24 වන කාණ්ඩය 11 වන කලාපය Emergency Jebalo

මුහස්පතින්ද 1983 ජූලි 21 July



# පාර්ලිමේන්තු විවාද

(හැන්සාඩ්)

තිල වාර්තාව

(අශෝධිත පිටපත)

# අත්තර්ගත පුධාන කරුණු

අවනත වීමේ පුතිඥව: සිවුරත්න යාපාඛණ්ඩාර සේමසිංග ඛණ්ඩාර හේරත් මහතා: (හිරියාල) ජනාධිපතිතුමාගෙන් ලත් සන්දේශය:

මහජන ආරක්ෂක පුකාශනය

රජයේ ඉඩම් (සන්තකය ආපසු ලබා ගැනීමේ) (සංගෝධන) පනන් කෙටුම්පත: ශේෂ්ඨාධිකරණයේ තීරණය තිවේදන:

උපදේශන කාරක සභාවලට නම් කිරීම වෘචිස්ථාදායක ස්ථාවර කාරක සභාවලට නම් කිරීම කථාතායකතුමාගේ සහතික පුශ්නවලට වාචික පිළිතුරු රජයේ ඉඩම් (සන්තකය ආපසු ලබා ගැනීමේ) (සංශෝධන) පනත් කෙටුම්පත:

පළමුවර කියවන ලදී

මහජන ආරක්ෂක පුකාශනය

ශී ලංකා බෞද්ධ හා පාලි විශ්ව විදහලය (සංශෝධන) පනන් කෙටූම්පන: දෙවන වර සහ ගුන්වන වර කියවා සම්මන කරන ලදී

Digitized by Noolaham පුද්ගල්ල ලිබින පළිතුරු noolaham.org | aavanaham.org



# දැරලි ඉත්තු විවාද

(Charleson)

Græර්ය ඉම

(macci acione)

# අත්තර්ගත පුඨාත කරුණු

pass de la company (1960 pp. 1960 pp. 1

To other times

රාස වීමේ පුරාදට ඔවුන්ස යාපාට්සේර්ගේ ප්රමාන ත්ත්තිය නියම තිරීම (වර්ගල) ප්රවේතයෙන් අප පත්තේසය

real a second decoral

nutrina) (Badya Nag pam acabasa) May 1920 Adapa bakasan/baday acabasa

TO THE PROPERTY OF THE PARTY OF

CONTRACTOR OF THE CONTRACTOR O

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation. noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

# பாராளுமன்ற விவாதங்கள்

(ஹன்சாட்)

அதிகார அறிக்கை

(பிழை திருத்தப்படாதது)

# பிரதான உள்ளடக்கம்

உறுதிப்பிரமாணம்: திரு. சிவுரத்ன யாப்பபண்டார செமசிங்ஹ பண்டார ஹோத் (ஹிரியால)

சனுதிபதியிடமிருந்து வந்த செய்தி:

பொதுசனப் பாதுகாப்புப் பிரகடனம்

அரச காணிகள் (ஆட்சி மீளப்பெறுதல்) (திருத்தம்) சட்டமூலம் : உயர்நீதிமன்றத் தீர்ப்பு

அறிவிப்புக்கள் :

ஆலோசனேக் குழுக்களுக்கு நேமகங்கள் சட்டவாக்க நிலேக்குழுக்களுக்கு நேமகங்கள் சபாநாயகாது சான்றிதழ்கள்

வினுக்களுக்கு வாய்மூல விடைகள்

அரச காணிகள் (ஆட்சி மீளப்பெறுதல்) (திருத்தம்) சட்டமூலம் : முதன்முறை மதிப்பிடப்பட்டது

பொதுசனப் பாதுகாப்புப் பிரகடனம்

இலங்கைப் பௌத்த, பாளி பல்கலேக்கழகம் (திருத்தம்) சட்ட மூலம் :

இ<u>சண்டாம் மூன்ரும் ம</u>திப்புக்களிடம்பெற்று நிறை**வேற்றப்** பட்டது

விஞக்களுக்கு எழுத்துமூல விடைகள்

Volume 24 No. 11

Thursday 21st July 1983

# PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(HANSARD)

OFFICIAL REPORT

(Uncorrected)

# PRINCIPAL CONTENTS

AFFIRMATION: MR. SIVURATNE YAPABANDARA ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS SEMASINGHE BANDARA HERATH (HIRIYALA)

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT:

**Public Security Proclamation** STATE LANDS (RECOVERY OF POSSESSION) (AMENDMENT) BILL: DECISION OF THE SUPREME COURT

ANNOUNCEMENT:

Nominations to Consultative Committees Nominations to Legislative Standing Committees Speaker's Certificates

STATE LANDS (RECOVERY OF POSSESSION) (AMENDMENT) BILL:

Read the First time

PUBLIC SECURITY PROCLAMATION

BUDDHIST AND PALI UNIVERSITY OF SRI LANKA (AMENDMENT) BILL:

Read a Second, and the Third time, and passed

WRITTEN ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation. noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation. noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

පාර්ලිමේන්තුව பாசாளுமன்றம் PARLIAMENT

1983 ජූලී 21 වන මුගස්පතින්ද

வியாழக்கிழமை, 21 ஜூல் 1983 Thursday, 21st July 1983

අ. හා. 3 ට පාර්ලිමේන්තුව රැස් විය. කථානායකතුමා [අල් හාර් එමී. අබදුල් බාකිර් මාකාර් මහතා] මුලාසනාරුඪ විය.

பாராளுமன்றம் பி. ப. 3 மணிக்குக் கூடியது, சபாநாய<mark>கர் அவர்</mark> கள் [அல்ஹால் எம், அப்துல் பாகிர் மாகார்] தலேமை வ<mark>கி</mark>த்தார் கள்.

The Parliament met at 3 p.m. MR. SPEAKER (AL HAJ M. ABDUL BAKEER MARKAR) in the Chair.

අවනතවීමේ පුතිඥව: සිවූරත්න යාපාබණ්ඩාර සේමසිංහ බණ්ඩාර හේරත් මහතා (හිරියාල)

உறு திப் பிசமாணம்: திரு. சிவுசத்ன யாபா பண்டாச சேமசிங்ஹ பண்டாச ஹேசத் (ஹிரியால)

AFFIRMATION: MR. SIVURATNE YAPABANDARA SEMASINGHE BANDARA HERATH (HIRIYALA)

සිවූරත්ත යාපාබණ්ඩාර සේමසිංහ බණ්ඩාර මහතා (හිරියාල) නීති පුකාර පුතිඥව දී පොතෙහි අත්සන් කළේය.

திரு, சிவுரத்ன யாபா பண்டார சேமசிங்ஹ பண்டார ஹோத் (ஹீரியால) சட்டத்திஞல் வேண்டப்பட்டவாறு உறுதிப் பிரமாணம் செய்து சபாபீடத்திலிருந்த புத்தகத்தில் கைச்சாத்திட்டார்.

Mr. Sivuratne Yapabandara Semasinghe Bandara Herath (Hiriyala) made and subscribed the Affirmation required by Law; and signed the Book at the Table.

ජනාධිපතිතුමාගෙන් ලත් සන්දේශය சனுதிபதியிடமிருந்து வந்த செய்தி

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

මහජන ආරක්ෂක පුකාශනය

பொதுசனப் பாதுகாப்புப் பிரகடனம் PUBLIC SECURITY PROCLAMATION

කථාතායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

I have received the following Message from His Excellency the President.

"டூ டூவை சனப்படி இலங்கையின் சனுநிபதி

PRESIDENT OF SRI LANKA

No. IS/133.

Colombo, July 17, 1983.

Hon. Mr. Speaker,

By Proclamation dated July 17, 1983, and made under Section 2 of the Public Security Ordinance (Cap 40), as amended by Act No. 8 of 1959 and Law No. 6 of 1978, I have declared that the provisions of Part II of the aforesaid Ordinance shall come into operation on July 18, 1983, throughout Sri Lanka. 2. In compliance with paragraph (4) of Article 155 of the Constitution, I do hereby communicate to Parliament that the reason for making the Proclamation as aforesaid is for the preservation of public order and the maintenance of supplies and services essential to the life of the community.

J. R. Jayewardene, President.

Hon. Speaker of the Parliament."

රජයේ ඉඩම් (සන්තකය ආපසු ලබා ගැනීමේ) (සංශෝධන) පනත් කෙටුම්පත : ගුෂ්ඨාධිකරණයේ තීරණය

அரச காணிகள் (ஆட்சி மீளப்பெறுதல்) (திருத்தம்) சட்ட மூலம்: உயர்நீதிமன்றத் தீர்ப்பு

STATE LANDS (RECOVERY OF POSSESSION)
(AMENDMENT) BILL: DECISION OF THE
SUPREME COURT

කථාතායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

I have an announcement to make regarding the State Lands (Recovery of Possession) (Amendment) Bill.

The Bill certified by the Cabinet of Ministers as urgent in the national interest was referred to the Supreme Court by His Excellency the President in terms of Article 122 (1) (b) of the Constitution.

The Supreme Court is of the view that the new Sub-section 3 (1A) appears to be inconsistent with Article 4(C) of the Constitution and therefore requires to be passed by the special majority specified under the provisions of paragraph (2) of Article 84 but that the clause would cease to be inconsistent with the Constitution and the Bill need not be passed by the special majority as required in terms of paragraph (2) of Article 84 if it is amended in the manner specified by the Court in its decision.

I order that the decision of the Court be printed in the Official Report of today's proceedings.

"AN ACT TO AMEND THE STATE LANDS (RECOVERY OF POSSESSION) ACT No. 7 OF 1979."

DECISION OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF SRI LANKA

In the matter of a reference under Article 122 (1) (b) of the Constitution.

S. D. No. 2 of 1983

P/Parl

Present

D. Wimalaratne, Judge of the Supreme Court, B. S. C. Ratwatte, Judge of the Supreme Court, and J. A. R. Victor Perera, Judge of the Supreme Court.

Counsel

Sarath Silva, Deputy Solicitor General, for the Attorney General on notice.

Court Assembled for 10.00 a.m. on 11th July, 1983.

the Hearing at

A Bill titled "an Act to amend the State Lands (Recovery of Possession) Act No. 7 of 1979" was referred to us by His Excellency the President in terms of Article 122 (1) (b) of the Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka for determination

whether the Bill or any provision thereof is inconsistent with the Constitution. The Bill contains a certificate by which the Cabinet of Ministers has certified that the Bill is urgent in the national interest.

We have given our careful consideration to the question whether or not any provision of the Bill before us transgresses any provision of the Constitution.

Section (3) of the principle enactment is to be amended so as to provide in sub-section (1) that where the competent authority is of opinion—

- (a) that any land is State land; and
- (b) that any person is in unauthorized possession or occupation of such land.

the competent authority may serve a 'quit notice' on the person so in possession or occupation to vacate and deliver possession to the competent authority within a certain period.

A new sub-section is to be inserted as follows:-

"(1A) No person shall be entitled to any hearing or to make any representation in respect of a notice under sub-section (1)"

The new sub-section 3(1A) appears to us to be inconsistent with Article 4(c) of the Constitution in that it seeks to oust the exercise by the Court of the Judicial power of the People and therefore this Bill requires in terms of Article 123(2)(b) to be passed by the special majority specified under the provisions of paragraph (2) of Article 84.

The learned Deputy Solicitor General, who assisted us in the consideration of this Bill, indicated that the intention of this amendment is to limit the hearing or representation referred to in Section 3(1A) before the competent authority. In order to make this Clause cease to be inconsistent with the Constitution, we specify that Section 3(1A) be amended to read as follows:

"(1A) No person shall be entitled to any hearing before the competent authority or make any representations before the competent authority in respect of a notice under sub-section (1)."

If so amended as specified above there will be no inconsistency with any of the provisions of the Constitution and the Bill need not be passed by the special majority as required in terms of paragraph (2) of Article 84.

> D. Wimalaratne, Judge of the Supreme Court.

B. S. C. Ratwatte, Judge of the Supreme Court.

J. A. R. Victor Perera, Judge of the Supreme Court.

තිවේදන அறிவிப்புக்கள்

# **ANNOUNCEMENTS**

උපදේශක කාරක සභාවලට නම් කිරීම ஆலோசணேக் குழுக்களுக்கு நேமகங்கள்

NOMINATIONS TO CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEES

**ක**ථාතායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

In terms of Standing Order No. 121, the Committee of Selection has nominated the following Members to

serve on the Consultative Committee on Women's Affairs and Teaching Hospitals:

Mrs. Sunethra Ranasinghe (Chairman)

Mrs. Renuka Herath

Mr. M. L. M. Aboosally

Mr. Rohan Abeygunasekera

Miss. Sriyani Daniel

Dr. Neelan Tiruchelvam

Mrs. R. Pathmanathan

Mr. S. D. Bandaranayake

Mrs. Amarawathie Piyaseeli Ratnayake

In terms of Standing Order No. 121, the Committee of Selection has nominated the following additional Member to serve on the Consultative Committee on Local Government, Housing and Construction:

Dr. P. M. B. Cyril

In terms of Standing Order No. 121, the Committee of Selection has nominated the following additional Members to serve on the Consultative Committee on Defence:

Mr. Anura Bastian

Mr. R. P. Wijesiri

In terms of Standing Order No. 121, the Committee of Selection has nominated the following additional Member to serve on the Consultative Committee on Public Administration:

Mr. M. H. K. Jagathsena

In terms of Standing Order No. 121, the Committee of Selection has nominated the following additional Members to serve on the Consultative Committee on Social Services:

Mr. Mahinda Yapa Abeywardana

Mr. M. I. Uthumalebe

Mr. Chandrakumara Wijeya Gunawardena

Mr. Kamal Jayakody

In terms of Standing Order No. 121, the Committee of Selection has discharged the following Member from the Consultative Committee on Cultural Affairs:

Mr. R. P. Wijesiri

In terms of Standing Order No. 121, the Committee of Selection has discharged the following Member from the Consultative Committee on Fisheries:

Mr. S. S. Abeysundera

In terms of Standing Order No. 121, the Committee of Selection has discharged the following Member from the Consultative Committee on Janatha Estates Development:

Mr. R. P. Wijesiri

In terms of Standing Order No. 121, the Committee of Selection has discharged the following Member from the Consultative Committee on Regional Development:

Mr. S. W. Alawatuwala

In terms of Standing Order No. 121, the Committee of Selection has nominated the following additional Member to serve on the Consultative Committee on Cultural Affairs:

Mr. S. D. Bandaranayake

In terms of Standing Order No. 121, the Committee of Selection has nominated the following additional Member to serve on the Consultative Committee on Transport Boards:

Mr. Anil Moonesinghe

In terms of Standing Order No. 121, the Committee of Selection has nominated the following additional Members to serve on the Consultative Committee on Private Omnibus Transport:

Mr. P. B. Kaviratne

Mr. G. V. S. de Silva

Mr. Gamini Lokuge

Mr. Jinadasa Weerasinghe

In terms of Standing Order No. 121, the Committee of Selection has nominated the following additional Members to serve on the Consultative Committee on Health:

Mr. W. J. M. Lokubandara

Mr. Chandra Gankanda

Dr. Leonard Kiriella

Dr. P. M. B. Cyril

In terms of Standing Order No. 121, the Committee of Selection has nominated the following additional Member to serve on the Consultative Committee on Posts and Telecommunications:

Mr. Mervyn J. Cooray

In terms of Standing Order No. 121, the Committee of Selection has nominated the following additional Member to serve on the Consultative Committee on Textile Industries:

Mr. Jinadasa Weerasinghe

In terms of Standing Order No. 121, the Committee of Selection has nominated the following additional Member to serve on the Consultative Committee on Foreign Affairs:

Mr. Asoka W. Somaratne

In terms of Standing Order No. 121, the Committee of Selection has nominated the following additional Members to serve on the Consultative Committee on Industries and Scientific Affaris:

Mr. K. Ananda Kularatna

Mr. Dinesh Gunawardene

Dr. Neelan Tiruchelvam

Mr. Amarasiri Dodangoda

In terms of Standing Order No. 121, the Committee of Selection has nominated the following additional Members to serve on the Consultative Committee on Justice:

Mr. V. L. Wijemanne

Mr. Asoka W. Somaratne

In terms of Standing Order No. 121, the Committee of Selection has nominated the following additional Members to serve on the Consultative Committee on Food and Co-operatives:

Mr. Gamini Jayasuriya (Chairman)

Mr. G. V. S. de Silva

Mr. Richard Pathirana

In terms of Standing Order No. 121, the Committee of Selection has nominated the following additional Members to serve on the Consultative Committee on Parliamentary Affairs and Sports:

Mr. M. D. Premaratne

Mr. Mervyn J. Cooray

In terms of Standing Order No. 121, the Committee of Selection has nominated the following additional Member to serve on the Consultative Committee on Trade and Shipping:

Mr. Gamini Lokuge

In terms of Standing Order No. 121, the Committee of Selection has nominated the following additional Members to serve on the Consultative Committee on Fisheries:

Mr. G. M. Premachandra

Mr. P. S. L. Galapatthy

Mr. M. H. K. Jagathsena

Mr. Jinadasa Weerasinghe

In terms of Standing Order No. 121, the Committee of Selection has nominated the following additional Member to serve on the Consultative Committee on Agricultural Development and Research:

Mr. S. S. Abeysundera

In terms of Standing Order No. 121, the Committee of Selection has nominated the following additional Member to serve on the Consultative Committee on Lands and Land Development:

Dr. P. M. B. Cyril

In terms of Standing Order No. 121, the Committee of Selection has nominated the following additional Members to serve on the Consultative Committee on Power and Energy:

Mr. Chandrakumara Wijeya Gunawardena

Mr. Dinesh Gunawardena

Mr. Amarasiri Dodangoda

In terms of Standing Order No. 121, the Committee of Selection has nominated the following additional Member to serve on the Consultative Committee on State:

Mr. G: V. S. de Silva

In terms of Standing Order No. 121, the Committee of Selection has nominated the following additional Members to serve on the Consultative Committee on Rural Development:

Mr. M. L. Ahamed Fareeth

Mr. K. Ananda Kularatne

Mr. Kamal Jayakody

In terms of Standing Order No. 121, the Committee of Selection has nominated the following additional Member to serve on the Consultative Committee on Rural Industrial Development:

Dr. Leonard Kiriella

In terms of Standing Order No. 121, the Committee of Selection has nominated the following additional Members to serve on the Consultative Committee on Highways:

Mr. S. W. Alawatuwala

Mr. V. L. Wijemanne

In terms of Standing Order No. 121, the Committee of Selection has nominated the following Additional Member to serve on the Consultative Committee on Janatha Estates Development:

Mr. Richard Pathirana

In terms of Standing Order No. 121, the Committee of Selection has nominated the following additional Members to serve on the Consultative Committee on State Plantations:

Mr. G. V. Punchinilame (Chairman)

Mr. Mahinda Yapa Abeywardena

Mr. Anil Moonesinghe

In terms of Standing Order No. 121, the Committee of Selection has nominated the following additional Member to serve on the Consultative Committee on Higher Education:

Mr. M. I. Uthumalebe

In terms of Standing Order No. 121, the Committee of Selection has nominated the following additional Member to serve on the Consultative Committee on Regional Development:

Mr. D. Vincent Dias

In terms of Standing Order No. 121, the Committee of Selection has nominated the following additional Member to serve on the Consultative Committee on Home Affairs:

Mr. Dinesh Gunawardena

n terms of Standing Other No. 121, the Committee

වෳවස්ථාදයක ස්ථාවර කාරක සභාවලට නම් කිරීම சட்டவாக்க நிலேக்குழுக்களுக்கு நேமகங்கள்

NOMINATIONS TO LEGISLATIVE STANDING COMMITTEES

කථානායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

In terms of Standing Order No. 121, the Committee of Selection has nominated the following additional Members to serve on the Legislative Standing committee "A":

Mr. Mervyn J. Cooray

Mr. Dinesh Gunawardene

Mr. M. H. K. Jagathsena

In terms of Standing Order No. 121, the Committee of Selection has nominated the following additional Members to serve on the Legislative Standing Committee "B":

Mr. Kamal Jayakody

Mr. G. V. S. de Silva

III

කථානායකතුමාගේ සහතික சபாநயகரின் சான்றிதழ்கள்

SPEAKER'S CERTIFICATES

කථාතායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

I wish to announce that I have, under the provisions of Article 79 of the Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, endorsed the Certificate on the following Bill on 13th July, 1983:

### IRRIGATION (AMENDMENT)

I wish to announce that I have under the provisions of Article 79 of the Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, endorsed the Certificate on the following Bill on 19th July, 1983:

WIDOWERS AND ORPHANS PENSION

# ලිපි ලේඛනාදිය පිළිගැන්වීම <sub>ජග්ර්</sub>ගිස්සේග්ගේ ප්‍රදේශියේ PAPERS PRESENTED

ආර්. පේමදස මහතා (අගුාමාතෘතුමා, පළාත් පාලන, නිවාස හා ඉදිකිරීම් ඇමතිතුමා, මහාමාර්ග කටයුතු පිළිබද ඇමතිතුමා සහ පාර්ලිමේන්තුවේ සභානායකතුමා)

(திரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாச — பிரதம அமைச்சரும் உள்ளூ ராட்சி, வீடமைப்பு, நிர்மாண அமைச்சரும் தெடுஞ்சாலேகள் அமைச்சரும் பாராளுமன்றச் சபை முதல்வரும்)

(Mr. R. Premadasa - Prime Minister, Minister of Local Government, Housing & Construction, Minister of Highways, and Leader of the House of Parliament)

Mr. Speaker, I present the report of the Investigation by the Special Investigation Unit of the CID into alleged conspiracy to assassinate His Excellency the President and Planned violence on 20.10.82.

I also present -

# එස්. ඩී. ඛණ්ඩාරතායක මහතා (ගම්පහ)

(திரு. எஸ். டி. பண்டாரநாயக்க—கம்பஹ)

(Mr. S. D. Bandaranayake - Gampaha)

Mr. Speaker -

### කථානායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Order, please!

# ආර්. ජුේමදස මහතා

(திரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாச)

(Mr. R. Premadasa)

Let me present the papers. This is only presentation of papers. I also present the Report on the First Presidential Election in Sri Lanka held on 20th October 1982.

# එස්. ඩී. බණ්ඩාරතායක මහතා

(திரு. எஸ். டி. பண்டாரநாயக்க)

(Mr. S. D. Bandaranayake)

This investigation by the Special Investigation Unit

# කථානායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Order, please! What are you trying to do?

# එස්. ඩී. බණ්ඩාරතායක මහතා

(திரு. எஸ். டி. பண்டாரநாயக்க)

(Mr. S. D. Bandaranayake)

Mr. Speaker, I want to find out about the report that has been submitted –

# කථානායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

After the presentation of papers you might take your chance.

# එස්. ඩී. බණ්ඩාරතායක මහතා

(கிரு. எஸ். டி. பண்டாரநாயக்க)

(Mr. S. D. Bandaranayake)

Mr. Speaker, I want to find out about this very hideous matter that has been submitted to Parliament.

## කථාතායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

I cannot allow it at this stage. I will allow you to speak after these items.

Regulations made under Section 4 (3), 14 and 20 of the Imports and Exports (Control) Act, No. 1 of 1969.—(Mr. Lalith Athulath Mudali.)

Annual Report of the Agricultural Development Authority for the year ended 31st December 1982.—(Mr. M. Vincent Perera, on behalf of the Minister of Agricultural Development and Research and Minister of Food and Co-operatives)

- (1) 1982 මාර්තු 31 දිනට අවසන් වර්ෂය සඳහා ලංකා සංවර්ධන මුදල් සංස්ථාවේ වාර්ෂික වාර්තාව සහ ගීණුම් :
- (2) 1981 සඳහා රාජා මැණික් සංස්ථාවේ වාර්ෂික චාර්තාව.—[ආර්. ජේ. ජ්. ද මැල් මහතා]

1983 ලංක 4 දුරන පරිපුරක ඇස්තමේන්තුව –[[පෙසටස් පෙරේරා මහතා]

- Annual Report and Statements of Accounts of the Ceylon Ceramics Corporation and Subsidiaries for 1981.
- (2) Annual Report and Accounts of the Sri Lanka Tobacco Industries Corporation for 1981.—(Mr. M. Vincent Perera, on behalf of the Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs.)

Supplementary Estimate No. 3 of 1983.-(Mr. E. L. B. Hurulle.)

- (1) Twelfth Annual Report of the Ceylon Electricity Board for the year ending 31st December 1981.
- (2) Reports of the Janatha Estates Development Boards Nos. I, II, III and IV for the period 1st April 1980 to 31st December 1980.
- (3) Annual Report of the Janatha Estates Development Board for 1981.—(Mr. M. Vincent Perera, on behalf of the Prime Minister, Minister of Local Government, Housing & Construction, Minister of Highways and Leader of the House of Parliament.)

ထားමေထ මතු තිබිය යුතුයයි තියෝග කරන ලදි. சபாபிடத்தில் இருக்கக் கட்டணஙிடப்பட்டது. Ordered to lie upon the Table.

# එස්. ඩී. බණ්ඩාරතායක මහතා

(திரு. எஸ். டி. பண்டாரநாயக்க)

(Mr. S. D. Bandaranayake)

தால் டீர்கேம். எழுந்தார்,

rose

කථානායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker

Why are you in such a hurry? Let us first finish these items here.

# පෙත්සම් <sub>ගුණුස්සණ</sub> PETITIONS

# ජයවීකුම පෙරේරා මහතා (කුරුණෑගල දිසා ඇමතිතුමා)

(திரு. ஜயவிக்சம் பெசேசா—குருணுகல் மாவட்ட அமைச் சர்)

(Mr. Jayawickrema Perera-District Minister, Kurunegala)

මාගල්ලේගම. තිකවැරටියේ, රජයේ පගු වෛදා ගොවිපොළ ඉදිරිපිට, සී. ආර්. ද සිල්වා මහතාගෙන් ලැබී තිබෙන පෙත්සමක් මම ඉදිරිපත් කරමි.

# ආර්. එම්. ධර්මදස බණ්ඩා මහතා (නියෝජා ජෙෂකර්ම ඇමතීතුමා)

(திரு. ஆர். எம். தர்மதாச பண்டா — புடைவைக் கைத் தொழில் பிரதி அமைச்சர்)

(Mr. R. M. Dharmadasa Banda-Deputy Minister of Textile Industries)

බිබ්ලේ, නන්නපුරාවේ, 'කුමාර' හි පදිංචි ටී. එම්. හේමරන්න මහතා විසින් එවා තිබෙන පෙන්සමක් මම ඉදිරිපත් කරමි.

## කථානායකතුමා

(சபாநா யகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Hon. Member for Matara-(Pause)-Not here.

# **ේ. එම්. කුමරදස මහතා** (වැල්ලවාය)

(திரு. ஜே. எம். குமாரதாச—வெல்லவாய)

(Mr. J. M. Kumaradasa-Wellawaya)

ඇඹිලීපිටියේ, හබරන්නාවල—උප නැපැල් කාර්යාලය බාරේ— එව්. කේ. තෝමස් සිංඤෝ මහනාගෙන් ලැබුණු පෙන්සමක් මම ඉදිරිපත් කරම්.

## මර්වීන් ජේ. කුරේ මහතා (පානදුර)

(திரு. மேவின் ஜே. குறே—பாணந்துறை)

(Mr. Mervyn J. Cooray-Panadura)

වාද්දුවේ, ගාම්ණී පාරේ, අංක 67 හි පදිංචි එම්. ඒ පුනාන්දු මහතාගෙන් ලැබුණු පෙත්සමක් මම ඉදිරිපත් කරමි.

# කථාතායකතුමා

(சபாநா யகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Hon. Member for Anuradahapura East-(Pause)-Not here.

# මෛතීපාල සේනානායක මහතා (මැදුවච්චිය)

(திரு. மைத்திரிபால சேஞநாயக்க—மதவாச்சி)

(Mr. Maithripala Senanayeke-Medawachchiya)

I present a petition from Mr. D. Sivapragasam of Renuka Enterprises, No. 69, Sri Jinaratna Road, Colombo 2.

මතජන පෙත්සම් කාරක සතාවට පැවරිය යුතු යයි නියෝග කරන ලදී. பொதுமனுக் குழுவுக்குச் சாட்டக் கட்டளேயிடப்பட்டது. Ordered to be referred to the Public Petitions Committee.

# පුශ්නවලට වාවික පිළිතුරු කිලාස්සෙලාස්ල කළු කිලාළ ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

එව්. පී. තිලකාවතී මහත්මීය : වැන්දමු විශාම වැටුප් இருமதி எச். பீ. திலகவதி : விதவை ஓய்வூதியம்

MRS. H. P. TILAKAWATHIE: WIDOW'S PENSION

166/83

ආචාර්ය ධ**බලිවි. දහතායක මහතා** (ගාල්ල) (கலாநிதி டபிள்யு. தஹநாயக்க—காலி)

(Dr. W. Dahanayake-Galle)

තැපැල් හා විදුලි සත්දේශ ඇමතිතුමාගෙන් ඇසු පුශ්නය : (අ) 1942 සිට 1955 දක්වා ගාල්ලේ හා වන්වාවල තැපැල් කාර්යාලවල ලියුම් බෙදන්නකු වශයෙන් සේවය කර නැසීගිය ස්වකීය ස්වාමිපුරුෂයා වූ ඊ. ඒ. මානිස් අප්පුහාම් මහතා වෙනුවෙන් ගාල්ලේ හිරිඹුරේගම අංක 142 හි පදිංචි එව්. ඒ. නිලකාවහි මහත්මිය වැන්දඹූ විශාම වැටූපක් ඉල්ලා සිටින බව එතුමා දත්තේද? (ආ) නිලකාවහි මහත්මියට දී ඇති පිළිතුර කුමක් ද? (ඇ) ඇයට වැන්දඹූ විශාම වැටූපක් නොගෙවනු ලබන්නේ මන්ද?

தபால், தந்திப்போக்குவரத்து அமைச்சரைக் கேட்ட விடு: (அ) 1942 தொடக்கம் 1955 வரை காளி, வஞ்சாவலே ஆகிய தபால் நிஃலயங்களில் தபால் சேவகராகக் கடமையாற்றிக் காலஞ்சென்ற திரு. இ. ஏ. மானிஸ் அப்புஹாமியான தமது கணவரின் வகையில், காலி ஹிரிம்புரகம் 142 ஆம் இலக்கத் தில் வசிக்கும் திருமதி எச். பி. திலகவதி விதவை ஓய்வூதியம் கோரியுள்ளார் என்பதை அவர் அறிவாரா ? (ஆ) திருமதி திலகவதிகுக் கொடுக்கப்பட்டிருக்கும் மறுமொழி என்ன ? (இ) இவருக்கு ஏன் விதவை ஓய்வூதியம் வழங்கப்படஙில்லே? asked the Minister of Posts Telecommunications:-(a) Is he aware that Mrs. H. P. Tilakawathie, of 142, Hirimburagama, Galle, claims a widow's pension on account of her husband, the late Mr. E. A. Manis Appuhamy, having served as a postman in the Galle, Wanchawala Post Offices, from 1942 to 1955? (b) What is the reply that has been given to Mrs. Tilakawathie? (c) Why is she not paid a widow's pension?

பீ. **வி. විජෙතුංග මහතා (තැපැල් හා විදුලි සංදේශ ඇමතිතුමා)** (திரு. டீ. பி. விஜேதாங்க—தபாவ், தந்திப் போக்குவசத்**தா** அமைச்சர்)

(Mr. D. B. Wijetunga–Minister of Posts & Telecommunications)
(අ) ඔව්. (ආ) නැසීගිය ඊ. ඒ. මානිස් අප්පූහාම් මහතාට වැන්දඹූ හා අනත්දරු විශාම වැටූප් අංකයක් ලබාදී නොතිබුණේය. එබැවින්, අඑත් අංකයක් ලබාගැනීම පිණිස ඊට අවශා ඔහුගේ මරණ සහතිකය, විධාහ සහතිකය සහ භායණීවගේ උප්පැන්න සහතිකය සමග චරියා සටහනෙහි පිටපතක් 1983.06.28 දින ලේකම් හා ගණකාධිකාර, වැන්දඹූ හා අනත්දරු විශාම වැටූප් වෙන ඉදිරිපත් කර ඒ බව එවි. බී. තිලකාවති මහත්මියට ද දන්වන ලදී. (ඇ) ඉහත (ආ) අනුව පැන නොනගියි.

එන්. ඇසලින් නෝනා මහත්මීය : වැන්දඹු විශාම වැටුප් திருமதி என். அசலின்நோனு : விதவை ஓய்வூதியம் MRS. N. ASALINNONA : WIDOW'S PENSION

169/83

2. ආචාර්ය ධබ්ලිව්. දහනායක මහතා

(கலாநிதி டபிள்யு, தஹநாயக்க)

(Dr. W. Dahanayake)

ඉඩම් හා ඉඩම් සංවර්ධන ඇමතිතුමා සහ මහවැලි සංවර්ධනය පිළිබඳ ඇමතිතුමාගෙන් ඇසු පුශ්නය : (අ) ඉඩම් සංවර්ධන දෙපාර්තමේන්තුවේ අංක 529 දරන මේසන්ව සිට 1973 අපේල් 5 වැනි දින මිය ගිය ජී. එව්. සියදෝරිස් නමැත්තා සිය ස්වාම් පුරුෂයා වූයෙන් උනවටුනේ, උනවටුනකත්දේ එන්. ඇසලින්නෝනා මහත්මිය වැන්දඹූ විශාම වැටුපක් ඉල්ලා සිටින බව එතුමා දන්නේද? (ආ) ඇසලින් නෝනා මහත්මියට දී ඇති පිළිතුරු කුමක් ද?

காணி, காணி அடிவிருத்தி அமைச்சரும் மகாவலி அடி விருத்தி அமைச்சருமானவரைக் கேட்ட விண : (அ) 1973, ஏப்றில் 5 ஆர் திகதி காலமான, காணி அடிவிருத்தித் திணேக் களத்தைச் சேர்ந்த 529 ஆம் இலக்க மேசன் ஜீ. எச். சியதோ ரிஸ் என்பவரின் விதவையான, உனவட்டுன, உனவட்டுகைந்த எனுமிடத்தைச் சேர்ந்த திருமதி என். அசலின்நோகு என் பவர் விதவைகள் ஓய்வூதியத்தைக் கோரியுள்ளதை அவர் அறி வாரா? (ஆ) திருமதி அசலின்நோளுவுக்கு வழங்கப்பட்டுள்ள மறைமொழி யாது?

asked the Minister of Lands and Land Development and Minister of Mahaweli Development:—(a) Is he aware that Mrs. N. Asalinnona, of Unawatunakanda, Unawatuna, claims a widow's pension, her husband being the late G. H. Siyadoris, Mason No. 529, of the Land Development Department who died on 5th April, 1973? (b) What is the reply that has been given to Mrs. Asalinnona?

# ඒ. එම්. එක්. අධිකාරී මහතා (නියෝජා ඉඩම් හා ඉඩම් සංවර්ධන ඇමතිතුමා)

(திரு. ஏ. எம். எஸ். அதிகாரி—காணி, காணி அபினிருத்திப் பிரதி அமைச்சர்)

(Mr. A. M. S. Adikari-Deputy Minister of Lands & Land Development)

(අ) එසේය. (ආ) මියගිය සිය ස්වාම්පූරුෂයා වන පෙදරේරුවකු වූ ජී. එවී. සියදෝරිස් මහතා තාවකාලික විශාම වැටූජ නොලබන සේවකයකු වූ බැවින් වැන්දඹු විශාම වැටූපක් ඇයට ගෙවිය නොහැකි බව එන්. ඇසලින් නෝනා මහතමියට දුනුම් දී ඇත.

# කේ. ඩී. එව්. ඇසලින් නෝනා මහත්මීය : වැන්දඹු ව්ශාම වැටුප් திருமதி கே. டி. எச். அசலின்நோஞ : விதவை ஓய்வூதியம் MRS. K. D. H. ASALINNONA : WIDOW'S PENSION

170/83

# 3. ආචාර්ය ඩබ්ලීව්. දහනායක මහතා (கலாநிதி டபின்யு. தஹநாயக்க) (Dr. W. Dahanayake)

සෞඛ් කටයුතු ඇමතිතුමාගෙන් ඇසු පුශ්නය: (අ) ගාලු ආරෝගාශාලාවේ කම්කරුවකුව සිට 1982 මැයි 14 දින මිය ගිය කේ. අප්පූසිඤෙකුා මහතා වෙනුවෙන් ඔහුගේ වැන්දඹුව වන බූස්සේ පිටිවැල්ලේ පදිංචි හා වැන්දඹු විශුාම වැටුජ අංක 82091 හිමි කේ. ඩි. එව්. ඇසලින් නෝනා මහත්මියට සිය වැන්දඹු විශුාම වැටුප හා සෙසු හිමිකම් වහාම ගෙවීමට එතුමා පියවර ගන්නේද ? (ආ) නොඑසේ නම්, ඒ මන්ද ? (ඇ) ඇයට ගෙවනු ලබන්නේ කවදා ද ?

சுகாதார அமைச்சரைக் கேட்ட விறை: (அ) 1982, மே 14 ஆந் திகதி காலமாகியவரும், காலி வைத்தியசாலத் தொழிலாளியு மான கே. அப்புரிங்கோ என்பவரின் மாணம் காரணமாக அவரது விதவையான பூஸா, பிட்டிவெல்ல எனுமிடத்தைச் சேர்ந்த திருமதி கே. டி. எச். அசலின்நோனு (விதவை ஓய் ஆதிய இல. 82091) என்பவருக்குரிய விதவை ஓய்வூதியத்தை யும் எணேய கொடுப்பனவுகள் எல்லாவற்றையும் உடனடியாகக் கொடுப்பதற்கு வேண்டிய நடவடிக்கைகளே அவர் எடுப் பாரா? (ஆ) இன்றேல், என்? (இ) இவருக்கு எப்போது கொடுப்பனவுகள் செலுத்தப்படும்? asked the Minister of Health:—(a) Will he take steps to pay at once all other dues and the widow's pension to Mrs. K. D. H. Asalinnona of Pitiwella, Boosa, widow's pension No. 82091, on account of her deceased husband, the late of K. Appusingho, Labourer in the Galle Hospital, who died on 14th May 1982? (b) If not, why? (c) When will she be paid?

වෛදහාවායා රන්ජන් අතපන්තු මහතා (සොබහ ඇමතිතුමා) (வைத்திய கலாநிதி ரஞ்ஜித் அ<mark>த்தபத்து — சுகாதார</mark> அமைச்சர்)

(Dr. Ranjith Atapattu-Minister of Health)

(a) Payment of widow's pension to Mrs. K. D. H. Asalinnona commenced in May 1983. (b) and (c) Do not arise.

# සේවක භාරකාර අරමුදලේ වියදම ආදිය, 1982 தொ. ந. நி. கொடுபாடு ஆதியன, 1982 EPF DISBURSEMENTS, ETC. IN 1982

# 4. **டிங்கின் ப்படையி இமரை** (අත්තනගල්ල) (திரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஐயக்கொடி—அத்தனகல்ல) (Mr. Lakshman Jayakody-Attanagalla)

154/83

කම්කරු ඇමතිතුමාගෙන් ඇසූ පුශ්නය: (අ) 1982 වර්ෂයේ සේවක ගාරකාර අරමුදලේ වියදම් එතුමා සභාගත කරන්නේද? (ආ) නො එසේ නම්,ඒ මන්ද? (ඇ) 1982 වර්ෂය සඳහා අදළ අරමුදලේ ශේෂ පතුය එතුමා සභාගත කරන්නේද? (ඇ) නො එසේ නම්, ඒ මන්ද?

தொழில் அமைச்சரைக் கேட்ட விஞ: (அ) 1982 ஆம் ஆண்டு தொழிலாளர் நம்பிக்கை நிதியப் பணம் கொடுபாடு செய்த விபாத்தை அவர் சபையில் சமர்ப்பிப்பாரா? (ஆ) இல்லேயேல் ஏன்? (இ) 1982 ல் முடிவடைந்த ஆண்டுக்கான ஐந்தோகையை அவர் சமர்ப்பிப்பாரா? (சு) இல்லேயேல் ஏன்? asked the Minister of Labour: (a) Will he table disbursement of EPF during the year 1982? (b) If not, why? (c) Will he table the P/L Balance Sheet of the Fund for the year ending 1982? (d) If not, why?

# එම්. ජෝශප් මයිකල් පෙරේරා මහතා (කම්කරු තියෝජා ඇමතිතුමා)

( திரு. எம். ஜோசப் மைக்கல் பெரேரா — தொழில் பிரதி அமைச்சர்)

(Mr. M. Joseph Michael Perera-Deputy Minister of Labour)

(අ) නැත. සේවා තියුක්තයන්ගේ හාර අරමුදලේ ලාහාංශ ගිණුම් හා ශේෂ පතුය ඇතුළු ගිණුම් විගණනය සදහා දනට විගණකාධිපති වෙත ඉදිරිපත් කර ඇත. විගණනය අවසත් වූ විට ඒවා පාර්ලිමේන්තුවට ඉදිරිපත් කරනු ලැබේ. (ආ) (ඇ) සහ (ඇ) ඉහත (අ) පිළිතුර අනුව පැන තොනගී.

# ලක්ෂ්මන් ජයකොඩි මහතා

(திரு. லக்ஷமன் ஜயக்கொடி)

(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

මේක හැකිතාක් ඉක්මතින් අවසන් කිරීමට විගණකාධිපතිතුමාට දත්වතවාද?

# එම්. ජෝගප් මයිකල් පෙරේරා මහතා

(திரு. எம் ஜோசப் மைக்கல் பெசேரா)

(Mr. M. Joseph Michael Perera)

හොදයි.

රේදී ආතයනය புடைவை இறக்குமத TEXTILE IMPORTS

280/8

5. ලක්ෂමෙන් ජයකොඩි මහතා (இரு. லக்ஷ்மண் ஜயக்கொடி) (Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

වෙළඳ හා නාවුක කටයුතු පිළිබද ඇමතිතුමාගෙන් ඇසූ පුශ්නය:
(අ) 1980, 1981, සහ 1982 වර්ෂවල රජයේ වාණිජ (සඑ සල)
නීතිගත සංස්ථාව මගින් මෙරටට ආනයනය කරන ලද රෙදී යාර
පුමාණය කොපමණදයි එතුමා සදහන් කරන්නේද? (ආ) 1980, 1981
සහ 1982 වර්ෂවල කපු සහ කෘතුම රෙදී ආනයනය සදහා යෙදවූ
විදේශ විනීමය පුමාණය කොතරමිදයි එතුමා සදහන් කරන්නේද?
(ඇ) රජයේ අංශයේ සඑ සල හැරෙන්නට මෙරටට රෙදී ආනයනය
කරන වෙනන් සංවිධාන එතුමා සදහන් කරන්නේද? (ඇ) 1980, 1981
සහ 1982 වර්ෂවල පුද්ගලික අංශය විසින් ආනයනය කරන ලද රෙදී
යාර පුමාණය කොපමණදයි එතුමා සදහන් කරන්නේද? (ඉ) එයේ
නැත්නම් ඒ මන්ද?

வர்த்தக, கப்பற் போக்குவாத்து அமைச்சரைக் கேட்ட விஞ:
(அ) 1980, 1981, 1982 ஆகிய ஆண்டுகளுக்கு அரச வர்த்தக
புடவை (சலுசலாக்) கூட்டுத்தாபனம் இறக்குமதிசெய்த
துணி, யார் அளவாக எவ்வளவு என்பதை கூறுவாரா? (ஆ)
1980, 1981, 1982 ஆகிய ஆண்டுகளுக்கு பருத்திக் துணி,
தொகுத்த திணி (Synthetic cloth) ஆகியவற்றின் இறக்கு
மதிகளுக்குப் பயன்படுத்திய அந்நியச் சேலாவணியின்
தொகை என்ன என்பதைக் கூறுவாரா? (இ) அரச துறையில்
சலுசலாவைத் தவிர துணி இறக்குமதிசெய்யும் பிற நிறுவ
னங்களேக் கூறுவாரா? (ச) 1980, 1981, 1982 ஆகிய ஆண்டு
களில் தனியார்துறை இறக்குமதி செய்த துணி யார் அளவாக
எவ்வளவு என்பதைக் கூறுவாரா? (உ) இல்ஃமேல் ஏன்?

asked the Minister of Trade and Shipping: (a) Will he state the yardage of cloth imported to this country by the State Trading Textiles (Salu Sala) Corporation for the years 1980, 1981 and 1982? (b) Will he state the amount of foreign exchange utilised for the imports made in cotton and synthetic cloth for the years 1980, 1981 and 1982? (c) Will he state the organisations that import cloth other than Salu Sala in the Government Sector? (d) Will he state the yardage of cloth imported by the private sector in 1980, 1981 and 1982? (e) If not, why?

ලලින් ඇතුලන් මුදලි මහතා (වෙළඳ හා නාවූක කටයුතු පිළිබඳ ඇමතිතුමා)

(திரு. லலித் அத்துலத்முதலி—வர்த்தம, கப்பற்றுறை அமைச்சர்)

(Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali-Minister of Trade and shipping)

(a)	Quantity in Million Metre.
1980	21.31
1981	3.05
1982	10.35

(b) Foreign exchange utilised by Sri Lanka State Trading (Textiles) Corporation only are given below:

Foreign Exchange value C&F value in Rs.

Sand believe

1980	US \$ 11,550,046.00	242,550,966.00
1981	US \$ 2,095,945.00	44,014,845.00
1982	US \$ 6,036,940.00	126,775,740.00

- (c) Government Supplies Department, Army, Navy, Air Force and Police Department.
- (d) Not available.
- (e) Does not arise.

ලක්ෂමන් ජයකොඩි මහතා

(திரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயக்கொடி) (Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

Will the Hon. Minister work out some scheme with some available organisation to find out how many yards are being imported by the private sector?

ලලින් ඇතුලන්මුදලි මහතා

(திரு. லவித் அத்துலத்முதலி)

(Mr. Lalith Athulath Mudali)

Sir, I do not understand. What do you want me to do?

ලක්ෂමන් ජයකොඩි මහතා

(திரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயக்கொடி)

(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

The private sector imports cloth; the Minister of Trade does not know how much.

ලලින් ඇතුලන්මුදලි මහතා

(திரு. வவிக் அக்குவத்முகவி)

(Mr. Lalith Athulath Mudali)

No, no. That is not the correct position. What is the factual position? The legal position is that only the organisations set out in answer (c), as well as Salu Sala, can be authorised to import cloth except for an industrial purpose where they can import cloth for making into garments. Of course, travellers returning from abroad are entitled to bring their quota allowance. Any other informal imports ar not within my purview.

பிய. එd. ඒ. වෝර්බෝර්ග් සහ සමාගම : රජයේ උපදේශක எஸ். ஜீ. வாபக் அன் கோ, அரசாங்க உசாத்துணேயாளர்

MESSRS S. G. WARBORG & CO.: CONSULTANT TO GOVERNMENT

290/83

6. ලක්ෂ්මන් ජයකොඩි මහතා (திரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயக்கொடி)

(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

මුදල් හා කුම සම්පාදන කටයුතු පිළිබද ඇමතිතුමාගෙන් ඇසූ පුශ්නය : (අ) බිතානෑ. නිව්යෝර්ක් හා පැරිස්හි ශාඛා කායුණල පිහිටුවා ඇති සීස. එස්. ජ්. චෝර්බෝර්ග් සහ සමාගම ශී ලංකා රජයේ මුදල් කළමණාකරන උපදේශකයින් ලෙස පන්කර ඇති බැව් එතුමා දන්නේද ? (ආ) මේ සමාගම විසින් මූලෑ මුදල් හා අනෙකුත් ආර්ථික පුහිපත්ති පිළිබදව රජයට කර ඇති යෝජනා කවරේදයි එතුමා දන්වන්නේද ? (ඇ) නොදන්වන්නේ නම්, ඒ මන්ද ? (ඇ) එම සමාගමට 1983.03.31 දින දක්වා කරනු ලැබූ ගෙවීම්වල ස්වභාවය කුමක්දයි පුකාශ කරමින්, උපදේශක කටයුතු සඳහා ගාස්තු යනාදිය සම්බන්ධයෙන් අත්සන් කරන්නට යෙදුණු ගිවිසුම සභාගත කරන්නේද ? (ඉ) මෙරට මුදල් කළමනාකරණයට අදළව ඔවුන් විසින් රජයට ඉදිරිපත් කරනු ලැබූ ලියකියවිලි එතුමා සභාගත කරන්නේද ?

நிதி, அமைப்புத்திட்ட அமைச்சரைக் கேட்டவிரை?: (அ)பிரித் தானியா, நியூயோர்க், பாரிஸ் ஆகிய இடங்களில் அலுவலகங் களே வைத்திருக்கும் Messers S. G. Warbarg & Co., திறுவனம் இலங்கை அரசாங்கத்தின் நிதி முகாமை உசாத் துணேயாளராக நியமிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது என்பதை அறிவாரா? (ஆ) நிதி, நாணய, அரசிறை வருமானப் பொருளாதாரக் கொள்கைகள்மீ தும் பிற பொருளாதாரக் கொள்கைகள் மீ தும் இவர்கள் அரசாங்கத்துக்களித்த தருமொழிகளேக் கூறுவாரா? (இ) இல்லேயேல், ஏன்? (ஈ) 1983.03.31 ுரை இவர்களுக் <mark>களித்த கொடுப்ப</mark>னவுகளின் தன்மையைக் கூறவரா? உசாத் கட்டணங்களும் ஏனேயவையும் கையெழுத்திடப்பட்ட ஒப்பந்தத்தைச் சமர்ப்பிப்பாசா? (உ) நாட்டின் நிதி முகாமைத்துவம் தொடர்பில் இவர்கள் அர சாங்கத்துக்குச் சமர்ப்பித்த ஆவணங்களேச் சபையில் சமர்ப் 1911111111 2

asked the Minister of Finance and Planning: (a) Is he aware that M/s S. G. Warborg & Co., having their offices in Britain, New York and Paris been appointed as the Financial Management Consutants to the Government of Sri Lanka? (b) Will he state the proposals made by them to the Government pertaining to the Financial Monetary Fiscal and other Economic Policies? (c) If not, why? (d) Will he state the nature of payment made to them up to 31.03.1983 and table the contract signed on the consultative fees etc.? (e) Will he table the documents submitted to the Government by them pertaining to the financial management of the country?

අාර්. ජේ. ඒ. ද මැල් මහතා (මුදල් හා කුමසම්පාදන ඇමතිතුමා) (திரு. ஆர். ேஐ. ஜீ. த மெல்—நிதி அமைப்புத்திட்ட அமைச்சர்)

(Mr. R. J. G. de Mel-Minister of Finance and Planning)

- (a) Three international merchant banks, (1) S. G. Warborg & Co. of London, (2) Lehmann Brothers Koen Lobb International Incorporation of New York, and (3) Bazard Sayers of Paris acting as a consortium were appointed international financial consultants to the Government of Sri Lanka on 16th August, 1978. These are three of the most reputed international merchant bankers in the world. Apart from Sri Lanka, they are financial consultants to several governments including the Government of Indonesia, the Government of Nigeria, Gabon, Turkey, Costa Rica, Panama and Senegal, among others.
- (b) The consultancy arrangement does not extend to monetary, fiscal and other economic policies. The group has advised the Government on the following matters, inter alia, (i) Inverstment of foreign exchange reserves of the Central Bank; (ii) Borrowing in international commercial markets by the government and public sector enterprises; (iii) Promotion of foreign investment in Sri Lanka; (iv) Revitalisation of the share market in Sri Lanka and the building up of a Stock Exchange; (v) Setting up of the proposed Securities Council; (vi) A number of individual

schemes and projects undertaken by the Government and the public sector, particularly financing if donor finance is not available.

# (c) Does not arise.

- (d) For the 12-month period beginning 16th August 1978, the remuneration paid to the group was U.S. \$1 million. For each subsequent 12-month period the remuneration paid was U.S. \$1,250,000. The expenses incurred by the group in travelling to and from Sri Lanka up to a maximum to U.S. \$250,000 and expenses incurred for hotel accommodation and travel in Sri Lanka were also reimbursed by the Government.
- (e) No document has been submitted by the consultants to the Government on the financial management of the country. This does not form any part of their duties.

ජ්. ධී. ඇග්නස් වීරසූරිය මහත්මිය : වැන්දඹු විශාම වැටුප් ඉිලැයකි නී. ය. அக்னஸ் வீசஞரிய : කිළකක ඉඩ්නු ඉිය MRS. G. D. AGNES WEERASURIYA : WIDOW'S PENSION

310/83

1056

7. සරත් මුත්තෙට්ටුවෙගම මහතා (කලවාත) (நிரு. சரத் முத்தெட்டுவெகம—கலவான)

(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama-Kalawana රාජා පරිපාලන ඇමතිතුමා සහ වැවිලි කර්මාන්ත ඇමතිතුමාගෙන් ඇසූ පුශ්නය : (අ) (i) ගංගොඩවිල සිරිල් නමැති නම ස්වාමීපුරුෂයා ම්යගීය විට වැත්දඹු හා අනත්දරු විශාම වැටුප් පුතිලාහ ලබා ගැනීම සදහා යටියන්තොට ගිනිගන්හේන පාරේ, අංක 118, ජ්. ඩි. ඇග්නස් වීරසූරිය මහත්මිය ඉල්ලූම්පතක් යැවූ බවත්; (ii) යථෝක්ත ගංගොඩවිල සිරිල් සමග ඇය විවාහ වූ අවස්ථාවේදී කලින් කරගෙන තිබුණු කසාදය කටුගා නොතිබීමේ හේතුව උඩ ඇයට වැන්දඹු හා අතත්දරු විශාම වැටුප් පුතිලාහ ගෙවීමට නොහැකි යයි අංක 82/ 305735/විවැ 5 හා 1982.09.21 වැනි දින දරන ලිපියෙන් වැන්දඹ හා අතත්දරු විශාම වැටුප් කාර්යාලය ඇයට දුන්වු බවත් : (iii) එම කලින් කසාදය කටුගෑම සඳහා 1961 අගෝස්තු 8 වැනි දින අව්ස්සාවේල්ල දිස්තුක් උසාවියේ අංක 10263 දරන නඩුව මගින් නයිසයි ආඥවක් තිකුත් කරන ලද බවත්; එතුමා දන්නේද? (ආ) නයිසයි ආඥව ස්ථිර කර ගැනීමේ අවශානාවය පිළිබඳව විරසුරිය මහත්මිය තොදන සිටි නිසාත් ඇයගේ දෙවැනි විවාහය සිදුවි ඇත්තේ ඇගේ පළමු විචාහය සම්බන්ධයෙන් නයිසයි ආඥවක් නිකුත් කරනු ලැබීමෙන් දීර්ඝ කාලයකට පසුව නිසාන් ජී. ඩී. ඇග්නස් විරසුරිය මහත්මිය පිළිබද පුශ්නය අනුකම්පා සහගත හේතුන් මත තැවත සමාලෝචනය කොට වැන්දඹු හා අනන්දරු විශාම වැටුජ පුතිලාහ ඇයට ගෙවීමට එතුමා කිුිිියා කරන්නේද ?

பொது நிருவாக அமைச்சரும், தோட்டத் தொழில் அமைச் சருமானவரைக் கேட்ட விடை: (அ) (i) யட்டியந்தோட்ட, கினிகத்ஹேன வீதி, 118 ஆம் இலக்கத்தைச் சேட்ந்த திருமதி ஜீ. டீ. அக்னஸ் விரசூரிய என்பவர், இவரகு கணவர் கங்கொடவில சிறில் என்பவருடைய மாணத்தின் டெில், வி. அ. ஓ. ஊதியம் பெறுவதற்கு விண்ணப்பித்ததையும்: (ii) வி. அ. ஓ. ஊ. நிணேக்களம் மேற்சோல்லப்பட்ட கங்கொடவில சிறில் என்பாரை விண்ணப்பதாரி திருமணம்செய்த டேட்டுவில், முன் கேன திருமணமொன்று மணமுறிவு செய்யப்படாதிருத்த காரணத்தால் வி. அ. ஓய்வுதியம் செலுத்தப்பட முடியாதென

[සරත් මුත්තෙට්ටුවේගම මහතා]

இவருக்கு 1982.09.21 ஆந் தேதிய 82/305735/200. 5 இலக்கக் கடிகமூலம் அறிவித்ததையும்; (iii) இந்த முன்னேய திரு மணத்தின் மணமுறிவுக்காக, 1961 ஆகஸ்ட் 8 ஆந் தேதி அவி சாவலே மாவட்ட நீதிமன்றின் 10263 ஆம் இலக்க வழக்கில், தற்காலிக விதிப்பொன்ற பதிவுசெய்யப்பட்டிருந்ததையும்; அவர் அறிவாரா? (ஆ) இத்தற்காலிக விதிப்பைப் பூரணத் துவமுடையதாக்குவிப்பது அவசியமானதென்பதை திருமதி வீரசூரிய அறிந்திராத காரணத்தைக் கருத்திற்கொண்டும் விவருடைய இரண்டாவது திருமணம், அவரது முதலாவது திருமணம் தொடர்பான தற்காலிக விதிப்புப் பதிவுசெய்யப் பட்டு நீண்டகாலத்தின் பின்னரே இடம்பெற்றுள்ள மையைக் கருத்திற்கொண்டும் இவ்விடயத்தைக் காருண்ய அடிப்படையில் பூரணமாக மீளாய்வுசெய்து திருமதி ஜீ. டீ. அக்னஸ் வீர சூரியவுக்கு அவரது வி. அ. ஓ. ஊதிய நலன்களேச் செறுத்து வரரா?

asked the Minister of Public Administration and Minister of Plantation Industries: (a) Is he aware that- (i) Mrs. G. D. Agnes Weerasuria of No. 118, Ginigathhena Road, Yatiyantota, applied to receive the W. & O. P. benefits on the death of her husband Gangodawila Cyril; (ii) by letter 82/305735/ dated 21.09.1982, the W. & O. P. informed her that the W.&O.P. benefits could not be paid to her, because, an earlier marriage had not been dissolved at the time of her marriage to the above mentioned Gangodawila Cyril; (iii) a decree Nisi for the dissolution of this earlier marriage had been entered in D.C. Avissawella case No. 10263 on 8th August, 1961? (b) Will he on compassionate ground review the whole case afresh and pay Mrs. G. D. Agnes Weerasuriya her W. & O. P. benefits, in view of the fact that Mrs. Weerasuriya had not known it was necessary to have the decree Nisi made absolute and her second marriage had taken place long after the decree Nisi was entered in respect of her earlier marriage?

லேசீன்டு வோச்பி இலை (கிவேச்சு ச்சிக்கிறில்) (திரு. ஹரிந்திர கொறயா—பொது நிர்வாகப் பிரதி அமைச்சர்)

(Mr. Harindra Corea-Deputy Minister of Public Administration)
(a) (i), (ii), (iii) Yes. (b) No decision can be reached till instructions from the Attorney-General are received.

May I ask this? Has Attorney-General been consulted in regard to this matter with a view to granting some relief to this lady?

හරීන්දු කොරයා මහතා (திரு. ஹார்ந்திர கொறயா) (Mr. Harindra Corea) That is what the answer means. සරත් මූත්තෙට්ටුවෙගම මහතා (කිලා. சாத் முத்தெட்டுவெகம) (Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama) He does not say that.

හරින්දු කොරයා මහතා (திரு. ஹசிந்திச கொறயா) (Mr. Harindra Corea)

He has been consulted. She will receive instructions when it comes.

බි. ලග්මීස්: රබර් වගා කිරීමේ අවසර පතුය டு. கோமஸ்: இறப்பர் நடுகை உரிம<sub>ம்</sub> பற்றிய கடிதம் B. GOMIS: LETTER RE RUBBER PLANTING PERMIT

311/83

8. සරත් මූත්තෙට්ටුවෙගම මහතා (திரு. சரத் முத்தெட்டுவெகம) (Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

රාජ්‍ය පරිපාලන ඇමතිතුමා සහ වැවිලි කර්මාන්ත ඇමතිතුමාගෙන් ඇසු ප්‍රශ්නය : (අ) (i) කිරිඇල්ලේ මඩබද්දර පිහිටි ලිහිනියාගල නම් ඉඩමක් සම්බන්ධව අංක 82 NP 190 R 4,82 NP 190 R 5 සහ 82 NP R 6 දරන රබර් වගා කිරීමේ අවසර පත්‍රයක් පිළිබදව කිරිඇල්ලේ ඔඩබද්දර බී. ගෝම්ස් නමැත්තෙක් රබර් පාලන දෙපාර්තමේන්තුවට ලියා ඇති බවත් ; (ii) මේ ඉඩම පිළිබදව ආරවුලක් ඇති නිසා එම ඉඩම ලියාපදිංචි නොකරන ලෙස එකී බී. ගෝම්ස් ඉල්ලා ඇති බවත් ; (iii) මේ කාරණාව පිළිබදව කලවාන මන්තිතුමාද රබර් පාලන දෙපාර්තමේන්තුවට ලියා ඇති බවත් ; (iv) ඉහත කී එකම ලිපියකටවත් රබර් පාලන දෙපාර්තමේන්තුව පිළිතුරු එවා නැති බවත් ; එතුමා දන්නේද? (ආ) බී. ගෝම්ස්ගේ ලිපියෙන් කර ඇති ඉල්ලීම පිළිබදව දෙපාර්තමේන්තුව යම් පියවර ගන්නේද ? (ඇ) එසේ නම්, කවදද ? (ඇ) නො එසේ නම්, ඒ මන්ද ?

பொது நிர்வாக அமைச்சரும், தோட்டத்தொழில் அமைச் சருமானவரைக் கேட்ட விறை: (அ) (i) கிரியெல்ல, மடபத் தறயில் அமைந்துள்ள விஹினியங்கல என்றழைக்கப்படும் காணி தொடர்பான 82 NP 190 R 4; 82 NP 190 R 5; 82 NP R 6 எனும் இலக்கங்களேக்கொண்ட இரப்பர் நடுகை உரிமம்பற்றி கிரியெல்ல, மடபத்தறயைச் சேர்ந்த பி. கோமிஸ் என்பவர் இரப்பர்க் கட்டுப்பாட்டுத் திணேக்களத்துக்கு எழுதி யுள்ளாசென்பதையும்; (ii) இக்காணி தொடர்பாகத் தகராறு இருப்பதாக இக்காணி பதியப்படலாகாதெனச் சொல்லப் பட்ட பீ. கோமிஸ் கோரியுள்ளாரென்பதையும் ; (iii) இவ்விட யந் தொடர்பாகக் கலவானேப் பாராளுமன்ற அங்கத்தவரும் இரப்பர்க் கட்டுப்பாட்டுத் திணேக்களத்துக்கு எழுதியுள்ள**ர** சென்பதையும் ; (iv) மேற்கூறப்பட்ட கடிதங்கள் எதற்கும் இரப்பர்க் கட்டுப்பாட்டுத் திணேக்களம் பதிலனுப்பளில்லே என் பதையும், அவர் அறிவாரா? (ஆ) பி. கோமிலின் கடிதத்தில் கோரியுள்ளமை தொடர்பாகத் தினேக்களம் நடவடிக்கை ஏதும் எடுக்குமா ? (இ) அவ்வாறெனில், எப்போது ? (ஈ) இன் றேல், என்?

asked the Minister of Public Administration and Minister of Plantation Industries: (a) Is he aware—(i) that one B. Gomis of Madabaddara, Kiriella, has written to the Rubber Control Department about a rubber planting permit bearing numbers 82 NP 190 R 4; 82 NP 190 R 5; and 82 NP R 6—relating to a land called Lihiniyagala situated at Madabaddara, Kiriella; (ii) that the said B. Gomis, has requested that this land should not be registered as there is a dispute pertaining

to the land; (iii) that the MP for Kalawana, has also written to the Rubber Control Department regarding this matter; (iv) that the Rubber Control Department has not replied any of the letters referred to above? (b) Will the department take any steps about the request made in the letter of B. Gomis? (c) If so, when? (d) If not, why?

ඇලික් අළුවිහාරේ මහතා (වැවිලි කර්මාන්ත නියෝජා ඇමතිතුමා)

(திரு. அலிக் அலுவிஹார—பெருந்தோட்டத் தொழிற் பிரதி அமைச்சர்)

(Mr. Alick Aluvihare-Deputy Minister of Plantation Industries)
(a) (i) Yes. (ii) Yes. (iii) Yes. (iv) No. (b) Yes. (c)
When the inquiries now being conducted in regard to
this dispute are completed. (d) Does not arise in view of
(b) and (c) above.

සරත් මුත්තෙට්ටුවෙගම මහතා

(திரு. சரத் முத்தெட்டுவெகம)

(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

About how long he think the Rubber Control Department will take to inquiries.

ඇලික් අළුවිහාරේ මහතා

(திரு. அலிக் அலுகிகார)

(Mr. Alick Aluvihare)

Very soon.

සභාපති, ලංකා හෝටල් සංස්ථාව : සංගුහ ව්යදම්

ஹோட்டல் கூட்டுத்தாபனத் தவேவர் : உபசாளேக் செலவு CHAIRMAN, CEYLON HOTELS CORPORATION : ENTERTAINMENT EXPENDITURE

340/83

9. එම්. හලිම් ඉෂාක් මහතා (මැද කොළඹ තුන්වන)

(ஜனப் எம். ஹலீம் இஸாக்—கொழும்பு மத்தி மூன்ரும் அங்கத்தவர்)

(Mr. M. Haleem Ishak—Third Colombo Central)
රාජ්‍ය ඇමතිකුමාගෙන් ඇසූ පුශ්නය : (අ) 1981 හා 1982 වර්ෂවලදී
පහත සදහන් එක් එක් ආයතනයේදී විනෝද සංගුහ සදහා ලංකා හෝටල් සංස්ථාවේ සභාපති විසින් වැය කරන ලද මුදල් එතුමා පුකාශ කරන්නේද ? (i) හොටේල් (සිලෝන්) ඉන්ටඊ-කොන්ටිනන්ටල් ; (ii) මහනුවර ක්වීන්ස් හෝටලය ; (iii) මහනුවර සුයිස් හෝටලය ; (iv) බෙන්නොට ලිහිනියා සර්ජ හෝටලය ; (vi) මහනුවර දෙහිගම හෝටලය ; (vi) හූතාස් පෝල්ස් හෝටලය ; (vii) පොලොන්නරුව සේරුව හෝටලය ; (viii) ලංකා හෝටල් සංස්ථාවේ තානායම්, (ආ) මේ සම්බන්ධයෙන් ඒ එක් එක් හෝටලයට එම වර්ෂවලදී සංස්ථාව විසින් ගෙවන ලද මුදල් කොපමණද ? (ඇ) මේ දක්වා ගෙවීමට ඇති මුදල්

இரானாங்க அமைச்சரைக் கேட்ட விரை: (அ) பின்வரும் நிறு வனங்கள் ஒவ்வொன்றிலும் 1981, 1982 ஆம் ஆண்டுகளில் உபசசலீனக்காக, இலங்கை ஹோட்டல் கூட்டுத்தாபனத் தலேவ ருக்கு ஏற்பட்ட செல்வினத்தை அவர் கூறுவாரா? (i) ஹொட்டேல் சிலோன் இன்சகொன்ரினெண்டல்; (ii) கண்டி, சூரீன்ஸ் ஹோட்டேல்; (iii) கண்டி, ஹொட்டேல் கவிஸ்; (iv) பெந்தோட்டை விகினியா சேவ் ஹொட்டேல்; (v) கண்டி, ஹொட்டேல் சேருவ்ஸ் ஹோட்டேல்; (vi) ஹுன் போல்ஸ் ஹோட்டேல்; (vii) போலதறுவ ஹொட்டேல் சேருவ; (viii) இலக்கை ஹோட்டல் கூட்டுத்தாபனத்தின் வாடிவிடு

கள். (ஆ) இவ்வாண்டுகளின்போது இந்நிறுவனங்கள் ஒவ் வொன்றுக்கும் கூட்டுத்தாபனத்திருல் செலுத்தப்பட்ட தோகைகள் எவ்வளவு? (இ) தற்பொழுது கொடுத்துத் தீர்க் கப்படவேண்டியுள்ள தொகைகள் எவ்வவது?

asked the Minister of State: (a) Will he state the expenditure incurred by the Chairman, Ceylon Hotels Corporation, on account of entertainment at each of the following Institutions in 1981 and 1982: (i) Hotel (Ceylon) Inter-Continental; (ii) Queen's Hotel, Kandy; (iii) Hotel Suisse, Kandy; (iv) Lihiniya Surf Hotel, Bentota; (v) Hotel Dehigama, Kandy; (vi) Hunas Falls Hotel; (vii) Hotel Seruwa, Polnnaruwa; (viii) Ceylon Hotels Corporation's Rest Houses? (b) What were the amounts paid out by the Corporation on this account to each of these insitutions during those years? (c) What are the amounts awaiting settlement at date?

එම්. වින්සන්ට පෙරේරා මහතා

(திரு. எம். வின்சன்ற் பெரோர)

(Mr. M. Vincent Perera)

I answer on behalf of the Hon. Minister of State. It is a long answer. May I be permitted to table it?

කථානායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

You may have it tabled.

සභාමේසය මත තබන ලද පිළිතූර :

சபாபீடத்தில் வைக்கப்பட்ட விடை:

Answer tabled.

(a) The amounts incurred are as follows:

1981 : Rs. 104.925.25

1982 : Rs. 189.940.31

It is not possible to provide details of this expenditure by institution at which the expenditure was incurred since many of them are companies incorporated under the Companies Act who are unable to make public disclosures of their dealings with clients. The information obtained from these institutions has been incorporated to provide the above totals. (b) The expenditure incurred at Queens Hotel, Kandy, Hotel Suisse, Hotel Dehigama and Hunas Falls Hotel were charged to the accounts of the respective institutions. Some of the amounts due to other institutions have been recovered by them from sums owed by them to the Hotels Corporation. Until the accounts of the Ceylon Hotels Corporation are finalised these sums cannot be ascertained. (c) These amounts cannot be supplied for the above reasons.

කථාතායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Question No. 10.

பட்டது.

සරත්වත්දු රාජකරුණා මහතා (තියෝජා ආහාර හා සමූපකාර ඇමතිතුමා)

(கிரு. சாத்சந்ச சாஜகருண—உடை, கூட்டுறவுப் பிசதி அமைச்சர்)

(Mr. Sarathchandra Rajakaruna-Deputy Minister of Food and Co-operatives)

I want one months's time to answer this Question.

පුශ්තය මතු දිතකදී ඉදිරිපත් කිරීමට තියෝග කරන ලදී. வினுவை மற்டுமுரு இனத்திற் சமர்ப்பிக்கக் கட்டளேயிடப்

Question ordered to stand down.

ධාබිලිටි. ඩි. ජනසේන මහතා : නැවත සේවයේ පිහිටුවිම இரு. டபிள்யு. டி. ஜினசேன : மீண்டும் வேண் வழங்கள் MR. W. D. JINASENA : REINSTATEMENT

369/83

11. රීවඩ් පතිරණ මහතා (අක්මීමක)

(கிரு. நிச்சட் பத்திரன—அக்மீமன) (Mr. Richard Pathirana – Akmeemana)

කර්මාන්ත හා විද කටයුතු පිළිබද ඇමතිතුමාගෙන් ඇයූ පුශ්නය (අ) ලංකා තුනී ලැලි සංස්ථාවේ ගිංතොට කම්හලේ සේවය කළ ගාල්ල වටරැක නැගෙනහිර පදිංචි ඩබලිව්. ඩී. ජීනසේන මහතාගේ සේවය අහිමි කිරීම සම්බන්ධව ඒ මහතා විසින් ගාල්ල කම්කරු උසාවිසේ පවරන ලද ගා/14036 දරණ නඩුවෙන් ඒ මහතාට නැවන රැකියාව සහ වන්දී ලබා දීමට නියම කරන ලද බවත් මෙතෙක් එම තීරණය කියාත්මක කර නොමැති බවත් එතුමා දන්නවාද ? (ආ) ඩබලිව්. ඩී. ජීනසේන මහතා නැවන සේවයේ පිහිටූවීමට සහ වන්දී මුදල් ලබාදීමට එතුමා කියා කරනවාද ? (ආ) නොඑසේ නම්, ඒ මන්ද ?

கைத்தொழில், விஞ்ஞான அலுவல்கள் அமைச்சரைக் கேட்ட வினு: (அ) இலங்கை ஒட்டுப்பலகைக் கூட்டுத்தாபனத்தினுல் நிருவகிக்கப்படுகின்ற இலங்கை ஒட்டுப்பலகைக் கூட்டுத்தாப னத்தின் கிந்தோட்டைத் தொழிற்சாஃயில் பணிபுரிந்தவரும், காலி, வட்டரெக்க கிழக்கில் வசிப்பவருமான திரு. டபிள்யு. டி. ஜினசேனவின் சேவை இழப்பு தொடர்பாக இவசால் காலி தொழில் நீதிமன்றத்தில் தாக்கல் செய்யப்பட்ட டூ/14036 ஆம் இலக்க வழக்கில் மீண்டும் இவருக்கு வேலே வழங்கி நட்டசுடு செலுத்த முடிவுசெய்யப்பட்டதேன்பதையும், இம்முடிவு இற் நைவரை அமுல்படுத்தப்பட்டின்லயேன்பதையும் அவர் அறி வரசா? (ஆ) திரு. டபின்யு. டி. ஜினசேனவுக்கு மீண்டும் வேலே வழங்கி, நட்டசடு செலுத்த அவர் நடவடிக்கை எடுப் பரசா? (இ) இன்றேல், ஏன்?

asked the Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs:
(a) Is he aware that Mr. W. D. Jinasena of Watareka East, Galle, who was attached to the Plywood Corporation at Gintota, filed case No. G/14036 in the Labour Tribunal, Galle, against the termination of his services, and that although the Court ruled that he be reinstated and be paid compensation the decision has not been implemented as yet? (b) Will he take steps to reinstate Mr. W. D. Jinasena and pay him due compensation? (c) If not, why?

එන්. ධෙන්සීල් පුනාන්දු මහතා (නියෝජා කමාන්ත හා විදාා කටයුතු ඇමතිතුමා)

(திரு. என். டென்சில் பெர்னுண்டோ—கைத்தொழில், விஞ் ஞான அலுவல்கள் பிரதி அமைச்சர்)

(Mr. N. Denzil Fernando - Deputy Minister of Industries & Scientific Affairs)

(a) An appeal against the order in L. T. Case No. G/14036 has been filed in the Court of Appeal. The

Court of Appeal number assigned to this case is 960/82. Our Attorney-at-Law, Mr. Ranjith de Silva, has already informed Mr. W. D. Jinadasa by letter dated 20th December 1982, under registered cover, that a petition of appeal has been filed. (d) Does not arise in view of reply to (a). (c) Does not arise.

ලක්ෂ්මන් ජයකොඩි මහතා

(கிரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயக்கொடி)

(Mr. Lakshman Jauakody)

What do you mean by "our Attorney-at-Law"? Who is "our"?

එන්. ඩෙන්සීල් පුතාන්දු මහතා

(திரு. என். டென்சில் பெர்னுண்டோ)

(Mr. Denzil Fernando)

I cannot hear you.

ලක්ෂ්මන් ජයකොඩි මහතා

(திரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயக்கொடி)

(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

Will the hon. Deputy Minister let us know what he means by "our Attorney-at-Law"?

කථාතායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Why are you troubled about trivial matters?

ලක්ෂ්මත් ජයකොඩි මහතා

(கிரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயக்கொடி)

(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

He must answer supplementary questions. When he said, "our Attorney-at-Law", what does he mean?

එන්. ඩෙන්සීල් පුනාන්දු මහතා

(திரு. என். டென்சில் பெர்ணைடோ)

(Mr. N. Denzil Fernando)

It is the Attorney-at-Law whom we have retained.

ලක්ෂ්මන් ජයකොඩි මහතා

(திரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஐயக்கொடி)

(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

But he cannot send the information over to Mr. W. D. Jinasena.

එන්. ඩෙන්සිල් පුතාන්දු මහතා

(திரு. என். டென்சில் பெர்றுண்டோ)

(Mr. N. Denzil Fernando)

We have actually sent it to him.

කථාතායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Let there be no comments, please. Questions are meant to be answered.

```
කථානායකතුමා
```

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Question No. 12 ?

සරත්වන්දු රාජක<mark>රු</mark>ණා මහතා (තියෝජා ආහාර හා සමුපකාර ඇමතිතුමා

(திரு. சாத்சந்ர ராஐகருண—உவவு, கட்டுறவுப் பிரதி அமைச்சர்)

(Mr. Sarathchandra Rajakaruna - Deputy Minister of Food & Co-operatives)

I ask for one month's time.

පුශ්නය මතු දිනකදී ඉදිරිපත් කිරීමට තියෝග කරන ලදී.

வினுவை மற்றெரு நினத்திற் சமர்ப்பிக்கக் கட்டளேயிடப் பட்டது.

Question ordered to stand down.

එස්. ඩී. බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා (ගම්පහ)

(திரு. எஸ். டி. பண்டாரநாயக்க—கம்பஹ)

(Mr. S. D. Bandaranayake - Gampaha)

Mr. Speaker, the Prime Minister tabled a Report on the Investigation by the Special Investigation Unit of the CID into the alleged conspiracy to assassinate His Excellency the President and planned violence on 20.10.82. Glancing through this Report, I find that there are matters of a very serious nature in this report and I would like to know form the Government as when they propose to discuss this Report in Parliament. I would like to have an early date on this matter.

කථානායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

You want to have a discussion on that Report?

එස්. ඩී. බණ්ඩාරතායක මහතා

(திரு. எஸ். டி. பண்டாசநாயக்க)

(Mr. S. D. Bandaranayake)

Yes.

ආර්. ජුමදය මහතා

(கிரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாச)

(Mr. R. Premadasa)

If the hon. Member wishes to have a debate on this Report, we are willing to give the opportunity.

එස්. ඩී. බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා

(திரு. எஸ். டி. பண்டாசநாயக்க)

(Mr. S. D. Bandaranayake)

A special date has to be given for the debate.

කථානායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Order, Please! The hon. Member must please wait. A question has been raised. The Hon. Prime Minister is answering. After that the Member can raise further matters.

සරත් මුත්තෙට්ටුවෙගම මහතා

(திரு. சரக் முக்கெட்டுவெகம்)

(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

On a point of Order, Sir.

ආර්. ජුමදස මහතා

(திரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாச)

(Mr. R. Premadasa)

We can give a date. The hon. Member for Gampaha wants to know whether we are prepared to give a special date to discuss this Report. I am answering the question in the affirmative.

කථාතායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Yes.

අතිල් මුණසිංහ මහතා (මතුගම)

(திரு. அனில் முனசிங்றை—மத்துகம)

(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe-Matugama)

Before the Hon. Prime Minister moves Item 2-

කථානායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

We have not come to that item yet. We are still on Item 1.

පණත් කෙටුම්පත් පිළිගැන්වීම சமர்ப்பிச்கப்பட்ட சட்டமூலங்கள்

**BILLS PRESENTED** 

රජයේ ඉඩම් (සන්තකය ආපසු ලබා ගැනීමේ) (සංශෝධන) පනත් කෙටුම්පත

அரச காணிகள் (ஆட்சி மீனப்பெறுதல்) (இருத்தம்) சட்டமூலம் STATE LANDS (RECOVERY OF POSSESSION) (AMENDMENT) BILL

"to amend the State Lands (Recovery of Possession) Act. No. 7 of 1979."

එළිගත්වන ලද්දේ ඉඩම් හා ඉඩම් සංවර්ධන ඇමතිතුමා සහ මහවැලි සංවර්ධ<mark>නය</mark> එළිබද ඇමතිතුමා වෙනුවට එම්. විනසුන්ට පෙරේරා මහතා විසිනි.

காணி, காணி அமினிருத்தி அமைச்சரும் மகாவலி அமிவிருத்தி அமைச்சருமானவர் சார்பாக திரு, எம், வின்சன்ற் மெசோ அவர் கனால் சமர்ப்பிக்கப்பட்டது.

Presented by Mr. M. Vincent Perera, on behalf of the Minister of Lands and Land Development and Minister of Mahaweli Development

සරත් මූත්තෙට්ටුවෙගම මහතා (කලවාත)

் (திரு. சாத் முத்தெட்டுவெகம—கலவான)

(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama-Kalawana)

Mr. Speaker, this Bill has come into our possession only today. The Supreme Court decision was read out by you only at the commencement of business today. I would like to appeal to the Hon. Minister and the

[සරන් මුත්තෙට්ටුවෙගම මහතා]

Government to consider putting off the debate on the amendment to this Bill for the next sitting of Parliament, that is, for the sitting in early August. (Interruption) No. Before that. The No Confidence Motion is on the 9th. There is the 7th and 8th available. We must read the original Act and see the Amendment. How can we do it? We have been presented with the Amendment at 3 o'clock when we came here. It would be grossly unfair by the Opposition to take us unawares on this Amendment, because it is a matter that seriously concerns a large number of people residing on State lands in this country.

ඒ. අම්රතලිංගම් මහතා (විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ නායකතුමා) (திரு. அமிர்தலிங்கம்—எ நிர்க்கட்சி முதல்வர்)

(Mr. A. Amirthalingam-Leader of the Opposition)

I would like to join the hon. Member for Kalawana (Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama) in making the appeal to the Government that this Bill-

ආර්. පුෙමදස මහතා (අගුාමාතෘතුමා, පළාත් පාලන, තිවාස හා ඉදිකිරීම් ඇමතිතුමා, මහාමාර්ග කටයුතු පිළිබඳ ඇමතිතුමා සහ පාර්ලිමේන්තුවේ සභාතායකතුමා)

(திரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாச — பிரதம அமைச்சரும் உள்ளூ ராட்சி, விடமைப்பு, நிர்மாண அமைச்சரும் நெடுஞ்சாலேகள் அமைச்சரும் பாராளுமன்றச் சபை முதல்வரும்)

(Mr. R. Premadasa-Prime Minister, Minister of Local Government, Housing and Construction, Minister of Highways, and Leader of the House of Parliament)

That is what I am going to answer. I am going to accede to the request.

එ. අම්ථතලිංගම් මහතා (திரு. எ. அமிர்தலிங்கம்)

(Mr. A. Amirthalingam)

Thank You.

ආර්. පේමදස මහතා

(கிரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாச)

(Mr. R. Premadasa)

This Bill is very urgent, but I can understand the request of the hon. Members. We are willing to debate this Item first thing tomorrow morning.

සරත් මුත්තෙට්ටුවෙගම මහතා

(திரு. சரத் முத்தெட்டுவேகம)

(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

Next sitting.

ආර්. පේමදස මහතා

(கிரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாச)

(Mr. R. Premadasa)

No, I am very sorry. In the next session we have given the opportunity for the Opposition to move a Vote of No Confidence on the Government. ලක්ෂ්මත් ජයකොඩි මහතා (අත්තනගල්ල) (කිලි. லக்ஷ்மன் ஐயக்கொடி—அத்தனகல்ல) (Mr. Lakshman Jayakody—Attanagalla)

We will agree with the Hon. Prime Minister.

කථාතායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Does the House agree on that ?

මත්තුවරු

(அங்கத்தினர்)

(Members)

Aye!

පාර්ලිමේන්තුවේ කටයුතු பாசாளுமன்ற அலுவல்

# **BUSINESS OF THE PARLIAMENT**

කථානායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

There is no necessity for Item 2 to be taken up today. It will be taken up tomorrow.

එම්. වින්සන්ට් පෙරේරා මහතා (පාර්ලිමේන්තු කටයුතු හා කීඩා ඇමතිතුමා සහ ආණ්ඩු පාර්ශ්වයේ පුධාන සංවිධායකතුමා)

(திரு. எம். வின்சன்ற் பேசேரா — பாசாளுமன்ற அலுவல் கன், விளேயாட்டுத்துறை அமைச்சரும் பிசதம அரசாங்கக் கொறடாவும்)

(Mr. M. Vincent Perera-Minister of Parliamentary Affairs & Sports and Chief Government Whip)

I move.-

"That the proceedings on item 1 of Public Business appearing on the Paper be exempted at this day's sitting from the provisions of Standing Order No. 23."

පුශ්තය විමසන ලදින්, සභා සම්මත විය.

விறை பிடுக்கப்பட்ட ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளப்பட்டது.

Question put, and agreed to.

එම්. වින්සන්ට් පෙරේරා මහතා

(கிரு. எம். வின்சன்ற் பெரேசா)

(Mr. M. Vincent Perera)

I move,-

"That the proceedings on items 1 and 2 of Public Business appearing on the Paper be exempted at this day's sitting from the provisions of Standing Order No. 7."

පුශ්නය වීමසන ලදින්, සභා සම්මන විය.

விறை விடுக்கப்பட்டு ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளப்பட்டது.

Question put, and agreed to.

# මහජන ආරක්ෂක පුකාශනය பொதுசனப் பாதுகாப்புப் பிரகடனம் PUBLIC SECURITY PROCLAMATION

අාර. ජෙමදස මහතා සුර අසු in administrative in bell user (නිල. ஆர். பிரேமதாச) සුව පුරුණු අත්වාස්ථාව in the last line is a line in the last line in the last line is a line in the last line in the last line in the last line is a line in the last line in the l

Dealing now, Sir, with some of the inci svom In

"That the Proclamation dated July 17, 1983 made by the President under section 2 of the Public Security Ordinance (Chapter 40), as amended by Act, No. 8 of 1959 and Law, No. 6 of 1978, bringing into operation the provisions of Part II of the aforesaid Ordinance throughout Sri Lanka, be approved."

Jaffna, a week ago a person by the name

Mr. Speaker, under the Provisions of clause 155 (8) of the Constitution we need two-thirds of the whole number of Members of Parliament to pass this resolution.

The reasons for the Proclamation by His Excellency the President continuing the operation of Part II of the Public Security Ordinance was to ensure for a further period the preservation of public order and maintenance of supplies and services essential to the life of the community in the face of possible threats to Public security.

Let us not take the remark too seriously.

When the motion to continue the operation of the provisions of part II of the Public Security Ordinance was passed in this House on the 27th June with a large majority of Members voting in favour, I presented in this House the reasons for the continuation of these provisions. I also placed before the House the details of a number of incidents of violence which had occurred in different parts of the country up to that date. The Members of Parliament voting in favour were convinced of the necessity for the continuation of the State of Emergency by His Excellency the President when the preservation of public order and maintenance of supplies and services essential to the community were facing a threat of violence.

On this occasion, I have to indicate to this house that the incidents of violence have not only continued but also expanded into other areas which were hitherto unaffected. In fact, on the reports received about these incidents from different areas, what is noticeable is an escalation of the violence in in different areas. In these circumstances, the Government has no alternative but to continue with the state of Emergency until conditions return to normal.

Hon. members will appreciate the need for the continuation of the Emergency when violence is spreading in this escalated form causing so much loss of life and property. I shall now refer to the incidents of communal violence in the different parts of the country and the action taken to control such violence.

In the Trincomalee district the incidents started with two cases of mischief on 3rd June and these incidents of violence continued, reaching its peak towards the end of June and continuing even up to now. According to reports, between 1st June and 16 July there had been 370 incidents. Of these, 21 were cases of murder, 62 of violence, 228 of arson, 6 of robbery and 53 of mischief. In addition to this, boycott of classes in schools in Trincomalee, which was started on 7th July, is still continuing and on Friday the 15th instant, not a single child had attended some of the schools. Parents and children have apparently been terrorised by a bomb that had been thrown at St. Mary's Girls' College on the 13th instant.

1068

Incidents continue to be reported from the Trincomalee district. Intelligence reports indicate that there are groups in Trincomalee who are interested in continuing communal discord. Peace committees have been appointed composed of leaders of all communities, and with sector operations organized by the Police, there has been an improvement in the situation.

In the Batticaloa district there has been a spate of acts of mischief, mainly against government institutions whose property has been destroyed by terrorists, from the beginning of June 1983. Four CTB buses, seven other government vehicles and a private vehicle have been set on fire, while attempts have been made to set fire to two other departmental vehicles. Three petrol bombs have been thrown at a private house.

In the Vavuniya district also acts of violence and damage to government property by terrorists started at the beginning of July and have been continuing. Three CTB buses, a departmental Land Rover and a private lorry have been set on fire. The post office at Murunkan was damaged by pelting stones.

In Jaffna, acts of Eelamist extremists continue almost daily with damage to government property and terrorising of government servants. Between 15th June to 14th July 1983, four CTB buses and a jeep have been set on fire. On the 1st of July, the Yal Devi express was set on fire at the Kondavil Railway Station, resulting in a loss of millions. Fortunately there was no loss of life and the engine was saved. Several post offices, petrol sheds and government offices have been damaged and robbed. Chemicals have been stolen from the laboratory of a Madhya Maha Vidyalaya. Explosives and dynamo condensers have been robbed from the Cement Corporation.

Some of these acts of violence against government institutions and government servants have caused some retaliation in the Anuradhapura and Chilaw districts. In Chilaw, two buses proceeding to Jaffna were stoned on 3rd July and in Anuradhapura there had been four incidents of throwing stones at private buses proceeding to and from Jaffna on 3rd, 4th and 7th July.

රම්, සිට්සිකම්පරම් මන්තා

(Mr. R. Premadasa)

් [ආර්. ජෙමදය මහතා] ioni shi shinkib oslamoomit shi ni

In Batticaloa and Vavuniya also the main targets of the terrorists have been government property and government establishments. In Jaffna alone there had been 53 incidents for whichs terrorists have been responsible from the beginning of this year. Most of these incidents involved government institutions. government property and government servants who were performing their daily functions. It is observed that these acts of terrorism have escalated during the month of July and the main targets are government institutions, railway stations, A.G.A's offices, sub-post offices and government property like C.T.B. buses which are indicative of the deteriorating situation in the North. At the moment, due to these acts of terrorism. the civil administration in the Peninsula has been seriously affected. there are groups in Trincomalee who

The robbery of 4 Exploder Dynamo Condensers from the Cement Corporation calls for serious concern as they could be used from a fair distance to cause major acts of sabotage. The necessity is therefore seen for continuing the operation of Emergency Powers for a further period.

The confrontation by the Army on the 15th of July at Meesalai with a terrorist group, which was lying in ambush, resulting in the death of two terrorists and the recovery of a cache of weapons would not have been possible except with Emergency powers. It is hoped that this confrontation as well as the arrest of 5 terrorists responsible for the damage caused to the Fisheries Corporation lorry, would curtail at least in a minor way, the activities of the terrorists in these areas. Such confrontation and arrests are called for, if terrorism in these areas is to be kept under control, and unless powers under the Emergency Laws vested with the Armed Services and the Police are extended for a further period, such control may not be possible. I commend this Resolution to the House.

ම් සිටසිනම්පරම් මහතා (කල්ලූර්) (කිලෑ. ගෙය. සිනසිනුර්ධාරණ—කුබ්මාල්) - සහ සිටසිනම්පරම් මහතා (කල්ලූර්) (කිලෑ. ගෙය. සිනසිනුර්ධාරණ—කුබ්මාල්) - massoc base about (Mr. M. Sivasithamparam—Nallur)

The Hon. Prime Minister, Sir, as usual in introducing this Motin has given a catalogue of certain incidents that had taken place in different parts of this country.

Mr. Speaker, I think the purpose of this Debate when His Excellency brought in the amendment that these should be debated once a month on the Floor of this House was to give us an opportunity, Sir, to bring to the notice of the House and the country the excesses that the armed services indulged in under the cover of the

Emergency. On previous occasions too Sir, we had brought to the notice of the Government such excesses indeed excesses, Sir, where judicial inquiries have resulted in verdicts of homicide and no action has been taken by the Government up to date. (Interruption.) I shall deal with Trincomalee later.

Dealing now, Sir, with some of the incidents in Jaffna, a week ago a person by the name of Somasunderam who is a nephew of a lecturer in the University in Malaysia or Singapore was taken by the Velvettiturai police for questioning. After questioning he was released. Our information is, Sir, that he was asked to go along a particular lane to his home. He had to obey the order. He went along that lane. We have information, Sir, that the Police jeep followed, picked up this man and he was missing thereafter. All attempts made by even Members of Parliament to trace the whereabouts of this man proved futile. (Interruption) Typical tiger job! I wish my good friend, Sir, was at the receiving end and knows what happened. Will you please listen and keep quiet? (Interruption.)

```
செப்பு நாயகர் அவர்கள்) வரு 10 வரு 10
```

එම්. සිටසිතුම්පරම් මහතා (ඉිැ. ගෙයා. හිනහි ආර්ධ හැර) (Mr. M. Sivasithamparam)

(Mr. M. Sivasithamparam)

For a week, Sir, the whereabouts of this man was not known. All inquiries about the whereabouts of this man proved futile. Subsequently, Sir, three days ago his body was found in a well 16 miles away from his home with gun shot injuries. (Interruption) he was not a tiger. It was a service bullet. Surely, these people know the difference between a sevice bullet and other bullets? Tigers have no service bullets. (Interruption)

Mr. Speaker, I know these people without knowing anything, without knowing the facts, without knowing what happened come here and shout. (*Interruption*) If you know the facts get up and tell them without interrupting me.

```
வப்பைகள் அவர்கள்)
(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)
(Mr. Speaker)
Order, please! Now, do not make provocations? You
```

carry on.

එම්. සිවසිතම්පරම් මහතා ( විලෑ. எம். சිබසි தம்பரம்) අලුසු Hiw ersdenem .nold (Mr. M. Sivasithamparam) ඉදුරෙන් අතු අත අත්වසාග්වාගට

Mr. Speaker, a week later his body was found in a thoroughly decomposed state in a well, as I said, Sir, 16 miles away from his home. The post-mortem revealed that he died as a result of gun-shot injuries. He was

identified by the wrist watch and the shirt he wore. It was only on the application of his wife for exhumation that the body was identified and the identity of this person was established. Mr. Speaker, it is pretty obvious that the police and the armed services are utilizing this power that they have under this Emergency and killing innocent people in Jaffna. (Interruption) Ha! ha!—you can only ha! ha! here. They are dying, you are ha-ha-ing here. Hundreds are dying. (Interruption)

Mr. Speaker, that is not all. The Hon. Prime Minister referred to private buses being stoned in Anuradhapura and Nochchiyagama, buses plying between Jaffna and Colombo. Last night, a private bus in Jaffna, a VRV bus which runs a regular service between Colombo and Jaffna,-that is the only mode of transport anybody has today the number of the bus is 30 Sri 1395, that is the only transport we have, even we, the Members of Parliament, go by bus today between Jaffna and Colombo. This bus starts from Thondamannar to go towards Point Pedro, then back to Jaffna and then proceeds to Colombo; between Thondamannar and Point Pedro they have to pass the Army Camp at Velvettithurai-while passing the Army Camp with a full load of nearly thirty passengers, the bus was fired at. The bus is still at the Police Station. (Interruption). He has to establish his credentials, Sir. He is on the way out. Sir, he has to establish his credentials.

Then, seven to eight shots were fired at this bus from the Army Camp, injuring the driver and two other passengers. They were not even allowed medical treatment till the army truck came and took charge of the bus. One of the drivers is a Sinhalese gentleman, one Kulasekera, an ex-army man, who was put in by this company to drive this bus. Even we have travelled in this bus.

The story now is that somebody from this bus fired, A bus going towards Colombo, carrying 30 passengers including ladies! The story in that somebody fired from the bus, therefore the army fired. I tell you on the Floor

of this House, this story that somebody fired is not something new. As early as 1915, during the riots when some English man shot and killed a venerable Kandyan gentleman, the English Army man said: "He came to stab me with a knife and therefore, I fired." That is nothing new, Mr. Speaker, they have not changed the story over the years. Over the years they have said the same story. I think that venerable gentleman from Kandy was one of the Elepollas, who was shot dead by an army man, and his defence was, "He came to stab me with a knife and therefore I fired". Once again we are having the same story here. When a bus that was going on its legitimate duty and work from Thondamannar to Point Pedro and thereafter to Colombo was shot at injuring the driver and two other passengers and I have it on the authority of the doctor that when the doctor said that the driver has to be hospitalized and operated on, he was told, "no, no, what do you know of medicine. He must be released, we must ask the questions", and today that driver is in police custody being questioned.

Now Mr. Speaker, those are the matters that we want to bring to the notice of the Government. (Interruption).

child who was five years old, the girl who came back

people, Thirunawakarasu, wife and children were doing

What happened to the inquest verdict on the other man in Valvettiturai who was shot at the entrance to the Army Camp? A truck was driven over him. An inquest was held. Only three days ago the Magistrate returned a verdict of homicide in respect of Palanivel. What happened to him? That is why Mr. Speaker, we insisted and we re-insist that your Emergency Regulations taking away the powers of the judicial officers to hold inquests should be immediately withdrawn. We have said that from the beginning. In 1979 we said it. In 1979 it was withdrawn. It has gone on today once again. We have given you six instances on the Floor of this House where innocent bystanders have been killed by Army personnel. Inquests had been held-(Interruption). I will come to it-and verdicts of homicide have been returned, but still no action has been taken against any Army personnel for what they have done. That is why we say, Sir, that this is the only forum where we can bring to your notice the excesses by the Army under the cover of Emergency rule.

Mr. Speaker, yo must come to Jaffna today to see the humiliation that every ordinary citizen of Jaffna has to undergo because he happens to live in that part of the country. (Interruption). While going in the bus we are stopped. Except the ladies, all the others are asked to get down with their personal baggage. They draw some sort of rectangle on the road and ask you to empty the belongings of your suitcase into that rectangle. After searching, they ask you to pack it back. Even Customs Officers sometimes help you to pack the bags. Then you are asked to pack it back and go. This does not happen once on the trip from Colombo to Jaffna. This happens

[එම්. සිටසිකම්පරම් මහතා] අතුල start your sint second aidt fo

at least thrice to a bus. Even a State Counsel had to undergo this humiliation. They throw up road blocks, and every person has to put up his hands and walk. Even after announcing that one is a Member of Parliament he is not allowed to go without a search. Your dickey is searched, your person is searched, everybody is searched. This is the type of humiliating treatment that goes on day in and day out in Jaffna, under the name of patting down terrorism.

Now Mr. Speaker, the Hon. Prime Minister gave a catalogue of the incidents in Trincomalee. He said there were 21 people who died. I think, Sir, the Hon. Prime Minister will agree with me that out of the 21, 20 were Tamils. Out of 21 deaths that took place in Trincomalee between June and July, 20 were Tamils, of all Types.

There was one gory incident which I think Sir, bears repitition on the Floor of this House. A family of three people, Thirunawakarasu, wife and children were doing cultivation. He was coming back from the temple after prayers. He was cut, his wife was cut, they were thrown into the hut and the hut was set on fire, and the young child who was five years old, the girl who came back after running away because she heard the cries of her mother was thrown in alive to the fire. That, Mr. Speaker, is the gory incident that happened in Trincomalee, but the disturbing factor of which I want the Government to take notice is that in many instances the army had been at the scene before the attack by the hooligans.

Now, take the Mansion Hotel incident which began troubles in Trincomalee. There was a telephone call from the Navy that they want to search the premises. Under the pretext of searching, the hotel was opened. They searched it and went off. Within minutes of their leaving, the hotel being opened, the hooligans came and razed the hotel, plundered everything in the hotel and smashed it up.

ocen taken against any Army personnel for what they

It is not one incident. If you take the incidents in Trincomalee one after the other, you will find that the armed services were there before the attack by the hooligans. It was a sort of planned, co-ordinated attack, by the armed services and the hooligans and that is how so many Tamils were killed and so many houses were burnt down. People today are still refugees in different schools without having the wherewithal to live. The hon. Member for Trincomalee and the Chairman of the District Development Council are doing their best to see that some sort of support is given to these people who have been suffering in this way.

Sir, the disturbing factor in Trincomalee is not that 21 people have been killed is not that a hundred odd houses have been burnt down, but that in most incidents

the armed services were there before the hooligans had attacked, and they continued to stay there to see that the people do not go back and put out the fire or salvage the houses that were being burnt. That is the disturbing factor as far as Trincomalee is concerned and that is the one matter that the government should take into consideration when dealing with the question in Trincomalee.

ha-ha-ing here. Hundreds are dying. (Interruption) Mr. Speaker, under cover of the Anti-Terrorist Law what are you doing? You have arrested 13 students from the Amparai Polytechnic, the Hardy Institute, Now these 13 students were driven out of the hostel in which they were living in the Hardy Institute. They could not continue to live in the Hardy Institute. They went and stayed with a foreman in the Inginiyagala Factory and while staying there they used to go and sit for the examination which was over the day before yesterday. All thirteen have now been arrested as being part of the terrorist movement and they have been remanded for two weeks. These were students who could not stay in the hostel. They were forced to leave the hostel, and having left the hostel they stayed with a private person in oder to carry on with their examination. They are now rounded up and remanded for two to three weeks as being part of the terrorist movement. Colombo, This bus starts from Thondamanna

Mr. Speaker, I think, somebody would have read in the "Daily News" of today, the changes that they are bringing into the Anti-Terrorist Law in England. Today, under the new law, you cannot keep a person for more than 48 hours. I am sorry that I have to say this about the Minister of Internal Security. I know that he has been always very fair whenever we made requests to him, but the Minister cannot keep a man under detention for more than five days. I do not blame the Hon. Minister, Sir, because he acts on the information that is given to him. But in England you cannot keep them for more than five days. -(Interruption)-That is the police. But the Minister cannot make an order for more than five days and within 48 hours they must have access to their lawyers. These are the changes that they are bringing in England in order to meet even the situation in Ireland.-(Interruption)-In UK. It has been in operation for many years but every year it has to be renewed by Parliament. That is the difference. Here you have it perpetually. In England you have to renew it every year. You have to come before the House and get it renewed every year. You also started it temporarily but made it permanent. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, even there changes have happened to meet the situation like the situation in Northern Ireland.

Sir, the Hon. Minister of Industries used to speak about the Sinhalese students who had left the Jaffana University. He was always clever at combining the attack on Marasinghe with the Sinhalese students

leaving the Jaffna University. Now, the attack on Marasinghe was in May 1977 and the Sinhalese students left in August 1977, and they left in August 1977 because of the troubles that the police started in Jaffna in August 1977. The injury to Marasinghe had nothing to do with the Sinhalese students leaving. In fact, the Sinhalese students were looked after - only one student was injured -till they left Jaffna and came to Colombo. Then the Sinhalese students refused to go back and lectures were arranged for them in Colombo with lecturers coming from Jaffna to Colombo and holding the lectures. But the Hon. Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs always gets up on the Floor of this House and says that Marasinghe was stabbed and therefore all the Sinhalese students left the Jaffna University. That is not correct. The stabbing took place in May and the Sinhalese students left in August 1977, molo on nonrevol and gniffuence

Mr. Speaker, I do not want to take any more of your time, but I do ask of the Government that where we bring to your notice genuine cases of excesses by the army and the other armed services some action be taken, because that is the only way in which you can win the confidence of the Jaffna man. from Colombo'

Sir, I was dismayed, I must say I was thoroughly disturbed, by the interview that His Excellency the President had given the "Daily Telegraph". In the closing paragraph this is what His Excellency says:

"He said at one time his party had been anxious to apply policies in the Northern regions in such a way as to attract popular support there. "Now we cannot think of them. Not about their lives or of their opinion about us"

Sir, I hope the report of this interview is wrong. I am reading from the "Sunday Observer". I hope this interview is wrong. Actually, sir, it is with utter dismay that I read that His Excellency the President had said such things about the law and order situation -that he does not care, for lives. I am sorry, and I hope he has not said it. I hope to God he has not said it. But this is what the "Sunday Observer" of the 17th of July says, reproducing the interview that he had given to the "Daily Telegraph". He had this to say \_ la oil o ed as

"Nothing will happen. Now we cannot think of them, not about their lives or about their opinion about us."

Mr. Speaker, I do not want to say anything more. Certainly, Mr. Speaker, I do not agree with h

there is any one foreign nation that cross asystem is or

ா (திரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாச) w doidw ni thigilg leoitling edi one foreign nation which is responsitional and and an interest of the contract of the contract

Sir, I do not know about this interview, but I can vouch for the fact that His Excellency the President is very concerned about the situation in that part of the country. The hon. Member should know better than I that the President has taken all steps possible to preserve law and order and also to supply the people of Jaffna with their food and other requirements. You know that the Government faced a very difficult

situation with regard to supplies. I know that His Excellency even got the private sector to take food supplies and other requirements including kerosene to the people of Jaffna. So, to say that the President does not care for the lives of the people of Jaffna is something unbelievable. I do not think the hon. Member will for a moment accept that position.

1076

this occasion.

me to say all the things I would එම්, සිවසිනම්පරම් මහතා (திரு. எம். சிவசிதம்பரம்) (Mr. M. Sivasithamparam) Mw. 10 18002 . 1M . WOM

As I said, it was with dismay that I read this. I prefaced my words by saying that it was with dismay that I read these words alleged to have been said by His Excellency the President. I hope to God, as I said, that he has not said these words.

Mr. Speaker, I do not want to take any more time. I only wanted to state what I had to say about the excesses of the armed services in this country.

වී. එන්. නවරත්නම් මහතා (වාවකච්චේර්) (திரு. வீ. என். நவரத்தினம்—சாவகச்சேரி) (Mr. V. N. Navaratnam-Chavakachcheri)

Mr. Speaker, and bas steet legisologisa snibled vd

I have made thousands and thousands of speeches in the last 25 years at public meetings, in the courts, at international conferences and in this Chamber, but the speech which I am making today is to me the most important of all. Most of the Members in this House do not agree with my political views. They have the right to disagree. There are some others from my party who are in complete agreement with my views. But all Members are my friends, and I hope they will give me a patient hearing, give me the courtesy of not interrupting me while I speak, even if they disagree with me.

Mr. Speaker, my problem is where to begin because, as you all know, this is my last speech from this rostrum.

I shall begin, Sir, by reading the first statement I ever made as a Parliamentarian in 1956, reported in Volume 24, column 1495, of HANSARD of the House of Representatives. This is what I said:

"In making my maiden speech on the Floor of this House, I rise with great anxiety and hope anxious about the future of the Ceylonese nation as a whole and of the Tamil-speaking people in particular and hopeful that, at a crucial moment like this, when the destiny of our country is being sealed, I afraid for the worst good sense and wisdom will prevail in those who control the destinies of this country, especially the elected Members who are seated on the opposite Benches". Minister of Trade "What is this

Of course, Mr. Speaker, some of the words I used then are now irrelevant. We now have a Sinhalese Hon Minister of Trade.noiten limaT and bear noiten

The recent incidents all over the country-in Trincomalee, in Jaffna and in other parts-the action of the Government in some areas and their inaction in other areas, the conduct of the security forces and their misconduct, the declaration of Emergency and its third extension today, various pronouncements made by His Excellency the President and the statement made by the Hon. Prime Minister today have made, very conveniently, all that I would have normally wanted to say on this occasion relevant. Otherwise, if not for this item on the agenda, it would have been very difficult for me to say all the things I would have wanted to say on this occasion.

Now, Mr. Speaker, why was this Emergency promulgated? There were certain incidents. We are all agreed. Mr. Speaker, that there must be a total end to violence from all quarters—from the people as well as the armed services. But how do you put and end to violence? It is an illness. How does one treat an illness?

Today we have admitted and enrolled as an hon. Member of this House a very prominent doctor. If somebody has a headache and he goes to a quack, what does he do? He gives him Panadol. The fever subsides, and he thinks he has cured the patient. But an expert like Dr. Herath would diagnose the illness. If necessary by holding pathological tests, and instead of removing the symptoms of the illness he will remove the root cause.

It is so, Mr. Speaker, with political illness also. His Excellency the President, the Hon. Prime Minister and a very large majority of Government Parliamentarians are, I know, really and genuinely interested in finding a permanent solution to the problems of the Tamil nation. But, unfortunately, Mr. Speaker, in our view, they do not have a proper understanding of the problem. Everyone who matters, even the most important of them, has his own diagnosis, has his own misunderstanding of the problem.

A few years ago, Mr. Speaker, a very learned professor visited our country from Canada-not Dr. Wilson; a Canadian professor. He was also a professor of political science. Being a professor of political science and on account of the current situation then, he was a little interested to know about the Tamil problem. He was having tea in the chambers of the then Secretary-General, and the Hon. Minister of Trade and Shipping and I happened to have tea with him. I do not know whether the Hon. Minister of Trade and Shipping now remembers the incident, but I recall very vividly the discussions we had with him. When he asked the Hon. Minister of Trade "What is this Tamil problem? The Hon. Minister of Trade said very seriously, "It is all due to the Americans". I was amazed. I thought the Hon. Minister of Trade was thinking of the first Massachusetts resolution or of the action or conduct of the township of Boston or the city of Boston or the town of Somerville. The Hon. Minister went on to say that during the middle of the 19th century when this country was ruled from Westminister, through a Governor, the

Church, as was the practice in all countries in those days, had a very strong influence on the administration, and the Church that had influence over the administration in Colombo happened to be the Anglican Church. He continued to say that the American Missionaries-fortunately or unfortunately the first missionaries also happened to be from Massachusetts-wrote to the Governor in Colombo asking for permission to send a team of missionaries to Ceylon. The Anglican Church, according to him, brought pressure upon the Governor and the Governor said, "No you cannot come, we have enough missionaries here". Of course, as we all know, Mr. Speaker, missionaries do not stop at the first failure; they persist. They brought pressure on Westminster and westminster gave in, gave them permission to send a team of missionaries to Colombo, even without consulting the Governor in Colombo. And the Governor, according to the Hon. Minister, got intimation of the visit of the American Missionaries only when they were in a boat five days away from the Port of Colombo. The next best thing that the Anglican Church could do, according to him was to tell the Governor, "Send them away to the furthermost point from Colombo", and that is how the American Missionaries landed in Jaffna.

According to the Hon. Minister, the American Missionaries have been more zealous than the others. Perhaps they had more funds perhaps they were more dedicated; they built a lot of schools and every town in Jaffna had the benefit of English education, and according to the Hon. Minister, this gave the Jaffna man a 50 years' lead in the knowledge of English over the people living in the rest of the country and since the official language of the masters at that time was English and since at that time recruitment was strictly on merit, unlike today, the Hon. Minister said, 25 per cent of the people had about 75 per cent of the higher jobs. This, he said, caused a lot of resentment quite naturally and that the only way the politicians in the South could solve this problem was to introduce Sinhala as the official language and not to give any place to English and that, he said, with the introduction of Sinhala started action and reaction, and he said all these problems were because of the Americans.

Certainly, Mr. Speaker, I do not agree with him, if there is any one foreign nation that has to be blamed for the political plight in which we are today, if there is any one foreign nation which is responsible for the political humiliation we undergo in this country, it is Great Britain. This is not the first time I have made this accusation against the country with which we should be ordinarily very friendly. They are accommodating and employing thousands and thousands of our people. This is not the first time that I accuse the British for the political problems in this country today. In 1974 when we had the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference

at the BMICH-His Excellency the President who was then the hon. Leader of the Opposition was present-at that meeting also I accused the British openly for all the political evils in this country. And thereafter every time I meet the Parliamentarians from Britain, at the meetings of the Inter Parliamentary Union, I tell them that. Twice a year, for the last five years, I have had the benefit of meeting the British public. I tell them also that they, and they alone, are responsible for the major political problems in this country, that they are responsible for all the disunity in this country.

Why do I say this, Mr. Speaker? The United Nations passed a very pious resolution, resolving that there should be a total end to colonialism, calling upon all colonial powers to restore sovereignty to those States which had come under colonial rule. The United Kingdom was one of the first to respond. How did they respond? They restored freedom to Ceylon. On what other countries in the world. The powerful, power-bungry in sized in the 16th and 17th centuries conquered and subdued separate

You recall, Mr. Speaker, that when His Excellency the President visited New Delhi after his first assumption of office as Executive President-long before he was elected by the people-he made a pronouncement. It was immediately referred to. It is in the Hansard. His Excellency said, the Sinhalese lost their sovereignty in 1815. His Excellency is right. I do not know whether His Excellency is a Kandyan. But the Kandyan Sinhalese lost their right to rule, lost their freedom to the colonial power, in 1815. That was the time when the Kandyan State went under foreign rule. But before that, long before that, nearly three centuries earlier, the kingdom of Kotte, which was free, which was independent, which had nothing to do with the Kandyan kingdom or the Jaffna kingdom, lost its freedom, was conquered by or surrendered to the Portuguese. It was a separate instance of a State losing its sovereignty. The data data Mauritania. The people of the Western Sahara say that

One century later, the kingdom of Jaffna was conquered by the Portuguese. At the time when King Sangiliyan was the last king of Jaffna, the kingdom of Jaffna was free and independent, and at that time they were living in the most friendly terms with the kingdom of Kandy, because the kingdom of Kotte was already under foreign rule. When the last king of Jaffna lost the sovereignty of the State to the Portuguese on account of the superior arms that the Portuguese soldiers had, his last words in the battlefield were, " From the blood that oozes from my veins, a new nation will arise which will restore that sovereignty back to the Tamil people ".

I do not want to be emotional at this stage. It is not my intention to raise any controversial issues. Let us look at the problem. Let us look at the history of this problem in the way we would look at a problem if it is happening in Argentina or North America or Canada.

Let us have a good understanding of the problem. So that, Mr. Speaker, restoring sovereignty in conformity with the Resolution made by the United Nations means restoring sovereignty of each separate State back to the people from whom the State was conquered.

Of course, as you know, the British were not the only people who acted with such colossal irresponsibility. The Italians did the same thing in Central Africa, and because of what the Italians did, Eritrea is still tyring to liberate itself. The problem for Eritrea was a problem created by the former colonial power. The Spanish also did the same thing. They did it in Spanish Sahara. You would recall, Mr. Speaker, that when Spain restored the sovereignty of the Saharan people back to them, they gave one part of that region to Morocco and the other part to Mauritania. And they thought that they had complied with the Resolution passed by the United Nations that there should be a total end to colonialism. It was later that the Saharan people brought to the notice of the world that before the Spanish came they were a free and independent State ruled by their own Sheiks. Now, what has happened? They have given one half to Morocco and the other half to Mauritania without even consulting the people. We all know, Mr. Speaker, the developments that have been taking place in Western Sahara for the last fifteen years.

I think, Mr. Speaker, this would be a convenient stage for us to adjourn for tea.

spening, special is in a mediana f வைறைய (சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்) කථානායකතුමා (Mr. Speaker)

But you have been talking a lot about other things and not on the subject.

වී. එන්, තවරත්තම මහතා

(A.J. af a con pair shorts)

(Mr. V. N. Navaratanam)

වී. එන්. නවරන්නම් මහතා ப் பக்க கட்டியாக்கினம்) (திரு. வீ. என். நவரத்தினம்) (Mr. V. N. Navaratnam) (Mr. V. N. Navaratnam)

Fortunately, Mr. Speaker, we are discussing the Emergency we at it is spanish in the Westernegency.

had acted with the same sense of irrestrementing the British did in Ceylon and the (risa is a is a wing not a light in Ceylon and the was present at the Party Leaders' meetin (rakaq R, rM) the

Order, please! You have spoken for 45 minutes or more and touched upon various subjects. After tea, you will confine yourself to the Motion. Sweet 4-desage vm

යී. පී. ජේ. සෙනෙව්රත්න මහතා (කම්කරු ඇමතිතුමා) (திரு. சி. பி. ஜே. செனெவிரத்ன--தொழில் அமைச்சர்) (Mr. C. P. J. Seneviratne-Minister of Labour)

He is a very good friend of mine, but he was talking piffle. He is trying to distort history for his own convenience. Just talking nonsense.

කථානායකතුමා (சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்) Mr. Speaker) smu own time, calcula (Mr. Speaker)

It is the last speech he is making. That is why we should tolerate him.

්ද us have a good understo reme මහතා වෙන්වෙන් (திரு. வீ. என். நவரத்தினம்) (Mr. V. N. Navaratnam) and vd sbam nortalogs A sat film

Just one minute before you adjourn, Mr. Speaker. In fact, I thought how much long you should allow me to speak. You know, Mr. Speaker, the shortest time we have is one second. So, I want one second for every day I have been a Member of Parliament for the last 27 years, which totals up to 562 minutes. all and landw to saugood

liberate itself. The problem for Eritrea කථානායකතුමා -(சபாதாயகர் அவர்கள்) did the same thing. They did it (Mr. Speaker) would recall, Mr. Speaker, that when Sp.

I cannot do the calculation now. 2 and 10 vingierovos

gave one part of that region to Morocco and the o part to Mauritania. And the woo @ccocce . co . C தரு. வி. என்.நவரத்தினம்) <sub>செ.</sub>ரு edt diw beilgeloo Nations that there should be a ((mantarava N. V. 1M))

I want one second, Mr. Speaker, for every day I have been a Member of Parliament, said blow oil to sollow

were a free and independent State rule@casicoloawn Sheiks. Now, what has happen (fie a his wow, work and a hours) no

si (Mr. Speaker) lish redto edt bag occorol of lish without even consulting the people. Wetonnas I voller

Order, please! The sitting is now suspended till 5 in Western Sahara for the last fifteen years.

රැස්වීම ඊට අනුකූලව තාවකාලිකව අත්සිටුවන ලදින්, අ. හා. 5 ට නියෝජන කථානායකතුමා [නෝමන් වෛදෑරත්න මහතා] ගේ සභාපතිත්වයෙන් නැවත පවත්වන ලදී.

அதன்படி, அமர்வு பி. ப. 5 மணிவரை இடைநிறுத்தப்பட்டு, மீண்டும் ஆரம்பமாயிற்று. உபசபாநாயகர் அவர்கள் [இரு. நோமன் வைத்யரத்ன] தலேமை வகித்தார்கள்.

Sitting accordingly suspended till 5 p.m. and then resumed. MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER [MR. NORMAN WAIDYARATNA] in the Chair.

වී. එන්. නවජන්නම් මහතා

(Mr. V. N. Navaratnam)

(Bong, of crear, maintain

(May F. A. One. 200

(Mr. C. P. J. Seneviraine

( see a series of the see )

වී. එන්. නවරත්නම් මහතා (திரு. வீ. என். நவரத்தினம்) (Mr. V. N. Navaratnam)

Mr. Deputy Speaker, just befoe we adjourned for Tea I was stating that the Spanish in the Western Sahara had acted with the same sense of irresponsibility as the British did in Ceylon and the rest of Asia. Since then, I was present at the Party Leaders' meeting and both the Hon. Prime Minister and the Hon. Leader of the Opposition have appealed to me to shorten the length of my speech. I have agreed to stop at 6. p.m. sailaos line

නු ව ජේ. ගෙනෙවිරන්න මහතා (අ තියෝජා කථානායකතුමා (பிரதிச் சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்) (Mr. Deputy Speaker)

I presume you are taking the time of the rest of the members of the Opposition? Of garters at all allique

convenience. Just talking n වී. එන්. නවරත්නම් මහතා (திரு. வீ. என். நவரத்தினம்) (Mr. V. N. Navaratanam)

No, Sir! This is my own time, calculated at the rate of a second for every day of my service as a Member of Parliament.

at the BMICH—His Excellencing කටා ගයක් අත து வெடு இத் சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்) அது நக்கியாவி அது முறி (Mr. Deputy Speaker) accused the British order guite (Mr. Deputy Speaker) political evils in this country. And thereaf llsw yraV

I meet the Parliamentarians from වී. එන්. නවරන්නම් මහතා (திரு. வி. என். நவரத்தினம்) (Mr. V. N. Navaratnam)

I shall speak a few more words in English and continue the rest of my speech in Tamil so that I will be faster. Sir, this is not the first time in this House I have been referring to the Western Sahara. Let us now forget about Sri Lanka. In order to have clear understanding of the situation, it will be helpful to look at a paralles case elsewhere. there should be a total end to colonia

I would like to read out what I said on the Floor of this House on 22nd November, 1978. I refer to column Kingdom was one of the first to respond. How di8001y

"This problem is not peculier to our country. It exist in several other countries in the world. The powerful, power-hungry imperialists in the 16th and 17th centuries conquered and subdued separate independent nations in Africa and Asia. Since it was difficult for the conquerors to administer these countries separately, they brought all these countries under one administration for their own convenience. For example, the Spanish in Northern Africa conquered the Sultanate of Morocco, the Sultanate of Sahara and several small independent sovereign states. After some time, for their own convenience, the conquerors brought all these states together under one administration, giving all those separate states one new name."

All those states were combined and were called the Spanish Sahara in the same way as the British joined the Kingdoms of Kotte, Kandy and Jaffna and called this country Ceylon. But before that, long before that,

"That country of several states was administered under the new name for several centuries, When the foreign power relinquished its authority over that land, there was new state created." navbox M

freedom, was conquered by or surrendered to the A part of what was formerly the Western Sahara was given to Morocco. The other part was given to Mauritania. The people of the Western Sahara say that they were brought under the rule of Moroccans by foreigner. They say, we are a separate Nation; we were a separate country; we were a separate entry for a very long time; and therefore, we are entitled to reclaim our were living in the most friendly terms with sonshnaqabni

Let us sit in judgment, Sir over the claim made by the people Western Sahara. Although they were citizens of the Spanish Sahara for over five centuries, although subsequently a part of them went to Morocco and a part of them went to Mauritanis. They now say, "We are a separate Nation". We are entitled to the right of self-determination, we want to be free". And what is our verdict on their claim? This matter, Sir, has now got the approval of the world community.

In fact, Sir, in the Debate on the Appopriation Bill of 1980 under the Minister of Foreign Affairs, I congratulated the Government for recognizing the people of the Western Sahara as a nation, for acknowledging that that nation has a right of self-determination, to freedom. I am now reading from that speech – Volume 8 (ii) Column 267 –

"Coming to more important matters, I only want to pay a tribute and I pay a tribute to Sri Lanka for Lanka for the stand it took in the United Nations about the Western Sahara. This was a very clear indication of our foreign policy because – I hope everybody knows it – the question of the Western Sahara is the question of the determination of a nationhood, and what is a nation. The principles have been decided there, and I am very happy that Sri Lanka has recognized the peole of the Western Sahara as a people who constituted a Nation. It is very relevant to our politics also. I am happy that Sri Lanka, in conformity with the decisions made in Hawana and in confomity with the small resolution we made at Caracas at the IPU conderences has supported the rights of the people of the People of the Western Sahara to self determination."

So, what is the problem we have if we accept the principles in this country? The only question before us is whether the world community is prepared and willing to implement, to execute the resolution adopted by the United Nations that there should be a total end to colonialism. The important period, the important period, "the important date that matter is the day on which we lost our freedom. The Moroccans go to the first century and tell the people of the Western Sahara" In the second century we ruled over you", The crucial date, the most important date, the vital date is the day on which the colonial power took over our territory.

So, Mr. Deputy Speaker, in our view, ther is no problem of language in this country. There is no language problem. Each territory is entitled to be ruled in the language of the people who occoupied that territory, and our territory has to be ruled in our own language. There is no question of minority or majority right Mr. Deputy Speaker. We are not a minorty in the country. When Denmark and Norway were for a long time ruled by the King of Denmark, the Norwegians did not fight for their language rights. The Norwegians did not complain that they are being treated as a minority. They wanted a restoration of their sovereignty. So that, there is no question of a majority problem here. We are not even complaining of that. The problem is not one of denial of human rights. The only question is whether the resolution adopted by the United Nations should be complied with or not.

You would recall, Mr. Speaker, when His Excellency spoke in the other Parliament after he was elected Prime Minister he said: "I am prepared to recognize the Tamil people as a nation; I am prepared to acknowledge that every nation has the right of self-determination." On the basis of the the pronouncement made by His Excellency we had no problem at all. Whatever that new nation whatever that new state would be, once you grant that right we can sit together; once you acknowledge that right we can sit together and decide whether we would like to join again

and be one state under a unitary constitution, whether we would like to join together again into one state under a federal constitution or whether we should continue to live in a very friendly and brotherly way as separate states.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, today's papers give a lot of prominence to a certain incident that took place in New Delhi this week, that India is concerned about what is happening in this country. What is strange, Sir, in a country like India being interested in what is happening in its neighourhood? India is the head of the Non-Aligned Movement. It has to implement all resolutions adopted at all earlier Summits of the Non-Aligned Conferences. It has to help in the implementation of all resolutions adopted by the United Nations. Now, when there was a problem in xEast Pakistan at the beginning India did not intervene. It did not express any view; it treated it as a domestic problem of Pakistan. It was only when it was too late that they realized that domestic problems of countries can disturb the peace in the region unless the problem is solved. The problem of the people of Bangladesh, recognizing them as a Nation, giving the right of self-determination to that Nation, was no longer a domestic problem. Now the world knows it. If India had intervened earlier and if Karachi Listened to India, well, Pakistan need not be two separate States now.

So that, Mr. Deputy Speaker, every country, particularly a friendly country, is and should be interested in the problems, in all problems that happens in the region and not permit that problem to be used by super powers and disturb the peace in the Indian Ocean.

The rest of my speech, Mr. Deputy Speaker, as I mentioned to you earlier, would be in Tamil and I propose to finish by six O'clock.

செய்யப்பட்டேன். அன்றிலிருந்து இச்சபையில்

பிரதிச் சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே, எனது பாராளுமன்ற அர சியல் வாழ்க்கையும் தமிழ் மக்களின் விடுகலேச் சரித்திரமும் ஒன்ரேடொன்று ஊன்றிப் பிணேந்திருக்கின்றன. நான் 1956 ஆம் ஆண்டிலே பாராளுமன்ற அரசியலில் உட்புகுவ தற்கு முன் நடந்த சம்பவங்கள்பற்றிக் கூறத்தேவையில்லே. முன்னர் இத்தாட்டில் மாபெரும் வீரர்களில் ஒருவராகக் கருதப்பட்ட சேர் பொன்னம்பலம் இராமநாதன் அவர்கள்— செங்கள மக்களின் உரிமைகளுக்காக இங்கும் மேல் நாடுகளி லும் வாதாடிய சேர் பொன்னம்பலம் இராமநாதன் அவர் கள் – தமது வாழ்க்கையின் கடைசிக்கட்டங்களில் தமிழ் மக் களுக்குச் சில எச்சரிக்கைகளே விட்டிருந்தார். 1947 ஆம் ஆண்டில் ஆங்கிலேயர் இந்நாட்டை விட்டு விலகக் கருத்துத் தெரினித்த கட்டத்தில் தமிழ் மக்களின் மத்தியில் இன உணர்ச் சியை எழுப்பி அவர்களேப் பாதுகாப்பதற்கு ஆரம்ப விதை விதைத்தார் எமது மதிப்புக்குரிய மறைந்த தலேவர் திரு. ஜி. ஜி. பொன்னம்பலம், இந்நாட்டில் வதியும் தமிழ் மக்களது அரசியல் உரிமைகள் இந்நாட்டின் அரசியலமைப்பின் மூலம் காப்பாற்றப்படலாம் என்ற அடிப்படையில், ஆங்கிலேயர் யாருக்கு எந்த அமைப்பை—எந்த அதிகாரத்தை—அளிக்கப்

ැදිව්. එක්. තවරත්තම මහතා] regige a sabru state one od bras

1085

போகிருர்களோ அத்த அமைப்பின் மூலம் சட்டசபையில் எந்த ஓரினத்தைச் சேர்ந்தவர்களும் 50 வீதத்துக்கு மேல் இருக்கப்படாதென்றும் அந்த அடிப்படையில் எம்மைப் பாது காகக்லாம் என்ற நேக்கத்தோடும் வாதாடிஞர். முயற்சியும் எடுத்தார். ஆனுல், பலன் கிடைக்கவில்லே.

சுதந்தொம் நமக்குக் கிடைத்ததற்குப் பின் இந்த நாட்டின் சிர்திரத்திலே—முகன் மூறை யாக 15 இலட்சம் தமிழ் மக்கள் நாடற்றவர்களாக்கப்பட்டார் கன். இவ்வி த நிகழ்ச்சி உலகில் வேறெங்கும் நடக்கவில்லே. இதைக் கவனித்த எமது முன்னேய தலேவர்—தந்தை என்று அன்பாக அழைக்கப்படுகின்ற திரு. எஸ். ஜே. வி. செல்வ நாயகம் அவர்கள்—சமஷ்டிக் கட்சியை ஆரம்பித்தார். சமஷ்டி ஆட்சி முறை மூலமே இந்நாட்டிலுள்ள சிறுபான்மை மக்களேப் பாதுகாக்கலாம் என்ற அடிப்படையில்—சமஷ்டி முறை களேப் பாதுகாக்கலாம் என்ற அடிப்படையில்—சமஷ்டி முறை களேப் பாதுகாக்கலாம் என்ற அடிப்படையில்—சமஷ்டி முறைகளேப் பாதுகாக்கலாம் என்ற அடிப்படையில்—சமஷ்டி மூறைகளேப் பாதுகாக்கலாம் என்ற அடிப்படையில்—சமஷ்டி மூறைகளேப் பாதுகாக்கலாம் என்ற அடிப்படையில்—சமஷ்டி மூறையே எம்மை ஒன்றினேக்கக் கூடியதென்ற அடிப்படையில்—சம்ஷ்டி ஆம் ஆன்டுகளுக்கிடையில் நடந்த எனேய அரசியல் நிகழ்ச்சிகள் உள்களுக்குத் தெரியும்.

கைப்பற்றப்பட்ட நாட்டை நீண்ட காலமாக ஆள்வதற்குச் செய்யப்படும் வழிகளிலொன்று, கைப்பற்றப்பட்ட நாட்டை ஆளுகின்றவர்கள் தங்கள் மக்களே அங்கு குடியேற்றுவது தான். இன்று அறபு பூமியில் யூதர்ககள் தங்கள் மக்களே அந் நோக்கத்துக்காகக் குடியேற்றுகிருர்கள். யூதர்கள் அறபு யூமி யில் யூதர்களேக் குடியேற்றும்போது "அது உன்னுடைய யூமி யல்ல; அறபுப் பூமியை யூத பூமியாக மாற்றுதே" என்று இன்று எச்சரிக்கைசெய்யும் நாம், இந்நாட்டில் தமிழ்ப் பிர தேசங்களில் தமிழரல்லாதவர்களேக் குடியேற்றி அந்த நிலங் களே மாற்றும் அடுத்த கட்டத்துக்கு வந்தோம். அதைத் தொடர்ந்து ஆளுகின்றவர்களின் மொழி ஆங்கிலமாக இருந்த நேரத்தில் அந்த இடத்திற்குச் செங்களம் கொண்டுவரப்பட்

அந்தக் கலகட்டத்தில் நான் 1956 ஏப்ரில் மாதம் 10 ஆம் தேதி பிரதிநிதிகள் சபைக்கு சாவகச்சேரி மக்கனால் தெரிவு செய்யப்பட்டேன், அன்றிலிருந்து இச்சபையில் அவர்களு டைய குரலாக இருந்தேன். அன்று நான் பாராளுமன்றத்தில் எனது கன்னிப்பேச்சைப் பேசுவதற்கு முன் பல அனுபவங் கள் எனக்குக் கிடைத்தன. 1956 ஆம் ஆண்டு ஜூவ் மாதம் 5 ஆம் நாள், தனிச் சிங்களச் சட்டமூலம் பாராளுமன்றத்தில் சமர்ப்பிக்கப்பட்ட அந்தத் தினத்தில் தமிழ் மக்களுடைய அரசியல் வாழ்க்கையில் ஒரு புதிய திருப்பம் ஏற்பட்டது. முன்னர் பிளவுபட்டு, ஒற்றுமையிழந்து இருந்த தமிழ் மக்கள், தமிழ்த் தலேவர்களான திருவாளர் செல்வநாயகம், பொன்னம் பலம் ஆகியவர்களோடு மற்றும் சிலரோடு சேர்ந்து இந்த அநீதியை எதிர்க்கவேண்டும் என்ற அடிப்படையில் பிரதிநிதி கள்சபைக் கட்டடத்துக்குமுன் காலிமுக மைதானத்தில் காந்தி காட்டிய வழியில் ஈழத்துக் காந்தி செல்வநாயகம் அவர்களின் தலேமையில் சத்தியாக்கிரகம் செய்தனர்.

அச்சந்தர்ப்பத்தில் சத்தியத்தின் அடிப்படையிலே நாம் எடுக்கின்ற முயற்சிகள் வெற்றியடைய வேண்டும் என்று நாம் பிரார்த்தனே செய்துகொண்டிருந்தோம். அன்று நடந்த சம்ப வங்கள் இன்று சரித்திரத்திலே பொறிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன. நாம் குண்டர்களினுலே தாக்கப்பட்டோம். தந்தை செல்வ

நாயகத்தின் மகன் பந்துபோல் எறியப்பட்டார். எமது செய லாளர் நாயகம்—எதிர்க்கட்சித் தஃலவர்—மண்டையில் காயங் களுடன் பாராளுமன்றத்துக்கு வந்தார்.

ஜூன் 5 ஆம் தேதி எனது வாழ்க்கையிலே ஒரு முக்கிய மான நாள். அது எனது பிறந்த நாள். மூக்கினிலே ஏற்பட்ட காயத்துடன் அன்று நான் ஆஸ்பத்திரி ஒன்றில் அனுமதிக்கப் பட்டேன். பாராளுமன்ற உறப்பினர் என்ற முறையிலே எனக்குக்கிடைத்த புது அனுபவம் அதுதான். அதைத் தொடர்ந்து தமிழ் மக்கள் ஒற்றுமைப்பட்டார்கள். அதே ஆண்டு நாம் திருகோணமலேக்கு கால் நடையாகச் சென் ருேம்; மகாநாடு வைத்தோம். எமது உரிமைகள் கிடைக்கா விட்டால் நேரடி நடவடிக்கையில் ஈடுபடுவோம் என்று அர சாங்கத்துக்கு எச்சரிக்கை செய்தோம். அந்தக் கட்டத்திலே முன்னே நாள் பிரதமர் பண்டாரநாயக்க அவர்கள் தந்தை செல்வநாயகத்தோடு பேச்சுவார்த்தை நடாத்தி இந்த நாட் டிலே தமிழ் மக்களுடைய பிரச்சணேயை ஓரளவு நீர்ப்பதற் காக ஓர் ஒப்பந்தத்தைச் செய்தார். அந்த ஒப்பந்தம், இப் பொழுது பண்டா—செல்வா ஒப்பந்தம் என்று கூறப்படுகின் றது. இந்த பண்டா—செல்வா ஒப்பந்தத்தை தென்னிலங்கை மிலேயுள்ள அரசியல் சந்தர்ப்பவாதிகள், இந்தப் பிரச்சனே திரு, பண்டாரநாயக்க அவர்களால் நீர்க்கப்படக் கூடாது என்ற அடிப்படையிலே எதிர்த்தார்கள். நாட்டிலே குழப்பம் ஏற்பட்டது. இறு தியில் அந்த ஒப்பந்தம் கிழிக்கப்பட்டது. அதைத்தொடர்ந்து பலசம்பவங்கள் நடைபெற்றன. 1958 ஆம் ஆண்டு இந்த நாட்டிலே இனக்கலவரம் ஏற்பட்டது. பாராளுமன் றத்துக்கு நாங்கள் அழைக்கப்பட்டோம். பாராளு மன்றம் வந்த நாங்கள், ரூயல் கல்லூரியிலும் மற்றைய கல் லூரிகளிலும் தமிழ் மக்கள் அகதிகளாக இருப்பதைக் கண் டோம். அவர்களுடைய பாதுகாப்புக்கு நடவடிக்கை எடுத் தோம். முதன்முதலாக தமிழ் மக்கள் தங்கள் பிரதேசத்துக் குக் கப்பலில் சென்ற நிகழ்ச்சியை அன்று நாம் கண்டோம்.

1958 ஆம் ஆண்டு ஜூன் மாதம் & ஆம் தேதி—அதுவும் என்னுடைய பிறந்த நாள்—நான் பாராளுமன்ற நிகழ்ச்சியில் பங்குபற்றிவிட்டு வெளியேவந்தபொழுது, இப்பொழுது போலிஸ் மா அதிபராக இருக்கின்ற ருத்ரா ராஜசிங்கம் அவர் கள் வெளி வாசலில் வைத்து "மிஸ்டர் நவரத்தினம் இங்கே வாருங்கள்" என என்னேக் கூப்பிட்டார். நான் போனேன். அவர் அவ்விடத்தில் என்னேக் கைதுசெய்தார். நான் தடுப்புக் காவலிலே வைக்கப்பட்டேன். மக்கள் என்னேப் பாராளுமன் றத்துக்கு அனுப்பிரைகள். இவர்கள் என்னேப் பாராளுமன் றத்துக்கு அனுப்பிரைகள். இவர்கள் என்னேத் தடுப்புக் காவலில் வைத்தார்கள். என்ன குற்றம் செய்தேன் என்று எனக்கு தில் வைத்தார்கள். என்ன குற்றம் செய்தேன் என்று எனக்கு குக்கியவில்லே. நாலு மாத காலம் தொடர்ந்து தடுப்புக்காவலில் இருந்தேன். இதற்கும் எனது தாடிக்கும் ஒரு தொடர்பு இருக்கிறது துணேச் சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே!

நாங்கள் பாராளுமன்றத்துக்குப் போகும்பொழுது "ஷேவிங் செற்" கொண்டுபோவது இல்லே. முதல்வாரம் நான் தடுப்புக் காவலில் இருந்தபொழுது "ஷேவிங் செற்" ஒன்று வாங்கித்தரும்படி அங்கிருந்த பொலிஸ் அதிகாரியிடம் பணம் கொடுத்தேன். அங்கே இருந்த போலிஸ் அதிகாரி, "இது ஆபத்தான விஷயம். நாங்கள் வாங்கித்தா மாட்டோம்" என்று சொன்னுர். "ஷேவிங் செற்" வாங்கித் தரா விட்டால் ஒரு பாபரையாவது அழைத்து வாருங்கள் என்று கூறினேன்; அதுவும் செய்யப்படவில்லே. இரண்டுவார காலம் என்னுடைய முகத்திலே இருந்த மயிரை எடுக்கக்கூடிய வசதி இருக்கவில்லே. நான் தீர்மானித்தேன், இன்றுதொடக்கம்

நான் கண்ணுடியிலே எனது முகத்தைப் பார்க்கும்பொழுது தமிழ் மக்களுடைய நிலேயை என்றென்றும் உணரக்கூடியதாக இருக்கவேண்டும் என்று. அந்தத் தாடி என்றென்றும் எனக்கு இந்த நாட்டிலே நாங்கள் என்ன நிலேயிலே இருக்கி ரேம் என்பதை ஞாபகப்படுத்துவதாக அமைந்தது. ஆகவே, அன்று தொடக்கம் இன்றுவரை,—அதாவது 1958 ஆம்

தாடி இருந்து

ஆண்டு தொடக்கம் இன்றுவரை—அந்தத்

கொண்டே இருக்கின்றது.

1960 ஆம் ஆண்டு பங்குனி மாதம் மீண்டும் சாவகச்சேரித் தொகுதி மக்கள் என்னப் பாராளுமன்றத்துக்கு அனுப்பிஞர் கள். மூன்று மாதத்திலே பாராளுமன்றம் கூஃக்கப்பட்டது. 1960 ஆம் ஆண்டு ஜூல் மாதம் மீண்டும் அவர்கள் எனது கட்சியிலும் என்னிலும் வைத்திருந்த நம்பிக்கையின் அடிப் படையிலே என்னேப் பாராளுமன்றத்துக்கு அனுப்பிஞர்கள்.

1961 ஆம் ஆண்டிலே அன்றைய அரசாங்கம் சிங்கள மொழியைத் தமிழ்ப் பிரதேசங்களில் நடைமுறைப்படுத்தும் நடவடிக்கைகளிலே ஈடுபட்டபொழுது பழையபடி தமிழினம் ஒற்றுமைப்பட்டு நாம் சத்தியாக்கிரகம் செய்தோம். நாங்கள் விரும்பாத ஒரு மொழியை எங்களுடைய பகுதிகளிலே நீங் கள் புகுத்த முடியாது என்று யாழ்ப்பாணம், மன்னர், வவுனியா, திருகோணமலே, மட்டக்களப்புக் கச்சேரிகள் முன் தமிழரசுக் கட்சி உறுப்பினர்களும் தமிழ்க்காங்கொஸ் கட்சி உறுப்பினர்களும்ஒற்றமையாக ஒன்றிணேந்து சத்தியாக்கிர கம் செய்தது உங்களுக்கு ஞூபகம் இருக்கும், பழையபடி நாம் கைது செய்யப்பட்டோம், நான்கு மாதங்கள் தடுப்புக் காவலில் வைக்கப்பட்டோம். தொடர்ந்து 1965 ஆம் ஆண்டுத் தேர்தலிலே சாவகச்சேரித் தொகுதி மக்கள் மீண்டும் என்னே அவர்களின் பிரதிநிதியாகப் பாராளுமன்றத்திற்கு அனுப்பி ளுர்கள். அந்த நேரத்தில் தந்தை செல்வா அவர்கள் ஏதாவது நல்ல வழிகளில் பேச்சுவார்த்தைகளே நடாத்திச் சில பிரச் சனேகளேத் தீர்த்து வைக்கலாம் என்ற அடிப்படையிலே காலஞ்சென்ற திரு. டட்வி சேரையக்க அவர்களுடன் ஒப் பந்தம் செய்தார். அந்த ஒப்பந்தம் பின்னர் அமுல் நடத்தப் படவில்லே. அது நீங்கள் அறிந்ததே. அதன் பின்னர் சில பிரச் சனேகள் எழுந்தன.

1970 ஆம் ஆண்டிலே நான் மீண்டும் கட்சியின் சார்பில் போட்டியிட்டேன். இன்னுமொரு முறை சாவகச்சேரித் தொகுதி வாக்காளர்கள் என்னேப் பாராளுமன்றத்துக்கு அனப்பிஞர்கள். அந்த நேரத்திலே அப்பொழுது பிரதமராக இருந்த திருமதி சிறிமா பண்டாரநாயக்க " நாம் ஒரு புதிய அரசியலமைப்பை உருவாக்கப்போயிரும்; இந்நாட்டிலே யுள்ள எல்லா இன மக்களும் இன, மத, மொழி வேறுபாடின்றி ஒற்றுமையோடு, உரிமையோடு வாழக்கூடிய ஒரு புதிய அர சியலமைப்பை அமைக்கப் போகின்ரேம் வாருங்கள்" என்று எம்மை அழைத்தார். ஒரு புதிய அரசியலமைப்பை அமைக் கின்<mark>ற அதிகாரத்தை எங்களுக்கு மக்கள் கொடுக்காவிட்டா</mark> லுங்கூட இப்படிப்பட்ட ஒரு நல்ல கருத்தைப் பிரதமர் முன் வைத்தபொழுது அதை நாம் எதிர்க்கக்கூடாது என்ற காச ணத்தினுயம் அன்று அரசாங்கத்தில் முற்போக்குச் சக்திக ளாக விருந்த லங்கா சமசமாசக் கட்சி, கொம்யூனிஸ்ட் கட்சி ஆகியவைகளும் அங்கம் வகித்திருந்த காசணத்தாலும் நாங் கள் அந்த அரசியல் நிர்ணய சபையிலே சேர்ந்தோம்; ஆனல், ஏமாற்றம் அடைந்தோம், வெளியேறினும். அதற்குப் பிறகு தந்தை செல்வா அவர்கள். அந்த அரசியலமைப்பை நாங்கள் எதிர்க்கின்ரேம் என்ற கோரிக்கையை முன்வைத்துத் தமது

பாராளுமன்ற ஸ்தானத்தை இராஜினுமாச் செய்தார். அந்தக் காலகட்டத்திலேதான் தமிழ் மக்களின் அரசியல் வாழ்க்கை யில் இன்னெரு புதியா திருப்பம் ஏற்பட்டது. அவர்களின் கண்கள் திறக்கப்பட்டன. நாம் எம்மை முன்பு ஆண்டவர்கள், திரும்பவும் எம்மை நாமே ஆள வேண்டும் என்ற நினேவு தமிழ் மக்களுக்கு ஏற்பட்டது. அந்த நினேவு தமிழ் மக்களுக்கு ஏற்பட்டது. அந்த நினேவு தமிழ் மக்களுக்கு எற்பட்டது? தனிச் சிங்கள மசோதா 1956 ஆம் ஆண்டு பாராளுமன்றத்திலே விவாதிக்கப்பட்ட பொழுது, அரசியல் சரித்திரத்தை ஓர் ஆராய்ச்சியாகப் படித்த கலாநிதி கொல்வின் ஆர் த சில்வா அவர்கள், காலஞ் சென்ற பிரதமர் திரு. பண்டாரநாயக்கவைப் பார்த்து கூறி ஞர், "திரு. பண்டாரநாயக்க, இரண்டு மொழி ஓர் இனம்; ஒரு மொழி இரண்டு நாடு, ஒரு மொழி இரண்டு நாடு, ஒரு மொழி இரண்டு நாடு, ஒரு மொழி இரண்டு நாடு, ஒரு மொழி இரண்டு நாடு,

One language, you will have two States; two languages, you can preserve one State. And he continued to say, the Tamil people now have forgotten that they want an independent State. You are reminding them of their history. And we warned the late Mr. Bandaranaike, on account of what you will have done within the next 40 years the Tamils will demand and create a State for themselves. And when that is done, they are not going to erect a statue for Chelvanayakam, Sunderaligam or Ponnambalam, the first statue would be erected for Bandaranaike. On an earlier occasion I stated the second statue would be for Hon. Mr. Mathew.

இன்றூப்பேன் (அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்) (A Member) Yes, certainly.

වී. එන්. නවරන්නම් මහතා (කිரு. வீ. என். நவரத்தினம்) (Mr. V. N. Navaratnam)

அதற்குப் பிறகு வட்டுக்கோட்டையிலே கமிழர் விடு தலேக் கூட்டணி அதனது முதலாவது மகாநாட்டை நடத்தி ஒரு நீர்மானத்தை எடுத்தது—அந்தத் நீர்மானம் என்ன என்று விபரமாகக் கூறவதற்கு இன்று எனக்கு நேரம் இல்லே—அதைத் தொடர்ந்து நாம் சட்ட மறுப்புச் செய்தோம், ராஜத் துரோகக் குற்றத்திற்குக் குற்றம் சாட்டப்பட்டோம், தடுப் புக் காவலில் இருந்தோம், மறியலில் இருந்தோம். 1977 ஆம் ஆண்டிலே தமிழர் விடுதலேக் கூட்டணி வட்டுக்கோட்டைத் நீர்மானத்தை மக்கள் முன்னிலேயில் வைத்து மக்களின் அங்கே காரத்தைப் பெற்றது. 1977 ஆம் ஆண்டு தொடக்கம் இன்று வரை நடந்த நிகழ்ச்சிகளேப் பற்றி விபரமாகக் கூறுவதற்கு எனக்கு நேரம் இல்லே. ஆனல், ஒன்றை மாத்திரம் இந்த நேரத்திலே கூறிவைக்க வேண்டியது அவசியமாக இருக்கின் றது.

பாசாளுமன்றத்துக்கு அப்பாலே நாம் விடுதலே நடவடிக்கை கீன் எடுக்கும் அதே நேரத்திலே, "பாராளுமன்றத்திற்கு எங்கள் அடைப்புங்கள் நாங்கள் தமிழ் ஈழம் பெற்றுத் தருவோம்" என்று எந்த மேடையிலாவது எந்தத் தலேவரும் கூறளில்லே. "விடுதலேக்காகப் பாராளுமன்றத்தை ஒரு பிரசார மேடையாகப் பாவிப்போம்; விடுதலேக்காக எமது அந்தஸ்த்தை ஓர் ஆயுதமாகப் பாவிப்போம்" என்றுதான் நாம் வாக்குறுதி கொடுத்திருந்தோம். சென்ற வாரம் இதை நான் கைதடியிலே

[වී. එන්. නවරන්නම් මහතා] ஒரு கூட்டத்திலே கூறினேன். " நாங்கள் தமிழ் ஈழம் தரு வோம் என்று கூறவில்லே" என்று நான் கூறியதாக ஒரு பத் திரிகை தவருகத் தலேப்புப் போட்டிருந்தது. நாங்கள் கூற் வது " பாராளுமன்றம் மூலம் பாராளுமன்றத்திற்குச் சென்று தான் தமிழ் ஈழம் அமைப்போம்" என்று நாம் கூறவில்லே என்பதுதான். "இந்த மேடையை நாம் ஒரு பிரசார மேடை யாகப் பாவிப்போம். இந்த அந்தஸ்த்தை ஓர் ஆயுதமாகப் பாளிப்போம்'' என்றுதான் நாம் கூறினேம். இந்தக் கடமை யைத் தமிழர் விடுதலேக் கூட்டணி சென்ற ஏழு வருட காலத் நிலும் செய்திருக்கின்றதா என்பதை ஆராய்வது முக்கிய மான விடயமாக இருக்கின்றது. அன்று தொடக்கம் இன்று வரை எமது கட்சியின் செயலாளர் நாயகமாக இருப்பவர்; எதிர்க் கட்சித் தலேவர் (திரு. அ. அமிர்தலிங்கம்); எமது கட்சியின் தலேவர் நல்லூர்ப் பிரதிநிதி (திரு. எம். சிவசிதம் பரம்) அவர்கள் ஆகியோர்களும் மற்றவர்களும் இந்த மேடையை எமது நிலேமையை உலகத்திற்கு எடுத்துக் கூறு கின்ற ஒரு பிரசார மேடையாகப் பெரிதும் பாவித்து இருக் கிருர்கள். எதிர்க்கட்சித் தலேவர் தமது அந்தஸ்தையும் பதவி யையும் உலக நாடுகளிலே உள்ள தலேவர்கள் இலங்கையிலே உள்ள நிலேமையை நல்ல முறையிலே உணரத் தக்கதாகப் பாவித்து இருக்கின்றுர். விடுதலேக்காகப் போராடுகின்ற எந்த இனத்தின் சரித்திரத்தை நாம் எடுத்துப் பார்த்தாலும் எந்த ஒரு நாட்டிலும் இவ்வளவு குறுகிய காலத்திலே அந்த நாட்டுப் பிரச்சனே உலக அரங்கிலே இவ்வளவு தூரம் வைக் கப்படவில்லே என்பதை நாம் உணரக்கூடியதாக இருக்கின் றது. அத்தனேயும் எமது பாராளுமன்ற அங்கத்தினர் இந்த மேடையிலும் வெளியிலும் செய்த முயற்சிகள் என்பதை இந்

என்னேப் பொறுத்த அளவிலே சென்ற ஐந்து வருட கால மாக உலகத்திலே உள்ள வெவ்வேறு நாடுகளிலே உள்ள— குறைந்தது ஆயிசம் பாசாளுமன்றப் நிதிகளுக்காவது இலங்கையில் உள்ள உண்மையான பிரச்சணே என்ன என்பதை விளக்கியிருப்பேன். ஏதோ இலண்டனிலே சில ஆர்ப்பாட்டங்களே நடத்தினுல் அல்லது நியூயோர்க்கிலே சில நிகழ்ச்சிகளே நடத்தினுல் உலகத்திலே இலங்கைப் பிரச் சனே தெளிவாக்கப்படும் என்று சிலர் கருதுகிருர்கள். அப் படிப்பட்ட நிகழ்ச்சிகள் ஏதோ இந்தப் பிரச்சணே இருக் கிறதென்று உலக மக்களுக்கு உணர்த்தி வைக்குமே ஒழிய உண்மையான நிலேயை விளங்கப்படுத்தமாட்டாது. ஆனுல் எங்களிலே சிலர் தாம் சந்திக்கின்றவர்களுக்குத் திட்டவட்ட மாக, அமைதியாக இலங்கையில் இருப்பது மொழிப் பிரச் சனே அல்ல, மதப் பிரச்சனே அல்ல, சிறுபான்மைப் பிரச்சணே அல்ல ; இசண்டு இனங்கள் ஒரு நாட்டிலே ஒற்றுமையாக வாழ முடியுமா முடியாதா என்பதை முடிவுசெய்வதுதான் பிரச் சனே என்பதைத் தெளிவாக எடுத்துக்காட்டி இருக்கிறேம். சர்வதேச பாராளுமன்ற ஒன்றியத்திலே அந்த ஒன்றியப் பதி வேடுகளிலே எனது பெயர் வி. என். நவரத்தினம், T. U. L. F. என்றுதான் இருக்கும். அங்கே நான் தமிழர் விடுதலேக் கட்டணியின் பிரநிநிதியாகக் கணிக்கப்பட்டேன்.

தக் கட்டத்திலே நான் கூறிவைக்க விரும்புகிறேன்.

ஆகவே, சென்ற ஏழாண்டு காலத்தில் தமிழர் விடுகஃக் கூட் டணி உறுப்பினர்கள் பாராளுமன்றப் பதவியையும் பாராளு மன்ற அந்தஸ்தையும் பாவித்து இயன்ற அளவு தமிழ் மக் களின் விடுதஃக்காக உழைத்திருக்கிறுர்கள். இப்போதுள்ள கால கட்டத்தில், ஓர் உள்நாட்டுப் பிரச்சிஃனயாக இருந்தா லென்ன, வேறெந்தப் பிரச்சிணேயாக இருந்தாலென்ன. அது சர்வதேச அங்கீகாரமில்லாமல் முக்கியத்துவம் பெருது. ஆகவே, முதற்படியாக நாம் அதைச் செய்தோம்.

1977 ஆம் ஆண்டு ஜுல் மாதம் 22 ஆத் தேதி நான் இந்தப் பாராளுமன் றத்துக்குத் தெரிவு செய்யப்பட்டேன். இன்றைய தினத்துக்குப் பிறகு நான் இந்தப் பாராளுமன்றத்துக்குச் சமுகம் கொடுக்க மாட்டேன். " ஏன் இப்படிச் செய்கிறீர் கள் ?" என்று சிலர் என்னிடம் கேட்கிருர்கள். தமிழ் மக்களேப் பொறுத்த அளவில் அவர்களுக்கு ஒரேயொரு அரசியல் இயக்கந்தான் இருக்கின்றது; ஒரேயொரு அரசியல் இயக்கந் தான் இருக்க வேண்டும். 1977 ஆம் ஆண்டில் தமிழ் மக்கள் எந்த இயக்கத்துக்குத் தம் ஆதாவைக் கொடுத்தார்களோ அந்த இயக்கத்துக்குத் தொடர்ந்தும் அவர்கள் மத்தியில் ஆதரவு இருக்கின்றதென்பதை நான் நிமிர்ந்து நின்று கூறு வேன். இருந்தபோ திலும் இன்று தமிழர் விடுதலக் கூட்டணி தமிழ்ப் பிரதேசங்களில் அரசியல் நடவடிக்கைகளுக்குத் தலேமை தாங்கக் கூடிய நிலேயில் இல்லே. அரசியல் நிலேமை களேக் கட்டுப்படுத்தக்கூடிய நிலேயில் இல்லே. இந்த நிலே மாற்றி யமைக்கப்படல் வேண்டும்.

இந்த நில எப்படி ஏற்பட்டது? 1977 ஆம் ஆண்டிலிருந்து ஒவ்வொரு வருடமும், சிலசமயங்களில் ஒரு வருடத்துக்கு இரு முறையும் எனக்கு லண்டனுக்குச் செல்லவேண்டிய வசதி ஏற் பட்டது. 1978 ஆம் ஆண்டிலே லண்டனிலுள்ள ஒரு பகுதி யினர், " தமிழர் விடுதலேக் கூட்டணியால் தமிழ் மக்களுடைய பாச்சிணகளேத் திர்க்க முடியாது; நாம் தனித் தமிழ்நாடு பெறுவதென்ருல்—தமிழீழம் நிறுவுவதென்ருல்—அதை ஓர் பெரும் போர்முனேயில் தான் பெறலாம்; வெளி நாட்டு உதவி யோடுதான் செய்யலாம் ; அந்த வெளிநாடு ஒரு சோசலிச நாடாகவே இருக்க வேண்டும், ஆணுல், எந்த ஒரு சோசலிச நாடும் தமிழர் விடுதலக் கட்டணியை ஒரு சோசலிசக் கட்சி யாக கருத மாட்டாது. ஆகவே தமிழர் விடுதலேக் கூட் டணியை அழித்து அதன் சமாதியில் இன்னுமொரு புதிய கட்சியைத் தோற்றுவிக்க வேண்டும்" என்ற கருக்தைத் தெரி வித்தார்கள். அந்தக் கருத்துக்கு அந்த நோம் லண்டனில் ஆதாவு கிடைக்காவிட்டாலும், அவர்கள் இலங்கைக்கு வந்து —ஈழத்துக்கு வந்து—பலளிதமான இயக்கங்களில் புகுந்தார் கள் ; தமிழர் விடுதலேக் கூட்டணியை அழிப்பதற்கு ஒரு சதித் திட்டம் ஆரம்பிக்கப்பட்டது. ஓர் இயக்கத்தை அழிப்பது எப்படி? ஓர் இயக்கத்தின் பெறுமதியைக் குறைப்பது எப் படி? அதற்கு வழி அந்த இயக்கத்தின் தலேவர்களேக் குற்றம் கண்டு பிடிப்பதும் அவர்களின் பலவீனத்தைப் பயன்படுத்தி அவர்களுக்கு எதிராகப் பிரசாரம் செய்வதும்தான். அந்த அடிப்படையில் இன்று தமிழர் விடுதலேக் கட்டணிக்கேதி ராகப் பலவிதமான இயக்கங்கள் ஆரம்பிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கின் றன. இவற்றிலுள்ளவர்களில் 98 வி தமானவர்கள் நல்லவர்கள், ஆனுல், பிழையான வழியில் வழிநடாத்திச் செல்லப்படுபவர் கள்.

இக்காலகட்டத்தில் தமிழ் மக்களுக்கு ஒரு வேண்டுகோளும் எச்சரிக்கையும் விடுக்க வேண்டும். தமிழ் மக்களுக்குத் தமிழர் விடுதலேக் கூட்டணியைவிட்டு வேருரு கட்சியை அமைக்க முடியாது. இன்னும் ஓர் இயக்கத்தை அமைப்பதென்றுல் ஆகக் குறைந்தது 30 வருடங்கள் செல்லும். எமது இயக்கத் தில் ஏதாவது தவறு இருந்தால் உள்ளுக்கு வந்து எமது இயக் கத்தைத் திருத்துங்கள். வெளியிலிருந்து எமது இயக்கத்தை உடைக்க வேண்டாம். இதற்கும் நான் இந்தச் சபையிலிருந்து விலகுவதற்கும் என்ன தொடர்பிருக்கின்றதென்பது பற்றியும் நான் கூறி வைக்க விரும்புகிறேன். நாடு முழுவதிலும், சிங் களப் பிரகேசத்திலும் தமிழ்ப் பிரதேசத்திலும் பாராளுமன்ற அங்கத்தவர்களுக்கெதிராக ஒரு பொருமை—எரிச்சல், அவர் கள் ஏதோ பாராளுமன்றப் பதவிக்காகத்தான் அரசியல் நடாத்துகிருர்கள் என்ற கருத்து பாவலாக இருக்கின்றது. விசேடமாக இது தமிழ்ப் பிரதேசத்திலே கூடுதலாக இருக் கின்றது. ஆகவே, பாராளுமன்றப் பிரதிநிதி என்ற பதவியில் இருந்து கொண்டு அவர்களோடு தொடர்பு வைத்து, அவர் களேப் பழையபடி எமது கூடாரத்தின் கேழ் கொண்டு வருவது கஷ்டமாக இருக்கும். "எதோ நீ உன்னுடைய பதவியைக் காப்பாற்றுவதற்காக எதையும் செய்வாய்" என்று கூறுவார் கள். ஆகவே, இன்னும் ஆறு வருடம் தொடர்ந்து பாராளு மன்ற அங்கத்தவராக இருக்கக் கூடிய வாய்ப்பும் வசதியும் இருக்கின்ற நேரத்திலே இந்தப் பதனியைத் துறந்தால், வெளி யிலே இருக்கிறவர்களே நம்பவைக்க முடியாவிட்டாலும் அவர் களோடு அணுகக்கூடிய வசதி ஏற்படும் என்ற நம்பிக்கையின் பேரிலேயே நான் இந்த முடிவுக்கு வந்தேன்.

எத்தணேயோ இன்ஞர்கள் விடுதலேக்காகத் தங்களேத் தியாகம் செய்து கொண்டு இருக்கிருர்கள். அவர்களுடைய நடவடிக்கைகளே நாங்கள் ஆதரிக்காவிட்டாலும் அவர்களுடைய புனிதமான தியாக உணர்ச்சிக்கு நாங்கள் மதிப்புக் கொடுக் கிரும். என்னேப் பொறுத்த அளவிலே, வன்செயல் மூலம், பலாத்காரம் மூலம் எமது பேச்சினேயைத் தீர்க்கலாம் என்ற நம்பிக்கை எனக்கும் இல்லே, எமது இயக்கத்துக்கும் இல்லே, எமது இயியக்கு திற்க நாம் கமிழ் ஈழத்தை மீட்கலாமேயொழிய சிறிய சிறிய வன்செயல்களி இலே தமிழ் ஈழத்தை அடைய முடியாது. ஆகவே, இந்த வண் செயல்களே திறுத்த வேண்டிய, நிற்பாட்ட வேண்டிய, குறைக்க வேண்டிய கடமை அரசாங்கத்துக்கு மட்டுமல்ல; எமக்கும் இருக்கின்றது. சிற்கில நாடுகளிலே இனப் போச்சனே கணி வெவ்வேறு விதங்களிலே தீர்த்து வைக்கிருர்கள். அதிலே ஒருவகை இனக்கொலே,

Genocide is one of the ways of solving problems in certain countires, and we do not want our youths to create the opportunities, create a situation, by which this method could be used. In fact, when I met His Excellency the President last week, I thanked him for not encouraging genocide, I thanked him for not doing what General Tikka Khan did in Bangladesh. He killed three million people in thirty days.

ஆகவே, வன்செயல் எம்மை முன்னேற்ருது என்ற நில்யை எமது இன்ஞர்களுக்குக் கூற வேண்டிய தேவை எங்களுக்கு இருக்கின்றது. அவர்களேச் சந்தித்து, அரசாங்கம் கொடிய நடவடிக்கைகளே எடுத்தால் என்ன, பயங்காவாத எதிர்ப்புச் சட்டங்களே எவ்வளவு மோசமாக அமுல் நடத்திலை என்ன, ஆகக் குறைந்தது. ஆறு மாத காலதுக்காவது நீங்கள் பலாத் காரத்தில் ஈடுபட வேண்டாம் என்று நான் கேட்க இருக்கிறேன். அதற்கிடையில் நாம் ஒன்று சேர்ந்து, ஒன்றுகக் கதைத்து, ஒரு கொள்கையடன், ஒரு வேலுத் திட்டத்துடன் இயங்க ஏற்பாடு செய்வதே என்னுடைய நோக்கம்.

எனது சாவகச்சேரித் தொகுதியின் பிரதிநிதித்துவம் வரும் ஒக்ரோபர் மாதம் 21 ஆம் தேதி காலியாகும். அதற்கிடையில் எங்களுக்கு இவ்வளவு காலமும் வழிகாட்டிகளாக இருந்த வரும் தலேவர் சிவசிதம்பாம், செயலாளர் நாயகம் அமிர்த லிங்கம் ஆகியோருடைய பலத்தைக் கூட்ட முயற்சிப்போம். இந்தக் கால கட்டத்திலே அவர்களேப் போன்ற தலேவர்கள் எங்களுக்குக் கிடைத்ததையிட்டு நான் மிக்க மகிழ்ச்சியடை கிறேன். பொறுப்புணர்ச்சியோடு, மக்களேக் காப்பாற்றுவதை அடிப்படை நோக்கமாக வைத்து, எவ்வளவுதான் எதிர்ப்பு ஏற்பட்டாலும் அதனேப் பொருட்படுத்தாது அவர்கள் செய லாற்றுவது குறித்து நான் அவர்களேப் பாராட்டுகின்றேன்.

பேரநிச் சபாநாயகாவர்களே, எனக்குப் பேசுவதற்கு இன் னும் பதினந்து நிமிடங்கள் இருக்கின்றன. அதற்கிடையில் இன்னும் சில தனிப்பட்ட விளக்கங்களே, இது என்னுடைய இறுதிப் பேச்சு என்றபடியால் கொடுக்க வேண்டியவரைக இருக்கின்றேன். சிலர் கேட்கிருர்கள், "தமிழ் ஈழம் அமைப் போமென்று பாசாளுமன்றம் சென்ற நீங்கள் ஏன் நீதி மன் றத்துக்குப் போகிறீர்கள், வழக்குப் பேச?" என்று இதற்கு வினக்கம் கொடுக்க வேண்டியது எனது கடமை. பிரதிச் சபா நாயகாவர்களே, உங்களுக்குத் தெரியுமோ தெரியாதோ, இங்கு பின்வரிசையிலே இருக்கின்ற அங்கத்தவர்களுக்கும் தெரியும் அரசியலிலே ஈடுபட்டுள்ள ஓர் அரசியல் வாதிக்கு அவரது தொகுதியிலே நடைபெறுகின்ற எல்லா நிகழ்ச்சி களிலும் பங்கு பற்ற வேண்டிய ஒரு கடமை ஏற்படுகின்றது. இதற்கு அத்தியாவசியச் செலவுகள் ஏற்படுகின்றன. களுக்கு சமய நிகழ்ச்சிகள், பாடசாலே நிகழ்ச்சிகள், கொம திகழ்ச்சுகள், குடும்ப நிகழ்ச்சிகள் அவர்களுடைய தோகுதி களிலே ஏற்படுகின்றன. என்னேப் பொறுத்த வரையிலே "மசலுக்கு" மாத்திரம் எனக்கு ஆகக் குறைந்தது மாதம் ஒன்றுக்கு 4,000 ரூபா தேவைப்படுகின்றது. இங்கேயிருக் கின்ற ஏறக்குறைய 100 அங்கத்தவர்களுக்கு அந்தப் பிரச் சினே இல்லே. அவர்கள் அமைச்சர்களாக, பிரதி அமைச்சர் களாக, திட்ட அமைச்சர்களாக, மாவட்ட அமைச்சர்களாக இருக்கின்முர்கள். அவர்களுக்கு இந்தப் பிரச்சினே இல்லே. ஆணுல் மிகுதி இருக்கின்ற எங்களுக்கு ஆகக் குறைந்தது மாதம் ரூபா 4000 டீசல் எண்ணெய்க்குத் தேவைப்படுகின் றது. அடுத்ததாக உபசாரத்துக்கு எவ்வளவு தேவைப்படு கின்றது நாங்கள் கொழும்புக்கு வருகின்றபொழுது வெளி நாட்டுத் தூதுவர்கள் எங்களுக்கு விருந்தளிக்கின்முர்கள் நாங்கள் அவர்களேத் தோசைக் கடைகளுக்குக் கூட்டிக் கொண்டுபோக முடியுமா ? அவர்களுக்கு நாங்கள் பீண்டும் விருந்தளிக்க ஆகக் குறைந்தது 3,000 ரூபா முடிகின்றது. அதுவும் எனது நண்பர் யாழ்ப்பாணப் பிரதிநி அவர் களேப் பொறுத்தவரையிலே அவருக்கு 5,000 ரூபாவுக்கு மேல் முடிகின்றது. என்னேப் பொறுத்தவரையிலே சர்வதேச ஒன்றியத்தின் கூட்டங்களில் கலந்து கொள்வதற்கு நான் வெளிநாடுகளுக்குச் செல்கின்றபொழுது, பாராளுமன்றமோ சர்வதேச ஒன்றியமோ எனது பிரயாணச் செலவுகளேக் கொடுத்தாலும் மேலதிக செலவுகள் இருக்கின்றன. அந்தப் பணத்தை நான் எங்கிருந்து பெறுவது நேர்மையான முறை யிலே பெறக்கூடிய ஒரே ஒரு வழி நீதிமன்றமாகும். ஆகவே மாதத்திலே ஐந்து நாட்கள் நீதிமன்றத்திற்குச் செல்கின் றேன். 1977 ஆண்டு தொடக்கம் இன்று வரைக்கும் ஒரு வருடத்தில் 60 நாட்களுக்கு மேல் நான் நீதிமன்றத்திற்கும் போகளில்லே. ஆனுல் போகவேண்டிய தேவை எற்பட்டது. அகைளிட எத்கணேயோ வழக்குகள் பேச வேண்டியிருந்தது.

It is relevant, Mr. Deputy Speaker, at this stage. I call now speak without any embarrassment because I am not going to be a beneficiary. This House has appointed a Select Committee to look into the facilities and salaries of Members of Parliament. Once again I say I can speak without embarrassment because I am not going to be a beneficiary. I have studied the salary structure of Members of Parliament all over the world. Believe me, we are the poorest paid Members of Parliament in the entire world. If a Member of Parliament has to work independently, if a Member of Parliament is expected to work the whole time, it is only just and fair that he should be paid an adequate salary. In most countires, their salaries are tagged on to the salary of a special officer. In our country, the salary of a Member of Parliament could be the same as the salary of a High Court Judge, the salary of a Deputy Minister could be the same as the salary of a Judge of the Court of Appeal, so that when their salaries go up the salaries of the Members of Parliament too can go up. This is a matter to which this House will have to give serious consideration in the near future.-(Interruption.)- I do not have to worry about my pension because as long as I am fit I can earn enough in court. But certainly if I am bedridden I cannot live on Rs. 666.

The other matter is that I have been asked, "Why have you not played a more important role in politics, in the politics of your party, in the liberation programme of your party?" That reminds me of an answer which a senior actor gave in South India. He was asked, "You are a very senior and experienced actor; why are you not playing such important roles now?" He said, "I am only an actor. I am not the producer or the director. I play the role that has been assigned to me."

ஆகவே, இதிலும் பார்க்கக் கூடுதலாக என் நீங்கள், அசிய லிலே முக்கிய பங்கு எடுப்பதில்லே என்று கேட்பவர்களுக்கு " என்னில் நம்பிக்கை வைத்து எனக்கு என்ன வேடு தரப் படுகின்றதோ அதற்கு மேல் நான் செய்யவிரும்பலில்லே" என்று கூறிக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். அதற்கான காரணங்களே நான் இந்தக் கட்டத்திலே கூற விரும்பவில்ஃ. கடைசியாக, சாவ கச்சேரித் தொகுதி வார்காளர்களுக்கு நான் மிகவும் கடமைப் பட்டவன் என்பதைத் தெரிவித்துக் கொள்கிறேன். அவர்கள் 1956 ஆம் ஆண்டு தொடக்கம் இன்று வரைக்குப என்னிலே நம்பிக்கை வைத்து—எனது கட்சியிலே நம்பிக்கை வைத்து— என்னே இந்த இடத்திற்கு அனுப்பிவைத்தார்கள். நான் உண் மையிலேயே கொடுத்துவைத்தவன் 1956 ஆம் ஆண்டுக்குப் பிறகு எந்த ஒரு தேர்தலுக்கும் நான் ஒரு சதமேனும் செலவு செய்யவில்லே. எல்லாச் செலவையும் அவர்களே செய்து என்னே அன்போடு பாதுகாத்து. என்றும் அவர்களுடைய பிரதிநிதியாக வைத்திருக்கின்ருர்கள். எத்தனேயோ கிராமங்

களிலுள்ளவர்கள் என் நிழலிலே வளர்ந்தவர்கள். வேறு எந்த மாத்தையும் கட்டிப்பிடிக்க அவர்களுக்குத் தெரியாது. அவர் கீன நான் அவல நிலேயிலே விட மாட்டேன். 1956 ஆம் ஆண்டு தொடக்கம் இன்று வரைக்கும் விடுதலே அரசியலிலே நான் ஈடுபட்டிருந்தாலும் விடுதலேக்கு அபிவிருத்தி முக்கிய மான ஓர் அம்சம் என்பதை உணர்ந்து இன்றும் நான் அத் கொகுதியின் அபிவிருத்திக்கு என்ன என்ன செய்ய முடி யுமோ அத்தனேயையும் செய்து வந்தேன். இலங்கையிலே மட்டுமல்லாமல் ஆசியாவிலே கூட இல்லாத அளவுக்கு ஒரு தனிப்பட்ட ஒரு குறிப்பிட்ட இடத்தில் ஆராய்ச்சியின் அடிப் படையிலே—இவ்வாறு ஆராய்ச்சி நடைபெறுவது சாவகச் சேரித் தொகுதியில் மட்டுந்தான்—ஒரு வேலேத்திட்டம் இடம் பேறச் செதுள்ளேன்.

யாழ்ப்பாணப் போசிரியர் கோஷ்டி ஒன்று சாவகச்சேரித் தொகுதியிலே ஒரு சமூக, பொருளாதார ஆய்வு செய்து பத் தாயிரம் இலட்சம் ரூபாவுக்கு அபினிருத்தித் திட்டங்களேத் தயாரித்து இருக்கிருர்கள். இந்தப் பணத்திலே 750 இலட்சம் ரூபா செலவில் பலவிதமான முயற்சியினுல் வெளிநாட்டு உதவி யோடு ஒரு குடிதண்ணீர்த் திட்டத்தை ஆரம்பித்து விட் டோம் இந்தத் திட்டங்களே அமுல் நடத்துவதற்கு தென் மராட்சி நிறுவனம் என்று ஓர் அமைப்பை ஏற்படுத்தி இருக் கிரேம். இந்த நிறுவனம் மூலம் தொடர்ந்து அந்த மக்களுக் குச் சேவை செய்யக்கூடிய வாய்ப்புக் கிடைக்கும் என்று நான் கருதுகின்றேன்.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, before I conclude I wish to record my deep appreciation of all the courtesy shown to me by Mr. Speaker, and you, Mr. Deputy Speaker. I also wish to record my appreciation of the courtesy, affection and regard shown me by the Hon. Prime Minister and all former Prime Ministers. As I mentioned at the outset, 85 per cent or 90 per cent of the hon. Members here do not agree with my political ideology or are opposed to my politics. But, in spite of our political differences we have got on very well as friends. In fact, I have closer friends among the Government benches than among the Opposition benches. I also wish to place on record my appreciation of the courtesies extended to me by the Secretary-General, his Deputy, the Assistant Secretary-General and all the executive staff. I also want to refer to the help and guidance given me by the former Secretary-General in whose rooms I have spent most of my time during the last 27 years. There are some special members in the executive grade and in minor grades who have been of particular help to me. I do not want to mention their names, but I shall always remember them with gratitude.

Before I conclude, Mr. Deputy Speaker, I must say that I will not be speaking again in this House, I will not be coming again into this Chamber. It is very unlikely that I will come again. If I do come back, it will give me great pleasure, because then I would have known that I have brought all the Tamil people together under one flag, that I have made it possible for the TULF to have full control over all political activities in our region. Thank you.

තිශ්ශංක විජයරත්ත මහතා (අධිකරණ ඇමතිතුමා) (නිලෑ நிஸක்க ශිනුயாத்ன—நீதி அமைச்சர்) (Mr. Nissanka Wijeyeratne–Minister of Justice)

Sir, I think all hon. Members of the House-

තියෝජා කථානායකතුමා වැඩි ම වැඩි වැඩි වැඩි වැඩි

(பிரதிச் சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Deputy Speaker)

Hon. Minister of Trade and Shipping.

ලලින් ඇතුලත් මූදලි මහතා (වෙළඳ හා නාවුක කටයුතු පිළිබඳ ඇමතිතුමා)

(கிரு. லலித் அத்துலத்முதலி—வர்த்தக, கப்பற்துறை அமைச்சர்)

(Mr. Lalith Athulath Mudali-Minister of Trade and Shipping)

I thank my Colleague for giving way. First, I must congratulate the hon. Member for Chavakachcheri (Mr. V. N. Navaratnam) who will soon be the ex-Member for Chavakachcheri and perhaps, I hope, again the future Member for Chavakachcheri, because for many reasons we shall miss you. However irrelevant his speech was to the issue before us, I must say I listened to it with great interest. He is a great lawyer. He recalled the discussion I had with him many years ago and some of the facts he recalled were true, but with regard to the others obviously his memory had lapsed. The simple point that arises relates to a question of why the people from the Jaffna Peninsula should have, during colonial times, had a disproportionate share of government employment. Factually that was so. The Tamil-speaking people who came from outside the Jaffna Peninsula, people who came from the Wanni, people who came from the Eastern Province, the Muslims, people who came from the hill country, did not enjoy those advantages, and the most no og spadle

Then the question arises, why is it that the Tamil-speaking people of the Jaffna Peninsula gained that advantage over everybody else, except perhaps those who were lucky enough to go to schools in the City of Colombo and the suburbs? The simple truth is that the British colonial government did not give permission to the American Missions to come anywhere near Colombo. They sent them to Jaffna. The first school was set up in 1834 or 1835. Education advanced so rapidly that by 1847 there was even a medical school, what was called the Green Medical School, Manipay. It was the first Western Medical School in the whole of Asia, started seven years before the Calcutta Medical College; the Ceylon Medical College was formed only in 1870. This American Mission activity resulted in the Catholic Schools being built up in the 1850s and 1860s. This was followed by proselytization which had a reaction among the Hindus who set up schools in the 1880. And, as a result, what happened by 1900? The Jaffna Peninsula had the highest per capita production of high school graduates in the whole British Empire. Things changed since 1945 when free education was introduced. Free education democratized education in this country, People in all other parts of the country, Sinhala, Tamils, Muslims, gained in educational advancement and therefore there had to be, in some form or other, a change in the proportions of government employment.

All I was trying to show was that this was the process that took place. These are historical processes and one does not gain great comfort by blaming any nation. So I only mentioned that purely to put the record straight. He said he did not agree with me. Maybe, he does not agree with me now, but I cannot recall him dissenting then, when I made the observation 4 or 5 years ago.

The Hon. Member for Chavakachcheri talked about colonialism and a United Nations Resolution. With great respect to him, I do not like to sound critical to a person who is making his swan-song speech or almost swan song speech because he has left open the likelihood of his return. But as he is just now out to the diaspora, when to return I do not know, I only wish to remind him that the UN Resolutions about colonialism do not, and cannot, apply to sovereign member nations of the United Nations. If his argument is right, then India ceases to exist. If his argument is right, Andra Pradesh must no longer be there and the Nizam of Hyderabad must be restored. If his argument is right, the United States of America must be restored to the Red Indians. If his argument is right, Iceland must be returned to the Eskimos, Tibet must no longer form part of China and Scotland must become free again.

Much as I appreciate the emotion behind what he said, I am afraid the underlying argument cannot be analysed to be true. Is this the time for historical theses, is the question I must ask. All these are historical half-truths. It does not help. I will take one example, an example that I do not like to take normally and hope you do not get me wrong to counter-pose the kind of argument that has been placed by the hon. Member for Chavakachcheri. The position of his party is that there ought to be a separate state of the Northern and Eastern Provinces. Historically, there has never been a state of the Northern and Eastern Provinces. Maybe Jaffna had a certain status, the Peninsula of Jaffna and the area around it had a certain status; but to claim that the Eastern Province in particular and a good part of the Wanni ever formed part of a Tamil State, I would state with great respect is historically doubtful.

I will take one simple example. When Robert Knox came to Koddiar Bay who was it that went and arrested him? It was Tennekoon Disawa of the Kandyan Kingdom. So at least the Writ of the King of Kandy ran in Koddiar Bay the day that Robert Knox landed. There is another stronger reason why you cannot go back to

difficulties the Tamil speaking people may have. The

the pre-Portuguese period of this country, a very sound reason. The reason is, that in the pre-Portuguese period the Tamil speaking people did not live among the Sinhala people, except for a few hundreds here and there. Today, the position is different. The Tamil speaking people, about 800,000 of them, live in the Peninsula of Jaffna and the district called Jaffna, but a larger number of the Tamil speaking people of this country live among the Sinhalese. That did not exist in Sankhili's time. At that time the only Tamil speaking person who lived among the Sinhalese was, perhaps, Alagakonar. If you want the statistics, 52 percent of the Tamil speaking people in this country live outside the Northern and Eastern provinces. The numbers of Muslims and Sinhalese added together are more than the tamils-(Interruption). That is in Trincomalee, but in the whole of the Eastern Province-Amparai, Batticaloa, Trincomalee-the Sinhalelse and Muslims together are more. They are opposed to Eelam. The Eastern Province will never form part of Eelam. I am only saying this because, we are constantly regaled with whistorical theories. work I on ob I must of and when the return I do not know, I only was a series of and a series of the serie

I understand and accept the emotion. I accept your sincerity, but I dispute the truth and relevance of what you are saying. You cannot solve the Tamil speaking persons' problem in this country by ignoring those who live among the Sinhalese and the tragedy is that somebody does some terrorist act beyond Elephant Pass, and it is some poor fellow on an estate or somebody who lives in an electorate like ours who gets hit. Any government in Sri Lanka acting on this matter cannot ignore the fate and the wishes, not only of the Sinhalese speaking people, not only of the Muslim people, but of the Tamil speaking people who live among the Sinhalese people. We cannot in any way jeopardize their safety and security and their property.

half-truths. It does not help, I will take one examp With great respect to the Member for Chavakachcheri-and I know that he will not take it as a kind of personal insult, but only as an observation in the course of these remarks is trying to place a Jaffna perspective on the whole Tamil question of Sri Lanka. Jaffna is important, but Jaffna is not the whole of the threat to everybody who seeks elected office. It is a Tamil question. So, please let us not, in this situation threat to all of you sitting in these seats. Because what that we are faced with, seek to get away from the the terrorists say is you can be removed with the gun central issue which is terrorism and the attendant and you dare not contest a seat. The terrorists are in problems around it. That is what the Emergency is that phase a Fascist threat. Make no mistake about this. about. The Emergency is not there to solve the Tamilo They may be camouflaged as freedom fighters. But they problem. The Emergency is not to resolve the represent the Fascist argument against the democratic difficulties the Tamil speaking people may have. The Emergency is there to deal with the terrorist problem.

that this Government brought in the Emergency with

came to Koddiar Bay who was it that went and arrest

enough Members in this House, on this side or on that side of the back rows who have suffered personal humiliation in an Emergency situation. We would not agree in a hurry to bring it in. The Emergency was declared because we had no alternative to deal with the problem. Of course, in an Emergency since you do not control every single individual for 24 hours of the day, there will be some issues that arise. That is why we do not like the Emergency, and you can take it that as far as the Government is concerned, all matters which Members of Parliament bring to its notice will be properly and truly investigated. An Emergency causes inconvenience. Sometimes innocent unfortunately get enmeshed in it. But innocent people are destroyed by the terrorists also. What about the innocent UNP candidates who stood in the local elections in th North? I heard the hon. Member for Nallur quite rightly talk about Mrs. Thirunavakarasu. There are also the wives of UNP candidates who are weeping for their dead husbands brutally destroyed by the terrorists. I know the hon. Member for Nallur sympathises with their plight equally. I only want the ordinary people of this country to have that concern for all who are victims of terrorism.

Let us see how we have tried to fight this terrorist issue. We did not rush into an Emergency as soon as these things started happening. We did not declare Emergency. In fact some people were complaining that it was too late, and there were many who felt that the Government was not being strong enough. There were some who said we should go ahead quicker. But we have an ideological revulsion against Emergency. That is why we delayed. By delaying did the problems ease off? Did not the problem get worse? Did not the killings go on from killing police officers and army officers to candidates directly involved in the democratic process of this country? Tamil-speaking people

I can tell you as far as I was concerned terrorism became an issue independent of any kind of freedom struggle once you started destroying the people who came for the people's vote. They came to ask for the vote and these terrorists gave them gun shots. That is a process of Sri Lanka. The noise M. naphom A and T. Over m Catholic Schools being built up in the 1850s and 1860s

Now what do we do in that situation? Some people Now you may turn round and say there are excesses, say when we bring in a hard law or take some action as the Member for Nallur said. I want to assure him under the Emergency, "Do not go for a military solution, go for a political solution! On the other hand great reluctance-a great deal of reluctance. There are when we start having a dialogue with the TULF, they say, "Useless having a dialogue, people are being killed, why do you not declare Emergency?." You know this is the kind of "heads I win, tails you lose", kind of argument that has been played around. Let us get away from that. Let us analyse what we have to do.

First, there is a political issue. To my mind, the political issue is not part of the terrorist issue. The terrorists do not have the votes of the people of Jaffna.-(Interruption). You had, I do not know whether you have now. But even if you have, the terrorists will not let the votes get into the boxes. So do you think any political solution will put and end to terrorism? Do you think that if we resolve the issue of science education, the issue of Government employment, the issue of implementing the Development Councils, the issues that come under that and all the other matters referred to, terrorism will stop? The terrorist is not interested in any political solution or compromise. He is an independent unit, determined to fight any kind of political solution and anybody who thinks that by a political solution he will stop terrorism, is living in an 'Alice in Wonderland' world.

That does not mean that the political solution is not important. I can tell you that as far as the Government is concerned we have indicated what we are going to do, and what we have passed in the statutes which are of relevance to the Tamil-speaking people, we shall implement in toto. We shall implement them, whoever joins us or does not join us to implement them. Whether you in the TULF oppose us or whether you support us, whether you do not participate with us or whether you co-operate with us, that does not matter. We shall implement what we said, and what we are going to implement we will do as quickly as we can. But we do not believe that that will solve terrorism.

Others feel that economic development is the answer. Of course economic development is the answer most of the time. But whatever you do, ultimately there will be a hard core of terrorists to whom no political or economic argument is going to be relevant. As far as the terrorists are concerned there is no half-way house. We are going, and we are determined every day, every hour, to strengthen our position against the terrorists. All action that has to be taken to eliminate them will be taken without any hasitation from now on. In the process we are very sorry some innocent people may get hurt. We would try our best to avoid it but sometimes these things are inevitable and we can then only regret it. Is there any other way for terrorists to end their terrorism? We will not exclude it. There are some people who are talking of dialogue, there are some people who are talking of amnesties. All I can say is while we proceed on the course we have chosen, we will not shut our ears and eyes to those suggestions. But we must be satisfied that they are more practical ways of restoring law and order and they can be more effective and quickly effective than the path which we have chosen.

We are seeking the broadest possible support for this. That is why we have called a all-party conference. Many of the political parties found it difficult to come. Many said, "You are only going to talk about terrorism and therefore we cannot come". But the CWC came and got the most comprehensive agenda one could have imagined. I cannot understand why other parties missed that opportunity. (Interruption.) No, they came. They could have refused to come. It is not a Cabinet matter. They came and got the agenda - all the things that some of the other parties were saying. What I want to say, particularly to the SLFP, is that the SLFP letter had a very high quality of polemical substance. But in all humility I want to ask whether that really helps the fight against terrorism. I still think that the SLFP wants to fight terrorism. But still I fail to be convinced. The hon. Member for Attanagalla goes further than I go. He says that the SLFP has a history of fighting terrorism. All the more should he co-operate, and I know the hon. Member for Attanagalla has the personal competence in fighting terrorism. (Interruption.) Anyway, all I am asking is this, the SLFP which prides itself in having a Sinhala Buddhist base.

මා අහන්නේ එක පුශ්නයයි. තමුන්නාන්සේලාගේ දේශපාලන බලය රැදි තිබෙන්නේ සිංහල හා බෞද්ධ ජනතාව අතර නම් නුස්තවාදයට විරුද්ධ සටනට සහභාගී වෙන්නෙ නැහැ කියල නැවත වරක් තමුන්තාන්සේලා සිංහල බෞද්ධ ජනතාවගේ ජන්දය ඉල්ලනට යන්නේ කොයි ආකාරයෙන්ද? ඒ වට මේස සාකච්ජාවට පැමිණෙන්නට නවමත් ආරාධනය තිබෙනවා. තවමත් දොර විවෘතයි. මේ අවස්ථාවේදී ඒ ආරාධනය පුතික්ෂේප කර වට මේස සාකච්ජාවට නොපැමිණුණොත් එයින් ලැබෙන පුතිඵලයට නමුන්තාන්සේලා හවුල්කරුවන් නොවෙයිද? තමුන්නාන්සේලා නොපැමිණුණොත් අපට පුළුවන් වෙයි නැවත වරක් රටට ගිහින් කියන්නට, "නුස්නවාදයට වීරුද්ධ සටනට සහභාගි වෙන්නට අපි හැම පක්ෂයකටම අත දුන්නා, ශුී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයටත් අප ආරාධනා කළා, එතුමන්ලා ඇවිත් නමුන්නාන්සේලාට මොනවා කිව්වත් තුස්තවාදයට විරුද්ධව සටත් කිරීමේදී පුායෝගිකව ශී ලංකා තිදහස් පක්ෂයේ සහයෝගය අපට ලැබුණේ නැහැ<sup>\*</sup> කියල. එහෙම තර්කයක් ඉදිරිපත් කරන්නට ඉඩ තබන්නට එපා. මේ අවස්ථාවේදී තියෙන්නේ දේශපාලන වාසි බලා ගැනීම නොවෙයි. මේ පුශ්නය දේශපාලන පක්ෂ හේද වැඩි කරන පුශ්නයක් හැවියට කල්පතා කරන්නට එපා. මේක අපි ඔක්කොම, පුජාතන්නුවාදය පිළිගන්නා හැම පක්ෂයක්ම එකතුව විසදිය යුතු පුශ්නයක්.

පැසිස්ට වාදය තුස්තවාදය මර්දනය කිරීමේදී අපි ඔක්කොම එකමුතුව වැඩ කරන්නට ඔනෑ. එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයේ යම්කිසී සුඵ වරදක් වුණාය කිරීවාම වීරුද්ධ පක්ෂයේ ඔක්කොම ඒක පැසිස්ට කියාවන්ය කියනවා; ඒක පැසිස්ට කියාවක්ය කියල වීවේචනය කරනවා. නමුත් මේ පුශ්නයේදී මොකද ඒ වචනය පාවිච්චි තොකරන්නේ? මට ඒක ගැන පුදුමයි. එමනිසා මා විශේෂ ඉල්ලීමක් කරනවා. කරුණාකර මේ පුශ්නය ගැන නැවත වරක් සාකච්ඡා කරල තුස්තවාදය මර්දනය කිරීමේ සටනට පක්ෂ හේදයෙන් තොරව එකමුතු වෙන්න. මහජන එක්සත් පෙරමුණේ නායකතුමාටත් කොමියුනිස්ට පක්ෂය නියෝජනය කරන කලවාන මන්තීතුමාටත් (සරත් මුත්තෙට්ටුවෙගම මහතා) මා ඒ ආරාධනය කරනවා. මම දන්නෙ නැහැ හෙට මොනව වෙයිද කියල. ඒක උසාවියෙ පුශ්නයක්. කලවානේ මන්තීතුමා ඒ තීරණයට වීරුද්ධව පෝස්ටර් එහෙම ලැස්ති කරල තිබෙනවාදයි මම දන්නෙ නැහැ. [බාධා කිරීමක්] නමුන්නාන්සේ බියක් පෙන් වූ නිසයි මම එහෙම කිරීවෙ. සරත් මුත්තෙට්ටුවෙගම මහතා (කලවාත) ( திரு. சரத் முத்தெட்டுவேகம—கலவான) (Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama–Kalawana) බියක් තැහැ.

ලලින් ඇතුලන්මුදලි මහතා (කිලෑ. මෙම්.ස් அத்தාමන්ලා සම්.) (Mr. Lalith Athulath Mudali) එහෙම නම් තමුන්නාන්සේ දන්නවා තීන්දූව.

සරත් මුත්තෙට්ටුවෙගම මහතා (කිලු. පෑත් ඥුන්වෙනුළුශිබෙනෙය) (Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama) හෙට දුනගතිමු.

ලලි<mark>ත් ඇතුලත්මුදලි මහතා</mark> (කිලැ. බෙබ්ණ් *அස්කු*බණු ආණුණි) (Mr. Lalith Athulath Mudali) මේ අවස්ථාවේදී ඒ අයටත් මා ආරාධතා කරනවා තැවත වරක් කල්පතා කරන්නටය කියල.

Sir, the important thing in my view and the Government view is do not confuse the security operation against the terrorists with the Tamil issue. The Tamil issue affects Tamil-speaking people everywhere. The security issue is really an issue of the Jaffna District and one or two other places. Do not confuse the two.

Terrorism requires a security relationship which cannot be destroyed by any other means. Let us search for all solutions within the all-party conference. That is not impossible. The Government has come to the all-party conference with an open mind. We know what we want to do. As a Government we cannot say that we will not do something. We have to say that we are going to proceed with what we have decided to do. But that does not mean that we will ignore any sensible proposal from any party or any source. The issue is bigger and more important than party politics, and I am sure the hon. Member for Chavakachcheri agrees with me. I do not wish to say anything more but to say that on one simple fact alone this continuance of the Emergency is in the interests of everybody other than the terrorists.

I want to give the hon. Members just one example. Sir, do you know that one third of crime or property crime that takes place, one-third of crime of the whole country, is in the Jaffna Police Division because of the fact of the situation that is prevailing there? (Interruption) Yes. I will just give you the facts. I will give you the figures of the Jaffna Police Division. Total number of murders in Jaffna Police Division which were called serious crime – murders-48 in 1982. Jaffna has about 6 per cent of the total population of Sri Lanka. (Interruption.) Yes. 831,000 people out of 15 million. Forty-eight murders-this includes terrorist killings of eight Police officers and one army officer. That is nine. Forty-eight minus nine, thirty-nine. The rest are all crimes where the victims are Tamils in the area.

Highway robberies and gang robberies in 1982-forty-two. In 1983 it is worse. But I have only got the number for the whole year of 1982. Forty-two highway robberies and gang robberies! Amounts stolen-highway robberies Rs. 2,035,566.69; gang robberies Rs. 9,029,348; robberies Rs. 3,058,931.02. Housebreaking and thefts over Rs. 5,000: fifty-six in the Jaffna Police Division alone in 1982. The total value of items stolen was Rs. 1,835,620.39. In respect of theft, the amount was over Rs. 10,000. The total loss caused in the Jaffna Police Division was Rs. 16,887,870.10.

These crime statistics are not complete because some crimes are unreported. In the case of property crime, as you know, the tendency on the part of the complainant is to understate the value of the property, for other reasons. I have not got the latest statistics but in the Jaffna Police Division the loss caused was in the region of Rs. 16.8 million whereas the figures for the whole of the Island was Rs. 46.5 million, which means that the rest of the country accounted for only Rs. 29.7 million.

Who is taking this money? Who is stealing the money? Who is being funded with this money? All these figures relate to private property and not to public property. Even then, this alone to my mind is a justification for the continuation of the Emergency in the Jaffna District. The hon. Second Member for Nuwara Eliya-Maskeliya (Mr. Anura Bandaranaike) seems to be suggesting that there is some justification for having the Emergency in the North but not necessarily in areas outside it. That is a very relevant observation. That is a matter which is engaging the attention of the Government.

At the present time, when the security operation is being increasingly tightened in the peninsula, it would be necessary, for reasons of helping that security operation and also for protecting the lives and property of minorities living in other parts of the country, to continue with the Emergency for some time in other districts as well. In many areas around the suburbs of Colombo, there have been instances where the local population have been outraged by what has taken place following terrorist action elsewhere. The Hon. District Minister for Gampaha will bear me out on this. One of his constituents was killed in Vavuniya and his body was brought back to Minuwangoda. There was a great sense of outrage and it is difficult to contain that outrage and reaction without the help of these Emergency powers. That is the justification for the continuance of the Emergency.

Let us not confuse our political and economic problems with the military problems that we have to face. Let us, in this instance, endorse the Emergency however much we do not like it and however much we would not want to vote for it. We must do our duty by those who are trying to maintain law and order in this country throughout its length and breadth.

Thank you.

එස්. ඩී. බණ්ඩාරතායක මහතා (ගම්පහ) (திரு. எஸ். டி. பண்டாரதாயக்க—கம்பஹ) (Mr. S. D. Bandaranayake–Gampaha)

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I wish to submit a few matters pertaining to the Emergency. The unity of the Sinhala people is the doom of terrorism and the unity of the Sri Lankan people is the road to development.

The Hop. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, a former Prime Minister of this country and founder of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, gave a warning in the State Council in July 1932 about party politics and said that it would lead the country to disunity. I carried this warning forward, quoting the late Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike. I gave the warning in his residence at Rosmead Place in January/February 1983. I was shouted down by the thugs who had taken control of the SLFP and also dismissed from the SLFP by the central committee of the party for campaigning for national unity in Sri Lanka.

Party politics in this country is responsible for the boycott by the Opposition parties of the round table conference summoned for the 20th of July 1983 by His Excellency the President. The Opposition parties are not anxious to co-operate with the Government to find a solution to " Eelam " and the consequent terrorism prevailing in the country, or in fact any other national issues facing the people of this country. In this game of power politics that we have copied from the Westminister system of government, the Opposition is concerned not with the future of the nation but only with the boggy situation that the Government is in as a result of party politics and how to overthrow the Government. In this respect, I have no doubt that if my good Friend the hon. Second Member for Nuwara Eliya-Maskeliya was at the helm of affairs in the SLFP he would have taken the correct decision.

The Opposition presumes that without forming a national government they can form a socialist state. This cannot happen, as was proved in 1970, unless, of course, they want a division like in Korea, Vietnam or Germany. In this context the unity of the Sinhala people is the number one priority, because without the unity of the Sinhala people, who constitute 78 per cent of the population, no national unity is possible.

Let all political parties, all patriotic people in the country, irrespective of community religion and caste, irrespective of political and ideological differences, unite. මේ අවධියේ නහායික මතබේද පැත්තකින් තබමු. විරුද්ධ පක්ෂවලින් මම විශේෂයෙන් ඉල්ලුම් කරන්නේ ඒකයි.

Let all these forces who are opposed to Eelam come to one national front for a unitary system of government. Let us stop attacking personalities and unnecessary criticism of past governments, because party politics is responsible for this.

Therefore, let us first achieve national unity among the Sinhala people and then decide to give the rights of the Tamil-speaking national minorities from a position of strength, which has to be achieved first. To achieve this unity let us adopt the following formula:

- (1) Re-employment of all the remaining July 1980 strikers.
- (2) Stop political transfers and political promotions.
- (3) In giving employment to youths in villages, give jobs irrespective of their political leanings, giving priority to those families who exist on food stamps.
- (4) In giving houses to youths in villages, give them to all youths living in shanties, irrespective of their political leanings in villages, whose families exist on food stamps.
- (5) In giving lands to youths in villages, give lands, irrespective of their political leanings, to those without land and whose families exist on food stamps.

In this manner we can bring about the reduction to the barest minimum of the disparity existing between the haves and the have nots. This is the only method of rebuilding our nation—bring all the patriotic forces to one national front opposed to Eelam and find a political solution to this problem.

Meanwhile, place the country on a war footing so that every soldier and every policeman will know what the Government's intentions are, and thereby discipline the armed forces to the hilt and bring about understanding between the armed forces and the broad mass of people in the country.

Let me tell my Friends in the SLFP that I am still a Member of the SLFP and I propose to remain a Member of the SLFP. I am taking all this action as MP for Gampaha.

Mr. Speaker, in conclusion I thank you for extending to me this indulgence to make use of Parliament as a forum for me to submit these proposals and through this House to the people of this country to create the necessary atmosphere for national unity in our motherland.

I shall be glad if the Sinhala translation of my proposals goes into HANSARD as having been read.

ගම්පහ මන්ඩුතුමාගේ කථාවේ සිංහල පරිවර්තනය: கம்பஹ அங்கத்தவரது பேச்சின் சிங்கனவரக்கம் Sinhala Translation of Speech by Member for Gampaha.

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, හදිසි අවස්ථාවේ සම්බන්ධයෙන් කරුණු කීහිපයක් මම මේ ගරු සභාවට ඉදරිපත් කරන්නට කැමැත්තෙමි.

"සිංහල ජනතාව එක්සත් වීම තුස්තවාදයේ මළගම වනු ඇත!"

ීලී ලාංකීය ජනනාව එක්සත් වීම සංවිර්ධනයට මාවන වනු ඇත!"

දිවංගත අශාමාතෘ හා ශුී ලංකා තිදහස් පක්ෂයේ තීර්මාතෘ වර ගරු එස්. ඩබ්ලිව්. ආර්. ඩී. බණ්ඩාරතායක මැතිතුමා පක්ෂ දේශපාලතය ගැන අනතුරු සංඥවක් කරමින් එය රටේ අයම්භීයට මහ පාදන්තක් වනු ඇතැයි 1932 ජූලි මස රාජ්‍ය මන්තුණ සභාවේ දී පුකාශ කෙළේය. දීවංගත එස්. ඩබ්ලිව්, ආර්. ඩී. බණ්ඩාරතායක අගමැතිතුමා කළ මෙම අතතුරු ඇහැවීම 1983 ජකවාරි පෙබරවාරි කාලයේදී මම එතුමාගේ රොස්මති පෙදෙස තිවසේ දී යළිත් මතක් කර දුන්නෙම්. ශුී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයේ බලය සියතව ගෙන සිටි මැරවරයින් විසින් කෑ කෝ ගසා මගේ කථාවට බාධා කරනු ලැබූ අතර, පක්ෂයේ මධ්‍යම කාරක සභාව විසින් මා රටේ ජාතික සමගිය උදෙසා සටහන් කීරීම හේතුවක් කොට ගෙන මා එම පක්ෂයෙන් අස් කරන ලදී.

ගරු ජනාධිපති උතුමාණන් විසින් 1983 ජූලි 20 වැනි දිනට කැඳවනු ලැබූ වට මේස සාකච්ඡාව විපකෘ කණ්ඩායම් විසින් වර්ජනය කරනු ලැබීමට වගකිව යුත්තේන් මෙම පක්ෂ දේශපාලන කුමයයි.

"ඊලාම" පුශ්තයට විසඳුමක් සෙවීම සඳහා හෝ එම පුශ්තය නිසා උද්ගත වී තිබෙන "තුස්තවාදයට" පමණක් නොව ඇත්ත වශයෙන් මෙරට ජනතාව මුහුණපාත කවර ජාතික පුශ්තයකට වුවද විසඳුමක් සෙවීම සඳහා හෝ රජයට සහයෝගය දීමට විපක්ෂ කණ්ඩායම් උතත්දුවක් නොදක්වති. වෙස්ටම්නිස්ටර් ආණ්ඩු කුමයෙන් කොපි කර ගත් මෙම දේශපාලන බල කොල්ලයට එකහට විපක්ෂය උතත්දුවක් දක්වන්නේ ජාතියේ අනාගත සුබසිද්ධිය ගැන නොව පක්ෂ දේශපාලනය නිසා රජය පත්වී සිටින බැරැරුම් ඉත්ත්වය ගැනත්. ඒ රජය පේරළා දමන්නේ කෙසේද යන්න ගැනත් ය. ශුී ලංකා නිදගස් පක්ෂයේ නායකත්වය මගේ නිතවත් මිතුරු අනුර බණ්ඩාරතායක මහතා දරුවේ නම් ඔහු මේ සම්බන්ධයෙන් නිවැරදී තීරණය ගනු ඇතැයි මට කිසීම සැකයක් නැත.

ජාතික පෙරමුණක් නොමැතිව සමාජවාදී රජයක් ගොඩනැගිය හැකි යයි විපක්ෂය කල්පතා කරයි. 1970 දී ඔප්පුවූ පරිදි මෙය සිදුවිය හැක්කක් නොවේ.

එයේන් නොමැති නම්, කොරියාවේ, වියට්නාමයේ හා ජර්මනියේ මෙන් ඔවුන් රට බෙදීමක් පතනවා විය යුතුය.

මේ හා සම්බන්ධව බලනවිට සිංහල ජනතාව අතර එකමුතුකම ඉහළම පුමුබතාව ගතයුතු වේ. එයට හේතුව, ජනගහනයෙන් සියයට 78 ක් වන සිංහල ජනතාව එකමුතු නොවී ජාතික සමගියක් ඇති විය නොහැකි බැවිති.

සියලුම දේශපාලක පක්ෂ හා සියලුම දේශලේම ජනයා ජාති කුල-මළ, ආගම ගේදදියෙන් මෙන්ම දේශපාලන මනවාදදියෙන්ද නොරව ඒකිය ආණ්ඩු කුමයක් ඇතිකිරීම සදහා එක්සන් වෙන්වා! ඵලාම්වලට විරුද්ධ සියලු බලවෙග එකම ජාතික පෙරමුණකට එක්වෙන්වා!

මේ හැමේකකටම මුල පක්ෂ දේශපාලනය බැවින් පූද්ගලයන්ට පහරදීම් හා යටගිය ආණ්ඩු අනවශෘ විවේචනවලට ලක් කිරීම් නවත්වමු.

එබැවින්, සිංගල ජනතාව එක්සත් කරවා, ශක්තීමත් තත්ත්වයකට ඒ ජනතාව පත් කරවීම පළමුවෙන් කළයුතු කාය\$යයි. ඉන්පසු, දෙමළ කථා කරන ජනතාවට සිය අයිතිවාසිකම් ලබාදීමට තීන්දු කළ හැකිය.

මෙකී එක්සත්බව උදෙසා පහත සදහන් පීයවර ගනිමු:

- (1) 1980 ජූලි වැඩ වර්ජනයට සහභාගි වූ සෙසු සියල්ලන්ට නැවත රැකියාව ලබා දීම,
- (2) දේශපාලන හේතු සලකා ස්ථාන මාරු හා උසස්වීම ලබාදීම නැවැත්වීම.
- (3) ගැම තරුණ පිරිසට රැකියා සැපයීමේදී දේශපාලන සුදුසුකම් නොසලකා හරිමින් සහ ආහාර මුද්දරවලීන් යැපෙන පවුල්වලට පුමුබන්වය දෙමන් රැකියා ලබාදීම.
- (4) ගැම් තරුණ පිරිසට තිවාස ලබාදීමේ දී දේශපාලන සුදුසුකම් නොසලකා ගම්වල පැල්පන්වාසී ආහාර මුද්දර වලින් සැපෙන සියල්ලන්ටම නිවාස ලබා දීම.
- (5) ගැම තරුණ පිරිසට ඉඩම බෙද දීමේදී දේශපාලන සුදුසුකම නොසලකා ආහාර මුද්දරවලික් යැපෙන පවුල්වල ඉඩම නොමැත්තන්ට ඉඩම ලබා දීම.

මෙයේ කිරීමෙන් ඇති—නැති පරතරය හැකිතාක් අඩු කරවීමට අපට පුළුවන් වනු ඇත. අපේ ජාතිය නැවත ගොඩ නැංවීමටත්, සියලු දේශපේම් බලවේග ජිලාම් විරෝධී තති ජාතික පෙරමුණකට ගෙන දේශපාලන විසඳුමකට ජමටත්, එකම කුමය මෙය වේ. මේ අතරතුර, රජයේ අරමුණ කුමක් ද යනු යෑම සෙබළෙකුට සහ සෑම පොලීස් හටයකුට දැනගත හැකිවන පරිදි "යුද්ධමය තත්ත්වයක්" රටේ ඇති කරවිය යුතුය. එසේ කීරීමෙන් සන්නද්ධ හමුදවන් විනය ගරුක කරවීමටත්, එම සන්නද්ධ හමුදවන් සහ පොදු මහජනතාව අතර හොඳහින වර්ධනය කරවීමටත් හැකිවනු ඇත.

මා තවම ශුී ලංකා තිදහස් පක්ෂයේ සාමාජිකයකු වන බවත්, එම සාමාජිකත්වය දිගටම දරීමට මා බලාපොරොත්තු වන බවත්. ශුී ලංකා තිදහස් පක්ෂයේ සිටින මගේ හිතමිතුරන්ට කියනු කැමැත්තෙමි. මේ සියලු පියවර මා ගන්නේ ගම්පහ පාර්ලිමේන්තු මන්තුී වශයෙති.

ගරු කථානායකතුමකි. අපේ මව්බමේ ජාතික සමගියට අවශා වාතාවරණය බිහි කරවනු සදහා මේ යෝජනා ඉදිරිපත් කිරීමට මෙම පාර්ලිමේන්තුව උපයෝගී කරගැනීමටත්. මෙම ගරු සභාව තුළින් මෙම යෝජනා මෙරට ජනතාවට ඉදිරිපත් කිරීමටත්. ඔබතුමා ලබාදුන් ඉඩකඩ ගැන මම අවසාන වශයෙන් ඔබතුමාට ස්තුකී කරනු කැමැත්තෙමි.

### ලක්ෂ්මන් ජයකොඩි මහතා (අන්තනගල්ල)

(திரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயக்கொடி—அத்தனகல்ல)

(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody-Attanagalla)

ගරු නියෝජා කථානායකතුමකි, මා නැගී සිටියේ දීර්ඝ කථාවක් කරන්නට නොවෙයි. ගරු වෙළඳ ඇමකිතුමාගේ කථාවෙන් පසුව ශී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයේ තත්ත්වය ගැන පැහැදිලි කිරීමක් කරන්නයි. එය මගේ යුතුකමක් හැටියට මා විශ්වාස කරනවා.

මම ඉතා සත්තෝෂ වෙනවා, මේ ස්ථානයේදී එතුමා අපට ආරාධතාවක් කිරීම ගැන. කලින් තිබුණු ආරාධතාව දෙස බැලූ විට නම් පෙනුතේ වෙනත් තත්ත්වයක්. මම මේ අවස්ථාවේදී එය කියවන්නට යන්නේ නැහැ. එය කවුරු සකස් කළාද මම දන්නේ නැහැ. ඇත්තවශයෙන්ම අවංකවම කියනවා නම්, ඒ ආරාධතාව කියවන කාටවත් ඒ ගැන ඒ තරම් ගැඹුරට හිතන්නවත් ඒ ආරාධතාව සකස් වී තිබුණේ නැහැ. විශේෂයෙන් මම මෙය සදහන් කළේ මෙන්න මේ නිසයී. ඒ ආරාධතාව මා ළහ තිබෙනවා. නුස්තවාදය මැඩ පැවැත්වීමට අපෙන් යෝජනා අගනවා. දැන් මෙනනදීත් ගරු වෙළද ඇමතිතුමා අපෙන් ඒ පුශ්නයම අහනවා. තුස්තවාදය මැඩපැවැත්වීමට යෝජනා අපෙන් අහනවා. එහෙනම් අපි එතුමන්ලාගෙන් අගන්න ඕනෑ මේ පුශ්නය මෙතරම් දුරට එන තුරු මේ තුස්තවාදය මැඩපැවැත්වීමට මොන මොන කියාමාර්ග ගැනීමට නමුන්තාන්සේලා නියෝග දී තිබෙනවාද කියා.

මට ටික දවසකට කලිනුත් මම මේක මේ ගරු සහාවේදී කිව්වා. 1981 ටී. අයි. වීරතුංග මහතාට යම් තියෝග ටිකක් දුන්නාද—ඒ අවස්ථාවේ අමාතහංශයෙන් හමුදාවට තියෝග වශයක් දුන්නා—ඊට පසුව එකම තියෝගයක්වත් පැහැදිලි වශයෙන් දුන්නේ නැහැ. මේ පසුගිය සති දෙක ඇතුළත දුන්නාද කියා මම දන්නේ නැහැ. 1981 දී නම් තියෝගයක් දුන්නා දෙසැම්බර් 31 වන දාට පෙර උතුරේ තුස්නවාදය අහෝසි කරන්නය කියා. ඊට පසුව අවුරුදු 1 1/2 ක් යන තුරු රජයෙන් කිසීම තියෝගයක් හමුදාවට දී නැහැ.

මම අහන පුශ්නය මේකයි. අපට යෝජනා ඉදිරිපත් කරන්න පුඑවන්. මේක නුස්නවාදී වැඩ පිළිවෙළක්. නුස්නවාදයට කිසීම බෙහෙතක් නැහැ. අර වෙළද ඇමතිතුමා කී බෙහෙත හැර. ඒක අසනීපයක් නැත්නම් රෝගයක් හැටියට අපි සලකන්න ඕනෑ. මේ තුස්තවාදය හමුදාගත කියාවක් හැටියට සලකන්න ඕනෑ. මම මෙක කිව්වේ මෙන්න මේ තිසයි. මෙය විහිඑවක් හැටියට ගන්න එපා. නමුන්නාන්සේලාට තවත් අමාරුකම් ඇතිවෙයි. විකක් කල්පනා කර බලත්ත. "රජරට රයිfපල්ස්" කියා හමුදු ඒකකයක් තිබුණා. මොකක්ද ඒකට වුණේ? ඒ ගැන මොන පියවරක්ද ගත්තේ? මම කියන්නේ මේකයි. දෙමළ පුශ්නය නුස්නවාදී පුශ්නයෙන් ඈත් කරන්නය කියා ගරු වෙළඳ ඇමතිතුමා පුකාශ කිරීම ගැන මම සත්තෝෂ වෙනවා. ඒක වෙනම පුශ්නයක් බව අපි දත්නවා. හොදයි නුස්නවාදී පුශ්නය අපි වෙනම අරගෙන තිබෙනවා නම් "රජරට රයිfපල්ස්" කියන හමුද ඒකකයට මොකක්ද වුණේ? හමුදුගත වහපාරවලදී පුතිපත්ති දෙකක් අනුගමනය කරන්න බොහොම අමාරුයි. ගරු නියෝජා ඇමනිනුමා මේක හොදට දත්නවා. එතුමා ඉතාම දක්ෂ කෙනෙක්. එතුමා මේ සම්බන්ධයෙන් මටන් වඩා අධායනය කළ කෙනෙක්. පුාදෝගීක වශයෙන් දන්නා කෙනෙක්. 1970 සිට 1977 දක්වා ඉගෙනගත් කෙනෙක් කියන්නත් පුළුවන්.

තුස්තවාදය මැඩ පැවැත්වීමට අපී ඒ කාලයේදී සැහෙන පියවරවල් ටිකක් ගත්තා. කොයිතරම් දුරට ගත්තාද කියනවා නම් ඒ කාලයේ තුස්තවාදීයෙක් කියන පුද්ගලයෙක් අපට හම්බ වුණොත් අපී ඔහු වර්ග කරනවා. දේශපාලන උද්ඝෝෂණකරුවා කියන පුද්ගලයා හැමදම තුස්තවාදියෙක් කියා හිතන්න එපා. දේශපාලන උද්ඝෝෂණකරුවා කියා කෙනෙක් සිටිනවා. ඔහු තහයට යටත් වූ කෙනෙක් වන්නට පුළුවන්. තුස්තවාදීයා කියන පුද්ගලයා වෙනම ස්වරුපයකින් සිටින කෙනෙක්. තවත් ඉන්නවා හොරු. හොරුන්ට කියන්න පුළුවන්ද තුස්තවාදීන් කියා? බැහැ. උන් කරන්නේ හොරකම්. තවත් කොටසක් .සිටිනවා. වහපාර කරන ඒ කොටස හොදට අඳුනගත් යම් පුද්ගලයෙක් සිටිනවා නම් ඔහු පස්සෙන් යනවා. මේ සම්බන්ධයෙන් හොද පුරුද්දක් අපට 1971 දී ලැබුණා. ඔය වගේ කොටස් ගණනාවක් සිටිනවා.

ඒ අයගෙන් අපි ගන්නා, තුස්තවාදී කියන කොටස. එසේ අරගෙන ඒ අයට විරුද්ධව උසාවියේ නඩු පැවරීමට අපට සිදු වුණා. අනික් අය සම්බන්ධවත් යම් යම් පුනරුන්ථාපන වැඩ පිළිවෙළවල් අරගෙන ගියා. ඒ වැඩපිළිවෙළවල් ගෙන ගියාට පසු ඒ උදවිය විශාල සංඛනාවක් විවිධ දේශපාලන පක්ෂවලට ඇතුළත් වුණා. සමහරු එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයට ගියා. සමහරු ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයට ගියා. සමහරු කොමියුනිස්ට පක්ෂයට ගියා. ඒ අය නම නමන් අනුගමනය කරන දේශපාලන නාාය ධර්මයන් අනුව ඒ ඒ පක්ෂවලට ගියා.

ඊළගට, සිංහල බෞද්ධ උදවිය ගැන ගරු වෙළද හා නාවුක කටයුතු පිළිබද ඇමතිතුමා (ලලින් ඇතුලත්මුදලි මහතා) කිව්වා. මම එකක් කියන්නට කැමතියි. ගරු කථානායකතුමනි. ශ් ලංකා නිදහස් පාක්ෂිකයන් වන අපි. අපේ මූලික අත්තිවාරම පැන නැගුණේ කොතැනින්දයි දන්නවා. පුතිපත්ති පැන නැගුණේ සිංහල මහා සහාවෙන්. සිංහල මහා සහාවෙන් පුතිපත්ති පැන නැගීමෙන් ශ් ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂය බිහි වුණා. "සිංහල බෞද්ධයා" යනුවෙන් සිංහල මහා සහාවෙන් පැන නැගුණු සංස්කෘතික ලක්ෂණ අනුව මූලින්ම ශ් ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂය බිහි වුණා. ඒ ආකාරයටමයි දුවිඩ එක්සන් විමුක්ති පෙරමුණන් බිහි වී තිබෙන්නේ. ඒ පුදේශයේ තිබෙන විවිධ දේශපාලන පක්ෂ ආරම්භ වුණෙන් හින්දු මහා සහාවේ තිබුණු සංස්කෘතික ලක්ෂණ පදනම් කරගෙනයි. කුමානුකූලව, හින්දු මහා සහාවේ යම් යම් පුතිපත්ති අද දේශපාලන පක්ෂ හැටියට පරිවර්නනය වී තිබෙන බව ඉතිහාසය ගැන කල්පනා කර බලන විට පෙතී යනවා.

අපි එකක් පිළිගත්තවා. අපේ පක්ෂය සංස්කෘතික ලක්ෂණ තුළින් ඉදිරියට පැමිණි පක්ෂයක්. එම නිසා සිංහල බෞද්ධකම සම්බත්ධව ශී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයට අටුවා ටිකා ලියන්නට වුවමනාවක් නැහැ ශී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයේ සිටින උදවිය ගැන මේ රටේ සිටින කවුරුත් දන්නවා. අප කුමන මට්ටමකින් මේ පුශ්න ගැන බලනවාද යන්න ගැන. කවුරුන් දන්නවා. නමුත් මම එක කාරණයක් දනගන්නට කැමතියි. අපේ වෙළඳ හා නාවුක කටයුතු පිළිබඳ ඇමතිතුමා (ලලින් ඇතුලත්මුදලි මහතා) අනෙක් අය මෙන් නොවෙයි. කුමක්ද එතුමා යෝජනා කර තිබෙන්නේ? නහාය පනුයක්වන් දෙන්නේ නැතිව අප කැදවා යෝජනාවක් ගැන අහනවා. ඒවා තිබෙන ලිපිය මා කියවන්නට උවමනාවක් නැහැ. ඒ යෝජනා මොනවාදයි කවුරුන් දන්නවා.

මේ පුශ්තය විසදත්තේ කෙසේද? තුස්තවාදය තැති කරන්නේ කොයි පිළිවෙළටද යත්ත ගැන ආණ්ඩුවම අදහස් ඉදිරිපත් කළා නම් මීට වඩා වටිනවා යයි මම හිතනවා. 1971 වර්ෂයේදී, ඔය පුශ්තය පැත තැගුණු අවස්ථාවේ අප කටයුතු කළේ මෙන්න මේ ආකාරයට බව මම අවංකව කියන්නට කැමතියි.

අපි ඒ සදහා වෙනම කම්ටුවක් පත් කළා. අපි ඒ කම්ටුව පත් කළේ රටේ මෙවැනි තත්ත්වයක් පැත තැගුණු අවස්ථාවකදී මුහුණ දෙන්නේ කෙසේදයි සොයා බලන්නටයි. නමුත් වර්තමාත රජයට නැති එක වාසියක් අපට එද තිබුණා. 1971 දී මේ රටේ තිබුණු ඒ තත්ත්වයට ශී ලංකා තිදහස් පක්ෂය මුහුණ දෙන අවස්ථාවේදී මේ රටේ තිබුණු ගැම දේශපාලන පක්ෂයකම උදවිය ඒ සදහා ආධාර උපකාර කළා. එපමණක් නොවෙයි, ගැම දේශපාලන පක්ෂයක්ම අප සමහ සිටියා. එයෙම හමුදුවේ උදවියත් සිටියා. පුධාන ආගම්වල නායකයෝ, යම් යම්

සංස්කෘතික ආයතන අපේ පිටුපස හිටියා. දුවිඩ ජාතීන් අප සමහ හිටියා. සූඑ ජාතීන් අප සමග සිටියා. මුස්ලිම් ජනතාව අප සමග සිටියා. හැම දෙනාම ශුී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂය වටා සිටියා. ඊට හේතුව, කුමානුකූලව රට තුල අප හැමදෙනාගෙන්ම ආධාර උපකාර ඉල්ලීම්යි.

එපමණක් නොවෙයි, ජාතෳන්තර වශයෙන්ද අපි ආධාර උපකාර ඉල්ලවා. මේ රට ඇතුළේ තිබුණු කලබලය මැඩ පැවැත්වීමට 'ෆූට් බෝල්' පිටියේ එක කෙළවරක ආධාර පිණිස පකිස්ථානය සිටි අතර, අනෙක් කෙළවරේ ඉන්දියාව සිටියා අපට ආධාර උපකාර කරන්නට. රුසියාව, ඇමෙරිකාව, යුගෝස්ලාව්යාව, චිනය ආදී හැම රටක්ම මේ තුස්තවාදය නැති කරන්නට ඕනැයයි අපට ආධාර පිණිස සිටියා. එවැනි වාතාවරණයක් අද මේ ආණ්ඩුවට තැහැ. ඊට හේතුවක් තිබෙනවා ගරු කථානායකතුමති. පසුගිය කාලසීමාව තුළදී යම් යම් පුශ්න සම්බන්ධයෙන් ආණ්ඩුව එක පැත්තක්ම කල්පනා කිරීමේ වැරැද්දයි ඒ. මම එක නිදර්ශනයක් පමණක් පෙන්වන්නම්. විශේෂයෙන් ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, ජානෳන්තර පුශ්නයකදී මධෳස්ථ මතධාරී බව කටින් පමණක් නොවෙයි. කුියාවෙනුන් ඔප්පු කරන්නට ඔතැ. මම හොදින්ම දන්නවා, ඔය තුකුණාමල පුශ්නය අද කොයි තරම් දුවෙන පුශ්නයක් බවට පත්ව තිබෙනවාද කියා. ජානෑන්තර වශයෙන් බලන විට එක් රටක් පමණක් නොව—ධනවාදී හෝ වේවා සමාජචාදී හෝ වේවා—රටවල් කීපයක්ම මෙයට සම්බන්ධ වී තිබෙනවා. මේ තුීකුණාමල පුශ්නය හැම පුශ්නයකටම මුල් වෙන බව <mark>ටිකක් හිතේ</mark> තබාගත්තට ඕතෑ. අත්ත ඒ තිසා මේ තුකුණාමලය සම්පූර්ණයෙන්ම ශුී ලංකාව සතු විය යුතුයි. ශුී ලංකාවෙන් පිටස්තරව කිසිම බලකදවුරකට-රුසියාවට හෝ වේවා. අමෙරිකාවට හෝ වේවා කිසීම කෙතෙකුට–දෙන්න එපා. අන්න ඒ කාරණයට පැහැදිලි පිළිතුරක් අපි බලාපොරොත්තු වෙනවා.

ඒ. සී. එස්. හමිඩ් මහතා (විදේශ කටයුතු ඇමතිතුමා)

(ஜனப் ஏ. வி. எஸ். ஹமீ**க்—வெளிநாட்டலுவல்கள்** அமைச்சர்)

(Mr. A. C. S. Hameed – Minister of Foreign Affairs) කාටද දී තිබෙන්නෙ? දන්නෙ නැති දේවල් කතා කරන්න එපා.

ලක්ෂමත් ජයකොඩි මහතා (திரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயக்கொடி)

(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

එය එක් හේතුවක්. අන්න ඒ නිසා මම එකක් කීයන්නට කැමකියි. මේ රජයට ජාතෑත්තර වශයෙන් ආධාර උජ්කාර කරන්නට හුහක් උදවිය ඇති. නමුත් මිනුත්වය කියන දෙය හැමතැකින්ම ලබා ගන්නට නම් ටිකක් ඉගෙණ ගන්න ඕනෑ.

ගරු නියෝජා කථානායකතුමනි. මේ අවස්ථාවේදී ම<mark>ම දීර්ඝ</mark> වශයෙන් කතා කරන්නට බලාපොරොන්තු වෙන්නෙ තැහැ.

ජ්. සී. එස්. හම්ඩි මහතා ලෝක ලෝක ලෙල ලෝක නොක් ලෝක ලේක ලේක මේක නම් දින්ව (නැතට අ. මේ. අම්. අම්. ඉහරි ප්)

I would like to raise a point of Order, Sir. The Member must speak with a sense of responsibility – half-baked truth half-baked information are the things that he revels in. I would ask him specifically what he is saying about Trincomalee. What are you saying about Trincomalee? Do you know the subject? Do you know what is happening?

ලක්ෂ්මත් ජයකොඩි මහතා ( නිලෑ. லக்ஷ்டன் ஜயக்கொடி ) (Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

Of course, I know. What do you think has not happened there?

ඒ. සී. එස්. හම්ඩ් මහතා

(ஜஞப் ஏ. ஸி. எஸ். ஹமீத்)

(Mr. A. C. S. Hameed)

For God's sake! You to try be an expert on Foreign Affairs, but you do not know a dam!

### ලක්ෂ්මන් ජයකොඩි මහතා

(திரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயக்கொடி)

(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

Now, Sir, what is the point of Order?

# ඒ. සී. එස්. හම්ඩ් මහතා

(ஜுடைப் ஏ. ஸி. எஸ். ஹமீத்)

(Mr. A. C. S. Hameed)

You do not know a dam!

### කථානායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Order, please! Please continue with your speech.

### ලක්ෂ්මන් ජයකොඩි මහතා

(திரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஐயக்கொடி)

(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

Now what is the point of Order, Sir? That shows that he does not know a dam!

#### <u>ඒ. සී. එස්. හම්ඩ් මහතා</u>

(ஆனுப் ஏ. ஸி. எஸ். ஹமீத்)

(Mr. A. C. S. Hameed)

Of course, no!

# ලක්ෂ්මන් ජයකොඩි මහතා

(திரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஐயக்கொடி)

(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

I do not wish to take much of time on this issue. The point is, we are very happy with the statement made by the Hon. Minister for Trade, but I think he should have been more precise and informed this House what are the areas of co-operation they wish to have from us.

# ලලින් ඇතුලන්මුදලි මහතා

(சிரு. எளிர் அக்குவத்முதலி)

(Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali)

When we as an Opposition, when His Excellency the President, Mr. J. R. Jayawardene, a Leader of the Opposition, pledged our support to fight the 1971 terrorist problem, we did not ask pre-conditional questions of what is this and that. Unequivocally we said, "We support, we co-operate." If you have any proposals come to the round-table and propose them and there if you want to know what we have done we will tell you. But if you have no proposals, of course, do not come to the round-table.

# ආරියරත්ත ජයතිලක මහතා (ගම්පහ දිසා ඇමතිතුමා)

(திரு. ஆரியரத்ன ஜயதிலக்க—கம்புற மாவட்ட அமைச் சர்)

(Mr. Ariyaratne Jayatillake - District Minister, Gampaha)

කරුණාකර පළමුවෙන්ම කියන්න උතුරේ තුස්තවාදය තවත්වනවාට තමුන්තාන්සේ කැමතිද නැද්ද කියා. එයට උත්තරයක් දෙන්න. තමුන්තාන්සේලා දකුණේ තුස්තවාදය නැවැත්වූවා. උතුරේ දෙමළ තුස්තවාදය නවත්වනවාට කැමතිද, නැද්ද, කියන පුශ්නයට උත්තරයක් දෙන්න.

#### ලක්ෂ්මන් ජයකොඩි මහතා

(கிரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயக்கொடி)

(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

කැමතියි.

# ආරියරත්න ජයතිලක මහතා

(திரு. ஆரியாத்ன ஐயதிலக்க)

(Mr. Ariyaratne Jayatillake)

මූලික පුශ්නය එයයි.

### ලක්ෂ්මත් ජයකොඩි මහතා

( திரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயக்கொடி )

(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

අපේ විරුද්ධත්වයක් නැහැ. යෝජනා මොනවාද කියල කියන්න.

### ආරියරත්ත ජයතිලක මහතා

(திரு. ஆரியரத்ன ஐயதிலக்க)

(Mr. Ariyaratne Jayatillake)

He never said that. He is harping on irrelevancy at the periphery, let him come to the centre.

# ලක්ෂ්මත් ජයකොඩි මහතා

(திரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயக்கொடி)

(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

What has he said? He wants us to come and discuss the activities of the terrorists? I think more than we, they know what the activities of the terrorists are.

### ආරියරත්ත ජයතිලක මහතා

் நிரு. ஆரியாத்ன ஜயதிலக்க)

(Mr. Ariyaratne Jayatillake)

අතත් මනත් කතා <mark>කරන්න ඉස්සෙල්ල මගේ පුශ්නයට උත්තරයක්</mark> දෙන්න. මම එකක් අහනවා. උතුරේ නුස්තවාදය මැඩපැවැත්විය යුතුයි කියා නමුත්තාන්සේ කියනවාද?

# ලක්ෂ්මන් ජයකොඩි මහතා

(திரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயக்கொடி)

(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

Of course, we have fought terrorism – not only fought terrorism, we shall fight terrorism. It can come from many quarters. It can come from the Government, from the Opposition, from any quarters, but we shall fight whatever terrorism. At the same time, you must fight terrorism, not talk. You must give your orders to fight. What is happening is you just talk here. The Government has not given a single directive. I would like hon. Members to know what are the directives that have been given.

```
ඒ, සී. එස්. හම්ඩ් මහතා
(ஜுதுப் ஏ. ஸி. எஸ். ஹமீத்)
(Mr. A. C. S. Hameed)
```

Directives have been given. You want to have the cake and eat the cake!

```
ලක්ෂ්මන් ජයකොඩි මහතා
( திரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயக்கொடி)
(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)
```

Nothing has been given. What are the directives given in combating operations? Absolutely nothing! Has a combing out operation been done or started in a particular area? No! This is what I say. Has there been a single combing out order given to any of the regiments? The Hon. Minister of Plantation Industries is one of the finest soldiers we have had in this country. They must be given orders. There is not a single order given. Why has not a single order been given? Why are you hiding any of these orders that have been given out if you are using military operation? I would like to say that this is not going to be solved by military operation alone. It cannot be solved by that. A military operation cannot solve this problem. Secondly, a political solution cannot solve-

```
ඒ. සී. එස්. හම්ඩ් මහතා
(ஜனுப் ஏ. ஸி. எஸ். ஹமீத்)
(Mr. A. C. S. Hameed)
All this time you said, "by military operation."
```

```
ලක්ෂ්මන් ජයකොඩි මහතා
(திரு, லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயக்கொடி)
(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)
```

Thirdly, there is a social problem behind everything. So there are three operations :: firstly, military; secondly, political operation; and thirdly, there is the social or economic operation, as the hon. Minister of Trade says. But these proposals have not come. You are not thinking in those terms. The Government has not set up that machinery to think in those terms.

```
මන්තීවරයෙක්
(அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)
(A Member)
You must tell us.
```

```
ලක්ෂමන් ජයකොඩි මහතා
(திரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஐயக்கொடி)
(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)
```

We are not governing. We are only here, on this side. I say this because of a very important matter that I want to bring to the notice of the Government. The Hon. Prime Minister comes here once a month, Sir, and talks of excesses, of what the Tamil terrorists have done. Then, international agencies are borught here with the knowledge of the Government and they are asking us to come. You have been the most impotent being asked to print the other side of the story. If one Minister that I have known

reads the report of the Amnesty International Mission to Sri Lanka, 31st January to 9th February 1982, it gives the other side of the pciture. I would like to table this. I am sure all the honourable Members have got this.-(Interruption). So what do you think of it? Why do you not take action on these matters? There is the Amnesty International publication which talks of the Government's attitude and what the Government has done. I do not agree 100 per cent with certain things which are there. I do not agree with them.-(Interruption). But, anyway, this is available to everyone of us. This is one side of the picture, while the Prime Minister comes out with the other side of the picture. This is what I say. What action have you taken against this type of propaganda, if it is not true? If it is not ture, what action have you taken to counter that propaganda?-(Interruption). Precisely. But we took action to counter that propaganda. When Lord Avebury came here during the 1971 problems we had to go to London.-

```
තියෝජා කථානායකතුමා
(பிரதிச் சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)
(Mr. Deputy Speaker)
```

Order, please! Now the Deputy Chairman of Committees will take the Chair.

අනතුරුව තියෝජා කථානායකතුමා මුලාසනයෙන් ඉවත් වුයෙන්, තියෝජා කාරක සභාපතිතුමා [එඩ්මන්ඩ් සමරවිකුම මහතා] මූලාසනාරුඪ විය.

அதன் பிறகு, பிரதிச் சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள் அக்கிராசனத்தி ளின்று அகலவே, குழுப் பிரதித் கலேவர் அவர்கள் [திரு. எட் மண்ட் சமாவிக்ரமி தலேமை வகித்தார்கள்.

Whereupon Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER left the Chair, and MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES [MR. EDMUND SAMARAWICKREMA] took the Chair.

```
ලක්ෂ්මන් ජයකොඩි මහතා
(திரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஐயக்கொடி)
(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)
```

What action did we take during the time when Lord Avebury came to Sri Lanka during the 1971 problems? They issued a similar statement of this nature, and what did we to? We countered the propaganda. We set up machinery in almost every Mission in the areas concerned. We set up propaganda machinery in London, in Bonn, in Paris, and we countered all that.-(Interruption). Why do you not come out with it? You say, "do you know?" We do not know.

```
ඒ. සි. එස්. හම්ඩ් මහතා
(ஜனுப் ஏ. ஸி. எஸ். <mark>ஹமீத்)</mark>
(Mr. A. C. S. Hameed)
You must ask if you do not know.
```

(திரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயக்கொடி) விருவ வர் வரியாவிரி

(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

You do not tell us. What is there to ask? You are

ඒ. සී. එස්. හමිඩි මහතා (නුකුப් ஏ. කෝ. ක්කේ. කුරේ ක්) (Mr. A. C. S. Hameed)

If you want, you must ask.

ලක්ෂ්මන් ජයකොඩි මහතා

(கிரு, லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயக்கொடி) (Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

What is there to ask?

ඒ. සි. එස්. හම්ඩ් මහතා

(ஜுதுப் ஏ. ஸி. எஸ். ஹமீத்)

(Mr. A. C. S. Hameeed)

Ask if you do not know. I will teach you, if you do not know.

ලක්ෂ්මන් ජයකොඩි මහතා

(திரு, லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயக்கொடி)

(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

You do not know. I can get more information from the other Hon. Ministers than from you. Because you are not in this country, you do not know what is happening. I know that very well, and you may be shifted. Your best place is in the UN. Please be there.

ඒ. සි. එස්. හම්ඩ මහතා

(ஜனுப் ஏ. வி. எஸ். ஹமீத்)

(Mr. A. C. S. Hameed)

Oh! I see; you want to get into my place. I do not want to get into any argument with him.

අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා (නුවරඑළිය-මස්කෙළිය දෙවන)

(<mark>திரு. அனுர பண்டாரநாயக்க—நு</mark>வரெலிய-மஸ்கெலிய இ<mark>ரண்டாம் அங்கத்தவர்)</mark>

(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike-Second Nuwara Eliya-Maskeliya)

We do not know what is happening any more than you do.

ලක්ෂමන් ජයකොඩි මහතා

(திரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயக்கொடி)

(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

When this type of propagenda publicised in this country, what action have you taken? (Interruption). May I read all this? Anyone reading this, I am sure, will think that what they have said is 100 per cent true. If it is not true, please say so; counter it. What has happened to the Government? I know many more changes are coming. I have not seen many of them here.

Sir, with regard to the problem which everyone is thinking of, the disposal of bodies, Amnesty International are the people who are talking about it in their newsletter, it is not the country. They are the people who are talking about "fears over new police burial powers." It is a problem. If you do not have an identification it is going to be a problem. You must have

an identification. At least the person who gives the order for that type of disposal must know the identity. He must give the identification. Identification is going to be a problem.

ඒ. සි. එස්. හම්ඩ් මහතා

(ஐனுப் ஏ. ஸி. எஸ். ஹமீத்)

(Mr. A. C. S. Hameed)

What about the regulations during your time?

ලක්ෂ්මන් ජයකොඩි මහතා

(இரு. லஷ்மன் ஜயக்கொடி)

(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

Well, it did not arise at that time for the simple-

ඒ. සි. එස්. හම්ඩ් මහතා

(ஜனுப் ஏ. ஸி. எஸ். ஹமீத்)

(Mr. A. C. S. Hameed)

Your are now trying to preach to us. Do you know that this regulation is much more respectable?

ලක්ෂ්මන් ජයකොඩි මහතා

( திரு. லக்ஷமன் ஐயக்கொடி)

(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

Of course, it was there at that time. I do not say no.

ඒ. සි. එස්. හම්ඩ මහතා

(ஜனுப் ஏ. ஸி. எஸ். ஹமீத்)

(Mr. A. C. S. Hameed)

But do you know that the present regulation is much more respectable?

ලක්ෂමන් ජයකොඩි මහතා

(திரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயக்கொடி)

(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

Of course, it is more respectable, but then-

ඒ. සී. එස්. හම්ඩ් මහතා

(நுறுப் ஏ. ஸி. எஸ். ஹமீத்)

(Mr. A. C. S. Hameed)

Then do not talk.

ලක්ෂ්මන් ජයකොඩි මහතා

(,திரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஐயக்கொடி)

(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

But it never gave occasion for the Amnesty International at that time—

ඒ. සී එස්. හම්ඩ් මහතා

(ஜனி ஏ. வி. எஸ். ஹமீத்)

(Mr. A. C. S. Hameed)

You did all the dirty things. Do not forget that. Your hands are wet with blood, do not forget that our hands are wet with blood.

ලක්ෂ්මත් ජයකොඩි මහතා

(கிரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஐயக்கொடி)

(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

I do not know why he is getting excited! What I say, Sir, is this. Without a persons identity being established, how do you know whether he is a citizen of this country or not? You must have the identity. There are so many non-citizens in this country, various types of people are in this country, Koreans, Japanese, Singaporeans, Indians and Pakistanis are here. Then you have the stateless, non-stateless, the man who carries an identity and the man who does not carry an identity. Now if a person is shot and he is buried without an identification-no doubt, a person must be buried-how do you know whether he is a citizen of this country or not? If he is not a citizen of this country, then the problem arises. That is exactly what we should know. There should be an identification. At that time we took steps immediately, after the problems arose, to issue identity cards. That was the first step. Of course, we had another scheme, but the Government at that time did not give thought to it. Surely, you know this. You all are more competent. You were given all these powers to do so and why are you asking us?

ඒ. සී. එස්. හම්ඩ් මහතා

(ஜனுப் ஏ. ஸி. எஸ். ஹமீத்)

(Mr. A. C. S. Hameed)

When you buried dead people they were not identified.

ලක්ෂ්මන් ජයකොඩි මහතා

(திரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயக்கொடி)

(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

If you say that you cannot deal with this; it is a different mattter. Let the people decide. Have a general election and let the people decide, "These are the new people who are to govern our country". Give that chance to the people. I do not want at this stage to meet all these arguments, but I must say one thing. The Government is not serious yet. I know that in many fronts most of the Members are not serious. I know that there are a few Ministers who are very serious, and there are Ministers who are not so serious in matters of this nature. We know therefore they are facing this problem.

As far as the S.L.F.P. is concerned, if it is to wipe out terrorism, we will certainly support you. Then with regard to the Tamil problem, if it is going to be a separate issue, we will let the country know and the people know what the S.L.F.P. stand is. With regard to banditry there is the Penal Code. Then in regard to a person who has been converted into a wrong way of thinking like terrorism, there is a rehabilitation carbines which were not in use in Sri Lanka. What is programme for you to work on.

I feel that the Government has messed up because they have been most inactive and late.

ඊ. පී. පෝල් පෙරේරා මහතා (කඩුවෙල<u>)</u> (கிரு. ஈ. பீ. போல் பெரோ—கடுவெல)

(Mr. E. R. Paul Perera-Kaduwela)

Sir, I have the privilege of following the hon. Member for Attanagalla-(Interruption).-because, at least for the purpose of this Debate, I am following a teacher of terrorism, he says that in 1971 every party co-operated due to the goodness of that Government. On the contrary, I think, the truth is that his admission speaks volumes for the statesmanship of the UNP then in the Opposition. The UNP in the Opposition co-operated for the national good of the country, whereas it cannot be said of the party from which the hon. Member for Attanagalla comes. I must say a word, Sir, about the point made by the hon. Member for Nallur (Mr. M. Sivasithamparam). The crux of his emotional speech appears to be based on the excesses of the security forces that are operating in the Northern Province and the Eastern Province. I can now imagine what impact it must be having in the foreign press. I would have perhaps overlooked these points if only the other side of the picture was also equally well described. For instance in the year 1975 ordinary persons like Mr. Alfred Duraiappah who had committed no offence, and thereafter members of the security forces who were not on war time duty who were not doing anything offensive were shot down in cold blood, the United National Party organizers organizing election campaigns were shot down in cold-blood, State transport was destroyed and continues to be destroyed, and railways are destroyed, set on fire. In other words, as the Hon, Prime Minister was stated today the number of incidents that have taken place so far seem to suggest a well laid down scheme to destroy State property, State offices, schools and even Examination centres. While these are being destroyed very methodically and according to a scheme that is now emerging, the leaders in the North make public statements to the effect that the Army excesses. the Police excesses are destroying the Tamil nation.

Sir, I need not add, I think everyone knows that in foreign countries investors are being told, "Do not go to Sri Lanka because there is trouble". Telegrams are despatched by sympathizers of the terrorists living in the United States of America, for instance, misinforming the investors not to invest in Sri Lanka, It looks as if all over the world misinformation and falsehoods are gaining ascendancy.

Sir, very recently we read in the newspapers that certain terrotrists were shot in a place eight miles south of Jaffna and the discovery which was most frightful was that foreign weaponry was found, foreign made worse, a foreign ship appears to have been mysteriously

[ජ. පි. පෝල් පෙරේරා මහතා]

sailing in the Palk Strait and disappearing when inventigations started on its presence. Now what was that ship doing? From where does these carbines come, the rifles come? From where do the grenades come? These are not in use in this country. These are questions that must occupy the attention of every responsible person in this country. It is not a matter of scoring a political debating point at a time like this. This is a very serious stituation. What is worse, Sir, we find today our closest neighbour, the Indian Government expressing concern about certain Emergency Regulation enacted in June this year. I am referring to the Emergency Regulation published in Government Gazette No. 247/21 of 3rd June, 1983. The Regulation reads like this:

"It shall be lawful for any police officer of a rank not below that of Assistant Superintendent or for the Officer in charge of a police station or any other officer or person authorised by him in that behalf to take with the approval of the Secretary to the Ministry of Defence all such measures as may be necessary for the taking possession and burial or cremation of any dead body and to determine in his descretion the persons who may be permitted to be present at any assembly for the purpose of or in connection with any such burial or cremation. Any persons who is present at any such assembly without the permission of such officers or authorised person or who obstructs such officer, authorised person in the exercise of powers leaving before conferred shall be guilty of an offence. It shall not be necessary for such as officer or person taking measures relating to the possession on and burial or cremation to comply with the provision of any other written law relating to inquest of death or to burial or cremation".

Now Sir, the Indian Government has called our Ambassador in India, and expressed their concern at this regulation. I am alarmed for the simple reason that the Indian Government did not raise a similar query or express concern for this same identical regulation in the year 1958, or in the year 1959, or in the year 1971. And if I may respectfully say this, Sir, there was a very big difference between the regulations of 1958, 1959, 1971 and the present regulation which I read to you. The difference is this. In the case of the earlier regulations. the identical wording was there, but there was no reference to the Secretary of Defence or his approval. Now in this regulation of 1983, the police officer dealing with the dead body has to get the permission of the Secretary to the Ministry of Defence. Despite this new regulation, the Government of India has expressed concern over this regulation.

There is another matter which alarms me more. Sometime back, Sir, this House would recall, there were five terrorists who were needed for questioning. They were arrested in South India. One of them was the notorious Prabhakaran. The others were Uma Maheswaran, Jatheeswaran, Niranjan and Raghavan. They were arrested by the Indian Police, and were in Police custody. The Inspector General of Police, Sri Lanka, along with a team of CID officials sought to

interrogate or question these five gentlemen in South India. They went over and they never got an opportunity to get close to them. Another team, the Deputy Solicitor General of the Attorney General's Department, Mr. Tilak Marapone, and police officials and Mr. Lal Kurukulasooriya of the Foreign Ministry, all went over to New Delhi to discuss the question whether these parties, being Sri Lankan citizens who had no authority to remain on Indian soil because they had neither a visa nor any permission to be there, could be deported. Well nothing happened. Although there was provision in the Indian law that in the interests of friendly relations between the two countries such deportation was possible and although there was the special Indian Extradition Act of 1962 which permitted a person to be extradited if that person had committed an offence of murder, or attempted murder or been convicted of such an offence,-Uma Maheswaran was one such person who had been convicted in absentia in our Courts.-there was no co-operation forthcoming. Now the Government of India seeks to express its concern.

heard my distinguished Member for Chavakachcheri referring to the fact that India is the Head of the Non-aligned Movement and that it is not wrong to inquire into these matters in order to fulfil its obligations as Head of the Non-Aligned. That is a good argument Sir. But what did India say, when in the month of June Mr. Harry Barnes, the US. Ambassador in New Delhi, made a small comment at some function that the Sikh fighters are indeed liberation fighters? What did the Prime Minister of India say? She was very upset and said, "this Sikh Movement, these are not liberators, these are blood thirsty terrorists". She said "this liberation movement is based in the United States of America" and she even cancelled the passport of the Sikh leader and protested to Mr. George Shultz who had come to visit her in New Delhi. Sir, When it happens to India, it is interference in her international affairs, but when it comes to a matter like this, it is, as my good friend for Chavakachcheri says, as Head of the Non-aligned Movement they can do this.

Then in the same way, Sri Lanka also, as a former head of Non-Aligned Movement, has a right to comment on what happens in Madya Pradesh, the Police tortures in Madya Pradesh, and also in Assam which is a Buddhist country. Why cannot we also protest? In Manipur and Jammu, in all these movement tribes are being tortured, eyes are being removed, women are raped by the security forces. Why cannot we also protest as a former Head of the Non-Aligned Movement?

What is more, Sir, the conclusion is inescapable. In 1971, if the regulation which was stricter was accepted by all, and the Indian Government even supplied planes,

ammunition, guns, as the hon. Member for Attanagalla stated, was it because 16,000 Sinhala youths were being massacred? Was it that India was happy in that the Sinhala population was being decimated? One wonders, in this situation why India, a large country a long-standing friend of ours, should have behaved like this in this very funny way without looking at the past regulations. What is worse, Sir, the Indian tourists are being advised to cut short their stay in Sri Lanka. Restrictions are being imposed now. All these facts cumulatively suggest, and would one be unjustified in assuming, that there is an attempt to interfere in the domestic affairs of a soverign country? If it is so, Sir, this House should strongly deplore such an attempt, and in this context should we be advocating the Peace Zone theory of the Indian Ocean or should we review it?

After all I know my learned Friends of the Opposition would not agree with what I say for a very good reason. Sir, I will tell you what I think this particular reason is. This House would recall that on May 18, 1983 there were 18 by-elections held. One such by-election related to the Eheliyagoda area. The Eheliyagoda by-election was between the United National Party and the New Lanka Sama Samaja Party. Our candidate was Dr. Kiriella. The other was Mr. Vasudeva Nanayakkara. He distributed a handout. I have read the original, and I am having a photostat of that handout. I will read two passages from it. This is what he said:—

"ශු ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂය, ශු ලංකාවේ කොමියුනිස්ට පක්ෂය, ජනතා විමුක්ති පෙරමුණ, ලංකා සමසමාජ පක්ෂය, මහජන එක්සන් පෙරමුණ, පුජාතන්නුවාදී කම්කරු සංගමය යන ආණ්ඩු විරාධි පුධාන දේශපාලන පක්ෂ අතර සාකච්ඡාවකීන් ගොඩනතා ගන්නා ලද නිතරග එකහත්වයක් අනුව ඇගැලියගොඩට නරග වදින වාසුදේව සහෝදරයා මෙම තරගයේ එකම යූ. එන්. එ. විරෝධී අපේක්ෂකයා වෙයි."

### The next passage:-

"පාර්ලිමේන්තුව තුළ මතු කරන, වැඩ කරන ජනතාවගේ වේදනාවේ දෝංකාරය ඉන්පිටනට ගෙනැවින්, වෘත්තීය සංවිධාන, ශිෂා, තරණ හා ගොවී වනපාර, උතුරේ විමුක්ති බලවේග ආදිය සමග ඒකාබද්ධකර ජනතා පුශ්න වෙනුවෙන් උද්කෝෂණය කරන පුඑල් ජන වනපාරයක් පාර්ලිමේන්තුවෙන් පිටන පෙළ ගැස්සීමට මන්තීවරයෙකු වශයෙන් ලබන බලය හා ශක්තීය උපයෝගී කර ගත හැකිය."

Now Sir, the Hon. Minister of Trade requested in all sincerity, Why not review the invitation to the round-table conference? I can tell you, Sir, with great respect, it is much better for them to remain outside, because they are committed to this.

I must also submit another aspect of this matter. You will recall a gentleman called Mr. David Selbourne. He is a tutor in Political Theory at Ruskin College, Oxford, United Kingdom, and a known sympathizer of the International Marxist Group. He is also a correspondent for 'The Manchester Guardian.'

සරත් මුත්තෙට්ටුවෙගම මහතා (කලවාන) (තිලා. අඳුන් ආුන්රිනුදු ලිගිනුනු ලෙසානා (Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama Kalawana) Is that a Marxist paper ? ඊ. පී. පෝල් පෙරේරා මහතා (කිලු, ஈ. පී. போல் பெரோோ) (Mr. E. P. Paul Perera)

He came to Sri Lanka for the first time on the 13th of July, 1982, and left on 1st August, 1982. During his stay in the Island, he had visited a number of estates in Hatton and Nuwara Eliya Districts. He had also visited Mullaitivu, Vavuniya, and Trincomalee Districts. This was in 1982. That is, before the trouble broke out in Trincomalee. After this visit, wide publicity was given in 'The Illustrated weekly of India', and in the 'Guardian' in October, 1982, about the harassment of the Tamils by the Sinhalese armed forces, and these articles subsequently appeared in "The Saturday Review", a paper published in Jaffna, which is widely circulated in order to espouse the cause of the Tamils.

He arrived this year too, on the 19th of June, 1983. This gentleman stayed in Phoenix House, a hotel in Colombo 7. The hotel had been booked by Mr. Desmond Fernando, the son-in-law of the late Dr. S. A. Wickramasinghe, a prominent figure in the local Civil Rights Movement and a communist. David Selbourne was in close contact with Mr. S. C. Chandrahasen who is described as the Legal Secretary of the TULF. He had visited Jaffna between 19th and 22nd June, met the hon. Leader of the Opposition and the Member for Jaffna, and several other Tamil politicians who are agitating for Eelam. Having collected all this information, he presented another distorted picture.

Sir, with great respect, I take this opportunity to state that Sri Lanka's name is being discredited in every public place both here and outside. And, Sir, it is like this. I suppose that every army of any strong power that captures or conquers another country goes there as liberators. This has happened, I believe, in Hungary, in Czechoslovakia; and now it is happening in Afghanistan. Liberators! They are liberating the enslaved people of that country. That is one side of the story. The truth never comes out until it is too late.

It is high time, Sir, that we as a nation took stock of certain salient matters. For instance, the hon. Member for Chavakachcheri (Mr. V. N. Navaratnam) very rightly referred to the fact that there is a tamil nation and a Sinhalese nation. I have been practising as a lawyer in Jaffna and Trincomalee. I agree wholeheartedly. But I do not agree with him when he syas that we have overlooked the existence of a Tamil nation. If you will please look at the Constitution you will see that Article 2 reads thus:

"The Republic of Sri Lanka is a Unitary State"

Then we have Article 6, which states:

"The National Flag of the Republic of Sri Lanka shall be the Lion Flag depicted in the Second Schedule."

[ඵ්. පී. පෝල් පෙරේරා මහතා]

Now, if you look at the Second Schedule, what do you see? You see the orange colour on our National Flag which indicates the existence of a Tamil nation. They are a part of us. This was accepted by all. And what is more, we have also made provision that Sinhala and Tamil shall be national languages of the country. Also, every Member of this distinguished House has sworn under Article 63 as follows:

"I do solemnly declare and affirm that I will uphold and defend the Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka."

When these vital elements are provided for in the Constitution—language, the identity of the Tamil nation in the National Flag of Sri Lanka and the provision that Sri Lanka is a unitary state—and when every Member takes that solemn oath, I am afraid I cannot see the logic of any argument for separatism on the Floor of this House, nor is it possible for any Member of this House, with respect, to justify interference in the domestic, internal affairs of our country on the part of any country, however highly placed that country may be.

These are matters that should be considered in the right perspective, and that is why, in all humility, I support the view that we are in a situation where there is a grave threat to the stability of the state and that it is the duty of everyone, be he Sinhala, be he Tamil, be he from the left, right or centre, of any political party, of every person who was born in this country and has to die here, to protect the sovereignty of our country.

When such a threat is present the Public Security Ordinance make provision to declare an Emergency, and in this situation it is most fair and just that this Emergency should continue for a further period of time.

සරත් <mark>මුත්තෙට්ටුවෙගම මහතා</mark> (කලවාත) (නිලෑ අ*ඳ*න් ඥුන්ගිනුட්ශිඛිකිසය—සහබා හෝ) (Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama–Kalawana)

Mr. Chairman, it looks as if it is going to be a night when the saints go marching on! We have just heard a wide-ranging contribution from the new Member for Kaduwela.—(Interruption). He is an old saint but he is new to this House! In the course of his speech—I do not know whether it was deliberately done or whether he was carried away by his own arguments—he even went on to almost make a declaration of war on India! Many wars have been declared by saints, but this is the first time I have seen a Member of this House who reads the morning newspaper coming here and saying something as a Member of the Government which runs completely counter to the declared policy of his Government.

Anyway, be that as it may, we are now discussing the question of the extension of the Emergency. In the course of this Debate many things have been said. The

hon. Member for Chavakachcheri (Mr. V. N. Navaratnam) used the occasion to make a speech which was, as he declared it, a farewell speech. The Hon. Minister of Trade and Shipping tried to put the Government's case in its proper perspective and has made an appeal for saner counsel to prevail.

But, what is the exact situation in the country? In the course of his speech the Hon. Minister of Trade, referred to the so-called all party conference which took place yesterday-which was scheduled to be held yesterday. I will be as brief as I can but I want to put the record straight in regard to that conference. Our party, the Communist Party, has always held the position that an all-party conference on the problems of the Tamils might be an opportunity towards the solution of these problems. We have repeatedly, on the Floor of this House, in the newspapers and at public meetings, called for that all-party conference. We called for it because for the 1977 General Election the UNP issued a manifesto in which it made a categorical promise that it would call a conference of all political parties to discuss the problems of the Tamils.

I want to say that on the 30th of May, when the situation was deteriorating rapidly, our party wrote to His Excellency the President.

I will read extracts from that letter.

"Your Excellency,

The growing communal tensions in the country have created a situation that can develop in ways detrimental to the well-being and harmony of the people of this country.

The events during and after the local government elections of 18th May 1983, the disturbances at the University of Peradeniya which have led to Tamil students leaving the campus en masse, and similar incidents on other occasions and in other parts of the country are manifestations of this.

The widespread public anxiety in regard to these developments was expressed in Parliament, too, on May 25th. The imposition of a state of emergency once again indicates that the government, too, is conscious of the gravity of the situation.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka has asked me to request Your Excellency to take certain immediate and long-range steps in this regard.

As far as immediate steps are concerned, we would propose:

- (1) All victims of arson and other outrages in Jaffna by a section of Army of the night on the 18th/19th May and thereafter should be compensated for the injury and damage done to them, and
- (2) Attempts by racist-minded elements, both within and outside the University of Peradeniya, to use the present situation there to end the multi-racial character of the student population at this university and confine it to Sinhalese students should be rejected, and

(3) Special arrangements should be made by the authorities of the University of Peradeniya to see that Tamil students are allowed to pursue their studies in peace and security and, further, that those who were unable to follow lectures owing to these incidents should be provided with opportunities to catch up with the lectures they missed.

Apart from this, our Central Committee wishes to stress the need for fresh attempts to find satisfactory and permanent solutions to the many problems of the tamil nationality in Sri lanka. Failure to do so has been a major cause of internal tensions, repeated communal riots and states of emergency, and consequent disruptions of social peace, racial harmony, and the economy of the country. The country's image abroad has also been spoilt by such occurrences.

Our Party has always condemned and opposed resort to individual terrorism as a mean of solving political or social questions. But we are equally convinced that state terrorism is no answer to this state of affairs.

It is clear that attempts to solve this problem through prolonged military occupation of Jaffna and/or the use of the 'Prevention of Terrorism Act' have not merely failed but have, instead, aggrevated and complicated the problem. Further attempts along these lines can only be counter-productive, do irreparable damage to inter-racial relations and democratic process, and strengthen fissiparous tendencies.

At the same time, the bilateral dialogue between Your Excellency and the leaders of the Tamil United Liberation Front has also failed to produce any tangible results from the point of view of either easing or settling racial tensions, let alone moving towards a lasting solution of the problem."

I do not want to read the whole letter. We mentioned in that same letter further, down:

"the undertaking made in the United National Party's election mainfesto of 1977 that an All-Parties Conference would be summoned to seek a political solution to this problem."

Then, Sir, we got a letter from His Excellency the President on the 13th July 1983 in which he said:

"I shall be obliged if a representative or representatives of your Party could attend a meeting to discuss the activities of terrorists in Sri Lanka."

We replied on the 14th July 1983 by a letter wher in we said that, apart from other things, a conference to discuss merely the question of terrorism was not something that we were prepared to attend and in any event that we were still asking for a meeting of all political parties.

Thereafter there was the letter His Excellency the President sent to us on the 18th July 1983 expanding the discussion to any suggestions.

On the 20th July 1983 we again wrote to His Excellency the President. I will read that letter. It is a short letter.

"1983 ජූලි මස 20 ගැරී ජපවර්ධන ජනාවිතතිනමා

අතිගරු ජේ. ආර්. ජයවර්ධන ජනාධිපතිතුමා ජනාධිපති කාර්යාලය, කොළඹ.

අතිගරු ජනාධිපතිතුමකි.

ඔබතුමාගේ 1983 ජූලි 18 වෙති දින දරන ලිපියේ අඩංගු කරුණු සහ උතුරේ සහ නැගෙනහිර පෙදෙස්වල පවතින තත්ත්වයන් ගැන අප පක්ෂයේ දේශපාලන මණ්ඩලය ඉතා ගැඹුරු ලෙස අවධානය යොමු කළේය.

දුවිඩ ජනතාවගේ පුශ්ණයට කෙටිකාලීන හා ද්රිසකාලින දේශපාලන විසදුම් සෙවීම සඳහා පුනිඵලදයි සාකච්ජාවක් කළ හැකි වන්නේ අප විසින් කලින් එවූ ලීපි දෙකින්ම (1983 මැයි 30 සහ 1983 ජූලි 14) ඔබතුමාගේ අවධානයට යොමු කළ පරිදි පිළිගත් සියලු දේශපාලන පක්ෂවල සහ දුවිඩ ජනතාවගේ සෙසූ සංවිධානවල සහභාගිත්වයෙන් බව අපගේ පිළිගැනීමයි.

එම කිසා 1983.07.20 වෙනී දිනට ඔබනුමා කැඳවා ඇති <mark>රැස්වීමෙන් අපේක්ෂිත</mark> පුනිඵල ලැබෙනැයි අප විශ්වාස නොකරමු.

එවැනි සාකච්ඡාවක් වුව සාර්ථක විය හැක්කේ රටතුල විශේෂයෙන් උතුරු හා නැගෙනහිර පුදේශවල එයට යෝගෟවන්නාවූ පසුබීමක් පවතින විටයි. එවැනි පසුබීමක් හා හිනකර වාතාවරණයක් අද පවතින බව පෙනෙන්නට නැත.

් එවැනි හිතකර තත්ත්වයක් ඇති කිරීමේ වගකීම හා හැකියාව පුධාන වශයෙන් රදා ඇත්තේ ඔබතුමා සහ ඔබතුමාගේ රජය අතය.

ඉහත සඳහන් කරුණු යටතේ 1983.07.20 වෙනි දිනට යෝජිත රැස්වීමට සහභාගිවීමට නොහැකි බව ගෞරවයෙන් දන්වා සිටීමු."

# සරත් මුත්තෙට්ටුවෙගම මහතා

(திரு. சரத் முத்தெட்டுவேகம்)

(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

I want to say that when we declined-

# සිරිල් මැතිව් මහතා (කර්මාන්ත හා විදන කටයුතු ඇමතිතුමා)

(கிரு. சிறில் மத்திவ்—கைத்தொழில், விஞ்ஞான அலுவல் கள் அமைச்சர்)

(Mr. Cyril Mathew-Minister of Industries & Scientific Affairs)

I am sorry for interrupting. Did you say "military occupation of Jaffna?"

### සරත් මුත්තෙට්ටුවෙගම මහතා

(திரு. சாத் முத்தெட்டுவெகம்)

(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

Nothing about military occupation.

### සිරිල් මැතිව් මහතා

(திரு. சிறில் மத்திவ்)

(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

In the first letter you wrote to the President, did you refer to the military occupation of Jaffna?

# සරත් මුත්තෙට්ටුවෙගම මහතා

(திரு. சரத் முத்தெட்டுவெகம)

(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

I am tabling that letter. We have said, military occupation of Jaffna would not solve the problem.

# සිරිල් මැතිව් මහතා

(திரு். சிறில் மத்திவ்)

(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

What is the military occupation? Is there military occupation?

සරත් මුත්තෙට්ටුවෙගම මහතා (කිரு. சாத் முத்தெட்டுவெகம) (Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

Anyway, the Minister can reply when he is speaking. I am not prepared to be cross-examined by the Minister. What I am going to say, I am going to say. He can reply when he wants. The letter I have read is in the HANSARD. I have got the letter here.

Then, Sir, the position today is that the situation in the North and East has deteriorated to a very very dangerous one. True enough, large numbers of actions of individual terrorism have completely coloured the picture in such a way that mass media can use them and focus attention on these problems. But the problem as the Hon. Minister of Trade himself said, is, How are you going to deal with the problem of terrorism? Is it by banning bicycles on the road? Is it by asking the people in the Northern Province to have a permit to ride a push bicycle there? Is it by doing some other thing by which you can hurt the people of Jaffna? What has happened by that process? If there has been individual terrorism-undeniably there have been incidents of individual terrorism-and may be organized terrorism, what has happened is that there has been a situation where the Government has taken certain steps which have widened the pace of sympathizers of such people. That is the situation today.

Certainly, the Hon. Minister of Trade made a very important point about the number of people of Tamil origin living among the Sinhalese people in the South. It is everybody's concern that they live peacefully and without any trouble. I am sure the Government is concerned about it and has taken steps towards that eventually. But the position is that even among the people who live in the South, who have relatives in the North, they are beginning to talk in such a way that they have some kind of sympathy with the people who are engaged in terrorist activities. So that is the situation which the Government must consider, and that is the situation which only the Government can consider. It is by taking positive steps and making positive responses and thereby expecting positive reaction from the North, that the Government can hope to deal with this situation.

Of course, there are many points of view and they will be debating eternally as to how best to deal with a situation like this. Historically, it has shown that once extremists of one kind or the other get a foothold in a problematic situation like this, whatever solution you go and agree among the mainstream opinion formers, you will find a certain section of extremists who do not accept it. That is the situation that everybody, whether in Government or in Opposition, will have to meet with in this kind of context. But I say still it is not too late for

the Government to take positive steps which will convince the Tamil people and evoke among them a response which will, at least, first of all, prevent a mass base of sympathy for individual or organized terrorist operation in the North. That is the first step that is necessary, and that is why I say that no Government can deal with this situation on its own. That is true. And I accuse this Government of having lost the best opportunity they had when they came to power in 1977 with mass goodwill behind you, with the largest vote that any Government, any political party, ever had and that large vote coming mostly from the Sinhalese areas. Having promised in 1977 a conference of all political parties, if you called it at that time, the incidents of these seven years would not have occured; positions of either side had not hardened, whoever was responsible for terrorism had not got so organized and certainly the terrorists had no base as they have now. You missed that opportunity. You deliberately missed it. Year after year when you were reminded, you ignored it. Now you call a meeting-a meeting of five parties represented in this House. Can you say it is a representative meeting? Can you say this is a meeting of all political parties which your Government has recognized? How many parties are there recognized? How many political parties?

සිරිල් මැතිට් මහතා (කිලැ. පිහිබ යු කිකිම)

(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

How many votes did you get ?

සරත් මූත්තෙට්ටුවෙගම මහතා (திரு. சரத் முத்தெட்டுவெகம)

(Mr. Sarath muttetuwegama)

There are Tamil parties, there are Sinhalese parties, there are national parties, there are chauvinist parties.

රතිල් විකුමසිංහ මහතා (යොවන කටයුතු හා රැකිරක්ෂා ඇමතිතුමා සහ අධාාපන ඇමතිතුමා)

(திரு. எணில் விக்சமசிங்ஹ—இளஞர் அலுவல்கள், தொழில் வாய்ப்பு அமைச்சரும் கல்வி அமைச்சரும்)

(Mr. Ranil Wickremasinghe-Minister of Youth Affairs & Employment and Minister of Education)

You have not been elected to Parliament.

සරත් මුත්තෙට්ටුවෙගම මහතා (திரு. சாத் முத்தெட்டுவெகம)

(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

There is no difficulty for the Government to call the conference which it promised in 1977 to take a positive step towards solving this problem, because, otherwise you will go along this road and you will have no return. You will not be able to stop this. You will have no return except to yield to some demand which you do not want to yield. That is the situation. And that is what this Government must make itself aware of. I do not think anybody in this House.

இவே**ப்பு வாப்பி காப்பிற்றி** (குழு பிரதித் தஃவர் அவர்கள்) (Mr. Deputy Chairman of Committees)

Order, please! Hon. Member, how long do you want to speak? There are six other Members to speak and the Hon. Prime Minister will have to reply at 9.30.

සරත් මූත්තෙට්ටුවෙගම මහතා (කිල. අඳුන් ඥුන්ගිනුද්ශිගිකයෙය) (Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

I will try to be as brief as possible, Sir. That is all that I want to say about the Tamil problem.

I want to say something else under the Emergency and that is about the situation in the Universities. I am gald the Hon. Deputy Minister of Higher Education is here. I have given notice of a question under the Adjournment.—(Interruption).

He is here. He is moving around but he is here.

නියෝජ්‍ය සහාපතිතුමනි, අප දුන් සාකච්ඡා කරන මේ යෝජනාව— හදිසි නීතිය—යටතේ, විශේෂයෙන් පේරාදෙණ් විශ්ව විදහලයේන්, වෛද්‍ය පීඨයේන් ඇතිවී තිබෙන තත්ත්වය ගැන වචන ස්වල්පයක් කියන්නට මම බලාපොරොත්තු වෙනවා. මේ හදිසි නීතිය යටතේ රජය මේ සතියේ සිට විශ්ව විදහල පිළිබඳවත් පුවෘත්තී පාලනයක්, පුවෘත්ති නහනමක් කියාත්මක කර තිබෙනවා. රජයෙන්ම පුවෘත්ති පතු ගණනාවක් පාලනය වන අවස්ථාවක, රජයේ පැත්තෙන් කියන්න තිබෙන කාරණා සියල්ලක්ම රජයේ ඒ පුවෘත්ති පතුවලිනුත්, රජයෙන් පාලනය වන ගුවන් විදුලියෙන් සහ රූපවාගිනියෙනුත් දිනපතාම ඉදිරිපත් කරන අතරම විශ්ව විදහල පිළිබඳ පුවෘත්ති තහනමකුත් දැමීමෙන් අපට බොහොම පැහැදීලිව පෙනෙනවා. විශ්ව විදහල සම්බන්ධයෙන් රජය දරන ආකල්පය මොකක්ද කියා.

මේ අවස්ථාවේදී, පේරාදෙණී විශ්ව විදහලයේ ඇති වී තිබෙන තත්ත්වය පිළිබඳව බොහොම කෙවියෙන්—සංක්ෂීප්ත වශයෙන්— කරුණු ස්වල්පයක් ඉදිරිපත් කරන්න මම බලාපොරොන්නු වෙනවා. 1982 කොවැම්බර් මාසයේ 2 වැනි දා පේරාදෙණි විශ්ව විදුහලයේ අලුත් අධනපත වර්ෂය පටත් ගත්තා. 1982 දෙසැම්බර් මාසයේ 03 වැනි දා පේරාදෙණී විශ්ව විදහලයේ ශීෂා සංගමය සඳහා නිලවරණය පැවැත්වුණා. ඒ තිලවරණයට පුධාත වශයෙන් සහභාගි වුණු සංවිධාන දෙක නමයි. එක්සත් සමවාදී ශිෂා සංගමය සහ සමාජවාදී ශිෂා පෙරමුණන්. උදලාගම කොමිසම පවා පිළිගෙන තිබෙන, කවුරුත් දත්තා දෙයක්–එය කාටවත් රහසක් නොවෙසි–තමයි, ඒ ශිෂා සංවිධාන දෙක මේ රටේ තිබෙන දේශපාලන පක්ෂ දෙකකට සම්බන්ධ, ඒ පක්ෂවලට අනුකුලතා දක්වන සංවිධාන දෙකක් බව. එක්සන් ජාතික පක්ෂයට සම්බන්ධ සංවිධානය තමයි. එක්සන් සමවාදී ශිෂා සංගමය. 1982 දෙසැම්බර් මාසයේ 03 වැති දා පැවැත්වුණු තිලවරණයෙන් ඒ එක්සන් සමවාදී ශිෂා සංගමයට ලැබුණු තිලතල සංඛනව සියයට 13ක් පමණයි.

පේරාදෙණි විශ්ව විදහලයේ ශිෂායන් නිලවරණයෙන් පස්සේ පෙළපාලියක් පැවැත්වීමේ සම්පුදායක් අවුරුදු ගණනාවක සිට තිබෙනවා. පණ්ඩිතරත්න මහතා උදලාගම කොමිසම ඉදිරියේ දුන් සාක්ෂි අනුව ඔහු බලාගෙන ඉදලා තිබෙනවා, ඒ පෙළපාලිය ආ හැටි. මාකස් පුනාන්දු ශාලාව දක්වාම ඒ පෙළපාලිය සාමකාමි පෙළපාලියක් හැටියට ඇවත් තිබෙන බවයි. පණ්ඩිතරත්න මහතාගේ පිළිගැනීම. එක්සත් සමවාදී ශිෂා සංගමයට සම්බන්ධ පුධාන කොටස් ඉන්නේ ඒ මාකස් පුනාන්දු තේවාසිකාගාරයේයි. එතැනෑදී අර පෙළපාලිකරුවන් සහ මාකස් පුනාන්දු ශාලාවේ සිටින ශිෂායන් අනර ඇති වූණු සටිටනයක් නිසා කීප දෙනකුට තුවාල වුණා. එසේ තුවාළ ලත් එක්

කෙනෙක් තමයි, ඒ කාලයේ ඉංජිනේරු ශිෂා සංගමයේ ලේකම්ව සිටියාවූත්, ඉන් පසුව මහා ශිෂා සංගමයේ සභාපති නැත්නම් ලේකම්ව සිටයාවූත් එන්. බී. නෙවිල් තමැති ශිෂායා. කෙසේ වෙනත් මේ තත්ත්වය හේතුකොට ගෙන දෙසැම්බර් මාසයේ 05 වැනි දා විශ්ව විදහලය වහන්න යෙදුණා. ඒ නිසා, විශ්ව විදහලයෙන් පිට වන්නය කියා උප කුලපතිවරයා වසින් ශිෂායන්ට නියෝග කරනු ලැබුවා.

දෙසැම්බර් මාසයේ 12 වැනි දා මහනුවර බස් නැවතුම්පොළේදී පොලීසිය විශ්ව විදහල ශිෂ්‍යන් 4 දෙනකු අත් අඩංගුවට ගත්තා. ඒ ශිෂ්‍යන් 4 දෙනකු අත් අඩංගුවට ගත්තා. ඒ ශිෂ්‍යන් 4 දෙනා මහෙස්තුාත්තුමා වෙත ඉදිරිපත් කරනු ලැබ එතුමාගෙන් ලැබුණු නියෝගය අනුව රිමාන්ඩ් බන්ධනාගාරගත කරනු ලැබුවා. රු. 10,000 ක් මුදලින් ඇප තබලයි, ඔවුන් රිමාන්ඩ් බන්ධනාගාරයෙන් තිදහස් කරගෙන තිබෙන්නේ. එහෙම නම් ඒ 4 දෙනා බරපතල වරදක් කළ උදවිය හැටියට පොලීසියට පැහැදිලිව පෙතී ගොස් නිබුණු බව. ඒ 4 දෙනා බරපතල වරදක් කළ බවට යම් සාක්ෂි පොලීසියට නිබුණු බව කෙනෙකුට හිතීම සාධාරණයි. උපාවිය සාමාන්‍යෙන් එවැනි අය රිමාන්ඩ් කරන්නත්, මුදලින් රු 10,000 ක ඇපයක් නියම කරන්නත් පෙළඹෙන්නේ නැහැ. බරපතල වරදක් කර තිබෙන බවට හැහීමක් නැත්නම්.

දුන් අපි මේ අවුරුද්දේ අගෝස්තු මාසයටත් කිට්ටු වී තිබෙනවා. නමුත් පසුගිය දෙසැම්බර් මාසයේ 12 වැනි ද ඒ ශිෂායන් 4 දෙනා අත්-අඩංගුවට ගත්තායින් පසුව මොකක්ද, වූණේ? ඒ අය උසාවියට ගෙන යනවා: නඩුව කල් දමනවා. ඒ හැර අද වන තුරු පොලීසිය ඒ අයට වීරුද්ධව නඩුවක් ඉදිරිපත් කර නැහැ.

ඒ කෙසේ වෙතත් එම පසුබිම සටතේ තමයි. උදලාගම කොමිසම පත් කරනු ලැබුවේ. මම මේ අවස්ථාවේදී අදහස් කරන්නේ නැහැ. ඒ උදලාගම කොමිසම විවේචනයට ගාජන කරන්න. එම කොමිසමේ කටයුතු පිළිබදව හුභාක් පුශ්න තිබෙනවා. මම හිතන හැටියට විශ්ව විදල පාලකයන් පචා පිළිගෙන තිබෙනවා. එම කොමිසමේ නිර්දේශ නැවත සමාලෝචනයට ගාජන කරන්න ඕනෑය කියා.

මම එක කාරණයක් විතරක් කියන්නට කැමතියි. කොම්ෂන් එකේ තුන් දෙනයි සිටියෙ. කොම්ෂන් එකේ සිටි මහත්වරුන් තුන් දෙනාගෙන් එල්. ආර්. එල්. පෙරේරා කියන මහත්මයා තිර්දේශ ගණනාවක් ඇතුළත් වෙනම වාර්තාවක් ඉදිරිපත් කර තිබෙනවා. ඒ වාර්තාවත් මා ළහ තිබෙනවා. ඒක බොහොම දිග එකක් නිසා කියවන්නට බලාපොරොත්තු වන්නේ නැහැ. නමුත් ශිෂායන් කෙරෙහීම වරද පටවන්නට බැරිය කියා ඒකෙන් ඔහු පැහැදීලීවම කියා තිබෙනවා. ආරක්ෂක අංශයේ මාෂල්ලා, වෝඩන්ලා–සිකාරීට් සර්විස් එකේ උදවිය-ඒ වාගේම එක්සන් ජාතික පක්ෂයට සම්බන්ධ එක්සන් සමවාදී ශිෂා පෙරමුණ කටයුතු කර තිබෙන ආකාරය එම වාර්තාවේ ඔහු සදහන් කර තිබෙනවා. මේ සියලුම කරුණු නිසා පේරාදෙණිය විශ්ව විද ුලයේ ශිෂායන් අතර විනය බොහොම බරපනල සේ හාතීදයක තත්ත්වයකට පත් වුණාය කියා තිබෙනවා. කෙසේ වෙතත් ඒ කොමිෂන් චාර්තාව පාලකයන්ට ලැබුණේ අපුියෙල් මාසයේදීයි. පාලක සභාව රැස් වුණේ ජූලි මාසයේදීයි. ජූලි මාසයේ 6 වැතිද ශීෂායින් සංකේත පත්ති වර්ජනයක් පටත් ගත්තා. 6 වැතිදුත්. 7 වැතිදුත්, 8 වැතිදුන් පන්ති වර්ජනය තිබුණා. 9 වැනිදු සහ 10 වැනිදු තිවාඩු දිනයන්. 11 වැතිදුන් 12 වැතිදුන්–ඒ කියන්නේ සදුදුන්, අගහරුවාදුන්—නැවනුන් මේ පත්ති වර්ජනය පටත් අරගෙන 11 වෙනිදු ශීෂායින් ගණනාවක් උපවාසයක් පටන් ගන්නා. ඒ උපවාසය පටන් ගත්තේ විවෘත තැනකයි.

ගරු නියෝජා සභාපතිතුමිනි. ඒ එක්කම 12 වැනිද, 13 වැනිද සහ 14 වැනිද ශිෂා සංගමයේ නියෝජිතයන් අතරත්, උපකුලපති සහ අනිකුත් ආචාර්යවරුන් අතරත් සාකච්ඡා ගණනාවක් තීබී එය සමථයකට පත් කිරීමේ හැකියාවක් ඇති වෙමින් තිබුණා. ඊට පසුව තමයි. 15 වැනිද තවත් සිද්ධියක් ඇති වුණේ. වීද, එඨාධිපති ඩයස් මහතා ශිෂායින් විසින් රදවා ගන්නට යෙදුණා. ඊට පසුව පුකාශයක් අත්සන් කර පණ්ඩිතරන්න මහත්මයා ශිෂා ඉල්ලීම් සියල්ලම දෙන්න පොරොන්දු වුණා. නමුත් සේපාල ඒකනායක සිද්ධියේදී වුණා වගේම,

[සුරන් මන්තෙව්ටුවෙගම මහතා]

පාලකයන් දුන් ඒ පොරොන්දු පාලකයන් විසින්ම පුතික්ෂේප කරන්නට පටන් ගත්තා. එපමණක් නොවෙයි, මම විශේෂයෙන්ම අර පුවෘත්ති තගනම ගැන සදහන් කළේ මෙන්න මේ නිසයි. පුවෘත්ති මාධායෙන් පාච්ච්චි කරමින්, ශිෂායෙන් විසින් නොයෙක් නොයෙක් දේවලට අලාහ හානි කර තිබෙනවාය, බරපතල අලාග හානි කර තිබෙනවාය කියා පුවාරය කරන්නට පටන් ගෙන තිබෙනවා. මා ළහ ලීපියක පිටපතක් තිබෙනවා. මම ඒක කියවන්නම්.

> ආරක්ෂක අංශය, පේරාදෙණිය විශ්ව විදහලය. පේරාදෙණිය, 1983.07.15 දින

යතානන ගොඩනැගිල්ල. සැපයීම් අංශය, 'පුස්තකාලය, කලා ගොඩනැගිල්ල, මහජන බැංකුව, ආයතන අංශය, පාලන අංශය, යන ස්ථාන මහා ශිෂෳ සභාවෙන් ආපසු භාර ගැනීම. "

ඒ කියන්නේ විශ්ව විදහලයේ පාලකයන් ශිෂ්‍යික්ගෙන් ඒවා ආපසු හාර ගත්තා. හාර අරගෙන ලියවිල්ලක් දුන්නා. පාලකයන් වෙනුවෙන් අත්සන් කළේ ආර්. කේ. රත්නායක නමැති මහන්මයෙක්. ඔහු මෙසේ කීයා තිබෙනවා.

"1983.07.15 දින ප.ව. 7.00 ට පමණ මහාවායර් හල්පෙ මහතාගේ උපදෙස් පරිදි ආ/ප ආර්. කේ. රත්නායක සහ මා/ප බී. එම්. ඒ. විකුමයේන යන අප දෙදෙන විසින් මහා ශිෂා සංගමයේ සභාපති මහතා වන ලලිත් විජේරත්න මහතා සමහ ගොස් සනාතන ගොඩනැගිල්ලේ ආපත ශාලාවේ ජනේලය ඇරි තිබුණ නිසා එයින් ඇතුල් වී ආයතන අංශය, පාලන අංශය, රජයේ ගණන් පරීක්ෂණ අංශය, සරජ අංශය, ගිණුම් අංශය, අධ්‍රයෙන අංශය, සතාතන කාමරය යන ස්ථාන පරීක්ෂා කර හාර ගතිමු. එහි කිසිදු අධ්‍රයෙන අංශය, සතාතන කාමරය යන ස්ථාන පරීක්ෂා කර හාර ගතිමු. එහි කිසිදු නිඩුණි අපහට දක්නට තොලැබුණ අතර දොර ජනෙල් සහ අගුළු නිසි අයුරු තිබුණි.

පුස්තකාල ගොඩනැගිල්ල, සැපඨම් අංශය යන ස්ථානවලද දොර ජනෙල් නිසි අයුරු තිබුණි. කලා ගොඩනැගිල්ලේ කබා කාමරයේ දොර ඇර දමා තිබූ නිසා මහජන බැංකුවද පරීක්ෂා කළෙමු . . . . .

#### තියෝජා කාරක සභාපතිතුමා

(குழு பிரதித் தலேவர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Deputy Chairman of Committees)

Order, please! The hon, member can table it. What is the purpose of wasting the time of the House?

සරත් මූත්තෙට්ටුවෙගම මහතා (කිලෑ. අරු දා දා දා කිලෙනු ලබන සෙරු) (Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

It is very short.

# තියෝජා කාරක සභාපතිතුමා

(குழு பிசதித் தலேவர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Deputy Chairman of Committees)

The point is there are many hon. Members to speak. The hon. Leader of the Opposition is there to speak.

සරත් මූත්තෙට්ටුවෙගම මහතා (කිල, சரத் முத்தெட்டுவெகம) (Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

We have suspended the Standing Order.

".....එහි දොර අතුළු සහ ඉබ් යතුරු නිසි අයුරු නිබුණේ. මෙහි කබා කාමරයේ දොරවල් සහ කලා පීඨයට ඇතුල් වන යකඩ දොරද නිසි අයුරු තිබුණේ. කලාගාරයද පරීක්ෂා කළෙමු. එහිද කිසිදු අඩුපාඩුවක් කොමැති බව පෙණුණ්." ඒ. එම්. ආර්. බී. අත්තනායක මහතා (නියෝජා උසස් අධාාපන ඇමතිතුමා)

(திரு. ஏ. எம். ஆர். பி. அ**த்தநாயக்க—உயர் கல்விப் பி**ரதி அமைச்சர்)

(Mr. A. M. R. B. Attanayake-Deputy Minister of Higher Education)

ඔය ලියවිලි සභාගත කරන්න එපා. ඔක්කොම කියවන්න ඔය බොරු කන්දරාවට මම පසුව උන්තර දෙන්නම්.

# තියෝජා කාරක සභාපතිතුමා

(குழு பிரதித் தலேவர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Deputy Chairman of Committees)

Yes, you continue.

# සරත් මුත්තෙට්ටුවෙගම මහතා

(திரு. சரத் முத்தெட்டுவேகம)

(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

May we know the time that the Hon. Prime Minister will reply? We want to be in the House.

# තියෝජා කාරක සභාපතිතුමා

(குழு பிரதித் தலேவர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Deputy Chairman of Committees)

The Hon. Prime Minister will have to reply at 9.30 p.m. and then there is the hon. Leader of the Opposition to speak.

### සරත් මූත්තෙට්ටුවෙගම මහතා

(திரு. சரத் முத்தெட்டுவெகம)

(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

ආර්. කේ. රත්නායක මහත්මයා පිළිගෙන තිබෙනවා අලාග නැතිව ඒ ගොඩනැගීලී ඔක්කොම හාරගත්තාය කියා.

ඊටපසු ඇති වුණ තත්ත්වය මොකක්ද ? 17 වෙනිදා හෝ 18 වෙනිදා හෝ කල්පගේ මහත්මයා පතුයට පුකාශයක් දුත්තා, ලබා දුත්ත ඉල්ලීම් සියල්ලම පුතික්ෂේප කරනවාය, විශ්ව විදහලවලට පොලීසිය ගෙනැවිත් දමා තිබෙනවාය කියා. 16 වෙනිදා රාතුයේ හෝ 17 වෙනිදා රාතුියේ හෝ පේරාදෙණිය විශ්ව විදහලයට පොලීසිය ගෙනැවිත් දමා එහි සිටි සියලුම ශිෂායන් පන්නා දම්මා. ඉන්පසුව තවත් පුකාශයක් කර තිබෙනවා මොකක් හරි පන්ති වර්ජනයක් තිබුණොත් විශ්ව විදහල වහල දමනවාය කියා.

දැන් කොළඹ වෛදා පීඨයේ ඇති වී තිබෙන තත්ත්වය තමුන්තාන්සේ දන්නවා. එහි අද නොසන්සුන් තත්ත්වයක් ඇති වී තිබෙනවා. එහි ශිෂායන් විසින් සම්පූර්ණයෙන්ම පන්ති වර්ජනය කර තිබෙනවා. විශේෂයෙන්ම ඔවුන් මේ සටන ගෙන යන්නේ මේ රජය නිදහස් අධාාපනයට කරන තර්ජනයට විරුද්ධත්වය පුකාශ කිරීමක් වශයෙන්. [බාධාකිරීම්] අද විශ්ව විදහලයේ ඇති වී තිබෙන තත්ත්වය අනුව පොලිස්කාරයන් හැසිරෙන ආකාරයට පාලකයන් හැසිරෙන්න ගියොන් ඉන් කිසීම වැඩක් වෙන්නේ නැහැ. එයින් රටේ අධාාපනයට සේවයක් සිදු වෙන්නේ නැහැ. වියදම් කරන මුදල්වලින් පුයෝජනක් ලැබෙන්නේ නැහැ. එය කිසීම පුයෝජනයක් නැති වැඩක් වෙනවා.

පුවෘත්ති පාලනය දමා තිබෙන්නේ හදිසි නීතිය යටතේ. පොලිසිය යොදවා තිබෙන්නේ හදිසි නීතිය යටතේ. මේ සියල්ලම කර තිබෙන්නේ හදිසි නීතිය යටනේ. හදිසි නීතියෙන් මොකක්ද වෙන්නේ? එක පැත්තකින් සර්විපාක්ෂික සාකච්ඡා කැදවන අතර අනික් පැත්තෙන් මාෂල් ලෝ යොදවන්න ලැස්තියී කියා ජනාධිපතිතුමා කියා තිබෙනවා. මෙය බුනානෑ පුවෘත්ති පතුයක පළ වී තිබුණා. මේක කොතැතින්ද පටන් ගන්නේ? උතුරට 'මාෂල් ලෝ' දමනවා ; තැගෙනහිරට 'මාෂල් ලෝ' දමනවා ; විශ්ව විදහලයට 'මාෂල් ලෝ' දමනවා ; කම්කරුවන් වැඩ වර්ජනය කරන ආයතනයකට 'මාෂල් ලෝ' දමනවා. මේ නීතිය විකින් වික රට පූරාම දමන්න වෙනවා. ලබන අවූරුද්ද වන විට ආර්ථික වශයෙන් බොහොම අමාරු තත්ත්වයක් ඇති වෙනවා. [බාධාකිරීම්]

නියෝජා කාරක සභාපතිතුමා

(குழு பிரதித் தலேவர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Deputy Chairman of Committees)

Order, please!

සරත් මුත්තෙට්ටුවෙගම මහතා

(திரு. சாத் முத்தெட்டுவெகம)

(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

මුදල් ඇමතිතුමා ඊයේ හෝ පෙරේදා හෝ කර තිබෙන පුකාශයක් අනුව මේ රට මුදල් නැති තත්ත්වයකට වැටෙනවා. රුපීයලේ අගය තවත් බාල්දු කරන්න සිදු වෙනවා. එතකොට තමයි මේ උතුරට කරන වැඩය දකුණටත් කරන්න සිදු වෙන්නේ කියා අපි නමුන්නාන්සේට කියනවා.

අ.තා. 8.08

රංගතායකි පත්මතාදත් මහත්මීය (පොතුවිල්) ( திருமதி சங்கநாயகி பத்மநாதன்—பொத்துவில்)

(Mrs. Ranganayaki Pathmanathan-Pottuvil)

Mr. Chairman, I would like to say a few words on the subjects of violence, emergency and terrorism, because I represent the Tamil people in the Pottuvil Electorate in the Amparai District. I am duty bound to make these observations on behalf of the 60,000 Tamils living in the Amparai District. Most of the Electorates in the Amparai District are composed of a mixed society of Muslims, Sinhalese and Tamils. Although the people are economically backward they live together in peace and harmony. I dread to think of terrorism raising its monstrous head in these parts.

There have been a few incidents in the recent past. One such incident occurred only about 18 miles from my home at Pottuvil. A private vehicle was stopped and at gun point the occupants were relieved of their possessions and threatened. The men were all wearing masks and it was later discovered that they were all Sinhala-speaking people. There was another incident on the Amparai-Colombo Road where about eight cars were stopped and again at gun point they were relieved of their possessions. The District Minister for Amparai had a narrow shave. I myself could have been a victim because I take that road very often to Colombo.

The point I am trying to emphasize is that terrorism refers to all acts of violence in any part of the Island. It does not refer to the violent activities of a particular race, community or religion. The Terrorist Act is a comprehensive Act which is applicable to the whole country. My point of view is that it is the Tamil community living scattered in all parts of the country

that will benefit by the control of terrorism. Like the looters having the hey-day during communal violence, situations could arise and communal violence could graduate into terrorism. There will be a situation when we will not be able to distinguish between communal disturbances and terrorism. Therefore, this Government is honour bound to protect all communities and take adequate measures for the people's safety.

Sir, I was perturbed by reading in today's newspapers that the Delhi Government has expressed concern over certain incidents in Sri Lanka. India and Sri Lanka have been friendly neighbours, appreciative of each other's welfare and progress. Though we are many times a smaller country we are mindful of our probelms trying to solve them as we go along. India is a much larger nation with a federal form of government and its racial, linguistic and religious problems are diverse. Whether their problems have been solved on an equitable and fair basis we do not seek to sit in judgment, but we are familiar with their distressing problems. Terrorism has raised its head in different parts of India. The famous Naxalite rebellion was suppressed mercilessly with brutal force. The incidents in Assam have been publicized and there is opinion for and against the Government.

The point I am trying to stress here is, was the Indian Government equally concerned in 1976 when during the SLFP government the Tamil Research Conference was held in Jaffna and nine Tamils lost their lives and a member of the Indian Legislative Assembly had to be smuggled out of the Island for fear of attack and violence? Therefore, Sir, I would say the concern of the Delhi Government is inopportune or a little too late. For their concern to be ill-timed and inopportune they may have been misguided or ill-advised possibly for political reasons. I appeal to whoever is concerned, not to mar the friendly relations that exist between the people of our country and the people of Tamil Nadu. It may be for the Delhi Government high politics or clever political strategy, but for the people of Sri Lanka and the people of Tamil Nadu it is an inroad into the friendship that exists between the people of the two countries. Politics should not upset this happy relationship. Not only the Tamils of Sri Lanka but even the Sinhala people of Sri Lanka visit places of religious interest in India. We have common religious and cultural ties with the people of Tamil Nadu. Recently, there has been an influx of Tamil Nadu Indians to Sri Lanka by the hundreds to satiate their desire for foreign goods in the duty free shops.

Likewise, Tamil and Sinhala people storm the Indian bazaars for Indian textiles and other goods. I am perturbed Sir, that this type of friendly relations and goodwill should be disturbed. Tamil Nadu is made up of some of the States of the Indian Federal Government. [රංගනායකි පත්මනාදන් මහත්මිය]

Whether all is well with Tamil Nadu, we do not seek to probe, but I sincerely hope that those seeking political pastures will not make use of the political situation in Sri Lanka to further their gains.

Sir, in the name of peace and development, I like to say a few words about the conditions in the North where the Tamil community lives in large numbers. The innocent peace-loving people of the North have suddenly found themselves drawn into a whirlpool of violent activity. The ordinary citizens living in the North are being spun around by a current into which they did not consciously walk in.

Let us take the ordinary citizen of Jaffna. I am sure many of our Colleagues have visited Jaffna, and they will agree what simple, cultured hospitable people the people of Jaffna are. Some of them are still living in a world of their own without a clue as to what is happening around them, and why it is happening. In spite of many inconveniences, they are a people who can by their own industry make themselves self-sufficient and live in the villages without blaming the Government. The foundations of the normal life of the people have been rudely shaken. Their peaceful surroundings have been disturbed. Did the people bargain for this chaotic condition? Sir, there are parties and parties with different political ideologies. But they do not have the moral right to play with the life of a nation and its well-being trying to experiment with ideologies. Can they pursue their ideology even if it amounts to genocide?

Sir, our life span is limited and our life in this earth was given by God and the people have the right to live happily and peacefully.

තියෝජා කාරක සභාපතිතුමා

(குழு பிரகித் தவேவர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Deputy Chairman of Committees)

Order, please! The Hon. Speaker will now take the Chair.

අනතුරුව නියෝජා කාරක සහපතිතුමා මූලාසනයෙන් ඉවත් වූයෙන් කථානායකතුමා [අල් හාජ එම්. අබ්දුල් බාකි්ර මාකාර් මහතා] මූලාසනාරුඪ විය.

அதன்பிறரு. குழுப் பிசதித் தல்வர் அவர்கள் அக்கொசனத்தி னின்று அகலவே, சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள் [அல்ஹாஜ் எம். அப்துல் பாகீர் மாகார்]- தல்மை வடுத்தார்கள்.

Whereupon MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES left the Chair, and MR SPEAKER [AL HAJ M. ABDUL BAKEER MARKAR] took the Chair.

රංගතායකි පත්මතාදත් මහත්මිය

(திருமதி ரங்கதாய்கி பத்மதாகன்) பயியி படி

(Mrs. Ranganayaki Pathmanathan)

Mr. Speaker, it is not for man to mar this life, the God-given right by pet political ideologies.

As a woman and a mother, my heart goes out to every youth and army personnel who were all victims of violence. I am not a political wizard to sit in judgment over political ideologies, but I expect any ideology to lead the people to development, prosperity and happiness. Of what good is an ideology if it were to lead us to a bleak situation of suffering, poverty and loss of life? Political situations in Ireland and many other countries are sometimes quoted as an example of freedom fighting. But in my humble opinion we cannot compare the calibre of the people living in those countries and the people of the North. Great Britain has been involved in many wars, a sea-faring nation exposed to the travails of war and fighting. But Sri Lanka is a Third World country which is just trying to develop its economy, and the people cannot withstand the rough and tumble of violence. It is the sacred duty of this Government to protect its people. There are many problems to be solved but the Government should be given the breathing space to think of solving the problems. There should be no acts of violence or disturbance to get priorities sorted out. Several measures have been taken by the Government to bring life to normalcy and to make the life of the ordinary citizens safe. We all have problems. Every Government and every country has its own problems, but these must be solved by ourselves and within the confines of our land. The Tamil problems will never be settled in Massachusetts nor even in New Delhi. They can and must be settled only by the people of the North, the East, the West and the South, only by sitting together and smoking the pipe of peace. That is why I would urge, specially the leaders of the North to grasp the hand held out to them. Even if you start by grasping one finger, you can then go to grasp the whole hand. Thank you.

සිරිල් මැතිව් මහතා (කර්මාන්ත හා විද ූ කටයුතු ඇමතිතුමා)

( இரு. சிறில் மத்திவ்—கைத்தொழில், விஞ்ஞான அலுவல் கள் அமைச்சர்)

(Mr. Cyril Mathew-Minister of Industries & Scientific Affairs)

The Member for Nallur (Mr. M. Sivasithamparam stated that an opportunity is provided on an occasion like this for those in the Opposition to bring to the notice of the Government the excesses committed by the Armed Services.

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, මම පසුගිය වාරයේ කථා කරද්දිත් දුවිඩ එක්සත් වීමුක්ති පෙරමුණේ නායකතුමාට, විරුද්ධ පක්ෂයේ ගරු නායකතුමාට. මතක් කළා, මේ ජාතිචාදී කෝලාගල වෙනකොට සිංහල මිනිහෙක් මැරුණත්, දෙමළ මනුෂායෙක් මැරුණත් එක හා සමාන බිහිසුණු මරණයකටයි එයාට මුහුණපාත්නට සිද්ධවෙන්නේ කියා. එතුමත්ලා කතා කරනකොට කියන්නේ දෙමළ මනුෂායත් මැරෙනකොට පමණක් ගෲසම් මර්ඩර්' කියලා. අන්ත ඒකටයි මම විරුද්ධ වෙන්නෙ සිංහලයා මළත් දෙමළා මළත් එක හා සමාන ගයානක-බිහිසුණු මරණයකටයි ඒ කාටත් මුහුණපාත්නට සිද්ධ වෙන්නෙ. ඒක තිදර්ශනයක් වශයෙන් පෙන්වන්නට පිංතුර වශයක් මට ලැබුණා. [බාධා කිරීමක්] (පින්තුරයක් පෙන්වමින්) එද ගෙනා පිංතුර නොවෙයි මේවා. මේවා දක්කාමත් බයවෙනවා. මේ පිංතුරයෙන් දක්වෙන සිද්ධිය මොකක්ද ?

Attack on air force personnel-1st June 1983- two airmen were killed instantaneously.

මේ මනුෂයෝ ජ්ජ එකේ සිටි මනුෂයෝ නුස්තවාදී බෝම්බයකට උඩ ගිහින් විසිවෙලා බඩේ බොකු බඩවැල් ඔක්කොම එළියට ඇවිල්ලා.

#### කථාතායකතමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

From where did you get that picture? Do you take responsibility for it?

සිරිල් මැතිවී මහතා

(திரு. சிறில் மத்திவ்)

(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

Yes, Sir. But I am not responsible for these acts.

තියෝජා කථාතායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

For the picture?

සිරිල් මැතිවී මහතා (කිැලෑ. පිළුබ් යා ප්පිඩ්ඛ්)

(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

What are the instructions of the Dravida Eksath Vimukthi Peramuna? In this one also you find both persons. This is the dead body of the UNP organizer Thilakar killed on 3rd June 1983. (*Interruption*). Every one of these acts is most gruesome. (*Interruption*).

ගරු කථානායකතුමති, දුන් එතුමා කීයන්නට යෙදුණා. සෝමසුන්දරම් කියන පුද්ගලයෙක් යුද්ධ හමුදුව භාරයට අරන් එයාව එළියට ඇරියාලු. පොලිස් බාරයෙන් එළියට ඇරියාලු. ඊට සුමානයකට පසුව, ළිදුක වැවීලා හිටියාල වෙඩි තබලා. කවද දක්නෙ ඒක කව්රු කළාද කියා ? පොලීසියට සාක්ෂි දෙන අයව මරණවා, නුස්තවාදීන්. අනන්න අපුමාණ එහෙම මරළා තිබෙනවා. මගේ ලහ තිබෙනවා ඒ විස්තර සියල්ලක්ම. ඒ ඔක්කොම කියන්න ඔනැ නැහැ. මගේ ලභ තිබෙන විස්තර අනුව, 18 දෙනෙක් මරළා තිබෙනවා, පොලීසියට සාක්ෂි දුන්නා කියා. එවිට, මේ පුද්ගලයා පොලීසිය භාරයේ සිට පොලීසියෙන් නිදහස් කළා. සතියකට පසුව ළිදක තිබ්ලා මළකද හමුවී තිබෙනවා. යුද්ධ හමුදුවට අයිති තුවක්කුවකින් වෙඩි තබා තිබෙනවා කියනවා. යුද්ධ හමුදුවට අයිති තුවක්කු තමයි නුස්තවාදීන් හොරකම් කරන්නෙ. ඒවා නමයි ඔවුන් පාවිච්චි කරන්නෙ යුද්ධ හමුදුවට වෙඩි තියන්න. ඒ යුද්ධ හමුදුවේ තුවක්කුවෙන් වෙඩි තිබ්බා කියා. එතුමා කියනවා, මේක යුද්ධ හමුදුවෙන් නැත්නම්, පොලීසියෙන් කළ දෙයක් කියා. නුස්නවාදීන් ලහ තිබෙන්නේ යුද්ධ හමුදුවෙන් හොරකම් කළ තුවක්කු.

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, පහසුව සඳහා මම මේ කරුණු කොටස් තුනකට බෙද තිබෙනවා, යාපනේ සිද්ධියන්, තිකුණාමලයේ සිද්ධියන්, යාපනේ විශ්ව විදුලයේ සිද්ධියන් කියා. ඒ අනුව මම පතුමාට උත්තර දෙන්නට බලාපොරොත්තුවෙනවා. එතුමා කියන්නට යෙදුණා, තිකුණාමලයේ සිද්ධියේදී දෙමළ ජනතාව පමණයි මැරිලා තිබෙන්නේ, අලාගහානි සිද්ධවෙලා තිබෙන්නේ දෙමළ ජනතාවට පමණයි කියා. මට ලැබී තිබෙනවා ලිපියක් තිකුණාමලයෙන්. මෙන්න ඒ ලිපිය : 'තිකුණාමලය එක්සත් වෙළද සංගමය එළවලු වෙළද සැල තිකුණාමලය

1983.07.19 දක

සේරුවිල හා නිරියාය පූජා නගර සංවර්ධන සම්නියේ ගරු සභාපති කැන්පත්. යි. සිරිල් මැනිව මැනිතුමා.

ගරු මැතිතුමති.

1983 ජූනි/ජූලි ජාතිවාදී අරගලය නිකුණාමලය දිස්තුක්කය

1983 ජූති/ජූලි මාසවල කුකුණාමලයේ ඇතිවූ ජාතිවාදී අරගලවලට මුල් වූ කරුණු පිළිබදව වැදගත් කරුණු රැසක් ඔබතුමාණත් වෙත අවශා කටයුතු සඳහා සැලකර සිටීම්. මෙම සිද්ධිත් පිළිබදව තුකුණාමලය පාර්ලිමේත්තු මන්තුිතුමා විසින් 1983 ජූලි මස 17 වෙති දින "ද අයිලන්ඩ්" පතුයේ පුසිද්ධ කරවා ඇති ලිපියට පිළිතුරු සැපයීමක් වශයෙන් ද ඒ සමගම මෙම ලිපිය උපයෝගි කර ගනිමි.

1. තිකුණාමලය ප්‍රසිද්ධ වෙළඳපොල ;—දෙමළ ජනතාව වෙනුවෙන් වෙනමම වෙළඳ පොලක් සුදුසු ස්ථානයක පිහිටුවිය යුතු බවට තිකුණාමලය මන්තිතුමා විසින් සඳහන් සාකච්ඡාවේදී යෝජනා කළේ ද ? නැද්ද ? යන්නට පිළිතුරු දීම සම්බන්ධිකරණ නිලධාරී, අසෝක ද සිල්වා මහතාගෙන් ඉටුවිය යුත්තක් හෙයින් අපි ඒ ගැන කරුණු නොදක්වමු.

එහෙත්, සිවත්කෝච්ල් අඩි, පාලෙයුතු, ලිංගනගර්, අන්බුචලිපුරම් ආදී ස්ථානවල වෙළද පොලවල් පිහිටුවීමට ඒ ඒ පුදේශවල දෙමළ ජනතාව තීරණය කළේ තිකුණාමලය මන්තු සම්බන්දන් මහතා ද සහභාග වූ රැ.ස්වීම් වලදී බැව් සිංගල ජනභාවට නොරහසකි.

පසුගිය 16 වෙනි දින තිකුණාමලය, තිරුඥ ණසමබන්දර විදියේ, කනගම් මිල්ස් ගුමිය වෙළඳ පොලක් පිහිටු වීමේ කාර්යය සඳහා සම්බන්දන් මහතා ගේ අධීක්ෂණය යටතේ ශුද්ධ පවිතු කළ බව සිංහල ජනතාවට රහසක් නොවේ. එවත් කටයුතු වල නියැලෙන ඔහු තමා වෙනත් වෙළඳ පොලක් දෙමළ ජනතාව වෙනුවෙන් ඇති කිරීමට උත්සාහ නොගත් බව ීද අයීලත්හිී පුවත් පතට පුකාශ කිරීම තිකුණාමල වාසී සිංහල ජනතාවට හාසා ගෙන දෙන කරුණක් වී ඇත.

තිකුණාමල බස් නැවතුම අසල ඇති වෙළඳ පොල එම ස්ථානයෙන් ඉවන් කොට දෙමළ ජනතාවට වැඩි බලයක් ඇති ස්ථානයකට ගෙන යාමට සම්බන්දන් මහතා ඇතුළු දෙමළ නායකයින් නෑත් දරන්නේ අද ඊයේ සිට නොවන බව ඔබතුමා පෞද්ගලිකව දන්නා කරුණකි. මේ පිළිබඳව ගරු ඔබතුමාටත් ගරු අගමැතිතුමාටත්, අතිගරු ජනාධිපති උතුමාණන්ටත් තිකුණාමල වාසී සිංගල ජනතාව මීට කලින්ද කිහිප වනාවක්ම කරුණු ඉදිරිපත් කර ඇත.

1981 වර්ෂයේ ගරු අගුමාතෘතුමා තිකුණාමලයට පැමිණී අවස්ථාවේදී තහර සංවර්ධනය පිළිබඳව පැවැති රැස්වීමේදී, තිකුණාමලය තගරය "තගර සංවර්ධන අධිකාරිය" යටතට ගෙන ඇති හෙයින්, සියලු දෙනාටම සාධාරණ අන්දමින් නගරය සංවර්ධනය කරන තෙක් ඒ පිළිබඳව හිහඬව සිටින ලෙස තිකුණාමලය මන්තිකුමාටත් එවකට සිටි නගර සභාපතිතියටත් පුසිද්ධීයේ දන්වන ලදී.

නගරයේ සියලුම විදිවල සිට සෘජු සම්බන්ධතාවයක් ඇති ප්‍රසිද්ධ බස් තැවතුම අසල පිහිටි වෙළඳ පොල මෙම ස්ථානයෙන් ඉවත් කොට වැඩි දෙමළ ජනතාවක් සිටින ස්ථානයකට එය ගෙනයාමට සම්බන්දන් මහතා වෙර දරන හේතුව අපි දුනිමු.

" ඒ අද තුිකුණාමලය පුසිද්ධ වෙළඳ පොලේ වෙළඳුම කරන සිංහල වෙළෙදුන්ගේ ජීවනෝපාය වසා දුම්මට බව අපි හොඳින් දකිමු."

තුකුණාමලයේ ජාතිවාදී අරගලවල ආරම්භයට වෙළඳ පොලේ සිටින සිංගල පිරිස මුල්වූ බවට ඔහු විසින් දක්වා ඇති කරුණු ගැන අපේ අදහස පහත පළ කරමු.

 වෙළඳ පොලේ සිංහල වෙළෙඳුන්ට වීරුද්ධව සම්බන්දන් මහතා කර ඇති වෝදනා:-

පයුගිය ජූති මස 04 වෙති දින රාතු කෙලින්පිදියේ. මැන්ෂන් තෝටලයේ ඇතිවූ ගින්න වෙළඳ පොලේ පිරිසක් විසින් කළ බව ඇසින් දුටුවක් මෙන් සම්බන්ද නාතා පුකාශ කර ඇත. මෙම ගින්න වෙළඳ පොලේ පිරිසක් කළ බවට මේ දක්වා පොලීසියට කිසිදු ඇසින් දුටු සාක්ෂියක් ඉදිරිපත් වී නොමැත. පත් අයිනිකරුවන් විසින්ද සැක්පීට පමණක් වෙළඳ පොලේ කිහිප දෙනෙකුගේ නම පොලීසියට ඉදිරිපත් කොට ඇත. තත්වය එයේ තිබියදී. වගකීව යුතු නෝලීවරයෙකු පමණක් නොව හිතිඥයෙකු ද වන සම්බන්දන් මහතා මෙය වෙළඳ පොලේ පිරිසක් විසින් කළ බව පුවත්පතට පුකාශ කර තිබීම කිසිදු වගකීමකින් නොරුව කරන ලද පුකාශයකි.

මෙම වෙළඳ ආයතනයේ අයිතිය පිළිබඳව වර්තමාන අයිතිකරුන් තවන් පිරිසකුන් අතර මත හේදයක්ද ඇති බව සම්බන්දන් මහතාට මහක් කර දීම සුදුසු යයිද සිනමු. සිංගල ජනතාවට අඩන්තේට්ටම් වූ විට ඒවා ජාතිවාදී පුශ්ණ තොව පෞද්ගලික පුශ්ණ ලෙස හුවා දක්වීමට නැත් දරණ සම්බන්දන් මහතාට මෙම සිද්ධීය පිළිබඳව එම තත්ත්වය අමතක වුනාද ? එසේ නැත්නම් ඔහු අමතක කලාද යන්න අපි පුශ්ණ කර සිටිමු.

පසුගිය වසරේ දෙසැම්බර් මාසයේදී තිකුණාමලය නගරයේ "පත්තානම්බර්" නමැති පුදේශයේදී සිංහල අයෙකුට දුවිඩ පිරිසක් විසින් පහර දී මරා දමුවිට එය පෞද්ගලික පුශ්ණයක් බව සම්බන්දන් මහතා පුාදේශීය බලධාරීන්ට පළ කළේය.

පසුගිය ජූති 8 වෙති දින නිකුණාමලය. "හජකිසන්" විදියේ එකම සිංගල පවුල පදිංචිව සිටින නිවසට කිසිවකු බෝම්බයක් දුම්ම නිසා නිවැසියාගේ සොයුරිය බරපතල තුවාල ලැබුවාය. මෙයද පෞද්ගලික පුශ්නයක් ලෙස බලධාරීන්ට ඒත්තු ගැන්වීමට සම්බන්දන් මහතා උත්සාග නොකළේ ද යන්න අපි පුශ්ණ කර සිටිමු.

> "සිංහල ජනතාවට සිදුවන අඩන්තෙට්ටම් පෞද්ගලික පුශ්න ලෙසන් "දුවිඩ ජනාතාවට සිදුවන පුශ්න පමණක් ජාතිවාදී පහරදීම් ලෙසන් හුවා දක්වීම ඔහුගේ එකම පුනිපත්තිය බව තුකුණාමල ජනතාවට හොඳින් අවබෝධ වී ඇත."

තිකුණාමල වාසි සිංගල ජනතාවට ජාතිවාදී අරගලයක් ඇති කිරීමට අවශාතාවය තිබුණේ නම් පසුගිය වසරේ දෙසැම්බර්හිදී "පත්තානම්බර්" පුදේශයේදී සිංගල අයෙකු මරා දමු අවස්ථාවේදී එය කළ ගැකීව තිබුණ බව අපි පෙන්වා දෙමු.

### කථානායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Order, please! There are six more speakers, including the Hon. Prime Minister and the hon. Leader of the Opposition. Will you please wind up now? I can give you two minutes more.

### සිරිල් මැතිව් මහතා

(திரு. சிறில் மத்திவ்)

(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

There are a few more pages.

### කථාතායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

You can table the document.

### සිරිල් මැතිව් මහතා

(திரு. சிறில் மத்திவ்)

(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

Tabling it will not do. I want to bring this to the notice of the House.

#### කථානායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

It can be taken as read and included in HANSARD.

### සිරිල් මැතිව් මහතා

(திரு. சிறில் மத்திவ்)

(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

Can I read a few more pages?

#### කථානායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Yes.

# සිරිල් මැතිව් මහතා

(திரு. சிறில் மத்திவ்)

(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

ජුනී 05 වෙනි දින රාතුි වෙළද පොලට ආසන්නට මැදපාරේ පිහිටි දෙමළ අයෙකුට අයත් වෙළද සැලක ගින්නක් ඇතිවිය. වසා කිබුණ වෙළද පොලේ ඇතුලෙන් හටගත් මෙම ගින්න අයිතිකරුවන්ම අටවන ලද්දක් බවට ආරක්ෂක බලධාරීන්ටද ඒත්තු ගොස් ඇති බව සම්බන්දන් මහතා පවා දන්නා කරුණකි. මේ හා සලකන විට වෙළද පොල ආසන්නව දුවිධ අයවලුන්ට අයක් ආයතන වල වූ සිද්ධීන් වෙළද පොලේ සිංගල අයවලුන් පැටලැවීමට ඇටවූ උගුල් ලෙස අප කුළ සාධාරණ සැකයක් හටගෙන ඇත.

- 02. යම්බන්දන් මහතා මන්තී වන්නේ දුව්ඩ ජනතාවට පමණක් නොව තිකුණාමලය දායනයේ වෙසෙන සියලුම ජාතීන් වෙනුවෙන්ය. නමුන් පසුගිය අරගලවලදී පීඩාවට , දාන් අහිංසක සිංහල ජනතාව ගැන ඔහු මෙ පුවත්පත් නිවේදනයේදී කිසිවක් පුකාශ කර නැත්තේ මෙම අරගල වලදී පීඩාවට පත්වූයේ දෙමළ ජනතාව පමණක්ම බව රටට ඒත්තු ගැන්වීමටද?
- 03. දෙමළ ජනතාවට සිදුවූ ජීඩාවන් පිළිබඳව පාර්ලිමේන්තුවේදී පවා විපක්ෂ නායකයාත්, තීකුණාමලය මන්තීතුමාත් දෙන පුසිද්ධියම තීකුණාමල වාසී සිංහල ජනතාවට සිදුවූ පීඩාවන් පිළිබඳවද එය තුලින්ම දෙන ලෙස අපි ඔබතුමාගෙන් ඉල්ලා සිටිමු. සිංහල ජනතාවට සිදුවූ පීඩාවන්ගෙන් කිහිපයක් ගැන ඉහතින් දක්වා ඇති අතර ඉතිරි ඒවායින් කිහිපයක්ද මෙම ලිපියේම පසුවට අපි දක්වා ඇත්තෙමු.
  - 04. තුකුණාමලයේ යළි සාමය ඇති කිරීමට සම්බන්දන් මහතා පියවර ගත්තේද?

පසුගිය ජුති මස 12 වෙනි දින ජනතාවට සාමකාම වන ලෙස ඉල්ලමින් තිකුණාමලය ගරු දිසා ඇමති කුමා විසින් මහජන නිවේදනයක් මගින් ඉල්ලා සිටින ලදි. මෙම නිවේදනය පුදේශය පුරා පුචාරය කිරීමට පුථමයෙන් එසේ පුචාරය කිරීම සදහා—නිවේදනයක් දෙන ලෙස ගරු දිසා ඇමතිකුමා සම්බන්දන් මහනාගේ නිවසටම ගොස් ඉල්ලීමක් කළ බව අපි දනිමු. එවිට ඔහුගේ පීළිතුර වූයේ කුමක්ද?

"ඒකට දුන් පුමාද වැඩියි. ඔබත් කොළඹ යන්න. මමත් කොළඹ යන්නම්, හමුද මුර සේවයන්ද ඉවත් කරලා ඇඳිරි නීතියද ඉවත් කරලා දෙගොල්ලාට සටත් කරන්න කියමු. කවුද දිනන්නේ කියල බලමු." යනුවෙන් නේද?

මෙහෙම කිර්වාය කියන්නේ කවූද? තුිකුණාමලයේ මන්තුිතුමා (ආර්. සම්බන්දන් මහතා) යි. ලිපියේ ඉතිරි කොටස සම්පූර්ණයෙන්ම කිය වූ හැටියට සලකා හැන්සාඩ් වාර්තාවට ඇතුළත් කරන ලෙස ඉල්ලා සිටීමින් මා එය සභාගත කරනවා.

டூப்பிக்கப்பட்ட கடிதத்தின் மிகுதிப் பகுதி : சமர்ப்பிக்கப்பட்ட கடிதத்தின் மிகுதிப் பகுதி : Balance portion of letter tabled.

මෙම පුකාශයට ගරු දිසා ඇමතිකුමා සාක්ෂි දරයි. තම නිවසට පැමිණි දිසා ඇමතිකුමාට මෙවත් පිළිතුරක් දුන් සම්බන්දන් මහතා මහජනතාවට සාමකාමී වන ලෙසට නිවේදනයක් නිකුත් කිරීම එකගෙලාම පුතිකෙපෙ කළේ නැද්ද? යන්න අපි පුශ්ණ කරමු. මෙම පුශ්ණය ඔවුත්ටම බෙරාගැනීමට ඉඩදී ඇඳිරී නීතිය හා හමුදා ආරක්ෂක සේවා ඉවත් කරන ලෙසට මොහු විසින් නිකුණාමලය දිසාපති තුමාගෙන් ඉල්ලා ඇති බව අපිට දනගැනීමට ලැබුණි.

ගරු දිසා ඇමතිකුමා ඉදිරියේ මූලින් සදහන් කළ අන්දමේ පුකාශයක් කිරීමට සම්බන්දන් මහතාට ගැකිවීම අපිට සූදුමයක් නොවේ. කොටි සංවිධානය විසින් තිකුණාමලයේ ජාතිවාදී අරගලවලට නියැඳුනවුන්ට සපයා ඇති ඉතා ගයානක බෝම්බ. පිස්තේල ආදිය ගැන ඔහුද ඉතා හොදින්ම දන්නා නිසා එවැනි පුකාශයක් කරන්නට ඇත. බෝම්බ පහර වලින් හස්නිසන් විදියේ සිංගල නිවසටත්, මනවිදියේ සිංගල නිවසටත්, වරවී විදියේ සිංගල වෙළද සැලටත්, මහ විදියේ ලී බඩු වෙළද සැලටත් වූ ඉමහත් අලාගයන් හා නිවැසියන්ට සිදුවූ බරපාල තුවාලත් අද නිකුණාමලයේ ජාතිවාදී අරගල මෙහෙයවන දුවිඩ අයවලුන් සතුව ඇති බෝම්බවල ඉමගත් අන්තරාදයක බව මොනවට පෙන්නුම් කරයි. හස්තිසන් විදියේ සිංගල නිවසට ගසන ලද බෝම්බය වඩුනියාවේදී ගුවන් හමුදා හටයින්ට එල්ල කළ බෝම්බට ගසන සම රජයේ රස පරීක්ෂක වාර්තාවේ සදහන් වෙනැයි අපට දැන ගන්නට ඇත.

### 

ජුනි පස 22 වෙකි දින වන විට තිකුණාමලය මුළුමකින්ම සංයුත්වීම කියා ජුනි පස 08 වෙති දින සිට පතවා තිබූ ඇදිරි කීතියද ජුති මස 23 වෙනි දින ඉවත් කරන ලදී.

ජුති මස 24 වෙති පොසොත් පෝ දිනයේ සිදුවූයේ කුමක්ද?

ජුව අය 24 වෙනි දින උදේ වර්ච විදියේ, එ. ජා. ප. යෙන් නගර සභාවට තරහ කළ ධ්යවල අවස්ත්කෙයාගේ නිවස හයානක බෝම්බ පහරකට ලක්ව මුළුමනින්ම සමහලා විය. එදිනම සටස මහර්දියේ, සීංහල වහපාරිකයෙකුගේ නිවේසට එල්ල වූ බරපතල බෝම්බ පහරකින් නිවසේ ඉදිරිපස කොටස් මුළුමනින්ම විනාශ වූ අතර, විහාරස්ථානයට යාමට සුදුනම් වෙමින් සිටි එම වහපාරිකයාට බරපතල තුවාල සිදුවි අදුන් කොළය රෝහල් ගතව සිටින අතර ඔහුගේ ඇසක් නවමත් පෙනීම ලබා නොමැත. 1983 ජල 21

සංසුන්වූ තිකුණාමලයේ නැවනන් අරගල හට ගැනුනේ 24 වෙති පොසොන් පෝදීන සිදුවූ මෙම සිද්ධීන් දෙක නිසා නොවේදයි අපි සම්බන්දන් මහතාගෙන් අසමු.

27 වෙති දින උදේ අනුරාධපුර හන්දියේ සිංහල අයවලුන්ට අයන් වෙළදසැල් දෙකකට ගීනි තැබීමේ හේතුවෙන් එම ස්ථානයේ නොසංසුන්නාවය ආරම්භ වූ බව සම්බන්දන් මහතාට අමකක වුනේද?

27 වෙනි දින උදේ පොලිස් පරීක්ෂක මුණ්සිංහ මහතා පදිංචිව සිටි. ජෙදුරු කොටුවේ, ගෝකණ්න විහාරය අසල පිහිටි ඔහුගේ නිල නිවසට බෝම්බ පහරක් එල්ල වී දුවිඩ ජාතිකයකු අත් අඩංගුවට ගත් බව සම්බන්දන් මහතාට මතක් කළ යුතුද ?

එදිනම සවස කිකුණාමලය. මැද පාරේ. පුසිද්ධ වෙළඳ පොලට ආසන්නව පිහිටි උවිඩ වෙළඳ සැලක අයිතිකරු විසින් රාජකාරීයේ සෙදුන කිකුණාමලය මූලාස්ථාන පොලිස් පරීක්ෂක සහ නාවික හමුද හටයින් වෙන බෝම්බ විසි කිරීම හා වෙඩි තැබීම ඔසා අන් අඩංගුවට ගත් බව සම්බන්දන් මහතා නොදන්නේද ? පුසිද්ධ වෙළඳ පොලේ සිටින, සම්බන්දන් මහතා විසින් අහිංසක දුවිඩ වෙළෙඳුන් ලෙස හඳුන්වන, අයවලන්ගේ අහිංසක ගාවයේ තරම ආරක්ෂක කිලධාරීන් වෙන බෝම්බ,විසි කිරීමෙන් පුනාකෂ වේ.

එදිනම සවස අන්බුවෙලිපුරම් හිදී ආරක්ෂක් හමුද සමග මුහුණට මුහුණලා වෙඩි නබමින් සටනට පැමිණි දුවිඩ පිරිසෙන් කිහිප දෙනෙකු ආරක්ෂක හමුද අත්අඩංගුවට ගත් බව සම්බන්දන් මහතා නොදන්නේද ?

28 වෙනි දින පාලෙයුතු දුවිඩ පිරිසක් ආරක්ෂක හමුද සමග මුහුණට මුහුණලා සටන් කළේ ඔවුන් අහියෙක නිසාද ?

ජුනි 29 වෙනි දින "පඩුනේ" නමැති ශාමයේදී දුව්ඩ ජාතිකයන් පිරිසක් එකතුවී සිරීපාල නමැති සිංහල තරුණයෙකු කුරීරු ලෙස කපා කොටා ඔවුන්ගේම වාඩියකම 'වල දුම්මට සුදනම් කොට තිබියදී හදිසි වැටලීමකින් සොයා ගැනීමෙන් පසු අදත් එම තරුණයා සිහි කල්පනාව මද ගතියෙන් පසුවන බව සම්බන්දන් මහතා දුන්නේ නැද්ද ?

ආත්දත්කුලම හා මිහිදු පුර අතර පුදේශයේ සිංහල අයවලුන්ට අයත් නිවාස 10 කට කිසියම් වහපාරයක් මගින් සම්බන්දන් මහතාගේද දිරි ගැන්වීම මත එම පුදේශයේ පදිංචි කරවූ දුවිඩ අයවලුන් විසින් ගිනි තැබීම නිසා එම පුදේශයේ අරගල ආරම්භ වූ බැවී සම්බන්දත් මහතා අවංකවම පිළිගත යුතු තේද ?

සංසුත්ව තිබූ තිකුණාමලයේ ජුති 24 දින සිට නැවතන් අරගල හට ගැණුනේ දුවිඩ පිරිස විසින් ඇති කරන ලද ඉහත කී සිද්ධීත් නිසා බව උගත් සම්බන්දන් මහතා විසින්ම දැන දනම වසත් කරගෙන "ද අයිලන්ඩ්" පුවත්පතට කළ පුකාශය මගින් ජාතිවාදී අරගලවලට වගකීම පුසිද්ධ වෙළද පොලේ සුළු සිංහල පිරිස වෙන පැටවීමට ගෙන ඇති උත්සාගය පිළිබඳව යථා තත්ත්වය හුවා දක්වන ලෙස අපි ඔබතුමාගෙන් ඉල්ලා සිටීම.

06. නත්ත්වය බැරැරුම් වන්නට කලින් දිසා ඇමතිතුමා ඉල්ලා සිටි විට නෙජනතාවට තිවේදනයක් නිකුත් කිරීම පුනිසෙෂප කළ සම්බන්දන් මහතා ජුනි 29 ටෙනි දින නිවේදනයක් නිකුත් කළේ ඇයි ? එදින නිකුණාමලය කව්වේරියේදී පැවති රැස්වීමකදී එයට සහභාගිවූ සංඝයා වහන්සේලා විසින් මේ සිද්ධීන්වලට මන්නීතුමාද වගකිවයුතු බවට කරුණු ගෙනහැර පාද්දී නිරුත්තර වූ සම්බන්දන් මහතා එද දෝෂාරෝපනයෙන් ගැලවෙන්නට එදින නිවේදනය නිකුත් කළ බව අපි කියා සිටිමු ඔහු ඇත්තෙන්ම සාමය අගය කළේ නම් ඒට දෙසනියකට පමණ කලින් ගරු දිසා ඇත්තෙන්ම ආල්ලා සිටි විට එවැනි නිවේදනයක් කිරීම පුතිසෙෂප කළේ ඇයි ?

07. දනට සිදුවන්නේ කුමක්ද ?

පසුගිය සතිය තුළ නිකුණාමලය සංසසුන් වෙමින් පවතිද්දී සිදුවන ද ගැනද ඔබතුමාට සැලකර සිටීම වැදගත් යයි සිතමි.

පසුගිය ජූලි මස 13 වෙනි දින අලුයම කිතුල්උතුව පුදේශයේ "සර්වෝදය" වොස්ථානයත්, බෞද්ධ විහාරස්ථානයන් ගීන්නෙන් විනාශ විය.

ජූලි මස 10 වෙනි දින රානු නුකුණාමලය. වාරි මාර්ග සංචාරක බංගලාවේ නවතා නිබූ සහකාර පොලිස් අධිකාරි වරයෙකුගේ නිල ජීප් රියට සහ වාරි මාර්ග දෙපාර්තමේන්තුවේ ජීප් රියකට ගිනි තබන ලදුව මහත් උත්සාහයකින් පසු බෙරා ගත්තා ලදි.

පසුගිය ජුලි 12 වෙකි දින මිහිඳු පුර සිංහල ගුරුවරයෙකුගේ නිවස ගිතිබත් විය.

ජුලි 13 ටෙනි දින සිට දුවිඩ පිරිස් විසින් ඇතිකළ පාසල් වර්ජනය කිරීමේ වහපාරය නොපිළිපැදීම නිසා නිකුණාමලයේ. ශාන්ත මෙරි කතහරාමයට බෝම්බ දමන ලදී. මෙම විදුහලේ සිංහල ශිෂහාවන්ද ඉගෙනුම ලබන අතර එදින සිංහල අංශය මුලුමකින්ම පවතීද්දී මෙය සිදු විය.

ජූලි 18 වෙනි දින (ඊයේ රාතු) ලිංගනගර් සිංහල නිවසකට බෝම්බ පහරක් එල්ල විය.

දනට සංසුන්ව ඇති තිකුණාමලයේ පසුගිය සතිය මුඑල්ලේ ඇතිවූ ඉහත දක්වූ සිද්ධන් වලින් සිංහල පවුල් කිහිපයක් පීඩාවට පත් විය. දුව්**ඩ ජාතීන් කිසිවෙකුටත්** පීඩාවක් නොවීය. කොසන්යුන්තාවයෙන් පීඩාවට පත්ව සිටින දුවිඩ ජනතාවයෙන් 90% ක් පමණ පුරවැසිකම් තොලන් නොයෙකුන් සංවිධානවලින් සම්බන්දන් මහතාගේද අනුදනුම ඇතිව නිකුණාමලයේ මෑනදී පදිංචි කරන ලද අයවලුන් බවද පෙන්වා දීමට සිදුවී ඇත.

සංසුත්වත තිකුණාමලයේ සාමය අගය කරන සිංහළ ජනතාවට නැවත වරක් දිගින් දිගටම අඩන්තේට්ටම ඇති කිරීම නිසා නැවතත් තත්ත්වය නොසංසුන් විය හැකි බව දුවීඩ ජනතාවට ඒත්තු ගත්වන ලෙස අවසන් වශයෙන් අපි සම්බන්දන් මහතාගෙන් ඉල්ලා සිටීමු.

මෙම ලිපියේ සඳහන් කරුණු විපකෂ නායකතුමාටත් සම්බන්දන් මහතාටත් පාර්ලිමේන්තුව තුළදී පිළිතුරු දීමට පුයෝජනයට ගනු ඇතැයි අපි උදක්ම අපේක්ෂා කරමි.

> මෙයට විශ්චාසී, ටී, එචී, විමලපාල (ගරු සභාපතී)

# කථානායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Have you not said enough?

### සිරිල් මැතිව් මහතා

(திரு. சிறில் மத்திவ்)

(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

This is another matter regarding the Sinhala students at the Jaffna Campus and how they were driven out of the university. The Opposition were trying to make out that they were not driven out but left on their own and that they are now being invited back.

### කථානායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

I can give you only two minutes more.

#### සිරිල් මැතිව් මහතා

(திரு. சிறில் மத்திவ்) (Mr. Cyril Mathew)

I want to reply to their argument. This is a very important matter because they were trying to make out that the Sinhala students were not driven out at any time from the Jaffna University but that they left on their own. I will read out only a part of the statement of Marasinghe, one of the Sinhala students who was injured and who is still in a wheel-chair, completely paralysed below the waist. I will read his evidence at page 4741 given before the Sansoni Commission.

- "Q: Can you say why you were attacked in this manner on that day?
- A: From the very day I went to the Jaffna campus, I and my Sinhalese colleagues felt that the presence of the Sinhala students in the Jaffna campus was a real headache for the Tamil people. From the day we went to the campus we found it very difficult to travel by bus. Whenever we had to go to the junction we had to pass Yoga Cafe and we felt that it was impossible for us to go pass that cafe.
- Q: This was not directly aimed against you alone; it was aimed against all the Sinhala students?

[සිරිල් මැතිව මහතා]

A: Yes. This campaign was against all the Sinhala students. There was no possiblity for us to pay our bus fare and travel by bus during our stay in Jaffna. Very often we did not get the opportunity to occupy a seat in the bus. Even if we managed to get seats, we have been ordered to get up and we had to sacrifice those seats to someone else. There are some people who prohibited us from talking Sinhala inside buses. Even then we did nothing. We never offended those persons. One day, that was on the 28th of February, one of those persons asked us not to occupy the seats. I asked him 'We have paid the fare for the bus journey, do we not have the right to occupy a vacant seat'. The reply I got from that person was, 'This is our kingdom. If you want to travel by bus, you should not be seated. You must travel standing'. On tht occasion, I only asked him, 'Do we not have the right to sit and travel after paying the bus fare'. This is all I asked him. It was as a result of that incident that I am now reduced to being a wheel-chair patient. My only aim in going to the Jaffna University was to continue my studies and become a man and live in this world as a civilized man and not for anything else"

I will now read out his evidence, at page 5531 of the proceedings before the Sansoni Commission, as to what happened to him at the Jaffna Hospital.

"Q: Were you able to sit up even on the bed during that period?

- A: When I was in the Jaffna Hospital, I was taken for an x-ray and I was made to sit up there. Other than that, I have never sat up during those five months. After I was removed to Colombo hospital on the advice of Dr. Shelton Cabraal, I came to know that after an operation on the spinal cord, the patient has to lie straight for six weeks.
- Q: That is to say, that within that period of six weeks you had to lie face upwards in bed you were made to sit up in the x-ray room?
- A: Before that I was made to sit up to extract some blood that had gone into my lungs.
- Q: After how many weeks of Dr. Shelton Cabraal's operation were you made to sit up?
- A: Even before a week of the operation."

As a result of this he has been completely paralysed below the waist and he has to get about in a wheel-chair. I will now read his evidence given at page 5532 before the Sansoni Commission.

- "Q: How long were you made to sit up?
- A: For about 10 minutes. After 10 minutes I was taken back to the ward.
- Q: Why did you say that you shouted out?
- A: I raised cries when I was made to sit up because I felt unbearable pain at the back of my neck and spine.
- Q: You were made to sit up against your objections?
- A: Yes.
- Q: Other than the fact that you suffered, had you to undergo any other inconvenience?
- A: Later I came to know through doctors that all chances of my recovery were lost to me as a result of this inadvisable handling."

```
කථානායකතුමා
```

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்) (Mr. Speaker)

Shall we give the others a chance?

### සිරිල් මැතිව් මහතා

(திரு. சிறில் மத்திவ்)

(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

Yes, Sir. I am only reacting to what they said. There are many other things I have to reply to, but as time is short I shall conclude.

# අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා (නුවරඑළිය-මස්කෙළිය)

(திரு. அனுர பண்டாரநாயக்க — நுவரெலிய–மஸ்கெலிய இரண்டாம் அங்கத்தவர்)

(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike-Second Nuwara Eliya-Maskeliya)

Mr. Speaker, at the very outset of this Debate I had decided not to participate in it but as the course of the Debate has taken rather strange curvatures and turns I thought it was only my duty to reiterate the stand the Sri Lanka Freedom Party has taken on the Emergency so far and the stand we intend to take on the Emergency in the future. I think a reiteration of our stand on this matter is very relevant, and that is why I have risen today to make this very short and brief intervention on behalf of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party.

We were very sorry to hear the farewell speech of the hon. Member for Chavakachcheri (Mr. V. N. Navaratnam), who gave us a long history of the problem between the Sinhala and the Tamil people. I remember him, Sir, in the 1950s as a rebel without a cause after he first came into the House in 1956. The then rebel without a cause became a rebel with a cause in the 1960s and the 1970s. Today, Sir, I am sorry to note that he sounded very much like the rebel who has lost the cause! I am very sorry that he is leaving us. We hope that his self-imposed exile will only be a temporary phenomenon and that he will come back to this House as a Member again soon.

I think the only eloquent speech from the Government side which requires any replying to was made by my Friend the Hon. Minister of Trade & Shipping. I shall, as I go along, reply to him on some of the charges he made against the SLFP.

Let me explain in this House the stand that the Sri Lanka Freedom Party has taken so far. Since this Emergency was declared in May after the by-elections on 18th May we consistenly, whenever the Emergency was debated in this House, took up the stand that the Emergency was a necessary thing, that the law and order situation in Jaffna in particular, and then in Trincomalee, had to be contained and had to be controlled and it might have repercussions in the Sinhala areas, as it did. The Hon. Minister of Trade

mentioned quite rightly a situation that arose in the Minuwangoda Electorate after the assassination of a certain army officer. Therefore, mindful of these situations in the North and the East and the repercussions that we can have in our areas, we decided to abstain from voting on the Emergency on the two previous occasions it was debated in the House.

Today the Hon Prime Minister, in presenting this extension of the Emergency in this House, read out a long list of various incidents that had taken place in the North and the East. The Hon. Minister of Trade repeated those arguments and read out a long list of crime, of theft and robberies that had taken place in the North and the East. What did these two hon. Members tell us? That the situation in the North and the East requires the extension of the Emergency. That is what the Hon. Prime Minister said and that is what the Hon. Minister of Trade said. We have no doubt about that. We are not disputing the validity of all what you have said. In fact when the Minister of Trade was on his feet I made a remark and he suspended quite intelligently, as he always does. Then, why are you now having a nation-wide Emergency? If you accept-we accept along with you-that in fact the situation in the North and East requires an emergency. I am in full agreement with you on that. There is no dispute about that argument at all. But why do you want to keep the Emergency on in the entire country, because, today none of you were able to convince us that there are situations created by either looters or communalists in our part of the country, in the Sinhalese areas of the country, which requires, in fact, a nation-wide Emergency. None of you tried to convince us on this point today.

Now, Sir, what we urge you to do is, watch the situation for another month and if there is no incident in the Sinhala-speaking areas in this country, the next time you come to this House, if you do require the extension of the Emergency, kindly confine and restrict if only to Jaffna and Trincomalee Districts. Therefore, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party will once again, following on what we have done on the two previous occasions, refrain from voting on this Emergency and we sincerely hope that you will be able to bring this situation under control in the North and East. If possible, remove the Emergency in the whole country. But, if you cannot do it in the North and East kindly do it in the rest of the country. That is the basic position of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party regarding the extension of the Emergency.

Now, Sir, I will very briefly deal with the argument, the very eloquent argument, presented by the Hon. Minister of Trade. He is still in the most eloquent exponent of the policies of his party in this House and he very eloquently asked us, "What are you going to tell the Sinhalese Buddhist people in this country when they

asked you, 'the President has invited you to a round-table conference, you refused the invitation?' How are you going to explain your conduct to the Sinhala Buddhist masses that voted for you?" Indeed it is a very pertinent and an intelligent question to ask the Sri Lanka Freedom Party and I shall venture to the best of my ability to answer the Hon. Minister of Trade.

Today, he invited us in all sincerety to come and take part in the on-going dialogue, however late the dialogue may be, with the Government and other parties if they wish to participate, in the round-table conference. That is what you said. But what did the hon. Member for Kaduwela say? The hon. Member for Kaduwela said "Even if you want to come, do not come", which is exactly the opposite of what the Hon. Minister of Trade said. I think there must be some co-ordination. So do you want us to come or do you not want us to come?—(Interruption). That is up to us. You cannot presuppose situations. That is all I wish to say on that matter, Sir, but let me answer the question the Hon. Minister of Trade asked.

First of all, our position is this. We did not refuse to participate because we want to see you hang by your own rope—no, as a responsible party, as a party that has governed this country for 16 years, as a party that faced unprecedented acts of terrorism in this country which no other party in this country has ever had to face, not terrorism restricted to one area, nation-wide terrorism, a civil war on which, I think you very rightly pointed out, the Hon. President when he was Leader of the Opposition supported us and fell into serious trouble with your own party, a situation I sometimes find myself in.

However, Sir, as the hon. Member for Kalawana very correctly said, you received an unprecedented mandate, a mandate that no other party has received in this country up to date, to govern this country, to govern it effectively, to control all acts of terrorism, whether it comes from the Sinhalese or the Tamils. You enjoyed unprecedented goodwill from the people of this country. You got an unprecedented majority in this House, and for six long years what you have done about it? These acts of terrorism did not start yesterday. They went on building up from around 1975. In 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982 it escalated and it reached its enormous height in the last two or three years. So, when this problem started escalating, why did you not, at that point, want to invite all the parties to a round-table conference which is what you promised to do in your election manifesto in 1977? Why did you wait till the situation goes beyond your control, beyond the control of the TULF, beyond everybody's control, to say, "Now come around, and let us have a chat." This is what you should have done a long, long time ago. I must say we have no valid reason to doubt the bona fides of his

[අනුර ඛණ්ඩාරතායක මහතා]

Excellency the President. I am sure he is very sincerely – I have no doubt – trying to find a genuine solution, but it is too late. You should have done this a long time ago. Today, the hon. Member for Divulapitiya asked the hon. Member for Attanagalla when he was speaking, whether the Sri Lanka Freedom Party was against terrorism, and as he did not give an adequate reply, I think I should do so. The Sri Lanka Freedom Party, from the very outset has said in the country and in this House that we are against any form terrorism, and we shall support you or other any other Government to combact it. Have no mistake about that; have no wrong understanding on that. We are totally against terrorism of any sort.

Now, Sir, having said that, may I deal with another aspect of this problem. The Hon. Minister of Trade invites us to the round-table conference and says, "give us your views, tell us what you feel on this, come and join us in combating terrorism." I do not want it to be misunderstood; I do not want the people of this country to feel that we have rejected your invitation because we want to see you in a mess. We did so with a strong feeling of misgiving, a misgiving created by your own Government. Before you made this invitation, His Excellency the President has given an interview to a British Correspondent; I am quoting from the Ceylon Daily News of Monday, July 18th, 1983, in which he says:

"In an interview with a British correspondent recently, President Jayewardene made clear that whether the Opposition parties attended the meeting he planned to summon and whether they agree to his proposals or not, he intended going ahead with what he had to do."

Now, Sir, You make this statement and tell us categorically, "whether you come or not we are going ahead with what we are going to do." and then you tell us, "come and talk with us.". If you have already made up your mind on what you are going to do - I do not know whether you have - if you have made up your mind why do you want the the opposition to come and help you to cary out your acts? If you are genuinely interested in sharing the views of the other parties, well, then it is another matter. But when you say, before you invite us, "Well, even if they come or not we are going to do what we are going to do", Then why do you need us? That is why, Sir, on those two counts we decided that we could not accept your first invitation. But now I see that the only participant at this round-table conference has been my good Friend, the hon. Third Member for Nuwara-Eliya-Maskeliya, the CWC, and none of the other parties have participated. You have now tried to broaden the scope of the discussion which is what you should have done at the very outset. But, Sir, even if it is rather late, we are glad that you are rethinking this matter and I am sure that once the Agenda is known, and once we are informed, the SLFP will certainly review it again in the new light the invitation has been made again.

Finally,—I do not wish to speak very much longer—I wish to deal with a very important matter. A lot of Members in this House, today, I am sorry to say, irresponsibly ventured into making unwanted and unwarranted remarks about the state of relations between India and Sri Lanka. May I say this, Sir. We do not in any way condone the internal interference of Sri Lanka by any country, be it the United States, be it the Soviet Union, be it China be it India. We totally reject any form of arm-twisting or pressurizing of Sri Lanka through any way. But may I say this clearly. As always, you over-react; you always shoot from the hip when you have a situation like this. You once again over-reacted to the so-called Indian interference.

Today, some of the newspapers made very strong attacks on the Indian Prime Minister, on the Indian Government, on the internal situation in India. All that may be true. I am not depending the Indian Government, but when we are faced with a situation like this, without accelerating the problem, what we should do is decelerate it and try to maintain a semblence of goodwill with India. If it is possible at all.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs the skilled negotiator that he is – he has now reached Kissengerian proportions, not only in his travel mileage but also in his experience – I am sure he will agree with me that we cannot allow relations with India to deteriorate. Whatever problem you may have, please do not exaggerate, please do not accelerate it, because India is not only an important country in our foreign relations, it is also our important neighbour, and goodwill with India is a vital ingredient in our foreign policy.

#### කථාතායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்) (Mr. Speaker)

Order, please! I think you will have to give the others a chance.

#### අතුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා

(திரு. அனுர பண்டாரநாயக்க)

(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

I am just winding up.

Therefore, I would earnestly request this Government to restrain their jingoism, to control theri over-zealous Ceylonese reaction to situations like this and try to keep our relations with India on an even keel, even though sometimes we may be provoked. I would urge the Government and the Hon. Minister of Foreign Affairs to keep this delicate process of negotiations, to try to calm this down, outside this Chamber; do so in the channels and areas which you are most accustomed to.

Having said that on the Sri Lanka-Indian relations, I will wind up my brief intervention by re-iterating the position of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party that we shall

once again abstain from voting on the continuation of the Emergency, and if the situation continues in this way in the non-violent areas, with the exception of Jaffna and Trincomalee, we shall vote against the extension of the Emergency next time.

# ඒ, අම්ර්තුලිංගම් මහතා (විරුද්ධ පාර්ගවයේ නායකතුමා) (திரு. ஏ. அமிர்தலிங்கம்—எதிர்க்கட்சி முதல்வர்) (Mr. A. Amirthalingam-Leader of the Opposition)

The invocation of the Public Security Act and the declaration of state of Emergency are meant to maintain law and order and to maintain supplies of essential commodities, transport services and things like that, to the general public of the country. I wish to ask the Government whether by exercising the powers that they have assumed under the declarations of the state of Emergency they have restored the supply of the essential commodities to the people of the North. I say, and say with a full sense of responsibility, that the Government has failed in that duty. They have failed to supply the farmers of the North with the kerosene they need; they have failed to supply the fishermen of the North with the diesel that they need for the operation of their boats; they have failed to supply the car owners the petrol and the fuel that they need. If you cannot restore these essential supplies, what is the purpose in having a state of Emergency? Or is it that the Government is seeking to deny these supplies to punish the people of the North? The Hon. Minister of Transport had made arragements to send two oil train to the North. Thereafter, I understand, that your security council has decided not to do that. If the Government think that by denying these things to the people of the North they can in a way penalize them and make them surrender, they are making a very serious mistake.

Every day when you heap hardships on the people you are making them turn more and more against you and the whole system which you represent. In the same way, transport to the North is dislocated. There is no doubt that one train was burnt and none of us condone it. We think it is an act of madness. There are a number of vehicles, buses that have been burnt. But today what is happening is not only have the trains been stopped at Anuradhapura. But ther is an attempt being made to cut of even the private buses that are plying to the North-(Interruption.)-Not the private buses. Understand what you are talking, do not open your mouth unnecesarily. You do not understand-The private bus operators have been providing this transport service, but these private buses are being attacked near the army camp at Iratperiyakulam. I speak with a full knowledge of the facts; two nights ago the wind-screens of six o these buses were smashed up opposite the army camp at Iratperiyakulam. Iratperiyakulam is a Sinhalese village and there are not terrorists there. This was done by your army terrorists. It is they who did it. It is State terrorism that is responsible for it. And now, as the hon. Member for Nallur (Mr. M. Sivasithamparam) pointed out, last night the bus which started from Thondamannar to pick up passengers at Point Pedro, Atchuvely, Jaffna, and proceed to Colombo was shot at by the army men in the army camp at Velvettiturai.-(Interruption.)

### කථානායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்) (Mr. Speaker)

Order! please! Hon. Member for Aranayake, Mr. Vasanth Udayaratne, let the Leader of the Opposition go on. Do not disturb him. Yes, carry on.

# ඒ. අම්ර්තලිංගම් මහතා <u>සහ 1 සහ 1 ප</u>ළාගය පාල්කයට -

(திரு. ஏ. அமிர்தலிங்கம்) (Mr. A. Amirthalingam)

Are you trying to stop these buses from plying? Is your army trying to do that ?-(Interruption).-In the army camp? Yes I agree. Your terrorists are there.

#### එම්. සිවසිනම්පරම් මහතා

(திரு. எம். சிவசிதம்பரம்) (Mr. M. Sivasithamparam) Uniformed terrorists!

### ඒ. අම්ර්තලිංගම් මහතා

(திரு. ஏ. அமிர்தலிங்கம்) (Mr. A. Amirthalingam)

That is why this is happening.

### මන්තුීවරයෙක්

(அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்) (A Member) and harmonic and all the first shirt gives a benevio

Your son is a leader!

# කථාතායකතුමා ස්වස් දිය පාසේල්ද පුණු දියුපුළුදු දක්ව වූ පුණින්

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)
(Mr. Speaker)

Order, please! Now, do not reply to interruptions. Carry on with your speech.

# ඒ. අම්ර්තලිංගම් මහතා

(திரு. ஏ. அமிர்தலிங்கம்) (Mr. A. Amirthalingam)

Very well, Sir, One of the drivers of this bus was a Sinhalese gentleman by the name of Kulasekera. He is an ex-army driver who has been employed by these operators. Even he was injured-injured by army men in uniform-(Interruption).-You may go into the matter-

# මන්තුීවරයෙක් 💮 💮 💮 💮 💮 💮 🗸 💮 💮

(அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்) (A Member)

Terrorists in army uniform! Your son got caught.

ඒ. අමීර්තලිංගම් මහතා (කිලැ. ஏ. அமிர்தனிங்கம்) (Mr. A. Amirthalingam)

What is the use of your saying that you want to have this state of Emergency to maintain these services to maintain supplies when your own armed forces are disrupting these supplies and disrupting—

# මත්තීවරයෙක් (அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்) (A Member) Your armed forces!

ඒ. අම්රිතලිංගම් මහතා (නිලා. ஏ. அமிர்கனிங்கம்)

(Mr. A. Amirthalingam)

-transport services. I want to urge on the Hon. Prime Minister and the Hon. Minister for Internal Security to look into this aspect of the matter. Mr. Speaker, I do not want to go into a narration of various incidents that have taken place. It is—(Interruption).—Shut up! I think he will very soon be out of this Parliament. This is why he is trying—

வ<mark>ப்பறு மன்ன ஒல்</mark> (சபா நாயகர் அவர்கள்) (Mr. Speaker)

There should be order in this House, when an Hon. Member is on his feet he must be allowed to carry on. Everyone of you can be given a chance to speak if you so desire.

Mr. Speaker, this debate on the Emergency has covered a very wide field. It has covered the relationship between the two nations in this country, it has covered the relationship between Sri Lanka and our neighbour, India, it has covered the sphere of human rights and various other fields. A number of speakers, both from the Opposition and the government, have referred to some of these matters.

The Hon. Member for Industries, Industrial Research and Scientific Affairs who is also Minister for Anti-Tamil Affairs in the course of his speech referred to the killing of one Somasunderam at Valvettiturai. (Interruption.) Hon. Minister for Social Services, in his good hearted way, says "He is only Minister for Anti-Tamil Research". Anyway I am glad that a member of the Cabinet himself has admitted that the Hon. Minister is a Minister for Anti-Tamil Research. That in the truth.

Now the Hon. Minister should know this man Somasunderam was called up to the police station because he was the brother of a suspected terrorist who was missing. It was not once but serveral times that he had been taken to the police station to get information with regard to the whereabouts of this man whom they were after, and he had been released several times earlier. He is a married man with two children. (Interruption.)

මන්තුීවරයෙක්

(அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்) (A Member)

Suicide like Gandhi!

ඒ. අම්ථතලිංගම් මහතා

(திரு. எ. அபிர்தலிங்கம்)

(Mr. A. Amirthalingam)

Shot himself three times on the head! (Interruption.)
And after dying he had fallen into the well!

මත්තුවරයෙක්

(அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்) (A Member)

What?

ඒ. අම්**ර්තලිංගම්** මහතා

(திரு. ஏ. அபிர்தலிங்கம்)

(Mr. A. Amirthalingam)

He had fallen into the well. (Interruption.)

කථානායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Now, the Leader of the Opposition, why do you not leave them alone and carry on?

usuale of the North they one

ඒ. අම්ර්තලිංගම් මහතා

(திரு. ஏ. அமிர் தலிங்கம்)

(Mr. A. Amirthalingam)

Mr. Speaker, this story that anyone suspected of terrorism or in any way connected to the alleged terrorists would have shot him in a figment of the Hon. Minister's imagination.

සිරිල් මැතිව් මහතා

(திரு. சிறில் மத்திவ்)

(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

If the contrary is proved?

ඒ. අම්ර්තලිංගම් මහතා

(திரு. **ஏ. அமிர்தலிங்கம்)** 

(Mr. A. Amirthalingam)

Till it is proved one has to presume that it was they who did it. (Interruption.)

මන්තුීවරයෙක් 💮 💮

(அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)

(A Member)

He was asked to go down a lane.

# ඒ. අම්ර්තලිංගම් මහතා

(திரு. எ. அமிர்தலிங்கம்)

(Mr. A. Amirthalingam)

He was asked to go down a particular lane-

# සිරිල් මැතිව් මහතා

(திரு. சிறில் மத்திவ்) (Mr. Cyril Mathew)

Terrorists bump off everyone who gives evidence to the police.

### මන්තුවරයෙක්

(அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)

(A Member)

Because we will know the truth!

# ඒ. අම්ථ්තලිංගම් මහතා

(திரு. எ. அமிர்தலிங்கம்)

(Mr. A. Amirthalingam)

He was subsequently seen by somebody in the police jeep in which the Inspector of the Velvettiturai police station was also seen and ultimately one week later, the body was found inside a well with three bullets embedded in his head. Those are facts which speak for themselves.

Then, Sir, the Hon. Minister read out a long letter purporting to be a reply to some communication made by the Hon. Member for Trincomalee (Mr. R. Sampanthan) to the "Island" newspaper. I have not seen the communication, and I am sure the hon. Member for Trincomalee was anxious to come here to participate in this debate. But, unfortunately, the situation in Trincomalee is yet so tense that he feels that his presence in Trincomalee is absolutely necessary in any emergency. So that, it is not this Emergency, this declaration of Emergency, but the emergency that may arise at any moment, in the tense Trincomalee district is the thing that is keeping him from being present today participate in this debate. But at the proper time he may give his reply to the Hon. Minister.

But I want to tell this to the Hon. Minister. If the Tamil people of Trincomalee want to have a market of their own and buy their necessities from Tamil traders, what is wrong in that? Is that also terrorism? Why are you fulminating against that? What is wrong with that? Because the market in Trincomalee has been the scene of violence and it was from that centre that the first attack on Mansion Hotel originated.

# සිරිල් මැතිව් මහතා

(திரு. சிறில் மத்திவ்)

(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

We will say the history of the owners of the Mansion Hotel.

# ඒ, අම්ර්තලිංගම් මහතා

(திரு். எ. அமிர்தவிங்கம்)

(Mr. A. Amirthalingam)

But the Hon. Minister said that there are no eye witnesses to the Mansion Hotel fire. That is incorrect.

```
සිරිල් මැතිව් මහතා
```

(திரு. சிறில் மத்திவ்)

(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

The Mansion Hotel fire was due to a dispute between two parties. That is what the letter states.

# ඒ. අම්ර්නලිංගම් මහතා

(திரு. எ. அமிர் தவிங்கம்)

(Mr. A. Amirthalingam)

There is no dispute. On the contrary, within a few minutes of the incident, the names of the persons who participated in the arson were mentioned, and the police team that went there subsequently, the special team, on representations made by the Hon. Member for Trincomalee have recorded statements where eve witnesses have spoken to the men who participated in the attack on the Mansion Hotel. Therefore, let not the Hon. Minister rush into conclusions merely basing them on some letter which some interested party has written to him. Let the matter be investigated fully. Let the persons whose names have been revealed be interrogated. In fact, shortly after that incident I contacted the Hon. Prime Minister who was then Minister of Defence and mentioned to him certain names of persons which had been divulged in the course of statements but whom the police had failed to arrest. Therefore, the Hon. Minister of Industries should be fair enough. He should have suffficient scientific detachment to sift the truth from falsehood in the letters that are written to him.

Then, Sir, he referred to the University students of Jaffna. What the Hon. Member for Nallur (Mr. M. Sivasithamparam) said was that this Marasinghe incident which is trotted out, I think which has been brought out over 15 times on the Floor of this House during the last six years by the Hon. Minister of Industries, is an isolated indicent that took place at Vaddukkoddai, ten miles away from the main camps, and this happened in April 1977, whereas the riots broke out only—

### සිරිල් මැතිව් මහතා

(திரு. சிறில் மத்திவ்)

(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

what they say is the conditions prevailed from April until the day that they were driven away.

# **ඒ. අම්ර්නලිංගම් මහතා**

(திரு. எ. அமிர்தலிங்கம்)

(Mr. A. Amirthalingam)

Who says that ?

# 

(திரு. செறில் மத்திவ்)

(Mr. Cyril Mahew)

That is what they say. I have got a number of letters. The only thig is. I did not have the time to read them I have letters from students, from lecturers, from various people.

### ට්. අම්ර්නලිංගම් මහතා (இரு. எ. அமிர் தனிங்கம்)

(Mr. A. Amirthalingam)

There are also statements from lecturers and professors who accompanied them bearing testimony to the fact that not one of the students was even touched in the campus at Jaffna.

Sinhalese lecturers have given evidence to that effect. What has the Hon. Minister got to say about the assualt of the Tamil students at the Peradeniya University just two months ago? (Interruption.) Sir, in fact, the decision not to send these Sinhalese studenats to the Jaffna Campus was taken by the Government and not by anybody else. (Interruption.) It was not taken by the Jaffna University.

# සිරිල් මැතිව් මහතා

(தரு. சிறில் மத்திவ்) (Mr. Cyril Mathew)

Lives are not safe. You cannot exist there.

# ඒ. අම්ර්තලිංගම් මහතා

(திரு. ஏ. அமிர்தலிங்கம்) (Mr. A. Amirthalingam)

Certainly not.

### කථානායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகா அவர்கள்) (Mr. Speaker)

Order, please!

### සිරිල් මැතිව් මහතා

(திரு. சிறில் மத்திவ்) (Mr. Cyril Mathew)

Not only students, no businessman can live there today.

# කථානායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்) (Mr. Speaker)

Let there be one Member holding the Floor!

### ඒ. අම්ර්තලිංගම් මහතා

(திரு. ஏ. அமிர்தனிங்கம்) (Mr. A. Amirthalingam)

Even last year Tamil students at the Sri Jayawardenepura University who were following a course in Business Managament were driven out of that place and we had to negotiate with Dr. Kalpage, the Chairman of the University Grants Commission. Arrangements had to be made to hold lecturers for them in the auditorium of the University Grants Commission, for them to sit for the examination in the auditorium of the University Grants Commission and ultimately this year all those Tamil students from the Sri Jayawardenepura University who were following the Business Administration course have been transferred to the Jaffna University.

# කථාතායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்) (Mr. Speaker)

I think you have taken a long time.

### ඒ. අම්ර්තලිංගම් මහතා

(திரு. ஏ. அமிர் தனிங்கம்) (Mr. A. Amirthalingam)

So that the Marasinghe incident (Interruption.)

#### කථානායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்) (Mr. Speaker)

Allow the hon. Member to complete his speech.

# ඒ. අම්**ර්තලිංගම්** මහතා

(திரு. ஏ. அமிர்தலிங்கம்) (Mr. A. Amirthalingam)

There has been ample evidence on this matter. That was a private quarrel which broke out in a bus. (Interruption.)

# සිරිල් මැතිව් මහතා

(திரு. சிறில் <mark>மத்திவ்)</mark> (Mr. Cyril Mathew)

When a Sinhala man is injured it is a private quarrel but when a Tamil man is injured it is communal clash.

# ඒ. අම්ර්තලිංගම් මහතා

(திரு. ஏ. அமிர் தலிங்கம்) (Mr. A. Amirthalingam)

This was the only incident -

#### සිරිල් මැතිව් මහතා

(திரு. சிறில் மத்திவ்) (Mr. Cyril Mathew)

That is not the only incident.

# ඒ<mark>. අම්ර්තලිංගම් මහතා මේ සම්බන්ධ වෙන්නේ ස</mark>ම්බන්ධ වෙන

(திரு. ஏ. அபிர்தலிங்கம்) (Mr. Amirthalingam)

This was the only incident that took place in Jaffna where a University student was involved. With regard to the rest of his story, about his being made to sit up or lie down that is too complicated a medical matter which, I think, will have to be investigated by a doctor and we are not competent to pronounce a verdict on that.

# කථානායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்) (Mr. Speaker)

I think you should now conclude.

### **ඒ. අම්**ර්තලිංගම් මහතා

(திரு. ஏ. அமிர்தலிங்கம்) (Mr. A. Amirthalingam)

Mr. Speaker, the hon. Member for Kaduwela (Mr. Paul Perera) made a very important contribution in the course of this Debate. There was one matter which he

with his knowledge of political science, with his knowledge of political theory conceded. He said that they agree that the Tamils are a separate nation. He said that they accept the existence of the Tamil nation.

Now Sir, the Charter on Fundamental Human Rights gives the right of self-determination to every nation. Once you accept the premise that the Tamils are a nation they demand for the right of self-determination which is accepted by the Charter of Human Rights of the United Nation. Why do you not allow the Tamil nation to decide their future, to decide their fate, and that is all that they are asking?

Now Sir, there was reference to the All Party Conference for which invitations were sent out to be held yesterday. Unfortunately only two parties had responded, that is the United National Party and the political wing of the CWC.

On behalf of the TULF I wrote to His Excellency explaining our position, Unfortunately, using the Emergency, this letter has been censored out of the English press. Therefore, Sir, I will place it before this House. It is a short letter.

#### "Your Excellency,

With reference to your letter of July 18, stating that the discussion on July 20, 1983 will now include all aspects of the Tamil problem referred to in my letter of July 16, 1983, while we wish to thank you for this communication we remain concerned that all other public pronouncements relating to this meeting continue to cause confusion with tegard to the real purpose of the discussion. We also wish to express our very serious concern relating to the several repressive measures announced by the Government, including the proposed Sixth Amendment and the proposed imposition of martial law in the North, the proposed legislation to evict Estate Tamil refugees from Vavuniya and Trincomalee and the proposal to require Army permits for the use of bicycles in the Jaffna District. These measures aggravate the insecurity of the Tamil speaking people with regard to their person and property and further deny them freedom of expression and movement. These measures do not inspire confidence in us of a desire on the part of the Government to seriously discuss the underlying grievances of the Tamil people.

In view of the continuing uncertainty relating to the purpose of the meeting to be held today, we are not in a position to fully communicate our response to your letter of July 18, 1983 until further discussions of this matter at our Party Convention to be held on 23rd and 24th of July."

This is the letter that I sent to His Excellency, and I hope that the newspapers, in order to clear any misunderstading, will cary it at least now.

Finally, Sir, there has been reference to the concern expressed by the Government of India over certain events in the North. Human rights ae the concern of everybody. When the coloured people in South Africa are denied human rights we in Sri Lanka raise our voice of protest, both here and in the United Nations. When the Vietnamese are massacred, when the American

Army kills and destroys the Vietnamese people, we in this House - I think during the last Government raised our voice of protest against it and passed Resolution condemning the atrocities that were being committed in Vietnam. In the same way, Sir, the Indian Government had received certain information with regard to what was happening in the North, particularly with regard to the Emergency Regulation relating to the disposal of dead bodies. I think that is a Draconian piece of legislation under cover of which the armed forces, particularly the communal-minded armed forces which are not acting as guardians of the law but which are acting as partisan forces, can massacre and kill. It is under these circumstances (Interruption) - The least that anyone interested in human rights can do is to send a Note expressing their concern. They have not sought to interfere. They have just said, we are concerned at these reports that a good neighbour of ours, a country which proclaims *Dharmista* should promulgate such an Emergency Regulation particularly against an ethnic minority group. And, therefore, they have just requested the Sri Lanka Government to give their minds to the implication of these regulations.

I do not know why there should have been so much hot air over a simple note expressing concern, and sentiments expressed on the Floor of this House which could damage the relationship between India and our country.

Under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, national and international measures to safeguard human rights are within the scope of activities of states and governments and, therefore, the expressing of concern over a given situation regarding the denial of certain human rights is not something which, as the newspapers have tried to make out, should be made an issue to create bad blood between our two countries. That is all I have to say.

### ඒ. සී. එස්. හම්ඩ් මහතා (විදේශ කටයුතු ඇමතිතුමා)

(ஜனுப் ஏ. ஸி. எஸ். ஹமீத்– வெளிநாட்டலுவல்கள் அமைச்சர்)

(Mr. A. C. S. Hameed-Minister of Foreign Affairs)

Mr. Speaker, I did not intend to participate in this Debate but I found that certain references have been made on very important issues and therefore I thought it would be appropriate for me to participate in the Debate.

First and foremost, I must say that I was very much moved by the last few sentiments expressed in what was described as the farewell speech of the hon. Member for Chavakachcheri (Mr. V. N. Navaratnam). I have had the pleasure of knowing him in this House for over 20 years and have always had a lot of respect for him and I continue to have the same high estimation of him although I do not agree with the political views he advocates.

[ඒ. සී. එස්. හම්ඩ් මහතා]

We have had a very interesting explanation by the SLFP as to why they are unable to vote for the continuation of the Emergency. The hon. Second Member for Nuwera Eliya-Maskeliya (Mr. Anura Bandaranaike) made the point that if it was confined to the North and East, it may have been possible for them to vote for the Motion. That surprised me because during the rule of the SLFP of 7 years, for 6 1/2 years they ruled through and with the assistance of the Emergency. That is the highest record in any democratic society in the world and they now say that they could have voted for the extension of the Emergency if it was confined only to certain parts of the country.

The SLFP, being a major political party in this country, should on important matters of this nature, take up a definite position. I have always noted that when they are in the Opposition, on every important issue, they take up the position that they will abstain or run away. I was particularly looking forward to replying to some of the matters raised by the hon. Member for Attanagalla (Mr. Lakshman Jayakody) but he is not here just now. Still, I will deal with some of the matters he raised. The SLFP should graduate now and take a decision.

Sir, shall we just go back to two months ago, the 25th of May, when we debated the Emergency? Today at least we have the freedom of debating the Emergency. In the 6 1/2 years of administration under the SLFP we were not given a chance to debate the Emergency. The extension was announced, and "Thou shalt not question why!" This House, the supreme legislative body of the country, had no right for 6 1/2 years to ask why. You live in a much more liberal society today, a much more liberal environment.

Let us go back to two months ago to the 25th of May. When the Emergency was debated what was the tone of the speeches that were made from the Opposition on this question—the question of a solution to this problem in the North? What did the SLFP say? Does the Hon. Member for Matugama, who spoke on behalf of the SLFP, remember what he said? You said, "If there is a round-table conference we will support it." I have the speech before me.

# අතිල් මුණසිංහ මහතා

(திரு. அனில் முனசிங்றை)

(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

What I said was that you do not belive in it and it has been proved.

# 

(ஜனுப் எ. ஸி. எஸ். ஹமீத்)

(Mr. A. C. S. Hameed)

You see, two months ago you spoke on behalf of the SLFP on the floor of this House and made a categorical statement:

"වට මේස සාකච්ඡාවක් තිබෙනවා නම් ඊට අපි සහයෝගය දෙන බව පුකාශ කරනවා"

Whatever the solution is, you said that if there was a round-table conference you would support it. Is that right? What did the hon. Member for Kalawana, representing the Communist Party, say? I am sure his memory is not that thin. Do you rember what you said?

# සරත් මූත්තෙට්ටුවෙගම මහතා

(திரு. சாத் முத்தெட்டுவேகம்)

(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

Read it. I have written the same thing to the President.

### ඒ. සී. එස්. තම්ඩ් මහතා

(ஜனப் எ. ஸி. எஸ். ஹமீத்) (Mr. A. C. S. Hameed)

You said your party stood for regional autonomy. That is No. 1. No. 2, you said it had to be a political solution at national level. Then what are we trying to do?

# සරත් මූත්තෙට්ටුවෙගම මහතා

(திரு. சாத் முத்தெட்டுவெகம்) (Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

I said, a conference of all political parties.

#### ඒ. සි. එස්. හම්ඩ මහතා

(ஜனுப் ஏ. ஸி. எஸ். ஹமீத்) (Mr. A. C. S. Hameed)

Yes, of all political parties. What have we done? What did the hon. Member from the Mahajana Eksath Peramuna, the young Member, say? He also made a similar point.

#### දීනේෂ් ගුණවර්ධන මහතා

(திரு. தினேஷ் குணவர்த்தன)

(Mr. Dinesh Gunawardene)

No. You better read it.

#### ඒ. සී. එස්. හම්ඩ් මහතා

(ஜனுப் ஏ. டி. எஸ். ஹமீத்) அது பிரு துறிக்கு கொண்ட

(Mr. A. C. S. Hameed)

You say, "ජාතික මට්ටමේ සාකච්ඡාවක් අවශායී."

#### දීතේෂ් ගුණවරධන මහතා

(திரு. தினேஷ் குணவர்த்தன) (Mr. Dinesh Gunawardene)

That is different to your interpretation. It is in HANSARD very clearly.

### කථාතායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Order, please! Are you giving way?

# ඒ. සි. එස්. හම්ඩ් මහතා

(ஜஞப் ஏ. ஸி. எஸ். ஹமீத்)

(Mr. A. C. S. Hameed)

No, I am not giving way.

# කථානායකතුමා (1988 1989 World equilibrium)

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Carry on. Carry on the result of the carry o

### ඒ. සී. එස්. හම්ඩ් මහතා

(ஜனுப் ஏ. ஸி. எஸ். ஹமீத்)

(Mr. A. C. S. Hameed)

What to say is, all these gentlemen two months ago made the point that they would welcome a round-table conference. When they were invited they got cold feet. Now they are trying to find excuses, explanations. They want to reconsider.

Let us be very frank. The nation faces a problem. These are gentlemen who speak and swear in the name of the nation. Here is His Excellency the President, in all his grace and wisdom, inviting the Opposition. Have you behaved in a responsible manner? I would like to ask you have you put the nation first, or have you put the election first?

# අතිල් මුණසිංහ මහතා

(திரு. அனில் முனசிங்ஹ)

(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

That is what you did. You put the election first.

### සරත් මත්තෙට්ටුවෙගම මහතා

(திரு. சரத் முத்தெட்டுவேகம்)

(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

And you put the Presidential Election first!

# මත්තුීවරයෙක්

(அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)

(A Member)

How did you get in then?

# ඒ. සී. එස්. නම්ඩ් මහතා

(ஜனுப் ஏ. னி. எஸ். ஹமீ,க்)

(Mr. A. C. S. Hameed)

And they maintain that His Excellency the President has said that whether the Opposition parties participate or not he would continue to take action to have terrorism eradicated. Perfectly true! As a responsible President he is not going to say, "Right, the Opposition has not come and therefore I give up the struggle." No!

He is perfectly correct. That is the position a President, a responsible President, a head of Government would take.

The hon. Member for Attanagalla got up and said-a very fine point-"The problem is, the whole international community is disturbed because of Trincomalee". I got frightened. I did not know what it was. Now, Sir, this hon. Member has a habit of going here and there, finding a few things, and coming here and trying to be spokesman on foreign affairs. Certainly, I would like to learn from anybody. I like an intelligent intervention. But to come here and talk rubbish of this nature, to take the time of this House! he says the whole international community has reservations about this Government. And why? Because of Trincomalee. Now, Sir, what is Trincomalee? What are all these people talking about Trincomalee? We had 99 tanks there idling from 1948. We called worldwide tenders, one for restoration and the second to use them on paying the Government a fee. Various firms applied, and for final consideration we have got two-a tender from India and tender from Singapore. Now, I would like to ask this pandit, what is this international community having reservations about Sri Lanka on this tender, because two tenders have been chosen, one from India and one from Singapore? This is the type of thing they deal in, dabble in.

Then he says, "Right, during the insurgency we had Pakistan soldiers and Indian soldiers in the same field helping us." Now what is he suggesting? He is suggesting that you seek support from the international community.

He is suggesting or asking in other words, why do you not get support from other countries? To do what? His point was that they used the soldiers in 1971 I ask him, is this the SLFP point of view? Could you tell the country where you really stand on this question? You sing one song one day, another song the next day; one theory here, another theory on the platform, still another theory in your paper.

Then he said he had a copy of the Amnesty International report and said: "Have you? Have you? Have you? What have you done with it?" Sir, he must ask us what we have done.

Now with regard to this report. They were here for nine days. They just did not understand the environment, the background that was the whole problem. Therefore, that report was a lopsided report I can say what I have done. We have certainly given our version, briefed all our ambassadors and heads of missions, and told them to go to the Governments where they are posted, explain to those Governments our position. If the report had been published in those countries, I asked them to write to those papers and explain our position and talk to the people in various

[ඒ. සී. එස්. හමිඩ් මහතා]

organizations on this matter. I am prepared to say all this. I do not want to hide anything. But the hon. Member just shows the report and says, "What? What? What have you done?" If he wants to impress anybody about his knowledge of foreign affairs, impress the SLFP high command, he can do it in another way.

Then he tried to make the point that all Governments came to their rescue. He just does not see the point that one was an insurgency and the other a terrorist problem and the two problems have two different dimensions. The point that he was trying to make was that their Government had support and therefore people came. Sir, may I say this? No Government in the third world during the last five years has had the support, assistance, aid and recognition which this Government has had. And he wants to teach us! He is talking of a few guns they got, a few bullets they got, to kill our own youths. We are talking of the development of this country, the aid and assistance that we have got to make sure that tomorrow is a happpier tomorrow, that the people of this country can walk on the road tomorrow with their heads held high. This is not aid to kill. Your point was that we have not got the bullets.

We have had a lot of references in this debate to India expressing concern, and I think I should tell the House—

#### කථානායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்) (Mr. Speaker)

Hon. Minister, how long are you going to take to finish your speech? We are almost nearing 10 o'clock.

ඒ. සී. එස්. හම්ඩ් මහතා

(ஜஞப் ஏ. ஸி. எஸ். ஹமீத்)

(Mr. A. C. S. Hameed)

Sir, bear with me. I will try to be as brief as possible.

### කථානායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்) (Mr. Speaker)

Be brief as possible because the Hon. Prime Minister has to reply.

### ඒ, සී. එස්. හම්ඩ් මහතා

(ஜனப் ஏ. ஸி. எஸ். ஹமீத்) (Mr. A. C. S. Hameed)

Sir, what really happened was, on Monday the 10th the High Commissioner for India in Sri Lanka called on me and said that his Government in Delhi was concerned over the Emergency Regulations which enabled the authorities to dispense with a Magisterial inquiry before burying or cremating a dead body. He also said that persons of Indian origin could be affected by the implementing of this Regulation. I expressed

surprise, Sir. Honestly I was surprised that the Indian Government should show any concern over this particular Regulation.

1162

In regard to his fears that persons of Indian origin could be affected, I told him that this Regulation was promulgated to enable the security forces to deal more effectively with the terrorists in the North, that there were no persons of Indian origin in this particular area and that I did not see how even a chicken of a person of Indian origin could be affected by this Regulation. I said that I cannot see how even a chicken a person of Indian origin could be affected by this Regulation.

I also recalled that this same Regulation was there in the Emergency Regulations which were promulgated to deal with the Insurgency of 1971. Far from expressing any opinion on this Regulation at that time, the Indian Government had sent their helicopters and service personnel to assist the Sri Lanka Government to suppress the Insurgency. I said: Now, this is not new. This same thing was there in 1971. The Indian Government had not at that time expressed any concern and I do not know why it should do so now, because now it is much more redefined with limitations imposed on it. This Regulation as it existed in 1971 gave wider powers to the authorities, because, unlike in the present Regulation, there was no provision that the prior authority of the Secretary to the Ministry of Defence should be obtained before this Regulation was applied to dispose of a dead body.

Sir, I told him that the Indian government was aware of the circumstances which had led us to enact the Prevention of Terrorism Act and this particular Emergency Regulation. They are aware that almost 100 people, Police officers, Servicemen and civilians, had been killed at the hands of the terrorists, and drastic measures were necessary to deal effectively with the situation. I also told him that the Government had been acting with restraint and patience in this matter, and I indicated to him that in conveying messages of this nature, Governments must exercise the utmost care and caution.

Then what happened? On Tuésday the 19th, our High Commissioner in New Delhi had been called to the Ministry of External Affairs and had been told that, while the Government of India does not wish to interfere in the internal affairs of Sri Lanka, it has been watching recent developments in Jaffna and the measures taken by the Government to deal with the situation, that the Emergency Regulations enacted regarding the disposal of dead bodies could have repercussions on developments in India and that the Government of India expresses its concern at its highest levels about these developments. That was the next stage.

As soon as I was made aware of our High Commissioner in Delhi being summoned to the Ministry of External Affairs over this matter, I sent for the Acting High Commissioner for India in Sri Lanka, because the High Commissioner was away on leave, and informed him that the Government of Sri Lanka considers their summoning our High Commissioner on this issue as a clear case of interference in our internal affairs and that this type of action could only damage the good relations that existed between the two countries. I also informed him that no Indian national or a person of Indian origin could be affected by this regulation and that it was very difficult to understand the reaction of the Indian Government. I also told him that for our part, good neighbourliness has always prevented us from voicing certain opinions on certain developments in India, though we may have our reservations on these developments.

I also instructed our High Commissioner in New Delhi to seek an immediate interview with the Foreign Secretary and convey to the Government of India our Government's views on this matter, in the same terms that I had conveyed to the Acting High Commissioner in Colombo. He did so last evening.

Well, Sir, I do not want to say anything more on this. For our part, we respect one of the cardinal principles of non-alignment, and that is, non-interference in the internal affairs of another country, and we could only hope that other countries, especially our neighbours, will do likewise. That is all I have to say on this subject.

Finally, Sir, just one small matter, and that is with reference to the statement made by the hon. Member for Kalawana (Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama) regarding the Udalagama Committee Report. Mr. L. R. L. Perera did not submit a dissent (Interruption). Yes, an addendum, and he felt that the violence was a clash between two politically motivated major groups in the University where other sympathising groups and individuals had joined. Mr. Perera stated that rioting students really meant to attack individuals, mainly sub-wardens. He refers to what he thought were the prime causes of the violence: (1) The constitution of the students assembly; (2) the attitude of the Chief Security Officer, and (3) the Security Services.

Then also on page 41 of the report he says: "I must state here quite precisely that the punishments in Chapter 40 and this Chapter 2 are recommended for the particular offences, the individuals named and group seemed to have been involved in, according to the evidence before the committee according to the gravity of the offences and the extent of their involvement. The authorities should adopt the approved procedures in the Universities in enforcing". I am quoting from his own note. So it is clear that Mr. Perera agrees with the

punishment recommended by his colleagues. He goes beyond this and recommends the extension of some punishment to others whom he feels also guilty. So if the hon. Member has anything more, perhaps he can discuss it with me. Sir, that is about all.

a. pp. 9.57

දීතේෂ් ගුණවර්ධන මහතා (මහරගම)

(திரு. தினேஷ் குணவர்த்தன—மஹாகம)

(Mr. Dinesh Gunawardene-Maharagama)

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, හදිසි නීතිය නැවන වරක් දීර්ෂ කිරීමේ විචාදයේ මුල් කාරතාව හැටියට දක්වුයේ, ඒ වගේම මේ විචාදයේ වැඩි කාලයක් යොමු කර තිබෙන්නේ පසුගිය දින ආණ්ඩුව විසින් කැඳවන ලද සූර්ව පාක්ෂික සාකච්ඡාව ගැන කතා කරන්නටයි. ඒ කෙසේ වුණත් පසුගිය වනාවේදීත්, ඊට පෙරත් හදිසි නීතිය පුකාශයට පත් වුණු අවස්ථාවලදී අපි අපේ මනය පුකාශ කළා. ලංකාවේ කලබලකාරී නත්ත්වයන් නැති පුදේශවල හදිසි නීතිය පවත්වාගෙන යාමට අපි එකුහ නොවන බවයි අපි කියා සිටියේ. අපේ රටේ බොහෝ පුදේශවල අද හදිසි නීතිය පවත්වාගෙන යාමේ අවශානාවයක් නොමැති බව ආණ්ඩුව පිළිගන්නවා ඇති. කලබලකාරී නත්ත්වයක් පවතින පුදේශවල හදිසි නීතිය පවත්වාගෙන යාමේ අවශාතාවය අපි කිසිම වෙලාවක පුතික්ෂේප කරන්නෙ නැහැ. ඒ වගේම මහජන මනය පාලනය කිරීම නිසා මේ රටේ මහජනතාවගේ සැබෑ අදහස් පුදර්ශනය කිරීමට තිබෙන හැකියාව යටපත් කිරීම නිසා, එවැනි මර්ධනකාරී තත්ත්වයක් තුළ මේ රටේ ජාතික පුශ්නවලට විසඳුම් සෙවීමට දරන උත්සහාය පිළිබදව අපේ අදහස්, ගරු ජනාධිපතිතුමාගේ ආරාධනාව පරිදි එනුමාට දුන්වා යැව්වා. විශේෂයෙන්ම, ගරු ජනාධිපතිතුමා විසිත් එවන ලද ලිපියට පිළිතුරු වශයෙන් 1983 ජූලි 16 වෙනිදා අප විසින් යවන ලද පිළිතුරු වාර්තාගත වීම සදහා මේ අවස්ථාවේදී කියවන්න කැමතියි.

1983 ජල 16.

ගරු ජනාධිපතිතුමා. ජනාධිපති කාර්යාලය. කොළඹ 1.

ජනාධිපති උතුමාණනී.

තුස්තවාදීන් මැඩිම සඳහා කියාදාමයක් ගැනීමට 20.07.83 දින ජනාධිපති කාර්යාලයේ පැවැත්<mark>වේන</mark> සාකච්ඡාවට මහජන එක්සත් පෙරමුණට ඇරයුම් කරමින් එවුණ 13.07.83 දින සහිත ලිපිය ලැබුණ බව ස්තුහි පූර්වකව දන්වා සිටිමු.

තුස්තවාදීන්යයි ඔබ නම කරනුයේ දැනට උතුරු නැගෙනහිර පළාත්වල ඵ්ලාම් රාජයෙක් ලබා ගැනීම සඳහා පුවන්ඩ කියාදාමයන්හී යෙදෙන පිරිස යයි අපි විශ්වාස කරමු, ශුී ලංකාවෙන් කිසියම් කොටසක් කඩා වෙන් කොට ගැනීමට කරනු ලබන මොනයම් කියාවලියකට හෝ කඩා වෙන්කොට දීමට කරන මොනයම් කියාවලියකට හෝ මහජන එක්සන් පෙරමුණ ඉඩ නොදෙන බව දන්වා සිටී.

මේ රටේ ජනතාව රට දෙකඩ කිරීමට විරුද්ධ බව අපගේ පිළිගැනීමයි. ජෙදුරුතුඩුවේ සිට දෙවුන්දර තුඩුව දක්වා ඇති පොදු ජන මතයද එසේම බව අපි තරයේ විශ්වාස කරමු.

ඇතැම අන්තවාදී දේශපාලකඥයන් ස්වල්ප දෙනෙකු රට දෙකඩ කිරීම සදහා බලවත් උත්සාහයක යෙදෙන අතර එම පිරිසට විදේශීය ආධාර ලැබෙන බවද සාධක සහිතව ඔප්පු වී ඇත. එසේ වූවද රට දෙකඩ කිරීමේ උත්සාහයට ඔබතුමාද ඔබතුමාගේ ආණ්ඩුවද වීරුද්ධ බව පුකාශ කර ඇත. එනමුත් ඒ වෙනුවෙන් කැප වූ සංවිධානවල ඉල්ලීම රාශියක් ඔබ රජය මගින් දැනටමත් ඉෂ්ඨ කර ඇත. ඒ නිසාම එම සංවිධානයන්හි බලවන් උත්සාහය වී ඇත්තේ රට දෙකඩ කිරීමේ ඉල්ලීම් දීනා ගැනීමටය. මේ සදහා දියත් කර ඇති පුවන්ඩ කියා පාලනය කිරීමට රජයට හැකියාව ඇති බව අමුතුවෙන් කිව යුතු නොවේ.

ඉගත සදහන් කියාදාමයන් නිසා රටේ ඒකීය භාවයට තර්ජනයක් එල්ල වී ඇති බව මහජන එක්සත් පෙරමුණ පිළිගන්නා අතර රටේ එකීය භාවය තහවුරු කිරීමේ අරමුතෙන් සාකච්ඡාවක් කැඳවන ලෙස ඉල්ලමු."

රටේ ඒකිය භාවය පිළිබඳව අදහස් යෝජනා ආදිය ඉදිරිපත් කරන්නය කියා ගරු ජනාධිපතිතුමා විසින් එවන ලද ලිපියට පිළිතුරු වශයෙන් යැවූ ලියමනයි, ඒ මම කියෙව්වෙ. ගරු ජනාධිපතිතුමා විසින් එම ලිපියටත් පිළිතුරක් එවන ලදුව ඊට පසු නැවත වරක් අපි එතුමාට ලියමනක් යැව්වා. එම ලියමනත් මම දැන් කියවත්නම්.

[දිකේෂ් ගුණවර්ධන මහතා] අ. අ. ස්ක්රීක්ෂණ අ. අ. අ. ස්ක්රීක්ෂණ වර්ධන මහතා] අ. අ. ස්ක්රීක්ෂණ වර්ධන මහතා ්ජනාධිපති උතුමාණෙනි !

1983 ජූලි 13 දින එවුණු ලිපිය මගින් වට මේස සාකච්ඡාවට අප පක්ෂයට කරනු ලැබ ආරාධකාවට 1983 ජුලි 16 දින, ඔබතුමා වෙත පිළිතුරු ලිපියක් එවන ලදී. එයටද පිළිතුරු වශයෙන් 1983.07.18 දින රටේ ඒකීය හාවය නගවුරු කිරීම සම්බන්ධයෙන් අප පක්ෂයේ යෝජනා 1983.07.20 (අද) දින සාකච්ඡාවට ඉදිරිපත් කිරීමට හැකි බව දක්වමින් ඔබතුමා විසින් එවන්නට යෙදුණු ලිපිය ද ලැබුණ බව ස්තූති පූර්වකව

1948 තිදහස ආරම්භයේ සිට උද්ගත කළ රට දෙකඩ කිරීමේ පුශ්තය, වර්තමාන හයාකක තත්ත්වය දක්වා වහජන වී දැනට පුළුල් ජාතික පුශ්තයක් බවට වර්ධනය වී ඇත. ජාතික සමගියට තර්ජනයක් වී ඇති මෙම පුශ්නයට සීමා සහිත සහගාගීන්වයෙකින් යුත් සාකච්ඡාවක දී සාර්ථක විසදුම් සොයා ගැනීම උගතට බව මහජන එක්සත් පෙරමුණ විශ්වාස කරයි. "

මේ සඳහා, හදීසියේ විසදා අවසන් කළ හැකි කුියා මාර්ගයක් නොවන බව පිළිගන්නා මහජන එක්සත් පෙරමුණ. . . . " [බාධා කිරීම].

පොඩ්ඩක් කෑ ගහන්නේ නැතිව අහගෙන ඉන්නවා. [බාධා කිරීම්].

මන්තුවරු

(அங்கத்தினர்)

(Member)

ඔවා අපි කියවල තිබෙනවා.

දීනේෂ් ගුණවර්ධන මහතා

(திரு. தினேஷ் குணவர்க்கன)

(Mr. Dinesh Gunawardene)

කැ ගහන්නෙ නැතිව අහගෙන ඉන්නවා. මේක අපට තිබෙන අවස්ථාවක්. [බාධා කිරිම්]. කියන දේ අහගෙන ඉන්නවත් ලැස්ති නැති මන්තීවරු පිරිසක් ඉන්නේ.

මන්තීවරයෙක්

(அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)

(A Member)

සාමාජිකයන් කී දෙනෙක් ඉන්නවද ?

දීනේෂ් ගුණවර්ධන මහතා

(திரு. தினேஷ் குணவர்த்தன)

(Mr. Dinesh Gunawardene)

සාමාජිකයන් කී දෙනාද කියා අපි මහරගමදී ඔජපු කළා. නමුසෙලාගෙ මුළු ආණ්ඩුවම දැම්මා, අපිව පරද්දුන්න.

කථානායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

You should know how to address the House and be more respectful to the House. Carry on.

දීනේෂ් ගුණවර්ධන මහතා

(திரு. தினேஷ் குணவர்த்தன)

(Mr. Dinesh Gunawardene)

ගරු කථාතායකතුමති. මේ කෑගහත මත්තුීවරු කැගහත්තේ කියත දේ තේරුම් අරගෙත නොවෙයි. මම බොහෝම කුණගාටු වෙනවා [බාධා

කථානායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Now let there be order. Please maintain order in this House. Will you sit down. Order!

මන්තුවරයෙක්

(அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)

(A Member)

ජීකතායකයා.

දිනේෂ් ගුණවර්ධන මහතා

(திரு. தினேஷ் குணவர்த்தன)

(Mr. Dinesh Gunawardene)

ගරු කථාතායකතුමති, " මේ සඳහා හදිසියේ විසදා අවසන් කළ හැකි . . . . \* [බාධා කිරීම].

තව කැගහනවා. කෑගැහැව්වාය කියල ඒකෙන් මේ පුශ්නය විසඳෙනවද ? කෑ ගැහැව්වාය කියා මේ පුශ්නය විසඳෙන්නේ නැහැ තේ ?

කථාතායකතුමා 100 notice to says side rest bar attalle

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்) countries: I also informed him that no

(Mr. Speaker)

Order! If there is no order in this House, I shall adjourn the House. Order, please!

ජ්. වී. පුංචිතිලමේ මහතා (තියෝජන රාජන වැවිලි පිළිබ**ද** ඇමතිතුමා)

(திரு. ஜீ. வி. புஞ்சிநிலமே—அரச பெருந்தோட்டப் பிரதி அமைச்சர்)

(Mr. G. V. Punchinilame-Deputy Minister of State Plantations) තාක්තට වීරුද්ධ වෙච්ච පුතා අද එම්. ඊ. පී. කායකයා වෙලා.

කථාතායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

I have asked for order in this House. Order, please!

මන්තුවරයෙක්

(அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)

(A Member)

ම ගාතට වැඩියි.

ඒ. එම්. ආර්. බී. අත්තනායක මහතා

( திரு. ஏ. எம். ஆர். பி. அத்தநாயக்க)

(Mr. A. M. R. B. Attanayake)

ගරු කථානායකතුමකි. දැන් මම කථා කරන්නේ තමන්නාන්සේට. වෙන මත්තුීවරුන්ට කථා කරන්නේ නැහැ. ඒ ගරු මන්තුීවරයා කථා කරන්නේ එක් එක් මන්තුීචරුන්ට.

කථානායකතුමා පමණය සම යන්ව සම මේ වල නම් සම්බන්

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்) நார்கள் சியகுறுந்த வர நூலகர்

(Mr. Speaker)

Order, please! If there is no order in this House I will have to suspend the sitting of the House. If you are not helping me to maintain order, I shall suspend the sitting. Now you sit down. You are creating a disturbance.

පර්සි සමරවීර මහතා (තියෝජා ස්වදේශ කටයුතු ඇමතීතුමා)

் (திரு. பேஸி சமாவிர—உள் நாட்டலுவல்கள் பிரதி அமைச்

(Mr. Percy Samaraweera Deputy Minister of Home Affairs)

මේ රට බෙදුන්නට එයා සූදානම්ද නැද්ද කියන එක පුකාශ කරන්නට ඕනෑ [බාධා කිරීමක්].

කථාතායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Order, please! Let the hon. Member carry on.

### දීනේෂ් ගුණවර්ධන මහතා

(திரு. தினேஷ் குணவர்த்தன)

(Mr. Dinesh Gunawardene)

" මේ සදහා හදිසියේ විසදා අවසන් කළ හැකි කිුයා මාර්ගයක් තොවන බව පිළිගන්නා මහජන එක්සත් පෙරමුණ, රටේ ඒකීය භාවය ස්ථ්රව ගොඩ නගා තහවුරු කරගැනීම සදහා පූඑල් ජාතික පදනමක් . . . " [බාධා කිරීමි].

### කථානායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

I am making one more appeal to the House to maintain order. Yes. You can carry on now.

### දිනේෂ් ගුණවර්ධන මහතා

(திரு. தினேஷ் குணவர்த்தன)

(Mr. Dinesh Gunawardene)

්මේ සඳහා හදිසියේ විසදා අවසන් කළ හැකි මාර්ගයක් . . . [බාධා කිරීම්].

#### කථානායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Let us have order, now.

### දිනේෂ් ගුණවර්ධන මහතා

(திரு. தினேஷ் குணவர்த்தன)

(Mr. Dinesh Gunawardene)

"....නොවන බව පිළිගන්නා මහජන එක්සන් පෙරමුණ, රටේ **ඒකී**ය හාවය ස්ථිරව ගොඩනහා තහවුරු කර ගැනීම ස**ද**හා පූඑල් ජාතික පදනමක සාකච්ජාවක් මගින් එම විසඳුම සෙවිය යුතු බව යෝජනා කරයි.

එම ජාතික සාකච්ඡා සභාවට පහත දක්වෙන අතිගරු මහනායක ස්වාමින්දුයන් වහන්සේලා ද අති ගරු ආගමික නායක පුජක උතුමන් ද ජාතික සංවිධාන සහ දේශපාලන පක්ෂ ද කැඳවිය යුතු යැයි වැඩි දුරටත් යෝජනා කරයි." [බාධා කිරීම]

# කථාතායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Order, please!

### දීනේෂ් ගුණවර්ධන මහතා

(திரு. தினேஷ் குணவர்த்தன)

(Mr. Dinesh Gunawardene)

The Speaker must be able to control, surely. I am not going to give in. (Interruption and uproar.)

ල. නා. 10.10

#### කථාතායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr.Speaker)

Order, please! If there is no order in this House, I am left with no alternative but to suspend the sitting. Order, Please (Continued interruptions and uproar)

I suspend the Sitting for ten minutes.

රැස්වීම ඊට අනුකූලව තාවකාලිකව අත්සිටුවන ලදින් අ. හා. 10.25 ට නැවත පවත්වන ලදී.

அதன்படி அமர்வு பி. ப. 10.25 மணிவரை இடைநிறுத்தப்பட்டு மீண்டும் ஆரம்பமாயிற்று.

Sitting accordingly suspended till 10.25 p.m. and then resumed.

### දිනේෂ් ගුණවර්ධන මහතා

(திரு. தினேஷ் குணவர்த்தன) (Mr. Dinesh Gunawardene)

ගරු කථානායකතුමති,-

#### කථාතායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

The hon. Member can table that letter. It will get into HANSARD. The Hon. Prime Minister should reply

#### දීනේෂ් ගුණුවර්ධන මහතා

(திரு. தினேஷ் குணவர்த்தன)

(Mr. Dinesh Gunawardene)

Yes, I will table it.\* But I have to speak, Sir. You have not given me a chance to speak.

#### කථානායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

I can allow you to have a few minutes, but the Hon. Prime Minister must reply and then wind up.

# ිදිනේෂ් ගුණවර්ධන මහතා

் (நிரு. நினேஷ் குணவர்த்தன)

(Mr. Dinesh Gunawardene)

අප මේ යෝජනාව කෙළේ මේ වාගේ ජාතික අර්බුදයකට විසඳුම් සෙවීමට දේශපාලන පක්ෂවලට පමණක් හැකියාවක් නැති බව අජි විශ්වාස කරන නිසයි. දේශපාලන පක්ෂ මට්ටමට වඩා, මේ රටේ ජනතාවගේ විශ්වාසය සහ ඕනෑකම ඉෂ්ට කරන්නට සහ මහ පෙන්වත්නට පුළුවත් ජාතික සංවිධාන ගණනාවක් රටේ තිබෙන බවත්, එම සංවිධානත් <mark>මේ සාකච්</mark>ජාවට කැඳවීමෙන් ගන්නා වූ තීරණයකින් සාධාරණ විසදුමක් ජනතාව අතරට ගෙන යාමේ හැකියාවක් තිබෙන බවත් අපි විශ්වාස කරනවා. ඒ නිසා ආගමික නායකයන් සහ බෞද්ධ සංවිධාන ඒ සඳහා ජාතික මට්ටමෙන් කැඳවන ලෙස අපි විශෙෂයෙන් ඉල්ලීමක් කරනවා.

ඒ වාගේම රට දෙකඩ කිරීමේ වතපාරයට අපි කිසි අවස්ථාවක සහයෝගය දක්වා නැති බව කියන්නට ඕනෑ. නමුන්, මේ රටේ සිංහල වේවා, මුස්ලිම් වේවා, දුව්ඩ වේවා සියඑම ජන කොටස්වලට මේ රට තුළ තිදහසේ තමන්ගේ ජීවිකා වෘත්තීන් කරගෙන යාමේ අයිතිවාසිකමට අවහිරයක් වීමට ඉඩක් තැබීමට අවස්ථාවක් ඇතිකර ගත යුතු තැහැ. අද එවැනි පුශ්න උතුරේ හෝ නැගෙනහිර පළාත්වල තිබෙනවා නම් එවැනි පුශ්න සාකච්ඡාවට ලක් කර විසඳුම් සොයනවා විතා රට කැඩීමෙන් ඒ පුශ්නයට විසඳුමක් ඇති වන්නේ නැති බව කිව යුතුයි. ඒ නිසයි, 20 වෙනිදු කැඳවන ලද සාකච්ජාවට සහභාගි වීමට අදහස් නොකොට පුළුල් සාකච්ඡාවක් කදවන්නට යයි අප ඉල්ලීමක් කළේ. එසේම විදේශීය ආධාර ලබන සංවිධාන කිහිපයක් උතුරේ රට කැඩීමේ වහපාරයට සහභාගි වී තිබෙනවා. ඒ සංවිධානවල සමහර පුද්ගලයන් යම්කිසි මර්ධනකාරී යන්තුයක් විසින් එයින් ඉවත් කළන් ඒ විදේශීය ඕනැකම ඉවත් වන්නේ නැති බව අප තේරුම් ගත යුතුයි. ඒ සදහා ඒ පළාත්වල ජනතාවගේ පුශ්න තෝරා බේරා ඒවාට ස්ථාවර විසඳුම් ඇති කර ගැනීමට හැකි මාර්ගයන් සෙවීම සඳහා මේ පුඑල් සාකච්ඡාව පදනම් කරගන යුතු යයි අප කියා සිටිනවා. නුස්නවාදය මෙල්ල කිරීමේ වහපාරයට වට මේස සාකච්ඡාවක් කැඳවීමේ අර්ථය අප නොදුටුවේ නුස්නවාදය මෙල්ල කිරීමට හැකියාවක් පාලකයන් හැටියට ආණ්ඩුවට තිබෙන තිසයි. නමුත් එහි ගැබ්වුණු — සම්බන්ධිත<del>–</del> පුශ්නයක් තිබෙනවා නම් එවැනි පුශ්න වට <mark>මේස</mark> යාකච්ජාවකට ලක් විය යුතු බව <mark>මේ අවස්ථාවේදී අප මනක් කළ</mark> යුතුයි. [බාධා කිරීම්]

- \* කථාව අවසානයේ පළ කර ඇත.
- \* உரையினிறு தெயில் தரப்பட்டுள்ள
- \*Produced at end of speech.

කථානායකතුමා

(சபாதாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Order, please! Will you sit down.

දිනේෂ් ගුණවර්ධන මහතා

(திரு. தினேஷ் குணவர்த்தன)

(Mr. Diesh Gunawardene)

එසේම, දුවිඩ භාෂාව කථා කරන ජනතාව වාසය කරන්නේ උතුරේ පමණක් නොවෙයි. [බාධා කිරීම]

කථානායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Order, please!

දීනේෂ් ගුණවර්ධන මහතා

(திரு. தினேஷ் குணவர்த்தன)

(Mr. Dinesh Gunawardene)

වෙනන් පළාත්වලත් දුවිඩ භාෂාව කථා කරන ජනතාව වෙසෙනවා. එමනිසා වෙනත් පළාත්වල වෙසෙන සුළු ජාතිකයින්ගේ පුශ්න—දුවිඩ භාෂාව කථා කරන ජනතාවගේ පුශ්න—උතුරේ පුශ්න විසදීමෙන් පමණක් අවසන් වන්නේ නැති බව තේරුම් ගතයුතුයි. සමස්තයක් වශයෙන් මේ පුශ්නය ගැන කල්පනා කරන විට මෙය උතුරට පමණක් සීමාවූ පුශ්නයක් හැටියට පිළිගන්නට පුළුවන් කමක් නැහැ.

මේ පුශ්නය සූඑ පුශ්නයක් වශයෙන් අප කලපනා කරනවා නම වතුකරයේ මීට වඩා විශේෂ පුශ්නයක් තිබෙන බව තේරුම් ගනයුතුයි. සිරිමා-ශාස්තී ගිවසුම යටතේ ඉන්දියාවට පිටත් කර යැවිය යුනුව තීබුණු පිරිසෙන් සැහෙන කොටසක් තවමත් පිටත් කර යවන්නට හැකිය වක් ඇතිවී නැහැ. මේ පුශ්නය අනාගනයේදී උතුරු පුදේශවල පමණක් නොව අනෙක් පුදේශවලන් ජාතික මහා අර්බුදයකට හේතුවක් වන බව තේරුම් ගතයුතුයි. එමනිසා, මෙවැනි ජාතික පුශ්නවලදී අප සියල්ල අමතක කළයුතුයි. අද උතුරේ තිබෙන තත්ත්වය අපට වාසිදුයක තත්ත්වයක් යයි විශ්වාස කරන්නට බැහැ. ඉතාමත් හයානක තත්ත්වයක් උතුරේ තිබෙන්නේ. උතුර අනෙක් පළාත්වලින් වෙන් වියයුතු පුදේශයක නන්න්වයට අද පන් වී තිබෙනවා. උතුරු පළාත හා අනෙක් පළාත් අතර ගමනාගමන පහසුකම් අද ඇණහිට තිබෙනවා. උතුරේ ඇති වී තිබෙන තත්ත්වයන් තිසා ඒ පළාත්වල වෙසෙන ජනතාවට ජීවත් වීමට අනාවශා සේවාවන් හා දුවා සැපයීම සදහා ආණ්ඩුව ගෙන තිබෙන පියවර තවත් පුඑල් කළ යුතුව ත්බෙනවා. එම අඩුපාඩුකම් නිසා වෙන් වන්නට අවස්ථාවක්— [බාධා කිරීම්]

කථාතායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Hon. Deputy Minister of Home Affairs will you sit down? I know how to maintain order in this House.

දිනේෂ් ගුණවර්ධන මහතා

(திரு. தினேஷ் குணவர்த்தன)

(Mr. Dinesh Gunawardene)

–ඇතිකරගෙන තිබෙන නත්ත්වය මර්දනය කරන්නට, මේ හදිඪ කිතියේ ශක්තිය තුළින් හෝ උතුරු පළාත්වලට එදිනෙද අනෑවශා දුවෘයන් පිටත් කර යැවීම මේ රටේ ඒකීය ගාවය ආරක්ෂා කිරීම වෙනුවෙන් ඉෂ්ට කරන්නට තිබෙන කාර්ය ගාරයක්.

කථානායකතුමා

(சபா நாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Order! Hon. Member, you will have to wind up now.

දීනේෂ් ගුණවර්ධන මහතා

(திரு. தினேஷ் குணவர்த்தன)

(Mr. Dinesh Gunawardene)

I will only take three minutes more.

කථානායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Very well. Carry on then.

දිනේෂ් ගුණවර්ධන මහතා

(திரு. தினேஷ் குணவர்த்தன)

(Mr. Dinesh Gunawardene)

උතුරු පළාත්වල ජනතාවට එදිනෙද අතෑවශෑ දවෑ පිටත් තොකළහොත්, කැඩියාමට බලා සිටින පිරිසකට රටෙන් කැඩියාමට එය හේතුවක් වෙනවා. මම අද ආණ්ඩුවට අනතුරු ඇහරිමක් කරනවා. අපට රටක් වශයෙන් ඒ තත්ත්වය ඉෂ්ට කරන්නට බැරි වූනෝනින් ජාතෑන්තර සංවිධාන උතුරට බැහැල, ඒ ජනතාවට ජීවත්වීමට දේවල් තැහැ කියල අපි බලාපොරෙන්තු නොවන හයානක තත්ත්වයකට රට ඇද දමන්නට පුළුවන් බව අමතක කළයුතු තැහැ. [බාධා කිරීම]

පර්සි සමරවීර මහතා

(திரு. பேஸி சமாவீர)

(Mr. Percy Samaraweera)

හදිසි තීතිය දීර්ඝ කරන්නේ, තුස්තවාදය මැඩ පවත්වන්නට. තුස්තවාදීන් කියන්නේ, මේ රට බෙදන්න ඕනෑය කියායි. රට බෙදන්නද එපාද කියල එයාට කියන්නය කියන්න. [බාධා කිරීම]

දීනේෂ් ගුණවර්ධන මහතා

(கிரு. தினேஷ் குணவர்த்தன)

(Mr. Dinesh Gunawardene)

අන්තීම වශයෙන් මා ගරු විදේශ කටයුතු පිළිබද ඇමතිතුමාට පැහැදිලි කරන්නට ඔනෑ. අපේ පක්ෂය කවදුවත් රට කැඩ්මකට මනයක් ඉදිරිපත් කර නැහැ කියා. ඒකීය රාජෳයක් තුළ සුඑ ජනතා අයිතිවාසිකම් සාකච්ජා කිරීමේ පදනමකයි අපි ඉන්නේ. ඒ පුශ්නය ගැන වෙනන් පක්ෂ දරන දේශපාලන මනවලට අපේ පරස්පරයන් තිබෙනවාය කියන ටික මා විශේෂයෙන් මේ සභාවේදී මතක් කරන්න ඔතැ. හදිසි නීතිය පාට්ච්චි කරන මේ පළාත්වල මහජන මතය මෙල්ල කිරීමෙන් උතුරේ ඇති වී තිබෙන තත්ත්වයට මුහුණ දෙන්නට හැකියාවක් මතු වෙන්නේ නැහැ. [බාධා කිරීමක්] මේ පළාත්වල ජනතාවට උතුරේ තත්ත්වයට මුහුණ දීම සඳහා සැබෑ තත්ත්වයකට තමන්ගේ අදහස් යොමු කර ගැනීමට අවස්ථාව පාදු ගැනීමට නම් මේ පළාත්වල ජනතාව හදිසි නීතියෙන් ඉවත්කර, උතුරට සහ කලබලකාරී පුදේශයන්ට පමණක් හදිසි නීතිය කුියාන්මක කරන්නටය, ඒ ස්ථාවරය ඇති කර මේ පළාත්වල මහජන මනයන් මේ පුශ්නය විසදා ගැනීම සදහා පාව්ච්ච් කරන්නට මේ පුදේශවලින් හදිසි තීතිය ඉවත් කරන්නය කියන ඉල්ලීම කරමින්, ඒ ඉල්ලීම ඉටු කරන අවස්ථාවේදී හදිසි නීතියට පක්ෂ වෙනවා විනා අවශා නැති පුදේශවල හදිසි නීතිය පවතිනතාක් කල් අපට හදිසි නීතියට පක්ෂව ජන්දය දීමට බැරි බව පුකාශ කරමින්, මේ අවස්ථාව මට ලබා දීම ගැන ස්තුතිවන්ත වෙමින් මා නවතිනවා.

கமை®கம் இற விற ஒடி டூமிறிரு : சபாபிடத்து வைக்கப்பட்ட பத்திசம் : Document tabled :

මහජන එක්සත් පෙරමුණ. 195. කිව් පාර, කොළඹ 2. 1983.07.20

අතිගරු ජනාධිපති තුමා, ජනාධිති කාර්යාලය. කොළඹ-1

ජනාධිපති උතුමාණකි! 🥛

1983 ජුලි 13 දින එවුන ලිපිය මගින් වට මේස සාකච්ඡාවට අප පක්ෂයට කරනු ලැබූ ආරාධතාවට 1983 ජූලි 16 දින, ඔබ තුමා වෙත පිළිතුරු ලිපියක් එවන ලදී. එයට ද පිළිතුරු වශයෙන් 1983.07.18 දින රටේ ඒකීය භාවය තහවුරු කිරීම සම්බන්ධයෙන් අප පක්ෂයේ යෝජනා 1983.07.20 (අද) දින සාකච්ඡාවට ඉදිරිපත් කිරීමට හැකි බව දක්වමින් ඔබ තුමා විසින් එවන්නට යෙදුණු ලිපිය ද ලැබුණ බව ස්තුකි පූර්වකව දන්වමු.

1948 තිදහස ආරම්භයේ සිට උද්ගත කළ රට දෙකඩ කිරීමේ පුශ්තය, වර්තමාන භයාතක තත්වය දක්වා වහජන වී දකට පුළුල් ජාතික පුශ්තයක් බවට වර්ධනය වී ඇති. මෙම පුශ්තයට සීමා සහිත සහභාගීන්වියෙකින් යුත් සාකච්ජාවල දී සාර්ථක විපදුම් සොයා ගැනීම උගහට බව මහජන එක්සත් පෙරමුණ විශ්වාස කරයි. මේ සදහා හදිසියේ විසදා අවසන් කළ හැකි කියා මාර්ගයක් නොවන බව පිළිගන්නා මහජන එක්සත් පෙරමුණ විශ්වාස කරයි. මේ සදහා හදිසියේ විසදා අවසන් කළ හැකි කියා මාර්ගයක් නොවන බව පිළිගන්නා මහජන එක්සත් පෙරමුණ, ඊටේ එකීය භාවය ස්ථිරව ගොඩනහා තහවුරු කරගැනීම සදහා පුළුල් ජාතික පදනමක සාකච්ජාවක් මගින් එම විසදුම් යෙවිය යුතු බව යෝජනා කරයි.

එම පුළුල් ජාතික සාකච්ඡා සභාවට පහත දක්වෙන අතීගරු මහානායක ස්වාමින්දුයන් වහන්සේලා ද අතීගරු නායක පූජක උතුමන්ද ජාතික සංවිධාන සහ දේශපාලන පක්ෂ ද කැදවිය යුතු යැයි වැඩි දුරටත් යෝජනා කරයි.

- (1) සියම් මහා නිකායේ මල්වතු පාර්ශවයේ අතීගරු මහානායක ස්ථාමින්දියන් වගන්සේ
- (2) සියම් මහා නිසායේ අස්ගීරි පාර්ශවයේ අතීගරු මහානායක ස්වාමීන්දුයන් වහන්සේ
- (3) අමරපුර නිකායේ අතිගරු සියළු මහානායක ස්වාමින්දයන් වහන්සේලා (4) ශ්‍රී ලංකා රාමඤ්ඤ මහානිකායේ අතිගරු මහානායක ස්වාමින්දයන් වහන්සේ
  - (5) අතිගරු, විදෙහදය පරිවේනාධිපති මහානායක ස්වාමීන්දුයන් වහන්සේ
  - (6) අතිගරු, විදහලංකාර පරිවෙනාධිපති මහනායක ස්වාමින්දුයන් වහන්සේ
  - (7) සමස්ත ලංකා බෞද්ධ සම්මේලනය
  - (8) තරුණ බෞද්ධ සංගමය
- (9) මහා බෝධි සංගමය
  - (10) පරම විඥුනාර්ථ බෞද්ධ සංගමය
  - (11) අතිගරු අගුරාජ ගුරු පුසාදින් වහන්සේ (කතෝලික සභාව)
  - (12) අතිගරු අගුරාජ ගුරු පුසාදීන් වහන්සේ (ලංකං කීස්තියානි සභාව)
  - (13) ලංකා හින්දු සභාව
  - (14) ලංකා මුස්ලිම සංගමය
  - (15) ලංකා මැලේ සංගමය
  - (16) ලංකා බර්ගර් සංගමය
  - (17) සිංහල බල මණ්ඩලය
  - (18) ධර්ම වකු ධර්ම දූත වනපාරය (ගැටඹ-පේරාදෙණිය)
  - (19) සර්වෝදය වනපාරය
  - (20) ජාතික උරුමය සංවිධානය
  - (21) තුම් පුතු සංවිධානය
  - (22) කීති වේදීන්ගේ සංගමය
  - (23) දේශපාලන පක්ෂ සහ

මෙම පුශ්නය ගැන උනන්දුවක් දක්වන වෙනත් ජාතික සංවිධාන.

මෙයට.

මහජන එක්සත් පෙරමුණු මධාම කාරක සභාවේ අණ පරිදි,

ර්ථානයකි (අතුකුලි අතුකිරියකි ආකාලයකි (දිනේෂ් ගුණවර්ධන**–**ලේකම්)

අ. හා. 10.35

ආර්. පේමදස මහතා (අගුාමාතෘතුමා, පළාත් පාලන, නිවාස හා ඉදීකිරීම් ඇමතිතුමා, මහාමාර්ග කටයුතු පිළිබඳ ඇමතිතුමා සහ පාර්ලිමේන්තුවේ සභානායකතුමා)

(திரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாச — பிரதம அமைச்சரும் உள்ளூ ராட்சி, வீடமைப்பு, நிர்மாண அமைச்சரும் நெடுஞ்சாலேகள் அமைச்சரும் பாராளுமன்றச் சபை முதல்வரும்)

(Mr. R. Premadasa-Prime Minister, Minister of Local Government, Housing & Construction, Minister of Highways, and Leader of the House of Parliament)

ගරු කථාතායකතුමති. අද ජූලි මස 21 වැතිද. තව ස්වල්ප වේලාවක් තිබෙනවා දවස හමාර වෙන්නට. අද වැදගත් දවසක්. එද, 1977 ජූලි 21 වැනිද මහ මැතිවරණය පවත්වල, මහජනයා අවුරුදු 6 කට මේ ආණ්ඩුව පත් කර ගත් දවස. අද වැති දවසක්. ඉන්පසුව ජනමතවරණයෙන් තවත් අවරුදු 6 කට මේ රටේ ජනතාව අපේ රජය පත් කර ගත්තා. ජනාධිපතිවරණයෙදී අපේ ජනාධිපතිතුමාව තවත් අවුරුදු 6 කට ජනාධිපති වශයෙන් තෝරා පත් කර ගත්තා. ඒ නිසා පුථමයෙන්ම ඒ ගැන සඳහන් කිරීම මගේ යුතුකමක්.

අවුරුදු 6 කට කලින් අද වැනි දවසක තමයි, මේ රටේ ජනතාව අපේ දේශපාලන ගමන් මාර්ගයට ඉතා විශිෂ්ඨ වරමක් ලබා දුන්නේ. ඒ වරම පසුගිය ඔක්තෝබර් මාසයේදී නැවතත් අනුමත කළා. ඉන්පසුව දෙසැම්බර් මාසයේදී ජනමතවරණයෙන් නවත් අනුමත කළා. ඒළහට අතුරු මැතිවරණ 18 ක් පැවැත්තුවා. එයින් 14 ක්ම ජයගුහණය ලබා දෙමින් 1977 දී අද වැති දවසක ලබා ගත් ජයගුහණය කීප වරක්ම ජනතාව අනුමත කළා. ඒ නිසා මගේ යුතුකමක් තිබෙනවා, අද දවසේ මේ රටේ ඒ බුද්ධිමත් ජනතාවට ඒ උපහාරය ශීර්ෂ පුණාමයෙන් පිරිනමන්නට.

වාවාකච්චේරියේ ගරු මන්තීතුමා (වී. එන්. නවරත්නම් මහතා) අද දීර්ඝ කතාවක් කර මේ පාර්ලිමේන්තුවෙන් ඉවත්ව ගියා. අපි සියලු දෙනාටම එය කණගාටූදයක අවස්ථාවක්. මන්ද, අප අතර මොනනරම් දේශපාලන මතහේද තිබුණත්, අපි කවූරුන් ඔවුනොවූන්ට ගෞරව කරනවා. එතුමා මන්තීවරයෙක් හැටියට, දීර්ඝ කාලයක් අප සමග මේ සභාවේ එකට කටයුතු කළා. හොද ගතිගුණ ඇති මහත්මයෙක් හැටියට අපි කවූරුත් එතුමාව පිළිගත්තා. කරුණික, ඒ වාගේම හිතවත් පාර්ලිමේන්තු මන්තීවරයෙක් අද අප අතරින් ඉවත්වීම, අපි සළකන්නේ ඉතාමත්ම කණගාටූවෙන්. එතුමාට ඒ පියවර ගැනීමට යම් යම් හේතුන් බලපැවා වෙන්නට පුළුවති. කෙසේවූවත් එතුමාගෙන් අපේ මේ පාර්ලිමේන්තු වැඩපිළිවෙළට සිදුවූ සේවය අපි කවුරුත් අගයන්නට ඕනෑ.

මන්තීවරයෙක් හැටියට තමන්ගේ ජන්ද කොට්ඨාශය ගැන විශාල ඕනෑකමකින්. සැළ කිල්ලකින් එතුමා කියා කළා. ඒවාගේම මම දන්නවා, පෞද්ගලිකව එතුමා තුළ කවූරුන් කෙරෙහින් විශාල ගෞරවයක් තිබෙන බව. මේ රට වෙනුවෙන් පිටරටවල සම්මේලනවලට, අන්තර් ජාතික පාර්ලිමේන්තු සම්මේලනවලට එතුමා සහභාගී වී තිබෙනවා. ඒ අවස්ථාවලදී එතුමා කොයිනරම් වගකීමකින් යුතුව කියා කළාද කිව්වොත්, ඒ සම්මේලනවලදී වැදගන් නනතුරු පවා එතුමාට හිමි කර දී තිබෙනවා. ඒ නිසා මේ අවස්ථාවේදී මම කැමතියි. මේ පාර්ලිමේන්තුවේ සියලුම මන්තීවරුන් වෙනුවෙන් අපේ සැළකිල්ල, ගෞරවය එතුමාට පිරිනමන්න.

08 කථානායකතුමති. ජනපතිවරණය අවසාතකොට ජනමතවරණයක් පැවැත්වුවා, අපේ ආණ්ඩු කුම වෘවස්ථාවේ පනවා තිබෙන ආකාරයට. ඒ වෙලාවෙ මම මේ සභාවට පැමිණ ඒ ගැන කරුණු සදහන් කළා, තමුන්නාන්සේට මනක ඇති. විපක්ෂයේ ඇතැම් කොටස් කල්පනා කළා, ජනපතිවරණයේදී අපේ ජනාධිපතිතුමා දිනුවත්, ජනමතවරණයේදී මේ ආණ්ඩුව පරදියි කියා. එහෙම විශ්වාසයක් ඒ අය තුළ තිබුණා. ඒ විශ්වාසය ඇතිකර ගත්තෙ, තති මන්තුීවරුන් හැටියට ජන්ද විමසීමක් පැවැත්වූවා නම් පරදියි කියන අදහස උඩයි. නමුත් මා කලින් කී අන්දමට ජනමනවරණයේදීන් පොදු මහජනතාව නවත් අවුරුදු හයකට මේ රජයට අවකාශ දුන්නා. ඒ අවස්ථාවේදී රපව පෙතී ගියා ජනමතවරණයේදීන්, ජනපතිවරණයේදීන් ජන්ද අඩුවූ ආසන 18 ක් තිබෙන බව. ඒවාට අපි ජන්ද විමසීම් පැවැන්වූවා. ඒ 18 න් 14 ක්ම අපි දිනුවා. මේ කාරණයෙන් වැටහෙනවා, පොදු ජනතාව මොන විඨියේ බලාපොරොත්තුවක් මේ රජය කෙරෙහි තබා තිබෙනවාද කියා.

ඒ අවස්ථාවේදී තමයි, දුව්ඩ එක්සත් විමුක්ති පෙරමුණ නොසෙක් පුකාශ කරන්නට පටන්ගන්නෙ. "අපි නම් ඉන්නෙ නැහැ ජනමනවරණයෙන් පස්සෙ මේ පාර්ලිමේන්තුවේ" කියලයි කිව්වෙ. නමුන් ඒ පුකාශවල විපාකයට භාජනවූනේ වාවකච්චේරියේ ගරු මන්තීතුමා (වී. එන්. නවරත්නම් මහතා) යි. ඇත්තවශයෙන්ම මට ඒ ගැන ලොකු කණගාටූවක් අද තිබෙනවා. දන් හෙට මොනවා වෙයිද කියන්න අමාරුයි. වාවකච්චේරියේ ගරු මන්තීතුමා එතුමාගේ කතාවකරන වෙලාවෙ මට එවා තිබුණා යම් යම් පුවත්පත්වල කොටස්. ඒවා කියෙව්වාම, හෙට නවත් කණගාටුදයක තත්ත්වයකට පත්වෙන්නට සිදුවෙයිද කියලයි මගේ හිතේ ලොකු සැකයක් තියෙන්නෙ.

විරුද්ධ පාර්ශවයේ නායකතුමා පුකාශ කර තිබුණා, මේ විධියට. මම මේ කියවන්නේ 1982 නොවැම්බර් 13 වන දින "සන්" පතුයේ 1 වන පිටුවෙන් :

\* TULF MPs hand over post-dated resignations

Fifteen Tamil United Liberation Front Parliamentary members yesterday handed over letters of resignations, dated July 22, 1983, to the President of their Parliamentary group, Appapillai Amirthalingam.

[ආර්. ජුමදස මහතා]

This move come following three hours of deliberations at the Colombo residence of Mr. Amirthalingam, where the Parliamentary group decided to compaign against the Fourth Amendment to the Constitution of Sri Lanka.

The group decided to hold a series of meetings in the northern and eastern provinces, and also to publish statements to explain their stand with regard to the referendum.

According to Mr. Amirthalingam, who is also the Secretary General of the Party, all TULF MP's except for R. Sampanthan, MP for Trincomalee, who is out of the country, had handed over their post-dated resignations where they have stated that they had been elected by the people for a period of six years from 1977 July 22 to 1983 July 22.

'If the government gets the consent of the people of Sri Lanka to continue for another six years through a Referendum, we will oppose this on the grounds that we have been elected in the first place only for a period of six years', Mr. Amirthalingam told 'SUN'.

'If the government wins the Referendum we will hand in our resignations to the Secretary-General of the Parliament on July 22, 1983, he said."

# ඒ. අම්ථනලිංගම් මහතා

(திரு. ஏ. அமிர் தலிங்கம்) (Mr. A. Amirthalingam) All in good time.

සිරිල් මැතිව් මහතා

(திரு. சிறில் மத்திவ்) (Mr. Cyril Mathew)

The time has come now.

ඒ. අම්රතලිංගම් මහතා (திரு. ஏ. அமிர்தலிங்கம்) (Mr. A. Amirthalingam) Not yet.

ආර්. **පේමදස මහතා** (திரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாச) (Mr. R. Premadasa)

Sir, I hope this is not going to happen, because we would like them to remain in this House with us. This is what happens sometimes when you misjudge the intelligence of the people. These statements were made before the Referendum, I have the statement made by the hon. Leader of the Opposition in this House on 4th November 1982-Official Report, column 1506:

"Mr. A. Amirthalingam: I want to say only one thing, Mr. Deputy Speaker. Yesterday our Parliamentary Group met and we have unanimously dicided that we will hand in our letters of resignation. There is no doubt on that matter. There is only one difference. Mr. Kumar Ponnambalam has challenged us to resign and go back to the electorate, but we cannot go back to the electorate unless you amend it to say that you will have elections in our areas. We are prepared to go."

I think we have filled that vacuum also. If anybody resigns and that vacancy is not filled within one month there will be elections.

1174

Everything is ready and it is now for the TULF to honour their pledge. But still, I expect that they will not carry out their threat. I do not want them to do that. We want them here. Why do I make these references on this occasion?—(Interruption). I would like to have them here.

This is where our credibility will be tested. This is why sometimes when pronouncements are made by some of the Members from the other side, I do not take them very seriously. I have been in this House for a considerable length of time and I have come to understand the difficulties, especially of a leading party which is supposed to represent the views of the people. It is not an easy task to represent a party. You can be an ordinary Member of Parliament. You can even appear as the leader of a party where there are no followers; it is not a difficult task. But to represent a party or a group of people, to represent the thinking of a people is not an easy thing. So when very brave and courageous pronouncements are made, you will have to excuse us for not taking them seriously.

කථානායකුමති, මම කියන්නට කැමතියි, "මේ පුශ්නවලට දේශපාලන විසදුමක් අවශායි, සියලු දෙනාම කැඳවනවා නම් අපි එනවා" ය ආදී වශයෙන් කියපු කථාවලුත් මම ගාර නොගත්තෙ. ඒ විධ්යටම බව. මතුගම ගරු මන්තීතුමා (අතිල් මුණසිංග මහතා) මෙතැන කථා කරමින් වට මේස ගැන කියන කොට දේශපාලන විසදුමක් සොයන්නට ඕනෑය කියන කොට මම ඒක හාසායට ලක් කළා. මොකද ? මම දන්නවා, කොපමණ කිව්වත්, ඔය වට මේස නොවෙයි, ගතරැස් මේස නොවෙයි, තුන් හුලස් මේස නොවෙයි, මේසෙ අතික් පැත්ත තියල කථා කළත් වන්නෙ නැති බව. ඔතු තරම හේතු කියයි නොඑන්නට.

මහරගම ගරු මන්තීතුමා (දිතේෂ් ගුණවර්ධන මහතා) කියෙව්වා ලීයමනක්. "අපි එනවා නම් එන්නේ මෙන්න මේ මේ උදවිය කැදවනවා නම් පමණය" කිව්වා. ඒ ලියමන කියවූ හැවියේම අපේ ජනාධිපතිතුමා ඒකට බොහොම හොද උත්තරයක් දූන්නා. ඔය කියන කාරණය ඇවිත් කියන්ඩකො. එහෙම නැත්නම් වෙන්නෙ මොකක්ද ? එක ලීයමනකින් කියල එවනවා මේ මේ දේවල් කළොත් අපි එනවාය කියල. "හා, හොදයි, ඒකට කැමතියි" කියල ලියා යැව්වාම යළිත් ලියා එවනවා, "නැහැ, නැහැ, දන් මේ මේ දේවල් කළොත් අපි එනවා" ය කියල. ජනාධිපතිතුමා ඇහුවා "ඇයි මේක ඇවිත් කියන්නට බැරි ?" කියල. අන්තිමට මේ මේ අය කැදවන්නය කියල කිව්වම ඉතිරි වෙන්නේ කවුද ? ඒ කැදවන්නය කියා සඳහන් කළ අය එයි. ඒ අය කැදවන්නය කියලු අය එන්නෙ නැහැ. එම නිසා අපි තමුන්නාසේලාගේ ලියුම් පුතික්ෂේප කළා නොවෙයි. එන්න. ඇවිත් කියන්න.

ගරු විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ තායකතුමා ලියමනක් කියෙව්වා.

The hon. Leader of the Opposition read out his last letter to His Excellency the President. Please read it over and over again. What are you saying in that letter? "We understand something, we are told something, we heard something. In such a situation we think there is no purpose in coming." I am just making an appeal to the hon. Leader to analyse his own letter. Are you not finding excuses to keep away from this discussion?

```
ට්. අම්රතලිංගම් මහතා
(නිල. ஏ. அயிர்தலிங்கம்)
(Mr. A. Amirthalingam)
```

No. මෙර ප්රතිකය රජන යන ව , ලක්ක කියල් වර්ත මාස්තම

ரைக் தேற்கு இறை (திரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாச) (Mr. A. Amirthalingam)

Then why are you not coming to the discussion? And why are you questioning the sincerity of the Government?

ப். අම්තලිංගම් මහතා (திரு. ஏ. அமிர்தலிங்கம்) (Mr.A. Amirthalingam)

May I'reply to the Hon. the Prime Minister? We came and discussed with you from the 31st August 1981 till September 1982. Ninety per cent of the things we agreed upon have not been implemented. What is the purpose in coming and talking with you again?

(Mr. Anil Mooneringhe - Matagama)

**ரே**. ஆர். பிசேமதாச) (காரு. ஆர். பிசேமதாச)

Hon. Leader, do you say that when you all come into this House one hundred per cent of what you are saying is being implemented by the Parliament? I want to pose this question: Then, why have you come into this House? Why do you not boycott this House? I am taking you on your own argument. If you says that the purpose of attending a conference or a meeting is to get hundred per cent success in your endeavours, then you have failed in coming into this House. So, then you have to boycott this House; and in that way we should have boycotted the 1970 to 1977 Parliament. Let us forget that period. Take the case of all these MPs who are Members of the Government who are responsible in forming this Government. Are they getting all that they demand? Then they must all boycott this House. Which is the Assembly in the world where you get all your demands? You go to the United Nations. You go to the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association.

ඒ. අම්රතලිංගම් මහතා (නිලා. ஏ. அமிர்தலிங்கம்) (Mr. A. Amirthalingam)

(Mr. A. Amirthalingam)
You accepted and agreed but did not implement.
There in lies your failure.

මා ර්යෙන කොලක මහාර සිරියයි

ரூ. ஆர். பிரேமதாச) (கிரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாச)

What did we agree? We agreed to discuss. Are you going to say that we are so foolish as to say that we will accept everything that you say —

ඒ. අම්රිතලිංගම් මහතා (திரு. ஏ. அமிர்தனிங்கம்) (Mr. A. Amirthalinam) No, no. ආර්. ජෙමදය මහතා (திரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாச) (Mr. R. Premadasa)

And that you are going to accept all what we say? It will never happen. Even in our own houses, this does not happen. It is simple common sense. Why should we be adduce very high arguments, legal and otherwise? Just think of these things as common human beings would. Where can you achieve this hundred per cent? Are you achieving your own purposes within your own party? Are you having your own way in your own party? You told us today, and it is not a secret that this morning you were not able to prevail upon the hon. Member for Chavakachcheri not to take that step. So are you going to boycott your party? Let us examine these things. What are we doing?

කථාතායකතුමති, අර කලවාතේ ගරු මන්තීතුමාත් (සරත් මුත්තෙට්ටුවෙගම මහතා) කියෙව්වා ලියමනක්. මහරගම ගරු මන්තීතුමාත් එව්වා ලියමනක්. ශී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයේ උදවියත් එව්වා ලියමනක්. අපේ වීරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ නායතුමාත් එව්වා ලියමනක්. මම දත් උත්තරයක් දිය යුතු නැහැ ඒ උදවියට. තමන්ගේම හදෙය සාක්ෂායෙන් අහල බලන්න මොකක්ද මේ අපි කරන්නෙ කියල.

කථාතායකතුමකි. අපෙන් අහනවා පුශ්නයක්. නුවරඑළිය-මස්කෙළීය දෙවන ගරු මන්තීතුමා (අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා) ශී ලංකා තිදහස් පක්ෂය වෙනුවෙන් කථා කරනවා. කෝ, ඔහු දුන් නැහැ නොවැ. ඉලංගරන්න මහත්මයාගේ ලියමන පෙන්වා මෙනැන ඔහුට ශී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂය වෙනුවෙන් කථා කරන්නට අයිතීයක් තිබෙනවාද කියල අහන්නයි මම අදහස් කළේ. නමුත් කථා කරල පැනල යනව නොවැ. මහ ලොකුවට කථා කරල යනව නොවැ. අපි එහෙම මෙනැනදී මොකක් හරි කිව්වොන් හෙට මෙතැනට ඇවිත්, "In my absence such and such a thing was said." කියල පකාශයක් කරයි. ඒ වගේ වෙලාවක මම මෙහැන නොසිටියොන් මොකක්ද ඇති වන තත්න්වය ? එම නිසා මම මෙහැන නොසිටියොන් මොකක්ද ඇති වන තත්න්වය ? එම නිසා මම මෙක තියා ගන්නවා එයා මෙතැන ඉන්න වෙලාවක කියවන්න. I would like to refer to these matters when he is here. මොනවාද එයා ඇවිත් කිව්වෙ? "මෙච්චර කල් නමුන්නාන්සේලා මොනවාද කළේ, මේ සාකච්ජාව කලින් කැදවීවෙ නැත්තෙ ඇයි, බැරි වුණු නැතද අපෙත් අගන්නෙ" ඔය වාගෙ පුශ්න අහනවා.

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, ජනාධිපතිතුමා මෙනුමන්ලා සමග සාකච්ඡා කරත්නට කල්පතා කළේ කුමක් නිසාද කියා මම කියන්නම්. ඇති වී තිබෙන මේ තත්ත්වයට මුහුණ දෙන්නට අපට ශක්තියක් නැති නිසාය කියා වරදවා තේරුම් ගන්න එපා. ජනාධිපතිතුමා වෙනුවෙනුත්, රජය වෙනුවෙනුත් මම මෙනනදි, මේ සභාවට පමණක් නොවෙයි, මුළු රටටම පමණක් නොවෙයි. අතික් රටවලටත්, මුළු ලෝකයටත් කියනවා, මෙ තත්ත්වය අපි සමථයකට පත් කරනවා, පත් කරනවාමයි කියා. අපට ඒක අමාරුවක් නැහැ. වරදවා තේරුම් ගන්න එපා. එහෙම නම් එනුමා ආරාධනා කළේ ඇයි ? විචිත් විට හදිසි නීති රෙගුලාසි අඑන් කරන්න මෙතතට ගෙත ආචාම මේ සභාවෙ විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයෙ ගරු මන්තුිවරු නැගීට අපට චෝදනා කරන්නට පටන් ගන්නා," හමුදව මේ මේ දේවල් කරනවාය, පොලීසිය මේ මේ දේවල් කරනවාය පසුගිය ආණ්ඩුව කළ දේවල් තමුත්තාසේලාත් කරනවාය" කියා. ඒ විධියට චෝදනා කරන අවස්ථාවලදී. ඒ අංශවල අදළ කිළධාරීක්ට මෙම ස්ථානයට ඇවිත් සිටිත්තය කියා මම නියම කර තිබෙනවා. යම් වෝදනාවක් කරනවාත් සමගම එතැතින් ලැබෙනවා ඒකට පිළිතුරක් ; වෙනස් පිළිතුරක්. මටත් පුඑවකි මෙතැන සිට, එවැකි චෝදනාවක් කරනවාත් සමගම නැගිට ඒ පැත්තත් කියන්න. දනුත් මා ලහ තිබෙනවා, මන්තීතුමන්ලා සදහන් කළ ඒවා ගැන විස්තර.

"The statement made by the Leader of the Opposition that the Army men had at Iratte Periyakullam at Vavuniya damaged wind-screens of six

[ආර්. ජුමදුස මහතා]

vans, is false. Nothing of those or any incidents of this nature have taken place." (Interruption). Wait, I am telling you. It is not that I am telling you that I believe this or I believe what you say, because I was not there! I do not know. But what I am saying is, whenever you make any accusation, there is a reply from the other side also.

දැන් බලන්න මා ළහ තිබෙනවා නොයෙක් කරුණු. මම මේවා ගැන සදහන් කරමින් සභාවේ කාලය ගත කරන්නට බලාපොරොත්ත වෙන්නේ නැහැ. නමුත් සාධාරණයක් හැටියට මම පෙන්වා දෙන්නේ මේකයි. දැන් පවතින තත්ත්වය මර්දනය කරන්න හමුදාවට කියනවා නම්, පොලීසියට කියනවා නම්, දාමරික තත්ත්වයක් ඇති වන කොට, තුස්තවාදී තත්ත්වයක් ඇති වන කොට, හදිසි නීතිය දමන්න පරක්කු වුණා වැඩිය කියා අපට කියනවා නම්, ඊළහට හමුදාව යොදවා, කොහොම හරි මහජන ආරක්ෂාව සලසන්නටය කියා ඒ අයට කියනවා නම්, ඒ මිතිසුන් ගිහින් පැය ගණන් ගත කර මොනවා හරි කරනවා නම්, ඒකට විරුද්ධ පාර්ශවයේ තමුන්නාන්සේලා යමක් කියන කොට, ඒ නිලධාරීත්ටත් තිබෙනවා, ඒ ගොල්ලන්ගේ පැත්ත ගැනත් කියන්න. ඉතින් මේ හැම පැත්තක් ගැනම සිතා බලා තමයි ජනාධිපතිතුමා කල්පතා කළේ. මෙම පාර්ලිමේන්තුවට මහජනයා විසින් නෝරා පත් කළ පක්ෂවල අයටත් ආරාධනා කරන්න. එවිට අප සියඑ දෙනාටම එකට එකතු වී, මෙම නුස්තවාදය මර්දනය කිරීමට නිතර නිතර හමු වී සාකච්ඡා කරන්න, කු්යා කරන්න, ඇති වන්නාවූ යම් යම් අඩුපාඩු, දුර්වලකම්, වැරදි ගැන අපට එකට ඉදගෙන සම්ක්ෂණය කරන්නට, ඒ සම්බන්ධයෙන් උපදෙස් දෙන්නට, ඇත්ත තන්ත්වය කියන්නට පුළුවන්කම ලැබෙනවා නේද ?

ගරු කථාතායකතුමකි. යම් මන්තුීවරයෙක්, කිසියම් නිලධාරියකු ගැන වරදක් කීයන කොට ඒ නිලධාරියා මේ ගරු සභාව ඉදිරියට ගෙනැවිත් පුශ්න කරන්න අපට පුඑවන්ද ? බැහැ. නමුන් වගකිව යුතු මිනිසුන් හැටියට අර විධියට එකතු වුණාම අපට ඒක කරන්න පුළුවනි. අප මහජන ජන්දයෙන් තෝරා පත් කළ පක්ෂ නායකයෝ. වීරුද්ධ පාර්ශවයේ නායකතුමාට එතැනට ගිහින් එතැනදී කියන්න පුඑවකි. ් බලන්ත, මෙන්ත මේ ස්ථාතවල මේකයි සිදු වී තිබෙන්නෙ, ගෙන්වන්ත ඒවාට වගකීවයුතු උදවිය, පුශ්ත කරන්න, මෙන්න මට කරුණු දැන්වූ අය, මෙන්න නමුන්නාන්සේලාට කරුණු දැන්වූ අය " කියා. එතකොට අපි සියඑ දෙනාම මේ වැඩ පිළිවෙළෙහි සහකාරයෝ ; එය මෙහෙයවන්නෝ. අන්න ඒ තිසයි, මෙම තුස්තවාදී වැඩ පිළිවෙළ මර්දනය කිරීමට අපි කවුරුත් එකමුතු වෙමුයි කියා ජනාධිපතිතුමා ඒ ලියමන යැව්වාය කියා අප කිව්වේ. ඒ ලියමන යැවීමෙන් එනුමා බලාපොරොත්තු වුණේ ඒ හැර වෙන එකක්වත් සාකච්ඡා නොකීරීම නොවෙයි. " මේ නුස්තවාදය ගැන පමණක් සාකච්ඡා කරන්නට අපි ලැහැස්ති නැහැ. මෙය පළල් කරනවා නම් අපි කැමතියි " කියා දන්වා යැව්වම ඒකටත් එකහ වුණා තේ ?

ගරු කථාතායකතුමති, මේ රටේ සාකච්ඡා කරන්නට නොයෙක් පුශ්න තිබෙන එක ඇත්ත. නමුත් පුධානම දේ, තුස්තවාදී වැඩ පීළිවෙළක් තිබෙන විට මේ එක දෙයක්වත් සාකච්ඡා කරන්න පූඑවන්ද ?

When there is a state of terrorism in the country our first priority should be to eradicate that situation. Then only can we discuss, can we argue, can we debate and can we do anything. That was our motive our objective, but they tried to give a new meaning to the whole thing. Then the President agreed to widen the scope of discussion.

ලංකා කම්කරු සංගමයේ නියෝජිතයින් දෙදෙනා ඇවිත් කිව්වා ටෙරරීසම්—තුස්තවාදය—පමණක් නොවෙයි තවත් අදාළ පුශ්න නිබෙනවාය කියා. එවිට ගරු ජනාධිපතිතුමා කිව්වා, " ඔව්, අපි ජවාත් සාකච්ජා කරමු. කරුණාකර ඇවිත් කියන්න. " කියා. ඉතින් විරුද්ධ පාර්ශවයේ තායකතුමා කියනවා නම් "අපි තමුන්නාන්යේලාත් සමහ 1981 සිට නොයෙක් දේවල් ගැන සාකච්ජා කළා. අපි කී දේවල් ඔක්කොම සිද්ධවූණේ නැහැ. ඒ තිසා අපට සාකච්ජාවට එන්න බැහැ" කියා. මේ ලෝකයේ කිසිම සාකච්ජාවක් කරන්න පූළුවන් යයි මා හිතන්නේ නැහැ. එහෙනම් තමන්ගේ පක්ෂයේවන් සාකච්ජාවක් කරන්න බැහැ නේ ? තමන්ගේ ගෙදරන් බැහැ නේ පොඩි සාකච්ජාවක් කර ගන්න ? ඒකයි මම කියන්නෙ මේ ඉදිරිපත් කරන හේතුව නොවෙයි කියලා මේකට හේතුව. ඒක නොවෙයි හේතුව. නම නමන්ගේ හෘදයවස්තුවලින් අසා බලන්න.

අපේ මතුගම ගරු මන්තීතුමා (අතිල් මූණසිංහ මහතා) හොද හිතින් වෙන්න පූළුවන් මේ ගරු සහාවට පැමිණි මුල් දවසේම කිව්වේ " මේකට දේශපාලන විසදුමක් ඕනෑ ; අපි ඔක්කොම එකතු වී සාකච්ජා කරන්න ඔනෑ " කියා. මගේ විශ්වාසයක් තිබෙනවා—මම දන්නේ නැහැ හරිද වැරදිද කියා—එතුමාට නිදහස තිබුණා නම් එතුමා මෙයට සහභාගී වෙයි කියා. මම එසේ කියන්නේ වෙන හේතුවක් නිසා නොවෙයි. මට එහෙම කල්පනා වෙනවා. බලන්න, ශී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂය වර්ජනය කර තිබෙනවා දිස්තීක් සංවර්ධන සහා. නමුත් එතුමා යනවා නේ.

අතිල් මුණසිංහ මහතා (මතුගම)

(திரு. அனில் முனசிங்ஹ—மத்துகம்) (Mr. Anil Moonesinghe – Matugama)

සංවර්ධන සභාවට මම තවම ශීයේ නැහැ. නමුත් මම ඒ අදහසට එකහයි : යැමට එකහයි.

ආර්. ජුමදාස මහතා අත pad was now ob , robus 1 .noid

(திரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாச)

(Mr. R. Premadasa)

යෑමට එකහයි. කොච්චර හොදද ? යෑමට එකහයි තමුත් යන්න දෙන්නේ නැහැ. ඕක තේ තත්ත්වය. ඕකයි මම දැන් කිව්වේ. මා ළහ තිබෙනවා එතුමා කළ කථාව. මා කළ කථාවත් මෙතැන තිබෙනවා. Then he said that we must have a political solution to this. We must all get together. Even at that time I thought he was talking with a sincere motive but even at that time I had no faith in the other parties as far as these matters were concerned, including the SLFP.

බලන්න එස්.එල්.එස්.එ. එකෙන් එවා තිබෙන ලියමන. එහි කියා තිබෙනවා මේ තත්ත්වය ඇති වූණේ එක්සත් ජාතික පසසෙ නිසාය, ඒ තිසා අපේ පැමිණීමෙන් කීසීම වැඩක් වෙන්නේ නැත, තුස්තවාදයේ අම්මත් උඹලාය තාත්තත් උඹලාය කියා. කොටින්ම කීවේ ඒකයි. "ඒ තිසා අපි එන්නේ නැතැ" කීවා. මම දන්නේ නැතැ, ඒ ලියුම ලීවේ කවූද කියන්න. නමුත් ඒ ලියුමේ තිබෙන අදහස් කාගේද කියන්න මම දන්නවා. ඒවා බණ්ඩාරනායක මහත්මියගේ අදහස්. ඒ ගැන ආයෙමත් කිසීම සැකයක් නැතැ. ඔප්පු කරන්න ඔතැ නම් ඉලංගරත්න උත්නැහේ මා ගාව ඉන්නවා. නමුත් ඒ සම්බන්ධයෙන් වග කියන්න පුතාවත් නැති හින්ද මම අද ඒක ගන්නේ නැතිව පැත්තකින් තියා ගන්නම්.

මහරගම ගරු මන්තීතුමා (දිතේෂ් ගුණවර්ධන මහතා) මෙතැන පුන පුනා කීවා, "අපි රට දෙකඩ කරනවාට වීරුද්ධයි කීයා. එතුමා එවූ ලියුම්වලත් ඒ බව කීයා තිබෙනවා. ඒ වගේම එතුමා කීවා, "ඉන්දියාවට පටවන්න තවත් ඉන්දියානු උදවිය ඉත්නවා, ඒක නොකරන එකත් වැරදියි, එහෙම නොකළොත් මේ රටට විදේශීය බලපැමක් එන්න පුළුවන්" කීයා. එය එතුමා අවංකව විශ්වාස කරන මනය වෙන්න පුළුවනි.

නමුත් එතුමා අද වන තුරු පුකාශ කළාද මේ පුකාශය වැරදිය කියා? මොකක්ද, ඒ පුකාශය? කඩුවෙල ගරු මන්තීතුමා (පෝල් පෙරේරා මහතා) ඉදිරිපත් කළා, වාසුදේව නාතායක්කාර මහතාගේ පතිකාවක්. ඇගැලියගොඩ අතුරු මැතිවරණයේදීයි, ඒ පතිකාව ඉදිරිපත් කර තිබුණේ. එයා පාර්ලිමේන්තුවට යන්නේ මොකක් සදහාද කියා එහි මේ විධියට සදහන් කර තිබුණා :

"උතුරේ විමුක්තී බලවේග ආදිය සමග ඒකාබද්ධ කර ජනතා පුශ්න වෙනුවෙන් උද්කෝෂණය කරන පුළුල් ජන වහාපාරයක් පාර්ලිමේන්තුවෙන් පිටන පෙළගැස්සීමට මන්තුීවරයකු වශයෙන් ලබන බලය හා ශක්තීය උපයෝගී කර ගත හැකිය" වාසුදේව තාතායක්කාර මහතා තවදුරටත් කියා සිටියේ මොකක්ද?

'ශු ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂය, ශු ලංකාවේ කොම්යුනිස්ට පක්ෂය, ජනතා විමුක්ති පෙරමුණ, ලංකා සමසමාජ පක්ෂය, මගජන එක්සන් පෙරමුණ, පුජාතන්තුවාදී කම්කරු සංගමය යන ආණ්ඩු විරෝධි පුධාන දේශපාලන පක්ෂ අතර සාකච්ජාවකීන් ගොඩකහා ගන්නා ලද කීතරහ එකහත්වයක් අනුව ඇහැළියගොඩට තරග වදින වාසුදේව සහෝදරයා මෙම තරගයේ එකම යු.එන්.පී. විරෝධී අජෙක්ෂකයා වෙයි.'

ඇයි, මම මේක ආයෙමත් මතු කරල කියත්නේ? මම මූලින්ම කිවා වාගේ මහජන මතය වෙනුවෙන් පෙනී සිටිනවාය කියන එක ලෙහෙසි පහසු කාර්යයක් තොවෙයි. ඒ ඒ අවස්ථාවලට ගැළපෙන විධියට පෙනී සිටින්න උත්සාහ කළාම මොකක්ද, සිදු වන්නේ? සමහර විට තමත්ගේ අභිමතාර්ථය ඉෂ්ටවන්න කල් යන්න පූළුවන් වුණත් ටිකක් අවංක වෙන්න ඕනෑ. එහෙම නැතිනම් මේ වැඩය කරන්න බැහැ.

කථානායකතුමනි, මේ රටේ සාමය, සංවරය, සාමදානය, සමභිය, සමධේය ඇති වෙනවාට මේ ඇතැම් දේශපාලන පක්ෂ කැමැතිය කියා තමූන්තාන්සේ හිතනවාද? විශේෂයෙන් එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂය පාලනය කරන කාලයකදී සිංහල-දෙමළ කලබල, මූස්ලිම්-දුවිඩ කලබල ආදිය නැතිව සියලූම ජාතීන් එකට අත්වැල් බැදගෙන සහෝදරයන් වගේ හොදට කාල-බිල-ඇදල සතුටින් සමභියෙන් ඉන්නවා දකීන්නට මේ ගොල්ල කැමති වෙයි කියා තමුන්තාන්සේගේ දේශපාලන අවබෝධදය අනුව හිතන්න පූළුවන්ද? ඒක තමයි, ඒ ගොල්ල අවසානයටම දකින්න කැමති දේ.

මම මේ ශාස්තුය දත්තා තිසයි. එදා ඔය වටමේස සාකච්ජා, 'පොලිටිකල් සොලනුෂන්ස්' කියන කොට ටිකක් උසුඑ-විසුඑ කළේ. මතුගම මන්තීතුමා (අතිල් මුණසිංහ මහතා) වාගේ එක් කෙනෙක්-දෙන්නෙක් නම් සමහර විට අවංකව ඒ ගැන කල්පනා කරනවා ඇති. නමුත් මේ ආණ්ඩුව පරද්දා, මේ ජනාධිපතිතුමා එළවා, මේ ඇමතිවරුත් එළවා ඒ තැන්වලට පැන ගත්ත බලා ඉත්ත උන්නැහේලා මේ වටමේස සාකච්ජාවලට එයිද, කථානායකතුමනි? ඒවා දන්නා මනුෂායෙක් හැටියට තමයි. එදා මතුගම මන්තීතුමාට මම ටීකක් උසූඑ-විසූඑ කළේ. තමුත් ජනාධිපතිතුමා කල්පතා කළේ එහෙම නොවෙයි. අපි මොන විධීයට මේ තුස්තචාදී වැඩ පිළිවෙල මර්දනය කරන්න කියා කළත් මේ උදවිය ඇවිත් අපට චෝදනා කරනවා. "අතන අයුක්තියක් කළා, අහිංසකයෙක් අරගෙන ගිහින් මරා දැම්මා, මෙනන වෙඩි තිබ්බා, අසාධාරණ විධියට සමහරුන් හිරබාරයට ගත්තා, ඒක කළේ හරියට තොරතුරු දන්නේ තැතිවයි, අනේ අපරාදේ, ඇන්ටි ටෙරරිස්ට් ඇක්ට් එක උඩ සමහරුත් හිරබාරයට අරගෙන තිබෙනවා" ආදී වශයෙන් මේ අය කියනවා. ඒ නිසා, මේ ගොල්ලන්වත් සම්බන්ධ කර ගත්තොත් තරකදයි කල්පතා කළ ජනාධිපතිතුමා මෙසේ කිව්වා. "මේ බලන්න, මෙන්න මේ තැන්වලයි මේ සිද්ධී ඇති වන්නේ, මෙන්න මේ ආකාරයටයි මේ වැඩ පිළිවෙළ ගෙන යන්නේ, මොනවාද තමුන්තාත්සේලාට කීයන්ත තියෙන්නේ? මෙහි තිබෙන්නේ එකම පරමාර්තයයි. සාමය ඇති කිරීම නුස්තවාදය නැති කිරීම, අව්-ආයුධ බලය නැවැන්වීම යන මේවායි. ඊට පස්සේ අපේ දේශපාලන වාද භේද තියෙයි, තොයෙක් දේ තියෙයි, එවිට අපට නිදහස තියෙනවා, ඒ ගැන කුියා කරන්න."

මේක මොන තරම් උතුම් අදහසක්දැයි බලන්න. නුවරඑලිය-මස්කෙලිය ගරු මන්තීතුමා (අනුර ඛණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා) වැනි අය දැන් මෙය වෙනත් ආකාරයකට පෙන්වන්නට හදනවා. එතුමා මොකක්ද කියන්නේ? "ඕ....... නමුසෙලාට බැරි වූණානේ! දැන් ඇවිත් අපට කියනවා." දැන් ඒ ගොල්ලන්ගේ පක්ෂය ඇතුළේ තුස්තවාදය නැතුවා වාගේ හරියට. අද එහි ඇති වී තිබෙන තත්ත්වය මොකක්ද? නුවරඑලිය-මස්කෙලියේ ගරු මන්තීතුමා මෙහි නැති එක ගැන මම කනගාටු වෙනවා. මම වෙන දවසක කියන්නම, ඉතිහාසය. මම ඕක කිව්වේ ඊයේ පෙරෙයිදා නොවෙයි. මම ඕක ගෝල්පේෂ් එකේදී කිව්වෙ. 1977 දී. අපේ ආණ්ඩුව පිහිටු වූ කාලයේදී. අපේම සමහර උදවිය එදා මා එක්ක එකහ වුණේ නැහැ. ශී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයට වෙන්නට යන දේ මම එදා කිව්වා. "නූතා කියන්නා වාගේ" යයි අපේ ගමේ—ගොඩෙ උදවිය කියන්නේ. මම එදා කිව්ව දේ අද වෙනතුරුම සිදිධ වේගන ඇවිත් නැද්ද?

ඔය නායකත්වය යටතේ නම් ශී ලංකා තිදගස් පක්ෂයට අනාගතයක් නැගැයි මම එදා මැදවච්චියේ ගරු මන්තීතුමාට (මෛතීපාල සේනානායක මහතා) කිව්වා. අද මොකක්ද වෙලා තියෙන්නේ? එන එන ඩෙපියුවී ලීඩර් ඉවරයි. "අපේ නායිකාව බෙරා ගන්න මෙන්න මේ බොරු කිව්වා, මෙහෙම උගුල් ඇටෙව්වා, නමුන් මේ ගෑනි මටවත් හරියට සැලකුවේ නැගැ නේ, ගුණේ නැගැ නේද?" කියා එන ඩෙපියුට් ලීඩර් කියනවා. මැදවච්චියේ ගරු මන්තීතුමා මේක කිව්වා. දැන් කොලොන්නාවේ හිටපු මන්තී ඉලංගරත්න මහතා කියනවා. පක්ෂයේ හිටපු නියෝජන නායකයා.

ප්‍රතාට මොකද වුණේ? ප්‍රතා අම්මට විරුද්ධව පෙන්සම අරගෙන උසාවියට ගියේ නැද්ද? අම්මා ඒකාධිපතිණියක් යයි ප්‍රතා උසාවියට ගිහින් කිව්වේ නැද්ද? එතුමා නැති තැන මේවා කියන්න මම කැමති නැහැ. එතුමා නැති එක ගැන මම කනගාටු වෙනවා. බණ්ඩාරනායක මැතිණියට මේ රට ගැන ආදරයක් වත් හැහීමක්වන් නැහැ. ඒ බව මට තේරුණු නිසායි, මම එදා අර විධියට කිව්වේ. එසේ නැතිව මම අනාගත වාකෘයක් කිව්වා නොවෙයි. මම දැන් කියන්නේත් පරණ ඉතිහාසය. ඒ පක්ෂයේ හිටපු කවුරුත් ඒක එලියට ගෙන තිබෙනවා. ඉලංගරන්න උත්නැහේ කුඹුරු පණතත් එළියට ගෙන තිබෙනවා. මෛතීපාල සේනානායක උන්නැහේන් එය එළියට ගත්තා. එදා ඉලංගරන්න උන්නැහේ මැදවච්චියේ මන්තීතුමාට බැන්නා. දැන් ඒක ඇත්ත බව ඉලංගරන්න උන්නැහේම කියනවා.

මේවා අපි වාගේ මෝඩයෙක් කිව්වාම තමයි, කවුරුත් ගණන් ගත්තෙ තැත්තේ. අපේ වරද, අනෙක් අයට අවුරුදු හතරකට පහකට පසුව අවබෝධ වන දේ අපට අවුරුදු හතරකට පහකට ඉස්සෙල්ලා අවබෝධ වීමයි. ඒක අපේ නූගත්කමේ අංගයක්. ඇයි? අපි හාවඩ් ගියේ තැහැ. ඔක්ස්පර්ඩ් ගියේ නැහැ; කේම්බුජ් ගියේ නැහැ; සෝර්බෝන් ගියේ නැහැ. ඉතින්, අපි වාගේ නූගත් යක්කු කියාපු දේවල් ඒ දවස්වල කවුරුත් පැත්තකට දැමීමා.

මට මෙහිදී වූවමතා කළේ ගරු ජනාධිපතිතුමා මේ පියවර ගත්තේ ඇයිදැයි විස්තර කිරීමයි. මේ උදවිය මෙහි ඇවිත් නොයෙක් දේ කියනවා, චෝදනා නගනවා. එහෙම නම්, ඒ උදවියට තිබෙන්නේ මේ සාකච්ඡාවට ඇවිත් කියන්න තිබෙන දෙයක් කියන එක නේ.

Let them come and tell us what to do. Let them tell us, are they for terrorism or are they telling us to solve this problem by dividing the country and giving them Eelam? Let them come and tell us. Why are they shy? Why can they not come and tell us how to solve this problem according to their own likes?

එහෙම තැත්තම් මොන පයවරක් අපි ගත්තත් මෙතෙන්ට ඇවිත් ඒකට වෙතින්<sup>•</sup>පැත්තක් කීයනවා. <mark>දුන් බලන්න මොකක්ද අල්ලාගෙන</mark> තිබෙන්නෙ කියා. අර, මළකදන් ගැන තිබෙන එක්තරා රෙගුලාසියක් ; ඔක ඔය නීතියෙ තියෙන එකක් නෙ. ඔක නැවැත්තුවෙ කවුද ? මම කියල දෙන්නම් ඒකෙ ඉතිහාසයත්. ඔක 1947 සිට දිගටම නිබුණා. එද පටත් හැම අවස්ථාවකම හදිසි නීතිය දම්ම නම්, ඒ හදිසි නීතිය දම්මේ ඩි. එස්. සේතානායක අගමැතිතුමා වේවා, ඩඩ්ලි සේතානායක අගමැතිතුම වේවා, සර් ජෝන් කොනලාවල අගමැතිතුමා වේවා, එස්. ඩබ්ලිව්. ආර්. ඩ්. බණ්ඩාරතායක අගමැතිතුමා වේවා, සිරීමා බණ්ඩාරනායක අගමැතිණිය වේවා, ඒ දමු හැම අවස්ථාවකම ඔය මළකදන් පිළිබද රේගුලාසීය තිබුණා. කවුද දන්නවද ඔය පැනවීම් කරන අවස්ථාවේදී ඒක නතර කෙළේ ? ඒක කළේ වර්තමාන ජනාධිපතිතුමා බව මම මනක් කරන්න කැමතියි මේ සභාවට. ඇයි එහෙම නම් මේපාර දුම්මෙ ? ඒකටත් මම පිළිතුරු දෙන්නම්. බැරීම තැත. තොකර බැරීම තැන. ඉතින් මේක කවුරුත් කලබල වෙන්න ඕනෑ දෙයක් නොවෙයි. මේක මේ නීතියේ තිබෙන රෙගුලාසිවලින් එකක්.

විරුද්ධ පක්ෂයේ නායකතුමා කිව්වා, උතුරේ මිනිසුන්ට කන්න තොදී 'අදින්න තොදී තෙල් නොදී අවශා පහසුකම් නොදී උතුරේ උදවියට දඩුවම් කර මේ පාලනය ගෙන යන්න, පුළුවන්ය කියා මේ රජය හිතනවාද, එහෙම හිතනවා නම් එය කණගාටුදයක වැරදීමක් කියා. [ආර්. ජෙමදස මහතා]

I was very sorry to hear that from the Hon. Leader of the Opposition. You know to what extent the President has gone to see that the essential supplies are provided to the people of that part of the country. He went out of his way.

මේ කෝච්චි පූච්චල දමන කොට, බඩු ගෙනයන වාහනවලට ගහන කොට, ගිනි කියන කොට, ඒ අවස්ථාවලදී හමුදුවෙන් වෙඩි තැබීමේදී කවුරු හෝ මළාම ඒකටත් කෑ ගහන කොට කොහොමද දෙන්නෙ ? මට දවසක් වීරුද්ධ පක්ෂයේ නායකතුමා තුණ්ඩුවක් එච්චා, අපට ආරංචියක් තිබෙනවාය අපට හෙල් සංස්ථාව හෙල් යවන්නෙ නැතිව ඉන්නවාය කියා. මම ඒ ගැන හෙල් සංස්ථාව අපේ සභාපතිතුමාගෙන් අහල බැඳුවම එතුමා කියනවා. අපි ලෑස්තියි ඕනෑ කරම හෙල් යවන්න නමුත් කවුද හෙල් ගෙනයන්නෙ කියා. ගෙනියන්න දුමරිය ලැහැස්ති නැහැ. දුමරිය පෙටට ලැහැස්ති වෙයි, නැත්නම් වැගන් ලැහැස්ති වෙයි. නමුත් කවුද එලවන්නෙ ? මනුෂායො ඕන නේද ? ස්වීච් එකක් තද කිරීමෙන් පමණක් ඒක කෙරෙනවා නම් කමක් නැහැ. බඩු ගෙනයන්නෙ කොහොමද ? ඒ පාර සමහර දේවල් ජනාධිපතිතුමා නැවෙන් යවන්න හීළියෙල කළා. මටම කිව්වා වාහන තිබෙන උදවියට කථා කරන්නය කියා බඩු ගෙනයාමට. සමහරවිට එතුමා කල්පනා කළා දුවිඩ වනාපාරිකයන් ලවා යවන්න.

පසුගිය දිනක දෙමටගොඩ රැස්වීමක් තිබුණා. බෞද්ධ රැස්වීමක්. මහා සංඝ රත්තය රැස්වී සිටි තැනක්. එතෙන්දි ජනාධිපතිතුමා මොකක්ද කිව්වෙ ? සමහර උදවිය මට කියනවාය මේ අපරාධ කරන පුදේශවලට කැම යවත්න එපාය, ඇදුම් යවත්ත එපාය, තෙල් යවත්ත එපාය කියා, නමුත් මම බුදුහාමුදුරුවන්ගේ ධර්මය පිළිගත්ත කෙනෙක්ය, මනුෂාත්වය මට ලොකුය, මට පුළුවත් විධියකින් ඒවා සියල්ලම සපයනවාය කියා. පත්සලේදි කිව්වෙ, මුළු රටම පුකෝප වෙලා තිබෙන වෙලාවෙ.

කථානායකතුමනි, මේ රට අද විවෘත රටක්. ඕතෑම රටක පුවත්පත් වාර්තාකරුවෙකුට මේ රටට එත්ත පුළුවත්. ඕනෑ කෙතෙකුගෙත් කාලා බීලා ඇදලා ඉන්නත් පුළුවත්. ගිහිල්ලා ඕනෑ පවයක් ලියන්නන් පුළුවන්. නමුත් අද මේ ලෝකයේ ජාතෳත්තර වැඩපිළිවෙලක් තිබෙන බව මතක තබා ගතයුතුයි. දුන් අඑත් විධියේ යටත් විජිත වාදයක් හිස ඔසවාගෙත එනවා. ඒ වැඩපිළිවෙල එන්නේ ධනවාදී යයි කියන උදවියගෙන් වන්නට පූඑවන් ; සමාජවාදීයයි කියන උදවියගෙන් වන්නට පූඑවන්. ඉස්සර කාලයේ නම් රටකට ගහලා රටක් අල්ලා ගත්තා. දුන් කාලයේ රටකට ඇවිල්ලා ගහලා රටක් අල්ලා ගන්නේ නැහැ. වෙන වෙන ජ්ජන්ට්ස්ලා මාර්ගයෙනුයි ඒ වැඩය කරන්නේ. ඒ කාරණය අප නොදන්නවා නොවෙයි, අප දන්නවා. විදේශ පුතිපත්තිය ගැන මට ඒ තරම දනීමක් තැහැ. නමුත් මට තිබෙන දනීමේ හැටියට නම් මම කියන්නේ මෙහි ලොකු පෙල්ලමක් තිබෙන බවයි. නොයෙක් අයට, මේ ලෝකයේ මර්මස්ථාත අල්ලාගත්ත ආශාවක් තිබෙනවා. නමුත් මේ ශුී ලංකාව තමැති මධෳස්ථානය කිසිවෙකුට ආපසු යටත් කර ගන්නට මේ රජය තිබෙන තාක් කල් අප අවකාස නොදෙන බව මා කියන්නට කැමතියි. අපට උදව් කරන්නට කැමති උදවියගෙන් අප උදව් ලබා ගන්නවා. අපට උදව් කරන අයටත් අප උදව් කරනවා. අපට මිනුයෝ අවශායි. මේ ගැන පුශ්නයක් නැහැ.

අපේ විදේශ කටයුතු පිළිබද ඇමතිතුමා බොහොම කදීම පිළිතුරක් දුන්නා. විරුද්ධ පාර්ශවයේ මන්තීවරු තිකුණාමලය ගැන කථා කරනවා. තිකුණාමලය අප එක් එක්කෙනාට විකුණන්නට යනවාලු! එතුමා පැහැදීලි කර දුන්නා සතෘ තත්ත්වය. අපේ සම්පත් දෙස බල බලා. අපේ දුප්පත්කම කිය කියා සිටිනවා මිස අපේ සම්පත්වලින් නියම පුයෝජනයක් ගන්නේ නැද්ද? අපට යමක් පාවිච්චි කරන්නට බැරි නම්, පාවිච්චි කරන්නට පුළුවත් කෙනෙකු ලවා අපට එයින් නිසි ආදයමක් ලබාගන්නට එපායැ. අපට ආදයම වැඩියෙන් දෙන්නේ කවුද. ඒ අය ලවා ඒ ආදයම අපි ලබා ගන්නවා. එතුමා කිව්වා ඉන්දියාව. සිංගප්පූරුව ඉල්ලුම්පතු ඉදිරිපත් කළා. කියා. ඒවා ගැන කල්පනා කර බලා අපට පුයෝජනවත් යයි හිතෙනවා නම් අප කුලියට දෙනවා ; බදු දෙනවා. කාටද එය නවත්වන්නට පුළුවන්? අපට තිබෙන

දෙයින් අපට ඔතු දෙයක් කරන්න පුළුවන් නෙ. අපේ රටේ ජනතාව අපේ රටේ පාලනය හාර දී තිබෙන්නේ එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයටයි. අපේ අහිමතාර්ථය අපේ රටේ තිබෙන සම්පත් දෙස බල බලා ජනතාව දුගී දූප්පත් වෙනවා බල බලා සිථම නොවෙයි. අපේ පාලන කාලය තුළදී මේ රටේ මොන විදියකින් හෝ දුගී දූප්පත් කම් නැති කිරීමයි අපේ පරමාර්ථය. සමහර අය බොහොම කැමතියි, මේ රටේ ජනතාව අන්ත දුගී තත්ත්වයට තව තවත් වැටෙනවා දකින්න. නිල මැස්සාගේ ගතිය ඒක නෙ. තුවාලයක් සනීප වෙනවාට නිල මැස්සා කැමතිද? ඒකේ සාරයෙන් ජීවත් වෙන එකා ඔක පාර පාරා ඉන්න එකයි කරන්නේ. තුවාලයට බෙහෙත් දමා සනීප කර ගත්තවාට නිල මැස්සා කැමති නැහැ. ඒ නිල මැස්සොයි ඔය කෑ ගහන්නෙ, "අරක විකුණනවා; මේක විකුණනවා. අරක බදු දෙනවා; මේක බදු දෙනවා", කියා.

පැරණි පාර්ලිමේන්තු ගොඩනැගිල්ලට එහා පැත්තේ ඇවිලන් වතුරශුය තුළ පිට්ටනියක් තිබුණු බව නමුන්තාන්සෙ දන්නවා. අප අවුරුදු ගණනක් බෝල ගැහුවා ඔය පිට්ටනියෙ. පාරෙන් මෙහා පැත්තෙ පිට්ටනියෙ බෝල ගහනවා. එයින් එහා පැත්තෙ පාර්ලිමේන්තුවේ මුදල් ඇමතිවරු "තෝ මනි, නෝ මනි" කියා හැමදාම කියනවා. ගරු කථාතායකතුමනි. අද මොකක්ද, ඇතිවෙලා තිබෙන්නෙ එතැන? පැරණි පාර්ලිමේන්තුවේ පාරෙන් එහා පැත්තේ දැන් ඕනැ තරම "මනි". එක පර්වී එකක් ලක්ෂ දෙකයි තුනයි.

එතැත තිබුණු කසි කබල් ගොඩනැගිලිවල හමුදාව සහ පොලීසිය ගිටියා. කොයි වෙලාවෙ ඒ ගොඩනැගිල්ල ඔඳුවෙ කඩාගෙන වැටෙයිදැයි දත්තේ තැහැ. ඒ ගොඩනැගිලි සියල්ලම කඩා ඒ වෙනුවට වෙනත් ගොඩනැගිලි තනාදීමට පමණක් නොව කොළඹ නගරයේ අඩාලවී තිබුණු කැළිකපල කානු කුමයත්, ජල සම්පාදන කුමයත් යථා තත්ත්වයට පත් කරන්නට යෙදුවේත් ඒ ඉඩම් බදු දී ලබා ගත් මුදල්. ගෙවල් ගදන්නට මුදල් නැති තත්ත්වයක් ඇති වුණු අවස්ථාවේ ඒ කටයුතුවලට යොදා ගත්තෙත් ඒ මුදල්; ඒ සම්පත්. මේ විදියේ කටයුතු කරන්නට අපට ඇවිලත් බැරැක්කයත් එකයි. තිකුණාමලයත් එකයි. කවුනායකත් එකයි. කිරින්දත් එකයි. යාපතෙත් එකයි. කන්කයන්තුරෙන් එකයි. අපේ සම්පත්වලින් අපී නියම පුයෝජනයක් ගෙන මේ රටේ දුගි දුප්පත් කම නැති කරන්නටයි අපේ බලාපොරොත්තුව. ඉතින් ඕක පෙන්වනවා, "හයියෝ! යු.ඇත්.පී. කරයෝ මේ තිකුණාමලය දීලා ඉවරයි" කියලා. ඒකතෙ මේ රණ්ඩුව.

සමහර විට මේ කරන කතා අහගෙන ඉන්න විට මේ මිනිසුන් කතා කරන්නේ බුද්ධියක් පාවිච්චි කරමින්ද, එහෙම නැත්නම් කතා කළ යුතු තැනකින්ද, වෙන තැනකින්ද කියා තේරුම් ගන්න අමාරු තන්න්වයක් ඇති වෙනවා. නමුත් බලයේ ඉන්න විට කිව්වෙ ඔය දේවල් නොවෙයි. එද කිව්වෙ ඔයිට වඩා වෙනස් කතා. එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයේ තුස්තවාදය ගැන කතා කරන උදවිය – උපාසක අම්මල – අපට එද අත්තනගල්ලටවත් යන්න දුන්නෙ නැහැ. එද මේ විදේශ කටයුතු හාර ඇමතිතුමාගේ කාර් එක පොඩි පට්ටම් කළා. ආහාර හා කෘෂිකර්ම ඇමතිතුමාගේ කාර් එක පොඩි පට්ටම් කළා. විමල් ද මෙල් නාගරික මත්තීතුමා–ගාමිනී ජයපූරිය ඇමතිතුමාත් සමග ගිය එක්කෙතා–පත බේරා ගත්තෙ අමාරුවෙන්. ඔහුට තුවාල කළා. මම යන විට ඌරපොල පැත්තෙ සිදුවන මේ විපත ගැන මට ආරංචි වුණා. පාරවල් හරහා, මහ පාරවල්වල, කොළඹ නුවර පාරේ මහ කදන් කපා දමා තිබුණ. අත්තනගල්ලට එක්න අවසර තැතැයි කිව්වා. අපේ මේ ගාමය කර්මාන්ත සංවර්ධන ඇමතිතුමාත් ජනාධිපතිතුමාත් අපට වඩා බුද්ධීමත් නිසා කලින්ම එහි ගොස් සිටියා. උදේ යන්න සිටි අපට නමයි මේ කරදර වලට මුහුණ පාත්ත සිද්ධ වුණේ. මේ ඉන්න මන්තීවරුත් වැඩි දෙනෙට ගල් පාරවල් කකා තමයි යන්න සිදු වුණේ. මේ විධියේ වැඩ කළ උදවියයි දුන් මේ කතා කරන්නෙ. මේ ගැන පාර්ලිමේන්තුවේදී කතා කළාම මොකක්ද කිව්වෙ ? අත්තනගල්ලට එන්න කොළඹ උදවියට අවසර තැහැයි කිව්වා. අත්තනගල්ලට එන්න වෙන පළාත්වල උදවියට අවසර තැහැ කිව්වා. ඒ අවස්ථාවෙදි මට අගමැතිණියගෙන් අහන්න සිදු වුණා. බලන්ගොඩ උදවියට අත්තනගල්ලට එන්න අවසර තිබෙනවාද කීයා. කොහෙන්ද ආවෙ කියලවත් එයාට මනක නැහැ. මෙන්න මේ උදවිය තමයි එක්සන් ජාතිය පක්ෂය නුස්තවාදය ඇති කළාය කියා දුන් කියන්නෙ.

විපක්ෂ නායතුමාත් කිව්වා වාගේ දුවිඩ එක්සත් විමුක්ති පෙරමුණත් සමග අපි සාකච්ඡා පැවැත්වූවා. මොකක්ද පරමාර්ථය ? එම සාකච්ඡා පැවැත්වීමේ පරමාර්ථය මොකක්ද ? අපට ඒකටත් දෙස් කිව්වා. අද එතුමන්ලාන් සමග ජන්දය දෙන උදවිය, එහෙම නැත්නම් එකට ආවඩා ගන්නා උදවිය පතුවලින් මොනවාද කිව්වෙ ? අර තුකුණාමලය ගැන කිව්ව දේමයි කිව්වෙ. මේ රට පාවා දේන්න යනවයි කිව්වා. අඩු ගණතේ සංවර්ධන සහා කුමයක්වත් ඇති කරන්න මෙතෙක් මොත රජයකටද පුළුවත් වුණේ කීයා මම විපක්ෂ නායකතුමාගෙන් අහන්න කැමතියි. එය ඇති කළේ මොන තරම් අවංකවද කියා එතුමා දන්නවා. ඒ සංවර්ධන සහා තුලින් පුදේශවලට බලතල ලබා දෙන්න මොන තරම් කැමැත්තක් තිබෙනවාද ? උතුරටත් තැගෙනහිරටත් පමණක් නොවෙයි, මුඑ ලංකාවේම දිස්තුික්ක 24 ටම බලතල ලබා දෙන්න. නමුත් කථානායකතුමනි, අපට කිව්වා Now it is about 2 or 3 years. What have you done about the Development Councils Act ? You have not delegated powers. කියල. තිබෙන කුමයක් වෙනස් කිරීම දවසකින් දෙකකින් කරන්න පුළුවන් දෙයක්ද ? The whole system will collapse. මේ කුමය කඩාකප්පල් නොවී මේ බලතල ලබාදෙන්නට තොයෙක් උදවියගෙන් උපදෙස් ලබා ගන්නට සිදු වුණ බව එතුමන්ලා දන්නවා. කොයිතරම් ජාතිවාදී වැඩ පිළිවෙලවල් තිබෙනවාද කියාත් එතුමත්ලා හොදට දන්නවා. මේ කුමය හරියට කියාත්මක නොකළොත්, එක ජාතියකට, එක කොටසකට, එක කණ්ඩායමකට මේ රටෙන් කැල්ලක් දී තිබෙනවා, අතික් පළාත්වලට නැති බලතල දී තිබෙනවා. කියන චෝදනාව ආචොත් මොන 'ඩ්වලොප්මන්ට් කවුන්සිල්' ද ? **ආයිමත් ඉතින් ගීන්නක් නේද පටන් ගන්නෙ? අපි ඔය හැම** කාරණාවක් ගැනම කල්පතා කරන්න ඕතෑ.

දිස්තුක් ඇමති කුමයක් අපි ඇති කළේ ඒ නිසානේද ? දිස්තුික් සංවර්ධන සභා කුමයක් ඇති කළේ ඒ නිසා නේද ? පාදේශීය මණ්ඩල කුමයක් ඇති කළේ ගුමෝදය මණ්ඩල කුමයක් ඇති කළේ ඒ නිසා නේද ? මේවා ඔක්කොම කළේ රවටත්නය කියා දුවිඩ එක්සත් විමුක්ති පෙරමුණට කියන්න පුඑවන්ද ? එහෙනම් මොකකට රවටත්නෑද ? අපට ඡන්ද අඩුද ? මේ රට ගෙන යන්න ඡන්ද අඩුද ? මේ පාර්ලිදමින්තුවේ වැඩ කරගෙන යන්න ඡන්ද අඩුද ?

Why did we do all these things? Was it to cheat the Tamil-speaking people of the North and the East and the people in the rest of the country? Why should we do that when we have a five-sixths majority in this Parliament? Even when the TULF was voting against us in this House we continued to have a dialogue with them. Why? Because we wanted to restore peace and harmony in this country. That was our objective.

මොතවද, ශුී ලංකා තිදහස් පක්ෂය බලයේ ඉන්නකොට කළේ? තුනෙන් දෙකක බලයක් තියාගෙන මොකක්ද කළේ? සලකපු හැටි දන්නවනේ? නමුත් එහෙම කරල තිබෙද්දිත් ජනාධිපතිවරණයේදී ඒ හැම දෙයක්ම කළ නායකාට විරුද්ධව ජන්දය පාවිච්චි කළා. ඒන් අපි අන්හැරියේ නැහැ. අමනාප වුණේ නැහැ. මොකද, අපේ පරමාර්ථය ජන්දය නොවෙයි. දේශපාලන පක්ෂයක ආධාරය ලබා ගැන්ම නොවෙයි. අපේ ආශාව මේ රටේ ඇතිවී තිබෙන සැකය නැති කිරීමයි. සිංහල වේවා, දුවිඩ වේවා, මුස්ලිම් වේවා, බර්ගර් වේවා මේ රටේ ජනතාව සමගියෙන් සාමයෙන්, මේ රට කැලී කැලීවලට කඩන්න නොදී. ඒකිය රටක් හැටියට මේ රටේ ස්වාධිනත්වය ආරක්ෂා කර ගැනීමයි. අපේ එකම පරමාර්ථය. අපි කොයිතරම් බලවේගවලට මුහුණ දීලාද මේ කටයුතු කළේ කියන එක කාටවත් අමතක කරන්න බැහැ.

මේරටේ "ගාන්ධ්" චිතුපටිය පෙන්වන්න හොදම කාලය. හොදම අවස්ථාව මේකයි කියා මම මේ ළහදී පිළියන්දල පැවති රැස්වීමකදී කිව්වා. රට වෙන් කරගෙන, බෙදගෙන වෙනම ආණ්ඩු පිහිටූවන්න ඔතැය කියන මේ උන්මත්තක ගාවයෙන් පෙළී කර ගන්නා වූ විපත්තිය දන ගන්න ඔතැ නම්, දක ගන්න ඔතැ නම් අන්න ඒ චිතුපටිය බලන්න. මේක තමයි, ඒකට නියම අවස්ථාව. මිල ගණන් වැඩි තියා අමාරුවක් තිබෙනවා. ටිකක් කල් ගියාම තමයි. ඒකේ ගණන ටිකක් අඩු වෙන්නේ. නමුත් ඇත්වශයෙන්ම ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, මේ ලංකාවේ සිටින සිංහල, දුවිඩ, මුස්ලිම්, බර්ගර් හැම ජන කොටසක්ම ඒ වනුපටිය බැලිය යුතු අවස්ථාවක් හැටියට මෙය හඳුන්වන්න පුළුවන්. බෙදු ගන්න නැතුව පිස්සු වැටුණානේ. මොකක්ද මේ වුණේ කියා ඊට පස්සේ තේරෙනවා. විශේෂයෙන්ම ලංකාව වගේ කුඩා රටක් බෙදුණාට පස්සෙයි. රහේ තේරෙන්නේ. අපට ඉතාමන් සීමාසහිත සම්පත් පුමාණයකුයි, තිබෙන්නේ. බෙදෙන්න කතා කරන එක ලෙහෙසියි. 'ඊලාම' ඉල්ලන එක ලෙහෙසියි. 'සෙපරේවියම් කියන්න පුඑවන්. අපි වෙන වෙන රටවලට එක් වෙනවාය කියන්න පුළුවන්. ඕනෑ නම තාජපත් දමා ගන්න පුළුවන්. 'බැරියඊස්' දමා ගන්න පුළුවන්. කළාට පස්සේ තමයි, වැඩේ තිබෙන්නේ. මේ මොන විපනක්ද අපි කර ගත්තේ කියා එදට තමයි තේරෙන්නේ. අපි ඒකයි කල්පතා කළේ. එහෙම නැතිව මේ රට පාලනය කරන්න ශක්තියක් නැති නිසා නොවෙයි. දුර්වලකමකට එහෙම නොවෙයි. අපේ පරමාර්ථය මොකක්ද? බෙදු රටක් ගෙන යන එක ලෙහෙසියි. එක එක ජාතීන් ඇන කොටා ගත්තකොට, කලබල කරදර තිබෙතකොට පාලනයට ලෙහෙසියි, ඇයි, "divide and rule" කියල නොවැ. කිව්වේ. එහෙත් සමගි කරන්න ඕනෑය කියන කල්පනාව ඇති කර ගන්නේ මේ රජය නොවැ. සාමයක් ඇති කර ගත්ත ඕනෑය කියත එක කිව්වේ මේ රජය නොවැ. එක ජත කොටසකටවත් අවශ්වාසයක්, සැකයක් ඇති නොවන ආකාරයෙන් මේ සමගීය, සාමය ඇති කර ගන්න ඕනැය කියලයි අපි කල්පතා කළේ.

ු ගුරු කථානායකතුමති, මම එකක් කියන්න කැමතියි. දේශපාලන පුයෝජනයක් සඳහා අපි සෙල්ලම් කරන්නේ මිනිස් ජීවිත සමභයි කියන එක අපි මතක තබා ගන්නට ඕනෑ. මේ රට සමගිවෙනවා දකින්න මේ රටේ විපක්ෂ සූදනම් නැහැයි කියන එක ඒ උදවිය ඔප්පු කර තිබෙනවා. ජනාධිපතිතුමා කළ මේ ආරාධනයෙන් ඉස්මතු වෙලා පෙනෙන වැදගත්ම කාරණය ඒකයි. මේ රටේ සාමයක් ඇති වෙනවා දකින්න, සමෘද්ධියක් ඇති වෙනවා දකින්න ඒ උදවිය ලැස්ති නැහැ. මේ සාමය සමගිය තුළින් සමෘධියක් ඇතිවුණොත් එයින් දුගී දූජපන්කම තැතිවුතොත් ඒ ගොල්ලත්ගේ පක්ෂ අකුලාගෙන යන්න වෙනව කියා ඒ ගොල්ලන් තුළ විශ්වාසයක් ඇතිවෙලා නියෙනවා. ඒ නිසා ලොකු **ඊර්ෂාාවක් ඇති වී තිබෙනවා. ඒ හැර මේ සම්බන්ධයෙන් වෙන** තේරුමක් දෙන්න මට නැහැ. එහෙම නැන්නම්, මොනවටද අපිව කැඳවන්නේ කියා ඒ අය ඇවිත් අහත්තේ නැත්තේ ඇයි? මොකක්ද, මේ ලියුම් ගණුදෙනුව? මේක හරි වැඩක්තේ. කටින් කියන්න ඕන ඒවා ලියුමෙන් කියනවා. ඔය කාර්යාලයට ආව කියල මොකක්ද ඇතිවෙන වෙනස? "අපි භාෂා පුශ්ණය ගැන කථා කරන්න කැමතියි : දිස්තික් සංචර්ධන සහා කුමය ගැන කථා කරන්න කැමතියි ; ඒ ඒ ආගම්වල පුධානීන් ගෙන්වන්න කැමතියි ; එහෙම කැමති නැත්නම් අපි යනවා යන්ඩ" කියා ඇවිත් කියන්ඩ පුළුවන්නේ. එහෙම කියල එන එකයිනේ තියෙන්නේ. එහෙම කිව්වාම අපට සාකච්ඡා කරන්න පුළුවන්නේ. එව්ට අපි දන්නවනේ, මේ යෝජනාව ඉදිරිපත් කරන අය මේවාට ලෑස්කියි

අපි කැමතියි. මුළු ලංකාවම එයට සහභාගී වෙනවා නම්. ඉඩකඩ නැති එකයි පුශ්ණය. හැබැයි ඒ අය, යම් යම් අයගේ අදහස් ගන්න යම් යම් අයට ආරාධනා කරන්නය කියනවා නම් අපට පුළුවන් එය කරන්න. නමුත් ඒ කියන අයවත් ඉන්න එපායැ. මේ රටේ සාමයන්, සමගියත්, සමෘධ්යන් ඇති වෙනවාට අවංකව කැමති නම් ඔන්න නැවත වරක් දෙර විවෘත කර තිබෙනවා: ඇවිල්ල කියන්න. මෙතෙන්ට ඇවිත් හදිසි නීතිය පිළිබඳ යෝජනාව ඉදිරිපත් කළාම "මොකක්ද නමුසෙලගෙ මේ හදිසි තීතියෙන් කරන්නේ? අන්න අහවල් තැන අර මිනිහව මැරුවා; අන්න අහවල් තැන මේ මිනිහා මැරුවා; අන්න අහවල් තැන අරගෙන දිවිවා." කියනවා. මොකක්ද එසේ කීමෙන් ඇතිවෙන පලය? කවුරුන් එකට වාඩ්වෙලා. ඇති වී තිබෙන නත්ත්වය හොදට තේරුම් ගෙන. ඒවාට ගන්න කීයා මාගී පරීකෂා කර මේ වැඩ කටයුතුවලට සහභාගි වන්නට නරකද? ඒකයි. අපි කළේ.

තමුත් මේකට වෙත වෙත තේරුම් දෙන්න පටන් ගත්තා. පත්තරවල පුකාශ කරන්න පටත් ගත්තා. ලියුම් ලියන්න පටන් ගත්තා. අනේ කොයි තරම් කඩදසි තාස්තී කෙරුවද මේ සුළු වැඩේට ? ඒකෙන් ඔජපු වුණේ මොකක්ද? අර මා හිතපු දේ. බොරුවටනෙ මේව කියන්නෙ කියා හිතාගෙන තොකරයි කියා හිතාගෙන , කිව්වා. නමුත් කරන්න යන විට වෙන වෙන ඒවා ගේනවා. ඇවත් කියන්න, කොහොමද මේ පුශ්ණය [ආර්. ජුමදය මහතා]

විසඳුන්නේ කියා. 'මේකට දේශපාලන විසඳුම් මේකයි, මෙන්න මේ කුමයෙන් තමයි, මෙය විසඳුන්න පුළුවන්' කියා ලංකාවටම දන ගන්න කියන්න. ඒ විසඳුම් අපි කැමති නම් ගාර ගන්නම්, අකමැති නම් පුතික්ෂේප කරන්නම්. කරන සාකච්ඡා වලින් සියයට සියයක්ම පුතිඵල බලාපොරොත්තු වන්නෙ මොන සාකච්ඡාවෙනී්ද? එහෙම බලාපොරෙන්තු වුණොත් මේ ලංකාවේ තියා ලෝකයේවන් මොනම සාකච්ඡාවක්වන් කරන්න බැහැ. තමුන්නාන්සේලාටන් එහෙමයි. ගරු කථානායකතුමති, මා මේ අවස්ථාවේදී මීට වඩා තමුන්තාන්සේගේ කාලය ගන්න බලාපොරොත්තු වෙන්නේ නැහැ. ඒ නිසා මේ යෝජනාව පිළිගන්නා මෙන් මා ඉල්ලා සිටිනවා.

පුශ්නය වීමසන ලදී.

කටහඩවල් අනුව ' උක්ෂ 'මන්තීන්ට ජය බව කථානායකතුමා විසින් පුකාශ කරන ලදී.

வினு விடுக்கப்பெற்றது.

ருசல்களின்படி 'ஆம்' மேலோங்கிற்று என சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள் அறிவித்தார்கள்.

Question put.

MR. SPEAKER, having collected the Voices, declared that the 'Ayes' had it.

පාර්ලිමේන්තුව 43 වන ස්ථාවර නියෝගය යටතේ—පක්ෂව 133 : විරුද්ධව 2 ; යනුවෙන්—බෙදුණේය.

பாராளுமன்றம், 43 ஆம் நிலக் கட்டிளேயின் கிழ் பிரிந்தது: சார்பாக 133 : எதிராக 2.

The Parliament divided under Standing Order No. 43: Ayes 133: Noes 2.

ආර්. ජුමදාස මහතා (අගුාමාතාතුමා, පළාත් පාලත, තිවාස හා ඉදිකිරීම් ඇමතිතුමා, මහාමාර්ග කටයුතු පිළිබඳ ඇමතිතුමා සහ පාර්ලිමේන්තුවේ සභානායකතුමා)

(திரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாச—பிரதம அமைச்சரும் உள்ளூ ராட்சி, விடமைப்பு, நிர்மாண அமைச்சரும் நெடுஞ்சாலேகள் அமைசச்ரும் பாராளுமன்றச் சபை முதல்வரும்)

(Mr. R. Premadasa - Prime Minister, Minister of Local Government, Housing & Construction, Minister of Highways, and Leader of the House of Parliament)

Before we go further, I wish to say that, I wanted to take up the State Lands (Recovery of Possession) (Amendment) Bill tomorrow, but, unfortunately, I have to make a slight change and I hope the Opposition will be happy about it. Though it is so urgent, circumstances compel us to fix another date. Therefore, we will be moving that Bill on the 10th of August because we have to ger a two-thirds majority. Tomorrow, some of the hon. Members have some important engagements. Theefore, we will not be moving that Bill tommorrow. It will be moved on 10th of August, 1983. Then the Minister of Lands also will be present in this House.

May I now move the next Bill. That is a formal Bill for making essential amendments to the Buddhist and Pali University of Sri Lanka (Act).

ශුී ලංකා බෞද්ධ හා පාලි විශ්වවිදුහලය (සංශෝධන) පනත් කෙටුම්පත

இலங்கைப் பௌத்த, பாளி பல்கலேக்கழகம் (திருத்தம்) சட்டமூலம்

BUDDHIST AND PALI UNIVERSITY OF SRI LANKA (AMENDMENT) BILL

දෙවන වර කියවීමේ නියෝගය කියවන ලදී. இரண்டாம் மதிப்பிற்கான கட்டளே வாசிக்கப்பட்டது. Order for Second Reading read.

අාර්. ජුමදාස මහතා (කිලු. ஆர். පිහිගියිනෙම) (Mr. R. Premadasa) I move.

"That the Bill be now read a Second time."

පුශ්තය විමසන ලදින්, සභාසම්මත විය. පනත් කෙටුම්පත ඒට අනුකුලට දෙවන වර කියවන ලදී. කිලා කිලිස්සට්පட්ලි, ඉල්.නුස්ලිසඳණණාට්පட්டණු.

அதன்படி, சட்டமூலம் இசண்டாம் முறையாக மதிப்பிடப் பெற்றது.

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill accordingly read a Second time.

මතු පළවන යෝජනාව සභාසම්මන විය :

" පතත් කෙටුම්පත පූර්ණ පාර්ලිමේන්තු කාරක සභාවකට පැවරිය යුතුය.—[ආර්. ජෙමදාය මහතා.]

இர்மானிக்கப்பட்ட நு:

" சட்டமூலம் .முழுப் பாராளுமன்றக் குழுவுக்குச் சாட்டப்படு மாசு" [இரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாச.]

Resolved:

"That the Bill be referred to a Committee of the whole Parliament."-[Mr. R. Premadasa]

කාරක සභාවෙහිදී සලකා බලන ලදී.

[கைப்பைகளையும் இரும்பை சும் பி.] இழுவில் ஆராயப்பட்டது.

[சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள் தணேம வகித்தார்கள்.]

Considered in Committee.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair.]

1 වන වගන්නියේ සිට 6 වන වගන්නිය තෙක් පනත් කෙටුම්පතෙහි කොටසක් හැටියට තිබිය යුතුයයි නියෝග කරන ලදී.

පුඥුපති වගන්තිය සහ නාමය පනත් කෙටුම්පතෙහි කොටසක් ගැටීයට තිබිය යුතුයයි නියෝග කරන ලදී.

පනත් කෙටුම්පත, සංශෝධන රහිතව, වාර්තා කරන ලදී.

1 ஆம் வாசகத் <sup>இலி</sup>ருந்*து* 6 ஆம் வாசகம் வரை சட்டமூலத் தின் பகுதியாக இருக்கவேண்டுமேன கட்ட*ளே*யிடப்பட்ட*து*.

சட்டமாகு வாசசுமும் தஃப்பும் சட்டமூலத்தின் பகுதியாக இருக்க வேண்டுமென கட்டளேமிடப்பட்டது.

சட்டமூலம் திருத்தமின்றி அறிக்கை செய்யப்பட்டது.

Clauses 1 to 6 ordered to stand part of the Bill.

Enacting Clause and Title ordered to stand part of the Bill.

Bill reported without Amendment.

ආර්. පුේමදාස මහතා (திரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாச)

(Mr. R. Premadasa)

I move.

පනත් කෙටුම්පත ඒට අනුකූලව තුන්වන වර කියවා සම්මත කරන ලදී.

விஞ விடுக்கப்பட்டு ஏற்றுக்கௌ்ளப்பட்டது.

அதன்படி, சட்டமூலம் மூன்றும் முறையாக மடுப்பிடப்பெற்று நிறைவேற்றப்பெற்றது.

ආර්. රේ. ඒ, ද මෑල් මහතා (මුලේ හා තුම සම්පාදන ඇමණතුමා)

සිට් විකුක්සිත ප්රවාස කිරිමක් (co) යාග වන තිකුක් කිරීමට සම්බන්

නැය. (ඉ) පැත කොන්ඩ (ඊ) ඔබ (ඊ) ස්ත්යා කොප (ඉ) යාල

Question put, and agreed. to.

Bill accordingly read the Third time, and passed.

කල්තැබීම

ஒத்திவைப்பு \_\_\_\_\_

## ADJOURNMENT

එකල්හි වේලාව අ. හා. 8 පසුකර තිබුණෙන් කථානායකතුමා විසින් පුශ්නය නොවීමයා පාර්ලිමේන්තුව කල් තබන ලදී.

> පාර්ලිමේන්තුව ඊට අනුකුලව අ. හා. 11:50 ට 1983 ජූලි 22 වන සිකුරාද පූ. හා. 10 වන තෙක් කල් ගීයේය.

அப்பொழுது பி. ப. 8 க்குப் பிந்திகிட்டமையால் சபா<mark>நாயகர்</mark> அவர்கள் விஞுவின்றி பாராளுமன்றத்தை ஒத்திவைத்தார்கள்.

> இதன்படி பி. ப. 11.50 க்கு பாராளுமன்றம் 1983, ஜூல் 22 வெள்ளிக்கிழமை மு. ப. 10 மணிவரை தெதிவைக்கப்பட்டது.

And it being past 8 p.m., MR. SPEAKER adjourned Parliament without Question put.

ර් මිස සිවෙනක (e) 1 ((මිසරිස සහාසන (මිසරිස් මිර (is)

මන්ද 1 (ව) සංචාරක වනපාරය විශේෂයෙන්ම හෝවල් ඉදිනිරීමෙ

Adjourned accordingly at 11.50 p.m. until 10 a.m. on Friday 22nd July 1983.

- in war (#) adapted interprepared allegation of the contract of
- esterno de la contra de la contra de la compania de la contra del la contra de la contra del la contra de la contra del la cont

## පුශ්නවලට ලිඛිත පිළිතරු வினுக்களுக்கு எழுத்துமூல விடைகள் WRITTEN ANSWERS TO OUESTIONS

හිල්ටත් හෝටල : ගිව්සුම ஹில்டன் ஹோட்டேல்ஸ் : ஒப்பந்தம். HILTON HOTELS: AGREEMENT

332/83

ලක්ෂ්මත් ජයකොඩි මහතා (අත්තනගල්ල) (திரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயக்கொடி—அத்தனகல்ல)

(Mr. Lakshman Javakody)

මුදල් හා කුමසම්පාදන කටයුතු පිළිබද ඇමතිතුමාගෙන් ඇසු පුශ්නය : (අ) විදේශ ණය ආඥ පනන යටතේ හිල්ටන් හෝටල අයිතිකරුවන් විසින් නිකුන් කරන ලද, ශුී ලංකා රජය නමින් භාණ්ඩාගාරයේ නබා ඇති කොටස් සහතිකවල පිටපත් එතුමා සභාගත කරනවාද? (ආ) එම ගිවිසුම එතුමා සභාගත කරනවාද ? (ඉ) නොඑසේ නම්, ඒ මන්ද ? (ඊ) සංචාරක වෘාපාරය, විශේෂයෙන්ම හෝටල් ඉදිකිරීමේ කාර්යයෙහි ණය මුදල් ආපසු ගෙවීමේ විලම්බිත කාලය කාමර කුලි සහ ගාස්තු යනාදිය ගැන සොයා බැලීම පිණිස. රාජා ඇමතිතුමා විසින් කම්ටුවක් පත්කර ඇති බව එතුමා දන්නවාද ? (උ) එම චාර්තාව තිකුත් වනතෙක් කොටස් මීළ දී ගැනීම එතුමා පුමාද කරන්නේද ? (ඌ) තොඑසේ නම්, ඒ මන්ද ?

நிதி, அமைப்புத் திட்ட அமைச்சரைக் கேட்ட விஞ: (அ) வெளிநாட்டுக் கடன் சட்டத்திற்கமைய ஹில்டன் உரிமையாளர்களால் ஹொட்டேல்ஸ் வழங்கப்பட்டதும் இலங்கை அரசாங்கத்தின் பெயரில் திரைசேரியில் பேணப்படவுள்ள துமான பங்குடமைச் சான்றி தழ்களின் அவர் சமர்ப்பிப்பாரா? (-26) இவ்வுடன் படிக்கையை அவர் சமர்ப்பிப்பாரா? ania (2) யேல், ஏன்? (ஈ) உல்லாசப் பயணத்துறையில், விசேடமாக ஹொட்டேல் நிருமாணம், அதை வாடகை, கட்டணங்கள் முதலியவற்றின்மீதான வரியைத் தாமதமாகச் செலுத்துவ தற்கான உடன்படிக்கை தொடர்பான விடயங்களேப் பரிசீ லனே செய்வதற்கு கௌரவ இராஜாங்க அமைச்சர் ஒரு

குழுவை நியமித்துள்ளாரென்பதை அவர் அறிவாரா? (உ) இந்த அறிக்கை வெளியாகும்வரை பங்குடமைக் கொள் வனவை அவர் தாமதித்து வைப்பாரா? (ஊ) இல்ஃயேல், नकां ?

asked the Minister of Finance and Planning: (a) Will he table copies of Share Certificates which will be in the name of the Government of Sri Lanka kept at the Treasury issued by the Hilton Hotels owners in terms of the Foreign Loans Act? (b) Will he table the agreement? (c) If not, why? (d) Is he aware that the Hon. Minister of State has appointed a Committee to look into the Tourist Industry especially in matters pertaining to the moratorium of Hotel Construction, Room rents and rates etc. ? (e) Will he delay the share purchase until the report is out? (f) If not, why?

ආර්. ජේ. ඒ. ද මැල් මහතා (මුදල් හා කුම සම්පාදන ඇමතිතුමා) (திரு. ஆர். ஜே. ஜீ. த மெல்—நிதி, அமைப்புத்திட்ட அமைச்சர்)

(Mr. R. J. G. de Mel- Minister of Finance and Planning)

- (q) හිල්ටන් හෝටල අයිතිකරුවන් විසින් ශුී ලංකා රජයට කොටස් සහතික තවමත් තිකුත් කර නැත. (ආ) හිල්ටත් හෝටල අයිතිකරුවන් සහ ශුී ලංකා රජය අතර සභාගත කළ හැකි ගිවිසුමකට තවම එළඹ තැත. (ඉ) පැත නොනගී. (ඊ) ඔවි. (උ) රජය විසින් කොටස් මිළදී ගැනීමට අදහස් නෙකෙරේ. නමුත් කිසි වියදමක් නොමැතිව රජයට කොටස් පවරා ගැනීම සම්බන්ධයෙන් සාකච්ජා කර ගෙන යනු ලැබේ. (ඌ) පැත තොනගී.
- (a) No share certificates have been issued by the owners of Hilton Hotels yet in the name of the Government of Sri Lanka. (b) No agreement has been entered into yet between the Government of Sri Lanka and the owners of Hilton Hotels which can be tabled. (c) does not arise. (d) Yes. (e) a share purchase by the Government is not contemplated. A transfer of shares to the Government at no cost is being discussed. (f) Does not arise.

මෙම වාර්තාවේ අවසාන මුදුණය සඳහා ස්වකීය කථාවල නිවැරදි කළ යුතු තැන් දක්වනු රීසි මන්තුන් මින් පිටපතක් ගෙන එහි ඒවා පැහැදිලිව දක්වා එම පිටපත හැන්සාඩ් සංස්කාරක වෙන

1983 අගෝස්තු 4 වන මුහස්පතින්ද

තොඉක්මවා ලැබෙන සේ එව්ය යුතුයි.

## குறிப்பு

அங்கத்தவர்கள் இறுதிப் பதிப்பிற் செய்யவிரும்பும் பிழை திருத்தங்களே அறிக்கையிற்றெளிவாகக் குறித்து பிழை திருத்தங்களேக் கொண்ட பிரதியை ஹன்சாட் பதிப்பாசிரியருக்கு

1983 ஒகஸ்ட் 4, வியாழக்கிழமைக்குப் பிந்தாமற்

கிடைக்கக்கூடியதாக அனுப்புதல் வேண்டும்.

## NOTE

Corrections which Members suggest for the Final Print should be clearly marked in this Report and the copy containing the corrections must reach the Editor of HANSARD,

not later than purchastill spills on of set notification income

he multipressed not anotherity and a Thursday, 4th August 1983 of no no mid shear bloods out add at odmoke

Contents of Proceedings: From 3.00 p.m. to 11.50 p.m. on 21.07.1983

Final set of manuscripts

received from Parliament : 6.25 p.m. on 22.67.1983

Printed copies despatched : 24.07.1983 morning

1985 qenido 4 Da gadadniq

දුශක මුදල්: පාර්ලිමේන්තු විවාද වාර්තාවල වාර්ෂික දුශක මිල රු. 200/- කි. (අශෝධිත පිටපත් සඳහා නම් රු. 175/- කි). පිටපතක් ගෙන්වා ගැනීම අවශා නම් ශාස්තුව රු. 2.50 කි. තැපැල් ශාස්තුව ශත 90 කි. කොළඹ 1, තැ. පෙ. 500, රජයේ පුකාශන කාර්යාංශයේ අධිකාරි වෙන සෑම වර්ෂයකම නොවැම්බර් 30 දුට පුථම දුශක මුදල් ගෙවා ඉදිරි වර්ෂයේ දුශකත්වය ලබාගෙන විවාද වාර්තා ලබාගත හැකිය. තියමිත දිනෙන් පසුව එවනු ලබන දුශක ඉල්ලුම්පත් භාරගනු නොලැබේ.

சந்தா: ஹன்சாட் அதுகார அறிக்கையின் வருடாந்த சந்தா ரூபா 200/- (திருத்தப்படாத பிரதிகள் ரூபா 175/-) ஹன்சாட் தனிப்பிரதி ரூபா 2:50. தபாற் செலவு 90 சதும். வருடாந்த சந்தா முற்பணமாக அத்தியட்சர், அரசாங்க வெளியிட்டலுவலகம், த. பெ. இல 500, கொழும்பு 1 என்ற விலாசத்திற்கு அனுப்பி பிரதிகளேப் பெற்றுக்கொள்ளலாம். ஒவ்வோசாண்டும் நவெம்பர் 30 ந் தேதிக்குமுன் சந்தாப் பணம் அனுப்பப்படவேண்டும். பிந்திக் கிடைக்கும் சந்தா விண்ணப்பங்கள் ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளப்படமாட்டா.

Subscriptions: The annual subscription for Official Report of Hansard is Rs. 200/- (For uncorrected copies Rs. 175/-). A single copy of Hansard is available for Rs. 2.50. (Postage 90 cts.) Copies can be obtained by remitting in advance an annual subscription fee to the SUPERINTENDENT, GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS BUREAU, P. O. Box, 500 Colombo 1. The fee should reach him on or before November 30 each year. Late applications for subscription will not be accepted.