



පාර්ලිමේන්තු විවාද

(හැන්සාඩ්)

නියෝජිත මන්ත්‍රී මණ්ඩලයේ

නිල වාර්තාව

අත්තිකාරම් ප්‍රධාන කරුණු

නිවේදනය [නි. 49] :

සහායක නාමාවලිය

ශෝක ප්‍රකාශය : බී. සනීර් ලසි මහතා [නි. 51]

පළමුවන වර කියවන ලද පනත් කෙටුම්පත් [නි. 54] :

අනුරාධපුර නගර සභා (විශේෂ විධිවිධාන) පනත් කෙටුම්පත

විදුලි සන්දේශ (සංශෝධන) පනත් කෙටුම්පත

කර්මාන්ත සංවර්ධන පනත් කෙටුම්පත

එන සන්ධ හා වාණිජලයා ආරක්ෂක (සංශෝධන) පනත් කෙටුම්පත

අග්‍රාණ්ඩුකාරතුමාගේ කථාව [නි. 59] :

ස්ත්‍රීන් සේවනාව පිළිබඳ විවාදය [දෙවන දිනය]

විවාදය කල් තබන ලදී.

பாராளுமன்ற விவாதங்கள்

(ஹன்சாட்)

பிரதிநிதிகள் சபை

அதிகார அறிக்கை

பிரதான உள்ளடக்கம்

அறிவிப்பு [ப. 49] :

அக்கிராசனார் குழாம்

அனுதாபத் தீர்மானம் : ஐனாப் பி. ஸாஹீர் லாய் [ப. 51]

முதன்முறை மதிப்பிடப்பட்ட மசோதாக்கள் [ப. 54] :

அனுராதபுர நகரசபை (சிறப்பேற்பாடுகள்) மசோதா

தொலைசெய்திப் போக்குவரத்து (திருத்தம்) மசோதா

கைத்தொழில் அபிவிருத்தி மசோதா

தாவர விலங்கினப் பாதுகாப்பு (திருத்தம்) மசோதா

மகாதேசாதிபதியினது பேச்சு [ப. 59]

உரைமீதான விவாதம் [இரண்டாம் நாள்] விவாதம் ஒத்திவைக்கப்பட்டது.

Volume 85

No. 2

Friday

18th July 1969

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(HANSARD)

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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ANNOUNCEMENT [Col. 49] :

Chairmen's Panel

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House of Representatives

PAPERS PRESENTED

1969 ஜூலை 18 வன சிங்குரடி

1967-68 வகிய ஸ்டாபி சாதிக ரகசீ அமரபன ஸகாவை வர்ப்பன. [அமரபன ஸ ஸகீகாதிக கப ஸுது பிபிபடி அமநி வெதுவப ஂரு கி. பி. அர. ஸுத வர்ப்பன.]

வெள்ளிக்கிழமை, 18 ஜூலை 1969

Friday, 18th July 1969

அ. ஸ. 2 ப மன்றி மன்றலய ரகசீ பி. கபாநாயக துலா [ஂரு பகீ. கி. ஸர்பி ககாரஸ] திராஸநாருக பி.

ஸகாவைஸ மந திபிஸ ஸுதுஸகி திஸீஸ கரந ரபி.

சபை, பி. ப. 2 மணிக்ருக கூடியது. சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள் [கெளரவ ஂஸ். கி. ரகாஸி ககாறயா] தலைமைதாங்கிஂருர்கள்.

சபாபீடத்தில் ஂருகக கட்டளையிடப்பட்டது.

Ordered to lie upon the Table.

The House met at 2 P.M., MR. SPEAKER [THE HON. S. C. SHIRLEY COREA] in the Chair.

(1) Three Orders made under Sections 5; 5(2); and 5 and 10 of the Village Councils Ordinance (Cap. 257).

(2) Supplementary Estimate No. 17 of 1968-69.—[The Hon. M. D. H. Jayawardena—on behalf of the Minister of Local Government.]

நிபேதன

ஸகாவைஸ மந திபிஸ ஸுதுஸகி திஸீஸ கரந ரபி.

அறிவிப்பு

சபாபீடத்தில் ஂருகக கட்டளையிடப்பட்டது.

ANNOUNCEMENT

Ordered to lie upon the Table.

ஸகாபநி தாலாவலி

Audited Accounts of the Rubber Control Fund for the year 1968.—[The Hon. J. R. Jayewardene—on behalf of the Minister of Agriculture and Food.]

அக்கிராசனார் குழாம்

CHAIRMEN'S PANEL

கபாநாயகதுலா

ஸகாவைஸ மந திபிஸ ஸுதுஸகி திஸீஸ கரந ரபி.

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

சபாபீடத்தில் ஂருகக கட்டளையிடப்பட்டது.

Ordered to lie upon the Table.

136 வன ஸ்பாவர திஸீஸய அதுவ ஂந் பவந்நா ஸகாவாரய துலபி ஸீவய ஸடா மது பபவந மந்நிந் ஸகாபநி தாலாவலி ஸப அதுலந் கிரிம பிபிபஸ ம பிபிந் நதி கர அநி ஂவ ஂந்வுது கலுந்நைதி:

ரகசீநிபி ஂதி. ஂகபிந் மகாபபி மகா.

ஸகாவைஸ மந திபிஸ ஸுதுஸகி திஸீஸ கரந ரபி.

பீ. பி. ஂபிபிபகர மகந்நி.

சபாபீடத்தில் ஂருகக கட்டளையிடப்பட்டது.

பி. ஂபிபிபிபி மகா.

Ordered to lie upon the Table.

பி. கி. ஸுபிபிபிபி மகா.

பீ. கி. பி. கி. பி. மகிபி மகா.

In terms of Standing Order No. 136, I have nominated the following Members to serve on the Chairmen's Panel for the current Session :

Medical Aid Financial Statements for the financial years 1965-66, 1966-67 and 1967-68.—[The Hon. E. L. Senanayake.]

Mr. M. Izzadeen Mohamed, Q.C.

ஸகாவைஸ மந திபிஸ ஸுதுஸகி திஸீஸ கரந ரபி.

Mrs. J. P. Obeyesekere

சபாபீடத்தில் ஂருகக கட்டளையிடப்பட்டது.

Mr. V. Dharmalingam

Ordered to lie upon the Table.

Mr. T. B. Subasinghe

Mr. A. C. S. Hameed

බි. සහිල් ලසි මයා.

අ. භා. 2.4

වී. බී. ඉලංගරත්න මහා. (කොළොත්තුව)

(திரு. ரீ. பி. இலங்கராதன—கொலொன்னாவ)
(Mr. T. B. Ilangaratne—Kolonnawa)

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, පරලෝ සැපත්
බි. ඉසෙඩි. ලයි හිටපු මන්ත්‍රීතුමාගේ අභා
වය සම්බන්ධයෙන් කරන ලද ප්‍රකාශය
අනුමත කරමින් එම ශෝක ප්‍රකාශ යෝජ
නාව ස්ථිර කරන්නටයි විපක්ෂය වෙනු
වෙන් මා නැගී සිටියේ.

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

බණ්ඩාරනායක අගමැතිනිය විසින් පාර්ලිමේන්තුවට පත් කරන ලද මන්ත්‍රීවරයකු වශයෙන් ලයි මහතා සේවය කළ බව අප කවුරුත් දන්නවා. එතුමා එසේ තෝරාගනු ලැබුවේ මැලේ ජාතිකයන් වෙනුවෙන් මෙම උසස් සභා ගර්භයෙහි නියෝජනය කරන්නට සෑම සුදුසුකමක්ම තිබුණු කෙනෙකු වූ නිසයි. ලයි මහතා දේශපාලනය සම්බන්ධව පමණක් නොව සමාජ සේවාව සහ ක්‍රියා සම්බන්ධයෙන්ද විශාල උනන්දුවක් දැක්වූ කෙනෙක් බව ප්‍රසිද්ධයි. එසේ හෙයින් එතුමාගේ අභාවය මැලේ ජාතීන්ට පමණක් නොව, දේශපාලන ලෝකයටත්, ක්‍රීඩා ලෝකයටත්, සමාජ සේවා කටයුතු වලටත් විශාල පාඩුවක් වන බව සඳහන් කළ යුතුයි. ලයි මහතා අවුරුදු 15 ක් පමණම ක්‍රීඩා සංගමයේ සභාපති කෙනෙක් වශයෙන් විශාල සේවයක් කළ බව අප කවුරුත් දන්නවා. ඒ වාගේම “මැලේ ජාතික රූපියලේ අරමුදල” නමින් අරමුදලක් පිහිටුවා ගෙන අධ්‍යාපන කටයුතු වලට සහ සමාජසේවා කටයුතුවලට යොදවා එම ජාතිකයන්ට විශාල සේවයක් කළ කෙනෙක් බව කවුරුත් දන්නා කාරණයක්. එම අරමුදලින් සමාජ සේවා කටයුතුවලට පමණක් නොව අසරණ තත්ත්වයට පත් මැලේ ජාතික ශිෂ්‍ය ශිෂ්‍යාවන්ට උසස් අධ්‍යාපනයට පා තබන්නට විශාල ආධාරයක් කළා.

It was only for a brief period that Mr. Lye represented the Malay community in this House, but his interest in their welfare was lifelong. For 40 years he was a member and for 15 years the President of the Malay Association.

By his death the Malays have been deprived of a devoted leader, and Ceylon has lost a keen sportsman.

On behalf of all Members of this House, I wish to record our sincere regret at his passing away and I request you to direct the Clerk of the House to convey our deepest sympathies to the members of the bereaved family.

එතුමා පාර්ලිමේන්තු මන්ත්‍රීවරයකු වශ
යෙන් මෙම සභා ගර්භයෙහි නොයෙකුත්
වාද විවාදවලට සහභාගි වුණු අවස්ථාවලදී
ඉතාමත් සංසුන් අන්දමින් ඒවාට ඉදිරි
පත් වුණා පමණක් නොව, පාර්ලිමේන්තු
කණ්ඩායමේදීද වැදගත් යෝජනා අදහස්

කෙටුම්පත් පනත් පිළිගැන්වීම

පිළිගැනීමේ දේශීය රජයේ භූමි. ඩී. එම්. ජයවර්ධන
—විද්‍යාත්මක පර්යේෂණ හා නිවාස ඇමති විසිනි.

1969 ජූලි මස 19 වන සෙනසුරාදා දෙවන වර
කියවිය යුතුයයිද, එය මුද්‍රණය කළ යුතුයයිද නියෝග
කරන ලදී.

විශ්‍රාමයෙන් ඉවත්ව, වීද්‍යාත්මක පර්යේෂණ හා නිවාස ඇමති විසිනි.
1969 ජූලි මස 19, සෙනසුරාදා දෙවන වර
කියවිය යුතුයයිද, එය මුද්‍රණය කළ යුතුයයිද නියෝග
කරන ලදී.

Presented by the Hon. M. D. H. Jayawardena, Minister of Scientific Research and Housing; to be read a Second time upon Saturday, 19th July 1969, and to be printed.

විදුලි සන්නිවේදන (සංශෝධන) පනත්
කෙටුම්පත

තොරතුරු සැපයීමේ පොදු කොමිෂන් (නිර්දේශ) මණ්ඩලය

TELECOMMUNICATIONS (AMENDMENT) BILL
“to amend the Telecommunications Ordinance.”

පිළිගැනීමේ දේශීය රජයේ භූමි. ඩී. එම්. ජයවර්ධන
විදුලි සන්නිවේදන ඇමති විසිනි.

1969 ජූලි මස 19 වන සෙනසුරාදා දෙවන වර
කියවිය යුතුයයිද, එය මුද්‍රණය කළ යුතුයයිද නියෝග
කරන ලදී.

අරමුණ කෙරෙහි, පොදු, තනතුරු පොදු
වර්ගයේ අමාත්‍යවරයා සාර්වත්‍ර කෙරෙහි, කෙරෙහි
මණ්ඩලයේ අමාත්‍යවරයා කෙරෙහි, කෙරෙහි
1969 ජූලි මස 19, සෙනසුරාදා දෙවන වර
කියවිය යුතුයයිද, එය මුද්‍රණය කළ යුතුයයිද නියෝග
කරන ලදී.

Presented by the Hon. D. P. R. Guna-wardena, Minister of Industries and Fisheries, on behalf of the Minister of Public Works, Posts and Telecommunications; to be read a Second time upon Saturday, 19th July 1969, and to be printed.

කර්මාන්ත සංවර්ධන පනත් කෙටුම්පත

කෘෂිකර්මාන්ත අමාත්‍යවරයා මණ්ඩලය

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT BILL

“to provide for the encouragement, promotion and development of industries in Ceylon; to establish a public authority known as the Industrial Development Board of Ceylon; to set up an Industrial Advisory Council and Industrial Panels; to provide for the establishment of an Industrial Development Fund, and to make provision for matters connected therewith or incidental thereto.”

පිළිගැනීමේ දේශීය රජයේ භූමි. ඩී. එම්. ජයවර්ධන,
කර්මාන්ත හා සිවිල් ඇමති විසිනි.

කෙටුම්පත් පනත් පිළිගැන්වීම

1969 ජූලි මස 19 වන සෙනසුරාදා දෙවන වර
කියවිය යුතුයයිද, එය මුද්‍රණය කළ යුතුයයිද
නියෝග කරන ලදී.

කෘෂිකර්මාන්ත අමාත්‍යවරයා මණ්ඩලය
1969 ජූලි මස 19, සෙනසුරාදා දෙවන වර
කියවිය යුතුයයිද, එය මුද්‍රණය කළ යුතුයයිද නියෝග
කරන ලදී.

Presented by the Hon. D. P. R. Guna-wardena, Minister of Industries and Fisheries; to be read a Second time upon Saturday, 19th July 1969, and to be printed.

වන සත්ව හා වාණිජමය ආරක්ෂක
(සංශෝධන) පනත් කෙටුම්පත

තොරතුරු සැපයීමේ පොදු කොමිෂන් (නිර්දේශ) මණ්ඩලය

FAUNA AND FLORA PROTECTION
(AMENDMENT) BILL

“to amend the Fauna and Flora Protection Ordinance, and to provide for matters connected therewith or incidental thereto.”

පිළිගැනීමේ දේශීය රජයේ භූමි. ඩී. එම්. ජයවර්ධන,
රාජ්‍ය ඇමති සහ අග්‍රාමාත්‍යවරයාගේ ආරක්ෂක
හා විදේශ කටයුතු පිළිබඳ ඇමතිගේ පාර්ලි
මේන්තු ලේකම් විසිනි.

1969 ජූලි මස 19 වන සෙනසුරාදා දෙවන වර
කියවිය යුතුයයිද, එය මුද්‍රණය කළ යුතුයයිද
නියෝග කරන ලදී.

කෘෂිකර්මාන්ත අමාත්‍යවරයා මණ්ඩලය
1969 ජූලි මස 19, සෙනසුරාදා දෙවන වර
කියවිය යුතුයයිද, එය මුද්‍රණය කළ යුතුයයිද නියෝග
කරන ලදී.

Presented by the Hon. J. R. Jayewardene, Minister of State and Parliamentary Secretary to the Prime Minister and Minister of Defence & External Affairs; to be read a Second time upon Saturday, 19th July 1969, and to be printed.

මන්ත්‍රී මණ්ඩලයේ රැස්වීම

සභා අමර්ශ

SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE

රා. සී. පී. ද සිල්වා

(කෙළරා ජී. පී. ඩී. සිල්වා)

(The Hon. C. P. de Silva)

I move,

“That this House at its rising this day do adjourn until 10 A.M. on Saturday, 19th July 1969.”

வரமுடைய பிள்ளை பூண்டிய

பூண்டிய பிள்ளை பூண்டிய, கனகசபை விட.

வினா விடுக்கப்பட்டு ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளப்பட்டது.

Question put, and agreed to.

சுரு. சி. பி. டி. சில்வா

(கௌரவ சி. பி. டி. சில்வா)

(The Hon. C. P. de Silva)

I move,

“That notwithstanding the provisions of Standing Order No. 8, the hours of Sitting on Saturday, 19th July 1969, shall be 10 A.M. to 12 Noon; and 2 P.M. to 6 P.M.; and at 6 P.M. Mr. Speaker shall adjourn the House without Question put.”

பூண்டிய பிள்ளை பூண்டிய, கனகசபை விட.

வினா விடுக்கப்பட்டு ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளப்பட்டது.

Question put, and agreed to.

வரமுடைய பிள்ளை பூண்டிய:

அஞ்சலிக்காரருமாவே கலாவே

அங்கத்தினர் பிள்ளை பூண்டிய

சிறப்புரிமை பற்றிய வினா: மகாதேசாதிபதி
யினது பேச்சில் மதிப்பீடு பற்றிய குறிப்பு

QUESTION OF PRIVILEGE:

REFERENCE TO ESTIMATES IN GOVERNOR-
GENERAL'S SPEECH

அ. ஸா. 2.13

அலுவலர் உன். சி. பி. பி. (யதியன்
தொடு)

(கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா—யதியன்
தொட்டை)

(Dr. N. M. Perera—Yatiantota)

Mr. Speaker, before we pass on to the Business of the day I want to raise a question of Privilege.

If you look at the Speech of the Governor-General you will find something very peculiar. Hitherto it has been the custom, when the Speech of the Governor-General is presented to both Houses, that reference to the Estimates is made only to this House. By that is understood the supremacy of this House with regard to matters

வரமுடைய பிள்ளை பூண்டிய

concerning revenue, taxation, and so on. That has been a tradition not only in this country but in Britain as well. For the first time there has been a departure from that practice, and reference to the Estimates being presented is made to both Houses, placing this House on a par with the Senate in regard to revenue matters. Whether I like or dislike the other place, I do not think we can agree to a derogation of our position as the supreme body, the body that has the sole claim to have the Estimates presented to it. According to the Throne Speech it is possible for Government to place the Estimates even before the Senate.

It may be that this is an error. I do not know whose fault it is. I do not know what remedy we have at the present moment. I am not, therefore, saying that the whole Debate is *ultra* the procedures of this House.

சுரு. சி. பி. டி. சில்வா (அங்கத்தினர்
கலாவே அங்கத்தினர் அங்கத்தினர்
வினா கலாவே பிள்ளை அங்கத்தினர்
தொடு)

(கௌரவ ஜே. ஆர். ஜயவர்தன—இரா
ஜாங்க அமைச்சரும் பிரதம அமைச்சராகும்
பாதுகாப்பு, வெளிவிவகார அமைச்சராகும்
பாராளுமன்றக் காரியதரிசியும்)

(The Hon. J. R. Jayewardene—Minister
of State and Parliamentary Secretary to
the Prime Minister and Minister of
Defence & External Affairs)

The amendments too are *ultra*—

அலுவலர் உன். சி. பி. பி. (யதியன்

(கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

(Dr. N. M. Perera)

Not only the amendments but the Debate itself.

I do want to urge upon you, as custodian of the Privileges of this House to see that this sort of thing does not happen again. That is all we can do at the present moment. I am not placing it higher than that.

අග්‍රාණ්ඩකාරතුමාගේ කථාව :

සිංහල සේනාපති පිළිබඳ විවිධය

ගරු ඩබ්ලි ටේෂ්තානායක (අනුමාන,
ආරක්ෂක හා විදේශ කටයුතු පිළිබඳ
ඇමති සහ ක්‍රම සම්පාදක හා ආර්ථික
කටයුතු පිළිබඳ ඇමති)

(கௌரவ டப்ளி சேனாநாயக்க—பிரதம அமைச்சரும் பாதுகாப்பு, வெளி விவகார அமைச்சரும் திட்ட அமைப்பு, பொருளாதார விவகார அமைச்சரும்)

(The Hon. Dudley Senanayake—Prime Minister, Minister of Defence & External Affairs and Minister of Planning & Economic Affairs)

The next time we come in we shall correct it.

ආචාර්ය එන්. එම්. පෙරේරා

(கலாநிதி என். எம். பெரேரா)

(Dr. N. M. Perera)

You can live in that hope.

Anyhow, Sir, that is a matter for you to consider. I regret very much that I did not have an opportunity to discuss this matter with you earlier, but I would like you to take it up with the appropriate authorities and see that it does not occur again.

කළා නායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

It is unfortunate that the hon. Member did not give me notice of this matter. I do not know what we can do at this stage. I shall consider the position and make an announcement tomorrow. Copies of the Speech have already been distributed, and it is very difficult for me even to suggest the deletion of the statement. I shall certainly consider the matter.

අග්‍රාණ්ඩුකාරතුමාගේ කථාව
සතුවි යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විවාදය
[දෙවන දිනය]

மகா தேசாதிபதியினது பேச்சு :

உரை மீதான விவாதம்

[இரண்டாம் நாள்]

GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S SPEECH :
DEBATE ON THE ADDRESS
[SECOND DAY]

කල් තබන ලද විමර්ශන තව දුරටත් සමත් වනු
පිණිස නිවැරදි කිරීම සිදු වේ. ඊට අදාළ ප්‍රශ්නය
[පිටි 10.]

ஜூலை 10 ஆம் தேதிய வினா மீதான ஒத்திவைக்கப் பெற்ற விவாதம் மீள ஆரம்பிப்பதற்கான கட்டளை வாசிக்கப்பட்டது.

Order read for resuming Adjourned
Debate on Question—[10th July.]

“අතිගරු අග්‍රාණ්ඩුකාරතුමන් විසින් පවත්වන ලද කථාවට පිළිතුරු වශයෙන් මෙම මන්ත්‍රි මණ්ඩලය විසින් පහත දැක්වෙන ස්තුතිය යෝජනාව ඉදිරිපත් කළ යුතුය :

‘අතීගරු උතුමාණනි,

පාර්ලිමේන්තුව විවෘත කිරීමේදී ඔබතුමාණන් විසින් පවත්වන්නට යෙදුණු කථාව වෙනුවෙන් නියෝජිත මන්ත්‍රී මණ්ඩලයේ සාමාජිකයෝ වන අපි ඔබතුමාණන්ට ස්තූති කරමු. අප වෙත ඉදිරි පත් කරන ලද සියලුම කරුණුවලට අපගේ අවධානය යොමු කරන බව අපි ඔබතුමාට ස්ථිර ලෙස ප්‍රකාශ කරමු.” [පීලි අබ්දුල් කාදර් මයා.]

“மேன்மை தங்கிய மகா தேசாதிபதியவர்களின் பிரசங்கத்திற்கு நன்றி நவிலுமுகமாகக் கீழ்க்காணும் உரையை இச்சபை சமர்ப்பிக்க வேண்டும் :

“மேன்மையான தங்கள் திருச்சமூகத்திற்கு, பாராளுமன்றக் கூட்டத் தொடரை ஆரம்பித்து வைத்துத் தாங்கள் நிகழ்த்திய பிரசங்கத்திற்குப் பிரதிநிதிகள் சபை அங்கத்தவர்களாகிய நாம் எமது நன்றியைத் தெரிவித்துக் கொள்கிறோம், தாங்கள் குறிப்பிட்ட விடயங்கள் யாவும் எமது கவனத்தைப் பெறுமென உறுதியளிக்கின்றோம்” [ஜனாப் பளீல் அப்துல் கபூர்]

“ That this House do present the following Address to His Excellency the Governor-General in reply to his Speech :

'May it please Your Excellency,

We, the Members of the House of Representatives, thank Your Excellency for the Speech with which you have been pleased to open Parliament. We assure Your Excellency that we shall give our attention to all matters placed before us.”
[Mr. Falil Abdul Caffoor].

ප්‍රශ්නය යළිත් සහතිමය කරන ලදී.

வினா மீண்டும் எடுத்தியம்பப் பெற்றது.

Question again proposed.

කළු නායකයා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

There are a number of amendments to be proposed. The first two amendments are in the name of the Federal Party. I take it that these amendments will be moved one by one; each Member is entitled to speak only

අමර்தලිංගම් මහතා :

once. I hope all hon. Members will remember that. I should like to request hon. Members to co-operate with me and keep to the time allotted to them by their Whip.

Hon. Members need not read out their amendments. They can refer to the numbers relating to their respective amendments. They will be printed in HANSARD.

අ. හ. 2.17

ඒ. අමර்தලිංගම් මහ. (වඩුකුඩා කොඩෙයි)

(திரு. ஏ. அமிர்தலிங்கம்—வட்டுக் கோட்டை)

(Mr. A. Amirthalingam—Vaddukkodai)

Mr. Speaker, I rise to move the two amendments, notice of which has been given, on behalf of my party. Before I do so, I wish to extend the traditional courtesy of congratulating the genial and soft-spoken Mover and the new Member who seconded the Motion, and who made his maiden speech on the Floor of this House in seconding the Address of Thanks to His Excellency the Governor-General.

Mr. Speaker, I think it is nothing but fitting that the first shot in this final encounter between the Government and the Opposition on the eve of going before the people, should be fired by our party if not for whose co-operation this National Government may never have come into existence. It is in a way tragic, but at the same time it shows the real state of affairs in this country in the relationship between the majority community and the Tamil-speaking minority, which, I say, has deteriorated during the last four years or more. In fact, the very first Throne Speech of this Government in 1965 had this in its second paragraph. His Excellency said :

“My Government, in the execution of its policies, will be fair to all, irrespective of race, community or religion, and will

ස්තූති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විවෘත

protect Human Rights at all times.—[OFFICIAL REPORT, 9th April, 1965, Vol. 60 c. 97.]

The second Throne Speech of 1966 repeated it in a slightly different way. His Excellency said in 1966 :

“My Government, in the execution of its policies, has achieved national unity and maintained the objectives of justice and fairplay to all, irrespective of race, community or religion.—[OFFICIAL REPORT, 8th July, 1966 ; Vol. 67 c. 32.]

In fact, this same thing was repeated in 1967. But, as if to give notice to everybody in this country that this Government does not intend to do justice, does not intend to maintain national unity and maintain the objectives of justice and fairplay to all, this sentence is omitted from the Governor-General's Speech this year. It may be said that this was an accidental omission like the one the hon. Member for Yatiyantota (Dr. N. M. Perera) pointed out a little while ago, but I know this is definitely a true reflection of what this Government have been doing in the recent past and what they intend doing before they face their masters, the voters.

කෙනෙක් මහ.

(திரு. கௌமன்)

(Mr. Keuneman)

Naughty boy !

අමර்தලිංගම් මහ.

(திரு. அமிர்தலிங்கம்)

(Mr. Amirthalingam)

I was very much struck by this significant omission from the Governor-General's Speech on this occasion, and I should say that after the departure of my party from the ranks of Government their actions and their attitudes have proved that they no longer intend carrying out their policies to mete out justice and fairplay to all, irrespective of race, community or religion.

Mr. Speaker, it will be my task this afternoon to show this House the way in which this Government has been riding roughshod over the minorities,

අග්‍රාණ්ඩුකාරතුමාගේ කථාව :

[අමේරිකාලීන් ගම් මයා.]

racial and religious, during the past few months. Before that, Sir, I wish to say that this Government is no longer entitled to call itself "a National Government" because the party which represents the largest section of the Tamil people in this country has ceased to have any confidence in this Government and has been made to quit its ranks. I say that the discriminatory actions of this Government have made us quit its ranks.

My mind travels back to the First Throne Speech of this Government and the subsequent Debate on the Address of Thanks, when the whole theme of Opposition speakers, the whole burden of their song, was the alliance between our party and the U. N. P. We have not forgotten the reference to *masalawade*, the reference to gingelly oil, and all those things which were trotted out on that occasion. I suppose those are all now forgotten. Maybe, as has happened in the past in this country, our hon. Friends on that side may come out with such slogans as they did after we defeated them in the Division on the Debate on the Throne Speech of April 1960. These things only show how little the leaders of this country, the people who set themselves up as leaders of the people of this country, care for principles or policies, to what extent they are prepared to say anything that will for the moment bring them a few votes and put them in the seats of power.

As far as we are concerned, we are not here competing with anyone for power. My party does not go before the country asking to be returned to power. My party does not go to the electorate with any programme asking the people to return us to power. No. The Opposition as well as the Government party may call upon the voters of the majority community to return them to Parliament to rule this country. We ask our people time after time to return us to Parliament only to fight for their rights, the rights which are denied to our community, and it is towards that end that all our

actions have been directed whether we were on the Government side or in the Opposition.

I say that if we were after power, if we were hankering after office, if we were desirous of getting a few portfolios, we had a golden opportunity in March 1960 as well as in March 1965, but we refused. The elected Members of our party refused to accept office. On the contrary, we asked that certain of the rights of the Tamil-speaking people in this country be restored to them.

My hon. Friends on the other side may ask me, "Then how did Mr. Tiruchelvam become a member of the Cabinet?" Because none of the elected members of our party were willing to accept office and because we wanted a member of our party to be in charge of the portfolio which will be entrusted with the task of preparing the District Councils Bill on which we were keen, we agreed to Mr. Tiruchelvam being appointed to the Senate and being given the portfolio of Local Government.

The moment it became clear that we were only being taken for a ride Mr. Tiruchelvam did not hesitate to throw away that portfolio and get back to where he rightly belonged, to work for the rights of our people.

Mr. Speaker, one of the first things that this Government did in furtherance of its policy of justice and fair-play to all was to present the Regulations under the Tamil Language (Special Provisions) Act in January 1966. More than three years have passed since those regulations were adopted by this House. I ask hon. Members opposite to tell this honourable House to what extent they have translated those regulations into practice.

The Minister of Finance is supposed to be in charge of the implementation of those regulations. If one goes even to the Ministry of Finance one has to grope one's way to know where a particular Minister's office is housed or where a particular head of a department's office is housed. Not even

අනුනිවුකාරතාගේ කථාව :

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the name boards in the various Ministries reflect the Tamil language Regulations in the remotest way. Why? Because the Government passed the regulations under pressure and after that they were not interested. They do not care what the Tamil people feel. They are not interested in implementing those Regulations; otherwise will it take long to have at least the name boards in these various offices in Tamil as well?

We have repeatedly brought it to the notice of the Hon. Ministers, including the Hon. Prime Minister, but, of course, sometimes when such things are brought to the notice of the Hon. Prime Minister we get the reply, "Is that so? I did not know."

කෙනමත් මය.

(திரு. கெனமன்)

(Mr. Keuneman)

Surely not!

අමිර්තලිංගම් මය.

(திரு. அமிர்தலிங்கம்)

(Mr. Amirthalingam)

But even after these things are repeatedly brought to his notice nothing happens. Perhaps the Hon. Prime Minister is over-burdened with work that he does not find the time to attend to those matters, and most of his Colleagues are not interested in carrying out what he asks them to do in these matters.

In fact, I am not the only hon. Member of this House who takes this view of what the Prime Minister says when certain matters are brought to his notice. I have with me the report of a speech made on 9th October 1968—it appears in the "Daily Mirror" of that date—by the Deputy Speaker who is yet in the ranks of the Government. This is what he said referring to certain misdeeds of the Minister of Education. This is what is reported in that paper:

"The Deputy Speaker further said that when that was brought to the notice of the Hon. Prime Minister at a meeting of the Parliamentary Group, the P. M. had expressed surprise and asked, 'Oh, is that so? I do not know that.' This was the

usual reply the Hon. Prime Minister had been giving to the Tamil Parliamentarians whenever problems confronting the Tamils were brought to his notice, he added."

I think even those members of the Tamil community who are yet on that side feel that the Hon. Prime Minister apart from expressing concern and sympathy, has not been able to get his Colleagues to do anything to alleviate the difficulties of the Tamil people. In fact, I had occasion to write to the Hon. Prime Minister about the gross violation of the clause with regard to correspondence. Tamil people continue to get letters in Sinhala only which they have to take to some baker or a half educated person living in remote villages, and they get completely distorted and different translations and versions of those letters. It was only last month that I wrote to the Hon. Prime Minister about a letter written in Sinhala received by a poor labourer from a Police office coming under his own Ministry. That man did not know whether he was to go to courts or to the Police office or anywhere else. That is the way in which the Tamil Language Regulations are being implemented even by the department coming under the Ministry of the Hon. Prime Minister.

Mr. Speaker, we were in fact not satisfied with the Tamil Language (Special Provisions) Act passed in 1958 by the late Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike's Government. We accepted these regulations in order to ensure peace and harmony in this country. These are the very words of my leader, the hon. Member for Kankasanturai, on that occasion: He said:

"The Regulations that are before the House fall far short of what we, the Ilankai Tamil Arasu Kadchi, would wish to have. They do not confer on the Tamil-speaking people in the seven provinces their full language rights and we feel that action should be taken to alleviate their difficulties. But the Sinhala only Act deprived the Tamil-speaking people of their self-respect in this country. By passing these Regulations and thereby implementing the Tamil Language (Special Provisions) Act, this lost self-respect is restored in some measure. Compromise

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[අමිජනලින්ගම් මයා.]

is necessary in the working of Government. It is in that spirit of compromise that we welcome these Regulations as a progressive measure which will restore the shattered unity between the two linguistic peoples of this country. Therefore, I conclude with the hope that this House will approve these Regulations."— [OFFICIAL REPORT, 8th January 1966 ; Vol. 64, c. 132.]

That is what the hon. Member for Kankasanturai said on that occasion. But even these regulations, unsatisfactory as they are, the Government has not thought it fit to implement. Do they expect any man with self-respect to continue supporting them ?

That is not the only matter on which this Government has not played fair. I do not want to speak of broken promises or to speak in any spirit of bitterness, but I think it is necessary to place these facts before the country. In fact, we chose not to make a statement even at the time we crossed over because we wanted to avoid an acrimonious charge and a counter-charge. That has not helped anyone but it has become necessary that a certain lot of facts have to be placed before the country so that the people may judge.

The other question which has caused the greatest amount of heart-burning to the Tamil-speaking people is the question of the public servants. This is what the United National Party—I do not know whether they believe in it any more—in their publication setting out their policy and programme in 1964 after the Kalutara Sessions said with regard to the public servants :

"Our proposals for legislation will proceed on the following lines :

- (a) provision for the medium of instruction to be in the mother tongue ;
- (b) ensuring that the medium of examination in respect of all candidates for the public service should be the medium in which instruction was imparted to that candidate or in any other language, provision however being made for the candidate to acquire a working knowledge of the other language after entering the service."

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What is the meaning of that in which they believed five years ago ? The only meaning is that they believed in a policy of requiring public servants to acquire a knowledge of the other language, that is, public servants educated in Sinhala of the Tamil language and public servants educated in Tamil of the Sinhala language after entering the Public Service. That is what they believed in, that is what they held out before the people and that is what they held out to us. But they have not had the courage, they have not had the guts, to implement their own policy, what they said they believed in.

As far as the Sinhalese public servants are concerned, they dare not ask a single public servant to acquire a working knowledge or any knowledge of the Tamil language, but in the case of the Tamil public servants they implement not their policy but the former Government's policy with all vengeance. They dismiss Tamil public servants without any hesitation. They will not dare to dismiss a Sinhalese public servant.

In fact, I remember when the Tamil Language Regulations were moved in this House, the Minister of State said : "If these regulations are not carried out by public servants, we will dismiss them." I have brought to the notice of the Hon. Ministers hundreds and thousands of instances where these regulations are flouted but not one Sinhala public servant has been dismissed ; however, where it concerns Tamil public servants thousands are dismissed and they are proud of their achievement. Why Is it because the Tamils are a subordinate minor race in this country over whom you can ride roughshod and boast about it to your masters, the Sinhalese people ? Is that the spirit in which you are looking at it ? Why is it that you are not daring to do in the case of Sinhala public servants what you are rushing to do in the case of Tamil public servants ? Even the meagre concessions which you gave to the Tamil public servants by Treasury circulars, Nos. 700 and 701, have not been fully implemented.

අමාත්‍යවරයාගේ කථාව :

In fact we brought this to the notice of the Hon. Prime Minister, and he asked us to put that down in writing so that he may take suitable action. It is more than two months since we wrote to the Hon. Finance Minister about this matter, but no relief has been given as far as the public servants are concerned though in the matter of punishment and penalization they have been relentless. That is what happens.

There are three or four ways in which the Ministry of Finance has not carried out what was conveyed by Treasury circulars Nos. 700 and 701.

Old entrant public servants were exempted from attaining proficiency in Sinhala. It was laid down that for promotions, increments and so on, in the case of old entrants, proficiency in Sinhala will not be a requirement. But what has happened in fact? Whenever Tamil public servants are interviewed for promotion, the first question that is asked is about their knowledge of the Sinhala language. And these Tamil public servants who were made to believe that in terms of Treasury Circular No. 700, they need not acquire proficiency in Sinhala, are just knocked out. Is this fairplay, is this justice, I ask the Hon. Prime Minister?

I now come to new entrant public servants. The last Government had four examinations. Confirmation was given at the Grade 3 level, that is, the J.S.C. level, and thereafter they had to pass an examination at the S.S.C. level. That was the fourth examination. But what is being done today?

This Government by Treasury Circular No. 701 was seeking to make it easier for Tamil public servants to qualify at the lower level, namely, the J.S.C. That was the standard they had to pass. But what has been done today is that the four examinations of the past have been telescoped into three. In fact at the conference we had with the Hon. Prime Minister, in the presence of the Hon. Minister of Finance, it was admitted that the four examinations had been telescoped into three. That means the

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standard of the Grade 3 examination that they had had to pass has now been raised instead of being lowered. So, what has been a boon to a public servant has been converted into a curse by the Treasury.

In fact I raised this matter on the Floor of this House from that side during the Budget Debate last year. I said on that occasion that the standard of the examination for proficiency in Sinhala had been unduly raised. I do not know Sinhala and I got the question papers translated, and I produced them on the Floor of the House. I brought this to the notice of the Hon. Minister of Finance and told him that we should get this looked into. He promised to get it looked into. He is looking into some paper seated there on that front Bench. That is all that looking into comes to, Mr. Speaker. That is the way we have been treated. Those public servants who expected some relief as a result of Treasury Circular No. 701 have, instead of getting relief, got further hurdles to clear. So much with regard to the standard of the examination.

Then, it was said that minor employees who do not require a knowledge of Sinhala for their day to day work would be given exemption. But what is happening in practice? Hundreds and thousands of watchers, labourers, garden labourers and others working in some of the Government departments in Jaffna have been dismissed under this Treasury Circular. They have been dismissed. That is the way in which this Government or the Treasury is honouring the promises held out under Treasury Circular No. 701.

Then, Sir, even technical officers like doctors and others were told that they had to qualify up to a certain standard for scholarships and other purposes, but non-qualification would not be a bar. But last year the Treasury sought to re-enforce the bar even in the case of doctors going out on scholarships. So it has been a case of gradually going back on

[අමිත්තලික්ම මයා.]

I do not blame the Hon. Prime Minister for all these things because he may not be aware till matters are brought to his notice, but it has been a case of some official or other trying to go back on promises made, and the Government being unable to stop the damage that is done.

As far as public servants are concerned today, not just one or two but a few hundreds or thousands have been dismissed. Is that something to be proud of? It may be said that it was we who asked them not to study Sinhala. Yes, till 1965 we asked these public servants not to study Sinhala as a matter of resistance, but after that we thought justice would be done, and with the issue of the new Treasury circulars we advised them to study Sinhala. Some of these minor employees and others who thought that in terms of these Treasury circulars they were exempted, are now being dismissed. There are among them some who were given exemption earlier.

In fact, even during the last Government certain minor employees in schools and education offices in the Northern and Eastern Provinces, garden labourers and sick-room attendants in hostels and training colleges, were given letters of appointment without any stipulation with regard to language proficiency, but last year under this National Government the Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Education imposed this new language condition even on those minor employees; a number of them have been deprived of increments and in the case of some of them even confirmations earlier granted have been cancelled. No wonder a Government which is doing this does not dare to say through the mouth of His Excellency that they will do justice and fair play by all sections of the people.

Now, Mr. Speaker, another important piece of legislation which the last Government passed was the Bill to implement the Indo-Ceylon

Agreement. In terms of that agreement I think nearly 40,000 persons have been registered as citizens of India. I ask the Hon. Prime Minister, how many have been registered as citizens of Ceylon? If 40,000 have been registered as citizens of India on the ratio of 12:21 a certain number should have been registered as citizens of Ceylon. My information is that about 300 have so far been registered as citizens of Ceylon. —[Interruption].

My hon. Friend from Welimada (Mr. Percy Samaraweera) asks why we are worried. We are worried because we want justice to be done to all sections of the public. In fact the very birth of our party took place over the denial of citizenship rights to the Tamil labourers in the estate areas. That is why we are worried. We regard them as an integral part of the Tamil people of this country. Therefore, we do not want them to be Stateless for ever; we want them to be given citizenship it is in that spirit that we voted for the Indo-Ceylon Agreement (Implementation) Bill, but in practice there is this delay. Why? Wherever anything, even in the smallest way, benefits the Tamil people that is delayed, that is not carried out. But where it is beneficial to the majority community, where it is to the disadvantage of the Tamil people that is implemented fully and immediately.

That is not all. While I am on this subject of citizenship, I wish to mention, a certain very serious hardship under which Ceylon Tamils and Ceylon Muslims are suffering over the registration of deeds for lands which they buy. The last Government appointed a committee to go into this matter, and that committee recommended certain ways in which these difficulties of Ceylon Tamils and Ceylon Muslims in the matter of proving their citizenship to have deeds registered, can be overcome. But this Government has not done anything up to date to put an end to those difficulties. Again, this is another instance where something which is

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meant to benefit the minorities is just ignored, put into cold-storage, into the limbo of forgotten things. And whatever is of benefit to the majority community, their masters, is immediately carried out.

I now come to another of the matters mentioned in our amendment, namely, the discrimination that is practised in the implementation of the development programmes of the Government. When we, at our annual convention this year adopted a resolution making the allegation that the Northern and Eastern Provinces have been neglected in the matter of development, the "Ceylon Daily News" wrote an editorial in which they were at pains to quote some instances where development programmes have been carried out. What did they say? They said, "Why, the Cement Factory is there. The Paranthan Chemicals Corporation is there." These were started long ago. The foundation stone for the Cement Factory was laid even before we received independence, in the State Council days in 1946-47, when I think, Mr. Speaker, your illustrious kinsman was Minister of Industries in this country. The "Ceylon Daily News" is trying to give credit even for that Cement Factory to this National Government. They have to go back to what was done 25 years ago in order to find some instance of something done to benefit the Northern and Eastern Provinces.

We were promised a broadcasting station for which the Hon. Minister of State came and laid the foundation stone at Paranthan. Unfortunately, it is still only a stone lying in the jungle in Paranthan. What happened was that thereafter that portfolio was taken away from him by the Hon. Prime Minister, and the foundation stone continues to be a forlorn stone which tells a very sad story of neglect of the Tamil areas by this Government.

The present Minister of Housing came and laid the foundation stone at Kaithady for a Siddha Ayurveda College. That foundation stone lies

buried there ; nothing has come up on that. The Hon. Minister again, when he was Minister of Health, came to Jaffna and promised a Cobalt Unit to the Jaffna General Hospital. Even the present Minister of Health, after he assumed office, promised that that would be done. He said there were two units which were being gifted by Canada, and one of them would be sent to Jaffna. Now I think it has gone to Kandy—I do not know where it has gone. Anyhow it has not come to Jaffna. They say that in the near future it will not be done. They say it will never be done.

Then the Government introduced devaluation. When the devaluation was introduced they increased the guaranteed price of paddy. The major cash crop as far as Jaffna is concerned is onions.—[*Interruption*]. We know our onions. When we were on that side we requested the Government to raise the guaranteed price of onions as well because the poor Jaffna cultivator is as much affected by the devaluation as the paddy grower. But the Government was callous to that request. They did not want to raise the price of onions because it was only benefiting the Jaffna cultivator.—[*Interruption*]. Yes, the hon. Member for Dambadeniya (Mr. R. G. Senanayake) would have benefited, but very few others. He is planting a lot of onions and I do not know what else he is planting in Trincomalee !

Everybody knows, Mr. Speaker, that in the fishing industry the biggest part is played by the Northern and Eastern Provinces. I ask the Hon. Minister of Industries and Fisheries, has he during his tenure of office developed a single one of the fisheries harbours in the North or in the East? Myliddy is the biggest fishing centre. It was promised that Myliddy harbour would be developed. Then you have Valaichchenai in the East. Nothing has been done there but in other areas harbours are developed. We do not grudge them that ; you have to develop harbours. In fact even recently in Negombo.—[*Interruption*]. You have to start a

அனாண்டுகாரதுமனே கலல:

சீதுரி ஸேசுநல பிடிபெ விபடய

[அதிபலிநீஸி மய.]

canning factory in a place where fish is found; otherwise how can you can fish? Has a single fisheries harbour been developed in our areas? In fact, the Hon. Minister will recall that when he came to my electorate—

கலலானகதுல

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

How much longer will you take?

அதிபலிநீஸி மய.

(திரு. அமிர்தலிங்கம்)

(Mr. Amirthalingam)

I will take about an hour.

கலலானகதுல

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

I do not mind, for it will be taken from the time allotted to your party.

அதிபலிநீஸி மய.

(திரு. அமிர்தலிங்கம்)

(Mr. Amirthalingam)

All right.

கலலானகதுல

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

That is what is always said.

அதிபலிநீஸி மய.

(திரு. அமிர்தலிங்கம்)

(Mr. Amirthalingam)

We always keep to our word unlike others.

கலலானகதுல

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

If that were so the speech should have been finished in 50 minutes.

அதிபலிநீஸி மய.

(திரு. அமிர்தலிங்கம்)

(Mr. Amirthalingam)

As I stated we will stick to the 2½ hours allotted to us. Ours is a team, not individuals.

Mr. Speaker, with regard to industrial development there have been a number of industrial projects which have been started with foreign aid during the last four to five years. But, of course, foreign aid never travels north of Vavuniya or east of Valachchenai because somehow or other they refuse to move northwards or eastwards. Except for harking back to what was done 20 years ago, they are unable to say anything. Why? Even the present Throne Speech refers to the completion of Stage I of the Galle Harbour Development Scheme in the course of the year. In the very first Throne Speech of this Government a promise was made that the Galle Harbour and the Kankesanturai Harbour would be developed. The Government has not even made a start on the development of the Kankesanturai Harbour. Even the simple economics of the project should have taught them that if they are interested in the economic development of this country they should develop the Kankesanturai Harbour.

I appeal to the Hon. Minister of Nationalized Services, who I think is still able to rise above communalism and for whom I still have some regard, to see that the Kankesanturai Harbour is developed—at least that a start is made immediately. They may lay a foundation stone, but let it not be like the foundation stone at Paranthan for a broadcasting station. Let it be a foundation stone on which the work on the harbour will begin.

In fact, if the Kankesanturai Harbour is developed, on every bag of cement there will be a saving of Rs. 2.50. Clinker which is transported by rail to Galle can then be transported by sea. Fuel, gypsum and such other things which are being imported and transported by land can be landed at the Kankesanturai Harbour.

I say it is pure communal bias which has prevented the implementation of the promise held out in the first Throne Speech in regard to the

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development of the Kankesanturai Harbour. In this year's Throne Speech there is a proud reference to the completion of the work on the development of the Galle Harbour, but there is not even a passing reference to the Kankesanturai Harbour.

Mr. Speaker, not only you who are known for your fair-mindedness, but all right-thinking persons in this country will now admit that, as far as the Northern and Eastern Provinces are concerned, in the matter of economic development it has been nothing but a tale of sad neglect on the part of the Government.

It is so even in the matter of employment. I ask the Hon. Prime Minister this. Every year people are recruited to the police force and to the armed services. Will he table the figures with regard to the number of Tamils who have been recruited to the police force and the armed services during the last four years and the number of Sinhala people who have been recruited to the police force and the armed services during that time? One will find that the number of Tamils recruited to these two services can be counted on one's fingers, whereas thousands of Sinhala people have been recruited to these two services. There is a definite policy of discrimination—a policy of keeping out Tamils from the police force and the armed services. The Hon. Prime Minister may not be responsible for this. He may not be looking into who is recruited and who is selected. But that is what is happening in practice. The fact that the Prime Minister may not be aware of this does not help us in the least because we suffer whether he is aware of it or not.

In fact, things have gone so far that it is happening even in the case of unemployed graduates. There is unemployment among educated youth all over the country including the Tamil areas. This year the Department of Agrarian Services sent two casual clerks to Jaffna. Who were they? They were unemployed graduates from the Vidyalkankara and

Vidyodaya Universities. Two unemployed graduates from those two universities were sent to Jaffna to work as casual clerks, and the graduates of Jaffna who were unemployed went on a hunger strike asking for employment. I am not saying that the graduates from the Sinhala-speaking areas should not be given employment. The Government must find avenues of employment for all unemployed graduates. But when you want two casual clerks in Jaffna, to recruit two unemployed graduates as I have mentioned and send them to Jaffna is carrying it a bit too far. This is what our experience has been during the last few years.

I now come to another Ministry which has been the biggest offender in this respect, namely, the Ministry of Education. The Ministry of Education is notorious. The Hon. Minister of Education is, of course, noted for putting his foot into everything.—[Interruption]. With us it is not just a case of putting his foot in but it is a case of a deliberate attempt to destroy us. Education has been the only industry of the Tamils in this country for a very long time. We have built up—maybe with the assistance at certain stages of foreign missionaries—a network of very efficient and very good schools. The Hon. Minister's policy has only resulted in lowering the standard of a number of these schools by indiscriminate transfers of graduates, science teachers, and so on. He is deliberately indulging in a policy of denying appointments of teachers to us. He goes round the country saying that there are not enough science teachers to teach in the Sinhala medium. He told us, "You find Tamil graduates who are qualified in Sinhala S. S. C., and I will give them appointments in the Sinhala schools." The hon. Member for Trincomalee (Mr. Manickarajah) gave the Hon. Minister one such name and that young man concerned applied for a post. The hon. Deputy Speaker also gave him one such name and he said, "I will get him appointed." Now though it is some months or years since those names were given

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[අමර්තලික් මහා මහ.]

no appointments have yet been given. The Hon. Minister does not want to give any appointments to Tamil graduates even though they can teach in Sinhala. In spite of the fact that there is a shortage of graduates to teach science subjects in the Sinhala medium he does not want to appoint Tamils to the vacant posts.

That is not all. I shall now come to the latest stunt of the Hon. Minister of Education. He wants to be able to go and tell the Sinhala Buddhists that he has succeeded whereas the last Government and everybody else had failed in starting Sinhala schools in the North—Sinhala Buddhist schools for the Tamil Hindus.

Mr. Speaker, there has been a lot of grossly distorted propaganda carried on by the press of this country on this issue. I say the biggest offender in this respect has been the "Ceylon Daily News". The moment something happens they go and interview some man in robes ; they give all publicity to that as if he is the last word on everything. They have been responsible not a little for whipping up unnecessary bitterness and feeling over this schools issue. What is the position ? Educated young men belonging to the so-called depressed class who were without jobs wanted to get teaching jobs. They got hold of somebody here and went and started some schools calling them Buddhist schools thinking that through the good offices of the A. C. B. C. and some other organizations here they may be able to get them recognized, even though the starting of new schools for children between the ages of 5 and 14 is against the law. It is contrary to Act No. 8 of 1961, contrary to the Assisted Schools and Training Colleges (Supplementary Provisions) Act. Even then they start those schools. They start them as Tamil schools, and carry them on as Tamil schools. After this Government came in, a report was called for. The Director of Education, Jaffna, sent a report. In that

report he states that there are enough Tamil schools in the vicinity. Within a quarter of a mile of most of these schools there are schools—schools run by minority Tamil teachers. The headmasters are minority Tamils themselves.

Then what does the Minister of Education do ? He sends an officer from here, one Mr. Kulatunge. He goes there in 1966. He goes there and tells them, "Since there are Tamil schools right round, these schools cannot be recognized if they are to be Tamil schools. If you can make them Sinhalese schools there is a chance of registering them and giving you appointments." In fact, when we made representations to the Hon. Prime Minister, he called for a report from the Ministry of Education and he was good enough to send a reply to me in reply to our telegram of protest.

After Mr. Kulatunge's visit the first time, some society there had asked that those children be taught in Sinhala. Who these people in the society are nobody knows. Acting on that, they wait till we get out of the Government and the Hon. Minister hurriedly issues instructions that those schools be taken over as Sinhalese schools. The Hon. Minister's original order was that those schools should be taken over as Sinhala Kanishta Vidyalayas. I now say that that was an illegal order which no Minister with any education would have made.

Then we interviewed the Hon. Prime Minister and at that conference we pointed out the law to the Hon. Prime Minister and asked him in the presence of the Director-General of Education, "Is there a single request from the parents that the medium should be Sinhala ?" At that conference the Director-General of Education searched all over the file and finally produced a letter from some society where they had asked that those children be taught Sinhala, Buddhism. Tamil and English. That is all that that letter said.

Our interview with the Hon. Prime Minister was on the 20th of May. On the 22nd Mr. Kulatunge hurries back to Jaffna with forms printed in Colombo: the forms do not leave any room for any option to be exercised; the forms merely say in Tamil, "I want my child to be taught in the Sinhala medium." Those forms are distributed by the so-called Tamil-Buddhist Congress and signatures obtained. I have already written to the Hon. Prime Minister in reply to his communication to me. I am sure if they check up they will find that half those signatures from alleged parents are not from parents. So Mr. Kulatunge has gone back again this week to check up and see that the correct persons sign in the correct place so that they may pursue this policy of destroying the Tamil people.

The prime mover in this matter is an employee of the Education Department, one David, and he is the man who has witnessed the so-called signatures of the parents. This David himself is not a Buddhist. I think the very name suggests that he must be a Christian or a Catholic or something. He is expecting a service extension from the Ministry of Education for doing this dirty work. And that is the policy that the Hon. Minister of Education is pursuing in his effort to divide and destroy the Tamil people. I say that this Government is pursuing a very dangerous policy. The Hon. Prime Minister knows that the Government accepted at the time of the discussion of the White Paper on Education, the policy of the mother tongue being the medium of instruction for children.

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(The Hon. Dudley Senanayake)

No, it was not accepted. It was suggested as a compromise formula but it was not accepted. You know that very well.

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(திரு. அமிர்தலிங்கம்)

(Mr. Amirthalingam)

The Hon. Prime Minister accepted that formula.

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(The Hon. Dudley Senanayake)

I accepted, but the Parliamentary Group turned it down.

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(திரு. அமிர்தலிங்கம்)

(Mr. Amirthalingam)

The Parliamentary Group never turned it down, Hon Prime Minister. The Parliamentary Group never turned it down.

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(The Hon. Dudley Senanayake)

Not that clause.

අමීර්තලිංගම් මය.

(திரு. அமிர்தலிங்கம்)

(Mr. Amirthalingam)

No. The opposition was from the hon. Member for Jaffna (Mr. Pon-nambalam) over some other clauses, debate continued into the night. I say in all earnestness that the Parliamentary Group never turned it down.

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(The Hon. Dudley Senanayake)

That is incorrect. I say with all the emphasis at my command that it was not accepted by the Cabinet or the Parliamentary Group. It was accepted by me.

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(திரு. அமிர்தலிங்கம்)

(Mr. Amirthalingam)

If the Hon. Prime Minister had accepted it, is he going back again on that? Are you, Mr. Prime Minister, going back on that?

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(The Hon. Dudley Senanayake)

I am not a dictator.

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any attempt is made under any pretext whatsoever to try to change the medium of instruction—by offering jobs, by offering little bits of extensions to some under-privileged community, and so on—if any attempt is made to drive a wedge between the Tamil community, we say, in fairness to our posterity, we will have to resist it with all our might. I hope the Hon. Prime Minister will not let himself be made the instrument for the pursuit of such a policy.

Now, Mr. Speaker, it was in the face of this situation that we had to decide that we could no longer continue in partnership with our friends of the United National Party. Can anyone blame us for taking that decision? In fact, if at all anyone blames us it must be for continuing to support them so long. We still believe in the goodness of the Hon. Prime Minister and in his capacity as Prime Minister to carry out what he says he will carry out, but unfortunately he has to bow to the majority. I think, Mr. Speaker, conscience is more important, the conscience of a gentleman is more important than the majority, as the Hon. Prime Minister told us at our convention at Kalmunai, “I am not giving my word. Once I give my word I will keep it even if I have to quit the position I hold.”

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(கௌரவ டட்ளி சேனாநாயக்க)

(The Hon. Dudley Senanayake)

Is that what I told you about District Councils?

අමිර්තලිංගම් මය.

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Amirthalingam)

I shall come to that.

As I said, we do not want this Debate to degenerate into a sort of dogfight or into throwing acrimonious remarks at each other, but I have to say these things about the activities of the Hon. Minister of Education because they are doing the greatest damage to the Tamil-speaking people of this country.

I also have to say a few words on the question of the university. I am sure the Hon. Prime Minister will agree that, shortly after the formation of this Government, 18 Members signed a request. All Tamil-speaking Members of the Northern and Eastern Provinces—excepting the three Members of the Tamil Congress—including the hon. Member for Kalkudah (Mr. Devanayagam) of the U.N.P. the hon. Member for Nintavur (Mr. Mustapha), the hon. Second Member for Mutur (Mr. A. L. Abdul Majeed) of the S.L.F.P., and the hon. Second Member for Batticaloa (Mr. Latiff Sinnalebbe) of the U.N.P., signed a request demanding the establishment of a Tamil University at Trincomalee. Then there was also a request for a Hindu University signed by the three Members of the Tamil Congress.

Shortly after the District Councils proposal fell through we requested the Prime Minister at least to expedite the establishment of the university. He said, “it will not be a Tamil University. I agree to the establishment of a university at Trincomalee.” He told us that we were free to tell this to the working committee of our party, that the blue-print would be prepared, that the university would start functioning after provision was made in the 1969 Budget, and that they might hope or expect the university to start functioning in October this year. Maybe various other forces have been at work, or the N.C.H.E. may be sleeping over it, because that again has proved to be a very deceptive mirage.

ලෙස්ලි ගූනවර්දන මය. (පානදුර)

(திரு. லெஸ்லி குணவர்தன—பாணநதுறை)

(Mr. Leslie Goonewardene—Panadura)
Not even a foundation stone?

අමිර්තලිංගම් මය.

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Amirthalingam)

Not even a foundation stone.

We do not seek to put the responsibility for all these things on the Government or on any individual.

[අමර්තලිංගම් මයා.]

We say that this is the result of the present political setup,—that is what my party believes—in which in this country the numerical majority, the Sinhalese, are made the rulers. As the Hon. Prime Minister said, he, as a democrat, has to bow to the wishes of the majority, that is, the Sinhala racial majority, and he has abandoned the wishes or the steps taken for the benefit of the minority. That is what has happened.

That is why we of the Federal Party from the inception of this Constitution have been demanding that the present Constitution should be replaced by a federal form of government under which the Tamil speaking people can rule themselves, the Sinhala people can rule themselves, and we can have a federal unit.

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(திரு. ஆர். ஜி. சேனநாயக்க)

(Mr. R. G. Senanayake)

What did you say?

අමර්තලිංගම් මයා.

(திரு. அமிர்தலிங்கம்)

(Mr. Amirthalingam)

Why do you not plant your onions and come back tomorrow?

Now, a lot of mischievous propaganda has been carried on about this policy of our party. The very name of our party is being misinterpreted. The name of our party is Ilangai Tamil Arasu Kadchi, and if it is translated it means the Ceylon Tamil State Party. Like the U.S.A. where there are several States, like the Indian Union which is composed of several States, we envisage a Federal Union which is composed of one Tamil State or two Tamil-speaking States if the Muslims in the south of Batticaloa—[Interruption]. In fact, the hon. Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Social Services was the one who moved that amendment at our Trincomalee Convention in 1956 that the Muslims should have the right to have a State of their own in the south of the Eastern Province. The Kandyan Sinhalese can have one

State, the low-country Sinhalese can have one State, and so on—a federal union of these States is what we envisage. One may agree with it, one may not agree with it. But no one can say that that is an attempt to divide the country, no one can say that that is an attempt to break away any part of Ceylon and join it with another part.

There is a lot of loose talk about the D.M.K. and about "We Tamils". I am sorry to find even responsible Members of Parliament indulging in such talks. What is this D.M.K. that they are talking about? There are two organizations in Ceylon which call themselves the D.M.K. We know the credentials and the names and particulars of these individuals who are behind them. I think one is a compositor in some press somewhere; and the other man is a man who is living by his wits—one Ilanthaliyan. These are the people who make speeches sometimes, and those are magnified into a great bogey, and the hon. Fair Leader of the Opposition calls upon the Hon. Prime Minister to ban the D. M. K., ban Ilanthaliyan, and ban Anthony Muttu. And these are the people who are going to swallow up the mighty Sinhalese race.

And they speak of the "We Tamils" movement. Where is this "We Tamils" movement? I challenge any one to give even the address of this so-called "We Tamils" movement. There is no such movement. One Adithan in South India started a movement like that, but he himself has wound up that movement and joined the D.M.K. in India. He is a member of the D. M. K. cabinet in Madras. Therefore all this talk of D.M.K., "We Tamils" movement, and so on, is only calculated to rouse communalism in this country.

The moment we say we want to safeguard ourselves, safeguard our very existence, we want to live as a separate entity and save our future generations from the ravages of people

අනුමතවූ කාරකයාගේ කථාව:

ස්වකී සේනානායක පිළිබඳ විමර්ශ

like the Minister of Education, we are branded as communalists. I do not mind being called a communalist. I am sure the very press which hailed my speech in 1965 as a brilliant speech will say this is the worst speech that any Member could have made. I do not care for their praise or for their damning my speech. We are here to do our duty by our people. It is when we realized that we could no longer serve the genuine interests of our people by continuing in association with this Government that we decided to break away.

Federalism may not be immediately accepted, but the late Prime Minister, Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, realized that some concession has to be made to the principle of democratic decentralization, and he entered into a pact with the leader of my party, the hon. Member for Kankasanturai, in 1957, accepting the principle of regional councils as a half-way house, whereby the Tamil-speaking people in their own areas will have some say over their own affairs, and, similarly, the Sinhalese people in their various areas can govern themselves. This same principle was accepted by the present Fair Leader of the Opposition who has suddenly become very unfair to us, and the same principle of democratic decentralization by establishing District Councils under the direction and control of the Central Government was accepted by the present Prime Minister. So that successive Prime Ministers of this country have accepted the principle of granting some measure of autonomy, some measure of decentralization, by adopting and accepting the principle of Regional Councils or District Councils. When the unthinking people are roused by frustrated and disgruntled leaders like Mr. Hema Basnayake, when they are roused by the mischievous press, then everybody has to bow down to that. When we realized the position in which the Hon. Prime Minister was over that issue, when he said that he was not in a position to proceed with it, we acquiesced in his dropping that proposal. It is, I say, a very sad commentary on the politics

of this country when leaders of the Sinhalese community like the late Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, the present hon. Leader of the Opposition (Mrs. Sirimavo R. D. Bandaranaike), and the Hon. Prime Minister are not able to persuade their community to agree to minimum rights being granted to the Tamil minority. It is not an attempt on our part in any way to endanger the security of this country when we agitate for our legitimate rights. The establishment of District Councils or even Federalism will not in any way endanger the security of this country.

The press, of course, will carry on all sorts of propaganda. You know, what we should now have is a proposal like the proposal of 1964, and if such a proposal comes up I hereby give notice to the press of this country that you cannot, after the dirty role you have played during the last few years in this country, expect us ever to come to your rescue, to stand by you when you are threatened because we find, whether the press is owned by the Government or the press is owned by a few monopolists, it does not take us anywhere, it does not help us. In fact, the private press crushes us more by mischievous propaganda because they are not responsible to anyone. Merely because the press, and certain unthinking people and certain gentlemen in yellow robes whom the Hon. Minister chastised—I do not know whether he was right or wrong, and I am not here to pronounce judgment—object, something that is our due is denied to us.

Finally, I come to the incident that led to the resignation of Mr. Tiruchelvam from the office of Minister of Local Government. I wish to read the letter which my leader wrote to the Hon. Prime Minister over that issue on the day his so-called letter, the alleged letter to some Buddhist priest in Seruvawila, appeared in the Press.

ශ්‍රී ඩබ්ලිව් සේනානායක

(கௌரவ டட்ளி சேனாநாயக்க)

(The Hon. Dudley Senanayake)

Why alleged letter?

அனுமனதுமனவல கல்வ:

அமீர்தலிங்கம் மன.

(திரு. அமீர்தலிங்கம்)

(Mr. Amirthalingam)

I do not know whether that is the correct letter. I have not seen the letter. So, I say, "the letter purported to have been written by the Prime Minister." This is what my leader wrote:

"12th September, 68

My dear Prime Minister,

Your letter to Ven. Mangala Dharma Kirthi Sri Dambasare Sri Sumedhankara Nayaka Thero published in this morning's "Daily News" places the Tamil people of Ceylon and particularly the Hindus in a false position.

As soon as the Venerable Nayaka Thero writes to you a letter complaining that a revered place of Hindu Worship is being made a sacred area, you at once order the suspension of a commission that was appointed to demarcate the Sacred Area around Koneswaram Temple and indicate that you propose to examine all aspects of the matter before the appointment of a commission.

The whole letter has made the Hindu people very sore and made them feel that they have no rights in this country when a Buddhist monk objects to anything they claim.

The antiquity and importance of Koneswaram as a place of Hindu Worship cannot be disputed by any reasonable person.

I must, therefore, on behalf of the Tamil people protest against the letter to the Nayaka Thero and the attitude underlying that letter."

அரு. டி. டி. டி. மனவல

(கௌரவ டட்ளி சேனாநாயக்க)

(The Hon. Dudley Senanayake)

Please read my reply to that. Then it will be fair.

அமீர்தலிங்கம் மன.

(திரு. அமீர்தலிங்கம்)

(Mr. Amirthalingam)

I have not got that letter. I have not seen your reply: Let the Hon. Prime Minister table that letter and the letter to the priest. This letter was written by Mr. Chelvanayakam to the Prime Minister.

அரு. டி. டி. டி. மனவல

(கௌரவ டட்ளி சேனாநாயக்க)

(The Hon. Dudley Senanayake)

I will table that reply because the priest's objection had nothing to do with it.

சீதா மனவல மனவல மனவல

அமீர்தலிங்கம் மன.

(திரு. அமீர்தலிங்கம்)

(Mr. Amirthalingam)

I do not know about the letter written to the priest.

அரு. டி. டி. டி. மனவல

(கௌரவ டட்ளி சேனாநாயக்க)

(The Hon. Dudley Senanayake)

Please read the letter written in reply.

அமீர்தலிங்கம் மன.

(திரு. அமீர்தலிங்கம்)

(Mr. Amirthalingam)

I have not brought that letter. Let the Prime Minister table that letter and the letter to the priest.

அரு. டி. டி. டி. மனவல

(திரு. ஆர். ஜி. சேனாநாயக்க)

(Mr. R. G. Senanayake)

What is this letter that has been read?

அமீர்தலிங்கம் மன.

(திரு. அமீர்தலிங்கம்)

(Mr. Amirthalingam)

The letter written by Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam to the Prime Minister. [Interruption].

அரு. டி. டி. டி. மனவல

(திரு. ஆர். ஜி. சேனாநாயக்க)

(Mr. R. G. Senanayake)

He is a Christian.

அமீர்தலிங்கம் மன.

(திரு. அமீர்தலிங்கம்)

(Mr. Amirthalingam)

He is the leader of the largest section of the Tamils, who are Hindus. We do not divide people into religious groups. He works for and speaks on behalf of all sections of the Tamils, be they Hindus, Muslims or Christians, be they low caste or high caste, be they in the Northern Province or in the Eastern Province or in the up-country.

அண்ணாதுமாரதுமனே கலாவ :

காலவ கலா கரந ரகயே ஸேவகனின்
மந பவலா அநி துக்கரநா ஸ அபநயகநி
கந அண்ணுவ டந சிபிந லவப ருதுமனன்
வநன்ஸேனே கலாவே கிசிட் ஸடதநன்
நாநி ஸெனின் ட;

(ட) 1964 ஓன்ட-லகா கிபிசும கியந்மக கிரீதே
கபசுது டநப ரநன்டவென் கரஸெந
யநாடி, ருதுமனன் வநன்ஸேனே கலாவே
ஸடதந் கர அநி அநர, அடேகிவ பூட்கல
கிந் விசின் லகாவே பூரலகிசின் வல
ஸென் லிஸபடிவி வித ஸடதா ஓடிபிபன்
கரநு லகந ஓட்பூதி பநு கந ஓக்திநி
கிய கர, டநபமன் ஓன்டியாவே பூரலகி
சின் வலஸென் லிஸபடிவி வி சிபிந
புமனய அநுப மபுந் பூரலகிகநி டிப
ரகய கிசிட் அகிலாசயன் டக்தவந லவப
ருதுமனன் வநன்ஸேனே கலாவே மோந
யதி ஸே ஸடதநன் கர நாநி ஸெனின் ட;

(ட) வதுகர டிசுநிக்நட அநுபவ மோ ரவே
பூடேக கிபயகநி டிபிவ காலவ கலா கரந
பூமகிந்ஸே அபநாபநயப அபஸா ஓட
லரந், ஸெலநாடி லா பபநகநி லகாடி
வலக்தி, யபநய ஸத மககலபூப வநி
பூடேகபல அபநாபந நந்ந்லய பபந
லூபிப கலாசுவிப அபநாபந அமநாஸய
கிநாமா டரந பூயந்நய நாலந்விதே
அபஸாநாவ கந அண்ணுவ டந்நா லவந்
ருதுமனன் வநன்ஸேனே கலாவே
நோடக்தவெந ஸெனின் ட, டிபிவ காலவ
கலா கரந பநாவஸே அபஸாநாவந்
ஸபூரலிம ஸடதா அந ஸபிபூரீக விஸ்த
விடயலகன் நிகுணாமலகே பிபிபுபந
லவப லகரோந் டு பி நபுந் மோ
லகரோந் டு ஸபூரலிம கிசிட் ஸேபநா
வந் ருதுமனன் வநன்ஸேனே கலாவே
அபஸா நோபந ஸெனின் ட;

(ப) காலகாரீக ஸ காரீக ஸவரீபநய ஸத
கிபர வரஸன் ஸவரீபநய கர கிபர
கரீமந்நய பூபூகிகிபி யந காரீயன்
கிடி ருதுல ஸ நகெநகி பூபந்லல
வெஸ்கநி டக்திவிதே அண்ணுவே பூநி
பந்நிய வெஸ்க கிரீமன் கந ருதுமனன்
வநன்ஸேனே கலாவே நோடக்தவெந
ஸெனின் ட, 1965 கிப ஸும ரகாபந கலாவக
டிம லகரோந் டு டேநு லகி கந்நகன்
நூரே வரஸ ஸவரீபநய கிரீம கந
ருதுமனன் வநன்ஸேனே கலாவே
கோஸெந்ம ஸடதந் கர நாநி ஸெனின் ட,
கண்காபி வந அநர,

மோ ஸகாவ ருதுமனன் வநன்ஸேனே அண்ணுவ
கெரேகி விஸ்தாஸய நோபநி. ”

ஸ்துநி ஸேபநாவ பிபிபடி விடய

“ நந்நியுரைக்குத் திருத்தமாக அதன் இறுதியிற்
கிழக்கானும் ஸோற்களைச் ஸேர்க்கவேண்டும் :

‘ எனினும்,

(அ) (I) தற்போதய ஓற்றையாட்சி அரகியல் முறை
யின் கிழ பதவியிலிருந்ந பல்வேறு அரகாங்ககன்
தமிழ்பேசம் மக்களையும் சிறுபான்மை மதத்தவர்
களையும் அடக்கி, ஓடுக்கி, ஈற்றில் முற்றுக
ஓழித்துக் கட்டும் கொள்கையைக் கடைப்பிடித்து வந்ந
தன் நேரடி விளாவாக சிங்கள பௌத்த மக்களுக்
கும் தமிழ்ப் பேசம் மக்களுக்கும் இடையிலான
உறவு நிலைதிரிந்நுள்ளமையே இன்று நாட்டை எதிர்
நோக்கும் மிக முக்கிய தேசியப் பிரச்சினையாகும்
என்பதையும்,

(II) இலங்கைக் கூட்டரசாட்சி ஓன்றுக்குட்பட்ட சுயாட்சி
யுள்ள தமிழ் மொழிவாரி அரஸொன்றை அல்லது
அரகளை ஏற்படுத்துவதன் மூலமே தமிழ்ப் பேசம்
மக்களின் ஸநநாயகச் சுதந்திரங்களை உரிய முறை
யில் பாதுகாக்க முடியும் என்பதையும் உணர்ந்
திருப்பதாக மேன்மை தங்கிய தங்கள் உரையில்
காணப்படவில்லையாகையாலும் ;

(ஆ) பிரதேச ஸபைகளை அல்லது மாவட்ட ஸபைகளை
அமைப்பதன் மூலம் இந்நாட்டின் நிருவாகம் ஸந
நாயக முறையில் பரவலாக்கப்பட வேண்டுமென்ற
கொள்கையை 1957 ஆம் ஆண்டின் பின்னர் அடுத்த
தடுத்துப் பதவி வகித்த மூன்று பிரதம அமைச்சர்கள்
ஏற்றுக்கொண்டிருந்நது மட்டுமன்றி அக்கொள்கையை
மேன்மை தங்கிய தங்களது அரகாங்கத்தின் கடந்ந
நான்கு அரியணை உரைகளிலும் ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளப்
பட்டிருப்பதுங்கூட இன்று வரை பழைய குடியேற்ற
நாட்டுக் கச்சேரி முறையில் நிருவகிக்கப்பட்டு வரும்
இந்நாட்டு அரகாங்கத்தில் மக்கள் கூடிய அளவு
பங்கு கொண்டு ஸெயலாற்றுவதற்கு வாய்ப்பளிக்கக்
கூடிய அத்திட்டத்தைப் பற்றித் தங்களது உரையில்
எதுவுமே குறிப்பிடத் தவறியுள்ளமையாலும் ;

(இ) பாராட்டுக்குரியதும் இவ்வரசாங்கத்தால் அடிக்
கடி எடுத்தோதப்படுவதுமான தேசிய ஓற்றுமைக்
கொள்கையை நிலைநாட்டுவதற்கு இன்றியமையாத
தமிழ் மொழி (விசேட ஏற்பாடுகள்) பிரமாணங்களைச்
ஸெயற்படுத்துவதன் மூலம் தமிழ்ப் பேசம் மக்களின்
அடிப்படை மொழி உரிமைகளைப் பாதுகாக்கும் நோக்
கம் எதுவும் அரகாங்கத்திற்கு இருப்பதாகத் தங்கள்
உரையில் காணப்படவில்லையாகையாலும் ;

(ஈ) ஸகல இனத்தவர்களுக்கும் அவரவர்களுடைய
மொழிகளிலேயே ஸேவை ஸெய்வதையும், அரகாங்க
ஊழியர்கள் அனைவரும் ஸம வாய்ப்புக்களை அனுப
விப்பதையும் உறுதிப்படுத்த வல்லதும், ஐக்கிய தேசி
யக் கட்சியின் 1964 ஆம் ஆண்டுக்கொள்கை விஞ்
ஞாபனத்தில் விதிக்கப்பட்டிருந்நதுமான ஸகல அர
காங்க ஊழியர்களும் பரஸ்பர அடிப்படையில் தேசிய
மொழிகள், இரண்டிலும் தேர்ச்சி மெறவேண்டுமென்ற
கொள்கைக்கு முற்றிலும் முரணான வகையில் சிங்கள
அரகாங்க ஊழியர்களுக்கு இல்லாத இன்னல்களுக்கும்
இடர்பாடுகளுக்கும் தற்பொழுது ஸம்பள உயர்ச்சி, பதவி
உயர்ச்சி ஆகியன மறுக்கப்பட்டும், வேலைநீக்கத்தை
எதிர்நோக்கியுமுள்ள தமிழ்ப் பேசம் அரகாங்க ஊழி
யர்களை உட்படுத்துவது அநியாயமென்பதை அரகாங்க

அஞ்சலிக் கொடுத்தல் :

கம் சற்றேனும் உணர்ந்திருப்பதற்கான அறிகுறி எதுவும் மேன்மை தங்கிய தங்களது உரையில் காணப்படவில்லையாகையாலும் ;

(உ) 1964 ஆம் ஆண்டின் இலங்கை-இந்திய ஒப்பந்தத்தை அமல் நடத்தும் வேலை தீவிரமாக நடைபெற்று வருகிறது எனக்கூறும் அதே வேளையில் இலங்கைப் பிரஜைகளாகப் பதிவு செய்வதற்கு நாட்டிற்கு மக்களால் செய்யப்படும் விண்ணப்பங்கள் சம்பந்தமாய் துரிதமான நடவடிக்கை மேற்கொண்டு, இந்தியப் பிரஜைகளாக ஏற்கனவே பதிவு செய்யப்பட்டுள்ளவர்களின் எண்ணிக்கைக்கு ஏற்ற ரீதியில் இலங்கைப் பிரஜைவரிமைகள் வழங்குவது பற்றிய ஆர்வம் எதுவும் அரசாங்கத்திற்கு இருப்பதாக மேன்மை தங்கிய தங்கள் உரையில் காணப்படவில்லையாகையாலும் ;

(ஊ) தோட்டப் பிரதேசங்கள் உட்பட நாட்டின் பல்வேறு பகுதிகளிலும் வாழும் தமிழ்ப் பேசும் பிள்ளைகளுக்கு ஆசிரியர்கள், கட்டடங்கள், எலைய கல்வி வசதிகள் ஆகியவற்றை மறுப்பதற்கும், யாழ்ப்பாணம், மட்டக்களப்பு ஆகிய பிரதேசங்களில் கல்வித் தரத்தைக் குறைப்பதற்கும் கல்வி அமைச்சினால் திட்டமிடப்பட்டு ஆற்றப்படும் முயற்சியை நிறுத்த வேண்டியதன் அவசியத்தை அரசாங்கம் உணர்ந்ததாக மேன்மை தங்கிய தங்கள் உரையில் எதுவும் காணப்படவில்லையாகையாலும், தமிழ்ப் பேசும் மக்களின் தேவைகளைப் பூர்த்தி செய்வதற்கென முற்றும் நிறைந்த பல்கலைக் கழகம் ஒன்று திருகோணமலையில் நிறுவுவதாக உறுதியளிக்கப்பட்டிருந்த போதிலும் மேன்மை தங்கிய தங்கள் உரையில் அவ்வுறுதியை நிறைவேற்றாததற்கான திட்டம் எதுவும் காணப்படவில்லையாகையாலும் ;

(எ) கமத்தொழில் அபிவிருத்தி, கைத்தொழில் அபிவிருத்தி, மீன்பிடித் துறைமுக அபிவிருத்தி, மீன்பிடித் தொழில்களில் பயிற்சி ஆகிய அபிவிருத்தி வேலைகளில் வடக்கு, கிழக்கு மாகாணங்களுக்கு எதிராகக் கடைப்பிடிக்கும் பாரபட்சக் கொள்கை சம்பந்தமாய் அரசாங்கத்திற்கு மனமாற்றம் எதுவும் ஏற்பட்டிருப்பதாக மேன்மை தங்கிய தங்கள் உரையில் காணப்படவில்லையாகையாலும், 1965 ஆம் ஆண்டு முதல் எல்லா அரியணை உரைகளிலும் காங்கேசன் துறைத் துறைமுகத்தை அபிவிருத்தி செய்வதாக உறுதியளித்திருந்த போதிலும் மேன்மை தங்கிய தங்களின் இவ்வுரையில் அத்துறைமுக அபிவிருத்தி வேலைபற்றி யாதேனும் குறிப்பிடப்படவில்லையாகையாலும் மேன்மை தங்கிய தங்களது அரசாங்கத்தில் இச்சபைக்கு நம்பிக்கையில்லை.”

As an amendment to the Address at the end add the words :

“but regret—

(a) That Your Excellency's Speech has shown no realization,

(i) that the most important national issue facing the country today is the tension in the relationship between the Sinhala Buddhist people and the Tamil-speaking people which is the direct result of the policy of suppression, oppression and ultimate liquidation of the

சீமந்தி ஸேவகாவ சித்திரை சிவாட்ச

Tamil-speaking people and the minority religions pursued by successive governments under the present unitary form of government ; and

- (ii) that the democratic freedoms of the Tamil-speaking people can be adequately safeguarded only in an autonomous Tamil linguistic state or states within the framework of a Federal Union of Ceylon ;
- (b) that three successive Prime Ministers of this country since 1957 had accepted the principle of democratic decentralization of the administration of the country by the establishment of Regional or District Councils which policy was firmly accepted in the four previous throne speeches of Your Excellency's Government, but Your Excellency's Speech has significantly omitted any reference whatever to that measure which would have given the people of this country a greater participation and share in their Government which is still being administered under the old colonial Kachcheri system ;
- (c) that Your Excellency's Speech does not indicate any desire on the part of the Government to ensure the legitimate language rights of the Tamil-speaking people by the full implementation of the Tamil Language (Special Provisions) Regulations of 1966 which is the only way to achieve the Government's oft-repeated and laudable policy of national unity ;
- (d) that Your Excellency's Speech contains no indication of any awareness on the part of the Government of the inequity of imposing on the Tamil-speaking public servants hardships and disabilities which their Sinhalese counterparts are free from, and which is contrary to the policy laid down in the United National Party manifesto of 1964 that all public servants will have to acquire a knowledge of both national languages on a reciprocal basis, which policy would have ensured that all sections of the people are served in their own language and that all sections of the public servants enjoy equality of opportunity which is now denied to the Tamil-speaking public servants who are facing dismissal and denial of increments and promotions ;
- (e) that while stating that the implementation of the Indo-Ceylon Agreement of 1964 is being ac-

அனுவினாரதுமேன் கபாவி :

tively continued Your Excellency's Speech does not show any desire on the part of the Government to deal expeditiously with applications of Stateless persons for registration as Citizens of Ceylon and grant Ceylon Citizenship in proportion to the numbers who are already registered as Citizens of India ;

(f) that Your Excellency's Speech does not show any awareness on the part of the Government of the need to put a stop to the calculated attempt of the Ministry of Education to deny teachers, buildings, and facilities for education to Tamil-speaking children in several parts of the country including the plantation districts, and to cause a decline in the standards of education in places like Jaffna and Batticaloa and that, though the establishment of a full-fledged university at Trincomalee to meet the needs of the Tamil-speaking people was promised, Your Excellency's Speech contains no proposal to fulfil this promise ;

(g) that Your Excellency's Speech does not show any change of heart on the part of the Government in its policy of discrimination against the Northern and Eastern Provinces in the matter of agricultural and industrial development and the development of fisheries harbours and training in the fishing industry and that there is no reference at all in Your Excellency's Speech to the development of the Kankasanturai Harbour which was promised in all throne speeches since 1965 ;

and that this House, therefore, has no confidence in Your Excellency's Government."

II

"கனோவியைக் வலையன் ஸ்துதி யோசனாவ அனவ பகது கிரிமே :

'பனேகது புவன், ஸ்துதினன் வனன்சேனே அனவ பகது மனன் கியாவே யோவனது லென மிரல் பூதிபனினியே பூதிபலயன் வலையன் ஓகல நான அநி பீவன விடல பகன கெலெ பினை கிமிம யோசனாவன் ஸ்துதினன் வனன்சேனே கபாவே அமனா வி நான லுவினா; நோபகாபிலி னா காமனா போனனா கார், கமகர் நான நானியன் மானானநிக ஸலக கிரிமே வான அந்நா கியாவலெ பலா பிலிமேவ துபு டி அநி மெரெ ஸனன் நான பை அநர் பவனா பை நோபு விர டகிரகா விரகிதகாவ விசலெ பினை பகாபிலி வான பிலிமேவன் ஸ்துதினன் வனன்சேனே கபாவே அமனா வி நான

ஸ்துதி யோசனாவ பிலிமே வலையன்

லுவினா, கனாவெ வன அநர், ஸ்துதினன் வனன்சேனே அனவ பகது கிரிமே மெ கனாவ வினாவக நோவகமி."

"நன்றியுரைக்குத் திருத்தமாக அதன் இறுதியில் கீழ்க்காணும் சொற்களைச் சேர்க்க வேண்டும் :

"மேன்மை தங்கிய தங்களது அரசாங்கத்தினால் கைக்கொள்ளப்பட்ட நாணயக் கொள்கையின் விளைவாய் உச்சக்கட்டத்தை அடைந்துள்ள வாழ்க்கைச் செலவினைக் குறைப்பதற்குரிய எத்தகைய ஆலோசனையையும் மேன்மை தங்கிய தங்களது உரையில் குறிப்பிடாததையிடும், மேலும் தங்கள் உரையில், உறுதியற்ற, பொதுப்படையான வாக்குறுதிகளைத் தவிர, சாகும்வரை உண்ணுவிரதம் போன்ற தீவிர நடவடிக்கைகளை மேற்கொள்ளச் சிலரைத் தூண்டுமளவிற்கு இந்நாட்டிலுள்ள படித்த வாலாபரிடையே முன் எப்பொழுதும் இல்லாதவகையில் நிலவும் வேலையின்மைப் பிரச்சினையைத் தீர்ப்பதற்குரிய தெளிவான திட்டமெதுபற்றியும் குறிப்பிடாததையிடும் வருந்துகிறோம். எனவே மேன்மை தங்கிய தங்களது அரசாங்கத்தில் இச்சபைக்கு நம்பிக்கையில்லை."

As an amendment to the Address at the end add the words :

"but regret that Your Excellency's Speech contains no proposals whatever to bring down the cost of living which has shot up as a result of the monetary policy pursued by Your Excellency's Government, and that Your Excellency's Speech, apart from vague and general promises, contains no clear-cut scheme to solve the unprecedented unemployment among the educated youth of this country which has driven some of them to such extremes as to resort to even actions like fasting unto death, and therefore this House has no confidence in Your Excellency's Government."

"பெ வன பகனவ பகது கல பூது," னன பூநிய ககாபிலி கரன லே.

"அச்சொற்கள் அங்கு சேர்க்கப்படுவாக"

என வினா எடுத்தியம்பப் பெற்றது.

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

அ. னா. 3.41

கனமன் மன.

(திரு. கெனமன்)

(Mr. Keuneman)

Mr. Speaker, this is the fifth and final Throne Speech of this Government. In the past four and a quarter years the political complexion of the Government has changed. Three out of the seven parties and political groupings that originally came together to form the so-called National Government in 1965 are no longer where they were. Two of them, the

අග්‍රාණ්ඩුකාරතුමාගේ කථාව:

ස්ත්‍රීති සේනානායක පිළිබඳ විමර්ශය

JVP and the Federal Party, have changed their positions, at least geographically if not politically.

I listened with great care and attention to the speech on behalf of the Federal Party introducing its amendment. It struck me that the Federal Party today is rather like a character in Hindu mythology called, if I remember right, Thirisangu, who could not find a place either in heaven or on earth! He did not know where he was. Poor man, he could not get in anywhere. Anyway, I listened with great care to the series of charges made against the Hon. Prime Minister in regard to a number of promises that he had given to the Federal Party, but had not honoured. At the end of an hour's speech I was not able to get any clear impression as to what these promises were. If any other hon. Member of the Federal Party wishes to intervene he may tell us in some completeness what these promises are, because for four and a quarter years this is precisely what we are trying to get somebody to tell us. We know there were promises; we know there were agreements. Now we are told that all these promises are broken. What has been broken, nobody knows. Anyway, the hon. Member for Vaddukkoddai (Mr. Amirthalingam) spoke more in sorrow than in anger. It makes us wonder whether this is not another demonstration of the old addage about the quarrels of lovers being the renewal of love.

There was also another party that formed the National Government—a party called the Sri Lanka Freedom Socialist Party, a party formed, we were told, to maintain the purity of the Bandaranaike principles. That party has now merged with the United National Party, presumably for this purpose.

So we have a National Government which has four of its constituents in it and three of its constituents hanging around it. However, although there have been changes in the composition of the Government over the last four and quarter years, the basic

policies of the Government, with all respect to the hon. Member for Vaddukkoddai, have not changed.

This is seen in the fifth Throne Speech itself. Like a meal that has been warmed up for the fifth time, it lacks both in taste and in substance. So much so that even the newspapers which traditionally support this Government have begun to ask publicly whether there is any point at all in having these Throne Speeches.

Mr. Speaker, the four and quarter years that have passed since this Government took office is a sufficiently long time in which to judge how far the Government's promises and its performances match. We have listened in the course of these four and a quarter years to various claims about the varied services that the Government was performing for the people of this country or hoped to perform for their benefit. We have had various themes basic to their policy. You remember the first Throne Speech. The basic theme was national unity. Of course, we do not hear so much about it nowadays.

Now that the Federal Party has had a divorce of convenience from the Government, we do not hear so much about national unity. But four years ago this was the main theme, the main achievement.

In fact, I vividly recall the final words of the Hon. Prime Minister, winding up the Debate, for the Government, on the first Throne Speech. You will find it at Column 1176 of HANSARD of 23rd April 1965. With a fervour that was Messianic the Hon. Prime Minister concluded with these words:

"I shall conclude with the hope that I may be the instrument of bringing the communities of Ceylon together."—[OFFICIAL REPORT, 23rd April 1965; Vol. 60; c. 1176.]

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(கௌரவ டட்ளி சேனநாயக்க)

(The Hon. Dudley Senanayake)

I repeat it. I will repeat it again.

அங்குள்ளிருந்துமே கட்டிவருகிறது :

கேனமன் மஹா.

(திரு. கேனமன்)

(Mr. Keuneman)

But there are very few people who seem to accept it. The Federal Party has just told us that even they are not prepared to accept it.

டூடலி சேனநாயக்க

(கௌரவ டூடலி சேனநாயக்க)

(The Hon. Dudley Senanayake)

It does not matter at all.

கேனமன் மஹா.

(திரு. கேனமன்)

(Mr. Keuneman)

I would like to ask the Prime Minister what has happened to that national unity now? Has it gone underground—

டூடலி சேனநாயக்க

(கௌரவ டூடலி சேனநாயக்க)

(The Hon. Dudley Senanayake)

Nothing has happened.

கேனமன் மஹா.

(திரு. கேனமன்)

(Mr. Keuneman)

—to manifest itself again once the election is over?

There was, you will recall, talk about democracy. I do not want to take a long time on this matter. In its election manifesto the United National Party said, "We pledge to preserve your democratic rights." It was a promise to the whole people. In the first Throne Speech they spoke about—and I quote—"a Government which upholds the democratic way of life and which will lead the country to prosperity in accordance with the principles of democratic socialism."

It is not necessary to describe all the democracy that we have had during the last four years. It is not necessary to mention that we had 1,100 days of a State of Emergency. It is not necessary to mention overmuch the type of democracy—what I would call "fourth floor democracy"—experienced by Dodampe Mudalali. I do not think that anybody is unfamiliar with the type of

சீர்தர அரசியல் சித்திரம்

democracy which saw several local government bodies dissolved arbitrarily and elections arbitrarily postponed to suit political conveniences of the party in power. I do not think it is necessary to mention all these things because they are familiar to us. We know the type of democracy which was doled out to political opponents.

My Friends talk about character assassination. These are the people who persecuted Dr. Mackie Ratwatte until eventually the court had to express an opinion on that matter. These were the people who repeated slanders against the Fair Leader of the Opposition until a Select Committee which was appointed under the chairmanship of no less a person than the Minister of State unanimously found that that was untrue. We know the democracy that poor old Michael Bass experienced—repeatedly charged and charges repeatedly dismissed. We know the type of democracy in which the cars of Members of Parliament were burnt in the Devinuwara election and the police are not able to find who is responsible. We know how the police have not been able yet to discover who was responsible for throwing stones at the car of the hon. Member for Kalutara (Mr. Cholmondeley Goonewardene) and injuring him as he was passing through the Prime Minister's constituency on his way back from Kandy.

Yes, Sir, we were told about the freedom of the press. We were told that it was wrong to try to nationalize the Lake House newspapers but that we should start our own newspapers if we wanted to break the monopoly.

Many Opposition newspapers were started, and those who talked about democracy not only sealed these newspapers under the Emergency but even prohibited those papers being transported in buses belonging to the Ceylon Transport Board on payment.

அவ்வாறு கூறியதில் கவனம்:

மேலேயே சொன்னார்கள். (மேலே
வந்தே)

(திரு. மைத்திரிபால சேனநாயக்க—மத
வாச்சி)

(Mr. Maithripala Senanayake—Meda-
wachchiya)

Now their press reporters are go-
ing in government jeeps.

கேனமன் மை.

(திரு. கேனமன்)

(Mr. Keuneman)

These are our experiences of
democracy. And in any case it is
now quite obvious, however much
persons on that side of the House
may speak of democracy, that there
are those among them who do not
share these opinions. I quote as my
authority no less a person than the
Hon. Prime Minister whose Govern-
ment has given us the type of demo-
cracy I just described. You remem-
ber—I trust I am correct; I read this
in the newspapers—that after the
Kuliyapitiya conference of the
United National Party in February
this year, the Hon. Prime Minister
made a public speech. I read reports
of this in a number of newspapers
and they all seem to have carried the
same story. So, unless they were all
manufacturing a common deceit, I
presume it is something that the Hon.
Prime Minister said or is approxi-
mate to what he said.

In any case the Hon. Prime Minis-
ter has made this remark, not on one
occasion but on two occasions. Once,
some time earlier, at a public rally in
Hyde Park, Colombo, similar senti-
ments were expressed. I quote from
the "Ceylon Daily News" of
25.2.1969, a paper which does not
commonly misrepresent the Prime
Minister:

"Certain people who won the election
on my personal popularity, attempted to
rule the country behind my back."

Then he made some other remarks,
and added:

"There were others who tried to foist
a dictatorship on the country through
me."

Now, Sir, if that is so, the Hon.
Prime Minister has, as Prime Minis-
ter of this country, an obligation to

சீர்தர வேண்டிய சில சில

defend the Constitution of this
country. He has a duty to tell us
who these people are and what action
he has taken against them. To foist
a dictatorship on the country through
the Prime Minister by those around
him surely is a serious charge, so se-
rious indeed that the Hon. Prime
Minister had twice referred to this.
We hope even in this final Throne
Speech Debate of his term of office
he will tell us who the persons are,
even if he is not prepared to reveal
the promises he gave to the Federal
Party which have now caused them
so much anguish.

சுரு. டிட்லி சேனநாயக்க

(கௌரவ டிட்லி சேனநாயக்க)

(The Hon. Dudley Senanayake)

One of those gentlemen is helping
you a lot now.

கேனமன் மை.

(திரு. கேனமன்)

(Mr. Keuneman)

Who are these dastardly people?

சுரு. டிட்லி சேனநாயக்க

(கௌரவ டிட்லி சேனநாயக்க)

(The Hon. Dudley Senanayake)

One of those gentlemen is helping
you a lot, with your paper also.

கேனமன் மை.

(திரு. கேனமன்)

(Mr. Keuneman)

Who are the others? If you are
really serious about what you say
about democracy, you should expose
the persons who are trying to estab-
lish a dictatorship in this country. I
invite the Hon. Prime Minister even
at this last stage to do so.

I should like to devote the main
part of my speech, in moving the first
amendment on behalf of the Opposi-
tion, to what is the main theme of
the current Throne Speech and what
has been a recurrent theme of all the
Throne Speeches of the past, namely,
the Government's performance in the
field of the economy over the last four
and a quarter years.

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[කෙනමත් මය.]

You will recall, Mr. Speaker, what the United National Party told the people about the state of the economy and the public finances in their election manifesto of 1965. I should like the House to bear with me if I read that quotation because they can compare it with the situation today and from that decide the extent to which the Government has been able to alter what it condemned. No doubt what they said is very familiar to the authors of governmental promise to work according to the rhythm of the universe. This is what they said :

"We shall put the country's finances in order."

When I describe the country's present finances, please remember that.

"We shall put the country's finances in order. The SLFP-LSSP-Communist coalition has left the country bankrupt. Dead theories of 19th Century Marxism and the inefficiency of the Government have brought about this state of affairs."

One might think that the authors of the U. N. P. manifesto of 1965 were carried away by their own eloquence. This same promise was repeated in even greater detail in the first Throne Speech.

Mr. Speaker, if you are taking the tea interval I should like to stop here as I am coming to a new point.

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(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

There is no tea interval today. Any hon. Member who wants tea can have it and come back.

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(கௌரவ டட்ளி சேனாநாயக்க)

(The Hon. Dudley Senanayake)

I have a bad choice between tea and the hon. Member on his feet. I choose tea.

කෙනමත් මය.

(திரு. கௌமன்)

(Mr. Keuneman)

You are a wise man.

Sir, the same promises of radical changes in the economic fortunes of Ceylon were contained in the first Throne Speech. I want to read that because it is comical, because those of us who are here today are well aware of the situation in the country today. This is what they said they would do 4½ years ago. I quote :

"My Government is aware of the grave economic situation which faces the country today. Shortages of imported goods, rising prices and a depleted level of external assets are impeding the effective functioning of the economy. Unemployment has reached massive proportions while the cost of living is ever rising. My Government intends to take resolute steps to meet these difficulties and to set the country on the road to progress."—[OFFICIAL REPORT, 9th April 1965; Vol. 60, c. 98].

I shall deal in a moment with the resolute steps that were taken and what their results have been. All I want to do now is to remind you that even as recently as February 1969 the Government insisted that as far as the economy is concerned the worst is over, that there has been a turn for the better, and that a second "*Parakum Yugaya*" has started.

Now, in the light of all the talk about the tea crisis, please remember what the Hon. Prime Minister said in January 1969. You will recall that in 1969 the Hon. Prime Minister went to London. He made a speech to the Confederation of British Industries. This is what the "Ceylon Daily News" of 9th January 1969 reported him as saying :

"Mr. Dudley Senanayake at a luncheon given in his honour in London by the Confederation of British Industries, said that he was convinced that the worst was over regarding Ceylon's basic economic situation."

You may think that he was putting on a good front abroad for the benefit of those from whom he wanted to borrow money. But when the Prime Minister returned to this country—[Interruption]. The "Ceylon Daily News" of 25th March

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1969—not so long ago—reported the Prime Minister as saying this to a conference of Government Agents :

“The Premier, Mr. Dudley Senanayake, yesterday predicted great achievements ahead of the country in the coming years. After the bleak years of 1966 and 1967 when the nation's economy took a severe beating, the country was now coming out of the woods ”

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(තිரு. ඥා. ආර්. පෙරේරා—කැලණිය)

(Mr. R. S. Perera—Kelaniya)

“Woodlands ” !

කේනමන් මයා.

(තිரு. කේනමන්)

(Mr. Keuneman)

And the “Daily News” continues :

“‘I am speaking with great sense of satisfaction’, Mr. Senanayake said.”

Can we be so easily satisfied as the Prime Minister? Even the very information given by the Government and its agencies point to an entirely different conclusion from the one which the Prime Minister wants this country to accept. You will remember, in their election manifesto, in their first, second and third Throne Speeches—less so in the fourth Throne Speech and not at all in this Speech—they referred to the question of the cost of living. I think it was very wise of them not to have mentioned anything about the cost of living in this Speech because, after all, no one would have believed them if they did mention anything. But let those who believe the promises of the U. N. P. remember what they told us in their general election manifesto :

“The United National Party will bring down the cost of living in two ways : one, by short-term plans, and two, by long-term plans.”

I do not know whether they have had short-term plans, medium-term plans, long-term plans, or any plans at all. All I know and everybody know, is that despite those promises, despite their “resolute steps”, the cost of living is going up and up like the Apollo spacecraft. The cost of living index at the time when my hon. Friends took power and

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made the promise to bring down the cost of living by short-term plans and long-term plans was 112.5. After 4½ years of those “resolute steps”, long-term plans and short-term plans, the cost of living index was 130.4 in June 1969. All their efforts have resulted in the cost of living index increasing by 18 points in four years.

In their election manifesto this is what they said:

“Never before have you paid so much for food and clothing as you do now. Your hard-earned money disappears in no time at all.”

They were describing a situation that existed in the period of Mrs. Bandaranaike's Government. But how did the cost of living rise under that Government? In the period between 1960 and the end of 1964, the cost of living index rose from 103.5 to 112.2, in other words by 8.7 points, but my hon. Friends have beaten that figure very considerably. Let us not forget that whereas under the former Government the rise in the cost of living was to a great extent due to the operation of market forces, under this Government the rise in the cost of living has been due not only to the operation of the market forces but to deliberate policy decisions of the Government. These are the people who deliberately raised the price of bread. These are the people who deliberately decided to cut the rice ration, so that people who got two measures of rice for fifty cents have now to pay anything between Re. 1.10 and Re. 1.40 for two measures of rice. These are the people who have been promising for the last four years to introduce price-control over articles manufactured in this country but who have still not done so. These are the people who devalued the Ceylon rupee three times. In November 1967 they devalued it by 20 per cent.; in May 1968, they introduced the FEECs scheme. That was a 44 per cent. devaluation of the rupee over nearly 40 per cent. of our imports. Just recently, in June 1969, they have increased the FEECs payment

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by another 11 per cent and thus have made it fifty-five rupees for every hundred rupees. In actual fact, the situation today is that one has to pay at least one rupee and seventy-five cents in order to buy the same amount of goods that one bought for one rupee prior to November 1967.

I do not know what the Government intends to do about the Salaries Report. I read in the news papers that the Prime Minister has said in Negombo that he is going to do something about it. I am not going to comment too much on that matter but I want to ask, what is the point of increasing the salaries when you have already cut the value of the rupee? You reduced the value of the rupee after 1967 by something like seventy-five cents. That is the result of the Government's long-term and short-term plans for bringing down the cost of living.

They are a little more plucky about the unemployment problem. They do mention it. Four and a quarter years ago they said that they were going to take immediate action to solve the problem. They promised to take resolute steps to solve the problem. They said that the problem had reached massive proportions. Those are their own words. Even now they promise to make a "powerful impact" on the problem. But unfortunately, Sir, between 1965 and December 1968 unemployment has gone up and not down. Even the number registered at the employment exchanges has gone up. It has gone up from 199,655 to 279,812—that is by 80,147. This is the figure at the end of last year. It is 298,000 now. These are their figures, not ours. You will find them in their documents, not in our documents. While the number of registrants for employment at employment exchanges is increasing the number of those who find jobs is getting less and less.

Look at the figures given in the Central Bank Report for 1968 itself. In 1964, the last year of the former Government, 4.3 per cent of those who were registered found jobs. That

is not a very great number. But in all the years thereafter this Government has never been able even to touch that very low figure of 4 per cent. In 1965, 3.6 per cent. of the people who were registered got jobs. In 1966, 2.9 per cent. of the people who were registered got jobs. In 1967, 1.7 per cent. of the people who were registered got jobs. In 1968, 2.1 per cent. of the people who were registered got jobs.

We know that the registrants at employment exchanges are only a fraction of the unemployed. In their election manifesto the UNP said that in 1965 there were 500,000 unemployed. We all know that one lakh of people come onto the labour market every year. On that basis there must be nearly 9 lakhs of unemployed in this country today, on your own figures, and only 2.1 per cent. of them can hope to get jobs. That is the situation today. The total figure of those gainfully employed in this country is some 3.1 million and there are 9 lakhs of unemployed.

Over 60 per cent. of these unemployed are young persons between 14 and 25 years of age. 12,000 of them are graduates. 70,000 of them have passed the GCE (OL) Examination. Nearly 2 1/2 lakhs have an educational level between the 5th and 8th standard.

The personal tragedy of these unemployed persons, the waste, the criminal waste, of valuable human talent and ability that their enforced idleness entails is impossible to describe.

Now that the elections are near the Government is again speaking of making a powerful impact on the problem of unemployment. We read in the newspapers that this Government is now thinking of filling 30,000 vacancies in Government departments which had not been filled in the last two years. Is that not enough to show how callous this Government is on the question of unemployment? 30,000 vacancies unfilled! Those vacancies were created by this House; we passed the money to pay the salaries; and for two years the

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Government has not even lifted a finger to fill those vacancies. Now the Government talks about making a powerful impact on the problem of unemployment.

My hon. Friends may think that giving a few jobs by the backdoor to selected political favourites, pushing persons found guilty in the attempted *coup d'etat* of 1962 into high jobs, distributing directorships in public corporations to defeated candidates, is solving the problem of unemployment. They will find how very mistaken they are before they are much older.

Today the crisis in the export trade, and particularly the crisis in the tea and rubber export trade, face this country with the possibility that a large number of estates may have to close down. If estates close down, work in the Colombo factories will become less. The spectre of even greater unemployment is now haunting the country.

My hon. Friends think that they can solve this problem of unemployment by distributing a few crumbs of patronage. No, Sir! Vague and oft-repeated and oft-broken promises will carry little conviction on the question of unemployment.

In point of fact the Government in this Throne Speech has tried to paint a pretty picture of a buoyant and developing economy that is a direct result of its own efforts. That is the only meaning of the statistics in this Throne Speech. If there ever was a better proof of the saying that there are lies, damned lies and statistics, it is this Throne Speech of the Government. The Government is pinning everything on a statement of the Central Bank that in 1968 there was an 8.3 per cent. increase in the Gross National Product and a 6.1 per cent. per capita increase as compared with 1967. Speakers who will follow me—notably the hon. Member for Yatiyantota (Dr. N. M. Perera)—will show in detail the false premises on which these figures have been constructed by the economic card sharpers who are now in control of the Central Bank.

I shall confine myself to "certain other aspects of this so-called year of unprecedented economic growth" First of all, a few words about the increase in paddy production. I have the strongest reservations about the methods of compiling some of the figures concerning paddy production and also about their accuracy. I shall refer to this aspect in greater detail during the Budget.

A good example of the manipulation of statistics in order to create a false impression is seen in the Throne Speech itself. They start giving figures of production from the year 1965 and say that in this period paddy production increased from 36.3 million bushels in 1965 to 64.5 million bushels in 1968. Why do you try and give the impression that the figure for 1965, namely 36.3 million bushels, was the highest point reached in paddy production up to that time? Everybody knows that when you took office at the end of 1964, in the last year of Mrs. Bandaranaike's Government, paddy production was 50.4 million bushels. It was only after 1967 that you even caught up with those figures.

There is not much point in getting into a battle of statistics which most people cannot follow. It is a fact that in Ceylon, as in all rice producing countries of this region, there has been an increase in paddy production in 1968. I do not know whether the Hon. Prime Minister claims that his *vaga vyaparaya* extends all over Asia. But it is a fact that every paddy producing country in Asia has recorded an increase in production. This is due to a number of factors—excellent weather, the increased use of new high-yielding paddy strains, greater inputs and use of agro-chemicals, and so on. It is difficult to say how much of this is due to governmental efforts and how much to other causes. But of course, if a government makes some effort there must be some result.

The real point is that very soon somebody will have to take account of what it is costing us, not merely

[කෙතමන් මැස.]

in rupees but in foreign exchange, to produce this extra paddy. My hon. Friends must recall that 32 per cent. of all the inputs into agriculture are still imported. One day that sum will have to be worked out, and then only will we be able to say whether we have actually saved foreign exchange or not.

Sir, I want to ask this question. I am sorry the Hon. Prime Minister is not here. If your food drive is the roaring success that you claim it is, why do you not demonstrate this in practice by restoring the measure of rice that you cut from the ration in December 1966?

You will recall what the Government told us at the time the rice ration was cut in half. We were told that this was not done on the orders of the World Bank as we alleged. We were told that this was due to an international shortage of rice. In fact, the Throne Speech of 1967 says so specifically. It refers to what it calls "a serious shortage of rice in world markets" and it goes on to say, "This shortage of rice compelled my Government at the end of last year to reduce the quantity of rice issued on the ration."

So you see, the only reason given for cutting the rice ration was an international shortage of rice. This situation does not exist any longer. There is no shortage of rice in the world market today. The Government boasts that local production has gone up, that we are today past two-thirds self-sufficiency. They say they are now thinking of how to export rice in the near future. If all this is true, why can you not prove it by giving back to the people the measure of rice you cut from the ration? That is what we ask.

As regards the contribution that industry has made to the increase in the Gross National Product, I should like to say something because here the dishonesty of the Central Bank pundits becomes very, very clear. First of all, I want to stress that a very large part of the increased

values in industry that have gone towards an increase in the Gross National Product are the direct result of public sector industrial projects, started under Mrs. Bandaranaike's Government with the help of socialist countries, coming into production and producing at nearly full capacity and making profits. That is the first point. This Government has nothing to do with that.

Secondly, the Central Bank itself admits that these increased values are the result of what it calls "increased coverage". In other words, there were a number of industrial units existing for the last 10 or 15 years—industrial units of a small character like beedi manufacturing—which were not taken into the calculations earlier but, have now been taken into the calculation in order to give an 8 per cent. increase in the Gross National Product.

In regard to the new industrialists, some of them are enjoying tax holidays and nearly all of them are carrying on without any price control over them. No wonder they made profits. There was a gentleman who boasted that by the grace of God he had made 300 per cent. profit. I do not know why he made God one of his directors. But this was a boast of his. I do not think the Almighty had anything to do with that devil of a profit.

The Central Bank also draws attention to two or three very important aspects of this new increase in industrial values that has been spoken about. Firstly, it is said that most of the growth is foreign. This is what the Central Bank itself says at page 66:

"this survey"—

They refer to the surveys they make of the increase in industrial values.

—"reveals that the local branches of foreign firms imparted a high growth momentum to the industrial sector in 1968."

Most of it was foreign. The second aspect is that there has been what the Central Bank calls "a tendency for

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small-scale firms to lose ground in certain sectors of industry"—in other words, a tendency for the growth of mergers and monopolists, especially in the mercantile capital sector. I do not want to run over the whole gamut of mergers. We all know them. There is the Browns Group which 11 firms have merged to form. There is the Mackwoods Group with another 11 firms under N. S. O. Mendis' direction. There is the Shaw Wallace Group where six firms have got together. The Rowlands Group with six firms getting together, the Whittals Group with three firms, the Maharajah Organization with five firms, and so on and so forth.

Sir, when the Government speaks of a 6.1 per cent. increase in the national product per capita, it should tell us which sections of the nation have got the benefit of this increase. Can the ordinary man—the worker, the clerk, the poor peasant—say from his experience that he is 6.1 per cent. better off in 1968 than he was in 1967? As I shall show you from the Central Bank Report itself, his position has become worse. This increase in values, of which my Hon. Friend the Prime Minister boasts, has benefited a small strata of industrialists, the recipients of the Agricultural Special Leases, the contractors, and the speculators. They have got the benefits of this production increase.

Let this House and the country remember that in this so-called year of "unprecedented economic growth", 1968, the following experiences were registered by the common man.

Firstly, in 1968 the index of real wages fell by nearly 8 points, that is, from 118.3 in 1967 to 110.8 in 1968. Secondly, in this year of so-called "unprecedented economic growth", the registered unemployment figure increased from 94,385 in 1967 to 101,523 in 1968, and only 2 per cent. of them got jobs. Thirdly, in this year of "unprecedented economic growth", as we are told, the cost of

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living index increased by a further 5.9 points. Why do you not say these things too, Mr. Prime Minister?

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(අත්තනලේල)

(திருமதி சிறிமாவோ ஆர். டி. பண்டார நாயக்க—அத்தனகல்ல)

(Mrs. Sirimavo R. D. Bandaranaike—Attanagalla)

He is not here.

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(திரு. கௌமன்)

(Mr. Keuneman)

Yes, he is not here to listen to these things.

In this year of "unprecedented economic growth," when the *vaga vyayapara* reached Himalayan heights, we imported 354,000 tons of rice. When in 1966 the rice ration was cut by the Government we imported 494,000 tons of rice. Half of what was distributed to the people was cut. Even on that basis we should only need to import 247,000 tons of rice. Nevertheless, after getting two-thirds self-sufficiency under the *vaga vyayapara* of the Hon. Prime Minister, we are still importing 354,000 tons of rice in 1968.

Some of my Friends opposite say that this is because we eat too much rice, even the Hon. Minister of Education and Cultural Affairs, before he fell ill from eating something which he should not have eaten asked us not to eat so much rice.

I do not understand this. There must be something wrong. When we ate two measures of rice at fifty cents we ate less rice, but when the ration is cut by half and two measures cost Re. 1.40 we tend to eat more rice. We must be a very unique people indeed.

In this year of "unprecedented economic growth" we are only able to meet over 72 per cent. of our external commitments through our own resources. That is also in the Central Bank Report. In fact the Central Bank Report says we "lived beyond our means". That very phrase is there.

අග්‍රාණ්ඩුකාරතුමාගේ කථාව :

ස්තූති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විමර්ශය

[කෙතමන් මැ.]

It was in this year of "unprecedented economic growth" that the tea trade entered the gravest stage of the crisis in which it is today. The continued decline in the export prices of tea has lost us around Rs. 2,500 million in foreign exchange between 1956 and today. This is more than our total annual revenue from all sources. It is four times more than all the commodity aid we have got from the Aid Ceylon Club. It is more than all the foreign aid we have received from all sources.

The catastrophic decline in tea prices was hitherto confined mainly to the low-country and the mid-country teas. The deepening of this crisis, which is one of the worst that the tea trade has experienced since the great depression at the end of the 1920's, has been the decline of the prices of up-country high quality teas. The price drop has been as much as two-thirds. Teas which were fetching Rs. 3 plus a pound now fetch Re. 1 plus a pound.

When my Hon. Friend talks about the "unprecedented growth of the economy" he must not forget that after 21 years of independence we still depend on the tea trade for 63 per cent. of our total export earnings. In fact, we used to be dependent on three products and their sale abroad. Twenty years ago only 40 per cent. of our export earnings came from tea. Now we are becoming a nation dependent mainly on one product which gives us 63 per cent. of our total export earnings. Therefore, a crisis in the tea trade is, in a very real sense, a fundamental crisis in Ceylon's contemporary economy.

The reasons why the price of tea paid to the producer continues to decline while the price to the consumer remains constant or even increases are well known. The Government accepts the ideas which we put forward.

I do not believe all these theories about a surplus in the international market. The real difficulties we are

facing are not in regard to selling our tea. We sold every pound we put on the market. The real difficulty is experienced not in selling tea but in the price.

Government policy in the face of this crisis is one of almost total fatalism. First they said there was no more hope for tea; it was best to try and earn foreign exchange from tourism; and they started spending money on utterly useless hotels. Then they sent their officials jetting from one international conference to another to try and get some international commodity agreement among producing countries, that is less and less likely to happen. In fact, it is extraordinary that when they are talking about a surplus of tea in the world, India, where the average per capital consumption of tea is about two-thirds of a pound a year, has imposed an excise duty to discourage Indians from drinking tea. In Ceylon the average per capita consumption is 3 pounds of tea per year. If only the Indians encourage their people to drink their own tea, all these stories about surplus will disappear.

The reality of the crisis lies elsewhere—in the deliberate manipulation of prices of tea by a small group of British companies, between five and ten companies, such as James Finlays, Brooke Bond, Harrison and Crossfield, Liptons, and so on, who dominate the whole of the tea industry. They own estates, they manage estates which they do not own, they buy bulk and blend, they transport the tea to the wharf, they have their shipping agencies, they ship the tea abroad, they are the buyers abroad, and they are the retailers abroad. So it is perfectly possible for them at any stage of the process to put on the screw and put the money in their pockets. This Government has not the ability to even make a small break in the chain. And I want to say that without a break in that chain there is no hope for the tea trade in Ceylon. In fact, the policies of this Government are encouraging the deepening of the crisis in the tea trade.

I shall give you one example. In the early nineteen-fifties when the Prime Minister's father was Prime Minister and the Prime Minister was Minister of Agriculture, in two or three Budget Debates I drew attention on behalf of the Communist Party to the fact that British tea companies had begun to block out and sell to Ceylonese their unprofitable tea lands. I told the U.N.P. Government then: Please do not allow these people to export their capital, dividends, profits and interests, because what they are doing is using that money to start tea plantations in East Africa, in Kenya and Uganda, and they will one day compete with our tea and become a threat to it. My suggestions fell on deaf years. But is not that the case today?

At that time these companies in East Africa did not produce more than about 10 to 15 million pounds. Now they have gone up to 90 to 100 million pounds. Of course, they are nowhere near our level of production. But even today this very policy is being continued by Mr. Dudley Senanayake's Government. They have repealed the moratorium which Mrs. Bandaranaike's Government imposed on the export of capital dividends, interests and profits. Rs. 150 million is going to be exported very shortly despite all the crisis they are talking about. And what is worse, while Ceylonese have to pay 55 per cent. more for FEECs on books, drugs, certain foodstuffs, and textiles, these British companies are exempted from paying even one cent for FEECs in sending this Rs. 150 million out of the country. How can they now complain and say: "What can we do? East African companies are now competing with us."

You will see from all this that there is another and darker side to the talk about a year of unprecedented growth. One aspect of this is the mounting public debt, especially our external debt. This House and this country should realize that the present Government has increased the

foreign debt of this country from Rs. 446.6 million which it was when they took office, to Rs. 2,045.1 million at the end of 1968. In other words, the foreign debt of this country has been increased five times in the last four years. I do not know what the position is today—I was quoting the position at the end of 1968—but I am aware that since January this year, the Government has incurred further foreign borrowings of Rs. 148 million which brings our total foreign debt to something like Rs. 2,200 million.

It is on this matter that I want to illustrate the sharp practices of the Central Bank and those who write its report. If you look at Table 24 of the Central Bank Report for 1968, you will find in that Table, stated blandly, that at the end of 1968 the foreign debt of this country was Rs. 1,045.4 million. But if you read that report you will find other amounts borrowed given at different pages, an admission that other sums have been borrowed which are not included in this. I have made a note of some of them. First of all the Government has been getting into foreign debt in relation to what are called suppliers' credits. That is to say, borrowings by Government departments and corporations. During 1964, the last year of the last Government, suppliers' credits were only Rs. 34.5 million. But this Government has increased the suppliers' credits up to Rs. 493.1 million in 1968. At the same time the Government has resorted to the curious practice well known in Sea Street, Pettah, which has hitherto not been the practice in public finance in this country, that is, borrowing money on promissory notes. This Government has borrowed the following sums on promissory notes from—

I. M. F.	..	Rs. 443.1 million
I. B. R. D.	..	Rs. 38.1 million
International Development Bank	..	Rs. 16.2 million
Asian Development Bank	..	Rs. 7.6 million

අග්‍රාණ්ඩුකාරතුමාගේ කථාව :

ස්තූති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විමර්ශය

[කෙතමන් මො.]

Sir, you will find these amounts stated at different pages of the report and sometimes by way of footnotes. A great part of the money that has been borrowed from abroad has been used to finance current consumption. On 9th June 1969, the Hon. Prime Minister replied a Question asked by the hon. Member for Kolonnawa (Mr. Ilangaratne) with regard to Commodity Aid obtained by our country. The hon. Member asked, what is the physical content of the Commodity Aid we have received and on what has it been spent? The reply was that Commodity Aid to the value of Rs. 679,352,225 was received between 25.3.65 to 28.2.69. Of this Rs. 294,413,543 represent consumable articles; flour Rs. 230 million, textiles Rs. 30.9 million, dried fish Rs. 4.4 million, dried chillies Rs. 1.5 million then there is an item, milk foods, and also various other items. What are you doing? You are borrowing in order to finance current consumption.

The previous Government also borrowed money, but they used that money to start new industries and other projects which created wealth, and from that wealth they liquidated the loans. They did not borrow money for consumer goods and ask the future generations to pay. That is why we say that this Government is mortgaging not only the country but also the future generations in order to keep itself in power. Do my hon. Friends opposite know when they talk about years of "unprecedented economic growth" how much it will cost merely to service the foreign loans that their Government has entered into? In 1968, the payment for servicing foreign loans was Rs. 91 million in foreign exchange. This year, 1969, we have to pay Rs. 191 million in foreign exchange; in 1970, it will be Rs. 239 million in foreign exchange, and in 1971, we will have to pay Rs. 245 million in order to service our foreign loans.

Even after four and a quarter years of your rule the foreign assets position is something like Rs. 300 million. When you came into office also it was Rs. 300 million and then you said that it was not sufficient to import the food requirements of the country even for five days. There is less today after four years of your "unprecedented economic growth"!

What has been going on in the economic sphere under this Government over the past four and a quarter years is a step by step clearing of the decks on the orders of the World Bank in order to create the necessary climate for neo-colonialist penetration of Ceylon.

The expenditure on the rice subsidy and on social services has been curbed. The rupee has been devalued three times. Ceylonese industry, especially small industry, is today with its back against the wall with an increase on the bank rate, with a credit squeeze and with FEECs at Rs. 55 per Rs. 100. Tax reliefs and concessions to the tune of Rs. 80 million were given to the capitalists by the Gentlemen opposite.

The country should also know this. Purchases of oil products from the USSR have stopped, and the Shell Company, whose business was nationalized by the former Government, is once again back in the oil business in Ceylon, working through a new company called Consolidated Petroleum, of which it is a partner.

The effect of all this policy has been to redistribute the national income in favour of the capitalist class in general, to strengthen the capitalist market mechanism and to remove the restrictions imposed by State control on further imperialist exploitation.

The ground has been cleared for foreign capital and foreign monopolists to enter the Ceylon market.

The World Bank is investing Rs. 12.5 million in Mr. Gnanam's new textile project. The World Bank subsidiary, the DFC, which is really a

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ස්තූති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විමර්ශ

separate Central Bank in this country, is also investing money. I do not know why it is necessary to have all these big textile complex. We have one in Thulhiriya, the biggest in Asia, built in the Prime Minister's constituency by a government that he does not even recognize, the GDR. We have considerable capacity in the private sector. We have several thousands of handlooms and powerlooms all of which will go to the wall if this type of development takes place. Not only Mr. Gnanam but even the Birlas, the Indian monopoly capitalists, are coming into the market. This is the unprecedented economic growth that my hon. Friends boast so much about. Is it for this that for four years you have been preparing the ground?

But more than anything else what I find most reprehensible is the fact that in the interests of preparing the ground for neo-colonialist penetration of this country, for carrying out the orders of the World Bank, you are tampering with the education of the people of Ceylon. I am not worried about the Minister of Education manufacturing bricks or dropping bricks. Our amendments refer to that and it will be dealt with by other speakers. That is the Government's problem. Let the Government face it and solve it. What I am worried about is the way in which education is being undermined and restricted on the orders of the World Bank.

Sir, after its preliminary survey of education in Ceylon, the World Bank Mission had this to say at page 2 of its report for 1967 :

"The demands for education cannot all be met from the resources at present available in Ceylon, the shortage of trained teachers being even more serious than the shortage of money.

To give way further to expansionist pressures would start an inflationary process which could be reversed only slowly and with great difficulty, especially when there is heavy youth unemployment.

A decision to restrict expansion will call for great political courage ; it is a decision which must be made if the position is to be saved."

That is what the World Bank told them to do in regard to education, and it looks as though this Government has not only decided to adopt but begun to operate this recommendation of the World Bank.

Administration reports in some cases have come out only in respect of 1966-67. I am bound to rely only on those statistics that are available with me. I have got the 1967 statistics in regard to education.

Let this House know that the number of teachers in each year of this Government's term of office has not only been less than 130,000, for which provision is made in the Estimates, but has also been less than the number in 1964 itself. I am now quoting from the Statistics Pocket Book of Ceylon issued by the Department of Census and Statistics. In 1964 there were 93,789 teachers ; in 1965 the number went down to 91,981. I suppose they dismissed a whole lot of them. In 1966 there were 90,515 teachers. In 1967 there were 91,822 teachers. In fact, they never got close to the point at which we were in 1964 as regards teachers.

Similarly, the number of schools has remained almost constant. In 1965 there were 9,550 schools ; in 1966 there 9,560 schools ; and in 1967 there were 9,585 schools. The school-age population, of course, has increased each year. This has led not only to greater overcrowding but to a greater number of drop-outs in education, particularly after the 8th standard.

The position in higher education is terrible today, especially after the passing of the Higher Education Act of 1966. It has become truly chaotic. Annual admissions to all universities have declined since 1967, notably in regard to Science students, although the Government shouts from the housetops about the need for a greater bias in favour of Science education.

Sir, I have the figures of admissions in respect of all students. In 1967 the number admitted to the Arts faculties of all universities was 2,831 ; in

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ස්තූති සෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විමර්ශය

[කෙතමන් මො.]

1968 it was 2,801 ; and in 1969 it was 2,750. The number is declining and not increasing. Admissions of Science students are also going down. These are the figures :

	1967	1968	1969
Biological Science	211	183	155
Physical Science	324	300	180
Agricultural Science	31	25	25
Veterinary Science	22	20	20
Dental Surgery	28	—	—

The rest of the list is like that as well.

The only salvation for education is a three-fold scrapping operation. Firstly, to scrap the Higher Education Act ; secondly, to scrap the Minister ; and thirdly, to scrap the Government.

Before I close I want to refer briefly to the mess that this Government has caused in the nationalized services. I have no time to deal with all the nationalized services. I shall deal very briefly with one of them, the C. T. B. Our amendment refers to the fact that public transport—and here we refer not only to the C. T. B. but also to the Railway—has come to a state of virtual collapse. There are long queues, indefinite waits and so on.

Does this country realize that a veritable gold-mine like the C. T. B. has been reduced to nothing by this Government ? In 1964, the last year of the Coalition Government, the C.T.B., which had been making profits since 1962, made a profit of Rs. 12,342,316. In the very first year of this Government, when it appointed its defeated candidates to manage the C. T. B., the profit was reduced from Rs. 12 million to Rs. 1,585,884. Today in 1968-69 they are anticipating a loss of Rs. 9 million.

In 1964 the C. T. B. had 4,162 effective buses in its fleet which required 27,000 employees to run them. In 1969 the fleet of effective buses has been reduced to 3,787. But 44,000 people are needed to run these buses, that is 17,000 more employees are needed to run 375 less buses.

Although the number of buses are less and the number of employees more, one-third of wage payments in the C. T. B. are on overtime.

The Auditor-General's Report for 1967-68 makes this clear. It points out that out of Rs. 74,101,293 paid as wages and allowances to operations and traffic staff, Rs. 20,144,978 was overtime. Out of Rs. 17.7 million paid as wages to garage and workshop staff, Rs. 2.3 million was overtime. The number of buses are less, the number of employees are more and one would think that at least they would do their job within the stipulated hours but one-third of the payments are for overtime.

There is no time to mention the appalling waste of funds on hare-brained projects like the Oscar de Livera Stadium, the Rs. 7 million worth of redundant spares and various other horrible things that are going on. I do not want to mention those things. The papers are mentioning the huge increase in accidents including fatal accidents. The C. T. B. is rapidly supplanting T. B. as the biggest killer in Ceylon.

The question we want to ask is, is all this accidental ? Surely, in any other country if any Minister had brought any service to even one-fourth of the mess the C. T. B. is in, he would have been dismissed. In India there was a railway accident. The Minister in charge of railways resigned.

Here the C. T. B. buses are daily killing people and nobody is worried about it. The Hon. Prime Minister has not even asked the Minister to resign. The Hon. Minister has not even thought of resigning. That is why we want to know whether this is a deliberate attempt to reduce the C. T. B. to such a parlous state that the public will demand that it be given back to the private operators.

It is the same story in the Port. When Mr. Abeygunasekera resigned, he told the story about that went on there. When thieves fall out, we come to know what is happening. That is what is being done by the Government.

අමුණවුකාරතුමාගේ කථාව:

They say they do not want to hand back the nationalized services to private operators. They are deliberately ruining this national organization. If it is not for the purpose of handing back to private operators, if it is not for the purpose of helping friends and others to amass wealth, then at least it must be for the purpose of denigrating the very idea of public enterprise.

Sir, I have exceeded my time and your generosity. I apologize. There is such a lot to say, but I trust that what little I have said would serve to show how great a hoax this Government perpetrated on the people in 1965 and how great a hoax they are continuing to perpetrate. Anyone can make promises, and there are any amount of promises made by this Government.

Sir, I have pleasure on behalf of the Opposition in moving the first amendment that appears in my name and in the names of many other Members of the Opposition.

බර්නාඩ් සොය්සා මහ. (දකුණු කොළඹ)

(திரு. பெர்னாட் சொய்ஸா—கொழும்புத் தெற்கு அங்கத்தவர்)

(Mr. Bernard Soysa—Colombo South)

විසින් ස්වර කරන ලදී.

அனுவதித்தார்.

seconded.

සංශෝධනය මෙසේ යි:

திருத்தம் வருமாறு:

The Amendment is as follows:

“සංශෝධනයක් වශයෙන් ස්තුති යෝජනාව අගට එකතු කිරීමට:

‘එතෙකුදු වුවත්, උතුමාණන් වහන්සේගේ කථාවෙන්, සාමාන්‍ය වශයෙන්,

(අ) තේ අර්බුදය, වරින් වර රුපියලේ අගය අඩුකිරීම, ණයදීම සීමා කිරීම, මෙම ආණ්ඩුව ලබා ගත් විශාල විදේශ ණය වෙනුවෙන් අවුරුදුපතා ගෙවිය යුතු කොටස ගෙවීමටත් ප්‍රමාණවත් නොවන තරමට විදේශ විභේමය පහළ බැසීම, පෙර නොවූ විරූ අත්දැකීම් ජීවන වියදම නිරතුරුවම ඉහළ යාම, වැනි ඇති තතු ගැන සම්පූර්ණයෙන්ම සේ නිසි

ස්තුති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විවාදය

ලෙස හෝ නොසැලකිලිමත්ව ආර්ථික වශයෙන් ජීවන ශක්තියක් හා ප්‍රගතියක් ඇති බව මවා පෙන්වීමට තැත් කිරීමෙන්ද;

(ආ) දැනට මහජනයා මුහුණපා ඇති විදිය නො හැකි දුෂ්කරතාවන්ගෙන් හා ව්‍යර්ථනයන්ගෙන් මුදා ගැනීමට ඵලදායක පියවර ගැනීමට යෝජනා කිරීම වෙනුවට ජාතික සුභසිද්ධියට විනාශකරණ විජානික ධනපතිත්වයක්, මහජනතාවට විනාශකරණ විශාල දේශීය ධනපතිත්වයක් මෙහෙවර කරනු සඳහා, ප්‍රතිගාමී වූත්, විනාශකාරී වූත් ප්‍රතිපත්තිමය තව දුරටත් ක්‍රියාත්මක කිරීමට උතුමාණන් වහන්සේගේ ආණ්ඩුව තීරණය කර ඇති බව පැහැදිලි බැවින්ද;

විශේෂයෙන්ම,

(1) ජීවන වියදම දැරිය නොහැකි තරමට ඉහළ යාම සහ අත්‍යවශ්‍ය භාණ්ඩ බොහොමයක සැපයීමේ අඩුපාඩු දිගින් දිගටම පැවැත්වීම ගැන එහි සඳහන් නොකිරීමෙන්ද, එසේ සඳහන් නොකිරීමෙන් විපත්තිදායක මුදල් හා ආර්ථික ප්‍රතිපත්තිවලින් ඇති වූ ප්‍රතිඵල මධ්‍යයේ ආණ්ඩුවේ සම්පූර්ණ බෙලහිතතාව එළිදරව් වී ඇති බැවින්ද;

(2) රැකියා නැතිකම විශාල ලෙස අඩුකිරීම සඳහා ආණ්ඩුව විසින් කලින් දුන් ඉටු නොකළ පොරොන්දු ඉතා නොපැහැදිලි ලෙසටත්, සාමාන්‍ය වශයෙන්ම නැවතත් හුවා දක්වා ඇති බැවින්ද;

(3) ආණ්ඩුවේ වගා ව්‍යාපාරයේ සාර්ථකත්වය ගැන පුරසාරම් දොඩන නමුත් හාල් සලකා යෙන් කපා ගන්නා ලද හාල් සේරුව යළිත් ලබාදීමට හෝ රෝහල්වල නේවාසික රෝගීන්ට බත් සහිත ආහාර සැපයීමට හෝ පොහොර සහ කෘෂිකාර්මික රසායනික ද්‍රව්‍යයන්, බිත්තර වී, කෘෂිකාර්මික ආම්පන්න හා උපකරණ සහ විරැක්ටර් බදු ගාස්තු සඳහා ගොවියන් විසින් වැය කළ යුතුව ඇති මුදල අඩු කිරීමට ආණ්ඩුවේ බලාපොරොත්තුවක් ඇති බව නොපෙනෙන බැවින්ද;

(4) (i) නිදහස් අධ්‍යාපන ක්‍රමය දුබල කිරීමෙන්ද;

(ii) ස්වභාෂා මාධ්‍යයෙන් උසස් අධ්‍යාපනය ලබා දීම අවදානම් තත්ත්වයට පත් කිරීමෙන්ද,

(iii) විශේෂයෙන්ම දුප්පත් පවුල්වල දරුවන් විශාල සංඛ්‍යාවකට සිය අධ්‍යාපනය සඳහා ඇති අවස්ථා දැඩි ලෙස සීමාකිරීම සඳහා යෝජිත ව්‍යවස්ථානුකූල උපක්‍රමවලට අමතරව පරිපාලන උපක්‍රම යෙදීමෙන්ද,

(iv) ලංකාවේ අනිකුත් පළාත්වල වෙසෙන දරුවන්ට ලබා දී ඇති පහසුකම් වතු කරයේ සහ ඊට අවට ගම්වල පදිංචි සිසු දරු දැරියන්ටද, ලබා දීම සඳහා

அழாண்டுகாரமுமெனக் கலாவ :

வநு பாயலா அநுதந் வந ஸே
ரகஸே நிகநஸ் அமியபந க்ருமய பூதீ
கிரிமெ அபொஸைஸந் வீமெந் டு,

(v) ஓர்வரந் ஸேதூர் கர் ஸுநிமெந் ஸு
கிஸுந் அநர் பவந் நு நொஸந் ஸுந்
நாவமெ ஸேநு பூ நுந் விந டுந் ஸுந
விநி விஸுநலா வெநுவெ மெந் மெ
பூவந் விமெ நிரமாரி லெய ருபஸேதி
கர் ஸுநிமெந் டு,

(vi) அமியபந ஸு ஸுஸ்கிநிந அமநிஸே வ
கிமெந் நொர் பூகாஸுயந் ஸு
கிந் ஸுந் வநந் ஸே லாடு, ஓர்வரந்
டு, டேவிலிபிஸந் டு, அமியபந க்ரு
யுதூலெ நிரந பூ அநிகுந் அயடு
பீலீல கர்ந லெ அபஸுஸ மகிந் டு,

அமியபநயமெ கர் அநி ஸுநிஸ கிஸவஸ
ருந் ஸுமெ மூவாவெந் வஸு ஸுநிமெ டுந்
நிந் டுமிலி பூயந் நய டிமெமெ நெயுமெ
அஸுநுப நிந் டு கர் அநி லெ பூஸுடி
வந ஸேமெந் டு;

(5) ரகஸே ஸேவகஸிந்ஸே வுடுபு ஸுநெ
பூமஸுஸகிந் வுமி கர் டிமெ அஸுநுப
பூடநமெ லெ அஸுநிமெந், பூடீலெ அஸு
ஸேவகஸிந்ஸே பகி நகி வுமி கிரிமெ ஸு
மெந்ஸே அநிகுந் பிமாவந் மெ ஸு
லிமெ பிஸுலர் ஸுநிமெந் அபொஸைஸந் வீ
அநி லுவிந் டு,

(6) பநகநயமெ லுபநலெ லெஸ பிமெ நெ
விஸேஸஸேந் ம லுமெ ஸுநிமெந் மனே
லெ ஸு டுமிலி வுநி மநகந பூமஸு
ஸேவாவந் ஸுமிவிந் ம அமபஸு வீ அநந்
பீ நந் ந் வய ஸுந அஸுநுபிவெ நொஸு
கிரிமெந் கமெ ஸேதி கிரிமெந் டு,

(7) ஸுஸுஸுஸிஸி விபந் நிந் ஸேநுவெந் நமந்
ஸே வஸுவந் பூலூபிமெந் ஸே விநா
விமெந் அநி பூ பூபுலெ ஸுநெ ஸுந
யந், விஸேஸஸேந் ம அபபூ நொஸுலெ
லெ வுவிலி ஸுய வெநுவெந் அய கிரிமெ
வஸு ஸேந் ஸுஸு ஸுஸு க்ருபந் ருபஸு
நக கிரிமெ அந் கிரிமெ வுநி அநஸு
ஸுஸு ஸேந் ம லுமிலிமெ அஸுநுபி
லெ பூஸுலர் நுவந் அநி லெ ஸேதி
மெந் டு,

(8) ருபுபிவெ ரகஸே ஸுஸுஸு பூபிபி
கிரிமெ பவந் ஸுநிமெந், ருபுஸ
ஸுஸுஸு க்ருபு நிகி ரிகி ரேஸு
பூபிமெந் அஸுநுபிவெ லெபூஸுலர்
நுவந் அநி லெ அஸுநிமெ
அபொஸைஸந் வீ அநி
லுவிந் டு,

(9) ருபு பூடேஸுஸே வரின் வர் க்ரு
ஸுஸு நமந், க்ரு ஸேடய நிகு
பூடீலெ விடிகா விஸுஸாவந் ஸு
பூபிமெந் ஸுநி கிரிமெ பூபு
நிநஸுபு க்ரு ஸே பரி
பூபுநமெ பிஸுலர் ஸுநிமெ
அஸுநுபிவெ லெ பூஸுலர்
நுவந் அநி லெ ஸேதி
லுவிந் டு,

பீநுநி ஸேபநாவ பிபிபெ லிபுடய

(10) பூபுஸிஸி அபுபுட 4 அநுபு
ஸுஸுஸு லெஸ வுமிலிமெ, அபீலு
பூபுஸு லெஸு லெஸு லெ
பூபு பிஸுலர் ஸுநிமெ
அஸுநுபிவெ லெ பூஸுலர்
நுவந் அநி லெ ஸேதி
லுவிந் டு,

ருபுஸுஸுஸு வநந் ஸேஸே
மெ ஸுஸுஸு விஸுஸுஸு
நொஸு.

“ நந்நிபுஸுஸுஸு திருத்தமக
அதன் இறுதியில்
கிழக்காஸுஸு
ஸுஸுஸுஸு ஸேஸுஸு
ஸேஸுஸு :

“ஸுஸுஸு, மேஸுஸு
தங்கித தங்குஸு
ஸுஸுஸு,
பொதுவாக

(அ) தேயிலை வானிப நெருக்கடி,
மீண்டும மீண்டும
ஸுபாவின் மதிப்பைக் குறைத்தல்,
கடன் கட்டுப்பாடு,
இவ்வுரஸுஸுஸு
பெற்றுள்ள
பெருந்தொகையான
வெஸுஸுஸு
கடன்
காக, வருடந்தோறும்
இறுக்கப்படவேண்டிய
தொகையையாவது
இறுப்பதற்குத் தானும்
போதாத அளவுக்கு
வெஸுஸுஸு
ஆஸுஸுஸு
ஸுஸுஸு,
முன்னெக்காலத்தும்
ஏற்படாதவிடத்
தில் வாழ்க்கைச் செலவு
தொடர்ந்து அதிக
ரித்தல் என்பனவற்றின்
உண்மை நிலையை
புறக்கணித்து
அல்லது தட்டிக்கழித்து
பொரு
ஸுஸுஸு
நிலைநிறுத்தமும்
அபிவிருத்தியும்
இருப்பதாக,
தவறானதொரு
நிலையை உரு
வாக்கிக் காட்டுவதனாலும் ;

(ஆ) மக்கள், தற்பொழுது
அனுபவித்துவரும் தாங்
கொரு இன்னல்களிலிருந்தும்,
எண்ணக் குலைவுகளிலிருந்தும்,
அவர்களை மீட்டு
பயன் காண நடவடிக்கை
எடுக்க ஆலோசனை
கூறு வதை விடுத்து,
அதற்குப் பதிலாக
தேசிய நல்வாழ்வுக்குக்
குந்தகம் விளைவித்து
வெஸுஸு
நாட்டுப் பணக்காரர்க்கும்
பலுக்கும், பொது
மக்களுக்குத் தீங்கு
ஏற்படுத்தி தேசிய
பெரும் பணக்காரர்க்கும்
நன்மையேற்படுமுறையான
பிற்போக்கானதும்
நாசகாரமானதொரு
கொள்கைகளைத்
தொடர்ந்து அமுல்
நடத்த மேஸுஸு
தங்கித தங்குஸு
அரஸுஸுஸு
தீர்மானித்திருப்பது
தெளிவானதனாலும் ;

சிறப்பாக,

(1) வாழ்க்கைச் செலவு
தாங்கமுடியாத அளவுக்கு
அதிகரித்தலையும்,
அத்தியாவசிய பொருள்
களிற் பெரும்பாலானவற்றை
வழங்குவது
லுள்ள தட்டுப்பாடு
தொடர்ந்து நிலவுதலையும்
பற்றி குறிப்பிடாமல்
விட்டதனாலும்
அவ்விதம் குறிப்பிடாமல்
அனர்த்தம் விளைவிக்கும்
நாணய பொருளாதார
கொள்கைகளின்
பெறுபெற்றிலிருந்து
அரஸுஸுஸு
செய் வற்ற நிலையைப்
பகிரங்கப்படுத்துவதனாலும் ;

(2) வேலையில்லாத
திண்டாட்டத்தைப்
பெருமளவில் குறைப்பதற்காக
அரஸுஸுஸு
முன் அளித்த
நிறைவேற்றப்படாத
வாக்குறுதிகளை
தெளி வற்ற தன்மையிலும்,
பொதுவாகவும்
மீண்டும எடுத்துக்கூறியுள்ளதாலும்;

அனுவினாருவானே கல்வி:

- (3) உணவுப் பெருக்கத்தில் அரசாங்கம் அடைந்துள்ள வெற்றியைக்குறித்து தம்பட்டம் அடிகின்ற போதிலும், வெட்டப்பட்ட பங்கீட்டரிசி ஒரு கொத்தை மீண்டும் வழங்குவதற்கோ, மருத்துவமனைகளில் தங்கும் நோயாளிகளுக்கு சோற்றுணவு வழங்குவதற்கோ, பசளை, விவசாய ரசாயனப் பொருள்கள், விதை நெல், விவசாய உபகரணங்கள், திருக்டர் என்பவற்றிற்கு விவசாயிகள் சேல வழிக்கும் தொகையைக் குறைப்பதற்கோ அரசாங்கம் எதிர்பார்ப்பதாகத் தெரியவில்லை யென்பதனாலும்,
- (4) (i) இலவசக் கல்வியைச் சீர்குலைத்தமையாலும்,
(ii) தன்மொழி மூலம் உயர் கல்வி பெறுவதை மோசமான நிலைக்குக் கொண்டுவந்தமையாலும்,
(iii) சிறப்பாக ஏழைக் குடும்பங்களிலுள்ள பெருந்தொகையான பிள்ளைகளின் கல்விக்கான சந்தர்ப்பங்களைக் கடுமையாகக் கட்டுப்படுத்தத் திட்டமிட்டிருக்கும் சூழ்ச்சிகளுக்கு மேலாக நிர்வாகச் சூழ்ச்சிகளையும் ஏற்படுத்தியமையாலும்,
(iv) இலங்கையில் ஏனைய மாகாணங்களில் வாழும் பிள்ளைகளுக்குப் பெற்றுக் கொடுத்திருக்கும் வசதிகளைத் தோட்டப்பகுதிகளிலும் அவற்றைச் சூழவுள்ள கிராமங்களிலும் வாழும் பிள்ளைகளுக்குப் பெற்றுக்கொடுப்பதற்காகத் தோட்டப்பாடசாலைகளும் சேரக்கூடியதாக அரசாங்க இலவச கல்வித் திட்டத்தை விஸ்தரிப்பதற்கு முடியாமற் போனமையாலும்,
(v) ஆசிரியர்களைப் பழிவாங்கியும் மாணவர்களிடையே நிலவும் அமைதியின்மைக்கான குறைபாடுகளைத் தீர்ப்பதற்குப் பதிலாக அவர்களை அடக்குவதற்கு உத்தியோகத்தரின் அதிகாரத்தைப் பயன்படுத்துவதாலும்,
(vi) கல்வி, கலாச்சார அமைச்சரின் பொறுப்பற்ற கூற்றுக்களினால் பௌத்த குருமாருக்கும் ஆசிரியருக்கும் பெற்றோருக்கும் கல்வியிலீடுபட்டிருக்கும் ஏனையோருக்கும் ஏற்பட்ட இழிவையும் கல்விக்குச் செய்துள்ள அழிவையும் நூற்றுண்டு விழாப்போர்வையால் மூடி மறைப்பதற்கு முயலும் நிந்தனைக்குரிய முயற்சியைத் தொடர்ந்து செய்ய அரசாங்கம் தீர்மானித்திருப்பது தெளிவாகையாலும்,
- (5) அரசாங்க ஊழியர்களின் வேதனத்தை போதிய அளவு அதிகரித்துக்கொடுக்க அரசாங்கம் ஆயத்தமாக விருப்பதாகக் காட்டவும் தனியார்துறை ஊழியர்களின் சம்பளத்தை உயர்த்தவும், அவர்களில் மற்றும் சங்கடங்களை நிவர்த்தி செய்வதற்கான நடவடிக்கை எடுக்கவும் முடியாதிருப்பதனாலும்,
- (6) பொதுமக்களுக்குப் பாரதூரமான கஷ்டங்களை யேற்படுத்தும் இலங்கைப் போக்குவரத்துச் சபை, புகையிரத சேவை போன்ற பொது போக்குவரத்துச் சேவைகள் பெருமளவு நிலை குலைந்திருப்பதை குறித்து சிரத்தை காட்டாமலிருப்பது தெரிவதனாலும்,

சீனாவினாலே பிழை விடாமல்

- (7) விவசாயிகளின் பயிர்ச் செய்கைக்கு இயற்கைப் பேரினால் ஏற்பட்ட விளைச்சல் குறைவு, அல்லது சேதம், அல்லது அழிவு ஆகியவற்றினால் ஏற்பட்ட நஷ்டத்திற்கு அரசாங்கம் போதிய நிவாரணம் வழங்குதற்கு குறிப்பாக பயிர்ச் செய்கைக்காக எடுத்துக் கடனைத் திருப்பிக் கொடுக்காத காரணத்திற்கு அரிசிப் பங்கீட்டுப் புத்தகங்களைப் பரிமுதல் செய்தலை நிறுத்தல் போன்ற அத்தியாவசிய நிவாரணத்தை வழங்குவதற்கு உத்தேசிப்பதை வெளிப்படுத்தாததனாலும்,
- (8) அரசுமொழியை நீதி மன்றத்தில் புகுத்துவதற்கு ஆரம்ப நடவடிக்கைகளைத்தானும் எடுக்கும் உத்தேசமிருப்பதாகத் தெரிவிக்கவில்லை என்பதனாலும் அரசுமொழிச் சட்டத்தை அமுல் நடத்துதற்கு அச்சட்டத்தின் கீழ் பிரமாணங்களை ஆக்குதற்கு வகை செய்யவில்லை என்பதனாலும்,
- (9) வட மாகாணத்தில் மீண்டும் மீண்டும் சாதி அமைதியின்மை தோன்றியும் சாதி அடிப்படையில் நேரும் பாகுபாடு, தகவின்மை ஆகியவற்றைத் தடுக்கத்தக்க உறுதியான சட்ட அல்லது நிருவாக நடவடிக்கையை எடுக்க உத்தேசிப்பதை வெளிப்படுத்தாததனாலும்,
- (10) கடந்த நான்கு ஆண்டுகளாக அச்சுறுத்தும் வகையில் அதிகரித்து வரும் குற்றச்செயல், இலஞ்சம், ஊழல் ஆகியவற்றைத் தடுப்பதற்கு உறுதியான நடவடிக்கை எடுக்கும் உத்தேசமிருப்பதை வெளிப்படுத்தாததனாலும்,

மேன்மை தங்கிய தங்களது அரசாங்கத்தின் மீது இச்சபைக்கு நம்பிக்கை இல்லை”.

As an amendment to the Address at the end add the words :

“but inasmuch as the Address, in general—

(a) seeks to give a false picture of economic vitality and progress by ignoring or slurring over realities such as the tea crisis, repeated devaluations of the rupee, the credit squeeze, dwindling external assets that are insufficient even to service the enormous foreign debt that this Government has incurred, and the ever-increasing cost of living that has reached levels never known before ; and

(b) indicates that Your Excellency's Government, far from proposing any effective measures that can rescue the people from the unbearable hardships and frustrations that they experience at present, is determined to continue the same reactionary and disastrous policies of serving the foreign capitalists at the expense

අග්‍රාණ්ඩුකාරතුමාගේ කථාව:

of the national interests and the big Ceylonese capitalists at the expense of the people ;

and, in particular, as the Address—

- (1) makes no reference to the intolerable increase in the cost of living and the continued shortages in the supply of many essential goods, and thereby reveals the Government's complete impotence in the face of the consequences of its own calamitous fiscal and economic policies ;
- (2) merely repeats in the most vague and general way the Government's former unhonoured promises to make a major impact on the problems of unemployment ;
- (3) while boasting about the achievements of the Government's food drive, does not indicate any intention by the Government to restore the measure of rice that it cut from the ration or to provide rice meals to patients in hospitals, or to reduce the cost to the cultivator of fertilizers and other agro-chemicals, seed paddy, agricultural implements and equipment, and tractor hire ;
- (4) reveals that the Government is determined to proceed with its cynical attempts to cover up by means of the Siyawasa celebrations the damage it has done to education by—
 - (i) undermining the system of free education ;
 - (ii) jeopardizing the provision of higher education in the swabasha media ;
 - (iii) taking administrative measures, in addition to the projected legal measures, to limit rigorously the opportunities for higher education, especially for the vast majority of children from poorer families ;
 - (iv) failing to extend the system of free State education to include estate schools, so that children on estates and in adjoining villages may enjoy similar facilities for education as are available to children in other parts of Ceylon ;

ස්තූති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විවාදය

- (v) the victimization of teachers and the resort to bureaucratic repression against students, instead of dealing with the real grievances behind the unrest among students ; and
- (vi) the reckless utterances of the Minister of Education and Cultural Affairs and the insults he has directed against bhikkus, teachers, students, parents and others concerned with education ;
- (5) fails to indicate that the Government is prepared to grant an adequate increase in salary to public servants or to take steps to see that the salaries and wages of employees in the private sector are also increased and the other hardships of these employees removed ;
- (6) reveals the imperviousness of the Government to the virtual collapse of the public transport services, especially the C. T. B. and the Railway, which causes great hardship to the people ;
- (7) does not disclose any intention by the Government to give adequate relief to cultivators whose crops have failed or been damaged or destroyed as a result of natural calamities and, in particular, the essential relief of ceasing to confiscate rice-ration coupons to cover unpaid cultivation loans ;
- (8) fails to indicate any intention by the Government even to begin the introduction of the Official Language into the Courts or to make provision for regulations to be made for the purpose of implementing the Official Language Act ;
- (9) does not reveal that the Government, despite the repeated manifestations of caste unrest in the Northern Province, intends to take effective legal or administrative steps to put an end to the discrimination and disabilities suffered by persons on grounds of caste ; and

அங்குள்ளிருந்துகொண்டு கலாவி :

(10) does not show that the Government intends to take effective steps to check the alarming increase in crime and in bribery and corruption over the past four years :

this House has no confidence in Your Excellency's Government."

"එම වචන එතැනට එකතු කළ යුතුය." යන ප්‍රශ්නය සභාගම්බු කරන ලදී.

"අச்சොற்கள் අங்கු ජෙර්කප්පරුමාක " என வினா எடுத்தியம்பப் பெற்றது.

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

අ. හා. 5.3

කළානායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

The hon. Deputy Speaker will now take the Chair.

අනතුරුව කළානායකතුමා මූලාසනයෙන් ඉවත් වූයෙන්, නියෝජ්‍ය කළානායකතුමා [එම්. සිවසිංහම් පරම් මයා.] මූලාසනාරූඪ විය.

அதன் பிறகு, சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள் அக்கிராசனத் துணின்று நீங்கவே, உப சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள் [திரு. எம். சிவசிதம்பரம்] தலைமை தாங்கினார்கள்.

Whereupon Mr. SPEAKER left the Chair, and Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER [Mr. M. SIVASITHAMPARAM] took the Chair.

මංගල මුණසිංහ මයා. (බුලත්සිංහල)

(திரு. மங்கல முனசிங்க—புலத்திங்கல)

(Mr. Mangala Moonesinghe—Bulathsinhala)

ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය කළානායකතුමනි, අංක 4 දරණ අපේ සංශෝධනය යටතේ මා මේ අවස්ථාවේදී විශේෂ කරුණු කීපයක් මතක් කරන්නට සතුටුයි. එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂය පසුගිය මහා මැතිවරණයේදී පොරොන්දු රාශියක් දුන්නා. ඒ පොරොන්දුවලින් එකක් ගැනවත් මේ රාජ්‍යය කළාවේ සඳහන් වී නැහැ. එම නිසා ඒ පොරොන්දු ඉෂ්ට කර තිබෙනවාද නැද්ද යන කාරණය ගැන අප බලමු. එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂය දුන් ඒ පොරොන්දුවලින් හතක් අටක් මා කියවන්නට බලාපොරොත්තු වෙනවා. පසුගිය මහා මැතිවරණයේදී එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂය දුන් පළමුවන පොරොන්දුව මෙසේයි :

ස්තූති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විවාදය

"සෑම සියලු රටවැසියෙකුටම රක්ෂාවක් තිබිය යුතුය. එය පාලකයින් විසින් පැහැර නොහැරිය යුතු වගකීමකි. රජයේ අදුරදර්ශී තීරණ හා මෝඩ කම් නිසා රක්ෂාව නැතිවූ දස දහස් ගණනට අමතරව ලියාපදිංචිවී සිටින රක්ෂා නොමැති අයගේ සංඛ්‍යාව 5,00,000 කට වැඩියි. රැකියා සලසා වන අන්දමට රටේ තත්ත්වය දියුණු කරන ලෙස පාලකයින්ට බලකිරීමට මේ රක්ෂා නැති පීඩිතයින්ට අයිතියක් තිබේ. රක්ෂා සලසා කළ හැක්කේ ජාතික ධනය සිසුලෙස වැඩිදියුණු කිරීමෙන් පමණකි. මේ තත්ත්වය ඇති කිරීමට අපි පොරොන්දු වෙමු."

එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂය මේ පොරොන්දුව දුන්නේ පසුගිය මහා මැතිවරණයේදීයි. රැකියා ප්‍රශ්නයත් බඩු මිල ප්‍රශ්නයත් මුල් කරගෙන තමයි එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂය ඡන්දය ඉල්ලුවේ. ඇත්ත වශයෙන්ම රැකියා ප්‍රශ්නය ගැන වැඩි විස්තරයක් කරන්නට වුවමනාය කියා මා සිතන්නේ නැහැ. එහෙත් අපට එකක් පැහැදිලිවම කියන්නට පුළුවනි. මේ ආණ්ඩුව බලයට පත්වූවාට පසු රැකියා නැති උදවියගේ සංඛ්‍යාව වැඩිවූවා මිසක් අඩු වූයේ නැහැ. රැකියා නැති තත්ත්වයෙහි කිසිම වෙනස්වීමක් ඇති වූයේ නැහැ. මේ පොරොන්දු ඉදිරිපත් කරමින් එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂය පසුගිය මහා මැතිවරණ කාලයේදී තරුණ තරුණියන්ගෙන් යුත් සමිති පිහිටුවාගෙන ගිය බවත් මේ අවස්ථාවේදී මා මතක් කළයුතුයි. එසේ තරුණ සමිති පිහිටුවමින්, ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂ සමසමාජ සභාග රජයෙන් තමුන් තාන්සේලාගේ රැකියා ප්‍රශ්නය විසඳා නැත, එමනිසා මේ මැතිවරණයේදී අපට බලය දුන්නොත් අප තමුන් තාන්සේලාගේ රැකියා ප්‍රශ්නය විසඳා දෙනවා පමණක් නොවෙයි අපේ තරුණ සමිති වල සිටින තමුන් තාන්සේලා සියළු දෙනාටම රැකියා සපයා දෙනවාය කියා ඒ තරුණ තරුණියන් ඉදිරිපිට කිව්වා. ඒ ආකාරයට එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂය පසුගිය මහා මැතිවරණයේදී තරුණයින් මුළාවේ දැමීමා; තරුණියන් මුළාවේ දැමීමා.

බුලත්සිංහල කොට්ඨාශයේ එවැනි තරුණ තරුණියන් විශාල සංඛ්‍යාවක් මා හමු වන්නට පැමිණි බව මේ අවස්ථාවේදී මතක් කරන්නට සතුටුයි. ඔවුන් අප කෙරෙහි තබා තිබෙන විශ්වාසය තවත් තහවුරු කිරීම පිණිස මා ඔවුන්ට මෙසේ

අග්‍රාණ්ඩුකාරතුමාගේ කථාව :

ස්තූති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විවාදය

[මංගල මුණසිංහ මයා.]

කිව්වා. අපේ ආණ්ඩුවක් පිහිටෙව්වත් සමහර විට මේ තරුණ සමිතියේ සිටින සියළු දෙනාටම එකවරම රක්ෂා සපයන්නට අපට පුළුවන් වන්නේ නැත, නමුත් කෙසේ හෝ පළමුවන අවුරුද්දේ විසි දෙනෙකුටත්, දෙවන අවුරුද්දේ විසි දෙනෙකුටත්, තුන්වන අවුරුද්දේ තවත් විසි දෙනෙකුටත්, සතර වන අවුරුද්දේ තවත් විසි දෙනෙකුටත් රක්ෂා සැපයීමට අප වැයම් කරනවාය කියා මා කිව්වා. බුලත්සිංහල ආසනයේ පමණක් නොව මුළු ලංකාවේ කොහේවත් අද මේ ප්‍රශ්නය විසඳි නැහැ. රැකිරක්ෂා ප්‍රශ්නය සම්බන්ධයෙන් පමණක් නොව වෙනත් නොයෙක් දේවල් සම්බන්ධයෙනුත් මේ රජය ජනතාවට දුන් පොරොන්දු සියල්ලක්ම දැන් අමතක කර දමා තිබෙනවා. එම නිසා රැකිරක්ෂා ප්‍රශ්නය ගැන වැඩි විස්තර කියන්නට වුවමනාවක් නැහැ.

උපාධි ලබාගත් දහස් ගණනක් අද රැකිරක්ෂා නැතිව සිටිනවා. උපාධි ලබා ගත් ගම්බද ළමයින් අද මහපාරේ රස්තියාදු වෙනවා. තමන් සතුව තිබුණු අන්තිම ශතය පවා වියදම් කරගෙන විශ්ව විද්‍යාල වලට ගිය ගම්බද ළමයින්ට අද මුහුණ පාන්නට සිදු වී තිබෙන්නේ එවැනි තත්ත්වයකටයි. එම නිසා විශ්ව විද්‍යාල වල උණුසුම් තත්ත්වයක් ඇති වීම, වැඩ වර්ජන ඇති වීම පුද්ගලයන් නොවෙයි. විශ්ව විද්‍යාලයට ගොස් උපාධි ලබාගත්තත් අද රක්ෂාවක් ලබා ගන්නට බැරි බව දන්නා එම තරුණයන් නොසන්සුන් වීම පුද්ගලයින්ට දෙයක් නොවෙයි. උපාධි ලබාගත් තත් රක්ෂා ලැබෙන්නේ ඉතාම ස්වල්ප දෙනෙකුට පමණයි. ඒ සඳහා කොළඹ සිටිය යුතුයි; සල්ලි තිබිය යුතුයි. ඒ හැර, ගම්බද ළමයින්ට ලේසියෙන් රැකිරක්ෂා ලැබෙන්නේ නැති බව විශ්ව විද්‍යාලවල සිටින තරුණයන් දන්නවා. උපාධියක් ලබාගත් එවැනි තරුණයකු මට ළඟදී දවසක හමු වුණා. කොහොමද, නමුසේ දැන් රක්ෂාවක් හේම කරනවාදැයි මා ඔහුගෙන් ඇසුවා. උපාධියක් ලබාගත් ඒ තරුණයා අද ආණ්ඩුවේ කන්තෝරුවක මුර වැඩක් කරනවා. අද ඇති වී තිබෙන තත්ත්වය ඒකයි.

මහවැලි ගඟ හැරවූ විට මේ රටේ රැකිරක්ෂා ප්‍රශ්නය සම්පූර්ණයෙන්ම විසඳි රටක් සම්පූර්ණයෙන්ම සංවර්ධනය වෙනවා යයි රජය කියනවා. රක්ෂා දීමට මිනිසුන් නැතිව යනු ඇතැයි රජය කියනවා. මිට ඉස්සරත් මේ පද ගසා තිබෙනවා. ගල්ඔය ව්‍යාපාරය ආරම්භ කළ කාලයේදී ඒ ගැන කථා කරන විට කියැවුණු දේවල් අපට මතකයි. ගල්ඔය ව්‍යාපාරය සම්පූර්ණ වූ විට අපේ රට වැනි වෙනත් රටක් මුළු මහත් ආසියාකරයේම ඇති වන්නේ නැතැයි ඒ කාලයේදී කියැවුණා. එහෙත්, අද ගල්ඔය ව්‍යාපාරයේ තත්ත්වය කුමක්දැයි තමුන්තාත්සේ දන්නවා ඇති. මේ රටේ රැකිරක්ෂා ප්‍රශ්නය හෝ වෙන කිසිම ප්‍රශ්නයක් හෝ විසඳි නැති බව අමුතුවෙන් කියයුතු දෙයක් නොවෙයි. පත්තර මාර්ගයෙන් සෑම දෙයක්ම ලොකු කර රටට පෙන්වන්නේ ඇත්ත තත්ත්වය ඊට හාත්පසින්ම වෙනස්. ලක්ෂපාණ විදුලි බල යෝජනා ක්‍රමය සම්පූර්ණ වූ විට සෑම ගමකටම සෑම ගම්බද ගෙදරකටම විදුලි බලය බෙදා දී ඉතිරි වන වැඩිපුර විදුලි බල ප්‍රමාණයක් ඉන්දියාවට විකුණා ගැනීමටත් අපට පුළුවන් වේයයි ඒ කාලයේදී කී හැටි අපට මතකයි. එහෙත්, අද ලක්ෂපාණත් ඉවරයි. කොළඹටවත් හරිහැටි විදුලිය ලැබෙන්නේ නැහැ. මාස දෙකකටවත් වරක් කොළඹ නගරයත් අන්ධකාර වෙනවා. ගම්බද ඇතැම් පෙදෙස්වලට විදුලි බලයක් කොහෙන්ම ලැබී නැහැ.

රැකිරක්ෂා ප්‍රශ්නය ගැන කියන විට ඒ පිළිබඳ සංඛ්‍යා ලේඛන පිකකුත් ඉදිරිපත් කළොත් හොඳ යයි මා කල්පනා කරනවා. ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂ රජය පිහිටුවූ 1960 දී රැකිරක්ෂා නැතියවුන් වශයෙන් ලියාපදිංචි වූ ගණන 1,51,092 යි. 1964 වන විට ඒ ගණන 1,65,456 දක්වා 15,000 කින් පමණ ඉහළ ගොස් තිබුණි. එහෙත් ඊට අවුරුදු හතරකට පසු 1968 වන විට—වර්තමාන රජයේ පාලන කාලය තුළ—රැකිරක්ෂා නැතියවුන් වශයෙන් ලියාපදිංචි වූ ගණන 2,76,399 දක්වා ඉහළ නැග තිබෙනවා. ඒ අනුව බලන විට, පසු ගිය අවුරුදු හතර තුළ එම ගණන ලක්ෂයකටත් වැඩි ප්‍රමාණයකින් ඉහළ ගොස් තිබෙනවා. ඒත් ලියාපදිංචි වී ඇති

අමුණිකුකාරතුමාගේ කථාව :

ස්තුති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විවාදය

ගණන පමණයි. එහෙම නම් මා රජයෙන් අහන්නට කැමැතියි, රැකිරක්ෂා ප්‍රශ්නය විසඳන බවට තමුන්නාන්සේලා දුන් පොරොන්දුව ඉෂ්ට කර තිබෙනවාද කියා.

එපමණක් නොවෙයි. එවකට පැවති සභාග රජයට වෝද්‍යා කරමින්, ඉහළ නැග තිබුණු බඩු මිල අඩු කරන බවටත් තමුන්නාන්සේලා පොරොන්දු වුණා. ඒ බව පසුගිය මහා මැතිවරණයේදී එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂය නිකුත් කළ මැතිවරණ ප්‍රකාශනයේ මෙසේ දැක්වෙනවා :

“(2) ඔබේ ආහාරය සහ රෙදිපිළි සඳහා අද තරම් හිනි ගණන් මින් පෙර කඩදාවත් ගෙවා නැත. දහඩිය මහත් සියෙන් ඔබ උපයන ධනය මොහොතකින් අළු වෙයි. ඔබේ රුපියලේ වටිනාකම දැන් අඩු වී ඇත. ඔබ හරිහම්බ කරන මුදලින් මිට වඩා සැපවත් ජීවිතයක් ගත කිරීමට ඔබට අයිති යක් තිබේ.

එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂය බලයට පත් කළොත් මාර්ග දෙකකින් අපි ඔබ ජීවන බරින් නිදහස් කරන්නෙමු.

- (1) ක්ෂණික සහන ලබා දෙන කෙටිකාලීන වැඩ පිළිවෙළක් හා,
- (2) ස්ථිර සහනය සලසන දිර්ඝකාලීන වැඩ පිළිවෙළක් අනුව අගහිතකමින් තොර, ලාබෙට කැම බිම ඇදුම් පැළඳුම් සුලභ සෞභාග්‍යමත් සමාජයක් එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂය බවට පොරොන්දු වෙයි.”

මිට අවුරුදු පහකට පමණ කලින්, තමුන්නාන්සේලා විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ ඉන්නා කාලයේදී, වර්තමාන ස්වදේශ කටයුතු පිළිබඳ ඇමතිතුමා අමුඩයකින් පමණක් සැරසී පාර්ලිමේන්තු මන්දිරයට ආ සැටි මට මතකයි. අදින්ත රෙදිවත් නැති නිසා—රෙදිපිළිවල මිල වැඩි නිසා, රෙදිපිළි අඩු නිසා—ඒ විධියට අදින්ත සිදු වී තිබෙනවා යයි එතුමා එදා කීවා. දැන් කුපනයකට රෙදි යාර කීයක් දෙනවාදැයි මා එතුමාගෙන් අහන්න කැමැතියි. එක කුපනයකට දැනට වඩා රෙදි ප්‍රමාණයක් දුන් ඒ කාලයේදී එතුමා අමුඩයකින් පමණක් සැරසී ආවා නම් දැන් එතුමා ආ යුත්තේ මොනවා ඇදගෙනදැයි මා දන්නේ නැහැ.

වර්තමාන රජය පිහිටුවූ මුල් අවුරුද් දේදී එවකට සිටි වෙළඳ ඇමතිතුමා බඩු මිල අඩු කිරීම සඳහා කියමින් මහජන කොමිටියක් පත් කළා මට මතකයි. මහජන කොමිටි කියන්නේ මොනවාද

යන්නවත් නොදැන මුළු කොළඹ නගරය ටම එතුමා එක මහජන කොමිටියක් පත් කළා. සභාග රජය නම් පත් කරන්නට අදහස් කළේ, පළාතේ පාරිභෝගිකයන් ගෙන් හා මහජනතාවගෙන් සෑදුණු මහජන කොමිටියි. එහෙත් මහජන කොමිටි කියන වචනවල අර්ථයවත් නො දැන මේ ආණ්ඩුව මුළු කොළඹටම මහජන කොමිටියක් පත් කළා. ඒ කොමිටියට පත් වුණේ කොළඹ කුරුදුවත්තේ නෝනලා දෙනුත් දෙනෙකුත්, තවත් කොළඹ විශාල ධනපති මහත්වරුන් දෙනුත් දෙනෙකුත් පමණයි. අද වන තෙක් මේ කොමිටියට මොනවා වුණාද, ඒ කොමිටිය මගින් මොන වැඩක් කළාද කියා අපි නම් දන්නේ නැහැ. හැබැයි, රටේ බඩු මිල ඉහළ යාමේ ප්‍රශ්නය නම් විසඳුවේ නැහැ.

ඊට පසු බඩු මිල බස්සන්නය කියා, සුළු වෙළඳුන්ට පහර පිට පහර ගසමින් තවත් ව්‍යාපාරයක් පටන් ගත්ත. හදිසියේ පොලිස් නිලධාරියෙක් හෝ මිල පාලන නිලධාරියෙක් දුප්පත් මිනිහෙකුගේ කඩයකට පැන පාලන මිලට වඩා ශතයක් වැඩියෙන් ගිණිපෙට්ටියක් වික්කාය කියා අල්ලාගෙන ගොස් තඩු පවරනවා. ඔහුට ලැබෙන දඩුවම මොකක්ද? රුපියල් 1,000 ක දඩයක් ගහනවා; නැත්නම් හිරේ දමනවා. ඒ දවස්වල “කළුකඩකාරයන්ට හිරගෙය තමයි” ආදි වශයෙන් සඳහන් පෝස්ටර් හැමතැනම වගේ—බස්වල පවා—අලවා ගෙන ගියා. ඒ ක්‍රමයටත් බඩු මිල බස් වන්න ලැහැස්ති වුණා. අද ඒකත් නැහැ. ඒ අන්දමට දුප්පත් සුළු වෙළඳුන් ලබන සතයේ ලාභය ගැන බැලුවත් විශාල ධනපති කොමිෂණිකාරයින්ට ඕනෑ තරම් අයුතු ලාභ ලබා ගන්නට ඉඩ ලැබුණා. ඔවුන් කරන වැරදිවලට කිසිම දඩුවමක් දුන්නේ නැහැ. ඒ උදවිය උසාවිවලට ගෙන ගියේ නැහැ. ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය කථානායක තුමනි, මේ ප්‍රශ්නය මේ ආණ්ඩුවට කඩදා වත් විසඳන්නට බැරි ඒ නිසයි.

අද ලංකාවේ නිෂ්පාදනය කරන බඩු දිහා බැලුවාම අපට පෙනී යනවා, ඒ සෑම භාණ්ඩයකම වගේ මිල පිටරටින් ගෙන් වන එවැනි භාණ්ඩවල මිලට වඩා වැඩි බව. මේ රටෙන් අමු ද්‍රව්‍ය මිල දී ගෙන, ඒවා නැව්වලින් ඒ රටවලට ගෙන ගොස්, ඒවා

අනුමත කාර්‍යයන්ගේ කටයුතු :

[මංගල ඉණසිංහ මයා.]

ලාභයක් ඇතුළත් කමිණිත්තලා හිමියන්ට විකිණීමෙන් පසු ඒ කමිණිත්තලා හිමියන් සේවකයන්ට වැඩි පඩි ගෙවා ඒ අමුද්‍රව්‍යවලින් නිෂ්පාදනය කරන භාණ්ඩ—බටහිර රටවල කර්මාන්තශාලාවල සේවකයන්ට වැඩි පඩි ගෙවනවා—නැව් ගාස්තු ආදිය ගෙවා ආපසු ලංකාවට ගෙන විත් මෙරට තිරු ගාස්තු ආදියත් ගෙවීමෙන් පසු විකුණන්නේ අපේ රටේ නිෂ්පාදන විකුණන මිලට වඩා අඩු ගණන්වලටයි. මේ භාණ්ඩවල මිල බස්වන්නට මේ ආණ්ඩුව ගෙන තිබෙන පියවර මොනවාද? ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය කථානායකතුමනි, ලංකාවේ පෞද්ගලික කර්මාන්ත හිමියන් අධික ලාභ ලබන බව තමුන් තාන්සේ දන්නවා ඇති. මේ තව කර්මාන්ත හිමියන් සියයට 100 කට වඩා අධික ලාභ ලබනවා. ඒ බර සියල්ලම පැටවෙන්නේ ලංකාවේ පාරිභෝගිකයන්ට බවත් තමුන් තාන්සේ දන්නවා. යම් යම් භාණ්ඩ සම්බන්ධයෙන් මේ රජය මගින් පාලන මිලක් ඇති කර තිබෙනවා. කටු කම්බිවලට පාලන මිලක් තිබෙනවා. බෙහෙත් ද්‍රව්‍යවලටත් ලඟදී පාලන මිලක් ඇති කළා. ඒ හැරුණු කොට සාමාන්‍ය මිනිසුන් පාවිච්චි කරන ටෝට් බැටරිවලට, බයිසිකල් ටයර්වලට, එක්සර්සයිස් පොත් වලට තවම පාලන මිලක් දමා නැහැ. මේ කමිණිත්ත හිමියන්ට ඕනෑ හැටියට හරි හම්බ කර ගන්නට ඉඩ හැර තිබෙනවා. මේ සැලැස්මවල් දෙකක් ඉදිරිපත් කරනවා යයි කීවේ මොනවාටද කියා මා අහනවා. කිසි වැඩක් නම් කෙරී නැහැ. එහෙත් සැලැස්මවල් දෙකයි. එකක් නම් කෙරී තිබෙනවා; ඒ හාල් සේරුව කැපීමයි. සමහරවිට කෙටි සැලැස්ම එය වෙන් නැති. විදේශ විනිමය හිමිකම් සහතික මගින් දෙවරක්ම රුපියලේ අගය අඩු කිරීම දිග සැලැස්ම වෙන් නැති පුළුවන්. එවැනි දේවලින් බඩු මිල අඩු කිරීමට උදව්වක් ලැබී නැති බව තමුන් තාන්සේ දන්නවා ඇති.

3 වැනි පොරොන්දුව මෙයයි :

“ඔබේ නිවාසය ඔබට අයිති කර ගන්න යනු අපේ පණිවුඩය යි. අපි ඒ සඳහා ඔබට උපකාර කරමු.”

ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය කථානායකතුමනි, අද වන තුරු මේ රටේ නිවාස ප්‍රශ්නය විසඳීම

ස්තූති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විවාදය

නැති බව තමුන් තාන්සේ දන්නවා. අද නිවාස දෙපාර්තමේන්තුව යන්නේ ගොළු බෙලි ගමනින්. නිවාස දෙපාර්තමේන්තුව පදිංචිකරුවන්ට ගෙවල් හිමි වන වැඩ පිළිවෙළක් සකස් කර නැහැ. අද නිවාස දෙපාර්තමේන්තුව රුපියල් 2,000 ණය වත් දෙන්නේ නැහැ. 1967 ට කලින් එවා තිබෙන ඉල්ලුම් පත්‍ර ගැන සලකා බලනවා මිස 1967 සැප්තැම්බර්වලින් පසුව රුපියල් 2,000 ණයක් ගම්බද කෙනෙක් ඉල්ලුවාට ඒවා ගැන කටයුතු කරන්නේ නැහැ. එසේ කරලයි නිවාස ප්‍රශ්නය විසඳනවාය කියන්නේ. කොළඹ හැම තැනම පාහේ පැල්පත් පැන නැගී තිබෙන බව පෙනෙනවා. පැල්පත් ප්‍රශ්නය විසඳීමට මේ ආණ්ඩුව මොනවාද කර තිබෙන්නේ? පෞද්ගලික අංශයෙන් අඩු කුලියට දෙන ගෙවල් තනවන්නට කිසිම සහයෝගයක් දී නැහැ. ඒ නිසා තමයි සෑම තැනකම සෑම පාරකම පැල්පත් ඉදි වී තිබෙන්නේ. ඒ ප්‍රශ්නය විසඳන්නට ආණ්ඩුවෙන් කිසිම සහයෝගයක් දීලා නැහැ. තාරාගේන්පිට හා රත්මලානේ කම්කරුවන් සඳහා නිවාස තනාගෙන යනවා. එයත් පටන් ගත්තේ කලින් තිබුණු ආණ්ඩුවයි කියන එක මතක් කරන්න කැමතියි. අවුරුදු 4 ක් ගත වෙලත් තවම එය නිම කරන්නට මේ ආණ්ඩුවට බැරි වුණා.

4 වැනි පොරොන්දුව මෙයයි ; බොහොම ලස්සන එකක් :

“අපේ මහජන මන්ත්‍රීවරුන් සහ උත්තර මන්ත්‍රීවරුන් ඔවුන්ගේ වත්කම් සහ ආදායම් මාගේ අවුරුදු පහා හෙළිකරනු ඇත.”

දැන් මේවා එළි කරන්න සිදු වී තිබෙන්නේ අපටයි. සමහර ඇමතිවරුන්ගේ වැඩ ගැන සොයා බලන්නට නම් විශේෂ කමිටුවක් පත් කර සිටින බව තමුන් තාන්සේ දන්නවා. ආදායම් හා වත්කම් හෙළි කළ අය ඒ පැත්තේ සිටිනවාද කියා නම් මා දන්නේ නැහැ. සමහරවිට ඉන්න පුළුවන්. අපට නම් එවැනි ආරංචියක් ලැබී නැහැ.

5 වැනි පොරොන්දුව මෙයයි :

“රජයේ සේවයේ ඇතැම් කොටස්වලට දේශ පාලන නිදහස දීම යුක්තිසහගත බව අපේ පිළි ගැනීමයි. මේ කොටසාය තෝරා බේරා වෙන් කළ යුත්තේ සියලුම දේශපාලන පක්ෂවලින් සමන්විත පාර්ලිමේන්තු කොමිටියක් මගිනි.”

අග්‍රාණ්ඩුකාරතුමාගේ කථාව :

ස්තුති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විවාදය

මේ පොරොන්දුව අනුව මේ ආණ්ඩුව කිසිම දෙයක් කළාය කියා මා නම් හිතන්නේ නැහැ. ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය කථානායකතුමනි, මේ පොරොන්දු දෙන විට ඒවා ඉටු කරනවාය කියා කිසිම අදහසක් ඇතිව මේ පොරොන්දු දුන්නාය කියා මා නම් හිතන්නේ නැහැ. මේ ආණ්ඩුව බලයට පත් වන විට මේ ගැන—රජයේ සේවකයන්ට දේශපාලන නිදහස දීම ගැන—තෙත්තකෝත් කමිටුවෙන් නිකුත් කරන ලද රපෝර්තුවක් තිබුණා. එය කියවා ඒ සම්බන්ධයෙන් වාතාවක් ඉදිරිපත් කිරීම සඳහා, පසුගිය ආණ්ඩුවෙන් දකුණු කොළඹ ගරු මන්ත්‍රී බර්නාඩ් සොයිසා මහත්මයාගෙන්, ඩී. සී. එල්. අමරසිංහ මහත්මයාගෙන් යුක්ත නිල නොලත් කමිටුවක් පත් කර තිබුණා. ඒ මහත්වරුන් දෙදෙනා සතු දෙකකින් පමණ ඒ ගැන වාතාවක් දුන්නා. එහෙත් එවකට තිබුණු ආණ්ඩුව මාස දෙකකින් කඩා වැටුණි. ක්‍රියාත්මක කරන්නට වුව මනා නම් ඒ වාතාව තවමත් තියෙනවා. එහෙත් අවුරුදු 4 කට පසු ඒ ගැන වචන යක්වත් මේ රාජ්‍යය කථාවේ සඳහන් වී නැහැ.

6 වැනි පොරොන්දුව මේකයි :

“ සිංහල හා ඉංග්‍රීසි ගුරුවරුන් අතර ඇති පරතරය නැති කර සියල්ලන්ටම එක හා සමාන අයිතිවාසිකම් හා සම්පූර්ණ විශ්‍රාම වැටුප් දිය යුතු බව අපේ පිළිගැනීමයි.”

අධ්‍යාපන අමාත්‍යාංශය ගැන කථා කරන්නට මා බලාපොරොත්තු වන්නේ නැහැ. එහෙත් එකක් කියන්නට ඕනෑ. විශ්‍රාම ගිය බොහෝ ගුරුවරුන්ට තවමත් විශ්‍රාම වැටුප් ලැබී නැහැ. විශ්‍රාම ගිය සමහර ගුරුවරුන් අද ණය වී සිටිනවා, ඔවුන්ට ලැබුණු ආදායම නොලැබී යාම නිසා. විශ්‍රාම වැටුප් සම්බන්ධ තත්ත්වය ඒකයි.

7 වැනි පොරොන්දුව මේකයි :

“ කිසිම විධියකින් කාගෙන්වත් පළි තොගැනීම වත්, යුක්තිය හා සාධාරණත්වය ඉටු කිරීමටත් අපි පොරොන්දු වෙමු.”

බොහෝම ලස්සන වචන. ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදය, යුක්තිය, සාධාරණත්වය, නිදහස—මේවා තමයි, පාවිච්චි කරන වචන—මේවායින් තමයි මහජනයා රැවටුවේ. මේ ගැන මා විස්තර කරන්නට වුවමනාවක් නැහැ.

මට පෙර කථා කළ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා මේ ගැන විස්තරයක් කළා. එහෙත් මේ ගැන කරුණු එකක්, දෙකක්වත් මාත් කියන්නට ඕනෑ. මේ ආණ්ඩුව සාධාරණත්වය ඉටු කළ හැටි අප දන්නවා. ආණ්ඩුව පිහිටුවා සතියක් යන්නට පෙර මගේ ආසනයේ සිටි ඩී. ආර්. ඩී. මහත්වරුන් මාරු කළා. කාගේ කියමන් අසා එසේ කළාද කියා මා දන්නේ නැහැ. අපට වැඩ කළාය කියා ඒ අයව සතියෙන් මාරු කළා. ගුරුවරුන්ට නොයෙක් නොයෙක් දඩුවම් දුන්නා. ගුරු මහතා අනුරාධපුරයට මාරු කර ගුරු මහත්මිය හම්බන්තොටට මාරු කළා. එහෙම පාරවල් ගැහුවා. පවුල් කැඩුවා. සමහර ගුරුවරුන්ගේ රක්ෂාව නැති කළා. යම්කිසි ප්‍රතිපත්තියක් ඇතිව කටයුතු කළා නම් අපට කමක් නැහැ. සෑම වේදිකාවකදීම එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂය වෙනුවෙන් කථා කළ ගුරුවරුන් ඒ කාලයේ සිටි බව මට මතකයි. ඒ ගුරුවරුන්ට විරුද්ධව කිසිම දෙයක් කළේ නැහැ. එවැනි ගුරුවරුන්ට විරුද්ධව මහජනයා පෙත්සම් පිට පෙත්සම් එව්වා. එහෙත් ඒ පෙත්සම් එවූ අයට උත්තරයක්වත් ලැබුණේ නැහැ. එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයට වැඩ කළ ගුරුවරයාට මේ ආණ්ඩුවෙන් කළේ කුමක්ද? ඔහු අම්පාරේ සිටියා නම් අම්පාරෙන් ගමට මාරු කර මහා විද්‍යාලයක මුල් ගුරුවරයකු කළා. මේක තමයි, සාධාරණත්වය ! මේක තමයි, යුක්තිය !

ගරු නියෝජ්‍ය කථානායකතුමනි, මට පෙර කථා කළ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා, දෙස්තර මැකී රත්වත්ත මහත්මයාට කරන ලද දේ ගැන කිව්වා. ජනවාරි 8 වැනිදා වැඩ වර්ජනය කළ සමහර කම්කරුවන්ට, දුම් රිය වෘත්තීය සමිතියේ නිලධාරීන්ට අද වන තෙක් රක්ෂා දී නැහැ. පසුගිය කාලයේ වැඩ වර්ජනය කළ ආණ්ඩුවේ සේවකයන් ගැන තමුන්නාත්සේ දන්නවා. වැඩ වර්ජනය අත් හැර ආපසු වැඩට ගියොත් කිසිම දඩුවමක් කරන්නේ නැතැයි මේ ආණ්ඩුව පොරොන්දුවක් දුන්නා. එහෙත් අද වනතුරු දඩුවම් විදින ආණ්ඩුවේ සේවක මහත්වරුන් ඉන්නවා.

කිරි මණ්ඩලයේ නිලධාරීන් පිරිසකට දඩුවම් කර තිබෙනවා. මේ සම්බන්ධයෙන් උත්තර දෙන්නට මේ ආණ්ඩුවට සිද්ධ

අග්‍රාණ්ඩුකාරතුමාගේ කථාව :

ස්තුති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විවාදය

[මංගල මුණසිංහ මයා.]

වෙනවා. හැමදාම මේ අන්දමට රවටන් නට මේ ආණ්ඩුවට බැහැ. එදා දුන් පොරොන්දු ගැන නැවත වරක් මේ රටේ මහජනයාට මතක් කරන්නට වුවමනා වක් නැහැ. ඒ අයට ඒවා හොඳට මතකයි.

රක්‍ෂාවල් දෙනවායයි ජනතාවට පොරොන්දු දුන්නා. ඒ අනුව රැකිරික්‍ෂා ලබන්නැයි බලාගෙන හිටපු අය තවමත් බලාගෙන ඉන්නවා. ඒ අය දැන් මේ ආණ්ඩුවේ තමුන් නාත්සේලා මුණගැසෙන්නට බලාගෙන ඉන්නවා.

මෙන්න, ඊළඟ පොරොන්දුව :

“ සේවක මණ්ඩල මගින් පාලන කටයුතුවලට සේවක පක්ෂයන් සහභාගි කර ගත යුතුය. (මේ සේවක මණ්ඩල පත් කරනු ලබන්නේ ඒ ඒ අංශවල වෘත්තීය සමිති කාරක මණ්ඩලය හා සේවකයින් විසින්ම විය යුතුය). ”

රාජාසන කථාවේ සේවක මණ්ඩල ගැන තිබෙන්නේ මොනවාදැයි මම අහනවා. සේවක මණ්ඩල පත් කරන්නට මොන අභිප්‍රායම අරගෙන තිබෙනවාදැයි මම අහනවා. රාජාසන කථා හතරක්ම දැන් ඉවරයි. කම්කරු පිරිස් රවටන්නට පමණක් මෙවැනි යෝජනා ඉදිරිපත් කළා මිස ඒ සම්බන්ධයෙන් මේ රාජාසන කථාවේත් එක වචනයක්වත් නැහැ. ඒ කොයි හැටි වෙනත් මේ ආණ්ඩුවට සේවක මණ්ඩල පත් කරන්නට අදහසක් තිබුණේ නැහැ, කවදවත්.

මේ තව පොරොන්දුවක් :

“ ලංකා ගමනා ගමන මණ්ඩලය, වරාය සංයුක්ත මණ්ඩලය සහ අනිකුත් ජනසතු සේවා එසේම පවත්වාගෙන යනු ඇත. එහෙත් මේ සේවාවන්ගේ ක්‍රමවත් පාලනය සඳහා ඒවායේ ලොකු වෙනසක් ඇති කරන්නෙමු. ඒ ඒ ජනසතු මණ්ඩල පාලනයට යාලු මිනුසින් හා දේශපාලන නැදැයින් තොව ඒ ඒ තනතුරුවලට සුදුසු දක්‍ෂයින් පත්කර ඒවා නියම ජනතා සේවාවන් බවට පත් කරමු. ”

මේ ආණ්ඩුව බලයට ආවයින් පසු මේ මණ්ඩලවලට පත් කළ උදවියගේ නම් විකක් මම අහමිබෙන් සොයා ගත්තා. ලංකා ගමනාගමන මණ්ඩලයට ආර්. ටී. ද සිල්වා නම් මහත්මයා පත් කර ගත්තා. ආර්. ටී. ද සිල්වා මහත්මයා කාගේ නැදෑ යකුදැයි තමුන් නාත්සේ දන්නවා. කාටත් එපා වූ කෙනෙකු වුවත් ඔහු නැවතත්

පත් කර ගත්තා. ඔස්කා ද ලිවේරා මහත්මයා අධ්‍යක්‍ෂ මණ්ඩලයට පත් කළා. ඔස්කා ද ලිවේරා මහත්මයා කියන්නේ කාටද? ඔහු ගම්පහ තරඟයට එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයේ අපේක්ෂකයා හැටියට ඉදිරිපත් වී පරාජය වූ කෙනෙක්. ලෙප්ටි නන්ඩ සී. ඒ. ධර්මපාල මහත්මයාත් පත් කළා. ඔහු එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයේ හිටපු මන්ත්‍රීවරයෙක්; ගිය මැතිවරණයේදීත් එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයේ අපේක්ෂකයකු හැටියට පැමිණ පරාජය වූ කෙනෙක්. වරාය සංයුක්ත මණ්ඩලයට එහි සභාපතිවරයා හැටියට පත් කරනු ලැබූ ඒ. ඩබ්ලිව්. ඒ. අබේගුණවර්ධන මහත්මයා කැළණිය ආසනය සඳහා එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයෙන් ඉදිරිපත් වී පරාජය වූ අපේක්ෂකයා. පී. ද එස්. ජයසිංහ මහත්මයා කොළඹ නගර සභාවේ මන්ත්‍රීවරයා හැටියට සිට පරාජය වූ අපේක්ෂකයෙක්. මේ ආණ්ඩුවේ පාර්ලිමේන්තු ලේකම්වරයකුගේ සහෝදරයකුත් වෙනවා ඔහු. එහෙත් ඒක නම් මට ප්‍රශ්නයක් නොවෙයි. ඒ කොයි හැටි වෙනත් මේවා තමයි කර තිබෙන්නේ.

සහෝසට එම්. එල්. එම්. අබුසාලි මහතා පත් කරන්නට යෙදුණා. එතුමා කවුදැයි කවුරුනුත් දන්නවා ඇති. ඒ වාගේම මේජර් ටී. එෆ්. ජයවර්ධන මහතාත් සහෝසට පත් කරන්නට යෙදුණා. උන් නැහේ නම් දැන් අප අතර නැහැ. අමරතුංග මහතා කවුද කියාත් කවුරුනුත් දන්නවා ඇති. දැන් නම් උන්නැහේ වඩා හොඳ තැනකට ගොස් සිටිනවා.

කීරි මණ්ඩලයට දොස්තර ඒ. අමරසිංහ මහතා පත් කර තිබෙනවා. උන්නැහේ කාගේ නැයෙක්දැයි අප දන්නවා. ස්ටැන්ලි මොල්ලිගොඩ කවුද කියාත් අප දන්නවා. උන්නැහේ පසුගිය මහා මැතිවරණයේදී එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයේ අපේක්ෂකයා වශයෙන් කොට්ඨාශයක් තරඟ කොට පරාජයට පත් වුණු කෙනෙක්.

හෝටල් සංස්ථාවට එම්. ඊ. විජේසිංහ, හින්නි අප්පුහාමි, එරික් ලැබ්‍රෝයි යන අය පත් කරනු ලැබ සිටිනවා.

තෙල් සංයුක්ත මණ්ඩලයට ලයනල් ගුණතිලක මහතා පත් කරනු ලැබ සිටිනවා. උන්නැහේ කවුද කියා අප දන්නවා. මේ

අග්‍රාණ්ඩුකාරතුමාගේ කථාව :

ස්තූති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විවාදය

ළුහඳි උත්තෘහේගේ ප්‍රකාශයක් පත්‍රවල පළ වුණා. උත්තෘහේ පොලීසියේ සිටි නිලධරයෙක්. වද දීමට කැමති බවයි, උත්තෘහේ පත්‍රයෙන් කියා තිබුණේ. උත්තෘහේ ගැන වැඩිදුර විස්තර කරන්නට වුවමනාවක් නැහැ.

මා මේ කරුණු වික සපයා ගත්තේ අහම්බෙනි. මේ කරුණුවලින් පෙනෙන්නේ මේ ආණ්ඩුව එදා වූ පොරොන්දු 25 ඉෂ්ට කරනවා තබා ඒ පොරොන්දු ගැන මේ රාජ්‍යය කටාවෙහි වචනයක්වත් සඳහන් කර නැති බවයි. මහජනයාට දෙන ලද පොරොන්දුවලට හාත්පසින්ම විරුද්ධ දේවල් නම් මේ ආණ්ඩුවෙන් සිදු වී තිබෙනවා. යම් යම් ස්ථානවලට නැදෑයන් පත් නොකරන බවට පොරොන්දු දුන්නා. එහෙත් නැදෑයින් පත් කළා. දේශපාලනඥයින් පත් නොකරන බවට පොරොන්දු දුන්නා. එහෙත්, දේශපාලනඥයන් පත් කළා. ආණ්ඩුව පිහිටුවා වික කලක් ගත වන්නත් මත්තෙන් මේ පත්වීම් කළා.

අ. හා. 5.40

නිලයාප්ත කළානායකතුමා

(உப சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Deputy Speaker)

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

අනතුරුව නියෝජ්‍ය කථානායකතුමා මූලාසනයෙන් ඉවත් වූයෙන්, කථානායකතුමා මූලාසනාරූඪ විය.

[அதன் பிறகு உப சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள் அக்கிரா சனத்திலிருந்து நீங்கவே, சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள் தலைமைதாங்கினார்கள்].

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

මංගල මුහුසිංහ මයා.

(திரு. மங்கள முனசிங்க)

(Mr. Mangala Moonesinghe)

පළි ගත්තේ නැතැයි එදා කීවත්, මේ
ආණ්ඩුව පිහිටුවූ හැරියේම පළි ගැනීමේ
ව්‍යාපාරය ආරම්භ කළා. ඒක වඩා සාර්ථක
අත්දැකීම් කරගෙන ගොස් තිබෙනවා.
මගේ කථාව මීට වඩා දීර්ඝ කරන්නේ
නැහැ. විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වය වෙනුවෙන් ඉදි

දින න්‍යාය පත්‍රයේ සඳහන් වන 4 වන සංශෝධනය මා මෙම ගරු සභාවට ඉදිරිපත් කරනවා.

ඉලංගරත්න මය.

(திரு. இலங்கரத்ன)

(Mr. Ilangaratne)

විසින් ස්විර කරන ලදී.

அனுவதித்தார்

seconded.

සංග්‍රහය මෙසේ ය :

திருத்தம் வருமாறு :

The Amendment is as follows :

“සංශෝධනයක් වශයෙන් ස්තූති
යෝජනාව අගට එකතු කිරීමට:

“සංශෝධනයක් වශයෙන් ස්තුති ශෝජනාව අගව එකතු කිරීමට :

‘එතෙකුදු වුවත්’, එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂය විසින් නිකුත් කරන ලද 1965 වර්ෂයේ මහා මැතිවරණ ප්‍රකාශනයෙන් මහජනතාවට දුන් පොරොන්දු සහ ප්‍රකාශයන්, විශේෂයෙන්ම පහත සඳහන් කරුණු නම පාලන බලයේ අවසාන වර්ෂයේදී වත් ඉටු කිරී ඔට බලාපොරොත්තු වන බව උතුමාණන් වහන්සේගේ කථාවේ නොදක්වෙන බැවින් ඒ ගැන අප කණගාටුව පළ කරන අතර උතුමාණන් වහන්සේගේ ආණ්ඩුව කෙරෙහි විශ්වාසය නොමැති බව මෙම සභාව ප්‍රකාශ කර සිටින්නීය :

(1) සෑම සියලු රටවැසියෙකුටම රක්ෂාවක් තිබිය යුතුය. එය පාලකයින් විසින් පැහැර නොහැරිය යුතු වගකීමකි. රජයේ අද්වර්ගී තීරණ හා මෝඩකම් නිසා රක්ෂාව නැතිවූ දස දහස් ගණනට අමතරව ලියාපදිංචිවී සිටින රක්ෂා නොමැති අයගේ සංඛ්‍යාව 5,00,000 කට වැඩියි. රුකිරක්ෂා සුලභ වන අන්දමට රටේ තත්ත්වය දියුණු කරන ලෙස පාලකයින්ට බලකිරීමට මේ රක්ෂා නැති පීඩිතයින්ට අයිතියක් තිබේ. රක්ෂා සුලභ කළ හැක්කේ ජාතික ධනය සිඝ්‍ර ලෙස වැඩිදියුණු කිරීමෙන් පමණකි. මේ තත්ත්වය ඇති කිරීමට අපි පොරොන්දු වෙමු.

(2) ඔබේ ආහාරය සහ රෙදිපිළි සඳහා අද තරම් ගිනි ගණන් මින් පෙර කඩදාවත් ගෙවා නැත. දහඩිය මහත් සියයෙන් ඔබ උපයන ධනය මොහොතකින් අලූවෙයි. ඔබේ රූපියලේ වටිනාකම දැන් අඩුවී ඇත. ඔබ හරිහම්බ කරන මුදලින් මිට වඩා සැපවත් ජීවිතයක් ගත කිරීමට ඔබට අයිතියක් තිබේ.

ස්ත්‍රීන් යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විමර්ශය

“ நன்றியுரைக்குத் திருத்தமாக அதன் இறுதியில் கீழ்க்காணும் சொற்களைச் சேர்க்க வேண்டும்.

- ‘1965 ஆம் ஆண்டில் நடைபெற்ற பொதுத்தேர்தலின் பொருட்டு வெளியிடப்பட்ட ஐக்கிய தேசியக் கட்சியின் தேர்தல் விஞ்ஞாபனத்தில் அக்கட்சியால் பொதுமக்களுக்கு அளிக்கப்பட்ட வாக்குறுதிகளையும், கொள்கைப் பிரகடனங்களையும், குறிப்பாக—

- 1) “தொழில் பெறும் உரிமை ஒவ்வொரு பிரசு யினதும் உரிமையாகுமென்பது எமது கருத் தாகும். அரசாங்கத்தின் நடவடிக்கை காரண மாய்த் தம் பதவிகளை இழந்த ஆயிரக் கணக்கானோர் உட்பட 5,00,000 க்கும் அதிக மானோர் வேலையற்றிருக்கிறார்கள் என்பதை நீங்கள் அறிவீர்கள். தொழில் பெறும் வாய்ப் புக்களை அதிகரிக்கக்கூடிய நிலைமைகளை நாட் டில் உருவாக்குமாறு அரசாங்கத்தைக் கேட் கும் உரிமை அவர்களுக்குண்டு. தேசிய செல்வத்திலேற்படும் விரைவான அதிகரிப் பின் மூலம் மாத்திரமே தொழில் பெறும் வாய்ப்புக்களை உருவாக்க முடியும். இம் முயற்சியில் வெற்றி காண்பதற்கு அரசாங்கத் தால் உடனடி நடவடிக்கை எடுப்பதற்கு வகை செய்யப்படுமென நாங்கள் உறுதி யளிக்கிறோம்.”
- 2) “உங்களது உணவுக்கும் உடைக்கும் நீங்கள் தற்பொழுது செலவிடுவது போல முன்னெப் பொழுதாவது நீங்கள் செலவிட்டதுண்டா? நீங்கள் கஷ்டப்பட்டுச் சம்பாதிக்கும் பணம் சொற்ப நேரத்தில் மறைந்துவிடுகிறது. இன்று ஒரு ரூபாவிற்குரிய பெறுமதி மிகக் குறைவே. இது உங்களுடைய பணம். எனவே அதிகமானவற்றை வாங்குவதற்கும் இதை விட நல்ல முறையில் வாழ்வதற்கும் உங்க ளுக்கு உரிமையுண்டு. ஐக்கிய தேசியக் கட்சி யானது (1) குறுகிய காலத் திட்டம், (2) நீண்டகாலத் திட்டம் ஆகிய இரு வழிகளின் மூலம் வாழ்க்கைச் செலவைக் குறைக்கும். அதிக மான உணவு, உடை ஆகியவற்றை போது மான அளவில் மலிவான விலையில் வழங் கும். நாகரிக வாழ்க்கைக்கு இன்றியமையாத இவைகளை உங்களுக்கு வழங்குமென ஐக்கிய தேசியக் கட்சி உங்களுக்கு வாக்குறுதியளிக் கிறது.”
- 3) “உங்களது வீட்டுக்கு நீங்களே சொந்தக்கார ராகுங்கள்” என்பது உங்களுக்கு நாம் அனுப் பும் செய்தியாகும். நீங்கள் அதன் சொந்தக் காரராவதற்கு நாங்கள் உதவியளிப்போம்.”
- 4) “எமது பாராளுமன்ற அங்கத்தினர்கள், செனெ ற்றர்கள் அனைவரும் அவர்களின் சொத்துக் களையும் அவ்வருவாய்க்குரிய வழிவகைகளை யும் வருடாவருடம் வெளிப்படுத்துவார்கள்.”
- 5) “கட்சிகள் அனைத்தினையுங் கொடை பாராளு மன்ற தெரிவுமுறினால் அங்கீகரிக்கப்படும் குறிப்பிட்ட சில பிரிவுகளைச் சேர்ந்த அரசாங்க ஊழியர்களுக்கு அரசியல் உரிமைகள் வழங்குவதற்கு ஆதாரவளிக்கிறோம்.”

සිතුවම් කිරීමේ කලාව

- (2) 'Never before have you paid so much for your food and clothing as you pay now. Your hard-earned money disappears in no time at all. Your rupee is worth little today. It is your money, and you have a right to buy more and live better.

ගරු කළානායකතුමනි, මා මගේ කළාව
ප්‍රශ්නයකට දෙකකට පමණක් සීමා
කරන්නවයි, බ්‍රොපොරොන්තු වන්නේ.
මේ වර රාජාසන කළාව ඉදිරිපත් කළා
යින් පසු, දැනට දවස් දෙක තුනකට
පෙර, මගේ මිත්‍රයකුත් සමඟ

අග්‍රාණ්ඩුකාරතුමාගේ කථාව:

ස්තුති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විවාදය

[සබසිංහ මයා.]

එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයට පසුගිය මහා මැතිවරණයේදී ආධාර කළ කීප දෙනකු කථා කරමින් සිටියා. මා නියෝජනය කරන කොට්ඨාශයට අල්ලපු කොට්ඨාශයේ එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයේ මහතකු අනෙක් අයට කීවේ, “අපේ ආණ්ඩුව තවත් අවුරුද්දක් නිදාගෙන සිටිනු ඇත” යනුවෙනුයි. මේ අය එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයට බොහොම මහත්සි වී වැඩ කළ උදවියයි. මෙම ගරු සභා ගර්භය දෙස බැලීමෙන්, මහජන ගැලරිය දෙස බැලීමෙන්, මුළු රට දෙස බැලීමෙන් අද පෙනී යන්නේ හුමිකම්පාවක ලකුණු ඒ හැම තැනකම තිබෙන බවයි. පැත්තකින් ගිනි කන්දක් ඇති අතර මෙම ආණ්ඩුව තමන් ඉදිරිපිට තිබෙන ප්‍රශ්නවලට පිළිතුරු සොයා ගන්නට බැරිව අතරමං වී, නිදෝෂගත වී සිටින බව පෙනී යනවා. ආර්ථික අතින් බැලුවත්, දේශපාලන අතින් බැලුවත්, සංස්කෘතිය අතින් බැලුවත් ඒ සෑම අංශයකින්ම මේ ආණ්ඩුවේ බංකොලොත් භාවය මේ අවුරුදු හතරහමාර ඇතුළත හොඳ හැටි ඔප්පු වුණා.

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, මෙය තමන්ගේ අවසාන රාජාසන කථාව වන හෙයින් මෙම රාජාසන කථාවෙන් මේ ආණ්ඩුව කියා සිටිනවා, කර තිබෙන වැඩ ඉදිරි කාලසීමාව ඇතුළතදී තවතවත් හොඳට කරනවාය, අසම්පූර්ණව තිබෙන වැඩ ඉතා ඉක්මණින් ඉවර කරනවාය යනුවෙන්. අළුතින් කරන්නට පටන් ගන්නේ ඉතා අවශ්‍ය වැඩයි. මේ කතාවල සත්‍යයක් තිබෙනවා. අවසාන කර තිබෙන වැඩ නම් තවදුරටත් හොඳට කෙරෙන බව ලංකා ගමනාගමන මණ්ඩලය වැනි තැන්වල වැඩ කටයුතු දෙස බලන විට හොඳාකාර පෙනී යනවා. මේ රටේ ජනතාව අතර පවත්නා නොයෙකුත් කසුකුසු වලින් අපට එය වැටහෙනවා. එහෙත් අද මා කතා කරන්නට යන්නේ ඒවා ගැන නොවෙයි. මා අද කතා කරන්නට යන්නේ අපේ මැද කොළඹ තුන්වන ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා (කෙනමත් මයා.) නැවැත්වූ තැන සිටයි.

මේ රටේ ආර්ථික තත්ත්වයෙහි ඇති වී තිබෙන යම් යම් ලක්ෂණ පිළිබඳව එතුමා පෙන්වා දුන්නා. අපේ ගරු අගමැතිතුමා කියා සිටින්නේ අපට දේශපාලන නිදහස ලැබී දැන් අවුරුදු 21 ක් පමණ ගත වී

ඇතත් අපට දැන් තිබෙන විශාලම කර්තව්‍යය නම් අපේ ආර්ථික නිදහස ලබා ගැනීම බවයි. එහි සත්‍යයක් තිබෙන බව මා දන්නවා. අපට අපේ රටේ ආර්ථික නිදහස ලබා ගැනීම ඉතාම අවශ්‍යයි. අපේ ජාතික නිදහස රැක ගැනීමට නම්, අපේ ජනතාවට නියම නිදහසක් තිබෙනවායැයි කියන්නට නම්, දේශපාලන නිදහස වාගේම අපට ආර්ථික නිදහසත් අවශ්‍යයි. එහෙත් කනගාටුවට කාරණය නම් දේශ පාලන නිදහස ලැබී අවුරුදු 21 ක් ගතවී ඇතත් අප ඉදිරිපිට තිබෙන අත්‍යාවශ්‍ය කර්තව්‍යය වන අපේ ආර්ථික නිදහස ලබා ගැනීමට අපට තවම බැරිවීමයි. අපේ ආර්ථික නිදහස ගැන කතා කරන විට අපේ රටේ අතීතය ගැනත් අපි ටිකක් කල්පනා කර බලන්නට ඕනෑ. අපේ රටේ ආර්ථික නිදහස නැතිවූයේ කෙසේද? ආර්ථික අතින් අපේ රටේ නිදහස නැති වූයේ අධිරාජ්‍යවාදීන්ගේ කාලයේදී බව තමුන් නාන්සේලා හොඳාකාර දන්නවා. අපේ රටේ ඉඩකඩම් විදේශීය කොම්පැනිකාර යන් විසින් අල්ලා ගනු ලැබුවා. ඒවායින් වැඩි කොටසක් තවම තිබෙන්නේ ඒ අය අතේයි. අපේ රටේ විදේශ වෙළඳාම විදේශීය කොම්පැනිකාරයන් අල්ලා ගත්තා. එම ඒකාධිකාරය තවමත් මේ රටේ තිබෙනවා. අපේ මුදල් හදල් ගනුදෙනු කරන ආයතන—බැංකු යනාදිය—ඉංග්‍රීසි කාරයන් ආරම්භ කළා. ඒ අයට තවතවත් පහසුකම් දී ඒවා තවදුරටත් තහවුරු කර ගන්නට ඉඩකඩ සලසා දී තිබෙනවා. 1948 දී නිදහස ලැබුණාට මොකද තවම අපේ රටේ ආර්ථිකයට බලපාන සෑම අංශයකම වාගේ අධිනිය විශාල වශයෙන් තිබෙන්නේ විදේශීය ආර්ථික ඒකාධිකාරයට බව පිළිගත යුතුයි. ඒ අනුව අපට තිබෙන පළමුවන කර්තව්‍යය වියයුත්තේ මේ කියන බැම්මලින් නිදහස් වීම නේද? ආර්ථික නිදහස සම්පූර්ණ කර ගැනීම සඳහා එම කර්තව්‍යය ඉටු කළ යුතුයි.

ගරු අගමැතිතුමා හෝ වෙන කෙනෙක් හෝ අවංකව කල්පනා කරනවා නම් අපේ ආර්ථික නිදහස ලබා ගැනීම සඳහා අප ඉදිරිපිට තිබෙන වැදගත්ම කර්තව්‍යය වන්නේ ගිය ශත වර්ෂයේදී බැඳ තබන ලද අර කියන බැම් කඩා බිඳ දැමීමට වියැබී කිරීම බව පෙනී යනවා ඇති. එහෙත් 1965 දී බලයට පත් මේ ආණ්ඩුව වැදගත්

අග්‍රාණ්ඩුකාරතුමාගේ කථාව :

ස්තුති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විවාදය

ප්‍රතිපත්තියක් හැටියට පිළිගෙන තිබෙන්නේ කුමක්ද? තමන්ගේ ආත්ම ගෞරවය නැති කර ගෙන මේ රටේ සංවර්ධනය ස්වදේශීය හා විදේශීය ධනපති කණ්ඩායම් මාර්ගයෙන් ඇති කළයුතුය යන ප්‍රතිපත්තියට මුල් තැන දීමයි, මේ උදවිය කර තිබෙන්නේ. මධ්‍යස්ථව කල්පනා කරන කිසිම කෙනෙකුට එය එසේ නොවේයයි කියන්නට බැහැ. 1956 සිට 1964 පමණ වන තුරු ක්‍රමක්‍රමයෙන් ඒ ආර්ථික ඒකාධිකාරයන් කඩා බිඳ දැමීමට යම් යම් පියවර වල් ගත්තා ලද නමුත් මේ ආණ්ඩුව ඒ ප්‍රතිපත්ති සම්පූර්ණයෙන් වෙනස් කර, තවන වරක් අධිරාජ්‍යවාදී ආර්ථික බැම් උඩ තවත් බැම් බිඳින්නට පටන් ගෙන තිබෙනවා. මැද කොළඹ තුන්වන ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා නතර කළ තැන සිට මා ඉදිරියට යනවායයි මා සඳහන් කෙළේ මේ නිසයි.

මේ කාල සීමාව ඇතුළත මේ රටේ සිදු වී තිබෙන යම් යම් ආර්ථික සිද්ධීන් දෙස බලන විට, වර්තමාන අගමැතිතුමාගේ නායකත්වය යටතේ මේ රටේ ආර්ථික නිදහස ලබා ගැනීම සඳහා කිසිම පියවරක් ගෙන තිබෙනවායයි අපට කිසිසේත්ම කියන්න පුළුවන්කමක් නැහැ. සමහරුන් මේ අදහස්වලට හිනා වෙනවා ඇති; සමහරුන් මේවා ගැන කල්පනා නොකරනවා ඇති; තවත් සමහරුන් මේවා නොපිළිගන්නවා ඇති. එහෙත්, තව අවුරුදු දහයකින් පහළොවකින් පමණ බිහි වන අනාගත පරම්පරාව අද මේ රට පාලනය කරන පිරිසට සාප කරනවාට මට නම් කිසිම සැකයක් නැහැ. ඇයි? නියම ආර්ථික නිදහස ලබා ගැනීම සඳහා සටන් කරන්නට සිදු වන්නේ ඒ පරම්පරාවේ අයට නිසයි. අප මේවා ගැන කල්පනා කළ යුතුයි. “බටහිර ජර්මනියෙන් අපට මෙපමණ ආධාර ලැබෙනවා; මහා බ්‍රිතාන්‍යයෙන් මෙපමණ ආධාර ලැබෙනවා; අමෙරිකාවෙන් ලැබෙනවා; ඉන්දියාවෙන් ලැබෙනවා” ආදී වශයෙන් අප ප්‍රචාරය කරනවා. එහෙත් මේ ආධාරවල පසුබිම ගැන විකක් කල්පනා නොකර උදන් ඇතිමත් පත්තර මාර්ගයෙන් ප්‍රචාරය කිරීමත් නුවණට හුරු දෙයක්යයි කියන්නට බැහැ.

අද සිදු වී තිබෙන්නේ කුමක්ද? මැද කොළඹ තුන් වන ගරු මන්ත්‍රීතුමා කී දේවල් තවන වරක් කියන්නට මා ලක්ෂ්මි ආසිසාවේ අලුත් නිදහස්

සාහ කරන්නේ නැහැ. එහෙත් අද මේ රටේ සිදු වන දේවල් අපට පිළිගන්නට සිදු වී තිබෙනවා නේද? පෞද්ගලික අංශයෙන් කිසියම් කර්මාන්තයක් අද මෙහි ආරම්භ කෙරෙනොත් ඒ සැමදෙයක්ම කෙරෙන්නේ, විදේශ ධනය, විදේශීය විශේෂඥයන් ආදිය යොදා නොයෙක් නොයෙක් අතීන් බැම් බැඳගෙන නොවෙයිද? රජය විසින් ආරම්භ කළ යුතු කර්මාන්ත පෞද්ගලික අංශයට දී, ඉන්දියාවේ බීර්ලා, ටාටාලා, ඔබෙරෝයිලා මෙහි ගෙන්වාගෙන ඔවුන් එකී කර්මාන්තවල කොටස්කරුවන් කරගෙන ඇතැම් මන්ත්‍රීවරුන් පවා අධ්‍යක්ෂ මණ්ඩලවල සිට ඒ විදේශීය කොම්පැනි සමග එකතු වී කටයුතු කරගෙන යනවා. මා අහන්නේ මේවා කළ යුතු වැඩද යන ප්‍රශ්නයයි. විදේශීය ධනපතියනුත් මේ රටේ ධනපතියනුත් මේ විධියට එකතු වී කටයුතු කරමින් කාලයක් ගත වන විට මේ රටේ ධනපතියන්ගේ සිත්වල පරිවර්තනයක් ඇති වෙනවා. ඒ අනුව, “දැන් අපට තිබෙන ප්‍රශ්නය මේ රටේ ජාතික නිදහස ආරක්ෂා කර ගැනීම නොව අපගේ ලාභය ආරක්ෂා කර ගැනීමය” යන අදහස මේ රටේ ධනපතියන්ගේ සිත් තුළ ඇති වෙනවා. ඊට පෙර ඔවුන් තුළ කිසියම් ජාතික හැඟීමක්, ජාතික කැක්කුමක් තිබුණා නම්, මේ පරිවර්තනයෙන් පසු එය නැති වී ගොස් ඔවුන් විදේශීය ධනපතියන්ගේ අතකොළ බවට පත් වී අපේ රටේ නිදහසත් නැති වී යන තැනට කරුණු යෙදෙනවා. එය වෙනත් රටවලත් සිදු වී තිබෙනවා.

පරම්පරා ගණනාවක් තිස්සේ, ශත වර්ෂ ගණනාවක් මුළුල්ලේ යටත් විජිත වශයෙන් සිටි රටවල් රාශියක් 1945 න් පසු තම මහත්සියෙන්, සටන් මාර්ගයෙන් ජයග්‍රහණය ලබා තිබෙනවා. ඒ ජයග්‍රහණයේ ප්‍රතිඵල වශයෙන් එම රටවල් පැරණි අධිරාජ්‍ය වාදය දුර්වල කර දමා, නිදහස් ආණ්ඩු බිහි කොට ගෙන, බැණ්ඩු සම්මේලනයෙන් පසු එම රටවල් අතර විශේෂ සමගියක්ද ගොඩ නගාගෙන, එක්සත් ජාතීන්ගේ මණ්ඩලයත් එවැනි වෙනත් සංස්ථාත් නියෝජනය කරමින් 1960 පමණ වන තුරු නිදහස් ප්‍රතිපත්තියක් අනුගමනය කරන්නට පටන්ගත්තා. එහෙත්, 1960 දී පමණ තවන වරක්

අනුමත කළායේ කථාව :

ස්තුති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විවාදය

[සුබසිංහ මයා.]

රටවල් ආපසු ගමන් කරන්නට පටන් ගත්තා. ඊට හේතුව කුමක්ද? අධිරාජ්‍ය වාදීන් අලුත් මාර්ග, අලුත් ක්‍රම හා වැඩ පිළිවෙළවල්, අලුත් සම්ප්‍රදායයන් ආරම්භ කිරීමයි. ඒ වැඩ පිළිවෙළවල් ඔස්සේ නව යටත් විජිත වාදයක් ගොඩනැගෙන බව අධිරාජ්‍ය විරෝධී සටන්වල නායකත්වය ගෙන කටයුතු කළ ඝාතාවේ එන්කාමා වැනි අය අපට පෙන්වා දී තිබෙනවා. ඒ ඒ රටවල දේශපාලන බලය යම් යම් වර ප්‍රසාද ලත් උදවියට පැවරුණත්, කෙළින්ම නොව නොයෙකුත් අනියම් මාර්ගවලින් ඒ දේශපාලන බලය හසුරුවාලීමට අධිරාජ්‍ය වාදීන් වැයම් කරනවා. වෙළඳ ඒකාධිකාර යක් ගොඩ නඟා ඒ ඒ රටවල ආර්ථිකය තමන්ට ලාභ උපදවන ආකාරයට හැඩ ගැස්වීමටද ඔවුන් නොයෙකුත් උපාය මාර්ගයන් යොදනවා. එසේම ඔවුන් මුදල් පරිහරණය පිළිබඳ ආයතන පවා පාලනය කරනවා. එපමණක් නොවෙයි. විදේශ ආධාරවල මුවාවෙනුත් ආර්ථික ක්‍රමය පාලනය කරනවා. ඒ ඒ රටවල ස්වදේශීය ධනපති පන්තිය සමඟ එක්වී සංවිධානාත්මක කර්මාන්ත ව්‍යාපාර පවා පාලනය කරන්නට ඔවුන් තැත් කරනවා. අධිරාජ්‍යවාදීන් නව යටත් විජිත වාදයක් ඔස්සේ මේ අන්දමින් ක්‍රියා කිරීම නිසා ඝාතාව, නයිජීරියාව, ඉන්දුනීසියාව හා තවත් නොයෙකුත් රටවල ජාතික ආණ්ඩු වලට අත් වුණු ඉරණම අප දන්නවා.

ඒ තරම් ඈත යන්නට වුවමනා නැහැ. අපේ අසල්වැසි ඉන්දියාව දිහා බලමු. මීට දවස් දෙකකට පමණ කලින් ඉන්දිරා ගාන්ධි මැතිණියට සිදු වුණා, මුදල් ඇමති වරයාට සිය පදවියෙන් ඉල්ලා අස් වන් නැයි අණ කරන්න. ඒ සිද්ධියේ නැත් නම් මත හේදයේ පසුබිම මොකක්ද? බංකු, විදේශීය වෙළඳාම හා ඊට සම්බන්ධ අනෙකුත් ප්‍රශ්නයයි. කොන්ග්‍රස් පක්ෂයේ දක්ෂිණාංශික කොටස් විදේශීය ධනපති පන්තිය සමඟ එකතු වී ගෙන ගිය ඒ ප්‍රතිපත්තියට විරුද්ධව විශාල උද්ඝෝෂණයක් අවුරුදු ගණනාවක් තිස්සේම ඉන්දියාව තුළ තිබුණා. බීර්ලාගේ ඒජන්තවරුන් යයි ඔවුන්ට චෝදනා නැගුණා. ඉන්දියාවේ ජාතික නිදහසට දෝෂී වන අන්දමින් බීර්ලා වැනි ආයතන විසින් ගෙන ගිය ආර්ථික ප්‍රතිපත්තිය

ඉන්දියාවේ ලෝක සභාව තුළදී නොයෙක් අය විසින් හෙළිදරව් කොට තිබෙනවා. ඒ අන්දමට ඉන්දියාවටම එපා වුණු ඉන්දියාවේ බීර්ලා අපේ වර්තමාන රජය විසින් දැනින්ම බදු ගැනීමේ තේරුම මොකක්ද?

දිවංගත ජවහර්ලාල් නේරු මහතා, ඉන්දියාවේ අගමැතිව සිටියදී බනිජ් තෙල් කර්මාන්තය පිළිබඳ ඇමතිව සිටි කේ. ඩී. ඒ. ටී. මලවියා මහතා මැනකදී මට හමු වුණා. මේ රටේ කම්මන්ත ආරම්භ කිරීම සඳහා බීර්ලා ලංකාවට එන බව මා එතුමාට කීවාම, “ඇයි ඔබ අපට එපා වුණු අය තමුසෙලා පිළිගන්නවාද? ඔවුන්ගෙන් ආරක්ෂා වන්නට ඕනෑ නම් ඔවුන් කර්මාන්ත ආරම්භ කළත් බලයට පැමිණි වහාම ඒවා සමාජ සන්තක කරන බව ප්‍රසිද්ධියේම කීම තමුසෙලා වැනි ප්‍රගති ශීලීන්ගේ යුතුකම යයි” එතුමා කීවා. බීර්ලා වැනි අයට මේ රටේ කර්මාන්ත ඇරඹීමට ඉඩ දීම වැනි භයානක දේවල් තමුන්තාන්සේලා කරන්නේ ඇස් වහ ගෙනද? මේවා ගැන ප්‍රශ්න කරන විට, එමගින් සිය දහස් ගණනකට රක්ෂා ලැබෙනවා යයි කියන්නට පුළුවනි. එවැනි සිය දහස් ගණනකට රැකිරක්ෂා සපයන්නට වෙනත් මාර්ගවලින් බැරිද? ඇත්ත වශයෙන්ම පුළුවනි. එසේ තිබියදීත් අපේ රටේ ජාතික නිදහස නැති වන අන්දමින්, ඊට පහර වදින අන්දමින් මෙවැනි දේවල් කරන්නේ ඇයි?

විදේශ කටයුතු භාර ඇමතිතුමා වශයෙන් අගමැතිතුමා මොනවා කීවත්, මෙවැනි දේවල් සිදු වෙනවා නම් එතුමාගේ කීම පිළිගන්නට අපට කොහෙත්ම පුළුවන්කමක් නැහැ. රාජාසන කථාවේ නම් මේ විධියට සඳහන් වෙනවා :

“විදේශ සම්බන්ධතා කටයුතු අතින් මගේ ආණ්ඩුවේ මධ්‍යස්ථ ප්‍රතිපත්තිවලට අනුකූලව සිය එම රටවල් සමඟ මිත්‍ර සම්බන්ධකම් තවදුරටත් දියුණු කරලීම සඳහාත් සහයෝගයෙන් කටයුතු කිරීම සඳහාත් ඉදිරියට ද ක්‍රියා කරගෙන යනු ලැබේ.”

ඉංග්‍රීසියෙන් ඊටත් වඩා තද විධියටයි කියා තිබෙන්නේ. මෙතැන පරිවර්තනයේ අඩුපාඩුවක් තිබෙනවා. ඉංග්‍රීසියෙන් කියන්නේ මෙහෙමයි :

“In the field of External Relations My Government will continue to foster further its ties of friendship and co-operation

අග්‍රාණ්ඩුකාරතුමාගේ කථාව :

with all countries in keeping with its policy of strict non-alignment.”—[OFFICIAL REPORT, 10th July, 1969 ; Vol. 85, c. 28.]

සිංහලෙන් කියා තිබෙන්නේ “මධ්‍යස්ථ ප්‍රතිපත්තිවලට අනුකූලව” කියයි. ඉංග්‍රීසි යෙන් ඊට වඩා තදින් “ස්වරීක්වලි නොන් එලයින්වමන්ව” කියන වචන පාවිච්චි කර තිබෙනවා.

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, රටක විදේශ ප්‍රතිපත්තිය කියන එක ඒ රටේ අභ්‍යන්තර ප්‍රතිපත්තිවලින් ඇත් කර, වෙනම, එයින් නිදහස් වූ ප්‍රතිපත්තියක් හැටියට ගෙන යන්නට පුළුවන්කමක් නැහැ. ඒ බව ඉතිහාසඥයන් දේශපාලනඥයන් සහ නොයෙකුත් වියතුන් සාක්ෂි ඇතිව හොඳාකාරව ඔප්පු කර තිබෙනවා. එය කාමර දෙකකට වෙන් කරන්න බැහැ. යම් රටක් හෝ යම් ආණ්ඩුවක් යම්කිසි විදේශ ප්‍රතිපත්තියක් අනුගමනය කරනවා නම් ඒ විදේශ ප්‍රතිපත්තිය ඒ ආණ්ඩුවේ අභ්‍යන්තර ප්‍රතිපත්තියේ කැඩපතයි. මේ රටේ අභ්‍යන්තර ප්‍රතිපත්තිය මේ රටේ ජාතික නිදහස ආරක්ෂා කරන ප්‍රතිපත්තියක් නොවේ යයි මා කියනවා. මේ ආණ්ඩුවේ පළමුවෙනි රාජ්‍යන කථාවෙන් කිව්වා වාගේ එය මේ රටේ ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදී සමාජවාදය ගොඩ නැගීමට ගෙන යන ප්‍රතිපත්තියකුත් නොවෙයි. එදා කිව්ව ඒ වචන දැන් මතක නැති වෙලා. ඒ වගේම අද මේ ආණ්ඩුව ගෙන යන්නේ ජනතා බලයක් උඩ ආණ්ඩුවක් පිහිටුවීමේ ප්‍රතිපත්තියකුත් නොවෙයි. අවුරුදු 4½ ක් තිස්සේ මේ ආණ්ඩුව ගෙන ගිය වැඩ පිළිවෙලින් අපට ඔප්පු වී ඉවරයි, ඒවායින් යම් වරප්‍රසාද, වාසි, ලාභ ප්‍රයෝජන ආදිය ලැබුණා නම් ඒ ලැබී තිබෙන්නේ ඉහළින් සිටින අතලොස්ස කට පමණක් බව. මැද කොළඹ ගරු තුන් වෙනි මන්ත්‍රීතුමා (කෙනමත් මයා.) කිව්ව වගේ එවැනි ප්‍රතිපත්ති අනුගමනය කරන ආණ්ඩුවක්, ඒවාට විරුද්ධව එන ජන මතයට පහර ගසන්නට ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදී අයිතිවාසිකම් පවා පාවා දෙන්නට සූදානම් ආණ්ඩුවක්, කුමන ආකාරයෙන් නිදහස් මධ්‍යස්ථ ප්‍රතිපත්තියක් විදේශ කටයුතු වලදී ගෙන යනවා යයි කියන්නද ?

1965 මුලදීම කළ දේවල් අප දැක්කා. ආධාර ලබා ගන්න ඇමෙරිකාව දිහා බැලුවා ; බටහිර ජර්මනිය දිහා බැලුවා ;

ස්තූති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විවාදය

ජපානය දිහා බැලුවා. මේ මැතකදී කල් පතා වෙලා තිබෙනවා, තවත් කොටසක් සිටිනවා, අපි ටිකක් සම්බන්ධකම් ඇති කර ගන්න බලමු කියා. ඒකට වරදක් නැහැ. මම ඊට දොස් කියන්නෙ නැහැ. දෙගොල්ල එක්කම මිත්‍රත්වයෙන් ඉන්න ඕනෑ. සෑම කෙනෙකු සමඟම මිත්‍රත්වයෙන් සිටීම අවශ්‍යයි. එහෙත් ඒක අවංකව කළ යුතුයි. ඒ එකක්. ඒ නිදහස් ප්‍රතිපත්ති කොයිතරම් දුරට අවංකව ගෙන ගියත් කෙලින්ම “එය හරිය, නැත්නම් එය වැරදිය” කියන්න පුළුවන් ප්‍රශ්න පැන නගින අවස්ථා තිබෙනවා. ඒ අනුව මේ රාජ්‍යන කථාවේ සඳහන් වන එක්තරා කාරණයක් ගැන මම අග මැතිතුමාගෙන් මේ ප්‍රශ්නය අහන්නට කැමතියි. මෙන්න ඒ කොටස :

“My Government will support every effort directed towards a just and lasting solution to the conflicts in the Middle East and in Vietnam.”—[OFFICIAL REPORT, 10th July, 1969 ; Vol. 85, c. 28.]

අපි එහෙම කියා තිකම් බලාගෙන සිටියට වැඩේ කෙරෙන්නෙ නැහැ. අපි කියන්නේ වෙන කවුරු හෝ කරනවා නම් අපි බොහොම සතුටු වන බවයි. අගමැතිතුමා දැන් මෙහෙම කියනවා. එහෙත් දැනට අවුරුදු දෙක-තුනකට කලින් ඒ ප්‍රශ්නයේ නියම ස්වභාවය හෝ නියම හරය තේරුම් නොගෙන මේ ප්‍රශ්නය ගැනම තර්ක කරලින් කියා සිටියේ කුමක්ද ? අගමැතිතුමා කියා හිටියේ උතුරු වියටි නාම් හමුදාත් ඇමෙරිකාත් හමුදාත් ඇත් විය යුතුයි කියලයි. එය තවත් පැහැදිලි විය යුතුයි. ගරු අගමැතිතුමාගේ පිළිතුරේදී එය තවත් පැහැදිලි කරන්නය කියා මා අගමැතිතුමාට කියනවා. ඒ සටන දකුණු වියටිනාම් ජනතාව තම ජාතික නිදහස උදෙසා ගෙනයන සටනක්ය කියන එක අගමැතිතුමා පිළිගන්නවාද ? වියටිනාම් ජනතාව උතුරේ සිටියත් දකුණේ සිටියත් 1954 දී අධිරාජ්‍යවාදීන්ගේ වාසියට ඒ රට දෙකට බෙදූ පළියට ජාතික සටන කදී එක රටේ එකම ජාතියේ මිනිසුන්ට අයිතියක් නැද්ද ජාතික නිදහස ලබා ගැනීමට සටන් කරන්නට ? “Just and lasting solution” අතින් සෑම ආධාරයක්ම දෙනවාය කීවාට බැහැ. යටත් විජිතයක්ව තිබී නිදහස ලබාගත් රටක් අප පිළිගන්නවාද, අනිකුත්

අග්‍රාණ්ඩුකාරතුමාගේ කථාව :

ස්තූති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විවාදය

[සුබසිංහ මයා.]

විජිත රටවල් නිදහස ලබා ගැනීමට සටන් කරන විට එයට ආධාර කළ යුතුය කියා? විශ්වාතම් ප්‍රශ්නය එතුමා තේරුම් ගත්තේ කොහොමද කියා පැහැදිලි කරන්නට ගරු අගමැතිතුමාට යුතුකමක් තිබෙනවා.

අපේ තත්ත්වය නම් පැහැදිලියි. අපි එය කියනවා. දකුණු විශ්වාතමයේ ගෙන යන සටන ජාතික විමුක්තිය සඳහා ගෙන යන සටනක්. දකුණු විශ්වාතමයේ ඒ සටන්කාමී ජනතාව එක පෙරමුණකට පැමිණ සිටිනවා. දකුණු විශ්වාතමී ජනතාව තමන්ගේ සටන්කාමී ස්ත්‍රී පුරුෂ තරුණ පක්ෂය ජාතික නිදහස පිණිස පරිත්‍යාග කළා. හැතැප්ම 10,000 කට පමණ එහා සිට ඇමෙරිකන් අධිරාජ්‍යවාදී හමුදා ඒ රටට ගෙන්වා ඒ රටේ අයට පහර ගැසීමට තිබෙන අයිතිය කුමක්ද? අවුරුදු ගණනාවක් තිස්සේ ඒ රට විනාශ කළා. විෂබීජ හෙළා ගොවිතැන් නැති කළා. මිනිසුන් මැරුවා. මොන අයිතියකටද? මොන ශිෂ්ටාචාරයක්ද? මෙවැනි ප්‍රශ්නවලදී අප ඉන්නේ කොයි පැත්තේද කියා පැහැදිලි කරන්නට ඕනෑ තේද? උතුරු විශ්වාතමයට බෝම්බ දැමීම. එහෙත් උතුරු විශ්වාතමය දනගස්සන්න බැරි වුණා. විශ්වාතමී ජනතාවගේ සටන නිසාත්, ලෝක ජන මතය නිසාත්, ඇමෙරිකාව ඇතුළතම ඇති වූ ප්‍රගතිශීලී ජනතාවගේ ජන මතය නිසාත්—ඒ ගැන අපි ආඩම්බර වන්නට ඕනෑ—බෝම්බ හෙලීම තතර කරන්නට ඇමෙරිකාවට සිදු වුණා. එහෙත් ඊට පසුවත් ඇමෙරිකන් අධිරාජ්‍යවාදීන් “සාමය, සාමය” කියමින් පැරිස් වල සාකච්ඡා කරන්නට එකතු වුණටත් පසු පෙරටත් වඩා විනාශ කාරී වැඩපිළිවෙලක් දකුණු විශ්වාතමයේ ගෙනගියා. ඒ කෙසේ වුවත් දකුණු විශ්වාතමී ජනතාව යටපත් වුණේ නැහැ. ඔවුන් තවමත් සටන් කරනවා. ඇමෙරිකන් හමුදාවන්ට හෙල්ලෙන්තට බැරි තැනට ගෙනවිත් තිබෙනවා. දැන් සිදු වන්නේ කුමක්ද? හමුදාව ඉවත් කර ගන්නවාය, 25,000 ක් ආපසු ගෙනියනවාය කියා ලෝකයේ ජනතාව මුළා කරන්නට හදනවා. පැරිස් සාකච්ඡාවලදී මූලික හේතු ගැන නොබලා, විශ්වාතමී ජනතාවගේ යුක්තිසහගත ඉල්ලීම් පිළිනොගෙන

තව තවත් කල් දමන්නට හදනවා. ඔවුන්ගේ ඉල්ලීම වූයේ ඇමෙරිකන් හමුදාවහාම විශ්වාතමයෙන් ඉවත් විය යුතුයි, විශ්වාතමී ජනතාවට ඔවුන්ගේ අනාගතය තීරණය කර ගැනීමට ඉඩකඩ දිය යුතුයි, කියන එකයි. එය පිළිනොගෙන එය තවත් කල් දමනවා. ඒ නිසා “මේවා වැරදියි, මේවා තවත්තපල්ලා” කියන එක එළිමහනේ කියන්නට ඕනෑ තේද?

“All efforts intended to bring about a lasting solution” කිව්‍යට මේවා ගැනත් අපි දැනගන්නට ඕනෑ.

මැද පෙරදිග ගැන තත්ත්වය මොකක්ද? ඒ ගැනත් බොහොම කාලයක් වැනි වැනි සිටියා. එක්සත් ජාතීන්ගේ මණ්ඩලයේදී අපි ඒ යෝජනාවට ඡන්දය දුන් එක ඇත්ත. නමුත් මෙපමණද අපට කරන්නට තිබෙන්නේ? ඊශ්‍රායෙල් රාජ්‍යය, අධිරාජ්‍යවාදීන් විසින් අරාබි ජනතාව මැද ඇති කරන ලද රාජ්‍යයක් බව ගරු අගමැතිතුමා පිළිගන්නවා ද? අධිරාජ්‍යවාදීන්ගේ ධෛර්යය නොලැබුණා නම් 1967 දී ඊශ්‍රායෙල් රාජ්‍යය කළ ඒ ආක්‍රමණය කරන්නේ නැහැ. අරාබි ජනතාව පමණක් නොවෙයි, යුරෝපයේ ජනතාවත් පිළිගෙන ඉවරයි, ඊශ්‍රායෙල්වරුන් ඒ ආක්‍රමණය කළේ අධිරාජ්‍යවාදීන්ගෙන් ලැබුණු ධෛර්යය නිසා බව. අද ඊශ්‍රායෙල් රාජ්‍යය කරන්නේ කුමක්ද? ඔවුන් විසින් බලයෙන් අල්ලා ගන්නා ලද, සිරි යාවට, ජෝර්දානයට, එක්සත් අරාබි ජනරජයට අයිති ප්‍රදේශ අත්හැර ආපසු යන්නටය කියා ලෝකයේ රටවල් වැඩි ගණනක් කියද්දීත් ඔවුන් හිතුවත්කාර කමින් තවමත් ඒ ප්‍රදේශ අල්ලාගෙන ඉන්නවා. එක්සත් ජාතීන්ගේ මණ්ඩලයේ යෝජනාවට මේ රජය පක්ෂ වුණු බව ඇත්තයි. එහෙත් මේ සම්බන්ධයෙන් අපට මීට වඩා පියවරක් ගන්නට බැරිද? ඊශ්‍රායෙල් රාජ්‍යය කරන අකටයුතු වැඩේට මේ රජය විරුද්ධත්වය දක්වනවා නම්, එසේම මේ රජය අරාබි ජනතාව තමන්ගේ නියම මිත්‍රයන් හැටියට සලකනවා නම්, ඊශ්‍රායෙල් රාජ්‍යය යුක්තිය ඉෂ්ට කරන තුරුවත් ඊශ්‍රායෙල් රාජ්‍යය සමග තියෙන සම්බන්ධතාවය තවත්වත්තට බැරිද? මෙවැනි පියවරවලින් අපේ රටේ ආත්ම ගෞරවය තව ඉහළට යනවා

අග්‍රාණ්ඩුකාරතුමාගේ කථාව:

තේද? ඇයි ඒවා කරන්නට බැරි ද? මේවා වැරදි දේ ද? යුක්ති සහගත දේ තේ ද?

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, අද ලෝකයේ යම් යම් සත්‍යයන් තියෙනවා. අපට ඒවා පිළිගන්නට බැරිය කියා අප කොයි තරම් කීවත් ඒවා සත්‍යයන් හැටියට පවතිනවා. අධිරාජ්‍යවාදීන්ගේ වාසිය සඳහා යම් යම් අවස්ථාවලදී යම් යම් රටවල් කඩා, බෙදා වෙන් කර හැදුවට සදාකාලිකවම අප ඒ රටවලින් වෙන් වී සිටීම වැරදියි. පසුගිය යුද්ධයෙන් පසු යම් යම් හේතූන් උඩ රට වල් කීපයක් දෙකට බෙදුණා. යුරෝපයේ පිහිටි ජර්මනිය එවැනි එක රටක්. දකුණු ආසියාවේ පිහිටි විශ්විනාමය තවත් රටක්. නැගෙනහිර ආසියාවේ පිහිටි කොරියාව තවත් රටක්. මැතදි ශිෂ්ට දියුණුවක් ලබා ගෙන, යටත්විජිතවාදී රටවලට බොහොම ආධාර දෙන, අළුතෙන් නිදහස ලබා ගත් රටවලට බොහොම ආධාර දෙන, නිදහස ගරු කරන රාජ්‍යයන් කීපයක් බිහි වෙලා තියෙනවා, මේ රටවල් දෙකට කැඩීම නිසා. මේ රටවල් සමග වෙළඳාම කරන්නට අප සූදානම් නම් එසේම ඒ රටවලින් ප්‍රයෝජන ගන්නට වුවමනා නම්, ඒ රට වල් නීත්‍යානුකූල ක්‍රියාකාරී රාජ්‍යයන් හැටියට පිළිගෙන ඒ රටවල් සමග සම්පූර්ණ සම්බන්ධතාවයක් ඇති කර ගැනීම අපේ යුතුකම තේද? ඒ නිසයි, අප ඉල්ලා සිටින්නේ යුරෝපයේ ජර්මන් ජනරජයත්, දකුණු ආසියාවේ උතුරේ පිහිටි ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදී විශ්විනාමී රජයත්, දකුණේ දැනට ජනතාව විසින්ම ජනතාවගේ බලය පිට පිහිටුවා තිබෙන තාවකාලික ආණ්ඩුවත්, කොරියාවේ තිබෙන සමාජවාදී ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදී ආණ්ඩුවත් පිළිගෙන ඒ රට වල් සමග සම්පූර්ණ සම්බන්ධකම් ඇති කර ගන්නටය කියා. කොටස් වශයෙන් අප පිළිගෙන තිබෙනවා. සම්පූර්ණ වශයෙන්ම පිළිගත යුතුය කියායි, අප කියන්නේ. තවත් රටවල් බොහොමයක්—විශේෂයෙන් ආසියාවේ සහ අප්‍රිකාවේ රටවල් බොහොමයක්—මේ රටවල් පිළිගෙන තිබෙනවා; ඒ රටවල් සමග සම්පූර්ණ සම්බන්ධකම් ඇති කරගෙන තිබෙනවා. කාම්බෝජය, සුඩානය, සිරියාව එවැනි රටවල්. අපටත් මේක කරන්නට පුළුවන්. අපටත් එයින් ප්‍රයෝජන ලැබෙන

ස්තූති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විවාදය

වා. එපමණක් නොවෙයි, අප එසේ කිරීමෙන් ඒ රටවල සමගිය නියම ප්‍රතිපත්ති අනුව ඇති කර ගැනීමට අප ආධාර දෙනවා. එපමණක් නොව, තැත්තැත්වල තිබෙන වංචලකාරී, කලහකාරී සහ තර්ජනාත්මක තත්ත්වයන් අඩු කිරීමට මේ වැනි දේවල් ආධාර වෙනවා. කොරියාවේ සිද්ධ වන දේවල් ගැන කල්පනා කර බලන්න. උතුරු කොරියාවේ ඔත්තු බැලීමට නොයෙක් නොයෙක් විධියේ චරපුරුෂ සේවාවන් වැනි දේවල් තිබෙනවා. කොයි වෙලාවේ යුද්ධයක් ඇවිලෙයිද කියන්නට බැරි තත්ත්වයක් අද පවතිනවා තේද? දකුණු විශ්විනාමයෙන් තත්ත්වය එහෙමයි. ජර්මනියෙන් පවතින්නේ එවැනිම තත්ත්වයක් නොවෙයිද? මා සඳහන් කළ විධියේ දේවල් කිරීමෙන් ඒ ප්‍රදේශවල තිබෙන තත්ත්වය ආරක්ෂා කිරීමටත් ආධාරයක් ලැබෙනවා. මේ ගැන කල්පනා කර බලා මේ ආණ්ඩුවෙන් කිසි යම් උචිත ක්‍රියා මාර්ගයක් නොගැනීම ගැන අපේ කනගාටුව ප්‍රකාශ කරන්නට සිදු වී තිබෙනවා. මේ ආණ්ඩුවේ විදේශ ප්‍රතිපත්තිය ගැන මීට වඩා මගේ කථාව දීර්ඝ කරන්නට මා බලාපොරොත්තු වන්නේ නැහැ.

අවසාන වශයෙන් එක් කාරණයක් ගැන සඳහන් කරන්නට කැමතියි. රටක අභ්‍යන්තර ප්‍රතිපත්තියෙන් විදේශ ප්‍රතිපත්තිය ඇති කරන්නට බැහැ. ඒ බව සඳහන් කරන්නට ඕනෑ. මේ රටේ අභ්‍යන්තර ප්‍රතිපත්තිය හැටියට තිබෙන්නේ කුමක්ද? කවුරු මොනවා කීවත් මේ ගෙන යන ප්‍රතිපත්තිවලින් සිදු වන්නේ කුමක්ද? ස්වදේශීය මෙන්ම විදේශීය ධනපති පත්ති එකට එකතු වෙලා ගෙන යන වැඩ පිළිවෙළ නිසා සිදු වන්නේ, කවුරු මොනවා කීවත්, ඒකාධිපති තත්ත්වය තහවුරු වීමයි. මෙයින් අපට හයානක තත්ත්වයක් ඇති වෙනවා. ජාතික නිදහසක් ගැන නියම ගැඹිමක් තිබෙනවා නම්, ජාතිය ගැන නියම ඇල්මක් තිබෙනවා නම්, අපට ජාතික නිදහසක් අවශ්‍ය නම්, යම් යම් දේශපාලන ගැඹිම් අනුව කරනු ලබන මෙවැනි දේවල් නවත්වන්නට කාලය පැමිණ තිබෙනවා. රටට, ජාතියට ඇල්මක් ඇති හැම කෙනෙක්ම ඒ අනුව ක්‍රියා කරන්නට

அனாண்டிகாரதுமனே கலாவ :

[சுமஸிங மலா.]

மீனா. டூன் ஸென யது லென மீ ப்ரதிகன்
நியென் விஸா விநாயகன் ஈநி வந்நவ
ஓவ நியெனவா.

புரதிகன்வாடி விஸிநாமி ப்நரக்யன்,
நாவகாலி விஸிஸகாரி டகூன விஸிநாமி
ஈனவ்வன், புரதிகன்வாடி காரியாவே
ஈனவ்வன், ப்ரமன் ப்ந ரக்யன் சும
சுமபூரன் சுமடகமி ஈநி கர்ஸன யதுகி.
ரீஸாயெல் ரக்ய சுமன நியென நானாபநி
சுமினன்மகமி நாவகாலிகவ ஈந்ஸுரிய
யதுகி.

ஈசே நமீன் நியென சுமனேமனய மம
ஓடிபென் கர்ஸனவா.

கே. ஸி. ரந்நாயக மலா. (ஈநுராபபுர)
(திரு. கே. பி. ரத்நாயக்க—அனுராதபுரம்)
(Mr. K. B. Ratnayake—Anuradhapura)
விசின் ஸீபெர் கர்ஸன லே.

அனுவதித்தார்.

Seconded.

சுமனேமனய மலேய :

திருத்தம் வருமாறு :

The Amendment is as follows :

“சுமனேமனயன் வடியென் ஸீநுநி யோசனாவ
ஈநி ப்நகநு கிரிமெ :

‘ப்நகநு வ்வன், விஸிநாமலே நன்ந்லய
சுமினன்மகன்

(1) பூரிசியே பூவந்லென சும சுமகலிசுவலெ
ஈவகிர் கிரிம ஸ ப்ய ஈனகிபிமீ நம
கிய கலாபய நநர் கர்ஸன லேசன், நம
யுடிம ஸபூவன் ஸ மீநு ரவலெ யுடிம
ஸபூவன் விஸிநாமலேன் சுமபூரன்
லேன்ம ஓவந்நர் ஸந்நா லேசன், ப்ஸே
கிரிமென் விஸிநாமி ப்நநாவவ நமந்லே
ஈநாஸனய கிரிசய கர் ஸநிமெ ஓவ
டேன லேசன், ஈலேபிகன் ப்ந்ஸன்
ப்நபடி ரக்யவ லேகிரிமெ, ஸ

(2) விஸிநாமி புரதிகன்வாடி ப்நரக்ய பி
ஸநிமென், டகூன விஸிநாமல ஈந்
நேன்ம நியோசனய கர்ஸன ப்நம
ஈனவ்வ வ மூனடி பிபிவ்வன லே ஸர்காரி
விஸிஸகாரி ஈனவ்வ பிபிஸநிமென்,
கூலென் டகூன்மெ ஈலேஸோஸன் பி
ஈநி லேபின்டி;

நவடி, காரியாது புரதிகன்வாடி மஈபந
சுமிஸானவ பூரன் லேச பிபிஸநிமென்,
ஈபிசா-ஈபிசாது ரவலெ கிபயன் மூனடி கிய
கல ஈந்லெ ஈடிசயவ ஸநிமீன் ப்ரமன்
புரதிகன்வாடி ப்நரக்ய கார்டேடி ரகிநவ
பிபிஸநிமென் டகூனகன்வந்ஸே ஸ
ஈனவ்வ ஈலேஸோஸன் பி ஈநி லேபின்டி,
மேல சுமாவ கன்ஸுவ பிபி கர் கிரிமென்

Question proposed, “That those words
be there added.”

ஸீநுநி யோசனாவ பிபிஸடி விஸடி

“நன்நியுரைக்குத் திருத்தமாக அதன் இறுதியிற்
கீழ்க்காணும் சொற்களைச் சேர்க்க வேண்டும் :

எனினும், வியட்நாம் நிலைமை சம்பந்தமாக மேன்
மை தங்கிய தங்கள் அரசாங்கம்—

(1) பரிசில் நடைபெறும் சமாதானப் பேச்சுவார்த்தை
களுக்குத் தடையாக அல்லது இடையூறாக
இருப்பதை நிறுத்தி, வியட்நாமிலிருந்து
தனதும் ஏனைய நேர நாடுகளிடனும் ஆயுதப்
படைகளேவாபஸ் பெறச் சம்மதித்து அதன்
மூலம் வியட்நாம் மக்கள் தமது எதிர்காலத்
தைத் தாமே நிர்ணயிப்பதற்குச் சந்தர்ப்பம்
அளிக்கச் செய்ய வேண்டுமென ஐக்கிய
அமெரிக்க அரசாங்கத்தை வற்புறுத்தத் தவ
றியுள்ளமையையிட்டும்.

(2) வியட்நாம் சனநாயகக் குடியரசையும், தென்
வியட்நாம் குடியரசில் அண்மையில் நிறுவப்
பட்டதும், உண்மைப் பிரதிநிதித்துவம் வசிக்
கின்ற ஒரே அரசாங்கமாக விளங்குவதுமான
இடைக்காலப் புரட்சி அரசாங்கத்தை அங்கீ
கரிப்பதற்கான தன் விருப்பத்தைத் தெரி
விக்கத் தவறியுள்ளமையையிட்டும் வருந்து
கின்றோம்.”

As an amendment to the Address at the
end add the words :

“but regret that Your Excellency's
Government has failed, in relation to
the situation in Vietnam,

(1) to demand that the U. S. Govern-
ment should stop its obstruction
and stalling at the peace talks in
Paris and agree to the complete
withdrawal from Vietnam of its
armed forces and those of its
allies and thereby leave the Viet-
namese people to determine their
future for themselves ; and

(2) to indicate its willingness to recog-
nize the Democratic Republic of
Vietnam and the Provisional
Revolutionary Government re-
cently formed in the Republic of
South Vietnam, which is the only
really representative government
in that State ;

and further regret the failure
of the Government to declare its
willingness to recognize fully the
Democratic Peoples Republic of
Korea or to follow the recent
exmple of several Afro-Asian
States and extend full recognition
to the German Democratic
Republic.”

“ப்ந வ்வன ப்நகநவ ப்நகநு கல யதுகி,” ஸ
புரதிகன் சுமகலிசு கர்ஸன லே.

“அச்சொற்கள் அங்கு சேர்க்கப்படுமாக ” என வினா
எடுத்தியம்பப் பெற்றது.

Question proposed, “That those words
be there added.”

அனுவினாருவருமே கைவ:

அ. ன. 6.18

பி. பி. அப்துல் மஜீத் ம. (இருர்
தேவன மன்தி)

(ஐனாப் ஏ. எல். அப்துல் மஜீது—முதாப்
இரண்டாவது அங்கத்தவர்)

(Mr. A. L. Abdul Majeed—Second
Mutur)

கௌரவ சபாநாயகரவர்களே, உலக அரசி
யல் அரங்கிலே இஸ்ரவேல் ஏற்படுத்திய ஒரு
போராட்டம் உலகத்திலே சமாதானத்தை
விரும்புகிற நாடுகளுக்கு ஒரு பெரும் பிரச்சினை
யாக மாறிவிட்டது என்பதை நான் இங்கே
குறிப்பிடாமல் இருக்க முடியாது. உலக வர
லாற்றிலே ஏகாதிபத்திய வெறிபிடித்த முதலா
ளித்துவவாதிகளுடைய ஆக்கிரமிப்புச் சூழ
லைப் பற்றி எண்ணும் பொழுது எந்த நாடும்
நிம்மதியாக வாழ முடியாத நிலை ஏற்பட்டு
வருவதை வரலாற்றைப் படிப்பவர்கள் அறி
யக்கூடியதாக இருக்கிறது. ஏகாதிபத்திய
வெறிபிடித்த முதலாளித்துவவாதிகள் ஒவ்
வொரு நாட்டையும் ஆக்கிரமித்து தங்களு
டைய ஆதிக்கத்தை நிலைநாட்டுவதற்காக
போராடிக்கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள்; போராடி
வந்திருக்கிறார்கள் என்பதை உலக வரலாறு
நமக்கு எடுத்துக் காட்டுகிறது. இந்த அடிப்
படையிலேதான் இஸ்ரவேல், அறபு நாடுக
ளுக்குச் செய்த அநியாயங்களை இங்கே
நான் குறிப்பிட விரும்புகிறேன்.

உலகத்திலே மனிதன் மனிதனாக வாழ்வ
தற்கும், மனிதனுடைய மூலாதார உரிமை
களைப் பாதுகாத்து வாழ்வதற்குமான சூழ்
நிலை ஏற்படவேண்டியது அவசியமாகும்.
உலக அரசியல் வரலாற்றை அவதானிக்கும்
பொழுது எந்த நாட்டிலும் ஆக்கிரமிப்புக்கு
மாறாகப் போராட்டம் நடைபெற்று வருவ
தைக் காண்கிறோம். அல்ஜீரியாவை எடுத்
துப் பார்க்கும் பொழுது பிரான்சு ஏகாதிபத்
தியத்தின் காரணமாக அல்ஜீரியாவில்
வாழ்ந்த எண்ணக் கணக்கில் அடங்க முடி
யாத வாலிபத் தோழர்கள் தங்களுடைய பிரதேசங்களிலிருந்து அது வெளியேற

பீரூதி ஸேச்சைல பிபிடித் திலேய

இன்னுயிரைத் தியாகம் செய்யக் கூடிய அள
வுக்கு போராட்டம் நடத்தினார்கள். அல்
ஜீரியா விடுதலை அடைய வேண்டும் என்பதற்
காக ஏற்பட்ட போராட்டத்தின் பயனாக
பிரான்சின் ஏகாதிபத்திய சூழ்விளிருந்து
அல்ஜீரியா விடுதலை பெற்றது. இது போன்று
ஒவ்வொரு நாட்டிலும் ஏகாதிபத்தியவாதி
கள் தங்களுடைய அதிகாரத்தை நிலைநாட்ட
முடியாது என்பதை நாங்கள் மனங்க முடி
யாது.

சபாநாயகரவர்களே, இன்று உலகத்திலே
வாழும் நூறுகோடி முஸ்லிம்களுக்கு ஏக
போகமாக கலாச்சாரச் சின்னமாக இருக்கும்
பைத்துல் முக்கத்திஸ் தற்பொழுது இஸ்ரவே
லின் கரங்களில் இருக்கிறது என்றால் எவ்
வளவுதரம் ஏகாதிபத்திய வெறி பிடித்தவர்
கள் இஸ்லாமியருடைய தனித்துவத்தைப்
பறிப்பதற்கு முனைகிறார்கள் என்பதை நாம்
அறியக்கூடியதாக இருக்கிறது. இஸ்ரவேலி
னுடைய வரலாற்றை அவதானிக்கும்
பொழுது, இன்று இஸ்ரவேலில் வாழுகிற மக்
கள் அவர்களுடைய பண்பாட்டையும், அவர்
களுடைய உரிமைகளையும் பாதுகாத்து வாழ்
கிற நிலைமையிலும் மீண்டும் தம்முடைய
நாட்டை விஸ்தரிக்க வேண்டும் என்ற கார
ணத்தினாலும், அவர்களுடைய சாம்ராஜ்யத்
தின் எல்லையைக் கூட்டிக் கொள்ள வேண்டும்
என்ற ஆசையினாலும், அந்த ஆக்கிரமிப்பு
இருட்டிப்பினாலும் பக்கத்திலேயுள்ள ஜோர்
டான், சிரியா, கெய்ரோ, லெபனான், சலூதி
அரேபியா போன்ற நாடுகளுடைய மிகவும்
முக்கியமான பிரதேசங்களைக் கைப்பற்ற
முயற்சிக்கிறார்கள்; கைப்பற்றியும் உள்ளார்
கள். இதனாலேதான் சமாதானத்தைப் பேணு
கின்ற உலகத்திலே, மக்கள் மக்களாக வாழ
வேண்டும் என்று எண்ணுகிற ஐக்கிய நாடு
கள் சபை ஒரு தீர்மானத்தை நிறைவேற்றி
யது. “உடனடியாக இஸ்ரவேல் கைப்பற்றிய
பிரதேசங்களிலிருந்து அது வெளியேற

அருண்வெலாயுடைய கையே:

சீவநி யோஜனாவே பிழைவு உண்டே

[அருண்வெலாயுடைய கையே.]

வேண்டும். அறபு நாடுகளுக்கு அந்தப் பிரதேசத்தை ஒப்படைக்க வேண்டும்” என்ற தீர்மானத்தை நிறைவேற்றியது. ஏகாதிபத்தியவெறி அதிகப்படியாக வளர்ந்ததன் காரணமாக, ஏகாதிபத்தியவெறி தூண்டப்பட்டதன் காரணமாக, ஐக்கிய நாடுகள் சபையினுடைய தீர்மானத்தை முறியடித்து இஸ்ரவேல் இன்று அதனுடைய கொடியை உலக முஸ்லிம்களுக்குச் சொந்தமான பிரதேசத்தில் ஏற்றி வைத்திருக்கிறது என்பதை நான் இங்கே சுட்டிக்காட்டாமல் இருக்க முடியாது.

ஐக்கிய நாடுகள் சபையின் தீர்மானத்திற்கு மாறாக இஸ்ரவேல் நடந்துகொண்டிருக்கின்றது என்பதற்காக சோசலிச நாடுகள் எல்லாம் ஒன்று சேர்ந்து தங்கள் எதிர்ப்பைத் தெரிவித்தன. அதுமாத்திரமன்றி நமது நாட்டுப் பிரதமர் கௌரவ டட்ளி சேனாநாயக்க அவர்களும் இஸ்ரவேலுக்கு மாறாக எதிர்த்துப் பேசியதாக அறிந்தோம். இந்த நாட்டில் வாழும் முஸ்லிம்கள் மாத்திரமன்றி உலகில் வாழும் அத்தனை முஸ்லிம்களும் இஸ்ரவேலின் ஆக்கிரமிப்புக்குத் தமது எதிர்ப்பைத் தெரிவித்தார்கள். அந்த எதிர்ப்புக்களுக்கு ஏற்ப இஸ்ரவேல் கைப்பற்றிய அறபுப் பிரதேசங்களை விட்டு அது வெளியேறவில்லை. இதனால், இஸ்ரவேலில் அன்னிய ஏகாதிபத்திய முதலாளித்துவக் கொள்கை நிலைநாட்டப்பட்டிருக்கின்றதென்பதை என்னால் கூறாமல் இருக்க முடியவில்லை.

சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே, இஸ்ரவேலின் வரலாற்றைச் சரித்திர ரீதியாக, பொருளாதார ரீதியாக, அரசியல் ரீதியாக, கலாசார ரீதியாக ஆராய்ந்தால் உண்மையாகவே இஸ்ரவேல் தேசம் 1947 ஆம் ஆண்டில் ஆங்கில ஏகாதிபத்தியவாதிகளால் பிரகடனப்படுத்தப்பட்டதென்பதை யாரும் மறுக்கமுடியாது. ஆங்கில ஏகாதிபத்தியம் எதற்காக அதைச் செய்தது? ஐரோப்பிய, அமெரிக்க ஏகாதிபத்திய வெறிபிடித்தவர்களுக்கு நன்றாகத் தெரியும் உலகில் செல்வாக்குப் பெற வேண்டுமென்றால் எண்ணெய் வேண்டுமென்று. எண்ணெய் வளம் உள்ள அறபு நாடுகள் மத்தியில் ஐக்கியம் ஏற்படுமா?

இருந்தால் அவர்கள் தங்கள் செல்வத்தைக் கொண்டு, தங்களுடைய எண்ணெய்க்கிணறுகளைக் கொண்டு உலகத்தைக் கைப்பற்றிவிடுவார்கள் என்று மேற்கு நாடுகள் கருதிய காரணத்தினால்தான் 1947 ஆம் ஆண்டில் பலஸ்தீன் மக்களுக்கு மாறான முறையில் அறபு மண்ணில் இஸ்ரவேல் ஏற்படுத்தப்பட்டது.

இஸ்ரவேலின் சிந்தனை ஒவ்வொரு தினமும் எந்த வகையில் அதன் ஏகாதிபத்தியத்தைப் பரப்ப முடியும், செல்வாக்கை விஸ்தரிக்க முடியும், பொருளாதார நிலையில் பின்தங்கியுள்ள ஜோர்டான், லெபனான் ஆகிய நாடுகளைக் கைப்பற்ற முடியும் என்பன தான். நடந்தது என்ன? 1947 ஆம் ஆண்டிலே இஸ்ரவேலின் கொள்கைகள் காரணமாக அறபு நாடுகளின் மத்தியில் ஒரு புரட்சி வேகம் ஏற்பட்டது. 1957 ஆம் ஆண்டிலே இஸ்ரவேல் தேசத்தின் பயங்கர சூழ்நிலையை உணர்ந்த ஐக்கிய அறபுக் குடியரசு ஜனாதிபதி கேணல் அப்துல் நஸார் அவர்கள் அறபு நாடுகளை நோக்கி “இஸ்ரவேல் முஸ்லிம்களுக்குச் சொந்தமான—அறபு நாடுகளுக்குச் சொந்தமான—தெய்வீக இடங்களைக் கைப்பற்றத் திட்டமிட்டுக் கொண்டிருக்கின்றது. இதற்கு அமெரிக்க ஏகாதிபத்திய வாதிகள் வழிவகுத்துக் கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள்” என்று கூறினார்கள். இதே நேரத்தில் தான் சுயெஸ் கால்வாயிலிருந்து அன்னிய ஏகாதிபத்தியவாதிகளை விரட்டவேண்டும் என்கிற தேசியம் அறபு நாடுகளிலே வளர்ந்து கொண்டிருந்தது. காலஞ் சென்ற பிரதமர் திருவாளர் பண்டாரநாயக்க அவர்கள் ஈழமணி நாட்டிலே எந்தத் தேசிய உணர்வை ஊட்டினாரோ, அதே உணர்வை, அதே உணர்ச்சியை, அதே வேகத்தை ஊட்டிக் கொண்டிருந்த கேணல் அப்துல் நஸார் அவர்கள், “ஆங்கில ஏகாதிபத்தியம் சுவஸ் கால்வாயிலிருந்து வெளியேறவேண்டும், சுவஸ் கால்வாய் ஐக்கிய அறபுக் குடியரசு மக்களின் சொத்தாக வேண்டும்” என்று சொன்னார்கள். அப்போதுதான் கிழக்கிலேயும் மேற்கிலேயும் போர் மேகங்கள் ஏற்படத் தொடங்கின.

ஆங்கில ஏகாதிபத்தியத்தை யாரும் எதிர்க்க முடியாது, ஆங்கில முதலாளித்துவத்தை யாரும் எதிர்க்க முடியாது. எதிர்த்துப் பேச முடியாது என்றிருந்த சூழ்நிலையிலே கேணல் அப்துல் நஸார் அவர்கள் உணர்ச்சியோடு, ஊக்கத்தோடு, உறுதியோடு எதிர்த்தார்கள், வெளியேறட்டும் ஆங்கில ஏகாதி

அண்ணாதுரை அவர்கள் கவிதை:

பத்தியமென்று. அவ்விதம் கூறியபோது, இந்த நாட்டின் பிரதமராயிருந்த காலஞ் சென்ற திருவாளர் பண்டாரநாயக்க அவர்கள் அந்தக் கருத்தை ஆதரித்தார்கள். அதுமட்டுமல்ல, ஐக்கிய நாடுகள் சபையிலும் இதுபற்றிப் பேசினார்கள் என்றால் எத்தகைய முற்போக்கு எண்ணங்களை, எத்தகைய நல்ல கருத்துக்களை அறபு நாடுகளுக்குச் சாதகமாக அவர்கள் ஏற்படுத்தியிருந்தார்கள் என்பதைக் கூறாமல் தெரிந்து கொள்ள முடியும். இந்தக் கருத்தை யாரும் மறுக்க முடியாது, மறைக்கவும் முடியாது.

கேணல் அப்துல் நஸார் அவர்கள் ஆங்கில ஏகாதிபத்தியத்தை வெளியேற்றிவிட்டு அறபு நாடுகளின் மத்தியில் ஐக்கியத்தை ஏற்படுத்த வேண்டுமென்று சொன்னார்கள். ஏனென்றால், அவ்வித ஐக்கியம் இல்லாத பட்சத்தில் உலகத்திலே உன்னதமான நாடுகளாக மத்திய கிழக்குநாடுகள் மாற முடியாதென்று கருதியே அவர்கள் அவ்வித கருத்தைப்பரப்பி பினார்கள். ஐக்கிய அறபுக் குடியரசுத் தலைவர் கேணல் அப்துல் நஸார் கூறிய அந்தத் தேசியக் கொள்கை அறபு நாடுகள் அத்தனையையும் ஒன்றுசேர்க்கக் கூடியதாக இருந்தது. அந்த ஐக்கியம் ஏற்படுமாயிருந்தால் மறுபடியும் உலகத்திலே இஸ்லாமியக் கொடி பறக்க முடியுமென்ற நம்பிக்கை, முற்போக்கு எண்ணம் ஜனாதிபதி நஸார் அவர்களுக்கு இருந்தது.

அறபு நாடுகளை ஒன்றுபட விடக் கூடாதென்ற நோக்கோடு, ஏகாதிபத்திய, முதலாளித்துவக் கொள்கை காரணமாக ஏற்படுத்தப்பட்ட இஸ்ரவேல் அடிக்கடி போர்களை ஏற்படுத்தி, பிளகவுளை ஏற்படுத்தி அறபு நாடுகளை மட்டம் தட்டக்கூடிய நிலையை ஆக்கிக் கொண்டிருந்தது என்பதை இச்சர்ந்தப்பத்தில் ஞாபகமூட்டவேண்டும். இந்த நிலையிலே தான் இன்றும் அறபு நாடுகளுடைய நிலை, அறபு நாடுகளுடைய எதிர்காலம், மத்திய கிழக்கின் எதிர்காலம் இருக்கின்றதென்பதை ஞாபகமூட்ட விரும்புகிறேன்.

மத்திய கிழக்கு நாடுகளுக்கு ஏற்பட்ட பயங்கரமான சூழல், கிழக்கு நாடாகிய இலங்கைக்கும் ஏன் ஏற்படாது? அவ்விதம் ஏற்படக் கூடிய சாத்தியக் கூறுகள் இருக்கின்றன என்பதை நான் எச்சரிக்கையாகக் கூறிவைக்க விரும்புகின்றேன். ஐக்கிய நாடுகள் சபை ஏகமனதாக நிறைவேற்றிய தீர்மானத்தை இஸ்ரவேல் புறக்கணித்தது; முறியடித்தது. அதைக் கண்டித்து உள்நாட்டினங்கள் குரல் எழுப்பினார்கள். இலங்கையிலே வரமுடிகின்ற எப்போதும்

கீழைக் கிழக்குப் பகுதியில்

இலட்சம் முஸ்லிம்கள் மத்தியில் அந்த உணர்ச்சி ஏற்படாமல் இல்லை. அந்த ஊக்கம் வராமல் இல்லை. முஸ்லிம்கள் எந்தக் கட்சியில் இருந்தாலும் “அம்மாஹு அக்பர்” என்று கூறியதும் ஒன்றாகி விடுகிறார்கள். இந்த அடிப்படையிலேதான் நான் ஒன்றை ஞாபகமூட்ட ஆசைப்படுகிறேன். அறபு நாடுகள் தில்லுமுல்லுப்பட்டுக் கொண்டிருக்கின்றன; அறபு நாடுகள் மத்தியில் பொருளாதாரச் சிக்கல் தாண்டவமாடிக் கொண்டிருக்கின்றது; நிம்மதி இல்லை என்ற காரணத்தினாலே எதிர்க்கட்சியைச் சேர்ந்தவர்களாகிய நாங்கள் எங்களுடைய தலைவி திருமதி சிரிமாவோ பண்டாரநாயக்க அவர்களைக் கெய்ரோவுக்குப் போகும்படி வேண்டினோம். கெய்ரோவுக்குச் சென்று அங்கே மகாநாட்டிலே—அப்ரோ-ஆசிய நாடுகளாலே ஏற்படுத்தப்பட்ட மகாநாட்டிலே—கலந்து கொண்டு உரை நிகழ்த்தி, “இஸ்ரவேலர்கள் நிச்சயமாக வெளியேற வேண்டும்; அறபு நாடுகளுக்குச் சொந்தமான இடங்களை அறபு நாடுகளுக்கு வழங்க வேண்டும்” என்று கூறி விட்டு அவ் வீர மாதா நாடு திரும்பினார்.

இதனைத் தொடர்ந்து இந்த நாட்டினுடைய பிரதமர் கௌரவ டட்ளி சேனாநாயக்க அவர்கள் கெய்ரோவுக்குச் சென்றார்கள். அங்கே, அஸ்வான் அணைக்கட்டைப் பார்வையிட அவர் செல்லவில்லை. அழகான படங்களைச் சித்திரிக்கச் செல்லவில்லை. ஆனால் ஏகாதிபத்திய வெறி பிடித்த இஸ்ரவேலர்கள் அறபு நாடுகளை விட்டு வெளியேற வேண்டும் என்று முழங்குவதற்காகச் சென்றார் நமது பிரதமர். அதற்காக அவரை நான் பாராட்டுகிறேன். பிரதமர் அவர்கள் அறபு நாடுகளுக்குச் சென்று அறபு நாட்டைக் கைப்பற்றிக் கொண்டிருக்கும் இஸ்ரவேலர்களை வெளியேற வேண்டும் என்று கூறி இருந்தால் அந்தப் பெருமையை இந்த அரசாங்கத்தை ஆதரிக்கும் முஸ்லிம் நாடாளுமன்ற உறுப்பினர்களுக்குக் கொடுக்க நான் விரும்புகிறேன்.

இந்த நாட்டிலுள்ள அரசியல் இயக்கங்களை நாங்கள் எடுத்துக் கொள்வோம். முஸ்லிம்கள் மத்தியில் அரசியல் கருத்துக்களைப் பரவலாகப் பரப்புகின்ற முஸ்லிம் லீக் ஸ்தாபனத்தை எடுத்துக் கொள்வோம். அந்த லீக் ஸ்தாபனத்தினுடைய வாலிபத் தலைவர் எனது மதிப்பிற்குரிய நண்பர் முகம்மது, தொழில் அமைச்சர் அவர்கள் சென்ற ஆண்டிலே இந்த நாடாளுமன்றத்திலே உரை நிகழ்த்திய

அனுவினிகாரவருவோர் கலாவ:

சீவநி யோசனை பிழைவு பிழைவு

[அறிவுரை உத்தி உன்னிடம்]

வாதிகாரி என்று கூறினார். ஆனால் அதே அமைச்சர் கெய்ரோவுக்குச் சென்று கேணல் நஸாரிடம் மன்னிப்புக் கோரினார். அப்படிச் செய்யவில்லை அக்குரணை நாடாளுமன்ற உறுப்பினர், எனது மதிப்பிற்குரிய ஹமீது அவர்கள்!

முஸ்லிம் லீகை நாம் எடுத்துக் கொள்ளும் பொழுது ஐக்கிய தேசியக் கட்சிக்கு ஆதரவு திரட்டும் முஸ்லிம் அரசியல் இயக்கமாக அது இருந்தாலும் “இஸ்ரவேலர்கள் வெளியேற வேண்டும். இஸ்ரவேலர்கள் வெறி பிடித்தவர்கள்; இஸ்ரவேலர்கள் முஸ்லிம்களுடைய துரோகிகள்” என்ற அடிப்படையிலே ஏகமனதாக ஒரு தீர்மானத்தை நிறைவேற்றியது. அதை நான் பாராட்டாமல் இருக்க முடியாது. அதே போல எதிர்க்கட்சியில் அங்கம் வகிக்கும் நாங்கள், முஸ்லிம்கள் வாழும் பகுதிகள் எல்லாம் சென்று இந்தப் பிரச்சினையை எழுப்பினோம். முஸ்லிம்கள் மத்தியில் நாங்கள் இந்தக் கருத்துக்களைக் கூறி நிச்சயமாக நாங்கள் இஸ்ரவேலர்களைக் கண்டிக்க வேண்டும் என்று எத்தனையோ கண்டனக் கூட்டங்களை ஏற்படுத்தினோம். ஆனால், இன்று, சபாநாயகர்களே, முஸ்லிம் லீக் தோழர்களும் இஸ்லாமிய சோசலிச முன்னணித் தோழர்களும் இஸ்ரவேலர்கள் நிச்சயமாக அறபு நாடுகளில் இருந்து வெளியேற வேண்டும் என்பதிலே ஆட்சேபணையற்ற ஒற்றுமையை ஏற்படுத்திவிட்டார்கள்.

இன்று நான் எதிர்க் கட்சியின் சார்பில் ஒரு பிரேரணையைப் பிரேரிக்கும்படி ஆக்கப்பட்டேன். அந்தப் பிரேரணையை நான் இங்கு ஆங்கிலத்தில் வாசிக்க விரும்புகிறேன்:

“but, calls upon the Government to suspend diplomatic and other relations with Israel until the Government of Israel, as required by the Resolution of the United Nations Security Council of November 22, 1967, withdraws its armed forces from the territories of the U. A. R., Jordan and Syria, which they continue to occupy in consequence of their aggression of June 5th, 1967”

இந்தப் பிரேரணைக்கு நாங்கள் அனைவரும் ஆதரவு கொடுக்கக் கடமைப்பட்டவர்களாக இருக்கிறோம். உண்மையில் அறபுப் பிரதேசங்களில் இருந்து இஸ்ரவேல் வெளியேற வேண்டுமென்று உலக சமாதான நிறுவனமாகிய ஐக்கிய நாடுகள் சபையே தீர்மானித்தது. அந்தத் தீர்மானத்துக்கு மாறாக நாம் யாரும்

எதையும் சொல்லவில்லை. எனவேதான் நாங்கள் “1967 ஆம் ஆண்டு ஜூன் 5 ஆம் தேதி ஆக்கிரமித்துக் கைப்பற்றியதன் விளைவாகத் தொடர்ந்து தம்மாட்சிக்குள் வைத்திருக்கும் ஐக்கிய அறபுக் குடியரசு, ஜோர்டான், சிறியா ஆகிய நாடுகளின் ஆள்புலங்களிலிருந்து, ஐக்கிய நாடுகள் சபை 1967, நவம்பர் 22 ஆம் தேதி நிறைவேற்றிய தீர்மானத்திற்கிணங்க இஸ்ரவேல் அரசாங்கம் தனது ஆயுதப் படைகளைவாபசு பெறும் வரை அந்நாட்டுடன் உள்ள இராஜரீகத் தொடர்புகளையும் ஏனைய தொடர்புகளையும் தற்காலிகமாகத் துண்டிக்குமாறு அரசாங்கத்தைக் கேட்டுக்கொள்கிறோம்.”

இந்தப் பிரேரணையை நீங்களும் நாங்களும் சேர்ந்து ஆதரிக்க வேண்டும். அப்படி ஆதரித்தால்தான் அக்குறையிலோ அல்லது கொழும்பிலோ அரசாங்கத்தினர் பெரிய விழாக்களை எடுப்பதில் அர்த்தம் இருக்கும். அப்படி ஆதரிக்காது விட்டால் அறபு நாடுகளுக்கு ஆதரவாக எடுக்கப்படும் இத்தகைய விழாக்கள் அரசியற் செப்படி வித்தைகளாகத்தான் இருக்க முடியும். இந்த நாட்டிலுள்ள எட்டு இலட்சம் முஸ்லிம்களை எவரும் இது விடயத்தில் ஏமாற்றி விட முடியாது.

சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே, நான் கூறுவது இந்த நாட்டில் மட்டுமன்றி உலகத்தில் வாழும் தூறு கோடி முஸ்லிம்கள் மத்தியில் வர்க்க பேதம் இல்லை; சாதி பேதம் இல்லை; மத பேதம் இல்லை; இன பேதம் இல்லை; எல்லா முஸ்லிம்களும் சரி சமமாக வாழுகின்ற திட்டத்தைத்தான் 1,400 ஆண்டுகளுக்கு முன்பு நபி மணி (ஸல்) அவர்கள் ஏற்படுத்தினார்கள். வேறு இன சமூகங்களுடைய அரசியல், கலாசார வரலாற்றை ஆராய்ந்தால் நிச்சயமாக ஏற்றத்தாழ்வுகளையும் வர்க்க பேதங்களையும் காண முடியும். அங்கு சமத்துவத்தை மட்டும் காண முடியாது. எனவே முஸ்லிம் மக்களுடைய ஒற்றுமையை நாம் நிலைநாட்ட வேண்டும்.

இங்குள்ள உதவி சமூக சேவை அமைச்சர் (ஜனாப் எம். எம். முஸ்தபா) எமது இந்தப் பிரேரணைக்குத் தமது ஆதரவைத் தருவார் என்று நம்புகிறேன். ஏனெனில் மட்டக்களப் பிலே அவர் ஒரு கூட்டத்தில் இஸ்ரவேலின் ஆக்கிரமிப்பைக் கண்டித்துப் பேசி இருக்கிறார். ஆகவே அவருடைய ஆதரவு மட்டும்தான் போதுமானதல்ல, அக்குறையைப் பிரதிநிதி (ஜனாப் ஏ.

அண்ணாதுரை அவர்கள்:

சீனாவுக்கு எந்தெந்த பிரச்சனைகளும்

வி. எஸ். ஹமீத்) அவர்களின் ஆதரவு மட்டுமன்றி, அரசாங்கக் கட்சியிலுள்ள அத்தனை முஸ்லிம் பிரதிநிதிகளின் ஆதரவும் இந்தப் பிரேரணைக்குக் கிடைக்கும் என்று நம்புகிறேன். நிச்சயமாக, இந்தப் பிரேரணையை ஆதரிக்காமல் யாரும் இருக்க முடியாது.

உலகில் இன்று இரு கொள்கைகளை நாம் காண்கிறோம். ஒன்று, ஏகாதிபத்தியக் கொள்கை. அடுத்தது முற்போக்கு எண்ணங்களைக் கொண்ட ஜனநாயக சோஷலிஸ்ட் கொள்கை. இந்த இரு கொள்கைகளுக்கும் இன்று உலக ரீதியாகப் போட்டியிருந்தாலும் இஸ்ரவேலைப் பொறுத்தவரையில் அந்தப் போட்டி ஒன்றாக மாறிவிட்ட தென்பதை இங்கு நான் கூறாமல் இருக்க முடியாது. ஆனால், பொருளாதார ரீதியாக எடுத்துக் கொள்ளும்போது, வெளிநாட்டுச் செலாவணியைத் தரும் தேயிலையை அதிகப்படியாக நாம் மத்திய கிழக்கு நாடுகளிலே விற்பனை செய்கிறோம். இந்த நாடுகள் எங்களுடைய தேயிலையை விரும்பி வாங்குகின்றன. இன்று எத்தனையோ நாடுகள் இஸ்ரவேலுடன் உள்ள இராஜதந்திரத் தொடர்புகளைத் தற்காலிகமாக ரத்து செய்திருக்கின்றன. நமது பொருளாதார அபிவிருத்திக்கு, நமது வெளிநாட்டுச் செலாவணிக்கு உதவக் கூடிய வழி ஒன்றுதான்: அதாவது, நாமும் இஸ்ரவேலுடன் நமது இராஜதந்திரத் தொடர்புகளைத் தற்காலிகமாக ரத்து செய்ய வேண்டுமென்று நான் கருதுகிறேன்.

உலக முஸ்லிம்களின் ஆதிமுதல் 'கிப்லா' வாக இருந்த பைத்துல் முகத்தஸ் இன்று எஹுதிகளுடைய கரங்களில் இருக்கின்ற தென்றால் இதைத் தாங்கக்கூடிய உள்ளம் உலகத்திலுள்ள எந்த முஸ்லிம்களுக்கும் இருக்க முடியாதென்பதை நாம் இன்று ருஜுப்படுத்திக் காட்டவேண்டும். நாம் ஒவ்வொருவரும் எந்தக் கோணத்திலிருந்தாலும் எந்த அரசியல் கொள்கையுடையோராயிருந்தாலும், பைத்துல் முகத்தஸ் என்று கூறும்பொழுது அது முஸ்லிம்களின் ஆதிமுதல் 'கிப்லா' வென்று கூறும்பொழுது—ஒன்றுபட வேண்டுமென்று நான் பணிவாக வேண்டுகிறேன்.

சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே, நான் யாரையும் ஏசுவும் இல்லை; பேசுவும் இல்லை. நமது கலாசாரத்தின், நாகரிகத்தின், பண்பாட்டின், எழுச்சியின் சின்னமாக இருக்கும் பைத்துல் முகத்தஸை மீண்டும் நாம் பெறவேண்டுமா, அல்லது அதனை எஹுதிகளுக்குக் கொடுத்து

விட்டு அமைதியாக இருக்க வேண்டுமா என்ற கேள்வியைத்தான் நான் இந்தச் சபையிலே எழுப்புகிறேன். சுலூதி அரேபிய மன்னர் பைசல் அவர்கள் ஓரிடத்திலே பேசும் பொழுது, "இந்த பைத்துல் முகத்தஸை மீண்டும் அறபு முஸ்லிம்களுக்குப் பெற்றுக்கொடுக்கும் வரைக்கும் தெய்வீகப் போர்க்களத்திலே இறங்கவிடு; அல்லது ஒரு நிமிடமாவது என்னை உலகத்திலே வைக்காதே" என இறைவனிடம் வேண்டினார்கள். அதேபோல, உண்மையான முஸ்லிம்களாக நாம் இருந்தால், உணர்ச்சியுள்ளம் படைத்த முஸ்லிம்களாக இருந்தால் நிச்சயமாக இஸ்ரவேலை முறியடிப்பது மட்டுமல்ல, நமக்குரிய கலாசார பீடத்தை நாம் மீண்டும் பெறவும் முனைய வேண்டுமென்றுதான் கூறுகிறேன்.

மத சுதந்திரத்தைப் பற்றிப் பேசுகிறோம். மொழிச் சுதந்திரத்தைப் பற்றிப் பேசுகிறோம்; எழுத்துச் சுதந்திரத்தைப் பற்றிப் பேசுகிறோம். இன்று நமது இரத்தத்திலே சேர்ந்தவர்களுக்கு, நமது இனத்திலே சேர்ந்தவர்களுக்கு, எழுதவும் வாசிக்கவும் வணங்கவும் முடியாத நிலையிலே மத்திய கிழக்கு நாடுகளிலே வாழும் அறபுத் தோழர்களுக்கு அபாயம் ஏற்படுமாயிருந்தால் நிச்சயமாக நாம் அவர்களுக்கு உதவ வேண்டிய திட்டங்களை ஆக்க வேண்டும்.

இந்த நாட்டை நாம் எடுத்துக் கொள்ளும் போது 1956 ஆம் ஆண்டிலே இந்த நாட்டிலே ஒரு கலாசாரப் புரட்சி ஏற்பட்டது. அந்தப் புரட்சியின் பயனாக காலஞ்சென்ற எஸ். டபிள்யூ. ஆர். டி. பண்டாரநாயக்க அவர்களுடைய ஆட்சி 1956 ஆம் ஆண்டிலே ஏற்பட்ட பொழுது இந்த நாட்டில் முஸ்லிம்களும் ஓர் இனமாகக் கணிக்கப்பட்டார்கள் என்பதை நான் இங்கு வலியுறுத்திக் கூற ஆசைப்படுகிறேன். மொழி ரீதியாக இந்த நாட்டு முஸ்லிம்கள் பிரிக்கப்பட்டார்கள். இந்த நாட்டு மக்கள் பிரிக்கப்பட்டார்கள். சிங்கள மொழி பேசுகின்றவர்கள் ஒரு இனம், தமிழ் மொழி பேசுகின்றவர்கள் ஒரு இனம் எனப் பிரிக்கப்பட்டார்கள். இந்த நிலை 1956 ஆம் ஆண்டு இருந்தது என்பதை எந்த முஸ்லிம் மகனும் மறுக்க முடியாது. இதை மாற்றிய பெருமை கௌரவ பண்டாரநாயக்க அவர்களையே சாரும்.

பண்டாரநாயக்க அவர்களுடைய ஆட்சிக்குப் பின்னான இந்த நாட்டில் வாழுகிற எட்டு இலட்சம் முஸ்லிம்களும் தங்களுடைய மூல

ස්ත්‍රීන් යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විමර්ශය

எனவே, சபாநாயகரவர்களே, “அறபு நாடுகள் மத்தியில் அழிவை ஏற்படுத்த

“but calls upon the Government to suspend diplomatic and other relations with Israel until the Government of Israel, as required by the Resolution of

the United Nations Security Council of November 22, 1967, withdraws its armed forces from the territories of the U. A. R., Jordan and Syria, which they continue to occupy in consequence of their aggression of June 5th, 1967."

එම වචන එතැනට එකතු කළ යුතුය, යන ප්‍රශ්නය සහතික කිරීම ලේ.

குறித்த சொற்கள் அங்கே சேர்க்கப்படுமாக எனும் வினா விடுக்கப்பட்டது.

Question proposed, that those words be there added.

අ. ටා. 6.52

වී. නවරත්නම් මයා. (කයිටිස්)

(திரு. வீ. நவரத்னம்—ஊர்காவற்றுறை)

(Mr. V. Navaratnam—Kayts)

Mr. Speaker, I rise to move the amendment standing in my name.

The Throne Speech as well as the speeches that we have been listening to show that we are starting an election campaign here.

I think the speech made by the hon. Member for Vaddukkoddai (Mr. Amirthalingam) illustrated amply that we are on the eve of a General Election, and in fact he said so. He said he was firing the first shot. I believe, though he did not say so, it was the first shot against Tamilnad. But the country knows, this House knows, and everybody knows that the cartridge in the gun was really a blank cartridge: it did not contain any pellets. It was really a sham battle that was being fought.

කථානායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Now we will have the dum dum.

වී. නවරත්නම් මයා.

(திரு. வீ. நவரத்னம்)

(Mr. V. Navaratnam)

I shall come to that point later.

I have moved an amendment criticizing the Government for certain actions the Government has taken vis-a-vis Tamil public servants. For the first time I think, it is this Government which has dismissed Tamil public servants, purporting to act under the Official Language Act.

Even the previous Governments of the Leader of the Opposition and of the late Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike

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did not resort to such drastic action as dismissing public servants for non-proficiency in Sinhala. The Federal Party today in this House through its mouthpiece, the hon. Member for Vaddukkoddai, started shedding crocodile tears for those Tamil public servants for the first time. But they cannot deny the fact that the decision to dismiss Tamil public servants on the ground of non-proficiency in the official language was taken whilst they were part and parcel of the Government party.

එස්. එම්. රසමානික්කම් මයා.

(පද්දිප්පු)

(திரு. எஸ். எம். இராசமாணிக்கம்—பட்டிருப்பு)

(Mr. S. M. Rasamanickam—Paddiruppu)

You were also there.

වී. නවරත්නම් මයා.

(திரு. வீ. நவரத்னம்)

(Mr. V. Navaratnam)

You were in the Government Parliamentary party. Until their Uduvil Convention in April last the Federal Party was part and parcel of the Government party, and these dismissals took place in November 1968 and January 1969.

රසමානික්කම් මයා.

(திரு. இராசமாணிக்கம்)

(Mr. Rasamanickam)

Under our protest.

වී. නවරත්නම් මයා.

(திரு. வீ. நவரத்னம்)

(Mr. V. Navaratnam)

The hon. Member for Vaddukkoddai comes here now and holds a brief for the Tamil public servants. He says that the Government has done this and done that and has failed to do this and failed to do that, and finds fault with the Government. Whom does he want to deceive is my question. Certainly he cannot deceive the Tamil people. The Tamil people know very well the behaviour of the Federal Party for the last 4½ years. For 4½ years there were many steps taken against the Tamil people and yet the Federal

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ස්තුති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විමර්ශය

[දී. නවරත්නම් මයා.]

Party Members condoned every one of them and supported most of them.

My charge against the Government is that they have singled out Tamil public servants and dismissed these public servants—two names have been mentioned, Mr. S. P. Surendranathan and Mr. K. Pathmanathan—purporting to be implementing the Official Language Act which is not yet law. It is an Act which has been impugned in the courts of law and we have had two decisions. One decision is of the lower court—the original court—which held that the Official Language Act was *ultra vires* this House and therefore the Act was bad in law. The Supreme Court has held in a different way and the matter is now under appeal to the Privy Council. Until that Privy Council appeal is disposed of the Act is not yet law. The public servants have a legitimate grievance when anything prejudicial to them is done by the Government. If they appeal to the Government and point out that no action prejudicial to them should be taken by the Government during the pendency of the appeal to the Privy Council, it is a reasonable attitude to take.

After all, I think, when a matter is under appeal all action is stayed. Those of us here who are lawyers know that when a matter is under appeal no execution proceeds. And when the very validity of this Act is being questioned in a court of law and the final tribunal—the supreme tribunal—is yet to rule on the validity or otherwise of this Act, is it too much to hope that the Government will stay its hands until that appeal is disposed of? But that is not to be so. The Government has rushed into action and has dismissed these public servants in terms of an Act which is not yet law. The public servants have no remedy except to appeal to the only body to which they can appeal. Under our Constitution, the appointment control, transfer, dismissal, all these matters are vested in the Public Service Commission, and that Commission is expected to function impartiality in dealing with such appeals. In fact, that body was

set up in order to protect public servants from harassment or ill-treatment by their employer, namely the Government.

It is relevant at this stage to read the recommendations or, rather, the observations of the Soulbury Commissioners when they discussed this question of establishing a Public Service Commission. In paragraph 374 of their report, they say :

“374. The transfer to the Parliament of Ceylon of full responsible government in internal affairs will involve a considerable increase in the responsibilities of the Public Service Commission. Hitherto, the ultimate decision in all important cases has rested with the Secretary of State, and public servants have felt that they could rely on the impartiality of an authority so remote from local influence. Henceforward, except in so far as the right of the subject to petition His Majesty is concerned, there will be no appeal in personnel matters to any authority outside Ceylon. It will therefore be doubly necessary that the deciding authority in Ceylon should be immune from accusations of partisanship.”

In other words, the Public Service Commission, although nominees of the Prime Minister of the day, are evidently by virtue of their careers in the past, by virtue of their stature, expected to bring to bear on every issue that is placed before them an impartial judgment. When they are asked to decide in a dispute between the master and the servant it is not for the commissioners to take sides. It is not for them, as we are now accustomed to think, to act as an arm or an organ of the Government of the day. They should not be a mere rubber stamp of the Government. No doubt, under the Constitution, the P. S. C. delegates certain powers to heads of departments and other senior officers, and they take the decision. But when they take a decision that is adverse to a public servant and when that public servant complains to the P. S. C. that they have been prejudiced against him, it is their duty, one would expect, to protect the public servant and to see that the Government's action was legal.

Here, the public servants concerned pointed out to the P. S. C. that the very Act under which the Government was seeking to act had been

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impugned and is still *sub judice* and that a final judgment had not yet been pronounced, and, therefore, the Government must stay its hands till the final judgment has been pronounced. Still, they received a reply from the P. S. C. which is rather a curious reply:

"The P. S. C. has directed me to inform you that your appeal has been considered by the P. S. C. and that the commission sees no reason to intervene in this matter."

That is how the P. S. C. replied. How can the public servants continue to have any confidence in a body like that? They are behaving as though they are part and parcel of the Government. Their refusal to intervene is tantamount to only one thing, and that is that whatever the Government does they have got to stand by the Government. The public servants cannot be blamed if in these circumstances they say that they have no confidence in the Government or in the Public Service Commission.

The only reason why they have been dismissed is that they are Tamils and they have not been able to acquire proficiency in a language which they are not expected to learn yet. There is no law which requires them to learn that language. When they pointed that out one would have expected the Public Service Commission to agree and say, "Yes, until the Act is pronounced to be valid, action must be stayed in the case of these public servants." But today we find hundreds and thousands of public servants being penalized, their increments being stopped, and some of them being dismissed summarily, purely because they happen to be Tamils. We are yet to come across the case of a Sinhala public servant being dismissed for non-proficiency in the Sinhala language. I do not think there is a single instance that can be pointed out.

So, Sir, can anybody blame us if we come to the conclusion that the Government is anti-Tamil, that the Public Service Commission, a body created by the Constitution and expected to exercise its functions

ස්තුති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විමර්ශ

impartially and to avoid partisanship is also anti-Tamil because it has failed to protect these public servants?

While on this subject, I am reminded of the very energetic speech made by the hon. Member for Vaddukkoddai (Mr. Amirthalingam). There was a time when he openly said that the Federal Party did not ask the Tamil public servants not to learn Sinhala. Today I am happy that he has come out with the truth, that the party did ask the Tamil public servants not to learn Sinhala. Then what happened after 1965? What made them change their idea? What made them ask the Tamil public servants to study Sinhala? What concessions had they obtained from the Government? Today, of course, to salvage what is left of the Federal Party or of their reputation, to buttress their downward march, they come here and make election speeches.

Last year during the Budget Debate I had occasion to point out the discriminatory manner in which vast sums of money received as foreign aid for projects here had been spent. I listed about eight or nine projects and stated that not a single one of them had been sited in the Tamil areas. I pointed out that the entire project aid funds had been spent only on other areas to the neglect of the Tamil areas. One would have expected a reply either from the Hon. Minister of Finance or from the Minister of Industries and Fisheries. But no, it was this very same hon. Member for Vaddukkoddai (Mr. Amirthalingam) who jumped up and defended the Government saying that the Government had been extremely fair to the Tamil areas. He argued and attacked the Member for Kayts for having pointed that out and he stated:

"இந்த அரசாங்கம் காங்கேசன்துறைத் துறை முகத்தை அபிவிருத்தி செய்ய இந்த வரவு செலவுத் திட்டத்திலே 40 இலட்சம் ரூபா ஒதுக்கி இருக்கின்றது."

රසමානිකම් මය.

(திரு. இராசமாணிக்கம்)

(Mr. Rasamanickam)

That is true.

அஞ்சலிகாரதுமனே கலாவ :

சீதுதி ஸேதகாவ பிடுபெடி விவரம்

வி. கவரந்நதி மல.

(திரு. வி. நவரத்னம்)

(Mr. V. Navaratnam)

Rs. 40 million had been set apart by this Government and he went on to talk about other projects and industrial development which he said had taken place in the Tamil areas and he found fault with me for having criticized the Government for discriminatory treatment.

But today this very same hon. Member comes here and repeats what I said last year and finds fault with the Government for what they had failed to do. That is why I characterize his speech as an election speech. I do not say that there is anything wrong in making an election speech, but let us be honest. That is my point. Let us be honest when we make a speech or when we make a statement.

It is this very same Member who in reply to me last year said this :

“ஆனால் அப்படித் தாம் அன்று சொன்னதை விழுங்கி எப்பம் விட்டுவிட்டு அவர் பேசுகின்ற காட்சியைக் காணும்போது நான் அவரை எனது முன்னாள் சகபாதி என்று அழைப்பதற்கு வெட்கப்படுகிறேன். பேசும்பொழுது நேர்மையோடு முன்பு பேசியவைகளைச் சிந்தித்துப் பார்த்துப் பேச வேண்டுமென்று அவரை நான் கேட்டுக் கொள்ள விரும்புகிறேன்”.

Translated freely into English, he advised me to recollect what I had said earlier and to stick to the truth whenever I make a speech. On that occasion he said to me, “When you make a speech, remember what you have said earlier.” Sir, I would advise my hon. Friend the Member for Vaddukkoddai to take that advice himself and to act accordingly. His own words last year he ate today. Today he criticized the Government. [Interruption].

I am not blaming the Federal Party Members for having supported the Government for four and a quarter years. [Interruption]. I am not quarrelling with that. But when they come here and say to the Government that it has not done this and it has not done that, they must remember what they did during the last four and a quarter years. We must remember that we were elected by the common masses, the voters, who

thought that we would be better able to decide on the issues that come up before this House, and take decisions, and that we were in a better position to foresee what things ought to be done or ought not be done. That is why they elected us and sent us to this House. If you allowed yourselves to be duped or to be cheated into supporting measures which the whole country knew to be anti-Tamil, if you came here and supported a measure to compulsorily send out 525,000 Tamil people—[Interruption].

அரு. மன்திவரனே

(கௌரவ அங்கத்தவர் ஒருவர்)

(An hon. Member)

Under what?

வி. கவரந்நதி மல.

(திரு. வி. நவரத்னம்)

(Mr. V. Navaratnam)

I am referring to the Indo-Ceylon Agreement.

அரு. டிபி. ஸேனானாயக

(கௌரவ டப்ளி சேனாநாயக்க)

(The Hon. Dudley Senanayake)

That is not compulsory.

வி. கவரந்நதி மல.

(திரு. வி. நவரத்னம்)

(Mr. V. Navaratnam)

That is my view. I would like to be left severely alone when I am addressing the Chair.

When they acquiesced in the nationalization of the Trincomalee Port, when they acquiesced in the executive act of sending Sinhala teachers to Tamil schools all over the country, except probably to the Northern Province, when they supported the Registration of Persons Bill knowing fully well that it was going to be an engine of oppression against the Tamils—Tamils and Tamils alone—they in fact raised their hands and voted in support of all these measures. But today on the eve of the next General Election they come and attack the Government saying that they have done this and they have not done that; they have carried out this promise and they have not carried out that promise.

අග්‍රාණි චූකාරතුමාගේ කථාව :

I must assure the hon. Members of the Federal Party that the Tamil people are quite vigilant. They are very, very vigilant and they have been observing our conduct in this House and outside. You cannot deceive people like that. Even when the Koneswaram Temple issue was hot you took a rather niggardly step of pretending to be withdrawing support to the Government, but were in actual fact continuing to support the Government.

And in April last, at the Uduvil Convention, what actually compelled you to withdraw your support? Nothing, except the thought that there was an impending election and that you would have to go to the country and give an account of yourselves and get back to this House. The U. N. P. itself has to go back to the country free of the encumbrance of the Federal Party, if they want to come back to this House. That is the actual reason for the decision at Uduvil.

Today you want to fire a blank cartridge. Do you expect that it will deceive anybody? I submit, it is not going to deceive anybody.

I have pleasure in moving the amendment that stands in my name, and if the Federal Party Members in this House are true to themselves and are serious about the matters that the hon. Member for Vaddukoddai referred to, if they are really genuinely against the Government for its misdeeds and other failures, they will support this amendment—*[Interruption]*. Not for my sake. I really do not want to ask anything for my sake. If you are genuine about the sentiments you have expressed about the Tamil public servants, if you are sincere about the sentiments and views that you have expressed today about the plight of these Tamil public servants, you will support this amendment.

සංග්‍රහයේ මෙසේ :

திருத்தம் வருமாறு :

The Amendment is as follows :

ස්ත්‍රීන්ගේ සෞභ්‍යාල පිළිබඳ විමර්ශය

“සංඥාධනයක්” වශයෙන් ස්තුති යෝජනාව
අගව එකතු කිරීමට :

එතෙකුදු වුවත්, 1956 අංක 33 දරණ රාජ්‍ය භාෂා පනත යටතේ ඔවුන් ක්‍රියා කළායි කියන එම පනතේ නීත්‍යානුකූලභාවය අධිකරණය මගින් තීරණය කර නැති, තවමත් විනිශ්චයට භාජන වී තිබෙන කරුණක් බව රජය දැන දැනත්, රජයේ සේවකයින්ගේ අගතියට හේතුවන ක්‍රියා මාර්ගයක් ගැනීම අවසාන අධිකරණ තීරණය විශේෂ අයුරකින් බලාපොරොත්තු වීමකට සමාන වී තිබියදීත්—

(1) 1968 නොවැම්බර් මස 8 වැනි දින හෝ ඊට
ආසන්න දිනක භාණ්ඩාගාරයේ නියෝජ්‍ය
ලේකම් විසින් සේවය නතර කරනු ලැබ
සිටින කාර්මාන්ත හා ධීවර කටයුතු
අමාත්‍යාංශයේ සේවය කළ, ඒකාබද්ධ
සරස් සේවයේ III වැනි ශ්‍රේණියට
අයත්, රජයේ සේවකයෙකු වන, එස්. පී.
සුදේන්ද්‍රානන් මහතා හා,

(2) 1969 ජනවාරි මස 4 වැනි දින හෝ ඊට ආසන්න දිනක වාරිමාර්ග අධ්‍යක්ෂ විසින් සේවය නතර කරනු ලැබ සිටින, වාරිමාර්ග දෙපාර්තමේන්තුවේ සේවය කළ, සාමාන්‍ය ලිපිකරු සේවයේ සාමාන්‍ය ලිපිකරු පන්තියේ සේවකයෙකු වන කේ. පත් මනාකන් මහතා වැනි රජයේ සේවයේ නියුක්ත දෙමළ රජයේ සේවකයින් රජයේ සේවයෙන් අස්කිරීම පිණිස තෝරා ගැනීමට තුඩු දුන්නාවූ නොහොඳුතා දෙපාර්තමේන්තුවේ කිසිවේ විධායක ක්‍රියා මාර්ගයට රජය පිළිපත්තේ කුමක් නිසාද යන්න ගැනත්, අපක්ෂපාතිත්වය හා පක්ෂග්‍රාහී භාවය වළක්වාලීම පිණිස ක්‍රියා කිරීමේ දී රාජ්‍ය සේවා කොමිෂන් සභාවෙන් ආණ්ඩුක්‍රම ව්‍යවස්ථාව බලාපොරොත්තු වන්නාවූ පරිදි එම අස්කිරීම් වලට මැදිහත් වී ඒවා වළක්වාලීමට අපොහොසත් වූයේ මන්ද යන්න ගැනත්, සඳහන් කෙරෙන ප්‍රතිපත්තිමය වූ ප්‍රකාශයක් උතුමාණන් වහන්සේගේ කථාවෙහි අඩංගු කිරීමට අපොහොසත් වීමෙන් උතුමාණන් වහන්සේගේ ආණ්ඩුවේ හා රාජ්‍ය සේවා කොමිෂන් සභාවේ මුළුමනින්ම දෙමළ විරෝධී ස්වභාවය අවධාරණයෙන් පෙන්නුම් කර ඇති හෙයින්, උතුමාණන් වහන්සේගේ ආණ්ඩුව හා රාජ්‍ය සේවා කොමිෂන් සභාව කෙරෙහි මෙම මන්ත්‍රී මණ්ඩලයේ විශ්වාසය හංග වී ඇත.”

“நன்றியுரைக்குத் திருத்தமாக அதன் இறுதியிற் கீழ்க்காணும் சொற்களைச் சேர்க்க வேண்டும் :

“ 1956 ஆம் ஆண்டின் 33 ஆம் இலக்க அரசகரும மொழிச் சட்டமானது செல்லுபடியாகாதென நீதிமன்றங்களில் வினுவெழுப்பப்பட்டு இன்னும் விசாரணை நிலையில் இருக்கிறதென்பதையும் இந்நிலையில் அரசாங்க ஊழியர்களுக்குக் கேடு விளைவிக்கத்தக்கதாக எடுக்கப்படும் எந்த நடவடிக்கையும் நீதிமன்றத்தின் இறுதித் தீர்ப்பு இன்னமாதிரித்தான் அமையுமென

අග්‍රාණ්ඩුකාරතුමාගේ කථාව :

ස්ත්‍රීන් යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විමර්ශ

[වි. නවරත්නම් මයා.]

எதிர்பார்ப்பதற்கு ஒப்பாகுமென்பதையும் அரசாங்கம் நன்கு அறிந்திருந்தும் கூட அச்சட்டத்திற்கு அமையச் செயலாற்றுவதாகக் கூறி—

Clerical Service and attached to the Office of the Irrigation Department, whose service was terminated by the Director of Irrigation on or about 4th January 1969,

1. இணைந்த சிறுப்பர் சேவையின் III ஆம் தரத்
தைச் சேர்ந்த அரசாங்க சேவையாளரும்,
கைத்தொழில், கடற்றொழில் அமைச்சில்
கடமையாற்றியவரும் திறைசேரிப் பிரதிச்
செயலாளரினால் 1968, நவம்பர் 7 ஆம் தேதி
யன்றோ அதற்கண்மையிலோ சேவையினின்
றும் விலத்தப்பட்டவருமான திரு. எஸ். பி.
சுரேந்திரநாதன்,

2. பொது எழுதுவினைஞர் சேவையின் பொது எழுதுவினைஞர் வகுப்பைச் சேர்ந்த அரசாங்க சேவையாளரும், நீர்ப்பாசனத் திணைக்களத் தில் கடமையாற்றியவரும் நீர்ப்பாசன அதிபதியினால் 1966, ஜனவரி 4 ஆம் தேதியன்றோ அதற் கண்மையிலோ சேவையினின்றும் விலத்தப்பட்டவருமான திரு. கே. பத்மநாதன்

ஆகியோர் போன்ற தமிழ் அரசாங்க ஊழியர் களைத் தனியாகத் தேர்ந்தெடுத்து அரசாங்க சேவையினின்றும் விலக்கியதன் மூலம் தமிழர்களுக்கு எதிராகக் கேவலமான பாரபட்சமிக்க நடவடிக்கையை ஏன் மேற்கொண்டது என்பது பற்றிய கொள்கை விளக்கம் எதையுமோ, அரசியற் சட்டத்தில் அரசாங்க சேவை ஆணைக்குழுவிடமிருந்து எதிர்பார்க்கப்படும் நடுநிலை தவறாத் தன்மை, பாரபட்சமின்மை ஆகியவற்றை நிலைநாட்டு டூமமாக இவ்விடத்தில் தலையிட்டு மேற்கூறப்பட்ட வேலை நீக்கங்களைத் தவிர்ப்பதற்குத் தங்கள் அரசாங்க சேவை ஆணைக் குழு ஏன் தவறியது என்பதற்கான காரணத்தையோ மேன்மை தங்கிய தங்கள் சேவை உரை குறிப்பிடாது விட்டதன் மூலம் தங்கள் அரசாங்கத்திலும், அரசாங்க சேவை ஆணைக் குழுவினதும் அறமோசமான தமிழ் விரோதித் தன்மையை எடுத்துக் காட்டியும் வலியுறுத்தியுமுள்ளதால் அவை இச்சபையின் நம்பிக்கையை இழந்துள்ளது”.

As an amendment to the Address at the end add the words :

“but regret that Your Excellency’s Speech by its failure to contain any policy statement as to why your Government resorted to blatantly discriminative executive action against the Tamils by singling out for dismissal from the Public Service Tamil public servants such as :

(1) Mr. S. P. Surendranathan, a public servant belonging to Grade III of the Combined Shroff Service and attached to the Ministry of Industries and Fisheries, whose service was terminated by the Deputy Secretary to the Treasury on or about 7th November, 1968, and

(2) Mr. K. Pathmanathan, a public servant belonging to the General Clerical Class of the General

although the Government was well aware that the validity of the Official Language Act, No. 33 of 1956, under which they purported to act, has been impugned in the courts of law and was still *sub judice*, and that any action to the prejudice of the public servants was tantamount to anticipating the final judicial decision, and as to why your Public Service Commission failed to intervene and prevent the said dismissals as required of them in the exercise of the impartiality and avoidance of partisanship contemplated by the Constitution, has disclosed and emphasized the utterly anti-Tamil character of Your Excellency's Government and the Public Service Commission which have therefore forfeited the confidence of this House."

කළානායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Is any Member seconding that amendment?

වි. නවරත්නම් මයා.

(திரு. வீ. நவரத்னம்)

(Mr. V. Navaratnam)

I hope the Federal Party will second the amendment.

කළු නංයෙනුම

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Since there is no Second, the amendment lapses.

අ. භා. 7.23

ආර්. ජී. සෙප්තානායක මයා.

(திரு. ஆர். ஜி. சேனாநாயக்க)

(Mr. R. G. Senanayake)

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, මගේ නමින්
නීලෙන යෝජනා හතර ඉතාම සතුටින් මේ
අවස්ථාවේදී ඉදිරිපත් කරනවා.

සංග්‍රහ'ධනය මෙසේ ය :

திருத்தங்கள் வருமாறு :

The Amendments are as follows:

අග්‍රාණි චූකාරතුමාගේ කථාව :

ස්තූති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විමර්ශ

I

“සංඥාධනයක් වශයෙන් ස්තුති යෝජනාව අගව එකතු කිරීමට :

‘එතකුළු වුවත්, දකුණු ඉන්දියාවේ තම්ලනාඩු රාජ්‍යයේ ද්‍රවිඩ මුන්නේත්‍ර කසාගම් නැමැති විදේශික දේශපාලන පක්ෂයේ ප්‍රතිපත්ති අරමුණු හා මාර්ගෝපදේශකත්වය පදනම් කර ගෙන, මෙරට ව්‍යාප්ත වෙමින් පවත්නා ද්‍රවිඩ මුන්නේත්‍ර කසාගම් නැමැති පක්ෂ සංවිධාන රටේ සෛවරීය භාවයටද, ඒකීය භාවයටද බලවත් තර්ජනයක් වී ඇති හෙයින්, මේ සංවිධාන හා දකුණු ඉන්දියානු චිත්‍රපටි, පුවත් පත් ආදී මේ සංවිධානයන්ගේ ප්‍රචාරක මාධ්‍ය වහාම මෙරට තහනම් කළයුතුයයි ප්‍රබල මතභ්‍යන් උද්ඝෝෂණයක් ඇතිව තිබියදීද, එසේ කිරීමට අවශ්‍ය බලතල නැතැයි ඔබ වහන්සේගේ අගමැතිතුමා ප්‍රකාශ කර තිබියදීද, මෙරට ද්‍රවිඩ මුන්නේත්‍ර කසාගම් සංවිධාන හා එම සංවිධානයන්ගේ ඉහත සඳහන් සියළු ප්‍රචාරක මාධ්‍යයන්ද වහාම මෙරට තහනම් කරන බවට හෝ අවශ්‍ය බලතල මෙම මන්ත්‍රි මණ්ඩලයෙන් ලබාගෙන එසේ කරන බවට හෝ කිසිදු ප්‍රකාශයක් ගැන උතුමාණන් වහන්සේගේ කථාවේ අඩංගු නොවීම ගැන බලවත් කණගාටුව පලකරමි.’”

“ நன்றியுரைக்குத் திருத்தமாக அதன் இறுதியிற்
கீழ்க்காணும் சொற்களைச் சேர்க்க வேண்டும் :

‘எனினும், தென் இந்தியத் தமிழ் நாட்டு அரசாங்கத்தின் திராவிட முன்னேற்றக் கழகம் என்னும் அந்நிய அரசியல் கட்சியின் கொள்கை நோக்கங்களையும் வழிகாட்டலையும் அடிப்படையாக கொண்டு இந்நாட்டில் பரவிவரும் திராவிட முன்னேற்றக் கழகம் என்னும் கட்சி இயக்கம் நாட்டின் சுதந்திரத்திற்கும் ஒற்றுமைக்கும் கடும் பயமுறுத்தலாயமைந்திருப்பதால் இவ்வியக்கத்தையும் இதற்குப் பிரசாரமாயுள்ள தென் இந்தியத் திரைப்படங்களையும் பத்திரிகைகளையும் தடைசெய்ய வேண்டுமென மக்களிடையே பெருங்கிளர்ச்சி ஏற்பட்டிருக்கவும் அவ்வாறு செய்வதற்கு வேண்டிய அதிகாரம் இல்லையெனத் தங்களின் பிரதமர் கூறியிருக்கவும் இந்நாட்டிலுள்ள திராவிட முன்னேற்றக் கழகமும் அவ்வியக்கத்தின் மேற்கூறிய சகல பிரசார வழிகளும் உடனே இந்நாட்டில் தடைசெய்யப்படுமென்றே வேண்டிய அதிகாரத்தை இப்பிரதிநிதிகள் சபையில் பெற்று அவ்வாறு செய்யப்படுமென்றே எந்த விதமான அறிவிப்பும் தங்கள் உரையில் இல்லாதது குறித்துக் கடுமையான கவலையைத் தெரிவிக்கிறோம்’ ”

As an Amendment to the Address at the end add the words:

“but, in spite of the strong public agitation for the proscription of the Dravida Munethra Kasagam which constitutes a serious threat to the sovereignty and unitary character of this country as it is based on the principles, aims and guidance of the foreign South Indian political organization named the D. M. K. and in spite of Your Excellency's Prime Minister's statement that he is powerless to proscribe this organization, we regret that

Your Excellency's Speech gives no indication of any intention to ban the above organization and the South Indian films, literature, etc., which constitute its propaganda machinery, or to obtain the necessary powers from Parliament to do so."

II

“සංඥාධරයක් වශයෙන් ස්තුති යෝජනාව
අගට එකතු කිරීමට :

‘එතකුළු වුවත්, රක්ෂා සැපයීමේදීද, උසස් අධ්‍යාපනය සඳහා අවස්ථා සැලසීමේදීද මෙරට ජනගහනයෙන් අති විශාල කොටසක් වූ සිංහල ජනතාවට අසාධාරණයෙක් සිදුවී තිබෙන හෙයින්, රජයේ හා සංස්ථාවල රක්ෂා සැපයීමේ දී හා විශ්ව විද්‍යාල, නීති විද්‍යාල, කාර්මික විද්‍යාල, වෛද්‍ය විද්‍යාල වැනි උසස් අධ්‍යාපන ආයතනවලට ඇතුළත් කිරීමේදී ජාතීන්ගේ ජනගහනයේ අනුපාතයට ප්‍රමුඛත්වය දෙන බවට කිසිදු ප්‍රකාශයක් උතුමාණන් වහන්සේගේ කථාවේ අඩංගු නොවීම ගැන බලවත්සේ කණගාටුව පලකරමු.’”

“நன்றியுரைக்குத் திருத்தமாக அதன் இறுதியிற் கீழ்க்காணும் சொற்களைச் சேர்க்க வேண்டும் :

“எனினும், தொழில் கொடுப்பதிலும் உயர் கல்விக்கான சந்தர்ப்பத்தை அளிப்பதிலும் இந் நாட்டுச் சனத்தொகையின் பெரும்பான்மையான சிங்கள மக்களுக்கு அநீதி இழைக்கப்பட்டிருப்பதால் அரசாங்கத்திலும் கூட்டுத்தாபனங்களிலும் தொழில் கொடுக்கும் போதும் பஸ்கலைக்கழகம், சட்டக்கல் லூரி, தொழிற் கல்லூரி, வைத்தியக்கல்லூரி போன்ற உயர் கல்வி நிறுவனங்களில் சேர்க்கும்போதும் இனங் களின் சனத்தொகையின் விசிதாசாரத்திற்கு முத லிடமளிக்கப்படுமெனத் தங்களின் உரையில் குறிப் பிடாததையிட்டுக் கடுமையான கவலையைத் தெரிவிக்கிறோம்.”

As an amendment to the Address at the end add the words:

“but, in spite of the injustice caused to the Sinhalese, who constitute a very large section of the population, in the matter of providing employment and opportunities for higher education, we regret that no mention has been made that priority would be given to the proportionate ratio of the numerical strength of each race to the citizen population in the matter of employment under Government and corporations and also for the admission to higher educational institutions such as the Universities, Law, Medical and Technical Colleges.”

III

“සංශෝධනයක් වශයෙන් ස්ත්‍රී යෝජනාව අහට එකතු කිරීමට :

‘එතකුළු වුවත්, රටේ ඒකීය භාවය ආරක්ෂා කිරීම සඳහාද, මෙරට වාසීන් එකම බැම්මකින්

அனுமதிக்காததால் கலாவி :

[ஈ. பி. சேனநாயக்க மஹ.]

එකතු කිරීම සඳහාද, මෙරට අධිරාජ්‍යවාදීන් විසින් නම් කරන ලද සිලෝන් නොහොත් ලංකා යන නාමය වෙනස් කොට “සිංහලේ” යන නමින් පමණක් මෙරට හැඳින්වීමටද, මුළු රටම භාෂාව සිංහලය කිරීමට ද කිසිදු පියවරක් ගන්නා බවට උතුමාණන් වහන්සේගේ කථාවේ අඩංගු නොවීම ගැන බලවත් කණගාටුව පළ කරමි.”

“நன்றியுரைக்குத் திருத்தமாக அதன் இறுதியிற் கீழ்க்காணும் சொற்களைச் சேர்க்க வேண்டும் :

“எனினும், நாட்டின் ஒற்றுமையைப் பாதுகாப்பதற்கும், இந்நாட்டு மக்களை ஒரே இணைப்பில் சேர்த்துக்கொள்வதற்கும், இந்நாட்டிற்கு ஏகாதிபத்திய வாதிகளால் பெயரிடப்பட்ட சிலோன் அல்லது லங்கா என்னும் பெயரை மாற்றிச் “சிங்களே” என்ற பெயரில் மாத்திரம் இந்நாட்டை அழைப்பதற்கும் நாடு முழுவதும் சிங்கள மொழியை அமூல் நடத்துவதற்கும் எந்தவித நடவடிக்கையேனும் எடுப்பதாகத் தங்களின் உரையில் குறிப்பிடாததையிட்டுக் கடுமையான கவலையைத் தெரிவிக்கிறேன்.”

As an amendment to the Address at the end add the words :

“but we regret that no mention has been made in Your Excellency's Speech of any provision for the purpose of safeguarding the unitary character of the country, uniting the various communities into one national entity through the Sinhala Language and the restoration of the ancient name “Sinhale” in place of the name “Lanka” given by the imperialists to this country.”

IV

“සංශෝධනයක් වශයෙන් ස්තුති යෝජනාව අට එකතු කිරීමට :

‘එකතු වුවත්, උඩරට ඡන්ද කොට්ඨාශයන්හි අළුත් පුරවැසියන්ගේ සංවිධානවල බලපෑම නිසා වැඩි ඡන්තාව වූ සිංහල ගම් ඡන්තාවගේ දේශපාලන අයිතියට ඇතිවන තර්ජනය මඟැර යුක්තිය ඉටුවීම පිණිස අළුත් පුරවැසියන්ට වෙනම ඡන්ද ලේඛනයක් ඇති කරන බවට උතුමාණන් වහන්සේගේ කථාවේ අඩංගු නොවීම ගැන බලවත් කණගාටුව පළකරමි.’”

“நன்றியுரைக்குத் திருத்தமாக அதன் இறுதியிற் கீழ்க்காணும் சொற்களைச் சேர்க்க வேண்டும் :

‘எனினும், மலைநாட்டுத் தேர்தல் தொகுதிகளில் புதிய பிரஜைகளின் இயக்கங்களின் தலையீட்டினால் பெரும்பான்மை மக்களான சிங்களக் கிராம மக்களின் அரசியலுரிமைக்கேற்படும் பயமுறுத்தலைத் தவிர்த்து நியாயம் வழங்குவதற்காகப் புதிய பிரஜைகளுக்குப் புறம்பான வாக்காளர் பதிவேடு அமைக்கப்படுவது பற்றித் தங்களின் உரையில் சேராததையிட்டுக் கடுமையான கவலையைத் தெரிவிக்கிறேன்.’”

ස්තුති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විමාදය

As an amendment to the Address at the end add the words :

“but, in order to protect the Kandyan voters from the deliberately organized pressure tactics of the new citizens in our electoral registers to deprive the Kandyan voter of his just and legitimate rights, we regret that Your Excellency has not thought it fit to indicate the introduction of a second electoral register for the new citizen.”

ஈ. பி. சேனநாயக்க மஹ.

(திரு. ஆர். ஜி. சேனநாயக்க)

(Mr. R. G. Senanayake)

වටපිට බලන විට ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයේ හෝ වේවා, සමසමාජ පක්ෂයේ හෝ වේවා, කොමියුනිස්ට් පක්ෂයේ හෝ වේවා, තුන් හවුලේ එක් කෙනෙකු පමණක් මේ මොහොතේ සභාවේ සිටින බවයි පෙනෙන්නේ. පනස්හත් දෙනෙකු ගෙන් යුත් තුන් හවුලෙන් එක්කෙනෙක් දැන් ඉන්නේ. මා ඒ කාරණය මතක් කළේ විශේෂ කාරණයක් නිසයි.

ද්විතීය මුත්තේතු කසාගම් උවදුර ගැන විරුද්ධ පක්ෂය වේදිකාවලදී තදින්ම කථා කරනවා. ලංකාවේ ද්විතීය මුත්තේතු කසා ගම් පක්ෂය තහනම් කරන්නටය කියා බේරිහන් දෙනවා. රටේ මහජනතාව ඒක අවංක කීමක් වශයෙන් සලකනවා. නමුත් මේ අවස්ථාවේදී ද්විතීය මුත්තේතු කසාගම් නමැති පක්ෂ සංවිධාන වහාම මෙරට තහනම් කිරීමට ක්‍රියා කළ යුතුය කියා මා යෝජනාවක් ඉදිරිපත් කරන වග ඒ උද විසට අමතක වී තිබෙනවා. අපේ රටේ තිබෙන ද්විතීය මුත්තේතු කසාගම් උවදුරට වඩා විරුද්ධ පක්ෂයට ඊශ්‍රායෙල් සහ අරාබි ජන රජයේ ප්‍රශ්න ලොකුවට පෙනී තිබෙනවා. ඒ අනුව සංශෝධනයක් ඉදිරිපත් කර තිබෙනවා. නමුත් මට ද්විතීය මුත්තේතු කසාගම් උවදුර නිසා අද රටේ ඇති වී තිබෙන භයානක තත්ත්වය පෙනෙනවා. එම නිසා මා මේ සංශෝධනය ඉදිරි පත් කළා. පිටිවනිවල විරුද්ධ පක්ෂය පවත්වන කථා අනුව මේ ගරු සභාවේදීත් ක්‍රියා කරනවා නම් මේ යෝජනාව ස්ථිර කර විරුද්ධ පක්ෂයෙන් මට සහාය ලැබෙන්නට ඕනෑ. එම නිසා මේ යෝජනාව ස්ථිර කරන්නට මා කෙනෙකු සෙව්වේ නැහැ. පසුගිය මාස කිහිපය තුළ මේ ප්‍රශ්නය පිළිබඳව මිසිනින් කරන ලද කථාත්

අමාත්‍යවරයාගේ කථාව :

විරුද්ධ පක්ෂය පිට්ටනිවල කරන කථාත් එක සමානයි. එම නිසා මේ යෝජනාව ස්ථිර කරන්නට මා අමුතුවෙන් කෙනෙකු සොයන්නට වුවමනාවක් නැහැ. පිට්ටනි වල කරන කථා පාර්ලිමේන්තුවේදීත් කියන්නට ඒ උදවියට ධෛර්යයක් තිබෙනවා නම් මේ බංකු පිරි තිබෙන්නට ඕනෑ.

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, විරුද්ධ පක්ෂයට විශේෂ ගතියක් තිබෙනවා. කථා පිළිබඳව පාර්ලිමේන්තුවට එක ශෛලියක් ; පිට්ටනි වලට එක ශෛලියක්. කලින් ඔවුන් තත්ත්වයක් පැන නැගුණා. ඊට සභා ප්‍රශ්නය මතු වූ විට ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයේ වේදිකාවල සිට ඊට පුරාම ඊට සභාවලට විරුද්ධව උද්ඝෝෂණයක් ගෙන ගියේ මමයි. නමුත් ඊට සභා පිළිබඳව පාර්ලිමේන්තුවේදී, ඡන්දය විමසන අවස්ථා වේදී—

බර්නාඩ් සොයිසා මයා.

(ති.රු. பெர்னாட் சொய்ஸா)
(Mr. Bernard Soysa)

ධවල පත්‍රිකාවක් ගෙනාවෙ. ධවල පත්‍රිකා වක් ගැන ඡන්දය විමසීමක් නැහැ.

ආර්. ජී. සේනානායක මයා.

(ති.රු. ஆர். ஜி. சேனநாயக்க)
(Mr. R. G. Senanayake)

හොඳයි, ඡන්දය පැත්තක තබමු. ඊට සභාවලට විරුද්ධව එක් කෙනෙකුවක් මෙතැන කථා කළාද? නැහැ. මෙතැන නොවෙයි පිට්ටනිවල අපේ කථා පවත් වනවාය කියා විරුද්ධ පක්ෂය ඒ අවස්ථා වේදී පිටතට ගියා. මෙතැන විරුද්ධය කියන වචනයවත් කිව්වේ නැහැ. සියලු දෙනාම එකවරම වැසිකිළියට යන්නක් මෙන් පිටතට ගියා. විරුද්ධය කියන වචනයවත් නොකියා ගියා.

බර්නාඩ් සොයිසා මයා.

(ති.රු. பெர்னாட் சொய்ஸா)
(Mr. Bernard Soysa)

බොහොම එච්චරයි ; අපි දන්නවා.

ස්තූති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විචාදය

ආර්. ජී. සේනානායක මයා.

(திரு. ஆர். ஜி. சேனநாயக்க)
(Mr. R. G. Senanayake)

එච්චරයි පිට්ටනිවල. මෙතැන කථා කරන්නට බැරි වුණේ මොකද? ඊට සභා වලට විරුද්ධව සැම අතුරු මැතිවරණයක දීම කථා කළා නම්, සැම නගර සභා ඡන්ද විමසීමකදීම කථා කළා නම්, මෙතැන ඊට සභා පිළිබඳව ධවල පත්‍රිකාව ඉදිරිපත් කළ අවස්ථාවේදී පිට්ටනියට බසින්නට තිබෙන හේතුව කුමක්ද කියා මා ප්‍රශ්න කරනවා. අඩු වශයෙන් අප ඊට සභාවලට විරුද්ධය යන වචනයවත් කිව්වද? හැන්සාඩ් වාර්තාවේ විරුද්ධය කියන වචනයවත් සඳහන් වී නැහැ. නමුත් මා ගැන කොයි තරම් වෛරයකින් ක්‍රියා කළාද කිව්වොත්, වේදිකාවල කළ කථා අනුව මෙතැනත් ක්‍රියා කළාය කියා මාව පක්ෂයෙන් පැහැදිලි වූවා. ද්‍රවිඩ මුන්නේත්‍ර කසාගම් පක්ෂය තහනම් කරපියව්, තහනම් කරපියව්, කියා කෑ ගසන උදවිය දැන් කෝ? පෙනෙන්නට සිටිනවාද? නැහැ. එම නිසා විරුද්ධ පක්ෂයේ මේ දෙබිහි ප්‍රතිපත්ති මා මුලින්ම හෙළා දකිනවා.

සැම රැස්වීමකදීම විරුද්ධ පක්ෂය අද ඊට තිබෙන මේ භයානක තත්ත්වය ගැන, මේ ජාතික ප්‍රශ්නය ගැන කථා කරනවා. ද්‍රවිඩ මුන්නේත්‍ර කසාගම් පක්ෂ සංවිධාන තහනම් කරන්නට බැරි මක් නිසාද කියා අප අගමැතිතුමාගෙන් ප්‍රශ්න කරනවා; චෝදනා කරනවා. බලය දෙන්න, මා ඒක කරන්නමය කියා ගරු අගමැති තුමා කියනවා. අප අගමැතිතුමාට ඒ බලය දෙන්නට සතුටුද, නැද්ද? ඒ සම්බන්ධව අපේ අදහස් මොනවාද? ඒ පිළිබඳව විරුද්ධ පක්ෂයෙන් වචනයක්වත් කියවුණාද? විරුද්ධ පක්ෂයේ උදවිය මේ අවස්ථාවේදී පිට්ටනියෙද, වැසිකිළියෙද කියා මා දන්නේ නැහැ. එක් කෙනෙකු වත් පෙනෙන්නට නැහැ. මේ විධියට කැන වැඩ පිළිවෙලක් ගෙන යනවා. ආණ්ඩුවත් විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයත් යන දෙකම අද ගෙන යන්නේ දෙමළන්ට පක්ෂ ව්‍යාපාරයි. විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයට බලය ගිය දාටත් එහි විපාක අපට පෙනේවි. ද්‍රවිඩ මුන්නේත්‍ර කසාගම් පක්ෂයට චෝදනා කර කර, ඊට විරුද්ධව රැස්වීම් තබා තබා, ඊළඟට මේ

අග්‍රාණ්ඩුකාරතුමාගේ කථාව:

[ආර්. ජී. සේනානායක මයා.]

ආණ්ඩුව පරද්දා විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයට බලය ලබා ගත්තොත් මේ ප්‍රශ්නයේ වෙනසක් ඇති වෙතැයි කල්පනා කරනවාද? විරුධ පාර්ශ්වයේ සිටින අය බලයට පත් වුණත් දැනට පවතින ආකාරයටම, සමහර විට ඊටත් වඩා ලජ්ජා නැති ආකාරයට, දෙමළන්ට කත් අදින බවට දැන් කිසිම සැකයක් නැහැ.

බර්නාඩ් සොයිසා මයා.

(තිரு. පෙරිත්තාලි පොරායා)
(Mr. Bernard Soysa)

දැන් කොහොට් කත් අදිනවාදැයි හොඳට එළිදරව් වී තිබෙනවා.

ආර්. ජී. සේනානායක මයා.

(තිரு. ආර්. ඉ. ජේ. ප්‍රනායාක)
(Mr. R. G. Senanayake)

කොහොට්ද?

බර්නාඩ් සොයිසා මයා.

(තිரு. පෙරිත්තාලි පොරායා)
(Mr. Bernard Soysa)

එහා පැත්තට.

ආර්. ජී. සේනානායක මයා.

(තිரு. ආර්. ඉ. ජේ. ප්‍රනායාක)
(Mr. R. G. Senanayake)

මේ මොනවා කියනවාද? මා මේ යෝජනාව ඉදිරිපත් කර තිබෙන්නේ ආණ්ඩුවට විරුද්ධවයි. එවැනි අවස්ථාවක විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ ගරු මන්ත්‍රීවරුන් මෙහි අවුත් සිටිනවා කෝ? මේක පුදුම කථාවක්. ඩඩ්ලි-තොන්ඩමන් ගිවිසුම සම්මත කර ගන්නට යන අවස්ථාවේදී රට හැම තැනම ගොස් ඩඩ්ලි-තොන්ඩමන් ගිවිසුම ගැන විවේචනය කළ අය එය මෙම ගරු සභාවේදී සම්මත වන විට මෙහි සිටියේ නැහැ. ඊට විරුද්ධව ජාත්‍යන්තර පාච්චි කරන්නට මෙහි සිටියේ නැහැ.

ස්තූති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විවාදය

ගරු ඩඩ්ලි සේනානායක

(කෙළරාමා උද්ගිරි ජේ. ප්‍රනායාක)

(The Hon. Dudley Senanayake)

ඩඩ්ලි-තොන්ඩමන් ගිවිසුම කියන්නේ මොකක්ද?

ආර්. ජී. සේනානායක මයා.

(තිரு. ආර්. ඉ. ජේ. ප්‍රනායාක)
(Mr. R. G. Senanayake)

නීතිගත කරන්නට යන්නේ සිරිමා-ශාස්ත්‍රී ගිවිසුම නොව ඩඩ්ලි-තොන්ඩමන් ගිවිසුම යයි එදා වේදිකාවලදී ප්‍රකාශ කළා. ඔය කථාව විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ සැම දෙනාටම හොඳට මතක ඇති. ඒ හැම දෙනාම ඔය භාෂාව පාවිච්චි කළා. එහෙත් පනත පාර්ලිමේන්තුවට ගෙන ආ විට විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ උදවිය පැනලා ගියා. ඒ නිසා පහසුවෙන්ම ඒ පනත සම්මත කර ගන්නට පුළුවන් වුණා.

රට සභා ප්‍රශ්නය මතු වූ අවස්ථාවේදී සිදු වුණේ මොකක්ද? ඒ ප්‍රශ්නය ගැන මෙම ගරු සභාවේදී සාකච්ඡා වන විට රට සභා වලට විරුද්ධ බව ප්‍රකාශ කරන්නටවත් විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ උදවිය හිටියේ නැ. [බාධාකිරීමක්]

මුක්කු ගසන්නේ කවුද? ගරු කථා නායකතුමනි? ඩඩ්ලි-තොන්ඩමන් ගිවිසුම අනුව සකස් කරන ලද පනත සම්මත කර ගන්නට විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ උදවිය එදා මුක්කු ගැසුවා. රට සභා ගැන මෙහිදී වචන යක්වත් නොකියා සිටිමින් එදා ආණ්ඩු වට මුක්කු ගැසුවා. අද ද්‍රවිඩ මුන්නේත්‍ර කසාගම් පක්ෂය තහනම් කළ යුතු බව කිය වෙන අදහසක් ඇති යෝජනාවක් මා ඉදිරි පත් කරන කොට විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ මන්ත්‍රීවරුන් පෙනෙන්නට නැහැ. මේ අනුව කවුරුත් කාට මුක්කු ගසනවාදැයි පෙනවා ඇති. ඇත්තෙන්ම විරුද්ධ

අග්‍රාණ්ඩුකාරතුමාගේ කථාව :

ස්තුති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විවාදය

පාර්ශ්වයේ උදවියම මේ ප්‍රශ්න සම්බන්ධයෙන් ආණ්ඩුවට මුක්කු ගැසූ බව, ගසන බව, තරයේම මතක් කර දෙන්නට ඕනෑ.

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, ද්‍රවිඩ මුන්නේත්‍ර කසාගම් පක්ෂය තහනම් කළ යුතු යයි ඉල්ලන්නට හේතුවක් තිබෙනවා. දකුණු ඉන්දියාවේ රාජ්‍යයක් පවත්වාගෙන යන, එසේම මේ රටේ ශාඛා පිහිටුවාගෙන ජාති හේදය අවුස්සන, මේ රටේ ඒකීය භාවයට තර්ජනයක් වන ආකාරයට ක්‍රියා කරන, ඒ පක්ෂයේ විත්‍රපට හා පුවත්පත් දිනපතා මේ රටට ගෙන්වා මේ රට තුළ සිංහල දෙමළ හේදයක් ඇති කිරීමට ව්‍යාපාරයක් ගෙන යන, ජාතිවාදී ද්‍රවිඩ දේශපාලන පක්ෂයකටයි, ද්‍රවිඩ මුන්නේත්‍ර කසාගම් පක්ෂය යයි කියන්නේ. දෙමළ සංවර්ධනය, දෙමළ දියුණුව ගැන පමණක් ක්‍රියා කරන්නාවූ ඒ පක්ෂය නිසා අද ඉන්දියාවේ විශාල ස්වභාවයක් ඇති වී තිබෙනවා. ද්‍රවිඩ මුන්නේත්‍ර කසාගම් පක්ෂය ඇති කළායින් පසු ඊට ප්‍රතිවිරුද්ධව බොම්බායේ මහාරාෂ්ට්‍ර ප්‍රදේශයේ “සිව සේන සංගම්” නමින් එක්තරා සංවිධානයක් මාරාටින් විසින් පටන් ගනු ලැබ තිබෙනවා. ඒ විධියේම ව්‍යාපාරයක් පංජාබයේත් පටන්ගෙන තිබෙනවා. එක ජාතියක් තවත් ජාතියකට විරුද්ධව ව්‍යාපාරයක් පවත්වාගෙන යන විට ඒ ව්‍යාපාරයට රුචි නොවන අනෙක් ජාතිය ප්‍රතිවිරුද්ධ ව්‍යාපාරයක් පටන් ගැනීම සිදු විය. ඊට පසු ඒ ව්‍යාපාර දෙක හැප්පෙන්නට පටන් ගත්තවා. මේ නිසා අද ඉන්දියාවේ භයානක තත්ත්වයක් ඇති වී තිබෙනවා.

පෙරළේ ආණ්ඩු ක්‍රමයක් සාදන විට ජාතීන් අනුව, භාෂා අනුව ප්‍රාන්තීය ආණ්ඩු නොසාදන හැටියට අනාගතය ගැන පෙනෙන උදවිය ඉන්දියාවේ හිටපු අගමැති තේරු තුමාට අවවාද කළා. එහෙත් තේරු තුමා ඒ වේලාවේ ඒ ගැන වැඩිපුර කල්පනා කෙළේ නැහැ. ඉක්මන් කර තිදහස ලබා ගන්නට වුවමනා නිසා ඒ ඒ පළාත්වල තිබෙන භාෂා අනුව, ජාති අනුව, ප්‍රාන්ත වෙන් කළා. ඒ අතර හින්දි භාෂාවේ මාර්ගයෙන් මුළු ඉන්දියාවම එකට බැඳ තබන්නට එතුමා උත්සාහ කළා. හැබැයි, එතුමාගේ භාෂා ප්‍රතිපත්තිය “හෙමින්, හෙමින්” එකක් වූ නිසා බොහෝමයක් ආණ්ඩුවට මුක්කු ගැසූ බව, ගසන බව, තරයේම මතක් කර දෙන්නට ඕනෑ.

එතුමා ගෞරවයෙන් වර්ණනා කළා. එහෙත් එස්. ඩබ්ලිව්. ආර්. ඩී. බණ්ඩාර නායක අගමැතිතුමාගේ පැය විසිහතරෙන් කිරීමේ භාෂා ප්‍රතිපත්තිය නුවණ ඇති ක්‍රියාවක් නොවේයයි විහිළු කළා. දැන් තේරු තුමාගේ හෙමින් ගමන් කිරීමේ ප්‍රතිපත්තියත් ඉන්දියාවේ නැවතිලා තිබෙනවා; දැන් ඒ රටේ හෙමින් ගමන් කිරීමේ ප්‍රතිපත්තිය නැහැ. හින්දි භාෂාව දැන් සම්පූර්ණයෙන්ම වැළලී අවශානයයි. දැන් මදුරාසි ප්‍රාන්තයේ හින්දි භාෂාවෙන් එකම එක විත්‍රපටියක්වත් පෙන්වන්නට පුළුවන් කමක් නැහැ. හින්දි භාෂාවෙන් තිබෙන හැම විත්‍රපටියක්ම දැන් එහි පෙන්වීම තහනම් කර තිබෙනවා. එක වගන්තියක් වත් හින්දි භාෂාවෙන් ලියන්නට පිළිවෙලක් නැහැ. හින්දි විරෝධී ඒවා පමණක් පෙන්වන්නට අද ද්‍රවිඩ මුන්නේත්‍ර කසාගම් ආණ්ඩුවෙන් තීරණය කර තිබෙනවා. හින්දි භාෂාව සම්බන්ධයෙන් ද්‍රවිඩ උදවිය එවැනි පියවරක් ගන්නවා නම් අනෙකුත් දේවල් සම්බන්ධයෙන් ඒ විධියේ පියවරක් ගැනීම අමුතු දෙයක් නොවෙයි. එදා එකම එක රාජ්‍යයක් හැටියට එකට පැවති ඉන්දියාව දැන් කොයි තරම් දුරට වෙනස් වන තැනට කරුණු සිදු වී තිබෙනවාද? කොටස්වලට කැඩිලා, බිඳිලා, වෙන් වෙලා වැටෙන තත්ත්වයට දැන් ඉන්දියාව වැටී තිබෙනවා නොවෙයිද? අද ඉන්දියාවේ වෙන දේවල් ඇතිවෙගන යනවා. එවැනි තත්ත්වයක් ඇතිවෙගන යන්නේ ඇයි? භාෂාවත් අනුව, ජාතීන් අනුව වෙන් කරන්නට උත්සාහ කරන නිසයි ඒ. එදා බණ්ඩාරනායක උත්තරාගේ ගත් මාර්ගය අනුවණ එකක් හැටියට සැලකුවාට මොකද, එතුමා වාගේම ඉක්මන් කරන්නට කටයුතු කළ තරමට මෙය වැදගත් වන බව කිව යුතුයි. බෙදීමේ බලවේගය මතු වන්නට ප්‍රථම සිංහල බැම්මෙන් හැකි පමණ ඒ උදවිය සම්බන්ධ කර ගතහොත් අද ඉන්දියාවට උදා වී තිබෙන කලදසාව අපේ රටට උදා වන්නේ නැහැ. දැන් ඉන්දියාවේ හින්දියට ඇති බලවේගය මැරී කැඩී වැටී තිබෙනවා. විශේෂ ස්වාධීනත්වයක් පතාගෙන අද ඒ රටේ එක එක ප්‍රාන්තවල සටන් කෙරෙනවා. එක බැම්මකින් බැඳගෙන තිබෙන මූලික බල වේගය දැන් ඒ රටේ සම්පූර්ණයෙන්ම මැරී වැටී තිබෙනවා. එහෙත් “සිංහල විය යුතුය”

අග්‍රාණ්ඩුකාරතුමාගේ කථාව :

ස්තූති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විවාදය

[ආර්. ජී. සේනානායක මයා.]

යන බල වේගය අපේ රටේ තවමත් තිබෙනවා. එම බලවේගයට විරුද්ධව ද්‍රවිඩ උදවිය සටන් කරනවා. එහෙත් අපි ඉක්මනින් ක්‍රියා කොට යම් දිනක දෙවුන්දර තුඩුවේ සිට පේදුරු තුඩුව දක්වා සිංහලය රාජ්‍ය භාෂාව කරගෙන ලංකාවේ හාමදෙනාම සිංහල බැම්මෙන් බැඳ ගත්තොත් අද ඉන්දියාවට ඇති වී තිබෙන කලදසාව අපේ රටට ඇති වන්නේ නැහැ.

බෙදන්නට, කපන්නට, වෙන් කරන්නට, වැටී ගහන්නට කරන කතාවක් නොවෙයි මේක. මේක සම්බන්ධ කරන්නට, එක්සත් කරන්නට කරන කතාවක්. ගරු අගමැතිතුමා හාමතූනකදීම කතා කරන්නේ එක්සත් කිරීමේ පරමාර්ථයෙනුයි. එක්සත් කිරීමට නම් එක්තරා බැම්මක් තිබෙන්නට ඕනෑ ; පදනමක් තිබෙන්නට ඕනෑ. ඒ පදනම නම් අපේ භාෂාවය කියන එක මතක් කර දිය යුතුයි. එම නිසයි මේ ද්‍රවිඩ මුන්නේත්‍ර කසාගම් පක්ෂය පිටින් ඉදගෙන මේ රටේ දේශපාලනයට ඇඟිලි ගහහා මේ රටේ ජාතිවාදය ඇවිස්සීම භයානක දෙයක් වශයෙන් කල්පනා කොට එය වහාම තහනම් කරන්නැයි අප ඉල්ලා සිටින්නේ.

ගරු බණ්ඩාරනායක මැතිනිය මේ රටේ අගමැතිනිය වශයෙන් සිටියදී හදිසි තත්ත්වය උඩ ද්‍රවිඩ මුන්නේත්‍ර කසාගම් පක්ෂය තහනම් කළා. ඒ වාගේම ඉන්දියාවේ තේරුතුමා UNLAWFUL ACTIVITIES ACT නමින් විශේෂ පනතක් සම්මත කර ගෙන රට වෙන් කරන්නට පුළුවන් මත අනුව පිළියෙල වුණු ද්‍රවිඩ මුන්නේත්‍ර කසාගම් පක්ෂය ඒ රටින් තහනම් කළා.

ද්‍රවිඩ මුන්නේත්‍ර කසාගම් පක්ෂයේ පරමාර්ථය “තමිල් නාඩු” නමින් වෙනම රාජ්‍යයක් බිහි කිරීමයි. එය ඉන්දියාවට පමණක් සීමා වෙලා නැහැ. ලංකාවේ දෙමළ කතා කරන කොටසක් සිටිනවා නම් ඒ උදවියත් සංවිධානය කර ගන්නවා. වෙන වෙන රටවලත් ද්‍රවිඩ භාෂාව කතා කරන උදවිය සංවිධානය කරගෙන දේශපාලන බලපෑමක් ඇති කරණු පිණිස ඔවුන් උසිගැන්වෙන පරිදි කටයුතු කෙරෙනවා. ද්‍රවිඩ මුන්නේත්‍ර කසාගම් පක්ෂයේ මෙවැනි ව්‍යාපාර නිසා තේරු

තුමා ඒ තහනම් කරන්නට යෙදුණා. එතුමා ඒ තහනම් කරන්නට මූලික හේතූන් වශයෙන් පෙන්වා දී තිබුණේ කුමන කරුණුද? වෙනම රාජ්‍යයක් ඉල්ලීම එම රටේ ඒකීය භාවයට තර්ජනයක් වෙනවා ; ඒ වාගේම ලෝක සභාවේ අවසරයක් නැතුව විදේශ රටවලට අත නියා ඒ රටවල දේශපාලන කටයුතු අවුල් කිරීම එම ආණ්ඩුවට කරන තර්ජනයක් වෙනවා. මෙම නීතිවිරෝධී කරුණු දෙක උඩ මුන්නේත්‍ර කසාගම් පක්ෂය තහනම් කරන්නට එතුමා පියවර ගත්තා.

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, මා ජාතිවාදී ප්‍රශ්නයක් අදිනවා නොවෙයි. අපේ ඒකීය භාවය, අපේ එක්සත් භාවය විනාශ වන ආකාරයට කටයුතු කරන නිසයි අප මේ වැනි ඉල්ලීම් ගරු අගමැතිතුමා ඉදිරියෙහි කරන්නේ. ද්‍රවිඩ චිත්‍රපටිවලින් භයානක ආකාරයට ද්‍රවිඩ ජනතාව උසිගැන්වෙන බව කිව යුතුයි. රාමවන්දන් නමැති නළුවා චිත්‍රපටයක එන විට ඒ උදවිය ඉබේම උසිගැන්වී නැගී එනවා. යම් චිත්‍ර පටියක රාමවන්දන් නමැති නළුවාගේ නම් සඳහන් වෙනු දකින විටම ශාලාව තුළ අත්පුඩිහඬ නැගෙනවා. එම නළුවාට කරන ශෝරවයක් වශයෙන් එසේ කළාට කමක් නැහැ. එහෙත් ඒ අත්පුඩිය මතු වන්නේ සිංහල විරෝධී පිළිවෙලට් සිංහල කොඩිය සමග සිංහල ජාතික ගීය ගයන විට හුව යනවා. ඒක භයානක දෙයක්. මෙහි තිබෙන භයානක කම ඒකයි. අගමැතිතුමාත් පත්තරකාරයනුත් මේ ද්‍රවිඩ මුන්නේත්‍ර කසාගම් පක්ෂය පිළිබඳ කථාව මහ රු කළුවර කාමරයක කළු බළලකු සෙවීමක් වැනි දෙයක් හැටියට හැඳින්වූවා. එහෙත්, කාලයක් තිස්සේ මේ ගැන භෞයා බලාගෙන යන විට ඒ අදහස වැරදි බව ඒ අයටම වැටහුණා. දැන් මොකක්ද සිදු වී තිබෙන්නේ? ද්‍රවිඩ මුන්නේත්‍ර කසාගම් පක්ෂය ගැන කරුණු කියන්නට විශේෂ යෙන්නම “දිනමිණ” පත්තරකාරයාට එක් පත්තරයක් මදි වී පත්තර දෙකක්ම ගහන්නට සිදු වී තිබෙනවා. එම නිසා දැන් එවැනි පක්ෂයක් තිබෙන බවට ප්‍රශ්නයක් නැහැ. එවැන්නක් තිබෙන බව ගරු අගමැතිතුමා පවා දන් නවා. කවුරුනුත් එය පිළිගෙන තිබේ. මෙම පක්ෂයේ බලපෑම්වලින්

අග්‍රාණ්ඩුකාරතුමාගේ කථාව :

වේදනා විදින පළාත්වල හැම ගම්සභා වක්ම මෙම පක්ෂය තහනම් කළ යුතු බවට යෝජනා සම්මත කරගෙන ඒ බව අගමැතිතුමාට ලියුම් මගින් දන්වා තිබෙනවා. ඒ අය එසේ කරන්නේ මේ පක්ෂයෙන් කරදරයක් ඔවුන්ට තිබෙන නිසායි. මේ පිළිබඳ වේදනාවක් ඔවුන් තුළ ඇති වී තිබෙන නිසායි. ද්‍රවිඩ මුන්නේත්‍ර කසාගම් පක්ෂයේ විෂම ප්‍රතිපත්ති ඉවත් කරන තුරු එම පක්ෂය තහනම් කරන්නට එය උපන් රටේම අගමැති තුමාට—නේරු තුමාට—ප්‍රථමත් වුණා නම්, අප අතර ජාති හේද වපුරමින් මේ රට දෙකට කඩන්නට උත්සාහ දරන අවසාවාවේදී මේ රටේ එය තහනම් කරන්නට අපේ අගමැතිතුමාට බැරි ඇයි? මේ විධියට කටයුතු කරන්නට ඔවුන්ට ඉඩ දීම යුතුද? ද්‍රවිඩ විත්‍රපට බලන්න එපාය යන උද්ඝෝෂණයක් මහජනයා තුළින් ඉබේම ඇති වුණේත් ද්‍රවිඩ මුන්නේත්‍ර කසාගම් පක්ෂය නිසා ජනතාව තුළ ඇති වී තිබෙන වේදනාව උඩ නේද? ඒ උද්ඝෝෂණය කවුරුත් හෝ විසින් හැදූ මැවූ දෙයක්ද? ඒකටත් දැන් පුදුමාකාර තර්ජන පොලිසි යෙන් ඇති වී තිබෙනවා.

දේශීය විත්‍රපට කර්මාන්තය දියුණු කිරීමේ ආරක්ෂා කිරීමේ අදහස ඇතිව යම් කෙනකු දෙමළ විත්‍රපට බලන්නට එපායයි අන් අයට කීවොත් පොලිසිය එසේ කියන අය හිරබාරයට ගන්නවා. දේශීය ව්‍යාපාර යක් සම්බන්ධයෙන් එවැනි වැඩ පිළි වෙළක් ගෙන යන කෙනකු විරයකු වශයෙන් සලකා ගරු කළ යුතුව තිබියදී හිරිහැර කිරීම සාධාරණද?

පාර්ලිමේන්තුවෙන් පිටතදී නම් විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයන් මාත් මේ ප්‍රශ්නය සම්බන්ධ යෙන් කිසිම පරස්පර විරෝධී අදහසක් දරන්නේ නැහැ. එහෙත් පාර්ලිමේන්තුව තුළදී නම් අප එකිනෙකාට වෙනස්. මේ

ස්තූති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විවාදය

පිළිබඳ කාක්කුමක් තිබෙන අය ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂය තුළ සිටින බව මා දන්නවා. ඒ අය, අද උදේ ඇති වුණ සාකච්ඡාවේදී මේ පිළිබඳව මෙහි කථා කිරීමට ඉඩ ලබා ගැනීම සඳහා නායකයන් සමග විශාල සටනක් කළ බවත් මා දන්නවා. එහෙත්, විශේෂ බලයක් පාවිච්චි කොට ඒ අය මර්දනය කර තිබෙනවා. මීට හේතුව කුමක්ද? මැති වරණයක් ලං වීමයි. ඡන්ද ගැනීමට සිංහල හඬ අවශ්‍යයි. එහෙත්, දෙමළ සල්ලි ඊට වඩා අවශ්‍යයි. සිංහල ඡන්ද ගැනීමට දෙමළ සල්ලි ඕනෑ. ඒ නිසායි මේ උදවිය ඒ පැත්තටවත් මේ පැත්තටවත් නැති විධියට නිශ්ශබ්දව සිටින්නේ. අගමැතිතුමාට ඕනෑකමක් තිබෙනවා නම් ද්‍රවිඩ මුන්නේත්‍ර කසාගම් පක්ෂය සම්බන්ධයෙන් කටයුතු කිරීමට කිසියම් බලයක් ලබා ගන්නට බැරි කමක් නැහැ. එසේ නොකරනවා නම්, ඒ ගැන පිට්ටනි වල කථා කිරීම වහාම නතර කරන ලෙස මා මතක් කරනවා.

ඊ ලඟට රැකිරක්ෂා සැපයීමේ දී සිදු වී ඇති අසාධාරණය ගැනත් කියන්නට ඕනෑ. “අපේ අයිතිවාසිකම් අපට ලැබී නැහැ; අසුවල් තැන්වල අපට රැකිරක්ෂා ලැබී නැහැ; අප හැම තැනින්ම කොන් කර තිබෙනවා; රැකිරක්ෂා සැපයීමේ දී අපට අසාධාරණයක් කර තිබෙනවා” යයි උදේ සිට හැන්දෑ වන තුරු සමහර ද්‍රවිඩ නායකයන් කෑ ගහනවා. එහෙත් නියම තත්ත්වය මොකක්ද? මේ රටේ රජය කාටත් පොදුයි. එම නිසා රජයේ රැකිරක්ෂා සැපයිය යුත්තේ ඒ ඒ ජාතියේ ප්‍රමාණය අනුවයි. සාධාරණය ඉෂ්ට කෙරෙනවා නම් මේ රටේ බහුතර ජන කොට්ඨාශයට—මහා ජාතියට—රජයේ රක්ෂාවලින් වැඩි කොටසක් ලැබෙන්නට ඕනෑ. ප්‍රමාණයෙන් අඩු ජාතියට ලැබෙන රක්ෂා ප්‍රමාණ

අග්‍රාණ්ඩුකාරතුමාගේ කථාව :

[ආර්. ජී. සේනානායක මහා.]

යන් අඩු වන්නට ඕනෑ. මෙය අමුතු, අළුත් ප්‍රතිපත්තියක් නොවෙයි. ඉන්දියාවේ සිටි “බ්‍රහ්මින්” නමැති, සියුම් මොළයක් ඇති හා විභාගවලින් වැඩිපුර සමත් වුණු වර්ගයාට රැකිරක්ෂාවැඩිපුර ලැබුණා. එම නිසා, රැකිරක්ෂා ලැබිය යුත්තේ “බ්‍රහ්මින්” මෙපමණ කොටසකටය, “නොන් බ්‍රහ්මින්” මෙපමණ කොටසකටය යනුවෙන් නීතියක් පැනවුණා. ඒ “නොන් බ්‍රහ්මින්” කියන කොටසක් “ෂෙඩ්‍යුල් කාස්ට්” හා “නොන් ෂෙඩ්‍යුල් කාස්ට්” යනුවෙන් බෙදා තිබුණා. ඉන්දියාවට එවැනි ප්‍රතිපත්තියක් අනුගමනය කරන්නට පුළුවන්කම තිබෙනවා නම් අපට බැරි ඇයි?

මේ රටේ ජනතාවගෙන් සියයට 80 ක් සිංහලයන්. එසේම මුස්ලිම් ජාතිකයන් සැහෙන සංඛ්‍යාවක් සිටිනවා. එහෙත් ඔවුන්ට රජයේ රක්ෂා ලැබී තිබෙනවාද? පිරිස් ප්‍රමාණයෙන් ඔවුන් වැඩි වුණත්, මේ රටේ රාජ්‍ය තන්ත්‍රයේ ඔවුන්ට ලැබී තිබෙන්නේ සුළු ප්‍රමාණයක් පමණයි. ප්‍රමාණයෙන් සියයට 16 ක් පමණ වන ද්‍රවිඩ වර්ගයාට, මේ රටේ රක්ෂාවලින් සියයට 62 ක්ම හිමි වී තිබෙනවා. මුස්ලිම් ජනතාව මුළු ජනගහණයෙන් සියයට 8ක් පමණ වුවත්, ඔවුන්ට රජයේ රක්ෂාවලින් සියයට .05 ක් වත් ලැබී නැහැ. නැගෙනහිර ප්‍රදේශයේ බහු ජනතාව මුස්ලිම් ජාතිකයන්. එහෙත් ඒ ප්‍රදේශයේ මූලා දැති තැන්වත්ම ග්‍රාම සේවක තනතුරු, තැපැල් නිලධාරී තනතුරු, සමුපකාර සමිති නිලතල, හා ගුරු තනතුරු ආදියෙන් සියයට 60-70 ක්ම ලැබී තිබෙන්නේ ද්‍රවිඩයන්ටයි. එය අසාධාරණයක් නොවෙයිද? මුස්ලිම් ජනතාවට රජයේ රැකියාවන් ලැබී තිබෙන ප්‍රමාණය ගැන කල්පනා කරන විට ඔවුන් ජීවත් වන්නේ කොහොමදැයි පුදුම හිතෙයි.

ස්තුති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විවාදය

ඒ වාගේම සිංහල ජ්‍යෙෂ්ඨ සමතුන් ලක්ෂ සංඛ්‍යාවකුත්, උපාධිධාරීන් දහස් සංඛ්‍යාවකුත් සිංහල ප්‍රදේශවල ඉන්නවා. ඔවුන් නොයෙක් විධියට සංවිධානය වී “අපට රක්ෂා නැතැයි” කෑ ගහනවා. ද්‍රවිඩ පළාත්වල එවැනි හඬක් තිබෙනවාද? නැහැ. ඇයි, නැත්තේ? ඔවුන් හැම දෙනාටම රක්ෂා ලැබී තිබෙනවා. සුදුස්සාට සුදුසු තැන දෙනවා නම් එහි සාධාරණත්වයක් තිබෙනවා. එහෙත් ඔවුන්ගෙන් බොහෝ දෙනකුට රක්ෂා ලැබී තිබෙන්නේ සුදුසුකම් අනුව නොවෙයි. යම් දෙපාර්තමේන්තුවක ප්‍රධානියා ද්‍රවිඩයෙක් නම් අවුරුදු දෙක තුනක් යන විට ඒ දෙපාර්තමේන්තුවේ ද්‍රවිඩයන් පිරිලා. උදාහරණයක් වශයෙන් ලංකා බැංකුව හා මහජන බැංකුව ගෙන සංසන්දනය කර බලමු. ඒ දෙකම බැංකු දෙකක් නිසා කෙරෙන්නේ එක ම විධියේ වැඩ කොටසක්. මහජන බැංකුවේ සිංහලයන් සැහෙන තරමක් ඉන්නවා. එහෙත් ලංකා බැංකුවේ ද්‍රවිඩයන් 1622 ක්ම ඉන්නවා. ලංකා බැංකුවේ ද්‍රවිඩයන් කොයි තරම් ඉන්නවාද කීවොත්, එහි රාජ්‍ය භාෂා පනත ක්‍රියාත්මක කරන්නට බැරි යයි ලෝගනාදන් මහතා වාර්තා කර තිබෙනවා. මොකද, ප්‍රධානියා ලෝගනාදන් නිසා මුළු බැංකුවම දෙමළ වුණා. මහජන බැංකුවත් ඒ විධියේම බැංකුවක්. එහෙත් ඒ බැංකුවේ සාධාරණ ලෙස සිංහලයෝ ඉන්නවා; දෙමළත් ඉන්නවා. යම්කිසි දෙපාර්තමේන්තුවක ප්‍රධානියා වශයෙන් දෙමළ කෙනෙකු සිටින විට ඒ දෙපාර්තමේන්තුවේ යම්කිසි තනතුරකට දෙමළ කෙනෙකු ඉල්ලුම් පත්‍රයක් දැමීමෙන් කොහොම තේරුවත් අන්තිමේ දී දෙමළ තැනැත්තාට අවස්ථාවක් ලැබෙනවා.

විභාගවල තත්ත්වය කොහොමද? සිංහල මාධ්‍යය, දෙමළ මාධ්‍යය කියා මාධ්‍ය කිහිපයක් උගන්වනවා. විභාගවලදී සිංහල

අමාත්‍යවරයාගේ කථාව :

දැරුවන්ට නියම ආකාරයට ලකුණු ලැබේ නවා. දෙමළ ලමයින් සුදුසු තත්ත්වයක නැති වුණත් ඔවුන් සමත් කරන්නට විශේෂ පියවරක් ගන්නවා. ඒ නිසා දෙමළ මාධ්‍යයෙන් විභාගවලදී පෙනී සිටින උදව් යට විශේෂ වාසියක් තිබෙනවා. එක්තරා සම්මුඛ පරීක්ෂණයක දී දෙමළ ලමයෙකු ගෙන් අසා තිබෙන්නේ, තමාගේ තාත්තා අසුවලා නේද කියන ප්‍රශ්නය විතරයි. මිනිසා පාස්. අනික් අයගෙන් අහන්නේ අහසෙ උස කොපමණද, මුහුදේ ගැඹුර කොපමණද? ආදී උත්තර දෙන්නට අපහසු බැරෑරුම් ප්‍රශ්නයි. දෙමළ ලමයා පියාගේ නම කිව් පමණින් සමර්ථයි. අසාධාරණය කියන්නේ මේවායි.

හෙට අනිද්ද තෝ පයෙහිෂණයතනයේ ඇතිවන ඇබැරිතුවක් සඳහා දැනට මේ මන්ත්‍රි මණ්ඩලයේ සිටින මන්ත්‍රිවරයකුගේ දියණියක් වෛද්‍ය පයෙහිෂණයතනයේ පුහුණුවක් ලබනවා. ඒ පුහුණුව ලබන්නේ ඇ පමණයි. ඇබැරිතුව ඇති වන්නේ එන අවුරුද්දෙයි. විශේෂ දේශන පවත්වා ෂන්මුගම් නමැති නිලධාරී මහත්මයා ඇයට ඒ පුහුණුව ලබා දෙනවා. මොකද, එයාට විතරක් මේ වාසිය? ඇබැරිතුව ඇති වන්නට කලින් සිට එතැනට වුවමනා එක් කෙනා හදා ගන්න ලැහැස්ති වෙනවා.

මගේ හිතවතෙකු අසනිපයෙන් ඉස්පිරි තාලයේ සිටින විට මා ඔහු බලන්නට ගිය අවස්ථාවක දී මම හඳුනා දොස්තර මහත්මයෙක් වෛද්‍ය ශිෂ්‍යයන් සමඟ ලෙඩුන් ලඟට ඇවිත් ඔවුන්ගේ දුර්වලකම් පෙන්වා ඒවාට ප්‍රතිකර්ම කරන ආකාරය ගැන උපදෙස් දුන්නා. ඔවුන් පිට වී ගොස් සුළු වේලාවකින් නැවතත් ඒ ශිෂ්‍යයන් අතර සිටි දෙමළ ශිෂ්‍යයන් විතරක් එකතු කරගෙන ගිහින් ඒ දෙමළ ගුරුවරයා දෙ වෙනි වරටත් ඔවුන්ට ඒ පාඩම ඉගැන්වුවා.

ස්තූති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විවාදය

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, විශ්ව විද්‍යාලයේ දෙමළ කවිකාවයඝීවරුන් සියලු දෙනාම එකතු වී දෙමළ ශිෂ්‍යයන් කැඳවා ඔවුන්ට උගන්වන්නට විශේෂ මහත්සියක් ගත් නවා. පෝරුදෙනියේ වෛද්‍ය විද්‍යාලයේ ඒ, බී වශයෙන් කොටස් දෙකක් තිබේ නවා. එයින් “බැව් ඒ” කියන අංශයේ ශිෂ්‍යයන්ගෙන් 32 ක් සිටිනවා. එයින් 20 ක් දෙමළ උදවියයි. “බැව් බී” කියන අංශයේ 31 දෙනෙකු සිටිනවා. එයින් 21ක් දෙමළ උදවියයි. ගණකාධිකාරී සේවයට බඳවා ගැනීමේ විභාගයේ ප්‍රතිඵල අනුව 125 ක් සමර්ථ වුණා. සිංහල 47 ; දෙමළ 72 ; මුස්ලිම් 6 යි. පාමසිස්ට් අභ්‍යන්තර විභාගයෙන් සමර්ථ වූ සම්පූර්ණ ගණන 62 යි. සිංහල 28 ; දෙමළ 34 යි. ඇපොතිකරී විභාගයෙන් සමර්ථ වූ සම්පූර්ණ ගණන 9 යි. සිංහල 3 ; දෙමළ 6 යි. වතු ඇපොතිකරීවරුන්ගේ අවසාන විභාගයෙන් සමර්ථ වූ සම්පූර්ණ ගණන 13 යි. සිංහල 5 ; දෙමළ 8 යි. 1968 දී පවත් වන ලද විශ්ව විද්‍යාල ප්‍රවේශ විභාගය සමර්ථ වූ සම්පූර්ණ ගණන 492 යි. දෙමළ 210 ; සිංහල, මුස්ලිම්, මැලේ, ලංසි ආදී අනිකුත් ජාතීන් සියල්ලම 282 යි. මේවා සිදු වෙන්නේ කොහොමද? අනුපාතය අනුව බලනවා නම් ජනගහනයෙන් සියයට 80 ක් වන සිංහලයන්ට හැම දෙපාර්තමේන්තුවකම, හැම විශ්ව විද්‍යාලයකම, හැම වෛද්‍ය විද්‍යාලයකම, හැම නීති විද්‍යාලයකම ඇබැරිතුවලින් සියයට 80 ක් ලැබිය යුතුයි. සියයට 16 ක් පමණ දෙමළන්ටත්, සියයට 10 ක් පමණ මුස්ලිම් වරුන්ටත් ලැබිය යුතුයි. සියයට 10 ක් මුස්ලිම් කිව්වොත් මුස්ලිම් අයට කරන විශාල සැලකිල්ලක් ලෙස සලකන්නට ඕනෑ. අද මුස්ලිම් අයට දසම එකක්වත් නැහැ.

අනුශ්චිකාරතුමාගේ කථාව :

[ආර්. ජී. සේනානායක මයා.]

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, මීට වඩා කාලය ගත කරන්නට මා බලාපොරොත්තු වන්නේ නැහැ.

තවත් කරුණක් තිබෙනවා. මේ රටට නම දී තිබෙන්නේ ලංකාව කියලයි. ඔය නම නිසා තමයි මේ රටට කරදර ඇති වුණේ. සුද්දන් 1815 ගිවිසුම අත්සන් කළේ සිංහල දිසාපතිවරු සමගයි. සුද්දන් බාරගත්තේ සිංහල රාජ්‍යය ; බැවේ සිංහල කොඩිය ; හිරබාරයට ගත්තේ සිංහල රජතුමා. 1948 නිදහස ලැබුණාට පසුව සී. එස්. සේනානායක අගමැතිතුමා එසෙව්වේ තිරු නැති පිරිසිදු සිංහල කොඩියයි. එහෙත් සිංහල නමක් වැටුණේ නැහැ. ගත්තේ සිංහල රාජ්‍යයයි කියා අපට සිංහල රාජ්‍යයක් බාර දුන්නාද? සිංහල ආණ්ඩු ක්‍රමයක් මෙහි තිබෙනවාද? ලංකාවේ දෙවන ඵලිසබෙන් රාජනිය කියන නමයි වැටුණේ. සිංහලේ දෙවන ඵලිසබෙන් රාජනිය කිව්වානම් රටටත් සිංහලය කියා නම වැටෙනවා.

ආචාර්ය පරණවිතාන මහතා ලිහදි කියා තිබුණා සිංහල ද්විපය මිස ලංකාව කියන නමක් ඉතිහාසයේ නැතෙයි කියා. මේ රටට සිංහලය කියා නම දැමීමෙන් සිංහලේ සිටින සියලු වර්ගයාම සිංහල වෙනවා.

කථානායකතුමා

(ආරාධනාකරු අවුරුදු)

(Mr. Speaker)

I think you must stop in fairness to the other Independent Members.

ආර්. ජී. සේනානායක මයා.

(ති.රු. ආර්. ජී. සේනානායක)

(Mr. R. G. Senanayake)

මට තව මිනිත්තු 10 ක් දෙන්න.

ස්තූති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විවාදය

කථානායකතුමා

(ආරාධනාකරු අවුරුදු)

(Mr. Speaker)

It is impossible. In fact half an hour has been allotted to each Independent Member. I think you should not have taken 35 minutes.

ආර්. ජී. සේනානායක මයා.

(ති.රු. ආර්. ජී. සේනානායක)

(Mr. R. G. Senanayake)

මගේ සංශෝධන සඳහා කරන්නට කෙනෙක් නැති නිසා මට තව විකක් කාලය දෙන්න. මගේ අදහස් සඳහා කරන අය පිටත නම් ඉන්නවා. එහෙත් මේ ගරු සභාවේ නම් නැහැ.

කථානායකතුමා

(ආරාධනාකරු අවුරුදු)

(Mr. Speaker)

The last Independent Member who spoke did not have a Seconder for his amendment. I do not know what will happen to the next. We need not anticipate that.

ආර්. ජී. සේනානායක මයා.

(ති.රු. ආර්. ජී. සේනානායක)

(Mr. R. G. Senanayake)

හොඳයි අවසාන වශයෙන් තව කරුණක් කියන්න කැමතියි. මේ රට එක්සත් කරන අදහසින් මේ රටට සිංහලය කියා නම යෙදීම අවශ්‍ය දෙයක්ය කියා මතක් කරන්න කැමතියි. එසේ වුවොත් ජාතින් වශයෙන් එක් එක් නම් මේ රටේ ඇති වන්නේ නැහැ. ආගම් වශයෙන් නම් වෙනස් වෙන්න පුළුවන්. සිංහල බෞද්ධ, සිංහල මුස්ලිම්, සිංහල කතෝලික, සිංහල හින්දු යනාදී වශයෙන් කිව්වාම අපි සියලු දෙනාම එක සහෝදර බැම්මෙන් බැඳී එක වර්ගයක් වී යම් දවසක අපට එක ජාතියක් වන්නටත් පුළුවන්. පසුගිය කාලයේ මුළු ආසියාවේම නම් වෙනස් වී තිබෙනවා.

අග්‍රාණ්ඩුකරතුමාගේ කථාව :

සියම් රට තායිලන්තය වී තිබෙනවා. පෝමෝසා දූපත තායිවාන් වී තිබෙනවා. ගෝල්ඩ් කෝස්ට් ඝානා වී තිබෙනවා. ඒපබර්ට්ට්ස් මැලේ ස්ට්‍රේට්ස් කියන එක මැලේෂියා වී තිබෙනවා. ජාපා, සුමාත්‍රා යනාදී දූපත් සමූහය ඉන්දුනීසියා වී තිබෙනවා. මේ ඊයේ පෙරේදා මැඩ්රාස් කියන එකත් ටැම්ල්නාඩු කර තිබෙනවා. නිදහස ලැබුණාට පසුව වෙනස් නොකළ නමක් මුළු ආසියාවේම නැහැ. එහෙනම් අපේ රටට හිමි නම සිංහලය කියා වෙනස් කරන්න බැරි ඇයි?

කථානායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

I am sorry I cannot give you any more time.

ආර්. ජී. සේනානායක මයා.

(திரு. ஆர். ஜி. சேனநாயக்க)

(Mr. R. G. Senanayake)

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, අවසාන වශයෙන් කියන්නට තිබෙන්නේ දෙවැනි ඡන්ද ලේඛනය ගැනයි. ඒ ගැන වැඩිදුරට කථා කරන්නට දෙයක් නැහැ. අලුත් පුරවැසියන් අපේ පන්නයට හැඩගසෙන තුරු ඔවුන් අපේ භාෂාව ඉගෙන ගන්නා තුරු ඒ අයට වෙනම ඡන්ද ලේඛනයක් ඇති කරන්නට අගමැතිතුමා මේ සභා ගර්භයේදී පොරොන්දුවක් දී තිබෙනවා. මැතිනියන් ඒ ගැන මෙහිදී සටන් කර තිබෙනවා. සිරිමා-ශාස්ත්‍රී ගිවිසුම හෝ ඩඩ්ලි-තොන්ඩමන් ගිවිසුම හෝ සම්මත කරන අවස්ථාවේදී අගමැතිතුමා කියා තිබෙනවා උඩරට ජනතාව ආරක්ෂා කිරීම පිණිස දෙවැනි ඡන්ද ලේඛනයක් බැරි නම් විශේෂ ඡන්ද ලේඛනයක් වත් සකස් කරනවාය කියා. අද වනතුරු ඒ ගැන පියවරක් ගෙන නැහැ. ඒ නිසා අළුත් පුරවැසියන් සඳහා දෙවැනි ඡන්ද

ස්තූති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විවාදය

ලේඛනයක් ඇති කරන ලෙස මා ඉල්ලා සිටිනවා. ඒ දෙවැනි ඡන්ද ලේඛනයට ඇතුළත් පිරිසගේ ඡන්දය විමසීම සඳහා වෙනම දිනක ඒ ප්‍රදේශයේ සෑම ඡන්ද පොළකම ඡන්ද පෙට්ටිය බැගින් තබන්නට පුළුවන්. එවිට ඒ උදවියගේ නියෝජිතයන් වශයෙන් දහ දෙනකු හෝ පහළොස් දෙනකු ඉදිරිපත් වුණොත් ඔවුන්ගෙන් හතර දෙනකු පමණ තෝරා ගන්නට පුළුවන්. ඒ උදවියට පමණයි, ඒ ඡන්ද විමසීම සීමා වන්නේ. වතු වල සිටින කම්කරුවන්ගේ ඇඟිලිගැසීම්වලින් තොරව සිංහල ආසනවල සිටින සිංහල ගැමියන්ට ඔවුන්ගේ ගැමි ප්‍රශ්න විසඳා ගැනීම සඳහා සිංහල මන්ත්‍රීවරයකු තෝරා ගැනීමට ඉඩ දෙන ලෙස මා ඉල්ලා සිටින්නට කැමතියි.

කථානායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Time is limited. Only 32 hours have been allotted to the Debate and I have to go on that basis. I am sorry I cannot give the hon. Member any more time.

ආර්. ජී. සේනානායක මයා.

(திரு. ஆர். ஜி. சேனநாயக்க)

(Mr. R. G. Senanayake)

හොඳයි ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, ගැමි ප්‍රශ්න ගැන මතක් කරමින් මගේ කථාව අවසාන කරන්නම්. මොනවද ඒ අයගේ ප්‍රශ්න? ඒ අයට ඉඩම් වුවමනා කරනවා; වතුර වුවමනා කරනවා; ගෙවල් වුවමනා කරනවා; පාසල් වුවමනා කරනවා; ආරෝග්‍යශාලා වුවමනා කරනවා. වතු කම් කරුවන්ට මේ එකක් ගැනවත් ප්‍රශ්න යක් නැහැ. ඔවුන්ට වත්තෙන් ගෙවල් දෙනවා; වත්තෙන් වතුර සපයා දෙනවා; වත්තෙන් පාර කපා දෙනවා. ඔවුන්ට රක්ෂාව තියෙනවා. ඔවුන්ට මන්ත්‍රීවරයාට

අග්‍රාණ්ඩුකාරතුමාගේ කථාව:

[ආර්. ජී. සේනානායක මයා.]

ඉදිරිපත් කරන්නට තිබෙන්නේ පඩි පිළිබඳ ප්‍රශ්නයයි; කම්කරු ප්‍රශ්නයයි. දැන් නියෝජිත තත්ත්වයේ හැටියට ගැමියාගේ ප්‍රශ්න ගැන කටයුතු කරන්නටත් මන්ත්‍රී වරුන් කම්කරුවාගේ අවසරය ගන්නට ඕනෑ. මැතිවරණයකදී වතු කම්කරුවන්ගේ ඡන්ද දාහක් නැත්නම් දෙදහස් එක පැත්තකට බර වුණොත් ඒ පැත්ත දිනනවා. ඒ නිසා කඳුකරයෙන් එන මන්ත්‍රීවරුන් සියළු දෙනාම වතු කම්කරුවන්ට වැද, ඔවුන්ගේ අවසරය ලබා ගෙනයි, මේ ගරු සභාවට තේරී පත් වන්නේ. සංවිධානය වී සිටින ඒ ද්‍රවිඩ කම්කරු පිරිසට හයෙනුයි, ඔවුන් කටයුතු කරන්නේ. ඒ තර්ජනයෙන් මේ මන්ත්‍රී වරුන් බේරා ගන්නට නම් දෙවැනි ඡන්ද ලේඛනයක් තබා ඒ අයගේ නියෝජිතයා ඒ ඡන්ද ලේඛනය අනුව තෝරා ගන්නටත්, පිරිසිදු සිංහල ගැමි ජනතාවට මහා ඡන්ද ලේඛනයෙන් ඔවුන්ගේ නියෝජිතයා තෝරා ගන්නටත් අවස්ථාව සැලසිය යුතු බව මා මතක් කරනවා.

කථානායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

The hon. Member must stop at this stage. He has exceeded his time.

ආර්. ජී. සේනානායක මයා.

(திரு. ஆர். ஜி. சேனநாயக்க)

(Mr. R. G. Senanayake)

All right.

කථානායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

The hon. Member is saying, all right, and is going on.

ස්තුති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විවාදය

ආර්. ජී. සේනානායක මයා.

(திரு. ஆர். ஜி. சேனநாயக்க)

(Mr. R. G. Senanayake)

මේ ප්‍රශ්න හුඟ හරියක් සම්බන්ධයෙන් විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයේ වේදිකාවලදීත් කැ ගසනවා. ඒ නිසා මැතිවරණ කාලවලදී ගමේදී කියන ආකාරයට මේ පාර්ලිමේන්තු වෙදින් කටයුතු කරන ලෙස මා ආණ්ඩු පක්ෂයෙනුත්, විරුද්ධ පාර්ශ්වයෙනුත් ඉල්ලා සිටින්නට කැමතියි.

කථානායකතුමා

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Is any hon. Member seconding the amendments moved by the hon. Member for Dambadeniya? [Pause]. In the absence of a Seconder the amendments lapse.

අ. හා. 8.4

එස්. ඩී. බණ්ඩාරනායක මයා.

(திரு. எஸ். டி. பண்டாரநாயக்க)

(Mr. S. D. Bandaranayake)

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, 6 වැනි පාර්ලිමේන්තුවේ 5 වැනි රාජ්‍යසනයේ කථාව පිළිබඳව පැවැත්වෙන විවාදයේදී, ලංකා කොමියුනිස්ට් පක්ෂය වෙනුවෙන් ඉදිරිපත් කර තිබෙන සංශෝධන අනුව වචන ස්වල්පයක් කථා කිරීමට අවස්ථාව ලැබීම ගැන මා සතුටු වෙනවා.

නිදහස කියන එකක් පර සුද්දන් මේ රටේ අටවා දැනට අවුරුදු 21 ක් ගත වී තිබෙනවා. මේ 6 වැනි පාර්ලිමේන්තුවයි. ආණ්ඩු 6 ක් මේ දක්වා මේ රටේ ඇති වී තිබෙනවා. අධිරාජ්‍යවාදීන්ගේ ග්‍රහණයෙහි තිබෙන මේ සැලැස්ම යටතේ අවුරුදු 21 ක් ගත වීත්, මේ රටේ ජනතාවට පාර්ලිමේන්තුව තුළින් නිදහසක් හෝ විමුක්තියක් ලබා ගැනීමට තවමත් බැරි වුණා. කඳුකර ප්‍රදේශයේ ඉඩම් වැඩි හරියක් මුඩු බිම් පහත යටතේ අක්කරය 25, 50 බැගින් අධිරාජ්‍යවාදීන්ගේ

අග්‍රාණ්ඩකාරතුමාගේ කථාව :

ස්තුති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විවාදය

ග්‍රහණයට අසු වී තිබෙනවා. එසේම නගර බදු පළාත්වලත් බැංකු, fජැක්ටරි ආදියෙන් වැඩි හරියක් තවමත් පවත්වාගෙන යන්නේ අධිරාජ්‍යවාදීන්ගේ ග්‍රහණය යටතේයි.

අවුරුදු 21 කට පසුව බලන විට දැන් මේ රට රුපියල් කෝටි 640 කට අධිරාජ්‍යවාදීන්ට උගස් තබා තිබෙන බව පෙනෙනවා. ලෝක බැංකුවට අවුරුදු පතා කෝටි 32 ක් පොළිය පමණක් ගෙවනවා. පාර්ලිමේන්තු පාලනයක් තුළයි මෙසේ සිදු වී තිබෙන්නේ. ඒ නිසා, මේ රටත් ජාතියත් අනාගත පරම්පරාවත් ක්‍රමානුකූලව ප්‍රපාතයට වැටීගෙන යන බව පැහැදිලි වශයෙන් ම අපට පෙනී යනවා.

අද මේ රටේ රුකිරක්ෂාවල් තැනි තැනැණියන් විසි ලක්ෂයක් ඉන්නවා. තැනැණියන් කියන්නේ අනාගත පරම්පරාවටයි. මේ අය ගැන මාවෝ සේතුං සහෝ දරයා කියන්නේ තැනැණියන් යනු උදේ පාන්දර හතටත් අටටත් අතර පායන හිර වාගේ වැදගත් කොටසක් බවයි. අද ඔවුන් අතරම වෙලා නිකමුත් වෙලා සිටිනවා. අපේ රටේ තැනැණි පරම්පරාව නිකමුත් පිරිසක් හැටියට පරිවර්තනය වෙලා තිබෙන්නේ පාර්ලිමේන්තු ක්‍රමය අනුව ඇති වූ ආණ්ඩු ක්‍රමයක් යටතේ බව කියන්නට ඕනෑ. ගෙයක් ගෙයක් පාසා බැලුවොත් අද හැම ගෙයකම වාගේ හතර පස් දෙනෙක් රක්ෂාවල් තැනිව ඉන්න බව පෙනී යනවා ඇති. මෙයින් වැඩි දෙනා ජ්‍යෙෂ්ඨ විභාගය පාස් වෙලයි ඉන්නේ. උපාධිධාරීන් 15,000 ක් දෙනා රක්ෂාවල් තැනිව අද අතරම වෙලා නිකමුත් හැටියට පරිවර්තනය වෙලා ඉන්නවා, මේ සමාජයේ.

අපේ සමාජයේ ලමයින් තිස් දෙලක්ෂයක් දෙනා පාඨශාලාවල ඉන්නවා. අපේ සම්ප්‍රදායය අනුව, පාර්ලිමේන්තු ආණ්ඩු ක්‍රමය අනුව, ඒ ලමයින්ට මේ රටේ කිසිම අනාගතයක් නැහැ.

අපේ ගොවි ජනතාව දෙස බැලුවත් තත්ත්වය කනගාටුදායකයි. පණස් ලක්ෂයක් තරම් වූ පිරිසක් ඒ අංශයෙන් අද අතරම වී ඉන්නවා. බිම් අඟලක්වත් ඉඩම් තැනි ගොවීන් ඉන්නවා. කම්කරුවන්ගේ තත්ත්වයත් හයානකයි. හතර අතට ණය වෙලා දුකසේ ජීවත් වන කම්කරුවන් සහ

ගොවීන් විශාල සංඛ්‍යාවක් මේ රටේ ඉන්නවා. ආණ්ඩුව කෝටි 640ක් ණය වෙලා ඉන්නවා වාගේම ජනතාවත්—ගොවි කම්කරු, රාජ්‍ය යන්ත්‍රයේ ඉන්න ලිපිකරුවන් ආදි සෑම කෙනෙක්ම—ණය වෙලා තියෙනවා. ඔන්න ඔය ආකාරයටයි මේ රටේ හයවැනි පාර්ලිමේන්තුවේ පස්වැනි සැසි වාරයේ රාජ්‍යසභා කථාව පවත්වන විට රටේ තත්ත්වය තිබෙන්නේ. බලාගෙන යන විට මෙය නම් මැතිවරණ ප්‍රෝඩාවක් බව පෙනෙනවා. මේ ප්‍රශ්නය උග්‍රවේගෙන ගිහිල්ලා තිබෙන්නේ ක්‍රම ක්‍රමයෙන් වුවත් වේගයෙන් බව කියන්නට පුළුවනි. මේ වැඩ පිළිවෙළ ගැන කල්පනා කර බලන විට, පාර්ලිමේන්තුව නම් කුමක් වැනිදැයි පැහැදිලි වෙනවා. ඇමතිවරුන් හරියට අධිරාජ්‍යවාදීන් වටා රුකඩ නාට්‍යයක දකින්නට ලැබෙන රුකඩ වාගේ තමයි පෙනෙන්නේ. ඔය රුකඩවල පිටුපසින් ඊරිස් ලණුව අදින්නේ එංගලන්තයෙන්, වොෂින්ටනයෙන් තැන්නම් නව දිල්ලියෙන්. පාර්ලිමේන්තුව නැමැති ප්‍රෝඩාවෙන් අධිරාජ්‍යවාදීන් අවුරුදු 21ක් අප රටට තිබෙනවා. මේ රටේ ප්‍රශ්න මේ ආකාරයට උග්‍රවේගන එන්නේ ඒ නිසයි.

ජාතික ආදායම, ජාතික වියදම ආදිය ගැන පණ යනතුරු කථා කරනවා. එහෙත් පිටරටවලින් උදවිය ලංකාවට ඇවිත් විශාල ව්‍යාපාර ආරම්භ කරනවා. මේ රටේ අලුත් ව්‍යාපාර ආරම්භ කරන්නට 35 දෙනෙක් ලබන මාසයේදී ඇමෙරිකාවෙන් එනවා. මේ ආණ්ඩුව ඊයේ පෙරේදා නැවත වරක් ව්‍යාපාර පටන් ගන්නට කණ්ඩායම් හතරකට ඉඩ දුන්නා. ගිය සතියේ අධිරාජ්‍යවාදී තේ කොම්පැනිකාරයින්ට කිසිම බද්දක් නැතිව, වි.වි.හි.ස. ක්‍රමයටත් යටත් නොකර, රුපියල් පසළොස් කෝටියක මුදලක් ගෙන යන්නට මේ ආණ්ඩුව ඉඩ දුන්නා. ඒකත් මේ කොම්පැනිකාරයින් තේ මිල බස්සා කළ ආර්ථික තර්ජනයක ප්‍රතිඵලයක්. එම නිසා අවුරුදු පහකට වරක් කතිරය ගසා අවුරුදු විස්සක් තිස්සේ අප අසු වී සිටින අධිරාජ්‍යවාදීන්ගේ මේ ග්‍රහණයෙන් මිදෙන්නට නොහැකි බව ලංකා කොමියුනිස්ට් පක්ෂයේ අප මතක් කරන්නට සතුටුයි. අධිරාජ්‍යවාදීන් අටවා තිබෙන මේ බංකොලොත්

අමාත්‍යවරයාගේ කථාව :

[එස්. ඩී. බණ්ඩාරනායක මයා.]

පාර්ලිමේන්තු ක්‍රමය ගැන කිසිම විශ්වාසයක් නැති එකම පක්ෂය අපේ පක්ෂය පමණයි.

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, තමුන්නාන්සේට මා වරක් කී පරිදි මේ සංශෝධනය ස්ථිර කරවා ගැනීමට අපේ බලාපොරොත්තුවක් නැහැ. මේවා ස්ථිර කරවා ගැනීමට අපට කවුරුවත් වුවමනා නැහැ. මේ බංකොලොත් පාර්ලිමේන්තු ක්‍රමය ගැන අපේ විශ්වාසයක් නැහැ. අපට වුවමනා කරන්නේ මෙතැන වේදිකාවක් වශයෙන් පාවිච්චි කර මාවෝ සේතුං චිත්තනය අනුව රටේ විප්ලවීය ක්‍රියා මාර්ගයක් පැදීම පමණයි. එම නිසා මේ සංශෝධන ස්ථිර කරන්නට අපට කවුරුවත් වුවමනා නැහැ. මේ යෝජනා ඡන්දයකට දමන්නට අපේ අදහසක් නැහැ. මෙතැන අපට ඡන්දයක් වුවමනා නැහැ. ඡන්දය විමසා මේ ප්‍රශ්න විසඳන්නට බැහැ.

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, මේ ආණ්ඩුව වගා ව්‍යාපාරයක් ගැන කථා කරනවා. ගිය මාසයේ 28 වන දින අධ්‍යාපන ඇමතිතුමා ගම්පහ රැස්වීමකට පැමිණ එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයේ ආණ්ඩුව යටතේ අද පැරකුම් යුගයටත් වඩා දියුණු යුගයක් උදා වී තිබෙනවාය කිව්වා. අධ්‍යාපන ඇමතිතුමාගේ ඔළුව තරක් වෙලාද කියා ම දන්නේ නැහැ. මෙවැනි විකාර කියමන් ප්‍රකාශ කරනවා. ඒ රැස්වීමේ මමත් සිටියා. අධ්‍යාපන ඇමතිතුමා තව දුරටත් කථා කරමින් අද ඉතා සුබ්‍ය මුද්‍රිත තත්ත්වයක් තිබෙනවාය කිව්වා. තමුන් ඒ රැස්වීමේදී මම මේ රටේ විසි ලක්ෂයක් රක්ෂාව නැතිව සිටින බව ප්‍රකාශ කළා. විශ්ව විද්‍යාලයෙන් පිට වන තරුණ තරුණියන්ට රැකිරක්ෂා නැති බව ප්‍රකාශ කළා.

අධ්‍යාපන ඇමතිතුමා තවත් පුදුම දේවල් කිව්වා. සෞඛ්‍ය ඇමතිතුමා පවා පිළිගත් දෙයක් එතුමා පිළිගන්නේ නැහැ. අද ආරෝග්‍යශාලාවල ඇද උඩ එක ලෙඩෙකු සිටිනවා නම් ඇද යට ලෙඩුන් දහ දෙනෙකු සිටින බව මා ප්‍රකාශ කළා. එවිට අධ්‍යාපන ඇමතිතුමා ඇදවල් යට සිටින ලෙඩුන්ට ගෙවල තිබෙනවාට වඩා සැප පහසුකම් ආරෝග්‍යශාලාවල තිබෙනවාය කිව්වා. තමුන්නාන්සේලාට 1956 වර්ෂයේ ගැටුණි

ස්තූති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විවාදය

මහා මැතිවරණයේදී ආසන අටයි ලැබුණේ. අධ්‍යාපන ඇමතිතුමාගේ මෙවැනි කියමන් නිසා මේ වාරයේ තමුන්නාන්සේලාට ආසන හතරක්වත් ලැබේවිද කියා මා දන්නේ නැහැ. අධ්‍යාපන ඇමතිතුමා රට පුරාම ගිහින් ඔවැනි විකාර කථා කියනවා.

එෆ්. ආර්. ඩයස් බණ්ඩාරනායක මයා.
(දොම්පෙ)

(ති.රු. எப். ஆர். டயஸ் பண்டாரநாயக்க—
தொம்பே)

(Mr. F. R. Dias Bandaranaike—Dompe)
උන්නාහෙන් ආරෝග්‍යශාලාවේ.

එස්. ඩී. බණ්ඩාරනායක මයා.

(ති.රු. எஸ். டி. பண்டாரநாயக்க)
(Mr. S. D. Bandaranayake)

උන්නාහෙ ඇදත් දෙකක් උඩ.

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයේ ආණ්ඩුව යටතේ අද පැරකුම් යුගයටත් වඩා දියුණු යුගයක් උදා වී තිබෙනවාය කියා අධ්‍යාපන ඇමතිතුමා ප්‍රකාශ කළත් ඇත්ත වශයෙන්ම තිබෙන්නේ ඊට වඩා ඉදුරුම වෙනස් තත්ත්වයක් බව මා ප්‍රකාශ කරනවා.

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, සමාජ අවහිර වැළැක්වීමේ පනත ක්‍රියාත්මක කරන මෙන් අප වරින් වර ඉල්ලා සිටියා. ගිය අවුරුද්දේ මාවිච්චපුරම් කෝවිලේදීත්, මේ අවුරුද්දේ මඩුවිල් අම්මාන් කෝවිලේදීත්, ඇති වූ සිද්ධීන් ගැන ගරු අගමැතිතුමාගෙන් අප පැහැදිලි විස්තරයක් බලාපොරොත්තු වෙනවා. ඒ කුල නීතිය කියන සහෝදරවරුන්ට කෝවිල් වලට ඇතුළු වන්නට අයිතිවාසිකමක් ඇතැයි පොලිස්පතිතුමා ප්‍රකාශ කර තිබෙනවා. එහෙත් යාපනයේ සිටින පොලිස් සුපිරින්ටෙන්ඩන්ට් මහත්මයා, පසුගිය කාලයේ මෙම ගරු සභාවේ හිටි මන්ත්‍රීවරයකු වන සුන්දරලිංගම් මහත්මයාත් සමග සාකච්ඡා කර 1966 දී දෙන ලද අයිතිවාසිකම් ඒ අයට දෙන්නට ඕනෑ යයි තීරණය කර තිබෙනවා. ඔය සුන්දර ලිංගම් මහතා ප්‍රතිගාමී කොවුලක්. හොඳයි, 1966 දී දෙන ලද අයිතිවාසිකම් මොනවාද? කෝවිල්වල පිටත සිටිමට ඉඩ දීමයි. ඉතින් මේ කර තිබෙන විකාර වැඩ සම්බන්ධයෙන් පැහැදිලි ප්‍රකාශයක් ඕනෑ.

අග්‍රාණ්ඩුකාරතුමාගේ කථාව :

මේ විධියේ තීරණයක් දෙන්නට යාපනයේ සිටින පොලිස් සුපිරින්නෙක් ඔන්ට් මහත්මයාට අයිතියක් තිබෙනවාද ?

ගරු කථානායකතුමනි, දකුණු වියට් නාමයේ පිහිටුවා තිබෙන තාවකාලික විප්ලවකාරී ආණ්ඩුව පිළිගන්නා බවක් මේ ආණ්ඩුවේ රාජසන කථාවේ සඳහන් කර නැහැ. ඒ ගැන අපේ විරුද්ධත්වය ප්‍රකාශ කරන්නට ඕනැ. ඒ වාගේම අද මැද පෙරදිග පවතින ප්‍රශ්නය ගැන— අරාබි ජනතාවට අයිති පලස්තීනය නිදහස් කර ගැනීම ගැන—මෙම රාජසන කථාවේ කිසිවක් සඳහන් කර නැහැ. ඊශ්‍රායලය විසින් පලස්තීනය ආක්‍රමණය කරනු ලබ තිබෙනවා. අද මැද පෙරදිග පවතින මූලික ප්‍රශ්නය අන්න ඒකයි. පලස්තීනයට නිදහස ලබා ගන්නා තුරු අරාබි ජනතාවට බල පාන මැද පෙරදිග ප්‍රශ්නයේ විසදීමක් සිදු වන්නේ නැති බව මතක් කරන්නට සතුටුයි.

තවත් කිව යුතු කාරණයක් තිබෙනවා. චීනයේ සභාපති මාවෝ සේතුං සහෝදර යාගේ රූප සටහන ඇතුළත් පදක්කම් ගෙන්වීම මේ ආණ්ඩුව තහනම් කර තිබෙනවා. දකුණු ඉන්දියාවේ ඇති ඩී. එම්. කේ. පක්ෂය ගැන විශාල අන්දමට කථා කරන උදවිය ඒ ඩී. එම්. කේ. කාරයන් ගේ පොත් පත් දහස් ගණන් මේ රටට ගෙන ඒම ගැන නිශ්ශබ්දයි. ඒවා තහනම් කර නැහැ. ඒවා ගැන කථා කරන්නේත් නැහැ. එහෙත් නියම කොමියුනිස්ට්කාර යකු වූත්, හැත්තෑ කෝටියක ජනතාව ගේ අසහාය නායකයා වූත් සභාපති මාවෝ සේතුං තුමාගේ රූප සටහන ඇතුළත් පදක්කම් මේ රටට එන විට ආරක්ෂක හා විදේශ අමාත්‍යාංශයේ නිලධාරීන්, ඊළඟවේ නිලධාරීන් එකතු වී ඒවා තහනම් කරනවා. චීනයෙන් එවන පොත් පත් ඉරා දමනවා. මේ ආණ්ඩුව, චීන මහජන සමූහාණ්ඩුවට සලකන්නේ ඒ විධියටයි. එහෙත් මේ ආණ්ඩුව අද නොමිලයේ හාල් සේරුවක් දෙනවා නම් එසේ දෙන්නට පුළුවන් වී තිබෙන්නේ චීනයෙන් හාල් ලබා ගන්නා නිසයි. 1952 සිටම ලංකාවට චීනයෙන් හාල් ලැබුණා. ලෝක වෙළඳ පොළේ මිලට වඩා ශත 10 ක් වැඩිපුර ගෙවමින් චීනය අපේ රටේ

ස්තුති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විවාදය

මිලයට ගන්නවා. පොලී නැති ණය ආධාර අපට ලැබෙන්නේ චීනයෙන් පමණයි. ඒ බව මේ ආණ්ඩුව වුණත් පිළිගන්නවා ඇති. එහෙත් චීනයේ පොත් පත් චීනයේ පදක්කම් මේ ආකාරයට තහනම් කරනවා. මා එකක් කියන්නට කැමතියි. මාක්ස්වාදයන් මාවෝ චින්තනයන් මේ රටට ගෙන්වන්නට තමුන්නාන්සේලාගේ විසා බලපත්‍ර අවශ්‍ය නැහැ. වැඩි කලක් යන්නට මත්තෙන් සිංහල වේවා ද්‍රවිඩ වේවා මේ රටේ ගොවි කම්කරු ජනතාව, නිර්ධන පන්තිය, අතරමං වී සිටින තරුණ පිරිස, නියමාකාරයෙන් නැගී සිටිනවා ඇති. උතුරේ සිටින පෙඩරල් පක්ෂයට විරුද්ධ ජනතාවත් ගොවි කම්කරු ජනතාවත් කළ කර ප්‍රදේශවල සිටින ඉන්දියානු වතු කම්කරුවන්ත් කියන හැමෝම එකතු වෙලා විසා බලපත්‍ර අවශ්‍ය නැති මාවෝ චින්තනය පරිදි විප්ලවකාරී ආකල්පයක් අනුව රටේ විමුක්තිය හා නිදහස ලබා ගැනීම සඳහා ඉදිරියට ගමන් කරනවා ඇති.

අපට නිදහස ලැබී අවුරුදු 21ක් වෙනවා. අද තිබෙන ප්‍රශ්න කුමන ආණ්ඩුවක් ආවත් ක්‍රමක්‍රමයෙන් උග්‍ර වෙනවා මිස විසදීමක් වන්නේ නැහැ. මේ පිළිවෙලට කතිරය ගසා තව අවුරුදු 100ක් ගියත් මේ රටේ ජනතාවට නිදහසක් විමුක්තියක් ලබා ගන්නට බැහැ. කිසිම රටකට අද දක්වාම කතිරය ගසා විමුක්තිය ලබා ගන්නට පුළුවන් වී නැහැ. මේ ආණ්ඩු ක්‍රම ව්‍යවස්ථාව යටතේ බැඳු විට ක්‍රමක්‍රමයෙන් පොහොසතාම පොහොසත් වන අතර දුප්පතා ක්‍රමක්‍රමයෙන් මහ පොළොවටම පැහිගෙන යනවා. මේ පාලන යන්ත්‍රය තුළින් රටේ ජනතාව ගේ විමුක්තිය ලබා ගන්නට බැහැ. මේ ආණ්ඩු ක්‍රම ව්‍යවස්ථාව තුළින් බැඳු විට රටට ජාතියට අනාගත පරම්පරාවට හෙන ගැසී ගියත් හැම කොටසක්ම උත්සාහ දරන්නේ බලය අල්ලා ගන්නට පමණයි. පාර්ලිමේන්තුව තුළින් රටේ බලය අල්ලා ගන්නට පමණයි. රටට ජාතියට අනාගත බාල පරම්පරාවට හෙණ ගැහිලා ගියත් අධි රාජ්‍යවාදී පර සුද්දන් අටවා තිබෙන මේ පාර්ලිමේන්තු ක්‍රමයට අනුව ඕය ආකාරයටයි කටයුතු කෙරෙන්නේ. එසේ හෙයින් ලංකා කොමියුනිස්ට් පක්ෂය, අපි, මතක් කරන්නේ මේ රටේ සිටින එක්සත් ජාතික

අග්‍රාණ්ඩුකාරතුමාගේ කථාව :

[එස්. ඩී. බණ්ඩාරණායක මයා.]

පක්ෂයට සහ පෙබරල් පක්ෂයට විරුද්ධ සියළුම කොටස් එකතු වී මාක්ස්වාදී මාවෝ වික්තනය මත විප්ලවකාරී ආකල්පයක් අනුව නැගී සිටියහොත් පමණක් මෙම ප්‍රශ්න විසඳන්නට පුළුවන් වන බවයි. ඒ බව මේ රටේ ජනතාවට මතක් කර දෙමින් මා නමින් තිබෙන සංශෝධනය ඉදිරිපත් කරමින් මගේ වචන සවලපය අවසාන කරනවා.

සංශෝධනය මෙසේය :

திருத்தம் வருமாறு :

The amendment is as follows :

“සංශෝධනයක් වශයෙන් ස්තුති යෝජනාව අගට එකතු කිරීමට :

‘එතකුදු වුවත්,

(අ) ඊනියා ස්වාධීනත්වය ලබා විසි එක් අවුරුද්දක් ගතවීත් අපේ රට විදේශීය අධිරාජ්‍යවාදය යටතේ දිගටම පැවතීම ගැනද, බීර්ලා කොම්පැනිකාරයින් වැනි ඉන්දියානු ව්‍යාප්තිවාදීන් අපේ අර්ථ ක්‍රමය තුළට වැඩි වැඩියෙන් කඩාවැදීම ගැන සහ ඔවුන්ට හෝ එක්සත් ජනපද අධිරාජ්‍යවාදී ආයෝජකයින්ට (මොවුන්ගෙන් තිස් පස් දෙනෙක් ලබන මාසේ ලංකාවට ඒමට නියමිතය.) දී ඇති පෙර නැසූ විරු අනුග්‍රහයන් ගැනද, විවිහිස ක්‍රමයට අසු නොවි පවුම් පහලොස් කෝටියක් සියරට ගෙනයාමට බ්‍රිතාන්‍ය සමාගම්වලට දී ඇති අවසරය ගැන සහ ලාංකික තැන්පත් කරුවන් වෙනුවෙන් නැවත වරක් ගිණුම් විවෘත කිරීමට බ්‍රිතාන්‍ය බැංකු හතරකට දී ඇති අවසරය ගැනද, කිසිම සඳහනක් අඩංගු නොවන අතර, යට කී සියලු දේ විදේශීය අධිරාජ්‍යවාදයේ විය ගතට අපව බැඳ තබන බැව් තව තව තද කරන හෙයින්ද;

(ආ) ජීවන වියදම තව තව නැඟීමෙන්, රැකි රක්ෂා නැති අයගේ ගණන වැඩි වීමෙන්, අපේ තේ මිල නියුණු ලෙස පහත වැටීමෙන්, විවිහිස ගාස්තු වැඩි කිරීම මගින් ගිය මාසයේදී තුන්වැනි වතාවටත් අපේ රුපියලේ අගය පහත හෙලීමෙන් යනාදී මේ කරුණු වලින් නොබෝදා ප්‍රකට වුණු රට මුහුණ දෙමින් සිටින පිරිහෙන ආර්ථික තත්ත්වය පිළිබඳ අර්බුදය ගැන නිවැරදි විග්‍රහයක් අඩංගු නොවන අතර, තේ නිර්‍යාත කරන ඉංග්‍රීසි ආයතන අත ලොස්සක් කල්ලී ගැසී, බ්‍රිතාන්‍ය කොම්පැනි ලංකාවේද උපයා ගත් ලාභ මුදල් විවිහිස ක්‍රමයේ බලපෑමෙන් තොරව සිය රට ගෙන යාමට රජය කුමනි කරගත පිණිස මේ රජයට ආර්ථික නිර්මාණයක්

ස්තුති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විවාදය

කිරීමට ප්‍රයත්න දරමින් තේ ඉල්ලුම ප්‍රතික්ෂේප කළ බැවින් අපේ තේ මිල නියුණු ලෙස පහත වැටුණු හෙයින්ද;

(ඇ) ජීවන වියදම පහත හෙලීම සඳහා, බහු ජනතාවට සහනයක් දීම සඳහා හෝ අදහසානක තත්ත්වයකට ලොවී ඇති උපාධිධාරීන්ට රක්ෂා නැතිකම පිළිබඳ ප්‍රශ්නය ඇතුළු නැග එන රැකී රක්ෂා ප්‍රශ්නය විසඳීම සඳහා හෝ කිසිම ප්‍රායෝගික යෝජනාවක් අඩංගු නොවන හෙයින්ද;

(ඈ) කම්කරුවන්ට, ගොවීන්ට සහ ලිපිකරු සේවකයින්ට සහනයක් සලසන කිසිම යෝජනාවක් අඩංගු නොවනවා පමණක් නොව, ඇත්ත වශයෙන්ම, වැටුප් කොමිෂමෙන් කරනු ලබන ඕනෑම තාවකාලික නිර්දේශයක් තමා විසින් නියත ලෙසම ක්‍රියාවේ යොදන බවට 1968 නොවැම්බර්-දෙසැම්බර් කාලයේ රජයේ සේවක වැඩ වර්ජනයට මත්තෙන් අගමැතිවරයා දුන් පොරොන්දුව කඩ කොට ඇති හෙයින්ද;

(ඉ) 1966 දෙසැම්බර් මාසේදී කපන ලද හාල් සේරුව ආපසු ලබාදීම ගැන කිසිම යෝජනාවක් අඩංගු නොවන හෙයින්ද, විනිපැයුම වැඩිවී ඇතැයි පුරසාරම් දොඩ මින්ද හාල් සේරුව නැවත නොදීමෙන් ආණ්ඩුවේ ප්‍රකාශනවල අසත්‍ය භාවයත් එය විසින් ගොවි රජුන්ට ඔවුණු පැළඳ විමෙන් කරනු ලබන විගබමත් පැහැදිලිව පෙනෙන නමුත් මේ ගොවි රජුන්ගෙන් වැඩිදෙනෙක්ම කිසිදුක කුඹුරකට බැස වත් නැති අය වන හෙයින්ද;

(ඊ) විදේශීය අධිරාජ්‍යවාදයේ ග්‍රහණයෙන් අපේ අර්ථ ක්‍රමය මුද්‍රාගතීම් මගින්, අපේ අර්ථ ක්‍රමය වෙනස් කිරීම සහ වර්තමානයේ නිර්‍යාත බෝග දෙකක් මත රැඳී සිටීමේ තත්ත්වයෙන් එය මුද්‍රාගතීම් මගින් අපේ රට කර්මාන්තමය වශයෙන් සංවර්ධනය කිරීම සඳහා කිසිම ක්‍රමානුකූල සැලැස්මක් අඩංගු නොවන හෙයින්ද;

(උ) විදේශීය ඒකාධිකාරී ව්‍යාපාරවලට ලංකාවට ඇතුළුවීමට දිරිදීම පිළිබඳව ආණ්ඩුවේ ප්‍රතිපත්තියෙන්, ලංකාවේ දැනටමත් නිපදවා ඇති උදළු සහ රෙදිපිළි ආදි භාණ්ඩ ආනයන කිරීමට ඉඩදීම පිළිබඳ ආණ්ඩුවේ ප්‍රතිපත්තියෙන් ප්‍රතිඵලයක් වශයෙන් අත් යන්නු පේෂකර්මාන්තය, සුළු ලෝකුරු කර්මාන්තය යනාදිය බදු ගාහ කර්මාන්තවල යෙදී සිටින අයත්, සුළු කර්මාන්තවල යෙදී සිටින අය සහ සුළු වෙළෙන්දන්, මුහුණ දෙමින් සිටින නස් පැත්තිය එළිදරව් නොකරන හෙයින්ද;

(ඌ) විදේශීන්ට අයිති තේ වතු ජනසතු කිරීම මගින්, කළ භූමිවල නැවත කැලා වවා පස් සෝදායාමේ ප්‍රශ්නය විසඳීම මගින්, අපේ

අග්‍රාණ්ඩුකාරතුමාගේ කථාව :

ගංගා භාරා ගැඹුරු කිරීම මගින් සහ කිසිම නාස්තියක් නැතිව අගනා වැහි ජලය තැනිතලාවල වෙසෙන ගොවියන් කරා ගෙන යාමට අපේ ගංගාවලට හැකි කිරීම මගින්, ලංකාව ආහාර අතින් ස්වයං පෝෂිතභාවය කරා යන මාවතේ බාධකයක් ලෙස ඇති ලොකුම අවහිරය වන, කෘෂිකර්මය සඳහා ජලසම්පාදන පහසුකම් නැතිකම පිළිබඳ ප්‍රශ්නය විසඳීම සඳහා කිසිම යෝජනාවක් අඩංගු නොවන හෙයින් ද ;

(ඵ) සමාජ අවහිරතා වැළැක්වීමේ පනත වලංගු කිරීමට හෝ උතුරු ලංකාවේ පවතින ස්පර්ශ නොකිරීම හා කුල පිඩනය පිළිබඳ අශෝභන ක්‍රමය තුරන් කර දැමීමට ආධාර දීමට හෝ ආණ්ඩුව තුළ කිසියම් තිර අදහසක් ඇති බවට පිළිබිඹුවක් නොපෙනෙන හෙයින් ද ;

(ආ) අධ්‍යාපන ක්‍රමය ප්‍රතිසංස්කරණය කිරීම සඳහා හෝ දුප්පත් ශිෂ්‍යයින්ට වඩා හොඳ ඉගැන්වීමේ පහසුකම්, භූගෝලීය තරම් පුස්තකාල පහසුකම් හෝ අවශ්‍ය පමණ ශිෂ්‍යාධාර දීම ගැන හෝ තේරුමක් ඇති කිසිම යෝජනාවක් අඩංගු නොවන හෙයින් ද ;

(ආ) යූ.ඇන්.පී. ය විසින් දිනාගනු ලැබිය යුතු කිසින ලද බොහෝ පුරසාරවලට ලක් වුණු ජාතික සමගිය කැඩීම් යාම ගැන හෝ, පෙබරවේ පක්ෂය ආණ්ඩුවේ ශ්‍රෝණීන්ගෙන් ඉවත් වීමට තීරණය කිරීමට හේතු වූ සැබෑ කරුණු ගැන හෝ, ජාතික අසමගියට තුඩු දුන් ප්‍රශ්න විසඳීම ගැන නොව, නැවත තම පාර්ලිමේන්තු ආසනවලට ඒම ගැනම සැලකිලිමත් වන අවස්ථාවාදී දේශපාලනඥයින් ඊළඟ මැතිවරණයට සූදනම්වීමක් වශයෙන් රට පුරා පතුරුවා හරින ජාතිවාදී කලබල ගැන හෝ සඳහන් නොවන හෙයින් ද ;

(ඔ) කම්කරු උසාවියට ඉදිරිපත් කරන ලද ආරා වුල් වලට ගරු කම්කරු සහ රැකියා ඇමතිවරයා නුසුදුසු ලෙස පරිපාලනාත්මක වශයෙන් මැදිහත්වීම හේතුකොට ගෙන, කම්කරු ආරවුල් පනත කම්කරු උසාවි තුළ ක්‍රියාවේ යෙදීමේදී ඇතිවී තිබෙන අවුල ගැන හෝ, කම්කරු උසාවි වල භෞපතිවරුන් කිප දෙනෙක්ම ඉල්ලා අස්වීමෙන් ඇතිවුණු පුරප්පාඩු පිරවීමට අසමත්වීම ගැන හෝ සඳහන් නොවන අතර, මේ නිසා කම්කරු උසාවි ඉදිරියේ ඇති තම නඩු නිතර නිතර කල් දමනු ලැබීමෙන් කම්කරුවන්ට සැලකිය යුතු දුෂ්කරතා ඇතිවන හෙයින් ද ;

(ක) ගිය අවුරුද්දේ මාවිඩිපුරම් කෝවිලේදීත්, මේ අවුරුද්දේදී මඩුවිල් අම්මාන් කෝවිලේදීත්, තත්තල් සමයේ යාපනයේ කතෝලික පල්ලියේදීත්, තිදහස්

ස්තුති යෝජනාව පිළිබඳ විවාදය

දින උත්සව සමයේ පෝරාදෙණිය සරසවි භූමියේදීත්, කිරිලපනේ ස්ත්‍රියකට වෙඩි තැබීමේදීත්, සාමයට තර්ජන ඇතිවීමේ කිසිම භයක් නැතුව තිබේද්දීත්, මේ අවුරුද්දේ යාපනයේ සහ කොළඹ පැවති මැයි දින පෙළපාලි කෲර ලෙස විසුරුවා හැරීමේදී යනාදී මේ අවස්ථාවලදී ඔප්පුවී පෙනුණු පොලිසියේත්, හමුදාවෙන්, අධික වන ප්‍රවණිත භාවය හා කෲරත්වය භූගෝලීය සඳහන් නොවන අතර සන්නද්ධ හමුදාවන් මෙසේ සීමාව ඉක්මවා ක්‍රියා කිරීම අඩු කරනු වස් කිසිම ගන්නා පියවරක් නොදැක්වෙන හෙයින් ද ;

(භ) දැන් ලංකා ගමනාගමන මණ්ඩලය තුළ පවත්නා මුළුමනින්ම අවුල් වියවුල්කාරී තත්ත්වය ගැන හෝ යූ. ඇන්. පී. යේ පාලන කාලය අවසන් වීමට මත්තෙන් පරණ බස් මුදලාලිලාටම බස් ආපසු පවරා දීම ගැන මහජන විරුද්ධත්වයක් ඇති නොවන ආකාරයෙන් ජනතාව අතර පිළිකුල උපදවන විලාශයකින් මෙන් ලං. ග. ම. ය පවත්වා ගෙන යන ගරු ජනසතු ඇමතිවරයාගේ සහ ලං. ග. ම. නිලධාරීන්ගේ අධික අදක්ෂභාවය ගැන හෝ සඳහන් නොවන හෙයින් ද ;

(ච) සන්නද්ධ හමුදා ප්‍රධාන අංගය කොට ගත් මර්දනකාරී ධනේශ්වර රාජ්‍ය යන්ත්‍රය විසින් ආරක්ෂා කරනු ලැබ මේ දක්වාම පැවතෙන අධිරාජ්‍යවාදී, රදළ ලොකු ධනේශ්වර සූරා කෑම පිළිබඳ ක්‍රමයෙහි වෙනසක් ඇති කිරීමට අවුරුදු තිස්තමයක් තිස්සේම අසමත් වුණු ධනේශ්වර පාර්ලිමේන්තු ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදයේ ඇති බංකොළොත් භාවය පෙන්වාදීම ගැන සැලකිල්ලක් දක්වා නැති හෙයින් ද ;

(ඡ) සියලුම එක්සත් ජනපද සහ අනුවර හමුදාවන් දකුණු වියවිතාමයෙන් වශාම ඉවත් කර ගන්නා ලෙස සහ ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදී වියවිතාමි සමූහාණ්ඩුවට කරන හැම පහර දීමක්ම නවත්වන ලෙස ඉල්ලා සිටීමෙනුත්, දකුණු වියවිතාමි සමූහාණ්ඩුවේ නාවකාලික විප්ලවවාදී ආණ්ඩුව පිළි ගැනීමෙනුත්, මේ රටේ ජනතාවගේ අදහස්වලට අනුව ක්‍රියා කරන බවක් පිළිබිඹු නොවන හෙයින් ද ;

(ට) මැද පෙරදිග ප්‍රශ්නයට ඇති එකම ස්ථිර විසඳුම වශයෙන් පලස්තීනය තිදහස් කරන සේ අරාබිය කරන ඉල්ලීමට අනුබල දෙමින් මේ රටේ ජනතාවගේ විශේෂයෙන්ම මුස්ලිම් ජනතාවගේ අදහස්වලට අනුව ක්‍රියා කරන බවක් පිළිබිඹු නොවන හෙයින් ද ;

(ඩ) ලංකාවට සිටින එකම ලොකු හිතවතා වන මහජන සමූහාණ්ඩුවට කරන තිත් දින අකරුණාවන් ක්‍රියා ගැන සඳහන්

සිංහලයේ යෝජනාමය පිළිබඳ විමර්ශනය

செல்வதின் மூலமும், இலங்கையிலுள்ள பிரித்தானிய கம்பெனிகள் சம்பாதித்த இலாபத்தை வெளிநாட்டுச் செலாவணிச் சான்றிதழ்கள் அளிக்காமல் எடுத்துச் செல்வதை அரசாங்கம் அனுமதிக்கச் செய்வதற்காக—இதில் இவை வெற்றியடைந்தன—பொருளாதார ரீதியில் இந்த அரசாங்கத்தைப் பயமுறுத்தும் முயற்சியில் விரல்விட்டு எண்ணக் கூடிய சில பிரித்தானிய தேயிலையின் ஏற்றுமதி நிறுவனங்கள் கூட்டுச் சேர்ந்து ஏல விற்பனையில் பங்குபற்ற மறுத்ததினால் இந்நாட்டு தேயிலையின் விலைகள் வீழ்ச்சியடைந்ததின் மூலமும், வெளிநாட்டு செலாவணி சான்றிதழ்களின் மதிப்பை உயர்த்தி கடந்த மாதம் மூன்றாம் முறையாக ரூபாவின் மதிப்பைக் குறைத்ததின் மூலமும், இன்னும் இவை போன்றவற்றின் மூலமும் வெளியானதைத் தொடர்ந்த மோசமடைந்துவரும் இந்நாட்டு பொருளாதார நெருக்கடியைப் பற்றி சரியான ஆராய்வைக் கொண்டிராததையிட்டும் ;

(இ) வாழ்க்கைச் செலவைக் குறைத்து பொது மக்களுக்கு நிவாரணமளிப்பதற்கும், இன்று பூதாகாரமாகவுள்ள பட்டதாரிகளின் வேலையில்லாப் பிரச்சினை உட்பட வளர்ந்து செல்லும் வேலையில்லாத்திண்டாட்டத்தைத் தீர்ப்பதற்கும் எந்தவிதமான சரியான ஆலோசனைகளைக் குறிப்பிடாததையிட்டும் ;

(ஈ) தொழிலாளர்கள், விவசாயிகள், அரசாங்க ஊழியர்கள் ஆகியோருக்கு நிவாரணம் அளிப்பதற்கு எதுவித ஆலோசனைகளையும் தெரிவிக்காததோடு, சம்பளக் குழு செய்யும் எந்தவிதமான இடைக்கால சிபார்சுகளையும் நிச்சயமாக அமுல்படுத்துவேன் என்று பிரதமர் 1968, நவம்பர்-டிசம்பர் மாதங்களில் நடைபெற்ற அரசாங்க ஊழியர்களின் வேலை நிறுத்தத்தின் போது கொடுத்த உறுதி மொழியைக் கௌரவிக்காததையிட்டும் ;

(உ) நெல் உற்பத்தி அதிகரித்துள்ளதெனப் புளுகித் திரிந்த போதிலும், 1966, டிசம்பரில் வெட்டிய பங்கீட்டரிசியைத் திருப்பிக் கொடுப்பதைப் பற்றி—இதனால் அரசாங்கத்தின் வண்டவாங்க ளும், நெல்வயல்களுக்குக் காலெடுத்து வைக்காத பலருக்கு விவசாய மன்னர் என்று முடிசூட்டிய அதனது பம்மாத்து வேலையும் வெளியாயின—குறிப்பிடாததையிட்டும் ;

(ஊ) எமது பொருளாதாரத்தை வெளிநாட்டு ஏகாதிபத்தியத்தின் ஆதிக்கத்திலிருந்து விடுதலை செய்து, ஒன்று அல்லது இரண்டு ஏற்றுமதிப் பொருட்களில் தங்கிநிற்கும் தற்போதைய நிலையை மாற்றி, நமது பொருளாதாரத்தைப் பன்முகப்படுத்துவதின் மூலம் நம் நாட்டைக் கைத்தொழில் ரீதியில் அபிவிருத்தி செய்வதற்கு எதுவித முறையான திட்டத்தையும் குறிப்பிடாததையிட்டும் ;

(ஆ) வாழ்க்கைச் செலவு மேலும் அதிகரித்து செல்வதின் மூலமும், வேலையில்லாமல் திண்டாடுவோர்களின் தொகை மேலும் அதிகரித்துக்

(எ) வெளிநாட்டு ஏகபோக வர்க்கத்தினர் புகுவதை உற்சாகப்படுத்தும் அரசாங்கத்தின் கொள்கையினாலும், இலங்கையில் ஏற்கனவே உற்

அஞ்சலிகாரவழியைக் கையாள் :

பத்தி செய்யப்படும் மண்வெட்டி, துணிவகை போன்றவற்றை இறக்குமதி செய்ய வழி வகுக்கும் அரசாங்கத்தின் கொள்கையினாலும், வெளிநாட்டு ஏகபோக வர்க்கத்துடன் சரிசமனாகப் போட்டியிட முடியாத சிறுவர்த்த கர்கள், கைத்தறி சிறு ஆபரணத் தொழில் போன்ற குடிசைக் கைத்தொழிலில் ஈடுபட்டுள்ளவர்கள் ஆகியோரின் சீரழிவை வெளியிடாததினாலும் ;

(ஏ) வெளிநாட்டாருக்குச் சொந்தமான தேயிலைத் தோட்டங்களை தேசியமயமாக்கி, மலையுச்சிகளில் காடுகளை மீண்டும் வளர்த்து, மண் அரிப்புப் பிரச்சினையைத் தீர்த்தல், மத்திய பீடங்களில் வாழும் விவசாயிகளுக்கு, தண்ணீரை வீணாக்காது எடுத்துச் செல்வதற்காக நமது ஆறுகளை அகழ்ந்து தோண்டதல் ஆகியவற்றைச் செய்வதின் மூலம் இலங்கை உணவில் சுய தேவையைப் பூர்த்தி செய்வதற்குப் பெருந்தடையாகவுள்ள விவசாயத் திற்கான நீர்ப்பாசன வசதிக் குறைபாட்டைத் தீர்ப்பதற்கும் எதுவித ஆலோசனைகளையும் குறிப்பிடாததையிட்டும் ;

(ஐ) வட இலங்கையில் நிலவுகின்ற கேடுகெட்ட தீண்டாமை சாதி அடக்கு முறையை இல்லா தொழிப்பதற்கு உதவியளிப்பதற்காகவோ அல்லது சமூகக் குறைபாடு தடைச் சட்டத்தை அமுல்படுத்துவதற்கோ அரசாங்கத்தின் உறுதியை வெளிப்படுத்தாததற்கும் ;

(ஓ) கல்வி முறையைச் சீர்திருத்துவதற்கோ, அல்லது சிறந்த கல்வி வசதிகள், போதிய வாசகசாலை வசதிகள், வசதிகளற்ற மாணவர்களுக்கு போதிய பணவுதவி அளிப்பதற்கோ எதுவித பயனுள்ள ஆலோசனைகளைக் குறிப்பிடாததையிட்டும் ;

(ஔ) ஐ. தே. கட்சியினால் சாதிக்கப்பட்டதெனக் கூறப்பட்ட பெரிதாக ஜம்மடிக்கப்பட்ட தேசிய ஐக்கியம் சிதறுண்டதையோ அல்லது அரசாங்கத்திலிருந்து தமிழரசுக் கட்சி விலகுவதற்கு அது எடுத்த தீர்மானத்திற்கான உண்மையான காரணங்களையோ அல்லது தேசிய ஐக்கியமின்மைக்குக் காரணமான பிரச்சினைகளுக்குத் தீர்வு காண்பதில் எதுவித அக்கறையுமின்றித் தமது பாராளுமன்ற ஆசனங்களைத் திரும்பப் பெறுவதிலேயே அக்கறை காட்டும் சந்தர்ப்பவாத அரசியல்வாதிகள் அடுத்த பொதுத் தேர்தலுக்குத் தயாராக வகுப்புவாத நெருக்கடியைப் பரப்புவதையோ குறிப்பிடாததையிட்டும் ;

(ஐஅ) கைத்தொழில் கோடுகளுக்கு ஏற்கனவே விடப்பட்ட தகராறு மீது கௌரவ தொழில், வேலை வாய்ப்பு அமைச்சர் செய்த அவசியமற்ற தலையீட்டினால் கைத்தொழில் கோர்டுத் துறையில் கைத்தொழில் தகராறு சட்டத்தை அமுல் நடத்துவதில் ஏற்பட்டுள்ள சீர்கேட்டையோ, பல கைத்தொழில் கோர்டுகளின் தலைவர் இராஜினாமா செய்ததினால் ஏற்பட்டுள்ள வெற்றிடங்களை நிரப்புவதற்குத் தவறியதையோ—கைத்தொழில் கோர்டுகளுக்கு விடப்பட்டுள்ள பல வழக்குகளைத் திரும்பத்திரும்பப் பின் போடுவதால் தொழிலாளர்கள் துன்பமடைகின்றனர்—குறிப்பிடாததையிட்டும் ;

சீனாவுக்கு எதிராக சீர்திருத்தம்

பட்டுள்ள வெற்றிடங்களை நிரப்புவதற்குத் தவறியதையோ—கைத்தொழில் கோர்டுகளுக்கு விடப்பட்டுள்ள பல வழக்குகளைத் திரும்பத்திரும்பப் பின் போடுவதால் தொழிலாளர்கள் துன்பமடைகின்றனர்—குறிப்பிடாததையிட்டும் ;

(அஅ) சென்ற வருடத்தில் மாவட்டபுரம் கோயிலிலும், இவ்வருடம் மட்டுவில் அம்பாள் கோயிலிலும், கிறிஸ்மஸ் கொண்டாட்டத்தின்போது யாழ்ப்பாணத்திலுள்ள கிறிஸ்தவர்களும் “சுதந்திர” கொண்டாட்டத்தின்போது பேராதனைச் சர்வகலாசாலையிலும் நடைபெற்ற சம்பவங்கள், மூலமும், கிரிலப்பினியில் பெண்ணொருத்தியைச் சுட்டுக் கொன்றதின் மூலமும், இவ்வருடம் மே தினத்தன்று அமைதிக்கு எதுவித பங்கமும் ஏற்படாதபோதிலும், கொழும்பிலும் யாழ்ப்பாணத்திலும் மிருகத்தனமாக ஊர்வலத்தைக் கலைத்ததின் மூலம் வெளியானதைப் போன்று பொலிஷினதும், இராணுவத்தினதும் அதிகரித்து வரும் அட்டேழியங்களையும் பலாத்காரத்தையும் குறிப்பிடாததையிட்டும், ஆயுதப் படைகளின் வரம்பு மீறிய செய்கைகளைப் குறைப்பதற்கான எதுவித நடவடிக்கைகளையும் வெளியிடாததையிட்டும் ;

(ஆஆ) இலங்கைப் போக்குவரத்துச் சபையில் நிலவுகின்ற சீர்கேட்டையோ அல்லது ஐ. தே. கட்சியின் ஆட்சிக் காலம் முடிவடையுமுன்னர் பழைய பஸ் முதலாளிகளுக்குப் பஸ் போக்குவரத்தைத் திரும்பவும் கொடுப்பதற்குப் பொது மக்களிடம் எதிர்ப்பு இருக்காதிருப்பதற்காக மக்கள் மத்தியில் அதிருப்தியை ஏற்படுத்தும் வண்ணம் இ. போ. ச. வை நிர்வகிப்பது போல் காணப்படும் கௌரவ தேசியமய சேவைகள் அமைச்சரினதும் இ. போ. ச. அதிகாரிகளினதும் படுமோசமான திறமையின்மையையோ குறிப்பிடாததையிட்டும் ;

(இஇ) 39 வருடங்களுக்குப் பின்னரும் இன்றுவரை தொடர்ந்திருக்கின்ற ஆயுதப் படைகளை முக்கியமாகக் கொண்டுள்ள முதலாளித்துவ அடக்குமுறை அரசு இயந்திரத்தினால் பாதுகாக்கப்படுகின்ற ஏகாதிபத்திய, நிலப்பிரபுத்துவ, பெரும் முதலாளித்துவ சுரண்டல் முறையில் எதுவித மாற்றத்தையும் கொண்டு வராத முதலாளித்துவ பாராளுமன்ற ஜனநாயகத்தின் பங்கலோட்டுத் தனத்தைச் சுட்டிக் காட்டத் தவறுவதினாலும்,

(ஈஈ) தென் வியட்நாமிலிருந்து சகல அமெரிக்கத் துருப்புகளும் அதனோடு ஒத்துழைக்கும் என்னு துருப்புகளும் உடனடியாக வாய்ப்பு பெறப்பட வேண்டுமெனக்கோருவதின்மூலம் இந்நாட்டு மக்களின் விருப்பத்தை வெளியிடாததினாலும், தென் வியட்நாம் குடியரசின் தற்காலிக புரட்சிகர அரசாங்கத்தை அங்கீகரிக்காததினாலும் ;

சுலாஹ் உதவி உதவி :

சுலாஹ் உதவி உதவி உதவி உதவி

(உஉ) மத்திய கிழக்குப் பிரச்சினைக்கு இறுதியான ஒரேயொரு தீர்வாக பலஸ்தீன் விடுதலை செய்யப்படல் வேண்டுமென்ற அரபு மக்களின் கோரிக்கையை ஆதரிப்பதன் மூலம் இந்நாட்டு மக்களின், குறிப்பாக முஸ்லிம் மக்களின் விருப்பத்தை வெளியிடாததையிட்டும் ;

(ஊஊ) இலங்கைக்குப் பெரும் உதவியளிக்கின்ற ஒரேயொரு நாடான மக்கள் சீன குடியரசுக்கு எதிராக, ஏனைய நாட்டுத் தலைவர்களின் படங்களும், நினைவுச் சின்னங்களும் கட்டுப் பாட்டின்றி இந்நாட்டினுள் வருவதை அனுமதித்துள்ளபோது, பாதுகாப்பு வெளி நாட்டு அலுவலர்கள் அமைச்சின் உதவியுடன் சுங்க இலாகாவிலுள்ள பிற்போக்கு அதிகாரிகள் 70 கோடி சீன மக்களின் மாபெரும் தலைவரின் உருவம் பொறிக்கப்பட்ட பதக்கங்களைத் திரும்பத் திரும்பத் தடுப்பது, அதே போன்று மக்கள் சீனத்திலிருந்து நூல்கள் இந்நாட்டுக்குள் தடையின்றி வருவதை அனுமதிக்காதது போன்ற விரும்பத்தகாத செய்கைகள் பற்றிக் குறிப்பிடாததையிட்டும் ;

(ஊஎ) அமெரிக்க ஏகாதிபத்தியத்துடன் கள்ளக் கூட்டுச் சேர்ந்து உண்மையில், சீன விரோத, கிழிந்த கொடியான இராணுவ முகாமை ஏற்படுத்துவதற்கும், இலங்கை-சீன மக்களுக்கிடையில் நிலவுகின்ற நட்புறவுக்கெதிராக உள்ள “ஆசிய கூட்டுப் பாதுகாப்பு” எனக் கூறப்படுகின்ற கேடுகெட்ட முறையை ஏற்படுத்துவதற்கும் சோவியத் திரிபு வாத ஆளும் கும்பல் செய்துள்ள ஆலோசனைகளைக் குறிப்பிடாததையிட்டும் நாம் வருந்துகிறோம்.

எனவே, இச்சபைக்கு உங்கள் அரசாங்கத்தின்மீது நம்பிக்கையில்லை .”

As an amendment to the Address at the end add the words :

“but regret that Your Excellency's Address at the opening of the Fifth Session of the Sixth Parliament—

(a) does not contain any reference to the continued subjugation of our economy by foreign imperialism despite twenty-one years of so-called independence; nor to the increased penetration of our economy by Indian expansionists, like the Birla Brothers, and the unheard of concessions granted to them or U. S. imperialist investors, thirty-five of whom are expected in Ceylon next month, nor to the permission granted to the British companies to repatriate Rs. 150,000,000, without payment of FEEC and the permission granted to four British banks to once again open accounts for Ceylonese depositors—all of which are further tightening the ties that bind us to the chariot wheels of foreign imperialism;

(b) does not contain a correct analysis of the ever-deteriorating economic crisis facing the country which has recently manifested itself in the further rise in the cost of living, the increase in the number of unemployed, the sharp drop in our tea prices which was caused by a handful of English tea exporting firms entering into a ring and refusing to bid in an effort to exert economic blackmail on this Government to allow the repatriation without FEEC of profits earned by British companies in Ceylon, and in which effort they succeeded, the devaluation of our rupee for the third time last month by the increase of the FEEC rate, etc. ;

(c) does not contain any practical proposals to bring down the cost of living and afford relief to the masses or to solve the mounting problem of unemployment, including the problem of graduate unemployment, which has today reached serious proportions ;

(d) not only does not contain any proposal to afford relief to the workers and peasants and white collar employees but has, in fact, not honoured the promise made by the Prime Minister on the eve of the public servants' strike of November-December 1968 that he would definitely implement whatever interim recommendations were made by the Salaries Commission ;

(e) does not contain any proposal for the restoration of the rice-cut of December 1966, despite the boast of increased output of paddy and thereby demonstrating the falsity of the Government's claims and its farce of crowing Govi Rajas, many of whom have never even stepped into a paddy field ;

(f) does not contain any systematic plan to develop our country industrially by liberating our economy from the stranglehold of foreign imperialism and diversifying our economy and freeing it from its present dependence on one or two export crops ;

(g) does not disclose the ruination facing the small industrialists and small traders and those engaged in cottage industries such as, handlooms, small goldsmiths, etc. as a result of the Government's policy of encouraging the entry of foreign monopoly interests into Ceylon against whom the former are unable to compete on equal terms ; and also by the Government's policy of allowing the

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import of goods already produced in Ceylon, e.g. mammoties, textiles, etc. ;

- (h) does not contain any proposals for solving the problem of lack of irrigation facilities for agriculture, which is the single biggest stumbling block in the path of Ceylon's progress to self-sufficiency in food, by nationalizing the foreign owned tea estates, re-foresting the hill tops and solving the problem of soil erosion, dredging and deepening our rivers and enabling our rivers to carry the precious rain water, without waste, to the cultivators in the plains ;
- (i) does not reflect any determination on the part of the Government to enforce the Prevention of Social Disabilities Act or to help the eradication of the obnoxious system of intouchability and caste oppression that prevails in North Ceylon ;
- (j) does not contain any meaningful proposal for the reform of the educational system or to grant better teaching facilities, sufficient library facilities or adequate bursaries for needy students ;
- (k) does not refer to the break-up of the much boasted national unity alleged to have been achieved by the UNP nor to the real reasons that led to the Federal Party's decision to leave the ranks of the Government ; nor to the communal tension that is being spread in the country in preparation for the next elections by opportunist politicians who are only concerned with returning to their parliamentary seats and not with the solution of the problems that have led to national disunity ;
- (l) does not refer to the mess caused to the implementation of the Industrial Disputes Act in the sphere of labour tribunals due to the unwarranted administrative interference by the Honourable Minister of Labour and Employment in disputes already referred to labour tribunals ; or to the failure to fill the vacancies caused by the resignation of several presidents of labour tribunals which are causing considerable hardships to workers whose cases before the labour tribunals are being repeatedly postponed ;
- (m) does not refer to the increasing violence and brutality of the police and the army as was witnessed at Maviddapuram temple

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- last year and at Madduviel Amman temple this year, at a Catholic Church in Jaffna on Christmas Eve, at the Peradeniya University campus on the eve of Independence celebrations, the shooting of a woman at Kirillapone, the brutal dispersal of May Day procession in Jaffna and Colombo this year although there was no fear of any threat to peace, etc. ; and does not disclose any measures to reduce these excesses by the armed forces ;
- (n) does not refer to the complete chaos now existing in the Ceylon Transport Board or to the utter inefficiency of the Honourable Minister of Nationalized Services and the officials of the CTB who seem to be running the CTB in such a way as to create such disgust among the people so that there might not be public opposition to handing back the buses to the former bus mudalalis before the term of the UNP is over ;
- (o) neglects to point the bankruptcy of bourgeois parliamentary democracy which, after 39 years, has not brought any change in the imperialist-feudal-big bourgeois system of exploitation which continues to this day, protected by the repressive bourgeois state machinery whose principal form are the armed forces ;
- (p) does not reflect the wishes of the people of this country by demanding the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. and satellite troops from South Vietnam and the cessation of all attacks on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam ; and by not recognizing the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam ;
- (q) does not reflect the wishes of the people of this country, particularly the Muslim peoples, by supporting the Arab demand for the liberation of Palestine as the only lasting solution to the Middle-East problem ;
- (r) does not mention the deplorable and unfriendly acts towards the People's Republic of China, which is Ceylon's single biggest benefactor, in that badges bearing the profile of the great leader of the 700 million Chinese people have been repeatedly detained by the reactionary officials of the Customs, with the connivance of the Ministry of Defence and External Affairs, while pictures and other souvenirs of leaders from other countries are freely

அனுமதிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிற கட்டுரை:
 ஸீனா யோஜனாவுக்கு எதிராக எதிர்ப்பு

allowed in; similarly, books from People's China are also not allowed in freely;

(s) does not refer to the notorious proposal of the Soviet revisionist ruling clique for the formation of a "System of Collective Security in Asia" which is in reality a tattered flag for an anti-China Military Alliance in collusion with U. S. imperialism and which is against the interests of the friendship existing between the people of Ceylon and China;

and, therefore, this House has no confidence in your Government."

அ. ஸா. 8.21

கலாநாயகர்

(சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள்)

(Mr. Speaker)

Who is seconding this amendment ?
 [Pause]. As there is no hon. Member to second the amendment, it lapses.

The Debate stands adjourned.

இதன்படி விவாதம் ஒத்திவைக்கப்பட்டது.

மீண்டும் இதை 1969 ஜூலை 19 வரை தாமதப்படுத்தி எடுக்கப்படும்.

இதன்படி, விவாதம் ஒத்திவைக்கப்பட்டது.

விவாதம், 1967 ஜூலை 19, சனிக்கிழமை மீளத் தொடங்கும்.

The Debate accordingly stood adjourned, Debate to be resumed on Saturday, 19th July 1969.

கல் நகரம்

கல் நகரம்

ஒத்திவைப்பு

ADJOURNMENT

அ. ஸா. 8.22

(கௌரவ சி. பி. டி. சில்வா)

(The Hon. C. P. de Silva)

I move,

"That the House do now adjourn."

புனர்வாழ்வுக் குழு, ஸா. ஸா. ஸா.

வினா விடுக்கப்பெற்று ஏற்றுக் கொள்ளப்பட்டது.

Question put, and agreed to.

மன்றத் தீர்மானம் இது அனுமதி

அ. ஸா. 8.22 வரை அது தாமதப்படுத்தப்படும்

அனுமதி, 1969 ஜூலை 19 வரை தாமதப்படுத்தப்படும்

அ. ஸா. 10 வரை தாமதப்படுத்தப்படும்.

அதன்படி பி. பி. 8.22 க்கு, சபை

அதனது இன்றைய தீர்மானத்துக்கு

சனிக்கிழமை, 1969 ஜூலை 19, சனிக்கிழமை

மு. பி. 10 மணிவரை ஒத்திவைக்கப்

பெற்றது.

Adjourned accordingly at 8.22 P.M. until 10 A.M. on Saturday, 19th July, 1969, pursuant to the Resolution of the House this Day.

உயர்வு விலை : விலை விலை நினைப் படிவ அடிப்படையிலேயே மீட்டர் மீட்டர் 12ம் விலை
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