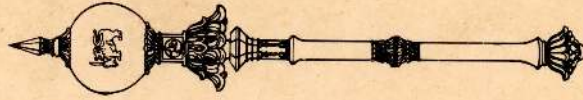


Emergency Debate

24 වන කාණ්ඩය
11 වන කලාපය

මහජනවිත්ත
1983 ජූලි 21
July



පාර්ලිමේන්තු විවාද

(හැන්සාඩ්)

නිල වාර්තාව

(අශෝධිත පිටපත)

අන්තර්ගත ප්‍රධාන කරුණු

අවනත විමේ ප්‍රතිඥාව: සිවුරත්න යාපාබණ්ඩාර සේමසිංහ බණ්ඩාර හේරත් මහතා: (හිරියාල) ජනාධිපතිතුමාගෙන් ලත් සන්දේශය:

මහජන ආරක්ෂක ප්‍රකාශනය

රජයේ ඉඩම් (සත්තකය ආපසු ලබා ගැනීමේ) (සංශෝධන) පනත් කෙටුම්පත: ශ්‍රේෂ්ඨාධිකරණයේ තීරණය නිවේදන:

උපදේශන කාරක සභාවලට නම් කිරීම
ව්‍යවස්ථාදායක සභාවර කාරක සභාවලට නම් කිරීම
නවාතයකතුමාගේ සහතික

ප්‍රශ්නවලට වාචික පිළිතුරු
රජයේ ඉඩම් (සත්තකය ආපසු ලබා ගැනීමේ) (සංශෝධන) පනත් කෙටුම්පත:

පළමුවර කියවන ලදී

මහජන ආරක්ෂක ප්‍රකාශනය

ශ්‍රී ලංකා බොද්ධ හා පාලි විශ්ව විද්‍යාලය (සංශෝධන) පනත් කෙටුම්පත:

දෙවන වර කතා තුන්වන වර කියවා සම්මත කරන ලදී

ප්‍රශ්නවලට ලිඛිත පිළිතුරු

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දැනටි ලාභමිමිවරප

(විසාය)

තෙරිමි වුමි

(තෙරිමි මිමි)

ලියවන ලද පොතකි

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பாராளுமன்ற விவாதங்கள் (ஹன்சாட்)

அதிகார அறிக்கை

(பிழை திருத்தப்படாதது)

பிரதான உள்ளடக்கம்

உறுதிப்பிரமாணம்: திரு. சிவரத்ன யாப்பபண்டார செமசிங்ஹ பண்டார ஹேரத் (ஹிரியால)	வினாக்களுக்கு வாய்மூல விடைகள்
சனாதிபதியிடமிருந்து வந்த செய்தி: பொதுசனப் பாதுகாப்புப் பிரகடனம்	அரசு காணிகள் (ஆட்சி மீளப்பெறுதல்) (திருத்தம்) சட்டமூலம்: முதன்முறை மதிப்பிடப்பட்டது
அரசு காணிகள் (ஆட்சி மீளப்பெறுதல்) (திருத்தம்) சட்டமூலம்: உயர்நீதிமன்றத் தீர்ப்பு	பொதுசனப் பாதுகாப்புப் பிரகடனம்
அறிவிப்புகள்: ஆலோசனைக் குழுக்களுக்கு நேமகங்கள் சட்டவாக்க நிலைக்குழுக்களுக்கு நேமகங்கள் சபாநாயகரது சான்றிதழ்கள்	இலங்கைப் பௌத்த, பாளி பல்கலைக்கழகம் (திருத்தம்) சட்டமூலம்: இரண்டாம் மூன்றாம் மதிப்புகளிடம்பெற்று நிறைவேற்றப் பட்டது
	வினாக்களுக்கு எழுத்துமூல விடைகள்

Volume 24
No. 11

Thursday
21st July 1983

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(HANSARD)

OFFICIAL REPORT

(Uncorrected)

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STATE LANDS (RECOVERY OF POSSESSION) (AMENDMENT) BILL: DECISION OF THE SUPREME COURT	PUBLIC SECURITY PROCLAMATION
ANNOUNCEMENT: Nominations to Consultative Committees Nominations to Legislative Standing Committees Speaker's Certificates	BUDDHIST AND PALI UNIVERSITY OF SRI LANKA (AMENDMENT) BILL: Read a Second, and the Third time, and passed
	WRITTEN ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

පාර්ලිමේන්තුව
பாராளுமன்றம்
PARLIAMENT

1983 ජූලි 21 වන මහජනිතද

වේදිකාසභාවේ, 21 ජූලි 1983

Thursday, 21st July 1983

අ. ක. 3 ව පාර්ලිමේන්තුව රැස් වීම. කථනායකතුමා (අලුතර පී. අබේරත්න මහතර මහතා) මූලාසනයේ විය.

பாராளுமன்றம் பி. ப. 3 மணிக்குக் கூடியது. சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள் [ஆல்ஹாஜ் எம். அப்துல் பாகீர் மாகார்] தலைமை வகித்தார்கள்.

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

අවනතවීමේ ප්‍රතිඥාව: සිවුරත්න යාපාබණ්ඩාර
සේමසිංහ බණ්ඩාර හේරත් මහතා (හිරියාල)

உறுதிப் பிரமாணம்: திரு. சிவரத்ன யாபா பண்டார சேமசிங்ஹ பண்டார ஹேரத் (ஹிரியால்)

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

සිවුරත්න යාපාබණ්ඩාර සේමසිංහ බණ්ඩාර මහතා (හිරියාල) තීරී ප්‍රකාර ප්‍රතිඥාව දී පොතෙහි අත්සන් කළේය.

திரு. சிவரத்ன யாபா பண்டார சேமசிங்ஹ பண்டார ஹேரத் (ஹிரியால்) சட்டத்தினால் வேண்டப்பட்டவாறு உறுதிப் பிரமாணம் செய்து சபாபிடத்திலிருந்து 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

சனாதிபதியிடமிருந்து வந்த செய்தி

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

මහජන ආරක්ෂක ප්‍රකාශනය

பொதுசனப் பாதுகாப்புப் பிரகடனம்

PUBLIC SECURITY PROCLAMATION

කථනායකතුමා
(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)
(Mr. Speaker)

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

"ශ්‍රී ලංකා ජනාධිපති
இலங்கையின் சனாதிபதி
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 (සත්‍යකය ආපසු ලබා ගැනීමේ)
(සංශෝධන) පනත් කෙටුම්පත :
ග්‍රෙෂ්ඨාධිකරණයේ තීරණය

அரசு காணிகள் (ஆட்சி மீள்பெறுதல்) (திருத்தம்) சட்டமூலம்: உயர்நீதிமன்றத் தீர்ப்பு

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

කථනායකතුමා
(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 the Hearing at 10.00 a.m. on 11th July, 1983.

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.

නිවේදන

අறிවිච්ඡාදන

ANNOUNCEMENTS

රජයේ සේවයේ සභාවලට නම් කිරීම
ஆலோசனைக் குழுக்களுக்கு நேமகங்கள்

NOMINATIONS TO CONSULTATIVE
COMMITTEES

කථනායකතුමා

(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. Abeysondera

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 Affairs :

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. Galapaththy
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. Abeyesundera

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

II

ව්‍යවස්ථාදායක සභාවේ කාරක සභාවලට නම් කිරීම
சட்டவாக்க நிலைக்குழுக்களுக்கு நேமகங்கள்

NOMINATIONS TO LEGISLATIVE STANDING COMMITTEES

කථනායකතුමා

(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

කථනායකතුමාගේ සහතික

சபாநாயகரின் சான்றிதழ்கள்

SPEAKER'S CERTIFICATES

කථනායකතුමා

(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

சமர்ப்பிக்கப்பட்ட பத்திரங்கள்

PAPERS PRESENTED

ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා (අග්‍රාමාත්‍යතුමා, පළාත් පාලන, නිවාස හා දේශීය ඇමතිතුමා, මහාමාර්ග කටයුතු පිළිබඳ ඇමතිතුමා සහ පාර්ලිමේන්තුවේ සභානායකතුමා)

(திரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாச — பிரதம அமைச்சரும் உள்ளூர் ராட்சி, வீடமைப்பு, நிர்மாண அமைச்சரும் நெடுஞ்சாலைகள் அமைச்சரும் பாராளுமன்றச் சபை முதுவரும்)

(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. බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා (ගම්පහ)
(திரு. எஸ். டி. பண்டாரநாயக்க—கம்பஹை)

(Mr. S. D. Bandaranayake - Gampaha)

Mr. Speaker -

කථනායකතුමා
(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)
(Mr. Speaker)

Order, please !

ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස 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. බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා
(திரு. எஸ். டி. பண்டாரநாயக்க)

(Mr. S. D. Bandaranayake)

This investigation by the Special Investigation Unit -

කථනායකතුමා
(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)
(Mr. Speaker)

Order, please ! What are you trying to do ?

එස්. ඩී. බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා
(திரு. எஸ். டி. பண்டாரநாயக்க)
(Mr. S. D. Bandaranayake)

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

කථනායකතුමා
(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)
(Mr. Speaker)

After the presentation of papers you might take your chance.

එස්. ඩී. බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා
(திரு. 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.

කථනායකතුමා
(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 ගිණුම්;
- (2) 1981 සඳහා රාජ්‍ය මූණික් සංස්ථාවේ වාර්ෂික වාර්තාව.-(ආර්. ජේ. ජී. ද මැල් මහතා)

1983 අංක 4 දරන පරිපූරක ඇස්තමේන්තුව-(අච්ඡේදය පෙරේරා මහතා)

- (1) 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.)

සභාමේසය මත තිබිය යුතුයයි තීරණය කරන ලදී.
சபாபீடத்தில் இருக்கக் கூடாது.
Ordered to lie upon the Table.

එස්. ඩී. බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා
(திரு. எஸ். டி. பண்டாரநாயக்க)
(Mr. S. D. Bandaranayake)

තැපි පිටියේය.
எழுந்தார்.
rose.

කථනායකතුමා
(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)
(Mr. Speaker)

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

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 නියෝජ්‍ය ඇමතිතුමා)
(திரு. அலிக் அலுவிறார—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 මුත්තේවෙගම මහතා
(திரு. சரத் முத்தேட்டுவெகம)

(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

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

ඇලික් අළුවිහාරේ මහතා
(திரு. அலிக் அலுவிறார)

(Mr. Alick Aluvihare)

Very soon.

සහාපති, ලංකා හෝටල සංස්ථාව : සංග්‍රහ වියදම්

நேராட்டல் கூட்டுத்தாபனத் தலைவர் : உபசாரங்கள் செலவு

CHAIRMAN, CEYLON HOTELS CORPORATION : ENTERTAINMENT EXPENDITURE

340/83

9. එම්. හලීම් ඉෂාක් මහතා (මැද කොළඹ තුන්වන)
(ஜனப் எம். ஹலீம் இஷாக்—கொழும்பு மத்திய மூன்றாம் அங்கத்தவர்)

(Mr. M. Haleem Ishak—Third Colombo Central)

රාජ්‍ය ඇමතිතුමාගෙන් ඇසූ ප්‍රශ්නය : (අ) 1981 හා 1982 වර්ෂවලදී පහත සඳහන් එක් එක් ආයතනයේදී විනෝද සංග්‍රහ සඳහා ලංකා හෝටල සංස්ථාවේ සහාපති විසින් වැය කරන ලද මුදල් එකමු ප්‍රකාශ කරන්නේද ? (i) හොටෙල් (සිලෝන්) ඉන්ටර්-කොන්ටිනෙන්ටල් ; (ii) මහනුවර ක්වින්ස් හෝටලය ; (iii) මහනුවර සුයිස් හෝටලය ; (iv) බෙන්තොට ලිහිනියා සර්ස් හෝටලය ; (v) මහනුවර දෙහිගම හෝටලය ; (vi) හුනස් ෆෝල්ස් හෝටලය ; (vii) හොලොන්තරුවා දේරුව හෝටලය ; (viii) ලංකා හෝටල සංස්ථාවේ තානාපි, (ආ) මේ සම්බන්ධයෙන් ඒ එක් එක් හෝටලයට එම වර්ෂවලදී සංස්ථාව විසින් ගෙවන ලද මුදල් කොපමණද ? (ඇ) මේ දත්තා ගෙවීමට ඇති මුදල් කොපමණද ?

இராஜாங்க அமைச்சரைக் கேட்ட வினா : (அ) பின்வரும் நிறுவனங்கள் ஒவ்வொன்றிலும் 1981, 1982 ஆம் ஆண்டுகளில் உபசாரணக்காக, இலங்கை நேராட்டல் கூட்டுத்தாபனத் தலைவருக்கு ஏற்பட்ட செலவினத்தை அவர் கூறுவாரா ? (i) நேராட்டேல் சிலோன் இன்டர்கொண்டிண்டல் ; (ii) கண்டி, குளின்ஸ் நேராட்டேல் ; (iii) கண்டி, நேராட்டேல் கவீஸ் ; (iv) பெந்தோட்டை லிகினியா சேவ் நேராட்டேல் ; (v) கண்டி, நேராட்டேல் தேஹிகம ; (vi) ஹுனஸ் போல்ஸ் நேராட்டேல் ; (vii) பொல்தறுவ நேராட்டேல் சேருவ ; (viii) இலங்கை நேராட்டல் கூட்டுத்தாபனத்தின் வாடிக்கிடு

கள். (ஆ) இவ்வாண்டுகளின்போது இந்நிறுவனங்கள் ஒவ்வொன்றுக்கும் கூட்டுத்தாபனத்தினால் செலுத்தப்பட்ட தொகைகள் எவ்வளவு ? (இ) தற்பொழுது கொடுத்துத் தீர்க்கப்படவேண்டியுள்ள தொகைகள் எவ்வளவு ?

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. වින්සන්ට් පෙරේරා මහතා

(திரு. எம். வின்சன்ட் பெரேரா)

(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.

සහමේසය මත තබන ලද පිළිතුර :

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.

කථානායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Question No. 10.

සරත්චන්ද්‍ර රාජකරුණ මහතා (නියෝජ්‍ය ආහාර හා සමුදාය ඇමතිතුමා)

(திரு. சராத்சந்திர ராஜகருணா—உணவு, கூட்டுறவுப் பிரதி அமைச்சர்)

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

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

ප්‍රශ්නය මතු දිනකදී ඉදිරිපත් කිරීමට නියෝග කරන ලදී. විනාශය යටතේ තිබෙන නිකුත් කිරීමට සූදානම්ව පැවැත්වීමට පටන් ගත්තේය.

Question ordered to stand down.

ඩබ්ලිව්. ඩී. ජිනසේන මහතා : තැවත සේවයේ පිහිටුවීම

திரு. டபிள்யூ. டி. ஜினசேனா : மீண்டும் வேலை வழங்கள்

MR. W. D. JINASENA : REINSTATEMENT

369/83

11. ඊට්ටි පතිරණ මහතා (අක්මීමත)

(திரு. ரிச்சர்ட் பத்திராண—அக்மீமன)

(Mr. Richard Pathirana - Akmeemana)

කර්මාන්ත හා විදු කටයුතු පිළිබඳ ඇමතිතුමාගෙන් ඇසූ ප්‍රශ්නය (අ) ලංකා තුළ ලැලි සංස්ථාවේ ගිණිට කම්හලේ සේවය කළ ගාල්ල වටරුක තැනෙහි රජීව් ඩබ්ලිව්. ඩී. ජිනසේන මහතාගේ සේවය අහිමි කිරීම සම්බන්ධව ඒ මහතා විසින් ගාල්ල කම්කරු උසාවියේ පවරන ලද ගා/14036 දරණ කඩුවෙන් ඒ මහතාට තැවත රැකියාව සහ වන්දි ලබා දීමට නියම කරන ලද බවත් මෙතෙක් එම තීරණය ක්‍රියාත්මක කර නොමැති බවත් එතුමා දන්නවාද? (ආ) ඩබ්ලිව්. ඩී. ජිනසේන මහතා තැවත සේවයේ පිහිටුවීමට සහ වන්දි මුදල් ලබාදීමට එතුමා ක්‍රියා කරනවාද? (ඇ) තොර්සේ තම. ඒ මන්ද?

கைத்தொழில், விஞ்ஞான அலுவல்கள் அமைச்சரைக் கேட்ட வினா : (அ) இலங்கை ஒட்டுப்பலகைக் கூட்டுத்தாபனத்தினால் நிருவகிக்கப்படுகின்ற இலங்கை ஒட்டுப்பலகைக் கூட்டுத்தாபனத்தின் கீழ்தொட்டைத் தொழிற்சாலையில் பணிபுரிந்தவரும், காஸி, வட்டரெக்க கிழக்கில் வசிப்பவருமான திரு. டபிள்யூ. டி. ஜினசேனாவின் சேவை இழப்பு தொடர்பாக இவரால் காஸி தொழில் நீதிமன்றத்தில் தாக்கல் செய்யப்பட்ட கா/14036 ஆம் இலக்க வழக்கில் மீண்டும் இவருக்கு வேலை வழங்கி நட்டசுடு செலுத்த முடிவுசெய்யப்பட்டதென்பதையும், இம்முடிவு இந் நைவரை அமுல்படுத்தப்படவில்லையென்பதையும் அவர் அறிவாரா? (ஆ) திரு. டபிள்யூ. டி. ஜினசேனவுக்கு மீண்டும் வேலை வழங்கி, நட்டசுடு செலுத்த அவர் நடவடிக்கை எடுப்பாரா? (இ) இன்றேல், ஏன்?

asked the Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs : (a) Is he aware that Mr. W. D. Jinasena of Watereka 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. ඩෙන්සිල් ප්‍රනාන්දු මහතා (නියෝජ්‍ය කම්මන්ත හා විද්‍යා කටයුතු ඇමතිතුමා)

(திரு. என். டென்சிஸ் பெர்னான்டோ—கைத்தொழில், விஞ்ஞான 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.

ලක්ෂමන් ජයකොඩි මහතා (திரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயக்கொடி)

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

එන්. ඩෙන්සිල් ප්‍රනාන්දු මහතා (திரு. என். டென்சிஸ் பெர்னான்டோ)

I cannot hear you.

ලක්ෂමන් ජයකොඩි මහතා (திரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயக்கொடி)

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

කථානායකතුමා (சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

Why are you troubled about trivial matters ?

ලක්ෂමන් ජයකොඩි මහතා (திரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயக்கொடி)

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

එන්. ඩෙන්සිල් ප්‍රනාන්දු මහතා (திரு. என். டென்சிஸ் பெர்னான்டோ)

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

ලක්ෂමන් ජයකොඩි මහතා (திரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயக்கொடி)

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

එන්. ඩෙන්සිල් ප්‍රනාන්දු මහතා (திரு. என். டென்சிஸ் பெர்னான்டோ)

We have actually sent it to him.

කථානායකතුමා (சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

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

කථානායකතුමා
(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Question No. 12 ?

සරත්චන්ද්‍ර රාජකරුණ මහතා (නියෝජ්‍ය ආහාර හා සමුපකාර ඇමතිතුමා)

(திரு. சாத்திரா ராஜகருணா—உணவு, கூட்டுறவுப் பிரதி அமைச்சர்)

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

I ask for one month's time.

ප්‍රශ්නය මතු දිනකදී දීර්ඝව කිරීමට නියෝග කරන ලදී.

வினாவுக்கு மறுபெரு நேரத்தில் சமர்ப்பிக்கக் கட்டளையிடப்பட்டது.

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 from 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. බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා

(திரு. எஸ். டி. பண்டாரநாயக்க)

(Mr. S. D. Bandaranayake)

Yes.

ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා

(திரு. 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. பண்டாரநாயக்க)

(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 මුත්තේටුවේගම මහතා

(திரு. சரத் முத்தெட்டுவேகம)

(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

On a point of Order, Sir.

ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස 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.

කථානායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Yes.

අනිල් මුණසිංහ මහතා (මතුගම)

(திரு. அனில் முனசிங்ஹ—மதுகம)

(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.

පණන් කෙටුම්පත් පිළිගැනවීම

சமர்ப்பிக்கப்பட்ட சட்டமூலங்கள்

BILLS PRESENTED

රජයේ ඉඩම් (සත්තකය ආපසු ලබා ගැනීමේ) (සංශෝධන) පනත කෙටුම්පත

அரசு காணிகள் (ஆட்சி மீள்பெறுதல்) (திருத்தம்) சட்டமூலம்
STATE LANDS (RECOVERY OF POSSESSION)
(AMENDMENT) BILL

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

පිළිගැනවන ලද්දේ ඉඩම් හා ඉඩම් සංවර්ධන ඇමතිතුමා සහ මෙවැලි සංවර්ධනය පිළිබඳ ඇමතිතුමා වෙනුවට පමි. වික්කන්ටි පෙරේරා මහතා විසිනි.

காணி, காணி அபிவிருத்தி அமைச்சரும் மகாவலி அபிவிருத்தி அமைச்சருமானவர் சார்பாக திரு. எம். வீன்சன்ட் பெரேரா அவர்கள் சமர்ப்பிக்கப்பட்டது.

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

සරත් මුත්තේටුවේගම මහතා (කලාවත)

(திரு. சரத் முத்தெட்டுவேகம—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

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பொதுசனப் பாதுகாப்புப் பிரகடனம்

PUBLIC SECURITY PROCLAMATION

ආර. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා

(திரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாசு)

(Mr. R. Premadasa)

I move,

"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."

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.

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.

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.

[மூலக் கேள்விக்குரியவை]

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 which 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.

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.

சூழலமைக்கப்பட்ட காரணத்தால்
வினா எடுத்தியம்பப்பட்டுள்ளது.

Question proposed.

එම. සිවසිතම්පරම් මහතා (தேர்ப்பு)

(திரு. எம். சிவசிதம்பரம்—நல்லூர்)

(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.)

කටුනායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Let us not take the remark too seriously.

එම. සිවසිතම්පරම් මහතා

(திரு. எம். சிவசிதம்பரம்)

(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 service 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.

කටුනායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Order, please ! Now, do not make provocations? You carry on.

එම. සිවසිතම්පරම් මහතා

(திரு. எம். சிவசிதம்பரம்)

(Mr. M. Sivasithamparam)

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)

கடமைகளை

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Order, please!

ஃ. சிவசிதம்பரம்

(திரு. எம். சிவசிதம்பரம்)

(Mr. M. Sivasithamparam)

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.

கடமைகளை

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Now, now, Order, please!

ஃ. சிவசிதம்பரம்

(திரு. எம். சிவசிதம்பரம்)

(Mr. M. Sivasithamparam)

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 is 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).

What happened to the inquest verdict on the other man in Velvettiturai 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, you 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

[පිටු. සිටිනමහලු මහතා]

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 putting 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 repetition 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.

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.

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 order 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.

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 Jaffna 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.

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.

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—

"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.

கா. சே. முருகேசன்

(திரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாசு)

(Mr. R. Premadasa)

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.

சி. சி. சிவசிதம்பரம்

(திரு. எம். சிவசிதம்பரம்)

(Mr. M. Sivasithamparam)

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.

வி. வி. வைத்தியசாமி

(திரு. வி. என். நவரத்தினம்—சாவகச்சேரி)

(Mr. V. N. Navaratnam—Chavakachcheri)

Mr. Speaker,

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".

Of course, Mr. Speaker, some of the words I used then are now irrelevant. We now have a Sinhalese nation and the Tamil nation.

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

[වි. එස්. කවරන්කම් මහතා]

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 an 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 Westminster, 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 furthest 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 basis?

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.

One century later, the kingdom of Jaffna was conquered by the Portuguese. At the time when King Sangillyan 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 trying 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.

கலிதாசனது
(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

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

வி. சி. சிவசுந்தரி மஹா
(திரு. வி. என். நவரத்நம்)

(Mr. V. N. Navaratnam)

Fortunately, Mr. Speaker, we are discussing the Emergency.

கலிதாசனது
(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

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

சி. சி. சி. சிவசுந்தரி மஹா (கலிதாசனது)
(திரு. சி. பி. ஜே. செனெவிரத்நம்—தொழில்துறை 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.

கலிதாசனது
(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

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

பி. பி. நெர்ஸ்டி மறு
(திரு. வி. என். நவரத்தினம்)
(Mr. V. N. Navaratnam)

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.

கலாசாஸ்திரம்
(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)
(Mr. Speaker)

I cannot do the calculation now.

பி. பி. நெர்ஸ்டி மறு
(திரு. வி. என். நவரத்தினம்)
(Mr. V. N. Navaratnam)

I want one second, Mr. Speaker, for every day I have been a Member of Parliament.

கலாசாஸ்திரம்
(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)
(Mr. Speaker)

No, I cannot.

Order, please! The sitting is now suspended till 5 p.m.

அதன் பின்னர், அமர்வு பி. பி. 5 மணிவரை இடைநிறுத்தப்பட்டு, மீண்டும் ஆரம்பமாயிற்று. உபசபாநாயகர் அவர்கள் [திரு. நேரமன் வைத்தியரத்தினம்] தலைமை வகித்தார்கள்.

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

பி. பி. நெர்ஸ்டி மறு
(திரு. வி. என். நவரத்தினம்)
(Mr. V. N. Navaratnam)

Mr. Deputy Speaker, just before 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.

கிஷோர் கலாசாஸ்திரம்
(பிரதீச் சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)
(Mr. Deputy Speaker)

I presume you are taking the time of the rest of the members of the Opposition?

பி. பி. நெர்ஸ்டி மறு
(திரு. வி. என். நவரத்தினம்)
(Mr. V. N. Navaratnam)

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.

கிஷோர் கலாசாஸ்திரம்
(பிரதீச் சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)
(Mr. Deputy Speaker)
Very well.

பி. பி. நெர்ஸ்டி மறு
(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 parallel case elsewhere.

I would like to read out what I said on the Floor of this House on 22nd November, 1978. I refer to column 1098:

"This problem is not peculiar 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.

"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."

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 independence.

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 Mauritania. 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 Appropriation 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 people 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 Havana and in conformity with the small resolution we made at Caracas at the IPU conferences 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, there 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 occupied 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 minority 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 neighbourhood? 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 East 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.

பிரதீச் சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே, எனது பாராளுமன்ற அரசியல் வாழ்க்கையும் தமிழ் மக்களின் விடுதலைச் சரித்திரமும் ஒன்றேயென்று ஊன்றிப் பிணைந்திருக்கின்றன. நான் 1956 ஆம் ஆண்டிலே பாராளுமன்ற அரசியலில் உட்புகுவதற்கு முன் நடந்த சம்பவங்கள்பற்றிக் கூறத்தேவையில்லை. முன்னர் இந்நாட்டில் மாபெரும் வீரர்களில் ஒருவராகக் கருதப்பட்ட சேர் பொன்னம்பலம் இராமநாதன் அவர்கள்— சிங்கள மக்களின் உரிமைகளுக்காக இங்கும் மேல் நாடுகளிலும் வாதாடிய சேர் பொன்னம்பலம் இராமநாதன் அவர்கள்—தமது வாழ்க்கையின் கடைசிக்கட்டங்களில் தமிழ் மக்களுக்குச் சில எச்சரிக்கைகளை விட்டிருந்தார். 1947 ஆம் ஆண்டில் ஆங்கிலேயர் இந்நாட்டை விட்டு விலகக் கருத்துத் தெரிவித்த கட்டத்தில் தமிழ் மக்களின் மத்தியில் இன உணர்ச்சியை எழுப்பி அவர்களைப் பாதுகாப்பதற்கு ஆரம்ப விதை விதைத்தார் என்று மதிப்புக்குரிய மறைந்த தலைவர் திரு. ஜி. ஜி. பொன்னம்பலம், இந்நாட்டில் வதியும் தமிழ் மக்களது அரசியல் உரிமைகள் இந்நாட்டின் அரசியலமைப்பின் மூலம் காப்பாற்றப்படலாம் என்ற அடிப்படையில், ஆங்கிலேயர் யாருக்கு எந்த அமைப்பை—எந்த அதிகாரத்தை—அளிக்கப்

[சி. சக். ஸ்பீக்கர் உரை] போகிறார்களோ அந்த அமைப்பின் மூலம் சட்டசபையில் எந்த ஒரினத்தைச் சேர்ந்தவர்களும் 50 வீதத்துக்கு மேல் இருக்கப்படாதென்றும் அந்த அடிப்படையில் எம்மைப் பாதுகாக்கலாம் என்ற நேக்கத்தோடும் வாதாடினார். முயற்சியும் எடுத்தார். ஆனால், பலன் கிடைக்கவில்லை.

சுதந்திரம் நமக்குக் கிடைத்ததற்குப் பின் இந்த நாட்டின் சரித்திரத்திலே—என், உலக சரித்திரத்திலே—முதன்முறையாக 15 இலட்சம் தமிழ் மக்கள் நாடற்றவர்களாக்கப்பட்டார்கள். இவ்வித நிகழ்ச்சி உலகில் வேறெங்கும் நடக்கவில்லை. இதைக் கவனித்த எமது முன்னைய தலைவர்—தந்தை என்று அன்பாக அழைக்கப்படுகின்ற திரு. எஸ். ஜே. வி. செல்வநாயகம் அவர்கள்—சமஷ்டிக் கட்சியை ஆரம்பித்தார். சமஷ்டி ஆட்சி முறை மூலமே இந்நாட்டிலுள்ள சிறுபான்மை மக்களைப் பாதுகாக்கலாம் என்ற அடிப்படையில்—சமஷ்டி முறையே எம்மை ஒன்றிணைக்கக் கூடியதென்ற அடிப்படையில்—அந்தக் கட்சியை ஆரம்பித்தார். அதன்பின் 1947—48 ஆம் ஆண்டுகளுக்கிடையில் நடந்த ஏனைய அரசியல் நிகழ்ச்சிகள் உங்களுக்குத் தெரியும்.

கைப்பற்றப்பட்ட நாட்டை நீண்ட காலமாக ஆள்வதற்குச் செய்யப்படும் வழிகளிலொன்று, கைப்பற்றப்பட்ட நாட்டை ஆளுகின்றவர்கள் தங்கள் மக்களை அங்கு குடியேற்றுவது தான். இன்று அறபு பூமியில் யூதர்கள் தங்கள் மக்களை அந்நேக்கத்துக்காகக் குடியேற்றுகிறார்கள். யூதர்கள் அறபு பூமியில் யூதர்களைக் குடியேற்றும்போது “அது உன்னுடைய பூமியல்ல; அறபுப் பூமியை யூத பூமியாக மாற்றுதே” என்று இன்று எச்சரிக்கையையும் நாம், இந்நாட்டில் தமிழ்ப் பிரதேசங்களில் தமிழரல்லாதவர்களைக் குடியேற்றி அந்த நிலங்களை மாற்றும் அடுத்த கட்டத்துக்கு வந்தோம். அதைத் தொடர்ந்து ஆளுகின்றவர்களின் மொழி ஆங்கிலமாக இருந்த நேரத்தில் அந்த இடத்திற்குச் சிங்களம் கொண்டுவரப்பட்டது.

அந்தக் கலகட்டத்தில் நான் 1956 ஏப்ரல் மாதம் 10 ஆம் தேதி பிரதிநிதிகள் சபைக்கு சாவகச்சேரி மக்களால் தெரிவு செய்யப்பட்டேன். அன்றிலிருந்து இச்சபையில் அவர்களுடைய குரலாக இருந்தேன். அன்று நான் பாராளுமன்றத்தில் எனது கன்னிப்பேச்சைப் பேசுவதற்கு முன் பல அனுபவங்கள் எனக்குக் கிடைத்தன. 1956 ஆம் ஆண்டு ஜூன் 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 தலைவர்களான திருவாளர் செல்வநாயகம், பொன்னம் பலம் ஆகியவர்களோடு மற்றும் சிலரோடு சேர்ந்து இந்த அநீதியை எதிர்க்கவேண்டும் என்ற அடிப்படையில் பிரதிநிதிகள் சபைக் கட்டடத்துக்குமுன் காலிமுக மைதானத்தில் காந்தி காட்டிய வழியில் ஈழத்துக் காந்தி செல்வநாயகம் அவர்களின் தலைமையில் சத்தியாக்ஷகம் செய்தனர்.

அச்சந்தர்ப்பத்தில் சத்தியத்தின் அடிப்படையிலே நாம் எடுக்கின்ற முயற்சிகள் வெற்றியடைய வேண்டும் என்று நாம் பிரார்த்தனை செய்துகொண்டிருந்தோம். அன்று நடந்த சம்பவங்கள் இன்று சரித்திரத்திலே பொறிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன. நாம் குண்டர்களினாலே தாக்கப்பட்டோம். தந்தை செல்வ

நாயகத்தின் மகன் பந்துபோல் எறியப்பட்டார். எமது செயலாளர் நாயகம்—எதிர்க்கட்சித் தலைவர்—மண்டையில் காயங்களுடன் பாராளுமன்றத்துக்கு வந்தார்.

ஜூன் 5 ஆம் தேதி எனது வாழ்க்கையிலே ஒரு முக்கியமான நாள். அது எனது பிறந்த நாள். மூக்கினிலே ஏற்பட்ட காயத்துடன் அன்று நான் ஆஸ்பத்திரி ஒன்றில் அனுமதிக்கப்பட்டேன். பாராளுமன்ற உறுப்பினர் என்ற முறையிலே எனக்குக்கிடைத்த புது அனுபவம் அதுதான். அதைத் தொடர்ந்து தமிழ் மக்கள் ஒற்றுமைப்பட்டார்கள். அதே ஆண்டு நாம் திருகோணமலைக்கு கால் நடையாகச் சென்றோம்; மகாநாடு வைத்தோம். எமது உரிமைகள் கிடைக்காவிட்டால் நேரடி நடவடிக்கையில் ஈடுபடுவோம் என்று அரசாங்கத்துக்கு எச்சரிக்கை செய்தோம். அந்தக் கட்டத்திலே முன்னாள் பிரதமர் பண்டாரநாயக்க அவர்கள் தந்தை செல்வநாயகத்தோடு பேச்சுவார்த்தை நடாத்தி இந்த நாட்டிலே தமிழ் மக்களுடைய பிரச்சனையை ஓரளவு தீர்ப்பதற்காக ஓர் ஒப்பந்தத்தைச் செய்தார். அந்த ஒப்பந்தம், இப்பொழுது பண்டா—செல்வா ஒப்பந்தம் என்று கூறப்படுகின்றது. இந்த பண்டா—செல்வா ஒப்பந்தத்தை தென்னிலங்கையிலேயுள்ள அரசியல் சந்தர்ப்பவாதிகள், இந்தப் பிரச்சனை திரு. பண்டாரநாயக்க அவர்களால் தீர்க்கப்படக் கூடாது என்ற அடிப்படையிலே எதிர்த்தார்கள். நாட்டிலே குழப்பம் ஏற்பட்டது. இறுதியில் அந்த ஒப்பந்தம் கிழிக்கப்பட்டது. அதைத்தொடர்ந்து பலசம்பவங்கள் நடைபெற்றன. 1958 ஆம் ஆண்டு இந்த நாட்டிலே இனக்கலவரம் ஏற்பட்டது. பாராளுமன்றத்துக்கு நாங்கள் அழைக்கப்பட்டோம். பாராளுமன்றம் வந்த நாங்கள், ரேயல் கல்லூரியிலும் மற்றைய கல்லூரிகளிலும் தமிழ் மக்கள் அகதிகளாக இருப்பதைக் கண்டோம். அவர்களுடைய பாதுகாப்புக்கு நடவடிக்கை எடுத்தோம். முதன்முதலாக தமிழ் மக்கள் தங்கள் பிரதேசத்துக்குக் கப்பலில் சென்ற நிகழ்ச்சியை அன்று நாம் கண்டோம்.

1958 ஆம் ஆண்டு ஜூன் மாதம் 5 ஆம் தேதி—அதுவும் என்னுடைய பிறந்த நாள்—நான் பாராளுமன்ற நிகழ்ச்சியில் பங்குபற்றிவிட்டு வெளியேவந்தபொழுது, இப்பொழுது பொலிஸ் மா அதிபராக இருக்கின்ற ரூத்ரா ராஜசிங்கம் அவர்கள் வெளி வாசலில் வைத்து “பிண்டர் நவரத்தினம் இங்கே வாருங்கள்” என என்னைக் கூப்பிட்டார். நான் போனேன். அவர் அவ்விடத்தில் என்னைக் கைதுசெய்தார். நான் தடுப்புக் காவலிலே வைக்கப்பட்டேன். மக்கள் என்னைப் பாராளுமன்றத்துக்கு அனுப்பினார்கள். இவர்கள் என்னைத் தடுப்புக் காவலில் வைத்தார்கள். என்ன குற்றம் செய்தேன் என்று எனக்குத் தெரியவில்லை. நாலு மாத காலம் தொடர்ந்து தடுப்புக் காவலில் இருந்தேன். இதற்கும் எனது தாடிக்கும் ஒரு தொடர்பு இருக்கிறது துணைச் சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே!

நாங்கள் பாராளுமன்றத்துக்குப் போகும்பொழுது “ஷேவிங் செம்” கொண்டுபோவது இல்லை. முதல்வராம் நான் தடுப்புக் காவலில் இருந்தபொழுது “ஷேவிங் செம்” ஒன்று வாங்கித்தரும்படி அங்கிருந்த பொலிஸ் அதிகாரியிடம் பணம் கொடுத்தேன். அங்கே இருந்த பொலிஸ் அதிகாரி, “இது ஆபத்தான விஷயம். நாங்கள் வாங்கித்தர மாட்டோம்” என்று சொன்னார். “ஷேவிங் செம்” வாங்கித் தர விட்டால் ஒரு பாபரையாவது அழைத்து வாருங்கள் என்று கூறினேன்; அதுவும் செய்யப்படவில்லை. இரண்டாவர காலம் என்னுடைய முகத்திலே இருந்த மயிரை எடுக்கக்கூடிய வசதி இருக்கவில்லை. நான் தீர்மானித்தேன், இன்றுதொடக்கம்

நான் கண்ணடியிலே எனது முகத்தைப் பார்க்கும்பொழுது தமிழ் மக்களுடைய நிலையை என்றென்றும் உணரக்கூடியதாக இருக்கவேண்டும் என்று. அந்தத் தாடி என்றென்றும் எனக்கு இந்த நாட்டிலே நாங்கள் என்ன நிலையிலே இருக்கிறோம் என்பதை ரூபகப்படுத்துவதாக அமைந்தது. ஆகவே, அன்று தொடக்கம் இன்றுவரை—அதாவது 1958 ஆம் ஆண்டு தொடக்கம் இன்றுவரை—அந்தத் தாடி இருந்து கொண்டே இருக்கின்றது.

1960 ஆம் ஆண்டு பங்குலி மாதம் மீண்டும் சாவகச்சேரித் தொகுதி மக்கள் என்னைப் பாராளுமன்றத்துக்கு அனுப்பினார்கள். மூன்று மாதத்திலே பாராளுமன்றம் கலைக்கப்பட்டது. 1960 ஆம் ஆண்டு ஜூலை மாதம் மீண்டும் அவர்கள் எனது கட்சியிலும் என்னிலும் வைத்திருந்த நம்பிக்கையின் அடிப்படையிலே என்னைப் பாராளுமன்றத்துக்கு அனுப்பினார்கள்.

1961 ஆம் ஆண்டிலே அன்றைய அரசாங்கம் சிங்கள மொழியைத் தமிழ்ப் பிரதேசங்களில் நடைமுறைப்படுத்தும் நடவடிக்கைகளிலே ஈடுபட்டபொழுது பழையபடி தமிழினம் ஒற்றுமைப்பட்டு நாம் சத்தியாக்கிரகம் செய்தோம். நாங்கள் விரும்பாத ஒரு மொழியை எங்களுடைய பகுதிகளிலே நீங்கள் புகுத்த முடியாது என்று யாழ்ப்பாணம், மன்னார், வவுனியா, திருகோணமலை, மட்டக்களப்புக் கச்சேரிகள் முன் தமிழரசுக் கட்சி உறுப்பினர்களும் தமிழ்க்காங்கிரஸ் கட்சி உறுப்பினர்களும் ஒன்றுமையாக ஒன்றிணைந்து சத்தியாக்கிரகம் செய்தது உங்களுக்கு ரூபகம் இருக்கும். பழையபடி நாம் கைது செய்யப்பட்டோம், நான்கு மாதங்கள் தடுப்புக் காவலில் வைக்கப்பட்டோம். தொடர்ந்து 1965 ஆம் ஆண்டுத் தேர்தலிலே சாவகச்சேரித் தொகுதி மக்கள் மீண்டும் என்னை அவர்களின் பிரதிநிதியாகப் பாராளுமன்றத்திற்கு அனுப்பினார்கள். அந்த நேரத்தில் தந்தை செல்வா அவர்கள் ஏதாவது நல்ல வழிகளில் பேச்சுவார்த்தைகளை நடாத்திச் சில பிரச்சனைகளைத் தீர்த்து வைக்கலாம் என்ற அடிப்படையிலே காலஞ்சென்ற திரு. ட்வி சேனாநாயக்க அவர்களுடன் ஒப்பந்தம் செய்தார். அந்த ஒப்பந்தம் பின்னர் அமுல் நடத்தப்படவில்லை. அது நீங்கள் அறிந்ததே. அதன் பின்னர் சில பிரச்சனைகள் எழுந்தன.

1970 ஆம் ஆண்டிலே நான் மீண்டும் கட்சியின் சார்பில் போட்டியிட்டேன். இன்னமொரு முறை சாவகச்சேரித் தொகுதி வாக்காளர்கள் என்னைப் பாராளுமன்றத்துக்கு அனுப்பினார்கள். அந்த நேரத்திலே அப்பொழுது பிரதமராக இருந்த திருமதி சிறிமா பண்டாரநாயக்க “நாம் ஒரு புதிய அரசியலமைப்பை உருவாக்கப்போகிறோம்; இந்நாட்டிலே யுள்ள எல்லா இன மக்களும் இன, மத, மொழி வேறுபாடின்றி ஒற்றுமையோடு, உரிமையோடு வாழக்கூடிய ஒரு புதிய அரசியலமைப்பை அமைக்கப் போகின்றோம் வாருங்கள்” என்று எம்மை அழைத்தார். ஒரு புதிய அரசியலமைப்பை அமைக்கின்ற அதிகாரத்தை எங்களுக்கு மக்கள் கொடுக்காவிட்டாலுங்கூட இப்படிப்பட்ட ஒரு நல்ல கருத்தைப் பிரதமர் முன் வைத்தபொழுது அதை நாம் எதிர்க்கக்கூடாது என்ற காரணத்தினாலும் அன்று அரசாங்கத்தில் முற்போக்குச் சக்திகளாக விருந்த லங்கா சமசமாசக் கட்சி, கொம்ப்யூனிஸ்ட் கட்சி ஆகியவைகளும் அங்கம் வகித்திருந்த காரணத்தாலும் நாங்கள் அந்த அரசியல் நிர்ணய சபையிலே சேர்ந்தோம்; ஆனால், ஏமாற்றம் அடைந்தோம், வெளியேறினோம். அதற்குப் பிறகு தந்தை செல்வா அவர்கள் அந்த அரசியலமைப்பை நாங்கள் எதிர்க்கின்றோம் என்ற கோரிக்கையை முன்வைத்துத் தமது

பாராளுமன்ற ஸ்தானத்தை இராஜினிமாச் செய்தார். அந்தக் காலகட்டத்திலேதான் தமிழ் மக்களின் அரசியல் வாழ்க்கையில் இன்னொரு புதிய திருப்பம் ஏற்பட்டது. அவர்களின் கண்கள் திறக்கப்பட்டன. நாம் எம்மை முன்பு ஆண்டவர்கள், திரும்பவும் எம்மை நாமே ஆள வேண்டும் என்ற நினைவு தமிழ் மக்களுக்கு ஏற்பட்டது. அந்த நினைவு தமிழ் மக்களுக்கு எப்படி ஏற்பட்டது? தனிச் சிங்கள மசோதா 1956 ஆம் ஆண்டு பாராளுமன்றத்திலே விவாதிக்கப்பட்ட பொழுது, அரசியல் சரித்திரத்தை ஓர் ஆராய்ச்சியாகப் படித்த கலாநிதி கொல்வின் ஆர் த சில்வா அவர்கள், காலஞ்சென்ற பிரதமர் திரு. பண்டாரநாயக்கவைப் பார்த்து கூறினார், “திரு. பண்டாரநாயக்க, இரண்டு மொழி ஓர் இனம்; ஒரு மொழி, இரண்டு இனம்; இரண்டு மொழி ஒரு 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.

உத்தரவரை

(அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)

(A Member)

Yes, certainly.

பி. பி. னவரத்தி மை

(திரு. வி. என். நவரத்தினம்)

(Mr. V. N. Navaratnam)

அதற்குப் பிறகு வட்டுக்கோட்டையிலே தமிழர் விடுதலைக் கூட்டணி அதனது முதலாவது மகாநாட்டை நடத்தி ஒரு தீர்மானத்தை எடுத்தது—அந்தத் தீர்மானம் என்ன என்று விபரமாகக் கூறுவதற்கு இன்று எனக்கு நேரம் இல்லை—அதைத் தொடர்ந்து நாம் சட்ட மறுப்புச் செய்தோம், ராஜத்துரோகக் குற்றத்திற்குக் குற்றம் சாட்டப்பட்டோம், தடுப்புக் காவலில் இருந்தோம், மறியலில் இருந்தோம். 1977 ஆம் ஆண்டிலே தமிழர் விடுதலைக் கூட்டணி வட்டுக்கோட்டைத் தீர்மானத்தை மக்கள் முன்னிலையில் வைத்து மக்களின் அங்கீகாரத்தைப் பெற்றது. 1977 ஆம் ஆண்டு தொடக்கம் இங்கு வரை நடந்த நிகழ்ச்சிகளைப் பற்றி விபரமாகக் கூறுவதற்கு எனக்கு நேரம் இல்லை. ஆனால், ஒன்றை மாத்திரம் இந்த நேரத்திலே கூறிவைக்க வேண்டியது அவசியமாக இருக்கின்றது.

பாராளுமன்றத்துக்கு அப்பாலே நாம் விடுதலை நடவடிக்கைகளை எடுக்கும் அதே நேரத்திலே, “பாராளுமன்றத்திற்கு எங்களை அனுப்புங்கள் நாங்கள் தமிழ் ஈழம் பெற்றுத் தருவோம்” என்று எந்த மேடையிலாவது எந்தத் தலைவரும் கூறவில்லை. “விடுதலைக்காகப் பாராளுமன்றத்தை ஒரு பிரசார மேடையாகப் பாவிப்போம்; விடுதலைக்காக எமது அந்தஸ்தை ஓர் ஆபதமாகப் பாவிப்போம்” என்றுதான் நாம் வாக்குறுதி கொடுத்திருந்தோம். சென்ற வாரம் இதை நான் கைதடியிலே

உடைக்க வேண்டாம். இதற்கும் நான் இந்தச் சபையிலிருந்து விலகுவதற்கும் என்ன தொடர்பிருக்கின்றதென்பது பற்றியும் நான் கூறி வைக்க விரும்புகிறேன். நாடு முழுவதிலும், சிங்களப் பிரதேசத்திலும் தமிழ்ப் பிரதேசத்திலும் பாராளுமன்ற அங்கத்தவர்களுக்கெதிராக ஒரு பொருமை—எரிச்சல், அவர்கள் ஏதோ பாராளுமன்றப் பதவிக்காகத்தான் அரசியல் நடாத்துகிறார்கள் என்ற கருத்து பரவலாக இருக்கின்றது. விசேடமாக இது தமிழ்ப் பிரதேசத்திலே கூடுதலாக இருக்கின்றது. ஆகவே, பாராளுமன்றப் பிரதிநிதி என்ற பதவியில் இருந்து கொண்டு அவர்களோடு தொடர்பு வைத்து, அவர்களைப் பழையபடி எமது கடாரத்தின் கீழ் கொண்டுவருவது கஷ்டமாக இருக்கும். “ஏதோ நீ உன்னுடைய பதவியைக் காப்பாற்றுவதற்காக எதையும் செய்வாய்” என்று கூறுவார்கள். ஆகவே, இன்னும் ஆறு வருடம் தொடர்ந்து பாராளுமன்ற அங்கத்தவராக இருக்கக் கூடிய வாய்ப்பும் வசதியும் இருக்கின்ற நேரத்திலே இந்தப் பதவியைத் துறந்தால், வெளியிலே இருக்கிறவர்களை நம்பவைக்க முடியாவிட்டாலும் அவர்களோடு அணுகக்கூடிய வசதி ஏற்படும் என்ற நம்பிக்கையின் பேரிலேயே நான் இந்த முடிவுக்கு வந்தேன்.

எத்தனையோ இளைஞர்கள் விடுதலைக்காகத் தங்களைத் தியாகம் செய்து கொண்டு இருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்களுடைய நடவடிக்கைகளை நாங்கள் ஆதரிக்காவிட்டாலும் அவர்களுடைய புனிதமான தியாக உணர்ச்சிக்கு நாங்கள் மதிப்புக் கொடுக்கிறோம். என்னைப் பொறுத்த அளவிலே, வன்செயல் மூலம், பலாத்காரம் மூலம் எமது பிரச்சினையைத் தீர்க்கலாம் என்ற நம்பிக்கை எனக்கும் இல்லை, எமது இயக்கத்துக்கும் இல்லை. ஏதோ பெரிய யுத்தத்தின் அடிப்படையிலே நாம் தமிழ் சமுதாய மீட்கலாமெயொழிய சிறிய சிறிய வன்செயல்களினாலே தமிழ் சமுதாய அடைய முடியாது. ஆகவே, இந்த வன்செயல்களை நிறுத்த வேண்டிய, நிற்பாட்ட வேண்டிய, குறைக்க வேண்டிய கடமை அரசாங்கத்துக்கு மட்டுமல்ல; எமக்கும் இருக்கின்றது. சிங்கள நாடுகளிலே இனப் பிரச்சனைகளை வெவ்வேறு விதங்களிலே தீர்த்து வைக்கிறார்கள். அதிலே ஒருவகை இனக்கொலை.

Genocide is one of the ways of solving problems in certain countries, 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 முன்னேற்றாது என்ற நிலையை எமது இளைஞர்களுக்குக் கூற வேண்டிய தேவை எங்களுக்கு இருக்கின்றது. அவர்களைச் சந்தித்து, அரசாங்கம் கொடிய நடவடிக்கைகளை எடுத்தால் என்ன, பயங்கரமாக எதிர்ப்புச் சட்டங்களை எவ்வளவு மோசமாக அமுல் நடத்தினால் என்ன, ஆகக் குறைந்தது ஆறு மாத காலத்துக்காவது நீங்கள் பலாத்காரத்தில் ஈடுபட வேண்டாம் என்று நான் கேட்க இருக்கிறேன். அதற்கிடையில் நாம் ஒன்று சேர்ந்து, ஒன்றாகக் கதைத்து, ஒரு கொள்கையுடன், ஒரு வேலைத் திட்டத்துடன் இயங்க ஏற்பாடு செய்வதே என்னுடைய நோக்கம்.

எனது சாவகச்சேரித் தொகுதியின் பிரதிநிதித்துவம் வரும் ஒக்ரோபர் மாதம் 21 ஆம் தேதி காலியாகும். அதற்கிடையில்

எங்களுக்கு இவ்வளவு காலமும் வழிகாட்டிகளாக இருந்த வரும் தலைவர் சிவசிதம்பரம், செயலாளர் நாயகம் அமிர்த விங்கம் ஆகியோருடைய பலத்தைக் கூட்ட முயற்சிப்போம். இந்தக் கால கட்டத்திலே அவர்களைப் போன்ற தலைவர்கள் எங்களுக்குக் கிடைத்ததையிட்டு நான் மிக்க மகிழ்ச்சியடைகிறேன். பொறுப்புணர்ச்சியோடு, மக்களைக் காப்பாற்றுவதை அடிப்படையாக நோக்கமாக வைத்து, எவ்வளவுதான் எதிர்ப்பு ஏற்பட்டாலும் அதனைப் பொருட்படுத்தாது அவர்கள் செயலாற்றுவது குறித்து நான் அவர்களைப் பாராட்டுகின்றேன்.

பிரதிச் சபாநாயகரவர்களே, எனக்குப் பேசுவதற்கு இன்னும் பதினைந்து நிமிடங்கள் இருக்கின்றன. அதற்கிடையில் இன்னும் சில தனிப்பட்ட விளக்கங்களை, இது என்னுடைய இறுதிப் பேச்சு என்றபடியால் கொடுக்க வேண்டியவகை இருக்கின்றேன். சிலர் கேட்கிறார்கள், “தமிழ் சமூக அமைப்போமென்று பாராளுமன்றம் சென்ற நீங்கள் ஏன் நீதி மன்றத்துக்குப் போகிறீர்கள், வழக்குப் பேசு?” என்று இதற்கு விளக்கம் கொடுக்க வேண்டியது எனது கடமை. பிரதிச் சபாநாயகரவர்களே, உங்களுக்குத் தெரியுமோ தெரியாதோ, இங்கு பின்வரிசையிலே இருக்கின்ற அங்கத்தவர்களுக்கும் தெரியும் அரசியலிலே ஈடுபட்டுள்ள ஓர் அரசியல் வாதிக்கு அவரது தொகுதியிலே நடைபெறுகின்ற எல்லா நிகழ்ச்சிகளிலும் பங்கு பற்ற வேண்டிய ஒரு கடமை ஏற்படுகின்றது. இதற்கு அத்தியாவசியச் செலவுகள் ஏற்படுகின்றன. அவர்களுக்கு சமய நிகழ்ச்சிகள், பாடசாலை நிகழ்ச்சிகள், கிராம நிகழ்ச்சிகள், குடும்ப நிகழ்ச்சிகள் அவர்களுடைய தொகுதிகளிலே ஏற்படுகின்றன. என்னைப் பொறுத்த வரையிலே “உசலுக்கு” மாத்திரம் எனக்கு ஆகக் குறைந்தது மாதம் ஒன்றுக்கு 4,000 ரூபா தேவைப்படுகின்றது. இங்கேயிருக்கின்ற ஏறக்குறைய 100 அங்கத்தவர்களுக்கு அந்தப் பிரச்சனை இல்லை. அவர்கள் அமைச்சர்களாக, பிரதி அமைச்சர்களாக, திட்ட அமைச்சர்களாக, மாவட்ட அமைச்சர்களாக இருக்கின்றார்கள். அவர்களுக்கு இந்தப் பிரச்சனை இல்லை. ஆனால் மிகுதி இருக்கின்ற எங்களுக்கு ஆகக் குறைந்தது மாதம் ரூபா 4000 உசல் என்னையெக்குத் தேவைப்படுகின்றது. அடுத்ததாக உபசாரத்துக்கு எவ்வளவு தேவைப்படுகின்றது நாங்கள் கொழும்புக்கு வருகின்றபொழுது வெளி நாட்டுத் தூதுவர்கள் எங்களுக்கு விருந்தளிர்க்கின்றார்கள் நாங்கள் அவர்களைத் தோசைக் கடைகளுக்குக் கூட்டிக் கொண்டுபோக முடியுமா? அவர்களுக்கு நாங்கள் மீண்டும் விருந்தளிக்க ஆகக் குறைந்தது 3,000 ரூபா முடிகின்றது. அதுவும் எனது நண்பர் யாழ்ப்பாணப் பிரதிநிதி அவர்களைப் பொறுத்தவரையிலே அவருக்கு 5,000 ரூபாவுக்கு மேல் முடிகின்றது. என்னைப் பொறுத்தவரையிலே சர்வதேச ஒன்றியத்தின் கூட்டங்களில் கலந்து கொள்வதற்கு நான் வெளிநாடுகளுக்குச் செல்கின்றபொழுது, பாராளுமன்றமோ சர்வதேச ஒன்றியமோ எனது பிரயாணச் செலவுகளைக் கொடுத்தாலும் மேலதிக செலவுகள் இருக்கின்றன. அந்தப் பணத்தை நான் எங்கிருந்து பெறுவது நேர்மையான முறையிலே பெறக்கூடிய ஒரே ஒரு வழி நீதிமன்றமாகும். ஆகவே மாதத்திலே ஐந்து நாட்கள் நீதிமன்றத்திற்குச் செல்கின்றேன். 1977 ஆண்டு தொடக்கம் இன்று வரைக்கும் ஒரு வருடத்தில் 60 நாட்களுக்கு மேல் நான் நீதிமன்றத்திற்கும் போகவில்லை. ஆனால் போகவேண்டிய தேவை ஏற்பட்டது. அகதவிட எத்தனையோ வழக்குகள் பேச வேண்டியிருந்தது.

[பி. சி. மெட்ராஸ் மெம்பர்]

யாழ்ப்பாணத்திலே நடந்த அத்தனை வன் செயல்களிலும் யார் நீதிமன்றத்திலே குற்றஞ்சாட்டப்பட்டாலும் சட்டத் தரணி என்ற வகையிலே எல்லா வழக்குகளிலும் பேச வேண்டிய தேவை ஏற்பட்டது. காசு இல்லாமலே 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 countries, 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 நீங்கன்ஸ் அடியிலே முக்கிய பங்கு எடுப்பதில்லை என்று கேட்பவர்களுக்கு "என்னில் நம்பிக்கை வைத்து எனக்கு என்ன வேலை தரப் படுகின்றதோ அதற்கு மேல் நான் செய்யவிரும்பவில்லை" என்று கூறிக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். அதற்கான காரணங்களை நான் இந்தக் கட்டத்திலே கூற விரும்பவில்லை. கடைசியாக, சாவகச்சேரித் தொகுதி வார்க்காளர்களுக்கு நான் மிகவும் கடமைப்பட்டவன் என்பதைத் தெரிவித்துக் கொள்கிறேன். அவர்கள் 1956 ஆம் ஆண்டு தொடக்கம் இன்று வரைக்குப் என்னிலே நம்பிக்கை வைத்து—எனது கட்சியிலே நம்பிக்கை வைத்து—என்னை இந்த இடத்திற்கு அனுப்பிவைத்தார்கள். நான் உண்மையிலேயே கொடுத்துவைத்தவன். 1956 ஆம் ஆண்டுக்குப் பிறகு எந்த ஒரு தேர்தலுக்கும் நான் ஒரு சதமேனும் செலவு செய்யவில்லை. எல்லாச் செலவையும் அவர்களே செய்து என்னை அன்போடு பாதுகாத்து. என்றும் அவர்களுடைய பிரதிநிதியாக வைத்திருக்கின்றார்கள். எத்தனையோ கிராமம்

களிலுள்ளவர்கள் என் நிழலிலே வளர்ந்தவர்கள். வேறு எந்த மரத்தையும் கட்டிப்பிடிக்க அவர்களுக்குத் தெரியாது. அவர்களை நான் அவல நிலையிலே விட மாட்டேன். 1956 ஆம் ஆண்டு தொடக்கம் இன்று வரைக்கும் விடுதலை அரசியலிலே நான் ஈடுபட்டிருந்தாலும் விடுதலைக்கு அபிவிருத்தி முக்கியமான ஓர் அம்சம் என்பதை உணர்ந்து இன்றும் நான் அத்தொகுதியின் அபிவிருத்திக்கு என்ன என்ன செய்ய முடியுமோ அத்தனையையும் செய்து வந்தேன். இலங்கையிலே மட்டுமல்லாமல் ஆசியாவிலே கூட இல்லாத அளவுக்கு ஒரு தனிப்பட்ட, ஒரு குறிப்பிட்ட இடத்தில் ஆராய்ச்சியின் அடிப்படையிலே—இவ்வாறு ஆராய்ச்சி நடைபெறுவது சாவகச்சேரித் தொகுதியில் மட்டும்தான்—ஒரு வேலைக்கிட்டம் இடம் பெறச் செய்துள்ளேன்.

யாழ்ப்பாணப் பேராசிரியர் கோஷ்டி ஒன்று சாவகச்சேரித் தொகுதியிலே ஒரு சமூக, பொருளாதார ஆய்வு செய்து பத்தாயிரம் இலட்சம் ரூபாவுக்கு அபிவிருத்தித் திட்டங்களைத் தயாரித்து இருக்கிறார்கள். இந்தப் பணத்திலே 750 இலட்சம் ரூபா செலவில் பலவிதமான முயற்சியினால் வெளிநாட்டு உடவியோடு ஒரு குடிதண்ணீர் திட்டத்தை ஆரம்பித்து விட்டோம். இந்தத் திட்டங்களை அமுல் நடத்துவதற்கு தென் மராட்சி நிறுவனம் என்று ஓர் அமைப்பை ஏற்படுத்தி இருக்கிறோம். இந்த நிறுவனம் மூலம் தொடர்ந்து அந்த மக்களுக்குச் 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.

[ලිච්ඡ තැනැත්තාගේ මතය]

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 Sinhalese 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 historical theories.

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.

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 Tamil question. So, please let us not, in this situation that we are faced with, seek to get away from the central issue which is terrorism and the attendant problems around it. That is what the Emergency is about. The Emergency is not there to solve the Tamil problem. The Emergency is not to resolve the difficulties the Tamil speaking people may have. The Emergency is there to deal with the terrorist problem.

Now you may turn round and say there are excesses, as the Member for Nallur said. I want to assure him that this Government brought in the Emergency with great reluctance—a great deal of reluctance. There are

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 people 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 the 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?

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 threat to everybody who seeks elected office. It is a threat to all of you sitting in these seats. Because what the terrorists say is you can be removed with the gun and you dare not contest a seat. The terrorists are in that phase a Fascist threat. Make no mistake about this. They may be camouflaged as freedom fighters. But they represent the Fascist argument against the democratic process of Sri Lanka.

Now what do we do in that situation? Some people say when we bring in a hard law or take some action under the Emergency, "Do not go for a military solution, go for a political solution! On the other hand 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 an 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 hesitation 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 ප්‍රශ්නයයි. තමුත්තාත්තේදොගේ දේශපාලන බලය රැදී තිබෙන්නේ සිංහල හා බෞද්ධ ජනතාව අතර තම තුස්තවාදයට විරුද්ධ සටනට සහභාගි වෙන්නේ නැහැ කියල තවත් වරක් තමුත්තාත්තේදො සිංහල බෞද්ධ ජනතාවගේ ජන්දය ඉල්ලනට යන්නේ කොයි ආකාරයෙන්ද? ඒ වට මේ සාකච්චාවට පැමිණෙන්නට තවමත් ආරාධනය තිබෙනවා. තවමත් දොර විවෘතයි. මේ අවස්ථාවේදී ඒ ආරාධනය ප්‍රතික්ෂේප කර වට මේ සාකච්චාවට නොපැමිණුණොත් එයින් ලැබෙන ප්‍රතිඵලයට තමුත්තාත්තේදො හවුල්කරුවන් නොවෙයිද? තමුත්තාත්තේදො නොපැමිණුණොත් අපට ප්‍රඵලයක් වෙයි නැවත වරක් රටට ගිහින් කියන්නට. "තුස්තවාදයට විරුද්ධ සටනට සහභාගි වෙන්නට අපි හැම පක්ෂයකටම අත දුන්නා. ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයටත් අප ආරාධනා කලා. එතුමන්ලා ඇවිත් තමුත්තාත්තේදොට මොනවා කීව්වත් තුස්තවාදයට විරුද්ධව සටන් කිරීමේදී ප්‍රායෝගිකව ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයේ සහයෝගය අපට ලැබුණේ නැහැ" කියල. එහෙම තර්කයක් ඉදිරිපත් කරන්නට ඉඩ තිබෙන්නට එපා. මේ අවස්ථාවේදී තියෙන්නේ දේශපාලන වාසි බලා ගැනීම නොවෙයි. මේ ප්‍රශ්නය දේශපාලන පක්ෂ හේද වැඩි කරන ප්‍රශ්නයක් හැටියට කල්පනා කරන්නට එපා. මේක අපි ඔක්කොම, පුරාතන්ත්‍රවාදය පිළිගන්නා හැම පක්ෂයක්ම එකතුව විසඳිය යුතු ප්‍රශ්නයක්.

පැයියිට වාදය තුස්තවාදය මර්දනය කිරීමේදී අපි ඔක්කොම එකමුතුව වැඩ කරන්නට ඕනෑ. එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයේ යම්කිසි පුළුල් වරදක් වුණොය කීව්වාම විරුද්ධ පක්ෂයේ ඔක්කොම ඒක පැයියිට ක්‍රියාවක් කියනවා; ඒක පැයියිට ක්‍රියාවක් කියල විවේචනය කරනවා. තමුත් මේ ප්‍රශ්නයේදී මොකද ඒ වචනය පාවිච්චි නොකරන්නේ? මට ඒක ගැන පුදුමයි. එමනිසා මා විශේෂ ඉල්ලීමක් කරනවා. කරුණාකර මේ ප්‍රශ්නය ගැන තවත් වරක් සාකච්චා කරල තුස්තවාදය මර්දනය කිරීමේ සටනට පක්ෂ හේදයෙන් තොරව එකමුතු වෙන්න. මහජන එක්සත් පෙරමුණේ නායකතුමාටත් කොමියුනිස්ට් පක්ෂය තියෝජනය කරන කලවාන මන්ත්‍රීතුමාටත් (සරත් මුත්තේවිටුවෙගම මහතා) මා ඒ ආරාධනය කරනවා. මම දන්නෙ නැහැ හෙට මොනව වෙයිද කියල. ඒක උසාවියේ ප්‍රශ්නයක්. කලවානේ මන්ත්‍රීතුමා ඒ තීරණයට විරුද්ධව පෝස්ටර් එහෙම ලැයිස්තු කරල තිබෙනවාදයි මම දන්නෙ නැහැ. [බාධා කිරීමක්] තමුත්තාත්තේ සියක් පෙන් වූ තිසයි මම එහෙම කීව්වේ.

සරත් මුත්තේවුවෙගම මහතා (කලවාන)
 (திரு. சரத் முத்தேவகம—கலவான)
 (Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama—Kalawana)
 බියක් නැහැ.

ලලිත් ඇතුලත්මුදලි මහතා
 (திரு. லலித் அத்துலத்முதலி)
 (Mr. Lalith Athulath Mudali)
 එහෙම නම් තමුත්තාත්තේ දත්තවා තිත්දුව.

සරත් මුත්තේවුවෙගම මහතා
 (திரு. சரத் முத்தேவகம—கலவான)
 (Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)
 හෙට දකගතිමු.

ලලිත් ඇතුලත්මුදලි මහතා
 (திரு. லலித் அத்துலத்முதலி)
 (Mr. Lalith Athulath Mudali)
 මේ අවස්ථාවේදී ඒ අයටත් මා ආරාධනා කරනවා නැවත වරක් කල්පනා 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. බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා (ගම්පහ)
(திரு. எஸ். டி. பண்டாரநாயக்க—கம்பஹை)
(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 Hon. 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 Westminster 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 නොසික මතබෙද 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.

ත්‍රස්තවාදය මැඩ පැවැත්වීමට අපි ඒ කාලයේදී සැහෙන පියවරවල් විකක් ගත්තා. කොයිතරම් දුරට ගන්නාද කියනවා නම් ඒ කාලයේ ත්‍රස්තවාදියෙක් කියන පුද්ගලයෙක් අපට හම්බ වුණේත් අපි ඔහු වර්ග කරනවා. දේශපාලන උද්ඝෝෂණකරුවා කියන පුද්ගලයා හැමදම ත්‍රස්තවාදියෙක් කියා හිතන්න එපා. දේශපාලන උද්ඝෝෂණකරුවා කියා කෙනෙක් සිටිනවා. ඔහු ත්‍යාසට යටත් වූ කෙනෙක් වන්නට පුළුවන්. ත්‍රස්තවාදියා කියන පුද්ගලයා වෙනම ස්වරූපයකින් සිටින කෙනෙක්. තවත් ඉන්නවා හොරු. හොරුන්ට කියන්න පුළුවන්ද ත්‍රස්තවාදීන් කියා? බැහැ. උන් කරන්නේ හොරකම්. නවත් කොටසක් සිටිනවා. ව්‍යාපාර කරන ඒ කොටස හොඳට අදහනගත් යම් පුද්ගලයෙක් සිටිනවා නම් ඔහු පස්සෙන් යනවා. මේ සම්බන්ධයෙන් හොඳ පුරුද්දක් අපට 1971 දී ලැබුණා. ඔය වගේ කොටස ගන්නාවක් සිටිනවා.

ඒ අයගෙන් අපි ගන්නා, ත්‍රස්තවාදී කියන කොටස. එසේ අරගෙන ඒ අයට විරුද්ධව උසාවියේ කඩු පැවරීමට අපට සිදු වුණා. අතින් අය සම්බන්ධවත් යම් යම් පුනරුත්ථාපන වැඩ පිළිවෙලවල් අරගෙන ගියා. ඒ වැඩපිළිවෙලවල් ගෙන ගියාට පසු ඒ උදවිය විශාල සංඛ්‍යාවක් විවිධ දේශපාලන පක්ෂවලට ඇතුළත් වුණා. සමහරු එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයට ගියා. සමහරු ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයට ගියා. සමහරු කොමියුනිස්ට් පක්ෂයට ගියා. ඒ අය තම තමන් අනුගමනය කරන දේශපාලන න්‍යාය ධර්මයන් අනුව ඒ ඒ පක්ෂවලට ගියා.

ඊළඟට, සිංහල බෞද්ධ උදවිය ගැන ගරු වෙලද හා තාප්ප කටයුතු පිළිබඳ ඇමතිතුමා (ලලීන් ඇතුළත්වූද ලී මහතා) කීවා. මම එකක් කියන්නට කැමතියි. ගරු කථානායකතුමනි. ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පාක්ෂිකයන් වන අපි, අපේ මූලික අත්තිවාරම පැන නැගුණේ කොතැනින්දැයි දන්නවා. ප්‍රතිපත්ති පැන නැගුණේ සිංහල මහා සභාවෙන්. සිංහල මහා සභාවෙන් ප්‍රතිපත්ති පැන නැගීමෙන් ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂය බිහි වුණා. "සිංහල බෞද්ධයා" යනුවෙන් සිංහල මහා සභාවෙන් පැන නැගුණු සංස්කෘතික ලක්ෂණ අනුව මුලින්ම ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂය බිහි වුණා. ඒ ආකාරයටමයි උච්ච එක්සත් විමුක්ති පෙරමුණක් බිහි වී තිබෙන්නේ. ඒ ප්‍රදේශයේ තිබෙන විවිධ දේශපාලන පක්ෂ ආරම්භ වුණේත් හින්දු මහා සභාවේ තිබුණු සංස්කෘතික ලක්ෂණ පදනම් කරගෙනයි. ක්‍රමානුකූලව, හින්දු මහා සභාවේ යම් යම් ප්‍රතිපත්ති අද දේශපාලන පක්ෂ හැටියට පරිවර්තනය වී තිබෙන බව ඉතිහාසය ගැන කල්පනා කර බලන විට පෙනී යනවා.

අපි එකක් පිළිගන්නවා. අපේ පක්ෂය සංස්කෘතික ලක්ෂණ තුළින් ඉදිරියට පැමිණී පක්ෂයක්. එම නිසා සිංහල බෞද්ධකම සම්බන්ධව ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයට අවුරා විකා ලියන්නට වූවමනාවක් නැහැ ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයේ සිටින උදවිය ගැන මේ රටේ සිටින කවුරුන් දන්නවා. අප කුමන මට්ටමකින් මේ ප්‍රශ්න ගැන බලනවාද යන්න ගැන, කවුරුන් දන්නවා. තමුත් මම එක කාරණයක් දැනගන්නට කැමතියි. අපේ වෙලද හා තාප්ප කටයුතු පිළිබඳ ඇමතිතුමා (ලලීන් ඇතුළත්වූද ලී මහතා) අනෙක් අය මෙන් කොටෙයි. කුමක්ද එතුමා යෝජනා කර තිබෙන්නේ? ත්‍යාස පත්‍රයක්වත් දෙන්නේ නැතිව අප කැඳවා යෝජනාවක් ගැන අහනවා. ඒවා තිබෙන ලිපිය මා කියවන්නට උවමනාවක් නැහැ. ඒ යෝජනා මොනවාදැයි කවුරුන් දන්නවා.

මේ ප්‍රශ්නය විසඳන්නේ කෙසේද? ත්‍රස්තවාදය නැති කරන්නේ කොයි පිළිවෙලටද යන්න ගැන ආණ්ඩුවට අදහස් ඉදිරිපත් කලා නම් මට වඩා වටිනවා යයි මම හිතනවා. 1971 වර්ෂයේදී, ඔය ප්‍රශ්නය පැන නැගුණු අවස්ථාවේ අප කටයුතු කළේ මෙන්න මේ ආකාරයට බව මම අවංකව කියන්නට කැමතියි.

අපි ඒ සඳහා වෙනම කමිටුවක් පත් කලා. අපි ඒ කමිටුව පත් කළේ රටේ මෙවැනි තත්වයක් පැන නැගුණු අවස්ථාවකදී මුහුණ දෙන්නේ කෙසේදැයි යොයා බලන්නටයි. තමුත් වර්තමාන රජයට නැති එක වාසියක් අපට එද තිබුණා. 1971 දී මේ රටේ තිබුණු ඒ තත්වයට ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂය මුහුණ දෙන අවස්ථාවේදී මේ රටේ තිබුණු හැම දේශපාලන පක්ෂයකම උදවිය ඒ සඳහා ආධාර උපකාර කලා. එපමණක් කොටෙයි. හැම දේශපාලන පක්ෂයක්ම අප සමග සිටියා. එසේම හමුදාවේ උදවියත් සිටියා. ප්‍රධාන ආගමික නායකයෝ, යම් යම්

සංස්කෘතික ආයතන අපේ පිටුපස හිටියා. උච්ච ජාතීන් අප සමග හිටියා. සුඵ ජාතීන් අප සමග සිටියා. මුස්ලිම් ජනතාව අප සමග සිටියා. හැම දෙනාම ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂය වටා සිටියා. ඒට හේතුව, ක්‍රමානුකූලව රට තුළ අප හැමදෙනාගෙන්ම ආධාර උපකාර ඉල්ලීමයි.

එපමණක් නොවෙයි, ජාත්‍යන්තර වශයෙන්ද අපි ආධාර උපකාර ඉල්ලුවා. මේ රට ඇතුළේ තිබුණු කලබලය මැඩ පැවැත්වීමට 'සුව බෝල්' පිටියේ එක කෙළවරක ආධාර පිණිස පකිස්ථානය සිටි අතර, අනෙක් කෙළවරේ ඉන්දියාව සිටියා අපට ආධාර උපකාර කරන්නට. රුසියාව, ඇමෙරිකාව, යුනෙස්කෝව්, චීනය ආදී හැම රටක්ම මේ ත්‍රස්තවාදය නැති කරන්නට ඔහුයයි අපට ආධාර පිණිස සිටියා. එවැනි වාතාවරණයක් අද මේ ආණ්ඩුවට නැහැ. ඒට හේතුවක් තිබෙනවා ගරු කථානායකතුමනි. පසුගිය කාලසීමාව තුළදී යම් යම් ප්‍රශ්න සම්බන්ධයෙන් ආණ්ඩුව එක පැත්තකම කල්පනා කිරීමේ වැරද්දයි ඒ. මම එක නිදර්ශනයක් පමණක් පෙන්වන්නම්. විශේෂයෙන් ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, ජාත්‍යන්තර ප්‍රශ්නයකදී මධ්‍යස්ථ මධ්‍යාර්ථ බව කවිත් පමණක් නොවෙයි, ක්‍රියාවෙන්ම ඔප්පු කරන්නට ඔහු. මම හොඳින්ම දන්නවා, ඔය ත්‍රිකුණාමල ප්‍රශ්නය අද කොයි තරම් දැවෙන ප්‍රශ්නයක් බවට පත්ව තිබෙනවාද කියා. ජාත්‍යන්තර වශයෙන් බලන විට එක් රටක් පමණක් තොව-ධනවාදී හෝ වේවා සමාජවාදී හෝ වේවා-රටවල් කීපයක්ම මෙයට සම්බන්ධ වී තිබෙනවා. මේ ත්‍රිකුණාමල ප්‍රශ්නය හැම ප්‍රශ්නයකටම මුල් වෙන බව විකක් හිතේ නොගන්නට ඔහු. අන්ත ඒ නිසා මේ ත්‍රිකුණාමලය සම්පූර්ණයෙන්ම ශ්‍රී ලංකාව සතු විය යුතුයි. ශ්‍රී ලංකාවෙන් පිටස්තරව කිසිම බලකඳවුරකට-රුසියාවට හෝ වේවා, ඇමෙරිකාවට හෝ වේවා කිසිම කෙනෙකුට-දෙන්න එපා. අන්ත ඒ කාරණයට පැහැදිලි පිළිතුරක් අපි බලාපොරොත්තු වෙතවා.

ඒ. සී. එස්. හමීඩ් මහතා (විදේශ කටයුතු ඇමතිතුමා)
 (ஜனாப் ஏ. ஸி. எஸ். ஹமீத்—வெளிநாட்டுவல்லுக்கள் அமைச்சர்)
 (Mr. A. C. S. Hameed - Minister of Foreign Affairs)
 කාටද දී තිබෙන්නේ? දන්නේ නැති දේවල් කතා කරන්න එපා.

ලක්ෂමන් ජයකොඩි මහතා
 (திரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயக்கொடி)
 (Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)
 එය එක් හේතුවක්. අන්ත ඒ නිසා මම එකක් කියන්නට කැමතියි. මේ රජයට ජාත්‍යන්තර වශයෙන් ආධාර උපකාර කරන්නට හුඟක් උදවිය ඇති. තමුත් මිත්‍රත්වය කියන දෙය හැමතැනින්ම ලබා ගන්නට නම් විකක් ඉගෙන ගන්න ඔහු.

ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය කථානායකතුමනි, මේ අවස්ථාවේදී මම දීර්ඝ වශයෙන් කතා කරන්නට බලාපොරොත්තු වෙන්නේ නැහැ.
 ඒ. සී. එස්. හමීඩ් මහතා
 (ஜனாப் ஏ. ஸி. எஸ். ஹமீத்)
 (Mr. A. C. S. Hameed)

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 reveals 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 ?

ලක්ෂමන් ජයකොඩි මහතා
 (திரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயக்கொடி)
 (Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

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

பி. சி. பி. டி. ஹமீத் மதனா
(ஜனாப ஏ. வி. எஸ். ஹமீத்)
(Mr. A. C. S. Hameed)

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

லக்ஷ்மன் பசகோடி மதனா
(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—

பி. சி. பி. டி. ஹமீத் மதனா
(ஜனாப ஏ. வி. எஸ். ஹமீத்)
(Mr. A. C. S. Hameed)

All this time you said, "by military operation."

லக்ஷ்மன் பசகோடி மதனா
(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.

மனஜிபரவென்
(அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)
(A Member)

You must tell us.

லக்ஷ்மன் பசகோடி மதனா
(திரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயக்கொடி)
(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 brought here with the knowledge of the Government and they are being asked to print the other side of the story. If one

reads the report of the Amnesty International Mission to Sri Lanka, 31st January to 9th February 1982, it gives the other side of the picture. 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 true, 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.—

சியேரா கபாநாயகர்
(பிரதிச் சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)
(Mr. Deputy Speaker)

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

சனாப சியேரா கபாநாயகர் இராஜசேனா சிவசேனா, சியேரா கபாநாயகர் [பி. சி. பி. டி. ஹமீத் மதனா] இராஜசேனா சிவசேனா.

அதன் பிறகு, பிரதிச் சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள் அக்கிராசனத்தி வின்று அகலவே, குழுப் பிரதித் தலைவர் அவர்கள் [திரு. எம். மண்ட சமாஸிச்சரம்] தலைமை வகித்தார்கள்.

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

லக்ஷ்மன் பசகோடி மதனா
(திரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயக்கொடி)
(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 do? 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.

பி. சி. பி. டி. ஹமீத் மதனா
(ஜனாப ஏ. வி. எஸ். ஹமீத்)
(Mr. A. C. S. Hameed)

You must ask if you do not know.

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

You do not tell us. What is there to ask? You are asking us to come. You have been the most impotent Minister that I have known

பி. சி. பி. டி. ஹமீத் மதனா
(ஜனாப் ஏ. வி. எஸ். ஹமீத்)
(Mr. A. C. S. Hameed)
If you want, you must ask.

லக்ஷ்மன் சயகோடி மதனா
(திரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயக்கொடி)
(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)
What is there to ask ?

பி. சி. பி. டி. ஹமீத் மதனா
(ஜனாப் ஏ. வி. எஸ். ஹமீத்)
(Mr. A. C. S. Hameed)
Ask if you do not know. I will teach you, if you do not know.

லக்ஷ்மன் சயகோடி மதனா
(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.

பி. சி. பி. டி. ஹமீத் மதனா
(ஜனாப் 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.

அனூர் பண்டாரநாயக்க-மேல்கேலியா (இரண்டாம் அங்கத்தவர்)
(திரு. அனூர் பண்டாரநாயக்க-மேல்கேலியா)
(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike-Second Nuwara Eliya-Maskeliya)

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

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

When this type of propaganda 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.

பி. சி. பி. டி. ஹமீத் மதனா
(ஜனாப் ஏ. வி. எஸ். ஹமீத்)
(Mr. A. C. S. Hameed)

What about the regulations during your time ?

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

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

பி. சி. பி. டி. ஹமீத் மதனா
(ஜனாப் ஏ. வி. 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 ?

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

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

பி. சி. பி. டி. ஹமீத் மதனா
(ஜனாப் ஏ. வி. எஸ். ஹமீத்)
(Mr. A. C. S. Hameed)

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

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

Of course, it is more respectable, but then-

பி. சி. பி. டி. ஹமீத் மதனா
(ஜனாப் ஏ. வி. எஸ். ஹமீத்)
(Mr. A. C. S. Hameed)

Then do not talk.

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

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

பி. சி. பி. டி. ஹமீத் மதனா
(ஜனாப் 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.

ලක්ෂ්මන් ජයකොඩි මහතා

(திரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயக்கொடி.)

(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. හමීඩ් මහතා

(ஜி. ஏ. சி. 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 matter. 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 programme for you to work on.

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

ඒ. ඒ. පෝල් පෙරේරා මහතා (කඩුවෙල)

(திரு. எ. பீ. போல் பெரேரா—கடுவெல்)

(Mr. E. R. Paul Perera—Kaduvela)

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 terrorists 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 carbines which were not in use in Sri Lanka. What is worse, a foreign ship appears to have been mysteriously

[පී. ඩී. ජෝන් ජයවර්ධන මහතා]

sailing in the Palk Strait and disappearing when investigations started on its presence. Now what was that ship doing? From where do 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 situation. 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 discretion 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, Niranjana 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 Kurukulasoorya 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.

I 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 Madhya Pradesh, the Police tortures in Madhya 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 sovereign 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 :-

"ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂය, ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ කොමියුනිස්ට් පක්ෂය, ජනතා විමුක්ති පෙරමුණ, ලංකා සමසමාර පක්ෂය, මහජන එක්සත් පෙරමුණ, ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදී කම්කරු සංගමය යන ආණ්ඩු විරෝධී ප්‍රධාන දේශපාලන පක්ෂ අතර සාකච්චාවකින් ගොඩනගා ගන්නා ලද නීතරම එකඟත්වයක් අනුව ඇතුළියගොඩට කරග වර්ධන වාසුදේව සෝදරයා මෙම තරගයේ එකම යු. එන්. ඩී. රේවේ අපේක්ෂකයා වෙයි."

The next passage:-

"පාර්ලිමේන්තුව තුළ මතු කරන වැඩ කරන ජනතාවගේ වේදනාවේ දෝකාරය ඉක්මවනට ගෙනවිත්, වෘත්තීය සංවිධාන, ශිෂ්‍ය, තරණ හා ගොවි ව්‍යාපාර, උතුරේ විමුක්ති බලවේග ආදිය සමග ජනාධිදායක ජනතා ප්‍රශ්න වෙනුවෙන් උද්යෝගය කරන පුර්ව ජන ව්‍යාපාරයක් පාර්ලිමේන්තුවෙන් පිටත පෙළ ගැසීමට මන්ත්‍රීවරයෙකු වශයෙන් ලබන බලය හා ශක්තිය 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 මුත්තේවුට්ටේ මහතා (කලවාන)

(திரு. சரத் முத்தேவட்டுவேகம—கலவான)

(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama—Kalawana)

Is that a Marxist paper?

ජ. පී. පෝල් පෙරේරා මහතා

(திரு. ஈ. பி. போல் பெரேரா)

(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. Chandrasen 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 says 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."

[த. சி. சேரல் சேரேரா மனா]

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.

ஈரத் துணைவிடுவென மனா (கருவாக)
(திரு. சரத் முத்தேவகம—கலவான)
(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

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(திரு. சரத் முத்தேட்டுவேகம)
(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 occurred; 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?

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

How many votes did you get?

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(திரு. சரத் முத்தேட்டுவேகம)
(Mr. Sarath muttetuwegama)

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

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(திரு. ரணில் விக்கிரமசிங்ஹ—இளைஞர் 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.

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(திரு. சரத் முத்தேட்டுவேகம)
(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.

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 (சுழு பிரதிக் தலைவர் 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.

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 (திரு. சரத் முத்துவேகம்)
 (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 glad 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 සභාපතිතුමා, ජප දැන් සාකච්ඡා කරන මේ යෝජනාව— හදිසි තීරණය—යටතේ, විශේෂයෙන් පේරාදෙණි විශ්ව විද්‍යාලයේත්, වෛද්‍ය පීඨයේත් ඇතිවී තිබෙන තත්ත්වය ගැන වචන ස්වල්පයක් කියන්නට මම බලාපොරොත්තු වෙමිනි. මේ හදිසි තීරණය යටතේ රජය මේ සතියේ සිට විශ්ව විද්‍යාල පිළිබඳවත් ප්‍රවෘත්ති පාලනයක්, ප්‍රවෘත්ති තහනමක් ක්‍රියාත්මක කර තිබෙමිනි. රජයෙන්ම ප්‍රවෘත්ති පත්‍ර ගණනාවක් පාලනය වන අවස්ථාවක, රජයේ පැත්තෙන් කියන්න තිබෙන කාරණා සියල්ලක්ම රජයේ ප්‍රවෘත්ති පත්‍රවලින්, රජයෙන් පාලනය වන ගුවන් විදුලියෙන් සහ රූපවාහිනියෙන් දිනපතාම ඉදිරිපත් කරන අතරම විශ්ව විද්‍යාල පිළිබඳ ප්‍රවෘත්ති තහනමකුත් දැමීමෙන් අපට බොහෝම පැහැදිලිව පෙනෙමිනි, විශ්ව විද්‍යාල සම්බන්ධයෙන් රජය දරන ආකල්පය මොකක්ද කියා.

මේ අවස්ථාවේදී, පේරාදෙණි විශ්ව විද්‍යාලයේ ඇති වී තිබෙන තත්ත්වය පිළිබඳව බොහෝම කෙටියෙන්—සංක්ෂිප්ත වශයෙන්—කරුණු ස්වල්පයක් ඉදිරිපත් කරන්න මම බලාපොරොත්තු වෙමිනි. 1982 නොවැම්බර් මාසයේ 2 වැනි දා පේරාදෙණි විශ්ව විද්‍යාලයේ අලුත් අධ්‍යාපන වර්ෂය පටන් ගන්නා. 1982 දෙසැම්බර් මාසයේ 03 වැනි දා පේරාදෙණි විශ්ව විද්‍යාලයේ ශිෂ්‍ය සංගමය සඳහා නිලවරණය පැවැත්වුණි. ඒ නිලවරණයට ප්‍රධාන වශයෙන් සහභාගි වුණු සංවිධාන දෙක තමයි. එක්සත් සමවාදී ශිෂ්‍ය සංගමය සහ සමාජවාදී ශිෂ්‍ය පෙරමුණත්. උදාහරණයක් ලෙසට පවා පිළිගෙන තිබෙන, කවුරුත් දන්නා දෙයක්—එය කාටවත් රහස්‍ය නොවෙයි—තමයි. ඒ ශිෂ්‍ය සංවිධාන දෙක මේ රටේ තිබෙන දේශපාලන පක්ෂ දෙකකට සම්බන්ධ. ඒ පක්ෂවලට අනුකූලතා දක්වන සංවිධාන දෙකක් බව. එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයට සම්බන්ධ සංවිධානය තමයි. එක්සත් සමවාදී ශිෂ්‍ය සංගමය. 1982 දෙසැම්බර් මාසයේ 03 වැනි දා පැවැත්වුණු නිලවරණයෙන් ඒ එක්සත් සමවාදී ශිෂ්‍ය සංගමයට ලැබුණු නිලතල සංඛ්‍යාව සියයට 13ක් පමණයි.

පේරාදෙණි විශ්ව විද්‍යාලයේ ශිෂ්‍යයන් නිලවරණයෙන් පස්සේ පෙළපාලියක් පැවැත්වීමේ සම්ප්‍රදායක් අවුරුදු ගණනාවක සිට තිබෙමිනි. පණ්ඩිතරත්න මහතා උදාහරණයක් ලෙසට ඉදිරියේ දුන් සාක්ෂි ලබාදීමට ඔහු බලාගෙන ඉඳවා තිබෙමිනි, ඒ පෙළපාලිය ආ හැටි. මාකස් ප්‍රනාන්දු ශාලාව දක්වාම ඒ පෙළපාලිය සාමකාමී පෙළපාලියක් හැටියට ඇවිත් තිබෙන බවයි, පණ්ඩිතරත්න මහතාගේ පිළිගැනීම. එක්සත් සමවාදී ශිෂ්‍ය සංගමයට සම්බන්ධ ප්‍රධාන කොටස් ඉන්නේ ඒ මාකස් ප්‍රනාන්දු තේවාසිකාගාරයේයි. එතුනේදී අර පෙළපාලිකරුවන් සහ මාකස් ප්‍රනාන්දු ශාලාවේ සිටින ශිෂ්‍යයන් අතර ඇති වුණු ඝට්ටනයක් නිසා කීප දෙනෙකුට තුවාල වුණි. එසේ තුවාල ලත් එක්

කෙනෙක් තමයි, ඒ කාලයේ ඉංජිනේරු ශිෂ්‍ය සංගමයේ ලේකම්ව සිටියාවුත්. ඉන් පසුව මහා ශිෂ්‍ය සංගමයේ සභාපති තැන්පත් ලේකම්ව සිටියාවුත් එක්. ඩී. කෙටිල් තමාගේ ශිෂ්‍යයා. කෙසේ වෙතත් මේ තත්ත්වය හේතුකොට ගෙන දෙසැම්බර් මාසයේ 05 වැනි දා විශ්ව විද්‍යාලය වහන්ස යෙදුණි. ඒ නිසා, විශ්ව විද්‍යාලයෙන් පිට වන්නය කියා උප කුලපතිවරයා විසින් ශිෂ්‍යයන්ට නියෝග කරනු ලැබුවා.

දෙසැම්බර් මාසයේ 12 වැනි දා මහනුවර බස් නැවතුම්පොළේදී පොලීසිය විශ්ව විද්‍යාල ශිෂ්‍යයන් 4 දෙනෙකු අත් අඩංගුවට ගන්නා. ඒ ශිෂ්‍යයන් 4 දෙනා මහෙස්ත්‍රාන්තුමා වෙත ඉදිරිපත් කරනු ලැබ එතුමාගෙන් ලැබුණු නියෝගය අනුව ඊමාන්ඩ් බන්ධනාගාරගත කරනු ලැබුවා. රු. 10,000 ක් මුදලින් ඇප තබලයි, ඔවුන් ඊමාන්ඩ් බන්ධනාගාරයෙන් නිදහස් කරගෙන තිබෙන්නේ එහෙම නම් ඒ 4 දෙනා බරපතල වරදක් කළ උදවිය හැටියට පොලීසියට පැහැදිලිව පෙනී ගොස් තිබුණු බව, ඒ 4 දෙනා බරපතල වරදක් කළ බවට යම් සාක්ෂි පොලීසියට තිබුණු බව කෙනෙකුට හිතීම සාධාරණයි. උසාවිය සාමාන්‍යයෙන් එවැනි අය ඊමාන්ඩ් කරන්නත්, මුදලින් රු. 10,000 ක ඇපයක් නියම කරන්නත් පෙළඹෙන්නේ නැහැ. බරපතල වරදක් කර තිබෙන බවට හැඟීමක් තැන්පත්.

දැන් ජපී මේ අවුරුද්දේ අගෝස්තු මාසයටත් කීවටු වී තිබෙමිනි. නමුත් පසුගිය දෙසැම්බර් මාසයේ 12 වැනි දා ඒ ශිෂ්‍යයන් 4 දෙනා අත්-අඩංගුවට ගන්නායින් පසුව මොකක්ද, වුණේ? ඒ අය උසාවියට ගෙන යනවා; නඩුව කල් දමනවා. ඒ හැර අද වන තුරු පොලීසිය ඒ අයට විරුද්ධව නඩුවක් ඉදිරිපත් කර නැහැ.

ඒ කෙසේ වෙතත් එම පසුබිම යටතේ තමයි, උදාහරණයක් ලෙසට පත් කරනු ලැබුවේ. මම මේ අවස්ථාවේදී අදහස් කරන්නේ නැහැ, ඒ උදාහරණය කොමිසම විවේචනයට භාජන කරන්න. එම කොමිසමේ කටයුතු පිළිබඳව හුඟක් ප්‍රශ්න තිබෙමිනි. මම හිතන හැටියට විශ්ව විදුල පාලකයන් පවා පිළිගෙන තිබෙමිනි, එම කොමිසමේ නිර්දේශ නැවත සමාලෝචනයට භාජන කරන්න ඕනෑම කියා.

මම එක කාරණයක් විතරක් කියන්නට කැමතියි. කොමිෂන් එකේ තුන් දෙනයි සිටියේ. කොමිෂන් එකේ සිටි මහත්වරුන් තුන් දෙනාගෙන් එල්. ආර්. එල්. පෙරේරා කියන මහත්මයා නිර්දේශ ගණනාවක් ඇතුළත් වෙමින් වාර්තාවක් කර තිබෙමිනි. ඒ වාර්තාවක් මාලු තිබෙමිනි. ඒක බොහෝම දිග එකක් නිසා කියවන්නට බලාපොරොත්තු වන්නේ නැහැ. නමුත් ශිෂ්‍යයන් කෙරෙහිම වරද පටවන්නට බැරිය කියා ඒකෙන් ඔහු පැහැදිලිවම කියා තිබෙමිනි. ආරක්ෂක අංශයේ මාළුලා, වෝඩ්ඩ්ලා—සිතුවම් සර්විස් එකේ උදවිය—ඒ වාගේම එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයට සම්බන්ධ එක්සත් සමවාදී ශිෂ්‍ය පෙරමුණ කටයුතු කර තිබෙන ආකාරය එම වාර්තාවේ ඔහු සඳහන් කර තිබෙමිනි. මේ සියලුම කරුණු නිසා පේරාදෙණිය විශ්ව විදුලයේ ශිෂ්‍යයන් අතර විනය බොහෝම බරපතල යේ හානිදායක තත්ත්වයකට පත් වුණාය කියා තිබෙමිනි. කෙසේ වෙතත් ඒ කොමිෂන් වාර්තාව පාලකයන්ට ලැබුණේ අප්‍රියෝලේ මාසයේදීයි. පාලක සභාව රැස් වුණේ ජූලි මාසයේදීයි. ජූලි මාසයේ 6 වැනිදා ශිෂ්‍යයින් සංකේත පත්ති වර්ජනයක් පටන් ගන්නා. 6 වැනිදා, 7 වැනිදා, 8 වැනිදා පත්ති වර්ජනය තිබුණි. 9 වැනිදා සහ 10 වැනිදා නිවාඩු දිනයන්. 11 වැනිදාත් 12 වැනිදාත්—ඒ කියන්නේ සඳුදා, අඟහරුවාදාත්—නැවතත් මේ පත්ති වර්ජනය පටන් අරගෙන 11 වෙනිදා ශිෂ්‍යයින් ගණනාවක් උපවාසයක් පටන් ගන්නා. ඒ උපවාසය පටන් ගන්නේ විවෘත තැනකයි.

ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය සභාපතිතුමා, ඒ එක්කම 12 වැනිදා, 13 වැනිදා සහ 14 වැනිදා ශිෂ්‍ය සංගමයේ නියෝජිතයන් අතරත්, උපකුලපති සහ අතිකුත් ආචාර්යවරුන් අතරත් සාකච්ඡා ගණනාවක් තිබී එය සමථයකට පත් කිරීමේ හැකියාවක් ඇති වෙමින් තිබුණි. ඊට පසුව තමයි, 15 වැනිදා තවත් සිද්ධියක් ඇති වුණේ. විදුලි පීඩාපීචන බියක් මගනා ශිෂ්‍යයින් විසින් රඳවා ගන්නට යෙදුණි. ඊට පසුව ප්‍රකාශයක් අත්සන් කර පණ්ඩිතරත්න මහත්මයා ශිෂ්‍ය ඉල්ලීම් සියල්ලම දෙන්න පොරොන්දු වුණි. නමුත් සේපාල ඒකායක සිද්ධියේදී වුණා වගේම,

තිබෙනවා. මෙය බ්‍රිතාන්‍ය ප්‍රධානති පත්‍රයක පළ වී තිබුණි. මෙක කොතැනින්ද පටන් ගත්තේ? උතුරට 'මාෂල් ලෝ' දමනවා; නැගෙනහිරට 'මාෂල් ලෝ' දමනවා; වීශ්ව විද්‍යාලයට 'මාෂල් ලෝ' දමනවා; කම්කරුවන් වැඩ වර්ජනය කරන ආයතනයකට 'මාෂල් ලෝ' දමනවා. මේ නීතිය විකිත් විකරට පුරාම දමන්න වෙනවා. ලබන අවුරුද්ද වන විට ආර්ථික වශයෙන් බොහෝම අමාරු තත්වයක් ඇති වෙනවා. [බාධාකීර්ම]

නියෝජ්‍ය කාරක සභාපතිතුමා
 (සුප්‍ර ධීරාතිත් ත්‍රයෝවර් අචාර්යන්)
 (Mr. Deputy Chairman of Committees)
Order, please !

සරත් මුත්තේටුවෙගම මහතා
 (ති.රු. සරත් முத்தேட்டுவெகம)
 (Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

මුදල් ඇමතිතුමා ඊයේ හෝ පෙරේදා හෝ කර තිබෙන ප්‍රකාශයක් අනුව මේ රට මුදල් තැනි තත්වයකට වැටෙනවා. රුපියලේ අගය තවත් බාලින් කරන්න සිදු වෙනවා. එතකොට තමයි මේ උතුරට කරන වැඩිය දකුණටත් කරන්න සිදු වෙන්නේ කියා අපි තමුන්නාත්සේට කියනවා.

අ.නා. 8.08

රංගනායකි පත්මනාදන් මහත්මිය (පොත්තුවිල්)
 (ති.රු.ම.ති. රංගනායකි පත්මනාදන්—පොත්තුවිල්)
 (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 problems 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.

එක කිදර්ශනයක් වශයෙන් පෙන්වන්නට පිංතූර වශයක් මට ලැබුණා. [බාධා කීරීමක්] (පින්තූරයක් පෙන්වමින්) එදා ගෙනා පිංතූර නොවෙයි මේවා. මේවා දක්කාමත් බයවෙතවා. මේ පිංතූරයෙන් දක්වෙන සිද්ධිය මොකක්ද ?

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

මේ මනුෂ්‍යයා ජීව එකේ සිටි මනුෂ්‍යයා තුස්තවාදී බෝම්බයකට උඩ ගහින් විසිවෙලා බඩේ බොකු බඩවැල් මක්කොම එළියට ඇවිල්ලා.

කථානායකතුමා

(*சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்*)

(Mr. Speaker)

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

සිරිල් මැතිව් මහතා

(*சிரி. சிறீஸ் மதகிள்*)

(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

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

නියෝජ්‍ය කථානායකතුමා

(*சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்*)

(Mr. Speaker)

For the picture ?

සිරිල් මැතිව් මහතා

(*சிரி. சிறீஸ் மதகிள்*)

(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 කථානායකතුමනි, දැන් එතුමා කියන්නට යෙදුණා, කෝමසුන්දරම් කියන පුද්ගලයෙක් යුද්ධ හමුදාව භාරයට අරන් එයාට එළියට ඇරියාලා, පොලීස් බාරයෙන් එළියට ඇරියාලා. ඊට සුමානයකට පසුව, ලීදක වැටිලා හිටියාලා වෙඩි තබලා, කවිද දන්නේ ඒක කවිද, කවිද කියා ? පොලීසියට සාක්ෂි දෙන අයට මරණවා, තුස්තවාදීන්, අනන්ත අප්‍රමාණ එහෙම මරලා තිබෙනවා. මගේ ලග තිබෙනවා ඒ විස්තර සියල්ලක්ම. ඒ මක්කොම කියන්න ඔකු තැහැ, මගේ ලග තිබෙන විස්තර අනුව, 18 දෙනෙක් මරලා තිබෙනවා, පොලීසියට සාක්ෂි දුන්නා කියා. එවිට, මේ පුද්ගලයා පොලීසිය භාරයේ සිට පොලීසියෙන් නිදහස් කලා. සනීපයකට පසුව ලීදක තිබිලා මලකඳ හමුවී තිබෙනවා. යුද්ධ හමුදාවට අයිති තුවක්කුවකින් වෙඩි තබා තිබෙනවා කියනවා. යුද්ධ හමුදාවට අයිති තුවක්කු තමයි තුස්තවාදීන් හොරකම් කරන්නේ. ඒවා තමයි ඔවුන් පාවිච්චි කරන්නේ යුද්ධ හමුදාවට වෙඩි තියන්න. ඒ යුද්ධ හමුදාවේ තුවක්කුවෙන් වෙඩි තිබිබා කියා, එතුමා කියනවා, මේක යුද්ධ හමුදාවෙන් තැන්නම්, පොලීසියෙන් කල දෙයක් කියා. තුස්තවාදීන් ලග තිබෙන්නේ යුද්ධ හමුදාවෙන් හොරකම් කල තුවක්කු.

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, පහසුව සඳහා මම මේ කරුණු කොටස් තුනකට බෙදා තිබෙනවා, යාපනේ සිද්ධියත්, ත්‍රිකුණාමලයේ සිද්ධියත්, යාපනේ විශ්ව විද්‍යාලයේ සිද්ධියත් කියා. ඒ අනුව මම එතුමාට උත්තර දෙන්නට බලාපොරොත්තුවෙනවා. එතුමා කියන්නට යෙදුණා, ත්‍රිකුණාමලයේ සිද්ධියේදී දෙමළ ජනතාව පමණයි මැරීලා තිබෙන්නේ, අලාගහානි සිද්ධියේදී දෙමළ ජනතාවට පමණයි කියා. මට ලැබී තිබෙනවා ලිපියක් ත්‍රිකුණාමලයෙන්. මෙන්න ඒ ලිපිය :

ත්‍රිකුණාමලය එක්සත් වෙළඳ සංගමය
එළවළු වෙළඳ සැල
ත්‍රිකුණාමලය

1983.07.19 දින

යේරුවිල හා තිරියාය පුජා නගර සංවර්ධන සමිතියේ
ගරු සහායක තැන්පත්.
සී. සිරිල් මැතිව් මැතිතුමා.

ගරු මැතිතුමනි,

1983 ජූනි/ජූලි ජාතිවාදී අරගලය
ත්‍රිකුණාමලය දිස්ත්‍රික්කය

1983 ජූනි/ජූලි මාසවල ත්‍රිකුණාමලයේ ඇතිවූ ජාතිවාදී අරගලවලට මුල් වූ කරුණු පිළිබඳව වැදගත් කරුණු රැසක් ඔබතුමාගේ වෙත අවශ්‍ය කටයුතු සඳහා සැලකර සිටිමි. මෙම සිද්ධීන් පිළිබඳව ත්‍රිකුණාමලය පාර්ලිමේන්තු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා විසින් 1983 ජූලි මස 17 වෙනි දින "ද අයිලන්ඩ්" පත්‍රයේ ප්‍රසිද්ධ කරවා ඇති ලිපියට පිළිතුරු සැපයීමක් වශයෙන් ද ඒ සමගම මෙම ලිපිය උපයෝගී කර ගනිමි.

1. ත්‍රිකුණාමලය ප්‍රසිද්ධ වෙළඳපොළ :- දෙමළ ජනතාව වෙනුවෙන් වෙනමම වෙළඳ පොළක් සුදුසු ස්ථානයක පිහිටුවිය යුතු බවට ත්‍රිකුණාමලය මන්ත්‍රීතුමා විසින් සඳහන් සාකච්ඡාවේදී යෝජනා කළේ ද ? නැද්ද ? යන්නට පිළිතුරු දීම සම්බන්ධීකරණ නිලධාරී, අයෝග්‍ය ද සිල්වා මහතාගෙන් ඉටුවිය යුත්තක් හෙයින් අපි ඒ ගැන කරුණු තොදක්වමු.

එහෙත්, සිවිල්කෝවිල් අසී, පාලෙයුතු, ලිංගගරු, අක්බුවිලපුරම් ආදී ස්ථානවල වෙළඳ පොළවල් පිහිටුවීමට ඒ ඒ ප්‍රදේශවල දෙමළ ජනතාව තීරණය කළේ ත්‍රිකුණාමලය මන්ත්‍රී සම්බන්ධත් මහතා ද සහගාමී වූ රැස්වීම් වලදී බැව් සිංහල ජනතාවට තොරගසනි.

පසුගිය 16 වෙනි දින ත්‍රිකුණාමලය, තිරුඤ්ඤසමන්දර විදියේ, කහගම් මීලස් ගුමය වෙළඳ පොළක් පිහිටුවීමේ කාර්යය සඳහා සම්බන්ධත් මහතා ගේ අධීක්ෂණය යටතේ ගුද්ධ පරිත්‍ර කළ බව සිංහල ජනතාවට රහස්‍ය කොට තිබේ. එවන් කටයුතු වල නියැලෙන ඔහු තමා වෙතත් වෙළඳ පොළක් දෙමළ ජනතාව වෙනුවෙන් ඇති කීරීමට උත්සාහ කොගත් බව "ද අයිලන්ඩ්" පුවත් පතට ප්‍රකාශ කිරීම ත්‍රිකුණාමල වාසී සිංහල ජනතාවට හානි ගෙන දෙන කරුණක් වී ඇත.

ත්‍රිකුණාමල බස් නැවතුම අසල ඇති වෙළඳ පොළ එම ස්ථානයෙන් ඉවත් කොට දෙමළ ජනතාවට වැඩි බලයක් ඇති ස්ථානයකට ගෙන යාමට සම්බන්ධත් මහතා ඇතුළු දෙමළ නායකයින් තැන් දරන්නේ අද ඊයේ සිට නොවන බව ඔබතුමා පොද්ගලිකව දන්නා කරුණකි. මේ පිළිබඳව ගරු ඔබතුමාටත් ගරු අගමැතිතුමාටත්, අතිගරු ජනාධිපති උතුමාගේත් ත්‍රිකුණාමල වාසී සිංහල ජනතාව මීට කලින්ද කිහිප වතාවක්ම කරුණු ඉදිරිපත් කර ඇත.

1981 වර්ෂයේ ගරු අමුණාහරතුමා ත්‍රිකුණාමලයට පැමිණි අවස්ථාවේදී නගර සංවර්ධනය පිළිබඳව පැවැති රැස්වීමේදී, ත්‍රිකුණාමලය නගරය "නගර සංවර්ධන අධිකාරිය" යටතට ගෙන ඇති හෙයින්, සියලු දෙනාම සාධාරණ අත්දැකීම් නගරය සංවර්ධනය කරන තෙක් ඒ පිළිබඳව නිතරම සිටින ලෙස ත්‍රිකුණාමලය මන්ත්‍රීතුමාටත් එවකට සිටි නගර සහායකයින්ටත් ප්‍රසිද්ධියේ දක්වන ලදී.

නගරයේ සියලුම විදවල සිට කාපු සම්බන්ධතාවයක් ඇති ප්‍රසිද්ධ බස් නැවතුම අසල පිහිටි වෙළඳ පොළ මෙම ස්ථානයෙන් ඉවත් කොට වැඩි දෙමළ ජනතාවක් සිටින ස්ථානයකට එය ගෙනයාමට සම්බන්ධත් මහතා වෙර දරන හේතුව අපි දනිමු.

" ඒ අද ත්‍රිකුණාමලය ප්‍රසිද්ධ වෙළඳ පොළේ වෙළඳුම් කරන සිංහල වෙළඳුන්ගේ ජීවනෝපාය වනා දැමීමට බව අපි හොඳින් දනිමු."

ත්‍රිකුණාමලයේ ජාතිවාදී අරගලවල ආරම්භයට වෙළඳ පොළේ සිටින සිංහල පිරිස මුල්වූ බවට ඔහු විසින් දක්වා ඇති කරුණු ගැන අපේ අදහස පහත පල කරමු.

11. වෙළඳ පොළේ සිංහල වෙළඳුන්ට විරුද්ධව සම්බන්ධත් මහතා කර ඇති වේදිකා :-

පසුගිය ජූනි මස 04 වෙනි දින රාත්‍රී කෙලින්විදියේ, මැන්නේ හෝටලයේ ඇතිවූ හින්ත වෙළඳ පොළේ පිරිසක් විසින් කළ බව ඇසින් දුටුවාක් මෙන් සම්බන්ධත් මහතා ප්‍රකාශ කර ඇත. මෙම හින්ත වෙළඳ පොළේ පිරිසක් කළ බවට මේ දක්වා පොලීසියට කිසිදු ඇසින් දුටු සාක්ෂියක් ඉදිරිපත් වී නොමැත. එහි අයිතිකරුවන් විසින් දැකපිටි පමණක් වෙළඳ පොළේ කිහිප දෙනෙකුගේ හමු පොලීසියට ඉදිරිපත් කොට ඇත. තත්වය එසේ තිබේදී, වහාම යුතු අන්තිවරයෙකු පමණක් නොව නීතිඥයෙකු ද වන සම්බන්ධත් මහතා මෙය වෙළඳ පොළේ පිරිසක් විසින් කළ බව පුවත්පතට ප්‍රකාශ කර තිබීම කිසිදු වහසිනෙකින් තොරව කරන ලද ප්‍රකාශනයකි.

මෙම වෙළඳ ආයතනයේ අයිතිය පිළිබඳව වර්තමාන අයිතිකරුන් තවත් පිරිසකුත් අතර මත හේදාසකඳු ඇති බව සම්බන්ධත් මහතාට මතක් කර දීම සුදුසු යැයිද සිතමු. සිංහල ජනතාවට අඩක්තෙට්ටම් වූ විට ඒවා ජාතිවාදී ප්‍රශ්න තොට පොද්ගලික ප්‍රශ්න ලෙස සුවා දක්වීමට තැන් දරණ සම්බන්ධත් මහතාට මෙම සිද්ධිය පිළිබඳව එම තත්ත්වය අමතක වුනාද? එසේ තැත්කම ඔහු අමතක කළාද යන්න අපි ප්‍රශ්න කර සිටිමු.

පසුගිය වසරේ දෙසැම්බර් මාසයේදී ත්‍රිකුණාමලය තහරයේ "පත්තානම්බර්" නමැති ප්‍රදේශයේදී සිංහල අයෙකුට දුර්ව සිරසක් විසින් පහර දී මරා දැමීමට එය පොද්ගලික ප්‍රශ්නයක් බව සම්බන්ධත් මහතා ප්‍රාදේශීය බලධාරීන්ට පල කළේය.

පසුගිය ජූනි 8 වෙනි දින ත්‍රිකුණාමලය, "හස්තිසන්" විදියේ එකම සිංහල පවුල පදිංචිව සිටින නිවසට කිසිවකු බෝම්බයක් දැමීම නිසා නිවැසියාගේ යොයුරිය බරපතල කුටාල ලැබුවාය. මෙයද පොද්ගලික ප්‍රශ්නයක් ලෙස බලධාරීන්ට ඒකතු ගැන්වීමට සම්බන්ධත් මහතා උත්සාහ නොකළේ ද යන්න අපි ප්‍රශ්න කර සිටිමු.

"සිංහල ජනතාවට සිදුවන අඩක්තෙට්ටම් පොද්ගලික ප්‍රශ්න ලෙසත් 'දුර්ව ජනතාවට සිදුවන ප්‍රශ්න පමණක් ජාතිවාදී පහරදීම් ලෙසත් හුවා දක්වීම ඔහුගේ එකම ප්‍රතිපත්තිය බව ත්‍රිකුණාමල ජනතාවට හොඳින් අවබෝධ වී ඇත."

ත්‍රිකුණාමල වාසී සිංහල ජනතාවට ජාතිවාදී අරගලයක් ඇති කිරීමට අවශ්‍යතාවය නිවුණේ නම් පසුගිය වසරේ දෙසැම්බර්හිදී "පත්තානම්බර්" ප්‍රදේශයේදී සිංහල අයෙකු මරා දැමූ අවස්ථාවේදී එය කළ හැකිව 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
(*சிரிஸ் மத்தியம்*)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

There are a few more pages.

කථානායකතුමා
(*சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்*)
(Mr. Speaker)

You can table the document.

සිරිල් මැතිව් මහතා
(*சிரிஸ் மத்தியம்*)
(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
(*சிரிஸ் மத்தியம்*)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

Can I read a few more pages ?

කථානායකතුමා
(*சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்*)
(Mr. Speaker)

Yes.

සිරිල් මැතිව් මහතා
(*சிரிஸ் மத்தியம்*)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

ජූනි 05 වෙනි දින රාත්‍රී වෙළඳ පොලට ආසන්නව මැදපාරේ පිහිටි දෙමළ අයෙකුට අයත් වෙළඳ සැලක ගින්නක් ඇතිවිය. එයා නිවුණ වෙළඳ පොළේ ඇතුළත් තට්ටන් මෙම ගින්න අයිතිකරුවන්ට අවටන ලද්දක් බවට ආරක්ෂක බලධාරීන්ටද ඒකතු ගොස් ඇති බව සම්බන්ධත් මහතා පවා දන්නා කරුණකි. මේ හා සලකා විට වෙළඳ පොල ආසන්නව දුර්ව අයවලුන්ට අයත් ආයතන වල වූ සිද්ධීන් වෙළඳ පොළේ සිංහල අයවලුන් පැවැලීමට ඇවූමුදු ලෙස අප තුළ සාධාරණ සැකයක් තට්ටෙන් ඇත.

02. සම්බන්ධත් මහතා මන්ත්‍රී වන්නේ දුර්ව ජනතාවට පමණක් නොව ත්‍රිකුණාමලය ආයතනයේ වෙතෙක සියලුම ජාතීන් වෙනුවෙන්ය. තමුත් පසුගිය අරගලවලදී පීඩාවට පත් අතීතයක සිංහල ජනතාව ගැන ඔහු මේ පුවත්පත් තිවේදනයේ කිසිවක් ප්‍රකාශ කර තැන්ගත් මෙම අරගල වලදී පීඩාවට පත්වූයේ දෙමළ ජනතාව පමණක්ම බව ඊටට ඒකතු ගැන්වීමටද?

03. දෙමළ ජනතාවට සිදුවූ පීඩාවන් පිළිබඳව පාර්ලිමේන්තුවේදී පවා විපක්ෂ නායකයාගේ, ත්‍රිකුණාමලය මන්ත්‍රීතුමාගේ දෙක ප්‍රසිද්ධියම ත්‍රිකුණාමල වාසී සිංහල ජනතාවට සිදුවූ පීඩාවන් පිළිබඳවද එය තුළින්ම දෙක 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. ත්‍රිකුණාමලයේ යළි සාමය ඇති කිරීමට සම්බන්ධත් මහතා පිටවර ගත්තේද?

පසුගිය ජූනි මස 12 වෙනි දින ජනතාවට සාමකාමී වන ලෙස ඉල්ලුම් ත්‍රිකුණාමලය ගරු දිසා ඇමතිතුමා විසින් මහජන තීවේදනයක් මගින් ඉල්ලා සිටින ලදී. මෙම තීවේදනය ප්‍රදේශය පුරා ප්‍රචාරය කිරීමට ප්‍රථමයෙන් එසේ ප්‍රචාරය කිරීම සඳහා-තීවේදනයක් දෙක ලෙස ගරු දිසා ඇමතිතුමා සම්බන්ධත් මහතාගේ නිවසටම ගොස් ඉල්ලීමක් කළ බව අපි දකිමු. එවිට ඔහුගේ පිළිතුර වූයේ කුමක්ද?

"එකට දත් ප්‍රමාද වැඩි. ඔබත් කොළඹ යන්න. මමත් කොළඹ යන්නම්. හමුදා මුර සේවයක්ද ඉවත් කරලා ඇදීරි නිතියද ඉවත් කරලා දෙගොල්ලට සටන් කරන්න කියමු. කවුද දින්නේ කියල බලමු." යනුවෙන් හේද?

මෙතෙම කීවිටය කියන්නේ කවුද? ත්‍රිකුණාමලයේ මන්ත්‍රීතුමා (ආර්. සම්බන්ධත් මහතා) යි. ලිපියේ ඉතිරි කොටස සම්පූර්ණයෙන්ම කිය වූ හැටියට සලකා හැක්කාඩ් වාර්තාවට ඇතුළත් කරන ලෙස ඉල්ලා සිටීමින් මා එය සභාගත කරනවා.

ලිපියේ සභාගත කරන ලද ඉතිරි කොටස.
சமர்ப்பிக்கப்பட்ட கடிதத்தின் மிகுதியை பகுதி :
Balance portion of letter tabled.

මෙම ප්‍රකාශයට ගරු දිසා ඇමතිතුමා කාන්ති දරයි. තම නිවසට පැමිණි දිසා ඇමතිතුමාට මෙවන් පිළිතුරක් දුන් සම්බන්ධත් මහතා මහජනතාවට සාමකාමී වන ලෙසට තීවේදනයක් තිකුත් කිරීම එකතෙලාම ප්‍රතික්ෂෙප කළේ කැදද? යන්න අපි ප්‍රශ්න කරමු. මෙම ප්‍රශ්නය ඔවුන්ටම බොරුගැනීමට ඉඩදී ඇදීරි නිතිය හා හමුදා ආරක්ෂක සේවා ඉවත් කරන ලෙසට මොහු විසින් ත්‍රිකුණාමලය දිසාපති තුමාගෙන් ඉල්ලා ඇති බව අපිට දනගැනීමට ලැබුණි.

ගරු දිසා ඇමතිතුමා ඉදිරියේ මුලින් සඳහන් කළ අන්දමේ ප්‍රකාශයක් කිරීමට සම්බන්ධත් මහතාට හැකිවීම අපිට පුදුමයක් නොවේ. කොටි සංවිධානය විසින් ත්‍රිකුණාමලයේ ජාතිවාදී අරගලවලට නියැලුනවුන්ට සපයා ඇති ඉතා හයානක බෝම්බ, පිප්පෝල ආදිය ගැන ඔහුද ඉතා හොඳින්ම දන්නා නිසා එවැනි ප්‍රකාශයක් කරන්නට ඇත. බෝම්බ පහර වලින් හස්තියන් විදියේ සිංහල නිවසටත්, මහවිදියේ සිංහල නිවසටත්, වර්වි විදියේ සිංහල වෙළඳ සැලවත්, ඩොක්කාඩ් පාරේ සිංහල වෙළඳ සැලවත්, මහ විදියේ ලී බඩු වෙළඳ සැලවත් වූ ඉමහත් අලාභයක් හා නිවැසියන්ට සිදුවූ බරපතල කුටාලන් අද ත්‍රිකුණාමලයේ ජාතිවාදී අරගල මෙහෙයවන දුර්ව අයවලුන් සතුට ඇති බෝම්බවල ඉමහත් අන්තරාදායක බව මොනවට පෙන්වුම් කරයි. හස්තියන් විදියේ සිංහල නිවසට ගසන ලද බෝම්බය වටුනියාවේදී ගුවන් හමුදා තට්ටින්ට එල්ල කළ බෝම්බය හා සමාන යයි ඊර්ජයේ රජ පරීක්ෂක වාර්තාවේ සඳහන් වෙතැයි අපට දැන ගන්නට ඇත.

05. ජූනි 22 වෙනි දින වන විට සංයුත්වු ත්‍රිකුණාමලයේ ජූනි 24 වෙනි පොතොන් පෝදින නැවතත් අරගල ආරම්භ කළේ කවුද? කෙසේද?

ජූනි මස 22 වෙනි දින වන විට ත්‍රිකුණාමලය මුරපිනිත්ම සංයුත්වු නිසා ජූනි මස 08 වෙනි දින සිට පහවා නිවු ඇදීරි නිතියද ජූනි මස 23 වෙනි දින ඉවත් කරන ලදී.

ජූනි මස 24 වෙනි පොතොන් පෝ දිනයේ සිදුවූයේ කුමක්ද?
ජූනි මස 24 වෙනි දින උදේ 03 වර්ග විදියේ, එ. ජා. ප. යෙන් නගර සභාවට නරඹ කළ සිංහල අරක්ෂකයාගේ නිවස හයානක බෝම්බ පහරකට ලක්ව මුරපිනිත්ම සමහලා වි. ස. එල්ල කළ සඳහා මහවිදියේ, සිංහල ව්‍යාපාරිකයෙකුගේ නිවසට එල්ල වූ බරපතල බෝම්බ පහරකින් නිවසේ ඉදිරිපස කොටස මුරපිනිත්ම විනාශ වූ අතර, විනාශ වූ නිවසට යාමට සුදුසුම වෙමින් සිටි එම ව්‍යාපාරිකයාට බරපතල කුටාල සිදුවූ අදත් කොළඹ පෝලිස් ගනට සිටින අතර ඔහුගේ ඇසක් තවමත් පෙතිම ලබා නොමැත.

සංයුක්ත වූ ත්‍රිකුණාමලයේ නැවතත් අරගල හට ගැනුණේ 24 වෙනි පොසොන් පෝදින සිදුවූ මෙම සිද්ධීන් දෙක නිසා නොවේදැයි අපි සම්බන්ධත් මහතාගෙන් අසමු.

27 වෙනි දින උදේ අනුරාධපුර හන්දියේ සිංහල අසවලින්ට අයත් වෙළඳසැල් දෙකකට ගිනි තැබීමේ හේතුවෙන් එම ස්ථානයේ නොසංයුක්තාවය ආරම්භ වූ බව සම්බන්ධත් මහතාට අමතක වූකේද?

27 වෙනි දින උදේ පොලීස් පරීක්ෂක මුණසිංහ මහතා පදිංචිව සිටි, පේදුරු කොටුවේ, ගෝකණ්ණ විහාරය අසල පිහිටි ඔහුගේ නිල නිවසට බෝම්බ පහරක් එල්ල වී උවිඩ ජාතිකයකු අත් අඩංගුවට ගත් බව සම්බන්ධත් මහතාට මතක් කළ යුතුද ?

එදිනම සවස ත්‍රිකුණාමලය, මැද පාරේ, ප්‍රසිද්ධ වෙළඳ පොලට ආසන්නව පිහිටි උවිඩ වෙළඳ සැලක අසිහිකරු, විසින් රාජකාරයේ යෙදුන ත්‍රිකුණාමලය මුද්‍රාස්ථාන පොලීස් පරීක්ෂක සහ නාවික හමුදා හටයින් වෙත බෝම්බ විසි කිරීම හා වෙඩි තැබීම නිසා අත් අඩංගුවට ගත් බව සම්බන්ධත් මහතා නොදන්නේද ? ප්‍රසිද්ධ වෙළඳ පොලේ සිටින, සම්බන්ධත් මහතා විසින් අභියාචනා උවිඩ වෙළඳුන් ලෙස හඳුන්වන, අසවලින්ගේ අභියාචනා භාවයේ තරම ආරක්ෂක නිලධාරීන් වෙත බෝම්බ විසි කිරීමෙන් ප්‍රත්‍යක්ෂ වේ.

එදිනම සවස අත්වූවෙලිපුරම් හිදී ආරක්ෂක හමුදා සමග මුහුණට මුහුණලා වෙඩි තබමින් සටන්ට පැමිණි උවිඩ පිරිසෙන් කිහිප දෙනෙකු ආරක්ෂක හමුදා අත්අඩංගුවට ගත් බව සම්බන්ධත් මහතා නොදන්නේද ?

28 වෙනි දින පාලේයුතු උවිඩ පිරිසක් ආරක්ෂක හමුදා සමග මුහුණට මුහුණලා සටන් කළේ ඔවුන් අභියාචනා නිසාද ?

ප්‍රති 29 වෙනි දින "පවුනේ" කමුනි ග්‍රාමයේදී උවිඩ ජාතිකයන් පිරිසක් එකතුවී පිරිපාල නමැති සිංහල නරුණියෙකු කුරුරු ලෙස කපා කොටා ඔවුන්ගේම වාඩියකම වල දමමින් සුදුකම් කොට තිබියදී හදිසි වැටලීමකින් සොයා ගැනීමෙන් පසු අදත් එම නරුණියා සිහි කල්පනාව මද ගතියෙන් පසුවන බව සම්බන්ධත් මහතා දන්නේ නැද්ද ?

ආන්දන්කුලම හා මිහිඳු පුර අතර ප්‍රදේශයේ සිංහල අසවලින්ට අයත් නිවාස 10 කට කිසියම් ව්‍යාපාරයක් මගින් සම්බන්ධත් මහතාගේද දීර් ගැන්වීම මත එම ප්‍රදේශයේ පදිංචි කරවූ උවිඩ අසවලින් විසින් ගිනි තැබීම නිසා එම ප්‍රදේශයේ අරගල ආරම්භ වූ බව සම්බන්ධත් මහතා අවංකවම පිළිගත යුතු කේද ?

සංයුක්ත වූ ත්‍රිකුණාමලයේ ප්‍රති 24 දින සිට නැවතත් අරගල හට ගැනුණේ උවිඩ පිරිස විසින් ඇති කරන ලද ඉහත කී සිද්ධීන් නිසා බව උගත් සම්බන්ධත් මහතා විසින්ම දැන දැනම වසන් කරගෙන "ද අයිලන්ඩ්" පුවත්පතට කළ ප්‍රකාශය මගින් ජාතිවාදී අරගලවලට වගකීම ප්‍රසිද්ධ වෙළඳ පොලේ පුර සිංහල පිරිස වෙත පැවරීමට ගෙන ඇති උත්සාහය පිළිබඳව යථා තත්ත්වය හුවා දක්වන ලෙස අපි ඔබතුමාගෙන් ඉල්ලා සිටිමු.

06. තත්ත්වය බැරෑරුම් වන්නට කලින් දිසා ඇමතිතුමා ඉල්ලා සිටි විට මහජනතාවට තිවේදනයක් නිකුත් කිරීම ප්‍රතික්ෂේප කළ සම්බන්ධත් මහතා ප්‍රති 29 වෙනි දින තිවේදනයක් නිකුත් කළේ ඇයි ? එදින ත්‍රිකුණාමලය කවිවේරියේදී පැවති රැස්වීමකදී එයට සහභාගිවූ සංඝයා වහන්සේලා විසින් මේ සිද්ධීන්වලට මත්ත්‍රිකුමාද වගකිවයුතු බවට කරුණු ගෙනහැර පාදදී කිරුණතර වූ සම්බන්ධත් මහතා එම දෝෂාපරීචනයෙන් ගැලවෙන්නට එදින තිවේදනය නිකුත් කළ බව අපි කියා සිටිමු. මුහු ඇත්තෙන්ම සාමය අගය කළේ නම් ඊට දෙසතියකට පමණ කලින් ගරු දිසා ඇමතිතුමා ඉල්ලා සිටි විට එවැනි තිවේදනයක් කිරීම ප්‍රතික්ෂේප කළේ ඇයි ?

07. දහට සිදුවන්නේ කුමක්ද ?

පසුගිය සතිය තුළ ත්‍රිකුණාමලය සංසඟුන් වෙමින් පවතිනදී සිදුවන ද ගැනද බෙහෙවින් සැලකර සිටීම වැදගත් යයි සිතමි.

පසුගිය ජූලි මස 13 වෙනි දින අලයම කිතුල්ලතුව ප්‍රදේශයේ "සරවෝදය" මධ්‍යස්ථානයක්, බෞද්ධ විහාරස්ථානයක් ගින්නෙන් විනාශ විය.

ජූලි මස 10 වෙනි දින රාත්‍රී ත්‍රිකුණාමලය, වාර මාර්ග සංචාරක බංගලාවේ නවතා තිබූ සහකාර පොලීස් අධිකාරී වරයෙකුගේ නිල ජීප් රියට සහ වාර මාර්ග දෙපාර්තමේන්තුවේ ජීප් රියකට ගිනි තබන ලදුව මහත් උත්සාහයකින් පසු බේරා ගන්නා ලදී.

පසුගිය ජූලි 12 වෙනි දින මිහිඳු පුර සිංහල ගුරුවරයෙකුගේ නිවස ගිනිකන් විය.

ජූලි 13 වෙනි දින සිට උවිඩ පිරිස් විසින් ඇතිකළ පාසල් වර්ජනය කිරීමේ ව්‍යාපාරය නොපිළිපැදීම නිසා ත්‍රිකුණාමලයේ, ගාත් මේරි කන්‍යාරාමයට බෝම්බ දමන ලදී, මෙම විදුලියේ සිංහල ශිෂ්‍යාවන්ද ඉගෙනුම ලබන අතර එදින සිංහල අංශය මුල්මකින්ම පවතිනදී මෙය සිදු විය.

ජූලි 18 වෙනි දින (ජයේ රාත්‍රී) ලිංගනගරී සිංහල නිවසකට බෝම්බ පහරක් එල්ල විය.

දහට සංයුක්ත වූ ඇති ත්‍රිකුණාමලයේ පසුගිය සතිය මුළුල්ලේ ඇතිවූ ඉහත දක්වූ සිද්ධීන් වලින් සිංහල පවුල් කිහිපයක් පීඩාවට පත් විය. උවිඩ ජාතික කිසිවෙකුටත් පීඩාවක් නොවීය.

නොසන්සුන්තාවයෙන් පීඩාවට පත්ව සිටින උවිඩ ජනතාවගෙන් 90% ක් පමණ පුරවැසිකම නොලත් නොයෙකුත් සංවිධානවලින් සම්බන්ධත් මහතාගේද අනුදානම ඇතිව ත්‍රිකුණාමලයේ මැකදී පදිංචි කරන ලද අසවලින් බවද පෙන්වා දීමට සිදුවී ඇත.

සංයුක්ත වූ ත්‍රිකුණාමලයේ සාමය අගය කරන සිංහල ජනතාවට නැවත වරක් දිගින් දිගටම අඩන්තේට්ටම් ඇති කිරීම නිසා නැවතත් තත්ත්වය නොසංයුක්ත විය හැකි බව උවිඩ ජනතාවට ජනතු ගන්වන ලෙස අවසන් වශයෙන් අපි සම්බන්ධත් මහතාගෙන් ඉල්ලා සිටිමු.

මෙම ලිපියේ සඳහන් කරුණු විපක්ෂ කායකතුමාටත් සම්බන්ධත් මහතාටත් පාර්ලිමේන්තුව තුළදී පිළිතුරු දීමට ප්‍රයෝජනයට ගනු ඇතැයි අපි උදක්ම අපේක්ෂා කරමි.

මෙයට විස්වාසී,
ටී. එච්. විමලසාල
(ගරු සහාපති)

කථානායකතුමා
(*சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்*)
(Mr. Speaker)

Have you not said enough ?

සිරිල් මැතිවී මහතා
(*திரு. சிறில் மத்நிவ்*)
(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 මැතිවී මහතා
(*திரு. சிறில் மத்நிவ்*)
(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 ?

[சிரிஸ் மூகிவ மொல]

A: Yes. This campaign was against all the Sinhala students. There was no possibility 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 that 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."

கலாநாயகர்

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Shall we give the others a chance ?

சிரிஸ் மூகிவ மொல

(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.

அனூர் பண்டாரநாயக்க மொல (துபுரர்செலி-மஸ்கெலிய)

(திரு. அனூர் பண்டாரநாயக்க — துவரெலிய-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 consistently, 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 it 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 sincerity 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 බණ්ඩාරනායක 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 combat 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 carry 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 semblance 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.

කථානායකතුමා

(*சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்*)

(Mr. Speaker)

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

අනුර 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 their 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.

பி. டீமீர்தலிங்கம் மஹா (பிரேமீயம் பார்க்கலெய் தாசலெய்)

(திரு. ஏ. அமிர்தலிங்கம்—எதிர்க்கட்சி முத்தலவர்)

(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 arrangements 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 there is an attempt being made to cut off 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 unnecessarily. 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 of 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.)

வலாசலெய்

(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.

பி. டீமீர்தலிங்கம் மஹா

(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.

பி. சிவசிதம்பரம் மஹா

(திரு. எம். சிவசிதம்பரம்)

(Mr. M. Sivasithamparam)

Uniformed terrorists!

பி. டீமீர்தலிங்கம் மஹா

(திரு. ஏ. அமிர்தலிங்கம்)

(Mr. A. Amirthalingam)

That is why this is happening.

மன்திரைசெய்

(அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)

(A Member)

Your son is a leader!

வலாசலெய்

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Order, please! Now, do not reply to interruptions. Carry on with your speech.

பி. டீமீர்தலிங்கம் மஹா

(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—

மன்திரைசெய்

(அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)

(A Member)

Terrorists in army uniform! Your son got caught.

பி. அமீர்தலிங்கம்
(திரு. ஏ. அமிர்தலிங்கம்)
(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—

மெம்பர்
(அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)
(A Member)

Your armed forces !

பி. அமீர்தலிங்கம்
(திரு. ஏ. அமிர்தலிங்கம்)
(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—

சபாநாயகர்
(சபாநாயகர் 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.

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

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 several 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.)

மெம்பர்
(அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)
(A Member)

Suicide like Gandhi !

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

Shot himself three times on the head ! (Interruption.)
And after dying he had fallen into the well !

மெம்பர்
(அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)
(A Member)

What ?

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

He had fallen into the well. (Interruption.)

சபாநாயகர்
(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)
(Mr. Speaker)

Now, the Leader of the Opposition, why do you not leave them alone and carry on ?

பி. அமீர்தலிங்கம்
(திரு. ஏ. அமிர்தலிங்கம்)
(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.

சிரில் மெதே
(திரு. சிரில் மத்தே)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

If the contrary is proved ?

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

Till it is proved one has to presume that it was they who did it. (Interruption.)

மெம்பர்
(அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)
(A Member)

He was asked to go down a lane.

பி. அமீர்தலிங்கம்
(திரு. ஏ. அமீர்தலிங்கம்)
(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 assault of the Tamil students at the Peradeniya University just two months ago? (*Interruption.*) Sir, in fact, the decision not to send these Sinhalese students to the Jaffna Campus was taken by the Government and not by anybody else. (*Interruption.*) It was not taken by the Jaffna University.

சிரில் மேதேவ்
(திரு. சி.நில் மத்திவ்)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

Lives are not safe. You cannot exist there.

பி. அமீர்தலிங்கம்
(திரு. ஏ. அமீர்தலிங்கம்)
(Mr. A. Amirthalingam)

Certainly not.

கலாநாயகர்
(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)
(Mr. Speaker)

Order, please!

சிரில் மேதேவ்
(திரு. சி.நில் மத்திவ்)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

Not only students, no businessman can live there today.

கலாநாயகர்
(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)
(Mr. Speaker)

Let there be one Member holding the Floor!

பி. அமீர்தலிங்கம்
(திரு. ஏ. அமீர்தலிங்கம்)
(Mr. A. Amirthalingam)

Even last year Tamil students at the Sri Jayawardenepura University who were following a course in Business Management 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.

கலாநாயகர்
(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)
(Mr. Speaker)

I think you have taken a long time.

பி. அமீர்தலிங்கம்
(திரு. ஏ. அமீர்தலிங்கம்)
(Mr. A. Amirthalingam)

So that the Marasinghe incident (*Interruption.*)

கலாநாயகர்
(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)
(Mr. Speaker)

Allow the hon. Member to complete his speech.

பி. அமீர்தலிங்கம்
(திரு. ஏ. அமீர்தலிங்கம்)
(Mr. A. Amirthalingam)

There has been ample evidence on this matter. That was a private quarrel which broke out in a bus. (*Interruption.*)

சிரில் மேதேவ்
(திரு. சி.நில் மத்திவ்)
(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.

பி. அமீர்தலிங்கம்
(திரு. ஏ. அமீர்தலிங்கம்)
(Mr. A. Amirthalingam)

This was the only incident -

சிரில் மேதேவ்
(திரு. சி.நில் மத்திவ்)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

That is not the only incident.

பி. அமீர்தலிங்கம்
(திரு. ஏ. அமீர்தலிங்கம்)
(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.

கலாநாயகர்
(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)
(Mr. Speaker)

I think you should now conclude.

பி. அமீர்தலிங்கம்
(திரு. ஏ. அமீர்தலிங்கம்)
(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 regard 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 misunderstanding, will carry 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 are 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.

பி. சி. பி. ஹமீத் ஹமீத் (பி. சி. பி. ஹமீத் ஹமீத்)

(ஐ. அ. எ. எஸ். ஹமீத் – வெளிநாட்டளுவல்கள் 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.

[பி. டி. பி. கமலி மகா]

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.

அனில் மூனசிங்க

(திரு. அனில் மூனசிங்க)

(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

What I said was that you do not believe in it and it has been proved.

பி. டி. பி. கமலி மகா

(ஜனாப 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 :

"ஓர் மூலக் கமிஷனாக நிறைவேற்றி அதை மீண்டும் மீட்டி கொடுக்க வேண்டும்"

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 remember what you said?

சரத் முத்துவேகமா

(திரு. சரத் முத்துவேகமா)

(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwagama)

Read it. I have written the same thing to the President.

பி. டி. பி. கமலி மகா

(ஜனாப 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?

சரத் முத்துவேகமா

(திரு. சரத் முத்துவேகமா)

(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwagama)

I said, a conference of all political parties.

பி. டி. பி. கமலி மகா

(ஜனாப எ. 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.

டினேஷ் குணவர்தன

(திரு. டினேஷ் குணவர்தன)

(Mr. Dinesh Gunawardene)

No. You better read it.

பி. டி. பி. கமலி மகா

(ஜனாப எ. ஸி. எஸ். ஹமீத்)

(Mr. A. C. S. Hameed)

You say, "சிறிதும் மீட்டி கொடுக்க வேண்டும்."

டினேஷ் குணவர்தன

(திரு. டினேஷ் குணவர்தன)

(Mr. Dinesh Gunawardene)

That is different to your interpretation. It is in HANSARD very clearly.

கப்தாசனகஜம

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Order, please ! Are you giving way ?

பி. சி. பி. ஹமீத் மஹம

(ஜனாப ஏ. வி. எஸ். ஹமீத்)

(Mr. A. C. S. Hameed)

No, I am not giving way.

கப்தாசனகஜம

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Carry on.

பி. சி. பி. ஹமீத் மஹம

(ஜனாப ஏ. வி. 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 ?

சுரீல இன்கிஸா மஹம

(சுரீல அனில் முனசிங்ஹ)

(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

That is what you did. You put the election first.

சரத் முத்தேவகாம மஹம

(சுரீல சரத் முத்தேவகாம)

(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

And you put the Presidential Election first !

மன்றிபரமேஷ்

(அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)

(A Member)

How did you get in then ?

பி. சி. பி. ஹமீத் மஹம

(ஜனாப ஏ. வி. எஸ். ஹமீத்)

(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

[ප. සී. එස්. හමීඩ් 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 happier 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

(පාලනායක ආචාර්යවරයා)
(Mr. Speaker)

Hon. Minister, how long are you going to take to finish your speech? We are almost nearing 10 o'clock.

ප. සී. එස්. හමීඩ් මහතා

(ඉන්ද්‍රාජ් ඒ. ඩී. ඒස්. හමීඩ්)
(Mr. A. C. S. Hameed)

Sir, bear with me. I will try to be as brief as possible.

කථානායකතුමා

(පාලනායක ආචාර්යවරයා)
(Mr. Speaker)

Be brief as possible because the Hon. Prime Minister has to reply.

ප. සී. එස්. හමීඩ් මහතා

(ඉන්ද්‍රාජ් ඒ. ඩී. ඒස්. හමීඩ්)
(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.

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 Tuesday 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 Udalgama 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.

අ. හා. 9.57

දිනේෂ ගුණවර්ධන මහතා (මහරගම)
(කි.ල. ත්‍රිශේෂ ජ්‍යෙෂ්ඨ ජ්‍යෙෂ්ඨ මහාඥායක—මහරාජයා)
(Mr. Dinesh Gunawardene—Maharagama)

ගරු කථානායකතුමා, හදිසි නීතිය තැවත වරක් දීර්ඝ කිරීමේ විවාදයේ මුල් කාරණාව හැටියට දක්වුවේ, ඒ වගේම මේ විවාදයේ වැඩි කාලයක් යොමු කර තිබෙන්නේ පසුගිය දින ආණ්ඩුව විසින් කැඳවන ලද සර්ව පාක්ෂික සාකච්චාව ගැන කතා කරන්නටයි. ඒ කෙසේ වුණත් පසුගිය වතාවේදීත්, ඊට පෙරත් හදිසි නීතිය ප්‍රකාශයට පත් වුණු අවස්ථාවලදී අපි අපේ මතය ප්‍රකාශ කළා. ලංකාවේ කලබලකාරී තත්වයක් තැනී ප්‍රදේශවල හදිසි නීතිය පවත්වාගෙන යාමට අපි එකඟ නොවන බවයි අපි කියා සිටියේ. අපේ රටේ බොහෝ ප්‍රදේශවල අද හදිසි නීතිය පවත්වාගෙන යාමේ අවශ්‍යතාවයක් නොමැති බව ආණ්ඩුව පිළිගන්නවා ඇති. කලබලකාරී තත්වයක් පවතින ප්‍රදේශවල හදිසි නීතිය පවත්වාගෙන යාමේ අවශ්‍යතාවය අපි කිසිම වෙලාවක ප්‍රතික්ෂේප කරන්නේ නැහැ. ඒ වගේම මහජන මතය පාලනය කිරීම නිසා මේ රටේ මහජනතාවයේ සැබෑ අදහස් ප්‍රදර්ශනය කිරීමට තිබෙන හැකියාව යටපත් කිරීම නිසා, එවැනි මර්ධනකාරී තත්වයක් තුළ මේ රටේ ජාතික ප්‍රශ්නවලට විසඳුම් සෙවීමට දරන උත්සාහය පිළිබඳව අපේ අදහස්, ගරු ජනාධිපතිතුමාගේ ආරාධනාව පරිදි එතුමාට දන්වා යැව්වා. විශේෂයෙන්ම, ගරු ජනාධිපතිතුමා විසින් එවන ලද ලිපියට පිළිතුරු වශයෙන් 1983 ජූලි 16 වෙනිදා අප විසින් යවන ලද පිළිතුරු වාර්තාගත වීම සඳහා මේ අවස්ථාවේදී කියවන්න කැමතියි.

1983 ජූලි 16.

ගරු ජනාධිපතිතුමා,
ජනාධිපති කාර්යාලය,
කොළඹ 1.

ජනාධිපති උතුමාණති.

තුස්තව්‍යදීක්ෂිත මාසිම සඳහා ක්‍රියාදාමයක් ගැනීමට 20.07.83 දින ජනාධිපති කාර්යාලයේ පැවැත්වෙන සාකච්චාවට මහජන එක්සත් පෙරමුණේ අයවැසි කමිටි එවුණේ 13.07.83 දින සහිත ලිපිය ලැබුණේ බව සතුටින් ප්‍රකාශ දන්වා සිටිමු.

තුස්තව්‍යදීක්ෂිත මාසිම කරනුයේ දැනට උතුරු නැගෙනහිර පළාත්වල ඊළාම් රාජ්‍යයක් ලබා ගැනීම සඳහා ප්‍රධාන ක්‍රියාදාමයන්හි යෙදෙන පිරිස යයි අපි විශ්වාස කරමු. ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ කිසියම් කොටසක් කඩා වෙන් කොට ගැනීමට කරනු ලබන මොනසම් ක්‍රියාවලියකට හෝ කඩා වෙන්කොට දීමට කරන මොනසම් ක්‍රියාවලියකට හෝ මහජන එක්සත් පෙරමුණේ ඉඩ නොදෙන බව දන්වා සිටී.

මේ රටේ ජනතාව ඊට දෙකට කිරීමට විරුද්ධ බව අපගේ පිළිගැනීමයි. පෙරදැරැකවුණේ සිට දෙවුන්දර තුඩුව දක්වා ඇති පොදු ජන මතයද එසේම බව අපි තරයේ විශ්වාස කරමු.

ඇතුළු අන්තවාදී දේශපාලනයක් ස්වල්ප දෙනෙකු ඊට දෙකට කිරීම සඳහා බලවත් උත්සාහයක යෙදෙන අතර එම පිරිසට විදේශීය ආධාර ලැබෙන බවද කාඩක සහිතව මප්පු වී ඇත. එසේ වුවද ඊට දෙකට කිරීමේ උත්සාහයට බාධක මාසිමයාණන් ආණ්ඩුවද විරුද්ධ බව ප්‍රකාශ කර ඇත. එනමුත් ඒ වෙනුවෙන් කැර වූ සංවිධානවල ඉල්ලීම් රාශියක් මඹ රජය මගින් දැනටමත් ඉෂ්ඨ කර ඇත. ඒ නිසාම එම සංවිධානයන්හි බලවත් උත්සාහය වී ඇත්තේ ඊට දෙකට කිරීමේ ඉල්ලීම් දිනා ගැනීමටය. මේ සඳහා දියත් කර ඇති ප්‍රධාන ක්‍රියා පාලනය කිරීමට රජයට හැකියාව ඇති බව අපුතුමාගේ කිව යුතු නොවේ.

ඉහත සඳහන් ක්‍රියාදාමයන් නිසා රටේ ජනීය භාවයට තර්ජනයක් එල්ල වී ඇති බව මහජන එක්සත් පෙරමුණ පිළිගන්නා අතර එම එකී භාවය නතරවූවා කිරීමේ අරමුණක් සාකච්චාවක් කැඳවන ලෙස ඉල්ලමු.

ඊටේ ජනීය භාවය පිළිබඳව අදහස් යෝජනා ආදිය ඉදිරිපත් කරන්නකය කියා ගරු ජනාධිපතිතුමා විසින් එවන ලද ලිපියට පිළිතුරු වශයෙන් යැවූ ලියමනයි. ඒ මම කියවෙමි. ගරු ජනාධිපතිතුමා විසින් එම ලිපියටත් පිළිතුරක් එවන ලදුව ඊට පසු තැවත වරක් අපි එතුමාට ලියමනක් යැව්වා. එම ලියමනක් මම දැන් කියවන්නමි.

දිනේෂ ගුණවර්ධන මහතා

(*திரு. தினேஷ் குணவர்தன*)

(Mr. Dinesh Gunawardene)

"මේ සඳහා හදිසියේ විසඳා දෙවසක් කළ හැකි ක්‍රියා මාර්ගයක් නොවන බව පිළිගන්නා මහජන එක්සත් පෙරමුණ, රටේ ජාතික භාවය ස්ථිරව ගොඩ නගා තහවුරු කරගැනීම සඳහා පුළුල් ජාතික පදනමක්..." [බාධා කිරීම].

කථානායකතුමා

(*சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்*)

(Mr. Speaker)

I am making one more appeal to the House to maintain order. Yes. You can carry on now.

දිනේෂ ගුණවර්ධන මහතා

(*திரு. தினேஷ் குணவர்தன*)

(Mr. Dinesh Gunawardene)

"මේ සඳහා හදිසියේ විසඳා දෙවසක් කළ හැකි ක්‍රියා මාර්ගයක්..." [බාධා කිරීම].

කථානායකතුමා

(*சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்*)

(Mr. Speaker)

Let us have order, now.

දිනේෂ ගුණවර්ධන මහතා

(*திரு. தினேஷ் குணவர்தன*)

(Mr. Dinesh Gunawardene)

"...නොවන බව පිළිගන්නා මහජන එක්සත් පෙරමුණ, රටේ ජාතික භාවය ස්ථිරව ගොඩනගා තහවුරු කර ගැනීම සඳහා පුළුල් ජාතික පදනමක් සාකච්චාවක් මගින් එම විසඳුම සෙවිය යුතු බව යෝජනා කරයි.

එම ජාතික සාකච්චා සභාවට පහත දක්වන අතිගරු මහනායක ස්වාමින්ද්‍රයන් වහන්සේලා ද අති ගරු ආගමික නායක පුජක උතුමන් ද ජාතික සංවිධාන සහ දේශපාලන පක්ෂ ද කැඳවිය යුතු යැයි වැඩි දුරටත් යෝජනා කරයි." [බාධා කිරීම]

කථානායකතුමා

(*சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்*)

(Mr. Speaker)

Order, please!

දිනේෂ ගුණවර්ධන මහතා

(*திரு. தினேஷ் குணவர்தன*)

(Mr. Dinesh Gunawardene)

The Speaker must be able to control, surely. I am not going to give in. (*Interruption and uproar.*)

෧. හා. 10.10

කථානායකතුමා

(*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.

යැවීම ඒ ව අනුකූලව නවකාලීනව අත්හිටුවන ලදීත් ෧. හා. 10.25 ට නැවත පවත්වන ලදී.

ஆசனப்படி அமர்வு இட. ப. 10.25 மணிவரை இடைநிறுத்தப்பட்டு, மீண்டும் ஆசனப்படியிற்று.

Sitting accordingly suspended till 10.25 p.m. and then resumed.

දිනේෂ ගුණවර්ධන මහතා

(*திரு. தினேஷ் குணவர்தன*)

(Mr. Dinesh Gunawardene)

ගරු කථානායකතුමා.—

කථානායකතුමා

(*சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்*)

(Mr. Speaker)

The hon. Member can table that letter. It will get into HANSARD. The Hon. Prime Minister should reply now.

දිනේෂ ගුණවර්ධන මහතා

(*திரு. தினேஷ் குணவர்தன*)

(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.

දිනේෂ ගුණවර්ධන මහතා

(*திரு. தினேஷ் குணவர்தன*)

(Mr. Dinesh Gunawardene)

අප මේ යෝජනාව කෙළේ මේ වාගේ ජාතික අරමුදයකට විසඳුම සෙවීමට දේශපාලන පක්ෂවලට පමණක් හැකියාවක් තැනී බව අපි විශ්වාස කරන නිසයි. දේශපාලන පක්ෂ මට්ටමට වඩා, මේ රටේ ජනතාවගේ විශ්වාසය සහ ඕනෑකම ඉෂ්ට කරන්නට සහ මහ පෙත්වත්තට පුළුවන් ජාතික සංවිධාන ගණනාවක් රටේ තිබෙන බවත්, එම සංවිධාන මේ සාකච්චාවට කැඳවීමෙන් ගන්නා වූ නිරණයකින් සාධාරණ විසඳුමක් ජනතාව අතරට ගෙන යාමේ හැකියාවක් තිබෙන බවත් අපි විශ්වාස කරනවා. ඒ නිසා ආගමික නායකයන් සහ බෞද්ධ සංවිධාන ඒ සඳහා ජාතික මට්ටමෙන් කැඳවන ලෙස අපි විශේෂයෙන් ඉල්ලීමක් කරනවා.

ඒ වාගේම රට දෙකඩ කිරීමේ ව්‍යාපාරයට අපි කිසි අවස්ථාවක සහයෝගය දක්වා තැනී බව කියන්නට ඕනෑ. නමුත්, මේ රටේ සිංහල වේවා, මුස්ලිම් වේවා, ද්‍රවිඩ වේවා සියළුම ජන කොටස්වලට මේ රට තුළ නිදහසේ තමන්ගේ ජීවිකා වෘත්තීන් කරගෙන යාමේ අයිතිවාසිකමට අවහිරයක් වීමට ඉඩක් තැබීමට අවස්ථාවක් ඇතිකර ගත යුතු නැහැ. අද එවැනි ප්‍රශ්න උතුරේ හෝ කැගෙනහිර පළාත්වල තිබෙනවා නම් එවැනි ප්‍රශ්න සාකච්චාවට ලක් කර විසඳුම සොයන්නවා විතරක් කැඩීමෙන් ඒ ප්‍රශ්නයට විසඳුමක් ඇති වන්නේ තැනී බව කිව යුතුයි. ඒ නිසයි, 20 වෙනිද කැඳවන ලද සාකච්චාවට සහභාගී වීමට අදහස් නොකොට පුළුල් සාකච්චාවක් කඳවන්නට යයි අප ඉල්ලීමක් කළේ. එසේම විදේශීය ආධාර ලබන සංවිධාන කිහිපයක් උතුරේ රට කැඩීමේ ව්‍යාපාරයට සහභාගී වී තිබෙනවා. ඒ සංවිධානවල සමහර පුද්ගලයන් යම්කිසි මර්ධනකාරී යන්ත්‍රයක් විසින් එයින් ඉවත් කළත් ඒ විදේශීය ඕනෑකම ඉවත් වන්නේ තැනී බව අප තේරුම් ගත යුතුයි. ඒ සඳහා ඒ පළාත්වල ජනතාවගේ ප්‍රශ්න තෝරා බේරා ඒවාට ස්ථාවර විසඳුම ඇති කර ගැනීමට හැකි මාර්ගයක් සෙවීම සඳහා මේ පුළුල් සාකච්චාව පදනම් කරගත යුතු යයි අප කියා සිටිනවා. තුස්තවාදය මෙල්ල කිරීමේ ව්‍යාපාරයට වට මේස සාකච්චාවක් කැඳවීමේ අර්ථය අප නොදුටුවේ තුස්තවාදය මෙල්ල කිරීමට හැකියාවක් පාලකයන් හැටියට ආණ්ඩුවට තිබෙන නිසයි. නමුත් එහි ගැබ්වුණු — යම්බන්ධිත — ප්‍රශ්නයක් තිබෙනවා නම් එවැනි ප්‍රශ්න වට මේස සාකච්චාවකට ලක් විය යුතු බව මේ අවස්ථාවේදී අප මතක් කළ යුතුයි. [බාධා කිරීම]

* කථාව අවසානයේ පල කර ඇත.
* உரையின்பிறகு, இடையில் தரப்பட்டது.
*Produced at end of speech.

[ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා]

This move come following three hours of deliberations at the Colombo residence of Mr. Amirthalingam, where the Parliamentary group decided to campaign 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. අමීර්තලිංගම් මහතා

(ක්‍රි. ආ. ආ. අමිර්තලිංගම්)

(Mr. A. Amirthalingam)

All in good time.

සිරිල් මැතිව මහතා

(ක්‍රි. ආ. ශිඛිල් මැතිව)

(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

The time has come now.

ඒ. අමීර්තලිංගම් මහතා

(ක්‍රි. ආ. ආ. අමිර්තලිංගම්)

(Mr. A. Amirthalingam)

Not yet.

ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා

(ක්‍රි. ආ. ආ. ප්‍රිමෙදාස)

(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 decided 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.

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.

කථානායකතුමා, මම කියන්නට කැමතියි. "මේ ප්‍රශ්නවලට දේශපාලන විසඳුමක් අවශ්‍යයි. සියලු දෙනාම කැඳවනවා නම් අපි එනවා" ය ආදී වශයෙන් කියනු කථාවලින් මම භාර නොගන්නෙ. ඒ විධියටම බව. මතුගම ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා (අතිල් මුණසිංහ මහතා) මෙතැන කථා කරමින් වට මේස ගැන කියන කොට දේශපාලන විසඳුමක් යොදන්නට ඕනෑය කියන කොට මම ඒක හාසයට ලක් කළා. මොකද ? මම දන්නවා, කොපමණ කීවත්, මය වට මේස නොවෙයි, හතරැස් මේස නොවෙයි, තුන් හුලස් මේස නොවෙයි, මේසෙ අතින් පැත්ත තියල කථා කළත් වන්නෙ තැනි බව. ඕනෑ තරම් හේතු කියයි නොඑන්නට.

මහරගම ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා (දිනේෂ ගුණවර්ධන මහතා) කියෙව්වා ලියමනක්. "අපි එනවා නම් එන්නේ මෙතන මේ මේ උදවිය කැඳවනවා නම් පමණය" කීවා. ඒ ලියමන කියවූ හැටියේම අපේ ජනාධිපතිතුමා ඒකට බොහොම හොඳ උත්තරයක් දුන්නා. මය කියන කාරණය ඇවිත් කියන්නකො. එහෙම තැන්නම් වෙන්නෙ මොකක්ද ? එක ලියමනකින් කියල එවනවා මේ මේ දේවල් කළොත් අපි එනවාය කියල. "හා, හොඳයි, ඒකට කැමතියි" කියල ලියා යැව්වාම යළත් ලියා එවනවා. "තැහැ, තැහැ, දැන් මේ මේ දේවල් කළොත් අපි එනවා" ය කියල. ජනාධිපතිතුමා ඇහුවා "ඇයි මේක ඇවිත් කියන්නට බැරි ?" කියල. අත්තිමට මේ මේ අය කැඳවන්නය කියල කීව්වම ඉතිරි වෙන්නේ කවුද ? ඒ කැඳවන්නය කියා සඳහන් කළ අය එයි. ඒ අය කැඳවන්නය කියනු අය එන්නෙ තැහැ. එම නිසා අපි තමුන්නායේලාගේ ලියුම් ප්‍රතික්ෂේප කළා නොවෙයි. එන්න. ඇවිත් කියන්න.

ගරු විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ නායකතුමා 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 ?

ඒ. අමීර්තලිංගම් මහතා
(திரு. ஏ. அமிர்தலிங்கம்)
(Mr. A. Amirthalingam)
No.

ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා
(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 ?

ඒ. අමීර්තලිංගම් 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 ?

ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා
(திரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாச)
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

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

You accepted and agreed but did not implement. There in lies your failure.

ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා
(திரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாச)
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

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. අමීර්තලිංගම් මහතා
(திரு. ஏ. அமிர்தலிங்கம்)
(Mr. A. Amirthalinam)
No, no.

ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස 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 ?

කථානායකතුමනි, අප කලවානේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමාත් (සරත් චුන්‍ද්‍රවෙට්ටේමහතා) කියවේවා ලියමනක්. මහරගම ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමාත් එව්වා ලියමනක්. ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයේ උදව්‍යයන් එව්වා ලියමනක්. අපේ විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ කාසතුමාත් එව්වා ලියමනක්. මම දැන් උත්තරයක් දිය යුතු නැහැ ඒ උදව්‍යය. තමන්ගේම හෘදය සාක්ෂයෙන් අහල බලන්න මොකක්ද මේ අපි කරන්නේ කියල.

කථානායකතුමනි, අපේ අහනවා ප්‍රශ්නයක්. නුවරඑළිය— මස්කෙලිය දෙවන ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා (අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා) ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂය වෙනුවෙන් කථා කරනවා. කෝ, ඔහු දැන් තැහැ නොවැ. ඉලංගරන්ත මහත්මයාගේ ලියමන පෙන්වා මෙතැන ඔහු ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂය වෙනුවෙන් කථා කරන්නට අයිතියක් තිබෙනවාද කියල අහන්නයි මම අදහස් කළේ. නමුත් කථා කරල පැනල යනව නොවැ. මහ ලොකුටට කථා කරල යනව නොවැ. අපි එහෙම මෙතැනදී මොකක් හරි කීව්වොත් හෙට මෙතැනට ඇවිත්, "In my absence such and such a thing was said." කියල ප්‍රකාශයක් කරයි. ඒ වගේ වෙලාවක මම මෙතැන නොසිටියොත් මොකක්ද ඇති වන තත්ත්වය ? එම නිසා මම මේක නිසා ගන්නවා එයා මෙතැන ඉන්න වෙලාවක කියවන්න. I would like to refer to these matters when he is here. මොනවාද එයා ඇවිත් කීව්වේ? "මෙව්වර කල් නමුත්තානේය්ලා මොනවාද කළේ, මේ සාකච්චාව කළින් කැඳව්වේ තැන්නේ ඇයි, බැර වුණු තැනද අපේ අහන්නේ" මෙය වාගේ ප්‍රශ්න අහනවා.

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, ජනාධිපතිතුමා මෙතුමන්ලා සමග සාකච්චා කරන්නට කල්පනා කළේ කුමක් නිසාද කියා මම කියන්නම්. ඇති වී තිබෙන මේ තත්ත්වයට මුහුණ දෙන්නට අපට ශක්තියක් තැනී තිසාය කියා වරදවා තේරුම් ගන්න එපා. ජනාධිපතිතුමා වෙනුවෙනුත්, රජය වෙනුවෙනුත් මම මෙතනදී, මේ සභාවට පමණක් නොවෙයි, මුළු රටටම පමණක් නොවෙයි, අතින් රටවලටත්, මුළු ලෝකයටත් කියනවා, මේ තත්ත්වය අපි සමඵයකට පත් කරනවා, පත් කරනවාමයි කියා. අපට ඒක අමාරුවක් නැහැ. වරදවා තේරුම් ගන්න එපා. එහෙම නම් එකුමා ආරාධනා කළේ ඇයි ? විවිත් විට හදිසි තීනි රෙගුලාසි අරන් කරන්න මෙතනට ගෙන ආවාම මේ සභාවේ විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීවරු නැගිට අපට චෝදනා කරන්නට පටන් ගන්නා," හමුදාව මේ මේ දේවල් කරනවාය, පොලීසිය මේ මේ දේවල් කරනවාය පසුගිය ආණ්ඩුව කළ දේවල් නමුත්තායේලාත් කරනවාය" කියා. ඒ විධියට චෝදනා කරන අවස්ථාවලදී, ඒ අංශවල අදාළ නිලධාරීන්ට මෙම ස්ථානයට ඇවිත් සිටින්නය කියා මම තියම කර තිබෙනවා. යම් චෝදනාවක් කරනවාත් සමගම එතැනින් ලැබෙනවා ඒකට පිලිතුරක් ; වෙනස් පිලිතුරක්. මටත් පුළුවනි මෙතැන සිට, එවැනි චෝදනාවක් කරනවාත් සමගම නැගිට ඒ පැත්තත් කියන්න. දැනුත් මා ලග තිබෙනවා, මන්ත්‍රීතුමන්ලා 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. ප්‍රේමදාස 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 ලඟ තිබෙනවා නොයෙක් කරුණු මම මේවා ගැන සඳහන් කරමින් සභාවේ කාලය ගත කරන්නට බලාපොරොත්තු වෙන්නේ නැහැ. තමුත් සාධාරණයක් හැටියට මම පෙන්වා දෙන්නේ මේකයි. දැන් පවතින තත්ත්වය මර්දනය කරන්න හමුදාවට කියනවා නම්, පොලීසියට කියනවා නම්, ආමර්ක තත්ත්වයක් ඇති වන කොට, ත්‍රස්තවාදී තත්ත්වයක් ඇති වන කොට, හදිසි තීරණ දමන්න පරක්කු වුණා වැඩිය කියා අපට කියනවා නම්, ජලභට හමුදාව යොදවා, කොහොම හරි මහජන ආරක්ෂාව සලසන්නටය කියා ඒ අයට කියනවා නම්, ඒ මිනිසුන් ගිහින් පැය ගණන් ගත කර මොනවා හරි කරනවා නම්, ඒකට විරුද්ධ පාර්ශවයේ නමුත්තාන්දේශ්‍ය යමක් කියන කොට, ඒ තිලධාරීන්ටත් තිබෙනවා, ඒ ගොල්ලන්ගේ පැත්ත ගැනත් කියන්න. ඉතින් මේ හැම පැත්තක් ගැනම සිතා බලා තමයි ජනාධිපතිතුමා කල්පනා කළේ. මෙම පාර්ලිමේන්තුවට මහජනයා විසින් තෝරා පත් කළ පක්ෂවල අයටත් ආරාධනා කරන්න. එවිට අප සියළු දෙනාටම එකට එකතු වී, මෙම ත්‍රස්තවාදය මර්දනය කිරීමට නිතර නිතර හමු වී සාකච්ඡා කරන්න, ක්‍රියා කරන්න, ඇති වන්නාවූ යම් යම් අඩුපාඩු, පූර්වලකම්, වැරදි ගැන අපට එකට ඉදගෙන සමීක්ෂණය කරන්නට, ඒ සම්බන්ධයෙන් උපදෙස් දෙන්නට, ඇත්ත තත්ත්වය කියන්නට පුළුවන්කම ලැබෙනවා හේද ?

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, යම් මන්ත්‍රීවරයෙක්, කිසියම් නිලධාරියකු ගැන වරදක් කියන කොට ඒ නිලධාරියා මේ ගරු සභාව ඉදිරියට ගෙනැවිත් ප්‍රශ්න කරන්න අපට පුළුවන්ද ? බැහැ. තමුත් වගකිව යුතු මිනිසුන් හැටියට අර විධියට එකතු වුණොම අපට ඒක කරන්න පුළුවනි. අප මහජන ජන්දයෙන් තෝරා පත් කළ පක්ෂ නායකයෝ. විරුද්ධ පාර්ශවයේ නායකතුමාට එතැනට ගිහින් එතැනදී කියන්න පුළුවනි, " බලන්න, මෙන්න මේ ස්ථානවල මේකයි සිටුවී තිබෙන්නේ, ගෙන්වන්න ඒවාට වගකිවයුතු උදවිය, ප්‍රශ්න කරන්න, මෙන්න මට කරුණු දැන්වූ අය, මෙන්න තමුත්තාන්දේශ්‍යට කරුණු දැන්වූ අය " කියා. එකකොට අපි සියළු දෙනාම මේ වැඩ පිළිවෙලෙහි සහකාරයෝ ; එය මෙහෙයවන්නෝ. අන්ත ඒ තියයි. මෙම ත්‍රස්තවාදී වැඩ පිළිවෙල මර්දනය කිරීමට අපි කවුරුත් එකතුකු වෙමුයි කියා ජනාධිපතිතුමා ඒ ලියමන යැව්වාය කියා අප කීවේ. ඒ ලියමන යැවීමෙන් එතුමා බලාපොරොත්තු වූණේ ඒ හැර වෙන එකක්වත් සාකච්ඡා නොකිරීම නොවෙයි. " මේ ත්‍රස්තවාදය ගැන පමණක් සාකච්ඡා කරන්නට අපි ලැහැස්ති නැහැ. මෙය පළල් කරනවා නම් අපි කැමතියි " කියා දන්වා යැවීමට ඒකටත් එකඟ වුණා නේ ?

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, මේ රටේ සාකච්ඡා කරන්නට නොයෙක් ප්‍රශ්න තිබෙන එක ඇත්ත. තමුත් ප්‍රධානම දේ, ත්‍රස්තවාදී වැඩ පිළිවෙලක් තිබෙන විට මේ එක දෙයක්වත් සාකච්ඡා කරන්න පුළුවන්ද ?

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 කීව්වා ටෙරරිසම්-ත්‍රස්තවාදය-පමණක් නොවෙයි තවත් අදාළ ප්‍රශ්න තිබෙනවාය කියා. එවිට ගරු ජනාධිපතිතුමා කීව්වා, " මව්, අපි ඒවාත්

සාකච්ඡා කරමු. කරුණාකර ඇවිත් කියන්න. " කියා. ඉතින් විරුද්ධ පාර්ශවයේ නායකතුමා කියනවා නම් "අපි තමුත්තාන්දේශ්‍යට සමඟ 1981 සිට නොයෙක් දේවල් ගැන සාකච්ඡා කළා. අපි කී දේවල් මක්කොම සිද්ධවුණේ නැහැ. ඒ නිසා අපට සාකච්ඡාවට එන්න බැහැ " කියා. මේ ලෝකයේ කිසිම සාකච්ඡාවක් කරන්න පුළුවන් යයි මා ගිහින්නේ නැහැ. එහෙත්ම තමන්ගේ පක්ෂයේවත් සාකච්ඡාවක් කරන්න බැහැ නේ ? තමන්ගේ ගෞරව බැහැ නේ පොඩි සාකච්ඡාවක් කර ගන්න ? ඒකයි මම කියන්නේ මේ ඉදිරිපත් කරන හේතුව නොවෙයි කියලා මේකට හේතුව. ඒක නොවෙයි හේතුව. තම තමන්ගේ හෘදයවත්තුවලින් අසා බලන්න.

අපේ මතුගම ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා (අනිල් මුණසිංහ මහතා) හොඳ ගිහින් වෙන්න පුළුවන් මේ ගරු සභාවට පැමිණි මුල් දවසේම කීවේ " මේකට දේශපාලන විසඳුමක් ඕනෑ ; අපි මක්කොම එකතු වී සාකච්ඡා කරන්න ඕනෑ " කියා. මගේ විශ්වාසයක් තිබෙනවා-මම දන්නේ නැහැ හරිද වැරදිද කියා-එතුමාට නිදහස තිබුණො නම් එතුමා මෙයට සහභාගී වෙයි කියා. මම එසේ කියන්නේ වෙන හේතුවක් නිසා නොවෙයි. මට එහෙම කල්පනා වෙනවා. බලන්න, ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂය වර්ජනය කර තිබෙනවා දිස්ත්‍රික් සංවර්ධන සභා, තමුත් එතුමා යනවා නේ.

අනිල් මුණසිංහ මහතා (මතුගම)
(ශ්‍රී.ල. අනිල් මුණසිංහ-මතුගම)
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe - Matugama)
සංවර්ධන සභාවට මම තවම ගියේ නැහැ. තමුත් මම ඒ අදහසට එකඟයි ; යෑමට එකඟයි.

ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා
(ශ්‍රී.ල. ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස)
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

යෑමට එකඟයි. කොච්චර හොඳද ? යෑමට එකඟයි තමුත් යන්න දෙන්නේ නැහැ. ඕක නේ තත්ත්වය. ඕකයි මම දැන් කීවේ. මා ලඟ 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.පී. එකෙන් එවා තිබෙන ලියමන. එහි කියා තිබෙනවා මේ තත්ත්වය ඇති වූණේ එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂය නිසාය. ඒ නිසා අපේ පැමිණීමෙන් කිසිම වැඩක් වෙන්නේ නැහැ. ත්‍රස්තවාදයේ අම්මත් උඹලාය තාත්තත් උඹලාය කියා. කොච්චම කීවේ ඒකයි. "ඒ නිසා අපි එන්නේ නැහැ" කීවා. මම දන්නේ නැහැ. ඒ ලියුම ලිවීම කවුද කියන්න. තමුත් ඒ ලියුමේ තිබෙන අදහස් කාගේද කියන්න මම දන්නවා. ඒවා බණ්ඩාරනායක මහත්මියගේ අදහස්. ඒ ගැන ආයෙමත් කිසිම සැකයක් නැහැ. මපු කරන්න ඕනෑ නම් ඉලංගරත්න උත්තැනේ මා ගාව ඉන්නවා. තමුත් ඒ අම්බන්ධයෙන් වග කියන්න පුහුවන් නැති ගිනිද මම අද ඒක ගන්නේ නැතිව පැත්තකින් කියා ගන්නම්.

මහරගම ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා (දිනේෂ ගුණවර්ධන මහතා) මෙතැන පුන පුනා කීවා, "අපි රට දෙකඩ කරනවාට විරුද්ධයි කියා. එතුමා එවූ ලියුම්වලත් ඒ බව කියා තිබෙනවා. ඒ වගේම එතුමා කීවා, "ඉන්දියාවට පටවන්න තවත් ඉන්දියානු උදවිය ඉන්නවා, ඒක නොකරන එකක් වැරදියි. එහෙම නොකළොත් මේ රටට විදේශීය බලපෑමක් එන්න පුළුවන්" කියා. එය එතුමා අවංකව විශ්වාස කරන මතය වෙන්න පුළුවනි.

තමුත් එතුමා අද වන තුරු ප්‍රකාශ කළාද මේ ප්‍රකාශය වැරදිය කියා? මොකක්ද. ඒ ප්‍රකාශය? කවුදවෙල ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා (පෝල් පෙරේරා මහතා) ඉදිරිපත් කළා, වාසුදේව නානායක්කාර මහතාගේ පත්‍රිකාවක්. ඇහැලියගොඩ අතුරු මැතිවරණයේදී, ඒ පත්‍රිකාව ඉදිරිපත් කර තිබුණේ. එයා පාර්ලිමේන්තුවට යන්නේ මොකක් සඳහාද කියා එහි මේ විධියට සඳහන් කර තිබුණා :

"උතුරේ විමුක්ති බලවේග ආදිය සමඟ ඒකාබද්ධ කර ජනතා ප්‍රශ්න වෙනුවෙන් උදෙසාණය කරන පුළුල් ජන ව්‍යාපාරයක් පාර්ලිමේන්තුවෙන් එක පෙළගැස්මට මන්ත්‍රීවරයකු වශයෙන් ලබන බලය හා ශක්තිය උපයෝගී කර ගත හැකිය"

වාසුදේව නානායක්කාර මහතා තවදුරටත් කියා සිටියේ මොකක්ද?

‘ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂය, ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ කොමියුනිස්ට් පක්ෂය, ජනතා විමුක්ති පෙරමුණ, ලංකා සමාජවාදී පක්ෂය, මහජන එක්සත් ජනපදය, ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදී කමිෂන්, සංගමය යන ආණ්ඩු විරෝධී ප්‍රධාන දේශපාලන පක්ෂ අතර සාකච්චාවකින් ගොඩනගා ගත්තා ලද නිතරණ එකඟත්වයක් අනුව ඇතුළුයොග්‍යව තරඟ වදින වාසුදේව සහෝදරයා මෙම තරගයේ එකම පුරුෂයා විය. විරෝධී අපේක්ෂකයා වෙයි.’

ඇයි, මම මේක ආයෙමත් මතු කරල කියන්නේ? මම මුලින්ම කීවා වාගේ මහජන මතය වෙනුවෙන් පෙනී සිටින්නවාය කියන එක ලෙනෙයි පහසු කාර්යයක් නොවෙයි. ඒ ඒ අවස්ථාවලට ගැලපෙන විධියට පෙනී සිටින උත්සාහ කළාම මොකක්ද, සිදු වන්නේ? සමහර විට තමන්ගේ අභිමතාර්ථය ඉෂ්ටවන්න කල් යන්න පුළුවන් වුණත් විකස් අවංක වෙන්න ඕනෑ, එහෙම නැතිනම් මේ වැඩිය කරන්න බැහැ.

කථානායකතුමනි, මේ රටේ සාමය, සංවරය, සාමදානය, සමගිය, සමාධිය ඇති වෙන්නට මේ ඇතුළු දේශපාලන පක්ෂ කැමැතිය කියා තමුන්තාත්තේ හිතනවාද? විශේෂයෙන් එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂය පාලනය කරන කාලයකදී සිංහල-දෙමළ කලබල, මුස්ලිම්-ද්‍රවිඩ කලබල ආදිය නැතිව සියලුම ජාතීන් එකට අත්වැල් බැඳගෙන සහෝදරයන් වගේ හොඳට කාල-බල-ඇඳල සතුටින් සමගියෙන් ඉන්නවා දකින්නට මේ ගොල්ල කැමැති වෙයි කියා තමුන්තාත්තේදේ දේශපාලන අවබෝධය අනුව හිතන්න පුළුවන්ද? ඒක තමයි, ඒ ගොල්ල අවසානයටම දකින්න කැමති දේ.

මම මේ ගාස්තුව දන්නා නිසයි, එදා මෙය වටමේය සාකච්චා, ‘පොලිටිකල් ඩොලූෂන්ස්’ කියන කොට විකස් උසුර-විසුර කළේ, මතුගම මන්ත්‍රීතුමා (අතිරේ මුණසිංහ මහතා) වාගේ එක් කෙනෙක්-දෙන්නෙක් නම් සමහර විට අවංකව ඒ ගැන කල්පනා කරනවා ඇති. තමුන් මේ ආණ්ඩුව පරදවා, මේ ජනාධිපතිතුමා එළවා, මේ ඇමතිවරුන් එළවා ඒ තැන්වලට පැන ගන්න බලා ඉන්න උත්තැන්ලා මේ වටමේය සාකච්චාවලට එයිද, කථානායකතුමනි? ඒවා දන්නා මනුෂ්‍යයෙක් හැටියට තමයි, එදා මතුගම මන්ත්‍රීතුමාට මම විකස් උසුර-විසුර කළේ, තමුන් ජනාධිපතිතුමා කල්පනා කළේ එහෙම නොවෙයි. අපි මොන විධියට මේ ක්‍රස්තවාදී වැඩ පිළිවෙල මර්දනය කරන්න ක්‍රියා කළත් මේ උදව්ව ඇවිත් අපට වෝදනා කරනවා. ‘අතන අයුක්තියක් කලා, අහිංසකයෙක් අරගෙන ගිහිත් මරා දැමුමා, මෙතන වෙඩි තිබ්බා, අසාධාරණ විධියට සමහරුන් හිරඹාරයට ගන්නා, ඒක කළේ හරියට තොරතුරු දුන්නේ නැතිවයි, අනේ අපරාදේ, ඇත්ව රෙටර්ස්ට ඇත්ව එක උඩ සමහරුන් හිරඹාරයට අරගෙන තිබෙනවා.’ ආදී වශයෙන් මේ අය කියනවා. ඒ නිසා, මේ ගොල්ලන්ටත් සම්බන්ධ කර ගත්තොත් තරකදයි කල්පනා කල ජනාධිපතිතුමා මෙසේ කීවා. ‘මේ බලන්න, මෙන්න මේ තැන්වලයි මේ සිද්ධි ඇති වන්නේ, මෙන්න මේ ආකාරයටයි මේ වැඩ පිළිවෙල ගෙන යන්නේ, මොනවාද තමුන්තාත්තේලාට කියන්න තියෙන්නේ? මෙහි තිබෙන්නේ එකම පරමාර්ථයයි. සාමය ඇති කිරීම ක්‍රස්තවාදය නැති කිරීම, අපි-ආයුධ බලය නැවැත්වීම යන මේවායි. ඒට පස්සේ අපේ දේශපාලන වාද හේද තියෙයි, නොයෙක් දේ තියෙයි, එවිට අපට නිදහස තියෙනවා, ඒ ගැන ක්‍රියා කරන්න.’

මේක මොන තරම් උතුම් අදහස්කරුයි බලන්න. නුවරඑළිය-මස්කෙලිය ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා (අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා) වැනි අය දැන් මෙය වෙනත් ආකාරයකට පෙන්වන්නට හදනවා. එතුමා මොකක්ද කියන්නේ? ‘මී තමුසෙලාට බැර වුණානේ! දැන් ඇවිත් අපට කියනවා.’ දැන් ඒ ගොල්ලන්ගේ පක්ෂය ඇතුළේ ක්‍රස්තවාදය නැතුවා වාගේ හරියට. අද එහි ඇති වී තිබෙන තත්ත්වය මොකක්ද? නුවරඑළිය-මස්කෙලියේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා මෙහි නැති එක ගැන මම කතාගාටු වෙන්නවා. මම වෙන දවසක කියන්නම්, ඉතිහාසය, මම ඕක කීව්වේ ඒසේ පෙරෙයිදා නොවෙයි. මම ඕක ගෝල්පේස් එක්කේ කීව්වේ, 1977 දී, අපේ ආණ්ඩුව පිහිටු වූ කාලයේදී, අපේම සමහර උදව්ව එදා මා එක්ක එකම වුණේ නැහැ. ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයට වෙන්නට යන දේ මම එදා කීවා. ‘හුනා කියන්නා වාගේ’ යයි අපේ ගමේ-ගොඩේ උදව්ව කියන්නේ. මම එදා කීව්ව දේ අද වෙනතුරුම සිද්ධ වෙගන ඇවිත් තැද්ද?

මය නායකත්වය යටතේ නම් ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයට අනාගතයක් නැහැයි මම එදා මැදවර්තියේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමාට (මෙමුච්චල සේනානායක මහතා) කීවා. අද මොකක්ද වෙලා තියෙන්නේ? එක එක බේරිසුටි ලීඩර් ඉවරයි. ‘අපේ නායකාට බේරා ගන්න මෙන්න මේ බොරු කීවා, මෙතෙම උගුල් ඇවෙරවා, තමුන් මේ ගැන මටවත් හරියට සැලකුම් නැහැ නේ, ගුණේ නැහැ නේද?’ කියා එක එක බේරිසුටි ලීඩර් කියනවා. මැදවර්තියේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා මේක කීවා. දැන් කොලොන්නාවේ හිටපු මන්ත්‍රී ඉලංගරත්න මහතා කියනවා. පක්ෂයේ හිටපු නියෝජ්‍ය නායකයා.

පුතාට මොකද වුණේ? පුතා අම්මට විරුද්ධව පෙන්සම් අරගෙන උසාවියට ගියේ තැද්ද? අම්මා ජනාධිපතිණියක් යයි පුතා උසාවියට ගිහිත් කීව්වේ තැද්ද? එතුමා නැති නැත මේවා කියන්න මම කැමති නැහැ. එතුමා නැති එක ගැන මම කතාගාටු වෙන්නවා. බණ්ඩාරනායක මැතිණියට මේ රට ගැන ආදරයක් වත් හැඟීමක්වත් නැහැ. ඒ බව මට තේරුණු නිසායි. මම එදා අර විධියට කීව්වේ. එසේ නැතිව මම අනාගත වාක්‍යයක් කීවා නොවෙයි. මම දැන් කියන්නේ පරණ ඉතිහාසය. ඒ පක්ෂයේ හිටපු කවුරුත් ඒක එළියට ගෙන තිබෙනවා. ඉලංගරත්න උත්තැන් කුමුරු පණතත් එළියට ගෙන තිබෙනවා. මෙමුච්චල සේනානායක උත්තැන්ගේ එය එළියට ගන්නා. එදා ඉලංගරත්න උත්තැන් මැදවර්තියේ මන්ත්‍රීතුමාට බැන්නා. දැන් ඒක ඇත්ත බව ඉලංගරත්න උත්තැන්ගේම කියනවා.

මේවා අපි වාගේ මෝඩයෙක් කීවාම තමයි, කවුරුත් ගණන් ගන්නෙ තැන්නේ. අපේ වරද, අනෙක් අයට අවුරුදු හතරකට පහකට පසුව අවබෝධ වන දේ අපට අවුරුදු හතරකට පහකට ඉස්සෙල්ලා අවබෝධ වීමයි. ඒක අපේ නුගත්කමේ අංගයක්. ඇයි? අපි හාවඩ් ගියේ නැහැ, මස්පර්ඩ් ගියේ නැහැ; කේම්බ්‍රිජ් ගියේ නැහැ; සෝර්බෝන් ගියේ නැහැ. ඉතින්, අපි වාගේ නුගත් යක්කු කියාපු දේවල් ඒ දවස්වල කවුරුත් පැත්තකට දැමීම.

මට මෙහිදී වුවමනා කළේ ගරු ජනාධිපතිතුමා මේ පියවර ගත්තේ ඇයිදැයි විස්තර කිරීමයි. මේ උදව්ව මෙහි ඇවිත් නොයෙක් දේ කියනවා, වෝදනා තගනවා. එහෙම නම්, ඒ උදව්වට තිබෙන්නේ මේ සාකච්චාවට 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 නැත්නම් මොන පියවරක් අපි ගන්නත් මෙතෙක්ට ඇවිත් ඒකට වෙතින් ‘පැත්තක් කියනවා. දැන් බලන්න මොකක්ද අල්ලාගෙන තිබෙන්නෙ කියා. අර, මලකදත් ගැන තිබෙන එක්තරා රෙගුලාසියක් ; ඕක මය නීතියෙ තියෙන එකක් නෙ. ඕක නැවැත්තුවේ කවුද ? මම කියල දෙන්නම් ඒකෙ ඉතිහාසයක්. ඕක 1947 සිට දිගටම තිබුණා. එද පටන් හැම අවස්ථාවකම හදිසි නීතිය දැමීම නම්, ඒ හදිසි නීතිය දැමීමේ ඩී. එස්. සේනානායක අගමැතිතුමා වේවා, ඩබ්ලිව් සේනානායක අගමැතිතුම වේවා, සර් ජෝන් කොතලාවල අගමැතිතුමා වේවා, එස්. ඩබ්ලිව්. ආර්. ඩී. බණ්ඩාරනායක අගමැතිතුමා වේවා, සිරිමා බණ්ඩාරනායක අගමැතිණිය වේවා, ඒ දුමු හැම අවස්ථාවකම මය මලකදත් පිළිබඳ රෙගුලාසිය තිබුණා. කවුද දන්නවද මය පැනවීම කරන අවස්ථාවේදී ඒක තතර කෙළේ ? ඒක කළේ වර්තමාන ජනාධිපතිතුමා බව මම මතක් කරන්න කැමතියි මේ සඟාවට. ඇයි එහෙම නම් මේපාර දැමීමේ ? ඒකටත් මම පිළිතුරු දෙන්නම්. බැරීම නැත. නොකර බැරීම නැත. ඉතින් මේක කවුරුත් කලබල වෙන්න ඕනෑ දෙයක් නොවෙයි. මේක මේ නීතියේ තිබෙන රෙගුලාසිවලින් එකක්.

විරුද්ධ පක්ෂයේ නායකතුමා කීවා, උතුරේ මිනිසුන්ට කන්න නොදී ‘අදින්න නොදී තෙල් නොදී අවශ්‍ය පහසුකම් නොදී උතුරේ උදව්ව දඬුවම් කර මේ පාලනය ගෙන යන්න, පුළුවන් කියා මේ රජය හිතනවාද, එහෙම හිතනවා නම් එය කණගාටුදයක වැරදීමක් කියා.

[ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස 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 පුච්චල දමන කොට, බඩු ගෙනයන වාහනවලට ගහන කොට, ගිනි නියත කොට, ඒ අවස්ථාවලදී හමුදාවෙන් වෙඩි තැබීමේදී කවුරු හෝ මලාම ඒකටත් කැ ගහන කොට කොහොමද දෙන්නේ? මට දවසක් විරුද්ධ පක්ෂයේ නායකතුමා තුණ්ඩුවක් එව්වා. අපට ආරච්චියක් තිබෙනවාය අපට තෙල් සංස්ථාව තෙල් යවන්නේ නැතිව ඉන්නවාය කියා. මම ඒ ගැන තෙල් සංස්ථාවේ අපේ සහායකිතුමාගෙන් අහල බැලුවම එතුමා කියනවා, අපි ලැස්තියි ඕනෑ තරම් තෙල් යවන්න නමුත් කවුද තෙල් ගෙනයන්නේ කියා. ගෙනයන්න දුම්රිය ලැහැස්ති නැහැ. දුම්රිය පෙට්ටි ලැහැස්ති වෙයි, තැන්නම් වැගන් ලැහැස්ති වෙයි. නමුත් කවුද එලවන්නේ? මනුෂ්‍යයෝ ඕන තේද? ස්ථිර එකක් තද කිරීමෙන් පමණක් ඒක කෙරෙනවා නම් කමක් නැහැ. බඩු ගෙනයන්න කොහොමද? ඒ පාර සමහර දේවල් ජනාධිපතිතුමා නැවෙන් යවන්න පිළියෙල කලා. මටම කීවා වාහන තිබෙන උදවියට කථා කරන්නය කියා බඩු ගෙනයාමට. සමහරවිට එතුමා කල්පනා කලා දුට්ඨ ව්‍යාපාරිකයන් ලවා යවන්න.

පසුගිය දිනක දෙමටගොඩ රැස්වීමක් තිබුණා. බොද්ධ රැස්වීමක්. මහා සංඝ රත්නය රැස්වී සිටි තැනක්. එතෙක්දී ජනාධිපතිතුමා මොකක්ද කීවේ? සමහර උදවිය මට කියනවාය මේ අපරාධ කරන ප්‍රදේශවලට කෑම යවන්න එපාය. ඇදුම් යවන්න එපාය, තෙල් යවන්න එපාය කියා, නමුත් මම බුදුගාමුදුරුවන්ගේ ධර්මය පිළිගන්න කෙනෙක්ය, මනුෂ්‍යත්වය මට ලොකුය, මට පුච්චන් විධියකින් ඒවා සියල්ලම සපයනවාය කියා. පක්සලේදී කීව්වේ, මුළු රටම ප්‍රයෝජ වෙලා තිබෙන වෙලාවේ.

කථානායකතුමා, මේ රට අද විවෘත රටක්. ඕනෑම රටක පුවත්පත් වාර්තාකරුවෙකුට මේ රටට එන්න පුළුවන්. ඕනෑ කෙනෙකුගෙන් කාලා බිලා ඇදලා ඉන්නත් පුළුවන්. ගිහිල්ලා ඕනෑ පවයක් ලියන්නත් පුළුවන්. නමුත් අද මේ ලෝකයේ ජාත්‍යන්තර වැඩපිළිවෙලක් තිබෙන බව මතක තබා ගතයුතුයි. දැන් අර්ක් විධියේ යටත් විජිත වාදයක් හිස මසවාගෙන එනවා. ඒ වැඩපිළිවෙල එන්නේ ධනවාදී යයි කියන උදවියගෙන් වන්නට පුළුවන්; සමාජවාදීයයි කියන උදවියගෙන් වන්නට පුළුවන්. ඉස්සර කාලයේ නම් රටකට ගහලා රටක් අල්ලා ගන්නා. දැන් කාලයේ රටකට ඇවිල්ලා ගහලා රටක් අල්ලා ගන්නේ නැහැ. වෙන වෙන ඒජන්ට්ස්ලා මාර්ගයෙනුයි ඒ වැඩය කරන්නේ. ඒ කාරණය අප නොදන්නවා නොවෙයි, අප දන්නවා. විදේශ ප්‍රතිපත්තිය ගැන මම ඒ තරම් දැනීමක් නැහැ. නමුත් මට තිබෙන දැනීම ගැනියට නම් මම කියන්නේ මෙහි ලොකු සෙල්ලමක් තිබෙන බවයි. නොයෙක් අයට, මේ ලෝකයේ මර්මස්ථාන අල්ලාගන්න ආශාවක් තිබෙනවා. නමුත් මේ ශ්‍රී ලංකාව නමැති මධ්‍යස්ථානය කිසිවෙකුට ආපසු යවන්න කර ගන්නට මේ රජය තිබෙන තාක් කල් අප අවකාශ නොදෙන බව මා කියන්නට කැමතියි. අපට උදව් කරන්නට කැමති උදවියගෙන් අප උදව් ලබා ගන්නවා. අපට උදව් කරන අයටත් අප උදව් කරනවා. අපට මිතුරෝ අවශ්‍යයි. මේ ගැන ප්‍රයත්නයක් නැහැ.

අපේ විදේශ කටයුතු පිළිබඳ ඇමතිතුමා බොහොම කදිම පිළිතුරක් දුන්නා. විරුද්ධ පාර්ශවයේ මන්ත්‍රීවරු ත්‍රිකුණාමලය ගැන කථා කරනවා. ත්‍රිකුණාමලය අප එක් එක්කොනට විකුණන්නට යනවාලු! එතුමා පැහැදිලි කර දුන්නා සත්‍ය තත්ත්වය. අපේ සම්පත් දෙස බල බලා, අපේ දුප්පත්කම කිය කියා සිටිනවා මිස අපේ සම්පත්වලින් නියම ප්‍රයෝජනයක් ගන්නේ නැද්ද? අපට යමක් පාවිච්චි කරන්නට බැරී නම්, පාවිච්චි කරන්නට පුළුවන් කෙනෙකු ලවා අපට එයින් නිසි ආදායමක් ලබාගන්නට එපාය. අපට ආදායම වැඩියෙන් දෙන්නේ කවුද. ඒ අය ලවා ඒ ආදායම අපි ලබා ගන්නවා. එතුමා කීවා ඉන්දියාව, සිංගප්පූරුව ඉල්ලුම්පත් ඉදිරිපත් කලා. කියා. ඒවා ගැන කල්පනා කර බලා අපට ප්‍රයෝජනවත් යයි හිතෙනවා නම් අප කුලියට දෙන්නවා; බදු දෙන්නවා. කාටද එය නවත්වන්නට පුළුවන්? අපට තිබෙන

දෙයින් අපට ඕනෑ දෙයක් කරන්න පුළුවන් නේ. අපේ රටේ ජනතාව අපේ රටේ පාලනය හාර දී තිබෙන්නේ එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයටයි. අපේ අභිමතාර්ථය අපේ රටේ තිබෙන සම්පත් දෙස බල බලා ජනතාව දුගී දුප්පත් වෙනවා බල බලා සිටිම නොවෙයි. අපේ පාලන කාලය තුළදී මේ රටේ මොන විදියකින් හෝ දුගී දුප්පත් කම් නැති කිරීමයි අපේ පාර්ශ්වය. සමහර අය බොහොම කැමතියි, මේ රටේ ජනතාව අන්න දුගී තත්ත්වයට නව තවත් වැටෙනවා දකින්න. තිල මැස්සාගේ ගතිය ඒක නේ. තුවාලයක් සතිප වෙනවාට තිල මැස්සා කැමතීද? ඒකේ සාරයෙන් ඒවත් වෙන එකා ඕන පාර පාර ඉන්න එකයි කරන්නේ. තුවාලයට බෙහෙත් දමා සතිප කර ගන්නවාට තිල මැස්සා කැමති නැහැ. ඒ තිල මැස්සායි මය කැ ගහන්නේ, "අරක විකුණන්නවා; මේක විකුණන්නවා. අරක බදු දෙන්නවා; මේක බදු දෙන්නවා", කියා.

පැරණි පාර්ලිමේන්තු ගොඩනැගිල්ලට එහා පැත්තේ ඇවිලත් වතුරග්‍රය තුළ පිටවනියක් තිබුණු බව නමුත්තාත්තේ දන්නවා. අප අවුරුදු ගණනක් බෝල ගැහුවා මය පිටවනියේ. පාරෙන් මොහා පැත්තේ පිටවනියේ බෝල ගහනවා. එයින් එහා පැත්තේ පාර්ලිමේන්තුවේ මුදල් ඇමතිවරු "නෝ මනි, නෝ මනි" කියා ගැමදාම කියනවා. ගරු කථානායකතුමා, අද මොකක්ද, ඇතිවෙලා තිබෙන්නේ එතැන? පැරණි පාර්ලිමේන්තුවේ පාරෙන් එහා පැත්තේ දැන් ඕනෑ තරම් "මනි", එක පර්චි එකක් ලක්ෂ දෙකයි තුනයි.

එතැන තිබුණු කසි කබල් ගොඩනැගිල්ලට ගමුදාව සහ පොලීසිය ගිවියා. කොඩි වෙලාවේ ඒ ගොඩනැගිල්ල ඔලුවේ කඩාගෙන වැටෙයිදැයි දන්නේ නැහැ. ඒ ගොඩනැගිලි සියල්ලම කඩා ඒ වෙනුවට වෙනත් ගොඩනැගිලි තනාදීමට පමණක් නොව කොළඹ තහරයේ අඩාලවී තිබුණු කැලිසතල කානු ක්‍රමයත්, ජල සම්පාදන ක්‍රමයත් යථා තත්ත්වයට පත් කරන්නට යෙදවෙත් ඒ ඉඩම් බදු දී ලබා ගත් මුදල්. ගෙවල් හදන්නට මුදල් නැති තත්ත්වයක් ඇති වුණු අවස්ථාවේ ඒ කටයුතුවලට යොදා ගන්නේ ඒ මුදල්; ඒ සම්පත්. මේ විදියේ කටයුතු කරන්නට අපට ඇවිලත් බැරැක්කයන් එකයි, ත්‍රිකුණාමලයන් එකයි, කවුතායකන් එකයි, කීර්තීන්දන් එකයි, යාපකන් එකයි, කත්තයන්තුරෙන් එකයි. අපේ සම්පත්වලින් අපි නියම ප්‍රයෝජනයක් ගෙන මේ රටේ දුගී දුප්පත් කම නැති කරන්නටයි අපේ බලාපොරොත්තුව. ඉතින් ඕන පෙන්වනවා, "හයියෝ! යු.ඇන්.පී. කරයෝ මේ ත්‍රිකුණාමලය දිලා ඉවරයි" කියලා. ඒකතෙ මේ රණ්ඩුව.

සමහර විට මේ කරන කතා අහගෙන ඉන්න විට මේ මිනිසුන් කතා කරන්නේ බුද්ධියක් පාවිච්චි කරමින්ද, එගෙම තැන්නම් කතා කළ යුතු නැතකින්ද, වෙන නැතකින්ද කියා තේරුම් ගන්න අමාරු තත්ත්වයක් ඇති වෙනවා. නමුත් බලයේ ඉන්න විට කීව්වේ මය දේවල් නොවෙයි. එද කීව්වේ මයිට් වඩා වෙනස් කතා. එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයේ තුස්තවාදය ගැන කතා කරන උදවිය - උපාසක අම්මල - අපට එද අත්තනගල්ලටත් යන්න දුන්නේ නැහැ. එද මේ විදේශ කටයුතු කර ඇමතිතුමාගේ කාර් එක පොඩි පට්ටම් කලා. ආශාව නොසිකර්ම ඇමතිතුමාගේ කාර් එක පොඩි පට්ටම් කලා. විමල් ද මෙල් තාගර්ක මන්ත්‍රීතුමා-ගාමිනී ජයසූරිය ඇමතිතුමාත් සමග ගිය එක්කොන-පත බේරා ගන්නේ අමාරුවෙන්. ඔහුට තුවාල කලා. මම යන විට උරපොල පැත්තේ සිදුවන මේ විපත ගැන මට ආර්ථි විච්ඡා. පාර්වල් හරහා, මහ පාර්වල්වල, කොළඹ තුවර පාරේ මහ කදන් කපා දමා තිබුණ. අත්තනගල්ලට එන්න අවසර නැතැයි කීවා. අපේ මේ ග්‍රාමීය කර්මාන්ත සංවර්ධන ඇමතිතුමාත් ජනාධිපතිතුමාත් අපට වඩා බුද්ධිමත් නිසා කලින්ම එහි ගොස් සිටියා. උදේ යත්ත සිටි අපට තමයි මේ කරදර දෙකට ගල් මුහුණ පාන්න සිද්ධ වුණේ. මේ ඉන්න මන්ත්‍රීවරුන් වැඩි දෙනෙකුට පාර්වල් කතා තමයි යන්න සිදු වුණේ. මේ විධියේ වැඩි කළ උදවියයි දැන් මේ කතා කරන්නේ. මේ ගැන පාර්ලිමේන්තුවේදී කතා කලාම මොකක්ද කීව්වේ? අත්තනගල්ලට එන්න කොළඹ උදවියට අවසර නැතැයි කීවා. අත්තනගල්ලට එන්න වෙන පලාත්වල උදවියට අවසර නැහැ කීවා. ඒ අවස්ථාවේදී මට අගමැතිණියගෙන් අහන්න සිදු වුණා, බලන්ගොඩ උදවියට අත්තනගල්ලට එන්න අවසර තිබෙනවාද කියා. කොහෙක්ද ආවේ කියලටත් එයාට මතක නැහැ. මෙන්න මේ උදවිය තමයි එක්සත් ජාතීය පක්ෂය තුස්තවාදය ඇති කලාය කියා දැන් කියන්නේ.

විපක්ෂ කායකුමාරන් කීව්වා වාගේ උවිධ එක්සත් විමුක්ති පෙරමුණක් සමග අපි සාකච්චා පැවැත්වුවා. මොකක්ද පරමාර්ථය ? එම සාකච්චා පැවැත්වීමේ පරමාර්ථය මොකක්ද ? අපට ඒකටත් දෙස් කීව්වා. අද එකුමාරන් සමග ජන්දය දෙන උදවිය, එහෙම තැන්තම් එකට ආවවා ගන්නා උදවිය පත්‍රවලින් මොනවාද කීවේ ? අර ත්‍රිකුණාමලය ගැන කීව්ව දේමයි කීවේ. මේ රට පාවා දෙන්න යනවයි කීව්වා. අපු ගණනේ සංවර්ධන සභා ක්‍රමයක්වත් ඇති කරන්න මෙතෙක් මොන රජයකටද පුළුවන් වුණේ කියා මම විපක්ෂ කායකුමාරාගෙන් අහන්න කැමතියි. එය ඇති කළේ මොන තරම් අවංකවද කියා එකුමා දන්නවා. ඒ සංවර්ධන සභා තුළින් ප්‍රදේශවලට බලතල ලබා දෙන්න මොන තරම් කැමැත්තක් තිබෙනවාද ? උතුරටත් නැගෙනහිරටත් පමණක් නොවෙයි, මුළු ලංකාවේම දිස්ත්‍රික්ක 24 ටම බලතල ලබා දෙන්න. නමුත් කථානායකතුමනි, අපට කීව්වා Now it is about 2 or 3 years. What have you done about the Development Councils Act ? You have not delegated powers. කියල. තිබෙන ක්‍රමයක් වෙනස් කිරීම දවසකින් දෙකකින් කරන්න පුළුවන් දෙයක්ද ? The whole system will collapse. මේ ක්‍රමය කඩාකප්පල් නොවී මේ බලතල ලබාදෙන්නට නොයෙක් උදවියගෙන් උපදෙස් ලබා ගන්නට සිදු වුණ බව එකුමාරන් දන්නවා. කොයිතරම් ජාතීවාදී වැඩ පිළිවෙලවල් තිබෙනවාද කියාත් එකුමාරන් හොඳට දන්නවා. මේ ක්‍රමය හරියට ක්‍රියාත්මක නොකළොත්, එක ජාතියකට, එක කොටසකට, එක කණ්ඩායමකට මේ රටෙන් කැප්පල් දී තිබෙනවා, අනිත් පලාත්වලට නැති බලතල දී තිබෙනවා, කියන වෝදනාව ආවොත් මොන 'ඩිවලොප්මන්ට් කවුන්සිල්' ද ? ආයිමත් ඉතින් ගින්නක් නේද පටන් ගන්නේ ? අපි මෙය හැම කාරණාවක් ගැනම කල්පනා කරන්න ඕන.

දිස්ත්‍රික් ඇමති ක්‍රමයක් අපි ඇති කළේ ඒ නිසානේද ? දිස්ත්‍රික් සංවර්ධන සභා ක්‍රමයක් ඇති කළේ ඒ නිසා නේද ? ප්‍රාදේශීය මණ්ඩල ක්‍රමයක් ඇති කළේ ග්‍රාමෝදය මණ්ඩල ක්‍රමයක් ඇති කළේ ඒ නිසා නේද ? මේවා ඔක්කොම කළේ රටටත්තය කියා උවිධ එක්සත් විමුක්ති පෙරමුණට කියන්න පුළුවන්ද ? එහෙම මොකකට රටටත්තද ? අපට ජන්ද අඩුද ? මේ රට ගෙන යන්න ජන්ද අඩුද ? මේ පාර්ලිමේන්තුවේ වැඩ කරගෙන යන්න ජන්ද 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.

මොනවද, ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂය බලයේ ඉන්නකොට කළේ? තුනෙන් දෙකක බලයක් නිසාගෙන මොකක්ද කළේ? සලකපු හැටි දන්නවනේ? නමුත් එහෙම කරල තිබේදදත් ජනාධිපතිවරණයේදී ඒ හැම දෙයක්ම කළ කායකාට විරුද්ධව ජන්දය පාවිච්චි කළා. ඒත් අපි අත්හැරියේ නැහැ. අමතාප වුණේ නැහැ. මොකද, අපේ පරමාර්ථය ජන්දය නොවෙයි. දේශපාලන පක්ෂයක ආධාරය ලබා ගැනීම නොවෙයි. අපේ ආශාව මේ රටේ ඇතිවී තිබෙන සැකය නැති කිරීමයි. සිංහල වේවා, උවිධ වේවා, මුස්ලිම් වේවා, බර්ගර් වේවා මේ රටේ ජනතාව සමගියෙන් සාමයෙන්, මේ රට කැලී කැලීවලට කඩන්න නොදී, ඒකීය රටක් හැටියට මේ රටේ ස්වාධීනත්වය ආරක්ෂා කර ගැනීමයි. අපේ එකම පරමාර්ථය. අපි කොයිතරම් බලවේගවලට මුහුණ දීලාද මේ කටයුතු කළේ කියන එක කාටවත් අමතක කරන්න බැහැ.

මේරටේ "ගාන්ධි" වික්‍රමය පෙන්වන්න හොඳම කාලය. හොඳම අවස්ථාව මේකයි කියා මම මේ ලහදී පිළියන්දල පැවති රැස්වීමකදී කීව්වා. රට වෙත් කරගෙන, බෙදගෙන වෙනම ආණ්ඩු පිහිටුවන්න ඕනැය කියන මේ උන්මත්තක භාවයෙන් පෙළී කර ගන්නා වූ විපත්තිය දැන ගන්න ඕනැ නම්, දැක ගන්න ඕනැ නම් අන්න ඒ වික්‍රමය බලන්න. මේක තමයි, ඒකට නියම අවස්ථාව. මිල ගණන් වැඩි නිසා අමාරුවක් තිබෙනවා. විකක් කල් ගියාම තමයි, ඒකේ ගණන විකක් අඩු වෙන්නේ. නමුත් ඇත්වශයෙන්ම ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, මේ ලංකාවේ සිටින

සිංහල, උවිධ, මුස්ලිම්, බර්ගර් හැම ජන කොටසක්ම ඒ වික්‍රමය බැලිය යුතු අවස්ථාවක් හැටියට මෙය හඳුන්වන්න පුළුවන්. බෙද ගන්න නැතුව එස්සු වැටුණානේ. මොකක්ද මේ වුණේ කියා ඊට පස්සේ තේරෙනවා. විශේෂයෙන්ම ලංකාව වගේ කුඩා රටක් බෙදුණාට පස්සෙයි, රහේ තේරෙන්නේ. අපට ඉතාමත් සීමාසහිත සම්පත් ප්‍රමාණයකුයි, තිබෙන්නේ. බෙදෙන්න කතා කරන එක ලෙහෙයියි. 'ර්ලාම්' ඉල්ලන එක ලෙහෙයියි. 'සෙපරේටියම්' කියන්න පුළුවන්. අපි වෙන වෙන රටවලට එක් වෙනවාය කියන්න පුළුවන්. ඕනෑ තම් කාප්පත් දමා ගන්න පුළුවන්. 'බැරියර්ස්' දමා ගන්න පුළුවන්. කලාට පස්සේ තමයි, වැඩේ තිබෙන්නේ. මේ මොන විපක්ෂද අපි කර ගත්තේ කියා එදට තමයි තේරෙන්නේ. අපි ඒකයි කල්පනා කළේ. එහෙම නැතිව මේ රට පාලනය කරන්න ශක්තියක් නැති නිසා නොවෙයි. දුර්වලකමකට එහෙම නොවෙයි. අපේ පරමාර්ථය මොකක්ද? බෙද රටක් ගෙන යන එක ලෙහෙයියි. එක එක ජාතීන් ඇත කොටා ගන්නකොට, කල්බල කරදර තිබෙනකොට පාලනයට ලෙහෙයියි, ඇයි, "divide and rule" කියල නොවැ, කීව්වේ. එහෙත් සමගි කරන්න ඕනැය කියන කල්පනාව ඇති කර ගත්තේ මේ රජය නොවැ. සාමයක් ඇති කර ගන්න ඕනැය කියන එක කීව්වේ මේ රජය නොවැ. එක ජන කොටසකටත් අවිශ්වාසයක්, සැකයක් ඇති නොවන ආකාරයෙන් මේ සමගිය, සාමය ඇති කර ගන්න ඕනැය කියලයි අපි කල්පනා කළේ.

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, මම එකක් කියන්න කැමතියි. දේශපාලන ප්‍රයෝජනයක් සඳහා අපි යෙල්ලම් කරන්නේ මිනිස් ජීවිත සමහයි කියන එක අපි මතක තබා ගන්නට ඕනැ. මේ රට සමගිවෙනවා දකින්න මේ රටේ විපක්ෂ සුදුසුම නැහැයි කියන එක ඒ උදවිය ඔප්පු කර තිබෙනවා. ජනාධිපතිතුමා කළ මේ ආරාධනයෙන් ඉස්මතු වෙලා පෙනෙන වැදගත්ම කාරණය ඒකයි. මේ රටේ සාමයක් ඇති වෙනවා දකින්න, සමාදේශියක් ඇති වෙනවා දකින්න ඒ උදවිය ලැස්සි නැහැ. මේ සාමය සමගිය තුළින් සමාදේශියක් ඇතිවුණොත් එයින් දුර්වලත්වම නැතිවුණොත් ඒ ගොල්ලන්ගේ පක්ෂ අකුලාගෙන යන්න වෙනව කියා ඒ ගොල්ලන් තුළ විශ්වාසයක් ඇතිවෙලා තියෙනවා. ඒ නිසා ලොකු ජර්ණාවක් ඇති වී තිබෙනවා. ඒ හැර මේ සම්බන්ධයෙන් වෙන තේරුමක් දෙන්න මට නැහැ. එහෙම නැත්නම්, මොනවටද අපිව කැඳවන්නේ කියා ඒ අය ඇවිත් අහන්නේ නැත්තේ ඇයි? මොකක්ද, මේ ලියුම් ගණුදෙනුව? මේක හරි වැඩක්නේ. කවින් කියන්න ඕන ඒවා ලියුමෙන් කියනවා. මෙය කාර්යාලයට ආව කියල මොකක්ද ඇතිවෙන වෙනස? "අපි භාෂා ප්‍රශ්ණය ගැන කථා කරන්න කැමතියි ; දිස්ත්‍රික් සංවර්ධන සභා ක්‍රමය ගැන කථා කරන්න කැමතියි ; ඒ ඒ ආගම්වල ප්‍රධානීන් ගෙන්වන්න කැමතියි ; එහෙම කැමති තැන්තම් අපි යනවා යන්නයි" කියා ඇවිත් කියන්න පුළුවන්නේ. එහෙම කියල එක එකයින් තියෙන්නේ. එහෙම කීව්වාම අපට සාකච්චා කරන්න පුළුවන්නේ. එවිට අපි දන්නවනේ, මේ යෝජනාව ඉදිරිපත් කරන අය මේවාට ලැස්සියි කියා.

අපි කැමතියි, මුළු ලංකාවම එයට සහභාගී වෙනවා නම්, ඉඩකඩ නැති එකයි ප්‍රශ්ණය. හැබැයි ඒ අය, යම් යම් අයගේ අදහස් ගන්න යම් යම් අයට ආරාධනා කරන්නය කියනවා නම් අපට පුළුවන් එය කරන්න. නමුත් ඒ කියන අයටත් ඉන්න එපායැ. මේ රටේ සාමයක්, සමගියක්, සමාදේශියක් ඇති වෙනවාට අවංකව කැමති නම් ඔන්න නැවත වරක් දෙර විවාහ කර තිබෙනවා; ඇවිල්ල කියන්න. මෙතෙක්ට ඇවිත් හදිසි නීතිය පිළිබඳ යෝජනාව ඉදිරිපත් කළාම "මොකක්ද නමුසෙලගේ මේ හදිසි නීතියෙන් කරන්නේ? අන්න අහවල් නැත අර මිනිහව මැරුවා; අන්න අහවල් නැත මේ මිනිහා මැරුවා; අන්න අහවල් නැත අරගෙන දිව්වා." කියනවා. මොකක්ද එසේ කීමෙන් ඇතිවෙන පලය? කවුරුත් එකට වාඩිවෙලා, ඇති වී තිබෙන තත්ත්වය හොඳට තේරුම් ගෙන, ඒවාට ගන්න ක්‍රියා මාර්ග පරීක්ෂා කර මේ වැඩ කටයුතුවලට සහභාගී වන්නට තරකද? ඒකයි, අපි කළේ.

නමුත් මේකට වෙන වෙන තේරුම් දෙන්න පටන් ගන්නා, පත්තරවල ප්‍රකාශ කරන්න පටන් ගන්නා, ලියුම් ලියන්න පටන් ගන්නා, අනේ කොයි තරම් කඩදැසි කාස්සි කෙරුවද මේ පුළු වැඩේ? ඒකෙන් ඔප්පු වුණේ මොකක්ද? අර මා හිතපු දේ බොරුවටනෙ මේව කියන්නෙ කියා හිතාගෙන නොකරයි කියා හිතාගෙන, කීව්වා. නමුත් කරන්න යන විට වෙන වෙන ඒවා ගේනවා. ඇවිත් කියන්න, කොහොමද මේ ප්‍රශ්ණය

சு. பி.

மேல வர்ணாவே றவசாத மூடனச டடயா டவகிட கலாவல திவரட தல யுது துந டகவனு ரீதி மந்திந் மீந் திவரநத் தைந திதி தவா துதாடிலிவ
டகவா தம திவரந துநதாதி ட-டகாரந தைந

1983 டதேவ்டு 4 தந மூதடதகிந்ட

தாஹதமவா லுவைந டே திதி யுதுதி.

குறிப்பு

அங்கத்தவர்கள் இறுதிப் பதிப்பிற் செய்யவிரும்பும் பிழை திருத்தங்களை அறிக்கையிற்றெளிவாகக் குறித்து
பிழை திருத்தங்களைக் கொண்ட பிரதியை ஹன்சார்ட் பதிப்பாளியருக்கு

1983 ஓகஸ்ட் 4, னியாமுக்கிழமைக்குப் 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

Thursday, 4th August 1983

Contents of Proceedings : From 3.00 p.m. to 11.50 p.m. on 21.07.1983

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received from Parliament : 6.25 p.m. on 22.07.1983

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செய்துள்ள பின்புலம் கண்டுபிடிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளதால், இவற்றைப் பற்றி மேலும் விசாரணை நடத்தப்படும்.

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செய்துள்ள பின்புலம் கண்டுபிடிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளதால், இவற்றைப் பற்றி மேலும் விசாரணை நடத்தப்படும்.

දයක මුදල් : පාර්ලිමේන්තු විවාද වාර්තාවල වාර්ෂික දයක මිල රු. 200/- කි. (අශෝචිත පිටපත් සඳහා නම් රු. 175/- කි). පිටපතක් ගෙන්වා ගැනීම අවශ්‍ය නම් ගාස්තුව රු. 2.50 කි. තැපැල් ගාස්තුව ගත 90 කි. කොළඹ 1, නා. පො. 500, රජයේ ප්‍රකාශන කාර්යාංශයේ අධිකාරී වෙත සෑම වර්ෂයකම නොවැම්බර් 30 දාට ප්‍රථම දයක මුදල් ගෙවා ඉදිරි වර්ෂයේ දයකත්වය ලබාගෙන විවාද වාර්තා ලබාගත හැකිය. නියමිත දිනෙන් පසුව එවනු ලබන දයක ඉල්ලුම්පත් භාරගනු නොලැබේ.

சந்தா : ஹன்சார்ட் அதிகார அறிக்கையின் வருடாந்த சந்தா ரூபா 200/- (திருத்தப்படாத பிரதிகள் ரூபா 175/-) ஹன்சார்ட் தனிப்பிரதி ரூபா 2.50. தபாற் செலவு 90 சதம். வருடாந்த சந்தா முற்பணமாக அத்தியட்சர், அரசாங்க வெளியிட்டலுவலகம், த. பெ. இல. 500, கொழும்பு 1 என்ற விலாசத்திற்கு அனுப்பி பிரதிகளைப் பெற்றுக்கொள்ளலாம். ஒவ்வொராண்டும் நவம்பர் 30 ன் தேதிக்குமுன் சந்தாப் பணம் அனுப்பப்படவேண்டும். பிந்திக் கிடைக்கும் சந்தா விண்ணப்பங்கள் ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளப்படமாட்டா.

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