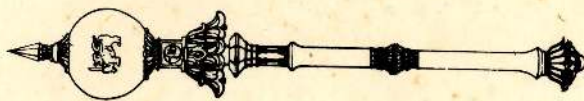


33 වන කාණ්ඩය

6 වන කලාපය

සිකුරාද

1985 ජනවාරි 25



# පාර්ලිමේන්තු විවාද

(හැන්සාඩ්)

## නිල වාර්තාව

(අශෝධිත පිටපත)

අන්තර්ගත ප්‍රධාන කරුණු

ප්‍රශ්නවලට වාර්තා පිළිතුරු  
මහරජ ආරක්ෂක ප්‍රකාශනය  
ජේගු යෝජනා

පාර්ලිමේන්තු වාරය අවසන් කිරීම  
පාර්ලිමේන්තුව කැඳවීම



# நானே நானே

(நானே)

நானே

(நானே)

நானே நானே

## பாராளுமன்ற விவாதங்கள்

(ஹன்சார்ட்)

அதிகார அறிக்கை

(பிழை திருத்தப்படாதது)

பிரதான உள்ளடக்கம்

வினாக்களுக்கு வாய்மூல விடைகள்  
பொதுசனப் பாதுகாப்புப் பிரகடனம்  
சங்கத் தீர்மானங்கள்

பாராளுமன்ற ஒத்திவைப்பு  
பாராளுமன்றத்தைக் கூட்டல்

Volume 33  
No. 6

Friday  
25th January 1985

## PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(HANSARD)

OFFICIAL REPORT

(Uncorrected)

## PRINCIPAL CONTENTS

ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS  
PUBLIC SECURITY PROCLAMATION  
CUSTOMS RESOLUTIONS

PROROGATION OF PARLIAMENT  
SUMMONING OF PARLIAMENT

LETTERS

(continued)

...

...

...

...

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(HANSARD)

OFFICIAL REPORT

(continued)

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS

...

...

පාර්ලිමේන්තුව  
பாராளுமன்றம்  
PARLIAMENT

1985 ජනවාරි 25 වන සිකුරාදා  
வெள்ளிக்கிழமை, 25 ஜனவரி 1985  
Friday, 26th January 1985

ප්‍ර. ක. 9. 30 ට පාර්ලිමේන්තුව රැස් විය. කථානායකතුමා [ඒ. එල්. සේනානායක මහතා] මූලාසනාදායී විය.

பாராளுமன்றம் மு. ப. 9.30 மணிக்குக் கூடியது. சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள் [திரு. ஈ. எல். சேனநாயக்க] தலைமை வகித்தார்கள்.

The Parliament met at 9.30 a.m. MR. SPEAKER (MR. E. L. SENANAYAKE) in the Chair.

ලිපි ලේඛනාදිය පිළිගැන්වීම  
சமர்ப்பிக்கப்பட்ட பத்திரங்கள்  
PAPERS PRESENTED

(1) Estimates of Income and Expenditure of the Rubber Control Fund for the year 1985.

(2) Regulations made under section 42 of the Rubber Control Act, No. 11 of 1956. — (Mr. M. Vincent Perera, on behalf of the Minister of Public Administration and Minister of Plantation Industries.)

(1) Resolution under section 10 of the Customs Ordinance (Chapter 235) relating to Export Duty on Coconuts and Coconut products.

(2) Convention between the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka and the Republic of Korea for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on income entered into on 28-05-1984. (Mr. M. Vincent Perera, on behalf of the Minister of Finance and Planing.)

සහමේසය මත තිබිය යුතුයයි නියෝග කරන ලදී.  
சமர்ப்பிடத்தில் இருக்கக் கட்டளையிடப்பட்டது.  
Ordered to lie upon the Table.

පෙත්සම්  
மனுக்கள்  
PETITIONS

එච්. ඩී. අබේරත්න මහතා (නියෝජ්‍ය ගමනාගමන මණ්ඩල පිළිබඳ ඇමතිතුමා)

(திரு. எச். பி. அபேரத்ன — போக்குவரத்துச் சபைகள் பிரதி அமைச்சர்)

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

I present petition from Mr. R. B. W. M. Herath Banda of "Gampathi Niwasa", Kelegama, Galgamuwa.

කථානායකතුමා  
(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)  
(Mr. Speaker)

Hon. Member for Maharagama — (Pause). He is out of the country. Hon. Member for Kundasale — (pause). He is not here.

ඉදිරිපත් කරන ලද පෙත්සම් මහත් පෙත්සම් කාරක සභාවට පැවරිය යුතුයයි නියෝග කරන ලදී.

சமர்ப்பிக்கப்பட்ட மனு பொதுமனுக் குழுவுக்குச் சாட்ட கட்டளையிடப்பட்டது.

Petition Ordered to be referred to the Public Petitions Committee.

ප්‍රශ්නවලට වාචික පිළිතුරු  
வினாக்களுக்கு வாய்ப்புல விடைகள்  
ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

කථානායකතුමා  
(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)  
(Mr. Speaker)

1 වන ප්‍රශ්නය

ගාමිණී අනුකෝල මහතා (නියෝජ්‍ය යෞවන කටයුතු හා රැකියා ඇමතිතුමා)

(திரு. காமிணி அத்துக்கோறல் — இளைஞர் அலுவல்கள், தொழில் வாய்ப்புப் பிரதி அமைச்சர்)

(Mr. Gamini Atukorale Deputy Minister of Youth Affairs & Employment)

මේ ප්‍රශ්නයට දීර්ඝ පිළිතුරක් සැපයිය යුතු නිසා මාස තුනක කාලයක් අවශ්‍යයි.

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

එන්. කේ. ලක්ෂ්මන් මහතා : රැකියාවක්  
திரு. என். கே. லக்ஷ்மன் : வேலைவாய்ப்பு  
MR. N. K. LAKSHMAN : EMPLOYMENT

372/84

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

සැලසුම් ක්‍රියාත්මක කිරීම පිළිබඳ නියෝජ්‍ය ඇමතිතුමාගෙන් ඇසූ ප්‍රශ්නය :

(අ) ගාලු ජනද කොට්ඨාසයේ රැකියා බැංකු අංක 32 කාඩ් පත හිමි, ගාල්ලේ බුට්ටන් පාරේ අංක 21/3 පදිංචි ඇත්. කේ. ලක්ෂ්මන් මහතාට අධ්‍යාපන පොදු සහතික පත්‍ර සාමාන්‍ය පෙල විභාගය විෂයයට තනකට සම්මාන සහිතව විෂයයට අදාළව, අධ්‍යාපන පොදු සහතික පත්‍ර උසස් පෙල විභාගය විෂයයට තනරකින්ද සමත්වී ඇති බව එතුමා දන්නවාද ?

(ආ) මේ දක්වාම මොහු කිසිම රැකියාවක් සඳහා කැඳවා තැන්නේ මන්ද ?  
(ඇ) මොහුට ලිපිකරු තනතුරක් හෝ වෙනත් තනතුරක් ලබා දෙන්නේද ?  
(ඈ) කො එස් නම්. ඒ මන්ද ?

திட்டச் செயற்படுத்தப் பிரதி அமைச்சரைக் கேட்ட வினா :

(அ) 21/3, பிறவுண் வீதி, காலி எனும் முகவரியைச் சேர்ந்தவரும் 32 ஆம் இலக்க காலித் தொகுதித் தொழில் அட்டையைக் கொண்டவருமான திரு. என். கே. லக்ஷ்மன் என்பவர் க. பொ. த. (சா. த.) பரீட்சையில் ஏழு நிறமைச் சித்திகளுடன் எட்டுப் பாடங்களிலும், க. பொ. த. (உ. த.) பரீட்சையில் நான்கு பாடங்களிலும் சித்தியடைந்துள்ளார் என்பதை அவர் அறிவாரா ?

(ஆ) இதுகாலவரை இவர் ஏன் எந்தத் தொழிலுக்கும் அழைக்கப்படவில்லை ?

(இ) இவருக்கு எழுதுவிளைஞராகவோ அல்லது வேறு ஏதேனும் பதவியிலோ தொழில் வழங்கப்படுமா ?

(ஈ) இன்றேல், ஏன் ?

asked the Deputy Minister of Plan Implementation :

(a) Is he aware that Galle Electorate job card holder Number 32, Mr. N. K. Lakshman, 21/3, Browns Road, Galle, has eight subjects with seven credits, in the G.C.E. (O.L.) and four passes in the G.C.E. (A.L.) ?

(b) Why has he not been called up for any job up to now ?



එස්. එස්. අබේසුන්දර මහතා  
(திரு. எஸ். எஸ். அபேசுந்தர)  
(Mr. S. S. Abeysondera)

I do not know. That is the excuse given.

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

Will the Deputy Minister re-consider this matter.

එස්. එස්. අබේසුන්දර මහතා  
(திரு. எஸ். எஸ். அபேசுந்தர)  
(Mr. S. S. Abeysondera)

Yes. I will bring it to the notice of the Hon. Minister.  
This matter will be re-considered.

කථනායකතුමා  
(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)  
(Mr. Speaker)

Question No. 2.

කේ. ඩබ්ලිව්. දෙවනායක මහතා (සඳරේ කටයුතු පිළිබඳ ඇමතිතුමා)  
(திரு. கே. டபிள்யூ. தேவநாயகம் — உள்ளநாட்டலுவல்கள் அமைச்சர்)  
(Mr. K. W. Devanayagam—Minister of Home Affairs)

This Question was raised last week and I obtained four months' time to answer it. So similarly I request that four months time be given today, because the answer will be very voluminous.

ප්‍රශ්නය මතු දිනකදී ඉදිරිපත් කිරීමට තියෝග කරන ලදී.  
வினாவை மற்றொரு தினத்தில் சமர்ப்பிக்கக் கட்டணமிடப்பட்டது.  
Question ordered to stand down.

කථනායකතුමා  
(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)  
(Mr. Speaker)

Before the commencement of Public Business, I wish to inform hon. Members that the Vote on Resolution under Public Security Ordinance will be taken at 5 p.m. today. The Hon. Prime Minister will start replying at 4 p.m.

ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා (අග්‍රාමාත්‍යතුමා, පළාත් පාලන, නිවාස හ ඉදිකිරීම් ඇමතිතුමා, මහාමාර්ග කටයුතු පිළිබඳ ඇමතිතුමා, හදිසි අවස්ථා මහජන පරිපාලන ඇමතිතුමා සහ පාර්ලිමේන්තුවේ සභානායකතුමා)

(திரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாச—பிரதம அமைச்சரும் உள்ளூராட்சி, வீடமைப்பு, நிர்மாண அமைச்சரும் நெடுஞ்சாலையார் அமைச்சரும், அவசரகால சிவில் நிர்வாக அமைச்சரும், பாராளுமன்றச் சபை முதல்வரும்)

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

That means we will not have the Adjournment. - (Interruption). As he says, he can raise it during the course of the Debate. Then the Vote will be taken at 5 p.m. ?

කථනායකතුමා  
(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)  
(Mr. Speaker)

Yes.

පාර්ලිමේන්තුවේ කටයුතු  
பாராளுமன்ற அலுவல்  
BUSINESS OF THE PARLIAMENT

එම්. වින්සන්ට් පෙරේරා මහතා (පාර්ලිමේන්තු කටයුතු හා ක්‍රීඩා ඇමතිතුමා සහ ආණ්ඩු පාර්ශ්වයේ ප්‍රධාන සාධකයකුමා)

(திரு. எம். வின்சன்ட் பெரேரா — பாராளுமன்ற அலுவல்கள், விளையாட்டுத்துறை அமைச்சரும் பிரதம அரசாங்கக் கொறடாவும்)  
(Mr. M. Vincent Perera - Minister of Parliamentary Affairs & Sports and Chief Government Whip)

I move,

“That the proceedings on Item 1 of Public Business appearing on the Order Paper be exempted at this day's Sittings from the provisions of Standing Order No. 23.”

ප්‍රශ්නය විමසන ලදීත්, සහ සම්මත විය.  
வினா விடுக்கப்பெற்று ஏற்றுக் கொள்ளப்பட்டது.  
Question put, and agreed to.

මහජන ආරක්ෂක ප්‍රකාශනය  
பொதுசனப் பாதுகாப்புப் பிரகடனம்  
PUBLIC SECURITY PROCLAMATION

ප්‍ර. ස. 9. 37

එම්. වින්සන්ට් පෙරේරා මහතා  
(திரு. எம். வின்சன்ட் பெரேரா)  
(Mr. M. Vincent Perera)

On behalf of the Prime Minister and Minister of Local Government, Housing and Construction, Minister of Highways, and Minister of Emergency Civil Administration, I move,

“That the Proclamation dated 17th January, 1985 made by the President under Section 2 of the Public Security Ordinance (Chapter 40) amended by Act No. 8 of 1959 and Law No. 6 of 1978, bringing into operation the provisions of Para II of the aforesaid Ordinance throughout Sri Lanka be approved.”

Under the provisions of Clause 155 (8) of the Constitution we need 2/3rds of the whole number of Members of Parliament to pass this Resolution.

Mr. Speaker, on the 20th of December 1984 this House passed a motion for the continuation of the operation of the emergency regulations for a further period of one month. I wish to place before this House a brief report of atrocities committed by the terrorists of the North and the East during this period. There was in fact no reduction in the number of crimes committed during this period, in comparison with the figures of the previous month. Instead the statistics reveal a steady increase of terrorist activities. There was a total of 206 armed robberies reported during this period. The breakdown of these robberies is as follows :-

	Cars/ Vans/ Buses etc.	Motor cycles	Cash and Jewel- lery	Others	Total
Jaffna	33	10	20	54	117
Vavuniya	19	17	07	10	53
Batticaloa	08	05	09	14	36
	60	32	36	78	206

[ප්‍ර. විකසනට පෙරේදා මගහැර]

Articles such as provisions, postage stamps, office equipment, textiles, electrical goods, welding apparatus, fibreglass boats, tents, gunny bags and pedal cycles have been looted by terrorists, in addition to the usual robberies of cash and jewellery. The theft of private vehicles, like cars and vans and even motorcycles has continued in the usual manner and they have been used generally for the transport of stolen property.

A number of public institutions, such as Government Offices, Court Houses and Schools have been the target of their attack. The conduct of the G.C.E. (O/L) Examination was badly disrupted by the terrorists who forced themselves into the Examination Centres and forcibly collected the question papers and answer scripts.

They continued with the practice of killing innocent civilians who were suspected of giving information to the Police and Armed Forces. They displayed placards over the dead bodies claiming responsibility for the killings. This type of wanton killing is a method of intimidating the public against giving information to the authorities about their activities. It is also a way of terrorising the members of the public. These killings included a number of Tamils and also Sinhalese who were taken by surprise at these attacks. As many as 18 civilians have been killed in this manner in the course of the month.

Carrying away a large number of householders lists from the offices of a number of Assistant Government Agents in Jaffna is a new feature noticed in the activities of the terrorists. Most of these lists have been destroyed by burning them.

A letter received by the Acting District Judge of Jaffna on 1.1.85 from one of the terrorist groups was an order that he should not inquire into or take up for trial any cases connected with lands and definition of boundaries from 1.1.85. They have also destroyed documents in the court houses by setting fire to them. What could these incidents, taken together with the destruction of householders lists, indicate? Are they indicative of a plan to re-distribute the properties in Jaffna by the terrorists according to their own will and pleasure, when all documents that could establish any claim have been destroyed?

The significant feature in the terrorist attacks during the period under review was the extensive use of the land mines. A number of culverts and bridges along the main roads in Jaffna were blown up. This has resulted in difficulty in transporting the provisions, food and other requirements to the residents in the area. Nevertheless the Government has taken all possible steps to see that the requirements of the area are supplied in time.

The O.I.C. of Kalawanchikudi in the Batticaloa District and his police party of eight others were brutally killed by a road mine laid on their path when they were proceeding in a vehicle to inquire about the theft of a Jeep, No. 31 Sri 8754.

The scant respect of the terrorists for the life of civilians is amply demonstrated by their act of blowing up the Yal Devi train on the 19th of January between Murugandi and Mankulam, causing the death of 18 innocent civilians and injuring several others. This incident also took a death toll of 28 soldiers while a number of others were severely injured.

The terrorists had chosen to be dressed in the uniform of regular soldiers on many occasions so as to create the impression that the armed personnel were up to these atrocities. They have been using photographs taken of their own brutalities and killings, especially at the Kent and Dollar Farms to impress upon foreigners that they were acts of savagery committed by Sri Lankan armed forces.

Fortunately, patriotic Sri Lankans abroad were alert and immediately started on a campaign of counter propaganda to give the correct picture to the people in those countries. The Government too supported their campaign by providing relevant material. On behalf of the Government and the people of Sri Lanka, I wish to place on record our deep appreciation of the patriotic Sri Lankans abroad for their zeal and interest at a time of urgency like this.

I would like to make use of this opportunity to express a word of thanks on behalf of the Government to the people in the rest of the country for their patience and consideration in not being provoked into a backlash as anticipated by the terrorists. Our deep sense of gratitude should also be conveyed to all those law-abiding citizens who so readily responded to the call of assistance by the Government in donating whatever they could for the National Defence Fund. This expression of gratitude goes to the smallest child who even handed over his little collection in the till at home.

The Government is also well aware of the magnificent service being rendered by our people in the field of civil administration in the different parts of the country and specially in the industrial and commercial establishments in exercising vigilance against possible terrorist action.

Our brave men in the armed forces and the police deserve nothing but praise for their unrelenting efforts in defending our land notwithstanding all odds that they have to face in their fight against the terrorists.

Mr. Speaker, I have placed before this House sufficient material to show how the day to day life of law abiding citizens is hampered by the action of



terrorists. The intensity of the terrorist offensive during the period under review was marked by threats to hoist the Eelam flag in the North. This is a clear indication that in spite of counter-measures taken by the security forces, terrorist groups are determined to exploit every possible opportunity to de-stabilise the security situation in the island. The Government is leaving no stone unturned to overcome this situation and to restore normalcy despite the support received by the terrorists in so many ways, both within and without the country. In furthering the efforts of the Government it is essential that the operation of the Emergency Regulations should continue for a further period of time. I therefore appeal to all Members of this House to vote in favour of this motion.

ප්‍රශ්නය සභාසිසුවා කරන ලදී.

என்று அங்கீகரிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது.

Question proposed.

ප්‍ර. ස. 9.47

සරත් මුත්තේවුදේවම මහතා (කලවාන)

(திரு. சரத் முத்தேவடுவேகம — கலவான)

(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama-Kalawana)

Mr. Speaker, I would be quite brief. I would like to say that as far as I am concerned I would be voting against this Motion. I would be voting against this because after nearly two years of an Emergency we are probably quite worse off than we were at the time it was imposed.

I would like to ask the government, Sir, for clarifications on certain matters. First of all, the All-Party talks have ended abruptly and it seems that the Government has given up any hope of a negotiated settlement of this problem. The attitude of the Government is compounded by the fact it has come out with one of the silliest proposals that I have heard in recent times as a solution to the ethnic problem. I understand the Minister of National Security has announced at the Government Group Meeting held last month or early this month the Government proposal to solve this ethnic problem by changing the ethnic composition of the North and the East of this country. I do not think, Sir, that such a proposal has ever been made before this by anybody. What is the result of this going to be? It is going to further aggravate the situation in the North and the East.

First of all, I think there is a glimmer of hope in that I do not think anybody will respond to that call of the Government. Two hundred and fifty people from each electorate are expected to go and settle down in areas in the North and the East. I believe that large sums of money from the decentralized budget are going to be utilized for expenditure in respect of this project. I do not think that they will get the 250 families from each electorate, possible with the exception of one electorate. From one electorate they might be able to get the

people, and that is the electorate of Kolonnawa. I am sorry that the District Minister for Colombo is not here. I am sure that his electorate will be able to provide 250 people to go and settle down and fight the so-called terrorists in the North simply because in this electorate there are the two institutions at Mulleriyawa and Angoda. So that from those places they might be able to find those 250 people, but not from any other electorate. I would like to ask the hon. Members of Parliament, are you going to encourage people from your electorates to go and settle down there? - (Interruption). Principal? You want some principal of a school out? Are you going to advise people, 250 families, men, women and children from your electorates to go and settle down in the North and fight there. They are people who are living quite peacefully in their homes. Why should they go and fight there? You can send the Army to fight there. But these poor people -

මන්ත්‍රීවරයෙක්

(அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)

(A Member)

They are not going to fight.

සරත් මුත්තේවුදේවම මහතා

(திரு. சரத் முத்தேவடுவேகம)

(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

They are not going to fight? They are going to die. I would like to ask, particularly the hon. Members of Parliament of the Eastern Province who are on the Government side - there is nobody from the Northern Province - what do people of your area think of this proposal? I would like to ask the Minister of Home Affairs, the Minister of Regional Development, the District Ministers of Kalmunai and Batticaloa. Do they agree with this proposal that 250 families Sinhalese should go and settle down there? There is hardly any land for the people of those areas, and you are going to create the biggest provocation to the Northern and Eastern people, to encourage people to join the militants, to encourage them to join the people who are fighting there? This policy will never be implemented. But the mere announcement of the proposal is going to create trouble for you by swelling the ranks of the militants in those areas and I think that somebody will have to take the responsibility for this, because this is going to be the turning point in the entire situation in the North and the East.

So, I want to ask, Sir, what is the policy of the Government in regard to these matters? Every day it is changing. It is a very serious situation. We are on the verge of a terrible crisis. If we are not already in the middle of it. Two hundred million rupees have been spent last year. Now, at the moment, about Rs. 15 million are being spent daily on this exercise. On an average 15 young people from both sides of Elephant Pass are laying down their lives in this struggle. It is not a situation that the Government can look on with equanimity. It is not a situation that the Government

[சுரன் இரத்தெரிப்பெனல் மறந்து]

can blow hot and cold, changing its policy from day to day – one day you announce the Second Chamber, another day you announce the Provincial Councils, earlier there was annexure C and now last of all – I am sorry if somebody misunderstands me – but I call it a lunatic proposal of sending 250 families to go and live there. This is really a very serious situation and if the Government is going to announce that kind of proposal and turn its back on a negotiated settlement, then I think the Government is going to get into very deep trouble.

The Hon. Minister of National Security is reported to have gone to the United States. We do not know why. It must be something connected with these troubles, probably to ask for some kind of assistance. But the Government knows very well that the United States will not help them in this situation. I want to ask what is the developing relationship that now exists between Sri Lanka and India.

I was rather surprised that the President at a speech in connection with the distribution of school books at Anamaduwa had said that he is not going to meet Rajiv Gandhi. That is a thing which he is certainly entitled not to do. He need not have gone and met him if he does not want to. But there again I say the mere announcement of that fact in a positive way is slightly provocative. After all, we have to live with the reality of India, with the 700 million people of India, with the huge armed forces that they have and with the problem that they themselves have with 50 million people in Tamil Nadu who have relations with the people of the North.

Now what is the position, Sir? If you read through the statements that have been made by the Foreign Office of India, by the Prime Minister of India and yesterday again in the Lok Sabha by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, I think the situation is rather dangerous, and rather precarious. All the time the Indian side has been saying that there are 40,000 refugees, that it is a big problem to India and that conditions must be created in Sri Lanka for the refugees to come back and live peacefully. Sir I want to ask whether the Hon. Minister of Foreign Affairs would like to place before this House the statements that were made by the Indian Foreign Office shortly before the establishment of Bangladesh. It was exactly the same thing that was being said in India; that there were Bangladeshi refugees from East Bengal at that time flooding into India, that it was creating a problems for India. And that was the prelude to the intervention where they placed Mujibur Rahaman in power in Bangladesh and where Bangladesh was born. It was born and the midwife was India. I do not know, but all the possible scenarios are there. India has to take some action in the future and one of the possible steps that

can be taken, I think – the people of this country must realize it is for India to come in and to create a Cyprus kind of situation where there is an autonomous region guaranteed by India, by even a peace keeping force from India. That is what happened in Bangladesh. That has happened in Cyprus with another country and it can very well happen in Sri Lanka. The Government has a duty to inform the people of Sri Lanka of the terrible alternatives that are before it. It is all very well, Sir, that we have many patriots in this part of the world; in our part of the country who are prepared to shed the last drop of Sinhala blood, but they do it all from Colombo. None of those heroes are going that side of Elephant Pass. The poor people who have to go that side of Elephant Pass are poor workers and peasants' children who are in the army, and the police and whose lives are being lost unnecessarily.

So I would like to tell the Government, Sir, that they must inform the people of this country that it is simply not possible for people to get up and say that they do not want political solutions, they do not want this council, that council or the other council, that they want to settle down 250 families per electorate in that area. The description of that exercise was very interesting. I was told that the Members of the Government Group had been told that when 250 families from each electorate are settled in a defined area, say, in the Mullaitivu area, or wherever they are going, that part of the country will be considered as part of their electorate. Supposing 250 people from Medawachchiya are sent to settle in, say, Mullaitivu or Kalmunai, that part of the country is apparently going to be a part of the Medawachchiya Electorate.

இந்திரசேன

(அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)

(A Member)

From where did you hear that?

சுரன் இரத்தெரிப்பெனல் மறந்து

(திரு. சரத் முத்தெட்டுவெகமா)

(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

From what was said at the Government Group meeting by the Hon. Minister of National Security. If you were there you will concede that I am correct. Everybody knows it. In Sri Lanka there are very few secrets. After the Government Group meeting is over, the press knows what happened, we know and the country knows by evening what happened at the meeting.

It was also said that money from the decentralized budget should be spent on the development of the area, for the safety of the people. I tell you that it is an absolutely lunatic proposal. I say the only place from where you can get people to go will be from the Kolonnawa Electorate because Mulleriyawa and Angoda are situated there and it is only people from

those two hospitals who will go. Nobody else will go - (Interruption). I would like to ask the Government Members a question ; when you send 250 families from your electorates, will you also be going with them ? Are the Members of Parliament also going with them because this is also going to be a part of their electorates ? They must go and visit them and live with them - (Interruption). Even helicopters are not safe these days.

I would like also to ask a question about the so-called National Defence Fund. A lot of money is being contributed and it just cannot go into a vacuum like this. There must be some accounting as to what is done with the money. I am not suggesting that anybody is using the money improperly, but the people who contribute must know exactly how the money is being spent and for what purposes. We would like to know from where arms are being purchased, how they are purchased and who the local agents for the arms purchases are.

மேன்மைப் பணியை மறந்து (புறநாட்டு வாங்கிய) ஆயுதங்களை விற்பனை செய்வது (திரு. மொண்டேகு ஜயவிக்ரம - பொது நிர்வாக அமைச்சரும் பெருந் தோட்டத்தொழில் அமைச்சரும்)  
(Mr. Montague Jayawickrema - Minister of Public Administration and Minister of Plantation Industries)

To disclose the source of purchase.

மேன்மைப் பணியை மறந்து (திரு. சரத் முத்தேட்டுவெகம)  
(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)  
From lot of countries.

மேன்மைப் பணியை மறந்து (திரு. மொண்டேகு ஜயவிக்ரம)  
(Mr. Montague Jayawickrema)  
Does Russia do it ?

மேன்மைப் பணியை மறந்து (திரு. சரத் முத்தேட்டுவெகம)  
(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)  
Russia manufactures its own arms.

மேன்மைப் பணியை மறந்து (திரு. மொண்டேகு ஜயவிக்ரம)  
(Mr. Montague Jayawickrema)  
Does your Soviet Union -

மேன்மைப் பணியை மறந்து (திரு. சரத் முத்தேட்டுவெகம)  
(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)  
My Soviet Union ?

மேன்மைப் பணியை மறந்து (திரு. மொண்டேகு ஜயவிக்ரம)  
(Mr. Montague Jayawickrema)  
Does the Soviet Union divulge the source of their arms purchases ?

மேன்மைப் பணியை மறந்து (திரு. சரத் முத்தேட்டுவெகம)  
(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)  
They manufacture their own arms.

மேன்மைப் பணியை மறந்து (திரு. மொண்டேகு ஜயவிக்ரம)  
(Mr. Montague Jayawickrema)  
Does any other country for that matter, never mind the Soviet Union ?

மேன்மைப் பணியை மறந்து (திரு. சரத் முத்தேட்டுவெகம)  
(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)  
Yes. You read in the newspapers that India has bought arms from there and that Pakistan gets so much arms from America.

மேன்மைப் பணியை மறந்து (திரு. மொண்டேகு ஜயவிக்ரம)  
(Mr. Montague Jayawickrema)  
No one with any matter in his head will divulge the source of his purchases.

மேன்மைப் பணியை மறந்து (திரு. சரத் முத்தேட்டுவெகம)  
(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)  
I can tell the Hon. Minister that if you go to the clubs and the bars in the Fort, the so-called big places, the watering holes of the bourgeoisie like the Cat's Eye and the Supper Club, there they discuss arms deals - deals for arms to be supplied to the Government. Agents are discussing them there and the cuts they are getting. That is the position. You may not disclose it here but they are being discussed there and they are fighting over whether to get it from Smith and Wesson or Enfield or from here or there, from America, from Israel or Lebanon. Their supply agents are here and big discussions are going on. The Hon. Minister may not be aware of it but this is exactly what is happening. That is the position.

As far as we are concerned, our position is that a negotiated settlement is imperative. I would suggest to the Government that it negotiates with all the parties concerned. First of all, call for some kind of moratorium on the fighting and try to bring about a settlement. If that does not happen within the next two or three months, then we are in for trouble. If the Government thinks it can go on tottering like this, well then, it has a lot of thinking to do.

What is the use of the Government ? Look at the Parliament today ? There are about 20 electorates which are not represented. It has been said by the President that elections will be held in the north and the east. He has also said that even if one man votes then that man will come here and that he will negotiate with him. Is that a practical possibility ? Whom will that one

[සරත් මුත්තේවිට්ටේ මහතා]

man represent ? You have to negotiate now because you have failed to negotiate earlier with the middle-of-the-road forces and now you will have to negotiate with the extremist forces. If you do not negotiate and you do not settle, then you are in for trouble.

I say that we still can negotiate and solve our problems and solve them on the basis of our unitary state with the large majority of the Tamil-speaking people accepting such a solution. The Government, by delaying and by making this ludicrous kind of proposal to settle 250 Sinhala families from their electorates, is making the matter worse and creating a problem which the future generations of this country will have to shoulder.

එස්. ඩී. බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා (ගම්පහ)  
(திரு. எஸ். டி. பண்டாரநாயக்க — கம்பஹ)  
(Mr. S. D. Bandaranayake - Gampaha)

නැගී සිටියේය—  
எழுத்தர்.  
rose.

මෙමුතල සේනානායක මහතා (මැදවිවිට්ට)  
(திரு. மைத்திரிபால சேனநாயக்க — மதவாச்சி)  
(Mr. Maithripala Senanayake - Medawachchiya)

නැගී සිටියේය—  
எழுத்தர்.  
rose.

මෙමුතල සේනානායක මහතා  
(திரு. மைத்திரிபால சேனநாயக்க)  
(Mr. Maithripala Senanayake)

Sir, I think the Opposition must have precedence in this Debate. He is not a Member of the Opposition.

කථානායකතුමා  
(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)  
(Mr. Speaker)

As far as I am concerned he remains a Member of the Opposition.

මෙමුතල සේනානායක මහතා  
(திரு. மைத்திரிபால சேனநாயக்க)  
(Mr. Maithripala Senanayake)

He is only seated here, Sir, not anything more than that.

කථානායකතුමා  
(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)  
(Mr. Speaker)

Well, I have not been informed by your Leader or by the leader of any party that the Hon. Member for Gampaha has been removed. As he had spoken to me earlier, I am recognizing him.

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

Mr. Speaker, Sir, let me take this opportunity of making an analysis of the cause of the national crisis that our nation is faced with today in Sri Lanka.

In 1957 the late Prime Minister S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike had the Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam Pact, and as a result the Regional Councils were agreed upon.

On 17th May 1957, a year after the Pancha Maha Bala Mandalaya landslide led by the late Prime Minister S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike swept Sri Lanka, the draft of a "proposed bill to make provision for the establishment of Regional Councils and matters connected therewith" was gazetted.

The draft of the proposed Bill to make provision for the establishment of Regional Councils and for matters connected therewith says this :

"Be it enacted by the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and the House of Representatives of Ceylon in this present Parliament assembled and by the authority of the same, as follows :

Short Title

1. This act may be cited as the Regional Councils Act No. of 1957."

Under this proposed legislation powers to declare regions for which the councils were to be appointed and to alter the limits of the regions were conferred.

The Minister was empowered by Order published in the Gazette to declare the whole or part of any administrative district, or the area consisting of the whole or part of two or more administrative districts, to be a region and gazette the establishment of Regional Councils for each of these regions.

The councillors were to be elected by the village committees, town councils, urban councils and Municipalities within the region from among their members. Each tier of the local administration would elect a specified number of councillors.

The Members of Parliament of electorates within the regions were also to be members of the council, and public servants from departments engaged in work within the region were to be appointed to the council ex-officio.

The proposed Regional Councils were to have Standing Committees responsible for Finance, Law, Agriculture, Lands and Forests, and Welfare Services to perform functions in relation to those subjects. Other Standing Committees may be elected if deemed necessary, but the power of levying a rate or imposing a tax, borrowing money or making by-laws was not allowed.

Ministers were empowered to transfer powers, duties and functions to Regional Councils under the draft legislation subject to conditions and restrictions that may be specified.

The provision for transfer of powers and functions did not apply to either any judicial function or any power, duty or function assigned to a Minister by the Constitution.

I was the General Secretary of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party at this time. In fact at the Kelaniya sessions of the SLFP in 1956 I was, in addition to being General Secretary of the party, elected as General Secretary of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party Youth Federation and General Secretary of the Trade Union Federation as well, as I did not accept Ministerial office. I was working in close co-operation therefore with the late Premier S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike in working out the proposals on the Reasonable Use of Tamil Bill with the late Mr. Chelvanayakam, Dr. Naganathan and Mr. Tiruchelvam, leaders of the Federal Party.

On 3rd October 1957 the United National Party commenced their march to Kandy from Colombo against this Bill. I was summoned by the late Prime Minister S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike and requested to stop this march. On 4th October 1957 the people of Gampaha stopped the march at Imbulgoda.

Party politics of the Westminster style, which we had adopted in 1948 when we got our independence, is responsible for what happened in 1957. Finally, in 1959 Prime Minister S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike himself was assassinated. So, whilst congratulating Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi on his historic victories at the General Elections in India, the people of Sri Lanka appeal to him that as much as his mother Shrimathi Indira Gandhi was assassinated as a result of the Sikh problem, the late Premier S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike was assassinated as a result of the Tamil problem. So now he has to use his power to bring about a just and lasting solution to this problem.

It was not a Buddhist monk who assassinated Prime Minister S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike. It was a man dressed in the robes of a Buddhist monk, as the Premier had said on his death-bed asking the people of the country to pardon him. The conspiracy was to kill Mr. Bandaranaike and in doing so to eliminate the Buddhist clergy and Buddhist temples. The venerable Buddhist monks in analysing the present situation in the country today have to bear this in mind—this was the plot to crush them.

In 1985, 27 years later, His Excellency President J. R. Jayewardene is accepting these proposals of the late Premier S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike with certain modifications. Excellent, the country has to acclaim his statesmanship, especially the Members of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party. This is the greatest tribute that the President can pay to the late Premier S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike and his policies.

The late Prime Minister S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike was proposing next to summon a Constituent Assembly after passing the Reasonable Use of Tamil Bill in Parliament to set up a Constitution outside the Westminster style of the Parliamentary system of Government, embodying the aims and aspirations of our people—the peasants, the workers, the intelligentsia—which would bind all our people together into one nation. Therefore I call upon His Excellency the President to work this whole thing out. Let us not leave room and allow the younger generations to continue this slaughtering of each other in this manner.

In this respect the time has come for His Excellency to send an emissary to Madras and invite the leaders of all militant Tamil liberation organizations to find a solution to this problem, such as Uma Maheswaran, Prabakaran, Sabaratnam, Chandrahasan, Sathyendra and Kowe Mahesan, editor of "Suthanthiram" and "Eelavethan".

In 1966-67 I gave Madam Sirimavo Bandaranaike, who was then the Leader of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, certain proposals for a United Left Front, and in 1970 this Front got a two-thirds majority at the elections and came into power. In 1971 we witnessed the insurrection of J.V.P. youth where over 15,000 militant Sinhala youths were killed. I did my utmost to bring about a dialogue between these frustrated youth, the younger generation in our country, and the older generation. All was of no avail, and I myself was locked up in prison for three years and nine months. On my release I was told that Susil Siriwardene and I had to be locked up because we were relations. Finally, the word "socialism" itself became anathema to the people of this country, and they gave the United National Party a 5/6ths majority in 1977. So socialism can and never will be established through this Westminster Parliamentary system. That is the reason why I had to call this Parliament and this system a den of thieves—"Hara Guhawa"—in the 1956 era.

In 1962 I was sent as emissary by Madam Sirimavo Bandaranaike during her regime to Jaffna when the Federal Party staged a Satyagraha movement. It was the 57th day of the movement. The Federal Party flag was unfurled in Jaffna and even a Federal Party stamp was printed. I reported back to Madam Bandaranaike that what the Tamils were doing was justified, and I added I would have done the same thing if I was a Tamil.

In 1965 after the General Elections when the Sri Lanka Freedom Party and the United National Party were running neck to neck I witnessed the back-benchers asking Madam Bandaranaike to give everything the Federal Party asked for and get their support to enable the SLFP to form a Government. I still remember the late N.Q. Dias, Secretary to the

[මඳ. ඩී. බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා]

Ministry of Defence and External Affairs, and General Richard Udugama coming to "Temple Trees" on the third day after the elections and informing Madam Sirimavo Bandaranaike that the armed forces hereafter cannot be responsible for her life. Whereupon she tendered her resignation to the then Governor-General. So these are the machinations of party politics.

The Sinhala people through the proposed Constituent Assembly can consolidate themselves by adopting the following measures :

- (a) Bring about national unity among themselves by uniting all castes and creeds of Sinhala people and helping them to set up business, land and industrial ventures. This will offset the present imbalance.
- (b) Bring about unity between the Sinhala, Tamil, Muslim, Burgher and Malay communities.
- (c) Have defence in charge of the Central Government. Appoint seventy-five per cent Sinhala and twenty-five per cent national minorities to the army, navy and air force. But for the police this ratio should be maintained only in traditional Sinhala areas. In the traditional Tamil areas it should be 75 per cent national minorities and 25 per cent Sinhala.
- (d) Make Tamil a compulsory second language in predominantly Sinhala areas and Sinhala a compulsory second language in predominantly Tamil areas.
- (e) Return all Tamil refugees to Sinhala areas and return all Sinhala refugees to Tamil areas.
- (f) Make all religious centres such as Kataragama, Naga Deepa, Seruwawila, Madu, Jaffna Vihara, Adam's Peak sacred areas under the Central Government—under the Cultural Affairs Ministry.
- (g) The Thesawalamai Act must be abolished as this is communal.
- (h) Those up-country peasants displaced by the Mahaweli should be settled on 10 per cent of the acreage of tea plantations up-country.
- (i) The lands taken over from the Sinhala people during the last regime be returned to them and they be given assistance by the State on a minimum production basis.
- (j) In fact, now that the Trincomalee Tank Farm agreement with the foreign investors is in grave doubt and more or less on the rocks so to say, we can have a joint enterprise with the Indian government or give it on agreement to recommission to India.

(k) If a just and lasting solution to this Sinhala problem, because this is a Sinhala problem, can be successfully concluded by Premier Rajiv Gandhi, Sri Lanka can wind up by having a defence pact with India. This will eliminate the fears of the Sinhala people of any foreign invasion.

(l) Spend 50 per cent of the Health Vote on Ayurveda and Traditional Medicine.

(m) Stop the family planning that is bringing the Sinhala people to a minority. Those people who due to their poverty obtained money and stood operations should be restored to fertility.

(n) The Pirivena education should be restored to its pristine glory to spread the cultural heritage of the Sinhala people, and every child should go through this education in the primary stages.

(o) 90% of those existing on Food Stamps (families receiving an income of less than Rs. 300 per month) are Sinhala people, and 90% of those unemployed in the country are Sinhala people. Any government has to take revolutionary steps to eradicate this imbalance. In the name of 'Karumaya' these people are going through degradation and poverty. The cause of this is the system of Government based on party politics, where 49% of the population who have voted for the opposition political parties lose their human rights and their fundamental rights. I wish to make a special appeal to the *Maha Sangha*, "Let us unite the Sinhala people to destroy this system, this cancer that has grown in the body politic of our Nation. Let us eradicate this imbalance."

This is the only way to development and the peace of Sri Lanka.

By criticism alone, without an alternative solution we are only playing down to party politics, and further dividing ourselves. What has to be done is to unite the Sinhala people to make a final proposal which is acceptable to all of them and the Tamil people as shown by both the late Premier S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike and the late Premier Dudley Senanayake in their pacts with the late Mr. Chelvanayakam.

But to unite the Nation, Sinhala people cannot unite as a result of the present Constitution. That is why we have to destroy the Constitution; otherwise the Constitution is going to destroy the Sinhala race. This should be given top priority.

The Sinhala people have to unite and show that they are the guardians of the National minorities, the Tamils, and the Muslims in the Northern and Eastern Provinces. Because it is only from their traditional lands

that perennial supplies of water resources from the mountains, adequate to supply the North and East through the Mahaweli is available. In this way let us, the Sinhala people be the guardians of the Tamil people in the North.

The older generation in our motherland has a sacred duty to perform. We must at this juncture in the history of our country pave the way for the younger generation in our nation to progress forward into the 21st century and now is the time we have to do this.

I call upon all political parties to get down to village level organizations and launch a National Unity Front to save the Nation – the struggle for power is a secondary problem.

This is the struggle for safeguarding and strengthening the sovereignty and the unitary system of Government in our country.

Thank you.

ප්‍ර. සා. 10.20

මොණ්ඩපාල යෝනානායක මහතා.  
 (திரு. எமத்துரிபால சேனாயக்க) (Mr. Maithripala Senanayake)

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, හදිසි නීතිය තැවත වරක් දීර්ඝ කිරීමේ යෝජනාව මෙම ගරු සභාවට ඉදිරිපත් කර තිබෙන මේ අවස්ථාවේදී වචන ස්වල්පයක් කථා කළයුතුව තිබෙනවා.

මාස 20 කට පමණ වැඩි කාලයක් තිස්සේ හදිසි නීතිය යටතේ මේ රජය වැඩකටයුතු කරගෙන යන නමුත්, අද රටේ තත්ත්වය දෙස බලන විට ජනතාවට මේ තාක් කිසිම විදියකින් සැතපීමක් ඇති කර ගැනීමට හැකියාවක් ඇති වි තැනි බව අපට ප්‍රකාශ කරන්නට සිදු වී තිබෙනවා. මේ රජය මාසයෙන් මාසය හදිසි නීතිය දීර්ඝ කරනවා. හදිසි නීතිය දීර්ඝ කරන හැම මාසයකදීම ගරු පාර්ලිමේන්තු කටයුතු හා ක්‍රීඩා ඇමතිතුමා මෙම ගරු සභාවට ඇවිත්, ඒ ඒ මාසයේ මේ මේ සිද්ධීන් ඇති වුණය කියලා ඒවා සම්බන්ධ වාර්තා ඉදිරිපත් කරනවා. නමුත් පොදුවේ රටේ තිබෙන තත්ත්වය දෙස බැලුවාම අපි කාටවත් සතුටු වන්නට පුළුවන්යයි මම හිතන්නේ නැහැ. හදිසි නීතිය යටතේ මේ රජය අද ගෙන යන වැඩ පිළිවෙලින් තුස්තවාර්ය මොනම විදියකින්වත් සාර්ථකව මැඩ පැවැත්වීමට මේ රජයට හැකියාවක් ඇති වී තිබෙනවා යයි අපි කාටවත් සතුටුවන්නට පුළුවන් යයි මම හිතන්නේ නැහැ.

පසුගිය දිනවල ඇතිවුණු සිද්ධීන් දෙස බැලුවාම පැහැදිලිවම පෙනී යන කරුණක් නම් හදිසි නීති රෙගුලාසි යටතේ රජයට අවශ්‍ය බලතල ලබා ගන්නන් එයින් ජනතාවටත් රටටත් මේ කාලය තුළදී කිසිම සහනයක් කිසිම ආවරණයක් ඇති වී තිබෙනවායයි ප්‍රකාශ කරන්නට පුළුවන් කමක් නැහැ.

පසුගිය දිනවල ඇතිවුණු සිද්ධීන් දෙක තුනක් ගැන පමණක් මම සඳහන් කිරීමට බලාපොරොත්තු වෙතවා. බෑංකු හොරකම් වෙනත් වෙනත් විධියේ මැරවරකම් මරණ දිනපතාම වාගේ ඇති වන බව වාර්තා වෙනවා. සමහර දිනවල ක්‍රීඩා හමුදාවේ අයගේ මරණ, පොලීසියේ නිලධාරීන්ගේ මරණ ඇති වෙතවා. මේ සිද්ධීන් ගැන කල්පනා කරන විට දවසකට මරණ 15 ක් 20 ක් ඇති වෙතවා. එබැවින් මේ රජය ගෙන යන වැඩපිළිවෙලින් කිසිම විධියේ සහනයක් රටට ලැබී නැති බව පැහැදිලිව ප්‍රකාශ කරන්නට ඕන.

කත්කසත්තුරේ සිමෙන්ති කර්මාන්ත ශාලාවට මහ දවල් තුස්තවාර්ය කඩ වැදිලා ලක්ෂ 10 කට වඩා වටිනා බඩු බාහිරාදිය ලොරි කෙක් පමණ පැහර ගෙන ගිය බව මේ ලහදි පුවත්පතක පල වී තිබුණි. මේ විධියේ සිද්ධීන්

ඇති වන විට උතුරු හා නැගෙනහිර පළාත්වල ආණ්ඩුවක් තිබෙනවාද කියන ප්‍රශ්නය පවා අපිට තහනනට සිදු වී තිබෙනවා. ඔය විධියේ තත්ත්වයක් යටතේදී ඒ පළාත්වල පාලනය මේ රජය ගෙන යන්නේ කියන කාරණය ප්‍රකාශ කරන්නට සිදු වී තිබෙනවා.

ඊයේ පෙරේද ඇතිවුණු “යාල් දෙව්” දුම්රිය සිද්ධිය ගැන බලමු. ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, මමත් දුම්රිය ධාවන කටයුතු භාරව ගමනාගමන ඇමති වශයෙන් කටයුතු කළ කෙනෙක්. අපේ මතුගම ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමාත් (අතිප් මුණසිංහ මහතා) දුම්රිය ධාවන කටයුතු භාරව ගමනාගමන ඇමති වශයෙන් කටයුතු කර තිබෙනවා. ඒ කාලවලදී දුම්රියක් පිළි පැන්න අවස්ථාවකදී වුවත්, දුම්රිය පාර තැවත අභ්වවැඩියා කිරීමෙන් පසු පළමුවෙන් නියාමක දුම්රියක් ඉදිරියෙන් නොයවා කවදවත් සාමාන්‍ය මගී දුම්රියක් එම දුම්රිය පාරේ දුටුවන්ට සැලැස්වුයේ නැහැ. ඒ දුම්රිය පාර හැරුණු වි තිබෙනවාද කියලා බැලීමට පළමුවෙන් නියාමක දුම්රියක් ඉස්සරහින් යවලා ඊට පසුවයි සාමාන්‍ය දුම්රියක් ඒ පාරේ දුටුවන්ට සලස්වන්නේ. අද මේ විධියට ක්‍රියා නොකිරීමෙන් සිදුවී තිබෙන්නේ කුමක්ද? එද ඒ අනතුරට පත් “යාල් දෙව්” දුම්රියේ යුද හමුදාවේ විශාල පිරිසක් ගමන් කර තිබෙනවා. හමුදාවේ ඒ අය තම තමන්ගේ පඩි තඩි ලබාගෙන ගෙවල් දෙරවල්වල සිටින තමන්ගේ දු දරුවන් බලන්නට එන අවස්ථාවකදී දුම්රිය පාරට බෝම්බ ගහලා එම දුම්රිය කඩා බිඳ දැමීමේ හැකියාවක් ඒ පළාත්වල තිබෙනවා නම් මොන විධියේ ආරක්ෂාවක් අද ඒ පළාත්වල තිබෙනවාද කියලා ප්‍රශ්න කරන්නට වටිනවා. ඇත්තවශයෙන්ම අද මේ රටේ ආරක්ෂාව බාරව ක්‍රියා කරන ක්‍රීඩා හමුදාව මොන විධියේ දුක් කරදර මධ්‍යයේ ක්‍රියා කරනවාද කීව්වොත් ඔත්ත ඔය විධියේ ආරක්ෂාවක්වත් ඒ අයට නොලැබෙන බවයි අපිට කියන්නට සිදු වී තිබෙන්නේ. බෑංකු කැඩීම මුදල් පැහැර ගැනීම වෙනත් වෙනත් අපරාධවලින් අරක්ෂා වීමට අමතරව මේ කී විධියේ සුලු දෙකින්වත් ආරක්ෂාවක් අප වෙනුවෙන් රට වෙනුවෙන් අද ජීවිතය කැප කරන ක්‍රීඩා හමුදාවේ අයට දෙන්නට රජයට බැරී නම් රටේ අනෙක් ප්‍රදේශවල සිටින ජනතාවට මොන විධියේ ආරක්ෂාවක් බලාපොරොත්තු වෙන්න පුළුවන්ද යන ප්‍රශ්නය මේ අවස්ථාවේදී අහන්නට සිදු වී තිබෙනවා.

දැන් තුස්තවාරී උවදුර උතුරු මැද පළාතේ මගේ කොට්ඨාශයේ මායිමටම ඇවිත් තිබෙනවා. පසුගිය දවස්වල අපේ ආරක්ෂක ඇමතිතුමාගෙන් එක්තරා කරුණක් ගැන ප්‍රශ්නයක් පවා අහන්න මට සිදු වුණි. ඒ ප්‍රදේශවල ගොවිතැන් කරන ගොවි ජනතාව තමන්ගේ ගොවිතැන් ආරක්ෂා කර ගැනීම සඳහා තබාගෙන සිටි තුවක්කු තුස්තවාරීන් පැහැර ගනියයි කියා ඒවා රජයට ගත්තා. ඒවායින් කොටසක් තැවත ආපසු දී තිබෙනවා. නමුත් තවත් කොටසක් දෙන්න තිබෙනවා. ඒවා ගොවීන්ට ආපසු තොදී පොලීසියේ ආරක්ෂාව සඳහාය කියා තවමත් නියාගෙන සිටිනවා. මේක මොන විහිල්වක්ද? උතුරු පළාතේත් උතුරු මැද පළාතේත් මායිම් වශයෙන් සැලකිය හැකි ප්‍රදේශයේ, ඒ මායිම දිගේ තිබෙන ගම්වල ජීවත් වන මහජනතාව අද ඉතාම හයානක තත්ත්වයකට මුහුණ පා සිටින බව මේ අවස්ථාවේදී කතාගාපුවෙන් ප්‍රකාශ කරන්න සිදු වී තිබෙනවා.

මම මේ ගරු සභාවේ අවුරුදු තිස්අටක පමණ කාලයක් තුළ මැදවට්ටිය මැතිවරණ කොට්ඨාශය නියෝජනය කරගෙන එනවා. මැදවට්ටියේ ගොවි මහජනතාවගේ ආශීර්වාදය උඩ මට හැකියාව ලැබුණා ඒ සා විශාල කාලයක් තිස්සේ කිසිම කරදරයක් තැනිව ඒ ආසනය නියෝජනය කරන්නට. නමුත් ඉදිරි කාලයේදී කවද හෝ මහා මැතිවරණයක් ඇති වන දවසක් වන විට මැදවට්ටිය ප්‍රදේශය ඉතුරු වී තිබෙයිද දැන් මට සැකයක් ඇති වී තිබෙනවා. අද ඒ ප්‍රදේශයේ ජනතාව විශාල බියකට මුහුණ පා සිටිනවා. එම නිසා ඒ ප්‍රදේශ වාසීන්ට දිය යුතු විශේෂ ආරක්ෂාව සලසන ලෙස රජයෙන් ඉල්ලා සිටින අතර ඒ අයට අවශ්‍ය තුවක්කු පහරකොම් යනාදිය කිසිම වෙනසක් තැනිව දෙන ලෙසත් මම ඉතාම ඕනෑකමින් ඉල්ලා සිටිනවා.

පදවිය ව්‍යාපාරය තවම මේ කලබලවලට ගොදුරු වී තැනි වුවත් ගම්පහ වෙයන්ගොඩ මුහුටන්ගොඩ කැගල්ල ආදී ප්‍රදේශවලින් ගොස් පදවියේ පදිංචි වී සිටින ගොවීන් තමන්ගේ අමුදරුවන් ගම්වල තනර කොට තැවත පදවියට ගොස් තමන්ගේ ගොවිතැන් ආරක්ෂා කර ගැනීමට කටයුතු කරනවා. මේ තත්ත්වය නිසා මේ ප්‍රශ්න ගැන රජයේ විශේෂ විමසිල්ලත් රජයේ උනන්දු ක්‍රියාකාරිත්වයක් ඉතාම අවශ්‍ය බව මම මේ අවස්ථාවේදී විශේෂයෙන් මතක් කරන්නා නැමුණි.





මුදල්වලින් කපාහරින බවයි. මය විධිවේදී ගැන අනන්ත වීම මෙන් මේ කරුණු රජයට මතක් කර දීමටත් අප වෙනුවෙන් දීර්ඝ පිදීමට ඉදිරිපත් වී සිටින ඒ අයගේ අනාගතය සම්බන්ධව සහනාධාර ක්‍රමයක් ඇති කිරීමේ අවශ්‍යතාවය ප්‍රකාශ කිරීමටත් මම කැමතියි.

ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය කථානායකතුමනි, තවත් කරුණක් ගැන සඳහන් කරන්නට කැමතියි. ගරු ජනාධිපතිතුමා ආනමඩුවේදී කලා යයි කියන කථාවක් ඒයේ මම රූපවාහිනියෙන් අසාගෙන සිටියා. නමුත් පුද්ගලයකට මෙන් ආනමඩුවේදී කලා යයි කියන ඒ කථාව පැවැත්වූ වේදිකාවේ පිටුපස හොඳ රතු රෙද්දක් දකින්නට තිබුණි. ඒ නිසා එය ආනමඩුවේ කෙරුණු එකක් යයි හිතන්නේ නැහැ. සමහරවිට රූපවාහිනී මැදිරියකදී ඒ කථාව කරන්න ඇති. මොකක්ද ඒ කථාවෙන් කිව්වේ? 1982 අවුරුද්දේ පැවැති ජනමත විචාරණයේදී මම රජයට ආධාර කලා යයි කීවා. ඔව්, මම රජයට ආධාර කළ එක ඇත්ත. මම තැනැයි කියන්නේ නැ. නමුත් එද තිබුණු ආණ්ඩුවද අද තිබෙන්නේ? අවුරුදු තුනකට පසුව අද රටේ පවතින්නේ එද රටේ තිබුණු තත්ත්වයද? ඇත්ත වශයෙන්ම කියන්නා නම් එද රජයට ආධාර කිරීමට අපි වේදිකාවට තහින්නට කළින් මම ගරු ජනාධිපතිතුමාට කරුණු 4 ක් ඉදිරිපත් කලා. මොනවාද ඒ කරුණු හතර?

දෙවසරකට පෙර—ඒ කියන්නේ 1980 දී—වැඩ වර්ජනයට සම්බන්ධ වූ වැඩවර්ජකයින් මහ මහට බැස සිටි නිසා වන්දිත් සමඟ මවුන්ගේ රැකියා ආපසු ලබා දෙන ලෙස පළමු වැනි ඉල්ලීම වශයෙන් මම එද ඉදිරිපත් කලා. 1977 මහා මැතිවරණයෙන් පසුව දේශපාලන හේතූන් උඩ රැකියා අහිමිවූවන්ට එම රැකියා සුදුසු පරිදි ආපසු ලබා දෙන්නැයි දෙවැනි ඉල්ලීම වශයෙන් අපි කියා සිටියා. තුන් වැනි කරුණ වශයෙන් කියා සිටියේ අලුතින් රැකියා සැපයීමේදී දැනට අනුගමනය කරන ජපානේෂික ප්‍රතිපත්තිය වෙනස් කර සාධාරණව එක් එක්කෙනාගේ සුදුසුකම් අනුව රැකියා දෙන්නය කියන එකයි. හතර වැනි කරුණ හැටියට අපි ඉල්ලා සිටියේ ඉහළ හහිත ජීවන වියදමට සහනයක් වශයෙන් හැම කෙනෙකුටම සහන දීමනාවක් දෙන්නය කියන එකයි.

එද මම ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයෙන් ඇත් වී සිටියත් අපේ කණ්ඩායම එද ගරු ජනාධිපතිතුමා හමු වී මන්ත මය කරුණු ඉදිරිපත් කලා. ඒවා ඉටු කරනවා කියන පොරොන්දුව උඩයි. එද අපි වේදිකාවට නැති එතුමාට සහයෝගය උන්නේ එහෙත් එද තිබුණු තත්ත්වය නොවෙයි. අද තිබෙන්නේ. මේ ආණ්ඩුව නවදුරුවත් ගෙනයෑමට මේ රජයට කිසියෙක්ම සුදුසුකමක් නැති බව අද අපි කියනවා. අද තිබෙන තත්ත්වය උඩ රට ආරක්ෂා කිරීමට හා රට වෙනුවෙන් දීර්ඝ පුද්ගල ත්‍රිවිධ හමුදාව ආරක්ෂා කිරීමටත් ඒ අයට දිය යුතු සහනයක් දීමටත් මේ රජයට කිසිම හැකියාවක් නැති නිසයි මහ මැතිවරණයක් අවශ්‍ය යයි අද අපි රැස්වීම පවත්වා ජනතාවට කියන්නේ.

ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය කථානායකතුමනි, අන්ත ඒ නිසා එද අපි සාධාරණව කළ ඒ ඉල්ලීම නිවැරදි යයි මම කැවන වරක් කියනවා. මෙයට අවුරුදු තුනකට කලින් තිබුණේ අද තිබෙන තත්ත්වය නොවෙයි. අන්ත ඒ නිසා ඒ අදහස අපි එද නිර්ගයවම ඉදිරිපත් කලා. ඒ කාරණා අධ්‍යයන කරලයි. 1982 නොවැම්බර් 04 වැනි ද මේ ගරු සභාවේදී මා කළ කථාව අවසාන කළේත්.

අද තිබෙන තත්ත්වය අනුව, මේ රජය ගෙන යන වැඩ පිළිවෙළ අනුව අපට කිසි සේක්ම විශ්වාස කරන්න බැහැ. මේ රටේ ජීවියා භාවය ආරක්ෂා කිරීමටත්, ස්වෛරී භාවය ආරක්ෂා කිරීමටත් මේ රජයට නැතිකමක් ඇතැයි කියා ඒ නිසා, අපි මේ යෝජනාවට විරුද්ධව ජනදය පාර්ලිමේන්තුවට ප්‍රකාශ කරමින් මම නිගම වෙතවා.

පු. හා. 10/41

ගාමනී 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)

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the hon. Member for Medawachchiya (Mr. Maithripala Senanayeke) in his speech mentioned that they are going

and demanding a general election. It was pretty obvious to me while listening to his speech today that he was trying to see if anything could be said to strengthen the arguments or statements he would make when he is going round the country asking for an election.

Sir, the hon. Member mentioned that we should send a decoy train ahead of the troop train. Sir, these mines are exploded by remote control. They are exploded at the time when the terrorists think that they should explode them. So, sending a decoy train ahead of the troop train, I do not think is going to be of much assistance to safeguard those people who are going in the normal train. I am sure that the army and the other forces are well aware of these things. They are much more aware of what to do and what not to do than the hon. Member for Medawachchiya. Although the hon. Member, whatever he says -

මොණ්ඩපාල සේනානායක මහතා (திரு. மாத்திரிபால் சேனநாயக்க) (Mr. Maithripala Senanayeke)

During the time when I was a Minister it was customary, even when a normal derailment takes place, to send a pilot train before a train is run.

ගාමනී ජයසූරිය මහතා (திரு. காமனி ஜயசூரிய) (Mr. Gamani Jayasuriya)

Quite right, that is what I am telling you. The explosion takes place when the terrorists want it. It is not something that is there already. That is why I said that - although you mentioned this with a good intention - we should place more faith in our armed services in regard to how they run their affairs.

Then, Sir, the hon. Member made an allegation that Rs. 750 is not paid to a soldier when he lives in. I think this is not correct. This amount is paid to a soldier as ration allowance when he lives out. When he lives in he is fed free by Government. So it is very necessary that the hon. Members, when they hear these various stories, should make an attempt to find out what is the correct position before they come and made statements in this august Assembly which is the most accepted place for statements to be made, and the people accept what is stated here. By saying something which is not quite correct, the people can get a very wrong impression. At a time like this when there is insurgency in this country we all know that it is not an easy task to settle it in a short time. The country is facing a very difficult situation. Therefore, all of us should get together and decide these things and not try to make things worse.

Sir, in the context of what is happening now, in the North and the East, and in the light of what has been revealed on the Floor of this House, I think no further arguments are necessary to support the extension of the

[මාමති ජයසූරිය මහතා]

Emergency. It is a step that the Government has to take in the public interest and to safeguard the democratic rights of the people.

From what is being reported every hour and every day, the world is now beginning to realize who the aggressors are and how ruthless their acts of mass violence are. To prevent their escalation any further and to check these excesses, it is essential that the Emergency should continue. The Government must restore peace and harmony and ensure the integrity and the unity of the nation. In fact, the events of the past few weeks have made most countries who were unfortunately misled at the beginning realize the correctness of the Government's stand. The advance propaganda machine of the terrorists had created such a bad image for Sri Lanka that internationally we have had to face certain difficulties. Fortunately, the views of such countries are now changing, except perhaps those few which are biased, involved or indoctrinated by the terrorist propaganda.

The Government has always been of the view that the Tamil people are citizens of this country and should be looked after without discrimination in spite of the fact that a few misguided youths among the Tamil community have taken up arms against the people and the Government. Every practical and possible step has been taken by the Government to ensure that the law-abiding citizens of the North and the East and the Tamil people who live in other parts of the country are looked after and protected.

Whatever hardships the citizens of the North have undergone are caused not by the Government's neglect, but by the vicious and provocative acts of violence which the separatists are continuing to commit. They landmine the roads and bridges, cut off communications, bomb vehicles and trains to interrupt the supply of essential food and medicine to the civilian population of the North and the East.

But how has the Government reacted to this? Has the Government left them to suffer? No! at heavy cost not only in money but also in life and property, we have continued to keep the supplies going to the North and the East. Where bridges are broken, we re-build them; where railways are not operating, we send them by road; where neither is possible, we have even gone to the extent of sending foodstuffs by sea to the North. We do not want our citizens, our law-abiding Tamil brethren, in the North to suffer starvation due to the fault of their own misguided youths.

Sir, there were cases of large numbers of fishermen in the North who have suffered loss of livelihood as a result of the present trouble. They could not go fishing. We have gone out of our way to provide them with

immediate additional income support with the issue of additional food stamps. All this is being done because we firmly believe in humanitarianism. We do not want to make the out burst of violence an excuse. We do our duty by the civilian population. We do not indulge in retaliation, because we have faith in the goodness of the average citizen whether we be in the North, East or elsewhere. In the light of these gestures, how could any country still say that we are not fair by the Tamil people?

Sir, I would like to ask them this: Is there any government on earth that has treated a people, some of whose youths are violent militants, in this generous manner? That is the attitude of the Government, that is the attitude of the Sinhala people, nurtured for centuries in the noble traditions of "Ahimsa" and "Dana", that meritorious act of giving to those in need.

I am confident, Sir, that the right-thinking people in the North and the East, the moderate people, the peace-loving people, should by now realize the futility and the harm that follow a separatist demand and resulting violence. If so, I appeal to them to realize also that the only alternative open to them is to rally round the Government and help us to restore order.

His Excellency has reiterated the position of the Government and its desire to work out a political solution to the ethnic problem. Let the people in the North and the East and all Tamil people respond to that call.

Yes, that political solution requires the sympathy and active support of the citizens of this country of all races. They should act without indifference or fear.

Even while the militants are aiming their guns at Authority, the Government has not allowed the ordinary people to be starved to obedience. We do not believe in that. Let the World realize the fact that we act with humanism.

Surely, when three-quarters of the nation who are Sinhalese, are acting in this manner while terrorists are acting like murderers and maniacs, can anyone blame the Sinhalese? Can anyone say the Government acts with discrimination against a minority?

Sir, such a change of heart and joining hands with the Government is not something that is impossible or unprecedented. It has happened before. In fact, Sir, it happened two or three days ago in another country where there was a far greater number of people agitating for separation. Honourable Members may have heard on Television three or four days ago the news that QUEBEC has decided to give up their agitation for separation and support the Canadian

Canada, as you know Sir, is a vast country 3,851,809 square miles in extent. Its wealth is immense. The French took possession of that country in the 16th century but by the 19th century they had ceded it to the United Kingdom. French Canadians represent about 30 per cent of the country's population, and QUEBEC is predominantly French in population.

It is that French population that had for many years agitated for separation. The Province of QUEBEC is very large with vast resources even to be viable as a separate State. Not a tiny speck like the North ! But they are intelligent people. They have realized that unity and integrity as one Canadian nation will be best for all of them. They have decided that in the national interest, there are far greater priorities than sectarian political agitations. What are those priorities ? To develop the country, to develop its resources fully; to improve their living standards, which are already very high, and to be a great nation in the world. With that realization, they have given up their demand for separation.

Sir, if the French minority in Canada can do it, why not the people of the North ? They are as intelligent and practical people. Do they not realize that in a united effort to develop the nation lies the hope of all our people for a better tomorrow ?

I support the extension of the Emergency and hope that the solution to our problems will soon be a reality.

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අතිරිඳු මුණසිංහ මහතා (මතුගම)

(திரு. அனில் முணசிங்ஹ — மத்துகம)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe—Matugama)

Sir, I am very happy to follow the Hon. Minister of Food and Agriculture. I listened very carefully to his statement, and as usual a very balanced and reasonable statement. I do not think anybody on this side can be opposed to the statements that he has made.

But, Sir, today the situation has changed fundamentally. Today, the separatists are making their presence felt on the very borders of the areas which are represented by some Members of Parliament here today. The hon. Member for Medawachchiya said that the front line has come to Medawachchiya. We have read reports about the situation in the Padaviya area. We have read reports that the Amparai-Kalmunai road had been mined. So that, all round right up to Mannar Sinhalese people today fear to travel beyond a certain point and that is really Medawachchiya. This is what your Government has brought this country to. This is our complaint against you. Today, I think after a long period of time, perhaps after the British conquest of Sri Lanka, we have Sinhalese refugees. Not any other, but the major community has Sinhalese refugees living in various parts of the island, particularly the Anuradhapura area.

Then, Sir, the military situation has, as I said, worsened and we have an Army which has not got the sophisticated weapons of the separatists, and some of those weapons are so sophisticated that they can be even aimed at planes flying in to Palaly Airport. The Army has not been properly equipped, and what is more, the armed forces are in a state of great dissatisfaction. If you talk to some of them, you will realise how bad they feel about their conditions, their lack of arms and the strategy that is followed.

I am not going to comment on the military strategy. That is left to the Army and the armed forces. What I would like to say is that if you are going to run a train to the North, then you must give it adequate protection. Otherwise, you must use other methods of transportation. For instance, we know that the roads are mined, that the Railways are mined and they can detonated at a given time. That particular train that was blown up shows that the information with the separatists was very good. They knew who was travelling on that, in what compartments they were travelling. So that, their intelligence is far better than ours. This is a situation that has to be remedied and the people of this country feel that this Government is incapable of fighting the separatists. That is the general view of the people in this country. The hon. Members opposite know that. This is what they are complaining about. The other day, I had to attend three funerals in my area of army men who had been blown up, and you should have seen the feelings amongst the populace. Anybody who wanted to rouse feelings could have done it. I did not want to do that. I fully commiserate with the victims and their relatives, but today the ordinary man in the street feels that this Government is not doing its job properly. See what the country has come to. Economic growth is not taking place because people are afraid to come to this country and invest. So all your big plans are being shelved. Tourism is not growing; there is a stagnation. Many tourists do not go to the Eastern areas at all. Hotels are in a bad way. Take the policies of this Government. They are being constantly reversed. If hon. Members do not agree with me, please read the UNP statement issued before the election—the election programme of 1977. See what you said in that programme: what you were going to do about ethnic relations, about the minorities, how you were going to give them representation and broadbase democracy. What has happened today ? I challenge the Government: can you hold Development Council elections this year ? I challenge the Government to hold those elections because that will be a good pointer to the popularity of the Government.

Look at the UNP itself. What a disarray you are in now ! One of your prominent Members, the founder member of the Jathika Sevaka Sangamaya, has gone to

[சுருட்டி உத்தரவு]

the courts.—[*Interruption*]. Well, you were jubilant when things were happening here. Are you telling us not to be human ?

உறுப்பினர்

(அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)  
(A Member)

What happened to your leader ?

சுருட்டி உத்தரவு

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

Leave aside our leader. Look after your leader. The Jathika Sevaka Sangamaya today is in disarray.

வெள்ளையர் அலுவலர்

(திரு. வீரசிங்கம் மல்லிமாரச்சி)  
(Mr. Weerasinghe Mallimarachchi)

What about the person who carried the lamp ?

சுருட்டி உத்தரவு

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

That shows that everybody who carried lamps and other things are coming this side. Look at your Government. That is what I am asking you. Look at your party. It is in disarray. The trade unions are in disarray. And I can tell you that today the priesthood is against you. The Sangha Sabawa is against you, the students are against you, the lecturers are against you. That is the situation that you are faced with. I will elaborate on all these issues.—(*Interruption*). Lots of people have gone to the courts. You remember the time earlier when even the UNP—I have got quotations here—had its own cases, when during the last Government Mr. J. R. Jayewardene went to court against Mr. Dudley Senanayake ? Now we are having a repetition of history—except that you are in the Government this time. The situation is being reversed, and today the decline of the UNP has begun. What holds it together is the iron grip the President has over the members of the United National Party. If that grip was not there the UNP would have disintegrated long ago.

Now, Sir, what has happened to our relations with India ? They have completely soured today. It is a very unfortunate thing. I want to say very clearly, Sir, that I do not agree with Indian policy towards Sri Lanka or any of the other countries in the region. I do not agree with the Indira Gandhi doctrine. I have said so here in Parliament. I do not agree with the attitude of the Indians on many of these issues. But today the relations have soured. Instead of having good relations, the relations have soured.

வெள்ளையர் அலுவலர் (தமிழ்நாடு சீமாட்டி அலுவலர்)

(வைத்திய கலாநிதி பி. எம். பி. சிறில்—ஹம்பாந்தோட்டை மாவட்ட அமைச்சர்)

(Dr. P. M. B. Cyril—District Minister, Hambantota)

No. The Prime Minister of India stated that in the Lok Sabha.

சுருட்டி உத்தரவு

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

Stated what ?

வெள்ளையர் அலுவலர் பி. எம். பி. சிறில்

(வைத்திய கலாநிதி பி. எம். பி. சிறில்)  
(Dr. P. M. B. Cyril)

That relations are existing, that there are very good relations.

சுருட்டி உத்தரவு

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

He has not said that. He said he wants to improve relations. He did not say that good relations existed. He said that he is doing his best to improve relations with countries in the area.

What I am trying to say is that we support the Government in its efforts to keep the sovereignty of Sri Lanka sacrosanct. At the same time we want to say that your policy is zig-zagging from one side to the other. I will show it to you in due course. Today relations between India and Sri Lanka have soured. I will come to that in a moment.

Today the Hon. Minister of National Security has once again to go to the United States of America. I have no doubt that the purpose of the visit is to obtain arms and support from the United States of America for Sri Lanka. I want to tell you that that is a vain quest because the Government of the United States of America has clearly stated that it wants good relations with India and that it wants to have a negotiated settlement in Sri Lanka. That is the view of the Government of the United States of America.

I would also like to deal with how the Opposition views the present situation regarding the country's military effort. We feel that the country has not been geared to a war footing. There is a war today, a civil war. The Hon. Minister of National Security once told me that I was wrong to refer to the separatists as guerillas. He said that they were mere terrorists and that they had no area from which they operated to be called real guerillas. But what is the position today ? They are mobile in the whole of the Mullaitivu region, the Vavuniya area and the Mannar area. They are no longer confined to the Districts of Jaffna and Kilinochchi. They have come as far down south as Kalmunai on the Eastern coast. Today you have a civil war on your hands but you are not dealing with the civil war in the way you should.

I will quote from my earlier speech to show that we have advocated that a training be given to the youth of this country. By that we do not say that we should not have a negotiated settlement. A negotiated settlement must be there. There must be a political settlement.

மன்றிபரவென்  
(அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)  
(A Member)

You are obstructing !

சுதிரல் இலக்டிவ மவன  
(திரு. அனில் முனசிங்ஹ)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

Obstructing ? How can we obstruct ? How can eight of us obstruct 145 of you ?—(Interruption). We have given our reasons for it. You say non-participation is obstructing ? What has happened to the Round Table Conference ?

சுதிரல் வென்டர்வனவ மவன (பீர்ட்டு வர்வென் வனவவவ)  
(திரு. அனூர பண்டாரநாயக்க — எதிர்த்தகட்சி முதல்வர்)  
(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike—(Leader of the Opposition)

After one year !

சுதிரல் இலக்டிவ மவன  
(திரு. அனில் முனசிங்ஹ)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

After one year what has happened ? The Round Table Conference has disappeared into smoke. There is no Round Table Conference.

சுதிரல் வென்டர்வனவ மவன  
(திரு. அனூர பண்டாரநாயக்க)  
(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

It is your own Minister of Industries who is obstructing.

சுதிரல் இலக்டிவ மவன  
(திரு. அனில் முனசிங்ஹ)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

Today you have a situation where you have no perspective of a negotiated settlement. On the contrary, you only have a war solution coming. You have stopped using the good offices of India — no more Parthasarthy, no more going to New Delhi. You have said there are to be no more negotiations of that kind. In fact, the Hon. Prime Minister made a statement here that there never have been negotiations with India or anybody else. But I will prove to you that negotiations have taken place.

சுதிரல் வென்டர்வனவ மவன  
(திரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாச)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

The question asked was whether negotiations are being conducted.

சுதிரல் இலக்டிவ மவன  
(திரு. அனில் முனசிங்ஹ)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

No. I have got the Hansard and I will read it.

சுதிரல் வென்டர்வனவ மவன  
(திரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாச)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

First read the question asked by the hon. Member for Attanagalla (Mr. Lakshman Jayakody).

சுதிரல் இலக்டிவ மவன  
(திரு. அனில் முனசிங்ஹ)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

I am going to read it.

சுதிரல் வென்டர்வனவ மவன  
(திரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாச)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

What he asked was whether negotiations are going on and I said 'No'.

சுதிரல் இலக்டிவ மவன  
(திரு. அனில் முனசிங்ஹ)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

I will come to that. I will come to the English statement of the Hon. Prime Minister.

Today members of the armed forces, the security forces, feel that there is a difference being made between some people and others. I want to ask the Hon. Minister of National Security this question. You have made a principle that all officers should serve one period in the Northern and Eastern areas. But then you go to make exceptions. I want to know whether this is true or not. Is Mr. Udugampola excused from service in the North ? Please answer that question. Is Mr. Edward Gunawardene excused from service in the North ? is it true ? This is what the soldiers also tell me. They say that many of the top officers go by plane to Jaffna ; they do not go by train or road. That is left for the ordinary private. They go by plane because that is the safest. But I want to say that from now on they will not even go by plane because they know that the separatists have projectiles which are capable of shooting down a plane. These are things that are discussed in the armed forces. It leads to sense of frustration in the armed forces, and finally the armed forces feel that this Government is not governing, not running the war properly, not arming them properly, they do not have these sophisticated arms. Therefore they feel that they have lost confidence in this Government. That is the ordinary man.

மன்றிபரவென்  
(அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)  
(A Member)

Your imagination.

சுதிரல் இலக்டிவ மவன  
(திரு. அனில் முனசிங்ஹ)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

I hope so, Let us hope that is my imagination.

Now, Sir, I come to the first of the questions about the negotiations. I am reading from Column 240 of Hansard of 11th January 1985. the Hon. Prime Minister says :

"Mr. Deputy Speaker, the hon Member for Attanagalla has raised the following question :

"I wish to raise a matter at adjournment today with the Prime Minister to get certain clarifications regarding fresh negotiations on the ethnic problem with the Government of India."

[சுரேஷ் இடைவிடாதே]

Sir, we have had no negotiations with the Government of India at any time in regard to this ethnic problem." That is very clear as far as the English Language goes.

சுரேஷ் இடைவிடாதே

(திரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாசு)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

Refer to the question raised by him.

சுரேஷ் இடைவிடாதே

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

"We have no obligation to India or to any other country to have negotiations on matters pertaining to our internal affairs."

That means for all time. It is not only for this period but for all time. In that setting he says :

"We have had no negotiations with the Government of India at any time in regard to this ethnic problem."

சுரேஷ் இடைவிடாதே

(திரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாசு)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

Quite right – no negotiations, past, present or future.

சுரேஷ் இடைவிடாதே

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

Annexure C.

சுரேஷ் இடைவிடாதே

(திரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாசு)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

I will reply.

சுரேஷ் இடைவிடாதே

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

The Hon. Prime Minister, I am sure, will be able to reply, but let us now go on.

I quote from Annexure C which was handed over to us—

I will quote from Hansard itself on annexure 'C'. I quoted it last time on 21st September 1984, in column 354. I will quote from Annexure 'C' which was released on 8th January 1984. the Hon. Prime Minister was kind enough to send me a copy of the Annexure "C". It is somewhere here. I will produce it.

"In terms of paragraph 6 of the President's statement of December 1st 1983, the following proposals which have emerged as a result of discussions in Colombo and New Delhi are appended for consideration by the All-Party Conference. These proposals are in the context of the unity and the integrity of Sri Lanka and will form, a basis of formulating the Agenda for the All Party Conference."

In other words, this was something which was discussed here in Colombo and in New Delhi. Now you do not go and discuss in New Delhi, unless it is a discussion with the Indian Government. Otherwise it must be done here. (Interruption) I will come to that also. Sir, I quote 'The Island' of 3rd July 1984. This is a quotation from His Excellency in India.

"Asked whether India's involvement was not an interference in the affairs of Sri Lanka, the President said he was happy he visited New Delhi and had helpful discussions. We will use the good offices of India or of any one else to solve our problem".

"We will use the good offices of India or of anyone else to solve our problems" he said.

சுரேஷ் இடைவிடாதே

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

Who says that ?

சுரேஷ் இடைவிடாதே

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

His Excellency J. R. Jayewardene in New Delhi. that is in the "Island" of 3rd July 1984.

Then Sir, I quote from the "Sun" paper of 11.11.1983.

"President J. R. Jayewardene in a communique Yesterday declared details of proposals he had discussed with the Indian Premier Indira Gandhi's Special Envoy Gopalaswamy Parthasarathy to solve the problems facing the Tamil community.

A communique from His Excellency the President regarding this discussions with G. Parthasarathy states :

"Mr. G. Parthasarathy, the Special Envoy of the Indian Prime Minister, discussed with me proposals regarding the amendments to the Development Councils Law which he would place before the TULF leaders to enable them to arrive at an acceptable solution to the present problems facing the Tamil community in Sri Lanka.

Any proposals which are acceptable would be placed before in all-party conference in Sri Lanka.

The consensus of opinion of the all-party conference would itself be considered by the United National Party Executive Committee and presumably by the executive bodies of the other parties as well before being placed before Parliament for legislative action."

I will repeat it :

"Before being placed before Parliament for legislative action." Then it goes on to say,

The giving up the idea of a separate State :

The merger of the Development Councils within a province after acceptance by the Council's members and a referendum in the district. This proposal is applicable to the whole Island.

The recognition of the administration of Trincomalee Port as a Central Government function."

That was His Excellency's statement. Then it goes on to state :

Shri Parthasarathy expressed satisfaction over the progress of the talks he had with the Lankan leaders, and said positive ideas had emerged in the course of these discussions.

In a statement released at the airport before he left for New Delhi last night, Shri Parthasarathy disclosed that tentative proposals had been worked out to provide for a greater devolution of power to the regions. He said these centered on the creation of regional councils with appropriate powers within the framework of a united Sri Lanka.

I have spent three days in Colombo at the Invitation of the Sri Lanka Government. As I mentioned earlier my visit was a part of the continuing process of Indian good offices to explore the possibility of reaching a political settlement which would be acceptable to all communities and promote national harmony”.

Now, the English is very clear in this statement.

I will now quote from a despatch by our envoy in India Mr. Tilakaratna to Mr. W. T. Jayasinghe. It is Despatch No. 539. This is a report of the statement made by the External Affairs Minister, Narasimha Rao, on the afternoon of 7th May. I quote among others :

“The lack of progress in the political dialogue over the last several months was compounding Tamil frustrations. We conveyed our disappointment of the failure, so far, of the All Parties Conference to consider the proposals which had been worked out in November last year with President Jayewardene’s participation.”

I want to underline that.

“We conveyed our disappointment of the failure, so far, of the All Parties Conference to consider the proposals which had been worked out in November last year with President Jayewardene’s participation. These provided the setting up of regional councils so as to enable the Tamils to exercise a measure of self-government in Tamil majority areas while preserving Sri Lanka’s unity.”

Then he goes on to say :-

“While pointing out that the Government Party had not itself supported the proposals, we emphasized the need to urgently find a political solution which would be acceptable to the Tamils and to other communities.”

Then he goes on to say further :-

“We also discussed the uncertain future of the remaining stateless persons of Indian origin in Sri Lanka. We had been happy to hear that a consensus had been reached at the All Parties Conference to grant citizenship to the stateless persons left over from the 1964 and 1974 agreements. We were surprised however that the Sri Lankan Parliament had been told that no decision would be taken on this question without recourse to a national referendum. The Sri Lankan Minister”-

That is Hon. Lalith Athulath Mudali.

“-assured us that the Sri Lanka Government would abide by the commitment given by President Jayewardene to us on several occasions. He said that they did not intend to have recourse to a referendum on this question and would be moving enabling legislation to fulfil this commitment.”

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

Order, please ! You have already taken half an hour.

අනිල් මුණසිංහ මහතා  
(திரு. அனில் முனசிங்ஹ)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)  
Yes, Sir.

නියෝජ්‍ය කථනායකතුමා  
(பிரதிச் சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)  
(Mr. Deputy Speaker)  
How long more will you take ?

අනිල් මුණසිංහ මහතා  
(திரு. அனில் முனசிங்ஹ)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)  
I will take about another one hour.

නියෝජ්‍ය කථනායකතුමා  
(பிரதிச் சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)  
(Mr. Deputy Speaker)  
One hour ? The Debate will be open to the hon. Members only till 4 o'clock.

අනිල් මුණසිංහ මහතා  
(திரு. அனில் முனசிங்ஹ)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)  
I know that.

නියෝජ්‍ය කථනායකතුමා  
(பிரதிச் சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)  
(Mr. Deputy Speaker)  
There will be only two hours. I am not-

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

The hon. Member for Kotmale and the hon. Member for Maharagama are going to speak from the Opposition before I start to wind up at 3.30 p.m. There is plenty of time.

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

How can that be ? He wants another one hour.

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

I am starting at 3.30 p.m. There is time.

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

We are starting at 2 p.m. after lunch. So, there will be only one and a half hours for the rest. The hon. Member for Maharagama will take at least 45 minutes. Then there will be no time available for any other speakers. I think the Hon. Minister of Public Administration and Minister of Plantation Industries also wants to speak. I am trying to arrange the time to the satisfaction of all.

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

How many speakers does the Government have ?

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

At least two more.

මොන්ටේගු ජව්‍යින්ත මහතා (රජය පරිපාලන ඇමතිතුමා සහ ටැට්ලි කර්මාන්ත ඇමතිතුමා)

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

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

I would like him to tell us the time that he is going to stop because I like to follow him.

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

If he is going on for another one hour it will go on after lunch also.

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

I have come prepared for the Debate.

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

We are very happy but the point is that your leader and other hon. Members want to speak. Shall we give you another twenty minutes ?

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

With great respect I have to say this. As the hon. Members for Kalawana, Medawachchiya and Gampaha wanted to speak in the morning I allowed them to do so although I was down to speak in the morning.

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

They are all from the Opposition.

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

I will try to cut short my speech, as far as possible.

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

Within half an hour please.

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

I will now go on to show that negotiations have taken place on these ethnic matters, where the government of India, through either Mr. Parthasarathi, Mr. Narasimha Rao or the late Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, had been involved. We are told that they had discussions. I want to prove that they were more than discussions because there were documents involved. I want to show you clearly that Annexure "C", which has no paternity, was really a document produced in India and I will show you that that document was arrived at as a result of discussions between our government, the Government of India acting through its good offices and the TULF. That is what I want to prove.

අබ්දුල් රසාක් මන්සූර් මහතා (මූලතීට් දිකා ඇමතිතුමා)  
(ஜனாப் அப்துல் ரஸ்ஸாக் மன்ஸூர் — முல்லைத்தீவு மாவட்ட அமைச்சர்)

(Mr. Abdul Razaak Munsoor—District Minister, Mullaitivu)

Do you accept the proposals ?

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

I will come to it in my good time. You can ask me any amount of questions because you are not able to go back to your constituency.

අබ්දුල් රසාක් මන්සූර් මහතා  
(ஜனாப் அப்துல் ரஸ்ஸாக் மன்ஸூர்)  
(Mr. Abdul Razaak Munsoor)

Do not say that.

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

I am telling you that. I will come to that also.

අබ්දුල් රසාක් මන්සූර් මහතා  
(ஜனாப் அப்துல் ரஸ்ஸாக் மன்ஸூர்)  
(Mr. Abdul Razaak Munsoor)

But you have not answered my question. What are your views on those proposals ? Do you accept those proposals ?

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

The people of the Eastern Province are utterly unhappy with the policies of this government. That is the fact. As far as we are concerned, we want a settlement of the problem, but we were not prepared to participate in a conference which has now disappeared in smoke.

අබ්දුල් රසාක් මන්සූර් මහතා  
(ஜனாப் அப்துல் ரஸ்ஸாக் மன்ஸூர்)  
(Mr. Abdul Razaak Munsoor)

But you have not answered my question.



தமிழ் இனக்கூலி மறவை  
(திரு. அனில் முனிசிங்கம்)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

It is pretty obvious. From the very beginning we said that we do not want to participate in this because we knew that this Conference would not be a success. (Interruption) I will come to that. I will show you what we have been discussing at this Conference. You wanted a solution but you were never prepared to put forward your own solution. You called it a All-Party Conference. You called the C.W.C., the D.W.C., the L.S.S.P. and the C.P.

சுர. சேனாநாதன் மறவை  
(திரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாசு)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

The documents are there. We submitted our proposals.

தமிழ் இனக்கூலி மறவை  
(திரு. அனில் முனிசிங்கம்)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

Your proposals were submitted and the Hon. Prime Minister was the Chairman of Committee "A" which discussed the devolution of power. I will come to that also.

சுர. சேனாநாதன் மறவை  
(திரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாசு)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

We submitted our proposals. You submitted your proposals.

தமிழ் இனக்கூலி மறவை  
(திரு. அனில் முனிசிங்கம்)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

What has finally come out of those proposals? Even those are withdrawn.

சுர. சேனாநாதன் மறவை  
(திரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாசு)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

Not ours. I do not want the hon. Member to have any misunderstanding. The United National Party submitted the proposals to the All-Party Conference. They are there. We never withdrew.

தமிழ் இனக்கூலி மறவை  
(திரு. அனில் முனிசிங்கம்)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

I am not saying that you withdrew, but the whole of the proposals of all the parties which went into a document has now been withdrawn.

சுர. சேனாநாதன் மறவை  
(திரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாசு)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

Majority.

தமிழ் இனக்கூலி மறவை  
(திரு. அனில் முனிசிங்கம்)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

It is also quite clear that although the United National Party put forward its own proposals, nevertheless the majority view, the consensus, included the U.N.P.

சுர. சேனாநாதன் மறவை  
(திரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாசு)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

No. U.N.P. supported only U.N.P. proposals.

தமிழ் இனக்கூலி மறவை  
(திரு. அனில் முனிசிங்கம்)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

U.N.P. supported only U.N.P. proposals?

சுர. சேனாநாதன் மறவை  
(திரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாசு)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

When you say majority you will see that there had been a minority also.

தமிழ் இனக்கூலி மறவை  
(திரு. அனில் முனிசிங்கம்)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

There was a minority also. Then you know that the All-Party Conference came to a consensus view. The consensus is—

சுர. சேனாநாதன் மறவை  
(திரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாசு)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

Consensus is different from unanimity.

தமிழ் இனக்கூலி மறவை  
(திரு. அனில் முனிசிங்கம்)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

The consensus is where you gather the general feeling. I will come to His Excellency the President. His Excellency the President has been clear on this matter also. I want to come to this matter.

மன்றத்தினர் மறவை  
(அங்கத்தினர் ஒருவர்)  
(A Member)

You all wanted regional councils.

தமிழ் இனக்கூலி மறவை  
(திரு. அனில் முனிசிங்கம்)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

What we want we will give when we come to power. Do not tell us now. We want to give you all our support. But you are the government now. Therefore, it is the bounden duty on your part to solve the problem. You are governing now. That is our complaint. If you are the government, give the proposals and say, "We stand by these proposals." If it is Annexure "C" or anything else or even U.N.P. proposals, put those through. His Excellency the President said, "Even if others do not agree I am going to put these proposals through." At one stage he made that remark.

கரீந்த கோரிய மஹை  
(திரு. ஹரிந்திர கொறயா)  
(Mr. Harindra Corea)

What happened yesterday? You said you were going to be carried out.

சுதீல் மூனேசிங்ஹை  
(திரு. அனில் முனேசிங்ஹை)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)  
We never said that.

கரீந்த கோரிய மஹை  
(திரு. ஹரிந்திர கொறயா)  
(Mr. Harindra Corea)

But no one was carried out. You all left the House.

சியேர்ஸ் கவினாயகரூ  
(பிரதிச் சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)  
(Mr. Deputy Speaker)

Order, please!

சுதீல் மூனேசிங்ஹை  
(திரு. அனில் முனேசிங்ஹை)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

Now, I am going to quote from Mr. Amirthalingam's statement in the "Island" of 11th May 1984:

"Conference direction. 'An exercise in futility', says Amir"

"It is well known that for several months in 1979, 1980, 1981 and in 1982 we were engaged in protracted negotiations with the government. It is sufficient to say that over 90% of the matters agreed upon were never implemented by the Government."

Now, we do not know that. That is a problem between the people who came to an agreement in 1977, before the Elections. On 4th August 1983, the Hon. Minister of Rural Industrial Development has very categorically stated in this House that discussions were held between himself, Mr. Amirthalingam and Mr. J. R. Jayewardene and that they came to a general consensus which was reflected in the UNP's Programme. After that they had these problems and they say 90 per cent of the problems were solved. Then, Mr. Amirthalingam goes on to say -

"All these resulted in completely relegating into oblivion all the efforts of the Prime Minister of India and her special envoy - Mr. G. Parthasarathi, to help the government and the T.U.L.F. to find a mutually satisfactory solution."

Therefore, you can see that according to him the Indian Government was the intermediary between the TULF and the Government of Sri Lanka. He goes on to say -

"The tragic events of June, July & August 1983 evoked universal horror and particularly, among all sections of the Indian people. In Tamil Nadu there were angry demonstrations against the atrocities committed on the Tamil people.

The Prime Minister of India showed her deep anguish and serious concern by promptly sending her Foreign Minister - Mr. Narasimha Rao to Colombo. The President responded by sending his own brother as Special Emissary to New Delhi."

Now, we all know that Mr. H. W. Jayewardene went as the emissary of His Excellency the President. Nobody denies that, and if not to have discussions about a solution to this problem what did he go there for?

Whether you call it discussions or negotiations or anything else, the Government to settle this problem, because they were not directly talking to the TULF. They talked to Mr. Parthasarathi and Mr. Parthasarathi went to the TULF, came back again and so on, and in the midst of all that - this is what happened This is the important paragraph. I will read it out -

"Ultimately he came in November 1983, had discussions with the President in Colombo and conveyed to us in Delhi certain proposals that had emerged in the course of these discussions. The President too came to Delhi for the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting and after a series of discussions between Mr. Parthasarathi and the President and his advisors on the one hand, and Mr. Parthasarathi and the members of the T.U.L.F. on the other, Mr. Parthasarathi conveyed to us the proposals in Annexure 'C' as having been worked out between him and the President."

Now, we do not know whether it is true or not, but that is what Mr. Amirthalingam says. So Annexure C is a document that had come up - let us be as liberal as possible - as a result of the discussions between the Government of India and the TULF on the one hand and the Government of Sri Lanka and the Government of India on the other hand. So that my argument is that constantly there were discussions on the ethnic problem, "an internal problem of Sri Lanka", as the Hon. Prime Minister is quoted often as saying, and we went and discussed with the Government of India about an internal problem of Sri Lanka and how they would use their good offices to settle the matter.

I now quote from the "Hindu" of 29th June, 1984:

"The President of Sri Lanka, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene has sent some modified proposals on his plan for regrouping the district councils as a basis for his discussions with the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, on the Tamil problem.

The High Commissioner of Sri Lanka in Delhi, Mr. Bernard Tilakaratne, handed over to the External Affairs Ministry a few days ago a note containing these proposals before the arrival of the Minister for National Security, Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali, to prepare for Mr. Jayewardene's visit".

So, you see that already the Government of Sri Lanka had handed over to the Government of India its new proposals for the settlement of the ethnic problem. Therefore, when the Hon. Prime Minister says that there were no negotiations, I am prepared to accept his position that there were no negotiation because negotiation means a give and take policy between two governments. But here, we went to the Government of India and said, "These are the proposals we hope to put into effect in Sri Lanka to solve the ethnic problem".

May I say first that in principle it is wrong because as the Hon. Prime Minister in his speech in the United National Party Conference has said over and over again, "This is an internal affair of Sri Lanka. It has nothing to do with India because we are a sovereign

country. We are not a state of India". As the Hon. Prime Minister said, "We are not a state of India. We have no obligation. We do not accept the Indira Gandhi doctrine that anything that happens in the South Asian region is a matter that is of importance to India and that India has a veto over that." Over and over again they have stated these policies, Sir, where they say that the Indian Government must be pleased with any measures that are being taken in the countries within their sphere of influence.

Today they raise a question of Israel. Leave aside whether we accept that or not. That is not an important matter. The important matter is that the Government of India said, "You cannot have a force inimical to us there" and protested to Mrs. Thatcher. We have it on record. I do not want to weary this House. I think the Hon. Prime Minister will accept all these things that I am saying, and if he does not, he will tell me and I will produce the documents.

My argument is that the Government of Sri Lanka has put itself in a difficult position by accepting the good offices of the Indian Government and today it says: we are not prepared to go again to India. So there is a resiling from the situation that it was earlier.

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

Order, please! You have another 12 more minutes.

ஏகில இன்ஹித மஹா  
(திரு. அனில் முனசிங்ஹ)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)  
No, Sir.

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

You have already taken one hour.

ஏகில இன்ஹித மஹா  
(திரு. அனில் முனசிங்ஹ)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)  
Yes, but I have -

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

Then you are using the time that will have to be taken from your own Opposition Members.

ஏகில இன்ஹித மஹா  
(திரு. அனில் முனசிங்ஹ)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

All right, Sir.

I quote again the Hon. Minister of Rural Industrial Development from HANSARD of 21st September, 1984, column 774. This is what he says:

"After detailed discussions with President Jayewardene and the TULF leaders Mrs. Indira Gandhi had evolved and acceptable solution based on a system of regional autonomy."

Now this is a statement of a Minister of this Government, the Minister of Rural Industrial Development. My Cyril Mathew has left and moved out, but the Hon. Minister of Rural Industrial Development is able to remain here. He can lead a strike, but he is here! When Sri Lankan workers went on strike, they were dismissed—(Interruption). The Hon. Minister of Rural Industrial Development recently said that their workers were going to strike unless two people were removed. He continues to be in this Government, but Mr. Cyril Mathew, the hon. Member for Kelaniya - (Interruption).

மத்தியபரமேஸ்வரர்  
(அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)  
(A Member)

You are shedding crocodile tears! You are very worried about him.

ஏகில இன்ஹித மஹா  
(திரு. அனில் முனசிங்ஹ)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)  
Naturally.

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

Order, please! Please do not disturb him as he has only five minutes.

ஏகில இன்ஹித மஹா  
(திரு. அனில் முனசிங்ஹ)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

How can I finish in five minutes? That is impossible. I will go up to 12 o'clock.

I find that there seems to be a difference of views between the Hon. Prime Minister and His Excellency the President. The Hon. Prime Minister made a speech to the United National Party conference and it is reproduced in the "Daily News" of December 17, 1984. He says:

"Today a set of rationalised proposals have emerged out of the various suggestions and concepts placed before the All Party Conference. Yesterday the All Party Conference Secretariat distributed these proposals among the different delegations to the Conference.

It is incumbent upon the United National Party which is also participating at the All Party Conference to examine these proposals to evaluate and critically analyse the end results arising from their implementation.

In such a critical evaluation, we will be compelled to direct our attention to several questions.

Will these proposals which are now before us, safeguard the unity and the integrity of our country?

Will the sovereignty of our country be further stabilised?

Will the unity, peace and discipline in our country be protected or else will it change the present set up?

[ஊழல் இனப்பிணைப்புகள்]

Will there be a threat to the unitary character of our State ?

Will it be a hindrance to the unity of our people ?

Will these proposals destabilise and disrupt justice and fair-play to the different ethnic groups who have made this country their motherland ?”

Now, the Hon. Prime Minister has asked some very important questions, but unfortunately the Hon. Prime Minister never gave an answer to this analysis.

ஊழல் இனப்பிணைப்புகள்

(திரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாச)

(Mr. R. Premadasa)

We had just got these proposals. We had to examine them on these lines.

ஊழல் இனப்பிணைப்புகள்

(திரு. அனில் முனசிங்ஹ)

(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

That is right.

Now, His Excellency the President—According to the speech he made at the Sugathadasa Indoor Stadium on 16.12.1984 as reported in the “Weekend” had said this :

“President J. R. Jayewardene yesterday allayed fears of the country’s majority that proposals now before the All Party Conference would pose a threat to the country’s unitary state and categorically denied that these proposals have in any way eroded the powers of Parliament.”

His Excellency the President was very clear on that.

“It is our only chance, we cannot afford this to go by” the President said

Outlining the proposals now before the All Party Conference, the President said that what they strive to achieve is the devolution of power without eroding the power presently with Parliament and the executive within a democratic framework.”

ஊழல் இனப்பிணைப்புகள்

(திரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாச)

(Mr. R. Premadasa)

He himself wanted these proposals examined.

ஊழல் இனப்பிணைப்புகள்

(திரு. அனில் முனசிங்ஹ)

(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

I want to be very fair by you.

ஊழல் இனப்பிணைப்புகள்

(திரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாச)

(Mr. R. Premadasa)

There was no difference of opinion.

ஊழல் இனப்பிணைப்புகள்

(திரு. அனில் முனசிங்ஹ)

(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

His Excellency said: These proposals are here ; I commend them to you but finally it must be decided by the people of Sri Lanka.

ஊழல் இனப்பிணைப்புகள்

(திரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாச)

(Mr. R. Premadasa)

Not only that ; he wanted all the parties to examine the proposals.

ஊழல் இனப்பிணைப்புகள்

(திரு. அனில் முனசிங்ஹ)

(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

Yes. I am not trying to score a fast one. I am only trying to show that His Excellency’s views were, while commending it, that you analyse and find out.

ஊழல் இனப்பிணைப்புகள்

(திரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாச)

(Mr. R. Premadasa)

It was only two days before the Conference that the proposals were out. He wanted everybody to examine them.

ஊழல் இனப்பிணைப்புகள்

(திரு. அனில் முனசிங்ஹ)

(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

But whilst wanting everybody to examine them, His Excellency commended them and said –

ஊழல் இனப்பிணைப்புகள்

(திரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாச)

(Mr. R. Premadasa)

Right, you show me where it is.

ஊழல் இனப்பிணைப்புகள்

(திரு. அனில் முனசிங்ஹ)

(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

It says :

“President J. R. Jayewardene yesterday allayed fears of the country’s majority that proposals now before the All Party Conference would pose a threat to the country’s unitary state and categorically denied that these proposals have in any way eroded the powers of Parliament.”

His Excellency was saying, “Well, there are some things in this which people may criticize ; what I say is not going to have that result.”

ஊழல் இனப்பிணைப்புகள்

(திரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாச)

(Mr. R. Premadasa)

Not those fears, but you have to examine them.

ஊழல் இனப்பிணைப்புகள்

(திரு. அனில் முனசிங்ஹ)

(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

Yes. We have to say that. So that, Sir, what I want to show is that today we have a vacuum ; there are no proposals at all today ; there is no prospect of a negotiation with anybody. That is what the situation is today after nearly one year of the All Party Conference. We have views of the Ven. Maha Nayaka Thero where

they opposed the draft legislation. I do not want to read them out; there is no time. These have already been read here earlier and published in the papers. And the Ven. Walpola Rahula has very clearly stated that the Maha Sangha will not accept the proposals in Annexure 'C'; they will not only accept the framework of the District Development Councils and no futher. They are opposed to any District Development Councils being grouped together and so on.

So, that is the sumtotal of the situation today? What has the UNP now got to offer? What is it going to suggest to the people of Sri Lanka? Are we going merely to fight? And if we are going to fight, we of the Opposition want to tell you that we want to back you hundred per cent. We want to tell you very clearly.

I do not want, Sir, to bother this House with the statements made by me earlier. I propose that there should be universal military training of young people in this country from a certain age group onwards. I have said that the armed forces should be well equipped. We all know that the surveillance zone that was put was insufficient and that there were not enough ships. I went so far as to say, Sir, that they should have a blockade. The Hon. Minister of National Security said that there is no such thing as a blockade but there is. Surveillance means looking from above and seeing whether certain things are hapening or not hapening. Blockade means actually what the Sri Lankan Navy did. They prevented people from coming in. Here I want to remind the hon. Members of this House when this Government took over there was a force called the TAFII who were there placed in the Northern area in the Palk Strait between India and Sri Lanka by the Government of Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike. What happened? (*Interruption*). May be, but what has happened. As soon as this Government came in the TAFII was removed. We know that even at the time of the previous Government the members of the TULF had been bringing pressure on the then Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, to remove that - that was not really a military effort, Sir, that was an effort made -

charge of Defence and External Affairs. But when you came into power you tapered it off and there was no TAFII. So, they must take the responsibility.

අතිල් මුණසිංහ මහතා  
(திரு. அனில் முனசிங்ஹம்)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

That is not true. There was a TAFII, and I have it authoritatively. It is Mrs. Bandaranaike herself who told me -

මොන්ටේගු ජයවික්රම මහතා  
(திரு. மொண்டேகு ஜயவிக்ரம)  
(Mr. Montague Jayawickrema)

Mrs. Bandaranaike took no interest in TAFII.

අතිල් මුණසිංහ මහතා  
(திரு. அனில் முனசிங்ஹம்)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

On the contrary, she told that the TULF tried to put pressure on her to remove the TAFII. Because there was a lot of smuggling between Velvettiturai and Ramnad in the Southern coast of India and we wanted to prevent the smuggling of various things and the illegal connection that existed between South India and Sri Lanka. Now Sir, I want to deny it very clearly and say that as far as we were concerned that was there and that was only removed after this Government came into power. (*Interruption*) Anyway, let me have that assurance. He may have been the initiator of it. The gallant Major has been the initiator of lots of things, some very good things also, but what I want to say clearly the situation had started to deteriorate and the TAFII was withdrawn. Do not forget. You were here from the very beginning in 1977 when there was a period of honeymoon between the TULF and the governing party. They had many discussions together. They worked together. Many were the times when the TULF attacked the SLFP for its wrong policies, but that situation deteriorated progressively until today, I want to say very clearly, the TULF has hardly any support in Jaffna. That is why they had to live in South India. They cannot go to Jaffna. They do not have any power in Jaffna. And when you are negotiating with the TULF, you are negotiating with the post and not with the present history of that Party.

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

The Leader of the Opposition says to negotiate.

අතිල් මුණසිංහ මහතා  
(திரு. அனில் முனசிங்ஹம்)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

No, no, That was at the very beginning.

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

No, no, he has said it.

මොන්ටේගු ජයවික්‍රම මහතා  
(திரு. மொண்டேகு ஜயவிக்ரம)  
(Mr. Montague Jayawickrema)

May I just clarify?

අතිල් මුණසිංහ මහතා  
(திரு. அனில் முனசிங்ஹம்)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

If you are going to speak, you can say that.

මොන්ටේගු ජයවික්‍රම මහතා  
(திரு. மொண்டேகு ஜயவிக்ரம)  
(Mr. Montague Jayawickrema)

No, I just want to correct you. These operations started when I was Parliamentary Secretary to the Prime Minister Mr. Dudley Senanayake who was in

ஈகில் இன்ஈய ம஠஠  
(ஈரு. அ஠ில் மு஠சிங்஠)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)  
What does he say ?

ஈர். ஸ்ரேமட஠ ம஠஠  
(ஈரு. ஆர். பிர்ம஠த஠ச)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)  
You did not read today's papers ?

ம஠்ரீபர்ம஠  
(அங்கத்தவர் ஓருவர்)  
(A Member)  
You do not know where you are. You are talking through your hat !

ம஠்ரீபர்ம஠  
(ஈரு. ம஠ண்ரேரு ஜயவிக்ரம)  
(Mr. Montague Jayawickrema)  
Read today's papers. It is in the papers.

ஈகில் இன்ஈய ம஠஠  
(ஈரு. அ஠ில் மு஠சிங்஠)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)  
Let the Leader of the Opposition speak. As far as I am concerned, all I want to say is that the TULF no longer represents –

ஈர். ஸ்ரேமட஠ ம஠஠  
(ஈரு. ஆர். பிர்ம஠த஠ச)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

In a situation like this there are contradictions. That is what I want to say.

ஈகில் இன்ஈய ம஠஠  
(ஈரு. அ஠ில் மு஠சிங்஠)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

That is right. We know there are various contradictions, particularly inside the Government Party more than in ours. So that the contradictions can be papered over for a short time but cannot be papered over for all times ! So, Sir, I want to say very clearly, as far as the SLFP is concerned, we feel that the situation that is represented by the Party line-up in this august House today does not fully reflect the situation in the country. It behoves us –

ஈர். ஸ்ரேமட஠ ம஠஠  
(ஈரு. ஆர். பிர்ம஠த஠ச)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)  
Speak for yourself !

ஈகில் இன்ஈய ம஠஠  
(ஈரு. அ஠ில் மு஠சிங்஠)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

You can say that. That is why I said Hon. Prime Minister, will you hold the DDC elections this year ?

ஈர். ஸ்ரேமட஠ ம஠஠  
(ஈரு. ஆர். பிர்ம஠த஠ச)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)  
They are not due this year.

ஈகில் இன்ஈய ம஠஠  
(ஈரு. அ஠ில் மு஠சிங்஠)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)  
Then, when are they due ?

ஈர். ஸ்ரேமட஠ ம஠஠  
(ஈரு. ஆர். பிர்ம஠த஠ச)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)  
When they are due we will hold them.

ஈகில் இன்ஈய ம஠஠  
(ஈரு. அ஠ில் மு஠சிங்஠)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)  
They are due this year.

ஈர். ஸ்ரேமட஠ ம஠஠  
(ஈரு. ஆர். பிர்ம஠த஠ச)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)  
No, they are due the year after. Not this year but next year. And we are holding the by-elections also.

ஈகில் இன்ஈய ம஠஠  
(ஈரு. அ஠ில் மு஠சிங்஠)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)  
If you are so confident, why do you not hold the DDC elections definitely ?

ஈர். ஸ்ரேமட஠ ம஠஠  
(ஈரு. ஆர். பிர்ம஠த஠ச)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

Oh, yes. We will hold not only the Development Council Elections ; we are going to have the Pradeshiya Saba Elections also.

ஈகில் இன்ஈய ம஠஠  
(ஈரு. அ஠ில் மு஠சிங்஠)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)  
Very good, excellent.

ஈர். ஸ்ரேமட஠ ம஠஠  
(ஈரு. ஆர். பிர்ம஠த஠ச)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)  
And your Party is invited to contest.

ஈகில் இன்ஈய ம஠஠  
(ஈரு. அ஠ில் மு஠சிங்஠)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)  
Naturally !

ம஠்ரீபர்ம஠  
(அங்கத்தவர் ஓருவர்)  
(A Member)

We are holding by-elections also.

අතිල් මුණසිංහ මහතා  
(ති.රු. අනිල් මුණසිංහ)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

Yes, we will see what the situation is. All I say is this. (Interruption) I know that. We have also seen that history can repeat itself in different ways. Lots of things can happen.

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

Order, please ! Please wind up.

අතිල් මුණසිංහ මහතා  
(ති.රු. අනිල් මුණසිංහ)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

Therefore, Sir -

වෛද්‍යවාර්ය රංජිත් අතපත්තු මහතා (සෞඛ්‍ය දැමිතිතුමා)  
(டாக்டர் ரஞ்ஜித் அத்தபத்து - சுகாதார அமைச்சர்)  
(Dr. Ranjith Atapattu - Minister of Health)  
Are you contesting Mulkirigala ?

අතිල් මුණසිංහ මහතා  
(ති.රු. අනිල් මුණසිංහ)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

Why do you want to know that today ? You are so very anxious. You are in the adjoining seat, why are you so worried ?

වෛද්‍යවාර්ය රංජිත් අතපත්තු මහතා  
(டாக்டர் ரஞ்ஜித் அத்தபத்து)  
(Dr. Ranjith Atapattu)

We are contesting. Are you contesting ? I am just asking.

අතිල් මුණසිංහ මහතා  
(ති.රු. අනිල් මුණසිංහ)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

I do not know. We do not know whether Mr. Mathew wants to contest. So until we know that, we are not in a position to say, Sir. Because obviously Mr. Mathew has the majority view of the Sinhalese people behind him.

වෛද්‍යවාර්ය රංජිත් අතපත්තු මහතා  
(டாக்டர் ரஞ்ஜித் அத்தபத்து)  
(Dr. Ranjith Atapattu)

So you want to support him ?

අතිල් මුණසිංහ මහතා  
(ති.රු. අනිල් මුණසිංහ)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

No, what I say is, I do not agree with all his views. What I want to say is-

වෛද්‍යවාර්ය රංජිත් අතපත්තු මහතා  
(டாக்டர் ரஞ்ஜித் அத்தபத்து)  
(Dr. Ranjith Atapattu)

You do not agree with his views but you will support him ?

අතිල් මුණසිංහ මහතා  
(ති.රු. අනිල් මුණසිංහ)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

What do you mean by saying that I will support him ? Did I say I am going to support him ?

වෛද්‍යවාර්ය රංජිත් අතපත්තු මහතා  
(டாக்டர் ரஞ்ஜித் அத்தபத்து)  
(Dr. Ranjith Atapattu)

I am asking whether you all are contesting or not.

අතිල් මුණසිංහ මහතා  
(ති.රු. අනිල් මුණසිංහ)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

Do not get excited. The due time will come. After all it is not a long period for you to wait, you will see. You want us to disclose our plans beforehand.

වෛද්‍යවාර්ය රංජිත් අතපත්තු මහතා  
(டாக்டர் ரஞ்ஜித் அத்தபத்து)  
(Dr. Ranjith Atapattu)

We are contesting. There is nothing for us to hide.

අතිල් මුණසිංහ මහතා  
(ති.රු. අනිල් මුණසිංහ)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

Very good. You are contesting ? We will see when you contest. Whether we will contest or not depends on a number of other factors.

ජී. වී. පුච්චිනිලමේ මහතා (නියෝජ්‍ය වහිත කටයුතු හා ශික්ෂණ රෝහල් පිළිබඳ දැමිතිතුමා)

(திரு. ஜி. வீ. புஞ்சினிலமே—மாதர் அலுவல்கள், போதக வைத்தியசாலைகள் பிரதி அமைச்சர்)

(Mr. G. V. PUNCHINILAME - Deputy Minister of Women's Affairs and Teaching Hospitals)

You will not contest.

අතිල් මුණසිංහ මහතා  
(ති.රු. අනිල් මුණසිංහ)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

We will see. I must say that the Government is very spirited this morning, particularly the Front Bench. But you must see the Government Members after a Government Party Group meeting. Then only are we able to understand the real feelings of the Government Members.

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

They have deceived you.

අතිල් මුණසිංහ මහතා  
(ති.රු. අනිල් මුණසිංහ)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

If they have deceived me, they have deceived you also, because they have nothing to gain from me, but they have a lot to gain from you.

[ஈதிரி டிரேசிடம மதத]

I do not want to go on further about the contradictions within the Government. These contradictions will gradually begin to show themselves over and over again in the coming period. What I want to say is that the SLFP is, first of all, very worried that all negotiations have ceased completely and secondly, we feel that militarily the situation is not being tackled properly. Although the Hon. Minister of National Security said that there were only 300 hard-core terrorists, these 300 have been able to spend a lot of time travelling about !

ஈ. லி. டூலிதிரேசிட மதத  
(திர. ஜி. வி. லுஞ்சிநிலமே)  
(Mr. G. V. PUNCHINILAME)

Do you know their exact number ?

ஈதிரி டிரேசிடம மதத  
(திர. அனில் முனசிங்ஹ)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

I do not know but this is what the Hon. Minister of National Security said. He knows. These 300 have been able to move very rapidly through the jungles right upto to Mannar on the one hand and up to Padaviya on the other, to Kalmunai on the east and coming down to Medawachchiya. The Sinhala people are afraid to go beyond Medawachchiya.

ஈ. லி. டூலிதிரேசிட மதத  
(திர. ஜி. வி. லுஞ்சிநிலமே)  
(Mr. G. V. PUNCHINILAME)

They are people like you. People like you are afraid to go.

ஈதிரி டிரேசிடம மதத  
(திர. அனில் முனசிங்ஹ)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

Ah ! When I went I always went in front.

ஈ. லி. டூலிதிரேசிட மதத  
(திர. ஜி. வி. லுஞ்சிநிலமே)  
(Mr. G. V. PUNCHINILAME)  
You have never gone.

ஈதிரி டிரேசிடம மதத  
(திர. அனில் முனசிங்ஹ)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

I have always gone and that has been my problem. I have always gone in front.

ஈ. லி. டூலிதிரேசிட மதத  
(திர. ஜி. வி. லுஞ்சிநிலமே)  
(Mr. G. V. PUNCHINILAME)  
You will never go now.

மததிரிபரேசத  
(அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)  
(A Member)

Remember Kandasamy !

ஈதிரி டிரேசிடம மதத  
(திர. அனில் முனசிங்ஹ)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

My dear friend, during Kandasamy's time I was a student.

ஈ. லி. டூலிதிரேசிட மதத  
(திர. ஜி. வி. லுஞ்சிநிலமே)  
(Mr. G. V. PUNCHINILAME)

We know what you did. Do not talk about Kandasamy. You are the one who jumped over the fence.

ஈதிரி டிரேசிடம மதத  
(திர. அனில் முனசிங்ஹ)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

See how wrong you are. You never learnt history at school. That is your trouble.

ஈ. லி. டூலிதிரேசிட மதத  
(திர. ஜி. வி. லுஞ்சிநிலமே)  
(Mr. G. V. PUNCHINILAME)

You gave support from behind. You are the one who pushed NM over the wall.

ஈதிரி டிரேசிடம மதத  
(திர. அனில் முனசிங்ஹ)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

They want to know what the solution is. There is a solution and the solution must be worked out with the majority of people in Sri Lanka agreeing to that solution. There can never be a solution where the majority of the Sinhala people, in the first instance, have to agree to a certain policy. You cannot impose policies. I quite agree with that.

மததிரிபரேசத  
(அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)  
(A Member)

But you do not come for discussions.

ஈதிரி டிரேசிடம மதத  
(திர. அனில் முனசிங்ஹ)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

I have told you over and over again, but you keep asking the same stupid question.

ஈ. லி. டூலிதிரேசிட மதத  
(திர. ஜி. வி. லுஞ்சிநிலமே)  
(Mr. G. V. PUNCHINILAME)

You and your party are stupid.

ஈதிரி டிரேசிடம மதத  
(திர. அனில் முனசிங்ஹ)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

I am surprised at the hon. Member because he belongs to the legal fraternity but he does not seem to understand. We feel that a military solution must also be pursued because there are groups of people in the



north who will never agree to a political solution ; we feel that militarily there must be a difference. The country must be put on a war footing. Unfortunately, we are going on as if everything is normal. We are having the same military parades and the grounds are being prepared in front of the Parliament. We are having the same sort of *tamashas*. We must call a halt to all this and prepare the people of this country for a civil war just as much as Abraham Lincoln prepared the American people for a civil war.

ජී. වී. පුංචිනිලමේ මහතා  
(ති. ඉ. ඩී. ඩී. පුංචිනිලමේ)  
(Mr. G. V. PUNCHINILAME)

What co-operation are you going to give ? What co-operation is your party going to give ?

අනිල් මූණසිංහ මහතා  
(ති. ඉ. අනිල් මූණසිංහ)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

I have told you over and over again that I am prepared to give that co-operation—(Interruption).

විමලා කන්නන්ගර මහත්මිය (ශ්‍රී ලංකා සංවර්ධන පිළිබඳ ඇමතිතුමා)  
(ති. ඉ. විමලා කන්නන්ගර — කිරාම අධිකාරී මණ්ඩල අමාත්‍ය)  
(Mrs. Wimala Kannangara—Minister of Rural Development)

This war is a war against the Government.

අනිල් මූණසිංහ මහතා  
(ති. ඉ. අනිල් මූණසිංහ)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

When they are worried they shout. As far as the SLFP is concerned, we do not exclude negotiations. That must be there but the primary task is to get the people of the country to understand that there is a civil war on. The people are ready for that, the people are ready for sacrifices. We must prepare them for that, while at the same time we carry on discussions with whomever we can. There are a lot of people from Jaffna who are not in the TULF—the citizens' Committees and so on—who are prepared to come. Let us try to work out a solution because at the moment there is no such thing being worked.

නියෝජ්‍ය කථානායකතුමා  
(නියෝජ්‍ය කථානායක ආචාර්යවරයා)  
(Mr. Deputy Speaker)

The Sitting is suspended till 2 p.m.

රැස්වේලාවේ සිට අනුකූලව නවකාලීනව අත්හිටුවන ලදී, අ. හ. 2 ට නියෝජ්‍ය කථානායකතුමාගේ [නොමැති වෛද්‍යාත්මක මතය] සහායකවීමෙන් නැවත පවත්වන ලදී.

අනුකූලව, අනුකූලව පි. ප. 2 ට නවකාලීනව නවකාලීනව අත්හිටුවන ලදී, අ. හ. 2 ට නියෝජ්‍ය කථානායකතුමාගේ [නොමැති වෛද්‍යාත්මක මතය] සහායකවීමෙන් නැවත පවත්වන ලදී.

Sitting accordingly suspended till 2 p.m. and then resumed. MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER [MR. NORMAN WAIDYARATNA] in the Chair.

මොන්ටේගු ජයවික්‍රම මහතා (ජාතික සංරක්ෂණ ඇමතිතුමා සහ වැවිලි කර්මාන්ත ඇමතිතුමා)

(ති. ඉ. මොන්ටේගු ජයවික්‍රම — පොළොව නිර්මාණ අමාත්‍යවරයා සහ වැවිලි කර්මාන්ත ඇමතිතුමා)

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

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I am glad that I am following on the speech made by my Friend, the hon. Member for Matugama. We on this side of the house listen him with great respect. I personally have always taken the opportunity of listening to what he says because he makes his contributions to the Debates in this August Assembly in a very fitting manner. He is a Member of Parliament of great experience and a Minister of the previous government, but the main thing about him is that whatever contribution he makes, there is not the slightest doubt, he makes it for the benefit of this country.

Now, Sir, I wish to say that I have been briefed by the Hon. Werapitiya to categorically deny the statement made by the hon. Member for Matugama and to say that when officers are transferred they are transferred according to the exigencies of the service. The hon. Member for Matugama mentioned two names. I have been briefed by the Hon. Minister—I think he is now Secretary, Ministry of Defence—to say that this is being done according to the exigencies of the service.

අනිල් මූණසිංහ මහතා  
(ති. ඉ. අනිල් මූණසිංහ)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

I did not follow you.

මොන්ටේගු ජයවික්‍රම මහතා  
(ති. ඉ. මොන්ටේගු ජයවික්‍රම)  
(Mr. Montague Jayawickrema)

I said that when you stated that certain officers get favoured treatment, that is not so and that they are transferred according to the exigencies of the service.

අනිල් මූණසිංහ මහතා  
(ති. ඉ. අනිල් මූණසිංහ)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

But they are not going to Jaffna anyway. That is the point I made.

මොන්ටේගු ජයවික්‍රම මහතා  
(ති. ඉ. මොන්ටේගු ජයවික්‍රම)  
(Mr. Montague Jayawickrema)

That I do not know. This is the briefing I have had. He has also asked me to make it quite clear that there is no deduction at all for transport of corpse, as suggested by the hon. Member for Medawachchiya—that it is not correct that the cost of transport of bodies is being deducted. That is totally incorrect. I would like the House to know that.

[மொண்டேயு சபைக்கு மொண்டே]

Now, Sir, I want to tell this House that we are greatly disappointed in Mr. Rajiv Gandhi for seeing the TULF representatives in a delegation recently. This Government is perturbed that the Prime Minister of a friendly nation should see the TULF leaders who have now made their abode Madras. We say so for the following reasons. We are a sovereign State, similar to India. Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi sees these representatives of the TULF who have not taken the oath of allegiance to this country as a unitary State. They go to India and they see Rajiv Gandhi. I do not think it is a friendly act.

சபைக்கு மொண்டேயு மொண்டே  
(திரு. அனில் முனசிங்கம்)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

If the Hon. Minister would permit me, I would like to say that the TULF leaders also met Mrs. Indira Gandhi although they had not taken the oath.

மொண்டேயு சபைக்கு மொண்டே  
(திரு. மொண்டேயு ஜயவிக்ரம)  
(Mr. Montague Jayawickrema)

That is true, but I think Rajiv Gandhi is a young man and he has a lot to learn.

சபைக்கு மொண்டேயு மொண்டே  
(திரு. அனில் முனசிங்கம்)  
(Mr. Anil Moonesinghe)

But Mrs. Indira Gandhi had learnt a lot !

மொண்டேயு சபைக்கு மொண்டே  
(திரு. மொண்டேயு ஜயவிக்ரம)  
(Mr. Montague Jayawickrema)

That is the mistake Mrs. Indira Gandhi made. We do not want Rajiv Gandhi to, make the same mistake that Mrs. Indira Gandhi made. I do not think it is the correct thing for a Prime Minister to meet Sri Lankans who have refused to take the oath of allegiance. That is the difference. Now, take the hon. Member for Matugama. He has taken the oath of allegiance. So have we all. But here is a group of people who refused to accept the position that Sri Lanka is a Unitary State. For that reason alone I think Rajiv Gandhi should not have seen these gentlemen. That is not all. I quote from the "Daily News" of today. What does Rajiv Gandhi say ?

"No talks with Akali Dal unless. . ."

No talks. He is refusing to talk to them.

"New Delhi, Thursday

Indian premier Rjiv Gandhi today ruled out talks with the Sikh political party Akali Dal in the absence of a statement by them condemning terrorism and an assurance that they would stand by the constitution of India."

Now, that is the point I am making. Here is Rajiv Gandhi. We wish him well. He is about the youngest Prime Minister since the days of William Pitt. We

would like him to realize that we have the same feelings, the same fears. What he means is that he will not have any discussion with the Sikhs who belong to that party unless they condemn terrorism and unless they give up the idea of a separate State. It is exactly the same position that we are in.

The hon. Member said that we have to be very close to India. We agree. There is nobody in this country that does not agree. I think the hon. Member and the Leader of the Opposition will realize that we will never forget India because of the great King Asoka who sent his children as emissaries of the Buddha to Sri Lanka. How can we forget India when not far away from the Indian border there is Nepal where the great Buddha was born ? We have such tremendous cultural ties with India that it is to our advantage and to advantage of India that we get together for the future.

Now, Sir, I want to get on to what the Leader of the Opposition says ? I am quoting from the "Daily News" of today. What he says is quite contrary to what the Hon. Member for Matugama (Mr. Anil Moonasinghe) said. This is what the hon. Leader of the Opposition says :

"Opposition Leader Anura Bandaranaike said on Wednesday Sri Lanka's ethnic strife can only be resolved with India's and help and through negotiations with the TULF . . . . .  
Voicing his disapproval of the government's latest stance of not negotiating with the TULF he asked : 'If you refuse to talk with the TULF, with whom are you going to negotiate ?' "

Now, the hon Member for Matugama said that the TULF does not represent public opinion in Jaffna and that is why they are in Madras. I am inclined to take the same view. But the Leader of the Opposition, who is the leader of your party, makes a completely contrary statement. Therefore, what he is asking us to do, Sir, is to parley with a group that does not represent the peninsula, to parley with a group that has not taken the oath of allegiance to this country and, worse still, to parley with a group of people that has not roundly condemned terrorism. The only time that they condemned terrorism was when the two inspectors were abducted. We know nothing about the nine people who were abducted from a railway carriage, but we are told - certain intelligence reports have come to our notice - that they were put into a room and blasted, blasted within one hour of their capture. What did these great TULF leaders then say ? Did they say one word condemning terrorism ? What did they about the massacre that took place in the two farms ? It was three days ago that nine railway carriages were blasted and 27 army men were killed and equal number seriously injured. Did Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, the Indian Prime Minister, make one statement and say how sorry he was that the situation like this had arisen in a neighbouring friendly country ? Leave alone Rajiv Gandhi, what about our own citizens who are condemning this

Government? What have they said about this wanton destruction and blood-letting that is taking place in this country? No, Sir, this is not the way to settle his ethnic problem. I just want to enlighten the hon. Member for Matugama because I have been following his speech.

Take the cordial relations that we have extended to India. The message of condolence sent by His Excellency the President ran into one and a half columns. He drew the attention of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi to his close association with Shrimathi Gandhi and the Nehru family, how he wished him well, how he expected him to carry the torch to enlightenment in India. But in spite of all that, although through our Foreign Office we indicated to the Foreign Minister of India that we did not think it would be proper for the Prime Minister of India to see this dissident group, he saw them. Now, this is where we have occasion to be sad. I think the country must know this. I am sure the hon. Member for Matugama will agree with me that Mr. Gandhi should have paid some heed to the sovereign rights of this country. That is all I am going to say about Prime Minister Gandhi.

Now nothing is said about terrorists coming across to the shores of our country. Twenty two miles is not a difficult distance for them to travel. I would earnestly ask Mr. Chatwal, the Indian High Commissioner, to go across and look for himself the explosives—rockets, hand exploders, mortars and gelignite—all made in India. What has Mr. Chatwal to say? Sir, in this matter we expect an impartial judgement of what is happening in Sri Lanka, not a wholesale condemnation.

The Sinhalese who form 75 percent of this country has the greatest goodwill to the Tamils of this country. We have not forgotten people like Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan. We know the legend, which was known when we were school boys, how he went to India with a document concealed in the sole of his shoe when the colonial rulers were going to lock him up in jail. He fought for the freedom movement with great leaders of the Sinhalese, the Muslims and the Burghers of those days. Do not think that the Sinhalese have any grouse against the Tamils. On the contrary some of our best friends are Tamils. Look at the 30,000 Tamils living in Colombo in spite of all the atrocities that are being committed by the terrorists. I think the people in the South have now realized that these poor people who are in Colombo have to be protected. I do not think the events of July 1983 will ever take place because of the sagacity and the goodness of the Sinhalese people who are living in the South. This is the point I want to make. Not one Sinhalese person is living in the Jaffna peninsula today. They have been frightened and driven out. On the other hand, we are welcoming and we still welcome our Tamil friends to live with us amicably and in friendship.

This is what I want to tell Rajiv Gandhi. My own view is that he has not been properly briefed. He has just assumed office and we expect a lot from him. As an enlightened man who believes in technocracy we expect him to get an independent view or what is happening in Sri Lanka without listening to those people in the TULF who, I understand, were a pest to Shrimathi Gandhi. I do not know whether you know this. Shrimathi Gandhi had expressed an opinion once that they were a pest and that they were coming and troubling her when she wanted to clear her hands off the TULF problem in Sri Lanka. This is absolutely correct. She considered the TULF leaders a pest during her lifetime, because they did not allow this lady to be in peace, and I hope Rajiv Gandhi will learn that lesson, because I have not the slightest doubt that those people are going to be not only a pest to Rajiv Gandhi, but as the Leader of the Non-aligned Movement his name will be tarnished as a result of the actions of these people. Now, as I said earlier, Chatwal must go and see these explosives and I hope he would.

Now, Sir, I do not know whether anybody else also feels the same way, but I certainly feel that Mrs. Bandaranaike is not out for a settlement of this problem. I am convinced in my mind that Mrs. Bandaranaike does not want a settlement. She kept out of the APC. On what plea? Because she had lost her civic rights and therefore she cannot attend it. I hope I am wrong, but I am convinced in my own mind, Sir, that she wants to take political advantage of the situation. There is not the slightest doubt about that. Is it fair for a person like Mrs. Bandaranaike to take refuge in a situation like this, when hundreds of people both of the Sinhala and Tamil communities are dying? Blood letting should be abhorrent to any sensible person. Did she step out or for that matter did the Leader of the Opposition step out and say, "We are prepared to co-operate with you." Instead he goes to the Rotary Club of Colombo and tries to make suggestions to this Government and tells us to parley with the TULF, which Rajiv Gandhi himself is not doing with the Sikhs. Now, this is the problem. I quite understand and appreciate the point of view of the hon. member for Maharagama (Mr. Dinesh Gunawardena). He expresses his ideas without any fear. He has gone after the traditions of his great father, but can we say the same thing of the Leader of the Opposition? Is he really coming here to help us to solve the problem? Instead of doing that he tries to make out that we are antagonising India when all the time we have the utmost goodwill towards them. It is not only His Excellency the President that sent a message of condolence to Rajiv Gandhi, the hon. Prime Minister also sent one, and not only did he condole with the sad death of Shrimati Indira Gandhi, but felicitated his appointment as Prime Minister of India. So we expect the Prime Minister of India also to realize that we also have feelings. We have a culture as great as theirs and

[මොනවෙලා ජයවික්‍රම මහතා]  
 we have a heritage as great as theirs, but one thing is that, just as much as he said that he will not preside over the division of India, this Government will also never preside at any stage over the division of this country. I do not think heed emphasis this, because everybody knows it. What we need is the co-operation of parties. We welcome the Sri Lanka Freedom Party. In fact, we welcome all parties, including the Mahajana Eksath Peramuna to come and help this Government in solving a problem that has taken such a turn, which is very sad for those who live this country.

Now, the hon. Member for Matugama said, "Wait till we come to power". After listening to what he said almost made me believe that they were coming to power! But we ask you to venture to Mahiyangana. And also venture to Mulkirigala. When you go to Mulkirigala and Mahiyangana the debacle of your party will be worse than in Minneriya. I think Mrs. Bandaranaike knows it. That is why she is now trying to say that her party will not contest at either of those elections. But I challenge her. Please go to Mulkirigala. I am particularly talking about Mulkirigala because I am a Southerner. We will teach the SLFP the lesson of their life. Then I am sure the hon. Member for Matugama will not come here and say that. It will take a long time for him to come back to power. Certainly not with the leadership that you have. Mrs. Bandaranaike is preaching from the grave. That phase is over. You cannot maske that rallying cry to this country from the grave. Mr. Bandaranaike is dead. His theories are 25 years old. The present situation demands new thinking. That is why I say the whole aspect of your compaign is not going to help you. There is no new thinking. No new minds come into play. I suppose the only new mind that can come to play is that of the hon. Member for Matugama who is bringing new ideas to his new party.

අ. හා. 2.27

දිනේෂ ගුණවර්ධන මහතා (මහගමම)  
 (නි. ශ්‍රී. නි. ශ්‍රී. ගුණවර්ධන — මහරාජා කම)  
 (Mr. Dinesh Gunawardene-Maharagama)

හදිසි නීතිය තවදුරටත් දීර්ඝ කිරීමේ විවාදයේදී කරුණු රාශියක් කියවී තිබෙන නිසා ඒවා තවදුරටත් සිටි ගන්වන්නට මම උත්සාහ දරන්නේ නැහැ. නමුත් උතුරේ ජලාම් වාදිකයන් ක්‍රියා මාර්ගය පාලනය කිරීම සඳහා රජය ගත්තා පිටුවසල් දුරුවලට අපි මේ සහායවී කාලයක් තිස්සේ ප්‍රකාශ කර සිටියා.

නියෝජ්‍ය කාර්තව්‍යනායකතුමා  
 (පිරානිජ් ජා.නා.ගායකර් අවාර්තර්)  
 (Mr. Deputy Speaker)

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

අගනුවර නියෝජ්‍ය කාර්තව්‍යනායකතුමා මූලාසනයෙන් ඉවත් වූයෙන්, නියෝජ්‍ය තාරක සාමාජිකතුමා [ඒඩ්මන්ඩ් සමරවික්‍රම මහතා] මූලාසනාදා විස.

අයුරු පිලිබද, පිරානිජ් ජා.නා.ගායකර් අවාර්තර් අතිරේක සාමාජිකයෙහි ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ, ලුණු පිරානිජ් කීර්තිමත් අවාර්තර් [නි. ශ්‍රී. ශ්‍රී. ශ්‍රී. සා. කේ. කේ. කේ.] කීර්තිමත් අවාර්තර්.

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

දිනේෂ ගුණවර්ධන මහතා  
 (නි. ශ්‍රී. නි. ශ්‍රී. ගුණවර්ධන)  
 (Mr. Dinesh Gunawardene)

ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය තාරක සාමාජිකතුමා, ජලාම් වාදිකයන් වැඩ පිළිවෙල නිසා රටේ ඇති වි තිබෙන තත්ත්වය පාලනය කිරීමට ආණ්ඩුව ගත්තා පිටුවසල් තිබෙන දුරුවලට අපි හැම හදිසි නීති විවාදයේදීම මතුකර සිටියා. ඒ සෑම අවස්ථාවකදීම රජය ප්‍රකාශ කළා මාසයෙන් මාසයට ප්‍රතිඥ දී තිබෙනවා. මේ තත්ත්වය මෙල්ල කිරීම සඳහා අවශ්‍ය සියලු පියවර ගත්තා බවටත්, මෙල්ල කරන බවටත්. හදිසි නීතිය දීර්ඝ කිරීම සම්බන්ධයෙන් පැවැත්වුණු අවශ්‍ය විවාදයෙන් පසු මේ දිනය වන විට හමුදා සේනාකටුව හටයන්ගේ මරණ රාජ්‍ය දෙපල විනාශ වීම විශාල අත්දැකීමක් සිදු වී ඇති අතර මහා මාර්ග, පාලම් හා දුම්රිය ආදිය විනාශ වීම ගණනාවක් සිදු වී තිබෙනවා.

අපි එක සරල ප්‍රශ්නයකට මුහුණ දෙන්න ඕනැ. එනම්, ආණ්ඩුවට ජාතික ආරක්ෂක වැඩ පිළිවෙලක් තිබෙනවාද කියන ප්‍රශ්නයයි. එතෙම තැන්හි දිනෙන් දින එල්ලවන පහරවලට, ඇති වන අරවුද වලට එදිනෙද මුහුණ දෙන ආරක්ෂක වැඩ පිළිවෙලක් පමණක්ද ආණ්ඩුවට තිබෙන්නේ කියන ප්‍රශ්නය අපි තහනම් ඕනැ. අවුරුදු එක හමාරකට වැඩි කාලයක් තිස්සේ ජාතික ආරක්ෂාව පිළිබඳ වූ සැලසුම් සහගත වැඩ පිළිවෙලක් ආණ්ඩුවට තිබුණා නම් මේවායේ මහා විනාශයකට අප ලක් වේද යන ප්‍රශ්නය මේ අවස්ථාවේදී මතු කරන්නට ඕනැ.

ආණ්ඩුවේ ආරක්ෂක වැඩ පිළිවෙලට ක්‍රියාත්මක වන්නට ඉස්සර වෙලා ඒ පිළිබඳ තොරතුරු සතුරු කඳවුරුවලට ලැබෙන බව මම අද ආණ්ඩුවට පැහැදිලිව කියා සිටිනවා. ගන්නා සෑම ආරක්ෂක නිකුත්වීමක් ක්‍රියාත්මක කරන්න ඉස්සෙල්ලා හතුරාගේ අතට පත් වන නිසා තමයි දිනෙන් දිනම අපේ යුද හටයන්ගේ මරණ ගණන වැඩි වී තිබෙන්නේ.

පසුගිය ද ජාල්වේ දුම්රිය පිළිබඳව රජයට ලැබුණු තොරතුරු අනුව තැන්හිම ආරක්ෂක සේනාකටුවලට ලැබුණු තොරතුරු අනුව එම දුම්රිය පැය ගණනාවක් තිස්සේ ප්‍රමාද කරන්නට සිදු වුණා. අවශ්‍යයේදී සවස් වරුළු දුම්රිය ගමන් කරවීමට තියෝගයක් දීමත් ඒ තියෝග ක්‍රියාත්මක කරන්නට පුළුවන් වේද යන ප්‍රශ්නයක් අතර ආරක්ෂක බල කායවල් කොසිතරම් දුරට තමන්ගේ ආරක්ෂක වැඩ පිළිවෙල ක්‍රියාත්මක කර තිබුණද කියන එක අපි ප්‍රශ්න කරන්න ඕනැ. දුම්රිය සාමාන්‍යයෙන් ගමන් කරන වෙලාවට ගමන් කිරීමට අවසර දී තිබුණා නම් මේ තර්ජනය මධ්‍යයේ මේ විනාශය එක්තරා දුරකට නොවැළැක්විය හැකි දෙයක්ද අපිට දකින්න පුළුවන්. තමුත් මේ විනාශයේ තර්ජනයක් කල්තියා පැය ගණනාවක් තිස්සේ තිබුණා. එවැනි තත්ත්වයක් නිසියදීන් රට ආරක්ෂා කිරීමට ගොස් උතුරේ සිටින අපේ බල කායවල් එවැනි සහතිකයක් නැති ගමනක් සඳහා එම දුම්රියට පටවා ගන්නට තීරණය කළේ මොකද යන ප්‍රශ්නය අපි අහන්න ඕනැ.

මේ යුද හටයන් ගුවනින් කොළඹට ගේන්නට අවශ්‍ය අහස් යානා මේ වන විට අප රටේ තුද දී තිබෙන අහස් යානා පාවිච්චි කරන්නේ කුමක් සඳහාද ? "ඇඩියෝ" යානය තිබෙන බව අපි දන්නවා. අද එය බටු බාහිරාදිය ගෙනපැම සඳහා විශාල ලෙස පාවිච්චි කරනවා. යුද්ධයට මීලදී ගැනීමේ මහා ගනුදෙනුවලදී ලෝකයේ හැම තැනම සිදු වෙනවා වාගේ එම ගනුදෙනුවලින් කොටස් ලැබෙන්නේ කොයි ආකාරයෙන්ද කියන කාරණය ගැන සැලකිලිමත් වන සමාගම්වලට ලංකාව ගොදුරු වී තිබෙනවාද, හසු වී තිබෙනවාද යන ප්‍රශ්නය මම අහනවා.

මෙවැනි තත්ත්වයක් යටතේ හමුදාක සඳහා කුඩා ගුවන් යානාවල්, හෙලිකොප්ටර් යානාවල් ගණනාවක අවශ්‍යතාව මතු වී තිබෙනවා. එවැනි අවස්ථාවකදී යුද හටයන් මේ විධියේ අවිනිශ්චිත ප්‍රදේශයක් හරහා දුම්රියෙන් ගෙනෙනවාට වඩා ගුවනින් ගෙන ඒමේ ක්‍රමයක් යෙදීම ආරක්ෂා සහිතයි කේද ? මේ සම්බන්ධයෙන් රජය ගෙන තිබෙන පියවර මොකක්ද ? ජාතික ආරක්ෂාව පිළිබඳ සැලැස්මේ සියලුම දේවල් ප්‍රසිද්ධ වශයෙන් තැබූ තමුත් ජාතික ආරක්ෂාව සඳහා අත්‍යවශ්‍ය දේවල් සැපයීම සඳහා රජය ක්‍රියා කර නැහැ. එයයි, අප කරන වේදනාව. ආරක්ෂක හමුදාවන්ට අත්‍යවශ්‍ය අව-ආයුධ ආදී දේවල් සහ ගමනාගමන පහසුකම් සැලසීම සඳහා අවශ්‍ය දේවල් මිල දී ගැනීම සඳහා රජය සැලැස්මක් ඇතිව ක්‍රියාකර තිබුණා නම් පසුගිය කාලය තුළ ආරක්ෂක හමුදාවන්ට මුහුණ දෙන්න සිදු වූ අවිහිත සිද්ධීන් ගණනාවකින් මිදෙන්නට පුළුවන්කම තිබුණා.

පසුගිය වතාවේ පැවැති හදිසි අවස්ථාව දීර්ඝ කිරීම පිළිබඳ යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විවාදයේදී අපි ප්‍රශ්න කළා, දුම්රියෙන් ගමන් කරමින් සිටියදී ත්‍රස්තවාදීන්ගේ ප්‍රහාරයන්ට ලක්ව ආහිය අතක් නැතිව සිටින, සිමෙන්ති සංයුක්ත මණ්ඩලයේ සේවකයන් තම දෙනා පිළිබඳව. ඒ තම දෙනා ඉන්නා තැන් දන්නා බවට ජාතික ආරක්ෂක ඇමතිතුමා කළාය කියන ප්‍රකාශ ඇතුළත් පුවත්පත් වාර්තා ඉදිරිපත් කරමින් කරුණු සහිතවම අපි ප්‍රශ්න කළා, ඒ තම දෙනාට සිදු වී තිබෙන්නේ මොකක්ද කියා, ඒ තම දෙනා දැන් අමතක කර දමා තිබෙනවා.

ජලගං, ධරණස් ද සිල්වා සහ තානාසක්කාර යන පොලීස් පරීක්ෂකවරුන් දෙදෙනාගේ අතුරුදහන් වීම පිළිබඳව ප්‍රශ්න කරන්න කැමැතියි. මේ දෙදෙනා එද ගම්බලා එන්න හිටියේ දුම්රියෙන් නොවෙයි. එසේ කලින් ඒමට බලාපොරොත්තු වූණු ආකාරයට නොව දුම්රියෙන් යා යුතුයයි ඔවුන් තීරණය කළේ, පිටත් වීමට විනාඩි කීපයකට පමණ කලීනුයි. එසේ මුල් තීරණය වෙනස් කොට සිවිල් ඇදුමින් සැරසී තමයි. ඒ අය එන්න පිටත් වූණේ. නමුත් ඒ විනාඩි කීපය තුළ ඔවුන්ගේ තීරණය සතුරන් අතට ගියා. එසේ ඒ තොරතුරු සතුරන් අතට ගිය නිසා තමයි, ඔවුන් දෙදෙනා පැහැර ගනු ලැබීමට ත්‍රස්තවාදීන්ට හැකියාව ලැබුණේ. එය එසේ නොවෙයි කියන්න ආරක්ෂක බලකායන්ට හැකියාවක් තිබෙනවාද? ඒ නිසා තමයි අප කියන්නේ, පැහැදිලි ආරක්ෂක වැඩ පිළිවෙලක් ක්‍රමානුකූලව ක්‍රියාත්මක වෙන්න ඕනෑය කියා.

ආරක්ෂක හමුදා අභ්‍යන්තරයේ ඇති කර ගන්නා තීරණ සතුරන් අතට යන්නේ කොහොමද? එයින් ඔප්පු වන්නේ රජයේ ආරක්ෂක වැඩ පිළිවෙලට එරෙහි පිරිසක් එහි අභ්‍යන්තරයේම ඉදගෙන ක්‍රියාත්මක වන බව නොවෙයි? ඒට ප්‍රතිකර්ම යෙදීම තුළින් ඒ තත්ත්වය නිවැරදි කිරීමට ආරක්ෂක සංවිධාන භාර දැවිය වහාම කටයුතු කළ යුතු බව මේ අවස්ථාවේදී අවධාරණයෙන් ප්‍රකාශ කරන්න කැමතියි. අපේ ආරක්ෂක බලකායන්ට විදින්න සිදු වී ඇති අමිහිරි අන්දකීමවලට ප්‍රධාන හේතුව වශයෙන් අප දකින පැත්ත එයයි. ඒ හේතුව නැති කිරීම සඳහා වහාම ප්‍රතිකර්ම නොයෙදුවහ නම් ඉදිරියේදී තවත් හයානක තත්ත්වයන්ට මුහුණ දෙන්න සිදුවීම වළක්වන්න බැහැ.

පසුගිය මාස තුන ඇතුළත වූ සිදුවීම් ගැන, මරණ සංඛ්‍යාව ගැන කල්පනා කර බලමු. ආරක්ෂක හමුදාවල - පොලීසිය ඇතුළුව - තොරතුරු බොහෝ විට සතුරන් අතට ගිය නිසා සිදු වූ විනාශයන්ගේ ප්‍රමාණය මේ කාලය තුළ වැඩි වී තිබෙනවා. ඒ නිසා, හදිසි තත්ත්වය දීර්ඝ කළ පමණින් මේ ප්‍රශ්නය විසඳන්නේ නැති බව අපි තේරුම් ගන්න ඕනෑ. අද තිබෙන තත්ත්වයට මුහුණ දීමේ පළමු වැනි පියවර වශයෙන්, දැනට සිදු වන තව වැඩි පිළිවෙළේ අභ්‍යන්තර තොරතුරු සතුරන් අතට යෑම වැළැක්වීම සඳහා තිසි පියවර ගැනීමට ආරක්ෂක බලකායන්ට පුළුවනකම ලැබෙන්න ඕනෑ. එය නොකළොත් කොපමණ තීන්දු ගත්තත් අර්ථශුණ්‍ය වන බව අපි අද නැවතත් මතක් කරන්නට ඕනෑ.

මම තව උදහරණයක් දෙන්නට කැමතියි. ආරක්ෂක වැඩපිළිවෙලක, ජාතික ආරක්ෂක වැඩපිළිවෙලක, අවශ්‍යතාවය කාලයක් තිස්සේ පෙනී ගිය කරුණක්. මෙය අද ඒයේ ගොඩනැගුණු තත්ත්වයක් නොවෙයි. ජාතික ආරක්ෂක අමාත්‍යාංශයක් ගොඩනැගුණේ ආරක්ෂක වැඩපිළිවෙලක ඇති අවශ්‍යතාවය නිසයි. බොහෝ තැන්වල යොල්දැදුවට අවශ්‍ය අවි ආයුධ නැහැ. අවශ්‍ය වාහන නැහැ. අවශ්‍ය තව්න යන්ත්‍රෝපකරණ නැහැ. මේවායේ අඩුපාඩුකම් පිරිමැසීම ක්ෂණික අවශ්‍යතාවයක් වෙලා තිබෙනවා, මේ උතුරු හා නැගෙනහිර පළාත්වල පාලනය යථා තත්ත්වයෙන් පවත්වාගෙන යාමට නම් මේවා අත්‍යවශ්‍යයි. සමහර තැන්වල තව්න පන්තියේ පණිවුඩ හුවමාරු කරගන්නා ගුවන් විදුලි යන්ත්‍ර එහෙම තැන්තම්, එක ස්ථානයක් අතෙක් ස්ථානයක් හා සම්බන්ධකරන පණිවුඩ හුවමාරු කරගන්නා තව්න යන්ත්‍ර, ඇත්තේ නැහැ. මේවා ලෝකයේ ඕනෑම තරගයකින් මිලදී ගන්නට පුළුවන් දේවල්. නමුත් මේවා මිලදී ගන්නටවත් වැඩපිළිවෙලක් නැතැයි කියනවා නම් අපි ඒ ගැන පුදුම වෙතවා.

අද පාර්ලිමේන්තුවේ එහා පැත්තේ ලක්ෂ ගණනක් වියදම්කර පිටටතියක් ගොඩනගාගෙන යනවා. නමුත් ආරක්ෂක හමුදාවල යුද්ධ භටයන්ගේ අවම අවශ්‍යතාවයන්වත් සපයන්නට ආණ්ඩුවට පුළුවන්වෙලා නැහැ. අද රටේ තත්ත්වය අනුව ප්‍රමුඛත්වය දිය යුත්තේ කුමකටද කියා රජය කල්පනා කරන්නට ඕනෑ. නිදහස් දිනය උත්සව ශ්‍රීයෙන් පවත්වන්නට ලක්ෂ ගණනක් මේකට වියදම් කරනවාද එහෙම තැන්තම්, ආරක්ෂක බලකායන්වල අත්‍යවශ්‍ය වුවමනාවන් පිරිමැසීම සඳහා සම්පූර්ණ ශක්තිය යොදවනවාද කියන කරුණ ගැන රජය කල්පනා කරන්නට ඕනෑ. නමුත් මේ ප්‍රමුඛත්වයන් ගැන රජය තුළ මත හේද තිබෙන බවයි අපට පෙනෙන්නේ. මිලදී ගැනීම ගැන හෝ මිලදී ගන්නේ මොනවාද කියන එක ගැන හෝ විශාල ප්‍රශ්න තිබෙනවා.

ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය සභාපතිතුමනි, ඒ වාගේම මම ආරක්ෂක අමාත්‍යාංශයෙන් හා ගරු මුදල් ඇමතිතුමාගෙන් ප්‍රශ්න කරන්නට කැමතියි. පසුගියද එක් සභාදේවත් හා එක්. රාජේන්ද්‍රන් කියන පුද්ගලයන් දෙදෙනාට අයත් එම්පයර් ඉන්ටර්නැෂනල් කියන සමාගම අංක 190, මිල්ඩි මුවර් සවිට්ටි, කොළඹ කියන ලිපිනයට කන්ටේනරයක් ඇතුළේ ගෙන්වන ලද තව්න පන්තියේ ගුවන් යානාව ගැන. මේ තව්න පන්තියේ ගුවන් යානය විවිධ ආකාරයේ ස්ථානවලට බස්සවන්නට පුළුවනකම තිබෙනවා. මම එහි තොරතුරු කෙටියෙන් කියන්නම්. 1985 ජනවාරි 17 වැනි දින 'සත්' පුවත්පතේ මෙහෙම තිබෙනවා :

**"DEFENCE MINISTRY ORDERS PROBE**

**Aircraft comes in container**

Customs have detained a Rs. 12 million worth light aircraft imported to Sri Lanka by a Colombo businessman.

The aircraft, a Chipmunk, had arrived at the Colombo Port's Container Terminal in a knocked down condition on Monday.

නියෝජ්‍ය කාරක සභාපතිතුමා  
(ශ්‍රී ලංකා ප්‍රජාතාන්ත්‍රික සමාජවාදී ජනරජයේ)  
(The Deputy Chairman of Committees)

Hon. Member, now the time is 2.35. How long do you require to wind up your speech ?

දිනේෂ ගුණවර්ධන මහතා  
(නි.රු. ත්‍රිශීලාචාරී ජනරජයේ)  
(Mr. Dinesh Gunawardene)

I will take at least half an hour.

නියෝජ්‍ය කාරක සභාපතිතුමා  
(ශ්‍රී ලංකා ප්‍රජාතාන්ත්‍රික සමාජවාදී ජනරජයේ)  
(The Deputy Chairman of Committees)

But the hon. Member for Kotmale (Mr. Ananda Dassanayake) has to speak from the Opposition.

දිනේෂ ගුණවර්ධන මහතා  
(නි.රු. ත්‍රිශීලාචාරී ජනරජයේ)  
(Mr. Dinesh Gunawardene)

මේ විවාදයට විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ සියලුම දේශපාලන පක්ෂ සභාගාමී විය යුතු බවට අපේ එකඟතාවක් තිබෙනවා.

නියෝජ්‍ය කාරක සභාපතිතුමා  
(ශ්‍රී ලංකා ප්‍රජාතාන්ත්‍රික සමාජවාදී ජනරජයේ)  
(The Deputy Chairman of Committees)

ඒ නිසා තමයි, කොන්මලේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමාත් කථා කරන්න ඉන්නවායයි මම කීවෙ.

දිනේෂ ගුණවර්ධන මහතා  
(නි.රු. ත්‍රිශීලාචාරී ජනරජයේ)  
(Mr. Dinesh Gunawardene)

නියෝජ්‍ය කාරක සභාපතිතුමනි, මම කථා කරන්නේ මහජන එක්සත් පෙරමුණ වෙනුවෙනුයි. ඒ නිසා මේ විවාදයේ දී කරුණු ඉදිරිපත් කිරීමට මටත් අවස්ථාව දිය යුතුයි. ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂය වෙනුවෙන් මන්ත්‍රීවරු දෙදෙනෙක් දැනටමත් කථා කර තිබෙනවා. ඒට අමතරව විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ නායකතුමාත් කථා කරන්න ඉන්නවා. ඒ නිසා, මගේ කථාව පුළුවන් තරම් ඉක්මණින් ඉවර කර කොන්මලේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමාට අවස්ථාව දෙන්න උත්සාහ කරන්නම්.

[දිනේෂ ගුණවර්ධන මහතා]

Customs officials will today open the container in the presence of the businessman who is operating an agency in Old Moor Street. On Tuesday they raided his house also at the same place and recovered documents connected with the aircraft.

The Ministry of Defence, 'SUN' learns, has already ordered a full investigation into the matter. This came after the Customs apprised the Ministry of the find.

The importer of the aircraft, highly placed Customs sources said, had claimed that it was meant for a flying school he had proposed to set up. However, customs have not yet found evidence to confirm this.

These sources pointed out that prior Defence Ministry permission would have to be obtained for the import of aircraft.

Customs intelligence was also checking up on the circumstances under which the light aircraft came to be imported."

මම මේ තොරතුරු ගැන විශේෂයෙන්ම කියන්නට ඕනෑ. අද යුදධ හමුදාවට හෝ ගුවන් හමුදාවට අවශ්‍ය යාත්‍රා නැහැ. තමුත් මේ යාත්‍රාවට අපේ රටට ඇතුළුවන්නට ඉඩ දී තිබෙනවා. අපි දන්නා විදියට මේ යාත්‍රාවට එක දිනට ක්ලෝ මීටර් 340 ක් යාත්‍රා කරන්නට පුළුවන් ; පැය දෙකකමාරක් ගුවනේ රැඳී සිටින්නට පුළුවන්. මෙය ස්වල්පයේ අල්ට්‍රාලයිට් 2 සිටර් වර්ගයට අයත් යාත්‍රාවක්. මේ සමාගමට සම්බන්ධ තවත් සමාගමක් තිබෙනවා. රජය මේ සම්බන්ධයෙන් නිසි පියවර ගනිමින් කියන විශ්වාසය උඩයි. මේ කරුණ සම්බන්ධයෙන් අපට උත්තරයක් දෙයි කියන විශ්වාසය උඩයි. මම මේ තොරතුරු ඉදිරිපත් කරන්නේ.

මේ අයිතිකරුවන් දෙදෙනාගේ නමින් " යු-2 ඉන්ටර්නැෂනල් ලිමිටඩ් " කියා වෙනම සමාගමක් තිබෙනවා ගුවන් යානාවල යන්ත්‍රෝපකරණ වෙළඳාම් කරන. තමුත් ඒ සමාගමෙන් නොවෙයි මේක ගෙනැවිත් තිබෙන්නේ. මෙම යානා ගෙන්වන්නට අවසරය දුන්නාද කියන ප්‍රශ්නයයි අපි අහන්නේ. මා දන්නා ආකාරයට සිවිල් ගුවන් සේවා අධ්‍යක්ෂ වරයාගෙන් මූලික අවසරයක් ලබා ගෙන තිබෙනවා. ඔහු ආරක්ෂක අමාත්‍යාංශයේ අතිරේක ලේකම්වරයෙක්. මේ වාගේ යානාවක් ගෙන්වීමට තමාගේ විරුද්ධත්වයක් තැන කියා ඔහු ලිඛිතව අවසරයක් දුන්නේ කොහොමද කියන ප්‍රශ්නයයි අපි අහන්නේ. මේ රටේ ආරක්ෂක තත්ත්වය මොකක්ද ? මේ පුද්ගලයන් දෙදෙනා ගැන මා පොද්ගලිකව මොකුත් කියන්නට යන්නේ නැහැ. මේ පුද්ගලයන් කවුද කියා සොයා බැලීම රජයේ යුතුකමක්. මේ දෙදෙනා පසුගිය කාලය තුළ ඇමෙරිකාව, එංගලන්තය ආදී විවිධ රටවල වෙළඳ ව්‍යාපාරවලට සම්බන්ධ වී තිබෙනවා. ඒ පිළිබඳව වෙනමම පරීක්ෂණයක් කරනවා නම් වඩා හොඳයි. වුවමනා නම් පලාලී ගුවන් නොවුපොලට හෝ යුදධ හමුදාව කඳවුරු ලා ගෙන සිටින ඕනෑම තැනකට පැය දෙක හමාරක් ඇතුළත හොඳ ඒ ස්ථාන විනාශ කරන්නට මේ යානයට පුළුවන්කම තිබෙනවා. මේ යානය ඒ පුද්ගලයන්ට දුන්නොත් ඕක යාත්‍රා කරවන විට අපේ යානයකුත් ඒක පිටිපස්සෙන් යනවාද ? අද රටේ තිබෙන ආරක්ෂක තත්ත්වය යටතේ එම ගුවන් යානය තිදහස් කරනවාද ? මේ පුද්ගලයන් දෙදෙනා කවුද කියා සහතිකයක් දෙන්නට ආරක්ෂක අමාත්‍යාංශයට පුළුවන්ද ? බැහැ. එසේ නම් ආරක්ෂක අමාත්‍යාංශය අද මේ කරගෙන යන්නේ මොකක්ද කියන ප්‍රශ්නය තමයි අපි අහන්නේ.

බොහෝම කණගාටුදයකයි මේ තත්ත්වය. මෙම සමාගම රේගු ආඥා පනතේ 47 වන වගන්තිය යටතේ වැඩා සහගත ලෙස රේගු පෝර්ම පුරවා තිබෙනවා. ඒ ගැන රේගුවේ ප්‍රධානියා පරීක්ෂණයක් කර තිබෙනවා. මා දන්නා විධියට ඒ සමාගම සපයා තිබෙන තොරතුරු අසන්නයි. ඒවා අසන්න නම් ඒ බව රජයට කියන්නට පුළුවනි. වැරදි මිළ ගණන් ප්‍රකාශ කර භාණ්ඩයක් මේ රටට ගෙන්වීම නීති විරෝධීයි. රේගු ආඥා පනත යටතේ එය වහාම රාජසන්නක කිරීමට රේගු අයකැමිට බලය තිබෙනවා. එසේ නම් අද කරන්නට තිබෙන පලමුවන දේ රටේ ආරක්ෂාවට තර්ජනයක් විය හැකි මෙම ගුවන් යානය ඒ පුද්ගලයන්ට හොඳි වහාම රාජසන්නක කිරීමයි. ඒ අය මේ ක්‍රියාවට සම්බන්ධ වූණේ කොහොමද. මුදල් ලැබුණේ කොහොමද. මෙම ගුවන් යානය මිලට ගැනීම සඳහා ණය දී තිබෙනවා නම් එසේ ණය දුන්නේ කවුද කියා සොයා බැලීම ජාතියේ ආරක්ෂාවට අවශ්‍ය අති වැදගත් කාරණයක්. මෙම යානය රාජසන්නක කර ගුවන් හමුදාවට භාර දෙන්නය කියා මා ගැන මුදල් ඇමතිතුමාගෙන් ඉල්ලීමක් කරනවා.

ගරු නියෝගපරා සහාපතිතුමනි. 1970-77 කාලයේදී බණ්ඩාරනායක මැතිනියගේ ආණ්ඩුව තිබුණු කාලයේදී ගුවන් සේවාව පිළිබඳව පුහුණු කිරීම් කළේ ගුවන් හමුදාව පමණයි. මා දන්නා විධියට ඒ කාලයේ ගුවන් නියමුවන් පුහුණු කිරීම සම්බන්ධව වැඩ පිළිවෙලවල්වලට අවසරය දී තිබුණේ ගුවන් හමුදාවේ පරිපාලනය යටතේ පමණයි. අද නොයෙකුත් පොද්ගලික උදවියට ඒ අවසරය දීම මේ රටේ අද තිබෙන තත්ත්වය යටතේ රටේ ආරක්ෂාවට කිසිම ලෙසකින්වත් උදව්වක් නොවෙයි. මෙය ජාතික ආරක්ෂාවට තර්ජනයක් නොවේද කියන ප්‍රශ්නය අපි අහනවා. ජාතික ආරක්ෂක වැඩ පිළිවෙලෙහි අභ්‍යන්තරවම කෙරෙන වැරදි පලමුවෙන්ම නිවැරදි කර ගත යුතුයි. සමහර විට මෙම ගුවන් යානය පිළිබඳව සමහරුන්ට දැඩි බරපතලකමක් නොපෙනෙනවා ඇතී. තමුත් එහි තිබෙන බරපතලකම අප කවුදුත් තේරුම් ගන්නට ඕනෑ. මෙම ගුවන් යානය සාමාන්‍ය වෙල් යායකට වූණත් පහත් කරන්නට පුළුවනි. එහි ඇති සැහැල්ලුභාවය නිසා එය මුහුදේ පාවෙන යම් දෙයකට වූණත් පහත් කරන්නට පුළුවනි. ආරක්ෂක අමාත්‍යාංශයේ ඒ පිළිබඳ විශේෂයෙන්ම වාර්තාවලින් ඒ කරුණු වැඩි දුරටත් පැහැදිලි කරගන්නට පුළුවනි. මේක අති ගෞරවන වැඩක්. මේ වාගේ දේවල්වලට ඉඩ දෙනවා නම් රට වටා ආරක්ෂක වලලු දහයක් දැමීමක් වැඩක් වෙන්නේ නැහැ. ඉගිල්ලී ඇවිත් විනාශ කරන්නට වුවමනා තැන් විනාශ කරන්නට පුළුවනි. පසුගිය දිනවල තමුත්තාත්සේලාම ප්‍රකාශයක් කර තිබුණා ගුවන් හමුදාවේ යානාවකට රොකට් වෙඩිල්ලක් හිඬබාය කියා. දැන් මේ වාගේ දේවල්වලට ඉඩ දුන්නොත් ඉදිරි කාලයේදී මොන මොන දේවල් සිද්ධ වෙයිද මා අමුතුවෙන් කීම අවශ්‍ය නැහැ. ඒ වාගේම මා නැවතත් ඉල්ලා සිටිනවා, ආරක්ෂක වැඩපිළිවෙලක මෙවැනි කරුණු පිළිබඳව ප්‍රමුඛත්වයක් තියෙන්න ඕනෑය කියා. එසේ නොකර අපි ලස්සන වචනවලින් ආරක්ෂාව ගැන කථා කළාට අර්ථයක් වෙන්නේ නැහැ. ඒවා ක්‍රියාත්මක කිරීම ගැන තිබෙන ප්‍රශ්නවලට ප්‍රමුඛත්වයක් දීමයි. අද අවශ්‍යවෙලා තිබෙන්නේ.

මා මේ අවස්ථාවේදී තව එක කාරණයක් පමණක් මතු කරන්න බලාපොරොත්තු වෙනවා. පසුගිය දවසක අන්තහමල්ලේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා (ලක්ෂ්මන් ජයකොඩි මහතා) ප්‍රශ්නයක් ඇහුවා. - මතුගම ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමාගේ මේ ගැන කිව්වා - " අපේ රටේ ප්‍රශ්න පිළිබඳව විදේශ රටවල් සමග සාකච්ඡා කිරීම අපේ රටේ ජාතික ස්වාධීනත්වයට සහ ආරක්ෂාවට හානිකරය ; එසේ කරනවාද ? " කියා. එවිට ගරු අගමැතිතුමා ඒ අවස්ථාවේදී කීව්වා, " අපේ ප්‍රශ්න අපිම විසඳා ගන්නවා මිස වෙනත් ස්ථානවල සාකච්ඡා කරන්නේ හෝ සාකච්ඡා ගිවිසුම්වලට එළඹෙන්නේ හෝ නැහැ " කියා. අපි දන්නවා, පසුගිය කාලයේදී සිදු වූ දේ, පසුගිය කාලයේදී වූ සිද්ධීන්වලට යන්න කලින් මම එක පැහැදිලි කිරීමක් කර ගන්න සතුටුයි. ගරු අගමැතිතුමාගේ ඒ ප්‍රකාශයෙන් පසුව 1985 ජනවාරි 24 දින " සත් " පුවත්පතේ මුල් පිටුවේ සඳහන් වෙනවා " Thondaman may brief President today " යන සිරිස්සලය. ගරු ග්‍රාමීය කර්මාන්ත ඇමතිතුමා ඉන්දියාවට ගියේ තමාගේ ශ්‍රී ලංකා සන්දර්ශකයේ අනාවයට සහභාගිවීම සඳහා. ඒ අනාවය ගැන අපි කණගාටු වෙනවා. තමුත් ඒ ගැන නොවෙයි මේ පුවත්පතේ තිබෙන්නේ. එම පුවත්පතේ මා කලින් කී සිරිස්සලය යටතේ මේ විධියට තිබෙනවා :

"Indian Premier Rajiv Gandhi is very interested in meeting President Jayewardene for discussions on the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka according to the indications in Delhi CWC President S. Thondaman said yesterday on arrival after private talks with the Indians leader.

Mr. Thondaman, who did not disclose the nature of his discussions with the Indian Premier, said however he would probably be briefing President Jayewardene today on his visit to India

Mr. Thondaman was in India to attend the funeral of his sister who died there late last week.

He said he believed the Indian Premier was awaiting a response from President Jayewardene to a telephone conversation between the two leaders initiated by the India Premier."

එක්කෝ මේ පුවත්පතේ සඳහන් දේ අසන්න වෙන්න ඕනෑ. එක්කෝ ගරු ඇමතිතුමා කියන දේ අසන්න වෙන්න ඕනෑ. එතෙම තැන්නම් අපි රජයෙන් දැන ගැනීමට කැමතියි හොත්වමත් ඇමතිතුමා ඉන්දියාවේ නායකයින් සමග කල සාකච්ඡාව කුමක්ද කියා. රජයේ අවසරයක් ඇතිවද මේ සාකච්ඡා කර තිබෙන්නේ කියා අපි දැන ගැනීමට කැමතියි. රජයේ අවසරයක් ඇතිව නම් එය කර තිබෙන්නේ ගරු අගමැතිතුමා එද කී දෙයට වෙනස් වූ දෙයක් තමයි අද සිදු වෙන්නේ කියන එකයි අපට සනාථ කරන්න වෙන්නේ.

අපි කවුරුත් පිළිගත්තවා අපේ ප්‍රශ්න අපේ රට අභ්‍යන්තරයේම විසඳා ගන්න ඕනෑය කියා. නමුත් පසුගිය දවසවල කරමාන්න ඇමරිකාව නමගේ අදහස ප්‍රකාශ කළාය කියා ඇමරිකාවෙන් එලොවවා. තොන්ඩමත් ඇමරිකාව රජයේ අවසරයක් නැතිව නම් මේ සාකච්ඡා කර තිබෙන්නේ ආණ්ඩුවට ආත්ම ශක්තියක් තිබෙන්න ඕනෑ ඒ ඇමරිකාවට ගෙදර යටත්ක. එතුමා කුසක්වාදින් සමග ගිය අවුරුද්දේ සාකච්ඡා කළා. ඇයි මේ විශේෂ තත්වයක් දී තිබෙන්නේ? මේ රටේ ජාතික ආරක්ෂාව සලකා ගැනීමටද මෙවැනි විශේෂ තත්වයක් දී තිබෙන්නේ? ඇයි මේ ආකාරයෙන් ආණ්ඩුව ඇතුළේ විවිධ වැඩපිළිවෙලවල් ගෙන යන්නේ? මේ ආකාරයෙන් අපේ රටේ ආරක්ෂාවක් සැලසෙයිද කියලා අපි ප්‍රශ්න කරන්න ඕනෑ.

**ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා (කොත්මලේ)**  
 (திரு. ஆனந்த தஸநாயக்க — கொடும்பை)  
 (Mr. Ananda Dassanayake - Kotmale)  
 එක ආණ්ඩුවක් තුළ ආණ්ඩු ගණනාවක් තිබෙනවා.

**දිනේෂ ගුණවර්ධන මහතා**  
 (திரு. தினேஷ் குணவர்தன)  
 (Mr. Dinesh Gunawardene)

ඔව්. එක ආණ්ඩුවක් තුළ ආණ්ඩු ගණනාවක් තිබෙනවා. තොන්ඩ. ෨න් ඇමරිකාව බොහෝම දක්ෂයෙන් වෙන්න පුළුවන්. ඔහුගේ දක්ෂතාවය පිළිබඳව අපි කවුරුත් දන්නවා. නමුත් අද කෙරේගෙන යන වැඩපිළිවෙල මොකක්ද කියන දේ මේ සභාවේ දැන ගැනීම සඳහා ප්‍රකාශ කිරීමයි. අපේ යුතුකම. එනම නොකළොත් අපට විශ්වාස කරන්න සිද්ධ වෙනවා. මෙහි අභ්‍යන්තර වශයෙන් සාකච්ඡා, ගිවිසුම්, ගනුදෙනු ඇති වෙන්න පුළුවන් වෙයි කියලා. ඒ මොකද? මේ ඇමරිකාවමයි එදා 1983 අගෝස්තු මාසේ 4 වෙනිදා ආණ්ඩු ක්‍රම ව්‍යවස්ථා 6 වෙනි සංශෝධනය විවාද කරන අවස්ථාවේදී කීව්වේ එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයේ නායකත්වය යන ද්‍රව්‍ය එක්සත් පෙරමුණේ නායකත්වය එතුමාගේ ගෙදරදී 1977 මැතිවරණයට කලින් සාකච්ඡාවක් පැවැත්තුවාය. ඒ සාකච්ඡාව පරිදි මතු වූ අදහස් ක්‍රියාත්මක වුණා නම් මේ වික වෙන්න නැහැ කියා. හැත්සාඩ් වාර්තාවේ එය සඳහන් වී තිබෙනවා.

අමර්තලිංගම් මහතාගේ ඉන්දියාවේදී ප්‍රකාශ ගණනාවක් කර තිබෙනවා. තොන්ඩමත් මහතා තවදිළි නුවර සිටින අතරම ද්‍රව්‍ය එක්සත් විමුක්ති පෙරමුණේ නායකත්වය දරණ අමර්තලිංගම් මහතා විවිධ සාකච්ඡා ගණනාවක් පැවැත්තුවා. ඒ පිළිබඳව ජනවාරි මාසේ 16 වෙනිදා හින්දු පුවත් පතේ පළ වී තිබෙන කොටසක් මම කියවන්නම්.

"The Government of India was in possession of all the facts about the worsening situation in Sri Lanka and the Tamil United Liberation Front was hopeful that it would spare no efforts to stop the killings of the Tamils and secure them justice. Mr. A. Amirthalingam, TULF Secretary-General, told "The HINDU here today."

මදුරාසියේදීදී මෙය ප්‍රකාශ කර තිබෙන්නේ.

"A three-member TULF team, comprising Mr. M. Sivasitamparam, President, Mr. Amirthalingam and Mr. A. Sampanthan held talks in New Delhi with Mr. G. Parthasarathy, Chairman, Policy Planning Committee, External Affairs Ministry, the Minister of State for External Affairs, Mr. Khursheed Alam Khan and officials in the Ministry."

මම තවත් කොටසක් පමණක් කියවනවා.

"During the week-end talks, the TULF leaders brought to the notice of the Government, the Sri Lanka Governments plan to settle 30,000 families of armed Sinhalese trained in the use of firearms in the Mannar, Vavunia, Mullativu and Kilinochchi districts. The Sri Lanka Government should be made to desist from this course of action immediately, Mr. Amirthalingam said."

ඒ වාගේම ජනවාරි 22 වෙනිදා හින්දු පුවත්පතේ සඳහන් වී තිබෙනවා සිව්සින්තම්පරම් මහතා විසින් කර තිබෙන ප්‍රකාශයක්. එයින් කොටසකුත් මම කියවන්නම් :

"Colonisation breaks promise : On top of this had come the latest Government announcement of a policy to settle 30,000 Sinhala families in the Northern and Eastern provinces. This is in total violation of the promise made by all Sinhalese leaders, of a promise made as late as November 1983. In the famous Annexure C, that the demographic pattern of the Northern and Eastern provinces will not be upset by the colonisation policy' Mr. Sivasithamparam said."

violation of the promise made by all Sinhalese leaders, of a promise made as late as November 1983. In the famous Annexure C, that the demographic pattern of the Northern and Eastern provinces will not be upset by the colonisation policy' Mr. Sivasithamparam said."

කවුද මේ ප්‍රතිඥාව දුන්නේ? අද ආණ්ඩුවට ඒක කියන්න පුළුවන්ද කියා අපි අසනවා. වට මේස සාකච්ඡාවේදී "මේ ඇතෙක්ෂර සී" කියන එම කෙටුම්පත සාකච්ඡාවට පිළිගන්නවා නම් මොහොතක්වත් වට මේසයේ රැඳෙන්නේ නැහැ කියලා තමයි මහජන එක්සත් පෙරමුණ එදා තැනිටලා ආවේ. අපේ මතය පිළිගන්නේ නැතිව, අතීන් විරෝධතා පිළිගන්නේ නැතිව මේ කෙටුම්පත සාකච්ඡා කිරීම සඳහා භාරගත් අවස්ථාවේදී තමයි අපි තැනිටලා ආවේ. මම මේ කාරණය අද සිහිපත් කරන්නේ මේ වාගේ පොරොන්දු කියක් දී තිබෙනවාද කියන ප්‍රශ්නය යොමු කරන්න ඕනෑ තිසයි. ඉන්දියාවේදී මීට වඩා පොරොන්දු දී තිබෙනවාද කියන ප්‍රශ්නය අපි නගන්න ඕනෑ.

ආරංචි මාර්ග තිබෙනවා ගරු බණ්ඩාරණායක මැතිණියගේ ප්‍රජා අයිතිය නැවත ස්ථාපිත කිරීම සම්බන්ධවත් විවිධ අදහස් ඉන්දියාවේදී හුවමාරු වුණාය කියා. රජය අද වන තුරු එවැන්නක් තැනැයි කියා නැහැ. අපි දැනගන්න කැමතියි එවැනි අදහස් ප්‍රකාශ වුණේ තුරුද කියා. ඒ නිසා විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයට අද වේදනා කරන්න ඕනෑ නැහැ. බණ්ඩාරනායක මැතිණියට ප්‍රජා අයිතිය දෙන්නැයි කියා කරන ඉල්ලීම අසාධාරණයි කියා. මේ ආණ්ඩුවේ නායකත්වයන් විවිධ අවස්ථාවලදී එවැනි අදහස් ප්‍රකාශ කර තිබෙනවානම් අපි අද කරන යෝජනා හා ඉල්ලීම් අසාධාරණ නැහැ.

මේ වාගේ තත්වයක් උඩ මම හිතනවා ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය සභාපතිතුමනි. අපේ රටේ ආරක්ෂක තත්වය පිළිබඳව අද සැක කටයුතු තුන් ගණනාවක් තිබෙන බව. පසුගිය හදිසි නීති විවාද අවස්ථාවේදීත් අපි මතු කළ කරුණු සම්පූර්ණයෙන් නිවැරදි වී තිබෙනවාද කියා අපට සැකයි. උතුරු ප්‍රදේශයට යන ආරක්ෂක බලකායක්වලට මීට වඩා ශක්තිය සහ ආරක්ෂාව සැපයීමේ වැඩ පිළිවෙලක් තිබෙන්න ඕනෑ. ඔවුන් නැංගුරම් දමාතිබෙන කඳවුරුවලට එදිනෙදා අවශ්‍යතාවයක් සැපයීම සඳහා මීට වඩා හොඳ වැඩපිළිවෙලක් තිබෙන්න ඕනෑ. අපි එක පැත්තකින් මෙය ලංකාවේ අභ්‍යන්තර ප්‍රශ්නයක් පමණක්ය කියා කල්පනා කරමින් එය මැඩපවත්වන්නට උත්සාහ දරන අතර අතීන් පැත්තෙන් මහත තබා ගත යුතු දෙයක් තිබෙනවා.

1962දී ඉන්දියාවේ ද්‍රව්‍ය ප්‍රාන්තය වෙතමම රාජ්‍යයක් ලෙස පිහිටුවාගැනීමේ ව්‍යාපාරය ආරම්භ වන විට එවකට ඉන්දියාවේ අග්‍රාමාත්‍ය ධුරන් දරු ශ්‍රී නේරු මැතිතුමා විසින් එය නීති විරෝධී කරන්න යෙදුනා. රටේ වෙනත් රාජ්‍යයක් බිහිවීම නීති විරෝධී කළ එතුමා එම ව්‍යාපාරය—ඉන්දියාවේ ඔහුය කැසීම—ඉන්දියාවේ ආරක්ෂාවට පාර්ජනයක් වන බව ප්‍රකාශ කළා. එය ව්‍යවස්ථා සංශෝධනයක් මගින් නීතිගත කළා. ඉන්පසුව වෙනම රාජ්‍යයක් ගොඩනැගීමේ මහා අධිරාජ්‍යවාදී කුමන්ත්‍රණය ලෝකයේ මෙම ප්‍රදේශයෙන් නැවත ක්‍රියාත්මක වෙනවා. අපේ රටේ උතුරු කොනේ ඉන්දියාවේ දකුණු ප්‍රාන්තයන් ඒකාබද්ධ කර අනාගතයේදී මේ මුළු ආසියාකරයේම දේශපාලන ව්‍යුහය අධිරාජ්‍යවාදීන්ගේ ඔහු එපාකමවලට අනුව ගොඩනගන්නට පුළුවන් සියුම් වැඩපිළිවෙලක් තමයි. ද්‍රව්‍ය ජලාමි ව්‍යාපාරය. මහජන එක්සත් පෙරමුණ හැටියට අපි දකින්නේ ඒකයි. ඒ නිසා මෙයට මුහුණ දීම සඳහා, මීට වඩා පැහැදිලි වැඩපිළිවෙලකට රජය ස්ථාවරව බහින්න ඕනෑ. තමන් යන ගමන කුමක්ද කියා රටට පැහැදිලිව ප්‍රකාශ විය යුතුයි. අද පළමුවෙන්ම කළ යුතුව තිබෙන්නේ රටේ සෑම ස්ථානයකම රජයේ පාලනය ඇති කර ගැනීමයි. අද කළ යුතු ප්‍රමුඛ කටයුත්ත වන්නේ උතුරු නැගෙනහිර මන්නාරම් ප්‍රදේශවල රාජ්‍ය පාලනය ස්ථාපිත කිරීමයි. අපි ඒ කටයුත්ත සිදු නොකළොත් ඉදිරි කාලයේදී ඇතිවෙන තත්වය මීටත් වඩා තරක් වෙන්න පුළුවන්. මීට වඩා බේදවාචකයක් සිදුවෙන්න පුළුවන්. ඒ නිසා ඒ තත්වයට මුහුණ දීමට අවශ්‍ය සොල්දාදුවන් පමණක් කොට අවිආයුධ සහ ඒ අවිආයුධ පාවිච්චි කිරීමට හැකි ආකාරයේ වැඩපිළිවෙලක්ද අවශ්‍ය වෙනවා.

ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය සභාපතිතුමනි, මම මේ අවස්ථාවේදී කීසීම නිලධාරියෙකුට වෝදනා කරන්නේ නැහැ. නමුත් අපි නැවත වරක් කියා සිටින්නේ අපේ රටේ, අපේ ජනතාවගේ ආරක්ෂාව භාර අරගෙන සිටින ආරක්ෂක මණ්ඩලය මේ ප්‍රශ්නය සම්බන්ධයෙන් මීට වඩා අවධානය යොමු කළ යුතු බවයි. මේ ගරු සභාවේදී මේ කරුණු ඉදිරිපත් කිරීම මන්ත්‍රීවරු හැටියට අපේ යුතුකමක්. අද පවතින මේ තත්වය—තමන්ගේ කොරතුරු සතුරන් අතට යන තත්වය—ගැන අපි නොසලකා හරින්න හොඳ නැහැ. මම එදා අය වැය විවාදයේදී ප්‍රකාශ කළා. අභ්‍යන්තරයේ වැය ගිණුම යටතේ කඩා කරදර 'යාල්දේව්' දුම්රියේ

[දිනේෂ ගුණවර්ධන මහතා]

ආරක්ෂක තත්ත්වය පිළිබඳව කරුණු රාශියක් ඉදිරිපත් කළා. එහි ගමන් කරන ආරක්ෂක හටපිත්තේ අතට ආරක්ෂක අවි ආයුධ නොදුන් අවස්ථාවලි ගණනාවක් ඇතිව තිබෙනවා. එහි ගමන් කරන ප්‍රධාන නිලධාරීන් සමහර අවස්ථාවලදී තියෝග තිබුණ් කරනවා කිසිම අවි ආයුධයක් පාවිච්චි කරන්න එපාය කියා. මේවා බොරුය කියා කියන්න බෑහැ. පරීක්ෂණ කළොත් මේ සම්බන්ධ වාර්තා තිබෙන බව පෙනෙයි. මේවා පිළිබඳව කට උත්තර සටහන් කර ගත් ලේඛන තිබෙනවා. මෙන්න මේවා ගැන කිසිම තැකීමක් නැහැ. සිදුවන දේට සිදුවෙන්න ඉඩදී තිබෙන වගයි අපට පැහැදිලිව පෙනෙන්නේ. ඒ නිසා හදිසි නීතිය දීර්ඝ කිරීමට රජයට අවශ්‍ය වූණ් හදිසි නීතිය දීර්ඝ කිරීමෙන් පමණක් මේ ප්‍රශ්නය විසඳෙන්නේ නැහැ. රට නැම තැනම පාලනය ඇති කර ගැනීම සිදුවෙයිද කියන පැකය තමයි අද මතුවී තිබෙන්නේ. අන්න ඒ කාරණය ගැන මීට වැඩි අවධානයක් යොමු කරන්න කියා රජයෙන් ඉල්ලා සිටින්න මිනැ.

ගරු තියෝජ්‍ය සභාපතිතුමනි, මම මීට වැඩිය කථා කරන්න අදහස් කරන්නේ නැහැ.

නියෝජ්‍ය කාරක සභාපතිතුමා  
(ශ්‍රී ජය පාල තිලකරාජ)  
(The Deputy Chairman of Committees)

පැය භාගයක් ඉල්ලුවා. පැය භාගයක් දුන්න.

දිනේෂ ගුණවර්ධන මහතා  
(ශ්‍රී ජය පාල තිලකරාජ)  
(Mr. Dinesh Gunawardene)

මම ඔබතුමාගේ ආසනයේ ජන්ද දායකයෙක් නේ!

මම අවධාන වශයෙන් ඉල්ලා සිටින්නේ මේ තත්ත්වය සම්බන්ධයෙන්— මම අද මතු කල ප්‍රශ්න සම්බන්ධයෙන්— රජයේ දැඩි අවධානය යොමු කරන ලෙසයි. ඒ වගේම පැහැදිලි ස්ථාවරයක් ඇති ජාතික ආරක්ෂක වැඩ පිළිවෙළක්—පැහැදිලි වැඩ පිළිවෙළක්—ආරම්භ කිරීමට දැන්වත් ආරක්ෂක කටයුතු භාර අය උත්සාහ කළොත් පමණයි මේ හදිසි නීතියේ ක්‍රියාත්මක ප්‍රතිඵලයක් ලබා දී රටට ආරක්ෂාව ලබා ගන්නට පුළුවන් වන්නේ කියන එක මතක් කරමින් මගේ කථාව අවසන් කරනවා.

නියෝජ්‍ය කාරක සභාපතිතුමා  
(ශ්‍රී ජය පාල තිලකරාජ)  
(The Deputy Chairman of Committees)

කොන්මිලේ මන්ත්‍රීතුමාට විනාඩි දහයක් දෙන්න පුළුවනි. විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ නායකතුමාට කථා කරන්නට ඉඩ දෙන්න තිබෙනවා.

ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා  
(ශ්‍රී ආනන්ද තසනායක)  
(Mr. Ananda Dassanayake)

හොඳයි. මගේ කතාව විනාඩි දහයකට සීමා කරන්න උත්සාහ ගන්නමි.

නියෝජ්‍ය කාරක සභාපතිතුමා  
(ශ්‍රී ජය පාල තිලකරාජ)  
(The Deputy Chairman of Committees)

ඒට වැඩිය කාලය මිනැ නම් විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ නායකතුමාගේ සමග කථා කර ලබා ගන්න පුළුවන් වෙයි.

ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා  
(ශ්‍රී ආනන්ද තසනායක)  
(Mr. Ananda Dassanayake)

අපේ විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ නායකතුමාට මම සහාය දෙන්නට මිනැ. [බාධාකිරීමක්]

Nothing like you. You were disobedient to your own Minister.

එන්. ඩෙන්සිල් ප්‍රනාන්දු මහතා (නියෝජ්‍ය කර්මාන්ත හා විද්‍යා කටයුතු ඇමතිතුමා)

(ශ්‍රී ජය. ආර්. ඩෙන්සිල් පෙරේරා — නෛතික පරමාණු විද්‍යා, විද්‍යා විද්‍යා අභ්‍යවකල්ප පිරිනි අභ්‍යවකල්ප)  
(Mr. N. Denzil Fernando—Deputy Minister of Industries & Scientific Affairs)

The hon. Member says that I was disobedient to my Minister. He must withdraw that.

ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා  
(ශ්‍රී ආනන්ද තසනායක)  
(Mr. Ananda Dassanayake)

You could have followed him.

නියෝජ්‍ය කාරක සභාපතිතුමා  
(ශ්‍රී ජය පාල තිලකරාජ)  
(The Deputy Chairman of Committees)

Order, please ! Now he is the Minister. You continue with your speech now. There is no use in wasting time. I have to give time to your leader to speak.

ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා  
(ශ්‍රී ආනන්ද තසනායක)  
(Mr. Ananda Dassanayake)

ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය සභාපතිතුමනි, 1977 සිට 1982 ඔක්තෝබර් 16 වන දිනට යුගය ගැන විකල්ප මතක් කර දෙන්න මිනැ. දැන් විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයට දෙස් කියනවා, තුස්තවාදය මඬින්න සහයෝගය දෙන්නේ නැහැ කියා. ජාතික ආරක්ෂාව පිළිබඳ ඇමතිතුමා, ගිවිසුම් හදිසි නීතිය පැනවීම ගැන සාකච්ඡා කරන අවස්ථාවේදී ඒ කාරණය කිව්වා. නමුත් විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ සහාය දෙන්නේ කොතොමද කියන කාරණය පැහැදිලි කරන්නේ නැහැ. මේක දේශපාලන වාසියක් ලබා ගන්නට කරන පහර ගැසීමක්. එසේ නැතුව දැන් ඇති වී තිබෙන ප්‍රශ්නය විසඳන්නට උත්සාහ ගැනීමක් නොවෙයි.

එන්. එච්. ඒ. එම්. කරුණාරත්න මහතා (සමාජ සේවා ඇමතිතුමා)  
(ශ්‍රී ජය. ආර්. ආර්. ආර්. කරුණාරත්න — සමාජ සේවකර්ම අභ්‍යවකල්ප)  
(Mr. N. H. A. M. Karunaratne - Minister of Social Services)

ප්‍රශ්නය විසඳන ගැටී කියන්න.

ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා  
(ශ්‍රී ආනන්ද තසනායක)  
(Mr. Ananda Dassanayake)

රජයකට බලය දී තිබෙන්නේ ප්‍රශ්න විසඳන්නටයි. ගරු සමාජ සේවා ඇමතිතුමනි, නමුත්තාන්දේලා 1977 සිටම කිව්වේ, " විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ අදහස් අවි පිළිගන්නේ නැහැ, ඒ අයගේ දිරවිට උපදෙස් අපට මිනැ කරන්නේ නැහැ " කියලා තොවෙද ? දැන් නමුත්තාන්දේලා අපට දෙස් කියනවා, ඇයි අප උපදෙස් තුදුන්නේ කියා. අවි එද ඒ ගැන කියන විට—

එන්. එච්. ඒ. එම්. කරුණාරත්න මහතා (සමාජ සේවා ඇමතිතුමා)  
(ශ්‍රී ජය. ආර්. ආර්. ආර්. කරුණාරත්න — සමාජ සේවකර්ම අභ්‍යවකල්ප)  
(Mr. N. H. A. M. Karunaratne—Minister of Social Services)

මේකට යෙදිය යුතු ප්‍රතිකර්මය මොකක්ද කියන්න.

ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා  
(ශ්‍රී ආනන්ද තසනායක)  
(Mr. Ananda Dassanayake)

ඒක නියම ක්‍රමයට අනුකූල. නමුත්තාන්දේ කියන විටයිට අවි උත්තර දෙන්න පැහැදිලි නැහැ. නමුත්තාන්දේ ආණ්ඩුවේ ඇමතිවරයෙක් පමණයි. නමුත්තාන්දේට සම්පූර්ණ බලය නැහැ. ආණ්ඩුවේ බලධාරියාට මිනැ නැතිනම්, නමුත්තාන්දේ කිව්වාට, අවි ඒක ගණන් ගන්නේ නැහැ. ආණ්ඩුවේ නියම බලධාරියාට කියන්න අවිට එක්ක නියම විධියට සාකච්ඡා කරන්නටයි කියා. එකකොට පිළිතුරු දෙන්න අවි සුදනම්.



එන්. එච්. ඒ. එම්. කරුණාරත්න මහතා  
(திரு. என். எச். ஏ. எம். கருணாரத்ன)  
(Mr. N. H. A. M. Karunaratne)

මමත් ආණ්ඩුවේ ඇමතිවරයෙක්, වගකීමක් ඇතුළුව කටා කරන්නේ.

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

තමුත්තාත්තේ එහෙම කිව්වාට, තමුත්තාත්තේද අයිතියක් තැනි බවයි මම කියන්නේ. මුළු කැමිනම මණ්ඩලයේ බලය තිබෙන්නේ, වගකීම තිබෙන්නේ වෙනත් කෙනෙකුට. ගිහිත් ඒ අයට කියන්න. ඒ විධියට උපදෙස් දෙන්න. ගරු තියෝජ්‍ය සභාපතිතුමනි, විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වය හැටියට, අපට කරන්නට ඇති වැඩ කොටස මොනවාදැයි කියන්න ඕනෑ. අපිට තුඩක්ක කර ගතහන යන්නටයයි කියනවාද? යුද්ධ හමුදාවේ ඉස්සරහ පේළියේ යන්න කියනවාද? ආණ්ඩු පක්ෂය ඉදිරියෙන් යන කොට අපෙන් එක්ක යන්න යුද්ධමද? මොකක්ද මේ කරන්නටය කියන වැඩේ? එද සිට හැමදමත් විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වය සහයෝගය දෙන්නේ තැහැයි කියනවා. මොකක්ද ඉල්ලන සහයෝගය? දේශපාලන වාසි ලබා ගන්නට වේදිකාවට ගිහිත් කෑ ගහනවා වානේ මෙතැනත් ඇවිත් කෑගහනවා. මේ විධියට කෑ ගහන්නේ දේශපාලන වාසි ලබා ගන්නට බව මම කියනවා. එම නිසා, විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයට එල්ල කරන මේ වේදිකාව කෙළින්ම අප් කර ගන්නටය කියා මම කියනවා. ගරු තියෝජ්‍ය සභාපතිතුමනි, විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වය වුණු පළියටවත්, ආණ්ඩු පාර්ශ්වය වුණු පළියටවත්, මන්ත්‍රීවරුන් වුණු පළියටවත්, ඇමතිවරුන් වුණු පළියටවත්, අගමැති වුණු පළියටවත්, ජනාධිපති වුණු පළියටවත්, මෙතෙක් කරන්නට දෙයක් නැහැ.

උතුරු හා නැගෙනහිර පලාත්වල යුද්ධයක් ඇති වී තිබෙනවා නම්, ඒකට මුහුණ දෙන්නට සිදු වී තිබෙන්නේ, අද පවතින තත්වයේ හැටියට, රටේ නීතිය හැටියට, පාලක පක්ෂය විසින් පත්කර සිටින යුද නිලධාරීන්ට සහ පොලීසියටත් පමණයි. තමුත්තාත්තේදොටත් අපටත් කරන්නට තිබෙන්නේ ඒ සඳහා 'මොරල් සහෝධර' එකක් 'දීමයි. ' මේක කරන්න; අපි බේරුයා දෙනවා; අපි මුදල් දෙනවා; අපි තමුත්තාත්තේදොට බලා ගන්නවා; ආරක්ෂා කරගන්නවා. මෙතෙක් මේ විධියට කරන-කියන එක විතරයි. අපිට කරන්නට තිබෙන්නේ, ඊට වැඩිය දෙයක් නැහැ. එහෙමනම් මේ බොරු කඩ්වාරු තැනුව, කියම විධියට ක්‍රියා කරන්න ඕනෑ. ඇත්තෙන්ම කියම විධියට මේ ප්‍රශ්නය විසඳන්නට උනන්දුවක් තිබෙනවා නම්, එක ඇමතිවරයකුට තිබුණු බලතල තුන් හතර දෙනෙකුට කඩා දීලා තැනකකට තල්ලු කරනවාද? එතකොට ඒ ඇමතිතුමාට කරන්නත් බැහැ. අතින් ඇමතිතුමන්ලොට කරන්නත් බැහැ. ඇත්තෙන්ම රටේ ආරක්ෂාව පිළිබඳ මේ ප්‍රශ්නය විසඳීමේ බලතල ඇමතිවරුන් කීප දෙනෙකුට පවා මේ කටයුත්ත කරන්නට බැහැ. යුද්ධයකදී දහ දෙනෙකුට විතර වගකීම් පවරා ඒ කටයුත්ත කරන්නට බැහැ. යුද්ධයේදී තියෝග දෙන්න ඕනෑ එක්කෙනෙයි. එහෙමනම් මේ සටනේ සෙන්පතියා කවිද? අපි අහන ප්‍රශ්නය ඒකයි. මම ඒ ප්‍රශ්නය ගිය වතාවේදීත් ඇහුවා. ඒ සෙන්පතියාට ඇති බලතල මොනවාද? ඒ සෙන්පතියා ගන්නා තීරණ මොනවාද? කරන්නට ඕනෑ කරන යුද්ධය මොකක්ද? කියන කාරණා පැහැදිලි කර ගන්න ඕනෑ. එහෙම ක්‍රියා නොකළොත් ඒ ආච්ඡේදේ කැරලිය වානේ වෙනවා. ආච්ඡේදේ කැරලියත් එහෙමයි. ඒකේ කැරලි තිබුණේ නැහැ. ඒ මොකද 'මමත් දෙනවා හාල් මටක්; මමත් දෙනවා හාල් මටක්' කියා කවුරුත් බොරුවට දම්මා. අත්තීමේදී බැලුවාම කැරලි තිබුණේ නැහැ. කවුරුත් බඩගින්නේ සිටියා. ඒ වානේ, මේ යුද්ධයක් එන අවස්ථාවක්. කුස්තවාදීන් ඒ පලාත්වල ආයුධ සන්නද්ධව මරාගෙන මැරෙනවා. අපි මෙතේ අමාත්‍යාංශ එකින් එකට බෙදාගෙන යනවා. එහෙම නොකර සියල්ලක්ම එක්කෙනෙකුට දෙන්න. එක්කෝ අගමැතිතුමාට හා කරන්න. එහෙම තැන්නම් ජාතික ආරක්ෂක ඇමතිතුමාට කෙළින්ම හා කරන්න. මේක දහ දෙනෙක් අතේ තියාගෙන යුද්ධයක් කරන්නට බැහැ.

එද එංගලන්තයේ යුද්ධය කළේ විත්සන්ට් වර්වල් පමණයි. අගමැති වශයෙන් ඒවා අතින් අයට බෙදා දුන්නේ නැහැ. එහෙම නම් ඇයි මේ ප්‍රංචි රටේ අපට ඒවා කරන්නට බැරි? ඒක ලෝක යුද්ධයක්. මේක මේ රටේ තිබෙන ප්‍රශ්නයයි. මෙවැනි තත්වයක් ඇති වී තිබෙන නිසා තමයි, මේ සෑම දුර්වලකමක්ම ඇති වන්නේ. ඒ දුර්වලකම් වසා ගන්නට විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ අපි සහයෝගය දෙන්නේ නැහැයි කියනවා. විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ අපි දත් තුන් වතාවක් මේ යෝජනාවට විරුද්ධව ජන්දය දුන්නේ නැහැ; කරුණු කීව්වා

පමණයි. ආණ්ඩුවේ දුර්වලකම්, ශක්තිමත් නොවන තුන්වල දුර්වලකම් පෙන්වීම පමණයි, අපි කළේ. අපි ඒ තුන් වතාවේදීම ජන්දය දීමෙන් වැලකී සිටියා. ඒක මදිද? ඒක උදව්වක් නොවෙයිද? ඒ මේ රජයට දෙන සහයෝගයක්. සම්පූර්ණ සහයෝගය දෙනවාය කියා අපට එක පාරටම කියන්නට බැහැ. තමුත්තාත්තේදොට හදිසි නීතිය යටතේ මොන මොක දේවල් කරයිද කියා අපට කියන්නට බැහැ. ඒ නිසා විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වය පරිස්සම්කර බලාගෙන ඉන්න ඕනෑ. එමනිසා විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ සහයෝගය හැමදම දෙනවාය කියා අපට තීරණය කරන්නට බැහැ. තමුත්තාත්තේදොට වැරදි කළොත් ඒ අවස්ථාවේදී විරුද්ධත්වය ප්‍රකාශ කරන්නට, සමහර විට විරුද්ධව ජන්දය දෙන්නට අපට සිදු වෙනවා. ඒක අපට අයිති වැඩක්. තමුත්තාත්තේදොට විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ සිටියා නම් තමුත්තාත්තේදොටත් කරන්නේ එහෙමයි. එම නිසා මම පස්සේ විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයට වෝදනා කිරීම කෙළින්ම අත්හරින්න. විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ සහයෝගය ලබා ගන්නට නම් විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයට අයත් දේශපාලන පක්ෂ සියල්ලක්ම එකතු කර තැවත සාකච්ඡා කරන්න. ඒක ලජ්ජාවට කරුණක් නොවෙයි.

යුද්ධයකට හෝ යම්කිසි සටනකට ගියාම සමහරවිට කීප වතාවක් පරාජය වෙන්නට පුළුවන්. පරාජය ජයග්‍රහණයේ සංකේතයයි කියනවා. කීප වතාවක් පරාජය වීම ජයග්‍රහණයේ ස්ථිර සංකේතයක් වෙන්න බැරි නැහැ. ඒ නිසා ආණ්ඩුව සාකච්ඡාවලින් පැරදුණොය කියා, විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වය අත්හැර, විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වය එන්නේ නැහැ, විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වය එක්ක සාකච්ඡා කරන්නේ නැහැයි කියා කියා ඉන්නවා නම් රටකට ස්ථාවර භාවයක් ලබා ගන්නට බැහැ. [බාධා කීරීමක්] හරි, ඒක අසාර්ථක වුණේ මොකද කියන එක මහරගම ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා (දිනේෂ ගුණවර්ධන මහතා) ගරු සමාජසේවා ඇමතිතුමා මෙතැනට වඩින්න පොඩ්ඩකට ඉස්සෙල්ලා කීව්වා. තමුත්තාත්තේ මෙතැනට වැඩියේ දැනුයි. එතුමා පොඩ්ඩකට ඉස්සෙල්ලා කීව්වා මොකක්ද? ඒකේ අර 'ඇතෙක්සර්' 'සි' කියන කොටස හැටුවේ ආණ්ඩුව නොවෙයි කියා ආණ්ඩුව කියනවා. මේක පක්ෂයේ වැඩක් නොවෙයි කියා ගරු අගමැතිතුමා කියනවා. ජනාධිපතිතුමාගේ වැඩක් නොවෙයි කියා ගරු ජනාධිපතිතුමා කියනවා. මේ වගකීම හාර ගන්නේ කවුද? එහෙම නම් ඒක හැටුවේ කොතේද? මේකේ රහසක් තිබෙනවා. මේ රහස කවුරුවත් හෙළි කරන්නේ නැහැ. එහෙම නම් පාර්තසාර්ථිද? තැන්නම් අභාවප්‍රාප්ත, ඉන්දියාවේ ඉන්දිරා ගාන්ධි මැතිණියද? ඒත් තැන්නම් තම්ලිනාඩුඩේ යම්කිසි පිරිසක්ද? එහෙමත් තැන්නම් විසුචල්එප් එකෙන්ද කියන එක සැකයක්. එම නිසා, ඒ වගකීම කවුරුවත් හාර ගන්නේ නැති නිසා, වගකීමක් හාර ගන්න බැරි තැනක සාකච්ඡාවක් කරන්නේ කොතොමද කියන එක උඩ තමයි මහරගම ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා (දිනේෂ ගුණවර්ධන මහතා) කීව්වා විධියට අපි ඒක ප්‍රතික්ෂේප කළේ.

එන්. එච්. ඒ. එම්. කරුණාරත්න මහතා  
(திரு. என். எச். ஏ. எம். கருணாரத்ன)  
(Mr. N. H. A. M. Karunaratne)

මම ගිහනවා ඒක තමුත්තාත්තේදෙහි වැඩක් කියා.

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

නියෝජ්‍ය කාරක සභාපතිතුමා  
(சுறுப் பிரதி தலைவர் அவர்கள்)  
(The Deputy Chairman of Committees)

මම ගිහන විධියට දත් ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා මිනිත්තු දහයක් කටා කලා. තමුත්තාත්තේදෙහි දත් කටාව තවත්වන්න වෙලාව නොදයි.

ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා  
(திரு. ஆனந்த தஸநாயக்க)  
(Mr. Ananda Dassanayake)  
තව මිනිත්තු පහක් දෙන්න.

නියෝජ්‍ය කාරක සභාපතිතුමා  
(ශ්‍රී ලංකා ප්‍රජාතාන්ත්‍රික සමාජවාදී ජනරජයේ  
(The Deputy Chairman of Committees)

විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ නායකතුමාට කථා කරන්නට තිබෙනවා. විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ නායකතුමා මිනිත්තු පහක් දෙන්න කැමති නම් මම කථා කරන්නට ඉඩ දෙන්නම්.

අනුර බණ්ඩාරත්න මහතා  
(නි. රු. අනුරා පණ්ඩාරානායක) (Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)  
He can have five minutes.

නියෝජ්‍ය කාරක සභාපතිතුමා  
(ශ්‍රී ලංකා ප්‍රජාතාන්ත්‍රික සමාජවාදී ජනරජයේ  
(The Deputy Chairman of Committees)

විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ නායකතුමා බොහෝම යොදයි. එතුමා මිනිත්තු පහක් දෙන්න කැමති වුණො, එතෙම නම් මිනිත්තු පහක් කථා කරන්න.

ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා  
(නි. රු. ආනන්ද දසනායක) (Mr. Ananda Dassanayake)

විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ නායකතුමාට මගේ සම්පූර්ණ සහයෝගය තිබෙනවා. ඒ නිසා මිනිත්තු පහක් අවසන් කරන්න මම හැකි තරම් උත්සාහ කරනවා.

නියෝජ්‍ය කාරක සභාපතිතුමා  
(ශ්‍රී ලංකා ප්‍රජාතාන්ත්‍රික සමාජවාදී ජනරජයේ  
(The Deputy Chairman of Committees)

ගරු අගමැතිතුමාට 4.00 ට කථා කරන්න දෙන්න තිබෙනවා.

ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා  
(නි. රු. ආනන්ද දසනායක) (Mr. Ananda Dassanayake)

රජයේ ආරක්ෂා සංවිධාන ගැන මම විශේෂයෙන් කියන්නට කැමතියි. මහරගම ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා වගේම මමත් කියන්නට අවශ්‍ය ඒවා කොළ පිපිපහක විහර සටහන් කරගෙන තිබෙනවා. ඒ කියන්නේ ආණ්ඩුවේ තිබෙන දුර්වලකම. [බාධා කිරීමක්] කරමාත්ත හා විදු කටයුතු ඇමතිතුමාට කොහේද තිබලා පරණ පිතක් කඩාගෙන වැටුණා. ඉතින් ඒ නිසා කරන්නට දෙයක් නැහැ. මගේ කට අවසාන ගත්ත එපා. කියන්න තියෙන දේ මට කියවෙනවා. එතෙම නමයි කොයි වෙලාවක හරි පල දෙනවා නෙ.

නියෝජ්‍ය කාරක සභාපතිතුමා  
(ශ්‍රී ලංකා ප්‍රජාතාන්ත්‍රික සමාජවාදී ජනරජයේ  
(The Deputy Chairman of Committees)

Will the hon. Member please address the chair ?

ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා  
(නි. රු. ආනන්ද දසනායක) (Mr. Ananda Dassanayake)

I am extremely sorry, Sir.

ගරු අගමැතිතුමාත් මෙම සභාවේ සිටින නිසා මම ප්‍රශ්නයක් අහන්නට කැමතියි. ආණ්ඩුක්‍රම ව්‍යවස්ථාවේ 6 වන සංශෝධනය 'විදුපල්පල්' එකේ අයට ක්‍රියාත්මක නොකරන්නේ ඇයිදැයි මම අහන්නට කැමතියි. ආණ්ඩුක්‍රම ව්‍යවස්ථාවේ 6 වන සංශෝධනයෙන් කෙරුණේ පාර්ලිමේන්තුවේ හිටපු මන්ත්‍රීවරුන්ගෙන් කොටසක් අහකට දමීම පමණයි. එයින් තුස්තවැදී ක්‍රියා එක්ක එක්කම වැඩි වුණා. එහෙත් ආණ්ඩුක්‍රම ව්‍යවස්ථාවේ 6 වන සංශෝධනයෙන් සමමත කළ නීති කිසිවක් අද ක්‍රියාත්මක වෙතවාද ? ඇත්තවශයෙන්ම ආණ්ඩුක්‍රම ව්‍යවස්ථාවේ 6 වන සංශෝධනයේ දක්වෙන නීති අද කිසිම විටෙකින් ක්‍රියාත්මක වන්නේ නැහැ. ක්‍රියාත්මක නොවන නීති අපිට මොකටද ? මෙහිදී රට බෙදන්නට කැමති නැහැ කියලා, ඊට පසුව යම්කිසි විටෙකින් රට බෙදීම සම්බන්ධ ක්‍රියාවක් කරන බවට වචනයක්

අහුවුණොත්, ලිපි ලේඛණ වලින් අහු වුණොත් ප්‍රකාශවලින් අහු වුණොත්, එතෙම නැත්තම් සංවිධානවලින් අහු වුණොත් එවැනි ක්‍රියා කරන හැම දෙනාම ඒ නීති අනුවම සමහරවිට රටින් පිටුවහල් කරන්නට පුළුවන්. එවැනිකින්ම වස්තුව ජනසතු කරන්නට පුළුවන්. බරපතල වැඩ ඇතිව ජීවිතාන්තය දක්වා හිරේ දමන්නට පුළුවන්. පසුගිය කාලයේදී මම නිප වතාවක්ම අසා තිබෙනවා, 'විදුපල්පල්' එකේ මන්ත්‍රීවරු මෙතේ එක දවසක් ඉන්නවාය කියලා. ඒ බව ලිඛිත වශයෙන් මප්පු වෙනවා. ඒ අයම එවැනි දේ කරන බව පිළි ගන්නවා. මොකක්ද මෙහි තේරුම ? හිටපු ගරු කර්මාන්ත සා විදු කටයුතු පිළිබඳ ඇමතිතුමා එද කිව්වා සාකච්ඡාවයි යුද්ධයයි දෙකක් කරන්න බැහැ ; යුද්ධය නම් යුද්ධය, සාකච්ඡාව නම් සාකච්ඡාවය කියලා. මේ තීරණයට ආණ්ඩුව එන්නට ඕනෑ. මේ කාරණයේදී අපි විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වය වශයෙන් ආණ්ඩුවට උදව් දෙන්නට සූදුනම්. අපි ජනතාවටත් ඒ බව හැම තැනදීම කියනවා. ආණ්ඩුව රැකගැනීම තොවෙයි. ඒකෙන් අපි අදහස් කරන්නේ, ඒකෙන් අපි අදහස් කරන්නේ රටත් ජාතියත් ආරක්ෂා කිරීමයි; අපේ රටේ ජාතිය හාවය ආරක්ෂා කිරීමයි. එසේ නැතිව ආණ්ඩුව ආරක්ෂා කර පසුව විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ අය හැටියට ආණ්ඩුවෙන්ම බැට කන්නට අපි සූදුනම් නැහැ. ඕනෑ වෙලාවක මහජන ජන්දයෙන් ආණ්ඩුව වෙන් කරන්න විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වය වශයෙන් අපි සූදුනම්. ඒ කාරණය අපි පසුවට නියා ගනිමු.

එන්. එච්. ඒ. එම්. කරුණාරත්න මහතා  
(නි. රු. එන්. එච්. එ. එම්. කරුණාරත්න) (Mr. N. H. A. M. Karunaratne)

තවුන්තාන්ගේ බලාපොරොත්තු වන්නේ යුද්ධයද සාකච්ඡාවද ?

ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා  
(නි. රු. ආනන්ද දසනායක) (Mr. Ananda Dassanayake)

අපි ඒ අය සාකච්ඡාවට එනවා නම් සාකච්ඡා කරනවා පමණයි. හැබැයි සාකච්ඡාවට එන්න ඉඳහෙල්ලා තුස්තවැදීන් ආයුධ බිම දමන්නට ඕනෑ. ඒ අය එසේ කළ බව ක්‍රියාවෙන් පෙන්වන්නට ඕනෑ. මෙන්න අපි තුස්තවැදී ක්‍රියා නැවැත්වුවා, මෙන්න අපි සාකච්ඡාවට ආවාය කියලා පෙන්වන්නට ඕනෑ. එකකොට අපි සාකච්ඡාවට ඉඩ දෙන්න ඕනෑ. ආණ්ඩුවක යුතුකම වියයුත්තේ එයයි.

මන්ත්‍රීවරයෙක්  
(අඟුණකුත්තරා ඉරුවා) (A Member)

පාර්ලිමේන්තුව ඇතුළේ නම් තවුන්තාන්ගේ බොහෝම සැරයි. [බාධා කිරීම]

ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා  
(නි. රු. ආනන්ද දසනායක) (Mr. Ananda Dassanayake)

එද කන්කසන්තුරේ පොලීසියට ගහපු අවස්ථාවේ ආණ්ඩුවේ බලය ආණ්ඩුවේ ශක්තිය හරිගැටි තිබුණා නම්, ආණ්ඩුවේ තීරණ හැටියට ක්‍රියාත්මක කලා නම් කුමක්ද කරන්නට තිබුණේ ? ක්‍රිමිනල් වරදක් දකුණේ කළත් උතුරේ කළත් නැගෙනහිරේ කළත් එය ක්‍රිමිනල් වරදක්. ඒක රාජ අපරාධයක්. එද ඒ පොලීසියට ගහපු වෙලාවේ ආණ්ඩුවට කරන්නට තිබුණේ, පසුවද එකනින් පොලීසිය අස්කිරීම තොවෙයි. එදම මුළු යුද්ධ හමුදාවම යොදවලා ආණ්ඩුවේ ශක්තිය පෙන්වන්නට එතැන නැවතත් පොලීසිය පිහිටුවීමයි. උතුරේ බැංකුවක් කැඩුවාම බැංකුව එතැනින් අස් කරනවා. මේවා ආණ්ඩුවේ ප්‍රබල දුර්වලකම බව කියන්නට ඕනෑ. එම නිසා මම කියන්නට කැමතියි [බාධා කිරීම] තවුන්තාන්ගේ අර මලයනාඩුවේ හටුවී කාරයෙන් වන්නට ඇතැයි මම හිතනවා. මෙම ගරු සභාවේදී හෙළි නොකළයුතු රහසිගත තොරතුරු හුඟක් මට දෙන්නට තිබෙනවා. අපේ ප්‍රදේශවල රහසිගත සංවිධාන තිබෙනවා. ඒවා ගැන මම මෙහිදී කියන්න යන්නේ නැහැ. මලයනාඩුව කියන එකක් ඇති කර ගෙන තිබෙනවා. ඒකේ සංවිධාන තිබෙනවා. එවැනි සංවිධාන ආණ්ඩුවටත් නැහැ. එහි තිබෙන සංවිධාන දෙස බලන්න. ආණ්ඩුවටත් එවැනි සංවිධාන නැහැ. වෙනම ගුවන් විදුලි මධ්‍යස්ථාන ලංකාවේ පිහිටුවා තිබෙන බව රජය දන්නවාද ?

නියෝජ්‍ය කාරක සභාපතිතුමා  
(ශ්‍රී ජය පීරාතිත් ත්‍යාග් අරාජ්)

(The Deputy Chairman of Committees)

දැන් විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ නායකතුමාට කථා කරන්න අවස්ථාව දෙන්න මතු.

ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා  
(ශ්‍රී ජය ආනන්ද ත්‍යාග්)

(Mr. Ananda Dassanayake)

මම කථාව ඉවර කරන්නයි යන්නේ. අපට කියන්නට කරුණු රාශියක් තිබෙනවා.

ආචාර්ය ආනන්දතිස්ස ද අල්විස් මහතා (රාජ්‍ය ඇමතිතුමා)

(කලාතිඨි ආනන්දතිස්ස ත අල්විස්—இராசாங்க அமைச்சர்)

(Dr. Anandatissa de Alwis - Minister of State)

ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය සභාපතිතුමනි, ඊනි ප්‍රශ්නයක් මතු කරන්නට තිබෙනවා.

ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා  
(ශ්‍රී ජය ආනන්ද ත්‍යාග්)

(Mr. Ananda Dassanayake)

මොකක්ද ඊනි ප්‍රශ්නය? ගරු ඇමතිතුමා "කලකට පස්සේ වෙලකට බැස්සේ" වගේ තමයි.

ආචාර්ය ආනන්දතිස්ස ද අල්විස් මහතා

(කලාතිඨි ආනන්දතිස්ස ත අල්විස්)

(Dr. Anandatissa de Alwis)

පාර්ලිමේන්තු මන්ත්‍රීවරයෙක් යමක් කියනවා නම් වගකීම බාර ගෙන කියනවා කියලයි, සලකන්නේ.

ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා  
(ශ්‍රී ජය ආනන්ද ත්‍යාග්)

(Mr. Ananda Dassanayake)

මව්.

ආචාර්ය ආනන්දතිස්ස ද අල්විස් මහතා

(කලාතිඨි ආනන්දතිස්ස ත අල්විස්)

(Dr. Anandatissa de Alwis)

රහස් සංවිධාන ගැන ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා දන්නවා නම්, එමෙන්ම රජයට එය ප්‍රකාශ කරන්නේ තැන්නම්, එය රාජ්‍යේ තිබිය යුතුයි.

ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා  
(ශ්‍රී ජය ආනන්ද ත්‍යාග්)

(Mr. Ananda Dassanayake)

හ: හා. ඒකේ තමයි වැඩේ තිබෙන්නේ. මම හිතන හැටියට ගරු ඇමතිතුමා කියන සමහරක් ඒවාත් රාජ්‍යේ තිබිය යුතුයි. ගරු ඇමතිතුමාගේ ස්වෛරීත්වයට එරෙහි ඒවා හුඟක් තිබෙනවා.

නියෝජ්‍ය කාරක සභාපතිතුමා  
(ශ්‍රී ජය පීරාතිත් ත්‍යාග් අරාජ්)

(The Deputy Chairman of Committees)

Order, please! That is not a point of order.

පාර්ලිමේන්තුවේ මතු එකක් කථා කරන්න පුළුවන්.

ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා  
(ශ්‍රී ජය ආනන්ද ත්‍යාග්)

(Mr. Ananda Dassanayake)

මේ රජයට අවශ්‍යතාවයක් තිබෙනවා නම් රජය කටවත් බයාද වෙන්න පුළුවනවත් තැනැ. රජයේ යුද්ධ හමුදාව තිබෙනවා. යුද්ධ හමුදාව මදි නම් [බාධා කිරීමක්] අපේ ඒ සේවකයින් ඒප් රථවල යවන්නට මතු තැනැ. බෝම්බ වලලා තිබෙනවා නම් ඒ අපේ සේවකයින් ඒප් රථවල යවනවාද? දැන් ඒවා පරීක්ෂා කරන්නට "Land mine detectors" කියා යන්ත්‍ර වර්ගයක් තිබෙනවා. ඒවා යවනවා නම් ඒ යන්ත්‍ර සවි කර යවන්නට මතු. මොනවද යුද්ධ වැනි තිබෙන්නේ? අපට යුද්ධ වැනි කියාද තිබෙන්නේ? වැඩිපුර යුද්ධ වැනි ගන්නට අපට බැරි ඇයි? එක මාසයකට කෝටි ගණනක් වියදම් කරනවා නම් ඇයි අපට යුද්ධ වැනි ගන්නට බැරි?

නියෝජ්‍ය කාරක සභාපතිතුමා

(ශ්‍රී ජය පීරාතිත් ත්‍යාග් අරාජ්)

(The Deputy Chairman of Committees)

Will the hon. Member please co-operate with the Chair. The Hon. Prime Minister has to make his reply at 4 o'clock.

ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා

(ශ්‍රී ජය ආනන්ද ත්‍යාග්)

(Mr. Ananda Dassanayake)

හොඳ යුද්ධ වැනි අරගෙන යුද්ධයටත් ලබා දී ඒ සේවකයින් යවන්න. එහි තිබෙන්නේ යුද්ධයක්. එසේ තැවී ඒ අය මරන්නට ඉඩ දෙන්න එහා යයි මම රජයට කියනවා.

නියෝජ්‍ය කාරක සභාපතිතුමා

(ශ්‍රී ජය පීරාතිත් ත්‍යාග් අරාජ්)

(The Deputy Chairman of Committees)

The hon. Leader of the Opposition can speak till 4 o'clock and thereafter the Hon. Prime Minister can make his reply.

අ. හා. 3.19

අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා (විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ නායකතුමා)

(ශ්‍රී ජය අනුරා පණ්ඩාරනායක — எதிர்க்கட்சி முதல்வர்)

(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike - (Leader of the Opposition)

Sir, today again we are debating the extension of the emergency for the umpteenth number of time. On the last occasion when we debated the Emergency one of the fundamental criticisms I made of the Government was its failure to maintain law and order in the North, in the east and in the rest of the country, particularly in instances where the government had received prior information. We admit that there are certain situations that might arise when you are facing a major and grave threat from terrorism of an unprecedented nature and I do not expect any government to fully anticipate all incidents of terrorism. That is not possible. But we should - I have a right to expect the government - anticipate incidents of terrorism when they have been forewarned. During the last Emergency debate on the 20th of December, 1984, I gave example upon example to demonstrate to this House that in several instances, particularly at Kokilai and Nayar and the Dollar and Kent Farm incidents, the government had substantial prior information that such an attack was going to be made by the terrorists. Now, the Hon. Minister of National Security who arrived here late - I believe after the Hon. Prime Minister had finished speaking - launched into a terrible tirade against me and said, without answering any of the questions I had raised, "Oh, do not give wrong information. Do not assist the terrorists by talking nonsense in Parliament." He did not answer any of the charges we had substantially made, That was the only viable excuse that the Hon. Minister of National Security was able to give.

Look at what has happened since the last Emergency Debate. The most serious of the series of incidents that have taken place in Sri Lanka since the last one month and five days, since we last debated the Emergency, has been the tragic bombing of the Yal Devi train which was travelling from, I believe, some point in the Northern

[අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා]

part to Colombo where more than 50 people are believed to have been dead, of which a large and substantial number are believed to be personnel from the Army or the Security Forces. Now, look at this incident. The government had prior warning that such an attack was going to be made in the Yal Devi. I will read to you a news item which appeared in the Sunday Observer of the 30th of December 1984. The news item states :

*"YAL DEVI tragedy averted*

Twelve bombs weighing over 400 kilos were placed on the rail track between Palai and Kodikamam. The Jaffna-bound Yal Devi express which left Colombo Fort yesterday morning with 316 passengers would have blown up had it passed over the bombs."

This was the 30th of December where the Security Forces had timely intervened and averted a calamity which would have befallen 316 passengers travelling on this train from Colombo to Jaffna, the same Yal Devi train, which was attacked three weeks later on the 19th January 1985.

Now, Sir, if the Government had information that the Yal Devi was, in fact, targetted for a terrorist onslaught, when you had detected 400 kilos of bombs – 12 bombs weighing 400 kilos – just 19 days before this happened, why did you not have sufficient security personnel on this railway track to prevent this impending and obvious disaster that was going to strike the Yal Devi at some point or the other? It was a gross negligence on the part of the Government. It is a gross negligence on the part of the Minister of National Security, who comes and talks big here and runs away, to have neglected one of the most key areas of impending terrorist onslaughts and attacks and because of his total negligence, today more than 50 innocent people, including a large number of civilians, have been brutally murdered by terrorists' bombs. Again, I point the finger at the Hon. Minister of National Security even though he is not here. It is his responsibility and his responsibility alone. Though even the Ministry of Defence has been decimated, even though it has been distributed amongst various other people, the fundamental task of fighting terrorism lies in the hands of the Hon. Lalith Athulath Mudali. What has he done? He failed to provide security to the fishermen at Kokkilai and Nayar. He failed to provide security to the farmers at the Dollar and Kent farms and now with prior warning he has failed to prevent a disastrous incident where more than 50 people have been killed on the Yal Devi.

Now, Sir, the other incident which I referred to last time has occurred again. That is the kidnapping of two Police Inspectors. One by the name of Terrence de Silva and the other J. Nanayakkara. Now, Sir, last time during the Emergency Debate I explained at great length when the Allen couple was kidnapped that the

Government went out of its way, which rightly they should have done, to make every endeavour to obtain the release of this young American couple. So much so that foreign Governments were contacted, Mrs. Margert Thatcher, the Prime Minister of England was contacted, the late Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India was contacted. They all did their best. The Sri Lankan Government, in fact, made such an issue of it that during the hallowed period of Wesak everybody, including those who had taken *sil* were tuned on to their transistor radios waiting to see the outcome of the kidnapping of the Allen couple. That is all well and good. I am not criticising that. That is what a responsible Government must do when any citizen either of this country or another country is kidnapped. Now, compare that attitude with the attitude of this Government when the nine or so employees of the Kankesanturai Cement Corporation were kidnapped. There is a vast discrepancy.

The Government's approach was distinctly different. I am not for a moment accusing you unfairly of showing no concern. Of course, you have shown concern. I am not that unfair. But look at the difference of your approach? Today in the short span of 14 or 15 days, the whole country has forgotten these two inspectors Terrence de Silva and Nanayakkara, who had, in fact, been kidnapped. No one knows what has happened to them. We have been trotted out with very sympathetic stories of how their grieving families; their greing wives with their crying babies are waiting to share their Christmas lunch with their respective husbands and they never turned up. I would like to ask the Government what has happened to Terrance de Silva, and Nanayakkara? What has happened to your attempt to have them released? Not a word in the newspapers, on the television or on radio. Nobody talks about it. Are we also to believe that the same fate that awaited those nine Sinhala employees of the Kankesanturai Cement Corporation – they were all supposed to have been put into a building and blasted out of existence – awaited these two inspectors? Are we to believe that they are still enjoying turkey and ham awaiting the next Christmas? Now what are we doing about this? I think it is the obligation of this Government to inform this House the latest information they have received about these kidnapped Inspectors.

Now, Mr. Deputy Chairman of Committees, the last time I addressed this House on Emergency, I referred to the food situation in Jaffna. I made the statement on authentic reliable information that I had received that the food situation in Jaffna had reached dangerous proportions. I went to the extent of saying that, in fact, a situation of starvation was prevailing in Jaffna, which is what I said on the information I received and which I fully believed. When I made that statement, the Hon. Minister of National Security charged into this House

in a very bad mood and he lashed out at me. This is what he said. I quote from HANSARD of 20th December, 1984, Column 2325.

*“Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali :*

..... For example, one of the members had said”

That is, he is referring to me.

“Jaffna is starving!” I speak to the Government agent, Jaffna virtually every day. I met him today. He made no complaints that Jaffna is starving. So, if somebody is saying that Jaffna is starving that is incorrect and when such a statement is made, who benefits? When Jaffna is not starving and somebody here says Jaffna is starving who benefits? All that such a statement will do is to help the terrorists.”

Now this is a statement made in answer by Hon. Lalith Athulathmudali.

The Hon. Prime Minister will bear testimony to this that a Committee of every responsible and distinguished citizens from Jaffna calling themselves, I believe, the Jaffna Citizens Committee, met number of people. I believe they met the Hon. Prime Minister, they met H.E. the President, the Hon. Minister of National Security and myself and also a number of other people in Colombo. Now, there is a letter which these people have written to the President on 4th January, 1985, which I believe was written when they were in Colombo. Here is what they say :

“The recent Government actions have brought about

- (a) An acute food shortage
- (b) an acute fuel shortage and
- (c) A breakdown of the health services”

I do not want to deal with that because that is not relevant to my argument.

It further says :

“Food shortage has hit the poor very badly. Farmers and Fishermen are starving, with fishermen facing the worst because of their inability to go fishing.”

This is in a letter that the Jaffna Citizens Committee wrote to His Excellency the President and I believe in their verbal conversations they had with all of us, they told us that the citizens of Jaffna are facing a near starvation problem.

When these people say it, nobody says that they are playing into the hands of the terrorists. They are people from Jaffna who are responsible citizens, not terrorists, not Eelamists but people who want to live with the Sinhalese in peace and harmony. They have come here with utmost danger to themselves from the terrorists, to represent to the Sinhala Government and Sinhala leaders that they are, in fact, starving.

When I said this the Hon. Minister of National Security accused me of playing into the hands of the terrorists but when the truth is told, nobody says a word. This is the kind of irresponsible utterance that a responsible person like the Hon. Minister of National Security makes when he comes into this House and says that everything is all right in Jaffna. He says, “The Government Agent assures me that everything is all right”. Did he expect the Government Agent to say anything else? He would have lost his job if he said anything else. I would like to put the record straight because I know the Citizens Committee met a number of leaders of the Government and said the identical thing I said in this House about two weeks before they met His Excellency the President and the Hon. Prime Minister.

This morning or I believe it was this afternoon, the Hon. Minister of Public Administration, a very old politician in this House, for whom I have the warmest affection, has made an accusation against me that I have been making contradictory statements. I have made no contradictory statement. The Hon. Minister referred to a speech I am supposed to have made to the Lions International a few days ago where I said—and I will say it on the Floor of this House and wherever else I possibly can—that the doors to negotiation must always be open. We cannot talk to the terrorists.

The former Minister of Trade, Mr. Hanganaratne, has said somewhere that they must talk to the terrorists. We do not accept that and we think that that statement is not only irresponsible but also extremely dangerous. The only democratically elected representatives as far as we know—we do not know what kind of control they have in Jaffna at the moment—are the TULF. You talked with them for one year. What I said was, “Do not close the door to negotiations”. That is all I said. There is absolutely no contradiction of what I said earlier. The TULF may have lost control in the north. I am not saying no. I think they have abdicated the right to rule in the north and the right to win elections in the north, but that is neither here nor there. The TULF are the only known Tamils who have even the smallest say in Jaffna and with whom any Government can negotiate because the terrorists are not going to negotiate with the Government.

Now let us look at the contradictory statements made by the Government on this issue. You are very quick to point out the contradictory statements made by us but let us see the contradictory statements you have made.

His Excellency the President has said—I am quoting from the “Island”—

“President J. R. Jayewardene called upon the Citizens Committee of Jaffna who met him yesterday to ask the terrorists to give up their acts of violence and contest the elections which he intended to hold in the north and in the east in the near future and discuss in Parliament.”

[අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මත]

Now he wants to discuss with the terrorists in Parliament -

"a political solution to their problems."

The President is prepared to discuss with the terrorists, if they are elected to Parliament, about the solution of their ethnic problems. So, what is the harm in a lesser mortal like me saying, "Do not close the door to negotiations with the TULF". If you are prepared to talk with the terrorists, why can we not discuss with the TULF ?

The President himself has said on another occasion - I am again quoting from the "Island" of 15th January 1985 - in an interview he has given to the "Newsweek", an American magazine, that he would not hold any further talks with the TULF until they give up their demand for a separate state. You are not prepared to talk with the TULF unless they give up their demand for a separate state but you are prepared to talk with the Eelamists if they give up their acts of violence.

ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මත

(திரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாச)

(Mr. R. Premadasa)

They will have to swear. That is what the President meant. The TULF have refused to swear, so they are out of Parliament. What the President meant was that. If these people get elected and come to Parliament, that means they accept the unitary state of Sri Lanka.

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(திரு. அனூர் பண்டாரநாயக்க)

(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

If the TULF does not accept the Sixth Amendment, are we to understand that the terrorists will accept it ?

ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මත

(திரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாச)

(Mr. R. Premadasa)

That is a different matter. If they seek election and they come to Parliament, they will have to swear.

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(திரு. அனூர் பண்டாரநாயக்க)

(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

I appreciate the point. But, Sir, when one heeps these two statements side by side, one would see a certain anomaly and a certian contradiction in this because here you say, 'give up their violence'. There is no reference to the Sixth Amendment at all in this. I suppose what you say is technically correct. - (Interruption). Yes, but they will never. If the TULF does not swear allegiance under the Sixth Amendment, I cannot see why or how the terrorist are going to swear allegiance under any Amendment declaring this country a unitary state. It is impossible to accept that. - (Interruption).

Now, Sir, the other statement which I would like to deal with is another contradictory statement, a point of view expressed by His Excellency the President to the "Newsweek" magazine, where he says in an interview on the current situation -

"President J. R. Jayewardene said that he hoped to meet the Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi soon".

Now, he has told this person, Edward Bear, who met me also - the "Newsweek" man who covered this interview of President Jayewardene - that he intends to meet Rajiv Gandhi soon.

ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මත

(திரு. ஆர். பிரேமதாச)

(Mr. R. Premadasa)

Do not distort these things.

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(திரு. அனூர் பண்டாரநாயக்க)

(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

No, no this is the President's interview. He has not quoted me at all. He spent two hours with me, but did not quote me at all. I am lucky.

Now, Sir, he says this. Look at the statement issued by my Friend, the Hon. Minister of State after a Cabinet meeting this week ? I am quoting from the "Island" of yesterday.

The heading is "The Government wont, have talks with Rajiv : Ananda". That is your goodself.

"Government reiterated it will not have any discussions with Indian Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, on the ethnic problem in the near future".

So the President says, one week before that, that he wants to meet him soon. - (Interruption), Why not ? A complete contradiction !

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(கலாநிதி ஆனந்ததிஸ்ஸ த அல்விஸ்)

(Dr. Anandatissa de Alwis)

No, no. What is the meaning of "soon" ?

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(திரு. அனூர் பண்டாரநாயக்க)

(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

Now, now ! I will take the dictionary.

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(கலாநிதி ஆனந்ததிஸ்ஸ த அல்விஸ்)

(Dr. Anandatissa de Alwis)

There is a word in Auction Law and Customs Law, when it says "You shall pay forthwith", "forthwith" can be three months, four months, five months.

ஈழர் வன்மீரணமக மனது  
(திரு. அனூர் பண்டாரநாயக்க)  
(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

You are splitting hairs about one simple word.

ஈவார்ய ஈனந்ரகி஢்ட ஢் ஢்ரலீ஢் மனது  
(கலாநிதி ஆனந்ததிஸ்ஸ த அல்விஸ்)  
(Dr. Anandatissa de Alwis)

After all, those two people will meet not for this. This is our domestic affair. They will meet as leaders of Asia on various other global matters. We do not have to discuss this with him.

ஈழர் வன்மீரணமக மனது  
(திரு. அனூர் பண்டாரநாயக்க)  
(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

No, no. "The Government reiterated that it will not have any discussion with the Indian Prime Minister at all"

ஈவார்ய ஈனந்ரகி஢்ட ஢் ஢்ரலீ஢் மனது  
(கலாநிதி ஆனந்ததிஸ்ஸ த அல்விஸ்)  
(Dr. Anandatissa de Alwis)

On this.

ஈழர் வன்மீரணமக மனது  
(திரு. அனூர் பண்டாரநாயக்க)  
(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

So what were they going to meet on earlier ? Is it to discuss the growing of roses ?

ஈவார்ய ஈனந்ரகி஢்ட ஢் ஢்ரலீ஢் மனது  
(கலாநிதி ஆனந்ததிஸ்ஸ த அல்விஸ்)  
(Dr. Anandatissa de Alwis)

No, no. There are so many other issues.

ஈழர் வன்மீரணமக மனது  
(திரு. அனூர் பண்டாரநாயக்க)  
(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

Oh, I see !

ஈவார்ய ஈனந்ரகி஢்ட ஢் ஢்ரலீ஢் மனது  
(கலாநிதி ஆனந்ததிஸ்ஸ த அல்விஸ்)  
(Dr. Anandatissa de Alwis)

The security of the Indian Ocean.

ஈழர் வன்மீரணமக மனது  
(திரு. அனூர் பண்டாரநாயக்க)  
(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

Hon. Minister, you cannot bluff.

ஈவார்ய ஈனந்ரகி஢்ட ஢் ஢்ரலீ஢் மனது  
(கலாநிதி ஆனந்ததிஸ்ஸ த அல்விஸ்)  
(Dr. Anandatissa de Alwis)

No, there is no bluff about it. This is our domestic affair.

ஈழர் வன்மீரணமக மனது  
(திரு. அனூர் பண்டாரநாயக்க)  
(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

Yes. Then, what I am saying is that you are saying one thing and the President is saying something else.

ஈவார்ய ஈனந்ரகி஢்ட ஢் ஢்ரலீ஢் மனது  
(கலாநிதி ஆனந்ததிஸ்ஸ த அல்விஸ்)  
(Dr. Anandatissa de Alwis)

No, no ; we have perfect accord.

ஈழர் வன்மீரணமக மனது  
(திரு. அனூர் பண்டாரநாயக்க)  
(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

No. You are in perfect 'dis-accord'.

ஈவார்ய ஈனந்ரகி஢்ட ஢் ஢்ரலீ஢் மனது  
(கலாநிதி ஆனந்ததிஸ்ஸ த அல்விஸ்)  
(Dr. Anandatissa de Alwis)

No contradiction.

ஈழர் வன்மீரணமக மனது  
(திரு. அனூர் பண்டாரநாயக்க)  
(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

Not perfect but total 'dis-accord'. President says "I want to meet Rajiv Gandhi soon" and you say "We will not meet him at all". So please co-ordinate your wavelength.

ஈவார்ய ஈனந்ரகி஢்ட ஢் ஢்ரலீ஢் மனது  
(கலாநிதி ஆனந்ததிஸ்ஸ த அல்விஸ்)  
(Dr. Anandatissa de Alwis)

The question is about our ethnic matters. The question from the Press was about ethnic matters. President Jayewardene is not going to meet him soon on that matter. That is our personal matter.

ஈழர் வன்மீரணமக மனது  
(திரு. அனூர் பண்டாரநாயக்க)  
(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

What do you think the President was referring to here ? You know him more than I do.

ஈவார்ய ஈனந்ரகி஢்ட ஢் ஢்ரலீ஢் மனது  
(கலாநிதி ஆனந்ததிஸ்ஸ த அல்விஸ்)  
(Dr. Anandatissa de Alwis)

My good Heavens ! There are so many global problems to discuss - from one Non-aligned leader to another.

ஈழர் வன்மீரணமக மனது  
(திரு. அனூர் பண்டாரநாயக்க)  
(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

You have answered my question adequately. Thank you very much. Global problems - he must go and discuss global problems. We will accept that, Sir. I think every Member in this House will accept your explanation as one of the shoddiest attempts to cover up a glaring contradiction.

ஈவார்ய ஈனந்ரகி஢்ட ஢் ஢்ரலீ஢் மனது  
(கலாநிதி ஆனந்ததிஸ்ஸ த அல்விஸ்)  
(Dr. Anandatissa de Alwis)

No contradictions.

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

Now, Sir, I do not want to cross swords with him. I know he is in a delicate state of health. I do not want to excite him. - (Interruption). I am glad to hear that you are well. I wish you long life.

ආචාර්ය ආනන්දතිස්ස ද අල්විස් මහතා  
(கலாநிதி ஆனந்ததிஸ்ஸ த அல்விஸ்)  
(Dr. Anandatissa de Alwis)

Delicate state of health? I saw a gynaecologist this morning!

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

Now, Sir, today, in the morning-(Interruption). I did not hear that. What is it?

චියෝජන තාරක සහපතිතුමා  
(குழுப் பிரதித் தலைவர் அவர்கள்)  
(The Deputy Chairman of Committees)

I think it is better to stick to the resolution.

ආචාර්ය ආනන්දතිස්ස ද අල්විස් මහතා  
(கலாநிதி ஆனந்ததிஸ்ஸ த அல்விஸ்)  
(Dr. Anandatissa de Alwis)

I am sorry, Sir.

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

Today, in the morning, the Hon. Prime Minister was speaking about-I was not here when he spoke on the last occasion when he was answering a question of Mr. Lakshman Jayakody but today I heard him saying in the morning-please correct me if I am wrong - "that we have never negotiated with India and we will never negotiate with India on this ethnic problem".

Now, Sir, after I went home I looked at the meaning of the word "negotiate". Let us not split hairs, let us go to the Oxford Dictionary which is the accepted authority on the meaning of English words. Now, the word "negotiate", it says, means "Confer with a another with a view to compromise or agreement". I will repeat that, Sir. The word "negotiate" means, "confer with another with a view to compromise or agreement". I will prove to you and I have proved to this House from documents that have been circulated to us by your Government at the All Party Conference that you have done much more than negotiate with India. I will prove to you. - (Interruption). Yes, certainly.

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

I will also after to the Shorter Oxford Dictionary, Sir. There, it says, "negotiation-a course of treaty with another to bring about some result in affairs of State"

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

That is one interpretation.

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

That is why I disagreed with the hon. Member for Matugama. Negotiation and discussion are two different things.

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

That is correct.

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

Then the meaning of the word discussion is given as "Examination of a matter by argument for and against".

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

That is correct.

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

"A disquisition is which a subject is treated from different sides." That is what we have done; not negotiation. If it is a negotiation, then that ends up with a treaty.

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

No, no.

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

We have never had, in the true meaning of the word "negotiation", anything to do with India as far as our internal ethnic problem is concerned.

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

Sir, I agree with the Prime Minister that there is a vast difference between "negotiate" and "discuss", but as far as the Oxford Dictionary is concerned the word "treaty" is not mentioned in this. All it says is, "confer with another with view to compromise or agreement".

Now look at Annexure 'A' and Annexure 'B', which were distributed to the All Party Conference. What does your own document, distributed by your own



Government and printed at the Government Press say ? Look at Annexure A 2 which is and interview given by Mr. H. W. Jayewardene, Queen's Counsel, on his return to Colombo from India. Look at what he says :

"I told her that the President will be prepared to have further discussions of any new proposals provided of course that the unity of Sri Lanka would not in any way be affected. Mrs. Gandhi then offered her good offices to enable a final decision to be reached. I expressed my appreciation of that offer. Having communicated with the President, I told Mrs. Gandhi that he welcomed her offer."

Take the next quotation. I quote from Annexure A.4 which is a statement issued by the Presidential Secretariat.

"His Excellency the President discussed with the Special Envoy of the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. G. Parthasarathi, proposals regarding amendments to the D.D.C.'s Law".

You have gone to the extent of discussing with Mr. Parthasarathy your proposals regarding amendments to the DDC's laws, which is completely an internal matter for this country. Why should you discuss with Mr. Parthasarathy what you are going to do with the DDC's laws ?

ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා  
(තිලු. ජ්‍ය. பிரேமதாச)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

That was a discussion.

අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා  
(තිලු. අනුර பண்டாரநாயக்க)  
(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

That is negotiation.

ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා  
(තිලු. ජ්‍ය. பிரேமதாச)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

No, no.

අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා  
(තිලු. අනුර பண்டாரநாயக்க)  
(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

That is a negotiation. I will come to that.

ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා  
(තිලු. ජ්‍ය. பிரேமதாச)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

No, no ; it cannot be. The Hon. Leader of the Opposition must concede this fact. You can discuss with anybody any matter, internal or external matter. That flexibility is there. May I say this for your information. Now, there is the most controversial Annexure C which the hon. Member for Matugama also referred to. There is a very important statement there. I would like to draw your kind attention to them :

"These proposals are in the context of the unity and integrity of Sri Lanka and will form a basis for formulating the Agenda of the All Party Conference."

This is a very, very important thing. You are always referring to Annexure C. Start from the preface to the

document as such. What does it say ? "Will form the basis for formulating the agenda of the All Party Conference." So, there is no negotiation.

අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා  
(තිලු. අනුර பண்டாரநாயக்க)  
(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

I will come to that. From the documents I am reading and trying to prove to this House that what the Government of Sri Lanka did before the All Party Conference with the representative of the Prime Minister of India at that time was much more than a discussion. You were in fact using the Indian Government and using Mr. Parathasarathi as courier to carry your messages back and forth with the Tamil United Liberation Front.

ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා  
(තිලු. ජ්‍ය. பிரேமதாச)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

No. The hon. Leader of the Opposition must understand this situation. As far as India is concerned they take up the position ? "We are not going to interfere with your internal affairs, but look ! as two friendly nations you must accept the fact that there are some people of Indian origin living in your country. We are coming to assist you because of that". That is how the discussions took place.

අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා  
(තිලු. අනුර பண்டாரநாயக்க)  
(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

They have bluffed your Government by saying that ?

ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා  
(තිලු. ජ්‍ය. பிரேமதாச)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

I would not say that. Now, supposing this situation arose in India where people of Sri Lankan origin are living, surely we also would like to get ourselves involved in some discussion because otherwise our own people will say, "Look, you are not caring for us ?" So, in that spirit we were willing to discuss, but not to negotiate. "Negotiate" has a completely different meaning.

අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා  
(තිලු. අනුර பண்டாரநாயக்க)  
(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

No, Sir. With all due respect to the Hon. Prime Minister, I am not questioning as to why India came to negotiate or for discussion with you because there are Tamils of Indian origin. All that I am not disputing. Those are not matters of dispute. But what I am saying is that your talks with India went much beyond discussion. It was in fact more than negotiation. I will read the rest of it. I am quoting from Annexure A-4 (1).

"Mr. Parthasarathi would place before the TULF leaders to enable them to arrive at an acceptable solution to the present problems facing the Tamil Community in Sri Lanka."

ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා  
(ති.රු. ජ්‍ය. ඩී.පී.ප්‍රේමදාස)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

The TULF is always running to India and bothering that Government. In a friendly discussion these things are brought out and surely nobody is going to say, "No, we refuse to discuss". There is nothing wrong in discussing.

අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා  
(ති.රු. අනුර පණ්ඩාරනායක)  
(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

You can reply to me. Now, this is an interview given by Mr. Parathasarathi. It is at Annexure A - 4 (2).

"As I have mentioned earlier, my visit was part of the continuing process of India's good office to explore the possibility of reaching a political settlement which would be acceptable to all communities and promote national harmony.

The President's statement mentions the procedure to be adopted. Since the leaders of the TULF were not present in Colombo, I will be discussing these proposals with them on my return to India and will communicate their responses to His Excellency the President when he comes to Delhi for the Commonwealth summit. We are looking forward to his visit."

Now, look at this. This is a statement issued by the President His Excellency J. R. Jayewardene on his return from New Delhi on 1.12.83.

"On my visit to New Delhi to attend the Meeting of the Commonwealth Heads of Government, I had an opportunity to discuss with Her Excellency Shrimati Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India, the problem of Sri Lanka Tamils in Sri Lanka."

Now, Sir, these quotations are from Annexures A and B given to us by Government. They clearly show, all the quotations I made, that in fact it was not merely an exchange of ideas or discussion of views, as the Hon. Prime Minister tries to make out, between two friendly neighbours. It was much more than that. India was directly involved in the negotiating process not only to bring about a solution to the ethnic conflict, but they went as far as even to persuade the Tamil United Liberation Front to come and participate in the All Party Conference. We all know that.

You know that and I know that. In fact, we all know that.

ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා  
(ති.රු. ජ්‍ය. ඩී.පී.ප්‍රේමදාස)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

It was attended by all Opposition parties including your party.

අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා  
(ති.රු. අනුර පණ්ඩාරනායක)  
(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

That is correct, but you are fully aware that India persuaded that TULF to -

ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා  
(ති.රු. ජ්‍ය. ඩී.පී.ප්‍රේමදාස)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

I must tell you quite frankly, and you can ask His Excellency the President also, that he did not accede to requests by anybody else other than the opposition political parties in Sri Lanka.

අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා  
(ති.රු. අනුර පණ්ඩාරනායක)  
(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

I accept that.

ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා  
(ති.රු. ජ්‍ය. ඩී.පී.ප්‍රේමදාස)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

Because at the first meeting, I do not know whether you were there -

අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා  
(ති.රු. අනුර පණ්ඩාරනායක)  
(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

I was not there.

ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා  
(ති.රු. ජ්‍ය. ඩී.පී.ප්‍රේමදාස)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

You can ask Mr. K. B. Ratnayake, at the first meeting this was the first request made by the representatives of the political parties and your mother made an open statement and appealed to us -

අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා  
(ති.රු. අනුර පණ්ඩාරනායක)  
(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

Yes, that is correct.

ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා  
(ති.රු. ජ්‍ය. ඩී.පී.ප්‍රේමදාස)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

- and said, "What is the All Party Conference you are going to have without the TULF?". In fact, she went to the extent also of saying, "Do not lay conditions".

අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා  
(ති.රු. අනුර පණ්ඩාරනායක)  
(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

We concede that. But I am not on that point. I accept your argument that the President's bona fides are perfect and I am not doubting them. He in fact invited the TULF when we asked him to invite them. I accept that. But my point is not that. My point is that the Government of India played a very important role to persuade the TULF to come here. So that the Government of India was involved in much more than a negotiating process. They became the මඟුල් කටුවා fact to persuade the TULF to come here. His Excellency the President may have invited them, because we requested that. I am not doubting that, I am not even questioning that. What I am saying is that the Government of India

played a crucial role in bringing them to the Round-Table Conference. That we all know. Therefore, I do not want to labour this point over and over again. What I wish to say is that, if anyone says that they did not negotiate with India it is a thing which has been contradicted and denied by the very documents distributed by this Government to the All Party Conference in the form of Annexures A and B. So I am not labouring that point any more. I think, today if the Government denies that they were negotiating with India, that is completely incorrect.

Now, the last point I wish to make is about a very damaging statement that has been made by the Hon. Minister of National Security. He had made use of a statement made by Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, which had been in fact taken out of context and reproduced in some Indian newspaper or the other, and the Hon. Minister of National Security went to town saying that Mrs. Bandaranaike is supposed to have said that harmless Tamils are being killed in Jaffna. She is also supposed to have said that simple people are suffering and the terrorists are escaping. Now, Mrs. Bandaranaike has made this statement, and I am glad that none of the others Minister joined Mr. Athulath Mudali in his frantic attempt to defame Mrs. Bandaranaike. He went to town with it ; I have just got one headline which says,

"ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ කුසල ප්‍රකාශය එහි ද්‍රෝහී කතාවක්... ළමුන් අහිමිවීම කෙරෙහි"

He called her a traitor. It was carried in the headlines of every newspaper. It was conveyed in the television news and our radio as well. He called her a traitor because she said that innocent people are being killed in the North. I am only sorry that Mr. Athulath Mudali is not here today. But, the same statement that Mrs. Bandranaike made has been repeatedly made by the Hon. Lalith Athulath Mudali and by none other than His Excellency the President himself. I will quote that. Here is the statement Mr. Athulath Mudali made in Parliament on the 29th of November 1984, which has been reproduced by the Ministry of State. This is what he says :

"You are harassing innocent fishermen ? We face this argument sometimes in the drawing rooms of Colombo. The problem of innocent civilians, I am not saying that there is no such problem. Sometimes it does happen."

He says the same thing that Mrs. Bandaranaike has said. And he says something even more.

"In any situation like this it does happen that you cannot fully and finally distinguish between an innocent and a terrorist".

This is the person, the Minister entrusted with National Security, who admits on the floor of this House that innocent people are being killed. And he says it is difficult for the armed forces to distinguish between a

terrorist and an innocent person. What is the difference between what Mr. Athulath Mudali has said and Mrs. Bandaranaike has said ?

I will quote to you the Sinhala version of that speech which is even better than the English one. I will quote from the "Dinamina" of 4th January, 1985. This is the speech he has made I believe at some public meeting somewhere. He says:

"කෙසේ වුවත් එම ප්‍රදේශවල සිටින අහිමිකරු අය ඉතා මා තුළ දැඩි කණ්ණාඩුවක් ඇත. එයට හේතුව වූයේ ඊ.කේ.වී. කටයුතුවලට සම්බන්ධ නොවූවන් ආරක්ෂක සේවා කටයුතුවලදී වූයේ එවැනිව පත්වන්නට සිදුවීමයි."

He says the same thing that Mrs. Bandaranaike has said. And to call her a traitor - what does he call himself ? If she is a traitor he is a double traitor because he is the man in charge of this entire operation. When people criticize their opponents they must please find something valid, find something tangible. Has she said something which is utterly incorrect ?

Now, look at His Excellency's own statement. His Excellency says something even better than that. He has told the "Newsweek", the same man who interviewed him, Mr. Edward Bear. I have got here with me a quotation from His Excellency's interview to the "Newsweek" where he admits that there is indiscriminate killing going on in Jaffna. I will take the fullest responsibility for the statement I make. I cannot locate the particular reference but if you look at the latest "Newsweek" His Excellency has said - I take the fullest responsibility for my statement ; His Excellency's statement is reproduced in the "Newsweek" which I failed to bring today - categorically that there are killings of innocents in the North and that that is inevitable. He has quoted I believe the killings in India. He has also quoted the killings of innocent people in Londonderry, in Ireland. He himself admits to an international news magazine so widely read as the "Newsweek" that there are innocents who have been killed.

So, how can Mr. Athulath Mudali, with what kind of political chicanery he thinks he is behaving when he gets up and says that Mrs. Bandaranaike is a traitor for saying something which he himself has said repeatedly, when his own leader, His Excellency the President of Sri Lanka, has very candidly admitted to the "Newsweek" magazine that innocent people are being killed in the North ? So what is wrong if Mrs. Bandaranaike has said that ?

ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා  
(ශ්‍රී ල. ජුර්. ඩී.පී.පී.පී.)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

His Excellency has said sometimes innocent people may have been killed "accidentally."

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

No, he has not used the word “accidentally”.

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

But the reported interview of your mother is quite different. You say it is not correct. What has been reported is, “The former Prime Minister Sirima Bandaranaike has accused the Sri Lanka authorities of killings and harassing of innocent Tamils and treating every Tamil youth as a suspected guerrilla”. That is different from what His Excellency has said.

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

But the fact remains that you admit that innocents are being killed. We may give it a different interpretation. Of course, your interpretation of innocents being killed is different to our interpretation. But the fact remains that there are excesses. I am not blaming the army at all. Our army has been largely a ceremonial army. We know that. Our army has never been trained to fight wars. They are fighting under the most difficult circumstances. Under such circumstances such things happen. I am not denying that. So why are you making such a song and dance when Mr. Athulath Mudali himself has admitted it? I am sorry he is not here. He always makes statements and runs away.

The final point I wish to make is about a statement made by the Hon. Minister of Public Administration this afternoon. I learnt that he has criticized the TULF for meeting the Prime Minister of India. I believe he has been substantiated by a statement made by the Hon. Minister of State.

ಶಿ‍යෝජ්‍ය කාරක සභාපතිතුමා  
(குழுப் பிரதித் தலைவர் அவர்கள்)  
(The Deputy Chairman of Committees)

Order, please! I have given you two minutes more. I can give you another two minutes more if you want provided the Prime Minister agrees.

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

Sir, with the permission of the House I will take five minutes more at the end.

ಶಿ‍යෝජ්‍ය කාරක සභාපතිතුමා  
(குழுப் பிரதித் தலைவர் அவர்கள்)  
(The Deputy Chairman of Committees)

It is very nice for both the Hon. Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition to agree.

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

This is what is stated :

“The meeting between Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and the TULF Leader, Mr. A. Amirthalingam, to say the very least, is an unfriendly act towards Sri Lanka’ Cabinet spokesman and State Minister Dr. Anandatissa de Alwis announced yesterday.”

You have been making some intelligent statements. Now you are criticising –(Interruption). I am not defending the Indian Government nor am I holding a brief for Mr. Amirthalingam. All I want to point out is the contradictory positions your Government takes from time to time. That is all I am interested in. I do not care who Rajiv Gandhi meets. I do not care who Amirthalingam meets. All I am concerned with is the attitude of the Sri Lanka Government in this particular argument.

Now, Sir, look at this. You did not say a word, you did not utter one word of protest, when the TULF met Mrs. Gandhi, because you were negotiating. You used the offices of Mrs. Gandhi and a special representative, Mr. Parthasarthy, who came here three times, to convey various messages and proposals to the TULF. At that time you made no protest at all. You did not say one word. But today you say, “Why do they go and meet Rajiv Gandhi?” I am not saying it is right or wrong –(Interruption). So do you think he will listen to you–(Interruption). No, but, Hon. Minister, he will ask you the simple question, “When the TULF met my mother you made no protest; why are you protesting when he comes to meet me?” How will you answer that question if he asks it?

මොන්ටේගු ජයවික්‍රම මහතා  
(திரு. மொண்டேகு ஜயவிக்ரம)  
(Mr. Montague Jayawickrema)

Let me tell you that Mrs. Gandhi out of sheer disgust had said, “These people are coming and worrying me”.

ಶಿ‍ಯෝජ්‍ය කාරක සභාපතිතුමා  
(குழுப் பிரதித் தலைவர் அவர்கள்)  
(The Deputy Chairman of Committees)

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

අනතුරුව ශි‍යෝජ්‍ය කාරක සභාපතිතුමා මූලාසනයෙන් ඉවත් වූයෙන්, කථනායකතුමා මූලාසනාරූඪ විය.

அதன் பிறகு, குழுப் பிரதித் தலைவர் அவர்கள் அக்கிராசனத்தினின்றே அகலவே, சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள் தலைமை வகித்தார்கள்.

Whereupon MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES left the Chair, and MR. SPEAKER took the Chair.

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

The Hon. Minister of Public Administration will listen to me for a second. The Prime Minister of India may have said that they are becoming a nuisance to her

- I concede that - but you never protested when they met her. So why should you protest when they meet her son ?

එන්. ඩෙන්සිල් ප්‍රනාන්දු මහතා  
(ශ්‍රී ලං. අය. බෙ. සේ. සේ. පෙ. සේ. සේ.)  
(Mr. N. Denzil Fernando)

How do you know that at that time there was no protest ?

අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා  
(ශ්‍රී ලං. අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක)  
(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

I know that because there was nothing public.

එන්. ඩෙන්සිල් ප්‍රනාන්දු මහතා  
(ශ්‍රී ලං. අය. බෙ. සේ. සේ. පෙ. සේ. සේ.)  
(Mr. N. Denzil Fernando)

How do you know ?

අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා  
(ශ්‍රී ලං. අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක)  
(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

For the simple reason - (Interruption). I will tell you.

එන්. ඩෙන්සිල් ප්‍රනාන්දු මහතා  
(ශ්‍රී ලං. අය. බෙ. සේ. සේ. පෙ. සේ. සේ.)  
(Mr. N. Denzil Fernando)

There were protests but they were not made public. That is because of the law of the two countries. They were not made public.

අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා  
(ශ්‍රී ලං. අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක)  
(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

I will tell you how I know. I know more that is going on in your Government than what you know. That is how I know.

එන්. ඩෙන්සිල් ප්‍රනාන්දු මහතා  
(ශ්‍රී ලං. අය. බෙ. සේ. සේ. පෙ. සේ. සේ.)  
(Mr. N. Denzil Fernando)

That is your presumption; my presumption is otherwise.

අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා  
(ශ්‍රී ලං. අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක)  
(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

A nice legal point, well made, but completely irrelevant !

Mr. Speaker, I do not wish to take any more time of the House. I have taken my full time. Finally just once, I would like to ask the Government - this point has been made by the hon. Member for Maharagama - about the CID probes into the police leaks to terrorists. There have been a number of news items in the papers of how all kinds of thoroughly secret documents and classified information are being leaked to the terrorists in Jaffna from the Police Headquarters, so much so that they say that in respect of the two inspectors who were kidnapped, Messrs. Nanayakkara and Terrence de

Silva, the time they were travelling from Jaffna to Colombo was also given from Colombo. I do not want an answer from you now. I know that it is difficult for you to answer in open Parliament. But certainly at the next meeting of the Consultative Committee on Defence we will expect an adequate and full reply from the genial Mr. Werapitiya as to how the Government is going to deal with the leaks in the Police Department.

Thank you very much. That is all I wish to say.

අ. හ. 4.08

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

Mr. Speaker, at 5 o'clock I will ask for the permission of this House to take ten or fifteen minutes more. After the vote on the Emergency Resolution we have three important items to get parliamentary sanction for before Parliament is prorogued tonight. I hope all hon. Members will agree.

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, ප්‍රථමයෙන්ම මා මේ අවස්ථාවේදී කියන්න කැමතියි, අප විපක්ෂ නායකතුමා කීවා වගේ, ඉතාමත්ම උග්‍ර අවදානමකට මේ රට මුහුණ පා සිටින මේ අවස්ථාවේදී අපේ රටේ ජනතාව නොයෙක් ආකාරයෙන් විශාල පරිත්‍යාගයක යෙදී සිටින බව. ඔවුන්ගේ ජීවිතවලට පවා නොයෙක් අවහිරකම් ඇති වී තිබෙනවා. ඒවා ඉතාමත්ම උසස් ලෙස ඒ අය ඉවසනවා. එපමණක් නොවෙයි, අද ඇති වී තිබෙන මේ අවදානම් තත්ත්වයේදී මට පෙනෙනවා, ඔවුන් ජාතික ආරක්ෂක අරමුදලට විශාල වශයෙන් පරිත්‍යාග කරන බව. දුප්පත් පොහොසත් හේදයක් නැතිව, ලොකු කුඩා හේදයක් නැතිව ඒ පරිත්‍යාග කරනවා. කුඩා දරුවන් පවා තමන් ඉතිරි කළ මුදල් නිර්ලෝභීව පරිත්‍යාග කරනවා. ඒ වාගේම ලේ දත් දෙනවා. තමුත්තාත්ස් දත්තවා, මේ අනතුරුවලට මුහුණ පාන උදවියට ඇතුළුවට හදිසියේ ලේ අවශ්‍ය වෙනවා. ඒ ලේ දත් දීමේදී අපට පෙනෙනවා, ජාතියක් කුලයක් පංතියක් ගැන හිතන්නේ නැතිව, සිංහල දෙමළ මුස්ලිම් බර්ගර් යන ගැම ජාතියකම උදවිය ලේ දත් දෙනවා. ඒ වාගේම ආහාර, රෝදපිළි විශාල වශයෙන් පරිත්‍යාග කරනවා. ඔය විධියට අපේ රටේ ජනතාව මේ අවස්ථාවේදී ඉතා විශිෂ්ඨ ගුණාංගයක් ප්‍රදර්ශනය කරනවා. ඒ ගැම දෙනාටම අපේ රජයේ ගෞරවය මේ අවස්ථාවේදී පුද කරන්නට කැමතියි.

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, ඒ වාගේම තමුත්තාත්ස් දත්තවා ඇති, පිටරටවලට ගිහිත් පදිංචිව ඉන්න ඇතුළු ලාංකීයයින් අපේ රටට විරුද්ධව ප්‍රේඛි ප්‍රචාර ගෙන ගියා. දැනටත් ගෙන යනවා. ඒ වාගේම අපට ආධාර කරන ආණ්ඩුවලට නොයෙක් නොයෙක් බලපෑම් ඇති කලා. අපට ආධාර උපකාර කරන්න එපාය කියලා. ඒ විධියට දේශ ප්‍රේඛි වැඩ පිළිවෙලක් ගෙන ගියා. ඒ අතරේ අපි ඇතුළු වීම කල්පනා කලා. අපේ රටට හිතවත් දේශ ප්‍රේඛි ජනතාව ඒ රටවලට ගිහිත් රැකීරක්ෂා කරන අනෙකුත් උදවිය ඒ රටවල ඉදගෙන මොනවද කරන්නේ කියා. මම බොහෝම සන්නේෂ්ඨ කියන්න. මෑතක සිට අපට පෙනෙනවා ඒ දේශප්‍රේඛි ජනතාව සංවිධානය වෙලා අපේ රටේ නියම තත්ත්වය ඒ රටවල ජනතාවටත්, ආණ්ඩුවලටත් පෙන්වා දෙන්න ක්‍රියා කර ගෙන යන බව. මා කැමති මෙය ගැන්කඩ වාර්තාවට ඇතුළු කරන්න. මොකද, ඒ ජනතාව දැන ගත යුතුයි, මේ රජය, මේ පාර්ලිමේන්තුව ඔවුන්ගේ උදර ක්‍රියා කලාපය අගය කරන බව.

All these years Eelamists living in Europe, the United States, Canada, Malaysia, Singapore and Australia have been busy unleashing distorted and perverted propaganda alleging discrimination and persecution of Tamils in Sri Lanka.

The objectives of the Eelam propaganda abroad were to urge foreign governments to sever diplomatic relations, cut aid and impose trade sanctions against Sri Lanka in addition to discrediting the Sinhalese as barbaric in the eyes of the foreign public.

[පාර්ලිමේන්තුවේ සාකච්ඡාවක්]  
 At this critical juncture Sri Lankans overseas have launched a counter-offensive to fight the vile propaganda of the Eelamists. These organizations have proved themselves to be a dynamic force and have done much to focus the correct image of the country and also to campaign against the threats of the Eelamists and terrorists to disrupt the unity and integrity of our island home.

Sri Lankans in the United States, Canada, Britain and Australia have already made significant headway in jolting the citizens of these countries into reality.

The Government recognizes the untiring and loyal efforts now being taken in world capitals by these expatriates and thanks them most sincerely for valiantly fighting the vituperative Eelam monster.

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, අපේ කලවාන ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා (සරත් මුත්තේවැවේ මහතා) වෙතද වඩා සැහැල්ලු කථාවක්, අද කළේ, එතුමා වැඩියෙන් කාලය ගත්තේ නැහැ. එතුමා ඒ කථාව කළේ එතුමාගේ පක්ෂයේ දර්ශණය අනුවයි. එතුමා කීවේ මොකක්ද? මොකක්ද මේ සිදු වෙත යන දේ; ත්‍රස්තවාදය මේ විධියට දිගටම යතවා; Cannot you give a moratorium and resume discussions and come to some solution? එතුමා දන්නවා අපි කොයි තරම් ඒ ගැන උත්සාහ දරා තිබෙන්නවාද කියා. අපි බිම තබන්නවා නම්, ඒ ත්‍රස්තවාදී වැඩ තහනම් කරන්නවා නම් සමාවක් දීම ගැන බලන්නවා කියා ජනාධිපතිතුමා ප්‍රකාශ කර තිබෙන බව එතුමා දන්නවා. මෙය විධියට දත් කිහිප වරක්ම ප්‍රකාශ කර තිබෙන්නවා.

මේ අවස්ථාවේදී එක කාරණයක් අවධාරණයෙන් කියන්න කැමතියි. මේ කාඩ්කාලික, ත්‍රස්තවාදී දරුණු වැඩ පිළිවෙලකට ගය වී අපේ සදකාලීන ජනම උරුමයක්. ජනතා උරුමයක් පාවා දෙන්න අපි ලැස්ති නැහැ. නමුත් අපි ලැස්තියි. ධාරාණ වැඩ පිළිවෙලක් ගැන සාකච්ඡා කරන්න.

කථානායකතුමනි, සර්ව පාක්ෂික සමුළුවේදී උච්ච එක්සත් විමුක්ති පෙරමුණ සිය යෝජනා ඉදිරිපත් කරන්න පටන් ගත්තේ "Grassroot Organisation" ගැන සඳහන් කරමිනුයි. මේ රජය ගම් සහ අගෝසි කළය, සුළු තහන සහ අගෝසි කළය, නමුත් නියම ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදයක් ක්‍රියාත්මක වන්න මිනැ නම් ඒ ගම් මට්ටමේ ආයතනවලට බලතල දෙන්න මිනැයයි ඒ අය කීවා. ඒ අවස්ථාවේදී අපි පෙන්නා දුන්නා, ගම් ප්‍රදේශවල ඇති ගම් සහ හා සුළු තහන සහ ආදිය මුදල් හිඟකම නිසා සිය ආයතනවල කටයුතු කරගෙන ගියේ බොහොම අමාරුවෙන් බව.

ඒ වෙනුවට අපි-එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂය-ඉදිරිපත් කළ, යෝජනාවක්. සර්වජන ජනද බලයෙන් තේරී පත් වන උප දිසාපති මට්ටමේ ප්‍රාදේශීය සහ ක්‍රමයක් ඇති කරන්න අපි සූදනම්. අද කවිවේරි මට්ටමේ තිබෙන බලතලත් ඒ ප්‍රාදේශීය සහායවලට දෙන්න අපි කැමතියි. නමුත් උච්ච එක්සත් විමුක්ති පෙරමුණ අවසානයේදී කීවේ මොකක්ද? රටේ පළාත් නමය සඳහා සියලු බලතල සහිත "Autonomous Bodies"-පළාත් සහ-ඇති කරන්න කීවා. ඒ, මොකක් සඳහාද? "Separatism" ගෙවත් රට බෙද වෙන් කර ගැනීම අනවශ්‍ය නම් ඒ පිටරල් ක්‍රමයට, මහා පරිමාණයේ පළාත් නමය සඳහා සර්ව බලධාරී පාලන තන්ත්‍ර ඇති කරන්නද. ඒ පළාත් දෙකකට එකට එකතු වෙන්න වුණත් අවසාන දෙන්නද, නමුත් ඒ අය පටන් ගත්තේ ගම් මට්ටමින් බලතල ඉල්ලුවයි. ඇත්ත වශයෙන්ම මේක පටන් ගන්න මිනැ, ගම් මට්ටමෙනුයි.

විශේෂයෙන් මේ රටේ බහුතර ජනතාව මේ වෙලාවේ සුදනම් නැහැ. ඒ පළාත් නමය සඳහා කොයි තරම් අහිංසක තත්ත්වයක් පළාත් සහ ඇති කළත් ඊට එකඟ වෙන්න. මන්ද? එය මේ රට වෙන් කිරීමට, බෙදීමට තබන පලමු වැනි පියවර නැවියයි, මේ රටේ ජනතාව පිළිගත්තේ. ඒ බිය නිසයි. මේ රටේ ජනතා කොටස් වලින් සර්ව පාක්ෂික සම්මේලනයක් මතු වුණු යෝජනාවලටත් විරෝධතා පළ වුණේ. සර්ව පාක්ෂික සම්මේලනයට

සහගාමී වුණ කණ්ඩායම් වැඩි කොටසක්-සියළුම කොටස් වාගේ-ඒ යෝජනාවලට එකඟ වුණා. ඇයි, එකඟ නොවන අය සම්මේලනයේ සිටියේ නැහැ නොවැ? මහජන එක්සත් පෙරමුණ එකඟ නොවන කණ්ඩායමක්. ඒ අය හිටියේ නැහැ. ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයේ ප්‍රතිපත්තිය මොකක්ද කියා තවමත් අපි දන්නේ නැහැ. ඒ අය පළාත් සහ ක්‍රමයට එකඟ-නැද්ද කියා තවමත් අපි දන්නේ නැහැ. නමුත් බණ්ඩාරණායක මහත්මිය පිටරට පත්‍රයකට නම් කියා තිබුණා, "Provincial Councils" වලට කැමතියි කියා.

ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයේ තමුත්තාන්දේලාගේ දිවංගත නායක බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා නම් මේ ගැන පැහැදිලි ගැහිමක් ඇතිව තිබියා. එතුමාගේ අදහස්වලට අප විරුද්ධ වුණත් මම එතුමාට ඒ ගෞරවය පිරිනමන්න මිනැ. 1926 දී පමණ එතුමා කියා තිබුණා, "මේ රටට හරියත්තේ ජේට්ටරල් ක්‍රමයක්" ය කියා. මා ලග තිබෙනවා, එතුමාගේ ඒ ප්‍රකාශය අඩංගු පත්‍රය. විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ නායකතුමා ඒ ප්‍රකාශය කියවා තිබෙනවාදැයි මම දන්නේ නැහැ. මගේ හිතේ, බණ්ඩාරණායක මහත්මියට හිටී ගැටියේ ඒක මතක් වෙලා තමයි, ඒ විධියට "Provincial Councils" ගැන කථා කර තිබෙන්නේ.

බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතාගේ ඒ ප්‍රකාශය, 1926 ජූලි 17 වැනි ද, "Ceylon Morning Leader" පත්‍රයේ මේ විධියට පල වී තිබෙනවා :  
 "Federation is the only solution to our political problems".

එතුමා අවංකව කල්පනා කරන්නට ඇති. එය, ඩබ්ලිව්. ආර්. ඩී. බණ්ඩාරනායක අගමැතිතුමා මොකක්ද කීවේ?

"In Ceylon each province should have complete autonomy. Some form of federal government would be the only solution."

මේක කියවා බලන්නට පුළුවන්. 1985 ජනවාරි 1 වැනිද, "ලංකා ගාර්ඩියන්" සංග්‍රහයේ ඒක පලකර තිබෙනවා. නමුත් අපි ඒක පිළිගන්නෙ නැහැ. අපි කියන්නේ මේ රටේ සාමාන්‍ය ජනතාවට දේශපාලන බලය දෙනවා නම් පහලම මට්ටමේ සිට, එනම්, ගම් මට්ටමේ සිට ඒක ගෙන යන්නට මිනැ කියන එකයි. විශේෂයෙන්ම මේ රට දෙකට කරන්නට මිනැ, තුනට කඩන්න මිනැ, ඒලාමී රාජ්‍යයක් පිහිටුවන්නට මිනැ, වෙනම ආණ්ඩු පිහිටුවන්නට මිනැ කියා තර්ජනයක් තිබෙන ; ඒ තර්ජනය උඩ අපි ආයුධ අතට අරගෙන සටන් කරන වෙලාවක ; කිසිම බලතල නැති පළාත් සහායක් පිහිටුවන්නට යෝජනා කළත් මුළු රටම ඒක ප්‍රතික්ෂේප කරන්නවා.

These are realities. We must face those realities. You can just come here and say there must be a political solution. What is the political solution? It must be a solution that the people are prepared to accept; otherwise we are not prepared to thrust any solution on the people.

අපේ මතුගම ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා (අනිල් මුණසිංහ මහතා) කීවා එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂ සම්මේලනයේ දී මම කීවේ එක කතාවක්ය, ජනාධිපතිතුමා කීවේ තවත් කතාවක්ය කියා. මම එතුමාට කීවා ඒක හරියට කියවා බලන්නටය කියා. මොනවා හරි ඉදිරිපත් කරන විට හොඳට කරුණු හඳුරා ඉදිරිපත් කරන්නය කියා මම එතුමාට කියනවා. මම මොකක්ද කීවේ? ඒ තිබුණු එක එතුමා ඉංග්‍රීසියෙන් කීවා :

"Now all of us have the opportunity to examine the APC Proposals in all seriousness. That is why they have been made public. Let them read these proposals and think about them and express their views. Therefore, I do not wish to discuss these proposals at this juncture."

ඒක මම කීවේ. ජනාධිපතිතුමා මොකක්ද කීවේ? "මබසරවර" පත්‍රයේ තිබෙනවා :

"The President said that the proposals which he was outlining to them would be placed before the Cabinet and then before Parliament. The Courts may decide to have a referendum. Then they would be placed before the people. It is they who will finally decide."

So, what is the contradiction? It is only two different ways of expressing the same idea.

ගරු කථානායකතුමා, තර්කයක් ඉදිරිපත් කරන විට එය තිසි විධියට හරු කරුණු ඉදිරිපත් කළොත් තමයි ගොද. මම ඉදිරිපත් කළ අතින් කරුණු ගැන කථා කරන්නට පළමුව මේ ගරු සභාව තුළ ඉදගෙන මම එක ප්‍රශ්නයක් අහන්නට කැමතියි. මේ සභාවේ සිටින විවිධ දේශපාලන පක්ෂවලින් පමණක් නොවෙයි. මේ ගරු සභාවෙන් පිටත සිටින දේශපාලන පක්ෂවලින් මම ඒ ප්‍රශ්නය අහන්නට කැමතියි. ඒ ප්‍රශ්නය අහන්නට පළමුවෙන් මම මේ කරුණු විකල්ප මතක් කරන්නට ඕනෑ ලංකාවේ දේශපාලන පක්ෂ අතර ඉතා තියුණු මතභේද තිබෙනවා. දේශපාලන ප්‍රතිපත්ති ගැන, ආර්ථික ප්‍රතිපත්ති ගැන, සමාජ ප්‍රතිපත්ති ගැන තියුණු මතභේද තිබෙනවා. ඒක තමයි ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදී වැඩපිළිවෙළක ලක්ෂණය. ඒකයි අපි විවිධ පක්ෂවලට අයත්ව සිටින්නේ. ඒකට වරදක් නැහැ. අපි මෙපමණ කාලයක් මේ ත්‍රස්තවාදය ගැන වාද විවාද කරමින් සිටියා. නමුත් දැන්වත් තරකද මේක විසඳන්නට හැමදෙනාම කල්පනා කළොත්. අපි කවුරුත් පිළිගන්නා එකක් තිබෙනවා. එනම්, මේ ත්‍රස්තවාදී වැඩපිළිවෙළ මේ රටේ මුලින්ම උපුටා දමන්නට ඕනෑය කියන එක. ඒක කවුරුත් පිළිගන්නවානේ ?

කොත්මලේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා (ආතන්ද්‍ර දසනායක මහතා) කීවා කැලණියේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා (පී. සිරිල් මැතිව මහතා) කීවා කියා, " සුද්ධය නම් සුද්ධය, සාකච්චාව නම් සාකච්චාව " කියා. ඒ අවස්ථාවේදී අපේ සමාජයේවා ඇමතිතුමා කොත්මලේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමාගෙන් ඇහුවා, " නමුත්තාන්දේ පිළිගන්නේ මොකක්ද ? " කියා. එවිට එතුමා කීවා, " සුද්ධය නම් සුද්ධය, සාකච්චාව නම් සාකච්චාව " කියා.

**ආතන්ද්‍ර දසනායක මහතා**  
(**ශ්‍රී ලංකා ජනාධිපති**)  
(Mr. Ananda Dassanayake)

සාකච්චාවට ආයුධ බිම තියන්නට ඕනෑ.

**ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා**  
(**ශ්‍රී ලංකා ජනාධිපති**)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

මව්, ආයුධ බිම තියන්න ඕනෑ. නමුත් බණ්ඩාරනායක මැතිණිය එතෙම නොවෙයි නෙ කියන්නෙ ? එතුමිය කියන්නේ කුමක්ද ?

"In order for this to remain one nation, a political solution is necessary, not a military one."

This is Mrs. Bandaranaike's statement to the "Statesman". I do not know whether she will deny that. That is a different matter.

කොත්මලේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා කියන එක හරි. මේ රණ්ඩු කරන වෙලාවේ, මිනි මරණ වෙලාවේ, කෝවිලි පෙරලන වෙලාවේ, ගිනි තියන වෙලාවේ, ඩයිනමයිට් පුපුරවන වෙලාවේ, තීරණයක් ඇති කරගන්නක් කොහොමද ඒක ක්‍රියාත්මක කරන්නේ ? ඒ තියා මම කැමතියි එක කාරණයක් ගැන ප්‍රශ්න කරන්න.

දැන්වත් කවුරුත් පිළිගත යුතුයි නේද මේ ත්‍රස්තවාදීන්ට මේ තරම් බලතල ලැබී තිබෙන්නේ මේ වැඩේ කරගෙන යන්නට මේ අපරාධය කරන්නට ඉන්දියාවෙන් ලැබෙන හවිහරණය නිසාය කියන එක ? ඒක දත් කිසිම කෙනෙකු ප්‍රතික්ෂේප කරන්නේ නැහැ. දැන්වත් බැරිද, මේ ලංකාවේ සියලුම දේශපාලන පක්ෂවලට මේ රටේ ස්වෛරීත්වය අගය කරන සියලුම දේශපාලන පක්ෂවලට, " අපේ කොපමණ මතභේද තිබුණත් මොන කාරණා ගැන අපේ මතභේද තිබුණත් එකක් ගැන අපේ කිසිම මතභේදයක් නැත, එනම් අපේ රටේ ඒකීයභාවය පිළිබඳව අප අතර කිසිම මතභේදයක් නැත. මේ ත්‍රස්තවාදය මුලිකවම දමන්නට තිබෙන එකම බාධකය නම් දකුණු ඉන්දියාවෙන් මේ ත්‍රස්තවාදීන්ට ලැබෙන රැකවරණයයි. කරුණාකර ඉන්දියාව සමඟ ඇති අපේ මතභේදය තවදුරටත් නවවුරු කරගන්නට මේ ත්‍රස්තවාදීන් ඉන්දියාවෙන් පිටමං කරන්න. මේ ත්‍රස්තවාදී කඳවුරු විනාශ කරන්න " යනුවෙන් මුළු ලෝකයටම හඬනඟා කියන්නට ? අපට ඒක කියන්නට බැරිද ඉන්දියාවේ අගමැතිතුමාට ? අපි ඔක්කොම කිසිම පක්ෂ භේදයක් නැතිව ඒක කීව්වොත් පුදුම විධියේ ප්‍රතිචාරයක් ලැබෙන බව මට කියන්නට පුළුවනි.

**ආතන්ද්‍ර දසනායක මහතා**  
(**ශ්‍රී ලංකා ජනාධිපති**)  
(Mr. Ananda Dassanayake)

ඉන්දියාවේ අගමැතිතුමා කියන්නේ අකාමයින් එහාට ගිහින් ඉන්නවාය කියලයි.

**ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා**  
(**ශ්‍රී ලංකා ජනාධිපති**)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

නමුත්තාන්දේ පිළිගන්නවාද ඒ ඔක්කොම අකාමයින් කියලා ?

**ආතන්ද්‍ර දසනායක මහතා**  
(**ශ්‍රී ලංකා ජනාධිපති**)  
(Mr. Ananda Dassanayake)

මම පිළිගන්නේ නැහැ.

**ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා**  
(**ශ්‍රී ලංකා ජනාධිපති**)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

නමුත්තාන්දේ පිළිගන්නෙ නැහැ. ඒක තමයි මමත් කියන්නේ. අපට බැරිද මේ එක ඉල්ලීම කරන්න මුළු ලෝකයෙන්ම ? ඉන්දියාව සම්බන්ධයෙන් රජවී ගාත්තේ අගමැතිතුමා ඒ ඉල්ලීම කරනවා හැම රටකින්ම. " අපේ රට බෙදන්නට උත්සාහ කරන ත්‍රස්තවාදීන් පිටරටවලට ගිහින් ඉන්නවා, බ්‍රිතාන්‍යයට ගිහින් ඉන්නවා, ඔවුන්ගේ මේ ත්‍රස්තවාදී වැඩ පිළිවෙළ සම්පූර්ණයෙන්ම මුලිකවම දමන්නට ඕනෑ, ඔවුන් කිසි කෙනෙකුට උදව් කරන්නට එපා " ය කියා එතුමා බොහෝම පැහැදිලිව කීවා. එතුමා කෙළින්ම ඒක බ්‍රිතාන්‍ය අගමැතිණියට කීවා. ඉන්දීයා ගාත්තේ මැතිණිය ඒවත්ව ඉන්න කොටත් ඒක කීවා. ත්‍රස්තවාදීන්ට උදව් කිරීමෙන් ඒ හතුරුකම නම් අපට කරන්නට එපාය කීවා. තව එකක්. ත්‍රස්තවාදී පක්ෂ හැර ඉන්දියාවේ සියලුම දේශපාලන පක්ෂ එකට එකතු වී ඒ ඉල්ලීම කලා. මේ රටේ ස්වෛරීත්වය, ස්වාධීනත්වය සහ ඒකීයභාවය පිළිගන්නවා නම් අපේ කොපමණ දේශපාලන මතභේද තිබුණත් දැන්වත් බැරිද මේ ලංකාවේ සියලුම දේශපාලන පක්ෂවලට මේ එක වගන්තිය කියන්නට දැන්වත් බැරිද ? " අපේ සහෝදරත්වය, මිත්‍රත්වය සහ හොඳ හිත අපි තවදුරටත් රැකගන්නට ඕනෑ, අපේ ඒකීයභාවය නමුත්තාන්දේලා පිළිගන්නවා, මේ ත්‍රස්තවාදය මුලිකවම දමීමට අද තිබෙන එකම බාධාව දකුණු ඉන්දියාවෙන් ත්‍රස්තවාදීන්ට ලැබෙන රැකවරණයයි " යනුවෙන් ඉන්දීය අගමැතිතුමාට කියන්නට ? රජවී ගාත්තේ මහත්මයා මේ ලඟදීත් අපේ ඒකීයභාවය පිළිඅරත් තිබෙනවා. මේක අපේ අභ්‍යන්තර ප්‍රශ්නයක් බවත් එතුමා කියා තිබෙනවා.

The Prime Minister of India has said, "This is really their problem and not our problem. We are affected by it and we would like to see it solved politically because it has gone to a point where it is going to be difficult for this sort of thing to go on". So what we are saying is, it is difficult for them, it is worse for us. Expel these rascals from your place. Dismantle these terrorist camps. It is now an accepted fact.

මෙතැන මොකක් හරි වෙච්ච හැටියේ ඇයි ඉන්දියාවේ ඉදගෙන ඒක පිළිගන්නෙ ? වාර්තා තිබෙනවා. ඒවා ඕනෑම විධියකට ඔප්පු කරන්නට පුළුවනි. ඒවා මුළු ලෝකයම පිළිගන්නවා. බ්‍රිතාන්‍යයේ තියෝඒතයක් ඒ ගැන කියා තිබෙනවා. වෙනත් රටවල තියෝඒතයක් ඒවා කියා තිබෙනවා. ඉන්දියාවේම ප්‍රධානතී පත්‍ර එය කියනවා. මේ රටේ සියලුම දේශපාලන පක්ෂවලට මේ එක සාමූහික ප්‍රකාශය මුළු ලෝකයටම කරන්නට බැරි ඇයි ? " මේ රට බෙදන්නට මේ රට විනාශ කරන්නට මේ රට පාවා දෙන්නට මේ රටේ තිදහස තැනි කරන්නට ක්‍රියා කරන මේ ත්‍රස්තවාදීන්ට ඉඩ දෙන්නට එපා, ඔවුන්ට ඉන්න ඉඩ දෙන්න එපා, ඔවුන්ට කඳවුරු හදන්න ඉඩ දෙන්න එපා, ඔවුන්ට උදව් ආධාර කරන වැඩ පිළිවෙළවල්වලට සහාය දෙන්න එපා " ය කියා අපට එක හඬින් ඉන්දියාවට කියන්නට බැරිද ? කරන නොකරන එක වෙනම එකක්. අපි කියමු. අපි සියලු දෙනාම එකට ඒක කියමු. අතින් ඒවා ගැන අපි වාද කරමු. සාකච්චා කරමු. ඒක අපට කරන්නට පුළුවනි. නමුත් මෙන්න මේ ඉල්ලීම අපි සියලු දෙනාම කලයුතු බව මා මතක් කරන අතර ඒකට ප්‍රතිචාරයක් අපේ අනෙකුත් පක්ෂවලින් ලැබෙන්න මා ප්‍රාර්ථනා කරනවා.

ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා  
 (ශ්‍රී. ඉ. ආ. පි. රො. ප. ප.)  
 (Mr. Ananda Dassanayake)  
 එක ක්‍රියාත්මක කරන්න.

ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා  
 (ශ්‍රී. ඉ. ආ. පි. රො. ප. ප.)  
 (Mr. R. Premadasa)  
 එක ක්‍රියාත්මක කරන්න නමුත් නාන්දේලා නැහැ නොවී. එක වගන්තියකට එක් වෙමු.

ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා  
 (ශ්‍රී. ඉ. ආ. පි. රො. ප. ප.)  
 (Mr. Ananda Dassanayake)  
 ගරු අගමැතිතුමනි, රජය එකට පියවර ගන්නට ඕනෑ.

ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා  
 (ශ්‍රී. ඉ. ආ. පි. රො. ප. ප.)  
 (Mr. R. Premadasa)  
 ඉතින් මම මේ ගත්තේ පියවර.

ආනන්ද දසනායක මහතා  
 (ශ්‍රී. ඉ. ආ. පි. රො. ප. ප.)  
 (Mr. Ananda Dassanayake)  
 මේ කතාව විතරයි.

ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා  
 (ශ්‍රී. ඉ. ආ. පි. රො. ප. ප.)  
 (Mr. R. Premadasa)  
 කතාව විතරක් නොවෙයි. අපි මක්කොම එකතු වෙලා එක ලියවිල්ලක් අත්සන් කරමු.

That we are united on this matter, that we are convinced there are terrorist camps in India and that, as long as these terrorists get refuge in India, we are unable to solve this problem, to eradicate it." Cannot we say this jointly? You are not saying that!

Mr. Speaker, the hon. Leader of the Opposition mentioned about the Jaffna District Citizens Co-ordinating Committee. They met me also. We discussed a lot of matters. Their problems were placed before His Excellency and they gave me a copy of it. We are taking action with regard to their representations. I asked them, "You are complaining against the service personnel who are operating in that area and you are saying that innocent people are being harassed and harmed. Now look, terrorism is not like a war. In a war you see the enemies. Here they hit and hide and hide and hit. So how can the forces identify the real culprits? This is the problem. Do you not think, before we get on to discussing the various demands and the problems, there be a complete suspension of all these illegal activities?" Then they said, "Why not the army return to the barracks?" I said, "For the army to return to barracks your people must lay down arms". I further said, "I do not know whether you have any connections with these terrorists, you may or may not but please convey this message to anybody. From our side there is our elected President. He can speak for and on behalf of the Government and the people of Sri Lanka. He will say, "Yes" if this terrorism is given up and if they lay

down their arms. He has already said that he will give an amnesty. Immediately there would not be a necessity for the forces to return to barracks. So, on a given day at a given a time please stop on both sides. Then let there be a period. You understand, you realize that this violence has to come to an end. Then let us consider the next step". Actually, I made this suggestion to the Citizens Committee. The response was excellent. They said, "Quite right" and they were very keen. As said by the hon. Leader of the Opposition, they were responsible people. They actually represent the innocent people.

ගොඳයි, දත් කියනවානම් මේ හමුදාවලින් අතවර සිද්ධ වෙනවාය කියා, මම කියනවා එක පුදුම දෙයක් නොවේය කියා. ඒ මොකද? මේක යුද්ධයක් නම් හමුදාවල් මවුනොවුන්ට පෙනෙනවා. තමුත් මේක එහෙමයැ? ගහලා ගාගෙනවා; ගාගිලා ගහනවා. කවුද තුස්තවාදියා කවුද සාමාන්‍ය මිනිසා කියා දන්නෙ නැහැ. නිකම් බයිසිකල් එහෙක යනවා. බෝම්බයක් ගහනවා. තැන්නම් ඩයිනමයිට් එකක් දැනවා. කවුරු කියලා ගොයන්නද? ඉතින් අතවර සිද්ධ වේවි.

ආණ්ඩුව වෙනුවෙන්, රට වෙනුවෙන් කථා කරන්න ජනාධිපතිතුමා ඉන්නවා. තමුත් මේ තුස්තවාදී කණ්ඩායම් ගැන කථා කරන්නේ කවුද? [බාධා කීර්මී] වි. යූ. එල්. එල්. එකටත් කථා කරන්නෙ නැහැ. එතකොට මම කීවා, 'ගොඳයි අතවල් දවසේ අතවල් වෙලාවට අපි ආයුධ බිම නියලා හිංසාවෙන් තොර වුණොත් සමාවක් දෙනවා කියා ජනාධිපතිතුමා ප්‍රකාශ කර තිබෙනවාය කියා. එතකොට හමුදාවලට එළියට එන්න අවශ්‍යතාවක් නැහැ. එතකොට මේ සටන් නතර වෙනවා. මේ හිංසාව නතර වෙනවා. ස්වල්ප කාලයක් ගියාවේ. එතකොට අපට පුළුවන් ප්‍රශ්න තිබෙනවා නම් ඒ ගැන සාකච්චා කරන්න [බාධා කීර්මී] මවු එහෙම තිබෙනවා නම්. මම ඔක කීවා. ඒ කියා මම කියන්න කැමතියි, සියළුම පක්ෂවලට ඒ ඉල්ලීමටත් මේ අවස්ථාවේදී කරන්න පුළුවන් හේද කියා.

තුස්තවාදීන්ටත් බාහිර වශයෙන් අපට අල්ලාගත කරන වෙනත් දැරියටත් දත් තිබෙන ලොකුම රුකුල මොකක්ද? මේ එකක වෙනත් පුළුවන් කාරණය ගැන වුණත් අප අතර මත හේද තිබෙනවාය කියා. ඒ ගොල්ලන් තුළ ගැහිමක් ඇති කරගෙන තිබෙනවා. ඒකෙන් ප්‍රයෝජන ගන්න ඒ ගොල්ලෝ උත්සාහ කරනවා. කොයි එක වුණත් මම කැමතියි ඒ කාරණය මතක් කරන්න.

අපේ විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ නායකතුමා මගේ හිතේ බොහෝම හිතේ අමාරුවෙන් කථා කලා නමන්නේ මැණියන් කර නැති ප්‍රකාශයක් ගැන විවේචනය වුණය කියා. තමුත් යම් කෙනෙක් යම් ප්‍රකාශයක් කර එක නැහැ කියනවා නම් එක අපි පිළිගන්න ලැබුණෙය්. තමුත් මම එකක් කියන්න කැමතියි. ඒ නැහැයි කියා කල ප්‍රකාශය අර කලය කී ප්‍රකාශයටත් වඩා තරකයි. පොඩ්ඩක් හිඟින් කියන්න.

I am telling you very sincerely that her denial is a funny denial. I have with me the "Sun" of 19th January, 1985 where in Mrs. Bandaranaike has denied that report. I will read the whole report in fairness to her. Her reported speech goes something like this. It has been reported all over the world and I even got a copy from Bahrain, the "Khaleej Times" of 13th January, 1985. It was sent to me by one of our expatriates. It says

"Innocent Tamils are being killed

Former Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike accused Sri Lankan authorities of killing and harassing innocent Tamils and treating every Tamil youth as a suspected guerrilla. In a six-page statement she has repeated her call for a general election."



She has gone and denied this. This is how the "Sun" report reads –

"Sirimavo Bandaranaike denies report.

The SLFP leader yesterday denied that she had accused the Army of killing innocent Tamils as reported in the Indian newspaper 'Statesman'.

She accused the Indian newspaper of distorting a part of a statement she had made to the local media.

Then there is this quotation from her :

"I did not release a statement to the 'Statesman', Mr. Sirimavo Bandaranaike told the 'Sun'. I am surprised that a foreign newspaper published such a report.

Mrs. Bandaranaike said she had issued a statement she had made to a local newspaper to some foreign publication unchanged

Then there is another quotation from her :

"I did not say the Army was killing innocent Tamils. All I said was that innocent Tamils were losing their lives. This has been said by both the President and the National Security Minister".

But the important aspect is this. She says–

"All I said was that innocent Tamils were losing their lives."

How are they losing their lives ? There is room for a lot of doubt about her denial. – (*Interruption*). That is a different matter. Why should she defend the President and the Hon. Minister of National Security ? Those two are quite capable of looking after themselves. You must go and tell her that this denial leaves a lot of room for suspicion and doubt. Just see !

අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා  
(තිரு. අනුර පண்டාරනායක)  
(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

That doubt, Hon. Prime Minister, has been completely cleared by the Hon. Minister of National Security. He says the Army is killing them.

ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා  
(තිரு. ජයරංග පීරිමදාස)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

No. If she said "I did not say the army was killing innocent Tamils" and stopped at that, it would have been a real denial but she has gone a step further and said – "All I said was that innocent Tamils were losing their lives". Anyway, I am not making a complaint or charging her but I just wanted to clear the point.

අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා  
(තිරු. අනුර පண்டාරනායක)  
(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

The Hon. Minister of National Security explained how they are dying.

ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා  
(තිරු. ජයරංග පීරිමදාස)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

No. What the President and the Hon. Minister of National Security said was that in an exercise like this where the terrorists are all over, sometimes the innocent are harmed. That is different from saying that the Army is deliberately killing innocent people. It is far worse when you go and say –

"I did not say the Army was killing innocent Tamils. All I said was that innocent Tamils were losing their lives".

Then this must be happening automatically.

අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා  
(තිරු. අනුර පண்டාරනායක)  
(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

What about the innocent Tamils killed by the terrorists ?

ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා  
(තිරු. ජයරංග පීරිමදාස)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

That is the point, not only innocent Tamils but also innocent Sinhalese and innocent Muslims and innocent service personnel. You know police officers when they go for court cases or when they go home on leave, the terrorists just go and shoot them, simply because they are serving the Government.

Then, Sir, I think I cleared the question about these two words "negotiation" and "discussion", I am happy that the hon. Leader of the Opposition accepted that.

අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා  
(තිරු. අනුර පண்டාරනායක)  
(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

No, I did not accept that.

ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා  
(තිරු. ජයරංග පීරිමදාස)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

You do not accept the Oxford Dictionary ?

අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා  
(තිරු. අනුර පண்டාරනායක)  
(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

I quoted from the Oxford Dictionary ?

ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මහතා  
(තිරු. ජයරංග පීරිමදාස)  
(Mr. R. Premadasa)

I am still having it here.

අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා  
(තිරු. අනුර පண்டාරනායක)  
(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

What is the version you are quoting ?

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

Mine is a bigger book. Yours is a smaller one.

අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා  
(ශ්‍රී ල. අනුර පණ්ඩාරනායක)  
(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

Yours is a photostat copy.

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

No. It is in the Library. I cannot bring this heavy material here.

අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා  
(ශ්‍රී ල. අනුර පණ්ඩාරනායක)  
(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

Somebody must have given you a dead rope.

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

No. It is in print.

අනුර බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා  
(ශ්‍රී ල. අනුර පණ්ඩාරනායක)  
(Mr. Anura Bandaranaike)

I never accepted that.

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

No. But are you not accepting this interpretation ?  
"Negotiation - a course of treaty with another to bring about some result in affairs of State". That is negotiation. So we never negotiated with India or any other country in regard to our internal ethnic problems. But I want to tell you this much. Your Member for Attanagalla, as referred to by the hon. Member for Matugama, the other day raised this question whether we have re-started negotiation with India and what did he say ? "Did not negotiate with India". He is adopting a completely different attitude. You had said at a meeting of the Lion's Club that you must get the assistance of India, but the hon. Member for Attanagalla says, "Do not". He was blaming the Government that day. He says :

"I must categorically state that this is not the forum that should decide. I would like to ask this question because I am made to understand that since the collapse of the round table conference, I mean the All Party Conference, discussions are now being held in New Delhi the capital of India formulating certain proposals that His Excellency would like to submit to the people of this country pertaining to the ethnic problem. If that is so, I must categorically say that that is not the forum that should decide this matter. If the All Party Conference is not functioning at the moment the appropriate forum to decide this should be the House of Parliament of Sri Lanka. It is our problem and it is not the internal problem of any other country. It is the internal problem of our country."

This is exactly what I said. This is exactly what the Government says. This is exactly what the Minister of State the other day told the Press. So in your speech you take a different position. You had gone to the extent of saying, "I think the TULF is the only democratic party which can speak for the Tamils. Some say the TULF lost its support. Others say the Tigers control Jaffna. There is noway to determine the real situation". Then again you say, "The Tamils are losing confidence in the political process because the TULF has abdicated its democratic role, he argued. So why should we go and discuss with them ?"

මතුගම ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමාට මම කියන්න කැමතියි. එතුමා 1985 ජනවාරි මස 11 වන දින හැක්කඩි වාර්තාවේ 235 වන තීරුවේ කියවා බැලුවොත් පෙනේවි. අන්තර්ගල්ලේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා (ලක්ෂ්මන් ජයකොඩි මහතා) මගෙන් ඇහූ ප්‍රශ්නය මොකක්ද කියා එයට මම දුන්න පිළිතුර එම හැක්කඩි වාර්තාවේ 240 වන තීරුවේ තිබෙනවා.

"Sir, we have had no negotiations with the Government of India at any time in regard to this ethnic problem."

And I have explained the meaning of the word "negotiation".

"We have no obligation to India or to any other country to have negotiations on matters pertaining to our internal affairs. That has to be clearly understood. Even Mr. Rajiv Gandhi recently accepted the position that the present problem here is essentially an internal problem. The Indian Prime Minister himself has said that. So I think this idea is in the minds of the SLFP that we should negotiate with India."

කඩාතොසකතුවමි. මතුගම ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමාගේ (අතිල් මුහමිත මහතා) කඩාවේ ආරම්භය මම අත්‍යන්තර සිටියා. එතුමා බොහෝම වේගයෙන් කීවා. මේ ආණ්ඩුවට දන් -

-Maha Sangha is against you, the students are against you, the teachers are against you, the workers are against you,

මම මගේ කාර්යාලයේ ඉන්න විටයි මේවා කියනවා ඇහුනේ.

I do not know whether he said the women are against you, the men are against you, the boys are against you the girls are against you, the Sinhalese are against you, the Tamils are against you, ther Muslims are against you

කීව්වද මම දන්නේ නැහැ.

ඉතින් මොකටද කලබල වෙන්නේ ? මතුගම ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමාගේ ප්‍රකාශයේ හැටියට මේ මුළු රටම මේ ආණ්ඩුවට විරුද්ධයි. නමුත් ජනදායකට ඉදිරිපත් වූණ විට ආණ්ඩු පක්ෂය දිනනවා. එහෙම නම් අපට ජනදාය දෙන්නේ මහ සංඝයා නොවෙයි. ශිෂ්‍යයන් නොවෙයි. කාන්තාවන් නොවෙයි. කොහෙද මේ ජනදායකයෝ ඉන්නේ ? තවත් ජනදී කීපයක් ඉදිරියේදී පැවැත්වීමට බලාපොරොත්තු වෙනවා. ඒ මන්ත්‍රීතුමන්ලා එහෙම කල්පනා කළොත් කමක් නැහැ. ඒ අයට ඒ විධියට කල්පනා කර ඒ සතුට හුක්කි විදින්නය කියා මා ප්‍රකාශ කරනවා. නමුත් මම මේ අවස්ථාවේදී විපක්ෂ නායකතුමාගෙන් එක් ප්‍රශ්නයක් අහන්න කැමතියි. ඉන්දියාවේ අගමැතිතුමා අකාලී ඩාල් පක්ෂය සම්බන්ධයෙන් මොන තරම් විවෘත ප්‍රතිපත්තියක්ද අනුගමනය කරන්නේ ? අකාලී ඩාල් පක්ෂය ඉන්දියාවේ වෙනම රාජ්‍යයක් ඉල්ලන පක්ෂයක්.

සරත් මුත්තේටුවේගම මහතා  
(**திரு. சரத் முத்தேட்டுவேகம்**)  
(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

Akali Dal is not asking for a separate state.

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

Then what are they asking for ?

සරත් මුත්තේටුවේගම මහතා  
(**திரு. சரத் முத்தேட்டுவேகம்**)  
(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

They are not asking for a separate state.

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

Whatever it is, they have resorted to terrorism.

සරත් මුත්තේටුවේගම මහතා  
(**திரு. சரத் முத்தேட்டுவேகம்**)  
(Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama)

Not Akali Dal.

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

You may be knowing better than the Prime Minister of India. I will quote the Prime Minister of India. This is a report from New Delhi appearing in the "Daily News" of today (25.1.1985). I quote :

NO TALKS WITH AKALI DAL UNLESS....

New Delhi, Thursday

Indian Premier Rajiv Gandhi today ruled out talks with the Sikh political party Akali Dal in the absence of a statement by them condemning terrorism and an assurance that they would stand by the constitution of India."

What more do you want ?

Intervening during the question hour on the steps the government proposed to take to resolve the Punjab tangle, Gandhi told the Rajya Sabha (Upper House in the Indian parliament) that the Government will not discuss the Anandpur Sahib resolution.

Since the akali Dal claims that the resolution was purely one relating to centre-state relations, it was welcome to refer it to the Sarkaria Commission, he said. The Sarkaria Commission deals with the centre-state relations.

The Akali Dal has been demanding that the Anandpur Sahib resolution be made the basis for consideration of Sikh demands. The resolution, among other things, demands more autonomy for the Punjab state (PTI).

An autonomous state ! So Mr. Rajiv Gandhi the Prime Minister who is the head of the government in a country where there is a federal form of government says that even to ask for an autonomous authority for Punjab State is against the Constitution of India.

We are having a unitary system. So can you blame His Excellency the President for saying that he is not going to discuss anything with the TULF until and unless they give up the call for a separate state ?

කථාකාසකතුමනි, මම මේ අවස්ථාවේදී අපේ විපක්ෂයට විශේෂයෙන්ම ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයට එක් දෙනෙක් කියන්න කැමතියි. ලංකාවේ දෙවැනි දේශපාලන පක්ෂය ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයය, සියයට හතළිස් ගණනක ජනද්‍රව්‍යණයක් ඔවුන්ට ලැබී තිබෙනවාය කියා විපක්ෂ කාසකතුමා කිතරම් කියනවා. එපමණක් නොවෙයි, එතුමා ඉන්දියාව ගැන විශේෂ සැලකිල්ලක්, ගෞරවයක් දක්වනවා. ඒ වාගේම ගාන්ධි පවුල සමග විශේෂ සම්බන්ධකමක් තිබෙන බවත් කියන විපක්ෂ කාසකතුමාට මම කියන්න කැමතියි, කරුණාකර මේ ප්‍රශ්නයේදී රජීව් ගාන්ධි මහතාට අනුගමනය කරන්නය කියා. ගාන්ධි මැණිණියත් රජීව් ගාන්ධි මහතාත් හැම විටම සැලකුවේ නමුත් රටේ අයිතිය, අභිවෘද්ධිය, ඒකීයභාවය ගැන බව අපි මතක තබා ගන්න ඕනෑ, ඒක අපි මතක තියා ගන්න ඕනෑ, මොනම රටකටත් මෙව් පත් කරන්නට ලැබුණිනි චූණේ නැහැ. නමුත් රටේ අයිතියට විරුද්ධව ; නමුත් රටේ ස්වෛරීත්වයට විරුද්ධව.

I think the hon. Leader of the Opposition must follow Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, I am friend of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. I have met him and I have spoken to him, he is a very good gentleman. But he has more connections with you. The hon. Leader of the Opposition is an admirer, a friend and a follower of Mr Rajiv Gandhi. (*Interruption*). Why not ? I think he is hoping to follow him. He is hoping to become the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka one day in the same manner that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi became the Prime Minister of India. Anyway, I hope at least now the Sri Lanka Freedom Party must face realities.

මම කථාව අවසන් කරන්නට පෙර මේ සඟවා තුළින් ලංකාවේ සියලුම දේශපාලන පක්ෂවලින් අර ඉල්ලීම නැවතත් කරන්නට කැමතියි. "මේ ත්‍රස්තවාදී වැඩ පිළිවෙල මර්දනය කරන්නට, අපි ආධාර දෙන්න කැමතියි, අපි උදව් කරන්න කැමතියි" කියන්න. ආණ්ඩුව සමග වෘතේද තිබෙනවාය කියන්නා වූ පක්ෂවලට කාරණයක් කියන්න කැමතියි. කරුණාකර අපේ වාදයේදී අපි අතර තියා ගනිමු. මතයේද අප අතර තියා ගනිමු. අපට එකතු වෙන්නට වූවුමනාවකුත් නැහැ. අපට ප්‍රතිපත්ති පාවා දෙන්න උවමනාවකුත් නැහැ. කරුණාකර අප ඔක්කොම එකට එකතු වෙලා මුළු ලෝකයටම එක ප්‍රකාශයක් කරමු. මොකක්ද ඒ ප්‍රකාශය ? අපි අතර මොන තරම් මතයේදී තිබුණත්, අද අපේ රට මුහුණ පා තිබෙන මේ ත්‍රස්තවාදී වැඩ පිළිවෙල පරාරය කරන්නට අපට තිබෙන්නා වූ එකම බාධාව නම් අපේ අසල්වැසි ඉන්දියාවෙන් ඔවුන්ට ලැබෙන්නාවූ රැකවරණයයි. අපි විවිධ පක්ෂවල සිටියත්, මෙහිදී අපි සියලුම දෙනාම එකාටත් ඉන්දියාවෙන් ඉල්ලා සිටිනවා අපේ මනුෂ්‍යත්වය තවත් තහවුරුවීම පිණිස ඉන්දියාවට වෙලා කඳවුරු බැඳගෙන, මේ රටේ ස්වාධීනත්වයටත්, ස්වෛරීත්වයටත් මේ ත්‍රස්තවාදීන් කරන මේ අපරාධයට ඉඩ දෙන්න එපාය කියා. ඒ සමගම මේ දේශ ප්‍රේමීන්ට මොන විධියකින්වත් ආධාරයක්, උපකාරයක් කරන්නට එපාය කියා මුළු ලෝකයෙන්ම අපි ඉල්ලනවා. මේ දේශ ප්‍රේමීන්ට මොන විධියකින්වත් ආධාරයක් උපකාරයක් කරන්නට එපාය, මේ ජන රටේ ජීවිතයත්, ජන අයිතියත්, පොදු දේපලත් විනාශ කරන මේ ප්‍රේමීන්ට උදව් කරන්නට එපාය කියන ප්‍රකාශයක් අපි එක්සත්ව-

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

If your government is prepared to make a formal proposal to all political parties, we will certainly consider it.

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

Please take my statement here on the Floor of this House as a formal proposal to all parties.

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

We will certainly consider it.

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

Please do. Unconditionally we will get together. Do not give up your policies. You are having your policies as regards our national problems. Let us live with them. Let us campaign with them. Let us go to our people and canvass on them. That is different. But let us meet the world community on a joint basis, on a united basis and say, "We all uphold the sovereignty of our country, the independence of our country, the unity system of our country, the brotherhood of our various communities. We are joint in that effort. If you are our friendly neighbours, friendly partners and countries, please help us on this occasion by not giving refuge, by not extending any assistance to these traitors who are trying to destabilise our country."

ප්‍රශ්නය විමසන ලදී.  
කටහමවල් අනුව "අය" මන්දිත්ව ජය බව කථානායකතුමා විසින් ප්‍රකාශ කරන ලදී.

வினா விடுக்கப்பெற்றது.  
குரல்களின்மீது 'ஆம்' மேலேயேயிற்று என சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள் அறிவித்தார்கள்.  
Question put.

MR. SPEAKER, having collected the Voices, declared that the "Ayes" had it.

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

Divide !

சார்லிமேனுவல் 43 வன சபாபர சிவோத டிவீஷன்-பன்ஹல் 121 : பிரேமதாச கிசிடவது  
கூற. டிவீஷன் டிவீஷன் டி.

பாராளுமன்றம், 43 ஆம் திலைக் கட்டளைவின் கீழ் பிரித்தது : சார்பாக 121 ; எதிராக எவருமில்லை.

The Parliament divided under Standing Order No. 43: Ayes 121; Noes nil.

කථානායකතුමා  
(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)  
(Mr. Speaker)

There are three urgent items in the name of the Hon. Minister of Finance to be taken up with the permission of the House.

**சேஷ்ட ஸேஷ்டனா**

**சங்கடத் தீர்மானங்கள்  
CUSTOMS RESOLUTIONS**

ආර්. ජේ. ජී. ජී. ජී. මහතා (இரவு னா னும டிவீஷன கும்கிவது)  
(திரு. ஆர். ஜே. ஜி. த மெல் — நிதி, அமைப்புத்திட்ட அமைச்சர்)  
(Mr. R. J. G. de Mel—Minister of Finance and Planning)

I move,

"That the Resolution under section 10 of the Customs Ordinance (Chapter 235) relating to Import Duties which was presented on 24.01.1985 be approved."

ප්‍රශ්නය විමසන ලදී. සහ සමමත විය.  
வினா விடுக்கப்பட்டு ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளப்பட்டது.  
Question put, and agreed to.

ආර්. ජේ. ජී. ජී. මහතා  
(திரு. ஆர். ஜே. ஜி. த மெல்)  
(Mr. R. J. G. de Mel)

I move.

"That the Resolution under section 10 of the Customs Ordinance (Chapter 235) relating to Export Duty on Rubber which was presented on 24.01.1985 be approved."

ප්‍රශ්නය විමසන ලදී. සහ සමමත විය.  
வினா விடுக்கப்பட்டு ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளப்பட்டது.  
Question put, and agreed to.

ආර්. ජේ. ජී. ජී. මහතා  
(திரு. ஆர். ஜே. ஜி. த மெல்)  
(Mr. R. J. G. de Mel)

I move,

"That the Resolution under section 10 of the Customs Ordinance (Chapter 235) relating to Export Duty on Tea which was presented on 24.01.1985 be approved."

ප්‍රශ්නය විමසන ලදී. සහ සමමත විය.  
வினா விடுக்கப்பெற்று ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளப்பட்டது.  
Question put, and agreed to.

**වාරාවසානය  
ஒத்திவைப்பு  
PROROGATION**

කථානායකතුමා  
(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)  
(Mr. Speaker)

I have received two Proclamations from His Excellency the President, one proroguing Parliament and the other summoning Parliament. The Secretary-General will now read the Proclamations.

අනතුරුව සහන සඳහන් ප්‍රකාශන මහලේකම් විසින් කියවන ලදී.  
அதன்மேல் செயலாளர் அறிவிப்பு பின்வரும் பிரகடனங்களை வாசித்தார்.

Whereupon the Secretary-General read the following Proclamations.

**I  
சார்லிமேனுவல் வாரம் අවසන් කිරීම  
பாராளுமன்ற ஒத்திவைப்பு  
PROROGATION OF PARLIAMENT**

சமாபிசகி லுமூகன் விசின் கர்ஜு லவன ப்ரகாஸனயடி



சே. ஆர். சவவரவன

ශ්‍රී ලංකා ප්‍රජාතාන්ත්‍රික සමාජවාදී ජනරජයේ ආණ්ඩුක්‍රම ව්‍යවස්ථාවේ 70 වන ව්‍යවස්ථාවෙන් මා වෙත පැවරී ඇති බලතල ප්‍රකාර, ජනාධිපති ජුනියස් රිචඩ් ජවර්ධන වන මා මේ ප්‍රකාශනයෙන්, වර්ෂ එක් දහස් නවසිය අසූපහේ ජනවාරි මස විසිපස් වන දින මධ්‍යම රාත්‍රියෙහි සිට බලපැවැත්වෙන පරිදි සාර්ලිමේනුවේ වාරාවසාන කරන බවත්, සාර්ලිමේනුවේ ජලන වාරය පවත් ගැනීමේ දිනය වශයෙන් වර්ෂ එක් දහස් නවසිය අසූපහේ පෙබරවාරි මස විසි වන දිනය නිසම කරන බවත් මෙහිින් දැනගත යුතුයි.

වර්ෂ එක්දහස් නවසිය අසූ පහේ ජනවාරි මස විසිපස් වන දින පු. මැදින කොළඹ දී දෙන ලදී.

ලකුමාණන්ගේ අණ පරිදි.

සබ්ලිච් ඇම් ප් ඩී මැණික්දෙල.

**அதியுத்தமராம் சனாதிபதி அவர்களினுள் செய்யப்படும் பிரகடனம்**



ஜே. ஆர். ஜயவர்த்தன

இலங்கைச் சனநாயக சோசலிசக் குடியரசின் அரசியலமைப்பின் 70 ஆம் உறுப்புரையால் எனக்குரித்தாக்கப்பட்ட தத்துவங்களின் பயன்கொண்டு, சனாதிபதி, யூனியஸ் ரிச்சர்ட் ஜயவர்த்தன ஆகிய நாள் இப்பிரகடனத்தின்படி ஆயிரத்துத் தொளாயிரத்து எண்பத்தைந்தாம் ஆண்டு சனவரி மாதம் இருபத்தைந்தாம் நாள் நள்ளிரவு தொடக்கம் பயனுறும் வகையில் பாராளுமன்றத்தை ஒத்திவைக்கின்றேன் என்பதனுடைய, பாராளுமன்றத்தின் அடுத்த அமர்வு தொடங்குதல் தேதியாக ஆயிரத்துத் தொளாயிரத்து எண்பத்தைந்தாம் ஆண்டு பெப்ரவரி மாதம் இருபதாம் நாளை நிர்ணயிக்கின்றேன் என்பதனுடைய சகலரும் அறிவிக்கலாக.

ஆயிரத்துத் தொளாயிரத்து எண்பத்தைந்தாம் ஆண்டு சனவரி மாதம் இருபத்தைந்தாம் நாளாகிய இன்று கொழும்பில் வழங்கப்பட்டது.

அதி உத்தமனாரின் ஆணைப்படி,  
பிள்ளயூ. எம். பீ. பி. மெனிக்திவெல,  
சனாதிபதியின் செயலாளர்.

**PROCLAMATION**

BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT

J. R. JAYWARDENE



KNOW YE that by virtue of the powers vested in me by Article 70 of the Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, I, Junius Richard Jayewardene, President, do by this Proclamation prorogue Parliament with effect from the midnight of the Twenty-fifth day of January, One Thousand Nine Hundred and Eighty-five and fix the Twentieth day of February, One Thousand Nine Hundred and Eighty-five, as the date for commencement of the next session of Parliament.

Given at Colombo this Twenty-fifth day of January, One Thousand Nine Hundred and Eighty-five.

by His Excellency's command,  
W. M. P. B. MENIKDIWELA  
Secretary to the President.

**II**

**சார்லிமேன்துவு கட்டிவெல்  
பாராளுமன்றத்தைக் கூட்டல்**

**SUMMONING OF PARLIAMENT**

ජනාධිපති උතුමාණන් විසින් කරනු ලබන ප්‍රකාශනයයි  
ඒ. ආර්. ජයවර්ධන



ශ්‍රී ලංකා ප්‍රජාතාන්ත්‍රික සමාජවාදී ජනරජයේ ආණ්ඩුක්‍රම ව්‍යවස්ථාවේ 70 වන ව්‍යවස්ථාවෙන් මා වෙත පැවර ඇති බලතල ප්‍රකාර, ජනාධිපති, ජුනියස් රිචඩ් ජයවර්ධන වන මා මේ ප්‍රකාශනයෙන්, වර්ෂ එක් දහස් තවසිය අසූපයේ ජනවාරි මස විසි වන දින ජනවාරි 25 වන දින ජයවර්ධනපුර සාර්ලිමේනතු රැස්වීම් කාලවේදී සාර්ලිමේනතු රැස්වීම ලෙස කැඳවන බව මෙයින් දැනගත යුතුයි.

වර්ෂ එක්දහස් තවසිය අසූ පයේ ජනවාරි මස විසිවන වන දින වූ මේදින කොළඹ දී දෙන ලදී.

උතුමාණන්ගේ අණ පරිදි.

වබ්ලිව්. ඇම්. පී. ඩී. මැණික්දිවෙල,  
ජනාධිපති ලේකම්.

**அதியுத்தமராம் சனாதிபதி அவர்களினுள் செய்யப்படும் பிரகடனம்**



ஜே. ஆர். ஜயவர்த்தன.

இலங்கைச் சனநாயக சோசலிசக் குடியரசின் அரசியலமைப்பின் 70 ஆம் உறுப்புரையினால் எனக்குரித்தாக்கப்பட்ட தத்துவங்களின் பயன்கொண்டு, சனாதிபதி, யூனியஸ் ரிச்சர்ட் ஜயவர்த்தன ஆகிய நாள் இப்பிரகடனத்தின்படி ஆயிரத்துத் தொளாயிரத்து எண்பத்தைந்தாம் ஆண்டு பெப்ரவரி மாதம் இருபதாம் நாளன்று மு. ப. 9.35 மணிக்கு சிறி ஜயவர்த்தனபுர பாராளுமன்ற மண்டபத்தில் பாராளுமன்றத்தைக் கூடுமாறு அழைக்கின்றேன் என்பதனுடைய சகலரும் அறிவிக்கலாக.

ஆயிரத்துத் தொளாயிரத்து எண்பத்தைந்தாம் ஆண்டு சனவரி மாதம் இருபத்தைந்தாம் நாளாகிய இன்று கொழும்பில் வழங்கப்பட்டது.

அதி உத்தமனாரின் ஆணைப்படி,  
பிள்ளயூ. எம். பீ. பி. மெனிக்திவெல,  
சனாதிபதியின் செயலாளர்.

**PROCLAMATION**

BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT

J. R. JAYWARDENE



KNOW YE that by virtue of the powers vested in me by Article 70 of the Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, I, Junius Richard Jayewardene, President, do by this Proclamation, summon Parliament to meet at the Parliament Hall, Sri Jayewardenepura on the Twentieth day of February, One Thousand Nine Hundred and Eighty-five at 9.35 a.m.

Given at Colombo this Twenty-fifth day of January, One Thousand Nine Hundred and Eighty-five.

By His Excellency's command,  
W. M. P. B. MENIKDIWELA  
Secretary to the President.

කැසි වාරය (1984 ජනවාරි 23 වන දින ආරම්භ කරන ලද) අවසන් විය.  
(1984 පෙබ්‍රවාරි 23 දින ආරම්භ කෙරුණ) කැසිවරයේ නිම වීමේදී  
End of Session (Opened 23rd February, 1984)



உ. ஜி.

மேலே வரிசையாக அளவான மூலக்கூறுகளின் கீழ்க் கட்டியிருக்கிற கட்டுரைகள் அனைத்தும் சரிசெய்து ரீதியான மதிப்பீடுகள் செய்து கொடுக்கப்பட்டுள்ளன.

1985 பிப்ரவரி 8 வது கிழமை

செய்துள்ள பிழைகளை உறுதிப்படுத்துக.

குறிப்பு

அங்கத்தினர்கள் இறுதிப் பதிப்பிற் செய்யவிரும்பும் பிழை திருத்தங்களை அறிக்கையிற்றொளிவாகக் குறித்து பிழை திருத்தங்களைக் கொண்ட பிரதியை ஹன்சார்ட் பதிப்பாளியருக்கு

1985 பெப்ரவரி 8, வெள்ளிக்கிழமைக்குப் பிந்தாமற்

கிடைக்கக்கூடியதாக அனுப்புதல் வேண்டும்.

NOTE

Corrections which Members suggest for the Final Print should be clearly marked in this Report and the copy containing the corrections must reach the Editor of HANSARD

not later than

Friday, 8th February 1985

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Contents of Proceedings	:	From 9.30 a.m. to 5.01 p.m. on 25.01.1985
Final set of manuscripts received from Parliament	:	8.50 p.m. on 25.01.1985
Printed copies despatched	:	26.01.1985 evening



B

சென்னை சர்க்கார் பிரிண்டிங் பிரெஸ், கோட்டை, சென்னை 600 082

1985

சென்னை சர்க்கார் பிரிண்டிங் பிரெஸ்

**දයක මුදල් :** පාර්ලිමේන්තු විවාද වාර්තාවල වාර්ෂික දයක මිල රු. 200/- කි. (අශෝධිත පිටපත් සඳහා නම් රු. 175/- කි). පිටපතක් ගෙව්වා ගැනීම අවශ්‍ය නම් ඟස්තු ව රු. 2.50 කි. තැපැල් ඟස්තු ව ගත 90 කි. කොළඹ 1, තැ. පෙ. 500, ඊජයේ ප්‍රකාශන කාර්යාංශයේ අධිකාරී වෙත සෑම වර්ෂයකම නොවැරැද්ද් 30 දව ප්‍රථම දයක මුදල් ගෙවා ඉදිරි වර්ෂයේ දයකත්වය ලබාගෙන විවාද වාර්තා ලබාගත හැකිය. නියමිත දිනෙන් පසුව එවනු ලබන දයක ඉල්ලුම්පත් භාරගනු නොලැබේ.

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

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