

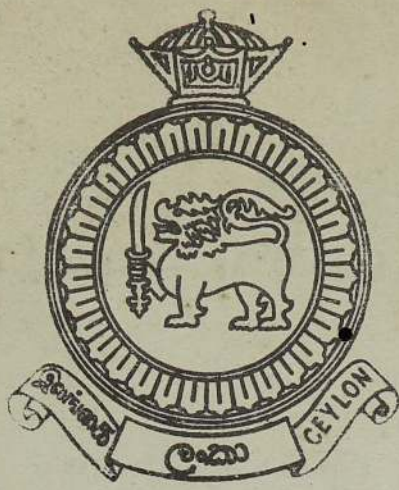
81 වන කාණ්ඩය

2 වන කලාපය

(I වන කොටස)

3. බද්ද

1968 අගෝස්තු 28



: පාර්ලිමේන්තු විවාද

(හැන්සාඩ්)

නියෝජිත මන්ත්‍රී මණ්ඩලයේ

නිල වාර්තාව

(අගෝස්ත පිටපත)

දත්තරීත ප්‍රධාන කරුණු

ප්‍රශ්නවලට වාචික පිළිතුරු

විසර්ජන පනත් කෙටුම්පත, (1968-69) [දහවන වෙන් කළ දිනය]

14 වන ශීඝ්‍ර කාරක සභාව විසින් සලකා බලන ලදී.

பாராளுமன்ற விவாதங்கள்

(ஹன்சாட்)

பிரதிநிதிகள் சபை

அதிகார அறிக்கை

(பிழை திருத்தப்படாதது)

பிரதான உள்ளடக்கம்

வினாக்களுக்கு வாய்மூல விடைகள்

ஒதுக்கீட்டு மசோதா, 1968—69 [ஒதுக்கப்பட்ட பத்தாம் நாள்]

குழுவில் ஆராயப்பட்ட தலைப்பு 14

Volume 81

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(Part I)

Wednesday

28th August 1968

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(HANSARD)

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

OFFICIAL REPORT

(Uncorrected)

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS

ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

APPROPRIATION BILL, 1968-69 [Sixth Allotted Day]

Considered in Committee Head 14

නියෝජිත මන්ත්‍රී මණ්ඩලය

பிரதிநிதிகள் சபை

House of Representatives

1968 අගෝස්තු 28 වන බදාදා

புதன்சிறுமை 28, ஓகஸ்ட், 1968.

Wednesday, 28th August 1968

සු. හා. 10 ව මන්ත්‍රී මණ්ඩලය රැස් විය. කළු
නායකතුමා (ශ්‍රී ජී. ජී. ජයරත්න) කොරෝ
චායාරූප විය.

சபை, மு. ப. 10 மணிக்குக் கூடியது. சபாநாகர்
அவர்கள் [கௌரவ எஸ். சி. ஷேளி கொறயா]
தலைமை தாங்கினார்கள்.

The House met at 10 A.M., MR. SPEAKER
[THE HON. S. C. SHIRLEY COREA] in the
Chair.

ප්‍රශ්නවලට වාචික පිළිතුරු

வினாக்களுக்கு வாய்மூல விடைகள்

ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

යක්කල මහා විද්‍යාලයේ

කේ. ඩී. සන්තියාගෝ මහතා

திரு. கே. டி. சந்தியாகோ, யக்கல மகாயிவித்திய
லயம்.

MR. K. D. SANTIAGO, YAKKALA MAHA
VIDYALAYA

1. ලක්ෂ්මන් ජයකොඩි මයා. (දිවුල
පිටිය)

(திரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயக்கொடி—திவுலுபிட்
டிய)

(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody—Divula-
pitiya)

අධ්‍යාපන හා සංස්කෘතික කටයුතු
ඇමතිගෙන් ඇසූ ප්‍රශ්නය: (අ) දැනට
අ/යක්කල මහා විද්‍යාලයේ සේවය කරන
කේ. ඩී. සන්තියාගෝ මහතාට 1964
මාර්තු 1 සිට 1964.12.31 දක්වා කාල සීමාව
සඳහා ගෙවිය යුතු හිඟ විශේෂ ජීවනාධාර
මුදල් කවදා ගෙවනවාද? (ආ) නොගෙ
වන්නේ නම්, ඒ මන්ද?

கல்வி, கலாசார விவகார அமைச்சரைக்
கேட்ட வினா: (அ) இப்போது அ/யக்கல்ல
மகா வித்தியாலயத்தில் சேவை செய்யும் திரு.
கே. டி. சந்தியாக்கோ அவர்களுக்கு 1964
மார்ச் 1 ஆம் திகதியிலிருந்து 1964.12.31

வரையுள்ள கால எல்லைக்குள் கொடுபடவேண்
டிய நிலுவை விசேட வாழ்க்கைப்படி எப்
போது கொடுக்கப்படும்? (ஆ) கொடுக்கா
விடின், ஏன்?

asked the Minister of Education and
Cultural Affairs: (a) When will the
arrears of Special Living Allowance
due to Mr. K. D. Santiago of
අ/Yakkala Maha Vidyalaya for the
period 1.3.1964 to 31.12.1964 be paid?
(b) If it will not be paid, will he
state why?

ஸ்தான் ஜයசூரிய மயா. (අධ්‍යාපන හා
සංස්කෘතික කටයුතු පිළිබඳ පාර්ලිමේන්තු
ලේකම්)

(திரு. காமனி ஜயசூரிய—கல்வி, கலாசார
விவகார அமைச்சரின் பாராளுமன்றக் காரிய
தரிசி)

(Mr. Gamani Jayasuriya—Parliament-
ary Secretary to the Minister of Educa-
tion and Cultural Affairs)

(a) The Regional Director of Edu-
cation has been ordered to take action
to pay this teacher immediately any
arrears of special living allowance
due to him. (b) Does not arise.

යක්කල මහා විද්‍යාලයේ බිලිවී. ඩී. එම්.
ඒෆ්. ඩී. කොස්තා මහත්මිය

திருமதி டபிள்யூ. டி. எம். எப். வீ. கொஸ்தா,
யக்கல மகாவித்தியாலயம்.

MRS. W. D. M. F. V. COSTA, YAKKALA
MAHA VIDYALAYA

2. ජයකොඩි මයා.

(திரு. ஜயக்கொடி)

(Mr. Jayakody)

අධ්‍යාපන හා සංස්කෘතික කටයුතු
ඇමතිගෙන් ඇසූ ප්‍රශ්නය: (අ) 1964
මාර්තු 1 සිට 1966.12.31 දක්වා කොට/
පහළ මධ්‍යම පාලන මුදල විදහාදීම හා දැනට
අ/යක්කල මහා විද්‍යාලයේ උපදුරු
බිලිවී. ඩී. ඇම්. ඒෆ්. ඩී. කොස්තා
මහත්මියට ඉහත සඳහන් කාලසීමාවේ දී
ගෙවිය යුතු හිඟ විශේෂ ජීවනාධාර හා
ගෙවල් කුලී මුදල් කවදා ගෙවනවාද?
(ආ) නොගෙවන්නේ නම්, ඒ මන්ද?

கல்வி, கலாசார விவகார அமைச்சரைக்
கேட்ட வினா: (அ) 1964 மார்ச் 1 ஆம் திக,
தியிலிருந்து 1966.12.31 வரை கொடு/பறவ

[பீய்கொடீ மொ.]

மடம்ஹல்ல கலவன் கல்லூரியிலும் இப்போது அய்யக்கல்ல மகாவித்தியாலயத்திலும் உதவி ஆசிரியையான திருமதி டப்லிவ். டி. எம். வீ. கொஸ்தா அவர்களுக்கு மேற்குறிப்பிட்டுள்ள கால எல்லைக்குள் கொடுபட வேண்டிய நிலுவை, விசேட வாழ்க்கைப்படி, வாழ்க்கைப்படி, வீட்டு வாடகை ஆகியவை எப்போது கொடுக்கப்படும்? (ஆ) கொடுபடாவிடின், ஏன்?

asked the Minister of Education and Cultural Affairs: (a) When will the arrears of Special living allowance, cost of living allowance, and rent allowance due to Mrs. W. D. M. F. V. Costa at present assistant teacher of P/Yakkala Maha Vidyalaya, for the period 1.3.1964 to 31.12.1966, when she was attached to கொடு/ Pahala Madamnella Mixed School, be paid? (b) If it is proposed not to pay these arrears, will he state why?

பீய்கொடீ மொ.
(திரு. ஜயசூரிய)
(Mr. Jayasuriya)

(a) The Regional Director of Education at Anuradhapura has been instructed to take action to pay this teacher as soon as possible any arrears of salary due to her. (b) Does not arise.

பீய்கொடீ மொ.
(திரு. ஜயக்கொடி)
(Mr. Jayakody)

தே கிள வுடுபு தேவிம சமீநன் டியேன் ஓல் லீமக் கர், டுநடு அபுரூடி 4 க பமன் காலயக் தேவி திநெதலா. தீதேன் தேதென் தீம துடல் லூவி துநி திசு, தீலா கபடா தரம லூவெடூடி டுநதேன் காமூநிடி.

பீய்கொடீ மொ.
(திரு. ஜயசூரிய)
(Mr. Jayasuriya)

தேதேலா துதக் கல் தை துணு தீலா லெதேமயக் ம திடுணா. டுந் தீலா திகென் திக அபு தீதேன தீதலா. தீம திசு, தூவி கல் டுந் தடு மத் தேன் கிள துடல் லூவெடி.

பீய்கொடீ மொ.
(திரு. ஜயக்கொடி)
(Mr. Jayakody)

அபுலல் காலயே லூவெதலா கியா கியத் தடு லூலா?

பீய்கொடீ மொ.
(திரு. ஜயசூரிய)
(Mr. Jayasuriya)

தடுதடு கியத் த லூலா.

டூதேன் தீ தீதேன் தீ கீலூகீயே
தீ. அல்தீன் தா தீ. சந் தி

திருவாளர்கள் ஏ. எல்பின். ஏ. சந்தி ஹொரஹேன குடியேற்றத்திட்டம், தாகன்ன

MESSRS. A. ALPIN AND A. SANTHI, HORAHENA COLONY, DAGONNA

8. பீய்கொடீ மொ.
(திரு. ஜயக்கொடி)
(Mr. Jayakody)

ஓவதி, தாரிதூலி தா தீடூலூ அமூநிதேன் அபு துதீய: (அ) டுநூ. அதீந் தூர் கீரலே 'லி' தூடூயதீ தாலக திடுடூரி கீவிடூயயே டூதேன் த ததீ தீதேன் தீ கீலூகீயே தீ. 69 ஓவதி கடுதீய அபுலலதேதீயேன் அல்தீன் த திதகதுகூலடு ஓவதி கபூலேரீயேன் லூலூலூ லடு தீதூலா டுந் தலாடி? (ஆ) தீம கீலூகீயே தீ. 59 ஓவதி கடுதீய அபுலலதேதீயேன் சந் தி திதகதுகூலடு ஓவதி கபூலேரீயேன் லூலூலூ லடு தீதூலா டுந் தலாடி? (ஆ) தேம ஓவதி கடுதீய தேக துலூலூ கர்லூதீமடு தேம சதேன் டூரூதீன் தேதேதூ காமூந் த துகூல கர் லீபி தணூதாலக் டூ, தீபூலூபீயி தாரீலி தேத் தூ மத் தீதீயரூ மதீன் லீபி தணூதாலக் டூ ஓடிபீதத் கர் அநி லடுத் தீம கடு துந் த அபுரூடி 5 க் தை தீ அநத் துதூயத் மக தீகர் அநி லடுத் தீதூலா டுந் தலாடி? (ஆ) தேய துதூயத் மக தீகர் தீத் தீத் டு? (ஆ) ஓல் லீம துதூம துதூயத் மக கர் தலாடி? தீலூதீதீ ததீ, தீ மத் தீ?

காணி, தீர்ப்பாசன, தீன்விசை அமைச்சரைக் கேட்ட வினா: (அ) வடக்கு அலுதூரு தீகாரணயில், "பி" பெரும்பாக இறைவரி

உத்தியோகத்தர் பிரிவினாள்ள தாகொன்ன கிராமத்தின் ஹொரஹேன குடியேற்றத் திட்டத்தின் 69 ஆம் இலக்க காணித் துண்டு அமுலதேவகே எல்பின் என்பாருக்கு காணிக் கச்சேரியின் மூலம் சட்டப்படி கிடைத்ததென்பதை அவர் அறிவாரா? (ஆ) அதே குடியேற்றத் திட்டத்தில் 59 ஆம் இலக்க காணித் துண்டு அமுலதேவகே சந்தி என்பாருக்கு காணிக் கச்சேரியின் மூலம் சட்டப்படி கிடைத்ததென்பதை அவர் அறிவாரா? (இ) இச்சகோதரர்களிருவரும் இக்காணித் துண்டுகளைப் பரிமாறிக் கொள்ளும் விருப்பத்தைத் தெரிவித்து பல கடிதங்களையும், திவுலப்பிட்டி பாராளுமன்ற உறுப்பினர் மூலமாக பல கடிதங்களையும் சமர்ப்பித்திருக்கின்றனரென்பதையும், 5 வருடங்கள் கழிந்த பிறகும் அக்கோரிக்கை அமுல் நடத்தப்படாதிருக்கின்ற தென்பதையும் அவர் அறிவாரா? (ஈ) இக்கோரிக்கை அமுல் நடத்தப்படாததேன்? (உ) இக்கோரிக்கை உடனடியாக அமுல் நடத்தப்படுமா? அன்றேல், ஏன்?

asked the Minister of Land, Irrigation and Power: (a) Is he aware that lot No. 69 in Horahena Colony in the village of Dagonna in D. R. O's Division 'B' in Aluthkuru Korale North was alienated in favour of Amuwaladevage Alpin at a land kachcheri duly and properly held? (b) Is he aware that lot No. 59 in the same colony was similarly alienated at a land kachcheri in favour of Amuwaladevage Santhi? (c) Is he aware that although over the last five years these two allottees who are brothers have written a number of letters stating their wish to exchange the two allotments and also made numerous representations on this matter through the Member of Parliament for Divulapitiya no action has been taken so far? (d) Why is action not being taken to effect this exchange? (e) Will he take immediate action to effect this exchange? If not, why?

ஸ்ரீ சி. டி. பண்டா (காங்கிரஸ் ஸ்பீக்கர்) உறுப்பினர்—ஓய்வு, வரலாற்று மற்றும் மின்சாரத் துறை

(கௌரவ எம். டி. பண்டா—விவசாய உணவு அமைச்சர்—கௌரவ சி. பி. டி சில்வா—காணி, நீர்ப்பாசன, மின்விசை அமைச்சர் சார்பாக)

(The Hon. M. D. Banda—Minister of Agriculture and Food—on behalf of the Minister of Land, Irrigation and Power)

(a) Yes. (b) Yes. (c) No. However, I am aware that a request was made on 18.7.68 by the M.P. to the Govt. Agent, Colombo, that the unauthorised occupation of Lot 59 by A. D. Alpin be regularised. As Alpin was one who was selected for an allotment at the land kachcheri, his occupation of Lot 59 has since been regularised, although he was originally selected for Lot 69. (d) Does not arise in view of (c). (e) Please see reply to (d).

சீயகோடி மஹா.

(திரு. ஜயக்கொடி)

(Mr. Jayakody)

தே ஓய்வு வசூல் தீர்மானம் கடுமையான கடுமையான ஓய்வு அமைச்சர் உடனடியாக "தேவா" கிணியை பிழிந்து சீரமைத்து உருவாக்க வேண்டும்.

ஸ்ரீ சி. டி. பண்டா

(கௌரவ எம். டி. பண்டா)

(The Hon. M. D. Banda)

மா கிணியை, 59 வது அங்குசம் உடனடியாக ஓய்வு கட்டுரைத் தீர்மானம் கடுமையான கடுமையான ஓய்வு அமைச்சர் உடனடியாக "தேவா" கிணியை பிழிந்து சீரமைத்து உருவாக்க வேண்டும்.

காலி ரோகலம் தீர்மானம்

காலி மருத்துவமனை நீர் வழங்குதிட்டம்.

GALLE HOSPITAL WATER SUPPLY SCHEME

9. ப்ரின்ஸ் குணசேகர மஹா. (ஹாபரதுவ)

(திரு. பி. பி. என். குணசேகர—ஹாபரதுவ)

(Mr. Prins Gunasekera—Habaraduwa)

கொழும்பு அமைச்சர் அங்கு ப்ரின்ஸ் :

(அ) காலி ரோகலம் தீர்மானம் கடுமையான கடுமையான ஓய்வு அமைச்சர் உடனடியாக "தேவா" கிணியை பிழிந்து சீரமைத்து உருவாக்க வேண்டும். (ஆ) தீர்மானம் கடுமையான கடுமையான ஓய்வு அமைச்சர் உடனடியாக "தேவா" கிணியை பிழிந்து சீரமைத்து உருவாக்க வேண்டும். (இ) தீர்மானம் கடுமையான கடுமையான ஓய்வு அமைச்சர் உடனடியாக "தேவா" கிணியை பிழிந்து சீரமைத்து உருவாக்க வேண்டும்.

[பின்னர் ஒன்றரை மணி.]
 கார்ட்டியஸ் தனது அலுவலகத்தில் இருந்து வந்து
 உத்தரவிட்டது? (அ) ரெய்வில் பிச்சிடிக்கிற
 மருந்துகளை சேர்ந்த சேவைகளை கட்டுவது
 அல்லது கையாண்டு கொடுக்கிறதா? (ஆ) அந்தத்
 திட்டம் சம்பந்தமான வேலை எப்பொழுது ஆரம்பிக்கப்பட்ட
 து? (இ) அந்த வேலை தற்பொழுது நிறுத்தப்
 பட்டுள்ளதென்பதை அவர் அறிவாரா?
 (ஈ) மருத்துவமனையின் சுகாதாரத்தைப்
 பேணுவதற்காக இத்திட்டத்தை காலந்
 தாழ்த்தாது முடிந்தபடியில் அல்லது வேறே
 தாவது முறையில் நீரை வழங்க அவர் நட
 வடிக்கைகள் எடுப்பாரா? (உ) ஆமெனில்,
 அந்த நடவடிக்கைகள் யாவை?

asked the Minister of Health: (a) What sum of money has been allotted by the state for the supply of water to the Galle Hospital? (b) When was work on this scheme started? (c) Is he aware that this work is at a standstill now? (d) Will he take steps to complete this water supply scheme without delay or provide the water by some other means so as to ensure adequate standards of sanitation in this Hospital? (e) If so, what are these steps?

**விமலா கன்னங்கர தேவி. (செயல்பாட்டாளியின்
 தலைவரின் உதவியைக் கேட்கும்)**

(திருமதி விமலா கன்னங்கர—சுகாதார அமைச்சரின் பாராளுமன்றக் காரியதரிசி)

(Mrs. Wimala Kannangara—Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Health)

(அ) ரூ. 7,39,500. (ஆ) 1966.3.3. (ஆ) இல்லை. (இ) தனது அலுவலகத்தில் இருந்து வந்து உத்தரவிட்டது? (அ) ரெய்வில் பிச்சிடிக்கிற மருந்துகளை சேர்ந்த சேவைகளை கட்டுவது அல்லது கையாண்டு கொடுக்கிறதா? (ஆ) அந்தத் திட்டம் சம்பந்தமான வேலை எப்பொழுது ஆரம்பிக்கப்பட்ட து? (இ) அந்த வேலை தற்பொழுது நிறுத்தப் பட்டுள்ளதென்பதை அவர் அறிவாரா? (ஈ) மருத்துவமனையின் சுகாதாரத்தைப் பேணுவதற்காக இத்திட்டத்தை காலந்தாழ்த்தாது முடிந்தபடியில் அல்லது வேறே தாவது முறையில் நீரை வழங்க அவர் நடவடிக்கைகள் எடுப்பாரா? (உ) ஆமெனில், அந்த நடவடிக்கைகள் யாவை?

வெறுமையாக இருக்கிறது. அதை
 கார்ட்டியஸ் தனது அலுவலகத்தில் இருந்து
 உத்தரவிட்டது? (அ) ரெய்வில் பிச்சிடிக்கிற
 மருந்துகளை சேர்ந்த சேவைகளை கட்டுவது
 அல்லது கையாண்டு கொடுக்கிறதா? (ஆ) அந்தத்
 திட்டம் சம்பந்தமான வேலை எப்பொழுது ஆரம்பிக்கப்பட்ட
 து? (இ) அந்த வேலை தற்பொழுது நிறுத்தப்
 பட்டுள்ளதென்பதை அவர் அறிவாரா?
 (ஈ) மருத்துவமனையின் சுகாதாரத்தைப்
 பேணுவதற்காக இத்திட்டத்தை காலந்
 தாழ்த்தாது முடிந்தபடியில் அல்லது வேறே
 தாவது முறையில் நீரை வழங்க அவர் நட
 வடிக்கைகள் எடுப்பாரா? (உ) ஆமெனில்,
 அந்த நடவடிக்கைகள் யாவை?

பின்னர் ஒன்றரை மணி.

(திரு. பிறின்பஸ் குணசேக்கரா)

(Mr. Prins Gunasekera)

சுகாதார அமைச்சரைப் பற்றி
 தனது அலுவலகத்தில் இருந்து வந்து
 உத்தரவிட்டது? (அ) ரெய்வில் பிச்சிடிக்கிற
 மருந்துகளை சேர்ந்த சேவைகளை கட்டுவது
 அல்லது கையாண்டு கொடுக்கிறதா? (ஆ) அந்தத்
 திட்டம் சம்பந்தமான வேலை எப்பொழுது ஆரம்பிக்கப்பட்ட
 து? (இ) அந்த வேலை தற்பொழுது நிறுத்தப்
 பட்டுள்ளதென்பதை அவர் அறிவாரா?
 (ஈ) மருத்துவமனையின் சுகாதாரத்தைப்
 பேணுவதற்காக இத்திட்டத்தை காலந்
 தாழ்த்தாது முடிந்தபடியில் அல்லது வேறே
 தாவது முறையில் நீரை வழங்க அவர் நட
 வடிக்கைகள் எடுப்பாரா? (உ) ஆமெனில்,
 அந்த நடவடிக்கைகள் யாவை?

விமலா கன்னங்கர தேவி.

(திருமதி விமலா கன்னங்கர)

(Mrs. Wimala Kannangara)

அந்த அமைச்சரின் பாராளுமன்றக் காரியதரிசி
 தனது அலுவலகத்தில் இருந்து வந்து
 உத்தரவிட்டது? (அ) ரெய்வில் பிச்சிடிக்கிற
 மருந்துகளை சேர்ந்த சேவைகளை கட்டுவது
 அல்லது கையாண்டு கொடுக்கிறதா? (ஆ) அந்தத்
 திட்டம் சம்பந்தமான வேலை எப்பொழுது ஆரம்பிக்கப்பட்ட
 து? (இ) அந்த வேலை தற்பொழுது நிறுத்தப்
 பட்டுள்ளதென்பதை அவர் அறிவாரா?
 (ஈ) மருத்துவமனையின் சுகாதாரத்தைப்
 பேணுவதற்காக இத்திட்டத்தை காலந்
 தாழ்த்தாது முடிந்தபடியில் அல்லது வேறே
 தாவது முறையில் நீரை வழங்க அவர் நட
 வடிக்கைகள் எடுப்பாரா? (உ) ஆமெனில்,
 அந்த நடவடிக்கைகள் யாவை?

பின்னர் ஒன்றரை மணி.

(திரு. பிறின்பஸ் குணசேக்கரா)

(Mr. Prins Gunasekera)

தனது அலுவலகத்தில் இருந்து வந்து
 உத்தரவிட்டது? (அ) ரெய்வில் பிச்சிடிக்கிற
 மருந்துகளை சேர்ந்த சேவைகளை கட்டுவது
 அல்லது கையாண்டு கொடுக்கிறதா? (ஆ) அந்தத்
 திட்டம் சம்பந்தமான வேலை எப்பொழுது ஆரம்பிக்கப்பட்ட
 து? (இ) அந்த வேலை தற்பொழுது நிறுத்தப்
 பட்டுள்ளதென்பதை அவர் அறிவாரா?
 (ஈ) மருத்துவமனையின் சுகாதாரத்தைப்
 பேணுவதற்காக இத்திட்டத்தை காலந்
 தாழ்த்தாது முடிந்தபடியில் அல்லது வேறே
 தாவது முறையில் நீரை வழங்க அவர் நட
 வடிக்கைகள் எடுப்பாரா? (உ) ஆமெனில்,
 அந்த நடவடிக்கைகள் யாவை?

விமலா கன்னங்கர தேவி.

(திருமதி விமலா கன்னங்கர)

(Mrs. Wimala Kannangara)

அந்த அமைச்சரின் பாராளுமன்றக் காரியதரிசி
 தனது அலுவலகத்தில் இருந்து வந்து
 உத்தரவிட்டது? (அ) ரெய்வில் பிச்சிடிக்கிற
 மருந்துகளை சேர்ந்த சேவைகளை கட்டுவது
 அல்லது கையாண்டு கொடுக்கிறதா? (ஆ) அந்தத்
 திட்டம் சம்பந்தமான வேலை எப்பொழுது ஆரம்பிக்கப்பட்ட
 து? (இ) அந்த வேலை தற்பொழுது நிறுத்தப்
 பட்டுள்ளதென்பதை அவர் அறிவாரா?
 (ஈ) மருத்துவமனையின் சுகாதாரத்தைப்
 பேணுவதற்காக இத்திட்டத்தை காலந்
 தாழ்த்தாது முடிந்தபடியில் அல்லது வேறே
 தாவது முறையில் நீரை வழங்க அவர் நட
 வடிக்கைகள் எடுப்பாரா? (உ) ஆமெனில்,
 அந்த நடவடிக்கைகள் யாவை?

වේ වාර්තාව අනුව තව ජැරයක් ඒ කොන්ත්‍රාත්කරුවන්ට එම වැඩස කරන්නටය කියා තිබෙනවා. ඔවුන් එය කර අවසාන කරන්නට භාරගෙන තිබෙනවා.

කථානායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Question No. 12.

ගරු එම්. ඩී. බන්දා

(கௌரவ எம். டி. பண்டா)

(The Hon. M. D. Banda)

I require one month's time to obtain the necessary details to answer this Question.

ප්‍රශ්නය මතු දිනකදී ඉදිරිපත් කිරීමට නියෝග කරන ලදී.

வினாவை மற்றொரு தினத்துக்குச் சமர்ப்பிக்கக் கட்டளையிடப்பட்டது.

Question ordered to stand down.

**මස්කෙලියා ඔය ජල විදුලි යෝජනා ක්‍රමය :
වතු කම්හල් ගලවා අස් කිරීමේ
කොන්ත්‍රාත්තුව**

மஸ்கெலியா ஓயா நீர், மின்சக்தித் திட்டம் :
தொழிற்சாலை இயந்திரங்களைக் கழற்றி அகற்றும்
ஒப்பந்தம்.

**MASKELIYA OYA HYDRO ELECTRICITY
SCHEME : CONTRACT FOR DISMANTLING
AND REMOVAL OF FACTORY MACHINERY**

13. බී. එයි. තුඩාවේ මයා. (මාතර)

(திரு. பி. வை. துடாவ—மாத்தறை)

(Mr. B. Y. Tudawe—Matara)

ඉඩම්, වාරිමාර්ග හා විදුලිබල ඇමති ගෙන් ඇසූ ප්‍රශ්නය : (අ) මස්කෙලියා ඔය වේල්ල හා ජල විදුලි යෝජනා ක්‍රමය ක්‍රියාත්මක කිරීම නිසා වතුයායන්හි කම්හල් කීයක් ගලවා අස්කරන්නට සිදු වීද? (ආ) මේ කම්හල් මොනවාද? ඒවා යේ වටිනාකම කොපමණද? (ඉ) රාජ්‍ය වැවිලි සංස්ථාවේ පාලනය යටතේ ඒවා යළි සවි කරනු ලැබුවේ කොතැන්හිද? (ඊ) මෙම කම්හල්වල යන්ත්‍රෝපකරණ ගලවීමට සිදුවූ වියදම කොපමණද? (උ)

ඒ පිළිබඳ කොන්ත්‍රාත්තුවට බඳුනේ කව රෙකිද? (ඌ) මෙම යන්ත්‍රෝපකරණ කොළඹට ගෙන ඒම සඳහා ප්‍රවාහණ ගාස්තු වශයෙන් කොපමණ මුදලක් වැය වීද? (එ) මෙම ප්‍රවාහණ කොන්ත්‍රාත්තුව දෙන ලද්දේ ටැන්ඩර් පත්‍ර කැඳවීමෙන්ද? (ඒ) නොඑසේ නම්, ඒ මන්ද?

காணி, நீர்ப்பாசன, மின்விசை அமைச்சரைக் கேட்ட வினா : (அ) மஸ்கெலியா ஓயா அணைக் கட்டுத் திட்டத்தையும், நீர், மின்சக்தித் திட்டத்தையும் நடைமுறைப்படுத்துவதால் தோட்டங்களிலிருந்து எத்தனை தொழிற்சாலைகளைக் கழற்றி அகற்றப்பட்டன? (ஆ) இத் தொழிற்சாலைகள் யாவை; அவற்றின் பெறு மதி எவ்வளவு? (இ) அரசாங்கப் பயிர்ச் செய்கைக் கூட்டுத்தாபன நிர்வாகத்தின் கீழ், அவை மீண்டும் எங்கே பொருத்தப்பட்டுள்ளன? (ஈ) இத் தொழிற்சாலைகளிலிருந்த இயந்திரங்களைக் கழற்ற எவ்வளவு செலவாயிற்று? (உ) இதில் சம்பந்தப்பட்ட ஒப்பந்தக்காரர் யார்? (ஊ) இவ்வியந்திரங்களைக் கொழும்புக்குக் கொண்டுவர எவ்வளவு செலவாயிற்று? (எ) இப் போக்குவரத்துக் குத்தகை ஒப்பந்தம் கோரியா வழங்கப்பட்டது? (ஏ) அன்றேல், ஏன்?

asked the Minister of Land, Irrigation and Power: (a) How many factories on the estates have had to be dismantled and removed consequent on the implementation of the Maskeliya Oya Hydro Electricity Scheme? (b) What are the factories concerned and what are their values? (c) Where were these factories re-installed under the administration of the State Plantations Corporation? (d) What was the cost of dismantling the machinery in these factories? (e) Who entered into a contract for this purpose? (f) What was the cost of transporting this machinery to Colombo? (g) Was this transport contract awarded on the basis of tenders called? (h) If not, why?

சுரு. சி. பி. லண்டா (ஓய்வூதிய, வாரியகம்
உள்ளிட்ட அமைச்சர் அலுவலகம்)

(கௌரவ எம். டி. பண்டா—கௌரவ சி. பி.
டி சில்வா—காணி, நீர்ப்பாசன, மின்விசை
அமைச்சர் சார்பாக)

(The Hon. M. D. Banda—on behalf of
Minister of Land, Irrigation and Power)

(a) Six Factories.

	Rs.
(b) 1. Laxapana Tea Factory ..	175,000
2. Forres Tea Factory ..	100,600
3. Bunyan Tea Factory ..	100,000
4. Kintyre Tea Factory ..	35,900
5. Mocha Tea Factory ..	111,111
6. Rickarton Tea Factory	67,308

The first four factories were disman-
taled by the State Plantations Cor-
poration and the other two were sold
to private parties on tender by the
Department of Government Electrical
Undertakings.

(c) The steel structure and machi-
nery etc., that can be used of the four
factories dismantled by the State
Plantations Corporation will be ins-
talled at Habarakada and Sama-
nalawatta state plantations. (d)
Rs. 79,387 for machinery Rs. 8,000 for
sprinklers and Rs. 82,800 for struc-
tures totalling Rs. 170,187. (e) Messrs.
Walkers Sons & Co. Ltd., Colombo.
(f) Rs. 108,131.30 for transporting to
Colombo, Pelawatte and several other
plantations. (g) Quotations were
called for from the 3 main engineer-
ing firms handling the construction of
tea factories i.e. Messrs Walkers Sons
& Co. Ltd., Engineering Services Ltd,
and Colombo Commercial Co. Ltd. As
their quotations were excessive,
arrangements were made for the
C. W. E. to do transport. After some
time, the C. W. E. vehicles broke
down and they were unable to pro-
ceed with the transport. Three private
lorries were hired at the same rate as
the C. W. E. to complete this urgent
job. Heavy machinery which required
special lorries was entrusted to
Messrs Walker Sons & Co. Ltd. after
calling for quotations as described in
the first part of this reply (g). (h)
Does not arise.

லண்டா ருச்சு வாரியகம் : வயசு அபிவிருத்தி
60 வும் வரிக் கைக்கண்

இலங்கை அரசாங்கப் பயிற்செய்கைக் கூட்டுத்தா
பனம் : 60 வயதுக்கு மேற்பட்ட ஊழியர்.

STATE PLANTATIONS CORPORATION :
EMPLOYEES OVER 60 YEARS OF AGE

14. துடாவே மெ.

(திரு. துடாவ)

(Mr. Tudawe)

ஓய்வூதிய, வாரியகம் உள்ளிட்ட அமைச்சர்
அலுவலகம் : (அ) லண்டா ருச்சு வாரியகம்
சம்பளாவே கைக்கண் கெட்டு கிடுகிடு
அதர் வயசு அபிவிருத்தி 60 வும் வரிக் வு அசு கி
கெடுகை கிடுகிடு? (ஆ) கெடுகை கிடுகிடு கிடுகிடு
கிடுகிடு கிடுகிடு கிடுகிடு? (இ) கைக்கண்
கைக்கண் கிடுகிடு கிடுகிடு கிடுகிடு கிடுகிடு
கிடுகிடு கிடுகிடு கிடுகிடு கிடுகிடு கிடுகிடு
கிடுகிடு கிடுகிடு கிடுகிடு கிடுகிடு கிடுகிடு
கிடுகிடு கிடுகிடு கிடுகிடு கிடுகிடு கிடுகிடு
கிடுகிடு கிடுகிடு கிடுகிடு கிடுகிடு கிடுகிடு

காணி, நீர்ப்பாசன, மின்விசை அமைச்சரைக்
கேட்ட வினா : (அ) இலங்கை அரசாங்கப்
பயிற்செய்கைக் கூட்டுத்தாபனத்தில்
சேவை செய்பவர்களில் 60 வயதுக்கு மேற்
பட்டோர் எத்தனை பேருளர்? (ஆ) அவர்க
ளின் பெயர்களும் முகவரிகளும் யாவை?
(இ) இவ்வூழியர்களை இளைப்பாற்றி விட்டு
அவ்வெற்றிடங்களைப் புதிய ஊழியர்களைக்
கொண்டு நிரப்ப அவர் உடன்படுகிறாரா? (ஈ)
அன்றேல், ஏன்?

asked the Minister of Land, Irriga-
tion and Power: (a) How many
employees of the State Plantations
Corporation are over 60 years of
age? (b) What are their names and
addresses? (c) Will he undertake
to retire these persons and make
new appointments? (d) If not,
why?

சுரு. சி. பி. லண்டா (ஓய்வூதிய, வாரியகம்
உள்ளிட்ட அமைச்சர் அலுவலகம்)

(கௌரவ எம். டி. பண்டா—காணி, நீர்ப்
பாசன, மின்விசை அமைச்சர் சார்பாக)

(The Hon. M. D. Banda—on behalf of
the Minister of Land, Irrigation and
Power)

(a) Three; (b) (i) Mr. S. Nama-
sivayam, Accountant, Head Office of
the Corporation, Colombo. (ii) Mr. G.

போக்குவரத்து அமைச்சரைக் கேட்ட வினா :
 (அ) பொதுச் சேவை ஆணைக்குழுவின ஆணையின் பேரில் இலங்கைப் புகையிரதத் திணைக்களத்தைச் சேர்ந்த 6 கனிட்ட மேற்பார்வையாளரைப் பற்றி ஒழுங்கு விசாரணைகள் நடத்தப்பட்டதையும் அவற்றின் தீர்ப்புகள் கொடுக்கப்படவில்லை யென்பதையும் அறிவாரா? (ஆ) 4 கனிட்ட மேற்பார்வையாளர் பேரில் விதித்த தண்டனைகளை அமுல் நடத்தாது ஒழுங்கு விசாரணைகளை நடத்துமாறு பொதுச் சேவை ஆணைக்குழு புகையிரதத் திணைக்களத்தை ஆணையிட்டதை அறிவாரா?
 (இ) புகையிரத பொது முகாமையாளர் இவ்வாணைக்கு இணங்காது அதற்கெதிராக முறைப்பாடு செய்திருப்பதை அறிவாரா?
 (ஈ) நடத்தப்பட்ட ஒழுங்கு விசாரணையில் சம்பந்தப்பட்டவர்களினதும் விதிக்கப்பட்ட தண்டனை நடைமுறையாக்கப்படாது விசாரணை வைக்குமாறு ஆணையிடப்பட்டதற்கு சம்பந்தப்பட்டவர்களினதும் விடயங்களில் முடிபு காணாதிருக்கையில், திரு. வை. ஜே. எஸ். பெர்னாந்தோ (பதவியினர், எண் 12308) பேரில் முறையான விசாரணையின்றி விதிக்கப்பட்ட தண்டனையை இரத்து செய்து பதிலாக ஒரு வாரத்து சம்பளம் அபராதமாக விதிக்கப்பட்டு கனிட்ட மேற்பார்வையாளர் பதவியில் அவர் அமர்த்தப்பட்டதை அறிவாரா? (உ) ஒரே விடயத்தில் வெவ்வேறான ஆணைகளை வெவ்வேறு நேரங்களில் கொடுத்ததன் காரணம் யாது? (ஊ) பொது ஆணைக்குழுவின ஆணைகளுக்கு மாறாக நடந்த புகையிரதத் திணைக்களத்து உத்தியோகத்தர்களை தண்டிப்பதற்கு நடவடிக்கை எடுப்பாரா?

asked the Minister of Communications: (a) Is he aware that disciplinary inquiries have been held in regard to 6 minor supervisors of the Ceylon Government Railway, on the orders of the Public Service Commission and that the decisions thereof have not been given? (b) Is he aware that the P.S.C. ordered the Railway Department to withhold the penalties im-

posed on 4 minor supervisors and to hold disciplinary inquiries? (c) Is he aware that the General Manager of Railways instead of following these instructions has made representations to the P.S.C. against its orders? (d) Is he aware that while matters relating to the employees in respect of whom disciplinary inquiries have been held and matters relating to the employees in respect of whom penalties have been ordered to be withheld, remain unsettled, the penalty imposed on Mr. Y. J. L. Fernando (Staff No. 12308) without duly holding an inquiry, has been withdrawn and that he has been placed in the post of minor supervisor, his penalty having been reduced to a fine of one week's pay? (e) What are the reasons for giving different orders at different times in regard to one and the same question? (f) Will he take action to punish those officers of the Railway Department who acted contrary to the orders of the P. S. C. ?

ஸ் ஹுரூல்லை

(கௌரவ ஹுரூல்லை)

(The Hon. Hurulle)

(a) No. (b) Yes. (c) The G. M. R. sought for clarification on certain issues. (d) It is correct that the penalty imposed on Mr. Y. J. L. Fernando (Staff No. 12308) has been withdrawn and that he has been placed in the post of minor supervisor with the penalty reduced to a fine of one week's pay. In respect of the others the P. S. C. has given similar orders and these have since been executed. (e) Similar punishments were imposed in all cases, but the P. S. C. first varied the order in respect of one case and later extended the ruling to the others. (f) Does not arise.

டாக்டர் என். எம். பெரேரா

(கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

(Dr. N. M. Perera)

I wish to raise this matter at the Committee Stage of the Appropriation Bill. Therefore, I shall not ask any supplementary questions now.

ல. டி. டி. உட நகனமீ கர்ன டே டி
பரிபாடகலர்: நுலந ஸேவஸப லடல
ஸநிம

இ. டி. தி. சேவை இடைநிறுத்தம் செய்யப்பட்ட
உப மேற்பார்வையாளர்.

INTERDICTED MINOR SUPERVISORS, C.G.R. :
REINSTATEMENT

6. ஸாலர்ஸ லன். லி. பரேரா

(கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

(Dr. N. M. Perera)

புலகந ஸுமநிஸை ஸுபு பூஸ்தய:
(அ) 66.1.8 லெநி டிந ஸுகென்ல லுல லர்ச
நய ஸேநுகுஸெபஸை ஸேவஸ நகனமீ
கல டி. டி. ஸேவஸே பூ. ஸ. ஓஸீஸேர்
டேபாஸீஸேந்நுவே லாந்நிய ஸமீநி நிடல
ரீந் ஸா நியோகிதஸிந் ஸநரேந், (ஸேவ
ஸைந் பககல லன் நிடலரீஸைகூ ஸர்)
லன் ஸமீநி நியோகிதஸைகூ ஸா ஸாமநாஸ
ஸலாஸீகஸிந் நிடேஸைகூ ஸே டகல் லா ஸேவ
ஸப கலடலா நுநி லல ல்நுலா டகல்
(ஸ) ஸேலா நகனமீ கல ஸேவகஸிந்
நுலந ஸேவஸைகி பிஸிபுலா விநய பரீக்
ஸன் பலந்லந லேஸ ரு. ஸே. கஸ.
ஸஸல, ஸக பி.கி. 115/66 ஸா 67.4.16 டக
லிந் டுமீரீஸ டேபாஸீஸேந்நுவ லெந
நியோகஸக் நிகுந் கல லல ல்நுலா டகல்
நேட? (ஓ) (அ) ஸபநே ஸடகந் கர்
ஸுநி ஸேவஸப நுஸகலடலந டே ஸேவக
கிந் கிவி டேந ஸர் பூ.ஸ.ஓ. டேபாஸீஸேந்
நுவே லாந்நிய ஸமீநிபல பூலகந நிடலரீந்
ஸா நியோகிதஸிந் கிஸலடேஸாம 1967.4.19
லுநி டிந ஸேலா நகனமீ ஓலந் கர்லிந்
நுலந ஸேவஸப கலடல லல ல்நுலா டகல்
நேட? (ஓ) லகம லேடகலலக் ஸபநே
ஸேவஸ நகனமீ கர்ன டே கிஸலம
லாந்நிய ஸமீநி நிடலரீந் நுலந ஸேவ
ஸப கலடலா லுபிந்ஸே விநய பரீக்ஸன்
பலந்லந ஸநர், ரந்லலகந டுமீரீஸ
கலகர் ஸமீநிஸே நியோகிதஸைகூ லந
ஸேலா ஸக 60301 டகந ஸுந். லி. நல
ரந்ந மகநா பமஸக், ஸேலா நகனம
ஓலந் கர் ஸே டகல் லா ஸேவஸப நுஸகல
லப ஸேநு கலலடேட?

புலகநுலாந்நு அஸைஸ்கராக் கேட்ட விஸு:

(அ) 1966 ஆம் ஆண்டு ஜனவரி மீ 8 ஆந்
டேதி அடையாள வேலை நிறுத்தம் சம்பந்ந
மாக சேவையிலிருந்து இடைநிறுத்தஞ் செய்
யப்பட்ட இ. டி. திணைக்களத்தின் இ. எ. பொநி

யியந் பகுதியைச் சேர்ந்ந டுலாழிந் சங்க உத்
தியுலகத்தர்களுள், ஓரு டுலாழிந் சங்கப்
பிரதிநிதியும், ஸுந்நு சாதாரண உறுப்பினர்
களும் (சேவையிலிருந்து நீக்கப்பட்ட ஓர்
உத்தியுலகத்தர் நீங்கலாக) இதுவரை
சேவையில் அமர்த்தப்படவில்லை என்பதை
அறிவாரா? (ஆ) சேவையிலிருந்து இடை
நிறுத்தஞ் செய்யப்பட்ட ஊழியர்களை மீண்
டும் சேவையிலமர்த்தி ஓழுக்காற்று விசா
ரணை நடத்துமாறு அ. சே. ஆணைக்குழு, இல.
பி. சி. 115/66 உம், 16.4.66 ஆந் டேதி அனுப்
பிய கடிதத்தின் மூலம் புகையிரதத் திணைக்
களத்திற்குக் கட்டளை விடுத்துள்ள டெந்
பதை அவர் அறிவாரா? (இ) “அ” பிரிவின்
கீழ் சூறிப்பிடப்பட்ட சேவையிலமர்த்தப்
படாத நான்கு ஊழியர் தலிர, இ. எ. பொநி
யியந் பகுதியின் டுலாழிந் சங்கத்தின் சகல
முக்கிய உத்தியுலகத்தர்களும், பிரதிநிதி
களும் 19.4.1967 அந்நு, சேவை இடை
நிறுத்தம் அகற்றப்பட்டு சேவைக்கு அழைக்
கப்பட்டார்கள் என்பதை அறிவாரா? (ஈ)
ஓரே குற்றச்சாட்டின் கீழ் சேவையிலிருந்து
இடைநிறுத்தஞ் செய்யப்பட்ட சகல
டுலாழிந் சங்க உத்தியுலகத்தர்களையும்
சேவையிலமர்த்தி, அவர்கள் மீது ஓழுக்
காற்று விசாரணை நடத்தும் பொழுது, இரத்
மலாணை புகையிரதத் டுலாழிலாளர் சங்கத்
தின் பிரதிநிதியான 60301 ஆம் இலக்கத்தை
யுடைய திரு. என். பி. நலரத்ந மாத்திரம்
சேவையில் இதுவரை அமர்த்தப்படாமலிருப்
பதற்குக் காரணம் யாது?

asked the Minister of Communica-
tions: (a) Is he aware that, of those
trade union officials and union repre-
sentatives in the C.M.E.'s Department
of the C. G. R. who were interdicted
in connection with the token strike
of 8.1.66, one union representative
and three ordinary members (with
the exception of one union official
who has been dismissed) have not
been re-instated up to date? (b) Is
he aware that the P. S. C. by an
order bearing No. P. C. 115/66 of
16.4.67 directed the Railway Depart-
ment to re-instate the interdicted
employees and to hold disciplinary
inquiries? (c) Is he aware that the
interdictions of all the principal
officials and representatives of trade
unions in the C.M.E's Department

(with the exception of the four persons referred to in (a) who have not been re-instated) were withdrawn and that they were recalled for service with effect from 19.4.67 ? (d) While all the trade union officials who were interdicted on one common charge have now been re-instated and disciplinary inquiries are being held, why is it that only Mr. N. B. Navaratne, Staff No. 60301, who is a representative of the Ratmalana Railway Workers Union, has not been re-instated ?

හරු හුරුල්ලේ
(கௌரவ ஹுரூல்ல)
(The Hon. Hurulle)

(a) The P. S. C. has since ordered that three of the individuals referred to should be re-instated. Action to comply with this order has been taken. (b) The P. S. C. order referred to was a general ruling covering employees interdicted in respect of the strike on 8.1.66. The individuals referred to in question (a) were also however involved in cases of assault or attempted assault and were retained under interdiction pending a decision in the court cases and a P. S. C. ruling. (c) Yes. (d) Mr. N. B. Navaratne has since been re-instated.

කපානයකතුමා
(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)
(Mr. Speaker)
Question No. 7.

ජයසුරිය මයා.
(திரு. ஜயசூரிய)
(Mr. Jayasuriya)

I want two week's time to answer this Question.

ප්‍රශ්නය මතු දිනකදී ඉදිරිපත් කිරීමට නියෝග කරන ලදී.

வினாவை மற்றொரு தினத்துக்குச் சமர்ப்பிக்கக் கட்டளையிடப்பட்டது.

Question ordered to stand down.

මිය ගිය එම්. ඩී. රත්නතිලක මහතාගේ රක්ෂණ සහතිකයට ගෙවිය යුතු මුදල

திரு. எம். வீ. ரத்தனதிலக, காலஞ்சென்றவர் :
• காப்புறுதிப்பத்திர கொடுமதி.

MR. M. V. RATNATILAKE, DECEASED :
PAYMENT DUE ON INSURANCE POLICY

10. එම්. පී. ද සොයිසා සිරිවර්ධන මයා.
(මිනුවන්ගොඩ—ටී. බී. එම්. හේරත් මයා.
—වලපනේ—වෙනුවට)

(திரு. எம். பி. டி. சொய்சா சிறிவர்தன—
மினுவாங்கொட—திரு. டி. பி. எம். ஹேரத்—
வலப்பனை—சார்பாக)

(Mr. M. P. de Zoysa Siriwardena—
Minuwangoda—on behalf of Mr. T. B. M
Herath—Walapane)

වෘණිජ හා වෙළඳ ඇමතිගෙන් ඇසූ ප්‍රශ්නය : (අ) මාලිබොඩ විද්‍යානේලාගේ රත්නතිලක නම් අයට අංක 167131 දරන ජීවිත රක්ෂණ සහතිකය නිකුත් කර ඇති බව එතුමා දන් නවාද? (ආ) එම සහතිකය හිමි රත්නතිලක නම් අය 1967 වර්ෂයේ දී හදිසි අනතුරකින් මිය ගිය අතර, එම අනතුරින්ම ගුරුවරියක් වූ ශ්‍රියාවතී නමැති ඔහුගේ හාඊයාවන් දරුවනුත් මියගිය බව එතුමා දන් නවාද? (ඉ) රත්නතිලකගේ හාඊයාවන් දරුවනුත් මිය යෑම නිසා ඔහුගේ රක්ෂණ සහතිකයට ගෙවිය යුතු මුදල ඔහුගේ කීට්ටුම ජීවත්ව සිටින නැයා වශයෙන් ඔහුගේ පියාට ලබා ගැනීමට අයිතිය තිබෙන බව එතුමා දන් නවාද? (ඊ) මේ අනුව රත්නතිලකගේ පියාවන් මාලිබොඩ විද්‍යානේලාගේ මුදලිහාමි, සිය පුත්‍රයාගේ රක්ෂණ සහතිකය සඳහා ගෙවිය යුතු මුදල ගෙවන ලෙස ඉල්ලමින් අවශ්‍ය සහතික සමග ශ්‍රී ලංකා රක්ෂණ සංස්ථාවට ඉල්ලුම් කළ බව එතුමා දන් නවාද? (උ) එහෙත් මේ දක්වා මේ මුදල් ඔහුට නොගෙවීමට හේතු මොනවාද? (ඌ) අප්‍රමාදව එම මුදල් ඔහුට ගෙවීමට එතුමා ක්‍රියා කරනවාද? (එ) නොඑසේ නම්, ඒ මන්ද?

வர்த்தக, வியாபார அமைச்சரைக் கேட்ட வினா : (அ) மாலிபொட விதானலாகே ரத்தன திலக என்பவருக்கு 167131 இலக்க முடைய ஆயுள் காப்புறுதிப் பத்திரம் கொடுக்கப்பட்டிருந்ததை அவர் அறிவாரா? (ஆ) அக்காப்புறுதிப் பத்திரத்தின் உரிமையாளரான ரத்தன திலக்கவும் அவர் மனைவியான ஆசிரியை சிறி யாவதியும் அவருடைய குழந்தைகளும்

[உரைப்பது பற்றிய வினாக்கள்.]

தொன்றில் மாண்டனர் என்பதை அவர் அறிவாரா? (இ) ரத்தினத்திலக்கவின் மனைவியும் குழந்தைகளும் இறந்துபோன படியால் காப்புறுதிப் பணத்துக்கு அவரின் நெருங்கிய உறவினரான தந்தை உரிமையாளர் என்பதை அவர் அறிவாரா? (ஈ) இந்த அடிப்படையில் ரத்தினத்திலக்கவின் தந்தையான மாலை பொட விதானலாகே முதலிறாமி, தனது மகனின் காப்புறுதிப் பணத்தைக் கோரி தேவையான அத்தாட்சிப் பத்திரங்களுடன் ஸ்ரீலங்கா காப்புறுதி கூட்டுத்தாபனத்திடம் விண்ணப்பித்ததை அவர் அறிவாரா? (உ) எனினும் இதுவரை அப்பணத்தை அவருக்குச் செலுத்தாமலிருப்பதற்குக் காரணம் என்ன? (ஊ) தாமதமின்றி உடனே அப்பணத்தை அவருக்கு வழங்க நடவடிக்கை எடுப்பாரா? (எ) அன்றேல் ஏன்?

asked the Minister of Commerce and Trade: (a) Is he aware that life insurance policy No. 167131 has been issued in respect of Mr. Malimboda Vidanelage Ratnatilake? (b) Is he aware that Mr. Ratnatilake, the holder of this policy, his wife Sriyawathie, who was a teacher, and their children died as a result of an accident in 1967? (c) Is he aware that consequent on the death of Mr. Ratnatilake's wife and children, his father as next of kin is entitled to the sum insured for? (d) Is he aware that accordingly Mr. Malimboda Vidanelage Mudalihamy, the father of Mr. Ratnatilake, applied to the Sri Lanka Insurance Corporation claiming the sum insured for and that he has duly submitted the necessary documents in support of his claim? (e) Why has this money not been paid to him up to date? (f) Will he take steps to pay this money without delay? (g) If not, why?

சென்னைப் பி. சி. வெட்டி
அறிவு

(கெள்ரவ ஹியூ பெர்னாண்டோ—வர்த்தக, வியாபார அமைச்சர்)

(The Hon. Hugh Fernando—Minister of Commerce and Trade)

(ஈ) மானிடவியல் விஞ்ஞானியின் உதவியுடன்

தரண சீவின ரக்ஷண சபாநாயகர் நினைவு
கர ஈவ. (ஈ) இலி. (ஊ) இலி. (ஈ) இலி.
உதவியுடன் கிழக்கு ஓலி சிபிள்லா விசின்
ஓடிபின் கரந லே லீபின்ல சபாநாயகர்
யே ரக்ஷணியுடன் நமே வெணசன் ஈவ.
(உ) ஓலி ஈவ் டிபிள்லி பென்சம்
மேனென் ஓடிபின் கர நயி நிசு. (உ)
இலி. கிழக்கு ஓலிபின்ல விசின் டிபிள்லி
பென்சம் ஓடிபின் கர வெணம. (உ) (உ)
புன்சம் டி ஈவ் சிபிள்லி நிசு ஈவ நொ
நலி. கெசே ஈவ் உலி ஓலி ஈவ் டி
கிபிள்லி யோடி நினை.

சபாநாயகர்

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Question No. 11.

சீலாநாயகர்

(திரு. ஜயசூரிய)

(Mr. Jayasuriya)

I want two week's time to answer this Question.

சீலாநாயகர்

(திரு. டி. சோய்லா சிறிவர்தன)

(Mr. de Zoysa Sirewardena)

சீலாநாயகர் நினைவு
கர ஈவ. (ஈ) இலி. (ஊ) இலி. (ஈ) இலி.
உதவியுடன் கிழக்கு ஓலி சிபிள்லா விசின்
ஓடிபின் கரந லே லீபின்ல சபாநாயகர்
யே ரக்ஷணியுடன் நமே வெணசன் ஈவ.
(உ) ஓலி ஈவ் டிபிள்லி பென்சம்
மேனென் ஓடிபின் கர நயி நிசு. (உ)
இலி. கிழக்கு ஓலிபின்ல விசின் டிபிள்லி
பென்சம் ஓடிபின் கர வெணம. (உ) (உ)
புன்சம் டி ஈவ் சிபிள்லி நிசு ஈவ நொ
நலி. கெசே ஈவ் உலி ஓலி ஈவ் டி
கிபிள்லி யோடி நினை.

சீலாநாயகர்

(திரு. ஜயசூரிய)

(Mr. Jayasuriya)

சீலாநாயகர் நினைவு
கர ஈவ. (ஈ) இலி. (ஊ) இலி. (ஈ) இலி.
உதவியுடன் கிழக்கு ஓலி சிபிள்லா விசின்
ஓடிபின் கரந லே லீபின்ல சபாநாயகர்
யே ரக்ஷணியுடன் நமே வெணசன் ஈவ.
(உ) ஓலி ஈவ் டிபிள்லி பென்சம்
மேனென் ஓடிபின் கர நயி நிசு. (உ)
இலி. கிழக்கு ஓலிபின்ல விசின் டிபிள்லி
பென்சம் ஓடிபின் கர வெணம. (உ) (உ)
புன்சம் டி ஈவ் சிபிள்லி நிசு ஈவ நொ
நலி. கெசே ஈவ் உலி ஓலி ஈவ் டி
கிபிள்லி யோடி நினை.

சீலாநாயகர்

(சீலாநாயகர்)

(திருமதி சிறிமாவோ ஆர். டி. பண்டார
நாயக்க—அத்தனகல்ல)

(Mrs. Sirimavo R. D. Bandaranaike—
Attanagalla)

சீலாநாயகர் நினைவு

சீலாநாயகர் நினைவு
கர ஈவ. (ஈ) இலி. (ஊ) இலி. (ஈ) இலி.
உதவியுடன் கிழக்கு ஓலி சிபிள்லா விசின்
ஓடிபின் கரந லே லீபின்ல சபாநாயகர்
யே ரக்ஷணியுடன் நமே வெணசன் ஈவ.
(உ) ஓலி ஈவ் டிபிள்லி பென்சம்
மேனென் ஓடிபின் கர நயி நிசு. (உ)
இலி. கிழக்கு ஓலிபின்ல விசின் டிபிள்லி
பென்சம் ஓடிபின் கர வெணம. (உ) (உ)
புன்சம் டி ஈவ் சிபிள்லி நிசு ஈவ நொ
நலி. கெசே ஈவ் உலி ஓலி ஈவ் டி
கிபிள்லி யோடி நினை.

வினாவை மற்றொரு தினத்துக்குச் சமர்ப்பிக்கக்
கட்டளையிடப்பட்டது.

විසර්ජන පතත් කෙටුම්පත, 1968-69

ඉතුරුකිටු මසොතා, 1968-69

APPROPRIATION BILL, 1968-69

කාරක සභාවෙහිදී සලකා බලන ලදී.—
[ප්‍රගතිය අගෝස්තු 27]

[කථානායකතුමා මූලාසනාරූප විය.]

குழுவில் ஆராயப்பெற்றது—[தேர்ச்சி 27, ஓகஸ்ட்]

[கௌரவ சபாநாயகர் தலைமைதாங்கினார்].

Considered in Committee—[progress
27th August].

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair.]

14 වන ශීර්ෂය.—රාජ්‍යාරක්ෂක හා විදේශ කටයුතු පිළිබඳ අමාත්‍යවරයා

1 වන සම්මතය:—කාර්ය මණ්ඩල පොද්ගලික
පහිතවි සහ අනිකුත් දීමනා, රු. 4,60,87,258

14 ஆம் தலைப்பு.—பாதுகாப்பு, வெளிநாட்
டலுவல்கள் அமைச்சர்

வாக்குப்பணம், இல. 1—பணியாளரின் ஆளுக்கூரிய
வேதனமும் பிற படிகளும், ரூ. 46,087,258.

HEAD 14.—MINISTER OF DEFENCE AND EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Vote No. 1.—Personal emoluments and
other allowances of staff, Rs. 46,087,258

ඉදිරිපත් කරන ලද සංශෝධනය—[අගෝස්තු
27.]

“වැය සම්මතය රු. 10 කින් අඩු කළ යුතුය.”—
[බර්නාඩ් සොයිසා මයා.]

பிரேரிக்கப்பட்ட திருத்தம்—[ஓகஸ்ட் 27].

“வாக்குப் பணத்தில் ரூபா 10 குறைக்கப்படு
மாக”—[திரு. பேண்ட் சொய்சா].

Amendment moved—[27th August].

“That the vote be reduced by Rs. 10.”—
[Mr. Bernard Soysa].

ප්‍රශ්නය යළිත් සහතිමුඛ කරන ලදී.

வினா மீண்டும் எடுத்தியம்பப்பெற்றது.

Question again proposed.

පූ. හා. 10.15

ගරු එන්. එච්. ඒ. එම්. කරුණාරත්න
(සමාජ සේවා ඇමති)

(கௌரவ என். எச். ஏ. எம். கருணாரத்ன
—சமூக சேவை அமைச்சர்)

(The Hon. N. H. A. M. Karunaratne—
Minister of Social Services)

ගරු සභාපතිතුමනි, මේ සාකච්ඡාවට
සම්බන්ධ වී මගේ අදහස් ප්‍රකාශ කරන්නට
මා ඊයේ බලාපොරොත්තුවෙන් සිටි
යත් වෙනත් වැඩකටයුතු රාශියකට සහ
හාගි වන්නට තිබුණු නිසා මට එය ඊයේ
කරන්නට බැරි වුණා. දැන් මා මගේ අද
හස් ඉදිරිපත් කරන්නටයි, බලාපො
රොත්තු වන්නේ.

ගරු සභාපතිතුමනි, පළාත් පාලන කට
යුතු පිළිබඳ ගරු පාර්ලිමේන්තු ලේකම්
තුමාගේ කථාවෙන් පසු විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්ව
යේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීවරුන්ට කියන්නට උත්
තරයක් තිබෙනවා නම් පුදුමයි. එහෙත්
ඒ පාර්ලිමේන්තු ලේකම්තුමා කීවාක්
මෙන්, මොන දේ කීවත් තමුන්තාත්සේ
ලාව මොකක් හෝ උත්තරයක් දෙන්න
ට පුළුවන්කම තිබෙනවා. තීනිඤයන් වශ
යෙන් හෝ වේවා, දේශපාලන වශයෙන්
හෝ වේවා, ලාංකාවේ බොරු කියන්නට
සමර්ථයන් පිරිසක් සිටිනොත් ඒ භාග්‍යය
හෝ සම්මානය විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ
බොහෝ දෙනකුට ලැබී තිබෙන බව මා
ප්‍රකාශ කරන්නට කැමතියි.

අද අප මේ සාකච්ඡා කරන්නේ ආරක්ෂක
හා විදේශ කටයුතු පිළිබඳ අමාත්‍යාං
ශයේ වැය ශීර්ෂය ගැනයි. මේ අවස්ථාවේදී
විදේශ ප්‍රතිපත්තිය පිළිබඳ කථා කිරීම සිරි
තක්. විදේශ ප්‍රතිපත්තිය ගැන කථා කරන
විට අද වෙකොස්ලොවේකියාවට මුහුණ
පාන්නට සිදු වී තිබෙන දේ ගැනත් අපට
සදහන් කරන්නට සිදු වෙනවා. විරුද්ධ
පාර්ශ්වයේ උදවිය මිනිස් නිදහස උදෙසා
බොහොම වේගවත්ව කැකොස්සන් ගස
නවා; බේරිහන් දෙනවා. මෙම ගරු සභා
වේදී පමණක් නොව, පිටත ඇති මහජන
වේදිකාවලදීත් කැගසනවා. ධනපතිවාදයට
පැහි සිටින අයවලුන්ට නිදහස දිය යුතු
බවයි ඒ අය කියන්නේ. ඔය මිනිස් නිද
හස ගැන කථා කරන උදවිය මේ වෙකොස්
ලොවේකියා ප්‍රශ්නය සම්බන්ධයෙන් කො

[ගරු එන්. එච්. ඒ. එම්. කරුණාරත්න]
 තරම් දුරට උත්තර දෙන්නට යනවාද? අපට දැනගන්නට තිබෙන අන්දමට කොමියුනිස්ට් පක්ෂය මේ ප්‍රශ්නයේදී නිහඬයි. ඒ පක්ෂය එසේ කරන්නේ තමන්ගේ දේශපාලන ප්‍රතිපත්තිය උඩයි ඒ ප්‍රතිපත්තිය අපට පිළිගන්නට පුළුවන් කමක් නැති වුණත් ඒ උදවිය අවංකව යම්කිසි දේශපාලන ධර්මයක් අදහනවා නම් අප ඒ ගැන ප්‍රශංසා කරනවා. එකකුගේ මාංශය තව එකකුට වස වෙනවා. ඒ වාගේ කොමියුනිස්ට් පක්ෂයේ දේශපාලන න්‍යාය ධර්මය අපේ ගරු අගමැතිතුමාට හෝ අපට හෝ ප්‍රශංසනීය නොවෙයි. එහෙත් ඒ ගොල්ලන්ට ඒක හොදයි. ඒ වාගේම ලෝකයේ තවත් කොටසක් ඒක පිළිගන්නට ලැස්තියි. දේශපාලන වශයෙන් අපේ අදහස් වූවන් වෙනවා. අප නම් ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදය ගරු කරන අයයි. මේ අවස්ථාවේදී විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ ගරු නායකතුමිය සභා ශාලාව තුළ නැවති සිටිනවා නම් මා කැමතියි.

ද හොයිසා සිරිවර්ධන මයා.

(කීරු. ඩු. ශෝචාරා සිරිවර්ධන)
 (Mr. de Zoysa Siriwardena)
 එතුමිය ඉක්මනට ආපසු ඒවි.

ගරු එන්. එච්. ඒ. එම්. කරුණාරත්න
 (கௌரவ என். எச். ஏ. எம். கருணாரத்ன)
 (The Hon. N. H. A. M. Karunaratne)
 එනවා නම් හොදයි.

අප නම් ගරු කරන්නේ ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදයයි. ඒ බ්‍රහම් ලිංකන් කීවේ “ මිනිසාගේ ආණ්ඩුව—මිනිසාගේ ප්‍රයෝජනය තකා මිනිසා විසින් ඇති කළ ආණ්ඩුව—මිනිසුන්ට වගකිවයුතු ආණ්ඩුව ” කියයි. මහජන මතය උඩ කපා කිරීමේ නිදහස, ජීවත් වීමේ නිදහස, ලිවීමේ නිදහස, ඇදීමේ නිදහස යන මේ සියලුම නිදහස් ක්‍රියා ආරක්ෂා කිරීමේ ප්‍රතිපත්තිය අනුවයි, අපේ ගරු අගමැතිතුමා ඇතුළු අප කටයුතු කරගෙන යන්නේ, අප පිළිගන්නේ ඒකයි; අප ගමන් කරන්නේ ඒ මාර්ගයේයි; අප කටයුතු කරන්නේ ඒ අනුවයි. මිනිසකු හෝ ගැහැණියක ලෝකයේ ඉපදුණහොත් ඔවුන් නිදහස අපේක්ෂා කරන්නේ නැතැයි ගරු සභාපතිතුමා හිතනවාද? මිනිසුන් පමණක් නොව සෑම සත්වයකුම නිදහස

අපේක්ෂා කරනවා. සෑම සත්වයකුම නිදහස ප්‍රිය කරනවා. සිව්පාවුන්, පක්ෂීන්, කුරු කුහුඹුවන් ආදී නොයෙකුත් සතුන් මෙන්ම ගස් වැල් පවා නිදහසේ ඉන්නට සතුටුයි. එසේ නම් යම් යම් අයගේ දේශපාලන ප්‍රතිපත්ති අර අතික් විධියට තිබෙන නිසා සියලු දෙනාම එය පිළිගෙන කම්පනයක් නැති ගස් ගල් මෙන් ජීවන මාර්ගයේ බඩ ගාන්නට ඕනෑ යයි කල්පනා කළ යුතුද? නැහැ. ගරු සභාපතිතුමනි, ජීවන මාර්ගයේ වහළුන් මෙන් බඩගෑම නොවෙයි. අප ගරු කරන්නේ, අපේ ප්‍රතිපත්තිය, ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදී නිදහස් ජීවන ක්‍රමයයි. පසු ගිය මහා යුද්ධයෙන් පසුව චෝර්සෝ නගරයේදී රැස්වූ නැගෙනහිර යුරෝපීය රටවල් පහක්—මාක්ස්වාදී රටවල් පහක්—අතර ඇති වුණ ගිවිසුමක් අනුව, වැඩ කටයුතු කිරීම නිසා පැහි සිටියම් යම් රටවල ජනතාවට වැටහී ගියා—විශේෂයෙන්ම චෙකොස්ලෝවැකියාව වැනි රටවල් පිළිගත්තා—එම සම්මුතියේ අඩංගු ප්‍රතිපත්ති අනුගමනය කිරීමෙන් හෝ ඒ බලවතුන්ගේ අදහස් අනුව ක්‍රියා කිරීමෙන් හෝ එසේ නැති නම් ඒ බලවතුන්ට හයේ හෝ එසේ නැති නම් ඒ අයගේ අනුඥාව යටතේ ක්‍රියා කිරීමෙන් හෝ—මොන හේතුවක් උඩ හෝ—ජනතාවට තිබිය යුතු නිදහස අහිමි වී ගොස් ඇති බව. එම නිසා ඒ රටවල ජනතාව තමන්ට හිතූණු අවස්ථාවක ඕනෑ අන්දමට කපා කරන්න, ආණ්ඩුවට විරුද්ධව හෝ රැස්වීම් තබන්න, තමන් කැමති ආගමක් ඕනෑ අන්දමකට අදහන්න, තමන් කැමති දෙයක් ලියන්න; මේ ආදී දේ කරන්න නිදහස ඕනෑය කියන හැඟීමෙන් යුක්තව රට තුළ යම් යම් වෙනස්කම් ඇති කර ගැනීම සඳහා ආණ්ඩුව යම් යම් ක්‍රියා මාගී යන් ගෙන ගියා. ඒ අවස්ථාවේදී ඒවා වැළැක්වීමට—ඒවාට විරුද්ධව ක්‍රියා කිරීමට—ලෝකයේ උසස් දේශපාලන ධර්මයක් පිළිගන්නා පුද්ගලයන් සිටින රටක් හැටියට ඇතමුන් සලකන රුසියාවට කරන ලද ආරාධනයක් අනුව—ආක්‍රමණය කළාය කියන්නේ නැහැ. ඒක බොරුවක්— ඒ රටේ යුද්ධ හමුදාව චෙකොස්ලෝවැකියාවට ගියා.

හිටිලැත් ඔය වාගේ ආරාධනයක් පිට චෙකොස්ලෝවැකියාවට ගිය බව තමුන් තමන්ගේ ලාභ මතක ඇති. බෙල්ජියමට

හිටිලී ගියේත් ආරාධනාවක් පිටයි. රුසියාවට ගියේත් ආරාධනාවක් උඩයි. ප්‍රංශයට ගියේත් ආරාධනයක් පිටයි. ඒ ආරාධනය පිට ගොස් කෝටි සංඛ්‍යාත ජනතාවක්ම අලු බවට පත් කළ බව තමුන් තාන්සේ දන්නවා ඇති. ආරාධනාව පිට ! මෙය අලුත් වචනයක්. දැන් මෙම අලුත් වචනය අපේ භාෂා ව්‍යවහාරයටත් ඇතුළු වී තිබෙනවා. යුද්ධ කලකෝලාහල කියනවාට වඩා හොදයි ආරාධනාව කියන එක.

වියට්නාමය, ඇමෙරිකාවට ආරාධනා කළා. ලහදී ඉන්දියාව කළ ආරාධනයක් අනුව චීනය ඉන්දියාවට පැමිණ, ඉන්දියාව අමුත්තන් පිළිගැනීමෙන් පසුව ආපසු ගියා. දැන් යුද්ධ කලකෝලාහල, රටක් ඇල්ලීම, ආක්‍රමණය කිරීම ආදී වචන සම්පූර්ණයෙන්ම ඉවත් කර ඒ වෙනුවට ආරාධනාවන් උඩ ගියාය කියා කියන්න පුළුවනි. යම් විධියකින් ඉන්දියාවේ ආරාධනය පිට චීනය දිගටම ආවා නම් ජෝදුරු තුඩුවේ සිට අකුරුස්ස පසු කර අවුත් මාතර, දෙවුන්දරතුඩුව දක්වා පැමිණෙන තුරුත් ඒ ආරාධනය පිළිගන්නට සිදු වන බව මාතර මන්ත්‍රිතුමාට විශේෂයෙන්ම මේ අවස්ථාවේදී මතක් කරන්න කැමතියි. ගරු සභාපතිතුමනි, මේකයි ලෝකයේ දැන් ඇති වී තිබෙන තත්ත්වය. ආරාධනා කළ මිනිහෙක් ඕනෑ කරන්නේ නැහැ. කවුරුත් හෝ කමක් නැහැ, අසුවලාගේ ආරාධනය පිට පැමිණිය යයි කියන්න පුළුවනි. මනුෂ්‍යයාගේ මොලය තිබෙන තත්වය අනුව, දිව හැරෙන හැරෙන අතට කපා කීරීමේ දක්ෂතාව අනුව දිව හැරෙන හැරෙන අතට කපා කරන්න, නොයෙක් විධියට වචන හරවන්න පෙරලන්න පුළුවනි; වචන හරවා, පෙරලා කපා කරන්න පුළුවනි. මා හිතනවා, කොමියුනිස්ට් පක්ෂය බොහොම ලක්ෂණව මෙයට පිළිතුරු දෙයි. ඒ අය ඒකට බොහොම දක්ෂයි. ඒ අයට, කළු පාට සුදු කර, සුදු පාට කළු කර පෙන්වන්න පුළුවන්කමක් තිබෙනවා. කොහොම වුණත් ලෝකයේ අවට බලා සිටින ජනතාවට ශක්තියක් තිබෙනවා, සත්‍යය කුමක්ද, අසත්‍යය කුමක්ද කියා විග්‍රහ කර ගන්න. ගරු සභාපතිතුමනි, විරුද්ධ පාර්ශවය නිශ්ශබ්දව සිටීම ගැන බොහොම සන්තෝෂයි. ඇත්ත එතුමන්ලා පිළිගන්නවා, යම් යම් අදහස් තිබෙන එබඳු තත්වයක් ඇති වී තිබෙන බව, කොහොම

වුණත් මේ ප්‍රශ්නය පැන නැගෙන විට විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ බොහොම දෙනෙකුගේ මුහුණ මැළ වී ගියා— බොහෝ දෙනෙක් සාර්ථක ලෙස පසු බැස ගියා. සාර්ථක ලෙස පසු බැසීමක්. ඉංග්‍රීසියෙන් කියන්නේ “successful retreat” කියයි. හිටිලී පෙට්‍රොග්‍රාඩ් නගරය දක්වා “ආරාධනාවක් පිට” ගොස් සාර්ථක ලෙස පසු බැස්සා වාගේ මේ අයත් දැන් සාර්ථක ලෙස ක්‍රමානුකූලව පසු බැස ගෙන යන බව මුහුණවලින්ම පෙනෙනවා. තමුන් ලංකාවේ සිටින ජනතාවට පෙනී යනවා ඇති, මොකක්ද මේ මිනිසුන් ගෙන යන ක්‍රියාව කියා. ඒ අය බොහොම හොදට පැහැදිලි කර ගනිවි. අපි කියා දෙන්න වුවමනාවක් නැහැ. හොද මොළ තිබෙන මිනිසුනුයි අපේ රටේ ඉන්නේ. නියම අන්දමට ජන්දය පාවිච්චි කරන්න දන්නා, රටේ දේශපාලන තත්වය අවබෝධ කර ගන්න පුළුවන් බුද්ධිමත් පිරිසක් මේ රටේ ඉන්නවා. තමුන් මේ අර්බුදයෙන් පසු මැළවුණු මුහුණවලින් යුත් මේ පිරිස උත්සාහ කරනවා, මේ ආණ්ඩුව—විශේෂයෙන් අගමැතිතුමා, රාජ්‍ය ඇමතිතුමා ඇතුළු මුළු ආණ්ඩුවම—අමෙරිකන්වාදී අමෙරිකන්කාරයින්ට පත් දම් අල්ලන ආණ්ඩුවක් බව පෙන්වීමට. ඒ අය බොහොම ලොකු උත්සාහයක් දරනවා; විශේෂයෙන්ම අපේ සිංහල වීරයා—හබරාදුවේ මන්ත්‍රිතුමා (ප්‍රින්ස් ගුණසේකර මයා.)—විශාල උත්සාහයක් දරනවා. රුපියල් 10 ලාභයට ඉංග්‍රීසියෙන් කතා කරන, වෙදිකාවෙන්, පාර්ලිමේන්තුවෙන් සිංහලෙන් කතා කරන, දවල්ට රෙද්ද අදින, රාත්‍රියට කලිසම අදින, උසාවියේදී ඉංග්‍රීසියෙන් කතා කරන වීරයා බොහොම ලොකු උත්සාහයක් දරනවා. ඔන්න ඔය විධියේ වපල පුද්ගලයන් විසින් මේ ආණ්ඩුව සම්පූර්ණයෙන්ම අධිරාජ්‍යවාදීන්ට කන් අදින, අමෙරිකාවට යටත් වී සිටින, අමෙරිකාවට පැහි සිටින ආණ්ඩුවක් බව පෙන්වීමට විශාල ප්‍රයත්නයක් දරනවා.

අපි කිසිම රටක් සමග බැඳී නැති බව මා තමුන් තාන්සේට ඔප්පු කර පෙන්වනවා. අපි තමුන් තාන්සේලා සමග තර්ක කරන්න කැමතියි. මොකක්ද අපේ විදේශීය ප්‍රතිපත්තිය. හැම රටක් සමගම මිත්‍රත්වයෙන් සිටීමයි අපේ ප්‍රතිපත්තිය. අපේ අගමැතිතුමා විසින් ඒ ප්‍රතිපත්තිය කඩා තිබෙන්නේ මොන අවස්ථාවේදීද

[ගරු එන්. එච්. ඒ. එම්. කරුණාරත්න]
 කියා පුළුවන් නම් පෙන්වා දෙන්න. යම් කිසි රටක් සමග වෙළඳ ගිවිසුම් ආදිය තිබූ තිබුණා නම් අමෙරිකාවේ ඉල්ලීම් පිට අපි එවැනි ගිවිසුම් වෙනස් කර තිබෙනවාද? නැත්නම් කඩ කර තිබෙනවාද? අපේ රටේ රබර් යවා ඒ රටේ හාල් ගෙන්වා ගැනීම සඳහා පළමුවෙන්ම කොමියුනිස්ට් චිනය සමග ගිවිසුමක් ඇති කර ගත්තේ ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයේ ආණ්ඩුව විසින්ද, අපේ අගමැතිතුමා විසින්ද කියා මා තමුන් නාන්සේලාගෙන් අසන්න කැමතියි. අපේ ආණ්ඩුව අතනටත් මෙනතටත් දේශපාලන වශයෙන් හේත්තු වී සිටින වාය කියා තමුන් නාන්සේලා චෝදනා කරනවා. තමුන් අපි නොවෙයි, එසේ හේත්තු වී සිටින්නේ. ඒ විධියට හේත්තු වී සිටින්නේ ඔය පැත්තේ සිටින කණ්ඩායම් මිස, අපි නොවෙයි. ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂය නම් හැම රටකටම වාගේ හේත්තු වෙනවා. වාසි පැත්ත කොයි පැත්තද ඒ පැත්තට හේත්තු වෙනවා. ලංකා සමසමාජ පක්ෂය නම් කොයි පැත්තට හේත්තු වුණත්, එම පාක්ෂිකයන් ලෝකයේ තවත් ඇත්තේ නැහැනේ. ඒ වගේම කොමියුනිස්ට් පක්ෂයටත් අපි ගරු කරනවා, ඔවුන් රුසියාවට හේත්තු වී සිටින නිසා. අපේ ගම්පහ මන්ත්‍රීතුමා (එස්. ඩී. බණ්ඩාරනායක මයා.) ගේ පක්ෂයටත් මම බොහොම ගරු කරනවා, එතුමන්ලා චීන පිළිට හේත්තු වී සිටින නිසා. තමුන් අපි මොනම පැත්තකටවත් හේත්තු වී නැහැ. මොන පැත්තකටවත් හේත්තු නොවී, කිසි දෙයක් අල්ලන්නේ නැතිව, අපේ කකුල් දෙකෙන්ම හිට ගන්නයි අපි උත්සාහ කරන්නේ. කාගේවත් කකුල් වලින් නොවෙයි, අපේ කකුල් වලින්ම අපි හිට ගන්නවා. ගරු සභාපතිතුමනි, තමුන් නාන්සේගේ කකුල් දෙකෙන් මට හිට ගන්න පුළුවන්කමක් නැහැ. මගේ කකුල් දෙකෙන්ම මම හිට ගන්න ඕනෑ. පැහැදිලි සිංහලෙන් කියනවා නම් අපේ ප්‍රතිපත්තිය එයයි. තමුන් හබරුදුවේ මන්ත්‍රීතුමා වැනි පුද්ගලයන් විශාල පින්තූරයක් පෙන්වන්න හැදුවා, එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයේ ආණ්ඩුව අධිරාජ්‍යවාදීන්ට යටත්ව කටයුතු කරනවාය කියා. නොමිමර එකේ අධිරාජ්‍යවාදියා ගරු රාජ්‍ය ඇමතිතුමාය කිව්වා. ඊළඟ අධිරාජ්‍යවාදියා ගරු අගමැතිතුමාය කිව්වා. මේ අය ඇමරිකානු

වාදීන්ලු. තමුන් මා ප්‍රශ්න කීපයක් අසන්නට සතුටුයි. කොතැනටද අප හේත්තු වුණේ? අප වෙකොස්ලොවේකි යාව සමග, රුමේනියාව, චීනය, ඇමරිකාව, එංගලන්තය සමග දැන් ගනුදෙනු කරන්නේ නැද්ද? ඒ රටවල අපේ තානාපති කාර්යාල වසා තිබෙනවාද? කොයි බඩු හුවමාරු ගිවිසුමද අප නතර කළේ? වෙනදා ආධාර දුන් රටවල් දැනුත් අපට ආධාර දෙන්නේ නැද්ද? අපට උදව් කරන්නේ නැද්ද? නැගෙනහිර ජර්මනිය, බටහිර ජර්මනිය. අපට උදව් කරන්නේ නැද්ද? ඒ රටවල් සමග අප ගනුදෙනු කරන්නේ නැද්ද? කොතැනටද අප හේත්තු වී ඉන්නේ? අපි ඒ අයගේ ගෙවල්වලට ගිහින් හේත්තු වුණාද? එහෙමවත් ගිහින් නැහැ. අපට මෙවැනි චෝදනා එල්ල කරමින් තමන් කරගත් මෝඩකම වසා ගන්නට දගඟන මේ උදවිය කවුරුන් වාගේද? මෝඩයා අසුවී ඉවත් කරන්නට ගොස් හත් පොළක ගා ගත්තාලු. එවැනි දෙයක් කරමින් තමයි දැන් මේ උදවිය ශුද්ධ වෙන්නට උත්සාහ කරන්නේ. පොට වැරදී තිබෙනවා. යමක් සැමදාම හංගන්නට බැහැ. ඇමරිකානුන් වියවි නාමයේ කලබල කරන විට ඇමරිකානුන් කරන වැඩේ බොහොම හොදය කියා කෙදිනක හෝ අගමැතිතුමා කිව්වාද? සදහටම කියන්නේ මේක සමාදානයක් කළ යුතුයි, යුද්ධය අන්තිම නරකය, යන වචනයි. අපට ඕනෑ කරන්නේ සාමයයි. කුමන රටක් හෝ තවත් රටක් සමග සවිඝනය වෙනවාට අප කැමති නැහැ. ලොකු රටක් පොඩි රටක් ගිල ගන්නවාට අප කැමති නැහැ. එක රටක් තවත් රටක් වහල් භාවයේ තබා ගන්නවාට අප කැමති නැහැ. අපට නිදහස තිබෙන්නාක් මෙන්ම ලෝකයේ අනෙකුත් සියලුම රටවලටත් නිදහස තිබිය යුතුයි. ඒකයි අප පිළිගන්නා ප්‍රතිපත්තිය.

ගරු සභාපතිතුමනි, ඒ දවස්වල යම් යම් කෝලාහල ඇති වන විට විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ සමහර පුද්ගලයින් සමහර තානාපති කාර්යාල වැටලුවා. අමරිකන් තානාපති කාර්යාලය ඇතුළු තවත් නොයෙක් තානාපති කාර්යාල වැටලුවා. තාරවලින් බිත්තිවල නොයෙකුත් සටන් පාය ලිව්වා. වහාම වියවිනාමයෙන් ඉවත් වෙනු, ඉන්දියාවෙන් ඉවත්වෙනු, ඉස්රායෙලයෙන්

ඉවත් වෙනු, අතනින් ඉවත් වෙනු මෙනැතින් ඉවත් වෙනු, ආදී වශයෙන් නොයෙකුත් සටන් පාඨවලින් බිත්ති පිරව්වා. මේ අවස්ථාවේදී ඒවා නැහැ. ඇයි දැන් ඔය මිනිසුන්ගේ නැට්ටල තාර තැද්ද? දැන් නැට්ටල තාර සිදිල! තාර තැන් නම් ලබා ගත හැකි මාර්ගයක් මා කියන්නම්. අපේ රජයේ වැඩ භාර ඇමතිතුමාට ඕනෑ තරම් තාර පිප්ප සපයන්නට පුළුවනි. එතුමා ලග ඕනෑ තරම් තාර තිබෙනවා.

ගරු සභාපතිතුමනි, කොමියුනිස්ට් පක්ෂයේ මේ මන්ත්‍රීන් දෙපොළ හරියට අම්බල මක අනාඨ වූ දරුවන් දෙදෙනකු වාගේය කියා අපේ පළාත් පාලන කටයුතු පිළිබඳ පාර්ලිමේන්තු ලේකම්තුමා විසින් කියන්නට යෙදුණා. ඒ කථාව කියන කොට මේ දෙපොළට හිතා ගියා. මක්නිසාද? “වැඩිය නටන්නට එපා, උඹල ඔහොම දැනලුවාට අපි ආරාධනා කළදාට උඹල අළු” එහෙමයි කල්පනා කරන්නේ. පාර්ලිමේන්තු ලේකම්තුමා කියූ ඒ කථාව මේ දෙපොළ ගණන් ගත්තේවත් නැහැ. ඒ අයට හිතා ගියා, ඇත්ත වශයෙන්ම මමත් ඒ පක්ෂයට අයිති නම් ඒ කථාව කියන විට මට වුණත් හිතා යනවා. “කිකුළුවා දඟලන්තේ වතුර පික පැසෙන තුරු පමණයි. ඒ වාගේ තමයි උඹලාගේ දැනලීමත්. උඹලා දඟලන්තේ අපි ආරාධනා කරන තෙක් පමණයි. අපි ආරාධනා කළදාට උඹලා ඔක්කොම කපෝතියි.” ඇත්ත වශයෙන්ම මේ මන්ත්‍රීන් දෙපොළට ලජ්ජා කරවන්නට අනාඨ දරුවන්ගේ කථාව පමණක් නොවෙයි තවත් ඕනෑ තරම් දේවල් කියන්නට තිබුණා. තමුත්තාත්සේලා දෙපොළ අද ගලේ පැහැරු බලලුන් දෙදෙනෙකු වාගේය කියා කියන්නට තිබුණා. තමුත් මොකටද ඒව කියන්නේ? මොකක්ද ලැබෙන ඵලය? නොමිමරේ දැනගෙන ජීවත් වෙන එකයි අපට තිබෙන්නේ. මැරෙන දාට කොයි මිනිහත් මැරෙනවා.

ගරු සභාපතිතුමනි, විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ ප්‍රයත්නය ගැන මා දැන් තමුත්තාත්සේලා කරුණු පැහැදිලි කළා. විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ නායකතුමිය මොනවා කියන්නට යනවාද කියා මා දන්නේ නැහැ. එතුමිය සිටියා නම් හොඳයි.

ගරු යූ. බී. වන්නිනායක (මුදල් ඇමති)
(கௌரவ யூ. பி. வன்னிநாயக்க—நிதி அமைச்சர்)

(The Hon. U. B. Wanninayake—
(Minister of Finance)

එනවාය කිව්වා.

ගරු එන්. එච්. ඒ. එම්. කරුණාරත්න
(கௌரவ என். எச். ஏ. எம். கருணாரத்ன)

(The Hon. N. H. A. M. Karunaratne)

එන්නේ නැහැ.

විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයේත් තුන් හවුලේත් අද තත්ත්වය මොකක්ද? ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂය හැමතැනම ගහන රෙකෝඩ් එක දිවංගත බණ්ඩාරනායක අගමැතිතුමාගේ දේශ පාලන ප්‍රතිපත්තිය තව දුරටත් එලෙසම ගෙන යනවා කියන එකයි. අතේ ඔය නම හැමදාම විකුණන එක පව්. එතුමා අපි කවුරුත් ගරු කරන ශ්‍රේෂ්ඨ පුද්ගලයෙක්. ලංකාවේ උපන් හොඳම දක්ෂ කපිකයෙක්. ඒ පුද්ගලයාගේ නම තවත් විකුණමින් ලංකා ජනතාව සදහටම වහල් බැම්මේ තබන්න සතුරන්ට මේ රටට එන්ට ආරාධනා කරන්නට ඉඩ දෙන්න එපා.

අද ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයේ ප්‍රතිපත්තිය මොකක්ද? උත්තර දෙන්න. මමත් ඒ පක්ෂයේ හිටපු මිනිහෙක්. මම තවමත් ඒ ප්‍රතිපත්තිය අනුගමනය කරනවා. මේත් ඒ ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදයමයි. ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයේ ප්‍රතිපත්තිය මොකක්ද? දක්ෂිණාංශික අත්තවාදයත් නොවන වාමාංශික අත්තවාදයත් නොවන ඒ දෙකටම මැද්දෙන් පැන නගින සමාජවාදී ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදය බව දිවංගත බණ්ඩාරනායක අගමැතිතුමා කුරුණෑගල සම්මේලනයේදී කිව්වේ නැද්ද?

කෝ දැන් ඒක? එහෙම නම් කොහොමද, උත්තරෙහේලාට ආරාධනා කරන්නට ඉඩ තබන්නේ? වාමාංශික අත්තවාදය කොමියුනිස්ට්වාදය නොවෙයිද? පුළුවන් නම් නැහැ කියා උත්තර දෙන්න. වාමාංශික අත්තවාදය මොකක්ද? දක්ෂිණාංශික අත්තවාදය හොඳයි, ධනවාදය කියා අපි කියමු. හැබැයි, ලංකාවේ ලොකුම ධන පතින් එන්නේ විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේයි. එහෙත් ලොකු සල්ලිකාරයන් හැටියට

[ගරු එන්. එච්. ඒ. එම්. කරුණාරත්න]
 හංවඩු ගසා තිබෙන්නේ අපවයි. මේකත් නොවෙයි නම්, අරකත් නොවෙයි නම්, කොහොමද ඕක ප්‍රච්ච වෙන්නේ? කෝ ප්‍රතිපත්තියක්? රත් වුණු යකඩයකුයි, රත් නොවුණු යකඩයකුයි පාස්සන්නේ කොහොමද? එකවර මොලයක් නැද්ද? පාස්සන විදිය කියන්න. එක යකඩයක් හොදට ගිනියම් වෙලා තිබෙද්දි අනික සිසිලෙන් තිබෙද්දි ඔය දෙක පාස්සන්න යන්න වගේ වැඩක් මේක. ඇයි මේ විධියට මහජනයා මුළා කරන්නේ? කොහොද, කොතැනද, ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදයක් තිබෙන්නේ? එහෙම නම් ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදයක් ගැන කථා නොකර කියන්න ඕනෑ, අපි මේ හැමෝම සම්බන්ධ කරගෙන උත්සාහ කරන්නේ කුටෝපක්‍රමයකින් බලයට පැමිණෙන්නටයි කියා. කියන්න ඕනෑ ඒකයි. එහෙම නැතිව ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදය රකිනවා යයි අද කියන්න පුළුවන්කමක් නැහැ.

ගරු සභාපතිතුමනි, ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදය කියන්නේ මොකක්දැයි දන්නවා නම් මේ විධියේ ගිවිසුමකට අත්සන් කරන්න පුළුවන්ද? ඒ ගිවිසුමේ කොන්දේසි මොනවාද? කොමියුනිස්ට්වාදයයි ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදයයි එකතු කරන්නට පුළුවන්ද? මේක අහසත් පොළොවත් එකට තව්ට වෙන්න වගේ වැඩක්, අපි කොමියුනිස්ට්වාදය හෙළා දකිනවා නොවෙයි. මම ඒකටත් කැමතියි. තියෙනව නම් ඔහෙ තිබුණාවෙ.

පී. ජී. බී. කෙනමන් මයා. (මැද කොළඹ තුන්වන මන්ත්‍රී)
 (ශ්‍රී. ජී. ඒ. ඒ. පී. කෙනමන්—කොලොම්බු මහජන මුහුණත)
 (Mr. P. G. B. Keuneman—Third Colombo Central)
 බයයි කියන්න එපා.

ගරු එන්. එච්. ඒ. එම්. කරුණාරත්න
 (කෙනමන් මයා. ඒ. ඒ. ඒ. කරුණාරත්න)
 (The Hon. N. H. A. M. Karunaratne)
 තමුත්තාත්සේලාට ආණ්ඩුව ගියොත් අපේ කැලීන් නැතිව යන බව අපි දන්නවා. ඒකට කමක් නැහැ. ඒ විධියේ දේශපාලන ධර්මයක් ලෝකයේ තිබෙනවා. අපි ඒකට බණින්න වුවමනා නැහැ. එහෙත් මම කියන්නේ මේ දෙක මොන විධියකින්

වත් සම්බන්ධ කරන්න බැරි බවයි. කොමියුනිස්ට් රටක වැඩ වර්ජනයක් කරන්නට රජුවන්ද කියන ප්‍රශ්නයට විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ නායකතුමිය විශේෂයෙන්ම උත්තර දෙන්න ඕනෑ. අපේ ලංකාවේ සිටින රුසියන් අගමැතිතුමා කියන්න, රුසියාවේ වැඩ වර්ජනයක් කරන්නට පුළුවන්ද කියා. ආණ්ඩුවට විරුද්ධව ලියන්නට රුසියාවේ පුළුවන්කමක් තිබෙනවද? අකුරුසේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා ලංකාවේ නොවෙයි, රුසියාවේ. මම එතුමාගෙන් අහනව, තමුත්තාත්සේලා රටේ ආණ්ඩුවට විරුද්ධව වේදිකාවක් මත ඕනෑ දෙයක් කථා කරන්නට පුළුවන්ද කියා. කරුණා කර කථා කළොත් ලැබෙන දඩුවම කුමක්ද කියන්න කියන්න.

අපේ රටේ මේ අගමැතිතුමාගේ ආණ්ඩුව යටතේ වැඩ වර්ජන දහස් ගණනක් කළා. බණ්ඩාරනායක මැතිතුමාගේ කාලෙදීත් වැඩ වර්ජන දහස් ගණනක් කෙරුණා. බණ්ඩාරනායක මැතිණියගේ කාලෙදීත් වැඩ වර්ජන දහස් ගණනක් කෙරුණා. රට කැවා. බංකොලොත් කළා. ඒකයි ධර්මය. උට හිඟමනට දමා බංකොලොත් කර මහජනයා මුළා කර බලය අල්ලාගෙන ඊට පසුව කුවක්කුවයි බයිනෙන්තුවයි ගහගත්තම ජනතාව සදහටම වහල්ලු. ඊයේ ලංකා සම සමාජ පක්ෂයේ අගලවන්නේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා (ආචාර්ය කොල්වින් ආර්. ද සිල්වා) තුළ මේ ගැන කොයි තරම් වේගයක් තිබුණද? මට මතක හැටියට ඒ වෙලාවේ තමුත්තාත්සේ මුලාසනයේ සිටියේ නැහැ. මේ වෙළුව දේ මහජනයාට කා වැදී තිබෙන බව එතුමාට හොදට තේරුණා. වෙනදාට වඩා බොහෝම වේගවත් වූ එතුමා ඊයේ කිව්වා, මට බලය ආවොත් පාප් වහන්සේටත් උගන්වනවාය කියා. "I will deal even with the Pope." "වදාසු අම්මගෙ ගෙදර දරුවන් කැවා නම්, පරම්ම ගෙදර කුකුළොත් ඉතුරු වේවිද?" තමුත්තාත්සේ ඔය කථාව අසා තිබෙනවාද. කථානායකතුමනි, බණිත් වදාසු අම්මගෙ ගෙදර දරුවොත් කනවා නම්, පරම්මගෙ ගෙදර කුකුළොත් ඉතුරු වේවිද? කවදාවත් නැහැ. ඒකෙන් ම අදහස පේනවා නොවේද?

පාප් වහන්සේ කිව්වම ලෝකයේ බල ගතු පුද්ගලයෙක්. එසේ නම් අපේ හාමු දුරුවරු කොහේ හිටිද? අස්ගිරි මල්වතු නායක හමුදුරුවරු කොහේ හිටිද? හදේ! පාප් වහන්සේට ඔහොම කිව්වා නම් ඔය බිෂොප් වහන්සේලා, අත්පුත්තම කුරේ රාජගුරු ප්‍රසාදීන් වහන්සේ වැනි උදවිය කොයි ලෝකෙ ඉන්නද? ඒ තරම් වේගයක් ඊයේ තිබුණා. ඒකෙන් පේනවා, මේ දෙනුන් දෙනෙක් අතරේ ලොකු බල වේගයක් තිබෙන බව බලය අල්ලන්න. බලය අල්ලන නොයෙකුත් ක්‍රම තිබෙනවා. ඒකට ඉංගිරිසියෙන් කියනවා, **Technical ways of aggression** කියා. සමහර රටවල් යුද්ධ කර බලය අල්ලනවා. තවත් රටවල් විප්ලව කර බලය අල්ලනවා. ඒ වාගේම යම් පුද්ගලයකුට බලයට එන්නට වුවමනා නම් බල සම්පන්න කෙනෙකුට හේත්තු වී බලයට එන ක්‍රමයක් තිබෙනවා. හිට්ලර් බලයට ආවෙ කොහොමද? හිට්ලර් කියන්නේ විදිවල තීන්ත ගාමිත් සිටි සාමාන්‍ය මිනිහෙක්. ඔහු දේශපාලන කටයුතු කරගෙන උසස් පවුලක කෙනෙකු වූ ග්‍රෝරිංට හේත්තු වී එතුමා සමග වැඩ කර ජර්මනියේ සම්පූර්ණ බලය අල්ලා ගත්තා.

අද කොමියුනිස්ට් පක්ෂයට තැනක් නැහැ. ජන්ද බලයකින් ලංකාවේ බලයට එන්නට පුළුවන්කමක් නැති බව, ඒ සදහා තැනක් නැති බව එතුමන්ලා පිළි ගන්නවා. ලංකා සම සමාජ පක්ෂයටත් තනි කෙළින් ඇවිත් බලය අල්ලාගන්න බැරි බව කවුරුත් පිළිගන්නවා. එසේ නම් මොකක්ද කළ යුතු ප්‍රතිකර්මය? සැහෙන බලයක් තිබෙන කෙනෙකුට හේත්තු වී කනත් ටිකක් වහගෙන කලින් කකුල ලකුණ තිබුණා නම් ඒක වෙනස් කර අත ලකුණ ගන්නවා. ඒ විධියට ඇවිත් හේත්තු වී බලය අල්ල දාට දිවංගත බණ්ඩාරනායක අගමැතිතුමාගේ ප්‍රති පත්තිය දේශනා කරන ඔය ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍ර වාදය කොයි ලෝකෙ ඉතුරු වේවිද දන්නෙ නැහැ.

මා නැවතත් විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ නායකත්වයෙන් අහනවා, දිවංගත බණ්ඩාරනායක මැතිතුමාගේ දේශපාලන ප්‍රතිපත්තිය දක්ෂණාංශික අන්තවාදයක් නොවෙයි නම්, ඒ වාගේම වාමාංශික අන්තවාදයක්ද නොවෙයි නම්, ඒ දෙකට අතරින් පිරිසිදු කල්පනාවක් නැති වෙලා

මධ්‍යස්ථව තිබෙන මධ්‍යම ප්‍රතිපදාව නම්, වාමාංශික අන්තවාදයක් ඇදාගන්නේ කොහොමද කියා? කරුණාකර උත්තර දෙන්න. කොමියුනිස්ට්වාදී රටවල ප්‍රජා තන්ත්‍රවාදයක් තිබෙනවාද? කොමියුනිස්ට් රටවල වැඩවර්ජන කරන්න පුළුවන්ද? මා ඒ ප්‍රශ්න ඔබතුමියගෙන් අහනවා. ආණ්ඩුවට විරුද්ධව කපා කරන්න කොමියුනිස්ට් රටවල ඉඩ තිබෙනවාද? ආණ්ඩුවට විරුද්ධව ලියන්න ඉඩක් තිබෙනවාද? වෙකොස්ලොවෙකියාව ගැන දැන් පැහැදිලි ඇති. ඔවුන් නිදහස ලබා ගන්නට උත්සාහ කරන විට, ඒ රටෙන් ආරාධනා කළා රුසියාවට! ගරු බණ්ඩාර නායක මැතිනියට ආණ්ඩුව ගියොත් කරුණාකර ලංකාවට වඩින්නාය කියා රුසියාවට හෝ චීනයට ආරාධනා කරාවි. එහෙත් එසේ වැඩිදාට ගරු බණ්ඩාර නායක මැතිනියට පෙනේවි එතුමියගේ දරුවකුටවත් රත්වත්තේ පවුලකටවත් උඩරට කිසිම විලව්වක කිසිම කෙනෙකුට වත් මේ රටේ ජීවත්ව සිටින්නට නොලැබෙන බව. මා තීර්භයව එම ප්‍රකාශය කරනවා.

පූ. භා. 10.45

ගරු සභාපතිතුමනි, අගමැතිතුමා ගැන මා බොහොම කණගාටු වෙනවා. එතුමා අපේ ඉතිහාසය ගැන දන්නේ නැතැයි මට හිතෙනවා. මාර්ක්ස් විරෝධී ජාතික මුස්ලිම් තරුණ පෙරමුණේ රැස්වීමකදී ගරු අග මැතිතුමා කර තිබුණු ප්‍රකාශයක් පෙරේද, පුවත් පත්වල පළ වී තිබුණා. හැබැයි නායකයෙක්ය කියන බදිඋද්දීන් මහ්මුද් මහතා නම් තවම කිසිවක් කියා නැහැ. කිසිම ප්‍රකාශයක් කර නැහැ. පුදුම මුස්ලිම් නායකයෙක්. [බාධාකිරීමක්] එහෙත් කම් කරු අගමැතිතුමාගේ ප්‍රධානත්වයෙන් පැවැති අර රැස්වීමේදී අපේ අගමැතිතුමා නම් ප්‍රකාශයක් කර තිබුණා. ඒ ප්‍රකාශය දැක්කාම මට හිතුණා එක්කෝ අගමැතිතුමා ඉතිහාසය ගැන දන්නේ. නැතිව ඇති නැත්නම් ආරාධනාව පිළිගන්නට පුළුවන්කමක් තිබුණා. පිරිසිදු කල්පනාවක් නැති වෙලා

[ගරු එන්. එච්. ඒ. එම්. කරුණාරත්න]
 වක වෙන් න ඇති කියා. ගරු අගමැතිතුමා
 කියා තිබෙන්නේ මොකක්ද? එතුමා
 මෙන් මෙහෙම කියා තිබෙනවා :

“I am very happy that so far there
 have been no quishings in this country.”

ගරු අගමැතිතුමනි, තමුන් නාන්සේ ඉති
 හාසය දන්නේ නැහැ. තමුන් නාන්සේ
 එහෙම කීවේ ඇයි? එහෙම අය මේ රටේ
 ඕනෑ තරම් හිටියා.

**ගරු ඩඩ්ලි සේනානායක (අග්‍රාමාත්‍ය,
 ආරක්‍ෂක හා විදේශ කටයුතු පිළිබඳ ඇමති,
 ක්‍රම සම්පාදක හා ආර්ථික කටයුතු පිළිබඳ
 ඇමති සහ ප්‍රවෘත්ති හා ගුවන් විදුලි ඇමති)**

(கௌரவ டட்ளி சேனாநாயக்க—பிரதம
 அமைச்சரும் பாதுகாப்பு, வெளிவிவகார
 அமைச்சரும், திட்ட அமைப்பு, பொருளாதார
 விவகார அமைச்சரும், தகவல், ஒலிபரப்பு
 அமைச்சரும்)

(The Hon. Dudley Senanayake—Prime
 Minister, Minister of Defence & External
 Affairs, Minister of Planning & Economic
 Affairs and Minister of Information &
 Broadcasting)

මා කීවේ වෙකෝස් ලොවේ කියාවේ
 නැතෙයි කියලා.

ගරු එන්. එච්. ඒ. එම්. කරුණාරත්න
 (கௌரவ என். எச். ஏ. எம். கருணாரத்ன)
 (The Hon. N. H. A. M. Karunaratne)

එහෙනම් මට සමාවන්න. මා වරදවා
 තේරුම් ගරගෙන. ලංකාවේ නම් ඒ
 විධියේ අය ඕනෑ තරම් ඉන්නවා.

සිරිමාවෝ බණ්ඩාරනායක මිය.
 (திருமதி சிறிமாவோ பண்டாரநாயக்க)
 (Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike)

කොයි වේලාවෙද දන්නේ නැහැ පත්ත
 රය කියෙව්වේ.

ගරු එන්. එච්. ඒ. එම්. කරුණාරත්න
 (கௌரவ என். எச். ஏ. எம். கருணாரத்ன)
 (The Hon. N. H. A. M. Karunaratne)

මම පුත්තරය කියවූ රාත්‍රේ මට හිතෙන
 වෙලාවක.

ගරු සභාපතිතුමනි, ඒ විධියේ අය ඕනෑ
 තරම් මේ රටේ නැති සිටියා. පුරාණ කාල
 යේත් සිටියා; මෙහි අතිශයින්ම ඔවුන් නිදහස
 ලබාගෙන, නිදහසේ ජීවත්

ලංකාවේ මිනිස්සු සුද්දන්ට පැහි සිටින
 අවස්ථාවේදී ඒ වහල් භාවයෙන් මිදෙන්නට
 ඔවුන් බොහෝ අවස්ථාවලදී උත්
 සාහ ගෙන තිබෙනවා. එවැනි අවස්ථාවලදී
 මේ රට පාවා දුන් අයට නමයි “කිවිස්
 ලිංග්ස්” කියන්නේ. කැප්පෙට්පොල
 විරයා වැල්ලවාය සටනේදී වහල් භාව
 යෙන් මිදෙන්නට උත්සාහ කරන විට
 එයට විරුද්ධව මේ රට පාවා දුන්නේ
 කවුද කියා විකක් කල්පනා කර බලන්න.
 ඉංග්‍රීසින්ගේ බලය මේ රටේ නහවුරු කරන්
 නට මේ රට ඔවුන්ට පාවා දුන්නේ කවුද?
 මේවා ඉතිහාසයේ තිබෙන දේවල්. මේ රට
 පාවා දුන් පුද්ගලයන් ගැන ඉතිහාසයේ
 සඳහන් වෙනවා. එවැනි අය දැනුත් සිටි
 නවා නම් මේ අන්දමේ ගිවිසුම් අත්සන්
 කරගෙන බල ලෝභයෙන් මේ රට වහල්
 භාවයකට පාවා දෙන්නට බැරිකමක් නැහැ.
 ඒකයි මා ඉතිහාසය ගැන සඳහන් කළේ.
 කවුරුත් විසින් හෝ වේවා අනාගතයේදී
 ඔය තත්ත්වය ඇති කරන්නට ඉඩ තිබේ
 නවා. කොයි බල කදවුරකටවත් හේත්තු
 නොවී රට පාලනය කරන්න මේ ආණ්ඩුව
 කල්පනා කළේ ඒ නිසයි. අපි කොයි රට
 ටද විරුද්ධව වැඩ කළේ? කොයි රට සම
 ගද සම්බන්ධකම් නැති කර ගත්තේ?
 අපි රුසියාව සමගත් මිත්‍රයි; චීනය
 සමගත් මිත්‍රයි; අමෙරිකාව සමගත්
 මිත්‍රයි. නැම රටක් සමගම අපේ
 සම්බන්ධය එහෙමම තිබෙනවා. වෙනත්
 රටවල් සමගත් අප සහයෝගයෙන් සිටි
 නවා; හැකි රටකින්ම අප ආධාර ගත්
 නවා; එහෙත් අප නිදහස්ව සිටිනවා. මේ
 ප්‍රශ්නයේදී අපට මඩ ගහන්නට විරුද්ධ
 පාර්ශ්වය කොතරම් උත්සාහ කළත්
 සත්‍යය කාටත් පැහැදිලියි. යම් දවසක
 විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වය මේ රටේ බලය ලබා
 ගත්තොත් එදාට මේ අනාගතය කුමක්
 වෙයිද, රටට සිදු වන්නට යන්නේ මොන
 වාද, අහිංසක ජනතාව ගෙන යන්නට
 උත්සාහ ගන්නේ මොන පාරකද යන
 කරුණු පිළිබඳ අවබෝධයක් ලබා ගැනීමට
 මෙය නමයි හොඳම නිදර්ශණය. අප කොමි
 යුනිස්ට් අදහස් හෝ ට්‍රොට්ස්කි වාදය හෝ
 හෙළාදකින්නේ නැහැ. තමන් කැමති
 දේශපාලන අදහස් අනුගමනය කිරීමේ
 නිදහස සෑම පුද්ගලයකුටම තිබෙනවා.
 එහෙත්, අවුරුදු ගණනක් තිස්සේ වාල්
 සම්බන්ධ නිදහස ලබාගෙන, නිදහසේ ජීවත්

විමට කැමැති, නිදහස ප්‍රිය කරන මේ රටේ ජනතාවට හොඳ මාර්ගයක් හැටියට එවැනි වාද පෙන්වමින් ඔවුන් ප්‍රජාතන්‍යයක් කරා ගමන් කරවීම මහජන ද්‍රෝහිකමක් නොවේදැයි මා අහනවා.

වෙකෝස්ලොවැකියාවේ අද පල්ලි පවා වසා දමලා. කපා කීරීමේ නිදහසක් නැහැ. යම් පිරිසකගේ “ආරාධනයක්” පිට එවැනි ක්‍රමයක් මෙහාට ආවොත් එදාට අපි කපෝති. ආරාධනා කරන්නට පිරිස් සිටිනවා. ආරාධනා ලබන්නටත් රටවල් තිබෙනවා. ඉන්දියාවේ “ආරාධනය” පිට විනය ඉන්දියාවේ හිමාලයා කඳුවැටියෙන් මෙහා පැත්තට ආ අවස්ථාවේදී සියලුම ඉන්දියානුන් පසුබසින්නට පටන් ගත්තා. මේ උදවිය එන්නේ හොඳ තැහිබෝගත් අරගෙනයි. ඉන්දියාවට ආ ගමන්ම තව විකක් පල්ලෙහාට, ධනුස්කොපිය පැත්තට ඇදුණා නම් ඒ “ආරාධනය” පිටම මෙහාටත් එන්න ඉඩ තිබුණා. මේ රටේ කිසියම් පිරිසකගේ ආරාධනයක් උඩ රුසියාව මෙහාට ආවොත් අපටත් හොඳ සංග්‍රහ ලැබෙයි. විරුද්ධ පක්ෂයේ නායක තුමිය ඇතුළු සියලුදෙනාටම හොඳ සංග්‍රහ ලබාගෙන හොඳින් ඉන්නට පුළුවන් වෙයි. එම නිසා අපි කවුරුත් කල්පනාකාරීව වැඩ කරමු. බොරුවෙන් මහජනතාව මුළු නොකර, ඇත්ත ඇති සැටියෙන් පෙන් නුම් කරමින් තම දේශපාලන අදහස් කෙළින්ම ජනතාව වෙත ඉදිරිපත් කරන ලෙස මා විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයෙන් ඉල්ලා සිටිනවා. මගේ එකම ඉල්ලීම එයයි. ඒ හැටියට ක්‍රියා කරන ලෙස මතක් කරමින්, මට මේ ඉඩ ප්‍රස්ථාව දීම ගැන තමුන් තාත්සේට මගේ ස්තූතිය පුද කරමින් මගේ වචන ස්වල්පය මෙයින් අවසාන කරනවා.

වී. බී. සුබසිංහ මයා. (කටුගම්පොල)
 (திரு. ஈ. பி. சுபசிங்க—கட்டுகம்பொள)
 (Mr. T. B. Subasinghe—Katugampola)

Mr. Chairman, we noticed yesterday while we were discussing the Votes of the Ministry of Defence and External Affairs, that there was tremendous impatience on the part of Members on the other side of the House to take up this matter that is now under discussion.

I can understand that. We were ourselves keen that this matter should be discussed. But it so happens, Mr. Chairman, that in this country the Ministry of Defence and of External Affairs are in the hands of one and the same person, and sometimes in discussing this Ministry we have to move from mundane matters like the fate of the ‘Hal-messa’ or the ‘Vijaya’ to matters such as the tragedy of Czechoslovakia.

We were waiting to dispose of some of the questions that were nearer home and then get on to the subject. Therefore, it was surprising to find the Hon. Minister of State—normally I believe that matters of foreign policy or any such debate of this nature is initiated by the Opposition—stand up here and refer to this subject and give us a homily on the history and development of Czechoslovakia since 1948 and the events of last year. He said that we must condemn the recent events in Czechoslovakia, that we must protest against this, that the development of the democratic process in Czechoslovakia must continue, and invited us to offer our comments. Yes, we were waiting to make certain comments last night itself, but, however, we did not get the opportunity. There was the hon. Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Local Government who held the Floor for one and a half hours and this morning the Hon. Minister of Social Services was holding forth for almost forty-five minutes.

I still do not know, Mr. Chairman, what they were driving at. In both their speeches, there was very little reference to the events in Czechoslovakia or to how a solution could be found. What reference there was, was directed as an attack on the united front of the S. L. F. P., the L. S. S. P., and the Communist Party.

Mr. Chairman, while listening to these speakers, I wondered whether their intention was really to have an honest discussion of a very grave

[සුබසිංහ මයා.]

situation and to give us an opportunity of expressing our genuine sentiments on that question, or to refer to the same kind of anti-socialist, anti-Marxist, propaganda that the United National Party and its propagandists have been conducting over the last twenty to thirty years.

I can understand that on a matter like this, they will try to embarrass us; on a matter like this, they will try to drive a wedge between us. That I can understand. What I cannot understand is why they have made use of a grave situation which has arisen in the world to resort to the same kind of cheap propaganda that has been going on in this country against the L. S. S. P., and the Communist Party ever since the formation of this Coalition.

We do not need to be frightened by that. We have faced it and we know we will have to face it in the future. All that I wish to do here today is to make a reference to the events in Czechoslovakia and express our point of view. Unfortunately, during the last week it has not been possible for us to look at the events objectively because of the cold-war atmosphere that was created not only in this country but all over the world.

Last week I was listening on the radio to the debate in the Security Council on this matter. I followed the speeches that were being made. People who have no respect for, who do not care what happens to small nations, who have brought underfoot independent nations in Asia, have spoken out as the mighty saviours of Czechoslovakia and have shed crocodile tears over her. That same spirit has prevailed in reactionary quarters all over the world. But I believe, Mr. Chairman, this event is too tragic to be made use of in cold war politics.

I personally feel very deeply about this matter, because I am one who has had good friends in and good relations with all these countries, and I know some of the events that have been taking place.

It is true that during the last ten or fifteen years there has been a tremendous change coming about these countries internally. A new generation is rising, perhaps with new ideas and new values. The old concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the old concept of government, these are perhaps no longer fully acceptable to the youth of these countries. They want the process of liberalization, or democratization, whatever you may call it, to continue. They want an enrichment of their political, cultural and economic life. These are natural tendencies that have been emerging in these countries for some time.

Even in the Soviet Union we have seen how since 1953 far-reaching changes have taken place. We saw that in Poland in 1953. We saw that in Hungary where the rulers themselves had to accede to some of the demands that emerged from below, particularly from the youth. This process is continuing. It cannot be checked. It will continue.

Therefore when in Czechoslovakia these changes began to take place, we, as people wedded to socialism, were ourselves happy. As socialists we are not people who accept all that happens in the Soviet Union or in the other socialist countries. We have not always approved. There have been times when we have been critical. There have been times when we have praised some of their achievements. But we have not been afraid to state clearly our position when something wrong has been done by any one of these governments or countries.

Therefore, if hon. Members on the other side thought that we were trying to avoid this issue and that we would not state our position, they have been mistaken.

I want to state here and now that we have been welcoming the democratic changes that have been taking place not only in Czechoslovakia but also in other socialist countries, and

we hope that they will continue and make available to the people a richer and fuller life. But that is not to say, Mr. Chairman, that we take a negative view of the achievements that have already been made in those countries during the past twenty years. We want a continuation of those developments.

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Therefore, you can understand our position on these changes that were taking place in Czechoslovakia. We did not have the slightest compunction in supporting them. There did arise differences between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia on how far they should go—on whether those changes would endanger the socialist system altogether. There were differences. There were strained feelings and no doubt there was a certain amount of tension. But after the discussions at Bratislava a communique was issued and we felt reassured and relieved that no crisis would develop. And when a few days after the Bratislava communique the armies of the Soviet Union and of other countries walked in to Czechoslovakia it came as a surprise to us. We had no hesitation, Mr. Chairman, in condemning that action because we were not convinced that there was any justification for it. We did make that statement. The S. L. F. P. and the L. S. S. P. together made that statement and we stand by that statement. We condemned that occupation. We asked for the immediate withdrawal of the troops; we asked for the restitution of the Government which was legally elected by the Czechoslovakian people, the safeguarding and the guaranteeing of the sovereignty of that country. We stand by that position, and any steps taken to achieve that end we shall welcome. All steps taken to hasten the withdrawal of the Soviet troops and the other Warsaw Power troops from Czechoslovakia we shall welcome.

We shall welcome the functioning of the legally elected Government of Czechoslovakia and the democratic

changes that this legally elected Government will continue to implement. That is our position plain and simple. We are not prepared to put this on the same level as Vietnam and what happened in the Dominican Republic a few years ago. We cannot do it, the context is not the same, but we certainly condemn the action that was taken.

We believe that, whether it be in the socialist camp or in the capitalist camp, no country has the right to march into another country except with the support, with the consent, of that country in the event of an impending war or some grave situation like that. It is the people of a country that must decide whether to call for any support of other powers or not. That is the principle that we stand for.

Now this question whether we are non-aligned or not was asked. Mr. Chairman, we have stated in our Common Programme that we will not be allied to any military bloc, any power bloc, but that we shall determine our foreign policy according to the national interests of our own country, that we shall support the struggle for national liberation, and that we are opposed to any kind of imperialism and neo-colonialism. We have stated our position quite clearly.

The S. L. F. P. Government which was at one time in power from 1956 to 1964 can be proud of its record, whatever the other side may say, on all issues that it had to face as a Government. Whether it be the Suez issue, the Hungarian issue or any other issue that came up, we have been guided by the national interests of this country and we have always supported the cause of justice in all those situations.

Mr. Chairman, we are, therefore, confident that even in the future if the people of this country decide to call upon any coalition of parties in which the S. L. F. P. will be the dominant partner, the majority partner,

[சுருக்கமாக]

the leading partner, we can assure this House and the country that we shall not falter in the conduct of our foreign affairs according to our national interests and that we shall not sacrifice the national interests of this country.

The question has been asked : What about the Communist Party ? In the assessment of this situation there have been differences between us. Their assessment of the situation is not the same as ours. But in the height of this emotional outburst we are not going to be pushed, we are not going to be driven, by Members on the other side who wish to see the Coalition or the United Front of these parties becoming a laughing stock. We are not going to play into their hands whatever differences that shall arise. And in a Coalition differences are bound to arise. You cannot get behind that fact. You have had your differences with the Federal Party. For months and months you have discussed your differences. In a Coalition these differences do arise, but I can assure you that so far as the Sri Lanka Freedom Party is concerned, we shall try our utmost to reconcile these differences guided by the genuine national interests of the country. We shall not sacrifice national interests.

People speak of invitations coming from some unknown parties. What is it? The speeches of the hon. Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Local Government and the Hon. Minister of Social Services were intended to make the flesh of the people of Ceylon creep ; merely because there are three Members of Parliament here from the Communist Party who are in the Coalition, they think that the occupation of Ceylon had already taken place.

சுருக்கமாக [The Hon. I. M. R. A. Iriyagolle—Minister of Education and Cultural Affairs) Might. (கௌரவ ஐ. எம். ஆர். ஏ. ஈரியகொல்ல—கல்வி, கலாச்சார விவகார அமைச்சர்)

(The Hon. I. M. R. A. Iriyagolle—Minister of Education and Cultural Affairs) Might.

சுருக்கமாக [The Hon. D. P. R. Gunawardena—Minister of Industries and Fisheries) (கௌரவ டி. பி. ஆர். குணவர்தன—கைத் தொழில், கடற்ரொழில் அமைச்சர்)

(The Hon. D. P. R. Gunawardena—Minister of Industries and Fisheries)

You never know. If it could have happened in Czechoslovakia, it could happen here too.

[Mr. Subasinghe) I am surprised at the Hon. Minister of Industries.

சுருக்கமாக [The Hon. D. P. R. Gunawardena) Because I know from information given about you. I have very precise information about you. I shall come out with that.

சுருக்கமாக [The Chairman) Order, please ! Please do not interrupt. The Hon. Minister can reply later.

[Mr. Subasinghe) They spoke as if the occupation of this country had already taken place, and their speeches were intended to make the people's flesh creep. No. I can assure you that these thinking is wrong.

[Mr. Subasinghe) It is true that as confirmed socialists we try to understand these problems in the interests of socialism. We do

do not deny it. For that very reason we are not prepared to allow the reactionaries and the imperialist forces to bulldoze us into position and do anything that will retard the progressive movement in this country. That is what we are most concerned about. We are convinced that in this country the problems that are now facing us can be solved only within the framework of socialism. Therefore, we believe that whatever differences may arise, we have to try and reconcile those differences. There certainly are ideological differences. We have to reconcile those differences, and the basic socialist concept has to be strengthened. And that is our position.

I do not want to take much longer. We have stated our position. It is true that there has been a difference in the evaluation and assessment of the present situation in Czechoslovakia, but we shall resolve that to the satisfaction of all without letting the progressive movement in this country weaken.

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(ශ්‍රී ලං. ඉයාසූරිය)

(Mr. Jayasuriya)

සභාපතිතුමනි, වෙකෝස් ලෝවැකියාවේ ඇති වී තිබෙන ආරාමුල, කරදරය ගැන යමක් කියන්නට පළමුවෙන්, මේ රටේ කරුණු ගැන වචනයක් දෙකක් ප්‍රකාශ කරන්නට බලාපොරොත්තු වෙනවා. අපේ ත්‍රිවිධ හමුදාව අවුරුදු 18 ක් තිස්සේ ගෙන ගිය සටනකින් ජයග්‍රහණය ලබන්නට ඔවුන්ට අවස්ථාව සලසා දීම ගැන, ගරු අගමැතිතුමාට හා මුදල් ඇමතිතුමාටත් මගේ ස්තූතිය හිමි වෙනවා. ඒ ජයග්‍රහණය ලබන්නට ඔවුන්ට පුළුවන්කම ලැබුණේ, ඉක්මණින් විසඳීමක් දෙන ලෙස විශේෂයෙන් ගරු අගමැතිතුමා, මුදල් ඇමතිතුමාට නිතර නිතර කී නිසායි. ත්‍රිවිධ හමුදා නිලධාරීන් සම්බන්ධයෙන් වැන්දඹු හා අනන්දරු විශ්‍රාම වැටුප් ක්‍රමයක් ඇති කරන ලෙස ඔවුන් කළ ඉල්ලීම, අවුරුදු 18 ක් තිස්සේම හමස් පෙට්ටියේ තිබුණා. එහෙත් අවුරුද්දකට වතාවක් අයවැය විවෘදයේදී, මේ ගරු සභාව තුළ ඒ ප්‍රශ්නය මතු කෙරුණා. එහෙත් එතැනින් එතැනට

ගියේ නැහැ. එහෙත් මේ ජාතික රජය පිහිටුවීමෙන් පසුව, අගමැතිතුමා ඒ ප්‍රශ්නය ගැන ඉතා ඕනෑකමින් කටයුතු කළ නිසා, අද ත්‍රිවිධ හමුදා නිලධාරීන්ට සතුටු වන්නට පුළුවන්කම ලැබී තිබෙනවා.

පූ. හා. 11.15

විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීවරුන් පොලීසිය ගැනත් සඳහන් කළා. ඔවුන්ගෙන් වැඩි දෙනෙකු කියා සිටියේ, පොලීසියෙන් මහජනතාවට ඇති වන කරදර, හිරිහැර ගැනයි. ඒ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීවරුන් කළ ප්‍රකාශ වැරදි යයි මා කියන්නේ නැහැ. පොලීසියේ දහ පහළොස් දහක පමණ සේවක පිරිසක් ඉන්නවා. ඔවුන් අතරින් සියයට 2 ක් නැත්නම් 3 ක් පමණ වන පිරිසකගෙන්, අර මන්ත්‍රීවරුන් සඳහන් කළ වැරදි සිදු වෙනවා ඇති. ඒ සුළු පිරිසගෙන් සිදු වන වැරදි තමා, පුවත්පත් මගින් අපට දැනගන්නට පුළුවන්කම ලැබෙන්නේ.

ලෙස්ලි ගුණවර්ධන මයා. (පානදුර)

(ශ්‍රී ලං. බෙස්ලි ගුණවර්ධන—පානදුර නාම)

(Mr. Leslie Goonewardene—Panadura)

4 වැනි තට්ටුවෙන් විසි කිරීම?

ජයසූරිය මයා.

(ශ්‍රී ලං. ඉයාසූරිය)

(Mr. Jayasuriya)

එවැනි වැරදිවලට මුළු පොලීසියටම දොස් කීම වැරදියි.

ලෙස්ලි ගුණවර්ධන මයා.

(ශ්‍රී ලං. බෙස්ලි ගුණවර්ධන)

(Mr. Leslie Goonewardene)

4 වැනි තට්ටුවක් තිබෙන්නේ කොළඹ පමණක් වීම, අපේ වාසනාවක්.

ජයසූරිය මයා.

(ශ්‍රී ලං. ඉයාසූරිය)

(Mr. Jayasuriya)

ඒ විධියේ වැරදි විතරයි, අපට පෙනෙන්නේ. අනෙක් පිරිස කරන විශාල සේවය අපට පෙනෙන්නේ නැහැ. ආණ්ඩු පක්ෂයේ මන්ත්‍රීවරයකුගෙන්, එහෙම නැත්නම් විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ මන්ත්‍රීවරයකුගෙන්

[ජයසූරිය මහ.]

කලාතුරකින් තමයි, පොලීසියට හොඳක් කියාවෙන් තේ. පොලීසියෙන් කෙරුණු වරදක් දෙකක් දැක්කාම, හැමදාමත් මුළු පොලීසියම ඒ විධියේ වැරදි කරනවාය යන හැඟීමක් ඇති වන විධියටයි, ගරු මන්ත්‍රී වරුන් කථා කරන්නේ; ක්‍රියා කරන්නේ. එවැනි වැරදි සෑම දෙපාර්තමේන්තුවකම සිදු වෙනවා. කොයිම දෙපාර්තමේන්තුවක වත් සියයට සියයක් හොඳින් කටයුතු කෙරෙන්නේ නැහැ. ඒ බව අප කවුරුනුත් හොඳින් තේරුම් ගන්නට ඕනෑ. වැරද් දක් සිදු වුණාම, ඒ වැරද්ද පෙන්වා දෙන්නට ඕනෑ. ඒ වාගේම, හොඳක් සිදු වුණාම, ඊට ප්‍රශංසා කරන්නටත් අප පුරුදු වන්නට ඕනෑ. මේ ගරු සභාවේ මන්ත්‍රීවරුන් ඉදිරිපත් කරන කරුණු අනුව යම් යම් නිගමනවලට මහජනතාව එළඹීම ස්වාභාවිකයි. ඒ නිසා, සාධාරණව කරුණු ඉදිරිපත් කිරීම අපේ යුතුකමක්.

පොලීසිය තිබෙන්නේ ගරු අගමැතිතුමා යටතේ බව එතුමාට මතක් කරන්නට කැමැතියි. මේ උදවිය විශාල සේවයක් කර තිබෙන බව තමුන් තාන්සේත් පිළි ගන්නවා ඇති. වෙන කිසිම දෙපාර්තමේන්තුවක නිලධාරීන් කටයුතු කරනවාට වඩා අමාරු විධියට පොලීසියේ නිලධාරී මහත්වරුන්ට—රාළහාමිලා වැනි උදවියට—කටයුතු කරන්නට සිදු වී තිබෙනවා. එහෙත් ඒ වැදගත් සේවය ඊට කරන එම පිරිසට ලැබෙන වෙනත් කිසිසේත්ම සැහෙන්නේ නැහැ. මේ කරුණ දැන් අවුරුදු ගණනාවක් තිස්සේම මේ සභා ගර්භය තුළදී සෑම මන්ත්‍රීවරයකුම පාහේ ප්‍රකාශ කර තිබෙනවා. එහෙත් තවම ඒ ගැන කිසිම දෙයක් සිදු වී නැහැ. ඒ ගැන විශේෂයෙන්ම තමුන් තාන්සේගේ කල්පනාව යොමු කරන ලෙස මා ඉතාමත් කරුණා වෙන්, ඉතාමත් බැහැපත්ව ඉල්ලා සිටිනවා.

හබරුදුවේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා (ප්‍රින්ස් ගුණසේකර මහා.) යුද හමුදාව ගැන කථා කරන විට කීව්වා, යුද හමුදාවේ අනුගමනය කෙරෙන සැන්ඩ්හර්ස්ට් සිරිත් විරිත් නැති කරන්නට ඕනෑය කියා. මා ඒ ගැන සම්පූර්ණයෙන්ම එකඟ වෙනවා. එපමණක් නොවෙයි, මගේ ඇස් දෙකෙන් දැක තිබෙන දේ අනුව මට කියන්නට පුළුවන්,

යුද හමුදාව අද සැන්ඩ්හර්ස්ට් සිරිත් විරිත් අනුගමනය නොකරන බව. අපේ රටට නොගැලපෙන ඒ සිරිත් විරිත් නැති කර දැමීම සඳහා අළුත් කොමාන්ඩර්තුමා—ආටිගල මහත්මයා—විශේෂ ඕනෑකමකින් යුතුව දක්ෂ ලෙස කටයුතු කර තිබෙනවා. අප ඒ ගැන ඉතාමත්ම සන්තෝෂ වෙනවා. මගේ කොට්ඨාශයේ යුද හමුදා කණ්ඩායමක් සිටින නිසා නොයෙක් අවස්ථාවලදී මට යුද්ධ හටයන්ගේ අදහස් දැන ගන්නට ලැබෙනවා. අද යුද්ධ හටයන් තුළ තිබෙන හැඟීම් මීට කලින් ඒ අය තුළ තිබුණු හැඟීම්වලට වඩා වෙනස් බව, ඊට ගැලපෙන අයුරින් ජාතික හැඟීම් ඇතිව, මේ ඊට අපේය යන හැඟීම ඇතිව ඒ අය කටයුතු කරන බව මා මේ ගරු සභාවට දැනුම් දෙන්නට සතුටුයි. අද යුද හමුදාවෙන් ඊට ප්‍රයෝජනවත් වැඩ රාශියක් සිදු වෙනවා. ආහාර ප්‍රශ්නය විසඳීම සඳහා ඒ හටයන් විශාල උනන්දුවකින් කටයුතු කරගෙන යනවා. ඉතාමත් හොඳින් වැඩ කරගෙන යාම ගැන ඒ යුද්ධ හටයන්ටත්, නිලධාරීන්ටත් අප ඉතාමත් සන්තෝෂයෙන් ප්‍රශංසා කරනවා.

මා වෙකොස්ලොවේකියානු ප්‍රශ්නය ගැන දීර්ඝ ලෙස කථා කරන්නට බලා පොරොත්තු වෙන්නේ නැහැ. ඒ සම්බන්ධයෙන් ගැටළු ප්‍රශ්න පිළිබඳව අදහස් දැක්වීම, දෙපැත්තේම ඉස්සරහ පේලිවල සිටින ජ්‍යෙෂ්ඨ දේශපාලනඥයන්ට අප භාර දෙනවා. එහෙත් සාමාන්‍ය පුද්ගලයකු හැටියට මා සදහන් කරන්නට සතුටුයි, මේ ඇති වී තිබෙන ප්‍රශ්නය සම්බන්ධයෙන් ලංකාවේ ජනතාව කෙසේ කල්පනා කළ යුතුද කියා. මේක ලංකා සම්සමාජ පක්ෂයටත්, ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයටත්, එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයටත් පමණක් අයිති ප්‍රශ්නයක් නොවෙයි. වෙකොස්ලොවේකියාවේ ඇති වූ සිද්ධීන් වැනි සිද්ධීන් ලංකාවේත් ඇති නොවන විධියට කටයුතු සලස්වා ගැනීමට මේ රටේ ජනතාව පරෙස්සම් වෙන්නට ඕනෑ. අන්ත ඒකයි, ප්‍රධාන කාරණාව. වෙකොස්ලොවේ කියාවේ මේ අර්බුදය ඇති වීමට හේතුව ගරු රාජ්‍ය ඇමතිතුමා ඊයේ සවස පැහැදිලිව ප්‍රකාශ කළා. ඒ රටේ නීත්‍යානුකූලව පිහිටුවූ රජයක් තිබුණා. මේ රටේ ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදය අනුව තෝරා ගන්නා අන්ත කෙනකුගේම ජන්දය පාවිච්චි

කර පිහිටුවූ රජයක් නොවෙයි, ඒ රටේ කොමියුනිස්ට් ප්‍රතිපත්ති අනුව, කොමියුනිස්ට් පක්ෂයේ අයගේ ජන්දය පාවිච්චි කර ඒ රටේ නීතිවල හැටියට නීත්‍යානුකූලව පිහිටුවූ රජයක් තිබුණා. එහෙත් ඒ රටේ නීතිය එයයි. ඒ නීතියට අනුව නීත්‍යානුකූල රජයක් පිහිටුවා තිබුණා. එම රජයට පෙනී ගියා, ඒ රට දියුණු කිරීම සඳහා, ඒ රටේ ජනතාවගේ හැඟීම් උඩ, එක්තරා නිදහසක් ඔවුන්ට දෙන්නට වුවමනාය කියා. ඒවාගේම රටේ ජනතාව තුළ එවැනි අදහස් ඇති වේගෙන එන විටයි මෙම තත්ත්වය ඇති වුණේ. ඔවුන් යම් යම් අමාරුකම්වලින් පෙළෙ මින් සිටියා. කන්නට නැති වන විටයි කන්නට ඉල්ලන්නේ. අදින්නට නැති වන විටයි අදින්නට ඉල්ලන්නේ. ගෙයක් නැති වන විටයි ගෙයක් ඉල්ලන්නේ. ඒවාගේම වෙනත් අයිතිවාසිකම් නැති වන විටයි ඒවා ඉල්ලන්නේ, නොයෙකුත් අන්දමින් පැහි සිටි එම රටේ ජනතාවට කල්පනා වුණා, තමන්ට මිට වඩා නිදහස වුවමනා බව. “අපට කතා කිරීමේ නිදහස ඕනෑ; ලිවීමේ නිදහස ඕනෑ.” යන අදහස ඒ උදව් යට පහල වුණා. වෙනත් රටවල සිටින මනුෂ්‍යයන්ට මෙන් තමන්ටත් එම නිදහස වුවමනා යයි ඔවුන් කල්පනා කළා. ඒ කල්පනාව ඉතා වැදගත් වෙනවා. “කන්න අදින්න තිබුණත් ඉන්ට හිටින්නට තිබුණත් ඒ විධියේ නිදහසක් නැති නම් මනුෂ්‍ය ජීවිතයේ වැඩක් ඇත්තේ නැහැ; එම නිසා අපට ඒ නිදහස ඕනෑ” යනුවෙන් ඒ උදව්‍ය කියන්නට පටන් ගත්තා. වෙකොස් ලොවේකියාවේ එවැනි හැඟීම් ඇති වේගෙන ආවා. එවැනි හැඟීම් ඇති වේගෙන එන විට ඒ ආණ්ඩුව කල්පනා කළා “ඔව් අපි මේක දෙන්නට ඕනෑ” කියා.. එසේ දීම පිණිස නීති සකස් කරද්දී මෙම තත්ත්වය අති වුණේ. නිදහසේ ලියන්නට, නිදහසේ කියවන්නට, නිදහසේ කතා කරන්නට ඉඩදීම සඳහා නීති සකස් කරගෙන යන විට, ප්‍රවෘත්ති පත්‍ර නිදහස දෙන්නට කටයුතු කරගෙන යන විට, ඒ කියන්නේ පැරණි නීති වෙනස් කර අළුත් නීති සකස්කොට යටකී නිදහස්, අයිතිවාසිකම් දෙන්නට යන විට මේ කනගාටුදායක සිද්ධිය ඇති වුණා. ඒ රට රුසියාවත් සමඟ වෙකොස් ලොවේ

ලහින් සම්බන්ධකම් ඇති කරගෙන සිටි රටක්. ඒකයි, කණගාටුව. නිදහස පිළිබඳ මෙම ආරංචිය රුසියාවට සැලවුණායින් පසු රුසියාවේ ආණ්ඩුව ඒවාට එකඟ වුණේ නැහැ; ඒවා ගැන සන්තෝෂ වුණේ නැහැ. ඊට නොයෙකුත් හේතු තිබෙන්නට පුළුවනි. ඒවා අසුවල් අසුවල් හේතූන් යැයි නියම ලෙසම අපට මෙහි සිට කියන්නට බැහැ. එහෙත් අපට කල්පනා කරන්නට පුළුවනි. සමහරවිට මෙන් න මේ හේතූන් නිසා රුසියාව එසේ ක්‍රියා කරන්නට ඇති බව මෙවැනි නිදහසක් වෙකොස්ලොවේකියාව වැනි මිත්‍ර රටකට දුන්නොත් සමහරවිට වෙනත් රට වලින් එවැනි දේට පෙළඹෙන්නට පුළුවනැයි රුසියාව සිතන්නට ඇති. ඊළඟට රුමේනියාවත් එවැනි නිදහසක් ඉල්ලන්නට පුළුවනි. ඒවාගේම අතික් රටවලින් ඉල්ලන්න පුළුවනි. අපේ මිත්‍රයන් සියළු දෙනාම ඒ අන්දමට නිදහස ලබා ගන්නට ගියොත් අන්තිමේදී කොමියුනිස්ට් ධර්මය කියා දෙයක් ඉතිරි වේදැයි කියා ඔවුන් කල්පනා කරන්නට ඇති. කොමියුනිස්ට් ධර්මය නැති වී ගියොත් තමන් තනි වේයැයි රුසියාව කල්පනා කරන්නට ඇති. “අපේ මිත්‍රයන් සියළුදෙනාම නැති වේවි” කියා රුසියාවට සිතෙන්නට ඇති. එවැනි අදහසක් ඇති වන්නට පුළුවන් බවයි මා කියන්නේ. ඒක හරියටම හරිද නැද්ද කියන්නට මා දන්නේ නැහැ. එහෙත් එවැනි දෙයක් වන්නට පුළුවනි. ඒ රටේ එවැනි නිදහසක් දෙන්න යනවාය කියන ආරංචිය ලැබුණු විට රුසියන් අණ්ඩුව ඒ රටේ තායකයන්ට කියා සිටියා, එසේ කරන්නට එපාය යනුවෙන්. ඒ පිළිබඳව නොයෙකුත් සාකච්ඡා ඇති වුණා. ඉන් පසුව “අපි එවැනි දේකට තර්ජනයක් කරන්නේ නැහැ; උඹලගෙ රටේ උඹලාට කටයුතු කරන්නට පුළුවනි” කියා, යම්කිසි තීරණයකට බැස ඒ අය වෙකොස්ලොවේ කියාවෙන් පිට වී ගෙස් දින කීපයක් ගත වූ පසු කුමක්ද සිදු වුණේ? වෙකොස්ලොවේකියානු රටේ ජනතාව රත්‍රියේ නිදා ගෙන ඉඳලා උදේ නැගිට බලන විට යුද්ධ හමුදා ඇවිත් තිබුණා ඒ යුද්ධ හමුදා ඇවිත් තුවක්කු එල්ලකොට වෙකොස්ලොවේකියා රට බලහත්කාරයෙන් අල්ලාගෙන තිබුණා.

[ජයසූරිය මහ.]

අපට හිතන්න අමාරුයි. මට ප්‍රථම කථා කළ ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයේ ලේකම් වරයකු වන කටුගම්පොල මන්ත්‍රීතුමා (සුබසිංහ මහ.) ඇසුවා, මේ මොනවාද කියන්නේ ; මේවා ලංකාවට ඒවිය තමුන් නාත්සෝලා සිතනවාද, යනුවෙන්. ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂය තිබෙන තුරු මේ රටට එවැනි දෙයක් සිදු වන්නට ඉඩ දෙන්නේ නැති හැටියට එතුමා කථා කළා. මේක හරියට හිතන්න බැරි දෙයක් විධියටයි එතුමා කතා කළේ. මම ඊට සම්පූර්ණයෙන්ම එකඟ වෙනවා. මෙවැනි දෙයක් ලෝකයේ සිදු වෙතැයි මේ කාලයේ හැටියට හිතන්නට අමාරුයි. එහෙත් මේක සිදු වුණා. ආසියාව පාශා ගෙන සිටි රටවලට අධිරාජ්‍ය වැදී රටවල් යයි අප කියන්නට පටන් ගත්තා. එංගලන්තය, ප්‍රංශය, ඕලන්දය අධිරාජ්‍යවාදී රටවල් වශයෙන් හඳුන්වන්නට පටන් ගත්තා. දැන් නම් ඒ අධිරාජ්‍යයන් නැති වීගෙන යනවා. අල්ලා ගනු ලැබූ රටවලට නිදහස දීමට ගොස් තිබෙනවා. කලබල තිබෙන විසඳිනාමය හැරුණු විට දැන් නම් නිදහස නොලැබූ එක රටක් වත් තිබෙනවද කියාත් සැක සහිතයි. කෙසේ වුණත් දැන් අර පැරණි අධිරාජ්‍ය වාදී තත්ත්වය නැති වී ගෙන යනවා. ආසියාවේ රටවලට නිදහස ලැබීගෙන යන විට අප සතුටු වුණා. අපටද නැවතවරක් නිදහස් ජාතියක් වශයෙන් සිටින්නට ලැබීම ගැන අප සතුටුවුනා ; සතුටු වෙනවා. එහෙත් මේ අතර දැන් අලුත් අධිරාජ්‍ය වාදයක් ගොඩ නැගී ගෙන එන බව අපට පෙනී යනවා. එවැන්නක් සිතීම පවා අමාරු වුණත් ඇත්තටම වෙකොස්ලොවේකියාවේ සිදු වූ දෙයින් එය තහවුරු වෙනවා. එය එසේ නොවේ යයි සමහරුන් කියනවා ඇති. එය එසේ නොවන බවට සමහරුන් තර්ක කරනවා ඇති. කෙසේ වුණත් දැන් ඒක සිදු වුණා. ප්‍රංචි රටක් නිදහස් ලෙස කටයුතු කරන්නට යන විට බීලසම්පන්න රටක් අවුත් ඒ ප්‍රංචි රටට නියෝග දෙනවා නම් ඒක අධිරාජ්‍යවාදය නොවෙයිද? මේක අලුත් අධිරාජ්‍යවාදයක්. මේ නිසා මේ රටේ ජනතාවන් කල්පනාවෙන් සිටින්නට ඕනෑ. කාරණා තෝරාම ගන්නට ඕනෑ. ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂය නම් වෙක් අර්බුදය පිළිබඳව කෙළින්ම ප්‍රකාශයක් කළා.

ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදී පක්ෂයක් හැටියට ඒ පක්ෂය ඒ විධියේ කෙළින් ප්‍රකාශයක් කිරීම ගැන අප සතුටුයි. ඇත්ත වශයෙන්ම මේ රටේ තිබෙන සෑම දේශපාලන පක්ෂයක්ම එවැනි ප්‍රකාශයක් කළා නම් එය ජනතාවගේ සතුටට හේතු වෙනවා. ලංකා සමසමාජ පක්ෂයත් ඒ විධියේ ප්‍රකාශයක් කළා. එහෙත් කොමියුනිස්ට් පක්ෂය නම් ඒ විධියේ ප්‍රකාශයක් කෙළේ නැහැ. මා ඒ පක්ෂයේ නායකයන්ට පෞද්ගලික වශයෙන් දෝෂාරෝපණයක් කිරීමට හේතු නැහැ. ඒ අය කටයුතු කරගෙන යන්නේ තම පක්ෂයේ ප්‍රතිපත්ති අනුවයි. ඒ කෙසේ වුණත් ඒ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීවරුන් අපේ රට ගැන කල්පනා කළ යුතුයි. මේ රටටත් ඔය විධියේ හයක් ඇති වේදැයි කල්පනාවෙන් සිටීම අපේ යුතුකමයි. කොමියුනිස්ට් පක්ෂයත් සමඟ එකතු වී හවුලක් ඇති කරගෙන සිටින උදවිය ගැන මේ රටේ ජනතාව තෝරාම ගන්නට ඕනෑ. වෙක් ප්‍රශ්නය ගැන අප කතා ගවු වෙනවා. එහෙත් ඒ රටවල් ඒ ප්‍රශ්නය විසඳා ගන්නට උත්සාහ කරනවා ඇති. අප කතාගවු වුණත් අපට ඊට මැදිහත් වී කටයුතු කරන්නට ශක්තියක් නැහැ. ඒ රට ගැන අපට කරන්නට සිදු වී තිබෙන්නේ සංවේග වීම පමණයි. ඒ අතර අප අපේ රටේ ස්වාධීනතාව ආරක්ෂා කර ගත යුතු බව කල්පනා කරන්නට ඕනෑ. අප ඥානවන්තව ක්‍රියා නොකළ හොත් අපට කරදර සිදු වන්නට පුළුවනි. ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයත්, ලංකා සමසමාජ පක්ෂයත්, කොමියුනිස්ට් පක්ෂයත් කොන්දේසි විසිපහකින් සමන්විත ගිවිසුමක් අත්සන් කර වැඩි කලක් ගත වුණේ නැහැ. මධ්‍යස්ථ විදේශ ප්‍රතිපත්තිය ඒ කොන්දේසිවලින් එකක්. එදා හංගේ රියාවෙන් මේ වාගේ සිද්ධියක් ඇති වූ විට අගලවන්නේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා (ආචාර්ය කොල්වින් ආර්. ද සිල්වා) මෙම ගරු සභාවේදී බොහොම වැදගත් කථාවක් කළ බව ඊයේ කථා කළ පළාත් පාලන කටයුතු පිළිබඳ ගරු පාර්ලිමේන්තු ලේකම්තුමා කීවා. හැබැයි, එදා සමසමාජ පක්ෂය වෙනත් පක්ෂ සමඟ එකතු වී සිටියේ නැහැ. පක්ෂ කීපයක් එකට එකතු වුණාම කලින් පැවති යම් යම් ප්‍රතිපත්ති අමතක කර දමන්නට සිදු වෙනවා. යම්කිසි හැඟීමක් උඩ එක් වුණාට පසුව එක් කණ්ඩායමක්

වශයෙන් කල්පනා කරන්න ඕනෑ; එක් ප්‍රතිපත්තියක් අනුව ක්‍රියා කරන්න ඕනෑ. පැරණි අදහස් උඩ, පැරණි තත්ත්වයන් උඩ, කණ්ඩායමකට හෝ පක්ෂයකට දෙස් නැගීම වැරදියයි පිළිගන්න නිසා සම සමාජ පක්ෂයේ පැරණි අදහස් ගැන අප කලා කරන්න යන්නේ නැහැ. කොමියුනිස්ට් පක්ෂයේ පැරණි අදහස් ගැන අප කලා කරන්න යන්නේ නැහැ. ශ්‍රී ලංකා, කොමියුනිස්ට් සහ සමසමාජ පක්ෂ වල පැරණි ප්‍රතිපත්තිය ගැන කලා කරන්න යන්නේ නැහැ. එසේ වුණත් ශ්‍රී ලංකා සමසමාජ සහ කොමියුනිස්ට් යන පක්ෂයන් එකමුතුව, එක්කාසු වී යම් ප්‍රති පත්තියක් ඉදිරිපත් කලා නම්, යම් අදහස් ඉදිරිපත් කලා නම් ඒ අනුව තමයි මේ රටේ ජනතාව නැතිනම් මේ රටේ අනිකුත් දේශ පාලන පක්ෂ ඒ කණ්ඩායම විවේචනය කරන්නේ එහෙම නම් ගරු සභාපති තුමනි, අලුත් අදහස් අනුව මෙම පක්ෂ එකතු වුනාට පසුව නොවෙද මෙබඳු සිද්ධියක් ඇති වුණේ? විදේශ ප්‍රතිපත්තිය ආදී කරණය විසිපහක් සම්බන්ධයෙන් එකඟ භාවයකට පැමිණුනාට පසුව නොවෙද වෙකොස්ලොවැකියානු සිද්ධිය ඇති වුණේ? ඒ අන්දමට ඇති කර ගත් පොදු සම්මුතියකට පටහැණිව කොමියුනිස්ට් පක්ෂය අද ක්‍රියා කරනවා නම් රටේ ජනතාව කොහොමද මෙම පක්ෂය කෙරෙහි විශ්වාසයක් තබන්නේ?

වෙකොස්ලොවැකියාවේ අද වන සිද්ධිය යම් දවසක මේ රටේ ඇති වුණාට පසුව භය වෙන්න එපා යයි කීමෙන් 'වැඩක් වෙනවාද? රට ආක්‍රමණය කලාට පස්සෙ භය වෙන්න එපායයි ජනතාවට කීමෙන් වැඩක් වෙනවාද? මෙන්න මේ කාරණය ගැන ජනතාව කල්පනා කර බලන්න ඕනෑ. ගරු සභාපතිතුමනි, මේ රටේ සාමාන්‍ය පුද්ගලයකු වශයෙන්, වෙකොස්ලොවැකියාවේ දැනට සිදුවන සිද්ධීන් දෙස සැලකිල්ලෙන් බලන විට මට ඇති වුණ සාධාරණ භය නිසයි මේ අදහස් ගරු සභාවේදී මා ප්‍රකාශ කළේ. මෙයට වඩා බැරැම් ලෙස කාරණය ප්‍රකාශ කිරීම ඉදිරි පේලියේ සිටින ගරු ඇමතිවරුන්ට භාර කරනවා. ඇත්ත වශයෙන්ම අපට ඇති වී තිබෙන භය සාධාරණ බව කවුරුත් පිළි ගන්නවා ඇති. රටේ ජනතාවට මෙහි නියම තත්ත්වය අප තේරුම් කර දෙනවා වන්නේ නැහැ.

ඕනෑ. අපත් රටේ ජනතාවත් නියම තත්ත්වය පැහැදිලි ලෙස අවබෝධ කර ගෙන අප ඒ සම්බන්ධයෙන් ගත යුතු ක්‍රියා මාර්ගය මොකක්දැයි නිගමනයට බැස ගන්න ඕනෑ.

අවසාන වශයෙන් මේ පිළිබඳව වචන ස්වල්පයක් කලා කිරීමට අවස්ථාව සලසා දීම ගැන මගේ ස්තූතිය ප්‍රකාශ කරමින් මගේ කලාව හමාර කරනවා.

ටී. බී. තෙන්නකෝන් මයා. (දඹුල්ල)
 (ශ්‍රී ල. ඊ. පී. தென்னகோன்—தம்புள்ளை)
 (Mr. T. B. Tennekoon—Dambulla)

ගරු සභාපතිතුමනි, මෙම වැය ශීර්ෂය යටතේ වචන ස්වල්පයක් ප්‍රකාශ කිරීම ඉතාමත්ම යෝග්‍ය කාරණයක් කොට මා සලකනවා. මන්ද? සාකච්ඡා කරන වැය ශීර්ෂය මොකක්ද කියා අමතක වන තර මට මෙම විවාදය වෙනත් පැත්තකට ගමන් කර තිබෙන බව අපට පැහැදිලිව පෙනී යනවා. දැන් අප ලංකාවේ, රාජ්‍ය-රක්ෂක සහ විදේශ කටයුතු පිළිබඳ අමාත්‍යාංශයේ වැඩ කටයුතු ගැන, යුද්ධ හමුදාව ගැන, රාජකීය ලංකා නාවුක හමුදාව ගැන, රාජකීය ලංකා ගුවන් හමුදාව ගැන, විදේශ බාහිර කටයුතු පිළිබඳ දෙපාර්තමේන්තුව ගැන—

ගරු ඊරියගොල්ල
 (கௌரவ ஈரியகொல்ல)
 (The Hon. Iriyagolle)

ඇයි විදේශ කටයුතු බාහිර කාරණයක් නොවෙද?

ටී. බී. තෙන්නකෝන් මයා.
 (ශ්‍රී ල. ඊ. පී. தென்னகோன்)
 (Mr. T. B. Teenekoon)

පොතේ තිබෙන්නේ නම් එහෙමයි. ඒවා ගැන තමයි කලා කරන්න ඕනෑ. නමුත් අප කලා කරන්නේ ඊට පිටස්තර වෙනත් දේවල් ගැනයි. වෙකොස්ලොවැකියානු ප්‍රශ්නයට වඩා වැඩිපුර යමක් කලා කරන බවක් පෙනෙන්න නැහැ. කලා කරන්න වුවමනාකමක් දක්වන්නේ නැහැ. ඇත්ත වශයෙන්ම අධ්‍යාපන ඇමතිතුමාගේ පාර්ලිමේන්තු ලේකම් තුමා ඒ පිළිබඳව කාරණය පැහැදිලිව ඉදිරිපත් කලා. ඒ වාගේම අපේ පක්ෂයේ අයත් ඒ ගැන කරුණු ඉදිරිපත් කලා. ඒ නිසා ඒ ගැන යමක් කියන්න මා බලාපොරොත්තු වන්නේ නැහැ.

[වී. බී. තෙන්නකෝන් මහ.]

නමුත් මා එකක් කිව යුතුව තිබෙනවා. වෙකෝස් ලොවැකියාවට රුසියන් හට හමුදා යැවීම ගැන පමණක්ද, අප බිය විය යුතුව තිබෙන්නේ? ඊටත් වඩා සාධාරණ වශයෙන් බිය විය යුතු කරුණක් අපට තිබෙනවා. අන්ත එය ගැනත් අපි කල්පනා කරන්න ඕනෑ. ගරු පළාත් පාලන උප ඇමතිතුමා ඊයේ කතා කරමින් කියන්න යෙදුනා මෙන් මේ වගේ දෙයක්. අප එකතු වී මේ රටේ ආණ්ඩුවක් පිහිටුවුවොත් කොමියුනිස්ට්කාරයින් විසින් වහාම මේ රටට රුසියන්කාරයින් ගෙන්වනවා ඇතැයි එතුමා කියන්න යෙදුනා. නොවරදවම රුසියන් හට හමුදා හමුදාව මේ රටට ගෙන්වා ඔවුන් ලවා මේ රට යටත් කරවනවාට කිසිම ඝාතයක් නැති බව එතුමා විසින් කියන්න යෙදුනා. ගරු සභාපතිතුමනි, මොන අන්දමකින් වත් එවැනි තත්ත්වයක් ඇති වීම ගැන අපි කිසිසේත්ම කැමති වන්නේ නැහැ.

ඒ සමගම මා විසින් කිව යුතු තවත් කරුණක් තිබෙනවා. මේ එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයේ හත් හවුල් ආණ්ඩුවට පෙඩරල් පක්ෂය එකතු වී සිටිනවා. අද ඉන්දියාවේ විශාල ව්‍යාපාරයක් ඇති කර ගෙන යනවා, දෙමළ කතා කරන උදවියගේ රාජ්‍යයක් වහාම ඇති කළ යුතුය, ඒ දෙමළ රාජ්‍යයට සියලු දෙනාම යටත් කර ගත යුතුය කියා, ඒ අය විශාල ව්‍යාපාරයක් ගෙන යනවා. අන්ත ඒ ද්‍රවිඩ මුත්තේත්‍ර කසාගම් කියන පක්ෂයේ හට හමුදාවන් මේ රටට කැඳවුවොත්, ඒ හට පිරිසක් මේ රටට ආවොත්, අප බිය විය යුත්තේ රුසියාවට නොවෙයි. අපේ මේ අගමැතිතුමා ඇතුළු ඇමති මණ්ඩලය කියන අන්දමට, රුසියන්කාරයින් ඒ රටේ සිට අහසින් ආවත් රටවල් කිහිපයක්ම පසු කර ගෙනයි අපේ රටට පැමිණිය යුත්තේ. රුසියන්කාරයින්ට ඒ තරම් ලෙහෙසියෙන් මේ රටට එන්න පුළුවන්කමක් නැහැ. ගොඩබිමෙන් ආවත්, ඒ වගේම තව තවත් ප්‍රබල රටවල් පසු කර ගෙනයි එන්න ඕනෑ. ඒ නිසා ඒ අයට ලංකාවට එන්න බොහොම අමාරුයි. නමුත් ඉතිහාසයේ දැක්වෙන අන්දමට දීර්ඝ කාලයක් තිස්සේ අපට කරදර ආවේ රුසියාවෙන් නොවෙයි, මේ අල්ලපු රටිනුයි. ඒ නිසා නවදුරටත් ඒ අය සමග මේ විවිධ ආකාරවලින්

කම් ඇති කර ගෙන යාමෙන් මොන විධියේ තත්ත්වයක් ඇති වේදැයි සිතන්න අමාරුයි. ඒ නිසා ඒ ගැන අපට ලොකු සාධාරණ බියක් ඇති වී තිබෙන බව මේ අවස්ථාවේදී ප්‍රකාශ කරන්න ඕනෑ. කවුරුත් විසින් කළත්, වරද වරදක් හැටියට අපි පිළිගන්න ඕනෑ. ඒ නිසා අපේ මේ භීතිය ගැන කතා කිරීමේදී දීර්ඝ කාලයක් තිස්සේ වැඩියෙන් අපේ රට ආක්‍රමණය කළ අයට අප වැඩියෙන් බිය විය යුතුයි. දීර්ඝ කාලයක් තිස්සේ අපේ රට ආක්‍රමණය කළේ නමුත් නාන්සේලා සමග අත්වැල් බැඳගෙන සිටින නමුත් නාන්සේලා සමග එකට රජ කරන ඔය ද්‍රවිඩ අය බව කවුරුත් පිළිගන්නවා. ඒ නිසා අපි ගැලවෙනවා නම් ගැලවිය යුත්තේ ඒ අයගෙනුයි. අපේ රට කිසිම විධියකින් රුසියාවට පාවා දෙන්න කිසිම දවසක අපි සූදානම් වන්නේ නැහැ. එවැනි තත්ත්වයක් කිසිම දවසක ඇති නොවන බවට අපගේ ජීවිත ඔට්ටුවට තබා පොරොන්දු වෙන්න පුළුවනි. නමුත් මේ අප ලගම සිටින, අප සමගම සිටින පිරිස ගෙන් නම් එවැනි තත්ත්වයක් ඇති වේවිය කියා සිතන්න ඉඩ තිබෙනවා. දීර්ඝ කාලයක්ම ලංකාව ගිල ගෙන සිටීමට පුරුදු වූ ඒ ද්‍රවිඩ ජනතාවගෙන් ගැලවීමට අපට පුළුවන් වේද? අද ඇති කර ගෙන තිබෙන ඔය සබඳකම් උඩ ඔවුන්ගෙන් ගැලවීමට පුළුවන් වේය කියා සිතන්න අමාරුයි. ඒ නිසා මා කියනවා, රටේ තිබෙන ඒ සාධාරණ බිය ගැනත් ටිකක් කල්පනා කර බලන්නය කියා. රුසියාවේ සිටින අපේ ඇසට නොපෙනෙන වළඟා ගැන කල්පනා කරනවා වාගේම නිතර දෙවේලේ පෙනෙන මේ කොටියා ගැනත් කල්පනා කර බලන්නය කියා මා ඉල්ලා සිටිනවා. ඒ පිළිබඳව එපමණයි කියන්නට තිබෙන්නේ.

විදේශ බාහිර කටයුතු පිළිබඳ දෙපාර්තමේන්තුව ගැන විශේෂයෙන්ම අගමැතිතුමාගේ අවධානය යොමු වියයුතු කරුණු දෙක තුනක් තිබෙනවා. මමත් රටවල් කීපයකම සංචාරය කර තිබෙනවා. සෑම තානාපතිවරයකුම ගැන සඳහන් කරමින් කතා කරන්නට මා අදහස් කරන්නේ නැහැ. සමහර විදේශ රටවලට ලංකාවෙන් යවා තිබෙන තානාපතිවරුන්ගෙන් හරියාකාරව

සේවයක් නොලැබෙන බවත්, මේ රටට ඔවුන්ගෙන් ප්‍රයෝජනයක් නොලැබෙන බවත් පමණක් මා මේ අවස්ථාවේදී කියන්නට සතුටුයි. අපේ තානාපතිවරුන්ගෙන් වැඩි දෙනෙකුගේම තත්ත්වය එකයි.

ගරු ඊරියගොල්ල

(කෙළරඹ ආර්යකොල්ල)

(The Hon. Iriyagolle)

කටුගම්පොල ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා සුබසිංහ මයා, ආච්චේ ඒ නිසාද?

පී. බී. තෙන්නකෝන් මයා.

(ශ්‍රී ලං. ඊ. පී. තෙන්නකෝන්)

(Mr. T. B. Tennekoon)

කටුගම්පොල ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා රුසියාවේ තානාපතිවරයා වශයෙන් ඉතාම හොඳට දක්ෂ ලෙස, ප්‍රයෝජනවත් ලෙස වැඩ කළ බව අපද දන්නවා. එතුමා රුසියාවේ තානාපතිතුමා වශයෙන් වැඩ කරන කාලයේ අපට රුසියාවට යන්නට අවස්ථාවක් ලැබුණා. එතුමා ඒ අවස්ථාවේදී අපට ලංකාවේ බත්වලින් සංග්‍රහ කළා.

ගරු ඊරියගොල්ල

(කෙළරඹ ආර්යකොල්ල)

(The Hon. Iriyagolle)

එහෙම නම් හරි සේවයක් නොවූ කර තිබෙන්නේ.

පී. බී. තෙන්නකෝන් මයා.

(ශ්‍රී ලං. ඊ. පී. තෙන්නකෝන්)

(Mr. T. B. Tennekoon)

විදේශ රටවල සිටින අපේ තානාපති වරුන් බොහොම දෙනෙකුටම ලංකාවේ ද්‍රව්‍ය ගැන, ලංකාවේ ගැන අවබෝධයක් නැහැ. මා බටහිර ජර්මනියටත් ගියා. අප ලංකාවේ මිනිසුන්ගේ කියා බටහිර ජර්මන් වැසියන්ට කිව්වා. ඒ අවස්ථාවේදී ලංකාව කියන්නේ හොඳ තේ තිබෙන රටක් තේද කියා ඔවුන් අපෙන් ඇසුවා. ලංකාව ගැන ඔවුන් දන්නා තවත් කරුණක් තිබෙනවා. වර්තමාන විරුද්ධ පක්ෂයේ නායකතුමිය අගමැතිනිය වශයෙන් කටයුතු කරන කාලයේදී තමයි අප ඒ රටවලට ගියේ. කාන්තාවක් අගමැති වශයෙන් සිටින රට ලංකාව තේද කියාත් ඒ ජර්මන් වැසියන් අපෙන් ඇසුවා. ලංකාව ගැන ඒ පිටරටියන් තුළ තිබෙන දැනුම එපමණයි.

ගරු ඊරියගොල්ල

(කෙළරඹ ආර්යකොල්ල)

(The Hon. Iriyagolle)

ඒ මදයි.

පූ. භා. 11.45

පී. බී. තෙන්නකෝන් මයා.

(ශ්‍රී ලං. ඊ. පී. තෙන්නකෝන්)

(Mr. T. B. Tennekoon)

ඒ කාලයේ ලංකාව පිළිබඳව පිටරටියන් තුළ තිබුණු අවබෝධය එපමණයි. ලංකාව වෙනුවෙන් පෙනී සිටින සෑම තානාපතිවරයකුම තරකය කියා මා කියන්නේ නැහැ. හොඳ අයත් ඇති. නමුත් බොහොමයක්ම තානාපතිවරුන්ගෙන් ලංකාවට ලැබෙන සේවය කොහෙන්ම ප්‍රමාණවත් නැති බව පිළිගන්නට ඕනෑ. මේ උදවිය ලංකාවේ තානාපතිවරුන් වශයෙන් ඒ විදේශවල වාසය කරන්නේ ලංකාවේ මිනිසුන් හැටියට නොවෙයි. නමුත් විදේශ රටවල් වෙනුවෙන් ලංකාවේ සිටින සෑම තානාපතිවරයකුම වාගේ තම තමන් නියෝජනය කරන රටවල වැසියන් මෙන් ලංකාවේ වාසය කරන බව ඕනෑම කෙනෙකුට පෙනී යනව ඇති. විදේශ රටවල සිටින ලංකාවේ තානාපතිවරු ඒ ආකාරයට කටයුතු නොකී ජිම අපේ කණගාටුවට කරුණක්. මා නම් එය කොහෙන්ම අනුමත කරන්නේ නැහැ. අපේ තානාපතිවරුන් විදේශ භාෂාවක් භාවිතා කරමින් ලංකාවේ නොවෙයි වෙනත් විදේශ රටක මිනිසුන් මෙන් ඒ රටවල වාසය කරන බව කණගාටුවෙන් සඳහන් කරන්නට ඕනෑ.

සභාපති

(අක්කිරාඡනාරි)

(The Chairman)

බත් කන්නෙන් තැද්ද?

පී. බී. තෙන්නකෝන් මයා.

(ශ්‍රී ලං. ඊ. පී. තෙන්නකෝන්)

(Mr. T. B. Tennekoon)

සමහර විට බත් කන්නෙන් නැතිව ඇති.

ගරු ඩී. පී. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන

(කෙළරඹ ඩී. පී. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන)

(The Hon. D. P. R. Gunawardena)

සිංහල තේරෙන්නේ නැත්නම් ඒ රට වල මිනිසුන්ට?

ශ්‍රී ඊරියගොල්ල

(கௌரவ ஈரியகொல்ல)

(The Hon. Iriyagolle)

බුලත් කතවද දන්තෙ නැහැ.

වී. බී. තෙන්නකෝන් මයා.

(திரு. ஈ. பி. தென்னகோன்)

(Mr. T. B. Tennekoon)

අධ්‍යාපන ඇමතිතුමනි, මමත් බුලත් කත කෙනෙක්. සිංහල මිනිසුන් බුලත් කැවා. සිංහල රජ වරුන් බුලත් කැවා. බුලත් ගැන තව එකක් කියන්නම්. රජ කෙනෙකුට “බුලත් මේ වැඩීම” තමයි ඉස්සර කරන්නට තිබුණු ලොකුම රාජකාරිය. ඇහැලේපොළ නිලමෙතුමා මුලින්ම කළේ රජතුමාට බුලත් මේ වැඩීමයි. මහාධිකාරම් වෙන්තට ප්‍රථමයෙන් එතුමා කළේ රජතුමාට බුලත් මේ වැඩීමයි. එපමණ දුරට සිංහලයන් බුලත් පාවිච්චි කළා. ඉතින් අපිත් මේ ගොඩේ උපන් අය නිසා සාමාන්‍ය ගම්බද සිංහල උතුරුවට ගම්බද ජනතාව ප්‍රච්චන් තරම් කිට්ටුවෙන් ආශ්‍රය කරමින් ජීවත්වීමට අවස්ථාව ලැබුණා. දුප්පත් මිනිසුන් නිසා අපට ඔය විදේශ පිළිවෙත් වැළඳ ගන්නට අවස්ථාවක් ලැබුණේ නැහැ. රටේ වාසනාවකට මෙන් අප දුප්පත් වූ නිසා විදේශ වත් පිළිවෙත් වැළඳ ගන්නට අවස්ථාවක් නොලැබුණු නිසා අද අපට මේ රට ගැන, මේ රටේ සිරිත් විරිත් ගැන, භාෂාව ගැන, ආගම ගැන, ජාතිය ගැන කැක්කුමක් ඇතිව කටයුතු කිරීමේ අවස්ථාව ලැබී තිබෙනවා. කොයි විධියකින් හරි අපි ධනවත් පවුලක එහෙම ඉපදුණා මේ අපටත් සිංහල එපා වෙනව; බුලත් එපා වෙනව; මේ රටේ සිරිත් විරිත් කිසිවක් එපා වෙනව. ඒක ස්විටර්සි. මට කල්පනා වෙන්තෙ, මේ අපේ දුප්පත්කමින් රටට ප්‍රයෝජනයක් වුණා කියයි.

බොහොම දෙනෙක් පොලීසිය ගැන කතා කරද්දී පොලීසියේ වැරදි පැත්තමයි, පෙන්වා දුන්නෙ. එක්තරා කල්පනාවක් ඇතුළු පොලීසියේත්, යුද්ධ හමුදාවේ හා නාවුක හමුදාවේත් ආධාරය මේ ආණ්ඩුවත් බලාපොරොත්තු වෙනවා ඇති; අපේ ආණ්ඩුවත් බලාපොරොත්තු වෙන්ත ඇති. එහෙත් තවමත් මේ හමුදා තිබෙන්නෙ පුරාණ කාලයේ මේවා පැවති තාලයටම බවයි අපට පෙනී යන්නෙ. පැරණි කලයේ මේ හමුදා පිහිටුවන්නට යෙදුණේ, මිනිසුන් වත් රටවත් ආරක්ෂා කිරීමේ අදහසින්

නොව මිනිසුන් හය කිරීමේ අදහසින්. යුද්ධ හමුදාව පිහිටව්වෙ, සාමාන්‍ය මිනිසුන් හය කිරීමටයි. පොලීස් හමුදාව පිහිටව්වෙ සාමාන්‍ය මිනිසුන් හය කිරීමටයි. නාවුක හමුදාව පිහිටව්වෙ සාමාන්‍ය මිනිසුන් හය කිරීමටයි. මිනිසුන් අද වනතුරුත් පොලීසියක් තිබෙන පාරකවත් යන්නට හයයි. මොකද, අධිරාජ්‍යවාදී කාලයේ පොලීසියත්, යුද්ධ හමුදාවත්, නාවුක හමුදාවත් පිහිටව්වෙ මිනිසුන් පාගා තබා ගැනීම පිණිස තිසයි. අදත් මිනිසුන් තුළ ඒ පැරණි හය තිබෙනව. අදත් පොලීසිය හා අනිකුත් හමුදා තුළ ඒ අධිරාජ්‍යවාදී ස්වරූපය එහෙමම තිබෙනව. පොලීසියේ හා අනිකුත් හමුදාවල ඉතා දූෂිත අන්දමින් අසරණ තත්ත්වයකින් වහලුන් මෙන් වැඩ කරන පිරිස තමයි, ඒ හමුදාවල සුළු නිලධාරීන්. ඒ හමුදාවල උසස් නිලධාරීන් මහාරාජා වරුන් වගේ අනිකුත් සුළු සේවකයන්ට සලකන්නෙ බොහොම පහත් අන්දමටයි. අපි කවුරුත් කරන්නේ රජයේ සේවයක්, අපි කවුරුත් කරන්නේ මිනිසුන්ගේ සේවයක් කියන කල්පනාව ඇතිව වැඩ කරන උසස් නිලධාරීන් මේ හමුදාවල ඉතා අඩු බව අපි පිළිගන්න ඕනැ.

කසිප්පු පෙරන්නෙත් පොලීසියේ උදව් වෙන්ය, සුදු කෙළවන්නෙත් පොලීසියට අල්ලස් දෙමින්ය, අනිකුත් සෑම අපරාධයක්ම වගේ කෙරෙන්නෙත් පොලීසියේ අනු දැනුම ඇතිවය, ආදී වශයෙන් මහ ජනයා අතර තද බල ලෙස කතා පවතිනව. ඒ වගේම ඒ කතාව හුඟක් දුරට ඇත්ත බවත් ඡනයෙක් අවස්ථාවල අපට පෙනී යනවා. එහෙත් සාධාරණව සේවය කරන අසරණ පිරිසක් පොලීස් දෙපාර්තමේන්තු වේත්, යුද හමුදාවලත්—යුද හමුදා මේ රටට අවශ්‍ය වුණත්, නැතත්—සිටින බව අපට කොයි විධියකින්වත් අමතක කරන්නට පුළුවන්කමක් නැහැ. පොලීසියේ සේවය කරන සාමාන්‍ය උදවියට ඔවුන්ගේ තත්ත්වයට සරිලන ආදායමක් නොමැති නිසා ඔවුන් ඒ විධියේ වැරදිවලට පෙළඹෙන්නට ඉඩ තිබෙන බව බොහෝ දෙනෙක් ප්‍රකාශ කළා. ඒකත් ඇත්ත වෙන්තට පුළුවනි. දිවංගත බණ්ඩාරනායක අගමැතිතුමා අණ්ඩුව පිහිටව්ව හැටියෙම වගේ පොලීසියේ සාමාන්‍ය නිලධාරීන්ගේ පඩි වැඩි කළා. ඒ පඩි වැඩි කිරීම සිදු කළේ,

ඔවුන්ගේ දැක්ගැනවිලිවලට කන්දී ඔවුන් යම්කිසි තත්ත්වයක තබන්නට ඕනෑය කියන කල්පනාවෙන් බව කියන්නට ඕනෑ.

ගරු සභාපතිතුමනි, රාජ්‍ය ඇමතිතුමා සහ ආණ්ඩු පක්ෂයෙන් කථා කළ මන්ත්‍රී වරුන් බොහෝ දෙනෙකු විදේශ පිළිබඳ මධ්‍යම ප්‍රතිපදාව ගැන ඊයේ කළ කථා මට අහන්නට ලැබුණා. ඒ පිළිබඳවත් වචනයක් දෙකක් කියන්නට ඕනෑ. විදේශ ප්‍රතිපත්තිය ගැන කථා කරන විට මට බොහෝම ප්‍රීතියක් ඇති වෙනවා. ඒ මොකද? විදේශයන් පිළිබඳව මෙවැනි ප්‍රතිපත්තියක් 1956 ට කලින් මේ රටේ තිබුණේ නැති අතර, ලෝකයේ කොයි පැත්තත් ඒක වාගේ කල්පනා කරන සාධාරණ විදේශ ප්‍රතිපත්තියක් ඇති කෙළේ දිවංගත බණ්ඩාරනායක අගමැති තුමා විසින් නිසායි. එපමණක් නොවෙයි, කොයිම විදේශයකටවත් කිසිම බියක් තැබුව ක්‍රියා කරන්න අපට පුළුවන් වුණා. කටුනායක කඳවුර, ත්‍රිකුණාමලේ කඳවුර ආදී ස්ථානවලින් විදේශිකයන්ට තිබූ බලය නැති කර, විදේශ ආධිපත්‍ය පිළිබඳ ලක්ෂණ සම්පූර්ණයෙන්ම නැති කර ආර්ථික අතින් සහ වෙනත් අංශවලින් අපට යම් කිසි පඩුවක් • සිදු වුණේ ටී නමුත්, අපේ ආත්ම ගෞරවය රැකගෙන මධ්‍යස්ථ බව ප්‍රකාශ කිරීමට අපට පුළුවන් කම ලැබුණා.

කවුරු මොනවා කිව්වත් සභාපතිතුමනි, දිවංගත අගමැතිතුමාගේ විදේශ ප්‍රතිපත්තිය ගැන හොඳ හැටි කරුණු තෝරාම ගෙන පැහැදිලි ප්‍රතිපත්තියක් තිබෙන අපේ පක්ෂය කිසිම දිනක තවත් මොනම බල වේගයක් තිබෙන රටකට වේවා බිලි වන්නේවත්, යට වන්නේවත්, පක්ෂ පාත වන්නේවත් නැති බවත්, එවැනි රටවල් විසින් කරනු ලබන අසාධාරණයක් හොඳය කියන්නේ නැති බවත් මා ස්ථිරවම මේ ගරු සභාවේදී ප්‍රකාශ කරන්න කැමතියි.

පොලීසිය ගැන තවත් කරුණක් මා විසින් සඳහන් කළ යුතුව තිබෙනවා. පොලීසි අපට වුවමනා නැත කියලත් සමහර වෙලාවට හිතෙනවා. ඒ මොකද? මහජනයා පොලීසිය කෙරෙහි දක්වන හීතිය නිසා. සාධාරණ විධියට තම යුතුකම් ඉටු කරනවා නම් යම් කෙනෙකුගෙන්

අතවරයක් හෝ වැරද්දක් සිදු වූ විට තම මව්පියන් මෙන් මහජනතාව ආරක්ෂා කර ගත යුත්තේ පොලීසියයි. යම් කෙනෙකුගෙන් යම් වරදක් සිදු වූ විට ඒ ගැන කරුණු ඉදිරිපත් කළ හැකි කිව්වම ස්ථානය පොලීසියයි. ඒ නිසා පොලීසියේ වැඩ කටයුතු මහජනයාට දෝහි වන අන්දමින් මහජනයාගේ අප්‍රසාදයට ලක් වන අන්දමින් කෙරෙනවා නම් ඒවා තවදුරටත් එසේ පැවතගෙන යන්නට ඉඩ නොදී පොලීසියේ ඇති ඒ තත්ත්වය වෙනස් කිරීමට ගරු අගමැතිතුමාගේත් ඒ වගකිය යුතු නිලධාරීන්ගේත් කල්පනාවට හාජනය කිරීම ඉතාමත් වටිනා බව මා ප්‍රකාශ කරන්න කැමතියි.

මගේ කොට්ඨාශයේ දඹුල්ලේ පොලීසියක් තිබෙන නමුත්, ඒ පොලීසිය නොයෙක් නොයෙක් තැන්වලට අරගෙන යනවා. ස්ථිර තැනක් නැහැ. අද බලන විට එක ගෙදරක පොලීසිය පිහිටුවා තිබුණා නම් හෙට බලන විට තවත් ගෙදරකට ගෙන ගොස් තිබෙනවා. ඔය විධියට මුළු පොලීසියම ඇවිදිනවා. ඒ නිසා ගරු අගමැතිතුමාගෙන් මා ඉල්ලා සිටිනවා පොලීසියට ස්ථිර තැනක් සකස් කර දීමට කටයුතු කරන්නාය කියා. දඹුල්ල ඉතාම උසස් රාජධානියක්. ඉස්සර රාජධානි කාලෙ නම් ඔය විධියේ පොලීසි තිබුණේ නැහැ. වෙනත් ක්‍රමයකින් යම් නිලධාරීන් සිටි බව අප දන්නවා. ඒ නිලධාරීන් ගැන විස්තර කීමට දැන් කාලයක් නැහැ. ඒ නිසා දඹුල්ලේ පොලීසියට ස්ථිර ගොඩනැගිල්ලක් සපයා දී හොඳ යහපත් උදවිය තෝරා එහි සේවය පිණිස එවන්නාය කියා මා ඉල්ලන අතර, පොලීසිවල ඇති ලොකු කුඩා සියලුම අඩුපාඩුකම් මඟ හරවා මේ රටේ ජනතාවට ප්‍රයෝජනවත් අන්දමින් පොලීස් සේවය පැවැත්වේවා කියා මා අවසාන වශයෙන් ප්‍රාර්ථනා කරනවා.

කා. පො. ඉරත්තිනම් මයා. (කිලිනොච්චි)
(කි.ප. පො. රා. இரத்தினம்—கிளிநொச்சி)
(Mr. K. P. Ratnam—Kilinochchi)
නැගී සිටියේ ය—
எழுந்தார்.

සචායනායක

(அக்கிராசனர்)

(The Chairman)

Order, please! The Sitting is suspended till 2 P.M.

අස්වීම ඊට අනුකූලව නවකාලීනව අත්සිටුවන ලදී, ප. ම. 2 ට නැවත පවත්වන ලදී.

அதன்படி அமர்வு இடை நிறுத்தப்பட்டு, மீண்டும் பி. ப. 2 மணிக்கு ஆரம்பமாயிற்று.

Sitting accordingly suspended till 2 P.M. and then resumed.

ඉරන්තිනම් මහා.

(திரு. இரத்தினம்)

(Mr. Ratnam)

தலைவரவர்களே, இந்த விவாதத்திலே எனது தொகுதி பற்றிய விடயங்களையும், இலங்கையோடு தொடர்புள்ள வேறு விடயங்களையும் பேச எண்ணியிருந்தேன். ஆனால், இங்கே வெளியில் நடக்கின்ற பனிப்போர்புகை பறக்கும் சொற்போராக ஆகிவிட்டமையினாலும், இந்த விவாதத்தில் கலந்து கொண்ட எதிர்க்கட்சி உறுப்பினர்கள் தமிழரசுக் கட்சியைப் பற்றிச் சில விடயங்களை இங்கே கூறிய படியாலும் முதலில் அவற்றுக்கு நான் விடை கூற வேண்டியவனாக இருக்கிறேன்.

எந்தப் பிரச்சினை பற்றிச் பேசினாலும் எதிர்க்கட்சி உறுப்பினர்கள் தமிழரசுக் கட்சியை இழுத்துப் பேசுவதற்கு எப்பொழுதுமே தயங்குவதில்லை. தமிழிலே, “விழுந்த பாட்டுக்குக் குறி சுடுதல்” என்றொரு பழமொழி உண்டு. அதற்கொப்ப விழுந்த பாட்டுக்கு அகப்பட்டதையெல்லாம் தமிழரசுக் கட்சியின் தலையில் சுமத்துவதற்கு எதிர்க்கட்சி நண்பர்கள் தயங்குவதில்லை. அவர்களுடைய பேச்சில் அரசியல் நாகரிகத்தையோ, மனித உரிமையை மதிக்கும் பண்பையோ, உண்மைக்குப் பொருத்தமான கொள்கைகளையோ காண முடியவில்லை. தமிழினத்தினுடைய மொழியுரிமை, பிரதேச உரிமை, ஆட்சி உரிமை முதலிய எல்லாவற்றையும் பறித்து, இந்த நாட்டை ஒரு மொழியைப் பேசும் ஒரு இன மக்களுடையதாக ஆக்க முயல்கின்ற எதிர்க்கட்சி நண்பர்கள்—ருஷியாவில் சிறுபான்மை இனத்தினருக்குக் கொடுக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிற மொழி உரிமையையோ, பிரதேச உரிமையையோ அல்லது வேறு உரிமைகளையோ கொடுக்கத் தயங்குகிறவர்கள்—அமெரிக்கா

வில் கொடுக்கப்பட்டிருக்கும் பேச்சுச் சுதந்திரத்தையோ அல்லது பத்திரிகைச் சுதந்திரத்தையோ தர மறுக்கிறவர்கள்—இங்கே தமிழரசுக் கட்சி பற்றி பலவிதமான கருத்துக்களை வெளியிட்டார்கள்.

தமிழரசுக் கட்சி வெளி நாட்டிலிருந்து படையை அழைக்கப்போகிறது என்று கௌரவ அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர் கூறினார். ஆனால், அவர் எந்த நாட்டிலிருந்து படையை அழைக்கப்போகிறார்கள் என்று கூறவில்லை. கௌரவ தலைவரவர்களே, உங்களுக்குத் தெரியும் இந்தியாவிலே—தமிழ் நாட்டிலே—திராவிட முன்னேற்றக் கழகம் ஆட்சிக்கு வந்த காலத்தில் இலங்கையிலே பல எதிர்க்கட்சி நண்பர்கள், “திராவிட முன்னேற்றக் கழகத்துக்கும் தமிழரசுக் கட்சிக்கும் இடையில் இரகசியத் தொடர்பு உண்டு; அதனால், இலங்கை மிகவும் பாதிக்கப்படும்” என்றெல்லாம் பெரும் கூக்குரல் இட்டார்கள். பகல் நேரத்திலே பழங்கயிற்றைப் பாம்பென்று எண்ணி சப்தம் போடுகிறவர்களைப் போல அவர்கள் சப்தம் போட்டார்கள். இப்பொழுது அந்தச் சப்தம் ஓரளவுக்கு ஓய்ந்துவிட்டது. என்றாலும் தமிழரசுக் கட்சியுடன் இந்தியாவைச் சேர்த்துப் பேசும் நிலை மாறாதிருப்பது குறித்துக் கவலையடைகிறோம்.

கௌரவ தம்புளை அங்கத்தவர் (திரு. ரி. பி. தென்னக்கோன்) பேசுகையில் தமிழரசுக் கட்சி இந்தியாவிலிருந்து படையை அழைக்கப்போகிறது என்று கூறினார். அவர் வரலாற்றைப் பற்றியும் கூறினார். அவருக்கு ஒன்று கூற விரும்புகிறேன்: வரலாறு என்ன சொல்கிறது? தமிழர்கள் இலங்கை மீது படையெடுத்ததும் உண்டு; சிங்கள மன்னர்கள் தமிழ் நாடு சென்று தமிழ்நாட்டுப் படையை இங்கே கொண்டு வந்ததும் உண்டு. ஆதலால் நாம் மட்டுமல்ல, வரலாற்றைப் பின்பற்றி சிங்கள மக்களிலும் ஒரு சாரார் தமிழ்நாட்டிலிருந்தோ அல்லது இந்தியாவிலிருந்தோ ஒரு படையை அழைக்க வாய்ப்பு இருக்கிறது. அது வரலாறு.

தலைவரவர்களே, இந்தியா கூட்டுச் சேராத நாடு என்பது எங்கள் எல்லோருக்கும் தெரியும். கௌரவ தம்புளை அங்கத்தவர் கூறினார், திருவாளர் பண்டாரநாயக்க அவர்கள் தாம் கூட்டுச்சேராகக் கொள்கைக்கு முதல்வர் என்று. நாம் அதை வரவேற்கிறோம். ஆனால், கூட்டுச்சேராத கொள்கை இந்தியாவின்

தனிப்பட்ட கொள்கை. இந்தியாவும் இலங்கையும் கூட்டுச் சேராக்கொள்கையை ஆதரித்து வரும் நாடுகள். எனவே, அமெரிக்காவுடனும் ரஷ்யாவுடனும் இந்தியாவைச் சேர்த்துப் பேசுவது அரசியல் வரலாற்றுக்குப் புறம்பானது; மாறுபாடானது என்பதை உலகம் முழுவதும் ஏற்றுக் கொள்ளும்.

நாங்கள் இந்தியாவிடமிருந்து படையை அழைக்க விரும்பவில்லை. எங்களுக்கு எந்த நாட்டிலிருந்தும் படை தேவையில்லை. எங்களுடைய கோரிக்கைகள், எங்களுடைய பிறப்புரிமைகள் ஆகியவற்றைப் பெறுவதற்கு நாங்கள் நீதி, நியாயத்துக்குட்பட்டுப் போராடுவோம். நீதியும் நியாயமும் எங்களுக்கு ஈற்றில் வெற்றியை ஈட்டித் தரும் என்பதை இங்கே கூறிவைக்க விரும்புகிறேன்.

இங்கு அமெரிக்காவும் ரஷ்யாவும் போரிடுகின்றன. அமெரிக்காவைப் பற்றியும் ரஷ்யாவைப் பற்றியும் குறைத்துப் பேசிய பேச்சுக்களை இங்கு நாம் கேட்க முடிந்தது. ஆனால், இன்று யாழ்ப்பாணத்தில் அமெரிக்காவும் ரஷ்யாவும் ஒன்று சேருகின்ற செய்தியை நாம் பத்திரிகைவாயிலாக அறியக்கூடியதாக இருக்கின்றது. அகில இலங்கை தமிழ்க் காங்கிரஸ் கட்சியினரும் இடதுசாரிக் கட்சியினரும் சேர்ந்து யாழ்ப்பாணம் மாநகரசபைத் தேர்தலில் போட்டியிடப் போகிறார்களாம். இத்தகைய செய்தி ஒன்று நேற்றைய தினம் வீரகேசரியில் வெளிவந்தது. அத்தகைய முயற்சி நடந்து கொண்டிருக்கின்றதென்று எங்களுக்கும் தெரியும். ஏனெனில் சமசமாஜக் கட்சியைச் சேர்ந்த ஒருவரும் கம்யூனிஸ்ட் கட்சியைச் சேர்ந்த ஒருவரும் இப்பொழுது அகில இலங்கைத் தமிழ்க் காங்கிரசில் சேர்ந்திருக்கிறார்கள். தொழிலாளர்கள் இரத்தத்தை உறுஞ்சுபவர்கள்தான் அகில இலங்கைத் தமிழ்க் காங்கிரஸ் கட்சியினர் என்று துண்டுப் பிரசுரங்களை வெளியிட்டவர்கள் இன்று எங்களை வீழ்த்துவதற்காக அகில இலங்கைத் தமிழ்க் காங்கிரசுடன் ஒன்று சேர்ந்து இருக்கிறார்கள். நல்லாக அவர்கள் ஒன்று சேரட்டும். வடிகட்டின முதலாளித்துவக் கட்சி என்று அகில இலங்கைத் தமிழ்க் காங்கிரஸ் கட்சியை இடதுசாரிக் கட்சியினர் வர்ணிப்பதுண்டு. அது எப்படி இருப்பினும் இன்று அந்த முதலாளித்துவக் கட்சியோடு தொழிலாளர் வர்க்கத்துக்காகப் போராடும் இடதுசாரியினர் ஒன்று சேருவதன் நோக்கம் ஒன்றே

ஒன்றுதான்: தமிழ் இனத்தை அடிமைப்படுத்த விடாமல் இடைஞ்சலாக இருக்கும் தமிழரசுக் கட்சியை அழித்து விட்டால் தாம் விரும்பியவைகளைச் செய்ய முடியுமென்று இடதுசாரிக் கட்சியினர் எண்ணுகிறார்கள். ஆனால், அவர்களது அந்த எண்ணம் ஈடேற மாட்டாது. ஏனெனில் இப்பொழுது வடக்கு மாகாணத்தில் — யாழ்ப்பாணத்தில் — உள்ள இளைஞர்களது குரலை அவதானிப்பவர்களுக்கு இதன் உண்மை புலப்படும்.

ஒற்றை ஆட்சிமுறை இலங்கையில் நீடிக்க வேண்டுமென்று சொல்பவர்கள் அகில இலங்கைத் தமிழ்க் காங்கிரஸ் கட்சியினர். ஆனால், ஒற்றை ஆட்சியின்கீழ் தமிழ் இனம் தங்களது உரிமைகளைப் பெற முடியாமற் போய்விட்ட காரணத்தினால் எங்களுக்கு மத்திய அரசாங்கத்தின்கீழ், பிரிவினை இல்லாத முறையில், ஒரு இணைப்பாட்சி வேண்டுமென்று நாங்கள் கேட்டுக் கொண்டிருக்கிறோம். எமது இந்தக் கோரிக்கைகூடப் போதாதென்று தனித் தமிழ்நாடு வேண்டும் என்று கேட்கும் அளவுக்கு இன்று யாழ்ப்பாணத்தில் சில இளைஞர்கள் முன்னேறி இருக்கிறார்கள் என்றால் அதனால் தமிழ்க் காங்கிரஸ் கட்சியினருக்குத்தான் விழுக்காடு என்று சொல்லவேண்டும். ஒற்றை ஆட்சி வேண்டும் என்று சொல்லும் காங்கிரஸ் கட்சியை விடுத்து, இணைப்பு ஆட்சி வேண்டுமென்று சொல்லும் எங்கள் கட்சியைக்கூட “நீங்கள் இன்று மும்முரமாக வேலை செய்யவில்லை, எமது இழந்த உரிமைகளைப் பெற்றுத் தரவில்லை; ஆகவே வாலிபர்களாகிய நாங்கள் இனித் தமிழ்நாடுதான் கேட்கப்போகிறோம்” என்று அச்சுறுத்தும் அளவுக்கு இன்று தமிழ்ப் பகுதிகளிலே ஒரு உணர்ச்சி வேகம் தோன்றி இருக்கிறதே ஒழிய, எங்களை விட்டு ஒற்றையாட்சிவேண்டுமென்றவாறு எவரும் திரும்பவில்லை என்பதை இச்சபையிலே நான் கூறி வைக்க விரும்புகிறேன். எனவேதான் தமிழ் இனத்தின் தனிப்பெரும் பிரதிநிதிகளாக வர முயற்சித்த அகில இலங்கைத் தமிழ்க் காங்கிரஸ் கட்சியினர் இன்று இடதுசாரிகளுடன் சேர்ந்தாவது எங்களை விழுத்தலாம் என்று பகற்கனவு காண்கிறார்கள். ஏன்? அவர்கள் ஸ்ரீலங்கா சுதந்திரக் கட்சியினருடன் சேரும் காலமும் விரைவில் வரும். அதையும் நாங்கள் வரவேற்கிறோம். ஏனெனில் ஸ்ரீலங்கா சுதந்திரக் கட்சியினரும் எங்களை ஒழித்துக் கட்டவிரும்பும் ஒரு கட்சியினர்தான். இந்தச் சபையில் பேசுபவர்கள் எங்கள் கட்சியை

[ஓர்நினைவு உரை.]

இழுத்துப் பேசாமல் எந்த விடயத்தைப் பற்றியும் பேசவில்லை. தமிழ் அரசுக் கட்சி அவர்களுக்கு இடைஞ்சலாக இருப்பதால் தான் அவர்கள் அப்படிப் பேசுகிறார்கள்.

இங்கு நடைபெறும் பனிப் போரில் அதிகம் பங்குபற்ற நாங்கள் விரும்பவில்லை. ஆனால், ஒன்றை மாத்திரம் நான் இங்கு குறிப்பிட விரும்புகிறேன் : எந்த நாட்டு மக்கள் தங்கள் உரிமைகளை இழந்து பிற நாட்டிற்கு அடிமை ஆகிறார்களோ அந்த நாட்டு மக்களுடைய துன்பத்தில் பங்குபற்ற வேண்டியது மனிதப் பண்புள்ளவர்கள் ஒவ்வொருவரதும் கடமையாகும். நாம் செக் நாட்டு மக்கள் மீது அனுதாபம் காட்ட வேண்டியவர்களாக இருக்கிறோம். அதே நேரத்தில் இந்த நாட்டு மக்களுடைய பிரச்சினைகளையும் ஆராய வேண்டும். எங்கோ உள்ள ஒரு நாட்டு மக்களுக்கு அனுதாபம் காட்டும் நண்பர்கள் இந்த நாட்டில் மொழி உரிமை இழந்து வாழும் மக்களைப் பற்றியும் சிந்திக்க வேண்டும். 1944 ஆம் ஆண்டு தொடக்கம் 1956 ஆம் ஆண்டுவரை இந்த நாட்டில் சட்டபூர்வமாகத் தமிழ் மக்களுக்குத் தரப்பட்டிருந்த உரிமைகளைப் பறித்து அதன்மூலம் தங்கள் வெற்றியை ஈட்டிய ஸ்ரீலங்கா சுதந்திரக் கட்சியினரும் ஏனையோரும் மற்ற நாட்டு மக்களுக்காகப் பரிந்து பேசும் இந்த நேரத்தில் இந்த நாட்டில் அவர்கள் எப்படி நடந்து கொள்ளுகிறார்கள் என்பதையும் கொஞ்சம் சிந்தித்துப் பார்க்க வேண்டும்.

அடுத்ததாக, இங்கு வேறு பல அங்கத்தினர்கள் பேசுவிருப்பதால், நான் என்னுடைய தொகுதியிலேயுள்ள சில விடயங்களைப்பற்றிக் குறிப்பிட்டு என்னுடைய உரையை முடிக்க விரும்புகிறேன். பொலிஸாருக்கும் பொது மக்களுக்கும்மிடையேயுள்ள தொடர்பு இப்பொழுது நல்ல முறையிலே உருவாகி வளர்ந்துவருவதைக் காண்கிறோம். சென்ற இரண்டு, மூன்று ஆண்டுகளுக்கு முன்பு இருந்த நிலைமையிலும் பார்க்க இப்பொழுது பொலிஸாருக்கும் பொது மக்களுக்குமிடையேயுள்ள உறவு நல்லுறவாக வளர்ந்து வருவது எங்களுக்கு மகிழ்ச்சியைக் கொடுக்கிறது. என்றாலும் இந்த உறவு விரிந்து, வளர்ந்து பொலிஸ் பகுதியினர், மக்

களுடைய துன்பத்தைக் களைந்து, அவதிப்படுகின்ற மக்களுக்கு உதவிபுரிகின்ற ஒரு சேவையினராக மாறவேண்டுமென்பதே எங்களுடைய விருப்பமாகும்.

அடுத்ததாக, உண்மையை நாம் மறைக்காமல் சொல்லவிரும்பினால், பொலிஸ் மேல் மட்டத்திலே யுள்ளவர்களிடையே இலஞ்சம் இல்லையென்றாலும், கீழ்மட்டத்திலேயுள்ள உத்தியோகத்தார்களிடையே இது இருக்கத்தான் செய்கின்றது. இதை எந்தப் பிரதம அமைச்சராலும் அகற்ற முடியாது. இதை எப்பொழுது அகற்ற முடியுமென்றால், சாதாரண பொலிஸ் படையினரை போதிய வருவாயுள்ளவர்களாக, போதிய வசதியுள்ளவர்களாக ஆக்கினால்தான் இதை நீக்கிவிட முடியும். இங்கு பல கௌரவ அங்கத்தினர் இதுபற்றிக் கூறியிருப்பது எனக்குத் தெரியும். ஒரு சாதாரண பொலிஸ்காரர் 24 மணித்தியாலங்கள் வேலை செய்ய வேண்டியிருக்கிறது. பொலிஸ்காரர்கள் தங்களுடைய குறைகளை முறையாக எடுத்துக்கூற அவர்களுக்குப் போதிய வாய்ப்பு இல்லை. எனவே இந்தப் பொலிஸ் படையினர் போதிய ஊதியம் பெற்று, போதிய வருவாயைப் பெற்றால்தான் அவர்கள் நல்லவர்களாக, பண்புள்ளவர்களாக மற்றவர்களுக்கும் உதவி செய்யக்கூடியவர்களாக மாற முடியும். அவர்களுடைய சூழ்நிலை, அவர்களுடைய வாழ்க்கைவசதி இவை களெல்லாம் நல்ல நிலையிலமைய வேண்டும். எனவே, இந்நாட்டின் நலன் கருதி, இப்பொழுது பொலிஸ் பகுதியினரின் கடமைகளையும் மற்றவற்றையும் ஆராய்வதற்காக நியமிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிற விசாரணைக் கமிஷனின் அறிக்கை வெளிவந்தவுடன் பொலிஸ் சேவையிலுள்ள சாதாரண உத்தியோகத்தார்களுக்குப் போதிய வாய்ப்புக்களையும் வசதிகளையும் கொடுக்க அரசாங்கம் நடவடிக்கையெடுக்க வேண்டுமென்று நாம் கௌரவ பிரதம அமைச்சரவர்களைக் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன்.

கிளிநொச்சித் தொகுதியிலேயுள்ள பொலிஸ் நிலையத்திலே இருபதுக்கு மேற்பட்ட பொலிஸ்காரர்கள் இருக்கின்றார்கள். அவர்களுக்கு வீட்டு வசதி மிகக் குறைவாக இருக்கிறது. அவர்கள் தூரமான இடங்களிலேயிருந்து வாழ்க்கை நடாத்தினால், கடமையைச் செவ்வனே செய்ய முடியாது. எனவே, அந்தப் பொலிஸ் நிலையத்திலேயுள்ள எல்லோருக்கும் மிக விரைவிலே தங்கும் விடுதிகள் கொடுக்க

வேண்டும். கிளிநொச்சித் தொகுதியிலே உதவிப் பொலிஸ் கண்காணிப்பாளர் அலுவலக மொன்றை வருகின்ற ஒக்ரோபர் மாதம் முதலாம் தேதி திறப்பதற்கு கௌரவ பிரதம அமைச்சரவர்கள் ஒழுங்கு செய்ததற்காக அவர்களுக்கு எனது நன்றியைத் தெரிவிக்க விரும்புகிறேன்.

நான் சென்ற முறையும் பேசிய விடயங்களிற் சிலவற்றை மீண்டும் கௌரவ பிரதம அமைச்சரவர்களின் கவனத்திற்குக் கொண்டு வர விரும்புகிறேன். பொலிஸ் நிருவாக முறையிலே பல சிக்கல்கள் இருந்தாலும்கூட, இன்னும் தமிழ்ப் பகுதிகளிலே போதியளவுக்குத் தமிழ் தெரிந்த பொலிஸ்காரர்கள் இருக்கிறார்களென்று சொல்ல முடியாது. பல பொலிஸ் நிலையங்களிலே இந்தக் குறைபாடு மீண்டும் மீண்டும் இருப்பதாக எங்களுக்குத் தெரியக் கிடக்கின்றது. நாம் நினைத்தவுடனேயே இந்தக் குறைகளைத் தீர்த்துவிட முடியாதென்பது எங்களுக்குத் தெரியும். என்றாலும், தமிழ் மக்களின் பிரதிநிதியென்ற வகையிலே தமிழ்த் தெரியாத பொலிஸ்காரர்கள் இருக்கின்ற நிலையங்களுக்குப் போய்த் தமிழ் மக்கள் தங்களுடைய முறைப்பாடுகளைத் தமிழிலே கொடுக்கவோ அல்லது அவர்களுடன் தமிழிலே உரையாடவோ முடியாத ஒரு நிலை இன்றும் இருக்கிறது. இதைப் பற்றி மாவட்ட சபை இணைப்புக் குழுக்கூட்டத்திலே நாம் பேசி அதைக் கௌரவ பிரதம அமைச்சரவர்களுக்கு அனுப்பச் செய்திருக்கிறோம். எனவே அந்தக் குறிப்பு அவர்களுக்குக் கிடைத்தவுடனே வேண்டிய நடவடிக்கையை பிரதமர் அவர்கள் எடுப்பார்களென்று நான் நினைக்கின்றேன்.

பொலிஸ்காரர்களுடைய பேச்சைப்பற்றிச் சில வார்த்தைகள் நான் கூறவேண்டியிருக்கிறது. பொலிஸ்காரர்கள் அரைகுறைத் தமிழிலே பேசினால் பொது மக்கள் அந்தப் பேச்சைப் பிழையாக விளங்கிக்கொள்வார்கள். மக்களுடைய அன்பையும் பண்பையும் பெறவேண்டிய பொலிஸ்காரர் நல்ல சில தமிழ்ச் சொற்களை மட்டும் பொறுக்கி வைத்துக்கொண்டு பொதுமக்களுடன் பேசினால் பொதுமக்களுடைய நம்பிக்கைக்கு அன்புக்கும் உரியவர்களாவது மிகச் சிரமமாக இருக்கும். ஆகவே நன்கு தமிழ் பேசத் தெரிந்தவர்கள் தமிழ்ப் பகுதிகளிலும், நன்கு சிங்களம் பேசத் தெரிந்தவர்கள் சிங்களப் பகுதிகளிலும் இருந்தால் பொலிஸாருக்கும் பொது மக்

களுக்குமிடையேயுள்ள உறவு சிறப்பாக வளருமென்பதை நான் கூறிக்கொள்ள விரும்புகிறேன்.

ஏ. ஓ. 2.15

அடுத்ததாக, யாழ்ப்பாணப் பகுதியிலே இரு தடை நிலையங்களிருக்கின்றன. ஒன்று ஆனையிறவிலே இருப்பது. இரண்டாவது சங்குப்பிட்டியிலே இருப்பது, பூநகரிக் காரியாதி காரிப் பிரிவிலுள்ள சங்குப்பிட்டியில் இருக்கும் தடை நிலையம் சில மாதங்களுக்கு முன்னர் தொடங்கப்பட்டது. இங்கிருந்து இந்தியாவுக்குப் பலவகையான உணவுப் பொருட்கள் கள்ளத்தனமாக ஏற்றுமதி செய்யப்படுகின்றன என்று எதிர்க்கட்சியினர் பொருத்த மில்லாமல் செய்த கூக்குரலின் காரணமாக பிரதம அமைச்சர் அவர்கள் அங்கே ஒரு தடை நிலையத்தை நிறுவினார்கள். நான் விசாரித்துப் பார்த்ததிலிருந்தும் பொலிஸ் அதிகாரிகளிடமும் கேட்டதிலிருந்தும் சங்குப்பிட்டியிலுள்ள தடை நிலையத்தின் மூலமாக கட்டுப்பாட்டுக்குள் கொண்டுவரப்பட்டிருக்கும் எதுவித உணவுப் பொருள்களும் பிடிக்கப்படவில்லை என்பது தெரிகிறது. பூநகரிப் பகுதியிலிருந்து கமக்காரர்கள் தாம் யாழ்ப்பாணத்துக்குச் செல்கின்றார்கள். எனவே, தடை செய்யப்பட்ட பொருள்கள் எதுவும் அங்கு கண்டு பிடிக்கப்படாதிருக்கின்றபடியினால் சங்குப்பிட்டியிலிருந்து அந்தத் தடை நிலையத்தை உடனே நீக்க வேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொள்கிறேன்.

அடுத்தது, ஆனையிறவிலே இருக்கின்ற தடைநிலையம். இங்கே இருக்கின்ற சிறப்பு என்னவென்றால், இதனால் எனது தொகுதி இரண்டாகப் பிரிக்கப்படுகின்றது. பனை காரியாதிகாரிப் பிரிவு ஒரு பகுதியிலும் ஏனைய மூன்று காரியாதிகாரிப் பிரிவுகளும் இன்னொரு பகுதியிலுமாக இந்த தடைநிலையத்தினால் பிரிக்கப்படுகிறது. இதனால் யாழ்ப்பாண மக்களும் கிளிநொச்சி மக்களும் அல்லாமல் கிளிநொச்சிக் காரியாதிகாரிப் பகுதியிலுள்ள மக்களும் பல துன்பங்களுக்கு உள்ளாகிறார்கள். இப்பொழுது ஆனையிறவிலே உள்ள தடைநிலையத்திலே இருக்கின்ற பொலிஸார் தங்கள் கடமையைச் செம்மையாக ஆற்றுகிறார்கள். சில ஆண்டுகளுக்கு முன்னர் கைக்கூலி வாங்கியதாக பல முறைப்பாடுகள் வந்தன. ஆனால், இப்பொழுது அவ்வித முறைப்பாடுகள் கிடைக்கவில்லை. அவர்கள் தங்கள்

[ஓர்நினை உண.]

கடமையைச் செம்மையாகச் செய்கிறார்கள். இருந்தாலும், இங்கே நிறுவப்பட்டுள்ள தடைநிலையம் எங்கள் மக்களுக்கு ஒரு பேரிடைஞ்சலாக இருக்கிறது என்று சொல்ல விரும்புகிறேன். ஏனென்றால், வைக்கோல், விறகு ஆகியவற்றைக் கிளிநொச்சியிலிருந்துதான் யாழ்ப்பாணத்துக்கு ஏற்றிச் செல்கிறார்கள். அங்கு தடைநிலையம் இருப்பதனால் இவற்றையெல்லாம் ஏற்றிச் செல்ல லொறிச் சொந்தக்காரர் பின்வாங்குகிறார்கள்; அல்லது இரண்டு மூன்று பங்கு கூலிப் பணம் கேட்கிறார்கள். இப்பொழுது பொருள் கட்டுப்பாட்டுச் சட்டம் நடைமுறையில் இருப்பதனால் அந்த ஆணையிறவிலே உள்ள தடுப்பு நிலையத்தை நீக்க வேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக் கொள்கிறேன்.

பொருள் கட்டுப்பாடு இருப்பதனால் மட்டும் நான் இதைக் கேட்கவில்லை. இலங்கையிலே வேறெந்தப் பகுதியிலும் ஒரு பகுதியைப் பிரித்து அந்தப் பகுதிக்கும் மற்றப் பகுதிக்கு மிடையே ஒரு தடை நிலையம் அமைக்கப்படவில்லை. ஆனால், வல்வெட்டித்துறை பருத்தித்துறை முதலிய பகுதிகளிலே கடத்தல் வியாபாரத்தில் பலர் ஈடுபட்டிருப்பதனால் இந்தத் தடைநிலையம் அவசியமென்று இதற்குக் காரணம் சொல்லப்படலாம். இப்பொழுது கள்ளக்கடத்தலைத் தவிர்ப்பதிலே பொலிஸாரும் இராணுவத்தினரும், ஏன், கடற்படையினரும் ஈடுபட்டிருப்பதனாலும் பொருள் கட்டுப்பாட்டுச் சட்டத்தை நடைமுறைப்படுத்த நீங்கள் முயன்று கொண்டிருப்பதனாலும் ஆணையிறவிலே உள்ள தடைநிலையத்தை நீக்குவதில் எந்தவித துன்பமும் இல்லை. ஏனென்றால், இலங்கையில் இந்த ஓர் இடத்தில் தான் இப்படிப்பட்ட தடைநிலையம் இருக்கிறது. அதுவும் தமிழ்ப் பகுதியில் இருப்பதனால், ஒரு மாவட்டத்தைப் பிரித்துக் கொண்டிருப்பதனால், ஒரு தொகுதியைப் பிரித்துக்கொண்டிருப்பதனால், தமிழ் மக்கள் அதனைத் தங்களுக்குச் செய்யப்படுகின்ற, இனவாரியாகச் செய்யப்படுகின்ற ஒரு கடும் தண்டனையாக எண்ணிக்கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். எனவே, இரண்டு இனங்களுக்கிடையில் இப்பொழுது நல்லுறவு இருப்பதனால், அந்த நல்லுறவை அரசாங்கம் செயல் முறையில் காட்டவேண்டுமானால் அந்தத் தடைநிலையத்தை அகற்றிவிடுவது வரவேற்கத்தக்கதாகும்.

பூநகரிக் காரியாதிகாரிப் பிரிவில் செம்பன் குண்டு என்ற இடத்திலே ஓர் இராணுவ முகாம் இருக்கின்றது. அந்த முகாம் முன்னர் அமைக்கப்பட்டதன் காரணம் அந்தப் பகுதியில் கள்ளடக்கடத்தல் இருக்கின்றது என்பதற்காகவல்ல. கள்ளமாக யாரும் அந்தக் கடற்கரையிலே குடியேற வருவார்கள் என்று தான் அஃது அமைக்கப்பட்டது. ஆனால், இதுவரையில் நான் விசாரித்துப் பார்த்த அளவிலே அவ்விதம் ஒருவரும் அங்கு வரவில்லை என்பது தெளிவாகிறது. இந்தப் படைவீரர்களை வேறு இடங்களுக்கு அனுப்பினால், அல்லது நாட்டின் உணவு உற்பத்தியில் அவர்களை ஈடுபடுத்தினால் அது நாட்டுக்கும் மக்களுக்கும் நன்மை பயக்கத்தக்கதாக இருக்கும். அவர்கள் அங்கிருந்து கொண்டு எந்த விதமான நன்மையையும் தொண்டையும் செய்யவில்லை. ஆகையால் அதையும் கவனிக்க வேண்டுமென்று நான் பிரதம அமைச்சர் அவர்களைக் கேட்டுக் கொள்கிறேன்.

நேரம் முடிந்துவிட்டதென்று தலைவர் அவர்கள் உணர்த்துகின்ற படியினால் பல விடயங்களைப் பற்றி நான் பேச இருந்தாலும் முக்கியமான சில விடயங்களை பிரதம அமைச்சர் அவர்களின் கவனத்துக்குக் கொண்டு வர முடிந்தால் இவ்வளவுடன் நான் எனது உரையை முடித்துக்கொள்கிறேன்.

கெனமன் உண.

(திரு. கெனமன்)

(Mr. Keuneman)

Mr. Chairman, one or two hon. Members who spoke earlier from this side have already referred to various matters relating to the policy and work of the Ministry of Defence and External Affairs, but a number of hon. Members, mostly from the Government side have chosen to take the opportunity to tell us their views on recent events in Czechoslovakia. Of course, it is quite legitimate to speak on such subjects under this head. The only thing is that those hon. Members seemed to be concerned less about what happened in Czechoslovakia and more about what they thought to be the problems of our Coalition. May tell my hon. Friends opposite that we can look after our own affairs. The relations within our

Coalition are matters that we can settle ourselves and they are not part of the work of the Ministry of Defence and External Affairs of this country.

I intend to raise a whole number of questions in regard to this Ministry and I hope, Mr. Chairman, you will give me permission to do so in the course of my speech. But as reference has been made to the events in Czechoslovakia and as a number of other questions have been raised, perhaps it is best that I start on that matter.

In regard to the events in Czechoslovakia, the Political Bureau of the Communist Party has already issued a statement. We issued that statement on the day after the Government issued its statement. We expressed our opinion on some of the relevant factors of the situation, and on others we said that we would require further clarification of the very confused situation there and that we shall be issuing another statement. I have nothing to add now to the statement made by the political bureau of our party except to say that we are very glad indeed that an agreement has now been reached at the Moscow discussion and that a basis has been laid and the processes have begun to guarantee the sovereignty of socialist Czechoslovakia, to ensure the security of the socialist community and to ensure that the troops of the Warsaw Treaty covers that entered the territory of Czechoslovakia about a week ago will be progressively withdrawn.—[*Interruption*]. We are very glad that they will be withdrawn by agreement with the lawful Czechoslovakian authorities which are now functioning completely.—[*Interruption*].

சபாபதிநிலை

(அக்கிராசனார்)

(The Chairman)

Order, please!

கெனமன் மஹ.

(சுரு. கெனமன்)

(Mr. Keuneman)

I should like to mention that certain sections of the press, while publishing this communique, did not publish the list of all the Czechoslovakian leaders who were present. There was not a single major respected state or party leader of Czechoslovakia who was not present on that occasion and who is not a party to it. It includes Svoboda, Dubeck and many others. I have here the statements and the speeches made by Svoboda and Dubeck and a lot of others on this matter after they returned to Prague. They have made statements and they are all asking for the fulfilment of the Moscow agreement. Therefore, I do hope very sincerely that this agreement will lead to a resolution of this problem.

The Hon. Minister of State, who opened the Debate on this question, asked the Communist Party a specific question. He referred to what he called a number of resolutions. I presume he was referring to the action programme that was adopted by the Czechoslovakian Communist Party; that is to say, the programme that came into existence as a result of the deliberations of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party Central Committee in January and May of this year. My Hon. Friend's descriptions of the action programme are certainly what are not written in the action programme. But, as far as our Party is concerned, we have stated more than once, and we have also stated so in our political bureau's statement of last week, that we fully understand and sympathize with the efforts that are being made by the Czechoslovakian communists to correct past mistakes in the leadership of their society, to improve the management of their economy and to strengthen socialist democracy. My Hon. Friend asked me that question and that is my answer to it.

But I must say I was rather surprised at my Hon. Friend's newly found interest in the development of socialist democracy. My Hon. Friend,

[கைமன் மொ.]

the Minister of State, made a well-known speech. He thinks that we can do with a little more authoritarian rule in this country. This is the man who now speaks about the need to strengthen socialist democracy in Czechoslovakia. In fact,—

செ. டீ. டி. சிவலட்சுமி (சுய சிவலட்சுமி) சிவலட்சுமி (சுய சிவலட்சுமி) சிவலட்சுமி (சுய சிவலட்சுமி) சிவலட்சுமி (சுய சிவலட்சுமி)

(கெளரவ ஜே. ஆர். ஜயவர்தன—இராஜாங்க அமைச்சரும் பிரதம அமைச்சராகும் பாதுகாப்பு வெளிவிவகார அமைச்சராகும் பாராளுமன்றக் காரியதரிசியும்)

(The Hon. J. R. Jayewardene—Minister of State and Parliamentary Secretary to the Prime Minister and Minister of Defence & External Affairs)

Where did I say that?

கைமன் மொ.

(திரு. கெனமன்)

(Mr. Keuneman)

—you were even criticized by your Prime Minister at a Hyde Park meeting when he said that inside your party there were people who were passing away from the democratic point of view to the authoritarian point of view.

செ. டீ. டி. சிவலட்சுமி

(கெளரவ டட்ளி சேனநாயக்க)

(The Hon. Dudley Senanayake)

No, I did not say that.

செ. டீ. டி. சிவலட்சுமி

(கெளரவ ஹூரூல்)

(The Hon. Hurulle)

Were you there?

செ. டீ. டி. சிவலட்சுமி

(கெளரவ ஜே. ஆர். ஜயவர்தன)

(The Hon. J. R. Jayewardene)

Felix said such a thing, Not to Stalinism?

கைமன் மொ.

(திரு. கெனமன்)

(Mr. Keuneman)

My Hon. Friend said that the Czechs should have the right to effect reforms within socialism or even outside socialism. I ask you, which do you prefer? Would you prefer reforms within socialism or outside socialism? The trouble is there are some people like him in that country who wanted to effect so-called reforms to do away with socialism.

செ. டீ. டி. சிவலட்சுமி

(கெளரவ ஜே. ஆர். ஜயவர்தன)

(The Hon. J. R. Jayewardene)

Why not?

கைமன் மொ.

(திரு. கெனமன்)

(Mr. Keuneman)

Why not? Precisely! That is why you are now interested in Czechoslovakia and that is why you are now angry because you hoped that socialism would be destroyed and you are now disappointed. The type of thing you call liberalization is not what the Czechoslovakian Communist Party called liberalization. What you call liberalization is a return to the capitalist order. My Hon. Friend should know that.

செ. டீ. டி. சிவலட்சுமி

(கெளரவ ஜே. ஆர். ஜயவர்தன)

(The Hon. J. R. Jayewardene)

Rubbish.

செ. டீ. டி. சிவலட்சுமி

(கெளரவ ஹூரூல்)

(The Hon. Hurulle)

You want to keep them in bondage.

செ. டீ. டி. சிவலட்சுமி

(கெளரவ ஜே. ஆர். ஜயவர்தன)

(The Hon. J. R. Jayewardene)

கைமன் மை.

(திரு. கெனமன்)

(Mr. Keuneman)

My Hon. Friend does not know what he is talking about. We regard it as a very great tragedy that after the outcome of the Cierna Nad Tisou and the Bratislava meetings the situation which ought to have improved should have degenerated and taken the course it did. That is why I said that we are happy that, after the Moscow negotiations, a settlement has been reached and the process of normalization and a return to the former position is taking place.

சி. ஓசைன் மொகமெட் மை. (புன் கர்ந
டே மன் தி)

(ஜனாப் எம். இஸ்ஸதீன் முகம்மது (நிய
மன அங்கத்தவர்)

(Mr. M. Izzadeen Mohamed (Appointed
Member)

That is a satellite country.

கைமன் மை.

(திரு. கெனமன்)

(Mr. Keuneman)

As the hon. Member for Katugampola said, there are certainly some differences of assessment of certain aspects of this crisis between the parties of our united front. The other two parties have come to certain conclusions on certain matters. The Communist Party has said that it would like to suspend judgment and study the position further.

As my good Friend, the Member for Katugampola said, it is neither surprising nor unusual that on specific questions there should be differences of opinion within a coalition. My hon. Friends know that they had certain differences regarding the question of district councils and probably also on a number of other questions. In all coalitions there will always be differences of opinion and differences of assessment. But I can tell you this, that in all matters, we prefer to discuss and settle our problems by ourselves, without your interference.

Some Members opposite notably the Second Member for Colombo Central and the Hon. Member of Social Services, gave us a lengthy discourse on the meaning of the Common Programme that our three parties have signed. I should like to tell my hon. Friends that we can look after our common programme without their help. Thank you very much.

I should also like to say on behalf of our party, the Communist Party, that we have signed the common programme and we shall honour in every way the agreement that we have signed. But I also want to say that our agreement, whatever you may say about it, is an open agreement. Everybody, including you, can read it. And because it is an open agreement even you started mis-interpreting it. But what about your agreements? What about your secret agreement?

சி. டென்சில் பர்னாண்டோ மை. (நீகொம்பு)

(திரு. என். டென்சில் பர்னாண்டோ—
நீர்கொம்பு)

(Mr. N. Denzil Fernando—Negombo)

We have no secret agreement.—[In-
terruption].

கைமன் மை.

(திரு. கெனமன்)

(Mr. Keuneman)

You have a secret agreement, between the U. N. P. and the Federal Party.

சி. டென்சில் பர்னாண்டோ மை.

(திரு. டென்சில் பர்னாண்டோ)

(Mr. Denzil Fernando)

We have no secret agreement.

சபாபதி

(அக்கிராசனர்)

(The Chairman)

Order, please!

கைமன் மை.

(திரு. கெனமன்)

(Mr. Keuneman)

You and the Members of the Federal Party had a secret agreement and even after three years it has not

[கைமென் மொ.]

seen the light of day. We do not know on what basis the other parties in the Government have come into their coalition.—[Interruption.]

சபாபதி

(அக்கிராசனர்)

(The Chairman)

Order, please; Will the hon. Member address the House? If he addresses the Chair, there would not be all this trouble.

கைமென் மொ.

(திரு. கெனமன்)

(Mr. Keuneman)

Yes, Sir. I sat quiet here and listened. Let my hon. Friends also sit and listen to what I have to say.

சபாபதி

(அக்கிராசனர்)

(The Chairman)

Quite right! Members of the Government who talk of democracy must give the other side also a chance to speak without interrupting.

டி. ஓ. 2.30

கைமென் மொ.

(திரு. கெனமன்)

(Mr. Keuneman)

The Members of Mr. C. P. de Silva's Party, the Sri Lanka Socialist Freedom Party or whatever it is called have joined the U. N. P. Goodness knows if there is an agreement, or have they joined the U.N.P. just because they like them? We know the Federal Party and the U. N. P. have an agreement but not a word of that has been revealed. The Hon. Prime Minister says there is an agreement but that is none of our business. We are not asking you to tell us what the agreement is, but you should tell the country. I should like, through you, to tell my hon. Friends that after they have disclosed their secret agreements and after their agreements are public property for the people to know, only then will they have the right to start passing judgment on any agreements that we

have reached. Hon. Members on that side spent three fourths of their time talking about us and our agreement. The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Broadcasting and Information, the Second Member for Colombo Central (Mr. Premadasa), brought out all the hoary old canards about and repeated everything horrible said against the Communist Party. He painted a dreadful picture of our party. He said that if we were in power we would summon the Russian Army. I do not know why he stopped at the Russian Army, why he did not include the Warsaw Pact Powers, the Chinese People's Army and all the other armies, and say that they will join to invade this country? He tried to make out that we are prepared to get foreign assistance in order to espouse our cause here.

Some of the Members asked the specific question: if foreign countries attack our independence what will be the position of the Communist Party? The answer is, if our independence is attacked by any other Country, whether from east or west, whatever the social system of that country may be, we comunists will help to uphold Ceylon's independence to the very last man.—[Interruptions].

Let the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Local Government remember what the Minister for Social Services said. The Minister said, "We must stand on our own two legs; we must not stand on anybody else's legs; we should not stand on foreign legs." I wish he had given that advice to the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Local Government, the 2nd Member for Colombo Central. I draw the attention of the House through you, Sir, to an article that appeared in the "Ceylon Daily News" of February 5th 1967. This is an article by R. Premadasa, M.P., Junior Minister of Local Government and Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Information and Broadcasting—extracts from an address at the inaugural meeting of the Lanka Foundation—where he speaks about the promoting of the democratic way of life. The sum and

substance of what he said—I have the whole article is this: When he was in 1965 on a State visit to West Germany he got in touch with the Friedrich Ebert Foundation of the Federal Republic of Germany—this is the West German equivalent of the Asia Foundation. Then he thanks Mr. R. Ramisch who put him in touch with the members of the Foundation. Then he says he made a request to the West Germans—The Friedrich Ebert Foundation—to help to establish a similar institution here devoted to the promotion of an understanding of and respect for the democratic way of life, and human rights. Apparently they had no power to stand on their own legs and to show the people the need for understanding and protecting the democratic way of life and human rights! For not only did the Parliamentary Secretary invite this foreign organization to come here to propagate their ideas absent a democratic way of life but also invited them to bring with them Rs. 2 million worth of German Marks for the Purpose.

I have the “Daily Mirror” here. You say you are standing on your own legs. You are standing on Rs. 2 million of West German money according to the “Mirror” of January 31st 1967. It says! “The Foundation has been formed with the assistance of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation of West Germany which has consented to donate Rs. 2 million towards it.” And further “the Foundation is to put up its headquarters at Torrington Square.” These democratic people opposite who say they are standing on their own legs and want to teach us the democratic way of life are standing on West German legs. The President of the “Lanka Foundation” is Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, the General Secretary Mr. R. Premadasa, the Treasurer Mr. Malloy Wijesinghe, Chairman of the Employers’ Federation, and a number of others like Mr. D. P. R. Gunawardena and Mr. M. H. Mohamed are in the Committee. And you you say you have no foreign connections! Look at the position. My hon. Friend the Parliamentary Secretary goes on a state visit to West Germany, and

he invites a certain West German organization, which is the equivalent of the Asia Foundation, to come here with Rs. 2 million in its pocket to help him to propagate democracy.

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(கௌரவ ஹுருல்ல)

(The Hon. Hurulle)

What is wrong?

කේනමන් මහ.

(திரு. கௌமன்)

(Mr. Keuneman)

Before the Parliamentary Secretary gives other people lectures about standing on their own legs and not inviting foreign organizations to Ceylon, he should look in the mirror. I withdraw that remark because, if he looks in the mirror, it will certainly crack.

Hon. Members opposite raised a question: “Why could the Communist Party not come to a decision? I think two hon. Members opposite asked that question. May I say this: the last people who can ask such a question are people like those on that side.

May I draw your attention to the behaviour of the Prime Minister of this Government on two occasions. I am quoting from HANSARD so that you will know exactly what the situation is. The first occasion was shortly after my Hon. Friend, the Prime Minister, took office. You will recall that on the 16th of May 1965 the United States Government sent its troops into the Dominican Republic. On the 20th of May 1965—now I am referring to Volume 60, columns 1632 and 1633 of HANSARD—the hon. Member for Yatiyantota (Dr. N. M. Perera) asked the Prime Minister a question. He asked the Prime Minister whether he would make a statement on that question and use his good offices to see that all American troops were moved out of the Dominican Republic as early as possible. That was four days after the incident. And what is the reply given by the Prime Minister? He said:

“Mr. Deputy Speaker, I must confess that I have not given serious thought to

[කෙනමන් මය.]

the matter raised by the hon. Member for Yatiyantota (Dr. N. M. Perera."—[OFFICIAL REPORT, 20th May 1965; Vol. 60, c. 1643.]

Up to date, as far as I am aware, my Hon. Friend has not given serious thought to that matter! About three years ago he was asked this question; he has still not informed us of the position of his Government on that question. But if we take a few days to study a complicated matter in a conferred situation, we are criticised.

You will also recall that in the same year that this Government came into power, a war broke out between India and Pakistan over the Kashmir question. On that occasion, the hon. Member for Dompe asked the Prime Minister several questions, especially in regard to what was the Government's attitude to that matter, what the Prime Minister thought about it, and so on and so forth.

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(கௌரவ டட்ளி சேனாநாயக்க)

(The Hon. Dudley Senanayake)

When did the war break out?

කෙනමන් මය.

(திரு. கௌமன்)

(Mr. Keuneman)

In 1965.

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(கௌரவ டட்ளி சேனாநாயக்க)

(The Hon. Dudley Senanayake)

The war broke out when the previous Government was in power. You said, "between China and India."

කෙනමන් මය.

(திரு. கௌமன்)

(Mr. Keuneman)

No, between Pakistan and India. And this is the answer given by the Prime Minister:

"In view of the fact that the Security Council is taking active and urgent steps to strive and bring normalcy into the area,

I think it is best that we, too, consistent with the position that we have always taken in regard to this matter, should give whatever assistance is necessary to the United Nations body through the Security Council and the Secretary-General to achieve a speedy resolution of the dispute.

As I have stated earlier, I am distressed that two countries, with both of whom we are on very friendly terms and who are both members of the Commonwealth, should have found it necessary to have recourse to fighting to settle this dispute.—[OFFICIAL REPORT, 7th September 1965; Vol. 62, c. 1815].

I must say I fully agree with the attitude taken by the Prime Minister on that occasion. You will notice that not one of us challenged that attitude on that occasion. But when several socialist countries, with all of whom we have good and friendly relations, have a dispute and are negotiating to settle that dispute, surely the important question is to act in such a way as not to prevent a settlement of the dispute?

I think my hon. Friends opposite should be a little less transparent when they try to promote disunity among their opponents; and they should also be a little more cautious when they jump to conclusions about the positions of other parties.

I shall put my other questions as briefly as I can. First of all, I want to ask the Hon. Prime Minister as the Minister of Defence and External Affairs a number of questions about his Ministry. I want to ask him first, what is the position about the ten army officers who were sent on compulsory leave after the alleged *coup d'état* of 1966?

The Prime Minister knows that ten officers were sent on compulsory leave. A number of them were officers who were prominent in Buddhist associations in the Army. The Government has not given any reason why these officers have been sent on compulsory leave. I think all of them were from the Singha Regiment. I will give their names: Capt. Dahanayake, Capt. Weerasinghe, Lieut. R. P. Wijeratne, Lieut.

Col. Ratnatunga, Major Amarawardena, Major D. B. Perera, Capt. Hulangamuwa, Capt. Fernando and Lieut. Kobbekaduwa.

A case has already been filed. It is obvious that in the opinion of the Government these officers had nothing to do with the alleged conspiracy in regard to which a case is under trial in the courts. Otherwise, the Government would naturally have included these persons among the accused.

These officers are still on compulsory leave. If they have committed any breach of military regulations they should have been brought up before a court-martial or tried in some other way at once. That, apparently, has not happened. How long are these officers to be kept on compulsory leave? If there are charges against them, why are they not informed of the charges and given an opportunity to clear their names?

The second matter I want to raise with the Hon. Prime Minister is, what is the position regarding the report of the L. W. de Silva Commission which went into the Rajendra Committee Report on certain matters connected with the events of 8th January 1966, and in particular the events which led to the interdiction from duty of three police officers of the Colombo Division, namely, Supdt. I van Twest, Asst. Supdt. A. E. N. Stevenson and Inspector Amerasekera, O.I.C. Kollupitiya.

Certain newspapers, including today's "Daily Mirror", and other newspapers before that, have been stating that the L. W. de Silva Commission has passed a number of strictures on the findings of the Rajendra Committee and it has also felt that the interdiction from duty of these officers was totally unwarranted. I do not know whether that is correct. I should like therefore to ask the Hon. Prime Minister to tell us first of all, whether this

is correct and, secondly, whether it is the intention of the Government to publish the Report of the L. W. de Silva Commission. If they are not going to publish the report, will they at least make it available to hon. Members for their inspection because, as you know, this is a matter of some public interest?

අ. ආ. 2.45

Finally, there are two more matters which I have mentioned before. The first is about the work of Asia Foundation. My Hon. Friend knows that recently in the United States of America there was an investigation by the United States Senate I think into the organizations that are being financed by the C.I.A., and it was admitted and disclosed there that one of the organizations that is being financed by the central Intelligence Agency of the United States of America—what has been called the invisible government—is the Asia Foundation Organization. Now, this disclosure came quite recently in the course of last year.

Even when the last Government was in office, I persistently raised the question of the Asia Foundation and its subversive work in this country. It has been proved that the Asia Foundation, established by the United States itself, is not an innocent organization but an organization at least in part subsidized and financed by the central Intelligence Agency of the United States of America.

As a result of this disclosure India has asked the Asia Foundation to get out of her country. Everybody knows that the present Government of India is not by any means an anti-American Government. I believe that Pakistan has also done the same thing. I want to know from the Hon. Prime Minister why he is not doing the same thing.

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(கௌரவ டட்ளி சேனாநாயக்க)

(The Hon. Dudley Senanayake)

You want us to do it just because others do it ?

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(திரு. கெனமன்)

(Mr. Keuneman)

No. I want you to do so to protect Ceylon. Do you know that this organization is financed by the Central Intelligence Agency? This has been admitted at the Senatorial inquiry in the United States of America. So, if that is the situation, we want to know what the policy of the Government is on this matter, because from that answer certain necessary conclusions will flow about how non-aligned this government really is.

The last question is, why was the Peace Corps invited back to Ceylon? When the last Government invited the Peace Corps here I opposed it. My hon. Friends know that I spoke against it. On several occasions I spoke against it, and eventually the last Government came to the conclusion that the Peace Corps was not necessary any more, and they asked them to leave and the Peace Corps people went away. Since then there has been quite a lot of exposure of the work done by the Peace Corps, not by communists only but also by persons in the third world, as it is called. Many statesmen there have spoken against the Peace Corps. In fact, certain instructions given to Members of the Peace Corps also came to light. The Hon. Prime Minister may be aware of a notorious memorandum issued by Mr. Jack Vaughan, a Director of the Peace Corps. This is a memorandum sent by him to all members of the Peace

Corps. I shall read one or two extracts from it. This is what Mr. Jack Vaughan said in his memorandum :

“In the present state of the world it is of imperative importance that the developing countries be kept within the framework of the West. It is essential to reinforce the struggle against the ideas of neutralism and national egoism. The great majority of volunteers have shown that they understand this and are doing all in their power to achieve victory in this war of ideas.”

Then he goes on to set down certain guidelines for the volunteers :

“Never for a moment forget a volunteer is a front-line soldier in the fight against totalitarianism and despotism, for freedom, democracy and human dignity. That may demand not only considerable effort but even cause hardship and danger.”

Next instruction :

“Teach the American way of life and show the people of less developed areas how to think rationally and act effectively.”

Next instruction :

“Use all means of opportunities for strengthening the position of those political personalities and groups which support the ideals of the free world.”

Here is the last direction :

“Direct your efforts in the field of political development to counteracting the spread of totalitarian ideas and methods. Foster and inculcate the ideas and methods of private enterprise and personal initiative and demonstrate their evident superiority. This is the only way in which the developing countries can expect the establishment of effective co-operation with the West, whose industrial power will enable them to develop their national resources. In countries where the leaders adhere to the principles of nationalism and socialism volunteers should cautiously but steadfastly oppose the dissemination and acceptance of these ideas.”

Those are the directions given by the Director to the Peace Corps. In the light of that, is it wise that this Government should invite the Peace Corps to come here? Is this your non-alignment? May I know from the Government, what is the reason for the invitation to the Peace Corps? They should be sent away. That is all I want to say.

ಶ். டி. லீஃ. கமீலி மஹ. (அகரண
 தேவன மன்த்ரி)

(ஜொப் ஏ. ஸீ. எஸ். ஹமீத்—அக்குறண
 இரண்டாம் அங்கத்தவர்)

(Mr. A. C. S. Hameed—Second Aku-
 rana)

In a way it is a disappointment to follow the hon. Third Member for Colombo Central (Mr. Keuneman) who is also incidentally the Secretary of the Communist Party. Normally he makes a good speech, makes a good defence, but today he tried to dodge the issue, raised a red herring in the Asia Foundation, in the Peace Corps, in the Dominican issue, and ultimately, I am afraid, his arguments petered out sadly.

The hon. Member from whom this House had a lot to expect to enlighten up on the Czechoslovakian issue actually made only one categorical statement. He said that at no time now or in the future will the Communist Party of Ceylon be a party to any foreign aggression. Besides this there was hardly anything else in his statement by which he threw light on this burning crucial issue. Of course, he said that some arrangement or settlement had been hammered out. We are also very happy indeed that some arrangement had been hammered out.

His speech should be read with the speech of the hon. Member for Katugampola (Mr. Subasinghe) who is also the Secretary of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party. Now the hon. Member for Katugampola with all his travelling and his experience threw more light on the subject. He said that there has been during the last 10 to 15 years a new trend in the Communist countries, that new ideas are being born and that people are wanting more and more freedom. He said that there is a definite growth of democratic forces which cannot be checked. Now I wonder whether the hon. Third Member for Colombo Central shares this view because this is very important. If we have to go by what the hon. Member for Katugampola said it is true that there has been during the last 10 to 15 years a

new trend in the Communist countries. People are wanting more and more democratic freedoms, and he said that as far as the S. L. F. P. is concerned they will always welcome and support the growth of such democratic freedoms.

This leads to a very interesting question. The backbone of such a democratic movement is the freedom of the press. Does the S. L. F. P. accept the freedom of the press? After all, there cannot be democracy without the freedom of the press.

As a matter of fact, if a settlement has been reached on the Czechoslovakian issue, it is a tribute to the world press. The world press was able to build up such mass public opinion as to compel the Warsaw Pact powers to come to some sort of understanding with Czechoslovakia. So, does the S. L. F. P. believe in and accept the freedom of the press?

If we are to accept the point of view of the hon. Member for Katugampola (Mr. Subasinghe), that during the last few years there has been, day by day, a new thinking, a new trend, new ideas, in these socialist countries with people wanting more and more freedom, it does mean one thing: that the people in these socialist countries have come to learn that economic freedom is not everything that man lives for.

I listen to the speeches of the Hon. Prime Minister very often. He has at public meetings posed the question, what is the use of democracy if there is no economic freedom? In the socialist countries we have another picture of people asking, What is the use of economic freedom if there is no political freedom?

As far as the United National Party and the National Government are concerned, we believe that there should be economic freedom with political freedom, and what has happened recently shows very clearly that we have taken the correct approach and the correct road.

[சுதேசி மொ.]

The hon. Member for Katugampola and the hon. Third Member for Colombo Central both maintained that we were trying to drive a wedge among the different parties that constitute the Coalition. Why should we?

பி. வி. ஓசேரந் த மொ. (கொலொன்
பால)

(திரு. பி. இலங்கரத் தன —கொலன்(ராவ)
(Mr. T. B. Ilangaratne—Kolonnawa)

Why should you not?

சுதேசி மொ.

(ஐராப் ஹமீத்)
(Mr. Hameed)

Because, politically, it is to our advantage if there is a Coalition. We already see the S. L. F. P cracking. The D. C. Bill has left the S. L. F. P. minus one of its leaders, the hon. Member for Dambadeniya (Mr. R. G. Senanayake). He has refused to see eye to eye with you. He has formed a party of his own, and the right wing of the S. L. F. P. is already jittery that the hon. Member for Dambadeniya (Mr. R. G. Senanayake) is going to have a better platform on pro-Sinhala, pro-Buddhist lines, and that is reflected in the speech of the hon. Member for Dompe (Mr. Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike) in the Debate on the Address of Thanks to the Governor-General. That showed very clearly that the right wing of the S. L. F. P. is not keen on going on with the Coalition any further.

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So, why should we seek to drive a wedge between or among you all? We have fought you when you were outside, we have fought you when you were united, and we shall continue to fight you whether you are divided or united.

As a matter of fact, for parliamentary democracy it is not healthy to have too many political parties. History has shown that in countries where there has been a multiplicity of parties, always dictatorship has come to be born.

But one thing is definite. Judging as a student of politics, I may say that the Coalition might continue, the S. L. F. P. could continue either with the S. L. S. P. or with the C. P. As far as I can see, either the C. P. or the L. S. S. P. will have to part with the S. L. F. P.

You maintain that there are differences in our Coalition. Why should not there be differences in our ranks? Quite correct. But there is a difference between the differences of opinion in our camp and the differences of opinion in your camp. The parties which constitute the National Government are agreed basically on the fundamental political ideologies whereas the parties which constitute the Coalition of the opposition do not see eye to eye fundamentally in your political philosophy.

There is a vast difference. We on this side of the House are pledged to a democratic way of life. We believe that the people must always decide the Government. You who are on the other side do not share the same views, and that is already reflected in the Czechoslovakian issue.

I find the hon. Member for Katugampola (Mr. T. B. Subasinghe) spoke about the non-alignment policy of the S. L. F. P. Now, it has become a fashion in this House and outside the House always to talk of the U.N.P. as the agents and the stooges of American and British imperialism.

May we in fairness example the position? The fact that we are non-aligned has been accepted by the Soviet Union. I should like to read out to you what Mr. Gromyko had to say in his report to the Supreme Soviet this year.

“Our ties with most countries of Asia and Africa and developing successfully. The Soviet Union maintains good relations with Cambodia, Laos, Ceylon, Nepal and a number of Asian countries.”

கெனமன் மொ.

(திரு. கெனமன்)
(Mr. Keuneman)

They say they are maintaining good relations.

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(ஜனாப் ஹமீத்)

(Mr. Hameed)

Maybe. Well, I am quoting from the report of Gromyko which was submitted in June this year.

කෙනමන් මයා.

(திரு. கெனமன்)

(Mr. Keuneman)

All that he says is, "Good relations", and I am happy.

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(ஜனாப் ஹமீத்)

(Mr. Hameed)

You come here and say that we are aligned, we are the stooges of America, we are the stooges of Britain, and we are the stooges of everybody else that you can imagine. —[Interruption]. Now, you are trying to part. That is good relations? What is good relations?

කෙනමන් මයා.

(திரு. கெனமன்)

(Mr. Keuneman)

Good State relations.

සහාජනී

(அக்கிராசனர்)

(The Chairman)

If you address me you will not have the need to enter into controversies.

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(ஜனாப் ஹமீத்)

(Mr. Hameed)

Now, there is a difference, a hair-splitting theory of good relations and good State relations!

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(அகூரேசா)

(டொக்டர் எஸ். ஏ. விக்ரமசிங்ஹ—அக்குறஸ்ஸ)

(Dr. S. A. Wickremasinghe—Akuressa)

Good relations and non-alignment are not identical.

හමීඩ් මයා.

(ஜனாப் ஹமீத்)

(Mr. Hameed)

This is rather interesting.

The Soviet Foreign Minister for the first time has named Ceylon. It must be because you sent a report.

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(திரு. கெனமன்)

(Mr. Keuneman)

I did not send a report.

හමීඩ් මයා.

(ஜனாப் ஹமீத்)

(Mr. Hameed)

For the first time Ceylon had been named as one of the countries with which they are having good relations and you come here and say that we are the stooges of America etc. For instance there was the Middle-East crisis. What did the National Government do? We were a signatory to the U. N. Resolution that condemned Israel's aggression. What more do you expect us to do? Our stand on Vietnam has been definitely clear and do not forget that there was the ASEAN recently. Rightly or wrongly a certain amount of public opinion has been built up that ASEAN was going to be an arm of the SEATO. The National Government did not subscribe to it and you come here and say that we are being dictated to by some power or the other. The difference is this: The last S. L. F. P. Government called itself non-aligned, but it was always pro-Russia. They were always pro-Russia but they called themselves non-aligned. But we have very clearly during the last three and a half years demonstrated in every possible way our neutrality. We have associated ourselves with the aspirations of the Asian people, and with every struggle of the Afro-Asian people. Therefore, can anyone of you get up in this House and say that the National Government after it came into office has not associated itself with the aspirations of a single Afro-Asian country? Can you? We have always been an active party to the

[தமிழ் மொழி]

issues that face the developing countries. Can you site one instance where we have acted in such a way as to be detrimental to the interests of the developing countries? We played our role at the UNCTAD. We participated actively in these and then you come here and say that the National Government is a stooge of America, a stooge of colonialism and imperialism.

The Hon. Prime Minister used to say very often on platforms that he could make the same speech that he makes in Batticaloa, in Dondra and in Point Pedro. May I add, the Hon. Prime Minister can make a speech in New York and make the same speech in Moscow and in London. That is the test of our foreign policy.

The hon. Third Member for Colombo Central chose to bring out some issue about the Dominican problem. Let us face facts. The National Government will condemn whatever is wrong, be it in the red region, in the blue zone, in the capitalist block or in the socialist frontier. We will always condemn what is wrong.

At the same time we will hail whatever is right, from whichever quarter it may be. You cannot do that. That is clearly shown in this Debate over the Czechoslovakian issue.

We have always maintained that there should be political freedom with economic freedom. It has taken years for the people of this country to realize, the Czechoslovakian issue had to develop for the people of this country to realize, that economic equality may mean nothing without political freedom.

In regard to the Czechoslovakian issue, we are happy, as I said, that they have been able to find some agreement. But this is not the end. This is only the beginning. The hon. Member for Katugampola bore witness to the fact that in all the Communist countries today there is a trend, a cry, a call, for more and more freedom. I do not say that those people, the people of those countries,

would break away from the socialist system and return to capitalism. No. But definitely the people in those countries—the writers, the thinkers, the philosophers—are facing an intellectual revolt and we, the National Government, who stand for democracy will always salute the people, wherever they may be, in whatever part of the world, who are also pledged to a democratic pattern of life.

சபாபதி

(அக்கிராசனார்)

(The Chairman)

The hon. Member for Agalawatta. I wish to remind hon. Members that we must finish the Debate on these Votes by 5.30 P.M. I would, therefore, ask hon. Members to be as brief as possible.

சென்னை மெம்பர்

(கௌரவ டட்ளி சேனாயக்க)

(The Hon. Dudley Senanayake)

In view of the fact that a number of speeches have been made, I want about one hour to reply.

டீ. ஐ. சிரிவர்தனா

(திரு. டி. சாய்ஸா சிறிவர்தன)

(Mr. de Zoysa Siriwardena)

We might extend the time.

டீ. என். எம். பெரேரா

(கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

(Dr. N. M. Perera)

We might have to eat into the time allotted for the discussion of the Votes of the Minister of Planning and Economic Affairs.

சென்னை மெம்பர்

(கௌரவ டட்ளி சேனாயக்க)

(The Hon. Dudley Senanayake)

Whatever time they take, I want at least one hour. If I do not take one hour, they can even speak after that.

සභාපති

(அக்கிராசனர்)

(The Chairman)

In any case, we will give the Hon. Prime Minister one hour.

අ. භා. 3.15

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(අලලවත්ත)

(கலாநிதி கொல்வின் ஆர். டி சில்வா—அகல
வத்தை)

(Dr. Colvin R. de Silva—Agalawatta)

Mr. Chairman, I have been entrusted by the Lanka Sama Samaja Party with the duty and the task of expressing in this honourable House and through this House again and more fully to the people of our country and to the outer world the views, the attitude and the outlook of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party on the question which has so completely occupied the time of this House under the subject of the Ministry of Defence and External Affairs, namely, the question of the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia.

My party was aware that it was not a matter on which it was at all possible for a party laying claim to the name of socialism to leave it to hon. Members opposite to conduct the defence of the Czechoslovakian people's right to the free determination of their destinies, or the expression of the sense of utter outrage that must occupy the mind of a man of sensibility, of a nation that cherishes independence and of a movement like the socialist movement to which man's freedom is as fundamental as man himself.

It is, I am proud to say, from within the world's socialist and progressive movement itself that there has been wielded and exercised upon the Government and ruling party of the Soviet Union and its four Warsaw Pact allies a pressure which has resulted in at least facilitating one of the most intelligently conducted resistances to a bullying occupation and invasion of a country that we have ever had to see in the life of mankind.

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(கௌரவ ஹுரூல்ல)

(The Hon. Hurulle)

Shame, shame!

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(கலாநிதி கொல்வின் ஆர். டி சில்வா)

(Dr. Colvin R. de Silva)

I wish I had heard those cries of shame when Vietnam was invaded. But I have no time for polemics with you. I have risen to state our point of view, explicitly. I wish to state something before I go further, which is purely personal. It is to me a matter of pride today, though not of unenviable pride, that my party has assigned to me the task of expressing its position and view on the question of Czechoslovakia.

I confess what my party knows well of me that on this matter I cannot face myself of a sense of sorrow, of a sense of anger and even of a sense of bitterness in my heart. I have never been a nice calculator in political arithmetic. I am not capable—may I be forgiven for saying it here—of sitting aside and watching a tragedy, as a spectator before a Shakespearean production, when it takes place in real life. What involves man, as far as I am concerned, always directly involves me myself. And if the people of Czechoslovakia have been ground for days under the iron heel of an invader without excuse and without defence, then as any Czech feels I hope I feel too.

We claim to be socialists. I hope I am a socialist. To me, despite the thorns of polemical debate that have sometimes been directed against me by minds that have sometimes been petty, nevertheless, socialism is a total commitment of the mind and the heart of a man. And to those who have any consciousness of such a total commitment it is unavoidable, nay, it is naturally necessary to state, not only in the privacy of our homes or of our offices but in public and before the world, that if a man has a sense of patriotism, if a nation has a love of

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its independence, if a socialist movement is constantly conscious of its responsibility to man, it is impossible, before the spectacle of one socialist country invading another socialist country under the barest imaginable pretexts, not to condemn it. We have condemned it. We are happy that the S. L. F. P. and we could associate ourselves together in the condemnation of an invasion of a little country, of a socialist country, of a courageous country, which had only 30 years ago known international betrayal without it being needed to be subjected to a new betrayal by its very allies. Those who can join together on the basis of socialism to make that condemnation are laying the foundation of a deeper comradeship than calculated politics alone would permit.

I think it was 20 years ago that little Czechoslovakia, in the aftermath of the Second World War, came first of all into the power orbit of the Soviet Union as governed, as ruled and as administered by Stalin. It is 20 years now, I think since Czechoslovakia, in conformity with that which already had for some 30 years prevailed in the Soviet Union itself, adopted the forms of socialist property and therewith the possibility of a socialist development. It is 20 years since the adoption of that foundation and the laying of it in Czechoslovakia that we are witnessing this spectacle of today.

In those 20 years two things occurred. On the one hand, those socialist forms of public property took root, developed and strengthened themselves in a fashion that not even the betrayal of a fellow socialist state will serve to uproot them again, so deep are the roots now of socialism in Czechoslovakia. During those 20 years, simultaneously there was created in the socialist republic of Czechoslovakia a state organization which was directly modelled upon that which Stalin had created, perpetuated and strengthened in the Soviet Union, a state from which ultimately the very party in whose name he ruled the Soviet Union was compelled after his death to repudiate substan-

tially. It was the perpetuation in Czechoslovakia of what the 20th Congress in 1953 started in the Soviet Union—I say only started to get away from—that resulted in a series of events last year. Under the rule of Antonian Novotny there had imposed itself upon the Czechoslovak masses and the Czechoslovak Communist Party itself, a bureaucracy of the utmost woodenness, not only of heart but, unfortunately and intolerably also, of head. The Czechoslovak people, deprived of the slightest freedom of initiative as a people and a mass, turned indifferent until even in the field of the economy stagnation set in.

අ. ආ. 3.30

It was in that situation that, not unnaturally, those who are most sensitive to such situations and have the capacity of expressing such situations began to express themselves in a rebellious manner. The artists, the writers—by definition, people of sensitivity to the environment in which they have to move—were the first that came out in open protest. Do not imagine that when we speak of artists and writers we speak of a disembodied entity or that we imagine that they must be drawn only from the upper or the middle classes as so often happens in our country. Amongst these men, men of feeling, men of sensitivity, men capable of expressing themselves in the subtlest and most appropriate manner, were men who were drawn no less from the working class than from others, from the working people of that country. But in due course—and that is what is important to us today—this vast surge of unrest began to reflect itself and express itself within the ruling party of Czechoslovakia the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

I am not unaware of the fact that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was nominally associated with, I believe, four others in a national front. But I and my party prefer to deal in realities than with pretexts. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was the acknowledged ruler of

Czechoslovakia no less than the sole permitted party in the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, is not merely in fact but by constitutional law, the only party permitted in the Soviet Union and its ruling party.

These environmental influences inevitably reflect themselves within the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia ; and it is to the eternal honour of the membership of that Communist Party that from within itself it was able to throw up leaders of the calibre of Alexander Dubcek who could take the lead in introducing the changes that were necessary so that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was able itself to be the initiator of the necessary changes and reforms.

What those changes were in an important aspect that concerns everyone of us was pointed to by the Hon. Minister of State when he read out that programme of changes which the new leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia itself not only proposed for adoption by a future Congress which should take place next month but started introducing from last January.

It is idle for anybody, howsoever powerful a neighbour she may be, to ask of those who are given again after long years a new taste of an old freedom in a new context to handle that freedom with the caution of the political calculator. Freedom is not freedom in my view that is freedom only to conform with authority. Freedom in its essence must, and does, include the right to dissidence, the right to the expression of dissidence, the right to the organization of dissidence and the right to work within the framework of a society and its assumptions for the acceptance by that society in due course of that which was dissidence as the prevailing form of conformity.

Nothing less is freedom of rule. Conditions of war, civil war and the like, may sometimes require a State in the interests of its own self-preservation to limit that freedom

consciously and publicly without pretending that it is not a limitation of freedom that exists.

Sir, it is beyond my party's understanding how the abolition of censorship in Czechoslovakia imperils socialism in Czechoslovakia. I am unable to comprehend how freedom of expression through the mass media of communications imperils a twenty-year rooted socialism in Czechoslovakia. I am unable to understand how the separation of the secret police from the security police, and how a proposal to guarantee that internal party debate will not be suppressed through the intervention of the secret police of the State, imperil socialism in Czechoslovakia. But I am able to understand, whether it be in Czechoslovakia, in Ulbricht's G.D.R., in Gomulka's Poland, in Zhivkov's Bulgaria or in Kadar's Hungary, that such measures imperil the carefully and closely safeguarded, legally protected, bureaucratically protected, interests of a self-perpetuating bureaucracy which, however-much it has also founded itself on the property forms of socialism, has also battered on them in the parasitic form of a political dictatorship. I understand that peril. But that is not a peril to socialism in those countries, but it is a peril to the beneficiaries of the bureaucratic deformation of socialism which under Stalin and his associates in these countries, these countries had undergone. That is why my party states in public that the invasion of Czechoslovakia is not merely an outrage upon a little country but an outrage upon socialism itself, carried out moreover with the perfidy for which history will take its revenge from the perpetrator.

While things were developing in this way in little Czechoslovakia, in the first six months of this year, there was presented to the Czechoslovak leadership the notorious Letter of the Five. I do not propose to read it into the record of this Parliament for it is not particularly relevant to this Parliamentary discussion. It was a letter intimidatory in tone and intimidatory in content. It was a

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letter which in the form of argument, in fact, presented what could amount to an ultimatum to the leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party to stop short in the new course they had set upon and, to change the metaphor, to reverse their gears so that they could return to a hated situation of an earlier year. It is to the credit of both the courage and the wisdom of the Czechoslovak leadership that they answered with a patient reasoning in respect of the reality of what they had set upon. Motivating their actions by their unchallengeable socialist aims and objectives and rooting their reasons in the realities of Czech society in relation to the known principles of Marxism.

අ. ආ. 3.45 •

The Letter of the Five was followed by Bratislava. I beg your pardon, Sir—it was followed by Cierna Nad Tissou, a little village on the utmost border of Slovakia, a matter of a few miles from the place where it was separated, I think, from Hungary, but representing, by the choice of the location for the discussion, a certain success for the Czechoslovakian people in that it was a meeting actually on their soil, when the demand had been that they should come out of their country to meet the leaders of the Five. Courage, I said, Sir, because it is a publicly known fact, which is beyond challenge, that at the time the Letter of the Five was delivered Soviet armed forces, which had come in for manoeuvres, as they had a right to do in terms of the arrangements under the Warsaw Pact, had begun to drag their feet, if that is a proper metaphor when one is referring to motorized forces, in their departure from the country. It was an act of wisdom in that the letter of the five was not treated as a provocation but as a genuine invitation to comradely discussion.

In whatever form the discussion took place at Cierna Nad Tissou, the world knows now that it was followed at Bratislava by a further meeting of the very men, amongst others who recently met at Moscow. There was

signed, as between the six communist parties that took part in that meeting, an agreement which was published to the world. That is now common knowledge. It was a document which, had it been honoured, would have been a document historic in that it could have provided a basis for decent state relations between socialist states. It is also a document which, in the light of what has followed, I fear, may go down in history as one of the most celebrated examples of utter perfidy.

Hardly ten or eleven days had passed—in the lives of nations such a period is like a simple stroke on a clock—the ink on the Bratislava agreement could in the terms of the historical scales of time have hardly dried—the agreement was that the relations with Czechoslovakia will be conducted by these countries on the basis of equality and respect for sovereignty, national independence and integrity—those words could hardly have been read by the majority of the Czech population itself, leave aside the rest of the world, when in the early hours of the morning of the 21st, that is, on the night of the 20th/21st, the people of Czechoslovakia or such of them as were awake heard the whine of jets, the rumble of tanks, the rattle of armoured cars and all that goes with the invasion of one country by another.

If the Lanka Sama Samaja Party had been unable to call that invasion an invasion, it would have been unworthy of its very history.

In a matter of hours by *blitzkrieg* methods all that was vital in Czechoslovakia had been occupied. After all, the invaders as members of the Warsaw Pact—and in the case of the Soviet Union as the dominant partner in the mutual military arrangements that would have been made under the Warsaw Pact for the defence of Czechoslovakia itself against external aggression—would have known just precisely where to send their troops and precisely what centres of power required to be immediately got control of.

I am not going to spend any tears here on those who were crushed by tanks, apparently if we are to believe the proclamations, by accident, or those who met their death at the hands of the occupying soldiery. Having first been shot they were called counter-revolutionaries on the principle that if you call a dog by a bad name you are also entitled to kill it. I shall spend no tears on them, for those who were about them have shed the tears that should have been in our hearts too. But I point to the widespread arrests, the sheer kidnapping of the socialist leaders in Czechoslovakia and the subversion of the lawful government of that country by this act of occupation. It was not merely that they occupied the country and brought pressure upon its government to act in a certain way, they subverted that Government.

Never mind the details. What is relevant is that all of Czechoslovakia that is worthy of Czechoslovakia protested in a single voice in the only manner, Sir, that a little child can protest when under the heel of a bully.

We will not make any apologies for that behaviour; we will state it to the world; for it is only if the socialist movement of the world has the courage to state the truth about this matter to the world that the socialists movement in the world can take the setting right of this wrong into its own strong hands instead of leaving it to imperialism and its agencies the opportunity to pose as defenders of little countries.

The next we heard was that the highly respected President Svoboda, the new President of Czechoslovakia, the Prime Minister so to speak of the National Assembly, and number of other dignitaries had arrived in a Soviet plane in Moscow for negotiations. Some time later we heard, and it would apparently be vouched to be true that Alexander Dubcek himself abstracted from his own position, was found to be in Moscow.

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The world is so familiar with the word "negotiation" that I prefer to avoid it. The world is so familiar with the undertaking of voluntary journeys by people under duress that I shall avoid the term 'voluntary'. Surely those who occupied Czechoslovakia, if they did so and if indeed it is the case, in order that it be preliminary to negotiation, understood fully the meaning of negotiation by those in power with the dispossessed, having aimed a pistol at the head of the other party. I am sorry, Sir, our party does not accept that these were negotiations between equals. No. As far as we are concerned, if those negotiators, as they have been called, if those men who were fetched to Moscow in order to have terms imposed on them, were able to hold out and to succeed by holding out in gaining one single unintended concession from those who abstracted them from their country, and took them there, I say all honour to those men for having dared in the midst of difficulties to snatch even that little concession. But I shall not concede that those who were moved by world public opinion, on the heroism of the Czechs and of their representatives, to make the concession can in the least be presumed to deserve a meed of praise for their concession.

What we have now before us is only a part of whatever has happened. Today's papers carry, and the Secretary of our party in my presence checked up with the appropriate authority as to the accuracy of the reproduction of the Tass Statement in this morning's "Daily News", and I wish to say something on that topic on behalf of our party before I sit down. I am not proposing to take an undue amount of time. The Soviet News Agency "Tass" has put out an official communique signed and issued by the six parties to the negotiations and it is from that communique that we can infer if anything at all what the arrangements were, are, and will be. The real arrangements, the material

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arrangements the relevant arrangements, are not disclosed in this communiqué. It is all well and good to tell the world that the troops of the Five are in Czechoslovakia temporarily. But how temporary is temporary? We are entitled to know, and far more than we the Czechs people, the Socialist Movement is entitled to know—It is their right to know—what are the arrangements for a withdrawal whatever or whenever that withdrawal may be, and what in fact is going to constitute a withdrawal? Is it for instance even in the ultimate, in the future, to include the leaving of troops of the Five or of the Soviet Union within Czechoslovakia, be it on the border of West Germany? We are entitled to know so that it may be judged. All I note is that it is said that the talks constituted a free comradely discussion. That is the very first phrase: “During the talks in a free comradely discussion.” It is also said at the end that “the talks passed in an atmosphere of frankness, comradeship and friendship.”

The comradeship of aggressive occupation, the friendship of the assertion of the right of the Soviet Union and four of her allies to impose upon the Czechoslovakian people their own view as to what should be done and should not be done are beyond my understanding. The frankness with which the military aggression has been carried out in practice, though it cannot beget our admiration, is worthy of our note.

I notice in this certain evocative phrases in the Bratislava Declaration and all I can say is that I hope this copy is wrong, for otherwise even in the reference to the basis on which the future relations between Czechoslovakia and these five States are to take place, as compared with the Bratislava Declaration and the basis taken there, there is a difference which it is difficult not to regard as significant.

I will read that paragraph to you in its entirety:

“Expressing the unanimous striving of the peoples of the USSR for friendship and brotherhood with the peoples of Socialist Czechoslovakia, the Soviet leaders confirmed their readiness for the broadest sincere co-operation on the basis of mutual respect, equality, territorial integrity, independence and socialist solidarity.”

I trust this copy has made a mistake. We have checked up that it is not a mistake. The word “sovereignty” has disappeared. I always appreciate realism in politics and if this is meant to express the reality, congratulations for the realism, condemnation for the act, for in fact, today Czechoslovakia has lost her sovereignty. She is an occupied country. And so long as, under the compulsion of the consequences of an invasion and an occupation and a subversion, the compulsion of forced measures upon a little socialist state, there continues that occupation, Czechoslovakia will not have that completeness of sovereignty which every worthwhile citizen of the world wishes for and for which, in spite of American imperialism in terms of the Yalta and other agreements and their division of Europe into spheres of influence while yelling “forget it”—as I noticed, the “Ceylon Daily News” in its editorial this morning is already leaving room for the “forget it” phrase—the socialist movement, far from forgetting, will, I say, fight shoulder to shoulder with the Czechoslovak people until the last invading occupying soldier is removed from the confines of that land. Till then, although this agreement, as it is called, these terms, had been imposed on the Czechoslovak leadership with a pistol at their head, and although it is not for us but for the Czechoslovak people primarily to judge of the wisdom of the course of action which they took when a pistol was directed at their head, one thing the socialist movement of the world will have to continue to demand, and that is, that

the occupying troops should be withdrawn immediately and unconditionally and that the restored leadership of Czechoslovakia be left free to conduct its political and other policies in terms of the socialist wishes acknowledgedly of a socialist Czechoslovak people. We shall watch the future developments with no less care than we have watched what went before.

We are proud before the world that before these events took place our party was able to write to the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, expressing its solidarity with that party in the course it had taken, and expressing our attitude in regard to

the Bratislava and other negotiations. That friendship, that solidarity, we shall continue to observe, and it is in terms of that friendship and solidarity that our party was able to come out with a straightforward and direct condemnation of the actions of these five powers. We can but hope, permit me to say, Sir, in conclusion, that the writing upon the Moscow document will not prove to have been written on the waters as in the case of the Bratislava Conference. We trust that the ink will be allowed to go dry by an honourable observance of the very terms that have been imposed upon the Czechoslovak leadership and through them upon the Czechoslovak people.

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[ஒளிர்வு உடனடியாக விலக்கப்பட வேண்டும் என்றும் பிரதமர் II உடன் கூடுதல் செய்தி.]

[நிகழ்ச்சித் தொடர்ச்சியை இன்றைய அதிகார (பகுதி II) இல் பார்க்க.]

[For continuation of Proceedings, see OFFICIAL REPORT for this Day (Part II).]

