

President
J. R. JAYEWARDENE

ON NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Editor: S. P. Senadhira



President J. R. Jayewardene has established himself as an international statesman of considerable stature. Many peoples in Sri Lanka and elsewhere try to analyse the reasons for his success.

This volume contains more than a dozen of his most important speeches from the time he co-authored the Colombo Plan as the Finance Minister of Sri Lanka in 1950 until the present day. Many of the speeches were delivered to international audiences such as Summit Meetings of Non Aligned Movement, Commonwealth Meeting of the Heads of Government and Colombo Plan and others to forums as diverse as the Japanese Peace Conference, to the address to the nation from the Octagon of the Dalada Maligawa in Kandy after assuming office as the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka.

In the international forums he was the spokesman of the non-aligned world. He followed the true middle path. This is evident from his criticism of the Western Powers at the Colombo Plan meeting and the criticism of the socialist block at the Japanese Peace Conference.

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Studies on Sri Lanka Series No.—3

President
J.R. Jayewardene
on
National and International
Affairs

His Biography and Selected Speeches

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SUGEESWARA P. SENADHIRA

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*Dedicated
To
All Those Who Work
Honestly For Racial Harmony*

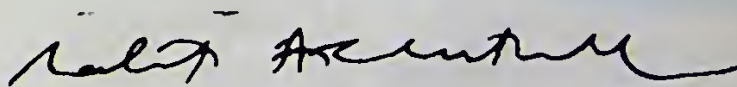
Foreword

Throughout the years, many collections of speeches have been of deep value and interest to many people. They have proved to be sources of historical, cultural and literary information to more than a single generation.

Most often, however, the value of such speeches and the value of the individual who makes them—is seen only in perspective. It is all too easy to forget that we are living history—that our leaders, their acts and their policies—are creating history for our children and our children's children.

This collection of His Excellency J.R. Jayewardene's speeches, then, is indicative of Mr. S.P. Senadhira's intuitive comprehension of the value of the speeches themselves as well as of the spirit of an era. He has, with sensitivity and care, selected speeches which deal with topics of varied interest—those which reflect not only the calibre of the man who uttered the words—but those which reflect the warp and woof of the social, cultural and political fabric of Sri Lanka today.

To us who know His Excellency J.R. Jayewardene this book is a just and fitting tribute to a leader who has carved a niche for himself in the history of a nation. Yet I believe that it is in the years to come that the true worth of this volume will surface. To the editor—compiler, then, must be given the credit for creating material of abiding interest to today's generations and of historical significance to tomorrow's.



LALITH ATHULATHMUDALI
*President's Counsel, member of Parliament,
Minister of National Security and
Deputy Minister of Defence*

July 10, 1985
Colombo

Preface

President J.R. Jayewardene has established himself as an international statesman of considerable stature. Many people in Sri Lanka and elsewhere try to analyse the reasons for his success. Turning to his speeches one begins to understand why.

I am presenting this collection of his speeches in a spirit of admiration and reverence.

This volume contains more than a dozen of his most important speeches from the time he co-authored the Colombo Plan as the Finance Minister of Sri Lanka in 1950 to the present day.

I have also included a short biography of this great personality.

I am deeply indebted to Hon. Lalith Athulathmudali, Minister of National Security for the foreword he has been kind enough to write to the volume.

I wish to express my heart-felt gratitude to Mr. B.P. Tilakaratna, High Commissioner for Sri Lanka in India for his interest and helpfulness which enable me to write this volume.

The notes and diaries of my father Mr. S. Piyasena were useful for me to write the biography.

I am also grateful to Mr. Anil Gupta and Mr. Sunil Gupta of the Sri Satguru Publications & Indian Books Centre for their active interest and constant co-operation in the completion of this Project.

My grateful thanks are due to Mr. Nihal Fernando of the Times Studio and Mr. J.A. Paulusz of the Presidential Secretariat.

July 25, 1985
New Delhi

SUGEEŚWARA P. SENADHIRA

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Biographical Sketch of President Junius Richard Jayewardene

In any nation one can find scores of leaders. However, only one or two of them can be described as "leaders among leaders" who change the destiny of the nation. President J.R. Jayewardene easily falls into this category.

President Jayewardene or "J.R." as he was known to the millions of people of Sri Lanka and abroad was born on September 17, 1906. He was the eldest son of E.W. Jayewardene, who was a judge of the Supreme Court of Sri Lanka (Ceylon). His mother was Agnes Helen Wijewardene.

From childhood J.R. was destined to be a leader. Being the eldest of a family of eleven children he had the responsibility of advising and guiding the younger brothers and sisters.

He decided to follow his father's foot steps and be an Advocate. The Jayewardene family is well known as a family of lawyers. His father's four brothers Hector Valentine, Quintus and Sextus were advocates. His father and Valentine became King's Counsels.

Young J.R., affectionately called 'Dickie', was taught English and music by a Scottish governess, Miss Munro and at an early age he learnt to play the piano and violin. Good taste and finesse governed everything in his home. He entered the Royal College in 1911 and pursued his studies there till 1925 when he left the Royal and entered the Ceylon University College. At the Royal College he excelled in studies and sports and was awarded the prize for the best student in 1925, the year in which he passed the London Matriculation Examination. At the University College he studied English, Logic, Latin and Economics. He boxed, played cricket and ruggar and played for the winning team in the annual Royal-Thomian cricket encounter in 1925.

In 1928 he joined the Law College and the following year he was awarded the Hector Jayawardene Gold Medal for Oratory, and the Walter Pereira Prize for Legal Research. On 18th March 1932 he took oaths as an advocate of the Supreme Court. The most symbolic act of his unconventional conduct as a law student was to arrange for the display of Mahatma Gandhi's portrait in the hall of the Law College. This sensational act gained much publicity at that time, for it amounted to a challenge thrown at the British Raj.

As an ardent follower of the apostle of peace—Mahatma Gandhi—he wanted to hang a portrait of the Mahatma in the Law College Hall. He commissioned David Paynter, the well known Ceylonese artist to paint the portrait and J.R. paid the artist out of the pocket allowance he received from his father. After completion of the painting he requested the Principal's permission to hang the portrait in the College Hall. But it was unthinkable that the loyal subjects of the British Sovereignty should attempt to honour a person like Mahatma Gandhi, who had publicly refused to cooperate with the British Rulers, but the Principal could not stop young J.R. He started a campaign in the College and declared that he would hang the portrait without permission if permission was not given. Ultimately, the Principal had to give in. On December 1930, the portrait was unveiled by Francis De Zoysa—King's Counsel and the vote of thanks was moved by J.R.

This incident clearly showed the leadership abilities of J.R. even at that early age. A few months later, defying his father's orders, J.R. went to support the Tramcar Workers who were on strike. The authorities had recruited new workers to run the tramcar service. J.R. and other young leaders supported the striking workers by explaining to the public the workers' cause and by requesting them to boycott the tramcars until the strike was over. J.R. personally persuaded his Law College friends to show solidarity with the tramcar workers. Before long the authorities had granted the demand of the workers and the strike was a success.

Born to a highly placed family of eminent lawyers, whose private lives were played out in the public arena, young J.R. was propelled into politics in his tender, green years. For a while his attention was directed to the Trade Union Movement launched by

A.E. Goonesinghe. The fact that his father and uncles were great sources of inspiration early in his life cannot be denied.

The dynamic national liberation movement in India under the guidance of saintly Mahatma Gandhi and his band of able lieutenants headed by Nehru was a source of inspiration and strength to young J.R.

Handsome, tall and debonair, young J.R. the eligible bachelor linked his fate with petite and gentle Elina B. Rupasinghe on 28th February, 1935. Her affluence enabled J.R. to pay more attention to politics and relegate law into the background although he had by that time made his mark in the legal profession. He developed a strong passion for politics and joined the Ceylon National Congress which was in the vanguard of the struggle for the liberation of Sri Lanka from the British yoke.

J.R. played an active role in all its activities and began to show his organizational abilities even during this formative period of his political career.

It was also during this period that he evinced a keen interest in the politics of the Indian National Congress led by Mahatma Gandhi. While politicians in Ceylon were talking of Dominion Status, in the neighbouring sub continent of India strong opposition to the British rule was voiced stridently. "Civil Disobedience", "Swaraj" and "Quit India" were the war cries raised by the Indian leaders. At this time agitation against the British rule assumed the form of a mass movement and many young men in Ceylon like J.R. were drawn to it. J.R. whose thoughts were directed drawn to the Indian National Liberation movement realized that the same principles of political action could be applied in Ceylon as well. Very soon he came into political limelight and although he was building up a lucrative law practice at Hulftsdorph, he preferred the political arena to the bar. Politics in Ceylon at this time happened to be the sole monopoly of either the lawyers or those of other similar professions. The elite interested in seeking office dominated the political scene. The common man had no say in national issues.

In 1940, J.R. was elected as a Joint Secretary to the Congress and he initiated bold measures to re-structure this political trend. In his scheme of things the common man had to be accommodated on the political platform. He felt that any movement must be

popular and broad-based and not confined only to the cream of society.

He also felt that the movement must be a truly national one and his main intention was to bring the divergent and discordant political forces and factions to a common platform and to rally them round one common banner. In short, his idea was to make the Ceylon National Congress a truly national and all-embracing political forum.

At this formative period of his political career the forthright stance of Indian national leaders such as Mahatma Gandhi, Nehru, Subhas Chandra Bose and Rajinder Prasad had a profound influence on him. He attended the Indian Congress Sessions at Ramgarh in March 1940 and returned to Ceylon with his head brimming with new ideas. The long article he wrote about the Ramgarh Sessions not only describes vividly the animated scene of this historic event but also the tone and tenor of the proceedings. J.R. the political activist wrote a number of pamphlets and essays during this period on current issues and he was much interested in foreign affairs as well. Also he commenced a lengthy correspondence with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

J.R. Jayewardene led the deligation of the Ceylon National Congress for this most crucial session of the Indian National Congress. Other members in this delegation were Mr. P.D.S. Jayasekera and J.E. Amaratunga. The LSSP was represented by Philip Gunawardena and his wife Kusuma.

“The Congress Nagar” was camped in Ramgarh, a village in the, then backward Bihar province. There were two separate camps. The Congress was presided over by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and the “No compromise Conference” presided over by Subhash Chandra Bose.

Together with the late Siripala Samarakkody, who was the President of the National Congress J.R. Jayewardene visited India again on the eve of the “Quit India” Movement in 1942. They were not only followed but were harassed by the CID throughout the Sub-continent. During this trip he could not even visit the Buddhist centres despite the fact that he was the sole trustee of the Anagarika Dharmapala Trust which was maintaining the Mahabodhi centres.

Anagarika Dharmapala was the first Sri Lankan to have a close

contact with Japan. J.R. himself is a known admirer of Japan and its people. Both Anagarika Dharmapala and J.R. Jayewardene came into international limelight by making two historic speeches in the United States of America, Anagarika by his memorable speech at the Chicago Conference of World Religions and J.R. by his now famous address before the Japan Peace Conference in San Francisco.

As an admirer of the Indian freedom struggle J.R. Jayewardene was a friend of all movements opposed to colonialism.

When J.R. sought election to the State Council for the vacant seat of Kelaniya he had to face a formidable rival in E.W. Perera, the doughty Freedom fighter. On 18th April 1943 he won the Kelaniya Seat by a stunning majority of 1,195 votes. On 25th May 1943 he took oaths as Member of the State Council for Kelaniya and before long he became a recognized spokesman on major national issues.

J.R. Jayewardene, was the first Finance Minister of Ceylon as Sri Lanka was then known, when he held that office under the Soulbury Constitution from 25 September 1947 and continued in that office until 12 October 1953.

Within a short period J.R. grasped the essentials of Public Finance and the first Six Year Plan was drawn up under his guidance. He was one of the most competent and methodical ministers in D.S. Senanayake's cabinet, and with his celebrated equanimity of temper he was able to get the best out of his subordinates as well as his advisers. His well ordered and disciplined working routine set an example for all in the Finance Ministry.

J.R. made a name for himself on the International scene in September 1951 when he brought relief to war-torn Japan. Another significant achievement of J.R. during this period was to be a co-sponsor of the Colombo Plan, one of the oldest institutions in the field of International Co-operation.

In his first Budget speech as Minister of Finance delivered on 1 December 1947, it was typical of J.R.'s sense of history that he should have quoted in his introductory remarks, as a prescription for the national budget, the advice of that great teacher, Gautama Buddha, when he said, (as J.R. translated).

“Divide the wealth you earn into four parts. Of that wealth, one quarter should be spent on maintaining yourself and your

family ; two quarters should be spent on future investments to your business in order to develop it ; the fourth quarter you should save for a time of depression.”

As Finance Minister, J.R. was a great institutionalist, keen to establish and to preserve right traditions between the Ministry of Finance and other institutions for national development he sought to promote, of which the Central Bank formed the crowning arch. The Central Bank was constituted on 1 July 1950 and commenced operations on 28 August 1950. He enumerated in detail in his 1951/52 Budget speech the functions and the duties of the Central Bank in its relation with the Government. He was fully conscious that a Central Bank could be a pivotal institution which could work for the great good or the grievous ill of the country, through the power inherent in it to manage money and credit. He used his best endeavours to preserve the autonomy of the Central Bank.

In Sir John Kotelawala's Cabinet, J.R. was assigned the portfolio of Food and Agriculture. Before long storm clouds were gathering over the political horizon and the popularity of the United National Party slid down as the resurgent nationalist forces with the accent on Buddhist revival and the enthronement of Sinhala as the state language gathered momentum. Sir John could not assess the situation and in the ill timed general elections held in April 1956 the party which ruled Ceylon since Independence was trounced by the Mahajana Eksath Peramuna headed by S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike. The U.N.P. was reduced to eight seats and J.R. was one of the many casualties in this electoral holocaust. The reckoning in the country was that the U.N.P. was a spent force which had outlived its purpose. Sir John was not inclined to attend Parliament and as a political party the U.N.P. became rudderless and began to drift in a troubled sea of uncertainty.

J.R. did not withdraw into political wilderness. With the strength of his convictions he was able to discern the dilemmas which the nation faced and assessed correctly the incompetence and inability of the new regime to deliver the goods.

Very soon problems began to pile up and beset by corruption and inefficiency, the Mahajana Eksath Peramuna began to tear apart at the seams. The time was ripe to revive the U.N.P. the only party in the opposition based on principles of democracy and it fell to the lot of J.R. to undertake this stupendous task. With a band of cour-

ageous and faithful followers he organized mass meetings and rallies throughout the country and took steps to correct the image of the U.N.P. which was considered a conservative, capitalist party. Very soon J.R. was able to pick up the broken pieces of the U.N.P. and began to mend them. At this time he was a dynamo of energy in action, and showed his mettle in a remarkable manner. Thus he was able to rebuild the fortunes of his party and the U.N.P. was ready to face its adversaries in an electoral combat.

The United National Party was prepared to stage a come back in 1960 mainly due to the herculean efforts made by J.R. to re-fashion and revitalize it. J.R. regained his Kelaniya seat but it was a pyrrhic victory for the U.N.P. Dudley Senanayake's Government lasted only for three months and the formidable opposition was able to defeat it. In the General Elections of June 1960 the pendulum once more swung in favour of the S.L.F.P. But the U.N.P. was a sizable party in the opposition and a force to be reckoned with in the country. Dudley Senanayake became the Leader of the Opposition and it was J.R. who ably directed the assault on the establishment. The Marxists joined the S.L.F.P. in a grand coalition in 1964 and hatched a bill to gag the press. By an adroit manoeuvre masterminded by J.R. this attempt was foiled and the coalition Government was defeated on a motion of no confidence.

In the General Election held in March 1965 the U.N.P. was in a position to wrest power from the Coalition. J.R. became the Minister of State or virtually a deputy Prime Minister. He rendered assistance to Premier Dudley Senanayake to launch the "Green Revolution". J.R. did much to develop tourism in Sri Lanka and the tourist boom we are witnessing today stems from his policies. An ardent environmentalist he caused areas like Horton Plains and Laggala to be declared as nature reserves. Though much was done to increase food production, yet the electorate once more gave a massive mandate to the United Front in the General Elections held in 1970. There was much youth unrest in the country specially among educated young men from rural areas for want of employment opportunities and they backed the United Front.

Though reduced in electoral strength the U.N.P. with J.R. now as the Leader of the Opposition had to fight many a battle in the Parliamentary arena and outside. The armed insurrection staged mainly by the 'angry young men' who got disillusioned with the

United Front Government brought in its wake a plethora of problems. J.R. was quite sincere when he wanted to render assistance to the Government which was in great difficulties. J.R.'s attention was directed to the problem of the 'functions of the opposition' in a parliamentary democracy or specially a developing country like Sri Lanka. He questioned whether it was always necessary for the Opposition to oppose the party in power. The idea of 'Consensus Politics' began to take shape in his mind. But the Government as well as a powerful section of the U.N.P. opposed this move.

After the death of Dudley Senanayake, J.R. was unanimously elected as the leader of the U.N.P. on 26th April 1973. He streamlined the party organisation and applied his organizational skills to build up a strong party and was prepared in combat readiness to confront the S.L.F.P. which disregarded the democratic rights of the people. J.R. figured in several moments of high drama when he had to confront the fascist manoeuvres of the S.L.F.P. By the strategy which was planned by J.R. and ably executed by his able lieutenants the U.N.P. was in a position to deal a crippling blow on the S.L.F.P. and all the forces of the Left in July 1977.

J.R. took oaths as the Prime Minister on 23rd July 1977. Immediately he refashioned a new constitution, and a new page in the history of Sri Lanka was turned when he took his oaths of office as the first Executive President of Sri Lanka. Since then he has caused a major overhaul of economic and political priorities and paved the way for a liberalized, open economy and dismantled the previous Government's array of quotas, import restrictions and subsidies. President Jayewardene has chalked up some impressive achievements since he became the Executive President. The Accelerated Mahaweli Development Programme which he initiated has brought about a transformation in a vast area of the Dry Zone where a new civilization is in the offing.

The first Presidential Election was held on 20th October 1982 and President Jayewardene won by majority of over nine lakhs. In what is probably the longest political career of any living statesman he can lay claim to be the Third World's most experienced statesman. In the first referendum held in Sri Lanka on 22nd December 1982 he received a mandate from the people to extend the term of Parliament in order to continue with the development programmes

launched by him and the response of the people has continued to be positive.

President Jayewardene has shown much interest in international affairs and in September 1979 he handed over the Chairmanship of the NAM to President Castro of Cuba. At the Non-Alignment Summit held in Delhi in March 1983 he voiced emphatically that the affluent nations should formulate 'A Marshall Plan' to aid developing countries.

Age has not dimmed his intellect or his powers of perception and Sri Lanka is very fortunate to have a helmsman like him to steer the ship of state at this time.

The Colombo Plan

Speech made on 10th January 1950 at the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Commonwealth in Ceylon ; and Speeches at Sydney, on 15th May 1950 ; and London, 25th September 1950

Colombo, 10th January 1950

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 (as 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 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.”

Sydney, 15th May 1950

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 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.

Mr. Chairman, this Conference takes us a step beyond the 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, 25th September, 1950

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 pointed out that Ceylon was 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, glass-ware 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 powers 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

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

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 Southeast 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 Southeast Asia, to ensure which, what is now known as the Colombo Plan was launched.

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 organizes her own defence?

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

We feel that the allied matters I mentioned earlier are not in-

soluble if Japan is free, that they are insoluble if Japan is not free. A free Japan, through, let us say, the United Nations Organization, can discuss these problems with the other free nations of the world and arrive at early and satisfactory decisions. By signing this treaty we are enabling Japan to be in a position to do so, to enter into a treaty of friendship with the Government of China 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 a guardian and friend. I can recall incidents that occurred during the last war, when the co-prosperity slogan for Asia had its appeal to subject peoples, and some of the leaders of Burma, India, and Indonesia joined the Japanese in the hope that thereby their beloved countries may be liberated.

We in Ceylon were fortunate that we were not invaded, but the damage caused by air raids, by the stationing of enormous armies under the South-East Asian Command, and by the slaughter-tapping of one of our main commodities, rubber, when we were the only 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 organizes her own military defence against external aggression, and internal subversion, and that until she does so, she invites the aid of a friendly power to protect her, and that no reparations be exacted from her that harm her economy.

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

UNCTAD II

Speech made at the UNCTAD II in New Delhi 5th February, 1968

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 conference 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 Worlds 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 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 government 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 extent 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 countries 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 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 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 know-how 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.

A Just and Free Society

*Address to the Nation from the Octogan of the Dalada
Maligawa in Kandy on July 28, 1977*

I am talking to you today from a historic place. It is from this spot that our ancient kings addressed the people. After independence Prime Ministers of this country have addressed the nation from this very place. It is because you, the people, reposed your confidence in me that I am standing here to address you today. May I therefore express my sincerest gratitude to the people of this country for the confidence placed in me.

We all know that by a free decision of the people a mandate was given to me by the morning of 22nd July to establish a United National Party Government. By that time only one election result was still expected. But in terms of the constitution it was not possible for the new Prime Minister to assume office till that last result was announced. I took my oaths as the Prime Minister of the United National Party Government on the morning of 23rd July. By 4.00 o'clock in the afternoon of the same day the Cabinet of Ministers was sworn in, the Deputy Ministers took their oaths of office and we got down to work. We had our first Cabinet Meeting at 6.00 p.m. that very day.

I am sorry to state that on the night of 21st and 22nd and on the 23rd, violence broke out in various parts of the country. We in the Cabinet addressed our minds to this question and took immediate remedial action to stop these harmful acts. We had to stop processions and restrict the movement of people in lorries. A curfew was imposed in certain areas. After this we were able to curb many of these acts of violence. I am very happy to state that with the intervention of our Government we have been able to stop these destructive elements and restore peace and order in the country.

I am referring to these events from the most sacred sanctum

of all Buddhists. Seventy per cent of the people of this country are Buddhists. We must therefore attempt to fashion our lives in accordance with the lofty teachings of the Buddha. You are aware that not only after our magnificent victory, but also during the last two to three years I have constantly emphasised the need to show compassion to those who opposed us. It is very essential that we be charitable. It is not for us to insult, harm, or harass anyone.

The United National Party Government is dedicated to the creation of a new society based on the lofty teachings of the Compassionate One. It is our duty to safeguard the Buddha Sasana. We will also not spare any effort to protect and further the cause of the Sasana. All other religions will be treated equally and impartially.

After the rejection of British rule, State assistance for Buddhist activities was first provided by the United National Party Government of which Mr. A Ratnayake was the Minister of Home Affairs. For 134 years after the end of the line of Sinhala kings, Buddhism did not receive any aid from the State. We will, therefore, in our future activities, continue to provide that aid. While we develop the Sasana we must think also of the problems of the people. They are the problems of the high cost of living and the need to get adequate quantities of essential goods. The people want to know how we propose to solve these problems; to solve the problem of unemployment.

We drew attention to these basic questions during the last election campaign. At Cabinet meetings we have discussed these problems. We have decided to do away with the queue system and allow the consumer to buy his essential goods from a place of his choice. We have decided that essential goods for the people such as rice, flour, sugar, textiles, pharmaceutical goods will not be imported and distributed as a State monopoly. We hope, before long, to reduce the prices of these essential commodities.

You are no doubt interested in the manner in which we hope to solve the unemployment problem, especially in keeping with the expectation of the young people of this country. Under the present constitution we have no power to appoint District Ministers. After we amend the constitution it will be possible to appoint District Ministers and set up the machinery through those Ministers, Members of Parliament of that area and especially youth to develop the country intensively.

The people are anxious to know the manner in which we will solve these two major problems. I ask for your patience, for a few weeks. The United National Party government intends to fulfil all the promises that it gave to the country in establishing a just society based on the teachings of the Buddha. I want to assure followers of every religion that these principles are consonant with all the religious values that they too cherish.

We hope to inculcate a sense of discipline beginning at the very top. The Prime Minister, Ministers and Members of Parliament will abide by this code of conduct and discipline. In the election campaign I emphasised that unless we set an example in ethical and disciplined conduct it would be difficult to provide a service to the public. It is on this foundation that we propose to build a just society. This vast gathering of people is rightly interested in knowing how the United National Party will rule this country. On the 4th of August we will convene the first meeting of Parliament. I intend to amend the constitution so that we may start our work on a proper footing.

My friends, during the one and half months election campaign there may have been various differences among the people of this country. I say to you that in my own mind there is not an iota of anger or animosity against any person who opposed us. Today I stand before you not only as the Prime Minister of the United National Party. I am glad to say that I stand before you as the Prime Minister of all the people of this land. These Ministers are not only Ministers of the United National Party; they are Ministers of 14 million people of this country. We have all started on a long march. In the past the people of this country have had to face many difficulties. Our freedoms have been eroded. It is my intention and the intention of my Cabinet, that relief be granted to the people and that they be given the right to full freedom. I need the assistance and good wishes of you all in order to fulfil this worthy enterprise.

My friends, I conclude by saying that the United National Party Government under my leadership will dedicate itself to establish a just and a free society in this land.

The Golden Thread in our Foreign Policy

Speech at the Convocation on International Studies held at the B.M.I.C.H. on September 26, 1977

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, but certainly Mr. Dudley Senanayake and I thought of the time he left us.

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 training 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 the principle of Foreign Policy of our country—there are certain principles 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 democratic ideal, it refrains from aligning itself with any power block 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, 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 government 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 Organizations 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 Organizations.

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 recognize even the countries that were blocking us from joining the United Nations Organization.

I thought before this audience on the first occasion when I am speaking of the Foreign Policy, it is my duty to put the records straight because the party to which I belong, just as much as the party to which Mr. Bandaranaike belongs stand for certain principles that no government will seek to vary and they are, as I said, the freedom of Sri Lanka must be preserved. The democratic traditions of Sri Lanka must be strengthened, there should be no alignment with power blocks where ever 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 perform 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 was a conduct in 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 of 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, 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.

Act Irrespective of Race

From the speech made in the National State Assembly in reply to a question raised by Mr. M. Sellathambu, M.P. for Mullaitivu on October 7, 1977

Mr. Speaker, I should like to reply to this matter straightaway so that there may be no necessity to go any further into it.

We just received this document sent by the hon. Member for Mullaitivu (Mr. X. M. Sellathambu) to the Clerk to the Assembly dated 6th October. The note to the Secretary to the Prime Minister and the Secretary to the Ministry of Defence is dated 7th October. Today is the 7th and we have just got it into our hands. That is the reason why neither my Deputy Minister nor I have been able to give an answer.

The question raised by the hon. Member for Mullaitivu are very serious and they occur throughout the Island irrespective of race. He said that a person came to the Mullaitivu Police Station and made a complaint, and that the complainant was locked up while the accused was released.

This is exactly what I was told two weeks ago in the Mirigama Electorate by a Sinhalese person who lived close to an estate they owned for quite a long time. He said, "Sir, I went to the police station at Mirigama during the period of the Government of Mrs. Sirimavo R.D. Bandaranaike and when Mr. Felix R.D. Bandaranaike was in office. I said that certain people came from the Attanagalla Electorate and burnt up my house and looted my property. I was locked up, and the accused was released." Then he made a complaint. That complaint went to the Director of Public Prosecutions. It is still with the D.P.P. He says, "Can you not do something?"

What can I do? This is not a racial problem, as far as I can see. This is the way some police officers have been trained by the Government of Mrs. Sirimavo R.D. Bandaranaike. You must get

them out of this habit. About 4,000 or 5,000 personnel have been recruited from 1970. It may be that they were the people who started this riot in Jaffna. I do not want to make a direct charge—I do not know. We know very well that throughout the Island in some cases they stood by while houses were looted. Whether they wanted to take part in the looting or not, or whether they were frightened—one man cannot deal with a big crowd—I do not know. But that happened. Complaints were made to me. “What are you doing? What are the police doing?” So that is an illness. We must get together and cure that illness. Do not blame us. I cannot send the whole police force home. I wish I can do it and recruit new people. This has happened throughout the Island. Some of the police people have got used to being not police officers but party members.

So I understand] the question that the hon. Member raised. The rest of his question relates to a complaint made in Tamil not being taken down because the officer did not understand Tamil. He is quite right, but it is not a racial question, it is a language question.

A deputation of high priests who came to see me said, “Every Sinhalese should learn Tamil and every Tamil should learn Sinhala.” This was said by the Mahanayake of Malwatta and the Mahanayake of Asgiriya. You do not find higher religious dignitaries than that. Now, we can start that straightaway but the problem is that we must learn English also. Can a child—I do not know—learn three languages when each language has a different script? In Europe they learn three or four languages but the script is the same Roman script. If you know the Roman script you can read a Russian book. You may not understand it but you can read it. If you know the Sinhala script you cannot read a Tamil book. If you know the Tamil script you cannot read a Sinhala book, nor can you read an English book. So a child will have to learn three different scripts, unless we all get together and like Kemal Ataturk—they say I am a dictator now—adopt the Roman script for Sinhala, Tamil and English. Then, of course, there would be no problem, but to learn three different scripts would be a big problem for a little child.

Anyway we will consider whether Tamil should not be made compulsory for the Sinhalese and whether Sinhalese should not be made compulsory for the Tamils. Then one problem would be solved. Every government servant should know both languages,

otherwise Tamil officers will not be able to work in Sinhalese areas and Sinhalese officers will not be able to work in Tamil areas.

As far as I could see, the Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs misunderstood the question. He thought the Member for Mullaitivu (Mr. Sellathambu) wanted only Tamil officers for Tamil areas. That is a policy we cannot accept. That would mean that Tamil officers are kept out of the Sinhala areas. There are so many Tamils working in the Sinhala areas. They are good friends of ours. They work in Colombo and other places. We cannot ask them to go. We do not want them to go. We want to keep them—by hook or by crook ! But they must know Sinhala and the Sinhalese officers must know Tamil. Then there would be no problem as far as the hon. Member for Mullaitivu is concerned.

I wish the hon. Member attends the sittings of the Assembly as often as he did when we were in the Opposition, because if he had talked to me I would have settled this matter and seen to it that the complaints of all these people are investigated and looked into.

The police must be fair by all whoever they be. You cannot let the police be judges. They are not judges. They are investigators. They keep the peace. They are not judges. They cannot lock up a complainant because he is a U.N.P. man. They cannot lock up a complainant because he is an F.P. man or a T.U.L.F. man. That cannot be done. So I will look into this immediately, and if any police officer has violated any rule we will deal with him as we will deal with anybody else irrespective of race.

On the question regarding the Commission of Inquiry, all the papers are ready. Mr. Sansoni has agreed to sit on the Commission. The terms of reference have been drafted and they will be finalized in a few days. The Cabinet has agreed to it. After that the Commission will begin its sittings. So do not believe what the defeated Government party papers say. They are like a wild boar that is fatally wounded, running here and there all over the country trying to create mischief.

Now, the day before yesterday they had a meeting which was disturbed. It should not have been disturbed. The hon. Member for Kotmale (Mr. Ananda Dassanayake) presided. I understand. I was wondering why the day before yesterday when he came into the House he spoke in a very angry mood. He was one of those who was disturbed. I suppose he had cause to be agitated. We also went

through a bad period like you but we never got agitated. As Leader of the Opposition I accused Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike of breaking up our satyagraha, of breaking up our meetings. I did not get agitated but I pointed out that that was not done in a democracy. We had the right to go to Attanagalla on a legitimate and legal mission without being subject to violence. Mrs. Bandaranaike used the military against us. She used the police against us. They cut down the wonderful *mara* trees by the side of the Kandy Road and blocked the road. I was not allowed to go into the temple. Mr. Thondaman was not allowed to get into the Temple. But somehow we managed to get in. We raised it in this House but she said the people of Attanagalla had a right to prevent those whom they did not want, like Mr. Thondaman, from coming to Attanagalla. Where ever did you hear of a Prime Minister making a statement like that? We call it the infamous 'Attanagalla Doctrine'. Under that doctrine the people of Hyde Park have the right to prevent those whom they consider undesirable, like the hon. Member for Kotmale (Mr. Ananda Dassanayake), like the hon. Member for Attanagalla (Mrs. Sirimavo R.D. Bandaranaike), whom they consider undesirable, from coming there and addressing meetings. I do not accept that. We are opposed to that. If you can prove to us that they were our party people, we will expel them. If they are your party people you must expel them.

Some do not want Mrs. Bandaranaike to be the leader. You know that. Some are advocating that Mr. Maithripala Senanayake should be the leader. Some are saying the "Gang of Four" must go.

Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Mr. T.B. Ilangaratne, Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa—and I am not sure of the fourth. Even when they go for meetings they are disturbed and I think she is summoning a special meeting of the party to resolve this issue. Why do they want to come to Hyde Park to disturb you? This happened in our Party and I had to expel Mr. Rukman Senanayake.

We are explaining how this can happen within your party. It can happen within the LSSP without Mr. Bernard Soysa's knowledge. It may be anybody. It may be a band of drunken thugs. Why do you blame us? I knew nothing about it. There are occasions when people heckle. That is a legitimate form of political opposition, but unfortunately when people go to heckle, they go with a lot of liquor inside them. If you want a Presidential

Commission to look into what happened at Hyde Park, we will appoint one. This must not be tolerated—breaking of the law, preventing people from speaking preventing people from going to Attanagalla. Whether that 'doctrine' still persists I do not know, but on the second occasion, about six or seven months before the Election, we had a mass meeting at Veyangoda which, again, is in Attanagalla. Every attempt was made to prevent us from holding that meeting. The police were asked to ban it, we were prevented from decorating the roads, but ultimately we held the meeting. We went in our motor-cars along the Kandy Road to turn towards the railway station at Nittambuwa. Various receptions were organized. Between Nittambuwa Junction and the Veyangoda Station, they had prepared an obstruction with sticks and stones and other weapons. They were stopping our vehicles and the police were looking on, sometimes doing nothing, sometimes even helping the obstructors. I went half-way, turned and went along another route avoiding the obstruction. Mr. Hameed did not know and his car was smashed up and he was injured. The police have not prosecuted anybody since, because they were helping the obstructors. That was the 'Attanagalla Doctrine' enunciated by your leader! You know. You were in that group. Now, these people are talking about freedom of meetings! The hon. Member for Kotmale should not be in that party. Yes; you know, you were in the group. Who is this who is talking about freedom of meeting? Your leader. You should not be in that party. Not one case was filed. The gang was coming to attack our meeting. It was a riot squad that stopped them. The riot squad was hauled up and criticized for doing that.

The Superintendent of Police was dealt with. A village committee chairman who was arrested for trying to disturb our meeting was released on the orders of Mr. Lakshman Jayakody, the then Deputy Minister of Defence. Neither I nor my Deputy Minister will ever do that.

Consider the Dedigama by-election. There was a vote of Censure moved in this Assembly regarding that, and what happened? Read the proceedings of that Debate, you new Members of the Tamil United Liberation Front. We catalogued every incident that took place, and I say that never in the history of democratic elections has there been such a violent abuse of democratic freedoms as at the Dedigama by-election by Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike and her Government. Our polling agents were arrested and locked up.

Chits were sent to the police and on those chits people were locked up. There was violence. Mr. Shirley Corea was assaulted on the public road. He was slapped. And the police stood by doing nothing.

I led about 100 Tamil labourers from an estate to their place of polling because in the morning they came and told me that there was a crowd preventing them from going to vote because they were Tamils. I went up in the evening myself with three or four members of our party and led them. The crowd surrounded me and said, "We will not harm you, but we are going to prevent those people from voting." They could not vote. We sent for the police. One policeman came with a rifle. That crowd aimed stones while the policeman was standing by and chased those one hundred labourers away. I made a statement to the police. That statement recorded everything. In case Mr. Dharmasiri Senanayake won, he would have been disqualified for intimidation. But, fortunately, he did not win.

And this is the Government that now comes and says, "You are interrupting meetings" ! They have no right to hold meetings if they believe in the "Attanagalla Doctrine" any longer. I will not do that. I will never do that. I will get everybody hold meetings. I would like, personally, to say that I am against processions. I have said that in this Assembly. That is a form of political demonstration that can lead to trouble. I would like to stop processions of our party or any party. But meetings? Have them, certainly. You can hold a big meeting if you like. You can say what you like within the law. We will never prevent meetings. But I would like not to have processions. I would not like to put C.T.B. buses because to any political use—our party or any party—because the buses are damaged and commuters must use them. Even for May Day. May Day is becoming a Bacchanalian orgy. People get drunk. The organizers get drunk and it is just an exhibition of something that should not take place. Why use C.T.B. buses? Let the people come on their own. Let them hire buses and come, there is no harm. This applies to everybody and not only to our party.

But what did Mrs. Bandaranaike do? She banned our party from using buses and lorries; they had buses and lorries. Hon. Members—new Members—who are here do not know what happened unless they have read the newspapers. But the newspapers suppressed everything. Look at the "Daily News" today. It is criticizing

what happened at Hyde Park. When your Mr. Bernard Soysa said, "This is done by the U.N.P." they criticized strongly.

We are not going to stop legitimate press criticism. Every statement Mrs. Banadaranaike made, to the very comma—unless it is libellous—is published. What Mr. Felix Dias says is published. What Mr. Nihal Jayawickrema says is published. Mrs. Bandaranaike went on the radio. For the first time a Member of the Opposition went on the radio. Now you have decided, Sir, that proceedings of the Assembly can go on the radio if decided by you, the Leader of the Assembly and the Leader of the Opposition. We have no objection, but we must proceed carefully because people might get tired of listening to us. In the House of Commons they go on the radio, but as soon as they go on the radio the radio is switched off. Now they are thinking of television. That might be even worse.

That is how I and my Government have decided to allow democratic freedom up to now. Let us try and continue that. We want your party to survive. There is no effective opposition to our Government in this Assembly. You gentlemen of the TULF only talk of federalism. You do not speak on the Bills that come before this House.

We should have had a Debate on the amendment to the Constitution. We should have analysed every clause of that Bill. They are far-reaching proposals with regard to the form of government. What was the help we got? Writing communications to the press and reading those communications out—that is not a debate. This Assembly is meant for debate, for the cut and thrust of debate, for you to say something and for us to reply to it. We have 140 ways to reply to you. Like Kemal Ataturk it may be that we may have to create our own Opposition. There was no Opposition in Turkey, and so he created an Opposition. He established a parliamentary system of government.

Ask your people to come here and sit with us. We never left those benches when we were seventeen Members or when we were interrupted Mr. D.S. Senanayake was never allowed to speak. We sat there, we argued with you and we talked with you. We were not allowed freedom of the press, we were not allowed freedom of association, but we stuck it out for seven years, and then the people turned you out. If you want the people to turn us out, do it the way we did it. We are prepared to be turned out by the people when

the time comes. Not so soon. Not for ever, if you go on like this. The Opposition is not conducted like this. It must be open opposition. I am inviting all your Members to sit in this Assembly, day and night, and argue with us, talk with us. This is the forum for democratic discussion. Supposing, like you, we suppressed the press and suppressed meetings? Supposing we had the Colombo West doctrine and not the Attanagalla doctrine? Then politics will take a different turn in this Assembly. I will look into the question which the hon. Member for Mullaitivu. (Mr. X.M. Sellathambu) has raised, and I assure you that very soon we will try and set all these problems right. We have started well.

I do not intend to deprive the Tamil-speaking people their legitimate rights. They are entitled to them. But I think what the Hon. Minister of Industries is trying to say is, "Do not aggravate the situation". You are talking to your brethren in the North a different language from that which your brethren in the South understand. So let us be friends. He also wants to be friends, but he is paying you back in your own coin.

Convocation Address

*By His Excellency J.R. Jayewardene, the Chancellor of the
University of Sri Lanka, on Wednesday the 31st May,
1978 at the B.M.I.C.H*

I am not a stranger to the University of Sri Lanka. It was in 1925 that I studied as an undergraduate at the University College which later became the University of Ceylon. One of my colleagues was Dr. N.M. Perera. We both studied Economics under Professor P.J. Thomas of Madras. We however followed different paths later.

In my own way I made a contribution to the independence of the students at that time. The Students' Union was an appendage of the Principal, Professor Marrs. He was also the President of the Union and presided over its meetings. I was responsible for the appointment of a Select Committee which adopted a constitution on the lines of the Oxford Union, giving self-government to the students. I remember calling on Mr. S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike who had just returned from Oxford and was in great demand at our debates because of his oratory, and getting his help to draft the Union Constitution. He gave me his own copy of the Oxford Union Constitution which I later presented to the Bandaranaike Museum.

You have had several Heads of State as your Chancellors but I am the only one who was a past pupil of this institution. I am proud of this fact and I am grateful to you for inviting me.

At that time there was only the University College. Now we have a fully fledged University with several campuses and many more to come. There were then only a few hundred students and two women students studying with me. Today there are thousands of students, both men and women. "Tempus fugit"—Time flies; "Anichcha Watta Sankara"—All material things are subject to change.

None of us can predict what the condition of the University will be fifty years hence. It will and must continue to educate thousands of young men and women to enter a profession ; earn a living; gain a knowledge of the arts and sciences; become law-abiding citizens of Sri Lanka. Of course they will learn much more as students do even now. Some by themselves and some taught by others. But that as it may, the basic teachings will remain.

The earlier concept we had of the University as one modelled on the lines of Oxford and Cambridge; a residential University where students used about 'lost causes and impossible ideas' has disappeared long ago. Very soon it will cease to be residential, for we must find room for the youths waiting to be equipped to make ends meet both for themselves and their close relatives. Their needs are urgent and even a matter of survival. The State must help and that too urgently.

This brings me to the theme of my address to you today. There are over a million young men and women who are unemployed and the number increases every year by thousands. No government can find employment for all but it must create the necessary environment for this goal to be achieved.

When I was campaigning as the Leader of my Party from 1973 to 1977 and during the General Election of 1977 more than at any other time it seemed to me a solution to the unemployment problem was urgently necessary. In accordance with our Manifesto in order to deal with this problem we have chartered a new course along which the nation should travel.

Every nation must have a development programme, which utilises its resources and employs its man-power, thereby increasing its national wealth for distribution equitably among its citizens. We have planned to initiate four major development schemes not contemplated earlier. These are in addition to the programme of development which is annually included in the Budget proposals. These are—

- (a) the accelerated Mahaweli Ganga Development Programme ;
- (b) the Free Trade and Export Promotion Zone ;
- (c) the suburban Colombo Expansion and Development Programme ;
- (d) The Colombo Development Programme.

The Mahaweli Programme covers the Central, Uva, North-Central, Eastern and Northern Provinces. We hope to telescope into a few years an implementation programme which would have covered 30 years.

Plans are now ready and finance available to commence work this year on two reservoirs at Kotmale and Maduru Oya. Work will commence on two others, Victoria, and Randenigala next year. These will develop electric power ; create employment for work on dams, channels, jungle clearing and colonisation. There will be opportunities for employment for 400,000 in 1978 and 1979.

The Free Trade Zone through the private sector and other schemes will create employment opportunities for 50,000 in the next two years. Normal Budgetary expenditure will employ in the State and private sectors about 150,000. The total that will be found employment in 1978 and 1979 should not be less than 500,000.

Since we assumed office 125,000 have been found employment. A new scheme—the Job Bank Scheme—will recruit 168,000 in 1978.

We have been promised international finance up to Rs. 11,000,000,000 for the Mahaweli Programme and Rs. 6,000,000,000 for projects outside this programme for the years 1978 and 1979.

We must see to it that this money is utilised purposefully and speedily. Every cent spent means development and employment. It will ensure a higher 'standard of living for the majority and not for a few. It means adequate incomes to meet increases in the cost of living.

We have thought of several other plans to ease the unemployment problem and I have mentioned some of them. Several educational proposals are contemplated to open the doors of our institutions to give specialised training to more and more students. A youth movement has been inaugurated and yearly its functions will be enlarged.

This Government is opening up a new way of life for the vast majority of the people of this country. Are they going to fritter it away arguing ideological differences ; or waste their time considering who should form a future government ?

The future of the youth is in their own hands now ; and when we commence these development programmes each one of us must

help to finish it in the shortest possible time.

The large sum of money available for expenditure on development is not to be used to build empires for capitalists or business tycoons. Every cent of it will be used to put on their feet the hundreds of thousands of youth, men and women who pass through the portals of our University and our secondary schools.

The Government must channel this money through the existing and future administrative services. It would be a crime committed on our younger generation, born and still to be born, to sabotage this work. The vast majority of our people have entrusted my colleagues and myself with the heavy responsibility of fulfilling this task. We have undertaken it. We must not fail. We cannot fail if we have the co-operation of the people.

To fulfil our task we seek the co-operation of a free people. Laws that were oppressive have been repealed. Those who abide by the law are as free as any citizen in any democratic nation of the world. Yesterday is dead, let us bury it. We have now to think of the future. Let us grasp the opportunities available to us Today to achieve a happier life in the unborn Tomorrow.

The availability of finance and the commencement of hitherto unthought of development schemes of this magnitude create new problems. Our harbours and airports not only are not equipped to deal with the rush and volume of imports necessary for this task, they are unable to cope even with the lazy stream of traffic, human and material that come now. This government is seeking to put this right. The four harbours, Colombo, Galle, Trincomalee and Kankasanturai are being improved by expansion programmes costing millions of rupees which will be implemented without delay. It is a pity that during the last seven years work has stood still in these as well as so many other areas of national work.

The Administrative and Allied Services, though their core is still useable and capable, need pruning, weeding and shock treatment to fit into the tasks that lie ahead of them. This will be commenced shortly.

Development needs stability. Political strikes, gang robberies, sabotage and "Tigers" cause delays. Already performance during the first quarter of the 1978 Budget shows 50 per cent behind schedule. This means loss of opportunities for employment and

higher cost of living. While we will not take away in the private sector the right of employees to strike to remedy their grievances, serious consideration must be given by all of us as to whether those working in the public sector should delay production in their places of work. They will be sharing in the management of their work places under the new employment laws that are being drafted. When the means of production, distribution and exchange belong to the people, they are held by a government elected by the people in trust for them. When those who work in them share the management with the government representatives, stoppage of production through strikes is an act of sabotage against the people, the owners.

In the University, staff and students are free to express their opinions and expound their political beliefs. But direct action, such as indecent rags, boycott of lectures, and violence in furtherance of objects unconnected with the University such as opposition to an elected and executive President or to laws introduced in Parliament, seem to me as an attempt to disrupt the functioning of the institutions which have to play a vital role in training future administrators for development. Here again delay in performing tasks will be fatal to our employment programmes.

What are the basic purposes of development.

Providing the minimum services of food, clothing, housing, health and education.

Adopting special measures for the promotion of employment and raising of incomes among the middle and lower income groups in village and town.

Restructuring society, so that ownership of the new development production and distribution patterns and processes belong to the people. They should enjoy the products rather than an elitist minority. Let me show you how the new path we are treading helps to achieve these goals.

We are no longer restrained from importing such goods as are necessary to satisfy the basic needs of our people, mentioned above. Subject to the protection of efficient and competitive local production we will continue to import in order to help the consumer to obtain his essential needs at world prices. We of course cannot control world prices. If the price of petrol and kerosene is raised

by producers we have to do likewise, and cost of living will rise in other spheres too. We will however very soon provide a basket of essential goods to every household on coupons at cost price.

Our solution is to create avenues of employment and rise in wages. We are doing that both and will continue to do so.

The new policy has opened the doors not only to the import of consumption goods but also of machinery, spare parts and the raw material necessary to start industries and new business ventures. The middle and small entrepreneur has the whole Island, its resources and man-power, available to go ahead and earn his living. Rules and regulations, except essential ones to protect the community, need not hinder him. Like in the bad old days of not so long ago he need not stand hat in hand before Ministers, officials in the Head Office and the village to obtain permits to go ahead. The District Minister system should ease off any restraints that still exist.

Our rice production will reach record figures this year and the next. We have increased the Guaranteed Purchase Price to Rs. 40 per bushel of paddy, still lower than the world price. The weather also has favoured us. So has the patient work of scientists over the years in perfecting new methods of planting and cultivation. We intend to help the cultivation of other crops too in the same way, the new Agricultural Authority was created for that purpose.

The outside world of the developed nations has discovered new techniques of production and new advances in technology. These sciences have been foreign to this country during the last few years. We hope to use the latest methods in dam and house building by co-operating with firms from foreign countries well known for their development achievements. We need to modernise our whole economy to meet the challenges of the New World that is developing around us.

If the economy of Sri Lanka was destroyed by war or natural phenomena and my government and I were entrusted with the task of rebuilding it, then building from scratch would have been easier than what we have to do today. We are saddled with an economy restrained, constricted and brought to the verge of collapse.

Corruption and inefficiency are still rampant. Fish that is Rs. 6 per lb. on the beach is brought to Colombo and sold at high prices. The Fish Corporation stalls which should sell at Rs. 8 to

Rs. 10 are said to be empty but the next door private stalls have plenty at Rs. 12 to Rs. 15.

The shelves of some manufacturing Corporations are empty while the next door private shops sell their products at twice the Corporation price.

Co-operative stores find pavement hawkers selling more of the goods sent to them than they sell themselves.

What is the solution ?

I wish I could shatter this structure to bits and then permit the people to build it closer to their hearts desire. Will the voter understand ?

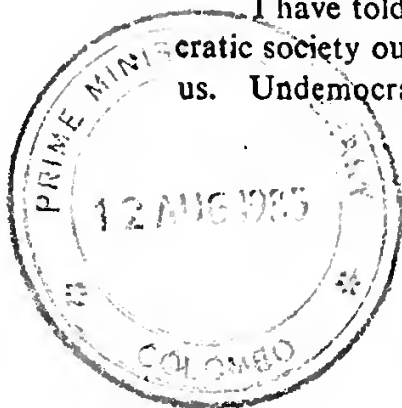
The initial hardships and difficulties will be seized upon by our opponents who have the freedom to write and say what they please, to destroy the stability of society so necessary for progress. They are doing this now.

The developed nations have that stability.

Systems of government have gone on unchanged or changing only gradually for over three centuries in Britain. They have learned that without national and political stability their economy will not develop and cannot be strong. Through experience they have developed the reflexes necessary for national survival. A large number of people have grown there who put their country's interest above their own. In times of grave crises they form National Governments sinking their party rivalries to make sure the nation survived.

I proposed such a government quite publicly in 1970. I was jeered at and some in my Party moved to expel me. In the 1977 Election, the people agreed with me and formed a National Government of one Party, the United National Party, and gave me a mandate unprecedented in democratic elections, viz., 5/6 majority in the National State Assembly. I must not abuse this trust but use it properly. I am blamed for not doing so. I accept the censure and will try to honour the trust reposed in me in the years to come.

I have told you that we have attempted to create a truly democratic society out of the caricature of democracy that was handed to us. Undemocratic laws have been repealed and those in jail under



these laws without proper trial have been released. The independence of the Judiciary has been restored. Fundamental rights included in the Constitution will be made justiciable. Local Government elections will be held soon. Harassment under Emergency Laws have been withdrawn and the Sovereignty of Parliament established once again. We treat every citizen alike, irrespective of race, religion or caste. We have in short restored Freedom and Democracy in this land.

Democracy without Socialism is a democracy of exploitation. Socialism seeks to redress the social injustices whereby a few enjoy luxuries and comforts while the rest live without food and clothing in huts and hovels. Democracy and Socialism must go hand in hand. All our new development programmes, except the Free Trade zone, are Socialist. We will not change the socialist pattern that has grown up during the past years. We will refashion it to make the people the owners of the means of production, distribution and exchange. We will soon introduce legislation to permit those working in the State-owned enterprises becoming co-partners in the management.

I am the first elected Executive President, Head of the State, Head of the Government. It is an office of power and thus responsibility. Since many others will succeed me I wish during my term of office to create precedents that are worthy of following.

- Firstly* : I will act always through the Cabinet and Parliament, preserving the parliamentary system as it existed without diminution of any of their powers.
- Secondly* : I will not create a group known as the President's men and women who will influence him.
- Thirdly* : I will implement laws and decisions passed by Parliament impartially, without political, Party or family bias.
- Fourthly* : I will not encourage nor countenance political victimisation.
- Fifthly* : I will treat every citizen of Sri Lanka alike, and give him or her equal opportunities to progress. Sri Lanka will not be only a socialist democracy, it will be a meritocracy too.

- Sixthly* : I will offer to the minority, specially to the Tamil speaking people who are citizens an equal place in every sphere of life. I have no racial nor religious bias for I attempt in my humble way to fashion my life in accordance with the Buddha's teaching.
- Seventhly* : In speech and action I will try to be non-violent for I abhor violence.
- Eighthly* : I will try to live according to the code of conduct we have adopted for Ministers and Members of Parliament. I will endeavour to encourage the other members of our Party in Parliament too to follow it.
- Ninthly* : I will preserve Democratic Freedoms.
- Tenthly* : In every act of mine I will consider how it benefits the humblest and the poorest and endeavour to help them first.

Non-Aligned Summit Havana—79

*Statement by His Excellency J.R. Jayewardene, President of
the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, at the
Sixth Conference of Heads of State of Govern-
ment of Non-Alignment Countries
September 3-7, 1979
Havana, Cuba*

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 Conferences. 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.

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-Alignment Movement, but also as the elected Head of State and Government of a nation whose history and traditions made 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 Arahata 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 this 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 decolonization in Africa—could not be resolved despite many efforts. The ideal of a world at peace free from the terrors of the arms race, remained 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 consequently, 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 intervene 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 the 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. Inevitably, 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 necessary—an 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-producers 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 included 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 belief reprehensible. Our commitment 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 belief, the Non-Aligned Movement under Sri Lanka's chairmanship vigorously espoused the causes of our African and Arab Colleague.

We have perhaps, aided them in their resolve to continue and 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 another 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 organizations 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 were lost as 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-colonized 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 the 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. 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 per cent 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 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, no 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 troubled 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 the 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 seems 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 destabilizing 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 of 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 invitations 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 recognized 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 concrete step towards the realization 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 organization. Let us then look forward to a better international environment, where there will be greater understanding and appreciation of one and other problems. Without this appreciation, we cannot hope for 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 differing continents could give the millions we represent a period of real achievement where their lives will be lives of dignity.

Thank you.

Indian Visit—1980

Speech made by his Excellency J.R. Jayewardene, President of Sri Lanka, at the Banquet Given by the President of India, His Excellency Sanjiva Reddy at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, on 4th September, 1980

I am privileged to be given the opportunity of replying to the kind words you have just expressed. I am happy that we were 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 His Excellency Mrs. Indira Gandhi and 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 during the latter part of 1979 I said on my arrival that I was an “admirer of India, a lover of its people; a follower of its greatest son”.

I am an admirer of India because here flourished some of the original human civilisations, civilisations which were contemporary or even older than those of Egypt, Babylon, and Assyrian. Events mentioned in the Ramayana and Maha Baratha 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 a 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 95 member nations and has become a powerful factor in the conduct of international affairs.

I am a lover of the people of India and 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 2500 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 Thero to teach us the Buddha Dhamma and his daughter Sangamitta 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 illumed our lives then as it does now. It was a photograph of a statue carved out of rock in the 4th 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 sessions 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 sessions and the speech of the President Moulana Azad torrential rain poured down in such quantities that the sessions had to be abandoned. Pandit Nehru who was also so solicitous about his guests came to the hut occupied by us and the Burmese leader Aung San and other delegates, 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-cooperation, 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 teachings 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 World 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 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" Ave India ! Te Salutant ! We wait to salute thee.

Address to Parliament by the President on 9th February, 1983

Hon. Members,

I opened Parliament on 7th September, 1978, as the First Executive President, and today 9th February, 1983, I am opening Parliament as the Second Executive President. The President's period of office of six years was shortened by one year as the Presidential election was held in October 1982, and not at the end of 1983, as the 1978 Constitution originally provided for.

The 20th October Presidential election was won by the United National Party. The result was an endorsement of the implementation by the Government of the policies we placed before the People at the 21st July, 1977 General Election and which they accepted.

On the 22nd December, 1982 we sought the consent of the People to extend the life of the 1st Parliament, ending in August 1983, by six years, to August 1989. This was approved.

World Economic Conditions after 1977

Many promises in our Manifesto have been implemented. Some still need consideration. Even if we implement every word and syllable in the Manifesto the problems that face us today, which we face together with the entire Developing and Developed Nations will remain, and we have to face them together. There is a recession among the developed Nations; rising unemployment; continuing high energy costs and interest rates; volatile exchange rates; inflation; low growth of World trade and declining prices of primary products, other than petroleum produced in developing nations.

There is not much hope for optimism in the Global outlook in the short term. All these have led to difficulties for developing nations including Sri Lanka. Our growth strategy has had to be tried and tested in an entirely hostile international economic environment. What is remarkable is the resilience shown by some of the

developing nations of which Sri Lanka is an outstanding example.

The rapidly rising import bill for crude oil and petroleum products has contributed its share to the huge trade deficits. It accounted for about 25 per cent of the total imports and absorbed 42 per cent of the total export earnings, because the price of oil which was Rs. 114 per barrel in 1977 rose to Rs. 718 per barrel in 1982.

Our energy problem has reached a price and supply crisis. After 1979 the demand for electricity outstripped its supply. Thermal generators had to be used costing Rs. 3 million daily. The proportion of this use which was less than 2 per cent during the pre-1977 period rose to 16 per cent in 1981.

This rapid growth in the demand for energy in a way reflects our progress in achieving socio-economic development.

Some of the problems that have arisen are the deterioration in the balance of payments caused by external and internal factors. Imports have expanded by over 150 per cent and exports have expanded by less than 40 per cent. Many of the factors for this imbalance are beyond our control. The prices paid for our exports, as for all raw materials exported by the developing nations have not gone up corresponding to the increase in the prices paid for exports by the developed nations. There was a high rate of inflation which was serious in the 1977/81 period and has been controlled in the 1982 period in Sri Lanka.

A persistent Budget deficit made us resort to bank financing. The increase in the cost of living reached dangerous levels. We were left helpless to do anything except create employment and employment opportunities to permit the people to earn adequate wages to meet this cost.

A Free Society

We condensed our proposals in the Manifesto to mean the achievement of a Free and Just Society. In the 1978 Constitution we provided the democratic freedoms and safeguards for the creation of a Free Society. The basis of a democratic nation is that the people have the right from time to time at General Elections to vote a Government out of office and to install one in its place. In the earlier Constitutions by a two-thirds decision of Parliament it was

possible to extend the life of an elected Parliament for two years or for a longer period of time. This was stated in Parliament to mean even for life. (Vide Hansard of 28th November, 1973).

The 1978 Constitution amended this, and permitted the people to decide at a Referendum whether the term of office of the President, or the life of Parliament should be extended or not. The Franchise cannot be touched without a Referendum; nor can any of the Fundamental Rights which were included in the Constitution for the first time.

There are other safeguards in the 1978 Constitution which we have embodied which did not exist in the earlier Constitutions. For example Government under Emergency Laws needs the approval of Parliament; after 3 months the approval of a two-thirds majority in Parliament. Previously Parliament was only notified of the declaration of an Emergency and from 1971 for six years this country was governed under Emergency Laws, without even a debate in Parliament being permitted.

A Just Society

The creation of a Just Society is more difficult and cannot be done by Legislation or by Government action alone. We feel that a Just Society means a Society where the people have the financial means to obtain, the food they need; the clothes they wear; houses to live in. This can be achieved by one's own efforts; or by employment under an employer, State or Private. Unemployment has to cease to exist or steps have to be taken to achieve that end. Opportunities must be available to every employable citizen to find such employment.

We have therefore launched out on the biggest development programme in the history of our country; because development means the opportunity for employment and the creation of wealth. That wealth must also be evenly distributed among the majority of the people. The programmes we have commenced involve an approximate expenditure of Rs. 135,110 million.

The economy has been revived and we have to continue that development to reach the goal of a Just Society.

The code of conduct we have outlined for our Members of Parliament has been implemented. Where charges against them,

including Ministers have been proved we intend to continue the practice of dealing with them.

Spiritual and religious beliefs and bodies have been encouraged and given help to practise and preach, their Holy Doctrines.

The Buddha Sasana particularly has had the patronage of the State as it had never had before. It is so in the national cultural sphere too.

The State of the Nation 1978-1982

The five year period 1978-1982, though it was one year less than the period we were voted to govern the country brought many changes. The economic state of a Nation is judged by its growth rate. Sri Lanka which had an annual growth rate of 3.5% during the period 1970-1977 achieved a high average growth rate of over 6 per cent in real terms during this 5 year period, well above the rate for developing nations. Investments reached 28 per cent of the Gross Domestic Product from 14 per cent. During this period about 1.12 million persons have been provided with employment.

To achieve these ends most controls were abolished and a market economy introduced. Money used for subsidies was shifted to investments. If this was not done the subsidy bill would have risen so high with the rise in the prices paid for imported rice, flour, sugar, milk food, oil etc. which were then subsidised that no Budget could have borne this burden.

In spite of the elimination of these subsidies the continuation of help to the needy, through food stamps, milk food, transport, kerosene and fertilizer subsidies, free school books, cost Rs. 3,000 million per year. Free Education and Health Services continue.

Instead of the State providing all services and goods, which it cannot afford to do even at non-subsidised rates, private sector finance and initiative were given opportunities to provide some of these services for payment, e.g. transport services; pharmaceuticals, and import of certain basic food. The transport services are an example. The State could not afford to import all the vehicles necessary, even though 1,500 were imported with World Bank aid. The private sector has imported 7,000 vehicles with no cost to the Government and now manage a service competing with the State for the benefit of the traveller.

We allowed the Rupee to float and reach its true level of international value thus preventing a blackmarket from flourishing.

Our minor crops have flourished, and the export and the prices paid for pepper, cinnamon, tobacco, cashew nuts, betel leaves, coffee, cocoa, cardamon and cloves, have increased bringing good returns to the cultivators. Problems however suddenly arise as in the case of cinnamon, where our sole buyer, Mexico, has stopped buying owing to financial difficulties.

Paddy production has kept on increasing and reached 102,500,000 bushels in Maha and Yala 1981-1982.

Industrially too, in the Greater Colombo Economic Commission Free Trade Zone area 155 projects have been approved and 52 were in production by the end of 1982 providing direct employment for about 26,000 people and indirectly for 45,000. New ventures outside this area numbering 106 have been approved. The total employment expected is within the region of 10,000.

Some of the State Corporations have done well but some have experienced low output levels. All have functioned better than during the previous years.

The Housing Ministry and the Urban Development Authority have built houses with and without State aid numbering about 100,000.

The Mahaweli Ganga Accelerated Development Programme Head Works will be completed by the end of 1986—viz. Maduru Oya in 1983, Victoria in 1984, Kotmale in 1985, and Randenigala in 1986. The Down Stream Development Programme will be completed.

Those sections of the means of Production, Distribution and Exchange which were nationalised remain unchanged.

The State cannot by itself develop the resources of the country at the rapid rate it should. We have therefore afforded private capital and the private sector the opportunity to develop the country side by side with the State Sector. We have afforded competition to them from private citizens. The competition has been to the advantage of the people, the consumer. We intend to continue that competition.

I have mentioned only some of the achievements in major

development spheres.

These were not inconsiderable achievements and they were attained in a difficult economic environment when the developed nations throughout the World were in the grip of a depression and 30 million employed in these countries lost employment.

Sri Lanka was the opposite: the unemployed were finding employment and development was proceeding more rapidly than ever in its history.

In 1977 we found a nation in economic shambles. Democracy throttled. Youth in Jail. Emergency used to destroy political opponents. We restored democracy to the pinnacle which it should occupy. The economy is on the road to recovery. Those who were unemployed walk the streets with heads held high. Their incomes alone help them to stave off starvation arising from World economic conditions. At present there is no other way to follow than the way we have adopted. The people have agreed that this is so and it is our duty to fulfil the Trust they have reposed in us.

The Future

We have to build on the gains realised and correct the weaknesses in order to stimulate further the growth process and employment generation. We have also to provide financial stability. Without these corrections it will not be possible to sustain the growth, investment and employment achievements and continue the liberalised exchange and payments system.

How did we achieve these gains. Through an unprecedented development programme. Much of the money hitherto spent on subsidies was diverted to investment in development. To this was added the flow of generous aid, through the World Bank and other international lending institutions and generous donor countries. We are one of the highest recipients of foreign aid per capita.

It was this aid which enabled Sri Lanka to undertake a development programme unparalleled among Developing Nations.

A lesson we must learn and which I wish to emphasize is that from our experiences of the past 5 years there are only limited resources and they cannot meet unlimited demands. Limited resources apply not only to finance, but skills, man power, land and material resources. We must cut our coat according to the cloth available.

It is not sufficient to dwell on achievements nor to be satisfied by comparing the Present with the Past.

We must look forward to the Future. The foundations for spiritual and material progress according to contemporary World conditions have been laid. Where does the Future lead us to.

This Government is considering that too. We hope to lead our Youth into the technological age, complete with robots and computers. Already plans are being prepared for the establishment of Centres for education and for the assembly and manufacture of the necessary equipment.

This also means our youth must equip themselves with the knowledge of a World Language. Sinhala and Tamil are the media of instruction and Sinhala is the Official Language. Tamil is today a National Language and the elevation of English to a similar position will enable it to act as a link language, between the Sinhalese and Tamil-speaking people and with the International World.

Government is also becoming more and more a matter of management. We will gradually gear our Education system to help students to fit themselves for the Public and Private World of Business Management.

Social patterns and behaviour are also changing rapidly. Easier and quicker transport; the spread of ideas through the radio, television and publications; the opening up of the country; and in many other ways dynamic changes are taking place on their own. It is not so much an adoption of Western ideas or a return to national ways but an urge among youth to be free to think and live as free men and women, sweeping away Insularity, History and Traditions. We must help them to adjust themselves to the New World opening before their eyes.

Non-Aligned Summit New Delhi—March 1983

*Statement by His Excellency J.R. Jayewardene, the
President of the Democratic Socialist Republic of
Sri Lanka at the Seventh Non-Aligned Summit,
New Delhi—March 1983*

Madam President,

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.

Madam 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, Madam President, recapitulate some of this 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.

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.

Later I was associated with the formulation of the Charter of Algiers adopted by the Group 77 and led a Delegation of the Group to some of the industrialised countries in pursuit of the same task.

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.

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 ideologies, a diversity of social, economic, and 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 or 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, oppressions 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 recognized 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 Cancun 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 industrialized countries, too have accepted 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 crises 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 industrialized 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 crises 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—reduced holidays and limit their purchasing power, but not down to intolerable levels. The

general standard of living in these 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 30 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'états 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 \$ 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 \$ 14 billion—in today's terms \$ 45 billion; and it was met by one Government. Can we not summon the vision and the will to emulate together that boldness and the wisdom of that act of enlightenment, the 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, takes the initiative in mobilising a representative group of Heads of State or Government of a few countries drawn from the various regions to talk to Heads of State or Government of the major developed countries that support these 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, U.K., U.S.A. and other like-minded countries and also the U.S.S.R. Her Excellency

Shrimati Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, would be the Chairman of this Committee.

We are carrying out our 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 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.

Madam 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 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 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 irrationalities 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 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 an 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. However, I have chosen to speak at length on the urgency of the economic crisis that confronts all nations and affects the everyday life of the billions of people we represent.

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.

His Excellency the President's Address to the Nation on 22.08.83

Three weeks ago, the people of Sri Lanka passed through experiences which they have rarely had in this country since independence. Hundreds of people lost their lives, thousands lost their jobs, houses were burned factories destroyed. These events applied equally to all citizens of Sri Lanka—Sinhalese, Tamils, Muslims. Fortunately it was confined only to certain areas of Sri Lanka, including Colombo. I express my deepest sympathy to those who have suffered and we shall try our best to see what help we can afford to them.

I am speaking to you today as the Head of the State and Head of the Government elected by the people. I am not here, put in this position by arms or violence but by the free vote of the people. My Government too was elected by the people, where a democratic Government functions in a democratic environment.

I had been advised that I should say this or something else, but I thought I should speak from the depths of my own conscience, not to hurt anyone, not to please anyone, but to place before you certain facts and opinions which I hold.

There has been a growing tension between the Sinhalese and the Tamil people in the last thirty-five to forty years. I need not go into the history of these conflicts. But when we came forward for election in 1977, the United National Party, in its manifesto, outlined how it intended to solve some of these problems. Since then, we have introduced legislation imposing certain conditions which we promised we would do. We have implemented them, may be not as fully as we wished to, but we are in the process of doing so. We have, therefore, taken whatever steps we could legitimately, to implement the provisions of our manifesto.

We intended at the Round Table Conference, which we summoned just before these violent activities took place, to place before those who attended the Conference, our solutions and what we intended to do, and also to obtain the consensus for the banning and making illegal of the desire for a separate State. Unfortunately, we were unable to do so because, on the first occasion, many of the Parties invited did not come, and, on the second occasion, violence had broken out. Instead we were able to introduce in Parliament a resolution and a law to make the desire and the movement for a separate State, illegal. For the first time in our history, since a group of politicians decided to divide this country into two, we brought that legal action to make such a step illegal and punishable. I need not go into the details of that law.

We also had a dialogue with the Prime Minister of India and, for the first time, the Central Government of India has specifically stated that they do not support the separation of our country, will not help in such a movement and further that they stand for the unity, the integrity and the independence of Sri Lanka. It was when we had come to this stage of our dialogue with those who wanted a separate State, that the violence broke out.

We have also decided that in future we will not have any talks with any Party that wants to advocate the separation of Sri Lanka. Therefore, who would benefit of this violence created or these violent actions taken. I cannot think of any solution to the problem we face by violence. Some say the violence was communal, some say it was political. It is true there was a growing feeling, as I said, of tension and animosity between the Sinhalese and the Tamil people. That animosity was re-created and flamed up for the purpose of the political activities and desires of those who, we think, led, spear-headed and outlined this movement.

You are aware that this Government came into office on 23rd July, 1977. The elections were on 21st July. The results were on 22nd July, and myself and the members of my Cabinet took their oaths on 23rd July, 1977. We had the Presidential election last year and the people decided at a referendum that General Elections which were due in August 1983, will not be held but be postponed for six years. Since the results of the referendum there have been various speeches and actions by members of certain political parties that they would not let this Government function after August 1983.

I draw your attention particularly to a statement made by Mr. Vasudeva Nanayakkara who was a candidate for one of the by-elections in May 1983 to the Eheliyagoda seat. He had said quite specifically there that if he is elected he would use his powers as a Member of Parliament for extra-Parliamentary activity, joining hands with the terrorists in the North for this purpose of achieving their objects. He has further stated that he does not stand for democratic elections, but is prepared to join in what he calls "ARAGALAYA", that is riot or a disturbance or a violent movement for the purpose of seeing that elections are held in August 1983, and this Government does not function after that. It is obvious, therefore, on the statements of the Nava Samasamaja Party leader, Mr. Vasudeva Nanayakkara, that from August 1983, they were preparing for some form of violence or disturbances.

We have evidence that, soon after the referendum or during the referendum, a certain group that were called the Naxalite group were preparing, by inflaming the people's minds, making them violent-minded against the Government, against the President, that they would take some action, in case they returned to office, to destroy the United National Party and others who thought democratically, including those in the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, who were democratically-minded. We have also the conduct of the JVP which is a party which took to arms in 1971, fought the Government of the day, tried to destroy it, took over the Police Stations and almost succeeded in bringing down a lawfully elected Government. I remember I was the Leader of the Opposition at that time in Parliament. I gave the full support of myself and my Party to Mrs. Bandaranaike to defeat any insurrection which sought to overthrow a legally elected Government.

The JVP also made statements and made it clear after they lost the Referendum, they did not even contest some of the by-elections. They made it clear that they are giving up their parliamentary tactics and that they should take to non-parliamentary tactics in order to defeat a Government, which by a referendum extended its period by more than six years. We have therefore reviewed certain political parties in this country—the Communist Party, the Party of Vasudeva Nanayakkara called the Nava Samasamaja Party, the Party of Rohana Wijeweera, the JVP—as dedicated not to the democratic way of life, but to a violent way of forming a Government and maintaining it by violence. We have, on

the other hand, the United National Party, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, which are democratic parties.

During the elections that were held last year, out of six million five hundred thousand voters, six million voted for the two democratic parties, the United National Party and the Sri Lanka Freedom Party. It is therefore parties that represent only five hundred thousand people who believe in violence as a way of attaining political power. We also find in the violence that took place, from the 25th of July, there is a certain pattern of leadership, where gangs of youth were going about in vans and bicycle and motor-bicycles and cars, inflaming their supporters in various towns and the city and violence and arson took place after that. We found that in Colombo, we found it along the Colombo—Kandy—Galle Road, we found it in Kandy, Badulla and Bandarawela. That is not a sudden outburst of mobs, surely? But was planned and carefully nurtured over a period of time. We found also that the murder of thirteen of our soldiers in Jaffna took place on a very significant day, the day being 23rd of July 1983. It was six years before that on the 23rd of July 1977, that I myself and my Government was sworn-in. Exactly on that day, also a Saturday, that we find this outburst, beginning with the death of 13 soldiers in Jaffna. That was the signal for the uprising which took place in certain parts of this country. I would therefore like you to remember that we had the JVP, which initiated the insurrection of 1971, who were released by me, as I thought we should give them a chance, return to the democratic system, contest the elections. But having lost the Presidential election, having lost the Referendum, having lost the by-elections, they thought the only way to return to power before the six years were over was by violence.

Now, these are being investigated by certain authorities and when we receive their report, further action would be taken. Where parties that believe in democracy, for democracy to function, the majority who prevails, where a Parliament functions after elections by the free vote of the people, the Government and the Opposition are chosen and laws are passed by the majority vote taken in Parliament, where discussions to settle problems affecting communities of people, are settled by round table conferences by discussions and majority vote.

These matters are alien to the thinking of those who believe in

violence. If I may say so, some of the Marxist parties in our country, without law and order being preserved, without the law being respected, without order being the guiding line for Government, you cannot have democracy. Those parties do not believe in democracy. Those parties feel that under the democratic system the economic advances that we have undertaken, the economic steps we have taken, to give jobs to our people, to raise the standard of living of our people, would attain such a height in the next few years that all chances of coming to office will be lost and finished.

Therefore, my friends, this Government is dedicated not only to the democratic way of life, not only to economic development according to the plan outlined, but also primarily to maintain law and order. In that our Government is completely dedicated and resolved that where people seek to disturb and disrupt law and order in this country, the strictest tenets of the law will be enforced. Whatever punishment there has to be served out to them, our Government is determined to do that, whether it be individual or party.

Thank you for listening to me and I hope I have the co-operation of all those who believe in civilization, in a civilized way of living, who believe that law and order must prevail, that the smallest, the poorest and whatever race or caste he may belong to, who is a citizen of this country, is entitled to live and think and work within the framework of democracy. That I feel would have the fullest support in all the efforts that this Government is taking to preserve that itself.

Speech

*By President J.R. Jayewardene at the Banquet in honour
of British Prime Minister Mrs. Margaret Thatcher,
on 12th April, 1985*

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 institutions in Asia. In 1931 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 10 general elections and 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 6 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 6 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 here to preserve it.

The menace of terrorism is a danger aimed at the democratic fabric of society, threatening to rend it as under. 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 dependants yearn to feel the touch of their vanished 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 Sinai and Beirut. You have loaned some to 35 foreign countries. In the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean too 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 voices 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.

Inauguration of the New Police Station

*Speech of H.E. Mr. J.R. Jayewardene, President of Sri Lanka
made at the Inauguration of the New Police Station
at Sapugaskanda on 18th May, 1985*

I am addressing all those throughout the Island who can see and hear me from the Sapugaskanda new Police Station which I am opening today. There are present here ministers, chiefs and officers, of the security services, and members of the public.

We are all deeply concerned about the loss of so many lives as a result of the terrorist attacks at Anuradhapura.

The terrorists who attacked the Anuradhapura town had come from the Mannar District along the Mannar-Puttalam road and had hijacked a CTB bus at Eluvankulam during the early hours of the 14th.

They killed the Sinhalese driver and the Muslim conductor. They were about 25 in number and were dressed in Army type uniforms and drove in the bus to Anuradhapura. Between 7 a.m. and 8 a.m. they were in the town causing destruction to the bus-stand, near the Sacred Bo Tree, and other places.

The Security Forces were unable to confront the enemy until they had finished their destruction, which did not take more than half-an-hour.

Information came to the headquarters in Colombo 8.30 in the morning. From that time onwards operation were in the charge and control of the Joint Operations Headquarters in Colombo. Though the security forces went along the Puttalam road along which road they were informed that the terrorist had gone, they were unable to catch up with them.

Information came to the headquarters which had rushed reinforcements to Anuradhapura from Vavuniya, Jaffna and from Colombo, that while they were passing the Nochchiyagama Police Station, they had opened fire at the Police Station causing injury to one constable and the Police returned fire which injured the terrorists.

The next contact of the terrorists was 12 noon from Wilpattu Sanctuary. A helicopter informed the headquarters that they had fired at the terrorists and jeeps and injured some of them. A helicopter passenger was injured and the helicopter damaged by the terrorists fire and landed at Silawaturai on the West Coast of Wilpattu.

In the Wilpattu park the terrorists had killed a large number of employees of the Wildlife Department.

The terrorists were then spotted again by a helicopter at Kudiramalai on the western coast of the Wilpattu sanctuary. Troops were landed at Kudiramalai to pursue the terrorists who had again escaped into the jungle.

The terrorists had abandoned the jeeps leaving behind weapons, explosives and other weaponry and carrying their injured with them.

There was no damage to the Sacred Bo Tree or any sacred building.

People of all races and religions men, women and children, innocent of any offence against the terrorists are being killed.

There is natural anger against the terrorists and the objects they seek to achieve. The Tamils who seek to attain a separate state here are also the target of these attacks, so are many Tamils who are innocent, opposed to EELAM, and even supporters of our political party and other parties.

It is reported that the Anuradhapura attacks were acts of revenge for the killing of civilians in the North by the Security Forces during the last few months.

If civilians have been killed deliberately it is wrong and unproductive. Security forces are trained to follow commands issued to them by their superiors. It is the maintenance of discipline among them both in peace and war which lead to victories. The most disciplined security forces are the most successful as the

history of wars throughout the ages will show. We have to follow the examples of history if we are to win this war.

We are anxious to defeat our enemy to stop this flow of blood, and the unnecessary killings of our people.

The terrorists object is (1) to divide the nation (2) to govern the whole island, and (3) to destroy the democratic system.

We all understand the attempt to divide the nation and are opposed to it.

Governing the whole island means that all of us will come under a dictatorship. The vast majority of the people of our country are opposed to this.

Destroying the democratic system is not so easily understood. It not only means losing the right to vote, the freedom of speech, meetings and opposition, it also means that the institutions of the democratic system will cease to exist.

These institutions must therefore be protected. They are, the Presidency and the Cabinet representing the Executive; the Parliament representing the elected of the People, the Legislature, both Government & Opposition; and the judiciary representing the judicial system. Apart from the judges the others are all elected by the people from time to time, and the people can change those who occupy these offices.

The security services and the public services, are also part of the democratic system for they are chosen by rules and regulations that are impartial and fair. Unfortunately the terrorists have made the security services the main target of their attack because they are recruited to protect the democratic state and the terrorists want to destroy that State.

In a democracy the security and administrative services come under the control of the political leaders elected by the people, that is so all over the World, and they also direct the operations of these services in War.

Where such leaders are not elected by the people but have taken authority by force and keep it by force, we have a dictatorship.

I will never adopt such an attitude nor will this Government allow that to happen. That is why in the direction of this War

against the terrorists, orders are given ultimately by elected political leaders, whoever may be in the seats of power at that time.

While we pay tribute to the security services particularly, and to the members of the administrative service who lost their lives, we must not forget political leaders of all democratic parties also who have lost their lives, including many of our own party. The whole campaign against terrorism must proceed according to the directions and orders given by those functioning as leaders in a disciplined and co-ordinated manner, otherwise the war against terrorism cannot be won.

We have in the last few months taken steps to train as many members of the security services as we need and to obtain such arms that are necessary to equip them. These will be disclosed in Parliament.

We have not done this before and our Budget did not provide for such expenditure. Unfortunately we are now compelled to spend this money and we have decided to do so. I feel that very soon we will be fully equipped to meet any violent activity by the terrorists.

End of Lanka's plague (terrorism and Eelam) by year's end

*Speech at the opening of the new Sanghavasa of the
Sri Wijeyesunderarama Vihara at Kesbewa,
on 22nd June, 1985*

“What is called terrorism has been prevalent in this country for 10 years. The first murder was the shooting of Mr. Alfred Duraiappah, the SLFP Mayor of Jaffna and Member of Parliament. Since then hundreds of innocent people of all races and religions have been killed and injured and property damaged. Unfortunately terrorism today is world-wide and the bigger nations are now feeling that there should be an international organisation to help nations that suffer from terrorism”.

“I have suggested to the leaders of the major nations when I met them in U.S.A., U.K., India and China, that it should be organised under the auspices of the United Nations and be called the United Nations Anti-terrorists Organisation. The movement in this direction is, however very slow.

“I had been urging the Government of India that they should not permit terrorists operating in Sri Lanka to find a haven on Indian soil. This is opposed to the great ideals preached by India's greatest son, Gautama Buddha and another great leader of India, Mahatma Gandhi. Mahatma Gandhi based his movement for freedom on Ahimsa—non-violence. He even called it off in the 1920s against the wishes of Pandit Nehru and other leaders because they were in the verge of success. He did this as his followers had burned a Police Station in Bombay District and killed several policemen. He would not agree to achieve Independence through violence because, he felt the means to be adopted as important as the end to be achieved.

“The present Government of Rajiv Gandhi has decided to accept and follow this noble heritage that is India’s. With his help we can begin more vigorously to control terrorism in our country. The longer it lasts, the longer is the suffering of our people, and in the years to come when we feel the economic and financial consequences of terrorism, our people will suffer more.

We must, therefore, seek not only to curb terrorism and fight it but to convince the terrorists that they should give up arms. “Eelam” and the division of Sri Lanka is a goal that will never be achieved and no Government in the world supports it.

If there is any decentralisation of central government authority applicable to the whole Island enabling the representatives of the people living in those areas to develop themselves economically, socially and more effectively, we must support that provided those who are seeking to achieve separation by violence give up both separation and violence.

“The next few months will be important in our history and my Government and I will not shirk the responsibilities we have been entrusted with, securing the prosperity of our people in peace and harmony.

“It is easy for those leading comfortable lives, who have no necessity to work to earn a living to provide for their food, clothing and housing to oppose a political settlement for various reasons.

“It is those who have suffered through deaths and injury to their family members, and the masses who toil for a living whose lives will be harder if the economy deteriorates and the cost of living and unemployment increases, who will welcome and benefit by a settlement.

“We don’t propose to agree to anything that diminishes the rights of the Sinhalese or any minority. We will not agree to any proposal applying to the North and the East without the giving up of “Eelam” or separation; and “terrorism”. My Government and I will if such a settlement is reached, bring legislation before the Supreme Legislative Body, elected by the people, to make its decision.

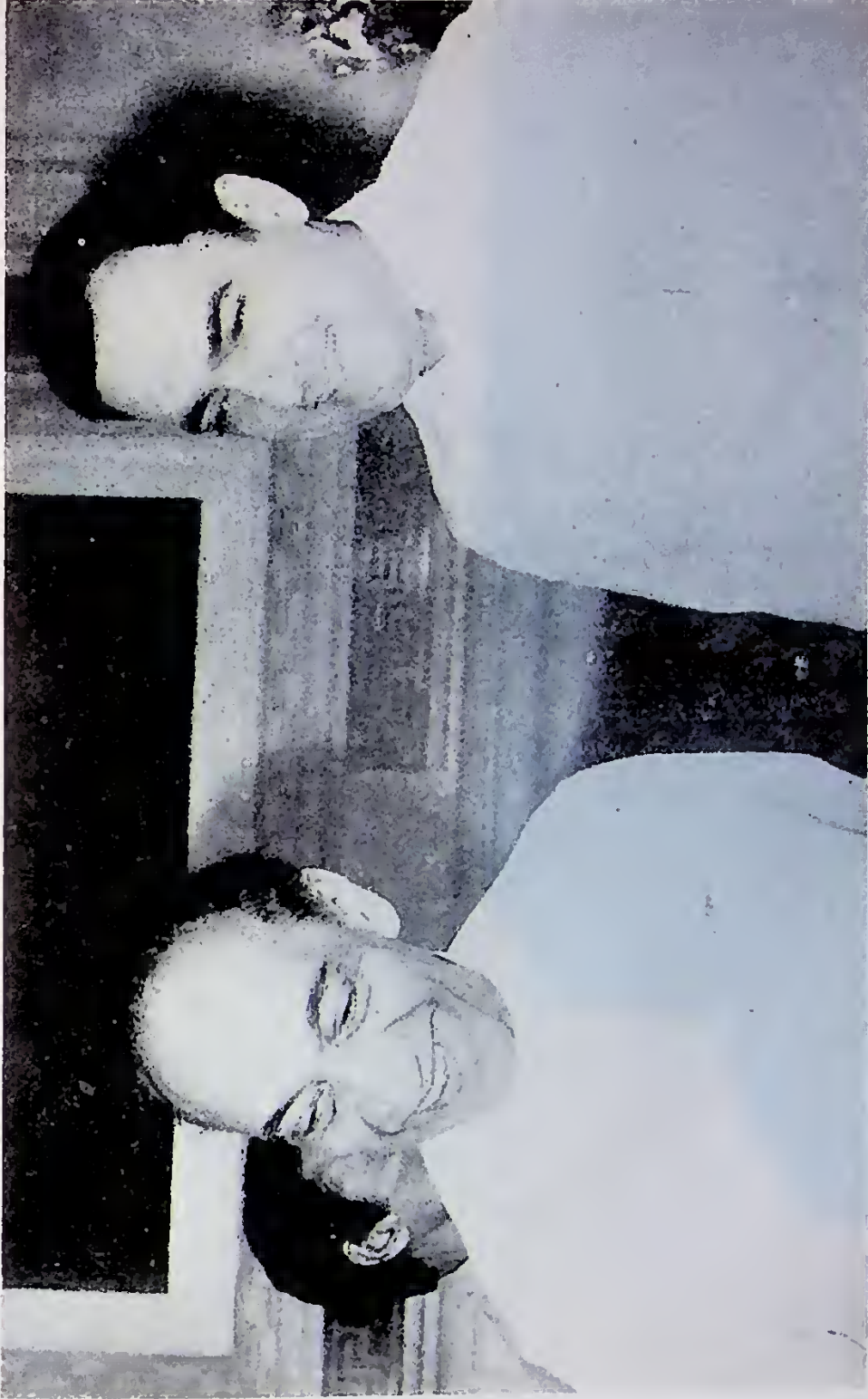
“Come what come may, support or opposition, before the end of this year, I hope to see an end to the plague that had harmed this country and its people for several years.”



*Addressing the Maha Bodhi Society meeting in Calcutta in 1978.
His Holiness Dalai Lama is presiding Over the Function.*



On His arrival in New Delhi on 30th June 1984. (Left to Right) Mrs. Elina Jayewardene, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, Minister for External Affairs. (At present Minister of Defence), Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi, Mr. Lalith Athulamadali, Minister of National Security, President J. R. Jayawardene and President Zail Singh.



With the Prime Minister Shri Rajiv Gandhi.



*With the Prime Minister Hon. R. Premadasa and the Foreign
Minister Hon. A. C. S. Hameed.*



Addressing a public meeting.



From Left to Right. The President, Mrs. Elina Jayewardene, Mrs. Damayanthi Senadhira, and Mr. S.P. Senadhira.



His Excellency U. Thant, the Secretary General of the United Nations, received at the Katunayaka Air Port by the Minister of State Mr. J. R. Jayewardene on 8th April, 1967.

REFERENCE

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Sugeeswara P. Senadhira studies at Ananda College Colombo and graduated from the University of Delhi. He joined the A.I.R. in 1972 and was the Head of the Sinhala Service until 1983. At present he is the Cultural Secretary of the Sri Lanka High Commission, New Delhi.

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