



1989 ஓக்டோபர் மஃ 12 வுநி தீந
கோலஃ ஓனீபாரநாயக அநுஸ்தரண
புநாந்நர ஃமீமந்நுண ஸலாவே
புவுநி ஃர்பபாக்ஃக ஃமீமேலுநய

1989 ஓக்டோபர் 12 இல்
கொழும்பு பண்டாரநாயக்க ஞாபகார்த்த
சருவதேச
மாநாட்டு மண்டபத்தில் நடைபெற்ற
சருவகட்சி மாநாடு

**ALL PARTY CONFERENCE
HELD AT BMICH, COLOMBO,
ON 12TH OCTOBER 1989**

ජනාධිපති කාර්යාලය
ප්‍රස්ථාපය

1989 ඔක්තෝබර් මස 12 වැනි දින
කොළඹ බණ්ඩාරනායක අනුස්මරණ ජාත්‍යන්තර
සම්මන්ත්‍රණ ශාලාවේ පැවති
සර්වපාක්ෂික සම්මේලනය

1989 ඉක්තෝබර් 12 ඉරිදි
කොළඹ පුස්තකාලයේ ආපසුකරුණික සංග්‍රහණය
මානාඳු මණ්ඩපයේ සැලසුණු
සංග්‍රහණය මානාඳු

All Party Conference held at BMICH, Colombo,
on 12th October 1989

මුද්ධමන් විරකෝන් මහතා
(ති.පු. පී.බ්.බී. වීරකෝන්)
(Mr. Bradman Weerakoon)

Ladies and gentlemen, we are now ready to commence the proceedings of the All Party Conference. I request all of you to stand for two minutes for your individual religious observance.

(Whereupon all Delegates rose in their places and stood for two minutes.)

මුද්ධමන් විරකෝන් මහතා
(ති.පු. පී.බ්.බී. වීරකෝන්)
(Mr. Bradman Weerakoon)

His Excellency the President will now present his Report. Please use your equipment to get simultaneous translation in the two languages. Thank you.

ජනාධිපති ශ්‍රීමත් ආර්. ප්‍රේමදාස මැතිතුමන් විසින් පවත්වන ලද කථාව

சனாதிபதி மேன்மைத்தங்கியு ஆர். பிரேமதாச அவர்களது உரை

ADDRESS OF HIS EXCELLENCY R. PREMADASA, PRESIDENT

ගරු අගමැතිතුමනි. ගරු වැඩබලන කථානායකතුමනි. ගරු ඇමතිවරුනි. දේශපාලන පක්ෂවල සහ කණ්ඩායමවල නායකවරුනි. සමභාවනිය නියෝජිතවරුනි. මා ප්‍රථමයෙන්ම කැමතියි. තමුත්තාත්සේලා හැම දෙනාම සාදරයෙන් පිළිගන්න මේ සර්ව පාක්ෂික සමුළුව සඳහා. අපි ගිය ජූනි 13 වැනි ද මේ ශාලාවේදී එක් රැස් වුණා. ඉතා උදර කාර්යයක් සඳහා. එනම්. සාමය ඇති කිරීම පිණිස. සංවරය සහ සමාදාය අපේ මාතෘ භූමියට ලඟා කර ගැනීම පිණිස. එද අපි යම අධිෂ්ඨානයක් ඇති කර ගත්තා. විවිධ දේශපාලන දර්ශන. ප්‍රතිපත්ති හා ක්‍රියා මාර්ග අනුගමනය කරන අප හැම දෙනාම එක අරමුණකට යොමු වන්නට ඕනෑය කියා. එනම්. සාමය උද කර ගන්නට ඕනෑය කියා. ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදී දේශපාලන ප්‍රවාහයෙන් බැහැරව සිටින හැම කොටසක්ම ඒ ක්‍රියාමාර්ගයට සම්බන්ධ කර ගන්නට. පොදු යහපත පිණිස අප කාටත් එකඟ වන්නට පුළුවන් වැඩ පිළිවෙලවල් සොයා බලා විමසා බලා ඒ ගැන ක්‍රියාත්මකයක් ඇති කර ගන්නට අපි අධිෂ්ඨානයක් ඇති කර ගත්තා. ඒ අධිෂ්ඨානයෙන් තමයි එද අපේ රැස්වීම කල් තැබුවේ.

අපි තීන්දු කර ගත්තා, මාසයක් ඇතුළත කැවන රැස්වන්නට. අප අතර වාද විවාද ඇති කරගෙන. තීබෙතවාටත් වඩා අප හේද විමට අවශ්‍යතාවක් තැනී තිසා අප කවුරුත් අතර සංවාදයක් ඇති කර ගන්නට. අදහස් උදහස් හුවමාරු කර ගන්නට අප එද තීන්දු කර ගත්තා. පක්ෂ සමඟ සහ පක්ෂ අතර ඒ සංවාදය ඇති කර ගන්නට අප එද තීන්දු කර ගත්තා.

එද අප එහෙම දීර්ඝ කතාවල් කරමින් වාද විවාද ඇති කර ගත්තා නම අප එක් එක් කොටස් විවේචනයට ලක් කළා නම්. අප අතර තිබුණු මතභේද සමඟ කර ගන්නවා වෙනුවට ඒවා උත්සන්න කර ගන්නට ක්‍රියා කළා නම් අප අපේ එකතු විමෙන් කිසිම එලක් තැනී වන බව අප තේරුම් ගත් හිසයි. එද අපි රැස්වීම කල්තබා සාකච්ඡා මාලාවකට ඉදිරිපත් වුණේ. එය බොහෝම සාර්ථක ලෙස කෙරුණා. අප සියලුම පක්ෂ සමඟ සහ සියලුම පක්ෂ අතර ඒ සංවාදය ඇති කළා.

ඒ හැම නියෝජිත කණ්ඩායමකටම අඩු ගණනේ පැය එකහමාරක් පමණ ලැබුණා නමත්ගේ අදහස් උදහස් ඉදිරිපත් කරන්නට ; ඒවා පිළිබඳව කරුණු ඉදිරිපත් කරන්නට. රජයත් ඒ ඒ දේශපාලන පක්ෂ හා කණ්ඩායම අතරත් සංවාදයක් පමණක් තොව අප අලුත් මාදිලියේ සංවාදයකුත් ඇති කළා. යම් නියෝජිත පිරිසක් ඇවිත් සාකච්ඡා කරන විට තීර්ක්ෂකයන් හැටියට ඇවිත් සහභාගි වන්නට පමණක් තොව යම් යම් පැහැදිලි කිරීම ලබා ගන්නටත් අතෙක් පක්ෂවල නියෝජිතයන්ටත් අපි අවකාශ සැලසුවා. බොහෝම ප්‍රයෝජනවත් සංවාදයක් අපි ඇති කළා. විවේචන

ආදිය අප කාටත් එල්ල වුණා. ඒවාට බොහොම සාවධානව සහෝදරත්වයෙන් ඇහුමකත් දුන්නා. ඒ නිසා මෙ සංවාදය හුඟක් සාර්ථක වුණාය කියා කියන්නට පුළුවනි. විවාද කරන්නටත්, වැඩි ජන්දයෙන් යම යම ජයග්‍රහණ කරවන්නටත්, පරාජය කරවන්නටත් වෙනම ස්ථානයක් තිබෙනවා. ඒ තමයි පාර්ලිමේන්තුව. දෙවැනි පාර්ලිමේන්තුවක් හැටියට තොවෙයි අපි මෙ සර්ව පාක්ෂික සමුළුව පාවිච්චි කළේ. අප අතර සුභදතාව ඇති කර ගන්නට, අවබෝධය ඇති කර ගන්නට අපේ එක එක පක්ෂවල නිබේත ප්‍රතිපත්ති පාවා තොදී, කැප තොකොට අප කාටත් එකඟ වන්නට පුළුවන් ක්‍රියාදාම හඳුනාගන්නට අපි පාවිච්චි කලා මෙ කාලය, මෙ සංවාදය, එවැනි වේදිකාවක් අපට අත්‍යවශ්‍යව තිබුණා.

තමුත්තාත්සේලා දත්තවා කාලාත්තරයක් මුළුල්ලෙහි ගොඩ ගැසුණු අසහනය අද ඇති වි තිබෙන තත්ත්වයට හේතු වෙලා තිබෙන බව, තොයෙක් කාරණා නිසා, ඒවා ඔක්කොම අපි ඒ සංවාදයෙහිදී අධීක්ෂණයට ලක් කලා. ඒවායේ මුල මැද අග බොහොම දක්ෂ ලෙස පෙන්වා දුන්නා. බොහොම ඉවසිලිවත්තව ඒවාට ඇහුමකත් දුන්නා. බොහොම සහෝදරත්වයෙන් ඒ සංවාදය කෙරුණා. අපේ රටේ පමණක් තොවෙයි ලෝකය ගැන කල්පනා කළත් එවැනි වේදිකාවල් අත්‍යවශ්‍ය වුණා. තනිකර ඒ ඒ රටවල්වලට එහෙම කැනීම රටවල් දෙකක් තුනක් එකට එකතු වී විසඳ ගැනීමට බැර ප්‍රශ්න විසඳ ගැනීමේ අවියෙන් තමයි එක්සත් ජාතීන්ගේ සමුළුව පවා පිහිටුවා ගන්නට යෙදුණේ. ඒ වාගේම කලාපීය වශයෙනුත් දත් තොයෙකුත් සංවිධාන ඇති කර ගෙන තිබෙනවා. සාකච්ඡා මාර්ගයෙන් අදහස් උදහස් හුවමාරු කර ගැනීමෙන් ඒ කලාපීය ප්‍රශ්නත් විසඳ ගන්නට, ජාත්‍යන්තර වශයෙන් මුළු ලෝකයේත්, කලාපීය වශයෙන් ඒ ඒ කලාපවලත් තොයෙකුත් සංවිධාන ඇති කර ගෙන තිබෙනවා. අපේ රටේත් විවිධ දේශපාලන පක්ෂ තිබෙනවා. ඒ පක්ෂ මැතිවරණවලදී ජයග්‍රහණය කරනවා. තමුත් අප කවුරුත් පිළිගන්නට ඔකු, අද තනි තනියෙන් ඒ ඒ පක්ෂවලට පමණක් විසඳුම සොයන්නට බැර, පක්ෂ දෙකක් තුනක් එකතු වෙලා විසඳුම සොයන්නට බැර සංකීර්ණ ප්‍රශ්න ඇති වෙලා තිබෙන බව, සාමූහිකව එකට එකතු වෙලා මෙ ප්‍රශ්න විමර්ශනයට ලක් කරලා, විසඳුම සොයා ගන්නට ඔකුය කියන අධිෂ්ඨානය උඩ තමයි මෙ සංවාදය අපි ආරම්භ කළේ.

දත් එක්සත් ජාතීන්ගේ මහා සමුළුවට හොඳ ප්‍රඥප්තියක් තිබෙනවා. එවැනිම ප්‍රඥප්තියක් උඩ තමයි අපත් මෙතැනට එක්රැස් වුණේ. දත් අපි එක්සත් ජාතීන්ගේ ප්‍රඥප්තිය විමසා බැලුවොත් එහි තිබෙන්නේ කවුරුත් එකට එකතු වී සාකච්ඡා මාර්ගයෙන් ප්‍රශ්න විසඳන්නට ඔකුය කියන සංකල්පයයි. ප්‍රධාන ප්‍රතිපත්ති හතක් තිබෙනවා. එක්සත් ජාතීන්ගේ ප්‍රඥප්තියෙහි. සාමකාමීව එක්රැස් වීම (Harmonious Assembly), සාමකාමීව සාකච්ඡාව (peaceful consultation), සාකච්ඡා මගින් එකඟත්වයට පැමිණීම (negotiated compromise), සාරධර්ම හා සම්ප්‍රදායත් පිළිගැනීම (Recognition of values and traditions), සඳ්චාර හා ආධ්‍යාත්මික ගුණදහමවලට අනුකූල වීම (Adherence to moral and Spiritual principles), වැඩිහිටි බුද්ධිමතුන්ගේ ප්‍රඥවත්ත උපදෙස් අගය කිරීම, පිළිගැනීම (upholding the wisdom, of elders), සහ ජනතාවට රාජ්‍යයෙන් රාජ්‍යයට ගමන් කිරීමට අවකාශ දීම (Free movement of people between realms) ඒ හතයි.

මේ වගේ උදර ප්‍රඥප්තියක් තිබෙනවා. කරුණු හතක් ඊට අඩංගුයි. විවිධ ජාතීන් ජීවත් වන, විවිධ ආගම් අදහන ජන කොටස් ජීවත් වන මේ ලෝකයේ මේ එක්සත් ජාතීන්ගේ සමමෙලනයේ ප්‍රඥප්තිය හැටියට මේ සාරධර්ම සොයා ගත්තේ කොහෙත්ද කියා අපි සොයා බැලුවා. අපට පෙනුණා. ඒ සාරධර්ම හත සොයා ගත්තේ බුදුරජාණන් වහන්සේගේ අනුශාසනාවෙන්ය කියලා. බුදුරජාණන් වහන්සේ දේශනා කර තිබෙනවා සජන අපරිභානීය ධර්ම ; යම් ජන කොටසක් පිරිහීමට පත් නොවන්නට අනුගමනය කළ යුතු සාරධර්ම හතක්. ඒ සාරධර්ම හත නමයි එක්සත් ජාතීන්ගේ මහා සමමෙලනයේ ප්‍රඥප්තියට ඇතුළත් වී තිබෙන්නේ. මේ රටේ අප බෞද්ධයන් හැටියට පමණක් නොවෙයි. ක්‍රිස්තියානි, හින්දු, ඉස්ලාම ආගම ධර්ම අනුගමනය කරන ජනතාවක් හැටියට අපි දන්නවා අපට අපේ ඒ ඒ ආගම ධර්ම විසින් මෙවැනි සාරධර්ම කියා දී තිබෙන බව. එහෙම කල්පනා කරන විටයි. මේ සර්ව පාක්ෂික සමුළුවත් ඊට පදනම වුණ සාරධර්මත් අපට අගය කරන්නට පුළුවන් වන්නේ.

ඒ තිසා මම අද නමුත්තාත්සේලා ඉදිරියේ තබන වාර්තාව මෙන්න මේ විධියේ සාරධර්ම පද්ධතියක් අනුව සර්ව පාක්ෂික සමුළුවට සමබන්ධ වුණ පක්ෂ සහ කණ්ඩායම්වල සංවාදයෙන් ඉස්මතු වුණ වැඩිපිළිවෙළක්. මෙම වාර්තාව නමුත්තාත්සේලා ඉදිරියේ තිබෙනවා. නමුත්තාත්සේලා අතර බෙද හැර තිබෙනවා. මම එය ඉදිරිපත් කරන විට නමුත්තාත්සේලාට බලාගන්න පුළුවන්. එය භාෂා තුනෙන්ම දැන් නමුත්තාත්සේලා අතට පත් කර තිබෙනවා. නමුත්තාත්සේලාට පෙනෙයි. අප කවුරුත් අද අපේ රටේ ඇති වී තිබෙන දුර්දශාපත්ත හත්තවියට හේතු කාරක වුණ කරුණු සොයා බලා වහාම ගත යුතු පියවරවල් තම කියම කරවීමත් විට ඒවා ක්‍රියාත්මක කළ බව. ඊළඟට අපි වර්තමානයටත් අනාගතයටත් සුදුසු වැඩිපිළිවෙළවල් ගැන සාකච්ඡා කළා. අපට සොයා ගන්න පුළුවන් වුණා. අප අතර තිබෙන කොයෙකුත් දේශපාලන දර්ශන සහ ක්‍රියාමාර්ග රැකගනීමත්ම අප කාටත් එකඟ වෙන්න පුළුවන් යම් යම් ප්‍රතිපත්ති සහ වැඩිපිළිවෙළවල්. ඒ වගේම අපට සොයා ගන්න පුළුවන් වුණා මේ සංවාදයේ ප්‍රතිඵලයක් හැටියට අප කවුරුත් එකට එකතු වී වහාම විසඳුම සොයා ගත යුතු කරුණු ගණනාවක්. ඒ පොදු ප්‍රශ්නවලට අපි සියලු දෙනාම එකට එකතු වී ඒ විසඳුම සොයා ගත්තේ තැත්තම අපට පුළුවන්කමක් තැහැ. කියම සාමයක් මේ රටේ ඇති කර ගන්න. අපට එහෙම නම සිදුවෙයි වාරයෙන් වාරයට මැතිවරණවලින් එක්කෝ ජය ලබා තැත්තම පරාජය වී වාද විවාද කර කර ඉන්න ; සටන් ඇති කර ගන්න ; අමතාපකම වැඩිදියුණු කර ගන්න ; සාමය තැනී කර ගන්න ; ජනසමමතවාදයට කැපවී සිටින අභියසක ජනතාව විනාශ මුඛයට යනවා බලා බලා ඉන්න.

එහෙම නම අපේ යුතුකමක් තිබෙනවා අපට පුළුවන් ගැම කැපවීමක්ම කරන්නට. අපි සියලු දෙනාම ඒ අපේ පොදු ප්‍රශ්නවලට පොදු විසඳුම සොයන්නට ක්‍රියා කළයුතු කාලය එළඹලා තිබෙනවා. දැනටමත් ප්‍රමාදයි. ඒ කරුණු අපි සොයා ගන්නා. නමුත්තාත්සේලා සොයා දුන්නා. ඒවා ගැන ගතයුතු පියවරවල් නමුත්තාත්සේලාම ඒ සාකච්ඡාවලදී ඉස්මතු කළා. ඒ වැඩිපිළිවෙළවල්. ඒ වාර්තාව මම දැන් නමුත්තාත්සේලා ඉදිරියේ තබනවා.

Distinguished Delegates,

I take pleasure in re-convening the adjourned meeting of the All Party Conference.

When we last met on 13 September, I indicated that the All Party Conference should be a collective search for practical and viable solution to the present national crisis. The hard work, patience and dedication that have been shown by all participants during these days, fully support these aspirations.

I said that our endeavour should be to identify the basic principles to which all parties and groups can subscribe without compromising their respective identities and policies. We set out to search for a national consensus aimed at restoring peace and consolidating democracy.

I wish at the outset to thank all the participants of this Conference for the courage and commitment they have shown. We were confronted with tasks of great importance and gravity. Our dialogue was at all times constructive and courteous. I express my gratitude and appreciation to all of you who participated so effectively in the consultative meetings that were held from 18 September to 6 October. Your proposals received wide publicity. This enabled the entire country to participate in this national search for a consensus.

The getting together of all parties with the objective of restoring peace and normalcy has had an impact on the nation. It has led to a sense of expectation and hope for the future. What do our people most earnestly crave for today? It is to live their lives without fear and to go about their daily avocations without let or hindrance. The All Party Conference is clearly not a panacea for all our ills. It is not a perfect mechanism. But it is a vital forum where the nation can seek to replace conflict with compromise. In my opinion it must be made use for restoring peace and normalcy. It is helping to bring about the much needed consensus on crucial issues in our society.

My report will attempt to draw together some common strands from the rich variety of proposals put forward by the different delegations at our consultative meetings. I met with almost all parties and groups over this period. The recommendations made by

individual groups were enriched and enhanced by the comments made and clarifications sought by the observers. They were present in large numbers at our consultations. To all of them for their contributions, I say thank you on your behalf.

I would like to place before you my perceptions of the emerging consensus. Firstly, there are a set of issues on which there is total unanimity. These are :

- * the goal of restoring peace and normalcy,
- * preventing violence, and
- * bringing into the mainstream of politics those forces which are today outside the democratic process.

There was a consensus which developed around the **means** through which peace and normalcy could be restored and violence prevented. These included,

- * the surrender of arms,
- * the disbanding of illegal para-military forces,
- * lifting the emergency,
- * suspending the Prevention of Terrorism Act, releasing detainees and giving a general amnesty,
- * redressing of legitimate grievances perceived by various groups.

Many delegations took the position that first peace and normalcy should be restored. They were of the view that those outside must be brought into the mainstream and Parliamentary Elections should be held.

There was an overall consensus on the need for ensuring equal rights for all. There was consensus for reducing socio-economic disparities. There was broad agreement too on the need for restructuring political, economic, social and administrative systems.

However, several issues surfaced on which alternative or optional courses of action were advocated, and these were advocated by different delegations.

1. The Structure of Government

There was much discussion on both the conceptual and practical benefits and disadvantages of the Presidential system as against the Westminster model.

2. The Interim Administration

There was consensus with regard to the restoration of peace and normalcy and the subsequent holding of Parliamentary Elections. This led to the concept of an Interim Administration. Here some divergent views have been expressed. They range from a Provisional Government composed of parties within Parliament to a Caretaker Government composed of all recognized political parties.

3. Constitutional Reforms

Several proposals were made with regard to the reform of the Constitution. These included the franchise, the system of elections, minority representation, etc. Changes needed to strengthen the democratic process and enhance fundamental rights and freedom were also emphasized.

4. Devolution of Power

There was a view expressed that there be increasing devolution of power and decentralisation. There was a diversity of views with regard to the unit of devolution. Some views were expressed in support of a large regional unit. Other views brought forward the need for a strengthened grassroots unit within the larger unit. There were some participants who felt that the unit of devolution should be community oriented. Others felt that it should be territorially oriented. This is an area which needs further consultation to evolve compromise which would lead to consensus.

5. Current Socio-Economic Environment

Many references were made by participants to the serious effects the continuing violence has had on the economy. They include frequent stoppages of work under fear of intimidation, loss of production in factories and plantations. This has caused

loss not only to the State. Hardship and suffering were caused to all, particularly to the weaker segments of our population. All parties saw a critical need to arrest this trend. They stressed the need to give high priority to the increase of production.

There was also clear unanimity with regard to the need to eliminate whatever social iniquities still remain. Wherever the gap remained of an unequal access to opportunity, be it in education, employment or other welfare services, every effort must be made to fill the gap.

As an immediate step, it is proposed to appoint a commission to inquire into the causes of unrest among youth. This Commission will report with special reference to employment opportunities education and other related matters. I am happy that Mrs. Bandaranaike, Leader of the Opposition, has made such a proposal.

The fundamental rights of all who live in the country must be promoted and protected. No section of our community must have the perception that they are alienated or marginalised on grounds of political ideology, race, religion, class or sex. All are agreed that this has to be so in a pluralistic, multi-ethnic, multi-religious, multi-lingual society such as ours.

The validity, relevance and timeliness of the All Party Conference becomes evident when we consider the significant practical steps we have taken. All parties in the All Party Conference made an appeal for a ceasefire. At the meeting I had with five Opposition Parties in Parliament on 19 September, it was agreed to call upon all armed militant groups to desist from acts of violence and sabotage. Following this, there was a unilateral suspension of military operations by the security forces on 27th September. This was extended for a further 72 hours to provide a further opportunity of coming to a negotiated settlement. These efforts had the fullest support of the parties in the All Party Conference. Unfortunately these steps did not have the desired effect in a positive response from the JVP.

The second measure which we took in cooperation with all parties was the appointment of the Ceasefire Monitoring Committee of three eminent persons – Hon. R. S. Wanasundera, retired Judge of the

Supreme Court, Hon. Jaya Pathirana, retired Judge of the Supreme Court, and Mr. Sam Wijesinha, Ombudsman, with Mr. Lakshman de Mel as Secretary. This Committee had broad Terms of Reference.

1. To observe whether during the period of the ceasefire any member of,
 - (a) the security forces conducts any operations otherwise than
 - (i) to prevent an imminent breach of the peace,
 - (ii) in the defence of person or property,
 - (iii) to disarm any person carrying firearms, grenades, explosives or other offensive weapons, without lawful authority,
 - (b) any armed militant group engages in any act of violence or sabotage.

2. Where the Monitoring Committee is satisfied after such inquiry as it may deem necessary, that any person or group has been responsible for any act of violence or sabotage or that any member of the security forces, has conducted any operation in breach of the suspension as aforesaid, the Monitoring Committee shall report to His Excellency the President without delay –
 - (a) of such violations,
 - (b) immediate consequential action taken to counter such violation, and
 - (c) the recommendations of the Committee of remedial measures necessary to prevent a recurrence of such violations.

The report of this Committee was presented to me on Tuesday, 10 October. I would be making the report available to you in due course. This exercise I submit is a significant indication of our ability to work together in mutual trust and confidence in facing a national problem.

At the final meeting of the consultative sessions last Friday, 6 October, when the Sri Lanka Freedom Party delegation represented the other four Parties in the Opposition, a further step forward was taken. After examining the various issues presented at the All Party

Conference by the Sri Lanka Freedom Party delegation, it was agreed to consider the following steps, subject to further consultation and ratification by all parties concerned.

1. A Referendum be held once peace and normalcy is restored to decide on the acceptability of the Presidential system,
2. To seek consensus on the means of resolution of the urgent problems facing the country for the restoration of peace and normalcy,
3. To seek agreement on a programme of work for an interim administration, and
4. To constitute an interim administration including all Parties concerned. There was the general understanding that these steps should be taken within a specified time frame.

Action will be pursued on the above proposals.

In addition to the measures we have already taken, I propose to take another step immediately. This will be a further attempt to achieve one of our objectives on which there is complete consensus. That is to bring into the mainstream of politics, those forces that are today outside the democratic process.

The United National Party put forward a proposal which had been recommended by their Working Committee. According to that proposal if all Parties undertake to desist from violence, pledge their commitment to peace, surrender unlicensed firearms and disband illegal para-military forces, the Emergency should be lifted, the Prevention of Terrorism Act suspended and an amnesty granted. The Government is now prepared to take the following steps as suggested at the All Party Conference :

1. lift the Emergency,
2. suspend the Prevention of Terrorism Act,
3. grant an amnesty to all persons punished, release all persons detained, stop action against all persons wanted under the Emergency Regulations or the Prevention of Terrorism Act, and

4. redress any legitimate grievance they may have,

if all Parties, including the JVP

1. pledge their commitment to peace and democracy,
2. renounce and desist from violence and sabotage with immediate effect,
3. surrender all unlicensed firearms in their possession before the specified date, and
4. disband any illegal para-military forces.

As a further step, Government has invited the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) to provide their traditional humanitarian services in Sri Lanka.

Critics of the All Party Conference, I am told, have tried to give a different construction to the All Party Conference. They have said that it was an attempt by the Government to buy time. Some of them have argued that it was an initiative to tide over the negotiations which the Government was having with aid-giving Agencies. I wish to state quite categorically and emphatically that the All Party Conference had no relevance to these matters. Infact, they are being resolved in negotiations between these International Institutions and the Government. The All Party Conference is a collective search to find solutions to the urgent problems which the country faces today, specially, to find a way to restore peace and normalcy.

May I summarise the responses that we have collectively been able to arrive at as a result of our consensus.

Firstly, we are all agreed on the urgency of bringing in those forces which are outside the democratic process. We are making an offer to lift the Emergency and take the other related actions if there is a renunciation of violence and a pledge of commitment to peace by those engaged in violent acts.

Secondly, we are appointing a special Commission of Inquiry to look into the causes of unrest among youth and recommend the remedial steps that should be taken.

Finally, there are several issues which have surfaced in our discussions on which action is needed. These are related to, among others :

- * Devolution of power ;
- * Electoral Reforms ;
- * The Franchise ;
- * The cut-off point in PR ;
- * Minority representation ;
- * Liberalisation of the media ;
- * Effective implementation of the language policy ; I am glad to inform this Conference that the Cabinet decided yesterday to establish an independant Official Language Commission by an Act of Parliament.
- * Education policy ;
- * Equality and equity in treatment for all ;
- * Formulating a national land policy ;
- * Strengthening the democratic process ;
- * Safeguarding fundamental rights ; and
- * Ensuring security for all in all parts of the country.

These common and national issues have emerged through the process of consultation at the All Party Conference. We must accept the fact that these vital issues must be addressed if we are to re-establish durable unity and amity and strengthen the democratic system. It is now essential that these issues should be examined. For this purpose, there are two essential steps to be taken.

Firstly, to obtain the proposals of the parties and groups who have still not done so. It should be noted that only a few parties and groups have submitted proposals covering all these issues. Informal consultations have shown that it would be necessary to give more time. It would be appreciated if your proposals could reach me by 31 October.

Secondly, when the proposals are received, they would be processed. Informal consultations have revealed that a representative committee of all parties should be constituted to study these issues and make recommendations.

I propose to reconvene the All Party Conference once the report of this committee is ready.

The All Party Conference, I am sure all of you will agree, has very gradually gained confidence in spite of the divergent philosophies, policies and programmes of each of the participating parties and groups. It is of vital importance that this national endeavour should be steered to positive conclusions. Therefore, all of us inside this hall and those outside, inclusive of the media, must give their fullest support to strengthen this national process which seeks to build a fair and just edifice on which our democratic systems and our values can be firmly anchored.

I thank you.

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(ශ්‍රී. ජි. රාජිව් විජේසිංහ)
(Mr. Rajiv Wijesinha)

Mr. President, I think we appreciate the efforts of the Hon. Minister of Higher Education, Science and Technology to limit discussion today and I certainly do not intend to take more than five minutes.

I like to mention some issues that arise both from your very comprehensive report and from the papers that we read so far. They relate really to something that, I think, is very satisfying about this Conference and that it seems to me to be a genuine attempt to seek consensus and compromise as possible. In that respect I think a number of the issues that you raised certainly indicate the seriousness of the approach that has been made. But I like to go back further and suggest that in accepting the positive arrangements that you have

made, it might be possible for you to go further in terms of creating more confidence-building institutions. Whilst we recognize that a number of parties have suggested that such matters can be done after the other parties now outside the process come into it, as we suggested in our paper it is important to build confidence and there are certain measures that can be taken at once without waiting for the detailed discussion that perhaps the new Constitutions will take.

So whilst we welcome the proposals for a long term Standing Committee to make further recommendations, I would like to suggest that in some of the areas you touched on you can act, as indeed you have already done with regard to a Language Commission.

As we suggested, there are four very vital areas. One is Human Rights, and perhaps you could set up a Committee straightaway, just like the Language Commission, which would take into account the feelings of all Parties and indeed the Human Rights Organization. Equally an Election Commission. It was I think one of the most satisfactory features of this Conference that indeed for once the UNP delegation as well acknowledged to some extent the need to make up for certain deficiencies of the past. This was stressed, I think by all the papers we have here. I think it was most graphically put by the TELO Delegation and without indulging in recrimination, because I think we have to go forward now. It is certainly the case that we must recognize what went wrong and develop confidence much more than has been possible in the past ten years. Therefore we have suggested an Elections Commission chaired by the Commissioner of Elections but which would make clear the broad basis of the authority to conduct further the democratic process. While setting up statutory bodies – which might take time – we would like to suggest that you set up an Advisory Committee on Elections and Human Rights straightaway.

Similarly with regard to the media. It has been interesting that it has emerged in almost all papers as a very important factor. I think perhaps the consensus on that can be acted upon at once, again in terms of perhaps of an Advisory Committee, but that can explore very soon, with a fixed time limit, the way in which you might be able to institute statutory powers that would guide media policy.

Finally, with regard to moving towards some sort of interim administration, one of the most startling features of last week was the way in which in your discussion with the SLFP, was clear that consensus could be reached on the aims of such an administration. In that respect it seems to me quite possible to work more quickly than the time frame set out in this Paper because one of the factors all Parties raised was the urgency of the situation. It seems to me that if we wait for three weeks for more reports to be followed by further discussions, when there are some areas on which action could be taken at once, we are sacrificing momentum that you have managed to build up so far.

ශ්‍රීමත් ජනාධිපතිතුමා
(මෙහෙයුම් මාසිකය ජනාධිපති)
(His Excellency the President)

That is Mr. Rajiv Wijesinha of the Liberal Party. I suggest that when each delegate takes the floor, he first mentions his name and the Party.

In regard to what you just said I would like to assure you that the Government will be continuing to take meaningful steps whilst these consultations are carried on, while these Committees work. We will not delay any action that the Government should take in regard to these matters.

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(ති. ඉ. ස. ඩී. පණ්ඩාරනායක)
(Mr. S. D. Bandaranayake)

Mr. President, the Sri Lanka Progressive Front has placed before this All-Party Conference today our submissions, dated today, on the statement of the All-Party Conference Adjourned Meeting of Thursday, 12th October 1989, and also the Peace Committee of the Northern and Eastern Provinces in fact which was due to meet on the 9th. We are suggesting there that you should preside at that meeting because the Sinhala people have to decide as to what devolution of power and what rights the national minorities have to be given in this country. So we would like His Excellency the President himself to preside at that meeting.

Yesterday, the Government paper – the press – made this submission and we made a special submission to you today asking for a special APC meeting with the Security Council. In fact, the Sri Lanka

Progressive Front wish to call upon the APC for a special meeting of the All Party Conference immediately to discuss the following which appeared in the Government paper, "Daily News", of 11th October, 1989. At page eight under "India creating illegal para-military force in Sri Lanka" it says :

"The political committee of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in a statement issued from its headquarters accused the Government of India of creating illegal para-military organisation 'to protect its puppet provincial regime and fight the Tamil Tigers'."

"A massive program of military training is underway and thousands of innocent school boys who were forcefully conscripted are being transformed into a mercenary army. The Indian armed forces and RAW agents are actively involved in the creation of this illegal military organisation" the statement said.

"The creation of this 'Tamil National Army' is the stumbling block for the genuine efforts undertaken by the President of Sri Lanka to restore peace and normalcy in the North-East province. The Government of India, while talking about the safety and security of the Tamils, is creating conditions for a civil war in the Tamil region. Peace can only be achieved by removing the conditions of war. We, therefore appeal to the Government of Sri Lanka to persuade the Delhi administration to stop militarisation and disband the illegal para-military force," the LTTE statement said.

In the meantime, the LTTE leadership has appealed to all members of the Citizens Voluntary Force and cadres of other armed groups to join the Tamil Tigers. In a pamphlet issued throughout the North and East the LTTE has offered an amnesty and safe conduct to all innocent young boys who surrender to the LTTE.

"Over a hundred CVF members have already deserted and surrendered to the LTTE with arms. We have given them protection and the school-going boys have been handed over to their parents," the LTTE said.

The Patriotic United Front who are carrying out a national liberation struggle considers this as a very serious national problem and calls upon the Premadasa Government with whom the LTTE has had a series of discussions and has arrived at an amicable understanding to

summon a Special Conference of the APC with the Security Council to discuss this situation as shown by the LTTE. This matter has been in some of the papers in India too.

Minister Hameed was speaking to me yesterday about discussions on cut-off points and other points, but the important point is to have peace and harmony in the country before all these points; otherwise, you will bring the country into the same mess that took place at the December 1988 and February 1989 Elections.

In this connection, Sir, how can the JVP come to any discussion when the climate in the country is this? How can the JVP come to any discussion? The LTTE who has come for discussions with the Government is in this plight today, and it is the view of the Sri Lanka Progressive Front that you, Sir, as the President has to take immediate action in regard to this matter that has been submitted.

Thank you.

ශ්‍රීමත් ජනාධිපතිතුමා

(மேன்மைதங்கிய சனாதிபதி)

(His Excellency the President)

You failed to mention your name; may be because everybody can identify you easily. You are too well known.

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(ஜனாப் ஏ. சி. எஸ். ஹமீது)

(Mr. A. C. S. Hameed)

Well, with regard to the Peace Committee, certainly His Excellency the President can consider whether it is possible for him to chair meetings. Whatever it is, we could assure the hon. Leader of the Sri Lanka Progressive Front that deliberations and decisions would be carried out in the most just and fair manner, respecting the rights and privileges of all the communities, particularly the majority community the hon. Member referred to. Well, you did mention that I had spoken to you about the cut-off point. That was not the only point that I spoke to you about. I mentioned to you about the various issues that had surfaced as a result of the consultations and machinery to deal with those issues, and it has been spelt out here.

Thank you, Sir.

ශ්‍රීමත් ජනාධිපතිතුමා

(මෙහිමානවතාය ජනාධිපති)

(His Excellency the President)

I like to say this about the Peace Committee. We must attach great importance to this Peace Committee. The Peace Committee was set up on a proposal made by the Government of Sri Lanka when we came to an agreement with the Government of India in regard to the withdrawal of the IPKF. This Peace Committee will have to concentrate on the process of restoring peace and normalcy in the North East Province. This Peace Committee will consist of almost all parties who have represented that area in the Provincial Council Elections and also in the Presidential and Parliamentary Elections. We also thought that when all parties get together in this endeavour to restore peace and normalcy in the North East area, there may be certain measures that we will have to introduce or take, may be even legislation. Then when all parties take part, it will facilitate the Government to get the co-operation of those parties in Parliament in the passage of various pieces of legislation. And also this Peace Committee is empowered to make recommendations to the Security Monitoring Committee, Security Co-ordinating Committee. There is a Security Co-ordinating Committee and we want all parties and groups that form this Peace Committee to meet regularly and make recommendations to the Security Monitoring Committee. This Peace Committee will be an ongoing exercise.

I find that there is some sort of misunderstanding about the functions of this Peace Committee. So I want to impress upon all concerned to somehow or other work this Peace Committee. It has been postponed because some parties and groups wanted time for further consultation, and I myself will attend as and when necessary because we attach a lot of importance to this committee.

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(ඉන්ද්‍රජය අප්පුස් අසීස්)

(Mr. Abdul Aziz)

You have already mentioned my name, Your Excellency. I am Aziz of the Democratic Workers' Congress.

Your Excellency, it may be that the All Party Conference may also consider the constitutional problems. But as Your Excellency is aware, in the course of discussion that the bi-party groups had with Your Excellency, several proposals for constitutional reforms have been made before the All Party Conference. Would Your Excellency consider also the proposal of Constitutional Conference to be convened within the framework of the All Party Conference ?

The Constitutional Conference should consist of representatives of all political parties which have been invited to the All Party Conference and be assisted by a group of experts. Amongst the matters that may be considered by such a Conference would be the structure of Government, power sharing arrangements, franchise and system of representation, enhancing fundamental rights and their enforcement, the liberalization of media, the protection of ethnic and cultural identities and strengthening the pluralistic character of Sri Lanka society.

It may be, Your Excellency, that some of these matters would be discussed by the Peace Committee also because it comes within their purview. But we thought that as the Constitution has emerged as a very important aspect of the matter, advocated by almost all the political parties, Your Excellency may consider the question of a Constitutional Conference. This Conference should be given a definite time frame within which it should complete its deliberations and submit a report to the All Party Conference.

ඒ. ඩී. එස්. හමීඩ් මහතා

(ஜனப் ஏ. சி. எஸ். ஹமீது)

(A. C. S. Hameed)

I agree with Mr. Aziz that some of these subjects do come or are located within the objectives of the Peace Committee and some are outside the Peace Committee. So we will have to look at them and decide where to locate them depending on their relevance. At the APC consultation there was one view, that it may be better to have a Constitutional Conference. So what we could do is, after all the Parties – those who have not – have sent in their proposals carry out a series of informal consultations and decide as to what type of approach we should determine, the mechanism, to deal with all these issues. So the idea of a Constitutional Conference is still fresh on the table.

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(ஜனப் அப்துல் அஸீஸ்)
(Mr. Abdul Aziz)

Your Excellency, there is one other point I wish to draw your attention to. You would recollect that I had made certain submissions with regard to the problems of the plantation workers and Your Excellency was kind enough to inform the several Ministeries to have a discussion with me. I thank you very much for it. But I have a feeling that discussions with the Secretaries of the Ministries may not be fruitful in respect of political decisions because some of these matters, as Your Excellency would agree, are of a political nature. Therefore, it would be more desirable if the Ministers are directed to have these discussions rather than the Secretaries of the Ministries because Secretaries of the Ministries may not be in a position to take political decisions.

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(மேள்மைதங்கிய சனாதிபதி)
(His Excellency the President)

It would be more profitable if you could discuss these matters with Minister Thondaman.

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(ஜனப் அப்துல் அஸீஸ்)
(Mr. Abdul Aziz)

Sir, my grouse to you is that even when they appeared before you they did not refer to all those problems which they should have.

ජී. සී. එස්. හමීඩ් මහතා
(ஜனப் ஏ. சி. எஸ். ஹமீது)
(Mr. A. C. S. Hameed)

That might call for another Peace Conference !

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(ஜனப் அப்துல் அஸீஸ்)
(Mr. Abdul Aziz)

We are at peace with each other !

කරවෙයි කන්දසාමි මහතා

(திரு. கரவை கந்தசாமி)

(Mr. Karavai Kandasamy)

Your Excellency, I am Karavai Kandasamy of the Democratic People's Liberation Front. I do not intend talking and breaking a controversy here. But one factor that has to be brought to the notice of all delegates is that in the past the communal tension was created in this country by attempts made by certain political parties representing the majority community to impose their solution, what they thought to be the solution to the ethnic question, the solution they tried to impose on the Tamils, and therefore the Tamils had to struggle or fight back to seek the right to determine their own destiny and future. Therefore, now if anyone makes any attempt that they should decide what the Tamils should have, then once again we will be at the crossroads. Therefore, I would earnestly request all delegates to this august assembly to consider or to allow the Tamil representatives to decide the future of the Tamil-speaking people of this country, whether they are Tamils or Muslims – and not other Parties to take responsibility to decide the destiny of the Tamils. Thank you !

කුමාර් පොන්නම්බලම් මහතා

(திரு. குமார் பொன்னம்பலம்)

(Mr. Kumar Ponnambalam)

I am Kumar Ponnambalam of the All Ceylon Tamil Congress. I refer to page 8 of the English version of Your Excellency's speech. Somewhere in the middle of that page it says – I quote : "In addition to the measures we have already taken. I propose to take another step immediately" I fail to see what that step is, because it goes on to say – I quote again : "This will be a further attempt to achieve one of our objectives", one thing or the other. But there are so many provisos there that I fail to see what that immediate step you are going to take is.

ඒ. ඩී. ජී. හමීද් මහතා

(ஜனாப் ஏ. சி. எஸ். ஹமீது)

(Mr. A. C. S. Hameed)

Mr. Ponnambalam would recollect, the earlier proposals where basically the Government said that the Government would lift the Emergency.

නියෝජිතයෙක්

(பிரதிநிதி ஒருவர்)

(A Delegate)

Not the Government.

ඒ. සී. එස්. හමීඩ් මහතා

(ஜனாப் ஏ. சி. எஸ். ஹமீது)

(Mr. A. C. S. Hameed)

The UNP Working Committee has made a recommendation that if the JVP was prepared to surrender arms and return to the democratic process, then the Government should lift the emergency, suspend the Prevention of Terrorism Act, then give an amnesty, etc., and, in consultation, Mr. Ponnambalam is one of those who advocated that the Government should make the offer first.

කුමාර් පොන්නම්බලම් මහතා

(திரு. குமார் பொன்னம்பலம்)

(Mr. Kumar Ponnambalam)

It is not an offer, but a move.

ඒ. සී. එස්. හමීඩ් මහතා

(ஜனாப் ஏ. சி. எஸ். ஹமீது)

(Mr. A. C. S. Hameed)

The move or whatever it is, that the Government should make the offer first, and that is what this paragraph refers to. Now, with regard to the recommendation of the UNP Working Committee, the Government is prepared to implement it and go one step further, that is, the Government is prepared to lift the emergency, suspend the Prevention of Terrorism Act, even give an amnesty, disband all para military forces, etc., if the JVP would decide to give up violence and enter the democratic process. So, as it is now, the latest offer the Government has made is on the lines that the various delegations at the APC inclusive of yourself, Mr. Ponnambalam, have asked, that this offer should be placed first, and that has been done.

කුමාර් පොන්නම්බලම් මහතා

(திரு. குமார் பெரன்னம்பலம்)

(Mr. Kumar Ponnambalam)

What I would suggest at this stage is that the Government – you are reiterating the position – should do one thing first, whatever it may be, either suspending the Prevention of Terrorism Act for a specified period and suspending the emergency for a specified period, do something to win the good will, something to create trust and confidence if it could be done by the Government immediately. Sir, anyway, my position is that there was no answer to my question. Whatever it is, if something positive could be done by the Government at the moment I think it will be very welcome. That is all what I want to say.

ඒ. සී. එස්. හමීඩ් මහතා

(ஜனாப் ஏ. சி. எஸ். ஹமீது)

(Mr. A. C. S. Hameed)

You would recall that the Government has taken a decision, demonstrated its readiness to accommodate all those who are outside the democratic process. Already, if you could think back, there was an appeal that went out from the APC – a joint appeal. Then after a discussion with the Opposition Parties in Parliament, there was a ceasefire for 72 hours, which was the suspension of military operations for 72 hours, and which was extended again to a further 72 hours. Then after that ICRC were invited to come to this country. I do not think it would be fair to say that a visible demonstration from the Government has not still figured. I think that impression is not correct. I do not think you mean that either. But the Government has demonstrated its readiness to accommodate all those who are outside the democratic process if they would give up violence.

කුමාර් පොන්නම්බලම් මහතා

(திரு. ரணில் விக்ரமசிங்கம்)

(Mr. Kumar Ponnambalam)

I mean some visible demonstration. But if I am unreasonable, I am sorry.

ඊනිල් වික්‍රමසිංහ මහතා
(ති.රු. රණිල් වික්‍රමසිංහ)
(Mr. Ranil Wickremasinghe)

Regarding the proposal by Mrs. Bandaranaike to have a Commission to go into the question of youth unrest, I would say that good steps have been taken by you, Sir, and by the Conference. I thought of bringing to your notice that when members to this Commission are appointed, it must also include many of the young people to represent almost all different viewpoints that are held and the different age groups also.

ජී. ඩී. එස්. හමීඩ් මහතා
(ඉ.එම්. ඉ. ජී. ඒ. ඒ. හමීඩ්)
(Mr. A. C. S. Hameed)

You should also explore any other efforts that could be made.

එස්. ඩී. බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා
(ති.රු. ඒ. ඒ. ඩී. බණ්ඩාරනායක)
(Mr. S. D. Bandaranayake)

Mr. President, there is a small matter which I want to mention in relation to what was submitted by the Leader of the Tamil Congress. I think it is very important that the Government and the APC should give the country and the people something definite. In fact, the Hon. Minister, Mr. Hameed, mentioned something about his discussing in Parliament with hon. Members of the Opposition, or something like that.

ජී. ඩී. එස්. හමීඩ් මහතා
(ඉ.එම්. ඉ. ජී. ඒ. ඒ. හමීඩ්)
(Mr. A. C. S. Hameed)

No, I did not mention that.

එස්. ඩී. බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා
(ති.රු. ඒ. ඒ. ඩී. බණ්ඩාරනායක)
(Mr. S. D. Bandaranayake)

The important factor is that it must go from the APC.

ඒ. ඩී. එස්. හමීඩ් මහතා
(ஜனாப் ஏ. சி. எஸ். ஹமீது)
(Mr. A. C. S. Hameed)

No, no ! I am sorry –

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

We have submitted to you a seven point formula and the first point was that along with the ceasefire all these illegal forces must hand over their weapons to the Government. Even in regard to the first point the Hon. Minister had a discussion with hon. Members of the Opposition Group in Parliament and took an arbitrary decision to implement a part of that which was a ceasefire without handing over the arms which are in the hands of illegal people who are operating all over the country. In fact, that is happening even in the Northern and Eastern Provinces. That is why this aspect has been quite rightly pointed out by the LTTE.

ඒ. ඩී. එස්. හමීඩ් මහතා,
(ஜனாப் ஏ. சி. எஸ். ஹமீது)
(Mr. A. C. S. Hameed)

I am sorry –

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

So, this is the type of decision that you are taking. Mr. Minister, you come to the APC and decide something and then you take some other decision with the Opposition in Parliament. In fact, on the first day when our members were present, when our Secretary was there, when the Leader of the Tamil Congress was there, we were removed from that discussion. We were removed from that discussion. What is this you are talking about, Mr. Minister ? This is not Parliament. Parliament is not here. We are in the APC and not in Parliament. That is the mistake.

ඒ. ඩී. එස්. හමීඩ් මහතා
(ඉංග්‍රීසි ඒ. ජී. ඒ. ඒ. හමීඩ්)
(Mr. A. C. S. Hameed)

I am not making any mistake. I think you are making a mistake because all that I listed came from the APC, and your representatives were present. I am sorry that they have not kept you informed.

එස්. ඩී. බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා
(තිලක. ඒ. ඒ. ඒ. බණ්ඩාරනායක)
(Mr. S. D. Bandaranayake)

We were asked to clear out. I do not know whether you were there or not. After His Excellency left the place we were asked to clear out from that meeting.

ඒ. ඩී. එස්. හමීඩ් මහතා
(ඉංග්‍රීසි ඒ. ජී. ඒ. ඒ. හමීඩ්)
(Mr. A. C. S. Hameed)

No, No !

එස්. ඩී. බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා
(තිලක. ඒ. ඒ. ඒ. බණ්ඩාරනායක)
(Mr. S. D. Bandaranayake)

That is what our Secretary reported to us.

ශ්‍රීමත් ජනාධිපතිතුමා
(මෙහිමහත්මයාණන් ජනාධිපති)
(His Excellency the President)

No one can ask anybody to clear out other than the people who can clear out the people from Parliament. But the people can clear out certain people from Parliament. That can happen.

එස්. ඩී. බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා
(තිලක. ඒ. ඒ. ඒ. බණ්ඩාරනායක)
(Mr. S. D. Bandaranayake)

Whatever it is, we are appealing to you to see that some specific action is taken by the APC as pointed out by my good Friend the

Leader of the Tamil Congress, so that the people will understand what is happening in the APC. So far, we have just received a report and we have reached nothing. We have reached nowhere. That is what my good Friend Mr. Kandasamy mentioned. Our proposal in fact is to get His Excellency to preside. Even in regard to the Northern and Eastern provinces our proposal is that a patriotic united front must incorporate all sections of the population, and when the entirety of the Sinhala population is united they will decide, along with the national minorities, the rights that should be enshrined in the Constitution pertaining to those regions. That is the position we take up ; otherwise you will have a repetition of what has happened to the Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam Pact and the Rajiv – JR Pact that have brought the country to this situation today.

ශ්‍රීමත් ජනාධිපතිතුමා

(මேණ්මෙතභ්භිය ජනාධිපති)

(His Excellency the President)

Mr. Bandaranayake, as you are not in Parliament, you need not address the Chair.

එස්. ඩී. බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා

(ති. ඉ. එස්. ඩී. බණ්ඩාරනායක)

(Mr. S. D. Bandaranayake)

Right Sir !

ශ්‍රීමත් ජනාධිපතිතුමා

(මேණ්මෙතභ්භිය ජනාධිපති)

(His Excellency the President)

We will put you in Parliament soon if the people are willing to do so.

එස්. ඩී. බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා

(ති. ඉ. එස්. ඩී. බණ්ඩාරනායක)

(Mr. S. D. Bandaranayake)

මම ඉදි කළ නොහැකි කොටසක් සඳහා ඔබ දැන් සභා සභාපතිවරයා - මුළු රටම සභාපතිවරයා - නොහැකි කොටසක් සඳහා සුද්දන් සභාපතිවරයා නොහැකි.

අබ්දුල් අසීස් මහතා
(ஜனாப் அப்துல் அசீஸ்)
(Mr. Abdul Aziz)

Mr. President, Sir, I do not agree with my good Friend Mr. S. D. Bandaranayake that nothing has come out of this APC. Certainly a lot has come out and I must say that His Excellency has made very constructive and meaningful suggestions for approaching the question. However, I would like to say this in respect of what Mr. Ponnambalam has said. On page 8 at the end we have said, "Lift the Emergency, suspend the Prevention of Terrorism Act, grant an amnesty to all persons, redress any legitimate grievances they may have, and this and that. I think, what Mr. Ponnambalam has suggested is that out of these four points – I support his suggestion – if at least one could be done unilaterally, as you did in the ceasefire, for example the suspension of Prevention of Terrorism Act, some such action on the part of the Government may help in creating some atmosphere.

ඒ. සී. එස්. හමීඩ් මහතා
(ஜனாப் ஏ. சி. எஸ். ஹமீது)
(Mr. A. C. S. Hameed)

Mr. Aziz, the Government has taken action, demonstrated its readiness and, in addition to that, if you are suggesting certain other things, certainly the Government will consider.

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

I think it will be better if –

ශ්‍රීමත් ජනාධිපතිතුමා
(மேன்மைதங்கிய சனாதிபதி)
(His Excellency the President)

Mr. Bandaranayake, it is not fair for you to say that nothing has come out of the APC. You have at least come out of the *Madagaswalawwa*.

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

මබතුමන්ලා විශාල වැඩ කොටසක් කර තිබෙනවා. ඒක අපි පිළිගන්නවා. ඒක අපි මේ කොලෙන් දමා තිබෙනවා. අසීස් මැතිතුමා කීවා වාගේ ඒපිසි එක විශාල වැඩ කොටසක් කර තිබෙනවා. ඉදිරි ගමන සඳහා. තමුත් අර කුමාර් පොත්තමබලම මැතිතුමා කීවා වගේ මේ වාගේ අවධියක මෙන්ම මේ වාගේ ක්‍රියාදාමයක් අද කරනවාය කියා ඉදිරිපත් කරන්න පුළුවන් තම ඒක විශාල දෙයක්. ඒ වාගේ දෙයක් දිගා මේ මුළු රටම බලාගෙන ඉන්නවා. එහෙම තැන්නම ජනතාවගේ ඇස්වලින් බලන විට, ජනතාවගේ දෂ්ඨකෝණයෙන් බලන විට. "මෙක හිස් වැටික්. අපි කරලා තිබෙන වැටික් තැහැ" කියන හැඟීමක් තමයි ඇති වෙන්නේ. විශේෂයෙන්ම ඒ තියා නමයි. "මේ ලිපි පත්‍රවලට දමන්න" කියා අද අපි මබතුමාට අපේ ලිපිගොනුව ඉදිරිපත් කළේ. මොකද, මෙතැන මේ සෙනුටේරියට එකේ පරණ පෙන්නන් කාරයෝ එක්කෙනෙක් දෙන්නෙක් ඉන්නවා. ඒ උදවිය මේවා පත්‍රවලට දමන්නෙන් තැහැ. මෙක තේරුමක් තැහැයි කියා අපි ඒපිසි එකට කියන්න මතැ.

ශ්‍රීමත් ජනාධිපතිතුමා
(**மேள்மைதங்கிய சனாதிபதி**)
(His Excellency the President)

මේ ඔක්කොම ප්‍රසිද්ධ කරන්න තම එස්. ඩී. බණ්ඩාරනායක මහත්මයා. ශ්‍රී ලංකා ප්‍රගතිශීලී පෙරමුණ සඳහා අලුතෙන්ම පත්‍රයක් ගහන්න වෙයි.

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

මබතුමා මොකක් හරි තීරණයක් ගන්න.

ශ්‍රීමත් ජනාධිපතිතුමා
(**மேள்மைதங்கிய சனாதிபதி**)
(His Excellency the President)

මුස්ලිම් කොංග්‍රසයේ නායක අෂ්රෆ් මැතිතුමා එද සර්ව පාක්ෂික සමුළුවට ආව වෙලාවේ තමුත්තාත්සේ සිටියේ තැහැ. එතුමා මේ අදහස් ඉදිරිපත් කළා. මම කියන්නට කැමතියි. ඒ වෙලාවේ එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂය ඉදිරිපත් කළ යෝජනාවලින් මේ මේ දේවල් කළොත් රජය මේ මේ දේවල් කරනවා යයි කීවා. එතකොට ගාමිණී දිසානායක ඇමතිතුමා කීවා. "තැහැ. දෙකම එකවර කරන්න පුළුවන් දෙහොල්ලක්" කියා තමුත් අෂ්රෆ් මැතිතුමා යෝජනා කළා. "එහෙම නොවෙයි.

එහෙම ප්‍රතිචාරයක් ලැබෙනවා නම මෙහෙම දෙයක් කරන්න අවශ්‍ය විය යුතු බව කියා කියන්න" කියා.

Actually the credit must go to Mr. Ashraff. He Made this suggestion. There was consensus. Unfortunately you were not there.

එස්. ඩී. බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතා
(ති.ප්‍ර. ආ. ස. ඩී. පණ්ඩාරනායක)
(Mr. S. D. Bandaranayake)

Our Secretary reported to the Central Committee of our Party about what the Leader of the Muslim Congress had submitted. In fact, we were very happy to hear about that.

ශ්‍රීමත් ජනාධිපතිතුමා
(මෙහෙයුම් මාලිගයේ ජනාධිපති)
(His Excellency the President)

Any other comments ?

ඒ. සී. එස්. හමීඩ් මහතා
(ආ. ස. සී. ආ. සී. හමීඩ්)
(Mr. A. C. S. Hameed)

I just want to mention with regard to the proposal made by the Liberal Party to have some Advisory Committee on the liberalization of the media and also about the Human Rights Commission and the election procedure, that we will discuss it informally with the other groups and if there is agreement certainly we can form an Advisory Committee.

ශ්‍රීමත් ජනාධිපතිතුමා
(මෙහෙයුම් මාලිගයේ ජනාධිපති)
(His Excellency the President)

May I have your concensus to go ahead with the action we have already enumerated in my report ?

අබ්දුල් අසීස් මහතා
(ஐஐப் அப்துல் அசீஸ்)
(Mr. Abdul Aziz)

I want one clarification. On page 10 you have said, firstly we are all agreed on the urgency of bringing in those forces which are outside the democratic process. We are making an offer to lift the Emergency and take the other related actions if there is a renunciation of violence and a pledge of commitment to peace by those engaged in violent acts. You have not said "if they surrender their arms". You have merely said, "renunciation of violence". I would like to have a little clarification on that also.

ශ්‍රීමත් ජනාධිපතිතුමා
(மேன்மை தங்கிய சனாதிபதி)
(His Excellency the President)

This is only a summary. Now it goes without saying.

Thank you very much for your support. We adjourn the Session. The next date will be notified later.

(Conference adjourned)



ශ්‍රී ලංකා රජයේ මුද්‍රණ දෙපාර්තමේන්තුව