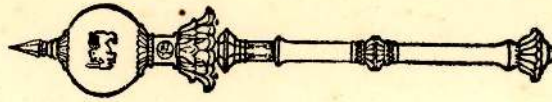


5<sup>th</sup> Amendment Bill  
(Provision for Constitution where party does not  
Nominate Members  
in one block)



# පාර්ලිමේන්තු විවාද

(හැන්සාඩ්)

## නීල වාර්තාව

(අශෝධිත පිටපත)

### අත්තර්ගත ප්‍රධාන කරුණු

පස්වන ආණ්ඩුක්‍රම ව්‍යවස්ථා සංශෝධනය පනත් කෙටුම්පත : පස්වන ආණ්ඩුක්‍රම ව්‍යවස්ථා සංශෝධනය පනත් කෙටුම්පත : ශ්‍රේෂ්ඨාධිකරණයේ තීරණය

නිවේදනය :

කථානායකතුමාගේ සහතික

ප්‍රශ්නවලට වාචික පිළිතුරු

පළමුවන වර කියවන ලද පනත් කෙටුම්පත් :

පස්වන ආණ්ඩුක්‍රම ව්‍යවස්ථා සංශෝධනය

මුදල් සංශෝධන

පොද්ගලික මත්ත්‍රීන්ගේ පනත් කෙටුම්පත් :

ශ්‍රී ලංකා ජීව විද්‍යා ආයතනය (සංස්ථාගත කිරීමේ) [ජයවික්‍රම පෙරේරා මහතා]—පළමුවන වර කියවන ලදී.

මහනුවර අසරණ සරණ සමිතිය (සංස්ථාගත කිරීමේ) [මෙල්වින් රණරාජ මහතා]—පළමුවන වර කියවන ලදී.

දෙවන වර සහ තුන්වන වර කියවා සම්මත කරන ලදී

පලාත් පාලන ආයතන (වාණිජ හා කාර්මික ව්‍යවසාය) පනත් කෙටුම්පත :

දෙවන වර සහ තුන්වන වර කියවා සම්මත කරන ලදී

ගුවන් සංතරණ (විදේශ විධිවිධාන) පනත් කෙටුම්පත :

දෙවන වර සහ තුන්වන වර කියවා සම්මත කරන ලදී

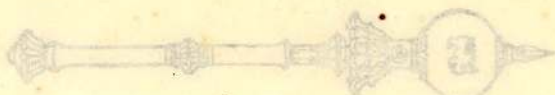
ගොඩනැගිලි ද්‍රව්‍ය නිෂ්පාදන සංස්ථාව : වාර්ෂික වාර්තාව

ලංකා පොහොර සංස්ථාව : ආරම්භක මූල ධනය

මුද්දර ගාස්තු පනත : නියෝගය

Handwritten notes in Sinhala at the top left.

Handwritten notes in Sinhala at the top center.



# දැරේ ලාභමිමිවරය

(ධීරෝත්සව)

ලෙවරේ වුළු

(පවරේ සමිතය)

## ප්‍රවෘත්ති සහිත සවරෝත්සව

<p>සවරේ සමිතය මෙහිදී පවරේ සවරෝත්සවයක් පැවැත්වීමට කැපවී සිටියේය.</p> <p>30 අවුරුදු සමයේ සිට පවරේ සවරෝත්සවයක් පැවැත්වීමට කැපවී සිටියේය.</p> <p>(සවරේ සමිතය මෙහිදී) සවරේ සවරෝත්සවයක් පැවැත්වීමට කැපවී සිටියේය.</p> <p>30 අවුරුදු සමයේ සිට පවරේ සවරෝත්සවයක් පැවැත්වීමට කැපවී සිටියේය.</p> <p>සවරේ සමිතය මෙහිදී : පවරේ සවරෝත්සවයක් පැවැත්වීමට කැපවී සිටියේය.</p> <p>සවරේ සමිතය මෙහිදී : පවරේ සවරෝත්සවයක් පැවැත්වීමට කැපවී සිටියේය.</p>	<p>සවරේ සමිතය මෙහිදී : පවරේ සවරෝත්සවයක් පැවැත්වීමට කැපවී සිටියේය.</p> <p>සවරේ සමිතය මෙහිදී : පවරේ සවරෝත්සවයක් පැවැත්වීමට කැපවී සිටියේය.</p> <p>සවරේ සමිතය මෙහිදී : පවරේ සවරෝත්සවයක් පැවැත්වීමට කැපවී සිටියේය.</p> <p>සවරේ සමිතය මෙහිදී : පවරේ සවරෝත්සවයක් පැවැත්වීමට කැපවී සිටියේය.</p> <p>සවරේ සමිතය මෙහිදී : පවරේ සවරෝත්සවයක් පැවැත්වීමට කැපවී සිටියේය.</p> <p>සවරේ සමිතය මෙහිදී : පවරේ සවරෝත්සවයක් පැවැත්වීමට කැපවී සිටියේය.</p>
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## பாராளுமன்ற விவாதங்கள்

(ஹன்சார்ட்)

அதிகார அறிக்கை

(பிழை திருத்தப்படாதது)

பிரதான உள்ளடக்கம்

அரசியலமைப்புக்கான ஐந்தாவது திருத்தச் சட்டமூலம் : உயர் அரசியலமைப்புக்கான ஐந்தாவது திருத்தச் சட்டமூலம் :  
நீதிமன்றத் தீர்ப்பு

அறிவித்தல் :

சபாநாயகரின் சான்றிதழ்கள்  
வினாக்களுக்கு வாய்மூல விடைகள்

முதன்முறை மதிப்பிடப்பட்ட சட்டமூலங்கள் :

அரசியலமைப்புக்கான ஐந்தாவது திருத்தம்  
நிதி (திருத்தம்)

தனியங்கத்தினர் சட்டமூலங்கள் :

இலங்கை உயிரினவியல் நிறுவகம் (கூட்டிணைத்தல்) [திரு. ஜய  
விக்கிரம பெரேரா]—முதன்முறை மதிப்பிடப்பட்டது

கண்டி ஆபத்தில் உதவுவோர் சங்கம் (கூட்டிணைத்தல்) [திரு.  
ஷெல்டன் ரனாராஜா]—முதன்முறை மதிப்பிடப்பட்டது.

இரண்டாம் மூன்றாம் மதிப்புக்களிடம்பெற்று நிறைவேற்றப்  
பட்டது.

உள்ளூர் அதிகார சபைகள் (வர்த்தக, கைத்தொழில் முயற்சிகள்)  
சட்டமூலம் :

இரண்டாம் மூன்றாம் மதிப்புக்களிடம்பெற்று நிறைவேற்றப்  
பட்டது.

வான்கலமோட்டு (செய்தியற்பாடுகள்) சட்டமூலம் :

இரண்டாம் மூன்றாம் மதிப்புக்களிடம்பெற்று நிறைவேற்றப்  
பட்டது.

கட்டடப்பொருள் உற்பத்திக் கூட்டுத்தாபனம் : ஆண்டறிக்கை

இலங்கை உரக் கூட்டுத்தாபனம் : முதல் முதலீடு

முத்திரைத் தீர்வைச் சட்டம் : ஒழுங்குவிதி

Volume 22  
No. 3

Thursday  
24th February 1983

## PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(HANSARD)

OFFICIAL REPORT

(Uncorrected)

### PRINCIPAL CONTENTS

FIFTH AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION BILL :  
DECISION OF THE SUPREME COURT

ANNOUNCEMENT :  
Speaker's Certificates

ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

BILLS READ THE FIRST TIME :  
Fifth Amendment to the Constitution Bill  
Finance (Amendment) Bill

PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS :  
Institute of Biology, Sri Lanka (Incorporation)—(Mr.  
Jayawickrema Perera)—Read the First time  
Kandy Friend-in-Need Society (Incorporation)—(Mr.  
Shelton Ranaraja)—Read the First time

FIFTH AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION BILL :  
Read a Second, and the Third time, and passed

LOCAL AUTHORITIES (COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL  
ENTERPRISES) BILL :  
Read a Second, and the Third time, and passed

AIR NAVIGATION (SPECIAL PROVISIONS) BILL :  
Read the Second, and the Third time, and passed

BUILDING MATERIALS MANUFACTURING COR-  
PORATION : ANNUAL REPORT

CEYLON FERTILIZER CORPORATION : INITIAL CAPITAL

STAMP DUTY ACT : REGULATION



**පාර්ලිමේන්තුව**

பாராளுமன்றம்

**PARLIAMENT**

1983 පෙබරවාරි 24 වන බ්‍රහස්පතින් දා

வியாழக்கிழமை, 24 பெப்ரவரி 1983

Thursday, 24th February, 1983

අ. ආ. 3 ට පාර්ලිමේන්තුව රැස් විය. කථානායකතුමා [අල් හාජි. එම්. අබ්දුල් බාකීර් මාකාර් මහතා] මූලාසනයට විය.

பாராளுமன்றம் பி. ப. 3 மணிக்குக் கூடியது. சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள் [அல் ஹாஜ் ஏம். அப்துல் பாகீர் மாகார்] தலைமை வகித்தார்கள்.

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

**පස්වන ආණ්ඩුක්‍රම ව්‍යවස්ථා සංශෝධනය පහත් හෙටුම්පත: ශ්‍රේෂ්ඨාධිකරණයේ තීරණය**  
**அரசியலமைப்புக்கான ஐந்தாவது திருத்தச் சட்டமூலம்:**  
**உயர்நீதிமன்றத் தீர்ப்பு**

**FIFTH AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION BILL : DECISION OF THE SUPREME COURT**

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

I have received the Determination of the Supreme Court under the provisions of Article 122 of the Constitution in regard to the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution Bill. I shall now read the decision of the Court.

“AN ACT TO AMEND THE CONSTITUTION OF THE DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF SRI LANKA.

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. 1 of 1983.  
 P/Parl.

**PRESENT.**—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, P. Colin Thome, Judge of the Supreme Court, J. F. A. Soza, Judge of the Supreme Court, K. A. P. Ranasinghe, Judge of the Supreme Court; and M. H. Abdul Cader, Judge of the Supreme court.

**COUNSEL.**—Siva Pasupathy, Attorney-General, with M. M. Kulatunga, Solicitor-General, and Suri Ratnapala, Senior State Counsel for the State. Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike intervenes with permission of Court.

**COURT ASSEMBLED FOR THE HEARING.**—At 10.00 a.m, on 21st February, 1983.

A Bill titled ‘An Act to Amend the Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka’ (hereinafter referred to as the Fifth Amendment) has been referred to the Chief Justice

by His Excellency the President in terms of Article 122(1)(b) of the Constitution for a special determination by the Supreme Court as to whether the Bill or any provision thereof is inconsistent with the Constitution.

The Bill contains an endorsement by which the Cabinet of Ministers has certified that the Bill is urgent in the national interest, in terms of Article 122(1) of the Constitution.

Mr. Siva Pasupathy, Attorney-General, assisted us in the consideration of the Bill as did Mr. Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike (hereinafter referred to as the Petitioner) who appeared in person in support of the challenge contained in his petition dated 18th February, 1983.

The Bill seeks to amend sub-paragraph (iii) of paragraph (d) of Article 161 of the Constitution by the addition of a proviso, the effect of which is to provide for the filling of any vacancy caused in the membership of the First Parliament in the electoral district in respect of which such vacancy has occurred and which has not been filled within a stipulated period by nomination in the manner provided therein, by having recourse to an election to be held in that electoral district in accordance with the provisions of the Ceylon (Parliamentary Elections) Order-in-Council, 1946.

In the case of a Bill which is described in its long title as one being for the amendment of the Constitution, proviso (a) to Article 120 stipulates that the only question which the Supreme Court may determine is whether such Bill requires the approval by the People at a Referendum.

The Attorney-General has contended that the Fifth Amendment has become necessary due to a lacuna in the Constitution in that no provision exists to meet a situation where the Secretary of a Political Party refrains from nominating a member to fill a vacancy when required to do so by the Commissioner of Elections under Article 161 (d) (iii) of the Constitution.

The Bill has been challenged mainly on the ground of its inconsistency with the provisions of Article 3 of the Constitution, which proclaims that ‘In the Republic of Sri Lanka sovereignty is in the People is inalienable. Sovereignty includes the powers of Government, fundamental rights and the franchise.’

It has been contended by the Petitioner that the Fifth Amendment will create two methods or modalities for the filling of Parliamentary vacancies; they being (1) nomination by the Secretary of a Political Party, and (2) in the absence of such nomination within a stipulated period, election by the People of the electorate in which the vacancy has occurred. The effect of the Fifth Amendment, it has been argued, would be to create an inequality before the law in respect of the people of different Parliamentary Constituencies in which vacancies have occurred. The Fifth Amendment, it was argued, is thus inconsistent with Article 3 because it violates the principle of equality in the matter of voting at elections for Members of Parliament, which equality is recognised by Article 93.

The answer to this contention is that the Constitution already recognises and provides for the two methods of filling Parliamentary vacancies. Where any vacancy has occurred in the membership of Parliament in the manner stipulated in Article 161(b) such vacancy is filled by an election to that electoral district. On the other hand, where any vacancy has occurred in the manner stipulated in Article 161 (d) (i) & (ii) such vacancy is filled by nomination at the instance of the Secretary of a Political Party. So that the Fifth Amendment is not one which creates two methods of the filling of Parliamentary vacancies. It only extends the principle of election and is not violative of principles of equality in the matter of voting at elections stipulated in Article 93.

It has also been contended that the Fifth Amendment has the effect of creating an alienation of the franchise, which is part of the Peoples' sovereignty because it vests in an authority other than the People (namely the Secretary of a Political Party) the discretion to decide whether a Parliamentary vacancy ought to be filled by nomination or by election.

The answer to this contention also is that there is no creation of an alienation of the franchise because the Constitution already recognises and provides for the filling of Parliamentary vacancies by a process other than election. Article 161 (d) (i) & (ii) empower the filling of vacancies by a process of nomination, the nominating authority being the Secretary of a Political Party. There is thus no creation of the alienation of the franchise. The amendment seeks to enlarge the principle of election for filling Parliamentary vacancies where earlier vacancies were filled by nomination only. The sovereignty of the People, including the franchise, is therefore not affected by this amendment.

It has also been contended by the Petitioner that the Bill violates the general principle of the fundamental right to equality, more especially recognised in Article 12(1) of the Constitution. We do not agree. But even if that be so, Article 15(7) authorises the limitation of the exercise and operation of such right in the manner set out therein.

For these reasons our determination is that the Bill before us is not one which requires the approval by the People at a Referendum. However, as the Bill is one for the amendment of the Constitution, it may only be passed by the special majority required under the provisions of paragraph (5) of Article 82 of the Constitution; that is by not less than the two-thirds of the whole number of members (including those not present),

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.

P. Colin Thome,  
Judge of the Supreme Court.

J. F. A. Soza,  
Judge of the Supreme Court.

K. A. P. Ranasinghe,  
Judge of the Supreme Court.

M. M. Abdul Cader,  
Judge of the Supreme Court."

**கிடைத்தல்**

அறிவிப்பு

**ANNOUNCEMENT**

பேரவையின் தலைவர் அவர்களின்  
சான்றிதழ்

SPEAKER'S CERTIFICATES

பேரவையின் தலைவர்

(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 Bills on 10th February, 1983 :

Ratnapura Buddhist Society Incorporation,  
Metric Units (Consequential Provisions) Amendment.

**சீசி சேவைகளில் சிபிடுகல்**

சமர்ப்பிக்கப்பட்ட பத்திரங்கள்

**PAPERS PRESENTED**

1. Fifth Interim Report of the Special Presidential Commission of Inquiry - Sessional Paper No. II of 1983.

2. Third Annual Report of the University Grants Commission for 1981.

3. Annual Report of the National Film Corporation of Sri Lanka for 1980.-(Mr. M. Vincent Perera, on behalf of the Prime Minister and Minister of Local Government, Housing and Construction and Minister of Highways.)

1. Annual Report of the National Prices Commission for 1981.

2. Annual Report of the Board of Directors and the Statement of Accounts of the Sri Lanka State Trading (Tractor) Corporation for 1980.

3. Annual Reports and Accounts of the G.O.B.U. of Acland Finance and Investments for 1977, 1978, 1979 and 1980.-(Mr. M. Vincent Perera, on behalf of the Minister of Trade and Shipping.)

Annual Report and Accounts of the Agricultural Insurance Board for 1980.-(Mr. Gamani Jayasuriya.)

1. Report of the Board of Directors of Central Engineering Consultancy Bureau for the year ended 31st December, 1980.

2. Annual Report of the Mahaweli Development Board for 1980.

3. Annual Report and Statement of Accounts of the River Valleys Development Board for 1980 and the Addendum to the Annual Report for 1980.-( Mr. M. Vincent Perera, on behalf of the Minister of Lands and Land Development and Minister of Mahaweli Development.)

Regulations made under Section 32 (3) of the Coast Conservation Act, No. 57 of 1981, read with Sections 13, 14, 16 and 18 of that Act.-(Mr. M. Vincent Perera, on behalf of the Minister of Fisheries.)

(1) Annual Report and Statement of Accounts of the Government Owned Business Undertaking of Noorani Tile Works for 1980.

(2) Annual Report and Statement of Accounts of the Government Owned Business Undertaking of Shaw Industries Limited for 1979.

(3) Annual Report and Accounts of the Sri Lanka Tyre Corporation for 1980.-(Mr. Cyril Mathew).

பேரவையின் தலைவர் அவர்களின் தலைவர் சீசி

சபாநாயகர் அவர்களின் தலைவர் சீசி

Ordered to lie upon the Table.

**පෙත්සම්**  
மனுக்கள்  
**PETITIONS**

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

Hon. Member for Minneriya—[Pause.] He is not here. Hon. Member for Galle.

**ආචාර්ය ඩබ්ලිව්. දහනායක මහතා (ගාල්ල)**  
(கலாநிதி டபிள்யூ. தஹநாயக்க—காலி)  
(Dr. W. Dahanayake—Galle)

I present a petition from Mr. G. H. K. Dharmadasa of No. 102/29, Aramaya Road, Dematagoda, Colombo.

මහජන පෙත්සම් කාරක සභාවට පැවරිය යුතුයයි නියෝග කරන ලදී.

போதுமானக் குழுவுக்குச் சாட்டக் கட்டளையிடப்பட்டது.  
Ordered to be referred to the Public Petitions Committee.

**ප්‍රශ්නවලට වාචික පිළිතුරු**  
வினாக்களுக்கு வாய்மூல விடைகள்  
**ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS**

**කථානායකතුමා**  
(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)  
(Mr. Speaker)  
Question No. 1.

**පී. දයාරත්න මහතා (අම්පාර දිසා ඇමතිතුමා සහ පිදුලිබල ගා බලශක්ති පිළිබඳ නියෝජ්‍ය ඇමතිතුමා)**  
(திரு. பி. தயாரத்ன—அம்பாறை மாவட்ட அமைச்சரும் பிள்ளசக்தி, எரிபொருட் பிரதி அமைச்சரும்)  
(Mr. P. Dayaratne - District Minister, Amparai, and Deputy Minister of Power and Energy)

මෙම ප්‍රශ්නය සංශෝධනය කරලා අහන්න ගරු මන්ත්‍රී තුමා පොරොන්දු වුණා. නමුත් එදා අහපු ප්‍රශ්නයම ඉදිරිපත් කරලා තිබෙන නිසා උත්තර දෙන්න අපහසුයි.

**ලක්ෂ්මන් ජයකොඩි මහතා (අත්තනගල්ල)**  
(திரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயக்கொடி—அத்தனகல்ல)  
(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody—Attanagalle)

ඒක සංශෝධනය කරලයි තිබෙන්නෙ.

**පී. දයාරත්න මහතා**  
(திரு. பி. தயாரத்ன)  
(Mr. P. Dayaratne)

නැහැ.

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

හොඳයි මම තමුත්තාත්තේ හමිබවෙලා ඒ ප්‍රශ්නය සංශෝධනය කරන්නම්.

**කථානායකතුමා**  
(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)  
(Mr. Speaker)  
Till then this will stand down.

ප්‍රශ්නය ඔහු දිනකදී ඉදිරිපත් කිරීමට නියෝග කරන ලදී.  
வினாவை மற்றொரு தினத்திற்கு சமர்ப்பிக்கக் கட்டளையிடப்பட்டது.  
Question ordered to stand down.

**මත්තේගම ජාතික පේෂකර්ම සංස්ථා කමිෂනර :**  
**සහකාර ශ්‍රමසාධක නිලධාරී සහ පෝර්මන්**  
மத்தேகமை தேசிய புடைவைக் கூட்டுத்தாபனம் : உதவி சேமநல உத்தியோகத்தர், முகாரி

**MATTEGAMA NATIONAL TEXTILE CORPORATION**  
**ASSISTANT WELFARE OFFICER AND FOREMAN**

4/83

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

පේෂ කර්මාන්ත ඇමතිතුමාගෙන් ඇසූ ප්‍රශ්නය :  
(අ) මත්තේගම ජාතික පේෂකර්ම සංස්ථාවේ කමිෂනරට සහකාර ශ්‍රම සාධක නිලධාරීවරයෙකු සහ පෝර්මන්වරයෙකු 1980 ජනවාරි මාසයෙන් පසු පත් කරනු ලැබූ බව එතුමා දන්නවාද? (ආ) ඔහුගේ නම, අධ්‍යාපන සහ වෘත්තීය සුදුසුකම් එතුමා සඳහන් කරනවාද? නොඑසේ නම්, ඒ මන්ද? (ඇ) මෙම තනතුර සඳහා පේෂකර්ම සංස්ථාව පිළිගෙන ඇති සුදුසුකම් එතුමා සඳහන් කරනවාද? නොඑසේ නම්, ඒ මන්ද?

ප්‍රශ්නවලට පිළිතුරු :  
(අ) මත්තේගම ජාතික පේෂකර්ම සංස්ථාවේ කමිෂනරට සහකාර ශ්‍රම සාධක නිලධාරීවරයෙකු සහ පෝර්මන්වරයෙකු 1980 ජනවාරි මාසයෙන් පසු පත් කරනු ලැබූ බව එතුමා දන්නවාද? නොඑසේ නම්, ඒ මන්ද?  
(ආ) ඔහුගේ නම, අධ්‍යාපන සහ වෘත්තීය සුදුසුකම් එතුමා සඳහන් කරනවාද? නොඑසේ නම්, ඒ මන්ද?  
(ඇ) මෙම තනතුර සඳහා පේෂකර්ම සංස්ථාව පිළිගෙන ඇති සුදුසුකම් එතුමා සඳහන් කරනවාද? නොඑසේ නම්, ඒ මන්ද?

asked the Minister of Textile Industries : (a) Is he aware that an Assistant Welfare Officer and a Foreman were appointed after January 1980 to the factory of the Mattegama National Textile Corporation? (b) Will he state their names and their educational and professional qualifications? If not, why? (c) Will he state the qualifications approved for these posts by the Textile Corporation? If not, why?

**විජයපාල මෙන්ඩිස් මහතා (පේෂකර්ම ඇමතිතුමා).**  
(திரு. விஜயபால மெண்டிஸ்—புடைவைத் தொழில் அமைச்சர்)  
(Mr. Wijayapala Mendis—Minister of Textile Industry)

(a) I am aware that one Assistant Welfare Officer and more than one Foreman have been appointed to the Mattegama Mills after January 1980. (b) The







**கரிந்திர கோரியா (நியோசிய டிப்யூட்டி மினிஸ்டர்)**

(திரு. ஹரிந்திர கோரியா—பொது நிர்வாகப் பிரதி அமைச்சர்)

(Mr. Harindra Corea—Deputy Minister of Public Administration)

Sir, this Question is misdirected because the appointments of heads of departments are not made by the Ministry of Public Administration. They are made by Ministers with the approval of the Cabinet. So we cannot answer this Question.

**1980 ஜூலை மாதம் தனது பதவியை விட்டு விலகியவர்கள்**

1980 ஜூலியில் பதவியிலிருந்து விலகியோர்

EMPLOYEES WHO VACATED POSTS IN JULY 1980

52/83

**6. ஸரத் மத்தேவகாமா (கலவானா)**

(திரு. சரத் முத்தேவகாமா—கலவானா)

(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama—Kalawana)

அமைச்சர் அவர்களே, 1980 ஜூலை மாதம் தனது பதவியை விட்டு விலகியவர்களின் பட்டியலைக் கொடுக்க முன்வருமா? (அ) 1980 ஜூலை மாதம் தனது பதவியை விட்டு விலகியவர்களின் பட்டியலைக் கொடுக்க முன்வருமா? (ஆ) அவர்களின் பட்டியலைக் கொடுக்க முன்வருமா? (இ) அவர்களின் பட்டியலைக் கொடுக்க முன்வருமா? (ஈ) அவர்களின் பட்டியலைக் கொடுக்க முன்வருமா? (ஐ) அவர்களின் பட்டியலைக் கொடுக்க முன்வருமா? (ஊ) அவர்களின் பட்டியலைக் கொடுக்க முன்வருமா? (஋) அவர்களின் பட்டியலைக் கொடுக்க முன்வருமா? (஌) அவர்களின் பட்டியலைக் கொடுக்க முன்வருமா? (஍) அவர்களின் பட்டியலைக் கொடுக்க முன்வருமா? (அ) 1980 ஜூலை மாதம் தனது பதவியை விட்டு விலகியவர்களின் பட்டியலைக் கொடுக்க முன்வருமா? (ஆ) அவர்களின் பட்டியலைக் கொடுக்க முன்வருமா? (இ) அவர்களின் பட்டியலைக் கொடுக்க முன்வருமா? (ஈ) அவர்களின் பட்டியலைக் கொடுக்க முன்வருமா? (ஐ) அவர்களின் பட்டியலைக் கொடுக்க முன்வருமா? (ஊ) அவர்களின் பட்டியலைக் கொடுக்க முன்வருமா? (஋) அவர்களின் பட்டியலைக் கொடுக்க முன்வருமா? (஌) அவர்களின் பட்டியலைக் கொடுக்க முன்வருமா? (஍) அவர்களின் பட்டியலைக் கொடுக்க முன்வருமா?

அமைச்சரும், பிரதி ஜனதாப் பெருதோட்ட அபிவிருத்தி அமைச்சருமானவரைக் கேட்ட வினா: (அ) 1980, ஜூலை மாதத்தில் அவர்களது பதவிகளிலிருந்து விலகியவர்களாகக் கருதப்பட்ட அவரது அமைச்சின் கீழுள்ள திணைக்களங்கள், கூட்டுத்தாபனங்கள் ஆகியவற்றைச் சேர்ந்த சகல தரங்களை யும் சேர்ந்த ஊழியர்களின் எண்ணிக்கையை அவர் கூறு வாரா? (ஆ) இவர்களுள் மீண்டும் வேலைக்குச் சேர்த்துக் கொள்ளப்பட்டவர்கள் எத்தனை பேர்? (இ) எஞ்சியுள்ளவர்களையும் மீண்டும் சேர்த்துக் கொள்வதற்கு அவர் உத்தேசிக்கிறாரா? (ஈ) ஆமெனில் எப்பொழுது? (உ) இல்லையெனில் ஏன்? (ஊ) அவ்வாறு மீண்டும் வேலைக்குச் சேர்த்துக்கொள்ளப்பட்ட ஊழியர்களில் எத்தனை பேருக்கு அவர்களது சம்பள நிலுவைகள் வழங்கப்பட்டன? (எ) ஏனையவர்களுக்கும் அவர்களது சம்பள நிலுவைகள் வழங்கப்படுமா? (ஏ) ஆமெனில் எப்பொழுது? (ஐ) இல்லையெனில், ஏன்?

asked the Minister, and Deputy Minister of Janatha Estates Development: (a) Will he state the number of employees of all categories in departments and corporations under his Ministry who were considered to have vacated their posts in July 1980? (b) Of

these employees how many have been taken back for work? (c) Does he propose to take back the remaining employees? (d) If so, when? (e) If not, why? (f) How many such employees so taken back for work have been paid their arrears of salary? (g) Will the others be paid their arrears of salary? (h) If so, when? (i) If not, why?

**ஹரல்ட் ஹேரத் (அமைச்சர்)**

(திரு. ஹரல்ட் ஹேரத்—அமைச்சரும் ஜனதா தோட்ட அபிவிருத்திப் பிரதி அமைச்சரும்)

(Mr. Harold Herat—Minister, and Deputy Minister of Janata Estates Development)

(a) Seven Members of the estate staff of the JEDB vacated post due to their absence in July 1980. They have sought redress through the labour tribunals. Four labour tribunal cases have been dismissed, and three are pending. (b) None. (c) Explained in answer to (a). (d), (e), (f), (g), (h) and (i) Do not arise.

**ஸரத் மத்தேவகாமா (கலவானா)**

(திரு. சரத் முத்தேவகாமா)

(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

Sir, I have a supplementary question. The Hon. Minister spoke about seven members of the staff, but the question is about all categories.

**ஹரல்ட் ஹேரத் (அமைச்சர்)**

(திரு. ஹரல்ட் ஹேரத்)

(Mr. Harold Herat)

This is the only category.

**ஸரத் மத்தேவகாமா (கலவானா)**

(திரு. சரத் முத்தேவகாமா)

(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

Staff?

**அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்**

(அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)

(A Member)

The workers are not with you. Only the managers are with you!

**சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்**

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Question No. 7.

**பி. டயரத்னா (திரு. பி. தயாரத்னா)**

(திரு. பி. தயாரத்னா)

(Mr. P. Dayaratne)

I need two weeks' time to answer this Question.

**சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்**

வினாவை மற்றொரு தினத்திற்கு சமர்ப்பிக்கக் கட்டளையிடப்பட்டது.

Question ordered to stand down.

1980 ජූලි මාසයේදී තනතුරු අතහැර ගිය සේවකයෝ  
1980 ஜூலியில் பதவியிலிருந்து விலகியோர்

EMPLOYEES WHO VACATED POSTS IN JULY 1980

54/83

8. සරත් මුත්තේවුටුවෙගම

(திரு. சரத் முத்தேட்டுவேகம)

(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

රාජ්‍ය වැවිලි පිළිබඳ නියෝජ්‍ය ඇමතිතුමාගෙන් ඇසූ ප්‍රශ්නය : (අ) 1980 ජූලි මාසයේදී තම තනතුරු අමාත්‍යාංශය යටතේ ඇති දෙපාර්තමේන්තු හා සංස්ථා වල සියලුම වර්ගයන්ට අයත් සේවකයින්ගේ සංඛ්‍යාව එතුමා සඳහන් කරනවාද? (ආ) මෙම සේවකයින්ගෙන් කී දෙනෙකු නැවත සේවයට කැඳවා තිබේද? (ඇ) ඉතිරි සේවකයින් නැවත සේවයට කැඳවීමට එතුමා අදහස් කරන්නේද? (ඈ) එසේ නම් ඒ කවදද? (ඉ) නො එසේ නම්, ඒ මන්ද? (ඊ) එසේ නැවත සේවයට කැඳවා ඇති සේවකයින්ගෙන් කී දෙනෙකුට ඔවුන්ගේ හිඟ වැටුප් ගෙවා තිබේද? (උ) අනිකුත් අයටත් ඔවුන්ගේ හිඟ වැටුප් ගෙවනු ලබන්නේද? (ඌ) එසේ නම්, ඒ කවදද? (එ) නො එසේ නම්, ඒ මන්ද?

அரசாங்கத் தோட்டத்துறை பிரதி அமைச்சரைக் கேட்ட வினா : (அ) 1980, ஜூலை மாதத்தில் அவர்களது பதவிகளிலிருந்து விலகியவர்களாகக் கருதப்பட்ட அவரது அமைச்சின் கீழுள்ள திணைக்களங்கள், கூட்டுத்தாபனங்கள் ஆகியவற்றைச் சேர்ந்த சகல தரங்களையும் சேர்ந்த ஊழியர்களின் எண்ணிக்கையை அவர் கூறுவாரா? (ஆ) இவர்களுள் மீண்டும் வேலைக்குச் சேர்த்துக்கொள்ளப்பட்டவர்கள் எத்தனை பேர்? (இ) எஞ்சியுள்ளவர்களையும் மீண்டும் சேர்த்துக்கொள்வதற்கு அவர் உத்தேசிக்கிறாரா? (ஈ) ஆமெனில் எப்பொழுது? (உ) இல்லையெனில் ஏன்? (ஊ) அவ்வாறு மீண்டும் வேலைக்குச் சேர்த்துக்கொள்ளப்பட்ட ஊழியர்களில் எத்தனை பேருக்கு அவர்களது சம்பள நிலுவைகள் வழங்கப்பட்டன? (எ) ஏனையவர்களுக்கும் அவர்களது சம்பள நிலுவைகள் வழங்கப் படுமா? (ஏ) ஆமெனில் எப்பொழுது? (ஐ) இல்லையெனில் ஏன்?

asked the Deputy Minister of State Plantations : (a) Will he state the number of employees of all categories in departments and corporations under his Ministry who were considered to have vacated their posts in July 1980? (b) Of these employees how many have been taken back for work? (c) Does he propose to take back the remaining employees? (d) If so, when? (e) If not, why? (f) How many such employees so taken back for work have been paid their arrears of salary? (g) Will the others be paid their arrears of salary? (h) If so, when? (i) If not, why?

එම්. වින්සන්ට් පෙරේරා මහතා

(திரு. எம். வின்சன்ட் பெரேரா)

(Mr. M. Vincent Perera)

I answer on behalf of the Deputy Minister of State Plantations.

(a) None. (b), (c), (d), (e), (f), (g), (h) and (i) Do not arise.

ඇන්තිලිගොඩ මහා විද්‍යාලය : සංගීත සහ නූටුම්  
ගුරුවරු

எத்திலிகொட மகாவித்தியாலய : சங்கீத, நடன ஆசிரியர்

ETHTHILIGODA MAHA VIDYALAYA : TEACHER IN MUSIC AND DANCING

83/83

9. ආචාර්ය ඩබ්ලිව්. දහනායක මහතා

(கலாநிதி டபிள்யூ. தஹநாயக்க)

(Dr. W. Dahanayake)

යෞවන කටයුතු හා රුකිරක්ෂා ඇමතිතුමා සහ අධ්‍යාපන ඇමතිතුමාගෙන් ඇසූ ප්‍රශ්නය : (අ) ශා/ඇන්තිලිගොඩ මහා විද්‍යාලයට සංගීත සහ නූටුම් ගුරු වරයෙකු අවශ්‍ය බව එතුමා දන්නවාද? (ආ) මෙම පාසලේ සිටි සංගීත සහ නූටුම් ගුරුවරයා 1982 දී ඉවත්ව ගිය පසු මෙම පාසලේ මෙම විෂයය අතපසු කර ඇති බව එතුමා දන්නවාද? (ඉ) මෙම පාසලට සංගීත සහ නූටුම් ගුරුවරයෙකු එතුමා වහාම ලබාදෙන්නේද? (ඊ) නො එසේ නම්, ඒ මන්ද?

இளைஞர் அலுவல்கள், தொழில்வாய்ப்பு அமைச்சரும் கல்வி அமைச்சரும் ஆனவரைக் கேட்ட வினா : (அ) சங்கீத நடன ஆசிரியர் ஒருவர் கா/எத்திலிகொட மகாவித்தியாலயத்துக்குத் தேவை என்பதை அவர் அறிவாரா? (ஆ) இந்தப்பாடசாலையிலிருந்த சங்கீத நடன ஆசிரியர் 1982 இல் போய்விட்டார் என்பதையும் அதன்பின்னர் இந்தப் பாடங்கள் அங்கே உதாசினம் செய்யப்படுகின்றன என்பதையும் அவர் அறிவாரா? (இ) இந்தப் பாடசாலைக்குச் சங்கீத நடன ஆசிரியர் ஒருவரை அவர் உடனே அளிப்பாரா? (ஈ) இல்லையெல் ஏன்; asked the Minister of Youth Affairs and Minister of Education : (a) Is he aware that G/Eththiligoda Maha Vidyalaya needs a teacher for Music and Dancing? (b) Is he aware that the Music and Dancing teacher at this school left in 1982 and thereafter this subject has been neglected in this school? (c) Will he give this school a Music and Dancing teacher at once? (d) If not, why?

රනිල් වික්‍රමසිංහ මහතා (යෞවන කටයුතු හා රුකිරක්ෂා ඇමතිතුමා සහ අධ්‍යාපන ඇමතිතුමා)

(திரு. ரனில் விக்கரமசிங்ஹ—இளைஞர் அலுவல்கள், தொழில்வாய்ப்பு அமைச்சரும் கல்வி அமைச்சரும்)

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

(අ) ඔව්. (ආ) එම විෂයය උනන්වමින් සිටි ගුරුවරයා 1982 පෙබරවාරි මාසයේ දී ඉල්ලා අස් වී ඇත. ප්‍රදේශයේ අවශ්‍යතාවයක් සඳහා ප්‍රමාණවත් සංගීත ගුරුවරු නො සිටි බැවින් එම විදුහලට සංගීත ගුරුවරයකු පත් කිරීමට නොහැකි වූ බව ශාලීල ප්‍රදේශීය අධ්‍යාපන අධ්‍යක්ෂ වරයා වාර්තා කර ඇත. (ඉ) හැකි ඉක්මනින් ලබා දෙන ලෙසට ශාලීල ප්‍රදේශීය අධ්‍යාපන අධ්‍යක්ෂවරයා සහ අධ්‍යාපන සේවා කමිටුව වෙත දන්වා යවා ඇත. (ඊ) ජන නොනොහි.

ආචාර්ය ඩබ්ලිව්. දහනායක මහතා

(கலாநிதி டபிள்யூ. தஹநாயக்க)

(Dr. W. Dahanayake)

What is the exact significance of the words "හැකි ඉක්මනින්"?

**சுனில் வினாக்கள் கேள்வி**

(திரு. ரணில் விக்ரமசிங்ஹ)

(Mr. Ranil Wickremasinghe)

As early as possible. You will have either to locate some teachers in excess in a district or ask the Education Services Committee to take appropriate steps.

**புலாபீச வந்திரி. துணைக்கமிஷனர்**

(கலாநிதி டபிள்யூ. தஹநாயக்க)

(Dr. W. Dahanayake)

Is it not correct for me to ask the Hon. Minister? I need not ask the Education Services Committee. I can ask the Hon. Minister.

**சுனில் வினாக்கள் கேள்வி**

(திரு. ரணில் விக்ரமசிங்ஹ)

(Mr. Ranil Wickremasinghe)

The transfer of teachers outside the district is in the hands of the Education Services Committee. If they are within the district, Mr. Speaker, the Director can take appropriate steps; otherwise, the Cabinet has given that power to the Education Services Committee. So we have to request the Education Services Committee to make the necessary transfers, or, if not, recruit such teachers. Those are not powers given to the Minister.

**புலாபீச வந்திரி. துணைக்கமிஷனர்**

(கலாநிதி டபிள்யூ. தஹநாயக்க)

(Dr. W. Dahanayake)

Is the Hon. Minister aware that I am not satisfied with that answer, which is a very evasive answer?

**சுனில் வினாக்கள் கேள்வி**

(திரு. ரணில் விக்ரமசிங்ஹ)

(Mr. Ranil Wickremasinghe)

The Hon. Member is entitled to two supplementary questions, and I have answered the two questions.—(Interruption).

**புலாபீச வந்திரி. துணைக்கமிஷனர்**

(கலாநிதி டபிள்யூ. தஹநாயக்க)

(Dr. W. Dahanayake)

May I have your permission to ask the fourth question?

**கமிஷனரி**

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Not more than three.

**சுனில் வினாக்கள் கேள்வி**

(திரு. ரணில் விக்ரமசிங்ஹ)

(Mr. Ranil Wickremasinghe)

There is nothing that I can do about the subjective views of the hon. Member. I have answered his question truthfully in accordance with the procedures

in this House, and that is all; I cannot go beyond that. I am not responsible. I am not a person who has ever tried to cover up anything or ever had other Members of the House saving me from a bad situation.

**புலாபீச வந்திரி. துணைக்கமிஷனர்**

(கலாநிதி டபிள்யூ. தஹநாயக்க)

(Dr. W. Dahanayake)

The Hon. Minister seems to be guilty of maladministration.—(Interruption).

**சுனில் வினாக்கள் கேள்வி**

(திரு. ரணில் விக்ரமசிங்ஹ)

(Mr. Ranil Wickremasinghe)

I am never guilty of murder—not even of a former Prime Minister.

**புலாபீச வந்திரி. துணைக்கமிஷனர்**

(கலாநிதி டபிள்யூ. தஹநாயக்க)

(Dr. W. Dahanayake)

What is the insinuation you are making? A wild insinuation!

**கமிஷனரி**

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Order, please!

**புலாபீச வந்திரி. துணைக்கமிஷனர்**

(கலாநிதி டபிள்யூ. தஹநாயக்க)

(Dr. W. Dahanayake)

I do not know whether it is worthy of the Minister to talk in that strain. He has forgotten himself for the time being. I forgive him because he is an ignorant man.

**கமிஷனரி**

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Order, please!

**சுனில் வினாக்கள் கேள்வி**

(திரு. ரணில் விக்ரமசிங்ஹ)

(Mr. Ranil Wickremasinghe)

I have come to this House without the blood of anyone on my hands.

**கமிஷனரி**

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

The hon. Member is senior enough in this House to know that he is entitled to ask only three questions and not comment on them.

**புலாபீச வந்திரி. துணைக்கமிஷனர்**

(கலாநிதி டபிள்யூ. தஹநாயக்க)

(Dr. W. Dahanayake)

Do you want me to praise him?



[ආචාර්ය ඩබ්ලිව්. දහනායක මහතා]

Prime Minister? (c) Will he take into account for purposes of pension the seven years of temporary service, during which time he had uninterrupted service of 5 1/2 days per week? (d) If not, why? (e) Is he aware that provident fund contributions were deducted on his salary during 8 years and 5 months of permanent service? (f) Is he aware that these P.F. contributions have not been forwarded by the Galle office to the head office and that therefore, he has not been paid any provident fund dues yet? (g) Will he order a full inquiry into this matter and grant Mr. Silva full redress without delay? (h) If not, why?

**කමානායකතුමා**

(*ආපාතායකර් අචාර්කර්*)  
(Mr. Speaker)

Same Minister. Let there be no crossing of swords this time. If it is a long Answer, you can table it.

**රනිල් වික්‍රමසිංහ මහතා**

(*තිරු. රනිල් වික්‍රමසිංහ*)  
(Mr. Ranil Wickremasinghe)

No, Sir. I can read it to him.

(a) His appointment was with effect from 01.01.1971 on a daily-paid basis. (b) He is entitled to the provident fund benefits. (c) No. (d) Since he has not received a pensionable appointment. (e) Contributions to the provident fund have been recovered with effect from 01.01.1971. (f) No. The application for refund of provident fund contributions has been forwarded to the Office of the Public Service Provident Fund on 05.03.1981. (g) and (h) Do not arise.

**ආචාර්ය ඩබ්ලිව්. දහනායක මහතා**

(*කලාතිති උච්ච්ඡු. තලුතායකක*)  
(Dr. W. Dahanayake)

I wish to ask a supplementary question. Will the Minister be so good as to order a full inquiry into the grievances of this gentleman, Mr. T. M. Silva of Akurala, Kahawe?

**රනිල් වික්‍රමසිංහ මහතා**

(*තිරු. රනිල් වික්‍රමසිංහ*)  
(Mr. Ranil Wickremasinghe)

If Mr. T. M. Silva of Akurala, Kahawe, writes to me and asks for an inquiry, I will order such inquiry.

**ආචාර්ය ඩබ්ලිව්. දහනායක මහතා**

(*කලාතිති උච්ච්ඡු. තලුතායකක*)  
(Dr. W. Dahanayake)

Thank you very much. He has written several times to you, and I will ask him to write again.

**කමානායකතුමා**

(*ආපාතායකර් අචාර්කර්*)  
(Mr. Speaker)

Order, please!

**රනිල් වික්‍රමසිංහ මහතා**

(*තිරු. රනිල් වික්‍රමසිංහ*)  
(Mr. Ranil Wickremasinghe)

No, Mr. Speaker. I have to contest that statement by the hon. Member.

**කමානායකතුමා**

(*ආපාතායකර් අචාර්කර්*)  
(Mr. Speaker)

You need not take that into consideration.

**රනිල් වික්‍රමසිංහ මහතා**

(*තිරු. රනිල් වික්‍රමසිංහ*)  
(Mr. Ranil Wickremasinghe)

All letters that have been written by Mr. Silva have been answered, and there is also an answer here. The hon. Member does not challenge the validity of that answer. He only wants another inquiry. If he wants that inquiry I am willing to do it. He must decide whether he is playing on this side of the House or on that side of the House.

**ආචාර්ය ඩබ්ලිව්. දහනායක මහතා**

(*කලාතිති උච්ච්ඡු. තලුතායකක*)  
(Dr. W. Dahanayake)

That is also an insinuation, Sir.

**රනිල් වික්‍රමසිංහ මහතා**

(*තිරු. රනිල් වික්‍රමසිංහ*)  
(Mr. Ranil Wickremasinghe)

It is not an insinuation.

**කමානායකතුමා**

(*ආපාතායකර් අචාර්කර්*)  
(Mr. Speaker)

Order, please! I think I must caution the hon. Member for Galle. You can ask only questions and supplementary questions.

Question No. 11.

**රනිල් වික්‍රමසිංහ මහතා**

(*තිරු. රනිල් වික්‍රමසිංහ*)  
(Mr. Ranil Wickremasinghe)

We need some more time to answer that Question, Mr. Speaker, because the final selections of English teachers have not been made.

**ආචාර්ය ඩබ්ලිව්. දහනායක මහතා**

(*කලාතිති උච්ච්ඡු. තලුතායකක*)  
(Dr. W. Dahanayake)

Is he aware that—

**කමානායකතුමා**

(*ආපාතායකර් අචාර්කර්*)  
(Mr. Speaker)

He has not answered that Question. He wants time.

ආචාර්ය ඩබ්ලිව්. දහනායක මහතා,

(කලාතිථි ධර්මය, තණතොට)

(Dr. W. Dahanayake)

Is he aware that my Question is over an year old. ?

කථානායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

He might take another year over it.

රනිල් වික්‍රමසිංහ මහතා

(திரு. ரனில் விக்கிரமசிங்ஹ)

(Mr. Ranil Wickremasinghe)

Do you want me to answer that, Mr. Speaker ? Because I think I may have to give some other answer to the hon. Member. Out of respect for you I will not.

කථානායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Not necessary.

### පනත් කෙටුම්පත් පිළිගැනීම

சமர்ப்பிக்கப்பட்ட சட்டமூலங்கள்

#### BILLS PRESENTED

සමාජවාදී ආණ්ඩුක්‍රම ව්‍යවස්ථා සංශෝධනය පනත් කෙටුම්පත

அரசியலமைப்புக்கான ஐந்தாவது திருத்தச் சட்டமூலம்

#### FIFTH AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION

"To amend the Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka."

මෙහි වැදගත් ලේඛන දහනායක, පළාත් පාලන, නිවස හා ඉදිකිරීම් ඇති සහ මහජන අභියෝජන, ප්‍රවේශය මත බසඹවේ.

பிரதம அமைச்சரும், உள்ளூராட்சி, விடமைப்பு அமைச்சரும் நிர்மாண அமைச்சரும், பெருநகிகள் அமைச்சருமான திரு. ஆர். பிரமதாச அவர்களால் சமர்ப்பிக்கப்பட்டது.

Presented by Mr. R. Premadasa, Prime Minister, Minister of Local Government, Housing and Primes Construction and Minister of Highways.

මුදල් (සංශෝධන) පනත් කෙටුම්පත

நிதி (திருத்தம்) சட்டமூலம்

#### FINANCE (AMENDMENT) BILL

"1971 අංක 38 දරන මුදල් පනත සංශෝධනය කිරීම සඳහා වූ පනත් කෙටුම්පත."

මෙහි වැදගත් ලේඛන මුදල් හා ක්‍රම සම්බන්ධ ඇති අය, ජේ. ජී. ද බේලි මහතා බසඹවේ.

1983 ජූනි 8 වැනි අදාහරාදා දෙවන වර කිසිදු සභාවක, එම මුදල් කළ සභාවක නිකුත් කරන ලදී.

நிதி, அமைப்புத்திட்ட அமைச்சர் திரு. ஆர். ஜே. ஜி. தேவல் அவர்களால் சமர்ப்பிக்கப்பட்டது. 1983 மார்ச் 8, சென்லாய்க்கிராம இசண்டாம் மூன்றாவது மதிப்பீடு செய்ய வேண்டியென்றும் அச்சிட்டப்பட வேண்டியென்றும் சட்டமன்றம் கட்டளையிடப்பட்டது.

Presented by R. J. G. de Mel, Minister of Finance and Planning; to be read a Second time upon Tuesday 8th March, 1983, and to be printed.

### පාර්ලිමේන්තුවේ කටයුතු

பாராளுமன்ற அலுவல்

#### BUSINESS OF THE PARLIAMENT

එම්. චන්දනම් පෙරේරා මහතා

(திரு. எம். சின்சந்தர் பெரேரா)

(Mr. M. Vincent Perera)

I move,

"(a) That the Second Reading of the "සමාජවාදී ආණ්ඩුක්‍රම ව්‍යවස්ථා සංශෝධන පනත් කෙටුම්පත" (Fifth Amendment to the Constitution Bill) presented this day be proceeded with this day ;

(b) That immediately after the Bill to which this Order applies has been read a Second time, it shall be considered in Committee of the whole Parliament ;

(c) That the proceedings on this Bill to which this Order applies shall be exempted from the provisions of Standing Order No. 7."

ප්‍රශ්නය සමාන මත කරන ලදී.

வினா எடுத்தியம்பப்பெற்றது.

Question proposed.

ලක්ෂ්මන් ජයකොඩි මහතා (අත්නගල්ල)

(திரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயக்கொடி—அத்தனாகல்ல)

(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody—Attanagalla)

Mr. Speaker, I have certain comments to make. I appreciate that this Bill has to go through all its stages today, but at what time should we submit our amendments? We have just seen the Bill, and the requirements are that all amendments should be in writing. We should have some time, so would you let us know at what time the amendments can be sent in.

කථානායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

You send in the amendments at any time before the Committee Stage.

ලක්ෂ්මන් ජයකොඩි මහතා

(திரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயக்கொடி)

(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

Even at the Committee Stage ?

කථානායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

No, before the Committee Stage.

ප්‍රශ්නය විමසන ලදීත්, සහ සමඟ බසඹවේ.

வினா விடுக்கப்பட்டு ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளப்பட்டது.

Question put, and agreed to.

එම්. චන්දනම් පෙරේරා මහතා

(திரு. எம். சின்சந்தர் பெரேரா)

(Mr. M. Vincent Perera)

I move,

"That the proceedings on items 1 to 6 of Public Business appearing on the Paper be exempted at this day's Sittings from the provisions of Standing order No. 7."

ප්‍රශ්නය සමාන මත කරන ලදී.

வினா எடுத்தியம்பப்பெற்றது.

Question proposed.

**சரன் மூன்றெழுபதாவது மொழி (கலவான)**

(திரு. சரத் முத்தெய்வகம—கலவான)

(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama—Kalawana)

Mr. Speaker, the first item on the Agenda for today is the Second Reading of the Payment of Gratuity Bill. I quite appreciate the desire of the Hon. Minister to get it taken up as soon as possible because it has been delayed long enough. But, Mr. Speaker, this Bill has been on the Order Paper on a number of previous occasions and consistently put off. We have today been given a set of amendments to the Bill. I have not been able to go through them in detail yet, but they have to be considered carefully. I appeal to the Hon. Minister to give us time to go through them because I saw the amendments only this morning. I do not want to inconvenience the Hon. Minister in any way but would be grateful if the Hon. Minister would allow us to study the amendments vis-a-vis the Bill and take it up tomorrow. It is a very important Bill and it would be better to take it up tomorrow than rush it through today. The history of this Bill is that it has always come on the Order Paper and has always been sent down. The amendments given to us were for amendments to Section after Section. I would therefore earnestly request the Hon. Minister to take this Bill up tomorrow.

**சி. பி. சே. சேனேவிரத்ன மொழி (கல்கெட்டி ஏழினியுமை)**

(திரு. சி. பி. சே. செனேவிரத்ன—தொழில் அமைச்சர்)

(Mr. C. P. J. Seneviratne—Minister of Labour)

I have no objection to that.

முன்னம் விசேஷம் செய்தி, வலியுறுத்தி விட்டேன்.

வினா விடுக்கப்பட்டு ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளப்பட்டது.

Question put, and agreed to.

**பொதுமக்கள் மன்றங்கள் பற்றிய கையேடு**

**தனியங்கத்தினர் சட்டமூலங்கள்**

**PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS**

**சி டி. டி. பி. சே. செனேவிரத்ன மொழி (கல்கெட்டி ஏழினியுமை)**

**சனம் கையேடு**

**இலங்கை உயிரினவியல் நிறுவகம் (கூட்டிணைத்தல்) சட்டமூலம்**  
**INSTITUTE OF BIOLOGY, SRI LANKA**  
**(INCORPORATION) BILL**

**யாழ்ப்பாணம் மாவட்டம் (கூட்டிணைத்தல்) சட்டமூலம்**

(திரு. ஜயவிக்ரம பெரேரா—குருகுலம் மாவட்ட அமைச்சர்)

(Mr. Jayawickrema Perera—District Minister, Kurunegala)

“சி டி. டி. பி. சே. செனேவிரத்ன மொழி (கல்கெட்டி ஏழினியுமை) பற்றி கேள்வி கேட்டேன். அதற்கு பதிலளித்துக் கொடுக்கக் கொடுத்தேன். அதற்கு பதிலளித்துக் கொடுத்தேன்.”

**செல்வன் மொழி (செலவன் மொழி) (கல்கெட்டி ஏழினியுமை)**

(திரு. செல்வன் மொழி—தேர்தல் அமைச்சர்)

(Mr. Shelton Ranaraja—Deputy Minister of Justice)

செல்வன் மொழி மொழி.

அனுமதித்தார்.

seconded.

முன்னம் விசேஷம் செய்தி, வலியுறுத்தி விட்டேன்.

சனம் கையேடு சி டி. டி. பி. சே. செனேவிரத்ன மொழி (கல்கெட்டி ஏழினியுமை) பற்றி கேள்வி கேட்டேன். அதற்கு பதிலளித்துக் கொடுத்தேன். அதற்கு பதிலளித்துக் கொடுத்தேன்.”

**சனம் கையேடு மொழி 47(5) மொழி (கல்கெட்டி ஏழினியுமை) பற்றி கேள்வி கேட்டேன். அதற்கு பதிலளித்துக் கொடுத்தேன். அதற்கு பதிலளித்துக் கொடுத்தேன்.”**

வினா விடுக்கப்பட்டு ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளப்பட்டது.

இதன்படி, சட்டமூலம் முதன்முறை மதிப்பிடப்பட்டு அச்சிடப்படக் கூட்டிணைக்கப்பட்டது.

சட்டமூலம், நிலைக்கட்டளை இல. 47(5) இன்படி கைத்தொழில், விஞ்ஞான அலுவலர்கள் அமைச்சருக்கு அறிக்கை செய்யப்படுதற்காகச் சாட்டப்பட்டது.

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill accordingly read the First time, and ordered to be printed.

The Bill stood referred, under Standing Order No. 47 (5), to the Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs.

**கையேடு மொழி 47(5) மொழி (கல்கெட்டி ஏழினியுமை) பற்றி கேள்வி கேட்டேன்.**

**சனம் கையேடு**

**கனாடி ஆபத்தில் உதவுவோர் சங்கம் (கூட்டிணைத்தல்)**

**சட்டமூலம்**

**KANDY FRIEND-IN-NEED SOCIETY (INCORPORATION) BILL**

**செல்வன் மொழி**

(திரு. செல்வன் மொழி)

(Mr. Shelton Ranaraja)

I move,

“That leave be granted to introduce a Bill to incorporate the Kandy Friend-in-need Society.”

**கையேடு மொழி (கல்கெட்டி ஏழினியுமை) பற்றி கேள்வி கேட்டேன்.**

(திரு. அலிக் அலுவிறா—பெருந்தோட்டத் தொழில் பிரதி அமைச்சர்)

(Mr. Alick Aluvihare—Deputy Minister of Plantation Industries)

கையேடு மொழி மொழி.

அனுமதித்தார்.

seconded.

முன்னம் விசேஷம் செய்தி, வலியுறுத்தி விட்டேன்.

சனம் கையேடு சி டி. டி. பி. சே. செனேவிரத்ன மொழி (கல்கெட்டி ஏழினியுமை) பற்றி கேள்வி கேட்டேன். அதற்கு பதிலளித்துக் கொடுத்தேன். அதற்கு பதிலளித்துக் கொடுத்தேன்.”

**சனம் கையேடு மொழி 47(5) மொழி (கல்கெட்டி ஏழினியுமை) பற்றி கேள்வி கேட்டேன். அதற்கு பதிலளித்துக் கொடுத்தேன். அதற்கு பதிலளித்துக் கொடுத்தேன்.”**

வினா விடுக்கப்பட்டு ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளப்பட்டது.

இதன்படி, சட்டமூலம் முதன்முறை மதிப்பிடப்பட்டு அச்சிடப்படக் கூட்டிணைக்கப்பட்டது.

சட்டமூலம், நிலைக்கட்டளை இல. 47(5) இன்படி சமூக சேவைகள் அமைச்சருக்கு அறிக்கை செய்யப்படுதற்காகச் சாட்டப்பட்டது.

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill accordingly read the First time, and ordered to be printed.

The Bill stood referred, under Standing Order No. 47 (5), to the Minister of Social Services for report.



පස් වන ආණ්ඩුක්‍රම ව්‍යවස්ථා සංශෝධනය  
පනත් කෙටුම්පත  
அரசியலமைப்புக்கான ஐந்தாவது திருத்தச் சட்டமூலம்  
FIFTH AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION  
BILL

දෙවනවර කියවීමේ නියෝගය කියවන ලදී.

இரண்டாம் மதிப்பிற்கான கட்டளை வாசிக்கப்பட்டது.  
Order for Second Reading read.

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

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

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

I move,

“That the Bill be now read a Second time.”

I believe that all hon. Members have a copy of the amending Bill before them. This Bill amends the Constitution as follows :

“Article 161 of the Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka is hereby amended in sub-paragraph (iii) of paragraph ( ) of that Article as follows :—

- (a) by the substitution, for the words “in respect of which the vacancy occurred ;”, of the words “in respect of which the vacancy occurred :” ; and
- (b) by the addition, at the end of that sub-paragraph, of the following proviso :—

“Provided that where the Secretary of such political party fails to nominate a member of such political party to fill such vacancy under the preceding provisions of this sub-paragraph within thirty days of his being required, to do so or where the Secretary of a political party had been required, before the coming into force of this proviso, to nominate a member of such political party to fill any such vacancy under such provisions and such Secretary fails, within thirty days of the coming into force of this proviso, to nominate a member of such political party to fill such vacancy then, the Commissioner of Elections shall forthwith so inform the President, who shall, within thirty days of the receipt by him of such information, by Notice published in the *Gazette*, order the Commissioner of Elections to hold an election for the electoral district in respect of which such vacancy has occurred. The Commissioner of Elections shall thereupon hold an election, in accordance with Part I and Parts IV to VI (both inclusive) of the Ceylon (Parliamentary Elections) Order in Council, 1946, for such electoral district as existed immediately preceding the Constitution and on the basis of such part of the register, prepare under the Registration of Electors Act, No. 44 of 1980, and in operation, as corresponds to such electoral district. The aforesaid parts of the Ceylon (Parliamentary Elections) Order in Council, 1946, shall, for the purposes of such election and notwithstanding the repeal of such Order in Council, be deemed to be in force and shall, *mutatis mutandis*, and except as expressly provided in the Constitution, apply to such election.

The law applicable to election petitions in relation to such electoral district shall be the aforesaid parts of such Order in Council as applied aforesaid and in the event of such election being declared void and no other person is determined to have been duly returned or elected, the election to fill such vacancy shall be held in accordance with the provisions of this proviso ;”.

The legal effect of this amendment to the Constitution may be summarised as follows : Firstly, it places a time limit of one month within which a Secretary of a political party should nominate a member to fill a vacancy that occurs in the First Parliament. This period is calculated from the date on which the Commissioner of Elections requires such Secretary to nominate a member. However, if the Commissioner of Elections has prior to the commencement of the amendment to the Constitution already required a Secretary to nominate a Member to fill a vacancy, then such Secretary may make nomination within one month of the commencement of this amendment.

Secondly, the failure on the part of the Secretary to make a nomination within this period of time would mean that a by-election has to be held to fill such vacancy.

Thirdly, such by-election will be held in accordance with the Parliamentary Elections Order in Council, which was the enactment under which the Members of the first Parliament were elected. This is so because proportional representation, as envisaged in the Constitution, cannot be applied to by-elections for particular electorates.

Fourthly, register of voters that would apply would be the appropriate part of the latest register in operation under the Registration of Electors Act, No. 44 of 1980.

There is also provision for election petitions which may be lodged against the by-elections so held. These would be according to the provisions of the Parliamentary Elections Order in Council, and if a member so elected is unseated and no other candidate is held to have won the by-election, another by-election would be held to fill that vacancy.

Mr. Speaker, I think it is perfectly clear to all hon. Members as to why this Amendment is necessary. At present there is no provision to deal with a situation where a party secretary refuses or fails to nominate a Member to fill a vacancy. Accordingly, if this were to happen the electorate concerned will be left unrepresented for long periods. We are aware of this happening in the past. We had it once in relation to Attanagalla and also to the Vaddukkoddai electorate. This could well happen in the future if any political party wishes to boycott Parliament. This amendment to the Constitution will rectify that omission.

[சுட்டி, ஸ்பீச்சு மொழி]

Mr. Speaker, this amending Bill was referred to the Supreme Court under Article 122 (1) (d) of the Constitution. I would like to deal with the issues taken up before the Supreme Court because they contain certain misconceptions which were disposed of by the learned judges of the Supreme Court. I think this will help this House also today so that we may be able to save the time and energies of some hon. Members of the Opposition for they might themselves repeat these arguments here. For their benefit, may I submit to this House the determination of the Supreme Court.

The issues were raised before a bench of seven judges of the Supreme Court, who were: Mr. Justice D. Wimalaratne, Mr. Justice B. S. C. Ratwatte, Mr. Justice J. R. Victor Perera, Mr. Justice P. Collin Thome, Mr. Justice J. F. A. Sosa, Mr. Justice K. A. P. Ranasinghe and Mr. Justice M. M. Abdul Cader. The Bill was challenged before the Supreme Court mainly on the ground that it was inconsistent with the provisions of Article 3 of the Constitution. Article 3 proclaims that in the Republic of Sri Lanka sovereignty is in the people and is inalienable. Sovereignty includes the power of government, fundamental rights and the franchise.

It was contended before the Supreme Court that the Amendment will create two methods for the filling of Parliamentary vacancies. That is (a) nomination by the secretary of a political party, and (b) in the absence of such nomination, through election by the people of the electorate in which the vacancy has occurred. It was argued that this would create an inequality before the law in respect of the people of different constituencies in which vacancies have occurred. It was argued that this would violate the principle of equality in the matter of voting at elections.

The Supreme Court has pointed out that the Constitution already recognises and provides for the two methods of filling Parliamentary vacancies. Where any vacancy has occurred in the manner stipulated in Article 161 (b) of the Constitution such vacancy is filled by an election to that electoral district. On the other hand, where any vacancies have occurred in the manner stipulated in Article 161 (d) (1) and (2) such vacancies are filled by nomination at the instance of the secretary of a political party. The Supreme Court has held that the Amendment only extends the principle of election and is not violative of the principles of equality in the matter of voting at elections.

It had also been contended in Court that the Amendment had the effect of creating an alienation of the franchise which is part of the people's sovereignty because it vests in an authority other than the people,

namely, the secretary of a political party, the discretion to decide whether a Parliamentary vacancy ought to be filled by nomination or by election. The Supreme Court has answered this contention by pointing out that there is no creation of an alienation of the franchise because the Constitution already recognizes and provides for the filling of Parliamentary vacancies by a process other than elections. The Supreme Court has pointed out that the Amendment seeks to enlarge the principle of election for filling Parliamentary vacancies where earlier such vacancies were filled by nominations only. The sovereignty of the people is, therefore, not affected by this Amendment.

The Supreme Court has held that since the Bill is for the Amendment of the Constitution it should be passed by a special majority of not less than two-thirds of the whole number of Members of Parliament.

I commend this Bill to all Members of Parliament and request that it be passed with the requisite two-thirds majority.

Thank You.

சுவாமிநாதன் கருணாநிதி

வினா எடுத்தியம்பப்பெற்றது.

Question proposed.

பீ. அமிர்தலிங்கம் (விருட்டி பார்லிமென்ட் தாயகம்)

(திரு. ஏ. அமிர்தலிங்கம்—எதிர்க்கட்சி முகத்தவர்)

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

The Hon. Prime Minister has introduced this Amendment with an unusually short speech. We are well aware of the background to this Amendment. One has to take into consideration not only what the Amendment purports to achieve but also the background in which this Amendment is introduced to this House.

As the Tamil United Liberation Front has systematically done from the year 1972, we do not intend participating in the Debate or in the voting on this Amendment either. I wish to make just a few observations by way of clarifying the position of my Party with regard to this Amendment. It is very unfortunate, Mr. Speaker, that Constitutional Amendments have become far too common and far too frequent to be taken serious note of by anybody. In all countries with written constitutions there is generally a special sanctity which is supposed to be attached to the constitutions, and amendments are taken up with a great deal of care and hesitation. Unfortunately, this House has seen a number of amendments. Though this is called the Fifth Amendment, it is in fact the sixth one that this House has seen, for one proved to be abortive. —(Interruption) I do not know what he is saying.

(*Interruption*) Forty-five times, and how many years ? (*Interruption.*) Forty-five times in thirty-three years ? This Constitution has been amended—(*Interruption*) Yes, in the last three years, how many Amendments has this House seen ? You may make or unmake or amend or destroy the Constitution altogether. We are not concerned, but I just wanted to point out that this in fact is the sixth.

**ஹரின்ட்ர கோர்யா மஹா (நியோகிய டீயர் பரிபாலன ஊழியர்)**

(திரு. ஹரீந்திர கோறயா—பொது நிர்வாகப் பிரதி அமைச்சர்)

(Mr. Harindra Corea—Deputy Minister of Public Administration)

The Indian Constitution was amended 45 times in 33 years.

**பி. அமிர்தலிங்கம்**

(திரு. ஏ. அமிர்தலிங்கம்)

Mr. A. Amirthalingam

Here, one proved abortive and five deliveries were made. (*Interruption*) I do not know why they should get so excited.

**ஹரின்ட்ர கோர்யா மஹா**

(திரு. ஹரீந்திர கோறயா)

(Mr. Harindra Corea)

You are getting excited.

**பி. அமிர்தலிங்கம்**

(திரு. ஏ. அமிர்தலிங்கம்)

(Mr. A. Amirthalingam)

That is an observation that you are making, and you are entitled to make it. (*Interruption.*) Hon. Members on that side, surely, will get their chance of speaking. They can put forward their arguments without shouting from there and without fear of being replied to because we will not reply to them. So, they can put forward their case without trying to shout and interrupt.

**ஹரின்ட்ர கோர்யா மஹா**

(திரு. ஹரீந்திர கோறயா)

(Mr. Harindra Corea)

Sir, I did not shout. I just intervened to remind the hon. Leader of the Opposition of it.

**பி. அமிர்தலிங்கம்**

(திரு. ஏ. அமிர்தலிங்கம்)

(Mr. A. Amirthalingam)

They are not responsible for deliveries. Whatever that may be, Mr. Speaker—

**கலாநாயகர்**

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Let us forget about midwifery here.

**பி. அமிர்தலிங்கம்**

(திரு. ஏ. அமிர்தலிங்கம்)

(Mr. A. Amirthalingam)

We are now debating this Amendment in a depleted House, in a House which does not have the full quota of Members, of 168 Members. I think we are short of 19.

**ஹரின்ட்ர கோர்யா மஹா**

(திரு. ஹரீந்திர கோறயா)

(Mr. Harindra Corea)

We are short of 17.

**பி. அமிர்தலிங்கம்**

(திரு. ஏ. அமிர்தலிங்கம்)

(Mr. A. Amirthalingam)

Not 17, it is more than that. We are short of 19 Members of the full quota.—(*Interruption.*) Sir, I know that the hon. Member for Ratnapura is very happy at one Member being shot. He nodded to indicate 'yes' when I said that.

**கலாநாயகர்**

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Shall we get back to the Constitution ?

**பி. அமிர்தலிங்கம்**

(திரு. ஏ. அமிர்தலிங்கம்)

(Mr. A. Amirthalingam)

Anyhow, that is why I said that we should consider the background in which this Amendment is moved. If this Amendment had been moved before the Referendum, before the Presidential Election, one could have endorsed the lofty sentiments, the lofty Principles that the Hon. Prime Minister spoke of in introducing this Amendment. But, I will be pardoned, if I say that this Amendment is a face-saving device of the Government because the Government has suffered a severe blow to its image of a democratic government by their exercise of the Referendum to put off the Election by six years.

In order to save face they now come forward with this Amendment and say, "We are willing to have by-elections in those electorates which did not vote for us in the Referendum". But curiously, Sir, they are not prepared even to go thus far. If at least the Amendment provides for elections to be held in those electorates where the voters rejected the Government's proposal and indicated that they have no confidence in the Government Party Members who represented them, one can say that there is a principle behind this Amendment.

There is a three-point formula which is said to have been applied in the selection of Members who are called upon to vacate their Seats, to resign their

[**பீ. லக்ஷ்மணசாமி அண்ணா**]

Seats – only a simple formula to be applied. In those Electorates where the voters have indicated that they did not accept the Government's proposal to extend the life of Parliament by six years, it is nothing but proper that the democratic wish of those voters should be respected and they should be given a chance of electing their representatives. But the Government has not done that. As one can see, they have fixed on Electorates by a very devious method. Even this limited democracy does not seem to apply to the Tamil-speaking voters of the Northern and Eastern Provinces.

I will give you, Mr. Speaker, one case in point, the case of the Batticaloa Electorate. It may be said that it is a two-Member, a multi-Member Seat. Whatever it may be, on all three criteria, the Government has lost in the Batticaloa electorate. They not only stole one Seat from the TULF – one Seat was stolen from the TULF, I make bold to say – but are also seeking to cling on to it for the next six years by hook or by crook.

**பி. சிவசுப்பிரமணியம் அண்ணா**

(**திரு. எம். சிவசிதம்பரம்**)  
(Mr. M. Sivasithamparam)

One Amendment was for that purpose.

**பீ. லக்ஷ்மணசாமி அண்ணா**

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

And I should say, Sir, applying those three criteria on which they are supposed to have gone, the Batticaloa Seat has indicated in no uncertain terms that they want elections to be held. In the Referendum there were 31,000 votes against the Government as opposed to 21,000 in support of the Government's proposal. Even in the Presidential Election the Government did not get 50 per cent of the votes in the Batticaloa Electorate.

**ஹரீந்திர கோரியா அண்ணா**

(**திரு. ஹரீந்திர கோரியா**)  
(Mr. Harindra Corea)

There is no point of order, Mr. Speaker.

**பீ. லக்ஷ்மணசாமி அண்ணா**

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

Mr. Speaker, on a point of Order—

**ஹரீந்திர கோரியா அண்ணா**

(**திரு. ஹரீந்திர கோரியா**)  
(Mr. Harindra Corea)

I would like to ask, on a point of Order, what is the difference between making observations and participating in a Debate?

**சரத் முத்தேவகம் அண்ணா**

(**திரு. சரத் முத்தேவகம்**)  
(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

That is not a point of Order.

**பீ. லக்ஷ்மணசாமி அண்ணா**

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

(*Interruption.*) if you can read a dictionary, look up one.

**சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்**

(**திரு. எம். சிவசிதம்பரம்**)  
(Mr. Speaker)

Whether participating or doing anything else, the Hon. Leader of the Opposition is addressing the House on a Motion moved by the Hon. Prime Minister.

**பீ. லக்ஷ்மணசாமி அண்ணா**

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

I know that this matter strikes a tender spot of the Government and they are writhing when it is mentioned. Even on the third criterion you adopted, even if one more vote was obtained than at the 1977 elections, if one takes into account the votes both hon. Members got at the general Elections and if you divide it by two, you will find that they polled less than that at the Referendum. It is obvious that the Batticaloa seat is one where an election must be held. It is still not too late, and I hope that the legitimate desire of the Tamil-speaking voters, by their democratic indication of the need for an election, for an opportunity for them to exercise their vote, will be respected by the Government.

There are other electorates like Mutur; there the government lost at both the Presidential elections and the Referendum but they still want to cling on to that seat. That is yet another seat which they stole from us. We are not in any way casting aspersions on the fair Member who represents that seat – she has only stepped into her brother's shoes – but you will see that if one takes the votes cast at the Referendum into consideration, the Government cannot claim that they are entitled to both the seats in the Pottuvil electorate. They have polled 29,000 votes as against 20,000 votes that were cast against the government in this multi-member electorate. The voting pattern was almost the same as that of the 1977 elections where the Government won one seat and the TULF won the second. So that the Government should realize that one seat in Pottuvil should go to the TULF. That was the wish of the voters of that electorate.

The lofty principles of democracy are lost, are being flouted in order to, somehow or other, cling on to these two seats—the two seats they snatched from us by virtue of political turncoatism, if I may put it that way. This is a matter which I have to place before the Government. I appeal to the conscience of the Hon. Prime Minister and other Ministers and ask : is it fair for you to cling on to these two seats in the teeth of, in the face of the clearest indication by the voters that they want an opportunity to change their Members ?

I think this amendment would have been a decent amendment, would have been considered a proper amendment, an amendment which enhanced the reputation of this Government, if they had simply gone on the basis of giving an opportunity to the voters, where they have indicated a desire to have elections, where they have rejected the Government's proposal, to elect their members. This is pure expediency that is being practised, and principles are thrown to the winds. That is the reason why we feel that we cannot continue to participate in or vote on this amendment. With this sort of steam roller majority you just throw principles to the wind and do whatever is needed on a pragmatic basis.

As and when opportunity arises you move amendments. One amendment was to enable the hon. First Member for Batticaloa to cross over. The other amendment, which proved abortive, was to install two members in Kalawana. This is the sort of amendments to the Constitution that are being introduced. The hon. Deputy Minister of Public Administration spoke of amendments to the Constitution of India. Does he know what sort of amendments they were ? Were amendments made to enable one Member to be bought over ? Were amendments made to thwart the democratic elections in one electorate ?

**மன்றிவரவேண்டி**

(அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)

(A Member)

Yes, yes.

**பி. அமிர்தலிங்கம்**

(திரு. ஏ. அமிர்தலிங்கம்)

(Mr. A. Amirthalingam)

It is not this sort of amendment.

**ஹரிந்திர கோரியா**

(திரு. ஹரிந்திர கோரியா)

(Mr. Harindra Corea)

If the hon. Leader of the Opposition waits I will answer that question. Why do you want to run away ? Do not run away. I will answer it.

**பி. அமிர்தலிங்கம்**

(திரு. ஏ. அமிர்தலிங்கம்)

(Mr. A. Amirthalingam)

No, I will sit and listen to you. I will not run away. I will sit and listen to you provided you make a sensible speech—(Interruption.)

Sir, it is in order to place on record our strong protest at the flouting of the democratic desire of the Tamil-speaking voters of the Eastern Province, which particularly the electorates like Muttur, Batticaloa and Pottuvil have shown repeatedly at the Presidential election as well as in the Referendum voting, that I chose to make a few observations on this amendment. Beyond that I do not want to say anything. I thank you.

**டி. கா. 4.10**

**ரங்கையாசி பத்மநாதன்** (பொதுவிலை தேவன்)

(திருமதி ரங்கநாயகி பத்மநாதன்—பொத்துவில் இரண்டாம் அங்கத்தவர்)

(Mrs. Ranganayaki Pathmanathan—Second Pottuvil)

Mr. Speaker, I would like to explain one matter regarding the computation of figures in the Referendum and the Presidential election in the Pottuvil electorate.

I am afraid, the hon. Leader of the Opposition has made a small mistake in the figures. We received 29,000 votes for the lamp and the pot got 20,000 votes. If there is a party called the Pot Party, then I admit that the second seat for Pottuvil goes to that Pot Party, but unfortunately this 20,000 was won by a mixture of parties, namely, the SLFP, the TULF, the JVP and various other parties. Therefore, I cannot understand how the hon. Leader of the Opposition can claim this seat for the TULF. Thank you.

**லக்ஷ்மன் லக்ஷகோடி**

(திரு. லக்ஷ்மன் லக்ஷகோடி—அத்தனகல்ல)

(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody—Attanagalla)

Mr. Speaker, I shall at this moment move the amendment that I wish to move so that it may be useful for the Debate. At the same time I wish to give in detail the exact wording. Therefore, I do not hope to take much time but I shall only move the amendment that I intend to move.

As far as the Sri Lanka Freedom Party is concerned we have been, right throughout its history, hoping to have a Parliament with full democracy, so much so that everyone who comes to the House of Parliament shall be an elected Member. Therefore, I would like to state categorically that we oppose this bit to legislation on the plain and simple fact that you are still perpetuating the idea of nomination to this House. Therefore Sir, while we oppose this, we would like to make changes or amendments that may be useful, especially after the speech that was made by the Hon. Prime Minister wherein he made use of certain words.

[சென்னைப் பேரவையின் உரை]

The first amendment that we would like to move is to Clause 2 which reads :

"Article 161 of the Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka is hereby amended in sub-paragraph (iii) of paragraph (d) of that Article as follows :-

(a) by the substitution for the words, 'in respect of which the vacancy occurred;' of the words 'in respect of which the vacancy occurred,' and

(b) by the addition at the end of that sub-paragraph of the following proviso :-

'Provided that where the Secretary of a political party fails . . . .'

In the speech of the Hon. Prime Minister he used the exact words that should be but in, "fails or refuses". The hon. Prime Minister was quite correct. He used the word "refuses" and therefore I would say that we would like to add the words, "'or refuses' to nominate a member of such political party to fill such vacancy under the preceding provisions of this sub-paragraph. . . ." That would be my first amendment, and I agree with you.

The second amendment that I would like to move is in order to request the Government to consider what is going to happen to Independent Members of Parliament. I read in today's "The Island" newspaper, a very useful contribution that has been given under the heading, "If an Independent resigns whom will the Polls Chief inform of vacancy?" Under the present law, I think, when it was originally enacted, there were no Independents at all. I think in the 1977 Parliament there was only one Independent, namely, the hon. Member for Harispattuwa, who by the time the Constitution was enacted had become a member of a political party. There had been a failure on the part of those who have been legislating all these amendments to the Constitution that they have totally forgotten as to who should succeed when independents become Members of Parliament and for some reason or other they resign or leave the House of Parliament. I do not want to cast any aspersions at this moment in saying who Independents are - those who have been expelled from political parties may be called Independents - but in case one of them dies, what happens? Therefore I think there is a very strong case for the Government to legislate without delay with regard to the Independents who come to this House. Very soon we are supposed to be going in for 21 or 17 elections. Perhaps an Independent wins at one of these elections. He comes to this House as an independent, and if something happens to him then what happens? What are you going to do? Are you going to call upon some person who is the Secretary of the political party of that Independent? I think you should bring some sort of legislation to cover those shortcomings in the Constitution.

The third amendment that I would like to move is in regard to clause 2 (b) which says :

"provided that where the Secretary of such political party fails to nominate a member of such political party to fill such vacancy under the preceding provisions of this sub-paragraph within thirty days of his being required to do so or where the Secretary of a political party had been required, before the coming into force of this proviso. . . ."

I would wish the whole thing deleted and reconstituted in the following manner.

கலியாணசுந்தரி

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

I appreciate your suggesting amendments, but you might have to send them to us in writing-

சென்னைப் பேரவையின் உரை

(திரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயக்கொடி)

(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

I will put them down in writing.

கலியாணசுந்தரி

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

You have to send us those amendments in writing before we can take them up at the Committee Stage.

சென்னைப் பேரவையின் உரை

(திரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயக்கொடி)

(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

Yes, I will do that. I would like that entire section deleted and a new section added which I hope to submit as an amendment to the main Constitution. Sir, under the transitional provisions, Article 161 (d) (iii) lays down the manner in which a nomination has to be made. This is what it says :

"Where a vacancy as is referred to in sub-paragraph (i) or (ii) has occurred, the Secretary-General of Parliament shall forthwith inform the Commissioner of Elections of such vacancy. The Commissioner of Elections shall thereupon require the Secretary of the political party to which such Member belonged to nominate a member of such party to fill such vacancy. Upon the receipt of such nomination the Commissioner shall declare such person to be the Member for the electoral district in respect of which the vacancy occurred."

My amendment is to delete all that and insert the following :

"The Commissioner of Elections shall call and hold an election, in accordance with Part I and Parts IV to VI (both inclusive) of the Ceylon (Parliamentary Elections) Order in Council, 1946, for such electoral district as existed immediately preceding the Constitution and on the basis of such part of the register prepared under the Registration of Electors Act, No. 44 of 1980, and in operation as corresponds to such electoral district. The aforesaid parts of the Ceylon (Parliamentary Elections) Order in Council, 1946, shall, for the purpose of such election and notwithstanding the repeal of such Order in Council, be deemed to be in force and shall, *mutatis mutandis*, and except as expressly provided in the Constitution, apply to such election.

The law applicable to election petitions in relation to such electoral district shall be aforesaid parts of such Order in Council as applied aforesaid and in the event of such election being declared void and no other person is determined to have been duly returned or elected, the election to fill such vacancy shall be held in accordance with the provisions of this Article."

What I want to do is to ask this House to take away this idea of nomination if a vacancy occurs and to have a by-election. In other words, take away the idea of nomination altogether for by-elections and general elections. I would like, therefore, that such an amendment be included in these constitutional changes. I do not want to deal with the earlier amendments passed by this House.

The hon. Member was saying that the Constitution of India has been changed 46 times during the last few years. I do not know whether that is correct or not, but we know that in our country we have changed it annually. That, of course, we have to accept. I do not know about the other countries. I think this has to end somewhere. It is an annual feature – five amendments in five years! Now the sixth one is also coming. Do you know that? I do not know whether you are aware of it. It is being prepared by the Attorney-General. The sixth amendment is with regard to some senior attorneys being called President's Attorneys. And very soon you might find that the seventh is also coming! Likewise there may be seventh, eighth, ninth and tenth!

I must say one thing, and that is that during the 1972 Constitution there was only one amendment. We never amended it like this. There was only one amendment, and it had nothing to do with the taking away of civic rights of people; it had nothing to do with the changing of seats; it had nothing to do with two people holding one seat; it had nothing to do with the extension of the life of Parliament; and it had nothing to do with a Presidential Election. It was a common amendment which said that an electorate shall consist of 75,000 people. In fact, it was changed from 50,000 people to 75,000 people. That is all. So, you know that we did not amend the Constitution to meet the needs of any individual.

Therefore, it is nigh time that we reconsider the question of nomination of Members. I do not want to say how many nominated Members are there in this House. I am one of them. The people of Attanagalla did not have the opportunity of exercising their franchise. I think it is necessary that we get back to the election of a Member because this can be a continuing feature. I would not be surprised if by next year another seventeen Members go out. To fill their vacancies there can be nominations, or you may go before the people. Possibly they can be renominated. Then the following year yet another seventeen Members may go, thus this process may continue, and when we come to 1989 they might say,

"Let us go on like this for another six years." It is quite possible, and you can go on maintaining a two-thirds majority in this House. Everyone knows what is going to happen – we are not going to have a General Election! The SLFP is quite aware of that situation, and therefore we have always clamoured that a General Election be held. This may be one step towards the gradual deterioration of the economic position of this country. Anyway, this is happening in the Country.

Now take, for instance, the situation that arose with regard to Devinuwara and Bulathsinhala. I do not want to say anything about the hon. Member who has been appointed because I am also an appointed Member. But can you say that there is equality before the law and justice? The people of Devinuwara very soon will have the chance of electing their Member of Parliament, but the People of Bulathsinhala have lost that chance. This is sheer discrimination. – (Interruption.) I can quite appreciate that, but the law is that. So, why do you not change it? We can both get together and change this law. That is why I say, Sir, if the Constitution is changed completely to take away the idea of nomination, without perpetuating the idea of nomination, I think there is a strong case for the Government. And I would urged that this should be so in a just and righteous society, if there is to be equality of law for all people and also no discrimination. I think the people of Bulathsinhala should get a chance of voting –

රනිල් වික්‍රමසිංහ මහතා

(திரு. ரணில் விக்கிரமசிங்ஹ)

(Mr. Ranil Wickremasinghe)

What about Attanagalla?

லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயக்கொடி மகனா

(திரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயக்கொடி)

(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

I will not say no. If I am removed from Attanagalla –

அந்திரேசேகர்

(அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)

(A Member)

You will have to resign and go.

லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயக்கொடி மகனா

(திரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயக்கொடி)

(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

–I would be quite happy about it. I will be one person to go away as fast as possible. But I know I have to perform a task here. – (Interruption). I have been sent here to perform a task. I will be quite happy to go back.

[ලේස්මන් ජයකොඩි මහතා]

But the fact remains that once that idea of nomination was brought in, the entire electoral process in this country changed. We are trying to push, as fast as possible, the idea of proportional representation. I think we have failed. We are still electing Members to this Parliament under the Parliamentary Elections Law of 1946. We have not been able to change that system up to now. We have been talking a lot. We are pushing towards proportional representation. We are trying to do that, but I think we have still not succeeded. With all the 5/6th majority that we have, for some reason or other that has been prevented from happening. I do not know why. The elections would come in another month's time or two months' time, I hope, I do not know when the Government will have it. But here again we will have the old electoral system. We expected a change in the 1978 Constitution. We tried to make a change, but it could not be changed. All elected Members who are here were elected under the Constitution of 1972 and the Elections Law of 1946. We must remember that. That is not very easy to change.

Therefore, Sir, the idea of nomination, to my mind, has failed. It is not giving the people the right of electing their own representatives. The Sri Lanka Freedom Party do not wish to participate in any manner in a situation where nominations are still being perpetuated. Therefore we oppose this Bill.

ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා  
(ති.රු. ආර්. පිරිමෙතාස)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

Mr. Speaker, I do not think any arguments worthy of any reply were adduced here, other than the repetition of the same old slogans. The hon. Member for Attanagalla said that he was moving an amendment. The amendment is not before us. Are we to take it that his whole speech is an amendment? That is the only amendment I can see from what I gathered. I do not think I can agree to his so-called amendment, Sir.

I commend this Bill to the House.

කථනායකතුමා  
(ආපාතායකර් අවුරුණු)  
(Mr. Speaker)

Hon. Minister of Justice.

ලේස්මන් ජයකොඩි මහතා  
(ති.රු. ලක්ෂ්මන් ඉයාකොඩි)  
(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

No, Sir. There are others to speak.

ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා  
(ති.රු. ආනන්ද තසනායක)  
(Mr. Ananda Dassanayake)  
We have to speak.

අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා (නුවරඑළිය-සේකෙලිය දෙවන)  
(ති.රු. අනුර පණ්ඩාරනායක—නුවරඑළිය-මස්කෙලියා  
ඉරණ්ඩාමුල්ල අභිනවතරා)  
(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike—Second Nuwara Eliya-Maskeliya)

We are all ready to speak.

ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා  
(ති.රු. ආර්. පිරිමෙතාස)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)  
All right. Let them speak something worthwhile. You should have been alert.

අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා  
(ති.රු. අනුර පණ්ඩාරනායක)  
(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)  
What we say may not be worthwhile to the Hon. Prime Minister. What we say is worthwhile to us. What about the hon. Member for Gampaha, the hon. Member for Kotmale, my Friend the hon. Member for Kalawana?

ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා  
(ති.රු. ආර්. පිරිමෙතාස)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)  
We agree, but what were you doing? You should have taken your chance.

ලේස්මන් ජයකොඩි මහතා  
(ති.රු. ලක්ෂ්මන් ඉයාකොඩි)  
(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)  
May we come back after tea and carry on with the Debate?

ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා  
(ති.රු. ආර්. පිරිමෙතාස)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)  
All right we have no objection.

අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා  
(ති.රු. අනුර පණ්ඩාරනායක)  
(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)  
We will come back after tea.

ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා  
(ති.රු. ආර්. පිරිමෙතාස)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)  
Let them have a cup of tea and come. They may get some inspiration!



கட்சியைக் கைவிடுவது

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

All right. I suspend the sitting till 5.00 p.m.

உள்நிலை 5.00 மணிக்கு கைவிடப்பட்டு அதன் பின்னர் 5.00 மணிக்கு மீண்டும் தொடங்கப்படும்.

அதன்படி அமர்வு பி. பி. 5 மணிவரை இடைநிறுத்தப்பட்டு, மீண்டும் ஆரம்பமாயிற்று. சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள் தலைமை தாங்கினார்கள்.

Sitting accordingly suspended till 5.00 p.m. and then resumed.

Mr. Speaker in the Chair.

கட்சியைக் கைவிடுவது

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

I would like to announce that at the meeting of the leaders of Parties, it was agreed that Voting on the Bill will be taken at 7.30 p.m. Thereafter the other items in respect of which Standing Orders have been suspended will be taken up.

நீதி அமைச்சர் விஜயரத்ன (அமைச்சர் அவர்கள்)

(திரு. நிசங்க விஜயரத்ன—நீதி அமைச்சர்)

(Mr. Nissanka Wijayarathne—Minister of Justice)

Mr. Speaker, the hon. Leader of the Opposition took great pains to explain that they were unable to participate in the Debate today because they felt that the Government was violating certain canons which they thought ought to be observed in the Parliamentary process of this country relating to representation in this House. He promised to be here and listen to comments that his remarks called for when the hon. Member for Chilaw (Mr. Harindra Corea) intervened, but unfortunately he has chosen to be absent. He is a good Parliamentarian and will follow the Debate when it appears in Hansard.

The hon. Leader of the Opposition said that he would have welcomed a formula in regard to nomination or representation if it had been applied in a manner that recognized the objections of the voters to the extension of the life of the last Parliament. He was, therefore, opposed to the Referendum. If we followed his argument to its logical conclusion, it means that all those seats which rejected the continuation should be caught up in the Government's amendment. Apparently he welcomes a sacrifice of his own seat. Certainly, he welcomes then the sacrifice of the seat of the hon. Member for Attanagalla.

The Members of the Opposition should be thankful that His Excellency the President has utilised an opportunity given to him to respect the views of the electorate in respect of seats that had already belonged to the United National Party only. I personally would have liked if it was extended and the people of Jaffna were also allowed to choose, once

again, their representatives. Perhaps they might have chosen more wisely this time. That opportunity is denied them. But what happened in Jaffna? They rejected earlier in the Presidential election the *Suhadaatha* offered by the Government, rejected the *Eelam* propounded by them and ran behind the *venguyam* of Mr. Kobbekaduwa. Now they come here, cast aspersions on the government reference by the hon. Member for Chilaw to the practices across the Palk Strait.

It is true, Mr. Speaker, that constitutional amendments in India have fallen thick as autumnal leaves that fall in Vallombrosa. I do not think it is necessary for us to identify, or for the Member for Chilaw, each individual amendment. We should accept the fact that written Constitutions are sacrosanct until amendments relevant to the particular politico-economic situations, socio-economic situations in a country compel amendments. He cavils at the nature of the amendments. He thinks they are directed *ad hominem*, but certainly, Mr. Speaker, the Supreme Court, as far as the law is concerned, is a better judge.

And then we have the interventions from Attanagalla. The hon. Member (Mr. Lakshman Jayakody) who came in by nomination began by expressing his views on the great ideals that inspired the founders of the party, which he claims to represent. He does not like nominations. The new doctrine of Attanagalla is a rejection of back-door entry. But the solution is in his own hands, Mr. Speaker, and perhaps should he decide so, the results that took place recently in Attanagalla will take place again. But there is a problem. Who will decide? Who is the leader of the SLFP? Does the SLFP today represent a rump, a nihilistic rump, that has denied all the ideals of its founding fathers? We are caught up in an amazing situation of a party, which in its weakness has been converted to a hydra-headed monster.

There may be, Mr. Speaker, many other interventions, but I think we should accept Government's amendment in the spirit which motivated the decision of His Excellency the President to sacrifice important sections of his own party respecting the views that have been expressed when the people of this country exercised their franchise. This is not the occasion to question the concept of the referendum. The decision of the President can be emulated by them, by the Opposition, by the fragmented old SLFP. They too could choose to go before the people. It is useless for the nominated Member for Attanagalla (Mr. Lakshman Jayakody) to shed tears over the voters of Bulathsinhala. He would do much better if he shed tears over the voters of Attanagalla.

[නිශ්චය විස්තර කිරීමට]

Mr. Speaker, I do not propose to hold you longer, but I do hope that members of the Opposition will, in the process of this discussion, attempt to be relevant and not use this as an opportunity to rehash much that has already been spoken in this House.

There are various ways Members leave the House, some by legal decision, some by party choice, some by the use of firearms. The Opposition realize that on the first two there is no controversy in the House. Belatedly, they reject the third when it comes closer home. In regard to the decisions vested in each individual party and followed by them in practice, rather than cavil at decisions made by the Head of the Government in respect of his own party, they might well follow his example in regard to their own.

Thank you, Mr. Speaker.

අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා (නුවරඑළිය-මස්කෙලිය දිස්ත්‍රික්)

(திரு. அனூர பண்டாரநாயக்க—நுவரெலிய-மஸ்கெலிய இரண்டாம் அங்கத்தவர்)

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

Mr. Speaker, today this House is debating a very important, an extremely important, Amendment to the Constitution. I tried very hard to follow the line of argument presented by the Government. I was anxiously waiting for some sort of clue, particularly from my good Friend the Hon. Minister of Justice, but all I heard was a speech minus his usual eloquence and flair. He spoke very little about this Amendment, made no defence of it at all, except to try to pick holes in the arguments of the hon. Leader of the Opposition and the hon. Member for Attanagalla.

The Hon. Minister of Justice used some very attractive phrases. He said that the Sri Lanka Freedom Party was a nihilistic rump. He called the Sri Lanka Freedom Party a hydra-headed monster. He also called it many other things which I could not take down. I am sorry that my good Friend the Hon. Minister of Justice a former sympathizer of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, chose to brand us as a nihilistic rump. We are not there. There may be in every party, we may be ourselves having people whose views are not quite clear. But I think to call the Sri Lanka Freedom Party a hydra-headed monster is unfair and unnecessary. I assure the Hon. Minister of Justice that we shall continue to remain a very viable and democratic alternative to the United National Party.

Sir, let me deal with the Bill itself before we go into the various aspects of this Amendment. I think it is pertinent to remind hon. Members of this House

about how by-elections were done away with under the 1978 Constitution. We all know – both sides of the House know – that by-elections are an integral part of any functioning, viable Parliamentary democracy. Be it in the United Kingdom, be it in India or any other country which genuinely practises any form of Parliamentary democracy, by-elections are embedded in that system. It is a necessary component part of the Parliamentary system. We have followed it from 1948 to 1978. The United National Party Government and the Sri Lanka Freedom Party Governments have all held by-elections in this country. In fact, I remember in 1975 His Excellency the President, when he was functioning as the Leader of the Opposition, chose to resign his seat and go to the people for a mandate because he was against the extension of Parliament. The by-election was held and His Excellency the President was able to ascertain the will of the people of Colombo South through that by-election. Therefore, by-elections are a necessary and integral part for the viable functioning of democracy.

By-elections, I think, serve two very useful purposes. Firstly, it gives the opportunity for a government in between two general elections to test its own strength, to test its own popularity, to test the acceptance of its programme or the rejection of its programme. Secondly, it gives the chance for the voters of that particular constituency to elect their own Member of Parliament, which is, in my view, a necessary and cardinal part of this whole democratic process.

Now, Sir, what happened in 1978? When you presented this Constitution you chose to do away with by-elections. We of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party strongly opposed the move to do away with by-elections. Speech after speech was made in this House arguing that by-elections should not be done away with. We vehemently opposed the move to do away with by-elections. What was your reply? What was your answer? You said “No, by-elections are a waste of time. Why do governments want to waste time holding by-elections? We have embarked on a gigantic development programme. We cannot be wasting time holding public meetings here and there”. And so you rejected our arguments. You rejected our appeal asking you to hold by-elections.

Sir, for the information of hon. Members of this House, I have brought with me a speech made on the occasion of the introduction of this Constitution by the philosopher and guide of the United National Party, the Hon. Lalith Athulathmudali, who I am sorry is not present here today. I am sure if he was here he would have made a more spirited defence of this Government. But I am glad that my Hon. Friend, the Minister for Mahaweli Development is here

because he is not second to the Hon. Minister of Trade in any sense of the word, not second at all, and I hope he will make his usual contribution today.

Now, Sir, what did the Hon. Minister of Trade say? I am quoting from the HANSARD of 8th August 1978, column 1555. This is what the Hon. Minister of Trade said :

“අනෙක් අතට, අතුරු මැතිවරණවලදී සිදුවන තවත් හානියක් තිබෙනවා. කිසියම් තැනක අතුරු මැතිවරණයක් පැවැත්වෙන විට ආණ්ඩුව රටේ අනෙක් ප්‍රශ්න සියල්ලම අමතක කොට අතුරු මැතිවරණය ගැනම පමණක් හිත යොදවනවා. අනෙක් ආසන්නවල තිබෙන කරවල සියල්ලම අතුරු මැතිවරණය පැවැත්වෙන පළාතට යවනවා.”

(Interruption) No, he is saying what the general principle is, of by-elections. Why do you disturb me ?

“අනෙක් පළාත්වල කරවල නැහැ. මේ ක්‍රමය ප්‍රෝඩාවක් නේද? අප විසින් මේ පනත මගින් ඇති කරන්නට යන්නේ මේ ප්‍රෝඩාවට වඩා හොඳ ක්‍රමයක්.” [නිල වාර්තාව, 1978 අගෝස්තු 8; කො. 28; කී. 1555.]

In this, Sir, the Hon. Minister of Trade clearly states that the whole concept of by-elections is a fraud. Then how is it that now within five years after he said this, you suddenly decide that by-elections are not a fraud, not a fraud, and that by-elections are a good thing. It has suddenly dawned on the United National Party that by-elections are an important aspect of democracy which they discarded, abandoned, condemned, rejected, threw into the waste-paper basket ; suddenly it has dawned on hon. Members of the Government that by-elections are a good idea.

Now, Sir, I think the thinking behind the abolition of by-elections was manifold. To be charitable to the UNP Government, may I say that one of the main reasons why you did away with by-elections was that the PR system which you introduced, the proportional representation system, has no way in which by-elections can be accommodated. As you know, Mr. Speaker, on the list system, if one Member vacates his seat, the next member automatically gets into his place, and in that same order, the names in the list go up.

So, there is no way in which you can hold by-elections under the system of proportional representation. But my contention, Sir, is that we have not come into that system yet. We are still functioning in this Parliament under the transitional provisions. All of us have been elected under the 1972 Constitution, you on that side and we on this side. We all have been elected under the system which is popularly called the first-past-the-post system. Now, how did you continue to have by-elections under the 1978 Constitution? You said that you were going to apply the principle which was strictly applicable to

the PR system to a system which we call the first-past-the-post system. In other words, Sir, a part of a system which can only come into operation once we have the PR system in this House, you imposed on a Parliament which was not elected under the PR system. Therefore, Sir, it becomes very difficult for us in the Opposition to understand why and how suddenly you who abandoned the concept of by-elections have thought it fit to once again pose as saviours of democracy to inaugurate the system of by-elections here.

In fact, the Government enshrined in this Constitution that if a seat falls vacant the general secretary of that particular political party has the right to nominate the succeeding Member. You exercised that right in Panadura when you chose to sack the then Member for Panadura, Dr. Neville Fernando, and imposed an outsider, a person from Panadura, on this House without the consent or the will of the people of Panadura. Then, in Karadeniya, when the former member of Parliament died, you nominated his wife. In Hanguranketa, Hewaheta, Wattala, Kamburupitiya, among other seats, the Government in fact exercised that section of the Constitution, which gave you the power to nominate a Member of Parliament, instead of subjecting the People to a by-election. Now, suddenly you come before this House and ask us to endorse your Fifth Amendment once again enshrining in the Constitution, in a mind of diluted form, the holding of by-elections.

When you observe the Fifth Amendment, which we are debating today, what does it really say? It says that the general secretary of a party, when a seat falls vacant, should within thirty days nominate a Member of Parliament, and if he fails to do so they will be holding a by-election to that seat. That in essence is the Amendment. So, if any member of the Government says that you are taking a democratic step, I challenge that speaker because if you genuinely want to hold by-elections you should straight-forwardly say that whenever a seat falls vacant a by-election will be held.

By this Amendment what do you do? Once again you shift the onus, the emphasis and the responsibility to a faceless, unknown general secretary of a political party. In other words, the voter of a certain constituency can only exercise his franchise if the general secretary of that political party decides not to fill that vacancy. This is the basic argument which I intend to extend today. In other words, this is not a democratic step. If you are really concerned about maintaining democracy in the Constitution in this country you should say that when a seat falls vacant you will have a by-election. Why is

[අනුර බන්ධුරාජයා මහතා]  
the emphasis placed upon the general secretary? Are we going to conduct democracy in this country on the whims and fancies of an unknown general secretary of some political party, be it yours or be it ours? Is it fair to take away the sovereignty of the people and invest it firmly in some general secretary who may be a stooge of the ruling bigwig of some party. My good Friend the Minister for Mahaweli Development is nodding laughingly. I know what is working in the back of his mind. I do not wish to go into that now. This, Sir, is a negation and an outright mockery of what is known as the democratic traditions of the Parliamentary system.

Now, Sir, if you say in this house that you want us to help you to once again have in the Constitution the concept of by-elections, by all means we will support you. But, we find it very difficult to support an amendment which takes away the sovereign right of the people and invest it in the hands of a General Secretary whose desire not to fill a Seat only can cause a by-election.

Now, Sir, let us see the 3rd and 4th Articles of the Constitution. What do they say? The 3rd and 4th Articles of this Constitution say clearly that in the Republic of Sri Lanka, sovereignty is in the people and is inalienable – un-transferable, unquestionable, inalienable are the sovereign rights of the people. And how does the Constitution define sovereignty?

In the 4th Article it says :

“The Sovereignty of the People shall be exercised and enjoyed in the following manner :-

(a) the legislative power of the People shall be exercised by Parliament, consisting of elected representatives of the People”

This, Sir, is in the very first page of the Constitution of this country; it is in the very first Chapter of the Constitutions of this country and I will now show you how you have violated both sections of the Constitution. You say that the sovereignty is in the people and is inalienable, but you have taken away that sovereignty from the people and transferred it and fixed it on an unknown, faceless General Secretary of a political party. Therefore, you have no right to say that the sovereign rights, the sovereignty of the people is inalienable.

Then, Sir, it goes on to say that the sovereignty of the people shall be exercised by Parliament consisting of elected representatives of the people. Today we have a number of Members in this House, on both sides of the House, who are not elected. Therefore, I think you have, in fact, by bringing this Amendment, violated the principles of sovereignty, the power of the people which is enshrined in Articles 3 and 4.

Mr. Speaker, let me say this quite clearly. The Sri Lanka Freedom Party, as a political party, is not opposed to the holding of by-elections. Let me make my opposition perfectly clear. We welcome the holding of by-elections. We will contest all of them. But while we welcome the holding of by-elections, let us see what is behind this seemingly clandestine move of the United National Party Government.

කඩා නැසෙනුම

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Order please! The Deputy Speaker will now take the Chair.

අනතුරුව කඩා නැසෙනුම මූලාසනයෙන් ඉවත් වූයෙන්, නියෝජ්‍ය කඩා නැසෙනුම [නේමන් චේද්‍යරත්න මහතා] මූලාසනාගුළු විය.

அதன் பிறகு சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள் அக்கிராசனத்தினின்றும் நீங்கவே, உப சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள் [திரு. நோமன் வைத்யரத்ன] தலைமை வகித்தார்கள்.

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

අනුර බන්ධුරාජයා මහතා

(திரு. அனூர பண்டாரநாயக்க)

(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the first thing that strikes us about this Fifth Amendment is why the United National Party Government did not think of this earlier. You took five years since the inception of this Constitution; suddenly it dawned upon you that you should have by-elections in certain selected Seats. That is the first thing that strikes me.

The second thing is that the holding of by-elections is an integral part of any parliamentary democracy. It is an inherent right of the people in a parliamentary democracy that whenever a Seat falls vacant, the people of that Constituency elect their next Member of Parliament. That is something which cannot be removed, but you removed it. You took it away in 1978, and today you have decided to give it back in piecemeal form. To put it in other words, it is a conduct of democracy by donation. You have decided to donate what you have taken away: the inherent right of the people to choose their own representatives whenever a Seat falls vacant. It is an inherent right. You take away that right, and as and when it suits your purposes, and as and when it takes your fancy, you decide to donate what you have taken away in small doses.

That is exactly what you have done by this amendment. You have not even made a clean donation of what you have taken; you are only making a part donation of what you have taken. I say 'part donation' because it is the General Secretary of

a party who decides whether a by-election is to be held or not. The General Secretary of a party is sovereign and not the people of this country !

In all fairness to Robin Hood, he robbed the rich man and gave all his takings to the poor but in this case when you rob the inherent right in the Constitution, you decide to hand it over not like the way the IMF gives us loans but in a much more subtle way by making small donations. I see the Hon. Minister of Finance smiling. I will come to Devinuwara later on in the course of my speech but for the moment it will suffice to say that you should have by-elections in all seats that fall vacant. Then we will be convinced that you are at least making a clean donation of what you took away.

Another thing which bothered me was the matter raised by the hon. Member for Attanagalla (Mr. Lakshman Jayakody). You have nowhere in this amendment made provision as to what would happen if an Independent wins a by-election. Say, all 21 by-elections are won by Independents. If one of those seats falls vacant, whom is the General Secretary going to inform of that vacancy because, as you know, Independents do not belong to any political entity or party. If an Independent seat falls vacant, what provision have you made in this amendment to fill that vacancy? This is something you should have thought of. We are in no undue haste to rush this through. There are very able lawyers on that side. There is my friend the Minister of Mahaweli Development. There is the Hon. Minister of Trade and Shipping who is not here today. They are two eminent lawyers. I do not want to talk of the other lawyers but I will confine my remarks to the two lawyers I know. They are both able men, distinguished lawyers. These people should have thought of this. His Excellency the President is himself a distinguished lawyer. The Hon. Prime Minister, though not a qualified lawyer, is a practical lawyer. They are all able men in this Government. How did it escape your notice that you should have provided for this very fundamental lacuna in the law, this fundamental vacuum?—(Interruption). The Hon. Minister of Parliamentary Affairs and Sports is talking about lawyers' clerks. I know nothing about them but I cannot understand how you have overlooked this matter. I hope that at least in the replies of some Hon. Ministers this matter will be dealt with.

Now let us see what happened in some seats where you nominated Members of Parliament. Let us take the Panadura Seat. You decided to bring a Motion in this House which we opposed at that time. As a

member of the Select Committee, I opposed that motion brought against the former Member for Panadura, Dr. Neville Fernando. You expelled him from this House in a disgraceful manner and brought in another Member for Panadura without consulting the people of Panadura. In a seat which you won by a majority of 12,000 votes in 1977 your majority was reduced to 2,000 votes in 1982. The SLFP which polled only 3,000 votes at the 1977 elections—in fact, we lost our deposit—increased its vote to 24,000 in 1982. At the Referendum, you were defeated in Panadura by a comfortable majority. That is a clear manifestation of the people's will against nominated Members of Parliament.

Take the case of Kamburupitiya. Fortunately, the former hon. Member for Kamburupitiya is still amongst the living because he has not been cursed. The former member for Kamburupitiya is one of the privileged few from that electorate who have not been bestowed with a curse. At Kamburupitiya you lost that seat twice—at the Presidential elections as well as the Referendum—because the people of Kamburupitiya did not want a total stranger imported from Galle transposed to a seat which he knew nothing about. He took two weeks to get into that seat. The people of Kamburupitiya did not allow him to come there.—(Interruption). He has got out very fast.

Take, for example, the Baddegama electorate. You won by 7,000 in 1977. Then at both elections the UNP was defeated. Take for example, the Mawanella electorate. I hope the hon. Member for Mawanella is somewhere here. What happened in Mawanella when the late Mr. Beligammana expired, you put another Member of Parliament, Mr Ranatunga. At the Presidential election, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene defeated Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa in Mawanella by a majority of over 10,000 votes, but at the Referendum, two months later, this majority of 10,000 was reduced to a defeat of 2,500. What does it mean? It means that Mr. J. R. Jeyewardene defeated Mr. Kobbekaduwa, but that the people of Mawanella did not want the M. P. placed on the top.

At least now, Sir, from these lessons of recent history we learn that the people of this country do not want nominated MPs.—(Interruption). In those electorates it was increased. The hon. Member for Kalawana is an elected Member of Parliament.

මන්ත්‍රීවරයෙක්

(அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)

(A Member)

What about Attanagalla ?

අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා  
(திரு. அனூர பண்டாரநாயக்க)  
(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

The less said about Attanagalla elections, the better because that was one of the most disgraceful exercise of intimidation and thuggery in the history of Parliamentary Democracy

මන්ත්‍රීවරයෙක්  
(அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)  
(A Member)

Dedigama!

අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා  
(திரு. அனூர பண்டாரநாயக்க)  
(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

Both are bad. One does not make the other good.

Sir, this brings us to another set of problems, Now you have three conditions on which these by-elections should be held. One is that the respective Member of the electorate should have polled less than what he polled in 1977. That is the first condition. The second condition is that at the Presidential election the joint opposition should have polled more than Mr. J. R. Jayewardene. The third condition is that at the Referendum the Pot should have defeated the Lamp. These are the three conditions which you have applied for the resignations of 17 Members of this House which took place only two weeks ago.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I think these three sets of principles are wrong because at the Presidential election it was a contest between Mr. J. R. Jayewardene of the United National Party and Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party. You were choosing a President, and it was a contest between two individuals and you cannot take that as a rejection of a member of Parliament. If a particular electorate rejected Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, it simply means that they preferred Mr. Kobbekaduwa and vice versa, but in the Referendum it was quite different. In the Referendum, you were not electing a President. You were not voting for Mr. Jayewardene or Mr. Kobbekaduwa. You were voting on a simple issue. Do you want an election or do you not want an election? That was the basic argument at the Referendum. So what I say is that the criterion should be every seat defeated at the Referendum.

Do you want to take a practical view? I will give you five examples here of electorates in which Mr. J. R. Jayewardene won and the UNP lost at the Referendum. Take, for example, Kotte, the seat of my good friend, the Hon. Minister of State. In that constituency, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene had majority of 8,315 votes over Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa. At the Referendum barely 60 days later, the people of Kotte

in no uncertain terms called for an election by a majority of 1,432 votes which is in no way an insult to my Hon. friend, my gentle friend, perhaps the only gentleman on that side. The people of Kotte wanted the right to exercise their franchise. Take, for example, Mawanella. A ten thousand majority was converted to a virtual two thousand defeat. Take Beruwala - I am sorry that the Member of Parliament for Beruwala is not here. Mr. J. R. Jayewardene won that by 5,602 votes, but the people of Beruwala asked for elections by a majority of 900. Take Balapitiya, your own constituency, Mr. Deputy Speaker. With all due respect to you, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene defeated Mr. Kobbekaduwa by a resounding majority of 5,654, but the people of Balapitiya turned that around and asked for elections by a bigger majority of 6,000 votes. A five thousand victory was converted into a six thousand defeat in a matter of 20 days. Take, for example, Galle. What happened in Galle? In the Galle Electorate President Jayewardene had a majority of 12,000 votes over Mr. Kobbekaduwa, but the people of Galle wanted an election by a majority 2,583.

Why I quote these statistics is not to humiliate those Members of Parliament. That is not my desire. I wish to state that quite emphatically. When I quote it is not to humiliate Members of Parliament, least of all your good self. Why I quote these figures is to show that this is what you should have gone on, that this is a clear indication of the will of the people. You cannot take the Presidential Election as the criterion for this, as I mentioned earlier.

Why is it then that these electorates have been exempted and it has been decided to hold exempted Members of Parliament from a contest, when the people have clearly asked for elections? And you have, unfortunately, subjected 17 Members, who are no longer with us, to a most unceremonious departure from this House. A most unceremonious departure! Unsung, they have all been buried, while others who have equally lost are sitting in this House as if nothing in the world has happened!

The Leader of the Opposition, quite correctly in my view, called for by-elections in two constituencies, Batticaloa and Mutur. In Batticaloa, at both elections the Opposition defeated the UNP. At the Presidential election the anti-UNP forces got 54 per cent of the votes, and in the Referendum 58 per cent of the votes. So why have you exempted Batticaloa from the by-elections? Sir, is it not discrimination? Take the case of Beliatta. Dr. Ranjith Atapattu was asked to resign from his seat. He is today an ordinary citizen in this country. He won the Presidential Election by a majority of 3,000 and lost the Referendum by 2,000 votes. He is out, but the two Members representing

Batticaloa are sitting in this House. Take, for example, Mutur. At both elections you lost Mutur. Taking your own standards at the Presidential Election, the Opposition polled 52 per cent of the votes in Mutur. At the Referendum, again we polled 52 per cent of the votes. At both elections you lost. Why are you exempting Mutur and Batticaloa? - (Interruption). No. Kalkudah they won at the Presidential Election, if I am not mistaken. I am not talking of Kalkudah. I am taking two electorates which fit into your so-called criterion - Batticaloa and Mutur. Why have you exempted them? Surely the people of Mutur have a right to elect their Member as much as the people of Devinuwara or Beliatta or Mulkirigala or Tissamaharama. Why are these double standards being used? - (Interruption). My Friend the hon. Member for Kalawana (Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama) says, Sir, that one Member had to come and check here whether he had resigned. He had come here with his wife to see whether he was any longer a Member of this House. That was the state of humiliation to which you subjected your own Members of Parliament.

මේ ත්‍රිවරයෙක්

(අங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)

(A Member)

Shame! Shame!

අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා

(සිරු. අනුර පණ්ඩාරනායක)

(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

The people of Devinuwara will be given a by-election, but why is it that the people of Bulathsinhala are not being given a by-election? Both Members resigned. I mean, in this case it is worse because the people of Bulathsinhala, at both the Presidential Election and the Referendum, voted for the United National Party. At the Presidential Election President Jayewardene won Bulathsinhala. At the Referendum, by a small margin of 54 votes, you managed to hold on to Bulathsinhala. That poor gentleman is sent home without his knowledge, and the hon. Member for Devinuwara who lost the Referendum by 2,000 votes, replaces him.

Sir, I am asking you, are we called upon in this House to vote for an extension of this mockery, these double standards? You keep changing them to suit your purposes as and when required. Take the example of Devinuwara, Sir. May I say this very clearly. This is nothing against my hon. Friend the Minister of Finance. I do not make personal innuendos or personal remarks against anybody. This is not my style of doing politics, unless I am provoked. Sir, the Hon. Minister of Finance and former Member for Devinuwara and I have been

long-standing friends. We have known each other for years, and I have the highest regard for him as an individual. We have clashed in this House—very honourable clashes in fairness to him and myself. This is not a personal insult to him; I say that very clearly.

Take the results of Devinuwara. The people of Devinuwara defeated Mr. Kobbekaduwa by a majority of 4,848, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene polled 22,605 votes in Devinuwara in October. In the same constituency, two months later, the UNP drops its votes from 22,605 to 19,225, a significant decrease of nearly 3,000 votes. 3,000 votes less in two months, and the people of Devinuwara called for an election by a majority of 2,697 votes.

Sir, I must say that when I was going to address a meeting on the Referendum in Beliatta, I had the rare privilege of going through the Devinuwara Electorate, starting from the Devinuwara be-tree, which is on the boundary of the Matara Electorate, and going right to the other end of the Devinuwara Electorate, which is at the end of Dickwella, just near the Beliatta Electorate. Along about 15 miles of road, the walls and houses were inundated with the picture of my good Friend, the hon. Minister of Finance. There were pictures of him smiling; pictures of him thinking; pictures of him addressing the people—various poses; he was beaming upon the innocent by-passers on the Colombo-Hambantota road.—(Interruption). He was looking very handsome in those photographs. And I saw on the walls—

“අපි රොතිට—රොති අපිට”

“උහුණු රජ රොති”

“උහුණු ජනතාව රොතිට—රොති උහුණු ජනතාවට”

Honestly, when I saw that I thought you would win Devinuwara by a majority of 15,000. There was not a single pot on display. Right along the 15 miles of road in the Devinuwara Electorate, which I have passed many a time, I have never seen such an overwhelming campaign designed for the single purpose of winning. I honestly never thought, I never for a moment dreamt, that you would be defeated there. I know you have worked very hard there. You have given virtually 9,000 jobs. I speak subject to correction. It is a very good thing. But giving jobs can never enable you to win elections. I think the Hon. Minister of Posts agrees with me on this. There are many people in our Government, our Ministers too, who had given thousands of jobs, and they lost their seats.

මේ ත්‍රිවරයෙක්

(අங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)

(A Member)

They are also now with the UNP.

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

They are also with the UNP now. What happened in Devinuwara? The people of Devinuwara wanted a by-election. So you decided to shift the Member for Devinuwara, Mr. Ronnie de Mel, to a safe seat, Bulathsinghala.

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(திரு. ஆர். ஜி. த் மெல்)  
(Mr. R. J. G. de Mel)

Do you think it is safe?

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

I think it is safer for you at Devinuwara; much safer for you. Sir, what happened at the Referendum? The SLFP's chief organizer for Devinuwara, a gentleman by the name of Mahinda Wijesekera, was locked up. There was not a single meeting we had in that electorate - hardly any meeting! Yet the powerful Hon. Minister of Finance was humbled, and you had to move him to Bulathsinghala. Now, Sir, I know the Hon. Minister of Finance loves a challenge. He is a man who is a fighter. The people of Devinuwara returned him three times. In 1967, when he contested from the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, he defeated the UNP by nearly 3,000 votes. In 1970 again, when he contested from the Sri Lankan Freedom Party, he had a thumping majority of over 6,000. In 1977, when he came from the UNP he had a bigger majority of 9,000. He is a man who has been returned three times. I do not think it is fair by the people for my Friend, Mr. Ronnie de Mel, to have deserted them, to have left them to the mercies of the gods. Who knows who will be the next MP?

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(அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)  
(A Member)

Party decision.

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

Sir, let us see what happened to the others. They have adduced the argument that Mr. Ronnie de Mel is vital for this Government. The Budget is going to be presented on the 8th March. He has presented a number of Budgets before. He has done his best. And Sir, in fairness to him may I say that everybody tends to blame the Minister of Finance for the failures of Government, which is utterly wrong. Every Minister of Finance has lost in this country - Dr. N. M. Perera, Mr. U. B. Wanninayake, Mr. Felix R. Dias

Bandaranaike, Mr. M. D. H. Jayawardena - also including Mr. J. R. Jayewardene. So this is no judgment on you. You are only carrying out the policies of your Government; you are only an instrument of the economic policies of the government, but, unfortunately, it is always tragically the case that the crimes of a government have to be borne by its Minister of Finance. It is very unfortunate, Sir, and that is what has happened to my good Friend the Hon. Minister of Finance, where he is genuinely trying to do a job of work. Maybe, for some good reason the people of Devinuwara said "No, we want an election", and he was moved out. Today he functions as the Member of Parliament for Bulathsinghala. So, your functioning as Minister of Finance is explainable.

But even if you have to face a by-election and you are thrown out of this House - it may be that you may come back; I do not know - somebody would have presented an equally good Budget. Why, my Friend the Minister of Trade and Shipping - a very capable man - could have presented a very good Budget. My good Friend the hon. Third Member for Nuwara Eliya-Maskeliya (Mr. Thondaman) has a fine financial brain. He could have a fine Minister of Finance. Then a number of Gentlemen in the front ranks of the Government could have helped the Government. The Hon. A. C. S. Hameed, if he decides to stay more in this country, could have been a fine Minister of Finance. Sir, therefore, until Mr. Ronnie de Mel came back to this House as Member of Parliament for Devinuwara, surely a competent Minister could have carried on with this Budget temporarily?

Now, what happened to the others? What happened to my Friend the hon. Member for Beliatta (Dr. Ranjith Atapattu), the Minister of Health? Health, to my mind, Sir, is as important as Finance. It is a vital Ministry. Today you do not have a Minister of Health, but you have a Minister for Colombo Hospitals who is outside the Cabinet. The Minister of Health, why was he removed? If you showed such kindness to the present hon. Member for Bulathsinghala, you should have shown the same kindness to the former Member for Beliatta. He was doing a good job. He is an honest man, although we are opposed to his politics. We will again meet him at at the by-election for Beliatta. We will probably defeat him. That is no matter, but if you exempted the present Member for Bulathsinghala you should never have asked the hon. Member for Beliatta to resign.

What about the others? How many District Ministers? The District Minister for Gampaha (Mr. Tudor Gunasekera), who was the hon. Member for



Mahara ; the District Minister for Hambantota (Dr. P. M. B. Cyril), who was the hon. Member for Tissamaharama ; the Deputy Minister of Agricultural Development and Research (Mr. Sumanadasa Abeywickrema), who was the hon. Member for Akmeemana ; the Acting Minister of Defence (Mr. Mervyn Kularatne), who was the hon. Member for Eheliyagada ; even he had to resign. I believe he was in charge of Home Guards. Now they are without a leader. Then we have the Deputy Minister of Private Omnibus Transport (Mr. Premaratne Gunasekera), who was the hon. Member for Maharagama ; the Deputy Minister of Parliamentary Affairs and sports (Mr. D. E. Tillekeratne), who was the hon. Member for Ratgama ; the Deputy Minister of Rural Development (Mr. Harish Wanigasekera), who was the Member for Hakmana ; the Deputy Minister of State Plantations (Mr. V. L. Wijemanne), who was the hon. Member for Kalutara. Sir, why were these Gentlemen not shown the same courtesy, the same kindness, the same sympathy that you extended to my good Friend the Hon. Minister of Finance ? I have no objection ; you are welcome to extend sympathy to him. But you should have, by the same yardstick, extended the same sympathy and consideration to all these Gentlemen who have been your loyal and faithful Members for a number of years. They have been more loyal to you, they have been more long-standing members of your party than Mr. Ronnie de Mel, who joined you only in 1975. Dr. Ranjith Atapattu has been a member of the U.N.P. from the date he was born. They were subjected to this discriminatory behaviour of the Government. All were sent home. It was only on that day, after 12 noon, that they were told that their seats are to be vacated.

I do not want to say this ; it is a sad story, it is a sad commentary on Parliamentary democracy, that one Member of Parliament was seated in his car near the Diyawanna Oya sobbing like a child when I went past him—sobbing like a child because the man did not know that he was out. He had come here to sit in Parliament. What happened to another Member ? He went berserk at "Sravasti". He took a stick and started hammering the windows and broke a couple of chairs. That is the spirit that I admire ! That is the fighting spirit. I hope he comes back, a man of action.—(Interruption). You confine your activity to the Wild Life Zone.

Now, Sir, my view is that these Members of Parliament who have been loyal, dedicated followers of the U.N.P. should have been given an opportunity of making their farewell speeches. In the case of Mr. Dharmasena Attygalle, he came into this House, made a moving farewell speech, and went. Why was

this same courtesy not extended to these 17 Members of Parliament ? Surely we would have given them a patient hearing and said good-bye to them ? Some of them may come back, some of them may never come back, but I think we should have given them a healthy farewell. That was not to be. That is why I say that we are against this Amendment. You have discriminated against some Member, you have shown preference to some other Member and this whole behaviour is utterly dispicable.

You have now considerably devalued the value of a Member of Parliament. For example, if one of your Members wants to resign and come here, there is no way in which he can do it because 85 Members of Parliament will vote for his expulsion. But if anybody from here wants to go and sit on that side, he can do so because 85 Members of Parliament will not vote to throw him out. In other words, there should be a one-way traffic board here. You should place a one-way traffic board here because traffic can go from this side to that side but not from that side to this side. That is the way you have consistently devalued the Members of Parliament.

Sir, the Members of this House voted to expel Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike ; you voted to expel Dr. Neville Fernando ; and tomorrow you will vote to expel Dr. Jalaldeen. But do you realize, when you are expelling your own Colleagues, whether they come from this side or that side, that one day the same sword of Damocles that is hanging over your head might be exercised against you. A Member of Parliament who resigned told me that the made the biggest mistake by raising this hand to expel Mrs. Bandaranaike and Dr. Neville Fernando because the same treatment was given to them in a different light.

Now, Sir, today every Member of this House belonging to the United National Party had signed a letter of resignation — had signed it, but not dated it. And these letters of resignation are with His Excellency the President. It is a clever political move. I do not think any leader of a Parliamentary democracy has acted with such political sophistication. He had all of you eating off the palm of his hand. I wish we did that when we went out. It is a brilliant political tactical move. Everyone of you are serving in this House at his command, at his wish. But is it a desirable freedom of democracy ? Is it desirable that all of you should have resigned however fair and just the President may be ? I am not questioning his integrity — however fair and just he may be, is it morally right to take the resignations of the Members of this House ? Because even to-night he can date some letter and tomorrow morning that member will not be able to come to this House. All he has to do is to put a date on that letter, and once a

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date is fixed on that letter all of you are fixed. Therefore, Sir, it becomes curiouser and curiouser, if I may use that phrase – the constant, the deliberate devaluation of Members of Parliament that has taken place has reached its peak, the pinnacle when you hand in a letter of resignation to the President.

Now that he has received your resignations, the only sensible thing to do is to date all of them and call for a general election as soon as it could possibly be done. That seems to be the only logical conclusion to a number of steps the President has taken. I am not surprised, I will not be surprised if he calls for one. I will not be surprised at all.

Now let us see what happened at the Referendum. Of the total registered voters in this country, only 38 per cent voted for the extension of the life of Parliament – 62 per cent did not vote for the extension of Parliament. 62 per cent of the registered voters of Sri Lanka either abstained from voting or voted against the extension. 38 per cent voted for the extension of Parliament. (*Interruption.*) No, no; surely even you do not believe that.

Now Sir, 38 per cent of the people voted for the extension; 62 per cent of the people either by abstention or by voting against, did not vote for the extension of Parliament.

Sir, I want to remind this House that in France when General Charles de Gaulle was President of France he used the referendum a number of times. I believe about four or five times he used the referendum. But never did he use a referendum to extend Parliament. But whenever he used the referendum he always stipulated a certain condition – that you should obtain a certain percentage of the registered voters. I am not sure whether it is 60 or 65 per cent of the votes, but I am sure it is over 60 per cent, that 'Yes' should be over 60 per cent of the registered voters. That is the condition that General Charles de Gaulle firmly laid down which shows us that the man is a true democrat. And I remember on one occasion he resigned as the President of France when at one referendum the people gave him less than 60 per cent of the registered voters. He resigned – the Great General Charles de Gaulle resigned and faced an election in which he was returned.

Now Sir, I am not saying that we should emulate what happens in France. But I just gave that example to show you that in those countries which use the referendum much more commonly than we have used it in this country – they have used the referendum about 10 or 15 times – they have these conditions stipulated which they emulate.

Then Sir, let us also come to another rather thorny but interesting argument. When you moved the Forth Amendment to the Constitution in this House, I remember the speeches that were made by the Hon. Prime Minister, by the Hon. Minister of Trade, by the Hon. Minister of Mahaweli Development. What did they all say? They all said that you are going to extend the life of Parliament by seeking a vote of the people at the Referendum because you felt that the Sri Lanka Freedom Party was in the hands of a nihilistic, anarchical group. You called them Naxalites; the word came from Naxalberi in Bengal. You said Naxalites would come into this House in hordes, and therefore you could not negate the process of democracy, and to prevent the Naxalites from coming into this House, you were having the Referendum. That is what you all said. The Ministers said so. The President said so on public platforms, on every platform. He even said so on TV. He made a very convincing case as he always does and asked, "How can I leave the country in the hands of the Naxalites?" I am sure he believed it when he said it. I am not questioning his bona fides, nor am I saying he is a liar. I am not saying he was concocting it. He may have genuinely believed it.

Sir, I want to go on record firmly and strictly when I say this. I am not conceding that there are Naxalites in the SLFP. The leader of SLFP, Mrs. Bandaranaike, has categorically stated that we do not have Naxalites in the SLFP. Therefore, as a member of the SLFP, I have to accept what she says (*Interruption*). The entire Referendum campaign was conducted on the basis that you wanted to prevent the so-called Naxalites from entering this House. That was the long and short of your argument. There may have been other arguments of no consequence, but this was your principal argument. You said it in this House. Your Prime Minister said it, your chief Ministers said it, and even the President said it, and the country – I do not know whether the country voted on that – voted to give you an extension of 6 years.

I do not concede that there are Naxalites in the SLFP, but let us assume hypothetically, for argument's sake, that there are Naxalites in the SLFP. I am not saying there are and I do not agree, but let us take it that your argument is correct that there are Naxalites in the SLFP. Then by having by-elections for 21 seats, how can you prevent the SLFP from nominating 21 Naxalites, and how can you prevent the people from voting for those Naxalites? How can you prevent that? (*Interruption.*) You did not want the people to do that, and that is precisely why you had the Referendum. If as you say we assume that there are Naxalites in the SLFP, how can you prevent them

from coming into Parliament at the by-elections? How can you prevent Rohana Wijeweera from coming into Parliament? I do not know how you can define a Naxalite in the local context. (*Interruption*)

**இனி தீவிரசேகர்**

(அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)

(A Member)

Nominate your brother-in-law and see whether he can win.

**ஐதர் இனிமீரனாயக இயை**

(திரு. அனூர பண்டாரநாயக்க)

(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

Sir, in all honesty, I do not believe my brother-in-law even knows the meaning of the word Naxalite. I think you are paying him too many compliments in this House. You asked the people to give you a 6 year extension to prevent Naxalites from coming into this House, but up to date you have not said in public who the Naxalites are. (*Interruption*) Sir, these interruptions from backbenchers I do not take seriously. You must be able to say that So-and-so is a Naxalite, So-and-so is a violent person and So-and-so wants to upset the democratic process, and take action against them. We are not safeguarding them. Identify them and prosecute them. You have sufficient laws in the country. You have the Terrorism Act, and so on, and so forth. Use them and take action against these people. But up to date you have failed to name these so-called Naxalites. My argument is, assuming there are still Naxalites in the SLFP, how can you prevent them from coming into Parliament at the 21 by-elections? You have completely negated your whole argument put forward at the Referendum by this fifth Amendment. within 2 months of the Referendum—no, not even two months—you have totally negated your entire argument upon which you went before the people and asked for an extension of the life of this House for 6 years. Now what do you say to that?

**அனந்த டசனாயக இயை**

(திரு. ஆனந்த தஸநாயக்க)

(Mr. Ananda Dassanayake)

No answer?

**ஐதர் இனிமீரனாயக இயை**

(திரு. அனூர பண்டாரநாயக்க)

(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

To my argument, the hon. Member for Colombo-West says that the Naxalites have reformed themselves. Anyway, whether such people are capable of reforming themselves I do not know.

Sir, this is something I want to drive home quite clearly—that by this Fifth Amendment which we are asked to vote upon today you have negated the entire

basis of your argument and your contention at the Referendum, within two months! Therefore, Sir, how on earth do you expect us to vote when you say we are under the siege of the Naxalites? You said I was about to be assassinated. All this may have been true. How do you expect us to vote for this Amendment if these Naxalites are going to come into Parliament? How do you expect us to vote for this Amendment? What I am saying is, If we nominate them, how can you prevent them from coming to Parliament? — (*Interruption.*) That negates the Referendum.

Now, Sir, I wish to conclude my speech with a somewhat amusing reference to some of the people who left the Sri Lanka Freedom Party after the Presidential Election and joined you. Some of those good gentlemen have been given the maximum press publicity. When they left us and joined you they gave press conferences which were splashed in the front page of all government-controlled newspapers. You gave them special press interviews. The 'Lankadeepa' carried supplements Sunday after Sunday. It was a case of Mr. Dixon Silva says this, Mr. Basil Rajapakse says this, Mr. Sarath Dias says that and Mr. Jagath Balasuriya says something else.— (*Interruption*) S. D. was on our side at that time and I still hope he is, I assure you.

Now, Sir, you made such a song and dance of people who left us. You scared us: "My God, these people can take thousands of votes as a result of their defection. We are all going to lose all these seats." We were genuinely scared. They gave radio interviews. You had special meetings to welcome them. Crackers were lit. I believe in Devinuwara there were huge banners 'உருகி-கிள்கை' 'What happened? After Mr. Dixon Silva went to the UNP, you lost the seat you won by 4,000, by 2,000 votes!

I will give you the figures. Take the election at Habaraduwa where you took away our chief organizer, Mr. Sarath Dias, who still lives in hope that he can get into this House, but the hope has now gone to the dogs. In Habaraduwa you polled 18,960 votes at the Presidential election, that is, 42 per cent of the vote. That dropped to 8,682 votes in two months. 18,000 had come down to 8,000 a 10,000 decrease, and our vote went up from 22,000 to 25,000. Our majority increased from 3,000 to 16,000. Our majority at Habaraduwa went up from 3,000 to 16,000. Why? Because you made such a song and dance of Sarath Dias—the man was taken like an all-conquering hero coming back to conquer the people of Habaraduwa. The UNPers and the SLFPers got together and damned him.

Take, for example, the electorate of Devinuwara. I am sorry my friend is not here. He took Mr. Dixon Silva along with him and addressed meetings with him. All the UNPers joined with the SLFPers and defeated them both.

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Take, for example, Mulkirigala. You made such a song and dance of Mr. Basil Rajapakse—papers, radio, meetings, special meetings. What happened? I will read the figures for Mulkirigala—(Interruption.) He was my good friend. Whether he is a friend of mine or not, what is relevant is the statistics of elections. Sir, the UNP polled 18,964 votes at the Presidential Election. It declined to 13,720 a decline of 5,000 votes. After Mr. Basil Rajapakse got on to your platform, your total poll came down from 41 per cent to 36 per cent. Our majority went up from 600 to 9,000 votes. (Interruption) No. That is a different matter. Whether we win or you win is not the argument. What I am saying is, after you took these people from the SLFP, your fellows got together with our fellows and damned him—the fellow who crossed over. If you had taken Mr. Ilangaratne, you also would have lost. Am I not right? (Interruption). I am not casting aspersions on Mr. Ilangaratne. The moment you take a man from the SLFP (Interruption). Sir, I am just winding up. In Mulkirigala the majority was 9,000. Then take, for example, Galigamuwa. You took Dr. Jagath Balasooriya. Poor Mrs. Kannangara, who had a majority of 3,000 in October; lost by a majority of 2,500 in November. Take, for example, Kotte. There were vast defections from the SLFP—Mr. Vernon Tillakaratne and some U.C. members. I saw a lovely photograph of the Hon. Minister of State smiling and receiving them with open arms to come and join the flock. But what happened? The good gentleman, who won by 8,000, lost by 2,000. Never take defectors. And I think the results of the Referendum have clearly shown that individuals whom you thought were important are men of straw! They have not carried one vote with them. Not only have they not carried votes, their opportunism has been exposed not only by the Sri Lanka Freedom Party supporters but also by the supporters of the United National party.

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(அங்ககத்தவர் ஒருவர்)  
(A Member)

What happened at Gampaha?

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

At Gampaha we won both elections. At Gampaha, we won both at the Presidential Election and the Referendum.

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(திரு. ஆனந்த தலைநாயக்க—கொத்தமலை)  
(Mr. Ananda Dassanayake—Kotmale)

The leader of Gampaha is here. (Interruption).

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

No! No! With one or two hundred votes difference. But there is no harm in it.

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(அங்கத்தினர்)  
(Members)

We won Kegalla.

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

You won, but with a reduced majority. Everywhere there was an SLFP defector you lost, which clearly shows that if half these MPs had not taken these fellows to their side they would have been in this House today. The hon. Member for Devinuwara (Mr. R. J. G. de Mel) would not have had to resign and go to Bulathsinhala. The moment an SLFPer got on to the platform the average UNP fellows said: "අපි මෙවිට අදරයෙන් ලැබියවෙන් වැඩකරලා අද ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස පත්වෙතේ අපු මිනිහට තමයි තන දෙන්නේ." I am glad the Hon. Minister of Transport is agreeing with me. He is an honest man. That is correct. So what happens? For God's sake, do not touch these fellows with a barge-pole. (Interruption). No, Sir. I do not want to make any comment about Harispattuwa. It is very difficult to forget him.

I went into the detailed results of some of these electorates where there are defectors, whom you have taken, to show that these defectors have exposed their opportunism when they joined you after you won the Presidential Election. They should have joined you before that, but they thought of joining you with the hope of getting into this House or becoming a chairman or Working Director of some Corporation, if you got your term extended by another six years. These fellows changed sides and were taught the lesson of their lives!

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(திரு. ஆனந்த தலைநாயக்க)  
(Mr. Ananda Dassanayake)

Going abroad.

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

Some were to go abroad. I do not know who they are.

In conclusion, may I state our position very briefly once again. The SLFP is not against the concept of holding by-elections. But our argument is, if you are

going to give by-elections give it back in its total form, in its total entity. Do not have a sword of Damocles hanging over the by-election situation in the form of a general secretary of a party who will be able to decide which electorate will have a by-election and which electorate will not have a by-election. Therefore, Sir, if you remove this discrimination, as I mentioned in the course of my speech, the discriminatory practices you have adopted towards electorates where you have lost at the Referendum, towards Batticaloa and Mutur and so on, and if you have a uniform system where you have a general principle for all, then we can support you on this amendment. Otherwise, we find it very difficult, Sir, to vote for an Amendment like this.

And, finally, may I say that democracy cannot be handed back in piecemeal form or in a donation form. What you have taken away, give it back in full form, and we shall give you all the support you need for the by-elections. Therefore, Sir, before I sit down may I say that the SLFP would vote against the Bill for the reasons I have stated in my long speech.

Finally, may I say that in his wisdom His Excellency, who is a very wise man, might one day decide to date all those letters and send all of you home. We will also resign our seats, and let us face a General Election.

Thank you, Sir.

கனின்து கோர்னா கொனா (கிரிஸேன்சு ராசு பதிலாதன அருகித்து)

(திரு. ஹரிந்திர கோறயா — பொது நிர்வாகப் பிரதி அமைச்சர்)

(Mr. Harindra Corea—Deputy Minister of Public Administration)

Sir, a lot of noise but very little substance has emerged from my good Friend's long innings. I primarily have risen to speak on this Amendment, because I made certain interventions when the Hon. Leader of the Opposition (Mr. A. Amirthalingam) was speaking, and I would like to state that, though he committed himself to be in this House to hear the reply, he has forgotten his word and has decided not to be present, but I think he will soon learn that the intervention I made has some substance. However, before I get on to that point I would like to remind this House that we have in the front row of the Opposition two Sri Lanka Freedom Parties and the hon. Member who spoke earlier objected to the principle of nominated Members, the hon. Member, who objected to the principle of transferring the hon. Member for Devinuvara to Bulathsinhala, himself sought that transfer many years ago, when he wanted to move from Nuwara Eliya to Attanagalla. The hon. Member criticised that section of the constitution, but sought to use those provisions to move from Nuwara Eliya to Attanagalla. (*Interruption*). I am not talking of

by-elections. I am talking about the hon. Member who was prepared to resign his Nuwara Eliya seat and be nominated to fill the vacancy in Attanagalla, but today he takes a different point of view.

Sir, the Hon. Leader of the Opposition sought to make out to this House and the country that this government keeps changing the Constitution. My good Friend the hon. Member for Kalawana (Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama) has a story about changing the Constitution. I do not know whether he will come out with it when he speaks. But when the hon. Leader of the Opposition tries to mislead the country as if to say that the Constitution is a plaything to be changed at the whims and fancies of the government, I think he is incorrect. I would like to show that.

Sir, I have with me the Constitution of India brought up to 1980, with short notes, published by the Eastern Book Company. The Constitution of India was passed in 1949, which was 34 years ago, but came into being in 1950, which is 33 years ago. Up to 30th April, 1979 the Constitution of India had been amended forty-four times. I have the revised edition with the 44th amendment. However, I would like to point out something very interesting. I think, the Congress Party, who have been ruling India for 30 odd years, with a very short break—even that was by a former Member of the Congress Party Cabinet who went into the Opposition for a very short while—have amended their own Constitution 44 times.

Sir, one of the interesting things about that Constitution was that up to 1956 there were only 7 Amendments. Up to 1973 there were only 35 Amendments, and their 10 Amendments came in the short period of three years. The period 1975 to 1978, I think my good Friends in the Opposition know, was a time of crisis in India—internal crisis and various other crises. It was a period of transition, a period of crisis, which the Indian Government had to go through, which led to an election where there was transfer of power. The point I would like to make is this, that constitutions are not rigid instruments, they are flexible, they are dynamic. situations change. The world does not go on at the same pace in the same way. A country does not meet a crisis by saying that it is going to stick to a rigid pattern of Government or a rigid formula or a rigid doctrine. The Constitution must change to fit in with the times.

If my good Friend the hon. Member for Kalawana, for example, was to take power tomorrow, if the Communist Party was to come into power tomorrow, there would not be five amendments, there would be 170 amendments. Every single clause will be amended because they do not agree with this Constitution.

[පවිත්ර කොටස ගෙනා]

The hon. Leader of the Opposition sought to make out that the constitutional changes in India were of a minor nature. It was not so. For example, the 45th Amendment has a considerable number of changes and they were made by Mrs. Indira Gandhi at a particular time because she was facing a crisis and she had to meet the crisis. The only way she could meet that crisis was to make this amendment.

Now, there is the question of membership of this House and of vacation of membership of this House. That is what this amendment is about.

Sir, I would like to refer to provisions made in the Indian Constitution with regard to this matter. I do not know whether hon. Members in the Opposition realize this, but there is a provision in the Indian Constitution which is approximate to what this Government has been trying to do or did with this Constitution. As hon. Members of the Opposition of this House know, there are various ways in which a Member of Parliament can be deemed to have vacated his post. There are certain traditional ways which are copied and which do not vary from constitution to constitution, they are standard; resignation, expulsion, disqualification by court, and so on.

But the Indian Constitution, I may point out, in Article 102 (e) says:

"if he is so disqualified by or under any law made by Parliament"

What does that mean? The Indian Parliament has a right to pass a law. It states that the law must be passed by a two-thirds majority. The Indian Parliament has a right to pass a law at any stage asking a Member to vacate his seat. Now, that is the power that the hon. Member was contesting? He said that power should not remain with the Government. The Indian Constitution recognizes the principle that the Parliament itself, for reasons of its own, by a two-thirds majority, can pass such a law.

The hon. Member spoke about the 1972 Constitution. Now, the logic of the hon. Member's argument is reduced to absurdity when one discovers that even in the 1972 Constitution - I am sure that they do not want me to quote from it - there is provision to amend the Constitution. In fact, Chapter X, Section 51 (1), gives the power to amend the Constitution. Now, why did you have that Section? Why did you pass the 1972 Constitution with a Section giving the power, with a two-third majority, to amend the Constitution? It is because you yourself recognized that any Constitution which does not have such a provision binds the Government.

There were many people who were against the Oders-in-Council which was our Constitution until 1972 because they said that in that Constitution there were entrenched clauses. They did not like the idea of entrenched clauses which they could not get rid of. There are no more entrenched clauses except in the sense that you need a two-thirds majority, but the Constitution of 1972 also recognized that amendments can be made. Therefore every Parliament every Constitution, makes a provision to amend the Constitution.

I would like to inform the House that my good Friends in the Opposition do not seem to recognize that there are other models than the Westminster model. It is very strange that those who shouted about colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism say that if you depart from the Westminster model you are doing something wrong. - (Interruption) - I am not saying that it is you. That is the logic of their argument. They say that you cannot have a Constitution like this because it is not the same as the Westminster model; the Westminster model has by-elections and therefore you must have by-elections. I cannot understand that logic. We have every right; we are a sovereign people. That is their argument. They refer to Article 3 of the constitution which says that we are a sovereign people. If we are a sovereign people what does that sovereignty mean? For example, let us look at New Zealand. There are many examples. I am only barely touching on constitutional matters or law on this occasion. There are many many examples of how constitutions are made, and what is requested from Constitutions. For example, in New Zealand in 1979 a big debate was going on about changing the Constitution. Certain parties wanted to increase the membership of the House. One Party, the Social Credit Party, favoured reorganization of the electoral system with the introduction of proportional representation. These were the views of various parties.

There is a very interesting passage which I think the hon. Members should consider because they have spoken about these matters; it shows how a Constitution and a Parliamentary system evolves in the course of time. This article is in "The Parliamentarian," Journal of the Parliament of the Commonwealth. I am reading from the issue of October 1979. It describes the situation in New Zealand, a Commonwealth country; with a Westminster-type or model Parliamentary system. At page 211 it says :-

"party discipline is very strict, and the overall effect has been that for all practical purposes the concept of Parliament has lost any separate identity and has become merged with the concept of party".

Therefore, the evolution of the Constitutional system in New Zealand, the Parliamentary system in New Zealand, has meant that the party has become within Parliament and outside Parliament the mode of government, whichever party is chosen. So I ask my Friends in this House and the people of this country to consider the evolution of our country. In 1947 how many Independents contested? A great deal. In 1931 my father contested as an Independent belonging to the Ceylon National Congress; in 1936 as an Independent. In 1946 there would have been a considerable number of Independents. But when you consider 30 years later from 1947 to 1977, how many Independents contested? How many came into this House? The hon. Second-Member for Harispattuwa came in as an Independent, but his roots were in the United National Party. He had been previously a Member of the United National Party in this House. He had been a UNP MP. So strictly speaking, he was an Independent.

So the evolution of our Parliamentary system has not been made by legislation. It has been made slowly and simply by acceptance of the People of this country, by the wishes of the people of this country, and when you talk of sovereignty that is what you mean.

Now the hon. second Member for Nuwara Eliya-Maskeliya (Mr. Anura Bandaranaike) has waxed eloquent, about the rights and wrongs of this Amendment. If the Supreme Court had made a different decision, if there had been a split majority in the Supreme Court, they would have made capital out of it. But they cannot do it today, they cannot because it was a seven-member Bench.—(Interruption.) That is not the point. I will show you what you argued and what was argued before the Supreme Court. It is the same point that you have made. This was a judgment of a Bench of seven Judges.

For example, my good friend spoke about Article 3. Does he deny it? You spoke about Article 3 of the Constitution and the inalienable rights of the people of this country. You said that the inalienable rights of the people of this country, the franchise rights are being done away with by this Amendment. What is the answer that the Supreme Court gives? I do not think the hon. Member has read the judgement. But this is what the judgement says. I am reading from the "Sun" of Wednesday, February 23rd, from what is presumed or purported to be the judgement of the Supreme Court. If this is in error, then I apologise to this House. But I am quoting from the "Sun", from what is purported to be the judgement of the Supreme Court. Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike contended this. I do not know whether you claim him as a member of your party or not, whether he has spoken for you or not, but you also made this contention.

"It has been contended that the Fifth Amendment has the effect of creating an alienation of the franchise, which is part of the people's sovereignty because it vests in an authority other than the people (namely, the Secretary of a political party) —"

That is what you also said.

"the discretion to decide whether a parliamentary vacancy ought to be filled by nomination or by election."

This is the answer given by the Seven-Member Bench of the Supreme Court unanimously and with no dissent. The Court answered their claim by saying:

"There is no creation of an alienation of the franchise because the constitution already recognizes and provides for the filling of parliamentary vacancies by a process other than election. Article 161 (d) (i) and (ii) empower the filling of vacancies by a process of nomination, the nominating authority being the Secretary of a political party. There is thus no creation of the alienation of the franchise.

The amendment seeks to enlarge the principle of election for filling parliamentary vacancies where earlier such vacancies were filled by nomination only. The sovereignty of the people, including the franchise, not affected by this amendment."

Every one of the points made by Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike was totally rejected by the seven Judges of the Supreme Court.

A point was made by the hon. Second Member for Nuwara Eliya-Maskeliya (Mr. Anura Bandaranaike) about the voting patterns at the Referendum and the Presidential elections and about minority governments. The Hon. Prime Minister answered that eloquently in replying to a point raised by the hon. Member for Kalawana (Mr. Sarath Muttuwegama) on an earlier date. I do not think you were here then.

I was reading today's "Observer" and something in it caught my eye and I thought I should bring it to this House. This is about the American system in regard to the election of Mayors and where elections are held by a primary system within a party. The Democratic party in Chicago had a primary to select their nominee for the post of Mayor of Chicago. Traditionally, Chicago has a majority of Democratic Party voters. Any Democrat nominated by that party in Chicago wins the mayoral election. They had a primary in Chicago and 3 candidates fought each other amongst the registered voters in the Democratic Party. This is a system different to ours but it is also a system of democracy. The present mayor is a lady, Mrs. Byrne. She was one of the contenders and she lost. She said "The people have spoken. He is the choice of the people". We are proud to say that the Democrats in Chicago have chosen a black person for the first time, a non-white, as their nominee for the post of mayor. What is important is that Mrs. Byrne has made the comment, "The people have spoken. He is the choice of the people". She made these comments after these results were shown; "With 99 per cent of yesterday's

[சென்ட் கோர்ஸா மொழி]

votes counted, Mr. Washington”—that is, the man who won—“had 415,000 votes, Mrs. Byrne 383,000 and Mr. Daley 341,000 votes”.

Now let us do some simple addition. You add 383,000 and 341,000 and you get a total of 724,000. As against that, you have the winning candidate who got 415,000 votes.—(Interruption). So what? I am trying to make out that Mr. Washington has been elected, according to that system, with less than 50 per cent of the votes. We got 52.3 per cent and 53.9 per cent. What are you talking about democracy? (Interruption). The democratic system of majorities is quite simple: the largest number of votes received by one candidate. As far as the Presidential elections were concerned, there was only the Pot and the Lamp, and the Lamp won. The same principle applied and democracy has been served by that election.

Finally, Mr. Deputy Speaker, we should consider a point I made that the people of this country have answered the request of the Government, both at the Referendum as well as at the Presidential elections, and as far as the Presidential elections are concerned, they voted in a massive manner for His Excellency the President. The hon. member for Nuwara Eliya-Maskeliya made a point about SLFP cross-overs. What he did not say was that every single one of those former Ministers and Members of parliament came across because they did not want Mr. Kobbekaduwa to win and they said that Mr. Jayewardene was the only person capable and able to lead the people of this country. That is why (Interruption).

**අනුර බණ්ඩාරත්න**  
(திரு. அனூர் பண்டாரநாயக்க)  
(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

There were people who crossed over after the Presidential Election was over.

**හරින්ද්‍ර කෝරියා**  
(திரு. ஹரிந்திர கொறியா)  
(Mr. Harindra Corea)

No, Mr. Jayaratne crossed over — (Interruption).

**අනුර බණ්ඩාරත්න**  
(திரு. அனூர் பண்டாரநாயக்க)  
(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

I never mentioned Mr. Jayaratne.

**හරින්ද්‍ර කෝරියා**  
(திரு. ஹரிந்திர கொறியா)  
(Mr. Harindra Corea)

Mr. Kalugalla crossed over in October.

**අනුර බණ්ඩාරත්න**  
(திரு. அனூர் பண்டாரநாயக்க)  
(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

I never mentioned Mr. Kalugalla. Every single example I gave was of people who joined you after the Presidential Election.

**හරින්ද්‍ර කෝරියා**  
(திரு. ஹரிந்திர கொறியா)  
(Mr. Harindra Corea)

That does not take away from my point that all these people crossed over either at the Presidential Election stage or at the Referendum stage because they thought that the UNP Government under President Jayewardene—

**අනුර බණ්ඩාරත්න**  
(திரு. அனூர் பண்டாரநாயக்க)  
(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

Only three people—Kalugalla, Jayaratne and Dr. Leo.

**හරින්ද්‍ර කෝරියා**  
(திரு. ஹரிந்திர கொறியா)  
(Mr. Harindra Corea)

—For 6 1/2 years was better than going back to the SLFP Government—(Interruption). That is the only reason.

Sir, I would conclude by quoting from two articles, which I think all people—(Interruption). No, that is what you say, I believe in party discipline. That is my only answer to you.

**අනුර බණ්ඩාරත්න**  
(திரு. அனூர் பண்டாரநாயக்க)  
(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

He told me, “You better decide the MP for Chilaw”.

**හරින්ද්‍ර කෝරියා**  
(திரு. ஹரிந்திர கொறியா)  
(Mr. Harindra Corea)

I believe in party discipline. I do not get excited like you.

Sir, I would like to read an article from the “Ceylon Daily News” of 20th January 1983, I am doing so because democracy, whether functioning inside the country or inside a party, means the expression of views which the leadership considers and makes decisions on. Hon. Members went on about the so-called reasons for these resignations and so forth. Sir, this is what the “Daily News” of the 20th of January wrote:

“The UNP leadership is studying various ways of dealing with considerations arising from the recent Presidential Election and the Referendum”.



Is that wrong? I ask the people of this country, through this House, whether that is wrong—to look at the result in that way?

“One is that certain MPs should resign their seats and their party nominate the new M.P.’s because of their defeat”.

Is it wrong to consider it? Is it wrong to consider what had happened? What decision the leadership of the party took is the decision of the leadership, and that is why we are governing, that is part of government. That is part of government because you use power in your governing. Otherwise, why do you want to come into power? Then it speaks of another view. So all views were taken into account.

“Another view is that without taking individual decisions a common decision should be taken that all at those falling within certain categories should resign. The view gaining support in the UNP is that those electorates where the UNP at the recent elections...”

—and the three criteria are listed.

So, those are the views. The leadership met and took some decisions on those views, and that is a part and process of government and of party government.

Finally, Sir, I would like to ask whether we are going to be bound for ever, whether we should be bound for ever, to the old thinking pattern of the Westminster type model which my Friends seem to prefer, because the 1972 Constitution is basically that. Everything that is classic about the Westminster model—by-election etc.—were embodied in the so-called revolutionary 1972 Constitution.

This is what the “Tribune” of 8th January, 1983 says. This is the question which it poses, “that though brown sahibry”—I do not know, but my good Friend the hon. Member for Kotmale (Mr. Ananda Dassanayake) may be brown sahib—

“though brown sahibry has all but disappeared the hangover of the cultural brainwashing by imperialism about the unique and absolute virtues of the Westminster model of democracy still persists? That such brainwashing, among other things, has led to the fallacy that politics must be played (like cricket) according to the Westminster rules—and Westminster rules alone? That this has led to the most curious inhibitions and misunderstandings about the theory and practice of ‘democracy’? that most of such brainwashed are not even willing to consider that ‘democracy’ does flourish, differently in different climes and conditions? That to our brown sahibs and the western-oriented intellectual elite, especially in Colombo the Westminster rules alone constitute ‘democracy’”

Then it says that the villagers of this country voted for the lamp and for President Jayewardene. By their vote, if any endorsement is needed either for this Amendment or for the 1978 Constitution, then, Sir, whatever my good Friends might say, the vast majority of the people of this country have endorsed all the constitutional changes that this Government has made. Sir, I ask this House, taking into consideration the

views that I have placed before this House, to support the Bill before us, the 5th Amendment of the Constitution.

අ. හා. 6.50

ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා (කොත්මලේ)  
(திரு. ஆனந்த தஸநாயக்க—கொத்தமலை)  
(Mr. Ananda Dassanayake—Kotmale)

ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය කපානායකතුමනි, මේ සංශෝධනය පස් වැනි සංශෝධනය හැටියට කිව්වත් මේ සංශෝධනය හය වැනි සංශෝධනයයි. එක සංශෝධනයක් උපන් ගෙයිදීම මැරෙන්නට හැරියා. සංශෝධන ගැන නියෝජ්‍ය රාජ්‍ය පරිපාලන ඇමති සලාචන ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා (හරින්ද්‍ර කොරියා මහතා) බොහොම වැදගත් කරුණු විකක් පෙන්නා දුන්නා. අපි ඒවා පිළිගන්නවා.

ආණ්ඩුක්‍රම ව්‍යවස්ථාවකට සංශෝධන ගෙනෙන්නට බැරිය කියා අපි කියා නැහැ. නුවරඑළිය-මස්තෙලිය දෙවන ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා (අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා) කවදවත් කිව්වේ නැහැ—මේ අවස්ථාවේදීවත් කිව්වේ නැහැ— සංශෝධන නොකළ යුතුයි කියා. ව්‍යවස්ථාවක් හැදුවට පස්සේ ඉතාමත් අවශ්‍ය අවස්ථාවකදී එය සංශෝධනය කළ යුතුයි. එහෙත් අනාවශ්‍ය අවස්ථාවලදීත් මේ ආණ්ඩුක්‍රම ව්‍යවස්ථාව තවුත්තාත්සේලාගේ රජයෙන්ම සංශෝධනය ගෙනවිත් තිබෙනවා. ඒවා අපි පෙන්වා දෙන්නම්.

එක් අවස්ථාවක කලාවන ආසනය හිස් වුණම එහි අතුරු මැතිවරණයට—‘බයිලෙක්ෂන්’ එකට—වෙනම සංශෝධන ගෙන් මේ ගරු සභාවෙන් අනුමත කර ගත්තා. එම ආසනයට දෙන්නෙක් වාඩි කරවන්න හැදුවා. ඒවා පාර්ලිමේන්තුවෙන් සම්මත කළාට, ඊළඟට ‘සුප්‍රීම්’ උසාවියෙන් දුන් තීන්දුව අනුව ‘රෝපරන්ඩම්’ එකක් තියන්න බයේ තිකම්ම උපන් ගෙයිම මැරෙන්න හැරියා. අපිට මේවා හරිය කියන්න බැහැ; විරුද්ධ පක්ෂයට මේවා හරිය කියන්න බැහැ.

සලාචන ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා, එනම් ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය රාජ්‍ය පරිපාලන ඇමතිතුමා—මම එතුමාට ගරු දීලා කපා කරන්න ඕනා—ඉතාම හොඳ බුද්ධිමත්, ව්‍යක්ත, දක්ෂ දේශපාලනඥයෙක් බවට ඉතාම සුළු කාලයකදී පත්වීම ගැන අපි සන්තෝෂ වෙන්නවා. පළපුරුද්ද තැනි වුණත් මම හිතන හැටියට එතුමාට දක්ෂතමත් ඒවාගේම දේශපාලන උගත්කමත් තිබෙනවාය කියන එක මම පිළිගන්නවා. එතුමා විරුද්ධ පක්ෂයට කියනවා, මේ සංශෝධනය කරන්න පුළුවන් බව. මම හිතන හැටියට හයේ හතේ ප්‍රජාවාරය—සිවික්ස්—ඉගෙන ගන්නා ඉතාම කුඩා ළමයෙක් වුණත් කියයි, ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදී රටක තිබෙන ආණ්ඩුක්‍රම ව්‍යවස්ථාවකට—‘කොන්ස්ටිටියුෂන්’ එකට—සංශෝධනයක් ගෙනෙන්න පුළුවන් කියන එක. මේක තවුත්තාත්සේ අපට කියා දෙන්න අවශ්‍ය නැහැ. සංශෝධනය ගෙන ආ යුතුයි. එහෙත් තවුත්තාත්සේලාගේ ආණ්ඩුවෙන් මෙහෙමයි. සංශෝධන ගෙනවිත් තිබෙන්නේ. පසුගිය කාලයේදී වුණ සංශෝධන ගැන බැලුවොත් පෙනෙන්නේ කුමක්ද? ‘පිරියොසිකල් මැගසින්’ එකක්—මාසයක් වැනි කාලසීමාවකට වරක් පළ කරන සඟරාවක්—හැටියට මේ ‘කොන්ස්ටිටියුෂන්’ එකේ වෙනස්වීම් සමහර



**ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා**  
 (திரு. ஆனந்த தஸநாயக்க)  
 (Mr. Ananda Dassanayake)

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, මේ රටේ තිබුණ ඡන්ද ක්‍රමය වෙනස් කළා. එක වතාවකදී කියනවා අනුපාත ඡන්ද ක්‍රමය ඕනෑ කියලා. අනුපාත ඡන්ද ක්‍රමය සඳහා මේ සභාවේ අනුමැතියත් අරගෙන එම කාරණය මහජනතාවගේත් අවධානයට යොමු කරවා, මීට වඩා ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදී ක්‍රමයක් තවත් නැතැයි කියමින් ආසන වේටමෙන් ඡන්ද පැවැත්වීමේ ක්‍රමය නවත්වන්න බැහැ කියා කීවා. මොකක්ද එද කීවේ? “අපට ලැබුණ සියයට 51ක්. ඒ නිසා ඒ අනුව ආසන මෙපමණ ගණනක් අපට එන්න ඕනෑ. අපට ආසන 117ක් පමණ එන්න ඕනෑ.” යූ. එන්. පී. පක්ෂය එදා විග්‍රහ කළේ එහෙමයි. ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයට එන්න ඕනෑලු ආසන 60 ගණනක්. එදා 1977 දී ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයට ලැබුණ ඡන්ද 19 ලක්ෂයක් පමණ.

ඔන්න ඔය විධියේ කාරණා කියමිනුයි එදා මේ ආසන වේටමෙන් ඡන්ද පැවැත්වීමේ ක්‍රමය වෙනස් කළේ? අපි කොතෙකුත් කීවා, මේ ක්‍රමය වැරදියි කියා. ඔන්න දැන් අනුපාත ක්‍රමය අරගෙන බැලුවා. මේ ජනාධිපති වරණයේ ඡන්ද ප්‍රතිඵල අරගෙන බැලුවාම එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයට ඡන්ද තිස් ලක්ෂයක් පමණ ලැබෙන විට ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂය ආතුළ විරුද්ධ පක්ෂයට ඡන්ද 26 ලක්ෂයක් පමණ ලැබී තිබෙනවා. එතැන නිබෙන්තේ සුළු වෙනසක් පමණයි. අනුපාත ක්‍රමය අනුව ඡන්දයක් පැවැත්වුවහොත්, මේ ලැබී තිබෙන ඡන්ද ප්‍රමාණය අනුව බැලුවොත් ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂය ආතුළ විරුද්ධ පක්ෂයට ආසන 72ක් පමණ ලැබෙනවා. අන්න එතැනදී භය වුණා. විරුද්ධ පක්ෂයට ආසන 72ක් ගියොත් ආණ්ඩු පක්ෂයේ තුනෙන් දෙකේ බලය පවත්වාගෙන යාත්ත බැරී වෙනවා. අඩපණ ආණ්ඩුවක් පිහිටුවන්න වෙනවා. ආණ්ඩුව පිහිටුවා ඉතාම සුළු කාලයකින් ආණ්ඩුව අඩපණ වී, ආණ්ඩුවට අංශබාගය සෑදී සමහර විට ආණ්ඩුව විසුරුවා හරින්නත් සිදු වෙයි. අන්න ඒවයි තමුන්නාන්සේලාට “ඇඩ්වයිසරි කොමිටි” එකෙන් නැත්නම් උපදේශක මණ්ඩලයෙන් ලැබුණ උපදෙස්. කැබිනට් උකටත් ආණ්ඩු පක්ෂයටත් ලැබුණ උපදෙස් ඒවායි. මේ උපදෙස් අනුවයි තමුන්නාන්සේලා කටයුතු කළේ.

දැන් මොකක්ද කියන්නේ? මහජනයාට කීව්වා අනුපාත ක්‍රමය හොඳයි කියා. අන්නිමට එක මාසයක් යන්න කලින් එය වෙනස් කරන්න කියනවා. අනුපාත ක්‍රමයට ඡන්දයක් පවත්වන්න බැහැ. එහෙම නම් මොකක්ද කරන්නේ? තිබෙන එකම “ඔල්ටර්නේට්ව්” එක හැටියට පෙනුණේ. කරන්න තිබෙන එකම දෙය හැටියට පෙනුණේ “රෝපරන්ඩම්” එකක් පැවැත්වීමයි. “රෝපරන්ඩම්” එකක් තියල පාර්ලිමේන්තුවේ කාලය දික් කරන්න හැදුවා. “අවුරුදු දෙකකින් පාර්ලිමේන්තුවේ කාලය දික් කරනවායි” කියා ඊට විරෝධය පෑමට ගරු ජනාධිපතිතුමා එදා පාර්ලිමේන්තුවෙන් අස් වී දකුණු කොළඹට තරඟ කරලා මොකක්ද පෙන්නා දුන්නේ? “මහජනතාව විසින් පාර්ලිමේන්තුවේ ඉන්න දුන්න කාලයට වඩා, මහජනයා ඡන්දයෙන් පත් කළ කාලයට වඩා එක දවසක්වත් පාර්ලිමේන්තුවේ ඉන්නට

මම කටයුත්තක් සුදුනම් නැහැ” කියා එදා එතුමා අස් වුණා. අපි එතුමාට ගරු කරනවා, එදා කල වීර ත්‍රියාම ගාන. එලියට ගොස් ඡන්දයට ඉදිරිපත් වී වැඩි ඡන්ද ප්‍රමාණයක් ලබාගෙන නැවතත් පාර්ලිමේන්තුවට ආවා. එතුමා උදහරණයක් පෙන්නවා, මුළු රටටම ආදර්ශයක් දුන්නා, පාර්ලිමේන්තු කාලය දික් කරන්න බැහැ කියා.

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, එදා ජනමත විචාරණයක් සඳහා සංශෝධනය ඉදිරිපත් කරන කොටත් අපි කීව්වා එය වැරදියි කියා. මේ ආණ්ඩු කාලය තව අවුරුදු භයකට දික් කරන්නේ ඇයි කියා අපි ඇහුවා. එය වැරදියි කියලත් අපි කීව්වා, මෙන්ම මේවාටයි තමුන්නාන්සේලා සංශෝධන ගෙන ආවේ. රටේ මහජනතාවගේ දියුණුව පිණිස හෝ රටේ ආර්ථික දියුණුව පිණිස හෝ ආණ්ඩුක්‍රම ව්‍යවස්ථාව වෙනස් කරනවා නම් මහජනතාව ඒය පිළි ගනිවි. නමුත් මේ කරන්නේ මොකක්ද? තමන්ගේ වාසියට විටින් විට වෙනස් කරනවා. අවාසි වන විටත් වෙනස් කරනවා. එකම තනාකමත් නැහැ, රටේ ජනතාගේ සුභසිද්ධිය සඳහා ව්‍යවස්ථාව වෙනස් කර හදු තැනක්. ඒකයි අපේ විරුද්ධත්වය. ඊළඟට ගරු කථානායකතුමනි,

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

තව මිනිත්තු කීයක් ගන්න බලාපොරොත්තු වෙනවද? !

**ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා**  
 (திரு. ஆனந்த தஸநாயக்க)  
 (Mr. Ananda Dassanayake)

ඒක ම කියන්න බැහැ, කථානායකතුමනි.

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

Order, please ! How long will you take ?

**ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා**  
 (திரு. ஆனந்த தஸநாயக்க)  
 (Mr. Ananda Dassanayake)

I cannot say.

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

We have to take the Vote at 7.30.

**ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා**  
 (திரு. ஆனந்த தஸநாயக்க)  
 (Mr. Ananda Dassanayake)

I have not taken even ten minutes. I want to speak at least for half an hour.



තමුත් නාන්සේලා ඡන්දයෙන් පත්වුණු මන්ත්‍රීවරුන් හැටියට ඒ කරපු වරද මුළු ඉතිහාසයේම නරක කලලපයක් වෙනවට කිසිම සැකයක් නැහැ. අපි ලැජ්ජා නොනවා ඒ ගැන. ඒ විසි එක් දෙනාට වචනයක් කියන්නට නිදහසක් හිඳුණේ නැහැ. තමන් අත්තිමට යන කොට වචනයක් කපා කරන්නට අවස්ථාවක්වත් නැතිවයි එළියට දමීමේ. ධර්මයේන ආතිගල මන්ත්‍රීතුමා—භීට නියෝජ්‍ය ඇමතිතුමා—[බාධා කිරීමක්]

ඇමතිවරු ආදී අනෙකුත් ඔක්කොම ආවෙන් මහජන ඡන්දයෙන්. මහජන ඡන්දයෙන් ආපු එක්කෙනෙක් පක්ෂයක ලේකම් කෙනෙකුගේ පැත් පහරින් අස් කරන්නට පුළුවන්ද? එහෙම අස් කරන්නට දෙනවා නම් මහජන වාග්‍ය කොතැනද නියෙන්නේ? කෝ මහජනයගේ මතය? මහජන මතය සම්පූර්ණයෙන් හුන් කරලා තිබෙන්නේ. කෝ සීමොක්‍රයි එක? කෝ ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදය? There is no democracy at all. That is destroyed. No sovereignty of the people. කෝ මිනිසුන්ගේ නිදහස? කෝ පරමාධිපත්‍යය? සම්පූර්ණ පරමාධිපත්‍යය ඉවරයි.

“People’s sovereignty” කියා කෑ ගහනවා. මහජන පරමාධිපත්‍යය කියා කෑ ගහනවා. කෝ පරමාධිපත්‍යය? අපේ ගරු අගමැතිතුමා යම්කිසි කපාවක් කළොත් සියක් වතාවක විතර එනවා. මහජන පරමාධිපත්‍යය කියන එක. අපෝ, මේක තමයි ආරක්ෂා කරන්න මනා. තමුත් බැලුවම දැන් මහජන පරමාධිපත්‍යයේ කැලීන් නැහැ. ඇයි? මහජන පරමාධිපත්‍යය තිබෙනවා නම් මහජනයා තේරු මන්ත්‍රීවරුන්—ඒ මන්ත්‍රීවරුන්ගේ දූෂණයක් වරදක් අසු වී නැත්නම්—උසාවි නඩු තීන්දුව කින් එළියට දමන තුරු එළියට දමන්න බැහැ. එහෙත් අද එය කරන්න පුළුවන් පක්ෂයක ලේකම්වරයෙකුට. පක්ෂයක ප්‍රධාන ලේකම්ට පුළුවන් වරදක් කළත් නැතත් මොකක් හෝ වැරද්දක් අල්ලාගෙන වෝදනා වක් මන ඕනෑම මන්ත්‍රීවරයෙක් එළියට දමන්නට. එහෙම නම් කොහේද ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදය තිබෙන්නේ? කෝ මහජන පරමාධිපත්‍යය? මේවාද මේ ආණ්ඩුක්‍රම ව්‍යවස්ථාව අනුව සකස් කරන්නේ? මේවා විහිළු විකාර වැඩ. මේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීවරු මේ ගරු ඇමතිවරු මහජනයාගේ ඡන්දයෙන් ඇවිත් ඉන්නේ. එසේ මහජන ඡන්දයෙන් පැමිණි අය තුළ මහජනයාට ගෞරවයක් තිබෙන්න ඕනෑ. එහෙම මහජනයාගෙන් අහන්න ඕනෑ මෙය අස් කරන්නද, එපාද කියා. ඡන්දයක් ඕනෑ නම් ඒ විධියටයි කරන්න තිබෙන්නේ. ජනතාව කියනවා නම් එය අස් කරන්න කියා අන්න අස් කරන්න. එහෙම නොවේ නම් කළ වැරදි පෙන්නන්න ඕනෑ මොනවාද ඔහු කළ වැරදි කියා උසාවියක් මගින් මජ්ජු කරන්න ඕනෑ. එසේ අස් කරන්න ඕනෑ. අභියාචනයකින් පසුවයි. අභියාචනයෙන් කිව්වෝ ඔහු වැරදිකාරයෙක් කියා අන්න එහෙ නම් අස් කරන්න ඕනෑ.

දැන් ඇති කර තිබෙන තවත් එකක් තමයි කොමිස මෙන් මන්ත්‍රීවරු අස් කිරීම. ජනාධිපති කොමිසමෙන්. ගරු මැතිනිය නැත්නම් සිටීමාවෝ බණ්ඩාරනායක හිටපු මන්ත්‍රීවරිය කිසිම ප්‍රශ්නයක් නැතිව අස් කළා. එසේ නොකොට පාර්ලිමේන්තුවට තිබුණ යම්කිසි වරදක් පෙන්නලා උසාවියක නඩුවක් දමා ඇට විරුද්ධව ක්‍රියා කරන්න. ඒ සියලුම අවස්ථා නැති කර, සීමා සහිත කර, ආණ්ඩු පක්ෂය පමණක් වාසි අරගෙන, සිටි මාවෝ බණ්ඩාරනායක මැතිනිය පාර්ලිමේන්තුවෙන් එළියට දැමීම, මේ පාර්ලිමේන්තුවේ වැඩි ඡන්දය අරගෙන. ඊළඟට පානදුරේ හිටපු ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා. ඔහු කළ වරදක් නැහැ. පක්ෂයේ නැත්නම් ආණ්ඩුවේ තිබෙන යම්කිසි වරදක් දැකලා එය පෙන්නවා දුන්නාම කිසිම වරදක් නැතිව එළියට දැමීම. ඒත් මේ වැඩි ඡන්දයෙන්. මේක හරි විකාර වැඩක්.

**කපානයකතුමා**  
(ආපාතායකර් අචාර්කර්)  
(Mr. Speaker)

Order, please! Now, what are you talking about? Is it about the Amendment?

**ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා**  
(ශ්‍රී. ආනන්ද ත්‍යානායකර්)  
(Mr. Ananda Dassanayaka)

Yes, Sir. We have to come out with their commitments.

**කපානයකතුමා**  
(ආපාතායකර් අචාර්කර්)  
(Mr. Speaker)

Do not reply to cross-talk.

**ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා**  
(ශ්‍රී. ආනන්ද ත්‍යානායකර්)  
(Mr. Ananda Dassanayaka)

These are very relevant things.

**කපානයකතුමා**  
(ආපාතායකර් අචාර්කර්)  
(Mr. Speaker)

I cannot follow you. මට ඇහුණේ නැහැ මොකක්ද කිව්වේ කියලා.

**ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා**  
(ශ්‍රී. ආනන්ද ත්‍යානායකර්)  
(Mr. Ananda Dassanayake)

ගරු කපානයකතුමනි, තමුත් නාන්සේලා මගේ හෘදය ගම ගෞරවය ඇතිවයි කපා කරන්නේ.

**කපානයකතුමා**  
(ආපාතායකර් අචාර්කර්)  
(Mr. Speaker)

බොහොම ස්තූතියි.

**ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා**  
(ශ්‍රී. ආනන්ද ත්‍යානායකර්)  
(Mr. Ananda Dassanayake)

අපි මේ කාටවත් විරුද්ධව කපා කරනවා නොවෙයි අපි කියන්නේ මේ ආණ්ඩුව ගත් පියවර ගැනයි. මේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීවරු එදා ආවේ මහජන ඡන්දයෙන්. මම ආවෙත් මහජන ඡන්දයෙන්. තමුත් නාන්සේලා ආවෙත් මහජන ඡන්දයෙන්. අගමැතිතුමා ආවෙත් මහජන ඡන්දයෙන්.

[ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා]

එක වතාවක් මේ පැත්තෙන් ඔය පැත්තට එන විට එකට ගැලපෙන සංඥාදායකයක් තමුන් නාන්සේලා ඉදිරිපත් කර තිබෙනවා. සංඥාදායකය ගෙනාවේ දූපේ ගරු අගමැතිතුමා. මට මතකයි. මේ පැත්තෙන් ඒ පැත්තට යන විට 85 දෙනෙකුට වැඩියෙන් ඡන්දය දුන්නොත් මොකවත් වෙන්නේ නැහැ. ඒ පැත්තෙන් මේ පැත්තට ආවොත් අර පානදුරේ හිටපු මන්ත්‍රීවරයා එළියට දැමීමා වගේ අපූ පහ නොවෙයි එකසිය හතළිස් ගණනක් සිග්නල් තනු වගේ අත් උස්සා එළියට දමනවා. මොකක්ද මේ වැඩේ? මේක ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදයද? දැන් විරුද්ධ පක්ෂයට එන්න බැහැ, විරුද්ධ පක්ෂයෙන් යන්න පුළුවන්. යන්න පුළුවන්. එන්න බැහැ. මේ මේ දේවල් කර තිබෙනව. නම් අප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදීයි කියා අපට අනුමත කරන්න පුළුවන්ද? මේවායින් ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදය රැකෙනවාය කියන්න පුළුවන්ද? මේවා කවුරු දෙන උපදෙස්ද දන්නේ නැහැ. ආණ්ඩුවට දීලා තිබෙන උපදෙස්. තමුන් නාන්සේලා වුණත් ඒ වැරදි උපදෙස් අනුවයි අද අමාරුවේ වැටිලා ඉන්නේ.

ඊළඟට අපි බලමු මේ 17 දෙනෙක් අස් කරන්න හේතුව මොකක්ද කියා. මාස තුනකට පමණ උඩදී, ජනාධිපතිවරණයට මාසයකට පමණ කලින්, ගත්තේ මොකක්ද? දිනයක් දමා නැති අර අස්වීමේ ලිපි විකල්ප අපි මෙතනදී ප්‍රශ්න කළා. මා හිතනවා කලවානේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා සරත් මුත්තේවටුවගම මහතා මේ පිලිබදව ප්‍රශ්න කළාය කියා. මට මතකයි. අපේ ගම්පහ මන්ත්‍රීතුමාත් එස්. ඩී. බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා ප්‍රශ්න කළා. එතකොට කිව්වේ ඒක අපට අයිති වැඩක් " කියන එකයි. " අපට අයිති වැඩක් " නම් 1977 දී මහජනයාගේ ඡන්දය ගත්තේ ඇයි? මහජනයාගේ කැමැත්තක් නොවෙයි, ඒක. මහජනයා කැමැත්තක් දීලා නැහැ, පක්ෂවල ලේකම්වරුන්ට මන්ත්‍රීවරුන් අස් කරන්න. පක්ෂවල ලේකම්වරුන්ට මන්ත්‍රීවරු අස් කරන්න පුළුවන්කමක් තිබෙනවා නම් මන්ත්‍රීවරයෙක් හැටියට ලැජ්ජා නැතිව මෙතැනට එන්නෙ ඇයි කියන එකයි. ඊළඟ ප්‍රශ්නය. එහෙම නම් මොකටද, පාර්ලිමේන්තුවට එන්නේ? පාර්ලිමේන්තුවට මන්ත්‍රීවරුන් පත් කිරීම මහජන පරමාධිපත්‍යයක් නම් වෙනත් කෙනකුගේ ඇගිලි ගැසීමකින් එවැනි මන්ත්‍රීවරයෙක් අස්වනායේ අස් කරන්න පුළුවන්කමක් තිබෙන්න බැහැ.

දැන් බලන්න ගරු මුදල් ඇමතිතුමා හිටියේ කොහේද කියා. එතුමා දෙවිනුවර මන්ත්‍රීතුමා වශයෙනුයි, හිටියේ. එතුමාගේ කැමැත්තෙන් නොවෙයි දෙවිනුවර අත්හැර බුලත්සිංහලට ඇවිත් තිබෙන්නේ. එය සිදු වුණේ, පක්ෂයේ තීරණයක් අනුවල. මොකක්ද මේ, පක්ෂයේ තීරණය? එහෙම නම් පක්ෂයේ තීරණය අනුව පුළුවනි, අද ඉන්න මන්ත්‍රීවරයා එතැනින් ඉවත් කර ඒ ආසනය සදහා වෙනත් කෙනකු පත් කරන්න.

ඇල්බට් සිල්වා මහතා කවුරුපිටියේ මන්ත්‍රීතුමා වන්න කලින්, ගාල්ලේ මන්ත්‍රීතුමා වශයෙනුයි හිටියේ. නමුත් ආචාර්ය දහනායක මහතාට නැත්නම් ඊට කලින් වතාවේ ගාල්ලේ හිටපු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා ඒ ඉන්නවා.

ආසනය දෙන්න ඕනෑ නිසා, කිසිම හේතුවක් නැතිව ඇල්බට් සිල්වා මන්ත්‍රීතුමා කවුරුපිටියේ මන්ත්‍රීතුමා වශයෙන් පත් කර ගාල්ලේ ආසනය ගිස් කලා.

**ආචාර්ය ඩබ්ලිව්. දහනායක මහතා (ගාල්ල)**  
 (කලාநிதி டபிள்யු. தலைநாயக்க—காலி)  
 (Dr. W. Dahanayake—Galle)

That is a false statement of fact. I am sorry I have to interrupt the hon. Member. The truth is that there was an election petition and on the verdict of the election petition a certain Member had to vacate office in this House. That is the truth. But the hon. Member has made a false statement. I am very sorry that I have to say it.

**ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා**  
 (திரு. ஆனந்த தலைநாயக்க)  
 (Mr. Ananda Dassanayake)

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, ගාල්ලේ මන්ත්‍රීතුමාට (ආචාර්ය ඩබ්ලිව්. දහනායක මහතා) මම ගරු කරනවා. එතුමා ආත අතියෙය් සිට හුත කාලයක් මේ පාර්ලිමේන්තුවේ මන්ත්‍රීවරයෙක් වශයෙන් කටයුතු කර ඇති නිසා, එම නිසා, මගේ කථාවේ පොඩි වැරදීමක් වුණා නම් ඇත්ත වශයෙන්ම මම ඒ ගැන එතුමාගෙන් සමාව ඉල්ලනවා. ගාල්ලේ 'බයි-ඉලෙක්ෂන්' එකක් නැත්නම් අතුරු මැතිවරණයක් තිබුණු බව ඇත්ත. ඒ අතුරු මැතිවරණයට තරඟ කිරීමේ අවස්ථාවක් ඇල්බට් සිල්වා හිටපු මන්ත්‍රීතුමාටත් තිබුණා. එහෙම ඉඩ තබ තිබුණු නිසා තමයි, ආචාර්ය ඩබ්ලිව්. දහනායක මහතාට අවස්ථාව ලබා දීම සදහා ඇල්බට් සිල්වා මහතා කවුරුපිටියේ මන්ත්‍රීතුමා වශයෙන් නම් කළේ. ඒ අතර කවුරුපිටියේ එවකට හිටපු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා දැමීමා, පැත්තකට. ඒ විධියට කවුරුපිටියේ හිටපු මන්ත්‍රී මල වරදාරවිම මහතා කෙලින්ම එළියට දැමීමා. එතුමා ආගිය අතක් නැහැ. අර උපාලි ජේට්ටි යානයට වුණා වගේ මලවරදාරවිම මහතාත් කොහේ ඉන්නවාද කියන්න වත් අපි දන්නේ නැහැ.

**ආචාර්ය ඩබ්ලිව්. දහනායක**  
 (கலாநிதி டபிள்யு. தலைநாயக்க)  
 (Dr. W. Dahanayake)

The hon. Member is not logical. What the hon. Member says does not follow from the other. It is a case of *non sequitur*. My hon. Friend will understand, Sir.

**ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා**  
 (திரு. ஆனந்த தலைநாயக்க)  
 (Mr. Ananda Dassanayake)

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, නුවරඑළිය-මස්කෙලියේ දෙවැනි මන්ත්‍රීතුමා (අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා) කිව්වා වාගේ, අර ඉල්ලා අස්වීමේ ලිපි භාර දුන් මන්ත්‍රීවරුන් මෙතැනින් ගියේ බොහොම කනගාටුවෙනුයි. ඒ හිටපු මන්ත්‍රීවරුන් දියවන්නා ඔසෙත් එහා පැත්තට ගියේ මොන තරම් හිත් වෙදනාවකින්ද කියා අපි දන්නවා. ග්‍රාවස්තියට ගිහින් විකාර වැඩ කළ අයත්. බඩු-මුට්ටු පෙරළා දමමින් කලබල කළ අයත් ඒ විධියට මෙතැනින් ගිය සමහර හිටපු මන්ත්‍රීවරුන් අතර

**මන්ත්‍රීවරු**

(அங்கத்தினர்)  
(Members)  
නැහැ.

**ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා**

(திரு. ஆனந்த தஸநாயக்க)  
(Mr. Ananda Dassanayake)

තමුත්තාන්සේලා කළේ නැහැ. තමුත්තාන්සේලා නම් ඉන්නේ බොහොම ජයග්‍රාහී ලීලාවෙනුයි. තමුත්තේ ඉල්ලා අස්වීමේ ලීලුම් නියා පාඩු වුණු අයත් ඉන්නවා.

**කථානායකතුමා**

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)  
(Mr. Speaker)

Order, please! I warn the hon. Member to confine himself to the Bill.

**ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා**

(திரு. ஆனந்த தஸநாயக்க)  
(Mr. Ananda Dassanayake)

මෙහෙත නිබන්ධ වැදගත්ම කාරණය මෙයයි: මේ රජය කටයුත්තක් කිවේ නැහැ, 'ප්‍රසිද්ධත්පල් ඉලෙක්ෂන්' එකේ නැත්නම් ජනාධිපති මැතිවරණයේ ප්‍රතිඵල එක්-එක් මැතිවරණ කොට්ඨාසය අනුව ගණන් කරනවාය කියා. ඒ අනුව මන්ත්‍රීවරුන්ට දඬුවම් දෙනවාය කියලා වත් එහෙම එකක් නීති ගත කළේ නැහැ. පක්ෂයට ඒ තීරණය ගන්නත් බැහැ. ඒක නීති විරෝධීයි. ආහෙම නම් ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදය අනුව ආණ්ඩුක්‍රම ව්‍යවස්ථාවේ තිබෙන වගන්තිවලට ඒක විරෝධීයි. එතකොට ඒ අයට දඬුවම් දෙන්නට හේතු වෙන්නේ මොකක්ද?

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, මේකෙදි අපේක්ෂකයා කවුද? අපේ ගරු ජනාධිපති උතුමාණන් වහන්සේයි එහෙම නැතිනම් ගරු ජේ. ආර්. ජයවර්ධන මැතිතුමායි. එතුමා තමයි තරඟ කළේ. සමහර විට එක් ආසනයක අය එතුමාට වැඩියෙන් කැමති ඇති; තවත් අසනයක අය අඩුවෙන් කැමති ඇති. එතකොට දඬුවම් දෙන්න යන්නෙ අර කැකිල්ලේ රජපුරුවන්ගේ නඩු තීන්දුවෙදි වගේ ඔක්කොමයි. කාපු මකුණටත් නොකාපු මකුණටත් ඔක්කොම දඬුවම් දෙන්න යනව. ඒ වුණත් අහ වුණේ අගිංසක මකුණෙයි. ඒ වික අල්ලාගෙන දඬුවම් දෙනව.

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, ඊළඟට ජනමත විචාරණය මොකක්ද මේ ජනමත විචාරණය. මන්ත්‍රීවරුන්ගේ කිසිම හේදයක් නැතුව, මේ ඉන්න මන්ත්‍රීවරුන්ගේ කාලය නවත් අවුරුදු හයකට දික් කරන්නට, ඒ කියන්නේ 1989 අගෝස්තු මාසය දක්වා දික් කිරීමට කැමතිද නැද්ද යන මතයයි ඉදිරිපත් කළේ. එතකොට මන්ත්‍රී වරුන් එක් එක් කෙනා වශයෙන් මේ සටන මෙහෙයව වෙ නැහැ; මුළු ආණ්ඩුව වශයෙනුයි මෙහෙයවවෙ. එහෙම නම් ආණ්ඩුවට ජන්ද සංඛ්‍යාව අඩු වුණා නම්, ආණ්ඩුවේ යුතුකමක් තිබෙනව, මුළු ආණ්ඩුවම විසුරුවා හැර මහජන ජන්දයක් තබන්න; අතුරු මැතිවරණයක් නොවෙයි. මේක අසාධාරණයක්. හැම දෙනාම වැරදි කළ නිසා, ආණ්ඩුව වැරදි කළ නිසා, මහජනතාවට එපා වුණු නිසා

ජන්ද අඩුවෙන් දන්න. ඒකට දඬුවම් දෙන්නෙ කිප දෙනෙකුට පමණයි. අනික් අය හිතනවා 'අපි බේරුණා, අපි තමයි ජයග්‍රාහකයෝ, අපිට කිසිම හානියක් නැහැ' කියල. එහෙම හිතනවා නම් ඒක වැරදියි. කවරියක් බිල්ලට දීලා කවරියක් සැප විඳිනව; රජ සැප විඳිනවා. මේ ක්‍රමය වැරදියි. මේක තමුත්තාන්සේලාගේ නොවෙයි, ආණ්ඩුක්‍රම ව්‍යවස්ථාවට වරදයි.

එම නිසා දැන් වුණත් කරන්න තිබෙන්නේ මේ ආණ්ඩුක්‍රම ව්‍යවස්ථාව සම්පූර්ණයෙන්ම වෙනස් කිරීමට නැවතත් කිසියම් ආණ්ඩුක්‍රම ව්‍යවස්ථා සම්පදක මණ්ඩලයක් පත් කිරීමයි. ඒ විධියේ සංශෝධනයක් නොකළොත් තමුත්තාන්සේලාට විවින් විට, සමහර විට මාස්පතා සංශෝධන ගෙන එන්නට සිද්ධ වෙයි, එක් එක් සිද්ධීන් මතු වෙන කොට ආණ්ඩුක්‍රම ව්‍යවස්ථාවට. මේක වෙන බව මම එදත් කිව්ව. කැලී හැලෙනවා. මේ විධියට කැලී හැලෙන නිසා මේ අණ්ඩුක්‍රම ව්‍යවස්ථාව රටට ගැලපෙන හැටියට සංශෝධනය කරන්නටය කියල මම එදත් කිව්වා. මම කියන්නේ මේකයි. ජනතා පරමාධිපත්‍යයෙන් පත් වුණු පාර්ලිමේන්තු මන්ත්‍රීවරුන් හැටියට ඒ අයට අස්ථානයේ අත තබන්න, අස්ථානයේ අස් කරන්න ඉඩ දෙනවා නම්, තමුත්තාන්සේලා ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදය ගරු කරන පිරිසක් හැටියට හිතන්න අපට බැහැ.

ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදය කියන්නේ මහජනතාවගේ කැමැත්ත අනුව කටයුතු කිරීමයි. එහෙම නම් මහජනතාවගේ ජන්දයෙන් පත් වුණු අයට මේ අන්දමට අත ගහනවා නම් අපි ඒකට විරෝධීයි. අපි කියන්නේ මේකයි. දැන් මේ ගරු සභාවෙම ඉන්නවා. යම් යම් මන්ත්‍රීවරු. මම ඒ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීවරුන් එක්ක විරෝධකමක් නැහැ. එක් එක් කොටස්වලට අයත් මන්ත්‍රීවරු ඉන්නවා. මේ අයගෙන් වැඩි දෙනෙක් 1977 මහජන ජන්දයෙන් පත් වී ආ අයයි. ඊළඟට මහජන ජන්දයක් නැතුව, නාම යෝජනාවලින් පමණක් පත් වී ආ අය ඉන්නවා. නාම යෝජනාව කරන්නේ පක්ෂයේ ලේකම් කෙනෙක්. [බාධා කිරීමක්] අත්තනගල්ලේ මන්ත්‍රීතුමාත් ආවේ ජන්දයෙන් නොවෙයි. විවි එකෙන්. විවිටා. අත්තනගල්ලේ විවිටා. අපි කියනවා ඒක. ඇයි? කිසිම මහන්සියක් නැහැ. ගත 5 ක විසදමක් නැහැ. ජන්ද පෙළකට ගියේ නැහැ. මොකවත් නැහැ. මන්ත්‍රීවරු වෙලා ඉන්නවා. ඒ විධියට දහතුන් දෙනෙක් පමණ පත් වෙලා ඉන්නවා. ඇයි ඒවාට අතුරු මැතිවරණ නොතියන්නේ? එහෙමනම් කෝ එතැන ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදය? කෝ ඒ ආසනවල මහජනතාවගේ අයිතිය? කිසිම දෙයක් නැහැ. ඒ අයත් දැන් පාර්ලිමේන්තුවේ ඉන්නවා. මහජන ජන්දයෙන් තේරී පත් වුණු අයට අතුරු මැතිවරණ තබනවා නම්, ඒ අයට එන්ට ඉඩදීම හෝ නොදීම කරන්න යනවා නම්, ඇයි එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයට හිතන්න බැරි, නාම යෝජනා කිරීමෙන් පමණක් පත් වුණු මේ මන්ත්‍රී තුමන්ලාත් ඒ අන්දමට මේ අවස්ථාවේදීම මැතිවරණය කින්ම එන්න ඕනාය කියා. ඇත්තෙන්ම ඒ ගොල්ලන්ටත් අවස්ථාව දෙන්න ඕනා. එහෙම නොකළොත් සැහෙන තරම් දුරට එතැනදී අසාධාරණය සිද්ධ වෙනවා. එහෙම නොකළොත් කිසිම සාධාරණ කමක් නැහැ. ඇයි කොටසකට පමණක් අතුරු මැතිවරණ? විරෝධ පක්ෂය වශයෙන් අප ඉල්ලා සිටින්නේ මේකයි; ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස්

[ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා]

පක්ෂය ඉල්ලන්නේ මේකයි. බයි ඉලෙක්ෂන් තියෙන එකට අපි විරුද්ධ නැහැ. අපි කියන්නේ එදා ඉදල තියන්න කියලයි. නොතිබ්බ ආසනවලට දැන්වත් තියන්න. අර නොමිනේට් කළ ඒවටත් සේරටම. අත්තනලේල ආසනයටත් තියන්න. ඒකට කමක් නැහැ. අපේ නැහැ විරුද්ධත්වයක්. අපි පත් කරල එන්නේ එතුමා පමණයි. මේවට තියන්න. තියා සාධාරණත්වය පෙන්වන්න මහජනයාට. එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂය ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදීයි කියන එක පෙන්වන්න. අපට කමක් නැහැ, කවුරු හෝ වැඩි ඡන්දෙන් තේරෙන පුද්ගලයා අපි පිළිගනිමු ජනතා පරමාධිපත්‍යය අනුව පාර්ලිමේන්තුවට අව පුද්ගලයා හැටියට. අපේ ප්‍රශ්නයක් නැහැ. අපි කියන්නේ, නම් කළ දහතුන් දෙනත් ඉවත් කරගෙන දැනට පවතින පුරප්පාඩු දහහතත් ඇතුළුව තිස්දෙනකු තෝරා ගන්න, ඡන්ද තියන්න 'බයි ඉලෙක්ෂන්' තියන්න පුළුවන් බවයි. ඇයි නොකරන්නේ? එතන අසාධාරණයක්. ඡන්දයෙන් පත් වුණු අයට 'බයි ඉලෙක්ෂන්'. ඡන්දයෙන් පත් නුවුණු අයට පාර්ලිමේන්තුවේ ඉන්න පුළුවනි. ඒක වැරදියි. එක තීරණයක් අනුව කරන්න ඕනැ. නැත්නම් ඒක වැරදි කියන එකයි මතය.

ඇයි තමුත්තාන්සේල නොතියන්නේ? නැත්තේ මේකයි. තමුත්තාන්සේලට මේ විධියේ සංශෝධන ගෙන්න තුනෙන් දෙකක බලයක් ඕනැ. ඒකයි ප්‍රශ්නය. මේව සැලැස්ස දේවල් නොවෙයි. තමුත්තාන්සේලට දැන් එකසිය හතළිස් එක් දෙනෙක් හිටපු ආසනවලින් දැහනක් දහඅටක් ගියහම, සමහර උදවිය ලෙඩ ඇදේ, එතකොට දහනනමයක් පමණ වෙනවා, එතකොට ඉන්නේ එකසිය විස්සක් තරම. ඒ එකසිය විසි එකෙනුත් තවත් එකොළහක්, දොළහක් පමණ වෙනුවෙන් ඡන්ද තියන්න ගියොත් මේ එක්කම එතකොට තුනෙන් දෙකේ ඡන්දය නැහැ. එකසිය දහතුනක් නැහැ. එකසිය අටක් පමණ ඉන්නේ. අන්න ඒ නිසායි තමුත්තාන්සේලා ගත්තේ නැත්තේ. තමුත්තාන්සේලා තොත්ත බිබ්බු නෙමෙයි. ඕවා තමුත්තාන්සේලා සාකච්ඡා කලා. අපි දන්නව සාකච්ඡා කළ වෙලාවත්. අපි ඒව කියන්නේ නැහැ. ඒව වැක්ටික්ස්. ඒවා තමුත්තාන්සේලගේ පක්ෂය, ආණ්ඩුව රැක ගන්න කර තිබෙන සාකච්ඡා. ඒක වහගෙන කියනවා, ඒ අය ඉන්න ඕනැලු! කොහොමද ඒක සාධාරණ වෙන්නේ? ඡන්දයෙන් ආවේ නැති එක්කෙනා ඉන්නව. ඡන්දයෙන් ආ එක්කෙනා පාර්ලිමේන්තුවෙන් තෙරපනව. ඉල්ලා අස්වෙන්න බල කරනව.

එතකොට මේක හරු කඩානයකතුමනි, මම හිතන්නේ නැහැ තමුත්තාන්සේල පිළිගන්නවය කියල. තමුත්තාන්සේල කොට කොහොමද වෙන්නේ? තමන් කොයි පෙලාවේ කැපෙනවද දන්නේ නැහැ. අද සමහර වච ඇමතිවරයෙක් වෙලත් බයෙන් ඉන්න වෙනව. ඇයි, රංජිත් අතපත්තු මහතා ඇමතිවරයෙක්. එදා මෙහි ඇවිත් ඇමතිවරයෙක් හැටියට කතා කලා. පසුදා ඇමති වරයෙක් නෙමෙයි. අද මම දැක්කි, සොබා සංරක්ෂණ රැස්වීමේ හිටිය එතුමා, සාමාන්‍ය පුද්ගලයෙක් හැටියට. ඉතින්, ඇත්ත වශයෙන්ම කියතොත් මේක හපි ක්‍රමයක්ද කියල මම දන්නේ නැහැ. තමුත්තාන්සේල ඒක ගෙනයනව.

මම නැවතත් කියනව තමුත්තාන්සේලට, විශේෂ යෙන් අණ්ඩු පක්ෂයට, අපේ කැබිනට් මණ්ඩලයේ හොඳ බුද්ධිමත් පිරිසක් සිටිනවා. නිහඬව සිටිනවා. සමහර විට බයෙන් ඉන්නවා.

**මන්ත්‍රීවරයෙක්**

(அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)  
(A Member)

ඔයා වාඩි වෙන්න. ඔයා පරාදයි, දෙපාරක්, වාඩි වෙන්න.

**ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා**

(திரு. ஆனந்த தஸநாயக்க)  
(Mr. Ananda Dassanayake)

නිහඬව සිටිනව. මේවට පොර බදන්න ගියොත් මොනව වෙනවද දන්නේ නැහැ. ඇත්ත කාරණය. අත දීල දන තියවන තත්වයක් ඇති වෙලා තියෙනව. කවුරු වත් එහෙම නියවන්නේ නැහැ. එහෙම දන තියවන්න වැඩක් නැහැ. අත අල්ලගෙන ඉදගෙන. ඒවගේ වැඩත් වෙලා තියෙන්නේ. ආණ්ඩුව හැදුව පනතක්. ඒ ආණ්ඩුව හැදි පනතෙන්ම මේ මන්ත්‍රීවරුන් බැඳී සිටිනව පක්ෂ ලේකම්ගේ අණට කීකරු වන්නට. පක්ෂයේ විධායක සභාවට පුළුවන් තමුත්තාන්සේලට විරුද්ධව යන්න. එතකොට මොකක්ද මේකේ තිබෙන පුජාතන්ත්‍රවාදය.

**මන්ත්‍රීවරයෙක්**

(அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)  
(A Member)

වාඩි වෙන්න කරුණාකරල, ඔය ඇති.

**ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා**

(திரு. ஆனந்த தஸநாயக்க)  
(Mr. Ananda Dassanayake)

හරු අගමැතිතුමනි, මෙය නිදහස් කරන්න. මේ මන්ත්‍රී වරුන් පත් වුණේ ඡන්දයකින්. ඉන්න අයටත් ඉදිරියට එන අයටත් නිදහස දෙන්න මන්ත්‍රීවරුන්ගේ බලය, ඒ කියන්නේ මහජනයාගේ බලය, මහජන පරමාධිපත්‍යය, 'පිපල්ස් සවරිටි'—

**මන්ත්‍රීවරයෙක්**

(அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)  
(A Member)

ඔයා ඉල්ලා අස්වෙන්න ඉස්සෙල්ලා.

**ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා**

(திரு. ஆனந்த தஸநாயக்க)  
(Mr. Ananda Dassanayake)

—කියන එක. ඒ අයගේ අරක්ෂාව සඳහා මන්ත්‍රීවරයෙක් දුෂණ කරතොත් ඒ තැනැත්තා ගැන විභාග කර අස්කිරීමේ ක්‍රමය එදා තිබුණා. මුළු ලෝකයේම පවතින්නේ මේ ක්‍රමයයි. වෙනත් ක්‍රමයක් නැහැ. ඒ පරමාධිපත්‍යය නැවතත් දෙන්න. 'ඇමෝඩිමන්ට්' ගේත්ත ඒකට. පක්ෂ ලේකම්වරුන්ගේ බලතල කපා දමා, ඒ අයට ඕනැ හැටියට කටයුතු කරන්න නොදී මහජන



பரமசிவனாய் கியம்தென கர்நன் கெசநயஸி  
தென்ன கிமி மெந்நிவெந்னெ வர்ப்புசாடி ஈரக்தி  
கிசிமி.

ஈபி ஈநுரு மூநிவரணவலெ விருட்டி நகூ. கூமிடி,  
ஈநுரு மூநிவரண பிளிவரெலெ மெகெலெ கிடிமியக் தினைலா.  
ஈநுரு மூநிவரண தியன்நெ 1972 வரவெல் லெ லகெலெ.  
டூன் லீ வரவெல் லெலெ லகூலெ தினைலா. 1977 மக மூநி  
வரணயெடி தரக கல ஈய தரக கெலே 1972 வரவெல் லெ  
லெ ஈநுலெடி; லீ லீநடி க்ருமெ ஈநுலெடி. லீசே ஈயந  
லெலெலெந் தரக கல விமியலெமி மூ ஈநுரு மூநிவரண  
பலவலந்ந யன்நெந். லீசே நலீ—லீ க்ருமெ ஈநுலெ  
லீநடி பலவல வநலா நலீ—லீலமின ஈசேக் லகயன்லெ  
லீநடியெ ஓடிபலந் லெந்ந பூலவநி. பூலவந்ய கியந  
லகமி மகே கூகிமி. ஈயன் லுலெ ஈந்ந திரணய மூகமி  
டி கியா மலெ டன்நெ நகூ.

லீசே லீலமின ஈசேக் லகயன் லூ லெ "ஈபெ லகி  
லிநூ நகூ, ஈபி லீலமின ஈசேக் லகயன்லெ லீநடியெ  
டேலூ" கிய மகலநய லீநடியெ டீ 21 டேனாலெ 15  
டேனெக் லெ 16 டேனெக் லெ 21 ஈலெந் லெகடி  
கர்நன்நெ? லீ ஈய ஈலிந் லாமி லூகெ லீ ஈய ஈய  
கர்நன்நெ க்ருடி? ஈய கர்நன்ந லகூ. க்ருடிவந் நகூ  
ஈய கர்நன்ந. லீ லெலெலந் லீ வர்ப்புசாடிய கிமி லெநலா.  
ஈயிந் ஈயலெ லீ வர்ப்புசாடிய நகூ, லிநூ லெலெலக ஈய  
கர்நன்ந பூலவந் கெ தினைலா. [லாமி கிசிமி] லீ க மலெ  
டன்நெ நகூ. மூ வரவெல் லெலெ கடி ஈயலெ லீ கெ ஈலெ  
லந்ந தினைலெ. ஈயந்ந லெயெயன்லெ மூ வரவெல் லெலெ  
கூகி கூகிவலெ ஓரு டிமி ஈபி வரவெல் லெலெ கடி லெலெ  
லிநூ. மூ ஈய பகலெ விமிந் கல லூலெ லெடினெ டேயக்  
தினைலா நலீ ஈயந்ந லீ கமி லெடினெ டே.

மலெ காலெ டிமி ஈயந்ந க்ருமிந்நன் லெலெ லெ லெடி  
லீநுநிய கிமி லெநலா. ஈபி கியநலா மெசே ஈநுரு மூநி  
வரண பூலெலெலெ லெலா, ஈய லீநாமிபலிநுமி, டூன்  
லெலெலெ டூ ஈநுலெ—லீநலிவரணயெ க்ருமிந் டூன்  
லெலெலெ டூ ஈநுலெ—ஈசே ஈலெடி லெயெ காலெ ஓலெ  
லா 1983 ஈயெலெ லெலெ லெ மூ மூநிவரணயெ தியன்நய  
கியா. லீ கமி ஈசே ஓலெலெ.

**கி. ராஜதூரெ மகூ (பூடே கிய லெலெலெ ஈயந்நுமி)**  
(கி. சி. இராசதுரூ—பிரதேச ஈயிந்ருத்தி ஈயெசர்)  
(Mr. C. Rajadurai—Minister of Regional Develop-  
ment)

மாண்புமிகு சபாநாயகரவர்களை, இந்த ஈயிந்ருத்தி  
ஈயந்நாலு திருத்தப் பிரகூரணயில் நான் பூச லெலெ  
என்ற எண்ணத்தூடு இருக்கலிலை. மாண்புமிகு எதிர்க்கி  
முதல்வருக்கு மட்டக்களப்புத் தொகுதியெயப்பற்றிப் பூச  
வதற்கு எப்போதும் ஈயிந்ருத்தி. ஈயர் இந்த ஈயந்நாலு திருத்த  
தப் பிரகூரண லிவாதத்திற் பூசம்போது மட்டக்களப்புத்  
தொகுதியில் தேர்தல் நடந்துவது, ஈயநாயகத்துக்கு ஈய  
கியம் என்ற கருத்துப்பட இங்கு பூசினர். அதலும் நான்  
கில புள்ளிவிபரங்களை இங்கு எடுத்துக்கூறலெலெ ஈய  
கியமெனக் கருதுகிறேன்.

1977 ஈயம் ஈயண்டு நலெபெற்ற பூதுத்தேல்தலில் மட்டக்  
களப்புத் தொகுதியில் ஈக்கிய தேசியக் கட்டி பெற்ற வாக்ரு  
கள் 12,672. 1977 ஈயம் ஈயண்டு மட்டக்களப்புத் தொகுதியில்

ஈக்கிய தேசியக் கட்டிக்கு எதிராக ஈயிக்கப்பட்ட வாக்ருகள்  
41,271. இந்த 41,271 வாக்ருகளும் தமிழர் விடுதலைக் கட்ட  
லனி தமிழரகக்கட்டி லூலங்கா சதந்திரக் கட்டி, சயேசசை  
ஈயிய லெப்பாளர்களுக்குக் கிடைத்த வாக்ருகளாகும். இந்த  
42,271 வாக்ருகளும் ஈக்கிய தேசியக் கட்டிக்கு எதிராகக்  
கிடைத்தன. 1982 ஈயம் ஈயண்டு ஈயரூபர் மாதம் நலெபெற்ற  
ஈயுதிபதித் தேர்தலில் மட்டக்களப்புத் தொகுதியில் ஈக்கிய  
தேசியக் கட்டிக்கு 24,220 வாக்ருகளைப் பெற்றிருக்கின்றன.  
ஈயலது, முன்னலெ ஈயக்குறைய 12,000 ஈயிப்படியான  
வாக்ருகளை ஈயுதிபதி தேர்தலில் ஈக்கிய தேசியக் கட்டி பெற்  
றுள்ளதென்பதை எதிர்க்கட்டி முதல்வரவர்கள் ஈயியாம  
லெயுப்பது எனக்கு வருத்தமாக இருக்கிறது. ஈக்கிய தேசியக்  
கட்டிக்கு எதிராக ஈயிக்கப்பட்ட வாக்ருகள் 31,000 வரூ  
யாகும். இலெ லூலங்கா சதந்திரக் கட்டிக்கு 9,922 வாக்ரு  
களும் ரூகண லிஜெவீர ஈயர்களுக்கு 580 வாக்ருகளும்,  
தமிழக் கங்கிரசுக்கு 19,000 வாக்ருகளும் டாக்டர் காலெலெ  
ஈயர். டி சில்லா ஈயர்களுக்கு 438 வாக்ருகளும், வாக்ரு  
நாணயக்கார ஈயர்களுக்கு 229 வாக்ருகளுமாகக் கிடைத்  
திருக்கின்றன. ஈயுது கட்டிகளுக்கு கிடைத்த இந்த 31,000  
வாக்ருக்களும் ஈக்கியதேசியக் கட்டிக்கு எதிராகக் கிடைத்த  
வாக்ருக்கள் என்று இங்கே புள்ளி விபரக் கணக்குகள் காட்  
டப்படுகின்றன. ஈயலும், அதே நேரத்தில் 1977 ஈயம் ஈயண்டு  
கிடைத்த 41,000 வாக்ருகளிலிருந்து சகல கட்டிகளும் மட்  
டக்களப்புத் தொகுதியிலே 10,000 வாக்ருகளை இழந்திருக்கும்  
அதே நேரத்தில் ஈக்கிய தேசியக் கட்டி 12,000 வாக்ருகளை  
ஈயிகமாகப் பெற்றிருக்கின்றது, என்பதை நான் இங்கே சுட்  
டிக்காட்டலெலெ ஈயலெயுது ஈயலெயுது. எனலெ மட்டக்  
களப்புத் தொகுதியெயப் பூதுத்தலெலெ ஈக்கிய தேசியக்  
கட்டியின் செல்வாக்கு ஈயிகமாகி ஈயற்குக் கிடைத்த  
வாக்ருகள் இரண்டு மட்டக்களக் கூடியிருக்கின்றது; 12,000  
வாக்ருகள் 24,000 க்ருமதிகமான வாக்ருகளாக ஈயிகரித்திருக்  
கின்றன. இவ்விபரங்களை நாம் மிகவும் உன்னிப்பாகக் கலெனிக்க  
லெலெலெ. இவ்விபரங்களை மறைப்பதலும் எந்தவிதமான  
பிரயோசனமுமில்லை.

சர்வசன வாக்ருகெடுப்பிலே 31,000 வாக்ருகள் பூனைக்குக்  
கிடைத்திருக்கின்றன, இந்த 31,000 வாக்ருக்களும் எப்படியா  
கப் பிரிக்கப்படலெலெலெ. என்பதை நான் இங்கே ஈயுதி  
பதித் தேர்தலில் கிடைத்த வாக்ருப் புள்ளிவிபரங்களிலிருந்து  
காட்டக்கூடியதாக இருக்கின்றது. ஈயலும், மட்டக்களப்புத்  
தொகுதியெயப் பூதுத்தமட்டிலே, ஈக்கிய தேசியக் கட்டி  
1977 ஈயம் ஈயண்டு பெற்ற வாக்ருகளை விட 12,000 ஈயிகப்படி  
யான, வாக்ருகளைப் பெற்றிருக்கின்றது. இது யாருடைய  
வாக்ருகள் என்பதை எதிர்க்கட்டி முதல்வரவர்கள் நினைத்துப்  
பார்த்த லெலெலெ. சர்வசன வாக்ருகெடுப்பிலே 21,000 வாக்ரு  
களை ஈக்கிய தேசியக் கட்டி பெற்றிருக்கிறது. ஈயப்பாழுது  
பெரும் மழை, லெலெலெ ஈயங்கு ஏற்பட்டதையும் நீங்கள் ஈயி  
லீர்கள். கல்கூடா தொகுதியிலே லெலெலெலெ லூலம் வாக்  
ருப் பெட்டிகள் வாக்ருச் சாலகளுக்கு ஈயுப்பப்பட்டதை  
யும் நீங்கள் ஈயிலீர்கள். மட்டக்களப்புத் தொகுதியும் இவ்  
வாரே பூதிக்கப்பட்டிருந்தது இந்த நிலைமையிலும், ஈக்கிய  
தேசியக் கட்டி 1977 ஈயம் ஈயண்டு பெற்ற வாக்ருகளை விட  
ஈயிகப்படியான வாக்ருகளை ஈய்கே பெற்றிருக்கிறதென்பதை  
நான் இங்கே கூறலெலெலெலெ. மேலும் மட்டக்  
களப்பு மாவட்டம் முழுவதையும் எடுத்துக்கூண்டாலும்  
1977 ஈயம் ஈயண்டு கல்கூடா தொகுதி, மட்டக்  
களப்புத் தொகுதி, பட்டிநுப்புத் தொகுதி ஈயிய லூன்று  
தொகுதிகளிலும் ஈக்கியதேசியக் கட்டி பெற்ற வாக்ருகள்

[பி. டி. சேட்டேரே கி. லை]

31,001. ஆனால், சர்வசன வாக்கெடுப்பிலே ஐக்கிய தேசியக் கட்சி மட்டக்களப்பிலே பெற்றிருக்கின்ற வாக்குகள் 47,482 ஆகும்.

ஆகவே, 16,481-வாக்குகளை அதிகப்படியாக ஐக்கிய தேசியக் கட்சி மட்டக்களப்பு மாவட்டத்திற் பெற்றிருக்கிறது. மட்டக்களப்பு மாவட்டத்திலே ஐக்கிய தேசியக் கட்சி அதன் செல்வாக்கை வளர்த்துக்கொண்டிருக்கிறது என்பதையே இது காட்டுகிறது. இந்த விபரங்கள் இச்சபையிலே இருக்கும் மான்யுமிது அங்கத்தவர்களுக்குத் தெரிந்திருக்கும் என்று நான் நினைக்கிறேன்.

மட்டக்களப்புத் தொகுதியில் உள்ள புள்ளி விபரங்களை வீணாகக் குழப்ப வேண்டாம் என்று நான் சொல்ல விரும்புகிறேன். பட்டிசூட்டித் தொகுதியில் 1977 ஆம் ஆண்டு தமிழர் விடுதலைக் கூட்டணி பெற்ற வாக்குகள் 15,877 ஆகும். ஜனாதிபதித் தேர்தலில் பட்டிசூட்டித் தொகுதியில் தமிழக் காங்கிரஸ் பெற்ற வாக்குகள் 21,000 க்கு மேல். அப்படியானால் இங்கே ஜனாதிபதித் தேர்தலில் தமிழக் காங்கிரஸ் தமிழர் விடுதலைக் கூட்டணியைத் தோற்கடித்திருக்கிறது. எனவே, பட்டிசூட்டித் தொகுதியில் ஒரு தேர்தல் வைக்க அவர்கள் சம்மதிக்கிறார்களா?

அதி முக்கியத்துவம் வாய்ந்த ஓர் அரசியல்வாதியைத் திருத்தப் பிரேரணை கொண்டுவரப்பட்டிருக்கும் இந்த நேரத்தில் மட்டக்களப்புத் தொகுதியைப் பற்றி மட்டும் எதிர்க்கட்சி முதல்வர் அவர்கள் எடுத்துச் சொன்ன காரணத்தினால் இந்தச் சபையிலே நான் இந்த விபரங்களைக் கொடுக்கவேண்டிய ஒரு நிர்ப்பந்தத்திற்கு ஆளாகிறேன். இது குறித்து நான் சந்தோஷப்படுகிறேன். 1977 ஆம் ஆண்டு பொதுத் தேர்தலில் என்ன நடைபெற்றது என்பதைப் பற்றி 1979 ஆம் ஆண்டு நான் தமிழர் விடுதலைக் கூட்டணியிலிருந்து விலகி ஐக்கிய தேசியக் கட்சியிற் சேர்ந்த போது இப்பாராளுமன்றத்தில் நான் விளக்கமாக எடுத்துச் சொல்லி இருக்கிறேன். அவற்றையெல்லாம் நான் இப்பொழுது நினைவுபடுத்த விரும்பவில்லை. ஆனால், ஒன்றுமட்டும் தெரி கின்றது. மட்டக்களப்பு மாவட்டத்தைப் பொறுத்த அளவில் ஐக்கிய தேசியக் கட்சியினுடைய செல்வாக்கு வளர்ந்திருக்கிறது என்பதை நான் இங்கு சொல்ல விரும்புகிறேன். நான் பேசுவதற்கு இந்தச் சந்தர்ப்பத்தை எனக்குக் கொடுத்தமைக் காக சபாநாயகர் அவர்களுக்கு நன்றி கூறுகிறேன்.

சர்ஸ் இன்ஸ்பெக்டிவெல் கி. லை

(திரு. சரத் முத்தெட்டுவெகமா)

(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

Mr. Speaker, I have tried to show at various Debates that the Government, by its enactment of the 1978 Constitution and several other matters that they have done thereafter, have quietly been pushed into a situation where they have had to restrict the operation of democracy—liberal democracy as it was known—and the holding of by-elections. I do not want to elaborate on all the instances where they have done it but several clauses in the Constitution show, as several hon. Members have pointed out today by the lack of freedom of Members of Parliament, the fact

that political parties can expel a Member from his party and thereafter from the House and the fact that there can be nominated Members of Parliament, that the entire concept of an elected House was negated.

If we take the history of the Constitutional amendments that have been moved—we are now in what is *de jure* the 5th but *de facto* the 6th Amendment—it is not a question whether there have been too many amendments but of seeing what those amendments were for. Were those amendments moved because there was a lacuna in the law? Were they moved because they had to fill some gap in the Constitution? No! Except the First Amendment which was an amendment regarding the Supreme Court and the Appeal Court, the rest of the amendments moved were *ad hoc* amendments and some of them done *ex post facto*.

Let us look at some of the amendments moved. The Hon. Minister for Regional Development (Mr. C. Rajadurai) spoke before me. One amendment will go down in history as the Rajadurai amendment as it enabled him to cross over from the TULF and join the UNP and remain inviolate in the UNP because he was safeguarded by a majority the UNP had. There was another amendment, the third, which concerned me. That amendment was for the Kalawana by-election. This was an amendment the Government moved when in the face of a by-election going on in the country it tried to bring into this House an utterly preposterous suggestion to seat two Members for a seat which had hitherto been represented by one Member. Fortunately, the Supreme Court held that it could not be done without a Referendum. Mr. Pilapitiya resigned; and a letter from him was read out in Parliament, resigning from a seat which I say he never legally held at the time. That matter was quietly dropped off and no Referendum was held.

சர்ஸ் இன்ஸ்பெக்டிவெல் கி. லை

(அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)

(A Member)

What do you call that amendment?

சர்ஸ் இன்ஸ்பெக்டிவெல் கி. லை

(திரு. சரத் முத்தெட்டுவெகமா)

(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

That amendment I would term an abortive amendment.

The Third Amendment was where the Constitution provided that the term of office of the President shall, without any question, go on till 4th February, 1984. What happened? The UNP realized that it would be inadvisable to have general elections. They thought that there was a chance that they would lose. They found the major opposition party scattered and in

tatters. They found that the opposition parties would probably not be able to come up with a candidate. Thereafter, expediency ruled the decision that made the Third Amendment necessary and provision was made whereby the period of the term of office of the President was brought forward, enabling him to ask for a mandate from the people, and elections for President were held on 20th October, 1982.

Then, Sir we had the Fourth Amendment. It is not the fourth but really the fifth amendment. Anyway, it was called the Fourth Amendment. So I will also call it the Fourth Amendment. It was this Amendment which extended the life of this Parliament. I do not want to go into the history of that, Sir.

His Excellency the President assured the country from time to time during the Presidential Election Campaign - I have on a previous occasion read from newspapers published under aegis of the Government, the Lake House papers and other papers published under the patronage of the Government - that the Presidential Election would be followed by a General Election to elect all the Members of this House. I cannot give you the exact date, but I referred to it once on an earlier occasion. But after the election what happened?

One week later, after the first Cabinet meeting following the Presidential Election, he said that a stable Government was necessary and he was going to call for a Referendum. The Hon. Minister of State announced it as a Cabinet decision at 12 o'clock in the afternoon. His Excellency the President announced it at Warakapola. This was broadcast over the radio. It was only after both those things were done that the country was told that was the decision, that the policy-making body of the United National Party, the Working Committee, met, at 7 or 8 in the night and they had no alternative but to endorse that decision. That was the Fourth Amendment.

Now, look at this Amendment. Somebody had said that this is an attempt to fill a lacuna in the law, in the Constitution, the lacuna being that if the secretary of a party fails or refuses to nominate a person there is no way of filling that vacancy; that is why this Amendment was being made.

Sir, to fall back on that argument, in the known context of events, would be utter hypocrisy. Everybody knows what this Amendment is about.

What happened after the Referendum? After the Referendum it is common ground, well known, that there was a story published in the newspapers and spoken of by UNP Members and Ministers, that elections were going to be held for 28 seats, being the

seats which would add up to 196 Members in this House. The original proposal was to have an election under proportional representation district-wise for 28 seats so that the number of seats in this House would be increased to 196. The purpose, the logic of that was, that the Second Parliament was to consist of 196 Members, that the First Parliament had been extended and it was going to cover up the period which was in fact to be occupied by the Second Parliament, and therefore they were going to hold such an election.

Everybody knows why all this was necessary. During that Presidential Election and during the Referendum several people from the Sri Lanka Freedom Party got on the bandwagon. Many promises were made. Many Promises had to be kept. Mr. Kalugalla had to be given a seat. Mr. Jayaratna had to be given a seat. Several people had to be accommodated. And that was the way that the UNP thought they could accommodate them - by putting them into those 28 seats.

But, of course, that was never going to happen because you could not add to this First Parliament - one half of the First Parliament - a part of the Second Parliament. It was definitely going to call for a Referendum because half - not half, 168 members - of this extended Parliament have been chosen on the basis of electorates and you could not have 28 people being chosen on the basis of proportional representation. And this being a hotch-potch the First Parliament and the Second Parliament, I am reliably informed that the legal advisers of the Government had told the Government that you will never get this through the Supreme Court without a Referendum.

So, another method had to be devised. That is why I say this Amendment has been brought not because there is a lacuna in the Constitution which had to be faced but because a purpose had to be fulfilled. One of those is that the Government is under a bad reputation now. I did not bring them today, but newspapers of foreign countries had commented on the fact that Sri Lanka had a Referendum and extended the life of Parliament. Newspaper columnists, respectable people, have asked the question: Whither Sri Lanka? Where is it moving? And the Government knows that it has to do something to repair its image to show that it has not done away with elections, that it has not done away with the democratic process. And therefore, very cleverly, a formula has been worked out to have an election without the dangers of an election, to have an election without the traumas of an election, to have an election which will not in fact be an effective election.

What has happened? The Government says, "We will have an election on three criteria". Why could it not be on two criteria? Why not on one criteria? I will

[சுரன் இன்னைப்பிழைக்க வேண்டுகிறார்] tell you, Mr. Speaker. Because when you bring the three criteria together and say that all three must be applied, then you get a dispensable number of MPs, you get the dispensable type of MPs, you get the people whom you can cast away from your sinking ship; and the number is also not very dangerous, because nothing happens to the two-third majority that the Government has. They had 143, I think, and they removed 17 or 18. They still have more than enough to come here today and amend the Constitution with the number of MPs they have. They have found that the most important people are not affected. They are given a place somewhere else. I do not want to be personal, I am not saying this in a way derogatory to anybody, but where an important Minister is involved the principle is not applied. He is given a seat somewhere else.

Whatever the arithmetic of Minister Mr. Rajadurai, apart from the Hon. Minister of Finance, the hon. Member for Batticaloa [ M. C. Rajadurai ] has to be protected. I do not know about his importance to the Government, but he is important from the point of view, of the fact that he crossed over to them. It is important as a torch to the Tamil People. So he is all right. This way a formula is worked out. A formula is worked out whereunder no real danger threatens the Government in this by-election.

That is why I say that this is a cosmetic operation, just to give it a cosmetic appearance, to tell the world, "Look, we are not only not doing away with elections, we are having more than ever before. We are having by-elections in May, municipal elections in June. DDC elections next year, co-operative elections another month, grama sanwardana elections another day". All elections except the important election, except the critical election - the General Election. That is stored away. That is why I say that this is not an Amendment to have by-elections. It is an Amendment to further the theory, not of by-elections, but to say bye-bye to elections, to say good-bye to elections. This is an amendment along that path, because this will do no harm to the Government and no good to anybody.

That is why I say, we from the Communist Party say, that we will contest the by-elections if they are held, wherever we can. But we are opposed to this Amendment, and I will support the amendment that my Friend the Member for Attangalla (Mr. Lakshman Jayakody) is bringing, asking for by-elections wherever and whysoever any Member resigns or is removed from this House.

That is the main thing I wanted to say in respect of this matter, but there are some matters I would like to say.

Sir, I do not want to go into how the UNP treats its own people. That is a matter for them to look into. I would like to ask one thing. The hon. Member for Kaduwela (Mr. M. D. H. Jayawardena) is a sick man. He is in hospital. The Government knows that. Normally, when there is a sick MP the Government comes and moves a Motion of Leave for three months. I want to ask somebody responsible, what has happened about it? If they have forgotten, I would like to remind them that time is running out, that the hon. Member for Kaduwela, even if you calculate from the day of the new Parliament, is not likely to be able to come to Parliament in the next month or so. Why do you not move that Motion asking for leave of absence?

உத்தி. இன்னைப்பிழைக்க வேண்டுகிறார்

(திரு. ஏ. ம. விஞ்சன் பரேரா)

(Mr. M. Vincent Perera)

We will do that.

சுரன் இன்னைப்பிழைக்க வேண்டுகிறார்

(திரு. சரத் முத்தெட்டுவெகமா)

(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

I am asking that, Sir, because one newspaper said that Kaduwela will also be one of the seats for which there will be a by-election. Is it so? Is it true that Kaduwela will be one of the seats for which there will be a by-election? If so, how will it be? As far as I know, the hon. Member for Kaduwela is one of those people who have not with that golden pen signed that letter of resignation. As far as I know, he has not signed the letter of resignation. So is he going to be allowed to stay with the leave of this House, which is readily granted whenever that Motion is moved? Or is it going to be like what you did to the former Member for Kalawana? Are you going to forget that leave of absence must be moved? I do not want to go into that because sometimes people might think that I am obsessed by this. But there was an occasion where a Member lost his seat by the fact of his being absent for 3 months and then was nominated again. Perhaps it may be that Mr. M. D. H. Jayawardena will be allowed to be absent for 3 months to lose his seat and will be renominated. May be, I do not know what is going to happen tomorrow to the hon. Member for Pottuvil. I know what is going to happen to him, but I do not know what will happen thereafter. Will his sister be nominated for example? Or his wife?

ஏனான் டி டசனாயக்க இன்னைப்பிழைக்க வேண்டுகிறார்

(திரு. ஆனந்த தஸநாயக்க)

(Mr. Ananda Dassanayake)

He is entitled.

சுரன் இன்னைப்பிழைக்க வேண்டுகிறார்

(திரு. சரத் முத்தெட்டுவெகமா)

(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

-because this is the current practice. I mean, we would like to know before we vote on these matters what is going to happen.

Now, about Mr. O. S. Perera, the papers said that he wanted his daughter nominated. Poor man! I think he was in hospital, fairly ill. I am told that a nurse told him in the morning "You have ceased to be an M.P." So he came here to check. I met a newspaper journalist who told me that he saw Mr. O. S. Perera downstairs looking weak and asked him "What are you doing here? I thought you were in hospital". Mr. O. S. Perera had said "No, no, I came to check up because a nurse told me I am no longer an MP." He wanted his daughter nominated.

So we do not know what is happening. I mean, if the UNP wants to reduce itself to a mockery, that is their problem, but they must stop short of reducing this place to a mockery. What is the net result of this Amendment? We are a House with 140-odd UNP Members. What do you in fact enable the UNP to do? As and when it wants, wherever it wants, at the time and place it wants, it enables the United National Party to order the Commissioner of Elections to have a by-election. In a Constitution which did not provide for it before, you now give them the power. The General Secretary of the UNP is given the power to nominate the time, to nominate the place, to nominate the electorate, and to nominate the unfortunate present incumbent of that seat and decide to have a by-election. Mr. Harsha Abeywardena is one of the most powerful men today as far as this House is concerned. If he wants, after he finishes his round in May, in June he can say "I will choose another ten fellows and give their names, and I will not nominate them again. I will not nominate anybody else. I will have ten more by-elections." It is O.K. I mean, he can go on doing it every year and have ten by-elections and tell the world, "You know, some people said that we have done away with elections, that we have extended the life of Parliament, but in fact every year we are having ten by-elections." So this is going to be a real joke. That is what I want to ask. It is not a question of asking whether you are extending the franchise or whether the Supreme Court has said, with seven judges agreeing, that this is the position and there is no problem. In fact, that is what has happened and that is the situation where the General Secretary of the UNP is concerned.

I want to say another thing, Sir. I want to say another thing, Mr. Speaker, and that is that I firmly believe that if the UNP is going to have any kind of election at all in the future they will scrap the proportional representation scheme. I want to ask the Hon. Prime Minister, can you commit the Government to this proportional representation principle in this House today? Can you say that until the General Election of 1989 you are not going to change the basis of proportional representation? I do not think so because the 1978 Constitution was passed in a state of

euphoria. When the UNP had 51 per cent in 1977, that is, about 140 seats, they thought everything was O.K., nothing would change. But they realized, as they were going along, and thought; we have lost several times before, but we had a large number of votes. So, we must ensure a situation where even if we cannot win electorate by electorate, we get the maximum representation possible, at least adequate representation in the House." So, this great scheme of proportional representation was worked out with a cut-off point which is the highest in the world designed to keep out small parties. At the end of the Presidential Election they realized what would happen if they had proportional representation. Out of 198 seats they would have about 100 seats and about 90 would be Opposition Members. So, all these stories about Naxalites and so on were said and the Referendum held.

Now, I want to ask, is it not true that you are going to bring some amendment about senior attorneys to be called President's Counsel? That is a minor matter. Can we know how many amendments are coming in 1983?

**ஈழத் தீர்மானம் உட்கொடுக்க வேண்டும்**

(திரு. ஆனந்த திஸ்ஸ த அல்விஸ்)

(Mr. Anandattissa de Alwis)

Who can tell?

**ஈழத் தீர்மானம் உட்கொடுக்க வேண்டும்**

(திரு. சரத் முத்தேதுவேகமா)

(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

What a pathetic situation when a Senior Minister himself says, "Who can tell?" I am asking you, who can tell?

**ஈழத் தீர்மானம் உட்கொடுக்க வேண்டும்**

(திரு. ஆனந்த திஸ்ஸ த அல்விஸ்)

(Mr. Anandattissa de Alwis)

How many amendments are there to the American Constitution?

**ஈழத் தீர்மானம் உட்கொடுக்க வேண்டும்**

(திரு. சரத் முத்தேதுவேகமா)

(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

We are not debating an amendment to the American Constitution.

**ஈழத் தீர்மானம் உட்கொடுக்க வேண்டும்**

(திரு. ஆனந்த திஸ்ஸ த அல்விஸ்)

(Mr. Anandattissa de Alwis)

How many amendments are there to the Soviet Constitution? In the Soviet Union you have four constitutions.

**சுரத் முத்தேட்டுவெகமா**

(திரு. சரத் முத்தேட்டுவெகமா)

(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

Nor are we discussing the Soviet Union. We are discussing the Sri Lanka Constitution. When I asked an open question, how many amendments, he says who can tell? I know who can tell.

**அனந்த திஸ்ஸ த அல்விஸ்**

(திரு. ஆனந்த திஸ்ஸ த அல்விஸ்)

(Mr. Anandatissa de Alwis)

When Stalin dies you cannot have his constitution? (Interruption). Krushchev had another constitution.

**சுரத் முத்தேட்டுவெகமா**

(திரு. சரத் முத்தேட்டுவெகமா)

(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

My good Friend is getting angry. I know why he is getting angry. This has nothing to do with Stalin unless somebody is trying to be a Stalin! If he wants to know who can tell, after this Debate is over I will tell him who can tell. This is all I want to say.

There is only one thing more. If the Government is really keen, really interested in testing public opinion – they have now come to the theory that at a General Election on the electorate basis they would have won. That is what they think. So, I want to challenge the Government. Scrap this Amendment. Bring an amendment which will enable you to have a General Election on the basis of the old electorates and say that you are going to have a General Election on the basis of the old electorates. We may win or we may lose – that is another matter – but at least the country will then choose a House which it wants.

I want to say one thing, because several times when I spoke in this House and several times outside this House also, I have been saying that according to the three criteria adopted by the UNP. I should also resign from my seat and offer myself for re-election. First of all, I am not going to do things as they want. I will do things as my Party wants. But even according to the three criteria adopted by you, what is the position? One of the criteria is that the candidate in question should have got less votes than in 1977.

**அனந்த திஸ்ஸ த அல்விஸ்**

(திரு. ஆனந்த திஸ்ஸ த அல்விஸ்)

(Mr. Anandatissa de Alwis)

But did you say that the Members of Parliament must be independent of their party?

**சுரத் முத்தேட்டுவெகமா**

(திரு. சரத் முத்தேட்டுவெகமா)

(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

Members of Parliament must be independent of their party. No, I did not say that. I did not say

Members of Parliament should be independent of their party. Why? I never said that. How can they be independent of their party?

**அனந்த திஸ்ஸ த அல்விஸ்**

(திரு. ஆனந்த திஸ்ஸ த அல்விஸ்)

(Mr. Anandatissa de Alwis)

You were worried about Harsha Abeywardane.

**சுரத் முத்தேட்டுவெகமா**

(திரு. சரத் முத்தேட்டுவெகமா)

(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

Surely Sir, I know that the Hon. Minister of State is quite capable of understanding what I said. He is now just trying to drag some red herring across the Floor of this House. I am not going to waste my time replying to him.

But what happened? First of all I want to say that I never contested any of those elections, nor did my party contest these elections. I supported a certain candidate at the Presidential Election. But even then, if you take the three criteria adopted by them, what is the position in Kalawana? First of all, in 1977, I myself as a candidate of the Communist Party polled 10,436 votes against 12,098 polled by the UNP – a majority of 1000 – odd. Now, in the Presidential Election the candidate whom I supported polled 13,664. So on your criteria, one of those pillars which you have devised to sack 17 fellows, falls off. Second, in the Presidential Election the UNP never got 50 per cent at Kalawana, and at the Referendum I worked for the pot, and we lost by 2,000 votes. I want to say one thing. I do not know who much you will accept it. But all throughout the UNP people who were carrying on that campaign in Kalawana went around the electorate saying, “If you want to keep this present MP vote for the lamp” I am not saying that that is why they all voted. But a fair number of people did vote. I am not saying that if I now stand for election I am cock-sure of winning. I am not used to that kind of bravado. But I am saying, on your own criteria, two of the conditions you do not fulfil in the case of Kalawana (Interruption). What about what? The 50 percent that the UNP polled –

**அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்**

(அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)

(A Member)

The election petition?

**சுரத் முத்தேட்டுவெகமா**

(திரு. சரத் முத்தேட்டுவெகமா)

(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

So, I did not hear what you said (Interruption). I will tell you about it outside.

கலாநாயகர் அவர்கள்

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Have it outside. Yes. Carry on.

சரத் இரத்தெட்டைவேகமா

(திரு. சரத் முத்தெட்டைவேகமா)

(Mr. Sarath Muttettuwegama)

Yes, Sir. It is much better to ignore him. Anyway, those two conditions the UNP did not fulfil. I want to say that because *en passant* several people have made this taunt and one of them is the Hon. Minister for Trade – unfortunately he is not here – who had given an interview to a newspaper saying that “ if the MP for Kalawana does not resign and contest his seat he would expose his hypocrisy”. Now this gentlemen – I do not want to say too much about him because he is not here. By the skin of his teeth, by some 120 votes or something he just managed to get a majority in the Referendum. I am not saying therefore that he should resign. But I want to remind the Hon. Minister of Trade, on the Floor of this House when the Debate for the extension of the life of Parliament was being debated, what did he say ? He said, “One of the good arguments we have for the extension of the life of Parliament is that the member for Kalawana also would be here”. Now he is asking me to resign. Those are matters I do not want to go into. Anyway, several people have had close shaves. Several people have lost. They are quite comfortably here. That is not the point. The point is, this whole thing is an exercise – as I said, “ a cosmetic ” exercise, just done to give a little bit of lipstick to the dark face of the Government which is quietly doing away with the old electoral system.

ரணில் விக்கிரமசிங்க (யுவன அமைச்சர்)

ரணில் விக்கிரமசிங்க (யுவன அமைச்சர்)

(திரு. ரணில் விக்கிரமசிங்க — இளைஞர் அலுவலகங்கள், தொழில்வாய்ப்பு அமைச்சரும் கல்வி அமைச்சரும்)

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

I do not want to take too much of time, but I thought I should make a few observations on the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution. The hon. Member for Attanagalla boasted of the fact that the 1972 Constitution had only one Amendment. That is so. There is very little in it, very widely drafted to give all the powers to the Prime Minister (*Interruption*).

It gave all the powers to the Prime Minister. In the 1978 Constitution we have gone into detail, and from time to time we see the need for amendment.

In the 1972 Constitution all power was given to the Prime Minister, and the courts had no power. Our position is quite different. There are different branches. Sovereignty is with the people while judicial and legislative power is vested in this House. The courts exercise the judicial power vested in the House

and executive power is with the President. It is much more detailed – like the Indian Constitution. The Indian Constitution has had 45 amendments in 35 years and we have had five. A constitution is a living document. The USA has had one constitution for 200 years. The soviet Union – I am sorry the hon. Member for Kalawana (Mr. Sarath Muttettuwegama) is not present in the House just now – has had four constitutions. On the last one, their late President Leonid Brezhnev said that constitutions must change with the times. There are gaps that have to be filled.

The hon. Member for Attanagalla (Mr. Lakshman Jayakody) said that the Government brought in amendments to cover individuals. I would like to remind him that the first thing the United Front Government did when it came into power in 1970 was to bring an Amendment to the Constitution which allowed Mr. Nanda Ellawela to continue in Parliament. When the Senate opposed this, they went a step further and abolished the Senate. The Fifth Amendment seeks to fill a gap in this Constitution, a hiatus. What happens if a party does not nominate a Member to fill a vacancy ? At Attanagalla it took ages before the family fighting was over and the hon. Member was nominated. For a Seat which still remains vacant here, we still have not had a nominee from the TULF and they talk so much about democracy. Instead, they nominate a terrorist to begin with. He has now withdrawn but they have not nominated anyone else to that seat. It is they who make a mockery of democracy. After all, a seat has to be represented in Parliament. This is an Amendment to fill a gap. According to this, if within 30 days the general secretary does not nominate a person to fill a vacancy, there will be a by-election. That is what we have to debate. The Opposition is debating some other matter. The whole of the Constitution and of election law is based on the fact that the general secretary of the party represents the party. In our party, there are its leader and the working committee, and the general secretary carries out their instructions. In the case of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka, the general secretary is its leader and I can understand the hon. Member for Kalawana (Mr. Sarath Muttettuwegama) being frightened that general secretary might cut his neck. With people like K. P. Silva and with the fights that are going on, that fear is real. We know what is happening inside the party.

The SLFP has not even got a secretary, or we do not know who he is. What you are debating here is not the Amendment to the Constitution but a decision of the Working Committee of the UNP that we should, in respect of certain electorates where we had Members sitting in this House, ask them to resign and hold by-elections to those seats. It was a difficult decision for even us to make about colleagues who were our

[රනිල් වික්‍රමසිංහ මහතා]  
 friends, people who fought together with us, and it is this decision which is being challenged in this House. They are not debating this Amendment. They say it is against the Constitution, it is against democracy and limits the use of the franchise.

Then they put up a man without a vote to argue this in courts and that reference was thrown out. Earlier they went to the Civil Rights Movement which is supposed to safeguard the franchise and they argued that the Presidential Election should not be held ahead of time. This is how they protect the franchise. They are now debating the decision of the Working Committee of the UNP and not the Fifth Amendment. They feel the Fifth Amendment may be used to have elections. If so, what is the rationale behind the decision?

In 1978 we adopted a Constitution which envisaged a system of proportional representation. In the elections that were to be held thereafter, candidates were to be elected on a list system, and if a vacancy occurred, the next person on the list would have occupied that vacancy. We also decided, among the transitional provisions, that in regard to this Parliament whenever there was a vacancy the party to which that Member of Parliament belonged should nominate the representative. It was felt that it was that party which got the backing at the General Election of 1977. Then at the Referendum we sought and got an extension of the life of this Parliament for another six years.

At this stage it was felt that, though legally all the Members of the United National Party were entitled to sit here, looking at the voting pattern at the Presidential Election and at the Referendum, there were certain seats in which we had lost the support we had earlier and that morally it would not be correct to have the United National Party representing these seats without obtaining a new mandate from the voters. That is all we have sought to do. That is the rationale behind the thinking of the working committee. It is not doing away with the PR system. It is really strengthening proportional representation, because anyone who comes will be carrying on the main principles of 1978. If in this First Parliament you were to represent a Seat, and if a vacancy is to occur, if a Member is to be nominated, it must be from the Party which has the backing of the electorate. We are only trying to strengthen the PR system, to strengthen the franchise. Legally we are entitled to that Seat as every Member here knows, but on moral grounds the Working Committee of the United National Party thought that it is good if we could test the public opinion in these areas. I mean there are certain Members who have done, I think, more work than the

combined Opposition who represent electorates. Take the universities given, irrigation work done, employment provided. In other areas it may be, and I think, and believe, electorates will return Members of the UNP. But we should go and get the backing of the voters. Is it undemocratic to get a mandate? We are not doing away with the PR system.

I am surprised that the Opposition is opposing this Amendment, with arguments which I do not think are worth even replying to. Whenever this House had before it an Amendment to strengthen the franchise the Opposition opposed it. When we brought an Amendment to have the Presidential Election earlier than stipulated the Opposition opposed it. They sent their Mr. Nadesan and the Civil Rights Movement of the Communist Party to the Supreme Court. A Referendum to ask the people whether the life of this House should be extended or not was opposed by them. Why oppose it? The best thing is to go and ask the people to decide.

Now the Fifth Amendment. It is funny enough now. It was an argument first brought by the Communist Party and now repeated by the SLFP talking in terms of votes. Only 35 per cent of the electorate voted for. Others by voting against or by being silent are against the Government. What matters is the total number of votes polled and whether you have got a majority in it. I would like to ask the Members of the Opposition what were they doing in 1970? What right had Mrs. Bandaranaike to form a government? Who was she? The people did not want her, according to their argument. 2.4 million people voted for the United Front in the 1970 election when the total electorate was 5.5 million. What right had she to be Prime Minister even in 1960? She must have been an impostor to have gone in the cars belonging to the Prime Minister, to have stayed Temple Trees, to have appointed Ministers, according to their argument. They got 1.02 million votes in July 1960 when the total electorate was 3.7 million. And, going on their argument, what is this great revolution of Bandaranaike in 1956 that the common people backed him? He did not have the backing of the majority of the people. 1.04 million people voted out of a total electorate of 3.4 million. Kindly do not adduce arguments which can be turned against you all. These are arguments that come here.

Even the hon. Member for Kalawana, and even the other hon. Members, cannot sit in this House because the total number of votes they have got is less than 50 per cent of the total number of registered voters. Why on earth did you accept office? I mean, you all should be tried before the Presidential Commission for violating the franchise. If this is the argument that you come out with, if you cannot argue, do not speak. Do



not make a mockery of this House. I feel you should not bring this House to that level. What happened to them? They went up and said if J. R. Jayewardene is elected President there will be a dictatorship. They said the Referendum is the last of the elections.

Now there is another round of elections followed by local elections, Development Council elections, and as the hon. Member for Kalawana said, various other elections - co-operative elections, employees council elections, this election and that election. They have to take back all what they have said during the Referendum and the Presidential Election. What they have vomited they have to eat. That is the biggest problem that they have to face now having gone up and said :

'ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදය අවසානයයි, ඒක නැති කරන්න යනවා' කියා විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ උදවිය අපට දෝෂා පරිපෂය කරනවා, මැතිවරණ තියන්න ගියාමත්. ඒ අය කොහොමද තමන්ගේ පක්ෂයේ උදවියට කරුණු කියන්නේ, ඡන්දදායකයන්ට මුහුණ දෙන්නේ? ඒකයි, ඒ අයට තිබෙන ප්‍රශ්නය.

දැන් අපි අතුරු මැතිවරණ තියන්න යනවා. නීතිය අනුව අපි බැඳී නැහැ, අතුරු මැතිවරණ පවත්වන්න. නමුත් යුක්තිය අනුව අපි ඒවා පවත්වනවා. මේ ගොල්ල කියන්නේ 17 කට තොවෙයි, 25 කටම අතුරු මැතිවරණ තියන්න ඕනෑ කියලයි. යුක්තිය අනුව අඩු ගණනේ කීපයකට හෝ අතුරු මැතිවරණ තියන්න අපි කටයුතු කරනවා නොවේ? නමුත් අපිට එහෙම කියන ඒ උදවිය යුක්තිය අනුව ක්‍රියා කළාද?

**ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා**  
(*திரு. ஆனந்த தசநாயக்க*)  
(Mr. Ananda Dassanayake)  
අමුතු දෙයක්.

**රනිල් වික්‍රමසිංහ මහතා**  
(*திரு. ரனில் விக்கிரமசிங்கம்*)  
(Mr. Ranil Wickremasinghe)

අමුතු දෙයක්? හරි නම් නමුත් නාන්සේ මේ ගරු සභාවේ ඉන්න හොඳ නැහැ. නමුත් ලජ්ජා නැතිව මෙතැන ඉන්නවා, ඒ ඡන්දදායකයන් දෙපාරක්ම නමුත් නාන්සේ පැරද්දවා. එම නිසා මෙතැන නොඉද යන්න, ගෙදර. නමුත් නාන්සේලාට ලජ්ජා නැහැ. වමාරපු ඔක්කොම දැන් ආපහු කන්නයි නමුත් නාන්සේලාට සිදු වෙලා තිබෙන්නේ. මහ ලොකුවට මෙතැන කියනවා, පත් කරපු මන්ත්‍රීවරුන්ට වඩා අඩුයි කියා ඡන්දයෙන් තේරී පත් වුණු මන්ත්‍රීවරු.

එහෙම නම් මොකටද, ඡන්දයෙන් තේරී පත් වුණු නුවරඑළිය-මස්කෙළිය දෙවැනි මන්ත්‍රීතුමා, (අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා) අත්තනගල්ලේ මන්ත්‍රී වශයෙන් පක්ෂයෙන් නම් කරවා ගන්න දැහලුවේ? දැන් කපා කරනවා, ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදය ගැන. මේ රජය අපේ

මන්ත්‍රීවරුන් නැති කරනවාලු. එහෙම කරන්නේ හය නිසාලු. අපිට පුළුවන්, අපි ගැන බලා ගන්න. අපි කොහොම හරි ජීවත් වෙන්නම්.

ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයේ තමුත් නාන්සේලාගේ ආණ්ඩුවෙන් තේද, අපි ඔක්කොම මරන්න හැදුවේ? අපේ මන්ත්‍රීවරු ගණනාවක් ඒ කාලේ හිරේ හිරියා. අපි අපේ මන්ත්‍රීවරු බලා ගන්නම්. මේ පිළිබඳව යම්කිසි තීරණයක් ගන්නා නම් ගන්නේ අපේ පක්ෂයයි; පක්ෂයේ කෘත්‍යාධිකාරී මණ්ඩලයයි; ආණ්ඩු පක්ෂයේ පාර්ලිමේන්තු කණ්ඩායමයි. ඒ ඉල්ලා අස්වීමේ තීරණය, අපි ගන්න එකක්.

බලන්න, අපේ ආණ්ඩුවේ මන්ත්‍රීවරු වෙත කිසිම ආණ්ඩුවක මන්ත්‍රීවරුන්ට වඩා කොයි තරම් සේවයක් කර තිබෙනවාද කියා. පාරවල් දමල, පාසල් හදල, වැව් හදල, රැකියා සොයා දීල, ගෙවල් හදල තමන්ගේ පුද්ගල වල කොයි තරම් දියුණුවක් ඇති කර තිබෙනවාද, අපේ මන්ත්‍රීවරු? ඒ අය එක් කෙනෙක්වත් මෙතැන ඇවිත් බිගෙන නටනවාද? රෙදි ගලවාගෙන ගහගන්නවාද?

නමුත් මොකක්ද, බණ්ඩාරනායක මැතිණිය එද කීවේ? 'මම මොනවා කරන්නද, මගේ මන්ත්‍රීවරු බොනවා නේ!' ඒ විධියටයි එතුමිය එද කීවේ. නමුත් අපේ මන්ත්‍රීවරු ගැන එහෙම කියන්න පුළුවන්ද? පසුගිය ආණ්ඩු කාලයේදී මම දවසක් ද, පරණ පාර්ලිමේන්තු ගොඩ නැඟිල්ලට ආවා, මගේ මිත්‍රයෙක් එක්ක. ආවේ අපේ ජනාධිපතිතුමාත්, මහවැලි සංවර්ධන ඇමතිතුමාත් මුණ ගැහෙන්නයි. එද රාත්‍රියේ පාර්ලිමේන්තුවේ විවාදයක් තිබුණු නිසා ඒ ආපන ශාලාවෙන් රාත්‍රී ආහාරය ගන්න අපටත් ආරාධනා කළා. අපි කොහොමයි හිරියේ. පාර්ලිමේන්තු කටයුතු හා ක්‍රීඩා ඇමතිතුමාත් එතැන හිරියා. මම කපා කරද්දී මගේ මිත්‍රයා කීවා, 'මට නම් ඉන්න බැ මම පිට වෙලා යන්න ඕනෑ' කියා. එහෙම කියල ආපන ශාලාවෙන් පිටත් වෙලා යන අතර ඒ කාලයේ ආණ්ඩුවේ හිටපු නියෝජ්‍ය ඇමතිවරයෙක් බිගෙන ඇවිත් තවත් නියෝජ්‍ය ඇමතිවරයෙක් එක්ක මගේ අර මිත්‍රයා අල්ලාගෙන ගහන්න ගිහිත්. එයා බැන්නයි කියලයි, එහෙම ගහන්න ගිහිත් තිබෙන්නේ. එයා කාටවත් බැන්නේ නැහැ. එත කොට අපේ පාර්ලිමේන්තු කටයුතු හා ක්‍රීඩා ඇමතිතුමාත්, කැස්බෑවේ හිටපු මන්ත්‍රීතුමාත් ඇවිල්ලා එයාට බේරගෙන ගිහිත් තිබෙනවා. ඒ කාලයේ පාර්ලිමේන්තුවට යන්න බැ, ආණ්ඩු පක්ෂයේ මන්ත්‍රීවරු එතැනත් බිගෙනයි ඉන්නේ. 'රෙස්ට් හවුස්' වලට යන්න බැ, 'පත් වීම්' දෙනවා. [බාඩා කීරීම්] නොකරපු දේවල් කියල වැඩක් නැහැ නේ!

මන්න ඔය එකක්වත් නැති නිසා, අද විනයක් තිබෙන නිසා, අද රට ඒ ගැන කතා කරන නිසා, මේ ගොල්ලන්ට ලොකු කැක්කුමක් තියෙනව. මේ අය රට කැවා; පාර්ලිමේන්තුව කැවා; සංස්ථා කැවා; අමාත්‍යාංශ කැවා; වත්කම් කැවා; ගැහැණු ලමයින්ට මොනවා කළාද කියල මෙතැන කියන්න බැහැ. හැම එකම නැති කරල දැමීමා. තරුණයන් විසි දහසක් පමණ අමු අමුවේ

[රනිල් වික්‍රමසිංහ මහතා]

මරල දැමීම, අපි මේ වගේ දේවල් කරල තියෙනවාද අන්න ඒකයි මේ අයට අමාරු වෙලා තියෙන්නේ. අපි මැතිවරණ තියෙනවා; මහජනතාව ඉදිරියට යනවා. අපිට හැංගිලා ඉන්න තිබුණා. නව අවුරුදු දෙකකින් අපේ කාලය සමහර විට වැඩි කර ගන්න තිබුණා. ඒ එකක්වත් කරන්නේ නැතුව මහජනතාව ඉදිරිපිටට අපි යන කොට පක්ෂයට වෙලා තියෙන්නේ මොකද කියල අහනවා.

මොකක්ද පක්ෂයට වෙලා තියෙන්නේ? මොකද තමුත්තාත්සෙලගෙ පක්ෂයෙ ගම්පහ මන්ත්‍රීතුමාට (එස්. ඩී. බණ්ඩාරත්නායක මහතා) විරුද්ධව විනය පරීක්ෂණයක් පවත්වන්නේ? එයා විතරද පක්ෂයට විරුද්ධව වැඩ කළේ. අනික් අය වැඩ කළේ නෑද්ද? පක්ෂය ඇතුළෙ විශාල හේද තිබෙනවා හේද? කණ්ඩායම්වලට බෙදී ගහ ගන්නවා; පක්ෂයක් නොවෙයි. අර වැස්සට අම්බලමකට එන කණ්ඩායමක් හැටියට වගෙයි ඉන්නේ.

එන්න අතුරු මැතිවරණයට. දැන් එකට එකතුවෙලා ඉන්නවාල; එකට එකතුවෙලා මරා ගන්නවා. මට ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයේ කණ්ඩායමක් කිව්වා, කරුණා කරල මේ පස් වන සංශෝධනය ඉදිරිපත් කරන්න එපා; අර අනික් කණ්ඩායම පාර්ලිමේන්තුවට ආවොත් අපි නැති වෙයි, ඒ නිසා මිය ගොල්ලන් ගිටියට තමක් නැහැ කියල. තැගිටල ඇත්ත කතා කරන්න. මහජනතාවට අපි කියන්න නෑ. මේ තැක්සෙලයිව් ව්‍යාපාරය ගැන. මම මේ සභාවෙදී ඒ ගැන කිව්වා. පොලීසිය ඒ අය සම්බන්ධයෙන් ක්‍රියා කලා සමහර අය අත් අඩංගුවට ගත්තා. පරීක්ෂණයකින් පස්සේ නිදහස් කර තිබෙනවා. සාමය කඩ කරනවා නම් ඒ අය නැවත අත් අඩංගුවට ගන්න ක්‍රියා කරන්න පුළුවනි. අපි මේවා ගැන මහජනතාවට කිව්වා. සමහර ආසනවල වැඩි ජනතාව අපි කිව්ව දේ පිළි ගත්තේ නැති නම් අපේ යුතුකමක් තිබෙනවා තේද නැවත ගිහින් මහජන කැමැත්ත ලබා ගන්න.

දැන් මෙහෙය ඇවිත් විරුද්ධ පක්ෂයේ අය කතා කරන්නේ මොනවාද? ජන්දයක් එපා නම් කෙළින්ම කතා කරල ඒ ගැන කියන්න හය මොකද? මම එක දෙයක් කියන්නම්. ජාත්‍යන්තර වශයෙන් පළ වන පුවත්පත්වල ලංකාවෙ පැවැත්වුණු මේ මැතිවරණ ගැන අපහාසාත්මක ප්‍රවෘත්ති පළ කර තිබුණාය කියා විරුද්ධ පක්ෂයේ අය කියනවා. එහෙමනම් මොකක්ද කර තිබෙනවාය කියන අපහාසය? මොකක්ද මේ මැතිවරණය ඇති වැරද්ද? අත්තනලේල ගැන කෑ ගහනවා, මොකක්ද වෙලා තියෙනවා කියලා. දකුණු ඉන්දියාවෙ තිබුණ මැතිවරණ දෙකක්. අන්ද්‍රා ප්‍රදේශයෙහි තවත් ප්‍රදේශයකයි. සිය ගණනක් මැරණ. ඇසෑම් ප්‍රදේශයේ දෙදාහක් විතර මැරිලා තියෙනවා. පළුගිය මැතිවරණයෙදී, අපේ රටේ මේ එකක්වත් නැහැ. ඒ ගොල්ලන්ගෙ කාලයෙදී මේ රටේ තිබුණු අතුරු මැතිවරණ වලදී මිනිසුන් මැරුවා. නමුත් අපේ කාලයෙදී එක්කෙනෙක්වත් මැරිලා නැහැ. අපි ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදය ආරක්ෂා කර තිබෙනවා. විරුද්ධ පක්ෂයේ මන්ත්‍රීවරු අපට ප්‍රශංසා කරන්න ඕනෑ මෙවැනි ව්‍යාචාරණයක් අපි පවත්වා ගෙන යනවාය කියල.

අද ප්‍රවෘත්ති පත්‍ර ගහනවා. අපිට බිහින්නත් පුළුවනි. එහෙමනම් මොකටද හය? මොකද මේ කෑ

ගහන්නේ? මේ පනතට විරුද්ධ වෙන්නේ ඇයි? මේකට එක හේතුවක් තියෙනවා. විරුද්ධ පක්ෂයේ මේ හැම එක් කෙනාටම වාගෙ මේ මැතිවරණ දෙකේදීම තමන්ගෙ ආසනවලින් පැරදිලා එළියට එන්න බැරුව දැන් හේතු ගැටියට නොයෙක් නොයෙක් කරුණු දෙනවා; ලේජා නැතුව මේ සභාවෙ ඉන්නවා. මේ සභාවෙ ඉන්න ඒ අයට තියෙන අයිතිය මොකක්ද? මේ ප්‍රතිඵල දිහා බලන්න. විශේෂයෙන්ම අපේ කොත්මලේ මන්ත්‍රීතුමා (ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා) මේ කොත්මලේ ප්‍රතිඵල දිහා බලන්න වලංගු ඡන්ද 31,565 න් ජනාධිපතිවරණයේදී ඡන්ද 18,684 ක් එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයට ලැබුණා. ඒ ගැන කොත්මලේ මන්ත්‍රීතුමාට මොනවද කියන්නේ තියෙන්නේ? (බාධාකීර්මක්) ඇයි කලින් කිව්වෙ නැත්තේ. දැන් කියන්නේ මොනවාද? පැයක් කතා කලා නේ. මම එතුමාට අනියෝග කරනවා, පුළුවන් නම් මිය ආසනයෙන් ඉල්ලා අස්වෙලා අතුරු මැතිවරණයකට මුහුණ දෙන්නය කියල.

ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා  
(ශ්‍රී ල. ආණන්ද තණතායාක)  
(Mr. Ananda Dassanayake)

මම නෙමෙයි ඉල්ලන්න තියෙන්නේ, තමුත්තාත්සෙයි.

රනිල් වික්‍රමසිංහ මහතා  
(ශ්‍රී ල. රාණිල් බික්‍රමසිංහ)  
(Mr. Ranil Wickremasinghe)

අපි එන්නම්. අපේ ආසනය දාලා ඉපි එන්නම්. (බාධාකීර්ම) ඉදගන්න.

ජනාධිපති වරණයෙදී කොත්මලේ ආසනයේ 29,073 ක් ඡන්දය දුන්නා ඒකෙන් 20,240ක් එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයට, ලාම්පුවට දුන්නා. ඒ ගැන දැන් මොකද කියන්නේ? මම අනික් ආසන ගැනත් ඕනෑ නම් කියන්නම්.

තවත් කරුණු කියන්න ඕනෑද්? කලවාන අසනය ගැන කියන්නම්. මගේ චිත්‍ර මන්ත්‍රීතුමා ගැන. එතුමා මේ සභාවෙ ඉන්නවට මම කැමතියි, ඇත්ත වශයෙන්ම. ඒත් මම මේ කාරුණ කියන්න ඕනෑ. අපි කොහොමද අපේ මන්ත්‍රීන් තෝරුවෙ කියල ඇහුවිට. ඒ කියන්නේ මේ ඡන්ද දෙකේදීම තමන්ට සියයට 50ක් ඡන්ද ලැබුණේ නැති අයයි.

කලවාන බලම. කලවානෙ කොමියුනිස්ට් පක්ෂයට නැත්නම් කොමියුනිස්ට් පක්ෂයට සහයෝගය දුන් පක්ෂයට සියයට 50 ක් ඡන්ද හම්බ වුණාද කියා බලමු. මෙන්න බලන්න. ඒ ගොල්ලන් ඡනපතිවරණයේදී සහයෝගය දුන්නේ හෙක්ටර් කොබ්බෑකඩුව මහතාට. කලවානෙ ඡන්ද 28,293 ක් වැටුණා. එයින් කොබ්බෑකඩුව මහතාට ලැබුණේ 13,644යි. සියයට 50ක් වත් නැහැ. එහෙම නම් ඒ මිමිම යටතේ ඒකත් පැරදිලා.

අපි ඊළඟට ගනිමු, ජනමත විචාරණයේදී ඡන්ද සංඛ්‍යාව. කලවානට ඡන්ද වැටුණා සම්පූර්ණයෙන් 24,188ක්. ඒත් ලාම්පුවට හම්බ වුණා, 13,062ක්. එහෙම

නම් ඒ අනුවත් පැරදිලා. අපේ මිමිම අනුව නම් ඉල්ලා අස්වෙන්න ඕනෑ. ඒ මොකද? දෙකෙන්ම පරාදයි. [බාබ කිරීම] කොන්මලේත් පරාදයි.

අනිත් ආසන දෙකෙන් එකක අත්තනගල්ලේ එක් අවස්ථාවකදී වැඩි ඡන්ද සංඛ්‍යාවක් අපට හම්බ වුණා. නුවරඑළිය-මස්කෙළිය වැඩි ඡන්ද අපට හම්බ වුණා, අවස්ථා දෙකේදීම. කවුද මේ කපා කරන්නේ? මොකක්ද මේ ද්‍රවිඩ එක්සත් පෙරමුණ කියන්නේ? ජනපතිවරණයේදී ඉදිරිපත් වුණේවත් නැහැ. ජනමත විචාරණයේදී ඒ ගොල්ලන් ඉන්න ආසනවල කළයට වැඩිය හම්බ වුණා. ඒත් ද්‍රවිඩ එක්සත් විමුක්ති පෙරමුණ පක්ෂයට දුන් ඡන්දද, අනික් පක්ෂ වලට දුන් ඡන්දද කියා දන්නේ නැහැ. ඒ ගොල්ල කීව්වා, "අපි අගෝස්තු මාසෙදී ඉල්ලා අස්වෙනවා" කියා. දැන් මේ සංශෝධනය ආව කීසා බය වෙලා. කුමාර පොන්නම්බලම්ට පැරදෙයිද එයාට පැරදෙයිද මෙයාට පැරදෙයිද කියලා දැන් විතරයි තර්ක හෙයන්න යන්නේ. පොතු විල් ආසනය දිහා බලනවා, මධකලපුව ආසනය දිහා බලනවා. තමන්ට තිබෙන වැඩේ තමන් කරන එකතෙ නියෙන්නේ, අනුන් ගැන බලන්නේ නැතිව.

මන්න බයේ, කපා කරනවා අනික් අය ගැන. එක කරුණක් පමණක් මම කියන්න කැමතියි. 1975 දී අපේ ජනාධිපතිතුමා විරුද්ධ පක්ෂයේ නායක භාවයට තනි යම තමන්ගේ ආසනයෙන් ඉල්ලා අස් වුණා. ආණ්ඩුවේ අයට ඉල්ලා අස්වෙන්න කීව්වේ නැහැ. තනියම කලා අතුරු මැතිවරණයට ඉදිරිපත් වුණා. අනේ මේ අය ප්‍රජා තන්ත්‍රවාදය ආරක්ෂා කරන්න යනවා නම්, ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍ර වාදය ආරක්ෂා කරන්නට කපා කරනවා නම් අනික් අයට නොකියා කරුණකර තමන් ඉල්ලා අස්වෙන්නය, අතුරු මැතිවරණයට ඉදිරිපත් වෙන්නය කියා මම මෙතෙක්දී අභියෝගයක් කරනවා. ඔය පක්ෂ පිටිපස්සෙ හැංගිලා, ඔය ලේකම්වරු පිටිපස්සෙ හැංගිලා, ඔය කඵ පෙට්ටි පිටිපස්සෙ හැංගිලා කරුණකර ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදය ගැන නොදන්න දේ කියන්න යන්න එපාය කියා මම කියන්න කැමතියි.

ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදය ඝාතනය කළ කොමියුනිස්ට් පක්ෂය ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදය ඝාතනය කළ ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂය මේ රටේ තරුණ තරුණියන් දස දහසකගේ ලේවලින් අත් තෙමුණු මිනීමරු සංවිධාන අතුරු මැතිවරණවලට ඉදිරිපත් වුණෙත් මහජනතාව අතු ගා දමන නිසා දැන් බය වෙලා කකුල් ගැහි ගැහි තර්ක ඉදිරිපත් කරනවා. මම කියනවා ලැජ්ජා තැතිව මෙතැනින් පිටවෙන්න කියා, මහජනතාවගේ අභියෝගයක් තැන්නම් මෙතැ නින් පැනල යන්න. ලැජ්ජා තැතිව මෙතැන ඉන්න එපා. ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදය කිලුටු කරන්න එපා. මහජන තාවගේ සහයෝගයක් නැහැ. අඩු ගණනේ මේ සංශෝ ධනයටවත් පක්ෂව ඡන්දය දී පිටවෙනවා නම් හොඳයි. මහජනතාවගේ වරම ලබාගෙන ආපසු එන ලෙස ඉල්ල මින් මේ පස්වන සංශෝධනයට මුළු සහායවීම සහයෝ ගය දෙන ලෙස ඉල්ලමින් මගේ වචන ස්වල්පය අවසන් කරනවා.

අ. භා. 8.85

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

(*திரு. ஆர். பிரமதாசு — பிரதம அமைச்சரும், உள்ளா ஶாட்சி, வீடமைப்பு, நிர்மாண அமைச்சரும் நெடுஞ்சாலைகள் அமைச்சரும் பாராளுமன்றச் சபை முதல்கரும்*)

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

ගරු කපානායකතුමනි, මම හිතනවා සැහෙන කාලයක් අපි ගත කලා, මේ සංශෝධනය පිළිබඳ විවාදයට. මුලදී මම හිතුවා, විපක්ෂයෙන් පිළිතුරු දීමට තරම් යමක් කියවුණේ නැති නිසා, කිසිවක් නොකියා ඉන්න. හරයක් ඇති දෙයක් නොව බොර ඇති හුඟක් දේ කියවුණ නිසා ජලය ටිකක් නොපැහැදිලියි. ඒ නිසා එය පැහැදිලි කරන්නට මේ අවස්ථාවේදී වචන ස්වල්පයක් ඉදිරිපත් කරන්න කැමතියි.

ගරු කපානායකතුමනි, ප්‍රථමයෙන්ම මා කියන්න ඕනෑ, ගරු අත්තනගල්ලේ මන්ත්‍රීතුමාට (ලක්ෂ්මන් ජයකොඩි මහතා) එතුමා ඉදිරිපත් කර තිබෙන ඊතියා සංශෝධනය අපි පිළිනොගන්නා බව. එය සංශෝධනය යක් නොවෙයි; එය වෙනමම ව්‍යවස්ථාවක්. මේ සංශෝ ධනය පිළිගන්නොත් නැවතත් සුදුසුම උසාවියට යන්න අපට සිදු වෙනවා. මන්ද? සුදුසුම උසාවිය ඉදිරියේ, ව්‍ය වස්ථා අධිකරණය ඉදිරියේ, විවාද වුණ සංශෝධනය හා මේ සංශෝධනය අතර විශාල පරතරයක් තිබෙනවා. මේක වෙනමම ව්‍යවස්ථාවක්. පරමාර්ථයට විරුද්ධයි. ඒ නිසා එය පිළිගන්න අපහසුයි. එය මම මුලින්ම කියන්න කැමතියි.

දෙවනුව මා කියන්න කැමතියි, පළාත් පාලන මැති වරණවලදී හා සංවර්ධන සහා මැතිවරණවලදී ජන අනු පාත ක්‍රමය මේ රජය ක්‍රියාත්මක කර තිබෙන බව. ඒ වගේම දෙවැනි පාර්ලිමේන්තුවට ඡන්ද විමසීම් පවත් වන විට ජන අනුපාත ක්‍රමය —Proportional Representation ක්‍රමය—ක්‍රියාත්මක කරන්නට ව්‍ය වස්ථා සාදා තිබෙනවා. දැන්, පවත්වන ලද ජනපතිවර ණයේත්, ජනමතවරණයේත් ක්‍රියාත්මක භාවය ගැන මැතිවරණ කොමසාරිස්වරයාට සිදු වෙයි මේ පාර්ලිමේන් තුවට වාර්තාවක් ඉදිරිපත් කරන්න. හැම මැතිවරණය කට පසුවම සිදු වෙන දෙයක් තමයි ඒ. හැම ඡන්ද විමසීමකින්ම පසුව මැතිවරණ කොමසාරිස්වරයා විසින් කළ යුතු ඉතා වැදගත් කාර්යයක් තිබෙනවා. එනම් ඒ මැතිවරණවල අත්දැකීම් පිළිබඳ වාර්තාවක් පාර්ලි මේන්තුවට ඉදිරිපත් කිරීමයි. එසේ ඉදිරිපත් කලාම පාර්ලිමේන්තුව විසින් සියලුම පක්ෂ නියෝජිතය වන ආකාරයට මන්ත්‍රී කාරක සභාවක් පත් කරන්න ඕනෑ. එම මන්ත්‍රී කාරක සභාව ඒ වාර්තාව නිරීක්ෂණය කළ යුතුයි. මේ පවත්වන ලද ජනපතිවරණයේත්, ජනමත වරණයේත් ක්‍රියාදාමය ඒ වාර්තාවෙන් මතු කෙරෙ නවා. ඒ අවස්ථාවේදී මන්ත්‍රීවරුන්ට අවස්ථාවක් ලැබෙනවා, තව දුරටත් මේ ඡන්ද ක්‍රම ගැන තමන්ගේ අවධානය යොමු කර, මොන ආකාරයට මහජන අයිතිය තව තවත් තහවුරු වන විධියට එය කළ යුතුද කියා හොඳා බලන්න.

[ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා]

අපි මේ ජන අනුපාත ක්‍රමය පිළිගත්තේ ඉතාම වැදගත් හේතුවක් උඩයි. තමුන් නාන්සේලා දන්නවා, ඇතැම් ජන්ද කොට්ඨාශයක ජන්ද දායකයින් 20,000 ක් ඉන්නවා. ඒ ජන්ද කොට්ඨාශයටත් එක මන්ත්‍රී වරයෙක් ඉන්නවා. ඇතැම් ජන්ද කොට්ඨාශයක ජන්ද දායකයන් 60,000 ක් ඉන්නවා. එතැනටත් එක මන්ත්‍රී වරයායි. 20,000 කටත් එක මන්ත්‍රීවරයායි ; 60,000 කටත් එක මන්ත්‍රීවරයායි. ඒ 60,000 ඉන්න තැන 40,000 කට නියම නියෝජනයක් නැහැ. 20,000 ක් ඉන්න තැනට එක මන්ත්‍රීවරයෙක් ලැබෙන අතර 60,000 ක් ඉන්න තැනටත් එක මන්ත්‍රීවරයෙක් ලැබුණොත් මොන විධියේ වෙනසක් ජන්ද බලයේ තිබෙනවාද කියා තමුන් නාන්සේ දන්නවා. දිස්ත්‍රික්ක මට්ටමෙන් ජන අනුපාත ක්‍රමයක් ඇති කරන්නට ප්‍රධාන කරණයක් වශයෙන් හේතුවුණේ ඒක තමයි. එතකොට ඒ ක්‍රමය තවත් දියුණු කළයුතු නම් මැතිවරණ කොමසාරිස්ගේ වාර්තාව ලැබුණාම ඒ ගැන සලකා බලන්නට පුළුවනි. එම නිසා කලාවතේ මන්ත්‍රීතුමාටත් අනෙකුත් මන්ත්‍රීවරුන්ටත් මම කියන්නට කැමතියි ජන අනුපාතය අනුව ජන්ද විමසීම් ක්‍රමය අපි අත්හැර නැති බව. අපි ඒක ක්‍රියාත්මක කර තිබෙනවා. පළාත් පාලන මැතිවරණවලදීත් සංවර්ධන සභා මැතිවරණවලදීත් අපි ඒක ක්‍රියාත්මක කළා. ඇත්ත වශයෙන්ම ඒක අපේ අවසියසට ගිවියා. පළාත් පාලන මැතිවරණවලදීත් සංවර්ධන සභා මැතිවරණවලදීත් අපට පෙනුණා අපි විරුද්ධ පක්ෂයට නිකම් ආසන දී තිබෙන බව. නමුත් ඒ වුණත් ඒකට කමක් නැත කියා අපි පිළිගන්නා, එමගින් නියම විධියට ජනතාවගේ නැමැත්ත නැත නොත් නියෝජනය සිදු වන නිසා. ඒ ක්‍රමය තවත් දියුණු කරන්නට අවශ්‍ය නම් අපට ඒ ගැන සලකා බලන්නට පුළුවනි.

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, මේ ඇති කරන විවේචනා සංගෝධනය ගැන සලකා බලන්නට පෙර මේ සභාවේ විපක්ෂයෙන් අපේ රජයට විරුද්ධව මත ප්‍රකාශ කරන උදව්‍යයෙන් මම ප්‍රශ්නයක් අහන්නට කැමතියි. සර්ව ජන ජන්දය පිළිබඳව කල්පනා කරන විට මේ පසුගිය ජනපතිවරණයේදී තරම් අධිකාරයකින්, රටේ හැම විරුද්ධ පක්ෂයකම ප්‍රතිපත්ති ගැන සලකා බලා, නායකත්වය ගැන සැලකිල්ලක් දක්වා ජන්දය පාවිච්චි කළ වෙනත් අවස්ථාවක් ගැන තමුන් නාන්සේලාට ගිහන්නට පුළුවන්ද? මම හිතන්නෙ නැහැ මේ රජයේ පරම හතුරෙක් වත් කියයි කියල ජනපතිවරණය සාධාරණ ලෙස පැවැත්වූයේ නැත කියල. අත්තන ගල්ලේ මන්ත්‍රීතුමා හෝ කලවානේ මන්ත්‍රීතුමා හෝ එනම කියයි කියලවත් මම ගිහන්නෙ නැහැ. මන්ද? ජනාධිපති තරඟයේදී පක්ෂ හයක් ඉදිරිපත් වුණා. හදිසි නීතිය හෝ වෙන කිසිම සීමාවක් තිබුණේ නැහැ. බොහොම සාධාරණ විධියට ඒ මැතිවරණය පැවැත්වුණා. කොයි තරම් සාධාරණ ලෙස පැවැත්වුවාද කිව්වොත් අද ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂය වෙනුවෙන් වේගවත් කථාවක් කළ නුවරඑළිය—මස්කෙළිය දෙවන මන්ත්‍රීතුමා (අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා) එදා පුවත්පත් ප්‍රකාශයකුත් කළා, බොහොම සාධාරණ මැතිවරණයක් පැවැත්වුවාය කියා. මා ළඟ තිබෙනවා ඒ ප්‍රකාශය. 1982 ඔක්තෝබර් 01 බල දින 08 දින “රිපිට්ස්” පත්‍රය. මේ

ප්‍රකාශය නිසා එතුමා කරදරයකට වැටිල ඉන්නවා, මේ අවස්ථාවේ. එතුමා ඒකෙන් ගොඩ එන්න හුඟක් වැයම් කරන බව මම දන්නවා. මගේ හිතේ එතුමා අද කළ කථාව මුළුමනින්ම ඒ සඳහා දරපු උත්සාහයක්. මම ඒ කථාව අහගෙන ගිවිය. අද කළ ඒ කථාව අපට එරෙහිව කළ කථාවක්ය කියල මම හාර ගන්නෙ නැහැ. මම දන්නවා, ඊයේ අවමාගේ මැදහත්වීම උඩ යැහෙන ප්‍රමාණයක සහනයක්—පොඩි සහනයක්—ලැබුණු බව. [බැංකු කිරීමක්] දැන් අත්තනගල්ලේ මන්ත්‍රීතුමා අරන බව තවත් නරක් කරන්නට උත්සාහ කරනවා. ඒව කරන්නට එපා.

අපේ නුවරඑළිය මස්කෙළිය දෙවන මන්ත්‍රීතුමා ලොකු අමාරුවක වැටිල ඉන්නවා. මේ වෙලාව අපිත් එතුමාට විකක් උදව් කරන්නට ඕනෑ. මක්නිසාද? ඒ වෙලාවේ—අපේ ජයග්‍රහණයේදී—එතුමා ප්‍රශංසා කළා. ප්‍රශංසා කළා පමණක් නොවෙයි ; එතුමා හුඟක් දුරටම පිළිගන්නා, ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂය තුළ අර නාක්සල සිටි වැඩ පිළිවෙළ තිබෙන බවත් ඒ වාගේම හුඟක් අපට උදව් කළා, ඒක මර්දනයටත්. එතුමාගේ මාර්ගයෙන් අපට හුඟක් විස්තර තොරතුරුත් ලැබිල තිබෙනවා. ඒවාටත් අපි ස්තූති කරන්නට ඕනෑ. එතුමා අද කළ කථාව මම අහගෙන ගිවිය. මම ඉල්ලා සිටිනවා, ගරු මන්ත්‍රීවරුන්ගෙන්, ඒ ගැන අමනාපයක් ඇති කර ගන්නට එපා කියල. ලොකු අමරු තත්ත්වයකින් මිදෙන්නට එතුමා උත්සාහ කළා. අපි කැමතියි. මන්ද? එකක් මම කියන්න ඕනෑ. එතුමා මාක්ස්වාදයට විරුද්ධයි. ඒ ගැන කිසිම ප්‍රශ්නයක් නැහැ. එතුමා මාක්ස්වාදයට විරුද්ධයි. ඒ වගේම මම දන්නවා, එතුමා ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදයට විරුද්ධව කඩාකප්පල්කාරී වැඩ පිළිවෙළවල් කරන වාටත් විරුද්ධයි. ප්‍රසිද්ධියේ කියා තිබෙන දේවල් මම කියන්නේ. ඒ වාගේම එතුමා කැමතියි, ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රීය සමාජවාදී ක්‍රමයකට. මේ ප්‍රවෘත්ති පත්‍රය අනුව එය ප්‍රකාශ වෙනවා. “රිපිට්ස්” 1982 ඔක්තෝබර් 21 වැනි දා එහි මෙසේ සඳහන් වෙනවා :

“මාක්ස්වාදයටත් පෝලිටිවලටත් ජනතාව විරුද්ධයි  
පෝලිමේ නොහොස් ඕනෑම බඩුවක් ගන්න පුළුවන් ආර්ථික ක්‍රමයට ජනතාව කැමති නිසා ඒ ක්‍රමය ඉදිරිපත් කළ ජයවර්ධන මහතා දිනුවා. ජනාධිපතිවරණයෙන් පෙන්නවා ජනතාව පෝලිමි යුගයකට අකමැති බව—ජනපතිවරණ ජය-භාරදුම ගැන අනුරගේ අදහස්”

මම එතුමාගේ වචනවලින්ම කිව්වේ පොත්තුම් කරන්නායි, මේ රටේ බහුතර ජනතාව, වැඩි ජනතාව, සියයට 50 කට 51 කට සියයට 52 කට වැඩි ජනතාව, මෙතෙක් කල් මේ රටේ මොනම නායකයෙකුටත් පක්ෂයකටත් නොදුන් ජන වරමක් මේ එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයටත් සේ. ආර්. ජයවර්ධන ජනාධිපතිතුමාටත් දුන් බව. එය පිළිගන්න ඕනෑ ; අවිවාදයෙන්ම පිළිගන්න ඕනෑ. මේ රටට නිදහස ලබා දෙන්නට ඉතා උදාරතර සේවාවක් කළ සී. එස්. සේනානායක අගමැතිතුමාටත් මේ වරම 1947 දී නොලැබුන බව තමුන් නාන්සේලා දන්නවා. ඊට පසුව පත් වූ මොනම අගමැතිවරයෙකුටත් මේ වරම ලබා ගන්නට බැරි වුණා. අපේ නායකතුමා එළිපිටම ජනතාවට කිව්වා, “මම අමුතු පොරොන්දුවක් මේ අවස්ථාවේ වෙන්නේ නැහැ, 1977 දී තමුන් නාන්සේලා මේ රටේ නිවහල් දැහැමි සංකල්පය අනුව නිදහස් ආර්ථිකයක් අනුව මේ රට වැටී තිබෙන පතාලයෙන් ගොඩ

ගත්තට මට දන්නා බු වරම තවත් අවුරුදු හයකට මට දීක් කරලා දෙන්න. මට අවස්ථාව දෙන්න, මා කෙරෙහි විශ්වාසය තබන්න" කියා. මතක තබා ගන්න ගරු කපා නායකතුමනි, ගරු මන්ත්‍රීවරුනි, ඒ වරම එතුමාට ලැබුණේ කොට්ඨාශ මට්ටමෙන් පත් වී ආ මන්ත්‍රීවරුන්ගේ වැඩ ජන්දයකින් නොවෙයි, කෙලින්ම මේ රටේ පොදු ජනතාවගේ සර්වජන ජන්ද බලයෙන් බව අපි අමතක නොකළ යුතුයි. මීට කලින් මේ රටේ පත් වූ හැම අගමැතිවරයාම රාජ්‍ය නායකයාම ඒ තත්ත්වයට පත් වූණේ කෙලින්ම ජනවරමකින් නොවෙයි; අතියම් වරමකින්. ප්‍රථමයෙන් මන්ත්‍රීවරු පත් වෙතුවා. ඒ මන්ත්‍රීවරු පත් වෙන්නෙත් කොහොමද? නිදහිතයක් වලයෙන් කියනවා නම් 20,000 ක් සිටින කොට්ඨාශයකිනුත් එක් කෙනෙයි; 60,000 ක් සිටින කොට්ඨාශයකිනුත් එක් කෙනෙයි. එහෙම පත් වී ආවාම වැඩි මන්ත්‍රී සංඛ්‍යාවක් සිටින පක්ෂයේ නායකයා රාජ්‍ය නායකයා වෙතවා.

මේ පත්වීම එහෙම නොවෙයි. 1977 දී කලින් තිබුණු 1972 ආණ්ඩු ක්‍රම ව්‍යවස්ථාව අනුව වැඩි මන්ත්‍රීන් සිටින සංඛ්‍යාවක් සිටින පක්ෂයේ නායකයා හැටියට ජනාධිපතිතුමා රාජ්‍ය නායකයා වූණය කියන්න බැරි, ඒ වෙලාවෙන් සියයට 50 කට වැඩි ජන්ද සංඛ්‍යාවක් ජනතාවගෙන් ලැබුණ නිසයි ඒ වෙලාවේ මේ විපක්ෂය මේ සභා ගැබ් තුළදීත් පිටතදීත් කිව්වා, "මෙයාට තියම ජනවර මක් නැහැ; මන්ත්‍රීවරුන්ගේ මැදිහත්වීමෙන් අගමැති වෙලා පාර්ලිමේන්තුව මාර්ගයෙන් ජනාධිපති වූණ කියා. එදාටත් වඩා ආර්ථික තත්ත්වය, උද්බමකාරී තත්ත්වය පීඩාදායකව තිබෙන වෙලාවක, විපක්ෂය හැම බල වේගයක්ම අපට විරුද්ධව එල්ල කර තිබෙන වෙලාවක, රජයක් අවුරුදු පහක් මුළුල්ලේ ක්‍රියාත්මක වූණට පසුව මැතිවරණයකට ඉදිරිපත් වෙලා සාමාන්‍ය ජයක් ලබා ගැනීමත් විශ්වකර්ම වැඩක්. නමුත් 1977 දී ලැබුණ ජයග්‍රහණයටත් වඩා විශිෂ්ඨ ජයග්‍රහණයක් එතුමා ලබා ගත්තා.

මම ඇයි මේ කාරණය මෙතැනදී මතු කරන්නේ? මේ විපක්ෂයේ උදවිය මේ ගරු සභාව තුළත් පිටතදීත් මේ රජයේ ක්‍රියා දාමයන් කැබලි කැබලි වලයෙන් අරගෙන, කෙටස් කොටස් වලයෙන් අරගෙන විග්‍රහ කරල මහා මාන සික තාප්තියක් ලබන්න උත්සාහ ගන්නවා. එහෙම නොවෙයි, මේක විභාග කළ යුත්තේ. මේ රටේ ජනතාව මොන වැඩ පිළිවෙළකරද කැමති? ඒ වැඩ පිළිවෙළ ක්‍රියාත්මක කරන්න කාටද වගකීම භාර දුන්නේ? අන්න ඒ වගකීම උබ, මේ ආණ්ඩුක්‍රම ව්‍යවස්ථාව වෙනස් කෙරුවත්, මන්ත්‍රී මණ්ඩලයේ සැකසීම වෙනස් කෙරුවත්, ජන්ද නීතිරීති වෙනස් කෙරුවත්, මේ සියල්ලක් දෙසම බැලිය යුත්තේ අර පොදු ජන වරම අනුව බව මම මතක් කරන්න කැමතියි. ඒකයි, මම නුවරඑළිය—මස්කෙළිය දෙවන ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමාගේ (අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා) මේ ප්‍රකාශය එළියට ගත්තේ. එහෙම නැතිව එතුමා තවත් අමාරුවේ දමන්න නොවෙයි.

ඒ ජනාධිපතිවරණය ඉවර වූණ වහාම එතුමා කළ ප්‍රකාශය නොකළාය කියා අද වන තුරු කියා නැහැ. මේ ප්‍රකාශයට විරුද්ධව එතුමාට වෝදනා ඉදිරිපත් කළා, එතුමාගේ මස්සිනා; ඩී. ඩබ්ලිව්. කුමාරතුංග මහතා;

ඉලංගරත්න මහතා. එතුමා ඊට ප්‍රතිවෝදනා ඉදිරිපත් කළා, මස්සිනාට; ඩී. ඩබ්ලිව්. කුමාරතුංග මහතාට; ඉලංගරත්න මහතාට. අදත් කපාවේදී ඇනුමක් ගැහුවා, ඉලංගරත්න මහතාට. බැරිවෙලාවත් ඉලංගරත්න මහතා එහෙම ආවා නම් කොලොන්නාව ආසනයේ උදව් කරන්න, අපේ දිසා ඇමතිතුමාත් පරදන්නා තිබුණා නේද කියා ඇහැව්වා. ඉතින් මේ රණ්ඩුවේ කෙළවරක් නැහැ. මේක අම්මට සමාදාන කරන්න පුළුවන් රණ්ඩුවක් නොවෙයි, අත්තනගල්ලේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා මම දන්නවා, සැහෙන සාමයක් ඊයේ පෙරේදා ඇති කර ගත්තා. "ආයත් ඔහෙ උන්නාවේ, අප්පුන් ඔහෙ උන්නාවේ; අපි දෙන්නම ඇත්තාවේ" කියල සිත් දු වක් තියෙනවා. ඒවාගේ 'මෙයාට තිබෙන වෝදනා ඔය ගොල්ල අස් කර ගන්නවා, ඔයගොල්ලන්ට තිබෙන වෝදනා එයා අස් කර ගන්නවා, මීට පස්සේ මම මේ දරුවාව බලා ගන්නවා' අම්ම කෙනෙක් එහෙම තමයි. ඒවා හොදට 'සේප්' කරල තියනවා. නමුත් 'සේප්' වෙන්නේ නැහැ.

අද නුවරඑළිය—මස්කෙළිය දෙවන ගරු මන්ත්‍රී තුමාගේ කපාව අසාගෙන හිටි කෙනෙකුට පෙණුනාට ආණ්ඩුවට විරුද්ධව තද බැටයක් දුන්නාය කියලා; ඒ කපාවේ හරය, සම්පීණ්ඩනය අරගෙන විග්‍රහ කරල බැලූ වොත්, එක කෙටි භාෂාවකින් කිව්වොත්, එතුමා කිව්වේ මොකක්ද මේ ආණ්ඩුවට? එතුමා "උබලා හරි මිනිස්සුනේ. උබලා කිව්වානේ මේ නක්සලයිවි කර්කර්කර මෙතෙක්ට එන්න දෙන්නේ නැහැයි කියලා; උබලා දැන් මේ අතුරු මැතිවරණ තියල කරන්න යන්නේ මේ යෝදයෝ ටිකට මෙතෙක්ට එන්න ඉබ් දෙන එකනේ" කියන බැහැම නොවැ, මේ කළේ. මම බොහොම ප්‍රවේශමෙන් මේක අහගෙන හිටිය. ඇත්ත වලයෙන්ම නුවරඑළිය—මස්කෙළිය දෙවන ගරු මන්ත්‍රී තුමාට මම කියන්න කැමතියි, මෙතැන මේ සෝපාවි තීන්දා හරියට අහගන්න බැරි නිසා මම මගේ කාමරයට ගිහින් අර රූපවාහිණී යන්ත්‍රය දිසා බලාගෙන හොදට එතුමාගේ කතාව අහගෙන හිටිය බව. මෙතෙක්ට වඩා හොදට එතුමාගේ මුණ මට එතෙක්ට පෙණුනා. ඒ මුණ තුළින් මට හදවතත් පෙණෙන්නට පටන් ගත්තා. පුදුම දෙයක්. මම හිතන හැටියට රාජ්‍ය ඇමතිතුමා පුදුම වැඩක් කරලා තියෙනවා, මේ රූපවාහිණී යන්ත්‍රවලට. හොදට බලාගෙන හිටියොත් කපා කරනවිට හදවතත් මතු වෙලා පෙනෙනවා. මේ කියන වෙලාවේ "උබලා නක්සලයිවි කියල කිව්වා; මම නම් දන්නේ නැහැ, කවුද නක්සලයිවි කියන්නේ කියලා; නමුත් උබලා නක්සලයිවිලා කියල කවිටියක් ගැන කිව්වා; ඒවාගෙම නක්සලයිවිකාරකින් මෙතෙක්ට එනවාට විරුද්ධයි කිව්වා; මොකක්ද දැන් උබලා කරන්න යන්නේ; මුත් එන්න නොවැ යන්නේ" කිව්වා. මම අර ටිකක් ග්‍රාම්‍ය විධියටයි, කිව්වේ. ඒකයි, මේ කියන්නේ. එහෙම නැතිව මේ මුදල් ඇමතිතුමාට බණින එකවත්, එහෙම නැතිව බෙලිඅත්තේ හිටපු මිත්‍රයාට බණින එකවත්, එහෙමත් නැත්තම වෙන වෙන තැන්වල ජන්ද විග්‍රහ යක්වත් නොවෙයි, කළේ.

එතුමාට ලොකු තරහක් ඇතිවෙලා තිබෙනවා අපිත් එක්ක "මොකක්ද, මේ උබලා කරන්න යන්නේ? ආණ්ඩුවට මේ බඩඉරෙක්කත් කොහොමද? දැන් මේ යෝදයෝ ටික ලැස්ති වෙනවානෙ අපේ පක්ෂය මාර්ග

[ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා]

යෙන් එන්න." ඒකයි, එතුමා කියන්නේ උන්නාහොට දැන් අමාරුවක් තිබෙනවා ඒ ගෝලේ ලො එක එක නවත් වන්න. කොහොමද විජය කුමාරණතුංග හබරාදුවට එන එක නවත්වන්නේ? අපට කියන්න. [බාධා කිරීමක්] ඒක නේත්තමි. ඒක නවත්වන්න තමුත්තත්සේට තව බලතල නැහැ. ඒක නවත්වන්න බැහැ. දැන් එතැන සකස්වීමක් කරගෙන යනවා. මේ අද තිබෙන තමුත්තත්සේගේ බලෙන් නැති වෙනවා කියා හිතේ තිබෙනවා, මේ අතුරු මැතිවරණ මෙහෙම පවත්වන්න ගියොත්. ඒකයි, මට පේන්නේ. එහෙම නැතුව ගරු කළානායකතුමනි, ඒ කතාවේ වෙන හරයක් තිබෙනවා කියා හිතන්න එපා. එතැන තියෙන්නේ ලොකු වෝදනා වක්, අපට.

ඇත්තවශයෙන්ම මම කියන්න කැමතියි, ජනමත වරණය පවත්වන වෙලාවේ අපි විශේෂයෙන්ම සැල කිල්ලට ගත්ත දෙයක්. මෙය තමුත්තත්සේ දන්නවා. එනම් මේ ජනාධිපතිතුමාට මේ විධියේ වරමක් දී තිබිය දී, එතුමා මේ රටේ රාජ්‍ය නායකයා හැටියට මේ රටේ ජනතාව පත්කර තිබියදී, එතුමාගේ ඒ වැඩපිළිවෙලට උදව්, ආධාර දෙන පාර්ලිමේන්තුවක් අවශ්‍ය නේද කියන එකයි. එතුමාගේ ගමන් මාර්ගය, ක්‍රියා පිළිවෙල, කඩකප්පල් කරන පාර්ලිමේන්තුවක් මෙතැන ඇතිවුනොත් මොකක්ද ඇතිවෙන තත්ත්වය, ජන මතයට? අර විධියේ විශිෂ්ඨ ඓතිහාසික ජයග්‍රහණ යක් කළ එතුමාගේ ක්‍රියා දාමය අකර්මන්‍ය කරන්න බැරිද? ව්‍යවස්ථා සම්මත නොකර ගිවියොත්, ප්‍රමාද කළොත්, මුදල් සම්මත නොකර ගිවියොත්, ප්‍රමාද කළොත්, මොකක්ද ඇතිවෙන තත්ත්වය? කාටද ඒකෙන් පහර වදින්නේ? ජනාධිපතිතුමාට නොවෙයි; දහසක් බලාපොරොත්තු තබා තිබෙන මේ රටේ ජනතාවටයි. ජනතාව අහයි, 'මොකක්ද මේ අපට වුණේ?' කියා. "අපට ඕනෑ නායකත්වය අපි හාර ගන්නා" යන්න කෙළින්ම, විශිෂ්ඨ ලෙසම, ඒ අය ප්‍රකාශ කළා. මේ නුවර එළිය—මස්කෙළිය දෙවන ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා මේ ප්‍රකාශය කර තිබෙනවා, පැහැදිලි ලෙසම අද කළා වගේ වේගවත් අකාරයෙන්ම.

කළානායකතුමනි, ජනමතවරණයට අප ගියේ විශේෂයෙන්ම ජනතාවගෙන් "කරුණාකරලා කියන්න. මෙන් මේ වැඩපිළිවෙල ඉදිරියට ගෙන යනවාට තමුත්තත්සේලා කැමතිද අකැමතිද?" කියන එක අහන්නයි. නොයෙකුත් ප්‍රචාර අතර, නොයෙකුත් විධියේ හැලහැප් පිලි අතර, ජන්දය පාවිච්චි කළ සංඛ්‍යාවෙන් අපි එය ඇහුවා. සියයට 53 ක්, 54 ක් පමණ ප්‍රමාණයක් ඒ වැඩ පිළිවෙලටත් ජන්දය දුන්නා. කළානායකතුමනි, ඉන් පසුව අපි පක්ෂයක් හැටියට කල්පනා කර යම් යම්පිය වරවල් ගත්තා. අපට වුවමනායි, අපේ පක්ෂය කල්පනා කරන ආකාරයෙන් ජන මතය දැන කියා හන්න. ඒක පක්ෂය කරන තීරණයක්. බොහොම ලොකුවට සදහන් කළා, අපේ පක්ෂයේ ලේකම් මහතා ගැන. මම එකක් කියන්න ඕනෑ එය තමුත්තත්සේලාත් පිළි අරගෙන තිබෙන එකක්. අද ලංකාවේ තිබෙන දේශපාලන පක්ෂ අතර, නිසි ව්‍යවස්ථාවක් ඇති, නිසි සංවිධානයක් ඇති, තීරණ ගන්නා, ඒ තීරණ ප්‍රකාශ කරන එකම පක්ෂය එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයය කියන්න පුළුවන්.

අපේ ලේකම් මහතා කරන්නේ, අපේ භාණ්ඩාගාරික මහතා කරන්නේ, අපේ සභාපති මහතා කරන්නේ පක්ෂයේ යෝජනා ක්‍රියාත්මක කිරීමයි. තමුත්තත්සේලාට ඒක කියන්න පුළුවන්ද? නුවරඑළිය— මස්කෙළිය දෙවන ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා දන්නවා, තමන්ගේ මැණියන් පක්ෂයේ ලේකම්ට කීව්‍යාම රැස්වීමක් කැඳවන්න කියා, මිනිහා හැංගුණු බව. රත්නසිරි වික්‍රම නායකන්, හර්ෂ අබේවර්ධන අතර තිබෙන වෙනස ඒකයි, හර්ෂ අබේවර්ධන මහතා වැනි පක්ෂයේ වැඩ පිළිවෙලටත් නිසි පරිදි ක්‍රියාත්මක කරන ලේකම්වරයෙක් තමුත්තත්සේලාට නැති එක ගැන අපි කණගාටු වෙනවා.

කලවාන ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමාට (සරත් මුත්තේවටුවෙගම මහතා) ඕක කියන්න පුළුවන්ද? පිරි කෙනමන් සහෝදරයා ලේකම් හැටියට සිටින විට මොකක්ද වෙච්ච තත්ත්වය? දොස්තර වික්‍රමසිංහ මහත්මයාට මොකක්ද වුණේ? නායකයාට සිද්ධ වුණා, ලේකම් පක්ෂය දුවන්න. ලේකම් අල්ලගන්න බැහැ. මිනිහ හැංගිල අරලිය ගහ මන්දිරය ඇතුළේ. මේවා මතක් කැද්ද? ඒ උදවිය හිතනවා අපි මැරිල උපන්නාය. කියල ඊයේ පෙරෙයිද. අපෙන් මේ අතීතය අහගන්නා නේද මේට අවුස්සන්නේ?

දේශපාලන පක්ෂ ගැන කළා කරනවා; ලේකම්ලා ගැන කළා කරනවා; පක්ෂවල නිලධාරීන්ට තිබෙන බල තල ගැන කළා කරනවා; මන්ත්‍රීවරු ගැන කළා කරනවා. අපේ පක්ෂයේ ඒ ඒ කොටස්වලට ඒ ඒ බලතල තිබෙනවා. මන්ත්‍රීවරු, මන්ත්‍රීවරු. පක්ෂ නිලධාරීන්, පක්ෂ නිලධාරීන්. පක්ෂ සාමාජිකයෝ, පක්ෂ සාමාජිකයෝ. ඒ ඒ කොටස්වලට වැඩ කටයුතු බෙදල දීල තිබෙනවා; හාර දීල තිබෙනවා. ඒ ඒ අය ඒ ඒ වගකීම් දරනවා. තමුත්තත්සේලාගේ වාගේ ගැම එකම එකම තැනක නැහැ. තමුත්තත්සේලාගේ ඉතිහාසය මොකක්ද? ලේකම් ඉන්නවා. එයමයි භාණ්ඩාගාරිකත්. එයමයි පරිපාලක ලේකම්. එයමයි පක්ෂ නායකයා. එයමයි මක්කොම. ඇයි නුවරඑළිය-මස්කෙළිය දෙවන ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා (අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා) කීව්ව නේ "අපේ පක්ෂයේ නායකයා ඒකාධිපතියෙක්" කියා! ඒකයි මම විශේෂයෙන් කීව්වේ. එතුමා ඉදල හිටල ඇත්ත කියනවා බණ්ඩාරනායක මහත්මිය ඒකාධිපතියෙක් කියා එතුමාම ප්‍රසිද්ධියේ කියා තිබෙනවා. පක්ෂය ඇතුළේ පමණක් නොවෙයි, ප්‍රසිද්ධියේ පමණක් නොවෙයි, උසාවියටත් ගිහිල්ල කීව්ව. තිකම් කීව්ව නොවෙයි, දිවුරුම් පෙත්සමකුත් දීල කීව්ව. මම ප්‍රසංසා කරනවා තමන්ගේ මැණියන් ගැන වුණත් ඇත්ත කීව්ව එක ගැන. මේ අත්තනාගල්ලේ මන්ත්‍රීතුමා (ලක්ෂමන් ජයකොඩි මහතා) කොත්මලේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා (ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා) දැන් පෙත්වන්න උත්සාහ කරන්නේ. "එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයේ නායකයා මහ ඒකාධිපතියෙක්. එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයේ මහ ලේකම් මන්ත්‍රීවරුන්ට ඉහලින් යන මිනිහෙක්. මොකක්ද මේ වැඩපිළිවෙල අද මොකක්ද මේ රටේ තිබෙන ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍ර වාදය? මේක මහ විහිච්චක තත්ත්වයකට පත් කර තිබෙනවා. නේද?" කියන අදහසයි. [බාධාකිරීම්] තමුත්තත්සේලා කීව්ව ඒවා අපි අහගෙන ගිටියා. මෙපමණ

වේලාවක්. [බාධාකීර්මී] මම දන්නේ නැහැ කාටද කළ ඇල්බට් කියන්නේ කියා. මම කියන්න කැමතියි එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයේ එහෙම වැඩපිළිවෙලක් නැත කියා.

මා ලග තිබෙනවා ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, ඒ දිවුරුම් පෙන්සම.

**" In the District Court of Colombo**

Anura Bandaranaike of No. 65A, Rosmead Place, Colombo 6, Plaintiff vs. Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike of No. 65, Rosmead Place, Colombo 7 - Defendant. (Case No. 2057/Special).

I, Anura Bandaranaike of No. 65A, Rosmead Place, Colombo 7, do hereby solemnly, sincerely and truly declare and affirm as follows : "

කවදවත් මේක බොරුවක් වෙන් නැහැ. මුද්දර කියක් උඩ අත්සන් කර තිබෙනවාද? එකයි, දෙකයි, තුනයි, හතරයි, ගතරයි පණහයි—රුපියල් පහක විතර තිබෙනවා. ධර්ම වක්‍රය උඩත් අත්සන් කර තිබෙනවා. සී. ඩබ්ලිව්. ඩබ්ලිව්. කන්නන්ගර උන්නැහේගේ මුහුණ උඩත් අත්සන් කර තිබෙනවා. එස්. ත්‍යාගරාජා නමැති ජේ. පී. කෙනෙක් ඉදිරියේ මෙය අත්සන් කර තිබෙනවා. ඊට පස්සේ මේ පිටපත උසාවියෙන් ගෙන තිබෙනවා.

I do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true copy of Affidavit filed of record in D.C. Colombo, Case No. 2057/Spl.

සහතික කර තිබෙනවා. මේක හැන්සාඩ් වාර්තාවට ඇතුළු වෙන්න මිනි. අදාළ කොටස් පමණක් මම කියව නවා. මුළු ඇපිඩිවිට් එකම හැන්සාඩ් වාර්තාව වුණොත් හොදයි.\* මේකේ විස්තර සියල්ලම කියාගෙන ගොස් ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයේ විවිධ සංවිධාන ආදිය ගැන කියා 4 වැනි පිටුවේ, 13 වැනි ඡේදයේ මෙසේ කියා තිබෙනවා.

*" Steps were taken by the Defendant not only to entrench herself in power as President of the party for life but also to assume dictatorial powers over the party and its Members, office bearers and Committees."*

මගෙ හිතේ මේ වගේ චෝදනා තමයි, ඉඩි අමීන්ටන් කලේ. හර් හිව්ලර්ටන් කලේ. සිංඤ්ඤා මුණේලිනිටන් කලේ. පත් වුණු නිලධාරීන් ඔක්කොම විනාශ කර දමා ගන්න ගිය පියවරවල් මොනවද කියා ඔක්කොම මෙහි විස්තර කර තිබෙනවා.

*" The said steps were taken by the Defendant not only to entrench herself in power as President of the party for life but also to assume dictatorial powers over the party and its Members, office bearers and Committees."*

කවද හිපෙන්ඩන්ට්? සිරිමා බණ්ඩාරනායක. ඊළඟට 17 වැනි ඡේදයේ මෙසේ කියනවා.

*" The Defendant was at all material times aware that I and the twelve Members referred to in Para 14 above would effectively prevent her from entrenching herself as President of the Party and exercise dictatorial powers over the members and the office bearers."*

\* කවම අවසානයේ පල කර ඇත. උපරාහිනි ඉතිහාසයේ ප්‍රකාශනයක්. Reproduced at end of speech.

[බාධාකීර්මක්] මේ සත්‍ය දේවල් නේ? ඔය චෝදනා කලාට වැඩක් නැහැ. මේවා ඇත්ත බව එතුමා පිළිගත්තවා නොවේ? දැන් බලන්න, 13 වන ඡේදයේ කියනවා මේ වග-උත්තරකාරී-සිරිමා බණ්ඩාරනායකයා—මේ පිය වරවල් ගෙන තිබෙන්නේ යාවජීව සහාජනි හැටියට මේ පක්ෂයේ බලය තම අතට ගන්නත් ඒ අනුව ඒකාධිපති බලතල පවරාගෙන පක්ෂයේ අනෙක් සාමාජිකයන්ට, නිලධාරීන්ට හා කාරක සභාවලට ඉහලින් ඒ ඒකාධිපති බලතල පවරා ගන්නත් බව.

ඉළඟට 17 වැනි ඡේදයේ කියනවා, එතුමාත් අනෙක් 14 දෙනාත් මේ පියවරවලට විරුද්ධව, එරෙහිව ක්‍රියා කරන බව, ඇ දන්නවාය කියා. බණ්ඩාරනායක මැතිනියගේ ඒ පියවරවල් ශාන්තිමට විරුද්ධව උසාවියෙන් බලයක් ඉල්ලනවා. මේ ඇක්ෂන් එකේ, මේ නඩුවේ විවිධාකම ගැනත් කියනවා.

*" I value the subject matter of this action for the purpose to the action at Rs. 10,000/-."*

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, මෙය සංසන්දනයක්. මම පුදුම වන්නේ නැහැ. ජනාධිපතිවරණයෙන් පස්සේ අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මන්ත්‍රීතුමාට මේවාගේ ප්‍රකාශයක් කරන්න අවකාශ ලැබුණු එක ගැන.

අද කොන්මලේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා (ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා), නුවරඑළිය-මස්කෙලිය දෙවන ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමාට ලොකු ආදරයක් පෙන්වනවා. උන්නැහේ තමයි එද් කීව්වේ, 'පිංඤ්ඤාතරයා' කියල අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මන්ත්‍රීතුමාට.

**ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා**  
(*திரு. ஆனந்த தஸநாயக்க*)  
(Mr. Ananda Dassanayake)

එහෙම ඉන්නවා, පිංඤ්ඤාතරයා කියල වැරදි කරන අය. නම් සඳහන් කලේ නැහැ. අගමැතිතුමා ඔය ලකු දමන්න එපා. බොරු ලකු. ඔවා දිරව්ව ඒවා. මම එහෙම කියල නැහැ.

**මන්ත්‍රීවරයෙක්**  
(*அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்*)  
(A Member)

කලු ඇල්බට් හෙවත් කලු පෙට්ටිය.

**අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා**  
(*திரு. அனூர பண்டாரநாயக்க*)  
(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

May I ask you, with all respect, Sir-

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

Pardon ?

**අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා**  
(*திரு. அனூர பண்டாரநாயக்க*)  
(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

May I ask you, with all respect, what has this got to do with the Fifth Amendment ?





තමන් තාන්සේ මොනවද පැය ගණනක් තිස්සේ මේ තැන දොඩවුවේ? අපි අහගෙන හිටිය. මම අහගෙන හිටිය. මම එක පාරක් බාධා කළාද? කොයි තරම් මෝඩ කතා කිව්වද?

**ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා**

(*திரு. ஆனந்த தலநாயக்க*)

Mr. Ananda Dassanayake

කපා හැන්සාඩ් ගත වුණාට පස්සේ බලන්න.

**ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා**

(*திரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாச*)

(Mr. R. Premadasa)

මම කියෙව්වේ “දිනමිණ” පත්‍රයෙන්.

**කථානායකතුමා**

(*சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்*)

(Mr. Speaker)

Order, please! The hon. Member should conduct himself like a Member of Parliament. If you cannot remain here you may go out.

**ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා**

(*திரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாச*)

(Mr. R. Premadasa)

මම කියෙව්වේ “දිනමිණ” පත්‍රයෙන්. වැඩි කලක් ගිහින් නැහැ.

**ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා**

(*திரு. ஆனந்த தலநாயக்க*)

Mr. Ananda Dassanayake

ආණ්ඩුවේ පත්‍රය.

**ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා**

(*திரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாச*)

(Mr. R. Premadasa)

ඉන්නකො පොඩ්ඩක්. මේක 1982 පෙබරවාරි 17 වැනිදා පත්‍රයේ පලවුණේ. එක්කෝ මේ ගැන පත්‍රයට ලියන්නට හෝ ඒ ගැන යමක් කියන්නට තමුන් තාන්සේට යුතු කමක් තිබුණේ. එහෙම කළේ නැහැ. මේක කියවන්නට ලැබීම තමුන් තාන්සේ දන්නවා ඇති මේකට විරුද්ධව හුරු එළියේ-මස්කෙළිය දෙවන මන්ත්‍රීතුමා තමුන් තාන්සේට කපා කල බව තමුන් තාන්සේ කොයි වෙලාවේද එතුමාට කිව්වේ “මම එහෙම කිව්වේ නැහැ” කියලා? මට තමුන් තාන්සේ අද වෝදනාවක් කලා මගේ කට්ත් වචනයක් දැම්මාය කියලා. මම අහන ප්‍රශ්නය මේකයි: හොදයි. ඒ නම මම අස් කලා නම් එතැනට දමන නම මොකක්ද? අසුවල ඒක්කෙනාය කියලා කියන්න.

**ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා**

(*திரு. ஆனந்த தலநாயக்க*)

Mr. Ananda Dassanayake

අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මන්ත්‍රීතුමාට බයේවත් වෙන කෙනෙකුට බයේවත් මම කපා කළේ නැහැ. අනුර කියන නම සදහන් කළේ නැහැ මම. එතැනයි තිබෙන බොරුව. අසත්‍ය තොරතුරු එයයි.

**ආර්. පී. විජේසිරි මහතා** (හැරිස් පත්තුව දෙවන)

(*திரு. ஆர். பி. விஜேசிறி — ஹாரிஸ்பத்தாவ இரண்டாம் அங்கத்தவர்*)

(Mr. R. P. Wijesiri—Second Harispattuwa)

ආයි තමුන් තාන්සේ වලපනේදී බෝගම්බරදී මය පිංඉත්තර කතාව කිව්වේ නැද්ද?

**ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා**

(*திரு. ஆனந்த தலநாயக்க*)

(Mr. Ananda Dassanayake)

කිව්ව. කවුද නැත කියන්නේ? තමුන් නම සදහන් කරල කියල නැහැ.

**ආර්. පී. විජේසිරි මහතා**

(*திரு. ஆர். பி. விஜேசிறி*)

(Mr. R. P. Wijesiri)

අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහත්මයා ගැන කියනකොට පිංඉත්තරයකුට තැනක් දෙන්න බැහැ කියල තමුන් තාන්සේ කිව්වේ නැද්ද?

**ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා**

(*திரு. ஆனந்த தலநாயக்க*)

Mr. Ananda Dassanayake

නැහැ. එහෙම කියල නැහැ. ඒක තමුන් තාන්සේ කිව්වේ ඊට පස්සේ. අපි එහෙම කියල නැහැ.

**ආර්. පී. විජේසිරි මහතා**

(*திரு. ஆர். பி. விஜேசிறி*)

(Mr. R. P. Wijesiri)

ඒ තිසයි ඊට පස්සේ තමුන් තාන්සේට කලු ඇල්බට් කියල නමකුත් දැම්මේ.

**ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා**

(*திரு. ஆனந்த தலநாயக்க*)

Mr. Ananda Dassanayake

තමුන් තාන්සේ ලා කලියට ගත් අයයි එහෙම කියල තියෙන්නේ. අපි නොවෙයි.

**ආර්. පී. විජේසිරි මහතා**

(*திரு. ஆர். பி. விஜேசிறி*)

(Mr. R. P. Wijesiri)

තමුන් තාන්සේ එදා ඒ වකවානුවේ කිව්ව ඒවාට හමයි මය නම ආවේත්.

**ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා**

(*திரு. ஆனந்த தலநாயக்க*)

Mr. Ananda Dassanayake

නැහැ. ඒ මුළු කණ්ඩායමට මම කිව්ව. “පිංඉත්තර යෙක්ය” කියන එක කෙළින්ම. ඒක අදත් කියනවා.

**ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා**

(*திரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாச*)

(Mr. R. Premadasa)

දැන් බොරුවට ඒ මන්ත්‍රීතුමාට තුරුළු වෙලා හිතවත් කමී පෙන්වනව, [බාධා කිරීමක්]

[ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා]

මම තවත් එකක් මතක් කරන්නම් නමුත් නාත් සේට. මේකත් නැහැ කියලා කියනවද? 1982 ජනවාරි 15 වැනිදා “දිනමිණ” පත්‍රය:

“පක්ෂයෙන් තමන්ට සේවයක් සිදු වූවා මිස තමන්ගෙන් ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයට සිදු වූ සේවාව කුමක්දැයි අනුර බණ්ඩාර නායක මහතාට තමන් අභියෝග කරන්නේ යැයි කොත්මලේ මන්ත්‍රී ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා පැවසීය.”

ඒකත් නැහැ කියනවද? [බාබා කිරීමක්] ඊළඟට 1982 පෙබරවාරි මාසයේ 17 වැනිදා ඉලංගරත්න මහත් මයා මෙසේ කීය: තිබෙනවා:

“අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහත්මයාට සහ මෙවුණල සේනානායක මහත්මයාට නායකත්වයක් ගත හැකි නම් එහි වරදක් නැතත් මේ දෙදෙනාගෙන් එක් අයෙකු අජායන්තයකු වන අතර අනික් අය දේවදන්තයකු නිසා ඒ වැඩේ සිදු නොවන බව කීවේය.”

මම පුදුම වෙන්නේ නැහැ අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මන්ත්‍රී තුමා ඉලංගරත්න මහත්මයා කෙරෙහි ලොකු අමන පයක් ඇති කර ගැනීම ගැන.

බණ්ඩාරනායක මහත්මිය මොකක්ද අනුර බණ්ඩාර නායක මහතා ගැන කීවේ?

“Anura Bandaranaike is in the habit of making irresponsible, disparaging remarks against members of the legitimate central committee headed by me. I dismiss such references with the contempt they deserve.”

අම්මා කියනවා පුතා ගැන. පුතා කියනවා අම්මා ගැන. එහෙම පක්ෂයක් මේක. අපේ පක්ෂය ගැන වෝදනා කරනවා.

**අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා**

(කීරු. අනුර පණ්ඩාරනායක)

(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

What did Dudley Senanayake say about J. R. Jayewardene? You also went to court. You called Dudley Senanayake a Nijalingappa.

**ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා**

(කීරු. ආනන්ද ත්‍යාගායක)

(Mr. Ananda Dassanayake)

මය කුණු ගොඩවල් අවුස්සන්න අපි කැමති නැහැ. ඕවා කියවනවා නම් අපිත් පෙන්වන්නම්.

**ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා**

(කීරු. ආර්. පීරෙමදාස)

(Mr. R. Premadasa)

මම මේවා කියවන්නයි යන්නේ.

**ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා**

(කීරු. ආනන්ද ත්‍යාගායක)

(Mr. Ananda Dassanayake)

ඔව් ඔක්කොම තිබෙනවා. හැන්සාඩ්වලත් තිබෙනවා. [බාබා කිරීමක්] ඇයි පුරවැසි පෙරමුණ? බඩ්ලි පෙරමුණ [බාබා කිරීම] අපි ඒවා ගේන්නද?

**අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා**

(කීරු. අනුර පණ්ඩාරනායක)

(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

බඩ්ලි ගැන ඒ දවස්වල කී ඒවා නිජලිංගප්පා කීව්වා.

**ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා**

(කීරු. ආර්. පීරෙමදාස)

(Mr. R. Premadasa)

අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා කියනවා—

“Anura Bandaranaike promised the 415 members of the all-island committee of the SLFP (M) that he will never betray his colleagues under any circumstances.”

This is why they do not give credibility to your pronouncements.

“Anura Bandaranaike assured the people somewhere on 27th December, 1981 at the meeting of the all-island committee of the SLFP (M) group that he would never betray his colleagues under any circumstances.”

But what have you done today?—(Interruption.)

“Anura said that the people around his mother were those who had unsuccessfully contested for the Politbureau of the party some time ago. They have been conspiring to break the party in their own interests.

“Anura Bandaranaike said that it was only three weeks ago that his mother had stated that Members of Parliament should not be expelled from Parliament. Now her group is seeking to do the same thing. It is a blatant contradiction.”

“දේශපාලන උත්තරතකයින්ගේ ඉත්තකු බවට තම මව පත්ව සිටීම ගැන කණගාටු වන” බව කීයයි. “.....පක්ෂ පාඨවන්ගෙන් හා පක්ෂ ද්‍රෝහීන්ගෙන්ද පවුල් කල්ලියෙන්ද සමන්විත වූ කැපීගිය කණ්ඩායමක් විසින් ව්‍යවස්ථානුකූලව නීත්‍යානුකූලව නිල වශයෙන් තේරී පත් වූණු පක්ෂ නායකත්වය තෙරපනු ලැබීම තව ටික කලක් යන තෙක් රටට භාසා රසයක් සපයනු ඇත.”

“තම පියා විසින් ගොඩනගන ලද ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂය ජනතාව සමඟ තවදුරටත් ඉදිරියට ගෙනයාම සඳහා සිරිමා බණ්ඩාර නායක මහත්මිය ප්‍රමුඛ ඉලංගරත්න කොමිෂනරියාව fපිලික්ස් කල්ලියෙන් වෙන් වීමට තමාට සිදු වූ බවත් තමා ගත් එම තීරණය ලංකා ඉතිහාසයේ රත් අකුරින් ලියවෙන බවත් ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයේ නියෝජ්‍ය නායක නුවරඑළිය-මස්කෙලිය දෙවන මන්ත්‍රී අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා පැවසීය.”

**අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා**

(කීරු. අනුර පණ්ඩාරනායක)

(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

Mr. Speaker, can I make one remark? Is this a Debate on Anura Bandaranaike or a Debate on the Fifth Amendment? What are we debating?

**ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා**

(කීරු. ආර්. පීරෙමදාස)

(Mr. R. Premadasa)

Did you confine yourself to the Fifth Amendment?

**අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා**

(කීරු. අනුර පණ්ඩාරනායක)

(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

I did not confine myself to you.

**ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා**

(කීරු. ආර්. පීරෙමදාස)

(Mr. R. Premadasa)

You posed the question, “Who are these Naxalites?”

කවුද මේ තක්සලයයි කියන එකයි මම පෙන්වුම් කරන්නේ. දැන් එස්එල්ඒඒපී එකේ ඉලංගරත්න නැද්ද, කොබ්ලාකඩුව නැද්ද, පීලිකස් නැද්ද, කියා මම අහන්න කැමතියි නුවරඑළිය-මස්කෙළිය දෙවන ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමාගෙන්. මම කියන්නේ තමුන්නාන්සේ අද මෙතන කී වචනවල ගැමීමක් නැහැ කියන එකයි. මොකද, එදා කී වචන අද බිඳ තිබෙනවා නම් අද කියන වචන එළිවෙන්න ඉස්සරවෙලා බිඳින හින්දයි. අන්න ඒකයි මට පෙන්වන්න ඕනෑ කරන්නේ.

"The S.L.F.P. was not the property of his mother or Maithripala Senanayeke or himself. It belonged to the ordinary workers".

'ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂය තම මවට හෝ සොහොයුරියට හෝ මස්ඪිකාට අයිති නම් බුදුලයක් නොව එය පොදු මතජනතාවගේ පක්ෂයක් බවද කිය.'

ඒක තයිම, අර දිවුරුම් පෙන්සමේනුත් කියන්නේ.

'බණ්ඩාරනායක මැතිණිය මේ පක්ෂය තනිකරම ඒකාධිපති පාලනයට යටත් කර ගන්න යයි.'

**අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා**  
(*ශ්‍රී. ආණ්ඩු පක්ෂයේ නායකයා*)  
(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

ජේ. ආර්.—ඩබ්ලිව් හැප්පිම ගැන කියන්නම්. අපි අතින් පාර. [බාධා කිරීම්]

**ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා**  
(*ශ්‍රී. ආණ්ඩු පක්ෂයේ නායකයා*)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

Bring! Bring! I will read what you said about Lakshman Jayakody: "Lakshman Jayakody has been selected without consulting popular opinion. Not even we were consulted". Now do you want him to lead your party here, this man who was appointed without the party being consulted?

**ලක්ෂ්මන් ජයකොඩි මහතා**  
(*ශ්‍රී. ලක්ෂ්මන් ඉයාකොඩි*)  
(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

My name was proposed by him and seconded by Mr. Maithripala Senanayeke.

**ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා**  
(*ශ්‍රී. ආණ්ඩු පක්ෂයේ නායකයා*)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

What did you say about Mr. Maithripala Senanayeke?

"Referring to the leader of the S.L.F.P. (M), Mr. Anura Bandaranaike said his group was now being led by a person who had acted 18 times as Prime Minister when the S.L.F.P. was in power and had been in Parliament for the past 35 years".

Today what does he say about him? You cannot give credibility to your own words.

Are you denying the fact that Mr. Ilangaratne is your deputy leader

**අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා**  
(*ශ්‍රී. ආණ්ඩු පක්ෂයේ නායකයා*)  
(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)  
What?

**ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා**  
(*ශ්‍රී. ආණ්ඩු පක්ෂයේ නායකයා*)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

Mr. Ilangaratne is your deputy leader now. In your party he is the deputy leader.

**අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා**  
(*ශ්‍රී. ආණ්ඩු පක්ෂයේ නායකයා*)  
(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)  
Yes

**ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා**  
(*ශ්‍රී. ආණ්ඩු පක්ෂයේ නායකයා*)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

But what did you say about him? This is what you said:

"In the event of her Deputy Leader, Mr. T. B. Ilangaratne, being given the task of leading the party at the forthcoming elections, the election would be a one-horse race for the UNP. If the SLFP's election campaign was led by Mr. Ilangaratne, as the masses have not forgotten the disservice rendered by him as Minister—"

නුවරඑළිය-මස්කෙළිය දෙවැනි මන්ත්‍රීතුමාගෙන් මම අහන්නේ, මේ කියපුවා ඇත්තද, බොරුද කියලයි. ඒ ගැන දැන්වත් අපිට කියන්න. මේවා ඇත්තද, බොරුද? අපිට එතකොට පුළුවනි, අද කියපුවා ඇත්තද, බොරුද කියා තේරුම් ගන්න.

"The former Ministers, Mr. Ilangaratne and Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, were responsible for the defeat. Because of their bankrupt policies the masses suffered unnecessarily. We pointed out that Mr. Ilangaratne would not be given a ministerial post even if the SLFP led by Mrs. Bandaranaike captured power in the 1983 polls. The people have suffered a lot due to the bankrupt policies of Mr. Ilangaratne. The masses were not prepared to forget the suffering they experienced under the then SLFP Government".

This was published in the "Sun" of 5.2.1982.

කථානායකතුමනි, මට මේ විධියට හුඟක් දේවල් කියන්න පුළුවනි. මා ලග තිබෙනවා, නොයෙක් දේවල්. එතුමාම මුද්‍රණය කරවා තිකුත් කල පත්‍රිකාවකුත් තිබෙනවා. නුවරඑළිය-මස්කෙළිය දෙවන මන්ත්‍රීතුමනි, මෙන්න මේව තමුන්නාන්සේ ලග තබා ගන්න. ඔය පරණ නඩු කොපි හොයන්න යන්න ඕනෑ නැහැ. මේවා ටිකක් කියවා බලන්න. මෙන්න මේකේ තිබෙනවා, බොහොම අපූරු දේවල්: තමුන්නාන්සේ ප්‍රසිද්ධ දැන්වීමක් මගින් කියා තිබෙනවා, තමාගේම මවු බොරුකාරියක් කියලා. ඒ පක්ෂයේ නායකත්වය දරන්නේ බොරුකාරියක්. පුතයි, එහෙම කියලා තිබෙන්නේ. එය අවිටු ගහල තිබෙනවා. උන්නාහේගේ 'විලාසය' එකත් දමල තිබෙනවා. කවුරුවත් විශ්වාස නොකරයි කියන හයට. 'අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා' කියා එහි සඳහන් වෙනවා. මෙන්න මේවා, ඔක්කොම එකතු කරලා කියවන්න.

[දාර. ප්‍රෝමොස මහතා]

කථානායකතුමනි, මම එතුමාගේ හිස අවුල් කරන්න කැමති නැහැ. මට ඕනෑ නම් කියවන්න පුළුවනි. මේවා එතුමාට ඕනෑ නම් මට පුළුවනි මේ පත්‍රිකා එතුමාට දෙන්න. කියවා බලා ආපසු මට එවන්න. [බාධා කිරීමක්] මොකද? තියෙනවද?

ඈ කථානායකතුමනි, මෙතනදී එතුමා කියන්නට වැයම් කළා, ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයේ ඉදල යම් කෙනෙක් එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයට ආවා නම්, ඒ ගොල්ලන් එක්සත් ජාති පක්ෂයට ඒමෙන් වැඩිපුර ඡන්ද ලැබුනො නැත; එම නිසා කවදවත් පක්ෂයක් අත් හැරල එන උදවිය හාර ගන්න එපාය කියල. [බාධා කිරීමක්] මම දැන් කියන්න යන්නෙ ඒකයි. එතුමාගෙ තර්කයම ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂය පිළිගන්නොත් මොකද වෙන්නෙ? එතුමා පක්ෂය අත්හැරල දෙමුත් කණ්ඩායමට ගියා. දැන් දෙමුත් කණ්ඩායම අත් හැරල එහාට එනවා. එහෙම නම් ඡන්ද අඩුවෙනවා නේද? එතුමා අපට දෙන අවවාදය අනුව කල්පනා කර බලු වොත්, මොකක්ද අද සිද්ධ වෙන්නෙ? [බාධා කිරීමක්]

You only want to control the debate now. When your colleagues spoke, you did not want to control them when all the irrelevancies were uttered here.

ඈ කථානායකතුමනි, මම කියන්න කැමතියි, අපේ පක්ෂයේ ප්‍රතිපත්ති පිළිගන්නා ඕනෑම කෙනෙකුට ඕනෑම අවස්ථාවකදී අපේ පක්ෂයට බැඳෙන්න අවකාශ තිබෙන බව. අපේ පක්ෂය කවදවත් බඳවා ගන්නෙ එයාගෙ ඒම නිසා ඡන්ද අඩු වෙනවාද, වැඩි වෙනවාද කියන එක උඩ නොවෙයි. ඒ හාස්කම කාටවත් කරන්න පුළුවන් කියල මම නිතර්නෙ නැහැ. ඒ ඒ අවස්ථා වලදී මහජනතාව ගත්තා තීරණය මේ මන්ත්‍රීතුමා දන්නවා. තමුත්තාත්සේගෙ පියා කොයි පක්ෂයේ ඉදලා ගිය එක්කෙනෙක්ද? ඒ වගේම තමුත්තාත්සේ ලාගෙ පක්ෂයේ ඉන්න වැඩි දෙනෙක් කොහේ ඉදල ගිය අයද? අපෙත් ගිය අය නේද? තමුත්තාත්සේලා ආණ්ඩු පිහිටුවල නැද්ද? ඒ ඡන්දයෙන් නොවෙයිද? තමුත්තාත්සේලා පැරදිලා නැද්ද? පැරදුණේ ඒ ඡන්ද යෙන් නොවෙයිද? අපි දිනුම-පැරදුම මනින්නෙ ඒ උඩ නොවෙයි. තමුත්තාත්සේලා නම් එහෙමයි මනින්නෙ. නියතපාල, සුරියප්පෙරුම, නෙවිල් ප්‍රනාන්දු කොහේද? තර්කයක් ඉදිරිපත් කරනවා නම්, ඒ තර්කය තමන්ගෙ පත්තටත් හරවල පාවිච්චි කරන්න උත්සාහ කරන්න.

ඈ කථානායකතුමනි, මේ වචන දෙක තුන කීව යුතුව තිබුණේ, අපේ පක්ෂය, මේ රජය, මේ නායකත් වය ඒකාධිපතිවාදය කරා යන්නට, පාර්ලිමේන්තු ක්‍රම යට පටහැනි වැඩ පිළිවෙලක් ගෙන යනවාය කියා. නුවරඑළිය-මස්කෙළිය දෙවන මන්ත්‍රීතුමා (අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා) පෙන්වන්නට වැයම් කළ නිසයි. නමුත් මට එතුමාට ඔප්පු කරන්න ඕනෑ කළේ මේ කොයි පියවර අපි ගත්තත්, ඒ පියවර අපි අරගෙන තිබෙන්නෙ ජනතාව විසින් එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයටත්, නායකත්වයටත් දී තිබෙන වරම අනුව බව සාක්ෂාත් කරන්නටයි.

සහ මෙය මත තබන ලද දිවුරුම් පෙත්සම  
சபாபீடத்தில் வைக்கப்பட்ட சத்தியச் சான்றிதழ் :  
Affidavit tabled.

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF COLOMBO

Anura Bandaranayake  
of No. 65A, Rosmead Place  
Colombo 7

- Plaintiff -

No. 2057/Spl

Vs.

Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranayake of  
No. 65, Rosmead Place  
Colombo 7

- Defendant -

I, Anura Bandaranayake of No. 65A, Rosmead Place, Colombo 7, do hereby solemnly, sincerely and truly declare and affirm as follows :

1. I am the affirmant above named.
2. I have been a Member of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party from 1970. I am also the Deputy President of the Youth League of the Party. I am also a Member of Parliament since 1977, and a Member of the Polit Bureau of the said Party.
3. The Sri Lanka Freedom Party adopted a Constitution in 1979 (copy whereof is annexed hereto marked 'A' with a translation 'A1').
4. The Constitution provides inter alia that Polit Bureau of the Seventeen persons constituted under the Section 24 thereof should be the Supreme Executive Body of the Party and exercise the functions and powers set out under Section 25 and should consist of :
  1. The President, the Deputy President, the five Vice Presidents, General Secretary and the Treasurer by virtue of their office ;
  2. One person from the representatives of the Youth present in the Executive Committee to be elected by vote by the Executive Committee.
  3. One person from the women's representatives present in the Executive Committee to be elected by vote by the Executive Committee
  4. One person to be elected by vote by the Executive Committee from the representatives present in the Executive Committee in respect of the Trade Union activities.
  5. Five other persons elected by vote by the Executive Committee from it Members ;
5. I and 16 other persons to wit :
  1. Maithripala Senanayake
  2. P. B. G. Kalugalla
  3. Stanley Tilakeratne
  4. Haleem Ishak
  5. R. P. Wijesiri
  6. J. R. P. Suriyapperuma
  7. T. B. Illangaratne
  8. Hector Kobbekaduwa
  9. K. Shanmugalingam
  10. Alavi Mowlana
  11. Kumari Balasooriya
  12. Mangala Munasinghe
  13. Sirimavo R. D. Bandaranayake the Defendant
  14. Ratnasiri Wickramanayake
  15. Dixon Silva
  16. Sumathipala Jayawardana

Were duly elected as Members of the Polit Bureau under the said Constitution. I still am a Member and continue to be a Member of the said Polit Bureau.

6. The Defendant was elected the President of the Party under the said Constitution and even after she was deprived of her civic rights continued to function as such.
7. On or about the 28th June 1981, the said Constitution was duly amended by the All Island Working Committee of the Party under and in terms of Section 20 (ii) of the said Constitution. The said amended Constitution is hereinafter referred to as the 1981 Constitution and a copy thereof is annexed hereto marked 'B' with a translation 'B1'.
8. The 1981 Constitution provides that the Central Committee of Management of seventeen persons constitute under Section 13 thereof should be the Supreme Council of the Party and exercise the functions and powers set out in Section 14 and should be appointed by the Executive Committee from its members :
  - (i) The President
  - (ii) The Deputy President
  - (iii) The Vice-Presidents – eight persons
  - (iv) The General Secretary
  - (v) Assistant Secretaries – five persons
  - (vi) Treasurer.
9. Section 32 of the 1981 Constitution contained transitory provision and provides, inter alia, that until the Central Committee under the 1981 Constitution is elected the Polit Bureau and the five Assistant Secretaries appointed under the 1979 Constitution should continue to function. Accordingly Section 32 (i) empowered the said Polit Bureau and the five Assistant Secretaries to exercise the power vested in the Polit Bureau under and by virtue of the 1979 Constitution until the election of the Central Committee under the 1981 Constitution.
10. The 1981 Constitution which was adopted on the 20th July 1981 provided that the election of the Central Committee inter alia should be completed within three months of the date of the adoption of the Constitution but the Central Committee has still not been elected or constituted.
11. Accordingly from the said date the said Polit Bureau and the Five Assistant Secretaries have constituted and still constitute the Supreme Executive Body of the Party and I and the other sixteen persons named and designated in Para 5 hereof continue to function and exercise the powers vested in and conferred on them by Section 25 of the 1979 Constitution.
12. Prior to and on 2nd August 1981 the Defendant took certain steps that violated and were contrary to and inconsistent with the provisions of the Constitution and the decisions taken at the All Island Working Committee meeting of the party held on 28th June 1981.
13. *The said steps were taken by the Defendant not only to entrench herself in power as President of the party for life but also to assume dictatorial powers over the party and its Members, office bearers and Committees.*
14. I and the said 12 Members to Wit : (Maithripala Senanayake, P. B. G. Kalugalla, Stanley Tillekaratne, Mangala Moonasinghe, Haleem Ishak, R. P. Wijesiri, J. R. P. Suriyapperuma, Kumari Balasooriya, Alavi Mowlana, Dixon Silva, Sumathipala Jayawardena, Basil Rajapakse)

who had expressed the disapproval of the various steps and action taken by the Defendant addressed two requisitions to the Defendant dated 30th July 1981 (Copies whereof annexed hereto marked 'C' with a translation 'C1' and 'D' with a translation 'D1' respectively) to summon a Special Meeting thereof to consider certain urgent matters and the said requisitions were made on the basis that Section 14 of the 1981 Constitution was applicable.

15. By her letter dated 31st July 1981 (annexed marked 'E' with a translation marked 'E1') the Defendant refused to summon a meeting.
16. By the letter dated 5th August 1981 (annexed marked 'F' and Translation thereof marked 'F1') by way of reply to the requisition dated 2nd August 1981 the Defendant pointed out that the Section 14 of the 1981 Constitution becomes operative only after the Central Committee of Management had been duly appointed in terms of the 1981 Constitution and refused to summon the said meeting. I admit that Section 14 becomes operative only after the Central Committee of the Management has been duly elected.
17. The Defendant was at all material times aware that I and the twelve Members referred to in Para 14 above would effectively prevent *her from entrenching herself as President of the Party and exercise dictatorial powers over the members and the office bearers.*
18. The said requisitions by letter dated 18th August 1981 (copy whereof is annexed marked 'G' and translation thereof marked 'G1') informed the Defendant that since she failed to summon a meeting, they were summoning a meeting of the Polit Bureau and the five Assistant Secretaries to discuss certain urgent matters.
19. The Defendant thereafter by letter dated 19.8.81 purported to suspend me and said twelve persons from Membership of the party claiming to act under and by virtue of the Section 14 of the 1981 Constitution which the Defendant had correctly maintained in her letter (marked 'F' was not operative until the New Central Committee was elected under the said Section 14 (The letter dated 19th August 1981 forwarded to me is annexed hereto marked 'H' with the translation marked 'H1').
20. I state that :
  - (a) The said 1979 Constitution which still is applicable to this matter gives no power to the Defendant or to the President to suspend any person from Membership or office.
  - (b) The 1981 Constitution gives such powers to the President but that power is only on the basis of the existence of a Central Committee of Management Constituted under in terms of the 1981 Constitution and in accordance with the procedure laid down therein.
  - (c) Even assuming Section 14 of the 1981 Constitution is operative which I do not admit the necessary steps which should have been taken under and in terms of Section 14 prior to the suspension of a Member have not been taken.
  - (d) My suspension and that of the said 12 persons was intended by the Defendant deliberately to cause prejudice to my political activities and my future and of the said persons in as much as a Member who has been suspended cannot participate in meetings, or seek election to any of the offices in the party which have to be filled by the 28th September, 1981.

[ஈ. பி. சேனாநாயகம் உரை]

21. I state that the said purported suspension and all acts done by the Defendant and office bearers and others whom Defendant controls in pursuance thereof are wrongful, illegal, unconstitutional, null and void and the said 12 persons continue to be members and to hold the offices of the party that they now hold notwithstanding the said purported suspension.
22. A cause of action has therefore accrued to me to file action against Defendant for declaration of my rights and for consequential relief.
23. I further state that the Defendant is now taking steps to implement and to act on the basis of my illegal and unconstitutional suspension and I will suffer grave and irreparable injury loss and damage thereby unless the Defendant is restrained by an interim injunction and/or enjoining order from acting as aforesaid and from interfering with the exercise by me of my rights as a Member and Deputy President of the Youth League of the Party.
24. I plead the said annexures marked 'A', 'B', 'C', 'D', 'E', 'F', 'G', and 'H' as part of this claim.
25. I value the subject matter of this action for the purpose to the action at Rs. 10,000/-.

Declared and affirmed at Colombo, on this 25th day of August, 1981.

sgd. Anura Bandaranayake.  
before me

S. Thyagarajah  
Member of Municipal Council—Colombo

sgd. S. Thyagarajah  
J.P.

Justice of the Peace  
Colombo District.

I do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true copy of Affidavit filed of record in D.C. Colombo Case No. 2057/Spl.

Tendered by me.

Actg. Registrar,  
D.C. Colombo.

Attorney-at-Law.

Compared by :

பணர் கெடுதல்கள் மூலம் தீர்மானம் உடனடியாக நடைமுறைக்கு கொண்டுவர வேண்டும்.

கட்டுப்பாட்டு அமைச்சர் "பணர்" மீது தீர்மானம் உடனடியாக நடைமுறைக்கு கொண்டுவர வேண்டும்.

சட்டமன்றம் இரண்டாம் முறை மதிப்பீட்டிட்டுமொக எனும் வினா விடுக்கப்பெற்றது.

குரல்களில்லாது "ஆம்" மேலேவந்திற்று என சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள் அறிவித்தார்கள்.

Question "That the Bill be read a Second time," put.  
MR. SPEAKER, having collected the Voices, declared that the "Ayes" had it.

**அனுர பண்டாரநாயகம் உரை**  
(திரு. அனுர பண்டாரநாயகம்)  
(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)  
Divide!

பார்லிமென்து 43 வது தடவை திசையாக உடனே—பணர் 122; தீர்மானம் கிடைக்காதது; மொத்தம் 4; உறுதி—பெரும்பான்மை.

பாராளுமன்றம் 43 ஆம் நிலைக் கட்டளையின் கீழ் பிரிந்தது : சார்பாக 122; எதிராக இல்லை; நடுநிலை 4.

The Parliament divided (under Standing Order No. 43): Ayes 122; Noes nil; Declined to vote 4.

பணர் கெடுதல்கள் மீது தீர்மானம் உடனடியாக நடைமுறைக்கு கொண்டுவர வேண்டும்.

அதன்படி, சட்டமன்றம் இரண்டாம் முறை மதிப்பீட்டிட்டுமொக எனும் வினா விடுக்கப்பெற்றது.

Question put, and agreed to.  
Bill accordingly read a Second time.

சேனாநாயகர் உரை: பணர் கெடுதல்கள் மீது தீர்மானம் உடனடியாக நடைமுறைக்கு கொண்டுவர வேண்டும்.

"பணர் கெடுதல்கள் மீது தீர்மானம் உடனடியாக நடைமுறைக்கு கொண்டுவர வேண்டும்." [ஈ. பி. சேனாநாயகம் உரை]

தீர்மானிக்கப்பட்டது :

"சட்டமன்றம் முழுப் பாராளுமன்றக் குழுவுக்குச் சாட்டப்படுமா." [திரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாச]

Resolved :  
"That the Bill be referred to a Committee of the Whole Parliament"—[Mr. R. Premadasa.]

காரணம் கிடைக்காதது காரணம் கிடைக்காதது.

[சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள் தலைமை வகித்தார்கள்.]

Considered in Committee.  
[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair.]

1 வது தடவை திசையாக பணர் கெடுதல்கள் மீது தீர்மானம் உடனடியாக நடைமுறைக்கு கொண்டுவர வேண்டும்.

1 ஆம் வாசகம் சட்டமன்றத்தின் பகுதியாக இருக்க வேண்டுமென கட்டளையிடப்பட்டது.

Clause 1 ordered to stand part of the Bill.

2 வது தடவை திசையாக.—(இரண்டாம் முறை மதிப்பீட்டிட்டுமொக உடனடியாக நடைமுறைக்கு கொண்டுவர வேண்டும்)

வாசகம் 2.—(இலங்கைச் சனநாயக சோசலிசக் குடியரசின் அரசியல்மைப்பின் 161 ஆம் உறுப்புகளைத் திருத்துதல்)

CLAUSE 2.—(Amendment of Article 161 of the Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka)

**லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயகோடி உரை**  
(திரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயகோடி)  
(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

I have given notice of an amendment, Sir.

மேலே தீர்மானம் உடனடியாக நடைமுறைக்கு கொண்டுவர வேண்டும். மேலே தீர்மானம் உடனடியாக நடைமுறைக்கு கொண்டுவர வேண்டும். மேலே தீர்மானம் உடனடியாக நடைமுறைக்கு கொண்டுவர வேண்டும்.

**சபாபதிநுழை**  
(தலைவர்)  
(The Chairman)

Order, please!

கட்டுணைகரலா நுழைவே ஈனலெடுவன ஓடிடுபத  
கரந்தி.

**கனிஷ்மன் பீயகோடி ஹைனா**  
(திரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயக்கொடி)  
(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

I move,

"In line 15, delete the word "fails" and insert the word "refuses."

**சபாபதிநுழை**  
(தலைவர்)  
(The Chairman)

Are you accepting it?

**ஈ. பீ. ப்ரேமடாச ஹைனா**  
(திரு. ஆர். பி. ரேமதாச)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

No. Sir. I have got the copy. I do not accept it.

**கனிஷ்மன் பீயகோடி ஹைனா**  
(திரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயக்கொடி)  
(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

I will tell you why. I submitted this mainly because the Prime Minister himself, in his speech, said it very clearly. I was listening to him. He used the words "fails or refuses". This is rather important.

**ஈ. பீ. ப்ரேமடாச ஹைனா**  
(திரு. ஆர். பி. ரேமதாச)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

I may have used the word "refuses" but the way that you are going to amend my amendment, I cannot accept. You can take a word from here and there, but that does not make any sense.

**கனிஷ்மன் பீயகோடி ஹைனா**  
(திரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயக்கொடி)  
(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

If he says, he is not going to accept it, then, of course, it gets defeated. But I want to say this, Sir. Those are the very words he used.

**சபாபதிநுழை**  
(தலைவர்)  
(The Chairman)

Now he is refusing to accept it. Therefore, are you withdrawing it?

**கனிஷ்மன் பீயகோடி ஹைனா**  
(திரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயக்கொடி)  
(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

No, Sir. I am not withdrawing it.

**சபாபதிநுழை**  
(தலைவர்)  
(The Chairman)

You want a vote on that?

**கனிஷ்மன் பீயகோடி ஹைனா**  
(திரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயக்கொடி)  
(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

Yes. Divide.

ஈனலெடுவன பிடுகை ப்ரத ஈத ப்ரளீன ஹிஹை ஓடின, ஈப்புல  
ஹி.

திருத்தம் விடுக்கப்பட்டு நிராகரிக்கப்பட்டது.  
*Amendment put, and negatived.*

**சபாபதிநுழை**  
(தலைவர்)  
(The Chairman)

I shall now put the Clause as it is without the amendment.

**கனிஷ்மன் பீயகோடி ஹைனா**  
(திரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயக்கொடி)  
(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

Clause 2 (b) – I have another amendment.

**சபாபதிநுழை**  
(தலைவர்)  
(The Chairman)

Read the amendment.

**ஈ. பீ. ப்ரேமடாச ஹைனா**  
(திரு. ஆர். பி. ரேமதாச)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

We have not got the other amendment.

**கனிஷ்மன் பீயகோடி ஹைனா**  
(திரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயக்கொடி)  
(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

My amendment is to delete sub-clause 2 (b) and insert the following :

"Where a vacancy as is referred to in sub-paragraph (i) or (ii) has occurred, the Secretary-General of Parliament shall forthwith inform the Commissioner of Elections"

**ஈ. பீ. ப்ரேமடாச ஹைனா**  
(திரு. ஆர். பி. ரேமதாச)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

According to the Standing Orders, notice of amendments should be given.

**சபாபதிநுழை**  
(தலைவர்)  
(The Chairman)

He has given notice of the amendments.

**ஈ. பீ. ப்ரேமடாச ஹைனா**  
(திரு. ஆர். பி. ரேமதாச)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

I do not have it.

**லக்ஷ்மன் டீயாகோடி மொழி**  
(திரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயக்கொடி)  
(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

I gave it to you, Sir.

**ஈ. ப்ரேமடாசா மொழி**  
(திரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாசா)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

I got one amendment earlier.

**சபாபதி**  
(தலைவர்)

(The Chairman)

But were they not all together ?

**ஈ. ப்ரேமடாசா மொழி**  
(திரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாசா)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

No, I did not get it.

**சபாபதி**  
(தலைவர்)

(The Chairman)

It is in the same Paper.

**ஈ. ப்ரேமடாசா மொழி**  
(திரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாசா)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

I did not get it, but I got the earlier one. So now we have to reject it.

**லக்ஷ்மன் டீயாகோடி மொழி**  
(திரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயக்கொடி)  
(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

No. no. That is one of the things included -

**ஈ. ப்ரேமடாசா மொழி**  
(திரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாசா)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

But I did not get it.

**லக்ஷ்மன் டீயாகோடி மொழி**  
(திரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயக்கொடி)  
(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

Sir, this is what happens when Government -

**சபாபதி**  
(தலைவர்)

(The Chairman)

I do not want any comments on that.

**ஈ. ப்ரேமடாசா மொழி**  
(திரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாசா)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

We are not accepting the second amendment.

**லக்ஷ்மன் டீயாகோடி மொழி**  
(திரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயக்கொடி)  
(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

I move to leave out Clause 2 (b) and insert :

"Where a vacancy as is referred to in sub-paragraph (i) or (ii) has occurred, the Secretary-General of Parliament shall forthwith inform the Commissioner of elections of such vacancy. The Commissioner of elections shall thereupon hold an election, in accordance with Part I and Parts IV to VI (both inclusive) of the Ceylon (Parliamentary Elections) Order-in-Council, 1946, for such electoral district as existed immediately preceding the Constitution and on the basis of such part of the register, prepared under the Registration of Electors Act, No. 44 of 1980, and in operation, as corresponds to such electoral district. The aforesaid parts of the Ceylon (Parliamentary Elections) Order-in-Council, 1946, shall, for the purpose of such election and notwithstanding the repeal of such Order-in-Council, be deemed to be in force and shall, *mutatis mutandis*, and except as expressly provided in the Constitution, apply to such election.

The law applicable to election petitions in relation to such electoral district shall be the aforesaid parts of such Order-in-Council as applied aforesaid and in the event of such election being declared void and no other person is determined to have been duly returned or elected, the election to fill such vacancy shall be held in accordance with the provisions of this article."

**சபாபதி**  
(தலைவர்)

(The Chairman)

Is the Government accepting it ?

**ஈ. ப்ரேமடாசா மொழி**  
(திரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாசா)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

No.

**சுனேந்திர சிவசாமி பிள்ளை**  
திருத்தம் விடுக்கப்பட்டது.  
*Amendment put.*

**கலைவர சபை** "நேரம்" நேரத்தில் சபை சபாபதி மொழி  
வினை சபை கடைசி

சுனேந்திர சிவசாமி பிள்ளை 'இலங்கை' மேலாங்கிற்று என தலைவர் அவர்கள் அறிவித்தார்கள்.

*The Chairman, having collected the Voices, declared that the "Noes" had it.*

**லக்ஷ்மன் டீயாகோடி மொழி**  
(திரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயக்கொடி)  
(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

Divide !

கடைசி சபை 43 உறுப்பினர் நிகழ்ச்சி செய்தனர்—சபை 3 ;  
நேரம் 122 : கடைசி—சென்றேன்

சபை 43 ஆம் நிலைக் கட்டளையின் கீழ் பிரிந்தது : சார்பாக 3 ;  
எதிராக 122.

*The Committee divided (under Standing Order No. 43) : Ayes 3; Noes 122.*









**இடீர ராய்நு பதன: தியோசை**  
**முத்திரைத் தீர்வைச் சட்டம்: ஒழுங்குவிதி**  
**STAMP DUTY ACT : REGULATION**

**ஈ. சீ. டி. டி. டி. டி.**  
 (திரு. ஆர். ஜே. ஜி. த மெல்)  
 (Mr. R. J. G. de Mel)  
 I move,

"That the Regulation made by the Minister of Finance and Planning under Section 69 of the Stamp Duty Act, No. 43 of 1982, read with Section 2 of the Act, published in the Gazette Extraordinary No. 224/3 of 20th December 1982, and presented on 10th February 1983, be approved."

**புனைய கண்கிண கரண டீ.**  
 வினா எடுத்தியம்பப்பெற்றது.  
*Question proposed.*

**சரத் முத்தெட்டுவெகமா**  
 (திரு. சரத் முத்தெட்டுவெகமா)  
 (Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

Sir, I do not want to take up too much time at this time of the night—

**கிபாயகது**  
 (சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)  
 (Mr. Speaker)  
 A very desirable thing !

**சரத் முத்தெட்டுவெகமா**  
 (திரு. சரத் முத்தெட்டுவெகமா)  
 (Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

I just want to say something which I would have said and pointed out if I was vigilant enough at the time the Act was passed. Either I was not in the House at that time or it was passed without my seeing it by an oversight.

Representations have been made to the Government by individual lawyers as well as the controlling body for lawyers, the Bar Association of Sri Lanka, about the implication these Regulations will have on people practising as notaries. I think the Hon. Minister might consider—even though the Act has been passed—whether something cannot be done to alleviate their situation. Under the Stamps Ordinance, notaries who attest deeds have been made responsible for the valuation. Anyone who has practised as a notary and

who has been in and out of courts knows that people will come and give valuation certificates which they are now calling up on conveyancing people to do. It is impossible for notaries who may be attesting a deed in one district for a land situated in another district to give a reasonable valuation of the land, and if the notary is to be made responsible you will find that you will be driving him out of business.

I would like the Hon. Minister to consider whether something cannot be done about this, especially since responsible people and responsible bodies have made representations on this matter. The Hon. Minister of Parliamentary Affairs and Sports, who is conversant with this matter, will be able to help the Hon. Minister in drafting some suitable amendment to the Act.

**ஈ. சீ. டி. டி. டி.**  
 (திரு. ஆர். ஜே. ஜி. த மெல்)  
 (Mr. R. J. G. de Mel)

We certainly will consider the representations that the appropriate time.

**புனைய திசைன டீன், கண்கிண வி.**  
 வினா விடுக்கப்பட்டு ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளப்பட்டது.  
*Question put, and agreed to.*

**கல்துளி**  
**ஒத்திப்போடல்**  
**ADJOURNMENT**

டிசைன டீன் டி. சி. 8 பஹர் திசைன கிபாயகது விசைன புனைய திசைன பாடலிசைந்து கல்துளி திசைன டீன்.

பாடலிசைந்து டிசைன டீன் டி. சி. 10.05 டி, 1983 பசைன டிசைன 25 வன கிசைன டி. சி. 10 வன தைன் கல்துளி கிசைன டீன்.

அப்பொழுது தைன் டி. சி. 8 மணிக்ருப் திசைன டீன் கிபாயகது அவர்கள் வினாவிசைன்றி பாசைன மன்ததை ஒத்திவைத் தார்.

இதன்படி டி. சி. 10.05 மணிக்ரு, பாசைன மன்ததை 1983 பெப்ருவரி 25, வெள்ளிக் கிசைன மி. சி. 10 மணிவரை ஒத்திவைக்கப்பட்டது.

*And it being past 8 P.M. MR. SPEAKER adjourned Parliament without Question put.*

*Adjourned accordingly at 10.05 p.m. until 10 a.m. on Friday, 25th February, 1983.*

**உ. சூ.**

மேலே குறிப்பிடப்பட்டிருக்கின்ற திருத்தங்களைக் கருத்துரைக்க விரும்பும் அங்கத்தினர் தங்கள் கருத்துரைகளைக் கீழ்க்கண்ட முறையில் அளிப்பது அவசியமாகும்.

**1983 மார்ச் 10 வන இலக்கத்தில்,**

**கொழும்பு மாவட்டக் கழகப் பத்திரிகை.**

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**குறிப்பு**

அங்கத்தினர்கள் இறுதிப் பதிப்பிற்கு செய்யவிரும்பும் பிழை திருத்தங்களை அறிக்கையிற்றெளிவாகக் குறித்து பிழை திருத்தங்களைக் கொண்ட பிரதியை ஹன்சார்ட் பதிப்பாளரிடம் அளிப்பது அவசியமாகும்.

**1983 மார்ச் 10, வியாழக்கிழமைக்குப் பிந்தாமற்**

**கிடைக்கக்கூடியதாக அனுப்புதல் வேண்டும்.**

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**NOTE**

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**Thursday, March 10, 1983**

**දයක මුදල් :** පාර්ලිමේන්තු විவாத වාර්තාවල වර්ෂික දයක මිල රු. 200/- කි. (අශෝධිත පිටපත් සඳහා නම් රු. 175/- කි). පිටපතක් ගෙන්වා ගැනීම අවශ්‍ය නම් ගාස්තුව රු. 2.50 කි. තැපැල් ගාස්තුව 90 කි. කොළඹ 1, තැ. පෙ. 500, රජයේ ප්‍රකාශන කාර්යාංශයේ අධිකාරී වෙත සෑම වර්ෂයකම නොවැම්බර් 30 දින ප්‍රථම දයක මුදල් ගෙවා ඉදිරි වර්ෂයේ දයකත්වය ලබාගෙන විවිධ වාර්තා ලබාගත හැකිය. නියමිත දිනෙන් පසුව එවනු ලබන දයක ඉල්ලුම්පත් භාරගනු නොලැබේ.

**සந்தා :** ඉන්සාඩ් අනුකාර අලිඛකයින් වැරදාඤ්ඤා සන්තා ලාභා 200/- (තිරුත්තව්‍යාප්ත පිටපත් ලාභා 175/-) ඉන්සාඩ් තනිපිටපත ලාභා 2.50. තපාත් සෙලවු 90 සතම්. වැරදාඤ්ඤා සන්තා මුහුණතාක අත්තිපාද්සාර්, අරසාඤ්ඤා වෙහෙරියිට්ටලුවකම්, ත. පෙ. ඉ. 500, කොටුමුදු 1 ආඤ්ඤා විලාසත්තිරු අනුපි පිටපතකට පෙරුණුකොඤ්ඤා. ඉව්වොරාඤ්ඤා නවෙම්පාර් 30 න් තෙතිරුමුණ් සන්තාප් පණම් අනුප්පව්වෙණ්ඤ්ඤා. පිණ්ඤ්ඤා සිඤ්ඤා සන්තා විඤ්ඤාප්පඤ්ඤා ආරුණුකොඤ්ඤාප්පව්වෙණ්ඤ්ඤා.

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