

DOKUMENTATION

People's Declaration for National Peace and Harmony (Sri Lanka)

Vorbemerkung

Am Sonnabend den 23. Juli 1983 wurden 13 singhalesische Soldaten bei Jaffna im Norden der Insel Ceylon von tamilischen Terroristen (sog. »Tigern«) ermordet. Die Empörung der singhalesischen Bevölkerung des Staates Sri Lanka darüber wurde von radikalen Drahtziehern zu systematischer Aufhetzung der Volkswut ausgenutzt, indem es die ganze darauffolgende Woche auf der ganzen Insel zu Ausschreitungen gegen die Tamilen kam. Besonders im Raum von Colombo wurden tamilische Geschäfte, Fabriken und Häuser geplündert und niedergebrannt. In dieser schwärzesten Woche der jüngsten Geschichte der Insel tobte sich der Mob in einer Art rassistischem Pogrom aus, das mit der »Reichskristallnacht« vom 8./9. November 1938 und den Haßausbrüchen bei der Teilung Indiens im August 1947 konkurrieren konnte. Nicht selten ließen Polizei und Militär den Links- und Rechts-Radikalen freie Bahn. So öffneten Gefängniswärter die Zugänge zu den Zellen der Tamilen, von denen über 70 von singhalesischen Häftlingen ermordet wurden. Die Zahl der getöteten Tamilen wird auf weit über 1000 geschätzt.¹ Der Sachschaden betrug mindestens 300 Mill. Dollar. Vor allem dürfte der Prestigeverlust für Regierung und Nation schwer wiedergutzumachen sein, wenn auch folgendes gelten mag:

»The initial outburst of violence provided the opportunity for politically motivated Communist and extreme left wing parties, to put into operation a previously determined plan to create the maximum possible chaos in this country by inciting people to violence, arson and looting and by spreading rumours and panic.«²

Das Verbot von linksextremistischen Splitterparteien und die Ächtung des Separatismus der Tamilen, die einen eigenen Staat Tamil Eelam gründen wollen, in der Verfassung³ trugen zur Besserung der Situation nichts bei.

1 Vgl. zum Ganzen Indo Asia Heft 3 v. 1983, S. 41–45, hier 45; Sri Lanka ist übrigens seit dem 20. 3. 1982 Vertragspartner der Rassendiskriminierungskonvention von 1966, vgl. BGBl. 1982 II, 723.

2 In einer 16-seitigen Broschüre, die in Colombo bald nach den Unruhen herausgegeben wurde: »Relief and Rehabilitation of Displaced Persons. A Humanitarian Effort in Sri Lanka«, dort S. 3.

3 Sixth Amentment to the Constitution, 8. 8. 83 (Gazette, Suppl. II v. 12. 8. 83), fügt insbes. Art. 157 A ein u. eine Schedule 7 an. Text auch bei Blaustein, Constitutions of the Countries of the World, Cumul. Suppl. Jan. 84, Sri Lanka S. 19–26.

Während die Schilderung der Tamilenverfolgungen in den Medien breiten Raum einnahm, sind die positiven Stimmen und Aktionen kaum in der Öffentlichkeit bekannt geworden. Hier ist besonders die alternative Sozialbewegung der Sarvodaya Shramadana⁴ zu nennen. Unter ihrem Führer Ariyaratne mobilisierte sie einen Feldzug der nationalen Versöhnung, der besonders eine Besinnung auf die Singhalesen und Tamilen gemeinsamen kulturellen Werte zur Grundlage hatte. Dies fand seinen Niederschlag in dem umfangreichen Dokument, das im folgenden abgedruckt wird, nachdem es von einer repräsentativen Konferenz aus allen Bevölkerungsteilen am 1./2. Oktober 1983 angenommen worden war.

Am 6. Dezember 1983 startete Ariyaratne einen sorgfältig vorbereiteten Friedensmarsch von 100 Tagen mit dem Ziel, dies Dokument überall auf der Insel bekanntzumachen und zu erläutern. Diese Initiative zu einer nationalen Versöhnung wurde jedoch schon am nächsten Tage von der Regierung unterbunden.

Hellmuth Hecker

People's Declaration for National Peace and Harmony

Adopted on the conclusion of the General Conference held on 1st and 2nd of October 1983 at the Bandaranaike Memorial International Conference Hall, Colombo

People's Declaration for Peace and Harmony

Presentation

We,
the Citizens of Sri Lanka,
belonging to
diverse races, professing different creeds
and speaking different languages, representing people
from all districts of Sri Lanka
engaged in professions and services of a non-political
nature such as,
Justice, Education, Agriculture, Labour, Medicine,

4 Über diese Bewegung unterrichtet Hecker, Eine alternative Sozialbewegung in Südasien: Die Sarvodaya Shramadana in Sri Lanka, Hamburg 1981, 79 S. (Werkheft Nr. 35). S. ferner VRÜ 1981, S. 335–351: Abdruck der Statuten der Bewegung.

Science, Technical, Legal, Arts, Letters, Administration
 Communication, Business, Banking, Teaching,
 Clerical, Corporation and Public Security,
 having assembled at the Bandaranaike Memorial
 International Conference Hall, Colombo,
 on
 Saturday and Sunday of the tenth and eleventh phases
 of the waning moon of the month of Binara
 in the year 2527 of the Buddhist Era,
 or,
 1st and 2nd of October 1983 A. D.,
 responding to the kind invitation extended
 by the Lanka Jatika Sarvodaya Shramadana Sangamaya
 and
 with the blessings of the Maha Sangha,
 headed by the most Venerable Maha Nayake Theras,
 as well as the very Reverend Clergy of Hindu,
 Christian and Islamic Religious Orders
 and being devoid of all partialities,
 with the avowed aim of dispelling
 the current mutual distrust, disunity, violence
 and indecision, and with the sole objective of achieving
 Unity, Harmony, Peace, Co-existence and Prosperity
 of the Sri Lankan people, and of re-establishing
 our country as a true, non-violent,
 united and a nationally integrated society,
 based on the Law of Righteousness and People's Power,
 to be again worthy of the honour of being called
 the Land of Plenty and of Righteousness
 and having met peacefully, deliberated peacefully,
 and having arrived at a consensus,
 do most respectfully present this
 »People's Declaration for National Peace and Harmony«
 to
 All Religious Leaders headed by the Maha Sangha,
 the General Public of
 the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka,
 their Community Leaders,
 His Excellency the President and the Honourable
 the Prime Minister, the Members of Parliament,
 the Leaders and Followers of all Political Parties,
 and solicit their fullest co-operation and participation

in effecting this
Declaration.

Prologue

In 1948
when Sri Lanka was on the verge of freeing herself
of foreign domination and influence
of over four and a half centuries,
faint signs of a Sinhala-Tamil
distrust manifested themselves disrupting the amity
that prevailed until then, penetrating
into many aspects of the Community Life of the island
in the form of racially divisive activities-political
and otherwise-leading to national dis-harmony
and ultimately to the Tragedy of the
last week of July 1983, giving violent shocks
to the major portion of the decent, law-abiding
Sri Lankan population, and violating both the State Law
and the Law of Righteousness,
destroying social peace, and in particular,
the spirit of co-existence that prevailed then,
though to a limited degree,
between the Sinhala and Tamil communities,
And having realised that it is the duty of every citizen
to study in depth and analyse
the symptoms of common degeneration in our society
that surfaced through this tragedy,
and to root out its causes
and whereas this tragedy has dis-credited and
dis-honoured Sri Lanka in the eyes of the world,
and as the very thought of resultant repercussions
of such incidents, if repeated, is frightening,
and whereas it is the duty of every responsible citizen
to ensure that no such unfortunate situation would
ever recur in future in our land
and to resolve this complex problem, justly
and non-violently and with a genuine conviction,
avoiding being extremist, in order to prevent it being
worse confounded, and hence,
the re-establishment of Peace being the vital challenge

of the moment facing the Sri Lankan Community,
 and it being our firm conviction
 and fervent hope that it is through such non-violent,
 just and peaceful means, that a lasting solution
 may be found, and that the territorial integrity
 and the unitary status of the State, together with
 the fortune that posterity may be able
 to live in peace and in a spirit of co-existence
 could be ensured,
 we,
 representing the general public of Sri Lanka,
 have resolved to proclaim this
 »People's Declaration for Peace and Harmony«
 for the guidance and inspiration of our ourselves –
 the Sri Lankans of the present, as well as those of the future.

Principles

Accepting the Buddha's noble pronouncement
 »Hatred does not cease by hatred: only by non-hatred
 does hatred cease« and basing ourselves on the principles
 that only non-violence should mark the fate
 of human progress that all attempts at the solution
 of problems in modern society should be free from evil
 in thought and deed,
 treat the territorial integrity of Sri Lanka
 comprising of 25,332 sq.miles of land
 surrounded by the Indian Ocean,
 the identity of the Sri Lankan Community,
 the Unitary Status of the Sri Lankan State
 and, in particular, the laws defining
 the Fundamental Rights enshrined in the Constitution
 of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka,
 as well as the Fundamental Rights enshrined
 in the United Nations' Universal Declaration of
 Human Rights, should be safeguarded at all cost,
 and paying due concern only on the »wrong deeds«
 but not on »wrong doers«
 of the past or present,
 and fully comprehending the difficulty of arriving at
 solutions by merely shifting the past or present

responsibility for the current divisive situation
on any single person or a single group alone,
and the necessity that
in a distress or a crisis
that man comes to face individually or collectively,
its causal factors
should be searched for, identified and analysed in depth,
and realising the importance of removing of such causal
factors, and of arriving at solutions and means thereof,
we have inscribed the following.

Aims

While proclaiming that
the aim that motivated us
to participate at this Conference and to adopt
this Declaration was not to offer detailed solutions,
or in particular, to propose political solutions
to all problems between the Sinhala Tamil
and other communities, which have made way
for the crisis facing our contemporary society,
but,
to create a spiritual, mental, social and intellectual
environment on a national scale needed for the task
of finding solutions through friendly discussion
and our active participation through the recommendations
of twelve intellectual panels which would
study in depth, the subjects related to national problems,
we re-emphasise that our aim in searching for these
solutions is not to get involved in argument and debate,
heading to further complications
but
to create a suitable spiritual, mental, social
and intellectual environment for arriving at
possible solutions in a friendly dialogue
based on the principles of Truth and Non-violence.

Symptoms of General Degeneration in our Society

While we accept the fact that,
the Stability, Peace and Progress of a Society
rest on the degree of understanding, respect
and adherence on the part of its members,
to its Value System upon which the Spiritual,
Moral, Cultural, Social, Economic and Political Sectors
of that society are based, and the honour paid
and the adherence attached to it by the members,
and that our Society showed a gradual degeneration
in all these sectors during the post World-War II era,
and that, the resulting decadance reached its climax
in July

erupting into criminal incidents with possible political
and or communal overtones of a very serious nature
and having realised that these incidents have shattered
the very foundation of our social fabric, revealing.

- Firstly* – the existence of a number of groupings in our Society, numerically very small, but yet very powerful, who neither pay any heed to, nor observe, what we as cultured people have commonly upheld for thousands of years, as Good and Evil, Moral and Immoral, Right and Wrong, Just and Unjust, Fair and Foul, Human and Inhuman, and that,
- Secondly* – their solution to Political, Economic, Social or any other problem, is beyond the realms of the accepted Law of the Land, being conceived only through violence and thuggery, and that,
- Thirdly* – they pay not even the scantest respect to life – human or other – and that,
- Fourthly* – they derive immense mental satisfaction (consciously or un-consciously) by destroying private and public property, and that,
- Fifthly* – in their midst, even religious leaders, the custodians of Value Systems in our Society have become ineffective, and that,
- Sixthly* – some politicians and others who wielding more of wealth, power and position, guided by narrow, political and economic

- gains, shield and protect these lawless elements,
ignoring the damage and destruction they cause to established norms, human lives and the Nation as a whole, and that,
- Seventhly* – the efficiency and power of the Police, to safeguard Law and Order in such a situation have been weakened and that
- Eighthly* – even the Law Courts and Prisons, administering and enforcing Law have become unsafe, and that
- Ninthly* – the discipline and morale of the Police and the Armed Forces to make their presence felt in the event of a national calamity, whatever the cause may be, have deteriorated, and that,
- Tenthly* – respectful and law abiding citizens have feelings of doubt and fear to stand up and generate and provide Peoples's Power essential for the protection of the Value System and the enforcement of Law and Order, in the event of these lawless elements taking over dis-respecting Value Systems and violating the State Law, and that,
- Eleventhly* – the Political Leaders – the strongest section in Modern Society – have failed to provide an undivided, united leadership to the people even during a serious national calamity, and that,
- Twelfthly* – as a result of all these, even foreign powers have begun to show undue concern in our internal problems causing a threat to National Sovereignty, we have come to be aware that an understanding of these symptoms of common degeneration evident in all communities living in our country,

be they Sinhala, Tamil, Moor, Malay,
Burgher or any other, is of utmost
importance at this moment of crisis.

Causes of Degeneration

1. Destruction of the Value System

We believe that,
foremost among the factors causing this degeneration is the destruction of the Value System,
which for centuries past sustained
the main civilizing force of Society, and that
this Value System was founded on the ancient
Hindu-Buddhist Code of Ethics
epitomising Respect for Life – in particular Human Life –,
and that these ethics were stabilised in our Society
during the heyday of our civilization,
especially when Buddhism exerted its maximum influence,
crystallising themselves into the Observance of
the Five Precepts, viz., the Abstinence from Killing,
Stealing, Sexual Mis-conduct,
Lying and Consumption of Intoxicants, and that
intrinsically, Christianity and Islam,
which later permeated our Society, do not stand
in contradiction to the said Value System
and that, the study of Pali and Sanskrit
the classical languages of India also enriched these values which in turn nurtured all
social, economic and political corporations Man had established
with himself and Nature, and that,
with the advent of the Western Imperialists,
this Spiritual Culture was weakened
and the self-sufficient Agricultural Economy collapsed giving way to a Commercial
Culture,
with the encroachment of which
our spiritual values were gradually forced aside, and
a Society, totally biased towards Commercial Values was installed, and that, with the
pride of place
being given to the English Language,
in order to facilitate these Commercial motives
the source languages which spiritually nurtured

the majority of the Sinhala-Tamil community gradually began to dry up, and that community life too, assuming the nature of an empty reservoir of which all fountain sources were exhausted, was exposed consequently to an infusion of materialistic ideas and habits, of the foreigners, which changed the life style of the local population so that the general Sinhala-Tamil public of the post-independence era who thought and worked in the local languages, became psychologically distanced from one another, though a minority of Sinhalas and Tamils nurtured in the western values and life-styles (referred to) became closely knit together through the medium of the English language though at the same time being further alienated from the afore-mentioned common Sinhala and Tamil community and that, as a result, the life-style which was founded on the observance of the Five Precepts, of which, Respect for Human Life was the corner stone, was transformed further with an intolerable bias towards the aspirations of a privileged, West-oriented few, who enjoyed wealth, position and power.

2. Discrepancy in the Educational System

While accepting that, the relative stability of a value system is dependent on the quality of education that a people receives from generation to generation, and that it was our traditional educational system that gave birth to and nurtured our spiritual and moral values that guided our forefathers in the pursuit of their economic political, cultural and social activities and that,

since our society began
 to lean towards a commercial culture,
 all aspects of education,
 viz., the scope, the methods, the texts used,
 parent-teacher-pupil relationship,
 the psychological and physical environment
 in which Education was imparted,
 the relationship between
 the Educational Institutes and Society,
 the degree of integration of pupils
 of different racial and religious communities
 as a Cohesive Group of Citizens belonging to One Nation, all these assumed the
 characteristics of
 a competitive commercial human society
 and that,
 the close contact
 between Spiritual Leadership and Education,
 was weakened with the decline and sometimes
 the total destruction of the religious institutions
 which were centres of Education,
 and the waning of the influence of monks
 who supplied their leadership, we aver that
 the Discrepancy in our Educational System
 was a main contributory factor that led to the general
 National Degeneration and the mutual alienation
 between the Sinhala and Tamil Communities.

3. Loss of the sense of Fear and Shame attached to the violation of Law and Social Norms

We declare our acceptance of the fact that in the past
 as a result of the Value-based Educational System
 which was aimed at the fullest development
 of human personality, members of families,
 villages, cities, and the nation as a whole
 possessed a sense of fear and shame of committing
 illegal and immoral acts
 and that sentiment of fear arising owing to
 the possibility of punishment
 for violation of State Law,
 and of shame, arising out of
 inevitable ostracism

for the breach of Social Norms,
wielded tremendous power as deterrent social forces:
but that, during the last few decades,
specially since regaining Independence,
this healthy social atmosphere met with considerable
reversals and the people commonly developed
a feeling that,
the possession of wealth, power and position,
could save one from the consequence
of the violation of State Law, and that
by the use of intimidation, one may still live high yet
violating Social Norms,
though being secretly despised by Society.
This evasion of social responsibility at the highest level
paved the way for the emergence
of anti-social and shameless elements in our Society.

4. Weakening of Community Leadership

We accept the fact that,
by the time we regained our Independence,
there prevailed through the influence
of Western Imperial force
a situation whereby State Law and Legal Power
overpowered People's Law and Power of Righteousness and hence, as local Political
Parties
and Political Leadership replaced Western Rule,
these Parties and their Leaders
emerged to provide State, National and Religious
Leadership, in place of the Value Based Leadership
provided earlier by the Maha Sangha,
and that because the Majority Sinhala Community
and the largest minority – the Tamil Community –
as well as the Christian and Islamic Communities, all,
degenerated in the stranglehold
of divisive strife and disintegration
and that the number of Community Leaders
capable of providing leadership to the people
from village level upto national level
based on People's Power and the Power of Righteousness, gradually dwindled and
almost disappeared
during the more recent years.

5. Interference with State Services by External Forces

We accept the fact that,
even in the presence of a weakened Law of Righteousness, Social Discipline and Social Peace will be protected
at least to an extent, if the State Law is impartial
but that partisan political forces and
the irresponsible acts of some leaders committed openly, discredited the honour and respect due to
Public Institutions such as Public Service,
Police and the Army which are maintained by
Public Funds for Public Safety
and that hence the strength that these institutions
possessed as instruments for the safety
of the General Public was considerably weakened,
which alone caused the decline
of discipline and moral courage
of those who serve in them. This in turn,
ushered our Society during that Dark Week,
into an Interregnum.

6. Creation of a Wrong Life Style

We accept the fact that,
our indigenous Life Style
which encouraged and maintained a balance between
both Spiritual and Material achievements degenerated
gradually to lean more towards Wants than Needs,
and that the creation of an ostentatious,
artificial Life Style with communication mass media
in the hands of the »Haves« having the way
and turning the bulk of the people who form
the »Have-nots« like moths to a flame
during the past few years,
to satisfy either their inner psychological desires or
conceptual needs.
Even so,
the denial of an opportunity for this
by the competitive economic system
led a majority of them psychologically
to dissatisfaction and despair.
Hence,

these disgruntled groups, who failed to realise their expectations, and in particular, some groups who were not disciplined by one or more of State Law, a wholesome education and in particular, by Value System, made use of political or communal conflicts caused by small groups, and reacted adversely committing anti-social acts to compensate for their pent-up dissatisfaction.

Removal of Causes of Degeneration

While we accept the fact that mere political solutions alone are inadequate to re-establish National Peace and Harmony, and that even initial steps towards a political solution may be taken and a preliminary attempt at arresting the deterioration of the present problems may be made by first removing the factors that caused the common degeneration of our society, on the acceptance that, as responsible citizens we should

- Firstly* – re-establish our Value System,
- Secondly* – reform the present educational system fully,
- Thirdly* – regenerate social respect for moral and ethical principles.
- Fourthly* – create a suitable climate in the country for the State Law to be effective justly and impartially devoid of interferences,
- Fifthly* – promote a sense of stability, discipline and peace in all sectors of society inclusive of political leaders and community leaders both spiritual and lay,
- Sixthly* – grant the necessary freedom to the members of the public service and the Defence Services in order that they may be effective in the discharge of their duties unhindered and in keeping with the Law of Righteousness and the State Law,
- Seventhly* – re-establish a suitable economic life style simple, plain and sustainable and promoting, in particular

- the psychological well-being
of the younger generation,
and without accepting
the western modes
blindly and with open arms,
- Eighthly* – create without any further delay
an alternative political system
in keeping with our values and needs,
in place of the party based system
which is a western product,
and is one of the primary causes
of the degeneration of
and the many ills evident in,
present day society
and for this cause we pledge ourselves to contribute constructively.

Way of Removing the Causes of Degeneration

It is a well known fact that
whatever the afore mentioned causes may be
the responsibility for the incidents that took place
has been thrust upon the Sinhala Buddhist public
and their spiritual leadership,
the Venerable Maha Sangha, by the world's media,
and whatever the truth of this pronouncement may be, we are of the opinion that the
onus of responsibility
for redeeming present society
from its state of degeneration
rests mainly with the Sinhala Buddhists.

We accept, therefore, that

- Firstly* – steps should be taken in order to give a leadership
to the Buddhist public to re-fashion their social economic and political
life
on the spiritual, moral and cultural values as traditionally laid down,
under the leadership of the Maha Sangha,
- Secondly* – a Buddhist-Hindu
Brotherhood Promotion Programme
should be launched on the initiative
of the Sinhala Buddhist Community
owing to the sole reason
that it is the Tamil Hindu population

- that has won world sympathy
as the victims of various crimes,
- Thirdly* – leaders of all religions –
as all religions are intrinsically
messages of peace and brotherhood –
should unite and exert themselves
in the forefront in an attempt
at inculcating a sense of respect
to the moral laws,
- Fourthly* – the search for subject matter
regarding difficulties, obstacles faced,
rights and privileges enjoyed
by a community has to be pursued
and reports arising out of it compiled in such manner as not to widen
the existing rifts
or to fan further
the flames of communalism
but to arrive at a settlement
to the existing problems
on the basis of truth.
- Fifthly* – the Plantation Communities
of Indian Origin
possessing Sri Lankan Citizenship
should be integrated with
the local village communities,
and subsequently
with the total Sri Lankan Community
as an attempt to harmonise further
our relations with our neighbour India.
- Sixthly* – special attention has to be focussed
on Tamil and other communities
living in majority Sinhala areas,
in order to accept them,
and protect them in brotherhood,
respecting and assisting
to nurture their language and culture,
- Seventhly* – special attention has to be focussed
on Sinhala and other communities
living in Majority Tamil areas
in order to accept them
and protect them in brotherhood
respecting and assisting

- Eighthly* – to nurture their language and culture,
 – immediate investigations
 have to be made into violations or denials of Human rights of any
 Community
 in any part of the country,
 politically, socially, economically,
 culturally, or administratively
 and those occurring due to the weakness of Security Services,
 and to rectify them with the least delay in keeping with
 the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations,
 and the Fundamental Rights enshrined in the Constitution of Sri
 Lanka,
- Ninthly* – corrective steps should be taken in a manner that the Rights of innocent
 citizens are not threatened in cases of individuals or groups, acting
 outside the realms of the Law, commit any violent anti-state,
 anti-constitutional acts even when taking steps of stabilise Law and
 Peace of the Land, as such steps would lead to unify the respectability
 of the State Law and the Social Norm. Measures also should be taken
 to establish awe, or the law-abiding quality in the people towards the
 State Law and Peace, soliciting the People's Assistance and Partici-
 pation in the maintenance of the same.
- Tenthly* – the present Economic System and its Processes have to be brought
 under review and an Economic Philosophy and process in keeping with
 the National requirements and Values have to be thought out and
 implemented immediately,
- Eleventhly* – the Business Community should use their expertise and other facilities
 to remove various economic causes and obstacles of the common
 people
 and become partners of National
 Development in a broader and more
 reasonable manner to raise the living
 standards of rural farming and working communities,
- Twelfthly* – the party – and power – oriented political system, considered by most as
 the main cause of distrust, differences, sectarianism and other vicious
 obstacles operating in present society should be replaced by an alter-
 nate democratic
 system of administration within the
 Unitary Frame of the State of Sri Lanka capable of fostering
 Mutual Confidence, Friendship,
 Brotherhood and Peace, in which
 the Common People can participate
 to a maximum.

Common Recommendation

This People's Declaration for National Peace and Harmony has so far ventured to explain the true situation of our country today, the causes thereof, the necessity of the removal of those causes and the way of removing them.

To study further, the contents of this Declaration within the framework of Principles, Aims and Processes outlined, and to make detailed proposals of the changes that should be effected in every sector of our Society and to submit recommendations and practical plans as regards methods in which these proposals may be put into effect, the participants have decided to appoint at this Conference, 12 committees to investigate into and report on the following.

1. How may the Venerable members of the Maha Sangha and the lay leaders act to protect the life-style of Buddhists in order that it would conform to Buddhist ethics?
2. How can the Hindu-Buddhist spiritual and cultural affinity, a potential buttress to National Unity, be re-established
3.
 - a) How can the Fundamental Values of our Society be re-established as an inter-religious force through the consensus of Buddhist, Hindu, Christian, Islam and other religious leaders?
 - b) How can the National Educational System be re-organised to re-habilitate the Teacher-Pupil relationship, inculcate National Values in children and promote mutual fraternal relationships?
4. What, in fact, are the Rights and Privileges enjoyed, as well as the difficulties and obstacles endured by various communities?
How far are current reports correct in this respect?
5. How can the cultural aspects and the Audio, Visual, Written and other communication media be structured and maintained in order to build a national identity and portray a better Sri Lankan image?
6. How can the protection and social integration of the Indian Plantation Communities be ensured?
7.
 - a) How can the acceptance, protection and integration with the Sri Lankan community, of the Tamil families and other communities living in majority Sinhala areas be promoted?
 - b) How can the acceptance, protection and integration with the Tamil community, of the Sinhala families and other communities living in majority Tamil areas be promoted?
8. What Human Rights have been violated anywhere in the country, and what measures should be taken to rectify them?

9. a) How can the Law-enforcing authorities be made aware of the need for correct public relations and greater mental strength and morale in their own selves in the performance of their duties?
- b) How can the People's Participation be obtained in re-establishing the respect for the Law of the Land and for Peace?
10. What actions should be taken towards the re-evaluation of the present Economic System and Economic Processes and the evolution of a system of Economic Development in keeping with National Needs and Values?
11. In which manner should business communities come forwards to supply more satisfactory expertise and facilities to promote social and economic development through Integrated Community Development activities, resulting in the reduction of economic disparities and the preservation of National Unity and Harmony?
12. What are the processes of promoting a more advanced Democratic System of Administration, capable of eradicating distrust, differences, sectarianism and other vicious obstacles to social development prevalent at present? How can such a system mobilise the maximum People's Participation?

We have recommended at this Conference that the Chairmen and the Organisers of these Committees should amalgamate with the Executive Council of the Lanka Jatika Sarvodaya Shramadana Sangamaya and act as the National Council for the Follow-up of the People's Declaration for National Peace and Harmony.

Determination

We are deeply conscious and our minds are clear about the seriousness of what we have discussed. This Conference has adopted this People's Declaration for National Peace and Harmony which includes several recommendations that we have formulated. We are convinced that the People's representatives exceeding two thousand in number who expressed their views and put forward suggestions in the formulation of this declaration were motivated but nothing but pure and noble thoughts. We are firm in the determination

that the problems we face today should be solved,
on the basis of our traditional and timeless principles
of Loving, Kindness, Compassionate Action,
Altruistic Joy, Equanimity,
Giving and Sharing, Pleasant Speech,
Constructive Activity and Equality alone.
The Sarvodaya Shramadana Sangamaya
with the blessing and participation of other organisations
the General Public and all virtuous people will embark
on a Peace Walk, aimed at evoking over
the whole nation sacred emotions and thought forces that
emanate from the contents of this Declaration.

We believe

in the strength of the Spiritual Force that would be released from the minds of the
thousands that would
participate in this Peace Walk,
and we are confident
that the Government of Sri Lanka,
and all political parties
as well as those groups attempting to solve the persisting problems of the day through
extra – parliamentary
procedures and by violence as well as by non-violence,
will all bestow their blessings and render their support
to this noble venture.

Finally there exists the possibility
of the supreme qualities of Excellence,
Humanism and Humanitarianism
of the total Sri Lankan Community emerging and
burgeoning as a formidable force of Righteousness
from the very moment that this Declaration is adopted.
This force will ever grow and mature to usher in an era
of prosperity to the entire nation marked by the noble
qualities of Unity, Harmony and Co-existence.
Wishing from our inner-most hearts that this Declaration
will stand as an example, an inspiration and a blessing
to all peoples beset with War and Strife and consequent
sense of Distrust and Despair in other countries as well,
we conclude this
Declaration

Appendix

Special Recommendation

Having witnessed during our life-time the manner in which countries where simple, peace-loving people lived, have become international battle fields mainly owing to the disintegration caused by political, tribal and religious differences, that brought about greater carnage than of last two World Wars, which also destroyed their cultures almost completely,

we are convinced that if the present degenerating trend evident in Sri Lanka be allowed to proceed further every possibility exists for a similar situation to befall this island too. We emphasize therefore, the wisdom of taking immediately, the following steps.

Community Awakening

1. This People's Declaration for National Peace and Harmony should be trilingually published island-wide, in all newspapers and through other means of mass communication such as Radio and Television.
2. This Declaration should be read out in every home, school, religious institute, office, association, organisation and voluntary institute and discussed in depth.
3. Every political party, relegating all narrow and ambitious goals, should honestly study this Declaration, keeping only Peace, Brotherhood and the Well-being of the people in mind.
4. Every Ministry, Department and Corporation should take action to give their officers an awareness of the contents of this Declaration.
5. All defence personnel in every Police Station and the Units of the Armed Forces should read, study and understand the contents of this Declaration.
6. All institutes of learning like schools and universities should encourage their pupils and students, as the case may be, to conduct Researches, Discussions Experiments and Competitions and to write essays on the contents of this Declaration.
7. Writers, Composers, Artistes, Playwrights, Poets, etc, should be enthused to be creative according to their talents on ideas embodied in this Declaration.
8. While every religious shrine should be a place where this Declaration is explained to its patrons, the associated clergy should also organise Meditations, Sermons and Rites and Festivals on National Harmony as the theme.

People's Participation

1. The Sinhala Community should fearlessly and openly take the lead to provide protection, brotherhood, relief and rehabilitation to the Tamils who are rendered helpless.
2. Tamil communities should fearlessly take steps in their areas to provide protection and brotherhood to the Sinhala families affected during the conflicts of last July and earlier, and invite them back to where they were earlier and rehabilitate them.
3. Sinhala people living in villages neighbouring Plantations where Indian Tamil communities live, should visit those Plantations under the leadership of the Buddhist monks, and provide them with protection, brotherhood, relief and rehabilitation services.
4. The Sinhala Community should take steps to invite the affected Tamil people who lived in Sinhala areas back to those areas and to provide them with protection, brotherhood, relief and rehabilitation services.
5. Tamil people living permanently in majority Sinhala areas should publicly join with the Sinhala people in a spirit of brotherhood to stabilise the unity of the Nation and the non-violent way of life of the people.
6. Tamil people living in the North and the East should encourage youth who are armed with weapons of destruction whatever reason may be to ground their arms and solve their problems non-violently and justly, in a spirit of comradeship with their Sinhala brethren.
7. While personnel who serve in our Police and Defence Forces should realise that to treat those living in the North and the East, stricken with fear of a well-armed and powerful though very small minority, in an unkind harmful and degrading way is a means of aggravating the problem, and that whether they be Sinhala, Tamil or of any other community, the basis for the performance of their duties should be the Law of Righteousness and the Law of the State, and that they should trust that this fact alone would help them a long way to solve problems.
8. It should also be pointed out that the officers as well as other personnel of the Police and Armed Forces are a part of the general public, serving the members of the public themselves and hence, it should be emphatically re-interated that it is the duty of every citizen to render them co-operation and protection, irrespective of racial differences, so that they may adequately perform their duties.

Political Parties

1. It is very necessary that all parties, including the one presently in power, realise that they are responsible to varying degree for the present degeneration and confusion in our Society.

2. It is necessary that the leaders and followers of parties realise the importance of preserving the value-systems, respecting and safe-guarding the Law of the Land, of the non-involvement in violent activities and of the non-defilement of the administration of justice.
3. Instead of protecting and encouraging lawless gangs which are a serious threat to the enforcement of State Law and the maintenance of Community Peace in the present Sri Lankan rural and urban sectors, all responsible political parties should immediately work out processes of giving them the correct guidance even with the help of the arm of the law to check their anti-social activities.
4. Thinking of the dis-unity and decadence brought about at village level by party politics, each political party, as a matter of principle, should give every support and encouragement for the emergence of impartial community leaders and development processes through voluntary organisations and Gramodaya Mandalas.
5. In solving the Sinhala-Tamil or any other problem of national importance priority should be given to the Unitary Status of the Sri Lankan State, Peace and Co-existence of all communities, placing them above loyalties to their own political parties, and they should be far-sighted enough to arrive at common agreements beneficial to the total community.
6. Realising the consequences of communal politics and accepting lofty principles based on human values, they should engage in political activities which ensure maximum People's Participation.
7. All political parties should appoint a panel of scholars to make a deep study in order to establish a National Political System which guarantees People's Participation.

Executive President¹

1. The Office the Executive President should be elevated to an exalted position, transcending parties and symbolising the freedom, impartiality, and justice of the Nation.
2. And considering the present critical situation the country is faced with, we believe that this courageous and noble step would be taken – an event which would be recorded in History for all times.
3. A National Government should be formed in a definite period of time, a set of principles and a programme of development, in order to solve the problem of the threat of division of the country, violence, indiscipline, ethnic conflict and the insecurity that the nation is faced with soliciting the co-operation of all patriotic citizens.

1 Dieser Abschnitt wurde von der Konferenz nicht angenommen; er ist enthalten in dem hektographierten Entwurf (25 Seiten) auf S. 20–21.

4. Steps should be taken in the immediate future to build up a system of Government ensuring broader people's participation, where the majority as well as the minorities are protected.

The State

1. A Commission should be appointed with full powers vested to inquire into all cases where people lost their lives, received serious injuries and suffered destruction of property, the payment of adequate compensation, rehabilitation work etc, and to submit recommendations and to implement such recommendations. This commission should also be empowered to inquire similarly into such ethnic conflicts that took place earlier, making no reservation whether the victims be Sinhala or Tamil, and provide relief to the victims.
2. Steps should be taken towards the immediate removal of short-comings in the implementation of the Sinhala-Tamil Language Policy, so that a person will not face any difficulty in conducting his affairs with the Government owing to the language he speaks.
3. A set of principles should be immediately promulgated to provide protection and permanent residences to Plantation workers of Indian origin, as well as others who have lost employment and live in various parts of the Island with no permanent abode, and permanent solution should be found for those without citizenship as well.
4. Every step should be taken to ensure that when Defence Forces of the state act against those who flout the State Law and try to achieve their political ambitions by taking up arms, no harm is caused to the self-respect of the innocent public, their property or lives, in any form.
5. Special educational programmes should be conducted to provide the security forces with a deep understanding of the National Values, Moral Law and the Law of the Land, and to provide them with a knowledge of Sinhala and Tamil languages.
6. People's Participation and Assistance should be sought for, in all Administrative, Organisational and Defence activities and for this purpose, the Government should secure the service and involvement of non-governmental organisations.
7. A more meaningful programme than the one available at present should be immediately drawn up so that those who are sentenced for imprisonment could gain proficiency in various skills, and their characters could be re-moulded for the better during the period of imprisonment.
8. When appointing individuals to Diplomatic Service as Ambassadors, Envoys etc, the Government should, in addition to other qualifications they possess, pay attention to their knowledge of the National and Cultural history, Values and their sense of Patriotism.
9. An immediate rehabilitation programme should be launched for the benefit of the people who live in huts and shanties in towns, particularly in the city of Colombo.

10. A more beneficial but firm policy with regard to alcohol and narcotics should be pursued.
11. A strict control should be exercised on the exhibition of Theft, Crime, Sex, etc, by mass media such as newspapers, books, cartoon-papers, television and the cinema.

Education

1. The education of Sinhala and Tamil children should be so organised from their young days, that they could acquire proficiency in both languages.
2. All children throughout the Island should have opportunities to gain admission to any school they prefer. In addition to the education they receive in their Mother Tongue, they should be given the opportunity to study certain subjects in English, Tamil or Sinhala according to their preferences.
3. Sinhala and Tamil classical texts that are beneficial to school children should be translated into Tamil and Sinhala respectively, and published.
4. All institutes of Higher Education and Universities should be made common educational institutes into which children of all races could gain admission.
5. Children studying at all educational levels should be taught and made to respect the principles of all religions, and spiritual experiences should be facilitated through inter-religious relationships fostered by activities such as collective meditation.
6. Children belonging to various religions and communities should be made to join together in common cultural and sports activities, so that from their young days, they would develop in their minds the feeling that they all belong to One Nation.
7. In each district and A.G.A.'s divisions, there should be institutions that grant education at three levels-Primary, Intermediary and Advanced – where Sinhala, Tamil and English languages are taught. These institutes could be organised by the Department of Education and Private Organisations.
8. The study of Pali and Sanskrit languages should be revived.
9. Scholars of Sri Lanka should look into the feasibility of developing an Alphabet, perhaps similar to the Roman Alphabet, so that language learning could be made easier.
10. Children speaking Sinhala should spend one term in the homes of students speaking Tamil in the Tamil speaking areas, and vice versa. Community Service Programmes could be promoted so that National Unity could be fostered. Principals and Teachers should take leadership in providing these.

Land – Residence – Occupation

1. There should be no obstacle whatsoever for any citizen of Sri Lanka to buy land, live and practise an occupation in any locality of the island.

2. Sinhala and Tamil leaders should provide leadership in settling Sinhala and other families in areas where the majority are Tamils, on the acceptance of and invitation by the Tamils, and settling Tamil and other families in areas where the Sinhala are in a majority, on the acceptance of an invitation by the Sinhala.
3. Agricultural Centres and Industrial Units and such other self-employment generating centres should be organised on State Land for young men and women selected according to ethnic population ratios. These centres should have residential facilities, and have in them as leaders, individuals who are trained in promoting racial harmony.

**May rains shower in due season
And render the fields fertile
May every heart be fully contented
The state be just and the world benefit!**