



පාර්ලිමේන්තු විවාද

(හැන්සාඩ්)

නියෝජිත මන්ත්‍රී මණ්ඩලයේ

නිල වාතාව

අත්තිකාරම් ප්‍රධාන කරුණු

පිළිගන්නා ලද කෙටුම්පත් පනත් [නි. 189] :

Control of Prices (Amendment) Bill

Fauna and Flora Protection (Amendment) Bill

අග්‍රාණ්ඩුකාරතුමාගේ කථාව [නි. 190] :

ස්තූති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විවාදය [තුන්වන දිනය] :

විවාදය කල් තබන ලදී.

කල් තැබීමේ යෝජනාව [නි. 292]

பாராளுமன்ற விவாதங்கள்

(ஹன்சாட்)

பிரதிநிதிகள் சபை

அதிகாரபூர்வமான அறிக்கை

பிரதான உள்ளடக்கம்

முதன்முறை மதிப்பிடப்பெற்ற மசோதாக்கள் [ப. 189] :

Control of Prices (Amendment) Bill

Fauna and Flora Protection (Amendment) Bill

மகா தேசாதிபதியினது பேச்சு [ப. 190] :

நன்றியுரை மீதான விவாதம் [முன்றும் நாள்]

விவாதம் ஒத்திவைக்கப் பெற்றது

ஒத்திவைப்புப் பிரேரணை [ப. 292]

Volume 56
No. 3

Friday,
10th July, 1964

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(HANSARD)

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

OFFICIAL REPORT

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS

BILLS READ THE FIRST TIME [c. 189] :

Control of Prices (Amendment) Bill

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Debate on the Address [Third Day]

Debate Adjourned

ADJOURNMENT MOTION [c. 292]

1964 ජූලි 10 වන සිකුරාදා

අප්‍රාණවුකාරතුමාගේ කථාව : ස්තුති ශෝචනාව
පිළිබඳ විමර්ශය

ஹெச். பி. டி. டி. டி.
 (கௌரவ சீ. பி. டி. சில்வா)
 (The Hon. C. P. de Silva)

මෙම යෝජනාවද මම ඉදිරිපත් කරමි :

“1964 ජූලි මස 13 වැනි සදුදා මතැත්ති මණ්ඩලයේ රැස්වීම පු. හා. 10 සිට දවල් 12 දක්වාද; අ. හා. 2 සිට අ. හා. 4 දක්වාද; අ. හා. 4.30 සිට අ. හා. 7 දක්වාද විය යුතුය. කථානායකතුමා අ. හා. 7 ට ප්‍රශ්නය නොවීමසා මතැත්ති මණ්ඩලයේ රැස්වීම කල් තැබිය යුතුය.”

පී. ජී. බී. කෙනමන් මයා. (මැද කොළඹ
දෙවන මන්තී)

(திரு. பி. ஜி. பி. கெனமன்—கொழும்பு
மத்தி இரண்டாம் அங்கத்தவர்)
(Mr. P. G. B. Keuneman—Second
Colombo Central)

The agreement reached at the Leaders' meeting was that on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday the Debate can continue with the consent of the House till 9 p.m. You will notice that, according to the Motion, Mr. Speaker can adjourn the House without Question put. I would like to have an assurance from the Leader of the House that the agreement reached will be carried out.

ஓர் டி. பி. டி. டி. டி.
 (கௌரவ சி. பி. டி. டி. டி.)
 (The Hon. C. P. de Silva)

This Motion applies only to Monday and not Tuesday and Wednesday.—[Interruption].

ප්‍රශ්නය විමසන ලදිත්, සහායවීමක විය.

අග්‍රාණ්ඩකාරතුමාගේ කථාව
ස්තූති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විචාරය
[තුන්වන දිනය]

மகா தேசாதிபதியினது பேச்சு
நன்றியுரை மீதான விவாதம்

[மூன்றாம் நாள்]

GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S SPEECH
DEBATE ON THE ADDRESS
[Third Day]

සංඥායන [පුලි 9] පිළිබඳ විවාදය තවදුරටත්
පවත්වනු පිණිස නියෝගය කියවන ලදී. ඊට අදාළ
ප්‍රශ්නය [පුලි 2]—

“අතිගරු අග්‍රාණ්ඩුකාරතුමන් විසින් පවත්වන ලද කථාවට පිළිතුරු වශයෙන් මෙම මන්ත්‍රී මණ්ඩලය විසින් පහත දැක්වෙන ස්තූති යෝජනාව

Foundation မှ စတင် ဖွဲ့စည်းထားပြီး နှစ်ပေါင်းများစွာ အောင်မြင်စွာ ဆောင်ရွက်ခဲ့ပါသည်။

කෙටුම්පත් පණත් පිළිගැන්වීම

சமர்ப்பிக்கப்பட்ட மசோதாக்கள்

BILLS PRESENTED

CONTROL OF PRICES (AMENDMENT) BILL

“to amend the Control of Prices Act”.

පිළිගත් වන ලද්දේ අභ්‍යන්තර සහ බාහිර
වෙළඳාම හා සැසිසිම් කටයුතු පිළිබඳ ඇමති ගරු
ටී. බී. ඉලංගරත්න විසිනි. 1964 ජූලි 13 වන සඳු
දෙවන වර කියවිය යුතුයයිද, එය මුද්‍රණය කළ
යුතුයයිද නියෝග කරන ලදී.

FAUNA AND FLORA PROTECTION
(AMENDMENT) BILL

"to amend the Fauna and Flora Protection Ordinance".

පිළිගත්වන ලද්දේ ප්‍රමාණි හා ගුවන් විදුලි පිළිබඳ වැඩ බලන ඇමති වෙනුවට ගරු පී. බී. ඉලංග රත්න විසිනි. 1964 ජූලි 13 වන සඳුදා දෙවන වර කියවිය යුතුයයිද, එය මුද්‍රණය කළ යුතුයයිද නියෝග කරන ලදී.

මහත්‍රි මණ්ඩලයේ රැස්වීම

சபை ஆமர்வு

SITTING OF THE HOUSE

ගරු සී. පී. ද සිල්වා (ඉඩම්, වාට්ටම්
හා විදුලි බලය පිළිබඳ ඇමති හා සභා
නායක)

‘கௌரவ சீ. பீ. டி. சில்வா—காணி, நீர்ப்
பாசன, மின்விசை அமைச்சரும் சபை முதல்
வரும்)

(The Hon. C. P. de Silva—Minister of Land, Irrigation and Power and Leader of the House)

මෙම යෝජනාව මම ඉදිරිපත් කරමි :

“අද දින විසිර යෑමේදී මන්ත්‍රි මණ්ඩලය 1964 ජූලි මස 13 වන සඳුදා පූ. භා. 10 වන තෙක් කල් තැබිය යුතුය.”

ප්‍රශ්නය විමසන ලදීන්, සහායම්වතුන්

අග්‍රාණ්ඩුකාරතුමාගේ කථාව:

ස්තූති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විවාදය

අතීත රුකුමාණනි,

පාර්ලිමේන්තුව විවෘත කිරීමේදී ඔබතුමාණන් විසින් පවත්වන්නට යෙදුණු කථාව වෙනුවෙන් නියෝජිත මන්ත්‍රී මණ්ඩලයේ සාමාජිකයන් වන අපි ඔබතුමාණන්ට ස්තූති කරමු. අප වෙත ඉදිරිපත් කරන ලද සියලුම කරුණුවලට අපගේ අවධානය යොමු කරන බව අපි ඔබතුමාට සරීර ලෙස ප්‍රකාශ කරමු.”—[ලක්ෂ්මන් ජයකොඩි මයා.]

යෝජිත සංශෝධන, ස්තූති යෝජනාව අගට එකතු කිරීමට:

I “එහෙත්,

රැකිරක්ෂා හිඟය, ශික්‍ෂයෙන් ඉහළ නඟින ජීවන වියදම, අධ්‍යාපනික, වෛද්‍ය හා නිවාස පහසුකම් මදිකම, අල්ලස් ගැනීම හා දූෂණය යනාදී ජනතාවගේ ප්‍රධාන ප්‍රශ්න 1956 සිට පැවැති ආණ්ඩු යටතේ වඩාත් උග්‍ර වී තිබෙන හෙයින්ද, තමන්ගේ ජීවන තත්ත්වය පිරිහීමේ හේතුවෙන් ජනතාවට මුහුණ පාන්නට සිදුවී ඇති දුක් කරදර තුනිකර ලීම සඳහා වැඩදායක විධිවිධාන රාජ්‍ය කටයුතු වලට ඇතුළත් නොවන හෙයින්ද අපගේ කණගාටුව ප්‍රකාශ කරමු.”—[ජේ. ආර්. ජයවර්ධන මයා.]

II “එතකුණු වුවත් උතුමාණන් වහන්සේගේ කථාවෙන්,

(අ) ලංකාව ස්වාධීන ජනරජයක් බවට පත් කිරීම සඳහා කිසිදු යෝජනාවක් ඉදිරිපත් නොකිරීම;

(ආ) වර්තමාන රැකිරක්ෂා රහිත භාවය හා ආර්ථික අකර්මත්‍යතාව නැතිකර දැමීමට අත්‍යවශ්‍ය වූ රටේ ස්වාභාවික ධන නිධානයන් හා මිනිස් බලය පිළිබඳ සම්පූර්ණ සංවර්ධනයට අදාළවන, ආර්ථික දියුණුව සඳහා කිසිදු යෝජනාවක් ජනතාව ඉදිරියේ තැබීමට අපොහොසත් වීම;

(ඇ) විදේශීන් සතු බැංකු හා “ඒජන්සි” සමාගම් ජනසතු කිරීම සඳහා වැඩ පිළිවෙළක් රට ඉදිරියේ තැබීමට අපොහොසත් වීම;

(ඈ) ඉකුත් වර්ෂ 400 තුළත් ඔබතුමාණන්ගේ ආණ්ඩුව යටතේ දැනටත් රටේ වැඩි ජනතාවගේ ආගම වන බුද්ධාගම මුහුණ පා සිටින දුෂ්කරතාවයන් ඉවත් කර දැමීමට කතෝලික දේශපාලන ආක්‍රමණය ගැන සෝදිසි කිරීම සඳහා කිසිදු බලාපොරොත්තුවක් ඇති බව බෞද්ධ ජනතාව හමුවේ සහතික කිරීමට අපොහොසත් වීම;

(ඉ) බෞද්ධාගමට සහ අනිකුත් සෑම ආගම්වලටම හිමි ස්ථානය ලබාදීම සහතික කිරීම සඳහා වර්තමාන ආණ්ඩුක්‍රම ව්‍යවස්ථාවේ 29 වගන්තියේ නොපැහැදිලි, වියවුල් සහගත තත්ත්වය සංශෝධනය කිරීම සඳහා අත්‍යවශ්‍ය වූ ද, ක්‍රියාත්මක වූ ද, නිශ්චිත වූ ද, යෝජනා ඉදිරිපත් කිරීමට අපොහොසත් වීම;

(ඊ) රටේ විදේශීය ප්‍රතිපත්තිය පැහැදිලිව අව්‍යාකූලව ප්‍රකාශ කිරීමට අපොහොසත් වීම; ඇතැම් රටවල බලාපොරොත්තු ඉටු කරන්නාක් සෙයින් නොබැඳුණු “විදේශ” ප්‍රතිපත්තිය යනු තුමන්ගේදී

පැහැදිලි කර නැති අතර ඒ වටා අවිනිශ්චිත ස්වභාවයක් පවතිද්දී ඔබතුමාණන්ගේ ආණ්ඩුව නොබැඳුණු විදේශ ප්‍රතිපත්තියට අනුකූලතාවයක් නැති ක්‍රියා මාර්ගයන් අනුගමනය කිරීම; රටවල් බොහෝ ගණනක් සමග තානාපති හා වෙළඳ සම්බන්ධකම් ඇතිකර ගැනීම සතුවත් පිළිගන්නා අතර කැනඩාව සහ අළුතින් නිදහස ලබාගත් කිනියාව, ටැංගනිකාව හා උගන්ඩාව යන රටවල් සමග පූර්ණ තානාපති සම්බන්ධකම් ඇති කර ගැනීමට ඔබතුමන්ගේ ආණ්ඩුව අපොහොසත් වීම නිසා උතුමාණන් වහන්සේගේ කථාව ගැන අපගේ අප්‍රසාදය පළකර සිටිමු.”—[ඩී. පී. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන මයා.]

III “එහෙත්,

(අ) සිංහල පමණක් හා දෙමළ සමග යනුවෙන් සඳහන් කිරීම අර්ථානුකූලව හා දේශපාලන වශයෙන් විකාරයක් වන හෙයින්, 1956 අංක 33 දරන සිංහල පමණක් පනත ලංකා ආණ්ඩුක්‍රම පනතට ඇතුළත් කිරීමෙන්, සිංහල පමණක් ලංකාවේ රාජ්‍ය භාෂාව කිරීමේ නීතිය ලංකාවේ මූලික නීතියක් කිරීමටද,

(ආ) “බුද්ධ ශාසනය සම්පූර්ණයෙන්ම ආරක්‍ෂා කළ යුතු අතර, බෞද්ධ වන් පිළිවෙත්, මහ සංඝයා වහන්ස හා විහාරස්ථානවලට ආධාර කළ යුතු අතර රැක බලාගත යුතුයි” යනුවෙන් සඳහන් 1815 උඩරට ගිවිසුමේ 5 වෙනි වගන්තිය, ලංකා ආණ්ඩුක්‍රම පනතේ 29 වෙනි වගන්තිය සංශෝධනය කර, ඇතුළත් කිරීමටද,

(ඇ) සතර පෝය රජයේ නිවාඩු දින කිරීමටද,

(ඈ) වෙළඳාම් කිරීම, කර්මාන්ත පිහිටුවීම, ඉඩම් අයිතිය හා රැකිරක්ෂා අයිතිය ලක් පුර වැසියන්ට පමණක් සහතික කිරීමටද නොපමාව නීති සම්පාදනය කරන ලෙස අපි ඔබතුමාගේ ආණ්ඩුවෙන් ඉල්ලා සිටින අතර, මෙරට සමාජයේ පිළිකාවක් ලෙස පැවැත්වෙන ඉන්දියානු ප්‍රශ්නය විසඳීම පිණිස, පහත සඳහන් පියවර වහාම ගත යුතුයයි ඉල්ලා සිටිමු:—

- (i) නොමිලයේ දෙන සෞඛ්‍ය හා අධ්‍යාපනික පහසුකම් හා සහල් සලාකය ඉන්දියානුවන්ට දීම තතර කිරීම,
- (ii) ඉන්දියානුවන්ට, වෘත්තීය සමිති වලට ඇතුළුවීමට හෝ වෘත්තීය සමිති පිහිටුවීමට හෝ ඉඩ නොදීම,
- (iii) සෑම තරුතිරමකම තිබෙන රැකියා වල්වලට ලක් පුරවැසියන් පමණක් බඳවා ගන්නා ලෙස බල කිරීම,
- (iv) සෑම ඉන්දියානුවන්ට, වෙළඳාම් කිරීම හෝ කර්මාන්ත පිහිටුවීම හෝ ඉඩම් අයිති කර ගැනීම හෝ තහනම් කිරීම,
- (v) සෑම ඉන්දියානුවෙක්ම නොපමාව ඉන්දියාවට යැවීම පිණිස අවශ්‍ය වැඩ කටයුතු යෙදීම.”[කුසුමා රාජ රත්න මයා.]

අමුණකරුන්ගේ කටයුතු :

(iv) “ එතෙකුදු වුවත්,

(අ) ලංකාවේ දේශපාලන තත්ත්වය අනුව බ්‍රිතාන්‍ය අධිරාජ්‍යවාදීන්ගේ ග්‍රහණයෙන් ලංකාව නිදහස් කර ගැනීමේ අභිප්‍රායයක් වත් ප්‍රකාශ කරනු වෙනුවට පොදු රාජ්‍ය මණ්ඩලය සමග ලංකාවේ සම්බන්ධකම් ආරක්ෂා කර ගැනීම පිළිබඳව ඔබතුමාගේ ආණ්ඩුවේ අභිලාශය ප්‍රකාශ කිරීම නිසා ලංකාව තුළ බ්‍රිතාන්‍ය අධිරාජ්‍යවාදයට ඔබතුමාගේ ආණ්ඩුවේ යටහත් කම ඔබතුමාගේ ආණ්ඩුවේ ශෝචනීය ලෙස සහ නික කර ඇති හෙයින් ද ;

(ආ) අරමුණු වශයෙන් ඔබතුමාගේ ආණ්ඩුව සමාජවාදී බව ප්‍රකාශ කරනත්, මේ රටේ වැවිලි, වාණිජ හා කර්මාන්ත තුළ ධනෝපාර්ජනයෙහි නියුක්ත ධනපති සම්බන්ධතාවලට එරෙහිව පියවර ගැනීමේ කිසිම අභිප්‍රායයක් ඔබතුමාගේ ආණ්ඩුව දක්වා නැති හෙයින් ද ;

(ඉ) වාණිජ විෂයයෙහි, අපනයන ව්‍යාපාරය බ්‍රිතාන්‍ය අධිරාජ්‍යවාදීන් සහ ලාංකික ධනපතින් අත පවතින්නට ඉඩ හැරීම ඔබතුමාගේ ආණ්ඩුවේ අදහස බව පැහැදිලි ලෙස එළිදරව් කර ඇති හෙයින් ද ;

(ඊ) අත්‍යවශ්‍ය භාණ්ඩ මෙරටට ගෙන්වීමේ ව්‍යාපාරය රජයට ගැනීමට අදහස් කරන බවක් අඟවන්නට වූයම් කරන අතර, ඇත්ත වශයෙන්ම, කරන්නේ ලාංකික කිරීමේ මුඩාවෙන්, ලාංකික ධනපතින් සමග එක්වී විදේශීය ධනපතින්ට ලංකාවේ කටයුතු කරගෙන යාමට ඉඩ ලැබෙන පරිදි ආනයන ව්‍යාපාරයේ වැඩි කොටස ධනපති පංතියත්, අධිරාජ්‍යවාදීන් වෙත පවතින්නට ඉඩ හැරීමට ඔබතුමාගේ ආණ්ඩුව තීරණය කිරීම වන බැවින් මෙසේ කිරීම ලාංකික ධනපතින් සමග එකතු වී ඔවුන්ට මුඩා වී මේ රටේ ව්‍යාපාර ගෙන යාමට විදේශීය ධනපතින්ට ඉඩ සැලසෙන හෙයින් ද ;

(උ) විදේශීය ආයෝජකයින් විසින් ලාභාංශ සහ ප්‍රාග්ධන මින් ඉදිරියටත් පිටරට යැවීම නතර කිරීම සඳහා කිසිම පැහැදිලි පියවරක් නොගන්නා හෙයින් ද ;

තවද, වේතන ලබන්නන්ගේත්, වෘත්තීය සංගම් ව්‍යාපාරයේත්, පොදුවේ ජනතාවගේත් උග්‍ර ප්‍රශ්න සම්බන්ධයෙන්—

(අ) ධනපති වෙළඳ සමාගම් සහ පුද්ගලයන් යටතේ සේවය කරන වේතන ලබන්නන් සහ වැටුප් ලබන්නන් විසි ලක්ෂයක් දෙන, දැනට මුහුණ පාමින් සිටින පලි ගැනීම, සේවක සංඛ්‍යාව අඩු කිරීම පිණිස සේවකයන් අස්කිරීම සහ වෙනත් ක්‍රම වල සුරාකෑම් හා විවිධාකාර තාඩන පීඩන වලින් ආරක්ෂා කරන බවට සහතික

ස්තූති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විවාදය

කිරීමේ ක්‍රියා මාර්ග කිසිවක් ගැන සඳහනක් ඔබතුමාගේ ආණ්ඩුව විසින් කර නැති හෙයින් ද ;

(ආ) ඔබතුමාගේ ආණ්ඩුව ඊනියා ජාතික ශූභ සිද්ධියේ නාමයෙන් වඩ වඩා වැඩක් දැකී විනයත් වැටුප් ලබන්නන්ගෙන් ඉල්ලා සිටින අතර රාජ්‍යාංශයේත් පෞද්ගලික අංශයෙන් යන දෙකැත්තීම වැටුප් ඇවිරීමේ ප්‍රතිපත්තිය අත්හැර දමන බව කිසිසේත් සඳහන් කර නැති හෙයින් ද ;

(ඉ) රජයේ ව්‍යාපාරවලත් රජය විසින් පාලනය කරනු ලබන ව්‍යාපාරවලත් නිලධාරී පැලැන්තියේ අනිසි පාලනය, දූෂණය, නාස්තිය, අකාර්යක්ෂමතාව, නැදැයින්ට පක්ෂපාතකම් දැක්වීම හා එම ව්‍යාපාරවල සේවකයන් සුරාකෑම නවත්වාලීමට ඇති එකම මග වශයෙන් මෙකී ව්‍යාපාර කම්කරුවන් මගින් පාලනය විය යුතුයයි බොහෝ කාලයක සිට පවත්නාවූත්, ක්‍රමයෙන් දැඩිවත්නාවූත් ඉල්ලීමක් තිබියදීත්, දැනට පවත්නා පාලනයට සහාය දීම සඳහා උපදේශක සහ පිහිටු වීමට පමණක් ඔබතුමාගේ ආණ්ඩුව බලා පොරොත්තු වන හෙයින් ද ;

(ඊ) රජයේ පරිපාලන විෂයයටත් පාලන විෂය යටත් වැඩ කරන පංතිය ඇතුළත් කර ගන්නා බවට හැඟීමක් ඇති කිරීමට වූයම් කරන අතරම සංවිධානය වූ වෘත්තීය සංගම් ව්‍යාපාරය ගැනත් වෘත්තීය සංගම් ඒකාබද්ධ කාරක සභාව ගැනත් ඔබතුමාගේ ආණ්ඩුව කිසිවක් සඳහන් කර නැති හෙයින් ද ;

(උ) රජයේ සේවකයන්ගේත්, රජයේ සංයුක්ත මණ්ඩලවල සේවකයන්ගේත්, රජයේ පාසල්වල ගුරුවරුන්ගේත් දේශපාලන අයිතිවාසිකම් පිළිගැනීමටත්, එම අයිතිවාසිකම් ලබා දීමටත් ඔබතුමාගේ ආණ්ඩුව අපොහොසත්වී ඇති හෙයින් ද ;

(ඌ) උග්‍ර ලෙසත් පෘථල ලෙසත් පැතිර පවත්නා රුකි රක්ෂා විරහිතභාවය පිළිබඳ ප්‍රශ්නය ගැන කිසිසේත්ම සඳහන් කර නැති හෙයින් ද, විශේෂයෙන්ම, රටේ උගත් තරුණ පෙපල් සහජ දක්ෂතාවන් රටේ සංවර්ධනය සඳහා නිසි ලෙස යෙදවීමේ මාර්ග සැලැස්වීමට ඔබතුමාගේ ආණ්ඩුව අපොහොසත් වී ඇති හෙයින් ද ;

(එ) ඉඩම් නැතිකම පිළිබඳ බරපතල ප්‍රශ්නය ගැනත්, ඉඩම් නොමැත්තවූන්ට කඩිනමින් රජයේ ඉඩම් දීම සඳහා ගතානුගතිකත්වයෙන් තොර, ප්‍රගතිශීලී, නොමසුරු ප්‍රතිපත්තියක් අනුගමනය කිරීමෙන් හෝ පෞද්ගලික ඉඩම් අනිවාර්යයෙන්ම අත්කර ගනිමින් ගම් පුළුල් කිරීමේ ප්‍රබල ප්‍රතිපත්තියක් අනුගමනය කිරීමෙන් හෝ ඉඩම් නොමැත්තවූන්ට ඉඩම් ලබාදීමේ අවශ්‍යතාව ගැනත් ඔබතුමාගේ ආණ්ඩුව කිසිසේත්ම සඳහන් කර නැති හෙයින් ද ;

අග්‍රාණ්ඩුකාරතුමාගේ කථාව :

ස්ත්‍රී යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විවාදය

(ඒ) ඔබතුමාගේ ආණ්ඩුව ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදය ආරක්ෂා කරන බව කියා සිටිනත්, වැඩ වර්ජන කඩකප්පල් කර දැමීමෙන් වෙනත් අන්දමින් මහජනයාට පහර දීමටත් පොලීසියට සහ යුද හමුදාවට බලතල පවරා දෙමින් වරින්වර ජනතාවගේ හිදහස සහ මූලික ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදී අයිති වාසිකම් අහිමි කිරීම සඳහා පාවිච්චි කර ගෙන ආ මහජනාරක්ෂක පනත අවලංගු කරන බව සඳහන් කර නැති හෙයින් ද;

තවද සුළු ජාතීන්ගේ ප්‍රශ්න සම්බන්ධයෙන්—

(අ) දෙමළ භාෂාවන් රාජ්‍ය භාෂාවක් කිරීමට නීතියෙන් විධිවිධාන යෙදීමෙන් දෙමළ භාෂාව කථා කරන සුළු ජාතිකයින්ට භාෂා අයිතිවාසිකම් ලබා දෙන බවට කිසිම සඳහනක් කිරීමට ඔබතුමාගේ ආණ්ඩුව අපොහොසත් වී ඇති හෙයින් ද;

(ආ) මේ රටේ වැඩ කරන ජනතාවගේ ව්‍යාපාරය විනාශ කරන ගුප්ත අදහසින්, එසේම වැඩ කරන පංතිය හේද හින්න කර ජනතාව තුළ ජාතිවාදී ස්වභාව ඇති කිරීමටත්, ලාංකික ධනපති පංතියේ යහපත පිණිස ඩී. එස්. සේනානායක මහතා විසින් නීති පුස්තකයට එක් කරන ලද අපකීර්ති යට පාත්‍ර වූත්, හිංසාකාරීවූත්, පුරවැසි පනත අවලංගු කිරීමේ කිසිම අභිප්‍රායයක් ඔබතුමාගේ ආණ්ඩුවට නොමැති හෙයින් ද;

(ඈ) ඊනිය “නිර්දර්ශ” පුද්ගල ගණයකට අයත් ව ජීවත් වන වතු කම්කරුවන්ට පුරවැසි අයිතිවාසිකම් දීමේ කිසිම අදහසක් ඔබතුමාගේ ආණ්ඩුව කෙරෙහි නොමැති හෙයින් ද;

උතුමාණන් වහන්සේගේ ආණ්ඩුව කෙරෙහි මෙම සභාවේ විශ්වාසය නොමැති බව කණගාටුවෙන් ප්‍රකාශ කරමි.—(මෙරිල් ප්‍රනාන්දු මය.)

එම වචන එතැනට එකතු කළ යුතුය, යන ප්‍රශ්නය යළිත් සභාපතිවරයා කරන ලදී.

ප්‍ර. හා. 10.3

කෙනමත් මයා.

(ති.රු. කෙණමන්)

(Mr. Keuneman)

Mr. Speaker, you will recall that when we adjourned last night, I was dealing with what I described as the psychological theories of the hon. First Member for Colombo South (Mr. J. R. Jayewardena) as to the reasons why a new Government has been formed and taken the shape it has taken. I must also say that I was not very impressed by the elaborate electoral statistics that were quoted by my hon. Friend. The Communist

Party always maintain that, in the existing correlation of political forces in this country, a combination of the Left and those middle forces which are represented by the S. L. F. P. is strong enough to be able to defeat electorally or otherwise the reactionary forces represented by the United National Party. We advanced this thesis in 1950 and nobody accepted it at that time, but it came into being in 1956 and again in July, 1960 and it was successful. I am confident that this combination can succeed in the future as well, as long as those correlated forces remain what they are.

I was last night referring to the fact that, since about the middle of 1962, the S. L. F. P. Government was experiencing an instability and the beginning of a political crisis different from what it experienced in the first two years of its regime. In the first two years of its regime such instability as existed in the Government was largely as a result of external attack from various and assorted reactionary forces in this country and outside. But, from 1962, we have begun to see the development of a new type of crisis. I am saying all this, Mr. Speaker, not because I wish to develop a theory about political crises but so that it may be possible to make some type of objective assessment of what has taken place, or its value, and what is likely to develop and what are the lines along which things should develop.

The first expression of crisis was in that famous 1962-63 Budget. There, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party Government came up against the fact that electoral combinations and appeals to political or cultural aspirations alone will not solve the fundamental problems of the economy. On that occasion, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party Government had to face the fact that the problems of the economy which were developing and becoming more acute could not be adequately tackled along the line of what it chose to call its policy of the middle-path. It had to make a shift one way or the other. In the Budget for 1962-63 it tried a particular

අග්‍රාණ්ඩුකාරතුමාගේ කථාව :

ස්තූති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විමර්ශය

type of solution. It led to a revolt not only in the country but also among their own Members, and the then Minister of Finance, Mr. Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike, was a prominent casualty in that event.

We found a further maturing of this crisis last year. You will recall that in May, 1963, the Government suddenly prorogued Parliament for three months, especially after the beginning of the formation of the United Left Front. This produced a solution in the form of a Cabinet reshuffle—it was really a sort of Ministerial musical chairs. As was obvious to everybody that solution did not work.

The Government's work during the past Session was characterized in the main by aimlessness and drift. Even the advances that were made in the spheres of insurance and the internal distribution of oil products were not properly consolidated. We can see that in the problems that are now developing in the Ceylon Petroleum Corporation and also in the Insurance Corporation. I shall deal with those matters at the time of the Budget.

You will recall that even the temporary euphoria that was produced by the 1963-64 Budget rapidly disappeared. The Budget that was expected to reduce the cost of living, due to various other factors, did not do so, and, in point of fact, ever since August, 1963, the cost-of-living index has been going up month by month.

The sudden four-month prorogation of Parliament in March, 1964, showed us that the political crisis of the S. L. F. P. Government had reached an even more mature stage; and it is the result of that development and the maturity of that crisis that we find in the form of the Government that came into being on June 11, 1964.

This Government is certainly an improvement on the last one. As one who has been associated with the Lanka Sama Samaja Party, with the left movement and the hon. Members who are on the Front Bench and in the Government today, I cannot say

that any Government which included them is worse than one in which they were not there. Certainly it is an improvement on what was there in the past, but it still remains to be seen whether even this Government is sufficiently strong to solve the problems that brought it into being. All indications are that it cannot be regarded as a final solution of the problems of the political crisis.

The former S. L. F. P. Government did not lack sufficient votes in this House to be able to carry on or to drift along until the term of this Parliament expires some time in the middle of next year. Nor was its problem really one of a relative lack of talented and experienced people to guide the ship of State. I must say, that was a serious problem. Even when they had reasonably good policies, they did not have sufficiently experienced and able people to implement those policies. But the real problem it had to face was that its basic policies were inadequate to make any impact on the deepening crisis of Ceylon's economy from which its political crisis had stemmed. How far have things drifted?

The Sri Lanka Freedom Party's realization of the need to co-operate with the Left is certainly a welcome change. Whereas in 1962 the tendencies were to move more in the direction of the solutions proposed by the Right, in 1964 the pendulum has swung the other way and we regard that as a positive and welcome change in the situation. It has led to a Government in which the positions of the Left have been strengthened, and also the positions of those sections of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party who realized the need for co-operation with the Left have been relatively strengthened. But it is also a fact that this Government is based on a still unresolved compromise. You can see that in the curious imbalance in the proposals set out in the Address of His Excellency the Governor-General. With the exception of trade, what is new

අමුණකාරතුමාගේ කථාව :

ස්තූති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විවාදය

[කෙනෙත් මය.]

and concrete pertains mainly to Ministries which have members of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party as their heads. In the case of other important Ministries, such as those dealing with Industry, Agriculture, Irrigation, Land, Power and other matters vital to any solution of the economic problems of this country, the Throne Speech has nothing new to say, or in some cases nothing at all to say.

I am sorry the Hon. Minister of Agriculture, Food and Fisheries is not here. I want to ask him what happened to the crash programme for self-sufficiency in subsidiary foodstuffs within three years. Apparently crashed! There is not a single reference to that. This was put forward as a major policy matter. What happened to it? There is not even a reference to it.

In the case of industry, a lot can be said, but I shall leave it to the hon. Member for Akuressa (Dr. Wickremasinghe) to deal with it. I do not want to anticipate him. It is just enough to say that we are happy that private industries are forging ahead. All the industrial projects in the public sector are being held up, and are being held up largely because of what is going on at Ministerial level. I shall not refer to the question of the oil refinery but quite a lot can be said about that matter. All those details can be gone into later. What is happening to the other projects? Why are they not going ahead? The explanation is that they are very satisfied that various private sector industries are developing. What has the Government done apart from giving approval for the development of private industries? Is the issuing of chits part of industrial development? There are some very curious and questionable transactions in this regard. You are talking about Ceylonizing trade, but whether you are Ceylonizing private industry is another matter. Well, these are facts we will expect something to be said about.

Land, Irrigation and Power : "Uda Walawe and Rajangana Schemes are making satisfactory progress." Very questionable! Very questionable! Some of the things that are going on about the allocation of lands under the Uda Walawe Scheme—

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(கௌரவ அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)

(An hon. Member)

And Rajangana.

කෙනෙත් මය.

(திரு. கௌமன்)

(Mr. Keuneman)

—are far from satisfactory. The hon. Member for Tissamaharama (Mr. Lakshman Rajapaksa) knows about it. Sir, there is this curious dichotomic imbalance in proportions and that is why I say that the new Government is still faced with an unresolved problem. The Hon. the Prime Minister formed the Government on the basis of the need for the co-operation of the working classes. That has not been completely achieved. On the other hand, inside the Government itself we have representatives of the S. L. F. P. Right Wing and there is nothing to indicate that they have abandoned the policies or political position that they adopted before the Government of June the 11th was formed.

Now, Sir, We have made an advance, and I think it is a correct step, but the problem of how far this can go is still one that has to be decided, and it will be decided, may I say, by the extent to which the progressive forces inside the Government and outside are able to work together to give concrete shape to such progressive proposals as are set out in the Throne Speech. The extent and the effectiveness of the change that has taken place can therefore be measured not merely in terms of the policies that have been announced in the Throne Speech but by the political struggles of the next year which will determine the practical steps that can be taken to give effect to these measures in the course of time.

அனாதாபுரம் துறைமுகம் கட்டல் :

There is a big question that remains to be resolved. Will the Government that was formed on June the 11th mean a reorientation of national policies in a more progressive direction? Or will it mean that the Government has now found merely a broader political base with undoubtedly more efficient, able and experienced men, to implement the policies of the past which for various reasons were unable to be implemented? I think the progressive forces must see to it—and may I refer to the forces within the Government as well as outside—that this is the first line of March that is followed. This will be decided as I said earlier by the extent to which there can be unity of effort, unity of aim, in seeing that whatever advance has been made is secured and carried forward. It will be secured to the extent to which these forces can, step by step, see that the foreign and local vested interests are dislodged from their present position in the economy, and in our political and social life. So far as the Communist Party is concerned, we do not agree with the L.S.S.P.'s decision to join the Government on its own. But now that a Government of the S. L. F. P. and the L. S. S. P. has been formed, it is an objective fact and all political considerations must start from that objective fact.

As we have already announced, we shall certainly support, and co-operate with, every genuine attempt to implement in this Session such progressive measures as the new Government has announced.

We do not think these measures are adequate even though they are limited to the period of one year. That is why we have moved an amendment which sets out additional measures that we think can and should be implemented in this Session. I should like to say that the additional measures mentioned in the amendment of the Communist Party are basically those which all

சீதாபதி கிராமம் பிழிபெரு கிராமம்

the three parties of the U. L. F.—the L. S. S. P., the M. E. P. and the Communist Party—accepted as necessary for a one-year implementation programme.

உத்தி. டி. லக்ஷ்மி மஹா. (கங்காநகரம்)

(திரு. எம். டி. பண்டா—ஹங்குரங்கேதா)
(Mr. M. D. Banda—Hanguranketa)

There is no U. L. F. now.

கேனமன் மஹா.

(திரு. கெனமன்)

(Mr. Keuneman)

These measures that we have mentioned are in the main those which have not been included either in the 14 point agreement between the S. L. F. P. and the L. S. S. P. or in the Throne Speech itself.

I want to say that as far as our party is concerned, we will expose and oppose all actions of the S.L.F.P. right wing which are directed against the national interest and the unity of the progressive forces. If the Government takes any action—I hope they will not do so—against the interests of the people, we will oppose it.

உத்தி. டி. லக்ஷ்மி மஹா.

(திரு. எம். டி. பண்டா)

(Mr. M. D. Banda)

Divide the Government !

கேனமன் மஹா.

(திரு. கெனமன்)

(Mr. Keuneman)

I will tell the hon. Member for Hanguranketa that we will not isolate anyone in the fight against the U. N. P. and the reactionary forces. [Interruption].

உத்தி. டி. லக்ஷ்மி மஹா.

(திரு. எம். டி. பண்டா)

(Mr. M. D. Banda)

Your own brothers are calling you people reactionaries.

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කෙනමන් මයා.

(තිரு. කෙනමන්)

(Mr. Keuneman)

Let me not say what your relations are calling you, lest it be said that I am unparliamentary.

Let me now turn to an examination of some of the proposals made in the Throne Speech because I want to try to assess these proposals in terms of the general framework of what I have said. Certainly the Throne Speech is not a very inspiring one.

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(තිரு. எம். டி. பண்டா)

(Mr. M. D. Banda)

It is a despairing one.

කෙනමන් මයා.

(තිරු. කෙනමන්)

(Mr. Keuneman)

It is not a despairing Speech, nor is it a very inspiring one, because the major part of it was made known long before the Throne Speech was delivered. Therefore, it is stale news ; but the fact that it is stale news does not mean that one should not assess the value of the news.

I must say it does contain several proposals which, if implemented properly, can help to improve matters and give the people some relief. It is true that fundamental economic problems are not tackled in the Throne Speech, and I doubt whether it is possible in the last year of a Parliament to produce a Throne Speech for one year which is going to tackle all the fundamental problems. If it did say so, I would certainly be very sceptical of it. Consider the Throne Speech of August 1960 which set out solutions to a vast number of problems. The problems are still there but the solutions unfortunately have still to come.

Some of the proposals are those which we in the United Left Front supported and naturally they have

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now become Government policy. It is our duty to see that they are carried out, because otherwise we would be failing in basic political honesty to the people to have proposed solutions and then to refuse to support them when they are in actual practice announced by the Government.

What is new in the Throne Speech basically falls into two or three sections. In the economic sphere these proposals deal mainly with questions of trade, banking and the managing agencies. We support the general lines of the proposals regarding trade. These are basically those which the U. L. F. put forward and which we supported. I know it is going to be—as the hon. Member for Avissawella (Mr. D. P. R. Gunawardena) mentioned—a very difficult task, an almost Herculean task, to be able to get the Government machine which is corroded at the moment with corruption, inefficiency, sabotage and a hundred and one other things—

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(තිரு. எம். டி. பண்டா)

(Mr. M. D. Banda)

Who is responsible for that ?

කෙනමන් මයා.

(තිරු. කෙනමන්)

(Mr. Keuneman)

—to efficiently carry out the policy which is laid down here. But, nevertheless, this policy is the correct one. Its basic lines are correct. Its basic lines are such that it can lead not only to dislodging foreign and local vested interests from important positions in a vital branch of the national economy but also to taking some step forward towards a fairer distribution of essential goods and a reduction of their prices.

The basic proposals centre round the take-over of the import trade in essential articles by the new State Trading Organization ; secondly, the

take-over of the entire wholesale trade by the C. W. E.; thirdly, the fixing of a maximum retail price for all articles by law; and in order to draw people into the fight for enforcing price control it is proposed that People's Committees should be set up.

I do not know what these People's Committees are going to be. It is in the hands of the Hon. Minister of Internal and External Trade and Supply and, I presume, we will have to await his proposals to see how these committees will function. But basically the State Trading Organization taking over the import of essential articles and gradually extending its work to the export trade as well is a positive step forward and we support it. Of course, if there was a revolutionary Government you could have done these things much faster. But though we may have a few revolutionaries in the Government we do not have a revolutionary Government. In fact, we also have some reactionaries in the Government!

These basic proposals, in my opinion fairly concretely elaborated in the Throne Speech, are an important contribution and a contribution for which the United Left Front as a whole fought. And, certainly, if there is going to be any serious effort to implement these proposals—we hope there will be—the Government will have our support and our co-operation.

I want to tell the Government that it is precisely in this sphere of trade that it is likely to encounter the fiercest opposition from vested interests and also from representatives of vested interests inside their own Government. It was no accident that the hon. Member for Avissawella, when he was a member of the M. E. P. Cabinet, found the opposition against him crystallizing and developing when he began to move on to the spheres which affected landlord interests and trade, when he set up the multipurpose co-operative societies which was a genuine contribution to the

development of public trade in this country. That was precisely the beginning of a very big offensive and any attempt to implement these proposals will naturally have to face the same type of opposition.

Already we can see opposition crystallizing outside. Already various associations are being formed, various lobbies are coming into being. Some are operating under the slogan: "We do not mind the Government taking over the import trade but do not give it to the State Trading Organization, give it to the new Ceylonese capitalist class". The others are openly opposed to it. But this fight is definitely coming up and we have had enough experience to realize that these elements in the import and wholesale trade not only have powerful political lobbies but are extremely skilful in manipulating markets and creating economic problems. We saw that in the case of dried fish; we saw that in the case of textiles. The Hon. Minister of Internal and External Trade and Supply, the former Minister of Finance, thought he could solve the problem of textile distribution on the basis of the goodwill of the textile importers. After the 1963-64 Budget he called them all together and gave them a lecture on public morality. He asked them to co-operate in seeing that the people got the textiles they wanted at the proper prices. It worked for one day. It did not work much longer.

So, unless the position is very clear that this is going to be a major political and economic fight and that the fight has to be waged firmly in the course of this year, any progress that can be made in this field is going to be very limited indeed. I am sure my Hon. Friends who have just entered the Government are determined and anxious to see that this is done. If they do so, we shall certainly support them, because we think it is necessary that in the interests of the country, in the interests of economic independence of the country, national control should be established over this vital

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[කෙතමන් මය.]

branch of the economy. People refer to us as an import-export economy. If we are an import-export economy the import-export trade is a vital part of it.

I also want to draw attention to the fact that once the Government has announced its policy it should not allow too long a time to elapse between announcing its intentions and putting them into effect. It is precisely these delays that give the reactionary vested interests the opportunity to mobilize and to create the maximum disorder in the economy. I ask, therefore, that these measures should be introduced as early as possible.

I also want to say very frankly that if the take-over of the import trade is going to be effective, the entire set-up of the C. W. E. should be reorganized. Private wholesale has been a big curse on trade. It is these big wholesalers who are mainly responsible for fleecing not only the consumer in regard to prices but also the small retailer. I am in favour of the C. W. E. taking over the wholesale trade because it is obviously the appropriate establishment for the purpose ; but let it not make things worse.

There are two things wrong with the C. W. E. One is the corruption and inefficiency that exists. All sorts of very questionable people are there. The C. W. E. is today not working effectively. Some of the appointments made have not been good appointments. I am not talking only of the political appointments but also of ordinary staff appointments which have not been good. Unless very stern and firm action is taken on this question, you are not going to be able to undertake the wholesale trade and run it properly.

There is another aspect to this problem. The C. W. E., quite apart from its inefficiency and corruption, has not been expanded and developed on any rational or planned basis. There is a character called

Topsy in one of the novels by Harriet Beecher Stowe who, when asked to explain how she became such a big girl, whether she took vitamins or orange juice, replied, "No, I just grewed". That is what has happened to the C. W. E.—it has just "growed". It is developing all sorts of new branches—it has taken over a lot of work but not on any prior plan or on a rational basis—printing presses, shipping departments, various retail stores, export departments and various other departments. Now, if the Co-operative Wholesale Establishment's basic function is going to be the wholesale trade and it cannot tackle the enormity of the wholesale trade, it is absolutely necessary and essential to see that the reorganization of the C. W. E. is carried through fast, and that means not merely a case of just taking one or two people.

My hon. Friend, the Member for Avissawella, when he was in charge of the Department of Food and Co-operatives, was up against a lot of problems from his Right-wing colleagues, but he was anxious to push things through and so he did it through the C. W. E. Thus, a number of new developments took place in the C. W. E., and the C. W. E. began to play an important part ; but that was the result of the particular political position my hon. Friend was in at that time. Now it is necessary that the whole matter should be straightened out on a proper basis if you want to see that the take-over of the wholesale trade is effective.

I shall not at this stage comment on the proposal to set up a State Trading Organization. A Bill was introduced during the last Session to set up such an organization but like the Bill for setting up the Shipping Corporation it suddenly turned up at the bottom of the Agenda. I hope that is not going to happen during this Session ; when the Bill comes up we can comment on the proposals.

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There are one or two general matters I would like to refer to in this connection. The first is, I do not know whether it is best to have one State Trading Organization or more than one. Certainly, the State Trading Organization should take over the exports, and this is going to be the major feature of its work, but I am not sure whether it would not be wiser to have a different corporation for imports. Anyway, that is a matter for the future; it can be judged by experience once the State Trading Organization is established. But all that I ask is this: it is useless keeping these things in the Throne Speech unless legislation is introduced and passed rapidly in this House; and even before legislation is passed the necessary skeleton organization for setting up the State Trading Organization should be set up and it should begin to work.

In the case of the Petroleum Corporation we were able fairly smoothly and efficiently to make the transition because for several months before the organization had been working and gathering experience, so that when the time came for the take-over it was possible to do it reasonably smoothly. I welcome the policy decision stated in the Throne Speech that the State Trading Organization will gradually take over the export trade. The take-over of the export trade is obviously a more complicated question than the take-over of imports. I do not think there is any big difficulty about the take-over of imports. After all we are the market and we are the buyers, and therefore we can call the tune. But exports are going to be more complicated, and it will be best to proceed on a commodity to commodity basis. There are some exports that can be taken over straightway. Rubber is a good example. About 60 to 65 per cent. of our rubber is actually going to socialist countries, and there is no difficulty whatever in finding a market for this commodity. Coconut oil is a little more complicated and tea is very complicated. But in any case on an export to export basis it

will be possible for the State Trading Organization to proceed rapidly even into the sphere of the take-over of exports, particularly starting with the export of rubber. That is why I say that, generally speaking, the main line of the proposals in regard to trade, that is, imports, exports and wholesale trade, is welcome, should be supported, and will be supported as far as we are concerned.

The other two matters where new ground is being broken in the field of our economy concern banks and the agency houses. Here, unfortunately, the proposals are different from those in regard to trade. In regard to trade the proposals are clear and concrete and are set out in some detail. In the case of banking and agency houses they have been expressed in rather vague and general language. Does this mean that the Government has not yet made up its mind on precisely what it intends to do in this regard? Does it mean that the various positions of the Government on these questions have not been laid on the table and a joint position evolved? Or does that mean that we will have to wait till the Throne Speech has been debated to hear what the proposals are in this regard?

It has been argued, and I think correctly, that it is necessary to nationalize the foreign banks. With the People's Bank and the Bank of Ceylon we have laid the foundation for a national State-sponsored banking institution and there is no reason why the private foreign banks which are still operating in Ceylon should be allowed to continue their operations any longer. I do not want to repeat the arguments on these questions. Despite all the criticism about the foreign banks they still continue along the old way; they still confine the bulk of their work to short-term financing of the import and export trade and they have done very little indeed to finance either industrial or economic development.

The question has often been posed—and I tend to agree with it—can we not achieve the same object without actually nationalizing, because very

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[කෙතමන් මැ.]

often the capital of these banks in Ceylon consists largely of real estate? It only means we are nationalizing a number of buildings, safes and furniture. Some time ago the previous S. L. F. P. Government decided to prohibit the opening of any new accounts except in the Bank of Ceylon and the People's Bank. That was a good step though inadequate, and I think the time has come, as we suggest in our amendment, to see that a further step is taken in this direction, namely, that legislation is introduced to require any company registered in Ceylon and any resident individual to maintain their accounts in the Bank of Ceylon or the People's Bank only, or, if the Government wants to set up another Government bank, in that bank as well.

The question is also sometimes raised that this step might cause some dislocation in regard to the take-over of the bank employees. It is possible to stagger this process and thus see that the bank employees, who are after all experienced men in this work, are absorbed in the new set-up reasonably smoothly. That is why we say it is necessary to fight—and we shall fight—to see that action along this line is taken in the course of this year.

I am very glad that at least some attention is being paid to the managing agencies. These relics of the colonial past are a formidable vehicle of foreign control over the economy and a major source of financial manipulations directed against the national interests. These managing agencies are the nearest we have to the monopoly cartels in the advanced capitalist countries. Their role in the economy and especially in the import and export trade and in the plantation economy is today perhaps more formidable than that of the foreign banks. But hitherto these managing agencies have operated in the dark without the glare of publicity and they have been able to get away with all sorts of irregularities.

The managing agencies system is one that should be abolished. There is no need for it. It is based on colonial trade and colonial exploitation. And I do not know how you can take over the managing agencies. Most of them do not own properties. They have a lot of wealth. I think this whole system must be done away with. But the real fact is—I do not think anybody knows about the managing agencies—that they have so many interlocking interests. Possibly the hon. Member for Wattala (Mr. Shelton Jayasinghe) knows from internal knowledge. They have so many interlocking interests, they handle so many things, they carry on under so many names that it is very difficult to keep track of their activities. They are like an octopus with a tentacle everywhere.

I would like to suggest that the first thing to be done is to find out something about them and, in case laws are brought to control the managing agencies, provision should be made to appoint a Government director or directors to the boards of these agencies. That is the only way to find out what is going on. That is a first step. Unless you have a Government director or directors on that board, you will not be able really to get to the bottom of what the managing agencies are up to.

The second new feature is the proposal for association of workers and employees with the management in Government and semi-Government institutions. These are intended to improve the work of the administration and the public corporations, and the proposals basically fall into two categories; firstly, regulations for the compulsory retirement of persons who do not co-operate or are inefficient; and secondly, setting up what are called workers' advisory committees and vigilance committees. The administration will certainly not work until you get rid of a lot of reactionaries who are at the top. But I must tell my Friends that it is not going to be so easy as they think.

Some of these reactionary officials who are attacked up and down the country by name, who are attacked on the Floor of this House, also enjoy very strong political patronage from Members of the Government. Some of them are friends and some of them are relations. If my hon. Friends want to do a job, they will have to be like butchers. It is all right up to now, in the name of getting rid of reactionaries, to catch hold of some poor Tamil public servant and, whether he is a reactionary or not, to push him out because he is a Tamil. Some of them are reactionaries and some are not. I know, some extremely progressive public servants have been flung out; but some of them are reactionaries who deserve to be flung out. But this is not going to be an easy job. In the course of the last Session, we had the case of the former Director of Health Services. We even appointed a special Select Committee of this House to go into this matter. His case went to the Public Service Commission which gave the most peculiar judgment. He was found guilty of charges which warrant dismissal, but instead of it he was severely reprimanded. He had strong political patronage from even the Government itself. And today he is holding a high post in the W.H.O. Without fighting those situations do you think you can really implement this? It means a real, sincere and sustained fight if you are going to get rid of these reactionaries, whether they are Catholic reactionaries or certain reactionaries who try to operate under Buddhist robes.

But as regards the Vigilance Committees and the Workers' Advisory Committees, we shall have to wait to see what these regulations are going to be because it is not quite clear from the Throne Speech what precisely is intended. Certainly, Sir, by associating with, and drawing on the experience of, workers you will help to check waste, inefficiency and so on.

The Hon. Minister of Finance has asked for suggestions from trade unions and I understand they have made several valuable suggestions as regards economy measures in connection with the Budget. In that respect you will definitely get something done. But the powers of these committees, how they will function, will be decisive in deciding whether this new step is going to work properly or not. It is a good idea, it is an excellent idea, but may I say that it is necessary in this connection to keep one or two matters of a general character clearly and firmly in mind.

First of all, I notice that it is only the L.S.S.P. Ministers who seem to be at all active about setting up these committees. These Workers' Advisory Committees and Vigilance Committees are supposed to be a general feature of the Government but either the other Ministers are setting them up without talking about them or else they are not doing it. But from what I know of what is happening in the Government departments, it does not appear that they are doing it. So, are we going to have a situation where Workers' Advisory Committees and Vigilance Committees will exist only in the three Ministries of the L. S. S. P. Ministers and that the old system will go on in the other Ministries of which the S. L. F. P. are in charge?

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අමතී)

(கௌரவ சமீளி குணவர்தன—அரசாங்கக்
கட்டுவெலை அமைச்சர்)

(The Hon. Cholmondeley Goonewardene—Minister of Public Works)

They are setting up.

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(திரு. கௌமன்)

(Mr. Keuneman)

I am glad to hear it, but there does not seem to be any enthusiasm. There are a number of institutions under the Ministry of Rural and Industrial Development, and I do not see any action there to set up these committees. You require a

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[කෙනමන් මය.]

number of them there as there are a number of corporations, but nothing has happened. So, this curious dichotomy still exists.

I am sorry that the Hon. Minister of Communications is not here. He has issued a statement to the Press regarding certain proposals. I just want to ask a question. In setting up these committees, is it intended to cut across the organized trade union movement? I ask this because the proposals which talk of collective action appear not to have taken the organized trade union movement into consideration. The Hon. Minister is discussing with the organized unions, but the actual composition of the committees appears to ignore the established trade union movement which has grown up inside the Government and within the public sector. It is necessary to avoid such a thing. Although it is a good idea, I know it is difficult owing to the existence of a multiplicity of trade unions in the Public Service; nevertheless I do not think it is a difficulty which cannot be surmounted.

It is obvious then that a great deal more work will have to be done on the question of Advisory Committees.

ගරු චම්ඵි ගුණවර්ධන

(කෙළරව සමිඟි ලුණවර්තන)

(The Hon. Cholmondeley Goonewardene)

Trade unions will be consulted.

කෙනමන් මය.

(තිලු. කෙනමන්)

(Mr. Keuneman)

But it is necessary for the Government to make up its mind on this question. It would be a mistake to mechanically transplant the set-up of these committees as they work in other countries without taking into consideration the specific and actual situation that exists inside the various public authorities in Ceylon.

Mr. Speaker, before I refer to one or two specific matters set out in our amendment, I like to refer to one or two omissions in the Throne Speech.

The intention of the Government to declare Ceylon a republic has been referred to already. Why has this been omitted in the Throne Speech?

There is a wide consensus of opinion on this question but the Government is completely inactive on this matter of setting up a republic. During the past four years it has not been able to set up a Joint Select Committee of the two Houses to go into the questions of the reform of the Constitution and the setting up of a republic.

I like to ask this question: Is it a mere accident that in this year's Throne Speech the question of the republic is completely omitted?

There is a reference in the Throne Speech to the Government's recognition of the so-called value of the Commonwealth association. I do not myself see what is the value of the Commonwealth association. If there is any value in the Commonwealth association it is of value to England more than to us. Our Prime Minister is now in England attending the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference. I do not know what is going to be achieved by that conference.

I would like a straight answer from the Government. Why is it that in this Throne Speech you have not included any reference to Ceylon becoming a republic? If there is any difficulty—[Interruption].

ගරු චම්ඵි ගුණවර්ධන

(කෙළරව සමිඟි ලුණවර්තන)

(The Hon. Cholmondeley Goonewardene)

This is not a new matter.

කෙනමන් මය.

(තිලු. කෙනමන්)

(Mr. Keuneman)

There are not a few matters which have become stale and *puskala* by repetition; you have referred to those matters time and again in Throne Speeches. Take, for instance, the nationalization of the press. That is not a new matter. That is mentioned in the Throne Speech. I am glad you have mentioned it

අනුමැතියකරනුයේ කළාව :

ස්තූති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විවාදය

again. But the question of the republic, which is an important political matter, has not been referred to in the Throne Speech.

Even if there is difficulty in the matter of amendments to the Constitution, is it not possible even now, on the question of the republic, to have an amendment to the Constitution?—[Interruption]. The hon. Federal Party Member for Kopai (Mr. M. Balasunderam) does not agree—

එම්. බලසුන්දරම් මය. (කෝපායි)

(திரு. எம். பாலசுந்தரம்—கோப்பாய்)

(Mr. M. Balasunderam—Kopai)

It is not a question of agreement ; it is a question of law.

කෙනමන් මය.

(திரு. கெனமன்)

(Mr. Keuneman)

I want to make a reference to matters of foreign policy which the Government has spoken about. I am not going to cover the whole range but I want to refer to one or two specific matters.

In the United Nations and at international conferences this Government has quite correctly condemned the monstrous and inhuman regime in South Africa which is a dirty blot on civilization. It has made excellent speeches ; every word rings with determination to oppose this monstrous system of *apartheid*. But what has the Government done in regard to the proposal to enforce economic sanctions against South Africa ? It has become quite clear that the South African Government does not care two raps about all the international condemnation. They can only be made to give up their uncivilized activities if economic sanctions are brought to bear against them. They may begin to give up that uncivilized activity if economic sanctions are brought to bear on them. A number of political parties held a meeting recently under the auspices of the Ceylon Afro-Asian Solidarity Association and asked for economic sanctions. But various people in the export trade began to

shout that we will lose Rs. 80 million annually if the export trade with South Africa is stopped. Even if you have not yet taken a decision on the question of banning exports to that country why cannot you decide to ban South African imports ? Sir, we are still buying our coal from South Africa. Whatever prices are quoted by other people the General Manager of the C. G. R. has a great affection for South Africa and prefers to get his coal from there. We are buying various other things too from them.

I want to suggest that, as a first stage, South African imports be prohibited from entering Ceylon. You prohibited nuclear-powered ships and aircraft coming into Ceylon territory. Why do you allow South African imports to come ? That is a step that we strongly urge you to take.

We also support and welcome the Government's condemnation of the decision of the United States Government to intrude its notorious nuclear-powered Seventh Fleet into the Indian Ocean and also the Government's decision to prohibit nuclear-armed ships and aircraft from using Ceylon ports or air fields. These are good decisions and positive decisions and they are widely supported in this country. But it is not enough to rest content with that. I would like to ask the Government to pursue at the United Nations, at international conferences such as the Second Conference of Non-Aligned Nations in Cairo, and at other places its own demand that the Indian Ocean be declared a nuclear-free zone.

I think it is a very important proposal. It is a proposal that everyone in this House will support and I think it is necessary for this Government to take it up more energetically not only in international assemblies but also in direct relations with other Governments of this region because it is very important for us and for the peace of the world that the Indian Ocean is officially accepted as a nuclear-free zone.

අනුමැතියකරනු ලබා ගත් කමාව :

ස්වදේශීය සේවකයාට පිළිබඳ විවාදය

[කෙනෙත් මයා.]

The hon. Member for Avissawella raised the German question and I do not want to refer to it again. But I remember that in the last Session members of the L. S. S. P. were speaking about the need to recognize the German Democratic Republic. Following the example of the Americans, the West German Government cut off its so-called aid to us. So what is it that now stands in the way of recognition of the G. D. R.? The S. L. F. P. Government from 1960 has been saying that in principle it supports it but it has never supported it in fact. What a big fight there was even to get Consulate-General status for the G. D. R. Recently an economic agreement was signed with the G. D. R. under which Ceylon is going to benefit more than from the so-called West German aid. It is high time that our relations with the G. D. R. are normalized and brought on to the same level as with West Germany. Equally we should recognize the Democratic Republics of Korea and Vietnam.

I do not wish to deal with all the matters that have been set out in our amendment. Other speakers from our party will deal with them. I wish to deal with only one or two matters. You will notice that our amendment calls for :

“the granting of political rights to teachers and to all employees of the Public Service, the Local Government Service and the public corporations whose duties do not require the exercise of an official discretion in matters affecting members of the public ;”

I must strongly criticize this Government for omitting to make any statement on this matter. This is a very urgent and important public matter. The Government is extending its spheres of activity. New corporations are being started. Branches of the economy are being taken over. Education has now become a national project. A large number of persons who enjoyed normal political rights are being denied those rights. There has been

tremendous agitation in regard to this matter. The Sri Lanka Jatika Guru Sangamaya recently ran a very effective public campaign of meetings and demonstrations in support of the grant of political rights to teachers. The Hon. Minister of Finance and I stood on one platform on Galle Face Green and demanded that political rights be granted to teachers and other sections of employees. In fact, it is one of the main points in the 21 demands of the trade unions. It will not cost one cent to grant this demand. You can grant one of the most important demands without incurring any cost. It is a democratic right.

Recently there was the Tennekoon Committee, which made certain recommendations—if what appeared in the papers is correct. I remember that the late Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike once spoke on this question in the House. He advanced the thesis that from his point of view there was no reason why public employees whose duties do not require the exercise of an official discretion in matters concerning the public should be denied political rights. You say that you have been following the Bandaranaike policies from 1956. If that is so, at least let us see you granting political rights, in the course of this year, to all teachers, to all manipulative, industrial, subordinate and clerical grades in the Public Service, in the public corporations and in the Local Government Service, and to any other sections of employees who fall within the categories mentioned by Mr. Bandaranaike.

There is the question of the 21 demands of the trade unions. If the Hon. Minister of Finance says that there is some difficulty in dealing with those sections of the 21 demands which require financial provision, there are then, besides those, a large number which concern fundamental, democratic and trade union rights, and I do not see any reason why they cannot be granted. Some of them can be granted by an administrative order of the Hon.

අග්‍රාමාත්‍යවරයාගේ කථාව :

ස්‍රීතුනි සෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විමර්ශය

Minister of Finance. I know that he is busy with the Budget, but I hope he will take steps to see that these demands are granted. I want to demand, quite categorically, that political rights, at least to those sections of the Public Service and the public corporations I mentioned, should be conceded during the course of this year.—[Interruption].

I do not know what is going on inside there. All I know is that this question is not mentioned in the Throne Speech nor announced anywhere. I am asking that this be done.

On the question of democratic rights, there is one matter to which I should refer and to which I must take the strongest objection, and that is the increasing invasion of democratic rights that has been taking place before the formation of this Government, at the point of its formation and even after its formation. There has been a lot of talk in the newspapers and, I notice, in the other place regarding the new restrictions that this Government has introduced in the matter of foreign travel. I want to raise this matter rather sharply not only from the point of view of its effect on the human right of individuals to leave and come back to their country but also because it involves an impermissible invasion and violation of the rights of public organizations in this country. This is a matter on which the Government must be most strongly condemned. Our amendment refers specifically to this question. We say, we are for the extension of democratic and trade union rights, including the withdrawal of the restrictions on travel abroad where no expenditure of foreign exchange is involved.

I also want to refer to other democratic and trade union rights. Now, in respect of the restrictions that are now in force on the matter of travel abroad, the situation is even worse than what it was in the dark days of the Kotelawala regime. I say that quite categorically. There

were no restrictions during the time of the Dudley Senanayake Government; restrictions were brought in during the time of the Kotelawala regime.—[Interruption]. I know that the hon. First Member for Colombo South has every right to criticize; he was also a party responsible for the continuation of that situation.—[Interruption]. As I pointed out, until the regime of Sir John Kotelawala there were no restrictions placed on travel abroad. In this connection, I must say that during the time when the hon. Leader of the Opposition was the Prime Minister—with all our political differences—when I wanted to proceed to Cuba he gave me a passport.

One of the things the late Mr. Bandaranaike did when he became Prime Minister in 1956 was to remove these restrictions that were imposed by Sir John Kotelawala on travel abroad so as to make it possible for many thousands of Ceylonese to visit other countries. This privilege which was hitherto confined only to the well-to-do people became available to a much wider strata of the population of this country: workers, representatives of trade unions and of political parties and other public organizations have also in the last few years been able to visit other countries in order that they could maintain relations with their counterparts and thus be able to learn about what is happening in those countries, and also tell the people of those countries what is going on in this country. This is an important part of the process of Ceylonese being able to live in a modern world, of being able to know what is going on elsewhere and of being able to take part in international gatherings and putting forward their point of view. Now what has happened as a result of the regulations that have been made and are still continuing? Ceylon has virtually become a prison camp as far as the matter of going abroad is concerned and the "cadjan curtain" of the Kotelawala regime has come back again.

අග්‍රාණ්ඩුකාරතුමාගේ කථාව :

ස්තූති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විමාදය

[කෙතමන් මය.]

I referred to this matter once before and I also referred to it from the point of view of an invasion of the right of public officers. The right of a citizen of any country to leave and enter his country is included among the fundamental human rights and it is set out in the U. N. Declaration of Human Rights. Some time ago I asked this Government, by way of a Question, whether they agree with the U. N. Declaration of Human Rights and they said, "Yes". Then I pointed out to them that they have violated the principle laid down in an international document which they had signed because what has happened is that though they had solemnly signed the document which sets out that a citizen of a country has the fundamental human right to leave his country and come back, in actual practice that is not being observed. Sir, I can understand and support any restrictions on the right to travel abroad which are genuinely based on the need to conserve foreign exchange. That is an overall economic problem, and if it is necessary to restrict foreign travel for the purpose of conserving foreign exchange, well, we all have to put up with it. Even here may I say this. Under the guise of conserving foreign exchange citizens of Ceylon are not allowed to go abroad; even holiday travel once in seven years has now been stopped. Formerly once in seven years a citizen of Ceylon was given a certain quota of foreign exchange to travel abroad. That has now been stopped. Anyway, it has been stopped on the ground of conserving foreign exchange.

When the Government is very concerned about conserving foreign exchange and is preventing its nationals from going abroad even for a holiday, it seems curiously complacent about the fact that each year nearly Rs. 19 million worth of foreign exchange that tourists and foreign visitors bring into Ceylon never gets credited to the accounts of the Central Bank of Ceylon but

disappears into the currency black-market. The Tourist Advisory Council discussed this matter and they also agreed on the estimate that Rs. 19 million worth of foreign exchange brought by tourists and other foreigners visiting this country does not get credited to the Central Bank but disappears into the currency blackmarket. There is no problem about that as far as the Government is concerned. The Ministry of Defence and External Affairs also controls tourism—I do not know why—but it is completely unconcerned about this question of foreign exchange that is lost to the Government.

I am even prepared to concede that a Government has an ultimate right to refuse a passport to a person of proved bad character, a person who has been convicted in the courts of some offence which makes it clear that he is an undesirable person.—[Interruption]. On the right of a Government to judge who an unconvicted or an undesirable person is, I am not prepared to comment; if the courts have convicted a person for some serious offence, naturally, we accept the decision of the courts. But what justification is there for the Government to exercise what amounts to a system of political control even in cases where no expenditure of foreign exchange is involved?

In recent years many public organizations in this country have been invited to send representatives to international conferences and seminars. They have invited representatives of their counterparts in other countries to visit this country, and their representatives have gone to other countries. Owing to the various exchange regulations that exist very often an inviting organization provides the tickets. The tickets are pre-paid and there is no expenditure of Ceylon funds involved. But some time ago the Government suddenly introduced what it called a system of clearance—what I would call a system of

අනුමැතියකරනු ලබන කොට :

political control. Even though there were defects in that system it worked reasonably well. What happened was, if a foreign country or a public organization in a foreign country invited a public organization in Ceylon to send a representative and provided a ticket, the public organization in Ceylon made a nomination of the person whom it considered most suitable to represent it. That nomination was given to the Ministry of Defence and External Affairs who cleared it, and it was only after that process that the person got a passport and permission to use the ticket. As I stated earlier, whatever the defects of that set-up and whatever its limitations and violation of rights of people and of public organizations, it was working reasonably well. There were some very arbitrary and, may I say, perverse decisions made, but it worked well.

I want to draw the attention of the House and the Members of the Government to this fact: on June 11, 1964, the very day on which the Coalition Government of the S. L. F. P. and L. S. S. P. took office, new restrictions were imposed by way of a new circular of the Ministry of Defence and External Affairs. I do not think my hon. Friends of the L. S. S. P. could have been responsible for this circular, but it is operating now and to that extent they are responsible. The effect of this circular is not merely to close down all opportunities of foreign travel but, what is much worse, to arrogate to the Government the impermissible right to interfere in the affairs of private public organizations in this country.

I wish to quote from this circular. Let it be known what the Ministry of Defence and External Affairs is doing.

The Circular of 11th June says :

"In future the Government of Ceylon will, as a matter of policy, not entertain any invitations which are extended by foreign Governments or other foreign agencies to individuals or to private institutions and organizations in Ceylon.

ස්වකීය යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විවාදය

The procedure to be followed will be that any invitation which foreign Governments or foreign agencies wish to extend should be addressed direct to the Government of Ceylon by the Mission of that country concerned. The communication from the Embassy should state the exact nature and purpose of the invitation and the number of persons invited. Any such invitation which stipulates that the selection of persons should be made from any specific association or organization of Ceylon will not be entertained. The Government of Ceylon will decide whether an invitation so extended is to be accepted or not and in the case of invitations which are accepted the Government will select the persons to be nominated."

This Circular is being operated ruthlessly and relentlessly today.

කේ. එම්. පී. රාජරත්න මයා. (වැලිමඩා)
(திரு. கே. எம். பி. ராஜரத்ன—வெளிமடை)

(Mr. K. M. P. Rajaratna—Welimada)

කොහොමද, රජයේ වැඩ ඇමතිතුමාගේ කල්පනාව? ඔව් සමාජවාදී වැඩද? මෙම කාරණය ඇමති මණ්ඩලයට දන්වා සුදුසු පරිදි ක්‍රියා කරනවද?

ශ්‍රී චම්ලි ගුණවර්ධන

(கௌரவ சம்மளி குணவர்தன)

(The Hon. Cholmondeley Goonewardene)

එක මගෙන් අහන්නේ මොකද?

කේ. එම්. පී. රාජරත්න මයා.

(திரு. கே. எம். பி. ராஜரத்ன)

(Mr. K. M. P. Rajaratna)

ඇමති මණ්ඩලයට මෙම කාරණය ඉදිරිපත් කර මෙය ඉවත් කරන්න වැඩ කරන වද කියලයි, මා අහන්නේ.

ශ්‍රී චම්ලි ගුණවර්ධන

(கௌரவ சம்மளி குணவர்தன)

(The Hon. Cholmondeley Goonewardene)

නිසි වෙලාවට උත්තර දෙන්නමි.

කේ. එම්. පී. රාජරත්න මයා.

(திரு. கே. எம். பி. ராஜரத்ன)

(Mr. K. M. P. Rajaratna)

අගමැතිනියට යට වෙලා. මේ ප්‍රතිචාරයක් වියද, එහෙම නැති නම් ප්‍රතිශීලීත්වයද? කාරණය කර කියන්න බලන්න.

அஞ்சலகாரதுமே கலாவ:

சீதாதி யோகிதாவ பிழிபடி விவாடிய

அரு வத்தி லுனவர்தன

(கௌரவ சம்ஸி குணவர்தன)

(The Hon. Cholmondeley Goonewardene)

வெலாவ பிழிபடி டேவந்தி.

கௌமன் மியா.

(திரு. கௌமன்)

(Mr. Keuneman)

All hon. Members are responsible. This Circular is both grossly undemocratic and patently absurd. It means that no leading public organization in Ceylon, be it a political party, a trade union, a cultural organization, a religious organization, a sports association—

அரு பி. வி. லுனவர்தன (அங்குசந்தர ஸக லகிர் வெலிபடி ஸ ஸபதி கிழிபடி டேவந்தி)

(கௌரவ ரீ. பி. இலங்கரத்ன—உள்நாட்டு, வெளிநாட்டு வியாபார, விநியோக அமைச்சர்)

(The Hon. T. B. Ilangaratne—Minister of Internal and External Trade and Supply)

D. M. K.

கௌமன் மியா.

(திரு. கௌமன்)

(Mr. Keuneman)

—If the D. M. K. is still legal—you made it illegal—or any other organization in Ceylon can accept a direct invitation from a public organization of another country to attend a conference or a seminar or visit that country even though no expenditure of foreign exchange is involved. It means that the Government arrogates to itself the right to decide not only whether or not an invitation is to be accepted but also, if it is accepted, to whom the invitation should go and which persons are best suited to represent any particular organization, abroad.

வெலாவர்தி ரீ. பி. வி. லுனவர்தன (நலீபடி)

(டொக்டர் ஈ. எம். வி. நாகநாதன்—நல்வார்)

(Dr. E. M. V. Naganathan—Nallur)

The Government can send me even as the representative of the J. V. P.

கௌமன் மியா.

(திரு. கௌமன்)

(Mr. Keuneman)

It means that no one other than Government nominees can go abroad in future. It reduces itself to the absurdity which has been mentioned by the hon. Member for Nallur (Dr. Naganathan). Suppose some organization invites the J. V. P.; then the invitation has to be given not to the J. V. P. but to the Government of Ceylon. The Government of Ceylon will then decide whether to accept it and then, having accepted it, they might appoint Dr. Naganathan in spite of the fact that the other organization does not want him at all. This is the futile, fatuous and utterly reactionary position that has been established. What is the purpose? The Circular also means that no organization in Ceylon which is a member of any international organization, be it of trade unions, youths, women, sports, be it cultural, religious, or scientific, or an organization of journalists or what have you, will in future be able to exercise their membership of that organization. To start with, these are international bodies. As such they do not have embassies in this country. Therefore they cannot even send an invitation through the embassy as they are required to do. Secondly, the Government actually claims the right now to decide who should go as delegates to these meetings of international bodies. They claim the right that the international body should invite the Government even if the Government is not a member.

I am not talking about imaginary things, I am talking about a concrete case which I personally know. It has taken place after the formation of the present Government even though the application was made before the formation of the Government and before the circular was issued. Mr. Sarath Muttettuwagama is president of the Ceylon Federation of Communists and of other progressive movements. He is a member of the executive committee of the World Federation of Democratic Youth to which the Federation of Communists

අනුකූලයාගේ කථාව :

and other progressive youth leagues are affiliated. There is another member of the executive committee and he is a member of the S. L. F. P. Youth League which is also affiliated to this association. The World Federation of Democratic Youth is holding a meeting of its executive committee, a meeting that can be attended only by members. Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama, as a member, was invited to attend, and a ticket was supplied. He applied for clearance to go abroad. He was refused on the basis of this circular. Now, what does the Government want done in this case? How can the World Federation of Democratic Youth invite anybody other than a member of the executive committee? Can it invite the Prime Minister to come and attend as a member of the executive committee if she is not a member? Can it invite Mr. N. Q. Dias? Does the Government claim the right to decide who should represent the Communist Youth Leagues at a meeting of the World Federation of Democratic Youths? Suppose they go and appoint Mr. J. R. Jayewardene: we will have to send a telegram saying he does not represent us. It is not only the patent absurdity of it, but what the Government is in fact demanding is that they should have the right to invite the representatives of public organizations to decide for them who should best represent them and to utilize the entire system of political control for the purpose. I think it is an utterly impossible position. I do not know whether the members of the L. S. S. P. and of the S. L. F. P. are aware of this.

ශ්‍රී මන්ත්‍රීවරයෙක්

(கௌரவ அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)

(An hon. Member)

They are aware.

කෙනෙත් මය.

(திரு. கௌமன்)

(Mr. Keuneman)

If they are not aware of it, let them be aware of it now. I ask them, do you justify this? Can you consider this as an important matter that should be supported?

සිතුම් යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විමර්ශ

ඩී. ෂෙල්ටන් ජයසිංහ මය. (වත්තල)

(திரு. டி. செல்டன் ஜயசிங்ஹ—வத்தலா)

(Mr. D. Shelton Jayasinghe—Wattala)

Yes, reply. Give us an assurance now.

කෙනෙත් මය.

(திரு. கௌமன்)

(Mr. Keuneman)

I demand that all these restrictions on foreign travel abroad which do not involve foreign exchange be automatically and immediately withdrawn. I do not see any reason whatever for the continuance of a system of such political control and of such an invasion of the fundamental rights of human beings and public organizations in this country. It is a deplorable situation. A large number of people are being put to great inconvenience and harassment. Not only that, all sorts of new regulations are being brought in. Today, if you are lucky to get through all these, you have got to bring the birth certificate; If you cannot produce the birth certificate, you do not get a passport.

I do not know whether my good Friend the hon. Member for Avissawella is having one. Probably not. I know that Mr. D. S. Senanayake never had one. He said in this House that he never had a birth certificate. I do not know whether Prime Ministers require passports to go abroad. But, today, according to the latest circular you cannot get a passport unless you produce the original of the birth certificate and proof of permanent residence. It is an utterly fantastic situation. What is the need for these things. I submit that these restrictions be immediately withdrawn.

There are a number of other matters to which we have referred, but I shall not advert to them on this occasion. I thank the hon. House and yourself for the patience with which you have listened to me and I have pleasure in moving the amendment of the Communist Party.

I move, as an amendment to the Address at the end to add the words :

"We welcome such progressive measures as are mentioned in Your Excellency's Address but also urge the

சுற்றுலாத்துறைக்குரிய கட்டிடம் :

சுற்றுலாத்துறைக்குரிய கட்டிடம் :

[கனம் பேரவைத் தலைவர்]

need for early steps to give effect to the following measures in the course of the present Session :

inquiry by and with the approval of the Department of Labour ; and

- (1) the declaration of a Republic ;
- (2) a legal requirement that all companies registered in Ceylon and all resident individuals should maintain their accounts in the Bank of Ceylon and/or the People's Bank only ;
- (3) the winding up of all subversive imperialist agencies functioning in Ceylon at present ;
- (4) the ending of delays and obstructions in the field of industrial projects in the public sector, a review of the manner in which new industries in the private sector are approved, and a re-orientation of basic policies in regard to industry, agriculture, fisheries, irrigation and land development ;
- (5) the granting of political rights to teachers and to all employees of the Public Service, the Local Government Service and the public corporations whose duties do not require the exercise of an official discretion in matters affecting members of the public ;
- (6) the extension of democratic and trade union rights, including the withdrawal of the restrictions on travel abroad where no expenditure of foreign exchange is involved, the legal right of officials of registered trade unions to have access to and hold meetings of their members on estates, and the removal of all limitations on the rights of affiliation of trade unions in the public sector ;
- (7) the preparation of a scheme to relieve rural indebtedness ;
- (8) the amendment of the Paddy Lands Act to ensure, *inter alia*, that the Act will apply to all paddy lands, including those in colonization areas, that landlords are removed from cultivation committees, and that cultivation committees have the power to put *ande govias* back into possession of lands while legal proceedings regarding tenancy rights are pending ;
- (9) the revision of the labour laws so as to bring them up to date ; the introduction of a Gratuities Act to cover the past services of employees that are not covered by the Employees' Provident Fund ; and the prohibition of the dismissal of employees in private establishments without a proper

- (10) the establishment of a National Theatre, a National Film Corporation and a National Sports Council."

பேரவைத் தலைவர். (கனம் பேரவைத் தலைவர்)

(திரு. பேரவைத் தலைவர் விக்கிரமசிங்கம்—கம்புரபிட்டி)

(Mr. Percy Wickremasinghe—Kamburupitiya)

பேரவைத் தலைவர் கருத்து.

பேரவைத் தலைவர் கருத்து.

பேரவைத் தலைவர் 11.38

பேரவைத் தலைவர். (பேரவைத் தலைவர்)

(திரு. ஏ. அமிர்தலிங்கம்—வட்டக்கோட்டை)

(Mr. A. Amirthalingam—Vaddukkodai)

கௌரவ சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே, எமது கட்சியின் சார்பில் சமர்ப்பிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கின்ற முதலாவது திருத்தப் பிரேரணையை இச்சபையிலே நான் பிரேரிக்க விரும்புகின்றேன்.

நன்றியுரைக்குத் திருத்தமாக அதனிறுதியிற் கீழ்க்காணும் சொற்களைச் சேர்க்க வேண்டும் :—

“ எனினும்—

சிங்கள மக்களுக்கும் தமிழ் பேசும் மக்களுக்கு மிடையிலான அரசியல், பொருளாதார, கலாச்சாரத் தகராறுகள் காரணமாய் இன்று இந்நாட்டை எதிர் நோக்கியுள்ள அந் முக்கிய தேசியப் பிரச்சினையை உணர்ந்து கொண்டதற்கான அறிகுறியெதுவும் மேன்மை தங்கிய தங்களது உரையில் இல்லாமையை யிட்டும், தற்பொழுதுள்ள ஒற்றையாட்சி அரசியலமைப்பின்கீழ் சிங்களம் பேசும் பெரும்பான்மையினரால் தமிழ் பேசும் மக்கள் அடக்கப்பட்டும் ஒடுக்கப்பட்டும் ஒழிக்கப்பட்டும் வருவதையிட்டும், வெவ்வேறான இரு மொழிகளைப் பேசும் இரு இனத்தவர்களான மக்களின் தொன்மை வாய்ந்த சொந்த நாடான இலங்கையில் தற்போதைய ஒற்றையாட்சி அரசியலமைப்பின்கீழ் தமிழ் பேசும் சிறுபான்மை மக்கள் அனைவரினதும் ஜனநாயக உரிமைகளும் சுதந்திரங்களும், நிலையான பெரும்பான்மையினராயுள்ள சிங்கள மக்களின் தயவிலும் நல்லெண்ணத்திலுமே எப்பொழுதும் தங்கியிருக்கவேண்டிய நிலையேற்பட்டிருப்பதால் அவர்கள் பெருமளவில் துன்புறுத்தப்பட்டிருப்பதனாலும், இலங்கையில் கூட்டாட்சி அரசியலமைப்பிற்குட்பட்ட தன்னிச்சையான தமிழ்மொழி

අනුක්‍රමයෙන් කියව :

வாரியான இராச்சியம், அல்லது இராச்சியங்கள்மூலம் மட்டுமே தமிழ் பேசும் சிறுபான்மை மக்களின் ஜனநாயக சுதந்திரங்களை உறுதிப்படுத்தலாமென்பது பற்றியோ, மேலும், பல இன மக்களையும் பன்மொழிகள் பேசுவோரையும் கொண்ட சலிற்சலாந்து யூகோசிலாவியா, கனடா, இந்தியா, சோவியத் ரஷ்யா ஆகியவற்றினதும் அவைபோன்ற வேறு நாடுகளினதும் பலதரப்பட்ட சிக்கலான பிரச்சினைகள் கூட்டாட்சிமுறை அரசியலமைப்பின் கீழ் திருப்திகரமாகத் தீர்க்கப்பட்டுள்ளனவென்பதையும், அத்தகைய கூட்டாட்சி அரசாங்கமானது அவ்வாறு பல வேறு இனத்தவர்கள் வாழும் நாடுகளில் மக்களிடையே உண்மையான ஐக்கியத்தை நிலைநாட்டியுள்ளதுடன் அங்குள்ள சிறுபான்மை இனத்தவர்கள் அனைவரினதும் சுதந்திரத்திற்குப் பாதுகாப்பையும் உத்தரவாதத்தையும் அளித்திருக்கின்றமையினால், தற்போதைய ஒற்றையாட்சி முறை அரசாங்கத்திற்குப் பதிலாக கூட்டாட்சி முறை அரசாங்கமொன்றினை அமைப்பதுவே இந்நாட்டில் அவசரமாகச் செய்யப்பட வேண்டிய அதி முக்கிய மாற்றமென்பதுபற்றியோ மேன்மைதங்கிய தங்களது உரையிற் குறிப்பிடாததை யிட்டு வருந்துவதுடன் அதுபற்றி எங்கள் ஆழ்ந்த அதிருப்தியையும் தெரிவித்துக்கொள்ளுகிறோம். ”

கௌரவ சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே, எங்களுக்கு எதிராகச் சிலர் கூறுகின்ற குற்றச் சாட்டு என்னவென்றால் எங்களுடைய திருத்தப் பிரேரணைகளில் புதிதாக எதுவுமில்லை என்பதாகும். இந்நாட்டின் அரசியலமைப்பு இன்று இருப்பதுபோல் இருக்கும் வரைக்கும், இந்நாட்டின் அரசியலமைப்பின் கீழ் தமிழ் பேசும் மக்கள் நசுக்கப்பட்டு, ஒடுக்கப்பட்டு வரும் நிலை இருக்கும் வரைக்கும் இந்த அவல நிலை மாற வேண்டுமென்று கேட்பதைத் தவிர வேறு எதைத்தான், நசுக்கப்பட்ட மக்களின் பிரதிநிதிகளாகிய நாங்கள் செய்ய முடியும் என்பதைத்தான் நான், அவர்கள் எங்களுக்கு எதிராகக் கூறும் குற்றச் சாட்டுக்குப் பதிலாகச் சொல்ல விரும்புகின்றேன்.

கடுமையான நோயினால் கஷ்டப்படும் ஒருவன் அந்த நோயைத் தீர்ப்பதற்கு மருந்தை நாடுவானா, அல்லது மாடிவீடு கேட்டுக்கொண்டிருப்பானா என்று யோசனை செய்து பாருங்கள். 1948 ஆம் ஆண்டு இலங்கைக்குச் சுதந்திரம் கிடைத்ததிலிருந்து நாளுக்கு நாள், படிப்படியாகத் தமிழ்பேசும் இனம், இந்நாட்டில் நசுக்கப்பட்டு, தள்ளியொதுக்கப்பட்டு, அழித்தொழிக்கப்பட்டு வருகின்ற நிலையில் தான் இருந்துகொண்டிருக்கின்றது. ஆனபடியால்தான் சென்ற 15 ஆண்டுகளாக எமது கட்சி இன்று இந்நாட்டில் இருக்கின்ற அரசியற் சட்டத்தை மாற்றுங்கள், மாற்றும்வரை

සීතුති සේජනාව පිළිබඳ විවාදය

இந்நாட்டில் ஒற்றுமைக்கு இடமில்லை; சனநாயகத்துக்கு இடமில்லை; முன்னேற்றத்துக்கு இடமில்லை என்பதைத் திட்டவாட்டமாக எடுத்துக்கூறி வந்திருக்கின்றது.

වෛද්‍යාචාර්ය නාගනාතන්

(டொக்டர் நாகநாதன்)

(Dr. Naganathan)

கேளுங்கள், கேளுங்கள்.

අමිර්තලිංගම් මය.

(திரு. அமிர்தலிங்கம்)

(Mr. Amirthalingam)

கௌரவ சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே, எமது திருத்தத்தில் புதிது இல்லை என்று கூறுபவர்கள், இந்த சிம்மாசனப் பிரசங்கத்திலே ஏதாவது புதிது இருக்கின்றதா என்று சிந்தித்துப் பார்க்க வேண்டும். 1960 ஆம் ஆண்டு, ஆவணி மாதம் 5 ஆந் தேதி சுதந்திரச் சதுக்கத்திலே, புதிதாக வெற்றிபெற்று வீரூப்போடு கூடிய இந்தப் பாராளுமன்றத்தின் முதற் கூட்டத்திலே, மாட்சிமை தங்கிய மகாதேசாதிபதியவர்கள் தமது சிம்மாசனப் பிரசங்கத்தை நிகழ்த்திய பொழுது ஏறக்குறைய இதே வாக்குறுதிகளைத்தான் அளித்தார் என்பது எவருக்கும் நினைவிலிருக்கும். இவற்றிற்கு மேலாகவும் எத்தனையோ வாக்குறுதிகள் நான்கு வருடங்களுக்கு முன்பு அளிக்கப்பட்டன. அப்போது இந்த அரசாங்கம், ஓலை வீடுகள் எல்லாவற்றையும் ஓட்டு வீடுகளாக்கப் போவதாக பொதுமக்களுக்கு வாக்குறுதியளித்தது. ஆனால், இன்று நாம் நாடெங்கு சென்றாலும் காணப்பட்டது என்ன? ஓலைக் கூரைகள் ஓட்டுக்கூரைகளாகக் காட்சி தரவில்லை. அதற்கு மாறாக வீடுகள், கூரையே இல்லாத நிலைமையில் காட்சிதருகின்றன.

වෛද්‍යාචාර්ය නාගනාතන්

(டொக்டர் நாகநாதன்)

(Dr. Naganathan)

ஓட்டைக் கூரைகள்.

අමිර්තලිංගම් මය.

(திரு. அமிர்தலிங்கம்)

(Mr. Amirthalingam)

ஆம். கௌரவ நல்லூர்ப் பிரதிநிதி (வைத்திய கலாநிதி ஈ. எம். வீ. நாகநாதன்) அவர்கள் கூறுவது போல், ஓட்டைக்கூரைகள் தாம் நாம் காணக்கூடியவைகளாக இருக்கின்றன; ஓட்டுக்கூரைகளை நாம் காண முடிய

அனுஷ்டிகாரமுலே கலாவ:

[அமீர்தலிங் மலே.]

வில்லை. இன்னும் எத்தனையோ வாக்குறுதிகளைக் கொடுத்தார்கள். தமிழ்ப்பேசும் மக்களைப் பொறுத்த வரையிலே, தமிழ் மொழி விசேட அந்தஸ்து மசோதாவை நடைமுறைக்குக் கொண்டுவருவதாக நான்கு வருடங்களுக்கு முன்னரேயே வாக்குறுதி வழங்கப்பட்டது. அந்த வாக்குறுதி எங்கே போயிற்று?

‘கச்சேரி முறையை ஒழித்துக் கட்டி அதற்குப் பதிலாக மாவட்டச் சபைகள் அளிக்கப் போகின்றோம்’ என்று இதற்கு முன் சிம்மாசனப் பிரசங்கத்தில் அளிக்கப்பட்ட வாக்குறுதி என்னவாயிற்று? இம்முறைய சிம்மாசனப் பிரசங்கத்திலும் இதே வாக்குறுதிகள் மீண்டும் அளிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன. நாம் இந்த வாக்குறுதிகளை நம்பிய காலம் மலேயேறிவிட்டது. அதனால் தான் இன்று தமிழ்ப்பேசும் மக்கள், தங்களுடைய பிரச்சினைகளுக்கு தமது ஒன்றுபட்ட போராட்டத்தின் மூலம் ஒரு முடிவைக் காண முடியுமே தவிர வேறு வழியில்லை என்னும் முடிவுக்கு வந்திருக்கின்றார்கள்.

இன்று நாட்டில் ஏற்பட்டிருக்கின்ற அதி முக்கியமான மாற்றங்கள் பற்றிப் பல்வேறு கட்சிகளைச் சேர்ந்த உறுப்பினர்கள் தங்கள் கருத்துக்களை எடுத்துக்கூறினார்கள். இந்த மாற்றமான சூழ்நிலையைப் பற்றி எமது கருத்தையும் எமது கட்சியின் நிலையையும் எல்லோரும் புரிந்துகொள்ளக்கூடியதாக எனது எஞ்சிய பேச்சை ஆங்கிலத்தில் நிகழ்த்த விரும்புகின்றேன்.

Mr. Speaker, the last few months have been momentous ones in the recent history of this country and the year ahead will be a most crucial one in view of the alignment of forces that has taken place.

Much more than the so-called revolutionary change that took place in 1956, the present formation of the Coalition Government marks a significant milestone in the history of this country. I say this advisedly, Mr. Speaker, because in 1956 a powerful centre party with a powerful leader at its head had a few Marxist elements in its ranks, and they went to the country on an essentially communal slogan, on an

சீதுநி லேச்சாவ பிழிவடி விவடிய

essentially racial cry, and thereby managed to capture power; but today the situation is not that.

Today, a weak and tottering S. L. F. P. Government has entered into an alliance with a strong, well-knit Marxist party led by some of the best brains in this country, namely, the L. S. S. P.; and the tenor of the speeches that were made on the Floor of this House yesterday and this morning by the hon. Member for Avisawella and the hon. First Member for Colombo Central (Mr. Keuneman)—

௨௩ மன்றிவரலேன்

(கௌரவ அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)

(An hon. Member)

He is the Second Member for Colombo Central.

அமீர்தலிங் மலே.

(திரு. அமிர்தலிங்கம்)

(Mr. Amirthalingam)

Whether he be the Second or Third Member for Colombo Central, he has been going down steadily from being the First Member. Anyway, he is the spokesman for the Communist Party.

The tenor of the speeches makes it quite clear, however bitter the M. E. P. and the Communist Party may be, that though they are not there in the seats of the Government to share its power, they will be with the Government, with the Coalition Government, on all crucial issues. That is why I say that this is the real turning point in the history of this country. Many more re-alignments may take place with regard to personnel—a few members on that side who cannot fit into the new set-up may come over here and a few individuals on this side may go over to the Government Benches—but the basic alignment of forces and what I may call the basic polarization of the leftist and rightist elements in this country has inevitably taken place. It is in this context that we have to view the latest developments in this country.

අමුණිකරතුමාගේ කථාව :

Our hon. Friends of the L. S. S. P. have got into the Coalition Government with a plan of their own. They have been the forerunners of Marxism and socialism in this country and, I dare say, many of us who have been driven into the present position of having to fight the national liberation struggle of the Tamil-speaking minority would have been happier if a real socialist Government under the leadership of men of the calibre of the Hon. Minister of Finance (Dr. N. M. Perera) and the hon. Member for Dehiwela-Mt. Lavinia (Dr. Colvin R. de Silva) could have been formed. But those thoughts are only the might-have-beens of history and there is no point in our thinking of them.

When the L. S. S. P. accepted the four points of the S. L. F. P. they surrendered to Sinhala chauvinism. When I speak of the four points of the S. L. F. P. I mean the points relating to Buddhism, language, citizenship—those are the three important points. They went back on all they stood for and fought for on the Floor of this House since 1948. They condemned the citizenship laws, which my hon. Friends of the U. N. P. promulgated, as reactionary and retrograde. Today they have pledged themselves to uphold and support those laws and find a solution to the vexed citizenship question, to the vexed question of the estate Tamil population, within the ambit of those very same laws. Do they seriously think that they can find a solution to the problem within those laws?

தேவதலாஜி நானைன்

(டொக்டர் நாகநாதன்)

(Dr. Naganathan)

Never !

அமிர்தலிங்கம்

(திரு. அமிர்தலிங்கம்)

(Mr. Amirthalingam)

Similarly on the question of language they are seeking to find a solution within the existing laws. The Sinhala Only Act received from

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the hon. Member for Dehiwela-Mt. Lavinia the most eloquent opposition of a standard which would have done credit to any international party. The case against the Sinhala Only Act was argued most eloquently by him. Where are they today? They are prisoners in the Sinhala Only camp.

As for Buddhism, we have no grouse against their doing anything for Buddhism, but if Buddhism is going to be the Buddhism preached by Mettananda and N. Q. Dias, if Buddhism is going to be the aggressive, militant and, I would say, almost reactionary cloak for activities of a fascist nature of the type indulged in by the B. J. B., then I am sure the L. S. S. P. has travelled very far. They have undoubtedly toiled for the masses of this country and fought for the rights of the minorities. Unfortunately, those are all things of the past. Anyhow, it gives one a certain satisfaction to see the Hon. Minister of Finance and his comrades seated there. The Hon. Minister of Finance richly deserves to occupy that office. Personally, we have the greatest affection for him and we wish him all success, but, as representatives of the Tamil-speaking peoples, we have no reason to feel happy over what has happened, because it is obvious that the L. S. S. P. has abandoned its stand for justice and fairplay to the national minorities.

It is most curious that in the ten-point programme that the L. S. S. P. put forward before the S. L. F. P. there was no mention of anything connected with the solution of the minority problems—the language problem and the rights of the national minorities. We learnt from the papers that the centrist group in the L. S. S. P. led by the hon. Member for Dehiwala-Mt. Lavinia insisted that the basis for negotiation between the L. S. S. P. and the S. L. F. P. should include a solution of the language problem. I think, in the original proposals which they took with them, this was included. However, all these lofty ideals were

අනුකූලකාරකුමාගේ කථාව:

[අමේරිකලින්ගම් මයා.]

jettisoned in the process of negotiation, in the process of trying somehow or other to get there. That is the tragedy of the recent history of this country.

That is why I say that the formation of this coalition marks another polarization in a different direction. I say that it marks the polarization between the right and the left; it also marks the polarization between the Sinhalese and the Tamil-speaking people in this country politically. The U. N. P. abandoned the Tamil-speaking people long ago. The S. L. F. P. were open protagonists of Sinhala imperialism in this country. The L. S. S. P. until recently were advocates of equality, justice and fair-play to the Tamil-speaking minority. Even they have abandoned and surrendered to Sinhala chauvinism. There may be good intentions among individuals and in small groups like that of the hon. Member for Bulathsinhala (Mr. Edmund Samarakkody), who may still raise the banner of freedom and justice; or there may be a few individuals like Mr. Wilmot Perera who may try to educate the Sinhala people to a realization that this country cannot progress unless the minorities are satisfied. But I dare say, all the major political parties in this country—the U. N. P. of the right, the S. L. F. P. of the centre, and the L. S. S. P., the major political party of the left—have become Sinhala parties and forfeited all right to speak on behalf of the entire population of this country. That is why I say that the formation of the coalition marks the polarization of forces as between the Sinhalese and the Tamil-speaking people in this country.

This, Mr. Speaker, is in keeping with the trend of political developments in Ceylon since the attainment of independence in 1948. My party is firmly of the view that the root cause of this trend is the illogical political set-up, and I am not seeking to blame the leaders of the L. S. S. P. for what they have done. If ever they wanted to come into power under the present

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set-up they had to do this because the political set-up under which we are today is an illogical one, the result of an unsuitable Constitution with which the Britishers saddled this country before they left us. If the present set-up continues, either the Tamil-speaking minorities will perish as a separate entity or the country will be divided. It is to prevent either of these undesirable eventualities, the destruction of the Tamil-speaking nation or the dismemberment of the country, that our party from its very inception put forward the federal idea, the recognition of unity in diversity, the reconciliation of the opposing forces, of assimilation and separation by federation, as the only democratic and progressive solution of the problem facing this country.

කථානායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Order, please!

The Sitting is suspended till 2 P.M. On resumption the hon. Deputy Speaker will take the Chair.

දක්වම ඊට අනුකූලව තාවකාලිකව අත්සිටුවන ලදීන්, අ. සා. 20 නියෝජ්‍ය කථානායක තැන්පත් ඩී. ඒ. රාජපක්ෂ මහතාගේ සහපතිත්වයෙන් නැවත පවත්වන ලදී.

අමේරිකලින්ගම් මයා.

(திரு. அமிர்தலிங்கம்)

(Mr. Amirthalingam)

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, before we adjourned for lunch I was dealing with the question of the root cause of the political events in this country since 1948. I said that the illogical political structure, the present unitary form of Government with which the Britishers saddled us before they left this country, is really responsible for the major political parties in Ceylon surrendering to Sinhala chauvinism, abandoning all cherished principles in order to come to power.

I find from the newspaper reports that recently in Jaffna the hon. Second Member for Colombo Central (Mr. Keuneman), the leader of the Communist Party, had stated that they stood for regional autonomy of the Northern and Eastern Provinces

අග්‍රාණ්ඩුකාරතුමාගේ කථාව:

ස්තූති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විවාදය

as the solution for the minority problem in this country. I am very sorry to find that the talk of regional autonomy seems to be meant only for the consumption of gullible followers in the North but it does not find even a passing reference in the Communist Party amendment to the Address of Thanks, nor even a word in passing in the rather lengthy speech which the hon. Second Member for Colombo Central delivered this morning. In fact, his amendment does not seem to recognize even the existence of a minority problem which calls for an immediate solution before any progress in the economic front is possible. This ostrich-like attitude is not something peculiar to the Communist Party. In fact, one finds that all the amendments moved so far, with the exception of the revolutionary wing of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party led by the hon. Member for Bulathsinhala betray the same opportunistic failure to realize the urgency of solving the problems of the Tamil-speaking people before any development can be talked of.

The Speech from the Throne refers to the Sinhala Only Act and the Reasonable Use of Tamil Act being implemented in a manner acceptable to both the Sinhalese and the Tamils. How will this be done? How will the acceptability of the regulations to the Tamil-speaking people be ascertained? Will the elected representatives of the Tamil-speaking people and the various parties of the Sinhalese people be consulted before the regulations are tabled? All these questions are left vague. You will pardon us if we are rather sceptical of the outcome of the promises.

One has only to recall that the very first Throne Speech of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party Government in August 1960 promised to implement both the language laws but what did they do? They introduced the Language of the Courts Bill, another discriminating, draconian piece of legislation, which caused further bitterness and hardship to the Tamil-speaking people. They did not make

any attempt whatsoever to implement the Tamil Language (Special Provisions) Act. When I say this let it not be thought that the legitimate aspirations of the Tamil-speaking people for their due share in the public life of this country can be satisfied by the mere implementation of the Tamil Language (Special Provisions) Act. But even that major concession to the demands of the Tamil-speaking people has remained a dead letter for the last six years.

There has no doubt been an addition of fresh blood to the Government. There are very many people who are hopeful that the presence of the leader of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party may help to solve this problem of the Tamil-speaking people. Unfortunately certain events, to which I will refer later on in my speech, during the last few weeks have shaken the confidence that most people had in the ability of this Government to solve this problem.

There has been a great deal of talk about democracy being in danger in this country. The hon. Members of the United National Party, particularly the hon. First Member for Colombo South (Mr. J. R. Jayewardene) championed the cause of democracy in his own inimitable, eloquent way. They have even proclaimed their readiness to resort to violent revolution if any attempt is made to extend the life of Parliament and thereby subvert democracy. They have appealed to the members of our party not to give up our seats in Parliament since that will enable the Government to secure a two-thirds majority to extend the life of Parliament. But what does this democracy mean to us? That is a question which I want every Member of this House to consider in all earnestness, in all seriousness. Can the hon. First Member for Colombo South (Mr. J. R. Jayawardene) conscientiously say that they have practised democracy toward the Tamil-speaking people during the eight years they were in power?

අග්‍රාණ්ඩකාරතුමාගේ කථාව :

ස්තූති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විවෘතය

පේ. ආර්. සයවර්ධන මයා. (දකුණු
කොළඹ පළමුවන මන්ත්‍රී)

(திரு. ஜே. ஆர். ஜயவர்தன—கொழும்புத்

தெற்கு முதலாம் அங்கத்தவர்)

(Mr. J. R. Jayewardene—First Colombo South)

Why not ?

අමරනාථන් ගම මයා.

(திரு. அமிர் தலிங்கம்)

(Mr. Amirthalingam)

I think it is my duty to expose this fake democracy which they are calling upon the Tamil-speaking Members of Parliament to join in defending. The hon. First Member for Colombo South asks "Why not?" If democracy means anything, it means government of the people by their representatives duly elected by the exercise of the unfettered right of the franchise. This very base of democracy, the right to vote, is denied to one half of the Tamil nation in this country. One million Tamil-speaking people who toiled and continue to toil to produce almost two-thirds of the national wealth of this country have been de-citizenized and disfranchised as a result of the citizenship laws and the Amendment to the Parliamentary Elections Order in Council passed by the U. N. P. Government of the past.

తె. భా. జయచక్రవర్తి తి. ౧౫.

(திரு. ஜே. ஆர். ஜயவர்தன)

(Mr. J. R. Jayewardene)

Nehru accepted that.

අමිද්තලීන් ගම් මයා.

(திரு. அமிர்தலிங்கம்)

(Mr. Amirthalingam)

Nehru never accepted that. If I remember right, the ex-Member for Vavuniya, the former Minister of Commerce and Trade, refused to support the citizenship laws which, you say, Nehru accepted. Nehru did not. I think I was an University student at that time, but I distinctly remember the controversy over the refusal of the then Minister of Commerce and Trade in 1948 to support the

Indian and Pakistani Citizenship Act, and the reason he gave was that Nehru had not accepted it.

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(திரு. ஜே. ஆர். ஜயவர்தன)

(Mr. J. R. Jayewardene)

Later in the Nehru-Kotelawala Pact.

අමර්තලීන් ගම් මයා.

(திரு. அமிர்தலிங்கம்)

(Mr. Amirthalingam)

That Nehru-Kotelawala Pact has not been implemented.

In a multi-racial country democracy has always meant the provision of safeguards and weightage in representation to the racial, linguistic and religious minorities. In fact, when Ceylon attained Independence, Sinhalese leaders, who then composed the Board of Ministers in the State Council, made the Soulbury Commissioners believe—I think the Board of Ministers included the present Leader of the Opposition——

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(திரு. ஜே. ஆர். ஜயவர்தன)

(Mr. J. R. Jayewardene)

No.

අමර්තලීන් ගම් මයා.

(திரு. அமிர்தலிங்கம்)

(Mr. Amirthalingam)

I think it included most of the leaders of the former U. N. P. and it included the late Prime Minister, Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, and great many other leaders, I think, who today adorn the Front Benches of the Opposition.

ଡକ୍ଟ. ଶ୍ରୀ. ଗୋବିନ୍ଦ ଚନ୍ଦ୍ର.

(திரு. ஜே. ஆர். ஜயவர்தன)

(Mr. J. R. Jayewardene)

Nobody.

අමර්තලීන් ගම් මයා.

(திரு. அமிர்தலிங்கம்)

(Mr. Amirthalingam)

You may not have been on the Board of Ministers but you may have been in the State Council at that time.

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They made the Soulbury Commissioners to understand that under that draft which formed the basis of the present Constitution they were providing such safeguards and weightage representation to the minorities.

In this connection I am sure it will not be irrelevant to refer to the Report of the Soulbury Commissioners. I read from the Report of the Commission on Constitutional Reform 1945, page 73. Other hon. Members have been referring to their past histories but I am only referring to the past history of this country. It says :

“These advocates”—

That is, the advocates of the draft constitution, the Board of Ministers—
—“estimate that the result would be that, of the 95 elected seats, 58 would go to Sinhalese candidates and 37 to the minority candidates (Ceylon Tamils 15, Indian Tamils 14, Muslims 8), making, with the six nominated seats, a minority representation of 43 in a House of 101.”

That is what the leaders of the Sinhalese people in 1945 made the Soulbury Commissioners understand in their attempt to make them accept the scheme of representation that they recommended in their draft proposals.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, where they said that in a House of 95 elected members, the Sinhalese people would have 58 representatives, what do we have today in a House of 151 elected Members? The Sinhalese people have 123 elected representatives; that is, more than eighty per cent of the elected representatives has gone to sixty-nine per cent of the population of this country. Can anything be more anomalous than a situation under which the majority has been given weightage, weightage in such a manner that sixty-nine per cent of the population has been given, or, shall I say, have cornered eighty per cent or more of the representation in this Assembly? And that is the sort of democracy that we have in this country.

What is happening to the Tamil-speaking minority? They told the Soulbury Commissioners that in a

House of 95 there would be 15 Ceylon Tamil representatives, 14 Indian Tamil representatives and 8 Muslim representatives, making a total of 37. What do we have today in this House? There are 17 Tamil Members and 12 elected Muslim Members, making a total of 29 in a House of 151 elected Members. They said that it would be 37 in a House of 95, and we have today 29 in a House of 151! You can judge from this, Mr. Deputy Speaker, the extent to which democracy has progressed in this country, the extent to which the past Governments of this country have prostituted democracy and made it a meaningless term as far as the minorities in this country are concerned. It is this horrifying travesty of representative Government giving the Sinhalese majority an overwhelming weightage which has resulted in the surrender of every major political party to chauvinism in order to capture power.

I wish to state that this monstrosity which is only a parody of democracy is the handiwork of the U. N. P. Governments of the past, and in this bogus democracy, sixty-nine per cent of the people have captured eighty per cent of the seats in Parliament and they can thus use the unfairly obtained power to cause further hardship to the minorities and to liquidate them altogether.

The hon. First Member for Colombo South told us yesterday that the United National Party has changed its policies since those old days. I hope it has not only changed its policies in the economic sphere but also changed its attitude towards the minorities; and if there is any justification in the claim that they are championing the cause of democracy, there must be a genuine change of heart; there must be a genuine attempt made to redress the just grievances of the minorities in this country.

The figures that I have given with regard to the extent to which the composition of this Parliament, of the legislature, has been altered in

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[අමතරව මේ මාසය.]

a way to adversely affect the minorities are a challenge to any real believer in democracy. The figures I have quoted will make one realise the enormity of the injustice that has been perpetrated on the Tamil-speaking minorities, and any real champion of democracy must take steps to rectify it. I do not know what my hon. Friends of the United National Party have to say to this.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I have referred to how the little share that the Tamil-speaking people of this country had in the political field was undemocratically snatched away from them by the United National Party Governments of the past.

I now come to the advocates of progress. I think it should be progress within inverted commas.—[Interruption]. The hon. Member for Hanguranketa (Mr. M. D. Banda) calls it “inverted progress.” The present unitary form of government has resulted not merely in the political emasculation of the Tamil-speaking people but also in their economic strangulation. This has been the effect of the fascist policies of the pseudo-socialist government that came into power in 1956 and which continues to govern today except for a short interlude by the United National Party in 1960.

The Sinhala only policy of this Government means not merely the elimination of the Tamil language from its due place in the public life of this country but the shutting out of the Tamil-speaking people of this country from the political, economic and cultural life of Ceylon.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I would like at this stage to refer to some of the recent happenings in the Public Service of this country. The Public Service occupies a not insignificant place in the avenues of employment that are open to the educated youth of the country and as such the Tamil-speaking minorities are entitled to expect their due

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share in the Public Service. But what is happening today? Legislation, grossly discriminatory, which a properly constituted court of this country, the District Court of Colombo, has declared to be a contravention of Article 29 of the Constitution, has been and is being implemented in such a way as to virtually drive the Tamils out of the Public Service. There has been a great deal of agitation, a great deal of comment, in the newspapers of the country with regard to the injustice of this compulsory retirement programme that the S. L. F. P. Government has introduced. I will not put the blame for it on the present Minister of Finance because he was not there. I think he was one of those who from this side of the House protested against that policy. But today he is the Minister of Finance and is in a position to undo that harm if he really wants to.

These notices of compulsory retirement were served, and representations were made to the Hon. Minister of Finance and the Hon. Prime Minister. Those who received such notices appealed to the Public Service Commission and I presume that after this Coalition Government came into existence the Public Service Commission has granted some little temporary relief. The condemned man is told: “Your sentence of death stands but we are putting off the execution by one year.” In reply to their appeals against these notices of compulsory retirement, this is the letter that the public servants concerned have received:

“Retirement: Official Language and Public Servants.

With reference to your appeal to the Public Service Commission against the order of retirement I have to inform you that I have been advised by the Secretary, Public Service Commission, that the Public Service Commission has decided that your retirement will take effect from 16.7.65 without prejudice to the provisions of Treasury Circular No. 620 of 18.10.63.”

Curiously enough, to those members of the Public Service who did not study Sinhala and had no

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knowledge of Sinhala, these replies were sent in Sinhala only. This is another cruel joke that these people take pleasure in practising on the Tamil-speaking people at every turn. The sum and substance of this letter is that the prisoner is told: "Your execution is put off by one year and you are granted a short space of time during which you can prepare yourself for the execution."

That is not all. I think under the laws of this country—under the law which the late Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike introduced—recruitment to the Public Service is carried on in three languages—Sinhala, Tamil and English—and examinations for entry into the Public Service have been held in all three languages and candidates have been selected for appointment in that way. But this year the General Manager of Railways has taken up the position that 17 officers who were recruited through the medium of Tamil cannot be given any employment and that he cannot give them appointments in the Railway. So what is the worth of the provisions of the law that a Tamil-speaking person, a person educated through the medium of the Tamil language, is entitled to sit for a Public Service examination in his own language? Is it the policy of this Government that the G. M. R. is trying to put into practice or is it the policy of the G. M. R., or rather his Administrative Assistant, one Mr. Samarakoon, who I am told is a member of the B. J. B., and who has become a law unto himself? I think this is a matter which calls for the immediate attention of the new Minister of Communications of the L. S. S. P. I do not want to discuss at length what is happening in the Public Service.

Let us see what is happening in the corporations. Young men are applying for employment as conductors in the C. T. B. They receive letters in Sinhala. I know a constituent of mine who received a letter in Sinhala with regard to some interview; he had to go in search of a man to read that letter and explain it to him. In the

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process he missed the date on which he had to be present for the interview.

Is this the way in which this Government is planning to treat the minorities, to treat the Tamil-speaking people? Various measures which, no doubt, are progressive have been introduced. Nationalization has taken place, but in all these nationalized ventures it is the Tamil-speaking officials and Tamil-speaking employees who become the victims of discriminatory treatment.

I referred just now to the requirements that are insisted on in the C. T. B. and other corporations, even in purely Tamil-speaking areas, with regard to compliance with the official language policy—requirements which compel the study of Sinhala by everybody. I think hon. Members opposite are suffering from an inferiority complex. They fear that nobody will study their language and therefore they want to compel everybody to study it. They feel that their language has no intrinsic merit and therefore nobody will study it for its own sake. So they want to thrust it down people's throats at the point of the bayonet, threatening them with economic punishments if they do not comply. I think the sooner they get over this inferiority complex the better it would be for all. If they want to develop their language let them develop it by all means but let them not try to thrust it down our throats. If we want to study their language for any purpose of our own, we shall study it at the proper time and in the proper way. There is no need for them to try to exhibit their inferiority complex by trying to put the Tamil-speaking people at the receiving end of their discriminatory policies.

Discrimination against the Tamil-speaking people takes place not merely in the Public Service and in the corporations but even in the private sector. At the instigation of the Government the private sector, particularly the big business establishments, are beginning to insist on a

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[අමිර්තලින්ගම් මයා.]

knowledge of Sinhala for appointments. What chance do they want to give the Tamil-speaking people in this country? Politically, they are trying to destroy us. Economically, they are trying to strangle us.

And what is happening so far as culture is concerned? The hon. Second Member for Colombo Central spoke at length about various hardships and difficulties placed in the way of people who want to go out of this country. Are hon. Members of this House aware that, in the case of Tamil-speaking people, not only are they not permitted to go out but nobody is allowed to come in even? It may be our good luck that we have across the Palk Strait nearly thirty million people who speak the same language as we do and that throughout the ages cultural contacts have been maintained between the Tamil-speaking peoples of the South Indian peninsula and Ceylon.

Literary figures, religious dignitaries and various others have been allowed to come for various cultural functions in Tamil in Ceylon from time immemorial, but this year when a professor of Tamil wanted to come to Ceylon to participate in a cultural function he was asked to deposit a certain sum of money for his expenses here before he could be allowed to come. Do they expect writers and artistes who come over here to deliver lectures and to give performances to bring additional money to spend in the course of their stay here? Do they lay down the same conditions with regard to pseudo-Buddhist organizations and others who come to this country on various pretexts? This, Sir, is an attempt to cut off the Tamil-speaking people in this country from the cultural life, from the development of the Tamil language and from the Tamil people of South India. I think these are all directed towards one end and that is making this country purely a Sinhalese country; making the Tamil-speaking people first of all slaves and then assimilate and destroy them altogether. It may

be said that we have been saying this every year, time after time, but this is the process that is taking place and this year it has become worse.

The commission that was appointed to report on a national scheme of education has recommended that Sinhala should be the medium of instruction for the children of the estate labourers. Is this not an attempt to destroy the Tamil-speaking people altogether? In fact, the same commission recommended that Sinhala should be made a second language for the Tamil-speaking students in the Northern and Eastern Provinces and this year the Hon. Minister of Education is going ahead with a scheme to send 2,000 Sinhalese teachers to the Tamil schools in the Northern and Eastern Provinces, when we as the elected representatives of the Tamil-speaking people protested against this move and opposed it.

The Hon. Minister of Education has replied to that in the papers today by saying that even if one Tamil child wants to study Sinhala it is his duty to provide for it. There may have been one or two people who may have asked for facilities for the study of Sinhala, but does the Hon. Minister realize that the entire Tamil-speaking people have been clamouring for facilities in technical education in the Tamil language? Does he realize that on the Floor of this House, as early as 1957, the then Minister of Education of the late Prime Minister's Government promised that the Technical College in Jaffna would be developed into a full-fledged Technical College? In spite of the entire representatives of the Tamil people and the peoples themselves clamouring for facilities in technical education, the Hon. Minister of Education does not want to do anything in that respect. Even in the matter of instruction to be given in regard to modern mechanized fishing, facilities are not available for the Tamil-speaking young men to get those instructions.

Facilities for the acquisition of various skills are not made available to us. We have no facilities for

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higher education. The Tamil-speaking people have been clamouring and agitating for a Tamil University since 1956, but that has been denied to us. All these facilities are denied to us. But the Hon. Minister of Education says that even if one Tamil child wants education in Sinhala it is his duty to provide for such education. And he wants to send two thousand Sinhalese teachers! He recruited ten thousand pupil teachers of whom only two hundred-odd were Tamil pupil teachers. Two hundred out of ten thousand seems to be a just ratio for the recruitment of Tamil pupil teachers in the view of the Hon. Minister of Education.

We are no doubt aware of the change in the composition of the Cabinet today. As I stated in the morning, we are very happy to find the leader of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party occupying the front seat which he richly deserves, but to what extent can we the Tamil-speaking people be satisfied that everything is all right, that everything will be all right?

I would say that so long as the present Constitution continues things can never be all right. Even the Communist Party which speaks of regional autonomy dare not speak of it here on the Floor of this House. The Government speaks of establishing district councils but the moment my hon. Friend from Welimada (Mr. K. M. P. Rajaratna) raises his voice they withdraw into their shell. Somebody only has to put up a sham fight, go on a glucose fast, and the Government will withdraw even the meagre concessions that they were getting ready to give. How long can the Tamil-speaking minority be dependent on the graces and fleeting fancies of power-thirsty politicians of the south? That is why our party calls upon all reasonable, right-thinking and real democrats in this country to amend the Constitution.

I whole-heartedly endorse the statement made by the hon. Member for Avissawella (Mr. D. P. R. Gunawardena) that this present

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Constitution must be scrapped. This Constitution which has resulted in the perpetration of gross injustice to the minorities, which is heading towards either the destruction of the Tamil-speaking minority or the division of this country, must be scrapped. Or else the only alternative before the country is this. This is not merely my warning. No less a person than the hon. Member for Dehiwala-Mt. Lavinia (Dr. Colvin R. de Silva) in the course of the Debate on the Sinhala Only Bill said on the Floor of this House that, if the Government pursues this line, persists in this attitude, the inevitable consequence will be a division of the country. The Tamil-speaking people are not going to lie down, they are not going to surrender without a fight—

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(දොරාදර් නාගනාතන්)

(Dr. Naganathan)

We will never surrender, we will die.

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(තිரு. අමිර්තලිංගම්)

(Mr. Amirthalingam)

The hon. Member for Nallur says he will never surrender. But the hon. Members of the Government seem to think that they have sufficient power to deal with us with their armies. They have an army of occupation in the Northern and the Eastern provinces on the pretext of checking illicit immigration. They are also there to beat us down occasionally, but let them remember we are getting used to their army and will also get used to dealing with their army. The present leadership of the Tamil-speaking people, the sagely leadership of the hon. Member for Kankasanturai (Mr. Chelvanayakam), is holding in check the rising tide of resentment among the Tamil-speaking youth. The Hon. Leader of the House does not seem to believe that the Tamil-speaking people are really feeling that because he has not been in their midst; he

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[අමිර්තලිංගම් මය.]

dare not go into their midst and he will not be able to go into their midst. In fact, the shame of it is that after 1956, except during Emergencies when we the elected representatives were placed behind prison bars and the people were kept down by the might of arms, Members of this Government have not been able to go there except occasionally with police guards—

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(கௌரவ அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)

(An hon. Member)

Black flags.

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(திரு. அமிர்தலிங்கம்)

(Mr. Amirthalingam)

Yes, black flags—and policemen to beat the people with black flags. Except with those they are unable to go. Do you not see that the country is divided and has been divided? Some people say we are trying to divide the country. We are only trying to bring about a unification of the country.

Mr. Suntharalingam, the ex-Member for Vavuniya, says that we are trying to federate when the Sinhalese people are not trying to federate. He says we are trying to have a marriage to which the other party is not willing and therefore he advocates total separation, but we and the Federal Party still believe that the Sinhalese people and we have to live together in this country. That is why we have been for the last 15 years trying to convince the representatives of the Sinhalese people into a realization that the only *modus operandi*, the only way, in which the Sinhalese people and the Tamil-speaking people can live in this country is as equal partners under a federal set-up. That is the only way in which a division of the country can be prevented.

But I will say this. I think every year the development of events in the South leads us to the irresistible

conclusion that the hopes of union are receding further and further. If the leaders of the Sinhalese people persist in this attitude, I will say, when you will be advocating federalism, we will rather choose to have a division of this country even at the cost of several lives and, if it be necessary, even our own lives. We will rather have a division of this country than surrender as a nation without self-respect and be eternal slaves in this country. That is why I commend this amendment of ours to the hon. Members of this House.

I think I should read out my amendment before I sit down.

I move, as an amendment to the Address at the end to add the words :

“but regret that Your Excellency's Speech has shown no realization of the most important national issue facing the country today, namely the political, economic and cultural conflict between the Sinhalese people and the Tamil-speaking people; that under the present unitary Constitution the Tamil-speaking people are being suppressed, oppressed and liquidated by the Sinhalese-speaking majority; that in Ceylon which is the ancient homeland of two different nations with two different languages, the democratic rights and liberties of all the Tamil-speaking minorities are, under the present unitary Constitution, placed in the position of perpetual dependence on the will and pleasure of the permanent Sinhalese majority and have therefore suffered grievously; that the democratic freedoms of the Tamil-speaking minorities can be provided for only in an autonomous Tamil linguistic State or States within the frame-work of a Federal Union of Ceylon; further in as much as the various complex problems of multi-national and multi-lingual countries have been successfully solved by the establishment of a federal form of government, for example, in Switzerland, Yugoslavia, Canada, India, Soviet Russia and others, and in as much as the federal system of government has secured the protection and ensured the freedom of all minority nationalities, whilst establishing true unity of all the peoples in these multi-national countries, we are constrained to express our deep dissatisfaction that Your Excellency's Speech has not given any indication or any recognition of the fact that the most urgent matter of paramount importance to this country is the conversion of the present unitary Constitution into a federal Constitution.”

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I commend this amendment to all believers in democracy and to all real progressives and call upon them to find a solution to this problem before they can think of any progress, any development, any amelioration of the economic hardships of the people.

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(திரு. பாலசுந்தரம்)

(Mr. Balasunderam)

Mr. Deputy Speaker, while seconding the amendment, I should look at the amendment from a different point of view. My Friend the hon. Member for Vaddukkoddai in a very impassioned, eloquent, detailed speech, gave you a full list of the grievances of the Tamil people. I do not think there is any necessity on my part to add to that list. He went back to the early days of our independence. But I would rather confine myself to the recent events that took place after the prorogation of Parliament in March this year. Shortly thereafter or during that time, there emerged in this country a grouping of forces with socialism as the ideal under the name "United Left Front".

On the 1st of May this year there gathered at Galle Face Green all the trade unions in their vast numbers and all the great revolutionaries excepting one who was rather sulking in his tent. The thunder and roar of the revolutionaries reached our ears even in distant Jaffna, and some of us imagined that very soon the revolution would be round the corner. There would go not the tumbrils, not the vans and lorries which are of *thuppahi* culture, but the double bullock-cart of our national culture carrying the bloated capitalists and reactionaries on my right, to the Galle Face Green, our local *Champ de mars* which was to be later called the *Champ de Philip*, and I thought the heads would roll on the ground rendering the dull green a beautiful crimson. But all of a sudden there was silence. All was quiet on the United Left Front. So I was wonder

ing as to who had worked this miracle. When I was thinking of it, I was reminded of the story in Greek mythology of a certain enchantress Circe who turned men into swine. I shall not say, on this occasion the enchantress turned all the leftists into Circean quadrupeds. Some of them became bleating lambs ready to follow Mary or the shepherdess wherever she went. There was of course the occasional growl from an old lion of the revolution. But the United Left Front was shattered. The U. L. F. has become a U. F. L.—a united front of leftists who were like discarded lovers who were uncared for, but who yet went running after the loved one, singing her praises in the hope that some day they would be taken. The old lion growled occasionally, and he thought, as it happened two thousand years ago when Herod had to satisfy the lust of Salome by presenting the head of John the Baptist on a charger, the heads of two Ministers would be presented on a charger to him to satisfy his socialist lust. Even that did not happen and there was perfect quiet.

Of course, my hon. Friends, the revolutionaries, the hon. Member for Bulathsinhala, the hon. Member for Kottawa and the hon. Member for Moratuwa, said that this was a shameful capitulation, and ignominious defeat and an abject surrender of socialism. But they forget that their leader is first of all and even last of all a Fabian socialist who believes in the inevitability of gradualness and in the peaceful penetration of the middle of the S. L. F. P. He assured his followers that very soon the Left would gradually, inevitably, penetrate the middle of the S. L. F. P. Some were sceptical, but I am not so sceptical. I say that those whom political necessity has joined together let no man or even woman put asunder.

Sir, but what amazes me or what amazes some of the people is the preamble to the Throne Speech where the great revolutionaries of the past speak of the victories of the Socialist Revolution that took place in 1956.

අනුමතකාරකුමාගේ කථාව :

ස්තූති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විවාදය

[බලසුන්දරම් මයා.]

It is, therefore, necessary to consider what those victories are, first of all was the introduction of the Sinhala Only Act, an Act which I said long ago, and which the courts have now held, is *ultra vires* the Constitution. By its introduction it placed in the position of power not those who had the tradition of ruling but the adventurers, men who had never known anything of the rule of law, and, above all, it created racial and religious chauvinism of a kind that not only destroyed the peace and goodwill that existed between the two communities but also undermined for ever the economic prosperity of this land.

As regards this great victory of 1956 the hon. leaders of the revolution when they were on this side of the House thought otherwise, but in the year of grace 1964, in the name of peaceful penetration of the middle of S. L. F. P., it has become one of the great victories of the socialist revolution of 1956.

The other great victory of the revolution is that it has made bribery respectable. During the wicked colonial regime and even during the wicked United National Party regime, a man who took bribes could be charged in a court of law.

Then came the great socialist revolution. Bribery tribunals were appointed which even a man with the meanest intelligence would have known was *ultra vires*. Today anybody can take bribes with impunity. This is the second great achievement or victory of the social revolution that took place in 1956 when reactionary, capitalist and bourgeois intellectuals like me were thrown out and in their place great progressives, progressive bribe-takers, were brought in to rule this country. That is the second great achievement of this social revolution.

The third one was equally interesting. In the morning the hon. Second Member for Colombo Central (Mr. Keuneman) waxed eloquent on the invasion of the fundamental rights of human beings. This is the first

occasion when I heard him talk about fundamental rights. There were occasions in this House when the very idea of natural justice, the very fundamental right of a human being, was being violated with impunity by Government Bills presented in this House. First of all there was the notorious Criminal Law (Special Provisions) Act which, being a retroactive piece of legislation—quite apart from Section 9 thereof—was a negation of the fundamental right of human beings and contrary to the Declaration of Human Rights enshrined in the United Nations Charter. Then our hon. Friend from Colombo Central kept his mouth shut. That was a progressive Bill, a Bill designed to dish everybody else but themselves.

ජේ. ආර්. ජයවර්ධන මයා.

(திரு. ஜே. ஆர். ஜயவர்தன)

(Mr. J. R. Jayewardene)

No orders from Moscow !

බලසුන්දරම් මයා.

(திரு. பாலசுந்தரம்)

(Mr. Balasunderam)

That was a violation of fundamental human rights. As I said earlier, when under the guise of implementation of the Sinhala Only Act the elementary human rights of the Tamil-speaking people of this country were being denied the great socialists were keeping mum. But only when some organization of theirs is not allowed to go out of this country, when the shoe begins to pinch them, they say : "Oh, there has been a violation of fundamental rights. Ceylon has been made a vast prison." Who aided and abetted this Government in making Ceylon a slave State? None but the so-called progressives on this side of the House. Every bit of legislation, every so-called socialist measure, was in reality nothing but a totalitarian measure introduced to curb the liberties of the people of this country.

Let us take the first great act of the so-called socialist, progressive Government which has been progressing from 1956 up to now when we are almost bankrupt. The first act of this Government was the take-over of

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schools. The hon. Second Member for Colombo Central and his friends said: "What a mighty thing we are doing? We are bringing education to everybody instead of their seeking education." What sort of education have you now? Any sincere man who goes to any school knows that there is no such thing as education at all. A sham of a thing called education is being purveyed to the innocent young children of this land. And as we go on in this fashion, in a few years' time even our university graduates will not be recognized by any of the universities of the world and will be like comic graduates in a farce like that of Gilbert and Sullivan.

That is not all. The hon. Second Member for Colombo Central spoke of the political rights of teachers. The elections are coming around. Already the Sri Lanka Jatika Guru Sangamaya and the Tamil teachers who had a rally in Jaffna have agitated for political rights. These Left leaders know very well that the views of these teachers will have a tremendous influence on the forthcoming elections. So they are now saying, "Oh, we shall give them political rights".

I remember the time when the Assisted Schools and Training Colleges (Special Provisions) Act was introduced. I asked an hon. Member of the Left whether they would support me if I introduced a clause in that Bill in these terms: "Notwithstanding anything hereinbefore said, the political rights of teachers shall remain unaffected". He said, "No, you need not worry. We will have their rights granted to them.". Two years later I asked the hon. Member for Dehiwala-Mount Lavinia the same question. His answer was, "Yes, when we come into power the teachers will have their rights". I suppose he may now turn round and say, "When we come into full power, we will give them their rights". When they have half the power, why not give the teachers half their rights?

Whom are these people trying to fool by the use of their phraseology which has no meaning—"progressives", "reactionaries", "capitalists", etc.—phrases used to cover the utter bankruptcy of statemanship among the so-called leaders of this Government? What is the use of making such empty promises? As I have shown, the first great achievement of this Government was to deprive the teachers of all their rights.

There is another grievance on the part of our Leftists. They say that there is no mention of the word "Republic" in the Throne Speech. Somehow or other, the fact that we are being ruled by a Queen seems to keep them sleepless at night. The fact is that Queen Elizabeth II has not interfered with our independence in any respect. In the event of war we can remain perfectly neutral. We need not join Britain at all. Then, what is this demand for a Republic? Is it that our association with Commonwealth countries sticks in their throats? Even if we become a Republic, with whom shall we ally ourselves? China? The U. S. S. R.? Already the U. S. S. R. is turning towards the West.

When I pointed out that you cannot amend the Constitution in the fashion you desire, my hon. Friends had to keep quiet. The only way to amend the Constitution proper is to summon a national assembly and draw up a constitution. Such a constitution should be a federal constitution. It would be in the interests of the people of this Island as a whole that Ceylon should have a federal constitution.

Look at the history of the countries in Asia which have a unitary form of Government. Pakistan had a unitary form of Government; it became a Republic and we are told that in Pakistan there is now some kind of basic or baseless democracy. Similarly, let us turn to Burma. The great progressives were at work there, progressives of the type of the hon. Second Member for Colombo Central and others, and what

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ස්තුති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විමාදය

[බලසුන්දරම් මයා.]

is the progress that unfortunate country has made, economically, intellectually or in any other field of activity that can be called superior to that of India? Take the United Arab Republic. We are very fond of the United Arab Republic; some of us wish we had a constitution like theirs because every one of our little dictators thinks he can be a Nasser in this land. What happened there? In contrast to that look at India. Because it is a federal constitution it is not possible for a single dictator to emerge from and rule that country. Apart from that, a small country like ours requires a court even higher than the Supreme Court. India, a country with a number of autonomous states, has a federal court superior to all the courts which can determine questions of law and whether the laws are within the ambit of the Constitution or not. In Ceylon you cannot have such a court unless you have a federal constitution. Having a unitary form of Government it is a great thing for us that we have a Privy Council appeal.

Attempts were made, I know, somehow or other to see to it that Ceylon had no appeal to the Privy Council but fortunately it has been decided that everyone of Her Majesty's subjects has a right of appeal to Her Majesty in Council against any wrong done to that subject in any one of Her Majesty's Courts. It is because we have a Privy Council appeal, I can say, that a good many of my Friends are here seated safe and sound in their seats. Otherwise they would have been elsewhere probably locked up and facing a trial. So let us think twice before we talk glibly and foolishly about republics without knowing the consequences of what we ask for.

Shortly after 1956, before the dissolution of Parliament, a number of Bills were passed with enthusiasm and energy by the M. E. P., without realizing that Parliament is not supreme in this land, but the Constitution. A number of these Bills have been declared *ultra vires*

so that I want to tell our friends who want to make Ceylon a republic, who want to be President of the Republic, that it is a difficult thing to do and an undesirable one at the present stage.

We complain of the autocratic ways of the Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Defence and External Affairs; he has curbed the liberties of the people of this country, and it is a gross violation of the fundamental rights of the people despite the socialist brains on the Government side. What does it mean? It means that there are Government officials who consider themselves superior to the elected representatives of the people and even the Ministers. Many of the difficulties the S. L. F. P. Government and the people of this country as a whole experienced were due to two Dases who happened to be in power in the S. L. F. P. Government. Of these two, one is receding gradually into the background and the other remains in full power. He dictates everything and no Minister dare intervene.

What does a republic mean? Would it ultimately end up in a dictatorship in this country by persons like N. Q. Dias? It is said of certain Permanent Secretaries in this Government that they cannot go to bed and sleep well unless comforted by the thought that they had done that day some harm to a Tamil or a Catholic! Having these Permanent Secretaries, then what is the use of a republic? If you have the right of appeal to the Privy Council, any person who does something illegal or *ultra vires* can be brought before a court of law and you can be sure that any wrong will be set right. That is why we say, unless there is a constituent assembly convened, unless there is a federal constitution based on federal principles with a declaration of fundamental rights of the citizens of this country, and adequate machinery to safeguard those rights, it would be dangerous to have a republic at all.

සිංහලයේ සංස්කෘතිය

කේ. එම්. පී. රාජරත්න මයා.

(திரு. கே. எம். பி. ராஜரத்ன)

(Mr. K. M. P. Rajaratna)

ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය කථානායකතුමනි, ඇමති
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වේ නැහැ. එහෙම නම් ඇමතිවරුන් පැමි
ණෙන තුරු සභාව නාවකාලිකව නවත්
වමු. මේ ගරු සභාවේ කථා සීමා කරන්නට
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කියන දේවත් අහන්නෙ නැහැ. ඇමති
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බුරුවන් අපේ කථාවලට කන් දීමට
එන්නෙ නැහැ.

ආර්. ජී. සේනානායක මයා. (දඹදෙනිය)

(திரு. ஆர். ஜி. சேனாயக்க—தம்ப
தனிய)

(Mr. R. G. Senanayake—Dambadeniya)

ඇමතිවරුන්ගේ ගණනටත් වැඩි ගණනක් පාර්ලිමේන්තු ලේකම්වරුන් වශයෙන් පත් කොට සිටිනවා. ඔවුන්ට කරන්නට තිබෙන්නේ මෙහි ඉදහෙත ඇමතිවරුන් වෙනුවෙන් වැඩ කරගෙන යන එකයි. නමුත් ඔවුනුත් දුන් නැහැ.

(திரு. ஜயசிங்ஹ)

(Mr. Jayasinghe)

මේ තත්ත්වය ආණ්ඩුවට විහිළවක්
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අ. භා. 3.20

ପ୍ରଂ. ରତ୍ନାୟକ ଓୟା.

(திரு. ஏ. ரத்னையக்க)

(Mr. A. Ratnayake)

ගරු වෙළෙඳ ඇමතිතුමා සභාවට
පැමිණීම ගැන සන්තෝෂයි.

Of course my Friends here, the revolutionaries, are unfortunate beings like myself, discarded and thrown out. Our voices will be voices in the wilderness even as my speech is directed towards the empty benches of the Government. So I shall not tire the benches at all. I thank you.

ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය කථානායකතුමනි, මා
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කිනි. උපුටා ගත් කොටසක් බවයි. මුල්

සංඥාධනය සහායවූ කරන ලදී.

ඒ. රත්නායක මයා. (වත්තේගම)

(திரு. ஏ. ரத்னாயக்க—வத்தேகம)

(Mr. A. Ratnayake—Wattegama)

நாளை கிடுகெய்ய.

අඟුණකුකාරතුමාගේ කථාව :

ස්තූති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විවාදය

[ඒ. රත්නසක මයා.]

වාසගම් දෙක අනුව පෙනී යන්නේ මේ ආණ්ඩුව එක්තරා මාක්ස්වාදී සටනක් ගෙන යන්නට බලාපොරොත්තු වන බවයි. එම නිසා ඊයේ සවස මේ රාජාසන කථාව ගැන විවේචනයක යෙදුණු දකුණු කොළඹ පළමුවැනි ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා (ජේ. ආර්. ජයවර්ධන මයා.) මාක්ස්වාදය හඳුන්වා දෙමින් කථා කිරීම ගැන මා එම ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමාට ප්‍රශංසා කරනවා. ඒ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමාගේ කථාවට පිළිතුරු වශයෙන් මාක්ස්වාදී නායකයන් තිදෙනෙකු විසින් කථා කරන්නට යෙදුණා. නමුත් ඔවුන් කීවේ දකුණු කොළඹ පළමුවැනි ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා මාක්ස්වාදය ගැන නොදත් තැනක් බවයි. එහෙම නම් ඒ ගොල්ලන් තමයි, “ත්‍රිපිටක වාගිශ්වරයන්” බාලාව තාරයවත් නොකියැවූ කෙනෙකු තමා අපේ දකුණු කොළඹ පළමුවැනි මන්ත්‍රීවරයා ඒ වගේම, බොළඳ අදහස් දරණ කෙනෙකු තමා අපේ දකුණු කොළඹ පළමුවැනි මන්ත්‍රීවරයා. නමුත් ඒ මන්ත්‍රීතුමා වැදගත් ප්‍රශ්න දෙකක් ඉදිරිපත් කළා. ඒ ප්‍රශ්න දෙකෙන් එකකටවත් පිළිතුරු ලැබුණේ නැහැ. වැදගත් සාධක ඉදිරිපත් කරමින් මාක්ස්වාදය ආගම් විරෝධී බව එතුමා ඔප්පු කළා. එය පළමුවැනි කාරණයයි.

1980 වන විට රුසියාව සියලුම ආගම් සම්පූර්ණයෙන්ම නැති හංග කරන බව ප්‍රකාශ කොට තිබෙනවා. මේ අවුරුද්දේ සිට ඒ ව්‍යාපාරය ආරම්භ කර තිබෙනවා. අපේ රටේ පුවත්පත්වලත් ඒ කාරණය පළ වී තිබුණා. මාක්ස්වාදී රටවල මහජන යාගේ ඡන්දයෙන් ආණ්ඩුවක් පිහිටුවනවාද, මහජනයාට ආණ්ඩුව විවේචනය කරන්නට බලය තිබෙනවාද, මහජන ඡන්දය පාවිච්චි කොට ආණ්ඩුවක් බලයෙන් පහ කරන්නට පුළුවන්ද, යන කරුණු ගැන විවේචනයක යෙදෙමින් ; මාක්ස්වාදී රටවල මහජන ඡන්දයෙන් ආණ්ඩුවක් පිහිටුවන්නට බැරි බවත්, මහජනයාට ආණ්ඩුව විවේචනය කරන්නට ඉඩ නොලැබෙන බවත්, මහජන ඡන්දය පාවිච්චි කොට ආණ්ඩුවක් පරාජය කරන්නට බැරි බවත් එතුමා ප්‍රකාශ කළා. ඒ දෙවැනි වැදගත් කාරණයයි. මාක්ස්වාදී රටවල් ගණනාවක් ලෝකයේ තිබෙනවා. ඒවා

යින් රුසියාව ගෙන බලමු. 1917ත් පස්සෙ අද වන තුරු ඒ රටේ අගමැතිවරයකු හෝ ඇමති මණ්ඩලයක් හෝ, කෙටියෙන් කියනවා නම් ආණ්ඩුවක්, මහජන ඡන්දයෙන් පිහිටුවීමට කියා අප අසා නැහැ.

තවත් මාක්ස්වාදී රටවල් තිබෙනවා. එවායින් චීනය ගනිමු. එහෙම නැති නම් යුරෝපයේ තිබෙන මාක්ස්වාදී රටවල් කීපය ගෙන බලමු. ඒ කුමන රටකවත් මහජන ඡන්දයෙන් ආණ්ඩුවක් පත් කළාය කියා අපි අසා නැහැ. ඒ අය සමාජවාදීය, ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදීය කියා ප්‍රකාශ කරනවා, නමුත් ඒ රටවල මහජනයාගේ වරප්‍රසාද, අයිතිවාසිකම්, විශේෂයෙන් ඔවුන්ට ලැබියයුතු රාජ්‍ය බලය ලැබී ඇත්තේ නැහැ. යම් රටක ජනතාවට රාජ්‍ය බලය ලැබී නැති නම් එහි සමාජවාදයක් නැහැ. යම් යම් ආකාරවලට ඒ රටවල ඇත්තන්ට බාහිර වස්තුව ලැබෙනවා ඇති. නමුත් මනුෂ්‍යත්වය ලබා සිටින අයට ලැබිය යුතු ඉතාම වැදගත් වස්තුවක් තමයි, රාජ්‍ය බලය. ඒ අනුව මිනිසුන්ට යම් රාජ්‍යයක් පිහිටුවා ගැනීම මෙන් ම පහ කිරීමත් තමන් පිහිටුවා ගත් රාජ්‍යය විවේචනය කිරීමත් කියන වටිනා බලයන් ලැබෙන්නට ඕනෑ. ඒ පිළිබඳවත් එතුමා ප්‍රශ්න කෙරුව. නමුත් උත්තර ලැබුණේ නැහැ. මගේ වැටහීමේ හැටියට නම් මේ ආණ්ඩුව මේ මාස 12 තුළ මෙරට පැනනැගී තිබෙන බැරෑරුම් ප්‍රශ්න, වැදගත් ජාතික ප්‍රශ්න—රුකී රක්ෂා නැතිකම, ඉඩම් නැතිකම, ගෙවල් නැතිකම, පාසැල් අබල දුබල වීම, ආරෝග්‍යශාලාවල බෙහෙත් හිඟය, පාරවල් අබලත් වීම යනාදී ප්‍රශ්න—සියල්ල අමතක කර දමා මෙහි පළ වන පළමුවන වගන්තියේ හැටියට ක්‍රියා කරන්න යන බවයි—ඒ කියන්නේ ප්‍රතිගාමීන් සමග සටන් කරන්න යන බවයි—පෙනෙන්නේ. එම නිසයි, එතුමා මෙම ව්‍යාපාරය සම්බන්ධයෙන් ප්‍රශ්න කළේ.

කවුද, ප්‍රතිගාමීන්ය කියන්නේ? ඒ අය සිටින්නේ කොහේද? ඉඩම් ඇමතිතුමා ප්‍රතිගාමියෙක්ය කීව.

ගරු ඉලංගරත්න

(கௌரவ இலங்கரத்ன)

(The Hon. Ilangaratne)

නැහැ, නැහැ.

අනුමතකාරකුමාගේ කථාව:

ගරු සී. පී. ද සිල්වා

(කෙළරාච්ඡි. පී. පී. ඩී. සිල්වා)

(The Hon. C. P. de Silva)

එහෙම කියනව.

ඒ. රත්නායක මයා.

(තිரு. ආ. රත්නායක)

(Mr. A. Ratnayake)

අවිස්සාවේල්ලේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා (සී. පී. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන මයා) කියනව, කර්මාන්ත ඇමතිතුමා ප්‍රතිශතියෙක්කිය කියා. ආණ්ඩුවේ වැඩි දෙනෙක් ප්‍රතිශතිය ; ඒ අය නෙරපා දමන්න කියා එතුමා කීව. එතකොට ඒ පැත්තෙයි හුඟක් ප්‍රතිශතීන් ඉන්නෙ. දැනට නියම වශයෙන් ප්‍රතිශතීන් හැටියට විස්තර කරන අය ගෙන් වැඩි දෙනා ඉන්නෙ ඒ පැත්තෙයි. එතකොට, සටන ඒ අයත් සමගද? තවත් කට්ටියක් කියනව ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා මහත්මයා ප්‍රතිශතියෙක්කිය කියා. ඡන්ත්‍රිගදාසන්, බාලා තම්පෝ, කොට්ටාවේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රී රොබට් ගුණවර්ධන, බුලත් සිංහල ගරු මන්ත්‍රී සමරක්කොඩි යනාදී මහත්වරුන් අගතිශාමි ප්‍රතිශතීන් කියා සමහරු කියනව. දේශප්‍රේමී තැනැත්තාය, කම්කරුවන්ට අන්තිම ප්‍රේමිකම කළ තැනැත්තාය යනාදී වශයෙන් සදහන් කෙරෙමින් අපේ අවිස්සාවේල්ලේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා ගැනත් වර්ණනාවක් කෙරේවි. මම ඒ වර්ණනාව කරන්න යන්නෙ නැහැ. එතුමාගේ ආදරණීය සහෝදරයම ලැස්ති වෙනව, ඒ වර්ණනාව කිරීමට.

සී. පී. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන මයා. (අවිස්සාවේල්ලේ)

(තිரு. ඩී. පී. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන—අවිසාවෙල්ල)

(Mr. D. P. R. Gunawardena—Avisawella)

කියල දන්නද?

ඒ. රත්නායක මයා.

(තිரு. ආ. රත්නායක)

(Mr. A. Ratnayake)

උන්නහෙන් ප්‍රතිශතියෙක්ල. සියලුම ප්‍රගතිශීලී ව්‍යාපාරවල් කඩාකප්පල් කරපු මිනිහලු. ඒක දැන් කියවේව. ටිකක් ඉන්න කවිද මේ ප්‍රතිශතීන්?

ස්තූති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විවාදය

ගරු සී. පී. ද සිල්වා

(කෙළරාච්ඡි. පී. පී. ඩී. සිල්වා)

(The Hon. C. P. de Silva)

එකෙ තේරුම මොකක්ද?

ඒ. රත්නායක මයා.

(තිரு. ආ. රත්නායක)

(Mr. A. Ratnayake)

තේරුම මම දන්නෙ නැහැ. තේරුමත් කවිද හරි කියල දන්නොත් හොඳයි. ඊළඟට “යටත් විජිතවාදීන්” කියනව. ඒ කවිද? මම නම් මගේ ජීවිතයේ කුඩා කාලයේ ඉඳලම මේ රට නිදහස් කර ගන්න පුළුවන් හැම දෙයක්ම කරල අන්තිමේදි—

නියෝජ්‍ය කථානායකතුමා

(පිරිනිසි පාඨානායක)

(Mr. Deputy Speaker)

කරුණා කර නිශ්ශබ්ද වන්න. දැන් ගරු කථානායකතුමා මූලාසනය ගන්නවා ඇති.

අනතුරුව නියෝජ්‍ය කථානායකතුමා මූලාසනයෙන් ඉවත් වූයෙන් කථානායකතුමා මූලාසනාරූප විය.

ඒ. රත්නායක මයා.

(තිரு. ආ. රත්නායක)

(Mr. A. Ratnayake)

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, මගේ කථාවේදි ප්‍රශ්නයක් ඇහුව, ප්‍රතිශතීන් කියන්නෙ කවිද, යටත් විජිතවාදීන් කියන්නෙ කවිද, කියා. ඒ පැත්තෙ ඉන්න වැඩි දෙනෙක් ප්‍රතිශතීන් හැටියටයි හඳුන්වන්නේ. මේ පැත්තෙ ඉන්න නායකයන්හුත් ප්‍රතිශතීන් හැටියට හඳුන්වනව. ඊළඟට යටත් විජිතවාදීන් කියන්නෙ අපටද? මම, මගේ මුළු ජීවිත කාලයම මේ රට යටත් විජිතවාදයෙන් බේරා ගන්න සටන් කළ කෙනෙක්. දැන් මම වයසට ගිය කෙනකු නිසා මගේම අතිය ගැන කථා කරන්න සිදු වීම ගැන කනගාටු වෙනව. පළමු වරට—ලංකා සමසමාජ පක්ෂය බිහි වන්නට පෙර, අවිස්සාවේල්ලේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා ලංකාවට පැමිණෙන්නට පෙර—මම උඩ රට තරුණ සංගමයේ සභාපති හැටියට යෝජනාවක් ඉදිරිපත් කළා, මේ රටේ සම්පූර්ණ ස්වරාජ්‍යයක් පිහිටුවිය යුතුය කියා. මා හිතන පිළිවෙලට එවැනි යෝජනාවක් ඉදිරිපත් වුණු පළමුවැනි වතාව ඒකයි.

අග්‍රාණ්ඩුකාරතුමාගේ කථාව:

ස්තුති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විවාදය

[ඒ. රත්නායක මයා.]

ඒ විධියට මුළු ජීවිත කාලයම සටන් කරලා, අවුරුදු 400 ක් නිස්සෙ යටත්ව තිබූ අපේ රට 1948 දී අපට නිදහස් කර ගන්න පුළුවන් වුණා. එදා ඒ නිදහස් පණතට අත්සන් කළ අය අතරෙන් අද ජීවත් වන තුන් දෙනාගෙන් එක් කෙනෙක් මම. විරුඬ පක්ෂයේ නායක තුමන්, දකුණු කොළඹ පළමුවැනි ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමන්, මාත් තමයි ඒ තුන් දෙනා. අපට නිදහසක් ලැබුණා නම් ලැබුණේ, අපේ රටේ විප්ලවයක් ඇති වුණා නම් ඇති වුණේ 1948 දියි. අපේ ජනතාව ලැබූ උසස්ම ජයග්‍රහණය ලැබුණේ 1948 පෙබරවාරි මාසයේ 4 වැනිදායි. අවුරුදු 400 කට පසු මේ රට නිදහස දිනා ගත් ඒ දිනය, තමුන්නාන්සෙලාගේ ආණ්ඩුවත්, ලංකාවාසී සියලුම දෙනත් උත්සවාකාර යෙන් සිහිපත් කරනවා.

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, ලංකා ඉතිහාසයේ කවදාවත් සිදු නොවූ විප්ලවයක් එදා සිදු වුණා. එදා ජනතාවට බලයක් ලැබුණා, සේවරී බලයක් තිබෙන තමන්ගේම ආණ්ඩුවක් පිහිටුවා ගන්නත්, එසේම එවැනි ආණ්ඩුවක් පහ කරන්නත්. ඊට වඩා උසස් ජයග්‍රහණයක් මේ රටේ ජනතාවට කවදාවත් ලැබුණේ නැහැ.

ඩී. බී. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන මයා.
(කොට්ඨාස)

(திரு. டி. பி. ஆர். குணவர்தன—கொட்டாவ)

(Mr. D. B. R. Gunawardena—Kottawa)
තමුන්නාන්සෙත් 1928 දී ඔය බලය දෙනවට විරුඬ වුණා.

ඒ. රත්නායක මයා.

(திரு. ஏ. ரத்நாயக்க)
(Mr. A. Ratnayake)

1928 දී මම ජාතික සංගමයට අයිතින් නැහැ. ඒ නිසා 1956 දී සමාජවාදී ජයග්‍රහණයක් ලැබුවාය කියනව නම් එය සම්පූර්ණයෙන්ම වැරදි ප්‍රකාශයක් බව මම තමුන්නාන්සෙට කියන්න කැමතියි.

ගත වූ මාස දෙක තුන ඇතුළත පැවැත් වුණු ගම්කාර්යසහා මැතිවරණවල ප්‍රතිඵල අනුව පෙනී ගිය වැදගත් කාරණයක් ගැන වචනයක් දෙකක් කියන්න ඕනැ. නිස්ස මහාරාමය, දෙවුන්දර,

ත්‍රිකුණාමලය ආදී ලංකාවේ නොයෙකුත් පැතිවල ගම්කාර්යසහා විශාල සංඛ්‍යාවක මැතිවරණ ගත වූ මාස දෙක තුනක් නිස්සේ පවත්වනු ලැබූ බව තමුන්නාන්සෙ දන්නවා. ඒ සෑම ඡන්ද විමසීමකදීම පාහේ වැඩි ආසන සංඛ්‍යාවක් දිනා ගත්තේ එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයේ නියෝජිතයන් විසිනුයි. ඒ නිසා පසුගිය කාලේ බැලූ බැලූ තැන පත්‍රවල දකින්න ලැබුණේ එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂය දිනුවාය, එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂය දිනුවාය යන වචනයි. මේවා කියවන විට එදා මැද කෙළඹ දෙවැනි ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා (කෙනමන් මයා.) කළ ප්‍රකාශයක් මට මතක් වෙනවා. මොකක්ද එදා එතුමා කිව්වේ? ඔන්න ආයෙත් සැරයක් ප්‍රතිගාමී කොටස ඔළුව උස්සනව කියලයි කිව්වේ. කාටද එතකෙට ඔය ප්‍රතිගාමීත්ය කියන්නේ? මේ රටේ මහජනයාටයි මට තේරෙන හැටියට නම් උත්තාහෙල ප්‍රතිගාමීත්ය කියන්නේ. එහෙමත් තාත්තම් ඡන්දදායකයින්ටයි ඒ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා ප්‍රතිගාමීත්ය කියන්නේ. ප්‍රතිගාමී විජිතවාදීන් හැටියට විස්තර කරන්නේ ජනතාවයි. පළාත් පාලන ඡන්ද විමසීම්වලදී ඔය විධියේ ජයග්‍රහණයක් රට පුරාම ඇති වේගන එනවා දකින ගරු අග මැතිනියත්, අනෙක් ඇමතිවරුත්, ගරු මන්ත්‍රීවරුත් බය වුණා. ප්‍රතිගාමීන් මැඩ පවත්වන්න වහාම කුමක් කළ යුතුද කියා විපරම් කරමින් ඔය හැමෝම ගම් කාර්යසහා ඡන්ද ප්‍රතිඵල තිකුත් වන අවස්ථාවල බය වුණා.

බලය ලබා ගැනීම සඳහා ඒ ඒ රටවලදී මාක්ස්වාදීන් එක් එක් සුත්තර යෙදුවා. යුගෝස්ලෝවියාව, රුමේනියාව, බල්ගේරියාව සහ චෙකෝස්ලෝවැකියාව යන රටවල එක එක විධියේ වැඩ කර තිබෙනවා. මන්ත්‍රීවරුන් තුන් හාර සියයක් ඉන්න පාර්ලිමේන්තුවක පණහකට හැටකට වඩා කොමියුනිස්ට් පාක්ෂික මන්ත්‍රීවරුන් නැති අවස්ථාවල හවුල් ආණ්ඩුවලට පළමු වෙන්ම දෙතුන් දෙනයි ඇතුළු වුණේ. ඉන් පස්සෙ ඒ ගණන පහක් කරගෙන ටික කලකින් සම්පූර්ණ ඇමති මණ්ඩලයම නැති කර දමා ආණ්ඩුව තමන් අතට ගත්තා. බලය ලබා ගැනීම සඳහා මාක්ස් වාදීන් අනුගමනය කරන සියුම් ක්‍රම තිබෙන බව ඒ අනුව මට කියන්න පුළුවනි.

අග්‍රාණ්ඩුකාරතුමාගේ කථාව :

ස්තුති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විවාදය

ආණ්ඩුව යන්නෙන් අදහස් කරන්නේ කුමක්ද? අද ආණ්ඩුව යන කියන්නේ කාටද? මගේ කල්පනාවේ හැටියට නම් අද ආණ්ඩුව යන කියන්නේ එක විධියකින් එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා මහත්මයාටයි. එහෙම නොවෙයි නම් කවුද ආණ්ඩුව? ඇයි මා එහෙම කියන්නේ? අද මුදල් ඇමතිතුමා තමයි මේ රටේ ආණ්ඩුව. අද පත්තර දිහා බැලුවම ඒක පැහැදිලිව පෙනෙනවා. ගරු අගමැතිනිය නොවෙයි අද ආණ්ඩුව. ලංකාවේ ආණ්ඩුව මුදල් ඇමතිතුමා මිස වෙන කවුරුවත් නොවන බව අද පත්තර වලින් පෙනෙනවා. බැලූ බැලූ පත්තරවල මුදල් ඇමතිතුමාගේ පින්තූරයයි තියෙන්නේ. අනෙක් ඇමතිවරුන්ගේ පින්තූරවත් දකින්න නැහැ. එක පත්තරේකවත් නැහැ. හැම තැනම මාක්ස්වාදීන්ගේ පින්තූරයි තියෙනනේ. අද ලංකා සමසමාජ පක්ෂයේ අය නොයෙක් තනතුරුවලට පත් කරගෙන යන බව පෙනෙනවා. අවිස්සාවේල්ලේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා (ඩී. පී. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන මයා.) ඒ ගැන කීව්වා. අද ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂය යන කියලා එකක් නැහැ. එහෙම එකක් තව තියෙනවය කියලා හිතාගෙන හිටියනම් තමුන්ගෙන් සෙල ඒක හිතෙන් අස් කර ගන්නට කමක් නැහැ. ඒක නිකම්ම නැති වී ගොස් තිබෙනවා. මාක්ස්වාදී අණ්ඩුවක් තමයි අද මේ රටේ තිබෙන්නේ. බලය ලැබී තිබෙන්නේ බාගෙට තේද කියා බලන්න. ඒ වුණත් ක්‍රම ක්‍රමයෙන් සම්පූර්ණ බලය ඒ අය අල්ලා ගන්නටට සැකයක් නැත කියා මා හිතනවා. ඒ නිසා මේ ගැන කල්පනා කර බලන්න. තමන්ගේ ආණ්ඩුවට විරුද්ධ පක්ෂය සම්පූර්ණයෙන්ම පහ කිරීමට, සම්පූර්ණයෙන්ම ලොප් කිරීමට, ඒ වගේම සම්පූර්ණයෙන්ම නැති කිරීමට ප්‍රයත්නයක් නැත්නම් උත්සාහයක් කරන්නයි ඔය බලාපොරොත්තු වන්නේ. රාජාසන කථාවේ පළමුවන වගන්ති දෙක බලන්න.

ඒ. රත්නායක මයා.

(ශ්‍රී. ආ. ර. රත්නායක)
(Mr. A. Ratnayake)

එංගලන්තයේ ආණ්ඩුව දැන් කරගෙන යන්නේ කොන්සර්වේටිව් පක්ෂයයි. එත කොට ඒ ආණ්ඩුව මගින් ඉදිරිපත් කරනු ලබන රාජාසන කථාවක පළමුවන වගන්තියේ සඳහන් වුණොත් කම්කරු පක්ෂය සම්පූර්ණයෙන්ම ලොප් කරනවය කියා මොකද වෙන්නේ? ගරුතර අග්‍රාණ්ඩුකාරතුමා පාර්ලිමේන්තු සංස්ථාව ආරක්ෂා කරන්න බැදී සිටිනවා. එතුමා මෙවැනි වාසගමකට අත්සන් තැබීම ගැන මා පුදුම වෙනවා. එතුමා මේ වාසගමට අත්සන් තැබීම ගැන මා කනගාටු වෙනවා. ඒ නිසා මේ වාසගම් දෙක රාජාසන කථාවට අඩංගු කිරීම ගැන මගේ සම්පූර්ණ විරුද්ධත්වය ප්‍රකාශ කරන්න කැමතියි.

වැලිමඩ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා (කේ. එම්. පී. රාජරත්න මයා.) එතුමාගේ පක්ෂය වන ජාතික විමුක්ති පෙරමුණ මගින් ඉදිරිපත් කළ යෝජනාව ගැන වචනයක් දෙකක් කියන්න සතුටුයි. ස්තුති යෝජනාවට එතුමාගේ පක්ෂයෙන් අතුරු යෝජනාවක් ගෙනවිත් තිබෙනවා. එහි ආගම සම්බන්ධයෙන් සඳහන් කර තිබෙනවා. එතුමාට එක් කාරණයක් සිහිපත් කරන්න කැමතියි. ඒ මක්නිසාද කිව්වොත් එතුමා පමණක් නොවෙයි අවිස්සාවේල්ලේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා විසින්ම මේ සම්බන්ධයෙන් අතුරු යෝජනාවක් ඉදිරිපත් කර තිබෙනවා. එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයට නොයෙක් දෙනා දොස් කියනවා, බුද්ධාගම සඳහා කිසිවක් කළේ නැත කියා; බුද්ධාගමට තැනක් දුන්නේ නැත කියා. බුද්ධාගමට තැනක් ලැබුනේ 1956 න් පසුවයි කියනවා. එය වැරදි ව්‍යාජ කීමක් බව ඔප්පු කිරීමට මම බලාපොරොත්තු වෙනවා.

ජාතික විමුක්ති පෙරමුණ උඩරට ගිවිසුම ගැන සඳහන් කර තිබෙනවා. උඩරට ගිවිසුමේ 5 වන වගන්තිය ව්‍යවස්ථාගත කළ යුතුයයි අතුරු යෝජනාවක්ද ඉදිරිපත් කළා. මම ඒ අතුරු යෝජනාවට සම්පූර්ණයෙන්ම එකඟ වෙනවා. තමුන් එවැනි අතුරු යෝජනාවක් වුවමනා කරන්නේ නැහැ. මන්ද? එය දැනටත් ව්‍යවස්ථාගතව තිබෙන නිසයි. ඔය නීති පුස්තක

ජී. ජේ. පාරිස් පෙරේරා මයා. (ජාඇල)
(ශ්‍රී. ආ. ඉ. ජේ. පාරිස් පෙරේරා—ඉරා-ආල)
(Mr. G. J. Paris Perera—Ja-Ela)
කුමන්ත්‍රණයක්.

අනුමතකාරකුමාගේ කථාව :

ස්තූති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විවාදය

[ඒ. රත්නායක මයා.]

පෙළේ පළමුවන පොතගෙන බැලුවොත් උඩරට ගිවිසුම ව්‍යවස්ථාගත වී තිබෙන බව පෙනෙනවා ඇත.

කේ. එම්. පී. රාජරත්න මයා.

(ති. ශ්‍රී. ශ්‍රී. ආර්. රාජරත්න)

(Mr. K. M. P. Rajaratna)

එය ආණ්ඩු ක්‍රම පණතට යටත්.

ඒ. රත්නායක මයා.

(ති. ශ්‍රී. ආ. රත්නායක)

(Mr. A. Ratnayake)

ඒ අවස්ථාවේදී උඩරට ගිවිසුමේ 5 වන වගන්තිය අපේ නිදහස් ආණ්ඩු ක්‍රම පණතට ඇතුළත් කරන්නායයි මම කිව්වා. නමුත් අපේ නීති උපදේශකයින් අපට කිව්වා, එය එසේ නීතිගත කිරීමෙන් වැඩක් නැත, දැනටමත් එය නීතිගත වී තිබෙනවාය කියා. එය නීතිගත වී තිබෙන නිසා ලංකාණ්ඩුව එය ක්‍රියාත්මක කිරීමට බැඳී සිටින්නාය කියා. එසේ වුවත්, වැඩි ආරක්‍ෂාව පිණිස එදා අපට නිදහස ලැබුණු අවස්ථාවේදී, ග්ලෝස්ටර් ආදිපාදතුමා විසින් කරන ලද සිංහාසනයේ කථාවට අපි වගන්තියක් අඩංගු කළා. එදා කරන ලද කථාව මා ලග තිබෙනවා. 1948 පළමුවන කාණ්ඩයේ පළමුවන හැන්සාඩ් වාතීවේ එය සඳහන් වී තිබෙනවා. එහි 6 පිටුවේ මෙසේ සඳහන් වෙනවා :

“In the year 1815, in accordance with the terms of the Kandyan Convention, the Dominion of the Kandyan Provinces was vested in the Sovereign of Great Britain.”

ඒ කියන්නේ ඉංග්‍රීසි රාජ්‍යය උඩරට රාජාධානිය අයත් කර ගත්තේ උඩරට ගිවිසුම යටතේය කියයි. උඩරට ගිවිසුමේ වැදගත්ම වගන්තිය 5 වන වගන්තියයි. ඒ වගන්තියෙන් තමයි, බුද්ධාගම ආරක්‍ෂා කිරීම සඳහා පොරොන්දු දුන්නේ.

එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂය බුද්ධාගමට තැනක් දුන්නේ නැත කියන නිසා ඒ පිළිබඳව විස්තරයක් කිරීමට මම බලා පොරොන්දු වෙනවා. පළමුවන වරට ආණ්ඩුවේ මුදල් බොද්ධ කටයුතු සඳහා වෙන් කළා නම් එසේ කළේ 1953 දී එවකට අගමැතිව සිටි ඩබ්ලිව් සේනානායක මහතා විසිනුයි. ඊළඟට 1954 දී මම රුපියල් විසි ලක්ෂයක වැය ශීතියක් ඉදිරිපත් කළා, බුද්ධ ජයන්ති උත්සවය සඳහා. ඒ පිළිබඳව සංස්කෘතික දෙපාර්ත

මේත්තුව මගින් නිකුත් කරන ලද පොතක් මා ලග තිබෙනවා. මේ පොත කියවා බැලුවොත් තමුන් තාන්සේට පෙනේවි, ඉතා අලංකාර වැඩ පිළිවෙලක් සකස් කර තුබුණු බව. ලංකා ඉතිහාසයේ දුටුගැලිණ රජ කාලයේදීවත් මේ තරම් බුද්ධ ශාසනයට සේවයක් එක රජකු ගෙන් සිදු වූයේ නැත කියා මට ආඩම්බරයෙන් ප්‍රකාශ කරන්න පුළුවනි. ඒ වැඩ පිළිවෙල ආරම්භ කළ කාරක සභාවේ නම් මා කියන්නට සතුටුයි. මේ පොත තමුන් තාන්සෙලාගේ සංස්කෘතික දෙපාර්තමේන්තුවේ ඇති. ඒ කාරක සභාවට, ඒ. රත්නායක සවදේශ කටයුතු පිළිබඳ ඇමති ; ජේ. ආර්. ජයවර්ධන කෘෂිකර්ම හා ආහාර ඇමති ; එම්. ඩී. බණ්ඩා අධ්‍යාපන ඇමති හා සී. ඩබ්ලිව්. ඩබ්ලිව්. කන්නන්ගර, පළාත් පාලන ඇමති යන අය ඇතුළත් වුණා. ඒ වැඩ පිළිවෙල අනුව වැඩ කටයුතු රාශියක් දැනට නිම කර තිබෙනවා. බොහෝ කාලයක් ජරාවට පත් වී තිබුණු දළදා මාලිගාව සඳහා රුපියල් විසි පන් ලක්ෂයක් පමණ වියදම් කර එහි වැඩ කටයුතු සම්පූර්ණ කර තිබෙනවා. මහියංගන පූජනීය ස්ථානය වෙනුවෙන් රුපියල් පන් ලක්ෂයක් පමණ වියදම් කර තිබෙන අතර දැන් එහි වැඩ කටයුතු අවසාන වේගයෙන් යනවා. එපමණක් නොවෙයි, ජාතික විමුක්තිය සඳහා සටන් කළ සෑම දෙනකුගේම වගේ ප්‍රතිමා රට පුරා පිහිටුවාගෙන යනවා. මිගෙට්ටුවත්තේ ගුණානන්ද හිමි, කථිකල් ඕල්කොට්, අනගාරික ධර්මපාල, වලිසිංහ හරිස්චන්ද්‍ර ආදී ජාතික විරයන්ගේ ප්‍රතිමා ලංකාවේ නොයෙක් ප්‍රදේශවල පිහිටුවාගෙන යනවා. බුද්ධ ශාසනයේ විරස්ථිතියට අප කර තිබෙන වැඩ ඒ වයි. ලංකාවේ කිසිම රජෙකු ගෙන්, කිසිම ආණ්ඩුවකින් බුද්ධ ශාසනයට මෙතරම් උසස් සේවයක් කිසිම කලෙක සිදු වුණේ නැති බව කියන්නට සතුටුයි. මා මේ කරුණු විශේෂයෙන් සඳහන් කළේ, බුද්ධාගමට අපි තැනක් දුන්නේ නැතැයි නිතරම අපට චෝදනා කරන නිසයි.

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, මගේ කථාව දීර්ඝ කරන්නට කලින් මගේ අතුරු යෝජනාව ඉදිරිපත් කරන්නට සතුටුයි. සමුපකාරය මගින් බඩු මිල බස්වන්නට යනවාය ; සමුපකාර තොග වෙළඳායන

අනුක්‍රමිකාරකුමාගේ කථාව :

යට බඩු බෙදා හැරීම භාර දුන්නොත් ද්‍රව්‍ය මිල බහින්නවා ඇත, යනුවෙන් රාජාසන කථාවේ සඳහන් වී තිබෙනවා. ඒ සම්බන්ධවයි, අපි මේ අතුරු යෝජනාව ඉදිරිපත් කර තිබෙන්නේ. ඒ මෙසේයි :

“ එහෙත්,

සමුපකාර තොග වෙලද ආයතනය දැනට කර ගෙන යන වැඩ කටයුතු අනුව සමුපකාර ව්‍යාපාරය පිළිබඳ මුළු සංකල්පය ම අත්හැර ඇති බවත්, මෙම ආයතනයේ දැනට පවත්නා දූෂිත අකාර්යක්ෂම තත්ත්වය උඩ, තව තවත් බඩු භාණ්ඩ බෙදා හැරීම මෙම ආයතනයටම භාර දීමට කිසියම් වැයමක් කළහොත් එසේ කිරීම ජීවන වියදම තව තවත් ඉහළ යෑමට හේතුවක් වන බවත් කණගාටුවෙන් ප්‍රකාශ කරමු.”

මා හිතන හැටියට මේ ආණ්ඩුව පළමුවෙන් පිහිටුවන ලද අවස්ථාවේදී, එනම් 1956 දී එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයේ ආණ්ඩුව පරදවන අවස්ථාවේදී, ඉදිරිපත් කළ පොරොන්දු ප්‍රකාශනයේ තිබුණු එක් තරා කරුණක් තමයි, “එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂය පරදවා අපි ආණ්ඩුවක් පිහිටුවුවහොත් පළමුවෙන්ම අපි කරන්නේ ජීවන වියදම අඩු කිරීමයි” කියන එක. මහ ජනයා එකල එය විශ්වාස කර එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයේ ආණ්ඩුව පරදවා දැමුව. ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂය බලයට පත් කළේ ඔවුන් ජීවන වියදම අඩු කරනවා යයි කී නිසයි. ජීවන වියදමය කියන්නේ මනුෂ්‍යයාට එදිනෙදා ජීවත්වීමට අත්‍යවශ්‍ය පාරිභෝගික ද්‍රව්‍ය ලබා ගැනීම සඳහා කරනට සිදුවන වියදමටයි. අද ඒ අත්‍යවශ්‍ය ද්‍රව්‍ය සොයා ගැනීමට මහජනයාට නොයෙක් කරදර හිරිහැර විදිනට සිදුවී තිබෙනවා. මා මේ කාරණය විශේෂයෙන්ම ගැරු මුදල් ඇමතිතුමාට මතක් කළ යුතුයි. අද හැව්ලොක් ටවුන්, වැල්ලවත්ත, වැනි ප්‍රදේශවල දවල් 12 න් පසු ආහාරයට ගන්න කිසිවක් වෙළඳ සැල්වල නැහැ. එලවළු නම් තිබෙනවා; ඒත් උදේ ගණන මෙන් දෙගුණයක් මිල වැඩියි මේ ආකාරයට දුප්පත් ජනයාටත් මධ්‍යම පන්තියේ ජනයාටත් දිනෙන් දින විදින්නට වන දුකක් තමයි බඩුවක් ගන්නට කඩයකට ගිය විට ඒවායේ මිල ඉහළ ගොස් තිබීම. 1956 සිට බඩුවල මිල ඉහළ ගොස් තිබෙනවා. ගණන් වශයෙන් එය කියන්නට ගියොත් බොහෝ වෙලාවක් ගත වෙයි. මම එකක් කියන්නම්. සහ 50 ට වැඩි ප්‍රමාණයක් නොදා දීම බාර දීමෙන්ද කියා

ස්තූති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විවාදය

රාත්තල දැන් රුපියල් 4 යි. මොන කරුම යක් වෙලාද මම දන්නේ නැහැ. මා මුදල් ඇමතිතුමා විවේචනය කරනවා නොවෙයි. අද තිබෙන තත්ත්වයයි කියන්නේ. අද තිබෙන තත්ත්වය ඉතාම භයානකයි. සාමාන්‍ය ජනයා කාලා බිලා ඇදලා ඉන්නේ කොහොමද කියා මට හිතෙනවා. ඒ විධියේ භයානක තත්ත්වයක් ඇති වී තිබෙන්නේ. දිනෙන් දින ජනගහණය වැඩි වීගෙන යනවා. මේ ප්‍රශ්නයත් දිනෙන් දිනම උග්‍ර වීගෙන යනවා. එවැනි අවස්ථාවක මේ ප්‍රශ්නය විසඳීමට තමුන් නාන්සේලා රාජාසන කථාවෙන් කර තිබෙන එකම යෝජනාව නම් බඩු බෙදීම සි. ඩබ්ලිව්. ඊ. එකට දෙනවාය කියන එකයි.

මුදල් ඇමතිතුමා ඔය ආසනයේ සිටිනවා දැකීමට මම හරි ආසයි. එතුමා මම බොහොම ගෞරව කරන මගේ මිත්‍රයෙක්, 1936 සිට ඒ මහතා සමග මා ඇසුරු කර තිබෙනවා. ඒ කාලයේ එතුමා තරුණයි; හොඳ තරුණයෙක්; ඉලන්දාරියෙක්. එතුමා 1936 දීත් රජයක් පිහිටුවීමට ලොකු උත්සාහයක් ගත් කෙනෙක්, අවිස්සා වේල්ලේ මන්ත්‍රිතුමාත් සමග. නොයෙක් නොයෙක් කාරක සභාවලට ඇමතිවරුන් තෝරන සාකච්ඡා සභාවක් තිබුණා මට මතකයි. මට හරියට මතකද මා දන්නේ නැහැ. අධ්‍යාපන ඇමතිකමට මාහෝ ජයා මහතා හෝ—දෙදෙනාගෙන් කෙනෙකු—තෝරන අවස්ථාවේදී එතුමා මාව තේරුවා මට මතකයි. ඒ නිසා එතුමා මගේ මිත්‍රයෙක්. මිත්‍රයෙක් හැටියට එතුමා මගේ පක්ෂයේ සිටිනවා නම් එකහෙලාම මුදල් ඇමතිකම බාර දෙනවා. එතුමා ඔය ආසනයට පැමිණීම ගැන පෞද්ගලික වශයෙන් මා සතුටුයි. එතුමා නැණවත් ගුණවත් මහත්මයෙක්. වැරද්ද නම් මාර්ක්ස්වාදියෙක්ය කියා බොරුවට ප්‍රකාශ කරන එකයි. එතුමා මාර්ක්ස්වාදියෙක්ය කියා මා නම් හිතන්නේ නැහැ. එතුමා මේ ආසනයේ වැජඹීම ගැන පෞද්ගලික වශයෙන් මා සන්තෝෂයි. එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂය වශයෙන් නොවෙයි, පෞද්ගලික වශයෙන් මගේ සන්තෝෂය ප්‍රකාශ කරන්න කැමතියි. මේ ජීවන වියදම් ප්‍රශ්නය, ආහාර ද්‍රව්‍යවල නැත්නම් බඩුවල මිල ඉහළ යෑමේ ප්‍රශ්නය, ආදී මේ උග්‍ර ප්‍රශ්න විසඳන්නට යන්නේ සි. ඩබ්ලිව්. ඊ. එකට නොදා දීම බාර දීමෙන්ද කියා

අග්‍රාණ්ඩුකාරතුමාගේ කථාව:

[ඒ. රත්නායක මයා.]

එතුමාගෙන් මා අහන්න කැමතියි. වෙන අවුරුදුවල නම්—1956 සිට 1963 දක්වා—මෙවැනි රාජාසන කථාවල සඳහන් කර තිබුණා නොයෙක් නොයෙක් දේවල් කරනවාය කියා. ද්‍රව්‍යවල මිල වැඩි වේ ගෙන යනවාය, ඒ ප්‍රශ්නය උග්‍ර වෙනවාය, මේ ආණ්ඩුව එය විසඳනවාය, ආදී වශයෙන් වෙන අවුරුදුවල නම් සඳහන් කර තිබුණා. මේ අවුරුද්දේ එය කරන්න යන්නේ කොහොමද? සී. ඩබ්ලිව්. ඊ. එකට බාර දීමෙනුයි. සී. ඩබ්ලිව්. ඊ. එක ගැන මා දිග කථාවක් කරන්න ඕනෑ නැහැ. ඒ ගැන ලොකු විස්තරයක් ගිය අවුරුද්දේ අයවැය ලේඛන විවාදයේදී එතුමා විසින්ම කර තිබෙනවා.

ගරු මන්ත්‍රීවරයෙක්

(கௌரவ அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)

(An hon. Member)

අර බිත්තර කථාව.

ඒ. රත්නායක මයා.

(திரு. ஏ. ரத்நாயக்க)

(Mr. A. Ratnayake)

ඔව්. බිත්තර කථාව බොහොම විස්තර ඇතිව දන්නේ අපේ මුදල් ඇමතිතුමා නමයි. සමුපකාර තොග වෙළඳ ආයතනයේ විස්තර දන්නේ එතුමායි. සමුපකාර තොග වෙළඳ ආයතනයේ තිබෙන දූෂණ ක්‍රියා හා දුර්වල පාලනය සෙවීමට කොමිෂන් සභාවක් පත් කළ යුතුය කියා මේ ගරු සභාවට යෝජනාවක් ඉදිරිපත් කළා. අප සියල්ලන්ගේම සහයෝගය ඇතිව වැලිමඩ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමායි (කේ. එම්. පී. රාජරත්න මයා.) ඒ යෝජනාව ඉදිරිපත් කළේ. ඒ කොමිෂන් සභාව පත් නොකළ එක ගැන මට කනගාටුයි. එසේ කොමිෂන් සභාවක් පත් කරනවා වෙනුවට දැන් හැම සංයුක්ත මණ්ඩලයක් ගැනම සොයා බැලීමට කොමිෂන් සභාවක් පත් කරන්නට අදහස් කරනවාය කියා මට ආරංචියි. එයින් වැඩක් වන්නේ නැහැ. මේ ආත්මයේදී අපට ඒකෙ ප්‍රතිඵලයක් දැනගන්නට ලැබෙන්නේ නැහැ. ලංකාවේ ද්‍රව්‍ය බෙදා හැරීම සමුපකාර තොග වෙළඳ ආයතනයට භාර දීමෙන් ද්‍රව්‍ය මිල පහළ බසිවිය කියා ගරු මුදල් ඇමතිතුමා තුළ බලාපොරොත්තුවක් තිබෙනවා නම් එය

ස්තූති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විවාදය

ඉෂ්ට නොවන බවට මගේ කිසිම අනුමාන යක් නැහැ.

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, සමුපකාර ව්‍යාපාරය උසස් ව්‍යාපාරයක්. නමුත් වතී මාන රජය එහි මූලික ප්‍රතිපත්ති උල්ලංඝනය කරන වැඩ පිළිවෙළක් ආරම්භ කර තිබෙනවා. අද නම් සමුපකාර කියන එක මහජනයාගේ ව්‍යාපාරයක් නොවන තැනට කටයුතු සැලසී තිබෙනවා. මගේ අදහසේ හැටියට සමාජවාදී ආණ්ඩුවක පදනම විය යුත්තේ සමුපකාරයයි. සමුපකාරයේ වැදගත් ප්‍රතිපත්ති අතරෙන් “ඔබ සැමටත් සැම ඔබටත්” කියනවා වගේ සැම දෙනාම සමාජය වෙනුවෙන් තමන්ගේ ජීවිතය කැප කර ක්‍රියා කිරීම එකක්. සමුපකාරයේ වැදගත්කම එයයි. ඒ නිසා සමුපකාරය ස්වතන්ත්‍රයක්. ස්වතන්ත්‍රය කියන්නේ කැමැත්තෙන් පුද්ගලයන් ගණනාවක්, සමූහයක්, එක්කාසු වී සමානාත්මතාවයෙන් යම් පරමාර්ථයක්, අභිප්‍රායක්, ඉෂ්ට කර ගන්නට ගෙන යන ව්‍යාපාරයක්. මේක බොහොම පුරාණ ව්‍යාපාරයක්. අත් කම් ක්‍රමය ගැන ගරු වෙළඳ ඇමතිතුමා දන්නවා ඇති. කුඹුරේ වැඩට ගියත්, හාන්ත ගියත්, ගොයම් නෙළන්න ගියත්, ගොයම් කපන්න ගියත්, කමතට ගියත්, කමතෙන් වී අටුවට ගේන්න ගියත් ඒ හැම තැනකදීම ඔබ සැමටත් සැම ඔබටත් කියන ප්‍රතිපත්තිය අනුවයි අපේ ගම්බද ජනතාවගේ ජීවිතය හැඩගැසුණේ. ඒ නිසා සමාජවාදයේ ඉතාම වැදගත් පදනමක් මේ සමුපකාරය. එබැවින් සමුපකාරයේ මූලික ප්‍රතිපත්තිය කඩන්නට එපා. අද මේක ද්‍රව්‍ය බෙදා දීමේ ආණ්ඩුවේ ආයතනයක් කර තිබෙනවා. එයින් මේ ලෝකෙ තැනි අකටයුතුකම් පවා ඇතිවෙන්න පුළුවන්. මා ඒ ගැන කනගාටු වෙනවා. ඒ නිසා සමුපකාර තොග වෙළඳ ආයතනයේ ශාඛා විවෘත කිරීම ඉතාම වැදගත්.

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, දැන් මුළු සමුපකාර සංගම්වල ප්‍රධාන ආයතනය වශයෙන් සමුපකාර සමිති සම්මේලනය පිහිටුවා තිබෙනවා. ඒ සම්මේලනයට අධ්‍යක්ෂ වරුන් පත්වන්නේ සියලු දෙනාගේම ඡන්දයෙනුයි. ඒක මහජන ව්‍යාපාරයක්. ගමේ සමිතියෙන් පළාතේ සංගමයට නියෝජිතයන් තෝරනවා. ගරු කථානායකතුමන් සමුපකාර කටයුතු ගැන

අභ්‍යන්තරකාරකුමාගේ කථාව :

උනන්දුවෙන් ක්‍රියා කළ කෙනෙකු නිසා ඒ ගැන හොඳින් දන්නවා ඇති. අපේ නාත්තන්ඩියේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රිතුමන් (ශ්‍රීමත් ඇල්බට් එෆ්. පීරිස්) සමුපකාර කටයුතු ගැන බොහොම උනන්දුවෙන් කටයුතු කළ කෙනෙක්.

ඉතින් කලින් තිබුණ ක්‍රමය අනුව සමුපකාරයේ සෑම නිලධාරියකුම පත් වන්නේ ඡන්ද බලයෙන් බව හොඳින් දන්නවා ඇති. ගමේ සමුපකාරයෙන් පළාතේ සමුපකාරයට නියෝජිතයන් පත් වන අතර පළාතේ සමුපකාරයෙන් සමුපකාර මහා සම්මේලනයට නියෝජිතයන් පත් වෙනවා. මේකයි කලින් තිබුණ ක්‍රමය. මා සමුපකාර කටයුතු භාර ඇමතිවරයා වශයෙන් සිටියදී, සමුපකාර තොග වෙළෙඳ ආයතනය ඇති කිරීම සඳහා ව්‍යවස්ථා මෙම ගරු සභාවට ඉදිරිපත් කළේ. ඒ අවස්ථාවේදී ලංකා සමසමාජ පක්ෂය ඊට විරුද්ධ වුණා. තොග වෙළෙඳ ආයතනයට පවරන්නට යන කටයුතු සමුපකාර සම්මේලනයට හෝ එහෙම නැත්නම් ඡන්දයෙන් පත් වන ආයතනයකට හෝ පත් නොකරන්නේ මන්දැයි ඒ අය එදා ප්‍රශ්න කළා. එක්කෝ ආණ්ඩුව මගින් ඒ කටයුතු කර ගෙන යන ලෙසත්, එහෙම නැත්නම් ඡන්දයෙන් පත් වූ ආයතනයකට ඒ කටයුතු භාර දෙන ලෙසත් එදා ඔවුන් කියා සිටියා. නමුත් අද වන තුරු සමුපකාර තොග වෙළෙඳ ආයතනය පවත්වාගෙන යනවා. දැන් එහි ප්‍රධාන නිලතල දරනු ලබන්නේ ඇමති තුමා විසින් පත් කරන ලද නිදෙනෙකු විසිනුයි. දැන් එයට කවුරුත්වත් ඡන්දයෙන් පත් කරන්නේ නැහැ. දැන් එය සංයුක්ත මණ්ඩලයක් බවට පත් වී තිබෙනවා. ඒ වගේම අද එය සෑම පළාතකම ගබඩා විවෘත කරමින් යනවා. වැඩි වශයෙන් මේ ගබඩා විවෘත කරනු ලබන්නේ සමුපකාර තොග සංගම් තිබෙන පළාත් වලයි. සමුපකාර කඩ සමඟ තරඟ කිරීම සඳහායි සමුපකාර තොග වෙළෙඳ ආයතනය මගින් මේ ගබඩා පිහිටුවා තිබෙන්නේ. සමුපකාර මහා සම්මේලනය මීට විරුද්ධත්වය ප්‍රකාශ කොට තිබෙනවා.

මේ විධියට තොග වෙළෙඳ ආයතනයේ ගබඩා පිහිටුවන්නට එපායයි 1961 දීත්, 1962 දීත්, 1963 දීත් සමුපකාර මහා සම්මේලනය යෝජනා සම්මත කොට

ස්තූති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විවාදය

තිබෙනවා. මේ විධියට කටයුතු කරගෙන යෑමෙන් සමුපකාර ව්‍යාපාරය කඩාකප්පල් වෙන බව දන්නවා යවා තිබෙනවා. සමහර විට දේශපාලන බලකොටු හැටියටයි, මේ සමුපකාර ගබඩා විවෘත කරන්නේ. ඒ ගැන නිදර්ශන ඉදිරිපත් කරන්න පුළුවනි. එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයට හිතවත් කෙනෙකුගේ සිනමා ශාලාවක් ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයේ උදවියගේ වුවමනාව පිට වස්වා දමන්නට යෙදුණා. ඉන් පසු එය සමුපකාර තොග වෙළෙඳ ආයතනයේ ගබඩාවක් සඳහා පාවිච්චියට ගෙන තිබෙනවා. මේ වැඩේ කෙළේ අර මනුෂ්‍යයාට සිනමා ශාලාව විවෘත කරන්නට ඉඩ නොදීම සඳහායි. සමුපකාර ගබඩා හැම තැනම විවෘත කරගෙන යන්න ඒවාට ගොස් බැලුවහොත් තත්ත්වය ඉතාමත් කනගාටුදායක බව පෙනී යාවි. පෙරෙයිදා ප්‍රධාන තොග වෙළෙඳ ගබඩාවකට ගොස් මා බොම්බයි ලුනුත්, රතු ලුනුත්, අර්තාපලුත්, සීනිත් ඉල්ලුවා. නමුත් මේ හතර වර්ගයෙන් එක වර්ගයක් වත් මට ලබා ගන්නට බැරි වුණා. බොම්බයි ලුනුත්, රතු ලුනුත් කුණු වෙලාලු. ඇත්තෙන්ම මේක ඉතාමත් කනගාටුදායක තත්ත්වයක් නොවෙයිද කියා මා ගරු ඇමතිතුමාගෙන් ප්‍රශ්න කරන්නට කැමතියි. කුමාර විදියේ තිබෙන අලංකාර ගොඩනැගිල්ලක් දැන් පාලු අම්බලමක් වගේ වී තිබෙනවා. එහි සියලුම රාක්ක හිස් වී තිබෙනවා. කරන්නට වැඩක් නැතිව සේවකයන් හිට ගෙන බලා සිටිනවා. මෙය කොතරම් කනගාටුදායක දර්ශනයක්ද? වුවමනා කරන ආහාර ද්‍රව්‍ය බෙදා හරින්න මෙම ආයතනයට පුළුවනි. නමුත් මෙසේ වැඩ කටයුතු කිරීමෙන් බඩු මිල අඩු කරන්න පුළුවන්ද කියා මා ප්‍රශ්න කරනවා.

මේ බඩුවල මිල ඉහළ යාමට හේතුව කුමක්ද කියාත් ගරු ඇමතිතුමා දන්නවා ඇති. රටට වුවමනා ප්‍රමාණයට බඩු ගෙන්වන්න ආණ්ඩුව ඉඩ දෙන්න නැහැ. ලංකාවේ පාරිභෝගිකයාට යම් ප්‍රමාණයක් බඩු වුවමනා කරනවාද, ඒ ප්‍රමාණයට බඩු ගේන්න ආණ්ඩුව ඉඩ දෙන්නෙ නැහැ. ඒ නිසයි, බඩු හිඟ වන්නෙත්; බඩු මිල ඉහළ යන්නෙත්. අද ලංකාවේ බඩු ගැනිටම තියෙන ස්ථානවල පෝලිම් හඳුන්වන්නේ ඒ නිසයි. බඩු බෙදා හැරීමේ අක්‍රමිකතාත් තියෙනවා. එ වැනි කරුණු නිසා

අග්‍රාණ්ඩුකාරතුමාගේ කථාව :

ස්තුති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විවාදය

මා එල්ල කරන්නේ මේ ආණ්ඩුවටයි. මිළ බස්වන්න නම් පුළුවන් තරම් බඩු ගෙන් වන්න ඕනෑ. පුළුවන් තරම් බඩු ගෙන් වන්න බැරි නම් ඒවා ලංකාවේ නිෂ්පාදනය කරන්න ඕනෑ. ලංකාවේ තියෙන පුශ් නවලට තියෙන්නේ එකම උත්තරයයි. අපේ මුදල් ඇමතිතුමා ලග ඇලව්නේ පුදුම පහනක් නැහැ. අපේ පුශ් නවලට තිබෙන එකම උත්තරය නම් පුළුවන් තරම් ද්‍රව්‍ය පුළුවන් තරම් ධනය—ලංකාවේ නිපදවීමයි. එක මාර්ගයකින් පමණක් නොව හැකි සෑම මාර්ගයක්ම යොදවා ඒක කරන්න ඕනෑ.

අපේ රටේ ජනගහනය අවුරුද්දකට ලක්ෂ 3 බැගින් වැඩි වෙගන යනව. තව අවුරුදු 5 ක් මේ විධියට ගියොත්, වුවමනා ප්‍රමාණයට නිපදවීම වැඩි නොවුණොත්, අපේ ආහාර පිළිබඳ තත්ත්වය කුමක්ද? දැනටම සමහර නගරවල, ගම්වල 12 න් පස්සෙ කඩයකට ගිහින් කෑමට ගන්න කිසිම දෙයක් නැහැ. තව අවුරුදු දෙක තුනක් යන විට ඇති වන්න පුළුවන් තත්ත්වය ගැන කල්පනා කර බලන්න. ලංකාවේ පුශ් න විසඳීමට තිබෙන එකම මාර්ගය නම් පුළුවන් තරම් ධනය නිපදවීමයි. ඕනෑ තරම් ධනය නිපදවනව නම් අනික් සෑම පුශ් නයක්ම විසඳා ගන්න පුළුවන්. ධනය වුවමනා ප්‍රමාණයට නිපදවනව නම් ඒ ධනය සාධාරණව බෙදා ගන්න පුළුවන්. ආණ්ඩුවකට සම්පූර්ණ බලය තියෙනව, ධනය සාධාරණව බෙදන්න. ධනය සාධාරණ විධියට බෙදනවට අපේ කිසිම විරුද්ධත්වයක් නැහැ. සෑම ශාස්ත්‍රඥයෙක්ම කියා සිටින්නේ විශේෂයෙන් දුප්පත් රටවල—අළුත නිදහස ලබා දියුණුවන රටවල—හැකි සෑම මාර්ගයකින්ම පුළුවන් තරම් ඉක්මනින් ධනය වර්ධනය කිරීමට කටයුතු කළ යුතු බවයි. පෞද්ගලික වේවා, සමුපකාර වේවා, සමාගම්වල වේවා, රජයේ වේවා, සෑම ආයතනයකම පුළුවන් තරම් ධනය උපදවන මාර්ග ඇති කරන්න ඕනෑ, ධනය ඉපදෙව්වොත් තමයි, අපට මේ පුශ් න වලින් මිදෙන්න පුළුවන්.

මගේ කථාව අවසාන කරන්න පෙර සමාජවාදය ගැනත් වචනයක් කියන්නට සතුටුයි. අපිත් ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදී සමාජවාදී යො. අවිස්සාවේල්ලේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමාත් අප ගැන එතුමා කළ චෝදනාව ගැන

සමාජවාදියෙක්. ආණ්ඩු පක්ෂයේ ඉන්න සියලු දෙනත් සමාජවාදියෝ. මාක්ස්වාදයන් එක් එක් කෙනා එක එක විධියට පිළිගන්නවය කියා අවිස්සාවේල්ලේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රී තුමා ප්‍රකාශ කළා. මාක්ස්ගේ මාක්ස්වාදය එකක්. ලෙනින්ගේ මාක්ස්වාදය එකක්. ස්ටාලින්ගේ මාක්ස්වාදය තව එකක්. කෘෂේප්ගේ මාක්ස්වාදය තවත් එකක්. ස්ටාලින් ගැන කෘෂේප්ගේ කථාව කියවන ලෙස මම ගරු මන්ත්‍රීවරුන් සියලු දෙනාගෙන්ම ඉල්ලා සිටිනව. ඒක කියෙව්වොත් තමුන්නාන්සෙලාට ස්ටාලින් ගැන සම්පූර්ණ අවබෝධයක් ඇති වේවි. රුසියාවේ මාක්ස්වාදය එකක්. චීනයේ මාක්ස්වාදය වෙන එකක්. ඇල්බේනියාවේ මාක්ස්වාදය තවත් එකක්. ඉන්දුසීනියාවේ තියෙන්නේ “ගයිඩඩ් සිමොක්‍රසි” කියල තවත් එකක්. ඊජිප්තුවේ තියෙන්නේ තවත් එකක්. ඒ වගේම අයුබ්බාන් යටතේ තියෙන්නේ තවත් එකක්. එක එක රටේ එක එක විධියේ පාලනයක් තිබෙන බවයි ඔයින් පෙනෙන්නේ. එක එක රටේදී එක එක විධියේ වෙනස් වෙනස් පාලනයක් තමයි තිබෙන්නේ. ඒ නිසා වෙන්ත ඇති අවිස්සාවේල්ලේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රී (ඩී. පී. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන මයා.) කීවෙ අනිවිච්චිත සංඛ්‍යා කියලද කොහෙද. සමාජවාදය එක එක වෙලාවට එක එක පුද්ගලයට එක එක විධියෙන් පෙනෙන දෙයක් වෙලයි තියෙන්නේ. කොයි හැටි වෙනත් අපිත් තමුන්නාන්සෙලත් සමාජවාදය පිළිගන්නව.

අවිස්සාවේල්ලේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා කියා සිටි දේකට මා ඇහුම්කන් දුන්න. මොකක්ද එතුමා කීව්වෙ? මම තමයි මේ රටට පළමුවෙන්ම සමාජවාදය ගෙනාවෙ කියල එතුමා ප්‍රකාශ කර සිටියා. එතුමා කෙරෙහි මා තුළ විශාල ගෞරවයක් තිබෙනව. ඒ නිසා මේ අවස්ථාවේ මා කල්පනා කරනව එතුමා ප්‍රකාශ කළ වචන වගයක් ගැන සඳහන් කළ යුතුය කියල. යම් යම් අවස්ථාවලදී එතුමා හරියට ආලවකයක්ෂයා වගේ හිටියට මොකද වෙනත් බොහෝ අවස්ථාවල එතුමා ඉතාමත්ම කරුණාවත්ත මහත්මයෙකු හැටියට ඉන්න බව කවුරුත් පිළිගන්නව. ඒ නිසා හොඳ වෙලාවක මා කියන කාරණය ගැන ටිකක් කල්පනා කර බැලුවොත් හොඳයි. අප ගැන එතුමා කළ චෝදනාව ගැන

අග්‍රාණ්ඩුකාරතුමාගේ කථාව :

[ඒ. රත්නායක මයා.]

හොඳ වෙලාවක කල්පනා කර බලන්න. අප හඳුන්වා දීමට එතුමා පාවිච්චි කළ වචන මොනවද? “හයර්ලිංග්ස් ඔෆ් ඉම්පීරිය ලිස්ට්ස්” යනුවෙන් තමයි එතුමා අප හැඳින්වුවේ. කී දෙනාටද ඔක තේරෙන්නෙ? ඔය විධියට අපේ රොමානිස් මහත්තයලට එහෙම කීව්වට කොයි ජාතියෙද කියල තේරෙන්නෙවත් නැහැ. මේකෙ ඇති තේරුම මොකක්ද? වෙන අය නම් එහෙමද කියන්න දන්නෙ නැහැ. ඒ නිසා එතුමට අවවාදයක් දෙන්න කැමතියි.

සමාජවාදය කියන එක ලංකාවට අලුත් දෙයක් නොවෙයි. අවුරුදු විස්සකට තිහකට ඉහත මේ රටට බිහි වුණු දෙයක් එහෙම නම් නොවෙයි සමාජවාදය. සමාජවාදය යන නමින් එය හඳුන්වන්න පටන් ගත් දිනය ගැන නම් කියන්න පුළුවන් කමක් නැහැ. ඒ වුණත් සමානාත්මතාව හෙවත් සමානාත්මතා ධර්මය නමින් ඔය අදහස බොහෝ කාලයක ඉඳල මේ රටේ පවතිනව. සතර සංග්‍රහ වස්තුවට ඇතුළත් ඉතාමත් වැදගත් දෙයක් තමයි සමානාත්මතාව. ඒකත් සමාජවාදයෙමයි ගැණෙන්නෙ. අවුරුදු දහකට දෙදහකට වඩා පරණ දර්ශනයක් හෙවත් විශ්වාසයක් හැටියට ඒක අපිත් පිළිගන්නව. කොයි, කොයි නම්වලිනුත් එකම ධර්මය තමයි හඳුන්වන්නෙ. ධර්මයෙන් තමයි අපි සමාජවාදය කරා යන්නෙ. ඒ වගේම යුක්තියෙන් තමයි අපි සමාජවාදය කරා යන්නෙ. අවිහිංසාවෙන් තමයි අපි සමාජවාදය කරා යන්නෙ. ඒ කාරණය පැහැදිලිවම මතක් කර දෙන්න කැමතියි. අප කියා සිටින්නෙ ධර්මයෙන් තොර වූ සමාජවාදයක් නැහැ කියන එකයි. ධර්මයෙන් තොර සමාජවාදයක් ඇති කරන්න බැහැ. යම් රටක වෙනත් ක්‍රමයකට සමාජවාදයක් බිහි කළත් එය ධර්මයෙන් තොරව කරන ලද්දක් නම් එයින් සෙතක් වන්නෙ නැහැ. හිංසාවෙන් යම් රටක සමාජයක් ඇති කළා නම් ඒ රටට කවදාවත් හොඳක් නම් වෙන්නෙ නැහැ. ඒ රටේ ජනතාවට සැපතක් ලැබෙන්නෙ නැහැ. රටුන්ට ඉතා දුක්බිත ජීවිත ගත කරන්නයි සිදු වෙන්නෙ. ටිකක් කල් පනා කර බලන්න. යම් විධියකින් එකසිය පණහේ මෙගටත් එකක් දැම්මොත් මොකද වෙන්නෙ? පරමාණු බෝම්බ

ස්තුති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විවාදය

දැම්මොත් මොකද වෙන්නෙ? විසි කෝටියක් ජනයා මොන තරම් බියකින්ද ඉන්නෙ කියලා හිතා බලන්න. එහෙම කළොත් මුළු යුරෝපයම විනාශ වන බව කෘෂේප් මහත්මයම කියල තියෙනව නේද? ඒ කියන්නෙ කවදාවත් හිංසාවෙනුත්, පීඩාවෙනුත්, මිනී මැරීමෙනුත්, ලේ වගුරුවා දැම්මෙනුත් සමාජවාදයක් ඇති කරනව නම් ඒ සමාජය කවදාවත් සැපතකට පත් වෙන්නෙ නැහැ. කියන එකයි. ඒ සමාජයට බොහොම දුක් විදින්න සිද්ධ වෙනව. ඒ බව ඉතිහාසයෙන් ඔප්පු වෙනව. ඒ නිසා තමුත්තාත්සෙලා නුවණින් යුක්තව කල්පනා කරන්න. එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂය ඉදිරිපත් වෙන්නෙ ධර්මයෙන් සමාජවාදය කරා යන්නයි. යුක්තියෙන් සමාජවාදය කරා ගමන් කරන්නයි. අවිහිංසාවෙන් සමාජවාදය කරා යන්නයි. ධර්මයෙනුත්, යුක්තියෙනුත්, අවිහිංසාවෙනුත් සමාජවාදය ගොඩනංවන්න පුළුවනි.

ස්ටැන්ලි තිලකරත්න මයා. (කෝට්ටේ)

(திரு. ஸ்டான்லி திலக்கரத்ன—கோட்டே)

(Mr. Stanley Tillekeratne—Kotte)

සාධු.

ඒ. රත්නායක මයා.

(திரு. ஏ. ரத்னாயக்க)

(Mr. A. Ratnayake)

කෝට්ටේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා සාදු කියනව. බොහොම හොඳයි. එතුමා බොහොම අවස්ථාවල පත්සල් යනව. පත්සල් ගිහිල්ල සිල් සමාදන් වෙනව. සිල් අරන් ගිහිල්ල නමස්කාරයත් කියනව. ඒක හොඳයි. ඒක හින්ද වෙන්නත් ඇති අද එතුමා කොමිසුනිස්ට් ධර්මය අත් හැර දමල ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයට බැඳිල ඉන්නෙ.

ස්ටැන්ලි තිලකරත්න මයා.

(திரு. ஸ்டான்லி திலக்கரத்ன)

(Mr. Stanley Tillekeratne)

නැහැ, ආණ්ඩු පක්ෂයටයි.

ඒ. රත්නායක මයා.

(திரு. ஏ. ரத்னாயக்க)

(Mr. A. Ratnayake)

වෙන්ට ඇති. ඒ නිසා මා කල්පනා කරනව අපට ධර්ම සමාජයක් ඇති කරන්න ය කියල. මේ රටේ ධර්ම සමාජයක්

අමාත්‍යවරයාගේ කථාව :

ඇති කිරීමට මේ ගරු සභාවේ ඉන්න සියලුම ගරු මන්ත්‍රීන් එකඟ වන බවට කිසිම සැකයක් නැතැයි යන විශ්වාසය පිට මගේ වචන ස්වල්පය අවසන් කරනව.

අ. හා. 4.20

වෛද්‍යාචාර්ය එම්. සී. එම්. කලීල් (මැද කොළඹ තුන්වන මන්ත්‍රී)

(දොරාපාර් ගම. බී. ගම. කලීල්—කොළඹ මධ්‍යම මුහුණත අංක 20)

(Dr. M. C. M. Kaleel—Third Colombo Central)

Mr. Speaker, I second the amendment so ably moved by my hon. Friend the Member for Wattegama in such stirring words. I am sorry I would not be able to match his performance. I propose to be brief.

Firstly, I would like to congratulate the Hon. the Prime Minister on her courage and wisdom in asking the hon. Member for Yatiyantota (Dr. N. M. Perera) to join the Government in order to save the country from the grave danger to which it has been led particularly in the financial sphere.

The Hon. the Prime Minister tried several Ministers in the portfolio of Finance. She had four different Finance Ministers in one year but she found that they had all failed. You may think, Sir, that there are a number of others in the Government Parliamentary Group who could have been asked by the Prime Minister to fill the office of Minister of Finance, but the Prime Minister did not do so because she was well aware of her men; she knew they were more asinine than those whom she had already tried.

I must also congratulate the present Minister of Finance on his patriotism in crossing the Floor of the House to help the country. He has left his friends and others with whom he had worked for years and joined the Government. When the call came to save the country from the financial despair to which it had fallen, the hon. Member for Yatiyantota responded.

ස්වකීය යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විමර්ශන

The same thing can happen in the case of my own leader, the Leader of the Opposition. Supposing an army of an enemy of ours landed in this country—I am not saying that we have any enemies, but you can never say—and the Prime Minister of the Government appealed to the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Dudley Senanayake, to give such assistance and aid as he could to drive away the enemy, surely then he would not think in terms of the United National Party or any other party. In the face of a national call he would abandon everything and go forward and save the country. That, Sir, is the disastrous position to which this country has been brought by this Government and the Prime Minister was quite right in asking one who has been regarded as an expert in these matters—he was trained in the famous London School of Economics, was a lecturer in the University and holds a Doctorate in Economics—to save the country from financial ruin without asking the aid of an expert from outside like an official from the World Bank.

The Prime Minister has also been wise in selecting a leader of the U. L. F. Some time ago on the Galle Face Green was born the U. L. F. and she thought that this was a tremendous danger to this country. In her great wisdom—perhaps not wantonly or with any definite idea—she smashed this combination of parties with varying ideologies which had united into this three-headed monster. She made a fine dissection. She had dissected away the unnecessary parts and has taken the central head. When two living bodies are united and both share common parts in medical terms they are called Siamese twins. In this case it happened to be “Siamese triplets”. She has dissected this body, carved away the unnecessary parts and taken the head into her Government when the financial position of this country is in a bad state. Indirectly she has served this country by this action of hers for which we are grateful.

අනුමත වූ කාරකයාගේ කථාව:
ස්තූති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විවාදය

[වෛද්‍යාචාර්ය කලීල්]

The other point to which I would like to draw the attention particularly of Members of the Government is this reference to the late Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike who laid the foundation for the progress of the country along socialist lines. Year after year this is said to be inspiration for their work. I knew the late Mr. Bandaranaike much better than most of these people. I was in the same school with him. He was only one or two classes ahead of me. When he came back from England he entered the Municipal Council and later the State Council. We worked together. He addressed a number of meetings in my election campaigns. I have a great admiration for the late Mr. Bandaranaike. He was one of the greatest orators not only of this country but even of the world. He was a very fine speaker. But as far as socialism is concerned it will do no good to this Government to keep on revolving round and round the mulberry bush by repeating his name. You cannot progress in that way. Year in, year out, you talk of Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike's socialism and of his having laid down certain principles.

He was in the United National Party and he did a great deal of work there. Why did he leave the party? There were the 8 points which he raised in the Cabinet at that time to which I will not refer as I do not want to make a long speech. All that he wanted was to accelerate the pace at which the U. N. P. was working at that time.

The U. N. P. had its language policy. They said that Sinhalese should be the national language of this country but later, on an amendment, the whole House agreed that Sinhalese and Tamil should be the national languages. The U. N. P. was implementing that policy. What did Mr. Bandaranaike do?

කථානායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Order, please!

කල් තැබීම

එකල්හි වේලාව අ. හා. 4.30 වූයෙන් විවාදය කල් තබන ලදී. එතැන් සිට විවාදය 1964 ජූලි 13 වන සඳුදා පවත්වනු ලැබේ.

කල්තැබීම

ஒத்திவைப்பு

ADJOURNMENT

යෝජනාව ඉදිරිපත් කරන ලදීත්, ප්‍රශ්නය සභානි මුළු කරන ලදී: “මන්ත්‍රී මණ්ඩලය දැන් කල් තැබිය යුතුය”—[ගරු ආර්. එස්. පැල්පොල.]

කේ. එම්. පී. රාජරත්න මයා.

(திரு. கே. எம். பி. ராஜரத்ன)

(Mr. K. M. P. Rajaratna)

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, ප්‍රවාහණ කටයුතු පිළිබඳ ඇමතිතුමාට ප්‍රශ්නයක් ඉදිරිපත් කිරීමට තිබෙනවා. නමුත් ඒ ඇමතිතුමා මෙහි නොමැති වීම ගැන මම කනගාටු වෙනවා. ගරු මුදල් ඇමතිතුමා එය ඒ ඇමතිතුමාට ඉදිරිපත් කොට ලබන සඳුදා වත් ඊට පිළිතුරක් ලබා දෙන ලෙස මම ඉල්ලා සිටිනවා.

මගේ ප්‍රශ්නය ලංකා ගුවන් සේවය සම්බන්ධයෙනුයි. ලංකා ගුවන් සේවයෙහි නොයෙකුත් අක්‍රමිකතා, දූෂණ ඇති හෙයින් එහි ඇති වෘත්තීය සමිතින්, වෙනත් අයත් පැමිණිලි ගණනාවක් කළාට පසු, පසුගිය ආණ්ඩුවේ—ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයේ ආණ්ඩුවේ—ගමනා ගමනය පිළිබඳ ඇමතිතුමා, වර්තමාන මුදල් ඇමතිතුමාගේ පාර්ලිමේන්තු ලේකම් වන ජේ. පී. ඔබේසේකර මහත්මයාගේ ප්‍රධානත්වයෙන් යුත් කාරක සභාවක් පත් කළා, එහි කටයුතු පරීක්ෂා කර බැලීම සඳහා. එම කාරක සභාව ඒ කරුණු පරීක්ෂා කර බලා වාර්තාවක් ඉදිරිපත් කළා. වෘත්තීය සමිති මගින් ඉදිරිපත් කරන ලද චෝදනා බොහෝ දුරට සත්‍ය බව එම වාර්තාවෙන් ඔප්පු වී තිබෙනවා. ඒ චෝදනා අතුරෙන් තම හිතවතුන්ට හා තැදැසින්ට රක්ෂා දීම හා ලංකාණ්ඩුවේ විනිමය මුදල් නීති කඩ කරමින්, ලංකා ගුවන් සේවයේ සභාපතින් ගණකාධිකාරීන් තවත් කීප දෙනෙකුත් මෙරට මුදල් පිටරට යැවීම ප්‍රධාන තැන් ගන්නවා. එම වාර්තාවෙහි නිවැරදි නොයෙකුත් දූෂණ හා හොරමාරකම්

කල් තැබීම

ගැන සඳහන් වී තිබෙනවා. එම වාර්තාව අනුව කටයුතු කිරීමට පෙර ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂය ආණ්ඩුව වෙතස් වී හවුල් ආණ්ඩුව ඇති වුණා. එම කාරක සභාව පත් කළ ඇමතිවරයාත් වෙතස් වුණා. දැන් ලංකා ගුවන් සේවය භාරව ඇත්තේ ප්‍රවාහණ කටයුතු පිළිබඳ ඇමති වන සමසමාජ පක්ෂයේ අතිල් මුණසිංහ මහතාටයි.

දැනට සිටින ඇමතිතුමා මේ කරුණු ඇත්තදැයි සොයා බැලීම සඳහා සමසමාජ පක්ෂයේ තුන් දෙනෙක් පත් කළා. දෙහිවල-ගල්කිස්සේ මන්ත්‍රී වන ආචාර්ය කොල්වින් ආර්. ද සිල්වාගේ ප්‍රධානත්වයෙන් පත් කළ ඒ කාරක සභාවට සමසමාජ පක්ෂයේ තවත් සාමාජිකයකු වන මංගල මුණසිංහ මහතාත්, රත්නපුර මන්ත්‍රී ඩී. පී. ආර්. විරසේකර මහතාත් අඩංගු වුණා. විශේෂයෙන්ම “අවිරෝ” අහස් යාත්‍රා ජාවාරම ගැන පරීක්ෂා කිරීමට පත් කරන ලද එම කාරක සභාවද වාර්තාවක් ඉදිරිපත් කළා. එයින් ඔප්පු වුණා, “අවිරෝ” ජාවාරම මේ රටට විශාල පාඩුවක් ඇති වන එකක් බව. ඒ සඳහා දැනටම ලක්ෂ 5 ක මුදලක් වැය කර තිබෙනවා. මේ ලක්ෂ 5 ක මුදල ගියත් අතික් ලක්ෂ 25 බේරා ගැනීම සඳහා යම් වැඩ පිළිවෙලක් ඇති කරන්නටයි කියා තිබෙනවා.

ඔබ්බේසේකර වාර්තාවේ විශේෂයෙන්ම සඳහන් කර තිබෙනවා, ගුවන් සේවා මණ්ඩලයේ ප්‍රධානියා වන මොල්ලමුරේ මහතාත් එහි ගණකාධිකාරීන් වෙතස් කරන්නා කියා. මේ “අවිරෝ” ජාවාරම පිළිබඳව ටෙන්ඩර්වත් හරියට කැඳවා නැහැ. ඒ ගැන මුදල් ඇමතිතුමා පරීක්ෂා කර බලනවා ඇතැයි අපි විශ්වාස කරනවා. මේ අහස් යාත්‍රා ගැනීමට දැනටම වැඩ කටයුතු යොදා තිබෙනවා. පිටරටින් මෙවැනි බඩු ගන්නා අවස්ථාවලදී අනුගමනය කරන පිළිවෙලටත් පටහැනිව මේ අහස් යාත්‍රාවේ වටිනාකමෙන් සියයට 25 ක් වන අත්තිකාරමටත් වැඩියෙන් මුදල් බැංකුව මාර්ගයෙන් යවා තිබෙනවා. ඕනෑකම තිබුණත් නොගෙන සිටීමට බැරි වන අන්දමට මේ ගනුදෙනුව කර තිබෙනවා. එහි කළමනාකාර මොල්ලමුරේ කියන මහත්මයා එසේ මෙසේ පුද්ගලයෙක් නොවෙයි. මේ

කල් තැබීම

ආණ්ඩුවේ ඇමතිවරුන්ගේ, අගමැතිනියගේ ඉතාමත්ම කිට්ටුවර ඥාතිවරයෙක්. කොයි ඇමතිවරයෙක් පත් කළත් ඒ මහත්මයා හය නැහැ. ඒ මහත්මයා කියන්නේ මා අගමැතිවරියගේ කිට්ටු ඥාතිවරයෙක් නිසා මාව මෙතැනින් ලෙහෙසියෙන් තල්ලු කරන්ට බැහැ කියයි. හොරමැරකම්, පොද්ගලික ජාවාරම් නැති කරන්ට ක්‍රියා කරනවා යයි ජනසතු සේවා ඇමතිතුමා නොයෙක් විට කියා තිබෙනවා. මේ කරුණු සම්බන්ධයෙන් හැම වෘත්තීය සමිතියක්ම වගේ කරුණු ඉදිරිපත් කර තිබෙනවා. එතැන තිබෙන්නේ ගඳ ගහන වැඩ පිළිවෙලක්. එයා සිලෝන් සංස්ථාවේ සාමාන්‍යාධිකාරී තැනපත් අබේකෝන් මහත්මයාත් මේ ගනුදෙනුවට සම්බන්ධයි. දැන් ඒ මහත්මයාගේ පුතෙකුට “ඇවිරෝ” අහස් යාත්‍රා සමාගමෙන් ශිෂ්‍යත්වයක් දී තිබෙනවා. වෙනත් ආකාරයකින් මෙය අල්ලස් දීමක්. එම්. එස්. අබේකෝන් තරුණයා දැනට එයාර් සිලෝන් සංස්ථාවේ සේවය කරන කෙනෙක් නොවෙයි. එහෙත් ඒ සමාගමේ පුහුණුවක් ලැබීමට ඔහුට ශිෂ්‍යත්වයක් ලැබී තිබෙනවා පමණක් නොවෙයි; ලංකාවේ සිට එංගලන්තයට නොමිලයේ එයාර් සිලෝන් අහස් යාත්‍රාවකින් ගමන් කරන්ට ප්‍රවේශ පත්‍රයකුත් ලබා දී තිබෙනවා. අද හෝ හෙට ඒ මහත්මයා පිටත් වෙනවා ඇති. ඒ ප්‍රවේශ පත්‍රයේ අංකය: 1044/31556 ඔහු යන්නේ අවුරුද්දකින් ආපසු එන්ටයි. ජනසතු සේවා ඇමතිතුමා දූෂණ නැති කරනවායයි නිතරම කියන නිසා මා එතුමාගෙන් අහන්ට සතුටුයි, එළියට ඇවිත් තිබෙන මේ දූෂණ කටයුත්ත සම්බන්ධයෙන් එතුමා කුමක් කරනවාද කියා. මේ සම්බන්ධයෙන් වාර්තා දෙකක් ඉදිරිපත් වී තිබෙනවා. තමුන්නාන්සෙලාගේ පක්ෂයේ මන්ත්‍රී වරුන් මේ සම්බන්ධයෙන් වාර්තාවක් ඉදිරිපත් කර තිබෙනවා, මේ කළමනාකරුත්, මණ්ඩලයත් අස් කර වෙනත් පිරිසක් ඒ සඳහා පත් කළ යුතුය කියා. ඒ සම්බන්ධයෙන් කරන්නේ කුමක්දැයි මා දැන ගන්නට සතුටුයි.

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, ගරු මුදල් ඇමතිතුමාගෙන් ප්‍රශ්නයක් අහන්ට තිබෙනවා. දුම්රිය ස්ථානාධිපතිවරුන්ගේ සංගමයේ

[රාජ්‍යත්‍ය මය.]

වාර්ෂික භෝජන සංග්‍රහයක් වැළැක්වීමක්
භෝටලයේ පවත්වා තිබෙනවා. මුදල්
ඇමතිතුමා එහිදී කථාවක් පවත්වමින්
කියා තිබෙනවා, භාණ්ඩාගාරය හිස් ය කියා.
ඊට පසු ඒ වාර්තාව නිවැරදි කර නැති නිසා
මා හිතනවා පෙරේදා “ඩේලි නිවුස්” පත්‍ර
යේ පළ වූ ඒ වාර්තාව ඇත්තක් ය කියා. ඒ
මෙසේයි :

“The Exchequer is Empty.

The exchequer is empty. With my
experience in politics and trade unionism
I will try to fill it so that I may be able
to give all some sort of decent living.”

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, මෙය අයවැය
ලේඛන විවාදයේදී සඳහන් කළ යුතු
දෙයක්. එහෙත් ගරු මුදල් ඇමතිතුමා මේ
සභාවට නොකියා පිටතදී කියා තිබෙනවා,
භාණ්ඩාගාරය හිස් ය කියා. ඒක ඉතාමත්ම
බරපතළ ප්‍රකාශනයක්. එහි ඇත්ත නැත්ත
දන්නේ අපි නොවෙයි; ගරු මුදල් ඇමති
තුමායි. අද මේ සම්බන්ධයෙන් ප්‍රකාශයක්
කරන්නට නොහැකි නම් කරුණා කර පුළු
වන් තරම් ඉක්මනින් ඒ පිළිබඳ ප්‍රකාශන
යක් අප ඉදිරියේ තබන ලෙස මා ඉල්ලා
සිටිනවා. කලින් හිටපු මුදල් ඇමතිවරු
මොනවා කළාද කියා මා දන්නේ නැහැ.
දැන් වෙළඳ ඇමති වශයෙන් සිටින කලින්
සිටි මුදල් ඇමතිවරයා වන ඉලංගරත්න
මහත්මයා කිව්වේ භාණ්ඩාගාරය පිරිලා
කියායි. එතුමා මුදල් ඇමතිකමෙන් වෙනස්
වන විට මුදල් සාක්කුවේ දාගෙන ආවද මා
දන්නේ නැහැ, මේ තරම් ඉක්මනට භාණ්
ඩාගාරය හිස් වුණේ. මේ පිළිබඳ යථා තත්
ත්වය මේ ගරු සභාවට පහදා දෙන ලෙස
ගරු මුදල් ඇමතිතුමාගෙන් මා ඉල්ලා
සිටිනවා.

අ. හා. 4.39

කේ. හේරත් මයා. (නිකවැරටිය)

(කිතු. ජෙ. හෙරත්—නිකවැරටිය)

(Mr. K. Herath—Nikaweratiya)

I want to bring to your notice and
to the notice of the Minister of Land,
Irrigation and Power a grave situa-
tion that has arisen in my electorate.

All of us remember the election
pledges of the late Prime Minister,
Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, in 1956.

I remember he said that he would be
acquiring large coconut estates and
distributing them among the poor
peasants, but I am sorry to say that
one of his ardent disciples, an hon.
Member of this House, who has been
sent over next to my seat, has acted
most unbecomingly and contrary to
the promises of the late Prime Minis-
ter, whose policies he claims to
follow.

I now come to the point. You and
all of us who represent rural areas
and those who are actually in the Dry
Zone, especially the Hon. Minister of
Rural and Industrial Development,
would understand that the present
policy of this Government, is to give
land to those who have come and
occupied land irrespective of whether
such land was given to them by a
land kachcheri or not. Believing
that such a scheme was in existence,
a number of villagers from my area,
from the village called Kirindigalla in
the Wannu Hatpattu, went to the
boundaries of Deduru Oya, which, I
understand, had been earmarked
for alienation to the middle-class
allottees and which has now been
allotted in blocks of 50 acres and
above to two Members of this House
and to a former Acting Minister
who has now retired from active
politics. I refer to my prede-
cessor, Mr. Mudiyanse Tennekoon,
who was Acting Minister of Finance
at that time. I understand that these
people have been given over 50 acres
each. I do not grudge that, but I
strongly protest that such land should
have been first given to the villagers
before they were given to outsiders.

But what I am coming to is this.
These peasants were in peaceful
occupation of the land till the first of
the month, and on the first of the
month the hon. Member for Katu-
gampola (Mr. Leelananda Weera-
singhe), along with thugs armed with
guns and dangerous weapons, with
the assistance of the police, came to
this settlement and drove these vil-
lagers away by force, burnt their
houses and harassed them. The atro-
cities that they committed on inno-
cent people can only be imagined. It

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is difficult, with my vocabulary, to express the atrocities that have been committed by these people on these villagers.

වෛද්‍යවාරිය නගනානන්

(டொக்டர் நாகநாதன்)

(Dr. Naganathan)

You screech !

කේ. හේරත් මයා.

(திரு. கே. ஹேரத்)

(Mr. K. Herath)

Shut up !

The hon. Member for Nallur is vehement when atrocities are committed in Jaffna, but when it concerns us he tries to shout us down.

As I said, the people were forcibly removed and their houses set on fire. These innocent villagers were taken to the police station, where they were kept without bail for one and a half days. They were harassed and they were not allowed to be bailed out. After one and a half days of torture they were produced in the magistrate's court of Kurunegala. The magistrate only listened to the complaint of the police and immediately discharged these people. I must pay a compliment to the magistrate for the attitude that he adopted. He gave the police a slating and a bit of his mind when he condemned their high-handed act.

The people concerned had no business to enter the homes of innocent people, burn their houses and remove their goods. I must protest to the Hon. Minister of Lands in this matter. I protested to him earlier and in all fairness to him and to this House I must say that he immediately summoned his Permanent Secretary and ordered an immediate inquiry. I am very thankful to him for that action, but why I am concerned is because an hon. Member of this House has acted in the manner of these Western bravos seen in Western films, firing guns in the air and intimidating innocent villagers. I request you, Sir, you who must preserve the dignity of

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this House and the dignity of all hon. Members, to hold an impartial inquiry into this matter and see whether the hon. Member for Katugampola has behaved like an hon. Member of this House or like a hooligan.

ගරු මෛත්‍රීපාල සේනානායක (ග්‍රාම හා කර්මාන්ත සංවර්ධන ඇමති)

(கௌரவ மைத்திரிபால சேனநாயக்க—
கிராம, கைத்தொழில் அபிவிருத்தி அமைச்சர்)

(The Hon. Maithripala Senanayake—
Minister of Rural and Industrial Devel-
opment)

We thought he had joined your party.

කෙ. හේරත් මයා.

(திரு. கே. ஹேரத்)

(Mr. K. Herath)

We do not take discards from your party.

ගරු මෛත්‍රීපාල සේනානායක

(கௌரவ மைத்திரிபால சேனநாயக்க)

(The Hon. Maithripala Senanayake)

So he claims.

කෝ. හෝරන් මයා.

(திரு. கே. ஹேரத்)

(Mr. K. Herath)

I earnestly request you, Sir, to go into this matter yourself because the dignity of the House is affected. I again thank the Hon. Minister of Lands for the prompt action he took in this matter.

අ. නා. 4.47

ඩී. බී. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන මයා.

(திரு. டி. பி. ஆர். குணவர்தன)

(Mr. D. B. R. Gunawardena)

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, මේ ගොඩනැගිල්ල ඉදිරිපිට ලෙඩින් 200 ක් පමණ ඒකරාශි වී සිටිනවා. ඔවුන් එසේ පැමිණ සිටින්නේ මෙයට අවුරුදු හත අටකට කලින් පිටරටින් මේ රටට ගෙන්වා ගන්නට යෙදුණු විශේෂඥ වෛද්‍යවරයෙක් හෙට පිටත් කරන්න හදනවාය කියා එයට විරෝධය දැක්වීමටයි. ඒ කියන්නේ කොක්වර්ගිල්මෙයර් ගැනයි. තත්ත්වය

කල්තැබීම

[ඩී. ඩී. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන මහ.]

මොකක්ද කියා මා දන්නේ නැහැ. එසේ පිට කරන්නේ මොන කරුණක් නිසාද කියාත් මා දන්නේ නැහැ. මොන අන්දමේ විශේෂඥයෙක්ද කියලත් මා දන්නේ නැහැ. ලෙඩුන් විශාල ගණනක් මෙනත් පැමිණ මේ අදහස ප්‍රකාශ කරන්නා කී නිසා මම තමුන්ගාත්සේට මෙය ප්‍රකාශ කරනවා. මේ කාරණය ගැන පරීක්ෂා කර බලා ඒ ලෙඩුන් වෙනුවෙන් යුක්තියක් ඉටු කරන්නට පුළුවන්ද කියා බලන ලෙස මා ඉල්ලා සිටිනවා.

ඊළඟ කාරණය ගැන සභානායකතුමාට ඉදිරිපත් කරන්න ඕනැ. මගේ යෝජනාවක් අනුව කැළණිගඟේ සිට ඔරුවල යකඩ කම්හලට ඇළක් කැපීමට මේ ගැන සහ.වේ සියලු දෙනාම ඒකච්ඡන්දයෙන් සම්මත කර ගත්තා. ඒ යෝජනාව ඉදිරිපත් කළ අවස්ථාවේදී මා පෙන්වා දුන්නා, රෝද මගින් ගෙන යනවාට වඩා සියයට 90 ක් අඩුවෙන් වතුරෙන් බඩු මුට්ටු ගෙන යන්නට පුළුවන් බව. ඒ බව පැහැදිලි වශයෙන් පෙන්වා දුන්නා. කොටින් කියතොත්, රුපියල් 100 ක වියදමින් රෝද පිට ගෙන යන බඩුවක් ගඟෙන් ගෙන යනවා නම් රුපියල් 10 කට ගෙන යන්න පුළුවන්. අපි ඔය ඇළ කැපුවොත් එයින් ගන්නා ප්‍රයෝජනය අද හෙට අවසාන වන එකක් නොවෙයි. ඔරුවල යකඩ කම්හලට බඩු මුට්ටු ගෙන යෑමට විශාල මුදලක් වියදම් වෙනවා, රෝද මගින් ගෙන යන්නට සුදුනම් වුණොත්. ඒ සඳහා වියදම් වන්නේ මහජනයාගේ මුදල්. ඒ නිසා ඒ බරත් මහජනයා පිට නොදමා ඒ ඇළ කැපීමේ වැඩ පිළිවෙළ වහාම ක්‍රියාත්මක කරන්නටය කියා මා ඉල්ලා සිටිනවා.

තවත් කාරණයක් මතක් කරන්න තිබෙනවා. මේ කොළඹ නගරයට ආසන්නව බොරැල්ල ඡන්දදායක කොවිලායේ වෙන්ත ඇති ගෙවල් 200ක් පමණ තිබෙන පෞද්ගලික ධනපතියකුට අයිති ඉඩමක් හෙට හෝ අනිද්දා වෙන්දේසි කර ඒ ගෙවල පදිංචි අය ඒවායින් ඉවත් කරන්නට ලැහැස්තියක් තිබෙනවා. එහි පදිංචි අය ඉල්ලීමක් කරනවා වෙන්දේසි කරන්නට යන මේ ඉඩම තක්සේරු කර ඒ දෙයින් දෙනාට

කල්තැබීම

මුදලට දෙන්නා කියා. මේ කරුණ අදාළ ඇමතිතුමාගෙන් මා ඉල්ලනවා, ඒ කරුණ ගැන සලකා බලා ඒ ඉඩම මේ අය අතර බෙදා දීමට සුදුසු වැඩ පිළිවෙළක් සකස් කරන්නා කියා. එවැනි ක්‍රියා මාර්ගයක් නොගත්තොත් ඒ ගෙවල පදිංචි අයට වහාම ඒවායින් පිට වෙන්තට සිටුවෙනවා. කැබලි කඩා වෙන් කර බෙදා දෙන්නට පුළුවන් නම් මුදල් ගෙවා ඉඩම් කැබලි ලබා ගැනීමට එහි පදිංචි අය ලැහැස්තියි.

කථානායකතුමා

(ආපාතායකර්)

(Mr. Speaker)

The Hon. Minister of Agriculture, Food and Fisheries will reply.

වෛද්‍යවාර්ෂය නාගනාතන්

(දොරාච්ඡන්ද්‍ර නාගනාතන්)

(Dr. Naganathan)

Sir, I will not take more than a few minutes.

ගැ. ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා (මුදල් ඇමති)

(කෙළවර කලාතිති ආණ්. ආණ්. පෙරේරා—
තිති අමාත්‍ය)

(The Hon. Dr. N. M. Perera—Minister of Finance)

We must have time to reply.

වෛද්‍යවාර්ෂය නාගනාතන්

(දොරාච්ඡන්ද්‍ර නාගනාතන්)

(Dr. Naganathan)

I am sorry that the Minister of Food is not here. In the plantation districts the workers who produce 60 to 70 per cent of the wealth of this country are being issued rice which is not suitable to feed even cattle. This has been going on for some weeks and I have collected samples of it from the estates. I would request the Minister to see that these workers are not treated in such inhuman fashion but that good rice is issued to them.

Secondly, I have spoken to the Minister of Finance about the issue of cheques in Sinhalese to the teachers in the Northern and Eastern Provinces. On representations made

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earlier to the Government, it was very properly stopped. I understand that from this month again cheques are to be issued in Sinhalese. As the Government desires to settle the language question amicably and to the satisfaction of both sides I request the Minister not to forget it. I am bringing this matter to the notice of the Minister as a reminder, and I hope he has not forgotten it.

කමානියකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர்)

(Mr. Speaker)

The Hon. Minister of Communications.

අ. හා. 4.52

ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

(The Hon. Dr. N. M. Perera)

Sir, he is not here. May I answer. With regard to the question of Air Ceylon I wish to say that the matter is being actively gone into by the Minister concerned. I can assure the hon. Member that in consultation with the unions concerned the whole question of the re-organization of Air Ceylon is being seriously considered and active steps are being taken.

With regard to the Avro 'plane, this matter came up to me as Minister of Finance. In point of fact, lawyers were consulted in regard to this matter to see whether it would be possible to cancel that agreement. I am afraid that the steps taken are such that it is not possible to cancel that agreement. Therefore, we were compelled to buy the avro aeroplane. I am sorry. I personally would have preferred to buy two Chipmunks instead of the one that we have to buy. This whole question was considered by the special committee and the hon. Member for Dehiwela-Mt. Lavinia (Dr. Colvin R. de Silva) looked into the legal aspects of this matter and found that it was not possible to cancel the agreement.

With regard to this particular individual who is supposed to be going, the position is not as the hon. Member pointed out. The Chairman

and the Directors of the Air Ceylon Corporation get, under international conditions, a special concession of free air travel.—[Interruption]. Not only that, in the case of the Chairman, his family and children are entitled to that. This is a general international air agreement, a reciprocal agreement that exists not only for Air Ceylon but for all other air lines throughout the world. So, this particular gentleman was going anyhow to England for studies. This matter came up to me also to consider whether we should allow this concession which he has already got. I thought it better, instead of spending our own money, to make use of this concession that we were getting. Otherwise, we would have had to sanction some exchange from our own money. That is as far as that question is concerned.

With regard to the question raised about the empty exchequer, I think the hon. Member knows—and this is not a secret—that the previous Budget was based on deficit financing to the extent of about Rs. 400 million to Rs. 500 million. I do not think it is a secret that if you have a deficit Budget, obviously you cannot have the exchequer brimful. I have said that more than once only to point out to various people who come to me now for immediate relief on various matters like adjustment of wage questions and so on, that all those questions will have to await looking into the whole question of the exchequer. That is the only implication. But I certainly will, during the course of this Throne Speech Debate and more specifically during the Budget Debate, explain the full position with regard to the finances of the country.

In regard to the question raised by the hon. Member for Nallur, I shall look into it.

ශ්‍රී සී. පී. ද සිල්වා

(கௌரவ சி. பி. டி. சில்வா)

(The Hon. C. P. de Silva)

In regard to the matter raised by the hon. Member for Nikaweratiya, which was brought to my notice

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[ගරු සී. පී. ද සිල්වා]

earlier in the day, I am aware of that fact, and I sent for my Permanent Secretary and asked for a report from the Government Agent. I cannot do anything more than that.

Then, about the transport of oil to Oruwela which the hon. Member for Kottawa raised, I had gone into this question even before the matter was debated in the House. In fact, it is a matter that caught my imagination, and I asked the Irrigation Department to look into the question of the drainage channel for paddy fields in the area, and they have drawn up a scheme for the drainage of the water-logged fields. But the question of the transport of iron ore by water from the Kelani-ganga to the factory is a question of a different nature. It costs much more money; the channel will have to be deepened and broadened more than we require for drainage, and that matter is being investigated by the Irrigation Department in coordination with the Steel Corporation, but no finality has been arrived at as yet.

As regards the question of drainage, we have come to a decision on it; we will cut canals and drain the water out. That is simple. But the dimensions of the channel for transport purposes will depend on the requirements of the Steel Corporation. That question has not been settled yet.

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(திரு. டி. பி. ஆர். குணவர்தன)

(Mr. D. B. R. Gunawardena)

Do not try to delay matters. You can finish it in a shorter time.

ගරු සී. පී. ද සිල්වා

(கௌரவ சி. பி. டி. சில்வா)

(The Hon. C. P. de Silva)

But they must agree.

කල් තැබීම

විවියන් ගුණවර්ධන මයා. (පළාත් පාලන හා ස්වදේශ කටයුතු පිළිබඳ පාර්ලිමේන්තු දෙපාර්තමේන්තුව)

(திருமதி விவியன் குணவர்தன—உள்ளு ராட்சி, உள்நாட்டு விவகார அமைச்சரின் பாராளுமன்றக் காரியதரிசி)

(Mrs. Vivienne Goonewardene—Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Local Government and Home Affairs)

ගරු කළානායකතුමනි, කොට්ඨාසවේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා (ඩී. බී. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන මයා.) ඇසූ ප්‍රශ්නයට පළාත් පාලන ඇමතිතුමා වෙනුවට මා පිළිතුරු දෙන්නට කැමතියි. විශේෂයෙන්ම ඒ ප්‍රශ්නය මගේ කොටසා ශයේ එකක් නිසා ඒ වන්නේ පදිංචිකරු වත් මා ලඟට ඇවිත් තිබෙනවා. ඒ වන්න පමණක් නොවෙයි, තවත් මුඩුක්කු වතු 10 කට වඩා විකිණීමට ගෙවල් හිමියන් ඉදිරිපත් වී සිටින අතර, මට දැනටම ඒ වෙන්දේසි පත්‍ර ලැබී තිබෙනවා. 1961 අංක 10 දරණ පණත, පළාත් පාලන ගෙවල් කුලී සීමා කිරීමේ පණත 1962 සිට තව තත් වලංගු කිරීමට අප දැනටම විධිවිධාන සලස්වාගෙන යන බව මතක් කරන්නට සතුටුයි. එසේ කළාම මොනම පදිංචිකරු වකුවත් දොට්ට දමන්නට ගෙවල් හිමියන්ට නොහැකි වන බවත් මතක් කරන්නට සතුටුයි.

ප්‍රශ්නය විමසන ලදීත්, සහසම්මත විය.

මන්ත්‍රී මණ්ඩලය ඊට අනුකූලව,
අ. හා. 4.58ට අද දින සහසම්මතිය
අනුව, 1964 ජූලි 13 වන සදුදා පූ. හා.
10 වන තෙක් කල් ගියේය.

சபை, இன்றைய அதனத தீர்
மானத்திற்கியைய, பி. ப. 4.58
க்கு, 1964 ஜூலை 13 ஆம் தேதி
திங்கட்கிழமை மு. ப. 10 மணி
வரை ஒத்திவைக்கப் பெற்றது.

Adjourned at 4.58 p.m. until
10 a.m. on Monday, July 13,
1964, pursuant to the Resolution
of the House this Day.

දශක இடல் : இடல் வெவன டினைன் பஹு அரஹை மாகஸே ஸிவ மாக 12ன் ஸடகா
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1964

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