



පාර්ලිමේන්තු විවාද

(හැන්සාඩ්)

නිල වාර්තාව

(අශෝධිත පිටපත)

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නිවේදනය :

පාර්ලිමේන්තුවේ ආරක්ෂක විධිවිධාන

ප්‍රශ්නවලට වාචික පිළිතුරු

විසර්ජන පනත් කෙටුම්පත, 1985 [භයවන වෙන් කළ දිනය] :

දෙවන වර කියවීම - විවාදය කල්පවන ලදී.



දැනට ලැබුණු පොත්

(සාහිත්‍ය)

සාහිත්‍ය

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සාහිත්‍ය සංස්ථාව

பாராளுமன்ற விவாதங்கள்

(ஹன்சாட்)

அதிகார அறிக்கை

(பிழை திருத்தப்படாதது)

பிரதான உள்ளடக்கம்

அறிவிப்பு :

பொதுசனப் பாதுகாப்புப் பிரகடனம்
வினாக்களுக்கு வாய்மூல விடைகள்

ஒதுக்கீட்டுச் சட்டமூலம், 1985 [ஒதுக்கப்பட்ட ஆறாம் நாள்] :
இரண்டாம் மதிப்பு—விவாதம் ஒத்திவைக்கப்பட்டது.

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Thursday
22nd November 1984

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(HANSARD)

OFFICIAL REPORT

(Uncorrected)

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APPROPRIATION BILL, 1985 [Sixth Allotted Day]
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4. අළුත් මුණසිංහ මහතා—(එම්. හැලීම් ඉෂාක් මහතා—මැද කොළඹ තුන්වන—වෙනුවට)

(திரு. அனில் முனிசிங்கம்—ஜனாப் எம். ஹலீம் இஸாக்—கொழும்பு மத்தி மூன்றாம் அங்கத்தவர்—சார்பாக)

(Mr. Anil Moonasinghe—on behalf of Mr. M. Haleem Ishak—Third Colombo Central)

තැපැල් හා විදුලි සන්නිවේදන දෙපාර්තමේන්තුවේ ඇසු ප්‍රශ්නය :

(අ) 1981, 1982 සහ 1983 වර්ෂයන් සඳහා රූපවාහිනී බලපත්‍ර ලබාගෙන ඇති අයගේ සංඛ්‍යාව පිළිවෙලින් එකම සඳහන් කරන්නේද ?

(ආ) 1984. 01. 01 සිට මේ දක්වා රූපවාහිනී බලපත්‍ර ලබාගෙන ඇති අයගේ සංඛ්‍යාව එකම සඳහන් කරන්නේද ?

தபால் தந்திப் போக்குவரத்து அமைச்சரைக் கேட்ட வினா :

(அ) 1981, 1982, 1983 ஆகிய ஆண்டுகளுக்கு ரூபவாஹினி உரிமம் பெற்றிருப்பவர்களின் எண்ணிக்கையைத் தனித்தனி அவர் கூறுவாரா?

(ஆ) 1.1.1984 தொடக்கம் இதுவரை ரூபவாஹினி உரிமம் பெற்றிருப்பவர்களின் எண்ணிக்கையை அவர் கூறுவாரா?

asked the Minister of Posts and Telecommunications :

(a) Will he state the number of persons who had obtained Television Licences for the year 1981, 1982 and 1983 respectively ?

(b) Will he state the number of persons who have obtained Television Licences from 1.1.1984 up to date ?

ඩී. බී. විජේතුංග මහතා
 (திரு. டி. பி. விஜேதுங்கம்)
 (Mr. D. B. Wijetunga)

(අ) මව්.
 1981 — 56,215
 1982 — 1,30,852
 1983 — 2,05,490

(ආ) මව්.
 1984.01.01 දින සිට 1984.09.31 දින දක්වා—2,79,148 කි.
 1984 දැරුණු මාසයෙන් පසුව නිකුත් කරන ලද බලපත්‍ර පිළිබඳව මෙතෙක් ලැබිය හැකි වි තැන.

රූපවාහිනී නරඹන්නන්
 தொலைக்காட்சி நேயர்கள்
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5. අනිල් මුණසිංහ මහතා (හැලීම් ඉෂාක් මහතා වෙනුවට)
 (திரு. அனில் முனிசிங்கம்—ஜனாப் ஹலீம் இஷாக்—சார்பாக)

රාජ්‍ය දැමුණු මාසයේ ඇසු ප්‍රශ්නය :

(අ) ශ්‍රී ලංකා රූපවාහිනී සංස්ථාව විසින් රූපවාහිනී නරඹන්නන් සම්බන්ධයෙන් මැනවි සමීක්ෂණයක් පවත්වා තිබේද ?

(ආ) එසේ නම් 1981 වර්ෂයේ සිට මේ දක්වා රූපවාහිනී නරඹන්නන්ගේ සංඛ්‍යාව පිළිවෙලින් එකම ඉදිරිපත් කරන්නේද ?

இராஜாங்க அமைச்சரைக் கேட்ட வினா :

(அ) இலங்கை ரூபவாஹினிக் கூட்டுத்தாபனம் ரூபவாஹினி நேயர்கள் தொடர்பாகச் சமீபத்தில் ஆய்வொன்றை நடத்தியுள்ளதா?

(ஆ) அவ்வாறெனில், 1981 ஆம் ஆண்டு தொடக்கம் இதுவரை ரூபவாஹினி நேயர்களின் எண்ணிக்கையை ஆண்டுதோறும் தனித்தனி அவர் கூறுவாரா?

asked the Minister of State :

(a) Has the Sri Lanka Rupavahini Corporation held a survey of Television viewers recently ?

(b) If so, will he state the number of Television viewers for each year since 1981 ?

ආචාර්ය ආනන්දතිස්ස ද අල්විස් (රාජ්‍ය දැමුණු මාසයේ)
 (கலாநிதி ஆனந்ததிஸ்ஸ த அல்விஸ் — இராசாங்க அமைச்சர்)
 (Dr. Anandatissa de Alwis—Minister of State)

(a) Yes.

(b) The survey of T.V. viewers in the year 1984 was conducted in an area within 30 mile radius of Colombo and was concluded in the first week of November.

This was a pilot survey conducted to ascertain the percentage of TV viewers in the country, and channel and language preferences. The information received is now being tabulated and the percentages and other details are being worked out. On the basis of the information received, it could be estimated that about 1.8 million people view TV during the telecast of Sinhala news which is within the peak viewing hours. However, it has been found that when Sinhala tele-dramas and Sinhala films are telecast, the number of viewers goes upto 2.5 m. to 3 m. Such a survey was not conducted prior to this and as such, details with regard to the viewers since 1981, are not available. The Rupavahini Corporation came into being only in 1982 and as such, any figures relating to 1981 will be with regard to ITN viewers.

According to a census conducted by the Corporation, the number of TV sets in use by the end of 1983 amounted to 136,000 black & white and 65,000 colour sets making a total of 201,000 sets. However, it is estimated that the number of TV sets in use in the country at present is in the region of 300,000 – 350,000.

Based on the pilot survey conducted by us, the average number of viewers per set is estimated at six.

After information collected is processed, and classified within the next few weeks, details will be made available to hon. Members.

කථනායකතුමා
 (சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)
 (Mr. Speaker)

Now that the Hon. Deputy Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs is present, will he please answer Questions 6 and 7 ?

The new structure will provide increased protection for local industry, the agriculture sector and animal husbandry by abolishing duties on essential input in the agriculture and industry sectors. May I conclude, Sir, and wind up my speech by echoing the words of the Hon. Minister of Finance that the crying need of the hour is to restore ethnic peace and political stability if we are to achieve and strengthen economic prosperity. The Hon. Minister rightly stated that we cannot delay or postpone economic development or take too much time solving ethnic problems. The very foundation of our economy and society is being eroded by violence. Violence stalks the land. The prime need of the hour is to negotiate for peace among all communities. Negotiation is the very essence of democratic process. Let us negotiate for peace, purposefully and expeditiously.

Sir, if there is to be lasting peace, it has to be, in the words of Disraeli, "Peace with honour". Thank you.

ද. න. 9. 15

සරත් මුත්තේවිටෙම මහතා (කලවාන)

(திரு. சரத் முத்தேவிடுவகம் — கலவான)

(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama - Kalawana)

Mr. Speaker, it seems almost futile to indulge in a debate on the Budget today. The whole debate seems to have assumed an air of irrelevance in view of what is happening. I shall endeavour to say a few words about some of the aspects of what is happening, later on, but anyway there is no alternative but to carry on with the debate. I would also like to add my congratulations personally to the Hon. Minister of Finance for having established this record - it has got into the Guinness book as you said - of having presented eight consecutive Budgets. It is a record for Sri Lanka; I do not know whether it is a record for the rest of the Commonwealth and the Non-Aligned countries also. Anyway, although he has the satisfaction of having presented eight Budgets, I do not know how much satisfaction he gets from the state of the economy after having presented the eighth Budget. That, I think, should be the acid test of whether he considers the path on which the Government has taken the country economically has been successful, whether the strategy has succeeded and today whether, as the Hon. Minister of Education said, we are in a position where we are better off than we were.

I do not know what yardstick the Hon. Minister of Education uses when he says that we are better off than we were, but there are several yardsticks that a normal person, - not necessarily an economist - politically looking at the state of affairs of the country would use when trying to come to an assessment about whether we are in a better position than we were. I would say that there are several things that we would take into consideration.

Before we get on to the present Budget as such - I have many things to say about this Budget - I must say that somebody called it an innocuous budget, some people said it is a harmless budget, some people said it has satisfied everybody. Well, I will have a little to say about it later on. But regarding the test which the Hon. Minister of Education himself used, as to whether we are better off, I think it depends on who is actually applying the test.

Certainly, some people are better off. The class of people whom the United National Party represent - not even the entire class, but some people of that class - are certainly better off. That does not make the economy of the country better than what it was. It does not make the population better off than it was in 1977 when the Government took over. What are the standards that we can use when we judge after eight years - seven years are over; the first period of the Government's life span is over - whether the Government has achieved something in these seven years? What yard sticks can we use?

First of all, we can ask ourselves the question about the currency situation of the country, the actual rupees and cents situation of the country; you may call it the balance of payments, the trade deficit. All these things put together, what actually is position today? I do not think the Hon. Minister can be happy. Certainly, the Hon. Minister has not made out that he is happy about it because the Ministry has published many little tracts, and books in recent times. This year, in fact, he has given a present of all those to all hon. Members. There is a book which was published somewhere in the middle of the year called "Public Investments, 1984 - 1988" which reviews the position regarding the economy, and none of these books present a happy picture.

What is the position today? After all, Sir, when we look at this in perspective, we see that when we got independence, we inherited a colonial economy entirely based on the plantation sector. When we became independent, there was a certain sense of satisfaction and euphoria because our balance was good, we had money, the products were selling and, most of all, the people who inherited power, the people who took over power, had practically the same kind of conception as the rulers who relinquished it. I am not saying it in a derogatory way, but historically, the people who took power in 1947 were not thinking very much differently from the British rulers who handed power and went away. So, at that time the whole economy was based on the plantations. There were no controls to begin with. During 1947 - 58, there were no controls and we started off to carry on, as it were, what was in the minds of the people who took over the good work from where the British had left off.

[සරත් මුත්තේටුවෙගම මහතා]

Then, what happened, Sir? In the early 50s troubles started developing. I think, if I am not mistaken, at that time His Excellency the President was the Finance Minister; the President himself was the Finance Minister. Sir, when I hear the Hon. Minister of Finance coming to this House year after year and bemoaning the fact that the private sector to which so many incentives are being given is not making avail of those incentives and doing something constructive, I remember reading the Budget speeches of Mr. J. R. Jayewardene and Mr. M. D. H. Jayewardene. It was the same story then because they tried in their own conception, in their own way, to make a break from the plantation economy, some sort of a break in some way, but nothing happened because our private sector in the country had been born and bred in the plantation world.

You ask anybody, Sir, who come from the rural areas in this country, what do people in the rural areas consider to be wealth. They consider land to be wealth. Certainly, it is a kind of wealth, but that is all they consider to be wealth. They consider that planting a few acres would be the ultimate ambition of the rural masses and the middle classes in this country.

So, that was the kind of situation in which we grew up. And in 1952 Mr. J. R. Jayewardene himself as Minister had to start imposing controls, had to start cutting down on welfare measures, and we know all those things that happened. In 1953 there was the *hartal* and the change of Government in 1956. Of course, in between, after independence, we had the Korean boom.

I want to remind this House that this year we are enjoying a condition economically which is almost parallel to the Korean boom.

ආර්. ඩී. ජී. ජී. මෙල් මහතා
(திரு. ஆர். ஜி. ஜி. த் மெல்)
(Mr. R. J. G. de Mel)

Not in rubber.

සරත් මුත්තේටුවෙගම මහතා
(திரு. சரத் முத்தேட்டுவெகம)
(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

It is not rubber, but as far as the finances are concerned, we are having an artificial injection of money into the economy because of a situation totally out of our hands. There was the Korean war; here, it is the Indian non export of tea. But, anyway, we are the beneficiary and we get this just as we got it in times of the Korean boom.

Then, Sir, there was the MEP Government led by Mr. Bandaranaike containing very large sections of progressive opinion in this country. It was not an entirely SLFP government, but it was a government which consisted of the sections of the left, and many who had been born and bred in the liberation struggle,

people who had been in other parties; they all formed that MEP government. And, you remember, Sir, the MEP manifesto. It was a manifesto which may not have been practically achievable but it was a manifesto which pledged to take this country to socialism. How they did it, the mistakes they made, those are not the points. The point is they tried to do something. They tried to make a difference in the approach to the economy and they tried to industrialize. I remember, in the agriculture front, they tried to make very many changes. Today, you are talking of the paddy sector. Today, the people are talking about the great leap forward in the paddy sector. The great leap forward started in 1956 and thereafter. Every year there had been an increase except in one or two years when there were adverse climatic conditions and the great leap forward started when my good Friend's father introduced the paddy lands Act and gave some kind of security of tenure. After all, we remember there were Wimala Wijewardenas of that time who fought against that. I do not want to get involved in the Paddy Lands Act. At the moment. But the M.E.P. Government tried to make a break. They tried to industrialize. They tried to strengthen the public sector and in many matters they failed, but they gave a start. Then what happened. The history of this country is well-known. In 1960 the S.L.F.P. came in alone. They also did certain things. In 1965 the U.N.P. came back to power, de-controlled some items, gave again the open general licence, allowed imports again, killed whatever possibility of industries there were with the open general licence, killed the industrial aspirations of any kind of people who were thinking about it, then put the country on a FEECs scheme. They were succeeded again in 1970 by the United Left Government which again imposed controls and all these things. Thereafter, it is in that background that the 1977 elections took place and the United National Party came to power with this unprecedented majority, both Parliamentary majority as well as vote-wise.

What happened from 1977 onwards? Let us take the test, the test of the hon. Minister of Education. Are we better off now than we were? In 1977 after several years, for the first time in 1977, the terms of trade of this country registered a surplus. There was a continued deficit until 1977 and, I say, whatever the faults of that government—I was a Member of that Government; I had occasion to be very critical of it from time to time—but I must say that Dr. N. M. Perera, whether his policies lead to socialism or not is not the point, contained inflation and there was strategy. The Hon. Minister of Finance will be the first to admit it. Then as a result of that in 1977 the country saw the first surplus in the trade balance. It was not a very big surplus. It was something like Rs. 380 million. But it was an increase. It was a surplus. From 1956 this was the first surplus.

So the U.N.P. came to power with a trade surplus. What happened in 1977? After they came the devaluation took place. The dollar then was close to Rs. 9 at the normal exchange rate, Rs. 14.5 on the FEECs rate. Today the dollar is Rs. 26. Are we better off? I ask the Hon. Minister of Education. What standards does he use? On the rate of parity, On the rate of exchange of our rupee to the dollar, are we better off? I ask the Hon. Minister of Education. That is one.

Then what about the state of the Budget? What is the state today? I have the figures for 1972, the deficit of the budget in rupee terms. I concede it is somewhat distorting to talk in terms of rupees but it was 2,127 million in rupee terms and 31.8 percent of revenue. By 1982 it has come to 17,479 million and in terms of percentages it became 98 percent of revenue. That is another test the Hon. Minister of Education himself can apply. What is the situation about the net public debt? In 1977 again in rupee terms it was 22,437 million according to the Central Bank Report. That represented 3.3 times Government revenue. In 1983 it had come to 86,422 million and is in fact 3.4 times government revenue. So, I ask the Hon. Minister of Education; In the test that he advises us to use, are we better off because it must not be a test which he asked about himself or which people in the Government asked about themselves or which the people close to the Government asked about themselves? Some people, as I said, are certainly better off, but is the country and the population as a whole better off? That is the test I would like to emphasize. Hon. Minister we are far, far from the answer that he would like to give.

What has happened? Take it on any stand but what has happened? The whole strategy of the government as based on the case of increasing exports—that is the strategy—is that we can do anything. We increase our exports and therefore we will be able to survive. What has happened from 1976 to 1983? Exports have grown five-fold and in the same period imports have grown eight-fold. So, again, that is another test. What has happened to the trade balance? In 1976 there was a deficit of Rs. 710 million; in 1983 it has gone up to Rs. 20,304 million, an increase of nearly 30 times. I concede that it is in rupee terms. It is not a very good test because the rupee has depreciated and there is a lot of inflation and all these things. It is in local currency and because of devaluation and all that there has been a difference, but still it is not something that the Minister of Finance can be proud of because it has increased thirty times. But even if that test is not very applicable, because rupees and local currency are being used, there is a better test to use and that is in respect of the trade deficit as a percentage of the value of exports. That is a good test. In 1976, there was a trade deficit of, as a percentage of export, of 15 percent. In 1983 it is 81 percent. At one time it peaked to 97 percent. It has now

come down to 83 percent. I ask the Hon. Minister of Finance and particularly this gentleman who asked this question; On that basis would you say that we are better off now than we were because 15 percent of the value of export in trade deficit in 1976 has gone up to 81 per cent in 1983? Now this change in the percentage of trade deficit occurs because of two factors. One is because of the increase in volume and the other is because of the increase in prices. Now, prices may be beyond our control. There had been devaluation; there had been price differentials in other countries and it may be that the price factor made it so. But what has happened? The Government after all should be controlling the whole situation and monitoring the situation of exports and imports. What has happened? The export prices have gone up by 385 percent; import prices have gone up by 726 percent. Now, with that knowledge in mind the government should have monitored the export-import situation; imports should have been bared to the minimum, to the essentials—to the Mahaweli and various things like that. No, that was not what you did. You did imports on every possible front and you had imports duty free and duty added. So, what has it been volume-wise? In price it was 385 to 726 percent. Volume-wise exports went up by seven percent; imports went up by the staggering amount of 216 percent. Now, I ask the government, if you have not been under pressure by certain people who are around you, who just want to get whatever they can or make the fastest buck would you not have monitored the situation to see, when your exports go up only by 7 percent, not to allow the volume of imports to go up by 216 percent? It may be stressed and as the Hon. Minister of Education is asking us today, I ask you; Where are we at the end of it all? Can the Hon. Minister of Finance say, if you take item by item of the imports that have come into the country, from those rubbishy erasers that are there, from the goods from South Africa that are dumped here (*Interruption*) Of course, I am talking of the whole content of imports. Can you say that all the imports that came here, the imports that you have allowed, are things that are essential?

மந்திரிவரவர்கள்
(அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)

(A Member)

Does that include petroleum also?

ஈரன் இன்றையிலேயும் மனா
(திரு. சரத் முத்தேவகம்)
(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

Of course, it includes. And the 7 per cent increase in exports also includes petroleum that has been exported. We will talk about petroleum and how the value is added. They just import with one hand and export with the other and then talk about boost in exports. Anyway that is another matter. But what I am going to ask is not that. Can you say that 216 per cent increase in exports

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is something that was essential to this country? Do you know that goods from South Africa and the cheapest goods from Hongkong are being dumped here which we can make here? I mean erasers are being brought here! Erasers are not going to make a big difference, but this is the kind of thing which is allowed to come here. (Interruption) The hon. MP is saying that they are better than the Sri Lanka erasers. As long as it erases, what does it matter? But nothing will be able to erase the mistakes that you have made. Whether they are Lanka erasers or foreign erasers once the moving finger writes and the moving finger is writing at a terrible rate, no eraser can erase this. (Interruption). Yes, we are talking of your time now. We are not talking of the Budgets of those times.

Then, Sir, there is another test we can give. That is about the current account balance. There is a thing called the Services Account which has been consistently in surplus from 1970 up to 1981. In 1982, for the first time, there was a deficit of Rs. 389 million on the Services Account. In 1983, that increased three times. One of the reasons for this increase in the Services Account is an increase in what is known as net income payments abroad. The increase of payments abroad is directly a consequence of your policy. What happened is, that has gone up. The increase in dividend payments has gone up because dividends, royalties, services, all these are included. Now what has happened is the balance on the goods and services account as the percentage of merchandise exports is lower than the trade balance exports account. In 1976-1983 it was lower. In 1983, it was higher than the trade balance as a percentage account. And the net transfer account has been in favour of Sri Lanka for decades. In the past few years it has become stronger. In fact, it has grown 19 times since 1976 up to 1983. That is the net transfer in favour of Sri Lanka. What are the reasons? One is the great aid that you are boasting about, World Bank, IMF, Grants, concessionary loans, non-concessionary - all that put together. Those are the official transfers. How much has that increased percentage wise? It has increased eight times from what it was in 1976. But what has happened? There has been, Sir, a staggering increase in the private transfer account and that has increased 114 times. So that a part of your great Free Trade liberalized economy depends on the sweat and toil of the poor of this country who have sold their labour to the Middle East and other countries. That is a fact which you cannot deny. That is the position, Sir. It has increased 114 times.

Sir, I read some statistics the other day. Of the people who have gone abroad to work between 1976 and 1983 to all parts of the world, in all professions and in all

walks of life altogether, 47.7 per cent, nearly 48 per cent are women. If you take the people who have gone to the Middle East alone, that is without other countries like the Western countries, about 70 or 75 per cent are women. So when you say that the net transfer account has benefited 114 times, what it was in private transfers, it is the sweat of these poor women who have gone abroad. Some of them have got into trouble. Some of them have got beaten up. I am handling a case at the moment, not a professional case, but in the Labour Department. That is a case of a woman who has had acid flung at her. She is a Muslim lady who was working in one of the Middle Eastern countries. She is now negotiating with the Labour Department to get something through an agent. That kind of person has had to sweat and toil for this open economy to go on unabated in Sri Lanka.

Then Sir, there was another test which was being used regarding this. There was a thing which economists earlier used or called the "basic balance". Now, following the IMF and World Bank procedures, our Central Bank also does not use the "basic balance". They use a thing known as the "over all balance". Having used this overall balance which is in some ways is rather deceptive; the Government says the overall balance is in surplus and asks us to be satisfied about it. The overall balance in surplus, first of all, is due to the official and private inflows and due to the enlargement of the external debt. It is the same as this year's budget being balanced. It is entirely due to the fact that we have got further and further into debt. Then to say that therefore the overall balance is in our favour is rather a deceptive way of telling the story because table 6 of the Central Bank Report 1983 shows what is known as the "External Resource Gap. In 1976 it was minus 2,456 millions of rupees, in 1980 it went up to 18,386, again, in million of rupees. In 1983 it went up to 32,760. That is in rupee terms. Therefore it is open to the same criticism because of the devaluation of the rupee and all that. But as a percentage of foreign earnings the external resources gap has a percentage of foreign earnings of 45 per cent in 1976. In 1980 it went up to 74.4 per cent and in 1983 it went up to 82.4 per cent. So that Sir, can we say, in answer to the question that the Hon. Minister of Education is asking, that we are better off? Because there is even a better test than that.

If you take the external debts that are outstanding, i.e. Table 8 of the Central Bank Report, in 1976 the external public debt outstanding was about Rs. 4,968 million, in 1980 it was Rs. 22,277 million, in 1983 it went up to Rs. 46,025 million. Now Sir, the external public debt as a percentage of exports in 1976 was 94.4, in 1980 it went up to 170.8, in 1983, as a percentage of exports, it was 277.4. Then as a percentage of foreign earnings in 1976 it was 81.4, in 1980 it was 121.6 and in 1983 it was 174. Something, and as a percentage of

total government revenue, it was 86.5 in 1976 and 158.4 in 1980, 182.6 in 1983. In SDR millions it was 81 million in 1980, 614 million in 1983. That is our external debt outstanding and the Commercial loans that you took are now coming into the paying period. I think some more short term commercial loans have to still come in to be paid. The external debt outstanding in SDR terms, not in rupee terms, has gone up about seven times, I do not know this, the debt service ratio. The Hon. Minister of Finance calculates the debt service ratio one way, and some other people calculate it in another way but any way it is high. The Hon. Minister himself admitted it. I remember, during the Committee Stage discussions of the last budget. Take all these loans that are taken. Air Lanka takes loans guaranteed by Government, the Shipping Corporation takes loans also guaranteed by Government. Those have also to be calculated in the debt service ratio because though they are taken by Corporations the Government has guaranteed and we are all liable in respect of all those. Sir, these are the tests in regard to the financial monetary position.

The Government boasts of rate of investment, which they say is 30 per cent now, but what is the position? Of the entire investment in this country, only 14 per cent—not of the 30 per cent but of the entirety—is being financed out of our money, Sri Lankan money. The rest is foreign money. I will come to the character of those investments later. But in terms of rupees and cents or in dollars and cents, only 14 per cent of the entirety of our investments is financed by us. So it is not something which you can be proud of. And where is it going? Foreign money is going into public sector infrastructure. They do not create any goods. The Minister has often said this. They create services which in its own cyclical effect is inflationary, and this is a position where we have to depend again on foreign imports to satisfy the people who want those goods. The continuing cycle is going on.

I would also ask the Hon. Minister to give us in the course of his reply or at the Committee stage, some indication about the actual proportions of foreign investment in things like hotels. No figures are available. All sorts of hotels are coming up. The Minister of State is here. I do not know whether anybody kept a tab on what is happening. The hon. Second Member for Colombo Central will tell you the sad story of people coming into his hotel, Hotel Holiday Inn and meeting the residents and offering them cut rates. This is the great boom! People walk across from Hotel Galadari to Holiday Inn and ask, "How much are you paying here? Oh, 40 dollars! We will give you at 20 dollars."—(Interruption). What is happening in London is another matter. We are not discussing the budget of the United Kingdom here—(Interruption). No, no; it is not a question of the market place. What

has happened is you have over-priced the hotels to begin with and now you are under-cutting each other. But you have allowed hotel construction. How many hotels are for sale today? I will talk about that a little later. What I say is, give us the figures of the investments in hotels.

Talking of the lack of capital to start industries—which I will speak about later—of the great necessity to start industries, may I ask what happened? Government Corporations which have plenty of money like the Insurance Corporation which had a monopoly—did they think of starting an industry? No. They have gone into the Robinson Club and some other Hotel also—Translanka. All right, you build hotels.

I saw an advertisement or a news item yesterday: Ramada Renaissance Hotel. It sounds a slightly pornographic word. Anyway, they have given their furnishing contract to some foreign firm, Ayala. Furnishing, we can do here: we have the ability, we have the raw material, superb carpenters who will turn out anything on order. But these people who are investing in hotels here are allowed to even give the furnishing to some foreign people. What is Ceylon going to get out of it? Even if you get foreign exchange from the tourists, for every dollar that you get about 70 American cents are going out in the foreign exchange component of the tourist industry.

As my friend reminds me we are exporting highly sophisticated furniture. Hon Carolis is doing it, A. F. Jones is doing it. But why do you not do it. When you allow people to come and construct Galadari or Ramada or any other hotel, why do you not say, "Basic furnishings must be done by Sri Lankan people in Sri Lanka, with Sri Lanka material." Even that is not done.

None of these things have helped to expand the productive forces of this country; they have only increased the outflow of capital, dividends, royalties and so on. What has happened is, there is a terrible increase in payments abroad. G.D.P. has increased by 5 per cent by 1983. Payments abroad had increased by 50 per cent. I do not know about this rosy picture which the Hon. Minister of Education was trying to paint and told us to pat ourselves on our breasts and ask the question, "Are we better off?" Are we better off because so many people ride motor cycles? Are we better off because people wear helmets? Are we better off because you have reduced the duty on cars? Are we better off because there are Royal Doulton and Bella Vista? Is the country better off? Are the people better off? Has the economy improved? Has the financial position improved? Simply because Galadari Meridien has a soft opening and you have a beautiful dinner to which all of us are invited or because Taj Samudra gives another dinner and because you can eat seven days and seven nights in plush hotels, it does not mean that we

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are better off. Some people are better off. But it does not mean that we as a whole, the country, are better off. That is the whole point in this exercise.

Let us take what we have paid in terms of social infrastructure. The Hon. Minister of Finance has admitted it. In the document entitled "Public Investment 1984-1988" he has said :

"Country's social overheads, particularly health and education, have in recent years received much less resources than are required to cater to the growing demands of the population."

There is a lot more in that, a lot more in this and a lot more all over. The simple, basic stark fact is that you have allowed people to get fat, to get rich, to skin the country of the best of the resources ; allowed foreigners to come and crook us. But you have neglected giving inputs to the social services sector. This is a terrible position. One might say like that famous saying, "Never in the history of human endeavour has so many people sacrificed so much for so few people to take the benefits thereof."

This is a terrible situation in this country. Who enjoys all these things ? Who enjoys in those big hotels ?—(Interruption). I am not talking of the tourists. I am talking of the local people. Who enjoys the casinos ? Who enjoys all these things ? Who get the benefit of all these things. You have reduced the tariff. I cannot understand the logic of the reduction of the tariff in respect of certain items. Why is the reduction in respect of air-conditioners ? Why ? For whose benefit is that ? Is it for the benefit of the people who have contributed to the growth in the paddy sector ? Or is it because the people voted for you in Minneriya and they are going to have air-conditioners ?—(Interruption). Please do not ask inane questions. In the Kremlin most of the time they have heaters, not air-conditioners. Surely, I am not asking you to do without an air-conditioner in your office. What I am asking is, why has the tariff been reduced ?—(Interruption). You do not spend for your air-conditioners.

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(கலாநிதி ஆனந்ததில்லு த அல்விஸ்)
(Dr. Anandatissa de Alwis)

In the Soviet Union do you not have this difference ?

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(திரு. சரத் முத்தேட்டுவெகம)
(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

Surely, I thought the Hon. Minister of State had a little more sense than this, without asking utterly inane questions.

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(கலாநிதி ஆனந்ததில்லு த அல்விஸ்)
(Dr. Anandatissa de Alwis)

This is not true.

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(திரு. சரத் முத்தேட்டுவெகம)
(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

Please reply when you get your turn to speak. In the Soviet Union they have air-conditioners, they have heaters. They are bought with public money and used in public offices and that is perfectly O.K. if you do that in Sri Lanka also. You buy them duty free for your public offices. But why do you reduce the duty on air-conditioners ? Is it because people voted for you in Minneriya and the peasants of Minneriya who are living in the heat are going to get air-conditioners ? Why did you reduce the tax on cars ? How many cars do you want for that kind of person whom you have described – professionals, doctors, technicians, engineers ? Weigh it in the balance, give them tax free cars but charge the normal tax that you had before for the rest of the cars and see which way you lose more. You lose more by this exercise.

Look at the roads here. Just this morning on my way here I went to Medawelikada – this is just 100 yards away, in your electorate. And you are talking about air-conditioners in the Kremlin ! Go and see the road. There is no road, there are just potholes and potholes. From one pothole you get thrown into the next pothole. And you are reducing the duty on cars ! Why do you not improve the roads ?—(Interruption).

මම වැලිකඩ තතර වෙතවා. තමුත්තන්සේ මුල්ලේරියාවේ තතර වෙතවා. Speaking on the reduction of tariffs, I say that some of them are inexplicable.

Just look at the concessions given to foreigners ! Can I ask, why did you allow these foreign banks to come and set up business here ? Do we need them ? What has happened today ? The entire picture in the banking world is changing. There was the Bank of Ceylon. Of course they are making profits and in rupee terms their profits are fantastic. The People's Bank is also making profits. One thing I must say for your Ministry and the People's Bank : it is doing one good thing and that is, running a good magazine, the "Kalpana" an objective and a very good magazine. I think that is about the only contribution they are making to the country because very soon they will be bereft of any other possibility.

You have allowed foreign banks to come and open here, banks like the Indo Suez and some whose names I do not know. What is the position today ? Before 1979 and before your dispensation, there were foreign banks. They had 9 per cent of the deposits in the country – less than 10 per cent. They still have that and that has remained static. That is, in banks like Grindlays and the Habib Bank. You have given banks like Indo Suez the up-front deal where they can play with black-marketeers' money. Last year those banks had 12 per cent of the deposits in the country, in 1983 it was 15 per cent and I will take any bet that in 1984 it will be more. Even Sri Lankans are going to those banks ! Very

soon they will have numbered accounts for our Sri Lankans like in the Swiss banks. You will give them permission for that also because if you have already given them the up-front facility, the next thing is only a slightly different transaction. That is all.

What has happened with this great open economy ? I have never seen an open economy like this. It has been best described in the "Aththa" in an editorial about two days ago. I think it deserves to be read-(*Interruption*). This is how they described the open economy in the "Aththa" editorial on 19th November, 1984.

"විවෘත ආර්ථික ප්‍රතිපත්ති අප බඳු ගත්තේ එංගලන්තය වැනි රටවල් කරන ආකාරයට ද කොටේ. ඒ රටවල් විවෘත ආර්ථික ප්‍රතිපත්ති සමග ආරක්ෂණ ප්‍රතිපත්ති ද අනුගමනය කරයි. විවෘත ප්‍රතිපත්ති අනුගමනය කරමින් කල් ගෙවන අතර මහ ස්වදේශීය නිෂ්පාදනවලට හානි පෑමේම වළක්වනු සඳහා එම රටවල් ආරක්ෂණ නීති පනවා ගත්තේ ය. ශ්‍රී ලංකා ඇගයීම් මවුන් ටේ නිෂ්පාදනවලට තර්ජනයක් වූ තැන එංගලන්තය එයට තහවුරු දීමේය. එයයි ආරක්ෂණය. අප කළේ එය නොවේ. උඩ රෙද්දක් හැට්ටයක් පමණක් නොව බොහෝමයක් යට රෙද්දක් සියල්ල ගලවා දමා සියල්ල විවෘත කරනු ලැබී ය."

This is the open economy in Sri Lanka. Obviously the open economy has weighed heavily on the editor's mind because two days later he came back to the same subject and this is what he said in his editorial on 21st November, 1984 -

"එතෙක් එතෙක් කීව යුතු ය. නිදහස් ආර්ථිකය ආණ්ඩුව වැළඳ ගත්තේ අප කලින් කී පරිදි එංගලන්තය වැනි රටවල් කළ ලෙසින් ආරක්ෂණ ප්‍රතිපත්ති ගත ව කොට හද්ද මෝඩි තාලයට අවිචාරයෙකි. ගතව තැංගේ අමුදිය ගතා ගෙන සිටී අමුදි ලේක්සුවෙන් වළල්ල ගතා ගෙන එය දෙ පසට දැගෙන ය."

අමුදිය ගලවා වළල්ලට දමා ගෙන.

"ඒ කිසිතෙක් සියල්ල විවෘත ව තබා ගෙන ය. දන් ගත්තේ දැනෙන දුරක් ගොස් අතක මෙතන කොටසක් කන්නට පටන් ගත් පසු ගතේ ම සිටී ගෙන පැවී අලවන්නට, විකල්ප අමුදි කොටසක්ව කතා කරයි."

That is because His Excellency the President has recently said that he is going to review this matter.

එහි තව දුරටත් මෙසේ සඳහන් වෙතවා.

"අමුදිය යළි ගතා ගන්නට දෙපයේ ලු ලේක්සුව ගන්නොත් බිමට වැවී බෙල්ල කැඩෙයි. ආපසු ගමනක් නැතැයි මුදල් ඇමති කියේ ඒ නිසාය. වළල්ලෙන් සිට ගෙන ලේක්සුව ගෙන අමුදිය ගසන්නටත් බැරිය. කොටසේ එල්ලීගෙන කනි."

So this is not a joke because this is what has happened as a result of the "විවෘත ආර්ථිකය"? Sir as a result of it have we benefited ? 114 projects have been approved by the Foreign Investment Advisory Committee up to date, of them 43 are garment industries. 66 projects have been approved by the GCEC up to date. Exactly 50 per cent of them are garment industries. Ask the Hon. Minister of Finance. He knows it best. What we need from the backward base that we are in now is an industrial development. That is what you had in mind when you started the Free Trade Zone, not merely garment and electrical component industries. When His Excellency the President said "Let robber barons come !" I do not think even he envisaged the number of robber barons who had come here. They have really robbed us. When he said "Let robber barons come" what he meant was let them come, let them even rob us for a time, but let them start a base industry. The Hon. Minister of Industries is here.

What little there is also is going. Surely a country like this, a third world, backward, financially difficult, country should never have an open economy like this without an element of protection. Protection and encouragement of foreign enterprises are not mutually exclusive, they are complementary one to the other. Import substitution, why not ? It is a viable thing in regard to certain matters. Of course we do not have a market. We do not have a domestic market. Some people say we have tried industrialization and failed ; In the 1956 period we tried import substitution and failed and that it can never be done again. But we can. I ask you, look at the number of things that are strewn about the streets and shops today. Can we not produce those things here ? There is no question that we can. And it is simply that we neither have the will nor has the government given the proper incentives to the proper people. And I can tell you that with the private sector you will never succeed in starting an industrialised take off in this country. I will come to that later.

But what has happened ? The output of employees has declined 1 per cent in 1983 from 1982 levels according to the Central Bank Review. And in the Free Trade Zone, Sir, as employment wise, what is this employment in the Free Trade Zone ? 28,000 of which 79 per cent are women paid below Rs. 25. Somebody has described this as a sweat shop in the sun. Totally exploited doing repetitive, alienating work. They have been exploited during the day and you have now opened the gates to night work and allowed exploitation during the night also. 79 per cent of those people are women getting less than Rs. 25 not even one dollar. You are talking of great wage increases. They do not get even one U.S. Dollar per day. How do they live ? Ten to a room, 20 to a room. I know some people from the Ratnapura district say that after they work in the GCEC and come back home once a month. They have to take some money from home to go back. But they feel shy to give up the work, to come back to the village and admit that their quest for work has failed. That is a social fact, but in point of fact the exploitation there is terrible. It is terrible.

I will tell you of a particular case that is going on at the moment. There is a Norwegian Firm, a Norwegian collaborating firm called Sama Lanka. What have they done in the F.T.Z. ? They are some garment people. Twelve companies have closed down in the G.C.E.C. I think you will have to give further tax incentives now because they have finished their tax incentives. The tax holiday is over and they have gone. They have said "ta-ta". The robber barons have gone ! Nothing can be done because we cannot nationalize them under the Constitution. We cannot take them over. The Sri Lankan Directors cannot do anything. The foreigners have gone and twelve companies are closed ; Ranamayura, Glove Rubber, Victory Garments,

[සරත් මුක්තෙට්ටුවෙහි මහතා]

George Stewart, Play House, Neeta Cycles, Asia Footwear, C & A Garments and this Sama Lanka. What has Sama Lanka done? It is a Norwegian collaborating firm. They were making fishing gear. It is 70 per cent Norwegian. They had all the normal agreements and one of the clauses in the agreement was that there should not be a sale of goods in the local market although there was a terrific demand for those goods in the local market. Anyway, it does not matter. That is for export. Accordingly Rs. 9.7 million worth of goods were sent to Samal and Company—that is a Norwegian collaborator in Oslo—Somewhere at the beginning of last year or at the end of last year. The cash was not remitted to Sri Lanka, the Rs. 9.7 million. This is the last order. That is what they did last. Now, there is a clause in the agreement, the G.C.E.C. agreement, that within six months the money must be remitted, the value of the goods, and that was not done. The G.C.E.C. asked the local Directors who were still here where the money was. Then they said that the Norwegians have gone. The tax holiday is over and there is nothing that we can do. Do you know that Sama Lanka has not paid the electricity bills, the telephone bills and, worst of all, the wages were not paid?

Now, Sir, the workers in this place went through their union to the Termination Unit to get their compensation. They have been awarded a sum of Rs. 18 lakhs for 129 workers. I do not know who the local collaborators are but they are asking permission to sell assets that are here to pay these workers, the telephone bills, the electricity bills, may be petrol bills also. I do not know how many other bills, but the G.C.E.C. says no, because they say you must have the local collaborators. It is the Indian summer because they have gone and the Norwegians are not here. They have just gone. The workers have to get Rs. 18 lakhs. The Telecommunication Department which is under Hon. D. B. Wijetunga has to get money for the telephone bills. I am telling you that they have to pay their electricity bills also, but the bird has flown and nothing can be done.

That is what is happening under the GCEC. The industries are supposed to be giving jobs. What is the use of these jobs? I think this is a typical sweat-shop in the sun; 79 per cent women, paid less than a dollar, and with the men that are there in this kind of place. The Norwegians have bolted and Rs. 18 lakhs have not been paid. I ask you, where do you go from here? What has happened? The GCEC has been in business for six years, but there is not a single viable heavy industry that we can talk about, not even a medium industry. They have come here, exploited the quotas Sri Lanka had in the garment sector and used them. The five-year tax holiday is over, and I predict that most of them will go like the Norwegian Sama Lanka.

Then in the FIAC also it is the same. The exploitation of these girls in the Juki Machine Factories is something terrible. They come and work because there is no work outside. But it is a terrible situation, Sir, and I do not think the Government can really be happy about it. They must do something about it. It is not only in the GCEC and the FIAC but the Government will say when this Minister is saying, "Are we not better off now than we were earlier".

As regards real wages what is the position? I want to refer to the "Review of the Economy" of the Central Bank for 1983. For several categories of workers real wages declined. Wage increases of workers.

"In the private sector, 36 trades are covered by Wages Boards. Wages increases for workers in these trades were generally lower than those for government sector employees. Wages increased by 7.4 per cent in nominal terms and decreased by 5.6 percent in real terms.

Wages of all categories of workers decreased in real terms"

That is the position in regard to workers. Decrease in wages in respect of all categories of workers in real terms. (*Interruption*) Otherwise? I read from what I want. You read from what you want.

The "Public Investment" book says about how the investment in the social sector has gone down. But the real criminal thing—is it not the food stamps scheme? The Food stamps scheme is for the Rs. 300 category and below. What has happened? Even that you are cutting.

I am reading from page 261 of the "Report on Consumer Finances and Socio- Economic Survey 1981/1982":

"Total expenditure incurred during the year on the food subsidy and the Food Stamps Scheme amounted to R. 1,508 million indicating a decrease of 14 percent over the previous year. As a share of total recurrent expenditure it declined from 9 percent in 1982 to 6 percent in 1983".

The food stamps scheme is in any case totally inadequate now, because—Mr. Hopper has said it and the World Bank has said it—regarding food stamps the inputs are not adequate to make ends meet for the poorer people. Even that is being cut. How it was cut is that larger sections of people are being taken away from the food stamp scheme. Today the food stamps scheme is—a scheme of no return. I have seen it in practice. It happens in practice in our areas. If there is one person in the family working on an estate and there are six persons in the family, the estate worker naturally gets over Rs. 300, and the whole family goes out of the food stamps scheme. But if that man loses his job—it often happens on estates—if he is sacked or loses his job, that family does not come back to the food stamps scheme. Once you go you are gone for ever.

So I want to ask the Hon. Minister of Finance as to what he proposes to do about the food stamps scheme. Unless you give food stamps to people who earn less than Rs. 1,000, and food stamps of a higher value than at present, the whole scheme is meaningless. The food stamps and the kerosene stamps, etc., must go up in value, and they must be given to families who get less than Rs. 1,000, not Rs. 300, and it must be worked in a humane way, not worked in a mechanical way—that once you go off, you go off the scheme for ever.

Then, in the social sector you will see, what is happening—some staggering things I remember once at a budget debate when I first came to Parliament, I read a book of a person called Soulsbury or Haulsbury who had referred to a test done in regard to the physical quality of life. An American study team in 1975 found that Sri Lanka compared with Sweden in the physical quality of life, and they attributed it to the food rationing scheme (*Interruption*).

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(அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)
(A Member)
free food!

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(திரு. சரத் முத்தேட்டுவெகம்)
(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

Yes. That is what I am telling. But those people attributed the high physical quality of life to subsidies on food, transport, free education, free health scheme, etc. Those were the things. Now what has happened? Take the educational structure.

I am reading from the book "Socio-Economic Survey" again, at page 58 :

"Literacy rates in Sri Lanka have been among the highest in Asia. The findings in previous surveys revealed that there has been a steady improvement in literacy up to 1978/79".

Literacy! Basic thing—the minimum.

"However, the 1981/82 data indicate a mild reversal of this trend."

Literacy is also coming down! Then at page 59 of the same book :

"The all Island literacy rates have declined in the same proportion for both males and females."

Are you proud of it, Minister of Education? He asked "Are we better off?" That is the acid test, he says. I ask, "Literacy?"

"In the Urban Sector the drop in the literacy rate for this age group is marginal but the decline in the Rural and Estate Sectors is significant (4.1 percent and 5.1 percent respectively). The drop in literacy rates could be attributed mainly to school avoidance due to the inability to provide basic requirements."

Even the basic requirements cannot be provided.

Then talking of the disparities it is said—

"These disparities point to the fact that persons in low income spending units (families) have less access to minimum schooling that guarantees general literacy than those in high income spending units, in spite of the existence of a free education system."

Then, school attendance. What is happening about school attendance? the hon. Minister of Education asked this question, "Are we better off?" the government Report says—

"It is observed that school attendance in the Estate Sector is very low for all age groups when compared to other Sectors. School attendance in this Sector has further deteriorated between 1978/79 and 1981/82."

(*Interruption*)

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That is what the Socio-Economic Survey further goes on to say.

"However a comparison with the 1978/79 data"—

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"However, a comparison with the 1978/79 data under the same circumstances reveals that school avoidance has increased in 1981/82 compared to 1978/79."

(*Interruption*). That means at higher levels of income the school avoidance rate is lower.

All Island avoidance rates are 20 percent or more for those income groups below Rs. 800. This is a pathetic situation. People are getting more illiterate. More children in the poorer houses are not attending school. You are talking of this buoyant, bouncing, economy, people going on motor cycles, consumer goods, television and all—I do not know whether you can be proud of these things.

Then Sir, what has happened in the Universities? About the Universities again this book, that is, the Report on Consumer Finances and Socio-Economic Survey 1981/82—this is the latest one published in 1984, states—

"The proportion of persons reaching University Degree level is relatively small for low income groups (below Rs. 1,000). A little over one-third of the population is in these income groups. This reinforces the observation made earlier that even with a free education scheme upto the University level, the persons in low income spending units are unable to achieve higher levels of education in view of their inability to meet other basic requirements considered complementary to pursue education."

You can have the Mahapola, you can have any other pola, but this is the result! The people in lower income groups are simply not getting into the University. Social mobility is getting constricted. You will find before long that the disparity, not only in income, but in social status is widening, and you will find an explosive situation on your hands.

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As for income, I think I heard my Friend the hon. Member for Matugama reading out some figures. But whatever the tests you use, it is simply clear that in this period of your government the income disparity has increased. The *gini* coefficient is reported again in this Socio-Economic Survey. (*Interruption*) That is, they have a table, but they have a comment on it.

"During the 1963 - 1973 period, however, the Gini Ratio for income receivers declined from 0.49 to 0.41, while that for spending units declined from 0.45 to 0.35. This indicated a clear shift in the distribution of income towards greater equality."

That is between 1963 and 1973. This is what they say thereafter :

"A reversal of this trend was observed between 1973 and 1978/79. During this period, the Gini Ratio for income receivers increased from 0.41 to 0.49, while spending units recorded an increase of Gini Ratio from 0.35 to 0.44. Between 1978/79 and 1981/82 income inequality among income receivers, has increased, whereas inequality among spending units has remained invariant. A comparison of Gini Coefficients, reveals greater disparity in distribution of income among income receivers than among spending units."

Then in the following two pages you find the Lorenz curve. The Lorenz curve chart also shows that there is a big bulge in the income disparity as you come to 1979, 1980, 1981 where the income disparities are increasing.

Now we are used to talking about housing. No doubt that there have been a large number of houses being built. They are still continuing to be built. 10,000 houses, the million houses housing scheme, but what is the situation in regard to housing ? What has happened, Sir ? We are thinking of an economy where we are providing basic amenities.

Again I quote from the Report on Consumer Finances and Socio-Economic Survey 1981/1982 Sri Lanka - Part 1.

"(i) *Availability of Latrines.* - It is evident from the Table 3.26 that almost 70 per cent of the sampled households were equipped with latrine facilities of some sort. A little over 60 per cent of households enjoyed separate latrine facilities. However, the proportion of households with latrine facilities has markedly decreased from 75.4 per cent in 1978/79 to 70.1 per cent in 1981/82."

That is 30 per cent of the houses, nearly 1/3rd of the houses in Sri Lanka do not have any latrine facilities, although the Royal Doulton, is Rs. 50,000 or Rs. 60,000.

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(Mr. R. J. G. de Mel)

It is more in my electorate.

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(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

It may probably be higher in my constituency, but the point is there is Bella Vista and Royal Doulton ! They

cost Rs. 60,000 a set, but 30 per cent of houses do not have latrines. Nor do they have tap water. This report also states :

"The Zonal distribution of households with latrine facilities also showed a general deterioration..".

There is an old saying that the best things in life are free. One of those things is water. Up to recent times it was free for us. Now you have to pay for water in Colombo, you have to pay for water in Kotte but some places do not have water at all ! No water on tap, no water in wells. Apart from not having latrines, there is no water also in some houses. That is the situation in regard to that, Sir.

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(ජනාධිපතිතුමා)
(Mr. Speaker)

How long more will the hon. Member for Kalawana take ?

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(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

I will finish soon Sir. I have just a few more points.

Then the great boast of the Government that unemployment has come down. Sir, all people are employed ! If you take those sample surveys; at the last survey what they asked in the questionnaire was "have you had one day's work for the previous week ?" That is the way the survey is done. I am not criticising the survey. That is a sample survey. They ask the man "Have you done one day's work in the last seven days ?" and if the answer to that question is "yes" that man is considered employed. Not only that they are employed all those girls in the Juki machine factories are in fact employed but they are not suitably employed. They are not satisfactorily employed and there is no satisfaction of labour for them nor proper wages for them. That is the point. What is the use of your talking about employment having gone up, if 50 per cent of the population is living on food stamps ? What is the logic of it ? How does it relate to each other ? According to your own figures in the Socio-Economic Survey 50 per cent of the people get less than Rs. 500. In the other income figures given here the lowest 20 per cent get less than Rs. 400.

What is the use of talking of employment ? These people are employed. Now there is a man who has nothing else to do. He plucks other people's coconuts and sells them. He is a coconut seller. He is employed. But does the Government say that he is employed ? Then there is another fellow who plucks some mangoes and sells them. Are all those people who are employed ? The fact is that you may have employment figures. You may say that the unemployment figures have come down, but the point is that 50 per cent of the population

is living on Rs. 300 Food Stamps Scheme. So that, that employment is a useless thing. I say that your figures in one or the other are wrong. Maybe in both they are wrong. The point is that both are wrong. How can this employment have gone up so much, Sir? I have carefully gone through the Central Bank Report in each sector. In the Railways from 1980 up to now employment has decreased by 264. In the CTB, employment has decreased from 1980 to now by 8,603. In the Sri Lanka Ports Authority employment has declined by 478. In 1980 there were 143,182 teachers. In 1983 there are only 139,603 teachers, a decline of 3,579. Postal Department, from 1980 to 1983 there is an increase in employment but an increase of 2,600. In Telecommunications, there is again an increase for four years of 226. Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation has come down by 293. Petroleum – this great exporting product, has increased its employment for four years by 455. Electricity Board has come down by 175. State Engineering Corporation has come down by 4,517. Employment in Government departments altogether, has gone up by 13,000. Is that a lot? Then what about the retirements? For all Government departments it is 13,000 from 1976 up to now. State industries has come down. Unemployment among graduates has increased Sir. Whatever the Graduate Employment Scheme may be, this is what the Socio- Economic survey states :

“Compared with 1978/79, data, unemployment has declined in all levels of education except among University Graduates, among whom unemployment rate has increased significantly from 5.3 per cent in 1978/79 to 9.7 per cent in 1981/82”.

Almost double.

Then my Friend read about hospital beds. Beds have come down. Doctors have come down. Nurses have come down. In this great welfare economy of ours, hospital beds have also come down! The number of beds, the number of doctors per patient and per population have come down. All these have come down.

Last year I went into the question of this great cultural boom, not the Cultural Triangle, the great cassette world. In the Broadcasting Corporation the number of hours of educational broadcasts have come down from 30 hours to 28 hours.

Passenger trains – kilometres operated have come down from 1979 to 1983. The number of buses, kilometers operated have come down. In 1979 the number of kilometers operated was 48,100 in respect of buses. In 1983 it was 457,000 kilometers. Passenger trains kilometers operated in 1979 was 7,635,000; in 1983 it was 7,391,000. Even goods trains have come down from 3 million to 2 million.

Now, Sir, what is the position today? Today Sri Lanka is enjoying a boom in tea prices. For the first time in ten years there has been a drop in oil prices. Are

we getting benefit of that? When are we going to get the benefits of these things? We are paying the surcharge for fuel, for electricity even now. We pay water taxes. Before long we may have to pay taxes for the air we breathe! Why do you not give the people some of these benefits? You have given terrible concessions to certain sections – tax holidays, half tax holidays. Why do you not give us, all people of this country, the benefits of the petroleum price drop, benefits of the tea boom? Nothing has come to the people. Only air-conditioners have come down and cars have come down in value.

The Hon. Finance Minister, in his book on Public Investments 1984/88 and also in his Budget Speech clearly states that nothing will be undertaken by the public sector which can be done by the private sector. – (*Interruption*). Which can be better done? What is the test of. What can be done? It is what has been done? That is the point. You take the private sector – it is mollycoddled! They will find that it is much better for them to put their money in fixed deposits and take the interest than to get into trouble by starting industries. That has been the experience up to now. Or else you will get the racketeer who does the import-export business, who falsifies the customs record, falsifies the returns, and does some fiddling of the income tax. Why should he get into industry?

I ask the Hon. Minister of Finance: Do you seriously expect the private sector to help you in the industrialization of this country? Do you want their industrialization? What is that industrialization? You have said you are giving some tax relief to industries with over 25 people and based outside Colombo. That is not the point.

I ask you, Sir, are we not thinking in terms of a nascent industry of this country? Are we not thinking in terms of heavy industry, because without that can we develop? Agro-based industries which we can do and where we can export: what is happening? Take the history of all these things that are there now. Wood-processing going down, ceramics going down – that is in the State sector. Not a single thing has been started by the private sector, and you still hope that you will get something from the private sector. All I can say is that it is a piped dream. You will never get it. It will be the same tale of woe that Mr. J. R. Jayewardene said when he was the Minister of Finance, that Mr. M. D. H. Jayewardene said when he was the Minister of Finance. During the time of the Korean boom they used to come here, beat their breasts and say that they have given so many concessions, so much encouragement, so many incentives but the private sector is not making use of them.

[සරත් මුත්තේවෙගම මහතා]

The capitalist private sector are going in for profits, not for the benefit of the country. They are not here for patriotism. They are going in for bank balances and when they have bank balances it is better to do import – export business. Go to Pettah, go to those places and see. By importing *karawala* they are better off, or they put their money in the fixed deposits or in a finance company which gives money under the counter also. If you have nothing else to do, put it into the foreign bank and get the interest up-front. Why should they do industry when they can get the interest up-front and pay no tax, nothing. You have given them the concessions. Do you expect them to come and say “Oh, employ 25 people with a tax holiday! Twenty-five people will I employ and start an industry.” This is not going to happen. At the end of next year you will have to come back and say, “We will give you more incentives”

What has happened to the foreign investor? Foreign investor has not industrialized. He has come, he has done garments, he has done electronics, and he has gone. That Sandalanka fellow has gone. So I tell you that with this position you will never get the export-oriented strategy working and without that you are doomed totally, because your imports are going up, you have created consumer wants which are fantastic. In 1977 it was only those people who said, “*Aiyō*, our children have never seen apples and grapes.” They wanted a few apples and grapes in 1977. Now what do they want? They want much more. New demands have been created. Tastes have been built, advertisers are doing it. Now people want to shop in the top crust of society; they have to shop in the super-market, they have to go in big cars, they have to have the air-conditioners the tariff for which you have reduced. So with a situation like that, with the demands being built up like that, and your exports going down – no exports taking place – what are you going to do? You will have tea and rubber; that is all.

Hon. Minister of Plantation Industries predicts a great future for tea. 25 years I think is good, I do not know; none of us knows. May be for 25 years you will have this tea boom. I do not know whether after the elections Rajiv Gandhi will start exporting tea. – (*Interruption*). Ah, yes. Very good. I hope for the sake of this country at least we will have tea exports growing. Mr. Minister, do you know the position regarding that? Take the Central Bank Report – it says that every year production was dropping. With this boom in green leaf price, you know the thefts that are taking place from the J.E.D.B. and the S.L.P.C. Those days it was the small K.P. who stole. Today big people are stealing lorry-loads from the exstates. That is beside the point. What I am saying is, where is your export?

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(Mr. R. J. G. de Mel)

You are contradicting your argument. The public sector is not efficient in the J.E.D.B. and the S.L.P.C.?

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(තිරු. සරත් මුත්තේවෙගම)
(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

Of course, it is not efficient there. I am not saying that every public sector, by the fact that it is public sector, is efficient. I am not saying that simply because it is public sector, everything has become efficient. I am not even saying that the public sector in all cases can be efficient. What I am saying is another thing. That you will never get any industrial take-off from the private sector. You will never get it. You can give incentive after incentive, but you will never get it. You will depend for your export only on the poor tea and rubber.

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(Mr. R. J. G. de Mel)

What about our higher tax on imports and exports, on trading?

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(තිරු. සරත් මුත්තේවෙගම)
(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

Higher or lower, you can make tariff adjustments. You are not getting anything much from them?

What about these containers? If you have containers, what is the use of your imposing taxes on imports? They are loading and unloading all over in the periphery of Colombo. You know the situation. I do not want to say anything about the Customs officers. But today these are all fairy tales – import taxes are all fairy tales. Do we get a fraction of what we should get? We never got it earlier. But after this Government allowed the container system, you are not getting anything. They are duty free! You ask anybody importing liquor into this country what his sales have been for the last three years compared to the previous three years? Nobody buys from their shops. Nobody buys a fridge now. Nobody buys cassettes, tape recorders. Nothing. That is beside the point. These are problems you have. But the point is, about what you asked me regarding import duties; you can never get those because the containers and other things have these swallowed up and the strategy of export development is failing and without that your whole Budget is going to be in total disarray, whatever this book, Public Investments 1984-1988 says. It is also very guarded, very conservative. It says that we are hoping for this, that and the other, but ultimately it will be a total collapse.

I do not want to take too much time. All I say is that the people of this country have not benefitted from your strategy. They have suffered. Certain people have benefitted so much so that one can say that this is a Government of the rich people, for the rich people, by people who are getting rich. Otherwise, this is not a Government that is concerned about the people. It has knocked the subsidy. Why? As part of the Budget, education is down, health is down—(Interruption)—Never mind Minneriya. We know all about Minneriya. Why did you not have elections at Ambalangoda?—(Interruption). Never mind Ambalangoda and Minneriya.

What I am going to say is that we are now entering a very serious phase and that is a phase where, as today—today is a good day—the shadow of the future is upon us. Ethnic difficulties have come to a climax or are coming to a climax. What is the position? The Minister of Finance knows very well that when we are discussing the Budget today, it is the most appropriate time to discuss ethnic problems, the problems of the minorities, because these are all economic in the end and it is clear that it is only under a socialist set-up that you can settle this problem for ever. That is true. There is no other way. No bourgeois government has ever been able to settle it totally, but you have failed to settle even what you can, with the result that today we are living on tenterhooks. When we got up this morning we did not know whether even Parliament was sitting or not. Then we knew only by radio. We thought it was a public holiday. That is the position today? You have abdicated your right to rule this country because for 1 1/2 years you have let this escalate to such a situation that today people are losing their lives, totally unnecessarily. Totally unnecessarily lives are being lost, when this whole matter could have been settled. It was only Mr. J. R. Jayawardene who was in such a fortunate position as to settle this if he wanted to. He was elected in 1977 and re-elected in 1982. He had the goodwill then to settle it. But the situation has now lapsed. One and a half years have gone since then. If you do not settle it, I do not know where we are going to end.

I must congratulate the Hon. Minister of Finance because both on the last occasion when he presented the Budget and on this occasion too he made very appropriate quotations, towards the end of his speech, from Gladstone, citing the historical parallel. I think everybody should learn that parallel because we will be still with this problem, and still with it in a much worse way than the British are with Ireland. That is one.

Secondly, what is the situation for democracy if this goes on like this? Today, everything is getting disorganized in the country. There is only one organized sector and that is the armed sector in this country. Is not there today the atmosphere of a coup situation?

That is the thing you must prevent if you are really dedicated to the people of this country, at least to the basic liberal parliamentary democratic framework that you have espoused and that has brought you into power. You must at least prevent the situation deteriorating further and further into a situation where only a coup will be the next answer. A little while ago, the Deputy Minister of Higher Education asked me to stay in Welikada. If this takes place, he and I will be there together.—(Interruption). The trouble is, he talks in some mysterious language which I do not understand.

Sir, what I say is we are in a very dangerous situation, and today as a result of your free economy there is a Mafia that has grown up in this country. It is a terrible Mafia. Lumpen elements have taken control of certain people, certain sections and certain sectors. They are the people who can cause trouble. Nobody has told us why we are having a curfew today. The point is this. The lumpen elements are there. They have everything to gain by creating chaos and *coup d'etat* situations can take place.

I appeal to this Government to look into this matter. This is a matter beyond parties. I do not agree with your system of government that you follow but it is better than a coup situation where we wake up one morning and find that we are all under a military man. I say that must be prevented at all costs and you can do it. But to do it, you must move fast and move with vision, and none of those things are difficult at the moment.

மேன்மையான பணியை மீண்டும் (உடனடி நடவடிக்கை எடுக்கவேண்டிய) காலத்தை எடுத்தல்

(திரு. மொண்டேயு ஜயவிக்ரம — பொது நிர்வாக அமைச்சரும் பெருந் தோட்டத்தொழில் அமைச்சரும்)

(Mr. Montague Jayawickrema—Minister of Public Administration and Minister of Plantation Industries)

Sir, for purposes of record I want to mention that my speech in the Budget Debate has been misreported in that a part of the speech made by my good Friend, the hon. Member for Matugama, has been attributed to me. I totally disagree with the contents.—(Interruption). I am not happy with the contents. It has perhaps been inadvertently done. I just want to set the record right.

கவனம் கவனம்

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Order, please! Mr. Deputy Speaker will now take the Chair.

The next speaker would be the Hon. Minister of Lands and Land Development and Minister of Mahaweli Development.

உறுதியான கவனம் கவனம் இரண்டாவது உறுதியான கவனம் கவனம் (மேன்மையான பணியை மீண்டும்) இரண்டாவது உறுதியான கவனம் கவனம்

அதன் பிறகு, சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள் அங்கீகரிக்கத்தக்க நிகழ்வு, பிரதி சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள் (திரு. நேமன் வைத்யரத்ன) தலைமை வகித்தார்கள்.

Whereupon MR. SPEAKER left the Chair and MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER [MR. NORMAN WAIDYARATNA] took the Chair.

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මාමිණි දිසානායක මහතා (ඉඩම් හා ඉඩම් සංවර්ධන ඇමතිතුමා සහ මහවැලි සංවර්ධනය පිළිබඳ ඇමතිතුමා)

(ති. ජ. කාමිණී තිලාභායා — කාණි, කාණි අධිකාරී ජනරජයේ අගමාත්‍යවරයා)

(Mr. Gamini Dissanayake—Minister of Lands & Land Development and Minister of Mahaweli Development)

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I have very often had the privilege in this House of following my good Friend, the hon. Member for Kalawana. It has been my fortune today also to follow a very learned and somewhat distorted discourse on the economy of our country.

I must say, however, that I disagree with him on some of the matters that he placed before the House. The Budget is a statement of revenue and expenditure, and in a poor Third World country like Sri Lanka it is not surprising if revenue were to be far below expenditure. Indeed, the whole purpose of the Budget is to explain how the gap is going to be bridged, and I must congratulate the Hon. Minister of Finance and Planning who, for the eighth occasion, rose in this House and presented not only facts and figures but a vision; a vision which the hon. Member for Kalawana (Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama) does not accept or believe. I think all of us would be surprised if he were to accept or believe that vision but it is my hope that during the ensuing years this vision will become a reality.

Having said that, I must start where my good Friend left off. He referred to the strained circumstances under which this House is meeting today. We learnt over the radio—and some of us learnt last night—that a curfew had been imposed, the possible reason being that we do not wish to see a repetition of what happened in July last year. I think if we ponder the situation fairly objectively we will realize that it is not only this Government or the previous Government, not this party or that, but all of us who have been in charge, or who have been heirs to different governments since 1947, have to accept the blame for the situation that prevails in the country today.

With your permission, Sir, I would not merely speak on facts and figures or necessarily about the Budget but I would like, with a sense of responsibility, to look at the institutions in our country and the organizational aspects of our country—an exercise which has been very well indulged in by the hon. Member for Matugama, a contribution I must congratulate him on—with a view to looking at things afresh.

From 1947 we have tried to follow the Westminster system of government. We have built on foundations we inherited from our colonial past. I think that, with all the biases that you might attribute to us, this Government from 1977 has looked at the institutional and organizational structure with a totally different approach from that of the so-called socialist

governments that held responsibility and ruled this country in the past. We have basically altered the kachcheri system, we have decentralized political and economic power in the districts, although we say it is not enough yet. We have defined the role of the public and private sectors, a thing that was totally confused during the period of the so-called socialist governments. We have tried to improve management in the public sector. Many more things have to be done. It is my hope that, starting with the presentation of the proposals for revenue and expenditure, this Budget, during the ensuing years we will be able to look at things much more fundamentally, much more deeply and, perhaps, radically, with a view to changing the structure of our economy and indeed our way of life.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the hon. Member for Kalawana, as I said earlier, made a very lively contribution. I would have thought for a moment that this was Aneurin Bevan speaking in the House of Commons, or Michael Foot, except that we are not Britain. We are a poor Third World country. I think all the Budgets of the Hon. Minister of Finance and all his utterances have been indicative of the very precarious nature of an economy which has to depend primarily on three commercial crops, tea, rubber and coconut; in other words, an economy dependent on a plantation sector; then again an economy which has come to depend on a very invisible, intangible thing called the tourist sector; an economy which has come to depend on the remittances from those who serve abroad. I mean, these are realities.

I would like to ask my good Friend, the hon. Member for Kalawana, what is your prescription? What is your answer? What is your policy to put right a situation of a Third World poor country whose economic and social and, I would say, even political existence hinges on stark realities like this? He said that only 14 per cent, if I am right, only 14 per cent of the industrial entrepreneurial investments in our country are from Sri Lankan sources. I think he is right. But it only indicates the precarious nature of our life. And I think you must congratulate this Government rather than condemn it that, notwithstanding these realities, these factors from which Dr. N. M. Perera could not escape, from which no Finance Minister from 1947 has been able to escape, this Government and its Finance Minister. All the other Ministers, the entire structure of Government has been able not only to survive but also to create something that is visible, save and except of course this very alarming reality of what we have come to identify as the Northern factor. We will talk about that later.

Sir, we are debating this Budget in an environment in which a very respected Third World leader, Julius Nyerere, had said at the Non-Aligned Summit meeting held last year that his country might not be able to

import one single barrel of oil. That is the plight of a model Third World economy which has been built entirely on socialist precepts, the precepts which my good Friend says are the only remedy are the only panacea for managing a society. We are living in an era in which another Third World country, Ethiopia, is shouting to the whole world, "Our people are starving, babies are dying, there is no milk, thousands and thousands cannot have one square meal a day. Those of you in the world who can send us something, send us some spare food. Please do so." So all the aeroplanes and ships are being channelled there to carry food. They are living in a situation like that—(Interruption). Wait natural or unnatural.

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(திரு. சரத் முத்தேட்டுவெகம்)
(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

It was due to an unprecedented drought.

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(திரு. காமினி திஸாநாயக்க)
(Mr. Gamini Dissanayake)

That is right. So why can they not have surplus resources which will enable them to import all the things in time of drought?—(Interruption). I accept the bona fides of what you say. But please do not think that what you say is going to create a paradise here!

Now, look at reality. You say that those who work in the GCEC, the Free Trade Zone, are paid one dollar. I do not think it is less than that. It may be one and a half dollars, it may be two dollars. The Hon. Member for Kaduwela, who was the Chairman of the GCEC, might know the real situation. But when you talk of this humanitarianism, fundamental rights, if there is unemployment here, is the ILO going to give people jobs? If people have no jobs at all, some job is better than no job. And where do you expect this journey to start? Are we going to establish thermo-nuclear refining installations in Sri Lanka straight way? What is the level of our technology? What is the level of our industrial base? Now, you know that one of your own Ministers, the late Dr. N. M. Perera, referred to the industrial age of the first two socialist Governments as an era in which *seeni bola* industries were created. Not only did you create *seeni bola* industries, those *seeni bola* industries financed political parties from top to bottom and you kept them going.—(Interruption). Maybe. I think you know capitalists much more than we do. But that is beside the point.

Then, again, the hon. Member must understand that all this is being done in a free society. He spoke about the quality of life. Doctors who have received our education here are leaving the country. The Health Department is working with 60 or 65 per cent of its medical cadre. Our engineering departments and organizations are working at about 60 or 65 or maybe

even 50 per cent of their capacity. Now, these are the realities. I do not think a person can leave a socialist country or a communist country the way he wants. Can a doctor who is educated in the Soviet Union, in Cuba, in Poland or in East Germany leave the country and get a job abroad just because he wants to get a higher salary. Can he leave the country? Can an engineer do that? Can an accountant do that?

I agree with the hon. Member for Kalawana that there are so many things that we can do here in our country more effectively, more ruthlessly, if we follow the prescription of the hon. Member for Gampaha who says, "Out with party politics. Have a one-party government and create national unity." In that case my great and profound sorrow is that we would not have an hon. Member for Kalawana to debate so well as he did today! There are various ways that one could look at these things. But let us hinge ourselves to the stark reality that we are a poor country, a country which is struggling to get up after it has gone through very lean period with socialist experiments, experiments which resulted in thousands and thousands of our youth being flung into jails, with food ques in every street corner and socialist destabilization of an order that we have never seen in our country before.

Then, Sir, my good Friend, I said, spoke as if he was speaking in the House of Commons. The factual position—a thing which neither his Government nor the Government of which he was a Member, nor for that matter we have been able to prevent—is that about two-thirds of the population of the world are living in these poor countries. The income equality during the last so many years has been escalating, creating a huge gap where the rich in the richer countries are becoming richer and the poor in the poorer countries are becoming poorer.—(Interruption). That is all right. But, when the Finance Minister of Singapore came here and asked to meet the millionaires in Sri Lanka, there was only one whom we could produce—

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(திரு. சரத் முத்தேட்டுவெகம்)
(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

I can give you a few names.

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(திரு. காமினி திஸாநாயக்க)
(Mr. Gamini Dissanayake)

Having black money is one thing, but having institutions and organizations which contribute to the national wealth of the country is another. The two things are not one and the same. What we are striving to create is a capitalist class who will generate wealth, who will generate employment and who will generate productivity. It is in this context—it is not something which my good Friends in the Opposition can change—that the rich nations to whom you went for

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assistance when you were in the Government, the United States, Britain, the Scandinavian countries etc., command 72 per cent of the wealth of the world today. So what are we ?

Now, the hon. Member for Kalawana asked a series of very dramatic rhetorical questions. He asked, "I want to ask the Hon. Minister of Education, what has improved" ?—(Interruption). You ask him again. You asked whether his having dinner at the Oberoi is an improvement, going in a helmet on a motor cycle is an improvement. But ask yourself this question also. What about those who are employed in those hotels ? May be about 1,000 people. What about the people who are travelling on those motor cycles ? I do not know whether you have travelled on a motor cycle, but certainly a motor cycle is a better way of conveyance, if you can escape an accident—at least people think so—than having to go about in a dependent transportation system. You are independent. The hon. Member is asking, "Is wearing a helmet an improvement" ? Why are you focussing your attention on a few areas in which a slight dramatical twist can be given ? There are other improvements.

Go to the rural areas. We are building a small bridge in an area which has been inaccessible from the dawn of history, an area into which no public servant has gone. To various schemes we are giving pipe borne water. We are constructing roads, hospitals and schools in various rural areas. Now, this results directly in a change in the quality of life, and it is not something which, I think, escapes the attention of the rural people of our country. If there has been any dramatic change that we have brought about in our country, it is the fact that the whole emphasis of development has turned towards the rural sector of our country, and all the infrastructure development that we are putting in today is, if nothing else, the basic amenities of life, the social infrastructure that will be given to the people of our country.

Therefore I wish to look at some of the highlights of our development process not by indulging in what I would call a fairly elitist argument with my good Friends in the Opposition, because all my Good Friends in the Opposition represent a value system in this country which I feel is not relevant today. Hon. Members of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party are just having a healthy debate. The hon. Member for Matugama said, "We will live with an open economy." Other members in the Sri Lanka Freedom Party say, "We do not believe in an open economy." I think you have a long time to resolve these differences. But the fact remains that these are not easy questions to answer.

Frankly, as I have always said, it is easier to manage a closed economy. It is easier to run a controlled economy. All you have got to do is to have your

commissars, and they will be issuing the permits. But you have got to live in a situation in which you will find queues, shortages, co-operative corruption, mismanagement, all over the country—(Interruption).—and a one-party system. Do you like that ? I do not know (Interruption). If you accept that premise, you have got to necessarily reconcile yourselves to go through the process, to develop and grow—warts and all. You will not find the efficiencies that you will get in a totalitarian state because you simply cannot place people against the wall and shoot them. My good Friend the Member for Kalawana referred to how things were solved under socialism. Let us ask him how many kulaks were killed. Thirty million or forty million ? I do not know. But my good Friend the Member for Matugama knows the social history.

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(திரு. அனில் முனசிங்ஹ)
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

In China they did not kill kulaks like that, nor in Yugoslavia. They also have learnt.

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(திரு. காமினி திஸாநாயக்க)
(Mr. Gamini Dissanayake)

I am not here to discuss the internal economic structures of other countries. All I know is that perfectly some people have been put in lunatic asylums, that concentration camps have been built under the banners of freedom. You admit that ? So this is not a process which we want to share.

I want to read from an economic bulletin of the United Nations published in 1976 which analyses the real warts-and-all situation of Third World economies. I am referring to this because they apply to Sri Lanka totally.

Now, this is the situation. The first factor is our low levels of per capita national income. Now, what is the per capita national income in Sri Lanka ? 200 Dollars. The pair of slippers that you are wearing is worth more than that ! The hon. Member for Kalawana refers to capitalism millionaires. You make a mountain of all their resources, and you come down to 200 dollars. That is the state of the economy—(Interruption)—300 Dollars.

Then, heavy dependence on exports of primary products. We are somewhat better. But certain countries in Africa are being raped because their raw materials are not fetching the prices that they ought to. I spoke to my good friend Dr. Gamini Corea the other day. I meet him often. I met him on the last occasion when both of us were there in Delhi. He had come for madam Indira Gandhi's funeral. I mean, the struggle has almost to be given up, of UNCTAD. Why ? Because you keep on hammering at the door to stabilize commodity prices, and where have you got ? This is the situation in most third World countries.

Low levels of domestic saving and investments—the third factor. Who is the Sri Lankan who can invest in a Rs. 100 million enterprise in Sri Lanka? There are reasons of course. Fifty million? Twenty-five million? Ten million? Even five million? Who can invest? Then, what are our domestic savings? I must congratulate the Hon. Minister of Labour. I think he has the biggest collected resource of local savings, nearly Rs. 2,000 million, in the Employee's Trust Fund—(Interruption). Started by us. I mean, were you sleeping then!

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(அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)

(A Member)

The Employees' Trust Fund was started by you—(Interruption)

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(திரு. காமிணி திஸாநாயக்க)

(Mr. Gamini Dissanayake)

Employees' Provident Fund? Do not talk about it. There is very little or no money in the Employees' Provident Fund. I can give you chapter and verse of examples where SLFP Government exempted and prevented prosecution of those people who were not contributing to the Employees' Provident Fund. We have not done that. But as regards the Employees' Trust Fund the Bill for which we got together and drafted, which we debated in this House, which we passed in this House it has Rs. 3,000 million. In fact the problem for the Hon. Minister of Labour is to find viable investments, because some private sector people are howling and saying, "Do not allow too much of the Employees' Trust Fund money to be invested in our ventures because the workers' fund will come and dominate us"—(Interruption) And that finally the workers will dominate. But that is an area where we can, I think, agree to look jointly together because—(Interruption). They are doing it. I will refer to those areas later.

Then, another factor is an insufficiency of infrastructure development. I want to ask this from the hon. Leader of the Opposition, a good Friend of mine. We had, until we started the Mahaweli Project, all the hydro power stations in our constituency. We had Laxapana, Castlereagh, Mousakelle, Polpitiya. Do you know that the government in 1976 did not open an invoice to import certain badly-needed spare parts for the generators at Laxapana because they had no foreign exchange? That is a Third World example. That is a reality. We are not debating a budget in England. My good Friend the hon. Member for Kalawana is not Aneurin Bevan. We are living in a broke atmosphere and we are talking big—This is not so, that is not so, one person is getting one dollar a day salary." O. K., if that one-dollar-a-day person says, "I do not want to work here", will the Member for Kalawana give him or her a job? That is the reality.

Then, Sir, very sadly, a factor which does not affect us really—high levels of illiteracy. Thanks to the educational revolution started by the late Mr. C. W. W. Kannangara, we have one of the highest literacy rates in South Asia—86 percent. It is true, however, as the hon. Member for Kalawana said, that in certain instances literacy has dropped. There are reasons for that. One reason, which I will refer to later, is I think tremendous social destabilization. The traditional relationship between teachers and students has broken down. The traditional relationship between the temple and the villages is breaking down. For different reasons. For example, in our electorate young people are not asking for jobs; they are asking for a piece of land. If you give 40 perches of land to a person, he would be getting and income of about Rs. 20,000 a year through the cultivation of vegetables.

The other reason is this. I think my good Friend the Hon. Minister of Rural Industrial Development has been asking—I have joined in doing so—over and over again to increase the facilities available to the plantation schools. It is not being done for different reasons. But we are about to make a major breakthrough. We have got to get teachers and we are not inclined to accept teachers from the North at this moment. We are trying to get teachers from the plantation areas themselves to teach in plantation schools, because if we apply the normal criteria and get teachers to come from all over the country, there would be a large number who would come from other areas and we fear that their influence might be somewhat detrimental to the development of the integration process that we want to witness in the plantation areas.

Then, Sir, there is the paucity of skills and inefficiency of public administration. There, again, Sri Lanka is slightly better off. But I have witnessed very often that there are tremendous shortages in the development areas. In fact, all the Mahaweli schools have been built but there are not enough teachers. The hospitals have been built and equipped, but there are no trained nurses and doctors. Again, the public administration institutions have been opened but there are not enough officers to man them. Today, an English stenographer gets Rs. 5,000 a month; you cannot get them. All the Ministers are moving Cabinet Papers to extend the services of retired people. Why? In the Telecommunications there are no officers, and there is also the tremendous shortage of engineers. So the Third World Countries—Sri Lanka is one—are having paucities of skills and inefficiencies of public administration. Sir, we have got to wake them up like Rip van Winkle. And I must say here that my good Friend the Hon. Minister of Public Administration has been producing some first-class officers in recent times, and I think if we improve their communication aspects, our rural Assistant Government Agents, the AGAs, will measure up to be some of the finest officers in Sri Lanka.

[சாமினி டிசனாயக்க ம஠ன]

Then, Sir, a factor which my good Friend mentioned was the persistency of economic and social dualism. Some people have it. Now, you had land reform. Earlier, the people had to pluck every coconut or manage their estates properly to get their income. You had land reform and you gave them compensation. They had just to invest the money in a bank and they got the income. That is dualism. So, you really perpetuate that dualism. So there are these factors. Then it also makes it very easy for my good Friend the hon. Member for Kalawana to go in a car, get down and say, "வணக்கம் உமலேவா", go in procession, create the class hatred and say, "Let us bring them down."

What do you do, I ask the Hon. Member for Matugama? Milovan Djilas has given the answer. You bring in the new class, the class of public officials who are not accountable to anybody, who travel about the world, who have hidden incomes and who do extremely well; in other words, the new aristocracy in place of the old aristocracy.—(Interruption). You are not for that; I know that. But the point is that in the government of which you were a component part, you ran in that direction much more speedily than ever in the history of our country. In fact, we are also saddled with that.—(Interruption). Well, it is difficult to time it unless you have a timekeeper! You say one thing and I say one thing. But, if we identify the factors, I think you and I can agree on what we should do to solve it. That is what I am trying to say.

Then, Sir, there is the rapidly increasing population; the hon. Leader of the Opposition has not started to contribute yet!—(Interruption).

மன்திரிபரவென்

(அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)
(A Member)

How do you know?

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(திரு. அனூர பண்டாரநாயக்க)
(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

He knows!

சாமினி டிசனாயக்க ம஠ன

(திரு. சாமினி டிசனாயக்க)
(Mr. Gamini Dissanayake)

My good Friend the hon. Third Member for Nuwara Eliya-Maskeliya said something very naughty. (Interruption).

Here, the factor that I want to draw the attention of this House to is, while we have done reasonably well, with Dr. Weerasooria and our Hon. Minister of Health spearheading this campaign and my good Friend the hon. Second Member for Nuwara Eliya-Maskeliya co-operating very loyally—it is 1.8 or 1.6—the alarming

thing is that in the developed countries the population is coming down. In fact, it is estimated that in the Soviet Union the population at the turn of the next century will be lower than it is today. In Sweden, it is coming down.

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(திரு. அனில் முனிசிங்கம்)
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

But in the Asian part of the Soviet Union it is increasing.

சாமினி டிசனாயக்க ம஠ன

(திரு. சாமினி டிசனாயக்க)
(Mr. Gamini Dissanayake)

That is the point. I did not know that. I am talking about the average; may be they are giving incentives to the Asian part to increase the population. That again can lead to other problems. My good Friend the hon. Third Member for Nuwara Eliya-Maskeliya tells me that in Sweden they are adopting our children. In the Scandinavian countries the population is coming down. In the United States it is static, whereas in India the population is growing by nearly 18 million people a year, a number that is similar to the total population of our country. Now, that is another factor.

Then, Sir, we have urban overcrowding. Have we come to terms with the slums? It is difficult. My good Friend talks of socialist planning. I will tell him a good socialist plan. No one can enter Moscow without a permit. No one can go and live there unless he has a job. In other words, it is the freedom of movement.—(Interruption). That is right. You cannot go from one area to another without a permit.

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(திரு. அனில் முனிசிங்கம்)
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

Internal passport.

சாமினி டிசனாயக்க ம஠ன

(திரு. சாமினி டிசனாயக்க)
(Mr. Gamini Dissanayake)

So if you have that sort of planning, probably it is possible to have the type of neat arrangements that we would like, but you cannot do that. At least we do not think that it should be done.

Another thing that is in this list, and what we have tried to prevent and which Dr. N. M. Perera called the *seeni bola* industries, is the mushrooming of high-cost manufacturing establishments. I will give you an example. During the SLFP time, I happened to go to Bombay. I think on my way back from the United States or from England and I stayed for a few days with some of my friends. My Friend the hon. Second Member for Nuwara Eliya-Maskeliya also knows them, the Abdul Rahim family; they have got some relations

there. So I stayed there for two or three days and one of them told me, "There is a friend of mine who is exporting goods to Sri Lanka and very strangely he wanted the rejects of the silver tube in the Thermos flask." In other words, he was getting at virtually a give away price a sub-standard reject of the tube which goes to make a Thermos flask or a hot water flask because he had the monopoly here. I do not want to mention the name of the businessman, he is a person very close to the SLFP. So he gets it down here and then the finished product is sold as a hot water flask at about twice or three times the price of what it would sell in any other country. Why? Because he has no competition; it is a closed economy. Then when you put some hot Nestomalt or Horlicks and take it to a patient in hospital, it is cool by the time you give it. Why? Because it is sub-standard.

The real difficulty is to get the permit or the quota. Once you get the permit or the quota you are a well established businessman. There were hundreds of examples like this and I think the Lanka Sama Samaja Party came to identify some of these areas and after they left and came on to the Opposition, some of the most eloquent speeches were made condemning that system, for that was so.

Now, these are distortions which we have tried to rectify, but in rectifying we have caused other problems. I am very happy that you are bringing out some of these facts in this House, because Ministers are very busy, we have economic sub committees, we go and work 15 or 16 hours a day and it is not always possible to identify these areas. But I can tell you that some of the criticisms are totally unwarranted because they have presented only one side of the picture. We have got a very efficient service which goes into these things thoroughly.

I will give the import, export figures from the Central Bank statistics and I will show that my good Friend's allegation that imports have gone up eight times can be explained. It is because we are importing machinery, equipment, bulldozers, turbines, generators, equipment to build roads, buying ships, and all those have been included in this evaluation of the import export situation.

Then I mentioned earlier that another item is shortage of foreign exchange and increased external debts. The position about shortages of foreign exchange during the SLFP - LSSP - CP combined was that all the factories were running at about 1/3rd capacity because they could not import the raw materials. The first thing that happened after this government took office in 1977 was that the employment, in the industrial sector sprang up almost dramatically, not because new industries were opened but because industries were working to full capacity, and some of them started to have two or three shifts. But the fact that you cannot get free foreign exchange, that foreign

exchange is hard to come by, is a reality in practically all the Third World countries. We must understand that.

Then, Sir, my good Friend referred to the increased incidence of labour and social unrest. Foreign capital is like a bird, flies about, and goes and perches where it is most safe. If you have the Northern situation continuing for some more time, you can open ten more Free Trade Zones or Greater Colombo Economic Commissions but you will not find a single industry coming in. One reason is that they are campaigning against any form of investment or help to Sri Lanka, and the other is that they go and ask their banks; they read newspapers and they find that there is a very critical situation in our country.

Now, labour and social unrest is also a reality in Third World countries, particularly where there are strong Marxist movements. I must congratulate the hon. Member for Matugama because he has said ta-ta for good, but what a great Minister, what a great social engineer you could have been with your capacities, with your intelligence if you had joined the SLFP or the UNP much before your hair turned gray! I make this pointed accusation. Although a lot of good has been done in the labour area and the labour rights movement, the Marxist parties in this country have damaged the basic national reconstruction process of our country. They always spoke of rights, they became agitational and they inculcated wrong values and they are the people who directly gave birth to the JVP with which none of the established Marxist parties in Sri Lanka want to have any truck today. In fact some of the leftist parties are calling them CIA agents; others are calling them some other agents, adventurers; but they are the children of the fathers of the revolution. As my good Friend the Minister of Finance said, commenting on the comments of the late Dr. N. M. Perera, he also got into the *melee*, which he came to recognize, and even to appreciate these comments that the revolution was supposed to be round the corner. And he said that he accepted Dr. Colvin R. de Silva's criticism, his evaluation of the Budget in that spirit. But the children were not prepared to wait for the corner; they were not prepared to wait, as the prophets said, till the revolution came. They did it; they cut the corner. And then they were condemned by Dr. Colvin R. de Silva in this very House when he was *poojafying* Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, bowing to the empty chair in which she sat, and saying, "These are CIA agents; these are military adventurers and they should be liquidated." Well, Sri Lanka has paid a very bitter price! If you compare Sri Lanka's growth in relation to other Asian countries like Malaysia it has not been a rosy picture, and I think if I were only to ask my good Friend the hon. Member for Matugama, "would you go through what you have gone through in your political life, if you

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had a choice again ?” his answer is going to be, no. He would say, “Those years I have spent with the so-called Marxist leaders were my wasted years”.

Then, Sir, there are regional disparities in income and growth. This whole Jaffna problem is a disparity or rather a dispute in regionalism. What happened ? After Independence there was a feeling in this country that the English-educated elite were dominating the sublime heights of the economy; that they had everything that were the plums in education, in enterprise, in business, in the public service and in the professions that was the counter feeling that developed, a psychology, a feeling that was exploited fully, I think, by that brilliant politician, the sire of my good Friend the hon. Third Member for Nuwara Eliya-Maskeliya (*Interruption*). Your father brilliantly exploited it, when he ushered in—my father came behind him; your father led it—the renaissance of the Buddhists, the Sinhala, making the Sinhala language the Official Language in 24 hours, etc. etc.

Now, Sir, what we did not realize was—I think we are all to blame—that a similar feeling, the winds of change—Harold Macmillan’s winds of change—were blowing across the Jaffna Peninsula. And if you study the leadership of the Federal Party at that time, they were all Colombo lawyers and they did not belong to the majority faith of the Tamils, Hinduism. The leadership was Christian—Dr. Naganathan, Mr. Chelvanayakam and others. Really, the Jaffna masses and the Sinhala masses would have identified themselves, that they were part of a common cause against the lumpen English strata at that time. But what happened was, when my good Friend’s father started to beat the communal drum in the South they started to beat the communal drum in the North. Until Duraiappah was shot in 1976 nobody realized that the dragon’s teeth had been sown even there. And as late as 1978/1979 Mr. Amirthalingam used to come and talk in this House of boys, of innocent boys, but the boys had become something totally different. We had the JVP in South and they had got that there.

Therefore, Sir, these are things that are affecting the Third World countries because our social institutions are not strong enough yet. They are shaking. And unless we get together and put this right no amount of Budgets and Budget Debates are going to help this country.

Then there are other factors which they mentioned, but they are not relevant in this situation. The disproportionate growth of urban unemployment, which we have controlled to a certain extent, the threat of runaway inflation, which my good Friend the Hon. Minister of Finance has contained, are all factors within which we have to think and base our strategy.

Then, Sir, what have we set out to do ? As for my good Friend the hon. Member for Attanagalla, I have never come across speeches of a more degenerate nature. At least he must do justice to the great faith that his party has reposed in him. He was nominated to hold the seat of the former Prime Minister of this country. He comes and discusses matters here without any facts, without any figures, without any commitment to what he is saying. He has the audacity to come and say in this House that they were thinking of building a 1000 megawatt hydro-electricity project in this country, 1000 megawatts ! I asked him, where is the road plan ? I asked him where is the feasibility study ? He says, “I do not know”. I asked him where he is going to build it. He says that he does not know. I asked him whether it is inside the Sri Lanka Freedom Party Headquarters or whether it is under his bed. He does not know.

Then he says Samanalawewa is 40 megawatts. He is asking me, “Is there one single kilowatt or megawatt of hydro-electricity generated under the Mahaweli Accelerated Scheme ?” He is asking me. Bowatenne is generating hydro-electricity from the Mahaweli Scheme. Sir, with all the goodwill in the world, just as much as it is not normally possible, unless it is a premature child, to produce a baby this side of nine months, it is not possible to develop a hydro-electric project this side of five years. I do not know whether the hon. Member for Attanagalla is adept at producing premature babies. But a hydro-electric scheme cannot be produced whether it is built in the Soviet Union or in Sri Lanka or in the United States, this side of five to six years. But, of course, you can build three or four simultaneously. That is a different matter. He is asking me, “Are you generating one megawatt or kilowatt of hydro-power under the Mahaweli Scheme ?” Then he has asked, when I was absent in the House, “Has one bushel of paddy been produced in the Mahaweli Scheme ?” I will give him the figure when we discuss the estimates of the Mahaweli Ministry on the 21st of December, if the Sri Lanka Freedom Party considers it necessary to inform him. I personally do not think it is necessary to inform him. But that is the type of commitment they seem to have towards this very great task of being an effective Opposition to this Government.

Sir, development features a lot in all the discussions. It is looked at very differently. It is a controversial subject. Environmentalists in Sweden and England are saying, “Why are you giving aid to build hydro-electric schemes because the natural fauna and flora are getting destroyed”? That is one reason environmentally, but we think, we are right. We have identified a process of development. I would like to accept the definition of development by a person whom we all respect—a great supporter of the labour Party in England, Mr. Dudley Seers. What does he say development is ? He says that

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From 1948 we have looked at the development process physically. Every Government, depending on the economic environment in the world, depending on the assistance that it got and depending on its relationship with the funding institutions has been pumping money into road development, telecommunications development, hydro-development, irrigation development, etc. But what have we created ?

Now, regarding the irrigation sector - I told His Excellency the President that I was told by a former land development agent, a big name in land development and irrigation, that Mr. D. S. Senanayake gave five acres of paddy and three acres of high land and he also built a house. Then when a tile breaks in the house the farmer goes to the Government Agent and says, "I want a new title." Then His Excellency the President told me that he was told, when there are rats in the house they go to the Government Agent and want a cat! It is put in a metaphorical form, but we developed a type that was absolutely dependant, subservient almost non-human, and we go from time to time and say, "Vote - we will give you more." If the local investment is 14 per cent only from our own capital, what is there that we can give them more ?

The Gal Oya Scheme was built at a cost of Rs. 900 million in 1952, that is, the whole development including the dams, the power-house, the irrigation canals, all the buildings, jungle clearings. The whole thing cost only Rs. 900 million. Today, 30 years later, to rehabilitate it alone the cost is Rs. 600 million! Who is giving the money? These are questions that we should ask ourselves and I think we are, as a party, not reluctant to look at it. When all of you, including my good Friend the hon. Member for Maharagama, talk about the *Diyabadda* in Minneriya, His Excellency the President said that we are going to levy it. He did not say, for the purposes of the election, that we are not going to levy it. "We are going to levy it," he said, "but we are going to give you better facilities." I think, they are in a position and in a mood to understand that today. So my humble submission is, we have been dumping and giving physical things but we have not looked at the human aspect. We have not looked at the recipient, the end-aspect.

Then we have completely done away with well-known social institutions. The Sri Lanka Freedom Party Government did away with the *Vel Vidane* system. What happened? The *Vel Vidane* system was a time-tested institution. You put a Cultivation Committee. Then you had the Agricultural Productivity Committee. Even if you had the Cultivation Committee for some time, it would have been all right. You did away with that also. You had the Agricultural

Productivity Committee which did not decide anything with regard to the things which were so essential for the farmer - the land disputes, the water distribution, all of which were decided by one elected official, the *Vel Vidane*.

Then what did you do to the co-operative societies? You put all the political faithfuls into co-operatives. You abolished completely the elective system in co-operatives. You eliminated the rural leadership completely, and the most influential person in the village became the manager of the co-operative. If he did not have political patronage he would have been a person who would have spent a long time in Welikada. In fact, we tried to get the Hon. Minister of Food and Co-operatives, the late Mr. S. B. Herath, when he was alive, to amend the law even retroactively to rope in these people, but for some reason it was and all of them have walked away scot free!

You take the example of countries like Korea. I can remember the former Member of Parliament, Mr. Vasudeva Nanayakkara - when Dr. Sivali Ratwatte, went to Korea he condemned Mrs. Bandranaike and Dr. Sivali Ratwatte. He called them fascists and he said that Park Chung Hee, who was the President at that time, was a man like Hitler, etc., etc. You can have different ways in which you look at a political system, but what have they done? Their entire land and the forestry resources are not managed by a Irrigation Department or a Forest Department. They are managed entirely by the people. And during the last 15 years they have created a situation where all their food requirements are from 15 percent of the land. Fifteen percent of the total land mass of the country produce the country's entire food requirements. How did they do that? By organizing the people into different societies, elected and they managed the forest resources and they managed the agricultural resources and they managed the land resources. So, I feel, Sir, that this is the time now because we know that everything is not working out all right. The Hon. Minister's revenue is just sufficient for the recurrent expenditure. In other words, the total income that we get from the tax payers etc. from our country is sufficient to pay the salaries of the Public Service. Practically all the money for telecommunications development, for agricultural development, for Mahaweli development, hydro power development comes from foreign assistance. And my good Friends are talking about burdening the country with future debts. That we have borrowed and borrowed and borrowed. What are they talking? Most of the assistance, except for one or two commercial loans that the Hon. Minister has taken and that is also in order to mark Sri Lanka's presence in the commercial market that we are in the borrowing business, we were never there to float a loan. On the contrary our debt burden is decreasing. That is a fact. Projected debt service

[சாமினி டிசனாயக்க மொழி]

economy. One matter that he referred to was the disparity that exists between imports and exports between 1976 and 1983. He said that exports had increased five-fold and imports had gone up eight-fold. He asked how and why. He also mentioned that it could be because of quantity or of value. A fact that he must remember is that whatever you import and how much you import you can import only because you export. If you export five times more, if the exports have doubled and trebled and if, as he says, it has gone up five times, then the strength from that will obviously sustain a larger quantum of imports. At this point he tried to show, very cleverly – and I must congratulate him on his cleverness – that there were even erasers and frozen foods imported and said that people now go to supermarkets, etc. That is in a way correct. I do not know whether the hon. Deputy Minister can enlighten me, but they constitute less than one per cent of the total imports – certain luxury items which we are better without than with.

But look at the picture of imports. Look at it from 1977. Take base metals, which include iron and steel articles, aluminium etc. According to the Central Bank Report, the value of imports of these items was Rs. 265 million in 1977; Rs. 1,698 million in 1979; Rs. 2,293 million in 1980; Rs. 2,317 million in 1981; Rs. 2,358 million in 1982. If you want it in SDR terms I can give it to you but it is not relevant here because you can convert it. It was Rs. 3,015 million in 1983. – (Interruption). You say the rupee means nothing! We are not artificially pegging it down like the rouble. The dollar has appreciated against every other currency in the world, even against the pound. – (Interruption). You want it in SDR terms? I can give it to you in percentages also, but my argument is not to repeat your argument but to show the fallacy of your argument. You tried to show that the quantum of imports has gone up eight times as against the quantum of exports which has gone up five times. If I were to enter into a debate with you on this particular issue in relation to facts, figures and statistics, whether it is in terms of rupees million or SDRs, I would only be confirming what Disraeli said, that there are three types of lies – lies, damn lies and statistics. I do not want to get involved in that.

சார்லி மூன்றாண்டுகளில் மொழி
(திரு. சாரத் முத்தேட்டுவெகம)
(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

It was mentioned by the Hon. Minister in his speech.

சாமினி டிசனாயக்க மொழி
(திரு. காமினி திசனாயக்க)
(Mr. Gamini Disanayake)

That is OK. Economists make use of statistics the way they want. You certainly make use of them for your purposes. I am only trying to show that the picture is not as clear as you painted it out to be.

Then, Sir, with regard to machinery and equipment. This is rather important. We have been importing a large amount of machinery and equipment as we have undertaken certain infrastructure development activities which I must say no Third World country has undertaken within such a short time framework in recent years. I think the hon. Member for Matugama has also mentioned it. That is correct. But if you undertake that sort of commitment you have got to necessarily cut down on other matters, other spheres. Now, look at machinery. The total amount of machinery and equipment, electro-mechanical equipment, etc., imported in 1977, after we assumed office also, was Rs. 420 million for the whole year which includes equipment coming on aid-lines as well. Now, look at the figure in 1979; Rs. 2,993 million; in 1980 Rs. 4,941 million; in 1981 Rs. 5,106 million; in 1982 Rs. 5,605 million; and Rs. 2,297 million in 1983. Now, that is bacon and eggs for you. So this machinery and equipment that our country needs today is for infrastructure development. Take, for instance, telecommunications, turbines structure development. Take, for instance, telecommunications, turbines and generators. There is one machine called "Goliath", It is called that because of its size. It is installed at Victoria. It cost about Rs. 80 million. It is as tall as the dam. It is used for the purpose of taking cement up and down. Now, we cannot envisage this type of development unless we make the correlative investments, and I can say that these investments by and large have been possible because of either grants or soft loans about which we need not be worried at all in relation to debt burdens. And I think we must congratulate our Government, His Excellency the President and the Hon. Minister of Finance that we have been able to undertake this type of development in the volume that we have done so that it eases the burden of infrastructure development for any future Government. I can say with complete confidence that we will be self-sufficient in our energy till 1995 and beyond, and that the basic responsibility of a society to provide food and energy for its people has been catered for till the turn of the next century. Which Third World country can say that?

Sir, if you look at other facts also in the trade sector – external trade, etc. – you will find that the most costly items of imports have been in relation to infrastructure development. I think you were talking about the road to Mulleriyawa, or the other one Welikada? – (Interruption). I am asking you because I am not familiar with either.

சார்லி மூன்றாண்டுகளில் மொழி
(திரு. சாரத் முத்தேட்டுவெகம)
(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

I was talking about the roads inside Welikada.

தமிழீழ டிசனாசன மஹா
(திரு. காமிணி திஸாநாயக்க)
(Mr. Gamini Dissanayake)

All right, whether to Welikada or from Welikada—

ஈரன் மூன்றேட்டிபேரம மஹா
(திரு. சரத் முத்தெட்டுவெகமா)
(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

Not in the area of jails.

தமிழீழ டிசனாசன மஹா
(திரு. காமிணி திஸாநாயக்க)
(Mr. Gamini Dissanayake)

—you will be able to travel in comfort from next year, or rather after December, because a Rs. 5,000 million road development and rehabilitation programme has been worked out.

ஈரன் மூன்றேட்டிபேரம மஹா
(திரு. சரத் முத்தெட்டுவெகமா)
(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

Good, because we may be going there together at this rate.

தமிழீழ டிசனாசன மஹா
(திரு. காமிணி திஸாநாயக்க)
(Mr. Gamini Dissanayake)

It does not matter, but I will always be sustained if I have you for company. I think it is important that all of us should get together and preserve this democratic system without having to go there. I think that is a challenge which is before us, and I hope all of us will respond to it.

Then my good Friend referred to the export sector. I do not want to burden the statistical side with too many details; they are all available. Our export sector is still very healthy. Though the diversification of exports that we would like to see has not occurred in the same dramatic way that we would have liked—you say that the GEEC and the other zones under the FIAC have not been successful because we have not been able to get many industries other than garment industries—even if we did get other types of investment, this is not the climate in a protective world economy—the United States is protective, the European Economic Community is protective, Austria is having tremendous problems about exporting agricultural produce to the European Common market—either to accept or to succeed in a diversification of our exports. Still, for another century, I say, our basic bread and butter will come from the plantation economy. That is the goose that lays the golden egg, and I think we will have to protect that goose for a very long time. With Mahaweli we will become self-sufficient in energy and certainly in our food requirements, so that all that money which we would otherwise spend to import food can now be directed towards social commitments like health, education, old-age pension, increased salaries for our public sector, etc., about which you were talking. You cannot print paper currency and look after the feeble

and the old. You cannot print paper currency and increase the salaries of public servants. In real terms we can only do that if we become absolutely self-sufficient in our rice, food requirements and energy requirements.

In the agriculture sector, total exports has been 58 percent industrial exports only 35.1 percent and mineral exports 4.5 percent. You must understand that through some strange mechanism that prevails in those economic areas internationally to which we are connected, much depends on the interest rates and the economic policies of the United State of America. You will say that we are tied to the boot-strings of the United States. Maybe. When they accelerate the economy, the whole world economy accelerates. When their interest rates are cut down, there are more foreign investments, more travel, more tourism, so much so that in countries where there are elections—in Europe, in Singapore, in Malaysia—they time it to coincide with economic policy revision in the United States. That is the situation because they are the principal lenders to the World Bank, they are the people who basically keep the IMF going, and it is these two institutions with which, whether you like it or we like it, we have to work. That is the plain truth, and I wish my good Friend the hon. Member for Kalawana, while producing brilliant arguments to win his case—he told me that he is appearing for some lady in distress who has come from the Middle East; I know he will win the case—

ஈர். பி. விஜேசிரி மஹா
(திரு. ஆர். பி. விஜேசிரி)
(Mr. R. P. Wijesiri)

What are the charges ?

தமிழீழ டிசனாசன மஹா
(திரு. காமிணி திஸாநாயக்க)
(Mr. Gamini Dissanayake)

The charges are fairly heavy. When one socialist member of Parliament was told, it seems, “you are a socialist Member of Parliament and you must appear free for me”, he had said, quite correctly, “Well, politics is my commitment; the law is my profession”. So, he had said that it was not possible to appear free. I do not know the extent to which my good Friend follows that philosophy, but still I can tell the hon. Member for Kundasale that whatever amount of money you pay him he is worth that money that much I can assure you.

So, Sir, these are the factual parameters within which we have to work. I started by saying that this is not an easy period for Ministers of Finance. It is not an easy period for any Third World country. There are Third World countries in which there is starvation and famine, not necessarily because there is a period of bad weather but for other reasons—economic mismanagement, lack of resources, etc. All countries, whatever the economic mould to which they belong, are the victims of these. Some have tried to follow the

[ගාමිණී දිසානායක මහතා]

socialist mould; others have tried to follow the open liberal economy, and still others have tried follow the mixed economy, but they are all having trouble. As we have often said, we would be delighted to run a closed shop economy if only we were sure, if only we know, that it would be a sure panacea for all the ills that beset our country. But it is not so.

Sir, I referred to and I want to refer again very briefly to the tremendous challenge that we have got in the sense that, having started an open economy, we welcome creative criticism that can draw our minds to the different areas where it has gone wrong. Many are the areas where it has gone wrong. One area which I think will figure very largely in the debates on the estimates of the Ministry of Health will be the profusion of drug trafficking in our country. That is also a result, I think, of the open economy – how this is being brought here, who is peddling it. It is quick money. School children are taking it. How are we to cope with it? In Singapore they had summary execution after some trial. They said that public sentiment will be so strong against it that the first person who was caught with heroin will not be executed, but they did execute him, and after that the consumption of drugs and the trafficking of drugs have come down very dramatically to a point where there it is almost non-existent.

Various things have to be done, but I think these are all the consequences of new way of acting, a new way of thinking, a new way of behaving which we have inaugurated in this country largely through the liberalization of our economy. If the hon. Member for Matugama also had the breadth of vision to understand he would say, “well, it appears that we have to live with it”. So let us get together and see how we can stop the abuses, how we can get more aid on concessionary terms to improve the lot of our people, how we can bring up the rural agricultural sector, and improve their standard of life to something they have not had before.

My good Friend said that 30 per cent of the people in our country do not have latrines. That is correct. Twenty years ago, not very long ago, my good Friend the hon. Member for Matugama will know, people in Sweden and France had no latrines. That is correct. You go the rural countryside; they have no latrines. They were also going and mixing with nature. You read the biography of Lord Denning in 1920. He describes the appalling conditions in which they were living. They had no heaters, they had no warm water, and he describes—even the bathroom which they had to use in the Winter season. They had to walk 100 yards from the house to use a common bathroom which was used by 30 to 40 other houses. A delegation from my Ministry has just gone to China and come back. They have told me the conditions that prevail there – very difficult. I would

say almost primitive. So do not try to make a big song and dance about 30 per cent of the people in our country not having latrines.

But there is a qualitative test to which you are directly responsible. Your Minister when he was Minister for Housing – how many houses did he build for five full years. Now, you might argue about the merits or the demerits or the viabilities of giving houses, but still I think you will agree that we have built nearly 180,000 houses and given them to people who were the poorest of the poor.

I must say that even in my electorate I did not go for big housing schemes. I used what was called අත්තම් නිවාස Those are the self-aided houses. Six thousand houses were built in my electorate. It has made a tremendous qualitative change in their lives. You will not understand it. People who did not have sweaters, people who were feeling so cold, now have four walls round them, a roof over their heads. I think it is a remarkable change. It is not perhaps a thing that you can measure in terms of per capita, as Mr. Dudley Seers quite correctly says. You do not look at the development of a country only in terms of per capita; you look at it in terms of the social benefits that people have. We would like to give more benefits, more and more of them, and I feel that after our development projects are over, when we can save foreign exchange, when we can grow all the food we need in our country, when we can stop spending our resources in buying oil from other countries, we will be able to channel all that money to uplift the living conditions of our people and give the public servants higher and higher salaries.

Sir, I think, I have really come to the conclusion of my arguments, but I wish to quote the Hon. Prime Minister, who has used the words of Abraham Lincoln in a speech he has made in Yapahuwa. This is what he said, and I want the hon. Member for Kalawana, who is a great student of Bolshevism, Leninism and Marxism, and whose bookshelf is full of works of such revolutionaries, also to give ear to one of the greatest of public men that ever lived in this world, a man who came from a log cabin to occupy the White House, Abraham Lincoln, he said:

“You cannot bring about prosperity by discouraging thrift.

You cannot strengthen the weak by weakening the strong.

You cannot help the wage earner by pulling down the wage payer.

You cannot further brotherhood of man by encouraging class hatred.

You cannot help the poor by destroying the rich.

You cannot keep out of trouble by spending more than you earn.

You cannot build character and courage by taking away man's initiative and independence.

You cannot help men permanently by doing for them what they could and should do for themselves.”

I think that summarises our political and economic philosophy. And, Sir, I wish to congratulate the Hon. Minister of Finance and I wish to congratulate ourselves also for working with him and for making possible the type of development that has never been seen in the history of our country before.

Then, Sir, with your permission I wish to take up a matter which I mentioned to you before I started my speech in the afternoon. It is a speech purported to have been made by the former Secretary-General of this House, Mr. Sam Wijesinha, and reported in the "island" paper of 19th November 1984. It is carried in full in page three. The article is headed "Ombudsman speaks of the role of MPs". The article is by Joe Sothinathan. Without saying any more I wish only to say that it is collective character assassination of all hon. Members of this House. I think it amounts to a breach of Privilege. It has not been corrected up to now and I would like you, Sir, to take such steps as are necessary, after taking into consideration the contents of this speech, to maintain the honour and dignity of this House.

සියෝජ්‍ය කථානායකතුමා
(பிரதிச் சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)
(Mr. Deputy Speaker)

I shall do so.

The Deputy Minister of Textile Industry who has given his name to speak is not here; then, the Deputy Minister of Higher Education is not here and the hon. Member for Polgahawela is also not here. The Hon. Minister of Regional Development will be followed by the Deputy Minister of Labour.

සී. රාජදුරේ මහතා (ராஜேரே மஹிதன ராஜதிரே)
(திரு. சீ. இராசதுரை — பிரதேச அபிவிருத்தி அமைச்சர்)
(Mr. C. Rajadurai—Minister of Regional Development)

பிரதிச் சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே, எனக்கு இந்தச் சந்தர்ப்பத்தை அளித்தமைக்காக நான் உங்களுக்கு நன்றி கூறுகின்றேன்.

ஒரு வரவு செலவுத் திட்டச் சமர்ப்பணங்களைப் பொது மக்கள் மிகுந்த ஆவலோடு எதிர்பார்ப்பது வழக்கம். அரசியல்வாதிகள், அரசாங்க ஊழியர்கள், சாதாரண மக்கள், தனவந்தர்கள், வர்த்தகர்கள் அனைவரும் வரவு செலவுத் திட்டத்தில் தங்களுக்கு ஏதாவது நன்மை உண்டா, நஷ்டமுண்டா என்று அவதானிப்பார்கள்.

அபிவிருத்தியடைந்த நாடுகளில் உபரி வரவு செலவுத் திட்டங்கள் கொண்டு வரப்படுவது வழக்கமாக இருந்து வருகின்றது. ஆனால் வளர்முக நாடுகளில் இது சாத்தியமில்லை. துண்டுவிழும் வரவு செலவுத் திட்டங்களே பெரும்பாலும் அங்கெல்லாம் தயாரிக்கப்படுகின்றன. இலங்கையைப் பொறுத்த அளவில் வருடாவருடம் பெருகிவரும் மக்கள் தொகையும் அவர்களுக்கான கல்வி, சுகாதார வசதி, வீடமைப்பு போன்ற இன்றோன்றவற்றை ஈடு செய்வது என்பதும் சற்றுக் கடுமையான காரியமே.

இந்த ஆண்டு வரவுக்கும் செலவுக்கும் இடையில் துண்டுவிழும் பெரும் இடைவெளியை எவரையும் பாதிக்காத வண்ணம் நிரப்பி /நிதி அமைச்சர்/ நாட்டு மக்களிடம் நல்ல பெயர் வாங்கியிருக்கிறார். இது ஒரு சாதனை என்றே சொல்ல வேண்டும்.

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நிதி அமைச்சர் தமது வரவு செலவுத் திட்டப் பேச்சினை நிகழ்த்துகையில், இனப் பிரச்சினையையும் கோடிட்டுப் பேசியுள்ளார். வரவு செலவுத் திட்ட உரையில் நாட்டின் இனப் பிரச்சனை பற்றி சுட்டிக் காட்டிப் பேசப்பட்டது இதுவே முதல் தடவை என்று கூறலாம். அப்படிப் பேசுவதற்கு இந்த நாட்டில் இப்போது அவசியம் ஏற்பட்டிருக்கின்றது.

நாட்டில் நிலவும் இனப் பிரச்சினையும் அதன் விஸ்வரூபத்தையும் அதனால் ஏற்பட்டிருக்கின்ற தேசிய வருமான வீழ்ச்சியையும் உடனடியாகத் தீர்க்காவிட்டால் இந்நாட்டு மக்களுக்கும் இந்நாட்டின் தேசியச் செல்வங்களுக்கும் ஏற்படப் போகும் பேராயத்தையும் பேரழிவையும் சூசகமாக நிதி அமைச்சரவர்கள் தமது பேச்சிலே சுட்டிக்காட்டியுள்ளார்.

இந்த நாடு வளரவும் அபிவிருத்தியடையவும் மக்களின் அடிப்படைத் தேவைகள் பூர்த்தி செய்யப்படவும் இனப் பிரச்சனைக்குத் தீர்வு காணப் படவேண்டியது அவசியம் என்றும் அவர் கூறியுள்ளார். மேலும், "பல நூற்றாண்டுகளாக அருகருகே வாழ்ந்து வந்துள்ள, அடிப்படியில் நல்ல குணமும் நல்லெண்ணமும் கொண்ட சிங்கள மக்களும் தமிழ் மக்களும் சேர்ந்து நியாயமான, நீடித்து நிலைத்து நிற்கக்கூடிய தீர்வு ஒன்றை இச்சிக்கல் நிறைந்த பிரச்சனைக்குக் காண்பதென்பது முடியாத காரியமல்ல" என்றும் அவர் கூறியுள்ளார்.

மேலும் அவர் கூறியிருப்பதாவது திரு. வேல்டயர் என்பவர் கூறிய சிறந்த கருத்துக்களை நிதி அமைச்சர் அவர்கள் தமது வரவு செலவுத் திட்டப் பேச்சில் சேர்த்துள்ளார். அதாவது "காலம் என்பது மனிதனுடைய அதி பெறுமதி வாய்ந்த ஒரு சொத்தாகும். பின்னால் வருகின்ற சந்ததியினருக்குக் கையளிக்கும் தகுதியைப் பெறாத சாதனங்களைக் காலம் மறைத்து விடுகின்றது. அதே வேளையில் மிகப் பெரிய செயற்பாடுகளை அது சிரஞ்சீவித்துவம் பெற்று விளங்கச் செய்கின்றது. பெரும் பாலானவர்கள் காலத்தை அலட்சியம் செய்கிறார்கள். காலத்தை நகரடிப்பிப் போய்விட்டால் கவலை கொள்கிறார்கள். காலத்தின் கட்டாட்சம் இல்லாமல் நாம் எதையும் சாதித்துவிட முடியாது."

இனப் பிரச்சனை காலம் அறிந்து தீர்க்கப்பட வேண்டிய ஒன்று என்பதைச் சுட்டிக் காட்ட விரும்பிய நிதி அமைச்சர் மேற்கூறிய, 18 ஆம் நூற்றாண்டு பிரெஞ்சுத் தத்துவஞானி வேல்டயரின் மேற்கோள்களை எடுத்துப் பொருத்தமாகக் கையாண்டுள்ளார்.

இதே தொடர்பில் நிதி அமைச்சர் 19 ஆம் நூற்றாண்டில் இங்கிலாந்தின் புகழ்பெற்ற பிரதம அமைச்சராக விளங்கிய வில்லியம் ஈவாட் கிளென்டனின் அரசியல் ஞானத்தையும் நினைவு கூர்ந்துள்ளார்.

இன்று இங்கிலாந்தின் ஐரிஷ் பிரச்சனை ஒரு புரையோடிப் போன புண்ணாக ஏற்புப் பிடித்து நாடு முழுவதையும் துன்புறுத்துகிறது. விக்கோரியா மகாராணி காலத்தில் பிரிட்டன் முதல் அமைச்சராக விளங்கிய திரு. கிளென்டன், ஐரிஷ் பிரச்சனையைத் தீர்க்க விரும்பினார். ஐரிஷ் நாட்டுக்குச் சுயாட்சி வழங்க முன்வந்த முதல் அமைச்சர் அவரேயாவார். மூன்று முறைகள் இங்கிலாந்தின் நிதியமைச்சராகவும் நான்கு முறைகள் இங்கிலாந்தின் பிரதமராகவும் பதவிகள் வகித்த அரசியல் ஞானியாகிய அவர், ஐரிஷ் பிரச்சனைக்கு நியாயமான ஒரு தீர்வு காண மிகவும் பாடுபட்டார். காலத்தைத் தவறவிடாமல் அவருடைய தீர்க்கதரிசனமான திட்டம், அன்று இரு சாரராலும் ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளப்பட்டிருந்தால் ஐரிஷ் பிரச்சனை என்றோ தீர்க்கப் பட்டிருக்கும். இன்று அது பெற்றிருக்கும் பூதாகாமான பயங்கரவாதத் தன்மை தவிர்க்கப்பட்டிருக்கும்.

இந்த உண்மைகளையே நிதி அமைச்சர் தமது பேச்சில் ஒர் எச்சரிக்கை போல எடுத்துக் கூறியிருக்கிறார் என்று நான் கருதுகிறேன். இந்த நாட்டின் இனப் பிரச்சனைக்கு ஒரு சுமுகமான அரசியல் தீர்வுகளை எடுத்து மதிப்பிற்குரிய மேன்மை தங்கிய ஜனநாயகவாதிகள் மிகுந்த பிரயாசையுடன் நடவடிக்கைகள் மேற்கொண்டு வருகிறார். அவரது கரத்தைப் பலப்படுத்தி, அனைவரும் திறந்த மனதுடன் ஒத்துழைக்க வேண்டும். அவர் செய்யும் நியாயமான முடிவுகளைப் பேச்சுவார்த்தைகள் மூலம் சரி செய்து, இரு சாரரும் ஏற்றுக் கொண்டு செயற்படுவது நல்லது. குறிப்பாகப் பெரும்பான்மை மக்கள், சிறு பான்மையினரைத் தமது இனிய சகோதரர்களாகக் கருதி, கண்ணியப்படுத்தி, விட்டுக்கொடுத்து அரவணக்குக் கொள்ள வேண்டும்.

பிரதமர் கிளென்டனுடைய திட்டத்தைச் சரியான காலத்தில் ஏற்றுக் கொள்ளாமல் விட்டதனால் இன்று பிரிட்டன் அனுபவிக்கும் சிக்கலை நாமும் ஏற்படுத்திக் கொள்ளக் கூடாது.

[1935-36]

இதையே பூடகமாக நிதி அமைச்சர் சுட்டிக்காட்டியுள்ளார் என்று நான் கருதுகின்றேன். அவரது தீர்க்கதரிசனத்தை நான் பாராட்டுகிறேன். இத் தொடர்பில் நிதி அமைச்சர் தமது வரவு செலவுத் திட்ட உரையில் பின்வருமாறு கூறியிருக்கின்றார்.

“நிரு. கிளஸ்டன் நினைத்தவாறுகச் செய்ய அவரது மக்களும் ஐரிஷ் மக்களும் அனுமதியளித்திருந்தால் இன்று ஐரிஷ் பிரச்சனை என்று ஒன்றே இருந்திருக்காது. ஆனால் கிளஸ்டன் இந்த விடயத்தில் தோட்கடிக்கப்பட்டார். ஐரிஷ் பிரச்சனையும் தீர்வுக்குச் சவால் விட்டுக்கொண்டேயிருக்கிறது. இலங்கையில் இன்றைய சந்ததியினரும் அவ்வாறே நழுவு விட்டார்களென்று சரித்திரம் கூறுகிறீர்களும். பல நூற்றாண்டுகளாக அருகருகே வாழ்ந்து வந்துள்ள, அடிப்படையில் நல்ல குணமும் நல்ல எண்ணமும் கொண்ட சிங்கள மக்களும் தமிழ் மக்களும் சேர்ந்து நியாயபூர்வமான, என்றும் நீடிக்கத் தக்க தீர்வொன்றை இச்சிக்கல் நிறைந்த பிரச்சனைக்குக் காண்பதென்பது முடியாத காரியமல்ல”. இவ்வாறு நிதியமைச்சர் கூறியிருக்கின்றார். மேலும் அவர்,

“இந்த நாடு வளரவும் அபிவிருத்தியடையவும் மக்களின் அடிப்படைத் தேவைகள் பூர்த்தி செய்யப்படவும் இனப்பிரச்சனைக்குத் தீர்வு ஒன்று கட்டாயம் அவசியம்” என்றும் கூறியுள்ளார்.

இச்சமயத்தில் மேன்மைதங்கிய ஜனாதிபதி, இந்த ஆண்டு பெப்ரவரி மாதம் 23 ஆம் தேதி பாராளுமன்றத்தில் ஆற்றிய உரையை நினைவு கூருவது நல்லதென்று நான் நினைக்கின்றேன். பாராளுமன்றத் திறப்பு விழாவின் போது அவர் ஆற்றிய உரையை இந் நாட்டிலுள்ள அரசியல் கட்சிகள், சமய ஸ்தாபனங்கள், பொது மக்கள் அனைவரும் கவனத்திற்கெடுத்து, நிதானத்தோடும் பொறுமையோடும் சிந்தித்து ஒரு நல்ல முடிவுக்கு வரவேண்டும்.

“தூதிஷ்டவசமாக 1983 ஆம் ஆண்டு ஜூலை மாதக் கலராத்திரிப்போது நாம் இன்னல்களை அனுபவித்தோம். அத்தகைய அனுபவம் இனிமேலும் ஏற்படக்கூடாதென நேர்மையாகச் சிந்திக்கும் மக்கள் அனைவரும் நம்புகிறார்கள்” என்று தமது பேச்சைத் தொடங்கிய மேன்மைதங்கிய ஜனாதிபதி அவர்கள், தொடர்ந்தும்.

“1920 தொடர் ஆண்டுகளிலிருந்து சிங்கள மக்களுக்கும் நமது நாட்டின் தமிழ் மக்களுக்கும் இடையே தோன்றிய இனப்பகைமையைப் பற்றி சிறிது கூறலாம் என நினைக்கிறேன். அனைத்துக் கட்சிகளின் தலைவர்கள் சரியான முடிவுகளை மேற்கொள்வதற்கான தைரியத்தையும் ஞானத்தையும் பெறுவார்களாக” என்று கூறி தமது பேச்சை முடித்துள்ளார்.

நாட்டின் இன்றைய நிலையில் அவரது ஆழமான பேச்சை அரசியற் கட்சிகள் கவனத்திற்கெடுக்கவேண்டும். இலங்கைவாழ் மக்களுக்கிடையே சந்தேகங்களும் கருத்து வேறுபாடுகளும் 50 ஆண்டுகளுக்கு முன்னரே முகிலவிடத் தொடங்கியிருக்கிறது.

ஒரு பகுதி மக்களை இன்னொரு பகுதி மக்கள், ஒரு பிரிவினரை இன்னொரு பிரிவினர், ஒரின் மக்களை மற்றோர் இன மக்கள், ஒரு சமய மக்களை இன்னொரு சமய மக்கள் அடிமைப்படுத்திவிடுவார்கள், ஆதிக்கம் செலுத்திவிடுவார்கள் என்ற எண்ணம் மெல்ல மெல்லத் தலைதாக்கியிருந்திருக்கிறது. அச்சமயத்தில், இலங்கைக்கு எப்படியான ஓர் ஆட்சி அமைப்பை வழங்கலாம், எந்த அளவிற்கு அவர்களுக்குச் சுயாட்சி நெறியினைக் கொடுக்கலாம் என்று ஆராய்வதற்காக டொனல்டர் கொடியினர்கள் இலங்கைக்கு வந்திருந்தனர். அப்போது இலங்கையின் பல பாகங்களிலுமிருந்து பற்பல அரசியல் தாபனங்களும் அரசியற் பிரமுகர்களும் டொனல்டர் ஆணைக்குழுவுக்கு முன் சாட்சியமளித்தனர். அந்தச் சமயத்தில் கண்டியிலிருந்து வந்த பெரும்பான்மைச் சிங்களப் பிரமுகர்கள் சமர்ப்பித்த ஓர் ஆலோசனையை இந்தச் சந்தர்ப்பத்திற்கு கவனத்திற்கொள்வது பொருத்தமானதென நினைக்கிறேன்.

அதிகாரப் பரிவினை அவசியம் என்பதைக் கண்டிய மக்கள் உணர்ந்திருந்தார்கள். நாட்டைக் கூறுபோடவேண்டுமென்று அவர்கள் கேட்கவில்லை. தேசத்தைப் பிரிக்கவேண்டுமென்று அவர்கள் வேண்டவில்லை. அனால், நிர்வாக இயந்திரத்தில் ஆட்சி அதிகாரங்களைப் பரவலாக்க வேண்டுமென்று அன்றே அவர்கள் வற்புறுத்தினார்கள். கண்டியர்களாகிய தங்களுக்கு இருக்கும் இக்கட்டுகளையும்

இடைஞ்சல்களையும் எடுத்துக் கூறிய அவர்கள் சமர்ப்பித்த ஆலோசனை, இன்றைய காலக்கட்டத்திற்கு கவனத்திற்கொள்ளத்தக்கதாகும். அதிகாரப் பரிவினையைச் செய்வதன்மூலம் அவர்கள் இலங்கையை முன்று கூறுகளாகக் கொண்ட ஒற்றை நாடாக வைத்திருக்க விரும்பினார்கள்.

முதலாவதாக, வடக்கு, கிழக்கு மாகாணங்களை ஒன்றுசேர்த்து அவற்றை தமிழ்பேசும் மக்கள் வாழும் பகுதியாக மதித்து ஓர் அமைப்புக்குள் கொண்டுவரவேண்டுமென்பது அவர்களது ஆலோசனையாக இருந்தது.

இரண்டாவதாக, கண்டிய மாகாணத்தையும் அதைச் சேர்ந்த பகுதியையும் ஓர் அமைப்புக்குள் கொண்டுவர அவர்கள் ஆலோசனை கூறினார்கள்.

மூன்றாவதாக, மேற்கு மாகாணம், தெற்கு மாகாணங்களைச் சேர்ந்த பகுதிகளை ஒன்றாக இணைத்து அவற்றைக் கரையோரச் சிங்கள மக்கள் வாழும் பிரதேசமாக அமைக்க வேண்டுமென்று விரும்பினார்கள்.

அதேவகையில், நாடு எக்காரணம் கொண்டும் பிரிந்துபோகாமல் ஒருமித்த நாடாக இருக்கவேண்டுமென்ற கருத்தில் மேலும் அவர்கள் ஆலோசனை தெரிவித்தார்கள். அதாவது, ஏற்கனவே கூறிய மூன்று அதிகாரப் பிரிவுகளையும் ஒன்றிணைக்கக்கூடியதாக ஒரு மத்திய அமைப்பை ஏற்படுத்தி அதை ஒரு சமஷ்டி அரசாங்கமாகக் கணித்து, அந்த அரசாங்கத்தின்கீழ் கட்டுப்பாட்டையாக மேற்கூறிய மூன்று கூறுகளும் இயங்கவேண்டுமென்று கண்டியப் பிரமுகர்கள் ஆலோசனை தெரிவித்தார்கள்.

சுவிற்சர்லாந்து, மத்திய ஐரோப்பாவில் இடம்பெற்றுள்ள ஒரு சிறிய நாடு. இலங்கை சுமார் 25 ஆயிரம் சதுரமைல் விஸ்தீரணம் கொண்டது. ஆனால் சுவிற்சர்லாந்து சுமார் 16 ஆயிரம் சதுரமைல் விஸ்தீரணமே கொண்டது. உலக நாடுகளின் அரசியலமைப்புப் பற்றிய குறிப்புகளைச் சுருக்கமாக வெளியிட்டிருக்கும் நூலில் சுவிற்சர்லாந்து அரசியலைப் பற்றிப் பெருமிதமாகக் குறிப்பிடப்பட்டிருக்கிறது.

ஆகவே, வரவுசெலவுத்திட்டப் பேச்சில், இன ஒற்றுமையின் அவசியம் பற்றி எடுத்துக்கூறி அப்பிரச்சனைக்குத் தீர்வு காணவேண்டுமென்று வலியுறுத்தும் நிதியமைச்சரவர்களின் பேச்சுக்கு வரவேற்பும் வலுவும் கொடுக்கும்வண்ணம் ஒருசில பாராளுமன்ற அங்கத்தினர்களின் பேச்சுக்கள் அமைந்திருந்தன என்பதை நான் சுட்டிக்காட்ட விரும்புகிறேன். இது ஒரு நல்ல அறிகுறியாகும். பிரதிக் கல்வி அமைச்சரவர்கள் இச்சமயத்தில் பேசும்போது, “தனிச் சிங்கள மொழிச் சட்டமே சகோதரர்களாக வாழ்ந்துவந்த தமிழ் மக்களுக்கும் சிங்கள மக்களுக்கும்ிடையே பிரிவினையை ஏற்படுத்தியது. தமிழ் மக்கள் பௌத்த விகாரைகளுக்கும், சிங்கள மக்கள் இந்துக்கோவில்களுக்கும் செல்லும் நிலை முற்றுப்பெற்றது. இனப் பிரச்சனைக்குத் உடனடியாகத் தீர்வுகாணவேண்டும். எமது கட்சித் தலைவர், கட்சிக்கு மட்டும் தலைவரல்ல; இந்நாட்டின் தேசியத் தலைவர்” என்று குறிப்பிட்டார். அவர் ஒரு பெரிய உண்மையையே குறிப்பிட்டார் என்று சொல்ல வேண்டும்.

தமிழ் மன்னர்களின் பொற்காலம் என்று அழைக்கப்பட்டது ராஜராஜசோழனுடைய காலம். அவன் சிறந்த சிவபக்தனாக விளங்கினான். எல்லா மதங்களிலும் உயர்ந்த மதிப்புக் கொண்டிருந்தான். கடாரத்து அரசனாகிய குளாமணிவர்மனால் தொடங்கப்பெற்று அவனுடைய மகன் மாற விஜயோத்துங்கவர்மனால் இப்போது நாகூர் என்று அழைக்கப்படுகின்ற நாகப்பட்டினத்தில் அமைத்து முடிக்கப்பெற்றிருந்த பௌத்த விகாரைக்கு, “ராஜராஜ பெரும்பள்ளி” எனத் தன் பெயரை வைப்பதற்கு சம்மதம் வழங்கியிருந்தான். அத்துடன் ஆனைமங்கலம் என்ற தமிழ் ஊரையும் அந்த பௌத்த விகாரைக்கு அன்பளிப்பாக வழங்கினான்.

அதேபோல பௌத்த அரசர்களில் தலைசிறந்து விளங்கிய அரசனான மகா பராகிரமபாகு, இந்துக்கோவிலான முன்னீஸ்வரம் என்ற கோவிலைத் திருத்தி அக்கோவில் நாடாத்துவதற்காக நிலங்களையும் கையளித்தான் என்று செப்புப் பட்டயங்கள் கூறுகின்றன.

ஆகவே, கல்விப் பிரதி அமைச்சர் அவர்கள் நிகழ்த்திய அப்பேச்சினை நான் அடியொட்டிச் சென்று சில குறிப்புகளைக் கூறவேண்டியிருக்கிறது. இந்நாட்டில் வாழ்ந்த அரசியல் தலைவர்கள் காலத்திற்குக் காலம், இந்நாட்டிலே சிங்கள மக்களுக்குக்கும் தமிழ் மக்களுக்குமிடையே ஒற்றுமையையும் உறவையும் ஏற்படுத்த முயற்சிசெய்திருக்கிறார்கள்.

1932 ஆம் ஆண்டு ஜூலை மாதம் 5 ஆம் தேதி திரு. கே. டபிள்யூ. பெரேரா அவர்கள் அரசாங்க சபையிலே கீழ்க்கண்ட பிரேரணையைப் பிரேரித்திருக்கின்றார் :

1. சிங்களத்தில் அல்லது தமிழில் உயர்வான தேர்ச்சித் தரம் பெறாத எவரையும் வருடக்காலத்தில் சிவில், எழுதுவினாள் சேவைகளுக்கு நியமிக்கக்கூடாது.
2. சிவில், எழுதுவினாள் சேவைகளில் இவர்களைச் சேர்ந்த எந்த அலுவலராவது சிங்களம் அல்லது தமிழில் தேர்ச்சி காட்டினாலெயொழியப் பதவியுயர்வு பெறக்கூடாது.
3. எந்தவோர் ஆளாவது அவர் சிங்களம் அல்லது தமிழில் நடைமுறைகளை நடத்தவும், பதியவும் கூடியதாக தன்னை காட்டினாலெயொழிய பெரெரின் நீதவானாகவோ உயர் குற்றவியல் நீதிமன்றங்களில் தலைமை வகிக்கவோ அவரை நியமிக்கக் கூடாது.
4. குற்றவியல் வழக்கு விசாரணைகளைச் சிங்களத்தில் அல்லது தமிழில் நடத்த சட்ட வல்லுநரை அனுமதிக்க வேண்டும் என்று இச்சபை தீர்மானிக்கிறது.

1932 ஆம் ஆண்டு அவர் அரசாங்க சபையில் இப் பிரேரணையை முன்மொழிந்திருக்கின்றார். இந்த விடயங்களை நான் ஏன் கூறுகிறேனென்றால், இந்நாட்டில் வாழும் இருபெரும் இனங்களுக்கிடையே இருந்து வந்த ஒற்றுமையும் உறவும் சகோதரத்துவமும் நம்பிக்கையும் எவ்வாறு சீர்குலைந்து வந்திருக்கின்றது என்பதை இன்று நாம் நினைவுபடுத்திப் பார்க்கவேண்டும் என்பதற்காகத்தான். இதனை நிதி அமைச்சரவர்கள் தமது வரவுசெலவுத்திட்டப் பேச்சில் மிக அழகாகச் சுட்டிக்காட்டியிருக்கிறார்.

திரு. டி. பி. ஆர். குணவர்தன அவர்கள் 1936 ஆம் ஆண்டு ஜூலை மாதம் 23 ஆம் தேதி அரசாங்க சபையில், தீர்மானங்கள் பற்றிய அறிவித்தல்கள் என்பதன் கீழ் பின்வருமாறு முன்மொழிந்திருக்கிறார் :

“தமது சுயமொழியிலோ அல்லது ஆங்கிலத்திலோ தேர்ச்சியற்ற பொலிஸ்காரர்களாலும் சார்ஜண்டுகளாலும் பொலிஸ்நிலைய பதிவுக் குறிப்புக்களை ஆங்கிலத்தில் பதிவுசெய்வதிலேற்படும் திட்ட துப்பமின்மை காரணமாக நீதி வழங்கும் தோக்கத்தில் ஏற்படும் தோல்வி காரணமாக, பொலிஸ் நிலையங்களில் பதிவு செய்யப்படும் பதிவுக் குறிப்புக்கள், அவற்றை கூறுபவரின் மொழியிலேயே கட்டாயம் பதிவு செய்யப்படாத வேண்டும் என இச்சபை கருதுகிறது.”

1940 ஜூலை 10 ஆம் தேதி திரு. ஆர். எஸ். எஸ். குணவர்தன அவர்கள் அரசாங்க சபையில் முன்மொழிந்த பிரேரணை, ஹன்சாட், 1356 ஆம் பத்தியிலும் அதனை அடுத்துள்ள பத்திகளிலும் பின்வருமாறு பதியப்பட்டிருக்கின்றது:

“மாகாண சபைகளை நிறுவுவது பற்றிய டொனலூர் ஆணைக்குழுவின் விதந்துரைகளை உடனடியாகச் செயற்படுத்த வேண்டுமென இச்சபை கருதுகின்றது.”

காலஞ்சென்ற பிரதமர் மாண்புமிகு எஸ். டபிள்யூ. ஆர். டி. பண்டாரநாயக்க அவர்கள், 1944 மே 25 ஆம் தேதி அரசாங்க சபையில் பின்வருமாறு கூறியிருக்கின்றார்:

“ஒன்றுக்கு மேற்பட்ட அரசு கரும மொழிகளை வைத்திருப்பது அவல்கோலமாக இருக்குமென்பது நான் எதிர்ப்புக் கருத்தாகும். ஏனைய நாடுகள் இரண்டுக்கு மேற்பட்ட அரசுகளும் மொழிகளை வைத்துக்கொண்டு திருப்திகரமான முறையிற் செயற்படுகின்றன என்பதையும் நான் சுட்டிக் காட்ட விரும்புகின்றேன்.”

தமிழ் மொழியை ஒர் அரசுகளும் மொழியாக ஏற்றுக்கொள்வதில் எவ்வித தீங்குமிருப்பதாக எனக்குத் தெரியவில்லை. நியாயமான எல்லைகளுக்குள் பல்வேறு சமூகங்களுக்கும்மிடையில் நாம் உண்டாக்க முயலும் அந்த ஒற்றுமையை, அந்த நம்பிக்கையை கொண்டு வருதல் வேண்டும். இரண்டு மொழிகளையும் அரசு கரும மொழிகளாகக் கொள்வதற்கு என்னிடம் பொறுத்தவரையில் நான் அதனை எதிர்ப்பதில்லை. அதன் விளைவாக எந்தவிதமான தீங்கோ, அபாயமோ, உண்மை இடர்ப்பாடோ ஏற்படுமெனத் தெரியவில்லை”

அதேபோல, 1944 ஆம் ஆண்டு மே மாதம் 25 ஆம் தேதி அரசாங்க சபை பின்வரும் பிரேரணையை ஏற்கொண்டது.

“நியாயமான அளவு ஆண்டுக்குள் சிங்கள மொழியையும் தமிழ் மொழியையும் இலங்கையின் அரசு கரும மொழிகளாக ஆக்கும் தோக்கத்துடன்;

- (அ) எல்லாப் பாடசாலைகளிலும் சிங்களத்தையும் தமிழையும் போதனை மொழிகளாக்க வேண்டும் என்றும்;
- (ஆ) எல்லாப் பொதுப் பரீட்சைகளிலும் சிங்களத்தையும் தமிழையும் கட்டாய பாடமாக்க வேண்டும் என்றும்;
- (இ) அரசாங்க சபையின் அலுவல்களைச் சிங்களத்திலும் தமிழிலும் நடத்த அனுமதிக்கும் விதத்தில் சட்டவாக்கம் தயாரிக்கப்பட வேண்டும் என்றும்;
- (ஈ) சிங்களத்திலும் தமிழிலும் மொழிபெயர்க்க வேண்டிய முக்கியமான நூல்களைத் தெரிந்தெடுப்பதற்கு ஒர் ஆணைக்குழுவை அமைக்க வேண்டும் என்றும்;
- (உ) ஆங்கிலத்திலிருந்து சிங்களத்துக்கும் தமிழுக்கும் ஆகும் மாற்றத்தைச் செயற்படுத்த வேண்டிய நடவடிக்கை பற்றி அறிக்கை செய்வதற்கு ஒர் ஆணைக்குழுவை நியமிக்க வேண்டும் என்றும் இச்சபை கருதுகின்றது.”

இது அரசாங்க சபை ஏற்றுக்கொண்ட பிரேரணையாகும்.

1947 ஆம் ஆண்டு டிசம்பர் 12 ஆம் தேதி ஹன்சாட் 1367 ஆம் பத்தி—மாண்புமிகு எஸ். டபிள்யூ. ஆர். டி. பண்டாரநாயக்க உள்நூராட்சி அமைச்சராக இருந்த பொழுது பின்வருமாறு கூறியிருக்கின்றார்.

“அடுத்த ஆண்டு ஜனவரி மாதத்துக்கு முன்னர் மாகாண சபைகள் தொடர்பான சட்டமூலத்தைச் சமர்ப்பிக்க முடியுமென்று நான் நினைக்கவில்லை. மாவட்டம் அல்லது மாகாணத்திலுள்ள உள்நூராட்சிச் சபைகளின் வேலையைக் கண்காணிக்கவும் மேற்பார்வை செய்யவும் ஒன்றிணைக்கவும் வேண்டி இந்த மாகாண சபைகளை நிறுவ உத்தேசித்துள்ளேன். இந்தச் சட்டமூலம் தயாராக உள்ளது. ஆனால் அமைச்சரவையிலுள்ள என்னுடைய சகாக்களின் பணிகளில் இது உராய்வுவதால் சட்டமூலத்தை இந்தச் சபையில் சமர்ப்பிப்பதற்கு முன்னர் அதன் எல்லா விளைவுகள் பற்றியும் நான் அவர்களது ஒப்புதலைப் பெறவேண்டும்.”

பாராளுமன்ற அறிக்கை தொகுதி 10 இல் அதி கௌரவ டி. எஸ். சேனநாயக்க அவர்கள் கூறியது பின்வருமாறு பதியப்பட்டிருக்கின்றது. 1951 ஆம் ஆண்டு ஜூலை மாதம் 24 ஆம் தேதி ஹன்சாட்.

“இதன்படி, சிங்களமும் தமிழும் அரசு கரும மொழிகளாக இருக்க வேண்டுமென இச்சபை தீர்மானித்துள்ளது. இது சபையின் தீர்மானமாகையால் நாம் அமைச்சர்கள் என்ற முறையில் இதனை நடைமுறைப்படுத்துவதற்கு நாம் கட்டுப்பாட்டவர்களாகின்றோம்.”

1951 ஆம் ஆண்டு ஒக்ரோபர் மாதத்தில் நடைபெற்ற ஞான லங்கா சுதந்திரக் கட்சியின் ஆரம்பக் கூட்டத்தில் பின்வருமாறு குறிப்பிடப்படுகின்றது:— ஞான லங்கா சுதந்திரக் கட்சிக் கொள்கை வெளியீடு, பக்கம் 9, பாகம் 2, பிரிவு 3:

“(ஆ) தேசிய மொழிகள்:

இந்நாட்டு மக்கள் தமது நாட்டிலே அந்நியராகவிருக்கும் நிலைமை அற்று ஒழிவதற்காகவும், சிங்களத்திலும் தமிழிலும் கல்வி கற்றவர்கள் மிகத் தாழ்வான நிலைகளில் இருக்கவேண்டிய ஒப்புரவின்மையை நீக்குவதற்காகவும் எல்லாவற்றுக்கும் மேலாக சமூகம், மக்களின் ஆற்றல்கள், விதப்பள்ளம் ஆகியவற்றின் முழுப் பலனையும் பெறக் கூடியதாக இருப்பதற்காகவும் சிங்களத்தையும் தமிழையும் அரசு கரும மொழிகளாக்குவது மிகவும் இன்றியமையாதது. அரசு நிர்வாகத்தைச் சிங்கள மொழி மூலமாகவும் தமிழ் மொழி மூலமாகவும் நாடாத்தல் வேண்டும்.”

இது ஸ்ரீ லங்கா சுதந்திரக் கட்சி 1951 ஆம் ஆண்டு வெளியிட்ட அக்கட்சியின் கொள்கைப் பிரகடனமாகும்.

லங்கா சமசமாயக் கட்சியின் தலைவராக விளங்கிய காலஞ்சென்ற டாக்டர் என். எம். பெரேரா அவர்கள் கூறிய கருத்து 1955 ஆம் ஆண்டு ஒக்ரோபர் மாதம் 19 ஆம் தேதிய ஹன்சாட் பத்திகள் 572, 573 ஆகியவற்றில் பின்வருமாறு பதியப்பட்டிருக்கின்றது:

“சிங்களமும் தமிழும் இலங்கையின் அரசு கரும மொழிகளாக நிலைத்தெயும் சம அந்தஸ்துடன் விளங்கத்தக்கதாக இலங்கை (அரசியலமைப்பு) அரசவைக் கூட்டிணைச்சட்டம் உடனடியாகத் திருத்தப்பட வேண்டுமென இச்சபை கருதுகின்றது என நான் பிரேரிக்கின்றேன்.”

[தி. சிவசுப்பிரமணியன்]

"சபாநாயகரவர்களே, உங்கள் அனுமதியுடன் இரண்டு மூன்று நாட்களுக்கு முன் லங்கா சமசமாயக் கட்சி விடுத்த அறிக்கையிலிருந்து நான் ஒரு சிறு பகுதியை வாசித்துக் காட்ட விரும்புகின்றேன்.

சிங்களமும் தமிழும் அரசு கரும மொழிகளாக இருக்க வேண்டுமென லங்கா சமசமாயக் கட்சி வற்புறுத்தி வருகின்றது. இம் மொழிகளைப் பேசும் மக்களின் மேலுள்ள உண்மையான அக்கறை காரணமாகவே இது எழுந்துள்ளதன்றி, இந்த மொழிகளின் அறிவுச் செறிவின் மீதுள்ள அக்கறை காரணமாக அன்று என்பதனையும் ஆரம்பத்திலேயே தெளிவுபடுத்த வேண்டும்."

இவ்வாறு கூறப்பட்டது இன்று நேற்று அல்ல. 1955 ஆம் ஆண்டில் கூறப்பட்ட கருத்து இது.

முன்னீநாள் பிரதமரான காலஞ்சென்ற அதி கௌரவ சேர் ஜோன் கொத்தலாவல அவர்கள் பாராளுமன்றத்தில் உரையாற்றும் போது பின்வருமாறு குறிப்பிட்டிருக்கிறார்— 1955 ஒக்டோபர் 19, ஹன்சாட் 644 ஆம் பத்தி:

"இலங்கையின் தேசிய மொழிகளான சிங்களத்தையும் தமிழையும் நாட்டின் அரசுகளும் மொழிகளாக ஆக்குவதற்கு எடுக்கப்பட்ட முதலாவது தீர்க்கமான நடவடிக்கையே 1944 மே மாதம் 25 ஆம் தேதி அரசாங்க சபையில் நிறைவேற்றப்பட்ட தீர்மானமாகும். அந்தத் தீர்மானத்தின் வாசகம் பின்வருமாறு :

ஒரு குறிப்பிட்ட கால வரையறைக்குள், சிங்களத்தையும் தமிழையும் இலங்கையின் அரசு கரும மொழிகளாக ஆக்குவதை நோக்கமாகக் கொண்டு இச்சபையானது பின்வருமாறு கருதுகின்றது:

- (அ) சிங்களமும் தமிழும் எல்லாப் பாடசாலைகளிலும் போதனா மொழிகளாக ஆக்கப்படவேண்டும்.
- (ஆ) சிங்களமும் தமிழும் எல்லா அரசாங்கப் பரீட்சைகளிலும் கட்டாய பாடமாக்கப்பட வேண்டும்.
- (இ) அரசாங்க சபையின் அலுவல்கள் சிங்களத்திலும் தமிழிலும் கூட நாடாளுவதற்கு அனுமதிக்கும் விதத்தில் சட்டமூலம் கொண்டுவரப்பட வேண்டும்.
- (ஈ) ஏனைய மொழிகளிலுள்ள சிறந்த நூல்களை சிங்களத்திலும் தமிழிலும் மொழிபெயர்க்கத் தெரிவு செய்யவும் மொழிபெயர்க்கவும் ஆணைக்குழுவொன்று நியமிக்கப்பட வேண்டும்.
- (உ) ஆங்கிலத்திலிருந்து சிங்களத்துக்கும் தமிழுக்கும் மாறுவதை நடைமுறைப்படுத்தத் தேவையான எல்லா வழிவகைகளும் பற்றி ஆராய்ந்து அறிக்கை சமர்ப்பிப்பதற்காக ஆணைக்குழுவொன்று நியமிக்கப்பட வேண்டும்:

இன்னும்மொரு மிக முக்கியமான விஷயத்தை நான் இங்கு வாசித்துக் காட்ட விரும்புகின்றேன். 1956 ஆம் அண்டு சித்திரை மாதம் 3 ஆம் தேதி செல்வாச்சிங்கிரம "இலங்கை டெயிலி நியூஸ்" பத்திரிகையில், இலங்கைக் கம்யூனிஸ்ட் கட்சித் தலைவர் காலஞ்சென்ற டாக்டர் எஸ். ஏ. விக்கிரமசிங்க அவர்கள் வெளியிட்ட கருத்து பிரசுரிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கின்றது:

"இந்தியா 15 மொழிகளையும் சீனா 5 மொழிகளையும் அரசுகளும் மொழிகளாக ஆக்க முடியுமானால் தமிழ் மக்களின் அடிப்படை உரிமைகளைப் பேணும் விதத்தில் சிங்களத்தையும் தமிழையும் இலங்கையின் அரசுகளும் மொழிகளாக ஆக்குவதில் உள்ள பிழை இருக்கின்றது? "

சனநாயகமென்று ஒன்று இருக்குமானால் நாகரிகமடைந்த ஒரு நாடு சிறுபான்மையினரின் அடிப்படை உரிமைகளை எதுவிதத்திலும் விழங்கக்கூடாது. மனிதனுக்கும் மிருகத்துக்கும் இடையேயுள்ள வேறுபாடு எது சரி, எது பிழை என்பதைப் பிரித்தறிவதாகும். தமிழ் மொழியை அரசுகளும் மொழியாகக் கணிக்காது ஒதுக்கிவிடுவோமோமானால் நாம் மிருகங்களிலும் கேடுகெட்டவர்களாகிவிடுவோம். சிங்கள மக்கள் எவ்வாறு தமது தாய் மொழியை தேசிக்கிறார்களோ அதே போல் தமிழ் மக்களும் தமது தாய் மொழியை தேசிக்கின்றனர்.

அடுத்து, கம்யூனிஸ்ட் கட்சியின் பிறிதொரு தலைவரான திரு. பீட்டர் கௌமன் அவர்கள், மொழிப்பிரச்சனை பற்றி 1956 ஆம் அண்டு ஜூன் மாதம் நிகழ்த்திய உரை ஹன்சாட் பத்தி 1674 இல் பின்வருமாறு அறிக்கை செய்யப்பட்டுள்ளது:

"மக்கள் ஐக்கிய முன்னணி(எம்.ஈ.பி) தேர்தலின் போது வலியுறுத்திய ஒரு கொள்கை, தமிழ் மொழியின் நியாயமான உபயோகத்தைத் தாங்கள் உறுதிப்படுத்துவோம் என்பதாகும் என இச்சபையிலே சுட்டிக்காட்டப்பட்டது. சபாநாயகரவர்களே, நாம் அந்

நிலையைக் காண்பதற்கு இன்னும் காத்திருக்கிறோம். அவர்கள் அளித்த இன்னொரு வாக்குறுதி யாதெனில் இலங்கையின் அரசு கரும மொழி சம்பந்தமான ஏற்பாடுகளை உள்ளடக்கும் விதத்தில் இலங்கையின் அரசியலமைப்புச் சட்டத்தைத் திருத்துவோம் என்பதாகும். அவர்கள் அவ்வாறு செய்தார்களா? கௌரவ விவசாய, உணவு அமைச்சரவர்கள் விடுத்த ஒரு துண்டுப் பிரசுரத்தில் புதிய அரசாங்கத்தின் முதல் முயற்சிகளில் ஒன்றாகச் சிங்களத்தை அரசுகளும் மொழியாகவும், தமிழை வடக்கு, சிழக்கு மாகாணங்களில் பிரதேச மொழியாகவும் ஆக்குவதற்கு ஏற்றவிதத்தில் ஒரு சட்டவாக்கத்தை அறிமுகப்படுத்துவதெனக் கூறியுள்ளதை வாசித்ததாக எனக்கு ஞாபகமுண்டு."

இச் சந்தர்ப்பத்தில் கல்விப்பிரதி அமைச்சர் அவர்கள் தனிமொழிச் சட்டத்தால் ஏற்பட்ட தாக்கங்கள் பற்றி எடுத்துக் கூறினார். இந் நேரத்தில் திருவாளர் செல்வநாயகம் அவர்கள் பாராளுமன்றத்தில் எடுத்துக் கூறிய ஒரு கருத்தை சுட்டிக்காட்ட விரும்புகின்றேன்—1956 ஜூன் 14 ஆம் தேதிய ஹன்சாட், பத்தி 1879:

"அரசு தரப்பு உறுப்பினர்களின் விவாதங்களிலிருந்து தெளிவாவதென்னவெனில் அவர்கள் சிங்கள மொழியை அரசு கரும மொழியாக்குவதற்கு முயற்சிக்கிறார்கள் என்பதாகும். சிங்கள மொழி ஓர் அரசு கரும மொழியாகக் கொள்வதில் எதுவித பிரச்சனையும்மில்லை. இந்நாட்டின் வாழ்வில் சிங்கள மொழியானது அதன் இயற்கையானது சாதாரணமானதுமான இடத்தைப்பெற வேண்டுமென்பது அனைவராலும் ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளப்படுவதாகும். அதே போன்று தமிழ் மொழியும் இந்நாட்டின் அலுவல்களில் ஏற்றவாறான அதே நிலையைப் பெற வேண்டுமா, அல்லவா என்பதே இங்குள்ள கேள்வியாகும்."

சிங்கள மொழிச் சட்டம் பாராளுமன்றத்தில் விவாதிக்கப்பட்டபோது டாக்டர் கொல்வின் ஆர். டி சில்வா அவர்கள் கூறிய கருத்துக்களை நாம் இங்கு நினைவுபடுத்த வேண்டியது மிகவும் அவசியம்.

1956, ஜூன் 14, ஹன்சாட், 1912 ஆம் பத்தியில் அவர் பின்வருமாறு கூறுகிறார்:

"இதனை இன்னொரு கண்ணோட்டத்தில் நோக்குவோம். இந்தச் சபை, அல்லது எமது மக்கள் வேண்டுமது, ஒரு நாடா அல்லது இரண்டு நாடுகளா? எமக்குத் தேவைப்படுவது ஓர் இலங்கையா, அல்லது இரண்டு இலங்கைகளா? எல்லாவற்றுக்கும் மேலாக எமக்குத் தேவைப்படுவது உண்மையிலேயே ஓர் ஐக்கியமான தனி இலங்கையா, அல்லது இந்து சமுத்திரத்தில் ஒரு வேளை ஆதிக்கம் செலுத்தக்கூடிய ஏகாதிபத்திய அரசுகளால் கபரீகரம் செய்யப்பட்டதக்க, இரத்த வெள்ளத்தில் மிதக்கும் இரு துண்டுகளாகப்பட்ட இலங்கையா? மொழிப் பிரச்சனை எனும் தோற்றத்தில் நாம் இங்கு விவாதித்துக் கொண்டிருப்பது உண்மையிலே இப்பிரச்சனையைத்தான்."

பிரதிச் சபாநாயகரவர்களே, இதனை நான் ஆங்கிலத்தில் வாசித்துக் காட்ட விரும்புகின்றேன். —Hansard, 14th June 1956, Col. 1912.

"Let us look at it in another way. Do we, does this House, do our people want a single nation or do we want two nations? . . . Do we want one Ceylon or do we want two? And above all, do we want an independent Ceylon which must necessarily be a united and single Ceylon, or two bleeding halves of Ceylon which can be gobbled up by every ravaging imperialist monster that may happen to range the Indian Ocean? These are issues that in fact we have been discussing under the form and appearance of a language issue."

பிரதிச் சபாநாயகரவர்களே, இப்படி ஒரு உரையை நான் நிகழ்த்துவதற்குக் காரணம் மாண்புமிகு நிதி அமைச்சரவர்கள் இனப் பிரச்சனை பற்றியும் கல்விப் பிரதி அமைச்சர் அவர்கள் தனிமொழிப் பிரச்சனை பற்றியும் இங்கு எடுத்துக் கூறியதனாலேயே ஆகும் என்பதை நான் சுட்டிக் காட்ட விரும்புகின்றேன். 1957 ஆம் அண்டு அப்போதைய பாராளுமன்றத்தைத் திறந்து வைத்து உரையாற்றிய மகா தேசாதிபதி சேர் ஒலிவர் குணத்திலக்க அவர்கள், மிக விரைவில் இந்நாட்டில் பிரதேச சபைகள் கொண்டுவரப்படுமென்று கூறியதை நான் இங்கு நினைவுபடுத்த விரும்புகின்றேன்.

பிரதிச் சபாநாயகரவர்களே, நான் இங்கு கூறியவையெல்லாம் புதியவை அல்ல. இவற்றை எங்கள் சனாதிபதி அவர்கள் தமது பேச்சில் இரத்தினச் சுருக்கமாக எடுத்துக் கூறியிருக்கிறார். அவர் கூறியவற்றை நான் சற்று விரித்து ஆதாரபூர்வமாக விளக்கவே முயற்சித்தேன்.

[ඊ.ම. සේනරත්න මහතාගේ ප්‍රශ්න]

කටයුතු කරන්න ඕනෑ සියලු දෙනාම බහුතරයක් ගැටලු පිළිගන්නෝත් ඒ වැඩපිළිවෙල ක්‍රියාත්මක කරන්න අමාරුයි. සියලු දෙනාම මධ්‍යම පාක්තිකයින් ගැටලු හිතාගන්නෝත් ඒ වැඩපිළිවෙල ක්‍රියාත්මක කරන්නත් අමාරුයි. සියලු දෙනාම දුප්පත් ගැටලු හිතාගන්නෝත් ඒ වැඩපිළිවෙල ක්‍රියාත්මක කරන්නත් අමාරුයි. මේ දක්වා ඉදිරිපත් කර තිබෙන අයවැය ලේඛන අටෙන්ම අපට පෙනී යනවා මේ රජය මේ කොටස් තුන කෙරෙහි අවධානය යොමු කර තිබෙනවා පමණක් නොව එයින් තවත් ටිකක් ඔබටම ගිහිල්ලා පරම්පරාව දෙසත් බලන්නට විශේෂත්වයකින් කටයුතු කර තිබෙන බව. මේ පිළිබඳවයි, මම අද මෙම ගරු සභාවේ අවධානය යොමු කරවන්නට උත්සාහ කරන්නේ.

මේ රටේ සුභසාධනය ගැන බලන්නට, අපේ බාල පරම්පරාවේ අධ්‍යාපනය ගැන බලන්නට තව කල යුතු කටයුතු රාශියක් ඉතිරිව තිබුණත්, පසුගිය කාලපරිච්ඡේදයේදී මේ රජය කොයි තරම් සේවයක් සිදුකර තිබෙනවාද කියා අපේ ගරු අධ්‍යාපන සේවා ඇමතිතුමා පැහැදිලිව කරුණු තහවුරු කලා. අපි අති විශාල මුදල් සම්භාරයක් අධ්‍යාපන කටයුතු සඳහා වැය කලත්, අපේ රටේ තිබෙන සම්පත්, අපේ රටේ තිබෙන අතිතුව වැඩකටයුතු දෙය බලන්නට අපේ රටේ අධ්‍යාපන ක්‍රමය, අපේ ආර්ථික හා සමාජ ක්‍රමය සමග තවමත් නොගැලපෙන තත්ත්වයකින් පවතින බව දන්නවා. අපි විශේෂයෙන් අවධානය යොමු කල යුතු දීර්ඝ කාලීන වැඩපිළිවෙලක් තමයි. මෙය. මේ පාර්ලිමේන්තුවේ මට කථා කරන්න ලැබුණු හැම අවස්ථාවකදීම මා ඒ ගැන සභාවේ අවධානය යොමු කර තිබෙනවා. අද පාසල්වලින් අස්ථි යන සී දෙනෙකුට මේ අධ්‍යාපන ක්‍රමය යටතේ ආර්ථික අතින් ස්වයංපෝෂිතවීමේ ක්‍රමයක් සකස් කර ගැනීමට ලැබී තිබෙනවාද ? අපි තිදහස ලබා ගත් ආසීට අදවන තෙක් අපේ අයවැය ලේඛනය, අධ්‍යාපනයක් සම්බන්ධ කර ගෙන කල්පනා කර බැලුවොත් අපේ රටේ තිදහස අධ්‍යාපන ක්‍රමයෙන් සී දෙනෙක් ආර්ථික වශයෙන් ප්‍රයෝජන ලබා තිබෙනවාද ? වෙනත් වටහවලින් කියනවා නම් කොයි තරම් උසස් මට්ටමක අධ්‍යාපනයක් ලැබුවත්, ඒ අය පාසලින් පිටවන අවස්ථාවේදී, සමාජයට මුහුණ දෙන අවස්ථාවේදී, තිදහසට ස්වෛරීව හිතා තමන්ගේ ආර්ථිකය සකස් කර ගැනීමට යම්කිසි වැඩපිළිවෙලක් ගෙන යන්නට ඒ තරුණයෙකුට හෝ තරුණියකට පුළුවන්කමක් තිබෙනවාද ? මේ පිළිබඳව අප සියලු දෙනාගේම අවධානය යොමු විය යුතුව තිබෙනවා. එතම නම් සියලු දෙනාගේම පක්ෂවල සහභාගිත්වයෙන් අපේ අධ්‍යාපන ක්‍රමයේ වෙනස්වීමක් ඇති විය යුතු කාලය දැන් එළඹ තිබෙනවා.

මේ පිළිබඳව විශේෂයෙන්ම මා තමුත්තාත්සේගේ අවධානය යොමු කරවන්න කැමතියි. අපි කොයි තරම් මුදල් වැය කලත් තවම ඉලක්කයට ඇවිත් නැහැ. එය සනාථ කරන්නට අපට කරුණු කිහිපයක් තිබෙනවා. කෘෂිකාර්මික ප්‍රදේශවල ඉගෙන ගත් තරුණ තරුණියන් ඒ කෘෂිකාර්මික වැඩවල යෙදෙන්නවා. තමුත් පාසල් හැර ගිය අතින් ප්‍රදේශවල සිටින අය සඳහා නැවත වරක් වෘත්තීය පුහුණු වැඩපිළිවෙලට ක්‍රියාත්මක කරන්නට අපට සිදු වී තිබෙනවා. දැනටමත් අමාත්‍යාංශ කිහිපයකින් මේ පුහුණු කිරීමේ වැඩපිළිවෙල ක්‍රියාත්මක වෙනවා. ගරු අග්‍රාමාත්‍යතුමාගේ අමාත්‍යාංශය යටතේ 45,000 කට පුහුණුවීම් කරනවා. කම්කරු අමාත්‍යාංශය යටතේ අවුරුද්දකට 10,000 කට පමණ පුහුණුවීම් කරනවා. තරුණ සේවා සභාව යටතේ මේ විධියේ පුහුණුවීම් කරනවා. ග්‍රාම සංවර්ධන අමාත්‍යාංශය යටතේ පුහුණුවීම් කරනවා. මොනවාටද මේවා කරන්නේ තිදහස ලැබුණු ආසීට අපේ අධ්‍යාපන ක්‍රමයේ තිබෙන අඩුවක් සම්පූර්ණ කරන්න. මේ පිළිබඳව ගරු මුදල් ඇමතිතුමාගේ අවධානය යොමු කරවන්නට මම කැමතියි.

ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය කථානායකතුමනි, ඒ වාගේම අපි බලන්නට ඕනෑ මේ රටේ කම්කරු ජනතාවට මොන විධියේ සහනයක් 1977 සිට මේ 1985 අයවැය ලේඛනය ඉදිරිපත් කිරීම දක්වා අප කර තිබෙනවාද කියා තමුත්තාත්සේලා දන්නවා, මේ රටේ වෘත්තීය සමිති ඉතිහාසයේ විශාල පෙරළියක් ඇති කරමින් පසුගිය රජය කාලයේ ඉදිරිපත් කල ඉල්ලීම් 21 ගැන. ආචාර්ය ඇන්. ඇම්. පෙරේරා මහතා මුදල් ඇමති වශයෙන් කටයුතු කල වේලාවේත්, එතුමන්ලා බලයට ආ වේලාවේත් එම ඉල්ලීම් ඉෂ්ට කර දෙන්නට අපොහොසත් වුණා.

අපි දුටු ඉතා වැදගත් සිද්ධියක් මම තමුත්තාත්සේලාට මතක් කරනවා. මේ රටේ කම්කරු ජනතාව විශේෂයෙන්ම තම අයිතිවාසිකම් ආරක්ෂා කර ගන්නට සටන් කරන අවස්ථාවේදී ඔවුන් ස්වාමිචරුන් බවට පරිවර්තනය

කරවීමේ වැඩ පිළිවෙලක් ප්‍රථමයෙන්ම ආරම්භ කළේ අපේ ශ්‍රීමත් ජනාධිපතිතුමායි. ඒ අනුව, අති ශ්‍රේෂ්ඨ ප්‍රගතිශීලී පනතක් ඉදිරිපත් කල බව තමුත්තාත්සේ දන්නවා. ඒ පනත අනුව, ඉතා වැදගත් පියවරක් ගන්නට මගේ ගරු ඇමතිතුමාට පුළුවන්කම ලැබුණා. එමගින් මේ රටේ කම්කරු ජනතාව වෙනුවෙන් සේවක භාරකාර අරමුදලක් ඇති කරනු ලැබුවා. ඒ සඳහා මේ රටේ සේවකයන්ගෙන් සහයක්වත් අය කරන්නෙ නැහැ. ස්වාමිචරුන්ගෙන් පමණයි. සියයට තුනක මුදලක් අය කරන්නේ. ඒ මුදල් රජයේ පාවිච්චියට නොව, කම්කරු ජනතාව කොටස්කරුවන් වශයෙන් ගෙන ඔවුන්ගේ පාවිච්චියට, ඔවුන්ගේ නමින් මේ රටේ නොයෙක් සංස්ථාවල ආයෝජනය කරන්නට අපි වැඩ පිළිවෙල සකස් කර තිබෙනවා. මේ අනුව, දැනට මාසයකට රුපියල් දශ ලක්ෂ 18 ක් පමණ ඒ සේවක භාරකාර අරමුදලට කම්කරුවන් වෙනුවෙන්, මේ රටේ ස්වාමිචරුන් පරිත්‍යාහ කරනවා. මෙය ඉතා වැදගත් සිද්ධියක්. ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය කථානායකතුමනි, මේ කම්කරු ජනතාව වෙනුවෙන් දැනටමත් ඉතා විශාල මුදල් ප්‍රමාණයක් ආයෝජනය කර තිබෙනවා, නොයෙක් සංස්ථාවල හා නොයෙක් පෞද්ගලික ආයතනවල, අපි බලාපොරොත්තු වෙනවා, අපේ වැය ශීර්ෂ ගැන කරන අවස්ථාවේදී සාකච්ඡා කරන විට ඒ පිළිබඳ විස්තරයක් ඉදිරිපත් කිරීමට.

ඒලඟට, සේවක භාරකාර අරමුදල මේ කාල පරිච්ඡේදයේදී කොපමණ ප්‍රගතියක් ලබා තිබෙනවාද කියා මම මතක් කරන්න සතුටුයි. විශේෂයෙන්ම කම්කරු ජනතාවට මේ ක්‍රමය යටතේ අත්වූ සහන පිළිබඳව මම කියන්න කැමතියි. 1970 ජනවාරි 1 වැනිදා සිට 1983 දෙසැම්බර් 31 වැනිදා දක්වා මේ අරමුදලට ලැබුණු දායක මුදල ඉහල ගොස් තිබෙන අන්දම, පිළිබඳව කෙටි විස්තරයක් මම ඉදිරිපත් කරන්නම්. 1970 දී අර්ථ සාධක අරමුදලට ලැබී තිබෙන්නේ රුපියල් දශ ලක්ෂ 99.36 යි. 1983 දී ඒ කියන්නෙ පසුගිය විවෘතයේදී ලැබුණු මුදල - තමුත්තාත්සේලා ඉදිරිපත් කල තර්ක වලට ඉතා වැදගත් පිළිතුරක් දෙන්න. වැඩ කරන ජනතාවගේ ආදායම් තත්ත්වය වැඩිවීම, රැකියා අවස්ථා වැඩිවීම, ඒ වාගේම දායකත්වය වැඩිවීම මේ මගින් මේ කාලය තුළ සිදුවී තිබෙනවා. මේක ඉතාමත්ම වැදගත් පියවරක්.

ඒ වාගේම මම තමුත්තාත්සේට මතක් කරන්නට කැමතියි, ඉතා වැදගත් සිද්ධියක්. මේ පාර්තේෂික ගෙවීම් පනත මේ ප්‍රගතිශීලී පනත අතර ඉතා වැදගත් එකක්. යම්කිසි පුද්ගලයෙක් සංස්ථාවක හෝ පෞද්ගලික ආයතනයක අවුරුදු පහකට වැඩි සේවයක් කර තිබුණොත්, ඔහු එතැනින් අස්වනවිට හෝ අස්කරනු ලැබුවිට ඔහුට ලැබිය යුතුව තිබෙන පාර්තේෂික මුදල වශයෙන් ඔහු අස්කරන වේලාවට ගත් වැටුප අනුව සේවය කර ඇති සෑම අවුරුද්දකටම සති දෙකක වැටුපක් බැගින් ලැබෙනවා. මේ පිළිබඳව උසාවිවල තවු කිබුණා 12 දහකට වැඩි ප්‍රමාණයක්. සමහරවිට මේවාට තීරණය ලැබෙන්නේ කම්කරුවා මිය ගියාට පස්සෙයි. තමුත් අද අස්වෙලා යනවිටම පාර්තේෂික ලබා ගැනීමේ අයිතිය කම්කරු ජනතාවට ලැබෙනවා.

ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය කථානායකතුමනි, අද අපි කවුරුත් ඉතාමත් වැදගත් ගැටලු සලකන විදේශ රැකියා ආයෝජනය ගැන කිවයුතුයි. මේ පිළිබඳව පැහැදිලි විස්තරයක් තමුත්තාත්සේලා හමුවේ තැබිය යුතුයි. මේ රජයේ ප්‍රතිපත්තිය පැහැදිලිව කිවයුතුයි. 1977 වර්ෂයට ඉස්සෙල්ලා කෙනෙකු පිටරට යන විට අවසර ගන්නට තිබුණේ කාගෙන්ද ? මේක අපි බොහෝම පැහැදිලිව ඇසිය යුතු ප්‍රශ්නයක්. අපි හැම තිස්සේම වේදිකාවල කියනවා එද පිටරට ගියේ මැති ඇමතිවරුන්ගේ දරුවෝ විතරයි කියලා.

ජීටී පතිරණ මහතා
(ශ්‍රී ල. තීර්ෂ්ඨ පත්තිරණ)
(Mr. Richard Pathirana)

1977 කලින් පිටරට රැකියාවලට මිනිසුන් ගියේ නැතැයි කියලද හිතන්න ?

එම්. සේනරත්න මහතා
(ශ්‍රී ල. ගා. ශ්‍රී ජයාපාය ආයතන සභාපති)
(Mr. M. Joseph Michael Perera)

මම තමුත්තාත්සේට පෙන්නුම් කරන්නට යන්නේ කවුද ගියේ කියලයි. ඒකයි වැරදේ.

මන්ත්‍රීවරයෙක්
(அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)
(A Member)

ශ්‍රී ලංකා බණ්ඩාරනායක පවුලේ අයයි. [බාධා කිරීමක්]

එම්. ජෝර්ජ් මයිකල් පෙරේරා මහතා
(திரு. எம். ஜே. சப். மைக்கல் பெரேரா)
(Mr. M. Joseph Michael Perera)

රජයෙන් අවසර තැනීම කිසිම කෙනෙකුට පිටරට රැකියාවලට යන්නට බැරි තත්වයක් එද තිබුණි. ඒක තමුත්තාත්සේලා පිළිගන්නට ඕනෑ අද කම්කරු දෙපාර්තමේන්තුව තිබුණත්, ඒජන්සි ආයතන තිබුණත්, මා මේ කථා කරන මොහොත වන විට සියයට විසි පහක්ම පිටරට යන්නේ කම්කරු දෙපාර්තමේන්තුව මැදිහත් වීමෙන්වත්, ඒජන්සි ආයතන මාර්ගයෙන්වත් නොවෙයි ; තමන් යොයාගත් රැකියා මාර්ගවලින් තමයි පිටරට යන්නේ. මේක මතක තබා ගන්නට ඕනෑ. ජනතාව පිටරට යාම සඳහා මන්ත්‍රීවරුන් පස්සේ එන්නේ නැහැ. රජය පස්සේ එන්නෙ නැහැ. අපට තහනම් කරන්නටත් බැහැ. යම් කෙනෙක් පිටරට රැකියාවලට යනවා නම්. මම ඒ පිළිබඳව විශේෂයෙන් තමුත්තාත්සේට මතක් කරන්නට ඕනෑ. ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමෙකු ඒ පිළිබඳව ප්‍රශ්නයක් මතු කළ නිසා ඉතා වැදගත් සංඛ්‍යා ලේඛන කීපයක් මම තමුත්තාත්සේලාට ඉදිරිපත් කරන්නම්. 1970 දී අපට මේ මාර්ගයෙන් ලැබුණු විදේශ විනිමය ගැන මම කියන්නම්. හොඳින් ඇහුම්කන් දෙනවා නම් හොඳයි. 1970 අපිට විදේශ විනිමය වශයෙන් ලැබුණේ—පිටරට ඉදලා මෙහාට එවපු සල්ලි—දස ලක්ෂ 18 යි.

අනිල් මුණසිංහ මහතා
(திரு. அனில் முனசிங்ஹ)
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)
මොක අවුරුද්දේද ?

එම්. ජෝර්ජ් මයිකල් පෙරේරා මහතා
(திரு. எம். ஜே. சப். மைக்கல் பெரேரா)
(Mr. M. Joseph Michael Perera)

1970 දී 1974 වන විට දස ලක්ෂ 54ක් ලැබුණි. 1977 වන විට දස ලක්ෂ 290 ක් ලැබුණි. 1983 වන විට දස ලක්ෂ 6,915 ක් ලැබිලා තිබෙනවා. තමුත්තාත්සේට මතක් කරන්නට ඕනෑ, 1977 වන විට අපේ විදේශ ඉපයීම්වලින් අපි පිටරටින් යොයාගත් මුදල් ප්‍රමාණය 2.9 ක් වී තිබුණි. 1983 වන විට එය 27.6 ක් වුණි. එය ඉතාමත් වැදගත් පියවරක්. ඒක විධියකින් කියනවා නම් ජනවාරි අපට ලැබෙන විදේශ විනිමය රු. දස ලක්ෂ 8,295 යි. මේ අනුව තමුත්තාත්සේට පෙනී යනවා විදේශවලට ගිහිල්ලා අපේ රටේ ජනතාව උපයන මුදල් ප්‍රමාණය දෙවන ස්ථානය ගන්නා බව.

රිචඩ් පතිරණ මහතා
(திரு. ரிச்சட். பதிரனா)
(Mr. Richard Pathirana)

තව කොච්චර කලක් තියෙයිද ? තිසිපිරියාව ගිය අය ආපසු එවනවා.

නියෝජ්‍ය කථානායකතුමා
(பிரதிச் சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)
(Mr. Deputy Speaker)

බාධා කරන්න එපා, කථාව ඉවර කරන්න හරින්න.

එම්. ජෝර්ජ් මයිකල් පෙරේරා මහතා
(திரு. எம். ஜே. சப். மைக்கல் பெரேரா)
(Mr. M. Joseph Michael Perera)

මම තමුත්තාත්සේට මතක් කරන්න කැමතියි, තමුත්තාත්සේලා කියනවා මේක තාවකාලිකයි කියලා. හොඳයි අපි ඒක පිළිගන්න ලැබුණි. තාවකාලික පිළියම ඇති වුණේ කොහොමද ? ඒකයි. වැදගත් තර්කය. තමුත්තාත්සේලාගේ සීමා බන්ධන නිසා මේ මුදල් ප්‍රමාණය අපිට තැනීම ගියා. අපේ කම්කරු ජනතාව පිටරට යන්නට බැරි වුණි. අපේ ආණ්ඩුව ඒ සීමා බන්ධන ඉවත් කළ නිසා අද ඕනෑම කෙනෙකුට පිටරට ගිහිල්ලා රැකියාව කරන්නට අවස්ථාව තිබෙනවා. මෙය ඉතාම වැදගත් සිද්ධියක්. විශේෂයෙන් මේ ගැන ගරු මුදල් ඇමතිතුමාට ස්තූති කරන්නට ඕනෑ. විදේශවලට ගිහිල්ලා මේ රටට මුදල් එවන ජනතාවගේ මුදල් සඳහා අවුරුදු 10 දක්වා බදු සහන දෙන්නට යෝජනා කිරීම ගැන. ඉතාමත් වැදගත් පියවරක්. මේ පිළිබඳව මගේ ස්තූතිය ගරු මුදල් ඇමතිතුමාට මේ අවස්ථාවේදී පුද කරන්න කැමතියි.

මම තවත් විශේෂ කරුණක් මතක් කරන්න ඕනෑ. එසේ නැත්නම් එය විශාල වරදක් වෙනවා. කලාවානේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා (සරත් මුත්තේවටුවෙගම මහතා) දැන් මෙතැන තැහැ. එතුමා හැම විටම කථා කළේ කාර් ගෙන්වීම හා බදු සහන දීම ගැනයි. එතුමා ඒ ගැන විශාල වශයෙන් කථා කළත් මම දැනට ඒ සම්බන්ධව කතා කරන්නේ නැහැ. කතාව තිකම්ම අනෙක් පැත්තකට නැඹුරු වන නිසා.

ගරු අග්‍රාමාත්‍යතුමා දැනට එක්තරා යෝජනා ක්‍රමයක් යටතේ තිබියදී එක් ලක්ෂ පහක් දහක් හද මේ රටේ ගෙවල් නොතිබුණු උර් වහලක් යට ජීවත් වන්නට අයිතියක් නොතිබුණු ජනතාවට හාර දී තිබෙනවා. ඒවා දී තිබෙන්නේ සල්ලි තිබෙන අයටද ? පවුල් එක් ලක්ෂ පහක් දහකට ඒ තිබිය ලැබී තිබෙනවා. තිබියයත් හද ගැනීම සඳහා දෙන රුපියල් හත්දස පන්සියයේ මුදල මදියයි මතුගම ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා (අනිල් මුණසිංහ මහතා) ප්‍රකාශ කලා. සමහර තැනක මදී වෙන්නත් ඇති. තමුත්තාත්සේ කොට්ඨාසයේ බොහෝ දෙනා රුපියල් පන්දහෙන් ගේ හද කපරාරු කර උර් තබා බිමට සිමෙන්ති දමා වැඩ අවසාන කර තිබෙනවා. 1989 වන තෙක් මේ ක්‍රමය ක්‍රියාත්මක වුණේත් මේ රටේ තිබිය දස ලක්ෂයක් ඉදී වන්නේ ධනපතියන් සඳහා නොවෙයි ; දුප්පත් ජනතාව සඳහා. පවුල් ලක්ෂ දහයකට, හැදු ගෙවලක් එක්ක පවුල් ලක්ෂ දෙළහකට තිබිය ලැබෙනවා. මේ එක් පවුලක තුන් දෙනකු බැගින් සිටියොත් එය මේ රටේ ජනගහනයෙන් කොපමණ කොටසක්දයි සිතා බලන්න.

මේ විධියට හිතා බලන විට, ගරු මුදල් ඇමතිතුමා ගිය ගමන ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදී ගමණක් නොව විරුද්ධ පක්ෂයේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීවරුන්ට හිතා ගන්නටත් බැරි වුණු අන්දමේ අති ශ්‍රේෂ්ඨ සමාජවාදී ගමනක්ද වන බව මම මතක් කරන්න ඕනෑ. බොහෝ දේ කීමට ඇතත් කාලය මද නිසා මම දීර්ඝ වශයෙන් කතා කරන්නේ නැහැ. ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය කථානායකතුමා එතුමා ලඟ තිබෙන ලැයිස්තුව අනුව සාධාරණත්වය උඩ මට කතා කරන්න අවස්ථාවක් දීම ගැන එතුමාට මම විශේෂයෙන් ස්තූතිවන්න වන අතර රටේ පවර්ධන වැඩ පිළිවෙල ඉදිරියට ගෙන යෑම ගැන ගරු මුදල් ඇමතිතුමාටත් රජයටත් අපගේ සුබපැතුම් පිළිගන්වමින් මගේ වචන ස්වල්පය මෙයින් අවසාන කරනවා.

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සුනිල් රංජන් ජයකොඩි මහතා (පොල්ගහවෙල)
(திரு. சனில் ரஞ்சன் ஜயகொடிக — பொல்ஹவெல)
(Mr. Sunil Ranjan Jayakody-Polgahwela)

ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය කථානායකතුමනි, මේ අවස්ථාවේදී වචන ස්වල්පයක් කතා කිරීමට අවස්ථාව දීම ගැන මම තමුත්තාත්සේට ස්තූතිවන්න වෙනවා. ගරු මුදල් ඇමතිතුමාගේ මේ අවදානී අයවැය මම හදුන්වන්නේ ජනතාව මත අමහර බරක් නොවැටෙන පරිදි සකස් කර තිබෙන එකක් හැටියටයි. ඒ ගැන මම ගරු මුදල් ඇමතිතුමාට ස්තූතිවන්න වන්නට ඕනෑ. විශේෂයෙන් ගොවි ජනතාවටත් මධ්‍යම පන්ති ජනතාවටත් මේ අයවැයෙන් විශාල සහනයක් ලැබී තිබෙනවා. එහෙත් පිහින පන්ති ජනතාවට මෙයින් යෙහෙත් වී නැති බවයි, මම පැහැදිලි කරන්නේ. ඇත්ත වශයෙන්ම එදවේල කන්න නැති අය හුඟක් අද මේ රටේ ඉන්නවා. රුපියල් දහක් ආදියම් ලබන පවුලක තුන් දෙනෙක් ඉන්නවා නම් රුපියල් දහෙන් ඒ අයට හරිතැවී කන්නටත් විධියක් නැහැ.

ආහාර මුද්දර තවමත් දෙන්නේ රුපියල් තුන් සියයේ බැඳුම්කරය අනුවයි. එය රුපියල් හත්සිය පනහක් හෝ දහක්වත් කරනවා නම් හරි හොඳයි. මේ අයවැය මගින් මුද්දර බද්ද සියයට හයකින් අඩු කර තිබෙනවා. ඒවා ධනපතියන්ට අවශ්‍ය දේවල්. ඒවා අඩු කරන්න අවශ්‍ය නැහැ. එසේ අඩු කරන මුද්දර එකතු කර පිහින අයට දෙන්න පිළිවෙලක් ඇති කරනවා නම් හරිම හොඳයි. පසුගිය යෙහෙසුරුද ඉරිදි දිනවල මහජනතා ගමුවන කාර්යාලයට අප ගියාම මවුන් මේ කුපත් ගැන කතා කලා. විරුද්ධ පක්ෂය කියන තර්කය නොවෙයි මම කියන්නේ. මුද්දර කුපත් ගණන වැඩි කරන්න ආණ්ඩුවට බැහැ. මම හිතන හැටියට ඊයේත් මන්ත්‍රීවරු හුඟ දෙනෙක් මේ ගැන කථා කලා. මෙය යුද්ධ කාලයේදී ඇති වුණු දෙයක්. මොන ආණ්ඩුව ආවත් මෙය තනර කළ යුතු දෙයක්. හැත්තෑ දෙලක්ෂයක් දෙනා ආහාර මුද්දර ලබනවා. ආණ්ඩු පක්ෂයේ රැස්වීමේදීත් අපි මේ ගැන හැමදම කතා කරනවා. දැන් මේ අයවැය විවාදයෙන් කතා කරනවා. මේ ගැන ඉක්මනින් කටයුතු නොකිරීම ගැනයි මම කතාගැටු වෙන්නේ. 1977 දී අපි බලයට පත් වී බලවත් ආණ්ඩුවක් හද මේ ආහාර මුද්දර දුන්නා. තමුත්තාත්සේ පසුගිය ආණ්ඩුවේ ග්‍රාම සේවකයන් වැඩිපුර සිටී

[ප්‍රතිලිපි රැස් කළ ප්‍රකාශන]

නිසා සමහර තැන්වල අපට ජනදාය දුන්. ආහාර මුද්දර ලැබිය යුතු අයගේ ඒ මුද්දර කැපුවා. සමහර ග්‍රාම සේවකවරුන් තමන්ගේ ගිනවතුවන්ට මුද්දර කැපත් ලබා ගත්ත සුදුසුකම් තැනී අයටත් මුද්දර කැපත් ලබා දුන්නා. එම නිසා මුද්දර කැපත් ක්‍රමයේ කිසියම් සංශෝධනයක් කරන්න ඕන.

මේ ප්‍රශ්නයේ තවත් පැත්තක් තිබෙනවා. දැන් හත් - අට දෙනෙක් ඉන්න පවුලක වැඩිමහලු කොළවා රැකියාවේ ඉන්නවා නම් යම් විධියකින් ඔහුගේ රැකියාව අහිමි වුණොත්, ඒ පවුල තඩත්තු කරන්නට ආදායමකුත් නැහැ ; මුද්දර කැපකුත් නැහැ. ඒ වාගේම පවුලක ප්‍රධානියා මිය ගියොත්, ඒ මුළු පවුලටම ආසිත් ආත්මයක් නැහැ. යම් විධියකින් මුද්දර කැපත් ලබන පුද්ගලයා පවුලේ වැඩිමහලු නම් ඔහු විවාහ වී පවුලෙන් ඇත් වුණොත් පවුලේ ඉතිරි අයට මුද්දර කැපත් ලැබෙන්නේ නැහැ. මෙතෙක් මේ කාරණා ගැන සලකා දැන් පවතින මුද්දර කැපත් ක්‍රමයේ සංශෝධනයක් ඉක්මනින් කළොත්, දැන් සිටින ගැත්තා දෙලක්ෂයේ ගණන තවත් අඩු වී, සීමාව රු. 750 දක්වා වැඩි කරන්නට—මේ අය රු. 750 ක බැඳුම් කරයකට සම්බන්ධ කරන්නට—මුද්දර ඇමතිතුමාට පුළුවන් වෙයි. ඒ විධියේ පියවරක් ගන්නට බැරි නම්, මුද්දර කැපත් ක්‍රමය සම්පූර්ණයෙන්ම අහෝසි කර දමා, රු. 1,500 කට අඩු ආදායම් ලබන ගැම දෙකටම හාල් හැර සිනි, පීටි, පර්පපු වැනි අත්‍යවශ්‍ය ආහාර වර්ග තුනක් කිසියම් සහන මිලකට ලබා ගැනීමට සලස්වන්නට පුළුවන් නම් ඉතා හොඳයි. [බාධා කිරීමක්]

ඔක්කොම දේ සහන මිලකට සපයන්න බැහැ. විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ තමුත්තාත්සේලාගේ ආණ්ඩු කාලයේදීවත් එතෙම කළේ නැහැ. වර්ග තුන හතරක් තමන් කැමති අන්දමට තෝරා ගෙන, ඒ කියන්නේ ගුම්නෙල්, කිරිපිටි, පර්පපු එනම් කැනිනම් පාත් පිටි, පර්පපු, කිරිපිටි වාගේ මොනවා හරි වර්ග තුන හතරක් තෝරා ගෙන ඒවා රු. 1,500 ට අඩු ආදායම් ලබන අයට සහන මිලකට ලබා ගන්නට කිසියම් වැඩ පිලිවෙලක් යොදන්නට පුළුවන් නම් හරි හොඳයි. අද, රු. 1,500 ක තරම පඩියක් ලබනවා රජයේ ඇතැම් කම්කරුවන්ගේ. දැන් රු. 2,000 කට අඩු ආදායමක් ලබන අය ආදායම් බදු අය කිරීමෙන් තිදහස් කර තිබෙනවා. මෙයින් සහන ලැබෙන්නේ මධ්‍යම පන්තියේ අයයි. පීඩින පන්තියේ අයටත් ඉල්ලන මේ සහනය සලසා දෙන ලෙසටයි මා මතක් කර සිටින්නේ.

රු. 100 යේ දීමනාව ගැනත් වචනයක් කියන්නට සතුටුයි. රජයේ සේවකයෝ හුණ දෙනෙක් බලා ගෙන සිටියා, රු. 500 ක විතර දීමනාවක් ලැබෙයි කියා. රු. 500 කෙසේ වෙතත් මේ ගණන රු. 200 කලා නම් හොඳය කියා මට සිතෙනවා. මෙයින්, ගමක පැතිරී සිටින ජනතාවට - කම්කරු ජනතාවට, පීඩින පන්තියේ අයට - යහපතක් වෙනවා. එනම් කරන්නට බැරි නම් රු. 50 කින් මුලික පඩිය වැඩි කලා නම් ඒ අයට විශාල සෙතක් සැලසෙනවාය කියා පැහැදිලි කර දෙන්න ඕන.

පුනරුත්ථාපන බද්ද අහෝසි කිරීමේ වැදගත්කම ගැනත් කාරණයක් පෙන්වා දෙන්න ඕන. උතුරේ ත්‍රස්තවාදීන් නිසා අවුරුද්දක් තිස්සේ අපි පව් ගෙව්වා. ඒ පව් දැන් ඉවත් වුණු නිසා නැතිනම්, ඒ බද්ද ඉවත් කිරීම නිසා ඒ ගැම දෙනාම රජයට සතුතිවන්න වෙනවාට කිසිම අනුමානයක් නැහැ. ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය කථානායකතුමනි, ත්‍රස්තවාදය තුරන් කරන්නට එතෙම නැතිනම් ජාතික ආරක්ෂාව සලසන්නට විශාල මුදලක් වෙන් කර තිබෙනවා. අපි ඒ ගැන සන්තෝෂ වෙනවා. මේ ගැන කල්පනා කරන විට, නවීනතම ආයුධ ගෙන්වා සිංහල තරුණයන් වැඩි වැඩියෙන් බදවා ගෙන යුද පුහුණුවක් දී ත්‍රස්තවාදී ප්‍රශ්න ලබන බරටවුවට ඉස්සර විසඳා ගන්නට ආණ්ඩුවට පුළුවන් වුණොත්, ලෝකය විනාශ වන තුරු එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයට බලයේ ඉන්න ලැබෙයි. අද හැමෝම කියනවා, මේ ආණ්ඩුව පැරකුම් පුගයේ—සිංහල රජ කාලයේ—නිබුණු ආණ්ඩුවලටත් වැඩිය හොඳයි, තිදහස් ලැබෙන්නට ඉස්සර තිබුණු ආණ්ඩුවලට වාගේම තිදහස් ලැබුණොට පසුව තිබුණු ආණ්ඩුවලටත් වැඩිය හොඳයි කියා. තමුත් එකම ප්‍රශ්නය තිබෙන්නේ, කලකිරීමකට හේතු වී තිබෙන්නේ ත්‍රස්තවාදය විනාශ කරන්නට මෙතෙක් බැරිවීමය කියන කාරණය පැහැදිලි කරන්න ඕන. මෙතන ප්‍රශ්නය මොකක් වුණත් මහජනයා කලකිරිලා සිටින්නේ මේ ත්‍රස්තවාදය විනාශ කරගන්න බැරි වූ නිසයි කියන එකයි මම මේ අවස්ථාවේදී පැහැදිලි කරන්නෙ. මම මේ අවස්ථාවේදී තවත් කාරණයක් කියන්න ඕන. මේ ත්‍රස්තවාදීන් ආරක්ෂක කඳවුරුවල නියාගෙන කරන දෙතවට අපේ ගමේ ගොඩේ සිංහල ජනතාව හරි විරුද්ධයි. ඒ නිසා මොන මඟුලක් කර හෝ විනාශ කර හෝ මේ ප්‍රතිපත්තියේ වෙනසක් කරන්න ඕන.

අපි පිටරට ගැන කල්පනා කරමු. යුද්ධයක් ගැන සිතමු. යුද්දේට මුහුණ දෙන සතුරා හොරෙන් හෝ අල්ලාගෙන උරා මරා දැනවා. ඒකයි කෙරෙන්නේ. ඒ නිසා මේ ගැනත් මොනවා හෝ කරන්න ඕන. දැන් කල්පනා කර, බලන විට ජනතාව වෙනුවෙන් කථා කරන අපටත් හයානක තත්වයක් උදව්ගෙන එන බව පෙනෙනවා. පෙරේද අර මගේ රැවුල වාගේ රැවුලක් තිබෙන වාචකවේරියේ හිටපු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා ග්‍රාචස්තියට ආවා. අපි කවුරුත් බියෙන් ඇලුරණ. මම ගොයලා බැලුවාම මට පෙනෙන තැනක හිටියේ නැහැ. හිටියා නම් මිනිහට මගෙන් මොන මොනවා හෝ වෙනවා. ඇත්ත වශයෙන්ම වාචකවේරියට පහර දුන් දවසෙයි ඔහු ග්‍රාචස්තියට ආවේ. අද අපි මන්ත්‍රීවරුන් වෙලත් අපට කොළඹ එන මෙහා යන්න බයයි. මෙතන මේවා ගැන කල්පනා කරන විට මේ ආණ්ඩුව අමුතු බලයක් හෝ ලැබී මේ ප්‍රශ්නය විසඳන්නට ගැනී වේවී කියා මා හිතනවා.

දැන් මේ හමුදාවේත් පොලීසියේත් කායා මණ්ඩලයට අපි සතුතිවන්න වෙන්න ඕන. අපේ ජාතික වෙනුවෙන් දීවි පුද ඒ අය අවසන් ගමන් යන එක ගැන. අපි ඒ ගැන කල්පනා කරන විට අපට කඳුරු වැටෙනවා. ඒයේ පත්‍රයේ මම දක්කා, ත්‍රස්තවාදියෙක් වෙක්පතක් මාරු කරන්න ගිය වෙලාවේ බැංකු නිලධාරියෙක් තමන්ගේ රාජකාරිය නියම අත්දැමට කර තිබෙන ගැටී. මියගිය අර කර්නල් පසුව බ්‍රිගේඩියර් කලා නම් ඒ වගේම මේ වැඩේ කළ මනුෂ්‍යයට පණ පිටින් සිටියදී ප්‍රොමෝෂන් දෙන්න ඕන. එනම් දුන්නොත් මේ රට ත්‍රස්තවාදියෙන් ආරක්ෂා කරන ක්‍රීඩා ආරක්ෂක සේවාවන්ට, බැංකු නිලධාරීන්ට, එය විශාල රුකුලක්, විශාල දිරිගැන්වීමක්, උනන්දුවක්, විශාල ආදරයක් කියලයි මම පැහැදිලි කරන්නෙ.

අපේ ජාතික අවුරුදු 2500 ගණනක ඉතිහාසයක් ඇති ජාතියක්. එදත් අපට කේරල පාඩ් යනාදීන්ගෙන් උවදුරු පැමිණ අපි සටන් කලා. අපි මැන හාගයේදීත්—1505 වකවානුවේ—පෘතුගීසීන්, මිලන්දකාරයින් සහ ඉංග්‍රීසීන් සමඟ වරින් වර සටන් කලා. තිදහස් ලංකාවක් වශයෙන් පත්වුණොට පස්සේ අපි හිතුවේ නැහැ. අපට මෙතෙම ඉරණමක් අත් වේවිය කියා. තමුත් අද ඒ තත්වය මතු වී තිබෙනවා. අපි මොන ක්‍රමයකට හෝ මේ ප්‍රශ්නය විසඳන්න ඕන. අපි ලාංකික ගැම ජාතියක්ම එකමුතු වෙන්න ඕන. විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වය බලා සිටින්නේ මේ තුලින් තමන් බලයට පත් වෙන්නයි. එකමුතුව වැඩ නොකොළොත් මේක කරන්න බැහැ. අර ඉන්දියාවේ ඕක් ප්‍රශ්නය විසඳන්න එහි එද මොන මොන දේශපාලන පක්ෂ තිබුණත් ඒවා ඔක්කොම එක්කායු වී රත් දෙවොල කැඩුවා. අපි එතෙම දෙවොල කඩන්න හඳුනවා නොවෙයි. මේ ප්‍රශ්නයේදී ප්‍රධාන පක්ෂ එකතු වී මේ ප්‍රශ්නය අවසන් කරගන්න ඕන. මේක ආණ්ඩුවට පමණක් නොවෙයි. බලයට පත් වන අප කොයි කාටත් හිය රුද්දක් වෙනවා. එම නිසා මම කියන්නේ අප කවුරුත් එකතු වී මේ ප්‍රශ්නය විසඳාගන්න ඕනැය කියා.

ත්‍රස්තවාදීන්ගේ ජයග්‍රහණ පියවරක් වාචකවේරියට පහර දීම, සියලුම දේශපාලනඥයන් එකතු කර—විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ දේශපාලනඥයන් සමඟ— මේ අවස්ථාවේදී වැඩි වැඩියෙන් ඒ අයගේ ඇස් ඇරවා මේ ප්‍රශ්නයට විසඳුම් සොයන්නට අතිගරු ජනාධිපතිතුමාගේ අවධානය යොමු කරන ලෙස මා ඉල්ලනවා. එසේ මේ ප්‍රශ්නයට විසඳුම් සොයන අතර වැඩි වැඩියෙන් තරුණයන් පුහුණු කරවා වැඩි වැඩියෙන් අපි ආයුධ යවා මොන ක්‍රමයකින් හෝ හොරා යොයාගන්න බැරි නම් හොරාට ගැවිලා ඉන්න එකට හරි කෙලලා දලා මේ ප්‍රශ්නය අපි විසඳාගන්න ඕන.

මෙතෙම කරන අතරතුරේදී අපි ගැංගි හොරා නොවෙයි, ගැම ආයතනයකම අය උතුරට යවා ඉඩම්වල පදිංචි කරවන්න ඕන. ශ්‍රී ලංකා දැවිපයේ අද ජීවන වන මුළු ජනගහනයෙන් සියයට 75 ක් පමණ අපේ සිංහල ජාතියයි. යුද්ධ කරන අතරම ජන අනුපාතයට අනුව ප්‍රසිද්ධියේම සිංහල ජනතාව ඒ ප්‍රදේශවල පදිංචි කරවාගෙන ගියොත් පමණක් මේ ප්‍රශ්නය විසඳන්නට පුළුවන් බව මා මතක් කරන්නට කැමතියි. ඒ ප්‍රශ්නය ගැන මම මීට වඩා කථා කරන්නේ නැහැ.

ඒළඟ කාරණය ගුරු වැටුප් ගැනයි. ගුරුවරුන්ගේ පඩි වැඩි කිරීමක් ගැන මේ අපවැය ලේඛනයෙන් කරුණු පැහැදිලි කර නැහැ. රජයේ සේවකයන්ට සහ වෙනත් අයට රු. 100 මාසික දීමනාවක් ගෙවන්නට රජය තීරණය කර තිබෙනවා. තමුත් මේ රටේ 1,80,000 ක් පමණ ගුරුවරු ඉන්නවා. නොයෙක් අවස්ථාවල වරින් වර නොයෙකුත් ආණ්ඩු ගුරුවරු හැර වෙනත් සේවකයන්ගේ පඩි වැඩි කර තිබෙනවා. මේ ආණ්ඩුව බලයට පත් කරන්නට විශාල උනන්දුවක් දක්වූ කොටසක් නමයි ගුරුවරු. එවකට තිබුණු පාලනයේ

දුෂ්කම නිසා 1977 දී ගුරුවරු පොදි බැඳගෙන අපට සම්බන්ධ වී අපට විශාල ලෙස සහයෝගය දුන්නා. ගුරුවරුන්ගේ පඩි ගැන දයාරත්ත කමිටුව නිර්දේශ වශයක් ඉදිරිපත් කර තිබෙනවා. ඒවා ක්‍රියාත්මක කර ඒ අයගේ පඩි වැඩි කරන ලෙස මා මේ අවස්ථාවේදී මතක් කරනවා. ගුරුවරයා සාමාන්‍ය ජනතාවට හුඟක් සමීපයි. ලංකාවේ ගුරුවරු බටහිර ආසියාවේ හොඳම ගුරුවරු හැටියට හඳුන්වනවා. තයිප්‍රීයාව සහ මැදපෙරදිග රටවල් අපේ ගුරුවරුන්ට ලංකාවේ මුදලින් තම රු. 40,000 ක 60,000 ක වැටුපක් ගෙවනවා. එවැනි මට්ටමකයි ලංකාවේ ගුරුවරුන් ඉන්නේ. ගුරුවරුන්ටත් සහනයක් සලස්වන ලෙසයි මා මතක් කරන්නේ.

පාඩුවට පත්වූයෙහි යන රජයේ සංස්ථා ගැන වත්තල ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා (ජේ. ඒ. ඒ. අමරතුංග මහතා) කථා කළා. පාඩුවට දුටු සංස්ථා ගැන මා රජයට අදහසක් දෙන්න කැමතියි. මේ ආණ්ඩුව බලයට පත් වුණම අධ්‍යාපනය, ආයුර්වේදය සහ පොල් කර්මාන්තය යනාදියට—ඒවා ප්‍රාණවත් කරන්නට—“ප්‍රොජෙක්ට් මිනිස්ට්‍රිස්” ඇති කළා. ඒ ව්‍යාපෘති අමාත්‍යාංශ තුළින් පසුගිය කාලය ඇතුළත ඒ ක්ෂේත්‍රයන්හි විශාල දියුණුවක් ඇති වී තිබෙනවා. පාඩුවට දුටු සංස්ථාවල සහායවරුන්ට සහ අධ්‍යක්ෂ මණ්ඩලය ගිණුම් වාර්තා ඉදිරිපත් කරමින් හරියාකාරව තම වගකීම ඉෂ්ට කරන්නේ නැත්නම් ඒවා කර්මාන්ත අමාත්‍යාංශයෙන් හෝ වෙනත් අදාල අමාත්‍යාංශවලින් ඉවත් කර ඒවා සඳහා වෙනම ව්‍යාපෘති අමාත්‍යාංශ ඇති කර අපේ දේශපාලනඥයින්ගේ මාර්ගයෙන් ඒවා ප්‍රාණවත් කරන්නට පුළුවන්කම තිබෙන බව මා සතුටින් මතක් කරනවා.

සංවර්ධන සහ ක්‍රමය ගැනත් පොඩි දුර්වලකමක් තිබෙනවා. ඇත්ත වශයෙන්ම සංවර්ධන සහ ක්‍රමය ඉතාම වැදගත්. මුදල් පාලනය ප්‍රාදේශීය සහායවලට විමර්ශන කරනවා නම් ඒ ප්‍රදේශවල මන්ත්‍රීවරුන්ටත් ගම්කාරය සහ ජනකවලටත් මීට වඩා කඩිනමින් වැඩ කරන්නට පුළුවන් බව මා මතක් කරනවා. දැනට තිබෙන තත්ත්වය අනුව කුරුණෑගල උදාහරණයක් හැටියට ගත්තොත්, අපේ වැඩ විමර්ශන වුණත් මුදල් පාලනය මධ්‍යගතවී තිබෙන නිසා—මුදල් විමර්ශනවීම විකක් ප්‍රමාද වන නිසා—අපේ වැඩ මක්කොම ප්‍රමාද වෙනවා. ගරු අගමැතිතුමාට මේ තත්ත්වය පහදා දී තිබෙනවා. ඒ සම්බන්ධ ගන්නා පියවර ඉක්මන් කළොත් 1985 වර්ෂයේදී මීට වඩා වැඩි සේවයක් කරන්නට මන්ත්‍රීවරුන්ට පුළුවන් වන බවයි මා මතක් කරන්නේ.

ඊළඟට, අවසාන වශයෙන් පැහැදිලි කරන්නට කල්පනා කරන්නේ මේ සහාය ඉන්න මන්ත්‍රීවරුන්ගේ අයිතිවාසිකමක් ගැනයි. 1970 දී මන්ත්‍රීවරුන්ගේ මාසික දීමනාව වශයෙන් ගෙවීම් රුපියල් හත්සිය පණහක් පමණයි. 1975 දී රුපියල් දහක් ගෙවිලා. දැන් මේ කාලයේ හැටියට අපටත් හරි අමාරුයි. නිදහස් ලංකාව බිහි වෙන්නට ප්‍රථම නම් රාජ්‍ය මන්ත්‍රණ සහායට ඒ ඒ පලාත්වලින් පැමිණියේ ධනපති පවුල්වල උදව්වයි. නමුත් මම හිතන හැටියට අද විරුද්ධ පක්ෂයේත් ආණ්ඩු පක්ෂයේත් ඉන්න මන්ත්‍රීවරුන් අතුරින් 60 ක්, 70 ක්, 100 ක් පමණ දෙනා විශාල ධනයක් ඇති අය නොවෙයි. ඇත්ත වශයෙන්ම මම අද වැඩ කරන හැටියට මට මාසයකට රුපියල් දහදහස් දුන්නත් මදයි. මම ඒ තරම් ප්‍රමාණයක් වැඩ කරනවා. මම පමණක් නොවෙයි, මේ ආණ්ඩුවේ සිටින කැම මන්ත්‍රීවරයෙක්ම වාගේ ඒ විධියට වැඩ කරන නිසා තමයි, මේ රජයෙන් ඊට විශාල සේවයක් සිදු කරන්නට පුළුවන් වී තිබෙන්නේ. අත්ත ඒ ගැන කල්පනා කර බලා අපේ මන්ත්‍රීවරුන්ගේ දීමනා වැඩි කරනවා නම් හොඳයි කියා ප්‍රකාශ කරමින් මගේ වචන ස්වල්පය අවසන් කරනවා.

අ. හා. 3.10

ජ. පී. පෝල් පෙරේරා මහතා (කඩුවෙල)
 (திரு. ஈ. பி. போல் பெரேரா — கடுவலை)
 (Mr. E. P. Paul Perera—Kaduvela)

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I thank you very much for giving me this opportunity to speak.

In evaluating a Budget we should examine its objectives. The social and economic objectives of a Budget as stated by the Hon. Minister of Finance himself are as follows : (1) Maintain the highest viable return of investment, savings and growth in the economy. (2) Increased employment opportunities.

- (3) Reduce the pressure on the balance of payments.
- (4) Maintain reasonable price stability and
- (5) Enhance equality of income distribution and the quality of the life of the people.

Applying the criteria to the present Budget, there is no question that the fiscal policies of the Government have trebled economic growth, halved unemployment, doubled investments while reducing inflation and all this was done, in the words of the Hon. Minister, “amidst a very adverse international economic environment and locally in the country amidst severe droughts, floods, an unprecedented cyclone, growing political violence and ethnic disturbances leading up to the communal riots of July 1983 and terrorism.”

In other words, the success of our fiscal and economic policy can be demonstrated by the resilience of our economy despite the vicissitudes beyond the control of the government. Perhaps if we had the economic policies of the period 1970-77 during the current period of the new Government, it would have resulted in social and political upheavals and breakdown of law and order on a gigantic scale. Whatever the political critics may say about capitalism, socialism etcetera, time alone has proved that the fiscal and economic policies of this government from 1977 up to date have ensured continuous development and economic progress of our country. But for these economic policies we would have been another example like Tanzania, Ethiopia or Mozambique.

At the same time, we must congratulate the Hon. Minister of Finance for the excellent manner in which he managed the fiscal and economic policy of this government right through this period and while moving the economy towards development and growth and employment, he successfully controlled the risk of inflation. It speaks volumes for the united effort of the government of His Excellency the President in achieving this economic miracle amidst the unforeseen problems and possible risk of serious inflation.

In my speech on the Budget of 1983 Mr. Deputy Speaker, I stated as follows :

“It is the duty of all of us in this House, of all shades of opinion in this country, to address our minds to the question of how to prevent waste. If we can avoid this waste by an appreciable percentage, I am sure this Budget and those to come would be the foundation for the economic greatness of our country.”

In his Budget Speech for the year 1985 under the heading Budget Deficit the Hon. Minister of Finance stated that—

“large budget deficits have been a major source of instability in the Sri Lankan economy. They have fuelled inflation and led to high interest rates and the depreciation of the rupee. The impact of a large budget deficit on the system is such that it directly increases the cost of living and reduces incomes and employment in the long run.”

[3. පී. ජෝර්ජ් මහතා]

And in order to prevent this instability of our economy the Hon. Minister of Finance has time and time again pleaded for financial discipline, more financial discipline and still more financial discipline. One of the recommendations he made in this context was that Public Corporations must operate more efficiently and cease to be a burden on the Budget.

The Hon. Minister of Finance focussed attention on public enterprises and the necessity for their satisfactory operation. In his own words he stated that some public enterprises are becoming an intolerable burden on the budget and on the people of this country.

The large allocations to public enterprise directly from the Budget have drastically reduced financial provision for several essential sectors or in the alternative have resulted in increased indirect taxes on the people.

He appealed that less we do something immediately to improve the efficiency of public enterprises, the implications for the future are likely to be serious. The people ultimately have to pay for the sins of commission and omission of Public Corporations. The failure of Corporations to honour their commitments has led to a substantial increase in treasury lending from the advance Account. The net out-payment is now expected to be around Rs. 1,565 Million as against the original estimate of only Rs. 300 Million.

In his Budget Speech for the year 1978 the Hon. Minister of Finance referred to three matters, inter-alia (1) that the last Government had destroyed the administrative system and the administrative structure of this country which was one of the best in Asia if not in the entire Third World, and one of the reasons for the inability of the last Government to get any of its schemes going was due to this destruction of the very foundation of its administrative system which had to implement and execute those schemes; (2) Mismanagement and corruption were rampant in Industrial Corporations at that time. As an example we cite the case of the Textile Mill at Thulhiriya where production had broken down due to indiscipline, unsatisfactory labour relations and bad management. It was operating at less than 20 percent capacity, while the Veyangoda and Pugoda Mills were operating at 40 to 50 per cent capacity in 1977 and (3) that the period 1970-77 had brought about rapid expansion the role of the Public Sector in direct production, distribution and that state Agencies dominated the wholesale and retail, foreign trade, banking and insurance. Their performances affected growth and development and the living standards of the people.

In this Budget speech it was highlighted that in all Corporations there was a depressing phenomenon of a steady deterioration in the standards of management, discipline and an erosion of enterprise autonomy.

In order to improve this situation the new Government in 1977 in its new constitution of 1978, while entrusting Parliament with full control of public finance, empowered the Auditor-General to audit apart from Govt. Departments, the accounts of public corporations and business or other undertakings vested in the Government under any written law. The Constitution also empowered the Auditor-General to report to Parliament within 10 months after close of each financial year on the performance and discharge of his functions of auditing public institutions.

In the year 1978 the new Government established a Special Committee on Public enterprises charged with the responsibility of examining accounts of public corporations and businesses or other undertakings vested in the Government. The Committee on Public Enterprises periodically reports to Parliament its findings on the performances and accounts of public enterprises together with recommendations on improving both performance and their accounting system. The Hon. Minister of Finance too has established a well organized Public Enterprises Division in the Treasury in order to monitor the performance of public enterprises.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the World Bank too examines various aspects of Sri Lanka's economy and reports on the recent economic development prospects and policies of our country annually and in its report of 4th May 1984 stated as follows at paragraph 144 :

"The data presented indicate that Sri Lanka pays a fairly high price given the relative inefficiency of public enterprises in order to achieve the development objectives set for public enterprises by the Government However, what can be said is that with reference to the data the present combination of objectives and industrial policy appears to result in public enterprises requiring twice the capital per employee as the private sector in order to achieve half the labour productivity. Furthermore, it indicates while the private sector output and employment move in the same direction as one would expect, no such trend is observable for public enterprises. Indeed from 1976 to 1977 an increase of 18 per cent in employment was accompanied by a 3 per cent decline in real output, and over the period 1976 to 1979 employment expanded by 59 per cent whereas output grew by 8 percent. There is therefore considerable evidence that the policy framework within which public enterprise investment and production decisions made is extremely costly in terms of efficient use of the country's resources."

Now, Sir, in the same breath, I must refer to a passage from the Budget Speech of the Hon. Minister of Finance of the first United Front Government.

In his Budget Speech of 25.10.70 Dr. N. M. Perera the Minister of Finance of the United Front Government drew special attention to the fact that since 1957 the number of State Corporations and Statutory Boards had increased and Government had made capital contributions and/or loans amounting to a sum of 2,318 million rupees, yet the return from the trading and industrial Corporations have been extremely

disappointing and he diagnosed the reason for this disappointing performance as lack of a business-like approach to the management of these Corporations.

Now, Sir, solutions are many to the problems of the corporations. On another occasion, as I have no time, I will place before this House certain proposals which are based both on local and international studies, the remedies for the improvement of our corporations. But there is one particular remedy to which I must draw the special attention of this House. The hon. Member for Kalawana, and I believe certain other hon. Members of the Opposition, pointed out that in socialist countries there is greater efficiency in the public sector. There is an excellent principle which has been accepted and implemented in socialist countries. For instance, in socialist countries like China, they have special provisions in their Code of Criminal Law with regard to wastage in the public sector.

I will quote to this House Article 155 of the Code of Criminal Law in China which states as follows :

“State personnel who take advantage of their office to engage in corruption involving article of such property are to be sentenced to not more than 5 years of fixed term imprisonment or criminal detention. If the amount involved is huge and circumstances serious the sentence should be not less than 5 years of fixed term imprisonment. If the circumstances are specially serious sentence is life imprisonment or death.”

These provisions appear to explain the success of State enterprises in Socialist countries. I would suggest that these matters be examined with a view to making out State enterprises more successful so that they would strengthen the economy without draining our economy year by year.”

Now, Sir, one two three or three matters which I have been asked to place before this House and for which I would crave your indulgence. First of all, there was an argument by the hon. Member for Attanagalla that this country is dictated to by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. As all those engaged in business enterprises are aware, when Banks give loans to any enterprise, public or private, the lending Bank has a say in the affairs of such enterprise, as a matter of financial prudence. The ideal situation would be to refrain from obtaining loans from Banks. This was the position of Sri Lanka in the period up to 1956. In support of this I quote an extract from the Budget Speech of Dr. N. M. Perera, Minister of Finance of the United Front Government, dated 25.10.1970. He said as follows : (*Interruption*) That is your Colleague, your Minister.

සරත් මුත්තේවෙගම මහතා
(திரு. சரத் முத்தேட்டுவெகம)
(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

Is it Paul Perera or N. M. Perera ?

ජී. පී. පෝල් පෙරේරා මහතා
(திரு. ஈ. பீ. போல் பெரேரா)
(Mr. E. P. Paul Perera)

It does not matter. All Perera's are like that ! (*Interruption*) I know it hurts but I am telling you the truth. He says :

“In the period 1954 to 1956 external assets rose to 1275.7 million. Stanley Zoysa took over in 1956 and assets dropped to 532 Million. They were literally frittered away by short-sighted consumption expenditure. There was little development. The situation became so difficult that the Government was compelled to go to the I.M.F. in 1961”.

Of course, Dr. Perera while being the Finance Minister of the United Front Government was blaming in effect the policies of the late Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike for the frittering away of our external assets from 1956, that compelled the Government to seek financial assistance from the I.M.F. He, however, very cleverly like many of his younger Colleagues overlooked the true reason for the running down of the economy after 1956 and glossed over the fact that in the period 1956 to 1958 there were 958 strikes and in the period 1960 to 1964 1022 strikes and thus in the period 1956 to 1964 there was a total of 2,007 strikes.

One last matter I must come to is the Greater Colombo Economic Commission because everybody referred to it.

සරත් මුත්තේවෙගම මහතා
(திரு. சரத் முத்தேட்டுவெகம)
(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

Come back there ?

ජී. පී. පෝල් පෙරේරා මහතා
(திரு. ஈ. பீ. போல் பெரேரா)
(Mr. E. P. Paul Perera)

I might. The hon. Member for Kalawana and the hon. Member for Maharagama -

සරත් මුත්තේවෙගම මහතා
(திரு. சரத் முத்தேட்டுவெகம)
(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

The hon. Member for Kaduwela just now and said that I must go to the GCEC. I do not know whether he said I must come back to the GCEC or -

නියෝජ්‍ය කථනායකතුමා
(பிரதிச் சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)
(Mr. Deputy Speaker)

It is left to him.

ජී. පී. පෝල් පෙරේරා මහතා
(திரு. ஈ. பீ. போல் பெரேரா)
(Mr. E. P. Paul Perera)

Why, you came once and wanted employment !

සරත් මුත්තේවෙගම මහතා
(திரு. சரத் முத்தேட்டுவெகம)
(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

You did not give it !

ජ. පී. පෝල් පෙරේරා මහතා
(திரு. ஈ. பீ. போல் பெரேரா)
(Mr. E. P. Paul Perera)

Why not, I gave two people !

සරත් මුත්තේටුවෙගම මහතා
(திரு. சரத் முத்தேட்டுவெகம)
(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)
Not for me.

ಶಿවේජ් කථනායකතුමා
(யிரதிச் சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)
(Mr. Deputy Speaker)
Please go on.

ජ. පී. පෝල් පෙරේරා මහතා
(திரு. ஈ. பீ. போல் பெரேரா)
(Mr. E. P. Paul Perera)

Sir, there were two references. One at least was the common reference was that the hon. Member for Maharagama took up the position that in an article of the "Christian Worker", the nett profit of the Free Trade Zone had increased from 2 per cent to 9 per cent but the profits and royalties and other payments were all sent out by the foreigners. Now, Sir, let me give you the statistics so that the statistics will speak for themselves and I will not waste the time of this House.

The position is this. There are 112 agreements signed by the Greater Colombo Economic Commission since 1978 for the establishment of investment in the Free Trade Zone. Out of this total of 112 agreements, garment enterprises amount to 42. The non-garment enterprises amount to 70. Now it will be seen, Sir, over the period of years from 1978 to 1984 - this includes January to November 1984 also - the non-garment enterprises are beginning to be the majority. There is a good reason for this. Although the hon. Members of the Opposition were trying to say that the Free Trade Zone is a tailoring establishment, it was so at the start. All the Free Trade Zones start like that because that is the easiest investment. But gradually when the infrastructure starts expanding and developing and the skills of our work force improves, then the non-garment enterprises come in. And they have come.

සරත් මුත්තේටුවෙගම මහතා
(திரு. சரத் முத்தேட்டுவெகம)
(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

He says it improved after he left.

ජ. පී. පෝල් පෙරේරා මහතා
(திரு. ஈ. பீ. போல் பெரேரா)
(Mr. E. P. Paul Perera)

Yes, maybe. All of us are like that. It is only after you left, the country improved ! So it is like that.

Now, Sir, there are 42 government enterprises and 70 non-government enterprises. It will be seen, therefore, that it is not correct to say that it is a tailoring

establishment. The second matter is the employment. If you take the employment figure, according to the Economic performance in the first half of 1984 33,017 persons are employed at this moment. That is, direct employment. I have got the Report with me. Certain factories have closed down. There are casualties in any Free Trade Zone. You would have heard, Sir, in the Rollei Industry of Germany and so on there are casualties. All investments do not materialise. certain investments break down. More so when the collaboration is local and international. Always when there is a collaboration, depending on the strength of the collaboration agreement between the shareholders, if the agreement is strong then it goes on. But if there are gap in the collaboration agreement, which is not the fault of government or the G. C. E. C., but really the partners themselves or their lawyers, then the collaboration agreement becomes the subject matter of litigation or dispute the thing breaks down. That is what has happening in Samalanka. That has happened in several cases, but despite those breaks and interruptions substantially the FTZ has held and it has given 33,017 jobs today, in addition to about 60,000 odd in-direct employment. So, a total of about 100,000 persons are dependent on the Free Trade Zone at Katunayake.

It was also pointed out and I agree that one of those criteria is absolutely a must because a national enterprise, a development project of the nature of the FTZ, cannot merely be in a place where investors come and invest, give employment and take their profits home. No. We have much better standards. So that is why the Hon. Minister of Finance, when the hon. Member for Maharagama was speaking asked, "What is the nett foreign exchange value ?" he was unable to give the answer. I then propose to give the answer from the statistics, again. It started in 1978. The Law was passed in January 1978. The infrastructure was built up and in June 1979 it started production. In 1979 we had Rs. 30 million by way of nett foreign exchange earnings ; in 1980 we had Rs. 190.6 million nett foreign exchange earnings ; in 1981 we had Rs. 290.6 million ; million ; in 1982 Rs. 436.9 million ; in 1983, the year I left, that is January to June, the first half was Rs. 375.9 million. (*Interruption*) I am giving the official figures not from the Bank. These are figures of the Greater Colombo Economic Commission.

January to June 1983 actuals Rs. 375.9 million. Then July to December Rs.500 million. That is a total of almost Rs. 900 million nett foreign exchange. The total for these five years-1978 to 1983-amounted to Rs. 1,822.3 million. That is the nett foreign exchange earnings. One last statistic. It was also said that this was a sweat shop. As you are aware in this country a government worker, under the Wages Board, in 1977 was in receipt of a salary of only Rs. 8.70 per day. As a result of the G. C. E. C.'s operation and the F. T. Z.

today a worker gets a wage of Rs. 620 a month as a trainee. As an unskilled worker also he gets Rs. 620. As a semi-skilled worker he gets Rs. 685. In the non-G. C. E. C. sector today the amount paid is Rs. 500 for a trainee, Rs. 550 for a non-skilled worker and Rs. 570 for a semi-skilled worker. These will show you that even the establishment of the free trade zone was a catalyst in the improvement of wages. As the Hon. Minister of Lands very rightly said, if these were not there, where would those 100,000 people be ? That is a question we have to answer.

Take the case of Cuba. Take the case of China. They have themselves started the free trade zones, which are competing with us. People prefer to go there than to come here. Those socialist countries are also beginning to advocate the cause of the free trade zones. They are socialist countries but certain Members in the Opposition take the view that these are bad things. I must congratulate in this context the hon. Member for Matugama, who in his wisdom and experience agrees with the open economic policy of the Government and supports the free trade zone. It was the S.L.F.P which in 1974 started the preliminary study for the establishment of a free trade zone. They obtained experts from Shannon to make the study.

Sir, there are two other matters. It was suggested by the hon. Member for Kalawana that our education policy is a failure. I shall give you the figures. For instance, in 1979 we had 9,626 schools, in 1980 9,794 schools, in 1981 9,789 schools, in 1982 9,901 schools and in 1983 we had 9,947 schools.

සරත් මුත්තේවුට්ටෙගම මහතා
(திரு. சரத் முத்தேட்டுவெகம)
(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

Compared with the increase in the school-going population you will find that it is nothing !

ජී. පී. පෝල් පෙරේරා මහතා
(திரு. க. பீ. போல் பெரேரா)
(Mr. E. P. Paul Perera)

They have rationalized the whole system. There are reforms introduced. So the fact is that unit-wise this government has improved the educational facilities for the children of this country. All in all we cannot always comfort the hon. Member for Kalawana. He believes that the means of ownership, production, exchange and distribution should all belong to the state.

සරත් මුත්තේවුට්ටෙගම මහතා
(திரு. சரத் முத்தேட்டுவெகம)
(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

To the people.

ජී. පී. පෝල් පෙරේරා මහතා
(திரு. க. பீ. போல் பெரேரா)
(Mr. E. P. Paul Perera)

“people” mean the members of the communist party in Russia. Then, of course, if you fail you will be shot and that is the provision in your own criminal law. That

is the example of China that I quoted to this house. We believe in a free economy, we believe in freedom and we believe in democracy. So the clash continues and it goes on.

Thank you, Sir.

නියෝජ්‍ය කථානායකතුමා
(பிரதிச் சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)
(Mr. Deputy Speaker)

The hon. Member for Hanguranketa is not here. The hon. District Minister for Trincomalee.

අ. හ. 3.38

එම්. ජී. පී. නෙල්සන් මහතා (ත්‍රිකුණාමලය දිසා ඇමතිතුමා)
(திரு. எச். ஜி. பீ. நெல்சன் — திருகோணமலை மாவட்ட அமைச்சர்)
(Mr. H. G. P. Nelson—District Minister, Trincomalee)
ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය කථානායකතුමා, මට මේ අවස්ථාව ලබා දීම ගැන තමුන්හාත්සේව මා විශේෂයෙන් සතුකිවන්න වෙතවා.

කෘෂිකාර්මික දිස්ත්‍රික්කයක් වන පොළොන්නරුව ප්‍රදේශයේ ගොවි ජනතාවට මේ අට වෙනි අයවැය යෝජනා තුළින් සහන රාශියක් ලබා දීම ගැන ගරු මුදල් ඇමතිතුමාට විශේෂයෙන් මගේ ගෞරවය පිරිනමනවා. ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය කථානායකතුමා, අපි දන්නා පරිදි මේ රටේ ගොවි ජනතාවටත්, කෘෂිකාර්මික කටයුතු සඳහාත් දැනෙන මුදල් ප්‍රමාණයක් වෙන් කර දී තිබෙන්නේ එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂ රජයත් මගින් පමණයි. එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයේ දිවංගත මහාමාත්‍ය ඩී. එස්. සේනානායක මැතිතුමාගේ කාලයේ සිට පත් වූ දැම මුදල් ඇමතිවරයෙක්ම මේ රටේ කෘෂිකාර්මයට විශේෂ තැනක් ලබා දී තිබෙනවා. දිවංගත ඩී. එස්. සේනානායක මැතිතුමා එදා හාල් දේරුව සහ 10 ක්ව තිබුණු කාලයේදී, පොළොන්නරුව පරාක්‍රම සමුද්‍රය, මින්නේරිය ව්‍යාපාරය, ගිරිතලේ ව්‍යාපාරය පමණක් නොව මුදු ලංකාව පුරාම තිබෙන දැම වැව් අමුණුත්ම පිළිසකර කළේ මේ රටේ වැඩිවන ජනතාවට ඉදුම් - හිටුම් සහ කැමට සිංහල යාලු බත් දෙන්නට මිනිසුන් කිසි අදහසකින්ම මේ රට ස්වයංසේවකයන් කරන්න පුළුවන් වන්නේ කෘෂිකාර්මාන්තයෙන් පමණයි කියා එතුමා කල්පනා කලා. එතුමාගේ ඒ ක්‍රියා කලාපය ඩිවිලි සේනානායක මැතිතුමාගේ අනුගමනය කලා. ඒ වාගේම අති ගරු ජනාධිපතිතුමාගේ රජය මගින් මාදුරු මස ජලාශය සකස් කලා. එය තිබෙන්නේ මගේ මැතිවරණ කොට්ඨාශයේ. මහා පැරකුම්බා රජ්ජරුවන් අභිබවා ඇති කර තිබෙන ඒ ජලාශය කියා පවුල් 50,000 ක් පදිංචි කරන්නටත්, අක්කර 1,25,000 ක් සංවර්ධනය කරන්නටත් හැකි වෙනවා. දැනටමත් පවුල් ගණනාවක් වාර්ෂිකව ක්‍රමයෙන් එහි පදිංචි කර තිබෙනවා. විරුද්ධ පක්ෂය අද වාගේම එදත් ඩී. එස්. සේනානායක මැතිතුමාට සමවිචල් කලා. හැන්සාඩ් වාර්තාවලින් අපි ඒවා කියව්වා. එදත් එතුමාගේ ව්‍යාපාරවලට විරුද්ධව කථා කර තිබෙනවා. අයවැය ලේඛනවලට විරුද්ධව කථා කර තිබෙනවා. “කැලෑ ජෝන් කියන මනුෂ්‍යයා එස්. ඩී. එස්. සේනානායක මැතිතුමාට මූලාකරණයක් වියදම් කරන්න යනවා. මේ රටේ ජනතාව මූලාකරණය යනවා” කියා එද සිටි එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා මහත්මයා, කොල්ලීන් ආර. ද දිල්වා මහත්මයා, දෙසතර එස්. ඒ ඇස්. වික්‍රමසිංහ මහත්මයා මේ පාර්ලිමේන්තුවේදී කථා කර තිබෙනවා. ඒවා හැන්සාඩ් වාර්තාවල සඳහන් වී තිබෙනවා.

නියෝජ්‍ය කථානායකතුමා
(பிரதிச் சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)
(Mr. Deputy Speaker)

Order Please. The Hon. Speaker will not take the Chair.

අනතුරුව නියෝජ්‍ය කථානායකතුමා මූලාකරණයෙන් ඉවත් වූයෙන්, කථානායකතුමා [ඒ. එල්. සේනානායක මහතා] මූලාකරණයට විය.

ஆதன் பிறகு, பிரதிச் சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள் அக்கிரமத்தின்பின்பு அகலவே, சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள் [திரு. க. எல். சேனநாயக்க] தலைமை வகித்தார்கள்.

Whereupon MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER left the Chair, and [MR. SPEAKER E. L. SENANAYAKE] took the Chair.

එච්. ජී. පී. නෙල්සන් මහතා
(ශ්‍රී ලං. ආණ්. සේ. ජී. බ්‍රහ්මචාරී)
(Mr. H. G. P. Nelson)

මා මේ අවස්ථාවේදී ඉතාමත් සත්කෝෂ වෙනවා, කථානායකතුමා මේ සභාවට පැමිණීම ගැන. ඔබතුමා කෘෂිකර්ම ඇමතිවරයෙක්ව සිටි කාලය තුළත් මේ රටේ කෘෂිකර්මාන්තය තහා සිටුවීමට කොටස් කරුවෙක්ව සිටියා. ගරු කථානායකතුමා, එද ඒ නායකයින් සමච්චලයට පත් කලා වාගේ අදත් මේ මාදුරු මය ජලාශය, කොන්මලේ ජලාශය, වික්ටෝරියා ජලාශය වැනි කටයුතු කීර්මේදී විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ මන්ත්‍රීවරුන් සමච්චල් කලා. අපේ මහවැලි ඇමති ගාමිණී දිසානායක ඇමතිතුමා පරිපූරක ඇස්තමේන්තුවක් ඉදිරිපත් කල අවස්ථාවේදී අත්තහැල්ල ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා (ලක්ෂ්මන් ජයකොඩි මහතා) එයට නොයෙක් නොයෙක් දේ කීවා. ඒ අවස්ථාවේදී මම අත්තහැල්ල ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමාට කීවා, අපේ මාදුරු මය ජලාශය බලා ඇවිත් මෙතන කථා කරන්න කියා. අන්ත ඒ වාගේ මේ රටේ කෘෂිකර්මයට විරුද්ධව කථා කරන අය තමයි, විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ එදත් සිටියේ ; අදත් ඉන්නේ. මේ රටේ කෘෂිකර්මාන්තය දියුණු කරන්නට ඒ අය කැමති නැහැ. මේ රටේ සහල් නිපදවනවා වෙනුවට බුරුමයෙන් සහ චීනයෙන් සහල් ගෙන්වා මේ රටේ ජනතාවට කන්නට දීමයි. ඒ අය බලාපොරොත්තු වෙන්නේ. අන්ත ඒ කාරණය අපි කියන්නට ඕනෑ. විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ අද සිටින මන්ත්‍රීවරුන්ගේ සහභාගිත්වයෙන් පැවති ආණ්ඩු කීපයක් මේ රටේ තිබුණා. විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ ඒ එකම ආණ්ඩුවකින්වත් මේ රටේ බැන්ද වැටක් ගැනක් හෝ හැදු ජලාශයක් ගැන හෝ අපට නම් කියන්නට පුළුවන්කමක් නැහැ. නමුත් මේ රටේ කෘෂිකර්මයට විශේෂ තැනක් ලබා දෙන මේ එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂ රජයේ ගරු මුදල් ඇමතිතුමා ජල සම්පාදනය සඳහා විශාල මුදලක් වෙන් කර තිබෙනවා. 1970 සිට 1977 දක්වා පැවති බණ්ඩාරනායක මැතිනියගේ රජය කාලයේදී මේ රටේ කෘෂිකර්මාන්තයේ නියුතු ජනතාවට පොහොර විකක් ලබා ගන්නට තිබුණේ නැහැ. වැවක වතුර විකක් ලබා ගන්නට තිබුණේ නැහැ. යලත් නැති වුණා ; මහත් නැති වුණා.

අපේ රජය බලයට පත් වුණට පසුව මේ රටේ කෘෂිකර්ම ඇමතිවරයා වශයෙන් පත් වුණේ දැනට කථානායක ධුරය දරන ඒ. එල්. සේනානායක මැතිතුමායි. අපේ අතිගරු ජනාධිපතිතුමා එතුමාට කෘෂිකර්ම ඇමති ධුරය - ඒ හාරදුර කටයුත්ත - හර දුන්නාට පස්සේ එතුමා වහාම පොළොන්නරුව, අම්පාර, ත්‍රිකුණාමලය, හම්බන්තොට, නිස්සමහාරාම වැනි කෘෂිකර්මික ප්‍රදේශවලට ගෙලිකොප්ටරයෙන් ගොස් ඒ ප්‍රදේශවල අඩුපාඩුකම් යොයා බැලුවා. ඒ අවස්ථාවේදී එතුමා ඒ ප්‍රදේශවල ගොවියන් රැස්කර ඒ උදවියගේ අඩුපාඩුකම් මොනවාද කියා විමසූ විට " අනේ ගරු ඇමතිතුමනි, පසුගිය කාලය තුළදී අපට පොහොර විකක්, උදල්ලක් නබා අමුඩ ලේන්සුවකින්වත් ලැබුණේ නැහැ. අපි බොහොම දුක සේ නමයි. ගොවිතැන් කටයුතු කරගෙන යන්නේ. ගොවිතැන්වල අස්වැන්නවත් අපට ලබා ගන්නට පුළුවන්කමක් නැහැයි කියන එක ඒ ගොවි මහත්වරු ප්‍රකාශ කලා. ඒ අවස්ථාවේදී එතුමා ක්‍රියාත්මක වුණා. මට කියන්නට පුදුමයි. මොන ආකාරයෙන්ද දන්නේ නැහැ. සිරිමා බණ්ඩාරනායක මැතිනියගේ ආණ්ඩුව පරාජය වී මාස දෙකක් ගත වෙන්නටත් කලින් ගොවි ජනතාවට අවශ්‍ය උදුළු, පොහොර යනාදී දෑ දෙයක්ම කිසිම අපහසුවක් නැතිව ඒ ගොවි ජනතාවට ලබා ගැනීමට අවස්ථාව සැලසුවා. දුම්රිය දෙපාර්තමේන්තුවේ වැගන් දහසයකින් අපේ ප්‍රදේශයට පොහොර යැවීමට එතුමා කටයුතු කර තිබුණා. පසුගිය රජය කාලයේදී පැවති තත්ත්වය මේ අනුව හිතා ගන්නට පුළුවනි.

එපමණක් නොවෙයි, ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, එද පරාක්‍රම සමුද්‍රයේ වතුර තිබුණේ නැහැ. වතුර වික බෙද හැරීමට බොහොම කරදර ඇති වුණා. එද කෘෂිකර්ම ඇමතිවරයා වශයෙන් කටයුතු කළේ කොබ්බෑකඩුව මැතිතුමායි. එතුමා ඒ ප්‍රදේශය ගැන කිසිම දෙයක් දන්නේ නැහැ. ඒ නිසා පරාක්‍රම සමුද්‍රයේ වතුර සිඳි ගොස් තිබුණා. එයට ජලය ලබා ගන්නා හැටි දැන ගෙන සිටියේ නැහැ. වාර්මාර්ග ඇමතිවරයා හැටියට කටයුතු කළේ මැදවර්වියේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රී මෙහේසාල සේනානායක මහත්මයායි. එතුමාත් ඒ ප්‍රදේශය ගැන යොයා බැලුවේ නැහැ. ඒ නිසා ඒ ප්‍රදේශයේ ජනතාවට යල් කන්නයත්, මාස් කන්නයත් දෙකම නැති වුණා. ඒ ප්‍රදේශයේ ගොවීන්ට වතුර වික බෙද හැරීමේදී නොයෙක් නොයෙක් ප්‍රශ්න ඇති වුණා. සමහර රාත්‍රි කාලවලදී සොරොවි ලහ නිදා ගන්නට සිදු වුණා. එපමණක් නොවෙයි, වතුර බෙද හැරීමේදී පොලීසියේ ආරක්ෂාව ලබා දෙන්නටත් සිදු වුණා. එවැනි යුගයකයි, එද අපි ජීවත් වුණේ.

අද විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීවරුන් බොහොම ලොකුවට හාල් ගැන කථා කරනවා. නොයෙක් නොයෙක් සංවර්ධන වැඩ ගැන කථා කරනවා. එද නමුත්තාත්සේලාගේ කාලයේදී කන්න තිබුණේ නැහැ ; අදත්ත තිබුණේ නැහැ ; නිෂ්පාදනයක් තිබුණේ නැහැ. අන්ත ඒ නිසා තමයි, ජාතියේ ජනට පහල වූ අතිගරු ජනාධිපතිතුමාගේ රජය යටතේ අද මේ රටේ ජනතාවට හොඳ ජීවිත ගත කීරීමට අවස්ථාව ලැබී තිබෙන්නේ. හැම කෙනෙකුටම කඩසකට හියාම ඕනෑම බඩුවක් ගන්නට අවස්ථාව ලබා දී තිබෙනවා. එද ගුවන් විදුලි යන්ත්‍රයක් වැනි දෙයක් ගන්න පුළුවන් වුණේ සමහර විට කුරුදුවත්ත පැත්තේ ජීවත්වෙන පවුල්වලට පමණයි. නමුත් අද ඕනෑම කෙනෙකුට ගුවන් විදුලි යන්ත්‍රයක් වැනි දෙයක් ගන්න පුළුවන්කම තිබෙනවා.

අපේ ප්‍රදේශවල සිසු දරුවන්ට එද පොත් පත් පාඨම් කරන්න සිදු වුණේ කුප්පි ලාම්පුවේ එලියෙනුයි. නමුත් අද අපේ ප්‍රදේශයේ හැම ගමකටම වාගේ විදුලි එලිය ලබා දී තිබෙනවා. කලවාන ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා (සරත් මුත්තේටුවගම මහතා) ශිෂ්‍යයන් ගැන කථා කලා. අපේ අතිගරු ජනාධිපතිතුමාගේ රජයෙන් තමයි පාසල් සිසුන්ට නොමිලේ පොත් ලබා දෙන්නට කටයුතු කළේ. අද දැම ලමයෙක්ම - දුප්පත් පැල්පතේ සිටින ලමයින් පවා - පාසල් යනවා. එසේ පාසල් ගොස් උසස් අධ්‍යාපනයක් පවා ලබා ගන්නවා. අපේ ජාතික ආරක්ෂක ඇමතිතුමා විසින් ඇති කරන ලද ශිෂ්‍යත්ව ක්‍රමය තුළින් අද මගේ මැතිවරණ කොට්ඨාශයේ දොස්තරවරුන් දෙදෙනෙක් බිහි වී ඉන්නවා. ඒ ශිෂ්‍යත්ව ක්‍රමය නිසා පුහුණුව ලැබූ ඒ දොස්තරවරුන් දෙදෙනාගෙන් එක් කෙනෙක් බදුල්ලේත් අනිත් එක්කෙනා බණ්ඩාරවෙලේත් අද සේවය කරනවා. කෘෂිකර්ම අංශයේ පමණක් නොව අනික් දැම අංශයකම සංවර්ධනයට අතිගරු ජනාධිපතිතුමාගේ රජයෙන් විශාල ධනස්කන්ධයක් වියදම් කරන නිසයි, අද එවැනි තත්ත්වයක් ඇති වී තිබෙන්නේ.

ඒ අතර අද මේ රටේ හැම තැනම පාගේ ගොඩනැගිලි ඉදි වෙනවා. අද නැති - බැරිකම හුඟක් දුරට අඩු වී තිබෙනවා. දිසා ඇමති හැටියට ත්‍රිකුණාමලය ගැනත්, ප්‍රදේශයේ මන්ත්‍රීවරයා වශයෙන් පොළොන්නරුව ගැනත් මම හොඳ දන්නවා. ඒ ප්‍රදේශවල ජීවත් වූ දරුවන් ඒ දවස්වල පොල් අතු පැල්පත්වල ඉඳගෙන උඵ ගෙවල් දිනා බලා හිල්ලුවා. " අනේ අපට කවදද, උඵ ගෙයකට යන්න ලැබෙන්නේ ? " කියා. ගරු අග්‍රාමාත්‍යතුමාගේ නිවාස දස ලක්ෂයේ ව්‍යාපාරය තුළින්, උදගම් සංකල්පය තුළින් අද ඒ දරුවන්ගේ සිහින සිතූම්-පැතුම් සැබෑ බවට පත් වී තිබෙනවා. මෙතෙක් කල් හිසට නියම හෙවතක් නොතිබුණු අපේ ප්‍රදේශයේ හැම ගොවි පවුලකටම වාගේ අද නිවහනක් ලැබී තිබෙනවා. අතිගරු ජනාධිපති උතුමාණන්ගේ නායකත්වයෙන් යුත් අපේ රජය කටයුතු කරගෙන යන්නේ මේ රටේ දුගී - දුප්පත්කම නැතිකර මනුෂ්‍යයන් හැටියට ජීවත් වීමට අපේ රටවැසියන්ට මාර්ගය සලස්වන්නයි.

නමුත් අද ඇති වී තිබෙන්නේ මොන තත්ත්වයක්ද ? අපේ රජය ගෙන යන ඒ සංවර්ධන ව්‍යාපාරයට විරුද්ධව සටන් කරමින්, ඒ සංවර්ධනය කඩාසැල්කර කර දමීමට දකුණේ ත්‍රස්තවාදීන් උතුරේ ත්‍රස්තවාදීන් හා එකතු වී තිබෙනවා. ඇත්ත වශයෙන්ම අපි ඒ ගැන කනගාටු වෙනවා.

විශේෂයෙන් උතුරේ ජනතාව මොන දේකට සටන් කරනවාදයි අපට නේරෙන්නේ නැහැ. පසුගිය අවුරුදු හත තුළම ඔවුන්ගේ අයිතියාධිකම් පමණක් නොව වරප්‍රසාද පවා මේ රජයෙන් ලබා දී තිබෙනවා. එවැනි තත්ත්වයක් තිබේදදින්, උතුරේ සාමය රැකීම සඳහා හිය පොලිස් හටයන් හා යොල්දුටුන් පිරිසක් ඒයේත්, පෙරේදත් ඒ ත්‍රස්තවාදීන් විසින් මරා දමනු ලැබ තිබෙනවා. රට වෙනුවෙන් දීවී පිදු ඒ විරෝධය ශ්‍රේෂ්ඨ හටයන්ට මේ අවස්ථාවේදී අපේ උපහාරය පුද කරන්න කැමැතියි.

ඒ අතර මේ අවස්ථාවේදී ගරු මුදල් ඇමතිතුමාගෙන් කාරුණික ඉල්ලීමක් කරන්න තිබෙනවා. අපේ ප්‍රදේශය කෘෂිකර්මික ප්‍රදේශයක්. ඒ නිසා අපේ ප්‍රදේශයේ ගොවීන් බොහෝ විට වෑන්ටර් මිල ගැන අපේත් ප්‍රශ්න කරනවා. ඒ අයට වුවමනා කරන්නේ " මැයි පර්ගියුසන් " වගේ විශාල වෑන්ටර් නොව " කුබෝවා " වැනි කුඩා අත් වෑන්ටරුයි. ඒ නිසා ඒ කුඩා වෑන්ටර්වල මිල අඩු කීරීම සඳහා පියවර ගන්නා හැටියට එතුමාගෙන් ඉල්ලා සිටිනවා.

අපේ ගරු මුදල් ඇමතිතුමා මෙවර ඉදිරිපත් කල අයවැය ලේඛනය කොයි තරම් ජනප්‍රිය එකක්ද කීවොත් ආණ්ඩු පක්ෂයේ මන්ත්‍රීවරුන්ට අද තමන්ගේ ජන්ද කොට්ඨාශවලට හය තැනිට යන්න පුළුවන්කම ලැබී තිබෙන බව විශේෂයෙන් මේ අවස්ථාවේදී සඳහන් කරන්න කැමතියි.

පාර්ලිමේන්තුව හඳුනා කොට ගිලා බහිතවිය කිවිණ. මහවැලි ගඟ ගැන කතා කරන විට නමුත්තාත්සේලා මොනවාද කිවිණ? " ස්වකල කන්දෙන් පටන්ගෙන මහවැලි ගඟ තොමෝ තීදුකින් ගලා බසින්නිය. ගාමිණී දිසානායක ජේ. ආර්. ජයවර්ධන සැලසුම් හඳුන්වූයේ " අද ගලා බහිතවාද? කොත්මලෙන් රැක්කා, පොල්ගොල්ලෙන් රැක්කා, වික්ටෝරියාවෙන් රැක්කා, රන්දෙහිගලින් රැක්කා, කන්තලෙන් රැක්කා, මිනිපෙන් රැක්කා. අවුරුදු හයක් තුළ මහවැලි ගඟ පස් පොළකින් රැක තිබෙනවා. " ගලා බසින්නිය " කිවිණ. මේවාට එද හිඟ වුණේ. පාර්ලිමේන්තුව ගිලා බැස තිබෙනවා කිවිණ. මේ මිනිස්සු කියාපු දෙවල් දත් අවුරුද්දෙන් අවුරුද්ද මසින් මස දටසින් දටස පැයෙන් පැය මොහොතක් මොහොත බොරුවෙන් බොරු බවට පත්වෙගෙන යනවා. අද ඒ අයට ඉන්න බැහැ. රත්වෙලා දඟලනවා.

ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදී රටවල මේක වෙලා තිබෙනවා. මේ ලක්ෂණ ඒවායේ දකින්න තිබෙනවා. ඉතාලියේ රතුකල්ලිය මේ ඇත්තෝ හැදුවේ—

එම්. හලීම් ඉෂාක් මහතා
(ജസ്‍මු අ.එම්. ඉෂාක් (Haleem Ishak))
(Mr. M. Haleem Ishak)
වෙන ගාණවකින් කතා කරන්න.

ඒ. එම්. ආර්. බී. අත්තනායක මහතා
(ති.රු. අ. අ. එම්. ආර්. බී. අත්තනායක)
(Mr. A. M. R. B. Attanayake)

වෙන ගාණවකින් කතා කරනව මෙතැනින් පිටදී නම්, ඉතාලියේ රතු කල්ලිය හැදුවේ මේ ඇත්තෝ. ජර්මනියේ බඩාර් මේන්තෝන් හැදුවේ මේ කට්ටිය. නමුත් ඒ ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදී රටවල අද මේ කට්ටියගේ පස්ස බිම ඇතිලා. තුස්තවාදය අද ඒවායේ සම්පූර්ණයෙන්ම අසාර්ථක වෙලා. ප්‍රබල ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදී රටක කවදවත් තුස්තවාදය ක්‍රියාත්මක කරන්න බැහැ.

රිචඩ් පතිරණ මහතා
(ති.රු. ආර්. එම්. පතිරණ)
(Mr. Richard Pathirana)
වතුර විකක් බලා ඉන්න.

ඒ. එම්. ආර්. බී. අත්තනායක මහතා
(ති.රු. අ. අ. එම්. ආර්. බී. අත්තනායක)
(Mr. A. M. R. B. Attanayake)

ප්‍රබල ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදී රටක මෙතෙක් ඉතිහාසයේ තුස්තවාදියන් තුස්තවාදී අදහසක් තුස්තවාදී පුද්ගලයෙක් ජය අරන් බැහැ. මම ඒ බව තමුත්තාත්සේලා පෙන්වා දෙන්නම්. මේ තුස්තවාදියෝ කවුද? අද අපේ ගරු මුදල් ඇමතිතුමා මවුන් මැඩපැවැත්වීම සඳහා ලංකා ඉතිහාසයෙහි පළමුවැනි වතාවට මෙතෙක් යොදන්න පුළුවන් වුණු මුදල් සම්භාරයෙන් විශාලම ප්‍රමාණයක් වැය කර තිබෙනවා. ලෝකයේ දියුණු ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදී සමාජවාදී සියලුම රාජ්‍යයන්ගෙන් ආධාර ලබාගෙනයි එතුමා මෙය කර තිබෙන්නේ. ජාතික ධනයයි මේවාට වැය කර තිබෙන්නේ. මේක හවුල් ව්‍යාපාරයක් වාගේ, ඒ දෙපලත් ඒ ජනතාවත් අද තර්ජනයකට මුහුණ පා සිටිනවා. ඒ නිසාම ගරු මුදල් ඇමතිතුමා අතෙක් අසවැසවලින් වෙන් කළ මුදලට වඩා විශාල මුදල් ප්‍රමාණයක් මේ අසවැස ලේඛනයෙන් ආරක්ෂක කටයුතු සඳහා වෙන් කර තිබෙනවා. කලවානේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා ඒ ගැන හේම එක වචනයක් කතා කළේ නැහැ. කෙළ පිඩක් බිම හෙළවේ නැහැ. ඇයි ඒ? එතුමා මෙතැනට ඇවිත් එක නාට්‍යයක් ; එළියට බැහැලා තව නාට්‍යයක් ; කතන්තට ගියාම තවත් නාට්‍යයක්. හමුදා නිලධාරීන්ට වෙඩි වැදුණාට පොලීස් නිලධාරීන් මැරුණාට එතුමා හරියට දුක් වෙනවා. මේ කට්ටිය එළියට බස්සන්න. ඇයි? බයට. හමුදා හරියට තිනිය ක්‍රියාත්මක කරන්නට, කාලය දික් කරන්නට යෝජනාව ගරු සභාවට ඉදිරිපත් කලාම, ඒ සඳහා අනුමැතිය දෙන්න කිව්වාම, හා ! හා ! එහෙම කරන්න ඉඩ දෙන්න බැහැ. හදිසි නීතිය ක්‍රියාත්මක කරන්න එපා කියනවා. අතේ මෙතෙමත් බෝධිසත්වයෝ, හරියට දෙපත් නයි වාගේ.

ඇයි මේ විධියට ක්‍රියා කරන්නේ? මොකද මේ ව්‍යාපාරයේ ඇතුළු ඉන්නවා මේ අයගේ බාප්පලා වගයක්. ඒ අය ගැනත් හිතා කථා කරන්න මිනු නොහැ. අහිංසක පොදු මහජනතාවට එක විධියක කථාවකුයි. අර බාප්පලා වෙනුවෙන් තවත් විධියේ කථාවකුයි කරන මිනිසුන් විකක් මේ රටේ ඉන්නවා නම් ඒ මෙම වාමානික පුද්ගලයන්ගේ කියා අමුතුවෙන් කියන්නට මිනු

කරන්නේ නැහැ. කොටිත්ම ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ වාමානිකයෝ දෙපත් නයි වාගේ ජාතියක්. කටිනුත් කනවා, පස්ස පැත්තෙනුත් කනවා. ඒ කාරණය අවුරුදු හතළිහකට පස්සේ අවබෝධ කරගත් මේ රටේ අහිංසක ගොවි කම්කරු ජනතාව, " බැහැපියව් දෙටට " කියලා 1977 දී මේ මක්කොටම පයින් ගහලා එළියට දැමීම, එක්කෙනෙකුටවත් පාර්ලිමේන්තුව ඇතුළට එන්නට ඉඩ දුන්නේ නැහැ. අවුරුදු හතළිහක් තිස්සේ මේ ගරු සභාව තුළත් ඉන් පිටතත් බොරු පුරපාරම් දෙසුවට, කෙප්ප කෙළියට, වර්ත දෙකක් රඟ දක්වුවට 1977 දී ජනතාව ඒ අයට අතුල් පහර ගහලා, පා පහර දීලා එළියට දැමීම.

අද ඒ අයගේ උත්සාහය වෙනත් දෙයකට. ගරු කථානායකතුමා, අපේ මේ දෙපොල, අප ගොඩනගන දේ, ගොඩනැගිලි වාගේම සංවර්ධන ව්‍යාපාර, වැව්, අමුණු, වේලි වාගේම අප ගොඩ නගන සමාජය—ජාතියෙන් පහෙන් එකක් පමණ දෙනා පාසල් යවා, විශ්ව විද්‍යාලවලට යවා, කාර්මික විද්‍යාලවලට යවා ගොඩ නගන සමාජය—සමාජ ධර්ම, සමාජ විශේෂඥතාව මේ සියල්ලක්ම අපි ආරක්ෂා කරන්නට මිනු. අපේ ගරු අගමැතිතුමා 1977 මහා මැතිවරණයේදී වේදිකාවෙන් වේදිකාවට නැගී " අපට ගොඩනැගිලි වටින්නේ නැහැ, අපට වෙනත් කිසිවක් වටින්නේ නැහැ, අපට වටින්නේ මහජනතාව පමණයි, මහජනතාවට වඩා වටිනා වස්තුවක් අපට ඇත්තේ නැහැ " කියලයි කිව්වේ. එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයේ ප්‍රතිපත්තිය ඒකයි. අවුරුදු හතළිහක් තිස්සේ එක් වාමානිකයෙක්වත් මෙතෙම දෙයක් කිව්වාද? නැහැ. මහජනතාවගේ ඇස් පොටට කිරීම, අත් කැඩීම, කකුල් කැඩීම, මළ පැලීම තමයි ඒ අයගේ ප්‍රතිපත්තිය කියා කලා ගහපු අයයි වාමානික කණ්ඩායම්වල ඉන්නේ. දෙපත් නයි. අද කොළඹ නගරයේ හිඟන්තො ඉන්නවා නම්, සිවිල් පිට ගිහින් ඒ අයට කිට්ටු කර, කොහොමද මය ඇහූ කණ වුණේ, කොහොමද මය අත කැසුණේ, කොහොමද මය කකුල කැසුණේ, කොහොමද මය කොන්ද කැසුණේ කියලා ඇහුවොත්, ' කොමියුනිස්ට් නායකයන් එක්ක නැතිනම් කොල්ලීන් එක්ක, එහෙමත් නැත්නම් ඇත්. ඇම්. එක්ක, කලවානෙ මන්ත්‍රීතුමාත් (සරත් මුත්තෙටුවෙගම මහතා) එක්ක පෙළපාලි ගිහිල්ලයි මෙතෙම වුණේ, කියලා කියාවි.

සරත් මුත්තෙටුවෙගම මහතා
(ති.රු. සරත් මුත්තෙටුවෙගම)
(Mr. Sarath Muttetuegama)

මොළේ තරක් වුණේ තමුත්තාත්සේලා එක්ක ගිහිල්ලා කියලා කියාවි.

ඒ. එම්. ආර්. බී. අත්තනායක මහතා
(ති.රු. අ. අ. එම්. ආර්. බී. අත්තනායක)
(Mr. A. M. R. B. Attanayake)

එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයේ අයත් එක්ක ගිහින් එහෙම සිදු වෙලා නැහැ. මේ දෙපත් නයි ලංකාවේ වාමානිකයෝ, ඒ හැටු එකකටම වග කීව යුතුයි. ඒ අයට ඒ වගකීමෙන් ගැලවෙන්නට බැහැ.

ගරු කථානායකතුමා, ලෝකයේ තුස්තවාදය දිනා බලන විට, අපේ රටේ තුස්තවාදය දිනා බලන විට, තුස්තවාදයේ වර්ග කීපයක් ඇති බව පැහැදිලියි. සමහර රටවල, ලිබියාව වාගේ රටවල රාජ්‍ය තුස්තවාදයක් පවතිනවා. ගඩාපි වාගේ පුද්ගලයෝ තමන්ගේ රාජ්‍ය බලය රැක ගැනීම සඳහා තුස්තවාදයක් මෙහෙයවනවා. මම එහෙම කියන්නේ මොන හේතුවක් තිසාද කියා පැහැදිලිව පෙන්වා දෙන්නම්.

තුස්තවාදය පිළිබඳව සොයා බලන ක්‍රියාවේදී ගොඩසත් කියා ජාත්‍යන්තර මට්ටමේ විශේෂඥයෙක් ඇමෙරිකාවේ සිටිනවා. එයා ප්‍රධානති පත්‍රයකට විස්තර ප්‍රකාශ කරන අවස්ථාවක, මේ නුදුරු අතීතයේ එංගලන්තයේ ලිබියානු ජාතිකයන් කීප දෙනෙක් ප්‍රසිද්ධියේ මරා දැමීමේ සිද්ධිය පිළිබඳව කරුණු වගයක් සඳහන් කර තිබෙනවා. එංගලන්ත ආණ්ඩුවේ ප්‍රධානති අංශයෙහි ගඩාපි උන්තැගේ හම්බ වෙලා මෙන්න මේ විධියට අසා තිබෙනවා. " කර්නල්තුමා, අපේ රටේ ඔබේ විරුද්ධ වාදිත් ඝාතනය කිරීමේ ව්‍යාපාරය ඔබ තවතා දමන්නේ කවදා? " මෙතුමාගෙන් ඊට ලැබුණු පිළිතුර මොකක්ද? " ඒ ගැන ඔබලා කරදර වෙන්නේ මන්දයි මට හේරුම් ගැනීම අසීරුයි. අපි ඉංග්‍රීසි ජාතිකයන් මරා දමන්නේවත් මවුන්ට කිසි භාතියක් කරන්නේවත් නැහැ. මෙය ඉංග්‍රීසි ආණ්ඩුවට විරුද්ධව කරන කටයුත්තක් නොවෙයි. අපි මින් ඉදිරියට අපේ ව්‍යාපාර ගෙන යන්නෙමු. " යන්නයි. ඒකෙන් පෙනවා රාජ්‍යයක් ආරක්ෂා කරගැනීම සඳහා පවත්වන තුස්තවාදයක් තිබෙන බව.

[ඒ. එම්. ආර්. බී. අත්තනායක මහතා]

ඊළඟට තවත් ත්‍රස්තවාදයක් තිබෙනවා ජාතීන් අතර පවතින ත්‍රස්තවාදයක්. මෙතැන ජාතීන් කියන්නේ "නේෂන්" කියන තේරුම නොවෙයි. ලාංකික ජාතීන් කියන කොට එතන ජාතීන් කියන්නේ "race" කියන අර්ථයටයි. එනම් කුඩා අනු ජාතීන්. ඒ කියන්නේ සිංහල, දෙමළ, බර්ගර්, මුස්ලිම් වාගේ කුඩා ජාතීන්. ලංකාවේ අන්ත එතෙම තත්ත්වයක් පවතිනවා.

ඊටයි පතිරණ මහතා
(**ශ්‍රී. ඩී. ආර්. පතිරාණ**)
(Mr. Richard Pathirana)
අශ්ව රේස්වලට කොහොමද ?

ඒ. එම්. ආර්. බී. අත්තනායක මහතා
(**ශ්‍රී. ආ. ආර්. බී. අත්තනායක**)
(Mr. A. M. R. B. Attanayake)

අපේ කල්වන ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමාගෙන් (සරත් මුත්තේටුවේගම මහතා) අහන්න. එතුමා ඒ ගැන හොඳට දන්නවා. එතෙම තැන්තම් හොරහොල්ලෙන් අහන්න. එතෙම ද්‍රවනවා රේස් හොඳට. බුරුවොයි ද්‍රවන්නෙ දන් එතෙ. දන් එතෙ රේස් එකට තියන්නෙ අශ්වයෝ නොවෙයි, බුරුවොයි. බුරුවොන් අට දෙනෙක් ඉන්නවා එකට එකා පොර කනවා. ඒ මෙකඳ ද්‍රවන්න දන්නෙ තැනැ. අශ්වයෝ නම් ද්‍රවන්න දන්නවා. මු. හපා කනවා. මහොම තමයි කෙළිය. තමුත්තාන්දේත් අශ්වයෙක් හොයනවා. තමුත් අහු වුණේ තැනැ. මය විධියට ගියොත් තමුත්තාන්දේට අහු වෙන්නෙ බුරුවෙක්මයි. හොඳට මතක තියාගන්න.

ජාතිවාදය පිළිබඳ ත්‍රස්තවාදය සම්බන්ධයෙන් උදාහරණයක් ගත්තොත් "අයිරිෂ්" ත්‍රස්තවාදය ගන්න පුළුවන්. මහා බ්‍රිතාන්‍යයේ අයිරිෂ්වරුන්ගේ ත්‍රස්තවාදය. උතුරු අයර්ලන්තය නිදහස් කර ගැනීමට දකුණු අයර්ලන්තය සටනක් ගෙනයනවා.

ඊළඟට භාෂාමය ත්‍රස්තවාදයක් තිබෙනවා. මේ රටේ අද පවතින ත්‍රස්තවාදයට භාෂා ප්‍රශ්නය තමයි ප්‍රධාන වෙලා තිබෙන්නේ. මම මේක තමුත්තාන්දේට පැහැදිලි කර දෙන්න ඕනැ. ගරුකථානායකතුමනි, යමෙක් "මේ කටයුත්ත කර මගේ ජීවිතය නැති වුණොත් කමක් නැත" කියා ලෙයිත් අත්සන් කර ත්‍රස්තවාදී මතයකට බැස්සට පස්සෙ එයා මෙල්ල කරන්නට පාර්ලිමේන්තු නීතියෙන් බැහැ. එයා මෙල්ල කරන්නට උසාවියෙන් බැහැ. එයා මෙල්ල කරන්නට සාර ධම් මිනිස් ගුණදම්වලින් බැහැ. ඔන්න ඔහුනයි ගැටළුව තිබෙන්නෙ. සිය දිවි පූරා කර ගොේ මේ කටයුත්ත කරන්න ඕනැය කියන මට්ටමට මිනිසා පත් වුණොත් පස්සෙ එයා මෙල්ල කරන එකයි ප්‍රශ්නය.

අපි මේක හොයන්නේ කොහොමද ? අපි මේක හොයන්න ඕනැ පොඩ්ඩක්. ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, තමුත්තාන්දේ හොඳ බොද්ධයෙක්. මේ සභාවේ හැම ආගමකම අය ඉන්නවා. එකම ශාස්තෘන් වහන්සේ බුදුරජාණන් වහන්සේ පමණක් නොවෙයි. ක්‍රිස්තුස් වහන්සේ ඉන්නවා. මුහම්මද්තුමා ඉන්නවා. හින්දු ක්‍රිත්වය ඉන්නවා. මය හැම ආගමකම සාමය ගැන කියා තිබෙනවා. එහෙත් ලෝකයේ ප්‍රධානම ත්‍රස්තවාදියා මෙල්ල කළේ බුදු හාමුදුරුවොයි. මට ඒක උස් හඩින් කියන්න පුළුවනි. ආගුලිමාල කියන පුද්ගලයාට කුඩා කාලයේ තම තැබුවේ "අහිංසක" කියල. කල්වනගේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමාට මම මේ ගරුකමෙන් කියා දෙන්නයි එන්නෙ. "මම මේ වැඩේ කරනවාමයි, මැරුණත් කමක් නැහැ" කියල ලෙයිත් අත්සන් කරල ත්‍රස්තවාදී ව්‍යාපාරට බැස්සට පසු ඒ මිනිසා මෙල්ල කරන්නට පාර්ලිමේන්තුවට බැහැ. උසාවියට බැහැ. හමුදාවට බැහැ. සමාර සංවිධානවලට බැහැ. එතෙම ඔහුට මෙල්ල කරන්නේ කොහොමද ? ඒක තමයි ප්‍රශ්නය. කාටද පුළුවන් ඔහු මෙල්ල කරන්නට ?

ඊටයි පතිරණ මහතා
(**ශ්‍රී. ඩී. ආර්. පතිරාණ**)
(Mr. Richard Pathirana)
මය කථාව ජනාධිපතිතුමාට කියන්න.

ඒ. එම්. ආර්. බී. අත්තනායක මහතා
(**ශ්‍රී. ආ. ආර්. බී. අත්තනායක**)
(Mr. A. M. R. B. Attanayake)

අර මා කියූ හත් අට දෙනාගෙන් එක්කෙක්. මා නැවතත් තම කියන්නට වුවමනා නැහැ මේ එතුම සභාවට අගෞරවයක් වන තියා. අර හත අට දෙනාගෙන් එක් කෙනෙක්. එතෙම කිව්වාම පාර්ලිමේන්තු ශබ්ද කෝෂයත් බිඳෙන්නෙ නැහැ.

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, අහිංසක කියලයි ආගුලිමාලට තම තැබුවේ. ඒ පුද්ගලයා මිනිසුන් 999 ක් මැරුවා ගුරුවරයාගේ කීම තියා. කල්වනගේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමනි, හොඳට අහගන්න. මම මේ එන්නෙ තමුත්තාන්දේට ගුරුකමක් දෙන්නෙ අතින් පැත්තෙන්. ගුරුවරයා දුන් වැරදි උපදේශයක් තියා අහිංසක ආගුලිමාලයෙක් බවට පත්වුනා. මිනිස්සු 999 ක් මැරුවා. ඇයි ආගුලිමාල මිනිස්සු 999 ක් මැරුවේ ? "respect for life" කියන එක ඔහුට තිබුණේ නැහැ. ජීවිතයට තිබෙන ගෞරවත් ඔහුට තිබුණේ නැහැ. එමනිසා ඔහු මිනිස්සු 999 ක් මැරුවා. බුදුහාමුදුරුවො ගියා ආගුලිමාලට මෙල්ල කරන්නට. [බාධාකීර්මක්] මේ කියන්නේ හොඳ බණ කථාවක්. තමුත්තාන්දේ හොඳට අහ ගන්න කථාවේ අවසානය.

ආගුලිමාල බුදුරජාණන් වහන්සේ දක තතර වුණා. "අහිංසක අර අඹ ගහෙන් කොළයක් කඩල ගනිත්" ය කියල බුදුහාමුදුරුවො ආගුලිමාලට කීවා. ආගුලිමාල කොළයක් කඩල ගත්තා. "ඒ කොළය ආපසු එය තිබුණු තැනටම සම්බන්ධ කරපත්" ය කියල බුදුහාමුදුරුවො කීවා. "බැහැ" කියල ආගුලිමාල කීවා. "ඒක යළිත් එතැන තියන්න කවදවත් බැහැ" කීවා. එතකොට "නුඹට අඹ කොළය කඩල යළිත් ඒක සම්බන්ධ කරන්නට බැර නම් යළිත් කවදවත් ජීවත් කරවන්නට බැර මිනිස්සු 999 ක් නුඹ මැරුවා" ය කියා බුදුහාමුදුරුවො කීවා. "නුඹ තුළ ඒ ජීවිත පිළිබඳව ගෞරවයක් තිබුණේ නැහැ. මේ ආත්මය තුළ කවදවත් නුඹට ඒ ජීවිත යළිත් පිහිටුවන්නට බැර" ය කීවා. අන්න ඒ වෙලාවේදී තමයි "respect for life" කියන එකේ අර්ථය ආගුලිමාල අවබෝධ කර ගත්තේ. ජීවිතය පිළිබඳ ගෞරවය. ජීවිතය පිළිබඳ ගෞරවය ඇති කිසිම කෙනෙක් සතෙකුටත් මරන්නෙ නැහැ. තමන්ගෙ බෙල්ලේ වැල ද ගන්නෙ නැහැ. වහ බොන්නෙ නැහැ. තම මනුෂ්‍යයෙකුට පිහියක් තුවක්කුවක් ඵලල කරන්නෙ නැහැ. ආගුලිමාල ඊට පසුව තමයි තිවත් සුවය ගැන කල්පනා කරන්නේ පටන් ගත්තේ.

මම මේ කථාව කීවේ ඇයි ? අද ලංකාවේ ත්‍රස්තවාදීන්ගේ වසස දෙස බලන්න. ඒ අය වසස අවුරුදු විස්සටත් තිස්පහටත් අතර අයයි. මේකේ තිබෙනවා රහසක්. යම් පුද්ගලයෙක්, "මේ අසාධාරණයට විරුද්ධව සටන් කරල මම මැරුණත් කමක් නැහැ" කියන මට්ටමට බැස්සොත් තම හදවතින්ම ඒ මට්ටමට බැස්සොත් මොකක් කරලවත් ඒ පුද්ගලයා හදන්නට බැර බව මා සඳහන් කලා. එතෙම නම් ලංකාවේ ඒ පුද්ගලයන් මේ තත්ත්වයට ගෙනාවේ කවුද ? සුඵ වශයෙන් දෙයක් සිද්ධ වී තිබෙනවා ලංකා පාර්ලිමේන්තුවේතුන් 1958 දී.

මම මේ දේශපාලන හේදයකින් කථා කරනවා නොවෙයි. ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයේ ඇත්තෝ මා සමඟ අමනාප වෙන්න එපා. මම මේ විග්‍රහ කරන්නෙ හැබැවක්. කිසියම් ආණ්ඩුවක දුර්වලකමක් තිබෙනවා නම් එය මම කෙළින්ම කියනවා. එදා එසේ. ඩබ්ලිව්. ආර්. ඩී. බණ්ඩාරනායක මැතිතුමා එන්න පෙරාතුව යාපනයේ එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂ මන්ත්‍රීවරුන් පස් දෙනෙක් හිටියා. පොක්කම්බලම් අරුනාචලම් මහතා නිදහස් සටන ගෙන ගියේ යාපනය නිදහස් කර ගන්න නොවෙයි. මඩකලපුව බෙද ගන්න නොවෙයි. ශ්‍රී ලංකාව තියදක් කර ගන්නයි. එතෙම නම් මොකක්ද මෙතන වුණේ ? අසාධාරණ විධියට, අසුභු විධියට අර දෙපත් නයි වගේ ජනතාව කපටිකමෙන් මුලා කර ජන්දය ලබා ගැනීම සඳහා එසේ. ඩබ්ලිව්. ආර්. ඩී. බණ්ඩාරනායක මැතිතුමා එදා එක වචනයක් වැරදි විධියට පාවිච්චි කලා. 'මට බලය දුන්නොත් මම පැය 24ක් සිංහල භාෂාව රාජ්‍ය භාෂාව කරනවයි කරනවා' යි කීවා. අන්න එද තමයි පිළිලය පටන් ගත්තෙ. දෙමළ භාෂාව වෙන් වුණා. දෙමළ පාසල් වෙන් වුණා. සිංහල පාසල් වෙන් වුණා. දෙයොල්ල අතරේ වෙන් වෙන්ව පැවතීම තියා අන්න දැකය කියන එක ඇති වුණා. බුදුහාමුදුරුවන් දේශනා කර තිබෙනවා 'දැකය විනාශයට හේතු වේ' කියල. හින්දුන් ලහ, දෙමළ කථා කරන ජනතාව ලහ සිංහලයන් පිළිබඳව දැකයක් ගොඩනැගුනේ අන්න එද ඉඳලයි. අපේ ජනාධිපතිතුමා කීප විටක්ම එය නිවැරදි කරන්න උත්සාහ කර තිබෙනවා. 1966 දී උත්සාහ කලා, ද්‍රවිඩ භාෂාව විශේෂ වීඩි විධාන පනත යටතේ රෙගුලාසි ගෙනැවිත් එය නිවැරදි කරන්න. අපේ හොරහොල්ලේ තැන්දම්මත්. මෙතුමන්ලාත් එද එයට විරුද්ධව පෙලපාලී ගියා. එහෙත් ඒ උදවිය 1970 සිට 1977 දක්වා බලයේ හිටියා. තමුත් එක භාෂා වීඩි විධානයක්වත් වෙනස් කරන්න කටයුතු කළේ නැහැ. ඇයි ඒ ? [බාධාකීර්ම] හයේ කොට්ටයි. එය හරි බව දකුනා. හරි දේවල් ගැන විස්තර දුන්නෙ නැහැ. තමුත් ඒවා ක්‍රියාත්මක කලා. මම ඒ ගැන සතුකිවන්න වෙනවා. [බාධාකීර්ම] තමුත්තාන්දේත් ගියාද, දළදා පෙරහැරේ ? තවම තමුත්තාන්දේලාගේ කට්ටිය දළදා පෙරහැරේ යන්නෙ නැහැ. යනවා නම් මම බස්නායක නිලමේ කෙනෙක් ගැටියට බොහොම ආධිමිඛරයෙන් භාර ගන්නවා. තමුත්තාන්දේ එන්න, මම ඇඳුමකුත් දෙන්නම්.

එම්. හළිමි ඉෂාක් මහතා
(ஐஸ்ராய் எம். ஹலீம் இஸாக்)
(Mr. M. Haleem Ishak)
තමුත්තාත්තේදේ මල්ලී මොත පක්ෂයේද ?

ඒ. එම්. ආර්. බී. අත්තනායක මහතා
(திரு. ஏ. எம். ஆர். பி. அத்தநாயக்க)
(Mr. A. M. R. B. Attanayake)
ඉත්තවා ලහ.

එම්. හළිමි ඉෂාක් මහතා
(ஐஸ்ராய் எம். ஹலீம் இஸாக்)
(Mr. M. Haleem Ishak)
තැහැ, මහරත පක්ෂයේ.

කථානායකතුමා
(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)
(Mr. Speaker)

තියෝජ්‍ය ඇමතිතුමා, හොඳ කථාවක් කලා. දැන් කරුණාකරලා අවසන් කරන්න.

ඒ. එම්. ආර්. බී. අත්තනායක මහතා
(திரு. ஏ. எம். ஆர். பி. அத்தநாயக்க)
(Mr. A. M. R. B. Attanayake)

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, මෙන්න මේ තියා ලංකාවේ ත්‍රස්තවාදය පිළිබඳව අපි නිවැරදි අවබෝධයක් දෙන්නට ඕනෑ. මේ භාෂා හා ජාති ප්‍රශ්නයට ලංකාවේ අතිකුත් ත්‍රස්තවාදීන්ගුත් එකතු වෙලයි දැන් කටයුතු කරන්න හදන්නේ. මේ අය පිටුපසින් ඉන්නේ රැඩිකල්වාදී කොමියුනිස්ට් තරුණයෝ. ඒ දෙහොල්ලන්ගේ සම්බන්ධතා නිලධාරියා කොමියුනිස්ට් ධර්මයයි.

සරත් මුත්තෙට්ටුවෙගම මහතා
(திரு. சரத் முத்தெட்டடுவெகம்)
(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)
බලාගෙනයි, මල්ලී අපේ පක්ෂයේ.

රිචඩ් පතිරණ මහතා
(திரு. ரிச்சட் பத்திரன)
(Mr. Richard Pathirana)

තව මල්ලී කෙනෙක් ශ්‍රී ලංකා එකේ.

ඒ. එම්. ආර්. බී. අත්තනායක මහතා
(திரு. ஏ. எம். ஆர். பி. அத்தநாயக்க)
(Mr. A. M. R. B. Attanayake)

මගේ මල්ලී කෙනෙක් තමී එගෙම තැහැ. සමහරවිට එගෙම දෙයක් මගෙ අතින් වුණොද කියා මම දන්නෙ තැහැ. [බාධාකීර්මක්] එයා ගෙදරද ඉන්නෙ ? මම දන්නෙ තැහැ කියන්න.

සරත් මුත්තෙට්ටුවෙගම මහතා
(திரு. சரத் முத்தெட்டடுவெகம்)
(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

ගෙදර නොවෙයි, මහවැලියේ ඉන්න එක්කෙනා ?

ඒ. එම්. ආර්. බී. අත්තනායක මහතා
(திரு. ஏ. எம். ஆர். பி. அத்தநாயக்க)
(Mr. A. M. R. B. Attanayake)

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, කලවානේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමාට බොහොම වේදනා ඇති වෙනවා, එතුමාට වේදනා ඇති වුණොට මට කමක් තැහැ. මේ රටයි ජාතියයි බේරාගෙන. එතුමා පිරිවැටිල්ලක් මට කමක් තැහැ. එතුමන්ලා තමයි මේ ගින්නදර පක්ෂ කළේ මේ ජාතියට. හමුදාව අද මැරෙන්නෙ, පොලීසිය පන දෙන්නෙ ඒ හැම දෙනා ජීවිත පරිත්‍යාගයෙන් සටනට බැහැලා ඉන්නෙ මේ ඇත්තො ඇති කල කාල බෝම්බය තියයි. අවුරුදු ගණනාවක් තියසේ ඇති කල කාල බෝම්බය දැන් පුපුරා තිබෙනවා. ඒක තැහැ කියන්නට කාටවත් බැහැ. මැරුණු වුණ හෝ වේවා, ජීවත් වුණ හෝ වේවා, මේ හැම අපරාධයකටම ලංකාවේ වාමාංශික තාසකයෝ සියලු දෙනාම වග කීව යුතුයි.

ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයේ පොඩි වෙනසක් තිබෙනවා. මම ඒ පැත්තට දෙස් කියන්න තේවුනි තැහැ ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදී පක්ෂයක් තියා. තමුත් මේ කොමියුනිස්ට් දේශපාලන දර්ශනයයි රටේ මේ හොල්මන් ඔක්කොම කරන්නෙ. කොමියුනිස්ට් මැතිගෙයෝට එකේ පැහැදිලිව සටහන් කර තිබෙනවා ඒ හොල්මන වෙන දෙයක් තොව කොමියුනිස්ට් ධර්මයය. දැන් ඒක මුළු ලෝකයේම හොල්මන් කරනවාය කියා.

කථානායකතුමා
(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)
(Mr. Speaker)

I thought you are winding-up a very good speech, because others are waiting.

ඒ. එම්. ආර්. බී. අත්තනායක මහතා
(திரு. ஏ. எம். ஆர். பி. அத்தநாயக்க)
(Mr. A. M. R. B. Attanayake)

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, මේ හොල්මන පිටුදකීම සඳහා ලංකාවේ සියලුම ජනතාව මේ අයවැය ලේඛනයෙන් හා පසුතිය අයවැය ලේඛන හතෙන් ඇති කරන ලද සංවර්ධනයන් රැක ගැනීමට, ජාතිය රැක ගැනීමට දේශප්‍රේමී ජාති හිතෙමි හැම දෙනාම හමුදාවන්, පොලීසියත් සමග ගරු ආරක්ෂක ඇමතිතුමා කියන ආකාරයට කටයුතු කර, එතුමාට සහය දෙන්න සුදුගම් විය යුතුයි. මේ ත්‍රස්තවාදී කල්ලිය, මේ වාමාංශික රැඩිකල්වාදී කණ්ඩායම පිටුදකීමට කටයුතු කල යුතුය කියන එක අවධාරණය කරමින් මගේ වචන ස්වල්පය අවසන් කරනවා.

අ. හා. 455

රිචඩ් පතිරණ මහතා (අත්මමත)
(திரு. ரிச்சட் பத்திரன — அகம்பமன)
(Mr. Richard Pathirana-Akmeemana)

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, ගරු මුදල් ඇමතිතුමා විසින් ඉදිරිපත් කරන ලද 8 වැනි අයවැය ලේඛනය සම්බන්ධව විවාද කරන මේ අවස්ථාවේදී ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයේ මන්ත්‍රීවරයෙකු හැටියට එතුමාගේ මෙම වාර්තාව සම්බන්ධයෙන් මම එතුමාට සුඛ පහත්ක කැමතියි. එසේ වුවත් මේ අයවැය ලේඛනය සමස්තයක් වශයෙන් ගත් කල ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයේ අපට එය අනුමත කරන්න පුළුවන්කමක් තැහැ.

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, අයවැය ලේඛනය ගැන කථා කරන්නට කලින් මගේ යුතුකමක්ව තිබෙනවා, මට පෙර බොහොම වේගයෙන්, උද්දමයෙන් කථා කල උසස් අධ්‍යාපන තියෝජ්‍ය ඇමතිතුමාට පිලිතුරක් දීමට. එතුමා කීවාලා ලංකාවේ අද පවතින මේ ත්‍රස්තවාදී ප්‍රශ්නය ඇති වෙන්න මුල් වූණේ 1956 දී අප පක්ෂයේ නිර්මාතෘවරු, දිවගත ගරු බණ්ඩාරනායක අගමැතිතුමා ගත් අනුවණ පියවරක් තියාය කියා. [බාධා කීර්මක්] මම එතුමාට කියන්න කැමතියි එතුමා අද මේ ගරු සහතිකට ඇවිල්ලා කැ ගන්නේනේ ගරු බණ්ඩාරනායක මැතිතුමා ඇති කල විද්‍යාලය විශ්ව විද්‍යාලයේ උපාධිය ලබා ගෙන බව.

ඒ. එම්. ආර්. බී. අත්තනායක මහතා
(திரு. ஏ. எம். ஆர். பி. அத்தநாயக்க)
(Mr. A. M. R. B. Attanayake)

ලංකාවේ දරුවෝ ඔක්කොම බණ්ඩාරනායක මහත්මයාගෙයි කියලයි තමුත්තාත්තේ කියන්නේ. අපිට තමී එගෙම ජාතකයක් තැහැ. තමුත්තාත්තේ බණ්ඩාරණායක මහත්මයාට ජාතක ඇති. අපි ජාතක තැහැ.

රිචඩ් පතිරණ මහතා
(திரு. ரிச்சட் பத்திரன)
(Mr. Richard Pathirana)

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, එතුමා ඔය තත්ත්වය දරන්නේ සිංහල භාෂාව රාජ්‍ය භාෂාව කල තියයි.

එතුමා අයවැය ගැන වචනයක්වත් කථා කළේ තැහැ. එතුමා කථා කළේ අද මේ රටේ පවතින තත්ත්වය ගැන පමණයි. වාමාංශික ව්‍යාපාරය ගැනවත් මාක්ස්වාදී ව්‍යාපාරය ගැනවත්, සමාජවාදය ගැනවත් අබමල් රේඛුවකවත් අවබෝධයක් තැනි එතුමාට මම කියන්නට කැමතියි. එතුමාගේ අනුවනකම මේ රටේ ජනතාවට පෙන්වන්නේ නැතිව ඔය ගැන කථා නොකර ඉන්නවා

[ඊට්ටි පතිරණ මහතා]

කාර්යමයි. ඒ කාර්යය නිසා මේ අය වැය ලේඛනයෙන් මේ රටේ සාමාන්‍ය පීඩිත පන්ති ජනතාවගේ ජීවන තත්ත්වය දියුණු තත්ත්වයකට පත් නොවන නිසා ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයේ අපි මේ අයවැය ලේඛනයට විරුද්ධ වන බව පැහැදිලිව ප්‍රකාශ කළ යුතුව තිබෙනවා.

පඩි වැඩි කිරීමක් ගැන ආණ්ඩු පක්ෂයේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීවරුන් කීපදෙනෙක් විශේෂයෙන් කතා කළා. රුපියල් සියයකින් පඩි වැඩි කළයයි එතුමන්ලා කීවා. ඒ වාගේම 1977 සිට 1984 දක්වා කාලය තුළ අවස්ථා කීපයකදීම පඩි වැඩි කර තිබෙනවායයි එතුමන්ලා සඳහන් කළා. 1977 දී ජීවන වියදම් දර්ශකය වූයේ 203.2 යි. 1984 පසුගිය මාසයේ ජීවන වියදම් දර්ශකය 561.9 යි. මෙසේ වැඩි වූණු ජීවන වියදම අනුව ඊට සරිලන ප්‍රමාණයට මේ රටේ සේවක කොටස්වල වැටුප් වැඩිවීමක් සිදු වී නැති බව මේ ජීවන වියදම් දර්ශකය දෙස බැලූවාම අපට පැහැදිලි වෙනවා.

1977 දී මේ රජය බලය ලබා ගන්නා අවස්ථාවේදී ගරු ජනාධිපතිතුමාත් ගරු අගමැතිතුමාත් එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයේ සෙසු නායකයන් සියලුදෙනාමත් මුළු රටේම හිඟින් ජනතාවට කීවේ මොකක්ද? ජනතාවට ජීවත් වෙන්න ක්‍රමයක් නැහැ, කන්න නැහැ, අදින්න නැහැ, සබන් නැහැ, රෙදි නැහැ, ළමයින් පාසල් යවන්න බැහැ, ඒ නිසා ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයේ ආණ්ඩුව පරාජයට පත් කර එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂය බලයට පත් කරන්න කියන කතාවයි 1977 දී නමුත්තාත්සේලා හැමතැනම හැම මැතිවරණ වේදිකාවක, හැම දේශපාලන ක්‍රියා මාර්ගයකදීම කියා සිටියේ. ජීවන වියදම අඩු කිරීම සහ රක්ෂා නැති අයට රක්ෂා ලබා දීම යන පැහැදිලි පොරොන්දු දෙක අනුවයි 1977 දී එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂය මේ රටේ බලය ලබා ගත්තේ. ඒ නිසාම 1977 දී තිබුණු බඩු මිලන් 1984 දක් පවත්නා බඩු මිලන් ගැන කතා කිරීම මේ අවස්ථාවේදී අපගේ යුතුකමක්.

1977 දී නමුත්තාත්සේලා එද තිබුණු බඩු මිල එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයේ ප්‍රකාශනයක් හැටියටමේ රටේ ජනතාව අතර බෙදා හැරියා. එද තිබුණු බඩු මිලන් අද තිබෙන බඩු මිලන් දෙස බැලූවාම ඒ දෙක අතර විශාල වෙනසක් තිබෙන බව පැහැදිලි වෙනවා. අද තිබෙන බඩු මිලේ විශාල වැඩි වීමක් පැහැදිලි වෙනවා. ඒකට හේතු කීපයක් තිබෙනවා. ඒ හේතු මත භාණ්ඩ මිල වැඩි වීම නිසා ජනතාවට ඇති වූණු පීඩනකාරී තත්ත්වයෙන් නිදහස් වීමට අවශ්‍ය යම්කිසි වාසිදායක තත්ත්වයක් මේ රටේ සාමාන්‍ය ජනතාවට මේ අයවැය ලේඛනයෙන් ලැබී නැති බව අපි පැහැදිලිව ප්‍රකාශ කරන්න ඕනැ.

සාමාන්‍ය ජනතාවට අවශ්‍ය වන භාණ්ඩ වර්ග කීපයක පමණක් මිල මම නමුත්තාත්සේට මේ අවස්ථාවේදී ප්‍රකාශ කරන්න කැමතියි. මේ මිල ගණන් මම ලබා ගත්තේ රාජගිරියේ කඩවලින් මට ලැබුණු සංඛ්‍යා ලේඛන අනුවයි. [බාධාකීර්ම] 1977 දී හාල් සේරුවක මිල රු. 2.50 යි. අද රු. 7.00 යි. සීනි සලාකය එද ගන 72 යි. අද රු. 6.25 යි. පීචි රාන්තල එද ගන 80 යි. අද කිලෝ එක රු. 7. 75 යි. පාන් රාන්තල එද ගන 75 යි. අද රු. 3. 05 යි. කරවල [බාධාකීර්ම] රුපියල් දෙකක් තුනක් අතර. පොල් ගෙඩියක් එද ගන 70 යි. අද රු. 3. 50 යි. චිත්තීරු රු. 3 යි. 2. 25 යි. අද රු. 14.00 යි. සත්ලයිට ගන 72 යි. අද රු. 3. 60 යි. කිරි නේ එකක් එද ගන 40 යි. අද රු. 1.50 යි. [බාධාකීර්ම] නිකම් නේ එක එද ගන 10 යි. අද ගන 60 යි. සිමෙන්ති කොට්ටය එද රු. 22. 50 යි. අද රු. 110. 00 යි. එද ලක්ස්ට්‍රේ රු. 6 යි. අද රු. 29. 10 යි. අද අබවල මිල කීයද? [බාධාකීර්මක්] ග්‍රෑම් 500 ක් රු. 50 යි.

නියෝජ්‍ය කාරක සභාපතිතුමා
(ශ්‍රී ජ්‍යාංචි පීරනිත් දිසානායක අරාජකන්)
(The Deputy Chairman of Committees)

ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමනි, අවුරුදු තිස් පහකට ඉස්සර බිත්තරයක මිල කීයද? යන දෙකයි. [බාධාකීර්මක්] අවුරුදු තිස් පහකට ඉස්සර පොල් ගෙඩියක මිල කීයද? යන දෙකයි. එතකොට දහ දහක් එකතු කර ගෙන හිටියා නම් අද කොහොමද තත්ත්වය? මම එකක් කියන්නම්. ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයේ ආණ්ඩු කාලයේ, යුරන්.පී. ආණ්ඩු කාලයේ බඩු මිල ගැන කොටෙයි. අද පවතින දේවල් ගැන කථා කරනවා නම් වඩා හොදයි.

මන්ත්‍රීවරයෙක්
(අරාජකන් දිසානායක)
(A Member)

ගන 10 ට බිත්තරය තිබුණු කාලයේ "සා දුකින් පෙළෙන උන් - දන් ඉතින් තැගිටිය" කිය කියා පෙළපාලී ගියා.

ඊට්ටි පතිරණ මහතා
(ති.ල. ආර්.ච. පතිරාණා)
(Mr. Richard Pathirana)

එද, බඩු මිල වැඩිය, අපි ආවාම බඩු මිල අඩු කරනවාය කියා කීව්ව. එද, දේශපාලන මැතිවරණ වේදිකාවලට නැගී එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂය බලයට ආවොත් බඩු මිල අඩු කරනවාය කීවා. ඒ විධියට කියා, බඩු මිල අඩු කරන්නට පොරොන්දු වී බලය ලබාගෙන ඇවිත් අද කරන්නේ මොනවාද? අන්න ඒකයි අපේ තර්කය. ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය සභාපතිතුමනි, මේ රටේ වැඩ කරන පන්තියට රුපියල් සියක මාසික දීමනාවක් ලබා දීමෙන් බඩු මිල වැඩි වීමේ ප්‍රශ්නයට කිසියෙක් සහනයක් ලැබෙන්නේ නැහැ. මගේ තර්කය ඒකයි.

ඊළඟට මම කුණ්ඩසාලේ මන්ත්‍රීතුමාට (ආර්. පී. විජේසිරි මහතා) සතුකිවන්න වෙනවා. මන්ද? එතුමා එද විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ මන්ත්‍රීවරයකු වශයෙන් සිටිද්දී, 1980 අවුරුද්දේ බඩු මිල ගණන් පිළිබඳ ලැයිස්තුවක් ඉදිරිපත් කළා. මම ඒ ලැයිස්තුව ප්‍රයෝජනයට ගෙන, එහි සංඛ්‍යාලේඛන පමණක් මඳක් වෙනස් කර අද ඉදිරිපත් කරනවා. මෙන්න මෙතෙමයි එම ලැයිස්තුව.

මේ අනුව තාත්තා ලිපිකරුවෙක්, දරුවන් තුන්දෙනා සහ අම්මා ඇතුළු මේ පස්දෙනාගෙන් පවුල සැදී තිබෙනවා. ඒ අයට දවසකට යන වියදම මෙතෙමයි :

උදේට කෑම සඳහා ගන්නා පොල් සම්බලයටයි, පාන්වලටයි, තේවලටයි යන වියදම මෙන්න : පාන් රාන්තල් 2 ට රු. 6.10 ; පොල් බෑයට රු. 2.25 ; මිරිස් ග්‍රෑම් 50 රු. 1.90 ; රතුඑතු ග්‍රෑම් 50 ට රු. 1.50 ; දෙහි බෑයට .ගන 50 ; දියලුහුවලට .10 ; දරවලට රු. 2.50 ; සීනි/කේ කොළවලට රු. 3.00, එකතුව රු. 17.85 යි. රුපියල් දහතුනක් ගන අසූ පහයි.

උදේ තේවලට මධ්‍ය නරම් මුදල් ප්‍රමාණයක් දවසකට වියදම් කරන්නට වෙනවා. ඊළඟට දවල් කෑමට අමතරව කොයිතරම් වියදම් කරන්නට වෙනවාද කියා අපි බලමු. මෙන්න : මවට පමණක් තේවලට .75 ; පියාට කිරි කෙ 1 ට රු. 1.50 ; සිගරට් එකට .80 ; ළමයින්ට පාන් පෙති තුනක් සහ කෙසෙල් ගෙඩි තුනකට රු. 3.00 ; එකතුව රුපියල් හයකුත් ගන පහයි.

ඊළඟට දහවල් ආහාරයට යන වියදම බලමු. දහවල් ආහාරයට ගන්නේ බතූයි, මාළුයි, තවත් එක එළවළුවකුයි පමණයි. මෙන්න මේ අන්දමටයි ඒ සඳහා වියදම් යන්නේ : හාල් කිලෝ 1 ට රු. 6.50 ; අල කිලෝ ග්‍රෑම් 250 ට රු. 3.50 ; පොල් ගෙඩි 1 ට රු. 4.50 ; දෙහි බෑ 1 ට ගන 50 ; දියලුහුවලට ගන 15 ; මිරිස් ග්‍රෑම් 50 ට රු. 1.90 ; කහ, අබ, ගම්මිරිස් සහ සුදුරු යනාදියට රු. 2.50 ; රතුඑතු ග්‍රෑම් 50 ට රු. 1.50 ; දරවලට රු. 2.50 ; එකතුව රු. 23.55 යි.

මේකට මාළු සඳහා යන වියදම් එකතු කරන්න වෙනවා. රාත්‍රී ආහාරයට යන වියදම් ගැන බලූවාට—මාළු නැතුව කරවල ගන්නත් [බාධා කීර්ම] රු. 32.05 යි. මෙයට අමතරව දරුවන්ට ඉස්කෝලට යන්නට එන්නට, තාත්තට වැඩ කරන ස්ථානයට යන්නට එන්නට රු. 12 ක් වියදම් වෙනවා. මේ හැරෙන්නට තාත්තට රාත්‍රීයට බොන්නට සිගරට් එකට ගන 80 ක් ද බුලත් වීටට රු. 1 ක් ද වියදම් වෙනවා. මේ අන්දමට ගණන් බලන විට රු. 114.15 ක් වියදම් වෙනවා. නමුත් මේ ලිපිකරුවාට ලැබෙන පඩිය රු. 40 ක් තම්, හැමදමත් රු. 74.15 ක් ණයවෙන්න වෙනවා. නමුත් රජය කියනවා, අපි මෙපමණකින් පඩි වැඩි කර තිබෙනවා, තොයෙක් ආකාරයෙන් සහන සලසා තිබෙනවාය කියා. නමුත් වැඩ කරන ජනතාවගේ තත්ත්වය මන්න ඕකයි. මම තැවත වරක් කුණ්ඩසාලේ තව මන්ත්‍රීතුමාට සතුකිවන්න වෙනවා. එවැනි ලැයිස්තුවක් එද ඉදිරිපත් කිරීම ගැන, මන්ද? ඒ ලැයිස්තුව අද ප්‍රයෝජනවත් වුණා, සංශෝධනය කර ඉදිරිපත් කරන්නට. [බාධා කීර්මක්] මම හිතනවා මගේ කථාවෙන් පස්සේ එතුමාට අවස්ථාව ලැබෙයි ඒ ගැන කථා කරන්නට.

ආර්. පී. විජේසිරි මහතා
(ති.ල. ආර්. ච. ඩී. ඩී. ආර්. ච.)
(Mr. R. P. Wijesiri)

ගරු සභාපතිතුමනි—[බාධා කීර්ම]

නියෝජ්‍ය කාරක සභාපතිතුමා
(ශ්‍රී ජ්‍යාංචි පීරනිත් දිසානායක අරාජකන්)
(The Deputy Chairman of Committees)
මොනවද කියන්න ඕනැ ?

රිචඩ් පතිරණ මහතා
(ති.රු. ශ්‍රී ජයවර්ධනපාය)

(Mr. Richard Pathirana)

මම කියවන්නේ 1983 මහ බැංකු වාර්තාවෙන්.

ඒ. පී. පොල් පෙරේරා මහතා
(ති.රු. ආ. පී. පොල් පෙරේරා)

(Mr. E. P. Paul Perera)

මම කියවන්නේ 1984 මහ බැංකු වාර්තාවෙන්.

රිචඩ් පතිරණ මහතා
(ති.රු. ශ්‍රී ජයවර්ධනපාය)

(Mr. Richard Pathirana)

මා ලග තැනි පොතක් ගැන කොහොමද මම කථා කරන්නේ ?

නියෝජ්‍ය කාරක සභාපතිතුමා
(ප්‍රධාන වාර්තා නිලධාරී)

(The Deputy Chairman of Committees)

අක්මම මන්ත්‍රීතුමා කථා කරන්නේ 1983 වාර්තාව ගැන.

ඒ. පී. පොල් පෙරේරා මහතා
(ති.රු. ආ. පී. පොල් පෙරේරා)

(Mr. E. P. Paul Perera)

1984 වාර්තාව මේ සභාවට ඉදිරිපත් කර තිබෙනවා. කොහොමද ඒක වැරදි කියන්නේ ? එතුමා මේ සභාව නොමග යවනවා.

රිචඩ් පතිරණ මහතා
(ති.රු. ශ්‍රී ජයවර්ධනපාය)

(Mr. Richard Pathirana)

සංවර්ධන ව්‍යාපාරය ගැන මේ වාර්තාවේ 81 වන පිටුවේ සඳහන් කර තිබෙනවා. සංවර්ධන ව්‍යාපාරය සම්පූර්ණයෙන්ම පරිහානියට පත් වී තිබෙනවා, කියා.

ඒ. පී. පොල් පෙරේරා මහතා
(ති.රු. ආ. පී. පොල් පෙරේරා)

(Mr. E. P. Paul Perera)

I raise this point of Order again. I want a reply. He is not carrying out your Orders, Sir.

ඩබ්ලිව්. පී. බී. දිසානායක මහතා (මහනුවර දිසා ඇමතිතුමා)
(ති.රු. ඩබ්ලිව්. පී. බී. දිසානායක — කන්‍යාකුමාරි මහලය)

(Mr. W. P. B. Dissanayake - District Minister, Kandy)

On a point of Order, Sir. No hon. Member of this House can misdirect this House. When an error is pointed out, the Speaker must correct him.

රිචඩ් පතිරණ මහතා
(ති.රු. ශ්‍රී ජයවර්ධනපාය)

(Mr. Richard Pathirana)

මම කරුණු දක්වුවේ 1983 මහ බැංකු වාර්තාවෙන්. කඩුවෙල මන්ත්‍රීතුමා කියනවා එතුමා ලග වෙත පොතක් තිබෙනවාය කියලා.

ඒ. පී. පොල් පෙරේරා මහතා
(ති.රු. ආ. පී. පොල් පෙරේරා)

(Mr. E. P. Paul Perera)

වෙත පොතක් නොවෙයි. මහ බැංකු වාර්තාවෙයි. මොකටද බොරු කියන්නේ ? මොකටද මේ ගරු සභාව නොමග යවන්නේ ?

රිචඩ් පතිරණ මහතා
(ති.රු. ශ්‍රී ජයවර්ධනපාය)

(Mr. Richard Pathirana)

ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය සභාපතිතුමා, විදේශ ණය ගැන බලමු. 1970 සිට 1977 දක්වා වූ කාලයේ එවකට තිබුණු ආණ්ඩුව විදේශ ණය ගැනීම ගැන එවකට විරුද්ධ පක්ෂය ගැටියට තිබුණු එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂය කථා කළේ

කොහොමද ? ජේ. ආර්. ජයවර්ධන මැතිතුමා ඇතුළු ඒ කණ්ඩායම විදේශ ණය පිළිබඳව එවකට තිබුණු ආණ්ඩුව විවේචනය කර තිබෙනවා. නමුත් බලන්න 1979 දී විදේශ ණය ගැනීම රුපියල් දස ලක්ෂ 19,279.2 සි. 1983 දී විදේශ ණය ගැනීම රුපියල් දස ලක්ෂ 67,952.5 සි. අනෙකුත් ණය, 1982 ට පමණක් රුපියල් දස ලක්ෂ 11,203 ක් අරගෙන තිබෙනවා. 1981 දී රුපියල් දස ලක්ෂ 12,341 ක් විදේශ ණය අරගෙන තිබෙනවා.

ඒ. පී. පොල් පෙරේරා මහතා
(ති.රු. ආ. පී. පොල් පෙරේරා)

(Mr. E. P. Paul Perera)

මය කොපි කාලෙ ගණන් තේද ?

We object to this, Sir. That is all wrong.

නියෝජ්‍ය කාරක සභාපතිතුමා
(ප්‍රධාන වාර්තා නිලධාරී)

(The Deputy Chairman of Committees)

Anyway, the Hon. Minister will answer him regarding your figure and his figure.

රිචඩ් පතිරණ මහතා
(ති.රු. ශ්‍රී ජයවර්ධනපාය)

(Mr. Richard Pathirana)

1982 දස ලක්ෂ 11,000 ක් අරගෙන තිබෙනවා. 1983 දී දස ලක්ෂ 14,000 ක් අරගෙන තිබෙනවා. ඒ වගේම එතුමා මේ අයවැය ලේඛනයේ යෝජනාවලින් රුපියල් දස ලක්ෂ 10,464 ක් ගන්න බලාපොරොත්තු වෙන බව එතුමාගේ කථාවෙන් පැහැදිලි කර තිබෙනවා. ඒ අනුව මේ පසුගිය අවුරුදු පහ ඇතුළත ගන්නා ලද විදේශීය ණය ගැන බලන විට අපි කම්පාවට පත්වෙන්න ඕනෑ. මේ රට පරමිපරා ගණනකටම විදේශීය රටවලට උසස් කර තිබෙන බව පෙනවා.

ඒ. පී. පොල් පෙරේරා මහතා
(ති.රු. ආ. පී. පොල් පෙරේරා)

(Mr. E. P. Paul Perera)

කුණ්ඩකාලේදීත් මීටා කීවා.

රිචඩ් පතිරණ මහතා
(ති.රු. ශ්‍රී ජයවර්ධනපාය)

(Mr. Richard Pathirana)

ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය සභාපතිතුමා, එතුමන්ලා විරුද්ධ පක්ෂයේ ඉන්න කාලයේදී කොයෙක් දේවල් ගැන—

ඒ. පී. පොල් පෙරේරා මහතා
(ති.රු. ආ. පී. පොල් පෙරේරා)

(Mr. E. P. Paul Perera)

පොළොව දෙරැයි.

රිචඩ් පතිරණ මහතා
(ති.රු. ශ්‍රී ජයවර්ධනපාය)

(Mr. Richard Pathirana)

එතුමන්ලා විරුද්ධ පක්ෂයේ ඉන්න කාලයේදී මේ ණය ගැන කොයෙකුත් දේවල් ප්‍රකාශ කර තිබෙනවා. ගරු මුදල් ඇමතිතුමා එද ට්‍රි ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයේ රජය තිබෙන කාලයේදී විරුද්ධ පැත්තේ ඉඳගෙන, මේ රට වෙතත් රටවලට විකුණනවාය කියා ප්‍රකාශ කර තිබෙනවා. නමුත් අපි කියන්න කැමතියි, මේ ආණ්ඩුව විසින් පසුගිය අවුරුදු හතක කාලය ඇතුළත විදේශ රටවලින් ගත් ණය ප්‍රමාණය දස ලක්ෂවලින් ඉහළ නැග තිබෙන බව. පරමිපරා ගණනකටම ඒ ණය ගෙවා ගන්න පුළුවන්කමක් ලැබෙන්නේ නැහැ. අපේ ගරු මුදල් ඇමතිතුමා 1976 නොවැම්බර් 18 වනදා අයවැය විවාදයේදී සඳහන් කලා—

ආර්. ජේ. ජී. ජී. මැල් මහතා
(ති.රු. ජී. ජී. ජී. මැල්)

(Mr. R. J. G. de Mel)

කොයි අවුරුද්දේද ?

සංවර්ධන ව්‍යාපාරය දිනා බැලුවත්, වෙනත් ඕනෑම ව්‍යාපෘතියක් දිනා බැලුවත් ඒ තාක්ෂණික හා දුෂ්කර පෙහෙන්න තිබෙන බව ආණ්ඩු පක්ෂයේ මන්ත්‍රීවරුන් පවා පිළිගන්න. එහෙම නම්, ඒ තත්ත්වය තෑගි කළොත් මීට වඩා අඩු වියදමකින් ඒ ව්‍යාපෘති, ව්‍යාපාර ඉදිරියට ගෙන යන්න පුළුවන් බවත් පිළිගන්න ඕනෑ. එබැවින් ඒ තාක්ෂණික හා දුෂ්කර ගැන සොයා බලා ඒවා තෑගි කිරීමට කටයුතු කිරීම ගරු මුදල් ඇමතිතුමාගේ යුතුකමක් බව මේ අවස්ථාවේදී පෙන්වා දෙන්න කැමැතියි.

ඊළඟට, පලාත් පාලන ක්‍රමය සම්බන්ධයෙන් යමක් කියන්න ඕනෑ. කලින් පැවැති ගම් සභා, පුර ප්‍රදේශ සභා, පලාත් ආණ්ඩු සභා ආදිය තෑගි කර මේ රජය ඒ වෙනුවට සංවර්ධන සභා ක්‍රමය ඇති කිරීම නිසා, එතෙක් පලාත් පාලනයට මේ රටේ සාමාන්‍ය ජනතාවගේ නිබුණු සහගාමිත්වය තෑගි වුණා. විශේෂයෙන්, ගම් සභා ක්‍රමය නිබුණු කාලයේ ඒ ගමේ තැන්තම් කොට්ඨාශයේ ගම් සහිතයා තමා නියෝජනය කරන ඒ ගමේ තැන්තම් කොට්ඨාශයේ මං මාවත්, ලීං, පොකුණු හා වාරමාර්ග ක්‍රම ගැන සොයා බැලුවා. නමුත් සංවර්ධන සභා නියෝජිතයන්ට, එද ඒ ගම් සහිතයාගෙන් කෙරුණු කාර්යය කරන්න අමාරු තත්ත්වයක් ඇති වී තිබෙනවා. ඒ නිසා, දැනට ක්‍රියාත්මක වන සංවර්ධන සභා ක්‍රමය ගැන තැවෙන සලකා බැලීම රජයේ යුතුකමක් බව සඳහන් කරන්න කැමැතියි. [බාධා කීරීම]

මේ අයවැය සමස්තයක් ගැටියට ගත්තාම ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයේ අපි එය දකින්නේ 1977 ආරම්භ කොට මේ රජය මේ දක්වා ක්‍රියාත්මක කරගෙන ආ ක්‍රියා මාර්ගය - විශේෂයෙන්ම දේශීය බැංකු පවත්වා ගැනීමට වාසි සැලසීම සඳහා වූ වැඩ පිළිවෙල - වැඩි දියුණු කිරීම සඳහා ඉදිරිපත් කළ අයවැයක් හැටියටයි. මේ අයවැයෙන් කර්මාන්ත සඳහා යම් - යම් බදු සහන සලසා තිබුණත් ඒ තුළින් මේ රටේ කර්මාන්ත අංශයේ දියුණුවක් ඇති වේයයි බලාපොරොත්තු වන්න බැහැ. මේ රජය බලයට පත් වීමෙන් පසු ගත වූ කාල පරිච්ඡේදය තුළ මේ රටේ කර්මාන්ත අංශයේ සැහෙන පරිහානියක් ඇති වී තිබෙනවා. එතෙක් මේ රටේ හොඳින් පවත්වාගෙන ආ, දියුණු තත්ත්වයක තිබූ කර්මාන්ත පවා අධිපණ වී තිබෙන්නේ මේ රජයේ ආනයන ප්‍රතිපත්තිය නිසා බව ගරු කර්මාන්ත ඇමතිතුමාට පිළිගෙන තිබෙනවා. අකමැත්තෙන් වුණත් ඒ බව පිළිගන්න රජයට සිදු වී තිබෙනවා. දේශීය කර්මාන්ත අද ඉතා නියුණු හරයකට මුහුණ දී සිටින නිසා හුදෙක් මේ බදු සහන තුළින් පමණක් ඒවාට සෙතක් සැලසේයයි බලාපොරොත්තු වන්න පුළුවන්කමක් නැහැ.

පසුගිය අයවැය ලේඛනයෙන් නොකෙරුණත්, මේ අයවැය ලේඛනයෙන් මේ රටේ සාමාන්‍ය ජනතාවගේ එදිනෙදා ජීවිතයට අවශ්‍ය පාරිභෝගික භාණ්ඩවල මිල අඩුවීමක් වේයයි දුක් විඳින සාමාන්‍ය ජනතාව තුළ බලාපොරොත්තුවක් තිබුණා. නමුත් එවැන්නක් - ජනතාවට අවශ්‍ය ප්‍රධාන භාණ්ඩවල මිල අඩුවක් - වූණේ නැහැ. ඒ නිසා මෙය මේ රටේ සාමාන්‍ය දුක් විඳින ජනතාවගේ අපේක්ෂාවක් සම්පූර්ණයෙන්ම ගෞරව කළ අයවැය ලේඛනයක් වශයෙන් හඳුන්වමින් මගේ වචන ස්වල්පය අවසාන කරනවා.

අ. හා. 5.44

එස්. ඩබ්ලිව්. අලවතුටුල මහතා (නියෝජ්‍ය මහාමාර්ග ඇමතිතුමා)
(திரு. எஸ். டபிள்யூ. அலவத்துலாஸ் - தெருஞ்சாலைகள் பிரதி அமைச்சர்)

(Mr. S. W. Alawathuwalla - Deputy Minister of Highways)

නියෝජ්‍ය සභාපතිතුමනි, මේ අයවැය ලේඛනය පිළිබඳව ඉතා කෙටියෙන්-වචන කීපයකින් පමණක්-මගේ අදහස් දක්වන්න බලාපොරොත්තු වෙනවා. ගරු මුදල් ඇමතිතුමා මේ අයවැය ලේඛනය ඉදිරිපත් කර තිබෙන්නේ බාධක රාශියක් තිබෙන අවස්ථාවකයි. උතුරේ කලබල, නැගෙනහිර කලබල, ඒ අතරතුරේ අපේ ලඟපාත රටක් වන ඉන්දියාවේ ඉතාමත් හයානක සිද්ධියක්. ඒ තත්ත්වයන් යටතේ පවා මහජනතාව පිට බර පටවන්නේ නැතිව, මේ රටේ දැනටමත් පටන්ගෙන තිබෙන සංවර්ධන කටයුතු ඉදිරියටත් පවත්වාගෙන යෑමට පුළුවන් වන ආකාරයේ සහනදායක අයවැයකුයි. ගරු මුදල් ඇමතිතුමා ඉදිරිපත් කර තිබෙන්නේ.

මේ රටේ වේගවත් සංවර්ධනයක් ඇති වන ආකාරයට 1977 සිට අවුරුදු පහා දිගටම අයවැය ලේඛන ගණනාවක් ඉදිරිපත් කරගෙන ආ අපේ ගරු මුදල් ඇමතිතුමා මේ ඉදිරිපත් කර තිබෙන්නේ සිය අවදානී අයවැය

ලේඛනයයි. ජාතිවාදී කලබල නිසා අති විශාල මුදලක් ආරක්ෂක අංශය සඳහා යොදවන්න සිදුවීම හේතුකොටගෙන, මහජනතාව මත දැරිය නොහැකි බරක් මෙවර අයවැය මගින් පැවැත්විය කියන බලාපොරොත්තුව විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීවරුන් තුළ තිබුණා. නමුත් ඒ බලාපොරොත්තු සියල්ල සුන් කරමින් ගරු මුදල් අමතිතුමා ඉදිරිපත් කළා. සාධාරණ සහනදායක අයවැය බේරනයක්. පොදුවේ කල්පනා කරනවා නම්, එක් කොටසකට පමණක් නොවෙයි, හැම ජන කොටසකටම, හැම ජන පංතියකටම, සහනදායක අයවැයක් මේ වතාවේ ඉදිරිපත් කර තිබෙනවා. සමහර ගරු මන්ත්‍රීවරුන් විවේචනාත්මකව කථා කරමින් කීව්ව, මේ අයවැය ලේඛනයෙන් සහන සැලසෙන්නේ ධනපති පංතියටය, මධ්‍යම පංතියටය, එහෙමත් නැත්නම් වෙනත් පංතියකටය කියා. නමුත් මම සඳහන් කරන්නට කැමතියි, පොහොරවල මිල අඩුකිරීම නිසා සැහෙන ප්‍රමාණයකට එයින් සහනය සැලසෙන බව. ඒවා පාරිච්චි කරන්නේ එක් පංතියක් පමණක් නොවෙයි. ධනවත් උදවිය පාරිච්චි කරනවා ; දුරපත් ගොඩනගා පාරිච්චි කරනවා. එනිසා එයින් එක් අයකුට පමණක් නොවෙයි, මුළු මහත් ජනතාවටම සහනයක් සැලසී තිබෙනවා.

ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය සභාපතිතුමනි, සමහර ගරු මන්ත්‍රීවරුන් සඳහන් කළා මන්දපෝෂණය ගැන. මම ඒ ගැනත් වචනයක් කියන්නට ඕනෑ. අද මන්දපෝෂණය ගැන සඳහන් කළාට, එද ඒ මන්ත්‍රීවරුන්ගේ පක්ෂය රට පාලනය කළ කාලයේ දී පෝෂණය ගැන සටහනක්වත් තිබුණේ නැහැ. නමුත් මේ වකවානුවේ දී මන්දපෝෂණය ගැන පමණක් නොවෙයි, පෝෂණය ගැනත් අපි කටයුතු කරගෙන යනවා. මෙහිදී මම එකක් පැහැදිලි කරන්නට ඕනෑ. පසුගිය වකවානුවේදී නමුත්තාත්දේපලා අත්තනට දකින්නට ඇති අපේ රටෙන් සමහර නගරවල මහජනයා සාගින්නෙන් මැරුණු බව ; හත් අට දෙනා කන්න නැතුව මැරුණු බව. ඒවා මේ රටේ අත්තනට ලැබුණා නම්, එසේ අත්තනට ලැබුණේ සිරිමාවෝ බණ්ඩාරනායක රජය කාලයේදී බව මම සඳහන් කරන්නට ඕනෑ. මම ඒ පක්ෂයේ මන්ත්‍රීවරුන්ගෙන් අත්තනට කැමතියි, මේ වකවානුවේදී එහෙම නැත්නම් 1977 ත් මෙපිට කිසිම දවසක කෙනෙක් බඩගින්නෙන් මැරුණාය කියා අත්තන ලැබුණාද, පත්‍රයක දකින්න ලැබුණාද කියා. එහෙම එකක් අත්තනට ලැබුණේ නැහැ. එපමණක් නොවෙයි. මේ කාලය තුළදී අත්තනට ලැබුණු වෙනත් කරුණක් තිබෙනවා. නමුත් මේ විරුද්ධ පක්ෂයේ මන්ත්‍රීවරුන්ට ඒක සඳහන් කරන්නට බැව්වුණා. ඒ මොකක්ද ? ලෝකයේ වෙනත් රටවලට, සාගින්නෙන් පෙළෙන ජනතාවට මැරෙන රටවලට මේ රටෙන් ආහාර නැවක් පිටත් කර යැව්වාය කියන ප්‍රවෘත්තිය. වැත්සානියාවට මේ රටෙන් ආහාර නැවක් යැව්වා. සාගින්නෙන් පෙළෙන ඒ ජනතාවට සංග්‍රහ කිරීම සඳහා. ඒ හැර මේ ආණ්ඩු කාලය තුළදී කිසිම කෙනෙක් සාගින්නෙන් මැරුණේ නැහැ කියන එක මම සඳහන් කරන්නට ඕනෑ.

ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය සභාපතිතුමනි, ඊළඟට විරුද්ධ පක්ෂයේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමන්ලා සඳහන් කළා රාජ්‍ය සංස්ථා පිළිබඳව. එතුමන්ලා කීවා මෙම රජයේ ප්‍රතිපත්තිය වී ඇත්තේ එයාර් ලංකා, කීර් මණ්ඩලය, වැනි රජයේ සංස්ථා පොදුගලික අංශයට ගිලගැනීමට අනුබල දීමය කියා. මම කියන්න කැමතියි විවෘත ආර්ථිකයක් තිබෙන රටක අදක්ෂ පාලනයෙන් යුතුව, දුෂ්කරයන් පිරුණු සංස්ථා මහජනයාට බරක්ව තිබෙනවාට වඩා තෑගි වී යාම රටට යහපතක් බව. කෙසේ වෙතත් තෙස්ලේ සමාගම විසින් කීර් මණ්ඩලය ගිලගන්නට යනවාය කියන එක නම් මම විශ්වාස කරන්නේ නැහැ. කීර් මණ්ඩලය හෝ වේවා, භාණ්ඩාගාරයෙන් ලබාගන්නා මුදල් නාස්තී කරන වෙනත් සංස්ථාවක් හෝ වේවා තිබෙනවා නම්, කල් නොයවා එය වෙනත් ආයතනයකට හාර දී අයිති වීම සුදුසුයි. අදක්ෂ පාලකයින් ඇති, යල් පැනපු, දුෂිත සංස්ථා 10 කට වඩා දක්ෂ ලෙස පාලනය වන එක සංස්ථාවක් හෝ එක ආයතනයක් හෝ මේ රටට පලදායකයි. මේ රටේ තිබෙන සියලුම සංස්ථා මේ පාඩම ඉගෙන ගත්තේ නැත්නම් ඒවා යථා කාලයේදී දිය වී යනවා ඒකාන්තයි. එය අපට වැලැක්විය නොහැකි කාරණයක්.

ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය සභාපතිතුමනි, ඊළඟට මම කථා කරන්නට ඕනෑ ජීවන අංකය සහ රජයේ සේවකයින් පිළිබඳව. මේ අයවැය ලේඛනයෙන් රජයේ සේවකයන්ගේ වැටුප රු. 100 කින් පමණක් වැඩි කිරීම ගැන විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීවරු රජයට දෙස් පවරනවා. ආචාර්ය ඇන්. ඇම්. පෙරේරා මහතා පිලිකස් ආර්. ඩයස් බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා ආදී රත්නරත් මොලා ඇති, කම්කරුවන්ගේ හිතවතුන් යයි කියා ගනු ලැබූ මුදල් ඇමතිවරුන්ගේ අයවැය ලේඛනවලින් රජයේ සේවකයන්ට කුමන අර්ථ සිද්ධියක් ඇති වූණාද කියා මම ප්‍රශ්න කරනවා. ඒ අයගේ රජය පවතින

[පස්. ධබ්ලිව. අලවකුවල මහතා]

කාලය තුළදී රජයේ සේවකයන්ගේ පඩිය වැඩි වූණේ රු. 17.50 කින් පමණයි. ගරු මුදල් ඇමතිතුමා මෙම අයවැය ලේඛනයෙන් වැඩි කරන ලද රු. 100 සමඟ ජනවර්ධන රජය විසින් රජයේ සේවකයන්ගේ පඩි රු. 504 කින් වැඩි කර තිබෙන බව මම ඉතා සන්තෝෂයෙන් පෙන්වා දෙනවා. යම් විදියකින් අපි හිතමු ගරු මුදල් ඇමතිතුමා මේ වර රජයේ සේවකයන්ගේ පඩිය රු. 100 කින් නොව රු. 200 කින් වැඩි කළො කියා එවිටත් විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වය කියා වි එම මුදලත් මදිය කියලා ඇහැට ඇහැ පෙනෙන්නේ නැතිවා වාගේ තමන්ගේ දෙය තමන්ට පෙනෙන්නේ නැහැ. අද විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයටත් වි තිබෙන්නේ ඒකමයි.

ඒවන විදහම ගලන ගංගාවක් වාගේ සදකාලිකවම ඉහල යන දෙයක්. එය ශ්‍රී ලංකාවට පමණක් සීමා වන දෙයක් නොවෙයි. ජනගහණ වර්ධනය සහ නිෂ්පාදනයේ අඩුවීම නිසා කොයි රටකට ඒවන විදහම ඉහල යනවා. ජනගහණ වර්ධනය අඩු කිරීමට කිසිම රටක මන්ත්‍රයක් නැහැ. මන්ත්‍රයක් තිබෙනවා නම් එය තිබෙන්නේ ජනතාවගේ සිත් තුළයි. බොහෝමයක් රටවල් එය මෙල්ල කිරීමට ක්‍රියා කර ඇතත් සම්පූර්ණයෙන්ම සාර්ථක වී නැහැ. ඒවන විදහම අඩු කිරීමට මේ රජය මගන්සී ගත්තවා. තවුත් එය මෙල්ල කිරීම අමාරු කරුණක් බැවින් වැඩි වන ඒවන විදහම නිසා අපහසුකම් ඇති වන රජයේ සේවකයන්ට අත දෙන්නටයි මවුත්තේ පඩිය රු. 100 කින් වැඩි කළේ. මුදල් ඇමතිතුමා එතුමාගේ කැමැත්තේ කියා සිටියා මේ අය වැය ලේඛනය සංවර්ධනය වන්නා වූ රටක අයවැය ලේඛනයක් බව. කඩිනම් මහවැලි ව්‍යාපාරය, ලුණුගම වෙහෙර ව්‍යාපාරය ආදී ව්‍යාපාරවලට අතිවිශාල මුදලක් විදහම් කරන අවදියකයි. රජයේ සේවකයන්ගේ පඩිය රු. 100 කින් වැඩි කළේ. ඉහත සඳහන් සංවර්ධන කටයුතු සඳහා මුදල් අඩු කළයුතුය කියා විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වය මේ රජයට කියන්නවා? එසේ නම් එයින් ඇතිවන එල් විපාක පිළිගැනීමට විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වය සූදනමිද ?

මම ඊළඟට සඳහන් කරන්නට ඕනෑ. පෝෂණය ගැන. පෝෂණය ගැන කථා කළ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීවරුන්ට මතක නැතිව ඇති 1977 වර්ෂයෙන් එහා පැත්තේ මේ රටේ නොයෙක් නොයෙක් තරගවල මහජනයා සාහිත්තේ මැරුණේ බව. එපමණක් නොව, පොලොස් ගෙඩිය, කෙසෙල් අල ආදිය එකතු කරලා තලලා පොඩි කරලා පිටින් සමඟ මිශ්‍ර කරලා රොටි ගෙඩි වඩා ගන්නට මේ රටේ මහජනයා අත්තල බැලීම කළ බව. ඒ තරමට මේ රටේ මහජනයාට වුවමනා කරන මූලික ආහාර ද්‍රව්‍යවල විශාල හිඟයක් ඒ කාලයේ පැවතුණේ. ඒ කිසිවක් කල්පනාවට ගත්තේ නැතිව මේ කාලයේදී කිසිම තැනක ආහාර හිඟයක් නැතිව මහජනයාට වුවමනා දෙයක් වුවමනා තැනකින් වුවමනා අවස්ථාවක ගන්නට තිබෙන මේ වකවානුවේදී කිසිම අවස්ථාවක කෙනෙකු සාහිත්තේ මැරුණායයි කියන්නට බැරිව තිබේදී විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ මන්ත්‍රීවරු සඳහන් කරනවා මේ රටේ ජනතාව මන්ද පෝෂණයෙන් පෙළෙනවාය කියලා. මේ රටේ ජනතාව මන්ද පෝෂණයෙන් පෙරුණු කාලය ගැන මතක නැතිවෙයි. මේ විධියට කථා කරන්නේ.

බද්දේගම ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා (අමරසිරි දොඩන්ගොඩ මහතා) සඳහන් කළා. මහා මාර්ග අමාත්‍යාංශය ලබන වර්ෂයේ මුල් භාගයේදී ආරම්භ කරන්නට යන වැඩපිළිවෙලක් අනුව මහා මාර්ග දෙපාර්තමේන්තුවේ සිටින කම්කරුවන් විශාල සංඛ්‍යාවකට රැකියා අහිමි වෙන්නවාය කියලා. මම පැතුදිලි කරන්නට ඕනෑ. මේ රටේ වේගවත් සංවර්ධනයට ගැලපෙන මහා මාර්ග පද්ධතියක් ඉදි කිරීමේ අභිලාෂයෙන්, ගරු අග්‍රාමාත්‍යතුමාගේ තීරණය මත ඉදිරි පස් අවුරුද්ද තුළ කෙටි පන්දගක පමණ විශාල ධනස්කන්ධයක් ආයෝජනය කරන්නට යන බව. මේ වැඩ පිළිවෙල පරණ ක්‍රමයටම කරන්නට ගියොත් මේ මුදල් තැවන වරක් නොයෙක් නොයෙක් දුෂිතයින්ගේ සාක්කුවලට වැටෙනවා. ඒ නිසා එය වැළැක්වීම සඳහා වැඩ පිළිවෙලක් සකස් කර තිබෙනවා. එය ලබන ජනවාරි මාසයේ සිට ක්‍රියාත්මක වෙනවා. එය මාර්ග නඩත්තු කිරීමේ තියෝජිත වැඩ පිළිවෙලක් ; ඒජන්සි ක්‍රමයක්. මේ රටේ මහා මාර්ග දෙපාර්තමේන්තුවේ සිටින කිසිම කෙනෙකුට අයුක්තියක් අසාධාරණයක් සිදු නොවන විධියටයි. මෙය ක්‍රියාත්මක කරන්නේ මහා මාර්ග දෙපාර්තමේන්තුවේ කම්කරුවන් 60,000ක් සිටින බව බද්දේගම ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා සඳහන් කළා. තවුත් එහි කම්කරුවන් 60,000 ක් නැහැ. මහා මාර්ග දෙපාර්තමේන්තුවේ සියලුම අංශවල සිටින්නේ කම්කරුවන් 22,000 ක් පමණ සංඛ්‍යාවක්. මේ කාට්ටත් කිසිම අසාධාරණයක් නොවන අන්දමින් ඒ පිරිසට මීටත් වඩා වාසිදායක තත්ත්වයක් ඇති වන අන්දමින් මේ අලුත් වැඩ පිළිවෙල ක්‍රියාත්මක කරන බව මම මේ අවස්ථාවේදී සඳහන් කරන්න කැමතියි.

මීට වඩා කථා කරන්නට මා බලාපොරොත්තු වන්නේ නැහැ. මේ අයවැය ලේඛනය මහජනයාට වාසිදායක අයවැය ලේඛනයක් පමණක් නොවෙයි. ලංකා පාර්ලිමේන්තු ඉතිහාසයේ වාර්තාවක් පිහිටුවන, ඒ වාගේම අතිරික්තයකුත් පෙන්වන අයවැය ලේඛනයක් බව කියන්න ඕනෑ. මේ අයවැය ලේඛනය පමණක් නොවෙයි. මීළඟට ඉදිරිපත් කරන 9 වැනි, 10 වෙනි, 11 වැනි හා 12 වැනි අයවැය ලේඛන මෙන්ම 13 වැනි අයවැය ලේඛනයන් අතිරික්ත අයවැය ලේඛනයක් වශයෙන් ඉදිරිපත් කරන්නට ගරු මුදල් ඇමතිතුමාට වාසනාව උදා වේවා කියා ප්‍රාර්ථනා කරමින් මගේ වචන ස්වල්පය අවසාන කරනවා.

වත්ද රණතුංග මහතා (මාවනැල්ල)
(திரு. சந்திர ரணதுங்க — மாவனல்ல)
(Mr. Chandra Ranatunga Mawanelle)

I thank you, Sir, for giving me a few minutes to speak on the Budget presented by the Hon. Minister of Finance.

නියෝජ්‍ය කාරක සභාපතිතුමා
(சுழப் பிரதிக் தலைவர் அவர்கள்)
(The Deputy Chairman of Committees)

There are only four minutes and you can continue tomorrow morning.

වත්ද රණතුංග මහතා
(திரு. சந்திர ரணதுங்க)
(Mr. Chandra Ranatunga)

Thank you, Sir. We must congratulate our Minister of Finance for being able to present eight consecutive Budgets during the tenure of office of this Government. We must say that all these Budgets that have been presented by the Hon. Minister have been on the basis of development Budgets, and we wish that no other person will be able to break this record set by this Hon. Minister and that he will be able to present many more Budgets in this House in the future.

Sir, when we examine the Budget presented by the Hon. Minister of Finance we have got to think of the situation of the country when he took over the reigns. In his Budget Speech he told us how his officials had advised him when he took over this Ministry in the year 1977. He told us that his officials advised him not to present a Budget but to present a Vote on Account. But he had the courage to present a Budget, and a Budget in which he was able to tell the country the state of the finances at that time. And he presented a Budget in which he set out a programme by which he was giving the masses of this country an idea as to how a Budget should be prepared and how the country should be run. I should say that in all the Budgets that he has presented, he has been able to tell the country that the one and only way in which this country could progress is by production.

එකල්හි වේලාව අ. හා. 6 වූයෙන් කටයුතු අත්සිටුවා විවාදය කල් තබන ලදී.
එතැන් සිට විවාදය 1984 නොවැම්බර් 23 වන සිකුරාදා පවත්වනු ලැබේ.
අර්ථපාඨය ඩී. ඩී. 6 மணிப்பாடுவிடவே சனாபியின் நடவடிக்கைகள் இடைநிறுத்தப்பட்டன, விவாதம் ஒத்திவைக்கப்பட்டிருந்தது. 1984 நொவம்பர் 23 வெள்ளிக்கிழமை விவாதம் மீள் ஆரம்பமாகும்.

It being 6 p.m., Business was interrupted, and the Debate stood adjourned.
Debate to be resumed on Friday, 23rd November, 1984.

...to be ...

...to be ...

...to be ...

1901

ADJOURNMENT

The Court adjourns until ...

I have ...

The Court adjourns to ...

...to be ...

