I can do no more here than convey to you our firm resolve and assurance to co-operate with and assist you in whatever way necessary, to facilitate your tasks in guiding our deliberations to a successful conclusion.

A great responsibility lies on us. Let us grasp this opportunity to fulfil that responsibility. There is no person or nation that will stand in our way.

The quotation from Tagore, or, Thakur, cited by the Prime Minister of India, Rajiv Gandhi, reminds me that Tagore was a citizen of Bangladesh which consisted then of other regions such as Bihar, Orissa, Bengal, Calcutta and the modern Bangladesh. It is from here known then as *Vanga Desha* that King Vijaya, as you also mentioned to me, Sir, came in the sixth century B.C. — 2,500 years ago — to Sri Lanka and founded the Sinhala race.

Tagore — to speak from memory — refers to the land “where the mind is free, where words come out of the depth of truth, where the land is not divided by narrow racial walls, where tireless striving stretches its hands towards perfection, into that haven of freedom, my father, may our region ascend”.

Thank you.

## THE SHIP HAS SET SAIL

*Speech at closing session of First  
SAARC Summit Conference,  
Dhaka, Bangladesh — 8th  
December 1985*

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

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 Co-operation. There were ideas before that. The concrete steps to build it were taken in Bangladesh. We have launched that ship this week-end. 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; mutiny on board. Let us make it enter the portals of friendly harbours.

This is not the first time that there have been international organisations. In the 19th 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 for ever. 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 marching. Some of the countries in the South East Asia region formed themselves into a grouping 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 *Pan-chaseela* 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 except perhaps Sri Lanka!

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 in 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 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 mani padme hum, the sunrise comes! The dewdrop slips into the shining sea!”*

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

## THE HERITAGE OF NON-VIOLENCE

*Speech at Second SAARC Summit  
Conference - 16th November 1986*

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Mr Chairman, Sir, Your Excellencies Heads of State and Heads of Government, Honourable Foreign Ministers, Distinguished Foreign Secretaries and Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

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

We thank you and your Government deeply for the warm welcome that we have found here and the most generous hospitality that has been extended to us. We are most appreciative of the careful and excellent arrangements made for our meetings.

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

All of us around here are practical men. We know our expectations and our limitations. Our annual meetings at Summit level and meetings at Foreign Ministers' level and meetings of officials and technocrats from our countries will certainly help to promote our commitment to work together within our region.

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

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

### **Important Areas of Activities**

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

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

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

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

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



## Steps Taken towards a Solution

The Sri Lanka Government since then took various steps to arrive at a political solution, e.g., the All Party Conference of 1984; the visits of my Ministers and myself to Delhi in 1984 and 1985; Secretary Bhandari's visit to Sri Lanka in April 1985; the Thimpu-Delhi talks and the Delhi Accord of July/August 1985; the Chidambaram visit to Sri Lanka in April/May 1986. This process still continues.

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

The Sri Lanka Government has now, with the good offices of the Government of India and the Government of the State of Tamil Nadu, placed before the representatives of the separatist groups, proposals which create Provincial Councils with Chief Ministers and Boards of Ministers, all elected by the people of each province, and the devolution of functions and authority to these Councils, without violating the Constitution of Sri Lanka. The Government of Sri Lanka has outlined these far reaching proposals.

## Path of Non-Violence

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

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

The heritage of India is universal and permanent. We in Sri Lanka are proud that even a shadow of this noble heritage has fallen on our land enabling us to share it even in a small degree. It is the heritage of *Ahimsa*, non-violence, handed down to us from time immemorial, from the Hindu *Vedas*, from the Buddha *Dhamma*, the Christian Gospels and Islam's *Koran*. Mahatma Gandhi personified these ideals, and lived them in his life and teaching of Truth and *Maithriya*, inspiring others also to follow his example.

## To Uphold the Rule of Law

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

This is a moment of destiny for us. Not only as fellow members of SAARC, but also as neighbours that share common aspirations and ideals, we need your understanding and appreciation, as we face the challenge of violence that confronts us.

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

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

I believe, that these lines are very relevant. We are now afloat on such a full sea. We must have the courage and determination to take the current and make it serve us. We must not lose our venture. If we do so, history will say that we failed the teeming millions in South Asia languishing in hunger and poverty.

Mr Chairman, I spoke those words for the record.

You quoted a poem from Rabindranath Tagore which is close to my heart. Tagore wrote, “If life's journey be endless, where is the goal”. I think the goal and the road are one. Every step must be as pure as the goal itself. There can be no impure steps to attain a pure goal. I say this because I know that violence brings hatred. Hatred cannot be conquered by violence; but by non-violence and by love. When I spoke at the 1951 San Francisco Conference on the Japanese Peace Treaty soon after the war, I cited the Buddha's words. I said, “Hold out the hand of friendship to the Japanese people. Hatred ceases not by hatred, but by love.”

## Hatred Ceases by Love

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



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

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

I am reminded of a story of Gautama the Buddha. He was meditating in a jungle near a village. A young mother lost her only child. She could not believe that he was dead. She carried the body round the village trying to find some medicine. She could not find it. She was told, "Why don't you go and see that holy man. He may help you". She went to Him. He told her, "Sister, can you bring a mustard seed? But it must be from a house where there has been no death". She went back to the village carrying this dead child. She visited house after house; but there was no house where there was no death. In every house somebody had died. She came back and told the Buddha, "Lord, I could not find such a house to bring a mustard seed". So He said, "Sister, thou hast found, looking for what none finds, the bitter balm I had to give thee. He thou lovest, slept dead on thy bosom yesterday. Today, thou knowest the whole wide world weeps with thy woe. The grief that all hearts bear grows less by one. Go, bury thou thy child".

### Democratic Objectives

Whenever I hear of death it grieves me more than I can explain. One of your leaders, the great Mahatma Gandhi personified in his life the non-violence that I mentioned. He showed the world that non-violence can be employed to attain political and democratic objectives. Whether it be freedom from foreign rule, or the elimination of capitalism and the formation of a communist State or whether it is separatism or federalism, this is the only way that can be supported by civilised people. That is the way of non-violence or *ahimsa*.

I was privileged, Mr Chairman, as a young man just entering politics in the 1930s to witness a great movement which began to stir India. Mr Chairman, I knew your mother and grandfather Jawaharlal Nehru. I stayed with him in his house. I was his guest at the Congress Ramgarh Sessions — the last sessions before freedom. I was his guest in Bombay when the "Quit India" resolution was passed. That was the first occasion on which Mahatma Gandhi, in his long service to India, tried the non-violent way to attain freedom for his country. He was training his people in non-violence. He walked to the Dandi beach to



break the “salt laws”. He broke the laws of the British Government after the Amrithsar massacre. He broke the habit regarding the wearing of foreign cloth and encouraged the *Swadeshi* Movement. He said, “You are in a movement not only to attain freedom”. At the Bombay session when he spoke on the “Quit India” resolution, I was sitting behind him when he ended his speech with *karange ya marange* — “do or die”.

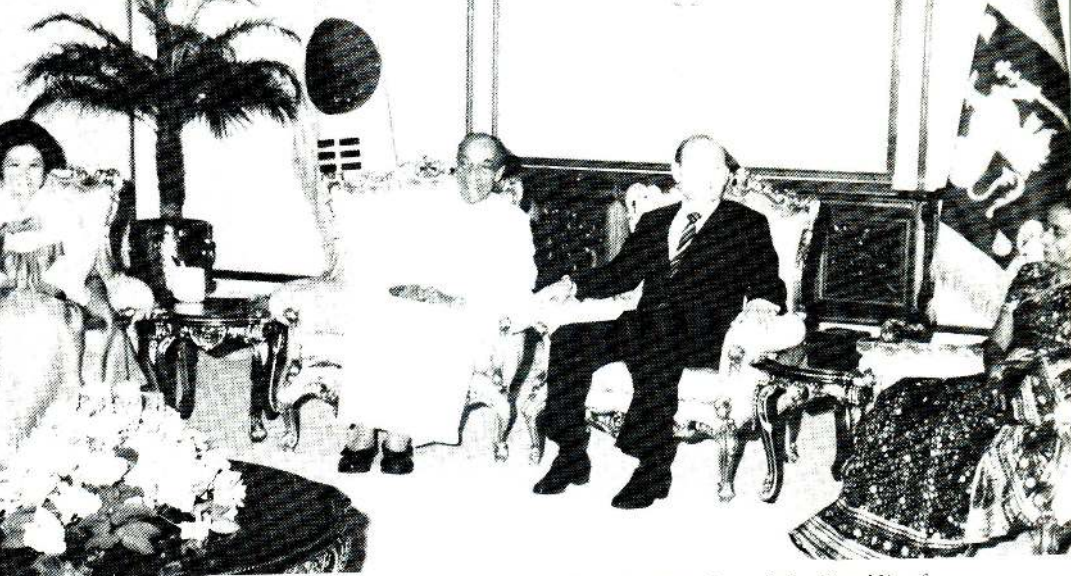
### **Gandhiji's Inspirations**

Mr Chairman, I was returning to Sri Lanka when I was told that your grandfather was arrested. Throughout his long life, Gandhiji never stressed any means other than non-violence. I remember when there was an agitation in Bihar and the police station was set on fire in Chauri Choura. Some policemen were killed during the non-cooperation campaign. Jawaharlal Nehru and other leaders were in jail. Mahatma Gandhi called off the agitation because violence had broken out. Jawaharlal Nehru from jail asked why did he do so, when they were about to attain their objective.

Mahatma Gandhi said, “No! I do not want to attain freedom through violence”. That was the man that inspired me. Those are the men who brought freedom to all our countries. Not only in Asia, but throughout the world. And I say again violence means hatred. Hatred cannot be conquered by violence, but by non-violence and by love. That is the way I would like to follow.

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

Thank you.



*President and Mrs. Jayewardene being received by the President of the Republic of Korea, Chun Doo-Hwan and Mrs Chun, during their State Visit to the Republic of Korea*



*With Prime Minister of Malaysia, Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir Mohamad*





## FROM BANGALORE TO KATHMANDU

*Speech at closing session of  
Second SAARC Summit Con-  
ference — 18th November 1986*

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Your Majesties, Your Excellencies, Distinguished Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, Mr Chairman,

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

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

Mr Chairman, the ship of SAARC is now sailing under your

guidance. We know the qualities you possess, the qualities you inherited, are sufficient that this ship looks neither to the right nor to the left but goes straight on to its cherished goal.

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

Thank you.

## WE ARE WITH YOU IN YOUR STRUGGLE FOR JUSTICE

*Message to United Nations  
Special Session on Palestine*

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The convening of an Emergency Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly on the question of Palestine underlines the importance and urgency of the matter to the world community. We are faced today with several problems that threaten peace in the world but nowhere as in the case of Palestine has prolonged and protracted irresolution carried with it such grave danger and such a sense of moral failure as the inability of the United Nations to have discharged its responsibility for over three decades to ensure justice and fairplay for an entire people.

It is encouraging to note that the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people are today gaining widespread recognition. The United Nations General Assembly meeting in Emergency Session should confirm these rights and express international solidarity with the Palestinian people. But this act by itself cannot absolve the United Nations of its failure nor exempt it from its responsibility to effectively ensure the exercise of those rights. This emergency session must, therefore, establish the basis for an effective solution of the Palestinian question in all its aspects.

The Government and people of Sri Lanka share the view that the question of Palestine is at the core of what is called the Middle East



problem. We would like to pursue efforts to effect a just solution in the interests of international peace. We recognise the urgent need to solve the problem. The United Nations cannot choose to be blind to the most recent events which suppress even the most elementary forms of expression of Palestinian rights and the real import of such suppression.

The inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people to return to their homeland, to self-determination and independence and their claims to the notions of justice and basic human rights, as well as their struggle for the realisation of these rights under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, have the full support of the Government and the people of Sri Lanka. We have expressed our support and solidarity for these rights politically and diplomatically in the belief that full international recognition of these rights is the basic step towards ensuring their realisation.

Sri Lanka was particularly privileged to support the Palestinian cause during its stewardship as Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement. It is with great satisfaction that we joined in the expression of support and solidarity for the Palestinian cause at the Havana Summit of Non-Aligned Heads of States. It is our firm belief that such solidarity expressed at the highest levels cannot be disregarded and that such solidarity will provide the basis for an effective solution to the Palestinian question.

## SRI LANKA'S FOREIGN POLICY

*Address at Convocation of the  
Bandaranaike Centre for Inter-  
national Studies — 24th Sep-  
tember 1987*

I am addressing the 7th Convocation of the S W R D Bandaranaike Centre for International Studies. I may now be considered as an old boy of this Institution for I have been associated as a Member of the Government or of the Opposition with this and allied Institutions since their inception. They were created to commemorate the memory of the late Mr S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, and of his thinking on political, social and cultural subjects. Foreign Affairs was one of the subjects he specialised in. Because of his liberal education in Sri Lanka and abroad, and of his wide reading he had opportunities of thinking deeply on these matters. His political position helped him to implement some of them.

Firstly, he changed Sri Lanka's foreign policy from complete attachment to the United Kingdom and the Western World to closer ties with the USSR and Communist countries. He took over the naval and air bases at Trincomalee and Katunayake from the United Kingdom. Yet he retained the United Kingdom — Sri Lanka Defence Agreement of 1947. This Agreement has still not been rescinded though it is now obsolete by disuse. This was due to the change in UK foreign policy and withdrawal of its military forces from the Indian Ocean.

### Three Factors

Mr Bandaranaike as Prime Minister established diplomatic relations with the USSR in 1956. The UNP Government of Sir John Kotelawala had, however entered into negotiations with the USSR to exchange representatives in 1955. He was unable to do this earlier because the USSR had blocked Sri Lanka's entry into the UNO from 1948, when we attained freedom, and had only consented to our joining the UNO in 1955. It was after we had joined the UNO that negotiations with USSR commenced for the exchange of representatives.

The main purpose of any foreign policy of a country is the preservation of its independence and thus its defence.

The second important factor would be the preservation of its food supplies.

Thirdly, its trade, both export and import. Even the ideological friendships and attachments depend mainly on these factors. This is seen even in the foreign policy ideals of the Super Powers, the big powers and all powers. When Sri Lanka became free once again in 1948, Prime Minister D.S. Senanayake said, "what is the use of my being the Minister of Defence without having the means to defend myself?" He, therefore, entered into a Defence Pact with UK for them to manage the defence establishments in Trincomalee and Katunayake.

These bases had been built and manned by British Security Forces since the Second World War from 1939 to 1945. Mr D.S. Senanayake's decision was wise. When Mr Bandaranaike became the Prime Minister in 1956 the international picture in the Indian Ocean had changed and even if we had wished to, UK could not have manned these bases for long because they were withdrawn from Singapore, and the Indian Ocean was free of the British Navy.

### Support Of India

Gradually India began to fill the role created by the withdrawal of UK in the Indian Ocean. The Super Powers had modern weapons, like atom bombs, Polaris submarines and other long distance missile dropping crafts. Therefore, USA and USSR could exercise influence from afar over the Indian Ocean. They realised that India had by now the 3rd or 4th largest army in the world, it was so even in naval and other armaments and was the biggest power in the Indian Ocean. They knew nothing could be done in the Indian Ocean without the support of India. The Soviet Union and USA did have their security forces on sea and



land in the Indian Ocean but did not in any way wish to clash with India. When, however, India was separated by Pakistan and Bangladesh, USA formed links with Pakistan and USSR formed links with India. Smaller nations in the Indian Ocean had either to join up with one or the other of the Super Powers if they agreed. They did not.

In the case of Sri Lanka, in the East, or closest neighbour Indonesia cannot stand up to India. On the West were countries of the African Continent which are equally powerless. The Arab States had armaments largely for their protection from their own rivals and had no Navy of any consequence, though Iran was building a powerful Navy before the Revolution. India was thus supreme in the Indian Ocean.

India had to meet a sudden problem with China in the sixties and she rushed to the USA for military aid which was given without reserve. Planes daily brought arms, men and material to New Delhi and for several years an American Mission was stationed in New Delhi. At that time USSR and China were friends. Later this situation changed when USSR and China had differences. India signed an Agreement with the USSR which was of mutual benefit to both countries in case of attack.

Pakistan had a much closer arrangement with USA to supply aid, military as well as economic, to Pakistan.

This is a brief picture of the changing international scene in the Indian Ocean from the time we attained freedom in 1948 up to date.

The SAARC Association is a new one where two nations which were carved out of India, and smaller neighbours like Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhutan and the Maldives are working together for economic and social development.

As I said at its first Conference this international arrangement can be of great use to all its members if there is no mutiny on board likening it to a ship sailing in troubled waters. Sri Lanka, though small, has contributed to international peace in many ways. For example, the Colombo Plan, the Japan Peace Treaty Conference, the Non-Aligned Movement, the Indian Ocean Zone of Peace, the Disarmament Conference, the Year of Shelter, and the India - Sri Lanka Peace Agreement.

### **Full Of Invasions**

In war, countries seek allies. In the time of the Sinhala Kings, our history is full of invasion by enemies from South India. Our Kings sought friendship with the neighbours of our invaders. For example, when the Cholas invaded us we sought friendship with the Pandyan etc.

World Powers did and do the same. During the Second World War UK sought help from USA. UK made friends with the Soviet Union and USA joined both to fight Germany and Japan who had become friends earlier. The European nations were always joining their neighbours to fight other neighbours. India joined USA to oppose China; the USSR joined India when USA helped Pakistan and China. The letters of Churchill, Stalin and Roosevelt during the Second World War showed how they individually and collectively appealed to USA for help.

I sought help from our neighbours and others in the same way in Sri Lanka when we were at war with the terrorists in 1983. At first India acted as a mediator between the Sri Lanka Government and the terrorists and at the same time arms and men came from Tamil Nadu to help terrorists. Suddenly the Indian Government wished to work with Sri Lanka Government to bring peace to Sri Lanka. When we in Sri Lanka asked for help from other countries in the world we had no response, and when help was extended to me by the Indian Government I grasped it. That is how the Peace Agreement was signed in July 1987.

The agreement is in three parts, the Agreement, its Annexure and the Letters. The Annexure and the Letters do not need legislation and no legislation is contemplated now. The Annexure deals with steps to be taken once normalcy returns, such as the future of Home Guards, and the para-military personnel, the surrender of arms and the monitoring of the Referendum, and the cessation of hostilities, and the duty of the Peace-Keeping Force to guarantee and enforce it.

### **Letters As Guide**

The letters are a guide to a future Treaty between India and Sri Lanka which will contain mutual understanding on foreign military personnel etc., employed by Sri Lanka, the use of ports, Trincomalee oil tanks and foreign broadcasting organisations which will not prejudice Indo-Sri Lanka relations.

The Treaty now being prepared will impose mutual obligations on both parties and will be reciprocal. It will be a guide to other countries in the region to follow our example.

The legislation is based on the main Agreement and contains the acceptance of the Provincial Council proposals negotiated from 4.5.1986 to 19.12.1986.

The two new matters *viz*, Tamil will also be an official language, and the Northern and Eastern Provinces will form one administrative unit

for an interim period until by a referendum to be held on or before the 31st December, 1988, they decide otherwise.

This is a small price to pay *viz*, permitting the voters of the Eastern Province to decide their administrative future within one year, for the stopping of a deadly killing war, the restoration of peace and the linking together of its citizens of all religions and race in one unitary, independent state and living, as I hope, for ever afterwards in Peace and Prosperity.



INDO - SRI LANKA ACCORD —  
AN AGREEMENT OF FRIENDSHIP NOT  
ENMITY; OF PEACE NOT WAR; OF LIFE,  
NOT DEATH

*Speech at Third SAARC Summit  
Conference in Kathmandu  
— 2nd November 1987*

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Mr Chairman, Your Majesty, Your Excellencies, Distinguished Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen.

May I offer you, Your Majesty, my felicitations on your assumption of the Chairmanship of this Third Summit Meeting of our Association. I and my delegation have the fullest confidence that with your wisdom and experience as a Statesman over a long period, you will preside over our deliberations and bring them to a successful conclusion. We are confident that your Chairmanship for the coming year will consolidate what we have already achieved in SAARC and provide momentum for future progress.

Before proceeding further let me convey our appreciation to His Excellency Rajiv Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, for the contribution that he made as Chairman of SAARC and for providing guidance during the crucially important early period of the Association.

I and my delegation would also like to express our appreciation for the warmth with which we have been received, for the gracious



*With Mr Rajiv Gandhi, Prime Minister of India*





hospitality and kindness shown to us and for the excellent arrangements made for us in these most congenial surroundings.

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 come 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 this problem as cover. 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. In our view, the Peace Agreement, apart from making it possible to solve Sri Lanka's separatist problem, has also to be regarded as a contribution to the stability of our region. It is an Agreement of friendship not enmity; of peace not war; of life not death, except for two significant events; Mr Rajiv Gandhi, you escaped death by a few inches, and I escaped death by a few seconds.

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 consulta-

tions as frequently as possible. It has to be recognised that consultations on bilateral and common problems, even if only at an informal level are of crucial importance for the long-term future of SAARC. Nevertheless, we can even envisage regional approaches to the solution of many of our problems.

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 our 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 5 percent of our trade.

Mr Chairman, we should not be discouraged by any difficulties we may have to encounter at present as we are yet in an early stage of our regional co-operation. It is to be expected that it may take time to build between us that high degree of trust and confidence which is essential for optimal economic interaction for our common benefit.

Mr Chairman, we decided in Dhaka— and reiterated in Bangalore— the need for the increasing involvement of the people for ensuring the success of regional co-operation. Initiatives have already been launched in a variety of activities, such as festivals, seminars, sport events, the performing arts and scholarships to get our people more fully involved in the concept of SAARC. Following on our meeting in Bangalore last year, new initiatives have been taken towards this end by schemes involving the sharing of broadcasts and telecasts under the South Asian Broadcasting Programme, the promotion of organised tourism among SAARC member countries and the regular and frequent interchange of scholars, artists, authors and professionals.

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?

We must also remember that not far from here about 2600 years ago, an event of great significance to the world took place in a park of *Sal*

trees in Lumbini— the birth of Siddhartha Gauthama. We are meeting not far from the hallowed spot which is the birth place of the Buddha whose teachings have inspired millions of people all over the world. We, Mr Chairman, are worried about defining terrorism. Why? Whoever adopts violence against the State, for whatever cause, should be outside the pale of friendship and protection. Is that not the message of the Buddha? Of love, of *maithree*, of perfect love which transcends all human understanding—to protect life which all can take but none can give—that is the message of the great civilisations that have lived on this continent. It is my fervent belief that the ideals of Buddhism and all the great religions of the world which are practised in the countries of Asia should guide our destinies.

Great civilisations have flourished here and have decayed and passed away. New civilisations have arisen. We have during the period of colonial rule lost many of the good things we learnt during these 2500 years, but now we have regained our Independence and taken our rightful place in the community of nations as free, equal and independent States and have now entered a new phase of co-operation.

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.



## WE HAVE ACHIEVED MUCH AND WE HOPE TO ACHIEVE MORE

*Speech at closing session of Third  
SAARC Summit Conference,  
Kathmandu — 4th November  
1987*

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Mr Chairman, Your Majesty, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I must join my colleagues in thanking you Mr Chairman for the diplomatic, able and friendly way in which you have conducted the affairs of your office. You have been ably assisted by your Minister of Foreign Affairs and other Foreign Ministers, and by your officials. I join my colleagues, therefore, in thanking you and congratulating you.

When next year you come to my country, I hope we will be able to equal you in the hospitality and the ability with which we conduct our Sessions. I do not hope to achieve more than you.

Our country is an ancient one in its civilisation. The day Gauthama the Buddha, one of your greatest sons, passed away, was the day that King Vijaya, from what is called in our books *Vanga Desa*, came to our land and founded our race. Throughout these 26 centuries we have continued to survive, many of us are the same people, worship the same shrines, and still speak the same language. We welcome all of you to our country about this time next year.

We must also thank the Foreign Ministers and their helpers, the Secretariat, for the work they have done during the year, since the last Summit. This helped us to come to the decisions we did during the three days of our Sessions.

They are important and memorable decisions — one dealing with terrorism, others dealing with food, security and the media business. We are thinking even further ahead; wondering whether it is possible to associate in our deliberations during the year, Members of our Parliament as in the International Parliamentary Union, and the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, as well as members of the legal fraternity in the coming year.

We have achieved much and we hope to achieve more, particularly to improve the quality of life of our people, both physical and mental. I need not reiterate what has been said by my colleagues, but to say that I agree with all of them without reservation.

When I came here I knew that Nepal was a part of the area in which Gauthama the Buddha was born, lived and preached for almost 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 live in the area round the Palace complex, and their leaders lived in some of the palaces we visited yesterday. The Mallas were a democratic people, and so were the Lichchavis who also lived in Nepal till sometime 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 they were to be invaded by their neighbours, 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; when in China, Confucius preached a doctrine still relevant and in India Gauthama, the Buddha, preached the doctrine of Love, *Maithriya*, Non-Violence and Democracy.

It was one of India's great leaders Rajendra Prasad, when he was the Chairman of the Reception Committee at the Ramgarh Sessions of the Congress, held on the banks of a tributary of the Ganges river, which I attended as a young man beginning my political life in 1940, who said, "Every inch of land in this region, is hallowed by the touch of the feet of Gauthama the Buddha".

I remember another great orator, Surendranath Benerjee from Bengal when he addressed an assembly of Oxford students in England, 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 primaeval 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 way of life can be done away with, let us remember that throughout the world it is only because of man's ultimate adherence to non-violence, by and large, that we can live together. It is because of his adherence to truth, to love, to democracy, that inspite of Empires, inspite of those who believe in violence and nuclear arms that he 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.

In this great Assembly which I am proud to be a Member of, I like to say that we must work together, whatever differences we may have, whatever problems we may face, keeping in mind the message of all the great religions, Christianity, Islam, the Message of the Buddha, the Message of the *Vedas*, the *Bhagavad Gita*, where Love, Friendship, Compassion, Humanity and Non-Violence are the guiding principles.

Ours should be a land about which the sages have said:  
 "Where the Mind is free,  
 Where words come out from the depths of Truth;  
 Into that Heaven of Freedom;  
 My father may my Country awake."

Thank you.





