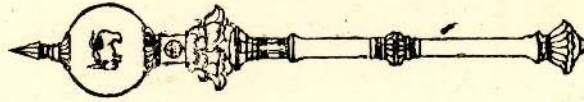


June

*W. J. Jayawardena
N.P. Nanjiam*



පාර්ලිමේන්තු විවාද

(හැන්සාඩ්)

නිල වාර්තාව

(අශෝධිත පිටපත)

අන්තර්ගත ප්‍රධාන කරුණු

ජනාධිපතිතුමාගෙන් ලත් සන්දේශය:

මහරන ආරක්ෂක ප්‍රකාශනය

නිවේදන:

කොළඹ විශ්ව විද්‍යාලයේ උත්තර මණ්ඩලයට තම සර්ව
කර්මාන්තකරණයේ සහතික

ප්‍රශ්නවලට වාචික පිළිතුරු

ශෝක ප්‍රකාශනය: එස්.බී. හේරත් මහතා

පළමුවන වර කියවන ලද පනත් කෙටුම්පත්:

ප්‍රවෘත්ති පත්‍ර (සංශෝධන)

මුද්‍රණාල (සංශෝධන)

මුද්‍රණකරුවන් හා ප්‍රකාශකයන් පිළිබඳ (සංශෝධන)

මහරන ආරක්ෂක ප්‍රකාශනය

පළාත් පාලන අතුරු ව්‍යවස්ථා

මධ්‍යම පරිසර අධිකාරිය: වාර්ෂික වාර්තාව

ආනයන හා අපනයන (පාලන) පනත: නියෝග

ලංකා සම්භාණ්ඩ සංයුක්ත මණ්ඩලය: වාර්ෂික වාර්තාව

කුඩා හේ වතු සංවර්ධන අධිකාරිය: වාර්ෂික වාර්තාව

උඩරට සමුපකාර වතු සංවර්ධන මණ්ඩලය: වාර්ෂික වාර්තාව

ලංකා තෙල් සහ මේද සංයුක්ත මණ්ඩලය: වාර්ෂික වාර්තාව

ප්‍රශ්නවලට ලිඛිත පිළිතුරු



දැරි ලකමිට්ට

(සටහන)

Duration of Proceedings : 3.00 p.m. to 11.48 p.m. on 27.06.1983
 Final set of manuscripts received : 7.30 p.m. on 28.06.1983
 Printed copies despatched : 30.06.1983 morning.

සටහන 9

(සටහන)

ප්‍රධාන සටහන

සටහන 10
 සටහන 11
 සටහන 12
 සටහන 13
 සටහන 14
 සටහන 15
 සටහන 16
 සටහන 17
 සටහන 18
 සටහන 19
 සටහන 20

සටහන 21
 සටහන 22
 සටහන 23
 සටහන 24
 සටහන 25
 සටහන 26
 සටහන 27
 සටහන 28
 සටහන 29
 සටහන 30

பாராளுமன்ற விவாதங்கள்

(ஹன்சாட்)

அதிகார அறிக்கை

(பிழை திருத்தப்படாதது)

பிரதான உள்ளடக்கம்

சனாகிபதியிடமிருந்து வந்த செய்தி

பொதுமக்கள் பாதுகாப்புப் பிரகடனம்

அறிவிப்புகள் :

கொழும்பு பல்கலைக்கழக மன்றக்கு நேமகங்கள்
சபாநாயகரது சான்றிதழ்கள்

வினாக்களுக்கு வாய்மூல விடைகள்

அலுவலர் தீர்மானம் : திரு. எஸ். பி. ஹேரத்

முதன்முறை மதிப்பிடப்பட்ட சட்டமூலங்கள் :

புதினத்தான் (திருத்தம்)

அச்சகங்கள் (திருத்தம்)

அச்சிட்டாளர், வெளியிட்டாளர் (திருத்தம்)

பொதுமக்கள் பாதுகாப்புப் பிரகடனம்

உள்ளூராட்சித் துணைவிதிகள்

மத்திய சூழல் அதிகார சபை : வருடாந்த அறிக்கை

இறக்குமதி, ஏற்றுமதி (கட்டுப்பாட்டுச்) சட்டம் : ஒழுங்குவிதிகள்

இலங்கை தோல்பொருட் கட்டுத்தாபனம் : வருடாந்த அறிக்கை

சிறு தேயிலைப்பற்று நிலங்கள் அபிவிருத்தி அதிகார சபை : வருடாந்த அறிக்கை

உடறட்ட கட்டுறவுத் தோட்ட அபிவிருத்திச் சபை : வருடாந்த அறிக்கை

இலங்கை எண்ணெய் கொழுப்புக் கட்டுத்தாபனம் : வருடாந்த அறிக்கை

வினாக்களுக்கு எழுத்துமூல விடைகள்

Volume 24

No. 6

Monday
27th June 1983

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(HANSARD)

OFFICIAL REPORT

(Uncorrected)

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT :

Public Security Proclamation

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Nominations to Colombo University Court
Speaker's Certificate

ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

VOTE OF CONDOLENCE : MR. S. B. HERAT

BILLS READ THE FIRST TIME :

Newspapers (Amendment)
Printing Presses (Amendment)
Printers and Publishers (Amendment)

PUBLIC SECURITY PROCLAMATION

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BY-LAWS

CENTRAL ENVIRONMENTAL AUTHORITY : ANNUAL
REPORT

IMPORTS AND EXPORTS (CONTROL) ACT :
REGULATIONS

CEYLON LEATHER PRODUCTS CORPORATION :
ANNUAL REPORT

TEA SMALL HOLDINGS DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY :
ANNUAL REPORT

UDARATA CO-OPERATIVE ESTATES DEVELOPMENT
BOARD : ANNUAL REPORT

CEYLON OILS AND FATS CORPORATION : ANNUAL
REPORT

WRITTEN ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

(continued)

Weekly Digest

Weekly Digest

Weekly Digest

Weekly Digest

Weekly Digest

Weekly Digest

Weekly Digest

Weekly Digest

Weekly Digest

Weekly Digest

Weekly Digest

Weekly Digest

Weekly Digest

Weekly Digest

Volume 24

No. 6

March
1958

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(continued)

OFFICIAL REPORT

(continued)

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BY LAWS

CENTRAL ENVIRONMENTAL AUTHORITY

REPORT

REPORTS AND EXPERTS' CONTROL AND

RESULTS

EVYON LEATHER PRODUCTS CORPORATION

ANNUAL REPORT

THE SMALL HOLDINGS DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY

ANNUAL REPORT

ADVISORY BOARD ON THE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT

BOARD ANNUAL REPORT

CEYLON OFFICIALS' ASSOCIATION ANNUAL

REPORT

WRITTEN ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

ANSWERS TO THE PRESIDENT

OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

ON 15 MARCH 1958

BY THE SPEAKER

AND THE CLERK

OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

AND THE CLERK

OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

AND THE CLERK

OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

AND THE CLERK

OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

AND THE CLERK

පාර්ලිමේන්තුව
பாராளுமன்றம்
PARLIAMENT

1983 ජූනි 27 වන සඳුදා
திங்கட்கிழமை, 27 ஜூன் 1983
Monday, 27th June 1983

අ. කා. 3 ට පාර්ලිමේන්තුව රැස් විය. කථානායකතුමා [අල් හාජ් එම්. අබ්දුල් බාකීර් මාකාර් මහතා] මුලාසනා රැස් විය.

பாராளுமன்றம் சி. ப. 3 மணிக்குக் கூடியது. சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள் [அல்ஹாஜ் எம். அப்துல் பாசீர் மாகார்] தலைமை வகித்தார்கள்.

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

ජනාධිපතිතුමාගෙන් ලන් සන්දේශය
சனாதிபதியிடமிருந்து வந்த செய்தி
MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

මහජන ආරක්ෂක ප්‍රකාශනය
பொதுசனப் பாதுகாப்புப் பிரகடனம்
PUBLIC SECURITY PROCLAMATION

කථානායකතුමා
(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)
(Mr. Speaker)

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

ශ්‍රී ලංකා ජනාධිපති
இலங்கையின் சனாதிபதி
PRESIDENT OF SRI LANKA

No. IS/133. June 17, 1983.

Hon. Mr. Speaker,

By Proclamation dated June 17, 1983, and made under section 2 of the Public Security Ordinance (Cap. 40), as amended by Act, No. 8 of 1959 and Law No. 6 of 1978, I have declared that the provisions of Part II of the aforesaid Ordinance shall come into operation on June 18, 1983, throughout Sri Lanka.

2. In compliance with paragraph (4) of Article 155 of the Constitution, I do hereby communicate to Parliament that the reason for making the Proclamation as aforesaid is for the preservation of public order and the maintenance of supplies and services essential to the life of the community.

J. R. Jayewardene,
PRESIDENT.

Hon. Speaker of the Parliament.

නිවේදන
அறிவிப்புகள்
ANNOUNCEMENTS

I

කොළඹ විශ්ව විද්‍යාලයේ උත්තර මණ්ඩලයට නම් කිරීම
கொழும்பு பல்கலைக்கழக மன்றாளுக்கு நேமகங்கள்
NOMINATIONS TO THE COURT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF COLOMBO

කථානායකතුමා
(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)
(Mr. Speaker)

The Secretary-General has received a letter from the Acting Registrar, University of Colombo, which will now be read to the Parliament.

අනතුරුව පහත සඳහන් ලිපිය මහලේකම් විසින් කියවන ලදී :
அதன்மேல் செயலாளர் அறிவிப்பி மின்வரும் கடிதத்தை வாசித்தார் :

Whereupon the Secretary-General read the following letter :

"මගේ අංකය : ලේ/උත්/1

කොළඹ විශ්ව විද්‍යාලය, ශ්‍රී ලංකාව

"කොලේජ් හවුස්",
කොළඹ 3.
1983.06.13.

පාර්ලිමේන්තු මහ ලේකම්,
ශ්‍රී ජයවර්ධනපුර,
කෝට්ටේ.

මහත්මයාණෙනි,

උත්තර මණ්ඩලයට පාර්ලිමේන්තු මන්ත්‍රීවරුන් තෝරා පත් කිරීම

මමේ අංක කා. ස./16 හා 1982.02.25 දින දරන ලිපිය හා සම්බන්ධවයි.

1978 අංක 16 දරන විශ්වවිද්‍යාල පනතේ 41 (i) (අ) (V) වගන්තිය යටතේ පහත නම් සඳහන් පාර්ලිමේන්තු මන්ත්‍රීවරුන් මෙම විශ්වවිද්‍යාලයේ උත්තර මණ්ඩලයට පත් කළ බව දන්වා ඇත.

1. විරසිංහ මල්ලිමාරවිලි මහතා
2. දෙසතර රංජීන් අතපත්තු මහතා
3. ඩී. එස්. ජෙරේරා මහතා
4. අනුර බැඳවිසන් මහතා
5. එම්. සිට්සිනම්පරම් මහතා
6. අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා

දෙසතර රංජීන් අතපත්තු මහතාගේ සහ ඩී. එස්. ජෙරේරා මහතාගේ සාමාජිකත්වය දැනට පුරප්පාඩුවට පවතින බැවින්, මේ සඳහා මන්ත්‍රීවරුන් දෙපලක් පත්කර එවන ලෙස ඉල්ලමි.

මෙයට විශ්වාසී වූ,
කේ. ජී. ජිතසේන,
වැ. බ. ලේඛනාධිකාරී."

කථානායකතුමා
(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)
(Mr. Speaker)

With regard to the letter from the Acting Registrar, University of Colombo, it is necessary for this Parliament to proceed to the election of two Members of Parliament to the Court of the University of Colombo.

[කථානායකතුමා]

Nominations for the election should be handed in to the Secretary-General before 9 a.m. on Monday, 4th July, 1983. Nominations should be in writing and bear the signature of the Proposer and Seconder.

If the nominations indicate that an election is necessary I shall name a date for balloting.

II

කථානායකතුමාගේ සහතික
சபாநாயகரின் சான்றிதழ்
SPEAKER'S CERTIFICATES

කථානායකතුමා
(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)
(Mr. Speaker)

I wish also 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 June 23, 1983 :

- Debt Conciliation (Amendment)
- Greater Colombo Economic Commission (Amendment)

ලිපි ලේඛනාදිය පිළිගැන්වීම
சமர்ப்பிக்கப்பட்ட பத்திரங்கள்
PAPERS PRESENTED

- (1) Annual Report and Accounts of the Tower Hall Theatre Foundation for 1980.
- (2) Annual Report of the Government of Sri Lanka - Successor to the Business undertaking of Colombo Commercial Co. Fertilizers Ltd., for 1981.-(Mr. M. D. Premaratne on behalf of the Prime Minister and Minister of Local Government, Housing and Construction and Minister of Highways)

Annual Report and Accounts of the Government Owned Business Undertaking of Essential Oils (Ceylon) Ltd., for 1981.-(Mr. M. S. Amarasiri)

Annual Report of the Sri Lanka Sugar Corporation for 1980.-(Mr. Gamani Jayasuriya)

1981 සඳහා රජයේ මුද්‍රණ තීරිත සංස්ථාවේ වාර්ෂික වාර්තාව.-(රජය ඇමතිතුමා වෙනුවට එම්. ඩී. ප්‍රේමරත්න මහතා)

(1) 1981 මාර්තු 31 දිනට අවසන් වර්ෂයේ ලංකා සංවර්ධන මුදල් සංස්ථාවේ වාර්ෂික වාර්තාව හා ගිණුම්.

(2) 1981 සඳහා රජය උසස් හා ආයෝජන බැංකුවේ වාර්ෂික වාර්තාව.-(මුදල් හා ඉඩම් සම්පාදන ඇමතිතුමා වෙනුවට එම්. ඩී. ප්‍රේමරත්න මහතා)

Annual Report of the State Timber Corporation for 1980.-(Mr. A. M. S. Adikari)

Annual Report of the National Youth Services Council for 1980.-(Mr. Gamini Atukorale)

සභාමේසය මත තිබිය යුතුයයි නියෝග කරන ලදී.
சபாபீடத்தில் இருக்கக் கட்டளையிடப்பட்டது.
Ordered to lie upon the Table.

47 (5) වන ස්ථාවර නියෝගය යටතේ පිළිගැන්වන
ලද වාර්තාව
நிலைக்கட்டளை இல. 47(5) இன்படி சமர்ப்பிக்கப்பட்ட
அறிக்கை

REPORT PRESENTED UNDER STANDING
ORDER NO. 47 (5)

මුස්ලිම් කාන්තා සමාජ කවය (ලංකා) සංස්ථාගත කිරීමේ පනත් කෙටුම්පත
முஸ்லிம் பெண்களின் சமூகலீக் (இலங்கை) (கட்டிணைத்தல்) சட்டமூலம்
MUSLIM WOMEN'S SOCIAL LEAGUE (CEYLON) (INCORPORATION) BILL

"මුස්ලිම් කාන්තා සමාජ කවය (ලංකා) සංස්ථාගත කිරීම සඳහා වූ පනතක්" තමුණි පනත් කෙටුම්පත පිළිබඳ වාර්තාව (ප්‍රධාන කටයුතු පිළිබඳ ඇමතිතුමා සහ ගමනා ගමන පිළිබඳ ඇමතිතුමා සහ පුද්ගලික බස් ප්‍රවාහනය පිළිබඳ ඇමතිතුමා වෙනුවට එම්. ඩී. ප්‍රේමරත්න මහතා)

පනත් කෙටුම්පත 1983 ජූලි 5 වන අඟහැරුවාද දෙවන වර කියවිය යුතුයයි නියෝග කරන ලදී.

சட்டமூலம் 1983 ஜூலை 5, செவ்வாய்க்கிழமை இரண்டாம் முறை மாக மதிப்பிடப்பட வேண்டுமென கட்டளையிடப்பட்டது.

Bill ordered to be read a Second time upon Tuesday 5th July, 1983.

පෙත්සම්
மனுக்கள்
PETITIONS

කථානායකතුමා
(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)
(Mr. Speaker)

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

ජී.වී.පුංචිතිලමේ මහතා (නියෝජ්‍ය රාජ්‍ය වැවිලි පිළිබඳ ඇමතිතුමා)

(திரு. ஜி. வி. புஞ்சிதிலமே—அரசு பெருந்தோட்டப் பிரதி அமைச்சர்)

(Mr. G. V. PUNCHINILAME—Deputy Minister of State Plantations)

I present a petition from Mr. D. M. Bodhinayake of No. 37, Kospelavinna Road, Ratnapura.

එච්. ඩී. අබේරත්න මහතා (නියෝජ්‍ය ගමනා ගමන මණ්ඩල පිළිබඳ ඇමතිතුමා)

(திரு. எச். டி. அபேரத்தன—போக்குவரத்துச் சபைகள் பிரதி அமைச்சர்)

(Mr. H. B. Abeyratne—Deputy Minister for Transport Boards)

I present a petition from Mr. A. Pakeer Mideen of Randenigama, Mahawa.

කථානායකතුමා
(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)
(Mr. Speaker)

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

ලක්ෂමන් ජයකොඩි මහතා (අත්තනගල්ල)
(திரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயக்கொடி—அத்தனாகல்ல)
(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody—Attanagalla)

කුඩාරාත, අඹගේන්සායේ, එස්. ගුණේරජ මහතා සහ තවත් පණිඳ හය දෙනෙකුගෙන් ලැබුණු පෙත්සමක්. මම දඳුර්පත් කරනවා.

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

I present a petition from Mr. P. M. Andreas of Nos. 95 and 97, Main Street, Balangoda.

ඉහත පෙත්සම් කාරක සභාවට පැවරිය යුතු යයි තීරණ කරන ලදී.
 பொதுமனுக் குழுவுக்குச் சாட்டக் கட்டளையிடப்பட்டது.
 Ordered to be referred to the Public Petitions Committee.

ප්‍රශ්නවලට වාචික පිළිතුරු
வினாக்களுக்கு வாய்மூல விடைகள்
ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

ඩී. එල්. ඩී. යාපා මහතා, ගාල්ලේ රැකියා බැංකු ඉල්ලුම්කරු
 திரு. டி. எல். டி. யாப்பா : காலி தொழில்வங்கிப் பதிவுபெற்றவர்
 MR. D. L. D. YAPA : GALLE JOB BANK REGISTRANT

207/83

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

සැලසුම් ක්‍රියාත්මක කිරීම පිළිබඳ තීරණය ඇමතිතුමාගෙන් ඇසූ ප්‍රශ්නය : (අ) ගාල්ලේ රැකියා බැංකු ඉල්ලුම්කරු අංක 929, ගාල්ලේ පෙට්ටිගලවත්තේ 1/143 හි ඩී. එල්. ඩී. යාපා මහතා ශුද්ධ ගණිතය සහ සිංහල භාෂාව ඇතුළු සම්මාන හතරක් අ. පො. ස. (සාමාන්‍ය පෙළ) විභාගයේදී ලබා තිබෙන තිසා ලිපිකරුවෙක් වීමට සම්පූර්ණ සුදුසුකම් ඔහුට ඇති බව එතුමා දන්නේද? (ආ) එතුමා යාපා මහතා වැඩට කැඳවන්නේද? (ඇ) නොඑසේ නම්, ඒ මන්ද?

கிட்டச் செயற்படுத்தற் பிரதி அமைச்சரைக் கேட்ட வினா :
 (அ) 929 ஆம் இலக்க காலி தொழிலட்டையைக் கொண்ட வரும், காலி, பெட்டிகலவத்தை 1/143 ஆம் இலக்கத்தைச் சேர்ந்தவருமான திரு. டி. எல். டி. யாப்பா என்பவர் க. பொ. க. (சா. த) பரீட்சையில் தூயகணிதம், சிங்களமொழி உட்பட நான்கு பாடங்களில் நிறமைச்சித்தி பெற்றவராகையால் எழுதுவினைஞராகக் தொழில் பெறுவதற்குப் பூரண தகைமையுடையவர் என்பதை அவர் அறிவாரா? (ஆ) திரு. யாப்பா அவர்களை அவர் வேலைக்கு அழைப்பாரா? (இ) இன்றைல், ஏன்?

asked the Deputy Minister of plan Implementation : (a) Is he aware that Galle job Bank applicant, Mr. D. L. D. Yapa of 1/143, Pettigalawatta, Galle, No. 929, has four credits in the G.C.E. (O.L.) Examination including Pure Mathematics and Sinhala Language, and is therefore fully qualified to be a clerk, (b) Will he call up Mr. Yapa for work? (c) If not, why?

ඩී. බී. වෙලගෙර මහතා සැලසුම් ක්‍රියාත්මක කිරීමේ තීරණය ඇමතිතුමා

(திரு. டி. பி. வெலகெதர—அமைப்புத்திட்டச் செயற்படுத்தற் பிரதி அமைச்சர்)

(Mr. D. B. Welagedera—Deputy Minister of Plan Implementation)

(අ) ඔව්. (ආ) ඔහු සම්මුඛ පරීක්ෂණයක් සඳහා යවා තිබේ. (ඇ) පැන නොනගී.

කථානායකතුමා
 (சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)
 (Mr. Speaker)
 Question No. 2.

එම්. ඩී. ප්‍රේමරත්න මහතා (වැඩබලන පාර්ලිමේන්තු කටයුතු හා ක්‍රීඩා ඇමතිතුමා)

(திரு. எம். டி. பிரேமரத்ன—பதில் பாராளுமன்ற அலுவல்கள், வினையாட்டுத்துறை அமைச்சர்)

(Mr. M. D. Premaratne—Acting Minister of Parliamentary Affairs & Sports)

I ask for two weeks' time to answer.

ප්‍රශ්නය මතු දිනකදී ඉදිරිපත් කිරීමට තීරණය කරන ලදී.
 வினாவை மற்றொரு தினத்திற்கு சமர்ப்பிக்கக் கட்டளையிடப்பட்டது.

Question ordered to stand down.

එන්. ඒ. ජේමිස් මහතා: වාර්ෂික දෙපාර්තමේන්තුවෙන් ලැබිය යුතු කුලිය

திரு. என். ஏ. ஜேம்ஸ் : நீர்ப்பாசனத் திணைக்களத்திடமிருந்து வாடகை

MR. N. A. JAMES, DELPAWITA : RENTAL DUE FROM IRRIGATION DEPARTMENT

211/83

3. ආචාර්ය ඩබ්ලිව්. දහනායක මහතා
 (கலாநிதி டபிள்யூ. தஹநாயக்க)
 (Dr. W. Dahanayake)

ඉඩම් හා ඉඩම් සංවර්ධන ඇමතිතුමා සහ මහවැලි සංවර්ධනය පිළිබඳ ඇමතිතුමාගෙන් ඇසූ ප්‍රශ්නය : (අ) බද්දේගම හැම්මලිය, දෙල්පාවිට, එන්. ඒ. ජේමිස් මහතාට පසුගිය අවුරුදු දෙකට වාර්ෂික දෙපාර්තමේන්තුව විසින් ගෙවිය යුතු කුලිය වහාම ගෙවීමට එතුමා තීරණය කරන්නේද? (ආ) නොඑසේ නම්, ඒ මන්ද?

காணி, காணி அபிவிருத்தி அமைச்சரும் மகாவலி அபிவிருத்தி அமைச்சருமானவரைக் கேட்ட வினா : (அ) பத்தே கம ஹாமுஎலிய, டெல்பாவிற்ற எனுமிடத்தைச் சேர்ந்த திரு. என். ஏ. ஜேம்ஸ் என்பவருக்கு நீர்ப்பாசனத் திணைக்களம் கொடுக்கவேண்டியுள்ள கடந்த இரு வருடங்கட்கான, வாடகைப் பாக்கியை உடனடியாகச் செலுத்தும்படி அவர் கட்டளை யிடுவாரா? (ஆ) இன்றைல், ஏன்?

asked the Minister of Lands and Land Development and Minister of Mahaweli Development : (a) Will he order the immediate payment of rental due for the past two years from the Irrigation Department to Mr. N. A. James, Delpawita, Hammeliya, Baddegama? (b) If not, why?

ඒ.එම්. එස්. අධිකාරී මහතා (තීරණය ඉඩම් හා ඉඩම් සංවර්ධන ඇමතිතුමා)

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

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

(අ) එසේය. හිත කුලී ගෙවීමට දැනටම කටයුතු කර ඇත. (ආ) අදාල නොවේ.

Biyagama have been acquired by the Government on 13.11.1981 for the purpose of a road to the Biyagama Free Trade Zone. (b) Does he intend to pay compensation for the said land? (c) If so, how much does he intend to pay per perch? (d) When does he hope to make payment? (e) If the payment of compensation is delayed, what is the reason for such delay?

பி. பி. பி. சிவசாரி மஹா
(திரு. ஏ. எம். எஸ். அதிகாரி)
(Mr. A. M. S. Adikari)

(a) பி. பி. பி. சிவசாரி மஹா (b) ஆம். (c) ஆம். (d) ஆம். (e) ஆம். (f) ஆம். (g) ஆம். (h) ஆம். (i) ஆம். (j) ஆம். (k) ஆம். (l) ஆம். (m) ஆம். (n) ஆம். (o) ஆம். (p) ஆம். (q) ஆம். (r) ஆம். (s) ஆம். (t) ஆம். (u) ஆம். (v) ஆம். (w) ஆம். (x) ஆம். (y) ஆம். (z) ஆம்.

சரத் மூத்தையாருக்கு மஹா
(திரு. சரத் முத்தையாருக்கு)
(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

சரத் மூத்தையாருக்கு மஹா (a) ஆம். (b) ஆம். (c) ஆம். (d) ஆம். (e) ஆம். (f) ஆம். (g) ஆம். (h) ஆம். (i) ஆம். (j) ஆம். (k) ஆம். (l) ஆம். (m) ஆம். (n) ஆம். (o) ஆம். (p) ஆம். (q) ஆம். (r) ஆம். (s) ஆம். (t) ஆம். (u) ஆம். (v) ஆம். (w) ஆம். (x) ஆம். (y) ஆம். (z) ஆம்.

பி. பி. பி. சிவசாரி மஹா
(திரு. ஏ. எம். எஸ். அதிகாரி)
(Mr. A. M. S. Adikari)

சரத் மூத்தையாருக்கு மஹா

விசேஷ சேவை திட்டமிடல் : வட்டிப் பரிமாணம்
விசேஷ சேவை உத்தியோகத்தர் : சம்பளத்திட்டம்
SPECIAL SERVICE OFFICERS : SALARY SCALE

152/83

10. பி. பி. பி. சிவசாரி மஹா (பிரதமர் பதவியில் தலைவர்-பி. பி. பி. சிவசாரி மஹா-கோபாய்-பி. பி. பி. சிவசாரி மஹா)

(திரு. அமிர்தலிங்கம்-எதிர்க்கட்சி முதல்வர்-திரு. ஏ. எம். அலாலசுந்தரம்-கோப்பாய்-சார்பாக)

(Mr. A. Amirthalingam-Leader of the Opposition (On behalf of Mr. A. M. Alaalasundaram-Kopay)

பி. பி. பி. சிவசாரி மஹா (a) ஆம். (b) ஆம். (c) ஆம். (d) ஆம். (e) ஆம். (f) ஆம். (g) ஆம். (h) ஆம். (i) ஆம். (j) ஆம். (k) ஆம். (l) ஆம். (m) ஆம். (n) ஆம். (o) ஆம். (p) ஆம். (q) ஆம். (r) ஆம். (s) ஆம். (t) ஆம். (u) ஆம். (v) ஆம். (w) ஆம். (x) ஆம். (y) ஆம். (z) ஆம்.

திட்டம் செயற்படுத்தும் பிரதி அமைச்சரைக் கேட்ட வினா : (அ) விசேஷ சேவை உத்தியோகத்தர் கடமைகள் எவை என்பது பற்றிய சுற்றுநிருபமொன்றை அவர் வெளியிடுவாரா? (ஆ) அல்லாதுவிடின் ஏன்? (இ) விசேஷ சேவை உத்தியோகத்தர் சம்பளம் சம்பள நிர்ணய குழு அறிக்கையில் இடம் பெறவில்லையென்பதை அவர் அறிவாரா? (ஈ) அப்படியாயின் அவர்களது சம்பளத்தை நிர்ணயித்து சுற்று நிருபம் வெளியிடுவாரா?

asked the Deputy Minister of Plan Implementation : (a) Will he issue a circular defining the duties of the Special Service Officers?

(b) If not, why? (c) Is he aware that there is no reference to the salary of the Special Service Officers in the report of the Salaries Committee?(d) If so, will he determine their scale of salary and issue a circular?

பி. பி. பி. சிவசாரி மஹா (பிரதமர் பதவியில் தலைவர்-பி. பி. பி. சிவசாரி மஹா)

(திரு. டி. பி. வெலகெடா-அமைப்புத்திட்டச் செயற்படுத்தல் பிரதி அமைச்சர்)

(Mr. D. B. Welagedera-Deputy Minister of Plan Implementation)

(a) A circular has already been issued.-Annexure "A". (b) Does not arise. (c) Yes. (d) A circular has already been issued.-Annexure "B".

"Annexure A"

My. No. 110/2/195
Ministry of Plan Implementation,
Central Bank Building,
Colombo 1.

19th September, 1980.

TO ALL HON. MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

Hon. Minister/Hon. District Minister
Hon. Deputy Minister/Hon. M.P.,

RECRUITMENT OF SPECIAL SERVICE OFFICERS

According to the Cabinet Memorandum dated 09.07.1980 submitted by the Hon. Prime Minister and approved by the Cabinet it has been recommended to create a cadre of Special service Officers, consisting of 2385 posts. The recruitment to these posts will be handled by the Ministry of Plan Implementation. The salaries to these officers will be paid by this Ministry. All these officers will be attached to the Kachcheries and they will be serving under the immediate supervision and control of the Govt. Agent/District Secretary under the guidance of the District Minister.

02. One Special Service Officer will be appointed for every two existing Gramasevaka Division. According to the Cabinet Memorandum of the Hon. Prime Minister the following functions will be entrusted to these officers.

- (i) Conducting Socio-economic Surveys.
- (ii) Implementation of District Development Activities.
- (iii) Promotion of national savings activities.
- (iv) Issue of Food Stamps.
- (v) Preparation of electoral registers.
- (vi) Trespassing on lands and follow up action, and other duties also would be added to the above list of duties.

03. The minimum educational qualifications required for this post will be a pass at the G.C.E. (O.L.) Examination in six subjects including Language and Arithmetic/Mathematics/Commercial Arithmetic in not more than one sitting or a pass in an equivalent examination. Candidates should be between 21 and 42 years of age and they should be permanent residents of that area.

04. On the basis of appointing one officer for two existing Gramasevaka Niladari divisions special service officers will be appointed to your Electorate. Therefore you are requested to submit names of Male candidates with the above stated necessary qualifications. They will be subjected to an interview and

the required candidates will be selected. Please indicate clearly the name, address, and the Job bank Number of the candidate in forwarding the names.

05. Names for these posts of Special Service Officers should be forwarded from among Job Bank registrants. There will be a considerable number of Job Bank registrants in your electorate District whose names are to be submitted according to the qualifications required for these posts.

06. Since arrangements will be made for training after selection you are kindly requested to forward the names of candidates on or before 29th September 1960 to reach this Ministry.

07. The candidates selected will be appointed to these posts with effect from 01 January 1981. The salary scale applicable to the post is as follows. Rs. 3,600 - 4 x 120, 14 x 180 - 6,600 (consolidated monthly salary Rs. 300 in addition other Govt. allowances will also be paid).

08. Arrangements will be made by the Ministry of Plan Implementation to provide a 20 days training before January 1981 for those who will be selected to those posts. The training will be held in each district, action will be taken by this Ministry to pay an allowance of Rs. 10 per diem for each day of training. That training will be compulsory and candidates who do not participate in the training will not be appointed to those posts.

09. Your kind co-operation for the successful implementation of this programme will be appreciated.

Sgd. Dr. Wickrema Weerasuria,
Secretary,
Ministry of Plan Implementation.

"Annexure B"

My No. E15/1/SSO/C/1
Ministry of Plan Implementation
7th Floor (North)
Central Bank Building,
Colombo 1.
27th December 1982.

Circular No. 03

TO ALL GOVT. AGENTS

PAYMENT OF SALARIES TO SPECIAL SERVICE
OFFICERS ACCORDING TO PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
CIRCULAR No. 197

Up to now the above officers have been paid the following salary scale.

$3,600 \times 4 \times 120 - 14 \times 180 = 6,600$

02. The Director of Establishment has informed me that the revision of this salary scale as given below has been approved by the salaries review committee.

$8,520 \times 6 \times 180 - 9,600/10,140 - 11 \times 180 - 12,120$

03. This salary scale will be effective from 01.01.1982. You are requested therefore to place the Special Service Officers attached to your District on the appropriate salary step according to this salary scale, and take action to pay arrears of salary with effect from 01.01.1982.

04. Please enter in the personal file of the officer the salary conversion made in respect of each officer and send me a copy of same.

05. Please take action to obtain the necessary financial provisions from the Ministry.

Sgd. Dr. Wickrema Weerasuria,
Secretary,
Ministry of Plan Implementation.

Copies to: 1. Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs - for information.
2. Accountant - for necessary action.
3. Auditor-General - for information.
4. National Special Service Officers' Association - for information.

ශෝක ප්‍රකාශය : එස්. බී. හේරත් මහතා

அனுதாபத் தீர்மானம் : திரு. எஸ். பி. ஹேரத்

VOTE OF CONDOLENCE :

MR. S. B. HERAT

ගාමිනී ජයසූරිය මහතා (කෘෂිකාර්මික සංවර්ධනය හා පර්යේෂණ පිළිබඳ ඇමතිතුමා සහ ආහාර හා සමුපකාර ඇමතිතුමා)

(திரு. காமனி ஜயசூரிய—விவசாய அபிவிருத்தி, ஆராய்ச்சி அமைச்சரும் உணவு, கூட்டுறவு அமைச்சரும்)

(Mr. Gamani Jayasuriya - Minister of Agricultural Development & Research and Minister of Food and Co-operatives)

I am thankful to you, Sir, on this sad occasion of the vote of Condolence, for affording me this opportunity to associate myself with the expression of sentiments and profound sympathy on the passing away of our Colleague, the Hon'ble S. B. Herat Member of Parliament for Hiriyala and Minister of Food and Co-operatives.

Today, we mourn the loss of a man of unique character with abundant friendliness, who has graced this House continuously for over 18 years, during which long and eventful period he had rendered yeoman service to Sri Lanka as a true son of the Wann, as a capable Member of Parliament, a very hardworking Minister and a dedicated servant of the people.

The vacuum left in our public life by his demise is one which I think is very difficult to fill, for his abilities, and services were indeed varied and many-sided and his heart full of understanding and sympathy for the people.

Sirisena Bandara Herat was born on 29th June, 1923, and his education at Wesley College, Colombo, Maliyadeva College, Kurunegala, and at the Pembroke Academy, Colombo (where he studied for the City and Guilds Intermediate with Civil Engineering). He started life as a State officer (as Superintendent of Development Works), and, unlike many State officers of the time, he did not detach himself from the masses in the discharge of his duties. He was not the usual bureaucratic official. On the contrary, knowing by experience the plight of the peasants and farmers, he approached their problems

with sympathy and helped them. It was the attitude that endeared him to the peasants and farmers, who looked up to him for guidance.

His popularity could well be gauged from his Parliamentary Election victories. When he first contested the Hiriyaala seat in 1965, he won it with a majority of nearly 3,500 votes. In 1970, although the trend was adverse, he doubled his majority and was one of the small band of UNP stalwarts in Parliament who continued to stand up for people's rights. In 1977 he won with a majority of over 11,000 votes. When he was appointed Minister of Food and Co-operatives in 1977, he inherited a rather unenviable legacy! During the previous 7 years, the food problems had deteriorated and the Co-operative Movement, built up by D. S. Senanayake, M. A. Ratnayake, Philip Gunawardena, M. D. Banda and others, had suffered an unhappy change-political control.

With his long association with the masses and realizing real needs of the co-operative movement, S. B. Herat was able to resurrect the movement during his six years as Minister. So it was with the food sector. This was an uphill task, but he achieved his goals by working hard and silently, backed by his long experience and deep understanding.

You will recall, Sir, that during the debate on the Votes of the Ministries, hardly two months ago in this House, many Members expressed their appreciation of his effort to put the co-operative movement on a sound footing. I recall his reply which, I think, was his last long speech in the House. On that occasion he expressed, in his characteristic fashion his thanks to all those who helped him to do what he had done. Though his knowledgeability could easily match that of an expert, he never attempted to show it.

He was a large-hearted man, incapable of hate or conceit. He treated all alike. This egalitarianism and deep sympathy won him friends.

Having closely associated with him for almost 25 years, especially in political work, I can well feel how his friends would miss him.

He was most concerned with his electorate, to which he gave several days each week with unflinching regularity. He knew its needs and endeavoured to fulfil them. In that task his early experience as a field officer and his academic training came in handy.

He realized that any attempt at rural upliftment on welfare must necessarily have moral and religious backing. Therefore, he gave a great impetus to *Daham Paasal* or Sunday Buddhist schools in the area.

Being a sportsman, he encouraged sports. In fact, his interest and active participation in sports had been many-sided. He distinguished himself at Wesley where he captained the boxing and hockey teams. He participated in school cricket, tennis, football and athletics. He was a keen motorist and competed in many races.

He was a good parliamentarian and a keen Member of the UNP. Above all, he was a large-hearted man and a good friend.

His passing away on Monday, the 6th June, at the age of 60 years is indeed an untimely death that has deprived the country of a great servant of the people, and today we mourn his loss deeply and sincerely.

Mr. Speaker, I propose that the condolence of this House be conveyed to the members of the bereaved family.

ජ. අමිර්තලිංගම් මහතා (විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ නායකතුමා)
(திரு. எ. அமிர்தலிங்கம்—எதிர்க்கட்சி முதல்வர்)
(Mr. A. Amirthalingam—Leader of the Opposition)

Mr. Speaker, on behalf of the TULF and the Opposition in general, I wish to associate myself with the sentiments expressed by the Hon. Minister of Agricultural Development and Research in moving this Vote of Condolence on the passing away of the Hon. S. B. Herat.

I had the pleasure of knowing Mr. Herat since 1965 when he first came to Parliament. From that time I knew him fairly intimately, and I have always appreciated the great simplicity of the man. He was like a child. He would talk to you about the simplest matters, and in a most unassuming way he would put across his ideas with regard to the various problems confronting the co-operative movement and other matters. He was a genial person and a very good friend, as the Hon. Minister of Agricultural Development and Research said. These were qualities which endeared him to everybody who knew him. One of the reasons why I felt that he was one of the few in the political life of this country who could not have enemies was because he treated everybody alike. Even as a Minister, I should say, he was one who treated Members of the Opposition in the same way that he treated Members of the Government Party.

It was only the other day, Sir, that I met the hon. Herat in the lift of this Chamber and told him that I wanted to talk to him on certain matters concerning the Jaffna Multi-Purpose Co-operative Society. He immediately got off the lift at the next landing, took me to a side and wanted to find out from me what the problem was. Such was the simplicity of his nature. We all miss this lovable person whom cruel death has taken away from our midst.

[ඒ. අමීර්හමිද් මහතා]

Mr. Speaker, as Minister in charge of the co-operative movement he had a very difficult task to perform. He had to cleanse the Augean stables. I should say that he will be remembered as a Minister who made a significant contribution to put the co-operative movement back on its feet as a people's movement. I think that is an achievement of his. During the last six years he laboured very hard to bring the Co-operative movement back to the position it occupied in the sixties.

So, Sir, the Hon. Herat as a man had outstanding, lovable qualities, and as a Minister he has made a significant contribution.

May I, on behalf of the opposition, request you to send a copy of the minutes of these proceedings to the bereaved family so that in this moment of their poignant grief and loss the feeling that his Colleagues, be they in the Government Party or in the opposition, appreciated him and held him in high esteem may bring some solace to the family.

Thank you, Sir.

මෛත්‍රීපාල සේනානායක මහතා (මැදවර්ට්ට) (திரு. மைத்திரிபால சேனநாயக்க—மதவாச்சி) (MR. Maithripala Senanayake—Medawachchiya)

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, 1965 වර්ෂයේ සිට තමන්ගේ අවසාන මොහොත දක්වා මෙම ගරු සභාවේ මන්ත්‍රීවරයෙක් වශයෙනුත් ඇමතිවරයෙක් වශයෙනුත් ක්‍රියා කළ හිරියාල ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමාගේ (එස්. ඩී. හේරත් මහතා) අභාවය ගැන ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයේ කණගාටුව ප්‍රකාශ කිරීමටයි, මම නැගී සිටින්නේ.

මම එතුමා සමඟ ආශ්‍රයට වැටුනේ 1965 වර්ෂයේ සිටයි. එතුමා වාමී ජීවිතයක් ගත කළ ඉතාමත් දක්ෂ පුද්ගලයෙක්. සාමාන්‍යයෙන් වයඹ පළාතේ—වන්නියේ—ගොවි ජනතාව ගැන, ඔවුන්ගේ සිතූම පැතුම ගැන, අයිතිවාසිකම් ගැන හොඳ අවබෝධයක් තිබුණු එමෙන්ම ඒ අවබෝධය තුළින් ඒ ජනතාවට සේවය කිරීමට මහත්සි ගත් නිහඟමානී පුද්ගලයෙක් හැටියට එස්. ඩී. හේරත් මහතා අපට හඳුන්වා දෙන්න පුළුවන්. එතුමා මෙම පාර්ලිමේන්තුවේ සිටි කාලය තුළදී, විශේෂයෙන් ගොවි ජනතාවගේ ඕනෑ එපාකම් ගැන ඉතාමත් උනන්දුවකින් ක්‍රියා කළා යයි නිර්වචන ප්‍රකාශ කරන්න පුළුවනි.

රජයේ සේවකයෙක් වශයෙන්—ඉඩම් කොමසාරිස් දෙපාර්තමේන්තුවේ සංවර්ධන වැඩ අධිකාරීවරයෙකු වශයෙන්— සේවය කොට එයින් විශ්‍රාම ලබා, 1965 වර්ෂයේ සිට මෙම පාර්ලිමේන්තුවට පැමිණී හේරත් මහතා කළ විශිෂ්ඨ සේවාව ගැන සිතා බලන විට, වයඹ පළාතේ මහජනතාව එතුමාගේ අකාල මරණය ගැන ඉතාමත් කණගාටු වෙතුවාට කිසිම සැකයක් නැහැ, මන්ත්‍රීවරයෙක් වශයෙනුත්, ඇමතිවරයෙක් වශයෙනුත්, එතුමා කළ සේවාව පළාත් වාසීන් පමණක් නොව, මුළු මහත් ජනතාවම අගය කරන බව අපට ප්‍රකාශ කරන්නට පුළුවන්. එස්. ඩී. හේරත් මහතාගේ අකාල මරණයෙන් ඇති වී තිබෙන පාඩුව ලෙහෙසියෙන් පිරිමසන්නට හැකිවන්නේ නැහැ. ඒ මහතාගේ අභාවය විශේෂයෙන්ම වයඹ පළාතේ හිරියාල ප්‍රදේශයේ ගොවි ජනතාවට සිදු වූ ලොකු පාඩුවක් හැටියට මට මේ අවස්ථාවේදී ප්‍රකාශ කරන්නට පුළුවන්. එම නිසා අපගේ කණගාටුවත් ඔබතුමාගේ මාර්ගයෙන් එතුමාගේ පවුලේ අයට දන්වා යවන හැටියට ඉතාමත් ගෞරවයෙන් ඉල්ලමින් මම නිහඬ වෙතවා.

සරත් මුත්තේටුවෙගම මහතා (කල්වාන) (திரு. சரத் முத்துவேகம—கலவான) (Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama—Kalawana)

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, හිරියාල පාර්ලිමේන්තු මන්ත්‍රී එස්. ඩී. හේරත් මහතාගේ අභාවය පිළිබඳව ශෝක ප්‍රකාශිත ශෝචනාව ගැන, ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ කොමියුනිස්ට් පක්ෂය වෙනුවෙන් සහ පොදුගලිකවත් වචන ස්වල්පයක් කථා කරන්නට අවස්ථාව ලබාදීම ගැන මම නමුත්තාත්සේට සතුතිවන්න වෙතවා.

එතුමාට අවසාන ගෞරව දක්වන අවස්ථාවේදී කොටුදැක්විය හැකි හේතුවක් නිසා මට සහභාගි වන්නට ලැබුණේ නැහැ. නමුත්, එස්. ඩී. හේරත් මහතාගේ අභාවය පිළිබඳව මෙම ගරු සභාවෙන්, ඒවාගේම මෙම ගරු සභාවෙන් එටතත් දහස් ගණනක් උදවිය ශෝක වනවා වගේම අපටත් එම ශෝකය ප්‍රකාශ කිරීමේදී කොටස් කාරයෝ වන්නට සිදු වී තිබෙතවා.

එස්. ඩී. හේරත් මහතා මම හඳුනා ගත්තේ, මෙම ගරු සභාවට එන්නටත් පෙර සිටයි. රජයේ සේවකයෙක් හැටියට—රත්නපුර ප්‍රදේශයේ සංවර්ධන අධිකාරී කෙනෙක් හැටියට—ඔහු කටයුතු කළ කාලයේදීයි. ඒ කාලයේ මා දේශපාලනයට පිරිසුදුණේ ගම්පහා නියෝජිතයෙක් හැටියටයි. ඒ අවදියේ ඒ ප්‍රදේශයේ අළුතෙන් ඉදි කෙරුණු මාර්ග කීපයක වැඩ කටයුතු භාරව සිටියේ හේරත් මහතායි. ඒ කාලයේදී මට ඒ මහතා හොඳින් හඳුනා ගන්නට පුළුවන් වුණා. ඒ කාලයේ පවා අපේ මතය වූයේ, හේරත් මහතා, ජනතාවට ඇප කැප වී වැඩ කළ රජයේ සේවකයෙක් බවයි. එම තනතුරු නොයෙකුත් විවේචනවලට ලක්වුණු තනතුරු බව නමුත්තාත්සේ දන්නවා. නමුත්, හේරත් මහතා රත්නපුරයේ වැඩ කටයුතු කළ කාලයේ මා දන්නා තරමින්, කිසිම විවේචනයක් ඒ මහතාට එල්ල වූයේ නැතැයි කියා මට කියන්නට පුළුවන්.

මේ ගරු සභාවට 1970 වර්ෂයේ මා පැමිණි කාලයේ එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂය දැන් වගේ නොවෙයි. එදා විරුද්ධ පක්ෂය වූ එම පක්ෂයේ මන්ත්‍රීවරු හිටියේ වික දෙනයි. ඒ වික දෙනාගේ කණ්ඩායමේ හේරත් මහතා, උද්යෝගිමත් මන්ත්‍රීවරයෙක් හැටියට, සාමාජිකයෙක් හැටියට වැඩ කටයුතු කළා. ගරු කෘෂිකර්ම ඇමතිතුමා කීවා, එතුමා ක්‍රීඩකයෙක්, මෝටර් සයිකල් සුරයෙක් බව. පාර්ලිමේන්තුවේ විකක් කලබලකාරී තත්වයක් තිබුණු දවසකට පසුවදා හේරත් මහත්මයා සමච්චලයට වගේ මෝටර් සයිකල් පදවන අය දමන 'හෙල්මට්' එකක් දමාගෙන පරණ පාර්ලිමේන්තු ගොඩනැගිල්ලට පැමිණි ආකාරය ඒ කාලයේ සිටි මන්ත්‍රීවරුන්ට මතක ඇතැයි මා සිතනවා.

කෙසේ වෙතත් හේරත් මහත්මයා බොහෝම නිහඟමානී ගතිගුණ ඇති, ඒ වගේම සරල ජීවිතයක් ගත කළ මහත්මයෙක් බව අපි කවුරුත් දන්නවා. මන්ත්‍රීවරයෙකු හැටියටත්, ඇමතිවරයෙකු හැටියටත් එතුමාගෙන් විශාල සේවයක් සිදු වුණා. ඒ මහත්මයාගේ අභාවය පිළිබඳව ශෝකය පල කරන මේ අවස්ථාවේදී අපගේ ශෝකයත් එතුමාගේ පවුලේ උදවියට දන්වා යවන මෙන් නමුත්තාත්සේගෙන් ඉල්ලා සිටිනවා.

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

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, දීර්ඝ කාලයක් මේ සභාව නියෝජනය කළ, ඉතාම කුළුපගව නම සහයක් සමඟ ආශ්‍රය කළ, ඊටත් වඩා කුළුපගව නම ජන්ද කොට්ඨාශයේ ජන්ද දායකයන් සමඟ ආශ්‍රය කළ, කාලයක් තිස්සේ මේ රටේ ඉතාම උසස්, වැදගත් අමාත්‍ය මූලයක් දැරූ හේරත් මැතිතුමාගේ අභාවය සම්බන්ධව ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයේ ශෝකය මේ අවස්ථාවේදී පල කරන්න කැමතියි. එස්. ඩී. හේරත් මහත්මයා මට ඉහතින් කතා කළ කීප දෙනෙකු විසින්ම කියන ලද ගුණාංග දැරූ පුද්ගලයෙක් බව අපිත් අනුමත කරනවා.

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, නිලධාරීන් සම්බන්ධයෙන් අපි යම් ආකල්පයක් දරනවාද, එම ආකල්පය වෙනස් කරන ආකාරයේ ජීවිතයක් එස්. ඩී. හේරත් මහත්මයා ගත කළාය කියන කාරණය මේ අවස්ථාවේදී මතක් කරන්න ඕනෑ. ඔහු දේශපාලනඥයෙක් වූයේ

තිලධාරියෙකු වශයෙන් යම් කාලයක් සේවය කලාට පසුවයි. එතුමා දේශපාලනඥයෙකු වශයෙන් කටයුතු කරන කාලයේදී තමන් සමග කටයුතු කළ ජී තිලධාරීන් සම්බන්ධයෙන් එතුමා දක්වූ ආකල්පය ගැන ඇත්ත වශයෙන්ම මම වරක් දෙවරක්ම පුදුම වුණා. ඒ මන්ද? එස්. ඩී. හේරත් මහත්මයා සෑම තිලධාරියෙකුටම වාගේ කීව්වේ තිලධාරී මට්ටමෙන් කරන කටයුතු ජනතාව කෙරෙහි ඇප කැප වීමෙන් කළ යුතු බවයි. තිලධාරීන් එවැනි ආකල්පයකින් කටයුතු කළ යුතු බව එස්. ඩී. හේරත් මහත්මයා ක්‍රියාවෙන් පෙන්වා දුන්නා පමණක් නොව, එතුමාගේ මුවින්ද සැමවිටම එම අදහස පිටකළ බව මා මේ අවස්ථාවේදී මතක් කරන්න ඕනෑ. අන්ත ඒ නිසා මා මේ අවස්ථාවේදී එක් කාරණයක් කියන්න බලාපොරොත්තු වෙතවා.

එතුමා සමුපකාර ව්‍යාපාරය ප්‍රතිසංශෝධනය කරන්නට ගිය අවස්ථාවේදී, විවිධ සංශෝධන ව්‍යවස්ථාවට ඉදිරිපත් කරන්නට ගිය අවස්ථාවේදී මේ විරුද්ධ පක්ෂයේ කොට්ඨාශයක්ය, මේ ආණ්ඩු පක්ෂයේ කොට්ඨාශයක්ය කියා දෙබිඬි පිළිවෙතක් අනුගමනය නොකළ ඇමතිවරයෙක් බව අපට පෙනී ගියා. විශේෂයෙන්ම අත්තනගල්ල විවිධ සේවා සමුපකාර සමිතියේ කටයුතු කරන අවස්ථාවේදී මට ඒ බව පෙනී ගියා. එතුමා හොඳින්ම දන්නවා, ඒ සමිතිය ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයේ උදවියගේ පරිපාලනය යටතේ නිබේත එකක් බව. තමුන් එතුමා කිසිම වෙනස්කමක් දක්වුවේ නැහැ. අන්ත ඒ ගුණාංගය එතුමා තුළ ඉතාම හොඳින් දකින්න තිබුණා. එය කාටත් ආදරයක්. ඒ විටියේ ආදරයමත් ජීවිතයක් ගත කරන්නට එතුමාට අවස්ථාව ලැබුණා. එවැනි ආදරය ගෙන දෙන්නාවූ ජීවිතවලින් අතින් උදවියක් යම් යම් පාවම් ඉගෙන ගන්න ඕනෑ. අන්ත ඒ නිසා එස්. ඩී. හේරත් මහත්මයා කතාවෙන් පමණක් නොව, ක්‍රියාවෙන්ම ශ්‍රේෂ්ඨත්වයක් පෙන්වන පරිදි ජීවත් වූණ බව මේ අවස්ථාවේදී ප්‍රකාශ කරන්න ඕනෑ.

එතුමාගේ අභාවය හිරියාලට පමණක් නොව, වන්නියට පමණක් නොව, උඩරට ගැමි ජනතාවට පමණක් නොව, මුළු ලංකාවටම බලපෑ බව එතුමාගේ ආදරය පැවැත්වුණ දිනයේදී ඇත ගම්මානවල කුඩා සමුපකාර සමිතිවල පවා සුදු කොඩි දමා නිබීමෙන් අපට පෙනී ගියා. අපේ කොට්ඨාශවල සමුපකාර සමිතිවලින් සුදු කොඩි දමා තිබුණා. අන්ත ඒ ජනතා පුත්‍ර එස්. ඩී. හේරත් මහත්මයාගේ අභාවය අප සියලු දෙනාටත් බලපෑ නිසා සියලු දෙනාගේම බලවත් කණගාටුව එතුමාගේ ඥාති පරම්පරාවට තමුන්තාත්සේම මාර්ගයෙන් දන්වා යවන ලෙස ඉල්ලමින් මා නිහඬ වෙතවා.

දිනේෂ ගුණවර්ධන මහතා (මහරගම)
 (සී.ල. සී.ගිනෙක්කු ජුනාචාර් ජන්තන—මහරාජගම)
 (Mr. Dinesh Gunawardene—Maharagama)

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, හිරියාලේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීවරයා හැටියටත්, සමුපකාර කටයුතු පිළිබඳ ඇමතිතුමා හැටියටත් එස්. ඩී. හේරත් මහත්මයාගෙන් ඉටුවූණු සේවාව ඉතා අගය කරන අතර එතුමාගේ විශේෂව අපි ඉතාමත් කණගාටුවෙනුයි සිහිපත් කරන්නේ. රජයේ සේවකයෙක් හැටියට පමණක් නොව තමන්ගේ කර පිට වැටුණු කාර්යයන් ඉටු කිරීම සඳහා ස්වාධීන තීරණයන් ගණනාවක් ගැනීමට හැකියාවක් ඇතිව වැඩ කළ නිහතමානී දේශපාලනඥයෙක් හැටියටත් අපි එතුමා සිහි කරනවා. එස්. ඩී. හේරත් මහත්මා ලංකාවේ සමුපකාර ව්‍යාපාරයේ අමරණීය නමක් දරනවා නම් ඒ එතුමා සමුපකාර ඇමතිතුමා හැටියට හිටපු නිසා පමණක් නොවෙයි. එතුමා හිරියාලේ සමුපකාර සමිතිය වෙනුවෙන් සමුපකාර ව්‍යාපාරයේ අයිතිය සඳහා ශ්‍රේෂ්ඨාධිකරණයට ගිය අවස්ථාව හිරියාලේ සහ මේ රටේ සමස්ත සමුපකාර ව්‍යාපාරය වෙනුවෙන් ගන්නාවූ පියවරක් හැටියට ලංකාවේ මුළු සමුපකාර ක්ෂේත්‍රයම සිහිපත් කරනවා.

එතුමා පසු කලෙක සමුපකාර ඇමතිවරයා හැටියට ඉතාම අමාරු කාර්යභාරයක් තමාට ඉටු කළ හැකි අන්දමින් ඉටු කලාය යන විශ්වාසය අපි කාටත් නිබේතවා. මෙම ආර්ථික රටාව තුළ සමුපකාරය ජීවත්ව තබාගැනීමේ නිරන්තර අරගලයක යෙදුණු හේරත් මැතිතුමා සමුපකාර ව්‍යාපාරය ගැන කීප වරක් කියූ අදහස් අපි කවුරුන් දන්නවා. අපේ ප්‍රදේශයේ ගම් පලාත්වල සමුපකාර ව්‍යාපාරයේ ප්‍රශ්න ගණනාවක් පිළිබඳව කථා කිරීම සඳහා මම මේ ගරු සභාවට එන්නට කලින් එතුමා හමු වන්නට මට සිදු වුණා. එතුමා ඒ අවස්ථාවලදී

සමුපකාර ව්‍යාපාරයේ ප්‍රශ්න ගැන පමණක් නොවෙයි කථා කළේ. විශේෂයෙන් වෙනත් රටවල සමුපකාර ව්‍යාපාරය ස්වාධීන ව්‍යාපාරයක් හැටියට ජනතාවගේ උත්තීය සඳහා ඉටු කරන සේවාවේ තත්ත්වයට, මේ නිබේත වාතාවරණය තුළ, සමුපකාර ව්‍යාපාරය පවත්වාගෙන යාමට උත්සාහයක් ගත යුතුය යන අයිතියකින් යුතුව එතුමා කටයුතු කලා. සමුපකාර ව්‍යාපාරයේ පැහැදිලි අරමුණු සඳහා දැඩි විශ්වාසයකින් යුතුව කටයුතු කළ එතුමාගේ අභාවය මේ රටටත්, සමස්ත සමුපකාර ව්‍යාපාරයටත් බලවත් පාඩුවක්. මහජන ජීවිතවලට උදකරගත හැකි යහපත සඳහා එතුමා ඇමතිතුමා හැටියට යම්කිසි උත්සාහයක යෙදුණා නම්, ඒ උත්සාහය අනුව සමුපකාර ව්‍යාපාරය නිදහස් ව්‍යාපාරයක් හැටියට ඉදිරියට ගෙන යාමට මේ අවස්ථාවේදීත්, ඉදිරියටත් හැකියාවක් ඇති වෙනවා නම් එය හේරත් මැතිතුමා එතුමාගේ අවසාන කාලයේදී ඉෂ්ට කළ රාජකාරියට කරන ගෞරවයක් හැටියට අපට සලකන්නට පුළුවනි.

එමනිසා මහජන එක්සත් පෙරමුණ වෙනුවෙන් මගේ සහ අපේ පක්ෂයේ කණගාටුව මම මේ අවස්ථාවේදී ප්‍රකාශ කරනවා. මගේ ඥාතිවරයෙක් වූ හේරත් මැතිතුමාගේ පොදුගලික නිහතමානීභාවය පිළිබඳව මේ අවස්ථාවේදී විස්තර කිරීම අවශ්‍යයි කියා මා විශ්වාස කරන්නේ නැහැ. තමන්ගේ රට සහ තමන්ගේ කරපිට වැටුණු සමස්ත විශාල ව්‍යාපාරයක් අත්හැකි කර ගැනීමට උත්සාහ දැරූ, සමුපකාර ව්‍යාපාරයේ අමරණීය නමක් දැරූ කෙනෙක් හැටියට අපි එතුමා සිහිපත් කරන බව එතුමාගේ පවුලේ උදවියට අපේ කණගාටුවද එක් කරමින් දැනුම් දෙන ලෙස ඉල්ලමින් මම නවතිනවා.

නිශංක විජයරත්න මහතා (අධිකරණ ඇමතිතුමා)
 (සී.ල. බී.බන්දු විචාරාචාර්ය—බී.නී. ආකාශ් ජන්තන)
 (Mr. Nissanka Wijeyeratne—Minister of Justice)

Mr. Speaker, I take this opportunity of joining hon. Members of the House in expressing my own personal sympathies on the passing away of Mr. S. B. Herat, the Member for Hiriyala.

I knew Mr. Herat as a schoolboy, having had the opportunity of meeting him on a number of family occasions. I still remember vividly his pleasant nature and, one could almost say, his rumbustious attitude to like. I met Mr. Herat later, in the early days of my career, when both of us were stationed at Matale, and I must say that he acted as a friendly adviser, in fact a guide, philosopher and friend to the large number of officers of different executive levels who happened to serve at Matale and to many others who were fortunate enough later to work with him in Kegalle. Apart from his own intimate knowledge of rural conditions, coming as he did from a family that was steeped in the rural ethos of Sri Lanka, his career took him into intimate activity and contact with the large number of peasants whom the Government was trying to serve in various ways. As Minister of Co-operative he showed those wonderful characteristics that marked him as a Member of the Opposition at the time the UNP was in a parlous state in this House. He was able to fight without bitterness and to recognize that all persons, whether on the same side or the other of the House, were all bound together in a common humanity.

His contributions to the co-operative movement, as many hon. Members have expressed, are of inestimable value to help guide the philosophy of the

[නිශ්ශබ්ද විස්මරණ මහතා]

co-operative movement in Sri Lanka, a movement which had a wonderful origin, a very valuable past, which, unfortunately, over the decades had gone away from the path of honourable managerial capacity. The co-operative movement, riddled as it was with corruption, had necessarily to be drawn back as a people's movement. And I must say that at every occasion, without giving hurt to any Member of the House, he always tried to focus attention on the need for non-interference at political level, whether by Government Members or Members of the Opposition. He wanted it to be a truly people's movement but he set about it with a calm certainty of mind which was based on or derived from the sound and healthy principles that motivated him in his attempt to clear it from the morass into which that movement had sunk.

Mr. Herat's personal relations were always cordial. He was kind and generous, warm and friendly. And I remember very vividly, just before he took ill, how he was with us in the Southern Province attending meetings and discussing problems at the by-elections and always showing, as many hon. Members of the Opposition too will admit whenever we meet them privately, the same degree of cordiality that marked a great gentleman.

Mr. Herat's passing away is a great loss. It is a loss to this House, but greater still a loss to his electorate. And, above all, the manner of his living and the consideration he showed to his electors when he was on his sick-bed indicated that he always had the welfare of the peasant people of his electorate at heart, and the loss of those particularly committed to the large mass of our people who live in rural areas, without losing the common touch while maintaining the ability to move with the greatest, is indeed a loss that this country can ill afford to bear.

I do hope that all of us who had the pleasure of knowing Mr. Herat will continue to remember those lovable characteristics and the noble principles that elevated his life. And I request you, Mr. Speaker, to send these proceedings to all those near and dear to him, particularly to his loving aged mother to whom this loss has been grievous.

එච්. එම්. ඒ. ලොකුබණ්ඩා මහතා (ගල්ගමුව)
(සී. ශ්‍රී. ආ. ආ. ගා. බොක්කප්පා—කුංගුමා)
(Mr. H. M. A. Lokubanda—Galgamuwa)

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, මම මුලින්ම 1970 මහ මැතිවරණයේ දී එස්. ඩී. හේරත් ගරු ඇමතිතුමාට මගේ කුර්දුල් ජන්දය පාවිච්චි කළේ. 1965 මැතිවරණ අවස්ථාවේදී පාසල් ශිෂ්‍යයෙක් වශයෙන් මම ගරු එස්. ඩී. හේරත් ඇමතිතුමාට මගේ සහයෝගය දුන්නා. ඒ කාලයේ පටන් රෝහලට ඇතුළු වන තුරුම මගේ ජීවිතයේ සෑම වෙනස් විමකදීම වාගේ ජීව්‍ය සම්බන්ධ වූ පුද්ගලයකු වශයෙන් සිටි එස්. ඩී. හේරත් ගරු ඇමතිතුමාගේ අභාවය පිළිබඳව මම ඉතාමත්ම ලොකු කණගාටුවකිනුයි, මෙම අවස්ථාවට සහභාගී වෙන්නෙ.

1965 මහ මැතිවරණ අවස්ථාව දක්වා එතුමා රාජකාරී කටයුතු කළේ කුරුණෑගල කවිවේරයෙනි. එහි රාජකාරී කටයුතු කරන අවස්ථාවලදී හිරියාල ප්‍රදේශයෙන් එහෙම තැන්තම් කුරුණෑගල ප්‍රදේශයෙන් පැමිණි කොයි පුද්ගලයාගෙන් හිත දිනාගෙන ඉතාමත්ම අවංකව රාජකාරී කටයුතු කළ නිසා එතුමන්ට 1965 මහ මැතිවරණයට සම්බන්ධ වෙන්න අවස්ථාව ලැබුණි. මහජනතාවගේ ඉල්ලීම පිටසි, ඒ වාගේම දිවංගත සර් ජෝන් කොනලාට අගමැතිතුමාගේ ඉල්ලීම පිටසි දේශපාලන කටයුතුවලට එතුමා සහභාගී වූණේ. එතැන් සිට අවසාන හුස්ම ගෙලන තුරු එතුමා මහජනයා අතර ජීවත්වූණය කියන එක අප ප්‍රදේශවල හැම කෙනෙක්ම - වයඹ පළාතේ හැම කෙනෙක්ම - දන්නා කාරණයක්. හැම පොඩි ළමයෙක්ම, හැම වැඩිහිටියෙක්ම එතුමාගේ මරණය සිදු වූ අවස්ථාවේදී ශෝක සුසුම් ගෙඳි හැටි දැනගන්නට මට අවස්ථාව ලැබුණි. අසනීපයෙන් සිටි නිසා මට එතුමාගේ අවමඟුලට සහභාගී වීමට නොහැකි වීම ගැන වඩාත් කණගාටු වෙතවා.

පක්ෂ හේතුවෙන් තොරව විශාල පිරිසක් එතුමාට සලකන්නට පටන් ගන්නා: මට මතකයි. 1970 මහ මැතිවරණයට නාම යෝජනා පත්‍ර භාර දීමට කවිවේරයට යාමට සුදුසුම වෙලා එතුමාත් මමත් ගනවෙන්න පත්සලට ගොස්, පත්සලේ විහාරයට අඩිය නියන වෙලාවේම විශාල වෙඩි ශබ්දයක් ඇසුණි. පසුව සෙවිල්ලෙන් බලන විට ගල් වෙඩිල්ලක් පුපුරලා, පත්සලේ වත්තේ කල් කඩන මනුෂ්‍යයකුගේ මුහුණ සම්පූර්ණයෙන්ම ලෙසින් වැසී තිබුණි. මහු සිහියක් තැනිට වැටී සිටියා. එස්. ඩී. හේරත් ඇමතිතුමන් නාම යෝජනා පත්‍ර භාර දීම දෙවැනි කොට හිසා පලමුව අර මනුෂ්‍යයාට කාර් එකට දැගෙන අරගෙන ගොස් රෝහලට භාර දුන්නා. ඊළඟටයි, ලේ තැවරුණු නම්සයෙන් යුක්තව නාම යෝජනා පත්‍ර භාර දෙන්නට ගියේ. ඒ වාගේ පුදුමාකාර ජන හිතකාමී අදහස් තිබුණි, එතුමා තුළ මහජනයාට ප්‍රශ්නයක් තිබුණු සෑම අවස්ථාවකම එස්. ඩී. හේරත් ඇමතිතුමන් මවුන් සමග සිටිය කියන එක මට නොබියවම ප්‍රකාශ කරන්න පුළුවනි.

මට කලින් කථා කළ, විශේෂයෙන්ම එතුමන්ට ලගිත් ඇසුරු කළ ගරු ජෝන් ඩී. ඇමතිතුමන්ලා වාගේ නොවෙයි, දැවෙක් වාගෙයි මම එතුමන් ආශ්‍රය කළේ. එතුමා මගේ ජීවිතයේ සෑම අවස්ථාවකදීම මට උදව් උපකාර කලා පමණක් නොවෙයි, මන්ත්‍රීවරයා වශයෙන් මා පත්වූවාට පසුවත් අපේ ආසනයේ මැතිවරණ කටයුතු පිළිබඳව සෑම අවස්ථාවකම සෙවිල්ලෙකුයි සිටියේ. වාරි මාර්ගයක් සෑදීම, මහා මාර්ගයක් සෑදීම වැනි කටයුත්තකදී පමණක් නොවෙයි, පක්ෂයේ සාමාජිකයකුගේ පෞද්ගලික ප්‍රශ්නයකදී වුවත් ජන්ද දායකයකුගේ පෞද්ගලික ප්‍රශ්නයකදී වුවත්, හැම මොහොතකම වාගේ දිවංගත ඇමතිතුමන් මගෙන් විමසුවා. ඒ කටයුතු ඉටු කරන ආකාරය ගැන නිතරම මා සමග සාකච්ඡා කලා. එම නිසා මම ඉතාමත්ම කණගාටු වෙතවා එතුමාගේ අභාවය ගැන.

වැඩිදුර කථා කිරීමට මෙය අවස්ථාව නොවෙයි. එසේ වුවත් මෙයත් මා මතක් කළ යුතුයි. එතුමාගේ පවුලේ ඇති එතුමාට විශාල සහයෝගයක් දක්වුවා. මා හිතන්නේ කිහිප අවස්ථාවකම එතුමා මරණයෙන් බේරා ගත්තේ ඒ සහෝදර පිරිසයි. එක් අවස්ථාවක වාගන අතතුරකට එතුමා මුහුණ පෑවා කැළණිය අසලදී. එතුමන්ගේ වාගනය අතතුරට පත් වූ ඒ අවස්ථාවේ ඒ සහෝදර පිරිසයි, එතුමන් බේරා ගත්තේ. දැනට අවුරුදු පහකට හයකට පමණ පෙර එතුමා අවාසනාවන්ත තත්ත්වයකට පත්ව සිටි අවස්ථාවේදීත් ඒ සහෝදර පිරිසයි එතුමන් බේරා ගත්තේ. ඒ සහෝදර පිරිස එතුමන් කෙරෙහි විශාල කැපවීමකින් කටයුතු කලා. ඒ නිසා ඒ අයටත් ඒ ගැන සතුටින් වෙමින් තමුත්තාත්සේ මාර්ගයෙන් මගේ කණගාටුව ඒ අයට ප්‍රකාශ කරන ලෙස ඉල්ලමින්, එතුමන්ට නිවන් සුව ලැබෙවායි මම ප්‍රාර්ථනා කරන්නවා.

ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා (කොත්මලේ)
(සී. ශ්‍රී. ආ. ආ. ගා. බොක්කප්පා—කුංගුමා)
(Mr. Ananda Dasanayake—Kotmale)

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, අප අතරින් විශේෂවූණු එස්. ඩී. හේරත් ඇමතිතුමා ගැන වචනයක් දෙකක් හරි කීම යුක්තිය ඉෂ්ට කිරීමක් හැටියට මම හිතනවා. පුද්ගලික වශයෙනුයි එතුමා වෙනුවෙන් මගේ

ශෝක ප්‍රකාශය කළ යුත්තේ. අවුරුදු හයක් පමණ පාර්ලිමේන්තු මන්ත්‍රීවරයෙකු වශයෙන් මා එතුමා සමග කෙළින්ම මුහුණට මුහුණ දී විවාද කළා. ඒ වාගේම සාකච්ඡා කළා. අපි එතුමාට ප්‍රශ්න ඉදිරිපත් කළා. ඒ අවස්ථාවල අපට පෙනුණේ එතුමා ප්‍රශ්න මහඟුරු යන්න උත්සාහ නොකළ බවයි. මමත් විරුද්ධ පක්ෂයේ අතිකුත් මන්ත්‍රීවරුන් ඉදිරිපත් කළ ප්‍රශ්නවලින් වැඩි තරමකට ඉතා ඉක්මණින් උත්තර දී ඒ ප්‍රශ්න නැවත නැවත මතු නොවන්නට කටයුතු කළ ඇමතිවරයෙක් හැටියට එතුමාට මගේ ගෞරවය හිමි කරනවා. සමහර විට ප්‍රශ්නය විසඳීම කෙසේ වෙතත් නැවත වතාවක් ඒ ප්‍රශ්නය පැන නොගන්නට කටයුතු කිරීම එතුමාගේ විශේෂ දක්ෂතාවයක් බව මට කියන්නට පුළුවනි. සමහර විට පිළිතුරක් දිය යුතු ප්‍රශ්නය ගැන පමණක් නොවෙයි අනෙකුත් ප්‍රශ්න ගැනත් විස්තරයක් කරලා නැවතත් ඒ ප්‍රශ්නය පැන නොගන්නා ආකාරයට සකස් කිරීම එතුමාගේ විශේෂ දක්ෂතාවයක්ය කියා මා සලකා ගත්තේය.

මට තවත් කාරණයක් මතකයි. එක් වතාවක මම, "මොනවද ඇමතිතුමනි, මේ කරන්නේ? සමුපකාර ව්‍යාපාරය ඉතිරි වෙයිද?" කියලා එතුමාගෙන් ප්‍රශ්න කළා. එතකොට එතුමා, "ආනන්ද, මට කරන්නට දෙයක් නැහැ. මම පක්ෂයක කෙනෙක්. මම ඒ පක්ෂයේ ආණ්ඩුවේ ඇමතිවරයෙකු හැටියට කැබිනට් එක ගන්න තීරණ ක්‍රියාත්මක කරන්න බැඳිලි ඉන්නවා" ය කීව්වා. මට කට උත්තර නැති වුණා. මා එයින් කියන්නේ මෙයයි. සමහර අවස්ථාවලදී හෘදය සාක්ෂයට එකඟ නැතිව වුණත් එතුමා රජයේ ප්‍රතිපත්තිය ක්‍රියාත්මක කරන්නට උත්සාහ ගත් ඇමතිවරයෙකු බව එයින් පෙනෙන බවයි මා කියන්නේ.

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, මහේ හරි එතුමාට යම් ප්‍රශ්නයක් ගැන කිව්වොත් එතැනදී ඒ අවස්ථාවේදීම ඒ ගැන පුළුවන් තරම් විස්තරයක් කරන්නට එතුමා ඉදිරිපත් වුණා. ඒවා වැඩි වේලාවක් තබා ගන්නේ නැහැ. විරුද්ධ පක්ෂයේ කායකතුමා කීව්වා වාගේ එතැනදීම ප්‍රශ්නය අරගෙන සමහර විට ලිපි ලේඛන පෙන්වා එවේලෙම විස්තරයක් කළා. ඒක හැම දෙනාටම කරන්නට පුළුවන් වෙන්නේ නැහැ. අපි එතෙම බලාපොරොත්තු වෙන්නේ නැහැ. ඇමතිවරුන්ගෙන් හැම වෙලේම, ඒක හරි ක්‍රමයක්ය කියලා අපි හිතන්නේ නැහැ. නමුත් ඒක එතුමා ලඟ තිබුණු අත්‍යයන්ට සලකන හොඳ ගතියක්. එතුමා නිහඬතාවයට උස් පහත් හේදයක් නැතිව, පක්ෂ හේදයක් නැතිව හුඟක්දුරට කටයුතු කළාය කියන එක මමත් සඳහන් කරන්නට කැමතියි. අප අතරින් වෙන් වූ එතුමාගෙන් යම් සේවයක් මේ රටේ ජනාවට සිද්ධ වූණය කියන එක අපි පිළිගන්නවා. එතුමාගේ අභාවය සම්බන්ධයෙන් අපගේ කණගාටුවත් එතුමාගේ මැණියන් ඇතුළු ජනයන්ට දන්වා යවන මෙන් මා ඉල්ලා සිටිනවා.

ආර. ප්‍රේමදස මහතා (අග්‍රාමාත්‍යතුමා, පළාත් පාලන, නිවාස හා ඉදිකිරීම් ඇමතිතුමා, මහාමාර්ග කටයුතු පිළිබඳ ඇමතිතුමා සහ පාර්ලිමේන්තුවේ සභානායකතුමා)

(*திரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாசு—பிரதம அமைச்சரும் உள்ளூர் ஈட்டி, வீடமைப்பு, நிர்மாண அமைச்சரும் தென்மேற்குப் பிரதேச அமைச்சரும் பாராளுமன்றச் சபை முதுவரும்*)

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

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, දිවංගත එස්. ඩී. හේරත් ඇමතිතුමා පිළිබඳව මේ අවස්ථාවේදී අපේ ශෝක ප්‍රකාශ යෝජනාව මේ සභාව සම්මත කරන්නේ බලවත් වූ ශෝකයකින් බව කවුරුත් පිළිගන්නවා. එතුමා බොහොම කලාතුරකින් ලැබෙන හොඳ මිත්‍රයෙක්; කලාතුරකින් පක්ෂයකට ලැබෙන හොඳ පාක්ෂිකයෙක්; කලාතුරකින් සමාජ සේවයට ඉදිරිපත් වන මහජන සේවකයෙක්; ඒවාගේම කලාතුරකින් පාර්ලිමේන්තුවකට ලැබෙන මන්ත්‍රීවරයෙක්.

ඇමතිවරයකු හැටියට එස්. ඩී. හේරත් මැතිතුමා දක් වූ ඉවසීම, තැත්පත්භාවය සහ පොදු කරුණු කෙරෙහි දක්වූ ලැදියාව කලාතුරකින් දකින්නට ලැබෙන උසස් ගුණාංග බව අපට කියන්නට පුළුවනි. රජයේ සේවකයකු හැටියට හෝ වේවා, මන්ත්‍රීවරයකු හැටියට

හෝ වේවා, ඇමතිවරයකු හැටියට හෝ වේවා එතුමාට හාර වූ කාර්යයන් සෑම විටම අවංකව නමත්ගේ ශක්ති ප්‍රමාණයෙන් හොඳින් ඉෂ්ට කරන්නට එතුමා වෙහෙස දැරුවා.

අභාවප්‍රාප්ත හේරත් ඇමතිතුමාගේ ජීවිතයෙන් කැපී පෙනෙන උතුම් අංගය, යුතුකම් ඉටු කිරීමට එතුමා දක්වූ මිනුකම හා ලැදියාවයි. තමාගේ යුතුකම් ඉෂ්ට කිරීම සඳහා තමාගේ සැප පහසුකම්, කැම-බිම, ඉඳුම්-හිටුම්, නිරෝගී භාවය ආදී හැම දෙයක්ම කැප කරන්නට හේරත් මහතා ලැස්කිට සිටියා. එය ලෙගෙසී පහසු කාර්යයක් නොවෙයි. ජීවිතයේ හැම දෙයක්ම එතුමා දෙවනුවට තබා, තමාගෙන් තම ජනතාවට, පක්ෂයට, රටට සිදුවිය යුතු යුතුකම් නොපිරිහෙලා ඉටු කරන්නට එතුමා ක්‍රියා කළා. එහි වන්දිය තමයි අකාලයේ එතුමාට ඇති වූණු අසනීප හා අකාලයේ එතුමාගේ ජීවිත පරිත්‍යාගය. කොටින් කියනොත්, යුතුකම වෙනුවෙන් සිය දිවි පිදු උසස් පුද්ගලයෙක් හැටියට දිවංගත එස්. ඩී. හේරත් මැතිතුමා අපට සලකන්නට පුළුවනි. එතුමා මන්ත්‍රීවරයෙක් හැටියටත්, ඇමතිවරයෙක් හැටියටත් පොදු ජන සේවයේ යෙදී සිටින විට කාටත් පැහැදිලි වූ දෙයක් තමයි, එවැනි සේවයක එතුමා තීරන වූයේ කීර්ති, ප්‍රශංසා, තානාත්තර බලාපොරොත්තුවෙන් නොවන බව. ඒ කාරණය පුදුම විධියට එතුමාගේ ජීවිතයෙන් පැහැදිලිව පෙනුණා. ආපසු කිසිවක් බලාපොරොත්තු නොවී, සේවය, සේවය පිණිසම එතුමා කැප කළා. එවැනි හැඟීමක් මිනුම කෙනෙකුට ලැබෙනවා, එතුමා සේවය කළ ආකාරය ගැන කල්පනා කරන විට.

මිනු තරම් කාලයක් අනුත් වෙනුවෙන් මිඩංගු කරන්නට එතුමාට පුළුවන්කම තිබුණා. නමුත් තමා වෙනුවෙන් මිඩංගු කරන්නට එතුමාට කාලයක් තිබුණේ නැහැ. මෙය පුදුම ගුණයක්. ඇත්ත වශයෙන්ම, මිනිසෙක් හැටියට මානුෂික හැඟීමකින් එතුමා මේ පොදු ජන සේවයේ තීරන වූ ආකාරය අපි කාටත් ආදර්ශයක්. එතුමාගේ මේ අභාවය, විශෝගය සියලු දෙනාටම දැනෙන පාඩුවක්. එතුමාගේ පවුලේ උදවියට පමණක් නොව, මිත්‍රයින්ට පමණක් නොව, එතුමා පෙනී සිටි වයඹ ප්‍රදේශයේ ජනතාවට පමණක් නොව, ඇමතිවරයෙක් හැටියට එතුමාගේ සේවය ලැබුණු මේ සභාවට පමණක් නොව, මුළු ලංකාවටම ඉතාමත් තදින් දැනෙන විශෝගයක් හැටියට අපට සලකන්නට පුළුවනි. ඒ නිසා මේ අවස්ථාවේදී කථානායකතුමනි, මේ සභාවේ සාතිශය ශෝකය එතුමාගේ පවුලට සැලකිලිමට ඉදිරිපත් කර තිබෙන මේ යෝජනාව අපි මුළු සිහින්ම අනුමත කරනවා.

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

I wish to associate myself with the sentiments expressed by Members from both sides of the House. When I was last in this House I felt the presence of the Hon. S. B. Herat. I come back today and miss him. I had occasion only a few months prior to his death to invite him to my electorate. I remember the manner in which he set about visiting my electorate and associating himself with the activities that were carried on there. We have lost him.

I shall, on behalf of the Members of this House, convey the sentiments expressed, to the members of the bereaved family and particularly to his aged mother. The Secretary-General will be sending to the members of the bereaved family a minute of the proceedings of today to give them some consolation.

தொகுதிகளிலே அபவரய : பி. பி. அலாலசுந்தரம்
மறவா

வராதிருக்க அனுமதி : திரு. ஏ. எம். ஆலாலசுந்தரம்

**LEAVE OF ABSENCE :
MR. A. M. ALAALASUNDERAM**

பி. அபவரயமே மறவா (பிரேம பாடலியே தாயகமே)
(திரு. ஏ. அமிர்தலிங்கம்—எதிர்க்கட்சி முதுவல்வர்)
(Mr. A. Amirthalingam—Leader of the Opposition)

I move,

“That Mr. A. M. Alaalasunderam, Member of Parliament for Kopay, be granted leave under Article 66(f) of the Constitution, to be absent from the Sittings of the Parliament for a further period of three months from 27th June 1983.”

பி. சிவசிதம்பரம் மறவா (நல்லூர்)
(திரு. எம். சிவசிதம்பரம்—நல்லூர்)

(Mr. M. Sivasithamparam—Nallur)

பிசின் சபீர கரவ ரே.

அனுமதித்தார்,

seconded.

முதலய பிமவன ரேன், தவா சமீமவ பிவ.

கிணு கிடுக்கப்பட்டு ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளப்பட்டது.

Question put, and agreed to.

தொகுதிகளிலே அபவரய : கெ. துரைசிந்தனம்
மறவா

வராதிருக்க அனுமதி : திரு. கெ. துரைசிந்தனம்

**LEAVE OF ABSENCE :
MR. K. THURAIRATNAM**

பி. அபவரயமே மறவா
(திரு. ஏ. அமிர்தலிங்கம்)

(Mr. A. Amirthalingam)

I move,

“That Mr. K. Thuraiatnam, Member of Parliament for Point Pedro, be granted leave under Article 66(f) of the Constitution, to be absent from the Sittings of the parliament for a period of three months from 27th June 1983.”

பி. சிவசிதம்பரம் மறவா
(திரு. எம். சிவசிதம்பரம்)

(Mr. M. Sivasithamparam)

பிசின் சபீர கரவ ரே.

அனுமதித்தார்,
seconded.

முதலய பிமவன ரேன், தவா சமீமவ பிவ.

கிணு கிடுக்கப்பட்டு ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளப்பட்டது.

Question put, and agreed to.

பணன் கெடுதலின் சிசிரிவு

சமர்ப்பிக்கப்பட்ட சட்டமுலங்கள்

BILLS PRESENTED

முலாந்தி பது (சமரெடுவன) பணன் கெடுதலின்

புதினத்தான் (திருத்தம்) சட்டமுலம்

NEWSPAPERS (AMENDMENT) BILL

“to amend the Newspapers Ordinance.”

பிசினவன ரேமே தவகாசிக கபெது ருமதி சி. பி. வி. துரேமே மறவா பிசிகி.

1983 சூரி 5 பண அமரர்தலிங்கமே தேவன பிச கிசபிவ முதுவலி, பிவ துரேமே கரெ முதுவலி கிசமேவ கரவ ரே.

கலாசார அலுவல்கள் அமைச்சர் திரு. ஈ. எல். பி. ஹூருல்ஸ் அவர்களால் சமர்ப்பிக்கப்பட்டது.

1983 ஜூலை 5, செவ்வாய்க்கிழமை இரண்டாம் முறையாக மதிப்பிடப்பட வேண்டுமெனவும் அச்சிடப்பட வேண்டுமெனவும் கட்டளை விடப்பட்டது.

Presented by Mr. E. L. B. Hurulle, Minister of Cultural Affairs ; to be read a Second time upon Tuesday 5th July 1983 and to be printed.

துரேமே (சமரெடுவன) பணன் கெடுதலின்

அச்சகங்கள் (திருத்தம்) சட்டமுலம்

PRINTING PRESSES (AMENDMENT) BILL

“to amend the Printing Presses Ordinance.”

பிசினவன ரேமே தவகாசிக கபெது ருமதி சி. பி. வி. துரேமே மறவா பிசிகி.

1983 சூரி 5 பண அமரர்தலிங்கமே தேவன பிச கிசபிவ முதுவலி, பிவ துரேமே கரெ முதுவலி கிசமேவ கரவ ரே.

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Presented by Mr. E. L. B. Hurulle, Minister of Cultural Affairs ; to be read a Second time upon Tuesday 5th July 1983 and to be printed.

துரேமேகரர்பின் தவ தவகாசிக பிசிரிவு (சமரெடுவன) பணன் கெடுதலின்

அச்சிட்டாளர், வெளியிட்டாளர் (திருத்தம்) சட்டமுலம்

PRINTERS AND PUBLISHERS (AMENDMENT) BILL

“to amend the Printers and Publishers Ordinance.”

பிசினவன ரேமே தவகாசிக கபெது ருமதி சி. பி. வி. துரேமே மறவா பிசிகி.

1983 சூரி 5 பண அமரர்தலிங்கமே தேவன பிச கிசபிவ முதுவலி, பிவ துரேமே கரெ முதுவலி கிசமேவ கரவ ரே.

கலாசார அலுவல்கள் அமைச்சர் திரு. ஈ. எல். பி. ஹூருல்ஸ் அவர்களால் சமர்ப்பிக்கப்பட்டது.

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Presented by Mr. E. L. B. Hurulle, Minister of Cultural Affairs ; to be read a Second time upon Tuesday 5th July 1983 and to be printed.

பார்லிமென்තவீ ரு஑்வீதீ
பாராளுமன்ற அமர்வு
SITTINGS OF THE PARLIAMENT

பு. டி. ஸ்ரேமரத்த மததா (பு. டி. ஸ்ரேமரத்த பார்லிமென்ත கடுயுத டா ஑ீடா ஑ீதீதீதீதீ)

(தீரு. எம். டி. பீரேமரத்த—பதில் பாராளுமன்ற அலுவல் கள், விளையாட்டுத்துதத அமைச்சர்)

(Mr. M. D. Premaratne - Acting Minister of Parliamentary Affairs & Sports)

I move,

"That the hours of sitting this day shall be as though it were a Tuesday."

஑ுதத விதத ருதீ. தத ததீத வி.

வினா விடுக்கப்பட்டு ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளப்பட்டது.

Question put, and agreed to.

பார்லிமென்තவீ கடுயுத
பாராளுமன்ற அலுவல்
BUSINESS OF THE PARLIAMENT

பு. டி. ஸ்ரேமரத்த மததா

(தீரு. எம். டி. பீரேமரத்த)

(Mr. M. D. Premaratne)

I move,

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

஑ுதத விதத ருதீ. தத ததீத வி.

வினா விடுக்கப்பட்டு ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளப்பட்டது.

Question put, and agreed to.

பு. டி. ஸ்ரேமரத்த மததா

(தீரு. எம். டி. பீரேமரத்த)

(Mr. M. D. Premaratne)

I move,

"That the proceedings on items 1 to 12 of Public Business appearing on the Paper be exempted at this day's sitting from the provisions of Standing Order No. 7."

஑ுதத விதத ருதீ. தத ததீத வி.

வினா விடுக்கப்பட்டு ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளப்பட்டது.

Question put, and agreed to.

கடீதாைகதீதீ

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Order, please !

The Deputy Speaker will now take the Chair.

஑ுதத ருடு கடீதாைகதீதீ துடதததத ஑ுடுததுதத, தீதீத கடீதாைகதீதீ [தீதீத தீதீததத ததத] துடததத தீதீ.

அதன் தீரு, சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள் அக்கிராசனத்தினின்று தீர் கடு, பீரதீத சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள் [தீரு, தீருமன் தைத்யரத்த] தலைமை ததீததர்கள்.

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

3-சு 71184 (83/06)

மததத தாரகதத துதாைத
புதததத பாதகாப்புப் பீரகடனம்
PUBLIC SECURITY PROCLAMATION

தார. ஑ுததத மததா (஑ுதததத, துதத துதத, தீதத த துததீதீ துததத, தததத துதத துததீதீதீதீ தத துததீதீதீதீ தததததத)

(தீரு. து. பீரேமததத—பீரதத அமைச்சரும், த. துதத துதத, தீததத, தீர்தாை அமைச்சரும் துததீதீதீதீதீ துததீதீதீதீ அமைச்சரும் பாராளுமன்றச் சபை துததத)

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

Mr. Deputy Speaker, under the provisions of Clause 155 (8) of the Constitution we need two-thirds of the whole number of members of parliament to pass this Resolution.

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

As hon. Members are all aware, I indicated in this house on the 25th of May, when the Motion to impose the Emergency was passed with a large majority of Members of the House voting in favour that the Emergency was imposed to combact a number of incidents of violence which had ocured immediately after the close of the poll for the By-Elections and the Local Government Elections on the 18th May. On that occasion I placed before the House the details of several incidents of violence which had ocured throughout the country. Members of Parliament were thereby convinced that the declaration of the Emergency by His Excellency the President was absolutely necessary in the interest of preserving public order and maintenance of supplies and services essential to the life of the community.

On this occasion I have to inform the House that the incidents of violence have continued, although indifferent form, and this time with communal overtones. The Government considers it most necessary to continue the state of Emergency until conditions return to normal throughout the country. I have no doubt that Members will appreciate the need for the continuation of the Emergency to prevent the

[ආර්. ප්‍රේමරත්න මහතා]

spread of communal violence which has caused in the past, great loss of life and property amongst all sections of our people.

I shall now detail the incidents of communal violence which have occurred from 1st June, 1983 including the action taken during this period by the Police and the armed Services to control such violence. I shall report these incidents in chronological order.

1. On 1.6.83 at about 10.30 a.m. 5 officers attached to the Sri Lanka Air Force Unit, Vavuniya, had gone to the Vavuniya market in an Air Force jeep to buy provisions. Whilst one officer had gone into the market, a youth had fired at the jeep with a revolver and one of the officers in the jeep had fired back. Thereafter, shots had been fired at the jeep from different directions and a bomb had also been flung at the jeep. On hearing the explosion, a Police party had rushed to the scene and found one airman seriously injured and two airmen dead in the jeep. The Police party led by S. P. Vavuniya had gone in search of the suspects and after an exchange of gun fire, had arrested two suspects who received injuries due to Police firing. The Police also recovered one sub-machine gun, two revolvers, 40 rounds of 9 mm. ammunition and 3 bombs. The deceased airmen were natives of Kandy and Minuwangoda.

2. Possibly as a result of the murder of the two airmen and as an act of retaliation, violence flared up in Negombo on the same night, where two houses, a car and a private bus, all to the value of about Rs. 672,500/- belonging to a Tamil person, were set on fire.

3. On 2nd June, 1983 incidents of violence occurred in Kurunegala Anuradhapura and Batticaloa divisions.

In Kurunegla there were two cases of arson and one case of looting.

In Anuradhapura a crowd of people boarded the Talaimannar bound train and assaulted some passengers.

At Batticaloa a C.T.B. bus was obstructed by logs being placed across the road, shots were fired at the bus and the bus was set on fire.

4. On the 3rd June, 1983 the incidents of violence increases in Kurunegla Division. There were 29 incidents which included 8 cases of arson and 4 cases of looting. Incidents were also reported from Negombo and Trincomalee Divisions.

5. On 4.6.1983 there were 15 cases of violence reported to the Police. There appears to be a spread in that :-6 cases were from Kurunegala Divisions, 2 cases were from Negombo Division, 1 case from Jaffna Division, 3 cases were from Trincomalee Division, 1 case from Kandy Division and 1 case from Matale Division.

6. On the 5th June, 1983 more cases were reported. In fact, there were 38 cases reported on that day and the spread was becoming even wider :-1 case from Kurunegala, 1 case from Gampaha, 20 cases from Trincomalee, 1 case from Kandy, 4 cases from Mt. Lavinia, 1 case from Kelaniya, 3 cases from Colombo, 1 case from Kegalle and 3 cases from Kalutara.

7. On the 6th June there were 24 cases reported :-11 cases from Trincomalee, 1 case from Batticaloa, 7 cases from Kandy, 1 case from Mt. Lavinia, 3 cases from Kalutara and 1 case from Matara.

8. On the 7th June there were 18 cases reported to the Police of Communal violence :-3 cases from Trincomalee, 1 case from Batticaloa, 2 cases from Mt. Lavinia, 5 cases from Colombo, 3 cases from Kalutara, 2 cases from Nugegoda, 2 cases from Nuwara Eliya.

It was clear by the pattern of incidents that the communal violence which had begun in Negombo and Kurunegala was spreading to the other parts of the country.

In summary, the position after the 7th June was as follows-

Kurunegala Division 43 cases,
Trincomalee Division 39 cases,
Mt. Lavinia Division 9 cases,
Kalutara Division 9 cases,
Kandy Division 9 cases,
Colombo Division 8 cases.

We have also collected the statistics up to 22nd June. From 1st June up to 22nd June, a total of 193 cases of violence have been reported from all over the island. The most significant of these are :

(a) a case of murder in Jaffna Division.

(b) 1 case of murder and 3 cases of arson in Negombo Division, where a petrol bomb had also been used.

(c) 1 case of murder, 4 cases of arson and 3 cases of looting or robbery in Trincomalee Division, where 3 petrol bombs and 9 hand bombs had been used.

(d) 1 case of murder, 1 case of arson and 3 cases of looting or robbery at Mount Lavinia Division.

(e) 18 cases of arson and 5 cases of looting or robbery in Kurunegla Division, where a bomb was also used.

(f) 2 cases of arson and 1 case of looting or robbery in Colombo Division, where one petrol bomb and one hand bomb had been used.

(g) 9 cases of arson in Kalutara Division, where 2 petrol bombs had been used.

(h) 5 cases of arson and 1 case of looting or robbery in Kandy Division, where 1 petrol bomb had been used.

The pattern seems to be to use petrol bombs and hand bombs. Up to 22.6.83 10 petrol bombs and 21 hand bombs have been used in these acts of violence.

The pattern of incidents that they are localized and selective. They consist of large crowds of people collecting at short notice and setting fire to, and attacking shops and houses. Persons travelling in trains and buses have also been obstructed and attacked.

In a situation of this kind where incidents are wide-spread, it is quite clear that normal police action would be insufficient to deal with the situation. It has been possible to contain the spread of violence only due to the action taken by the Police and armed Services acting under the powers of the Emergency Regulations. The following preventive action has been taken by the Army and Police during this period :

(1) The police supported by the army, were deployed in patrolling areas where minority groups lived.

(2) Security patrols of police and armed services were organized in the plantation sector.

(3) The police successfully investigated a majority of the serious incidents which were reported during this period, and about 150 persons are already in custody.

(4) The police also arrested undesirable elements who were suspected of creating communal disharmony or who were potential looters and they have been kept in remand during this period.

(5) Static armed guards were posted at vulnerable points to prevent acts of violence.

(6) Intensive mobile patrol were organized by the police.

(7) The police Command room in Colombo and Divisional Operations Rooms were activated during this period to keep abreast of incidents that were occurring Islandwide.

(8) All leave of police personnel was cancelled during this period so that the maximum police strength was available to be utilized for preventive action during this period.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I believe that all of us who are interested in the preservation of law and order will accept that these measures are absolutely necessary. As I said before, the Government has no intention of continuing the Emergency for a day longer than necessary. Even yesterday there was some trouble in Trincomalee. So the situation has not yet returned to normal. In point of fact, while I am here, I am getting information that the situation in Trincomalee is becoming worse and due action is being taken. Orders have gone, and I know that the officers responsible are also aware of the situation there. I know that the hon. Member for Trincomalee is trying to contact me. I have already seen to it that the necessary steps are taken.

So, Sir, you will accept the position that we have to continue this Emergency. As soon as the Government considers it prudent to do so we will be lifting the Emergency. But at the moment I regret very much that we are helpless to do otherwise than continue the Emergency and take due action under the provisions of the Public Security Act, as the normal law will not be able to cope with the situation. I hope hon. Members will understand this situation.

It is with great reluctance that this Government imposes a state of Emergency in this country, because we know when the provisions of the Public Security Act come into force what undesirable incidents can take place. I hope hon. Members will understand the position that the Government is placed in.

Thank you.

சீ.அமிர்தலிங்கம் மூவது (பிரதம சர்க்கரின் தலைவர்)

(திரு. அமிர்தலிங்கம்—எதிர்க்கட்சி முத்தவர்)

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

Mr. Deputy speaker, at the very outset I wish to say on behalf of the TULF that we appreciate the gravity of the situation and we are not opposing the continuance of the state of Emergency.

At the same time it is my duty to point out to the hon. Prime Minister and to the Government certain acts of omission and commission on the part of the security forces in certain parts of the country. I will

[ப. ரமேசுவரன் மொழி]

be trying my best to place certain facts without creating undue bitterness of any type. I think it is my duty to place some of those facts before the Government in view of the Government clothing the armed forces with extraordinary powers under the emergency.

One of the regulations that have been promulgated under emergency enables the armed forces to take charge of the body of any person who may have died as a result of action by the armed forces and to bury or cremate that body without any inquest or post-mortem examination. This was an unhealthy provision that was introduced into the Emergency Regulations in 1971, and what the consequences were the whole country knows. How thousands of young men and women were cruelly killed and the bodies disposed of under this emergency Regulation in 1971 is well known.

In 1979, when a state of Emergency was declared in the Jaffna District in order to bring terrorism under control, as the Emergency was declared, on the very first day, six young men were taken out of their homes; two bodies were found thrown by the roadside and the other four disappeared. We made representations to His Excellency the President, and on his action a Select Committee of this House was appointed to report on the disappearance of those four young men and the killing of those two whose bodies were found. I should say in fairness to His Excellency that the moment these events were brought to his notice he, along with the Prime Minister discussed the matter with us and gave order to withdraw the Emergency Regulation which enabled the police or the army to act in that way and to make people disappear, to take charge of dead bodies and dispose of them as they pleased.

In fact, Sir, during the last few years there have been a number of incidents where army or police personnel have shot and killed people. This has happened in various parts of the country. The only restraining influence was the fact that there had to be an inquiry by a judicial officer to find out whether there was justification for the killing. After all, human life is valuable, every individual has a right to his life, to security of life, and no one can take away any person's life with impunity. It was on that footing that when certain very harsh and horrible actions of the police were pointed out to His Excellency the President in 1979 he made order cancelling those Emergency Regulations. But unfortunately today those same regulations have been revived.

Emergency was declared twice earlier, but this regulation was not introduced. It is only now that this regulation has been introduced. With what result I

would like to point out. In valvettiturai, the van of a young van driver by the name of Palanivel was stopped opposite the army camp at Velvettiturai. He was pulled into the camp and shot dead. Not only was he shot dead, an army truck was driven over his head, and the entire head and face were disfigured as a result.

Then there were three bodies found on the railway track at Mankulam—of three Tamil persons, judging from the dress and other things. The bodies had been run over by the train, but the medical evidence revealed that they had been shot and killed before their bodies were thrown on to the rail track. Upto date the identity of the persons has not been established because the bodies had been so badly mangled as a result of being run over by the train. But it is now well known that they were shot by army personnel stationed at Mankulam.

In Nallur last week there had been four young men going on two motor cycles. They had been decorating the house of a friend of theirs who was to get married the next day. They were stopped near the Nallur Temple. They did stop according to their evidence. One Yogarajh, who was riding on the pillion, was shot and killed. There has not even been a post-mortem examination or inquest held on the body of this young man.

I am not seeking to pass judgment on these things, but the Hon. Prime Minister can see what is happening. I do not think anyone can say that any of these persons who were killed were terrorists or were in any way involved in terrorist activity. To the best of our knowledge, they had absolutely no connection with any act of violence anywhere.

சிவசேனா கபாநாசனமொ

(பிரதீபி சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Deputy Speaker)

Order Please ! The Sitting is suspended till 5 p.m.

உபநிபதி சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள் கீழ்க்கண்ட விஷயம் குறித்து, ச. ம. 5 மணிக்கு வரையில்

அ. க. ச. அமர்வு 19. ப. 5 மணிவரை இடைநிறுத்தப்பட்டது, பின்னர் ஆரம்பமாகிறது.

Sitting accordingly suspended till 5 p.m. and then resumed.

பி. அமிர்தலிங்கம் மொழி

(திரு. ஏ. அமிர்தலிங்கம்)

(Mr. A. Amirthalingam)

Mr. Deputy Speaker, at the time we adjourned for tea, I was speaking on some of the unfortunate consequences of the Armed Forces being clothed with powers to kill with impunity, without having to face an inquest, and even to take charge of dead bodies and dispose of them as they want.

I want to make one thing clear : it is not a sin that any member of the Armed Forces was never jeopardized for any action he took even where a Magistrate's Court at an inquest returned a finding of homicide ! There have been several cases of Police and Army killings in the Northern and Eastern Provinces and where courts have returned findings of homicide, but the Attorney-General's Department has taken no further action against the officers responsible for the killings.

There was the case of a young man named Balajothi, who, on the eve of the District Development Council elections, was shot dead on the verandah of the house of the hon. Member for Nallur. The Magistrate, after the inquest, ruled that it was a clear case of homicide, but no action was taken. There was the case of one Navaratnam, a shopkeeper from my electorate living in Mallakam, who was assaulted on the head by the Police. This too was on 2nd June, 1981 and he succumbed to his injuries. The Court entered a verdict of homicide but no action has been taken. There are several cases of this type.

No one can say that unless you assure the Armed Forces that they will be immune from any legal proceedings they will not act against violent elements. They have used and have been using these powers indiscriminately. They have killed a number of people and no action has been taken. Therefore to clothe them with these additional powers will only serve as an encouragement to kill without any cause, without any valid reason. Therefore, I would urge the Government to take immediate action to repeal this Emergency Regulation which takes away the power of the Magistrate to hold an inquest into any killing or sudden death or in a case where a person has been found dead.

Today, there are a number of deaths for which causes have not been discovered, and nobody seems to be interested. So that this provision in the Emergency Regulations will only give further encouragement to wanton killing which can result only in embittering feelings further. It can never result in putting an end to violence of this type. As I said on the 25th of last month in the course of the debate on the Emergency, the Prevention of Terrorism Law or Draconian legal provisions cannot put a stop to politically motivated violence. It is only a political solution that can put a stop to it.

Therefore, Sir, I would even now urge on the Government, as they did in 1979 in the face of the killing and the disappearance of six young men on the very first day of the Emergency, that they should withdraw this Regulation.

Incidentally, Sir, I want to remind the Hon. Prime Minister and the Government that with regard to the disappearance of those young men in 1979 a Select Committee of this House was appointed and the Select Committee has given its report. The Select Committee has given a finding in respect of two of those young men who disappeared, Rajeswaran and Parameswaran, that they were definitely in the Chavakachcheri Police Station and that the police should investigate the matter further because it is they who have to answer for the disappearance of those two men. That is the finding of the Select Committee of this House presided over by the Hon. Minister of Trade and Shipping. But even that report has been put in cold storage, has got into the limbo of forgotten things, and no action has been taken. Not only are homicide verdicts given by judges ignored but even a report by a Select Committee of this House in respect of excesses by the police and armed forces has not been acted upon. I think, if the Government wants to end violence they should also put an end to terrorism by the armed forces. You cannot close your eyes to that sort of terrorism.

Sir, the Hon. Prime Minister referred to the dastardly act of the killing of two Air Force men. No one can find any excuse for that sort of mad killing. But at the same time one has to place on record our condemnation of the burning down of the Vavuniya bazaar ; a number of petty traders have lost all their belongings ; they have lost their entire stock in trade and they have been deprived of earning their livelihood.

மன்றத்தினர்

(அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)

(A Member)

What about the shooting of the Air Force men ?

பி. அமிர்தலிங்கம்

(திரு. ஏ. அமிர்தலிங்கம்)

(Mr. Amirthalingam)

I said that first. I think you have a faculty for selective hearing. I said it with all the vehemence I could command. I condemned it in unmistakable terms. But at the same time, merely because some persons killed two Air Force men, are you going to deprive poor innocent traders of their means of livelihood by setting fire to the entire bazaar ? And the total loss that the Vavuniya U. C. and the people there have sustained is in the region of seven million rupees according to the assessment by the Government Agent and others. Whose loss is this ? The whole country suffers as a result of wanton destruction of property in this manner. If acts of this type are carried on by disciplined forces, how can you maintain law and order ? Therefore, Sir—

சபை ச. காதர் மனா (மேலு கைலேயு தேவன)
(ஐனாப் ஜாபிர் ஏ. காதர்—கொழும்பு மத்திய இரண்டாம்
அங்கத்தவர்)

(Mr. Jabir A. Cader—Second Colombo Central)

The Hon. Member for Nallur (Mr. M. Sivasithamparam) and I were there in the Select Committee of which the Hon. Minister of Trade and Shipping was Chairman, and every aspect of each incident was taken into consideration. Therefore, it is unfair to say that there was no decision made. Because the hon. Member for Nallur is well aware that there was no evidence—

ச. அமிர்தலிங்கம் மனா

(திரு. ஏ. அமிர்தலிங்கம்)

(Mr. A. Amirthalingam)

I think the hon. Member did not hear what I said. I am sorry. All what I said was—

சபை ச. காதர் மனா

(ஐனாப் ஜாபிர் ஏ. காதர்)

(Mr. Jabir A. Cader)

—to act upon.

ச. அமிர்தலிங்கம் மனா

(திரு. ஏ. அமிர்தலிங்கம்)

(Mr. A. Amirthalingam)

I think he may not have read his own report. I have read the report and I know that the Select Committee had reported that in respect of the disappearance of Rajeswaram and Parameswaram there is positive evidence that they were in the Chavakachcheri Police Station that night and therefore that matter has to be investigated further, and the Chavakachcheri Police have to explain what happened to those two young men. That is what your report says. I am sure the hon. Member will now understand.

சபை ச. காதர் மனா

(ஐனாப் ஜாபிர் ஏ. காதர்)

(Mr. Jabir A. Cader)

Your hon. Member, the Member for Nallur, was there and he agreed—

ச. அமிர்தலிங்கம் மனா

(திரு. ஏ. அமிர்தலிங்கம்)

(Mr. A. Amirthalingam)

Yes.

சபை ச. காதர் மனா

(ஐனாப் ஜாபிர் ஏ. காதர்)

(Mr. Jabir A. Cader)

—that there was no evidence.

ச. அமிர்தலிங்கம் மனா

(திரு. ஏ. அமிர்தலிங்கம்)

(Mr. A. Amirthalingam)

I am not disagreeing with the report. hon. Member, what I am only saying is that report has not been acted upon and further investigations with regard to

those two young men who disappeared have not been held by the police as directed by the Select Committee of this House. That is all what I am saying.

சபை ச. விசேஷி மனா (பார்க்கலென்னை தேவன)

(திரு. ஆர். பி. விசேஷி—ஹாஸ்பத்துவா இரண்டாம்

அங்கத்தவர்)

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

You need not worry about it, because he only wants to show that he was in that Committee!

சபை ச. காதர் மனா

(ஐனாப் ஜாபிர் ஏ. காதர்)

(Mr. Jabir A. Cader)

That is how he acts. When he wants to scold somebody on that side he comes over to this side.

ச. அமிர்தலிங்கம் மனா

(திரு. ஏ. அமிர்தலிங்கம்)

(Mr. A. Amirthalingam)

Anyhow, Sir, that Select Committee did a very good job of work and that hon. Member is also to be complimented on the good work that they did. Now, that is with regard to one of the regulations that have been promulgated under the Emergency.

Then, there had been a number of acts of violence. The Hon. Prime Minister referred to various acts of violence that have taken place in various parts of the country. Recently, I read in the newspapers that the Government of India had temporarily stopped giving visas for tourists to come to Sri Lanka. When I investigated the matter I found that it was because of two incidents that took place. The Hon. Prime Minister referred to one incident of the Talaimannar train being attacked on the 2nd of June. In that train there were a number of repatriates who were going to Inida. They were attacked at a station, I think at Talawa or somewhere. That train was attacked and a number of persons were relieved of their belongings. Quite a number of them who were travelling by the Talaimannar train were citizens of India who were being repatriated. They had gone and complained to the authorities in India about what happened to them in that railway station at Talawa.

There was a second incident, Sir, on the 6th of June. When some Indian tourists were going to Talaimannar in a mini-bus, it was stopped by the Chilaw Police and the Indian tourists were told that their travel documents had to be checked and they were taken to the Chilaw Police Station. At the Police Station, two of them were told that there was something wrong with their travel documents and they were not allowed to go. They were tourists who had come from India and were on their way back to get the Talaimannar ferry and get across to India.

Then these two men with the others pleaded with the Police that they be allowed to go because they would miss their ferry. They were told that they must pay Rs. 5,000 as security and leave. They could not find that much money – they collected among themselves Rs. 2,500 and gave that money at the Chilaw Police Station and thereafter they were allowed to leave. There was actually nothing wrong with the travel documents of any one of them. They had gone and complained to the authorities in India about the treatment meted out to them at the Chilaw Police Station.

I am mentioning this because I have checked these facts, and I would request the Hon. Prime Minister to find out what happened to the Rs. 2,500 which they deposited and why they were harassed in this way. All these under the emergency! They think that under the emergency they can stop anybody and do anything. This was done to Indian tourists and these two incidents were reported to the Indian Government. The Indian Government placed a temporary ban in issuing visit visas, except in the case of urgent visits required for visiting sick relations or something like that. I think now they have relaxed it. But these facts have to be checked and I am requesting the Government – I am not saying this in a spirit of levity – but I want the Government to check on these two incidents.

I think the hon. Prime Minister referred to one incident, the attack on the Talaimannar train where people who were travelling to India – repatriates – were attacked and their belongings looted. The second incident was that some tourists travelling in a mini-bus were stopped at Chilaw; and the police, in this incident, was responsible for relieving them of Rs. 2,500, harassing, humiliating and delaying them. There was a complaint that some were assaulted at the Chilaw Police Station – men who had come as tourists. These are the dangers inherent in clothing the police and the armed forces with Emergency powers. I think the Government is well aware of these dangers. But it is my duty to point out some of these things.

Then, Sir, an unfortunate situation developed in various parts of the country. The Hon. Prime Minister referred to what happened in Kurunegala and what happened in Ratmalana. In Ratmalana an R.M.P., Ganeshiah, from my own constituency, who was posted at Ratmalana by the Health Ministry was on duty at Ratmalana, and in the night they had gone and knocked at his door and said that somebody was suffering from a stomach pain. His wife and children looked through the window and saw that there was a crowd. Then they had gone and hidden themselves. But this man could not do that because he had to

answer when there was a call on him as a medical officer to attend on somebody. He opened the door. He was assaulted, beaten and stabbed and he had succumbed to his injuries the next day. I am sure the Hon. Minister of Health will take these facts into consideration and see that the family is adequately compensated, because he sustained these injuries and died in the discharge of his duties as a relief medical practitioner at Ratmalana. He was a Government Apothecary who was posted there, one Dr. Ganeshiah, R.M.P. He is from Alaveddy in my own electorate, and I have received representations regarding the condition of the family. I think the Medical Department, the Ministry of Health, should look into this matter and see that adequate compensation is paid to this family.

I do not want to come out with a list of incidents of violence which have taken place in the various parts of the country. In Kurunegala a big garment industry owned by a Tamil person which had given employment to over six hundred people – I am sure that 99 per cent of them are people of that area, all girls – had been burnt down. This garment industry had even exported, they even had an export market, and now so much of loss has been caused to this country as a result of this. The police in spite of the Emergency have not been able to check this sort of gross vandalism indulged in by looters and hooligans.

Sir, I think, I must refer to the situation in Trincomalee. I must say that the Member of Parliament for Trincomalee, along with the Government Agent, Trincomalee, had been acting in close collaboration with the Services Chiefs there to keep the situation under control. He has been keeping in touch with the Hon. Prime Minister and with me, at the other end, reporting matters to me, and he was trying his best to keep the situation under control. I should say in fairness that once the army was taken off the roads and the navy was put on patrol duty, the situation in Trincomalee improved. The navy to a large extent had been doing its duty in a fairly satisfactory way, and that is why things did not escalate as one feared they might, but I am sorry that I cannot say the same thing of the police and the army and the way they have behaved in Trincomalee.

The latest incident this morning is that a private mini-bus proceeding from Trincomalee to Jaffna with 24 passengers was waylaid about ten miles from Trincomalee at Vepankulam. Logs had been placed across the road. The driver had reversed and tried to circumvent it and go, but shots were fired. The driver was injured, and I just received information that he had succumbed to the injuries. Five persons had been admitted to the Trincomalee Hospital with gun shot injuries. The bus was burnt down and a number of people, women and children, sustained burn injuries,

[ප. අමීර්හලිංගම් මහතා]

and as a result about 15 persons have been hospitalized. Some persons are missing; whether they have gone into the jungles or they have got into some other vehicle and proceeded, one does not know, but three or four persons are reported to be missing. That is one incident.

Then there was the incident of the burning of 31 houses at Sivayogapuram. When these houses were burning the police jeep was there. The fire continued for several hours. Nobody made any attempt to put it out. The people had run away. 31 houses had been gutted down at Sivayogapuram. When four or five houses were burnt there on an earlier occasion, a police guard was placed at that spot, but when the police guard was there, further arson was indulged in and the police did not take any action. I have already brought this matter to the notice of the Hon. Prime Minister, that this sort of violence in Trincomalee started with the attack on Mansion Hotel which belonged to the former Member of Parliament for Trincomalee, Mr. Neminathan. This hotel is now owned by his widow and children. This hotel was attacked, and even in that matter, the role played by certain army personnel and certain men from the market area of Trincomalee is well known. Though the names of the persons who participated in the attack on Mansion Hotel were given to the police, no arrests were made. Even the persons who were arrested were let off. That is what has led to the escalation of violence in Trincomalee.

Yesterday a hotel by the name of Nescafe opposite the Trincomalee maidan had been attacked. A man had gone and thrown a bomb at the hotel when there were people inside the hotel, and when he was running, they had given chase and a prison guard who was coming in the opposite direction had caught him. He was handed over to the police who came there in a jeep, and within minutes the police allowed the man to go. The excuse the police gave seems to be that a crowd from the market had come and rescued the man from them. Is not the police ashamed of this sort of statement?

I am sorry to say that we are driven to the conclusion that the police in Trincomalee have failed in their duty. The Government should see to it that more responsible police officers are sent there. In fact Sir, in 1981 when the police ran amok in Jaffna, we made a request that a higher percentage of Tamil speaking police officers should be posted in Tamil speaking areas. In Jaffna that has been done with the result that there is no clash with the police as far as Jaffna is concerned. But in Trincomalee that was not done, and what is worse, in the whole hierarchy of the police force in Trincomalee, from the DIG, SP, ASP and Head Quarter's Inspector downwards, there was

only one Tamil Inspector by the name of Vanigaratnam—only one. And suddenly three days ago that man was transferred out at twenty-four hours' notice. For all that, this man is married to a Sinhalese lady, I understand. Because he happened to be a Tamil, he was found unfit to be in Trincomalee and he was transferred out. I want to tell the Hon. Prime Minister that the transferring out of this only Tamil Senior Inspector from Trincomalee has given greater courage to the lawless elements on the other side and they think that they can do anything with impunity and that has led to the escalation of violence in Trincomalee. I want the Hon. Prime Minister—

ගරීන්ද්‍ර කොරියා මහතා

(திரு. ஹரிந்திர கோரியா)
(Mr. Harindra Corea)

Mr. Deputy Speaker, he mentioned a matter about an incident in Chilaw. I have just checked up from the Headquarters Inspector. A vehicle was stopped and searched. They found that the passengers were Indian tourists. When the passports were produced they were allowed to proceed. Apparently, when they had gone to Madras they had made an allegation that they had been assaulted and some money taken. But they were not taken to Chilaw Police Station. There is no question of Rs. 2,500/- or anything like that. They were not taken to the Chilaw Police Station. This matter is under investigation by a senior police officer.

පී. අමීර්හලිංගම් මහතා

(திரு. ஏ. அமிர் தலிங்கம்)
(Mr. A. Amirthalingam)

Anyway, these were the facts that were brought to my notice. I thank the Hon. Acting Minister for checking on it immediately. This is their version and what the Hon. Acting Minister gives is the Police version. One has to investigate and find out what the true version is, what the truth is. We know, and the Hon. Acting Minister knows as a lawyer, that there are two stories always, two versions, and then a judge has to sit in judgment. This is the accused's version; mine is the complainant's version; that is all. Anyhow, whether the accused is guilty or not the investigation will reveal.

Now, Sir, in Trincomalee unfortunately during the last three weeks six Hindu temples had been destroyed; two persons had been killed, one at Mullipatana and one at Morawewa—both Tamil persons; 31 houses had been burnt at Tivayogapuram and eight houses had been burnt at Wellankulam. With regard to the burning of eight houses at Wellankulam, one definite complaint was made identifying one of those responsible for setting fire; he is one Piyadasa. He was taken into custody by the

Police, but he was released immediately thereafter. (*Interruption*)—I do not know whether he ran away or he was released; he is no longer in custody. The release of the man who threw the bomb into Nescafe yesterday, release of Piyadasa who was implicated in setting fire to the eight houses at Wellankulam on the 5th June and the failure to arrest the offenders identified in respect of the attack on Mansion Hotel, had all led to the escalation of violence in Trincomalee. Therefore, Sir, we on our part, through our Members of Parliament and whatever organization that we may have, have tried our best—I am sure that even the Police authorities there will accept it—to bring the situation under control, to keep the situation under control. But I want the Hon. Prime Minister and the Government to see that unfair treatment of Tamil police officers does not give encouragement to criminals and offenders and the composition of the Police force in Trincomalee is also made more mixed, so that the Police may not take sides and act in a partisan way as they appeared to be doing at the present juncture.

Today, the curfew had been imposed in Trincomalee at 3 p.m., because there had been attacks on a number of shops in Central Road and various other places in Trincomalee in the afternoon, so that it is very unfortunate that of all places, Trincomalee should become a trouble-spot of this type. We are anxious as the Government to bring the situation under control because in an area like Trincomalee with a mixed population, if trouble breaks out, it can lead to serious consequences. It has happened in the past and it can happen again. So we are anxious that the situation should be contained and brought under control. That is why we say we are not opposing the continuance of the Emergency, but we want the Police to act against the offenders and not act against innocent persons.

In Jaffna today there are road blocks set up at various junctions in the nights. I myself have experienced it. Army personnel stop vehicles and search them. That is all right, but it is not confined to a search. Any young man who may be coming that way are beaten up. Several people have reported to being assaulted practically every night at some point or other in Jaffna. If anybody thinks that by this they are putting an end to terrorism, I think he is making a very serious mistake. The more you indulge in action of this type, the more bitterness you cause and the more violence, retaliatory violence, that you give rise to.

In fact, at one point I was stopped. I immediately got down. I had my identity card which was issued to me by the Speaker in 1978. But the man could not read my identity card. He was so drunk. The army

men there were so drunk that I could get the smell when this man came near me. It is in that condition that they assault all and sundry. I asked them, "Is there any responsible officer, any Lieutenant or anybody here?" No, only a serjeant or somebody of that rank was there. Fortunately, my driver knew Sinhala and he could interpret what I had to say. But I found their condition was so unsatisfactory that they were not in a fit condition to be considered as a disciplined force. I think it is high time that a greater sense of discipline was introduced. There is violence, there is terrorism in all parts of the world. But if the disciplined force, if the armed forces cease to be disciplined, then woe be unto the country. That is what one has to remember.

In Northern Ireland there is violence on a much bigger scale. Even a man of the eminence of Lord Louis Mountbatten was killed by the terrorists. But the British police or the British army did not act in such a way as to go and set fire to Irish houses and Irish business establishments in London and other places. I think we should make the disciplined force act in a disciplined way. The unfortunate situation is that communalism has infected the armed forces and they tend to act communally when passions are roused. As Virginia Leary pointed out in the ICJ report, if as the Government agreed in 1981—as the Hon. Minister of Defence will vouch for—a higher percentage, at least in proportion to the ethnic ratio of Tamil speaking persons, are included in the Police and in the Army, and the Police and the Army are more representative of the population of the country and not one-sided, not one section alone being in the armed forces, I am sure this situation of the Army and the Police taking partisan attitudes will not arise. Therefore, Sir, when the Government is thinking of long-term measures they should give their minds to these matters and, more than anything else, that this periodic violence against helpless Tamil people in various parts of the country had become endemic.

Let not anybody think that by attacking these poor people in these areas and holding them as hostages they can make the Tamils in the North and East give up their political demands. That will never happen. So long as there is a feeling that injustice is being done, the fight for justice will go on. So long as there is an attempt to keep down a people as a subject race, as slaves the fight for their freedom will go on. No amount of killings, no amount of harassing, no amount of burning or looting can stop it. Only justice will stop it. Only the recognition of the self-respect, the self-determination, and the right to freedom of every section of the population can put an end to this sort of situation.

[ப. டி. 1952-05-05]

Therefore, I think there has to be a reorientation in the thinking of the rulers, whoever the rulers may be. Successive Governments have created this situation ; successive Governments have created a feeling of frustration and utter humiliation in the mind of the Tamil nation. So that I would urge on the Government, rather than try to continue the Emergency, rather than try to use the armed forces in an oppressive way, rather than try to kill ten if the violent youth kill two—this way you cannot solve the problem—the only way to solve it is to work out a political solution recognizing the right of the Tamil nation to self-determination. That is all that I want to say, Sir.

I thank you.

பி. சிவசிவதம்பரம் (பி. சிவசிவதம்பரம்)

(திரு. டி. சிவசிவதம்பரம்—வவுனியா)

(Mr. T. Sivasithamparam—Vavuniya)

கௌரவ உப சபநாயகர் அவர்களே, ஒரு முக்கியமான விடயத்தை பற்றி நாங்கள் இன்று விவாதிக்கின்றோம். பல இன்னல்களுக்கு உள்ளாகிய தொகுதியின் பிரதிநிதி என்ற வகையிலே மிகவும் பாரமான், தாக்கமான உணர்ச்சியுடன் நான் இன்று பேசுகின்றேன். அவசரகால நிலைமை பல்வேறு நாடுகளிலே பிரகடனப்படுத்தப்படுகின்றது. ஒரு நாட்டிலே நடைபெறுகின்ற அசம்பாவித சம்பவங்களை சாதாரண சட்டங்களினால் கட்டுப்படுத்த முடியாது விட்டால், மக்களுக்குப் பாதுகாப்புக் கொடுக்கின்ற நடவடிக்கைகளை எடுக்க முடியாது விட்டால் அவசரகாலச் சட்டங்களைப் பிரகடனப்படுத்தி நாட்டு மக்களுக்குப் பாதுகாப்புக் கொடுக்கின்ற கடமை நாட்டை ஆட்சி செய்கின்ற ஆட்சியாளர்களுக்கு உரியது. ஆகவே, எங்களுடைய நாட்டிலே பிரகடனப்படுத்தப்பட்டிருக்கும் அவசரகால நிலைமையை நீடிப்பது பற்றிய இந்த விவாதத்திலே உள்ளத்தைத் தொடுகின்ற உண்மையை உணர்த்த வேண்டிய சில விவகாரங்களைப் பற்றி நான் ஒரு சில வார்த்தைகளைப் பேச விரும்புகிறேன்.

எமது இயக்கத்தின் தலைவர் அவர்களும் எமது மதிப்புக்குரிய கௌரவ பிரதம அமைச்சர் அவர்களும் இம் மாதம் முதலாம் தேதி தொடக்கம் இன்றுவரை நாட்டிலே நடைபெற்ற சில சம்பவங்களைப் பற்றி, அவற்றின் எண்ணிக்கைகளைப் பற்றிக் குறிப்பிட்டார்கள். கௌரவ பிரதம அமைச்சர் அவர்களுடைய பதிவு ஏட்டிற்கு வராத நிகழ்ச்சிகள் பல கடந்த 27 நாட்களாக இந்த நாட்டிலே நடைபெறுகின்றன. பொது மக்களுக்குப் பாதுகாப்பைக் கொடுப்பதற்காகத்தான் அவசரகால நிலைமையைப் பிரகடனப்படுத்தி இருக்கின்றீர்கள். மக்களுக்குப் பாதுகாப்பைக் கொடுப்பதற்காகத்தான் பாதுகாப்புப் படையினரை நீங்கள் வைத்திருக்கிறீர்கள். என்னைப் பொறுத்தவரையிலே முதலாம் தேதி வவுனியாவில் நடைபெற்ற தூர்ப்பாக்கிய சம்பவத்தை அடுத்து கொழும்பிலுள்ள இராணுவத் தளபதியுடன், விமானப்படைத் தளபதியுடன், எனது மதிப்புக்குரிய பிரதிப் பாதுகாப்பு அமைச்சருடன் எத்தனையோ முறை தொடர்பு கொள்ள வேண்டிய நிர்ப்பந்தமான நிலை எனக்கு ஏற்பட்டது. ஒன்றை மறைக்காமல்

சுறிவைக்க விரும்புகிறேன். அதாவது எந்தெந்த வேலைகளில் இவர்களை நாம் தொடர்பு கொண்ட போதிலும் அவர்கள் அந்தந்த வேலைகளில் எல்லாம் கீழ் மட்டத்தில் உள்ளவர்களுக்கு உத்தரவுகளைப் பிறப்பித்தார்கள். ஆனால் பிறப்பிக்கப்படும் கட்டளைகளுக்குச் சரி எதிர்மாறாகத்தான் எங்கள் பகுதிகளிலே காவல் படையினர் நடந்து கொள்கிறார்கள்.

பதிவு செய்யப்பட்ட அல்லது தலைமைச் செயலகத்திற்கு அறிவிக்கப்பட்ட சம்பவங்களைவிட பல்வேறு சம்பவங்கள் பதிவு செய்யப்படாத சம்பவங்களாக உள்ளன. பொலீஸ் நிலையத்திற்குப் போகப் போது மக்கள் பயப்படுவதனால் பதிவு செய்யப்படாத சம்பவங்களும் நாட்டிலே நடைபெற்றுக் கொண்டே வருகின்றன. முதலாம் தேதி நாட்டிலே நடைபெற்ற தூர்ப்பாக்கிய நிகழ்ச்சிகளின் பின் நேற்றுவரை ஒவ்வொரு தினமும் பொது மக்கள் பெண்கள், மலையகத்திலிருந்து அகதிகளாகக் குடியேறியவர்கள், மாணவர்கள், மாணவிகள் வீதிகளில் வைத்துப் பட்டப் பகலில் பாதுகாப்புப் படையினரால் தாக்கப்பட்டுக்கொண்டு வருகின்றார்கள். இப்பேற்பட்ட சம்பவங்கள் இல்லாததான் கிடையாது. இதை ஆட்சியாளர்கள் என்றவகையிலே—புத்திரானுடைய நல்ல போதனைகளைக் கடைப்பிடிக்கின்றவர்கள் என்ற வகையிலே—உங்களுக்கு நான் இந்த அவையிலே வைத்துக் கூறிவைக்க விரும்புகிறேன்.

நீவிர்வாதத்தை அடக்க வேண்டுமென்றால், இந்த நாட்டிலே சமாதானத்தை உருவாக்க வேண்டுமென்றால், இந்த நாட்டிலே வீதிகளிலே நடந்து வருகின்ற அப்பாவி மக்களை முட்டுக்காலிலே தவழ்ந்து போ என்று சொல்கின்ற நிகழ்ச்சி நடைபெற வேண்டுமா என்று நான் கேட்க விரும்புகின்றேன். மதகுருமார்கள், பாடசாலை மாணவர், மாணவிகள் நகரத்திலே துளிசக்கர வண்டிகளிலே வரும்பொழுது, “துளிசக்கர வண்டியைத் தூக்கிக் கொண்டு நடந்து போ” என்று கட்டளை இடுகிறார்கள் பாதுகாவுப் படையினர். பயங்கரவாதிகளைக் கைது செய்வதற்காக எடுக்கின்ற நடவடிக்கையா இது என்று நான் கேட்க விரும்புகிறேன். பயங்கரவாதத்தைத் தடுப்பதற்காக எடுக்கின்ற நடவடிக்கைகளா இவை? சட்டத்தையும் ஒழுங்கையும் பாதுகாக்க எடுக்கின்ற நடவடிக்கைகளா இவை? அல்லது மக்களுடைய உள்ளங்களிலே வேதனையையும் சோதனையையும் உருவாக்கி மேலும் மேலும் இனத் துவேஷத்தைக் கிளப்புவதற்காக எடுக்கிற நடவடிக்கைகளா இவை என்பதைச் சிந்தித்துப் பார்க்க வேண்டிய பொறுப்பு உங்களுக்கு உண்டு.

கௌரவ உப சபநாயகர் அவர்களே, போதனை சர்வகலா சாலையில் கற்கின்ற மாணவர்கள் எந்த வகையிலே என்ன குற்றத்தைச் செய்தார்கள்? என்ன தீங்கு இழைத்தார்கள்? எந்த வகையிலே இனத் துவேஷத்தைக் கிளப்புகின்ற நடவடிக்கைகளை எடுத்தார்கள்? எவ்வளவோ முயற்சி செய்து அங்கு சமாதானத்தை நிலைநாட்டிய பின்னும் நேற்று முன்தினம் போர்தனைச் சர்வகலாசாலையிலே நடந்தது என்ன? பொது மக்களுடைய சாதனங்களாக, பொது மக்களைத் தொடர்பு கொள்கின்ற சாதனங்களாக இருக்கின்ற பத்திரிகை, வாடுஷி, தொலைக்காட்சி என்பன எதைச் செய்கின்றன என்பதைத் தயவு செய்து நீங்கள் கவனிக்க வேண்டும். பாதுகாப்புப் படையினரைத் தவிர்த்த சாதாரண சிங்கள மக்கள், மற்றப் பிரதேசங்களிலே இருக்கிறவர்கள், இந்தவிதமான இன விரோதச் செயல்களிலே ஈடுபடுவதற்கு முக்கியமான காரணம் ஒருதலைப்

பட்ட செய்திகளையாகும். ஒருதலைப்பட்ட செய்திகள்தாம் அந்த மக்கள் தொடர்பு சாதனங்கள் மூலமாக வெளியாகின்றன. அதனால்தான் வவுனியாவிலே அந்த தூர்ப்பாக்கிய சம்பவம் நடைபெற்றது. அந்தச் சம்பவம் நடைபெற்ற ஒரு மணித்தியாலத்திலே சந்தேகத்துக்கு இடமான இருவர் கட்டப் பட்டுக் கைது செய்யப்பட்டார்கள். ஒரு மணித்தியாலத்துக்குள் சந்தேக நபர்கள் இருவர் பாதுகாவற் படையினரால் கைது செய்யப்பட்டார்கள். அதைத் தொடர்ந்து நடத்தது என்ன? எழுபது இலட்சம் ரூபா பெறுமதியான, அன்றாட வாழ்க்கை நடாத்துகின்றவர்கள் வியாபாரம் செய்து வந்த நவீன மார்க்கட் சாம்பராக்கப்பட்டது. தீப்பற்றி எரிந்தது. அந்த இடத்துக்கு நாங்கள் சென்றோம், தீயை அணைப்பதற்காக அதுபுது யார் தூரத்திலே இருக்கிறது பொலிஸ் நிலையம். நாலு, ஐந்து மணித்தியாலங்களாக அந்தத் தீயை அணைப்பதற்காக நாங்கள் பாடுபட்டுக் கொண்டிருந்தும் ஒரு பொலிஸ் உத்தியோகத்தராவது அந்த இடத்திற்கு வர யோசிக்கவில்லை. தீ எரிந்து கொண்டிருக்கிற இடத்திலிருந்து 60 யார் தூரத்திலிருக்கும் பொலிஸ் நிலையத்திலிருந்து ஒரு பொலிஸ் உத்தியோகத்தராவது அவ்விடத்துக்கு வர யோசிக்கவில்லை.

விதிகளிலே பொது மக்கள் நடமாட முடியாது, கடைகளிலே வியாபாரம் செய்ய முடியாது. பாதுகாவற்படையினர் பட்டப்பகலிலே சென்று பொருள்களை வாங்குகிறார்கள். பணத்தைக் கேட்டால் “இனிமேல் கப்பம் வாங்கித்தான் அடக்கி ஆன இருக்கிறோம்” என்று பகிரங்கமாகக் கூறி வருகிறார்கள்.

காந்திய இயக்கம் எங்களுடைய நாட்டிலே மாத்திரம் இருக்கின்ற ஓர் இயக்கமல்ல, உலக நாடுகள் பலவற்றிலே இயங்கி வருகின்ற தரும் நிறுவனம் காந்திய இயக்கம். அது பதிவு செய்யப்பட்ட ஒரு நிறுவனம். இந்த நிறுவனத்திலே யிருக்கின்றவர்கள் சந்தேகத்துக்கு உரியவர்களாக இருந்தால் அவர்களைக் கைதுசெய்யுங்கள், அவர்களை விசாரணை செய்யுங்கள். நாங்கள் தடுக்க வரவில்லை, ஆனால் பெற்றோர்களில்லாத ஏழை சிறுவர்களுக்கு கல்வி, உணவு வசதிகளை கொடுத்துவருகின்ற சிறுவர் இல்லம். இந்தக் காந்திய இல்லமாகும். இந்தச் சிறுவர் இல்லம் தீக்கிரையாக்கப் பட்டிருக்கின்றது. அச்சிறுவர் இல்லத்தில் நிறுத்திவைக்கப்பட்டிருந்த ஐந்து இலட்சத்திற்கு மேல் பெறுமதியான மூன்று உழவு இயந்திரங்கள், இரு கட்டடங்கள் சாம்பராக்கப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன. காந்திய இயக்கச் செயலகம் சுக்குநூறுக்கப்பட்டுப் பரிசாசமாக்கப்பட்டிருக்கின்றது. 1977 ஆம் ஆண்டு நடந்தேறிய இனக்கலவரத்தின்போது எங்கு போவதென்றே தெரியாமல் எங்களுடைய மாவட்டத்திலே குடியேறிய மலையகத் தமிழ் மக்களின் குழந்தைகளுக்கு, தமிழக மக்களுக்கு, பாலுணவு ஆரம்பக்கல்வி, விவசாய வசதிகள், குடிதண்ணீர் ஆகியவற்றைக் கொடுத்து வந்த பெண்கள், பாதுகாப்புப் படையினரால் தாங்கமுடியாத அளவுக்கு மானபங்கப்படுத்தப்படுகிறார்கள், இம்சிக்கப்படுகிறார்கள்.

இவை தினமும் நடக்கின்ற சம்பவங்கள். நான் நினைக்கின்றேன், கௌரவ கிராமிய கைத்தொழில் அபிவிருத்தி அமைச்சர் அவர்களுக்கு இதுதொடர்பான அறிவிப்புக் கிடைத்திருக்குமென்று. 1977 ஆம் ஆண்டுக் கலவரத்தின் போது தங்களுடைய சொத்துச் சுகம் அத்தனையுமே இழந்து, அங்கே வாழ முடியாமல் இங்கு வந்து குடியேறிய இம்மக்களை 24 மணித்தியாலங்களுக்குள் நீங்கள் இவ்விடத்திலேயிருந்து வெளியேற வேண்டும் என்று பாதுகாப்புப் படையினர் உத்

தரவிட்டிருக்கிறார்கள். இதுதான் மக்கள் பாதுகாப்பு, இதுதான் பொதுசனப் பாதுகாப்பு, இதுதான் பாதுகாப்புப் படையினரிடத்திலிருந்து நீங்கலும் நாங்களும் எதிர்பார்க்கின்ற சேவை என்று நான் கேட்க விரும்புகிறேன்.

இம்மாதம் 3 ஆம் தேதி இரவு கொழும்பில் இருந்து புறப்பட்ட புகையிரத வண்டியிலே இராணுவ வீரர்கள்—மாங்குலம் முகாமைச் சேர்ந்தவர்கள்—கொழும்பில் வைத்து சுற்றினார்கள். அப்புகையிரதத்திலிருந்து மக்களுக்கு குருநாகலில் இருந்து அடிக்கத் தொடங்கிய அவர்கள் மாங்குலத்தில் இறங்கினார்கள். குருநாகல் புகையிரத நிலையத்திலிருந்து மாங்குலம் புகையிரத நிலையம் வரை அப்புகையிரதத்திலிருந்து அப்பாவிப் பெண்களைக்கூட அடித்து, இருக்க முடியாமல், அப்பிரயணிகள் ஒவ்வொரு புகையிரத நிலையத்திலும் இறங்கி அப்புகையிரதம் மாங்குலம் புகையிரத நிலையத்தை வந்தடைந்ததும் தமிழ் மக்கள் எவருமே அதில் இல்லாத நிலைமை ஏற்பட்டது. நீதியையும் ஒழுங்கையும் நிலைநாட்டுகின்றோம்—மக்களின் பாதுகாப்புக்காகக் கட்டளையிடுகின்றோம் என்று சொல்லுகிறீர்கள். மேலிடத்திலிருந்து வருகின்ற இக்கட்டளைகளை அமுல் நடத்துகின்றவர்கள் செய்கின்ற செயல்கள் பதிவேடுகளுக்கு—தின எடுகளுக்கு—வராது. “இந் நிகழ்ச்சிகளைப்பற்றி நீங்கள் ஏன் பொலிஸ் நிலையத்தில் சென்று புகார் செய்யவில்லை” என்று நாங்கள் அவர்களைக் கேட்டோம். ஏன் அதற்கு நீங்கள் தயங்குகிறீர்கள் என்று நாங்கள் கேட்டோம். “பொலிஸ் நிலையத்துக்குச் சென்று புகார் கொடுத்தால் அடுத்தநாள் அந்தக் குடும்பமே அவ்விடத்தில் இருக்கமுடியாது” என்று அவர்கள் கூறுகிறார்கள்.

நேற்று முன்தினம் கிராமிய கைத்தொழில் அபிவிருத்தி அமைச்சரவர்கள் பிரதமரவர்களைச் சந்தித்து, அங்குள்ள அகதிகளை அகற்றுவதற்காகப் பொலிஸார் விடுத்த கட்டளைகளைப் பற்றிப் பிரஸ்தாபித்ததையும் அதற்குக் கிடைத்த பதிலையும் பத்திரிகையிற் படித்தேன். நேற்று நான் கொழும்பு நோக்கிப் பிரயாணமாகின்றபொழுது அந்த இரண்டு குடியேற்றப் பிரதேசங்களிலுமுள்ள அப்பாவித் தமிழ் மக்கள் மிகவும் பாரதூரமாக எச்சரிக்கை செய்யப்பட்டிருக்கிறார்கள் என்பதை அறிந்தேன். “மேலிடத்திற்கு நீங்கள் புகார் செய்தால் இனிமேல் புகார் செய்வதற்கு உயிருடன் அங்கு செல்ல நாங்கள் உங்களை அனுமதிக்க மாட்டோம்” என்று அம்மக்கள் எச்சரிக்கப்படுகிறார்கள்.

அடுத்து, நான் பிரதமரவர்களை மிகவும் பணிவாகக் கேட்கிறேன்; பஸ் வண்டிக் கண்ணாடிகள் என்ன பாவஞ் செய்தன? வவுனியாவில் மாத்திரம் பட்டப்பகலில் 29 பஸ் வண்டிகளின் கண்ணாடிகள் கடைவீதியில் வைத்துப் பாதுகாப்புப் படையினரால் நொறுக்கப்பட்டன. அதுமாத்திரமல்ல, “உங்களை சோதனை செய்கிறோம், விசாரிக்கிறோம்” என்ற போர்வையில் நான்கைந்து தினங்களுக்கு முன்னர் [இடையீடு] இது சிறிப்பதற்குரிய விஷயமல்ல; அல்லது இது சேட்டை புரிவதற்குரிய இடமல்ல. இந்நாட்டில் உங்களைப்போல் நாங்களும் வாழ விரும்புகின்றோம். தீவிரவாதத்தினால் உரிமையைப் பெற முடியாதென்பதைப் பலமுறையும் எடுத்துக் கூறியிருக்கிறோம். தீவிரவாதத்தைத் தடுப்பதற்கு எங்களால் இயன்ற நடவடிக்கைகளை எடுக்கிறோம். ஆனால், தீவிரவாதத்தை மென்மேலும் தூண்டுவதற்காக எடுக்கப்படுகின்ற—உங்களுக்குத் தெரியாமல் இருக்கின்ற—பதிவு செய்யப்படாத சில சம்பவங்களை மிகவும் மனவருத்தத்துடன் இங்கு கூறிவைக்க விரும்புகின்றேன்.

[பி. சி. சி. சி. சி. சி. சி.]

நான்கு தினங்களுக்கு முன்னர் கொழும்பு நோக்கி வந்த 11 பஸ் வண்டிகள் நடு இரவில் வவுனியா நகரில் நிறுத்தப்படுகின்றன. அவற்றை நிறுத்தியது பொலிஸாரல்ல; இராணுவத்தினரல்ல. அவற்றை நிறுத்தியது விமானப்படை வீரர்கள். ஒவ்வொரு பஸ் வண்டிக்குள்ளும் இருந்த ஆண்களும் பெண்களும் கிழித்தடிக்கப்படுகிறார்கள். முன்னுக்கு வந்த வண்டிகள் இந்த நிலைக்குள்ளானதும் தொடர்ந்து வந்த வண்டிகள் யாழ்ப்பாணம் நோக்கிவிடுகின்றன. பிரதமரவர்களே, நீங்கள் சமீபத்தில் ஒரு புத்த தேவாலயத்தில் எடுத்த பிரதிக்கை பற்றி நான் பத்திரிகையில் வாசித்தேன். பாதுகாப்புப் படையினரை ஆயுதமாகப் பாவித்து ஒரு காலத்திலும் இந்நாட்டில் இன ஒற்றுமையை ஏற்படுத்தவோ, வன்செயல்களைத் தடுத்தோ நிறுத்தவோ முடியாதென்பது எனது பணிவான கருத்து. காரணம், நீங்கள் விடுக்கும் கட்டளைகள் எல்லாம், நீங்கள் அனுப்புகின்ற கடிதங்களெல்லாம், அவற்றில் நீங்கள் கூறும் விடயங்களெல்லாம் முற்றும் மாறாக நாட்டில் ஆங்காங்கே அமுல் நடத்தப்படுகின்றன.

காந்திய இயக்கத்தில் யாராவது சந்தேகத்துக்குரியவர்கள் இருந்தால் தயவுசெய்து விசாரணை செய்யுங்கள். ஆனால், ஆயிரக்கணக்கான குழந்தைகளுக்குப் பால் விநியோகஞ் செய்கின்ற, ஆயிரக்கணக்கான குழந்தைகளுக்கு ஆரம்ப கல்வியைப் புகட்டுகின்ற, ஆயிரக்கணக்கான குடும்பங்களுக்கு குடிதண்ணீர் வசதியை அளிக்கின்ற காந்திய இயக்கத்துக்கெதிராக ஏன் நடவடிக்கை எடுக்கின்றீர்கள்? வவுனியாப் பொலிஸ் அதிகாரி என்னிடம் கூறினார், காந்திய இயக்கம் இயங்க விடாமற் செய்யவேண்டுமென்று சமூகசேவைகள் அமைச்சிவிருந்து கட்டளை வந்திருக்கின்றதென்று. குழந்தைகள் என்ன குற்றம் செய்தார்கள்? சந்தேகம் எவரிடத்திலும் இருந்தால் அவர்களை விசாரணை செய்யுங்கள்; ஏற்ற நடவடிக்கை எடுங்கள், ஆனால் அப்பாவிக்கு குழந்தைகளை வஞ்சிக்காதீர்கள். காந்திய இயக்கம் தொடர்ந்து இருக்கக்கூடாது என்பதற்காக அந்த இயக்கத்திலிருந்து அத்தனை பேரும் ஒவ்வொருவராகப் பொலிஸ் நிலையம் அழைக்கப்பட்டு நையப்புடைக்கப்பட்டார்கள். ஆண்கள் மாத்திரமல்ல, பெண்களும் பொலிஸ் நிலையம் அழைக்கப்பட்டு நையப்புடைக்கப்பட்டார்கள். இவர்களுள் ஒருசிலர் விடுதலை செய்யப்பட்டிருக்கிறார்கள். மற்றவர்கள் விடுதலை செய்யப்படவில்லை. இந்த நிகழ்ச்சிகளைக் கண்ட தொண்டர்கள் சிலர் ஊரைவிட்டே, நிலையத்தைவிட்டே, பாடசாலைகளைவிட்டே ஓடி விட்டார்கள். இந்த நிகழ்ச்சிகள் நான் அங்கே நடைபெற்று வருகின்றன.

அவசரகால நிலைமை இருந்தால் அவசரகாலச் சட்டம் அமுல் செய்யப்பட வேண்டும். அவசரகாலச் சட்டம் அமுல் செய்யப்படுவதாக இருந்தால் பொதுமக்களுக்குப் பாதுகாப்புக் கொடுக்கக்கூடிய முறையிலே பாதுகாப்புப் படையினர் நடக்கவேண்டும். பொதுமக்களுக்குப் பாதுகாப்புக் கொடுப்பதற்காக உங்களால் நியமிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கும் பாதுகாப்புப் படையினர் எந்தவிதமாகப் பொதுமக்களை நடத்துகிறார்கள்? பொதுமக்கள் வீதியில் நடமாட முடியாது. அவர்கள் வீதியால் சைக்கிள் வண்டியில் செல்ல முடியாது. சைக்கிளில் செல்பவர்கள் அவர்கள் சொல்லும் தூரம்வரை சைக்கிளைத் தூக்கிக்கொண்டு போகவேண்டும். அப்படிப் போகும்போது கொஞ்சம் மெதுவாகப் போனால் நாரியில் துவக்குக் கட்டையால் அடிக்கப்படுகிறார்கள். இவர்கள் என்ன குற்றம் செய்தார்கள்? பகிரங்க வீதியில் மக்கள் தவண்டு நாலு காலில்

போகவேண்டும். இவர்கள் மெதுவாகப் போனால் சப்பாத்துக் காலால் உதைக்கப்படுகிறார்கள். எந்த ஒரு தனி மனிதனுக்காகும் அவன் எவ்வளவு சிறுபான்மையாக இருந்தாலும் அவனுக்கும் சுயமரியாதை, சுய உரிமை இருக்கிறது. இந்த விதமாக நாய்களாகப் பேய்களாக எந்தக் குற்றமும் செய்யாத மக்கள் வீதிகளில் தண்டிக்கப்பட்டு வந்தால் அத்தகைய ஒருவருடைய உள்ளத்தில் என்ன உணர்ச்சி ஓங்கும்? இறப்பதாக இருந்தாலும், இறந்து மடிவதாக இருந்தாலும் எதிர் நடவடிக்கையை எடுக்கவேண்டும் என்ற உணர்ச்சி ஓங்குமேயல்லாது வேறு எதுவும் ஓங்காது. இவ்விதமாகப் பாதுகாப்புப் படையினர் நடப்பார்களேயானால் நான் மனவருத்தத்துடன் ஒன்றைக் கூறிவைக்க விரும்புகிறேன். அதாவது நீங்கள் எந்தவிதமான தாய்மையான உள்ளத்துடன் இந்த நாட்டிலே தீவிரவாதம் அடங்கவேண்டுமென்று நடவடிக்கை எடுத்தாலும், பயங்கரவாதம் தடைசெய்யப்பட வேண்டும் என்று நடவடிக்கை எடுத்தாலும் தீவிரவாத நடவடிக்கைகள் அடங்கா. வவுனியாவிலே நடைபெற்ற சம்பவங்களைப் பற்றி நான் உங்களிலும் பார்க்க கூடுதலாக மன வேதனைப்படுபவன் என்பதைப் பகிரங்கமாகக் கூறுகிறேன். அவசரகாலச் சட்டத்தை நீடித்து தீவிரமாக நடவடிக்கை எடுத்து நாட்டு நிலைமையை மிக விரைவில் சீர்ப்படுத்த வேண்டும் என்று நீங்கள் விரும்பும் இந்த வேளையிலே உங்களுக்குத் தெரியாத உங்கள் கட்டளைகளுக்கு மாறாக பதிவு ஏடுகளிலே இடம்பெறாத விதமாக தினமும் இரவும் பகலும் சம்பவங்கள் நடைபெறுகின்றன. நகராண்மைக் கழகத்துக்குச் சொந்தமான 70 இலட்சம் ரூபா பெறுமதியான கட்டடம் என்ன குற்றம் செய்தது? சாதாரண மூதல்போட்டு மரக்கறி வியாபாரம் செய்த 40 பேர் என்ன குற்றம் செய்தார்கள்?

சந்தேகப்பட்டவர்களைத் தூர்த்தி, சுட்டுப் பிடித்ததன் பின் எதற்காகத் தீ வைக்கிறார்கள்? எதற்காகக் காந்திய சிறுவர் இல்லத்துக்குத் தீ வைக்கப்பட்டது? எதற்காகக் காந்தியத்துக்குச் சொந்தமான 6, 7 இலட்சம் ரூபா பெறுமதியான உழவு இயந்திரங்களுக்குத் தீ வைக்கப்பட்டது? எதற்காகப் பொது மக்கள் வீதிகளிலே இவ்வளவு கேவலமாக நடாத்தப்படுகிறார்கள்? எதற்காக திருமலை தீப்பற்றி எரிகிறது? எதற்காகப் பேராதனை சர்வகலாசாலையிலே தமிழ் மாணவர்கள் இருக்க முடியாத நிலை? நாகரீகம் படைத்த எந்த நாட்டிலும் நடக்க முடியாத நிலை. வெளி நாடுகள் அறிந்தால் எமது நாட்டின் நிலை என்ன? சர்வகலாசாலை மாணவர்கள் என்ன குற்றம் செய்தார்கள்? எதற்காக அவர்கள் அடுத்தடுத்து இம்சைக்கு உள்ளாக்கப்படுகிறார்கள்? இவற்றைத் தயவு செய்து சிந்தியுங்கள். இந்த நாட்டிலே, சுபீட்சமாக, சுதந்திரமாக உங்களைப் போல் எங்கேயும் வாழ விடுங்கள் என்று கேட்டு விடை பெறுகின்றேன்.

சி. டி. பண்டாரநாயக்க (மல்கை)

(திரு. எஸ். டி. பண்டாரநாயக்க—கம்பஹ)

(MR. S. D. Bandaranayake - Gampaha)

Mr. Deputy Speaker, party politics and the consequent power politics emanating out of party politics is responsible for the demand for "Eelam" and the murder and arson that is taking place in the country today. The Tamil-speaking national minorities must understand that since 1956, when Sinhala was made the Official Language of the

country, it is party politics that prevented the rightful place of the Tamil Language in Sri Lanka, for which the Sinhala people as a nation are not responsible.

In this respect, party politics and power politics was, once again responsible for the then Federal Party and the Tamil Congress joining the Government in 1965, and party politics was once again responsible for the denial of the Reasonable Use of the Tamil Language.

Incidentally, in regard to the CWC, I wish to inform the hon. Second Member for Nuwara Eliya-Maskeliya that in 1962 it was on the instructions of Madam Bandaranaike that Mr. Thondaman and I went to Jaffna when, for 57 days, the Federal Party had established a 'government' of their own. It was in 1962 that Madam Bandaranaike sent the two of us to Jaffna. I think Mr. Nissanka Wijeyeratne was the Government Agent of Jaffna then.

අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා (නුවරඑළිය-මස්කෙලිය දෙවන)
(திரு. அனூர பண்டாரநாயக்க—நுவரெலிய-மஸ்கெலிய
இரண்டாம் அங்கத்தவர்)
(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike - Second Nuwara Eliya-Maskeliya)

He was a strong SLFPer then.

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

This is the background of our party politics. The Sinhala people as well as the Tamil people in Sri Lanka are unaware of the rights that they asked for in the Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam Pact as well as the Senanayake-Chelvanayakam Pact so that there is no necessity for round-table or square-table conferences -

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

What about an oblong-table ?

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

-for maybe even self-determination, as the hon. Leader of the Opposition calls it, because since 1956 all the proposals from both the Federal Party and the Tamil Congress have come as proposals from the Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam Pact and the Senanayake-Chelvanayakam Pact envisaged an autonomous state within a united Sri Lanka in the Northern and Eastern Provinces, an autonomous state which is in keeping with the aspirations and the cultural heritage of our people.

It is now for the Jayewardene Government to discuss with the Tamil leaders, including if necessary the "Tigers", to give up the demand for separation of the country, and either (a) set up an autonomous state within a united Sri Lanka or (b) make Tamil also an Official Language in the country, similar to Sinhala.

In point of fact, the second step is what we are deciding to go back to, the status quo that prevailed before making Sinhala the Official Language of the country in 1956.

I am making these submissions in Parliament today as I moved the Sinhala Only resolution in the Central Committee of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party in 1955. And out of the nine members of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party who were elected to Parliament in 1952, I am the only one who is left in Parliament today. In fact I am the only one alive today.

මන්ත්‍රීවරයෙක්
(அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)
(A Member)

Are you in the SLFP ?

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

I am the only one alive today.

මන්ත්‍රීවරයෙක්
(அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)
(A Member)

Are you in the SLFP ?

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

So these were the views of the late leader Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike in the 1955-1956 era when the Sinhala Only Bill was introduced in the country at that time.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I think it my duty to submit these matters to this House and through this House to the future generations of our motherland. In spite of my being removed from the Sri Lanka Freedom Party by the Leadership of the party, I shall continue to give my fullest co-operation to His Excellency the President the Hon. Prime Minister and this Government in finding solutions to these problems in Sri Lanka. It is for this purpose that I have made a call for national unity in our motherland.

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

லக்ஷமன் ரமகோடி மதனா
(திரு. லக்ஷமன் ஜயக்கொடிய)
(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

What about a Tamil one? Put in a Tamil translation.

மலிசியா மன்றத்தினால் தயாரிக்கப்பட்ட உயர்மொழி மாண்புமிகு பேரவை உறுப்பினர் அங்கீகரிக்கப்பட்ட மொழி பெயர்ப்பு :
Sinhala translation of speech by Member for Gampaha :

1. பக்கம் 3-ல் தரப்பட்டிருப்பது பற்றி உறுப்பினர் கேள்வி கேட்டார். அவரின் கவனத்தை ஈர்க்க உறுப்பினர் அவரை அறிவிக்கிறார்.

2. 1956 டி மார்ச் மாதம் 1-ம் தேதி முதல் 1956 டி மார்ச் மாதம் 31-ம் தேதி வரை மலிசியா மன்றத்தின் மூலம் இடம்பிடிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. 1956 டி மார்ச் மாதம் 1-ம் தேதி முதல் 1956 டி மார்ச் மாதம் 31-ம் தேதி வரை மலிசியா மன்றத்தின் மூலம் இடம்பிடிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது.

3. 1956 டி மார்ச் மாதம் 1-ம் தேதி முதல் 1956 டி மார்ச் மாதம் 31-ம் தேதி வரை மலிசியா மன்றத்தின் மூலம் இடம்பிடிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. 1956 டி மார்ச் மாதம் 1-ம் தேதி முதல் 1956 டி மார்ச் மாதம் 31-ம் தேதி வரை மலிசியா மன்றத்தின் மூலம் இடம்பிடிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது.

4. 1956 டி மார்ச் மாதம் 1-ம் தேதி முதல் 1956 டி மார்ச் மாதம் 31-ம் தேதி வரை மலிசியா மன்றத்தின் மூலம் இடம்பிடிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. 1956 டி மார்ச் மாதம் 1-ம் தேதி முதல் 1956 டி மார்ச் மாதம் 31-ம் தேதி வரை மலிசியா மன்றத்தின் மூலம் இடம்பிடிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது.

5. 1956 டி மார்ச் மாதம் 1-ம் தேதி முதல் 1956 டி மார்ச் மாதம் 31-ம் தேதி வரை மலிசியா மன்றத்தின் மூலம் இடம்பிடிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. 1956 டி மார்ச் மாதம் 1-ம் தேதி முதல் 1956 டி மார்ச் மாதம் 31-ம் தேதி வரை மலிசியா மன்றத்தின் மூலம் இடம்பிடிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது.

6. 1956 டி மார்ச் மாதம் 1-ம் தேதி முதல் 1956 டி மார்ச் மாதம் 31-ம் தேதி வரை மலிசியா மன்றத்தின் மூலம் இடம்பிடிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. 1956 டி மார்ச் மாதம் 1-ம் தேதி முதல் 1956 டி மார்ச் மாதம் 31-ம் தேதி வரை மலிசியா மன்றத்தின் மூலம் இடம்பிடிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது.

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- (i) உறுப்பினர் கேள்வி கேட்டார். அவரின் கவனத்தை ஈர்க்க உறுப்பினர் அவரை அறிவிக்கிறார்.
- (ii) உறுப்பினர் கேள்வி கேட்டார். அவரின் கவனத்தை ஈர்க்க உறுப்பினர் அவரை அறிவிக்கிறார்.

உறுப்பினர் கேள்வி கேட்டார். அவரின் கவனத்தை ஈர்க்க உறுப்பினர் அவரை அறிவிக்கிறார்.

1955-56 மலிசியா மன்றத்தின் மூலம் இடம்பிடிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. 1955-56 மலிசியா மன்றத்தின் மூலம் இடம்பிடிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது.

மாண்புமிகு பேரவை உறுப்பினர்

1955-56 மலிசியா மன்றத்தின் மூலம் இடம்பிடிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. 1955-56 மலிசியா மன்றத்தின் மூலம் இடம்பிடிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது.

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சென்ற அரசாங்கம் அவசரகாலச் சட்டத்தைப் பல ஆண்டுகளாக நீடித்து அவசரகாலச் சட்டத்தின் உதவியோடு ஆண்டது மட்டுமன்றி அவசர காலச் சட்டத்தைத் தவறான வழியிலே, எதிரிகளை அடக்கத் துஷ்பிரயோகம் செய்தது என்று இந்த அரசாங்கம் முன்னைய அரசாங்கத்தின் மீது பழி சுமத்தியது. ஆனால், இப்பொழுது இந்த அரசாங்கம் என்ன செய்கிறது? இப்பொழுது இந்த அரசாங்கத்துக்கு அவசரகாலச் சட்டத்தை அடிக்கடி கொண்டுவந்து நாட்டை ஆள வேண்டிய ஒரு துர்ப்பாக்கியமான நிலை ஏற்பட்டிருக்கிறது என்பதை எவரும் மறுக்க முடியாது.

சென்ற அரசாங்கத்துக்கும் எங்களுக்கும் எவ்வித தொடர்பும் இல்லை. அதை நாங்கள் மும்முரமாக எதிர்த்தோம். சென்ற அரசாங்க காலத்திலேதான் தமிழாராய்ச்சி மகாநாட்டிலே ஒன்பது பேர் பொலிசாருடைய அட்டூழியத்தினாலே கொலை செய்யப்பட்டார்கள். எனவே, சென்ற அரசாங்கத்தோடு நாங்கள் எந்த விதமான உறவும் வைத்திருக்கவில்லை. எனினும் ஓர் உண்மையை நான் இங்கே கூற வேண்டும். சென்ற அரசாங்க காலத்திலே இப்படியான வகுப்புக்கலவரங்கள் நிகழவில்லை. இப்படியான வகுப்புக் கலவரங்கள் சென்ற அரசாங்கத்தின் காலத்திலே இரண்டாண்டுக்கு ஒரு முறையோ இடையிடையிலோ நிகழவில்லை. காவற்படையினர், சட்டத்தையும் நீதியையும் நிலைநாட்ட வேண்டிய காவற்படையினர் இப்பொழுது இலங்கா தகனத்தில் ஈடுபடுகின்றார்கள். யாழ்ப்பாண தூல் நிலையத்துக்கு நிகழ்ந்தது போன்று, கந்தர்மடத்தில் நிகழ்ந்தது போன்று, வவுனியாவில் நிகழ்ந்தது போன்று எரிபூட்டுகின்ற நிகழ்ச்சிகள் சென்ற அரசாங்க காலத்திலே தமிழ்ப் பகுதிகளிலே நிகழவில்லை. இத்தகைய நிகழ்ச்சி ஒன்று கூட நிகழவில்லை சென்ற அரசாங்கத்தின் காலத்திலே என்பதை இந்தச் சந்தர்ப்பத்திலே சொல்ல நான் கடமைப்பட்டவனாக இருக்கின்றேன். இப்பொழுது இருக்கிற அரசாங்கம் இதைப்பற்றிச் சிந்திக்க வேண்டும் என்பதற்காகவே நான் இதனைச் சொல்கிறேன்.

நான் செல்லச் செல்ல, காலம் செல்லச் செல்ல இந்த மோதல்கள் பெருகிக் கொண்டே போகின்றன. வகுப்பு வாதம் மேலும் மேலும் வளர்ந்து கொண்டிருக்கின்றது. இப்பொழுது வகுப்பு வாதம் அரசியல்வாதிகளிடம் மட்டுமல்லாமல், அரசியல் கட்சிகளிடம் மட்டுமல்லாமல் காவற்படையினரிடமும் புகுந்து விட்டது என்பதை இப்பொழுது இங்கே கூறி வைக்க விரும்புகிறேன். காவற்படையினர் நடுநடுக்கிடையோடு கடமையாற்றாமல் தாங்கள் ஒரு பெரும்பான்மை இனத்தைச் சேர்ந்தவர்கள் என்ற வேறுபாட்டைக் காட்டி வகுக்கிறார்கள். எந்தப் பகுதியில் அவர்கள் பணிபுரிகிறார்களோ அந்தப் பகுதி மக்களுடைய மொழியே தெரியாமல், அந்தப் பகுதி மக்களுடன் தொடர்பு கொள்ளவே தெரியாமல் காவற்படையினர் நடக்கின்றபடியால்தான் இத்தகைய அனர்த்தங்கள் அடிக்கடி ஏற்படுகின்றன என்பதை நான் இங்கு சொல்லி வைக்க விரும்புகிறேன். முன்னர் தொல்லை வந்தால் காவற்படையினர் உதவி செய்வார்கள் என்று தமிழ் மக்கள் நம்பினார்கள். இப்பொழுது இந்த அரசாங்கத்தின் காலத்திலே, காவற்படையினரே மக்களை அழிக்கிறவர்களாக இருக்கிறார்கள்; எரிக்கிறவர்களாக ஆகிறார்கள். அது மட்டுமல்ல, அந்தக் காவற்படையினருக்கு எந்த மொழியும் தெரியாது. சிங்களம் ஒன்றைத் தவிர. தமிழர்களுடைய மொழியான தமிழும் தெரியாது, ஆங்கிலமும் தெரியாது. சிங்களம் மட்டும் தான் தெரியும். ஒருமுறை என்னையே வழியிலே மறித்தார்கள். எனக்குப் போதிய சிங்களம் தெரியாது. அவர்களுக்குத் தமிழும் தெரியாது, ஆங்கிலமும்

தெரியாது. எனக்கே இந்த நிலை என்றால் சாதாரணத் தமிழ் மக்களின் நிலை எவ்வாறிருக்கும்? காவற்படையினர் தமிழ் மக்களை எந்த முறையிலே நடத்துகிறார்கள் என்று சிந்தித்துப் பாருங்கள். உண்மையிலே அவர்கள் மக்களை விசாரித்தாற்கூட மக்கள் எதுவும் சொல்ல முடியாத நிலையிலே இருக்கிறார்கள், மொழி தெரியாத காரணத்தினால். ஆகவே, வகுப்புவாதம் காவற்படையிலே புகுந்த பின் அரசாங்கம் கொடுக்கின்ற கட்டளைகளையே மீறி தாங்கள் விரும்பியபடி நடப்பதைத் தடுக்க முடியாத ஒரு சூழ்நிலையிலேதான் இந்த நாட்டிலே இந்தக் கைய தொல்லைகள் ஏற்படுகின்றன.

எனக்கு முன் பேசிய எனது கட்சியைச் சேர்ந்த பாராளுமன்ற உறுப்பினர்கள் காவற்படையினர் செய்கிற தொல்லைகளைப் பற்றி எடுத்துக் கூறினார்கள். நான் அவற்றை திருப்பிச் சொல்லவில்லை. பத்திரிகைகளில் வெளிவந்த செய்திகள் சிலவற்றை மாத்திரம் இங்கே குறிப்பிட விரும்புகிறேன்.

“வன்னியில் படையினரைக் கண்டதும் ஓடி ஒதுங்கும் நிலை.”

10.6.83 ஆம் தேதிய வீரகேசரி இப்படி எழுதுகிறது.

“வவுனியா நகரில் கடந்த முதலாந் திகதி இடம்பெற்ற அசம்பாவிதங்களை அடுத்து நடைபெற்ற சீருடையினரின் தாக்குதல்களால் வன்னிப் பிரதேச மக்கள் கொண்டெள்ள பிதியும் பதற்றமும் இன்றும் அவர்களை விட்டு நீங்கவில்லை.”

10.6.83 வீரகேசரி இப்படி எழுதுகிறது. அதே வீரகேசரியில், அதே தேதியில் இன்னுமொரு செய்தி.

“வடக்கில் இராணுவ கெடுபிடி ஆரம்பம்! போக்குவரத்து விதிகளை மீறுவோர் மீது தாக்கு”

இப்படி நாங்கள் சொல்லவில்லை, வீரகேசரி சொல்கிறது. வீரகேசரி எங்களை ஆதரிக்கிற பத்திரிகை அல்ல. பெரும்பாலும் நடுவுநிலைமையோடு அரசாங்கத்தோடு சேர்ந்து நடக்கிற பத்திரிகை அது. 10.6.83 ஆம் தேதி அது சொல்கிறது:

“வடக்கில் இராணுவ கெடுபிடி ஆரம்பம்! போக்குவரத்து விதிகளை மீறுவோர் மீது தாக்கு”.

வடக்கில் போக்குவரத்து விதிகளை மீறும் வாகனச் சாரதிகள் சைக்கிள் ஓட்டிகளுக்கு எதிராக இராணுவத்தினர் தன்னிச்சையான முறையில் நடவடிக்கை எடுத்து வருகின்றனர்.

வழமையாக பொலிசாரே இக் கடைமைகளைக் கவனித்து வருவது வழக்கம். இராணுவத்தினர் இப்பொழுது தன்னிச்சையான முறையில் பொலிசாரின் அதிகாரங்களை எடுத்து மக்களைத் துன்புறுத்தத் தொடங்கியிருப்பது இங்கு பலருக்கும் கிணைய ஏற்படுத்தியுள்ளது.”

“தமிழ் மக்கள் பிதியுடன் காலத்தைக் கழிக்கின்றனர்”— ஈழ நாடு, 4.6.83.

“மட்டக்களப்பு வேபர் மைதானத்தில் புதிய ஆயிரின் வரவேற்பின்போது இரு இளைஞர்மீது இராணுவ வீரர் தாக்குதல்.”— 9.6.83 வீரகேசரிச் செய்தி.

“யாழ்ப்பெணியைப் பயணிகள் மீது தாக்குதல், சிவில் உடையில் வந்தோர்.”—வீரகேசரி 4.6.83.

இப்படியே பத்திரிகைச் செய்திகள் எல்லாவற்றையும் பார்க்கின்றபொழுது இராணுவத்தினர் செய்யும் செயல்களால் தமிழ் மக்கள் பிதியடைந்து விதிகளிலே நடக்க முடியாமல் அல்லலுறுகிறார்கள்? என்பது புலனாகின்றது.

இது தவிர, 8.6.83 வீரகேசரி, “வேலியே மேய்வதா?” என்று ஒரு தலையங்கம் எழுதியிருக்கிறது. அந்தத் தலையங்கம் மிகச் சிறப்பாக, எனக்கு முன் பேசிய வவுனியா உறுப்பினர் கூறியவற்றையெல்லாம் ஓரளவுக்கு அடக்கி அதற்கு விளக்கம் கொடுக்கின்ற முறையிலே இருப்பதால், அதில் ஒரு பகுதியை மட்டும் நான் இங்கே வாசிக்க விரும்புகிறேன்.

“வேலியே மேய்வதா?”

பாதுகாப்புப் படையைச் சேர்ந்த சில வீரர்கள் சட்டம், அமைதி, ஒழுங்கைப் பாதுகாப்பதற்கு நேர்மாறான முறையில் நாமே வன்செயல்களில் ஈடுபட்டு வருவதாகக் கூறப்படும் சம்பவங்கள் பற்றி வெளியாகிக் கொண்டிருக்கும் தகவல்கள் எனக்கு மிகுந்த கவலையையும் விசனத்தையும் அளிக்கின்றன. சீருடை அணியும் இப்படை வீரர்கள் சிவில் உடையில் ஆங்காங்கு தமிழ் மக்களை அடித்துத் துன்புறுத்தியும் அவர்களின் உடைமைகளை அபகரித்தும் அவற்றுக்குச் சேதம் விளைவித்தும் தொடர்ந்து அட்டகாசம் புரிந்து வருகிறார்களாம்.”

இது எங்களுடைய கூற்றல்ல. 8.6.83 வீரகேசரி என்ற நாளேடு எழுதிய தலையங்கம் இது.

பின்னர், 17.6.83 ஆம் தேதிய வீரகேசரிப் பத்திரிகையிலே,

“தொடர்ந்து தொல்லையா?”

வடக்கு, கிழக்குப் பிரதேசங்களில் இராணுவ வீரர்கள் அப்பாவி மக்கள் மீது அடிக்கடி நடத்திவரும் தாக்குதல்களைப்பற்றி வெளியாகும் செய்திகள் எமக்கு மிகுந்த கவலையைளிக்கின்றன. இராணுவ வீரர்களின் தொல்லை தொடர்ந்து நீடிப்பதால் மேற்படி பிரதேசங்களில் வாழும் மக்களின் நிம்மதி குலைக்கப்படுகின்றது. சட்டத்தையும் அமைதி, ஒழுங்கையும் நிலைநாட்டி, பொதுமக்களுக்குப் பாதுகாப்பினை அளிக்கவேண்டியவர்கள் இராணுவத்தினர். இதற்கு நேர்மாறான வகையில் இராணுவ வீரர்கள் தமிழ்ப் பிரதேசங்களில் வரம்பு மீறிய முறையில் மக்களை அடித்துத் துன்புறுத்தி தொல்லைகொடுத்துவருவது மிகுந்த விசனத்துக்குரியதாகும்.”

எனக் குறிப்பிடப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. இவ்வாறாகப் பத்திரிகைகளிலே, இராணுவத்தினர் அங்கெயுள்ள மக்களை எல்லாவிதத் தாக்குவதைப்பற்றிப் பல செய்திகள் வெளியிடப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன. நாங்கள் மட்டும் கற்பனை செய்தோ ஆக்கியோ இவற்றைக் கூறவில்லை; இதை நீங்கள் சிந்திக்க வேண்டும்.

இப்பொழுது ஆளும் கட்சி அமைச்சர்களிடத்திலே ஓர் அடிப்படைச் சிந்தனையோ ஞானோதயமோ தோன்றியிருக்கின்றது. சில அமைச்சர்கள், அரசியல் தீர்வைக் காண்பதன் மூலம் தமிழர்களுடைய பிரச்சினையைத் தீர்த்துவைத்தால் தான் இந்தப் பயங்கரவாதத் தொல்லைகளை நீக்கலாம் என்று இப்பொழுது வெளிப்படையாகப் பத்திரிகைகளில் தெரிவித்திருக்கிறார்கள். பயங்கரவாதத்தை முழுமையாக ஒழித்தால் தான் இங்கே அமைதியை உண்டாக்கலாம் என்றும் சிலர் சொல்லுகிறார்கள். எதிர்க்கட்சிகளைச் சேர்ந்த பலர் அனைத்து அரசியல் கட்சிகளையும் கூட்டி தமிழர்களின் பிரச்சினைக்கு ஒரு தீர்வுகாணவேண்டும் என்றும் கருத்து வெளியிட்டிருக்கிறார்கள். கடற்றொழில் அமைச்சர் அண்மையிலே ஒரு கருத்தை வெளியிட்டிருந்தார். அவர், Terrorists என்ற பயங்கரவாதிகளிடம் “உங்களுடைய குறைகள் என்ன”, What are your grievances? என்று ஒரு கேள்வி கேட்ட செய்தியொன்றும் Daily News என்ற ஆங்கிலப் பத்திரிகையிலே வெளிவந்தது. இப்பொழுது நீங்கள் பயங்கரவாதிகளோடும் தொடர்பு கொள்ள முயற்சிக்கின்றீர்களா என்று நான் கேட்கின்றேன். இது வரவேற்கத்தக்கது.

பயங்கரவாதிகள் என்று சொல்லப்படுகின்ற விடுதலைப் போராளிகளிடத்தில் அவர்களுக்குள்ள குறைகள் என்னவென்று நீங்கள் பகிரங்கமாகக் கேட்டிருக்கிறீர்கள். ஆனால் அவர்களுடைய குறைகள் என்னவென்று, அவர்களுடைய நோக்கம் என்னவென்று இதுவரை உங்களுக்குத் தெரியாதா என்றுதான் நான் கேட்கின்றேன். பூனை ஒன்று மேசையின் மேல் நிழ்கின்றது. அது சிறிப் பாய்ந்துகொண்டு நிழ்கின்றது.

[மா. சா. ஓர்ந்திதை 1965]

அந்தப் பூனையை, அது இல்லாத ஓர் இருட்டறைக்குள் போய்த் தேடுவது போலத்தான் இருக்கிறது உங்கள் செய்கை. “உங்களுடைய குறைகள் என்ன?” வென்று இப் பொழுது கேட்கிறீர்கள். இதற்கு மறுமொழி சொல்லுவது போல், தமிழ் ஈழ விடுதலை இராணுவத்தினர் அண்மையில் யாழ்ப்பாணத்திலே பரப்பிய ஒரு துண்டுப் பிரசுரத்திலே, “தமிழீழம்தான் எங்களுடைய கோரிக்கை; அத் தமிழீழக் கோரிக்கையை நிறைவேற்றுவதாக இருந்தால் நாங்கள் அரசாங்கத்துடன் பேச்சுவார்த்தைகள் நடத்த ஆயத்தமாக இருக்கிறோம். அத் தமிழீழத்திலே எந்த எந்தப் பகுதிகள் அடங்க வேண்டுமென்பதையும் நாங்கள் பேச்சுவார்த்தைகள் மூலம் தீர்க்க ஆயத்தம்” என்று குறிப்பிட்டிருக்கின்றனர். தமிழீழ இராணுவமென்ற அப்படையினர் இப்பிரசுரத்தை நூற்றுக் கணக்கில் அச்சிட்டுப் பரப்பியிருக்கிறார்கள். ஆகவே, அந்த விடுதலை போராளிகளின் நோக்கம்—அவர்களின் குறைகள்—என்னவென்று கேட்கவேண்டிய தேவையில்லை. அவர்களுடைய குறைகள் எல்லாவற்றையும் 1956 ஆம் ஆண்டு தொடக்கம் இன்று வரைக்கும் நாங்கள் இச்சபையிலே அடிக் கடுக்காகக் கூறிவந்திருக்கின்றோம். சிறப்பாகத் தமிழீழ மக்களுடைய குறைகளை இங்கு எடுத்துரைத்திருக்கின்றோம். இவற்றையெல்லாம் திரும்பத் திரும்பச் சொல்லவேண்டிய அவசியம் இல்லை.

கடந்த மார்ச் மாதம் 14 ஆம் தேதி நான் இச்சபையில் பேசுகின்றபொழுது, தமிழீழத்திலேயுள்ள பயங்கரவாதிகள் என்கின்ற அவ்விடுதலைப் போராளிகளின் நோக்கமும் தமிழர் விடுதலைக் கூட்டணியின் நோக்கமும் தமிழ் மக்களின் நோக்கமும், தங்களுடைய ஆட்சியை அவர்கள் மீளப் பெறவேண்டும்—தமிழீழத்தை மீளப் பெறவேண்டுமென்பதுதான் என எடுத்துக்கூறினேன், இந்நிலைக்கு நாம் எப்படி வந்தோம் என்பதை நீங்கள் சிந்தித்து ஆராயவேண்டும். அப்படி நீங்கள் ஆராய்வதாகப் பத்திரிகைச் செய்திகள் பல எடுத்துக் கூறுகின்றன.

“தமிழீழக் கோரிக்கை நோற்றக் காரணம் என்ன? கண்டறிந்து பரிசீலனை செய்து அரசாங்கம் மந்திராலோசனை”

என்று 6.6.83 விரகேசரியிலே ஒரு செய்தி வந்திருக்கின்றது. அடுத்ததாக,

“தமிழர் பிரச்சினையைத் தீர்க்கத் திட்டம் தயாராகிறது; ஜனநாயக நிரும்பியதும் இறுதி ஆலோசனை”

என 26.6.83 ஈழநாடு பத்திரிகையிலே ஒரு செய்தி வந்திருக்கின்றது. இப்பொழுது இந்த அரசாங்கம் தமிழர் பிரச்சினையைத் தீர்க்கச் சில திட்டங்களை வகுக்கிறது என்று கூடப் பத்திரிகைகள் சொல்லுகின்றன. அவை உண்மையைச் சொல்லுகின்றனவா அல்லது அவற்றின் ஊகமா என்பதை நீங்கள் தான் எங்களுக்கு எடுத்துக் கூறவேண்டும்.

தீவிரவாதிகள் தங்கள் குறைகள் என்ன என்று அவர்களுடைய துண்டுப் பிரசுரங்களிலே சிறப்பாக வெளியிட்டுள்ளார்கள். தமிழீழ விடுதலைப் புலிகள் ஒரு துண்டுப் பிரசுரத்தை வெளியிட்டிருக்கின்றார்கள். அதிலே, தமிழ் மக்கள் உள்ளூராட்சி மன்றத் தேர்தல்களைப் பகிஷ்கரிக்க வேண்டும் என்று கேட்டிருக்கின்றார்கள். தமிழர் விடுதலைக் கூட்டணி தேர்தலை மட்டும் தான் நம்பிக்கொண்டிருக்கின்றது; இந்த நாட்டிலே தேர்தல் வேண்டியதில்லை, தமிழீழம் தான் வேண்டும். அதை ஒரு தேர்தல் பிரச்சனையாக மட்டும் தமிழர் விடுதலைக் கூட்டணி பயன்படுத்துகிறது, எனவே தேர்தல் வேண்டாமென்று அந்தத் தேர்தலை நடக்காமல் செய்தார்கள் அவர்கள், அந்தத் துண்டு

இப் பிரசுரத்திலே கூட தமிழீழம்தான் தங்களுடைய கோரிக்கை என்று அவர்கள் சொல்லியிருக்கிறார்கள். தங்களுடைய உயிரையே நியாகம் செய்து போராடுகின்ற தீவிரவாத இளைஞர்களுடைய நோக்கமும் கொள்கையும் தமிழீழத்தை நிறுவவேண்டுமென்பதுதான் என்பதை நான் இங்கே கூறி வைக்க விரும்புகிறேன். எனவே, “அவர்களுடைய குறைகள் என்ன? அவர்களுடைய குறைகள் என்ன?” என்று கூறிக் கொண்டிருப்பதாலே பயன் இல்லை. தமிழ் மக்களுடைய குறையும் அவைதாம். அதைத் தீர்க்க இந்த அரசாங்கம் நடவடிக்கை எடுக்க வேண்டும். அதைத் தீர்க்க நடவடிக்கை எடுக்காவிட்டால் நிலைமை இன்னும் மோசமாகிக்கொண்டே வரும். ஏனென்றால் இந்த நாட்டிலே வளர்ந்து வருகின்ற பல வகையான மோதல்களின் விளைவிலே இப்பொழுது ஆபுதப் படையினர்கூட வகுப்பு வாதிகளாக மாறிவிட்டார்கள். மேலிட்டிஜன்களினவர்கள் கொடுக்கின்ற, அமைச்சர்கள் கொடுக்கின்ற கட்டணிகளையும் அவர்கள் நிறைவேற்றாமல் அதற்கு மாறாக நடக்கின்ற ஒரு சூழ்நிலை இப்போது உருவாகிக் கொண்டு வருகின்றது. இதனைத் தவிர்க்க வேண்டுமானால், இந்நாட்டிலுள்ள சிங்கள மக்களும் தமிழ் மக்களும் ஒன்றாக இணைந்து சகோதரர்கள் போல் எவ்வித அரசியற் காழ்ப்பு மின்றி வாழ வேண்டுமானால் நாம் நமக்குள்ளேயே பிரிந்து அன்னியோன்யமாக வாழுகின்ற ஒரு சூழ்நிலை உள்ளதே தவிர, வேறெந்த நிலையிலும் தீவிரவாத தமிழ் இளைஞர்களோ, தமிழ் மக்களோ இல்லையென்பதை மீண்டும் எடுத்துக் கூற வேண்டியது எங்களுடைய கடமை.

1956 ஆம் ஆண்டிலிருந்து இன்று வரையும் மாறி மாறிப் பதவிக்கு வந்த சிங்களக்கட்சி அரசாங்கங்களிற் சில, “தமிழர் பிரச்சினையைத் தீர்த்துவிட்டோம்” என்று கூறின. தீர்க்கப் போகின்றோம் என்று சில கூறின. ஆனால், எதுவும் நடைபெறவில்லை. இதனையடுத்து எடுத்த நடவடிக்கைகளெல்லாம் தமிழ் மக்கள் மனத்தில் மேலும் காழ்ப்பை ஏற்படுத்தி, “எங்களுக்கு விமோசனம்—எங்களுடைய குறிக்கோள்—எங்களுடைய நோக்கம் தமிழ் ஈழம்தான்” என்பதை வலியுறுத்தி வந்திருக்கின்றன என்பதைச் சொல்ல விரும்புகின்றேன்.

1972 ஆம் ஆண்டில் அன்றைய பாராளுமன்றத்தில், “தமிழ் இளைஞர்களின் உணர்ச்சியை மதிக்காவிட்டால் அவர்களைக் கட்டுப்படுத்த முடியாத நிலை உண்டாகும்” என்று நான் கூறினேன். இன்று தமிழ் இளைஞர்களின் உணர்ச்சியைக் கட்டுப்படுத்த முடியவில்லை, விடுதலைப் புலிகளாக—போராளிகளாக—இருப்பவர்கள் துறு இருதுறு பேர்தாம் என்று நீங்கள் எண்ணக்கூடாது. இன்று பாடசாலைகளிற் படிக்கின்ற அத்தனை மாணவர்களும் விடுதலைப் போராளிகளாகத்தான் மாறுகிறார்கள். அத்தனை மாணவர்களும் எங்களை எதிர்க்கின்றார்கள். “நீங்கள் தமிழ் ஈழம் என்று சொல்லிவிட்டு அங்கு போய்ப் பேசாமல் இருக்கின்றீர்களே? நீங்கள் அதனை விட்டு வாருங்கள்” என்று சொல்லும் அளவுக்கு பள்ளிக்கூடங்களிற் பயிலும் மாணவர்கள் கூட இருக்கிறார்கள். ஒரு வித்தியாசம் என்னவென்றால், ஏறக்குறைய நாற்பது, நாற்பத்தைந்து வயதுக்கு மேற்பட்ட தமிழர்கள்—சிங்கள ஆட்சி நிறுவப்படுதற்கு முன், அதாவது இந்நாடு சுதந்திரம் பெற்றதாகச் சொல்லப் படுவதற்கு முன், ஆங்கில ஆட்சியில் அடிமையாக இருந்தவர்கள்—அடிமைத் தனத்தை ஏற்றுக்கொண்டிருக்கலாம். மற்றவர்களோடு ஒப்பிட்டுப் பார்க்கும் தன்மை அவர்களுக்கில்லாமலிருக்கலாம். ஆனால், இப்பொழுது சமுதாயத்தில் வளர்ந்து வருகின்ற மாணவர்கள், இளைஞர்கள், பல்கலைக்கழக மாணவர்

கள் தங்களுடைய நிலைமையைச் சிங்கள மக்களோடு ஒப்பிட்டுப் பார்க்கிறார்கள். ஏன் அவர்கள் மட்டும் சுதந்திரமாக வாழ வேண்டும்? ஏன் அவர்களுடைய மொழி மட்டும் அரசியல் மொழியாக இருக்க வேண்டும்? ஏன் நாங்களும் சுதந்திரமாக வாழக் கூடாது? ஏன் நாங்களும் எங்களுடைய மொழியை அரசியல் மொழியாக ஆக்கக் கூடாது? எத்தனையோ சண்டைக்காய் நாடுகளெல்லாம்—எத்தனையோ சின்னஞ்சிறிய நாடுகளெல்லாம்—தனி நாடாக இருக்க முடியுமென்றால், ஏன் தங்களுக்குத் தனிநாடு இருக்க முடியாது? இவ்வாறெல்லாம் அவர்கள் எண்ணுகிறார்கள். மேன் தீவு எனப்படும் ஒரு சிறிய நாடு—என்னுடைய தொகுதியை விடக் குறைவான மக்கள் எண்ணிக்கையைக் கொண்ட நாடு—ஒரு தனி நாடாக இருக்கலாமென்றால், இரண்டு இலட்சம் மக்களைக் கொண்ட பகாமா ஒரு தனி நாடாக இருக்கலாமென்றால் இங்குள்ள தமிழ் மக்களின் எண்ணிக்கையைவிடக் குறைந்த நாற்பது நாற்பத்தைந்து நாடுகள் உலகில் தனி நாடுகளாக விளங்க முடியுமென்றால் ஏன் நாங்கள் மட்டும் மீண்டும் மீண்டும் மனு அனுப்புகின்றவர்களாக, கெஞ்சுகின்றவர்களாக, தந்தி அடிப்பவர்களாக இருக்க வேண்டும் என்று பள்ளிக்கூட மாணவர்கள் எண்ணுகின்றார்கள்; இளைஞர்கள் எண்ணுகின்றார்கள். நாங்களே எம்மை ஆளக் கூடாதா என்ற எண்ணம் ஒவ்வொரு மாணவன் உள்ளத்திலும் உருவாகி வருகின்றதென்பதை நீங்கள் ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளாதீர்கள் வேண்டும். இது ஓர் உண்மைநிலை, இதை மறைக்க வேண்டாம். இந்த உண்மை நிலையை ஏற்றுக்கொண்டு, நாம் அமைதியாகவும் சமாதானமாகவும் வாழவேண்டுமானால் என்ன செய்ய வேண்டுமென்பதை நீங்கள் சிந்திக்கக் கடமைப்பட்டிருக்கிறீர்கள்.

ஒன்றை மட்டும் நான் சொல்கிறேன். முன்னர் 1972 ஆம் ஆண்டில் நான் சொன்னேன், இளைஞர்களை அடக்க முடியாதென்று, இன்று அவர்களை அடக்க முடியாத நிலை வந்துவிட்டது. 1972 ஆம் ஆண்டிலும் நாம் சொன்னோம். அதற்கடுத்தும் சொன்னோம், எங்களுக்கு நீங்கள் சம்ஷ்டியை—இணைப்பாட்சியைத் தர மறுத்தால் பிரிவினைதான் கேட்க வேண்டி வரும் என்று. இன்று அது நடக்கின்றது. இளைஞர்கள் எங்கள் கட்டுக்கு மீறுவார்கள் என்று அன்று சொன்னோம். இன்று அது நடக்கின்றது. இன்று நாம் சொல்கிறோம், இளைஞர்களுள் ஒரு தற்கொலைப் படையைத் தோற்றுவிக்கும் நிலை உருவாகிக் கொண்டிருக்கின்றது. இதனைத் தடுத்து நிறுத்த வேண்டுமானால், எங்களுக்குள்ளே—சிங்கள, தமிழ் மக்களுக்குப் பொறுப்பாக இருக்கும் அரசியல் கட்சிகளுக்குள்ளே—ஓர் உடன்பாடு வர வேண்டும். தமிழ் மக்களின் கோரிக்கையை நிறைவேற்ற நீங்கள் முன்வர வேண்டும். தமிழ் மக்களுடைய கோரிக்கை இன்று நேற்று வந்ததல்ல. தமிழர் விடுதலைக் கூட்டணி ஒரு தனி நாட்டைக் கேட்பதற்கு முன்னரேயே, சிங்களம் மட்டும் சட்டம் வாய் போகின்றதென்பதை அறிந்து "United Front of the Tamil Speaking People" எனும் ஓர் இயக்கத்தை அமைத்து, ஒரு தனி நாட்டையே அல்லது ஓர் இணைப்பாட்சியையே பெற வேண்டுமென்று 1956 ஆம் ஆண்டிலிருந்து பாராளுமன்ற உறுப்பினர்களாகிய திருவாளர்கள் ஆர். பி. கதிர்காமர், வி. குமாரசுவாமி, ஏ. எம். மிர்சா, எம். சி. எச். முறும்பது அலி, என். நடேசன், ஜி. ஜி. பொன்னம்பலம், என். ஆர். இராஜவரோதயம், என். எம். இராசமாணிக்கம், சி. சுந்தரலிங்கம், ஏ. எல். தம்பியையா, சி. வன்னியசிங்கம் ஆகியோர் கையெழுத்து வைத்து ஒரு கூட்டத்தைக் கூட்டியிருப்பதை நான் பழைய பத்திரிகைகளைப் பார்த்தபோழுது கண்டேன். இங்கே பங்குக்கு அது தெரிந்திராது. அதை நான்

வாசிக்கின்றேன். சிங்களம் மட்டும் சட்டம் வந்தது என்ற வுடன் அன்று இருந்த தமிழ்த் தலைவர்கள் என்ன நினைத்தார்கள் அவர்களுடைய கருத்து எப்படி இருந்தது என்பதை இது காட்டுகிறது. இதுதான் அவர்கள் விடுத்த அழைப்பு.

"UNITED FRONT OF THE TAMIL SPEAKING PEOPLE"

In view of the very grave situation confronting the entire Tamil speaking people of Ceylon, we feel that, for their survival, they must close their ranks immediately and form a United Front in order :-

1. to maintain the identity, individuality and freedom of the Tamil speaking people ;
2. to preserve their language and culture ; and
3. to keep inviolate their traditional homelands.

For these objectives we are confident that there will be universal support ; for their practical achievement and implementation we, after giving the most anxious consideration to the subject, feel that the Tamil speaking people must carry on a struggle for the creation of a Tamil State which will offer to federate with the Sinhalese State on terms of complete equality, if acceptable to both nations, or elect to remain independent.

As a first step towards the achievement of these objectives we are convening conferences of representative Tamil speaking people in the main centres of the Tamil speaking population of Ceylon.

We are inviting you to the first of these conferences to be held in Colombo at the saiva Mangaiyar Kalagam School Hall, 34th Lane, Wellawatte, commencing at 9 a.m. on Sunday, the 22nd January, 1956.

Mr. C. Nagalingam Q.C. will preside.

We shall be grateful if you will make it convenient to be present at the conference, give us the benefit of your views and lend your active support in devising ways and means of achieving the objective.

- R. B. Kadamar, M.P.
V. Kumaraswamy, M.P.
A. M. Mirza, M.P.
M. E. M. Mohamed Ali, M.P.
S. Natesan, M.P.
G. G. Ponnambalam, M.P.
N. R. Rajavarothiam, M.P.
S. M. Rasamanickam, M.P.
C. Suntharalingam,
A. L. Thambiyah, M.P.
C. Vanniasingham, M.P.

Please bring this invitation with you.

19.1.56."

எனவே தமிழ்நாடு வேண்டும் என்று தமிழரசுக் கட்சி கேட்க முன்னர், தமிழர் விடுதலைக் கூட்டணி கேட்பதற்கு முன்னர் இந்த நாட்டிலே முஸ்லிம் பாராளுமன்ற உறுப்பினர்கள் உட்படத் தமிழ்ப் பாராளுமன்ற உறுப்பினர்கள் சிங்களம் மட்டும் சட்டத்தினுடைய வேகத்தை அறிந்து, அதனால் ஏற்படுகின்ற தொல்லைகளை அறிந்து, அவர்களே ஒரு தனிநாடு கேட்க வேண்டும் என்ற நிலைக்கு வந்து ஒரு கூட்டத்தைக் கூட்டி இருக்கிறார்கள். கலாநிதி கொல்வின் ஆர். டி. சில்வா பாராளுமன்றத்தில் ஒரு மொழி என்றால் இரண்டு நாடு. இரண்டு மொழிகள் என்றால் ஒரு நாடு என்று ஒரு சமயம் கூறினார். இதைச் சிந்திக்குக. சிங்களம் மட்டும் என்ற

හැටියට සිටින මහත්මයා කොකිලායි ප්‍රදේශයේ මාර් ව්‍යාපාරිකයින්ගේ නිවෙස් ඔක්කොම ගිනිබත් කලා. කර්මාන්ත ඇමතිතුමාත් සමඟ ගිනිත් එය බලන්න මටත් පුළුවන් වුණා. ඒ අවස්ථාවේ අපි එහි ගිනිත් ඒ අයට එම නිවෙස් හරිගස්සා ගන්න උදව් කලා. එතැන තිච්චාස හතළිහක්-පණහක් තිබුණා. ඒ තිච්චාස ඔක්කොම ගිනිබත් කලා. විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ නායකතුමා අද මේ සුළු සිද්ධීන් දෙකක් තුනක් අල්ලාගෙන කථා කලාට ත්‍රිකුණාමලය ප්‍රදේශයේ සිංහල ජනතාවට මේ උදව්‍ය නිසා වුණු අසාධාරණකම්, කරදර, හිරහැර මේ අයට අද අමතක වෙලා තිබෙනවා. ඒ වේදනාව තුළින් ත්‍රිකුණාමලය ප්‍රදේශයේ සිංහල ජනතාව අද ඒකරාශී වෙලා තිබෙනවා. නමුත්තාත්සේලාට වුවමනා කර තිබෙන්නේ එද 1956 දී යාපනය ප්‍රදේශයේ සිටි සිංහල ජනතාව එළවා ගන්නා වගේ ත්‍රිකුණාමලයේ සිටින අපේ සිංහල සහෝදරයන්වත් එළවා ගන්නද කියා මම මේ අවස්ථාවේදී අහනවා. නමුත්තාත්සේලා මොන විධියට කල්පනා කළත් ත්‍රිකුණාමලයේ සිටින ඒ සහෝදර සිංහල ජනතාව කවදවත් නමුත්තාත්සේලාට යටවෙලා ඉවත් වෙන්නක් නැහැයි කියා මම මේ අවස්ථාවේදී කියනවා. තෙල් සංස්ථාවේ නිමාවක් ත්‍රිකුණාමලයේ වසිනබේ තිබෙන නිසා තෙල් සංස්ථාවේ අධ්‍යක්ෂවරයෙක් වශයෙන් සිටියදී මම ත්‍රිකුණාමලය ප්‍රදේශයේ ජනතාව ආශ්‍රය කලා. 1977 දී නමුත්තාත්සේලා ඒ ප්‍රදේශයේ සිටියේ මොන තත්ත්වයකද කියා මම දන්නවා. අද සිංහල ජනතාව වර්ධනය වෙලා, එඩිතර වෙලා සිටින විට යාපනයේ වගේ කටයුතු කරන්න බැරි එක ගැන නමුත්තාත්සේලාට පොඩි අමාරුවක් වෙලා තිබෙනවා.

නමුත්තාත්සේලා අද හමුදා නිලධාරීන් ගැන කථා කරනවා. ඒ අය අද යාපනයේ ඉන්නේ කොහොමද කියා නමුත්තාත්සේලා කල්පනා කරන්නේ නැහැ. ඒ උදව්‍ය නාත්ත යනවා නම් හමුදාවේ ට්‍රැක් එකක් එක්ක විසිපහක් හිඟක් යන්න ඔහු. නතිසම කඩයකට ගිනිත් සබන් කැල්ලක් ගන්න අද ඒ උදව්‍යට පුළුවන්කමක් නැහැ. ඒ උදව්‍යට අද තනියම කඩයකට ගිනිත් බඩුවක් ගන්න බැහැ. වුවමනාවකට ඒ අයගේ ලමයෙකුට තනියම පාරේ යවන්න අද ඒ අයට පුළුවන්කමක් නැහැ. විසක්කේ නායකතුමා අද කථා කරන්නේ ත්‍රිකුණාමලයේත් ඒ තත්ත්වය ඇති කරන්නද කියා මම අහනවා. අපේ හමුදාව ගැන කථා කරනවා. හමුදාවේ අය කරන වැරදි ගැන කථා කරනවා. ඒ අය අද ඒ පළාතේ රාජකාරී කරන්නේ මොන තරම් අමාරුවකින්ද, මොන තරම් කරදර විදීමින්ද කියා අපි කල්පනා කර බලන්න ඔහු. එහෙම නම් හදිසි නීතිය පමණක් කොටෙයි. ඒ අයට රාජකාරී කරන්න තවත් මීට වැඩිය නීති අවශ්‍ය නම් ඒ හැම නීතියක්ම දමා ඒ හමුදා නිලධාරීන්ට ත්‍රස්තවාදයට විරුද්ධව කටයුතු කරන්නට අපි අවස්ථාව සලසා දෙන්න ඔහු.

ඒ වාගේම අද පේරාදෙණිය විශ්ව විද්‍යාලයේ දෙමළ සිසුන්ට ඉගෙන ගන්න බැරිය කියා කියනවා. යාපනය විශ්ව විද්‍යාලයේ ගිටපු සිංහල සිසුන්ට මොකද වුනේ කියා අද විපක්කයේ නායකතුමාට මතක නැහැ.

ජේ. එල් සිරිසේන මහතා (සමාජ සේවා නියෝජ්‍ය ඇමතිතුමා)
 (ශ්‍රී ලංකා සේවා සේවාව) (ශ්‍රී ලංකා සේවාව)
 (Mr. J. L. Sirisena - Deputy Minister of Social Services)

යාපනයේ විශ්ව විද්‍යාලයක් නැහැ - School of segregation.

ගාමිණී ලොකුගේ මහතා
 (ශ්‍රී ලංකා සේවාව) (ශ්‍රී ලංකා සේවාව)
 (Mr. Gamini Lokuge)

ඔව්! ඒකේ ගිවිය සිංහල සිසුන්ට ගහල පැන්නුවා. ඒ අයගෙන් එක ඔහුගේකවත් අද යාපනයේ නැහැ. එහෙම නම් අපි මේවා ගැන කල්පනා කර බලන්න ඔහු. අද විවිධයාව දිස්වුණකයේ කෙරෙන ඔක්කොම වැඩ ගැන විවිධයාවේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා (වි. සිවසිහම්පරම මහතා) දන්නවාය කීවා. එහෙම නම් හමුදා නිලධාරීන්ට වෙඩි තිබේ කවුද කියාත් එතුමා දන්නවා ඇති. ඒ හැම එකක්ම දන්නවා ඇති. උඩට එක්සත් විමුක්ති පෙරමුණේ මේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමන්ලා කථා කරන විට මට සිහි වුණේ හෙට්ටි විදියේ කෝවිල. ඔක්කොම වැරදි කරලා හෙට්ටි විදියේ කෝවිලට ගිනිත් පුපුවක් තියල පපට ආධාර කරන්න කියා කියනවා. ඒ වාගේම මේ මන්ත්‍රීතුමන්ලා තමන්ගේ කොට්ඨාශවලදී

ත්‍රස්තවාදීන්ට උදව් කරලා ත්‍රස්තවාදීන්ගේ ඔහු, එපානම් ඉෂට කරලා මේ ගරු සභාවට ඇවිදිත් "අගමැතිතුමනි, අපේ ජනතාව බේරා ගන්න උදව් කරන්න" කියා අගමැතිතුමාට කියනවා. මම, සියයට සියයක්ම සිංහල ජන්දයකයෝ ඉන්න කොට්ඨාශයකින් ආවේ. නමුත් විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ අයට මතක නැහැ. කොළඹ ප්‍රදේශයේ ජීවත්වන දහස් ගණනක් උඩට මහත්වරු මේ හදිසි නීතිය නිසා අද ආරක්ෂා වී සිටින බව. ඒ අය කිසි කරදරයක් නැතුව කොළඹ ප්‍රදේශයේ ජීවත් වෙනවා. ඒ අය කඩවලට යනවා, විත්‍රපටි බලන්න යනවා, වෙනත් ඔහු, එපානම්වලට යනවා. ඒ අයගේ ලමයින් ඉස්කෝලේ යනවා. කිසිම අපහසුවක්, කරදරයක් නැහැ. ත්‍රස්තවාදී විත්තිකරුවන් වෙනුවෙන් උපායවේස කතා කරන නීතිඥ මහත්වරු, ගෞරව ඇතිව ඒ අයගේ ඔහු, එපානම් සදහා නිදහසේ යනවා. ඒ අය තනියෙන් බාබර් සාප්පුවට ගිනිත් කොන්ඩේ කපා ගන්නවා. ලමයින් ඉස්කෝලයට ගිනිත් ඇරලනවා. හැන්දෑවට විත්‍රපටි ගාලාවට ගිනිත් විත්‍රපටි බලනවා. නමුත් ත්‍රස්තවාදය මෙල්ල කරන්න උතුරට ගිනිත් ඉන්න අපේ හමුදා නිලධාරියෙකුට ඒ ඉඩප්‍රස්ථාව නැහැ.

එහෙමනම් අපි කල්පනා කර බලන්න ඔහු තේද, කොපමණ අමාරුකම් මධ්‍යයේ ඒ අය රාජකාරීය කරනවාද කියා. එමනිසා එබඳු තත්ත්වයක් යටතේ රාජකාරීය කරන ඒ අයට, තමන්ගේ රාජකාරීය හරියාකාර ඉටු කරන්න අවශ්‍ය නීතිරීති අපි සකස් කර දෙන්න ඔහු. ඇත්තවශයෙන්ම ඒ අයට අවශ්‍ය පහසුකම් සලසා නොදුන්නොත්, අවශ්‍ය නීතිරීති සකස් කර නොදුන්නොත්, ඒ අයට තමන්ගේ රාජකාරීය හරියාකාරී කරන්නට පුළුවන්කමක් ඇති වෙන්නේ නැහැ. එම නිසා ගරු අගමැතිතුමාගෙනුත්, කැබිනට් මණ්ඩලයේ මැති ඇමතිවරුන්ගෙනුත් මම ඉල්ලා සිටිනවා. උතුරේ විරෝදයට සටන් කරන ත්‍රිවිධ හමුදාවේ නිලධාරී මහතුන්ට තව තවත් පහසුකම් සලසා දී, අවශ්‍ය නීතිරීති සියල්ලක්ම සකස් කරදී, තමන්ගේ රාජකාරීය හරියාකාර ඉටු කිරීමට අවස්ථාව ලබා දෙන්නටය කියා.

ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය කථානායකතුමනි, ඇත්තවශයෙන්ම මෙතරම් කරදර මධ්‍යයේ රාජකාරී කටයුතු කර ගෙන යාම ගැන ඒ විරෝදය හමුදා නිලධාරීන්ට අපේ ආචාරය පිරිනමන්න ඔහු. ඒ වාගේම ඒ අයට ආධාර කරන්නට, උදව් කරන්නට මන්ත්‍රීවරුන් වශයෙන් අපට පුළුවන් වුණොත්, මම ඒකටත් ලැස්ති බව ප්‍රකාශ කරමින් මගේ වචන ස්වල්පය මෙයින් අවසන් කරනවා.

නියෝජ්‍ය කථානායකතුමා
 (ශ්‍රී ලංකා සේවාව) (ශ්‍රී ලංකා සේවාව)
 (Mr. Deputy Speaker)

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

අනතුරුව නියෝජ්‍ය කථානායකතුමා මුලාසනයෙන් ඉවත් වූයෙන්, නියෝජ්‍ය කාරක කොමිෂන්තුමා (එඩ්මන්ඩ් සමරවික්‍රම මහතා) මුලාසනාදායී විය.
 අ.න. ගුණ, ශ්‍රී ලංකා සේවාව (ශ්‍රී ලංකා සේවාව) අ.න. ගුණ, ශ්‍රී ලංකා සේවාව (ශ්‍රී ලංකා සේවාව)
 (Mr. Edmund Samarawickrema)

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

සරත් මුත්තෙට්ටුවෙගම මහතා (කලවාන)
 (ශ්‍රී ලංකා සේවාව) (ශ්‍රී ලංකා සේවාව)
 (Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama - Kalawana)

Mr. Chairman, on the last occasion when we discussed the extension of the Emergency and took a vote on it I found myself in the somewhat unhappy position of being the only person who voted against the Emergency. This time I am confident that I will not be the only person. I am sure that the vote against the extension of the Emergency will be increased at

[සරණ මුක්තවීමේදී මහතා]

least by 100 per cent, maybe more. For this reason : Mr. Chairman, on the last occasion I stated that it would be hypocritical for the Government to claim to act under an Emergency and while that Emergency is pending for sections of people controlled by the Government or who had sympathies with the Government to be able to violate all the laws when and how they pleased. Now, Sir, the situation today has got even worse with the second extension of the Emergency.

Sir, I am not unmindful of the situation which was detailed by the Hon. Prime Minister. That is one aspect of the situation in the country. True there has been some outbreak of communal violence, some very unfortunate incidents of communal violence ; and nobody in this House, I am sure, will condone those things. Everybody will try to assist in any way in which communal violence and communal disturbance can be stopped. Just as much as everybody condemns terrorism, everybody condemns violence directed at innocent members of this or that community. That is a thing we have seen on so many occasions in the past. And any attempt that is made to deal with that before it really gets out of hand will get the support of all sections of this House.

But can you say that this is an unsullied Emergency that is used only for that purpose ? Can you say that the armed forces, those who are responsible for the maintenance of law and order in this country, have acted during the course of this Emergency in a way in which hon. Members on this side of the House can support the extension of the Emergency ?

I do not want to take too much time. There are one or two incidents which show that this Emergency is a hollow sham as far as the people who are opposed to this Government are concerned. It may be very useful for Members of the Government ; it may be a cloak which Members of the Government and certain sections of the forces that are responsible for law and order use when they want to. But for the ordinary people of this country has there been any tangible result from this Emergency ?

Look at what has happened within the last month. Apart from all the incidents that have occurred in the North, the East, Vavuniya and all those other places, apart from the fact that inspite of this Emergency you have not been able to prevent certain things happening in those areas and in some of the Sinhalese areas, look at what has happened in respect of other matters. After all, the Emergency is a comprehensive Emergency. It covers the whole country. Large sections of the Public Security Ordinance have been brought into play and the police, no less than the armed forces, have got extraordinary powers under the Emergency. How have they used those powers ?

Sir, there is a certain disturbing trend which people like us, who belong to political persuasions that are opposed to this Government but who nevertheless claim the right to live in this country and to exercise our political activity, to try to persuade the people of this country to come round to our points of view, have noted. There are certain things that have happened and certain trends that are now evident which are very disturbing from our point of view. Some of these things did not happen during the Emergency, but I have to relate them because it is a continuous trend and there is some relevance in what I will say about what happened during the course of the last 30 days.

Look at what has happened in respect of the Government's attitude to certain decisions of the courts of this country. The Supreme Court of this country handed down a verdict in a case in which Reverend Deramitipola Rathanasara sued a superintendent of police with having violated his rights under the constitution, fundamental rights which your Constitution guarantees to the people of this country. By your constitution you made those fundamental rights justiciable, and Reverend Deramitipola Rathanasara went to court at his own expense because he felt that his fundamental rights had been violated.

The Supreme Court heard that case. They handed down a judgment in which they held against the Superintendent of police, Udugampola. I can give you a long dossier on that person. The Hon. Deputy Minister of Defence will know when he was a DIG that at one time this person was running a private hiring car when he was in charge of a station. There was a big inquiry about it. Anyway, I do not want to go into the past. But Udugampola was found guilty of having gone and taken over certain publications of Reverend Deramitipola Rathanasara, the case that is now known and has gone down into legal and sociological history as the *Pevidi Handa* case, because *Pevidi Handa* was that publication. The Supreme Court ordered him to pay Rs. 10,000 compensation to Reverend Daramitipola Rathanasara.

How did the Government react to that case ? At a meeting of the Cabinet the Government decided that that Rs. 10,000 which the Supreme Court ordered Superintendent Udugampola to pay will be paid out of the President's Fund, no less. I ask you, was there a better way, was there a more effective way in which the Government could have given the Supreme Court a slap ? Three or five judges handed down that verdict. Whether they are right or wrong is not the problem. We can argue down to eternity whether this or that judgement of a court was right or was wrong. There will always be opinions ranged on both sides.

That is not the point. You appointed a Supreme Court, you enacted a Constitution, you made fundamental rights justiciable under that Constitution, and when the first possible case came up in which a superintendent of police was dealt with under your Constitution that is how you acted—you ordered that the Rs. 10,000 which he had been ordered to pay should be paid out of the President's Fund. I want to tell you this. When His Excellency the President launched that fund the objectives of that fund were announced and he did not say at that time that the money from this fund was going to be used to pay the fines of police officers whom the Supreme Court found guilty of violating the fundamental rights of the citizens of this country. But that is what happened. And that is not all that has happened in the *Pevidi Handa* case. The Superintendent of Police concerned, Mr. Udugampola, was given a promotion.

That was one incident. I only related that because it is directly related to the next incident that happened under this Emergency.

Mrs. Vivienne Goonewardene, a former Member of this House filed another case under the fundamental rights provision and three judges of the Supreme Court unanimously handed down another verdict finding, first of all, that the Inspector-General of Police should proceed immediately to hold an inquiry into the conduct on that day of the Inspector concerned, Inspector Hector Perera. They also went further and found that SI Ganeshanathan had violated certain fundamental rights and ordered him to pay a fine of Rs. 2,500. I remember distinctly hearing the news bulletin one evening. It was a day on which we sat in this House, and when I was going back I heard the news bulletin. I was utterly shocked when the news bulletin at 9 O'clock announced that S.I. Ganeshanathan had been given a promotion as an inspector, and the radio proceeded to announce that it had been done for his part in breaking up a demonstration or a procession led by Mrs. Vivienne Goonewardene. That was two days after the Supreme Court verdict.

How, Sir, I ask you again can a Government that enacted a Constitution, that put in it a very salutary provision about fundamental rights act in this way. It was one of your boasts that it was one of the most far-reaching constitutions in that regard, and I grant that. No other Constitution in our country had those fundamental rights written into the Constitution, no other Constitution that we had made those fundamental rights justiciable. You did it, and after doing it, in two cases, this is how you reacted how a Government reacted, a Government which had by then imposed a state of Emergency in the country. And then what happened?

On the 11th this month, on a Saturday, when everybody knows the Supreme Court is not sitting and that the Judges would be at home, certainly not in Court, three mobs, with the full flight of the Emergency on, go to three houses in two of which Supreme Court judges were then living and in the third of which a Supreme Court judge had been living till two weeks before that. These three judges were the three judges who sat on the Bench in the Vivienne Goonewardene case. They carried placards, they shouted slogans, and one of them had even picked up a kerb stone but had been ordered by one of the 'generals' of that mob to put it down. They behaved as if they were acting with the knowledge and the patronage and perhaps the encouragement of people who were much higher placed than those mobsters were. The Supreme Court judges concerned had made statements to the Police. That again I will refer to in another context. Some of them had given the numbers of vehicles. It has been found apparently that those numbers were bogus numbers. It is quite possible. One does not go with ones own number plates to do this kind of thing. It is quite possible that people do not do that kind of thing. But the fact that they were CTB buses is beyond dispute. Up to now neither the Police nor the CTB, nor the Hon. Minister—I am sorry he is not here—nobody, in a country where after all there is a Police Force, has been unable to find one single CTB bus which was used for this disgraceful episode.

Then Sir, we have a Cabinet meeting after which the usual communique is released, this time a long one. I think the Hon. Minister of State must have released that. For the first time when a case is under investigation, not merely a normal offence, but an offence of contempt of court of the Supreme Court Judges apart from any other possibility. All the statements are handed over by the Police to the Cabinet while the investigations are on. May be the Cabinet wanted to have a look at the state of the investigation. Permissible that does the Cabinet do with the investigation notes? They are published in the newspapers! has anybody heard of such a thing when there is an on-going investigation by the police? Supposing those people are charged some of those statements are not available to them—not available to those people who have been charged. But they are published in the newspapers at the behest of the Cabinet! (*Interruption.*) Plenty of charges, as plenty of charges were available to bring the people to book. You think there are no charges? (*Interruption.*) Anyway the point is, if there was a charge the accused would not have access to those statements, but the Cabinet has released that statement of an on-going police investigation. I ask from the Members of the Cabinet when, before this, has such a thing been done? The Government controlled press

[පැරණි මුත්තේටුවේගම මහතා]

was very reticent about this incident. On the 12th every newspaper, which is worth calling a newspaper, had this news on the front page, some with photographs. That was on the Sunday after the event, on the 12th. But the English paper which claims the largest circulation and the Sinhala paper which claims the largest circulation, the Observer and the Silumina, had not a word about it. Surely, it is obvious to anybody that these thugs, who went opposite the houses of those judges could not have gone on their own steam; they have gone because they were encouraged to do so encouraged by powerful people.

The Emergency Police, when they were telephoned, did not respond, did not answer the telephone. One of the judges has made a statement, I am told, that he distinctly heard the man who picked up the telephone which rang, the Emergency Police telephone, telling another man - "This is justice so-and-so", and he heard another say - "Tell him it is a wrong number". He put the telephone down and thereafter it was "wrong number" all the time. That was how the police acted. The Acting I.G.P. Mr. Joseph makes puerile and infantile excuses for non-action. What is the use of your Emergency if the police cannot act in a situation? What is the use of that Emergency? Is the Emergency meant to shoot people and then hold no inquest? Is the Emergency meant to be used for that kind of purpose or for people to hold their bicycles on their heads and walk about? What is the use of the Emergency when the Acting Inspector-General of Police says "Because fundamental rights and so on are there, we are not in a position to act" in spite of the Emergency! I do not want to get into arguments on matters of such silly nature as are not worth talking about. That is the Acting Inspector-General of Police! I do not think any of you can be happy about the incident. The person or persons who did it cannot be happy about this incident. Those of you who only stand and stare cannot be happy about it either because this is a thing that has happened in this country for the first time, and this is a very dangerous trend. Are we moving from something that was an authoritarian state to a complete dictatorship? That is the question that we have to ask.

You will see the statement made by the Judges of the Supreme Court, by all eleven Judges of the Supreme Court a unanimous statement of the Judges. What do they say? They said - "The recent action have no doubt contributed to this kind of behaviour. We can see that 'the recent actions' the Supreme Court meant were none other than those actions of the Executive; the actions of the Executive in promoting people who have been found guilty by the Supreme court. That is the type of action which the

Supreme Court Judges, eleven of them, would have referred to when they made that statement. Now, that is the position under this Emergency, but this joke has not ended there.

Two days ago or three days ago there came a man, another man on the scene. (*Interruption*) However much you shout you you cannot get over the fact that your Government has become the laughing stock of everybody by suddenly putting up a man called 'Kalu Lucky'. He is very lucky. He is not only Kalu Lucky, but he is very lucky. He is going to be very lucky soon. He will get something, some reward. He is going to be really lucky. Yes, you might make him even the M.P. for Kaduwela, there is a vacancy there, or for Hiriyala. Make him Minister of Internal Security. He will be a good holder of that post, or make him one of the judges if you like. Appoint him as a judge.

This Kalu Lucky comes, walks into newspaper offices and says "I am the man who did this." Now, Sir, if this was not such a tragedy we could have laughed because it is a good joke. He comes with a statement prepared. The word "draft" on the top is cut. Then, it has been corrected, corrected by others. (*Interruption*) Did he write it? I do not know. I did not hear him reading it, but anyway he handed over the statement. Then, when the police went they could not even find the man. Funny! The "Sun" newspaper says that they went and found him there. The police went, but they could not find him. Now, at last, he has been found by the police. Nothing is going to happen to him. - (*Interruption*) - He has more than fundamental rights. He has super fundamental rights! He has got all the rights. - (*Interruption*) - The best thing you can do is to remain silent. Occasionally the hon. Member gets up and makes some unintelligible noise. The best thing he can do is to remain silent.

Well, Kalu Lucky has now emerged on the scene. No other names have been mentioned. The three judges talk of about 200 people at each place, but he has gone and said, "I am the man who did all this." And he says he was very worried about the decision about Mrs. Vivienne Goonewardene's case because he has said, "The law and order situation is going to be upset by this decision". Therefore he wanted to rectify it and he thought the best way of rectifying it is not to pass legislation here but to shout outside the houses of the three judges.

Anyway, Sir, the Government has shown utter hypocrisy in dealing with this Emergency, apart from the fact that it has brought the Judiciary into contempt and brought the whole judicial process into ridicule. They do not seem to care at all, they think

people are fools. They do not credit the people with an iota of intelligence ; otherwise, nobody would have produced that man.

Here he comes ! (*Interruption.*) Yes, he came up on his own. but there is somebody who is turning the screws. You see, otherwise he would not have come. He waited for a few days. Some electric typewriter had to be found ; the draft had to be made ; corrections had to be made ; Kalu Lucky had to emerge at newspaper offices. He has not gone to the police ; He has gone to the newspaper offices. Anyway, that is beside the point. All that I am saying is that all this happened under this Emergency and you expect us to support the Emergency.

The Hon. Prime Minister related some horrifying stories. If your police, Acting IGP Mr. Joseph said, "Never mind the emergency, I cannot stop people demonstrating outside the houses of the Supreme Court Judges"—(*Interruption*) The Hon. District Minister of Matale, you better read the judgment.

கிசேர்சு காரக ஸபாபகிஷும
(சூழப் பிரதித் தலைவர் அவர்கள்)
(Mr. Deputy Chairman of Committees)

You address me. You address the Chair.

ஶரத் இன்னைபுலேமெ ஹை
(திரு. சரத் முத்தேத்தட்டுவெகம)
(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

Pardon, Sir.

கிசேர்சு காரக ஸபாபகிஷும
(சூழப் பிரதித் தலைவர் அவர்கள்)
(Mr. Deputy Chairman of Committees)

You address the Chair. No use in addressing the Hon. Deputy Minister.

ஶரத் இன்னைபுலேமெ ஹை
(திரு. சரத் முத்தேத்தட்டுவெகம)
(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

I do not want to take any more time. What I want to say is that this Emergency means nothing to anybody. It only means that the police will act as and how they want.

The other aspects of the Emergency, I have not dealt with. Personally, I cannot support the idea or the provision where the requirements for an inquest had been done away with. Whether it be in the North, the East, the South or the West, it is a dangerous thing to do, because under this Emergency anybody can kill people, because no inquest will be held if the Superintendent of Police does not want it done — (*Interruption*) Whether it happened in 1971 or 1983 it is the same.

சிரீல் மூதிவி ஹை
(திரு. சிறீல் மூத்திவ்)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

Do not talk nonsense (*Interruption*)

கிசேர்சு காரக ஸபாபகிஷும
(சூழப் பிரதித் தலைவர் அவர்கள்)
(Mr. Deputy Chairman of Committee)

Order, please ! You continue.

ஶரத் இன்னைபுலேமெ ஹை
(திரு. சரத் முத்தேத்தட்டுவெகம)
(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

That is the situation, Sir. As far as I am concerned, for my part, I find it impossible to vote with the Government for the extension of the Emergency.

ஸபாபகிஷும கிசேர்சு காரக ஶரத்
(கலாநிதி நிசங்க விஜயரத்ன)
(Dr. Nissanka Wijeyeratne)

Mr. Deputy Chairman, the hon. Member for Kalawana made a very impressive speech expressing why on this occasion he cannot support the Government on the extension of the Emergency. He, in the course of his speech, referred only briefly to the circumstances that necessitated the extension so lucidly explained to the House by the Hon. Prime Minister. But he did use the opportunity afforded to him to act a charade in this House, to utilize this opportunity to draw the attention of hon. Members and of the country to two cases which have become important in the political propoganda of the party which he represents.

One was what he said goes down to history and sociological events in this country under the name of the Pavidihanda case, and the other, the rather unfortunate experience of being laid down on the floor of a police station of Mr. Vivienne Goonawarden. In the Pavidihanda case that he referred to, he did not refer to the entire background, the circumstances of that case, what actually transpired, why a prosecution was entered or action taken. But, he only went on to say that Mr. Udugampola had in a hiring car at one time during his career, smeared the character of that officer, did not indicate whether an inquiry was held or not, whether the inquiry exonerated him ; if so, during what period of time he was exonerated and what the nature of the inquiry conducted against that officer. I think, Mr. Chairman, it is the most undersirable practice to traduce public officers by name, smear them and leave the public to decide by inference that the officer is unfit for service. He says that the officer was granted a sum of money from the President's Fund, not to use the public exchequer, to meet the punishments imposed on an officer who acted bona fide, and to do so by the President's Fund

[சுபாட்சய சிஷ்டமக விசயரண மதல]

is not itself a heinous crime. But what he sought to draw was the hand of the President behind the acts of Mr. Udugampola. And I think it is unbecoming of an hon. Member for this House to smear the head of the executive, something not tolerated in the Valhalla of the political world of the party to which the hon. Member belonged.

Mr. Chairman, he also said that in the case where Mr. Vivienne Goonawardene was concerned, the Police had acted improperly. There is, he knows well, the Police Ordinance. He knows that the Police Ordinance is a reality to a police officer, and he knows full well that authorized processions are not normally permitted by a police officer conscious of his responsibilities in acting with concern for his official duties. He knows also very well that some years ago a demonstration in the same area, before the American Embassy, led to the knifing and death of an ex-police officer, Mr. Weerakoon, by people acting in the exercise of the fundamental rights for which he shows such concern, and for which he praises the Government for having introduced in the Constitution and made justiciable. (*Interruption*) I do not hear Attanagalla well. Would he repeat himself? I cannot hear you. Well you repeat yourself please, what you just now said? Or was it only an uncontrollable noise? (*Interruption*) Were you merely lifting your finger?

சுஷமத சயமோடி மதல

(சுரு. லக்ஷமன் ஜயக்கொடி)

(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

We had a small chat.

சுபாட்சய சிஷ்டமக விசயரண மதல

(சுலாநிதி நிசங்க விஜயரத்ன)

(Dr. Nissanka Wijeyeratne)

Unfortunately, it made some noise.

சுஷமத சயமோடி மதல

(சுரு. லக்ஷமன் ஜயக்கொடி)

(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

There was nothing.

சுபாட்சய சிஷ்டமக விசயரண மதல

(சுலாநிதி நிசங்க விஜயரத்ன)

(Dr. Nissanka Wijeyeratne)

Beg your pardon, I still cannot hear you. Would you say what you have to say?

சுஷமத சயமோடி மதல

(சுரு. லக்ஷமன் ஜயக்கொடி)

(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

I did not say anything; I do not know why he is thinking that I said something. There is something wrong with him.

சுபாட்சய சிஷ்டமக விசயரண மதல

(சுலாநிதி நிசங்க விஜயரத்ன)

(Dr. Nissanka Wijeyeratne)

I am very sorry; I thought I saw his lips moving; I am very sorry.

சுஷமத சயமோடி மதல

(சுரு. லக்ஷமன் ஜயக்கொடி)

(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

Go to France; you will be all right.

சுஷமத சயமோடி மதல

(சுரு. லக்ஷமன் ஜயக்கொடி)

(Mr. Deputy Chairman of Committees)

The Hon. Minister must address the Chair.

சுபாட்சய சிஷ்டமக விசயரண மதல

(சுலாநிதி நிசங்க விஜயரத்ன)

(Dr. Nissanka Wijeyeratne)

Mr. Chairman, I am sorry; I yielded to an interlude from Attanagalla.

The Member for Kalawana is well aware of the duties cast upon a police officer under the Police Ordinance. I do not think that in anywhere of the judgment mentions that the officers did not act *bona fide*. I think, it would be useful, Mr. Speaker, if the decision of the Supreme Court on this case goes in to HANSARD.*

Mr. Chairman, it is true that the supreme Court came to a conclusion. We do not cavil at the right of the Supreme Court to make its decisions on cases before it. He knows well that once the Supreme Court makes a decision there is no further appeal. We do know it. But to draw a connection thereby with the Government being that dissatisfied with that decision, of having inspired the unnecessary and wholly irresponsible demonstration before the houses of three judges is also unbecoming of the hon. Member. He tried to hint that there is a power behind this. We were all this time suspecting you. It relieves us somewhat that you tried to transfer the blame to us. There was a letter to Mr. Herman J.C. Perera, a post card referred to in the statement made by the Hon. Prime Minister. It is obvious to anyone reading that post card that the UNP supporters would not refer to themselves as Corporation thugs. They do not wear accolades of dishonour presented by themselves before the public. There was a demonstration, a totally disgraceful demonstration before the houses of three judges. You said that there were many on the side of this House who are sad. We are all sad, for we respect the judiciary much more than you ever respected them when you hung behind the apron strings of a disgraceful Government.

* கல்வா சிஷ்டமக விசயரண மதல.

* உதாரணமாக இதுபோன்ற தரப்பட்டிருக்கிறது.

*Produced at the end of speech.

One of the judges brought to my notice at 7.30 in the evening of that Saturday. (*Interruption*) We were unfortunate stooges on the side. You were servants of that Government working on the political field trying to run police stations in the Dedigama electorate at Warakapola station. Please do not pretend to a decency you have no claim to.

Mr. Chairman, at 7.30 on that Saturday, Justice Ratwatte telephoned me. My telephone fortunately, was not out of order. I received that message. I got in touch with the IGP. The IGP was then about to go to the Air Port, I believe. He said that a similar complaint had come to him from Justice Colin Thome and an officer had gone from the Police Department to record his complaint. He wanted to know from me the address of Justice Ratwatte. I was not sure whether it was Longden Terrace or Longden Place. I was not sure of the number, nor the area of jurisdiction of the particular police station. (*Interruption*). Please listen to me. Mr. Chairman, I immediately contacted Justice Ratwatte and requested him to bring this immediately to the notice of the appropriate police station. I also left the message with my Public Relations Officer who did so, and I proceeded to Moratuwa for a public meeting. At 12 o'clock that night having attended the private party, I phoned up Justice Ratwatte and he said that the complaint had been amde. I did not think as Minister there was anything more for me to do, but to apprise the Head, the Chief Minister who was functioning in the absence of the President. I did so on the following day in Kandy, and the Hon. Prime Minister immediately asked the Minister of Defence and myself to kindly follow up and bring to his notice any further matters in this connection.

On Wednesday the Cabinet met as usual. In this context, whatever the hon. Member for Kalawana says, it was the best thing the Government did to bring the facts to the notice of the public, and what clearer way of doing so than the statement of the Inspector-General of Police? It was not in our minds to weaken any possibility of defence on the part of a possible culprit, but to alert the entire nation to the facts as elicited by the competent authority who inquires into matters of this nature, namely, the IGP. And it is very sad that he chose to denigrate a fine officer, Mr. Joseph, the Acting Inspector-General of Police, an honour to the Tamil community, in the service of Sri Lanka.

Now, a gentleman by the name of Kalu Lucky, who has graduated in politics under benign influence of the Communist Party, under the able guidance of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party, and perhaps trained by the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna, now makes a

statement to the Police, perhaps prepared on the typewriter with the advice of the finest criminal lawyer in this country or someone else in regard to—

දිනේෂ ගුණවර්ධන මහතා (මහරගම)

(*திரு. தினேஷ் குணவர்தனா*)

(Mr. Dinesh Gunawardene-Maharagama)

Kalu Lucky is a UNPer.

ආචාර්ය නිශංක විජයරත්න මහතා

(*கலாநிதி நிசங்க விஜயரத்னா*)

(Dr. Nissanka Wijeyeratne)

Is he? I do not know. I have not seen his application. Perhaps you know better.

දිනේෂ ගුණවර්ධන මහතා

(*திரு. தினேஷ் குணவர்தனா*)

(Mr. Dinesh Gunawardene)

Ask the Hon. Minister of State. He addressed the Referendum meetings on the UNP platform.

ආචාර්ය නිශංක විජයරත්න මහතා

(*கலாநிதி நிசங்க விஜயரத்னா*)

(Dr. Nissanka Wijeyeratne)

He then seems to have wandered into better and more wise paths in his political life. I refer to his statement made to the Police handed in to the Police by whom ever prepared, relating to his fundamental rights of demonstration, arising consequent to the horizontal position in which Mrs. Vivienne Gunawardane found herself for once in her life and who has been disbelieved by the Dame Supreme Court he speaks of (*Interruption*). Now she says that Kalu Lucky was lost. Are we responsible for his temporary absence? Does he get up in this House and say that he was our agent? This is not circumstantial evidence. This is inferential evidence which you want to build up. It is an art so ably practised by the Party of which you are a member, a representative (*Interruption*). The sadness that exists in his mind exists in our own. We want to get at the truth of this. We can either have a Select Committee of Parliament, which we do not propose at the moment, or a Commission of Inquiry which has been urged upon the President who returned only this morning, or a continued investigation by the Police, or action on the part of the Supreme Court itself to summon him and to proceed to inquire about contempt of the Supreme Court.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, all this is to smear the Government on this occasion. Let us get back to what the Hon. Prime Minister proposed, namely, whether this Emergency should continue or not. It is a simple thing for us to give up this Emergency, to watch people being butchered, to find people being thrashed, houses being burnt in Trincomalee, in Ratmalana. If any one is to be ashamed, not only

[පොදු මහලක් විස්තරයක් ඇත]

Sinhalese but the Tamils stand condemned with us. Both communities have lost their heads. Both parties claim to have kept theirs. Let us in this House keep ours. Let not the hon. Member for Kayts get up here and start a whole history of communal politics in the past. He referred to 1956 and the language problem. The tensions between the two communities pre-date 1956. I do not hold the SLFP guilty of starting communal confrontations in this country. They brought what in India had been brought much earlier, an official language, an official language which only yesterday I saw – the language of the Hindi speaking people – proudly sists alone with the English language in the Madras airport without a place for Tamil. The formula of the Indian government was, if in a State 40 per cent spoke a language, that language would be the language officially recognised for that State.

Today, in India, you have a federal form of government being undermined by politicians in Madras, in Assam, by the Akali Dal among the Sikkhs. These are the Akali Dals of Ceylon. Those who having won federalism in India are not satisfied but go on seeking, ever seeking, wider areas of exclusiveness. Federalism is not going to solve the problem. Regional autonomy is not going to solve the problem. We are a unitary state. It is within the framework of that unitary state that the solutions must be found. The "Tigers" claim to be an army of liberation; they will pay the price that any soldier pays on the battle-field, if he chooses to fight a sovereign state.

The member for Kayts spoke of the Tamil speaking people. Are not the Muslims of Sri Lanka, Tamil speaking people? Must one be a Catholic or a Hindu to have the right to claim regard for the heritage of the Tamils? The Muslims in Sri Lanka no less have that right, and they have chosen the wiser field of friendship and amity to solve their problems. Intimidation by the "Tigers" is not going to lead this government to a political solution with the Tamils which the Tamils rightly want. If they feel that there are grievances, it is our duty to listen to them. But it is not our duty to bow our heads as a sovereign state before the intimidatory tactics of "tigers" masquerading as a liberating army inspired by certain forces from abroad.

Any division of this country will ultimately lead, as was pointed out in the papers only yesterday, to gun running to India, to the break-up of Madras, to the destruction of India, to the confusion of Asia and threats to the peace of the world. We are India's best friends today against sectarian divisiveness in political life in our country that will undermine

ultimately the stability of India. Let us solve our grievances with a more realistic approach, but let us not, merely because incidents have happened here and there, refuse to rest confidence in the army, abuse and denigrate the army and believe that the army is the instrument of suppression of a poeple. No Head of State would have taken that courageous stand that was taken only few days ago by His Excellency the President when he wanted to show the army what discipline means in that instrument of stability on which, ultimately, a country may have to rest.

Do not imagine that quotations from Thiruvalluvar about the rights of a people by themselves deny the greater advice of Thiruvalluvar on the duties of a State, a King and a Government. Thiruvalluvar was great enough to realize that he who rules must carry out his duties according to the highest concepts of Dhamma. You quote Thiruvalluvar. We quote Thiruvalluvar in support of the stand we have taken.

Please, Mr. Deputy Chairman, I appeal to the Opposition not to use for political propaganda this Debate, where we are asking for a continuation of the Emergency in the interests of every single man, woman and child in Sri Lanka, against the forces of disorder set up by any quarter, for, without the emergency, your life is as uncertain as mine all that the Hon. Prime Minister asked for was an intelligent awareness of the situation as it exists today in Sri Lanka and to courageously support measures that are intended to benefit the entire community, irrespective of whether they are Sinhalese, Tamil, Buddhist, Hindu, Christian, or otherwise.

සභාමේඛය මත තබන ලද නඩු තීන්දුව :
අපරාධීයත්වයට ආරක්ෂා සඳහා පියවර ගැනීම :

Judgment tabled :

In the Supreme Court of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka

S. C. Application No. 20/83 In the matter of an application
(Fundamental Rights for relief and redress under
Jurisdiction) Article 126 of the Constitution of
the Democratic Socialist
Republic of Sri Lanka

Vivienne Goonewardene
37/3, Pedric Road,
Colombo 3.

Petitioner

Vs.

1. Hector Perera,
Officer-in-Charge,
Police Station,
Kollupitiya.
2. Rudra Rajasingham,
Inspector-General of Police,
Colombo 1.
3. Attorney-General
Attorney-General's
Department, Colombo 12.

Before: Ratwatte, J.
Colin-Thome, J.
Sosa, J.

Counsel: Dr. Colvin R. de Silva with V. S. A. Pullenayagam, R. Weerakoon and Miss S. de Silva for petitioner.
H. L. de Silva Senior Attorney-at-law with V. Ratnasabapathy for the 1st Respondent.
Sunil de Silva Additional Solicitor-General with K. Kumarasiri S. C. and A. K. Wikramanayake S. C. for 2nd and 3rd Respondents.

Argued on: 25.5.1983, 31.5.1983, 1.6.1983, 2.6.1983 and 3.6.1983.
Decided on: 8.6.1983.

SOSA, J.

In this application the petitioner complains that she was on March 8, 1983 subjected to illegal arrest and detention and cruel, inhuman treatment in violation of her fundamental rights by the 1st respondent who is the Officer-in Charge of the Kollupitiya Police Station. She now seeks relief and redress under Article 126 of our Constitution of 1978.

The petitioner is a veteran politician 66 years of age. She has been a Member of Parliament and in 1964 she was a Junior Minister. She is today the President of the Lanka Sama Samaja Kantha Sammelanaya, a women's organisation interested and active in local and foreign affairs. March 8, 1983 was international Women's Day. As part of the programme of this day about 8.45 a.m. the petitioner along with members of her organisation and representatives of certain other women's organisations staged a demonstration displaying banners and placards appeal to the American Embassy emphasising the need to preserve the Indian Ocean as a Peace Zone and protesting against the establishment of a nuclearised military base in the the island of Diego Garcia. They also handed over at the Embassy a letter signed by the petitioner and the leaders of two other women's organisations and addressed to President Reagan. Thereafter the demonstrators dispersed. The working women left for their places of work, the remainder along with the petitioner started walking along the left side of the Galle Road towards Kollupitiya Junction with the object of going over the the petitioner's house in Kollupitiya. As they passed the Kollupitiya Police Station a posse of policemen snatched the banners which were being taken along to be stored in the petitioner's house. A short time later the petitioner was informed that the newspaper camaraman who had been walking along with them had been taken to the Police Station for taking snaps of the Policemen snatching banners. Thereupon the petitioner along with Mrs. Ouida Keuneman and Mrs. Srma Wijetilleke walked into the Police Station to request the Camaraman's release. At the Police Station she found Mrs. Nanda de Silva already there speaking on behalf of the camaraman. The Police Officer there requested them to await the arrival of the Officer-in-Charge of the Police Station. About half an hour later the Officer-in-Charge who is the 1st Respondent to this application arrived. The petitioner walked up to him and requested the release of the camaraman. The 1st respondent shouted at her, "Shut up. you are under arrest". She complained that she was not under arrest but had come to the Police Station of her own accord to seek the release of the camaraman. Thereafter she attempted to walked out of the where she was seated to inform those outside not to wait for them. She was then physically stopped by a policeman and almost immediately the 1st respondent held her and threw her on the floor. While he lay fallen the 1st respondent kicked her and put his feet on her leg. Mr. Ouida Keuneman came to assist her to get up. She too was attacked by the 1st respondent and her saree was torn. Later the party leaders and several others came but by then 1st respondent had left the scene. The petitioner and the others were later allowed to leave the Police Station. On her insistence her statement and these of her companions were recorded before they left the Police Station. The police officers gave no reason for her arrest and detention. Apart

from the 1st respondent, the petitioner has named the Inspector-General of Police and the Attorney-General as the 2nd and 3rd respondent respectively.

The petitioner filed with her affidavit the annexes marked A to D. After the respondent filed their affidavits and documents the petitioner filed a counter affidavit and the document E. On 19.5.1983 she was able to obtain the statement she made to the police on 8.3.1983. This was handed over to her in Court and produced marked G with its translation G1. What I have given above is a resume of the petitioner's account of the incident.

On 20.5.1983 the petitioner filed the affidavit dated 19.5.1983 of Mrs. Ouida Keuneman. Strong objection was taken to the admission of this affidavit. Learned Senior Counsel for the petitioner submitted that this affidavit was prepared by way of response to what was alleged in the affidavits filed by the respondents. It could not be filed with the counter affidavit of the petitioner because Mrs. Keuneman was campaigning in the recent by-elections and could not be contacted for the preparation of an affidavit before the elections. This affidavit would not ordinarily have been admitted as it was belated. Yet we admitted it because we felt that the excuse given sufficiently explained the delay. This affidavit was marked F. The learned Additional Solicitor-General then moved to mark Mrs. Keuneman's statement to the Police made on the day of the incident. This was not objected to and we allowed the application. This statement was marked 2R3.

The version placed before this Court on behalf of the respondents is as follows: About 10.15 a.m. of the day of the incident, that is, 8.3.1983. Sub-Inspector Ganeshanantham saw a crowd of over fifty persons carrying banners and shouting slogans, and walking along Galle Road from the direction of Galle Face Junction towards Kollupitiya Junction. He went up with four constables to the lady at the head of the procession and asked her whether "they had a permit to go in a procession" but neither she nor any other member of the procession produced a permit. On thus becoming aware that the procession was being conducted "without the authority of a lawful permit" and that the participants were committing offences under section 77 of the Police Ordinance, in performance of his duty to prevent the conduct of the procession he directed the members of the procession to discontinue the procession and disperse. The petitioner however pushed him aside and proceeded with the procession and thereby obstructed him in the performance of his lawful duty. With the assistance of the other four constables he arrested the petitioner and four other persons and took charge of the banners of the processionists. At the time when he arrested the five persons he informed them of the reason for their arrest. The reason itself is not divulged in any of the affidavits filed by the respondents but during the argument we were informed that it was obstruction of a police officer while in the execution of his duty for which section 32(1)(f) of the Code of Criminal Procedure Act, No. 15 of 1979 authorises arrest without a warrant. It is only fair to add that this reason is adumbrated in the affidavit of Sub-Inspector Ganeshanantham. The Sub-Inspector produced the five persons at the Police Station and made his entries in the Routine Information Book at 10.45 a.m.

The 1st respondent who had come to the Police Station on hearing that a procession of women was marching from Galle Face towards Kollupitiya Junction in a protest demonstration, found that the petitioner and three other ladies and one Saranapala Pamunuwa had been arrested by Sub-Inspector Ganeshanantham for failing to disperse when ordered to do so and were being detained in the Crime Detective Bureau of the Station. The petitioner then tried to walk out of the Police Station. Sub-Inspector Ganeshanantham tried to restrain her but she put him aside. Constable Thaveendiradas also went up to prevent the petitioner from going away but she slapped him. At this stage the 1st respondent intervened and hold her firmly by her hand. She struggled to free

herself and in doing so slipped and fell. When she got up a woman constable Ratnaseeli Perera detained the petitioner in the Crime Detection Bureau of the Police Station on the directions of the 1st Respondent. Later she was released on bail on Mr. Bernard Soysa signing as surety.

Along with his affidavit the 1st respondent has filed the affidavit (1R1) of Police Constable Thaveendiradas. The 2nd respondent has filed the affidavits of Sub-Inspector Ganeshanatham (2R1) and Reserve Woman Police Constable Ratnaseeli Perera (2R2) along with his own affidavit. The 1st respondent has also filed a typewritten document in two pages marked X which is subscribed with a signature similar to that of the petitioner. On the top of the first page of the letter there is some hand-written matter making reference to a letter dated 18th March from the "Secy. to H.E. the President." Just before the typewritten matter begins are written the words "Statement of Mrs. V. Goonewardene". The typewritten matter in document X purports to be an account of the incident by the petitioner. In her counter affidavit however she does not make herself clear as to whether the typewritten matter in document X is a statement of hers or whether she admits or desires her signature on it. The 1st respondent has stated in his affidavit that this document was received at his Police Station by post.

It will be seen that we have before us two widely different versions of the incident. The main questions of fact on which there is controversy are :

1. Was the petitioner arrested by the 1st respondent inside the Kollupitiya Police Station or was she arrested (along with four others) by Sub-Inspector Ganeshanatham whom she and the others arrested were walking along Galle Road towards the Kollupitiya Junction in a procession of several persons carrying banners and shouting slogans ?
2. Did the petitioner push Sub-Inspector Ganeshanatham and slap Constable Thaveendiradas whom they tried to restrain her from walking away from the Police Station and did the 1st respondent then merely held her firmly by her hand to prevent her from going away whereas she struggled to free herself and slipped and fell or did the 1st respondent throw her down and kick her and place his foot on her when she lay fallen ?

Before I deal with the facts a word about the burden of proof. There can be no doubt that the burden is on the petitioner to establish the facts on which she invites the Court to grant her the relief she seeks. This leads to the next question. What is the standard of proof expected of her ? Wanasundera J. considered the question in the case of *Volmurugam v. The Attorney-General and another*¹ and held that the standard of proof that is required in cases filed under Article 126 of the Constitution for infringement of fundamental rights is proof by a preponderance of probabilities as in a civil case and not proof beyond reasonable doubt. I agree with Wanasundera J. that the standard of proof should be a preponderance of probabilities as in a civil case. It is generally accepted that within this standard there could be varying degree of probability. The degree of probability required should be commensurate with the gravity of the allegation sought to be proved. This Court when called upon to determine questions of infringement of fundamental rights will insist on a high degree of probability as for instance a court having to decide a question of fraud in a civil suit would. The conscience of the Court must be satisfied that there has been an infringement.

The Court has to be satisfied firstly that there has been an infringement of fundamental rights and secondly that such infringement has been by executive or administrative action.

The infringement complained of in this case falls under two heads :

1. Degrading treatment of the petitioner in contravention of Article 11 of the Constitution.
2. Arrest of the petitioner contrary to procedure established by law and without informing her of the reasons in contravention of Article 13 (1) of the Constitution.

Degrading treatment

The 1st respondent is accused of throwing the petitioner down and kicking her and placing his foot on her leg when she lay fallen. Apart from the affidavit of the petitioner herself and her own statement to the Police we have the following material on this point :

1. Affidavit of Mrs. Ouida Keuneman where she says she saw the 1st respondent throw down the petitioner. In the meantime she herself was pushed about and she saw the petitioner lying on the floor. When she went to help the petitioner she saw the first respondent's boot on the petitioner's body.
2. Statement of Mrs Ouida Keuneman to the Police. Here she says the Police Officers pushed the peititioner and she fell down. When she fell she was kicked. She does not single out the 1st respondent as being the perpetrator of any of those acts.
3. No specific allegation of kicking or degrading treatment by the 1st respondent has been made by the peititioner's lawyer in the three letters B, C, D written obviously on peititioner's instructions on 18.3.1983.
4. An Affidavit of the press photographer whose arrest, according to the petitioner, sparked off this incident has not been filed. Needless to say his testimony would have been very valuable yet it has not been made available.
5. The 1st respondent and the other Police Officers who have filed affidavits have of course denied the allegations. The Police Officers for their part accuse the petitioner of having pushed Sub-Inspector Ganeshanatham and slapped Constable Thaveendiradas. Further there is a statement in the letter X that the petitioner twisted the arm of a Policeman.

In this state of the evidence I regret I am unable to hold that the allegation of degrading treatment has been established by proof to the high degree of probability required.

Illegal arrest

The material relied on for the allegation that the 1st respondent arrested the petitioner is her statement that when she pleaded for the release of the press photographer at the Police Station the 1st respondent's response was : " Shut up ; you are under arrest ". The petitioner asserted that she had come into the Police Station voluntarily to secure the release of the press photographer but this was not heeded. There are also the affidavit and statement to the Police of Mrs. Ouida Keuneman to support the petitioner. But the words " you are under arrest " are of ambiguous import. They could mean " you have already been arrested " just as much as " I am now placing you under arrest ".

The version of the respondents is that the arrest took place on the Galle Road before the 1st respondent came to the Police Station. The question of who arrested and where is bound up with the question whether there was a procession being conducted by the petitioner and the other ladies along Galle Road. On this we have conflicting testimony. In the letter X the return trip of the petitioner and the others with her is described as a march and again as a procession. There is also reference to banners. Here too the failure of the petitioner to place before the Court an affidavit of the press photographer must be regarded as a serious shortcoming.

The rival versions on the question whether there was a procession have their infirmities. The burden of proof however is on the petitioner. In the result it cannot be said that the petitioner has affirmatively proved in the manner required that she was first arrested by the 1st respondent inside the Police Station.

But here the petitioner has two strings to her bow. If it is not accepted that it was the 1st respondent who arrested her there is the admission by Sub-Inspector Ganeshanathan that he arrested her and four others as they were coming along Galle Road in a procession about 50 strong carrying banners and shouting slogans. The petitioner can rely on Sub-Inspector Ganeshanathan's claim to have arrested her to prove her case. Sub-Inspector Ganeshanathan has stated that he questioned the leader of the procession and asked her whether they had a permit. No permit was produced. He then directed the processionists to disperse but they attempted to continue in defiance of his orders. Hence he arrested the petitioner and the other leaders of the procession and the press photographer and took them to the Police station. He has averred in his affidavit that he gave the reasons for the arrest to the arrestees at the time he arrested them. He has however not disclosed in his affidavit what the reason was which he gave.

Let it be borne in mind that it is important that the reason given should be stated to Court. No doubt failure to mention what the reason was to Court would not necessarily mean that no reason was given at the time of arrest. But it is necessary that the Court should have the reason given for the arrest before it, because the legality of the reason can be, as it is here, a live issue in the case. The omission to mention the reason given at the time of arrest is no doubt a grave lapse. Be that as it may, Counsel for the respondents have given us the reason which Sub-Inspector Ganeshanathan gave the arrestees—obstructing him while in the execution of his duties. I will proceed on the footing that the reasons for the arrest was given. But was the arrest according to procedure established by law?

The petitioner and her companions are alleged to have conducted a procession "without the authority of a lawful permit" and thereby contravened section 77 of the Police Ordinance. Section 77 (1) forbids any procession being taken out or held in any public place in any urban area unless notice of the procession has, at least six hours before the time of its commencement, been given to the officer in charge of the Police station nearest to the place at which the procession is to commence. Under sub-sections 2 and 5 of this section every person who in contravention of section 77 (1) organises a procession or does any act in furtherance of the organization or assembling of a procession, commits an offence punishable by a fine not exceeding five hundred rupees or imprisonment of either description for a term not exceeding six months or both such fine and imprisonment. Contravention of the provisions of section 77 (1) of the Police Ordinance is a non-cognizable offence for which arrest without a warrant is not permissible—see First Schedule of the Code of Criminal Procedure Act, No. 15 of 1979 at page 241. Section 77 (1) of the Police Ordinance does not make it an offence to take out or hold a procession on a public road in an urban area without a valid permit. No permit or even permission is required but only notice has to be given. The Ordinance does not even prescribe written notice. It can be oral. Once notice is given or withdrawn it would no doubt be lawful under section 77 (3) for an officer of police of a rank not below the grade of Assistant Superintendent, if he considers it expedient so to do in the interests of the preservation of public order, to give directions (whether orally or in writing) prohibiting the taking out of any procession, or imposing on the persons or persons organising of taking part in the procession such conditions as appear to him to be necessary, including conditions prohibiting or restricting the display of flags, banners or emblems. But so far as the organisers of the procession are concerned the only legal requirement is to give notice and comply with the directions, if any, of an officer of police of a rank not below the grade of Assistant Superintendent.

It was submitted that during this period the Police Stations in this area were placed in a state of alert owing to the possibility of disturbances and Sub-Inspector Ganeshanathan would have been aware that no notice had been given of this procession to the officer

in charge of the Kollupitiya Police Station to which he was attached. But here we are in the field of surmise. Sub-Inspector Ganeshanathan himself says nothing of no notice having been given in his affidavit. It is obvious that he was acting on the footing that without a valid permit no procession is permissible. It must be emphasised that there was no state of emergency on the 8th March, 1983.

Accordingly there was no legal basis for Sub-Inspector Ganeshanathan's order to the processionists to disperse. The absence of a permit did not make the continuance of the procession an offence or try of the processionists liable to arrest. The petitioner, and the others who were with her more well within their rights to ignore the orders of Sub-Inspector Ganeshanathan to disperse. I might add that under Article 14 (1) (b) of the Constitution the freedom of assembly is a fundamental right guaranteed to all citizens.

As his order to disperse was in the circumstances illegal Sub-Inspector Ganeshanathan is in no position to complain that the petitioner obstructed him while in the execution of his duty. Therefore he is in no position to justify arresting the petitioner without a warrant by investing the provisions of section 32 (1) (f) of the Code of Criminal Procedure Act, No. 15 of 1979.

On his own showing Sub-Inspector Ganeshanathan was guilty of arresting the petitioner in contravention of the Constitutional prohibition of arrest except according to procedure established by law. The arrest constitutes and infringement of a fundamental right. Sub-Inspector Ganeshanathan's action no doubt proceeded from a wrong appreciation of the law, but the infringement remains.

Executive or administrative action

I will now turn to a question on which we heard much argument from both sides. Was the infringement by execution or administrative action?

Learned Senior Counsel for the 1st respondent with support from the learned Additional Solicitor-General submitted that liability on the basis of executive or administrative action can be established only if the State had either expressly or impliedly authorised or ratified or adopted or condoned or acquiesced in the acts constituting the infringement. The 2nd respondent has expressly sworn to the fact that he has not and will not authorise or condone any illegal acts on the part of his officers. In his affidavit he states he has read the affidavit of Sub-Inspector Ganeshanathan and being satisfied with the truth of the averments therein he is producing it to Court marked 2R1. It is a reasonable inference that the 2nd respondent is adopting the action taken by Sub-Inspector Ganeshanathan which no doubt was felt at that time to be within the pale of the law. Hence the infringement under discussion passes over the test formulated by learned Senior Counsel for 1st respondent. I have no difficulty in holding that the infringement was by executive action for which the state is liable. This should have been sufficient to dispose of this case but in view of the fact that the question was argued at length before us, I will proceed to deal with it.

The remedy prescribed by Article 126 of the Constitution is available only where there is an infringement or imminent infringement of a fundamental right by executive or administrative action. The question is whether an act violating fundamental rights committed under colour of office by a public officer constitutes executive or administrative actions unless it is expressly or impliedly authorised or adopted or condoned or acquiesced in by the state.

On behalf of the respondents it is argued that constitutional safeguards are directed against the State and its organs and not against individuals. Hence fundamental rights guaranteed against

State action cannot be infringed by the conduct of public officials not impliedly or expressly authorised by the State. To make the State liable for the acts of its officials which it has not authorised expressly or impliedly would be to widen State liability to almost uncontrollable proportions.

The principle of liability however must not be determined on the basis of the extensiveness or narrowness of its field of operation. Chapter 3 on Fundamental Rights in our Constitution is concerned with public law. The protection afforded is against contravention of these rights by executive or administrative action of the State and its organs. Public authorities clothed by law with executive and administrative powers are organs of the State. A police officer using the coercive powers vested in him by law acts as an organ of the State. As much as the State is served when he enforces the law, the State is liable for the transgressions of fundamental rights he commits when he is enforcing the law.

Fundamental rights were secured and guaranteed even by the 1972 Constitution but no special machinery for enforcement was provided. The Constitution of 1978 spells out in detail Fundamental Rights it recognizes and it has provided a special forum and special machinery for enforcement and for grant of relief and redress. But the old forms of procedure and the old remedies still co-exist with the new.

The question we are considering has been the subject of judicial decisions in our Courts. Sharvananda J. explained the principles on which liability for infringement of Fundamental Rights is imputed to the State in the *Velmurugu* as follows :

"If the state invents one of its officers agencies with power which is capable of inflicting the deprivation complained of, it is bound by the exercise of such power even in abuse thereof; the official position makes the abuse effective to achieve the flouting of the subject's fundamental rights. The state had endowed the officer with coercive power, and his exercise of its power, whether in conformity with or in disregard of fundamental rights, constitutes "executive action". The official's act is ascribed to the state for the purpose of determining responsibility, otherwise the constitutional prohibitions will have no meaning."

The nature of the liability has been neatly explained by Lord Diplock in the Privy Council decision in *Maharaj v. The Attorney-General of Trinidad and Tobago (No. 2)*² in the following words :

"This is not vicarious liability; it is a liability of the state itself. It is not a liability in tort at all; it is a liability in the public law of the state, which has been newly created"

Lord Hailshan of St. Marylebone in his minority dissenting judgment in this case did not agree with this formulation because he found "it difficult to accommodate within the concepts of the law a type of liability for damages for the wrong of another when the wrongdoer himself is under no liability at all and the wrong itself is not a tort or delict". His Lordship found it equally difficult to understand that this was "some sort of primary liability". But what Lord Diplock was emphasising was that this was a new liability in public law created by the constitution of Trinidad and Tobago, not to be considered from the angle of the existing bases of liability. In Sri Lanka too our constitution has created a new liability in public law.

On the nature of police duties Lord Diplock again made an authoritative pronouncement in the case of *Thornhill v. Attorney-General of Trinidad and Tobago*³ :

² (1979) A.C. 385, 399

³ (1980) 2 W.L.R. 510, 519.

⁴ S.C. Appln. No. 130/82-S.C. Minutes of 14.2.83.

"It is beyond question, however, that a police officer in carrying out his duties in relation to the maintenance of order, the detection and apprehension of offenders and the bringing of them before a judicial authority is acting as a public officer carrying out an essential executive function of any sovereign state—the maintenance of law and order or, to use the expression originally used in England, 'preserving the King's peace' "

Lord Diplock went on to point out that police officers are endowed with coercive powers to perform their functions. This is so in Sri Lanka too. Hence contraventions by the police of any of the Fundamental Rights guaranteed by the Constitution must attract State liability.

The State no doubt cannot be made liable for such infringements as may be committed in the course of the personal pursuits of a public officer or to pay off his personal grudges. But infringement of Fundamental Rights committed under colour of office by public officers must result in liability being cast on the State.

Reliance was placed by learned Senior counsel for the 1st respondent on the judgment of Wanasundera J. in the *Velmuruga* case (supra). In that case the majority view was that on the facts there was no infringement of fundamental rights. Hence the decision so far as it relates to the interpretation of executive or administrative action must be regarded as obiter. Wanasundera J. took the view that the State should be strictly liable for the acts of its high officials. Of subordinate officials he says as follows :

"The liability in respect of subordinate officers should apply to all acts done under colour of office, i.e., within the scope of their authority, express or implied, and should also extend to such other acts that may be *ultra vires* and even in disregard of a prohibition or special directions provided that they are done in the furtherance or supposed furtherance of their authority or done at least with the intention of benefiting the State."

This passage appears indeed to support what the petitioner is contending for. With great respect, I do not agree that any distinction should be drawn on the basis of the rank of the official. I can find very little in this judgment which supports the proposition which learned Senior Counsel for respondent have invited us to accept.

The principle that the state is liable for infringements of fundamental rights committed under colour of office by its public officers was applied by Sharvananda J. in the case of *Mariyadas Raj v. Attorney-General and another*⁴. He explained the principle of liability as follows :

"What the petitioner is complaining of is an infringement of his fundamental right by 'executive or administrative action', that the State has through the instrumentality of an ever-nealous or depotic official committed the transgression of his constitutional right. The protection afforded by article 126 is against infringement of fundamental rights by the State, acting by some public authority endowed by it with the necessary coercive powers. The relief granted is principally against the state, although the delinquent official may also be directed to make amends and/or suffer punishment".

With the is formulation I respectfully agree. In the instant case the action taken by Sub-Inspector Ganeshanathan was executive action whether the State adopted it or not.

Accordingly I held that the arrest of the petitioner was unlawful and contravene article 13 (1) of the constitution. The State is liable for the infringement. Therefore I order the State to pay Rs. 2, 500 as compensation to the petitioner. As this award is based on material placed before Court by the Police Officers, I order no costs.

Before I part with this judgment I would like to advet to one last matter which has caused my brothers and me some concern. As there was a sharp conflict of testimony on the question of cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment we may have examined the question of permitting cross-examination on the affidavits. However such a course was not, in any event easible as under Article 126 (3) of the Constitution we are obliged to deliver our order today. In the circumstances we direct the 2nd respondent to proceed with his inquiries and take appropriate action in accordance with the law in respect of the various allegations made against the 1st respondent.

Ratwatte, J.
I agree

Colin-Thome, J.
I agree

Judge of the Supreme Court

Judge of the Supreme Court

Judge of the Supreme Court

தமிழ் இனமீத மதனா
(திரு. அனில் முனசிங்ஹா)
(Mr. Anil Moonasinghe-Matugama)

Mr. Deputy Chairman, it is a privilee to follow the eloquent speech of the Hon. Minister of Justice. Over and over again, whilst listening to it, I got the impression that the Emergency was only a temporary exercise in his own mind and that the government was moving towards a political solution to the problems in the North. That was the idea that we of the SLFP also wanted to put forward ; that no army can finally solve these problems and that there can only be a political solution. The Army is there temporarily. It is only be a political solution. The Army is there temporarily. It is only a political solution which will finally bring about the end of the State of Emergency.

I think the Hon. Prime Minister can throw his mind back to the time when the Coalition government imposed an emergency which was extended over and over again. We also have learnt our lessons from the past, but I wonder whether the membes of the government opposite have forgotton the lessons or are refusing to learn the lessons of history.

There was the case of Premawathie Manamperi. The Hon. Prime Minister was very, very eloquent on this mater. That was a product of the Emergency. The Government says today that the Emergency at that time was not justified and that those acts were not justified. It was the Army that carried out those acts, not the government. Do not blame the Government for all the acts of the Army. In Northern Ireland, we know of cases where the Army has intervened over and ove again, illegally.

மத்திபிரசைன்
(அங்கத்தினர் ஒருவர்)
(A Member)

What about Poland ?

தமிழ் இனமீத மதனா
(திரு. அனில் முனசிங்ஹா)
(Mr. Anil Moonasinghe)

Do you know where Poland is ? Learn some geography and come here

மத்திபிரசைன்
(அங்கத்தினர் ஒருவர்)
(A Member)

We can teach you !

தமிழ் இனமீத மதனா
(திரு. அனில் முனசிங்ஹா)
(MR. Anil Moonasinghe)

I have referred to the case of Premawathie Manamperi which the Membersd of the Government put forward as an example of how cruelly the army acted, how illgally the the army acted. Are you going to tell us that the army in the North today does not do illegal acts ? What was the position of the United National Party, the Opposition at that time, on the matter of inquests not being held ? You said that it was unjustifiable. But today you are following that same course of hostory.

I want to say that unless there is a political solution you will have this Emergency extended much more than during the period of the previous Government. I make that prediction today because the situation is being aggravated daily. Some foreign correspondents who have come here have remarked on the changes that have taken place in the Jaffna Peninsula and in the North within the last year. Opinion there has hardened. More and more of that population is beginning to support the terrorists, and that is why I think it is very dangerous. Certainly, as far as we are concerned, the Emergency should be used to tackle terrorism or civil war. The Hon. Minister of Industries was talking about civil war. Certainly there is a state of civil war coming in the North. But that is what we faced in 1971 but which you attacked, saying that our acts were unjustifiable. Today you are at the receiving end ; and you are doing the same things that the previous Government had to do, that any Government has to do, in order to preserve the State.

But what I am trying to say here, Mr. Chairman, is that the continuation of the Emergency brings about a state of affairs which is inimical to democratic government. We have learned that. When you criticized us you were correct. But today you are doing the same thing and, what is more, there is a breakdown of the rule of law, which is after all the basis of all Parliamentary democracy. His Excellency the President has over and over again mentioned that we must preserve the rule of law, but it is this rule of law that is being damaged today. I do not say that hon. Members of the Government are responsible directly for these actions, but let me repeat some of the things that have happened.

[தகிலு இனமென மென]

My hon. Friend the Member fo Kalawana, has referred to the two cases of fundamental rights which, as he said, are enshrined in your Constitution.—(Interruption). I know that. So Iam trying to tell you that is a very good thing, as my hon. Friend for Kalawana said. Whenever you do a good thing we are prepared to say it is a good thing ; whenever you break it, whenever you want to destroy it, we must also be critical and you must take our criticism in that spirit.

You had a number of cases of the Jathika Sevaka Sangamaya spearheading assaults.

தகிலு இனமென
(தகிலு சிறில் மத்திவ்)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

Where ?

தகிலு இனமென
(தகிலு அனில் முனசிங்ஹ)
(Mr. Anil Moonasinghe)

I will tell you— students being assaulted.

தகிலு இனமென
(தகிலு சிறில் மத்திவ்)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

Nonsense !

தகிலு இனமென
(தகிலு அனில் முனசிங்ஹ)
(Mr. Anil Moonasinghe)

It is not nonsense. I want to ask the Hon. Minister of Industries, who is the person who assaulted Professor Saratchandra ?

தகிலு இனமென
(தகிலு சிறில் மத்திவ்)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

Go and find out for yourself.

தகிலு இனமென
(தகிலு அனில் முனசிங்ஹ)
(Mr. Anil Moonasinghe)

That is not my job.

தகிலு இனமென
(தகிலு சிறில் மத்திவ்)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

Then why are you asking me ?

தகிலு இனமென
(தகிலு அனில் முனசிங்ஹ)
(Mr. Anil Moonasinghe)

Sir, the Hon. Minister of Industries is doing himself damage by saying that I must find out. That is not my function.

தகிலு இனமென
(தகிலு சிறில் மத்திவ்)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

Then ?

தகிலு இனமென
(தகிலு அனில் முனசிங்ஹ)
(Mr. Anil Moonasinghe)

That is the function of the police.

தகிலு இனமென
(தகிலு சிறில் மத்திவ்)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

It is not my function to find out. You go and tell the police to find out.

தகிலு இனமென
(தகிலு அனில் முனசிங்ஹ)
(Mr. Anil Moonasinghe)

I do not have to tell the police. The complainants have already done so.

தகிலு இனமென
(தகிலு சிறில் மத்திவ்)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

Then do not ask me.

தகிலு இனமென
(தகிலு அனில் முனசிங்ஹ)
(Mr. Anil Moonasinghe)

I am not asking you ; you are the one who is asking me.

தகிலு இனமென
(தகிலு சிறில் மத்திவ்)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

You asked me.

தகிலு இனமென
(தகிலு அனில் முனசிங்ஹ)
(Mr. Anil Moonasinghe)

All I am telling you is that complaints were made by the people who were hurt in that famous episode where Professor Saratchandra was put on the ground and assaulted, and the statements made identified members of the Jathika Sevaka Sangamaya.—(Interruption). Do not forget there are Moonasinghes on your side also. I want to say that nothing came of those complaints. What is the use of Emergencies, what is the use of the police force, if it is unable to detect the people who come in buses, who are identified, and no action has been taken ?

மென்திவரமென
(அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)
(A Member)

Who identified ?

தமிழ் இன்டீன மெனா
(திரு. அனில் முனசிங்ஹ)
(Mr. Anil Moonasinghe)

The people who were there. They made complaints to the Cinnamon Gardens Police. Otherwise, what you are saying is that your police force is inept because they are not able to find out who these marauders, these thugs are. Is this the first occasion? How many times have people been assaulted?

சிரில் மாதேவ்
(திரு. சிநில் மத்திவ்)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

What about the MP for Mirigama? Who assaulted him?

தமிழ் இன்டீன மெனா
(திரு. அனில் முனசிங்ஹ)
(Mr. Anil Moonasinghe)

I know that case. So, am I saying that that is a good thing? do you say that?

சிரில் மாதேவ்
(திரு. சிநில் மத்திவ்)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

In December 1964, right opposite Parliament, you brought them in and tried to assault Mr. C. P. de Silva.

தமிழ் இன்டீன மெனா
(திரு. அனில் முனசிங்ஹ)
(Mr. Anil Moonasinghe)
1964.

சிரில் மாதேவ்
(திரு. சிநில் மத்திவ்)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)
4th December 1964.

தமிழ் இன்டீன மெனா
(திரு. அனில் முனசிங்ஹ)
(Mr. Anil Moonasinghe)

Nothing happened in 1964. My Hon. Friend has forgotten his history. There was no trouble in 1964.

சிரில் மாதேவ்
(திரு. சிநில் மத்திவ்)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

No trouble? You were leading the procession opposite the Parliament.

தமிழ் இன்டீன மெனா
(திரு. அனில் முனசிங்ஹ)
(Mr. Anil Moonasinghe)

In 1964?

சிரில் மாதேவ்
(திரு. சிநில் மத்திவ்)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

Of course, december 4th 1964 when Mr. C. P. de Silva crossed over to the UNP.

தமிழ் இன்டீன மெனா
(திரு. அனில் முனசிங்ஹ)
(Mr. Anil Moonasinghe)

There was no demonstration in 1964. My Hon. Friend has got his dates mixed up. Perhaps he was leading the demonstration! that is what he is mistaken about.

சிரில் மாதேவ்
(திரு. சிநில் மத்திவ்)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

Do you want to read the newspaper report on that?

தமிழ் இன்டீன மெனா
(திரு. அனில் முனசிங்ஹ)
(Mr. Anil Moonasinghe)

I did not lead any procession. If you want to say that I led a procession, well, I have led a number of processions, I have led a number of strikes. What has that got to do with this? That was under the rule of law. Surely a procession is not an illegal thing? - (Interruption). That was also a procession. All we took part - (Interruption). No cars were burnt in 1980. All I can say is, if there were cars burnt then you must get hold of the culprits. Why do you say that I am responsible? What I am trying to say is that you have an inept police force. You are trying to tell us that we have broken the rule of law. We have not. We have always tried to respect the rule of law over and over again. I am not trying to attack you So why are you so much on the defensive?

தலைவர் காரண மொழிக்ஹ
(சுழும் பிரதித் தலைவர் அவர்கள்)
(Mr. Deputy Chairman of Committees)

Please address the Chair.

தமிழ் இன்டீன மெனா
(திரு. அனில் முனசிங்ஹ)
(Mr. Anil Moonasinghe)

All I am trying to tell the Members of Government through you Sir, is that they should not be on the defensive. I am not attacking them. I am only trying to relate the fact that today there is a certain tendency in this country towards a breaking of the rule of law, that process of democracy which is essential and which is for your good, because, do not forget, if the rule of law is broken once today it can be broken twice tomorrow. That is not a good thing. It is because of that, that very sincerely we want to say that these acts of lawlessness should not be allowed to go on, because if they do, then the whole fabric of our democratic society begins to break up. That is all I

[අතිරේක මහතා]

am trying to say. So, if you try to attack me for saying that, then I feel that you are on the defensive, I feel that you have a guilty conscience. Otherwise you do not need to attack me.

I hope both your side and our side are very concerned about the growth of democracy in this country. It was in this light that when the demonstration took place before the houses of the judges I think the Hon. Prime Minister made a statement in which he stated that he did not condone or approve the acts. But I think that is in the negative. I think the Hon. Prime Minister should have been much more positive. I say that he should deprecate these incidents. The Hon. Prime Minister I think was a little too much on the defensive. This is very clearly a wrong thing. The members of the Bar who condemned these acts were mostly members of the Hon. Prime Minister's party's persuasion. They were not mainly members of the SLFP. Very distinguished leading lawyers of this country were of the unanimous opinion that there should be some independent investigation of these acts. I think people who were of an independent nature were deprecating these acts. But the Head of the Government was much more on the defensive. I thought the Hon. Prime Minister was very eloquent, very clear-cut, in his ideas. I thought he would have condemned those actions. I also thought that the hon. Prime Minister had dissociated himself in a press statement in regard to the promotion of the officer concerned in Mrs. Vivienne Goonewardene's case. I think I saw a statement in the "Daily News". It said that the promotion of the inspector was not done by the Hon. prime Minister as head of the Ministry of Internal Security, the acting head.

So, it is taking all these cases into account that I say there is a system being developed in this country of a certain lawlessness on the part of certain people, particularly those who support the Government, because all these actions seem to have taken place in a kind of warped way to support the Government. When trade union strikers are attacked, they are attacked because they are against the Government. When students are taking part in demonstrations or strikes or activities like that and they are attacked it is because they are against the Government. The judges take decisions, and people feel that those decisions are against the Government; so they demonstrate. We do not say that these are activities carried out by the Government but by supporters of the Government, and that is why I feel that the Government has a greater sense of responsibility in these matters to control this move towards lawlessness !.

Now, what is the connection with the Emergency? I think emergency tend to breed a certain lawlessness in the country. The Emergency in some countries has

been so prolonged that finally military army strengthened and resulted in coups. Pakistan is a well-known example and Bangladesh is another because the military begins to be strengthened. This is always a very dangerous trend. So it is in the interest of the government itself to see that this lawlessness is curbed and that we come back to the rule of law again.

We saw in the papers the other day resolutions passed by the Government Medical Officers Association that there is political interference, that they are not able to do their job properly. What is that? Is it not also a part of this trend towards lawlessness, and taken in conjunction with the fact that one arm of our country, that is, the Executive, is constantly being strengthened as against the Legislature and as against the Judiciary? The trend becomes very, very ominous for the future. Therefore, I appeal through you, Sir, to all Members of the Government to look at our criticism in a dispassionate way and try to understand that the Emergency being enacted over and over again tends to bring about an accentuation of this lawlessness.

I know of some cases where - I do not mention names - certain Government Members have gone before Magistrates and Judges and expressed their opinion in certain cases. That is not a very good thing.

පාර්ලිමේන්තුවේ අතිරේක මහතා
(කොළඹේ ජනාධිපති මහා මණ්ඩලයේ සාමාජිකයා)
(Dr. Anandatissa de Alwis)

I am sorry to interrupt the hon. Member, Sir, but that is a charge of political interference with Magistrates, which I do not think an hon. Member can so lightly make unless he is willing to go further and place facts before this House so that a proper investigation can be made. This is a very, very unfair thing to say. It is a very serious statement to make.

අතිරේක මහතා
(කි. ජී. මානසිංහ)
(r. Anil Moonasinghe)

All right I will withdraw it because I do not want to mention names. I was only bringing before you Sir.

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(කොළඹේ ජනාධිපති මහා මණ්ඩලයේ සාමාජිකයා)
(Dr. Anandatissa de Alwis)

But then, you cannot do that. It is a very serious charge against the administration of justice.

අතිරේක මහතා
(කි. ජී. මානසිංහ)
(Mr. Anil Moonasinghe)

That is why I did not mention the names of either the Judges or the Members involved. I am only trying to be fair.

பு. சிவசிதம்பரம் மறை
(திரு. எம். சிவசிதம்பரம்)
(Mr. M. Sivasithamparam)

Yes, shortly after that ; do not forget that.

சிரீல் மூகிவி மறை
(திரு. சிறீல் மத்திவ்)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

Was he there at 4.30 in the morning ? Then he must have been leading the terrorists gang.

பு. சிவசிதம்பரம் மறை
(திரு. எம். சிவசிதம்பரம்)
(Mr. M. Sivasithamparam)

You can say anything you like.

சிரீல் மூகிவி மறை
(திரு. சிறீல் மத்திவ்)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

He was challenged by the sentry, but he did not pay heed to it ; he was shot and he died.

மன்றிவரவன்
(அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)
(A Member)

He did not have any weapons with him ?

சிரீல் மூகிவி மறை
(திரு. சிறீல் மத்திவ்)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

He tried to force his way into the Camp. The Police were called to investigate. (Interruption) You are the leader of the terrorists ; you are talking nonsense. The Police were called to investigate and after inquiries the body was covered with an Army rain-coat. An Army vehicle had driven into the Camp, and not suspecting that the rain-coat was covering the dead body, the vehicle had been driven over the rain-coat. This was a few feet away inside the Camp, and the driver could not have stopped his vehicle even had he known that there was a dead body there. The Police were also there and the entire incident, the vehicle going over the dead body, was a bona fide mistake. Now, that was the incident the hon. Leader of the Opposition referred to. The other incident that I am referring to is about Corporal Jayawardena who was shot while he was guarding the polling post.

மன்றிவரவன்
(அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)
(A Member)

You said it last time.

சிரீல் மூகிவி மறை
(திரு. சிறீல் மத்திவ்)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

No, no, I did not say it last time ; I did not say it ; I am mentioning it now. I will give you the whole record of all the other things too. They do not like these incidents to be brought out. This man Corporal Jayawardena was shot ; they came in and they dragged the

body out, 100 yards out of the place where he died ; he smashed his brain and stamped on his tomach until his bowels came out.

பு. சிவசிதம்பரம் மறை
(திரு. எம். சிவசிதம்பரம்)
(Mr. M. Sivasithamparam)

He was never dragged at all.

சிரீல் மூகிவி மறை
(திரு. சிறீல் மத்திவ்)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

Then, they never mentioned about the number of innocent policemen, politicians, police witnesses, army officers who have been killed in cold blood by these terrorists. (Interruption) Then why do you not go to the areas where these murders have taken place and hold meetings and tell the people, please come and give evidence ? Where have you done that ? Why cannot you do it ? You come here -

பு. சிவசிதம்பரம் மறை
(திரு. எம். சிவசிதம்பரம்)
(Mr. M. Sivasithamparam)

Why do not you tell the people who demonstrated outside the judges' residences to come and give evidence ?

சிரீல் மூகிவி மறை
(திரு. சிறீல் மத்திவ்)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

Why cannot you go to these areas and tell the people, if you are really sincere ?

பு. சிவசிதம்பரம் மறை
(திரு. எம். சிவசிதம்பரம்)
(Mr. M. Sivasithamparam)

You have one rule for you, and one rule for us.

பு. அமீர்தலிங்கம் மறை
(திரு. எ. அமீர்தலிங்கம்)
(Mr. Amirthalingam)

Why do you not go and tell the thug who shot the bus driver this morning at Trincomalee to come and give evidence ?

சிரீல் மூகிவி மறை
(திரு. சிறீல் மத்திவ்)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

Who are the people who killed him ?

பு. சிவசிதம்பரம் மறை
(திரு. எம். சிவசிதம்பரம்)
(Mr. M. Sivasithamparam)

I do not know.

Why do you not go and tell them. You are telling us. (Interruption)

சிரீல் மூகிவி மறை
(திரு. சிறீல் மத்திவ்)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

I never said anything about Somapala's death.

பி. சிவசிதம்பரம் மனை
(திரு. எம். சிவசிதம்பரம்)
(Mr. M. Sivasithamparam)

You said about us.

சிரிஸ் மூலி மனை
(திரு. சி. சி. மதேவ்)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

You come here day in day out and say you are against terrorism. But you encourage terrorists.

பி. சிவசிதம்பரம் மனை
(திரு. எம். சிவசிதம்பரம்)
(Mr. M. Sivasithamparam)

We do not.

சிரிஸ் மூலி மனை
(திரு. சி. சி. மதேவ்)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

It is a lie. Of course, I can tell you. I gave you your history last time.

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

What is the history ?

பி. சிவசிதம்பரம் மனை
(திரு. எம். சிவசிதம்பரம்)
(Mr. M. Sivasithamparam)

We will also give you your history, (*Interruption*)

சிரிஸ் மூலி மனை
(திரு. சி. சி. மதேவ்)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

Why do you not go and tell the people of those areas who have done these things, carried out these murders ? Tell them not to shoot. Hundreds of people have seen them murdered. But not one man comes out to give evidence, because they have been terrorized by them. Terrorism rules the place. So it is only you who can stop it.

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

Can I preserve security ?

சிரிஸ் மூலி மனை
(திரு. சி. சி. மதேவ்)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

You are encouraging the youth to terrorize.

தினேசு காரக சபாபதி
(குழுப் பிரதித் தலைவர் அவர்கள்)
(Mr. Deputy Chairman of Committees)

No point in your continuing to interrupt. I will give every member an opportunity to speak.

சிரிஸ் மூலி மனை
(திரு. சி. சி. மதேவ்)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

They say that the police in Trincomalee here failed in their duty. The information that we get is that the

police are favouring the Tamils. That your MP for Trincomalee is using his influence with the SP and the ASP to release all the Tamil people who have been arrested with arms. That is the information we get. The hon. Member for Vavuniya spoke about the Peradeniya University. Have you forgotten about the Jaffna University ? How many Sinhala students have you driven out from Jaffna. Four hundred of them you have driven out. Has any one of them come back ?

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

What we say, you also say.

சிரிஸ் மூலி மனை
(திரு. சி. சி. மதேவ்)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

You not only drove out the four hundred. You know Marasinghe who was a student. He was stabbed, his bowels were drawn out and up to date he is -

பி. சிவசிதம்பரம் மனை
(திரு. எம். சிவசிதம்பரம்)
(Mr. M. Sivasithamparam)

You are citing something that is wrong. You are talking - (*Interruption*)

தினேசு காரக சபாபதி
(குழுப் பிரதித் தலைவர்)
(Mr. Deputy Chairman of Committees)

You address the Chair, please.

சிரிஸ் மூலி மனை
(திரு. சி. சி. மதேவ்)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

When I tell them the truth they do not like it. A soldier's bowels were stamped down and the bowels came out. In the case of Marasinghe they split his stomach and he was carrying his bowels in his hands, and up to date -

தினேசு காரக சபாபதி
(குழுப் பிரதித் தலைவர் அவர்கள்)
(Mr. Deputy Chairman of Committees)

Bowels have nothing to do with the Emergency !

சிரிஸ் மூலி மனை
(திரு. சி. சி. மதேவ்)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

Up to date he is an invalid in a chair. He is paralysed below the waist. Now the hon. Member is talking of incidents at Peradeniya. Four hundred students were driven out. All the Sinhala bakers in Jaffna were driven out. (*Interruption*)

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

All the bakers are yet there in Jaffna. Come and see them.

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

The only good bread I eat is the bakery bread.

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

The Hon. Member for Vavuniya also asked : "What are the crimes that the windscreens have committed? Army soldiers have smashed up windscreens." How many buses have you burnt in Jaffna? The Hon. Minister of Transport will testify to that. How many buses have you burnt? What have the buses done? I hope the Hon. Minister will not send any buses to replace them—(Interruption) Then you will be encouraging them to burn some more buses. I am only meeting his argument.

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

What is his argument? There is no argument in what you are talking. You are utterly foolish.

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

You asked, "What are the crimes that windscreens have committed that army soldiers should have smashed up windscreens?" I ask you in return, "What are the crimes that the buses have committed?" The Hon. Minister of Transport has forgotten the number. He says such a large number of buses have been burnt. And then you were talking of the Gandhiam movement. I will explain to you in detail what the Gandhiam movement was.

கி. டி. சிவசிதம்பரம்
(சுருப் பிரதித் தலைவர் அவர்கள்)
(Mr. Deputy Chairman of Committees)

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

சுருப் பிரதித் தலைவர் அவர்கள் இரண்டாவது முறையாக உத்தரவுகளைப் படிக்கிறார். கி. டி. சிவசிதம்பரம் அவர்கள் இரண்டாவது முறையாக உத்தரவுகளைப் படிக்கிறார்.

அதன்பின்னர், சுருப் பிரதித் தலைவர் அவர்கள் உத்தரவுகளைப் படிக்கிறார். கி. டி. சிவசிதம்பரம் அவர்கள் இரண்டாவது முறையாக உத்தரவுகளைப் படிக்கிறார்.

Whereupon MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES left the chair, and MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER (MR. NORMAN WAI DYARATNA) took the Chair.

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

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the hon. Member for Vavuniya was blaming the Government for having arrested the leaders of the Gandhiam movement and he was trying to make out that it is a very harmless

organization which is helping certain individuals who had lost their homes in the up-country areas. Last time, I explained in detail what the Gandhiam movement really was. I am sorry that I did not read one of the annexures. This is one of the annexures of the set-up of the Gandhiam movement.

(1) Military drill with the necessity for strict disciplined obedience to orders. Importance of leadership in military operations.

This is the work that they are doing under the cover of Gandhiam movement.

Accurate marksmanship with various types of small arms—pistols, rifles, and lmg's, static and moving targets.

Effective use of hand-grenades.

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

Can I know from what document the Hon. Minister is reading?

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

I am reading from a document which I say is true.

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

What is the document?

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

I am talking responsibility for the document. (Interruption.) Of course, I am. I am not going to listen to anybody. I am taking responsibility for the document.

கி. டி. சிவசிதம்பரம்
(சுருப் பிரதித் தலைவர் அவர்கள்)
(Mr. Deputy Speaker)

The Hon. Minister says that he is taking responsibility for the genuineness of the document.

பி. சிவசிதம்பரம் (உறுப்பினர்)
(திரு. எம். சிவசிதம்பரம்—யய்யலியா)
(Mr. T. Sivasithamparam—Vavuniya)

A forgery given by the CID?

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

This is the training the Gandhiam movement carried out in those farms.

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

Who told you that?

சிரீல் மூகிவி மனா
(திரு. சிறில் மத்திவ்)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

(3) Assault practice—climbing over barbed-wire fences : cutting barbed-wire : scaling walls and moving over obstacles.
(*Interruption*)

திலேர்சு கபாநாயகர் அலர்சு
(பிரதிக் சபாநாயகர் அலர்சு)
(Mr. Deputy Speaker)

Order, please ! He says he takes full responsibility for the genuineness of the document.

பி. சிவசிதம்பரம் மனா
(திரு. பி. சிவசிதம்பரம்)
(Mr. T. Sivasithamparam)

We want to know what the document is.

மி. சிவசிதம்பரம் மனா
(திரு. எம். சிவசிதம்பரம்)
(Mr. M. Sivasithamparam)

What is this document meant for ?

திலேர்சு கபாநாயகர் அலர்சு
(பிரதிக் சபாநாயகர் அலர்சு)
(Mr. Deputy Speaker)

Order, please ! I think they are entitled to know what the document is.

சிரீல் மூகிவி மனா
(திரு. சிறில் மத்திவ்)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

This is the curricula of the Gandhian movement.

பி. அமிர்தலிங்கம் மனா
(திரு. பி. அமிர்தலிங்கம்)
(Mr. A. Amirthalingam)

Who prepared it ? You prepared it ?

சிரீல் மூகிவி மனா
(திரு. சிறில் மத்திவ்)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

By the leaders of the Gandhian movement.

பி. அமிர்தலிங்கம் மனா
(திரு. பி. அமிர்தலிங்கம்)
(Mr. A. Amirthalingam)

We say that this is an absolute fabrication.

பி. சிவசிதம்பரம் மனா
(திரு. பி. சிவசிதம்பரம்)
(Mr. T. Sivasithamparam)

It is an absolute fabrication. There is no such document.

சிரீல் மூகிவி மனா
(திரு. சிறில் மத்திவ்)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

This is the absolute truth, Sir.

திலேர்சு கபாநாயகர் அலர்சு
(பிரதிக் சபாநாயகர் அலர்சு)
(Mr. Deputy Speaker)

Order, please !

சிரீல் மூகிவி மனா
(திரு. சிறில் மத்திவ்)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

I testify to it.

மி. சிவசிதம்பரம் மனா
(திரு. எம். சிவசிதம்பரம்)
(Mr. M. Sivasithamparam)

Who has signed it ?

சிரீல் மூகிவி மனா
(திரு. சிறில் மத்திவ்)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

Who will sign a Document like this ?

This is what they were getting trained in. This is the training programme. (*Interruption*) Never mind signing the document ! This is the programme of the Gandhian movement. Do not talk nonsense.

(4) Amphibic is operation – landing on hostile territory from the sea.

பி. அமிர்தலிங்கம் மனா
(திரு. பி. அமிர்தலிங்கம்)
(Mr. Amirthalingam)

the Hon. Minister must stop reading from a document which is being challenged. We challenge the validity of the document which we say is a fabrication.

திலேர்சு கபாநாயகர் அலர்சு
(பிரதிக் சபாநாயகர் அலர்சு)
(Mr. Deputy Speaker)

Order, please !

Is it a report made by somebody ?

சிரீல் மூகிவி மனா
(திரு. சிறில் மத்திவ்)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

This is a report that was found in their possession.

பி. அமிர்தலிங்கம் மனா
(திரு. பி. அமிர்தலிங்கம்)
(Mr. A. Amirthalingam)

Found by whom ?

சீரல் மூகிவி மனன
(சீரு. சிநில் மத்திவ்)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

Why should I give out the name of the informant ?

பி. அமீர்தலிங்கம் மனன
(சீரு. ஏ. அமீர்தலிங்கம்)
(Mr. A. amirthalingam)

We say it is a fabrication.

சீரல் மூகிவி மனன
(சீரு. சிநில் மத்திவ்)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

I am a politician who gets information—

பி. அமீர்தலிங்கம் மனன
(சீரு. ஏ. அமீர்தலிங்கம்)
(Mr. A. Amirthalingam)

We say it is a fabrication.

சீரல் மூகிவி மனன
(சீரு. சிநில் மத்திவ்)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

I say, no.

திவீரல் கலாநாயகர் மனன
(பிரதிச் சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)
(Mr. Deputy speaker)

You deny that is a fabrication.

சீரல் மூகிவி மனன
(சீரு. சிநில் மத்திவ்)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

I said this is quite genuine and I testify to it.

திவீரல் கலாநாயகர் மனன
(பிரதிச் சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)
(Mr. Deputy Speaker)

You have got it from a responsible person. You are not prepared to disclose the identity.

சீரல் மூகிவி மனன
(சீரு. சிநில் மத்திவ்)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

No I am a politician. I get information from all sources, even from the TULF. If I disclose my informants I will never get any more information

பி. சிவசிதம்பரம் மனன
(சீரு. எம். சிவசிதம்பரம்)
(Mr. M. Sivasithamparam)

That is true, Sir. But he cannot table it in the House.

திவீரல் கலாநாயகர் மனன
(பிரதிச் சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)
(Mr. Deputy Speaker)

He cannot table it.

பி. சிவசிதம்பரம் மனன
(சீரு. எம். சிவசிதம்பரம்)
(Mr. M. Sivasithamparam)

He can get information but -

திவீரல் கலாநாயகர் மனன
(பிரதிச் சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)
(Mr. Deputy Speaker)

You may carry on.

சீரல் மூகிவி மனன
(சீரு. சிநில் மத்திவ்)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

(5) Commander training.

பி. சிவசிதம்பரம் மனன
(சீரு. எம். சிவசிதம்பரம்)
(Mr. M. Sivasithamparam)

Certainly you must not allow this type of thing to go into HANSARD.

பி. அமீர்தலிங்கம் மனன
(சீரு. ஏ. அமீர்தலிங்கம்)
(Mr. A. Amirthalingam)

A useless document under the cover of which -

சீரல் மூகிவி மனன
(சீரு. சிநில் மத்திவ்)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

(6) Sabotage technique, Timing mechanism. They are all very worried because this is one of their trumps - this is one of the parts of the Communist movement.

பி. அமீர்தலிங்கம் மனன
(சீரு. ஏ. அமீர்தலிங்கம்)
(Mr. A. Amirthalingam)

This is communalism. Why do you allow the Sinhalese people to be violent by your speeches ?

சீரல் மூகிவி மனன
(சீரு. சிநில் மத்திவ்)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

This is part of their communist movement.

பி. அமீர்தலிங்கம் மனன
(சீரு. ஏ. அமீர்தலிங்கம்)
(Mr. A. Amirthalingam)

You are responsible for all the violence.

சீரல் மூகிவி மனன
(சீரு. சிநில் மத்திவ்)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

This is a part of their Movement - sabotage techniques, timing mechanism, radio control of timing mechanism; (7) Use of explosives for sabotage; (8) reconnaissance and information gathering; (9) night fighting.

மன்குறிப்புகள்

(அங்கத்தினர் ஒருவர்)

(A Member)

Night fighting !

சிரில் மூகிவி மதனா

(திரு. சிநில் மத்திவ்)

(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

- (10) Guerilla practice and training for guerilla warfare ;
 (11) Planning and execution of compat operations, order of battle ;
 (12) Importance of Deception in military operations ;
 (13) Offensive and defensive operations, re-grouping after an attack.

These are people who have been trained in PLO ; they have come here and they are carrying on these activities under the Gandhiyam movement — (Interruption). The Gandhiyam movement is only a front for you to carry on these activities.—(Interruption).

- (14) The art and practice of gathering military intelligence ;
 (15) Use, maintenance and repairs of signals equipment, sending and receiving signals, coding and decoding, interception and evaluation of enemy signals ; (16) Reading of maps and plans, use of the compass, preparing sketches and enemy positions and fortifications.

கிஷோர் கலாநாயகர்

(பிரதீச் சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Deputy Speaker)

Order, please !

பி. சிவசிதம்பரம்

(திரு. பி. சிவசிதம்பரம்)

(Mr. T. Sivasithamparam)

You say the Gandhiyan movement is in Vavuniya, and read all these. I would only like to ask one pertinent question. I would like to ask whether anybody, any person who belonged to the Gandhiyan movement has been arrested by the police on these charges ?

மன்குறிப்புகள்

(அங்கத்தினர்)

(Members)

No. He is not bound to give an answer.

சிரில் மூகிவி மதனா

(திரு. சிநில் மத்திவ்)

(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

You go and find that out from the police. Let him find that out from the police. He can find that from the police. He can write to the IGP and get that information.

- (17) First aid and emergency treatment of wounds ; (18) Practice in mock combat operations ; (19) Trading of military instructors who, in turn, can train recruits at home.

Now I read out last time in detail about what the Gandhiyan movement was —(Interruption). Sir, I forgot to read this out last time ; you brought it to my

notice. (Interruption). Yes, if I find some more, if I get further information I will produce it in this House. Yes, do not worry.

மன்குறிப்புகள்

(அங்கத்தினர்)

(Members)

You can improve on this next time.(Interruption).

சிரில் மூகிவி மதனா

(திரு. சிநில் மத்திவ்)

(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

You want me to read them again. (Interruption) I got them with me. From the Gandhiyam leaders. Here they are. You want to have a look at them.—(Interruption). They could not put it into HANSARD—(Interruption). I feel like reading the list of all the people whom the terrorists have destroyed because he read a list today in the House.

மன்குறிப்புகள்

(அங்கத்தினர்)

(Members)

Starting from when ?

சிரில் மூகிவி மதனா

(திரு. சிநில் மத்திவ்)

(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

Starting from the day you started terrorism.

So, coming to the matters raised by the hon. Member for Kalawana (Mr. Sarath Muttetugama) regarding the decision in the Vivienne Goonawardene case, I heard some of the non. Members of the SLFP say that the decision of the Bar Council was unanimous. For their information I will read a letter that my Friend the Hon. Minister of Transport has handed over to me, from Mr. M. H. Amit, Attorney-at-law, Member of the Bar Council of Sri Lanka.

" Sir, I was present and participated in the Meeting of the Bar Association reported in your valuable journal of Sunday 19, June 1983 "

This was addressed to the papers and the papers refused to publish it. Therefore we are forced to read it in this House.

So many letters like this have been written in protest, but the papers have refused to publish it. This is one of them. The papers say that they consulted legal opinion and they are frightened to publish it. Maybe Dr. Colvin R. de Silva has given the legal advice.

" This meeting was conducted in a most incompetent manner by the President of the Bar Association of Sri Lanka.

At the outset I questioned the propriety of moving all the resolutions in a package as I wanted to support the resolutions except resolution No. 3 and suggested the resolutions be moved, discussed and be voted upon one by one. The President who chaired the meeting accepted the suggestion but on the intervention of Mr. A. C. Gooneratne, Q.C. it was agreed to discuss the resolutions together but be voted upon one by one.

My observation on resolution No. 3 dealing with the promotion of the police officers was that it would be difficult for me to oppose this resolution without some reference to the recent actions of the Judiciary and their judgements, and if I were to do so the possibilities are that I would be hauled up for contempt and therefore I did not have the freedom to say what I wished. Under these circumstances I asked the President to withdraw the resolution. There was no response by him. He remained mum.

Subsequently Mr. Bala Tampoe who was granted the privilege of addressing twice moved that the Chairman delete in resolution No. 5 the reference to the Hon'ble Prime Minister. I believe intimidated by Bala and his cohorts the Chairman deleted it with a mild protest."

There too there was a gang of ruffians who threatened the chairman and had their own way even inside your Bar Association. So these ruffians are not only outside the judges houses, they are inside the Bar Association also.

" The resolutions had been approved by the Executive Committee of the Bar Association and no alteration could have been made without such amendment being put to the house or at least having the consent and approval of the Mover of the resolution.

But worse was to follow. At the conclusion of the discussions in breach of the undertaking given and accepted by the Chairman on the suggestion of Mr. A. C. Gooneratne Q.C. the Chairman put all the resolutions in a package to be voted upon."

This is the type of democracy they have, where a few thugs get together and compel the Chairman to do what they want done.

" Many of us had no option but to refrain from voting for obvious reasons.

I categorically assert that conduct of the entire meeting was improper and a shameful reflection on the capability of the Chairman to lead the Bar Association of Sri Lanka as its President.

I dare the Chairman to contradict what I have stated.

Yours faithfully,

(M. H. Amit)
Attorney-at-law,
Member, Bar Council of Sri Lanka."

Now, Sir, I come back to the remarks made by the hon. Member for Kalawana.

ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය කථානායකතුමනි, විවිධ ගුණවර්ධක මැතිණියට පක්ෂව තවු තීන්දුවක් එද ප්‍රකාශ කර තිබෙනවා. ඒ හා සම්බන්ධ සිද්ධිය මොකක්ද? එද එතුමිය පෙළපාලියක් මෙහෙයවුවා. අපි දන්නවා මේ පෙළපාලි පටන් ගත්තේ බොහෝම සාමකාමීව බව. මේවායේ පසුබිම මම නමුත්තාත්සේව මතක් කර දෙන්නට කැමතියි. මේ වාගේ පෙළපාලි හතරක් ගැන මම සටහන් කරගෙන තිබෙනවා. එකක්, 1964

දෙසැම්බර් මාසයේ 4 වනද පරණ පාර්ලිමේන්තු ගොඩනැගිල්ල ඉදිරිපිට පැවැත්වුණු පෙළපාලිය. එද, සී. පී. ද සිල්වා මහත්මයා— එවකට සභානායකතුමා—ලැහැස්ති වුණා, ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂය අත්හැර එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයට එන්නට ; මේ වාගේම රාජාසන කථාවට විරුද්ධව ඡන්දය දෙන්නට. එතුමාත් සමග ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයේ දහ හතර දෙනෙක් පමණ එද තිබුණු රජයට විරුද්ධව ඡන්දය දෙන්න ලැහැස්ති වුණා. එද මට හොඳට මතකයි, මම හිතන්නේ එද හිටපු මන්ත්‍රීවරු කීප දෙනෙක් අද මෙතන ඉන්නවා. මතුගම මන්ත්‍රීතුමා (අතිල් මුණසිංහ මහතා) කියනවා, එතුමා එද හිටියේ තැනැ කියා, නමුත් මම තම එතුමාට ඒ පෙළපාලියේදී දක්කා. එතුමාත් ස්වාමීන් වහන්සේලා දෙනමකුත් ඇතුළු විශාල පිරිසක් රැස් වුණා. සී. පී. ද සිල්වා මහත්මයාට තර්ජනය කර, විරුද්ධව ඡන්දය දීම නතර කරන්න.

අතිල් මුණසිංහ මහතා
(කි.ල. අනිල් මුණසිංහ)
(Mr. Anil Moonasinghe)

I deny.

සිරිල් මැතිව් මහතා
(කි.ල. සිරිල් මැතිව්)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

I saw someone like him.

එතුමා වාගේ කෙනෙක් එද ඒ පෙළපාලිය මෙහෙයවුවා.

අතිල් මුණසිංහ මහතා
(කි.ල. අනිල් මුණසිංහ)
(Mr. Anil Moonasinghe)

එහෙම ටෙන්ත පුළුවනි

සිරිල් මැතිව් මහතා
(කි.ල. සිරිල් මැතිව්)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

මම හිතුවේ එතුමා කියලයි.

අතිල් මුණසිංහ මහතා
(කි.ල. අනිල් මුණසිංහ)
(Mr. Anil Moonasinghe)

ඒක තමයි. වැරදියට හිතන එක තමයි වරද.

සිරිල් මැතිව් මහතා
(කි.ල. සිරිල් මැතිව්)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

4th of December, I have got the photo-copies of that.

මේ වාර්තාව, 1964 දෙසැම්බර් මාසයේ 5 වනද පද වුණු පත්‍රයෙන් ඒ සිදුවීම 1964 දෙසැම්බර් මාසයේ 4 වනදයි. Voting was on the 4th.

මේ පත්‍ර වාර්තාවෙන් කියන අන්දමට එද තිබුණු ඒ පෙළපාලිය කථානායකතුමාටවත් නවත්වන්නට බැරි වුණා. එවකට ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂ ආණ්ඩුවේ කථානායකතුමා හැටියට සීව් හිසු ප්‍රකාශ වු මහත්මයා, පොලිස් සුපිරිත්වැන්ඩන්වරයාට තියෝග කළා වහාම මේක නවත්වන්න පටන් ගත්තා. සිපුරන්වැන්ඩන්ව කියා තිබෙනවා, එයාට මිනිසුන් තැනැ, ඉන්නේ 14 දෙනෙක් කියල. එද ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයේ, සමසමාජ පක්ෂයේ සම්පූර්ණ බලපෑම් උඩ, දමර්කයන් එවලා, සී. පී. ද සිල්වා මහත්මයාට ගහල. ධර්මීය සේනානායක මහත්මයාට ගහල, බලහත්කාරයෙන් ඡන්දය දීම වළක්වන්නටයි එද හැදුවේ. හොඳ වෙලාවට, එද එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයේ තරුණ පෙරමුණේ කණ්ඩායමක් ඉඳලා ඒක නැවත්තුවා. අපට පොලීසියෙන් කිසිම ආධාරයක් එද තිබුණේ නැහැ. අපේ පක්ෂ සංවිධානවල මාර්ගයෙන් තමයි ඒක අපි නවත්වා ගත්තේ ; මෙල්ල කර ගත්තේ. පොලීසිය නිකම් බලාගෙන හිටියා. එද තිබුණේ යුද්ධයක්. එතුමාට අද ඒවා මතක තැබුව ඇති. එතුමාත් එතැන හිටියා.

නියෝජ්‍ය කථානායකතුමා

(பிரதிச் சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)
(Mr. Deputy Speaker)

You will have to accept the denial.

සිරිල් මැතිව මහතා

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

එද වරින් ගුණවර්ධන මැතිණියත් ගිටියා. එයා පොලිස්කාරයකුටත් ගැහැරිවා. එයා අපිටත් ගැහැරිවා.

මන්ත්‍රීවරයෙක්

(அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)
(A Member)

වරියත් ?

සිරිල් මැතිව මහතා

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

මම, එයා හරිම දමරකයි. එයා පිරිමි දෙන්නෙක් වටිනවා, වත්කම්වලට. මම කියන්න හදන්නෙ සාමකාමීව පටන් ගන්නා පෙලපාලි කොඩි නරම් දරුණු අන්දමට පරිවර්තනය වෙන්න පුළුවන්ද කියන කාරණයයි. එද පාර්ලිමේන්තුව ඇතලුම ඇවිත් මන්ත්‍රීවරුන්ට ගැහැරිවා. සී. පී. ද සිල්වා මහත්මයාට—එවකට සභානායකතුමාට— ගහල, ඩිඩ්ලි සේනානායක මහත්මයාගෙ කාර් එකට ගල් ගහල, තර්ජනය කරන්නට හැදුවා, ජන්දය දීම වලක්වන්න. ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය කථානායකතුමා, පෙලපාලිවලට ඉඩ දුන්නාම වන සිද්ධි ඒ වානේ තමයි.

ඒ හැරුණාම 1966 ජනවාරි මාසේ 08 වැනි ද මොකක්ද, වුණේ? එද පාර්ලිමේන්තුවේ විවාදයක් තිබුණා, දෙමළ භාෂා රෙගුලාසි පිළිබඳව. ඊට විරුද්ධව විශාල පෙලපාලියක් පටන් ගන්නා, විහාර මහාදේව උද්‍යානයෙන්. එදත් තිබුණේ එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයේ ආණ්ඩුවක්. පොලිස් අධිකාරී වැනි වටේට මහත්මයාට ඒ ආණ්ඩුවෙන් නියෝගයක් දී තිබුණා, පෙලපාලියක් වශයෙන් අර උදව්වට විහාර මහාදේව උද්‍යානයෙන් පිටතට එන්න ඉඩ දෙන්න එපාය කියා. නමුත් ඒ පොලිස් අධිකාරීවරයා කළේ මොකක්ද? ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයේ බලපෑම් උඩ එයා ඉඩ දුන්නා, ඒ උදව්වට පෙලපාලියක් වශයෙන් විහාර මහාදේව උද්‍යානයෙන් එළියට එන්න. [බාධාකීර්ම] මම, එයා ශ්‍රී ලංකා කාරයෙක්. ඒ සිද්ධිය උඩ අපි එයාට අස් කලා. නමුත් අරගොල්ල බලයට ආ හැටියේම එයාට ඩී. අයි. ඒ. කලා.

ඒ විධියට ඒ පෙලපාලියට එන්න ඉඩ දුන්නා. ඒකත් පටන් ගත්තේ සාමකාමී පෙලපාලියක් වශයෙන් තමයි. ඒ පෙලපාලිය ආවා, ගාලු පාරට ; වෝකර්ස් සාප්පුවේ පෙටරල් ෂෙඩ් එකට ගිනි තබන්න පටන් ගන්නා ; එතැන තිබුණු ඔක්කොම සාප්පු කුඩුපට්ටම් කලා. ඒ අවස්ථාවේදී තමයි, පොලිසිය තැබූ වෙඩිල්ලක් නිසා පොලොවේ වැදුණු උණ්ඩයක් ආපහු ගිහින් වැදීමෙන් දඹරාවේ හාමුදුරුවෝ මැරුණේ. ඊට පස්සේ ඒ පෙලපාලිය පාර්ලිමේන්තුව වටලන්න ආවා. ශ්‍රී ලංකා-සමසමාජ-කොමියුනිස්ට් කණ්ඩායම් කළ දෙවල් තමයි. ඒ ඒ විධියේ සිද්ධිවලට තුඩු දුන් ඒ පෙලපාලියත් පටන් ගත්තේ සාමකාමී පෙලපාලියක් හැටියටයි.

ඊළඟට, තුන්වැනි සිද්ධිය : 1971 දී පෙලපාලියක් තිබුණා, අමෙරිකන් තානාපති කාර්යාලය ඉදිරිපිට. එදත් එයාලා පෙලපාලියෙන් ගියේ, ලියමනක් දෙන්නයි. මම හිතන හැටියට ඒ පෙලපාලියෙන් වරියත් ගුණවර්ධන මහත්මයා ගිටියා. එද ගියේ නික්සන්ට යවන ලියමනක් හාර දෙන්නයි. මෙද ගියේ ඊගන්ට දෙන්න ලියමනක් හාර දෙන්නයි. එද අහිංසක පොලිස් පරීක්ෂකවරයෙක් මැරුම් කැවා. අද වන තුරු බැරි වි තිබෙනවා, ඔහුට පිහියෙන් ඇත්තේ කවුද කියා හොයා ගන්න. [බාධාකීර්ම] මේ ඔක්කෝම කලබල ඇති වුණු පෙලපාලි පටන් ගත්තේ සාමකාමී ඒවා හැටියටයි. මෙවැනි පෙලපාලිවලට ඉඩ දුන්නම ඒ විධියේ සිද්ධිත් තමයි, ඇති වන්නේ.

1980 අගෝස්තු මාසේ 8 වැනිද අපේ මිරිගම ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා (මනේන්ද්‍ර විජේරත්න මහතා) පාර්ලිමේන්තුවට ඇතුළු වන්න එනකොට ශ්‍රී ලංකා-සමසමාජ-කොමියුනිස්ට් කණ්ඩායමක් එකතු වී එතුමාගේ වාහනය වට කරලා, ගල්-මුල්වලින් එතුමාට ගහලා එතුමාගේ ඔරුව පැරිවා. එතුමා ජීවිතය බේරා ගත්තේ අනුකමයෙනුයි. ප්‍රතිකාර ගැනීම සඳහා සුමාන ගණනාවක් ඉස්පිරිතාලයේ ඉන්න එතුමාට සිදු වුණා.

එයින් නැවතුණාද? නැහැ. ඒ පෙලපාලිය මධ්‍යම බැංකුවත් පහු කරගෙන කෙළින්ම ගියා. මහ බැංකුවේ විදුරුත් කුඩුපට්ටම් කලා. ජනාධිපති මන්දිරයටත් ගල් ගැහුවා. ඊට පස්සේ දකුණට—'ප්‍රින්ස් ස්ට්‍රීට්' එකට—හැරුණා. එතැනදී වාහනයක් පෙරළුවා. මා ලග තිබෙනවා, එද ගත්තු එක්තරු. මහ බැංකුව ඉදිරියේ වාහන පෙරලා පුරවා දමමා.

1980 අගෝස්තු මාසේ 9 වැනි දෙනෙසුරාද 'ලංකාදීප' පත්‍රයෙකුයි. මම මේ කොටස් උසුරා දක්වන්නේ :

'කොළඹ නගරයේ ඊයේ උදේ වරුවේ සිදු වූ ප්‍රකෝපකාරී ක්‍රියා නිසා මහජන දේපල, ම. ග. ම. බස් රථ හා පොදුගලික රථ වාහන රාශියකට බලවත් හානි සිදු විය.'— ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයේ වෘත්තීය සමිති නායකයෙක් වන මවුලානා මහතා තමයි, මේවා මෙහෙයව්වේ.

—කොටුවේ ඉන්ටර් කොන්විනෙන්ටල් හෝටලය අඛණ්ඩ මෝටර් රථයක් පෙරලා දමා තිබුණේ මෙසේය'

ඊට ඉහළින් පින්තූරයක් දමා තිබෙනවා. එතෙකින් නැවතුණේ නැහැ, ඒ පෙලපාලිය.

'සෙලින්කෝ මන්දිරය, මහ බැංකුව ඉදිරිපිට වැනැම් ඒද. මහ පැපුල් හල ඉදිරිපිට හා තවත් මාර්ග කීපයකම තවතා තිබූ රථ වාහන සියල්ලක්ම පාහේ මෙම ගල්-මුල් ප්‍රහාරවලින් බලවත් හානියට පත්ව තිබුණු බව දක්නට ලැබේ.'

මෙසේද සඳහන් වෙනවා:

'කොටුවේ සභාය ගොඩනැගිල්ල හා එයා ඊ ලංකා සමාගමේ කාර්යාලය ඇතුළු තවත් ගොඩනැගිලි රාශියක් විදුරු ආවරණ සහ විදුරු පුද්ගල කවුරු මෙම ගල් මුල් පහරවලින් කැඩී බිඳී ගොස් තිබේ.'

සාමකාමීව පටන් ගත් පෙලපාලි ඉවර වෙත විට සිදු වුණේ මේවා තමයි. මන්ත්‍රීතුමකුටත් ගැහුවා. පාර දෙපැත්තේ සාප්පුවල තිබුණු විදුරු ඔක්කෝම පොඩි කලා. මම මේ නිදර්ශනයක් වශයෙන් පෙන්වන්න සුදුසුම වන්නේ, මේ විධියේ පෙලපාලිවලට ඉඩ දුන්නාම සිදු වන අතතුරු මොනවාද යන වගයි.

ලංකා සමසමාජ පක්ෂයේ ඇත්තවශයෙන්ම විශාල බලාපොරොත්තුවක් තිබුණා, මේ රටේ ආණ්ඩුව ඒ අයගේ අතට ගන්න. ඉස්සෙල්ලාම ඒ අය ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයත් එක්ක ගියා. 1964 දී හැදු සහාග රජය මාස ගණනකින් ඉවර වුණා. 1970 ආයෝග පටන් ගන්නා. 1970 දී සමගි පෙරමුණක් පිහිටව්වා. එහෙත් 1975 දී මැතිණිය පයින් ගහලා මේ අය එලොව්වා. කොල්විත් ආර්. ද සිල්වා, එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා, අතිල් මුණසිංහ ඇතුළු මේ කණ්ඩායම මැතිණිය විසින් එළවා දමනු ලැබුවා ඒ ආණ්ඩුවෙන්.

ඊළඟට මේ අය 1977 දී මහා මැතිවරණයට ඉදිරිපත් වුණා. එයින් අත්ත පරාජයට පත් වුණා. කොමියුනිස්ට් පක්ෂය බිංදුවට වැටුණා. වෙත මොකක්දෝ සුකුරුත්තමකින් එක් මන්ත්‍රීතුමෙක් පස්සේ ආවා. 1977 දී අත්ත පරාජයට පත් වුණා. එද එක මන්ත්‍රීවරයෙක් බෙහෙකට හොයා ගන්න නැහැ. මේක මේ ජන්දදයකයන්ට වුණු පොඩි වැරදීමක්යයි එදා මේ අය හිතුවා. ඊළඟට, 1982 තිබුණු ජනාධිපතිවරණයටත් මේ අය ඉදිරිපත් වුණා, මෙතෙක්දිවත් අල්ලා ගන්න මිනෑය කියා. එද මේ මතුගම මන්ත්‍රීතුමා (අතිල් මුණසිංහ මහත්මයා) බොහෝම වැයම් කලා, කොල්විත් ආර්. ද සිල්වා මහත්මයා ජනාධිපති කරන්න. [බාධාකීර්ම] එනකොට අතිල් මුණසිංහ මහත්මයාගේ මොළේ පැදිලා, එනකොට මේක අතහැර දමමා. [බාධාකීර්ම]. එතනිනුත් අයින් වෙලා ගියා මැතිණිය ගාට්ට. තැන්නම් කොඩිබැකඩුව ගාට්ටද ගියේ? ජනාධිපතිවරණයේදී ලංකා සමසමාජ පක්ෂයට මොකද වුණේ? ජන්ද කියද ලැබුණේ? කනගාටුයි කියන්නත්.

ජනද පනස් අට දහසි. මුළු ජනද සංඛ්‍යාවෙන් දශම ගණනක් බැඳුවොත් නමයයි. මේ අවුරුදු හතළිහක් දේශපාලනය කළ අය. මේ පාර්ලිමේන්තුවේ එද කොල්ලීන් ආර්. ද සිල්වා මහත්මයා, "රටෙහිලාගත් ඉස් රවුන්ඩ් ද කෝනර්" කියමින් මොර දෙනට මට මතකයි. නමුත් ජනාධිපතිවරණයේදී ලැබුණේ ජනද පනස් අට දහසි. ජනතා විමුක්ති පෙරමුණටත් ලැබුණා. දෙලක්ෂ හැත්තෑ තුන් දහසක්. ඊයේ පෙරෙයිද පවත්ගත් ජනතා විමුක්ති පෙරමුණටත් කිට්ටු කරන්න බැරි වුණා, මේ අයට. පොත්තම්බලම් මහත්මයාගේ වැමිල් කොන්ග්‍රස් පක්ෂයටත් මේ අයට වඩා ජනද ලැබුණා. මේ අයට ලැබුණේ මුළු ජනද සංඛ්‍යාවෙන් දශම නමයයි. කණගාටුව ඒකයි.

දැන් මේ සමසමාජ පක්ෂයත් ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයත් අත්ත පරාජයට පැමිණ තිබෙන අවස්ථාවක්. මේ අය දැන් වෙඩි කෑ ලාචාර්ය වාගේ. මොකක් කරන්නද කියා බලාගෙන ඉන්නවා. ආයෝජන පෙළපාලියක් ආරම්භ කරන්න ඕනෑයි මේ අය හිතුවා. දැන් මේ පක්ෂයේ පිරිමි කවුරුවත් නැහැ. පිරිමි පැනලා ගිහිත්. අතිල් මුණසිංහ මහත්මයා පැනලා ගිහිත්. අනෙක් අයත් අයිත් වෙලා. ඒ අය දන්නවා, ඒ පක්ෂයේ ඉදලා වැඩක් නැහැ කියා. "මේ පක්ෂයේ ඉදලා අපට කවදවත් තිවත් නැහැ. දේශපාලන තිවතකට යන්න බැහැ. ඒ නිසා අපි දැන් මෙය අත්හැර යන්නට ඕනෑ" කියා කල්පනා කර ඒ මක්කොම දැන් මේ පක්ෂය, අත්හැරලා ගිහිත්. දැන් ඉන්නේ ගැහැණු කට්ටිය පමණයි.

මේ අය කථා කලා, විවිධත්‍වයක් ගුණවර්ධක මහත්මිය ගැන. අපරාදේ කියන්න බැහැ. පුද්ගලයෙක් වශයෙන් සැලකුවොත් විවිධත්‍වයක් ගුණවර්ධක මහත්මිය පිරිමියෙකුට වඩා එඩිතර බව කියන්න ඕනෑ. නියම වන්නියෙක්. බොහොම හසුරුවයි. පරුෂ කෙනෙක්. තොහිත්මුණු කෙනෙක්. කිසිම පුද්ගලයෙකුට හිත්මවන්න බැහැ. නමුත්තාත්සේලා දන්නවානේ. ඇත්ත වශයෙන්ම කියන්නවා නම් යක්ෂකියක් වගෙයි. මෙය අපහාසයක් වශයෙන් කියන්නවා නොවෙයි. නියම ස්වභාවයයි මම කියන්නේ. මම එය අගය කොට සලකන්නවා. එතුමිය තුළ ඒ තරම්ම එඩිතරකමක් තිබෙනවා.

එද මාර්තු මාසයේ 5 වන දා මොයාගේ මාර්ගයෙන් සාමකාමී පෙළපාලියක් සංවිධානය කලා. අපේ කොමියුනිස්ට් මහත්වරුන් එයට විකක් සම්බන්ධ වුණා, මේක කරන්න පුළුවන්ද බලන්න. මේ අය හිතුවේ මොකක්ද? මේක සාමකාමී පෙළපාලියක් ලෙස පටන් ගනිමු. අපි යන්නේ අමෙරිකන් තානාපති කාර්යාලයට රිගන්වි හමුවෙන්නයි— [බඩාකිරීමක්]. ඒගත් එතන නැහැ. "මෙන්න ලියමන, රිගන්ට යවපන්" කියා ලියමන දුන්නා. [බඩාකිරීමක්] නැහැ. නැහැ. එයාලා කීවා "එහෙම නැපුල් කර බැහැ. එය අතින්ම අරගෙන ගොස් බාර දෙන්නට ඕනෑ" කියා. එසේ කියා ඒ ලියමන දුන්නා එතන සිටි දොරටුපාලකයෙකුට.

ලියම බාර දී දැන් ගාලුපාර දිගේ එනවා. ඊළඟට අගමැතිතුමාගේ ගෙදර ලඟට ආවා. එතන ඉතින් තිකම් ඉන්න බැහැනේ. එතන පොඩි කොටි නැටුමක් දමා විවිධයුධි අතින් ගැනු කට්ටියයි අගමැතිතුමාටත් බැනලා කෑගහන්න පටන් ගන්නා "අපේ කීර්තිවී දීපියවී" "අපේ ලමයින් තොමරවී" යනාදී දේවල් කිය කියා. ඒ අන්දමට ප්‍රකෝප වන ආකාරයට එදා එතනදී හැසුරුණා. දේශපාලන වශයෙන් අපි දන්නවා මොනවාද මේ අයගේ අදහස්. මොනවාද මේ අය කරන්න බලාපොරොත්තු වන්නේ කියා. ඒ අය තුළ කලින් තිබුණු අදහස වූයේ අගමැතිතුමාගේ ගෙය පසු කරගෙන හත්දියට පැමිණ කඩ දෙක තුනකට ගල් ගහන්නයි. ඒ සඳහා ඔවුන් දාමරිකයින් ලැහැස්ති කරගෙන ගියා. ඒක ඒ අයගේ පුරුදු වැඩක්නේ. ඒ කාලයේ සිටම මැයි පෙළපාලියක් තිබුණොත් යුනියන් ජලේස් එකේ කඩ මක්කොම සුන්. විදුරුවක කුඩුපට්ටම් කරලයි තනර කරන්නේ. ඒක ඒ අයගේ පුරුදු ගනියක්. එදා ලැහැස්ති වුණේ ඒකටයි.

ඒ අය හිතුවා "දැන් මේ රටේ තිබෙන්නේ ජාතිවාදී කෝලාහල පටන් ගන්න පුළුවන් හොඳ අවස්ථාවක්, අපි කොල්ලුපිටියේ ගල් ගසන අතර තවත් දාමරිකයින් පිරිසක් ලැහැස්ති කරනවා බම්බලපිටිය වැල්ලවන්න හරිදේ ගල් ගහන්නට, එතකොට මංකොල්ලකාරයොයි මනී මරුවොයි මක්කොම එකතු වී වැල්ලවන්න රත්මලාන පැත්තේ සිටින ඒ අභියාචනා ද්‍රවිඩ ජනතාව මරන්න පටන් ගනියි, ගෙවල් කොල්ල කන්න පටන් ගනියි" කියා. මන්න මක තමයි. එද ඒ අයගේ පරමාර්ථය වූණේ. ඒ පෙළපාලිය ආරම්භ කළේ, මන්න මක ඉෂ්ට කරන්නයි. හොඳ වෙලාවට පොලිසිය ඒක නැවැත්තුවා. එසේ නැවැත්වීම නිසා සිදු වූයේ

මොකක්ද? නඩුකාර මහත්වරු කීවා ඒක වැරදියි කියා. පෙළපාලිය නැවැත් වූ එක වැරදියි කීවා. තිනිඳු මහත්වරුයි විනිශ්චයකාරවරුයි පොත පෙරලන්න පටන්ගන්නා. එයාල ඉතින් කරන එකතෙ හැමදාම. පොත පෙරලන්න පටන්ගන්නා. තිනි පොත පෙරලගෙන ගියා 8 වෙති පිටුවට. 8 වෙති පිටුවේ තිබෙනවා—

"Every citizen is entitled to —
(b) the freedom of peaceful assembly ;"

මේක Peaceful assembly එකක් නොවෙයි. මේක රැස්වීමක් නොවෙයි. මේක පෙළපාලියක්. Peaceful assembly කියලයි මේකෙ නියෝගෙන. එනම් සාමකාමීව රැස්වීමේ නිදහසයි සහතික කර තිබෙන්නේ මේ ආණ්ඩුක්‍රම ව්‍යවස්ථාව අනුව. නමුත් මේක විකක් දික් කලා. මේක පෙළපාලියටත් ඉඩ තිබෙනවාය කීවා. පෙළපාලි නිසා සිදුවන අලාභනාති මම මේ උදහරණ හතරෙන් නමුත්තාත්සේලා මේ ගරු සභාවටත් පෙන්වා දුන්නා.

එතකොට මම කියන්නේ මේ විනිශ්චයකාරවරුන් විකක් කල්පනා කරන්න ඕනෑ බවයි. තිනිය තිබෙන එක ඇත්ත. තිනිය තිබෙන්නේ මහජනතාවගේ ප්‍රයෝජනය සඳහායි. ජනතාව ආරක්ෂා කරන්නයි. එතකොට තිනියේ අර්ථ නිරූපණය කිරීමේදී මේවා කල්පනා කරන්න ඕනෑ. මේ කෙස් පැළෙන තර්ක ගන්න එක පමණක් නොවෙයි තිබෙන්නේ. මෙනත් ඉන්නවා තිනිඳු මහත්වරුන් කීප දෙනෙක් ඒ ඇත්තෝ නම් අගය කොට සලකන්නවා මේ කෙස් පැළිල්ල. ඒවා ඉතින් දික් කරනවා දවස් ගණන් මාස ගණන්. ඒ ඇත්තන්ටම තමයි ඒක ප්‍රයෝජනය. නමුත් තිනිය තිබෙන්නේ ජනතාවගේ ප්‍රයෝජනය සඳහායි. ජනතාව ආරක්ෂා කියමටයි.

ශ්‍රී ලංකා ප්‍රජාතාන්ත්‍රික සමාජවාදී ජනරජයේ ආණ්ඩුක්‍රම ව්‍යවස්ථාවේ 3 පිටුවේ 4 වෙති ජේදයේ (ඇ) අනුචේදයේ මෙසේ සඳහන් වී තිබෙනවා:

"රටේ ආරක්ෂාව ඇතුළුව ජනතාවගේ විධායක බලය ජනතාව විසින් තෝරා පත් කර ගනු ලබන ජනරජයේ ජනාධිපතිවරයා විසින් ක්‍රියාත්මක කළ යුත්තේය."

මොකක්ද මේකෙන් කියන්නේ? රටේ ආරක්ෂාවට කවුද වග කියන්න ඕනෑ? ජනතාව විසින් පත් කරන ලද ජනාධිපතිතුමායි. මම මේ අහන්නේ මේ—[බඩාකිරීම] විනිශ්චයකාරතුමන්ලාගෙන් මේ 3 වෙති පිටුව පෙරළුවේ නැද්ද කියලයි. මේක විකක් කල්පනා කරන්න ඕනෑ නෙ එතුමන්ලා. මේ ආරක්ෂාව ගාර දිල තිබෙන්නේ ජනාධිපතිතුමාට. ඇත්ත, 8 වෙති පිටුවේ 14 වෙති ජේදයේ (ආ) අනුචේදයේ තිබෙනවා "සාමකාමීව රැස්වීමේ නිදහසට හිමිකම් ඇත්තේය" කියා. ඒක ඒ පුද්ගලයෙකුට තිබෙන අයිතියක්. මේක රටේ ආරක්ෂාවයි. රටේ ආරක්ෂාව කියන්නේ මේ රටේ සිටින මුළු මහත් ජනතාවගේ ආරක්ෂාවයි. කෝටි 1.5 ක ආරක්ෂාවයි.

එතකො ඒ වගකීම කාගෙද තිබෙන්නේ? ජනාධිපතිතුමාගේ. එතකොට ඒ ගැන විනිශ්චයකාරවරුන් විකක් කල්පනා කරන්න ඕනෑ නේද? එයාලට වෙත වැඩක් නැහැ නෙ. මේ තිනි පොත්ම නෙ පෙරලන්නේ. හොඳට පඩි හම්බ වෙනවා. අපි වාහන දීලා තිබෙනවා. ගිය ආණ්ඩුව වාගේ පයිත් අරින්නෙ නැහැ. අර පිලික්ස් ඩයස් කලා වාගේ— බල්ලො ගෙතියන්න වාගේ—බෙල්ලෙන් ගැට ගහලා තොණ්ඩුව දමාගෙන යන්නා වාගේ නෙවෙයි. ජනාධිපති මන්දිරයෙන් අගමැතිණිය හම්බ වෙන්න එයාලට නමස්කාර කරන්න මක්කොම පයිත් ගෙතිවිටේ හරියට බලකුක්කො ගෙන යනවා වාගේ. අපි එහෙම කෙලේ නැහැ. අපි එතුමන්ලාට ගොරව කරනවා. සලකනවා. වාහන දී තිබෙනවා. පඩි වැඩි කර තිබෙනවා. සෑම අයිතියායිකමක්ම දීලා තිබෙනවා.

සරත් මුත්තේට්ටුවේගම මහතා
(කීරු. சரத் முத்துவேகம்)
(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)
ගෙවල්වල ඉන්න දෙන්නෙ නැහැ.

සිරිල් මැතිවි මහතා
(කීරු. சிறீல் மதுவீ)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)
ඒක ඉතින් අපි දන්නෙ නැහැ නෙ. එතුමන්ලා දුන් තීන්දුව අනුව නෙ. ඒ මින්සසු ගිහිත් තිබෙන්නේ. නිදහස දී තිබෙනව නෙ. ඒ මිනිස්සු කියන්නේ ඒකයි. අපි දන්නේ නැහැ ඒක.

මන්ත්‍රීවරයෙක්
(අங்கත්තචාරි ඉරාචාරි)
(A Member)
කවද කීවේ ?

සිරිල් මැතිව මහතා
(කි.ප්‍ර. ශි.නි.ම. ජ.ම.ම.ම.)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

එතුමන්ලා ඒ තීන්දුව කියලා තිබෙනවා. සාමකාමී පෙළපාලි ගෙයින්-**[බාධාකීර්ම]**

සරත් මුත්තෙට්ටුවගම මහතා
(කි.ප්‍ර. ජා.ප්‍ර. ප්‍ර.මු.ප්‍ර.ම.බ.බ.බ.)
(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

ඒ තිසයි කියලා කීවේ කවද ?**[බාධාකීර්ම]**

මන්ත්‍රීවරු
(අහකත්තචාරි)
(Members)
ලකී සෙවත් !

සිරිල් මැතිව මහතා
(කි.ප්‍ර. ශි.නි.ම. ජ.ම.ම.ම.)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

මේ කාරණය වරදවා තේරුම් ගන්නට එසා. අපි සම්පූර්ණයෙන්ම විරුද්ධයි මේ විදියේ පෙළපාලි වලට. ඒකයි මම මේ කියා දුන්නේ. පෙළපාලිවලට ඉඩ දුන්නාම ඇති වන සිද්ධි. මේ උදහරණ හතරෙන් මා තමුත්තාන්දේලාට කියා දුන්නේ ඒකයි. අපි සම්පූර්ණයෙන්ම විරුද්ධයි මේ විදියේ පෙළපාලිවලට ඉඩ දීම ගැන. තමුත්තාන්දේලාට කියන්නේ පෙළපාලිවලට තිදහස තිබෙනවා කියලා. අපි නොමෙයි කියන්නේ. අප ඒට විරුද්ධයි. ඒ තිසයි මම තමුත්තාන්දේලාට උදහරණ වශයෙන් මේවා පෙන්වා දුන්නේ. අපි අහන්නේ මේ විනිශ්චයකාරතුමන්ලාට **[බාධාකීර්ම]** දන්නේ නැහැ. පොලීසියෙන් අහන්න ඕනෑ. මේ ගැන හොඳලා බලන්න කියලා කියන්නට ඕනෑ.

මන්ත්‍රීවරයෙක්
(අහකත්තචාරි ඉරාචාරි)
(Member)
ලහ ඉන්නෙ ඇමතිතුමා.

සිරිල් මැතිව මහතා
(කි.ප්‍ර. ශි.නි.ම. ජ.ම.ම.ම.)
(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

එයා කොහොමද දන්නේ ? සල්ලි ගෙව්වාම ඕනෑ කෙනෙකුට බස් එකක් ගන්න පුළුවන්. පී.ටී.බී. එකෙක්. මුදල් ගෙව්වාම ඕනෑම කෙනෙකුට පුළුවන් බස් ගන්න. එතුමා දෙනවාදැ ඊයට එක, කැහැනෙ. **[බාධාකීර්ම]**

ගරු තියෝජ්‍ය කථනායකතුමනි, මගේ තර්කය මෙයයි : මේ විනිශ්චයකාර තුමන්ලාට පෙනුනේ කැද්ද මේ තුන්වන පිටුව ? 4 (අ) වගන්තිය ?

පුද්ගලයෙකුගේ ආරක්ෂාව සලසන්නට පුළුවනේ රටේ ආරක්ෂාව සලසන්නට ඕනෑ. ආරක්ෂාව සම්බන්ධව සම්පූර්ණයෙන්ම වගකීම භාරදී තිබෙන්නේ ජනාධිපතිතුමාටයි. මෙවැනි එක එක දඩබ්බර පුද්ගලයන්ට පෙළපාලි ගෙන යන්නට ඉඩ දුන්නොත්, ඒ කිසිවක් නවත්වන්නට පෙලීසියට අයිතියක් නැතෙයි කියලා කීවොත් මොකක්ද ඇති වන තත්ත්වය ? තමුත්තාන්දේලාගේ ගෙවල් වලටත් ඇවිත් මය විදියේ පෙළපාලි කරාට. අපට ඉන්න ලැබෙන්නේ නැහැ. සාමාන්‍ය මිනිසුන්ට කොහෙන්න ඉන්න ලැබෙන්නේ නැහැ. රටක කුමක් හෝ විනයක් තිබෙන්නට ඕනෑ. පොලීසියටත් යම්කිසි බලයක් තිබෙන්නට ඕනෑ. මය විදියේ පෙළපාලියකින් යම්කිසි අසාධාරණයක් වෙනවාය කියා, යම්කිසි සාමය කඩ කීර්මක් වෙනවාය කියා ඒ අයට

ඒත්තු ගියොත් එවැනි පෙළපාලි නවත්වන්නට පොලීසියට බලය තිබෙන්නට ඕනෑ. පොලීසියේ ඒ බලය තැනි කලහොත් අපි කිසි කෙනෙකුට පාරේ යන්නට ලැබෙන්නේ නැහැ. මේ කරුණු අපේ විනිශ්චයකාරතුමන්ලා කල්පනා කල යුතුයි. තමුත් මේ තීන්දුව දෙන විට එය කල්පනාවට භාජනය කර නැහැ. විශේෂයෙන්ම මම මේ පෙන්වන වගන්තිය කොහෙන්න සලකා බලා නැහැ. එය පෙරලලා දලා තිබෙන්නෙ.

තවත් කාරණයක් ගරු කථනායකතුමනි, මේ පෙළපාලිවලට, අධිකරණයේ විනිශ්චයකාරවරුන් ඉදිරියට ගොස් කරන මේ විදියේ කෑ කෝ ගැසීම් වලට අප සම්පූර්ණයෙන්ම විරුද්ධයි. තමුත් මේ සම්බන්ධ සාක්ෂි වශයෙන් එක තඩුකාර මහත්මයෙක් කියා තිබෙන්නේ මෙන්න මේ අන්දමටයි. මේ පත්‍රයේ වාර්තා කර තිබෙන අන්දමට— 1983 ජූනි මාසයේ 16 වෙන බ්‍රහස්පතින්ද 'අයිලන්ඩ්' පත්‍රයේ— ජස්ටිස් කොලින් හෝම්—එතුමා මෙහෙම කියා තිබෙනවා :

“There were about 200 persons in the mob and young men in trousers and shirts and they were in an aggressive mood. They were abusive. He saw one of the mob picking up a large kerb stone in order to throw it at his house. Two others stopped him. He feared that they would jump over the wall and attack his house.”

Then he goes on to say :

“After about 20 minutes they left leaving three placards behind.”

තවත් ඇස් දෙකක් සිද්ධිය දුටු සාක්ෂිකාරියක් :

“Mrs. Irangani Dunuwila Ratwatte, wife of Mr. Justice B. S. C. Ratwatte stated that on this day her husband left home to bring some medicine and pick up the daughter. At about 10.30 a.m. when she was in bed she heard a loud shouting outside the house. She got up and saw large crowd demonstrating outside the house carrying placards. They were shouting—‘Pare yanna idadunna Ratwatte mahathata jayawewa. Pare yanna idadunna Ratwatte mahatha bangawewa.’ Thereafter they struck the placards on the gate post and trees and left.”

Now, this is important, Sir.

“Before that she called some of them and tried to find out what they wanted but they refused to speak.”

So they were in no way aggressive—when she called them they could have abused her—They were not aggressive.

“She telephoned her husband and informed him of the incident. Her husband asked her to telephone the police but she told him that it was not necessary”

Even she did not find the need to inform the Police.

“as she thought the judgment being against the police officers it will not serve any purpose.....”

(Interruption) Hold your laughter a little.

“This crowd was orderly and disciplined and did not use abusive words.”

Now who has the last laugh ?

“No damage had been caused to her property.”

Was she under the influence of the Police when she made this statement ? Was she terrified by the Bar Association ? Or some thugs from the Bar Association must have gone to her and made her to make another statement. Sir, these are the points I wanted to make.

ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය කටානායකතුමා, මට පුළුවන් අන්දමින් විරුද්ධ පක්ෂයෙන් ඉදිරිපත් කරන ලද තර්කවලට සෑහෙන දුරට පිළිතුරු ඉදිරිපත් කලා. ඒ සඳහා ඉඩ ප්‍රස්ථාව ලබා දීම ගැන තමුත්තාන්සේට කනගා වෙනවා.

එම්. සිවසිතම්පරම් මහතා (කල්දුර)

(திரு. எம். சிவசிதம்பரம்—நல்லூர்)

(Mr. M. Sivasithamparam—Nallur)

The hon. Minister of Justice in attempting to reply to some of the speeches made by the Members of the Opposition said that we should not have utilized this opportunity of the extension of the Emergency debate to place before the House some of the excesses that have been committed by the Armed Services. Mr. Deputy Speaker, I remember His Excellency the President when he was Prime Minister, when he brought this amendment to the Public Security Act which necessitated the motion for the extension of the Emergency to be debated on the Floor of the House, he said that he was bringing this amendment because he wanted to give an opportunity for Members of the House to place before the House and the Government any excesses that might have been committed. That was the reason why His Excellency the President amended the Public Security Act in order to give us a chance to place before the Government and this House any excesses that have been committed by the Armed Services during the period of Emergency.

That is why sir, we thought we should also bring to the notice of the Government this regulation which you yourself condemned in 1971. In 1971 when inquests were not held into shootings by the army the late Mr. Dudley Senanayake and the present President of this country found fault with the Government of that day for having removed the chance of an inquest where there had been a shooting by the armed services. Now, Mr. Deputy Speaker, the hon. leader of the opposition said that in 1979 this regulation was brought for two days and on representations made by us it was withdrawn.

Sir, the speech of the Hon. Minister of Industries will show why it is necessary to hold an inquest. Now, Sir, he purported to give his version of the incident at Valvetiturai where a young man by the name of Palanivel was shot. He said that there was some incident at the Thondamannar Camp. Fifteen minutes later a Hi-ace van driven by this young man tried to rush into the army camp when the sentry shot. Now, if an inquest had been held the truth would have come out, not the version of the Hon. Minister of Industries. The hon. Member for Uduppiddy had rushed to the scene within minutes of the shooting, and the Hi-ace van was facing Pt. Pedro and not the Camp and the Hon. Minister of Industries says in this House that the van had tried to break its way into the Camp and the shooting had taken place.

That is why we want an inquest. If an inquest had been held the truth would have come out. This type of stories that we hear from the Hon. Minister of Industries, that this van tried to force its way into the Camp and then the driver was shot, the falsity of such statements would have been proved beyond doubt.

On this occasion, this young man had taken two families to the bus. Those two families travelled in the bus. They were stopped at Vavunia and they came back and gave evidence, made statements to the Police saying that this young man had used this van to take those two families and drop them at the bus stand. The Hon. Minister of Industries says he, along with four or five others, had come armed and tried to jump into the camp. Can anybody believe this? Not a stone was found in this van. Not a stone was found with this man who was shot. Does the Hon. Minister of Industries want us to believe that a van with four or five people with absolutely no arms rushed into an army camp? They rushed into do what? That is why we say an inquest should be held.

Now about the young man who was shot at Nallur near the temple. The Hon. Leader of the Opposition said he was coming back after making declarations and preparations for a wedding. They were coming on two motor bicycles, and our information is that, when the army asked them to stop, they stopped and the young man was dragged out of the pillion, dragged a distance of 25 yards and then shot. This is the information that we got. Of course the army says "we asked them to stop they did not stop, and we fired". Actually, Sir, if somebody does not stop when the army challenges, you do not shoot straightaway at the head to kill, you shoot at the bicycle or you shoot at some other part of the anatomy in order to prevent the man from running. This is not a terrorist. This is a man who had gone to arrange for a wedding. (Interruption) I know it is very convenient for you to shoot all the Tamils. Then all your troubles will be over. Here was a young man who having prepared for the wedding was coming back. Mr. Speaker, now in that case also no inquest was held. We do not know the truth of how he came by his death. Of course, the Hon. Minister for Internal Security was good enough to give the body to the relatives on representations made by us. But no inquest was held. The circumstances under which that man came by his death are not known. That is why we say that this regulation which prevents inquests being held should be withdrawn.

This comes in the wake of six consecutive verdicts of homicide by Magistrates. That is the importance of regulations of this nature. Six consecutive verdicts of homicide by the army. It was then and then only that you brought this regulation saying that there should be no more inquests. There was a man at

[உத. சிவசிவசுப்பிரமணியம்]

Valvetiturai who was shot, a dhoby; there was a young man who was shot in the verandah of my house; there was a man who was shot at Achchuveli. Once again there was a verdict of homicide. There was a man who died in the army camp and there was a verdict of homicide. Then there were these two cases of persons who were shot in Valvetiturai, and the other cases. At the magisterial inquiry into these six cases, I might say, that the army was represented by very senior counsel. In the inquiry where the death took place in the army camp Mr. A. C. de Soyza came with a string of advocates and represented the army, but still the magistrate's verdict was one of homicide. That is why we say, please withdraw this regulation about the inquests. What is the inconvenience? Can you imagine a magistrate holding that it is not justifiable homicide if in fact the shooting had taken place in circumstances where the man was involved in firing with the army? Have there not been instances in Jaffna itself where magistrates have held that it is justifiable homicide?

So, while we are certainly for the extension of the Emergency to deal with the situation that has arisen in Trincomalee and so on, we do ask the Government to please withdraw this regulation. Let them have inquests, let the verdict be given, and if indeed the army personnel have been found to have exceeded their power please take action against them. That is the only way in which you can prevent excesses by the army under the cover of Emergency and that is the only safeguard that the average citizen has.

Sir, the Hon. Minister of Industries has the habit, whenever we give these instances, to say, "Well, what about the policemen who have been killed?" Of course, nobody is saying that the killing of the policemen was right. We have always condemned the killing of policemen.

சிரிஸ் மெத்யூ

(திரு. சிவில் மத்தியம்)

(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

Where, in this House?

பி. சிவசிவசுப்பிரமணியம்

(திரு. எம். சிவசிவசுப்பிரமணியம்)

(Mr. M. Sivasithamparam)

In this House and outside this House. Every time a murder had taken place, the hon. Leader of the Opposition and I have issued statements condemning such action.

சிரிஸ் மெத்யூ

(திரு. சிவில் மத்தியம்)

(Mr. Cyril Mathew)

Go there and do it.

பி. சிவசிவசுப்பிரமணியம்

(திரு. எம். சிவசிவசுப்பிரமணியம்)

(Mr. M. Sivasithamparam)

I will do it from there, not from your house. From our places we did it. We have issued statements, both in the Tamil and the English press, saying that murders are not going to find a solution to the political problem. So, Mr. Deputy Speaker, can you ever equate, I ask you, individual acts of violence by persons, to State terrorism by the army? Now, you say that a number of police officers have been shot. Have you not caught the persons? Have you not investigated them? Have you not amended the law in order to make confessions admissible? Have we not convicted seven of them for murder and bank robbery? So, I ask you in return, have you convicted one army man for the murder of a citizen? That is my question to the Hon. Minister of Industries. Those whom you call terrorists and who have committed murder, you have arrested. You have charged them; you have got confessions; you have convicted them, and some of them are today serving life imprisonment for the offences. But can you give even one instance of an army man who had also shot six to seven persons being convicted? The answer of the Hon. Minister of Industries is, "Yes, it is true that these people have been shot, but so have police officers been shot." That is no answer. Mr. Deputy Speaker. Individual acts of violence by a citizen can never be equated to State terrorism by the army. So what is the remedy we have? Here is a magisterial inquiry where a verdict of homicide is returned and what happens? The Attorney-General comes in. He gives bail in the first instance and says, "Do not prosecute". So what is the remedy that we have? Is it any less murder because the army has committed it? Is it any less an offence because the army has committed it? That is the reply which will be given. You can never equate an individual act to State terrorism by the army. That is why we once again urge the Government, please withdraw this regulation about inquests.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, there were two interesting speeches on the Supreme Court Judges incident, one by the Hon. Minister of Justice and the other by the Hon. Minister of Industries. The Hon. Minister of Industries gave us a little lesson on how to interpret the Constitution, but I think I prefer to accept the judgment of Justice Soza to the judgment of Justice Mathew. I certainly prefer, Sir, and I think, every right thinking man in this country would prefer the judgment of Justice Soza to the judgment of Justice Mathew.

But I only want to know this. I got the impression when the Hon. Minister of Industries was speaking that he was holding a brief for the people who had demonstrated outside the houses of the judges. I got

the impression that he was saying, "What wrong have they done? They were not very boisterous. They were not very aggressive"—(Interruption) Yes, I know, but why did you read them if you do not accept them? Therefore, I thought that you held a brief. He does not want to be an advocate or an attorney. There are two types of people to defend somebody else. One for a fee because you are an attorney, and the other because you have set them up. I do not know to which category the Hon. Minister of Industries falls, but I certainly got the impression that the Hon. Minister of Industries was trying to defend those people who had demonstrated outside the judge's bungalows.

The Hon. Minister of Justice on the other hand, was very sorry for what happened. But being sorry does not help. What is the positive step that the Government is going to take to see that this does not happen again? That is what we are interested in.

Sir, I am sorry that the Acting Inspector-General of Police should have issued a statement where he said that the police could not arrest these persons because processions had been held to be legal by this judgment. Mr. Deputy Speaker, being in a procession was, I think, the least of the offences committed by these people. Even the Hon. Minister of Justice has conceded that they committed the offence of contempt of court; that they have committed the offence of abuse, and committed the offence of intimidation. Why was no action taken? One gets the impression from the report of the Acting Inspector-General of Police that he was trying to tell the judges, "You held the processions were legal. Now see, we are helpless when there are people outside your houses."

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the Bar Association, the Council of Advocates, have met and condemned this action. The Hon. Minister of Industries read a letter from Mr. Amit as to what happened in the Bar Association. Let us not forget that at this meeting was Mr. Harry Jayewardene, at this meeting was Mr. A. C. de Zoysa, and at this meeting was Mr. A. C. Gooneratne.

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

They all spoke.

சி. சிவசிதம்பரம் இளை
(திரு. எம். சிவசிதம்பரம்)
(Mr. M. Sivasithamparam)

They all spoke. Surely, Sir, if those gentlemen had accepted and voted for the resolution, I do not see what value one can attach to the letter of Mr. A. C. Amit. And if you know what Mr. Amit is doing today,

the value of that letter is still less. He is a Member of the Educational Services Commission and he is a Member of the Public Service Commission. That is the letter that you have placed before this House as being something, and I am sorry that he should have referred to his fellow colleagues in the Bar in the way he had done. It does not matter, but certainly one cannot attach much value or weight to a letter from Mr. Amit who, as I said, is a member of the Educational Services Commission and a member of the Public Service Commission. Therefore, let us not go into that question.

But I do ask the Government, are you concerned about what happened outside the judges' houses or not? Do you think that type of demonstration is doing any good for the democratic pattern of life that we all want to have in this country? Please do not forget that many people thought they will be in these seats of power for ever. That is what they thought but they learnt very soon that it cannot happen. Please do not forget that these things can happen. History has sometimes a very nasty habit of repeating itself. Therefore, I do urge the Government that it is absolutely essential that they should take some steps to bring the culprits to book as early as possible.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, as we are here discussing the Emergency, the situation in Trincomalee is getting worse and worse. I just got a telephone call from the hon. Member for Trincomalee (Mr. R. Sampanthan) that a bomb was thrown at a house in Sirimapura and two persons, the father and son — Kanapathipillai and his son — were both killed by the bomb that was thrown. But the more dangerous part of it is this. Mr. Sampanthan also tells me that one hour before the bomb attack, he got information that a mob was going to attack this house and he had conveyed this information to the Police. The curfew was on, and the information that Mr. Sampanthan received he passed on to the Police that there was a likelihood of an attack of this nature taking place against the house of Mr. Kanapathipillai and his son. I understand that the Hon. Minister of Internal Security with the IGP is due to fly to Trincomalee tomorrow to study the situation personally in Trincomalee. May I join the hon. Leader of the Opposition and say that unless you take immediate steps to have a few Tamil officers in Trincomalee, you cannot immediately bring the situation under control.

I am sorry, Sir, that the hon. Member for Kesbawa (Mr. Gamini Lokuge) said something about Thangathurai. I am personally aware that the M.P. for Trincomalee and the Chairman of the DDC Thangathurai, had been trying their utmost to keep the Tamil people under restraint in spite of what has been happening. In fact, Sir, both the Leader of the Opposition and I wanted to go to Trincomalee to see

[ඵම. සිව්සිතමපරම මහතා]

what the situation is. Mr. Sampanthan said, "Please do not come, because your coming will make the situation graver and more tense. Please do not come." that is the way in which hon. member for Trincomalee and Chairman of the DDC are trying to keep their own people in restraint.

The Hon. Minister of Internal Security is going to Trincomalee tomorrow. One of the first things that the Hon. Prime Minister should do, Sir, is to see that at least a few Tamil officers are appointed. The hon. Leader of the Opposition has given a list of other incidents, and also the people who were allowed to escape, who had been taken into custody. therefore, I do ask that the only thing that will bring the situation under control immediately is having a few Tamil officers there.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, there is one other small matter I want to bring to the attention of the Hon. Prime Minister. As you know, the Saiva Paripalana Sabha Hindu Religious Society in Kurunegala has a small house where a number of Tamil public servants were living. That house was attacked and all these Tamil public servants had to leave and go to Jaffna. The house was completely burnt with their belongings. Now, in the first week, these officers were allowed to sign in the respective Departments in Jaffna. That was counted as a part of duty leave. But I understand that at the end of the first week they were asked to go back. The Hon. Prime Minister will appreciate that it may not be possible for them to go back immediately, and I ask the Hon. Prime Minister whether this arrangement could not continue for another one week or two, so that they could sign in different Departments and so on.

I do not want to take any more of your time. May I appeal to the Hon. Prime Minister that the situation in Trincomalee demands that very urgent steps should be taken. I am sure that the Hon. Prime Minister and His Excellency the President who are conscious of the situation will take necessary steps to bring the situation under control. I also ask them to withdraw these regulations about the non-holding of inquests.

අ. හා. 9.35

දිනේෂ ගුණවර්ධන මහතා (මහරගම)

(*தினேஷ் குணவர் த்தனா—மஹரகம்*)

(Mr. Dinesh Gunawardene—Maharagama)

ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය කපාතාසකතුමනි, මැයි මාසයේ හදිසි නීතිය ප්‍රකාශයට පත් කළ අවස්ථාවේදී එසේ හදිසි නීතිය ප්‍රකාශයට පත් කිරීමට හේතු දක්වමින් කපා කළ ගරු අගමැතිතුමා ප්‍රධාන වශයෙන්ම කියා සිටියේ අතුරු මැතිවරණ ගණකාවක් හමාරවීමත් සමගම සාමයට බාධාකාරී නොයෙකුත් සිද්ධීන් ඇති වෙන්නට ඉඩ තිබෙන නිසා ඒ තත්ත්වයෙන් ඊට ආරක්ෂා කර ගැනීමේ අවශ්‍යතාවය උඩ හදිසි නීතිය ප්‍රකාශ කළ බවයි. තවත් හේතුවක් හැටියට උතුරේ තත්ත්වයක් ඒ අවස්ථාවේදී පෙන්නුම් කළා. ඒ අවස්ථාවේදී මා ඉදිරිපත් කළ අදහස් මතම මා අද කියන්නට ඕනෑ දත් සම්පූර්ණයෙන්ම මැතිවරණවල පසු

තත්ත්වය තුනී වී ගොස් තිබෙන බව. අතුරු මැතිවරණ නිසා ඇති වූ සාමයට බාධාකාරී වූ කිසිම අවස්ථාවක් ගැන අද ගරු අගමැතිතුමා ප්‍රකාශ කළේ නැහැ. අගමැතිතුමා අද ප්‍රධාන වශයෙන්ම ප්‍රකාශ කළේ උතුරේ තිබෙන තත්ත්වය සහ ඊට සම්බන්ධයයි සැලකිය හැකි ඒ ප්‍රදේශවල යම් යම් ස්ථානවල ඇති වූ සිද්ධීන් ගැනයි. ඒ නිසා හදිසි නීතිය නව දුරටත් ඊට පුරාම ක්‍රියාත්මක විය යුතු බව එතුමා කීවා. ඊට අමතරව තවත් හේතු කීපයක් එකතු කිරීමට සිද්ධීන් ඇති වී තිබෙන වග අපි දන්නවා. පසුගියදා ශ්‍රේෂ්ඨාධිකරණයේ විනිශ්චයකරුවන්ගේ නිවේශ ඉදිරිපත් සිදු වූ දේ හදිසි නීතිය දික් කිරීමට හේතුවක් යයි ප්‍රකාශ නොවූවත් ගරු කර්මාන්ත ඇමතිතුමාගේ කථාවෙන් අපට පැහැදිලි වෙනවා මෙවැනි තත්ත්වයන්ට තුඩුදෙන පෙළපාලි යෑමට තිබෙන නිදහස පිළිබඳව සීමාවල් අවශ්‍ය වන බව. මේ සිද්ධීන්ගෙන් පසුව පෙළපාලි යෑමට තිබෙන නිදහස පිළිබඳව හදිසි නීතිය යටතේ අළුත් රෙගුලාසි කීපයක් පනවමින් සීමාවල් කීපයක් ඇති වුණා.

නියෝජ්‍ය කපාතාසකතුමනි, අද මා ප්‍රධාන වශයෙන්ම කියන්නට ආවේ උතුරුකරයේ තිබෙන තත්ත්වය ගැනයි. අපි කවුරුත් ඒකීය ලංකාවක අවශ්‍යතාවය මත කල්පනාවට භාජනය කරන්නට ඕනෑ අපේ ඊට බෙදා ගැනීමට උත්සාහ දරණ කිසිම ක්‍රියාවකට අපි හවුල් නොවන බව. මා එදත් ඒ කාරණය ප්‍රකාශ කළා. උච්ච එක්සත් විමුක්ති පෙරමුණේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීවරුන් අවධාරණය කර ගතයුතු කාරණයක් තිබෙනවා. අපේ ඊට කැඩීමට ඇති කළ යම් යම් සටන් පාඨ නිසා අද ඒ අයගේ සීමාවලින් පැත්ත සංවිධාන ගණනාවක් ස්වාධීනව උතුරුකරයේ ක්‍රියා කරන තත්ත්වයක් ඇති වී තිබෙන අතර ඉතාම සාමකාමී උච්ච එක්සත් විමුක්ති පෙරමුණට පාලනය නොකළ හැකි තත්ත්වයකින් ඒ සමහර අය හැසිරෙනවාය කියන එක නොයෙක් වීට ඒ අයගේ කපා වලින්ම අර්ථ නිරූපනය වී පෙනෙන බව අපට කියන්නට පුළුවනි.

මේ ප්‍රශ්නය රටේ සාමයට පමණක් නොවෙයි රටේ ජීවත් වන පුරවැසියන්ගේ මිනිස් අයිතිවාසිකම්වලටද බාධා පමුණුවන තත්ත්වයට වර්ධනය වී තිබෙන බව අපි කණගාටුවෙන් මතක් කරන්නට ඕනෑ. උතුරුකරයේ මිනිස් ජීවිතවලට තර්ජනකාරී තත්ත්වයක් පවතිනවාය කියන හැසීමෙන් තොරව අන්ත ඒ තත්ත්වය මත මේ ප්‍රශ්නයට විසඳුමක් සෙවීමේ උත්සාහයක යෙදීම මේ රටේ සියලුම පුරවැසියන්ගේ යුතුකමක් බවට අද පත් වී තිබෙනවා. අපි කවුරුත් ඊට කැඩීමට විරුද්ධ නම්, අපි කවුරුත් මේ රටේ මනුෂ්‍යයන්ගේ අයිතිවාසිකම් ගුණික විඳිමින් ජීවත් වෙන්නට මිනිස් අයිතිවාසිකම්වල උත්තරීතර අයිතිය ගැන ක්‍රියා කරනවා නම් මේ සභාවේ තුන් පැත්තේ අපි සියලු දෙනාම මේ ප්‍රශ්නයට විසඳුමක් සෙවීමේ අවශ්‍යතාවය දෙස බලන්නට ඕනෑ. ඒ නිසාම මුළු මහත් ලංකාවම හදිසි නීති රෙගුලාසි වලින් වෙලාගැනීමට අවශ්‍යතාවයක් තිබෙනවාය කියන එකට අපට නම් එකඟ වෙන්න බැහැ. සීමාසහිත ප්‍රදේශ කිහිපයක පමණක් පවතින තත්ත්වයකට මුහුණ දීම සඳහා හැකියාවන් ආණ්ඩුවට—රජයට—අවශ්‍ය වී තිබෙනවා. නමුත් ඒ නිසා මුළු මහත් රටේ ජනතාවගේ ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රීය අයිතිවාසිකම් අද සීමා වී තිබෙනවා.

නොයෙක් නොයෙක් ප්‍රදේශවල වූ සිද්ධීන් කිහිපයක් ගැන ගරු අගමැතිතුමා සඳහන් කළා. දකුණු පළාතේ තැනිතම් උතුරට සම්බන්ධ නොවන ප්‍රදේශවල සිදුවීම් ගැන එතුමා සඳහන් කළා. ඒ සිද්ධීන් මෙල්ලකර ගැනීමට හදිසි නීතියේ අවශ්‍යතාවයක් තිබෙනවාද කියන එක ගැන කෙළින්ම අපට ප්‍රශ්න කරන්න පුළුවන්. හදිසි නීතියකින් තොරව ඒවා පාලනය කරගන්නට පුළුවන් තත්ත්වයකින් අපේ ආරක්ෂක හමුදාවලට හැසිරෙන්නට පුළුවන් වග අපි පිළිගන්නට ඕනෑ.

ගරු අග්‍රාමාත්‍යතුමා සඳහන් කළ සිදුවීම්වලට ලංකාවේ දිස්ත්‍රික්ක ගණනාවක් අත්තර්ගත වූණේ නැහැ. නමුත් ඒ සියලු දිස්ත්‍රික්කක් හදිසි නීතියට යටත් කරගෙන තිබෙනවා. ඒ වාගේම සමහර දිස්ත්‍රික්කවල සිදු වූ සුළු සුළු සිද්ධීන් සාමාන්‍ය පොලීස් ක්‍රියා පටිපාටිය තුළින් මර්දනය කරගන්නට පුළුවන් තත්ත්වයක් තිබෙනවා. එම නිසා ත්‍රිකුණාමලයේ හෝ උතුරේ වෙනත් ප්‍රදේශවල හෝ තිබෙන තත්ත්වය ගැන, විශේෂ

තත්වයක් හැටියට සලකා, ගන්නාවූ පියවරවල් සඳහා මුළු රටේම ජනතාවගේ අයිතිවාසිකම් හදිසි නීතියට යට කිරීම ගැන මම විරුද්ධ වෙතවා. පසුගිය වතාවේ ජනදය පාර්ලිමේන්තුවේ වැළකී සිටියේ, මේ ආකාරයෙන් මේ ප්‍රදේශවල ජනතාවට ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රීය අයිතිවාසිකම් හැකිවී විදීමට ඉඩ නොදීමට වෙනත් හේතුවක් පාර්ලිමේන්තුවට තිබෙනවා. මේ රටේ දේශපාලන හා ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රීය අයිතිවාසිකම් වෙනුවෙන් ක්‍රියා කරන කොටස්වලට බාධාවක් ඇති කරන තත්වයක් මේ හදිසි නීතිය ඇති කර තිබෙනවා.

පසුගියද ශ්‍රේෂ්ඨාධිකරණ තවුකාරවරුන්ට ඇති වූ තත්වයට පෙර, මේ රටේ කම්කරු සංවිධානවලට, විශේෂයෙන් බැංකු සේවකයන්ට සංවිධානාත්මක මැරවරයක් පැමිණ, බඩසිකල් වෙන්වලින් ගහලා, කිණිසිවලින් ඇහලා, වෘත්තීය සමිති නායකයින් අසාධාරණ ලෙස රෝහල්ගත කළ හැටි අපි දැක තිබෙන්නවා. ඒ ආකාරයෙන්ම කණ්ඩායම් වශයෙන් බස්වලින් බැස ගොස් විශ්ව විද්‍යාල ශිෂ්‍යයන්ට තුවාල කර ගියා. සිංහල බල මණ්ඩලයේ රැස්වීමට ඇවිත් යම් යම් අයට තුවාල සිදු කර ගියා. මේ සිදුවීම් එකීන් එකට සම්බන්ධයක් නැති ඒවා වෙන්නට පුළුවන්. තවුකාරවරුන්ට සම්බන්ධයක් නැතැයි කියා සිතන්නට බැරි ආකාරයට ඒකාකාරව මේ සිදුවීම් එක් එක් සිදුවීගෙන යනවා. මෙතෙක් මේ තත්වයේ හයාතකම තත්වය තමයි පසුගිය ද රටේ නීතිය හා යුක්තිය ඉටු කරන්නට තිබෙන, එහි ආරක්ෂකයන් හැටියට අපි කවුරුන් පිළිගන්නා අධිකරණ විනිශ්චයකාරවරුන්ගේ ගෙවල් දෙරකඩදී සිදු වූණේ. කිසිදු දේශපාලන පක්ෂයක කිසිදු ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදී අයිතිවාසිකමක් ගරු කරන කෙනෙකුට ඒ සිදු වූණේ දේ විහිලුවකට අරගන්තට හෝ, එය අනුමත කරන්නට හෝ ඉදිරිපත් වෙන්නට පුළුවන් වේවිය කියා මා හිතන්නෙ නැහැ. මේ සිදුවීම් ගැන පරීක්ෂණයක් කරන්නට කමිටුවක් පත් කරන ලෙස ශ්‍රේෂ්ඨාධිකරණ විනිශ්චයකරුවන් පවා ඉල්ලා තිබෙනවා. රටේ නීතියේදී සියලු දෙනාම සම්බන්ධ ප්‍රධාන සංවිධානයෙකුත් එවැනි ඉල්ලීමක් කර තිබෙන්නේ මෙහි තිබෙන හයාතක තත්වය නිසයි.

1977 දී මැතිවරණයේදී එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂය බලය ඉල්ලා සිටියේ මේ රටේ යුක්තිය හා නීතිය තැවන රජ කරවනවාය කියලයි ; උසාවියට හිමි තැන, ශ්‍රේෂ්ඨාධිකරණයට හිමි තැන ලබා දෙනවාය කියලයි. ඒ තැන ලබා දෙන්නට පොරොන්දු වූ නිසාම දෝ ආණ්ඩු ක්‍රම ව්‍යවස්ථාවට මූලික අයිතිවාසිකම් පිළිබඳ විශේෂ වගන්තියක් අත්හරින කලා. ඒවා ක්‍රියාත්මක කරන්නට ඉන්න විනිශ්චයකාරවරුන්ට තිබෙන අර්ථ නිරූපනය කිරීමේ හා නින්දු කිරීමේ අයිතියට අපි අභියෝග කරන්නට ගියාත් මේ රටේ විනය, මේ රටේ නීතිය, මේ රටේ යුක්තිය සම්බන්ධයෙන් සිදුවෙන අවුල් ජාලාව කුමක්ද කියන කාරණය ගැන අපි කල්පනා කරන්න ඕනෑ.

විශේෂයෙන්ම මා මතක් කරන්න ඕනෑ, පැරණි අයගේ වැරදි කිය කියා වර්තමානයේ වැරදි කිරීම දැන්වත් තවත්වන්න ඕනෑ බව. පැරණි ආණ්ඩුව වැරදි කළ නිසා ජනතාව ඒ ආණ්ඩුව පරාජයට පත් කලා. මහජනයා නින්දුවක් දී තිබෙන්නේ ඒ වැරදි නැවත නොකරන්නටයි. එහෙම නම් ඒ වැරදි නැවත නොකළ යුතුය යන විශ්වාසය බලයට පත් වෙන්නත් තුළ තිබෙන්නට ඕනෑ. බලයට පත් වූවන් ඒ වැරදි ආපසු කරන්නට තමන්ගේ පටන් ගන්නවා නම් අපි නවතින්නේ කොහෙත්ද කියන හයාතක තත්වයට මුළු රටම පත් වෙනවා. ඒ නිසා ගරු කරමානන් ඇමතිතුමා කීවිට ආකාරයට අපි කාටවත් ගෙවල්වලට වී ඒවත් වෙන්නට බැරි තත්වයකට පැමිණෙනවාද කියන සැකය— ඇමතිතුමා මතු කළ සැකය—මම තහවුරු කරන්නට කැමතියි. මේ විධියට ගියොත් මේ රටේ කිසිදු පුරවැසියෙකුට ඒ ආරක්ෂාව ඇති වේවිද කියන කාරණය ගැන අපි වැදගත් ලෙස කල්පනා කරන්න ඕනෑ.

ගරු තිබේජ්‍ය කථානායකතුමනි, මේ රටේ ඉංග්‍රීසි ආණ්ඩුව පැවති කාලයේදී ඇති වූණු බරේස් ගර්ඩ්ල් සිද්ධිය ගැන විශේෂයෙන්ම මේ අවස්ථාවේදී මම මතක් කරන්නට ඕනෑ. ඉංග්‍රීසි තවුකාරවරුන් ඉංග්‍රීසි ආණ්ඩුවට විරුද්ධව එද නින්දුව දුන්නා. එසේ නින්දුව දීම නිසා එද සිටි ආරක්ෂක ලේකම්, එද සිටි පොලීස්පති ආදී සියලු දෙනාටම ගෞරවයක් සිදු වූණේ ඒ තවුකාරවරුන්ගේ නින්දුව තමන්ගේ නින්දුවට විරුද්ධව දුන්නත් නීතියේ වැරදි භාවය තේරුම් අරගත් ඉංග්‍රීසි

පාලකයින්ට ඒ නීතිය, නීතිය හැටියට පිලිගන්නට තිබුණු හැකියාව තිබේ. මේ එක සිද්ධියක් පමණයි. ලංකා අධිකරණයේ මෙවැනි සිදුවීම් ගණනාවක් පෙන්වන්න පුළුවන්. අපි යුක්තිය පසිඳලීමේ අයිතිය අධිකරණයට පවරනවා නම්, අධිකරණය දෙන නින්දාවලට ගරු කරන්නටත් අපි සූදානම් විය යුතුයි. අපිට ඕනෑ ආකාරයෙන් "යුක්තිය" අර්ථ නිරූපනය කරන්නට අපි පටන් ගන්නොත් අධිකරණයක් අවශ්‍ය වෙනවාද කියන ප්‍රශ්නයක් මතු වෙනවා.

ඒ වාගේම ශ්‍රේෂ්ඨාධිකරණ විනිශ්චයකාරවරුන්ගේ ගෙවල් ඉදිරියේ පැවති පෙළපාලිය වාමාංශිකයන්ගේ සැලැස්මක් අනුව වූණය කියා ඇති කරන්නට හදන්නේ පුහු මතයක් බව අපි දැන්වත් තේරුම් ගන්නට ඕනෑ. කවුරු හරි වමේ පක්ෂයක හිටිය කෙනෙක් ඒ වමේ පක්ෂය අත හැරල දැන් එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයට ප්‍රසිද්ධියේම වැඩ කටයුතු කරනවා නම්, එවැනි කෙනෙක් ඉදිරිපත් වෙලා "මමයි මෙක කලේ" කියා කියන විට, මේ කටයුත්ත වමේ පක්ෂයේ අය කෙරුවාය කියන මතය ඉදිරිපත් කිරීමේ සාධාරණත්වය ගැන අපි ප්‍රශ්න කරන්න ඕනෑ. "මෙක කලේ මමයි" කියා කවුරු ඉදිරිපත් වෙලා කීවිටත්, විශේෂයෙන්ම මහජන එක්සත් පෙරමුණ වෙනුවෙන් මම අද මේ සභාවේදී ඉල්ලා සිටින්නේ මේ කාරණය සිදුවූණු විලාශය පමණක් නොව, මේ කාරණයට ඒ ඒ කොටස් පැමිණුණු හේතු සාධකවල මූලක් අපි දැන්වත් හොයන්නට ඕනෑ බවයි. මා ඉස්සෙල්ලා කියූ සිදුවීම්වල මූල කවුරුවත් දන්නේ නැහැ. ඒ සිදුවීම්, සිද්ධීන් ලෙස සලකා, ඒවායේ මූල හොයන්නේ නැතිව ඒ සියල්ල අපි අමතක කලා. කම්කරුවන්ට හැසීම, ශිෂ්‍යයන්ට හැසීම, සිංහල බල මණ්ඩලයට පහර දීම මේ ආදී සිදුවීම්වල මූල සොයන්නට අපට අවස්ථාවක් තිබුනේ නැහැ. මම මේ කාරණා කීපය කීවේ, මේවායේ මූල අපි සොයාගෙන ඒවාට ප්‍රතිකර්ම යෙදුවේ නැත්නම් මේ රටේ යුක්තිය, සාධාරණය රකින්නට ඇති කළ ආණ්ඩුක්‍රම ව්‍යවස්ථාවේ යම් යම් වගන්ති පවා අර්ථයක් ඉෂ්ට කරවාද කියන සැකයට අපි කවුරුත් පැමිණෙනවා කියන වික විශේෂයෙන් මතක් කිරීමටයි.

විශේෂයෙන් පොලීසියේ උසස්වීම් දීමේ මේ අලුත් සම්ප්‍රදායක් මීට තුඩු දෙනවා. "පැවිදි හට්" සංවිධානය වෙනුවෙන් තිබුණු තවුට පොරොන්දු ඇතිවූ තත්වය මොකක්ද? "පැවිදි හට්" සංවිධානයේ ගම්පහ තිබූ රැස්වීමට ගහලා, පොඩ්පට්ටම් කරලා, ඒ රැස්වීමේ හිටපු පුරකවරුන්ගේ කාර් ගිනි තිබ්බා. ඒ සිදුවීම්වලින් පසුව තමයි "පැවිදි හට්" සංවිධානය තමන්ගේ මූලික අයිතිවාසිකම් පිළිබඳ ප්‍රශ්ණය උසාවියට ගෙන ගියේ. මා මේ කාරණා මතු කලේ, මේ රටේ ශ්‍රේෂ්ඨාධිකරණ විනිශ්චයකරුවන්ගේ වේවා, මේ රටේ අධිකරණයේ කුමන විනිශ්චයකරුවකුගේ හෝ වේවා—මේ රටේ "යුක්තිය", "නීතිය" යන ඒවායේ අර්ථ නිරූපනය කරන්නට ඉන්න අයගේ—ආරක්ෂාව සලසන්නට සහ මවුත් දෙන තින්දු පිලිගන්නටත් අපි සූදානම් වෙන්න ඕනෑ නිසයි ; මේ රටේ සාමය රකින්නට ඕනෑ නිසයි. ඒ නිසා, මේ ශ්‍රේෂ්ඨාධිකරණ විනිශ්චයකරුවන්ට තර්ජනය කිරීම සොයා බැලීම සඳහා විශේෂ කොමිෂන්සභාවක් පත් කර, ඒ මගින් ඒවායේ මූල අපි—මුළු රටම—දෙන ගන්නට ඕනෑ. ඒ නිසා හදිසි නීතිය තුළින් මේ රටේ මහජන මතය පාලනය කිරීමෙන් ඉවත් වෙලා, මහජනයාට තමන්ගේ මතයක් නිදහසේ ඉදිරිපත් කරන්න තියෙන අයිතියට ඉඩ දෙන්නට කියමින්, උතුරේ සීමා සහිත ප්‍රදේශවල පවතින තත්වය නිසා මුළු රටම හදිසි නීතියෙන් වෙලා තබන්නට එපාය කියන ඉල්ලීම ඉදිරිපත් කරමින්, මේ හදිසි නීතිය දික් කිරීම මගින් ලංකාවේ අතින් සියලු ප්‍රදේශවල සිටින ජනතාවගේ ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රීය අයිතියක් යටපත්වන නිසා මේ හදිසි නීති යෝජනාවට විරුද්ධව මා වත්දය පාර්ලිමේන්තුවේ කරනවාය කියමින් මා තවතිනවා.

ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා
(කි.ඊ. ජුර්. ප්‍රි.රො.කෘෂ.)
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

Sir, at this point may I draw the attention of the House to the fact that we will have to take the vote before 12 midnight. Today is the last day for the extension of the Emergency. Therefore let us agree upon the number of speakers. We have allowed the

[ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා]

House to debate this Motion fully. I have asked Government Members to limit their speeches. If the Opposition can tell me how many more wish to speak on their side, then I can make the necessary arrangements.

ඒ. අමීර්හලිංගම් මහතා
(ශ්‍රී. ආ. අ. අමිර්හලිංගම්)
(Mr. A. Amirhalingam)

The hon. Member for Vaddukkoddai will make a very short speech.

ලක්ෂමන් ජයකොඩි මහතා
(ශ්‍රී. ල. ලක්ෂ්මන් ඉයාකොඩි)
(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

From the Sri Lanka Freedom Party there will be myself ; I will take about 5 minutes or 10 minutes. The hon. Member for Baddegama wants to speak for the first time, and he will take about 5 minutes or 10 minutes. The hon. Second Member for Nuwara Eliya-Maskeliya will want about 10 minutes.

ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා
(ශ්‍රී. ආ. අ. ප්‍රේමදාස)
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

Altogether how many minutes ?

ලක්ෂමන් ජයකොඩි මහතා
(ශ්‍රී. ල. ලක්ෂ්මන් ඉයාකොඩි)
(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)
About 40 minutes.

ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා
(ශ්‍රී. ආ. අ. ප්‍රේමදාස)
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

If you take 40 minutes, then what about the Government ?

ලක්ෂමන් ජයකොඩි මහතා
(ශ්‍රී. ල. ලක්ෂ්මන් ඉයාකොඩි)
(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

I quite appreciate that. Shall we reduce it by 5 minutes then ?

ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා
(ශ්‍රී. ආ. අ. ප්‍රේමදාස)
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

I do not think that is fair.

ලක්ෂමන් ජයකොඩි මහතා
(ශ්‍රී. ල. ලක්ෂ්මන් ඉයාකොඩි)
(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

I will pose only two questions, Sir.

ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා
(ශ්‍රී. ආ. අ. ප්‍රේමදාස)
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

We will give you in all 20 minutes, and 10 minutes for the TULF. Otherwise we will not have time.

ලක්ෂමන් ජයකොඩි මහතා
(ශ්‍රී. ල. ලක්ෂ්මන් ඉයාකොඩි)
(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

I will not take more than 5 minutes.

ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා
(ශ්‍රී. ආ. අ. ප්‍රේමදාස)
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

You know, very serious charges have been made against the Government. If we do not reply you yourself will say that the Government has gone by default. So it is not fair.

ලක්ෂමන් ජයකොඩි මහතා
(ශ්‍රී. ල. ලක්ෂ්මන් ඉයාකොඩි)
(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

Sir, we have decided that no one else will speak except the hon. Second Member for Nuwara Eliya-Maskeliya.

ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා
(ශ්‍රී. ආ. අ. ප්‍රේමදාස)
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

Fine. Let him also take a limited time or he can speak on some other day. Let him take 15 minutes. The hon. Member for Baddegama will take only 5 minutes. Altogether 20 minutes.

ලක්ෂමන් ජයකොඩි මහතා
(ශ්‍රී. ල. ලක්ෂ්මන් ඉයාකොඩි)
(Mr. Lakshman Jayakody)

He is making his maiden speech.

ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා
(ශ්‍රී. ආ. අ. ප්‍රේමදාස)
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

Then half an hour in all. The hon. Member can now speak.

අමරසිරි දෙඩන්ගොඩ මහතා (බද්දේගම)
(ශ්‍රී. ආ. අ. අමරසිරි දොඩංගොඩ-බද්දේගම)
(Mr. Amarasiri Dodangoda-Baddegama)

ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය කථානායකතුමනි, ගරු අගමැතිතුමා මේ සභාවට ඉදිරිපත් කරන්න යෙදුණු හදිසි නීතිය දීර්ඝ කිරීමේ යෝජනාව පිළිබඳව මට අදහස් රැසක් ප්‍රකාශ කරන්න තිබුණත්, මම කරුණු කීපයක් පිළිබඳව පමණක් මේ අවස්ථාවේදී සඳහන් කරනවා.

ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය කථානායකතුමනි, හදිසි නීතියට අදාළ වන මහජන ආරක්ෂක පනත මේ රටේ දශක තුනක ඉතිහාසයෙහි ක්‍රියාත්මක වීම සලකා බැලුවොත්, අද එම හදිසි නීතිය තිබෙන්නේ මෙයට කලින් ක්‍රියාත්මක වුණු, ඒ තිස් අවුරුද්දක ඉතිහාසයට අදත් කාලයට වැඩිය වෙනස් පසුබිමකය, වෙනස් පදනමකය කියායි, මගේ විශ්වාසය. මූලිකම ජාතිවාදී කලබල වලදීත්, ඉන් පසු අවස්ථාවක දේශපාලන කණ්ඩායමක් විසින් ඇති කරනු ලැබූ කලබල වලදීත්, ජටත් පසු ඊට අවස්ථාවක්දී රටේ සාමය හා නීතිය ක්‍රියාත්මක කිරීමට අපහසු වුණු ම අවස්ථාවකදීමත් වාගේ හදිසි නීතිය ක්‍රියාත්මක වී තිබෙනවා. හදිසි නීතිය ක්‍රියාත්මක වීමත් සමගම රටේ සාමාන්‍ය නීතියට වඩා ඉහළින් ඒ හදිසි නීතියේ ප්‍රතිපාදන ක්‍රියාත්මක වෙනවා. ඒ හේතුවෙන්, එදිනෙදා සාමාන්‍ය දිවි-පෙවෙත ගෙන යාමේ ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රීය අයිතීන් අගය කරන යාගෙන පිරිසකට හානියක් සිදු වෙනවා.

අද හදිසි නීති ක්‍රියාත්මක කිරීමට අදාළ සිද්ධීන් හැටියට ගරු අගමැතිතුමා ඉදිරිපත් කළ උතුරුකරයේ පවතින තත්ත්වය පිළිබඳව, උතුරුකරය නියෝජනය කරන ගරු මන්ත්‍රීවරුන්ගේ මෙහිදී කරුණු ඉදිරිපත් කළා. එහෙත් මේ අවස්ථාවේදී හදිසි නීතිය දකුණු ප්‍රදේශයේත් ක්‍රියාත්මක කිරීම පිළිබඳව තම අපට එකඟ වන්න පුළුවන්කමක් නැහැ. ඊට හේතුව මෙයයි : රටේ පවතින දමරකකම්, මැරවරකම්, මංකොල්ලකම් සහ ගිනි තැබීම් යනාදියට සාමාන්‍ය නීතියෙන් පිළියමක් යෙදීම අපහසු නම් පමණයි. හදිසි නීතිය ක්‍රියාත්මක කිරීම අවශ්‍ය වන්නේ. උතුරේ පවතින තත්ත්වය කෙසේ වුවත්, දකුණේ ඇතැම් ප්‍රදේශවල අද පවතින මංකොල්ලකම්, ගිනි තැබීම් ආදී දමරක ක්‍රියාවල පසුබිම, මීට කලින් වතාවල හදිසි නීතිය ප්‍රකාශ කළ අවස්ථාවල තිබුණු පසුබිම තොවන බව අපේ විශ්වාසයයි. ජාතිවාදී කලබලවල බලපෑම, මේ අවස්ථාවේදී දකුණේ ප්‍රදේශවලට පැමිණෙන්නේ නැහැ. ඇත්ත වශයෙන්ම දකුණු ප්‍රදේශයේ ඇතැම් නගරවල යම්-යම් මංකොල්ලකම්, ගිනි තැබීම් සිදු වුණා නම් ඒවායේ පසුබිම, ඒවායේ පදනම මීට කලින් වතාවල වාගේ ජාතිවාදී එකක් නම් නොවෙයි.

මීට ඉහත ඇතැම් අවස්ථාවල උතුරේ ඇතැම් සිද්ධීන්ට සම්බන්ධ වී දකුණේ යමක් සිදු වුණා නම් ඒවායේ ජාතිවාදී පදනමක් තිබුණා. එහෙත් මේ අවධියේ සිදුවන මේ ක්‍රියාවලියේ පදනම නම් ජාතිවාදී එකක් වශයෙන් සලකන්න අපට පුළුවන්කමක් නැහැ. මේ සිද්ධීන් ඇති වූ නගර සහ ඒවා සිදු වුණු ආකාරය ගැන යොයා බැලුවාම, ඒ හැම දෙයක්ම - මංකොල්ල කැම් සහ ගිනි තැබීම් ආදිය - කර තිබෙන්නේ පෞද්ගලික ලාභ-ප්‍රයෝජන ලබා ගැනීමේ අදහසින් බව විශ්වාස කරන්න සිදු වෙතවා.

මේ වගේ විශේෂ අරගලකාරී තත්ත්වයන් තැනී ප්‍රදේශවලත් හදිසි තත්ත්වය ප්‍රකාශ කිරීම නිසා හදිසි නීතියේ වැදගත්කම - මහජන ආරක්ෂාව අවශ්‍ය අවස්ථාවල ප්‍රකාශ කිරීමට තිබෙන හදිසි තත්ත්වයේ වැදගත්කම - අඩු වෙනවාය කියන එකයි. අපේ විශ්වාසය, මේ විධියට සාමාන්‍ය නීතියෙන් විසඳිය යුතු අර්බුද, අරගල සහ අපරාධ මැඩ පැවත්වීම සඳහා හදිසි නීතිය පාවිච්චි කරන්න ගියොත් මීට වඩා තත්ත්වයකදී - තත්ත්වය මීට වඩා ඩිංගක් බැරැරුම් වූ පමණින් - ඇදීරී නීතිය පාවිච්චි කරන්න සිදු වෙතවා.

ඒ නිසා, දකුණේ ඇතැම් ප්‍රදේශවල අද පවතින අරගලවල මූලය, අත්තිවාරම පිළිබඳව හරි අවබෝධයකින් යුතුව, ඒවායේ ජීවත් වන සාමාන්‍ය ජන කොටස්වලට සාමාන්‍ය දීපී පෙවෙතක් ගත කිරීමට ඇති ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රීය අයිතීන්ට හිරිහැරයක් නොවන පරිද්දෙන්, අවශ්‍ය ප්‍රදේශවලට පමණක් හදිසි තත්ත්වය දීර්ඝ කිරීම ගැන තම අපට එකඟ වන්න පුළුවන්. සමස්තයක් හැටියට මුළු රටේම අද පවතින අපරාධ මැරකම් සහ දමරකකම් පිළිබඳ පොලිස්පතිතුමාගේ වාර්තාව සලකා බැලුවොත් එන්න එන්නම මේ තත්ත්වය උග්‍ර වීමේ හේතු පැහැදිලි වෙතවා. ඒ හේතු යොයා ඒවාට පිළියම් යෙදීමෙන් ඒවා වලක්වනවා මිස, හදිසි නීතිය ප්‍රකාශ කිරීමෙන් ඒවා වැළැක්වීමට කටයුතු කිරීම හුවණට හුරු ක්‍රියාවක් හැටියට අපට පෙනෙන්නේ නැහැ.

මම දන්නා විධියට, අද පවතින දමරකකම්, මංකොල්ල කැම්වල අත්තිවාරම වී තිබෙන්නේ ඒවාට සහගාමි වන අය ජීවත් වන ප්‍රදේශවල ඔවුන්ට ජීවත් වීමේ ප්‍රශ්න පිළිබඳ කාරණයයි. ඒ නිසා, රටේ සිදුවන මැරකම් හා දමරක කම්වලට, මංකොල්ල කැම්වලට තුඩු දෙන කරුණු, අත්තිවාරම, හේතු වන, පදනම් වන කරුණු පිළිබඳව යොයා බලා ඒවාට පිළියම් කිරීම, ඒවා මැඩ පැවැත්වීම සඳහා හදිසි නීතිය පාවිච්චි කිරීමට වඩා ප්‍රයෝජනවත් බවයි මගේ විශ්වාසය.

විශේෂයෙන්ම, රේස් සුදුව, හිරගෙවල සිටින ඇතැම් අය හේතු විරහිතව හදිසියේ නිදහස් කිරීම, ඒ වාගේම, සමහර සන්නිවේදන මාධ්‍ය මගින් නරුණු පිරිස් අතර බෙදා හරින ගැහිම, මේ මංකොල්ල කැම්, දමරකකම් හා මං පැහැරීම් වලට හේතු වී තිබෙනවා. ඒ නිසා, පසුගිය කාල සීමාව තුළ සිදු වුණු බොහෝමයක් මං පැහැරීම් ජාතිවාදයට වඩා වෙන යම් හේතු අනුව සිදු වුණු බවයි ජේෂ්ත නිබන්ධේ.

ඒ නිසා, හදිසි නීතිය එහි වැදගත්කම අනුව යොදා ගන්නට තබාගෙන, එහි ප්‍රයෝජනයක්, අවශ්‍යතාවක් නොමැති ප්‍රදේශවල එය පැනවීමෙන් එය පිරිහෙලන තත්ත්වයට පත් නොකර, කලබල සිදු වුණු ප්‍රදේශවල ඒවායේ මූලික හේතු යොයා බලා ඒවාට පිළියම් යොදන ලෙස මේ ගරු සභාවට යෝජනා කරමින් මේ පිළිබඳව මගේ අදහස් දක්වීම මෙයින් සමාජන කරනවා.

අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා (නුවරඑළිය-මස්කෙලියා දෙවන)
 (திரு. அனூர் பண்டாரநாயக்க—நுவரெலியா-மஸ்கெலியா இரண்டாம் அங்கத்தவர்)
 (Mr. Anura Bandaranaike - Second Nuwara Eliya-Maskeliya)

Deputy Speaker, today the Government has come before this House and is asking us to vote for a further extension of the Emergency. As far as the Sri Lanka Freedom Party is concerned, as mentioned by the hon. Member for Matugama and the hon. Member for Baddegama, we have declared on a number of occasions before this that we are against any form of separatism, that we will never condone or permit any form of separation in this country. Neither will we encourage any form of violence, communal violence in any part of this country.

Having ruled this country for over 15 years, having faced a number of communal riots and tensions, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party is well aware of the magnitude of the task that lies before the Government. Therefore, I do not wish to deal here, Sir, with the situation in the North because many Members have spoken about it. But when you ask us to vote for the extension of the Emergency, you must also review the situation in Colombo and in other parts of the country where the police have taken the law into their own hands as they probably do in the North, and as the Hon. Member for Kalawana very eloquently stated in this House, the Government has been responsible by deliberate acts, namely, the promotion of ASP Udugampola who was found guilty by the Supreme Court of violation of fundamental rights, immediately followed by the promotion of Sub-inspector Ganeshanathan who was also found guilty by an act of violation of fundamental rights. When you do this kind of thing, what do you ask the police to do? you ask them to unleash themselves on the public, perform, illegal acts, violate fundamental rights and the Government will not only pay the fines that have been imposed by the courts, but will also promote them. This, Sir, is the crux of the problem. If the police run berserk in Colombo, or if they are doing so in the North or in any other part of the country, the Government must be solely held responsible for the irresponsible acts of the police.

Now Sir, the recent incidents that were referred to by a number of speakers, namely, the organized, perhaps sponsored, mobs that gathered outside the residences of the three Supreme Court Judges and behaved like hooligans, shouted abuse, left behind placards, are unprecedented in this country.

[අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා]

I am sorry that my Hon. Friend the Minister of justice, who was more interested in the horizontal position of Mrs. Vivienne Goonewardene, which he referred to on a number of occasions rather than dealing with the argument of the hon. Member for Kalawana, proceeded to level charges against the Sri Lanka Freedom Party government, of which I believe he was a Permanent Secretary at that time, saying that we had broken the concept of the independence of the judiciary.

Sir, I do not have the time, unfortunately, to deal at length with the manner in which the United National Party systematically, consciously, knowingly, over the last six years, has eroded whatever is left of the independence of the judiciary. You sacked judges, you demoted them, you are having Select Committees to inquire into the conduct of judges, you have promoted police officers who have been found guilty by the Courts and a number of other examples which I do not want to illustrate at length due to lack of time.

Now Mr. Deputy Speaker, in regard to this act, which all of us condemn, the police have taken up the position that their telephone lines were out of order, that between the hours of 10 o'clock and 3 o'clock in the afternoon, or 2 o'clock, the telephones were not functioning. But I have just read a statement made by Justice Ratwatte who has stated to the Police that when he telephoned them, the Emergency Police, they answered and said that they were the Emergency Police and had asked him, "Who is speaking there?", and he had said "Justice Ratwatte". At the mention of his name the police officer said "Sorry - wrong number" and rang off. He rang up again and the same man who answered the first time, the same voice said, "Sorry - wrong number" and rang off.

Now Sir, why should a respected Judge of the Supreme Court make a false statement? The same thing happened to 'Justice Colin Thome', and this, Sir, is something which concerns everybody: that if the Police behave in this manner, if the Police deliberately avoid taking telephone calls, what is one to assume from that? That in fact the Police did know, in fact they connived in this whole episode. This is, Sir, from a statement of Justice Ratwatte.

Now, Sir, the Police takes up the position that they did not know anything about this matter till about 3 o'clock in the afternoon; and they in fact came to question the judges well after four or five in the evening. But at 3 o'clock in the afternoon or before that, the Police had gone to the former residence of Justice Soza and inquired from the surrounding houses why some of the members of the mob had been

attacked, for there was a fracas outside the former residence of Justice Soza, where bottles were flung at each other, between some students and the mob, and two members of the mob were injured, as much as there were members of the public who were injured.

Now, the Police went to investigate on the complaint of the mob. But they did not care to come and investigate into the complaint of the judges.

Sir, if the Police acted on the complaint of the mob, who made the complaint? Surely the police must be able to identify the persons who made the complaint that they were assaulted outside the residence of the former residence of Mr. Soza.

So these are the questions that come to our mind, which are left unanswered, and which I think the government if it has in fact any bonafides left in this matter should not only answer but inquire into by an independent commission.

Now, Sir, Let me not go into the details of the judgment that has been given by the Supreme Court in the case of Mrs. Vivienne Goonewardne. The Supreme Court gave the verdict on the facts placed before them by Mrs. Vivienne Goonewardne's Counsel and also by the police. Now what is the position the police took. They never said anywhere in their defence pleadings, nowhere did they say, that the processions was held to be illegal as there was a suspected breach of the peace. Nowhere does the police say this. The police say that the procession was held to be illegal because they did not have a valid permit. Now the law does not say anywhere that the procession must have a valid permit. Therefore the judges held very correctly that the banning of the procession was illegal. Now, Sir, take for example, the statement made by the then Actg. I.G.P., Mr. Joseph. Just look at the irresponsible kind of statement an Acting IGP makes!

I am quoting, Sir, from the 'Ceylon Daily News of Thursday the 16th. This is police report tabled at Cabinet. These are the observations of the DIG who was Acting IGP.

"It will be observed from this judgment that the contravention of provisions of Section 77 (1) of the Police Ordinance makes the offence a non-cognizable one for which arrest without a warrant is not permissible."

Then he goes on to say:

"The police in the performance of their day to day duties are called upon to deal with processions for which due notice has not been given. It will be therefore extremely difficult for police officers to deal with such situations if a warrant is required. I discussed this matter with the Attorney General this afternoon and pointed out to him the difficulties the police would be faced with in consequence of this judgment."

Now, Sir, this is the considered report of the Acting I.G.P., Sir, this man is either unaware of the existing Police Ordinance or is aware of it and is

making all efforts to hide it. Sections 78 and 79 of the Police Ordinance clearly state that if there is any suspected breach of the peace or unruly behaviour without a warrant, the police can either disperse the crowd or if they do not disperse when the order to disperse is given, they can arrest them. That is perfectly clear Sir. You, as lawyer, as an able lawyer, know this, that under Sections, 78 and 79 of the Police Ordinance if the police believe that a procession is unruly they can disperse them or have them arrested.

Now Sir, the police chief is consulting the Attorney General to amend the law to give them more power. Now, Sir, surely, having been an officer of the police for a long, long time, nobody ever believes that the Acting Inspector General of Police can make a statement of this nature and get away with it. And the funny part of it, Sir, is that a similar statement was made by this Lucky Fernando. Lucky Fernando in his statement to the newspapers virtually echoes what the Acting IGP has said. I will read that out for the information of the House, Sir. I would not take very long. It is very well worth considering the similarity between the Acting I.G.P. Mr. Joseph's statement and the statement made by Mr. Lakshman Fernando.

"It was our view that if processions could be taken with impunity before the houses of even the Supreme Court Judges and the police were powerless to act in consequence of the judgment then the danger to the public would have been clearly demonstrated."

Now this is a statement written by somebody else and read out to the newspapers by Mr. Lakshman Fernando. It re-echoes the statement made by the Acting I.G.P. which, both in fact, and in law is incorrect. Sir, if the police felt that the procession of Mrs. Vivienne Goonewardene was illegal and unlawful, all they had to do was to say so, disperse the crowd and if necessary arrest them. They never said so. The police never took up the position that they ever suspected a breach of the peace. They never did so in their defence pleading before the Supreme Court. Today, the DIG says the police are powerless to act because they have no power. This kind of meaningless, childish excuse does not give credence to the efficiency of the police or their truthfulness.

The Hon. Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs came to this House today and read out a long statement - I believe an affidavit made by M. H. Amit, a lawyer. I listened to the Hon. Minister with great care. This lawyer Amit said that ruffians had entered the Bar Association meeting and that this croup of ruffians and got hold of the President of the Bar Association, a strong supporter of the UNP Mr. Herman J.C. Perera, and intimidated him and frightened him into doing things that the ruffians wanted him to do. Mr. Herman J.C. Perera has been

appointed a Director of the Timber Corporation by none other than Mr. Cyril Mathew and he is a strong supporter of the UNP. (*Interruption*) Under whom does the Timber Corporation come? Anyway, it is an appointment under this Government.

After this statement was read out, I telephoned Mr. Herman J.C. Perera, and he has given me his full authority to state before the House that the statement of Mr. Amit is completely false. He authorized me to tell that to this House and say that there was no act of intimidation or of ruffians entering the place, and that at no stage was he forced into doing anything against his conscience. He further stated that the meeting was most peaceful and that the texts of the resolutions were unanimously decided upon.

தலைவர் கவனத்தை
(பிரதிச் சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)
(Mr. Deputy Speaker)

Order, please! You have taken

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

Sir, I will end in five minutes' time.

Mr. Herman J.C. Perera said that the entire body of the Bar Association decided unanimously to vote for all resolutions with one voice rather than vote on them separately. Every one of the resolutions was unanimously passed with people like Mr. H. W. Jayewardene, Queen's Counsel, voting for them. There was Mr. A. C. Gooneratne, Queen's Counsel, a member of your working committee, who also voted for it. There was Mr. A. C. de Zoysa, who is more than an active member of your party, who voted for it. Today we are asked to believe that a group of ruffians took control of the meeting and that the whole of the proceedings were therefore illegal and improper. This kind of statement which was read in this House which is incorrect and which a number of members of the Bar Associations have condemned should be equally condemned by us.

I wish to say, finally, that when the Supreme court - which is the ultimate court in this country - enters a judgment, whether it is right or wrong from our point of view, whether it is palatable or unpalatable, the judgment of the Supreme Court is final. If every time the Supreme Court makes a judgment and some affected party decides to take the law into its own hands and proceeds to get into government vehicles, change its number plates and go to the residences of those judges and protest, where are we heading? What is going to happen to the independence of the judiciary which the UNP has been talking of for the last 25 years? If on every occasion a Supreme Court judge gives a judgment which you do not like or we do not like have we the

[අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා]

freedom to break the law and protest? This is something the UNP, as a party, has been talking about a tremendous amount – the independence of the judiciary, condemning the SLFP.

When you consider the way you have conducted this entire investigation, the way you have conducted yourselves, when government buses have been given – I have brought with me a document but I have no time to read it out – when there is the mystery of the missing leaves from the CTB log book which can show how the buses were given, when things like this happen, anybody is entitled to believe that these mobsters have had the guiding hand of very powerful people.

If the Government is genuinely interested in establishing its bona fides which are in serious doubt, the only worthwhile and correct thing it can do – now that His Excellency the President has returned to the country – is to appoint an independent commission to go into this and punish whoever is guilty, and not promote those thugs if they are Corporation employees, as you have done to the police constables. Impose adequate punishment or otherwise you would have unleashed upon this country a reign of tyranny, a reign of terror which you will yourself not be able to control. That is all I wish to say.

And finally may I say that the Sri Lanka Freedom Party would abstain from voting on the Emergency because, we, as I said before in the course of my speech, are very concerned about the situation in the North and the East, particularly the situation that has arisen in Trincomalee where it is getting completely out of control. We hope that you will not only bring the situation under control but bring some of your own supporters under control and punish whoever is responsible.

ಶಿವೋರಾ ಕಪಾನಾಯಕ

(பிரதிச் சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Deputy Speaker)

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

අනතුරුව ಶිවෝරා කපනායක මූලාසනයෙන් ඉවත් වූයේ, ශිවෝරා කාරක සභාපතිතුමා [එවිමනේ සමරවිතූම මහතා] මූලාසනාරුව විය.

அதன் பிறகு, பிரதிச் சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள் அக்கிராசனத்தி னின்றும் அகலவே, குழுப் பிரதித் தலைவர் அவர்கள் [திரு. எட்மன்ட் சமரவிக்ராம] தலைமை வகித்தார்கள்.

Whereupon MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER left the Chair, and MR DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES (MR. EDMUND SAMARAWICKRAMA) took the Chair.

சுபாரச்ச சிலன் திருவேல்வெட்டி மறதா (වඩුකුකෝවිට්ටේ)

(கலாநிதி நீலன் திருச்செல்வம்—வட்டுக்கோட்டை.)

(Dr. Neelan Tiruchelvam-Vaddukkodai)

Mr. Deputy Chairman, the opening statements of the Hon. Prime Minister and the Hon. Leader of the Opposition exemplify the need for restraint in dealing

with the incidents and the issues which have resulted in the disturbed conditions that continue to prevail in several parts of the country. Sir, it is in this context that it is particularly disturbing to listen to attempts to justify one incident of violence with reference to other incidents in the Island, whether recent or remote.

Sir, the doctrine an eye for an eye, or, more precisely, ten eyes for one eye, can never form part of any contemporary society. It was Mahatma Gandhi who reminded us that an eye for an eye will leave the whole world blind. It is important Sir, in the context of the disturbed and troubled conditions that prevailed in our society to remind ourselves of this ominous warning.

I wish to specifically refer, in this brief intervention, to some aspects of the Emergency Regulations which were brought into effect by His Excellency the President on 18, June 1983 in Rome and which now are operative. Several hon. Members of Parliament have specifically referred to Regulation 15A which resurrects a regulation which is part of a dark history in our country. Sir, that relates to the disposal and burial of bodies of dead persons. Sir, the regulation states that any police officer in charge of a police station or any person authorized by him may take possession and bury or cremate any dead body and determine in his discretion the persons who may be permitted to be present at any assembly for the purposes of such burial or cremation.

The difference, sir, in this regulation and that which prevailed during the period 1971 and 1972 is a requirement that the approval of the Secretary to the Ministry of Defence be obtained for the dispensation of an inquest.

Sir, when the regulation in its original form was enacted, it was justified on the ground of public health. Today, Sir, it is justified on the ground that the morale of the armed services is low and that during armed skirmishes, armed personnel who are involved in such skirmishes should not be subjected to the harassment of the law.

But if we look at the incidents which have resulted in the death of persons who may have no way of being involved in any form of violent activity, one recognizes that the need for an inquest, the need for even a death certificate is dispensed with in those circumstances causes grave injustice and apprehension to those people who are subjected to these regulations. If you look at the incidents which have taken place since the Emergency, 18th of May 1983, in none of these incidents where an inquest has

been dispensed with has there been armed skirmishes or exchange of fire between army personnel and those who have been found to have died as a result of being shot by these personnel. In these circumstances, I would join with the other Members of the Opposition in urging the Government to strongly reconsider these Emergency Regulation 15 (a) which dispenses with the need for inquest, dispenses even with the need for a death certificate, and the police officer may determine whether a person is dead or alive and take necessary steps with regard to the disposal of his body.

Sir, the other Emergency Regulation which must be referred to in this regard is Regulation 36 (a). Under this Emergency Regulation any person who uses, possesses or has in his control or custody, or transports or causes the transport of any gun, explosive, offensive weapon or offensive substance shall be guilty of an offence. And, Sir, in the District of Jaffna where such a person is found guilty of such an offence he is liable to be punished with death or with imprisonment of either description for life. Sir, a similar regulation is Emergency Regulation 36 which provides that where a similar offence is committed in any other part of the country, the only punishment that is envisaged by the Regulation is rigorous imprisonment for a term of not less than 10 years.

The Hon. Prime Minister today in his statement made reference to 169 incidents of violence since the 1st of June 1983. Many of these incidents of violence which have taken place in Kurunegala, Kalutara and in districts other than the district of Jaffna have involved the use of offensive weapons, guns, explosives etc. On what basis can you justify the imposition of death for a similar offence which is committed within the district of Jaffna and a lesser sentence, maximum sentence of 10 years rigorous imprisonment, for a similar offence committed in any other part of the country? The concern here is the opportunity that is afforded in a situation where the security personnel perceive themselves to be in a state of confrontation with a civilian population of an area, the opportunity for abuse, the opportunity for excesses that such a regulation affords such personnel. For these reasons, again, I would strongly urge that this discriminatory Regulation which is applicable only to the district of Jaffna be seriously re-examined.

Sir, these incidents of violence which have taken place we have not been able to prevent. There are persons who have been displaced from their homes. There are persons who have lost properties, there are families who have lost their only wage earner.

There is misery and suffering which has been caused to a number of persons who have been victims of violence. I think the Hon. Acting Minister of

Public Administration and the Hon. Prime Minister could designate an officer of the Government to look into the cases of those who have been victims of these incidents of violence and ensure that some early relief and redress is provided. We all believe that incidents of violence, whether they are politically motivated acts of violence, whether they are incidents of mob violence or incidents of Governmental lawlessness referred to by the other Members of the Opposition, should be dealt with in such a manner that our respect for the sanctity of life and the integrity of the human person is strengthened in that process. Then, Sir, it is important for the Government to ensure that all these incidents are dealt with in a similar manner, by these same standard of justice, same vigilance; that prosecution is ensured in respect of all these incidents of violence. On the one hand we have Emergency regulations which in effect provide a licence to kill, which provide immunity for one category of violence while other incidents of violence remain unprosecuted and unpursued. It is in that context that one does not in any way ensure that the sanctity of human life and the integrity of the human person are respected by all sections of the people.

ஏ. நா. 10.35

தீயேட்சர் காரக கணபதினம
(பிரதீச் சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)
(Mr. Deputy Chairman of Committees)

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

ஏனதேட்சர் தீயேட்சர் காரக கணபதினம இலாசனகை ஒபந்தினகை தீயேட்சர் கணபதினம [தேய்ச்சர் காரக கணபதினம] இலாசனகை ரீட.

அதன்பிறகு, குழுப் பிரதீச் தலைவர் அவர்கள் அக்கிராசனத்தினின்று நிங்ககவே, பிரதீச் சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள் [திரு. நோமன் வைத்யரத்ன] தலைமை வகித்தார்கள்.

Whereupon MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES left the Chair, and MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER [MR. NORMAN WAIDYARATNA] took the Chair.

ஹரீந்த் காரக கணபதினம (பிரதீச்சர் காரக கணபதினம) [திரு. ஹரீந்த் காரக கணபதினம—பதில் பொது நிர்வாக அமைச்சர்]

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

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I can assure you that I am not going to speak about bowels and emergencies. You were not here when the Deputy Chairman said that many statements are being made about bowels and the emergency and we must speak about the Emergency.

Sir, I am at a loss, though I have a reason to speak, to find words expressing what really this debate is about. The members of this House, particularly the Members of the TULF, have brought to the notice of this House certain matters with regard to certain events, on-going events in the North, but as I said I am at a loss with regard to this debate because the hon. Members opposite have never really asked

[தேவநாடு மொழி]

themselves one pertinent question, and that is, when a government governs in order to meet certain situations which are not of the Government's making, it inscribes into the statute certain laws and regulations: in this case, the Public Security Ordinance or Order. Emergency Regulations issue from that. If the Government cannot do that, if the Government cannot active those regulations, then the government cannot govern. Therefore, it is quite logical that those Emergency Regulations must allow the Government to govern.

Today, in the "Daily News" I read a very pertinent statement, a very important statement. It could even be a statement which will affect the future of this country till the end of this century at least – a statement made by the hon. Leader of the Opposition. I do not know whether he will deny it. Sometimes statements which he had made, which are published in the newspapers he later denies. But this statement was made and published in today's "Daily News". At a meeting in Jaffna he had said two things which I think are of vital interest.

"If we are invited to a discussion with government"

My belief is that there has been an on-going dialogue, – so I am not quite sure why he said "If we are invited to a discussion with government"

. . . . our position will be that any solution must be asked on the recognition of the right of the Tamil people for self-determination on regional autonomy".

That is the minimum demand. In other words, there has been a shift of emphasis from Eelam or separatism to regional autonomy which is quite a different thing. You are denying this statement? – (*Interruption*) So that your position is that you are still demanding Eelam. Then Sir, he said this significant thing in regard to the genesis of this problem :

"Mr. Amirthalingam said that the killing of nine innocent Tamils at the International Tamil Research Conference in Jaffna in 1974 encouraged the violence by youth."

In other words, before 1974, there was no question of the demand for Eelam. The demand for Eelam came when the TULF was formed, if I understand it. I will only pause for a minute with this argument, because there can be a lot of argument on this. But the word "self-determination" has been used. I will only remind you that according to the U.N. Charter, people have a right to self-determination, but I will say that you ceded that right – that right that over existed for the Tamil speaking people of this country. You ceded that right in 1974. You ceded it because the British Order-in-Council which set up the House

and the government of Ceylon was accepted by you and the Tamil speaking people's representatives came into the House of Representative as members of the Government. Again, in 1965, representatives of the leading Tamil party joined the UNP Government. You ceded your right of self-determination, if ever that was in point.

Sir, on the question of terrorists in the North, the Hon. members persist in saying, "We have nothing to do with it." But you have made contradictory statements – if we listened to their speeches. You seem to say you know who the terrorists are because if people are killed and they are called terrorists. You say they are not terrorists. Therefore, according to you, every single person who has been killed in the North in the last 4 or 5 years is not a terrorist. According to you – the four gentlemen sitting here who know the terrorists: they say who are not terrorists, who are terrorists. When you go to Welikada jail and meet certain people who have been tried judged and condemned they are not terrorists! Those who have been held in Madras in jail, who are supposed to be, according to the newspapers, leaders of the two main terrorist groups, are not terrorists! Then who are these terrorists? Then who are these people who killed politicians, who are not members of the TULF, unless they have crossed over to our side? Who are these terrorists who shot the Members of the UNP standing for election? Who are these terrorists? Who are these people? So the Government, Sir, do not want to know who they think are terrorists. The Government will find out who the terrorists are. When there are attacks, the government will meet those attacks and in order to meet those attacks certain powers are needed by the armed services. I am sure, the hon. Members will realize that if ever there is a state of Eelam, the first people who will turn on you are those who now say are not terrorist. You cannot control them – you cannot run your Local Government Authority.

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

May I point out to the Hon. Acting Minister that in Vavuniya where the two Air-force men were shot, the Hon. Prime Minister said that in an exchange two of those assailants had been shot. We are not coming here and complaining about acts of that type. We are not.

ஹரிந்திர கோரியா மொழி
(திரு. ஹரிந்திர கோரியா)
(Mr. Harindra corea)

I am not speaking about this specific incident.

பி. அமிர்தலிங்கம்
(திரு. ஏ. அமிர்தலிங்கம்)
(Mr. A. Amirthalingam)
You said that.

ஹரின்ட்ர கோர்யா
(திரு. ஹரின்ட்ர கோர்யா)
(Mr. Harindra Corea)

I am speaking of the Emergency and the new powers you are attacking, particularly Regulation 15A.

Now, you take Regulation 15 (a). I am surprised. You should know your regulations. The hon. Member who spoke just now should have known that Regulation 15 (a) is. It is not quite what you say, because under Regulation 15 (a) your A.S.P. or your Inspector does not have the power to bury or cremate a body. Who has the power? It is the Secretary to the Ministry of Defence. It has to be referred to the Secretary of Defence. You have not referred to that in any one of your speeches. I am talking of the political speeches that you have made.

The hon. Member who spoke now is not a politician like you all. He has only just come into politics. He has made a classic study of the interpretation of the regulation. I am coming to that point.

In your speeches in this House on the question of terrorism and Emergency you are misleading the public of this country, you are misleading this House and you are saying half-truths. What in an exchange occurs in this House sometimes when you are not speaking is not what is reported in the newspapers abroad. It is a completely distorted version that is published in the newspapers abroad, the newspapers that write or take up the stand that Eelam is a fight for independence, etc. with terror on the Government side but not on the other side. That is the stand that you take up outside but you never take it up here.

What I am trying to say is that the hon. Members forget that, as a Government which believes in the unity of this country, it has to pass certain regulations to enable the armed forces to meet terrorists under the law with resources at their disposal. If the army shoots in encountering terrorists, how can that be terrorism? I do not want to say on this because the Government is ready for a dialogue on the matter, but the Government has said, the people of the country say and in fact every party says that there cannot be an Eelam, there cannot be terrorism, there cannot be a war by a small group of people in the North against the rest of the country or against the army of the country which is there to prevent violence. That will not be permitted.

I would like to mention something to the hon. Leader of the Opposition and the other members of the TULF. At the Gam Udawa Exhibition on the 23rd the winners of the Gramodaya Mandalaya Contest were from your area. Every one of them who won at the contest came up to the stage and in the presence of a large crowd received their prizes. They all came on the stage and accepted the prizes. There was no question of not coming or wanting a separate state. In other words the acceptance of those prizes, their entry into the competition, signified one thing, and that is, that the ordinary villager even in the Jaffna District is not for Eelam. You all have confused them.

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

How many votes did you get?

ஹரின்ட்ர கோர்யா
(திரு. ஹரின்ட்ர கோர்யா)
(Mr. Harindra Corea)

You speak in this statement about grievances.

நிசாங்க விஜேரத்ன
(கலாநிதி நிசாங்க விஜேரத்ன)
(Dr. Nissanka Wijeyeratne)

How many votes did you get?

பி. சிவசிதம்பரம்
(திரு. எம். சிவசிதம்பரம்)
(Mr. M. Sivasithamparam)
I got the biggest majority.

ஹரின்ட்ர கோர்யா
(திரு. ஹரின்ட்ர கோர்யா)
(Mr. Harindra Corea)

This is what the hon. Leader of the Opposition talks about. He says that the cleavage came because the youths got disgusted. It is because of the grievances caused by the hon. Member for Matugama and his Government. The grievances had their origin there, but I am saying that for the Gam Udawa Exhibition they came, won prizes and accepted their prizes. In the U.C. elections in your areas the terrorists prevented the free vote of the people. You know that. You asked them to vote. You did not prevent them from voting for the TULF. The terrorists prevented people from voting for the TULF. It is terror that controlled, but it is not the heart and mind of the Jaffna farmer. He may have his grievances.

As my time is limited I want now to get on to the demonstration in front of the houses of the judges. Actually, sir, what happened at Hulftsdorp a few days ago is a comic farce! It is not what the hon. Member for Kalawana says. I have got my facts

[தரீந்திர ஹைந்திரா கொரியா]

straight. I have spoken to people who were there. There was no authorization for Mr. Herman J. C. Perera to ask for the police. Dr. Colvn R. de Silva himself, when he got to Hulftsdorp and found the police there, was shocked. There were more policemen in Hulftsdorp outside the meeting place than lawyers inside. The Bar Association and the lawyers who feel that this act of demonstration against the members of the Supreme Court was such a heinous crime that the whole edifice of democracy, the institution of the independence of the judiciary, was just going to fall and shatter—the papers said that from all the nooks and corners, from all the districts, from all the cities, from all the towns the lawyers were coming, my brother lawyers, to protest against the Government—out of 7,000 lawyers only 150 or 200 came. Some of them had been to the courts; some of them just came.

Then what happened? Do you all know, does the Opposition know, that Mr. Herman Perera was expressly forbidden by the Executive Committee of the Bar Association to issue any statement but that he did not heed that? The Executive Committee of the Bar Association told Mr. Herman Perera “you cannot issue any kind of statement to the press; you cannot ask the press.” On the second occasion the press were asked to go away. Then, Sir, a strange conspiracy occurred. I mean, it is an incredible thing. Here are our people protesting against such heinous crime. I mean, this country cannot exist. Our democracy is finished. There cannot be any court cases. There cannot be any judgments. There cannot be any kind of dispute between people because everything is politically shaped. The judges are under our power. Such an incredible thing has happened! With all that, they have to invite the press and the cameramen and have this as a big show. To impress whom? This is Mr. Herman Perera’s big show. There was a protest by the Executive Committee. They had said, “You cannot issue statements.” But Mr. Herman Perera issued statements to the press, he asked the press, he had the photographers, and everything was done.

I will turn your argument, what hon. Members from that side of the House have stated, on yourselves. You said, “Your own leading legal luminaries, Mr. H. W. Jayewardene, Q.C., Mr. A. C. Gooneratne, Q.C., Mr. Bunt Soyza and others, came and supported our resolutions”. Sir, does that not show, as the Hon. Prime Minister has said and will say, that those luminaries and all those who are conscious of their responsibilities were and are against the demonstration? No one wants, and this Government does not want, anybody demonstrating against judges or anyone (*Interruption*). I do not think that you have the right to say that. I am sorry, you do not have the right to say it. You cannot.

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

You are misinterpreting it.

தரீந்திர ஹைந்திரா கொரியா
(திரு. ஹரிந்திர கொரியா)
(Mr. Harindra Corea)

You do not have the right to say it.

He has clearly said and has made many statements that he is against the demonstration. The Opposition did not mention that the Hon. Prime Minister had on the Monday before the Cabinet meeting completely condemned it.—(*Interruption*). You said his words were not strong enough. He condemned the action in his speech in Kandy. Then he went on to make a very interesting statement. I think that beats the Opposition’s case, because when you assume to yourselves the mantle, as the hon. Member for Kalawana did, of being prosecutor, jury and judge — (*Interruption*) — and executioner as well, then you lose the case by default. No sensible, open-minded person will defend you then.

What did the Hon. Prime Minister say? I am referring to the report which was published on the 16th of June. It reads thus :

“Prime Minister R. Premadasa yesterday said that the Government will always uphold the judiciary”

What else do you want him to say? That he will depress the judiciary? Trample it down? What else has he to say? He has said that he will uphold the judiciary as an essential part of the democratic process. It is not more than an essential part. It is not the whole democratic process. There is also the Parliament and the Executive.

“and said that appropriate action will be taken about the complaint by three Supreme Court judges”.

What else is he going to say? Are you saying that Supreme Court judges are demi-gods, that if a Supreme Court judge points a finger at someone and says that he has done something wrong, that because he is a Supreme court judge that man must be punished? You cannot say that. He is a complainant like anybody else. Everybody is the same. Only when he sits in that chair he is a bit different. Then the report reads :

“Mr. Premadasa said after yesterday’s Cabinet meeting where this matter was discussed....the Government takes a serious view of the complaint made to the police by the three judges of the Supreme Court in regard to certain incidents reported by them”.

Sir, the truth is that the Opposition, basically the SLFP, is so politically bankrupt that they have to have an issue. The issue has rebounded on them in the

Law Library in Hulftsdorp, because there is a new name for Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike. The new name Mr. Bandaranaike is being called is "Canard Felix". That is, he has spoken about canards. The Law Library is calling him "Canard Felix".

Mr. Herman J. C. Perera, I was told, is virtually a briefless barrister. So he has to open his mouth in front of the press.—(Interruption.) That is what I have been told. These allegations are floated about. So you see, it is not all that simple. The whole legal profession is not united behind Mr. Herman J. C. Perera. They know that he is making an ass of himself by bringing this issue forward and by promoting it. He has done it in a way it has never been done before, and he has done it in a way which shows anyone who examines what has happened that it is a sole performance. He has no courage; he has no guts. Having written to the Prime Minister and saying that one of those resolutions thanks the Prime Minister for what he has said and done, when Bala Tampoe stood up and said, "Remove that", he had not the guts to stand up to that. He is a puppet pulled by other people's strings. I take responsibility for this in the sense that this is a section of the Bar Association that says this.

Sir, the hon. Member for Matugama spoke about ending these violent demonstrations and this kind of conflicts between parties. He, I think, admitted the 1980 incidents. But let him find out what happened in Nittambuwa in July 1981. I am an expert on what happened in the SLFP from 1977 to 1982, because, Sir, along with certain other Members of this House I sat on a Committee with regard to the expulsion of four Members of the SLFP. So I know what happened. Evidence was led before us. We know what happened in Nittambuwa. The hon. Second Member for Nuwara Eliya-Maskeliya is not here. The hon. Second Member for Harispattuwa is here. We know who came to Nittambuwa and from where. From Katana, from Negombo, from Ja-Ela, thugs, hooligans and IRCs were brought. They packed that hall in Nittambuwa. Why? Because they did not want Mr. Maitripala Senanayake, MP for Medawachchiya. They packed the hall at Nittambuwa expecting Mr. Maitripala Senanayake, MP for Medawachchiya and others to come there. They wanted to prevent them from speaking. That is your Naxalite element. Today it is a triumph for the Government because the case has been proved.

Now, you spoke about the complaints of the judges. That is very interesting, because you are confused as to what happened about the telephone. One judge says the telephone was engaged. That is not the same as saying "out of order". Everyone knows telephones get engaged. That is a very puerile argument.

If you read the statements made by the three justices you will see that they gave their statements at 5 o'clock when the incidents happened at 10.30 in the morning. It is strange that even though the crowd in front of Justice Collin-Thome's house was there only for 20 minutes, that is from 10.30 to 10.50, and the road was cleared by 11 a.m., Justice Colin-Thome did not have the presence of mind to either borrow a bicycle, borrow a car, or use his car to go to the police station.—(Interruption.) I do not see why anyone should stay at home. Will you stay at home if there is an assembly outside your house? They had cleared the road. Even when they were in front of the house not a glass window was shattered; nothing happened.—(Interruption) I do not ask the judge to go to the police. I say member of the family could have gone and brought a policeman. He was a Supreme Court judge, and the police would have come. No one went to the police station. The so-called mob had left by 11 o'clock. Till 5 o'clock what happened? six hours! And this was a great demonstration which frightened the lives out of them.—(Interruption.) Of course, we condemn the demonstration. What I am saying is, this was a demonstration which frightened the lives out of these Supreme Court Judges and their families. What happened between 11 and 5? Could they not go to a police station? Could they not send a message?

சி. சிவசிதம்பரம் மஹா
(திரு. எம். சிவசிதம்பரம்)
(Mr. M. Sivasithamparam)

The police were behind the demonstration. How could they go to the police?

ஹரின்ட் கோரெய் மஹா
(திரு. ஹரீந்திர கோரையா)
(Mr. Harindra Coreia)

I am not speaking about whether the police were behind it. I do not believe any word of that, but that is not the point. What I am saying is, to find out whether the police are behind the demonstration they must go to the police station. No one acts in this way. Any sensible person who finds his house surrounded by 30 people, when those 30 people leave within half an hour, surely does not wait six hours to go and tell the police? That means that the demonstration which took place was very peaceful. Similarly, Mrs. Ratwatte has made a statement. In fact, she says the crowd was very friendly, the crowd had not abused anyone or intimidated anyone.

Then the position is that no one can identify anyone. Therefore, I ask hon. Members of the Opposition and those in this country who are interested, if you cannot identify anyone whom are you going to charge?

කල්පනා කළොත් රටේ එක්තරා ප්‍රදේශයක කලබල තිබෙනවාය ඒ කියා අතින් ප්‍රදේශවල කලබල නැතැයි කියා මෙවැනි අවස්ථාවක, මගේ හිතේ අපි අපම රටවටා ගැනීමක් කරන්නේ. නමුත්තාත්සේ පිළිගනිමි සිංහල නිලධාරීන් මරා දමන විට සිංහල උදව්‍යයට කැක්කුමක් ඇති නොවෙනවාය කියා යමෙක් කියනවානම් ඒක මතභාවක් බව. ඕකෙන් ප්‍රයෝජන ගැනීමට බලා සිටින මංකොල්ලකාරයින් නැත කියා හිතනවා නම් ඒක තමන් විසින් තමන්ම රටටා ගැනීමක්.

ප්‍රදේශ කීපයක් ගැන මා සඳහන් කළා. විශේෂයෙන්ම කුරුණෑගල ගැන සඳහන් කළා. ඇයි මම එහෙම සඳහන් කළේ? වවුනියාවේ ඇති වූ සිද්ධිය උඩ ප්‍රදේශ කීපයක කලබල ගටගන්නා ඒ සිද්ධියෙන් මියගිය අයගේ මළ කඳන් ගෙනැවිත් ආදාහන කටයුතු කරන විට ඒ ප්‍රදේශවල, දේශපාලන වශයෙන් රජය අමාරුවේ දමන්නට බලා හිටින අයත් මංකොල්ල කන්නට ලැබුණි අයත් ඒ ප්‍රදේශවල සිටින දුටු ප්‍රතිපත්තාවට හිරිහැර කරදර කරන්නට පටන් ගන්නා. ඒක නැගූ කියන්න කාටවත් බැහැ. මේවා පැතිරී නොගියේ ඇයි කියන එක ගැනයි. අපි කල්පනා කරන්න ඕනෑ. එක අතකින් හදිසි නීතිය තිබුණා; අතින් අතින් අපේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීවරු තම තමන්ගේ ආසනවල එවැනි තත්ත්වයන් ඇති වන්නට ඉඩ දුන්නේ නැහැ. මට ලැබුණු පොලීස් චාර්තා අනුව මම ඒක පොද්ගලිකව හොදාකාරව දක්නවා. අපේ මන්ත්‍රීවරු ස්වල්ප වශයෙන්වත් සැලකිල්ලක් නොදක්වා සිටියා නම් පසුගිය කාලයේ ඇතැම් ප්‍රදේශවල ඇති වූ සිද්ධි අනුව මේ රට ගිනි ගන්නට ඉඩ තිබුණා. එවිට විපක්ෂයේ සිටින මන්ත්‍රීවරු තුන් හතර දෙනාට පුළුවන් මෙතනට ඇවිත් අහන්නට මොකද අතින් ප්‍රදේශවලට හදිසි නීතිය නොදැමීමේ? කියා.

මේවා ගැන කථා කරන විට අපේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීවරුන්ට සිදු වුණා යම් යම් උදව්‍යයට කියන්න 'මේ බලා ගන්නවා, නමුසෙලා වැරදි වැඩ කරන්න එපා, යම් යම් තැන්වල වැරදි වැඩ සිදු වී තිබෙනවා නම් ඒවායේ වගකීම රජය බාරගෙන තිබෙනවා, නමුසෙලා අමාරුවේ වැටී අපේ උදව් බලාගෙන එන්න එපා' කියා. මේ මන්ත්‍රීවරුන් ඒ අන්දමට ප්‍රකාශ කළ බව මම හොදාකාරවම දන්නවා. ඒ කියා දැන් බොහොම ලෙහෙසෙයි, මේ සටනට ඇති පැතිවලට පමණක් මේක සීමා කරන්න, අතින් පැතිවලට අවශ්‍ය නැහැ කියා මෙතැනට ඇවිත් කියන්නට. නමුත් වැඩේ සිදු වුණා නම් මොකක්ද මෙතැනට ඇවිත් කියන්නේ? 'මේ රජය ප්‍රමාද වුණා වැඩියි' කියයි. 'මේ රජය අදක්ෂයි' කියයි. කල් ඇතිව තිසි පියවර ගත්තේ නැත' කියයි. කී වරක් එහෙම කිරිවාද? එක වරක් කිරිවා 'ප්‍රමාද වුණා වැඩියි' කියා.

ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය කථානායකතුමනි, ඇති වී තිබෙන තත්ත්වය ගැන අපි කල්පනා කරන්න ඕනෑ. මොන මොන හේතු කියා මේ තත්ත්වය ඇති වුණද කියා. අපි ඇත ඉතිහාසයට යන්න වුවමනා කරන්නේ නැහැ. මේ රටේ මෙවැනි තත්ත්වයක් ඇති වන්නට තුඩු දුන් හේතු අපි දන්නවා. අවංක පුද්ගලයෙක් හැටියට ගම්පහ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා (එස්. ඩී. බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා) ඒ ගැන කීවා. 1956 දේ යුගයට ගොස් එතුමා කථා කළා. ශ්‍රීමත් ජෝන් කොතලාවල මැතිතුමා උතුරේ සංචාරයක යෙදුණු අවස්ථාවේ කළ ප්‍රකාශයක් දඩම්මා කරගෙන හේද මේ රට ගිනි තැබීමේ ව්‍යාපාරය පටන් ගත්තේ කියා නමුත්තාත්සේ දන්නවා. ඒ ඉතිහාසය අපි දන්නවා. දැන් නොයෙක් නොයෙක් අය අපට බණ දේශනා කරන්න පටන් ගෙන තිබෙනවා.

මේ රට සාමයෙන් තිබුණු රටක්. සිංහල උදව්‍යය දුටු බාහාම ඉගෙන ගන්නා; දුටු උදව්‍යය සිංහල බාහාම ඉගෙන ගන්නා. මේ රටේ කවදාවත් තිබුණ ප්‍රශ්නයක් නොවෙයි මේක. කවුරුත් සමගියෙන් සාමයෙන් මේ රටේ ජීවත් වුණා. කවුරු හෝ කාට හෝ යමක් බලහත්කාරයෙන් ඔබන්න යන විට තමයි, මෙවැනි සටනට ඇති වෙන්නේ. බලහත්කාරයෙන් අපට යම් යම් දේවල් කරන්න ආවොත් අපි වුණත් ඊට විරුද්ධව නැගී සිටිනවා. එය මනුෂ්‍ය ස්වභාවයක්. එහෙත් අපි කටුක ඉතිහාසය අමතක කර, මේ රජය 1977 බලයට පත්වීමෙන් පසුව ඉගෙන ගත් පාඩම්වලින් නිසි ප්‍රයෝජන අරගෙන, අලුත් ආණ්ඩු ක්‍රමයක් සකස් කර, යම් යම් අසාධාරණකම් නැති කර, මේ රටේ හැම ජන කොටසකටම සමගියෙන් හා සාමයෙන් ජීවත් වන්නට ඕනෑ කරන තත්ත්වයක් ඇති කරගෙන ආවා. එය නැතැයි කියන්නට කාටවත් බැහැ. ඒ අවස්ථාවේත් පටන් ගන්නා අවුස්සන්නට.

අද සාමය ගැන කථා කරන උදව්‍යය, අද අපට ධර්ම දේශනා කරන්නට යන උදව්‍යය, අප දිස්ත්‍රික් සංවර්ධන සභා ක්‍රමය ගෙන ආ අවස්ථාවේ ජාති හේද වාදය ඇවිස්සුවේ නැද්ද? දුටු බාහාම (විශේෂ වීඩි වීඩියෝ) පතක යටතේ රෙගුලාසි ගෙන ආ අවස්ථාවේ කර පටි දමාගෙන, විහාර මහා දේව උද්‍යානයේ සිට පෙළපාලි පටන් ගත් ආකාරය ගරු කරමාත්ත ඇමතිතුමා මතක් කළා. එදා මන්ත්‍රීවරුන්ට එන්නට දුන්නේ නැහැ. අප ඒ කටුක අතීතය අමතක කර දමා මේ රටේ එක්සත් භාවයක් ඇති කරන්නට, අසහනයක් තිබෙනවා නම් එය නැති කර ගන්නට ක්‍රියා කරන අවස්ථාවක්, මේ අපේ වැඩපිළිවෙලවල් වලදී අප කුමන අවස්ථාවකවත් උතුරටත්, නැගෙනහිරටත් පමණක් නිති රීති ගෙනාවේ නැහැ. දිස්ත්‍රික් සංවර්ධන සභා ගෙන ආ අවස්ථාවේ අප එය මුළු රටටම දුන්නා. ඒ දිස්ත්‍රික් සංවර්ධන සභා ක්‍රමය යටතේ, හැම දිස්ත්‍රික්කයකම මහජනතාවට පාලන තන්ත්‍රයට සහභාගී වන්නට අවස්ථාවක් දුන්නා. එය උතුරටත් නැගෙනහිරටත් පමණක් නොවෙයි මුළු රටටමයි. අප එම ක්‍රමය ප්‍රාදේශීය සභා, ග්‍රාමෝදය මණ්ඩල දක්වා දීර්ඝ කළා.

ගරු වැඩ බලන රාජ්‍ය පරිපාලන ඇමතිතුමා ග්‍රාමෝදය මණ්ඩල ගැන සඳහන් කිරීමේදී පෙන්නුම් කරන්නට උත්සාහ කළේ, අද ඇති වී තිබෙන එක තත්ත්වයක් ගැන යි. අද මොකක්ද ඇති වී තිබෙන තත්ත්වය? සර්ව ජන ඡන්ද බලයෙන් තේරී පත් වුණු නගර සභා කීපයක මන්ත්‍රීවරුන්ට තමන්ගේ නිල බලය භාර ගන්නට තොදී තර්ජනය කරන තත්ත්වයක් අද ඇති වී තිබෙනවා. අද සාපනයේ නගර සභාව, පේදුරු කුඩුවේ නගර සභාව, වවුනියාවේ නගර සභාව,

වී. යෝගේස්වරන් මහතා
(*කී.ල. ගො. ග්‍රො. ග්‍රො. ග්‍රො. ග්‍රො. ග්‍රො.*)
(Mr. V. Yogeswaran)
No. No. Not-Vavuniya.

ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා
(*කී.ල. ග්‍රා. පී. ග්‍රො. ග්‍රො. ග්‍රො.*)
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

වාචකවීර්ථී නගර සභාව, වැල්වෙට්ටිතුරෙයි නගර සභාව යන මේ නගර සභාවල නිල බලය භාර ගත්තේ නැත්තේ ඇයි? ඇයි පළමුවෙනි රැස්වීම පවත්වන්නේ නැත්තේ? මම මේ කාරණය එතුමන්ලාගේ නගර සභා නියා කියන දෙයක් නොවෙයි. අනෙක් නගර සභාවලත් මය තත්ත්වය ඇති වූයොත්—කොළඹ නගර සභාවට ඒ විදියේ තර්ජනයක් කළොත්—උඹලා පත් වුණාට නිල බලය භාර ගන්නට එපා' යයි කීවොත්, ඒ විදියට ගාල්ලේ නගර සභාවට කීවොත්, පානදුරේ නගර සභාවට කීවොත්, පත්වුණු ඒ උදව්‍ය ජීවිතයට තිබෙන හයෙන් ඒ නිල බලය භාරගන්නේ නැත්නම් ඒට වඩා හොදයි මේ රටේ ජීවත්වන්නේ නැතිව, මේ රට අහගැර දමා යාම. මේ වැඩපිළිවෙලවල් වලට එකක වන්නට එපා. මොකක්ද මේ ඉල්ලන Self Determination? සාපනයේ නගරයේ ජනතාව Self Determination නොවෙයිද කළේ? අපවත් පරාජය කර, ඔවුන් තමන්ගේ නගර සභාව පත්කර ගන්නා, ඡන්දය දෙන්නට එපාය කියා වෙනත් අය කියද්දත් ගොස් ඡන්දය දී පත් කළා හේද? එවැනි අවස්ථාවකදී 'ක්‍රමලාගේ ජීවිතවලට ආදරයක් තිබෙනවානම් ක්‍රමලා මෙම නගර සභාවල නිල බලය භාර ගන්න එපා' යයි කියන්න ස්වල්ප දෙනෙකුට පුළුවන් නම්, එවැනි පිරිසකට ඊලාම් ලැබුණත් කරන්නට පුළුවන් තත්වයක් මම අහන පර්ශනය? ඊලාම් ලැබුණත් වැඩක් නැහැ. ඊලාම් ලැබීලා ආණ්ඩුවක් පිහිටුවීමට—නමුත්තාත්සේලාගේ සර්වජන ඡන්ද බලය—ස්වල්ප දෙනෙක් ඇවිත් 'හාර්ගන්නට එපා රජය' කියා කීවොත් මොකක්ද තත්ත්වය? අපි මෙයට ඉඩ දෙනවාද? ජාති හේද වාදය උඩ නොවෙයි, මනුෂ්‍යයන් හැටියට අපි මේ ගැන කල්පනා කර බලමු. මේ රටේ කාටත් තිබෙන්නේ සම උරුමයක්. මේ රටේ ඕනෑම ජාතියක කෙනෙකුට ඕනෑම ප්‍රජාතකට ගොස් ඡන්දය ඉල්ලන්න පුළුවන්කමක් තිබෙනවා. නමුත්තාත්සේලා දන්නවා, ලංකාවේ ඕනෑම ජාතියකෙකුට ඕනෑම ප්‍රදේශයකට ගොස් ඡන්දය ඉල්ලා දිනන්න පුළුවන්කමක් තිබෙන බව. මුස්ලිම් ජාතියකෙකුට පුළුවන් බොරුල්ල ඡන්ද කොට්ඨාසයේ—සියයට 70ක්, සියයට 80ක්, සියයට 85ක් මුස්ලිම් උදව්‍ය නොවන කොට්ඨාශයක—මන්ත්‍රීවරයෙක්

[ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා]

වෙන්ක. ඒ විධියට බලන්ගොඩ පුළුවන් නම්, හාරිස්පත්තුවේ පුළුවන් නම්, බේරුවල පුළුවන් නම්, හාල්ලේ පුළුවන් නම් නියෝජ්‍ය කථානායකතුමනි, අපි ඒ තත්වය ආරක්ෂා කර ගත යුතුයි. මේ ප්‍රදේශවලටත් අපි ආයුධ ගත් ත්‍රස්තවාදීන් ඇවිත්, "ජන්දයෙන් බලයට පත් වුණත් උඹලට එන්න දෙන්න කැහැ" යි කීව්වොත් මොකක්ද ඇති වන තත්වය?

ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය කථානායකතුමනි, මම මෙන්න මේ ඉල්ලීම කරන්නටයි විශේෂයෙන්ම තැනි සිටියේ. ඉඩ දෙන්න එපා මේ තත්වයට. උඩට එක්සත් විමුක්ති පෙරමුණ අධිෂ්ඨානයක් ඇති කර ගන්න. තමුත්තාන්දේලා ආත්ම ගෞරවයක් ඇති දේශපාලන නායකත්වයක් දෙන්නාද? එහෙම නායකත්වයක් දෙන්න බැරි නම් දේශපාලනයෙන් ඉවත් වීම වඩා හොඳයි කියන කාරණය මම මේ අවස්ථාවේදී මතක් කරන්න කැමතියි. තමුත්තාන්දේලා ගැන මගේ විශේෂ ගෞරවයක් තිබෙනවා. තමුත්තාන්දේලා අභියාචනා, උග්‍ර උප්පත්, අසරණ ජනතාවගේ තත්වය තහා සිටුවීමට අවංකව උත්සාහ කරනවා නම්, මේ තමයි මොහොත. පත් වුණු කාගරික මන්ත්‍රීවරුන්ට කියන්න, "යන්න, ගිහිල්ල නිලතල භාරගන්න" කියා, අද මොකක්ද ඇති වි තිබෙන තත්වය? පඩිතඩි ගෙවීම සඳහා සල්ලි 'ඇඩ්වාන්ස්' කරන්න මට සිදු වී තිබෙනවා. කී දවසක් මෙහෙම කරන්නද? ජන්දයෙන් පත් වුණු තගර සභාවක්, මෙය ජන සම්මතවලට කරන මත නිග්‍රහයක්. මේ තගර සභාව විසුරුවා හැර විශේෂ කොමසාරිස්වරයකු පත් කරන්න කියා මට කියනවාද? එය තමයි, මම පළාත් පාලන ඇමති හැටියට කරන්නට කැමති වන අවසාන ක්‍රියාව. මම නීති වෙනස් කළා. අධිකරණ නිලධාරියෙක් ලවා විභාගයක් පවත්වන්නේ නැතිව ඇමතිවරයාට වුණත් තගර සභාවක් විසුරුවා හරින්න බැහැ. අද ඇති වි තිබෙන තත්වය මොකක්ද? ජන්දයෙන් පත් වුණු මේ තගර සභා කීපයේ ප්‍රශ්නය විසඳන්න මට අමුතු නීතියක් මේ සභාවට ගෙන එන්න සිදු වේවි විශේෂ කොමසාරිස්වරුන් පත් කිරීම සඳහා ඒවා විසුරුවා හරින්න බැහැ. මොකක්ද මේ තත්වය?

Where is the self-determination here? The people have exercised their vote to determine what sort of a Council they should have, and a few terrorists armed with weapons are threatening these elected representatives not to take up office. I think this is the biggest challenge that the TULF faces.

මේ ඉල්ලීම කරන්නටයි, මා තැනි සිටියේ. විශේෂයෙන්ම මේ අවස්ථාවේදී අපි මේ ගැන කල්පනා කර බලන්න ඕනෑ. මෙය මහ ලොකු තින්දරයි. අන්න ඒ අනුව තමයි මෙතුමා—වැඩි බලතල රාජ්‍ය පරිපාලන ඇමතිතුමා—සඳහන් කළේ 23 වෙනිදා ඇති වුණු වෙනස ගැන. ගමේ මට්ටමේ ඇති වුණ සංවිධානය තමයි ග්‍රාමෝදය මණ්ඩලය. එතුමා උත්සාහ කළේ එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයට මහජනතාවගේ කැමැත්ත තිබෙන බව පෙන්වන්න නොවෙයි. එතුමා පෙන්වන්න උත්සාහ කළේ ඒ ගමේ සංවිධානය හය කරන්නට ත්‍රස්තවාදීන්ට බැරි වීම ගැනයි. තරගයට සහභාගි වුණා පමණක් නොවෙයි, මේ හැම දිස්ත්‍රික්කයකම ජයග්‍රහණය කළ ග්‍රාමෝදය මණ්ඩලවල සභාපතිවරුන් මේ තරම් කලබල, කරදර තිබියදීත් කිසි කෙනෙකුට හය නැතිව, නිකවැරටිය වැනි ප්‍රදේශයකට ඇවිත් තමන්ගේ තම කියද්දී වේදිකාවට පැමිණ, ඒ තහාග සියල්ලම භාර ගන්නා. ඒ ගමේ මට්ටමේ මිනිහා හය කරන්නට පුළුවන් තත්වයක් ඇති වී නැහැ. මම අයුච්ච එක් කෙනෙකුගෙන් "ඇයි මහෙලා හය නැතිව ආවේ?" කියා, එවිට, "අපේ ගමේ අපට හය කරන්න අපි හැර වෙන කවුරුත් නැහැ" යි කීව්වා. කරුණාකර අන්න ඒ තත්වය ශක්තිමත් කරන්න. අද බලන්න ඇති වි තිබෙන තත්වය.

අපි මේක පාඩමකට අරගන්න ඕනෑ. රටේ අනික් පළාත්වලටත් මේක පැතිරෙන්නට බැරි නැහැ. අපි මේක මතක තබා ගන්නට ඕනෑ. සමහරවිට මහජනතාවගේ ජන්දයෙන් පත් වෙයි. ස්වල්ප දෙනෙක් ලියුම් එවයි. "ඒයි බලාගෙනයි, උඹල නිලතල ගන්නොත් විනාශ කරනවා" කියයි. අනික් දවසේ අපට කියයි නොවැ? මේගැන සභාවට එන්න බැරි වෙයි. තව විකල දවසකින් සංවර්ධන සභාවලටත් කියයි. තව විකල දවසකින් විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ නායකතුමාට නායකත්වයෙන් අස්

වෙන්තත් කියයි. මන්ත්‍රීවරුන්ටත් ආසනවලින් අස් වෙන්න කියයි. කීව්වොත් යනවාද? එවැනි අවස්ථාවකදී මේ රජය ජනසම්මතවාදය වෙනුවෙන් ඕනෑම දෙයක් කරන්නට ලැස්ති බව මම කියන්නට කැමතියි.

මේ තර්ජන ගර්ජනවලට ඉඩ දෙන්න එපා. මේ හදිසි තීරණයක් අපි බලාපොරොත්තු වන්නේ ඒකයි. එහෙම නැතිව එක ත්‍රස්තවාදයක් නැතිකරන්න තව ත්‍රස්තවාදයක් ඇති කිරීම නොවෙයි. එහෙම කරන්න පුළුවන් කියා අපේ විශ්වාසයක් නැහැ. අපි ආයුධවලින් ඒක කරන්න පුළුවන් කියා අපි පිළි ගත්තේ නැහැ. ඒකයි, අපි නොයෙකුත් අවස්ථාවලදී ප්‍රමාද වන්නේ, විරුද්ධ පක්ෂය මේකට අපට දොස් කියා තිබෙනවා. "ප්‍රේමටනී මහම්පේර් සිද්ධියෙන් තමුත්තාන්දේලා ප්‍රයෝජන ගත්තා. ඇයි ඒවා ආයෙමත් කරන්නේ?" කියා මතුගම ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා (අතිල් මුණ්ඩිග මහතා) අපෙන් ඇහුවා. මතුගම ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමාගෙන් මම මේක අහන්නට කැමතියි. එතුමා මොකක්ද අපට කරන්නට කියන්නේ? වට මේස සාකච්චාවක් තියන්නට කියයි. හතරැස් මේස සාකච්චාවක් තියන්නට කියයි. දේශපාලන විසඳුමක් දෙන්නට කියයි. මතුගම ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමාට මම කියන්න කැමතියි. උතුරු ප්‍රදේශයේ ජන්දයෙන්ම පත් වුණු මිනිසුන් අද නිලතල භාර ගන්නට හයේ ඉන්නා බව. එතුමා මොනවාද මේ කියන්නේ? මොකක්ද මේ කියන දේශපාලන විසඳුම? තමුත්තාන්දේලා මේ ගරු සභාවට ඇවිදිත් මහොම කියයි. තමුත් රටේ නොවේ සිදු වන්නේ මොකක්ද? ඒක විකක් කල්පනාවට අරගන්න. වාසනාවට වගේ මේ රජයට ලංකාව පුරාම මන්ත්‍රීවරු සිටිනවා. එහෙම තොඩ්වියා නම් මෙලහකට මුළු රටම ගිනි අරගෙන ඉවරයි. ඇයි? දේශපාලන වශයෙන් පරාජය වුණු අය ගිනි අවුලුවන්න පටන් ගන්නවා. "අන්න අපේ උදව්‍ය මරනවා, ඇයි අපි නිකම් ඉන්නේ? අතක අර ජාතිකයා ඉන්නවා. මොනක ඒ ජාතිකයාගේ කඩයක් තිබෙනවා, ඒකට ගිනි නියාපල්ලා. මරපල්ලා" කියනවා. වාසනාවකට වගේ මේ රටේ ජනතාව තමන්ගේ ජන්දයෙන් මේ රජය ශක්තිමත් කර තිබෙනවා.

පසුගිය අතුරු මැතිවරණවලදී මේ රටේ ඇතැම් ප්‍රදේශවලට ගිහිත් ඒ උදව්‍ය මොකක්ද කීව්වේ අමර්තලිංගම්ව විපක්ෂ නායකත්වයෙන් අස් කරන්නට ඕනෑ නම් යුඇන්පීය පරදවන්න කියා කීව්වා. එහෙම කියද්දීත් මේ රටේ බුද්ධිමත් ජනතාව, සියයට සියයක් සිංහල ජනතාව ඒවා ඔක්කොම ප්‍රතික්ෂේප කළා.

හරින්ද්‍ර කොරයා මහතා
(*ශ්‍රී. ඉන්ද්‍ර නිෂිත කොරයා*)
(Mr. Harindra Corea)
මතුගමත් කීව්වා.

ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා
(*ශ්‍රී. ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස*)
(Mr. R. Premadasa)
මතුගමත් එහෙම කීව්වාය කියා කියනවා. ඒක ඇත්තද කියන්න මම නම් දන්නේ නැහැ.

ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය කථානායකතුමනි, වඩිඬුක්කෝඩ්ඩෙයි ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා (ආචාර්ය නිලන් තීරුවෙල්වම් මහතා) ගාන්ධි තුමාගේ ප්‍රකාශයක් කීව්වා. "ඇහැට ඇහැක් ගන්නොත් මුළු ලෝකයම අන්ධ වෙයි" කීව්වා. මමත් ගාන්ධි තුමාගේ ප්‍රකාශයක් මතක් කරන්නට කැමතියි. "මිනිහා කුරුල්ලෙක් වගේ පියාඹන්නටත් දැන් ඉගෙන ගෙන තිබෙනවා. මාරුවෙක් වගේ පිත්තටත් දැන් ඉගෙන ගෙන තිබෙනවා. මිනිහා දැන් ඉගෙන ගත යුත්තේ මතුණයෙක් වගේ මහ පොළොවේ ඇවිදින්නටයි" කියා එතුමා ප්‍රකාශ කර තිබෙනවා. අපට උගන්නන්න වෙලා තිබෙන්නේ ඒකයි. මතුණයෙන් වගේ හැසිරෙන්නටයි දැන් අපට උගන්වන්නට සිදු වෙලා තිබෙන්නේ.

කොයි තරම් දක්ෂ පක්ෂකම් තිබුණත් අද කෙරෙන්නේ මොකක්ද? කවුරු වෙයි තිබෙන්න අපි ඒක 'කන්ඩේම්' කරනවාය කියා තමුත්තාන්දේලා කියනවා. තමුත් සිදු වී තිබෙන දේ බලන්න. අපි හමුදාවල යවන්නේ අපේ වුවමනාවටද? ආගාවකටද? ඔය තත්වය ඒ

පළාත්වල ඇති වෙනවාට අපි කැමතිද? මොකක් කියාද මේක ඇති වෙන්නේ? අපි විකක් කල්පනා කර බලන්න ඕනෑ. මිනිමැරුමක් ඇති වුණොත්, අමු අමුවේ වෙඩි තැබුවොත් සාක්කි දෙන්න කෙනෙක් තැහැ. සාක්කි දෙන්න ඉදිරිපත් වන්නෙ තැහැ. එවැනි තත්වයක් තිබෙන විට මොනවා කරන්නද? එවැනි තත්වයක් තිබෙන විට කරන්න කියන්නේ මොකක්ද? හොඳයි අපි හිතමු, අද අපි හදිසි නීතිය ඉවත් කරනවාය කියා. දැන් රු දොළහට පෙර හදිසි නීතිය දික් කළේ තැන්නම් එය අහෝසි වෙනවා. එවිට ඇති වන තත්වය මොකක්ද? තමුත්තාන්සේලා කියනවාද හෙට උදේ ඉඳලා මේ ප්‍රශ්නය විසඳෙයි කියා? කවුරු හරි කියනවද එවිට සාමය ඇති වෙයි. සාමදානය ඇති වෙයි. සාමය ඇතිවෙයි කියලා. වගකිවයුතු ඕනෑ කෙනෙක් ඒක මට කියන්න.

දැන් තමුත්තාන්සේලා කීවා, "මේකට අපි ජන්දෙ දෙන්න තැහැ, මේ සිද්ධි තැනි පළාත්වලත් හදිසි නීතිය දලා තියෙනව" කියලා. වගකිවයුතු මන්ත්‍රීවරයකු හැටියට කවුරුහරි කරුණාකරලා තැනිටලා කියන්න. "මව් මම කියනවා, හදිසි නීතිය ඉවත් කරන්න" කියලා. දැන් ත්‍රිකුණාමලයේ සිද්ධීන් ඇති වෙනවා, මේ වෙලාවෙන් දමා තිබෙනවා, ඇදිරිනීතිය. එය හෙට මුළු දවසමෙන් දමනවා. මේ සිද්ධීන් සම්පූර්ණයෙන්ම අඩු වෙතන ආවා පෙරේද වනතුරු. ඇදිරි නීතියත් ඉවත් කරගෙන ආවා. තමුත් ඊසේ ඉඳලා පවත්ගන්නා ආයෙත්.

අපි, නිලධාරීන්ගේ වැරදි කියනවා. පොලීසිය හොඳයි කියලා තැනකදී කියනවා; නරකයි කියලා තව තැනකදී කියනවා. යුද්ධ හමුදාව හොඳයි කියලා අපි කියනවා; නාවුක හමුදාව හොඳයි කියලත් කියනවා. වික දවසක් යන විට කොයි හමුදාවත් වැරදියි. පුළුවන් වැඩක්ද මේ තුවක්කු උස්සාගෙන ඉන්නවාය කියන එක? ලෙහෙසි වැඩක්ද ඒක? පැය ගණන් මේවා උස්සාගෙන ඉන්නා විට පාවිච්චි කරන්නත් හිතෙනවා. අපි විකක් කල්පනා කර බලමු. මේ කාකි යුනිෆෝම් එක දැගෙන, ගෙදර යන්න තැහැ; දරු මල්ලන් බලන්න තැහැ; හරි කැමත් තැහැ; අසනීපයකට බෙහෙත් විකක් තැහැ. කැලෑවල වෙන්ව ගතගෙන ඉන්න. එහෙම ඉන්න මනුෂ්‍යයකුගේ මානසික තත්වය ගැන අපි කල්පනා කරන්න ඕනෑ. මොන මොනවා වෙයිද කියලා කියන්න බැහැ. මේ හමුදාවල ඉන්නා අය ආශාවට මේවායේ ගිහිල්ලා රාජකාරී කරනවාද? තැහැ. හදිසි තත්වයක් උඩයි ඕක මහොම සිදු වෙන්න. එහෙම තැනුව හමුදාවලින් රටක් පාලනය කරන්න පුළුවන් නම් මේ මන්ත්‍රීවරු වුවමනා තැහැ නේ? මේ සභාවල් වුවමනා තැහැ නේ? මේ ජන්ද විමසීම් වුවමනා තැහැ නේ? මේ ආණ්ඩු ක්‍රමයක් වුවමනා තැහැ නේ? හැබැයි, හමුදාවලට රටක් පාලනය කරන්න පුළුවන් වන්නෙ එක් එක්කොනට හයෙත්. එක් එක්කොනා හයෙත් ඒවත් වෙයි. අත්තිමට හමුදාවේ ඉන්න ගස්තිමත් මිනිසා පාලනය ගෙන යයි. ඒ මිනිසා මරාදන්න පුළුවන් වුණුදට අතින් එක්කොනා තැන ගනියි.

මොහොතකටවත් අපි කියන්නෙ තැහැ හදිසි නීතියකින්, හමුදාවලින්, අවි ආයුධවලින් රටේ ජනතාවගේ ප්‍රශ්න විසඳන්න පුළුවන් වෙයි කියා. තමුත් මෙවැනි තත්වයක් ඇති වුණාම මොකක්ද කරන්නේ? කියන්න. මේ එකම එක නිදර්ශනය බලන්න. මේ ජන්දයෙන් තේරුණු පළාත් පාලන ආයතන හතරට කර බබෙන දේ බලන්න. ජූනි මාසේ පළමුවෙනිද නිලය භාර ගන්නට තිබුණා. මම නියම කලා, 16 වැනිද හොඳ තැනක් දවසක් නිසා එදිනට රැස්වීම පවත්වන්න. තමුත් ඒකටවත් ගියේ තැහැ; ඇයි? අර මිනිස්සු වෙඩි තියන්න, මරන්න ඉන්න නිසා.

ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය කථානායකතුමනි, මම උච්ච එක්සත් විමුක්ති පෙරමුණේ-විසුරුල්ලන් එකේ-අයට මේක කියන්න කැමතියි. තමුත්තාන්සේලාගේ තිබෙනවා නම් ප්‍රතිපත්තියක්, 'ඊලාම්' ප්‍රතිපත්තිය හරි, වෙන විධියක ප්‍රතිපත්තියක් හරි, ඒකත් නිසා ගන්න. පස්සෙ පුළුවන් ඒ ගැන බලන්න. අතින් පක්ෂවලටත් තිබෙනවා නම් ප්‍රතිපත්ති-තිබෙනවාදයි මම දන්නෙ තැහැ-ඒවාත් පොඩ්ඩකට තහර කර ගන්න. අපි සියලු දෙනාටම බැරිද එකට එකතු වෙලා ත්‍රස්තවාදය මේ ලංකාවෙන් සම්පූර්ණයෙන්ම තැනි කරන්නට එකඟත්වයක් ඇති කරන්නෙ. මෙහෙම බේදිලා ඉන්න තාක් කල් කවදාවත් ඕක තවත්වන්න බැහැ. අපට බැරිද, වෙන දෙයක් ගැන නොවෙයි, මේ ගැන-අවිආයුධ බලයෙන් මේ රටේ සාමය තැනි කරන්නට ගෙන තිබෙන ක්‍රියා කලාපය ගැන-නිර්ණයක් ගන්න? වෙන ඒවා ඔක්කොම පස්සට දමමු.

සාමය අවශ්‍ය. මොන දේට වුණත්, තමුත්තාන්සේලා සාමයට කැමතියි; අවිහිංසාවට කැමතියි. අතින් උදවියත් සාමය ඕනෑය කියනවා; අවිහිංසාව ඕනෑය කියනවා. එහෙම නම් එක කාරණයක් ගැන අපට එකඟ වෙන්න බැරිද? මොකක්ද ඒ? මේ ත්‍රස්තවාදී වැඩවලට කිසිදු රුකුලක් නොදී සිටීම. මම දන්නවා අපේ ජනාධිපතිතුමා එක් වරකට සිය දහස් වාරයක් කැමතියි ඒකට. මේ ප්‍රතිපත්තිය එක අපි මාසයක් දෙකක් එකට එකතු වෙලා නිර්ණ අරගෙන ක්‍රියා කරමු. අපි පකට වාඩිවෙලා නිර්ණ අරගෙන ක්‍රියා කරමු. මේ රටේ ජනගහණය අඩුව කල්පනා කරන විට අවි ආයුධ අතට අරගෙන අමු අමුවේ මිනි මරණ ඉතාම ස්වල්ප දෙනෙක් නොවැ මේ තත්වය ඇති කර තිබෙන්නෙ. අපට බැරිද මේක පරාජය කරන්නට? කරුණාකර ගිහින් තමුත්තාන්සේලාගේ සංවිධාන සමග සාකච්ඡා කරන්න. අපට එකට වාඩිවෙලා පුළුවනි මේක කරන්නට. කාගෙත්ද වැරදි සිද්ධි වෙලා තියෙන්න, කවුද වැරදි කරන්නෙ කියල එකකොට අපට දැනගන්නට පුළුවනි. අපි ඒක හරිගස්සමු. එකකොට ඒ අය දැනගන්නවා මේ රටේ ගුණගරුක ජනතාව වෙනුවෙන් අද සියලු දෙනාම එකට එකතු වී තිබෙන බව ත්‍රස්තවාදය මර්දනය කරන්නට. ඊටපසු අපි තැවුණත් හිටපු තැන්වලට ගිහින් අපේ ප්‍රතිපත්ති අනුව ජනතාවගේ කැමැත්ත ගත්ත උත්සාහ කරමු.

බලන්න කොයි තරම් ලක්ෂණට අපි අපේ මේ වැඩ පිළිවෙල සකස් කරගෙන එනවාද කියල. විශේෂයෙන්ම සංවර්ධන සහා ක්‍රමය දෙස බලන්න. දිස්ත්‍රික්ක විසි හතර තුළම මහජනතාවට සහභාගිත්වයක් ඇති කර ගන්නට බලතල දිගෙන ඒ වැඩ පිළිවෙල ක්‍රියාත්මක කරන්නට තේද මේ එන්නේ? තමුත් ඒකට ඉඩ දෙන්නෙ තැහැ. ඒකට ඉඩ දෙනවා නම් ඇයි මේ ජන්දයෙන් පත් වූ ආයතනවලටවත් අද ක්‍රියාත්මක වෙන්නට ඉඩ නොදෙන්නේ? මේක මහ භායානක රෝගයක පිට ලක්ෂණයක්. මේක ගැන අපි සුළුවට කල්පනා කිරීම තරකයි. මේක දකුණය, උතුරය, නැගෙනහිරය, බටහිරය කියල අපි හිතන්නට වුවමනාවක් තැහැ. අපි මුළු රට ගැනම කල්පනා කරන්නට ඕනෑ. කරුණාකර තවත් වාරයක් මේ සභාවට ඇවිත් තැවුණත් මේක දික් කරන්නටය කියල යෝජනා කරන්නට ඉස්සෙල්ල මම විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ නායකතුමාගෙන් සහ අතින් පක්ෂවල නායකයින්ගෙන් එක ඉල්ලීමක් කරනවා. මාසයකට පමණක් අපි එක ප්‍රතිපත්තියක් උඩ එකට එකතු වී එක කාරණයක් ගැන-ත්‍රස්තවාදය මුලිකුපුටා දැමීම ගැන-අපි සියලු දෙනාම එකට වැඩ කරනවාය යන හැඟීම රටට දෙමු. එහෙම කළොත් කිසිම සැකයක් තැනිව මේක විසඳන්නට පුළුවන්ය යන්න මගේ විශ්වාසයයි. මම ඒ ආයාචනය මේ අවස්ථාවේදී කරන්නට කැමතියි.

ශ්‍රේෂ්ඨාධිකරණයේ විනිශ්චයකාරවරු කීප දෙනෙකු කල පැමිණිල්ල පිළිබඳ කාරණය ඊළඟට මේ සභාවේදී මතක් කරන්නට යෙදුණා. මීට පෙරත් මා ප්‍රකාශ කර තිබෙනවා වාගේ රජය වෙනුවෙන් සහ එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂය වෙනුවෙන් අපි අධිකරණයේ ස්වාධීනත්වය සහ තත්වය කිසිම ලෙසකින් බාල්දු කරන්නට හෝ ඊට අවමන් කරන්නට හෝ අවකාශ නොදෙන බව මා තැවුණත් ප්‍රකාශ කරන්නට කැමතියි. ඒ වාගේම මා කියන්නට ඕනෑ යම් පැමිණිල්ලක් කළාම ඒ පැමිණිල්ල පිළිබඳව තීරණානුකූලව යම් පරීක්ෂණයක් කරනවා නම් ඒවාට කිසිම බාධාවක් කරන්නෙත් තැනි බව. රජය වෙනුවෙන් මම ඒ සහතිකය දුන්නා. ඒ වාගේම ඒ ඉදිරිපත් කර තිබෙන පැමිණිලි අනුව ගනුයුතු ක්‍රියා මාර්ගය පිළිබඳව උපදෙස් දීමට ඉතාම යුද්ධයා නීතිපතිවරයාය කියා මුළු කැබිනට් මණ්ඩලයම ඒකමතිකව නිර්ණය කළාය යන්නත් මම කීවා. නීතිපතිවරයාගේ උපදෙස් පරිදි නිසි විධියට ඒ පරීක්ෂණ අනුව ක්‍රියාදාමයක් ක්‍රියාත්මක වන බවට අපි සහතික වී තිබෙනවා. ඉන් බැහැර ක්‍රියා මාර්ගයක් අනුගමනය කරන්නට අපි බලාපොරොත්තු වෙන්නෙ තැහැ.

නොයෙක් උදවිය අතින් නොයෙක් දේවල් සිද්ධි වෙන්නට පුළුවනි. විවිධයන් ගුණවර්ධන මහත්මිය පෙළපාලි ගිය එක ගැන මේ සභාවේ කියවුණා. මීට කලින් ඇති වූ පෙළපාලි ගැන කියවුණා. තඩු නික්දුව ගැන සදහන් කලා. නොයෙකුත් නීති විගාරදයින් ඒ ඒ සංගමවල අදහස් සහ අනෙකුත් ආයතනවල අදහස් ප්‍රකාශ කරමින් ඒ තඩු නික්දුව යම් යම් කොටස් විග්‍රහ කරන්නට යෙදුණා. ඒවා ගැන සාකච්ඡා කරන්නට කාටත් නිදහස තිබෙනවා. තමුත් ඒවායින් ප්‍රයෝජනය අරගෙන රජයට මඩ ගසන්නට කල්පනා කිරීම තරකයි.

පළාත් පාලන අතරු ව්‍යවස්ථා
 உள்ளாட்சித் துணைவிதிகள்
LOCAL GOVERNMENT BY-LAWS

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

I move,

“That the By-Law relating to the Provident Fund made under section 184(1) of the Municipal Councils Ordinance (Chapter 252) by the Galle Municipal Council and approved by the Minister of Local Government, Housing and Construction which was presented on 09.06.1983, be confirmed.”

ප්‍රශ්නය විමසන ලදීන්, සහ සම්මත විය.
 வினா விடுக்கப்பட்டு ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளப்பட்டது.
 Question put, and agreed to.

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

I move,

“That the By-Law made under sections 267 and 272 of the Municipal Councils Ordinance (Chapter 252) read with section 90 of the Development Councils Act, No. 35 of 1980, by the Special Commissioner administering the affairs of the Negombo Municipal Council amending, in the Schedule thereto, the By-Laws relating to the examination and consideration of building plans published in Gazette No. 11,549 of October 10, 1958, and approved by the Minister of Local Government, Housing and Construction, which was presented on 09.06.1983 be confirmed.”

ප්‍රශ්නය විමසන ලදීන්, සහ සම්මත විය.
 வினா விடுக்கப்பட்டு ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளப்பட்டது.
 Question put, and agreed to.

මධ්‍යම පරිසර අධිකාරිය : වාර්ෂික වාර්තාව
 மத்திய சூழல் அதிகார சபை : வருடாந்த அறிக்கை
CENTRAL ENVIRONMENTAL AUTHORITY : ANNUAL REPORT

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

I move,

“That in terms of Section 14 (3) of the Finance Act, No. 38 of 1971, the Annual Report and Final Accounts of the Central Environmental Authority - 1981 together with the Auditor-General's report which was presented on 07.06.1983 be approved.”

ප්‍රශ්නය විමසන ලදීන්, සහ සම්මත විය.
 வினா விடுக்கப்பட்டு ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளப்பட்டது.
 Question put, and agreed to.

අනවසන හා අපවසන (පාලන) පනත : නියෝග
 இறக்குமதி, ஏற்றுமதி (கட்டுப்பாட்டு) சட்டம் :
 ஒழுங்குவிதிகள்

IMPORTS AND EXPORTS (CONTROL) ACT : REGULATIONS

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

On behalf of the Minister of Trade and Shipping, I move,

“That the Regulations made by the Minister of Trade and Shipping by virtue of the powers vested in him under section 4 (3), 14 and 20 of the Imports and Exports (Control) Act, No. 1 of 1969, and published in the Government Gazette No. 244/7 of 10th May, 1983 and presented on 07.06.1983 be approved.”

ප්‍රශ්නය විමසන ලදීන්, සහ සම්මත විය.
 வினா விடுக்கப்பட்டு ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளப்பட்டது.
 Question put, and agreed to.

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

On behalf of the Minister of Trade and Shipping, I move,

“That the Regulations made by the Minister of Trade and Shipping by virtue of the powers vested in him under section 4 (3), 14 and 20 of the Imports and Exports (Control) Act, No. 1 of 1969, and published in the Government Gazette No. 243/23 of 6th May 1983 and presented on 09.06.1983 be approved.”

ප්‍රශ්නය විමසන ලදීන්, සහ සම්මත විය.
 வினா விடுக்கப்பட்டு ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளப்பட்டது.
 Question put, and agreed to.

ලංකා සම්භාණිධි සංයුක්ත මණ්ඩලය : වාර්ෂික

වාර්තාව
 இலங்கை தோற்பொருள் கூட்டுத்தாபனம் : வருடாந்த அறிக்கை

CEYLON LEATHER PRODUCTS CORPORATION : ANNUAL REPORT

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

On behalf of the Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs, I move,

“That in terms of section 14(3) of the Finance Act, No. 38 of 1971, the Annual Report and Statement of accounts of the Auditor-General's observations for the year ended 31st December 1980 which was presented on 09.06.1983 be approved.”

ප්‍රශ්නය විමසන ලදීන්, සහ සම්මත විය.
 வினா விடுக்கப்பட்டு ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளப்பட்டது.
 Question put, and agreed to.

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

Item No. 8.

ලක්ෂ්මන් ජයකොඩි මහතා
 (திரு. லக்ஷ்மன் ஜயக்கொடி.)
 (Mr. Lakshman jayakody)

Sir, the Hon. Minister of State is here and I want to take up certain matters only with regard to two of these items. Firstly, in respect of the Ceylon Tourist Board -

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

This is item No. 8.

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

Yes. I am referring to Item No. 8. The other one will be Item No. 12.

නියෝජ්‍ය කාරක සභාපතිතුමා
(பிரதிச் சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)
(Mr. Deputy Speaker)

Items 8 and 12 can stand down.

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

Stand down? All right, that is fair enough.

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

Do you want those items to stand down?

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

No, I just wanted to make a few comments. But if you want those items to stand down, by all means do so.

කුඩා හේ වතු සංවර්ධන අධිකාරිය : වාර්ෂික වාර්තාව

சிறு தேயிலைப்பற்று நிலங்கள் அபிவிருத்தி அதிகார சபை : வருடாந்த அறிக்கை

TEA SMALL HOLDINGS DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY : ANNUAL REPORT

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

On behalf of the Minister of Public Administration and Minister of plantation Industries, I move,

"That in terms of section 21 of the Tea Small Holdings Development Law, No. 35 of 1975, read with section 14(3) of the Finance Act, No. 38 of 1971, the Annual Report of the Tea Small Holdings Development Authority for the year 1981, being report incorporating the Report of the Board of Directors, Accounts and Auditor-general's Report, which was presented on 07.06.1983, be approved?"

ප්‍රශ්නය විමසන ලදී, සහ සම්මත විය.
ඔහු ඔබ්බට පිටු ගැන්වීමට එකඟ විය.
Question put, and agreed to.

ලබරට සමුපකාර වතු සංවර්ධන මණ්ඩලය : වාර්ෂික වාර්තාව

உடறட்ட கூட்டுறவுத் தோட்ட அபிவிருத்திச் சபை :

வருடாந்த அறிக்கை

UDARATA CO-OPERATIVE ESTATES DEVELOPMENT BOARD : ANNUAL REPORT

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

On behalf of the Minister of Public Administration and Minister of Plantation Industries I move,

"The in terms of section 14(3) of the Finance Act, No. 38 of 1971, the Report of the Board of Liquidators for 1977 pertaining to the activities of the Udarata Co-operative Estates Development Board established under the State Agricultural Corporations Act, No. 11 of 1972, which was presented on 09.06.1983, be approved."

ප්‍රශ්නය විමසන ලදී, සහ සම්මත විය.
ඔහු ඔබ්බට පිටු ගැන්වීමට එකඟ විය.
Question put, and agreed to.

ලංකා තෙල් සහ මේද සංයුක්ත මණ්ඩලය : වාර්ෂික වාර්තාව

இலங்கை எண்ணெய் கொழுப்புக் கூட்டுத்தாபனம் : வரு

டாந்த அறிக்கையும் கணக்குகளும்

CEYLON OILS AND FATS CORPORATION : ANNUAL REPORT

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

On behalf of the Minister of Rural Industrial Development I move,

"That in terms of section 14(3) of the Finance Act, No 38 of 1971, the Annual Report and Accounts of the Ceylon Oils and Fats Corporation, being report incorporating the Auditor-General's observations for the year ended 31st December, 1980, which was presented on 07.06.1983, be approved."

ප්‍රශ්නය විමසන ලදී, සහ සම්මත විය.
ඔහු ඔබ්බට පිටු ගැන්වීමට එකඟ විය.
Question put, and agreed to.

කල්තැබීම

ஒத்திவைப்பு

ADJOURNMENT

එකලசி வேலை ஏ. ன. 8 மதுகர சிறுசேன் தியேச கப்தாவகஜம திசன் ப்‍රசனய தைவீசய பார்லிமேன்ஜு கல் தவன லீ.

பார்லிமேன்ஜு 8 மதுகர ஏ. ன. 11.48 ப. 1983 சூரி 5 பன தைசுயிட ஏ. ன. 3 பன தைன் கல் திசேய.

அப்பொழுது தேசம் பி. ப. 8 மணிக்குப் பித்திவிட்டமைமால் பிரதிச் சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள் வினாவின்றி பாராளுமன்றத்தை ஒத்திவைத்தார்கள்.

இதன்படி பி. ப. 11.48 மணிக்கு, பாராளுமன்றம் 1983 ஜூலை 5, செவ்வாய்கிழமை பி. ப. 3 மணி வரை ஒத்திவைக்கப்பட்டது.

It being past 8 p.m. MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER adjourned parliament without Question put.

Adjourned Accordingly at 11.48 p.m. until 3 p.m. on Tuesday, 5th July 1983.

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

1. What is the purpose of the study?
2. What are the research objectives?
3. What is the scope of the study?

4. What is the significance of the study?
5. What are the limitations of the study?

6. What is the methodology used?
7. How was the data collected?

8. How was the data analyzed?
9. What are the findings of the study?

10. What are the conclusions of the study?
11. What are the implications of the study?

12. What are the recommendations of the study?
13. What are the future directions of the study?

14. What are the strengths of the study?
15. What are the weaknesses of the study?

16. What are the contributions of the study?
17. What are the limitations of the study?

18. What are the implications of the study?
19. What are the recommendations of the study?

20. What are the future directions of the study?

place for defining a study's purpose. It is the main reason why researchers conduct a study. The purpose of a study is to answer a specific question or to test a hypothesis. It is the central focus of the study and the primary reason for its existence. The purpose of a study is to provide a clear and concise statement of the research objectives and the significance of the study. It is the foundation upon which the study is built and the primary reason for its existence.

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௩. ௩.

மேல்கூறியவற்றினை அடிப்படையில் திருத்தங்களைக் கருத்துரைக்கக் கூடியவர்கள் தமது திருத்தங்களைத் தயார் செய்து, இவ்வாறு அறிவிக்கப்பட்டுள்ள திகதிக்கு முன்பாகவே, திருத்தங்களைத் தயார் செய்து, திருத்தங்களைக் கொண்ட பிரதியை ஹன்சாட் பதிப்பாளியருக்கு

1983 ஜூலை 11 வரை அனுப்ப வேண்டும்.

தலைநகரம், சென்னை, 11.7.83

குறிப்பு

அங்கத்தினர்கள் இறுதிப் பதிப்பிற்கு செய்யவிரும்பும் திருத்தங்களை அறிக்கையிற்றெளிவாகக் குறித்து திருத்தங்களைக் கொண்ட பிரதியை ஹன்சாட் பதிப்பாளியருக்கு

1983 ஜூலை 11, திங்கட்கிழமைக்குப் பிந்தாமல்

கிடைக்கக்கூடியதாக அனுப்புவதில் வேண்டும்.

NOTE

Corrections which Members suggest for the Final Print should be clearly marked in this Report and the copy containing the corrections must reach the Editor of HANSARD,

not later than

Monday, 11th July 1983

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

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

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