



# පාර්ලිමේන්තු විවාද

(හැන්සාඩ්)

නියෝජිත මන්ත්‍රී මණ්ඩලයේ

නිල වාර්තාව

අත්හැරින ප්‍රධාන කරුණු

පිළිගන්න ලද කෙටුම්පත් පනත් [නි. 2950] :

Inland Revenue (Amendment) Bill

Income Tax (Special Provisions relating to evasion and non-disclosure of Profits and Income) Bill

විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පනත, 1964-65 [හත්වන වෙන් කළ දිනය]  
[නි. 2951] :

දෙවන වර කියවීම—විවාදය අවසන් කරන ලදී.

කෙටුම්පත් පනත පූර්ණ මන්ත්‍රී මණ්ඩල කාරක සභාවකට පවරන ලදී.

වරප්‍රසාද [නි. 3035] :

පාර්ලිමේන්තු කටයුතු පිළිබඳ පුවත්පත් වාර්තා

ප්‍රශ්නවලට ලිඛිත පිළිතුරු [නි. 3193]



# பாராளுமன்ற விவாதங்கள்

(ஹன்சார்ட்)

## பிரதிநிதிகள் சபை

அதிகாரபூர்வமான அறிக்கை

பிரதான உள்ளடக்கம்

சமர்ப்பிக்கப்பெற்ற மசோதாக்கள் [ப. 2950] :

Inland Revenue (Amendment) Bill

Income Tax (Special Provisions relating to Evasion and Non-Disclosure of Profits and Income) Bill

ஒதுக்கீட்டு மசோதா, 1964-65 [ஒதுக்கப்பட்ட ஏழாம் நாள்] [ப. 2951] :

இரண்டாம் மதிப்பு—விவாதம் முடிவுற்றது

மசோதா முழுச்சபைக் குழுவுக்குச் சாட்டப்பட்டது

சிறப்புரிமை [ப. 3035] :

பாராளுமன்ற நிகழ்ச்சி பற்றி பத்திரிகை அறிக்கை

வினாக்களுக்கு எழுத்துமூல விடைகள் [ப. 3193]

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14th August, 1964

## PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(HANSARD)

### HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

OFFICIAL REPORT

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS

BILLS READ THE FIRST TIME [c. 2950] :

Inland Revenue (Amendment) Bill

Income Tax (Special Provisions relating to Evasion and Non-Disclosure of Profits and Income) Bill

APPROPRIATION BILL, 1964-65 [Seventh Allotted Day] [c. 2951] :

Second Reading—Debate concluded.

Bill Committed to Committee of Whole House.

PRIVILEGE [c. 3035] :

Press Reports of Parliamentary Proceedings

WRITTEN ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS [c. 3193]



ලිපි ලේඛනාදිය පිළිගැන්වීම

## නියෝජිත මන්ත්‍රී මණ්ඩලය

1964 අගෝස්තු 14 වන සිකුරාදා

ප්‍ර. හා. 10 ව මන්ත්‍රී මණ්ඩලය රැස් විය.  
කථානායකතුමා [ගරු හිසු ප්‍රනාන්දු] මූලාසනය  
රැස් විය.

## ලිපි ලේඛනාදිය පිළිගැන්වීම

சமர்ப்பிக்கப்பட்ட பத்திரங்கள்

## PAPERS PRESENTED

1963-64 අංක 16 දරණ පරිපූරක ඇස්තමේන්තු  
වුව.—[ගරු එම්. පී. ද සොයිසා සිරිවර්ධන]

සහායක මත නිබන්ධය යුතුයයි නියෝග කරන  
ලදී.

1963-64 අංක 19 දරණ පරිපූරක ඇස්තමේන්තු  
වුව.—[සංස්කෘතික කටයුතු හා සමාජ සේවා  
ඇමති වෙනුවට ගරු ද සොයිසා සිරිවර්ධන]

සහායක මත නිබන්ධය යුතුයයි නියෝග කරන  
ලදී.

1963-64 අංක 18 දරණ පරිපූරක ඇස්තමේන්තු  
වුව.—[ගරු එෆ්. ආර්. බයස් බණ්ඩාරනායක]

සහායක මත නිබන්ධය යුතුයයි නියෝග කරන  
ලදී.

1963-64 අංක 17 දරණ පරිපූරක ඇස්තමේන්තු  
වුව.—[රජයේ වැඩ ඇමති වෙනුවට ගරු ද  
සොයිසා සිරිවර්ධන]

සහායක මත නිබන්ධය යුතුයයි නියෝග කරන  
ලදී.

(1) Two sets of Regulations made  
under Sections 20 and 60 of the Finance  
Act, No. 65 of 1961.

(2) Five sets of Regulations made  
under Section 9 of the School Teachers'  
Pension Act (Cap. 432).

(3) A Regulation made under Sections  
123 and 158 of the Finance Act, No. 11 of  
1963.—[මුදල් ඇමති වෙනුවට ගරු එෆ්. ආර්.  
බයස් බණ්ඩාරනායක]

සහායක මත නිබන්ධය යුතුයයි නියෝග කරන  
ලදී.

2—ආර් 75—745 (64/8)

කෙටුම්පත් පණත් පිළිගැන්වීම

## ප්‍රශ්නවලට වාචික පිළිතුරු

வினாக்களுக்கு வாய்மூல விடைகள்

## ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

කථානායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர்)

(Mr. Speaker)

As we are pressed for time the  
Answers to Questions will be printed  
in HANSARD as Written Answers.

## කෙටුම්පත් පණත් පිළිගැන්වීම

சமர்ப்பிக்கப்பட்ட மசோதாக்கள்

## BILLS PRESENTED

INLAND REVENUE (AMENDMENT) BILL

“to amend the Inland Revenue Act,  
No. 4 of 1963, and to make special provi-  
sions relating to the taxable wealth of  
charitable institutions within the meaning  
of the Income Tax Ordinance”.

පිළිගන්න ලද්දේ මුදල් ඇමති වෙනුවට ගරු  
එෆ්. ආර්. බයස් බණ්ඩාරනායක විසිනි. අගෝස්තු  
17 වන සඳුදා දෙවන වර කියවිය යුතුයයිද, එය  
මුද්‍රණය කළ යුතුයයිද නියෝග කරන ලදී.

INCOME TAX (SPECIAL PROVISIONS RELATING  
TO EVASION AND NON-DISCLOSURE OF PROFITS  
AND INCOME) BILL

“to provide for the making of declara-  
tions on or before December 31, 1964, of  
the accumulated profits and income in the  
possession of persons who have evaded  
payment of income tax or who have failed  
to disclose profits and income; to provide  
for the surrender of such profits and in-  
come to the Commissioner of Inland  
Revenue whenever the Commissioner  
requires such surrender; to enable the  
levy of a tax on such profits and income  
and to indemnify persons who pay the tax  
against liability to prosecutions and pay  
income tax under the law relating to in-  
come tax”.

පිළිගන්න ලද්දේ මුදල් ඇමති වෙනුවට ගරු  
එෆ්. ආර්. බයස් බණ්ඩාරනායක විසිනි. අගෝස්තු  
17 වන සඳුදා දෙවන වර කියවිය යුතුයයිද, එය  
මුද්‍රණය කළ යුතුයයිද නියෝග කරන ලදී.

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

(Mr. K. M. P. Rajaratna—Welimada)

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, ඉදිරිපත් කරන  
ලද මේ කෙටුම්පත් පණත සාකච්ඡාවට  
ගන්නේ කවදාද කියා මා දැන ගන්නට  
කැමතියි. මේක සාකච්ඡා කරන්නේ සඳුදා  
ද? එහෙම නැත්නම් කවදාද?



විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පනත, 1964-65

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

ගරු එම්. පී. ද සොයිසා සිරිවර්ධන  
(කම්කරු හා නිවාස කටයුතු පිළිබඳ ඇමති)

(கௌரவ எம். பி. டி. சோய்சா சிறிவர்தன  
—தொழில், வீடமைப்பு அமைச்சர்)

(The Hon. M. P. de Zoysa Siriwardena  
—Minister of Labour and Housing)

සළදා සහ අභ්‍යවකාශ.

## මන්ත්‍රී මණ්ඩලයේ කටයුතු

சைப அலுவல்

### BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE

මතු පළ වන යෝජනාව සහායමත විය :

1964 අගෝස්තු මස 17 වන සළදාද; අගෝස්තු මස 18 වන අභ්‍යවකාශද; අගෝස්තු මස 19 වන බදාදාද; 1964-65 විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පනත සලකා බැලීම සඳහා වෙන් කළ දිනයන් විය යුතු ය.—[ගරු එම්. පී. ද සොයිසා සිරිවර්ධන]

## විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පනත, 1964-65

ஒதுக்கீட்டு மசோதா, 1964-65

### APPROPRIATION BILL, 1964-65

කල් තබන ලද විවාදය තව දුරටත් පවත්වනු පිණිස නියෝගය කියවන ලදී. ඊට අදාළ ප්‍රශ්නය (ප්‍රථම 30)—

“කෙටුම්පත් පනත දැන් දෙවන වර කියවිය යුතුය.” [ගරු ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා]

ප්‍රශ්නය යළිත් සහායමත කරන ලදී.

ප්‍ර. හා. 10.5

සිරිල් මැතිව් මයා. (කොළොන්න)

(திரு. சிரில் மதியூ—கொலன்ன)

(Mr. Cyril Mathew—Kolonna)

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, මගේ කථාව තව දුරටත් කර ගෙන යාමට අවස්ථාව සලසා දීම ගැන පළමුකොට මම තමුත් තාත්සේට කෘතඥ වෙතම.

මහජන බැංකුවෙන් ලබා ගත් ණය මුදල් සම්බන්ධ ලැයිස්තුව මේ ආකාරයි. ඒ. එල්. ඒ. මිජ්ඞි, වාලාව්වෙනෙ, පොළොන්නරු ශාඛාවෙන් රුපියල් 5,000 යි. ටී. බී. ජයසූරිය, මහජන මන්ත්‍රී, රුපියල් 5,000 යි, නුවර ශාඛාවෙන්. කේ. එම්. කේ. බණ්ඩා,

මහජන මන්ත්‍රී, රුපියල් 5,000 යි, මාතර ශාඛාවෙන්. බී. එච්. බණ්ඩාර, මහජන මන්ත්‍රී, රුපියල් 2,500 යි, බදුල්ල ශාඛාවෙන්. එච්. ඩබ්ලිව්. දිසානායක, මහජන මන්ත්‍රී, රුපියල් 6,000 යි, යුනියන් ප්ලේස් ශාඛාවෙන්. ඩී. ඒ. රාජපක්ෂ, මහජන මන්ත්‍රී, රුපියල් 5,000 යි.

ඒ. රත්නායක මයා. (වත්තේගම)

(திரு. ஏ. ரத்நாயக்க—வத்தேகம)

(Mr. A. Ratnayake—Wattegama)

මගේ කල්පනාවේ හැටියට දුප්පත් මන්ත්‍රී කෙනෙකු ඉන්නවා නම් රුපියල් දාහක් දෙදාහක් මහජන බැංකුවෙන් ලබා ගැනීම ගැන—ඒ මන්ත්‍රීවරයා මොන පක්ෂයකට අයත් වුණත්—තහනමක් තිබේ නවාද කියා මම අහනවා. මම දන්නවා මහජන බැංකුව ආරම්භ කළේ දුප්පත් ගොවිජනතාවට ආධාර කිරීමට බව. එසේ වුණත් දුප්පත් මන්ත්‍රීවරයකුට රුපියල් දහසක් දෙදහසක් ලබා ගැනීමට අවස්ථාව සලසා දීමෙන් වරදක් කර තිබෙනවාය කියා මම කල්පනා කරන්නේ නැහැ. මන්ද? මේ ගරු සභාවේ සිටින මන්ත්‍රීවරුන්ගෙන් බොහොම දෙනෙක් දුප්පත්. ධනවත් මන්ත්‍රීවරුන් ඉතාමත් ස්වල්ප දෙනෙක් ඉන්නේ. එම නිසා එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයේ මන්ත්‍රීවරයකු මේ කාරණය ඉදිරිපත් කළත්, මම එයට එකඟ වෙන්නේ නැති බව මේ අවස්ථාවේදී කියන්න සතුටුයි.

මැතිව් මයා.

(திரு. மதியூ)

(Mr. Mathew)

ටී. බී. එම්. හේරත්, මහජන මන්ත්‍රී, රුපියල් 5,000 යි, නුවර ශාඛාවෙන්. කේ. අබ්දුල් ජබාර්, මහජන මන්ත්‍රී, රුපියල් 50,000 යි, යුනියන් ප්ලේස් ශාඛාවෙන්. නැවතත්, රුපියල් 15,000 යි, එන් යුනියන් ප්ලේස් ශාඛාවෙන්. නැවත වරක් රුපියල් 10,000 යි, යුනියන් ප්ලේස් ශාඛාවෙන්. අබ්දුල් ජබාර්, මහජන මන්ත්‍රී වරයා ලබාගෙන තිබෙන මුළු මුදල රුපියල් 75,000 යි. එම්. පී. ද සොයිසා, ගල්කිස්ස, රුපියල් 5,000 යි, යුනියන් ප්ලේස් ශාඛාවෙන්. තවත් වරක් රුපියල් 10,000 යි, යුනියන් ප්ලේස් ශාඛාවෙන්. ලබාගෙන තිබෙන මුළු මුදල රුපියල් 15,000 යි. ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා. රුපියල්



විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පණත, 1964-65

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

25,000 සි, යුනියන් ප්ලේස් ශාඛාවෙන්. නැවත වරක් රුපියල් 30,000 සි. මෙය ලබාගෙන තිබෙන්නේ 63.2.6 දින. එස්. සමරසේකර, මහජන මන්ත්‍රී, රුපියල් 5,000 සි, ශාල්ලේ ශාඛාවෙන්. පී. බී. තෙන්නකෝන්, මහජන මන්ත්‍රී, රුපියල් 10,000 සි, නුවර ශාඛාවෙන්.

මෙම කාරණය සම්බන්ධයෙන් විශේෂ යෙන්ම තමුන් නාන්සෙට මතක් කරන්න කැමතියි, 1964 ජූලි මාසයේ 24 වනදා කොට්ටාවේ මන්ත්‍රීවරයා (ඩී. බී. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන මයා.) යු. කේ. එඩ්මන්ඩ් මහතාට ණය මුදලක් දීම සම්බන්ධයෙන් කථා කරන අවස්ථාවේදී අභ්‍යන්තර සහ බාහිර වෙළඳාම හා සැපයීම් කටයුතු පිළිබඳ පාර්ලිමේන්තු ලේකම්වරයා කී දෙය හැන්සාඩ් චාර්තුවේ 1181 වන පිටුවේ පළ වී තිබෙනවා. එතුමා සඳහන් කර තිබෙනවා, “මම රුපියල් දහසක් බැංකුවෙන් ඉල්ලුවාම බැංකුවෙන් කීවා දෙන්න බැරිය” කියලා. තමුන් ඒ අවස්ථාවේදී එතුමා රුපියල් දහසක් ඩියුක් විදියේ ශාඛාවෙන් ලබාගෙන තිබෙන බව තමුන් නාන්සෙට මතක් කරන්න කැමතියි.

එම්. එස්. තේමිස්, රුපියල් 6,000 සි. ආර්. එස්. පැල්පොල, මහජන මන්ත්‍රී, යුනියන් ප්ලේස් ශාඛාවෙන් රුපියල් 35,000 සි; ගම්පොල ශාඛාවෙන් රුපියල් 37,500 සි. ඩී. එස්. ගුණසේකර, මහජන මන්ත්‍රී, රුපියල් 10,000 සි, යුනියන් ප්ලේස් ශාඛාවෙන්. එම්. ඩී. ගුණසේකර මහත්මිය, රුපියල් 1,50,000 සි, තවත් වරක් ගුණසේකර මහත්මිය රුපියල් 50,000 සි. තුන් වැනි වතාවතටත් ගුණසේකර මහත්මිය රුපියල් 50,000 සි. එම්. ඩී. ගුණසේකර මහත්මිය ලබාගෙන තිබෙන මුළු මුදල රුපියල් ලක්ෂ දෙක හමාරයි.

ශ්‍රී මන්ත්‍රීවරයෙක්

(කෙළරාම අභිකල්පයක් ඉටුකර)

(An hon. Member)

ඒ කවුද?

මැතිව මයා.

(ශ්‍රී. මැතිව)

(Mr. Mathew)

ඩී. එස්. ගුණසේකර මහත්මියගේ මැතිණිය.

ශ්‍රී එෆ්. ආර්. ඩයස් බණ්ඩාරනායක (කෘෂිකර්ම, ආහාර හා ධීවර කටයුතු පිළිබඳ ඇමති සහ රාජ්‍යාරක්ෂක හා විදේශ කටයුතු පිළිබඳ ඇමතිගේ පාර්ලිමේන්තු ලේකම්)

(කෙළරාම ආර්. ඩයස් බණ්ඩාරනායක —විවෘත, දණ, කළුබිම්බයේ අමාත්‍යවරයා පාලනායුතු, බෙහෙවින්වෘත අමාත්‍යවරයා පාලනායුතු කළුබිම්බයේ)

(The Hon. F. R. Dias Bandaranaike—Minister of Agriculture, Food and Fisheries and Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Defence and External Affairs)

I rise to a point of Order. May I inquire from the hon. Member what is the object or purpose of reading this statement?

මැතිව මයා.

(ශ්‍රී. මැතිව)

(Mr. Mathew)

If the Hon. Minister had been here yesterday, he would not have asked that question.

ශ්‍රී එෆ්. ආර්. ඩයස් බණ්ඩාරනායක

(කෙළරාම ආර්. ඩයස් බණ්ඩාරනායක)

(The Hon. F. R. Dias Bandaranaike)

Does he suggest that there is something improper or undesirable in borrowings made from Government credit institutions by these persons whose names he is mentioning? If he is alleging something illegal or improper, it will be perfectly in Order, but we shall then want to know the particulars of the illegality or impropriety alleged. Merely reading a list of persons who have borrowed money from a bank, in my submission, does not mean anything. I think I am, therefore, entitled to ask the question as to what inference is to be drawn for the purposes of this Debate.



විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පනත, 1964-65

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

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

(තිரு. ஜே. ஆர். ஜயவர்தன—கொழும்புத் தெற்கு முதலாம் அங்கத்தவர்)

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

I should like to make a few remarks on this point of Order. When we were the Government, questions were raised in this House and a Motion was moved that some of our Ministers had taken overdrafts from the Bank of Ceylon. The argument was that there was a fiduciary relationship between the Bank of Ceylon which had a large amount of Government capital, although it was a private corporation, and the Government, particularly the Ministers, and that, therefore, no overdrafts should have been given, although the overdrafts were covered by security.

I do not know what the argument of the hon. Member for Kolonna is, but he is enumerating certain facts to build up an argument. His argument possibly is, "This is a State bank and this State bank is giving loans to Members of the Government. There is a fiduciary relationship between the Government and the bank. You have made all the banks State banks. To me this has become a Parliament bank." I think that is his argument.

ගුරු එෆ්. ආර්. ඩයස් බණ්ඩාරනායක  
(கௌரவ எப். ஆர். டயஸ் பண்டாரநாயக்க)  
(The Hon. F. R. Dias Bandaranaike)

The hon. First Member for Colombo South himself stated long ago that a fiduciary relationship did not exist. Now he says that there is a fiduciary relationship. All I am saying is this: If it is a question of merely stating that Ministers and Members of Parliament should not receive loans from the bank, even upon other securities being offered—I notice that the hon. Member does not tell us what the securities were that were offered independent of their status—

මැතිව් මයා.

(திரு. மதியூ)

(Mr. Mathew)

I have been given only five minutes, but the Hon. Minister has already wasted more than ten minutes.

ගුරු එෆ්. ආර්. ඩයස් බණ්ඩාරනායක  
(கௌரவ எப். ஆர். டயஸ் பண்டாரநாயக்க)  
(The Hon. F. R. Dias Bandaranaike)

I am not wasting the hon. Member's time. I am only asking what his argument is. I do not know whether the hon. Member says that Members of Parliament should be placed under a greater disability than any other member of the public, however rich, with whatever security he can offer, who is able to obtain grants and loans of lakhs and lakhs, millions and millions of rupees. Is it his argument that a Member of Parliament, by virtue of being a people's representative, is to be placed in a worse position than a rich man able to give property security, merely because he is a Member of Parliament and able to give some small security of Rs. 1,000 or Rs. 2,000? He becomes a bad man or a criminal, according to the argument of the hon. First Member for Colombo South.

කථානායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Is it the hon. Member's point that the granting of loans is irregular or illegal?

මැතිව් මයා.

(திரு. மதியூ)

(Mr. Mathew)

ගුරු ඇමතිවරු සිය ආසනවල නැති එකයි, ප්‍රශ්නය. මේ ගුරු ඇමතිතුමා ඊයෙ—

කථානායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Shall we take this up during the Committee stage because time is running out?



பிசுப் பத கெடுபித பதன, 1964-65

—தேவந வர கிசுபித

தேவநிவி மசு.

(திரு. மதியு)

(Mr. Mathew)

I am only answering the Hon. Minister. If he had been present in his seat and if he had followed my argument, he would have known the purpose of it. The Hon. Minister was not here to know what it was all about.

தேவநிவி மசு. தா. திசுபித நிசுபிதநிசுபித

(கௌரவ எப். ஆர். டயஸ் பண்டாரநாயக்க)

(The Hon. F. R. Dias Bandaranaike)

There is no question of not being present here. I do not think any hon. Member knows to this moment what the point is.

பி. பி. நி. கௌரவநிவி மசு. (தேவநிவி கௌரவநிவி)

(திரு. பி. ஜி. பி. கௌரவநிவி—கொழும்பு மத்தி)

இரண்டாம் அங்கத்தவர்)

(Mr. P. G. B. Keuneman—Second Colombo Central)

In any case, all these things are irrelevant.

தேவநிவி மசு.

(திரு. மதியு)

(Mr. Mathew)

Sir, have I your permission to start my argument from the very beginning for the benefit of the Hon. Minister who was not present here yesterday?

கௌரவநிவி மசு.

(சபாநாயகர்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Shall we take it up during the Committee stage because the hon. Member's five minutes are over?

தேவநிவி மசு.

(திரு. மதியு)

(Mr. Mathew)

I always bow to your Ruling, Sir, but I am saying this because the Hon. Minister raised this point. Hon. Ministers are not in their seats; they do not know what we are talking about;

they do not read HANSARD. They come here and want us to repeat our arguments all over again.

தேவநிவி மசு. தா. திசுபித நிசுபிதநிசுபித

(கௌரவ எப். ஆர். டயஸ் பண்டாரநாயக்க)

(The Hon. F. R. Dias Bandaranaike)

I merely raised the point that it was out of Order.

தேவநிவி மசு.

(திரு. மதியு)

(Mr. Mathew)

Of course, it is not out of Order.

தேவநிவி மசு. தா. திசுபித நிசுபிதநிசுபித

(கௌரவ எப். ஆர். டயஸ் பண்டாரநாயக்க)

(The Hon. F. R. Dias Bandaranaike)

That is our case.

கௌரவநிவி மசு.

(சபாநாயகர்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Shall we take it up during the Committee stage?

தேவநிவி மசு.

(திரு. மதியு)

(Mr. Mathew)

I have finished with my list, but if the Hon. Minister wants me to repeat my arguments—

கௌரவநிவி மசு.

(சபாநாயகர்)

(Mr. Speaker)

No.

தேவநிவி மசு.

(திரு. மதியு)

(Mr. Mathew)

There is one last thing that I should read.

தேவநிவி மசு. தா. திசுபித நிசுபிதநிசுபித

(திரு. ஜே. ஆர். ஜயவர்தன)

(Mr. J. R. Jayewardene)

This was only the *hors-d'oeuvre*!



විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පණත, 1964-65

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

මැතිවි මයා.

(කි. රු. මැතිවු)

(Mr. Mathew)

This is a report tabled by the Hon. Minister of Finance and signed by R. D. Perera, D. Amerasekera, P. B. Ratnayake and Upali Karunatilleke. It is dated 9th January, 1964. It is a memorandum to the Board of Directors on the establishment of the rural banks.

"The bank has opened a number of branches and granted advances to several thousands of individuals, but an analysis will show that precious little of the benefits of these funds have been for agricultural purposes."

Ending up, it says :

"But the vast masses of the rural population engaged in agriculture have been so far left out."

That was the purpose of all these names being read out, if the Hon. Minister will even now understand.

ප්‍ර. හා. 10,16

කේ. එම්. පී. රාජරත්න මයා.

(කි. රු. කේ. எம். பி. ராஜரத்ன)

(Mr. K. M. P. Rajaratna)

ගරු කළානායකතුමනි, මෙම අවුරුද්දේ ජුනි මස 11 වන දින ඇති වුණු ලංකා සම සමාජ පක්ෂයේ සහ ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයේ හවුල් ආණ්ඩුවේ ප්‍රථම අයවැය කෙටුම්පත් පණත දෙවන වර කියවීමේ විවාදයේ අවසාන දවසටයි, අද අපි පැමිණ සිටින්නෙ. දින කීපයක් තිස්සේ මෙම ගරු සභාවේ නොයෙකුත් පක්ෂ තම තමන්ගේ මත අනුව අයවැය ලේඛන කළාව විවේචනය කළා. මෙම අයවැය ලේඛන කළාව විවේචනය කිරීම සඳහා අපේ පක්ෂයට ලැබී තිබෙන කාල සීමාව ඉතා කෙටියි. ප්‍රථම දින කීපයේදී මේ සම්බන්ධව අපේ පක්ෂය වෙනුවෙන් අදහස් ඉදිරිපත් කරන්න අවස්ථාවක් ලැබුණේ නැහැ. කෙසේ වෙතත්, අපට ලැබී තිබෙන කාල සීමාව ඉතා කෙටි කාල සීමාවක් වුණත්, හැකි තරම් දුරට මෙම අයවැය ලේඛනය පිළිබඳ අපේ අදහස් ඉදිරිපත් කරන්න බලා පොරොත්තු වෙත.

ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂය විසින් ලංකා සමසමාජ පක්ෂය හවුල් කරගනු ලැබීමට ප්‍රධාන හේතුවක් තියෙනව. රටේ ආර්ථික

තත්ත්වය පිළිබඳ අසතුටුදායක තත්ත්වය නිසා මහජනයාට ආර්ථික වශයෙන් කර දර රාශියක් ඇති වී තිබෙනව. ඒවා මගහැර විමට ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයේ හිටපු මුදල් ඇමතිවරුන්ට බැරි වූ නිසත්, එම පක්ෂයේ සිටින වෙන කාටවත් එය කරන්න පුළුවන්කමක් නැති නිසත්, ගරු අගමැතිනිය කල්පනා කර බලා මෙම හවුල් ආණ්ඩුව ඇති කර ගෙන යටියන්තොට ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමාට (ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා) මුදල් ඇමතිකම භාර දුන්න. ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂ සම්මේලනයේදී ගරු අගමැතිනිය කළ කළාව ගැන විමසා බලන විට මනා ලෙස පෙනී යනවා යටියන්තොට ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමාට මුදල් ඇමතිකම භාර දීමෙන් ආර්ථික ප්‍රශ්න විසඳීම සඳහා වැඩ පිළිවෙලක් ඇති කර ගැනීමට ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයට වුවමනාව තිබෙන බව. මුල් අවස්ථාවේ සිට අයවැය ලේඛනය ඉදිරිපත් කරන තුරුම හවුල් ආණ්ඩුවේ අය මෙහි පමණක් නොවෙයි, රට හැම තැනමත් ගිහිත් ප්‍රකාශ කළේ, "දැන් අපට බිය වන්නට වුවමනාවක් නැත; ඉතා දක්ෂ මුදල් ඇමතිවරයෙක් මේ වතාවේ පත්කර ගෙන සිටිනවාය" කියන ප්‍රකාශයයි. ඒ නිසා ඉදිරි පත් කරන අයවැය ලේඛනයෙන් රටට විශාල සෙනක් ලබා දීමට පුළුවන්කමක් ඇති වෙනවය, සමාජවාදයේ දොර විවෘත වෙනවය, මහජනයාට විදින්න සිදු වී තිබෙන දුක්ගැහැට සහ කම්කරුවෝ තැනි කර දැමීමේ මාර්ගය පාදා දීමට ශක්තියක් තිබෙන මන්ත්‍රීවරයෙකුට මේ රටේ මුදල් ඇමතිකම ලැබී තිබෙනවය, ඒ නිසාම තිරා යාසයෙන්ම සියලු ප්‍රශ්න විසඳීමේ භාර දුර කාර්යය ඉෂ්ට වෙනවය කියා මේ රටේ ජනතාව අවංකවම හිතුවා. එහෙත් මේ අයවැය ලේඛනය දෙස බලන විට කනගාටුවෙන් වුවත් මතක් කර දිය යුතුව තිබෙන්නේ, එය හවුල් ආණ්ඩුවට අයත් දේශපාලන පක්ෂවල උදවිය විසින් රටට කියා පෑ, රටට විස්තර කර දුන්, රටට පෙන්වා දුන් ඒ විශ්මජනක හාස්කම නොකරන්නක් බවත්, රටේ ප්‍රශ්න විසඳීමට මාර්ගයක් වත් නොයන අයවැය ලේඛනයක් හැටියට සකස් නොවූවක් බවත් පමණයි.

මෙය ක්‍රමානුකූලව විග්‍රහ කිරීමටයි මා අදහස් කරන්නෙ. මේ රටේ ආර්ථික ක්‍රමය හැම අතින්ම සතුටුදායක බවක් ගරු මුදල් ඇමතිතුමාගේ කළාවෙන් කියන්නට



විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පණත, 1964-65

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

යෙදුණා. පදනම් සහිත බවයි එතුමා කිව්වේ. [බාබා කිරීමක්] දෙහිවල-ගල්කිස්ස කොට්ඨාශයේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා (ආචාර්ය කොල්වින් ආර්. ද සිල්වා) කියනවා, ඒ විග්‍රහය හරි නැත කියලා. එහෙම නම් මම එය වෙනත් විධියකට විග්‍රහ කරන්නම්.

**ආචාර්ය කොල්වින් ආර්. ද සිල්වා** (දෙහිවල-ගල්කිස්ස)

(*டொக்டர் கொல்வின் ஆர். டி சில்வா—தெருவலை-கல்கிசை*)

(Dr. Colvin R. de Silva—Dehiwala-Mt. Lavinia)

“හැම අතින්ම” කියලා කියන්නෙ කොහොමද?

**කේ. එම්. පී. රාජරත්න මයා.**

(*திரு. கே. எம். பி. ராஜரத்ன*)

(Mr. K. M. P. Rajaratna)

හොඳයි, එහෙම නම් මූලික වශයෙන්ම කිව්වම හරිය කියලා හිතනවද?

**ආචාර්ය කොල්වින් ආර්. ද සිල්වා**

(*டொக்டர் கொல்வின் ஆர். டி சில்வா*)

(Dr. Colvin R. de Silva)

“හැම අතින්ම” කියනවා නම් වැරදියි. “මූලික වශයෙන්” කිව්වොත් වඩා සතුටුදායකයි.

**කේ. එම්. පී. රාජරත්න මයා.**

(*திரு. கே. எம். பி. ராஜரத்ன*)

(Mr. K. M. P. Rajaratna)

පදනම් සහිතයි, ස්ථිරයි, මූලික වශයෙන්. ගරු මුදල් ඇමතිතුමා මේ පැත්තෙ ඉන්න කාලේ කී දේ කියන්න යන්නෙ නැහැ. වෙනත් මන්ත්‍රීන් විසින් එක්තරා ප්‍රමාණයකට ඒ ගැන විස්තර කර දීල තියෙනවා. අද මේ ගරු සභාව ඉදිරියේ තැබීමට මා අදහස් කර සිටින්නෙ ආර්ථික වශයෙන් අපේ රට මුහුණපා තිබෙන තත්ත්වය කුමක්ද යන්නයි. මේ ආර්ථික තත්ත්වය මූලික වශයෙන් සතුටුදායක එකක් වන්නේ කාටද යන්න ඊට පස්සෙ අපට මනින්න පුළුවනි. ඒ සඳහා සවිස්තරව කරුණු ඉදිරිපත් කිරීමට මා බලාපොරොත්තු වන්නෙ ආණ්ඩුවේ වාර්තාවකින්. ඒක අපේ වාර්තාවක් නොවෙයි. නොබෝදා ශ්‍රී ලංකා මහා බැංකුවෙන් පිට කරන ලද

Survey of Ceylon's Consumer Finances 1963 නැමැති වාර්තාවකින් කරුණු ඉදිරිපත් කරන්නෙ. මේ වාර්තාව ඉතා වැදගත් එකක් හැටියට මා සලකන්නෙ එය ලොකු මහත්සියකින්, ලොකු කල් පනාවකින් සහ මහත් ඕනෑකමකින් සකස් කරන ලද්දක් නිසයි. මේ රටේ මිනිසුන්ට මුහුණ පෑමට තිබෙන ආර්ථික ප්‍රශ්න ගැන සැහෙන විස්තරයක් මේ ලේඛනයේ අඩංගු කර තිබෙනවාය කියලයි මා හිතන්නෙ. ශ්‍රී ලංකා මහා බැංකුවේ අධිපති තැන වූ රාජපතිරණ මහත්මයාටත් ඒ මහත්මයා යටතේ වැඩ කටයුතු කළ රාසපුත්‍රම් නැමති මහත්මයාටත් අප කාගේත් ප්‍රශංසා හිමි විය යුතුයි මෙවැනි සවිස්තර වාර්තාවක් පිළියෙළ කර ඉදිරිපත් කිරීම ගැන. මේ අවස්ථාවේදී ඉතා ප්‍රියයෙන් ඒ කාරණය සඳහන් කරන්න කැමතියි. කනගාටුවට හේතු වී තිබෙන්නෙ, ඊයේ දකුණු කොළඹ දෙවැනි ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා (බර්නාඩ් සොයිසා මයා) කීවාක් මෙන් මේ වාර්තාව මහජනයා අතට යන්න වැඩ පිළිවෙළක් නොයෙදී මයි. මෙය විකුණන්න වැඩ පිළිවෙළක් යොදා නැහැ. මහජනයාට පමණක් නොවෙයි මේ ගරු සභාවේ මන්ත්‍රීන්ට වුවත් මෙය ලබාගැනීමට තවම හරියාකාර වැඩ පිළිවෙළක් යොදා නැහැ. ඒ නිසා ගරු මන්ත්‍රීන් අතටත් මහජනතාව අතටත් මේ වාර්තාව පත්වන විධියට හරියාකාර වැඩ පිළිවෙළක් නොපමාව යොදන මෙන් මා ඉල්ලා සිටිනවා.

රැකිරක්ෂා ප්‍රශ්නය සම්බන්ධයෙන් මේ වාර්තාවේ කොටස් කීපයක් මා ඉදිරිපත් කරන්නට බලාපොරොත්තු වෙනවා. රැකිරක්ෂා ප්‍රශ්නය සම්බන්ධයෙන්, 1953 තිබුණු තත්ත්වයත් 1963 තිබුණු තත්ත්වයත් මේ වාර්තාවේ සසඳා තිබෙනවා. කළින් රැකිරක්ෂා තත්ත්වය පිළිබඳව මේ විධියේ සමීක්ෂණයක් විශ්ව විද්‍යාලයේ මහා වාය්වරයෙක් වන දාස් ගුප්ත මහත්මයා යටතේ කර තිබෙනවා. ඒ ඉලක්කම් සහ මේ වතාවේ සමීක්ෂණයෙන් ගත් ඉලක්කම් සසඳා තිබෙනවා. 56 වන පිටේ 34 වැනි කොටසේ එය සඳහන් කර තිබෙනවා. එහි ජාතීන් වෙන් වශයෙන් වර්ග කර තිබෙනවා. 1953 වර්ෂයේ රැකිරක්ෂා නැති උඩරට සිංහලයන් 15.6 ක් සිටියා. ඒ අතර



විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පණත, 1964-65

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

[කේ. එම්. පී. රාජරත්න මයා.]

මුහුදු බඩ ප්‍රදේශවල සිංහලයන් 18.9 කුත් ලංකා ද්‍රවිඩයන් 8.4 කුත් ඉන්දියානු ද්‍රවිඩයන් 17.8 කුත් රැකිරණය නැතිව සිටියා. වැඩ කරන ජනතාව අනුවයි රැකිරණය නැති ප්‍රමාණයේ සියයට ගණන් දක්වා තිබෙන්නේ; ජනගහනය අනුව නොවෙයි. ඊළඟට 1963 රැකිරණය නැතිව සිටි අයගේ ගණන් මෙසේයි: උඩරටියන් 12.7 යි. මුහුදුබඩ ප්‍රදේශවල සිංහලයන් 17.5 යි. ලංකා ද්‍රවිඩයන් 11.6 යි. ඉන්දියානු ද්‍රවිඩයන් 6.7 යි. මේ ඉලක්කම්වලින් අපට මොකක්ද පෙනෙන්නේ? 1953 සිට 1963 දක්වා වූ අවුරුදු දහයක කාලය තුළ මහ ජන එක්සත් පෙරමුණේ සහ ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයේ ආණ්ඩුයි තිබුණේ. මාස 3 ක් එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂය ආණ්ඩු කළා. හැබැයි, 1953 ට පෙර තත්ත්වය මිට වඩා උග්‍රව තිබුණා. 1953 ට පෙර තිබුණු තත්ත්වය මිට වඩා හොඳයි කියනවා නම් ඒකත් වැරදියි. කෙසේ වෙතත් මේ කාල සීමාව ඇතුළත වැඩිපුර රක්ෂා ලැබී තිබෙන්නේ කාටද? ඉන්දියානු ද්‍රවිඩ ජාතිකයන්ටයි. 1953 රැකිරණය නැති ඉන්දියානු ද්‍රවිඩ ජාතිකයන් සිටියේ 17.8යි. 1963, ගිය අවුරුද්දේ, ඒ ගණන 6.7 යි. එතකොට සියයට 11 කට පමණ රක්ෂා ලැබී තිබෙනවා. සිංහල අය, උඩරට සිංහලයන් 1953 සිටි ගණන 15.6 යි. අද ඒ ගණන 12.7 යි. වෙනස සියයට 3 ක් පමණයි. මුහුදුබඩ සිංහලයන්ගේ ගණන වෙනස් වී තිබෙන්නේ 1 කින් පමණයි. එදා 18.9 යි. අද 17.5 යි. එතකොට වෙනස සියයට එකක් පමණයි. ඒ බව මනා ලෙස පෙනව.

ගරු කෘෂිකම් ඇමතිතුමාගේ කථාවේදී එතුමා ඉතා ආඩම්බරයෙන් කිව්වා, ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂය විසින් තේ නිෂ්පාදනය දියුණු කිරීම අතින් තේ කම්මාන්තයේ පුනරුත්ථාපනයට කරන ලද උපකාරය නිසා පසු ගිය අවුරුදු 8 ඇතුළත වැඩිපුර තේ රාත්තල් කෝටි 15 ක් නිෂ්පාදනය වී තිබෙනවය කියා. එතකොට වැඩිපුර නිෂ්පාදනය කිරීමෙන් වැඩි වාසියක් ලැබුණේ කාටද? රැකිරණය අතින් වාසිය ගියේ කාටද? මේ රටේ මිනිසුන්ට නොවෙයි. ඉන්දියානු

ද්‍රවිඩ ජනතාවටයි. මුදල් ඇමතිතුමා විසින් ඉදිරිපත් කර ඇති එක් අවුරුදු සංවර්ධන සැලැස්මේ 24 වෙනි පිටුවේ සඳහන් වී තිබෙනවා, ඉදිරි අවුරුද්දේ කෘෂිකම්ය අතින් වැඩිපුර 23,954 දෙනකුට රැකිරණය ලැබෙනවය කියා. මෙම වාර්තාවේ 25 වෙනි පිටුවේ මෙසේ සඳහන් වෙනවා:

“In the agricultural sector, the colonisation schemes will be responsible for the creation of a large number of employment opportunities while the replanting and rehabilitation programmes in the plantation industries would account for about 18 per cent of the employment opportunities created in the agricultural sector.”

එතකොට මේ 23,954 දෙනාගෙන් සියයට 18 දෙනකුටයි වතුකරයේ රැකිරණය ලැබෙන්නේ. ඒ කියන්නේ වැවිලි කර්මාන්ත පුනරුත්ථාපනය සඳහා වෙන් කර තිබෙන මුදල අනුව, ඒ සම්බන්ධයෙන් ඇති කර තිබෙන වැඩ පිළිවෙළ අනුව, සියයට 18 දෙනකුට පමණයි ඒ රැකිරණය ලැබෙන්නේ. වැවිලි කම්මාන්තය අතින් වතුකරයට සලසන ලද මේ විධියේ වැඩ පිළිවෙළවලින් පසුගිය අවුරුදු 10 ඇතුළත වැඩි වාසියක් ලැබී ඇත්තේ කාටද? ඉලක්කම්වලින් පෙනෙන හැටියට, මේ රටේ මිනිසුන්ට නොවෙයි, පුර වාසියක් නොවන ඉන්දියානු ද්‍රවිඩ පිරිසටයි. මෙම වාර්තාවේ 89 වෙනි පිටුවේ 61 වෙනි සංඛ්‍යා ලේඛන විස්තරයේ සඳහන් සංඛ්‍යා අනුව ඒ බව විස්තර වශයෙන් පැහැදිලිව පෙනෙනවා. වතුකරයේ රැකිරණයවල යෙදී සිටින සංඛ්‍යා ඒ ඒ කොටස් අනුව බෙදා තිබෙනවා: උඩ රට සිංහලයන් 3.69යි., මුහුදුබඩ සිංහලයන් 2.32 යි; ලංකා ද්‍රවිඩයන් 12.59 යි; ඉන්දියානු ද්‍රවිඩයන් 84.13 යි; මුස්ලිම් සහ මැලේ ජාතිකයන් 4.52 යි. මේ අනුව බලන විට මින් ඉදිරියට වුවද පසු ගිය වකවානුවේ වාගේම ඒ රැකිරණය සම්බන්ධයෙන් මේ රටේ මිනිසුන්ට වඩා වැඩි වාසියක් ඉන්දියානු ද්‍රවිඩ ජනයාට ලැබෙන බව මේ අවස්ථාවේදී මතක් කළ යුතුව තිබෙනවා.

ඊළඟට ආදායම් තත්ත්වය ගැන බලමු. මෙම සමීක්ෂණයේ තිබෙන හැටියට ආදායම ලබා තිබෙන්නේ කොහොමද? 88 වෙනි පිටුවේ ඒ සම්බන්ධයෙන් හොඳ විස්තරයක් තිබෙනවා.



විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පණත, 1964-65

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

88 වන පිටුවෙහි 59 වන සංඛ්‍යා ලේඛන විස්තරයෙහි ගිය අවුරුද්ද වන විට ආදායම් තත්ත්වය සඳහන් කර තිබෙනවා. මෙහි ආදායම මාස දෙකකටයි ගණන් බලා තිබෙන්නේ. මාසයක ආදායම බලාගැනීමට මේ සංඛ්‍යා දෙකෙන් බෙදිය යුතුයි.

මේ රට සුරාකන අයටයි, වැඩි වශයෙන්ම ආදායම් ලැබෙන්නේ. නගරබද ඉන්දියානු ජාතිකයින්ට 535 ක් ලැබෙනවා. ලාංකික ද්විඛයින්ට 517 ක් ලැබෙනවා. උඩරට සිංහලයාට ලැබෙන්නේ කීයද? 484 යි. මුහුදුබඩ සිංහලයාට 442 යි ලැබෙන්නේ.

වතුකරය බලමු. ඉතාමත්ම අඩු ආදායම ඇත්තේ උඩරට සිංහලයාටයි. වැඩිම ආදායම ලබන්නේ යුරෝපීය අධිරාජ්‍යවාදී සුද්දනුයි. ඔවුන්ට 3,327 ක් ලැබෙනවා. අධිරාජ්‍යවාදීන්ට විරුද්ධව සටන් කරනවා. මෙපමණ කල් ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයේ ආණ්ඩුව අධිරාජ්‍යවාදීන්ට විරුද්ධව සටන් කළා. නමුත් ගිය අවුරුද්දේ වැඩිම ආදායම ලබා තිබෙන්නේ ඒ අධිරාජ්‍යවාදී සුද්දනුයි. යුරෝපීයයන් 3,327ක් ආදායම ලබන අතර උඩරට සිංහලයින් ලැබූ ආදායම කොපමණද? 117යි. ඉන්දියානු ජාතිකයින් 122 ක් ලබා තිබෙනවා.

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, 1953 සහ 1963 අතර, මේ දස අවුරුදු කාලය තුළ, ඒක පුද්ගලික ආදායම “පරි කැපිටා ඉන්කම්” මෙම වාර්තාවේ ඒ පිටුවේම සන්සන්දනය කර තිබෙනවා. ඒ මෙසේයි :

1963 ආදායම :—ගම්බද—

උඩරට සිංහලයින්ට	215.27
මුහුදුබඩ සිංහලයින්ට	265.99
ලංකා ද්විඛයින්ට	301.89
ඉන්දියානු ද්විඛයින්ට	370.60
මැලේ ජාතිකයන්ට සහ	
මුස්ලිම්වරුන්ට	285.88
වෙනත් අයට	360.91

නගරබද—

උඩරට සිංහලයින්ට	484.05
මුහුදුබඩ සිංහලයින්ට	442.66
ලංකා ද්විඛයින්ට	517.85
ඉන්දියානු ද්විඛයින්ට	535.14
මැලේ ජාතිකයන්ට සහ	
මුස්ලිම්වරුන්ට	635.87
වෙනත් අයට	922.10

වතුකරයේ—

උඩරට සිංහලයින්ට	117.63
මුහුදුබඩ සිංහලයින්ට	136.57
ලංකා ද්විඛයින්ට	136.37
ඉන්දියානු ද්විඛයින්ට	122.04
මැලේ ජාතිකයන්ට සහ	
මුස්ලිම්වරුන්ට	131.61
වෙනත් අයට	3,327.35

කථානායකතුමනි, මේ සංඛ්‍යා ලේඛන වලින් නමුත්තාන්සේට පෙනෙනවා ඇති අඩුම ආදායම ලැබී ඇත්තේ උඩරට පළාත්වල සිටින සිංහලයින්ට බව. ගම්බද උඩරට සිංහලයින්ට ලැබී ඇත්තේ 215යි. නමුත් ගම්බද සිටින ඉන්දියානු ද්විඛයින්ට 370ක් ලැබී තිබෙනවා. ගම්බද ඉන්දියානුවන්ගෙන් වැඩි දෙනා වෙළෙන්දනුයි. ගම්බද ලංකා ද්විඛයින්ට 301ක් ලැබෙනවා. නමුත් උඩරට සිංහලයාට ලැබෙන්නේ 215යි. මුහුදුබඩ සිංහලයාට ලැබෙන්නේ 265යි.

නගරබද ගැන බලන විට වැඩියම ආදායම ලැබී ඇත්තේ වෙනත් අයට බව පෙනී යනවා. 992ක් ලැබෙනවා. ඒ ගණයට යුරෝපීයයන්, ලන්සි මිනිසුන් අයත් වෙනවා. මුස්ලිම් ජාතිකයින්ට 635ක් ලැබෙනවා. මේ ගණයට වැඩි වශයෙන්ම ජැපර්ජිලා වැනි බෝරකාරයනුයි, අයත් වන්නේ. සම්මාන පුරවැසිකම් ලබාගෙන

	1953	1963
	රු. ගන	රු. ගන
උඩරට සිංහලයින්ට	52.00	53.00
මුහුදුබඩ සිංහලයින්ට	68.40	71.36
ලංකා ද්විඛයින්ට	86.40	105.85
ඉන්දියානු ද්විඛයින්ට	70.60	67.17
මැලේ ජාතිකයන්ට සහ මුස්ලිම්		
වරුන්ට	119.00	107.18
වෙනත් අයට	180.90	273.09

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, මෙයින් වැදගත් කාරණයක් පෙනී යනවා. ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයේ මන්ත්‍රීවරුන්ගෙන් මා ඉල්ලා සිටිනවා, විශේෂයෙන් මේ ගැන කල්පනා කර බලන්න කියා. උඩරට සිංහලයකුගේ ආදායම පසු ගිය අවුරුදු 10 ඇතුළත වැඩි වී තිබෙන්නේ එක රුපියලකින් පමණයි. 1953 දී රුපියල් 52ක් තිබුණු උඩරට සිංහලයකුගේ ආදායම 1963 දී රුපියල් 53 ක් ව තිබෙනවා. මුහුදුබඩ පළාත්වල සිංහලයකුගේ ආදායම පසුගිය අවුරුදු 10 ඇතුළත රුපියල් 3 කින් වැඩි වී තිබෙනවා. 1953 දී මුහුදුබඩ සිංහලයකුගේ ආදායම රුපියල් 68යි ; 1963 දී රුපියල් 71.36යි. පසුගිය අවුරුදු 10 ඇතුළත නියම වැඩි වීමක් ඇතිවී තිබෙන්නේ ලංකා ද්විඛයන්



විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පණත, 1964-65

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

[කේ. එම්. පී. රාජරත්න මයා.]

ගේ පමණයි. 1953 දී රුපියල් 86.40 ක් ව තිබුණු ලංකා ද්‍රව්‍යයකුගේ ආදායම 1963 වන විට රුපියල් 105.85 දක්වා වැඩි වී තිබෙනවා. මේ අනුව රුපියල් 19 ක් පමණ එක ලංකා ද්‍රව්‍ය පුද්ගලයකුගේ ආදායම වැඩි වී තිබෙනවා. වෙනත් අයට—යුරෝපා ජාතිකයන්ට—වැඩිවීම ප්‍රද්‍රමයක් නොවෙයි. ඒ අයගේ ආදායම රුපියල් 180 සිට රුපියල් 273 දක්වා වැඩිවී තිබෙනවා. එක පුද්ගලයකුගේ ආදායම රුපියල් 93 කින් පමණ වැඩි වී තිබෙනවා. මේ අනුව පෞද්ගලික ආදායම වැඩිවී තිබෙන්නේ මොන ජාතිකයන්ගේද? පෙරළේ පක්ෂය මේ පමණ කාලයක් කියමින් සිටිය, 1956 න් පසු, සිංහල පනත ඇති වුණාට පසු, සිංහල අධිරාජ්‍යයක් ඇතිවී ද්‍රව්‍ය ජනතාව විනාශ වෙනවාය කියා. එහෙත් මේ සංඛ්‍යා ලේඛන දෙස බලන විට පෙනී යනවා, ආදායම අතින් පසු ගිය අවුරුදු 10 ඇතුළත—සිංහල පනත ගෙනා වකවානුවේ—වැඩිවීමක් ලැබී තිබෙන්නේ සිංහලයන්ට නොවන බව ලංකා ද්‍රව්‍යයන්ගේ ආදායම රුපියල් 86 සිට රුපියල් 105 දක්වා ඒ කාලය තුළ වැඩි වී තිබෙනවා. මා ඒ සඳහන් කළේ ඒක පුද්ගලික ආදායම ගැනයි. එතකොට ඉතා අසරණ තත්ත්වයක ජීවත් වන්නේ මේ රටේ සිංහල මිනිස්සු. ඒ අයගෙන් ඉතාමත් දිළිඳු තත්ත්වයක ජීවත් වන්නේ උඩරට වාසය කරන සිංහලයන්.

පූ. හා. 10.45

**කථානායකතුමා**

(சபாநாயகர்)

(Mr. Speaker)

කරුණාකර නිශ්ශබ්ද වෙන්න. දැන් කාරකසභා නියෝජ්‍ය සභාපතිතුමා මූලාසනය ගන්නවා ඇති.

අනතුරුව කථානායකතුමා මූලාසනයෙන් ඉවත් වූයෙන්, කාරකසභා නියෝජ්‍ය සභාපති තැන් පත් වෙයි. ඒ. කාදර් මහතා මූලාසනාරූප විය.

**කේ. එම්. පී. රාජරත්න මයා.**

(திரு. கே. எம். பி. ராஜரத்ன)

(Mr. K. M. P. Rajaratna)

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, මේ කාරණය නිසා තමයි, උඩරට ගැමි කොමිෂන් සභාවක් පත් කළේ. එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂ ආණ්ඩු කාලයේදී ගැමි කොමිෂන් සභාව පත් කර කරුණු සොයා බැලුව;

නමුත් ඒ කාලයේදී එහි යෝජනා ක්‍රියාවට පත් කළේ නැහැ. කොමිෂන් සභාවේ වාර්තාව හමස් පෙට්ටියට දමා තිබුණ. 1956 න් පසු එය ක්‍රියාත්මක කරනවායයි කිව්ව. දැනට යම්කිසි සුළු වැඩ පිළිවෙළක් යොදා තිබෙනවා, උඩරට ගැමි කොමිෂන් සභා වාර්තාව ක්‍රියාත්මක කරන්න. ඒ අනුව ස්වදේශ කටයුතු පිළිබඳ අමාත්‍යාංශය උඩරට ගැමි කොමිෂන් සභාවාර්තාව සම්බන්ධයෙන් නිලධාරියෙක් පත් කර සිටිනවා. එහෙත් ඒ නිලධාරියාට නියම අත්දමට වැඩ කරන්ට පිළිවෙළක් යොදා නැහැ. ඒ නිලධාරියාට අවශ්‍ය වියදම් දී නැහැ. උඩරට ගැමි කොමිෂන් සභා වාර්තාවේ යෝජනා අනුව නියම වැඩ පිළිවෙළක් සකස් කරන්න මණ්ඩලයක් ඇති කරන්නය කියා තිබෙනවා. ඒක කරල නැහැ. මුදල් ප්‍රමාණය අඩුවෙන් දීලයි තිබෙන්නේ. විශේෂයෙන් ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයේ මන්ත්‍රීවරුන්ට එය පෙන්වා දෙන්න මා කැමතියි.

මේ එක් අවුරුදු සැලැස්මේ 61 වෙනි පිටුවේ එක වගන්තියක් තිබෙනවා. ඉස්පිරිතාලවලට දෙන ඇදන් සම්බන්ධව මෙන්න මෙහෙමයි කියා තිබෙන්නේ.

“This investment is expected to yield an addition of 500 beds in Government hospitals and 20 beds in Kandyan Peasantry Commission areas in 1964-65.”

ඉස්පිරිතාලවලට ඇදන් 500 ක් වැඩි කරන්න මුදල් වෙන් කර තිබෙනවා. නමුත් උඩරට ගැමි කොමිෂන් සභාවට අයිති ප්‍රදේ වලට වැඩි කරන්නේ ඇදන් 20 යි දු. මේ කියන්නේ ඉදිරි අවුරුද්ද ගැනයි. මේ සංඛ්‍යා ලේඛන දෙස බලන්නය කියා විශේෂයෙන් ම ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයේ ඒ පළාත්වලින් එන මන්ත්‍රීවරුන්ගෙන් මා ඉල්ලනවා. මොන තරම් අසරණ තත්ත්වයකද ඒ පළාත්වල වැසියා ජීවත් වන්නේ, කියා ඔබතුමාලාට පෙනෙනවා ඇති. වැඩි පුරම වතුකරය තිබෙන්නේ ඒ පළාත්වලයි. එක අතකින් අපේ ඉඩම් අධිරාජ්‍යවාදීන් විසින් සුරා කන අතර, එහි ඵලය අධිරාජ්‍යවාදීන් විසින් නෙළන අතර, අනිත් පැත්තෙන් ඒ ඵලය නෙළන්නේ මේ රටේ සිටින ඉන්දියානු ජාතිකයින්. අපේ ඉඩ නුත් අපට නැහැ. ඒවායේ රක්ෂාවලුත් අපට නැහැ. වතුකරයේ උඩරට අය



විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පණත, 1964-65

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

සිටින්තේ සියයට 3 සි. නමුත් වතුකරය වැඩි හරියක් තිබෙන්නෙන් එතන. මුහුදු බඩ පළාත්වල සිංහලයින් සිටින්තේ සියයට 3 සි නැත්නම් 4 සි. සිංහලයින් දෙගොල්ලම වර්ග කළාම සියයට 6 සි. සියයට අසූ ගණනක් අනුගණනක් සිටින්තේ ඉන්දියානු ජාතිකයින්.

පසුගිය අවුරුදු 8 ඇතුළත මේ ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයේ ආණ්ඩුව මොකක්ද කළේ? මෙය තමුන් තාන්සේලාගේ අත් තිම අවුරුද්ද. එය අමතක කරන්න බැහැ. මොකක්ද තමුන් තාන්සේලාට කියන්න තිබෙන්නේ? මොකක් ගැනද උදන් අණන්නේ? මේ තරම් භයානක අන්දමට ප්‍රශ්න පැන නැගී තිබෙද්දීත් එය විසඳීමට තමුන් තාන්සේලා කළේ මොකක්ද? ඒ සඳහා තමුන් තාන්සේලා කරන්න යන්නේ ඉදිරි අවුරුද්දට කෘෂිකර්ම අංශයෙන් දෙන්නට යන රක්ෂාවලින් සියයට 18 ක් වතුකරයට දෙන්න යන එකයි. ඒකත් ඉන්දියානුවන්ට. ඔක අපි මේ ගරු සභාවේදී දවසක් නැර මතක් කළ එකක්.

ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය සභාපතිතුමනි, අපට ජාති වාදීන්ය කියනවා. අපි ජාතීන් අතර සටන් ඇති කරනවාය කියනවා. නමුත් අපි මෙතෙක් කල් දේශපාලන වශයෙන් කී හැම දෙයක්ම, හැම තර්කයක්, ම, ඔප්පු වී තිබෙනවා. මෙන්ත තමුන් තාන්සේලාගේ වාර්තාවක්. මේක මගේ වාර්තාවක් නොවෙයි. මධ්‍යම බැංකුවේ වාර්තාවේ පැහැදිලි ලෙස ඔප්පු කර තිබෙනවා. ජාතික විමුක්ති පෙරමුණ මේ කියන හැම කාරණයක්ම සත්‍ය කාරණයක් බව සංඛ්‍යා ලේඛනවලින් ඔප්පු වී තිබෙනවා. අපි කීවොත් වැරදියි කියා වි. නමුත් මේ කියන්නේ මධ්‍යම බැංකුව. ඒ නිසා තමුන් තාන්සේලා මේ ගැන කල්පනා කර බලන්න ඕනැ. මේ අයවැය ලේඛන යෙන් ඒවා මගහරින්න කොතරම් දුරට වැඩ කටයුතු යොදා තිබෙනවාද කියා බලන්න. මා හිතන හැටියට එහෙම කර නැහැ.

ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය සභාපතිතුමනි, ඔය ආදායම සම්බන්ධවයි. එතකොට පරිභෝගය ගැන මම තවත් වැදගත් එකක් පෙන්වන්න යනවා. කැමි බිම් ගැන වැදගත් සංඛ්‍යා ලේඛන වශයෙන් තිබෙනවා. මේ

රටේ නොයෙකුත් ජාතීන් හැටියට බෙදා තිබෙනවා. කැමි බිම් අනුව මුදල් වියදම් කරන්නේ කොහොමද?

මෙන්ත ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය සභාපතිතුමනි, නගරබදව, ගම්බදව සහ වතුකරයේ කැමි, බිම් සඳහා යන වියදම පිළිබදව ඉතා වැදගත් විස්තරයක්. කැමි, බිම් ආදිය සඳහා නගරබදව මාස 2 කට යන වියදම රුපියල් 258.49 සි; ගම්බදව රුපියල් 191.29 සි; වතුකරයේ රුපියල් 307.77 සි ගම්බදව සහ වතුකරයේ වියදම මේ පිළිවෙලට කොටස් වලට බෙදෙනවා.

ධාන්‍ය වර්ගවලට ගම්බදව රු. 54.16 සි; වතුකරයේ රු. 103.93 සි. පරිප්පු, අල ආදියට ගම්බදව රු. 14.25 සි; වතුකරයේ රු. 28.93 සි. පළතුරු සහ එළවලු ආදියට ගම්බදව රු. 24.99 සි; වතුකරයේ රු. 32.22 සි. බිත්තර, මාළු, මස් ආදියට ගම්බදව රු. 26.74 සි; වතුකරයේ රු. 50.24 සි. කිරි දව්‍ය වලට ගම්බදව රු. 7.72 සි; වතුකරයේ රු. 13.17 සි. සිනිවලට ගම්බදව රු. 20.84 සි; වතුකරයේ රු. 19.99 සි. කුළු බඩු සඳහා ගම්බදව රු. 9.02 සි; වතුකරයේ රු. 19.74 සි. පොල් තෙල් සඳහා ගම්බදව රු. 18.73 සි; වතුකරයේ රු. 23.03 සි. වෙනත් ආහාර ද්‍රව්‍ය සඳහා ගම්බදව රු. 14.84 සි; වතුකරයේ රු. 16.52 සි. මේ අනුව මාස 2 කට ආහාරවලට යන මුළු වියදම ගම්බදව රු. 191.29 සි; වතුකරයේ රු. 307.77 සි.

ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය සභාපතිතුමනි, මේ සංඛ්‍යා ලේඛන දෙස බලන විට තමුන් තාන්සේලා පෙනෙනවා ඇති, ලංකාවේ හැම ප්‍රදේශ වලම ඉන්න ගම්බද මිනිසුන් ආහාරය සඳහා වියදම් කරන්නේ වතුකරයේ සිටින මිනිසුන් ආහාරය සඳහා වියදම් කරන මුදලෙන් භාගයකට කිට්ටු ප්‍රමාණයක් බව. ඉතින්, ගම්බද මිනිසුන්ගේ මන්ද පෝෂණය කොයි තරම් තියෙන්න ඕනැද? ඒ සංඛ්‍යා ලේඛනය තවත් සංඛ්‍යා ලේඛනයක් සමග සංසන්දනය කිරීම ඉතා වැදගත්. මෙම පොතේ 53 වැනි පිටුවේ ඇති 29 වැනි සංඛ්‍යා ලේඛනයෙන් පෙන්වා තිබෙනවා, මේ රටේ නගරබදව, ගම්බදව සහ වතුකරයේ මිනිසුන් වැඩ කරන ජීවිත කාලය. Gross years of active life.

නගරබදව අවුරුදු 28.1 සි. ගම්බදව අවුරුදු 29 සි. වතුකරයේ අවුරුදු 46.6 සි. ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය සභාපතිතුමනි, මිනිසුන්ට



විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පණත, 1964-65

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

[කේ. එම්. පී. රාජරත්න මයා.]

කන්න නැති වන විට, අදින්න නැති වන විට, ඒ සඳහා ආදායම නැති වන විට වැඩ කරන්න පුළුවන් ජීවිත කාලය අඩු වීම ප්‍රද්‍රමයක්ද කියා මම අහන්න කැමතියි. එය ප්‍රද්‍රමයට කරුණක් නොවන බවයි, මා මතක් කරන්නේ. මේකේ අසාධාරණකම තියෙන්නේ මෙතනයි. ගම්බදව සහ නගර බදව ඉන්න මේ රටේ උරුමක්කාරයන්ට —මේ රටේ නිජ භූමි කාරයන්ට—වැඩ කරන්න පුළුවන් ජීවිත කාලය අවුරුදු 28 යි, අවුරුදු 29 යි. නමුත් වතුකරයේ ඉන්න විදේශිකයන්ට පුළුවන්කම තියෙනව, අවුරුදු 46.6 කාලයක් රක්ෂාවේ යෙදෙන්න. කැමත්, වැඩ කිරීමත් දෙක සංසන්දනය කරන විට මේක ප්‍රද්‍රමයක් නොවෙයි.

ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය සභාපතිතුමනි, ඊළඟට මා තවත් වැදගත් සංඛ්‍යා ලේඛන වගයක් පෙන්වන්නට කැමතියි. 1963 වන විට මේ රටේ ඒ ඒ ජන කොටස්වලට දී තිබෙන පහසුකම් ගැන මහ බැංකුවේ 1963 සමීක්ෂණ වාර්තාවේ 60 වැනි පිටුවේ 37 වැනි සංඛ්‍යා ලේඛන විස්තරයේ සඳහන් වී තිබෙනවා. ඒ සංඛ්‍යා ලේඛන විස්තරය අනුව මේ රටේ ජනගහනයෙන් සියයට 31 කට වැසිකිළි නැහැ. ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂය අවුරුදු 8ක් තිස්සේ මේ රට ආණ්ඩු කළා. නමුත් ජනගහනයෙන් සියයට 31 කට වැසිකිළි නැහැ. ඒ පමණක් නොව තවත් සියයට 31 කට තිබෙන්නේ හවුල් වැසිකිළියි. ජනගහනයෙන් සියයට 38 කට පමණයි ඒ ඒ පවුල්වලට නිදහසේ වැසිකිළි පාවිච්චි කරන්නට පුළුවන් වී තිබෙන්නේ. මේ ඉතාමත්ම අඩු අවශ්‍යතාවයක් සපුරාලන්නට මේ ආණ්ඩුවට බැරි වුණා.

ඊළඟට වතුර පිළිබඳවත් මේ සංඛ්‍යා ලේඛන විස්තරයේ සඳහන් වෙනවා. ජනගහනයෙන් සියයට 5 කට පමණයි ගෙවල්වලට වතුර ලැබෙන්නේ. අනික් සියයට 95 ටම ගෙවල්වලට වතුර නැහැ. මේ අනුව මේ රටේ කාන්තා පක්ෂය දිනපතා උදේ සවස ලිදේ සිට, ඇළේ සිට. ඔයේ සිට නැත්නම් ගෙදරින් ටිකක් ඇත පිහිටි වතුර පයිප්පයේ සිට වතුර අදින්නට ඕනෑ. ඉහළ සිට පහළටත් පහළ සිට ඉහළටත් දිනපතා උදේ සවස වතුර අදින්නට ඕනෑ. කාන්තාවන්ට මුහුණ පාන්නට

සිදු වී ඇති මේ කරදරය නැති කිරීමට කාන්තා අගමැතිනියවත් ක්‍රියා නොකිරීම කනගාටුවක් නොවේද? කාන්තා අග මැතිනියටවත් මේ ප්‍රශ්නය විසඳන්නට බැරි වුණා. විදුලිය පාවිච්චි කිරීමට අවස්ථාව ලැබී තිබෙන්නේ ජනගහනයෙන් සියයට 7 කටයි. හැම කාන්තාවකටම, හැම ගෙදරකටම අවශ්‍ය මහන මැෂින් ගැන සලකා බලන විට එවැනි මහන මැෂින් ඇත්තේ ජනගහනයෙන් සියයට 22 කටයි. කාන්තා පක්ෂයට මහන මැෂින් ඉතාමත් අවශ්‍යයි. විවාහ වන විට දැවැද්ද වශයෙන් මහන මැෂින් දෙන්නට වුවමනා කරනවා. කාන්තා පක්ෂය මහන මැෂින්වලට ඉතාමත් ආසයි. ඒ වගේම මහන මැෂිමක් ගෙදරකට ඉතාමත්ම අවශ්‍ය ප්‍රයෝජනවත් භාණ්ඩයක්. නමුත් ජනගහනයෙන් සියයට 78 කට මහන මැෂින් නැහැ. අවුරුදු 8 ක ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයේ පාලනයක් තිබියදීත් තත්ත්වය ඔහොමයි. එහෙම නම් මූලික වශයෙන් ආර්ථික තත්ත්වය සතුටුදායක යයි කියන්නට පුළුවන් වන්නේ කාටද? සංඛ්‍යා ලේඛන වලින් පේන කරුණු අනුව නම් මේ රටේ ස්වදේශිකයන්ට කිසිම සතුටුදායක තත්ත්වයක් නැති බව පැහැදිලියි. හැබැයි මූලික වශයෙන් සතුටුදායක තත්ත්වයක් තිබෙන පිරිසකුත් මේ රටේ ඉන්නවා. අධිරාජ්‍යවාදීන්, ඉන්දියානු ජාතික කොමිෂනි කාරයින්, ඉන්දියානු ජාතිකයන් හා අනිකුත් ද්විධ ජාතිකයන් ඒ අය බව අප දන්නවා. එසේ නැතිව මේ රටේ ගම්බද සිංහල ජනතාවට, විශේෂයෙන් උඩරට ගම්බද සිංහල ජනතාවට කිසිම සතුටුදායක තත්ත්වයක් නැති බවට මේ සංඛ්‍යා ලේඛන සාක්ෂි දරනවා. අප කියනව, නිතරම කියනව, අපේ ජීවන තත්ත්වය ආසියාවේ අනිකුත් රටවල ජීවන තත්ත්වයට වඩා ඉහළය කියා. නමුත් අපි මේ කාරණය ගැන කල්පනා කර බලමු. ගුවන් විදුලි යන්ත්‍රයක් මේ රටේ කී දෙනාටද තිබෙන්නේ? ගුවන් විදුලි යන්ත්‍ර තිබෙන්නේ සියයකින් විසි දෙනාටයි. වෙනත් දේවල් ගැන අහන්න ඕනෑකමක් නැහැ. ටෙලිපෝන් ගැන සඳහන් කරන්නත් ඕනෑ නැහැ. ගම්බද මිනිසකුට ටෙලිෆෝනයක් ගන්නවාය කියන එක හිතෙකින්වත් හිතන්න බැරි දෙයක්. ඒ විධියේ තත්ත්වයක් අද තිබෙන්නේ.



විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පණත, 1964-65

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

ඊළඟට මෙම වාර්තාවේ නිබන්ධ, අපේ ජීවන තත්ත්වය උසස් කියා. මේ රටේ ජීවන තත්ත්වයක් නිබන්ධ කොටද? ඒකත් අපට නොවෙයි නිබන්ධ. මේ රටේ මිනිසාට ජීවන තත්ත්වයක් නැහැ. විශේෂයෙන්ම මේ රටේ ගම්බද මිනිසාට ඇත්තේ නැහැ. නගරබද අඩු ආදායමක් ලබන උදවියට—නගරබද සිටින අයගෙන් වැඩි දෙනෙක් අඩු ආදායම් ලබන අයයි—උසස් ජීවන තත්ත්වයක් නිබන්ධ බවක් පෙනී යන්නේ නැහැ; මේ සංඛ්‍යා ලේඛනවලින් ඒ බවක් පෙනී යන්නේ නැහැ. මෙපමණ කාලයක් තිස්සේ, 1948 අපට දේශපාලන නිදහස ලැබුණු දා සිට අද 1964 දක්වා, මේ අවුරුදු 15 ක පමණ කාල සීමාව තුළ ඉදිරිපත් කළ එකම අය වූයේ ලේඛනයකින් වත් මේ රටේ මිනිසුන් ගේ තත්ත්වය දියුණු කරන්නට වෙහෙස ගෙන නිබන්ධාද? තත්ත්වය උසස් කරන්නට කටයුතු කර නිබන්ධාද? නැහැ. අවුරුදු පහළොවක් ගත වී තිබුණත් තත්ත්වය හුඟක් පහළයි; තත්ත්වය හුඟක් දරුණුයි. විශේෂයෙන්ම මේ රටේ ගම්බද මිනිසුන්ගේ තත්ත්වය ඉතාමත්ම දරුණු බව මෙම සංඛ්‍යා ලේඛන වලින් ඔබතුමාට හොඳින් පෙනී යනවා ඇති. තත්ත්වය එහෙම නිබේද්දී මේ රටේ ආදායම ලබන මිනිසුන් කවුද, ඒ අයට සිදු වී නිබන්ධන මොකක්ද, කියන කාරණය සොයා බැලීම වැදගත්.

ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය සභාපතිතුමනි, මෙම පොතේ 75 වන පිටුවේ ආදායම ලබාගන්න පිළිවෙළ ගැන විස්තරයක් නිබන්ධ; ඒ 48 වන සංඛ්‍යා ලේඛන විස්තරය අනුවයි. මෙම පොතේ මෙන්න මේ අන්දමට පැහැදිලි කර නිබන්ධ. රුපියල් තුන් දහසකට වඩා මාස දෙකකට ආදායම නිබන්ධ අයගෙන් ආදායම් බදු වශයෙන් ගන්නේ සියයට 19.27යි. ඒ මාසෙකට රුපියල් 1,500 ට වැඩි ආදායමක් නිබන්ධ අයගෙන්. ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය සභාපතිතුමනි මේ අයට තමයි සල්ලි නිබන්ධ. නමුත් ඒ අය ගෙවන්නේ සියයට 19.27යි. මම හිතන්නේ නැහැ ඒ තත්ත්වය මේ අයවූයේ ලේඛනයෙන් වෙනස් කර නිබන්ධාය කියා. ඇත්ත වශයෙන්ම ඒ තත්ත්වය වෙනස් කර නැහැ. 1963 දක්වාම අරගෙන නිබන්ධන ඒ ප්‍රමාණයටයි. අප බලාපොරොත්තු වුණා, මේ අයවූයේ ලේඛනයෙන් වත් ඒ තත්ත්වයෙහි වෙනසක් ඇති කර නැහැ.

නමුත් ප්‍රමාණයෙහි වෙනසක් කර නැහැ. අප කනගාටුයි මේ ගැන සඳහන් කරන්න විම ගැන.

ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය සභාපතිතුමනි, මෙම ඇස්තමේන්තුවල දැක්වෙන විස්තර අනුව බලන විට කෙළින්ම ගන්න බදු වශයෙන්, තැන්නම් ආදායම් බදු වශයෙන් ඒහෙම තැන්නම් නියම් බදු වශයෙන් ලැබෙන ප්‍රමාණය අනියම් බදු වශයෙන් ලැබෙන ප්‍රමාණයට—ඒ කීවේ පාරිභෝගිකයන්ගෙන් ගන්න බදු ප්‍රමාණයට—වඩා දෙගුණයකින් අඩු බව කියන්න ඕනැ. තවත් පැහැදිලි කරනවා නම්, නියම් බදු වලට වඩා දෙගුණයකින් අනියම් බදුවලින් අය කරනවා. නියම් බදු වශයෙන් සලකන්නේ ආදායම් බදු ආදියෙන් කෙළින්ම ලැබෙන ආදායම. මේ මුදල ලැබෙන්නේ ධනය ඇති අයගෙන්. නමුත් අනියම් බදු ගෙවන්න වෙන්නේ දුප්පත් අයට. සිතිවලින්, රෙදිවලින්, මේ ආදි පාරිභෝගික ද්‍රව්‍යවලින් මේ බද්ද ලබා ගන්නවා. එම නිසා නියම් බදුවලට වඩා දෙගුණයකින් අනියම් බදුවලින් ආදායම ලබා ගන්න බවයි මේ අයවූයේ ලේඛනයේ ආදායම් ඇස්තමේන්තු ගැන බලන විට පෙනී යන්නේ. මෙයින් ඉස්සර නිබුණෙන් ඔය ක්‍රමයමයි. ඒ ක්‍රමයම මේ වතාවේ අයවූයේ ලේඛනය සකස් කරන විට ගරු මුදල් ඇමතිතුමා අනුගමනය කරනවා.

මාසයකට රුපියල් 1,500 කට වැඩි ආදායමක් ලබන අයගෙන් බද්ද ගන්නේ සියයට 19 ක් වුණාට, දුප්පත් මිනිසාට අනියම් බදු වශයෙන් කොපමණ බදු ප්‍රමාණයක් ගෙවන්නට සිදු වී නිබන්ධාද? අය වූයේ ලේඛනයට දින දෙකකට පමණ පෙර සිති බද්ද ගැන මා විසින් ගරු මුදල් ඇමතිතුමාගෙන් ප්‍රශ්නයක් අසනු ලැබූ බව මට මතකයි. සිති බද්දෙන් දුප්පතාට අසාධාරණයක් සිදු වන බවත්, එයින් පොහොසතාට වාසියක් වන බවත් මා එතුමාට කීව. එතුම මොකද මට කීවේ? “එක බද්දක් පමණක් අරගෙන බලන්න එපා; සියලුම බදු එකට අරගෙන සලකා බලන්න ඕනැ; මෙහි සාධාරණ අසාධාරණ බව දකින්න පුළුවන් ටත්තේ එවිටයි” කියා එතුමා කීව. හොඳයි ඒ විදියට අරගෙන බලමු.

මාස දෙකකට රුපියල් 3,000ට වඩා ගන්න අයගෙන් අය බදු වශයෙන් සියයට 19 කට වඩා ගන්නේ නැති බව පෙනේ.



විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පණත, 1964-65

[කේ. එම්. පී. රාජරත්න මයා.]

නමුත් දුප්පත් අයගෙන් සිති බද්ද සඳහාම සියයට 17ක් විතර ගන්නව. ඒ සඳහා මාස දෙකකට රුපියල් 3,000 කට ඉහළ ආදායමක් ලබන අයගෙන් අය කරන්නෙ සියයට එකෙන් ආගයයි. මේ රටේ සිති වැඩිපුර පරිහරණය කරන්නෙ දුප්පතායි. එම නිසා ඒ අය සිති සඳහා ආණ්ඩුවට වැඩිපුර ගෙවනව. එම බදු ක්‍රමය විස්තර වශයෙන් මෙසේයි: මාස දෙකකට රුපියල් 50ක් ආදායම ලබන තැනැත්තකු සියයට 16.69ක් ද, මාස දෙකකට රුපියල් 51 සිට 100 දක්වා ආදායම් ලබන තැනැත්තකු සියයට 8.79 ක් ද, මාස දෙකකට රුපියල් 101 සිට 200 දක්වා ආදායම් ලබන තැනැත්තකු සියයට 5.42 ක් ද, මාස දෙකකට රුපියල් 201 සිට 400 දක්වා ආදායම් ලබන තැනැත්තකු සියයට 3.86 ක් ද, මාස දෙකකට රුපියල් 401 සිට 800 දක්වා ආදායම් ලබන තැනැත්තකු සියයට 2.87ක් ද, මාස දෙකකට රුපියල් 1,601 සිට 2,000 දක්වා ආදායම් ලබන තැනැත්තකු සියයට 1.01 ක් ද, මාස දෙකකට රුපියල් 2,001 සිට 3,000 දක්වා ආදායම් ලබන තැනැත්තකු සියයට .073 ක් ද, මාස දෙකකට රුපියල් 3,000ට වඩා ආදායම් ලබන තැනැත්තකු සියයට .51ක් ද යනාදි වශයෙන් ගෙවන්න සිදු වෙනව. මොකක්ද මේ බදු ක්‍රමය? රුපියල් 3,000ට වැඩි අයට සියයට එකටත් අඩු වයි ගෙවන්න වෙලා තියෙන්නෙ. ධනපති ප්‍රතිපත්ති පිළිගෙන සිටි ඇමතිවරයකු විසින් මෙවැනි ආදායම් බද්දක් ඉදිරිපත් කළා නම් මෙවැනි ප්‍රශ්න අහන්න වුවමනා වන්නෙ නැහැ, මෙම ප්‍රතිපත්ති එවැන් නෙකුගෙ ප්‍රතිපත්ති විය හැකි නිසා. නමුත් සමාජවාදී ප්‍රතිපත්ති අනුගමනය කරන වාය කියන, ඒ වගෙම මාක්ස්වාදී ප්‍රතිපත්ති අනුව ගමන් කරනවාය කියන, මෙවැනි මුදල් ඇමතිවරයකුගෙන් මෙම යුක්තිසහගත ප්‍රශ්න අහන්න සිදු වෙනව. දුප්පතාද මේ රටේ බදු ගෙවිය යුත්තෙ කියා මා එතුමාගෙන් ප්‍රශ්න කරනව. පොහොසත් අය බදු ගෙවීමෙන් නිදහස් කරලද? මේක ලොකු අසාධාරණයක් බව කියන්න ඕනැ.

මා පෙන්වා දෙන්නම් පොහොසත් අය බදු නොගෙවා සිටින අන්දම. ‘කෙමිකල්’ ඉන්ඩස්ට්‍රිස් කොමිෂනි ලිමිටඩ්’ අධිරාජ්‍යවාදීන්ට අයිති කොමිෂනියක්. ඒ අයගෙ වාර්ෂික වාර්තාවෙ සද

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

හන් වෙනව, 1963 සඳහා බදු ගෙවීමට පසුව තිබූ ලාභය රු. 3,31,144 යි කියා. නමුත් මේ අය වෙන තැනක කියනව, අධ්‍යක්ෂ මණ්ඩලයේ කීප දෙනාගෙ පඩිවලට විතරක් 1,97,090 වියදම් වී තිබෙන බව. අධ්‍යක්ෂ මණ්ඩලයේ ඉන්න දෙනුන් දෙනාට විතරක් රුපියල් 1,97,090 යි. කොමිෂනියෙ බද්දට, ආදායම් බද්දට මේක අනු වෙන්නෙ නැහැ. ඒකත් වියදම් පාර්ශ්වයට දමලයි වාර්ෂික වාර්තාවෙ තියෙන්නෙ. ඒ නිසා ලක්ෂ තුනයි ලාභ තියෙන්නෙ. ඇත්ත වශයෙන්ම ලක්ෂ පහක් ලාභ තිබෙනව. ඔය විධියටයි හැම ඉහළ පෙළේ වෙළෙඳ සමාගමක්ම පාහේ ආදායම් බදු නොගෙවා ඉන්නෙ. ආදායම් බදු නීතියෙ “රැහැන්” තද කර තැනි නිසයි, මේ මිනිස්සු ආදායම් බදුවලින් ගැලවිලා, නිදහස් වෙලා සුවිශාල මන්දිර ගොඩනගාගෙන සුබෝපහෝගි අන්දමින් වැජඹෙන්නෙ. ඒ අයට කිසිම අමාරුවක් නැහැ. ඒ අය ඉතාම සන්තෝෂයෙන් ඉන්නව. තමන්ගෙ ආදායම් ඔක්කොම තමන් ලඟ තියෙනව. අයිති වාසිකම් ඔක්කොමත් තියෙනව. හැම තැනම දුප්පත් මිනිහට තමයි වැදෙන්නෙ. බඩු මිළ ඉහළ යාම නිසා ලැබෙන පඩියෙ නියම හරය අඩුවෙලා තියෙනව. ඒ නිසා ලැබෙන පඩියෙනුත් ජීවිකාව ගෙන යන්න බැරි තත්ත්වයකට ඇවිල්ල ඉන්නව දුප්පත් මිනිහා.

සිති බද්ද ගැන එදා මා ප්‍රශ්න කළාම ගරු මුදල් ඇමතිතුමා එදා මට කිව්වා අයවැය ලේඛනය එනතුරු ඉන්නෙයි කියල. සිති වෙනුවෙන් දුප්පත් මිනිහගෙන් ගන්න බද්ද තවම තියෙනව. ඒ නිසා ගරු මුදල් ඇමති තුමාගෙන් මා දැන් අහන්නෙ එතුමගෙ අය වැය ලේඛනයෙ එන බදු ක්‍රමය සාධාරණ ලෙසත්, ප්‍රගතිශීලී ලෙසත් හැදුවද කියලයි. එහෙම නම් දුප්පත් මිනිහගෙන් සිතිවලට අය කරන බද්ද ඉවත් කරල තියෙනවද? නැහැ. මේ අයවැය ලේඛනයෙ එන බදු ක්‍රමයෙන් පොහොසතාට පහර වදිනවාය කියන්න බැහැ. ඒ නිසා දුප්පතාගෙන් ගන්න එක සාධාරණය කියන්න පුළුවන්කමක් නැහැ. අද හදා තිබෙන බදු ක්‍රමයෙන් පොහොසතා නිදහස් වන අතර දුප්පතා අනු වෙනව.

අක්කර බද්ද ගැන බලමු. අලුතින් ඇති කර තිබෙන බද්ද අක්කර බද්දයි. අක්කර බද්ද සම්බන්ධයෙන් දීර්ඝ විස්තරයක් කරන්න මා අදහස් කරන්නෙ නැහැ. මැද



විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පණත, 1964-65

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

කොළඹ දෙවන ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා (කෙන මන් මයා.) විසින් ඒ ගැන සැහෙන විස්තරයක් කර තිබෙනවා. ඒ නිසා නැවත වරක් විස්තර කරන්න වුවමනාවක් නැහැ. දඹදෙණියේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා (ආර්. ජී. සේනානායක මයා.) එතුමාගේ කථාවෙනුත් අක්කර බද්ද ගැන පැහැදිලි විස්තරයක් කර තිබෙනවා. මැද කොළඹ දෙවන ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා කියන්නේ මේ අනුව බදු අය කිරීම හරි යන්නේ නැහැ කියලයි. හොර කරන්න ඉඩ තිබෙනවා කියලයි එතුමා කියන්නේ. කලින් තිබුණු බද්දට වඩා හොඳ එකක් නිසා අක්කර බද්ද දැමීම හොඳලු. ඒක තර්කයක් වශයෙන් ඉදිරි පත් කළත් බද්ද අය කර ගැනීමේදී අප හසුකම් තිබෙනවා නම්, හොර කරන්න ඉඩ තියෙනවා නම්, ඒක හොඳය කියන්න අමාරුයි. හොර කරන්න පුළුවන් නම් ඒක ආණ්ඩුවටත් ජනතාවටත් හොඳක් නොවෙයි. අක්කර බද්ද නිසා වෙලා තියෙන්නේ මොකක්ද? “අඩි-වැලෝරම්” බදු ක්‍රමය අනුව ඉහළ බිම්වල වැඩු “හයි ග්‍රෝන් ටි” නමින් හඳුන්වන තේ වලින් සැහෙන ආදායමක් රජයට ලැබුණා. ඒ අනුව අක්කරයකට රුපියල් 550ක් පමණ බදු වශයෙන් රජයට ලැබුණා.

එම බදු ක්‍රමය යටතේම “ලෝ ග්‍රෝන් ටි” සහ “මිඩි-ග්‍රෝන් ටි” නැමති තේ වෙනුවෙන් රජයට කිසිම ආදායමක් නොලැබී ගියා වෙන්න පුළුවනි. දෙවනු කී තේ වතු වලින් වැඩි හරියක් ලාංකිකයන්ටයි අයිති. “ලෝ ග්‍රෝන් ටි” වලින් සියයට 90 කුත්, “මිඩි-ග්‍රෝන් ටි” වලින් සියයට 75 කුත් පමණ අයිතිව තිබෙන්නේ ලාංකිකයන්ටයි. ඒ අය “අඩි-වැලෝරම්” බද්දෙන් නිදහස් වුණා. “අඩි-වැලෝරම්” ක්‍රමය යටතේ රුපියල් කෝටි හයකට කිට්ටු ගණනක් බදු වශයෙන් රජයට ලැබුණා. ලක්ෂ ගණන මට හරියට මතක නැහැ. මෙයින් වැඩි හරියක් ලැබුණේ “හයි ග්‍රෝන් ටි” හෙවත් අඩි 4,300ත් ඉහළ වැවෙන තේ වලිනුයි. “හයි-ග්‍රෝන් ටි” වලින් සියයට 98ක් පමණ විජාතිකයන් හෙවත් අධිරාජ්‍යවාදීන් සතු ඒවා. දැන් අලුතින් ඇති කර තිබෙන බද්ද අනුව ඒ අයටයි වාසියක් ලැබෙන්නේ. ඒ අය ඉදිරි යට මේ බද්දෙන් නිදහස් වෙනවා. ඒ උදවිය මින් ඉදිරියට අක්කරයකට රුපියල් 300ක් බැගින් බදු ගෙවනවා ඇති. අඩු ගණ

නේ රුපියල් 200ක සහනයක් ඒ අයට ලැබෙනවා ඉදිරියට. එය ප්‍රගතිශීලී ක්‍රියාවක්ද? ඔය දමල තියෙන්නේ ප්‍රගතිශීලී බද්දක්ද කියලා අහන්න කැමතියි. “අඩි-වැලෝරම්” බදු ක්‍රමය වෙනස් කළාට කමක් නැහැ. එහෙම කරනවා නම්, “හයි-ග්‍රෝන් ටි” වලින් අක්කරයකට රුපියල් 600 බැගින්වත් අය කරන්න ඕනැ. රුපියල් හය සියයක් අය කළා නම් අපි කිසිම දෝෂ දර්ශනයකට එල්ල කරන්නේ නැහැ. ඒ වෙනුවට අප කරන්නේ ප්‍රශංසා කිරීමයි. සංඛ්‍යා ලේඛන අරන් බැලුවොත් මේ තේ වලින් වැඩි හරියක් අයිති අධිරාජ්‍යවාදී සුද්දන්ටත් ඉන්දියානු ජාතිකයන්ටත් බව පෙනෙනවා. මේ විධියේ ආදායම් බද්දක් තිබෙනවා; අපේ ගම්බද ජනතාව දුක් විදිනවා. මේ රටේ ජනතාවගේ තත්ත්වය නගා සිටුවීමට මේ තේ වලින් බදු අය කරගන්න බැරිද? නමුත් ඒක කළේ නැහැ. මම දන්නවා ඒක නම් කෙරෙන්නේ නැති බව. දකුණු කොළඹ දෙවන ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා කියන්නේ යෙදුණා, දැන් ලැබෙන අත්දැකීම් අනුව, ප්‍රතිඵල අනුව, කල් යාමේදී එය වෙනස් කරන්නට පුළුවන් කියා. නමුත් මා කියන්නේ සතුටුයි, 300 ය 600 ය නොවෙයි, 150ක් නැත් නම් 200ක් වෙයි. අන්න ඒකයි මේ බද්ද ගැන අපේ තිබෙන තෝක්කඩුව. මේ බද්ද 600 කළා නම් අපි මුදල් ඇමතිතුමාට උදව් දෙනවා; ප්‍රශංසා කරනවා. ඊළඟට “ලෝ ග්‍රෝන් ටි” වලට—විශේෂයෙන්ම ලාංකිකයන්ටයි ඒවා අයිති—යම්කිසි නිදහසක් දෙන්න ඕනැ. ආණ්ඩු පක්ෂය පත් කළ මන්ත්‍රී තැන්පත් තොන්ඩමන් මහත්මයා කිව්වා මේක සාධාරණය කියා. එතුමා හොඳ තේ වැවිලිකරුවෙක්. ඒ මන්ත්‍රීතුමාගේ තේ වලින් වැඩි අක්කර ගණනක් අයිති “හයි ග්‍රෝන් ටි” වලටයි. ඒ නිසා එතුමා දන්නවා ඒකෙන් තිබෙන වාසිය.

එපමණක් නොවෙයි. මට ජූලි මාසයේ 17 වැනිදා මේ කොමියුනිස්ට් පක්ෂයේ “ෆ්පාර්ට්ස්ඩ්” පත්‍රය ලැබුණා. මේ පත්‍රයේ වැදගත් අදහස් කීපයක් තිබෙනවා, කොළඹ තේ වෙන්දේසි වෙනස් කිරීම සම්බන්ධයෙන්. ඒ වාගේම “අඩි-වැලෝරම්” බද්ද ගැනත් මේ පත්‍රයේ සඳහන් වෙනවා. තේ වෙන්දේසි වෙනස් කරන්නට ඉඩ දුන්නේ මන්ද කියා මා මුල් අවසාවාවේදීම ප්‍රශ්නයක් පාර්ලිමේන්තුවට



විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පණත, 1964-65

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

[කේ. එම්. පී. රාජරත්න මයා.]

ඉදිරිපත් කළා. එදා ගරු මුදල් ඇමතිතුමා කිව්වා එතුමා මේ ගැන දන්නේ නැත, මෙය වෙළඳ ඇමතිතුමා කළ දෙයක්ය, කියා. නමුත් සාමූහික වගකීමක් තිබෙනවා නම් ඇමතිතුමා නොදැන සිටියාය කියන්නට බැහැ. මේ සභාග ආණ්ඩුවට සාමූහික වගකීමක් නැහැ. මේ ආණ්ඩුව ඒ ප්‍රතිපත්තිය උඩ නොවෙයි වැඩ කරන්නේ. ඒ ප්‍රතිපත්තිය තිබෙනවා නම් සාමූහික වගකීමක් භාර ගන්න ඕනැ. කෙසේ වෙතත්, වැදගත් දෙයක් මෙහි දක්වා තිබෙනවා. වෙලාව නැති නිසා මා කෙටියෙන් කොටස් දෙකක් තුනක් දක්වන්නම්.

“Last week the ‘Ceylon Daily News’ carried a letter from Mr. S. E. Satarasinghe supporting the Government on its recent decision to undermine the Colombo Tea Auctions. Satarasinghe also made a plea in his letter for scrapping the existing system of ad-valorem tea taxes and instead called for a flat rate of tea duties. Others who rushed to the defence of the Government on this issue include the Ceylon Chamber of Commerce and the Times of Ceylon Ltd. The Daily News conveniently omitted to tell its readers who Satarasinghe was and whose interests he represented.”

ඊට පසුව සතරසිංහ ගැන විස්තරයක් දී තිබෙනවා. ඔහු බෲක් බොන්ඩ් සමාගමට අයිති කෙනෙක්; බ්‍රෝකර් කෙනෙක්; බෲක් බොන්ඩ් සමාගමේ අධ්‍යක්ෂ මණ්ඩලයේ කෙනෙක්.

“It is not surprising then that Brooke Bonds spear-headed the campaign to disrupt the Colombo Auctions. Now that they have successfully done so, the campaign to get the Government to throw overboard the present ad-valorem tax is under way.”

ඒ කියන්නේ මොකක්ද? කොළඹ තේ වෙන්දේසි කඩාකප්පල් කිරීමට මූලිකත්වය ගත්තේ බෲක් බොන්ඩ් සමාගමය කියනවා. ඒක හරි ගියා. ඊළඟට, “අඩි වැලෝරම්” බද්දත් නැති කරන්නට මේ උදවිය වැඩ කටයුතු කරගෙන යනවා.

“The whole purpose of the Tea Export Act of 1959 was to ensure that mid and low country growers would not pay punitive taxes while British estates got away with relatively light taxes. The Act also gave the Commissioner of Tea Exports sweeping powers to inspect and supervise the Colombo tea auctions and make certain that there was no rigging of prices

or other malpractices. Unrestricted exports to the London auctions is one method by which the wealth of this country is drained out by way of low prices for our tea exports. The whole point of building up the Colombo auctions is to ensure that nothing of the kind takes place.”

මොකක්ද කියන්නේ? කොළඹ තේ වෙන්දේසි දියුණු කිරීමෙන් අනියම් මාර්ගයෙන්, හොර මාර්ගයෙන්, මේ රටේ ධනය එංගලන්තයට යැවීම වැළකෙනවා. නමුත් එංගලන්තයට තේ යවන්න ඉඩ දීමෙන් එය වැළකෙන්නේ නැහැ. මම මතක් කරන්න කැමතියි, ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය සභාපතිතුමනි, ශත 10 ක බද්දක් වැඩි පුර ගෙවා ලන්ඩන් තේ වෙළඳපොළට තේ යැවීමට ගරු මුදල් ඇමතිතුමා ඉඩ දී තිබෙන බව. ශත 10 ක වැඩිපුර බද්දක් අය වුණාට ඒ ගැන නොතකා තේ යවන්න බලාපොරොත්තු වන සෑම දෙනෙක්ම කිසි සැකක් නැතිව තේ යවාවි. ආණ්ඩුවටත් වැඩි පුර ශත 10 ක් ලැබෙන නිසා ආණ්ඩුවත් කැමති වේවි. ගරු මුදල් ඇමතිතුමා දන්නවා ඇති එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයේ අන්තිම අගමැති සර් ජෝන් කොතලාවල මහතා එංගලන්තයට ගොස් තේ ගැන කථාවක් පැවැත්තුවට පස්සේ එංගලන්තයේ ගෘහිණියක් කිව්වා, අපට ලැබෙන තේ රාත්තලේ මිල වැඩිය, ලංකාවේ තේ මිල අඩුය කියා. ඊට පස්සේ මොනවද වුණේ? බ්‍රෝකර්වරු එකතු වී ලංකාවේ තේ මිල බැස්සුව. ඊට පස්සේ කොමිෂන් සභාවක් පත් කළා මිත්සින් ලේන් තේ වෙළඳ පොළේ තේ වෙළඳාම ගැන සොරකම් කෙරෙනවද සොයා බලන්න ය කියා. ඒ කොමිෂන් සභාවෙන් මොකක්ද කිව්වේ? එංගලන්තයේ පාරිභෝගිකයන් සම්බන්ධයෙන් හොරකම් සිදු වන්නේ නැත, තේ නිෂ්පාදනය කරන ලංකාව වැනි රටවලින් හොරකම් සිදු වෙනවය කියා වාර්තා කළා. ඒ වෙළඳපොළටයි අද වැඩි පුර ශත 10 ක් අරගෙන තේ යැවීමට ඉඩ දී තිබෙන්නේ.

මේවායින් අපට පෙනෙන්නේ මොකක්ද? ප්‍රගතිශීලී තාලෙට, මහජනයාට වුවමනා කරන තාලෙට, මේ බදු ක්‍රම සාදා නැති බවයි. ආණ්ඩුවේ ආර්ථික වැඩ පිළිවෙල ඒ විධියට සාදා නැති බව අපට පෙනේ. ගෙවන්න පුළුවන් මිනිහගෙන් අරගෙන



විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පණත, 1964-65

නැහැ. ගන්න ඕන මිනිහගෙන් අරගෙන  
නැහැ. මම දන්නව අගමැතිනිය මේවා  
තවත්වා තිබෙන බව. ඒ නිසා ඒ ගැන  
මම වැඩි දුර සාකච්ඡා කරන්න යන්නෙ  
නැහැ, කාලය නැති නිසා. ගෙවන්න  
පුළුවන් මිනිහගෙන් බදු වැඩි පුර ගන්න  
ඕන. අධිරාජ්‍ය කොමිෂනරියාත් වහලා  
යනව නම් යන්න කියනව. අපේ රටේ  
මිනිසුන් දෙස බලන්න. කන්න බොන්න  
නැතිව දුක් විදිනව. ඊයෙ පෙරේද  
තමුත්තාන්සෙල පත්‍රයේ දකින්න ඇති,  
ක්ෂය රෝග ආධාර මුදල කපා හැර  
තිබෙනවය කියා හින් බණ්ඩා කියා  
සොරණාතොට කෙනෙක් සිය දිවි හානි  
කරගෙන තිබුණ බව. බදුල්ලෙන් තවත්  
වාර්තාවක් තිබුණ, ලමයි හතර පස්  
දෙනෙක් සිටින පවුලක පියෙක් ණයට  
හාල් සේරුවක් ගෙනවිත් ඒක කෑමට  
මදි වුණ නිසා එළියට යනවය කියා ගොස්  
පොල් ගහක එල්ලී මැරුණාය කියා. මේ  
රටේ මිනිසුන්ගෙ තත්ත්වය නේද ඒ?  
තමුත්තාන්සෙලාට ඡන්දය දුන් මිනිසුන්  
නේද ඒ? මේ රටේ මිනිහගෙ ක්ෂය රෝග  
ආධාර මුදලත් කපා දනව. ඒකෙ හිතේ  
අමාරුවට මිනිස්සු සිය දිවි හානි කර  
ගන්නව. අධිරාජ්‍යවාදී සුද්දත්, ඉන්දියානු  
ද්විඛ ජාතිකයාත්, මේ රටේ ධනය සුරා  
ගන්නව. ඒක වෙනස් කරන්න වැඩ  
පිළිවෙලක් නැහැ.

මේ අයවැය ලේඛනයෙන් ගොවියන්ට දී  
තිබෙන සහනය මොකක්ද? මන්ත්‍රීවරු  
බොහෝ දෙනෙක් කියන්න යෙදුණ,  
ගොවිතැනට සහනයක් නැත කියා. මුදල්  
ඇමතිතුමා කියනවා වර්ග කීපයක්  
සම්බන්ධයෙන් සහතික මිලක් දී  
තිබෙනවය, ඒක ගොවිතැනට ලොකු  
සෙතක්ය කියා. නැහැ. ලොකු සෙතක් කර  
තිබෙන්නෙ යාපනේ ගොවි ජනතාවටයි.  
ඒකට අපි විරුද්ධ නැහැ.

ආචාර්ය කොල්වින් ආර්. ද සිල්වා

(டொக்டர் கொல்வின் ஆர். டி. சில்வா)

(Dr. Colvin R. de Silva)

යාපනේ ගොවිය ගොවියෙක් නොවෙයිද?

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

කේ. එම්. පී. රාජරත්න මයා.

(திரு. கே. எம். பி. ராஜரத்ன)

(Mr. K. M. P. Rajaratna)

ඒක තමයි මම කිව්වෙ ඒ ගැන අපි  
විරුද්ධ නැත කියා. මගේ තර්කය එතැන  
නොවෙයි. ඇයි මේ රටේ අනික් ගොවියාට—  
එලවලු වචන ගොවියාට—ඒ සහනය දී  
නැත්තේ? එලවලු වචන ගොවියාට සහතික  
මිලක් නැහැ.

ආචාර්ය කොල්වින් ආර්. ද සිල්වා

(டொக்டர் கொல்வின் ஆர். டி. சில்வா)

(Dr. Colvin R. de Silva)

ලුහුවලට දී තිබෙනව.

කේ. එම්. පී. රාජරත්න මයා.

(திரு. கே. எம். பி. ராஜரத்ன)

(Mr. K. M. P. Rajaratna)

සියයට 80ක් අද රතු ලුහු නිෂ්පාදනය  
තිබෙන්නෙ යාපනේ. අපට කමක් නැහැ.  
අපි ඒ ගැන දොස් කියන්නෙ නැහැ. අපි  
අහන්නෙ ඇයි අනෙක් පළාත්වල සිටින  
එලවලු වචන ගොවියාට සහතික මිලක්  
දෙන්නෙ නැත්තෙ කියයි. අවුරුදු ගණනා  
වක් තිස්සෙ ඉල්ලන ඉල්ලීමක් මෙය.  
සංඛ්‍යා ලේඛන අනුව බලන විට යාපනේ  
සිටින ගොවි ජනතාවට වඩා වැඩි ජනතා  
වක් ලංකාවේ අනික් පළාත්වල එලවලු  
ගොවිතැනේ යෙදී සිටිනව.

වැලිමඩ පමණක් නොවෙයි; උඟව පරණ  
ගම, මොනරාගල, බණ්ඩාරවෙල, සොරනා  
තොට, බිබිලේ, ඇඹිලිපිටිය, හේවාහැට, වල  
පනේ, මතුරට, හතුරන්කෙත ආදී මහජන  
ආසන 25 ක පමණ ජනතාව වැඩි වශයෙන්  
ම ජීවත් වන්නේ එලවලු වැව්මෙනයි.  
ඔවුන් ලංකාවට විශාල සේවයක් කර තිබේ  
නවා. අද එලවලු සඳහා විනිමය මුදල් වැය  
වන්නේ නැහැ. එලවලුවලින් දැන් අපි  
ස්වයංපෝෂිත වී සිටිනවා. එලවලු සඳහා  
සනයක්වත් පිටරට ඇදී යන්නේ නැහැ.  
එතරම් සේවයක් කරන එලවලු වචන්නාට  
ඔහුගේ ජීවිකාවචත් කරගෙන යාමට බැරි



විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පණත, 1964-65

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

[කේ. එම්. පී. රාජරත්න මයා.]

තත්ත්වයක් ඇති වී තිබෙන්නේ, එලවලු වලට නියම මිලක් නොලැබෙන නිසයි. මා කලින් කියවුව වාර්තාවෙන් ගම්බද ගොවි ජනතාවගේ තත්ත්වය හොඳ හැටි පැහැ දිලි වෙනවා. ඔවුන්ට හරියට කෑම වේලක් වත් කන්න ලැබෙන්නේ නැහැ. ඇයි ඒ මිනිසුන්ට යම් කිසි සහනයක් දීම සඳහා එලවලුවලට සහතික මිලක් නොදෙන්නේ? සහතික මිලක් දෙනවා නම් ඔවුන්ට ඉන් විශාල සේවයක් වෙනවා.

අද ගොවියාගේ තත්ත්වය මොකක්ද? ඔහුට ගොවිතැනවත් කරගන්න බැරි තත්ත්වයකුයි ඇත්තේ. උදඵ මිල වැඩි වී තිබෙනවා. ඉඩම් ඇත්තේ නැහැ. වෙනත් කරන්න රක්ෂාවක් ඇත්තේත් නැහැ. ඉලංගරත්ත ඇමතිතුමා ගිය අවුරුද්දේ අයවැය වාර්තාවෙන් කිව්වා, වතු කරයේ ඉඩම්වලින් සියයට 2 ක් ගෙන ගම්මුන්ට බෙදා දෙනවාය කියා. අඩු ගණනේ එවැනි යෝජනාවක්වත් කිරීම ගැන අපි ඒ ඇමතිතුමාට ප්‍රශංසා කරනවා. එදත් අපි ඒ ඇමතිතුමාට ප්‍රශංසා කළා. තවම එය ක්‍රියාවට පත් කර නම් නැහැ. එහෙත් අඩු ගණනේ යෝජනාවක්වත් ඉදිරිපත් කිරීම ගැන අපි සතුටු වෙනවා.

මෙවර අයවැය ලේඛනයෙන් ඉඩම් සංවර්ධන දෙපාර්තමේන්තුවේ වැඩ කටයුතු සඳහා වෙන් කරන මුදල් ප්‍රමාණය කපා හැර තිබෙනවා. ඒ නිසා ගිය අවුරුද්දේ තරම්වත් වැඩ මේ අවුරුද්දේ කරන්නට ලැබෙන්නේ නැහැ. මේ නිසා ගම්බද ජනතාවට කිසිත් සහනයක් ලැබෙන්නේ නැහැ. ගොවියාට විශ්‍රාම වැටුපක් ලැබෙන්නේ නැහැ. ඇයි, ගොවියාට විශ්‍රාම වැටුපක් දෙන්න බැරි?

මේ සංඛ්‍යා ලේඛනවල කෑම සඳහා වියදම් කරන මුදල් ප්‍රමාණයත් සඳහන් කර තිබෙනවා. ලංකාව කොටස් හතරකට වෙන් කර තිබෙනවා. දෙවන කොටසට හම්බන්තොට, මොනරාගල, අම්පාරේ, පොළොන්නරුව,

නරුව, අනුරාධපුර හා පුත්තලම යන දිස්ත්‍රික්ක ඇතුළත් වෙනවා. මේ කොටසේ අය මාස දෙකකට කෑම සඳහා වියදම් කරන්නේ රුපියල් 188.34 යි. මේ ප්‍රදේශයේ තමයි, වැඩි වශයෙන් වී වගා කරන්නේ. ඔවුන්ට වී බුසලකට රුපියල් 12 ක් ලැබුනත් ජීවත් වීම අපහසු වී ඇති බැව් මෙයින් පෙනෙනවා. ඒ නිසා ගොවියාට සහතික මිලෙන් යම් කිසි ප්‍රයෝජනයක් අත් වන්නට නම් වී බුසලකට දෙන සහතික මිල රුපියල් 20 ක් කළ යුතුයි. සමහර විට ආණ්ඩුව කියන්න පුළුවනි, ඒ විදියට සහනාධාර දෙන්න ගියොත් ආණ්ඩුව බංකොලොත් වෙන්න පුළුවන්ය කියා. මම කියනවා, එසේ වෙන්නේ නැත කියා. ඒ සහනාධාර දීමට වුවමනා මුදල් ලබා ගන්නට පුළුවනි, අධිරාජ්‍යවාදී සහ විදේශීය සමාගම්වලින්. විදේශීන් තමයි, මේ රට සූරා කන්නේ. විදේශීන්ගෙන් ගෙන මේ රටේ ජනතාවට දෙන්න ඕන. එසේ කරනවා නම් වී බුසලකට රුපියල් 20 ක් ගෙවීම අපහසු වන්නේ නැහැ. ඒ නිසා මම ඉල්ලා සිටිනවා අපේ ගම්බද ගොවීන්ට සහනයක් දීම සඳහා වී බුසලකට රුපියල් 20 ක් ගෙවන්නය කියා.

මොනවද ගම්බද මිනිසුන්ට දී තිබෙන්නේ? රු දී තිබෙනවා. ගරු මුදල් ඇමතිතුමා කියා තිබෙනවා රු මැදීමට අවසර දෙන්නේ කසිප්පු උවදුර නැති කිරීම පිණිසය කියා. කසිප්පු ව්‍යාපාරය ඉතා දරුණු එකක්. ඒ බව අපි පිළිගන්නවා. මගේ කොට්ඨාශයට අල්ලපු කොට්ඨාශයේ කසිප්පු ව්‍යාපාරයෙන් ලක්ෂ ගණනක් හම්බ කරගත් කසිප්පු ව්‍යාපාරිකයකු ගැන මම පොලීසියට දැන්වුවා. මොකක්ද වුණේ? වැලිමඩ පොලිස් ඉන්ස්පෙක්ටර් මට වෙඩි තියන බවට තර්ජනය කළා. මම ඒ පිළිබඳව මේ ගරු සභාවේදීත් කියා තිබෙනවා. නමුත් ඒ ගැන කිසිත් කර නැහැ. කසිප්පුකාරයන් සමග එකතුවන්නට පොලීසියට ඉඩ දී තිබෙනව. අපේ පැමිණිල්ල ගැන විභාගයක් පැවැත්තුවෙන් නැහැ. අපි කසිප්පුකාරයන්ට කිසිම සමා



විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පණත, 1964-65

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

වක් දෙන්නෙ නැහැ. කසිප්පු නරක බව, වැරදි බව, නතර කළයුතු බව අපි පිළිගන්නව. ඒ කරුණු උඩ අපි මුදල් ඇමතිතුමා සමග එකඟ වෙනව. එහෙත් කසිප්පු නතර කරන්ට කියා රාවලට අවසර දෙන්නට යාම අපිට පිළිගන්ට බැහැ.

කසිප්පු මර්දනය පොලීසිය මගින් කරන්ට බැරිද? නීති ගෙනෙන්ට බැරිද? සත 5 ක් 10 ක් වැඩි මිලට බඩු විකුණන වෙළෙන්දන් හිරේ යවන්න, ඔවුන්ගේ දේපොළ රාජසන්නක කරන්න, නීති ගෙනෙන බව ආණ්ඩුව කීවිව. ඇයි කසිප්පු කාරයන්ගේ දේපොළ රාජසන්නක කරන්ටත් නීති ගෙනෙන්ට බැරි? රාවලට අවසර දෙන්නට යන්නෙ පොලීසිය හරිහැටි වැඩ කරන්නෙ නැති නිසාද? පොලීසින් කසිප්පුකාරයන් අතර ඇති සම්බන්ධය ගැන මේ ගරු සභාවේ අනන්ත අප්‍රමාණ පැමිණිලි කර තිබෙනව. ඇයි කසිප්පු මර්දනයට වැඩ පිළිවෙලක් යොදන්නෙ නැත්තෙ? ආණ්ඩුව කෙලින් වැඩ කරනව නම්, පොලීසිය භාර අමාත්‍යාංශය කෙලින් වැඩ කරනව නම්, පොලීසිය භාර ඇමති කෙලින් වැඩ කරනව නම්, කසිප්පු මර්දනය කරන්න පුළුවන්. රාවලට අවසර දීමෙන් නම් මේ ප්‍රශ්නය විසඳන්නට අමාරුයි. එයින් මිට වඩා විපතක් වෙනව. ආදායම් තත්ත්වය දිනා බලන විට අද මිනිසුන්ට කන්ට නැති බව පෙනී යනව. ඒ නිසා සුරා වැඩි කිරීම නොවෙයි කරන්ට ඕනෑ; සුරාව නැති කිරීමයි. රාවලට අවසරදීමෙන් සුරා වැඩි වෙනව. ආණ්ඩු පක්ෂයේ මැති ඇමති වරුන් විසින් කියන්ට යෙදුණා, විදේශීය බීමත්, අරක්කුත් දැනට පාවිච්චි කරනවා ය කියා. ඒවත් නතර කරනව නම් හොඳයි කියායි මා කියන්නෙ. ඒවත් නතර කරනව නම් අපි ඊට සම්පූර්ණ සහයෝගය දෙනව. හැබැයි බොන්ට පුරුදු වී සිටින මිනිසුන් ඉන්නවා නම් ඒ මිනිස්සු මරා දමන්නයයි අපි කියන්නෙ නැහැ. ඒ මිනිසුන්ට ගහන්ටයයි අපි කියන්නෙ නැහැ. එහෙත් එක මිනිසෙක් බොන්ට පුරුදු

වූ පලියට බාල පරම්පරාව සුරාවට ඇබ්බැහි වෙන්නට ඉඩ දෙන්නට එපා. රා මැද ගැනීමට ඉඩ දෙන්නට එපා. රා මැද ගැනීමට අවසර දෙන විට ගෙයක් ගෙයක් පාසා දොරකඩම ගුදමක් ඇති වන්නට ඉඩ තිබෙන බව අපි නිසාකවම දන්නව. එවිට එක පරම්පරාවෙන් ඒක නවතින්නෙ නැහැ. දිගින් දිගට යනව. සමහර මන්ත්‍රිවරු සදහන් කළා, සිංහල රජ කාලයෙන් රා බිච්ච කියා. ඔව්, මනුෂ්‍යයා මෙලොව ඇති වූ දා ඉඳලම බොන්ට ඇති. ඒක වෙනම ප්‍රශ්නයක්. සිංහල රජ කාලයේ මිනිස්සු බිච්චත්, හොඳට කැව. අද මිනිසුන්ට කන්ටවත් නැහැ. මන්දපෝෂණයෙන් සිටින මිනිසුන්ටයි, බොන්ට දෙන්නෙ. එම නිසා එය තර්කයක් හැටියට පිළිගන්ට බැහැ.

රා මැදීමට අවසර දීම ගැන මගේ සම්පූර්ණ විරුද්ධත්වය ප්‍රකාශ කරනව. කසිප්පු මර්දනය කරන්ට මේ හැර වෙනත් පියවරක් ගන්නවා නම් අපි ඊට සම්පූර්ණ සහයෝගය දක්වනව. රා ලාභයට අරන් කසිප්පු හදන්න පුළුවන් විම කසිප්පුකාරයන්ට මෙයින් ලැබෙන වාසියක්. රාවලින් පුළුවන්, කසිප්පු හදන්න. එවිට කසිප්පු තවත් බහුල වෙනව. කසිප්පු ව්‍යාපාර මේ නිසා නවතින්නෙ නැහැ. මිනිසුන්ට බොන්ට දීම නොවෙයි කරන්ට තිබෙන්නෙ. දුක් විඳින මිනිසුන්ට බොන්ටදී දුක අමතක කරවීම නොවෙයි. කරන්ට තිබෙන්නෙ. වැඩිපුර බොන්ට දී දුක අමතක කරවීම ධනපතින්ගේ සිරිතක්. මිනිසුන් දුක දැනගන්ට ඕනෑ. තමන්ට මුහුණ පාන්ට තිබෙන ප්‍රශ්න ගැන දැනගන්ට ඕනෑ. ඒ ප්‍රශ්න යම්කිසි කාරණයක් නිසා ඇති වෙනවා නම් ඒ පිළිබඳව පැහැදිලි ලෙස කල්පනා කර ඒවා කඩා බිඳ දමන්න අවස්ථාව සලස්ව ගන්න ඕනෑ. අධිරාජ්‍ය වාදීන් කළේත්, මිනිසුන්ට තමන්ගේ දුක ගැන කල්පනා කරන්ට ඉඩ නොලැබෙන අන්දමට ගමක් ගමක් පාසා තැබුරුම්



විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පණත, 1964-65

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

[කේ. එම්. පී. රාජරත්න මයා.]

පිහිටුවා ඔවුන්ට මත්පැන් බොන්ට සැලැස්වීමයි. එදා සිටි මිනිසුන් ඊට විරුද්ධ වුණා. අදත් හැම තැනම මීට විරුද්ධ ව කටයුතු කර, බිමත්කමින් මහජනයා මුදා ගන්න ඕනෑ.

ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය සභාපතිතුමනි, දවස් පහේ සතියට අප විරුද්ධ නැහැ. වැඩ කරන අය ඊට විරුද්ධ නැත්නම් දවස් පහේ සතිය ඇති කරන්න. අපේ සම්පූර්ණ සහයෝගය ඊට දෙනව. එහෙත් ආණ්ඩුවේ සේවකයන්ට පමණක් නොවෙයි, ඒ දවස් පහේ සතිය හැම අංශයකටම දෙන්න ඕනෑ. මුදල් ඇමතිතුමා අය වැය කළාවෙදි සඳහන් කළා, දවස් පහක වැඩ කරන සතියක් ඇති කර දවස් 2 ක නිවාඩුවක් සහිත අත්තයේ ලබා දෙන්න, ක්‍රමයක් සකස් කරන්න අදහස් කරනවය කියා. බොහොම හොඳයි ඒක. එතකොට සිදු වෙන්නෙ කුමක්ද? ඒ සමගම කියනව මේ ක්‍රමය අස්සෙ පෝය දවසකුත් නිවාඩු දවසක් කරන්න යනවය කියල. හැබැයි එක පෝය දවසයි. නමුත් බෞද්ධයින්ට මාසයකට පෝය 4 ක් තිබෙන බව කියන්න ඕනෑ. එතකොට පෝය දවස් 4 ම නිවාඩු දවස් කරනවද නැත්නම් එක පෝය දවසක් පමණක් නිවාඩු දවසක් කරනවද කියල අපි දැනගන්න කැමතියි.

ශ්‍රී. පී. වයි. ජිනදාස මයා. (කුණ්ඩසාලෙ)

(තිරු. ප්‍ර. පී. ආච. ඉන්ද්‍රාණ—குண்டசாலை)

(Mr. U. P. Y. Jinadasa—Kundasale)

එකක්වත් කෙරෙන්නෙ නැහැ.

කේ. එම්. පී. රාජරත්න මයා.

(තිරු. ජේ. ආම්. පී. රාජරත්න)

(Mr. K. M. P. Rajaratna)

කුණ්ඩසාලෙ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා කියනව එකක්වත් කෙරෙන්නෙ නැත කියල. ඒක මමත් පිළිගන්නව. මේ ආණ්ඩුව කාරක සභාවක් පත් කළා හතර පෝයෙන් පෝය දින දෙකක් නිවාඩු දින කරන්න. එහි වාර්තාව තවමත් පිට

වී නැහැ. ගුරුගේ මහත්මය, ලිත්කන් අබේවීර මහත්මය, ආදීන් ඒ කොමිෂන් සභාවේ සිටිය. වාර්තාව තවම පිට වී නැහැ. දැන් මුදල් ඇමතිතුමා කියනව එක පෝයක් නිවාඩු කරනවය කියා. කුණ්ඩසාලෙ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා කීවා වගේ හෙට අනිද්දා ඒකත් නැත කියාවි. මේ රටේ වැඩි ජනකාය බෞද්ධයෝ නම් පෝය හතරම නිවාඩු දින කරන්න ඕනෑ. අටවකටත් මාස පෝයටත් බෞද්ධයින් සිල් ගන්නව. ආගමික දෙයක් හැටියට හිතනවා නම්, ඒ විධියට කරන්න ඕනෑ. මුදල් ඇමතිතුමා ගොවීන් ගැන මතක් කළා. ගොවියා පොළොවට උදාල්ල නොගහන්නේ පුර පසළොස්වකදාට පමණක් නොවෙයි. ගොවියාට පෝය 4 ම එක සමානයි. ගොවියා පෝය දින හතරේම උදාල්ල පොළවේ ගහන්නේ නැහැ. ඒ නිසා එක දවසක් පව්වලින් සමා කරනවාය, අනික් දවස්වල පව් කරන්නය කියා ගොවියාට කියන්න බැහැ. එම නිසා පෝය හතරම නිවාඩු දින කරනවා නම් ඒක අපට සන්තෝෂයට කාරණයක්. මේ ක්‍රමය මුලාවක්. මෙය හරියන්නේ නැහැ. බෞද්ධ සම්මේලන හැම එකක්ම මේ ගැන කරුණු ඉදිරිපත් කර තිබෙනවා.

ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය සභාපතිතුමනි, මොකක්ද මේ ආනයන අපනයන බැංකුව? සමාජ වාදියෙක් මුදල් ඇමති වුනාම ඉස්සර වෙලාම සැක කරල පයින් ගහන්නේ බැංකුකාරයින්ටය කියා මා හිතුවා. ආර්ථික ක්‍රමයේ ධනය සුරා කැමේ ප්‍රධාන තැන ගන්නා මිනිස්සු බැංකුකාරයෝ තමයි. එංගලන්තයේ පළමු වැනි ලේබර් ආණ්ඩුවට බලය ලැබුණු හැටියේම බැංකුකාරයෝ එකතු වී එය කැඩුවා. පසුව ලේබර් පක්ෂය බලයට පැමිණි පසු මොකක්ද කළේ? ඉස්සරවෙලාම ගත් පියවර එංගලන්තයේ බැංකු ජනසතු කිරීමයි. ආණ්ඩුව කඩත්තට බැංකුකාරයින්ට ඉඩ තැබුවේ නැහැ.



විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පණත, 1964-65

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

ඉරාකය බනපති ආණ්ඩුවක් වෙලන් බැංකු ගත්තා. නමුත් මාර්ක්ස් වැදි නාමයෙන්, සමාජවාදී නාමයෙන්, සිටින මුදල් ඇමතිතුමා මොකක්ද කරන්නේ? බැංකුකාරයින් සමග හවුලක් ඇති කර ගන්නවා. ආනයන අපනයන බැංකුවක් ඇති කරනවා. ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය සභාපති තුමනි, පසුගිය අවුරුදු දෙක තුන කාලයේ එක්තරා පිළිවෙතක් ගෙන ගියා. බැංකුවල වැඩ කටයුතු සීමා කිරීමක් කළා. එය පටන් ගත්තේ fපිලික්ස් ඩයස් බණ්ඩාරනායක මුදල් ඇමතිතුමාගේ කාලයේයි. ලාංකිකයින් මුදල් තැන්පත් කළ යුත්තේ ලංකා බැංකුවේ සහ මහජන බැංකුවේ පමණයි. ඉලංගරත්න මුදල් ඇමතිතුමාගේ අයවැය ලේඛනයෙන් එක තවත් දුරට අරගෙන ගියා. විශේෂයෙන්ම ණය ගනුදෙනු සම්බන්ධව ලාංකික තැන්පත් කිරීම් විදේශික බැංකුවලට සීමා කර තිබුණා. එතකොට විදේශික බැංකු තිබුණේ වැඩි පුරම විදේශික අංශයටයි. එහි ආනයන අපනයන අංශයන් තිබුණා. නමුත් මෙපමණ කල් ලංකා බැංකුව ආනයන අපනයන අංශයෙන් හුඟක් වැඩ කටයුතු කරගෙන ගියා. අදත් කරගෙන යනවා. දැන් මා එක ප්‍රශ්නයක් අහනවා. විදේශික, ඉන්දියානු බැංකුකාරයින් සමග එකතු වී ආණ්ඩුව ආනයන අපනයන බැංකුව දමන්න යනවා. විශේෂයෙන්ම එක කරන්නේ ආනයන අපනයන වෙළඳාමටයි. එතකොට මෙපමණ කලක් ලංකා බැංකුව ගෙන ගිය ආනයන අපනයන වෙළඳාමට මොකක්ද වන්නේ? එය මේ හවුල් බැංකුවට යනවා. එතකොට ආනයන අපනයන වෙළඳාම ලංකා බැංකුවෙන් ඉවත් වෙනවා. මුදල් ඇමතිතුමාට කරන්න තිබුණේ ලංකාවේ තිබෙන විදේශික බැංකු සම්පූර්ණයෙන්ම ජනසතු කරන එකයි. මේ බැංකු ජනසතු නොකිරීම ලජ්ජාවක්, විශේෂයෙන්ම සමාජවාදීය කියා ගන්න මුදල් ඇමතිවරයකුට ලජ්ජාවක්. කරන්න තිබුණේ ජනසතු කිරීමයි. ජනසතු කරන්න බැරි නම් අඩුම ගණනේ

හෙට සිට ආනයන අපනයන වෙළඳාම සම්පූර්ණයෙන්ම ලංකා බැංකුව මගින් කරන්න ඕනැය කියා නියම කරන්න තිබුණි. පළපුරුද්ද ගැනයි, කළා කරන්නේ. අධිරාජ්‍යවාදී සුද්දොත් අපට කිවේ ඕකයි. දේශපාලන පළපුරුද්ද අපට නැහැ කීවා. අප්‍රිකාවේ තවම පළපුරුද්ද නැහැ කියනවා. මොකක් හරි ව්‍යාපාරයක් ජනසතු කරන්න කියන විට අපට ඒ සදහා පළපුරුද්ද නැහැ කියනවා. නිදහස කට කරුණක් වශයෙන් අධිරාජ්‍යවාදීන් දෙනු—ප්‍රතිගාමීන් දෙන—හොඳම හේතුව අපට පළපුරුද්ද නැහැ කීමයි. සමාජවාදීය කියා ගන්න මුදල් ඇමතිවරයකුත් ඔය හේතුව ඉදිරිපත් කිරීම ගැනයි, මම කතා ගාටු වන්නේ.

ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය සභාපතිතුමනි, අප අතර පළපුරුද්ද ඇති අය ඉන්නවා. හොඳයි, අපට පළපුරුද්ද නැහැ කියමු. අපේම වැඩක් අපම කරන්න ගිහින් වරදක් දෙකක් සිදු වුණාට මක් වෙනවද? අපේම වැඩක් අපම කරන්න ගිහින් වරදක් වුණාට කමක් නැහැ. එයින් අප හැදෙනවා. මොනවටද මේ තරම් විප්ලවය ගැන කළා කළේ? විප්ලවය ගැන කළා කරල, අධිරාජ්‍යවාදී, බනපති පළපුරුදු කාරයන්ට නායකත්වය දෙන්න ඕනැය කියනවද? ඔක්කොම සුන් කරල දමන්න ඕනැ. අනයන අපනයන බැංකු ගැනයි, මා දැන් කිවේ. ඔය එක කරුණක්.

මෙපමණ කාලයක් ලංකා බැංකුව අතේ තිබුණු දේ—සියයට හතළිස් තවයක්—නැවතත් අප සු විදේශිකයන්ට දෙන්න යනවා. එපමණක් නොවෙයි, ආනයන අපනයන වෙළඳාම කරන්න වෙළඳ සංස්ථා මණ්ඩලයක් ආණ්ඩුවම ඇති කරන්න යනවා. මේ හවුල් බැංකුව නොතිබුණ නම් ඒ වෙළඳ මණ්ඩලයේ ආනයන අපනයන වෙළඳාම සම්පූර්ණයෙන්ම එන්නේ ලංකා බැංකුවට—අපේ අතට. අද මොකක්ද වන්නේ? වෙළඳ සංයුක්ත මණ්ඩලය ආපු හැටියේ ඒ මණ්ඩලයේ අනයන අපනයන වෙළඳාම හවුල් බැංකුවට දෙන්න වෙනවා. හවුල් බැංකුව දන්නවා, අපේ වෙළඳ රහස්. එතකොට විදේශිකයන්ට අපේ වෙළඳ රහස් දෙන්න වෙනවා. කොයි රටත් කැමතියි, ඔය රහස් නියා ගන්න, වෙළඳාම දියුණු කරන්න. නමුත් අපට කතාගාටුයි,



විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පණත, 1964-65

[කේ. එම්. පී. රාජරත්න මයා.]

සමාජවාදී නාමයෙන් මේ මුදල් ඇමතිතුමා ඒ රහස් විදේශීය බැංකු කාරයන්ට දීමට මේ හවුල් බැංකුව ඇති කිරීම ගැන. ඒ නිසා හවුල් බැංකුව ප්‍රගතිශීලී වැඩක්‍යයි අපට කියන්න බැහැ. හවුල් බැංකුව, නැති වෙගන යන විදේශීය බැංකු කාරයන්ට මුක්කු ගැසීමක්; නැවත වතාවක් ආර්ථික තත්ත්වය සුරා කන්නට ඉඩ දීමක්.

ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය සභාපතිතුමනි, ඔබ තුමාගේ නියෝගයට විරුද්ධ වන්නට මම කැමති නැහැ. අවසාන වශයෙන් එකක් කියන්න කැමතියි. ආණ්ඩුව ප්‍රවෘත්ති පත්‍ර ගන්නට යනවා. අපි ඒකට සම්පූර්ණයෙන් විරුද්ධයි. එදත් අපි ඒකට විරුද්ධ වුණා. මා වැලිමඩ අතුරු මන්ත්‍රී තරඟයට ඉදිරිපත් වූ අවස්ථාවේ ඉදිරිපත් කළ කරුණු අතර ප්‍රචන් පත් ගැනීමට විරුද්ධ වීමත් එකක් බව කියන්නට සතුටුයි. ප්‍රචන් පත් කොමිෂන් සභා වාර්තාව අපි පත්‍රයෙන් දැක්ක. තවම අපට ඒ වාර්තාව ලැබුණේ නැහැ. නමුත් අපට පෙනෙනවා, ප්‍රචන් පත් ගැනීමෙන් මේ රටේ නිදහස් සාකච්ඡාවට—ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදයට—පහරක් වදින බව. අපට ප්‍රචන් පත්වලින් කරදර ලැබීම නියෙනවා. ප්‍රචන් පත් අයිතිකාරයෝ අපට නෙයෙකුත් කරදර කරල නියෙනවා. අපේ වාර්තාවල් එකක්වත් දාන්නේ නැහැ. ගහන්න පුළුවන් හැම පාරක්ම ගහනවා. ඒක වෙනම ප්‍රශ්නයක්.

ප්‍රචන් පත් අයිතිකාරයන් ඊයේ පෙරේයි දත් කැන වැඩක් කළ බව අපි දන්නවා. “ටයිම්ස් ඔප් සිලෝන්” සමාගමේ විවේචකයෙක් හැටියට හිටපු මහත්මයෙක්, මේ සභාවේ කුමුරු පණත ගැන වාද වන විට පත්‍රයේ මුල් පිටුවේ දැන්වීමක් දැමීම, මෙතන කෙරෙන විවාදය ‘ඩැම්ප් ස්ක්විඩ්’—පුස් වෙඩිල්ලක්—කියා. මොකක්ද පුස් වෙඩිල්ලය කිවේ? විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ නායකතුමා ඉදිරිපත් කළ අදහස්. ඒ විවේචක මහත්මයාගේ අදහසයි ඒ ලිව්වේ. මොකක්ද වුණේ? “ටයිම්ස් ඔප් සිලෝන්” සමාගමට ගිය හැටියේ ප්‍රධාන කතෘ ඒ මහත්මයාට කීව, තමුසෙ කරල නියෙන්නේ වරදක්; කෙරුණු වැඩය නොවෙයි, තමුසෙ

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

කියල නියෙන්නේ, කියා. එහෙම කියල ඒ මහත්මයාට එතනින් අයිත් කරල දැමීම. එක වචනයක් ලිවිය කියායි, එහෙම කළේ. ඔය විධියේ අනන්ත වැරදි පත්‍ර අයිතිකාරයන් කරනවා. ඒ වැරදි හදන්න වෙනම මාර්ග නියෙනවා. එතන වැඩ කරන අයට හරියට වැඩ කරන්න දෙන්නේ නැත්නම් රටේ ප්‍රගතියට විරුද්ධව ප්‍රචන් පත්කාරයන් ඔවුන්ගේ බලය පාවිච්චි කරනවා නම්, ඒ වැරදි හැදීමට වෙන ක්‍රම නියෙනවා. ඒ ක්‍රම ක්‍රියාත්මක කරනවා නම් අපි උදව් දෙන්න ලැස්තියි. නමුත් ප්‍රචන් පත් ආණ්ඩුව අතට ගන්නවාට අපි විරුද්ධයි. ගුවන් විදුලිය අරගෙන අද මොකක්ද වෙලා නියෙන්නේ? මේ සභාවේ කථාවත් පළ වන්නේ නැහැ. ප්‍රචන් පත් ගන්න හැටියෙන් ඒකයි සිදු වන්නේ. මේ සභාවේ කෙරෙන කථාවත් පළ වන්නේ නැහැ. ඇමතිවරුන්ගේ කථා පමණයි, පළ වන්නේ. ඇමති මණ්ඩලය අතර හේද තිබෙනවා නම් සමහරුන්ගේ කථා පළ වන එකක් නැහැ.

ජේ. ආර්. ජයවර්ධන මයා.

(කිතු. ஜே. ஆர். ஜயவர்தன)

(Mr. J. R. Jayewardene)

ගුවන් විදුලිය වගේ.

කේ. එම්. පී. රාජරත්න මයා.

(කිතු. கே. எம். பி. ராஜரத்ன)

(Mr. K. M. P. Rajaratna)

ඔව්, ගුවන් විදුලිය වගේ වේවි, එම නිසා ප්‍රචන් පත් ආණ්ඩුවට ගැනීම මේ රටේ ජනතාවට ගසන ලොකු පහරක් බව මතක් කරන්නට කැමතියි. මේ රටේ ප්‍රවෘත්ති පත්‍ර 1960 මහා මැතිවරණයේදී ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයට විරුද්ධව ක්‍රියා කළ බව ඇත්තයි. නමුත් ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂය ජයග්‍රහණය කළා නේද? බණ්ඩාරනායක මැතිනිය ගැන කුමන විධියේ විකට චිත්‍ර ප්‍රචන් පත්වල පළ වුණත් 1960 දී ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂය බලයට පැමිණියා. ප්‍රචන් පත්වල පළ කරන දේ හරිද නැත්නම් වැරදිදැයි තේරුම් ගැනීමේ ශක්තියක් මේ රටේ මහජනතාව තුළ තිබෙන නිසා ප්‍රචන් පත්වලට ඕනෑ හැටියටම වැඩ කරන්නට ඔවුන් සූදානම් නැති බව පෙන්නුම් කර තිබෙනවා නේද? හැබැයි, යම් කිසි විධිය



විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පණත, 1964-65

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

කින් පුවත්පත් රජයට ගතහොත් පුවත් පත්වලින් දැන් තිබෙන විපතටත් වඩා විපතක් සිදු වන අතර එය ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදයට ගසන මරු පහරක් වෙනවා. විවේචන තිබිය යුතුයි. විවේචනයට ඉඩ තිබිය යුතුයි. විවේචනයට ඉඩ තිබුණු තරමටයි, යම් යම් කරුණු සුදුසු ලෙස හැඩ ගසෙන්නේ. එම නිසා යම්කිසි විධියකින් පුවත්පත් රජයට ගැනීමට යනවා නම් ඒ ගැන අප තදින්ම විරුද්ධ වෙන බව මතක් කරන්නට ඕනෑ.

මේ කරුණු මේ විධියට ප්‍රකාශ කරන ගමන්ම, මේ අයවැය ලේඛනයෙහි මොනවා කියා ඇත්ත් මේ රටේ ජනතාවගේ ආර්ථික තත්ත්වය මූලික වශයෙන් සතුටුදායක නැති බව පෙනෙන්නට තිබෙන හෙයින්ද, ආර්ථික තත්ත්වය සතුටුදායක වී තිබෙන්නේ අධිරාජ්‍යවාදීන්ගේ, කොමියුනිස්ටයන්ගේ හා ඉන්දියානු ජාතිකයන්ගේ මිස මේ රටේ ගම්බද සිංහල ජනතාවගේ නොවන නමුත් ඒ ගම්බද සිංහල ජනතාවට සහනයක් සැලසීමට, ඔවුන්ගේ ආර්ථික තත්ත්වය සතුටුදායක කිරීමට පියවරක් මේ අයවැය ලේඛනය මගින් ගනු ලබ තිබෙන බවක් නොපෙනෙන හෙයින්ද, ඉන්ද්‍රජාලයක් මෙන් හැම දෙයක්ම එක වර කරන්නට බැරි වුණත් ගම්බද සිංහල ජනතාවගේ, පොදුවේ මෙරට සාමාන්‍ය ජනතාවගේ, ජීවන තත්ත්වය උසස් කිරීම සඳහා 'පියවරවල්' ගන්නා බවක් දක්නට නැති හෙයින්ද, මේ අයවැය ලේඛනයට විරුද්ධත්වය පළ කරමින් මගේ කථාව මෙයින් අවසාන කරනවා.

ප්‍ර. හා. 11.47

ආචාර්ය කොල්වින් ආර්. ද සිල්වා

(டொக்டர் கொல்வின் ஆர். டி சில்வா)

(Dr. Colvin R. de Silva)

Mr. Deputy Chairman, in the forty-five minutes that has been allocated to me as the time during which I am to speak, I propose not so much to enter into the replies to criticisms as to state anew certain positive aspects of the Budget so that the essential questions which we have to discuss or have been discussing may be brought into focus once again.

First of all, I think it would be appropriate to recall that there are certain problems which this country is urgently facing. I do not mean the detailed questions but certain central questions without facing up to which it is impossible to tackle first of all the basic economic problems that face us.

Everyone is aware that we have a serious, indeed dangerous, foreign exchange problem. In terms especially of the regular import bill of this country our foreign assets available for financing the necessary imports have fallen to so low a level that it is necessary to concentrate upon at least the alleviation of the position if the general economic problems are to be tackled at all.

Secondly, internally we face a grave problem of inflation reflected in the two-fold fact of a felt rise in prices on the one hand and a fall in the value of money on the other. No kind of serious economic development can be thoroughly engaged in if inflation gets out of hand in such a way as to remove confidence in the functioning of the economy itself. Therefore, in order to get to what I shall point to as the most basic problem of them all, it is necessary also to urgently address oneself to the question of inflation.

Without the necessary foreign assets which would finance not only the necessary food and consumer imports but also the necessary capital imports, and without a reasonable stability in the value of money internally one cannot turn to, in fact engage in, the systematic development of the country. That, of course, is our fundamental problem for it is not difficult to illustrate that. Without the necessary development you cannot face up thoroughly in the long run to the foreign exchange problem, because ultimately the availability of foreign exchange to us depends upon the maximization of our export volumes and values. Secondly, you cannot expect that effort in economic development and production internally if people do not begin to feel that the payment they receive in terms of



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—දෙවන වර කියවීම

[ආචාර්ය කොල්වින් ආර්. ද සිල්වා]

the effort they make is being continuously undermined by the inflationary process. You will also appreciate that unless development in the adequate manner and in the necessary fields takes place at the necessary rate, it is idle to talk of addressing yourself to the problem of unemployment, for unemployment is not a problem which you solve by going, as you might term, direct at unemployment. Unemployment is a problem you solve out of that general development of the economy which results in the maximization of employment opportunities. These are, of course, elementary things, and I hope hon. Members of this House will excuse me and forgive me for reminding ourselves, for a few minutes, of these matters. But, unless we carry them in mind it is difficult for us to discuss the Budget in anything other than a lop-sided manner.

Then, let us turn to another aspect of the Budget discussions. I shall try to draw them together in due course. We have had as certain pronounced features of this Budget certain measures or proposed measures which have come in for much discussion: some criticism and, in a way, some differences of opinion. Let us take them one by one very briefly in the short time at my command, and let us look at the question in its context before we come to the broader generalities.

Much discussion has taken place here on the change in the mode of taxing tea. Now, let us separate and disentangle the two aspects of the matter. The first is the proposal in principle, namely, that instead of the system which we have known as the *ad valorem* duty, we should substitute for it a straight duty at the export point covering all this plus an acreage tax on the tea plantations. A 100-acre level has been fixed so that the smaller holder may be exempted. That is relief in the first place, most advisedly, to those very people in the rural areas of whom the last speaker spoke so

much but tended to forget in fact. Now, the first question that this House has to make up its mind on is: Is this change proper, desirable and correct? I submit it is. There is a different aspect once you accept the principle. In its application, what are the rates of land tax, so to speak, that you should impose on the acreage—the tax rates you should impose on the tea estates? I should imagine that that is a question on which there can be a fair difference of opinion, for that should be a matter for necessary discussion. And, as the knowledge and experience of hon. Members themselves and others outside is brought to bear upon the application of the principle, it may well be that various modifications and extensions of the rates and re-adjustments may prove necessary. I do not know; I do not claim to be an expert in this field. But I am willing to think that such a modification may be necessary.

What is the precise change? Some of the discussions have a little gone off the reality, because there have been misapprehensions as to the nature of the change proposed. Today, tea is taxed in the following way. There is the straight 35 cents export duty paid by the shipper at the point of purchase at the Colombo Auctions. No doubt, in determining the price, the bidder carries in his mind the 35 cents export duty and adjusts his price bid accordingly.

Then there is the price that is received for the tea by the producer. If that price exceeds a certain level, then out of the price which the tea realised at the auction, the producer pays a further sum which may go as high as 70 cents a pound. That is the position.

Let us realize that under the new system that is proposed that second duty, if I may call it, disappears. If at an auction a producer's tea fetches Rs. 2.50 per pound, that producer will receive that full Rs. 2.50, whereas formerly, under the *ad valorem* system of duty he would not. He would receive Rs. 2.50, less the producer's duty, if I may use



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—தேவன் வர் கியதே

that term, which might be 50 cents, 60 cents, 70 cents and so on according to the level of the price. The full Rs. 2.50 now comes into his hands.

Then, on the other hand, if his estate is over 100 acres, he pays according to whether it is low grown, mid grown or high grown teas a certain acreage tax. It will be appreciated therefore that the more the owner can maximize his income, the greater the volume of tea over which that income can be spread, or rather the more he maximises his income, the more he maximises his production from which he gets his income, the more the income that will remain in his hand because the amount he pays on the estate remains fixed. Thus there is the stimulus to a greater volume of production of better quality tea. That is the point.

With regard to the rates, you will forgive me I have not the time to enter into a detailed discussion. But I repeat, for myself I can well understand that as more and more experience is brought to bear upon the relevant rates at the various levels, various modifications and extensions of the acreage tax may well be necessary.

I want to point out one other thing in advance. The other night the hon. Appointed Member (Mr. R. Singleton-Salmon), appointed to represent this very type of interest, lodged a small miracle defence of the *ad valorem* system. But I happen to know that those very interests opposed the very introduction of the *ad valorem* system on the very grounds on which they now say it needs to be retained, namely, there would be substitution for good teas, increase of the production of the wrong teas, and so on.

தேவன் வர் கியதே.

(திரு. கெனமன்)

(Mr. Keuneman)

He wanted the *ad valorem* duty knocked out, not the acreage tax.

தேவன் வர் கியதே.

(தொகைக் கொள்வின் ஆர். டி. சில்வா)

(Dr. Colvin R. de Silva)

However, I said that I am not on polemics. I seek to clarify.

Then there has been much discussion here on the House Property Tax. I think it is necessary to clarify matters. I can well understand why, for instance, hon. Members of the United National Party have concentrated much attack on this tax. I do not say that they do so merely because some of them happen to be house-owners. It is not that personal approach that I want to make. I think there is a very basic reason why they oppose it. They see in this House Property Tax what is truly a major invasion upon the private property system, and since they are defenders of the private property system they immediately rise in resistance. That is the true principle underlying their attitude.

But what is this House Property Tax? There is no known tax that you can think of where you cannot produce a hard case; but it is an old saying in the profession to which I belong that hard cases make bad law. You must look at the matter broadly. There may be other exceptions that might have to be introduced, heaven knows!

First of all let us not forget that the House Property Tax is intended to be a penal tax. There is no point crying out against it. It is intended to be a penal tax and it was so stated.

In what sense is it going to be a penal tax? The aim is a certain redistribution of house ownership plus—as a necessary consequence of this law—a reduction in general house property values. Both will be achieved by this.

First of all, what is proposed to be done? Any person may have one house which is for himself in the sense that he may live in it or he may live by it. There will be nothing in the way of that person



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—දෙවන වර කියවීම

[ආචාර්ය කොල්වින් ආර්. ද සිල්වා.]

renting that house out. That is the house for him to live by. Beyond that he may own other houses and live by them or live in them provided the total value of the other houses does not exceed Rs. 100,000. If it exceeds Rs. 100,000 the excess will attract a ten per cent tax.

You will realize that a person having that level of property will also have to consider this tax in relation to his Wealth Tax and his Income Tax. They all come together. This tax is a means of persuading him by law—if possible compelling him—to alienate the excess house property so that it can be acquired by others.

I was rather surprised to hear that the hon. Second Member for Colombo Central (Mr. Keuneman) thought that this would merely give other investors an opportunity to invest, but we must remember that they will not be investors of that level. That is the point. While the total investment may be the same, that investment will be distributed amongst a larger number of investors. In other words, the concentration of house property in a few hands will tend to be broken.

Some may say: "What is ten per cent?" Ten per cent in itself may, to some, mean nothing. Ten per cent to others may be much. But you must look at it together with two other factors. One is the Income Tax, where the upper slabs are not interfered with; but, far more important, it must be looked at together with a fact that has been completely forgotten in the discussion, namely, that the Wealth Tax rates have been steeply graded upwards in the upper levels and that the 80 per cent income level has been removed. This is a matter which has been so completely explained by the hon. Second Member for Colombo South that I do not propose to enter into it. In other words, it is directed at the bigger wealth owners, and it is a direction which has been given this bias in respect

of houses because of the housing problem in the country. This is meant to encourage something more. A person having such a house which would attract this 10 per cent., will, when the law comes, you will find I am sure, be given the freedom, for instance, to enter into a rent purchase agreement with his tenants, so that the tenants of today can become the owners of the houses of which they are the tenants, tomorrow. Such factors will be there. I do not want to take a disproportionate amount of the time of the House. That is the meaning of the penal nature of the tax; it is a compelling of the distribution of house property instead of extending the tendency to their concentration in the hands of a few.

Then, Sir, much has been discussed about the export-import bank, and so on. I listened very carefully to the hon. Member who spoke last when he was dealing with it, and it was manifest to me, I am sorry to say, that he made the mistake of thinking that the export-import bank is an export-import house.

The export-import bank will be concerned with what other banks do, namely financing of exports and imports. You must take that together with the proposed State Trading Corporation and a number of other factors which I have not the time to go into. But let us discuss what it is.

First of all, in the fourteen point agreement, what has been proposed and agreed upon by the two coalition parties is the control of the banks and control of agency houses. Now, it is certainly open to hon. Members to say that a coalition on that footing is insufficient or any other criticism that hon. Members may wish to make of the programme of the Coalition Government. And on that, I do not propose to enter into a debate now, because that is not relevant.

In terms of the fourteen point agreement, what is the proposal here? I make bold to claim that it



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is a proposal for the control of banks which gets so close to the border of nationalization that the next step will be the simplest of them all.

Be that as it may, I wish to say one thing first. It has been said in this honourable House that the banks would be glad to participate in this. I hope hon. Members who said that had their own good sources of information. My own perfectly good sources of information, including facts which I do not want to bring into the discussion because they have been properly entered into by the Hon. Minister of Finance, are otherwise, and I say quite categorically in this House, that the foreign exchange banks are totally opposed to this proposal. But I add, if they do not come into this proposal, then I have not the faintest doubt that the next step, namely the total take over of these banks, will take place.

ඩී. පී. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන මයා. (අවිසාවෙල්ල)

(திரு. டி. பி. ஆர். குணவர்தன—அவிசாவெல்ல)

(Mr. D. P. R. Gunawardena—Avisawella)

Why wait till then for the next step?

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(டொக்டர் கொல்வின் ஆர். டி சில்வா)

(Dr. Colvin R. de Silva)

Sir, I am perfectly willing to answer that. I have waited, and even reminded the hon. Member for Avissawella that I waited for him for three years from 1956 to 1959 to even endeavour taking a step in that direction. So, I am not very affected by having to hear this now.

ඩී. පී. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන මයා.

(திரு. டி. பி. ஆர். குணவர்தன)

(Mr. D. P. R. Gunawardena)

I was the first to start a State bank.

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

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(டொக்டர் கொல்வின் ஆர். டி சில்வா)  
(Dr. Colvin R. de Silva)

To start a State bank and to take over the foreign exchange banks are not one and the same thing. [Interruption.] No, Sir, if we must argue across the Floor, I do not mind if he must.

ඩී. පී. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන මයා.

(திரு. டி. பி. ஆர். குணவர்தன)

(Mr. D. P. R. Gunawardena)

I am sorry.

ආචාර්ය කොල්වින් ආර්. ද සිල්වා  
(டொக்டர் கொல்வின் ஆர். டி சில்வா)  
(Dr. Colvin R. de Silva)

No, Sir, I repeat I am not entering into any polemics. The hon. Member for Avissawella is well entitled to say: "Your 14 point programme should have been for the taking over of the banks." If the 14 point programme had provided for the taking over of the banks, every hon. Member in this House would have been entitled to get up and attack the Hon. Minister of Finance for not taking them over. But, since he must honour the 14 point agreement, you may attack the 14 point programme, but not the proposed Export-Import Bank, for not providing for the nationalisation of the banks. Let us be fair even when we are polemic.

There is more. We have in the proposed boards of control such an invasion of the property system in precisely this sector as no Government in this country has made before. Hon. Members have not given thought to the proposed boards of control. It is a board of control which will entitle the Government to place its own representatives on the directorates not only of agency houses but of all companies. That is clearly stated in the Hon. Finance Minister's statement.

This need arises from a different source. It must be said so. We must face facts, and the first fact is



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—දෙවන වර කියවීම

[ආචාර්ය කොල්වින් ආර්. ද සිල්වා.]

this. If you are thinking in terms of a private sector which has to accord itself to, and function within, an overall plan for the development of the economy of this country, you cannot leave the private sector companies without at least the degree of control that is contemplated in the Budget speech.

Now, I know it can be said, "Why do you not take over the companies?" But that is a different field of argument and totally irrelevant to this Budget speech.

කෙනෙත් මයා.

(කී.රු. කෙනෙමන්)

(Mr. Keuneman)

And also a valid field of argument.

ආචාර්ය කොල්වින් ආර්. ද සිල්වා

(දොරාල් කොල්වින් ආර්. ද සිල්වා)

(Dr. Colvin R. de Silva)

It is a valid field of argument I repeat, and I agree, in the correct field and context. My hon. Friend and I agree on that, so we need not spend much time on it.

I am on a further point into which I wish to intrude at this stage. I do not think that thus far the extent of the interference with private property rights in this Budget has been explained or fully appreciated in this honourable House. We have declared a moratorium on the export of dividends. It involves at least Rs. 70 million which these foreign owners were ordinarily entitled to export. That is to be kept in this country for this year. I have no doubt, if you ask any one of the company people whose dividends come under this moratorium, they will say: "The trouble with a moratorium of a year is that the period tends to extend itself."

I do not propose to refer to the limitation on dividends, but I wish to refer in this context to the Wealth Tax as it is now remodelled. I speak from memory, but I believe, when it gets over a million rupees worth of property or thereabouts or a little

more, it goes up to 5 per cent. I am speaking from memory. I hope my figures are correct. Whether it is 5 per cent or 6 per cent it makes no difference, but I think it is 5 per cent. I would ask the House please to pay attention to the fact that formerly, as my hon. Friend from Colombo South (Mr. Bernard Soysa) clearly explained to us yesterday, the Wealth Tax was truly not a wealth tax at all; it was a tax on income in the form of a wealth tax or in the name of a wealth tax, because the wealth tax was not attracted beyond the point where in paying wealth plus income tax you would get beyond 80 per cent of your income. In other words they said, "You will pay out of income your wealth tax and you will be guaranteed the 20 per cent of your income." But that is not wealth tax. That does not force anybody to part with wealth. It only takes a high slab from his income. But now that 80 per cent. limitation is removed. If your wealth tax plus your income tax plus your house property tax, comes to 150 per cent. of your income, then you will have to pay the 150 per cent. That is to say, to meet your final 50 per cent. you will have to sell or alienate a portion of your property. That is the whole point. Thereupon one may argue whether the ceiling is too high. That is a different question. But for the first time a true ceiling on property ownership is beginning to operate on wealth in its totality. That is the meaning of this.

Now I want to turn to another subject. I said that development is the central problem and unless we can develop our economy in its various aspects with the necessary speed we cannot solve any of our problems including the immediate problem of foreign exchange. I mentioned in that connection the question of inflation. In that connection, may I say something? In my belief—and I make bold to say this—the first major contribution to the struggle and fight against inflation in this country has been



විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පනත, 1964-65

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

made by this Budget by the simple fact that it is a Budget which truly produces a surplus. I do not think any Wattala laughter will show any understanding but only the customary vacuity of a brain.

ඩී. බී. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන මයා.  
(කොට්ටාව)

(திரு. டி. பி. ஆர். குணவர்தன—கொட்டாவ)  
(Mr. D. B. R. Gunawardena—Kottawa)

He had the understanding when he was on this side.

ආචාර්ය කොල්වින් ආර්. ද සිල්වා  
(டொக்டர் கொல்வின் ஆர். டி சில்வா)  
(Dr. Colvin R. de Silva)

Who had?

ඩී. බී. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන මයා.  
(திரு. டி. பி. ஆர். குணவர்தன)  
(Mr. D. B. R. Gunawardena)  
The Minister of Finance.

ආචාර්ය කොල්වින් ආර්. ද සිල්වා  
(டொக்டர் கொல்வின் ஆர். டி சில்வா)  
(Dr. Colvin R. de Silva)

The Minister of Finance has the same understanding on that side as on this. It is clear from your interruption, my good Friend, that you have not understood his instructions for 30 years. Pardon me, we will not have cross talk. I am willing for cross talk.

ඩී. බී. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන මයා.  
(திரு. டி. பி. ஆர். குணவர்தன)  
(Mr. D. B. R. Gunawardena)

He has contradicted what he has been saying.

ආචාර්ය කොල්වින් ආර්. ද සිල්වා  
(டொக்டர் கொல்வின் ஆர். டி சில்வா)  
(Dr. Colvin R. de Silva)

What he has said, as far as I am aware, contains no contradiction from what he said in his Budget. Everybody has got up and said there is a contradiction, but nobody has produced a contradiction. It is like my

hon. Friend from Welimada who said, "Oh, the estates are paying Rs. 550 duty", but never produced a figure from any source. At this rate you can argue a donkey's hind legs off. If you create figures—

කුසුමා රාජරත්න මයා. (උගව-පරණගම)  
(திருமதி குஸுமா ராஜரத்ன—ஊவ-பரணகம)

(Mrs. Kusuma Rajaratna—Uva-Paranagama)

වාර්තාව ඉදිරිපත් කළා.

ආචාර්ය කොල්වින් ආර්. ද සිල්වා  
(டொக்டர் கொல்வின் ஆர். டி சில்வா)  
(Dr. Colvin R. de Silva)

නැහැ, නැහැ, වාර්තාවක් ඉදිරිපත් කළේ නැහැ, මැතිනිය.

කුසුමා රාජරත්න මයා.  
(திருமதி குஸுமா ராஜரத்ன)  
(Mrs. Kusuma Rajaratna)

ඇයි නැත්තේ? වැලිමඩ මන්ත්‍රීතුමා වාර්තාව ඉදිරිපත් කළා.

ආචාර්ය කොල්වින් ආර්. ද සිල්වා  
(டொக்டர் கொல்வின் ஆர். டி சில்வா)  
(Dr. Colvin R. de Silva)

නැහැ, උන්නැහේම වාර්තාවක් නම්, වාර්තාවක් ඉදිරිපත් කළාය කියන්න පුළුවනි.

කුසුමා රාජරත්න මයා.  
(திருமதி குஸுமா ராஜரத்ன)  
(Mrs. Kusuma Rajaratna)

එහේම නොවෙයි, වාර්තාව ඉදිරිපත් කළා.

ආචාර්ය කොල්වින් ආර්. ද සිල්වා  
(டொக்டர் கொல்வின் ஆர். டி சில்வா)  
(Dr. Colvin R. de Silva)

Let us be fair to ourselves and let us be fair to each other. I fully understand. Hon. Members sometimes feel keenly about the political differences we have and they like to hit out and when you hit out you do not always look whether you place your blow in the proper place. I



විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පණත, 1964-65

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

[ආමාජීය කොල්වින් ආර්. ද සිල්වා]

have been a boxer and I have received many a blow below the belt but I have survived. That is all right. I do not mind. I am sure the Minister of Finance too does not mind.

But I say this. Let hon. Members remember that the entire Front Bench of the Opposition, in which I was one, in the days of the S. L. F. P. Government, always stressed the inflation to the growing unfinanced, ill-financed budget deficits unaccompanied by development. Well, if you close the deficit you are making a major contribution to the fight against inflation. Please note my words carefully. I did not say you are solving the problem of inflation. I said you are making a major contribution to the fight against inflation. Ultimately you will not solve this problem till you solve the development problem.

We have been told by hon. Members in the Front Bench on the other side that this has been an accounting system, that it is very easily done. All that you have got to do is this, what you have on the right hand side you put to the left hand side and what you have on the left hand side you put to the right hand side and you change the picture and you change the balance.

I would like to remind the hon. Members, without going into it, that one of the complete logicalities between the Hon. Minister of Finance's past and the present was precisely in respect of these Treasury Bills. For years he said, I said and the hon. Leader of the Opposition said, "What are these wretched Treasury Bills that are taken by the Central Bank and the Government?" They are merely Government self-financings amounting to formation or creating of money. It is right, logical, therefore, that when the Government coins its own money, it does not charge itself interest. That is why the Hon. Minister removed that fiction. That is the logicity

with the past. I must be forgiven for not spending my time to show the logicalities with his past.

Now, I want to come to another aspect. That the measures which the Government, including the Hon. Minister of Finance, has taken to share the formation of the Coalition itself, had a distinct and widespread impact upon the inflationary situation was shown by the emergence of black-market goods into the open market. I do not want to be crowing over the matter but it is sufficient to point to the fact that it did happen. Of course, Sir, the emergence of the hoards does not solve the price problem. I beg the hon. Members not to forget that nobody suggests that you will solve the price problem only through this Budget, but that there are a whole series of measures which include the mass people's committees to come precisely on the prices and black-market. I shall come to that in the last 10 to 15 minutes that I have.

I wish now to turn to certain other matters. In my belief no development efforts can succeed unless the Government which has to give the leadership in the development efforts succeeds in enthusing the masses. So what does the process of development ultimately come to? It is the process of the action of human beings upon resources of a country and in modern circumstances, particularly, that requires necessary finances.

I have dealt with the finance side of it pretty roughly. The question of enthusing the masses is what I now want to turn to. This I wish to link incidentally with the 21 demands question. I have no doubt that we are going to have much noise and little sense on this question very soon.—[Interruption].

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(குழுக்களின் பிரதி அக்கிராசனர்)

(Mr. Deputy Chairman of Committees)

Order, please !



விசேஷ கௌன்சில் உத்தரவு, 1964-65

—தேவன் வர கியவிலை

ஃபர்வீஸ் கௌன்சில் ஃபர். டி. சில்வா

(டொக்டர் கொல்வின் ஆர். டி. சில்வா)

(Dr. Colvin R. de Silva)

I have only ten minutes more otherwise I am prepared to have an argument across the Floor of the House because it may be found that when we have an argument it may not be successful as you imagine.—*[Interruption]*. The hon. Member for Kottawa and I know how to agree in our disagreements also.

Sir, I wish to draw the attention to certain other features of the Budget. Of this, first I wish to draw the attention to the proposal for a five-day week. As proposed a five day week will be less than 40 hours a week which is demanded in the 21 demands. It is not pleasant for hon. Members who do not want to see the fact and face up to it, but that is the fact. It is a proposal and the only reason why any effort to implement it is delayed is because we think it proper first of all to consult the unions and the interests concerned, but this honourable House can take it that that proposal will be implemented and implemented without fail.

Then, Sir, there is another proposal which I wish to refer to, which has an echo of a certain measure that has been taken in the United Arab Republic. That is the proposal that, of the net profit of any enterprise, 25 per cent shall be set aside for the employees. I wish to remind the hon. Appointed Member Mr. Thondaman that he has overlooked the fact that this proposal covers the plantations as all other enterprises. This is, in fact, the first Budget that makes a direct wage concession precisely also to the plantation workers. I have no doubt that the hon. Member for Welimada will rise in opposition to that.

ඩඩ්ලி சேனானாயக மஃ. (டீடிக்கம)

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனானாயக்க—டெடிக்கம)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake—Dedigama)

What is the proposal? There is no such proposal in the Budget.

ஃபர்வீஸ் கௌன்சில் ஃபர். டி. சில்வா

(டொக்டர் கொல்வின் ஆர். டி. சில்வா)

(Dr. Colvin R. de Silva)

There is. If you will agree to give me another ten minutes I will deal with it. You ask me questions and at the same time ask me to keep to my time. Let me keep to the time. And please fling your questions at the Hon. Minister of Finance who will probably give you fuller answers. After all I am only in the bench behind the Finance Minister, I am not in the Finance Minister's bench.

There is a further proposal. I want to show that the first steps have, in fact, been taken in the Budget towards satisfying the 21 demands. We are not saying that the 21 demands are being sought to be satisfied by this Budget. I take care to say that lest somebody gets up and yells the wrong thing. I know that the yelling is coming because the "yeller" was not happy about the prospect of my following him.

Further, there are indirect concessions. There are certain direct wage concessions to certain sections; there are also indirect wage concessions, which come from re-modelling the income tax at the lower levels, particularly to the salaried sections.

I mentioned the 25 per cent proposal and also the hours proposal. We have already, incidentally, started the carrying out of the absorption of the quasi-clerks into the permanent clerical service. And let me put it in that other form: I have little doubt that the political rights will soon come.

Now, this is a beginning from the point of view that they who participated in formulating the 21 demands, who are today in the Coalition, are setting out on the path of steadily implementing those demands, and some people do not like that fact.

பி. டி. ஃபர். குணவர்தன மஃ.

(திரு. டி. பி. ஆர். குணவர்தன)

(Mr. D. B. R. Gunawardena)

When you implement them we will accept them.



விசேஷ கௌரவப் பணம், 1964-65

—தேவன வர கியதே

அவர்கள் கௌரவத் து. & சிலேவா

(டாக்டர் கொல்வின் துர். டி. சில்வா)

(Dr. Colvin R. de Silva)

The difficulty for people is not to accept what is implemented but to see that the process of implementation has begun. That is the difference between seeing a thing when it is completed and having the intelligence to understand that it is happening.

சி. வி. துர். குகுவர்தன மய.

(திரு. ம. பி. துர். குணவர்தன)

(Mr. D. B. R. Gunawardena)

We do not just cover up these matters with words.

அவர்கள் கௌரவத் து. & சிலேவா

(டாக்டர் கொல்வின் துர். டி. சில்வா)

(Dr. Colvin R. de Silva)

My hon. Friend, we are acting while other people are talking and threatening.

I wish also to add a remark which goes away from the question of the 21 demands back to an earlier question. I wish to bring in a remark on the question of the proposed state trading corporation, or rather corporations, which has a relevancy to the Budget question and the trading question. Through the State Trading Corporation, or corporations, the intention is to progressively take into the hands of the state, through its appropriate organs, three aspects of trading. Of these everybody knows about the progressive take-over of the important sectors of the import trade. To some degree there is understanding of the progressive take-over of the export trade. At least one hon. Member protested that we have not taken over the whole export of tea at once. But, with the proposed State Trading Corporation, when it comes, I am confident that one of the trades into which the state will begin increasingly to intrude is precisely the export trade in tea.

I want to refer to a third aspect that nobody has paid attention to but which is taken in the 14-point programme, to which it came from the U. L. F. programme.

Incidentally, I have recently noticed in the newspapers that the most intransigent opponents of the formation of the United Left Front are now publicly denouncing us for the break-up of the United Left Front which they never wanted formed. These are the turnovers in politics which we are accustomed to and which do not matter. After all, politicians must live by some kind of political contention.

Through this State Trading Corporation it is intended to take over progressively the entirety of the wholesale trade inside this country. I want to stress that fact to this hon. House. There is already that section of the wholesale trade which is in the control of the state, for instance through the C. W. E., but the truth is that the whole of the trade in its major portion in this country is controlled and completely manipulated through the private wholesalers. The private wholesaler has been one of the principal sources of the increase of prices in this country. That is now proved beyond doubt and we need not ask about it. The point is, as anybody will see, that when the private wholesale trade is taken over progressively, the more we have it the more we will be in control of the price mechanism of this country. That is the point.

May I conclude by saying this? I was away for part of this Budget Debate, but I took the trouble when I returned to read all the HANSARDS, the newspaper summaries, etc., so that I may have some idea of what the Debate has gone on about. I have tried to take up the principal questions that have arisen.

I wish, and had intended, to say something on the tree tax system, on which the last speaker, for instance, waxed so eloquent that I began to picture my perfectly sober children suddenly becoming hard drinkers overnight because somebody might tap a coconut tree in the vicinity. It is a strange idea that if you permit the free tapping of trees, everyone of us will start tapping a tree. I do



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—දෙවන වර කියවීම

not know how many are expressing their own suppressed desires when they say that. I do not intend to do it. This does not mean that the temperance movement that is going on in the country will not step up its propaganda on this question.

I have seen the tree tax system in actual operation in the north, and as far as I can see it has not stimulated any drunkenness. But it is perfectly clear that in the north you do not have the *kasippu* menace that we have. Why should we not try this? In trying prohibition, we are repeating the situation that the mighty United States of America saw during their prohibition days.

We can see this new *kasippu* mudalali class gradually invading the spheres of political control and it will not be very long, if we do not break their power, that this House itself will find that there is some unseen power operating behind many an apparent political party. I accuse nobody individually. I do not.

Sir, I have to end my speech. I do respectfully urge this honourable House that, while every attack should be made on the Budget by each of us or any of us from his point of view, the attack and the criticism should be made in terms of the facts and the context of the Budget and not in terms of a Budget that is not. One may say, "This is not the Budget I wished the coalition to propose." But they who say, "This is not the Budget I expected a Sama Samajist to propose," have been telling the country that in entering the Coalition the Hon. Minister is limited in his Sama Samajism. You cannot have it both ways.

I say it is a simple thing. If you look at the particular matters that are stressed in respect of the property system and the invasion of big property rights, it is correct to say that the first cracks will, under these blows, begin to appear in the framework of capitalism which still grips this country. Through those cracks, if we develop the mass committees

et cetera that we are proposing, I have not the faintest doubt that the masses will find their way to make the cracks into breaches.

Finally I believe that the political situation in this country—

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(තිரு. ඩී. ඩී. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන)

(Mr. D. B. R. Gunawardena)

Those cracks will soon be closed by other processes.

ආචාර්ය කොල්වින් ආර්. ද සිල්වා

(දොරාදර් කොල්වින් ආර්. ද සිල්වා)

(Dr. Colvin R. de Silva)

My hon. Friend is eternally trying to close cracks that he cannot find, but that is not my fault. What I fear is that those who cannot see the cracks are in the process of cracking up themselves.

රෝයි රාජපක්ෂ මයා. (හක්මන)

(තිரு. රෝයි රාජපක්ෂ—හක්මන)

(Mr. Roy Rajapakse—Hakmana)

He is himself cracked!

ඩී. බී. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන මයා.

(තිரு. ඩී. ඩී. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන)

(Mr. D. B. R. Gunawardena)

With your processes, you will be cementing those cracks.

ආචාර්ය කොල්වින් ආර්. ද සිල්වා

(දොරාදර් කොල්වින් ආර්. ද සිල්වා)

(Dr. Colvin R. de Silva)

Shall we give ourselves a year and test it next July? That is a fair answer to the hon. Member.

In conclusion, in two sentences may I say that this country and its masses are realigning themselves; the masses are getting ready for another broad advance and when they get ready for a broad advance, they have a way of massively coming together and not letting little chips and splinters stand in the way. I believe in the coming struggle it will be found that the Coalition is the centre of the mobilization of the masses against



විපර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පනත, 1964-65

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

[ආචාර්ය කොල්වින් ආර්. ද සිල්වා]  
the forces of reaction already mobilized around my good Friends of the United National Party.

අ. හා. 12.42

කාරකසභා නියෝජ්‍ය සභාපති

(குழுக்களின் பிரதி அக்கிராசனர்)

(Mr. Deputy Chairman of Committees)

Order, please. Mr. Speaker will now take the Chair.

අනතුරුව නියෝජ්‍ය කාරකසභා සභාපතිතුමා මූලාසනයෙන් ඉවත් වූයෙන්, කථානායකතුමා මූලාසනයට විය.

එඩ්මන්ඩ් සමරක්කොඩි මයා. (බුලත් සිංහල)

(திரு. எட்மன் சமரக்கொடி—புளத்திங் ஹாஸ்)

(Mr. Edmund Samarakkody—Bulathsinhala)

Mr. Speaker, Sir, this is the Budget Debate, and you will agree with me that a Budget Debate has to be kept at a very high level. We have had appeals from hon. Members in the course of this Debate, and an appeal from no less a person than the Hon. Minister of Finance, that we should keep this Debate at a high level; and it was my intention, and it is my intention, to keep it at a high level. The Hon. Minister of Finance should really address those remarks to his Colleagues and lieutenants. He was not here when the last speaker, the hon. Member for Dehiwala-Mt. Lavinia (Dr. Colvin R. de Silva) was making his speech. He referred to a “yeller” who was coming immediately after him. I am the person who has come immediately after him and I am the “yeller”! I think it is wrong to call honourable Members names. It is possible that whenever the hon. Member for Dehiwala-Mt. Lavinia and his Friends look towards this direction they lose their temper and their balance and they forget the advice they have given to others.

ආචාර්ය කොල්වින් ආර්. ද සිල්වා

(டொக்டர் கொல்வின் ஆர். டி சில்வா)

(Dr. Colvin R. de Silva)

No, no! There must be something important enough to lose your temper.

එඩ්මන්ඩ් සමරක්කොඩි මයා.

(திரு. எட்மன் சமரக்கொடி)

(Mr. Edmund Samarakkody)

The only thing his own Colleague and Finance Minister said about me on the last occasion—I did not intend to mention or refer to this incident—in the course of the debate, when a number of things were talked about, was that I lived and would die in 1917, and immediately following this statement he said that I went on my knees to get the support of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party in the 1960 elections.

What is the truth? In 1960, the Lanka Sama Samaja Party entered into a no-contest pact with the Sri Lanka Freedom Party. I was a member of the L. S. S. P. and I contested a seat from that party. In terms of the pact members of both parties had to support each other, and I have, following the directions of my party—I had not left the party—had to support the members of the Government Party and they have had to come and support me. But the Hon. Minister of Finance has thought it fit to make that statement. I do not want to take up more time on this matter, but unfortunately they are not helping us to keep the Debate at a high level as they want us to do.

In this Budget Debate many hon. Members have spoken from both sides of the House. From the Government side we have had the best and the ablest defenders of the Government. We are opposing this Budget. I for my part, and my party, will vote against it. It is just as well that we should know the full case of the Government before we make our remarks.

Before I come to what I propose to say on this Budget, I think it is necessary for me to deal with some of



விசேஷ கௌரவ உறுப்பினர், 1964-65

—உலகம் வளமாகிறது

the speeches made on behalf of the Finance Minister's Budget by several hon. Members. We have had two new Ministers speaking, namely, the Hon. Minister of Communications and the Hon. Minister of Public Works. I do not want to spend much time on their speeches although they took plenty of time. What we heard were details relating to their various departments and those matters had no real relevance to the Budget as such.

The Hon. Minister of Public Works asked us to read the speeches of the Hon. Minister of Finance. I think that is the last thing he should have said. That is where the trouble lies. Actually, the Hon. Minister of Finance told us, he warned us, not to be reminded of his own speeches.

The Hon. Minister of Communications—Why should I spend much time on him? Unfortunately he is not here. I do not like to say very much behind his back, but how can I discuss socialism with him? He himself knows, the party knows, that he joined the party with serious mental reservations. I do not know whether he has those reservations even now. His attitude to the Soviet Union was that it was not a workers' State; that they had State capitalism. So, why should I discuss politics or socialism with the Hon. Minister of Communications?

Now, I come to the most important speech from the side of the Government, the speech made by the hon. Second Member for Colombo South (Mr. Bernard Soysa). We have known him as one of our best speakers. I always thought of him as our silver-tongued orator. That was the term used to describe a very famous orator, the late Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan. I think the hon. Second Member for Colombo South is a speaker of a high order, and I had no doubt that he would make a very interesting speech. But, while his speech was interesting, I cannot say it was fundamentally sound. He said many things. He says the S.L.F.P. is in evolution. I think that

is true. Evolving from what to what? The S.L.F.P. is evolving; it has been evolving from 1956 to 1964; it has been evolving—

உலகம் வளமாகிறது

(கௌரவ அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)

(An hon. Member)

The world is also evolving.

உலகம் வளமாகிறது

(திரு. எட்மன் சமரக்கொடி)

(Mr. Edmund Samarakkody)

Hold your peace. The S.L.F.P. has been evolving from a somewhat confused state into a more defined position.

Having given a picture of a poor man's party, a peasants' party, a workers' party, today, over the years, it has evolved into a party of the manufacturing capitalists of this country. The party of my hon. Friend, the Second Member for Colombo South, also has been evolving from a workers' party, a revolutionary party. Members of a revolutionary party, they have now evolved very much faster and now they are a party that is supporting capitalism in this country.

The hon. Second Member for Colombo South said that this is not a socialist Budget. He said: "How can we have socialism in one year? The Hon. Minister of Finance has been misunderstood." I do not know who has misunderstood; I have not misunderstood, and may I tell them that nobody asked them, nobody ever expected, a socialist Budget. What is their case? He says, "What is our perspective? What have we claimed? We have to build on the existing heritage." He says that we have to gear the Budget to a plan. This is a mixed economy. The question is "where is the control?"

What is this mixed economy? In every capitalist country in the world there is the private sector and the Government sector. I will come to that later. This is not a mixed economy; this is a capitalist economy



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[එඩ්මන්ඩ් සමරක්කොඩි මයා.]

proper that has changed over the years to meet its requirements. At various stages certain changes have taken place.

Talking about this mixed economy, the hon. Member agrees with the Hon. Minister of Finance that the economy is sound but that it has certain diseases that could be cured. When did he learn that? May I ask the hon. Second Member for Colombo South whether that was his position over the years when he was in the Lanka Sama Samaja Party? Is this a capitalist economy which is sound, which has certain diseases which could be cured? Is that his position? When did he arrive at that conclusion? Well, that is his position.

We thought that he would explain to us how he was going to cure the disease of capitalism in this country. That is exactly the question that he should have explained. Are we going to say that they are the defenders of capitalism in this country?

With regard to the question of the 21 demands he says, "Yes, we have not forgotten the 21 demands. Nor have we changed an iota from our anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist attitude. But with regard to the 21 demands the workers must struggle." Yes, when it comes to the question of workers, they must struggle. I ask these hon. Members, why did they go into this Government? Is it to help the workers to struggle? Is that their position? I ask these Ministers and hon. Members.

These workers are struggling. The Velona workers have been struggling for the last 1½ months. And where have you been, hon. Member for Dehiwela-Mt. Lavinia? Workers have been struggling against exploitation. Workers have been demanding not higher wages but the right to form a union. Boys and girls who are paid just one rupee a day have been struggling for one month and 20 days. Where have you been? What a struggle it has been! And, the hon. Member for Dehiwela-Mt. Lavinia,

how have your Police behaved? There have been baton charges on girls and cracking of heads. You know that. Workers must struggle and when they struggle you send the Police against them. Yes, that is the position. So much for my remarks on the matters referred to by the hon. Second Member for Colombo South and the hon. Member for Dehiwela-Mt. Lavinia.

Now, let me come to the Budget. It is customary for a Finance Minister to apologize to the House for the long speech he has to make. But, I think, on this particular occasion, an apology was really necessary. The Hon. Minister of Finance inflicted on this House a 4½ or 5-hour speech. What for? So much is spoken about the great learning of the Hon. Minister of Finance. Of course he is a doctor. But let us soberly consider his speech? What is the justification for such a long speech? He says:

"I apologize to you and this House for trying your patience and its patience so sorely."

Of course he should!

"The only justification I have is that I thought the circumstances warranted as full a statement as possible."—[OFFICIAL REPORT, 30th July, 1964; Vol. 56, c. 1696.]

Pray, tell us what these circumstances are. What is this full statement? Look at this speech; he took four and a half hours over it. Let me spend a minute or two in dealing with the structure of this Budget. The Hon. Minister of Finance is not a novice. He says that he is a person who has been in this House for 28 years barring the period he had been incarcerated. Nobody can say that he does not know.

These are the matters he has included in his Budget Speech. There is a statement on the industrial policy. What for? A number of columns of HANSARD have been spent on this. We had another speech which was inflicted on us about industrial policy—it was a written-out document on industrial policy. Surely they would have known what they were talking about!



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We had a long session about public corporations. What have they got to do with the Budget? Then he referred to the gemming industry. We all like to speak about our gems, but why talk about it in the Budget Speech? With regard to banking reform he could have introduced a White Paper. Then he dealt with details of production targets, foreign aid, foreign exchange policy and so on. He could have spread out his speech for ten hours! So I am sorry I cannot congratulate the Hon. Minister of Finance on his Budget Speech; in structure it is hopelessly bad.

ජේ. ආර්. ජයවර්ධන මයා.

(තිரு. ஜே. ஆர். ஜயவர்தன)

(Mr. J. R. Jayewardene)

Coalition!

එඩ්මන්ඩ් සමරක්කොඩි මයා.

(திரு. எட்மன் சமரக்கொடி)

(Mr. Edmund Samarakkody)

To understand the meaning of this Budget we must go behind it. We can ask: what is the theory behind this Budget? I take it that the theory behind this Budget is that there are different roads to socialism; that revolution through a revolutionary mass struggle is impossible in Ceylon; those old roads—the 1917 roads—are out of date; this is an age of sputniks and we must use the latest methods now. We must ask what these latest methods are.

After 1917 we had the revolution in Yugoslavia in 1945. Is that the road he is talking about? Then the workers and peasants of China took a road in 1949. They also had certain differences with regard to their techniques and tactics. Is that the road you are talking about? There is another road that the workers and peasants of Cuba took in 1959. Is that the road you are talking about? There is a revolution going on in Algeria. Is that the road you are talking about?

ලැ ද සොයිසා සිරිවර්ධන

(கௌரவ டி. சொய்சா சிறிவர்தன)

(The Hon. de Zoysa Siriwardena)

Those are not the only roads.

එඩ්මන්ඩ් සමරක්කොඩි මයා.

(திரு. எட்மன் சமரக்கொடி)

(Mr. Edmund Samarakkody)

If there are some more roads, tell us what they are, please.

The Hon. Minister of Finance told us in his Budget speech that he is trying to place:

“...the country in a sound healthy, position which would ensure its steady progress towards a socialist society, the cherished goal of the toiling masses, if not of all political parties.”—[OFFICIAL REPORT, 30th July, 1964; Vol. 56, c. 1590.]

Then he said:

“Let us move forward with resoluteness to the realization of this cherished goal of socialism, which will usher in peace, progress and plenty for all.”—[OFFICIAL REPORT, 30th July, 1964; Vol. 56, c. 1698.]

Having made his speech their party published it in their paper. Incidentally they have taken the name of our paper “Samasamajaya”. The headline of this paper says:

“මුදල් ඇමතිගේ අය වැයෙන් සල්ලි ගස් හෙල්ලෙයි. ධනපති පන්තියට පහර; පොදු මහජනයට සහන.

The capitalist class is being demolished! That is the impression they have given.

Then, on the other hand, the United National Party through its deputy leader, the hon. First Member for Colomb South, says the Budget has given an answer to the question which the United National Party has raised, namely, whether it is the S. L. F. P. policies or the L. S. S. P. policies that the Coalition Government is following. He concluded from the Budget Speech of the Hon. Finance Minister that the answer has been given, namely “The S. L. F. P. is dead: Long live the L. S. S. P!” So, according to the United National Party, at least the red revolution has started.



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රෝයි රාජපක්ෂ මයා.

(තිரு. රොය් ராஜபக்ஷ)

(Mr. Roy Rajapakse)

Long live the L. S. S. P. Revolutionists!

එඩ්මන්ඩ් සමරක්කොඩි මයා.

(තිரு. எட்மன் சமரக்கொடி)

(Mr. Edmund Samarakkody)

I am sure the Hon. Minister of Finance and his party, and the S. L. F. P., will be somewhat pleased with this remark because the impression they want to create in the country is that they are destroying the capitalist class. Yes, Sir, the red revolution is a serious matter for the capitalists and they cannot take it lying down. It is so with the Communist Manifesto as well: "Let the ruling classes tremble at the Communist Revolution." That was true then, it is true now, and it will be true tomorrow—[*Interruption*].

But are they trembling? Yes. They make speeches and say they are with the red revolution, but there they are smoking cigarettes in the corridors and laughing.

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(திரு. எம். டி. பண்டா—ஹங்குரன்கேத்த)

(Mr. M. D. Banda—Hanguranketa)

Laughing at the Revolutionists!

එඩ්මන්ඩ් සමරක්කොඩි මයා.

(திரு. எட்மன் சமரக்கொடி)

(Mr. Edmund Samarakkody)

Yes, Sir. The real position is that they have yet to say that. But they are the real representatives of the capitalist class. You of the U. N. P. are not the real representatives of that class today. You are a little out of date. You are the representatives of the old plantation capitalists who feel hurt when further taxes are imposed on them. I will tell you in a moment why you are outdated. But the people who really matter, the manufacturing capitalists of this country, what do they say?

This is what the president of the Ceylon Association of Manufacturers, Mr. N. U. Jayawardena, said, commenting on the Budget speech. Who is he? A Marxist? He does not belong to our party.

"This is the best Budget speech I have come across both in analysis and exposition even though one may not agree with its content.

It is certainly a socialist Budget one would expect from an L. S. S. P. Finance Minister."

Then, the same day, the chairman of the Employers' Federation and the Ceylon Chamber of Commerce had said:

"Dr. N. M. Perera's Coalition-Government Budget has eclipsed all previous budgets by covering the widest possible fields of the economy."

He, too, is not a member of our party. He represents vested interests.

He continues further down:

"However, if the harsh measures proposed result in conserving foreign exchange in the shortest possible time, then those measures would be justified.

....The few taxpayers who have born the brunt all these years must welcome the attempt at pruning government expenditure and roping-in of tax-dodgers.

Dr. Perera has rightly emphasized that the only way out of the country's financial difficulties is by hard work and increased productivity. His endeavours to achieve this should have the assistance of every one."

He says that Dr. N. M. Perera and the Government should be assisted in the revolution! The vested interests in this country, the capitalist class, the people who really matter in the capitalist structure, through their spokesman, say all this. That is the real position. And may I remind hon. Members of the United National Party that they need not get cold feet. I read the speech of the Hon. Minister of Finance on the Throne Speech, and this is what he says at column 845 of HANSARD of 15th July, 1964, on the question of the



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socialism of the Coalition Government, referring to the hon. First Member for Colombo South :

"My Friend the hon. First Member for Colombo South (Mr. J. R. Jayewardene) talked of the failure of coalitions. His knowledge of history is very limited. Surely, we know that the Government in Australia is a Coalition Government. For the last fourteen years that has been the position, and it is very successful."

Australia, a socialist government, a coalition government. Very successful!

He asks :

"What is your explanation of that?"

And then he says :

"It depends upon the basic principles on which you come to an agreement to make a coalition succeed or fail.... Quite a number of governments in the West European countries are coalition governments of one type or another. Italy has had no other government but a coalition throughout its recent history. France, West Germany, all those countries have coalition governments."

That is the position. Why should we bother? This is the socialism they are talking of. This is your worry, hon. Second Member for Akurana. I believe we have changed from Dompe socialism and have come now to Yatiyantota socialism.

එම්. ඩී. බන්ඩා මයා.

(திரு. எம். டி. பண்டா)

(Mr. M. D. Banda)

I thought Mahawalatenne.

එඩ්මන්ඩ් සමරක්කොඩි මයා.

(திரு. எட்மன் சமரக்கொடி)

(Mr. Edmund Samarakkody)

If you like you can have that. We are told about the great ability of the Hon. Minister of Finance. Of course, he has ability in certain directions. But unfortunately he has not shown that ability. After having stayed 28 years in the Opposition he goes on to the other side and starts by saying, "Well, I am certain hon. Members will fling my own arguments at me

One would have expected him to say, "All right, I challenge you, disprove me." No, Sir, he does not do that. He says, "You can do that. All that is a game. All that is a part of the game of politics." Now, Sir, I cannot say very much for his great education for that remark. Is that what we have been doing in the L. S. S. P. from 1935? Have we been playing a game? Just because we were on their side did they say something to forget it like the members of his party? Please read that statement; remember that statement and understand that statement. Their leader had been playing a game with the L. S. S. P. and the masses of this country. That is what he has been doing. Why, Sir, to him it is a game of cricket.

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(திரு. ரோய் ராஜபக்ஷ)

(Mr. Roy Rajapakse)

Pandu!

එඩ්මන්ඩ් සමරක්කොඩි මයා.

(திரு. எட்மன் சமரக்கொடி)

(Mr. Edmund Samarakkody)

Pandu, that is what he normally played. When he was at Nuwara Eliya he played cricket; it is good to play the game. He lost in Nuwara Eliya and won in Colombo. It is a part of the game of cricket, to win or lose on whichever side you happen to be.

This Hon. Minister of Finance is very clear. There is no question of misunderstanding him. He has made himself perfectly understood. I am sure he has disappointed some of his own colleagues by uncovering the veil that should have remained so. We thought over the years that the ills of this society, unemployment, poverty, lack of houses and the general misery of the people linked to the economic altar called 'capitalism' in this country will disappear. That is what we in our party and our movement have said yesterday and would say today. But, as the hon. Member before me referred, the Hon. Minister



විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පනත, 1964-65

[එඩ්මන්ඩ් සමරක්කොඩි මයා.]

of Finance, after 28 years has, on behalf of his party, given a certificate to capitalism. This is what he says :

"It is important to highlight this point, because it has become customary for our political opponents and other detractors, both local and foreign, to stigmatize this country as on the verge of bankruptcy. Apparently, we are facing disaster, and we are unable to meet our obligations. Nothing is further from the truth. We have difficulties, and we are going through a difficult time, mainly because of a drop in our export incomes. But our economy is fundamentally sound." — [OFFICIAL REPORT, 30th July, 1964; Vol. 56, c. 1621.]

I ask the hon. Member for Dehiwela-Mt. Lavinia, is this what you taught the workers and the peasants of this country? Is this what you said when you were in the Party, that capitalism is fundamentally sound?

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(திரு. எம். டி. பண்டா)

(Mr. M. D. Banda)

Ceylon capitalism.

එඩ්මන්ඩ් සමරක්කොඩි මයා.

(திரு. எட்மன் சமரக்கொடி)

(Mr. Edmund Samarakkody)

Yes, Ceylon capitalism.

Having said that, in the same breath he reveals the startling situation that our economy is fundamentally sound. At column 1594, quoting the Central Bank figures, he says :

"Ceylon's Gross National Product in money terms increased by 4.8 per cent. in 1963 as compared with 4.5 per cent. in 1962. When we take into consideration the increase in prices during this period, the increase of the Gross National Product in real terms was only 1.8 per cent. in 1963 compared with an increase of 3.7 per cent. in 1962. This looks still more alarming when we take into account the increase of population of nearly 2.6 per cent. during this period. Thus the *per capita* real product in 1963 declined by 0.8 per cent. as against a rise of 1.0 per cent. in 1962." — [OFFICIAL REPORT, 30th July, 1964; Vol. 56, c. 1596.]

This is the position. The economy is fundamentally sound. Straightway

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

in the same column the Hon. Minister goes on to explain and give excuses. He says :

"This poor performance in 1963 was to a great extent due to adverse weather conditions which affected most of our agricultural products."

It is not the capitalist class or the capitalist system but the weather. He should fight the weather.

World capitalism is given a certificate at column 1593. He says :

"During the last year, even the elements had turned against us. Both rubber and coconut underwent a serious drop in the quantity produced, mainly due to adverse weather conditions. Similar unfavourable weather conditions abroad shot up the prices of some of our essential food imports from abroad."

Then he comes to the world market. Now at column 1592 he says another problem of the Ceylon's economy is the world market, that internationally we are at the mercy of the world market both in respect of our exports as well as our imports :—

"Many of the ills that we are confronted with today, arise from the fact that we are getting much less for our exports than we had hitherto got. There has been a steady deterioration of world prices in the three major products that we export. At the same time, our essential imports have shown a tendency to rise in price."

I ask, did not the U. N. P. say that, that because of the world market our primary products are getting poor prices? Members of the U. N. P. have said that and will continue to say that. I think they said that in 1953.

ඩී. ෂෙල්ටන් ජයසිංහ මයා. (වත්තල)

(திரு. டி. செல்டன் ஜயசிங்ஹ—வத்தளை)

(Mr. D. Shelton Jayasinghe—Wattala)

And they criticized us in 1953.

එඩ්මන්ඩ් සමරක්කොඩි මයා.

(திரு. எட்மன் சமரக்கொடி)

(Mr. Edmund Samarakkody)

The Minister goes on to say :

"Internationally also we are often at the mercy of unscrupulous middlemen who deliberately depress prices to suit their own purposes."



විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පනත, 1964-65

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

What, pray, is the world market? The world market today despite the fact that socialist countries are part of it is essentially capitalist. We protest at the world market, we protest at capitalism.

There are further excuses. He says, "What are we to do, the increase in the price of imports was partly the result of the increase in the freight surcharge", not capitalism or the capitalist system. He says, "Do not blame the Sirimavo Bandaranaike Government. The U. K. and Conference Lines have increased the freight from 7½ per cent to 12 per cent, then later to 25 per cent and then 50 per cent." which is the highest on record.

Then he says there have been labour troubles. There you are. This is how the capitalist class talks of the working class—strikes—in their own language. They just come naturally to them. I would have expected a Minister like Mr. J. R. Jayewardene saying that.—[Interruption]. They themselves are shocked that they should not be referred to. The Minister of Finance referred to the labour troubles. They want mass upsurge. At the end of the speech he refers to the steps to produce the mass upsurge. But he says labour troubles is the problem.

Then with regard to shortage of imports, from 1960 we have been blaming the Government and we have opposed the Government in this House that the Government has created this shortage as a result of Government policy. Now he says at column 1954:

"As a result of these adverse conditions leading to sharp reductions in the quantum of imports, there has been a shortage of many goods, and prices of all articles have visibly risen."

In any case he says that "the rise in prices cannot be attributed to Government policy regarding import controls as these particular goods were

available for import under Open General Licence." He has given a complete and full certificate for the import restrictions since 1960. I ask them, what did they say when they were on this side of the House?

With regard to the capital formation, the Central Bank statistics quoted by the Hon. Minister of Finance states that the capital formation has declined in 1963 by nearly 4 per cent. But our Finance Minister says that our economy is fundamentally sound. He comes to the rescue of the capitalists by saying that this decline is the result of the slowing down of investment in building and transport. Oh, it is a minor matter!

Sir, the rising cost of living is one of the most burning questions today, but he says that the consumers' price index has risen from 109.3 in July 1963, to 110.3, in December 1963, and in June this year to 112.8. All this he explains away by saying, "Yes, it is quite true that during the last 12 months there has been a 3.5 points increase". He also says that the most important factor that led to the high cost of living was due to high prices of condiments, spices and clothing. He also adds that of the total increase of 3.5 points in the cost of living, 1.5 was due to the higher prices of condiments, beverages and so on. He further states that these increases, however, were offset by declines in respect of other items, such as coffee, pepper, garlic, mustard, tamarind, Bombay onions, pulses, non-seasonal vegetables and fruits, yams, mutton, fresh fish and potatoes.—[Interruption]. Also a reduction in the price of dried fish. Sir, having said all that he comes to Gintupitiya Nadars and says that they are the people to be blamed.

He comes out with ready excuses for the failures of the capitalists and the capitalist system and says, "Thus an increase in the price level is an inevitable phenomenon in under-developed countries such as Ceylon in the present context of economic development and of world price trends". Sir, mark the words!



විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පණත, 1964-65

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

[ඛනිජ සේනානායක මයා.]

poverty? It is on production that you will have to base your socialism. If we have a tremendous backlog to make up in the sphere of housing, distribution alone is not going to help. How on earth is this distribution going to help you? Your committee has set out the tremendous burden that has to be carried by the private sector in a solution of the housing problem. You have inflicted a terrible blow on that sector as regards the construction of houses. I know that there are many points in that report. The Hon. Minister may gloat over the fact that he is making a distribution. But where is the solution to the problem of housing? What are your investments? Your investment on housing is mentioned. It is Rs. 41 million. Your investment by the public sector alone, according to your programme, should be Rs. 1,000 million by 1972. Is this the rate at which you are going to have your socialism? In addition, you have inflicted a blow on the private sector and discouraged it from building any houses.

විවියන් ගුණවර්ධන මිය.

(திருமதி விவியன் குணவர்தன)  
(Mrs. Vivienne Goonewardene)

They did not build any.

ඩඩ්ලි සේනානායක මයා.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனானாயக்க)  
(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

If they did not build any, what is all this about a take-over?

රු ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)  
(The Hon. Dr. N. M. Perera)

Built long ago.

ඩඩ්ලි සේනානායක මයා.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனானாயக்க)  
(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

In every field, in every matter, the problems of this country will be further aggravated by this Budget. This is not an honest solution to the problems that face this country. Even socialism must be a socialism of

plenty, not a socialism of poverty. The hon. Member for Dehiwela-Mt. Lavinia (Dr. Colvin R. de Silva) emphasized that production is the long-term solution to the ills that have befallen this country. What is the production outcome under this Budget that we are discussing today?

Whatever ideas you may have, we have reached a stage when we have to give a certain amount of freedom to the private sector to develop the country. You may want to take it over later. Do it by all means then, if you think it best.

Of course, everybody is against monopoly capitalism. While one is against monopoly capitalism, one is also against the worst form of monopoly—monopoly by the State. That is the worst form of monopoly. I do not think that at this stage of our development the public sector alone is going to solve our problems. Apart from the difference in political philosophy, you have not the administration to cope with that at the moment. It is shown by the capital output ratio in this country at the present moment. Therefore, for a time, it is absolutely essential to give the private sector also a chance. If not, you will never cope with the rate of increase of our population. That is the situation.

Production is the only solution to the ills that have befallen us, and, thank heaven, he has confessed that we have our highly industrialized plantation economy to withstand the shocks hitherto faced.

This Budget, therefore, does not touch any of those vital problems; rather, at worst, it affects adversely those vital problems.

But then, the Hon. Minister is no fool. He has his own policy. We had an inkling of that from the speech of the hon. Member for Dehiwela-Mt. Lavinia. What is it? This will create the chaos that hon. Members have been waiting for. The Hon. Minister ended his Budget Speech by saying—and many hon. Members quoted him—that there would be a mass upsurge.



You cannot allow the capitalist economy to deteriorate. You will not be able to face a revolution if you allow the capitalist class to invest valuable money in house property when what you need is industry. That is why the N. U. Jayawardenas and the capitalists that matter have described this as the finest Budget.

Let me now come to the question of nationalization. Hon. Members talked about the private sector and the public sector. The question of more and more State enterprise and the question of economic development through the State—are they causes of worry to the capitalist class of this country? Hon. Members on my left yell—no, I shall not use the word “yell”. They raise their hands and say that the private sector is going out. They know that the only chance of survival for capitalism in this country is through direct State intervention.

Nationalization is not at all a new idea. It has been part of the economy of capitalist countries before and after the World War. Prior to the World War, in most of the developed capitalist countries the State sector was limited in scope to post and telecommunications, railways, arsenals, etc. After the World War, because of the unprecedented gravity of the economic crisis in the capitalist world, nationalization on a wide scale was put into effect. The Italian Government, in the 1920-21 economic crisis, paid 250 million liras to buy up the bankrupt Italian development country bank and the industrial companies associated with it. In the 1932 economic crisis the Italian Government spent 1.440 million liras to buy up the three biggest banks, centres of finance capital in Italy, and many industrial enterprises which were in a state of bankruptcy.

Thus, another function of State intervention is to save bankrupt capitalists. Today, some of the bankrupt capitalists are asking you to take over. Do you know that? You are worried about the suggestion to take over all estates.

In this connexion I would like to read out the statement made to the Press by the President of the Low Country Products Association on the Budget. It appears in the “Daily News” of the 8th August, 1964. This is what it says:

“In fact, quite recently, our Association had occasion to advise the Minister of Agriculture to request the Government to take over mid-country tea, both as a measure of relief to owners of mid-country tea estates who have lost vast sums of money through the decline of tea prices and...to the economic development of the country.”

Then, Sir, in the 1929-1933 economic crisis, the German Government rescued many big banks and enterprises on the verge of bankruptcy by large share purchases. In 1931, Hitler's Minister of Finance, Schacht, admitted that the government controlled about 70 per cent. of the German banks and therefore many of the joint stock companies.

Post-war events—in 1945 the Bank of England was nationalized. By 1951, coal, power, gas industries, internal transport and part of metallurgical industries were nationalized. What is the position today? In Britain the State operates 1/5th of the British industries, employing 20 per cent. of the workers. There is socialism in Britain. Why are these people worried?

Then, in Austria, during 1946-47 the following were State-controlled. 98 per cent. of the steel produce and coal mining; 90 per cent. of the steel products; 94 per cent. of non-ferrous metals; 91 per cent. of oil extraction and refinery; 40 per cent. of power industry; and 31 per cent. of machine building and steel structural engineering. That is 28 per cent. of the national industrial output.

Nationalization is in the interest of sustaining capitalism. In underdeveloped countries like Ceylon, Burma and India the State has to enter into these activities in a big way and undertake what the capitalist class is not in a position to undertake. Take the cement factory



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පාර්ලිමේන්තු කටයුතු පිළිබඳ පුවත්පත් වාචි

[එඩ්මන්ඩ් සමරක්කොඩි මයා.]

and the sugar factory in Ceylon. Is there enough capital formation in this country for the capitalists to undertake such industries?

I am coming to another point, Sir.

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පිළිබඳ පුවත්පත් වාචි

சிறப்புரிமை : பாராளுமன்ற நிகழ்ச்சி பற்றிய  
பத்திரிகை அறிக்கை

PRIVILEGE : PRESS REPORT OF  
PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS

ශ්‍රී ද සොයිසා සිරිවර්ධන

(கௌரவ டி சொய்சா சிறிவர்தன)

(The Hon. de Zoysa Siriwardena)

Mr. Speaker, I wish to raise a matter of Privilege. It is the question of unfair and discriminatory reporting of the proceedings of this House by the "Ceylon Daily News." I refer to a speech made by the hon. Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Rural and Industrial Development. During the course of his speech in the House on 12th August, 1964, the hon. Parliamentary Secretary quoted the original letter received by the Hon. Prime Minister from Messrs. Carr & Co. Ltd., England, in reference to the hon. Member for Wattala (Mr. D. Shelton Jayasinghe).

That letter was read out in the course of his speech by the hon. Parliamentary Secretary and appears at column 2601 of HANSARD of 12th August, 1964. I would like to read it out.

"The Biscuit Works,  
Carlisle,

8th March, 1961.

Dear Madam Prime Minister,

Please forgive the liberty we take in writing on a purely commercial matter. Messrs. D. C. Jayasinghe & Co., 180, Keyzer Street, Colombo, have been our Agents in Ceylon for many years and the present sole proprietor of the business is Mr. Donald Shelton Jayasinghe. This gentleman, at present a member of your opposition party, informs us

that he has been offered the post of Minister of Commerce in your Government and we write to inquire whether you would be so kind as to confirm this. Naturally such an appointment would affect his commercial background and it is for this reason we enquire.

Yours faithfully,

for CARR & CO., LTD.,  
Chairman."

I produce a copy of the "Ceylon Daily News" dated the 14th August, 1964, which contains a report of the speech of the hon. Parliamentary Secretary (Mr. T. B. M. Herath). It appears at page 6 and I should like to read it out. It reads :

"MR. T. B. M. HERATH (Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Industries and Rural Development) said that the Member for Wattagama had said that the government had driven the first nail in the coffin of democracy, but he (Mr. Herat) would go further and say that the Finance Minister had removed all the screws in the capitalist framework.

On the question of the tree tax he said that whilst there were only 115 toddy taverns and 120 arrack taverns, there were 350 licensed liquor bars. That was completely unfair on the poor people who could not afford to go to those bars. Further when the poor people tapped the trees illicitly they were usually charged and fined. People who spent their time in those liquor bars came to this House and then made speeches preaching temperance. He said that there should be a general law governing all drinking places.

The Rural Development movement was started in 1948 but its progress and work was not satisfactory. In 1962 a team of rural development specialists had come here and then made some recommendations and now he learned that they were before the Cabinet. He hoped that those recommendations would be implemented. One man sitting under a fan could not develop the rural areas."

That is all that is reported in the "Daily News". References to the letter which I feel are of great importance and of a serious nature had been completely deleted from the Press report. The contents of this



විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පනත, 1964-65

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

letter I say is a matter that needs investigation in view of the seriousness of the allegation made against an honourable Member of this House by a reputed business firm in London.

I appeal to you, Sir, to direct the press to make no discrimination in the matter of giving publicity to the speeches made by any hon. Member of this House irrespective of their political affiliations. When an allegation was made against the members of the public by an hon. Member of this House the newspaper thought it fit to give greater publicity than when an allegation was made against an hon. Member of this House. So, I appeal to you to take necessary steps to see that the papers report the proceedings of this House correctly and fairly.

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(சபாநாயகர்)

(Mr. Speaker)

I will inquire into this and see whether the matter referred to is an instance of mis-reporting of the proceedings of the House. I will see that an early inquiry is made this week.

The Sitting is suspended until 2 P.M.

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## විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පනත 1964-65

ஒதுக்கீட்டு மசோதா, 1964-65

APPROPRIATION BILL, 1964-65

එඩ්මන්ඩ් සමරක්කොඩි මයා.

(திரு. எட்மன் சமரக்கொடி)

(Mr. Edmund Samarakkody)

Mr. Speaker, I was dealing with this question of nationalization and the expansion of the State sector. As I pointed out the expansion of the State sector in capitalist countries, both developed and backward, is something that is done or has to be

done in the very interests of the capitalist economy. Particularly in the case of the under-developed countries the question of capital formation, capital accumulation, is the real question for capitalist development.

There are two aspects of that problem. One is the actual need of capital, like factories and so forth, for the actual establishment of industries. Secondly, you need a market. In under-developed countries it is a fact that as a result of imperialism over the years the manufacturing capitalist class could not grow; the property owners, the propertied class in under-developed countries, were fashioned in the same way, after their own masters.

In Ceylon the imperialists established themselves in the plantations—tea, rubber, coconut—and that was the manner in which capitalism developed in this country and following in their wake, the Ceylonese capitalist class also became planters themselves. Their representatives were the earliest and the most conscious sections of the capitalist class in this country, represented by the United National Party and their former leader, the late Mr. D. S. Senanayake.

In Ceylon and other countries like Ceylon, over the years, economic stagnation grew in the situation. The failure to find the necessary capital for development and the needs of the entrepreneur increased the state of stagnation, with the result that in all these countries there has grown and developed a very explosive situation. Take the countries of South East Asia—Ceylon, India, Indo-China, Burma, Laos and the countries of Africa and Latin America: in all those countries the capitalist economy is in grave danger, and there is always the danger of revolutionary struggles breaking out. In that situation, the capitalist class has to be kept conscious of this problem. But unfortunately, as a result of the imperialist system, the development of



විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පණත, 1964-65

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

[එඩ්මන්ඩ් සමරක්කොඩි මයා.]

imperialism and the working of imperialism in those countries. the capitalist class as a class, the manufacturing class, the *entrepreneur* class, have now been exposed. In that situation, the capitalist state has to come in in a very big way and intervene. That is what happened. They talk of the industrial revolution since 1956. Maybe, in an unconscious way the Bandaranaike period was the period of the *entrepreneur* class, the manufacturing class. That is the change. Of course, that was resisted by the planters. Owners of tea, rubber and coconut resisted that change. And if you are with the capitalist class and if capitalism is going to develop in this country, the capital that was diverted to planting, tea, rubber and coconut and house property, has to be diverted to save the imperialist set-up.

From 1956 the Bandaranaike Government representing the alternative capitalist class of this country, the rich manufacturing class in this country, made a desperate effort to save capitalism. Therein lies the conflict between the U.N.P. and the S.L.F.P. They still hark back: plantations, plantations, plantations! They are out of date. The real defenders of capitalism are the S.L.F.P. and their good friends of the former L.S.S.P. They are doing a good job, and in the Hon. Minister of Finance, they have found a very conscientious supporter. Do not think that the capitalist class in this country and their supporters will stand by and watch while the way is being paved for the final struggle. Of course, he says, "The essence of socialism is hard work." After 28 years he has come to the conclusion that all we need is hard work. What have the capitalist class, the exploiting sections of this country or the world to worry about if the workers are going to work hard? If that is the socialism of this Government, why are the capitalist sections worried about? Why are you afraid if the harbour workers are going to work hard? If they have to work

hard for the 21 demands why are you worried? You are the defenders of the capitalists. That is the meaning of the so-called change since 1956.

What are the concessions that you are giving the workers? Of course, there are no further burdens on the people. Surely, the Coalition Government was not formed to get the people against them overnight. They dare not do it. The "Ilangaratne Budget" last year gave more concessions than these. Was the purpose of the Coalition Government to deceive the workers and peasants of this country? That is what you seek to do in this Budget.

You have given some concessions. The Government workers, the working class of this country, the wage-earners, asked for a minimum increase of Re. 1 a day. The Coalition Government led by a former member of a revolutionary party and also the President of the Federation of Labour today has given them ten cents. A *bourgeois* Government has given more concessions than that.

You are going to spend Rs. 3 million on printing of school books. Cannot the United National Party do it?

ඒ. ජේ. පාරිස් පෙරේරා මයා. (ජාඇලි)  
(திரு. ஜி. ஜே. பாரிஸ் பெரேரா—ஜா எல)  
(Mr. G. J. Paris Perera—Ja-Ela)

We can !

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(திரு. எட்மன் சமரக்கொடி)  
(Mr. Edmund Samarakkody)

You are going to give free travel up to 50 per cent to school children between the ages of 6 and 12. Surely, the U.N.P. did better. They gave free travel to more school children. We were not opposed to them. The peasants have got toddy. Of course, it is a good thing. Let them drink good toddy. If you are making a concession, make it a real one. Why do you charge Rs. 15? How can the peasants of this country find Rs. 15? Do you know what Rs. 15 means? In my area, Bulathsinhala, do you know that



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a peasant family today finds it very difficult to get Rs. 15 a month? I can bring any number of people who find it difficult to get Rs. 15 a month.

Most of these so-called peasants in these areas are not really peasants. Go to the colonisation schemes where you have put up houses at Government expense and given them 4 or 3 or 2 acres each. They are part-time agricultural workers. They are paupers. They are not peasants. They cannot have any income from the land. Perhaps they have a jak tree, a rubber tree, some fruit trees and a coconut tree. Do you expect them to find Rs. 15? No; if you want to get them to drink toddy, give them at the nominal rate of Re. 1 per tree.

Why do you confine the *kasippu* menace to certain areas? It is in every area. If you want to get revenue charge them Rs. 15; otherwise, charge them a nominal rate and give them a good drink of toddy. It will not make the country bankrupt. Even as a concession is this a thing to be proud of? Give the concession in its full measure.

Then there are various taxation proposals. We support them, but we are opposed to the Budget. We support these measures but we oppose the Budget. You would like to know why. We could have supported anything of a useful nature even when the United National Party was in power. When they put up a hospital, we were not going to oppose it. When they had free midday meals, who opposed it? We supported those measures of the United National Party but we opposed the Government. We had considerable opposition to the United National Party. In the same way, we of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary) support all these small concessions, but we oppose this Government. Our attitude is one of irreconcilable opposition. We will vote against the Government. Why? Because they are sustaining capitalism, they are maintaining capitalism in this country. They are the agents of the capitalist classes.

Yes, the truth has come out. You have been for 28 years in a revolutionary party. You say that you are taking steps towards socialism. Of course the hon. First Member for Colombo South asks: "How can we have socialism?" It is not our case that they have not given us socialism. That is not our complaint. You say that you are taking steps towards socialism: pray tell me how do you go to socialism? This is what the U.N.P. did: they gave concessions. What is the road that you are taking? Tell us which country in the world has come to socialism by sustaining the capitalist system in this way. The truth is out of the bag.

After inflicting a speech of 4 hours' duration on this House, the Hon. Minister of Finance suddenly remembers the workers. At the very end he says, "a word about the 21 demands". He has delivered his main speech and given a summary of his taxes. He has finished summarizing his speech and at the very end the leader of the working class says "a word about the 21 demands"! "Don't get angry", he tells his capitalist friends, "I have to say a word about the 21 demands."

There is something more important. He also realizes that he must say something about revolution. He says:

"I have endeavoured to control the economic hold that foreign capitalist interests still maintain over this country. ...."

Where, pray, has he done so? What extent of control has he imposed? The country will not become bankrupt if you take over the banks and the estates.

He continues:

"...and to channel those resources to serve the needs of our economic development. There may be some who quite naturally are impatient of such slow devices. There may be those who will say that we have not at one fell stroke taken over all foreign and local capitalist property lock, stock and barrel, forgetful of the mass upsurge that must accompany it. Such a mass upsurge must be generated by the heightened class-consciousness of the toilers, born



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—දෙවන වර කියවීම

[එඩ්මන්ඩ් සමරක්කොඩි මහා.]

of the social inequalities and wrongs of the capitalist system.”—[OFFICIAL REPORT, 30th July, 1964; vol. 56, c. 1693.]

Now he says that he is not against revolution. Oh, no! He says that a mass upsurge is necessary for the overthrow of the capitalist system. He says he is taking steps to produce that mass upsurge. He says a heightened class-consciousness is necessary. Is that so? I thought revolution was not possible in this country. I ask the Hon. Minister of Finance; is a mass upsurge necessary to take over foreign banks? Will the masses oppose their take-over? I ask him whether a mass upsurge is necessary to take over estates. Will there be mass opposition to it? This is meant for mass consumption obviously! He says:

“Such a mass upsurge must be generated by the heightened class-consciousness of the toilers....”

That is correct. It has to be heightened by the class struggle. The hon. Second Member for Colombo South (Mr. Bernard Soysa) said that the workers must struggle. There is a mass upsurge at the Velona factory. Workers there are on strike for the last 1½ months. What are those workers—mainly girls—striking for? Not for increased wages. They are striking for fundamental trade union rights. What has he done? His police are smashing the heads of those boys and girls, and we have complained. I have personally complained to the Hon. Minister in charge. On more than one occasion I was an eye-witness to a baton charge by the police. Mass upsurge! Most absurd. The masses are moving forward in the class struggle, and he sends the capitalist police to break their heads. This is the service he renders.

Of course, he is the finest man in the world for the capitalist class. In the name of socialism, he is ready to break their heads. There cannot be a better man for the capitalist class. According to him the situation is **there** for a revolution. But look at

what he says in his Budget Speech at column 1693 of HANSARD of 30th July, 1964:

“We are confronted today with increasing permeation of the awareness of the need for radical changes among the masses both in the rural as well as the urban areas. It is from the felt needs of the people that these changes are coming. Our task today, therefore, is to create the atmosphere and the conditions conducive to evolving this response from the masses.”

According to him the workers are ready, the rural masses are ready. To a large extent that is true. We have seen that, before my good Friend went and formed a coalition with the S. L. F. P., the workers and the peasants of this country were ready for the march against the capitalist class of this country. They were ready for joint strike-action. The Nikaweratiya peasants led by *Podi Putha* faced the baton charges and the tear gas of the police. They were ready then. That was the situation. But our Friends went to the assistance of the Government that was falling, that was unpopular. That is the mass upsurge! They have pushed aside the mass upsurge for the moment. The Finance Minister and a hundred Finance Ministers like him cannot block the mass upsurge. It has to come and it will come. They can block it and they can postpone it, but they cannot stop it.

It is significant that the ablest speakers of this House are on the Government side. We heard the brilliant orator, the hon. Second Member for Colombo South (Mr. Bernard Soysa), yesterday, and today we heard one of the best speakers in this country, the hon. Member for Dehiwala-Mt. Lavinia. He was saying when questions were asked “I have no time to answer questions. Please do not ask me anything. I have no time. I have to keep to time.” He has become the best defender of the Government. Why has he not sufficient time? Who is to blame if there is no time? No, Sir, give them the time they want, and let them face up to the questions. They will defend the tax on tea, they will defend this measure and that measure



against the United National Party, but they cannot answer the questions from this side.

That is why the hon. Member for Dehiwala-Mt. Lavinia, the moment he looks this side gets excited, loses his temper and becomes unparliamentary. None of them has answered the real question. They have only said, "We are functioning within the 14 point programme." Who accepted these 14 points? Do you want us to blame you if you are not going according to the 14 point programme? Let me tell you that the 14 points are your problems. It is by the 14 points that you have given up all your principles, policies and the struggles that you had carried on over the years. That is your funeral, not ours. But, pray tell us and the country how you propose to take the people along the road to socialism?

The hon. Second Member for Colombo South presented very fine arguments against the United National Party. He spoke well and gave Latin quotations. But when he came to the revolutionaries and sectarians, he was not so eloquent. I told him that he made a very good speech, but that I would have liked to hear from him more about the sectarians.

The hon. Member for Dehiwala-Mt. Lavinia, gave some indication about us in the course of his speech. In his speech he talked about a yeller who is to come after him. He knew that I was following him and that is why he referred to a yeller who is to follow him. I was hoping that he would say much more, but I was disappointed. That is all he said about what I had to say.

What we and our party have to say has been stated probably through our newspaper and through special meetings. They know our opposition. That is what they cannot meet. They can meet the criticisms of the U. N. P. They can defend themselves against the arguments of the United National Party about the tree tax and toddy, but they cannot defend themselves against the arguments placed against their Government by us.

I ask the Hon. Minister of Finance not to say that he has no time to reply to us. I am sure, Sir, you and this hon. House will give as much time as he wants. But let us get this point cleared. Will he, pray, tell us, what is this new road to socialism? We are here to point out that we are entitled to know it; the working classes of this country are entitled to know it; and the peasants of this country are entitled to know it. Is it, whilst talking of socialism by breaking the heads of the workers? Or, is it by sending the police against the workers and breaking their heads? We want to know how socialism can be achieved along that road.

I am coming to the end of my speech. There is one thing I want to say. If they want to, they can help the mass upsurge among the workers, the peasants and the suffering middle classes. The workers struggle is not against the Government but against their employers. You can support the workers even by word of mouth.

When the landless peasants today are seizing land, they are taken to the police stations and to the courts by their own police and Government Agents. How can you help the workers by these methods? The only way to help the mass upsurge is by supporting those struggles. They know that that support, that enthusiasm, will not come from the coalitionists. The members of the L. S. S. P. have joined the Government for a different purpose. They have gone there to serve one and only one main purpose, and that is how to control the working class movement of this country, the labour troubles, in the words of the Hon. Minister of Finance.

L. S. S. P. Reformists cannot deceive the people. We name them as caretakers and managers of the capitalist class in this country. We tell them, you want class collaboration, you want class peace, you want the workers and the toiling people to suffer and help build capitalism. The peasants and the toiling masses will not be fooled. They are not going to



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be fooled. The mass upsurge will come despite you; despite the Finance Minister and his colleagues the mass upsurge will come up, and in the mass upsurge the capitalist class, the S. L. F. P. Government and the traitors of the ex-Lanka Sama Samaja Party will be consumed. The Coalition Government is a capitalist government and the toiling masses will oppose the Government and replace it sooner rather than later with a Workers' and Peasants' Government.

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(திரு. டி. பி. ஆர். குணவர்தன)

(Mr. D. P. R. Gunawardena)

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, මේ වර අයවැය ලේඛනය ගැන පටන් ගන්නා ලද විවාදය අවසාන වීගෙන එන මේ අවස්ථාවේදී මේ පිළිබඳව මගේ අදහස් ද කියන්නටයි, මා දැන් නැගී සිටියේ. විරුද්ධ පාර්ශවයේ නායකතුමාගේත්, ගරු මුදල් ඇමතිතුමාගේත් කථාවලින් පසුව මේ අයවැය ලේඛනය ගැන මේ ගරු සභාවේ තීරණය දැන ගන්නට අපට අවස්ථාව ලැබෙනවා ඇති. ඇත්තෙන්ම කාරණා කීපයක් නිසා මේ ගරු සභාවට මෙතෙක් ඉදිරිපත් කර තිබෙන අයවැය ලේඛන අතරින් මේ වර ඉදිරිපත් කරන ලද අයවැය ලේඛනය ඉතා මත් වැදගත් තැනක් ගන්නා බව කියන්නට පුළුවනි. අද අප වැටී සිටින ආර්ථික ප්‍රපාතය ගැන කල්පනා කර බැලුවත්, අපට බේරෙන්නට බැරිව තිබෙන අර්බුද දෙස බැලුවත්, පසුගිය ජුනි මාසයේ 11 වැනිදා ඇති වූ ආණ්ඩු පෙරළිය ගැන බැලුවත් මේ අලුත් මුදල් ඇමතිතුමාගේ අයවැය ලේඛනය ඉතාම වැදගත් තැනක් ගන්නා බව කීම මගේ යුතුකමයි. අලුත් මුදල් ඇමතිතුමාට මා දොසක් කියන්නේ නැහැ. අපේ ගරු මුදල් ඇමතිතුමා බොහෝ ම භාරදුර කටයුත්තක් භාරගෙන තිබෙන බවත්, එතුමා නිසි අන්දමට ක්‍රියා කරනවා නම් ඒ නිසි අන්දමට ක්‍රියා කරන කාරණා පිළිබඳව පමණක් එතුමාට ආධාර දීම අපේ අදහස බවත්, කෙසේ වෙතත්

මේ ආණ්ඩුවට ආධාර දීමට නම් අපේ කිසිම අදහසක් නැති බවත් රාජ්‍යය කළා පිළිබඳ විවාදයේදී මා විසින් ප්‍රකාශ කරන්නට යෙදුණා. ගරු මුදල් ඇමතිතුමා දක්‍ෂයකු බව ඇත්තයි. එතුමා අර්ථ ශාස්ත්‍රය ගැන එගොඩ මොගොඩ පිතා ඇති කෙනකු බවත් ඇත්තයි. 1936 සිටම එතුමා මේ ගරු සභාවේ සිට අයවැය යෝජනා විචේචනය කළා පමණක් නොව මේ රටේ ආර්ථික ප්‍රශ්න ගැන නියම අවස්ථාවේදී තමන්ගේ අදහස් ප්‍රකාශ කළා. මම ඉස්සෙල්ලාම සඳහන් කළා වාගේ අප මහජන එක්සත් පෙරමුණ වෙනුවෙන් කියන්නට කැමතියි, අපේ අදහසක් නැහැ මේ අයවැය යෝජනා පණතට කැමැත්ත දෙන්න, ඡන්දය දෙන්න. ඒ මොන කාරණයක් නිසාද කියාත් කියන්නට ඕනෑ.

මෙම අයවැය ලේඛනයට අඩංගු කාරණා ගැන, මුදල් ඇමතිතුමා කී දේවල් ගැන, කල්පනා කර බැලුවාම මට නම් කිසි අතකින්වත් පෙනෙන්නේ නැහැ, අපේ ආර්ථික සංවර්ධනයක් ඇති වෙන්නට, ඉදිරියට දියුණු වන්නට මාර්ගයක් මෙයින් පෙන්වා තිබෙනවාය කියා; කිසි අතකින්වත් පිළිගන්න බැරි නිසයි විශේෂයෙන් මෙය කියන්නේ. එහෙත් මෙහෙත් සමාජයේ සුළු සුළු කොටස්වලට සහනයක් දෙන්න යෝජනා ඇති කර තිබෙනවා. නමුත් විශේෂයෙන්ම ආර්ථික ක්‍රමය වැටී තිබෙන ප්‍රපාතයෙන් කෙසේවත් ගොඩ ගැනීම පිණිස, ආර්ථික දියුණුවක් ඇති කිරීම පිණිස, නියම සංවර්ධනයක් ඇති කර අප ඉදිරියට යාම පිණිස සමාජවාදී වැඩ පිළිවෙළක්වත්, වෙනත් වැඩ පිළිවෙළක්වත්, මෙම අයවැය යෝජනාවල අඩංගු නැති බවයි තමුන් නාත්සේලාට කියන්නේ. මට තිබෙන කාලය අනුව, පසුව, මම පුළුවන් තරම් එම යෝජනා පරීක්ෂා කර බලා තමුන් නාත්සේලාට අපේ අදහස් කියනවා.

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, මම ඉස්සෙල්ලාම ගරු මුදල් ඇමතිතුමාගෙන් ප්‍රශ්න දෙක තුනක් අහනවා. ඇයි? මුදල් ඇමතිතුමාත් මේ සභාගී ආණ්ඩුවට ඇතුළු වුණු සමසමාජ පක්ෂයේ ඇමැතිවරුනුත්, සෑම දෙනාම කියාගෙන යනවා, 1956 යේ ජනතාවගේ නැගීටීමට, ප්‍රගතියට, ඒ කොටස



විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පණත, 1964-65

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

උදව් කළාය කියා. මම ඒක භාර ගන්නේ නැහැ; පිළිගන්නේ නැහැ. යම් පක්ෂයක් 1956 ප්‍රගතියට බාධා කළා නම්, සමසමාජ පක්ෂය ප්‍රධාන කොටසක් හැටියට මම සලකනවාය කියනවා. අප භාෂා පණත ඉදිරිපත් කළ අවස්ථාවේදී, අනිකුත් සාක්ෂි කෘතික ප්‍රගතියට යෝජනා ගෙන ආ අවස්ථාවලදී, සියලුම අවස්ථාවලදී, මුදල් ඇමතිවරයා ඇතුළු අනිකුත් සමසමාජ පක්ෂයේ සියලු දෙනාම ඊට විරුද්ධව නැගීටැබූ අප ගෙන යන වැඩට බාධා කර අන්තිමේදී ඒ ආණ්ඩුවත් 1959 දී කඩා දැමීමට වැඩ කළාය කියන බවයි, මේ අවස්ථාවේදී තමුන් නාන්සේට මතක් කර දෙන්නේ.

**එඩ්මන්ඩ් සමරක්කොඩි මයා.**

(කිරු. எட்மன் சமரக்கொடி)

(Mr. Edmund Samarakkody)

ඒ අදහස සම්පූර්ණයෙන්ම වැරදි.

**ඩී. පී. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන මයා.**

(කිරු. டி. பி. ஆர். குணவர்தன)

(Mr. D. P. R. Gunawardena)

මගේ හැඟීම අනුව කපා කරනවා මිසක් බුලත්සිංහල ගරු මන්ත්‍රීවරයාගේ (එඩ්මන්ඩ් සමරක්කොඩි මයා.) හැඟීම් අනුව කපා කරන්නට කවදත් මම බැඳී නැහැ. මගේ දර්ශනය අනුවයි මම කපා කරන්නේ. සිංහල පණත ගෙන ආ අවස්ථාවේදී කොයි පැත්තටද සමසමාජ පක්ෂය ඡන්දය දුන්නේ කියා මම අහනවා.

**එඩ්මන්ඩ් සමරක්කොඩි මයා.**

(කිරු. எட்மன் சமரக்கொடி)

(Mr. Edmund Samarakkody)

හරි පැත්තට.

**ඩී. පී. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන මයා.**

(කිරු. டி. பி. ஆர். குணவர்தன)

(Mr. D. P. R. Gunawardena)

සමතාන දීමේ වැඩ පිළිවෙලක් අනුව නොවෙද්ද ගෙන ගියේ? අදත් අභ්‍යන්තර යෙන් එයින් වෙනස් වී නිබන්ධනය කියා දෙපාර්තමේන්තුවල කටයුතු කරන අන්දම ගැන කල්පනා කරන විට පිළිගන්න අමාරුයි. මෙතැන කියන දේ නොවෙයි කෙරෙන්නේ. මම නම් කියන දේවලින්

නොවෙයි කරන දේවලින් කෙනෙකු මනින්නේ. එම නිසා මේ කරුණු ගරු මුදල් ඇමතිතුමාගෙන් අහන්න කැමතියි.

“1964.8.1 දිනට පැවැත්වීමට නියමව තිබුණු ගණකාධිකාරී සේවා පරීක්ෂණය ජී. සී. එස්. යූ. ඩී. විසින් කරන ලද ඉල්ලීමක් අනුව විභාගය පැවැත්වීමට දින දහයක් තිබියදී දින නියමයක් නොමැතිව ගරු මුදල් ඇමතිතුමාගේ නියෝගයක් අනුව පොදු සේවා කොමිෂන් සභාව මගින් කල් දමන ලදි.”

“විධායක ලිපිකාර සේවයේ දෙවැනි පෙළ ප්‍රතිඵල වර්ග කිරීමට විරුධව සමස්ත ලංකා රජයේ ලිපිකරු සංගමය බලවත් ලෙස විරුධත්වය ප්‍රකාශ කරන්නීය. ජී. සී. එස්. යූ. ඩී. විරුද්ධ බව ප්‍රචන් පත්වල පළ වී තිබුණි. කැබිනට් මණ්ඩලයේදී අනුමත කර ඇති මේ අසාධාරණ ප්‍රතිඵල වර්ග කිරීම නතර කිරීමට ගරු මුදල් ඇමතිතුමා ක්‍රියා කරනවාද, නැද්ද? එසේ ක්‍රියා නොකරන්නේ නම් එසේ කරන තුරු ප්‍රතිඵල නිකුත් කිරීම කල් තබනවාදැයි දැනගත යුතු වෙමු.”

ගරු කපානායකතුමනි, විශේෂයෙන් මේ සභාග ආණ්ඩුව පටන් ගත්තාට පසු—ගිය දෙසැම්බර් මාසයේ සිටම මේ අයගෙ වැඩ පිළිවෙල ඔය ආකාරයට හැරී තිබුණු බව අපි දන්නවා—රජයේ භාෂාව හැටියට පිළි ගෙන තිබෙන සිංහල භාෂාවට දියයුතු නියම තැන දී වැඩ කිරීමට මේ ඇමතිවරු සතුටක් පෙන්නන්නේ නැත යන්න මගේ හැඟීමය කියා ප්‍රකාශ කිරීම යුතුකමක්ය කියා මා සලකනවා. ලංගම සේවාව ගැන බැලුවත්, අනිකුත් තැන් දෙස බැලුවත් ඒ අන්දමේම වැඩ පිළිවෙලක් මේ ඇමතිවරු ගෙන යනවාය කීම මගේ යුතුකමක්. 1956 වර්ෂයේදී බොහොම කරදර මධ්‍යයේ සිංහල භාෂාව රජයේ භාෂාව හැටියට නීති ගත කළා. ඒ වගේම දෙමළටත් සාධාරණ තැනක් දෙනවාය කියා වැඩ කරගෙන ගිය අවස්ථාවේදී මොකද වුණේ? සමසමාජ පක්ෂය එම අවස්ථාවේදී ඒ එකකටවත් ආධාර කළේ නැහැ. ඒ අය සියලු අවස්ථා වලදීම බාධා කළාය කියා මට කියන්න පුළුවනි. මේ සභාග ආණ්ඩුව සිංහල භාෂාව රජයේ භාෂාව හැටියට නියම ආකාරයෙන් ක්‍රියාවේ යොදවනවාය කියා අභ්‍යන්තරව



විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පණත, 1964-65

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

[කී. පී. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන මයා.]

පිළිගෙන තිබෙන ආණ්ඩුවක් ලෙස මා පිළි ගන්නේ නැහැ, කොයිතරම් දේ මහජනය ඉදිරියට ඇවිත් කීවත්.

මට තව කරුණක් කියන්න තියෙනව. එනම්, අයවැය කථාවෙදි මුදල් ඇමතිතුමා කී දෙයක් සම්බන්ධවයි. දින පහේ සතියක් ඇති කිරීම පිළිබඳව එතුමගෙ ඔළුවෙ අදහස් ද්‍රව්‍යවය කීව. මේක ආණ්ඩුවේ තීරණයක්ය කියා නොවෙයි, කීවෙ. මුදල් ඇමතිගෙ තීරණයක්ය කියාත් නොවෙයි, කීවෙ. එසේම කැබිනට් මණ්ඩලයේ තීරණයක්ය කියාත් නොවෙයි, කීවෙ. වැඩ කරන සතිය දින පහක සතියක් බවට පත් කරන්න ඕනෑය කියා එතුමගෙ ඔළුවෙ අදහස් ද්‍රව්‍යවලු. ඒක හොඳ වෙන්නත් පුළුවනි; නරක් වෙන්නත් පුළුවනි. නමුත් ඒ එක්කම ඇදා කී දෙයක් ගැන, එනම් පොහොය දින නිවාඩු ගැන මා කියන්න කැමතියි. මේ රටේ වැඩි ජනතාවගේ ආගම වන බෞද්ධාගමේ ප්‍රධාන පොහොය දින හතරක් තියෙන බව ගරු මුදල් ඇමතිතුමා දන්නව ඇති. ඒ හතර කුමන දවස්වලටද වැටෙන්නෙ කියන එකත් එතුම දන්නව ඇති. එම නිසා දින පහේ සතියක් ඇති කරන්න ඉස්සෙල්ල ඒ ප්‍රශ්නය විසඳන හැටියට අපි ඉල්ලනව. වැඩිපුර නිවාඩු හැර ක්‍රිස්තියානිකාරයින්ට අවුරුද්දකට දින 52 ක නිවාඩුවක් තියෙනව. ඒ අයට සියලු ඉරිදාම නිවාඩු. යුරෝපයේ ඇතැම් රටවලට මා ගිහින් තියෙනව. ඉරිදා දවස නිවාඩු දිනයක් හැටියට නොවෙයි, ඒ රටවල් පිළි ගන්නේ. ඉරිදා දවස නිවාඩු දිනයක් හැටියට පිළිගන්න අපට සිදු වුණේ වෙන කරුණක් නිසා නොවෙයි, අපි බ්‍රිතාන්‍ය අධිරාජ්‍යවාදීන්ට යටත් වී සිටි නිසයි. මේ ඉරිදා නිවාඩු දිනය අයින් කර දමා, මේ රටේ බෞද්ධ ජනයා වැඩියෙන් සිටින නිසා අඩු වශයෙන් ප්‍රධාන පොහොය දින හතර වත්—සමහරවිට එම දිනය ඉරිදාට වැටෙන්න පුළුවනි; සමහරවිට සෙනසුරාදාට වැටෙන්න පුළුවනි; සමහරවිට සඳුදාට වැටෙන්න පුළුවනි; සමහරවිට බදාදාට වැටෙන්න පුළුවනි; කවද වුණත් කමක් නැහැ—නිවාඩු දින හැටියට සලකන්නය කියා අපි ඉල්ලනව. නිකම් අදහස් ඔළුවෙ දිව්වට මදි. සරි තීරණ ඇතුළු වැඩ කරන්න ඕනෑ.

අනික් කරුණු ටික කියන්න තියෙන්නේ රා මැදීම ගැනයි. මා නම් බොන්නෙ නැහැ. හැබැයි, මම මත්පැන් කටේ නොතියන මිනිහෙකුත් නොවෙයි. මම පුරුද්දක් හැටියට බොන්නෙ නැහැ. බීලා තියෙනව. දැනත්, ඉදල-හිටල, වුවමනාවක් වුණොත්, බොනව. එම නිසා මම කථා කරන්නෙ නොබොන මිනිහෙක් හැටියට නොවෙයි. මම කථා කරන්නෙ මත්පැනට සම්පූර්ණයෙන් විරුද්ධ මිනිහෙක් හැටියට [බාබා කිරීමක්] මත්පැන් වැඩිපුර ගන්න අයට විරුද්ධ මිනිහෙක් හැටියටයි. මට නම් පිළි ගන්න බැහැ, මොන කාරණයක් නිසා ගරු මුදල් ඇමතිතුමා පොල්ගස් කපා මදින්නට ඉඩ දෙන්න යෝජනා කරනවද කියන එක. පොල් රා මදින්න ඉඩදෙන යෝජනාව මට නම් පිළිගන්න බැහැ. තැබැරුමකට හැතැපීම දහයක් ඇතත්, ඉස්කාගාරයකට හැතැපීම පහකට ඇතත් පොල් ගස් මැදීමට අවසර පත්‍ර දෙන්නෙ නිකම් නොවෙයි. රුපියල් පහළොවක් අරගෙනයි අවසරයක් දෙන්නෙ. පොල් ගස් හතරක් පහක් තිබෙන සාමාන්‍ය මිනිහෙකුට රුපියල් පහළොවක් ගෙවන්න පුළුවන්ද කියල මම අහනව. පොල් ගහක් මදින්න බල පත්‍රයක් දෙන්නෙ රුපියල් පහළොවක් අය කර ගෙනයි.

මොකද එයින් වෙන්නෙ? රා තැබැරුම් කාරයෙත්, කසිප්පු මුදලාලිලත් ඔවුන්ගෙ ජාවාරම ඒ තරම් සරු නැතෙයි කියා කල්පනා කරනව නම් රා ජාවාරමට පත්ත ගෙන එනව ඇති. ඒ උදවිය රා ජාවාරම පටන් ගන්නව ඇති. එතකොට මේ ආණ්ඩුව අදහස් කරන කාර්යය කිසි සේත් ඉෂ්ට වෙන්නෙ නැහැ. ඔය අන්දමට වැඩ කිරීමෙන් කසිප්පු ව්‍යාපාරය නතර කරන්න බැහැ. කසිප්පු ව්‍යාපාරය නතර කරන්න ඕනෑ නම්, ඕනෑම ආණ්ඩුවකට ඕනෑම වේලාවක ඒක කරන්න පුළුවනි. ඇයි? කසිප්පු මුදලාලිලා කවුද කියන එක සුරා බදු දෙපාර්තමේන්තුවෙ ඉන්න සුරාබදු නිලධාරියෝ දන්නව. ඒ වගේම පොලීසියත් දන්නව. එහෙත් පොලීසියවත්, සුරා බදු දෙපාර්තමේන්තුවවත් එය නැති කරන්න නියම විධියට අවංකව උත්සාහ කරන්නෙ නැහැ. මක්නිසාද, ඒ නිලධාරීන් අල්ලසට යටවෙලා මුල් බැහැලා.



විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පණත, 1964-65

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

කසිප්පු උවදුර නැති කළ යුතු බව ඇත්ත. ඒක කවුරුත් පිළිගන්නව. ඒ නිසාම පුංචි ලමයින්ටත් මත්පැන් පාවිච්චිය උගන්වන්න වුවමනාවක් නැහැ, රු මැදලා. නියම වැඩ පිළිවෙළක් එකිනරට ඇති කරන්නයි ඕනෑ. කසිප්පු මුදලාලිලා ඉන්න තැන් හොයලා ඒ අයගෙ ක්‍රියා මාර්ගය නතර කිරීමට පියවර ගන්න හිතනවා මිස, ගම්වල කසිප්පු ව්‍යාපාරය තියෙනවය කියල ඒක නැති කිරීමේ වැඩ පිළිවෙළක් හැටියට නැවතත් වරක් ගමක් ගානේ නොවෙයි, ගහක් ගානේ රු තැබුරුම් අරින්න ඉඩ දෙන්න බැහැ. මීට අවුරුදු තිහ හතළිහකට පමණ ඉස්සර මේ රටේ හැම තැනම වාගේ තැබුරුම් තිබුණා. දැන් නැවතත් ගහක් ගානේ තැබුරුම් අරින්න යාම ගැන මගේ පක්ෂයේ බලවත් විරෝධය පළ කරනව. පරම්පරා දෙක තුනක් රු ගද ගහන්නේ නැතිව, මත්පැනට යට වෙන්නේ නැතිව හිටියා. දැන් නැවතත් පරණ තත්ත්වය ඇති කරන්න ඉඩ දෙන්න බැහැ.

එපමණක් නොවෙයි, රාවල මද්‍යසාරය සියේට අටක් තියෙනව. ඒක බොහොම ඉහළ මට්ටමක්. සාමාන්‍ය බීරවල මද්‍යසාරය සියේට හතරක් පමණ තිබෙන හැටියටයි, ලෝකයේ අනෙකුත් රටවල සාමාන්‍ය මිනිසගෙ පාවිච්චිය සඳහා වුවමනා ප්‍රමාණයට, හදල තියෙන්නේ. මේ රටට පමණක් නොවෙයි, සියලුම රටවලට මද්‍යසාරය වහ. ඒ වහ ගාවන්න එපා අනෙක් අයට. ගස් වලින් පෙරන මද්‍යසාරය මෙන්ම කසිප්පු නමින් පෙරන මද්‍යසාරයත් මිනිසට අහිත කරයි. හැදෙන පරම්පරාවත් නැති කර දමන්න වැඩ පිළිවෙළක් මුදල් ඇමතිතුමන් මේ සභාග ආණ්ඩුවත් ගෙන යන බව මට කරුණු ඇතිව ඔප්පු කරන්න පුළුවනි. කසිප්පු ව්‍යාපාරය නිසා දැන් ඉන්න අයට කොයි විධියේ හානියක් වුණත් හැදෙන පරම්පරාවට ආදරයක් තියෙනව නම් හැදෙන පරම්පරාවට හැදෙන්න ඉඩ දෙන ලෙසත් මේ වැඩ පිළිවෙළ නවත්වන ලෙසත් ඉල්ලනව. පොල් ගස් මැදීමට අවසර පත්‍ර දීම සඳහා අය කරන රුපියල් පහළොවේ ගාස්තුවෙන් වැඩි ආදායමක් ලැබෙන්නේ නැහැ. වෙනත් මාර්ගවලින් එන ආදායමක් සමහර විට අඩුවෙන් පුළුවනි. කසිප්පු ව්‍යාපාරය නැවැත්වීම

පිණිස මේක කවදාවත් නියම පිළිවෙළට ක්‍රියාවේ යෙදෙන්නේ නැහැ. මේ සුරා බදු දෙපාර්තමේන්තුව මගින්, පොලීසිය මගින්, මේ වැඩේ කරනට පුළුවන්ද කියා කල්පනා කරනවා නම් මොකද වෙන්නේ? අන්නමේ දී ලොකු විශාල දෙපාර්තමේන්තුවක් මේ තෙත්ට පත් කරනට වෙයි, රු මදින්නේ කොහෙද කියා සොයා බලන්න. මන්ද, අවසර නැතිව රු මැද්දොත් ඒක නීති විරෝධයි. ගහක් ගහක් ගානේ රු මදින්නට පටන් ගනියි. ඒ නිසා රු මදින්නේ කොතැනද කියා සොයා බලන්න ලොකු දෙපාර්තමේන්තුවක් සාදා ගනිවි. නමුත් ගමේ සිටින දුප්පත් මිනිහා, පොල් ගස් දෙකක් තුනක් තිබෙන මිනිහා නොවෙයි, රු මදින්නේ. කසිප්පු මුදලාලි රු තැබුරුම් මුදලාලි වෙයි. තව ටිකකින් මා මීට වඩා ඒ ගැන කියනට අදහස් කරනව.

මට පුදුමයි, මගේ මිත්‍ර ගමනාගමන ඇමතිතුමාත් මේකට කැමති වූ එක ගැන. මට මතකයි, අපි පුංචි කාලෙ කෝච්චියෙන් කොළඹ සිට මොරටුවේ පාසැලට යන කාලයේදී අපට පෙනෙනව කොල්ලුපිටිය හරියේ දී මහ විශාල අකුරෙන් “රු බොන්න එපා” කියා ලියා තිබෙනවා. කාගෙ ගෙදරද මෙහෙම ලියල තිබුනේ? ධම්පාල මැති තුමාගෙ ගෙදරයි. ඒ ධම්පාල මැතිතුමාගෙ මුණුපුරා වන අනිල් මුණසිංහ මහත්මයන් මේ රුවෙන්ම රට නැති කර දමන යෝජනාවට කැමැත්ත දීම ගැන මගේ බලවත් විරුද්ධත්වය ප්‍රකාශ කරනවා. ධම්පාල මැතිතුමා හිටියා නම් අනිල් මුණසිංහ මහත්මයාට මෙතන නොවෙයි මේ රටේවත් ඉන්න පුළුවන් වෙන්නේ නැහැ. මා දන්න නිසයි කියන්නේ.

ඒ නිසා කරුණා කර මේ අපරාධය නොකර නවත්වන්න. බලාපොරොත්තු වන ආදායම වෙන විධියකින් ලබා ගන්න. භය නැතිව එකිනරට මේ කසිප්පු ව්‍යාපාරය නවත්වන්න. කසිප්පු මුදලාලිලා කවිද කියා කවුරුත් දන්නව. ඇමතිවරුන් මන්ත්‍රී වරුන් හොඳට දන්නව කවිද කසිප්පු මුදලාලිලා කියා. මගේ පළාතෙ කසිප්පු මුදලාලිලා කවිද කියා මට නම් කිසිම අමාරුවක් නැතිව කියනට පුළුවනි. ඒ නිසා වුවමනා කරනවා නම් කසිප්පු මුදලාලිලා අල්ලා ගන්න අමාරුවක් නැහැ. නමුත් කසිප්පු මුදලාලිලාගෙන් අපට



විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පණත, 1964-65

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

[ඩී. පී. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන මය.]

නොයෙක් ආධාර ලබන නිසා, ජන්ද ව්‍යාපාරවලදී නොයෙක් විධියේ උදව්, සල්ලි, කාර්, රා අරක්කු දෙන නිසා, ඒ වාගේම කසිප්පු ආදිය දී මිනිසුන් අපේ පැත්තට හරවා ගන්න ලැස්ති නිසා, කසිප්පු උවදුර සම්පූර්ණයෙන්ම නැති කරන්නට අපේ එතරම් උනන්දුවක් නැහැ. මට නම් පෙනෙන්නේ ඒකයි.

ඊළඟට මට පුදුමයි විසි වන ශත වර්ෂයේත් මේ විධියේ යෝජනාවක් ඉදිරිපත් කළ එක ගැන. උදේ සවස දෙතුන් සැරයක් මිනිසෙක් ගහ දිගේ උඩට බඩ ගාන්න ඕනෑ රා මුට්ටිය ගෙනෙන්න. සම්පූර්ණයෙන්ම වටිනාකමක් නැති විධියට තමාගේ ශ්‍රමය අපතේ යන වැඩ පිළිවෙලක් මේක. එපමණක් නොවෙයි, මේ රටේ රා මදින්න දකුණු ඉන්දියාවෙන් කොච්චි මිනිසුන් ගෙන්වන්නත් ස්වදේශ කටයුතු භාර ඇමතිතුමා අවසර ඉල්ලනව. අපි කොපමණ විරිය කරලද කොපමණ අමාරුවෙන්ද, ඒක නැවැත්තුවේ? ගරා මන්ත්‍රීන්ට මතක ඇති, ඉන්දියාවෙන් රාමදින්නත් ගෙන්වන්න යම් මුදලක් වියදම් කරන්නට ලැස්ති වුණා. මෙතන වැඩ බැලූ පාර්ලිමේන්තු ලේකම්තුමාගෙන් අපි පොරොන්දුවක් ලබා ගෙන ඒක නැවැත්තුව. සමහර විට පොල් ගස් මදින්නට අවසර දුන්නට පසු මෙහෙ සිටින මදින්නත් සංඛ්‍යාව ප්‍රමාණවත් නැත, ඒ නිසා ඉන්දියාවෙන් රා මදින කොච්චි මිනිසුන් ගෙන්වාගන්න වුවමනාය කියා අවසරයකුත් ඉල්ලන්න පුළුවන්. අපේ ගම්වල රා මදින්නත් සොයා ගන්න බොහොම අමාරුයි. කිතුල් ගස් මදින අය නම් තවම ඉන්නව. නමුත් පොල් ගස් මදින අය සොයා ගන්න අමාරුයි. එය පුරුදු කරන්නත් බොහොම අමාරුයි. මගේ නම් කල්පනාව පුරුදු කරන්න වුවමනා නැත කියයි. මේක වහක්. රා පොවන එක වස පෙවීමක්. විට මින් තිබෙනවා වගේම අනිත් පැත්තෙන් වහ තිබෙනව. ඊට වඩා මේ ගැන යමක් කියන්නේ නැහැ.

දැන් මා මුදල් ඇමතිතුමාගේ අනික් යෝජනාවලට බසිනව. නමුත් අනෙක් ගරා මන්ත්‍රීන් කථා කළ දේ ගැන කියන්න මා මහන්සි වෙන්නේ නැහැ. අනික් මන්ත්‍රීවරු කථා නොකළ දේ ගැන කථා

කිරීමට මම පුළුවන් තරම් උත්සාහ කරනව. බොහෝ කථාවල් මම අහගෙන සිටියේ නැහැ. නමුත් හුඟක් කථාවලට ඇහුම් කන් දුන්න. අනික් ඒවා කියෙව්ව. එම නිසා ඒ මන්ත්‍රීවරු කථා නොකළ කරුණු සම්බන්ධයෙන් කථා කිරීමට මම අදහස් කරනව. ඉංග්‍රීසි භාෂාවෙන් වචන සවලසක් කථා කිරීමට කලින් තවත් කරුණු එකක් දෙකක් ගැන මුදල් ඇමතිතුමාට මතක් කර දෙන්න ඕනෑ; මේ සභාග ආණ්ඩුවට මතක් කර දෙන්න ඕනෑ.

ආණ්ඩුවේ සේවකයන්ට දේශපාලන අයිතිවාසිකම් දෙනවය කියා මුදල් ඇමතිතුමාත් අපිත් කාලයක් තිස්සේ මහජනයාට කිව්ව නොවේද? ඒක ඉටු කරනවද නැද්ද කියන එක පමණයි මම අහන්නේ. මගේ හැඟීම අනුව නම් ලංකාවේ සිටින සියලුම ආණ්ඩුවේ සේවකයන්ට—ආග්‍රාණ්ඩුකාරයා ඇතුළු සියලුම සේවකයන්ට—දේශපාලන අයිතිවාසිකම් දෙන්න ඕනෑ. ඒකෙ වරදක් නැහැ. ඇයි, පුළුවන් නම් අග්‍රාණ්ඩුකාරයා ඇවිත් කියයි ඒ පැත්තට වැඩ කරන්නය කියා. අපිත් ගිහිල්ල කියනව අනික් පැත්තට වැඩ කරන්නය කියා.

එම්. ඩී. බණ්ඩා මය.

(ති. ෧෧. ෧. පණ්ඩා)

(Mr. M. D. Banda)

අනික් පැත්ත දිනනව.

ඩී. පී. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන මය.

(ති. ෧. ෧. ෧. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන)

(Mr. D. P. R. Gunawardena)

කියන්න බැහැ. අපි පරදිනව කවදත්. කසිප්පු මුදලාලිල ඉන්නකල් අපි පරදිනව. රා මුදලාලිල කොයි පැත්තට යාව්ද කියන්න බැහැ. ඒ නිසා පරිපාලන සේවයේ යෙදී සිටින අය හැර අනික් අයට පමණක් කියන්න ඕනෑත් නැහැ. සියලු දෙනාටම දීල කියනව, ඇවිත් වැඩ කර බලන්නය කියා. දැනුත් කොහොම වුණත් රහසින් වැඩ කරනව, නොවේද? ආණ්ඩුවේ නිලධාරීන් බොහෝ දෙනෙක් දැන් රහසින් වැඩ කරනව මටත් වැඩ කරනව. මම දන්නව ඒක. එම නිසා ඒ විධියේ



විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පණත, 1964-65

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

තත්ත්වයක් තියාගන්න ඕනෑ නැහැ. සියලු දෙනාටම දේශපාලන අයිතිවාසිකම් දෙමු. නිලධාරීන්ගෙන් අනික් අයගෙන් කාගෙන් ආධාරයෙන් පුළුවන් පැත්තක් දිනාගන්නාවේ. මේ ගැන පැහැදිලි පිළිතුරක් දෙන්න ඕනෑ. පරිපාලන කටයුතුවල යෙදී සිටින සමහර කොටස්වලට එංගලන්තයේ දෙන්නෙ නැතිලු. අපි එංගලන්තෙ විධිය නොගන්නට කමක් නැහැ. වෙන විධියකට කරල බලමු. හරි යන්නත් පුළුවන්, නොයන්නත් පුළුවන්. අපි අත්දැකීමෙන් ඒක අවබෝධ කර ගනිමු. ඉස්සර ආණ්ඩුව මේ ආණ්ඩුවත් යම් යම් කොටස්වලට නොදී සිටින්නට අදහස් කළත් සියයට 95 කටවත් දේශපාලන අයිතිවාසිකම් දිය යුතුමයි.

අනික් කාරණය කම්කරුවන්ගේ ඉල්ලීම් 21 යි. මුදල් ඇමතිතුමාත් අපිත් බොහොම මහත්සි වී මේ ඉල්ලීම් 21 ඉදිරිපත් කරන්න ඕන්න මෙන්න කියා තිබෙන අවස්ථාවෙදි කිව්ව, ටිකක් කල් දමමුය කියා. ඒ අතරේ වෙන දෙයක් වුණ. අපත් එක්ක සිටි එතුමා, සම සමාජ පක්ෂයේ නායකයා, අයිත් වි මුදල් ඇමති වුණ. නමුත් මම අහන්න කැමතියි, මේ ඉල්ලීම් 21 ගැන අද මොනවද කියන්නෙ, කියා. වැඩි වියදමක් නොවන, වහාම දෙන්න පුළුවන්, ඒව තිබෙනව. වියදමක් ගියත් කමක් නැහැ. ඇයි, රජය බංකොලොත් නෑන කියනව නෙ. අපි 1962-63 අයවැය ලේඛනයෙදි ඔය විධියෙ සුළු කීමක් කිව්වම ලංකා සමසමාජ පක්ෂයෙ සියලු දෙනාම මගේ ඇඟ උඩට පැත්ත. අද හොඳලු. එතරම් තරක නැතිලු. එහෙම නම් කාලයක් තිස්සෙ දුක් විදින ඒ පිරිසගෙ ඉල්ලීම් 21 දෙන්න බැරි ඇයි?

මේ අයවැය ලේඛනයෙ ප්‍රධාන ලක්ෂණයක් හැටියට පෙනෙන කාරණයක් තිබෙනව. මට පෙර කපා කළ මන්ත්‍රීවරු දෙපළම කිව්ව මේ අයවැය ලේඛනයෙන් ගොවි ජනතාවට කිසිම සහනයක් නෑන කියා. ලුහුවල මිල, දුම්කොළවල මිල, මිරිස් වල මිල සුළු වශයෙන් වැඩි කළත් පුළුල් ගොවි ජනතාවට මේ අයවැය ලේඛනයෙන් කිසිම සහනයක් ලැබෙන්නෙ නෑන කියන්න පුළුවන්. එමෙන්ම මේ වැය ශීඝ්‍ර ගැන හොඳට පරීක්ෂා කර බැලුවම කපල තිබෙන හැටි හොඳට පෙනෙනව. වැඩිය බර වෙලා තිබෙන්නෙ, මධ්‍යම ප්‍රදේශයට සහන

දීලා ගොවි ජනතාවගෙන් හා කම්කරුවන්ගෙන් පුළුවන් නම් කපා ගන්නයි. මේ සභාග ආණ්ඩුවෙන් මා ඒක බලාපොරොත්තු වුණා. 1956 දී ගොවි ජනතාවගේ අයිතිවාසිකම් ගැන අපි යම් වැඩ පිළිවෙළක් අනුව වැඩ කරන විට දැන් සභාග ආණ්ඩුවේ සිටින පක්ෂය එදා ඒ තරම් උනන්දුවක් දැක්වුයේ නැහැ. ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂය, ගොවි ජනතාවගෙ පැත්තට බර වී සිටින, වැඩ කරන කොටස් නිශ්ශබ්ද කර ඇති නමුත් ඉඩම් දීම කෘෂි කර්මාන්ත දියුණු කිරීම, ගම්වල සුළු කර්මාන්ත ඇති කිරීම, අතිකුත් පහසුකම් පිරිසර්බද පළාත්වලට දීම යනාදී දේවලින් එකක් වත් හරියට කරගෙන යෑම සඳහා මේ අයවැය ලේඛනයෙන් යෝජනා ඉදිරිපත් කර නැති බවයි, මුදල් වෙන් කර නැති බවයි, මා කියන්නෙ. අඩුවක් ඇතිව තිබුණු අය වැයට වඩා වැඩි බව පෙන්වන්නට තැත් කිරීමෙන් මොන ප්‍රතිඵල ලැබෙනවාද කියා කල්පනා නොකළ එක ගැන මා කණගාටු වෙනව. යම් වැඩ පිළිවෙළකින් කැපුවාය නමුත් එය පුළුල් කළාය කියා පෙන්වන්න පුළුවන්. සමහර ඒවා කපන්න ඕනෑ ඒවාම වෙන්න පුළුවන්. නමුත් කපන්න වුවමනා නැති දේ කැපීමෙන්, රටට හානියක් වීම, සංවර්ධන කටයුතුවලට බාධා ඇති වීම, ගොවීන්ට ආධාර පිණිස ගෙනයන වැඩ පිළිවෙලවල් නතරවීම, රැකි රක්ෂා නැතිවීම වැනි දේ එහි ප්‍රතිඵල වෙන්නේ නැද්ද කියා මා අහන්න කැමතියි.

පෝර ගැන දැනටම ප්‍රශ්නයක් මතු වී තිබෙනව. ගරු කෘෂිකර්ම ඇමතිතුමන්, ගරු ඉඩම් ඇමතිතුමන් ටිකක් ඇස් අර බලන්නට වටිනාවය කියා මා කියන්න කැමතියි. පෝරවල මිල ගණන් ඒ රටවල අධික වෙලා. ඒ නිසා පෝර ගෙන්වන්න ආධාර දීම පිණිස රජය වෙන් කර තිබෙන මුදලින් ගොවිතැනට ගිය අවුරුද්දේ තරම් පෝරවලින් ආධාර දීමට පුළුවන් වෙද නැද්ද කියා සොයා බලන්නට වටිනවා. 1956 යේ සහ 1957 තේ මා කෘෂිකර්ම ඇමති හැටියට වැඩ කළ කාලයේ පෝර ගෙන්වූ හැටි මට මතකයි. 1956 ගෙන්නුවේ වොන් 12,000 යි. 1958, 1959 වන විට එය වොන් 17,000 ට නැංගා. ඒ වැඩ පිළිවෙළ නියම විධියට ක්‍රියාවේ යෙදී පසුගිය අවුරුද්දේ වොන් 47,000 ක් හා



විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පනත, 1964-65

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

[ඩී. පී. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන මයා.]

මේ අවුරුද්දේ වෙන් 65,000ක් පමණ කුඹුරු ගොවිතැනට පෝරවලින් ආධාර දී තිබෙනවාය කියා කාටත් සතුටු වන්නට පුළුවන්. නමුත් මේ වැඩ පිළිවෙළ අනුව වෙන් කර තිබෙන මුදලින් ඒ ප්‍රමාණය ගෙන්වා ගන්න පුළුවන් වේද කියා මගේ සැකයක් තිබෙනවා. මක්නිසාද? රසායනික පෝර වල මිළ වැඩි වී තිබෙන නිසයි. හැබැයි මේ ගැන වචනයක් කිව්වාට කමක් නැහැ. ඒ කාලයේ මටත් තිබුණු අමාරුව මේකයි. 1956 සිට 59 දක්වා කාෂිකර්ම ඇමති වශයෙන් මා කටයුතු කරන කාලයේදීත් මුදල් ඇමතිතුමාගෙන් යම්කිසි මුදලක් ගැනීම මට නම් බොහොම අමාරු කාරණයක් වුණා. සෑම අවසාවකදීම වගේ වැඩේ යන්නම්වත් කර ගැනීමට මුදල් ලබා ගැනීමට මට අගමැතිතුමා ලඟට යන්ට සිද්ධ වුණා. ගොවිජන සේවා දෙපාර්තමේන්තුවට අවශ්‍ය නිලධාරීන් පත් කරන්ට වුව මනා මුදල් දුන්නේ නැහැ. ඒ නිසයි, කුඹුරු පනත නියම අන්දමට ක්‍රියාවේ යොදන්ට බැරි වුණේ. ඊට පසු ඒ අමාත්‍යාංශය වෙනත් ඇමතිවරයකු අතට පත් වුණාට පසුත් ඒ තත්ත්වයමයි, තිබුණේ. කුඹුරු පනතේ තිබෙන අඩුපාඩුකම්වලට වඩා, නිලධාරීන් තැනිකම නිසයි, කුඹුරු පනත ක්‍රියාවේ යෙදීමට අමාරු වුණේ. එය ක්‍රියාවේ යෙදීමට කල් ඇතිව නිලධාරීන් පත් කරන්ට ඉඩ දුන්නේ නැහැ. විශේෂයෙන්ම පාලක ලේකම්වරුන්ට සැහෙන චේතනයක් දී වැඩවල යොදවන්න ඉඩ දුන්නේ නැහැ. එම නිසා මේ අයවැය ලේඛනයේ මුදල් ඇමතිතුමා සඳහන් කර තිබෙන අන්දමට, කුඹුරු පනතේ අලුත් සංශෝධන ක්‍රියාවේ යෙදීමෙන් ලබා ගන්ට බලාපොරොත්තු වන ගොවි කර්මාන්තයේ දියුණුව පමණක් නොව තේ වගාවේ දියුණුවත් සැලසේ යයි මා කල්පනා කරන්නේ නැහැ.

අලුත් අක්කර බද්ද නම් මා සම්පූර්ණයෙන්ම අනුමත කරන අතර ඊට මගේ සම්පූර්ණ ආධාරය දෙනවා. මා ඒකට කැමතියි. කලින් තිබුණු, වටිනාකම අනුව ගන්න “අඩි වැලෝරම්” නමැති බද්දට වැඩිය මෙය සියලු අතින්ම සාධාරණයි කියා මට කියන්ට පුළුවනි. හොඳට වැඩ කරගෙන යන තේ සමාගම්වලට නම් මේ

බද්දට විරුද්ධ වන්න කිසිම හේතුවක් නැහැ. ඒ උදවියට මෙයින් පාඩුවක් හෝ අමුත්තක් සිදු වෙයි කියා මා හිතන්නේ නැහැ. එහෙත් හොඳට සාර නැති තේවතු හිමියන්ට නම් ටිකක් අමාරු වෙයි, මේ බද්ද ගෙවන්න. එවැනි වතු එතරම් නැහැ. මෙය වැඩි වශයෙන්ම බල පාත්තේ “හනි ග්‍රෝන්” හෙවත් මුහුදු මට්ටමෙන් අඩි හාර දහස් ගණනකට ඉහළින් පිහිටා තිබෙන විශාල තේ වතුවලටයි. ඒ නිසා මේක සාධාරණයි.

මට පිළිගන්ට බැරි තවත් කරුණක් තිබෙනවා. මම ඒකට පසුව එන්නම්. ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, මට ඉංග්‍රීසියෙන් කථා කරන්න අවසර දෙන්න.

Mr. Speaker, we are seeing the last stages of the Debate on the Appropriation Bill for 1964-65. There are many features in this Bill which need close scrutiny and examination. This Bill, like the proverbial curate's egg, is good only in parts. There are some proposals which are undoubtedly progressive.

I was speaking of the acreage tax. I welcome the acreage tax because all efficient tea plantations over 4,000 feet will be able to pay the Rs. 300 per acre tax. I think it is much better than the uncertain, from a revenue point of view, *ad valorem* tax. But I cannot see eye to eye with the Hon. Minister of Finance that grants made by the Government for replanting tea, rubber and coconut should be considered taxable. It is for a specific purpose that the grant is made and it is our duty and the duty of the Tea Controller to see that every cent is spent, because the productivity of our tea plantations is more important than the petty discrimination that the Hon. Minister wants. He is always thinking of penal measures.

ගරු ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා (මුදල් ඇමති)

(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா—  
நிதி அமைச்சர்)

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

There are no penal measures!  
You do not understand.



විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පනත, 1964-65

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

ඩී. පී. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන මයා.

(திரு. டி. பி. ஆர். குணவர்தன)

(Mr. D. P. R. Gunawardena)

Yes, I do not understand.

ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

That is obvious from what you are saying.

ඩී. පී. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන මයා.

(திரு. டி. பி. ஆர். குணவர்தன)

(Mr. D. P. R. Gunawardena)

I will read out your speech for your benefit.

ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

If you understand it, you will not say it.

ඩී. පී. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන මයා.

(திரு. டி. பி. ஆர். குணவர்தன)

(Mr. D. P. R. Gunawardena)

I will speak according to my understanding. Please listen. When your turn comes you can reply.

#### "Tax on tea

The duty on tea is now levied in two parts—a specific duty of 35 cents per pound levied at the point of export by the Customs, and an *ad valorem* duty of 50 per cent. of the excess of the price fetched at the auctions over the floor price of"—[OFFICIAL REPORT, 30th July, 1964; Vol. 56, c. 1673.]

I agree with that part of it.

Then you find this at column 1661 :

#### "(c) Tax treatment of Replanting Subsidies

Since their inception the replanting subsidies granted by Government in respect of tea, rubber and coconut have not been treated as income for purposes of tax. On the other hand, all expenditure on replanting, whether obtained by way of subsidy or not, is allowed as a reduction in the calculation of taxable income. For example, let us assume that an individual has a private income of Rs. 10,000 and he receives from Government, in addition, a sum of Rs. 3,750 as a replanting subsidy. Although his total

income is Rs. 13,750 under the present tax system his total income is treated as being only Rs. 10,000. Further, when he spends this Rs. 3,750...."

I understand all that, but what happens is that the entire amount cannot be spent as a result of the calculation you make and the deduction you make because you did not deduct from his income a certain amount which might have gone into replanting. That has to be considered. I am only interested in the productivity of tea plantations. As a result of this tax you will decrease the productivity of tea plantations because some owners will not take the same trouble and will not spend all the money and invest that in replanting. That is true of tea, coconut and rubber.

You may try to get away by saying they have other income. That is not the point. The subsidy is given for replanting tea, the subsidy is given for replanting rubber, the subsidy is given for replanting coconut, because they are urgently in need of replanting, because our economy is going down, because our coconut trees are old and decrepit, because our tea plants, some of the bushes, are 70-80 years old and productivity is going down; it is necessary that they be replanted and as quickly as possible. The foreign owners may go or we may get rid of them today or tomorrow, but these plantations must be run, they are our assets, and you have no right by any method, taxation or otherwise, to reduce the productivity of these plantations because, as you mentioned in a number of places, you depend for 81 per cent. of the income on tea, rubber and coconut. It is very easy to take a professorial attitude about these matters but it is much more difficult to see the practical side of it.

I now come, because time is short, to the Budget Speech. I said that it was the longest Budget Speech I have read either in this country or in any other country. I congratulate the Hon. Minister of Finance for placing before this House or rather delivering in this House the longest



විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පණත, 1964-65

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

[ඩී. පී. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන මය.]

Budget Speech that this House has ever seen or any other House of Parliament in any other country has ever seen.

The early part surveys generally the economic situation. Well, I do not want to refer to the greatest achievements. Anyway, the Hon. Minister of Finance has done an exceedingly good job of collecting the material and presenting it in a readable form. I congratulate him on that too. That is a great thing. This Budget is much more readable and has been presented in a much better way than any of the previous Budget Speeches.

But when it comes to the question of taxation, the question of the setting up of necessary institutions for further development of the economy, I am afraid I have to sing a different song, particularly when it comes to the question of the activities of the Hon. Minister of Finance and the Coalition Government and the question of the foreign banks and agency houses which have throttled the economy of this country for their own benefit. The exchange banks were controlling the economy of this country, feeding credit channels as it pleased their interests. The Pochkhanawala Banking Commission went into this question in 1934 and submitted its report and as a result, I believe, the Bank of Ceylon was established. The Hon. Minister of Agriculture and Food nationalized this state-aided bank in 1961 but the general set-up, the general method of operation of the Bank of Ceylon and the controlling directorate remain as we had them before; no great changes have taken place. The People's Bank was set up in 1961; the old Co-operative Development Bank Bill was enacted into law as the People's Bank. It is the draft I prepared, but with a few minor changes, and it is on the Co-operative Development Bank Bill that the M. E. P. Government of the late Mr. Bandaranaike fell. The foreign exchange banks and their local agents carried on a campaign, through the press and through every

agency possible, Governmental and and otherwise, to prevent the introduction of that Bill in this House. I left the M. E. P. Government in May, 1959, because the then Government was unable to realize the urgency of setting up a State bank to aid the rural areas, to help the peasants and to give credit at low rates of interest without having to go through the cumbersome procedure that you find in the commercial banking houses.

After a Government was formed in July, 1960, the then Minister of Trade and Commerce, Mr. T. B. Illangaratne, introduced a Bill in 1961, and it was supported by practically every section in this House because they realized the urgency to give credit facilities to rural areas, to the peasantry and to the small industrialist. This bank has been working for nearly three years without making much of an impression on rural agriculture. I do not know whether it has made any impression on urban agriculture.

I saw the photograph of the Hon. Prime Minister and the hon. Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Local Government and Home Affairs which showed them reaping a rich harvest in a paddy field at Stace Road, Grandpass. I do not know whether these electoral farms get special accommodation from the People's Bank, but I am told that the reaping was done with a golden sickle. I do not know whether it was gilt or golden. I do not know whether it was made of sterling gold.

But I have watched the activities of this bank, the way it is functioning, during the last three years. They opened early last year—on the 7th of January—a branch of this bank at Avissawella. I was present on the occasion, and I reminded the chairman, the Minister and some directors who were present that the building was unsuitable. I am glad that they have moved it into more spacious and suitable quarters. They now occupy a very good solid building at Avissawella. I occasionally drop in at that branch of the People's Bank just to find out



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how it is working, what its activities are, and what some of the officers have to say. That is the only branch of the People's Bank I have stepped into. I have not gone to the headquarters of the People's Bank nor to any of its Colombo offices. I have not gone to see Mr. Vincent Subasinghe at the bank, nor to see any other officers. But I have been keeping in close touch with officers whom I met and with whom I discussed various matters.

About seven or eight months ago, some of the young, intelligent, patriotic officers in the People's Bank realized that the bank was not functioning in the way that it was intended to function, that the main purposes for which the bank was founded were not being honoured by those responsible for running the bank. They studied the situation and put up a scheme for the setting up of rural banks.

My Hon. Friend, the Minister of Finance, is under the impression that I know nothing of banking. As a matter of fact he had the temerity to say that I was completely ignorant when it came to a question of banking. I am sorry that he should have uttered words of that nature in this House.

[At this stage the Hon. Minister of Finance was seen leaving his seat.]

Are you coming back?

ඔබ මන්ත්‍රීවරයෙක්

(කෙළරව අங்கத்தවාර් ඉරුවාර්)

(An hon. Member)

He has come back.—[Interruption].

ඔබ ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(කෙළරව කලාතිති භන්. භම්. පෙරේරා)

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

Do not worry. This boy does not run away. I have no desire to run away. I will give as good as I get.

ඩී. පී. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන මය.

(ති. ඩී. පී. ගුණවර්ධන)

(Mr. D. P. R. Gunawardena)

Now, Sir, on the 9th of July I made an appeal in this House to the Hon. Minister. I still have a lingering speck of respect for him because I was associated with him for so long, and I thought that instead of attacking him I would appeal to him to intervene and save the People's Bank from going the way of other banks which were started to help the rural areas of this country. What was his reply?

Speaking on that day, this is what I said:

"I was going to speak about agency houses and nationalization. I want to put certain facts before my good Friend the Hon. Minister of Finance. I hope he will give me a patient hearing. I understand that everything is not well with the People's Bank. I understand that a past Chairman of the People's Bank, who is now a Director, is threatening to resign. This is an institution in which I have taken a personal interest. It is true that others claim parentage but I claim that this is my child—it is not an illegitimate child either—and I am interested in its future.

Why was the People's Bank set up? What was the purpose? What were its functions to be?... The main purpose of the People's Bank Act, No. 29 of 1961, is given in Section 4 as follows:

'The purposes of the Bank shall be to develop the co-operative movement of Ceylon, rural banking and agricultural credit, by furnishing financial and other assistance to co-operative societies, approved societies, Cultivation Committees and other persons.'"  
—[OFFICIAL REPORT, 9th July, 1964; Vol. 56; c. 125-126.]

I would like to add for the benefit of the Hon. Minister that even today 50 per cent. of the share capital of the People's Bank is owned by co-operatives. So that the co-operatives and the co-operative movement have a very important stake in the future of the bank, its welfare, its activities and its functions in general. I went on to say, at column 127:

"This People's Bank has miserably failed to do this during the last three years. Some of the officers in that bank have been trying their best to direct the



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—දෙවන වර කියවීම

[ඩී. පී. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන මයා.]

activities of the bank into the rural sector. A few months ago they started what are known as 'rural banks'—

And these rural banks are well run by co-operative societies clothed with limited banking functions. As a matter of fact, when we thought of setting up the Co-operative Development Bank our idea was to get the best run co-operatives, run by honest men. Out of the 15,000 co-operatives I am inclined to believe there must be at least 500 to 1,000 co-operative societies in this country which can be entrusted with this work; and the bank appoints only one officer for teaching them the accounting methods and supervision generally.

—“They were opened at Menikhinna Hewawissa and Madapalata. I do not know that they are the best societies available. I have not the slightest doubt that among the 4,000 or 5,000 multi-purpose co-operative societies there are more efficient and better managed ones. But these were chosen for various reasons. In any case, the fact remains that they were chosen and work is going on. What we originally intended was to see that good, well managed co-operative societies were made agents of this bank. We wanted to make them rural banks with limited functions because credit to co-operative societies is not the normal commercial credit but supervised credit. The bank has the right to appoint a man to supervise the work, guide the management in the accounting and so on.

These young officers in the bank have done that work well. But what is the position? The General Manager of the bank is a nice person, a personal friend of mine too, and”——

I would like to add, he has not the foggiest idea of credit to the farmer. He is a man who understands the efficient running of a commercial bank but he has no interest in, and does not have any understanding of, rural banking. He thinks rural banking means opening a branch in some area. That is why he always speaks of banking facilities to the rural areas but not of rural banks. They are two different things.

We started some time ago what is called extended credit for co-operatives. Money is given to co-operatives, to a selected number of

good co-operatives, and that money is loaned out to members of the co-operatives by the management of the co-operatives——

අ. ඩා. 3.30

කථානායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர்)

(Mr. Speaker)

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

අනතුරුව කථානායකතුමා මූලාසනයෙන් ඉවත් වූයෙන්, නියෝජ්‍ය කථානායකතුමා මූලාසනාගාරය විය.

ඩී. පී. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන මයා.

(திரு. டி. பி. ஆர். குணவர்தன)

(Mr. D. P. R. Gunawardena)

That is the extended scheme of credit. I think they selected some 85 co-operative societies throughout the island and that at present 45 of these, I believe, are getting help of some nature. But that is not enough. It was not possible for the People's Bank to go on opening branches everywhere because opening branches is a costly job. You need a staff; not only a manager but a number of others. You need a solid building where people can bring in their money and deposit. There must be security. So, this idea of opening of branches prevented the management from carrying out the real functions of the bank, the purposes for which it was set up. That is the question I asked. What was the reply my Hon. Friend, the Minister of Finance, gave me? Yes, I have it here, at column 847:

“Before I close I want to touch on one or two other matters to which my attention has been drawn, particularly by the hon. Member for Avissawella (Mr. D. P. R. Gunawardena). I am very sorry indeed that he saw it fit to mention the name of Mr. Subasinghe in this place.”

I have no right to mention Mr. Subasinghe's name in this House, according to the Hon. Minister of Finance.

“I never asked him to resign his post. In point of fact I reappointed Mr. Subasinghe. Then he came and saw me and I explained to him what my policy was.



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I told him what I wanted the People's Bank to do. He said that he did not agree with me at all."

Naturally, he will not agree. He is a man who has been in the co-operative movement, a man who has a reputation for integrity, a man who has devoted his time, his wealth, his energy, in the service of the rural poor, in building up the co-operative movement and in helping it. And he will not agree to make the People's Bank a commercial bank, pure and simple. Naturally, he will not. He has other ideas, as also the young officers who understand something, who have a modern outlook, who understand these things. They are not professors, but they learnt from professors—some of them. These young men, a good many of them, have learnt under some of these professors, even at Peradeniya. The Hon. Minister continued:

"I have got with me here the confidential reports of the Central Bank which I am now compelled to read and which are not exactly complimentary to Mr. Subasinghe."

I like to know what is not complimentary to Mr. Subasinghe. Will the Hon. Minister kindly table those reports? It was the universal cry in this House, when he said that, that these reports should be tabled. Up to date he has not tabled them.

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(කෙළරාව කලාநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

I refuse to table them.

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(திரு. டி. பி. ஆர். குணவர்தன)

(Mr. D. P. R. Gunawardena)

Well, he can do what he wants. Then, he went on to say:

"I have got with me here the confidential reports of the Central Bank which I am now compelled to read and which are not exactly complimentary to Mr. Subasinghe. The hon. Member for Avissawella, not content with making his allegations here, went to Ratnapura and said that I was a tool of some official here."—[OFFICIAL REPORT, 15th July, 1964; Vol. 56, c. 848.]

I do not know what reports he got, but I am not going to give up my right of criticism of the Finance Minister, the Prime Minister or the Queen herself in any place in this island. The right of speech I have, I have not given up; and nobody can prevent me from speaking and saying what I consider to be the right thing. He says, "The hon. Member for Avissawella knows nothing about banking." Maybe, I am a humble student. I started studying when I was 10 years old and I am still studying. Then the Hon. Minister goes on:

"Neither does Mr. Subasinghe know anything about banking. Let him not talk about things he knows nothing of. I know something about banking. What has the hon. Member for Avissawella read? He has not even read 'Practical Banking'. What does he know about banking? He is just an ignoramus who is shouting here. This is what the Central Bank says: "—[OFFICIAL REPORT 15th July, 1964; Vol. 56, cs. 848-9.]

I shall have some very important things to say about the Central Bank very soon. Then he read out an irrelevant passage from some document which he had in his hand without revealing to us the exact nature of the document. That is the position.

Now, the officers in the People's Bank submitted a report after careful study. This is also a confidential document:

"General Manager,  
People's Bank,  
Colombo.

Dear Sir,

Rural Banks

We refer to the conference you held on 26th June, 1964 on the scheme of Rural Banks sponsored by the People's Bank. Besides the writer the following members of the staff were present at the conference: Messrs. M. A. Jayasinghe, P. B. Ratnayake, N. W. Panditha and U. Karunatileke.

In the ensuing discussion you mentioned that you had submitted a Report on Rural Banks to the Minister of Finance."

That is the secret report submitted by the General Manager to the Minister of Finance on, I think, 16th June.



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[ඩී. පී. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන මයා.]

"We thank you for providing us with a copy of this Report dated 16th June, 1964 and giving us an opportunity of expressing our views on its contents.

You will recall that the Scheme of Rural Banks is based on proposals made in 2 memoranda dated 9.1.64 and 30.1.64 respectively submitted to you by a committee appointed by yourself.

You discussed the memorandum on 9.1.64 with the members of the committee and gave your approval for the proposed scheme but sought clarification on a few points. The Memorandum of 30.1.64 was in response to this request.

Thereafter a detailed body of Rules, Regulations and instructions governing the relationship between the Bank and the Societies selected under the Scheme was prepared by us. Since you approved it you issued it in the form of Rural Credit and Banking Circular No. 1/64 of 13th March, 1964. It is therefore clear that you had accepted the scheme. We have viewed your statement in the final paragraph on page 2 of your Report in the light of the foregoing facts.

We note that the Report to the Minister of Finance is confined to certain criticisms and contains no account of the scheme itself, its scope, purposes or functions. The nature of some of the criticisms reveals that significant facts relating to the Scheme have been overlooked. Some of the criticisms would not have arisen if these facts had been verified. It is also our impression that the Scheme has not been viewed from the correct perspective.

Therefore, prior to making our comments on the Report we wish to touch briefly on these aspects and attempt to show that the scheme is a logical development of the history of events that led to the establishment of the People's Bank.

#### *Rural Indebtedness and Rural Credit.*

Approximately 75 per cent of the People of Ceylon live in village areas engaged mostly in peasant agriculture. Since agricultural incomes are seasonal and subject to wide variations, especially among small farmers, there is a constant need for credit in the rural sector both for purposes of production and consumption.

But due to lack of sufficient institutional credit facilities in rural areas, the villagers have been compelled to obtain these credit requirements from private sources at usurious rates of interest. This heavy burden of debts has contributed among other things to the poor productive capacity of the village cultivator.

The survey of Rural indebtedness conducted in 1957 at the instance of the then Minister of Agriculture revealed the extent to which the rural people were committed to these undesirable sources of credit.

The distribution of the total debt among the several lenders was as follows :

Government ..	2.6%
Co-operatives ..	4.1%
Commercial Banks ..	1.1%
Relations & friends ..	44.2%
Landlords ..	8.0%
Professional money-lenders ..	15.5%
Traders ..	11.5%
Others ..	13.0%
	<hr/> 100.0% <hr/>

The Survey also exposed the inadequacy of the then existing co-operative credit structure to make a significant contribution in the sphere of rural credit.

It revealed the inherent weakness of the single-purpose co-operative society and its inability to be an effective instrument in developing the rural economy.

The organisation of societies incorporating the multi-purpose idea was considered by the Government to be the answer to the problem. Unlike the single-purpose society, the multi-purpose co-operative makes possible 'the much needed integration of credit with marketing thereby helping the producer to eliminate the middleman at all levels and in respect of all his problems. In other words it could be the village bank, the village stores Society, the marketing society and the labour society all rolled into one.'

The establishment of an island-wide network of multi-purpose societies was therefore undertaken. This constituted the new co-operative credit structure.

The provision of funds for this vast organization required the establishment of a powerful co-operative apex bank armed with full-fledged commercial banking functions. But the establishment of this bank was delayed and the newly created multi-purpose structure languished without its proper financier.

The bank was established 3 years later under the name of the 'People's Bank'.

In the memoranda under reference we examined the performance of the People's Bank during its existence of nearly 3 years and found that it had not yet been geared to play its principal role as the financier of the rural sector, through the multi-purpose frame work. We tried to



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show the reasons why the bank had so far failed to make a worthwhile impact as regards credit in the rural sector. We pointed out the futility of the bank trying to deal directly with the villager and bypassing the co-operative society. It was only through a strong and efficient co-operative movement that the credit needs of rural farmers could be really met. This has been the experience of other countries—witness India and Japan especially in the post-war period.

Because of the delay in the establishment of the apex bank, the multi-purpose movement did not make much headway. Generally, apart from the lack of sufficient funds, managerial efficiency was also wanting. We felt therefore that the channelling of credit on a comprehensive basis through the societies as they exist at present would not be very effective, unless they were built into strong and efficient units.

It was therefore the duty of the People's Bank to help organize the societies on sound and efficient lines so that credit would be administered effectively.

To perform this task requires a combination of financial as well as technical and managerial assistance to co-operatives. The People's Bank Act empowers the bank to render this twofold assistance to co-operative societies.

We proposed therefore that each society selected under the scheme should be provided in the early stages with an experienced employee of the bank to ensure (a) that loans are properly given to the members (b) that accounts are accurately kept (c) that proper documents are taken (d) that banking and savings habits of the members are developed (e) that credit supervision is effectively carried out.

We now offer for your consideration our comments on the Report.

On the first page of your Report you have given the figures of Deposits and Advances on a particular day at the 3 existing rural banks. There is one item which requires explanation. The full sum of Rs. 44,893 which is shown as advances granted by the Medapalatha 'Rural Bank' is really the amount outstanding in the society's books on pawnbroking as agents of the People's Bank under a different scheme."

The Hon. Minister read out that report and wanted us to believe that they were making advances upon the deposits; but he does not know that the pawnbroking account is a separate one coming from the People's Bank and pawnbroking is not carried on

with funds of the Rural Bank. Not only that, the Hon. Minister failed to mention that when you do pawnbroking you have assets. People pawn something—their gold or silver, jewellery or whatever it is. The Hon. Minister just reads reports and tells us that they come from the Central Bank without scrutinizing and finding out exactly what the report contains.

"The Report refers to Menikhinna as 'hardly more than a big village'. In actual fact the area of operation of the rural banking society in Menikhinna according to its by-laws includes a village committee area and five villages.

Rural banks should not be equated with Commercial banks. The Rural banks as they are presently constituted are only the credit sections of the societies concerned. Their deposit position is not the index to their lending capacity. Their lendings will be out of deposits they receive from their own 'customers' and monies borrowed from the People's Bank, Government departments, and other institutions.

Rural banks in the early stages cannot and were not expected to meet all the credit requirements of their members out of the deposits received. If they could manage with their own deposits, then there is no rural credit problem.

But what we did argue in our memorandum was that well organized societies could be the instrument of mobilizing rural savings in a big way. We would refer in this connection to page 10 of our memorandum dated 10th June, 1964.

It is of course too premature to make any definite forecast of the future possibilities on the basis of the figures quoted in respect of the three rural banks already in existence.

But in the mobilizing of rural deposits so far, the success of the three banks is quite clear from these figures.

You state 'that some of the deposits have been diverted from this Bank to the Rural bank'. We do not know whether this assessment is based on surmise or on statistics. However, even after allowance is made for such a diversion of funds it can be said quite confidently that these banks have succeeded in attracting deposits from hundreds of persons who would otherwise have not banked them with any recognized institution.

In any event, since the People's Bank is the apex of the Co-operative movement we would prefer not to look upon



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[ඩී. පී. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන මය.]

the rural banks as our rivals for deposits. After all the People's Bank are their bankers. Their collections are deposited in their accounts with us.

You state that these societies will be a 'drain on our deposits'. We may be wrong, but the phrasing of the sentence in question seems to imply that in granting credit to these societies the Bank is in some way not performing its proper function. Proceeding on the logic of this inference it would mean that the provision of the credit needs of the villagers who are members of these societies is a 'drain on the deposits'.

On the matter of branch banking too, we regret the report has ignored the recommendations in our memoranda. The report makes it appear that the rural bank scheme rules out the establishment of any more branches of the People's Bank. This assumption is incorrect. You will recall that in our memorandum dated 30.1.64, we emphasized the need to set up a carefully planned network of branches of the People's Bank in the island primarily with a view to collecting deposits and feeding the co-operative societies.

The task entrusted to the People's Bank is one of great magnitude. Financing the Island's co-operative credit movement depends on the availability of substantial funds. There is also the element of risk in rural credit. In such a task of national development there is a very strong case to appeal for state participation on a large scale.

The Agricultural Plan (1958) of the Ministry of Agriculture has stressed the importance of such participation especially in an under-developed economy such as ours.

The following proposals are made in this regard:

(1) Wherever the People's Bank maintains a branch, the deposit accounts of all government departments, public corporations and local bodies operating in the area to be deposited exclusively with our branch. This rule should apply in Colombo as well as in the outstations.

(2) All monies allocated annually to various Government departments engaged in national development to be banked with us.

(3) All finances pumped into the rural sector by departments like the Commissioner of Agrarian Services, Department of Cottage Industries, etc., to be channelled through the People's Bank.

(4) Make it obligatory for all foreign banks and agency houses, and the Bank of Ceylon to invest a certain percentage of their deposits with the People's Bank.

Easier means of borrowing from the Central Bank, e.g., against goods receipts without having to physically deposit all the Usance Notes at the Central Bank.

Preferential reserve ratios for People's Bank deposits.

Grant of loans to People's Bank for re-lending to co-operatives.

Loans against Medium and Long Term Credit—vide section 67 of the Finance Act, No. 11 of 1963.

The People's Bank to build up its reserves by apportioning larger amounts of its profits to Reserves.

The current rates of lending are either 5 per cent. or 6 per cent. A case can be made to increase these rates.

The organization of co-operatives to mobilize rural savings. With the development of rural banking co-operatives on an island-wide scale the potentialities are considerable—witness the success already achieved in this scheme by the three rural banks recently established."

The management feels they are not developing in the correct direction. The management has also complained that they cannot even loan one officer to supervise the work of this very important experiment that is being carried out in these three places. I cannot understand how you can still have respect for these men. How can you still have respect for this manager?

"The People's Bank can also play a direct part in this campaign for rural deposits through its branches and by the use of propaganda, mobile banking units, and so on.

The People's Bank has been armed with Commercial banking functions because it was felt that such activities would give it strength."

Because it can earn profits and sometimes take risks in the rural sector it is not prepared to take in the urban area. The only way for pumping credit to the rural sector is by that method. For, it is only by pumping credit into the rural sector that you can develop agriculture—small-scale agriculture. The peasants, the middle class farmer, can be



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given assistance and you can develop side by side with the development of agriculture, small industries on a proper basis. That was the duty of this Bank and it was the purpose for which it was set up but it has been misdirected.

—“The former Co-operative Federal Bank failed to fulfil its mission, partly because it confined its advances to co-operative societies and did not participate in profitable commercial banking business.

While accepting the position that the People's Bank should engage in commercial banking activities, we think that certain qualitative and quantitative restrictions are necessary to ensure, (1) that sufficient liquid resources are always available for the performance of its main duties, rural sector, and (2) that we do not promote those lines of commercial business which compete with co-operative societies.”

In other words, do not go out of the way to finance private traders where those private traders will compete directly with co-operative banking.

I do not want to read the whole thing, Sir, but it is very important. It is a document that the Hon. Minister has failed to table.

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(කෙළරව කලාநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

I did. I tabled two documents.

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(திரு. டி. பி. ஆர். குணவர்தன)

(Mr. D. P. R. Gunawardena)

What about the third?

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(கெளரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

The third was the Central Bank Report.

ඩී. පී. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන මයා.

(திரு. டி. பி. ஆர். குணவர்தன)

(Mr. D. P. R. Gunawardena)

What about the report of the General Manager to you? That is very important?

ජේ. ආර්. ජයවර්ධන මයා.

(திரு. ஜே. ஆர். ஜயவர்தன)

(Mr. J. R. Jayewardene)

I thought you refused.

ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

I tabled two reports.

ඩී. පී. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන මයා.

(திரு. டி. பி. ஆர். குணவர்தன)

(Mr. D. P. R. Gunawardena)

It may be an oversight; it is possible. Anyway, I am glad. I would not have read it if I knew it was tabled.

These Banks are doing well despite the report of the management and despite the report of the Central Bank. What happened? There were certain irregularities that the board of management of the People's Bank discovered and when they learnt this they addressed a letter to the General Manager, not in their interests, but in the interest of the country and the banks and the people of this country to safeguard the good name of everybody. I should read the charge now :

“People's Bank,

Union Place,

Colombo 2, December 26, 1963.

W. H. Solomons Esq.,  
General Manager,  
People's Bank,  
Colombo.

Sir,

I have been asked by the Board of Directors to indicate the following irregularities to you and to call for your explanations. I shall be glad to have your reply within 10 days from the date of receipt of this letter.

(1) (a) *McCallum Breweries*: On or about the 27th September, 1962 a letter of credit for DM (Deutsche Marks, I believe) 2869900 was opened on the application of U. K. Edmund (who was at the time forming a company to run *McCallum Breweries*) without the authority of the Board of Directors ;



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—දෙවන වර කියවීම

[ඩී. පී. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන මය.]

(b) The Board was informed about an application for a loan of Rs. 500,000 and the approval of the Board was obtained for it on 19th September, 1962, no indication was given to the Board that a letter of credit was to be opened or that this money was to be used for making the initial deposit for the purchase of machinery for the Brewery for which the letter of credit was opened. Nor did you disclose the opening of this letter of credit in the second application for a loan of Rs. 500,000 in Board Paper No. 124 of 3rd May, 1963.

(c) Normally, a Bank does not finance a new enterprise unless the entrepreneur himself has a substantial stake in the business. Mr. Edmund has not invested money in this business at the time the Board was committed by the letter for DN 2869900 opened on a nil margin.

(2) To maintain the confidence of the public it is desirable that loans to Directors should be approved by the Board of Directors rather than by you as General Manager. With regard to loans to Directors, the following are additional irregularities which require your explanation.

(a) (i) On the 18th October, 1962 you sanctioned a loan of Rs. 5,000 to Mrs. Sahabdeen with Mr. Sahabdeen as guarantor. At that time a sum of a little under Rs. 25,000 was due from Mr. Sahabdeen. This loan was given in the name of Mrs. Sahabdeen as your authority to give loans to individuals is restricted to Rs. 25,000. This cannot be treated as a loan to Mrs. Sahabdeen as she had no account with the Bank, and was therefore not eligible to receive a loan. Besides the proceeds of the loan were credited to Mr. Sahabdeen's current account. There is an endorsement by Mr. Cooray that he has spoken to you before the loan was allowed indicating that you had sanctioned the loan.

(a) (ii) The loan which was given to Mrs. Sahabdeen was only for one month but it remained unpaid till 16.4.63. You failed to report to the Board that this loan had become overdue.

(a) (iii) You failed to disclose information about this loan in the draft answers sent by you to a Parliamentary question about loans to Directors of the People's Bank. The overdraft to Management Consultants Limited was included as it was guaranteed by Mr. Linus Silva whereas the loan to Mrs. Sahabdeen guaranteed by Mr. Sahabdeen was omitted.

(b) (i) On or about 14th June, 1962, a loan of Rs. 20,000 was given to Mr. J. B. Kelegama when he already had Rs. 10,000 borrowed on 3rd May, 1962. This second loan was in excess of your authority to sanction loans. Though the first loan was repaid a few days after the second loan was obtained, there is no indication in the second application that the first loan is to be repaid from the proceeds of this loan.

(b) (ii) You failed to disclose in the draft answer sent by you to the Parliamentary question referred to above that Mr. Kelegama had taken two loans. Loans already repaid by Mr. V. Subasinghe and Management Consultants Limited were reported whereas the loan of Rs. 10,000 repaid by Mr. Kelegama was not reported.

(3) (a) *Vitharnage Bros.*—On or about 15th March, 1962 a loan of Rs. 60,000 was given to Mrs. R. M. Vitharnage without the sanction of the Board.

(b) On or about 14th December, 1962, a further loan of Rs. 75,000 was given by you as General Manager without Board approval. It is observed that the bond was signed on 14th December, 1962 for a sum of Rs. 75,000. However the amount drawn is Rs. 94,000 including interest. The balance amount of the loan has not been secured by any proper bond.

(c) A guarantee of Rs. 99,000 was granted to the Irrigation Department on behalf of Vitharnage Brothers on your approval. This was not referred to the Board for sanction.

(4) (a) A sum of Rs. 25,000 was granted to Mrs. M. M. Fernando on or about 26th March, 1963. The guarantor was a son Mr. L. W. M. Fernando a



විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පනත, 1964- 65

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student in the Engineering Faculty of the University of Ceylon, and a motor vehicle was given as pledge in addition to the guarantee.

aggregating Rs. 60,000, Board sanction should have been obtained before this was allowed.

- (b) A loan of Rs. 5,000 was given to Mr. L. W. M. Fernando on 12.10.62. A further loan of Rs. 16,000 was given to him on 16.4.63. From the proceeds of the second loan, the first loan of Rs. 5,000 has been paid. The purpose of the first loan of Rs. 5,000 has been given as agriculture. Were details obtained regarding the loan and crops which Mr. Fernando had in mind when he applied for the loan for agriculture. These two loans were given on the guarantee of Mrs. M. M. Fernando referred to above. The loan appears to be for the benefit of Mrs. M. M. Fernando and is therefore irregular as the limit of Rs. 25,000 has been exceeded. It is also not understood why the guarantee of a son who is an engineering student was not obtained.

- (5) Miss. M. F. C. Fernando, daughter of the above Mrs. M. M. Fernando was employed after an interview without any application from her as a temporary clerk in Grade VI from 19th July, 1962. She was confirmed from 15th November, 1962.

In October, 1963, there was a cash shortage of Rs. 500 in the petty cash entrusted to Miss. Fernando. The Chairman orally requested Mr. Jayasinghe and you to request Miss. Fernando to resign and leave the services of the Bank. However, she was instead transferred to the Queen Street Branch of the People's Bank. This is not in conformity with the order given by the Chairman.

- (6) (a) Mrs. Sherine Arulnachalam was given a loan of Rs. 40,000 on 17.10.62 and a further loan of Rs. 20,000 on 6.2.63 with the Boards approval for a period of 5 years. You have without the authority of the Board converted this loan into a medium term loan for 10 years.

- (b) You have on or about 7th December, 1963, given a further loan of Rs. 5,000 on your own authority without Board sanction. As this loan is in addition to existing loans

2. The Directors will consider retaining your services in the bank in the light of the explanations given by you in answer to this letter.

Yours faithfully,  
Chairman."

That is when these irregularities came to light. The Chairman and the Board of Directors rested there. I am trying to get the paper. Yes, Sir, I am trying to get at the letter addressed by the Permanent Secretary to the Minister of Finance to the Chairman of the People's Bank. That was brought to the notice of the Minister of Finance but the Minister did not want to take any action.

ජේ. ආර්. ජයවර්ධන මය.

(තිரு. ஜே. ஆர். ஜயவர்தன)

(Mr. J. R. Jayewardene)

Who is the Minister ?

ඩී. පී. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන මය.

(திரு. டி. பி. ஆர். குணவர்தன)

(Mr. D. P. R. Gunawardena)

Mr. T. B. Ilangaratne was the Minister then. I will tell you the other Minister a little later. This is what the letter says:

"I refer to the discussion you had with the Hon. Minister yesterday re. letter you had sent to the General Manager of the People's Bank in connection with certain loans said to have been granted by the General Manager. In this connection you also informed the Hon. Minister that you had sought the assistance of Governor of the Central Bank in making a report on the administration of the Bank. It was agreed that the Minister of Finance should also use his good offices to see that the Central Bank expedited this report. This has been done. Please see me very early with a copy of this report."

On 11.1.64 the Secretary to the Treasury, Mr. Jinadasa Samarakkody, wrote to the Chairman, People's Bank, and a reply was sent to him to the following effect:

"Action arising out of your letter to the General Manager or action to be taken following the Report of the Central Bank, is taken after due consideration with me."



විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පණත, 1964-65

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[ඩී. පී. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන මයා.]

On 14.1.64 the Chairman writes to the Minister as follows:

“ගරු ඇමතිතුමනි,

ඔබගේ ස්ථිර ලේකම් තුමා විසින් මා වෙත එවන ලද 11.1.64 දිනම දරණ ලිපිය ලදිමි.

ඔබතුමාගේ ඉල්ලීම පරිදි මේ කරුණ ගැන මින් පසුව ගැනෙන තීරණයක් ඔබතුමා සමඟ සාකච්ඡා කිරීමට බලාපොරොත්තු වෙමි.”

On 17.6.64, that is after the present Minister assumed office, the Board of Directors met and decided to interdict the General Manager. They were not satisfied with his report. After the meeting they went to see the Finance Minister. I think all but one Director went to his house on the 17th at 7 p.m. The Board met the Finance Minister at his residence and informed him that the Board had decided to interdict the General Manager. The Minister stated that he had asked Mr. D. C. L. Amerasinghe, the Treasury representative on the Board, to submit a report and that thereafter action will be taken. But after that meeting Mr. Subasinghe, the Chairman, decided that he could not accept a place on the new Board of Directors because the Minister and the Manager of the Bank disagreed completely with Mr. Subasinghe's ideas of rural banking and his attempt to make this bank a really functioning rural bank in rural areas rather than a commercial bank only. The Finance Minister supported the General Manager and accepted the views of the General Manager. I do not know whether he asked Mr. Subasinghe to resign but Mr. Subasinghe got the impression that he had been asked to resign and he did not accept his place on the new Board of Directors.

Mr. Subasinghe has been a very honourable man. He has worked very hard. He has not drawn even one cent as allowance. Rs. 53,000 is due to him for work done during the last three years; he has not drawn one cent. Mr. Subasinghe is a man of sterling character, integrity and of devotion to the people of this country, largely to the rural people, the

peasantry. He has been a pioneer in the co-operative movement and he wanted this bank to serve the co-operative movement and the rural poor, the peasants.

If these facts are reliable and dependable—and I have no reason whatever to believe that they are not—the Hon. Minister took the side of the management. I have much more information which I do not want to divulge. My humble submission is that this bank will also be destroyed. Professors are good for lecturing to students, but I have my doubts whether the professor, whom the Hon. Minister has appointed chairman of the People's Bank, will put matters to right or help this bank to perform the functions for which it was set up. I wish the Hon. Minister had appointed this professor to be in charge of the research department of the Central Bank, where everything is not all right. He is so fond of him. I have no doubt myself that he is a very brilliant scholar, a good lecturer, a nice man, perhaps, as I am told, a good party man. But I have my doubts about him as the chairman of the bank.

Let me come out with something more. A new director has been appointed. I did not want to speak about individuals. but now that we have started I must go on, because this bank must be made to function properly. Who is this new director? What are his qualifications? From where does he come? What are his antecedents? Ananda Sirisena is a person who was an Assistant English Teacher in some school. We learn that somewhere about 1957 there was a rich heiress, an illiterate heiress, who had inherited an enormous fortune, the daughter of a very rich person by out-of-wedlock relations, extra-marital relations. I remember a contribution being made once to the Flood Relief Fund by these rich people. This girl, the heiress, was a minor. Somehow or other, legal niceties were got over and she was compelled to marry. I do not know the circumstances but it is unfortunate that it happened. It is also well known that a few



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months ago this person was seeking nomination from the U. N. P. for the Mawatagama seat.

ඩඩ්ලි සේනානායක මය.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனநாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

Absolutely correct.

ඩී. පී. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන මය.

(திரு. டி. பி. ஆர். குணவர்தன)

(Mr. D. P. R. Gunawardena)

From what I know, the only qualification that this man has is that he can put about Rs. 500,000 into this bank because the heiress is rich. I do not know about any other qualifications. I do not think even the professor with a sterling character can be helped by people of this nature on the board of directors. I have my doubts. He was appointed by the Hon. Minister; he was not elected. There were three directors elected by the co-operatives. That is the position.

I mentioned that I should like to say a word or two about the Central Bank itself which is responsible for bank supervision. We rely on the reports of the Central Bank. In the Budget speech there are no proposals for the nationalization of foreign banks; instead, direct control and supervision are envisaged. The ultimate control, direction and execution of policy will devolve on the Central Bank.

It behoves us, therefore, to examine the competence of the Central Bank, as it is presently constituted, for this task. The Central Bank has been in existence for the last fourteen years. Its record, however, has been one of dismal failure.

It has been taking a malicious delight in reporting on the shortcomings, more imaginary, of the People's Bank, which is of very recent existence, but it has never been known to expose or bring to light any of the nefarious doings of the foreign banks and foreign commercial agency houses which are really the bane of

this country. If at any time some rackets have seen the light of day, it has been due to the errors in execution of the racketeering criminals and certainly not due to vigilance or active interest of the Central Bank. Exchange frauds are perpetrated on a gigantic scale almost daily, but what action does the Exchange Controller with his team of high-salaried officials take to investigate into these frauds? Nothing! Once in a while a poor wretch is taken to court for forging a miserable two-pound permit.

The law requires that at least once a year each bank be examined. For fourteen years the examination has gone on but we have yet to hear of a single foreign bank that has been brought to book.

නියෝජ්‍ය කථානායකතුමා

(பிரதிச் சபாநாயகர்)

(Mr. Deputy Speaker)

You have ten minutes more.

ඩී. පී. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන මය.

(திரு. டி. பி. ஆர். குணவர்தன)

(Mr. D. P. R. Gunawardena)

That, Sir, is the position.

One of the functions of the Central Bank is the supervision of banks. It sometimes exposes the irregularities of the indigenous banks but seldom the criminal activities and irregularities of the foreign exchange banks.

I think I have said enough about the People's Bank. There is no reason why the Hon. Minister of Finance should not take immediate steps to rectify the position. That was the request of the retiring Board of Directors. That was the request of the Chairman of the Board of Directors, Mr. Subasinghe. There are other matters which I do not want to come out with. I do not want to take more time.

My contention is that the Budget proposals of the Hon. Minister of Finance, the Budget proposals of this Government, fail to carry our economy forward towards the development of this country. This is



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[ඩී. පී. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන මයා.]

neither a socialist Budget nor a capitalist Budget. If it is a capitalist Budget, while taking stern measures against certain sections you must help develop the economy. The proposals of the Hon. Minister in this Budget fail miserably to do that. Our position next year will be worse than today.

The Hon. Minister criticized the work of the Department of Industries. A number of industries have been started. They have to be looked into and priorities have to be given.

I looked at the proposals. There is not a single new scheme. They are largely what is known as carry-over work. The Iron and Steel Corporation spent a certain amount of money last year. We are making provision to spend a certain amount of money this year.

He condemned the Three-Year Implementation Programme. In 1962, when it was placed before the House, he laughed at it. But he says his One-Year Programme too is tentative and that he may have to change it while he goes on. If he cannot prepare a plan for twelve months how can you expect him to prepare one for a longer period? It must be accurate. The figures and other things must be dependable. That is the position.

I have not the time to speak on the other measures. I support wholeheartedly the acreage tax. I would ask the Hon. Minister not to include under taxable income the subsidies that the Government gives for planting purposes because we are interested in an efficient working economy. The plantations will remain here after the European and foreign owners go and we want to see that they are properly working plantations. If, therefore, a subsidy is given for replanting tea, rubber and coconut, well, please see that your departments look into this matter and every cent is spent on replanting.

The problem in the tea plantations tea industry. My hon. Friend from Nuwara Eliya mentioned it.

The problem in the tea plantations today is one not so much of producing, because we have increased the

production of tea largely by increasing doses of fertilizer. The problem is one of manufacturing good tea. Most of the machinery and factories are out of date and the capacity is too small for the volume of production that increased doses of fertilizer are bringing into the factory every day, with the result that there is a deterioration of quality. The Hon. Minister spoke of our quality tea holding their own in the world markets. That is true, but we must produce quality tea. Simply because tea is grown at elevations of 4,000 feet or more, if you do not manufacture the green leaf properly, your quality is not likely to improve. The Hon. Minister should, therefore, pay some attention to the question of looking into the rebuilding, the renovation, of those factories, and increasing their capacity.

අ. ආ. 4.25

නියෝජ්‍ය කථානායකතුමා

(பிரதிச் சபாநாயகர்)

(Mr. Deputy Speaker)

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

අනතුරුව නියෝජ්‍ය කථානායකතුමා මූලසනයෙන් ඉවත් වූයෙන්, කථානායකතුමා මූලසනයට වස.

ඩී. පී. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන මයා.

(திரு. டி. பி. ஆர். குணவர்தன)

(Mr. D. P. R. Gunawardena)

Sir, I am sorry I have taken a little more time than I promised at the beginning of my speech. I say that the Hon. Minister's proposals do not in any way help to increase the efficiency of our economy. That is my grouse. Either you have to run a capitalist system, or make the radical changes that are necessary. The Hon. Minister has not got the courage, the method, the will, to bring about the necessary radical changes. Take over the banks. There is no reason why the foreign banks should remain here any longer. The Hon. Minister complains of a shortage of staff in the People's Bank and in the Bank of Ceylon. You have about 2,500 officers in the foreign banks. Take over those



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banks and see that those trained personnel are used for running these branches. He wants to set up a new bank in partnership with his new friends in the foreign banks. No, that will not do. I remember that in 1957 when we wanted to take over the loading and unloading of ships in the port the same proposal was advanced: give these companies 49 per cent. of the shares and let the Government hold 51 per cent. of the shares. We said: "No, it is useless." The entire loading and unloading operations not only of the Port of Colombo but of all ports in Ceylon must be nationalized. The late Prime Minister said: "No, we will take 75 per cent. of shares and let us give these companies 25 per cent." We said: "No, take over 100 per cent." And, at the end the loading and unloading operations in the Port of Colombo were taken over and the Port (Cargo) Corporation was set up.

The Hon. Minister of Finance says that if the banks are willing he is prepared to consider the question of setting up a joint banking corporation with the exchange banks with Government participation. No. You will only be providing them with money; you will only be providing them with all the secrets—business and other secrets—that we have—perhaps, some of the exchange banks do not know that yet—for their operations. No. There cannot be any partnership between the imperialist banks and the banks of the people of Ceylon. We do not want a partnership.

Before long this country must be declared a republic. For 17 long years we have been under this constitution which is throttling us today. Ways and means must be found. We thought when the Hon. Minister and his party went over to the other side that those urgent questions will be taken up. I am not interested in your 14-point programme. Tear it to pieces and put it into a waste paper basket. Nor is the country interested in it. The

country is interested in tackling the urgent problems that demand solution today. One is the proclamation of an independent Republic of Ceylon, and, for that purpose, we must somehow or other see that this constitution is changed. The British, when they went, manacled us, so that we would never get an opportunity of amending the Constitution in the normal constitutional way. Democratic processes work up to a point, but the people demand that their sovereignty shall not be impinged on.

There is just one point before I sit down. It is my duty to do that. It is on the question of the Press Commission. I was not in this House at the time the speech was made by the hon. Member for Weligama. I wish to read from his speech—HANSARD report of 7th August, 1964, column 1991-92.

"Mr. Speaker, why do they recommend the 'Times of Ceylon' for the trade unions? Immediately my good Friend crossed over and sat on that side, my good friend, Mr. K. D. de Silva, thought it was prudent and wise to give at least the 'Times of Ceylon' to the trade unions...."

That is not the relevant passage. This is the passage:

"I also know—it is a fact and I am sorry to say it—that after Mr. K. D. de Silva was appointed Chairman of the Press Commission and before public sittings commenced he was trying his best to become the Minister of Justice."—[OFFICIAL REPORT, 7th August, 1964; Vol. 56, c. 1993.]

I think this is a statement that should not go unchallenged. It is possible that the Government was interested in asking Mr. K. D. de Silva, perhaps, to be the Minister of Justice. But that Mr. K. D. de Silva ever solicited, ever wanted, ever offered his services and asked to be appointed a Minister of Justice is something that I find it difficult to believe knowing him as I do.

I have known Mr. K. D. de Silva from the time he was 18 years old. I was myself at school with him at Ananda College. I have watched his



විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පනත, 1964-65

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

[ඩී. ඩී. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන මයා.]

career on the Bench as District Judge and as Judge of the Supreme Court. Mr. K. D. de Silva has performed his functions to the satisfaction of the people of this Island, and nobody in this Island is able to say that Mr. K. D. de Silva has at any stage been influenced by anybody, because he is not a stooge but a man of upright character who decides on the facts before him. That is the reason why, when the Press Commission was appointed, I said, "Let there be a one-man commission." You have only to read the brilliant report he wrote on the Navy. Wherever he has been asked to do any work he has done that work to the best of his ability and it is nothing but right that we should honour men of that type, not condemn them. If my hon. Friend, the Member for Weligama, has a petty caste quarrel in Weligama, let him go to his village and settle it. We are not interested in those things.

Mr. K. D. de Silva was asked to be the Chairman of this Commission. He was Chairman. He has submitted a Report. It is for us, for this House, to accept the Report or not, to accept the Bill that will be based on that Report or not. That is another matter. But it is my duty, I feel, to resist the attempt made by the hon. Member for Weligama to malign the name of a man who has served as District Judge, as Judge of the Supreme Court and in every capacity he was asked to serve by the people, by the Government of this country, in an honourable and useful way.

අ. ටී. 4.58

ඩඩ්ලි සේනානායක මයා.

(තිரு. උද්ගිරි ජෙනෙරායායක)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

Mr. Speaker, we are drawing towards the end of a Debate on a long awaited Budget. This Budget, undoubtedly, was looked upon as something which would naturally be unusual and unprecedented and which would give us an idea of the path that the new Coalition Government would take. I will start with the thought with which I ended my speech in the Debate on the Throne Speech.

On that occasion referring to this Coalition I said that the marriage of virile Marxism and the sterile middle path could have but one result.

රෝයි රාජපක්ෂ මයා.

(තිரு. රොය් රාජපක්ෂ)

(Mr. Roy Rajapakse)

Miscarriage ?

ඩඩ්ලි සේනානායක මයා.

(තිரு. උද්ගිරි ජෙනෙරායායක)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

No. I rather indicated that it would result in the infidelity of the virile partner which could be expected and which sometimes happens. I posed the question on that occasion as to which path was to be followed because the leading figures of the Coalition groups had different ideas. The hon. Member for Dehiwala-Mt. Lavinia was very emphatic about the 14 points; but I do not think they have any relation to the direction in which one is moving, nor do I think that the very virile Member for Dehiwela-Mt. Lavinia is ever going to be bound by 14 points.

I posed this question : here are two parties, one telling the people that there is a great middle path that has been laid down by the founder of their party and that they have now enlisted the assistance of very able men to guide them along their journey on this path. But there were others, of course, who had condemned this middle path—they had condemned it over and over again. They did not mince words about this middle path. They described it as a path that leads to utter futility. They said that the country had already been led to futility. Therefore they objected to it.

On that occasion I posed the question: of these two objectives which will the Coalition Government pursue? I have got the answer in this Budget. I must confess that the trend I had indicated on that occasion has come at a quicker pace than I had anticipated. Apart from the Budget speech, the unusually brief speech of the hon. Member for Dehiwela-Mt. Lavinia gave me every



විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පනත, 1964-65

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

indication that I had looked for and had seen in the Budget. As a matter of fact, this is one of the rare occasions on which the hon. Member for Dehiwela-Mt. Lavinia and I agree—as to the motive behind the Budget. I do not agree with some of the propositions that have been trotted out as solutions for the problems that face this country. We disagree there thoroughly and I intend to show that in the course of my speech. But with regard to the motive underlying the Budget, both he and I at last agree.

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(දොරාදර් කොල්වින් ආර්. ද සිල්වා)

(Dr. Colvin R. de Silva)

Why regret it?

ඩඩ්ලි සේනානායක මයා.

(තිரு. උද්ගිරි සේනානායක)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

However, before I get on to the Budget we are discussing now, I must deal with the current Budget a little. It was the "Sunshine Budget". I am sorry that the predecessor of the Hon. Minister of Finance is not here. On the last occasion, when we had the Sunshine Budget, the Hon. Mr. Ilan-garatne replied to me with a quotation from the *Ummagga Jathakaya*. I hope the present Minister of Finance is not going to do likewise. Mr. Ilan-garatne read a passage from the *Umagga Jathakaya*, and he derided me for thinking that his Budget was not going to spread the sunshine he anticipated. And he was gloating over the fact in his reply that at last he had silenced me and the rest of us for the rest of our lives with his Budget. But what I have to say about the objectives pursued in that Budget and the results attained will be to a great extent the words of the Hon. Minister of Finance himself.—*[Interruption]*.

I am not trying to create trouble because I know there will not be trouble. The path I go along does not depend on trouble among the

various sections that comprise the Government, and you know I have never tried to foist any trouble on you.

But before I come to that, I must say, reading through this very lengthy Budget speech, as described by the hon. Member for Avissawella, that I think it is one of the longest speeches in the world.

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(තිரு. රොය් රාජපක්ෂ)

(Mr. Roy Rajapakse)

Hear! Hear!

ඩඩ්ලි සේනානායක මයා.

(තිரு. උද්ගිරි සේනානායක)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

I do not know how much of it the hon. Member listened to and what fraction he digested. However, I am glad that he is full of applause.

Then again, when I read these long, long passages in it, I found they were familiar to me because I had read them a month or two earlier. As for the economic situation, it is there in the Central Bank Report which is available to all of us, and we had an opportunity of going through that even before the Budget Speech was made.

Now, when the Hon. Minister was making his speech, dealing with the way the current Budget is going to turn out, I saw his predecessor applauding, and I was reminded of an incident that occurred during the State Council days. There was a certain Minister—I do not want to mention names—who went to the Eastern Province for a meeting. He was invited by the then Tamil Member of the State Council. But unfortunately the Minister who went did not understand a word of Tamil, and the Tamil Member who invited him was haranguing the audience in Tamil. The crowd applauded, the Minister applauded, but the speech was a tremendous attack on the Minister. I was reminded of that incident when the Hon. Mr. Ilan-garatne applauded. I



විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පනත, 1964-65

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

[ඛඩිලි සේනානායක මයා.]

must confess we have to call them by the Ministries they hold, but these Ministries have changed so often that I have lost the appellations they go by from time to time ; but Mr. Ilangaratne is, I believe, Minister of External and Internal Trade now.

ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(කෙළරව කලාතිති என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

And Supply.

ඛඩිලි සේනානායක මයා.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனநாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

And Supply. He has well supplied his supplies, I have no doubt. But, however, Mr. Speaker, the Minister in his sunshine Budget after surveying the problems he had to face gives an idea of production. Production was necessary. External assets going down had to be stopped and the price of commodities too had to be brought down. As for the Budget deficit he seems to have balanced it with a balancing feat in his Budget. Just as the present Hon. Minister of Finance (Dr. N. M. Perera) has done his balancing feat, Mr. Ilangaratne, too, in all his glory did a balancing feat. By the way, I believe hon. Members have dealt with that earlier. Most of their Budgets, except for the Budget of Mr. Stanley de Zoysa, were balanced. I find the hon. Member for Dehiwela-Mt. Lavinia is shaking his head.

ආචාර්ය කොල්වින් ආර්. ද සිල්වා

(டொக்டர் கொல்வின் ஆர். டி சில்வா)

(Dr. Colvin R. de Silva)

The hon. Leader of the Opposition will remember that it has been a recurrent allegation of the Central Bank. Now, the great danger of the Budget is that revenue should be exceeded by recurrent expenditure.

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(திரு. டட்ளி சேனநாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

Yes, but the hon. Member for Dehiwela-Mt. Lavinia will realize what he stated when certain items

were on the expenditure side. For instance, the removal to the Capital expenditure side of items, such as Sinking Fund Charges and interest on Treasury Bills. When you remove those items of expenditure from the previous Budgets—I will give you the figures, here they are—

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(கெளரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

I know.

ඛඩිලි සේනානායක මයා.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனநாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

—you will find that most of those Budgets are balanced. The great thing is not so much balancing current expenditure and revenue, but what matters is the over-all deficit and how you propose to finance it. That is the thing that matters. I do not want to go into that here. Just shifting figures this way and that way is not a very material point. I do not want to have a big argument with the Hon. Minister of Finance on that matter. But I was dealing with the prognostications of the current Budget and its realization.

Now, on the score of development, I wish to quote from the document supplied to us by the Hon. Minister of Finance during the course of his Budget speech and I will try to prove from it the points I wish to make. By the way, it is a much nicer book than what we were accustomed to get. It used to be blue, now it is red. It has no blue at all. It is a red book now. What does the Hon. Minister say about production? He says :

“1963 has been a somewhat disappointing year from the point of view of production. According to the provisional figures prepared by the Central Bank, Ceylon's Gross National Product in money-terms increased by 4.8 per cent.” —[OFFICIAL REPORT, 30th July, 1964; Vol. 56, c. 1596.]

He goes on with the usual increase in population, and the relevant sentence is this :

“thus the per capita real product in 1963 declined by 0.8 per cent.”



සිසිරිපා කෙටුම්පත් පනත, 1964-65

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

This is the "sunshine" of the last Budget. What does it mean? That you have gone down in the standard of living as against a rise of 1 per cent.

In my speeches on earlier Budgets, I have shown through the last so many years that we have just kept our head above water; that is, with the prevailing rate of increase of the population we have just about managed to sustain the standard of living without any improvement on the standard of living whatever. But what has "sunshine" done? "Sunshine" has made the head go below the water! That is in the matter of production.

There is another very interesting book that he has tabled, but that has no red. I do not know whether he subscribed to it, but it has his official imprimatur. I am referring to the "Development Programme". The fact is that some of the assumptions in it are not carried out at all in practice here. I propose to show it in the course of my speech. This book has no red printing at all. It is in black. On page 4 of the "Development Programme" you find this:

"During the period, 1960-63, the population of the country increased from 9.8 million to 10.6 million. Thus the whole of the increase in national income was used up in maintaining the growing population at, more or less, the same standard of living. When account is taken of the loss of national income through adverse changes in the terms of trade, real income per head is found to have actually fallen.

That is the state of affairs not only in "sunshine" but even in "moonshine" earlier. That is the state of affairs we have come to.

And now let us see the impact on the other very important matter, the external assets. That was a problem that this country, this Government, was facing. Mr. Ilangaratne's Budget was supposed to arrest the drop in the external assets. What does the Minister of Finance say about this position in his speech:

"The country's external assets net of sterling loan sinking funds which amounted to Rs. 407 million at the beginning of 1963 declined to Rs. 359 millions at

the end of the year; thereafter, it declined further to Rs. 290 millions at the end of June 1964."—[OFFICIAL REPORT, 30th July, 1964; Vol. 56, c. 1599.]

That is the sunshine on that score.

I am so persistent about this sunshine Budget because I think the hon. Members behind there hailed it with the words: "A saviour of the S.L.F.P. has come—this Budget!" I think the Minister was garlanded over and over again for that Budget, the great sunshine Budget.

Now external assets have come down to Rs. 290 million. What a figure! He knows that Rs. 290 million is not available to him. The Minister of Finance knows it very well. He knows that some of it belongs to private institutions. He knows that some of the Government assets are not liquid and realizable. Now I shall ask him this question. Can he on this hope to finance a month's imports? That is the terrible state we are in at the moment. Do not think that this Budget is also going to give you sunshine as you hoped your previous Budget would do. I am going to say, after I deal with the Ilangaratne Budget, what this Budget is going to do to this country. I will indicate as far as I can the position we are in, which the hon. Members there do not have the foggiest idea of. Mr. Speaker, that is the position of the external assets.

Now we come to the other problem the country has been confronted with for some time and continue to be confronted with—the cost of living. What is the position in regard to the cost of living? The Minister of Finance at column 1607 of HANSARD of 30th July, 1964, says:

"The Colombo Consumers' Price Index....."

He also used to quote that index when he was here and he was used to criticising the Budget on that basis. He used to say that the old index was unfair and that it was heavily weighted by subsidized products.



விசரீகத கெடுதிலன் பனந, 1964-65

—தேவந வர கியதீத

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(திரு. எட்மன் சமரக்கொடி.)

(Mr. Edmund Samarakkody)

Part of the political game.

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(திரு. டட்ளி சேனனாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

But I do not blame him because he has no other index available. But he knows the real index outside. What does he say?

"The Colombo Consumers' Price Index which measures the cost of living of the Colombo town working class increased from 109.3 as at the end of July 1963 to 110.3 in December 1963, and to 112.8 in June 1964. Thus, over the last 12 months, the increase in the index has been 3.5 points."

It is sunshine, Mr. Illangaratne's sunshine. It was a Budget to bring down unemployment at a tremendous rate, and when we decried it we had our own views about it. But we were confronted with a quotation from the *Ummagga Jathakaya*.

That is not all. Look at the position of the real wages which is of interest to all hon. Members here, the decline in real wages. Here it is at column 1611 of the Hon. Minister's Budget speech:

"Nevertheless, there is a drop in real wages. The index of real wage rates of workers in wages boards trades dropped from 106.9 in 1962 to 105.9 in 1963 and to 104.5 in April, 1964."

That is the position as regards real wages and with regard to the expansionary impact of the Budget.

Mr. Speaker, the Hon. Minister of Finance has thought of a way of financing his deficit. The previous Minister also had similar ways of financing it. There is not much of a difference, but it worked out the other way. Of course, the Hon. Minister has given his reasons. What was the outcome of the deficit in the Budget of Mr. Illangaratne? Mr. Illangaratne's expansionary impact is dealt with at column 1614. This is what it says:

"The expansionary impact of the Budget deficit on the money supply in 1963 was Rs. 133 million. This is less than

in 1962 when it was Rs. 174 million. In the first quarter of 1964, the expansionary impact of the budgetary operations on the money supply was Rs. 47 million".

Mr. Illangaratne's Budget was going to be expansionary or mildly expansionary because under-developed countries, it was said, generate mild inflation. I must remind the Hon. Finance Minister of what he said with his head high in the air in his Budget Speech. He said, "I want to tell the prophets of doom that the economy is sound". He has warned us not to fling back his past utterances at him. But I do not intend to do so. As a matter of fact, I will carry out his wishes. As regards his past utterances, I could spend time till morning contradicting his present performances. I will only quote this out of his past utterances. The biggest prophet of doom was seated there.

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(திரு. டி. பி. ஆர். குணவர்தன)

(Mr. D. P. R. Gunawardena)

He is now on the other side!

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(டொக்டர் கொல்வின் ஆர். டி சில்வா)

(Dr. Colvin R. de Silva)

Who? Naganathan?

ඩඩ්ලි සේනානායක මයා.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனனாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

Next to Naganathan.

I was referring to the inflationary impact of the last Budget. Now we come to the actual unemployment problem that we are all worried about. Over and over again we have been talking about the cost of living, unemployment and these deficit Budgets. The Development Programme gives a very clear picture about the unemployment problem and the paucity of the measures you intend taking, not making any headway about that. I



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refer to pages 22 and 23 of the Development Programme. This is what you say :

"According to the revised estimates, the work-force of 3.460 million in 1964 will increase to about 3.557 million in 1965, or by 97,000 over the year."

That is almost a one lakh increase in the work-force. What is the present position of the work-force? There too this Development Programme gives a very fine picture after all the sunshine and all that. It says :

"Nevertheless, estimates based on the preliminary results of the Central Bank Survey show that in 1964 there were about 469,000 persons who are involuntarily unemployed."

The next paragraph deals with underemployment in the rural areas. Unemployment alone is almost half a million. And you are adding to that amount every year by about a lakh. Not that you are adding—you and I are very innocent! Others are adding. I do not wish to proceed any further in that matter. There are other hon. Members who are protesting.

What is the impact of the Hon. Minister's Budget on this question? I shall deal with that later. The Hon. Minister need not answer me; his own development programme gives all the answers. I will show the House the paucity of the Hon. Minister's solutions. I am not saying that he has no objectives. But he is not out to solve these problems at all. We had an indications of the objectives when the hon. Member for Dehiwala-Mt. Lavinia spoke. That is the position.

Many hon. Members here think that this Budget is going to solve the problems of unemployment, cost of living and external assets. If they have such a delusion, I ask them to cast it aside. If they are, like the Hon. Ilangaratne, applauding, I ask them to please stop applauding. There is going to be nothing of that sort. I shall prove it by facts and figures—the Hon. Minister's own facts and figures.

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

Now, that is the unemployment problem that we are faced with after the onward march of 1956. They have marched forward. How far forward? Half a million unemployed! We have marched far forward.

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(திரு. கெனமன்)

(Mr. Keuneman)

We have marched 0.8 per cent. forward.

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(திரு. டட்ளி சேனநாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

It is a decline by 0.8 per cent.

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(டொக்டர் கொல்வின் ஆர். டி. சில்வா)

(Dr. Colvin R. de Silva)

We are marching forward. The army behind us is getting longer and longer.

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(திரு. டட்ளி சேனநாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

The trouble will come when the army starts to march faster than you. That is something that is sure to come.

I have mentioned the salient facts regarding the position which we have reached.

Then we come to the Budget deficit anticipated by the former Minister of Finance, Mr. Ilangaratne, and where he actually found himself. The Budget deficit anticipated was Rs. 518 million, to be financed. Actually, the deficit turned out to be Rs. 664 million. That is the estimated deficit. By the end of the year, Mr. Ilangaratne's anticipated deficit of Rs. 518 million became Rs. 664 million. And, of course, the Hon. Minister is seeking to finance it by Treasury Bills. The expansionary financing goes on. And the same thing will happen to the Hon. Minister's Budget, however



விசர்ச்சு கெடுமெபந் பண, 1964-65

—தேவன வர் கியவிம

[வெலி சேநாநாயக மய.]

good his intentions are. Generally, what I said on these matters have come true and I have been able to say, "I told you so".

"Sunshine" has come after I have reduced his Budget to moonshine.

சுரு. பி. பி. ஓலங்கரத்ன (தணயந்நர ஸக  
காசிர வெலுதாம னா ஸபகிதி கடுயுது பிடுகெ  
தூமதி)

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

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

You can never do that.

வெலி சேநாநாயக மய.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனாநாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

Why are you not in the Finance Minister's seat now? I predicted a short life for you, and my prediction has come true.

சுரு. ஓலங்கரத்ன

(கெளரவ இலங்கரத்ன)

(The Hon. Ilangaratne)

I wanted brighter sunshine.

வெலி சேநாநாயக மய.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனாநாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

Therefore, in respect of those matters on which he set out to work—employment, cost of living, budget deficit, improvement of the position of external assets—there is thorough failure.

சுரு. ஓலங்கரத்ன

(கெளரவ இலங்கரத்ன)

(The Hon. Ilangaratne)

Fauna and Flora!

வெலி சேநாநாயக மய.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனாநாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

The weather—very useful thing. On the last occasion I had something to say about that but I do not want to repeat it. Since my time is short, I have to move on.

I come to the new Budget, the Budget that we are discussing, and the impact this Budget will have on the problems of today.

Now, Mr. Speaker, we have been given an idea of the development the Government proposes to undertake. I refer to page 17 of the "Development Programme 1964-1965." This is very interesting information.

"After 1947, the annual rate of growth of the population rose steeply from 1.7 to 2.7 per cent."

Hurrah for the United National Party!

சுரு. ஸாஸிரிசு உன். உமி. பெரேரா

(கெளரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

Population increase?

வெலி சேநாநாயக மய.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனாநாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

Yes, population increase. This is the statement you make:

"After 1947, the annual rate of growth of the population rose steeply from 1.7 to 2.7 per cent."

Thanks to the social services undertaken and provided by the United National Party.

சுரு. ஸாஸிரிசு உன். உமி. பெரேரா

(கெளரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

Medicinal—

வெலி சேநாநாயக மய.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனாநாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

That is also social service.



விசேஷக் கமிட்டியின் பணம், 1964-65

—தேவன் வர கியவீதம்

ஸ்ரீ ஸ்வாமிநாதன். எம். பி. பெரேரா

(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

No; you are talking of the therapeutic effects of penicillin and the sulpha drugs. It is the fall in the death rate that is important.

மிஸ்டர் ஸேனானாயக்க.

(திரு. டட்லி சேனானாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

A fall in the death rate is achieved by the health services—modern clinics and various other social services.

ஸ்ரீ சி. பி. டி. சில்வா (ஓய்வோ, வரலாற்று மற்றும்  
வெள்ளை நெல்லைத் திட்டம் மற்றும் சமூக சேவைகள்)

(கௌரவ சி. பி. 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)

D. D. T.

ஸ்ரீ ஸ்வாமிநாதன் ஸ்ரீ. டி. சில்வா

(டாக்டர் கொல்வின் ஸ்ரீ. டி. சில்வா)

(Dr. Colvin R. de Silva)

How is the rate being maintained?  
—[Interruption].

மிஸ்டர் ஸேனானாயக்க.

(திரு. டட்லி சேனானாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

It is being maintained—certain things that were started are being carried on.

ஸ்ரீ ஸ்வாமிநாதன் ஸ்ரீ. டி. சில்வா

(டாக்டர் கொல்வின் ஸ்ரீ. டி. சில்வா)

(Dr. Colvin R. de Silva)

What you could do with all the cash in the world, we are doing without that cash.

மிஸ்டர் ஸேனானாயக்க.

(திரு. டட்லி சேனானாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

Not at all. Anyway, that is really immaterial. I was dealing with the development programme. The Hon. Minister's objective is an annual development rate of 2 per cent.

ஸ்ரீ ஸ்வாமிநாதன். எம். பி. பெரேரா

(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

I shall explain that.

மிஸ்டர் ஸேனானாயக்க.

(திரு. டட்லி சேனானாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

You had better explain. This is what the Development Programme for 1964-65 states at page 26:

"With an annual growth rate of 2 per cent per annum in per capita real income it would take about 35 years to double incomes....

In this programme, the minimum investment targets have therefore been worked out on the basis of obtaining a 2 per cent increase in per capita real income every year."

ஸ்ரீ ஸ்வாமிநாதன். எம். பி. பெரேரா

(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

I shall explain that.

மிஸ்டர் ஸேனானாயக்க.

(திரு. டட்லி சேனானாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

I am dealing with the document you have submitted to us. The Hon. Minister says that with an annual growth rate of 2 per cent. in per capita real income it would take about 35 years to double income, and he is taking up for this year 2 per cent. as the objective. Yes. What else does that mean? Is the Hon. Minister contesting the statement I have made?

ஸ்ரீ ஸ்வாமிநாதன். எம். பி. பெரேரா

(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

No. But you must take it in that light.

மிஸ்டர் ஸேனானாயக்க.

(திரு. டட்லி சேனானாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

I will take it in that light, and I will show you that your target is not near to 2 per cent. I will show it to you in the course of my speech.



විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පනත, 1964-65

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

[බඩ්ලි සේනානායක මයා.]

He then goes on to work out how much investment for the year will be necessary to give this 2 per cent. per capita increase. In working out the investment he has to find out—I am not trying to be technical but this has to be said—what the capital output ratio is. Now, the capital output ratio is, to explain it in simple terms, if you invest Rs. 300, let us say the ratio is 3: 1, you would expect a return of Rs. 100 a year. That is a capital output ratio of 3: 1. Now, what does the Hon. Minister say in the Development Programme? The capital output ratio was 3.5: 1 earlier. I can quote if he is contesting this figure.

ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

No. I am not contesting it.

බඩ්ලි සේනානායක මයා.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனநாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

I would like to refer to that. This is what is stated at page 27 of the Development Programme:

“Past ratios are, however, useful in order to spotlight the weaknesses in the economy. A capital output ratio of 3.5 was observed in the 1950s.”—

In 1950, the capital output ratio was 3.5: 1.

—“In recent years, especially after 1959”—

Mark you, those words and those years!

—“especially after 1959, the capital output ratio has risen to about 5 for the period 1959 to 1963.”

What is that? In the 1950s, to get a return of Rs. 100 you had to make a capital investment of Rs. 300. In the golden period after the march forward, to get a return of Rs. 100 you have to invest Rs. 500, and he gives the reason in his Development Programme. What is the reason?

“A high capital output ratio may also be due to building up of excess capacity, misallocation of resources, waste resulting from wrong type of investments, inefficiency in the use of resources, lack of technical know-how, lack of administration skills and also corruption.”

You will now see that the capital output ratio during the days of the U.N.P. was 3.5: 1. If you invest Rs. 305 you can expect a return of Rs. 100. The capital output ratio now, according to you is 5: 1. To get the same return of Rs. 100 you have to invest Rs. 500.

Another reason he ascribes apart from inefficiency is corruption. Now that he has come to corruption I am very sorry I have to deal with a subject beside the point I am making. Unfortunately, I was not here when the Hon. Minister of Finance interrupted the hon. First Member for Colombo South when he was making his Budget speech. I want to refer to that interruption. When the hon. First Member for Colombo South was referring to something about the housing laws it evidently irked the Hon. Minister very much. And the hon. First Member for Colombo South said that when I was the Prime Minister the Hon. Minister of Finance made certain allegations. What did you say? I never thought that the Hon. Minister would in this manner seek to mislead the House. I will quote. It is at column 1731 of HANSARD, Vol. 56. I do not want to deal with the remark made by the fair Member for Borella because she did not know better, because she was not here then. Her statement was that the allegations were proved. Absolutely false. What was your statement? That you demanded a commission—[Interruption]. Why did you not tell the facts?

ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

What are the facts?

බඩ්ලි සේනානායක මයා.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனநாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

I will give you the facts. You demanded a commission, and what did I do about it?—[Interruption]. I tabled the report of the Public Accounts Committee.



විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පනත, 1964-65

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(කෙළරව කලාநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

In this House all of us protested that we wanted an impartial investigation on that charge, but the matter was handed over to the Public Accounts Committee.

ඩඩ්ලි සේනානායක මයා.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனநாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

Please listen to what I say before you speak. I could have appointed a commission, if it did not act in the way in which commissions sometimes seem to act today—prejudiced in favour of the Government in power. I not merely referred it to the Public Accounts Committee, of which Members of the Opposition were members but gave them full power to call any witnesses.

ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(கெளரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

I went before that body.

ඩඩ්ලි සේනානායක මයා.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனநாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

You went before that body and all your evidence is recorded there. I gave power to the Public Accounts Committee to call all the witnesses and call for the books of the companies concerned.

ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(கெளரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

No. I remember quite distinctly that its Chairman, Mr. Rosslyn Koch, said that there were limits to the powers he had and that he could not summon all the people he wanted.

ඩඩ්ලි සේනානායක මයා.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனநாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

All the powers were given. Why did the Members of the Opposition sign that report? I am now referring to the report by the Public

Accounts Committee after that investigation about tractors. It was printed as Parliamentary Series No. 4, Second Report of the Public Accounts Committee. Who were its members? Here are the members The Hon. Minister of Finance may say that they were members of the U.N.P.

ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(கெளரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

Sure !

ඩඩ්ලි සේනානායක මයා.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனநாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

Sure, but there were Members of the Opposition too. Who were the Members of the Opposition? I will enlighten him. Mr. W. Dahanayake was a Member of the Opposition ; he was one of the members of the Public Accounts Committee. Mr. C. P. de Silva, a Member of the Opposition, was a member of the Public Accounts Committee.[Interruption]. Do you deny that?

ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(கெளரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

I am not denying that. I do not think we were satisfied with that.

ඩඩ්ලි සේනානායක මයා.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனநாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

Mr. Wilmot Perera was also a Member of the Opposition who was a member of the Public Accounts Committee which inquired into this matter. And what did I say in my speech? I said I was not looking for a majority vote ; if any one single member of that whole committee found that I did anything wrong, I was prepared to resign from the Prime Ministership. And he trots this out now ! That is the position I took. It was possible for any of those Members of the Opposition, Mr. C. P. de Silva, Mr. W. Dahanayake, Mr. Wilmot Perera to dissent. They



[බඩ්ලි සෝනානායක මයා.]

had an exhaustive inquiry. All the evidence is here published as a Sessional Paper, and it was a unanimous decision exculpating me. Not one member dissented. If I want to be dirty, I can come out with truths—not untruths of this nature, and I am sorry that in spite of my pointing it out, he keeps on shaking his head. I am sorry about it.

ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(කෙළරව කලාතිති භන්. භම්. පෙරේරා)

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

Because, I think, our position was made clear when the Debate took place. We have not changed our position because there were international people who wanted to give evidence in that case and the Public Accounts Committee could not have called them.

බඩ්ලි සෝනානායක මයා.

(තිරු. උද්ගි ජෙනානායක)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

Then why did you not represent matters?

ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(කෙළරව කලාතිති භන්. භම්. පෙරේරා)

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

I was not a Member of the Public Accounts Committee.

බඩ්ලි සෝනානායක මයා.

(තිරු. උද්ගි ජෙනානායක)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

I was prepared to give them all the powers necessary.

ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(කෙළරව කලාතිති භන්. භම්. පෙරේරා)

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

They raised that question quite categorically in the Debate in the House.

බඩ්ලි සෝනානායක මයා.

(තිරු. උද්ගි ජෙනානායක)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

I will come out with all kinds of things before I finish my speech. Surely, what more can a man do to

exculpate himself? If I appointed a commission, you would have said that the commissioner was partial to me because I had to choose the commissioner. I was Prime Minister then. The man who was to be chosen as commissioner must be recommended by the Prime Minister. But I said that if you want an impartial inquiry I will refer it to the Public Accounts Committee where you had Members of the Opposition. And I said that I do not want a majority report, but that if one person finds me guilty that I have done something irregular, I will hand over my resignation from the Premiership. And I got a unanimous report that I had done nothing.

Here is a man—the Leader of the House—who was in the Committee. Mr. Dahanayake was in it. I do not know where he is now. They were all in the Opposition. They were not on the Government Benches. Mr. Wilmot Perera, a man whose integrity you cannot question, will not subscribe his signature to a report if he thought that he had not the full opportunity of investigating. That is the position.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I was dealing with this matter as an aside. I never thought I would expect it from the Hon. Minister of Finance. I never expected it from him. I find that since he has crossed the Floor he has changed a lot.

ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(කෙළරව කලාතිති භන්. භම්. පෙරේරා)

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

No. On that, we had a lot of difference of opinion. I hold that we did not have a proper inquiry.

බඩ්ලි සෝනානායක මයා.

(තිරු. උද්ගි ජෙනානායක)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

“Proper” would have been if I had appointed a Commissioner of my choosing. That is the proper thing!

ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(කෙළරව කලාතිති භන්. භම්. පෙරේරා)

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

A public commission should have been appointed.



විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පනත, 1964-65

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

ඩඩ්ලි සේනානායක මයා.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனநாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

I could have appointed a commission of my choosing.

Now I was dealing with the point about development. The Hon. Minister in his Development Programme says that you get a development rate of 2 per cent increase *per capita* annually, which in itself would take 35 years to double the *per capita* income. He works his capital output ratio on the figure of 3.5. When you have stated on page 27 of the Development Programme that in recent years, especially after 1959, the capital output ratio has risen to 5, how are you assuming that 3.5 is the figure?

ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

Easy to explain.

ඩඩ්ලි සේනානායක මයා.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனநாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

Not easy to explain.

ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

Very easy.

ඩඩ්ලි සේනානායක මයා.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனநாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

You say a capital output ratio of 5:1 is too high when there is corruption, inefficiency and various other things. But you said you are going to eliminate corruption.

ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

Sure.

ඩඩ්ලි සේනානායක මයා.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனநாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

Tell me another.

ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

Ah!

ඩඩ්ලි සේනානායක මයා.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனநாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

As I pointed out earlier, when you were on this side you were very vociferous about removing corrupt people who took bribes and disqualifying them. I ask you, what action have you taken up to now about those persons? One of your own Colleagues pointed out that certain U.N.P. Members were found guilty of bribery in the Municipal Council. Of course, they were; and it was a U.N.P. Government that disqualified them. Look up those facts.

ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

You had no alternative. In the Commission's Report, they were automatically disqualified. You appointed a disqualified members' wife to contest a seat—the same man's wife.

ඩඩ්ලි සේනානායක මයා.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனநாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

The same man's wife.

ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

Yes.

ඩඩ්ලි සේනානායක මයා.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனநாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

But I will tell you this. The same man, after serving his period of disqualification—I think the period was five years—applied for nomination and I refused him nomination.



விசேஷம் கெடுதலுடன் பணம், 1964-65

அரு. ஸ்வாமிநாதன். எம். பி. பி. பி.

(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

But his wife contested.

மிஸ்டர் ஸேனானாயகம்.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனானாயகம்)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

I must say that I do not know whether I was even in the U.N.P. then.

அரு. ஸ்வாமிநாதன். எம். பி. பி. பி.

(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

I agree : it is most likely you were not in the U.N.P.

மிஸ்டர் ஸேனானாயகம்.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனானாயகம்)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

But I know that at the last Municipal election that same man, having finished his period of disqualification—

அரு. ஸ்வாமிநாதன். எம். பி. பி. பி.

(டாக்டர் கொல்வின் ஆர். டி. சில்வா)

(Dr. Colvin R. de Silva)

Have you dealt with the member of your party whose letter was read out here today for the second time, who represented, for the purpose of getting a business contract, to Messrs. Carr & Co., biscuit manufacturers, that he had been offered the Ministry of Commerce in the Government to which he was in opposition? Have you dealt with him?

மிஸ்டர் ஸேனானாயகம்.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனானாயகம்)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

You have made an allegation for the first time the other day—

அரு. ஸ்வாமிநாதன். எம். பி. பி. பி.

(டாக்டர் கொல்வின் ஆர். டி. சில்வா)

(Dr. Colvin R. de Silva)

It has been in HANSARD earlier.

—தேவன் வர கியதெ

மிஸ்டர் ஸேனானாயகம்.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனானாயகம்)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

I did not see it.

அரு. ஸ்வாமிநாதன். எம். பி. பி. பி.

(டாக்டர் கொல்வின் ஆர். டி. சில்வா)

(Dr. Colvin R. de Silva)

Or do you rely on the "Daily News"?

அரு. டி. ஸேனானாயகம்.

(கௌரவ டி. சோய்சா சிறிவர்தன)

(The Hon. de Zoysa Siriwardena)

I raised it as a matter of Privilege today.

மிஸ்டர் ஸேனானாயகம்.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனானாயகம்)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

You bring up a matter yesterday and expect me to take action even without asking my party Member what he has to say about the matter? Do you expect me to do that?

அரு. ஸ்வாமிநாதன். எம். பி. பி. பி.

(டாக்டர் கொல்வின் ஆர். டி. சில்வா)

(Dr. Colvin R. de Silva)

I do not ; but I would like to know by what kind of combination of circumstances it is that the Press that supports the U.N.P. failed to publish that letter while it published every other little thing.

மிஸ்டர் ஸேனானாயகம்.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனானாயகம்)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

Go and ask that from the Press.

அரு. ஸ்வாமிநாதன். எம். பி. பி. பி.

(டாக்டர் கொல்வின் ஆர். டி. சில்வா)

(Dr. Colvin R. de Silva)

It is the Press that backs you—[Interruption]. Why are you laughing like hyenas?—[Interruption]. You know that you will be running there this evening to try and get that letter.—[Interruption].



විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පනත, 1964-65

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

ඩඩ්ලි සේනානායක මයා.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனநாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

Can I go on speaking?

ඩඩ්ලි සේනානායක මයා.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனநாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

The balance investment. Your estimate is Rs. 1,325 million.

ආචාර්ය කොල්වින් ආර්. ද සිල්වා

(டொக்டர் கொல்வின் ஆர். டி. சில்வா)

(Dr. Colvin R. de Silva)

I am sorry for having interrupted the hon. Leader of the Opposition. But he must not think that merely because he has a following that knows to howl like hyenas it will ever stop our voices.—[Interruption].

ඩඩ්ලි සේනානායක මයා.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனநாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

If I have got a following that knows to howl like hyenas, I know that there is one person on that side who can equal all of them.

The point I was making was this. The Hon. Minister of Finance in his Short-Term Development Programme gives a wrong capital-output ratio which is belied by his own development programme—that is 3.5 : 1. This envisages an investment of Rs. 1,325 million at current prices. At current prices the Hon. Minister of Finance envisages an investment of Rs. 1,325 million to get an income of 2 per cent annually which will double the income in 35 years, based on a capital-output ratio of 3.5 : 1 when he himself says that the present rate is 5 : 1. But I will grant you your 3.5 : 1 capital-output ratio.

Then you have investment by the public sector of Rs. 700 million. The actual investment necessary to give this meagre increase in *per capita* income of 2 per cent—just a 2 per cent advance—is Rs. 1,325 million at current prices. Where is your balance coming from?

ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

What balance?

ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

Private sector.

ඩඩ්ලි සේනානායක මයා.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனநாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

I was coming to that much maligned private sector. You are expecting almost as much an investment from the private sector as from the public sector.

ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

Rs. 500 million.

ඩඩ්ලි සේනානායක මයා.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனநாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

Rs. 700-odd million! Of an investment expenditure of Rs. 1,325 million—the private sector's share is to be about Rs. 500 to Rs. 600 million. That is the very point I am working on. You are expecting this big investment from the private sector.

ඩී. බී. ආර්. ගුනවර්ධන මයා.

(திரு. டி. பி. ஆர். குணவர்தன)

(Mr. D. B. R. Gunawardena)

යන මග හොඳට පේනවා.

ඩඩ්ලි සේනානායක මයා.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனநாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

You are expecting this investment from the private sector, having hamstrung the private sector and after presenting it with all the impediments to its growth.



විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පනත, 1964-65

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(කෙළරාව කලාநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

No.

ඩඩ්ලි සේනානායක මයා.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனநாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

Mr. Speaker, what does he say about the private sector? He says at page 26 of the Development Programme 1964-65 :

“In fact, the base necessary for industrialization has been in existence in this country for over a century in the advanced plantation sector of the economy, which alone accounts for nearly 33 per cent. of the national income. The expansion of demand for industrial goods can, therefore, be maintained and the rate of industrial development accelerated by strengthening this sector.”

Your own Development Programme says that the plantation sector must necessarily be strengthened for our future advancement! It alone accounts for 33 per cent of our national income. In your own Budget speech, you said that export earnings on rubber and tea accounts for 81 per cent of our earnings. I am here at one with the hon. Member for Avissawella when he asks: What are you doing to these industries?” Are you trying to make them develop further, or are you dealing a blow to these industries? That is the question I am posing before you.

In your own statement you say the future of tea and rubber is bleak. But you do not seem to be bothered. You say in your Budget speech we have competitors from Malaya and various other places. Then you say, synthetic rubber is outstripping natural rubber. Then, again, you say in your Development Programme, the agricultural plantation sector must be strengthened. And what did you do? You gave a blow to it.

The hon. Member for Avissawella who knows as much as most of us about this sector has dealt with the effect of your proposals on the subsidy, be it tea or rubber. We have no future in rubber unless we replant.

We have no future at all. You take the crops of Malaya and you will see what yields they get over there and what our yields are like. You anticipate an increase by next year of these various crops in your Throne Speech. Utter rubbish! Utter rubbish! I shall show it to you—that you will never get that increase. Your own constituency is full of rubber estates. Have you gone there lately?

ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(கெளரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

Yes.

ඩඩ්ලි සේනානායක මයා.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனநாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

What did you see? [Pause]. He has not seen anything. Next time you go there go and see what is happening. There is an unprecedented large fall taking place. A fungus disease is spreading. A large fall which is almost possibly due to a fungus infection spreading all over the country. And you are going to have a higher output. Please, when you next visit your constituency ask the people there. It is absolutely essential to spray the trees with a copper solution. However much the larger estates may carry out a programme of spraying on their own, I say that unless you give free this copper solution to the smallholders, you are going to have this fungus infection spreading. Have this solution sprayed all the time. It is useless spraying one place and not spraying the adjoining smallholdings, because the fungus infection is bound to spread. Unless you take such measures you are going to have a heavy drop in your rubber production for the next year.

Mr. Speaker, I was dealing with this Production Programme. I was dealing with the fact that even on the wrong premises he has assumed, even on the wrong capital output ratio he has shown, so remote from reality, according to his own statement, he needs a capital investment of Rs. 1,325 million, and he anticipates only an investment of Rs. 700-odd million



විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පනත, 1964-65

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

from the public sector. That is a heavy burden on the private sector. But what has been the performance of this private sector? That too I like to show him from his own figures. Here it is at page 46 of his Development Programme :

Rs. million

	1962	1963	1964
Provision in the first Programme ..	40.60	40.60	43.80
Actual Investment ..	101.30	143.80	132.00

So, in spite of all the obstacles you have placed in the way of the private sector, still the performance of the private sector was far beyond your expectations. You are expecting a tremendous performance from your public sector. You have not referred in your speech to the flaws of the public sector. You have sort of anticipated profits. I wish you luck in the attainment of those profits. You know the past figures. Your profits from the public sector are partially going to balance this Budget deficit.

ඩී. බී. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන මයා.

(திரு. டி. பி. ஆர். குணவர்தன)

(Mr. D. B. R. Gunawardena)

He was smiling when you said private sector.

ඩඩ්ලි සේනානායක මයා.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனநாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

I remember the hon. Second Member for Colombo South saying "Our policy is a policy of nationalization of the commanding heights of the economy." Unfortunately, these commanding heights have been regularly demanding for assistance from the Treasury. That has been the position now. It is not enough merely to tot up a few figures and say, "I am going to get so much from this public corporation, so much from that public corporation and I am going to balance my Budget." [Interruption].

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, the point I am developing is that regardless of political theories, you will have to remember the problem of this country's production, and also realize that despite the public sector and the private sector going all out in helping in production, it is still very difficult for us to cope with the rate of increase of population in this country which has risen to 2.7 annually. You may have your visions of nationalizing the whole thing, but do not do it in a way that you are going to impede production. You will have chaos in place of even the unsatisfactory state of affairs we have now.

In fact, what I was trying to prove was that the programme visualized in the Budget that you have presented before this House will have no impact whatsoever on the problems that are facing this country. You are going to have a similar fate which befell the Hon. Ilangaratne on the score of Treasury Bills and Budget deficits. You are going to have the same fate as regards the cost of living. By this Budget you are not going to arrest the cost of living. You know that fully well. You know that with an external assets situation of only Rs. 200 million-odd your power to import goods is so limited. What are you going to import to sustain the cost of living? What are you going to import? You cannot. The external assets have reached that low.

You know that your C. W. E. has not the efficiency nor is it devoid of corruption to be able to give a fair deal in respect of even the scarce commodities that are imported into this country. You know that. If you did not know, then you were talking rubbish when you were here. That is the situation.

ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

I shall be back in two minutes.



විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පනත, 1964-65

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

ඩඩ්ලි සේනානායක මයා.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனநாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

I will be finishing now. I am sorry the Minister of Finance has left because I was going to pose certain questions for him to reply.

ආචාර්ය කොල්වින් ආර්. ද සිල්වා

(டொக்டர் கொல்வின் ஆர். டி. சில்வா)

(Dr. Colvin R. de Silva)

Postpone them for two minutes at least. Or I will take them down.

ඩඩ්ලි සේනානායක මයා.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனநாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

Take them down. At least, while you are taking them down it will prevent your interrupting me.

On the real problems that have befallen this country, namely, a dangerous depletion of our external assets, and in addition the rising of the cost of living and the unemployment problem, he has in his own speech told us what the impact of his programme would be on the employment problem. He has told us that the public sector investment of Rs. 700 million odd is only going to employ 37,000 people. Now if you add to that figure your private sector employment also, that is, if you expect any private sector development with all these obstacles, it will give you a total of about one lakh, but you still have that half million waiting. They will be marching behind you. That is the position.

ඩී. බී. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන මයා.

(திரு. டி. பி. ஆர். குணவர்தன)

(Mr. D. B. R. Gunawardena)

Not behind him now.

ඩඩ්ලි සේනානායක මයා.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனநாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

There is another important matter—housing. I forgot about it. Housing was also a very acute problem.

විවියන් ගුණවර්ධන මය. (පළාත් පාලන හා ස්වදේශ කටයුතු පිළිබඳ පාර්ලිමේන්තු ලේකම්)

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

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

It is still.

ඩඩ්ලි සේනානායක මයා.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனநாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

It is going to be worse after this Budget.

ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

What nonsense !

ඩඩ්ලි සේනානායක මයා.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனநாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

What nonsense ? I will give you facts and figures where housing is going to take you. There is a very interesting Report published by a Committee appointed by this Government, the Alif Committee. I do not know the members of this committee. Their names are also here : Alif, the Chairman, W. L. M. Fernando, M. Gunaratne, K. M. D. Jayanetti, B. A. Jayasinghe and P. H. Siriwardena. Now this report was published in December, 1963, as Sessional Paper No. 23 of 1963. It outlines a ten-year programme from 1963 to 1972 and a short term three-year programme. It goes on to say that the entire housing programme is estimated to cost Rs. 2,945 million, inclusive of the cost of the land. Mark these figures—Rs. 2,945 million, to make an impact on the housing problem, to be expended by 1972. It says further that one third of this—approximately Rs. 1,000 million—is to be spent by the public sector and two-thirds by the private sector.



விசேஷக் கெடுபிசன் பணம், 1964-65

—தேவன் வர கியிவி

விவியன் குனவர்தனே மீச.

(திருமதி விவியன் குனவர்தன)

(Mrs. Vivienne Goonewardene)

Those are the terms of reference.

வடிலி சேனநாயக்க மீச.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனநாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

No.

விவியன் குனவர்தனே மீச.

(திருமதி விவியன் குனவர்தன)

(Mrs. Vivienne Goonewardene)

It is in the report. You are reading it out of context; your deputy also read it out of context.

சே. ஐ. பீ. பீசவர்தனே மீச.

(திரு. ஜே. ஆர். ஜயவர்தன)

(Mr. J. R. Jayewardene)

Not at all.

வடிலி சேனநாயக்க மீச.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனநாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

Now, whatever it is, I am going to correct some statements the hon. Fair Member made. You know, over and over again, this housing matter is being trotted out; that a loan was taken by a relation of mine to build a house.—[Interruption.] The other day the hon. Fair Member referred to Tissa Senanayake. Tissa Senanayake took no loan. She also referred to Upali Senanayake. I will tell you the facts because this sort of thing is repeated over and over again, to mislead the people.

விவியன் குனவர்தனே மீச.

(திருமதி விவியன் குனவர்தன)

(Mrs. Vivienne Goonewardene)

He is a relation of yours.

வடிலி சேனநாயக்க மீச.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனநாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

Wait till I tell you the facts.

செ. மன்திரேசனே

(கௌரவ அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)

(An hon. Member)

What about Dicky Zoysa?

வடிலி சேனநாயக்க மீச.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனநாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

The hon. Fair Member had her say. Mr. Speaker, it is definitely said in this report that the major building must be in the private sector. I was not in the U. N. P. Government then, and I must say that I am not pleading in exculpation when I say that. I was only a back-bencher in the Parliamentary Group but that does not absolve the U. N. P. if there is any blame to be attached. The U. N. P. Government of that day, with Sir Kanthiah Vaithianathan as Minister for Housing in a Cabinet which succeeded my Cabinet, launched out on a programme of solving the housing problem through the public and private sector, and land was to be given. But one is given the idea that Upali Senanayake was given a loan by the Government because he was a relation of mine. There was a mortgage of the property as security to the Housing Commissioner. The loan was taken on 5 per cent interest. You are talking of Mr. Upali Senanayake, but a number of S. L. F. P. members got loans.

செ. மன்திரேசனே

(கௌரவ அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)

(An hon. Member)

During Mr. Mahanama Samaraweera's time.

வடிலி சேனநாயக்க மீச.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனநாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

I am not talking of Mr. Mahanama Samaraweera's time. The biggest loan was taken by, I think, Mr. Dicky Zoysa.

விவியன் குனவர்தனே மீச.

(திருமதி விவியன் குனவர்தன)

(Mrs. Vivienne Goonewardene)

During the time of the U. N. P.



பிசுர்பக கெடுதலின் பணம், 1964-65

விலி சேனநாயக மஹ.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனநாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

No.

ஹாலர்ஸ் மைல் ஹர். டி சில்வர்

(டொக்டர் கொல்வின் ஆர். டி சில்வர்)

(Dr. Colvin R. de Silva)

It was signed by an outgoing U.N.P. Minister in the last twenty-four hours of his office.

விலி சேனநாயக மஹ.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனநாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

Maybe. That adds to the point I am making. Any person could have taken that loan. Was it wrong? Do you say it was wrong? If there was a policy under which members of the public were entitled by giving their property as security—

ஹ் ஹாலர்ஸ் மைல். பி. பி. பி. பி.

(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

Wrong policy.

விலி சேனநாயக மஹ.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனநாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

Yes, wrong policy; but the point is, it was not confined to U.N.P. Members alone. On your own showing even the S.L.F.P. Members got those loans. The objective was to use the public and the private sector to hasten the construction of buildings.

I am glad to say that I sent for Mr. Upali Senanayake the other day and asked him the facts. Not only was 5 per cent interest charged, he has not defaulted once and he has paid right on the dot what he has had to pay. Do you say it is wrong.

ஹ் ஹாலர்ஸ் மைல். பி. பி. பி. பி.

(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

It was wrong policy.

விலி சேனநாயக மஹ.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனநாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

You have taken loans.

—தேவன் வர் கியிவீ

ஹ் ஹாலர்ஸ் மைல். பி. பி. பி. பி.

(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

Quite right; I am not denying that.

விலி சேனநாயக மஹ.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனநாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

Facilities are available for the public to take loans and a member of the public takes a loan. He pays the interest and the capital charges due. What is wrong and what was wrong there?

விவியன் குனவர்தன மஹ.

(திருமதி விவியன் குனவர்தன)

(Mrs. Vivienne Goonewardene)

You gave ten lakhs of rupees to build houses to big landlords.

I say it is wrong.

விலி சேனநாயக மஹ.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனநாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

The Finance Minister says he has taken loans to buy big estates.

விவியன் குனவர்தன மஹ.

(திருமதி விவியன் குனவர்தன)

(Mrs. Vivienne Goonewardene)

Housing loans is a different matter.

விலி சேனநாயக மஹ.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனநாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

Does the Finance Minister deny that he has taken loans to buy big estates?

ஹ் ஹாலர்ஸ் மைல். பி. பி. பி. பி.

(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

No. That was a facility available then.

விவியன் குனவர்தன மஹ.

(திருமதி விவியன் குனவர்தன)

(Mrs. Vivienne Goonewardene)

That was from the bank, but you gave big loans from the Housing Fund.



විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පනත, 1964-65

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

ඩඩ්ලි සේනානායක මය.

(තිரு. උද්ගිරි ජෙනරායක)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

It was a facility available to the public. It was not a gift, it was a loan on the payment of interest, five per cent interest, just as your leader has taken loans. I go further—

විවියන් ගුනවර්ධන මය.

(තිருමති විවියන් ගුනවර්ධන)

(Mrs. Vivienne Goonewardene)

Your policy was wrong.

ජේ. ආර්. ජයවර්ධන මය.

(තිரு. ජේ. ආර්. ජයවර්ධන)

(Mr. J. R. Jayewardene)

Turnover !

ඩඩ්ලි සේනානායක මය.

(තිரு. උද්ගිරි ජෙනරායක)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

The Opposition once brought a Vote of Censure I think, during the period Sir John was Premier. I will give the exact words. The hon. Second Member for Colombo Central (Mr. P. G. B. Keuneman) brought that Motion. It was as follows :

“That inasmuch as the commission that inquired into the affairs and general conduct of Mr. and Mrs. N. U. Jayawardena has laid down certain standards which should regulate the conduct of persons holding positions of power and authority in the State and as the Government by removing Mr. N. U. Jayawardena from the office of Governor of the Central Bank on the basis of the report of this commission has endorsed the standards, this House is of opinion that the Government should take steps to have the following matters inquired into and reported upon with a view to ascertaining how far these standards of conduct have been observed :

- (1) the loans and/or overdrafts from the Bank of Ceylon held by Sir Oliver Goonetilleke while being Minister of Finance and occupying a position of authority in relation to this bank ;
- (2) the loans and/or overdrafts from the Bank of Ceylon held by Mr. J. R. Jayewardene while being Minister of Finance.”

On that occasion, he spoke very strongly about the code of conduct expected. Fortunately, my hon.

Friend on my right was able to prove to the House that he had no loans. Can the Hon. Minister of Finance today say that?

ගරු ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(කෙළරව කලාතිති ආර්. ආර්. පෙරේරා)

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

That was long before I became Minister of Finance.

ඩඩ්ලි සේනානායක මය.

(තිரு. උද්ගිරි ජෙනරායක)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

Maybe, but he is still having that loan. That is the point I am making. You have one rule for us when we are on that side.

ආචාර්ය කොල්වින් ආර්. ද සිල්වා

(දොරාල් කොල්වින් ආර්. ද සිල්වා)

(Dr. Colvin R. de Silva)

No, that is nonsense. Surely, it is one thing to take a loan when you are a Minister from an institution under you, and it is quite another thing to have taken a loan several years back and then become the Minister in charge of that institution. There is surely a difference which one can see. This is a poor attempt at mudslinging, unworthy of the hon. Leader of the Opposition.

විවියන් ගුනවර්ධන මය.

(තිருමති විවියන් ගුනවර්ධන)

(Mrs. Vivienne Goonewardene)

This was not a loan taken out of housing funds.

ඩඩ්ලි සේනානායක මය.

(තිரு. උද්ගිරි ජෙනරායක)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

Sir, right through my life I have found it impossible to tackle the other sex. Hence my state of single blessedness !

Now, when that is the housing problem that is facing you, what have you done ? Call it socialism, call it anything you like, but surely you are not going to have a socialism of



[ඛනිජ සේනානායක මය.]

poverty? It is on production that you will have to base your socialism. If we have a tremendous backlog to make up in the sphere of housing, distribution alone is not going to help. How on earth is this distribution going to help you? Your committee has set out the tremendous burden that has to be carried by the private sector in a solution of the housing problem. You have inflicted a terrible blow on that sector as regards the construction of houses. I know that there are many points in that report. The Hon. Minister may gloat over the fact that he is making a distribution. But where is the solution to the problem of housing? What are your investments? Your investment on housing is mentioned. It is Rs. 41 million. Your investment by the public sector alone, according to your programme, should be Rs. 1,000 million by 1972. Is this the rate at which you are going to have your socialism? In addition, you have inflicted a blow on the private sector and discouraged it from building any houses.

විවියන් ගූනවර්ධන මය.

(திருமதி விவியன் குணவர்தன)  
(Mrs. Vivienne Goonewardene)

They did not build any.

ඩඩ්ලි සේනානායක මය.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனநாயக்க)  
(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

If they did not build any, what is all this about a take-over?

ගරු ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)  
(The Hon. Dr. N. M. Perera)

Built long ago.

ඩඩ්ලි සේනානායක මය.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனநாயக்க)  
(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

In every field, in every matter, the problems of this country will be further aggravated by this Budget. This is not an honest solution to the problems that face this country. Even socialism must be a socialism of

plenty, not a socialism of poverty. The hon. Member for Dehiwela-Mt. Lavinia (Dr. Colvin R. de Silva) emphasized that production is the long-term solution to the ills that have befallen this country. What is the production outcome under this Budget that we are discussing today?

Whatever ideas you may have, we have reached a stage when we have to give a certain amount of freedom to the private sector to develop the country. You may want to take it over later. Do it by all means then, if you think it best.

Of course, everybody is against monopoly capitalism. While one is against monopoly capitalism, one is also against the worst form of monopoly—monopoly by the State. That is the worst form of monopoly. I do not think that at this stage of our development the public sector alone is going to solve our problems. Apart from the difference in political philosophy, you have not the administration to cope with that at the moment. It is shown by the capital output ratio in this country at the present moment. Therefore, for a time, it is absolutely essential to give the private sector also a chance. If not, you will never cope with the rate of increase of our population. That is the situation.

Production is the only solution to the ills that have befallen us, and, thank heaven, he has confessed that we have our highly industrialized plantation economy to withstand the shocks hitherto faced.

This Budget, therefore, does not touch any of those vital problems; rather, at worst, it affects adversely those vital problems.

But then, the Hon. Minister is no fool. He has his own policy. We had an inkling of that from the speech of the hon. Member for Dehiwela-Mt. Lavinia. What is it? This will create the chaos that hon. Members have been waiting for. The Hon. Minister ended his Budget Speech by saying—and many hon. Members quoted him—that there would be a mass upsurge.



විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පණත, 1964-65

කේ. එම්. පී. රාජරත්න මයා.

(திரு. கே. எம். பி. ராஜரத்ன)

(Mr. K. M. P. Rajaratna)

They will send the police.

ඩඩ්ලි සේනානායක මයා.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனநாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

I think I have had occasion before this to refer to the revolution that the hon. Member for Dehiwela-Mt. Lavanina has been speaking of these last twenty years and how it used to make my flesh creep. You can now be happy that it is coming.

Hon. Members on the other side may gloat over, and console themselves with, the thought that they are sending the last nails into our coffin. No, Sir. They are striking the last nails into their coffin—good and hard. You will discover that ere long. The nailing of the coffin is going on—not our coffin but your coffin.

The Government cannot solve the immediate problems of the day. Tyranny and dictatorship are the order of the day. We have ominous rumblings of the take-over of the press. I want to remind hon. Members who have crossed over to just read their own speeches when a Motion was brought in regard to the Press Commission, a Motion of No Confidence. They did not talk about Mr. K. D. de Silva. I have read it. I have got here the speech of the hon. Member for Dehiwela-Mt. Lavinia. He took the terms of reference and tore it to pieces. He said that Government control was a tyranny. What he wanted was broadbased ownership. What were these terms of reference? He took them one by one.

ආචාර්ය කොල්වින් ආර්. ද සිල්වා

(டொக்டர் கொல்வின் ஆர். டி சில்வா)

(Dr. Colvin R. de Silva)

I did not speak of broadbased ownership.

ඩඩ්ලි සේනානායක මයා.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனநாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

I do not know, but you tore to pieces the take-over—

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

ආචාර්ය කොල්වින් ආර්. ද සිල්වා

(டொக்டர் கொல்வின் ஆர். டி சில்வா)

(Dr. Colvin R. de Silva)

Do you like to be reminded of what I said?

ඩඩ්ලි සේනානායක මයා.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனநாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

Here is the book! I do not want to be reminded; I want you to be reminded of what you said only a few days back. Yes, it will be useful. I hear you are drafting the legislation. It will be very useful to read your speech whilst in the act of drafting legislation. That is the situation.

Hon. Members know, they are only too well aware of the fact, that when a Government cannot solve the problems of the people and the people are demanding their solution, the answer is a dictatorship; it has always been so, and the take-over of the press is going to be a prime instrument to force on the people a dictatorship. You have had a taste of the performance of Radio Ceylon. When the press is taken over it will be a second Radio Ceylon.

Why are they afraid? If the press says a wrong thing, you say the right thing. I know every Government communique has been published in the press. I agree, the press says all kinds of wrong things. Once the press reported a speech of mine that I never made. I never attended the meeting. On investigation it was found that there was no such meeting.

That is the danger facing this country. With State-ownership of the press, dictatorship is the inevitable outcome. You start with State-ownership of one thing, then another, and ultimately it boils down to State-ownership of the mind of man. When that time arrives the mind of man ceases to be free. No, Sir. That is not the road to real freedom. Individual freedom within limits for the preservation of the good of the society—that alone will guarantee freedom.



விவரம் கெட்டுப் பணம், 1964-65

—தேவன் வர கியலி

[விலி சே'நாயகன் மொ.]

And I do hope that sanity will prevail in the ranks over there, that they will realize before it is too late that the take-over has taken place not of the press but of the S. L. F. P., the Government and the whole thing. May they wake up before long. That is all. That is my last plea. I thank you.

டி. ஓ. 6.17

ஓர் ஸ்பீக்கர் சன். சி. பீரேரா

(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)  
(The Hon. Dr. N. M. Perera)

Mr. Speaker, first of all may I thank all hon. Members, sometimes for the very kind sentiments they have expressed both with regard to the Budget and myself, sometimes even for the harsh things they have said both in regard to the Budget and myself.

I can only say this. I am sorry sometimes due to urgent business I have not been able to listen to all the speeches. I have tried to the best of my ability, and conceding the pressure of time, to be here as much as I could. But I can assure you I have read most carefully almost all the speeches, particularly those which I did not stay here to listen.

Before I say anything else, while the thing is still fresh, I think I ought to reply to the hon. Leader of the Opposition's last statement. Although he did not mean us, of course there might be some mud left behind unless I clear my own position. It is true that I have taken loans both from the Bank of Ceylon and the People's Bank—taken long ago—before I ever contemplated becoming a Minister in this House. I still hold that it would be much better for me to divest myself of these loans and I am making arrangements to do that and free myself of any kind of attachment of that type.

விலி சே'நாயகன் மொ.

(திரு. டட்லி சேனானாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

I did not want to sling mud. I only said that if it is all right for you to take a loan, it is all right for a cousin of mine to do so.

ஓர் ஸ்பீக்கர் சன். சி. பீரேரா

(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

I think the hon. Leader of the Opposition should look to his right. I think it is most unfair for them to ferret out information from a bank and come here and read out the amounts involved, and so on and other details.

விலி சே'நாயகன் மொ.

(திரு. டட்லி சேனானாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

I did not say it is wrong to take a loan—

ஓர் ஸ்பீக்கர் சன். சி. பீரேரா

(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

But, a back-bencher of your party, the secretary of your party, came and read out that information as if it was a terrible crime committed by these people. I have been able to take down a list of names of some of the members, but, is it fair for me to read that? I have got here some of the names. For instance, the hon. Member for Colombo North has taken as much as Rs. 1 million from the People's Bank.

ஓர் மன்றத்தினர்

(கௌரவ அங்கத்தினர்கள்)

(Hon. Members)

Resign! Resign!

ஓர் ஸ்பீக்கர் சன். சி. பீரேரா

(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

Please do not misunderstand me. I do not think it is wrong; he may be worth more. But I think it is wrong for any one person to come here and sling mud at hon. Members of this House, most of them poor Members



விசேஷக் கெடுதலுக்குப் பணம், 1964-65

of this House, whose only income perhaps is the allowance that they are getting. They have to maintain their position. As a matter of fact, I am seriously considering making some further adjustments in order to help them in their work in Parliament. I think it is an obligation we owe them to help them to maintain their independence. Practically, every Member in this House is involved and has taken a loan from one bank or another.

பேர்சி விக்கிரமசிங்க மஹ. (கம்புறுபிதிய)

(திரு. பேர்சி விக்கிரமசிங்க—கம்புறுபிதிய)

(Mr. Percy Wickremasinghe—Kam-burupitiya)

Increase the allowance before the elections.

ஓர் உறுப்பினர் உறு. உறு. பேரேர்

(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

In point of fact, there are some people whose balances have had to be written off as bad debts.

ஓர் உறுப்பினர்

(கௌரவ அங்கத்தினர்கள்)

(Hon. Members)

Name them!

ஓர் உறுப்பினர் உறு. உறு. பேரேர்

(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

No, I do not think it is fair. I do not want to do that.

பி. ரத்னாயக்க மஹ.

(திரு. எ. ரத்னாயக்க)

(Mr. A. Ratnayake)

The Hon. Minister was not in the House at the time; but when the particular speech was being delivered I protested and I said that it was wrong for the hon. Member to do that.

ஓர் உறுப்பினர் உறு. உறு. பேரேர்

(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

My I say this?

—உறு. உறு. உறு.

ஓர் உறுப்பினர் உறு. உறு. பேரேர்

(டாக்டர் கொல்வின் ஆர். டி. சில்வா)

(Dr. Colvin R. de Silva)

Your secretary, he has some dirty channels through which he gets these things.

ஓர் உறுப்பினர் உறு. உறு. பேரேர்

(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

All that I am saying is this. This House is not a place for political scavenging. We do not do scavenging work here. We argue on politics. [Interruption]. This is an appeal to all hon. Members. Let us drop personalities. Let us argue on policies and principles. It is not difficult to sling mud at people. I think it was Jesus Christ who said: "Let him who hath no sin throw the first stone." All of us have sins of one type or another, and we do not come here for the purpose of slinging mud. I have got a list, as a matter of fact; but I do not intend to read it. What I do want to remind the hon. Members is that I do not think that the dignity of this House should be lowered to that level. In my particular case, I am placed in a very difficult position. I cannot divest myself of these loans overnight, but I will give an undertaking to this House that I will do my best to do so as soon as I possibly can. I will not visit the bank even to deposit a cheque. I do not think it is fair for me to do so. Officials of the bank will feel that they are under obligation.

ஓர் உறுப்பினர்

(கௌரவ இலங்கரத்ன)

(The Hon. Ilangaratne)

From where else can we get money? We cannot go to Afghans.

ஓர் உறுப்பினர் உறு. உறு. பேரேர்

(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

That is the penalty we have to pay as Ministers. All sorts of allegations were made. My good Friend, the Member for Kottawa made an allegation that I am in league with Liptons Tea Company.



பிசுப்சுத வெடுபிபன் பன, 1964-65

—தேவன வர கியலி

பி. பி. ஈர். குனவர்தன மய.

(திரு. ம. பி. ஆர். குனவர்தன)

(Mr. D. B. R. Gunawardena)

In league with Mincing Lane.

ஓர் ஈவர்தன பன். பி. பி. பரேரா

(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பரேரா)

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

I have never seen Mincing Lane.

பிபிசி பன்நாயக மய.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

He does not mince his words.

ஓர் ஈவர்தன பன். பி. பி. பரேரா

(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பரேரா)

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

Only, nobody takes him seriously.  
So it does not matter. Quite honestly  
I do not intend to take him seriously.

பி. பி. ஈர். குனவர்தன மய.

(திரு. ம. பி. ஆர். குனவர்தன)

(Mr. D. B. R. Gunawardena)

Very easy to pass it off like that.

ஓர் ஈவர்தன பன். பி. பி. பரேரா

(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பரேரா)

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

I intend to leave him severely  
alone. There is nothing to reply to  
him.

The criticism of the Budget falls  
into four parts. For my convenience  
and that of the hon. Members may I  
take them separately? First of all,  
there were specific grievances like  
the question of the Kankasanturai  
Port, hospitals, schools, and so on. I  
do not think I ought to go into them  
at the present moment. They are  
matters which could more suitably  
be taken up at the Committee Stage  
when the Ministers concerned will  
reply. If any additional answers are  
required by me, I am prepared to  
give them. In point of fact, I am  
trying my best to be present right  
throughout the Committee Stage of  
the Budget so that I could be of  
whatever help to hon. Members in  
the process of the Debate.

Now, I would like to say this with  
regard to the Port matter. As I have  
already stated, so far as our ports  
are concerned, it should be the aim  
not only of our Government but of  
any other Government to develop  
them and also our coastwise trade  
as well as our inland waterways and  
water resources for the purpose of  
inland water transport. I think both  
have been neglected very badly. Any  
Government that comes into power  
must make an effort to do so. So  
far as the ports are concerned we  
will make an effort to do so.

Secondly, I would deal with the  
revenue proposals. Various ques-  
tions have been raised with regard  
to the revenue proposals and some-  
times suggestions have been thrown  
out. Thirdly, there are the general  
questions, financial considerations,  
Budget deficit, and so on. My hon.  
Friend from Wattegama is not here.  
I am surprised that the hon. Leader  
of the Opposition took the cue from  
the hon. Member for Wattegama  
about the deficit. Then I would deal  
with the perspectives of the Budget,  
our future prognostications, and so  
on. I will try to take these four  
items separately. I have already  
dealt with the first point about  
specific grievances.

I now come to the revenue pro-  
posals. I intend to deal with them  
because there has been so much of  
misunderstanding with regard to  
them. The main criticisms with  
regard to revenue matters work only  
on a few items such as the acreage  
tax, house property tax, the so-called  
removal of subsidy with regard to  
tea, rubber and coconut.

There were a number of other  
taxes which hon. Members have  
ignored but which I thought were  
much more important, for instance,  
the Wealth Tax.

மொன்டேகு பியவிக்ரெம் மய. (வெலிகம்)

(திரு. மொண்டேகு ஜயவிக்ரம்—வெலிகம்)

(Mr. Montague Jayewickreme—Weli-  
gama)

That was mentioned.



විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පනත, 1964-65

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(කෙළරඹ කලාநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

There was the tax on bunkering of oil, sale of motor cars, the cigarette tobacco tax, tax on newspaper advertisements. But, I think, very few Members, if any, mentioned those taxes. I will, therefore, only touch on them. I am going to answer the main question on the acreage tax. I will answer the question of the subsidy which even the hon. Member for Avissawella seems to have misunderstood. The hon. Leader of the Opposition has also misunderstood the question of the subsidy. May I explain, Sir? The question of the subsidy and income tax does not arise with regard to non-income tax payers. It particularly applies to big companies. They get big subsidies.

මොන්ටේගු ජයවික්‍රම මයා.

(திரு. மொண்டேகு ஜயவிக்ரம)

(Mr. Montague Jayewickreme)

But they are not planting; they are planting very little. It is only the Ceylonese planter who is replanting.

ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(கெளரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

So far as the non-income tax payer is concerned the subsidy has no effect at all. The question arises only in the case of income tax payers. A man who has a 100 acres of tea or rubber may replant 10 acres this year. He will be entitled to a subsidy on that 10 acres—if it is tea—at the rate of Rs. 3,750 per acre. That is Rs. 37,500.

මොන්ටේගු ජයවික්‍රම මයා.

(திரு. மொண்டேகு ஜயவிக்ரம)

(Mr. Montague Jayewickreme)

That is from the cess.

ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(கெளரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

Never mind from where it comes. I am talking about the subsidy. He will be entitled to Rs. 37,500. In his income tax return he does not mention the subsidy at all. What happens is that when the assessment takes place he will include in that assessment of his an item—without mentioning the subsidy—with regard to so-called expenditure on replanting, which is supposed to be an expenditure incurred by him. But we are giving him Rs. 3,750 an acre to do the replanting.

What has happened now is this. The Income Tax Department does not tax the Rs. 3,750 per acre and whatever sum he has included as expenditure on replanting is also exempted from tax. So he gets a double rebate.

මොන්ටේගු ජයවික්‍රම මයා.

(திரு. மொண்டேகு ஜயவிக்ரம)

(Mr. Montague Jayewickreme)

That was always there.

ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(கெளரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

Why was it always there? Obviously, it is an anomaly. I do not understand—

මොන්ටේගු ජයවික්‍රම මයා.

(திரு. மொண்டேகு ஜயவிக்ரம)

(Mr. Montague Jayewickreme)

That was the incentive.

ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(கெளரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

An income tax payer is a man who gets a reasonable amount of income—an income with which he is able to live—with all the rebates we have granted. A man who has 100 acres of tea or rubber must be getting an income of about Rs. 20,000 or Rs. 25,000 an year. Is it fair that we







විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පනත, 1964-65

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

cents. In other words, every tea estate producer paid 70 cents on a pound of tea.

Then my good Friend the hon. Member for Dambadeniya accused me of being a friend of the imperialists. He is not here now. It is very convenient for him to run away after making such wild charges against me. The hon. Member for Dambadeniya had the impertinence to get up here and say I am a friend of the imperialists and that is why I introduced this acreage tax.

May I speak to even the empty space and remind him that when he and his tribe were licking the boots of the imperialists, we were fighting the imperialists in this country. We were in jail for five years for fighting these imperialists. So, it is hardly fair that these people should level charges against us that we are on the side of the imperialists. His whole tribe has been on the side of the imperialists and bootlicking the imperialists all the time, and they are the people who are now saying I am on the side of the imperialists. In the same breath, I may also say, that even the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom came and lodged his objections to my tax proposals. So friendly I am with the imperialists! Where do I stand? These people in the United National Party are saying I am ruining the tea trade. Very strong language was used by the hon. Member for Wattala. He said I was the Judas of the 20th century.

ශ්‍රී මන්ත්‍රීවරයෙක්

(කෙළරව අඟුණකොට්ඨාසයේ මන්ත්‍රී)

(An hon. Member)

That was in reference to the Hon. Minister of Internal and External Trade and Supply.

ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(කෙළරව කලාපිති එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා)

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

I have got it somewhere here. He used very strong language against me: "Here is the Judas of the 20th

century." I am coming to your Judas. I will tell you who the Judas is. Wait a minute.

ශ්‍රී ඩී. බී. ඉලංගරත්න

(කෙළරව ඩී. බී. ඉලංගරත්න)

(The Hon. T. B. Ilangaratne)

The paragon of purity!

ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(කෙළරව කලාපිති එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා)

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

This is what he says about me:

"Today the Hon. Minister of Finance is deliberately crashing the economy of this country. He is deliberately piling up chaos and chaos."—[OFFICIAL REPORT, 7th August, 1964; Vol. 56, c. 2020.]

It should be "chaos upon chaos". He said "chaos and chaos"

ජයසිංහ මයා.

(කිරු. ජයසිංහ)

(Mr. Jayasinghe)

Badly reported.

ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(කෙළරව කලාපිති එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා)

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

Then he says:

"He has smashed agriculture; he has finished industries; I will show you how he has also finished land alienation."—[OFFICIAL REPORT, 7th August, 1964; Vol. 56, c. 2020.]

What a mighty person I am, Sir! [Interruption.]

Let me explain this acreage tax. This hon. Friend from Dambadeniya—I will prove to you who is the friend of the imperialists—changed this over to an *ad valorem* duty. What is an *ad valorem* duty? *Ad valorem* duty today consists of two parts. There is the straight tax of 35 cents which is an export duty paid by the exporter.

Then there is a duty called the *ad valorem* duty. When the price is over Rs. 1.85 and below Rs. 3.25, half the difference is paid by the producer—now mark that—paid by the



[ගරු ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා]

producer to the State as a due. There are two different parties who are paying here. The *ad valorem* duty is paid by the producer; the export duty is paid by the exporter.

මොන්ටේගු ජයවික්‍රම මයා.

(තිரு. මොන්ටෙලු ඉයවික්‍රම)

(Mr. Montague Jayewickreme)

But that is added on to the price paid.

ගරු ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(කෙළරා කලාතිථි ආණ. සම්. පෙරේරා)

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

Quite right, but the parties paying are quite different. I will show you how it operates in practice; that is what you people do not know.

There comes the political *kehetha* (Mr. R. G. Senanayake) of this country—the man who has tried to ruin every political party of this country! What did he do? He changed the system and had this *ad valorem* duty, as I just explained. What happened at that stage?

Agency Houses are now shouting, “My word! you have removed the *ad valorem* duty, the whole tea trade is going to rack and ruin, and agriculture is going to be ruined.” But what was their attitude when the system of duties was changed earlier by my friend over there, the hon. Member for Dambadeniya? Can anybody tell us?

Will any one dare answer? Yesterday I addressed the question to the hon. Appointed Member (Mr. Singleton-Salmon), He said, “No, we always welcomed the *ad valorem* duty”.

මොන්ටේගු ජයවික්‍රම මයා.

(තිரு. මොන්ටෙලු ඉයවික්‍රම)

(Mr. Montague Jayewickreme)

Now they are better off.

ගරු ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(කෙළරා කලාතිථි ආණ. සම්. පෙරේරා)

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

I will read out. I have the document with me. You will be surprised to hear this. My friends in the Agency Houses, Mr. Bois or somebody on

their behalf, openly issued a challenge to me. This is what Mr. D. E. Evan, Secretary, Ceylon Association in London, said in a memorandum to the Planters' Association of Ceylon on 10.2.1959 about this new *ad valorem* duty scheme of the hon. Member for Dambadeniya.

“It was, of course, being made quite clear from the beginning of the discussion on this question with the Minister of Commerce and Trade—

The Member for Dambadeniya was the Minister of Commerce and Trade—

—“that this Association as well as the Planters' Association of Ceylon and the Colombo Tea Traders' Association were not in favour of the *ad valorem* system of tax.”

What are they saying now? “Do not change the *ad valorem* duty; you will ruin the tea trade”. That is what they are charging me with—if you remove the *ad valorem* duty the whole tea trade will be ruined. But in 1959 they opposed this very same *ad valorem* duty and they were prepared to pay a flat rate of 70 cents at that stage. I am quoting more.

“This view is still held by the Association and is reinforced by many features now proposed in connection with the administration of the scheme which seems likely not only to be undesirable, but in many cases unworkable.”

That was their statement about the *ad valorem* duty then, but today they think it is the best. I asked the hon. Appointed Member (Mr. Singleton Salmon) yesterday and he said, “It is very good, least objectionable, we have always welcomed it.” It is utterly untrue. Their position had always been opposed to this and they were quite prepared to pay the 70 cents flat duty they used to pay”.

Let me quote again :

“Minutes of a meeting of the Colombo Tea Traders' Association held on 31.1.1958 at the Chamber of Commerce, Ceylon.

The Chairman, Mr. H. Broome, F.C.I.S., referred to the meeting of the buyers held on 30th January and their recommendations with regard to the proposals to introduce an *ad valorem* tax on tea. They were as follows :

- (1) From the buying angle a reasonable flat rate of tea was the most desirable.



විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පණත, 1964-65

- (2) Budgeting on an *ad valorem* basis was haphazard from the point of view of Government revenue.”—

They are very concerned about me. They said, “You must not have the *ad valorem* tea because the Government will not know what revenue it would get.”

- “(3) As relief was necessary for the producer of medium grown tea and the small-holders who might otherwise go out of production such relief should be given by the Tea Controller to those concerned.

- (4) Any variation in the rate of duty between high, medium and low was not workable.”

Any variation in duty was not workable. That is the basis on which they went.

“Calcutta had endeavoured for many years to introduce an *ad valorem* duty, on the sale prices but without success.”

and mark the last point—

“Under an *ad valorem* duty, quality might be sacrificed for quantity.”

This is the main basis of my argument for changing this whole business. You advanced these same reasons for opposing the *ad valorem*. Now when I act on the same reasons you say it is very bad, I am going to ruin the tea trade.

මොන්ටේගු ජයවික්‍රම මයා.

(තිரு. මොන්ටෙගු ඉයවික්‍රම)

(Mr. Montague Jayewickreme)

What about the acreage tax?

ආර්. ජී. සේනානායක මයා. (දම්බදෙනිය)

(තිரு. ආර්. ජී. සේනානායක—දම්බදෙනිය)

(Mr. R. G. Senanayake—Dambadeniya)

If the *ad valorem* was so bad, there were only two votes cast against it. One was Mr. Macan Markar's and the other was Mr. Suntharalingam's. You voted for it.

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(කෙළරඹ කලාතිථි භණ. භණ. පෙරේරා)

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

You are the person who introduced it. You were in the Government.

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

ආර්. ජී. සේනානායක මයා.

(තිரு. ආර්. ජී. සේනානායක)

(Mr. R. G. Senanayake)

You were in the Opposition and you voted for it.

ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(කෙළරඹ කලාතිථි භණ. භණ. පෙරේරා)

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

Agreed. At the moment I am dealing with the others. I will come to you in a moment.

These people who are now supporting the *ad valorem* duty are the very people who opposed it and were prepared to pay 70 cents flat duty as against my acreage tax which only means 30 cents more for the high-grown teas and less than 6 or 7 cents in the case of low-grown and medium grown teas.—[Interruption]. Wait a minute, I will explain how it will work. You do not understand.

මොන්ටේගු ජයවික්‍රම මයා.

(තිரு. මොන්ටෙගු ඉයවික්‍රම)

(Mr. Montague Jayewickreme)

I understand much more than you.

ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(කෙළරඹ කලාතිථි භණ. භණ. පෙරේරා)

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

If you do understand, I cannot see how you could possibly oppose the acreage tax. I will tell you.—[Interruption].

Let me quote another document:

“Notes of a meeting between the Minister of Trade and Commerce and representatives of tea producers and of the tea trade held at 10.15 a.m. on Friday, the 17th January, 1958, in the Minister's office at Galle Face Court.

The Minister then asked those present to express their views.

After Mr. Henry Amarasuriya—

Another stalwart of the U. N. P.

—“had addressed the meeting, Mr. Broome stated as follows:

- (1) An *ad valorem* tax would be fairer if it could be collected satisfactorily.



විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පණත, 1964-65

[ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා]

(2) Whilst Government would get the duty more quickly than before it would be disadvantageous for shippers who will have to pay the tax before they receive payment.

(3) The higher sale prices if shown inclusive of tax would have an impact on labour which would demand increased wages.

(4) It was an assumption that all teas produced in Ceylon must be sold in auctions but this is a difficult objective to achieve.

(5) Difficulties would arise in the division of teas which now takes place on a large scale.

(6) Some method must be found for giving relief to those who buy tea for local consumption.

(7) Special provision would be required for the sale of second hand teas.

(8) The serious danger of substituting top quality tea for poorer grades bought at the auctions and exporting the good tea."

That is what precisely is happening today—poor samples, and high grown tea exported on poor samples, with the result that this country has been losing foreign exchange. Somebody has estimated that for the last three years we have lost Rs. 300 million.

ආර්. ජී. සේනානායක මයා.

(තිரு. ආර්. ජී. සේනානායක)

(Mr. R. G. Senanayake)

You allowed direct shipment.

ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්.එම්. පෙරේරා

(කෙළරා කලාතිථි භණ්. භණ්. පෙරේරා)

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

I did not allow.

ආර්. ජී. සේනානායක මයා.

(තිරු. ආර්. ජී. සේනානායක)

(Mr. R. G. Senanayake)

Your Government allowed it. There are no two Governments. You and whoever it is, your Government permitted direct exports to London.

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(කෙළරා කලාතිථි භණ්. භණ්. පෙරේරා)

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

I am not prepared to dissociate myself from the position taken by the Minister of Trade and Commerce, but it is unfair to say I did it on my own. I did nothing about it. I explained that to the House. The Hon. Minister has done it on his own responsibility and I stand by it now.

ශ්‍රී ඩී. ඩී. ඉලංගරත්න

(කෙළරා ඩී. ඩී. ඉලංගරත්න)

(The Hon. T. B. Ilangaratne)

I have good reasons for doing it.

ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(කෙළරා කලාතිථි භණ්. භණ්. පෙරේරා)

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

He gave the reasons in this House. But that is neither here nor there. All I say is this: these traders associations and so on have no justification for the opposition that they are now maintaining to the change, the removal of the *ad valorem* duty on tea. My proposal placed before the House means, in fact, that the high-grown teas will have to pay on the average 30 cents more.

ආර්. ජී. සේනානායක මයා.

(තිරු. ආර්. ජී. සේනානායක)

(Mr. R. G. Senanayake)

If you produce 1,600 pounds you have to pay 25 cents.

ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(කෙළරා කලාතිථි භණ්. භණ්. පෙරේරා)

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

I will come to that. In point of fact I have worked out the figures roughly, and on that basis high-grown tea estates will have to pay about 30 cents extra by way of duty; mid-and low-country estates above 100 acres, and not below 100 acres, will have to pay anything between six to seven cents more.



විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පනත, 1964-65

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

මොන්ටේගු ජයවික්‍රම මයා.

(තිரு. මොண்டෙලු ඉයවික්‍රම)  
(Mr. Montague Jayewickreme)

You are going on 1,000 pounds per acre.

ගුණවර්ධන එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(කෙළරව කලාතිති භන්. භම්. පෙරේරා)  
(The Hon. Dr. N. M. Perera)

All your low country estates are producing nearly 2,500 pounds per acre.

මොන්ටේගු ජයවික්‍රම මයා.

(තිரு. මොண்டෙලු ඉයවික්‍රම)  
(Mr. Montague Jayewickreme)

Not all, there are one or two. The average is about 700 pounds.

ගුණවර්ධන එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(කෙළරව කලාතිති භන්. භම්. පෙරේරා)  
(The Hon. Dr. N. M. Perera)

As soon as the *ad valorem* duty is removed, the price of local tea must go up. It must go up. At the moment the producer pays and that is why I want to make a distinction. Under this scheme, the producer must get a bigger return because he would not have to pay a tax there; the producer has not got to pay a tax any longer the moment the *ad valorem* duty is removed. Then he would have a little more money in his hands, surely. Therefore, he can afford to pay—the mid and low country man can afford to pay—even if it is seven to eight cents more.

මොන්ටේගු ජයවික්‍රම මයා.

(තිரு. මොண்டෙලු ඉයවික්‍රම)  
(Mr. Montague Jayewickreme)  
No.

ගුණවර්ධන එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(කෙළරව කලාතිති භන්. භම්. පෙරේරා)  
(The Hon. Dr. N. M. Perera)

In addition to what I propose to do when actual legislation is introduced, I would say this. I am quite prepared to reconcile—

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(තිரு. ආර්. ජී. සේනානායක)  
(Mr. R. G. Senanayake)

I want to ask you one question. You maintain that there has been a lot of fiddling in the export of tea—that good quality gets exported for bad quality: Then how is it that the net collections over the years fit into the estimates? Every year in your annual estimates the difference is a million or two. How do you account for it? Do you estimate for the frauds?

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(කෙළරව කලාතිති භන්. භම්. පෙරේරා)  
(The Hon. Dr. N. M. Perera)

There is an increase in production.

ආර්. ජී. සේනානායක මයා.

(තිரு. ආර්. ජී. සේනානායක)  
(Mr. R. G. Senanayake)

Your estimates are also worked on a production basis.

ආචාර්ය කොල්වින් ආර්. ද සිල්වා

(දොරාල් කොල්වින් ආර්. ද සිල්වා)  
(Dr. Colvin R. de Silva)

He is trying by clarification to darken the issue as much as possible!

ගුණවර්ධන එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(කෙළරව කලාතිති භන්. භම්. පෙරේරා)  
(The Hon. Dr. N. M. Perera)

I will explain that. The hon. Appointed Member, Mr. Thondaman, knows something about tea. He knows something about production of tea. He assured me that this is not only workable but most equitable. I will certainly say this. It will not suit the inefficient man, the absentee landlord, who is not interested in his estates and who does not want to maintain an efficient production. All that I am trying to do is to make them take an interest in the estates and improve the quality and quantity of tea. That is what I am trying to do.

I must say in fairness to the hon. Member for Avissawella (Mr. D. P. R. Gunawardena)—I have seen the



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—දෙවන වර කියවීම

[ගරු ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා]

connected files—that when this matter was brought to his notice he had said that it was an excellent idea, and today he said that this is a very feasible, workable and satisfactory basis to work on.

I have lots of other reasons for doing this. This is not the end of the story. The hon. Mr. Bois—I do not know whether he is honourable—had the hardihood to challenge me on what the agency houses are doing, about the rigging of auctions. I will tell you something they are doing under the guise of traders associations and chambers of commerce.

What is happening today? You go to the auctions. There are only six really worthwhile buyers—Hendersons, Brooke Bonds, Liptons, A. F. Jones, Heath & Co. A. F. Jones is a minor party like some of your associates. There are about six more important people. There are a number of small people like Hebtulabhoy.

They get a package of tea. They start bidding. There is an understanding beforehand and they stop bidding halfway. When one person stops all others stop bidding. Then what happens? Then there is a nice code word passing round. The person who takes the bid says “half”, another says “quarter” and a third says “one-eighth”. What happens is that after they stop the competition bidding and fix the lowest price, they start sharing the spoils. Each party takes a portion of the total package. That is what they are doing at the moment.

I am now issuing orders immediately to stop this sharing at the auctions. Sharing with what results? We are not getting the prices. To this ring of people Ceylonese cannot enter. No Ceylonese can enter it, but with a great deal of reluctance certain people like Hebtulabhoy are brought in. I have seen letters sent by Ceylonese to Liptons and Hendersons begging for permission to join this ring of sharing. Ceylonese have asked for permission and one of the reasons they have given is that this is the only

way to avoid competition. What is the reply they invariably get? The reply is, “You are not yet a big buyer. When you become big we will take you in.” That is the basis on which auctions are getting rigged. That is why you are not getting your prices. That is why your producers are unable to pay the acreage tax. You break that ring and you will be able to pay not Rs. 60 but Rs. 100 per acre. That is what I am trying to do.

That is not the end of the story. I have more stories about what these so called agency houses are doing with regard to our own auctions. The bulk of tea is bought by these agency houses for their parent companies or associates. A small percentage goes into the normal trade. The major portion is bought by Liptons or Brooke Bonds or by others for their associate companies. If really one of these brokers here buys for an absolutely new party then you can fairly say that the rates are satisfactory, that there is a genuine sale; but in all other cases the sale is nominal and the price notional. The price is artificial and has no relation whatsoever to the market or actual prices. What happens is that these people sell the tea there; then those people pay the agency houses here, may be, 2 cents on so many pounds of tea; or, may be on the cost of production, they pay  $\frac{1}{2}$  or  $\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. The funny thing is that these rates are always changing, and are kept as low as possible. That is done because it means so much more money kept in England and not sent back here. Otherwise, under our exchange control regulations, within four months of a sale that money must be brought back here. Let us not forget that this involves millions of rupees. Let us not forget that we export from this country 460 million pounds of tea. A great deal of that goes to London. That money might be kept there for four months at any particular time. We do not get any interest on that money. All that money lies there. They use that money, but the agency house does not record any interest on it. But if the agency house has any debit with the parent company, then promptly we



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—දෙවන වර කියවීම

have to pay interest and foreign exchange is lost. This is what is happening all the time. The prices are rigged, the auctions are rigged, and we are losing interest on accumulated money due to us.

These agency firms charge 2 per cent for all the companies under them. The parent company charges 2 per cent from the agency house. The agency house charges 2 per cent from the estate on every article they buy, and the articles that they buy are limited to various firms. This is a major racket that is being carried on. I am sorry that both the Exchange Control Department and the Income Tax Department have been a little lax in this matter. I am now instructing that for five years all these firms will have to account for the fact that they did not get proper differences in prices as between England in Ceylon. I am going back five years in that matter. I am not allowing these people to play about any longer.

When all these controls have been imposed, I expect that the price of tea will be substantially different from the price we are getting now.

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(තිரு. මොண்டෙලු ඉයවික්‍රම)

(Mr. Montague Jayewickreme)

Will the Hon. Minister answer a question on the acreage tax? Will he allow the acreage tax to be deducted from the income tax?

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(කෙළරව කලාතිති ආණ්. ආණ්. පෙරේරා)

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

It is a deductible tax. I will go further. I want the quality to improve. That is where I disagree with the hon. Leader of the Opposition when he says that this is going to reduce production. I do not think so. On the contrary, what I am going to do is to see that production is increased and both the quality and the quantity are improved. I am prepared to go further. I am prepared to give marginal lands temporary relief even in regard to the duty. If I find that a marginal land needs six months to

recuperate, I am prepared to give that relief because I want these estates to produce more. We have to build them up. I want the best prices. I do not want the agency houses to lap up all the wealth of this country and send it out. I do not want to lose any of the profits that are due to us.

Not one hon. Member thought it fit to discuss the control that we are imposing on agency houses. I thought it was a major change, one that would make a vital difference to our economy. We are taking powers to control the agency houses and to see that they not only put a stop to the rigging of the auctions but also do not get false commissions, and further, that all their investments are directed on proper lines.

May I give you one example? I am sorry I have not brought the actual statistics. Up to 1956 all these firms invested either in Treasury Bills or in internal loans. The Uplands Tea Company alone in one year invested Rs. 9 million of their reserves. Do you know that from 1956—I have the statistics of at least 30 companies—not one cent has been invested in Treasury Bills or in internal loans? That is after the U. N. P. Government went out of office. What has happened to that money? Where has it gone?

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(තිரு. ඩී. ඩී. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන)

(Mr. D. B. R. Gunawardena)

And you knew all this for the last 25 years?

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(කෙළරව කලාතිති ආණ්. ආණ්. පෙරේරා)

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

If I do not know these things, how can I tackle these matters? Being ignorant like you, one cannot do these things. What has happened to all this money?

There is another source of income for these people. Tea is exported to, say, Iraq. The commission of the person who is negotiating matters in Iraq, acting on behalf of the company



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[ගරු ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා]

here, is generally about 6 or 7 or 8 per cent, sometimes even higher, if he is negotiating for the first time. But the Exchange Control Department here does not permit more than 5 per cent by way of commission. Then what happens? The company here can send only up to 5 per cent. But the man at the other end is not interested in our Exchange Control Department. So the company here says, "Wait for a while; we will adjust matters." Then, if two or three other sales take place, the new recruit generally reduces his commission rate; it comes down to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  or 2 per cent. But the company here does not declare the fact that the rate of commission has been reduced and goes on the basis that the commission is still 4 or 5 per cent and the balance is accumulated in Iraq for the use of the company here.

Millions of rupees have gone out of the country in this way by means of loaded commissions. This is what the agency houses are doing. I can relate a number of instances like this. I have not taken action thoughtlessly, without full investigation. I have gone into these matters carefully.

I think I have given the House sufficient facts to indicate that everything is wrong with these agency houses and to show that it is eminently desirable and necessary that we have a general supervision and control over these agency houses which is what I contemplated in the Budget. Then we can direct their reserves for development purposes of this country. We will see that no unfair advantage is taken by the special position they hold.

I am also aware how they rig the share market in this country. In the investment companies, these very directors of agency houses are also members there, and these very directors of agency houses are also directors of the subsidiary companies. So they rig the share market the whole time. All that can only be eliminated by proper supervision and control and that is why I have put forward some proposals in the

Budget. [Interruption] Special legislation will be introduced for the purpose of setting up the control organization for the agency houses as well as the other big organizations. Legislation is being drafted.

Some hon. Members have complained about the 2 cents that we withdrew. Do you know what is happening? As soon as the 2 cents rebate came up, the agency houses started a new company—The Trincomalee Tea Administration Company Limited—for the purpose of handling tea exports from Trincomalee. The shareholders of this company are none other than the big export combine operating in this country. This 2 cents rebate was given irrespective of whether it was Galle or Trincomalee, and the transport costs to Galle are much less than the transport costs to Trincomalee. They receive about a cent on that. I do not want to go into all the details. As a matter of fact, as soon as my Budget speech was made, I happened to know that, by cable, all these agency houses were informed that they should stop giving these price rebates or payments through the agency houses for tea exported. So you see how fast they act when they know things are getting hot for them.

May I pass on to the next criticism? I believe what I have stated will more or less satisfy you about this acreage tax. I do not know whether any hon. Member wants any further clarification on the acreage tax.

The next point deals with the house property tax. Even my good Friend the hon. Leader of the Opposition, who placed so much stress on production, seemed to think that this—what they called penal—tax is only penal in the sense that it is levied not for mere revenue purposes. I am not much interested in the revenue that we derive from tax on houses. I am interested in the diversion of the investment in real property to productive enterprise.



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ඩී. පී. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන මයා.

(திரு. டி. பி. ஆர். குணவர்தன)

(Mr. D. P. R. Gunawardena)

Who is going to build houses ?

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(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

Who in point of fact have built houses? What are the houses that have been built? The houses that have been built have been mainly luxury houses for purposes of giving them on blackmarket rents. So long as you permit blackmarket rents private house will be built; otherwise they will not be built.

The Alif Committee in fact made it quite clear that if you want houses for the lower middle class and the working class, only the State and public authorities will build and can build. It is not a paying proposition today to put up houses.

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(திரு. டட்ளி சேனநாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

We want both.

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(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

This does not prevent people building houses. In point of fact this will encourage them to do so. Why? At the present moment it is prohibitive to get land in Colombo. Land in your Cinnamon Gardens is Rs. 4,000 a perch. You will see, it works out to something like Rs. 6½ lakhs an acre. This is a prohibitive price for any middle-class person. The tax will bring down the price of real property. In point of fact I am trying to relax the measure as much as possible because I do not want to create any particular hardship to any person. What I really want is to prevent the landlordism that is going on and to enable the poor people, the middle-class people, to rent-purchase their houses.

The hon. First Member for Colombo Central (Sir Razik Fareed) gave a list of houses owned by some of the big landlords in the Grandpass area, each person owning 300 to 350 houses and charging blackmarket rents of one type or another for a number of years; accumulated huts and shanties of various types from each of which they derive 15, 30, 40 rupees. Shanties put up with cadjans are today fetching 30 to 40 rupees because there are no houses. Those houses have to be built by the local authorities and by the Central Government. We are working towards that objective, and what I am trying to do is to divert that money. But this will not prevent people from putting up houses for themselves. In fact I am seriously contemplating the allowance duty free of houses put up by parents for their children because I want to encourage house-building in that way. I only want to bring down landlordism and also the prices of house property, to make it unecconomic for this class of people to invest in house-building, and to divert investment into industrial development.

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(திரு. ஜே. ஆர். ஜயவர்தன)

(Mr. J. R. Jayewardene)

How many children ?

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(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

I have not worked out the details. I am quite prepared to discuss it with hon. Members of this House when the law is prepared. I am quite prepared to be as reasonable as you think on this matter, because, if our interests coincide in the sense that we are trying to break landlordism, I think it is possible to make reasonable adjustments satisfactory to all parties.

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(திரு. கௌமன்)

(Mr. Keuneman)

Can the Hon. Minister please give us an assurance that this contemplated amendment to the Rent



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[කෙනමන් මය.]

Restriction Act will be introduced extremely quickly? Otherwise, your housing tax is going to be—[Interruption].

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(කෙළරව කලාநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

A complete rent restriction Act is coming, and all houses will be controlled. You do not know how much middle class people are suffering. I know a case where a person was paying Rs. 130 per month. The landlord went to the Municipality and got the tax assessment put up beyond Rs. 2,000, and the next day a letter was received by the tenant telling him, "Your rent from such-and-such a date will be Rs. 600."

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(திரு. கௌமன்)

(Mr. Keuneman)

What I want to know is whether that amendment includes provision for a person purchasing a house to evict the tenant because he wants it for his own occupation.

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(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

I am providing for that. Under certain conditions you can evict a tenant, and the conditions will be set out.

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(திரு. கௌமன்)

(Mr. Keuneman)

Will the Hon. Minister see to the controlling of rents of real property, even of business establishments? The restriction covers only dwelling houses, and inflated rents on these business houses are being passed on to the tenants.

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(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

The Government is prepared to consider any reasonable suggestions. I have taken action to see to that, as

well as to see that you value houses, so that landlords who want to pass houses to the tenants will be reasonable. All precautions will be taken.

Then I come to the question which has been much misunderstood—the provision for tapping toddy. The hon. Member for Avissawela argued that as a result of my Budget everybody will be forced to tap every coconut tree. There is no such compulsion. Anybody in the village who desires to tap a tree will be allowed to get that done by paying a duty of Rs. 15 per year. If you have 4 trees you are not obliged to tap them all. If he is satisfied with one he can tap one. These people are paying at the rate of three of four rupees for arrack; they are paying much more for *kasippu*. Cannot they pay Rs. 15 a year for the purpose of getting a licence and having their toddy at their doorsteps? A rich man can even today on a medical certificate get the necessary permission, and the only reason why this 10-mile limit was imposed was to see that you do not impinge on the arrack rents. Today, as a result of our discussion in the Parliamentary Group, it was decided that a certain amount of latitude should be adopted with regard to the mileage to suit particular areas, and if any hon. Member says that he does not want—

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(திரு. டி. பி. ஆர். குணவர்தன)

(Mr. D. P. R. Gunawardena)

What is the specified proposal?

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(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

At the present moment, the proposal is that outside a ten-mile radius of a tavern any person who has a coconut tree can apply and be allowed to tap that tree on payment of Rs. 15 by way of a licence fee.

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(திரு. டி. பி. ஆர். குணவர்தன)

(Mr. D. B. R. Gunawardena)

From Kelaniya right up to Puttalam on the coast no one can tap; there are taverns right along.



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ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(කෙළරව කලාநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

Therefore, that matter is being looked into, to change the radius.

I do not know whether there are any other points to be answered on the revenue proposals. Those seem to be the main questions on which hon. Members were most worried.

Then there are one or two other general matters. First of all, the hon. Member for Avissawella raised the question of language. It has nothing to do with the Budget. I am rather surprised that he raised this question of language. It was raised by the hon. Member for Welimada before. I answered him to the best of my ability. But I do not understand why the hon. Member for Avissawella is raising it now suddenly in this Budget. What political advantage he is going to gain I do not know, but he raised this question in regard to accountants.

In point of fact, both matters raised are going before the Cabinet for consideration because the trade union concerned—there is a trade union in the Public Service—has raised certain objections with regard to the interpretation of a Cabinet decision. With regard to promotions of E. C. C. Grade II officers, these are promotions due in 1962-63. These are not new promotions but those which should have been finalised at the end of 1963. There was a Cabinet decision that as from 1st January, 1964, all promotions would depend upon officers having a knowledge of Sinhala up to the J. S. C standard. Does that mean that those people whose promotions were normally due in 1962-63 and should have been made in September or October 1963 should also have that same rule applied to them? It is a matter of interpretation. That is why it has gone up to the Cabinet. No change at all has been made by me.

With regard to accountants this is not the first time the examination has been postponed. There have been three or four postponements of the Accountants' Examination before. As

a matter of fact, I am placing this question before the Cabinet again for consideration. It has been asked whether permission should not be granted, as in all other new appointments, after taking up the examination, to qualify in the language within a specified period. This is the question at issue. Nobody has gone and side-tracked the old language issue. The hon. Member for Avissawella knows it. He knows our language policy. He agreed and subscribed with us to the language policy which is the policy we are still adopting.

ඩී. පී. ආර්. ගුනවර්ධන මයා.

(திரு. டி. பி. ஆர். குணவர்தன)

(Mr. D. P. R. Gunawardena)

Not with the Coalition Government.

ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

But with the Lanka Sama Samaja Party you did it, and we are in the Coalition Government on the same language policy.

ඩී. පී. ආර්. ගුනවර්ධන මයා.

(திரு. டி. பி. ஆர். குணவர்தன)

(Mr. D. P. R. Gunawardena)

You cannot call it the Lanka Sama Samaja Party now.

ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

Why not? Which Lanka Sama Samaja Party? Are you referring to Mr. Edmund Samarakkody's?

ඩී. පී. ආර්. ගුනවර්ධන මයා.

(திரு. டி. பி. ஆர். குணவர்தன)

(Mr. D. P. R. Gunawardena)

You went away. Once you were in it.

ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

I did not go away. The party is here.



මහ රායි පුංචි රායි.



විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පනත, 1964-65

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(කෙළරව කලාநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

My good Friend again went on to the question of the People's Bank. I want to assure him that so far as the People's Bank is concerned I answered all his queries the last time and I do not want to repeat them today. I am satisfied that the new Board of Directors is doing a satisfactory job of work. I have spoken to the people who drafted the confidential report. I got them down and the Board of Directors; I explained my policy to them and asked them to tell me their difficulties. They had no questions to ask me and no difficulties to tell me about.

I am not opposed to giving loans to and helping co-operative societies and people in rural areas. The important thing is that the bank should work on a firm footing. We have made 48,000 loans which are unserviced. A bank must satisfy itself when a loan is given that it is properly serviced. The bank officials must follow up and see that the loan is correctly given, that the instalments are properly paid and that the loan is being utilized for the purpose for which it was granted. Otherwise you lose your money.

I must first know that the bank is functioning properly. I told the new Board and the officials that the first job is to put the bank on a proper footing and then start giving all the assistance they can. You cannot do this all of a sudden. That is what has happened. With 48,000 loans, 38 branches and 792 personnel, not a single branch has been visited and supervised. They cannot, because they have not got the personnel. That is why—

ඩී. පී. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන මයා.

(திரு. டி. பி. ஆர். குணவர்தன)

(Mr. D. P. R. Gunawardena)

What about the charges made against the General Manager?

ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

It is most unfair for the hon. Member to have read out the charges framed against him without also reading the reply given by Mr. Solomons. What is the impression that is created? That he is guilty of the charges—

ඩී. පී. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන මයා.

(திரு. டி. பி. ஆர். குணவர்தன)

(Mr. D. P. R. Gunawardena)

Charges were framed by the Chairman of the Board—

ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

He answered those charges—

ඩී. පී. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන මයා.

(திரு. டி. பி. ஆர். குணவர்தன)

(Mr. D. P. R. Gunawardena)

Then you table his answer.

ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

This House is not an investigating body.

ඩී. පී. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන මයා.

(திரு. டி. பி. ஆர். குணவர்தன)

(Mr. D. P. R. Gunawardena)

Table the answer! Why cannot you do it?

ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

I do not think it is the job of this House to—

ඩී. පී. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන මයා.

(திரு. டி. பி. ஆர். குணவர்தன)

(Mr. D. P. R. Gunawardena)

I think the charges I read are fairly correct.



விசாரணை கமிட்டி பணம், 1964-65

—தேவன் வர கியமி

சுரு ஸ்வாமி சன். சி. பி. பி. பி.  
(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)  
(The Hon. Dr. N. M. Perera)  
How can you say that?

சி. பி. பி. பி. பி. பி.  
(திரு. டி. பி. பி. பி. பி. பி.)  
(Mr. D. P. R. Gunawardena)  
That is my opinion.

சுரு ஸ்வாமி சன். சி. பி. பி. பி.  
(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)  
(The Hon. Dr. N. M. Perera)

You can have your opinion, but do not make false charges.

சி. பி. பி. பி. பி. பி.  
(திரு. டி. பி. பி. பி. பி. பி.)  
(Mr. D. P. R. Gunawardena)

I have other charges to make if you go on like this.

சுரு ஸ்வாமி சன். சி. பி. பி. பி.  
(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)  
(The Hon. Dr. N. M. Perera)

I also can make charges. I can read from this file.

சி. பி. பி. பி. பி. பி.  
(திரு. டி. பி. பி. பி. பி. பி.)  
(Mr. D. P. R. Gunawardena)

There are certain things that I can read out which will make your face fall.

சி. பி. பி. பி. பி. பி. (கோபிபி)  
(திரு. ஸ்டான்லி திலக்கரத்ன—கோட்டே)  
(Mr. Stanley Tillekeratne—Kotte)  
Let both files be tabled!

சுரு ஸ்வாமி சன். சி. பி. பி. பி.  
(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)  
(The Hon. Dr. N. M. Perera)

I cannot dismiss the manager merely because these people have made charges against him. There have been, to the best of my knowledge, some inquiries held—on the instructions of the previous Minister of Finance, I am told—by no less a person than Mr. S. Nadesan, Q.C., and

he has found that there is no basis for these charges. I do not know anything more, but I have asked the Central Bank to look into all these questions because the whole question of loans is being looked into by me. I have also asked the new Board of Directors to look into this question of loans. Therefore, what I say is, it is unfair by us to come into this House and read out only the charges without reading the reply given by that man.—[Interruption]. How am I to know what he is reading out, Sir? I have no *diviyag gnana*.

சி. பி. பி. பி. பி. பி.  
(திரு. டி. பி. பி. பி. பி. பி.)  
(Mr. D. P. R. Gunawardena)

Surely the Hon. Minister has read this document because this document is available to the Board of Directors and it was available to the Ministry. In fact, it was communicated to the Hon. Minister of Finance.

சுரு ஸ்வாமி சன். சி. பி. பி. பி.  
(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)  
(The Hon. Dr. N. M. Perera)  
It was not communicated to me.

சி. பி. பி. பி. பி. பி.  
(திரு. டி. பி. பி. பி. பி. பி.)  
(Mr. D. P. R. Gunawardena)

It was communicated to Mr. Ilangaratne when he was Minister.

சுரு ஸ்வாமி சன். சி. பி. பி. பி.  
(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)  
(The Hon. Dr. N. M. Perera)  
I am not Mr. Ilangaratne.

சி. பி. பி. பி. பி. பி.  
(திரு. டி. பி. பி. பி. பி. பி.)  
(Mr. D. P. R. Gunawardena)

The documents are available to you. It was your duty to find out.

சுரு ஸ்வாமி சன். சி. பி. பி. பி.  
(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)  
(The Hon. Dr. N. M. Perera)

Yes, may be. [Interruption]. Ask the hon. Member to sit down, Sir. This is utter nonsense. I did not disturb him when he was speaking.



විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පණත, 1964-65

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

ඩඩ්ලි සේ නානායක මයා.

(திரு. டட்ளி சேனானாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

I am not making any statement. I only wish to ask the Hon. Minister whether he will find out and satisfy himself that the loan to U. K. Edmund was not given on the orders of the former Minister of Finance.

ශ්‍රී ඉලංගරත්න

(கௌரவ இலங்கரத்ன)

(The Hon. Ilangaratne)

I should like that to be clarified, Sir.

ආචාර්ය කොල්වින් ආර්. ද සිල්වා

(டொக்டர் கொல்வின் ஆர். டி சில்வா)

(Dr. Colvin R. de Silva)

If I may interrupt, I should like on this same occasion to ask him to clarify this also. Is it proper for an hon. Member to come into this House and, in terms of his father-in-law's business transactions, make allegations against other people? This is a most extraordinary procedure. And that is the same gentleman who claimed to be the likely Minister of Commerce when writing to a firm of biscuit manufacturers in England.

ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

That is why it is so unfair. Now, it so unfortunately happens that the hon. Member for Wattala is an interested party. His father-in-law was the person who was competing with Mr. U. K. Edmund for the brewery.

ආචාර්ය කොල්වින් ආර්. ද සිල්වා

(டொக்டர் கொல்வின் ஆர். டி சில்வா)

(Dr. Colvin R. de Silva)

And he knows it is in the file. Who showed the bank's file to him? Find out that. Who is the channel to the bank? How did he get it?

ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

All I am saying is I have taken the proper step.

ඩී. බී. ආර්. ගුණවර්ධන මයා.

(திரு. டி. பி. ஆர். குணவர்தன)

(Mr. D. B. R. Gunawardena)

කොයි විදියෙන් වුනත් හොරකමක් තුබුන නම් පෙන්වන එක හොඳයි. එන කොට හොරකම් අල්ල ගන්න පුළුවනි.

ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

I have asked the only party who is competent to inquire into this, namely, the Central Bank, to look into this loan as well as other loans. If you ask me, I have expressed my dissatisfaction about this loan, not because of the loan as such, but because this was outside the scope of the People's Bank. But there were certain circumstances in which the loan was granted. I do not think this loan is bad, but I think it went beyond the scope of the actual Act, because the People's Bank was meant for helping really the middle-class and the lower middle-class, and the agricultural and the rural people. That was the main purpose of the People's Bank. He has gone beyond that, and that is also because the Bank must make some money. In the rural areas, you cannot get any money. It is on these big transactions that the bank can make a reasonable amount by way of commission and so on, and that is why the bank must go into commercial work. Otherwise, it will not have sufficient income.

ශ්‍රී ඉලංගරත්න

(கௌரவ இலங்கரத்ன)

(The Hon. Ilangaratne)

May I be permitted to explain? My name has been associated with this transaction. I want to state most emphatically that I did not intervene at all in the granting of this loan. I take no responsibility at all for this transaction. [Interruption].

කථානායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர்)

(Mr. Speaker)

We have to accept the Hon. Minister's statement.







විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පනත, 1964-65

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

remember, I made a special point about arecanuts. I am in a position today, as a result of a slight effort on my part, to give you this good news. I am told, I am justified in making this statement, that the Indian Government has expressed a desire to remove the ban that they have placed on the export of arecanuts. That is very heartening news particularly to all our backbenchers. I am grateful to the Indian Government for so quickly responding to my appeal in order to save an industry that is already dying, if not already dead.

Burma too has come to our rescue by buying Rs. 9 million worth of coconut oil.

I want to deal with this as the last matter. I do not want to weary the House any more. What did the hon. Leader of the Opposition try to do with the Budget? I want to try and minimize the difficulties we have. We are going through a difficult period not because of anything else, but because of a drop on the international prices of our major produce imports on which we depended in the past both for essential as well as other needs. Now, Sir, what are we to do in this situation? Hon. Members, including the Leader of the Opposition, twitted me, that I have tried a ruse in order to show a surplus Budget. I did not do that. Can I, as the Minister of Finance responsible for the finances and the economy of this country get up in this House and seriously say that our economy is fundamentally unsound, that we are bankrupt? Can I say that? That is what you are asking me to do.

All that I did say was this. It is fundamentally sound in this sense—our resources are there; a good deal of those resources are untapped; we have a very good infra-structure; our educational levels are high; and we have all those qualities that are necessary and the adjuncts that are required for the purpose of development.

Just now I am placed in a great difficulty. That is where my good Friend has made the mistake. That Development Programme is really not mine in that sense of the word. But I asked the Planning Secretariat to publish that Development Programme which is not a plan, but which is an attempt to work out a scheme of operations for each department within the capital Budget that was prepared for me when I took over. Instead of leaving the capital Budget as before high and dry, what I have tried to do is to break that up into targets and give specific jobs.

Now I intend to do more. I intend with the co-operation of all my Colleagues in the Cabinet to set up a planning secretariat, another small nucleus, in each department which will be responsible for carrying through their particular sector programme. They will break it up into months and say, "this month you will have to perform this amount of work". The officer concerned working in close liaison with those officers will find the reason why the programme is not being fulfilled. The planning secretariat will function continuously. That is a continuous body. That will keep watch and the plan might have to be changed, from time to time, day to day. That is why although according to our past experience actually, the capital output ratio is something in the neighbourhood of 4.6, it varies from 4.6 to 5. I refused to accept that. I think with a better planning margin, with better planning and efficient organization, we should easily be able to bring it not to 3.5 but even to 3 as I hope. But that is not a very satisfactory position. We must develop. As hon. Members are aware, both by working this plan, getting all the various sectors geared to a programme and working together through advisory councils of trade unions and increasing the enthusiasm of the workers, I hope to get a much bigger output ratio. I am confident of that from the response we have been given.



பிப்ரவரி 1964-65

—தேவன் வர கியதி

[அரு. ஸ்வாமி சன். சி. பி. பி.]

I will give you an example. As mentioned by my Friend, the Hon. Minister of Communications, already in the harbour we have shown a tremendous improvement in the operation of the harbour. When you work out the 4.6 or 5 capital output ratio, that is, on the basis of all the losses incurred in Kantalai, in Gal Oya, in the Salt Corporation, you will find that all that accumulated comes into the 5 ratio.

பி. பி. பி. பி. பி.

(திரு. டட்லி சேனாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

I did not.

அரு. ஸ்வாமி சன். சி. பி. பி.

(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

I am not blaming you. You were reading what was in the Programme.

பி. பி. பி. பி. பி.

(திரு. டட்லி சேனாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

I did not. I grant you the 3.5.

அரு. ஸ்வாமி சன். சி. பி. பி.

(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

Quite right. Therefore I am hoping as a result of this better set up, through the better co-operation of the workers, to reduce that capital output ratio to about 3 in which case our *per capita* increase would not be 3 but at least 2.5. I estimate it will come to very nearly 2.8 roughly. It is a workable programme.

If you read my speech you will find that it is a tentative programme. I have stated that fact categorically. It is not a final programme in that sense of the word. I will have to change that and I will change it. As our plan progresses from month to month, we might be able to expand the programme. I am quite prepared to find the money for any department or sector that is showing better work and improvement. I will give the money required for the improvement. So you will find on the other side, from the point of view of getting a better return, that that is why I have had to control it.

The controlling organizations will control the agency houses ; not only that but most of the private organizations. Some hon. Members are under the impression that I am trying to prevent them from expanding. No, I want to encourage them. They must come into a plan. If they fall into the plan and work to the programme I am giving them, I will be giving them more assistance when necessary because I am working on a priority basis. I am not trying to exclude anybody. I may not be able to give the hundred per cent that they want. The more essential industries will be given the full quota ; the less essential will fall back a little. That is the position. The progress will be less.

You need not be so gloomy as the Leader of the Opposition felt that we would even face an impossible position or that we will never succeed in doing anything. With regard to the bringing down of the cost of living, it must be tackled on two planes. On one side, we must increase our consumption substitutes in Ceylon. Secondly we must also prevent all the blackmarketing that is going on. For that purpose legislation will be introduced very early in this House. Then there will be no further hoarding and blackmarketing in this country.

பி. பி. பி. பி. பி.

(திரு. டட்லி சேனாயக்க)

(Mr. Dudley Senanayake)

The C. W. E. ?

அரு. ஸ்வாமி சன். சி. பி. பி.

(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

It will also be one of the institutions that will come under these controls.

சி. ரத்னாயக்க பி.

(திரு. ஏ. ரத்னாயக்க)

(Mr. A. Ratnayake)

We will support it.

அரு. ஸ்வாமி சன். சி. பி. பி.

(டாக்டர் கொல்வின் ஆர். டி. சில்வா)

(Dr. Colvin R. de Silva)

We do not want you on the peoples' committees.



විසර්ජන කෙටුම්පත් පනත, 1964-65

—දෙවන වර කියවීම

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(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

We will enlist the support of the people's committees and the masses so that we may work out a well-knit scheme to get to the next stage of our development. I believe, it is a part of our Coalition programme for the next stage of development that will have to be carried out, one step further towards socialism. This is not a socialist Budget; I am not saying it is, but we will try to have a sound control and supervision over our productivity processes in order to achieve that end.

One more word, Sir, with regard to the Export-Import Banking Corporation. The hon. Member for Kottawa (Mr. D. B. R. Gunawardena) said that if the banks do not accept the proposal of the Government it means the giving up of the scheme. I have two alternatives: one is, nevertheless, to go ahead with the Export-Import Banking Corporation project so that these institutions as they are will not be in a position to do any further business—all that business will be done by the new Export-Import Banking Corporation—and the second is to nationalize the existing financing houses. We still hope that these existing commercial banks will agree to come into our scheme which will not result in any interference with their normal work.

Our aim is to channel the available resources in the interest of our country, and by that process to assist industrialization so that there will be no unnecessary commissions and profits going out of this country. The Export-Import Banking Corporation that we will set up will safeguard all those interests. That is the purpose underlying the control we want to have.

However, I am quite prepared to discuss matters with the exchange banks and to listen to any difficulties they may have, because I want them to co-operate with me in getting this corporation established and making

a success of it. I am also prepared to do the same with the agency houses. All this must be done in the interest and for the development of the country. That is a *sine qua non*. I have now nearly come to the end and I do not—

කෙනමත් මයා.

(திரு. கெனமன்)

(Mr. Keuneman)

I want to raise the question of the discrepancies in the total c.i.f. value of imports.

ශ්‍රී ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(கௌரவ கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

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

I have already received a report on that. I do not want to deal with it now. There is an explanation to that.

Now, may I thank all hon. Members for the indulgence they have shown me. Might I also appeal to both sides of the House to co-operate with me in the difficult task ahead of me. I agree with the hon. Leader of the Opposition that our major problem is the rate of production in this country. We have got to increase production not in a haphazard manner but in a purposeful and determined way. All of us must co-operate to do so, for no one party, no one section, alone can build up this country. All of us must join and assist in the endeavour to build up this country so that we can be satisfied, whatever Government is in power, that it will be possible to march towards prosperity for the people of this country.

කෙටුම්පත් පනත දැන් දෙවන වර කියවිය යුතුය,  
යන ප්‍රශ්නය විසඳන ලදී.

කටහඬවල් අනුව “පක්ෂ” මන්ත්‍රීන්ට ජය බව  
කථානායකතුමා විසින් ප්‍රකාශ කරන ලදී.

කේ. එම්. පී. රාජරත්න මයා.

(திரு. கே. எம். பி. ராஜரத்ன)

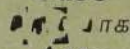
(Mr. K. M. P. Rajaratna)

නම් අනුව බෙදෙන්න.







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 AYES

කේ. එම්. ජී. ඇල්බට් මය.

திரு. கே. எச். ஜி. அல்பட்

Mr. K. H. G. Albert

ඩී. ඊ. තිලකරත්න මය.

திரு. டி. எ. திலகரத்ன

Mr. D. E. Tillekeratne

ඩබ්ලිව්. ඒ. කරුණාසේන මය.

திரு. டப்ளியு. ஏ. கருணாசேன

Mr. W. A. Karunasena

ස්ටැන්ලි තිලකරත්න මය.

திரு. ஸ்டான்லி திலகரத்ன

Mr. Stanley Tillekeratne

අයි. ඒ. කාදර් මය.

ஜனப் ஐ. ஏ. காதர்

Mr. I. A. Cader

පී. එම්. කේ. තෙන්නකෝන් මය.

திரு. பி. எம். கே. தென்னகோன்

Mr. P. M. K. Tennekoon

පී. ද එස්. කුලරත්න මය.

திரு. பி. டி. எஸ். குலரத்ன

Mr. P. de S. Kularatne

එස්. තොන්ඩමන් මය.

திரு. எஸ். தொண்டமான்

Mr. S. Thondaman

පී. ජී. බී. කෙනමන් මය.

திரு. பி. ஜி. பி. கெனமன்

Mr. P. G. B. Keuneman

ඒ. එම්. ද සිල්වා මය.

திரு. ஏ. எச். டி. சில்வா

Mr. A. H. de Silva

ඩී. එම්. ගුණසේකර මය.

திரு. டி. எம். குணசேக்கர

Mr. D. M. Gunasekera

ආචාර්ය කොල්වින් ආර්. ද සිල්වා

கலாநிதி கொல்வின் ஆர். டி. சில்வா

Dr. Colvin R. de Silva

ජේ. ජී. ගුණසේකර මය.

திரு. ஜே. ஜி. குணசேக்கர

Mr. J. G. Gunasekera

ලක්ෂ්මන් ද සිල්වා මය.

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Mr. Lakshman de Silva

එල්. ද එස්. ඒ. ගුණසේකර මය.

திரு. எல். டி. எஸ். ஏ. குணசேக்கர

Mr. L. de S. A. Gunasekera

අයි. ද සොයිසා මය.

திரு. ஐ. டி. சொய்ஸா

Mr. I de Zoysa

සෝමවීර චන්ද්‍රසිරි මය.

திரு. சோமவீர சந்திரசிரி

Mr. Somaweera Chandrasiri

සුමනපාල දහනායක මය.

திரு. ஸுமனபால தகநாயக்க

Mr. Sumanapala Dahanayake

ලක්ෂ්මන් ජයකොඩි මය.

திரு. லக்ஷமன் ஜயக்கொடி

Mr. Lakshman Jayakody

හෙන්රි ඩබ්ලිව්. දිසානායක මය.

திரு. ஹென்றி டப்ளியு. திஸாநாயக்க

Mr. Henry W. Dissanayake

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Mr. S. D. R. Jayaratne

ජයා පතිරන මය.

திரு. ஜயா பத்திரன

Mr. Jaya Pathirana

ටී. බී. ජයසුන්දර මය.

திரு. ரி. பி. ஜயசுந்தர

Mr. T. B. Jayasundera

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Sir Razik Fareed, O.B.E.

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Mr. L. B. Jayasena

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Mr. K. D. D. Perera

යූ. පී. ඩබ්ලිව්. ජිනදාස මය.

திரு. யூ. பி. வை. ஜினதாஸ

Mr. U. P. Y. Jinadasa

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Mr. R. S. V. Poulter, C.B.E.



පක්ෂව  
ඡාර්පාක  
AYES

පී. විලියම් ප්‍රනාන්දු මයා.  
திரு. ரி. விலியம் பெர்னாண்டோ  
Mr. T. William Fernando

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திரு. கே. எம். கே. பண்டா  
Mr. K. M. K. Banda

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திரு. பி. எச். பண்டார  
Mr. B. H. Bandara

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திரு. பீ. பி. பாலசூரிய  
Mr. P. B. Balasuriya

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திரு. சந்திரசேன முனவீர  
Mr. Chandrasena Munaweera

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திரு. ஸ்டான்லி மொல்லிகொட  
Mr. Stanley Molligoda

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திரு. ஆர். பி. ரத்னமல்லல  
Mr. R. B. Ratnamalala

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திரு. அமரானந்த ரத்னாயக்க  
Mr. Amarananda Ratnayake

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திரு. ஜோர்ஜ் ராஜபக்ஷ  
Mr. George Rajapaksa

ඩී. ඒ. රාජපක්ෂ මයා.  
திரு. டி. ஏ. ராஜபக்ஷ  
Mr. D. A. Rajapaksa

රොයි රාජපක්ෂ මයා.  
திரு. ரோய் ராஜபக்ஷ  
Mr. Roy Rajapakse

බී. ජහීර් ලයි මයා.  
ஜனப் ஸாஹிர் லய்  
Mr. B. Zahiere Lye

එස්. බී. ලේනවා මයා.  
திரு. எஸ். பி. லேனவா  
Mr. S. B. Lenawa

රත්නසිරි වික්‍රමනායක මයා.  
திரு. ரத்னஸிரி விக்ரமநாயக்க  
Mr. Ratnasiri Wickramanayaka

සෝමා වික්‍රමනායක මයා.  
திருமதி சோம விக்ரமநாயக்க  
Mrs. Soma Wickramanayake

ඩී. ඩී. වික්‍රමසිංහ මයා.  
திரு. டி. பீ. விக்ரமசிங்ஹ  
Mr. D. P. Wickramasingha

පර්සි වික්‍රමසිංහ මයා.  
திரு. பேரஸ் விக்ரமசிங்ஹ  
Mr. Percy Wickremasinghe

පී. පී. වික්‍රමසූරිය මයා.  
திரு. பீ. பீ. விக்ரமசூரிய  
Mr. P. P. Wickramasuriya

එම්. ඒ. ජේ. විජේසිංහ මයා.  
திரு. எம். ஏ. ஜே. வீஜேசிங்ஹ  
Mr. M. A. J. Wijesinghe

ලීලානන්ද වීරසිංහ මයා.  
திரு. லீலானந்த வீரசிங்ஹ  
Mr. Leelananda Weerasinghe

ඩී. ඩී. ආර්. වීරසේකර මයා.  
திரு. டி. பீ. ஆர். வீரசேக்கர  
Mr. D. P. R. Weerasekera

ජේ. ඩී. වීරසේකර මයා.  
திரு. ஜே. டி. வீரசேக்கர  
Mr. J. D. Weerasekera

යූ. බී. වීරසේකර මයා.  
திரு. யூ. பி. வீரசேக்கர  
Mr. U. B. Weerasekera

ස්ටීවන් සමරකිකොඩි මයා.  
திரு. ஸ்டீவன் சமரக்கொடி  
Mr. Stephen Samarakkody

සේනපාල සමරසේකර මයා.  
திரு. சேனபால சமரசேக்கர  
Mr. Senapala Samarasekara

ඩී. ජී. එච්. සිරිසේන මයා.  
திரு. டி. ஜீ. எச். சிரிசேன  
Mr. D. G. H. Sirisena

ඩබ්ලිව්. ජී. එම්. ඇල්බට් සිල්වා මයා.  
திரு. டப்ளியூ. ஜீ. எம். அல்பட் சில்வா  
Mr. W. G. M. Albert Silva

බර්නාඩ් සොයිසා මයා.  
திரு. பேனாட் சொய்ஸா  
Mr. Bernard Soysa















ලිඛිත පිළිතුරු

ගරු එෆ්. ආර්. ඩයස් බණ්ඩාරනායක (කෘෂිකම්, ආහාර හා බිවර කටයුතු පිළිබඳ ඇමති සහ රාජකාරක හා විදේශ කටයුතු පිළිබඳ ඇමතිගේ පාර්ලිමේන්තු ලේකම්)

(කෙළරව ගඬ. ඡුර්. උයස් පණ්ඩාරනායක —විවසාය, උණඟු, කදුරුගොඩ්‍රිල් අමෙය්ඡරුම පාතූකාඬු, වෙඟිවිවකාර අමෙය්ඡරිණ් පාරාඟුමණ්‍රකු කාරියතරිසියුම)

(The Hon F. R. Dias Bandaranaike—Minister of Agriculture, Food and Fisheries and Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Defence and External Affairs)

(අ) තුනයි. (3) (ආ) (i) මදලගම, (ii) ගබ්බෙල, (iii) ඇලපාන, පල්ලේගම. (ඉ) එක ගොවිපලක අක්කර 10 බැගින් සම්පූර්ණ ප්‍රමාණය අක්කර 30යි. (ඊ) (i) මදවලගම සාමාජිකයින් 10 දෙනෙකි:—

1. ඇම්. ගුණදස
2. ඒ. බී. පේමදස
3. පී. ඇල්. ඒ. සිල්වා
4. පී. ඇම්. ලිවිනිස්
5. ඇස්. ඇම්. පොඩ්දප් ප්‍රහාමි
6. ඇම්. ආර්. පියදස
7. ටී. මාවිත්
8. ඇම්. ඇම්. කිරිබණ්ඩා
9. පී. ඇම්. ඇස්. විමලදස
10. බී. වි. පොඩ්මහත්මයා

(ii) ගබ්බෙල සාමාජිකයින් 15 දෙනෙකි:—

1. පී. කේ. සිරිවර්ධන
2. එච්. පී. ජයවර්ධන
3. අයි. බබ්ලිවි. සුපනේරිස්
4. ඒ. එමානිස්
5. ජේ. ඒ. පොඩ්නිලමේ
6. ඒ. ඇම්. මොහොට්ටිහාමි
7. පී. කේ. සිංහිරිමුදියන්සේ
8. ආර්. ඒ. සිංහිරිමුදියන්සේ

ලිඛිත පිළිතුරු

9. ඩී. ඇම්. එමානිස්
10. ඇම්. පී. මල්හාමි
11. ආර්. ඒ. මුදලිහාමි
12. පී. කේ. මාවිත්
13. ඩී. එල්. ඒ. ගුණවර්ධන
14. පී. ඒ. අමරපාල
15. එච්. ඇම්. මුදලිහාමි

(iii) ඇලපාන, පල්ලේගම සාමාජිකයින් 26 දෙනෙකි:—

1. ඊ. පී. ගුණයා
2. පී. ඇම්. කිරිවස්තුලා
3. පී. ගුණසිරියා
4. ඇල්. සිංගියා
5. බබ්ලිවි. ඒ. පියදස
6. ඊ. පී. මල්වරුසා
7. බබ්ලිවි. ඇම්. සිංගිබණ්ඩා
8. ඊ. පී. තන්දිනා
9. ඊ. බබ්ලිවි. සේපාල
10. ඊ. සිරිපාල
11. බබ්ලිවි. ඇම්. සුමනපාල
12. ඊ. බබ්ලිවි. කිරිසංගා
13. බබ්ලිවි. ඇම්. සොමිත්තරා
14. ඇම්. ඒ. පුංචිමහත්මයා
15. ඊ. ජී. පොඩ්මහත්මයා
16. ආර්. ඇම්. සෝමපාල රාජපක්ෂ
17. යු. ඇම්. කිරිමුණිකා
18. පී. ඇම්. ජයනෙත්ති
19. ටී. ඇම්. නිමල් ගුණසිංහ
20. බබ්ලිවි. සෝමරත්න
21. කේ. ඒ. එස්. ජයවර්ධන
22. පී. ජී. පිංඩියා
23. පී. ජී. ජේමිස්
24. පී. ජී. සිංගිබණ්ඩා
25. පී. එච්. නවිනපාල
26. ඇම්. ඒ. සිරිසෝම දයාරත්න



பேரவை

பேரவை

(ஈ) (i) உட்குறை வாரியகம் கட்ட  
பணிகளைச் செய்து ரூ. 233.30க் கட்டியது.  
(ii) கட்டிட வாரியகம் கட்டியது உட்குறை வாரியகம். (iii) உட்குறை வாரியகம்  
பணிகளைச் செய்து பரிசீலனை உட்குறை வாரியகம்:—

கட்டிட பணிகளை ... ரூ. 675.00  
உட்குறை பணிகளை ... ரூ. 300.00  
கட்டிட வாரியகம் கட்டியது ரூ. 463.00  
மொத்தம் ... ரூ. 1,438.00

(அ) மூன்று. (ஆ) 1. மடலகம். 2. கப்பல்.  
3. எலபாத்த பள்ளைகம். (இ) ஒவ்வொரு  
கமமும் 10 ஏக்கர்—மொத்தம் 30 ஏக்கர்.

(ஈ) (1) மடலகம்—10 அங்கத்தவர்கள்.

1. எம். குணதாசு
2. ஏ. பி. பேமதாசு
3. பி. எல். ஏ. சில்வா
4. பி. எம். லிவினிஸ்
5. எஸ். எம். பொடியப்புகாமி
6. எம். ஆர். பியதாசு
7. ரீ. மாட்டின்
8. எம். எம். கிரிபண்டார
9. பி. என். எஸ். விமலதாசு
10. பி. வீ. பொடிமகாத்மயா

(2) கப்பல்—15 அங்கத்தவர்கள்.

1. பி. கே. சிறிவர்தன
2. ஏச். பி. ஜயவர்த்தன
3. ஐ. டபிள்யு. சுபனேரிஸ்
4. ஏ. எமானிஸ்
5. ஜெ. ஏ. பொடிநிலமே
6. ஏ. என். மொகொட்டிகாமி
7. ஈ. ஏ. டிங்கிரிமுதியான்சே
8. டி. எம். எமானிஸ்
9. பி. கே. டிங்கிரிமுதியான்சே
10. எம். பி. மல்காமி
11. ஈ. ஏ. முதலிகாமி
12. பி. கே. மாட்டின்

13. டி. எல். ஏ. குணவர்தன

14. பி. ஏ. அமரபால

15. ஏச். எம். முதலிகாமி

(3) எலபாத்த பள்ளைகம்—26 அங்கத்தவர்கள்.

1. ஈ. பி. குணயா
2. பி. எம். கிரிவஸ்துவா
3. பி. குணசிரிய
4. எல். டிங்கியா
5. டபிள்யு. ஏ. பியதாசு
6. ஈ. பி. மல்வருசு
7. டபிள்யு. எம். டிங்கிரிபண்டா
8. ஈ. பி. நந்தினா
9. ஈ. டபிள்யு. சேபால
10. ஈ. சிறிபால
11. டபிள்யு. எம். சுமணபால
12. ஈ. டபிள்யு. எம். கிரியசங்க
13. டபிள்யு. எம். சோமிதார
14. எம். ஏ. புஞ்சிமகாத்மயா
15. ஈ. ஜி. பொடிமகாத்மயா
16. ஆர். எம். சோமபால ராஜபக்சே
17. யு. எம். கிரிமெனிக்கா
18. பி. எம். ஜயநெத்தி
19. ரீ. எம். நிமல் குணசங்க
20. டபிள்யு. சோமரத்தன
21. கே. ஏ. எஸ். ஜயவர்த்தன
22. பி. ஜி. பிந்திங்க
23. பி. ஜி. ஜேமிஸ்
24. பி. ஏச். நவீனபால
25. ஏச். ஏ. சிறிசோம தயாரத்தன
26. பி. ஜி. டிங்கிப்பா

(உ) 1. காடுவெட்டுவதற்காக மடலகம் கமத்திற்கு ரூபா. 233.30. 2. கப்பல் கமத்திற்காக ஒரு சதமும் கொடுபடவில்லை. 3. எலபாத்த கமத்திற்காக பின்வரும் செலவுகள் கொடுபட்டுள்ளன. காடு வெட்டுவதற்கு ரூபா 675/-



ලිඛිත පිළිතුරු

(e) 1. For Madalagama Farm Rs. 233.30 have been paid for clearing. 2. For Gabbala Farm no payments have been made. 3. For Elapatha Farm the following payments have been made: For clearing Rs. 675.











(அ) (i) ஆம். (ii) பாடசாலை அரசாங்கத் தால் எடுக்கப்பட்ட திகதியன்று பாடசாலை ஆசிரியர்களுள் வேறு இருவர்களாகிய பி. வி. முதியான்சேயும் யூ. ஆர். பண்டார மெனிக்கே யும் இருந்தனர். (iii) ஆம். (ஆ) இரண்டு ஆசிரியர்களுடைய விடயங்கள் மட்டுமே கவனிக்கப்படவேண்டியிருக்கின்றன — மேற் போந்த (அ) (ii) விடையைப் பார்க்கவும். இவ் விடயங்கள் சீர்தூக்கப்படுகின்றன.

(a) (i) Yes. (ii) There were two others on the staff on the date of take over namely P. V. Mudiyanse and U. R. Bandara Menike. (iii) Yes. (b) There are only 2 cases to be considered—vide (a) II. These cases are under consideration.

සිංහල භාෂා ප්‍රවීණතා සම්බන්ධයෙන්  
1963 කැබිනට් තීරණය

சிங்குளத் தேர்ச்சி : அமைச்சரவைத் தீர்மானம்  
1963

SINHALA PROFICIENCY: CABINET DECISION  
OF 1963

93/64

கை. சி. பி. ராஜரத்ன மஹா. (வெலிமடை),  
(திரு. கே. எம். பி. ராஜரத்ன—வெலிமடை)  
(Mr. K. M. P. Rajaratna—Welimada)

අධිකරණ ඇමතිගේ පාර්ලිමේන්තු  
ලේකම්ගෙන් ඇසූ ප්‍රශ්නය : (අ) 1963,  
අභාවප්‍රාප්ත එ. බී. පෙරේරා මහතා අධි  
කරණ ඇමතිව සිටි කල පත්විම් දීමේදී  
සිංහල භාෂාව පිළිබඳ ප්‍රවීණත්වයක් ඇති  
ඉල්ලුම්කරුවන්ට වැඩි සැලකිල්ලක් දැක්  
වීමට කැබිනට් තීරණයක් තිබූ බව එතුමා  
දන්නවාද ? (ආ) එසේ නම්, මෙම තීරණය  
අත්හැරියේ මන්ද ?

நீதி அமைச்சரின் பாராளுமன்றக் காரியதரிசியைக் கேட்ட வினா: (அ) காலஞ்சென்ற திரு. ஏ. பி. பெரேரா நீதி அமைச்சராக விருந்த சமயத்தில் சிங்களத்தில் தேர்ச்சியுடைய விண்ணப்பதாரர்களுக்கு நியமன விடயங்கள் சம்பந்தமாக முன்னுரிமை அளிக்கவேண்டுமென 1963 ஆம் ஆண்டில் அமைச்சரவை தீர்மானித்ததென்பதை அவர் அறிவாரா? (ஆ) அவ்வாறாயின், இத்தீர்மானம் கைவிடப்பட்டதேன்

asked the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Justice: (a) Is he aware that there was a Cabinet decision in 1963, when the late Mr. A. B. Perera was the Minister of Justice, to give preference to applicants who are proficient in Sinhala in matters of appointments? (b) If so, why was this decision waived?

සී. පී. පස්කුවල් මයා. (අධිකරණ කට  
සහ පිළිබඳ පාර්ලිමේන්තු ලේකම්)

(திரு. டி. ரீ. பஸ்குவல்—நீதி அமைச்சரின்  
பாராளுமன்றக் காரியதரிசி)

(Mr. D. T. Pasqual—Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Justice)

(අ) ප්‍රශ්නයෙහි දැක්වෙන කරුණට අදාළ කැබිනට් තීරණය ගැන මම දනිමි. මුද්‍රණයකර, සංසරණයකොට ඇති 1963 සැප්තැම්බර් මස 20 වැනි දින කැබිනට් තීරණයෙහි 14 වැනි ඡේදයෙහි අඩංගුකර ඇති එය මෙසේ දැක්වේ :

පත්තිකිමි හා උසස්තිකිමි

(14) දැනට රජයේ සේවයෙහි නියුක්ත ව සිටින නිලධාරීන්ගේ කාර්යක්ෂමතාවය මැනීමේදී රාජ්‍ය භාෂා විෂයෙහි ඔවුන් කෙරෙහි ඇති ප්‍රවීණතාව අවශ්‍යම අංශයක් වශයෙන් සැලකිය යුතුය. එම නිලධාරීන් තනතුරෙන් උසස් කිරීමේදීත්, එසේම නිලධාරීන් ඒ ඒ අංශයන්හි වගකිවයුතු තනතුරු වල යෙදවීමේදීත්, ඔවුන් සතු භාෂා ප්‍රවීණතාව කෙරෙහි නිසි සැලකිල්ලක් දැක්විය යුතුය.

(ආ) මෙම තීරණය අත්හැර නැත.

(அ) இக்கேள்வியில் உள்ள விஷயத்தைப் பற்றிய அமைச்சரவைத் தீர்மானத்தைப்பற்றி நானறிவேன். இத்தீர்மானம், 1963 ஆம் ஆண்டு செப்டம்பர் மாதம் 20 ஆம் திகதியைக் கொண்ட அமைச்சரவை முடிவின் 14 ஆவது பந்தியில் அடங்கியுள்ளது. இது அச்சிடப் பட்டு சுற்றறிக்கையாக வெளிவந்துள்ளது. இத்தீர்மானம் பின்வருமாறு :

நியமனங்களும் பதவி உயர்வுகளும்

(14) அரசாங்க சேவையில் ஏற்கனவே உள்ள அரசாங்க உத்தியோகத்தார்களின் திறமையைக் கணிப்பதில் அரசுகளுட



ලිඛිත පිළිතුරු

[ පසු කුටලි මය. ]

மொழியில் உள்ள தேர்ச்சி ஓர் முக்கிய அம்சமாக இருக்கவேண்டும். உத்தியோகத்தார்களை பதவி உயர்வுகளுக்கு தேர்ந்தெடுக்கும் போதும், முக்கிய இடங்களில் உத்தியோகத்தார்களை நியமனஞ்செய்யும் போதும், அரசகருமமொழியிலுள்ள தேர்ச்சிக்கு முக்கியத்துவம் அளித்தல் வேண்டும். (ஆ) இத்தீர்மானம் கைவிடப்படவில்லை.

(a) I am aware of the Cabinet decision on the point referred to in the question. It is embodied in paragraph 14 of the Cabinet conclusion of 20th September 1963 which has been printed and circularized. It reads as follows :

## Appointments and Promotions

“(14) Proficiency in the official language should be an essential ingredient in the assessment of efficiency of Public Officers already in service and such proficiency should be given due weightage in considering such officers for promotions and in the general deployment of staff in key positions.”

(b) This decision has not been waived.

විනාපවි පරික්ෂක මණ්ඩලය

திரைப்படங்கள் : தணிக்கைச் சபை

FILMS : BOARD OF CENSORS

103/64

පී. ජී. බී. කෙනමන්' මයා. (මැද කොළඹ  
දෙවන මන්ත්‍රී)

(திரு. பி. ஜி. பி. கெனமன்—கொழும்பு மத்தி  
இரண்டாம் அங்கத்தவர்)

(Mr. P. G. B. Keuneman—Second Colombo Central)

සංස්කෘතික කටයුතු හා සමාජ සේවා  
ඇමතිගෙන් ඇසූ ප්‍රශ්නය : (අ) චිත්‍රපටි  
පරීක්ෂක මණ්ඩලයේ සාමාජිකයෝ කවර  
හුද? (ආ) මේ එක් එක් අය පත් කරන  
ලද්දේ කවදාද? කුමණ කාලයක සිද්ධාද?

ලිඛිත පිළිතුරු

(ඉ) සාමාජිකයින් තෝරා ගනු ලබන්නේ කුමන ක්‍රමයක් අනුවද? ඔවුන්ගේ පත් වීම් යුක්ති සහගත බව දැක්වීමට ඔවුන් දරන පුද්ගලික කම් මොනවාද? (ඊ) 1962, 1963 හා 1964 ජනවාරි 1 වැනි දින සිට මේ දක්වා මෙම මණ්ඩලය කී වාරයක් රැස්වී තිබේද? එවැනි රැස්වීම් කීයකට මණ්ඩලයේ එක් එක් සාමාජිකයා පැමිණ ඇත්ද? (උ) මෙම සාමාජිකයන් යම්කිසි මහත්සිය ගෙවීමක් ලබනවාද? එසේ නම් ඒ කුමක්ද?

கலாச்சார விவகார, சமூகசேவைகள் அமைச்சரைக் கேட்ட வினா : (அ) படங்கள் சம்பந்தமான தணிக்கைச் சபையின் அங்கத்தவர்கள் யார்? (ஆ) அவர்களொவ்வொருவரும் எப்போழுது நியமிக்கப்பட்டனர்? எவ்வளவு காலம்வரை நியமிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளனர்? (இ) எவ்வடிப்படையில் இவ்வங்கத்தவர்கள் தெரிவு செய்யப்பட்டுள்ளனர்? அவர்களுடைய நியமனங்களுக்குத் தகுதியாக அவர்களிடமுள்ள தகைமைகள் யாவை? (ஈ) 1962, 1963 ஆகிய வருடங்களிலும், 1964 ஜனவரி தொடக்கம் இற்றைவரைக்கும் எத்தனை தடவைகள் சபை கூடியுள்ளது? சபையின் அங்கத்தவர்களொவ்வொருவரும் சமூகங்கொடுத்து அத்தகைய கூட்டங்கள் எத்தனை? (உ) இவ்வங்கத்தவர்கள் ஊதியமெதுவும் பெறுகின்றார்களா? அவ்வாறாயின், என்ன?

asked the Minister of Cultural Affairs and Social Services: (a) Who are the members of the Board of Censors in regard to films? (b) When were each of them appointed and for what period? (c) On what basis are these members selected and what qualifications do they possess to justify their appointment? (d) How many times has the Board met in 1962, 1963 and from January 1st 1964 to date; and how many of such meetings has each member of the Board attended? (e) Do these members receive any remuneration and if so, what?



ලිඛිත පිළිතුරු

ලිඛිත පිළිතුරු

**ගරු ඩී. එස්. ගුණසේකර (සංස්කෘතික කටයුතු හා සමාජ සේවා ඇමති)**

(கௌரவ டி. எஸ். குணசேகர—கலாச்சார விவகார, சமூகசேவை அமைச்சர்)

(The Hon. D. S. Goonesekera—Minister of Cultural Affairs and Social Services)

(අ) දැනට සිටින සාමාජිකයින්ගේ නම් මෙසේය :—

අංකය	නම	තරාතිරම	පත්වූ දිනය
1.	ඒ. ඇස්. කොහොඹන්-වික්‍රම මයා ...	සංස්කෘතික කටයුතු හා සමාජ සේවා අමාත්‍යාංශයේ ස්ථීර ලේකම්	3. 7.64
2.	එච්. ජේ. සමරක්කොඩි මයා. ...	භාණ්ඩාගාර ලේකම් ...	4. 6.58
3.	පොලිස්පති හෝ ඔහුගේ නියෝජිත යෙක්	—	... 4. 6.58
4.	කොළඹ නගරාධිපති හෝ ඔහුගේ නියෝජිතයෙක්	—	... 1. 2.64
5.	බී. ඒ. ජයසිංහ මයා. ...	නාගරික කොමසාරිස් ...	... 4. 6.58
6.	වෛද්‍ය සිවලි එච්. රත්වත්තේ මයා.	ලිවර් ඩ්‍රද්‍රස් සමාගමේ වෛද්‍ය නිලධාරී තැන	... 1. 2.64
7.	වෛද්‍ය එන්. ධර්මදස මයා. ...	කොළඹ මහ රෝහලේ වෛද්‍ය රෙජිස්ටාර් තුමා	... 1. 2.64
8.	එස්. එස්. ද සිල්වා මයා. ...	විශ්‍රාම ලත් අධ්‍යාපන අධ්‍යක්ෂ ...	... 1. 2.64
9.	එච්. ආර්. ප්‍රේමරත්න මයා. ...	ප්‍රසිද්ධ වැඩ අධ්‍යක්ෂ ...	... 1. 2.64
10.	එල්. එච්. මෙන්තානන්ද මයා. ...	ආනන්ද කොලීජියේ හිටපු විද්‍යාලයාධිපති	... 14. 4.58
11.	ටී. යූ. ද සිල්වා මයා. ...	විශ්‍රාම ලත් කලාශිල්ප පරීක්ෂක තුමා-අධ්‍යාපන දෙපාර්තමේන්තුව ...	... 14. 4.58
12.	ලොයිඩ් චෙන්තසිංහ මයා. ...	අධ්‍යක්ෂක-සීමාසහිත ටකර්ස් සමාගම	... 27. 6.59
13.	රාජා බණ්ඩාරනායක මයා. ...	අධිනීතිඥ ...	... 1. 2.64
14.	ආර්. ටී. ද සිල්වා මයා. ...	ලං. ග. ම. හිටපු සභාපති ...	... 14. 6.61
15.	මහානාම වික්‍රමසිංහ මයා. ...	කොළඹ වෙළඳ ව්‍යාපාරික, ආයුර්වේද වෛද්‍ය සහ අසභ්‍ය වික්‍රපටි විරෝධී සංගමයේ නියෝජිත	18. 8.60
17.	එන්. කාසිපිල්ලේ මෙනෙවියා ...	සයිවර් මංගයාර් විද්‍යාලයමිහි ප්‍රධානාචාර්ය තුමිය	... 31. 1.58
18.	ටී. බී. දිසානායක මයා. ...	වෙළඳ ව්‍යාපාරික ...	... 8. 8.63
19.	එම්. මාකානි මයා. ...	අධිනීතිඥ ...	... 1. 2.64
20.	ඊ. එම්. ගුණරත්න මයා. ...	කොළඹ වෙළඳ ව්‍යාපාරික ...	... 1. 2.64
21.	ඊ. හේමා දබරේ මයා. ...	වෙළඳ ව්‍යාපාරික හා සමාදාන විනිශ්චයකාර	... 1. 2.64
22.	පී. ජී. ආටිගල මයා. ...	ගාල්ලේ උසස් අධ්‍යාපනික විද්‍යාලයේ අධ්‍යක්ෂ	... 3. 7.64
23.	අධ්‍යාපන අමාත්‍යාංශයේ ස්ථීර ලේකම් හෝ නියෝජිතයෙක්	...	... 3. 7.64
24.	සමාජ සේවා දෙපාර්තමේන්තුවේ අධ්‍යක්ෂ හෝ නියෝජිතයෙක්	...	... 3. 7.64

(ආ) ඉහත පිළිතුරේ අංක දෙකේ සිට අංක විසිඑක දක්වා නම් සඳහන් අය 1964.2.1 දින සිට මීට පෙර කටයුතු කළ අධ්‍යාපන හා සංස්කෘතික කටයුතු පිළිබඳ ඇමති පී. බී. ජී. කළුගල්ල මහතා විසින්ද ඉහත අංක එක හා විසි දෙකේ සිට විසි හතර දක්වා නම් සඳහන් අය 1964.7.3 වෙනි දින මා විසින්ද පත්කර ඇත. මෙම සාමාජිකයින් පත් කරනු ලබන්නේ අවුරුදු තුනක කාලසීමාවකටය. නමුත් අවුරුදු තුනට පෙර පත්වීම් අවලංගු කිරීමට

ඇමතිතුමාට බලය ඇත. එක් එක් සාමාජිකයා පත්කර ඇති දිනය ඉහත (අ) යටතේ සඳහන් කර ඇත. සාමාන්‍යයෙන් මෙම අයගේ සාමාජිකත්වය 1967 ජනවාරි 31 වෙනිදායින් අවසන් වේ. (ඉ) 176 වෙනි අධිකාරය වන ප්‍රසිද්ධ රැගුම් දැක්වීම් ආඥාපනතේ 6 වෙනි වගන්තිය අනුව කටයුතු භාර ඇමතිතුමාගේ අදහස අනුව නිසි පත්වීම් කරනු ලැබේ. එක එක සාමාජිකයාගේ තරාතිරම ඉහත (අ) යන පිළිතුරෙන් සපයා ඇත. (ඊ) 1962 හා 1963







(ஆ) மேலே குறிப்பிட்டவர்களில் 2 ல் இருந்து 21 வரைக்கும் உள்ள நபர்கள் முன்னைய கல்வி கலாச்சார விவகார மந்திரி கௌரவ பி. பி. ஜி. கலுக்கல் அவர்களால் 1.2.64 தொடக்கம் தற்போதைய சபைக்கு நியமிக்கப்பட்டனர். 1 லாவது நபரும் 23 ல் இருந்து 24 வரைக்கும் உள்ளவர்களும் என்னால் 3.7.64 தொடக்கம் நியமிக்கப்பட்டனர். அங்கத்தவர்கள் நியமிக்கப்பட்ட நாளில் இருந்து 3 வருட காலத்திற்கு கடைமையாயுள்ள மந்திரியவர்களால் நியமிக்கப்படுவர். ஆனால், மூன்று வருட எல்லைக்குள் இவர்களை நீக்கவும் முடியும். ஒவ்வொரு அங்கத்தவர்களின் நியமனத்தேதியும் (அ) பகுதியில் கொடுக்கப்பட்டிருக்கின்றது. (இ) நியமனங்கள் அமைச்சரின் விருப்பத்தின்படி, பொதுக் காட்சிப் பிரமாணத்தின் 176 ம் அப்பியாசத்திற்கிணங்க செய்யப்பட்டது. ஒவ்வொரு அங்கத்தவர்களின் தகைமைகளும் (அ) பிரிவின் பதிலில் கொடுக்கப்பட்டிருக்கின்றது. (ஈ) 1962 ம் 1963 ம் ஆண்டுகளில் நடந்த கூட்டங்களின் விபரம் எனது அமைச்சில் கிடைக்கவில்லை. 1.1.64 தொடக்கம் 3.7.64 வரையும் சபை மூன்று பொதுக்கூட்டங்களைக் கூட்டியிருக்கிறது. ஆனால் சபையின் அங்கத்

தவர் வாரம் இருமுறைகூடி அனுமதிக்கக் கூடாத சினிமாப்படங்களை ஆராய்வர். திருவாளர் ஈ. கேமாடபெரே, ஈ. எம். குணரத்தின, எம். மாகானி, ரீ. பி. திசாநாயகா, மகாநாம விக்ரமசிங்க, எஸ். எஸ். த சில்வா ஆகியோர் மூன்று பொதுக் கூட்டங்களிலும் பிரசன்னமாயிருந்தனர். டாக்டர் எஸ். தர்மதாசா, திருவாளர்கள் எல். எச். மெத்தானந்தா, ரீ. பூ. த சில்வா, இராசா பண்டாரநாயக்கா, ஆ. ரீ. த சில்வா, டி. கே. உக்குவத்தகேயும் செல்வி என். காசிப்பிள்ளையும் இரண்டு பொதுக்கூட்டங்களில் பங்குபற்றினர். திரு. எச். ஜே. சமரக் கொடி, பொலிசு அதிபரின் பிரதிநிதி, கொழும்பு மேயரின் பிரதிநிதி, திரு. வீ. ஏ. ஜெயசிங்க, டாக்டர் சீவாலி றத்வத்த, திரு. எச். ஆர். பிரேமரத்தினவும் திரு. லெயிட் வெத்தசிங்கா ஆகியோரும் ஒரு பொதுக் கூட்டத்தில்தான் பங்கு கொண்டனர். ஒவ்வொரு பொதுக் கூட்டத்திலும் பிரசன்னமாயிருந்தோருடைய விபரம் தயாரிக்கக் காலம் தேவை. தேவைபடி இவ்விபரம் தயாரிக்க முடியும். ஆனால், போதிய அவகாசம் தர வேண்டும். (உ) இல்லை.

(a) The Present Members are :

Item	Name	Capacity	Date of first appointment to the Board
1. ..	Mr. A. S. Kohoban-Wickrama ..	Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Cultural Affairs and Social Services	3.7.64
2. ..	Mr. H. J. Samarakkody ..	Secretary to the Treasury	4.6.58
3. ..	Inspector General of Police or his representative	..	4.6.58
4. ..	The Mayor of Colombo or his representative	..	1.2.64
5. ..	Mr. B. A. Jayasinghe ..	Municipal Commissioner	4.6.58
6. ..	Dr. Seevali H. Ratwatte ..	Medical Officer attached to M/s. Lever Bros. Ltd.	1.2.64
7. ..	Dr. N. Dharmadasa ..	Medical Registrar, General Hospital, Colombo	1.2.64
8. ..	Mr. S. F. de Silva ..	Retired Director of Education	1.2.64
9. ..	Mr. H. R. Premaratne ..	Director of Public Works	1.2.64
10. ..	Mr. L. H. Mettananda ..	Ex-Principal, Ananda College	14.4.58
11. ..	Mr. T. U. de Silva ..	Retired Inspector of Arts & Crafts, Education Department	14.4.58
12. ..	Mr. Lloyd Wettasinghe ..	Director-Tuckers Ltd.	27.6.59
13. ..	Mr. Raja Bandaranaike ..	Advocate	1.2.64
14. ..	Mr. R. T. de Silva ..	Ex-Chairman C.T.B.	14.6.61
15. ..	Mr. Mahanama Wickramasinghe ..	Businessman, Colombo	1.2.64
16. ..	Mr. D. K. Ukwattege, ..	Ayurvedic Physician and Representative of Asabhiya Chitrapati Virodi Sangamaya	18.8.60
17. ..	Miss N. Kasipillai ..	Principal, Saiva Mangaiyar Vidyalaalayam	31.1.58
18. ..	Mr. T. B. Dissanayake ..	Businessman	8.8.63
19. ..	Mr. M. Markhani ..	Advocate	1.2.64
20. ..	Mr. E. M. Guneratne ..	Businessman, Colombo	1.2.64
21. ..	Mr. E. Hema Dabare ..	Businessman and J. P.	1.2.64
22. ..	Mr. P. P. Attygale ..	Director, College of Higher Studies Galle	3.7.64
23. ..	Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Education or his representative	..	3.7.64
24. ..	Director of Social Services or his representative	..	3.7.64



[தூ. சி. பி. லி. லுனசேகர்]

(b) The persons mentioned above from Item 2 to 21 had been appointed to the present Board from 1.2.1964 by the previous Minister of Education and Cultural Affairs, Hon. Mr. P. B. G. Kalugalla; those mentioned as Items 1 and 22-24 were appointed on 3.7.64 by me. Members are appointed for a period of three years from the date of appointment, but their appointments can be terminated by the Minister before the 3 year period. The dates of appointment of each member are noted under answer (a). The membership of all these members would normally terminate on 31.1.67.

(c) Appointments are made under section 6 of the Public Performances Ordinance (Chapter 176) at the discretion of the Minister. The status of each member is noted against each such member under answer on (a).

(d) The details of meetings held during the years 1962 and 1963 are not available in my Ministry. During the period 1.1.64 to 3.7.64 the Board has held three General Meetings, but Board members are expected to assemble twice a week to preview films which are "prima facie" objectionable. Messrs. E. Hema Dabare, E. M. Gunaratne, M. Markhani, T. B. Dissanayake, Mahanama Wickremasinghe, S. F. de Silva were present at all 3 general meetings. Dr. N. Dharmadasa, Messrs. L. H. Mettananda, T. U. de Silva, Raja Bandaranaike, R. T. de Silva, D. K. Ukwattege and Miss N. Kassipillai were present at 2 general meetings. Mr. H. J. Samarakkody, I. G. P's representative, Colombo Mayor's representative, Mr. B. A. Jayasinghe, Dr. Seevali H. Ratwatte, Mr. H. R. Premaratne and Mr. Lloyd Wettasinghe were present at one general meeting each. Attendance particulars at "previews" of the Board by each member of the Board will take time to prepare. These can be prepared if necessary, provided further time is given. (c) No.

அகரண சந்தர்ப்பக கைவிடாமை : ரசிய  
மென் பாலைய கரது லென ரேடி விவிதே  
மெய்ப்பாது

அக்குறணத் தேர்தல் தொகுதி : அரசாங்கத்  
தால் பரிபாவிக்கப்படும் நெசவு நிலையங்கள்

AKURANA ELECTORATE: WEAVING CENTRES  
RUN BY THE GOVERNMENT

106/64

சி. சி. பி. சி. சி. சி. (அகரண  
பெரித மன்திரி)

(திரு. டி. ஜி. எச். சிரிசேன—அக்குறண  
முதலாம் அங்கத்தவர்)

(Mr. D. G. H. Sirisena—First Akurana)

ஹம் ஹ கரீமான் சம்பீதன அமதி  
மென் அபி பிழிதூர் : (அ) ரசிய மென்  
பாலைய கரது லென ரேடி விவிதே மெய்  
பாது கியக் அகரண சந்தர்ப்பக  
கைவிடாமை துல திவெடி? (பா) மெ பி  
பி மெய்ப்பாது பார்க்க கல திய  
பிதூர் கரதாடி? (ஓ) மெ மெய்  
பாதுவெ பிழிதூர் காலகிமெ கைபெ  
கடி? (ஈ) மெ பிதூர் கரதா கால  
கிமெவெ தோமதி கெமெ மெ பி  
தூர் கடிதெ அபேகா கரதாவிதெ  
பிழிதூர் அபிதூர் பிழிதூர் மெ  
பிழிதூர் பிதூர் கரதா கால கிமெ  
பிதூர் கிதெ பிதூர் கிதெ  
கிராம, கைத்தொழில் அபிவிருத்தி அமைச்  
சரைக் கேட்ட வினா : (அ) அக்குறணத்  
தேர்தற் தொகுதியில் உள்ள அரசாங்கத்தால்  
நடாத்தப்படும் நெசவு நிலையங்கள் எத்தனை?  
(ஆ) இந்நிலையங்கள் ஒவ்வொன்றும் ஆரம்  
பிக்கப்பட்ட தேதிகளை அவர் கூறுவாரா?  
(இ) இந்நிலையங்களில் அளிக்கப்படும் பயிற்சி  
வகுப்புகளின் காலவெல்லை எவ்வளவு? (ஈ)  
இப்பயிற்சி வகுப்புகளுக்குக் காலவரையறை  
இல்லாமையால், பயிற்சி பெற விரும்புபவர்  
களுக்கு சந்தர்ப்பங்கள் கிடைப்பதில்லையா  
கையால் இப்பயிற்சி வகுப்புகளுக்குக் கால  
வரையறையை நிர்ணயிப்பதற்கு அவர் நட  
வடிக்கை எடுப்பாரா?

asked the Minister of Rural and Industrial Development: (a) How many weaving centres run by the Government are there in the Akurana electorate? (b) Will he state the dates on which each of these centres was established? (c) What is the duration of training courses in these



ලිඛිත පිළිතුරු

centres? (d) As there is no time limit for these training courses and hence those who wish to undergo a course of training are deprived of their opportunities will he take action to order a time limit for these training courses?

ශ්‍රී මොතිපාල සේනානායක (ශ්‍රාම හා කිරීමාන්ත සංවර්ධන ඇමති)

(කෙළරාව මைத்தිරිපාල සෙනෙරායக்க—  
கிராம, கைத்தொழில் அபிவிருத்தி அமைச்சர்)

(The Hon. Maithripala Senanayake—  
Minister of Rural and Industrial Development)

(අ) සමුපකාර සමිති ලෙස පරිවර්තනය කර ඇති පෙහෙකම් මධ්‍යස්ථාන 17ක් හා පෙහෙකම් පාසලක්.

(ආ)

නම	පටන්ගත් දිනය
1. පල්ලේගම අංකුඹුර	... 1956. 1. 9
2. බටුගොඩ ...	... 56. 6. 4
3. දුනුවිල දෙරණුව	... 55.12. 2
4. ගොඩහේන ...	... 53. 8.14
5. ගොහාගොඩ ...	... 56. 7. 1
6. කදන්හේන ...	... 56. 2. 1
7. මාලගම්මන ...	... 56. 2. 1
8. උල්ලප්පිටිය ...	... 56. 5. 1
9. යටිහලල ...	... 56. 7. 1
10. කුඩුගල පේෂකරම් පාසල	... 51. 6.11
11. බෝතොට ...	... 58.11. 3
12. රඹුකේවෙල ...	... 59.10.27
13. යටිවෙල ...	... 60.10. 3
14. අකුරාණ ...	... 60.10.12
15. දිගල ...	... 60.10. 3
16. බොකලවල ...	... 61. 8.19
17. අලගොඩ ...	... 62. 2. 2
18. තිත්තපස්සල ...	... 62.11.12

(ඉ) (1) සමුපකාර සමිතියක් ලෙස පරිවර්තනය කිරීමට ප්‍රථම මධ්‍යස්ථානයේ මාස අටක පුහුණුවීමේ කාලයක් සලසා ඇත. (පුහුණුව ලබා අවසාන මාස 6 ඇතුළතදී ශිෂ්‍යයන්ට දීමනාවක් ගෙවනු ලැබේ.) (2) පෙහෙකම් පාසලක අවුරුදු 2ක පුහුණුවීමේ කාලයක් සලසා ඇත. (ඊ) මූලික පුහුණුවට පසුව අවුරුදු 2-4 දක්වා වූ කාලයකට රජයෙන් පත් කරනු ලබන ප්‍රදර්ශකවරයෙක් යටතේ කටයුතු

ලිඛිත පිළිතුරු

ශිෂ්‍යයන් බඳවාගෙන පුහුණු කිරීමට සමුපකාර සමිතියක් ලෙස ආරම්භ වූවාට පසුවද, කටයුතු කරනු ලැබේ.

(අ) 17 நெசவு நிலையங்கள் பின்பு கூட்டுறவு சங்கங்களாக மாற்றப்பட்டன. ஆ. அத்துடன் ஒரு நெசவு பாடசாலையும்.

(ஆ)

நிலையங்களின் பெயர்கள்	ஆரம்ப திகதி
1. பல்லகம் அங்குமபுற	.. 9. 1.56
2. பத்துகொட ..	.. 4. 6.56
3. னோவில் டொறகமுல	.. 2.12.55
4. கொடதென ..	.. 14. 8.53
5. பொறகொட ..	.. 1. 7.56
6. கடம்பென ..	.. 7. 5.56
7. மல்லஹம்மன ..	.. 1. 2.56
8. உல்லண்டுபிட்டிய	.. 1. 5.56
9. யட்டியலகல்ல ..	.. 1. 7.56
10. கடுகல நெசவு பாடசாலை	.. 11. 6.51
11. டெற்கொற்ற	.. 3.11.58
12. றம்புக்கெவெல்ல	.. 27.10.59
13. யற்றியவல ..	.. 3.10.60
14. ஆக்குறன ..	.. 12.10.60
15. டகல்ல ..	.. 3.10.60
16. பொக்கலயால ..	.. 19.8.61
17. அலகொட ..	.. 2. 2.62
18. திக்கபத்தகல ..	.. 12.11.62

(இ) (1) ஒரு நிலையம் கூட்டுறவுச் சங்கமாக மாற்றப்படுமுன் 8 மாதகால பயிற்சியளிக்கப்படும். (கடைசி 6 மாத பயிற்சி காலத்திற்கு பயிற்சியாளருக்கு சிறு வேதனம் கொடுக்கப்படும்) (2) கூட்டுறவுச் சங்கமாக மாற்றியதன் பின்பும் கூட, புதிதாய் பயிற்சியாளர்களை எடுத்து நிலையத்திற்கொரு அரசாங்க செயல் முறை காட்டுவோராக, அவரின் மேற்பார்வையில் ஆரம்ப பயிற்சி காலம் முடிந்ததும் மேலும் 2-4 வருட காலத்திற்குப் பயிற்சி



[ගරු මොහොමාද් සේනානායක]

(a) There are 17 textile centres converted to co-operative societies and 1 weaving school.

*Name of centre*

*Date of starting*

1. Pallegama Ankumbura	..	9. 1.1956
2. Batagoda	..	4. 6.1956
3. Dunuwila Doragamuwa	..	2.12.1955
4. Godahena ..	..	14. 8.1953
5. Gohagoda ..	..	1. 7.1956
6. Kadanhenne	..	1. 2.1956
7. Malagammana	..	1. 2.1956
8. Ulandupitiya	..	1. 5.1956
9. Yatihlagala	..	1. 7.1956
10. Kudugala Weaving School	..	11. 6.1951
11. Botota ..	..	3.11.1958
12. Rambukewela	..	27.10.1959
13. Yatiwawala	..	3.10.1960
14. Akurana ..	..	12.10.1960
15. Deegala	..	3.10.1960
16. Botalawala	..	19. 8.1961
17. Alagoda ..	..	2. 2.1962
18. Tittapajjala	..	12.11.1962

(c) (i) An 8 month period of training is provided at a centre before it is converted to a co-operative society. (During the last 6 months of their training the students are paid a stipend). (ii) A 2 year period of training is provided at a weaving school. (d) Even after conversion into a co-operative society, new hands are taken on and training provided under the supervision of a Government Demonstrator who is posted to a centre for 2-4 years after the initial training period is over.







දශක මුදල් : මුදල් ගෙවන දිනෙන් පසුව ඇරඹෙන මාසයේ සිට මාස 12ක් සඳහා රු. 32.00යි. අශෝඛිත පිටපත් සඳහා නම් රු. 35.00යි. මාස 6කට ගාස්තුවෙන් අඩකි. පිටපතක් ගත 30යි. තැපැලෙන් ගත 45යි. මුදල්, කොළඹ, ගාලු මුවදොර මහ ලේකම් කාර්යාලයේ රජයේ ප්‍රකාශන කාර්යාංශයේ අධිකාරී වෙත කලින් එවිය යුතුය.

1964

\*ඛ්තා : පණම සෙසුද්දත ජේතිශ්‍ය යථෙත්තුවරුම මාතම තොඨකම 12 මාතත්තුඤ්ඤා භූපා 32.00 (තිරුත්තථප්පාඨා පිරිතිකුණ භූපා 35.00). 6 මාතත්තුඤ්ඤා අරුරකුඨ්ඨණම ; තනිථ්පිරිති ජතම 30. තපාලමුලම 45 ජතම. මුථ්පණමාක අරසාඤ්ඤා වෙණිගිඨ්ඨ අලුවලක අත්තිග්ප්පිඨම (ත. පෙ. 500, අරසාඤ්ඤා කුරුමකම, කොමුමපු 1) සෙණුත්තලාම

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1964

ලංකාවේ වාර්ථවේනශෙති පිහිටි " ඊස්ටර්න් පේපර් මිල්ස් කෝපරේෂන් " හි නිපදවන ලද කඩදාසිවල ලංකාණ්ඩුවේ මුද්‍රණාලයේ මුද්‍රාපිතයි

මුලඤ්ඤා, වාණිජජේනේ සභරේණ පේපරා මිලස කොප්පරේණාලා ඤ්ඤාපත්ති සෙණාප්ප්ඨ කාසිතත්තිල, මුලඤ්ඤා අරසාඤ්ඤා අඤ්ඤාත්තිර් පත්තිපිකුප්පෙර්ථා

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