Selected Writings of *Chanaka Bandarage*

Selected Writings of Chanaka Bandarage

Dedication – To the Motherland

Chanaka Bandarage

BA (Hons), LLB, GDLP (Aust), DAG, DTAG (UK)

A KKN Publication

Colombo **8**

Telephone:0711334224

arwdc@bigpond.com

Copyrights Protected

Selected Writings of Chanaka Bandarage

Published by KKN Trading Company, Colombo 8
TP: 071 133 4224
arwdc@bigpond.com

Copyrights Protected
සියළු හිමිකම් ඇවිරිණි

ISBN 887 – 067 – 5658255 -2 – 0

1st Print: 2016 September

Printing: S & S Printers
27/18 Jayantha Weerasekera Mawatha
Colombo 10, Tel: 2384 028

Contents

Pages

- **Formal Complaint against the ABC TV's bias reporting on Sri Lanka, in its "Foreign Correspondent" telecast 9 -24**
- **Why Anagarika Dharmapala is important to India, particularly to the Indian Buddhist 25 -40**
- අනගාරිකධර්මපාල **19/20** ශතවර්ෂයන්හි විසූ ශ්‍රේෂ්ඨතමශ්‍රී ලාංකියායි **41 –63**
- **Increasing the number of MPs from 225 To 255 is unnecessary – a colossal waste of taxpayer funds 64 –66**
- **An Appreciation – Don Randall, MP 67 – 70**
- **Response to Dr Dayan Jayathillake's articles (2) 71 –79**
- පිටපත්ලක්ෂ 2ක් මුද්‍රණය කර බෙදාහරින ලද අත් පත්‍රිකාව (2013 දෙසැම්බර්) **80 –84**

- **A Referendum under the Articles 80 (2) And 85 (1) of the Constitution is the best way to save mother Lanka**

  85 – 96

- **Death of SL Gunasekera – a colossal loss to the country 97 – 102**

- **How to Stop the boats to Australia 103 – 126**

- **This year, 2015, marks the bicentenary of the Kandyan Convention- did Sri Lanka lose sovereignty due to supremacy of the British Empire or due to Sinhala infighting? 127 – 142**

- **Bandaranaike Assassination– due to Banda – Chelva pact? 143 – 153**

- අදින් වසර **510**ට පෙර **(1505)** මෙරටට ගොඩබට පෘතුගීසි නාවික බලකාය **154 – 162**

- **15/10/1505 (510 years ago to date) is the day that the Portuguese first landed in Colombo, Sri Lanka 163 – 173**

- **Unnatural death of an Elephant every second day – future generations to identify an elephant from a carved wooden statue? 174 – 184**

- **Convergence of Patriots to Canberra 185 – 204**

- **Navatkuli Sinhala Village attacked on Saturday 10 August 2013 at 930 pm 205 – 209**

- **Legal Action seems the only way available to protect mother Lanka 210 – 231**

  - **Abolishment of the 13th Amendment – a suggestion 232 – 234**

- **'Paaradisaya Soya' ('පාරාදීසය ඔසාය') – this film has incorrect Sri Lankan history 235 – 239**

- **Parallels between Kosovo and theTamil Eelam 240 – 243**

- **When will Wigneswaran call for the UDI? 244 – 254**
- **Why is it too dangerous to hand the NPC to TNA or a different Separatist Group – Referendum is the only way 255 – 262**

- **Vasudeva is wrong to say that the President can dissolve the Provincial Councils anytime 263 – 265**

- දේශ අභිතෛෂී චිත්‍රපටියක් **266 – 271**

- *ශ්‍රීලංකාව 'ඉන්දියාවේ හොංකොං' විය යුතුයි - මෙයින් අදහස් කරන්නේ ශ්‍රී ලංකාව ඉන්දියාවේ 'කර මතින්' ගොස්' ධනපති විය යුතුය යන්න මිස, අප ඉන්දියාවේ ඉන්දියාවේ කොලනියක් විය යුතුය යන්න නොවේ. -* **272 – 294**

- **Sri Lanka should be the Hong Kong of India** - *this only means Sri Lanka should become prosperous by riding on the back of India; it does not mean Sri Lanka should be subservient to India* **295 – 303**

- **Giving Land and Police powers to the Provinces is dangerous – it should not happen 304 – 311**

- **Mega Projects is not the way; but, Small Business (Microcredit) 312 – 325**

- **Sri Lankan group pushes for resolution of Oceanic Viking stand off 326 – 330**

- **Film Review (Media Release) – 'Sri Siddhartha Gautama' - a critique 331 – 334**

Complaint against the ABC (Australian Broadcasting Corporation) TV

23 February 2010

ABC Audience and Consumer Affairs
GPO Box 8884
Sydney NSW

Dear Sirs

Formal Complaint against the ABC TV's bias reporting on Sri Lanka, in its "Foreign Correspondent" telecast on 9 February 2010

We refer to the 'Foreign Correspondent' documentary, dated 9 February 2010.

The said program was totally biased against Sri Lanka.

It was intentionally designed to bringforth disrepute to Sri Lanka and to stir the efforts of ethnic reconciliation that the Sri Lanka is vigorously attempting to now create. The program contains lies, deceptions, distortions, misinterpretations and innuendos.

The program had been produced with the utmost malicious intent of bringing disrepute and hatred to the Sri Lankan Government, its people and Buddhism – Sri Lanka's main religion, among the Australians who were watching the program in their living rooms.

This is a formal complaint against ABC TV for broadcasting the 'Foreign Correspondent' on 9 February 2010. Under the *Broadcasting Services Act 1992* we hereby lodge a complaint, with a copy to the

ACMA. We request you to investigate the complaint against ABC TV and advise us of your finding ASAP. The complaint consists of 32 points, with a number of sub-points.

Should you require any clarification and further information from the undersigned; please do not hesitate to contact him and he shall provide his response to you promptly.

a. The title of the Foreign Correspondent story is 'Hell or High Water'. The terminology "Hell" had been used to personify Sri Lanka as a country of "Hell" for Tamils. This is a totally incorrect misrepresentation of the Tamil situation in Sri Lanka. We consider that the title is a grave insult and injustice to the Government of Sri Lanka and the People of Sri Lanka. The title causes a bias in the mind of the viewer against Sri Lanka. It was cleverly done to promote the underlying theme of the whole program – to attack the Government of Sri Lanka, the Sinhalese People and their religion, Buddhism, to whatever extent, wherever possible, with utmost hatred and malice. The entire program had been done with the intention of showing that Sri Lanka is a racist country for the Tamils. It is a 'Hell' for them, they can't live there hence the Tamil boat people must be welcomed in Australia. The producers have done a wonderful job in achieving their ambition and objective.

2. The program stated that large number of locals (ie, meaning Tamils) are fleeing Sri Lanka due to "daily harassment from the Government and the military". This again shows the bias and the prejudice of the 'Foreign Correspondent'.

    a. 40% of the Colombo population are Tamils. They live in harmony with the fellow Sinhalese. Before the war, say, in 1976, less than 20% of Tamils were living in Colombo. During the 33 years of war, the Tamil population in Colombo has more than

doubled. Today, in Sri Lanka, there are more Tamils living in Colombo than in Jaffna. Then, on what grounds that the Foreign Correspondent say that there is daily harassment of Tamils by the Sri Lankan Government and the military?

b. Tamils have established their businesses in Colombo and they run them very successfully. They are comprised of small-, medium- and large-scale businesses. Those who patronize them are the majority Sinhalese. If the Sinhalese discriminate against the Tamils, as alleged by the ABC TV, then they would not patronize the Tamil businesses.

c. Apart from businesses, there are Tamil professionals like doctors, engineers, accountants and lawyers who work in all parts of Sri Lanka. Most of the top Sri Lankan companies' boards are comprised of Tamil directors.

d. There had been former Inspector General of Police, Army commander, Attorney General, Chief Justice, Solicitor General, number of Ambassadors, Justices of the Court that have been Tamils. Even today there are number of Tamil cabinet ministers and junior ministers in the Sri Lankan Government.

e. Apart from the private sector, large numbers of Tamils work in the Sri Lankan public service. Not just in the North and the East but even in predominately Sinhalese areas such as the deep South. This is a clear example that the Sinhalese and

Tamils do live amicably and in harmony in Sri Lanka, and they patronise each other. They co-exist with each other very well. Sinhalese and Tamil children go to study in the same schools. Obviously the Foreign Correspondent does not want to report these positive things in Sri Lanka.

f. Mr Campbell in his program failed to mention these true facts, but showed that all Tamils in Sri Lanka are subject to harassment from the Sri Lankan Government and the military. This is a breach of the ABC TV Charter and Code of Conduct.

3. The program showed people travelling in a dilapidated, primitive boat on the sea, and implied to the viewer that they were Tamils who were fleeing Sri Lanka to Australia. But, in actual fact it was a Sinhalese boat with Sinhalese people of Matara on it. The name of the boat "Sudu Putha" are Sinhalese words ("Fair Son"). The showing of the boat on a high sea with bogus people was a deliberate fabrication to create an image in the mind of the viewer that it was an actual Tamil boat fleeing to Australia, when it was not.

4. The program stated that all the 150 people (men) who were arrested were Tamils. This is incorrect. There were Sinhalese men among the 150 people that were arrested. Some of the detainees were heard talking in Sinhalese language in the background. But this fact was deliberately hidden away from the viewer, to show that the boats coming to Australia from Sri Lanka exclusively contain Tamils only, and that they must be provided asylum here in Australia (11 Sinhalese were denied asylum in Australia recently, merely because they were Sinhalese and not Tamils).

5. Mr Campbell, in the 'Foreign Correspondent', uttered a big lie in saying that the official language of Sri Lanka is Sinhalese. He knew or ought to know that Tamil is also an official language of Sri Lanka, but he deliberately hid this from the innocent viewer. This is journalism at its gutter level. If he uttered these truths Mr Campbell would have known that his attempt to sensationalise the fact that Tamils are being persecuted in Sri Lanka may not be successful.

6. Mr Campbell stated that each person was bailed out for $3,000. This may be incorrect. According our information the amount bailed out for each person had been different, and it has been stated that the minimum amount of the bail was much less than the $3,000, as reported by Mr Campbell.

7. It seems that Mr Campbell had stage managed the Tamil women to cry for the show. It was very obvious that those women were crying solely for the camera.

8. One woman uttered that the Sri Lankan Government denied them from taking a flight, hence they took to the boats. This is another blatant lie. This may very well may have been taught to the woman by the producers of the show, we ask the ABC Audience and Consumer Affairs to investigate this. Anyone who goes to Colombo airport will see that majority of the Sri Lankans who are in the departure lounge are Tamils, say about 65% - 70% of the Sri Lankans who depart the country are Tamils. If the Sri Lankan Government is stopping the Tamils from taking flight how can they depart from the Colombo airport so safely? Mr Campbell himself must have seen that majority of the people in Colombo airport were Tamils. By deliberately airing such fabrication, the Foreign Correspondent was clearly showing bias. Their aim of the show had been to throw mud at the Sri Lankan

Government, Sinhalese People and the main religion of Sri Lanka, Buddhism.

9. In the program Mr Campbell was trying to create an impression on the mind of the Australian viewer that all the Tamil boats to Australia depart only from Sri Lanka. It is evident some of the boats have departed from other Tamil populous countries. For example, the Tamil boat with 240 people that is currently berthed in "Merak" in Indonesia departed from Malaysia. It had been reported that the main spokesperson of the boat, the bearded Alex, may not have lived in Sri Lanka in the recent past but in South India (where 60 million Tamils live). There are reports that he had also lived in Canada. Truthiness of these allegations are unknown to us.

    a. Mr Campbell did not raise the point as to why the Sri Lankan Tamils should sail all the way to Australia, when they can easily sail to Australia, which is only 20 miles away from Sri Lanka. India runs an effective refugee process service for Sri Lankan Tamils. Furthermore, there are 60 million Tamils live in south India, and the Sri Lankan Tamils are direct descendants of the South Indian Tamils.

10. Mr Campbell had interviewed Mr Gordon Weiss who stated that up to 40,000 Tamil civilians may have died in the recently concluded war. When he was working for the UN, his own agency stated that only up to 7,000 people were killed (this was also a high number and the Sri Lankan Government denied this). We believe Mr Weiss was the media person for the UN then! Mr Campbell failed to ask him why Mr Weiss waited 9 months after the end of the war to correct that the actual number of deaths were may be 40,000 and not 7,000. If Mr Weiss is credible he should let

out the correct figures as he saw them then, rather than waiting to create sensation 9 months after the end of the war. Such conduct on Mr Weiss goes to his credibility though the Foreign Correspondent made a desperate attempt to create a good image for Mr Weiss.

11. Mr Gordon Weiss in the program without adequately and sufficiently substantiating his accusation stated that the Sri Lankan Government intentionally misled or lied to the international world about the casualty figures. This is a very serious accusation against a democratically elected Government. It is important to investigate whether or not it is the Foreign Correspondent program and Mr Weiss who have done this (misled the Australian public), rather than the Sri Lankan Government.

12. If ABC TV which broadcast the "Foreign Correspondent" is a reputed, honourable broadcasting service it should have allowed the Sri Lankan Government to have its say – it's side of the story. By denying that the Foreign Correspondent denied natural justice to the Sri Lankan Government and the Sri Lankan people.

13. Mr Weiss did utter the truth that Tamil Tigers were deliberately killing the Tamils who were fleeing the war zone. But neither Mr Campbell nor Mr Weiss were bold enough to state that of those Tamils who died (7,000 or 40,000), they were Tamil Tigers, and if Tamil civilians also died, then they may have most probably been killed by the Tamil Tigers themselves, as they were holding heavy armaments inside the war zone. Mr Weiss failed to say that because the Sri Lankan Army did not fire at the no fire zone, large numbers of Sri Lankan soldiers got killed from the Tamil Tiger gun/artillery fire. The Foreign Correspondent did not want to say all this as then it will not create a bad

impression about Sri Lanka in the mind of the ordinary Australian viewer. To qualify his assertion that the Tamil civilians were killed only by the Sri Lankan military, Mr Weiss stated that the "Tamil civilians were within range of all the armaments that were being used, small and large, to smash the Tamil Tiger lines … the end result was that many thousands lost their lives". This shows how cleverly the Foreign Correspondent used the story to show that the alleged up to 40,000 Tamil civilians who died (such number of killing never happened anyway), then that was done by the Sri Lankan military not the Tamil Tiger shelling at their own people.

14. Gordon Weiss stated he got his information from reliable sources who had a presence inside the battle zone, not Tamil civilians nor Tamil fighters. Then, as a responsible broadcasting station, ABC TV in its Foreign Correspondent documentary should have stated what the other sources are that he got his information from (Mr Campbell later stated that journalists were barred from the battle zone).

    a. If Mr Weiss's source of information was the Tamil doctors who spoke to foreign journalists during the war stating that large number of Tamil civilians were dead, then, they cannot be considered credible witnesses. After the war the doctors came out from the closet and stated that they had to say there were many Tamil civilian deaths because they were under pressure from the Tamil Tigers to say so. They admitted that they had fabricated the stories to the world.

15. The program blamed the Sri Lankan Government that more than 300,000 Tamils were incarcerated in camps after the war. These were war refugees. If they were not put in camps then the Sri

Lankan Government could have been accused that it did not look after its Tamil populous. The Tamil civilians became refugees because the Tamil Tigers kept them as a human shield.

16. Mr Campbell, allowed Mr Weiss to state that 290,000 Tamils were incarcerated because the Government wanted to screen the Tamil Tigers from them. This is a lie. The Sri Lankan Government undertook a great responsibility to look after its Tamil citizens at great cost to the Government, not merely to screen them for Tigers, but as part of its moral and legal obligation to look after its own population, who were in great distress at the time.

    a. A parliamentary delegation from Tamilnadu Government commended the Sri Lankan Government for the excellent manner in which the IDPs were treated in the camps, but obviously neither Mr Campbell nor Mr Weiss wanted to mention that, as then the excitement they wanted to create from the program - that 'the Sri Lankan Government and the Sinhalese are 'bad people' - will diminish.

    b. More than 90% of the Tamil people have now left the camps – this is a great achievement for any country.

    c. Refugees in many other countries spend numbers of year in camps before being resettled elsewhere. Tamil refugees who had left for India more than 5-10 years ago are still languishing in camps in that country in most appalling and atrocious conditions.

    d. The record by the UN (Mr Weiss' former organisation) in resettling refugees in other places of the world has been not good (eg. Kosovo).

e. It must only be in Sri Lanka that such a large number of people who were resettled in their villages in such a short period of time. Rather than criticising the Government of Sri Lanka, the Foreign Correspondent should have praised the Sri Lankan Government. But obviously Mark Cochran and others in the ABC TV had other ideas in producing the show – to bring forth the maximum possible discredit to Sri Lanka, Sinhalese people and Buddhism in Sri Lanka.

17. The story alleges that Pathmanathan's father and uncle were killed by the Sri Lankan Government and he was also threatened with abduction a year ago. Was this man telling the truth? What sort of investigations did Mr Campbell do before airing such blatant, very serious allegations against the Sri Lankan Government and the military? He seemed to have done no research on the most serious claims made by Pathmanathan. This is not good journalism.

18. Pathmanathan states he shaved the beard so that the Sri Lankan military could not identify him.

a. Then the show states that he has to go back to Matara for his court case. If the Sri Lankan Officials wanted to capture him they could do so when he is Matara, there is no reason for him to shave his beard to escape from the Sri Lankan military, as he will face them in Matara anyway.

b. Furthermore, he was playing cricket in the open in Batticaloe, then how can he say he was avoiding the Sri Lankan security?

19. During the show, a boat sailing on the sea with people on it were shown. It was an attempt to imply to the viewer that those people were Tamils who were fleeing Sri Lanka to Australia. But, to the average Sri Lankan, it is obvious that the boat was a normal Sri Lankan fishing vessel, which had been shot in the deep south of Matara, and that the people therein must be Sinhalese fisherman (natives of Matara). If this is the case then Foreign Correspondent had been engaged in the shameful act of misleading and deceiving the innocent public of Australia.

20. Pathmanathan, when playing Cricket, says that even on the Cricket pitch they were unsafe as there is a continuous presence of soldiers and police watching on them. But the scenery did not contain a single soldier or police officer, and the cricketers seem to be enjoying their game. Pathmanathan states that they are not allowed to play Cricket after 530 pm. Did Mr Campbell check the accuracy of this statement or did he merely allow Pathmanathan to say things to discredit the Sri Lankan Government, as this seems to be the objective of the show. Did he (Mr Campbell) teach Mr Pathmanathan to say those things?

21. Mr Gordon Weiss states that in Sri Lanka the Tamils and Muslims are excluded in any form of government. But, the truth is that apart from top public servants, the majority of Sri Lanka's professionals such as doctors, engineers, accountants and lawyers and business leaders are Tamils. Sri Lanka's commerce is dominated by the Muslims. In any case the Muslims in Sri Lanka have not expressed any grievous against the Sri Lankan Government. Mr Weiss was merely making up a story. Even the previous foreign minister of Sri Lanka was a Tamil, who was murdered by the Tamil Tigers.

a. According to the Sri Lanka's Rich List, published in late July 2009 by the *Rich List Publications USA*, 21 out of 38 of the richest people in Sri Lanka are ethnic minorities. This means more than 50% of the richest people in Sri Lanka are ethnic minorities, comprised of largely Tamils and Muslims. Why cannot the Foreign Correspondent/Ms Weiss report these truths, but only untruth to the world about Sri Lanka?

22. The Foreign Correspondent stated that the video on the extra judicial execution of the Tamil Tigers was authenticated by the UN. By saying so they tried to imply that the UN had admitted the fact that Sri Lankan military actually arbitrarily executed those Tamil Tigers. But, the UN never stated this. They never stated that it was a fact that the Sri Lankan military executed the Tamil Tigers, but stated that the video was authentic, ie, it was not a doctored video (the UN Secretary General, Mr Ban Ki Moon, clearly stated that the finding that the video was authentic was not a UN finding but a mere statement by Mr Phillip Alston, the UN Special Rapporteur). If he was running a fair and just program Mr Campbell should have told the whole story about the video to his audience.

23. For Foreign Correspondent to play the controversial Video without regard to the Sri Lankan Government was totally wrong. When the Sri Lankan Government had vehemently denied that it was a true story (that its military killed the Tamil Tigers in such a way). The Sri Lankan Government had provided expert reports stating that the video was a fabrication, it is true Mr Alston (the UN Special Rapporteur) did not accept those assertion, not because of anything else, but, because he thought the persons who provided the expert analysis for the Sri Lankan Government were not independent enough. He asked the Sri Lankan Government

to come up with a report from an independent expert, we believe the Sri Lankan Government is still attending to this. Under the circumstances, Foreign Correspondent should not have aired the controversial video in such a fashion. It is clear they merely used the opportunity to air the video so that it will bring enormous disrepute and bad record for the Sri Lankan Government, and the military.

24. The fact that the video is authentic means that it could have been produced in a foreign country (the background did not resemble the north/east of Sri Lanka, but a Western or a Mediterranean country), using actors, ie, people acting as Sri Lankan soldiers and Tamil Tigers. The uniforms worn by the alleged Sri Lankan Army actors and their hair cuts were not that of the normal Sri Lankan soldier. It is alarming that the video was released by a group of Sri Lankans living in Europe.

25. Again, Mr Alston of the UN, or anyone else had not been able to prove that the incident of arbitrary execution as shown on the video was real, and it was an incident that actually happened in the war zone of Sri Lanka.

26. In the program they used Mr Gordon Weiss to justify that the video was true and the Sri Lankan Government actually killed those people arbitrarily. His words that, 'these things do happen in war situations, but the Sri Lankan Government denies everything that happened in the war front', is a deliberate attempt to reinforce that the Sri Lankan Government did indeed kill those Tamil Tigers arbitrarily, and also committed many war crime atrocities. In the program it was evident that Mr Weiss had a desire to see war crimes charges being brought against the Government of Sri Lanka. Obviously he seems to have a grudge against the Sri Lankan Government. He may also want to come to

prominence in giving advice in a future war crimes tribunal, given that he seems to be unemployed at the moment. It is better to ask him about his motive of coming forward now, 9 months after the war. The Foreign Correspondent did not do that.

27. Mr Campbell stated that the Tamils can't go back to their villages because the Sri Lankan military had sealed off the Tamil villages or their homes were destroyed. This is a blatant lie by Mr Campbell. The main reason why the Tamils could not go back to the villages because some of the areas had been highly mined by the fleeing Tamil Tigers. Even Mr Weiss's UN had accepted this as a fact and is currently assisting the Sri Lankan Government in this regard (to clear the land mines in the Tamil villages).

28. Foreign Correspondent denigrated the sacred religion of Sri Lanka – Buddhism, in saying that in Sri Lanka the Buddhist faith equals to Sri Lanka's hegemonous identity and nationalism, at the behest of other minority religions. Foreign Correspondent must be asked to apologise to the Sri Lankan Government and the People of Sri Lanka for the insult inflicted on them.

    a. It is the Buddhist priests in Sri Lanka who have come to the forefront to assist the Tamils in Sri Lanka and create communal harmony there. It was they who started collecting food, clothes and other items to the Tamil IDPs.

29. Blatantly implying that Sri Lanka's Buddhist Priests as racists, it is nothing else but the Foreign Correspondent demonstrating its gutter level of journalism.

30. In the Foreign Correspondent, a journalist from The Sunday Leader Newspaper of Sri Lanka, Ms Janz, was interviewed

where she stated "I hold the Sri Lankan Government responsible for the murder of the journalist Lasantha". Then she implied that she had no proof about that. If this is the case why was she allowed to criticise the Government of Sri Lanka for murder without evidence?

31. At the end of the show a message appeared on screen that despite Foreign Correspondent inviting them to do so, neither the Sri Lankan government nor its military wished to come forward to provide their side of the story.

    a. This fact had been denied by the High Commissioner for Sri Lankan in Canberra.

    b. Normally the Sri Lankan Government and the military would grab such an opportunity to state their side of the story. This has been the case in the past.

    c. In any case, when such blatant extremely serious accusations are made against a country and its people, ABC TV being a responsible TV station in Australia, should have been proactive to get a Sri Lankan Government official/military to state their views on the Foreign Correspondent story.

    d. It looks like that Mr Campbell had spent lots of time in Sri Lanka when producing the show. He even went to the Tamil refugee camps in the north of the country, manned primarily by the Sri Lankan military. For him to now say that he could not find a single Sri Lankan Government official or a military personnel to talk to him, well only an utter fool will accept such a blatant lie.

    e. According to the Sri Lankan High Commission in Canberra an official there had directed the Foreign

Correspondent to contact Mr Ranjith Uyangoda, Director General of Public Communications of the Sri Lankan Foreign Affairs Ministry for an explanation, but the Foreign Correspondent had failed to do this. They have evaded interviewing a Sri Lankan Government/military official purposely.

We look forward to your prompt response.

Thank you.

Yours sincerely
Chanaka Bandarage

Barrister-at Law
President, Sri Lanka Support Group, Canberra

Why Anagarika Dharmapala is important to India, particularly to the Indian Buddhist

Chanaka Bandarage

Courtesy – 'New Buddhist', India (July 2015), and Lankaweb (September 2015)

Some say Anagarika Dharmapala is the Mahatma Gandhi of Sri Lanka. There is a certain truth in this statement.

True, Dharmapala spoke largely for the Sinhalese Buddhists. But, like Gandhi, Dharmapala too fought fiercely against the British imperialists.

Thus, he fought for all Sri Lankans.

Sri Lanka is a country where its base (foundation) is Sinhala Buddhist. The nation was founded soon after the demise of Lord Buddha (2498 years ago), where Vijaya , a Prince from northern India (Sinhapura Village in Wanga Land of Lata Nation, located in the present day northern Bengal) landed in Sri Lanka (Thambapanni).

Dharmapala reminded his fellow Sri Lankans why India, a very close neighbour, is so important to Sri Lanka. In his writings he highlighted that Sri Lanka's second king, Panduvasudeva (Prince Vijaya's nephew), married a relative of Lord Buddha (Baddha-Kacchayana of the Buddha's Shakya Wangsha of Kapilavastu); the Sinhalese are able to trace a lineage to Lord Buddha.

In his writings Dharmapala stressed that his fellow countrymen (Sinhalese) should work hard like the ethnic minorities of the country of the time (largely of Indian decent). He questioned his fellow Sinhalese

that if the minority races could do so well in trade and commerce, why could not they.

Dharmapala wanted to motivate the Sinhalese to work hard and prosper just like their Muslim, Tamil, Burgher, Bhora, Sindh and Parsi counterparts. But, Dharmapala never addressed those minority races in derogatory terms. For example, he never used the somewhat offeensive adjective, 'para' (bloody), to describe ethnic minorities of the country; he used the term to describe the British.

True, language such as 'para' is inappropriate for contemporary Sri Lanka, but, more than 100 years ago, it was one of his ways of getting through the message to the masses. And his method was effective. People accepted his counsel without a protest. Dharmapala never used filthy language against any people.

Dharmapala was fiercely anti-British. He vehemently opposed the unlawful British occupation in Sri Lanka.

Dharmapala never preached that only Sinhala Buddhists should live in Sri Lanka or that other races must leave Sri Lanka. He basically wanted the Sinhalese to come out of their closets and be successful like the ethnic minorities. Coming from an entrepreneurial family, he was totally against idleness.

At the same time, Dharmapala was always a forceful protector of Sinhala, Buddhist values, culture and traditions.

As a true Buddhist, Dharmapala launched massive campaigns against meat and liquor consumption – ills that were introduced by the western imperialists (first, by the Portuguese in 1500s). He travelled the whole island in a placards fixed car, displaying the virtues of meat and alcohol

consumption. Dharmapala spoke to his fellow countrymen, sometimes in harsh language; people listened to him intently, acknowledged his views and refrained from consuming meat and alcohol.

Dharmapala also asked his fellow countrymen to refrain from killing living beings; he also asked people, including children to follow the five Buddhist precepts – the Buddha's preaching to the Buddhist layman. Again, people largely followed Dharmapala's advice.

Dharmapala asked people to change their Portuguese and English names to Sinhala (a Sanskrit language of Aryan base). He also advised them not to give western names to their offspring. A fine example was how he instantaneously changed the name of young Pedris Silva (then 14 years old) to Piyadasa Sirisena, who became one of Sri Lanka's Sinahala literary giants. Owing to Dharmapala's action, hundreds and thousands of Sri Lankans started to have Sinhala (Arya) names.

Another very successful campaign launched by Dharmapala was asking the Sinhalese (both men and women) to renounce western attire and wear the traditional Sinhala Buddhist dresses.

When working with his mentor, Henry Steel Olcott (a US citizen), Dharmapala assisted Olcott's campaign to establish many Buddhist schools in Sri Lanka (numbering about 300). This includes Ananda College, Sri Lanka's top most Buddhist school for boys.

A prolific writer, Dharmapala wrote to his fellow countrymen regularly through his then very popular newspapers, 'The Buddhist' (English) and 'Sinhala Bauddhaya' (Sinhala). He gave good counseling to people to lead a pious and a meritorious life.

Being a Buddhist leader, Dharmapala stressed that Buddhist children must attend Sunday Buddhist Schools ('Daham Pasal') held in Buddhist temples throughout the country to study Buddhism, and among other things like good manners (eg. respecting elders). Parents and teachers positively responded to Dharmapala's request, there was a massive revival of the Sunday 'Daham Pasal' in Sri Lanka. The trend continues to this day.

Dharmapala was instrumental in translating Tripitaka from Pali to Sinhala. He entrusted this work to his own brother, a lawyer.

The biggest and the most notable contribution to Buddhism by Dharmapala was the saving of Buddhagaya for Buddhists from Hindu fundamentalists. Buddhagaya is the place where Buddha attained enlightenment. Dharmapala restored stupas there.

This was an achievement of unprecedented proportions.

This is one reason why the Buddhists in India pay so much respect to Dharmapala

Thanks to Dharmapala thousands of Buddhists from all over the world visit Buddhagaya today, one of the most sacred places for world's Buddhists.

If not for Dharmapala, Buddhagaya today would have become a place of Hindu worship. He initiated legal proceedings against Mahantaya who had unlawfully occupied Buddhagaya and systematically tried to convert it to a place of Hindu worship. The legal proceedings in New Delhi ran for several years and that drained Dharmapala physically, mentally and monetarily. But, Dharmapala never gave up. It was a

lone fight by him against a very powerful cabal led by Mahantaya. But, finally Dharmapala won.

Dharmapala did not rest from Buddhagaya. He saved Mulagandha Kuti in Saranath for Buddhists. He built stupas there (opened by Jawaharlal Nehru in 1930). Mulagandha Kuti is the place where Lord Buddha made his first sermon, to the five disciples. It is situated in close proximity to Isipathanaramaya in the city of Banares (Baranes Nuwara or present day Varanasi).

Dharmapala restored many important Buddhist sites in India. He built a massive temple in Calcutta - Dharmaraajika temple, then, pilgrims rests in major Indian cities including in Chennai and Calcutta.

One of Dharmapala's main ambitions was to educate Indians about Buddhism and Lord Buddha. He wanted to do this without disturbing other religions and without antagonizing non-Buddhists. Dharmapala laid the foundation to revive Buddhism in India, his followers like Ambedkar very successfully carried forward the task.

Dharmapala was sorry to see the destruction and desecration of the ancient Buddhist places of worship in India. The Mahabodhi Society that he established worked in restoring the ancient Indian Buddhist sites. This work continues to this day.

Dharmapala achieved tremendous successes in India, wholesomely a Hindu country, without causing any commotion there. This is a remarkable achievement; in effect, a silent revolution. It is a good example to present day politicians of both countries how to resolve issues in a friendly and amicable manner, avoiding conflict. Especially, when people of the two close neighborhoods are also distantly related to each other.

Rather than despising him, the Indians liked Dharmapala. Even today, there is admiration for him in India. At the beginning of this year, India honoured Dharmapala by issuing a postage stamp to commemorate his 150th Birth Anniversary. This is a very rare thing to happen in India – issuing a postage stamp to honour a foreign national. It is stated that even today one of the main streets of Calcutta – presumably, the street where the Mahabodhi Society in Calcutta was then located, is named after Dharmapala (It has been stated that the famous US Golfer, Tiger Woods, is an admirer of Dharmapala, he had kept a portrait of Dharmapala in his room (Tiger's mother is a Buddhist from Thailand). His Holiness Dalai Lama, a resident of India, has praised the work of Dharmapala; he has a high respect for him.

Dharmapala propagated Buddhism in many parts of India and the West. He did this in a peaceful, non-violent manner,

This also shows that Dharmapala is a man of truly international significance.

The British wrongfully alleged that Dharmapala instigated Buddhists to riot during the 1915 Sinhala-Muslim riots. There was no documented evidence to prove the charges against Dharmapala, he was totally innocent. When the riots happened, Dharmapala was in Calcutta, India. This alone shows his innocence. Being a good Buddhist, Dharmapala never instigated violence against anyone. Basically, he had absolutely nothing to do with the Sinhala – Muslim riots. Yet, the British incarcerated him for a long period of time (6 years). National leaders like DS Senanayake, FR Senanayake and several others were also incarcerated over the same incident (the Sinhala - Muslim riots -they were also innocent). William Pedris, a brave young man, was brutally executed at Welikada prison. EW Perera took a letter to the King of

England (George Vi) concealed in his shoe sole to obtain the release of DS Senanayake and FR Senanayake and few others. He was successful, but the British kept Dharmapala imprisoned (under house arrest in India). Fortunately, like Pedris, they did not hang Dharmapala, but, restrained him badly. Dharmapala was in his early 50s during that time. Dharmapala never recovered from the mental agony he suffered as a result of the unlawful imprisonment. He suffered because he did nothing wrong; it is alleged he was punished solely because of the British's hatred towards him. It is alleged, it was a case where the British took revenge from Dharmapala who spoke harshly against the British rule in Sri Lanka. There were some Sinhala leaders, loyal to the British, who worked against Dharmapala.

During the 18th and 19th centuries Sri Lankans were subjected to harsh, imperialistic rule and their morale was low. Dharmapala did everything to improve the self-confidence of his fellow countrymen. Dharmapala, who came from a 'high society family', possessed a pleasing personality – a dark man of almost six foot tall, Dharmapala wore a yellow coloured Sinhala garment. His presence caught the eye of everyone. He was a great communicator. Dharmapala spoke fluent English and his English writing skills were exceptionally good. He was well educated (an old boy of St Benedict's College*, he was a civil servant before starting the Buddhist propagation work (*at St Benedict's, he had an altercation with the school hierarchy when he saw a Catholic Priest mercilessly shooting down a bird). Dharmapala was mentored by the American Buddhist, HR Olcott. Dharmapala watched 'Panadura Vaadaya' where the Buddhist priests won the debate over their Christian counterparts (Olcott became a Buddhist owing to the outcome of this debate).

Oozing with confidence, Dharmapala was fearless; he never hesitated to fight against discrimination and injustice. He always fought for the downtrodden; he aspired equality and justice. The following incidents illustrate his fearlessness and bravery:

a). Robert Chalmers (the then Ceylon Governor) allowed Dharmapala to attend his office, but, Dharmapala was purposely kept waiting in the office for a long time –for nearly 2 hours. Dharmapala became angry; during the meeting he complained to Chalmers that he too was busy and that Chalmers should have stuck to the appointment. Dharmapala remonstrated that Chalmers deliberately wasted his valuable time, he had no confidence in Chalmers. Despite Chalmers' request to stay, Dharmapala left the office early without completing the meeting. This was like a slap on Chalmers' face, his staff witnessed what happened. Chalmers never expected that type of 'bravery' from a Sinhalese; at that time the whites sometimes considered the locals as a species of sub-human. Note, when Dharmapala was imprisoned, Chalmers was still the Governor of Ceylon. It was Governor Stubbs who released Dharmapala.

b). In late 1920s Mahatma Gandhi attended the function to open the Calcutta Mahabodhi Society. In his address, Gandhi stated he understood the Greatness of Lord Buddha after reading Sir Edwin Arnold's 'Light of Asia'. Dharmapala was the last speaker of the event (listed to give the 'Thank You' address). Dharmapala said that Lord Buddha was born closer to 2,400 years ago in India (Dambadiva), he questioned why Mahatma Gandhi had to wait to read the Englishman's book to realise the Greatness of Lord Buddha. Dharmapala said that Lord Buddha was not just the Greatest person ever produced by India, he was the Greatest Person ever produced by the world. Gandhi was somewhat taken back by Dharmapala's 'rebuke'; he nodded and

smilingly listened to Dharmapala. Gandhi was prepared to learn from his friend Dharmapala. Gandhi had a strong liking to Dharmapala. After the speech Rabindranath Tagore, a close friend of both Gandhi and Dharmapala, congratulated Dharmapala for his oratory skills. At that time no one would dare criticise Gandhi, who was the undisputed leader of India's independence struggle, but brave Dharmapala did not hesitate to say what he had to about his friend , Gandhi, inside Gandhi's own India. The remarkable thing is that Dharmapala did this without antagonizing Gandhi. Dharmapala had a great respect and admiration for Gandhi; but on that occasion, he believed he had to make the utterance. This is due to his love for Lord Buddha and Buddhism which preceded everything else for him. It is stated that Gandhi was saddened to hear the death of Dharmapala in 1933.

c). When travelling by train in India and Sri Lanka on two separate occasions, Dharmapala was confronted by unruly white British men (in Sri Lanka, by a white planter), who demanded that Dharmapala leave the 1st class compartment that they were in. They could not tolerate travelling in the same compartment with Dharmapala - a Buddhist preacher, who wore 'strange' yellow robes and demanded that they stop consuming alcohol (whiskey) on the train. Dharmapala, a brave man, did not bow down to his white opponents; he directly confronted them. Dharmapala had a stronger personality than his white opponents, the whites 'lost the battle' - they fled the compartment allowing Dharmapala to travel freely.

Dharmapala was an avid traveler. Those days the voyages were made by ship. Lots of Dharmapala's time was spent on travelling to various countries to promote Buddhism. His speech at the Chicago Conference on Religion (Parliament of the World's Religions) in 1893 was exceptionally powerful and of very high standard. Dharmapala became

the 'key person' at the Chicago conference, most of the representatives were Christian. The thousands of delegates flocked around Dharmapala as if he was a movie star. Dharmapala gave a mesmerising speech to the audience about Lord Buddha and Buddhism, even Swami Vivekananda who represented the Hindu faith of India had to openly embrace him. Chicago was a major watershed event in Dharmapala's life.

Dharmapala supported Buddhist countries, for example, Japan - at a time when most countries despised it. He was clever to collect monetary donations from Japan. He had leading Japanese business friends in Japan. When he visited Burma, sometimes he was invited to the king's palace where he had audiences with the Crown Prince. The Burmese Crown Prince made small financial contributions towards Dharmapala's legal battles in India to save Buddhagaya. Dharmapala had a deep gratitude for Burma for help establishing the Siam Nikaya in Sri Lanka. Dharmapala maintained a good relationship with the Thai Royalty. Dharmapala visited Shanghai in China few times, he also visited several Asian and European countries.

Dharmapala had a remarkable knowledge about international affairs and world religions.

Dharmaplaa liked Western Capitalism, and impliedly encouraged it. He had a great 'entrepreneurial mind'; he raised hundreds and thousands of dollars for his noble tasks. Dharmaplaa needed money for his many projects – the 'Save Buddhagaya' project itself needed lots of money – the litigation in India was protracted and lots of money was required for legal fees, pay compensation etc. As stated before expelling the illegal Hindu squatter (Mahantaya) from Buddhagaya, who had patronage from the Indian state, was a herculean task; only Dharmapala could do

it and so he did. Not only Dharmapala started Buddhist philanthropy projects in Sri Lanka (there were many), he embarked on noble Buddhist projects in many countries, mainly in India, and the West – notably in the UK and US. He raised money well. It is Dharmapala who founded the London Buddhist Vihara (Saddhatissa Centre of North London – the main Theravada Buddhist centre in the UK today). He established Buddhist presences in San Francisco, Boston and New York. Dharmapala was clever in persuading his family to financially support his Buddhist ventures. The main donor for his projects was Mary Foster Robinson, the US philanthropist. Mrs Foster Robinson was impressed of Dharmapala after his historic speech in Chicago. She donated many thousands of dollars for Dharmapala's various causes. Dharmapala ran a large farm type project in Hiniduma in southern Sri Lanka. Emulating Gandhi's handloom co-operatives , he established Sri Lanka's first handloom weaving school (Hewawitharana Weaving School). He started a Free Hospital in Colombo 10 in memory of Mrs Foster Robinson. Dharmapala's diary notes show that though he dealt with lots of money, he spent them thriftily and very carefully. Dharmapala was 100% honest in financial affairs. Dharmapala valued the financial donations he received and accounted for every cent. This is why people like Mrs Foster Robinson continued to fund him. Obviously his opponents, who were jealous of his money raising and contact making ability and the enormous standing he had in the community; attacked him from left, right and the centre.

Above all, Dharmapala was a Great Practising Buddhist. He tried to follow the Buddha's teachings to the letter. Dharmapala dedicated his life to Lord Buddha. Buddha was in his mind and thoughts always. That is the reason why he became 'Anagarika'. Most devotedly,

Dharmapala tried his best to worship Buddha every day, each of his speeches and writings were moulded with Buddha's teachings.

Dharmapala venerated his mother, he predeceased her.

Dharmapala wished that he be born again and again in India (Dambadiva), not because he was disgusted with Sri Lanka. Dharmapala loved his native land, Sri Lanka and as pointed out in this article, he did so much for Sri Lanka. Being a follower of Buddha (Dharmapala became a monk in the last stages of his life - Ven Siri Devamitta Dhammapala), he wished that he be re-born in India. This is due to his eternal love for Lord Buddha – an Indian,- and also of his affinity with Buddhagaya, the place that he rescued for the world's Buddhists. He also loved the Indian people.

Ven Dhammapala passed away starring at the Mulagandha Kuti Stupas that he built, his fellow monks moved his bed outside of the building he was living; as it was the desire of Ven Dhammapala to view the Stupas upon his demise (when a portion of Dharmapala's ashes were brought to Sri Lanka (Colombo) by a specially decorated 'Buddhist train' from India, hundreds and thousands of Sri Lankans lined along the railway track yelling 'Sadhu, Sadhu, Sadhu'. They threw fragrant flowers at the train. It is stated that more than 50,000 people flocked inside Colombo's Fort Railway Station to receive the train. There were more people outside of the station. A massive Buddhist memorial service was held in Colombo where condolences were read from Gandhi, Nehru, Tagore and leaders from many nations, including from t**he** Governor of Ceylon.

The biggest gratitude we Buddhists can show to Dharmapala is to follow his footsteps and follow the five Buddhist precepts preached by Lord Buddha that Dharmapala so vehemently asked us to follow. It is

our solemn duty to protect and safeguard the Buddhists sites both in Sri Lanka and outside, especially in India that Dharmapala rescued/built.

We are duty bound to preserve and protect the Dharmapala Legacy –the Greatest Sri Lankan to live in the 19th and 20 centuries, Sri Lanka. The co-operative and friendly relationship that exits between the Buddhists in Sri Lanka and India is very useful to achieve this noble task.

The writer, a Lawyer, is the President of Sri Lanka Support Group (Global)

15 Responses to "Anagarika Dharmapala -Greatest Sri Lankan of the 19/20 centuries"

1. *Mr. Bernard Wijeyasingha* Says:
"Prior to colonization in 1505, Sinhalese did not slaughter animals for consumption nor did they drink methylated spirits."**.** I would add that prior to Colonization neither was the consumption of Tobacco products that is a leading course for Cancer.

2. *Senevirath* Says:
gangodavila soma thera would have been another Dhrmapaala

3. *Nalliah Thayabharan* Says:
In 1912 Anagarika Dharmapala wrote: ……

4. *Nanda* Says:
"gangodavila soma thera would have been another Dhrmapaala" – no where near.

   Chanaka,
   Any reason why ven . Dharmapala wished to be re born in India ?

5. *Chanaka B* Says:
Senevirath/Nanda
Greatest Sri Lankan of the 18/19 centuries– only other Sri Lankan who will give a close fight to Dharmapala is DS Senanayaka, but I think Dharmapala is ahead of him

6. *Chanaka B* Says:
Sorry, I meant 19/20 centuries

7. *Lorenzo* Says:
Anagarika Dharmapala was NOT JUST a Buddhist. He was a Sinhalese.
I agree the GREATEST SL in 19/10 centuries was Anagarika Dharmapala and next DSS.

8. *Chanaka B* Says:
In the 30s and 40s as Minister for Agriculture, DS Senanayake carried out a major irrigation revolution in the North and East where he built tanks and opened up thousands of acres of land for paddy cultivation. He brought people from elsewhere and planted them in the so called ‘marginal villages’ – Padaviya, Sri Pura, Kanthale, Galoya etc. It is thanks to these efforts that the country was later saved from the attacks of the LTTE. If not for these villages, the southern boundary of the Elam would have been Anuradhapura, not current Kebithigollawa/Medawachchiya. Note, the Marxists like NM Perera , Colvin R De Silva etc vehemently opposed DSS’’ colonization’ program. A big drawback – he introduced nepotism in to Sri Lanka’s politics

9. *Chanaka B* Says:
Bernard, Dharmapala’s focus was meat and liquor; he did not attack tobacco

10. *Chanaka B* Says:
Soma Hamuduruwo does not belong to this category; he belongs to 20/21 century category. It is too premature to prepare this list

11. *Nalliah Thayabharan* Says:
As Minister of Agriculture from 1931 to 1947, Don Stephan focused on a policy of transforming to non-plantation agriculture and commenced land reforms and restoration of ancient irrigation systems and building new ones along with the establishment of colonization schemes to provide land for the landless farmers. He undertook improvements to dry zone beginning with Minneriya. Gal-Oya project – designed for better use of over 250,000 acres of irrigable and high land – contributed immensely to self-sufficiency in rice.

12. *Lorenzo* Says:
..... That does NOT matter. NO SL cares if he has relatives or not. What we care is the WORK they did.

13. *Sirih* Says:
AD’s legacy is still here carried by his relatives.. Issue is we are fighting a lonely crusade due to the fact that, our own Sinhalese Buddhist’s have sold the country for foreign interest.

Having races on most holiest city in Asia is one of the instances that bring many questions.. Who is in charge ? Is it the man of the house or the women in the house which is a christian..

14.  *Lorenzo* Says:
Islamic terrorists have warned to bomb world's largest Buddhist temple. **.....**

15.  *Lorenzo* Says:
Sinhalese wake up! Save Borobudur **.....**

අනගාරික ධර්මපාල 19/20 ශතවර්ශයන්හි විසූ ශ්‍රේෂ්ඨතම ශ්‍රී ලාංකියායි
සිංහළ බෞද්ධයා සඟරාව - 17/9/2014 සහ Lankaweb (17/9/2014)

අධිනීතීඥ වානක බණ්ඩාරගේ

සැප්තැම්බර් 17 වෙනි දිනට යෙදෙන අනගාරික ධර්මපාල 150 වෙනි ජන්ම සංවත්සරය වෙනුවෙනි

ධර්මපාල විරෝධීන් සහ වෙනත් මඨධාරීන් ධර්මපාල තුමා සටන් කලේ සිංහළ බෞද්ධයන්ට පමණක් යයි කියත්. මෙය තරමක් වැරදි සහගත වූ කියමනකි. ධර්මපාලතුමාගේ සෑම ලිපියකම, කතාවකම පාහේ එවකට ශ්‍රී ලංකාව බලෙන් පාලනය කළ බ්‍රිතාන්‍යය අධිරාජ්‍යවාදී පාලනයට සිය විරෝධය ප්‍රකාශ කර තිබුණි. එනම්, ඔහු සෑම ශ්‍රීලාංකිකයෙක් වෙනුවෙන්ම සටන් කළේය.

ධර්මපාලතුමා වැඩියෙන්ම සිංහල බෞද්ධයන් වෙනුවෙන් කතා කළ බව ඇත්තය. ශ්‍රීලංකාව වනාහි සිංහල බෞද්ධ අඩිතාලමක් (foundation) ඇති රටකි. මෙහි බහුතර ජනතාව සිංහළය. ඔවුන් වෙනුවෙන් හඬක් නැගීම වරදක් නොවේ.

අද සමාජයට නොගැලපෙන වදන් ධර්මපාලතුමා පැවසුවේයැයි ධර්මපාලතුමා විරෝධීන් එතුමාට දොස් කියති. එතුමා ජාතිවාදියෙකු යයි කියති.

ධර්මපාලතුමාට අවශ්‍යවූයේ සුළු ජාතින් මෙන් (ද්‍රවිඩ, මුස්ලිම්, බෝරා, සින්ද්හි, පාසි වැනි) සිංහලයන්ද අලස නොවී ධෛර්යමත්ව වැඩ කිරීමයි. ධර්මපාලතුමා කිසිවිටකත් සුළු ජාතින් පහත් කොට කතා කලේ නැත. ඔහු 'පර' යන වදන ඔවුන් වෙනුවෙන් නොයෙදුවේය. බ්‍රිතාන්‍ය අධිරාජ්‍යවාදීන් සමඟ තිබූ දැඩි තරහ නිසා ඔවුනට පමණක් 'පර' භාවිතා කර, පර සුද්දා කියා කිවේය.

ධර්මපාලතුමා හම්බයා, දෙමළා, මරක්කලයා, පාදිලියා වැනි වදන් භාවිතා කළ බව සැබෑවී. නමුත්, එතුමා ඒ වදන් පාවිච්චි කලේ අන් ජාතියක් හෝ අන් ආගමක් පහත් කොට සැලකීමට නොවේ. ඒ වදන්, එකල, 19 අග සහ 20 මුල ශතවර්ශවල පොදුවේ කවුරුත් පාහේ භාවිතා කළ වදන්ය.

ස්වකීය සිංහළ ජනතාවට ධර්මපාලතුමා ගොනා, මී හරකා, ගොන් අලියා වැනි වචනවලින් ආමන්ත්‍රණය කළේය. ඔහු එසේ කීවේ කිසිවෙකුටවත් පුද්ගලිකව අපහාස කිරීමේ චේතනාවෙන් නොවේ. සමහරවිටක එතුමාගේ ඔවදන් මිනිසුන් බැරෑරුම්කොට සැලකුවේ එවැනි තද වදන් පාවිච්චි කිරීම නිසා විය හැකයි. ධර්මපාලතුමාගේ ඔවදන් මිනිසුන් කිසිම ද්වේශයක් නොමැතිව පිළිගෙන, පිළිපැද්දහ. සාමාන්‍ය මිනිසුන් එතුමාව ඉතා ප්‍රිය කළහ.

වර්තමාන සමාජය අනුව බලනවිට ධර්මපාලතුමා එදා භාවිතා කළ ඇතැම් වදන් අදට සුදුසු නැති බව සත්‍යයකි. නමුත්, උවමනාවෙන්ම අනුන් නිගාවට පත් කර කරනලද ප්‍රකාශයන් එතුමා කළාය කියා පෙන්වීමට එතුමාව විවේචනය කරණ අයට මේ දක්වා හැකි වී නොමැත.

ධර්මපාලතුමා තද වචන භාවිතා කලත් එතුමා ජාතිවාදියෙකු නොවීය. ඉන්දියාවේ ගාන්ධිතුමා මෙන් උග්‍ර අධිරාජ්‍ය වාදී විරෝධියෙක් විය.

තම ලිපිවලින් සිංහලුන් ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ එවකට විසූ සුළු ජාතින් මෙන් (ඉන්දියාවෙන් පැවත එන) ධෛර්යමත්ව වැඩ කල යුතු බව ඔහු පෙන්වා දුන්නේය. සුළු ජාතින්ට වෙළඳ සහ වාණිජ ක්ෂේත්‍රයේ ඉහලටම් ඒමට හැකිනම් සිංහලයන්ට එසේ නොහැකි මන්දැයි ඔහු ප්‍රශ්න කළේය. එවැනි උපදෙස් දීම වැරදි නොවේ.

සිය අධිරාජ්‍ය විරෝධී සටනේදී, සිංහළ, බෞද්ධ නායකයෙකු වූ ධර්මපාලතුමා සිං හළ බෞද්ධ අයිතීන් පිලිබඳව මුලිකවම සටන් කලේ ය.

ශ්‍රී ලංකාවෙන් සිංහල බෞද්ධයන් හැර අන් අය ඉවත්විය යුතුයයි වැනි කලහකාරී වදන් ධර්මපාලතුමා කිසිදා ප්‍රකාශ නොකළේය.

එදා ඉතා නිවට, නියාලු තත්වයේ සිටි සිංහලයන්ට එවැනි තත්වයන්ගෙන් එලියට එන ලෙස එතුමා උපදෙස්/වීර්යය දුන්නේය. හැකි සැම විටම ඔවුන්ව උනන්දු/ධ්‍යාර්යමත් කළේය. ඉංග්‍රීසින්ට කත් ඇද සිංහළ බෞද්ධත්වය දුර්වල කිරීමට කටයුතු කළ සිංහලයන්ව එතුමා ඉතා තදින්ම විවේචනය කළේය. මේ නිසා එතුමාට බොහෝ සතුරන් විය. එතුමාගේ ලිපි කියවනවිට එතුමා මහත් සංවේගයෙන් සහ දැඩි ආත්ම ධෛර්යයෙන් යුක්තව කටයුතු කල බව පෙනී යයි.

වසර 90ට ප්‍රථම කල එතුමාගේ ඉතා ප්‍රසිද්ධ වූ පහත ප්‍රකාශය දෙස බලමු; මෙය කොතරම් අද දිනටත් අදාල නොවන්නේද?:

“මනක තියා ගනිල්ලා කවදා හරි සුද්දෝ මේ රට දාලා යනවා. උන් යන්නේ උන්ගේ දරුවෝ වගේ විසි තිස් දාහක් බෝකලාට පස්සෙයි.ඊට පස්සේ මේ අපේ රට පාලනය කරන්නේ මේ කළු සුද්දෝ.....”

“උඹලා උඹලා වෙනුවෙන් දියසෙන් කුමාරයා ඉපදෙන තුරු බලා ඉන්නවා. උපදින්න ඉන්න දියසේන ලා තිඹිරි ගෙයිම මරා දමන්න මේ කළු සුද්දන්ට පුළුවන් බව මතක තියා ගනිල්ලා. අපේ හාමුදුරුවන්ට උන් එදාට ඉනා බේත් දෙනවා. ඉන් පස්සේ උඹලෑ කොල්ලෝ කෙල්ලන්ට ඇටි කෙහෙල් කාපු රිලව් වගේ නියෝ නියෝ ඉන්න සිද්ද වේවි .....”

සිංහලයන්ට සිය පටුවූ දෘෂ්ටි කෝණයෙන් පිටතට අවුත් ලෝකය දෙස බැලීමට එතුමා උනන්දු කළේය. ජනතාවට ඔවුන් නොදත් බොහෝ හොඳ දේ උගැන්විය. මේවා ඉතා හොඳ ක්‍රියාවන් වුවත් පටු අදහස් දරන සමාජයක,

එතුමා සමඟ උරණ වුවෝ සහ එතුමාට ඉර්ශ්‍යා කළවුන් එතුමාට සැම පැත්තකින්ම පහර දුන්හ, ගැරහුමට ලක් කළහ. මේ අවාසනාවන්ත ලක්ෂණ අද ජීවත්වන සමාජයේද දක්නට ලැබේ. එය රටේ ඉදිරි ගමනට බාධාවකි. ධර්මපාල චරිතය අගය කරන අද වන් වූ සමාජයක එතුමා පෙන්වා දුන් හරි මාර්ගයේ යාමට අපට පිළිවන් විය යුතුයි.

ධර්මපාලතුමාගේ උපදෙස් අසා බොහෝ සිං හළයෝ සාර්ථක ව්‍යාපාරිකයෝ බවට පත්වුහ. එතුමා පැවත ආවේද රටේ එදා තිබූ කීර්තිමක් සිංහල බෞද්ධ ව්‍යාපරික පවුලකිනිනි (ඔහුගේ පියා සුප්‍රසිද්ධ ගෘහ භාණ්ඩ සැපයුම්කරු, එච්. දොන්. කරෝලිස් විය). මෙ ම ව්‍යාපාරය අදද ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ පැවැත්වේ.

බටහිර අදිරජ්‍යවාදීන් විසින් මේ රටට හඳුන්වා දුන් සත්ව මාංශ අ නුභවය හා මත්පැන් පානයට විරුද්ධව ධර්මපාලතුමා දැවැන්ත සංග්‍රාමයක් ඇති කළේය. මේ ආදීනව පිලිබඳව මෝටර් රථයක් සරසා (සෝබන මන්දිරය නමින් ජනතාව ආදරයෙන් එම රථය හැඳින්වූහ) රට වටා ගොස් මාංශ අ නුභවය හා මත්පැන් පානයට එරෙහිව ජනතාවට කරුණු දැක්විය. සමහර විට එතුමා ජනතාවට තද භාෂාවෙන් කතා කලේය. ඔහුට සාවධානව සවන්දුන් ජනතාව ඔහුගේ මත පිළිගෙන මාංශ අනුභවයෙන් හා මත්පැන් පානයෙන් වැළකුණහ .1505 බටහිර අදිරජ්‍යවාදයට පෙර සිංහළ මිනිසුන් මාං. ශ අනුභවය හා මත්පැන් පානයෙහි තොරව ජීවත්වූහ.

ධර්මපාලතුමා ස්වකිය ජනතාවගෙන් සියලු සතුන් මැරීමෙන් වළකින ලෙසට ඉල්ලා සිටියේය . ඔහු ඔවුන්ගෙන්, විශේෂයෙන්ම දරුවන්ගෙන් ඉල්ලා සිටියේ බෞද්ධ පන්සිල් පද පහ (5) සුරකින ලෙසයි. ජනතාව විශාල ලෙසින් ධර්මපාල ඔවදන් පිළිගත්හ.

පෘතුගීසි හා ඉංග්‍රීසි වැනි බටහිර නම් භාවිතා නොකරන මෙන් ධර්මපාලතුමා ජනතාවගෙන් ඉල්ලා සිටියේය. තමාට උපතින් ලැබුණු ‘ඩේවිඩ්’ යන ඉංග්‍රීසි නාමය් ඉවත් කර ධර්මපාල යන නාමය ගත්තේය. සිය පවුලේ සමාජිකයන් හටද ඔවුනට දී තිබුණු ඉංග්‍රීසි නම් ඉවත්කර සිංහළ නම් යොදා ගන්න ලෙස ඉල්විය. ඔවුන් එසේ කළහ, ඔහුගේ මෑණියන්ද ඇතුළුව. එකල රටේ බහුතරය

භාවිතා කලේ පෘථුග්‍රීසි/ඉංග්‍රීසි නමය. ලාංකික දරුවන්ට ඉදිරියට එවැනි නම් නොදමන මෙන් ඔහු ඉල්ලා සිටියේය.මේ පිලිබඳ කදිම උදාහරණයක් වනුයේ – ධර්මපාලතුමා ඉදිරියේ වරක් කවි කථනයකට පෙනී සිටි 14 හැවිදිරි පේදිරිස් සිල්වා දරුවාව එකෙනෙහිම (දෙමව්පිය කැමැත්ත පරිදි) පියදාස සිරිසේන (පසුකාලයේ මහා ගත් කතුවරෙයෙකු වූ) යනුවෙන් නම් කිරීමය. ධර්මපාල ආභාෂය නිසා දස දහස් ගණන් ශ්‍රී ලාංකිකයෝ සිංහළ නම් ලබාගත්හ. මේ පිළිවෙත අදටද පැවැත්වේ.

ධර්මපාලතුමාගේ තවත් අති සාර්ථක වැයමක් වුයේ සිංහලයන්ට (පිරිමි හා ගැහැණු දෙපාර්ශවයටම) බටහිර ඇදුම් නොඇඳ සිංහල බෞද්ධ (ආර්ය) ඇදුම් ඇදීමට යොමු කරවීමයි.

තමන්ගේ උපදේශක සහ කලක් හාම්පුතාවූ H.S ඕල්කට්ගේ බෞද්ධ පාටශාල ඇරබීමේ ව්‍යාපෘතියට ධර්මපාලතුමා සෘජුවම සම්බන්ධ විය. මොවුන් එක්ව බිහිකළ පාසල් ගණන 300ට වැඩිය.(ලංකාවේ ප්‍රධානම පිරිමි බෞද්ධ පාසල වූ කොළඹ ආනන්ද විද්‍යාලය ඇතුළුව).

ධර්මපාලතුමා සිය පුවත්පත් වන “The Buddhist”හා “සිංහළ බෞද්ධයා”මගින් ඉතා හොඳ අවවාද අනුසාසනා ජනතාවට නිති පරිදි ලබාදුන්නේය. ජනතාවට දැහැමි,උසස්වූ ජීවිත ගතකිරීම පිළිබඳව එතුමා උපදෙස්, අනුශාසනා පළ කළේය.

බෞද්ධ නායයෙකු වශයෙන් ධර්මපාලතුමා බෞද්ධ දරුවන් ඉරිදා දහම් පාසල් යායුතු බව කිවේය..එම දහම් පාසල් මගින් බුදු දහම හා වැඩිහිටියන්ට සැලකීම වැනි උතුම් ගුණාංග දරුවන්ට පුරුදු පුහුණු වන බව එතුමා පෙන්වා දුන්නේය. දෙමව්පියන් හා දරුවන් එතුමාගේ ඉල්ලීමට අවනත වුයෙන් රට පුරා මහත් වූ දහම් පාසල් පුනරුදයක් ඇතිවිය.ඒ පුනරුදය අද දවස දක්වා සිදුවෙමින් පවතී.

ත්‍රිපිටකය පාලි බසින් සිංහලට පරිවර්තනය කිරීමට ධර්මපාලතුමාට ඉතා අවශ්‍යතාවක් තිබුණේය.ඔහු මෙම කාර්ය ස්වකීයවෛද්‍ය වූර්තික සහෝදරයාවෙත පවරන ලදී.

බුද්ධසාසනයට ධර්මපාලතුමාගෙන් සිදුවූ මහාර්ගතම සේවාව නම් දබදිව වූ බුද්ධගයාව බෞද්ධයන් වෙත බේරාදීමය.බුද්ධගයාව වනාහි බුදුරදුන්ගේ උතුම් වූ බුද්ධත්වය ලැබූ, අතිශය පූජනීයවූ ස්ථානයි. මෙයට උතුම් ස්ථානයක් ලොව වෙසෙන බෞද්ධයිනට නැත. ධර්මපාලතුමා එහි ස්තූපය ප්‍රතිසංස්කරනය කර විය.

මෙම දිනාගැනීම වූ කලි අතිශය විශාල වූවකි.

ධර්මපාලතුමා නොසිටියේ නම් බුද්ධගයාව අද හින්දු පූජස්ථානයක් බවට පත් වී තිබෙනවා නොඅනුමානය.

ධර්මපාලතුමා සාරානාත්හි (සැවැත් නුවර) මුලගන්ධ කුටි විහාරය බෞද්ධයන්ට ආරක්ෂා කර දුන්නේය. එතුමා එහි ස්තූප ගොඩනැගිය.(1930 ජවහල්ලල්නේරු විසින් මේවා විවුර්ත විය). මුලගන්ධ කුටි යනු බුදුරදුන් ප්‍රථම ධර්ම දේශනය පස්වග මහනුන්ට පවත්වන ලද ස්ථානයයි. බරනැස් නුවර ඉසිපතමාරාමය (අද වරනාසි) පිහිටියේ මේ ආසන්නයේය.

ධර්මපාලතුමා දඹදිව ඉතා වැදගත් බෞද්ධ සිද්ධස්ථාන රාශියක් ස්ථාපනය කළේය. එතුමා කල්කටාවේ දැවැන්ත වූ ධර්මරාජික පන්සල පිහිටවිය. ඉන්දියාවේ නගර කිහිපයකම වන්දනා කරුවන් වෙනුවෙන් නේවාසිකාසාර පිහිට විය.(චෙන්නායි සහ කල්කටා). ධර්මපාලතුමාගේ ප්‍රධාන අරමුණක් වූයේ එතුමඉතා ප්‍රියකල දඹදිව (ඉන්දියාව) යලි බුදු දහම ස්ථාපිත කිරීමය. මේ සදහා අවශ්‍ය අඩිතාලම ඔහු දැමුවේය. ඔහුගේ අනුගාමිකයෙකු වූ අම්බෙඩ්කාර් මෙම වැයම ඉතා සාර්ථකව ඉදිරියට ගෙන ගියේය.

ඉන්දියාවේ තිබූ ඉතා වැදගත් බෞද්ධ සිද්ධස්ථාන පරිහානියට සහ අභාවයට යාමගැන ධර්මපාලතුමා ඉමහත් කම්පාවට පත්විය. ඒවා ආරක්ෂා කිරීමට සහ

ඉතා යථා තත්වයට පත් කිරීමට හැකි සෑම දෙයක්ම කිරීමට එතුමා කැප විය. මහාබෝධි සමාගම මුලිකවම බිහි කලේ ඒ මහඟු පරමාර්ථයෙනි.

මුලුමනිම වාගේ හින්දු භක්තික රටක් බවට පත්ව තිබූ ඉන්දියාවේ බුද්ධාගම නගා සිටුවීමේ කටයුතු ධර්මපාලතුමා ඉතා මැනවින්, ප්‍රවේශමින් කළේය. මෙය අතිශය විශිෂ්ටතමවූ කාර්යයකි,නිහඬ විප්ලවයකි.

ධර්මපාලතුමාට ද්වේශකිරීම වෙනුවට ඉන්දියානුවන් කලේ එතුමාට ඇල්ම කිරීමය. අදත් ඉන්දීය ජාතිකයෝ එතුමාට ඇල්ම කරත්. ධර්මපාලතුමාගේ 150වන ජන්ම සංවත්සරය නිමිත්තෙන් ඉන්දියානු රජය තැපැල් මුල්දින කවරයක් සහ තැපැල් මුද්දරයක් නිකුත් කලේ ගිය වසරේ අග භාගයෙයි. ඉන්දීය ජනාධිපති ප්‍රනාභ් මුකර්ජී මැතිතුමා මේ උත්සවයට සහභාගී විය. මෙය අතිශය සුවිශේෂමය වූ සිද්ධියකි. ඉන්දියානු රජය විදේශිකයකු සමරා තැපැල් මුද්දරයක් නිකුත් කරන්නේ ඉතාම කලාතුරකිනි. කල්කටාවේ ප්‍රධාන මාර්ගයක් අදත් එතුමාගේ නමින් ඇත (මහාබෝධි විහාරය ඇති පාර විය යුතුයි). ඇමෙරිකාවේ සුප්‍රසිද්ධ ගොල්ප් ක්‍රීඩක, ටයිගර් වූඩ්ස් ධර්මපාලතුමා සමරණ කෙනෙකි. ඔහුගේ කාමරයේ ධර්මපාලතුමාගේ රූපයක් තබා ඇතැයි වාර්තා විය. ටයිගර් වූඩ්ස්ගේ මව තායිලන්ත කාන්තාවකි . ඉන්දියාවේ වෙසෙන අති පූජනීය දලයි ලාමා තුමා ධර්මපාලතුමා ගැන නිතර ගුණ කථනයේ යෙදෙයි. මේවායින් යින් පෙනෙනුයේ ධර්මපාලතුමා ජාත්‍යන්තරවම පිළිගන්නා කෙනෙක් බවයි.

1915 සිංහළ මුස්ලිම් කෝලාහලයට ධර්මපාලතුමා සම්බන්ධය කියා බ්‍රිතාන්න්යන් ඔහුව සිරගතකළහ. මෙම කෝලාහලයට ධර්මපාලතුමාගේ කිසිම සම්බන්දයක් තිබුනේ නැත. ඒ සඳහා සාක්ෂි කිසිත් නොවිය. මේ සිද්ධිය හට ගන්නා විට එතුමා සිටියේ කල්කාටාවේය. මේ මහින්ම ධර්මපාලතුමාගේ අහිංසකභාවය සනාථ වේ. ධර්මපාලතුමා කිසිදා හිංසාව පැතිර නොවිය.මෙම කෝළාහලයට සම්බන්දයක් නොවූ මෙතුමාව බ්‍රිතාන්‍ය අදිපජ්‍ය වාදීහු වසර 6 සිර (නිවාස) අඩස්සියේ කල්කටා හි තැබුහ.ජාතික නායකයන් වූ DS සේනානායක ,FR සේනානායක හා වෙනත් අය මෙම කෝලාහලය

මුල්කරගෙන සිර අඩස්සියට දැමූ අයයි. විලියම් පේදිරිස් විරෝදාර තරුණයාව අමානුෂික ලෙෂ වැලිකඩ සිර ගෙදරදී වෙඩි තබා මරාදමන ලදී. EW පෙරේරා තම පාවහන් අඩියේ ලිපියක් සකසා බ්‍රිතාන්‍ය මහා රජාණන්ට එය ලැබීමට සලස්වීමෙන් DS සේනානායක හා FR සේනානායක වැන්නවුන් නිදහස ලැබුහ. නමුත් ධර්මපාලතුමා තවදුරටත් ඔවුහු සිරගත කළහ. වාසනාවකට, විලියම් පේදිරිස් මෙන් ධර්මපාලතුමාව ඔවුහු ඝාටනය නොකළහ. මේ කාලයේ එතුමා 50 වන වසර ගත කරමින් තිබුණි. ධර්මපාලතුමා සිරගත වීම නිසා මහත්වූ මානසික පීඩනයෙන් බැට කෑවේය. බ්‍රිතාන්‍යයන් එතුමාට දඩුවම් කලේ එතුමා කෙරෙහි තිබූ ද්වේශය නිසායි. බ්‍රිතාන්‍යන් එතුමාගෙන් පළි ගන්න ලදැයි ඇතැමුන් කියත්.

වසර ගණනාවක අධිරාජ්‍යවාදී ආක්‍රමණ නිසා ධර්මපාලතුමා ජීවත්වූ 19 වන ශත වර්ෂය අග භාගයේ සහ 20න ශත වර්ෂය මුල් භාගයේ ශ්‍රී ලාංකිකයෝ ඉතා යටහත්, හීනවූ මානසික තත්වයකින් පසු වුහ. කලින් සඳහන් කළ පරිදි, මේ තත්වය නැති කර ජනතාවගේ ආත්ම විශ්වාසය සහ පෙර රජ සමයේ පැවති ආත්ම අභිමානය යළි ගොඩ නැගීම සඳහා ධර්මපාල තුමා බොහෝ දේ කළේය. සමාජයේ ‘උසස් යයි’ සම්මත පවුලකින් පැවත ආ එතුමා මනා පෞරෂවයකින් හෙබි විය. අඩි හයකට කිට්ටු වූ උසකින්, මනාවූ කාළ වාර්ණ දේහයකින් යුක්තවූ එතුමා, කැපී පෙනෙන කහ පැහැති ආර්ය සිංහළ වස්ත්‍රයක් ඇන්දේය. ඔහුගේ පැවැත්ම කාගේත් ඇසට ප්‍රසන්න වූ දසුනක් විය. ධර්මපාලතුමා අති දක්ෂ සන්නිවෙදියකු (communicator) විය. චතුර ලෙස ඉංග්‍රීසි බස කතා කල ඔහු ඉංගිරිසි බස ලිවීමේහිද අති දක්ෂයෙකු විය. ධර්මපාලතුමා ඉතා හොඳින් අධ්‍යාපනය හදාරා තිබුණි (කොළඹ 12 සාන්ත බෙනඩික්ට් පාසලේ උගත් ඔහු එම පාසලේ ක්‍රිස්තියානු පුජකවරයෙකු විසින් කුරුල්ලෙකු වෙඩි තබා මරා දමනු දැක එහි පාලන අධිකාරිය සමඟ නොමනාපකමක් ඇති කර ගත්තේය) . ඕල්කට්තුමා සමඟ සම්බන්ධ වන විට එතුමා ලංකා පරිපාලන (සිවිල්) සේවයේ නිලධාරියෙක් ලෙස කටයුතු කළේය. බෞද්ධ භික්ෂූන් සහ ක්‍රිස්තියානි පුජකයන් අතරේ වූ පානදුරා වාදය

එතුමා ඇසින් දුටුවේය. ඕල්කට්තුමා බෞද්ධයෙකු වුයේද පානදුරා වාදයේ ප්‍රතිපලයක් වශයෙනි.

ආත්ම විශ්වාසයෙන් පරිපුන් වූ ධර්මපාලයෝ අසාධාරණයට සහ අයුක්තියට විරුද්ධව සටන් කිරීමට සිය ජීවිතය කැප කළේය. සැම විටම නැති බැරි අයට පිහිටවීමට සහ ඔවුන් වෙනුවෙන් සැමවිටම කැපවීමට වැඩ කලේය. එතුමා සමානාත්මතාවය සහ යුක්තිය සැමවිටම සෙවීය. සැමවිටම සිය ජීවිතය අන්‍යයන්ට ආදර්ශයක් වනසේ ගත කළේය. එතුමාගේ බිය නැති, එඩිතර නායකත්වයේ උදාහරණ කිහිපයකි මේ (මෙවැනි උදාහරණ බොහෝය) :

අ).වරක් රොබට් චාමස් ආණ්ඩුකාරයා ධර්මපාලතුමාට ස්වකිය කාර්යාලයට පැමිණෙන මෙන් ඇරයුම් කළේය. එතුමා එහි ගිය පසු ඔහු එතුමාව පැය 2ක් පමණ උවමනාවෙන්ම රැඳවිවේය. මේ ගැන උරණ වූ ධර්මපාලතුමා ආපසු ගියේ චාමස් ආණ්ඩුකාරයාගේ මුහුනටම් දොස් නැගිමෙනි. සිදුවූ වරදට සමාව ඇයද සිටි චාමස් ආණ්ඩුකාරයාට ධර්මපාලතුමා තුමා කිවේ ඔහු තමාගේ විශ්වාසය කඩ කළ බවත්, ඔහු සමඟින් කටයුතු කිරීමෙන් පළක් නොවන බවත්ය. චාමස් ආණ්ඩුකාරවරයාගේ සේවකයන් ඉදිරියේ ඔහුට ධර්මපාලතුමා තුමා කථා කළ එඩිතර විලාශය ඔවුනටම අදහා ගත නොහැකි විය -චාමස්ට මෙය දැනුනේ ඔහුගේ කම්මුලට ගැසුවාක් මෙනි. මෙකළ ලංකාවේ විසූ ඇතැම් ඉංග්‍රීසියානුවන් සිතුවේ ශ්‍රී ලාංකිකයන් මිනිසුන්ට වඩා පහත් වූ, තිරිසන් වැනි ජන කොටසක් කියායි. එවැනි පසුබිමක් තිබියදී ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ඉංග්‍රීසි මහා රජුන්ගේ දූතයාට ධර්මපාලතුමා මෙලෙසින් කිසුදු බියක් නොමැතිව කථා කිරීම එකල සුද්දන්ට ඇදහිය නොහැකි සිද්දියක් විය (ධර්මපාලතුමාව සිර අඩස්සියට පත් කරනවිට රටේ ආණ්ඩුකාරයා වී සිටියේ චාමස්ය).

ආ). 1920 අග භාගයේදී කල්කටාවේ පිහිටි මහාබෝධි සමිති මුලස්ථානය විවුර්ත කිරීමේ උත්සවයට මහත්මා ගාන්ධිතුමාද එක්විය. එහිදී කතාවක් කල ගාන්ධි තුමා කිවේ ඉංග්‍රීසි ජාතික ශ්‍රීමත් එඩ්වින් ආනොල්ඩ්ගේ ‘Light of Asia’ පොත කියවීමෙන් තමා බුදුරජාණන් වහන්සේ ශ්‍රේෂ්ටයෙක් බව දැනගත් බවය. උත්සවයේ අවසන් (ස්තුති) කතාව නියමව තිබුනේ

ධර්මපාලතුමා තුමාටයි. එහිදී එතුමා කිවේ දඹදිව පමණක් නොව මුළු ලොවම පහලවූ ශ්‍රේෂ්ටතම පුද්ගලයා වන බුදුරජාණන් වහන්සේගේ ශ්‍රේෂ්ටත්වය දැනගැනීමට ගාන්ධි තුමාට ඉංග්‍රීසි ජාතික ශ්‍රීමත් එඩ්වින් ආනොල්ඩගේ 'Light of Asia' ග්‍රන්ථය කියවනතුරු ඉඳීමට සිදුවීම කනගාටුවට කරුණක් බවයි. තමන්ට කල සරදම ගාන්ධිතුමා සතුටින් භාරගෙන ධර්මපාල තුමාගේ කතාවට සිය හිස වනමින් එකඟතාවය දැක්විය. ධර්මපාලතුමාගෙන් ඉගෙනීමට ගාන්ධිතුමා සතුටුවිය. එම සභාවේම සිටි ගාන්ධිතුමා සහ ධර්මපාලයන්ගේ මිතුරකු වූ රබින්ද්‍රනාත් තාගෝර් සිනාසෙමින් ධර්මපාලතුමා තුමාට සුභ පැතිය. මේ කාලයේ ඉන්දියාවේ නිදහස් සටනේ නායකයාවූ ගාන්ධි තුමාව විවේචනය කිරීමට කිසිවෙක් එකළ සිහිනෙන්වත් සිතුවේ වත් නැත. නමුත් බුද්ධාගම සහ බුදු රජාණන්වහන්සේට සිය ජීවතය කැප කර සිටි ධර්මපාලතුමාට ගාන්ධිතුමාගේ වරද නිවැරදි කිරීම අවශ්‍යම බව තේරී ගියේය. ධර්මපාලතුමා ගන්ධිතුමට ඉතාමත් ගරු කළ කෙනෙකි. ඒ කෙසේවෙතත් ඒ අවස්ථාවේදී කිවයුතු දෙය කිව යුතුය යන්න එතුමාගේ ප්‍රතිපත්තිය විය. මෙහි තිබෙන විශ්මය නම් ශ්‍රී ලාංකිකයවූ ධර්මපාලතුමා ඉන්දියාවේ දේවත්වයෙන් මෙන් සැලකූ ගාන්ධිතුමාට, ගාන්ධිතුමාගේ ඉන්දියාවේදීම, කිසිදු ඉන්දියානුවෙක්වත් අමනාපද නොකර ගාන්ධිතුමාගේ වරද නිවැරදි කර පෙන්වීමයි. 1933දී වූ ධර්මපාලතුමාගේ අභාවය පිළිබඳව ගාන්ධිතුමා ඉතා කණගාටුවූ බව වාර්තා වී තිබුණි.

ඇ).ඉන්දියාවේ සහ ලංකාවේ දුම්රියෙන් ගමන් කරද්දී (සිද්ධීන් 2කි) ධර්මපාලතුමාට එතුමා ගමන් කළ 1වැනි පන්තියේ මැදිරියන්හි සිටි සුදු ජාතික මහත්වරු දෙදෙනෙකුගෙන් ප්‍රශ්න ඇති විය (ලංකාවේදී හමු වූයේ වතුපාලක සුද්දෙකි). අමුතු ඇඳුමක් ඇඳ තමන් යන දුම්රිය මැදිරිය තුල සිටින, දුම්රිය තුල තමන්ගේ මත්පැන් (විස්කි) පානයට විරුද්ධ වූ මේ කළු මිනිහාට මැදිරියෙන් බැස යන ලෙස සුද්දෝ ඉල්ලූහ. නමුත් ධර්මපාලතුමා ඔවුනට අවනත නොවිය. ඔවුන්ට වඩා වැඩි වූ, තදබල පෞරුෂයක් ධර්මපාලතුමාට තිබුණි. අවසානයේදී, අවස්ථා දෙකෙහිදීම, සුද්දෝ දුම්රිය මැදිරියෙන් බැස ධර්මපාලතුමාට පමනක් මැදිරියේ ගමන් කිරීමට ඉඩ සලස්වා ගියහ (ගාන්ධි

තුමාටද මෙවැනි තත්වයක් දකුනු අප්‍රිකාවේ ප්‍රිටෝරියා නගරයේදී අත්විඳීමට සිදු විය. දුම්රියේ පළවැනි පන්තියේ මැදිරියක ගමන් කල ඔහුව ඉංග්‍රීසි ජාතිකයෙකුගේ ඉල්ලීමට දුම්රිය බලධාරීන් විසින් එම මැදිරියෙන් ඇද එලියට විසි කළහ. මෙය ගාන්ධි තුමා මුහුණ දුන් ප්‍රථම ජාතිවාදී සිදුවීමයි. මොහු බ්‍රිතාන්‍ය අධිරාජ්‍යවාදයට විරුද්ධවව නැගී සිටීමට මේ සිද්ධිය මූලික විය. ගාන්ධිතුමා මෙන් ධර්මපාලතුමාව දුම්රියෙන් ඇද දැමීමට සුද්දන්ට පුළුවන් වුයේ නැත).

ඈ). ධර්මපාලතුමා HS ඕල්කට්තුමාගේ පෞද්ගලික ලේකම් විය. මුල් කාලයේ ඕල්කට්තුමා ධර්මපාලතුමාගේ මඟ පෙන්වන්නාද විය. දිනක් ඕල්කට් නිවසේ කාමරයක බිම කිසිදු ගරුසරුවක් නොමැතිව ශුද්ධ වූ දන්ත ධාතූන් වහන්සේගේ ආකෘතියක් බහාලීම සඳහා සාදන ලද මණ්ඩපයක් තිබෙනු ධර්මපාලතුමා දැක මහත්වූ සන්තාපයට පත්විය. පසුකාලයේ බෞද්ධයෙක් වූ ඕල්කට්තුමා බුදුදහම නගා සිටවීම පිළිබඳව සිය පුද්ගලික මුදල් වියදම් කළේය. දස දහස් ගණන් මුදල් බුදුදහම/බුද්ධ ප්‍රචාරක කටයුතු වෙනුවෙන් සෙව්වේය. නමුත් ඔහු අතින් සිදුවූ වරදඔහුට නොතේරුනි – ධර්මපාලතුමා සන්තාපයට පත්වීමේ හේතුව එතුමාට අවබෝධ නොවිණි. බුද්ධාගම සහ බුදු රජාණන්වහන්සේට සිය ජීවතය කැප කර සිටි ධර්මපාලතුමාට එතුමාගේ ජෙෂ්ටයා වුවත් ඕල්කට්තුමාට ඔහුගේ වරද පෙන්වා දදෙන්න මැළි නොවිය. එතනදී ඇතිවූ එම සිද්ධිය සහ ඕල්කට්තුමාගේ ‘සියළු ආගම් සමග වැඩ කළ යුතුය’ යන සංකල්පය මත දෙදෙනා අතර ඇතිවූ මතභේධයෙන්, දෙදෙනා අතර තිබූ වසර 20ට වැඩිවූ තදබල සම්බන්ධය පලුදු විය. නමුත්, ධර්මපාලතුමා තුල ඕල්කට්තුමා කෙරෙහි තිබූ ගෞරවය මේ සිද්ධීන් නිසා කිසි ලෙසකින් නැති නොවිය.

ධර්මපාලතුමා විශාල වශයෙන් දේශ සංචාරය කළේය. එකළ විදේශ ගමන් සිදු කළේ නැවෙනි. සිය බුද්ධ ධර්ම ප්‍රචාරක කටයුතු සඳහා ධර්මපාලතුමා බොහෝ රටවලට ගියේය. 1893දී ඇමරිකාවේ චිකාගෝ නුවර පැවති ලෝක ආගමික සහ ප්‍රජා නායකයන්ගේ සමුළුවට සහභාගී විය. එහිදී එතුමා බෞද්ධාගම සහ බුදු රජාණන්වහන්සේ අළලා වේගවත්, විචිත්‍රවත් කථාවක්

කළේය. සමුළුවට පැමිණි 6,000 ට නොවැඩි ආගමික සහ ප්‍රජා නායකයෝ සිය අසුන් වළින් නැගිට එතුමාගේ කතාවෙන් පසු විනාඩි ගණනක් අත්පොලොසන් ගැසුහ. කහ පැහැති ආර්ය ඇඳුමෙන් සැරසුණු, ඉතා දැකුම්කලු මේ කාළ වර්ණ තරුණයා එදා එම සමුළුවේ සිටි ජනප්‍රියතම පුද්ගලයා විය. ඔහුට සමුළුව ඇමතීමට වාර ගණනාවක් ලබා දුණි. ධර්මපාලතුමා හමුවීමට සමුළු සාමාජිකයන් උත්සුක වුයේ 'හොලිවූඩ් නළුවෙක්' හමුවෙන තරම් වූ ආසාවකිනි. සමුළුවට සහභාගිවූවන්ගෙන් වැඩි දෙනෙක් ක්‍රිස්තියානු භක්තිකයෝ වුහ. සමුළුවට ඉන්දියාවේ හින්දු භක්තිකයන්ව නියෝජනය කළේ එවකට ඉන්දියාවේ සිටි ප්‍රසිද්ධතම හින්දු පූජක නායකයෙකුවූ විවේකානන්ද ස්වාමී තුමායි. එතුමා ප්‍රසිද්ධියේම ධර්මපාලතුමා වැළඳගෙන එතුමාට තම භක්ත්‍යාදරය පෙන්විය. චිකාගෝ සමුළුව ධර්මපාලතුමාගේ ජීවන් ගමන් මග වෙනස්කළ ප්‍රධාන සංදිස්ථානයක් විය.

ධර්මපාලතුමා ලොවේ වෙනත් බෞද්ධ රටවල් සමඟ ඉතා කිට්ටු මිත්‍රත්ව පැවැත්වූයේය. එවකට අන් රටවල් (බටහිර) මඟින් පෑගීමට ලක්ව තිබූ ජපානය කෙරෙහි සාධාරණවූ සැලකිල්ලක් ලැබිය යුතු බව එතුමා කියා සිටියේය. ධර්මපාලතුමාට ජපානයෙන් යම් තරම්වූ මූල්‍ය ආධාර ලැබුණි. එතුමාට ජපන් ජාතික ව්‍යාපාරික මිත්‍රයෝ සිටිහ. ධර්මපාලතුමා බුරුමයට ගිය අවස්ථාවන්හිදී ඒ රටේ රජ මැදුරේදී එරට ඔටුනු පලන් කුමරු බැහැ දැකිය. ධර්මපාලතුමාගේ ධර්මදූත කටයුතුවලට විශේෂයෙන්ම දඹදිව බුද්ධගයාව බේරාගැනීමේ කටයුතුවලට එම කුමරා යම් ප්‍රමාණයකින් මූල්‍ය ආධාර එතුමාට දුන්නේය. ධර්මපාලතුමා තායිලන්තයේ රජ පවුල සමගද සම්හන්ධතා පැවැත්විය. ධර්මපාලතුමා චීනයේ ෂැන්හයි නුවර කීප වරක් සංචාරය කළේය. එතුමා වෙනත් ආසියාතික සහ යුරෝපිය රටවලද සංචාරය කළේය.

ධර්මපාලතුමාට ජාත්‍යන්තර කටයුතු සහ ලෝක ආගම් පිළිබඳව ඉතා උසස්වූ දැනුමක් තිබුනේය.

ධර්මපාලතුමා බටහිර 'පොහොසත් සමාජ' සංකල්පය (ධනවාදය) ප්‍රතික්ෂේප නොකළේය. ධර්මපාලතුමා විශිෂ්ටවූ දැහැමී, ව්‍යාපාරික ඥානයෙන් හෙබි අයෙක් විය. ස්වකීය වැඩකටයුතු සඳහා එතුමා දස දහස් ගණුනින් මුදල් සෙව්වේය බොහෝවිට ඒවා විදේශ මුදල් විය. එතුමාගේ 'බුද්ධගයාව බේරා ගැනීමේ' සටනට පමණක් අති මහත් මුදලක් අවශ්‍ය විය. එම නඩු හබ දීර්ග කාලයක් ඉන්දියාවේ උසාවිවල ඇසුනි. බුද්ධගයාව අත් පත් කර සිටි හින්දු මහන්තයාව එතනින් එළවීමට විශාල වන්දි මුදලක් ගෙවීමටද සිදු විය. හින්දු ආගමික රටක් වූ ඉන්දියාවේ ඉතා බලසම්පන්න හින්දු ආගමික නායකයෙකුවූ මහන්තා ලැගුම්ගෙන සිටි සිද්ධස්ථානයෙන් (බුද්ධගයාවෙන්) ඔහුව ඉවත් කිරීම ලෙහෙසි පහසු කාර්යක් නොවන බව ඕනෑම කෙනෙකුට වැටහෙනු ඇත. විශේෂයෙන්ම, විදේශ රටකින් (ශ්‍රී ලංකාවෙන්) ඉන්දියාවට ගොස් සිටි විදේශිකයෙකුට. එවැනි කර්තව්‍යක් කළ හැකි වෙයැයි කිසිවෙක් සිතන්නෙන් නම් ඒ ධර්මපාලතුමා විසින්ම පමණක්ම විය යුතුය. සැබවින්ම, ධර්මපාලතුමා ඒ කාර්යය ඉෂ්ට කළේය. ධර්මපාලතුමා විසින් ලංකාවේ බෞද්ධ සහ ප්‍රජා සංවර්ධන ව්‍යාපෘති රාශියක් ඉතා සාර්ථකව ක්‍රියාත්මක කළේය. ඇතැම් ව්‍යාපෘති අදටත් ක්‍රියාත්මක වේ. ධර්මපාලතුමා ඉන්දියාව සහ බටහිර රටවලද (විශේෂයෙන්ම ඇමරිකාව සහ එංගලන්තය) බෞද්ධ ප්‍රචාර ව්‍යාපෘති ක්‍රියාත්මක කළේය. ඒ වෙනුවෙන් ඔහු බොහෝ අරමුදල් සෙව්වේය. අද පවත්නා එංගලන්තයේ, ලන්ඩන් නුවර බෞද්ධ විහාරය ධර්මපාලතුමාගේ වැයමක සාර්ථක ප්‍රතිපලයකි. අද, මෙම ස්ථානය (ලන්ඩන් නුවර සද්ධාතිස්ස බෞද්ධ මධ්‍යස්ථානය), එංගලන්තයේ ථෙරවාද බෞද්ධාගමේ ප්‍රධානතම ස්ථානයයි. ධර්මපාලතුමා ඇමෙරිකාවේ සැන් ෆ්‍රැන්සිස්කෝ, බොස්ටන්, නිව්යෝක් යන නගරවල බෞද්ධ සම්බන්ධතා ඇති කළේය. මුදලින් සපිරිණූ සිය පවුලෙන් තම බුද්ධ ප්‍රචාරක කටයුතුවලට නොමසරු ආධාර ලබා ගැනීමට ධර්මපාලතුමා සමත්විය. එතුමාගේ ධර්ම දූත සහ ප්‍රජා සංවර්ධන කාර්යයන් සඳහා මුලිකවම දායකත්වය සැලසුවේ ඇමරිකන් ජාතික මේරි ෆොස්ටර් රොබින්සන් මැතිණියයි. ධර්මපාලතුමාගේ චිකාගෝ දේශනය ගැන අසා, ඉතා පැහැදී, මැරෙනතුරු (වසර 25 ට කිට්ටු කාලයක්) ධර්මපාලතුමා සරණ ගිය කෙනෙකි මෙතුමිය. ඉතා ධනවත් කාන්තාවක් වූ ඇය `විසින් ධර්මපාල තුමාට

එවන ලද මුදල් සම්භාරය ඩොලර් ලක්ෂ හෝ කෝටි ගණනකි (ධර්මපාලතුමා තුලින් තමන්ගේ මියගිය ආදරණීය පුතා සිහිපත්වෙන බව ඇය වරක් පවසා තිබුණි) . ධර්මපාලතුමා ගාල්ලේ හිනිදුම අක්කර සිය ගණනක කෘෂිකාර්මික ව්‍යාපෘතියක් ඉතා සාර්ථවක පවත්වාගෙන ගියේය. ගාන්ධිතුමා අනුකරණය කරමින් ලංකාවේ ප්‍රථම අත් යන්ත්‍ර පේෂකර්මාන්ත පුහුණු පාසැල රාජගිරියේ පණ ගැන්විය. ඒ, හේවාවිතාරණ අත් යන්ත්‍ර පුහුණු පාසලයි. ශ්‍රී ලාංකිකයනට විදේශ රෙදි අත්හැර මෙරට වියු අත් යන්ත්‍ර රෙදි අඳින මෙන් ඉල්ලා සිටියේය. හෙතෙමද එවන් වස්ත්‍ර ඇන්දේය.මේරි ෆොස්ටර් රොබින්සන් මැතිණිය මියගිය පසු එතුමිය සිහිවීම පිණිස එතුමියගේ නමින් නොමිලේ ප්‍රතිකාර කරන ආරෝග්‍යශාලාවක් එතුමා මරදානේ ඩීන්ස් පාරේ පිහිටවිය.

ධර්මපාලතුමාගේ ‘දිනපොත් කියවනවිට පෙනී යන්නේ කොතරම් මුදල් රැස් කලත් ධර්මපාලතුමා ‘ඒ මුදල් වියදම් කලේ ඉතා සැකසුරුවම්ව, ප්‍රවේශමින් බවයි. මුල්‍ය පරිහරණයේදී ධර්මපාලතුමා ‘100%ක් අවංක විය. මුල්‍ය කටයුතු පිලිබඳ ලිපිගොනු, පොත් තැබීම් නොපිරිහෙලා අකුරටම ඉටු කළේය. මේරි ෆොස්ටර් රොබින්සන් වැන්නන් එතුමා වෙත බිය සැක නැතුව මුදල් එව්වේ එබැවිනි. ධර්මපාලතුමාගේ මුදල් සෙවීම සහ සම්බන්ධතා ගොඩ නගා ගැනීමේ තිබූ මහා හැකියාව ගැන ඊර්ශ්‍යාවෙන් පෙළුනවුන් එතුමා ජීවත්ව සිටියදී එතුමාට ‘උඩින්, පහලින් සහ මැදින්’ පහර දුන්හ.

ධර්මපාලතුමා අති විශිෂ්ටවූ බෞද්ධයෙක් විය. බුදු රජාණන්වහන්සේ ගිහියන්ට දෙසූ දහම් ඒ අයුරින්ම අනුගමනය කිරීමට එතුමා සැමවිටම උත්සහ කළේය. අන් අයටද ඒවා අවබෝධ කරවිය. සිය මුළු වැඩිහිටි දිවියම බුදු දහම සහ බුදු රජාණන්වහන්සේ වෙනුවෙන් කැප කළේය. එතුමා ‘අනගාරික’ වුයේ එබැවිනි. දිනපතා බුදුන් ඇදහූ එතුමාගේ සැම දේශනයකම බුදු දහමේ කරණා අඩංගු විය.

ස්වකිය මැනියන්ට එතුමා ඉමහත් ආදරය කළේය. ඇය මිය යාමට කලින් ඔහු මිය ගියේය.

නැවත නැවතත් දඹදිව ඉපදීවා යනුවෙන් එතුමා ප්‍රාර්ථනය කළේය. එසේ කලේ තමන් උපන් ශ්‍රී ලංකාවට ආදරය නැති නිසා නොවේ. ධර්මපාලතුමා ලංකාවට ආදරය කළේය. මෙම ලිපියේ දක්වා ඇති පරිදි ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ උන්නතිය උදෙසා බොහෝ දේ එතුමා කළේය. එතුමා ඉන්දියානුවන්ටද ආදරය කළේය.

තම නායකයා වූ බුදු රජාණන්වහන්සේ උප්පතිය ලැබූ සහ තමන් විසින් ලෝක බෞද්ධයන්ට බෙරා දුන්, බුදු රජාණන්වහන්සේ බුද්ධත්වය ලැබූ බුද්ධගයාව පිහිටි දඹදිවම නැවත නැවත ඉපදීමට එතුමාට උවමනා විය. ජීවතයේ සැඳා සමයේදී සිරි දේවමිත්ත ධම්මපාල නමින් ලංකාවේදී මහණ වී දඹදිවදී උපසම්පදාව ලැබුහ. ධම්මපාල ස්ථවිරයෝ අපවත් වුයේ සැවැත්නුවර මුලගන්ධකුටි විහාරයේ, තමන් විසින්ම නිම කරනලද ස්ථූපයන් දෙස බලා වන්දනා මාන කරමිනි. උන් වහන්සේට එවන් ස්ථූපයන් දැක බලා ගනු වස් සහෝදර භික්ෂූන්වහන්සේලා විසින් උන්වහන්සේගේ ඇඳ පන්සලෙන් එලියට ගෙනවිත් මුලගන්ධකුටි ස්ථූපයන් පෙනෙන අයුරින් සකස් කර තැබුහ.

අපවත් වූ පසු උන්වහන්සේගේ භාෂ්මවශ්ස කොටසක් විශේෂ වූ ‘බෞද්ධ දුම්රියකින්’ ඉන්දියාවේ සිට ලංකාවට (කොළඹට) වැඩම කරවන ලදී. දුම්රිය මාර්ගය දෙපස සිටි ලක්ෂ සංඛ්‍යාත වැසියෝ එම දුම්රියේ වැඩම කරවන ලද භෂ්මවශේශයන්ට සාධු නාද දෙමින්, සුවඳ පුෂ්පයෙන් පූජෝපහාර කළහ. දුම්රිය පිළිගැනීමට කොටුව දුම්රිය ස්ථානයේ පමණක් සිටි ජනතාව 50,000 නොවැඩි විය. තවත් විශාල ජනකායක් දුම්රිය ස්ථානයෙන් පිටත සිටියහ. අති දැවැන්ත වූ ගුනානුස්මරණ උත්සවයක් මාලිගාකන්දේ විද්‍යෝදය පිරිවෙන් භූමියේදී පැවැත්වුවේ අතිගරු මහා නායක මාහිමිවරුන්ගේ ප්‍රධානත්වයෙනි. ගාන්ධිතුමා, තාගෝර් තුමා, ලංකාවේ බ්‍රිතාන්‍ය ආණ්ඩුකාරවරයා, සහ දෙස් විදෙස් නායකනන් බොහෝ දෙනෙක් ගුණ වර්ණනා පණිවුඩ ඒවා තිබුණි. ඉන්දියාවේ බිහාර් ප්‍රාන්තයේ රජයයේ සහ පෞද්ගලික ගොඩනැගිලි රාශියක එතුමාගේ අභාවය වෙනුවෙන් සුදු කොඩි ඇද තිබුණි.

ධර්මපාලතුමා වෙනුවෙන් අපට පෙන්විය හැකි ලොකුම කෘතගුණය නම් එතුමා පෙන්වා දුන් මග ගමන් කිරීමයි. බුදු රදුන්ගේ පන්සිල් පද 5 රකින මෙන් ඔහු සැම බෞද්ධයෙක්ගෙන්ම (කුඩා ළමුන් ඇතුළු) ඉල්ලා සිටියේය.

ධර්මපාලතුමා අපට හිමිකර දුන් මහාර්ගතම්වූ දායාද මෙරට සහ පිටරට, විශේෂයෙන්ම ඉන්දියාවේ (බුද්ධගයාව ඇතුළු), ආරක්ෂා කර ගැනීම අප සතු යුතු කමකි. ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ 19/20 ශතවර්ෂ වල බිහිවූ ශ්‍රේෂ්ඨතම ශ්‍රී ලාංකිකයා වූ ධර්මපාලතුමාගේ ශ්‍රී නාමය සහ එතුමාගේ සංකල්ප රැක ගැනීම අපෙන් එතුමන් වෙනුවෙන් ඉටුවිය යුතුවූ වගකීම වේ.

25 Responses to "අනගාරික ධර්මපාල **19/20** ශතවර්ශයන්හි විසූ ශ්‍රේෂ්ඨතම ශ්‍රී ලාංකියායි **"**

1. ***Independent* Says:**

ධර්මපාලතුමා වෙනුවෙන් අපට පෙන්විය හැකි ලොකුම කෘතගුණය නම් එතුමා පෙන්වා දුන් මග ගමන් කිරීමයි.

2. *Independent* Says:

ධර්මපාල තුමාගේ ප්‍රහාරය දියත් වුනේ කලු සුද්දන්න්ට විරුද්ධවය. මෙයට හේතුව, සිංහලයා "මෝඩයා" කරන්නේ කලුසුද්දන් නිසයි. ධර්මපාල තුමාට ගරු කරන්නෙක්, කලුසුද්දටත් වඩා රට විනාශකරන, ලෝකයේම විහිලුවක් බවට පත්කරන, තනිකරම බටහිර පන්නයේ ජෝගිනටන, අධම පාලනයකට විරුද්ධවීම සාධාරණ නැද්ද ? බොරුවට බෝඩ් ගසාගෙන් සිංහල බෞද්ධයා රැවටීම තරම් දුෂ්ටකමක් තව තිබේද ?

3. *Leela* Says:

He wrote: "මතක තියා ගනිල්ලා කවදා හරි සුද්දෝ මේ රට දාලා යනවා. උන් යන්නේ උන්ගේ දරුවෝ වගේ විසි තිස් දාහක් බෝකලාට පස්සෙයි.ඊට පස්සේ මේ අපේ රට පාලනය කරන්නේ මේ කළු සුද්දෝ....."
"උඹලා උඹලා වෙනුවෙන් දියසෙන් කුමාරයා ඉපදෙන තුරු බලා ඉන්නවා. උපදින්න ඉන්න දියසේන ලා තිඹිරි ගෙයිම මරා දමන්න මේ කළු සුද්දන්ට පුළුවන් බව මතක තියා ගනිල්ලා.

අපේ හාමුදුරුවන්ට උන් එදාට ඉනා බේත් දෙනවා. ඉන් පස්සේ උඹලෑ කොල්ලෝ කෙල්ලන්ට ඇටි කෙහෙල් කාපු රිලවි වගේ නියෝ නියෝ ඉන්න සිද්ද වේවි"

4.  *Asanga* Says:

Thank you Leela.
Chanaka, with all due respect to your achievements in the legal field-really proud to see someone from our country achieving the heights in the legal field that you have ascended, and that also in a foreign land.

4.  *Independent* Says:

Leela,
You cannot understand the Ven. Dhramapala by reading just one piece

I  *Independent* Says:
රට, ජාතිය හා ආගම පිළිබඳව ධර්මපාල තුමාගේ අපේක්ෂා .....

5.  *Chanaka B* Says:

Asanaga I thought both of us agreed that Sri Lanka should do trade (exports) with all countries, including India**.** My article was focused on Sri Lankan exports to India, not Indian imports to Sri Lanka
As I stated before why not we export en mass to any country, including, India. That is one country we can easily flood with our exports. The advantage to us is earning foreign currency. We desperately need them**.** What's the wrong in saying this?

6.  *Christie* Says:

"ඉන්දියාවේ ගාන්ධිතුමා මෙන් උග්‍ර අධිරාජ්‍ය වාදී විරෝධියෙක් විය."

7.  *Asanga* Says:

Chanaka,
Yes I agreed with you that we should do trade with India, I do not think anyone disagreed with that.
My beef was with the CEPA agreement. Nothing else.

8. *Christie* Says:

Asanga, we will be another Sikkim or Bhutan.

Christie Says:
බටහිර අදිරජාඃවාදීන් විසින් මේ රටට හඳුන්වා දුන් සත්ව මාංශ අ නුභවය හා මත්පැන් පානයට විරුද්ධව ධර්මපාලතුමා දැවැන්ත සංග්‍රාමයක් ඇති කළේය

9. *Chanaka B* Says:
Asanga
That is exactly why I stated the following in my article about CEPA:
CEPA ඇතුව හෝ නැතුව, වේගයෙන් සංවර්ධනය වන ඉන්දියාවට භාණ්ඩ සහ සේවා සැපයීමෙන් (හොංකොං චීනයට සැපයුවා මෙන්) අපට 'ඉන්දියාවේ හොංකොං' බවට පත්විය හැක
අප CEPA අත්සන් නොකළ යුතුයයි මේ ලිපිකරු කිසිසේත් නොකියයි. ඔහු කියනුයේ CEPA අත්සන් කිරීමට නම් අපට මීට වඩා වෙළඳ වාසි ලබා දිය යුතු යයි කියායි. කිසිදු ඉන්දීය තීරු බදු (tariff) නොමැතිව ශ්‍රී ලංකාවෙන් ඉන්දියාවට ඕනෑම භාණ්ඩයක් අපනයනය කිරීමට හැකි වන්නේ නම් (ප්‍රති අපනයන භාණ්ඩ ද ඇතුළුව) එය මහඟු ජයග්‍රහණයකි.....
CEPA හෝ එවැනි ගිවිසුමක් අත්සන් කිරීමට ප්‍රථම (කලින් කි පරිදි තවම එයට අවසන් අවස්ථාව මේ නොවේ) ශ්‍රී ලංකාව තමන්ට ඉතා වාසි සහගත කොන්දේසි එම ගිවිසුමට අඩංගු කර ගත යුතුය. මේ සඳහා ජාත්‍යන්තර නීති, ජාත්‍යන්තර වෙළඳ නීති පිළිබඳව කෘතහස්ත දැනුම ඇති නිතිඥයන්ගෙන් උපදෙස් ලබා ගැනීම අනිවාර්යවේ
CEPA අත්සන් කිරීමට ප්‍රථම අප රටේ දේශීය නිෂ්පාදන අරක්ෂා කර ගැනීමට බලපාන වගන්ති එහි අඩංගු කර ගත යුතුය. CEPA අත්සන් කිරීමට නම් ඉන්දියාව අපේ මුහුදේ කරන නීති විරෝධී මත්ස්‍ය ඇල්ලීම (මේ මගින් වසරකට ශ්‍රී ලංකාවට වන පාඩුව ඩොලර් බිලියනයකට වැඩිය) සම්පූර්ණයෙන්ම තහනම් කරන වගන්ති CEPAහි අඩංගු කර ගත යුතුය. මේවා අමාරු කාර්යන් වුවත් දක්ෂ නිතිඥයන්ට/ සන්නිවේදකයන්ට අපහසු කාර්යයන් නොවේ
දැනට, අප දෙරට අතර 1998 දී අත්සන් කල නිදහස් වෙළඳ ගිවිසුමේ (FTA- Free Trade Agreement) හි ඇති අඩුපාඩු, ශ්‍රී ලංකාවට අහිතකරවූ වගන්ති (බොහෝ වේ) CEPA හි අඩංගු නොවීමට අපගේ පාර්ශවය පැත්තෙන් අප වග බලා ගත යුතුවේ

CEPA ඇතුව හෝ නැතුව, වේගයෙන් සංවර්ධනය වන ඉන්දියාවට භාණ්ඩ සහ සේවා සැපයීමෙන් (හොංකොං චීනයට සැපයුවා මෙන්) අපට 'ඉන්දියාවේ හොංකොං' බවට පත්විය හැක.

10.  *Asanga* Says:

Dear Chanaka,

Thank you for your reply.

I am afraid we will have to agree to disagree.

 *Chanaka B* Says:

Free Trade Agreements are the norm of the day Recently, Australia signed three free trade agreements with Korea, Japan and China. They are going to sign one with India next year. We have to move with the trend, otherwise we will miss out

To my knowledge India has signed free trade agreements (similar to that of CEPA) with several countries in the region.

Even now we make about $1 billion a year from exports to India. India is one of our biggest export markets. We can make it our number 1 export market, with or without CEPA

If the people detest, I do not think the new government will go ahead and sign CEPA. But we should not discard CEPA willy nilly. Lots of people are scare mongering. We should discard CEPA only after a very careful and a thoughtful analysis. There is no rush to sign or discard CEPA

As stated before, we can still increase our exports to India without CEPA

My argument (Sri Lanka becoming the 'Hong Kong of India') was made in all good intentions to increase our exports to India. There is an enormous potential for us to do that, more than any other country. Lots of countries even China, do not want our export products, as there is no market for them in those countries. But, India is different. We are similar. We can flood them with our export products. And that means lots of foreign currency pouring into Sri Lanka!

The problem is that the latest version of CEPA is not currently available for perusal. What I've seen is an old version. We really need to read the contents of the current draft. Your fear that through CEPA the country will be flooded with Indians is justifiable, that is why I stated that the agreement should be thoroughly checked by good lawyers. Furthermore, if we run our immigration system well, we should be able to catch the over-stayers. Of course, Indians can arrive illegally to this country using fishing boats (this could be happening right now); that can only be curtailed through the presence of a strong Navy. To do all these, the new government needs money, and the best (decent) way to make money is by way of exports

Your earlier argument that WTO take sides, I would rather not comment about it at this stage
Many thanks for the interest shown; it was a pleasure to respond to you

11.  *Christie* Says:

Namaste: “If the people detest, I do not think the new government will go ahead and sign CEPA.

 *Christie* Says:
එදා අනගාරික කිව්වදේ අද සියයට එකසිය දහයක් ඇත්ත.එතුමා කලුසුද්දො කියල කිව්වෙ සුද්දගෙ තුවක්කුව යටින් සින්හලයට ආ ඉන්දියානු පරපෝසිතයන්ටය.

 *Chanaka B* Says:
“he is more of a Buddhist than a Sinhalese. He understood that Buddhism should survive in order for the Sinhala people to survive, not the other way around” (Independent) –
With respect, I do not agree.
To say he was more of a Buddhist than a Sinhalese, I believe, is not a correct description of him or any Sinhala Buddhist
He was a Sinhala Buddhist; both at the same time. The distinction is that he was a strong Buddhist who followed Buddha’s five precepts to the letter
Upon arrival of Mihindu himi during the reign of King Devanampiya Thissa, and introduction of Buddhism, the then Sinhala culture intertwined with the Buddhist culture, and formed a Sinhala Buddhist culture. Basically, the ‘Sinhala culture’ became the ‘Sinhala Buddhist culture’
The two cultures became ‘ one in the same’
Today, it is difficult to distinguish one culture (Sinhala) from the other (Buddhist culture)
The Sinhala Buddhist way of life was a serene way of life. People worked on the paddy field and lived close to the temple. Respecting elders was the norm of the day
Our Sinhala customs and traditions including what we celebrate during the April New Year, are all moulded into one Sinhala Buddhist culture– they embody the Sinhala and Buddhist values
After the colonials came (in the 16th century), some people became Christian. Though they spoke Sinhala, they started practising a different culture – Christian culture, as opposed to the Sinhala Buddhist culture

But, for the Sinhala Buddhist who did not convert to Christianity (like Dharmapala) and wanted to be a Buddhist, the Sinhala Buddhist lifestyle continued. This applies to us today

For us, Sinhala Buddhists; we are not bothered whether we follow a Sinhala custom or a Buddhist custom, because both are embodied in us

12.  *Independent* Says:

ස්තුතියි වානක ඔබේ උත්සාහයට. මම එතුමා වැරදියි නොකියමි, එහෙත් එතුමා පැතුවේ ඉන්දියාවේ නැවත ඉපදීමටය, ලංකාවේ නොවේ. මේ සත්‍යය මගේ කියමන තහවුරු නොකරයි ද ? මගේ ප්‍රකාශය සියුම් කරුණක්. බුදුදහම චාරිත්‍ර වලට පමණක් සීමා වුන දා, සිංහල කම නැතිවී යනු නියතයි. මෙය සිතා බලන්න.

13.  *Independent* Says:

His statement “නියම සිංහලයා දැක්ක හැක්කේ සිංහල බෞද්ධයෙකු තුලින්මය.” also proves my statement (think deeply).

 *Independent* Says:

For the same reason he is NOT A RACIST.

14.  *Chanaka B* Says:

Independent

You are raising valid points; but due to complexity and the many issues that are involved, it is difficult to continue the dialogue in this format. It should be a person to person conversation

What I attempted to show was that the Sinhala culture and the Sinhala Buddhist culture are one and the same

Theoretically my argument is sound and I am comfortable with that, but, I agree, in practice they may not work exactly that way – again, due to complexity in life

For example, some Sinhala Buddhists try to separate Buddhism from their way of life. For example, they may become an atheist. Then, one can argue that the culture that they practice is only Sinhala and nil Buddhist. I say we still have to categories those people as Sinhala Buddhists; unless they make a radical change like becoming a Christian, Muslim or taking up another religion

The fact that Dharmapala had a desire to be reborn in India does not negate his Sinhala Buddhist identity. I say his action is still compatible with that identity (previously I said that the two cultures merged and formed the Sinhala Buddhist culture). There is no harm in a Sinhala person wishing that he/she be reborn in

another country. Just because of that we cannot conclude that the two entities have separated and the Buddhist entity has taken prominence over the Sinhala entity. Once you are a Sinhala Buddhist, you can do many different things, they will not negate your identity; unless you do something extremely radical like taking up a new religion

Your two statements below, actually prove my point that Sinhala culture and Sinhala Buddhist culture are one and the same:

‘බුදුදහම චාරිත්‍ර වලට පමණක් සීමා වුන දා, සිංහල කම නැතිවී යනු නියතයි’
‘නියම සිංහලයා දැක්ක හැක්කේ සිංහල බෞද්ධයෙකු තුලින්මය’

Clearly, Dharmapala was not a racist -He was a positivist. I emphasized this in my article

15. *Independent* Says:

I am happy to end here. We are not far away from basic understanding. There is only one “Sinhala Buddhist ” culture.

Chanaka B Says:

Please note I was talking about cultures not races. What I said was that Sinhala culture and Buddhist culture are intertwined. Within a Sinhala Buddhist person (say, A Dharmapala), the Sinhala and Buddhist components that formed his Sinhala Buddhist culture cannot be separated

To illustrate this further, if Sinhala Buddhist culture is the ‘child’, it is conceived as a result of the union of two parents’ (Sinhala culture and Buddhist culture). Just one of the two parents cannot produce the ‘child’

Buddhist Sinhalaya and Christian Sinhalaya are both good full Sinhalaya (same RACE). Again, the difference is that they follow two different CULTURES – Buddhist and Christian respectively. Because Christian Sinhalaya does not practice Buddhist culture (but Christian); he/she cannot be categorised as a person following Sinhala Buddhist culture (also known as Sinhala culture)

When he stated ‘නියම සිංහලයා දැක්ක හැක්කේ සිංහල බෞද්ධයෙකු තුලින්මය’, he wanted people to enhance the ‘Buddhist component’ of their Sinhala Buddhist culture

After became a monk, his name was Siri Devamitta Dhammapala, not Ven Pannaloka. He did not say “he did not wish to be a Sinhalaya, but a Bauddhaya”. What he said was that he would like to be reborn in India. He said this because it is where Lord Buddha was born and where Buddhagaya is located (the place that he rescued for the world’s Buddhists). He is entitled to say that. That does not mean he was ‘more of a Buddhist than a Sinhalese’ – your initial interpretation. Thanks for your contribution.

16.  *Independent* Says: Chanaka,

“When he stated ‘නියම සිංහලයා දැක්ක හැක්කේ සිංහල බෞද්ධයෙකු තුලින්මය’, he wanted people to enhance the ‘Buddhist component’ of their Sinhala Buddhist culture”

INCREASING THE NUMBER OF MPS FROM 225 TO 255 IS UNNECESSARY – A COLOSSAL WASTE OF TAXPAYER FUNDS

- *News of Colombo* - March 5, 2015**;** Chanaka Bandarage

After the introduction of provincial governments through the 13th amendment in 1987 (addition of an entirely new layer of government), Sri Lanka today is considered one of the highest governed countries in the world.

There were 168 MPs in the parliament in 1977 (with zero national list MPs), by 1989 the number had increased to 225 (with 29 national list MPs -17% of parliamentarians). The increase happened without a referendum. Now, leaders of all major political parties appear to have agreed to increase the number of parliamentarians to 255.

It appears all the new 30 parliamentarians will be national list MPs (not elected by the voters at an election). This amounts to 23% of all MPs of the parliament.

These MPs would be appointed to the parliament at the whim and fancy of the respective party leaders. The people (voters) will have nothing to do with their appointments. Until these people are appointed, people would not even know who they would be.
Given that there are number of MPs who are currently in the parliament who would be unable to win a seat at a popular election; they will rely on the new ('chit') system to remain in the parliament.

This will give them the chance to remain in the parliament until they are feeble or they die. The new system seems designed to look after friends/cronies of the leaders of the political parties, rather than electing representatives that people like.

It is unlikely that the introduction of more MPs to the parliament (30) will help to increase the country's economy and eradicate extreme poverty. Judging by the performance of most current national list MPs, it is not unfair to assume that most of the future national list MPs would also be useless to the country. It will be a huge burden to the taxpayers to maintain them .

Given that each MP needs to be provided with private accommodation, vehicles, body guards and staff, high salaries, subsidized food at the parliament, foreign trips and lots of other perks including a handsome pension after just 5 years in the parliament; this aspect of the proposed 20th amendment to the Constitution will not provide the country any benefit; but to a very lucky few individuals. Needless to say, it will be a huge financial drain on the innocent people – a country that is heavily debt ridden and laced with huge unemployment.

The new system will make the country poorer and more corrupt.

Appointing MPs to the parliament by way of a 'chit' system is contrary to the principle of representative democracy. A cardinal principle of modern democracy is that the voter should be able to elect their representatives by way of popular ballot.

Sri Lanka and Australia have almost the same population (20 and 23 million respectively); but Australia is 116 times bigger than Sri Lanka. In vast Australia, there are only 150 MPs in the House of Representatives (Sri Lanka has 225 and soon to be 255). Even in giant India (1.25 billion people), there are only 545 MPs in Lok Sabha.

Australia has 5 state governments (as opposed to Sri Lanka's 9 provincial governments). In Australia, each State has more than 1 million people, except Tasmania, which is bigger in landmass than Sri Lanka. In some provinces of Sri Lanka, the total voter population is less than ½ million. It is somewhat of a joke to have separate governments for these provinces. It is stated they are due to receive land rights and police powers!

The increase in the number of legislatures from 225 to 255 seems to be entirely a decision by the current MPs of the parliament; the concept has not been ratified by the people. This is a matter so crucial to every citizen of the country, it should be referred to them at a referendum, to obtain their consent. No doubt, people would reject the proposition wholesale at a referendum.

Chanaka Bandarage

An Appreciation – Don Randall, MP

‘‘A Friend, who was there, when often no one else was there – A Friend indeed”

Huffington Post, July 2015

Chanaka Bandarage, President, Sri Lanka Support Group

Sri Lanka Support Group deeply regrets the sudden passing away of Don Randall, Australian MP.

Don died of a massive heart attack on Tuesday 21 July2015,while driving his car in his electorate of Canning. He was driving to attend a duty as an MP.

The whole of Australia is shocked about the sudden demise of Don – a man with a very Big Heart.

Don was a very important person to Sri Lanka. From the mid 1990s up to his passing away two days ago, Don was undoubtedly the best friend of Sri Lanka in the Australian parliament.

When some Labor and/or Green MPs and Senators unfairly criticised Sri Lanka or presented somewhat incorrect facts about Sri Lanka, Don stood tall in the parliament confronting them. He was often the lone voice for Sri Lanka in the Australian parliament.

A fearless fighter, Don confronted MPs who failed to realise that Sri Lanka was facing a brutal terrorist war. Don tabled Motions in the parliament, among other things, denouncing the LTTE. He warned that there may be LTTE terrorist links in Australia. He also worked hard in establishing business links between Australia and Sri Lanka.

In late October 2014, Don wrote to the UN High Commissioner of Human Rights in Geneva that he was happy about the elimination of Tamil Tigers from Sri Lanka. He stated he was sad that they killed two of his very good friends; Lakshman Kadiragamar (the then Foreign Minister) and Major General Janaka Perera (former Sri Lankan High Commissioner to Australia). Don stated that the killing of Janaka' s wife, Vajira, in the same bomb attack was a tremendous tragedy. In his lengthy submission to the UNOG-OHCHR, Don stated that during his travels to Sri Lanka, he spoke to Tamil people in the North of the country and they spoke to him very highly about the huge infrastructure development that the Government had commenced in the North and East of Sri Lanka, after the war ended in 2009. He praised the Government's resettlement of about 290,000 Tamil IDPs within a record time of several months. He mentioned the successful de-mining operation which Australia funded (for which he lobbied). Don admitted that some Tamil people criticised the Government for not solving their problems on time.

Don was the Chairman of the Sri Lanka - Australia Friendship Group in the Australian parliament for many years. He led Australian parliamentary delegations to Sri Lanka. To the writer's knowledge, in the last five years alone, he visited Sri Lanka three times.

A keen golfer, it was Don's great desire to play golf at the Nuwara Eliya golf course, one of Sri Lanka's best golf courses. He was able to fulfill his desire in 2013. Every time he returned to Australia from Sri Lanka, Don came with nostalgic stories. When the writer met with him a few months ago, Don related the experience of spending a day at a Tea Planter's bungalow in Sri Lanka's hill country, where he studied the art of picking tea leaves and processing them in the factory. He had simply cherished that experience.

Don ran his own small charity in Sri Lanka.

Don was a great friend of the Sri Lankan community living in Australia. He maintained close personal friendships with several Sri Lankan Australians. They included Sinhalese, Tamils, Muslims and Burghers. Don routinely attended Sri Lankan functions in Australia. If invited, he seldom missed a Sri Lankan social or cultural event in his native state of Western Australia (WA).

Don actively attended Sri Lanka Support Group functions in Australia, including our 'Sinhala Avurudu Festival'. He worked tirelessly to make the '*Sri Lanka Way Forward – After the War'* Seminar held in the Canberra Parliament few years ago a tremendous success.

To the writer's best knowledge in the past 15 years Don did not miss a single Sri Lankan Independence Day celebration in Canberra.

Don was a dedicated MP for his constituents in Canning. One of his rivals, Labor MP Gary Gray, who holds Don's neighbouring seat of Brand, said "I have seen first-hand how hard he worked for that community. He worked tirelessly for his local community groups, veterans and aged care services, and for improved local infrastructure,"

"He was a thoroughly good and a decent bloke," Mr Tony Abbott, Australian Prime Minister stated in a statement on Tuesday evening. Foreign Affairs Minister and fellow WA MP Julie Bishop issued a heartfelt tribute to her "dear friend and colleague" who had a "giant personality". She quipped "With wide interests and an inquiring mind, Don worked to promote the national interest by building close links with a number of countries…. He will be remembered for his commitment to community service, his wit, his frank opinions freely shared and his abiding loyalty to his friends". Former Attorney-General and the Prime Minister's Special Envoy for Citizenship and Community

Engagement, Phillip Ruddock tweeted “Incredibly saddened by the loss of my friend and colleague Don. …….. I'll miss him greatly”.

The untimely loss of Don is a great loss to Australia. It is also a great loss for the Sri Lankan community in Australia, and for Sri Lanka at large.

May Don rest in peace.

Chanaka Bandarage, President, Sri Lanka Support Group (Global)
srilankasupportgroup@bigpond.com

Response to Dr Dayan Jayathillake's articles (2)

Chanaka Bandarage

Monday, June 3rd, 2013; Lankaweb

Reference to Dr Dayan Jayathillake's article on "Provincial Devolution Through 13th Amendment is a Political Solution Grudgingly Acceptable to both Sinhala and Tamil Communities" that appeared in 'dbsjeyaraj.com' on 24 May 2013; Dr Jayathillake makes a desperate attempt to justify the preservation of the 13th amendment. Therein, he makes a number of arguments.

One argument by Dr Jayathillake is that we should keep the 13th amendment because India's External Affairs Ministry had indicated to Sri Lanka that if we abolish 13, the Government of Sri Lanka would be "at its own risk" and would force the New Delhi Government to react with "firm measures." They have also cautioned that Sri Lanka would be isolating itself in the international community."

First, India has to be more specific as to what these 'firm measures' would be. It is the role of Sri Lanka's External Affairs Ministry to articulate to India the dangers of the 13th amendment, and how it can lead to formation of the Tamil Eelam (see our Media Releases/Petition to His Excellency the President); in any case the issue whether the 13th amendment should be abolished or not is an entirely internal matter that should be decided by the people of Sri Lanka. Sri Lanka did not put India under undue pressure when its citizens including the country's Buddhist monks were publicly humiliated and assaulted on the streets of Thamilnadu. The country's top sportsmen are still denied entry into Thamilnadu. India may argue it is a condition in the Indo-Lanka Agreement of 1987 that Sri Lanka creates 9 provincial governments – this does not mean Sri Lanka should stick with them forever. International treaties between countries are not permanent. Countries can vary/revoke them by agreement or of their own. India will agree under the Accord, it did not fulfill its side of the bargain; the IPKF

failed to disarm the LTTE (IPKF committed many atrocities on Tamil civilians also); LTTE was defeated by the Sri Lankan forces, more than 20 years after the IPKF left the country. These are valid reasons for Sri Lanka to get out of the Agreement if it is still valid (doubtful). I hope Dr Jayathillake would agree India has not shown proper leadership in relation to Sri Lanka. Her foreign policy on Sri Lanka had been largely dictated by anti-Sri Lanka events in Thamilnadu (an ex-Indian Foreign Affairs chief, Mr Kanwal Sibal, criticised India for this). India is the only Asian country with Korea that voted against Sri Lanka in Geneva in 2013 – even the pro-western Japan abstained from voting (India did the same in 2012); in 2013 India first advocated a softer Resolution being implemented against Sri Lanka, within weeks her position dramatically changed (due to Thamilnadu factor), India wanted stringent Resolutions made against Sri Lanka (US objected to this). In a situation like this, it is prudent for Sri Lanka to adopt its own measures of safeguarding its sovereignty and territorial integrity, the number 1 priority for any country.

Dr Jayathillake tries to compare Sri Lanka with former Yugoslavia. Like India (prior to British colonisation, India was not One Country – Thamilnadu itself was a separate independent 'state'), prior to World War 2, the former Yugoslavian sates were independent entities (eg. Yugoslavia, Croatia, Bosnia etc). But, Sri Lanka has always been One Country. There has never been an Eelam in Sri Lanka. Pandya, Chola, Elara were South Indian invaders who were chased away by brave Sinhalese armies. Where an independent nation is consisted of a number of former sovereign states, it is possible for the nation to disintegrate at some point of time (like the former USSR); this theory will not apply to Sri Lanka.

Dr Jayathiallke talks about R2P ('Responsibility to Protect). He is wrong to say this doctrine existed in 1987. R2P is a recent development of customoary international law; the main proponent being Gareth Evans, former Australian Foreign Minister. He emphasised that the world should have intervened in Rwanda to save hundreds and

thousands of people (R2P has only been somewhat successfully applied in Libya, to overthrow Gadhafi. The invasion of Iraq was not UN sanctioned). In Sri Lanka the Tamils do not face a Rwanda/Libya situation. The UN has failed to apply R2P to Syria (Russia has repeatedly blocked the move in the Security Council).

Dr Jayathiallke states the following in his interview with 'Sunday Lakbima' (2 June 2013):

නමුත් උතුරේ මැතිවරණයක් පැවැත්වීම තුළින් රටට බරපතළ උවදුරක් සිදුවන බවයි ආණ්ඩුව තුළ සිටින ඇතැම් පක්ෂ පවා ප්‍රකාශ කරන්රන්, එවැන්නක් සිදුරවේයැයි ඔබ විශ්වාස කරන්රන්නේ නැද්ද?

උතුරු පළාත් සභා ඡන්දය පැවැත්වීම හෝ නොපැවැත්වීම සරල ප්‍රශ්නයක් නොවෙයි. ඒක සංකීර්ණ ප්‍රශ්නයක්. එය පැවැත්වීහමත් යම්කිසි උවදුරක් තිහෙ වා. එය පිළිගත හැකියි. ඒ වහේම නොපවත්වීමත් උවදුරක් තියෙනවා. අප හැම පැත්තම සන්සන්දය කර, ඒ හදස තුලනාත්මකව බැලිය යුතුයි. මහේ විේ ර යට අනුව හම් වසහර්දී උතුරු පළාත් ඡන්දය හ නොපැවැත්වීමෙන් වන උවදුර ඡන්දය පැවැත්වීහමන් ව උවදුරට වඩා බෙහ්වින්ම විශාලයි. ඒ නිසා මේ වසර තුළදී ඡන්දය නියත වශයෙන්ම පැවැත්විය යුතුයි. මුත් එයින් කිසිවිහටකත් අදහස් වන්නේ නැහැ ඡන්දයක් පැවැත්වීමෙන් කිසි උවදුරක් සිදුනොවන බවට. එසේම උවදුරු ඇතිවිය හැකියැයි කියා මැතිවරණ අවලංගු කරන් අපට බැහැ. එසේ ම් රනිල් වික්‍රමසිංහ බලයට ආ, 2001 මැතිවරණයෙන් රටට අතිශය බරපතල උවදුරකට මුහුණදීමට සිදුවුණා. ඕනෑම මැතිවරණයකින් රටට එලෙස යම් යම් දුර්විපාක ඇතිවීමට පුළුවන්. මුත් එසේ කියා මැතිවරණ අවලංගු කළහොත් හානි සිදුවන්නේ ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදයටයි.

Dr Jayathillake himself admits there is a danger in holding the northern provincial council election. His argument is twofold: (i) there is a higher danger to the country if the provincial council election is not held, (ii) to safeguard democracy the election must be held. In our Media Releases and Petition to His Excellency the President, we have shown that holding of the election is more dangerous than not holding of it. Let us briefly analyse this again:

Advantages of holding of the September election

I. Prima facie, it is a good act. People in the South who are non-racist have articulated they do no mind having a Northern Provincial Council (of course governed by Tamils), provided that it will not discriminate against them, and it will operate in consistent with the Constitution. Like the other 8 provincial councils, the Southerners want the Northern Provincial Council not do anything that is detrimental to the country's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

II. The Government may get credit from the international community for holding the election as promised

III. CHOGM can be successfully conducted in Sri Lanka without major distractions.

Disadvantage of holding of the election in September

I. TNA being the former LTTE proxy in the Parliament will win the election. They have not given up the demand for a separate state. In Geneva in February 2013 they lobbied for the Tamils' right for self-determination (ie, a
separate state). Last April in London, they lobbied against GHOGM being held in Sri Lanka. It was only 2 days ago (2 June 2013) the TNA General Secretary, Mavai Senathirajah MP stated that "the TNA does not believe in a power sharing arrangement under a unitary state." (3 June 2013: Daily Mirror). There are other TNA MPs who have made similar remarks.

II. The chances of another Eelam war being erupted in the North are much higher if the administration in the North is in the hands of the TNA or a similar separatist group. Especially if the TNA led provincial government holds Police powers (Varthrajah Permual used it as the provincial 'Army'), the consequences could be devastating. Inevitably,

there will be clashes between the weapons bearing TNA Police and the Sri Lanka Army. No decent Sri Lankan wants to go back to war.

Once formed, the TNA Northern Provincial Government will cunningly team up with the west and India (they will hoodwink them also) and will achieve their ultimate objective - the Tamil Eelam. It is foolish to think just because the Government conducted the Northern election or did other good deeds for northern/eastern Tamils (the government has done many good deeds), the west and India will take the side of the Government or praise the Government. Like in the past, the good deeds will soon be forgotten (the country has not been given due credit for the prompt resettlement of the IDPS (300,000), release of 10,000 LTTE cadres back into society and the massive development work undertaken in the North and East). Like how the US will always protect Israel, the west and India will always take the side of the Tamils. In their eyes (mainly due to Tamil Diaspora lies and Thamilnadu pressures), it will be protection of the underdogs – 'the most discriminated people on earth'. Dr Jayathillake had been a vehement critique of the LTTE in the past, his current stand of vigorously promoting the Northern Provincial Council Election, which will lead to the end of One Lanka, is unfortunate.

So far no country or international body has threatened Sri Lanka with invasion or sanctions if the Northern provincial council election is not held. No doubt, a strong reaction will come from India and the west, the full extent of it is unknown. Our External Affairs Ministry has a major task ahead of it - it should be in a position to explain our adversaries why we had to take steps to abolish the 13th amendment

and our diplomats must be capable of calming down the tension that will arise – otherwise they are not good diplomats. We can learn from US, UK, Australia, Israel in this regard (how cleverly they manipulate situations in unison to their advantage). We have strong international friends too, let's use them to our maximum advantage. The writer does not believe India will 'invade' Sri Lanka over this issue. The west will not be able to send UN forces (like in East Timor) because China and/or Russia will block the proposal in the UN Security Council (hopefully, we have by now obtained these assurances from them). If the 13th amendment is abolished by way of a Referendum, Sri Lanka, from a strong position, will be able to argue that both India and the west (like rest of the international world) have to respect the franchise exercised by the Sri Lankan people. I do not know why Dr Jayathillake states we should promote something knowingly that is dangerous, especially when there is a safer alternative available, ie, holding of the Referendum. His second argument that the Northern Provincial Council must be held for the sake of 'democracy' is not an argument even worth of debating – the country's sovereignty which is at stake is more important than anything else (holding of the Referendum is also a part of the democratic process. Dr Jayathillake's comparison of the 2001 general election that brought Mr Ranil Wickarmasinghe into power with the proposed 2013 Northern Provincial Council election (that is going to bring TNA into power) is not a good example; basically he mixes apples with oranges.

The writer is a Lawyer

23 Responses to "Response to Dr Dayan Jayatilleka articles (2) about the 13th Amendment"

1. *Lorenzo* Says:
DJ is **.....**

2.  *Susantha Wijesinghe* Says:
Lorenzo !! The Law of Karma will soon be at **.....**

3.  *Ananda-USA* Says:
What TREACHERY is **.....**

4.  *Lorenzo* Says:
Ananda-USA and others, I said so!

5.  *Lorenzo* Says:
War is better than this peace.

During war it was MAINLY **.....**

 *Ananda-USA* Says:
THERE IS AN EXAMPLE of how **.....**

 *Ananda-USA* Says:
Rise UP! …. O Patriots of Mother Lanka ….

6.  *Dilrook* Says:
What we see now is the second phase of the impeachment saga**.....**

7.  *Lorenzo* Says:
Thanks **.....**

8.  *Sunil Vijayapala* Says:
unwarranted attention has been given by most people to dj. the best thing is to ignore the man and his works. he has a job – he is a dj at a club – the Colombon murderous English spleaking club. they emulate the anglo saxon ungulates and ponder on many things arguing about this and that. they sit in chairs cross legged having a scotch in hand and talk of the wisdom of dj and the 13th amendment. we expats along with 20 others challenged the 13 amendment, but to no avail as the wise old fool jr influenced the judgment of

1 judge. now the challenge is back. again it might or might not fail. dj is a self glorifying man who now has nothing to contribute to the country but to destroy the very institutions which brought his popularity. he had some substance then but now has lost credibility. so the solution – ignore him.

9. *Ananda-USA* Says:
Lorenzo, Great summary of the UNINTENDED GOOD done by the LTTE!

10. *Ananda-USA* Says:
Is this EMERGENCY BILL, intended to give the**.....**

11. *jayasiri* Says:
Mr.Chanaka Bandarage…..it is very important for us to write, debate, and show our support to what is going on in Sri Lanka, with regards to NPC elections & abolition of 13, 13 A or any other form of ammendment**.....**

12. *Lorenzo* Says:
Ananda,

..... Don't be so sure**.....**

13. *Susantha Wijesinghe* Says:
" The Government has planned to APPEAL for a definition of 'Land Powers ' **.....**

14. *Ananda-USA* Says:
..... Many Friends and some Relatives of mine who were BLOWN TO BITS in that attack, **.....**

15. *Ananda-USA* Says:
MORE INDECISIVE FIDDLING while Sri Lanka is HEADED for the CHOPPING BLOCK!**.....**

16. *Chanaka B* Says:
Jayasiri, about your comment, I think we should not be scared to tell the whole world including India that we do not want 13A and it is a recepie for disaster. We should say this through proper diplomatic channel.

By not abolishing 13A, but trying to tinker it – 13A, will continue to cause us misery. The country cannot sustain this monstrous White Elephant . Now it is going to deny us a part of our country.

A Constitution is not a Dog's Act; it is not something to be meddled with so frequently (any good lawyer will agree with this). After JRJ meddled with the Constitution in 1978, there had been 18 amendments within 35 years! – must be a world record. And more amendments are being planned! That is why Australia, though they do not like the Queen, did not want to Change its Constitution at the Referendum, I think held in 1996. A wise move!

17.  *Fran* *Diaz* Says:
Dilrook,

18.  *Fran* *Diaz* Says:
Sri Lanka continues to purchase various goods (large stocks of pharma products & food) from **.....**

19.  *Fran* *Diaz* Says:
As far as we know, no apology ever came from Tamil Nadu or India, for beating up/humiliating **.....**

20.  *Ananda-USA* Says:
What is this **.....**

21.  *Ananda-USA* Says:
The 13th AMENDMENT contains **.....**

පිටපත් ලක්ෂ 2ක් මුද්‍රණය කර බෙදා හරින ලද අත් පත්‍රිකාව (2013 දෙසැම්බර්)

<u>පළාත් සභා අවලංගු කිරීමට බෙදා ජනමත විචාරණයක් වහාම, 2014 සැප්තම්බරයට පෙර පවත්වන මෙන් අතිගරු ජනාධිපතිතුමාගෙන් ඉල්ලා සිටීමේ ජනතා ව්‍යාපාරය</u>

- ලබන සැප්තැම්බර් මාසයේ පැවැත්වෙන උතුරු පළාත් සභා මැතිවරණයෙන්, ප්‍රභාකරන්ගේ දේශපාලන හඬ වූ, අන්තවාදී ද්‍රවිඩ එක්සත් සංවිධානය **(TNA)** හෝ එවැනිම වෙනත් අන්තවාදී ද්‍රවිඩ සංවිධානයක් බලයට එනු ඇත. ඔවුන් පිහිටුවනු ලබන උතුරු පළාත් සභාව මගින් ඔවුන් උතුරේ වෙනම රාජ්‍යක් බිහිකරනු ඇත. වසර හතරකට පෙර, දස දහස් ගණනක් රණවිරුවන් සහ අහිංසක මෙරට වැසියන් සිය ජීවිත සහ අවයව පරිත්‍යාග කිරීමෙන් බේරා ගත් අපේ මේ ආදරණීය මවුබිම දෙකඩ කිරීම පිණිස, මෙසේ අන්තවාදීන්ට බන්දේසියක තබා සැප්තැම්බරයේ නොදෙමු.
- ඉඩම්, පොලිස්, සෞඛ්‍ය, අධ්‍යාපන, මහාමාර්ග, වාරිමාර්ග, ප්‍රවාහන, වැනි අති බලසම්පන්න බලතල සහිත උතුරු පළාත් සභාව දැඩි අන්තවාදී **TNA**

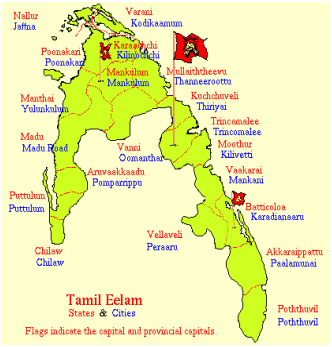
කණ්ඩායම සතුවීම නරියාට කුකුළු රංචුව ලැබීමකි. ඉඩම්, පොලිස් බලතල ඉවත් කිරීමෙන් පමණක් මෙම අති භයානක ප්‍රශ්නය නිරාකරණය කල නොහැක.

- අතිගරු ජනාධිපතිතුමාට ඕනෑම වේලාවක පළාත්සභා විසුරුවා හැරිය හැකියයි කීම මුලාවකි.
- පළාත් සභා යනු ජනතාවට කිසිම පළක් නැති, රටට දැරිය නොහැකි බරකි - අති දැවැන්ත සුදු අලියෙකි. සැප්තැම්බරයේ බිහිවෙන 9වන උතුරු පළාත් සභා සුදු අලියාගෙන් මේ බර තවත් වැඩිවෙනවා පමණක් නොව රට දෙකඩ වනුද ඇත/තවත් ඊලාම් යුද්ධයක්ද පටන් ගත හැක. නැගෙනහිරත් සමඟ ඔවුන් (උතුරු පලාත් සභාව) යා උනොත් (බොහෝ ඉඩ ඇත) රටෙන් 1/3 ක් සහ මුහුදු තීරයෙන් 2/3ක් අපට අහිමිවෙනු ඇත.
- සැප්තැම්බර් උතුරු පළාත් සභා මැතිවරණයට පෙර, ගරු ශ්‍රේෂ්ඨාධිකරණය 1987දී කීවාක් මෙන්, පළාත් සභා බිහිකළ 13වන ව්‍යවස්ථා සංශෝධනය අවශ්‍යද නැද්ද කියා ජනමතවිචාරණයක් දිවයින පුරා වහාම පවත්වන මෙන් (නියම ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදය යනු එයයි) අපි අතිගරු ජනාධිපතිතුමාගෙන් ඉතා ගෞරවයෙන් ඉල්ලා සිටින ව්‍යාපාරයක් දියත් කර ඇත්තෙමු.

පළාත් සභා අහෝසි කලපසු 1987ට පෙර පැවති, ජන්දයෙන් පත්වුනු ප්‍රාදේශීය සභාවලට බලතල ලැබෙන, ව්‍යවස්ථාවට නැවත යමු.

සියළු ආදරණීය සහෝදර ශ්‍රී ලාංකික රටවැසියෙනි, කරුණාකර මෙම පණිවුඩය හැකිතරම් ජනතාව අතර ප්‍රචාරය කරන්න. 13වන ව්‍යවස්ථා සංශෝධනය අහෝසිකරන වැඩකටයුතු වලට උනන්දුවෙන් සහභාගී වෙන්න. එවැනි පෙත්සම්වලට අත්සන් කරන්න. අපත් සමඟ මේ ගමන යන්න එන්න.





හලාවත සිට පොතුවිල් දක්වා ඉල්ලන දෙමළ ඊළම (බෙදුම්වාදීන් විසින් මෑතක පිළියෙළ කරන ලද සිතියමකි). මෙවැන්නකට කිසිසේත් ඉඩ නොතියමු



උතුරේ බිහිවෙන **TNA** පළාත් සභාව සමඟ වසර **4**ට පසු, නැවතත් ඉහත වැනි ප්‍රභාකරන්/කොටි අවතාර උතුරෙන් බිහිවනු ඇත. කොටි පොලිසිය මේවා මෙල්ල කිරීම කෙසේවෙතත් මෙවැනි දේට තවත් උඩ ගෙඩි දෙනු ඇත.

නැවත යුද්ධයක් බිහි නොකරමු - උතුරේ පළාත් සභාවක් බිහි නොකරමු

13වන සංශෝධණය අවලංගු කිරීම සඳහා වූ ජාතික පෙරමුණ

ප්‍රධාන කැඳවුම්කරු - නීතින්ඳ වානක බණ්ඩාරගේ

(මෙම පෙරමුණේ සෙසු සාමාජිකයන් අතර වෛද්‍ය ගුණදාස අමරසේකර, SL ගුණසේකර, ආචාර්ය හේමා ගුණතිලක, වෛද්‍ය අනුලා විජේසුන්දර, නීතින්ඳ නෙවිල් ලද්දුවහෙට්ටි, නීතින්ඳ බෝ අංගගේ, කර්නල් අනිල් අමරසේකර, මහින්ද ගුණසේකර (කැනඩාව), ජීවින් ද සිල්වා (ඇමරිකාව), ඒ ප්‍රේමරත්න (මැද පෙරදිග), රන්ජිත් සොය්සා (ඕස්ත්‍රේලියාව), උජිත් ගල්හේන (ඕස්ත්‍රේලියාව), බර්නාර්ඩ් කුලතිලක, ඕල්කට් ගුණසේකර, පූජ්‍ය රජවත්තේ වප්ප, පූජ්‍ය බෙන්ගමුවේ නාලක ඇතුලත්වේ).

දුරකථන: 071 133 4224

ඊමේල්: **srilankasupportgroup@bigpond.com**

A REFERENDUM UNDER THE ARTICLES 80 (2) AND 85 (1) OF THE CONSTITUTION IS THE BEST WAY TO SAVE MOTHER LANKA

Chanaka Bandarage, Lawyer

(Lanka Web 13/6/13)

The Tamil National Alliance (TNA), the former LTTE proxy in the Parliament, will win the September NPC election easily.

Holding of the NPC election under the 13th amendment (irrespective of whether the Land and Police powers are removed or not) will lead to creation of the Tamil Eelam.

Even two weeks ago, a TNA MP publicly stated that he does "not believe in a power sharing arrangement under a unitary state" (Mavai Senathirajah MP, General Secretary of the TNA - 3 June 2013: Daily Mirror). In Geneva early this year the TNA lobbied for the Tamils right for self-determination (ie, a separate state). Last April in London, they lobbied against CHOGM being held in Sri Lanka. TNA have stated that the NPC election is a 'referendum' for a separate state by the Tamil people. In such an environment, how can the Nation agree to give the administration of the Northern Provincial Council to TNA; a group that is actively advocating secession?

The Government and people of Sri Lanka should do everything possible to stop the TNA from forming the NPC Government – rather than doing things to facilitate them.

- Currently, the JNN and JHU have started public campaigns to further amend the 13th amendment. Their action is praiseworthy. Both parties are campaigning to remove the Police and Land powers from the Constitution. They are happy for the NPC election to be held afterwards. We say this is still dangerous. The two parties do not favour a referendum.

We say giving such important powers as health, highways, irrigation, environment, education, justice, prison, fisheries etc (the very long list of concurrent powers in Schedule 9 of the 13th amendment, plus the Provincial Council list; effectively they are federal powers) to a group who are advocating secession is akin to 'entrusting the surveillance of a chicken coop to a fox'.

The future TNA Government will seriously discriminate against the Sinhalese. They will not allow Sinhalese to re-settle in the North. They can even block the Sinhalese from travelling to the North. The TNA MP Mr Suresh Premachandran recently threatened the Sinhalese who are resettled in Navatkuli Village near Jaffna (6 km from Jaffna) that they must return to the South. These Sinhalese families who speak fluent Tamil have lived in the North for several generations. They now live in utmost fear not knowing what will happen to them after the Northern Provincial Council election. There are similar Sinhalese villages in the North.

For JNN/JHU actions to succeed a 2/3 majority from the Legislature is required. It is unlikely that such a majority can be obtained from the current Parliament. Already 31 MPs in the Parliament have formed an association to protect the 13th amendment. The JNN/JHU actions can take long time to bear results. Note, the NPC election is scheduled to be held on 7 September 2013 (within less than 3 months' time).

- Action by the Government – the Government intends to abolish the following 2 Articles, which is very good:

Article 154A (3) – that allows the merger of the provinces (after forming the Government, it is possible that the TNA can merge with the East and eventually create the new state, 'North-Eastern Sri Lanka' – encompassing 1/3 of the current Sri Lanka's land mass and 2/3 of the coast.

Article 154G (3) – Any Bill in regards to matters in the Provincial Council List shall become law only if they are passed by every Provincial Council.

The Government also intend to seek opinion form the Supreme Court, presumably under Article 129 of the Constitution (it is not clear on what matters that such opinion will be sought).

Expecting the Legislature to solely safeguard the Nation at this most crucial juncture is too much of a risk. The politicians have failed the country miserably. The civil society must rise and demand speedy, positive action from the Government. Mere removal of the Land and Police powers from the concurrent list (9th Schedule), and other minor changes will not eliminate the threat to the country's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

As stated before, the Legislatures can take the people for a ride again. It is foolish to expect that they will provide 2/3 majority to revoke the 13th amendment entirely. Abolition of the 13th amendment, through a national referendum is the only and safest remedy available to save the country.

Why Referendum is the best and easiest way to protect the country?

The writer states with confidence that the best and most simple way to abolish the 13th amendment is by way of a national referendum, using Articles 80(2) and 85 (1) of the Constitution (note: these provisions have not been the subject of discussions before). Changes to the Constitution, using these two provisions, will not require obtaining approval from the Parliament (can do it without even having a Parliamentary debate), furthermore, there is no need to refer the matter to the Supreme Court.

The 3 stage process is as follows:

1) Per Article 80 (2): A Bill to abolish the 13th amendment should be put for the approval of the Cabinet of Ministers (a simple majority in the Cabinet is sufficient). The Cabinet of Ministers should issue a Certificate stating that they intend to submit the Bill for approval by the People at a Referendum.

2) Per Article 85 (1): The President will have to submit the Bill to the people by Referendum

It is suggested that the following question should be asked from the people at the Referendum (to be held before 7 September 2013):

'Do you agree to abolish the 13th amendment to the Constitution, that was enacted in 1987, that has created the present Provincial Council system?'

If the 'Yes' vote has obtained majority of the votes, then,

3) Per Article 80 (2), The President is required to issue a certificate in the following form: "This Bill/provision has been duly approved by the People at a Referendum."

The above 1), 2) and 3) activities are sufficient to abolish the 13th amendment. Once they are successfully carried out;

that will be the end of the Provincial Councils (all 9 of them). The Country will be saved!

Note Article 4 (a) of the Constitution reinforces the above process – '**the Sovereignty of the People shall be exercised and enjoyed by the People at a referendum**.'

Let us say this to the West:

In 1987, the 13th amendment was enacted using 'illegal' means – ie, without seeking consent of the people at a referendum. There is enormous opposition against the 13th amendment in the country. Seeking the people's consent now, even belatedly, is the most democratic thing that the Government can undertake. Allowing people to express their opinion is the most important premise of western democracy.

Let us say this to India:

The Government may have given assurances to India that the NPC election will be held under the full 13th amendment, which assurances are not legally binding. They were given to India, a friendly neighbour, in good faith. However, a situation has arisen there is tremendous opposition to the 13 amendment among the populace. The people have a reasonable and genuine fear that holding of the election under the 13th amendment will allow the TNA to split Sri Lanka and form the Tamil Eelam that they so aspire. Holding of the referendum is a decision by the Cabinet of Ministers, not by His Excellency the President. Whilst the Government regrets that it may not have fully abided by the assurances given to India, at the moment the Government has absolutely no alternative but to seek mandate of the people at a national referendum. India will agree His Excellency the President of Sri Lanka

is elected by the people of Sri Lanka; he has a duty of care to them, not to India.

We urge the Government to conduct informal discussions with the West (and India), especially the US sitting on equal footing and explain to them why it is imperative that the 13th amendment must be referred to the people at a referendum – it was forced upon Sri Lanka by India in 1987. True they may not accept our point of view, but, it is important to open a window of dialogue with them. This will help to minimize any adverse action they might take against us. Note, the North East demerger did not bring us any adverse reaction from the world. The Tamil Diaspora/TNA hold discussions with the West and India all the time, why should only we maintain silence?

We should not forget we have such true friends like China and Russia in the UN Security Council, and thirteen true friends in UNHRC in Geneva. We should appraise them of what is happening, and seek their full assistance. We should also cultivate more friends.

Commentators like Dr Dayan Jayatilleka have argued that the abolishment of 13A will lead to stringent Geneva Resolutions being implemented in 2014, imposition of sanctions against Sri Lanka etc. Some have predicted even a possible invasion of Sri Lanka by India – we believe the latter is very unlikely. **We should bear in mind that whether we abolish/amend the 13th amendment or not, the international community (our current 'enemies' in Geneva etc– US, UK, Canada, Norway, EU, India), due to continuous instigation by the TNA and Tamil Diaspora, will not give up its desire to carve out a separate state in North Eastern Sri Lanka for the Tamils.** By holding the election now, we are simply allowing this to happen. Let us

nip this new threat to our Nation in the bud, rather than allowing it to grow, like what happened with the LTTE.

In case if sanctions are imposed against Sri Lanka, or if **CHOGM** is moved to another country, let us face those situation together as a Nation. Safeguarding the country's sovereignty and territorial integrity is paramount to all other issues, like holding CHOGM in Sri Lanka.

Let them take CHOGM to another country. The loser will be the Commonwealth, not Sri Lanka.

After the Provincial Councils are abolished, we can agree to decentralise more power to provinces including to North and East through Divisional District Councils (Pradeshiya Sabhas), whose memebers are duly elected.

Chanaka Bandarage
President
srilankasupportgroup@bigpond.com

26 Responses to "A REFERENDUM UNDER THE ARTICLES 80 (2) AND 85 (1) OF THE CONSTITUTION IS THE BEST WAY TO SAVE MOTHER LANKA"

1. *Lorenzo* Says:
"We should bear in mind that whether we abolish/amend the 13th amendment or not**.....**

2. *Senevirath* Says:
SHAME **.....**

3. *Ananda-USA* Says:
Jayawewa! FINALLY … it is HERE as we had OFTEN DEMANDED**.....**

4. *Ananda-USA* Says:
Let me put it BLUNTLY:**.....**

5. *Dilrook* Says:
I mostly agree with Chanaka. **.....**

6. *Chanaka* *B* Says:
Dilrook, Per Article 4a; there are 2 sources of power to exercise Sovereignty:

(1) the Parliament AND (2) People at a Referendum.

Both sources are equal.

Currently the JNN and JHU are trying (1), which seems a futile exercise (Note, 2/3 majority is also needed).

(2) is the best and easiest [(using 80 (2) and 85 (1)]. It is more credible – 'People have spoken', thus, may be more acceptable to the 'Western Alliance' and India.

It is easy to 'sell' (2) to the World than (1).

The President can call a referendum under Article 86, based on 'national importance'; one may argue this needs 2/3 majority from the Parliament (depends how the Supreme Court will interpret this). So my method [(2) (using 80 (2) and 85 (1)] is the best. By that HE the President is also saved as the proposal is from the Cabinet, not by himself.

The Government will seek opinion from the Supreme Court (presumably under Article 129 of the Constitution). The Government can ask the Supreme court to make a finding whether or not the 1987 enactment is valid (13 was passed under duress from India). The Supreme Court can say "No" and advise HE the President that the matter should be put to the people at a Referendum (the then Supreme Court stated it should be put to the people at a referendum, it is alleged JR was advised by Siva Pasupahi that a referendum was not necessary). Again, what advice the Government will seek from the Supreme Court no one knows.

7. *Chanaka* *B* Says:
Sorry,it should be NFF, not JNN

8. *Nimal* *Fernando* Says:
FINALLY! is so right — better late than never.

9. *Dilrook* Says:
Chanaka:

Although Article 4 (a) of the Constitution recognises correctly the sovereignty rests with the people who may exercise it either directly or through parliament, Article 154 (G) (3) contradicts it when it comes to provincial councils. This is a ridiculous contradiction resulted from Indians' lack of knowledge of our Constitution. However, this contradiction stays as it is law now unless and until cleared through a Supreme Court interpretation or altered**.....**

Dilrook Says:
As regards total abrogation of 13A, I'm in agreement with you**.....**

Chanaka *B* Says:
True, per Article 82 (5), to repeal/amend 154G(3), a 2/3 majority is required. But, Article 82 (5) does not apply to Article 4(a) – Sovereignty of the People. See in Article 83 (a), Article 4 is expressly excluded (2/3 is not required). Therefore, using the referendum method in [80 (2) and 85 (1)]; any provision in the Constitution can be repealed/amended, including 154G(3). 2/3 is not required.

Contrary to what the then Supreme Court (5/9) stated it is alleged Mr Pasupthi was the then Attorney General who advised JR that a referendum was not required. Yes. Sharvanandan was the CJ.

10. *Christie* Says:
We have to get rid of the provincial councils**.....**

11.  *Christie* Says:
We have to get rid of the provincial councils**.....**

12.  *jayasiri* Says:
I thank, Chanaka, Ananada USA & Dilrouk for educating some of us who are not familiar with Lankan constitution.

All suggestions are very appropriate, BUT a group of lankans who love our Motherland should get together

It is time other Lankans, mainly expats to get together & present the facts to our President & promise him our support.

Thank you…..Another retd expat expressing his views……~ May the Noble Triple Gems protect lanka~ J

13.  *Ananda-USA* Says:
HERE is ANOTHER **.....**

14.  *Dilrook* Says:
June 14th, 2013 at 6:04 pm

A referendum does not work to amend the powers **.....**.

15.  *Ananda-USA* Says:
Dilrook,

What do you mean "A referendum does not work to amend the powers of PCs. Only two thirds can do it."?

That is the EXACT OPPOSITE of what Neville Laduahetty said in his article! I agree with Neville's assessment.

16.  *Dilrook* Says:
Ananda-USA:

There are 2 different issues here.

1. Reducing the powers of PCs.
2. Repealing 13A

For repealing 13A a referendum is the best option.

For reducing the powers of PCs, the Constitution clearly specifies the approach (emphasized) to be taken. I quote from Neville who in turns quotes from the Constitution.

17.  *Lorenzo* Says:
What's the point in keeping this dirt?

18.  *Fran Diaz* Says:
At this point in time, it appears to be pointless to merely make alterations to the 13-A just to make it seem safe for the time being. **.....**

19.  *Ananda-USA* Says:
Indeed, as Neville Laduahetty says, "Thus the interests of the People are at variance with the interests of the Councillors. "

20.  *Ananda-USA* Says:
..... Its establishment of a base in the Maldives is also changing the complexion of the region," he said.

21.  *Kosala777* Says:
As usual Dilrook has picked on a fellow patriot. Go and attack TNA Dilrook rather than attacking good people all the time.

22.  *Lorenzo* Says:
Ananda,

23.  *Ananda-USA* Says:
Kosala777,

No, No, Dilrook was not attacking me**.....**

24.  *Dilrook* Says:
I agree with Ananda that it all depends on the exact wording of the text of the referendum question.

Death of SL Gunasekera – a colossal loss to the country –

A tribute to 'SL' from a fellow patriot/lawyer

Courtesy Lanka Web (11/1//2015)

Chanaka Bandarage, Lawyer

The writer had worked very closely, numerous times, mainly on patriotic matters, with the 'Great' SL Gunasekera.

The writer takes pridein identifying himself as a close friend of SL.

For over 30 years SL was engaged in the struggle against Tamil separatism in Sri Lanka. Many times he was the lone voice against Tamil terrorism, especially in the legal scene.

SL wrote vigorously in multiple journals and attended meetings and forums. He represented the country at Thimpu Talks, on behalf of all peoples of Sri Lanka.

During the midst of the Tamil war, SL received death threats. He knew he would not receive protection from security forces; yet he continued his self - styled struggle against separatism.

A hallmark in SL's struggle is that he constantly fought to preserve the unitary status of mother Lanka; without fanfare.

A man of steel, SL did not deviate an atom from his strong beliefs and convictions. No personal favours afforded to him could have persuaded him otherwise.

An unassuming man, SL was never arrogant or uppish. SL moved freely among people from all walks of life, especially the common man. SL had a passion to closely associate with the Buddhist clergy.

As a lawyer, SL acted for people who faced injustice and unfairness. He represented many victims of Tamil Tiger atrocities including armed services personnel. In such cases, he acted free of charge.

A brilliant Commercial lawyer; on social and justice issues, SL was a Humanitarian lawyer. His presence in the Court room was a beacon of light. He respected the judiciary, but was never scared to say what he had to. Judges showed respect to him.

SL travelled far and wide in Sri Lanka. He went to remote corners of the north and east and met Sinhalese villagers who were subjected to Tamil Tiger terrorism. SL met villagers who were persecuted by the Tamil Tigers. He frequently travelled to areas such as Aranthalawa, Gonagala, Weli Oya, Padavi-Sri Pura and Janka Pura.

SL met with Buddhist men who had their pregnant wives killed by the Tamil Tigers after slit-opening their bellies; he met Buddhist parents whose infants were smashed on floor after grabbing them from their breast feeding mothers; he met Buddhists and Muslims who saw how their priests were cold-bloodedly murdered by the Tamil Tigers inside places of worship.

SL met people from all 3 nationalities that encountered crimes inflicted upon them by the Tamil Tigers – the most brutal and heinous terrorist group ever. SL met victims of suicide bombings, rape, bus and train bombings.

SL on his own could not do much for these unfortunate people (Thawalma Foundation, which he was a member has done remarkable work in the threatened villages), he stood tall with them. He intently listened to them and after he returned to Colombo, gave them a voice.

Rural people identified SL as a simple, truthful and a trustworthy man.

In 2013, SL had a slip and fall injury in his house. He was in a coma for many months. SL's wife, Nimal, looked after him like her two eyes. A remarkable lady of unprecedented courage, Nimal told the writer when he visted the sick

SL late last year that she would care for SL for the rest of her life; if she had to sell family silver to safeguard this Great Sri Lankan she would gladly do so. Such was the pride and nobility of this family, who did not ask for financial contributions from anyone outside. The meritorious physician and family friend, Dr Anula Wijesundera was there for SL until his demise.

Why SL is Great?

SL was fearless, and fought with people in the highest echelons. In most battles - legal or not, SL came out the winner. SL had direct confrontation with the country's heads of states. As SL did not expect favours from them, SL bravely and courageously fought for his causes. Even his enemies respected him.

SL was a man who never called a spade a diamond or clubs. He always called them a spade.

In 2013 SL worked tirelessly hard to work towards the abolishment of the 13th amendment. Being a visionary, SL saw that the 13th amendment is a 'White Elephant' of unimaginable proportion. He feared it will grow into such gigantic size, one day it would 'destroy' the whole of Sri Lanka. SL stressed that Sri Lanka should be brave to abolish the 13th amendment; it will be good for the country – for all its peoples. He thought the political leadership should be bold enough to explain the evils of the 13th amendment to people especially to minorities and India.

SL showed the massive social and economic advantages for the country should the 13th amendment be abolished. Today we allocate Rs 20 billion (or more?) a year, just to maintain the provincial council system. What is the gain to the country in return? Absolutely nothing. Provincial councils have become a seed bed for corrupt politics, violence, drug deals and many other social ills.

A big way of paying respect and gratitude to SL would be to agree to abolish the 13th amendment. At a time when the country is experiencing unprecedented political change, to march forward, the country must have a

serious discourse about abolishing the 13th amendment. Ordinary people should express their state of mind to the government and politicians. It is a good thing to trim down the enormous powers of the Presidency by way of Constitutional change, it is equally good if legislatures – especially Tamil, could agree to abolish the 13th amendments (provincial councils) – this will be the best way forward for a unitary Sri Lanka. Sri Lanka flourished as one nation under the pre-1978 Constitution. It is time that we go back to same. All peoples – Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims would immensely benefitted if Sri Lanka has a strong central government, with Village Councils (Pradeshiya Sabhas) looking after the people's needs at grass root levels. Sri Lanka is not India; it is too tiny to be managed by so many layers of governments, such as now. It is one of the most governed states in the world – thus the huge economic drain and other burden on the people.

Though born to a Catholic family SL lived an agnostic. He was a citizen at large - a colossal figure of mother Sri Lanka. The whole nation can be immensely proud that it produced such a unique, gigantic figure.

Chanaka Bandarage

4 Responses to "Death of SL Gunasekera – a colossal loss to the country – An Appreciation"

1.  *Samanthi* Says:
January 11th, 2015 at 10:39 am

I earnestly believe that other patriots like Messrs Gomin Daysri, Kapila Gamage and Chanaka Bandarage etc will fill the vacuum created by the untimely passing away of Mr. S. L. Gunasekera.

2.  *douglas* Says:
January 11th, 2015 at 10:40 am

I have associated him closely purely on professional/official duty and connected functional matters ,during which time, we discussed on many matters including political and very many social subjects prevailing in the country. I found him to be a very great SON of Sri Lanka who never ever compromised his LOYALTY and PATRIOTISM to the country. His FEELINGS towards those "down trodden" living in the then "Boarder Villages" were beyond comparison and penning in a brief comment like this.

He was never a Professional who worked looking to make a life of "Abundance" and led a very simple life. In one of my consultations and as usually engaging in discussions on political matters, he wanted to present me one of his books titled "Tigers,'Moderates' And Pandora,s Package" (published in 1996); I refused "politely". But the very next day, first thing in the morning was to walk into the book shop and "BUY" it paying Rs.300.00. When, I told him next day, I "bought" that book; he had a hearty loud laugh and said: "I knew why you refused to accept it and at the very moment a feeling went through me that you would "BUY" it". He did not forget to say "Thank You". This book along with his another book titled "Indo-Lanka Accord – An Analysis" (published by the Sri Lanka Freedom Party in August 1987) are some treasures I hold in his memory. HE WAS A GREAT SON OF HIS AND MY MOTHER LANKA.

GOD BLESS HIM AND MAY HIM REST IN PEACE.

3.  *douglas* Says:
Continued…. I hold a mirror to his HUMILITY and HUMANITY by quoting

the “Dedication” he wrote in his book “Tigers,’Moderates And Pandora,s Package” : –

4.  *LANKAPUTHRA* Says:
Thank you Chanaka Bandarage for letting people like me to add few remembrance comments. I like to point out what Chanake forgot to focus on.
.....

SRI LANKA SUPPORT GROUP
Tel: 0403779120

GPO Box 3004, Canberra 2601 srilankasupportgroup@bigpond.com

HOW TO STOP THE BOATS TO AUSTRALIA

Chanaka Bandarage, Barrister at-Law; President, Sri Lanka Support Group
'Sydney Grapevine' - March 2009

- **East Timor regional solution or any other regional solution - will never work; in actual fact, they are already dead**

- **Pacific Solution — will not stop the fake asylum-seeking Tamils (and others) from coming to Australia; they will continue to come, and at the end will end up in Australia anyway**

- **Only solution to stop the Tamil (and other) boats to Australia – Turn the boats back safely and humanely to Sri Lanka (and other source countries of the boats). If required, establish a mechanism to process their asylum claims in the source country (Tamils can also be sent back to the Tamil refugee camps in South India, in collaboration with the Government of India (there are number such camps there already).**

Why will the East Timor regional solution or any other regional solution never work?

- The countries in question are diverse – they will never be able to reach a multilateral solution to such a complex question.

- As already seen, countries like East Timor will start dictating difficult terms to Australia. Also, it is evident that the President and the Prime Minister of East Timor do not talk in one voice, hence Australia will get bogged down with the East Timor's internal politics

- What if members of the regional solution pull out or dictate difficult/impossible terms to Australia?

- Since Indonesia is a part of the regional solution with East Timor (where New Zealand is also involved), there will never be a consensus to the key issues of the problem

- It will be Australia that has to pay the total or majority of the bill for the exercise, which could be enormous (may amount to several hundreds of millions of dollars every year)

- **Given that several countries are involved, it will take too long (several years) to establish a regional centre, by that time hundreds or thousands more of boats will arrive**

- Australia has already spent millions of dollars to set up an asylum seeker shelter in Nauru, this will be a total waste of taxpayer funds

- The regional centre might become a holiday centre for the vagrants of Asia and Africa, who will have good time in the host

country (East Timor) with Australia paying the full bills until the vagrants end up in Australia as permanent residents

- As it is a regional centre, Australia will not have much control in processing the asylum claims and the UN system, which is corrupt and inefficient, will dominate

Why is it that the Pacific Solution is not the best solution to fix this problem permanently?

- It is true that when the previous Pacific Solution was in operation the number of boats was drastically reduced from coming to Australia, but they did still come.

- It took too long to process the asylum seeker applications, and Australia spent enormous amounts of money in Nauru to process the claims

- Australia was compelled to listen to the concerns expressed by Nauru, meaning that the moment there is another country or countries involved, Australia will not be able to apply its asylum seeker policy willy nilly. It will be subject to the conditions of the other country/countries involved

- Asylum seekers were idle for several months in Nauru before they were airlifted to various cities of Australia, so the people smugglers continued to sell the end result they advertised as the end result was positive (Nauru Foreign Minister confirmed this saying the asylum seekers had a good time in their country playing soccer etc – why should the Australian taxpayer spend money for these)

- The opposition argues that Nauru is not a signatory to the Refugee Convention

- **At the end, more than 98% of those who were in the camps in Nauru ended up getting refugee status and they are all now settled down in Australia. People smugglers know this, thus they will continue to sell their product to their target well.**

- When the Pacific Solution was on, the Tamils, who have now mastered the tactic of travelling to Australia by boats, had not started to their ventures by boats in very large numbers

The best solution

- Return the Tamil (and other) boats back to Sri Lanka (and the source countries) with the assistance of the Australian coast guard/navy **in a most humane and humanitarian way.** This means the Australia coast guard/navy will accompany the boats back to their source countries safely. Australia will take the responsibility for them until they are safely off loaded in the source country and, if required, Australia can explore the possibility of processing the claims of those would-be asylum seekers inside those source countries. There is another possibility for Tamil asylum seekers – they can be sent to the Tamil refugee camps in South India, in collaboration with the Government of India (there are number such camps there already).

- Even if the people smugglers or the asylum seekers damage their vessels causing the boats to sink etc., the Australian coast

guard/navy will be able to toe the boats back to the source country or re-board the asylum seekers into a new vessel.

- This is the only way that the people smugglers can be given a firm slap to the face and a lesson that they will learn so well. They will realise that there is no point of transporting their human cargo in rickety boats for exorbitant fees. Voyaging the dangerous seas as the end result will be fruitless, and they will give up their business after few boats had been turned back.

- (Australia is currently saying that they will stop the boats in East Timor or Indonesia, but this does not much happen, even now, the people smugglers sail directly to Australia, bypassing those countries).

Another way to stop the Tamil boats

- The Australian Government must talk seriously to Sri Lanka and provide every assistance to Sri Lanka to stop the Tamil boats. Though Australia states it has already done so, it had not been done well. The Australian Foreign Minister visited Sri Lanka to discuss this issue only once. That's why the Tamil boats keep coming. If Australia offers money and other assistance to Sri Lanka to improve its coast guards/naval surveillance to stop the Tamil boats, then the Sri Lankan Government will became serious and stop the boats completely. Again, if Australia works with Sri Lanka in a fair dinkum manner, the Tamil boats can be stopped.

Why is turning back the boats the best solution to stop the boats, especially Tamil ones?

- It is well known that among the asylum seekers are ex Tamil Tigers and Tamil thugs who have engaged in gang violence in other countries
- Former Tamil Tigers have been positively identified in some of the asylum seeker vessels that have reached Australia, including the 'Oceanic Viking' (ASIO identified 4 Tamils as being of bad character on the Oceanic Viking). Of the 250 Tamils who are on a boat currently berthed in Merak, Indonesia, who are eagerly waiting to come to Australia, several Tamil Tigers (both male and female) have been positively identified, plus as stated before Tamil thugs (eg Kulendrarajh or Alex, who was on the boat berthed in Merak had been deported from Canada for street violence; he was the spokesperson for the Tamils in that boat, and then he suddenly disappeared some time ago, he presumably had also been living in South India for some time allegedly organising people smuggling activities).
- According to Sri Lankan Security experts a boatload of another 200 -250 Tamils, strongly suspected to be containing large numbers of Tamil Tigers have left Sri Lanka recently on its way either to Canada or Australia.

Are the Tamils genuine refugees or bogus refugees? Why would the Tamils come to Australia which is a far away country and not go by boat to South India? South India, the birthplace of the Tamil race (where 60 million Tamils live), is only 32 km away from northern Sri Lanka, and home to camps already set up to accept such boat people

- There is no persecution of Tamils taking place in Sri Lanka. All communities are living in peace and harmony in Sri Lanka (about 40% of Colombo's population is Tamil)

- Australia has become a magnet for Sri Lankan Tamil asylum seekers. They use the civil war that ended in Sri Lanka more than a year ago as an excuse to come to Australia in droves of boats.

- Why should they come to Australia now when the civil war ended more than a year ago? UNHCR and other agencies have stated that the conditions in Sri Lanka have drastically improved for the Tamils living there. There is no reason for the Tamils to get into boats and pay thousands of dollars to get to Australia, other than economic reasons.

- There are established people smugglers (ie, mostly the LTTE, in regards to the Tamils) who have a fine product to sell (Australia). As long as the people smugglers are dealing with the Tamils they will continue to come, no matter if Sri Lanka provides a fine living conditions for them, as the standard of living in Australia is better than of Sri Lanka.

- If Tamils are genuine refugees, they can sail in boats to South India easily. It is only 32 km away from Sri Lanka, there are well-equipped UNHCR and South Indian Government refugee camps established there to welcome them.
- What Australia must understand is that the Tamil boats will continue to come in large numbers. They are very clever in circumventing the Australian laws. Australia must be cleverer to defeat them.

- There is a flyer spreading around in northern and eastern Sri Lanka among the Tamils that states "if you want a good life simply hop on to a boat to Australia, within a short time you will be the owner of a nice house there."

Are they only Tamils from Sri Lanka in those Tamil boats to Australia?

- Tamils are coming to Australia in boats not only from Sri Lanka but also from countries like South India and Malaysia — not because of anything else but to enjoy a good life in Australia. The standard of living in Australia is much higher than in Sri Lanka and other countries, so Australia is a magnet for those who aspire to have a good life, including the Sri Lankan Tamils.

Are the Australians being taken for a ride by the Tamils who come to Australia by boats in large numbers?

- By way of boat it is very easy to get to Australia. There is no immigration, no customs, no police — you just arrive and then you are welcomed with warm hearts, loving kindness and friendly gestures. The only risk is the requirement to spend number of days on the rough seas, but the people smugglers paint rosy pictures of the journey to those who are interested, as their only concern is to fatten their wallets.

- For Sri Lankan Tamils the biggest advantage is that the Christmas Island and Cocos Island are situated within reasonable proximity to Sri Lanka. They do not need to berth in Indonesia to sail toward to these islands. They can even come via other countries, like Malaysia and Thailand, which means Australia's attempt to stop the Tamil boats in Indonesia or East

Timor may be a futile exercise. They just raise hopes in anticipation of again countering the problem but it is in vain. Australia is not winning, but the people smugglers are.

- Australia is spending millions of taxpayers' dollars to provide a 5-star treatment to the illegal boat people.
- Steve Fielding (Senator) after visiting the Christmas Island detention centre stated "Facilities on Christmas Island are pretty good and look more like a motel than a detention centre.... Detainees on the island get good accommodation, great food, phone and internet access and then within three months get a gold pass to live in Australia. ...It was better treatment than many Australians got from the Government."

- Australia is spending millions of taxpayer money to provide a 5 star treatment to the illegal boat people, people smugglers will continue to spread this positive message to their respective products.
- This joke must come to an end now, not tomorrow.

Is there a refugee problem in Sri Lanka (are the Tamils being discriminated against in Sri Lanka)?

- Fundamentally there is no reason for the Tamils to flee Sri Lanka to Australia as refugees now. They are only economic migrants. Tamils are not fleeing persecution when they travel to Australia, as persecution of any nationality does not take place in the present day Sri Lanka.

- The Sri Lankan Government is looking after its minorities so well: Recently, the country borrowed close to US $3 billion

from the IMF at high interest rates to spend it on the new infrastructure for the Tamils. An enormous amount of infrastructure development has already been undertaken in the North and Eastern parts of Sri Lanka. Most of the Tamil refugee camps in the country are now closed. Tamils and Sinhalese are living in harmony and are friends in the country. In Colombo City more than 40% of the population is Tamil.

- Tamils are indigenous to Tamilnadu. In Tamil Nadu, there are 60 million Tamils living there. And the Tamilnadu government is ever willing to accept any Sri Lankan Tamil who wants to live there (there are already 120,000 Sri Lankan Tamils in camps there). If the Sri Lankan Government is persecuting the Tamils as falsely alleged by the Tamils who flee to Australia, then they should go to Tamilnadu which is only 32 km away from Sri Lanka. Then they do not need to risk their lives and travel to Australia which is a far away country.

- Some months ago, a parliamentary delegation from Tamilnadu commended the Sri Lankan Government for the excellent manner in which the IDPs (Internally Displaced Persons) were treated in the camps and subsequently resettled in their original places.

- If persecution of Tamils are taking place in Sri Lanka (as falsely claimed by the Tamils to obtain refugee status in Australia) the Tamilnadu and the Indian Governments would not simply sit and tolerate such persecution. They will even send their forces to Sri Lanka to rescue the Tamils. In 1986 India violated Sri Lankan air space and sent her planes to Sri Lanka in order to show support for the Tamils. When it comes to the Tamils, Sri

Lanka is constantly under pressure from India and is under their most watchful eye. Even 3 weeks ago a delegation of Sri Lankan Tamil parliamentarians are met with the Prime Minster of India directly in New Delhi to discuss their problems.

- Since India is keeping such a close eye on Sri Lanka, plus rest of the world, there is no way that Tamils can be ill treated in Sri Lanka, though they falsely say that this is the case.

- The God like manner in which the Sri Lankans (ie, the Sinhalese) treat the cricketer Muralitharan, who is a Tamil, shows nothing else but their inestimable love for the Tamils. If the Sinhalese are racists they would not treat Murlaitharan like that, they do not treat their other Cricketing Hero, Sanath Jayasuriya, a Sinhalese, like that.

How big is the Tamil asylum seeker problem?

- The Tamil people smugglers are now firmly established in a variety of their bases in Asia. It is feared that they are now using the former Tamil Tiger vessels to transport the Tamils (each vessel is said to contain scores of former Tamil Tigers, who are considered the most vicious terrorist group ever). With so much money, all the infrastructure in place and there being so much sympathy for them in Australia (actively promoted by the Australian Greens, other leftist parties, the ACTU, and some famous lawyers of Australia), Tamils will continue to come in very large numbers to Australia. This form of conduct - playing politics with people to garner votes at the elections, and attempts

to secure clients for themselves, does not amount to acting in the best interests of Australia.

When giving asylum to Tamils, Australia must consider the safety and other concerns of the Sinhalese Sri Lankans living in Australia, who are the majority of Sri Lankan-Australians living in Australia

- By encouraging Tamils only to come to Australia illegally in boats, including former Tamil Tigers, the lives of the Sinhalese in Australia are kept in danger. Those who talk against the Tamil Tigers in Australia are taking a great risk in their own lives by coming out in the open to criticise them.

- There are Tamil thugs in this country who have harmed innocent Sinhalese who live here. Then the Tamil Tigers are keep coming to Australia in the boats.

- When the Tamil Tigers were defeated, some angry Tamils went on a rampage attacking innocent Sinhalese living in Australia. Acid was thrown at two innocent Sinhalese students in Sydney. Those two students had nothing to do with Tamils. They had only come back after a hard day's work in the middle of night and went to sleep. They were attacked while they were in deep sleep. They had not even known these Tamil thugs before. This incident happened immediately after, the Tamil Tigers were militarily defeated.

- Within a few days of the Tiger defeat, about five Sinhalese shops in Melbourne were attacked by Tamils.

- Because some Sinhalese people are talking against the Tamil Tigers and Tamil Diaspora it is possible that they could be harmed in Australia.

- There is no special protection afforded by the Australian Security to those who criticise the Tamil Tigers and Tamil Diaspora.

- On the other hand, there is emphasis only on the protection of Tamils who allegedly flee' persecution' in Sri Lanka. Australia should not be acting in a biased manner.

- By encouraging the influx of Tamil boat people, Australia is damaging the current equilibrium of Sinhalese/Tamils in Australia which is about 70/30. Today more and more Tamils are coming to Australia not the Sinhalese. This trend is extremely damaging to Australia –the ethnic equilibrium that existed in the country throughout the years must be maintained, as Sinhalese have been exceptionally good settlers of this country.

Why is it important that the Tamil boat people to Australia must not be accepted?

- Australia must be protected from illegal arrivals, especially illegal boat arrivals. We do not want mass murderers, rapists and child killers to be inundated within Australia. It is too naïve to say that these people will not resort to violence in Australia. One day these people could cause massive chaos and carnage in Australia.

- There is no doubt that with time the Tamil Tigers who will be allowed to stay in Australia as terrorists will resort to untold criminal activities – this is what is happening in the large Tamil ghettos that have popped up in western countries like the UK, the USA, Canada, France, Norway the Netherlands and Germany.
- We must not forget that Tamil Tigers were the most brutal terrorists that could ever be imagined. They split open bellies of rural pregnant Sinhalese mothers, killed rural Sinhalese infants after grabbing them from feeding mothers and then smashing them down on the ground, killed Buddhist and Muslim priests cold bloodedly and committed various other brutal and heinous crimes against the Sinhalese (and some Muslims) such as suicide bombings, rape, bus bombings, and the killing of thousands Sinhalese , Muslim and innocent Tamils by numerous other brutal ways.
- Not all Tamil asylum seekers are ex terrorists, most are good, decent people. But even if each boat contains a few ex-terrorists this is a great cause for alarm. Australians are peace-loving, compassionate people. Their kindness should not be taken for granted and it should not be seen as a weakness. By allowing any crook to get into Australia by boats, well, Australia is placing its citizens' lives and national security at very grave risk.
- The way the Tamil boat people have confronted the authorities in the boats berthed in Indonesia (also of those who were on the

Oceanic Viking), has not created a positive impression upon the average Australian.

- As long as there are people smugglers with rickety old boats, and those who are eager to have a good life in Australia, the problem of asylum seekers will exacerbate in the future, not decline. People smugglers will devise new methods to counter the strategies adopted by the Australian Government, and they have little concern for the cargo that they carry, as long as their wallets are filled with dollars. Thus far only they have won, not the Australian Government (more than 150 boats have arrived in Australia this year alone!).

What else must Australia do to stop the Tamil Boats to Australia?

- Even though the Australian Government states the contrary, it is possible that the Sri Lankan Government is not too keen to stop the Tamils leaving the Sri Lankan shores in boats. Who wouldn't like to palm off bad rubbish to another country, especially when the cargo may contain deadly ex terrorists? Sri Lanka's redress may cause a headache in Australia. It could be that Sri Lanka considers Australia as its dumping ground (Australia and New Zealand are the only western countries that did not ban the Tamil Tigers) and it is believed that Australia is still a strong fundraising country for the Tamil Tigers. Fundraising by the Tamil Tigers is now dead in Sri Lanka and most of the western countries (all of them have banned the Tamil Tigers), but the Tamil Tigers are very much alive in

Australia. Australia has given them somewhat a free hand to operate.

- It is now costing enormous amounts of money to bring all peoples in Sri Lanka together. Australia must positively assist Sri Lanka in this regard.

Why is it difficult to have a rational debate about the boat people in Australia?

- In Australia those who criticise the Tamil Boat rort that is going on are blamed and condemned as racists and inhuman. It has become politically incorrect in Australia to speak against the illegal boat arrivals. Some political party leaders would condemn anyone who tries to show the true picture. They know they can win votes on the back of the refugee label. This is unhealthy and not in the best interests of Australia, and could become a dangerous modus operandi for the country.
- What Australians do not know is that there are Sinhalese also coming on those boats (this shows that Sri Lankans are not fleeing the country due to persecution). Whenever Sinhalese boat people are found they are immediately sent back to Sri Lanka. Some Sinhalese are known to have been successful in falsely claiming that they are Tamils.

The manner in which the Tamil asylum seekers obtain refugee status in Australia

- It is believed if you are a Tamil from Sri Lanka, there is a 98% success rate for obtaining refugee status in Australia.
- The Sri Lankan Tamils know that within a few years of arriving in Australia, they will get their PR (permanent residence) and that they will get to own their beautiful home in Australia -- something they might never have been able to achieve during their lifetime should they have stayed in Sri Lanka.
- The advantage for the Sri Lankan Tamils is that they have all the help and assistance available to them from the Sri Lankan Tamil Diaspora in Australia, which is highly organised. They also get assistance from leftist Australian Political Parties (the Australian Greens, Socialist Alliance etc.) and much sympathy from the ACTU and other trade unions.
- Apart from the Tamil boat people, thousands of more Tamils have been granted refugee status in Australia, especially those who have come on Visitor, Student and other Temporary Visas.
- As stated before some of these Tamils are not travelling to Australia from Sri Lanka but from other countries like Malaysia (eg. The boat currently berthed in Merak). As stated before there are 60 million Tamils living in Tamilnadu, India. When they come here, they can say they are Sri Lankan Tamils because they know the chance of obtaining refugee status becomes very high (it is well known that the boat people usually come without any travel or other identity documents, thus to find out their correct country of origin is pretty difficult).

- It is very easy for the Tamils to get refugee status here in Australia. It is stated that there are syndicates of Tamil lawyers/migration agents and other professionals who will advise the Tamils on how to put in the best possible refugee application. Tamil lawyers/migration agents are stated to have obtained suitable precedents from the Australian Courts (including the High Court) and they also use aspects of the reports of Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, International Crisis Group etc, to further the Tamil refugee claims. UNHCR merely rubber stamps each and every Tamil asylum seeker application, so it is very easy for the Tamils to obtain refugee status in Australia.

Problems with Australia's onshore refugee assessment system

- Sadly, with our onshore refugee system in Australia, it has come to a situation where the best and most successful refugee applications have the most blatant lies. As stated before, there are people who coach and guide refugee applicants on how to best give evidence at the Tribunal, etc. Some even teach people how to cry before the Tribunal members. People are taking undue advantage of Australia's most compassionate, humanitarian system to get refugee status. Members of the RRT (Refugee Review Tribunal) and UNHCR may have a vested interested in granting refugee status willy nilly even to dubious refugee applicants, so that they may continue to keep their jobs.

It is time to investigate the functions of the UNHCR/Refugee Review Tribunal.

How should Australia accept its refugees and control the current problems of its refugee program?

- If Australia wants to accept 100% genuine refugees then the screening of them must be done within the source country itself. Genuine refugees most of the time do not have the means and the ability to flee in boats/planes and pay thousands of dollars to people smugglers. Genuine refugees are the ones who are trapped in camps in their respective source countries. They are left with the clothes that they are wearing. It is they that Australia must go seek, not those who come to our shores illegally and some who behave in a thug type manner.
- For Australia to say that they have accepted the asylum seekers into this country after thorough checks of their character is nothing but a farce: for migration purposes, Australia only wants a police report to be provided by the person's resident country. Getting forged documents is easy from countries like Sri Lanka. People will always bribe government officials, etc. and get the report they want. Otherwise, they can change their names. If you change your name it will be especially difficult for the local police to find your whereabouts in Sri Lanka. In areas like Jaffna, where the Tamils ran a defacto state for several years, the local Sri Lankan police do not have records of the people in those areas as there had not been any police stations in the areas.

Will the Tamil (and other) boats eventually die down?

- It was the then Prime Minster of Malaysia who once stated that if Australia would not open up its boarders to the people of neighbouring countries who live in crowded conditions they should get into boats and travel to Australia by force. The trend of the boat people will continue for years to come. It is reported that 35 Vietnamese boat people arrived in Australia few weeks ago. What is the push factor for them to leave Vietnam? None. The pull factor for them to reach Australia? Enormous.

- What if the millions of Chinese or Indians decide to get into boats and come to Australia one day? Anything of this nature can happen in the future, it is not mere speculation.

- Australia must be ready now to face any situation that may happen in the future, bearing in mind that the people smugglers are using very sophisticated methods to sell their product.

- Hence, Australia must have a sound, coherent policy to tackle this most-alarming problem.

The truth about the Tamil asylum seekers to Australia

- Although there had been Sinhalese in the Tamil Tiger boats (a rare occurrence) to our knowledge, in the last 5 years, not a single Sinhalese person has been granted asylum in Australia.

Some Sinhalese have obtained refugee status claiming them to be Sri Lankan Tamils.

Why is a proper discourse in Australia about the Tamil boats required?

- It is unfortunate that the media and the politicians in Australia are mum about the Tamil violence in Australia. Not a single human rights organisation came forward to offer sympathy to the two innocent Sinhalese students who were covered with acid in Sydney, nor the Sinhalese shopkeepers who faced attacks in major cities in Australia. This form of conduct is not fair and shows hypocrisy.

What will the asylum seeker problem in Australia be like in the future?

- As suggested and encouraged by the former leader of Malaysia, the number of asylum seekers to Australia will increase dramatically over the years to come. They will not come only from Sri Lanka or Afghanistan but from many other countries around.
- It is only a matter of time before the people smugglers become well-established in those countries.
- Australia is surrounded by number of Asian and South Pacific Island countries. It will be a hop, skip and a jump away for someone who can get into a boat and travel to Australia. This

will happen in greater numbers in times to come. Hence, Australia must have strong mechanisms to face these situations, given that our coast line is enormous.

- The illegal arrivals to the country will affect the Australian way of life (it is already hitting us badly).
- Our future generations should not be faced with this problem, we must deal with this now. After the problem is entrenched with more and more people smugglers having established their foothold in many other surrounding countries to Australia, and having to face thousands of boats coming to our shores, we might say, "sorry, we have to lost the course" (of course the do-gooders like Bob Brown, Sarah Hanson-Young and the prominent lawyers who actively promote the granting of asylum to the boat people may say it is no problem at all, because it is a problem faced by the present-day and future average Australian, not those who may derive a benefit directly or indirectly from the problem.
- It is true that the Australian Government somewhat nipped the problem in the bud during Howard era by introducing the Pacific Solution. But it might not be enough to stop the boats, **the only and best solution will be to turning back the boats**.

Let's do justice for those who are already in the queue

- There are thousands of people in the world who are trying to come to Australia legally. After paying their visa fees and lawyers' fees, they have to wait in agony for several years. These are highly educated, highly skilled, English-speaking,

good people. How would these people feel about the whole situation — should they also jump into a boat and come to Australia rather than waiting in agony for so many years?

- Again, the war in Sri Lanka finished more than 15 months ago. As stated before, those who were in camps have now been resettled. Those Tamils who are still in the camps have full freedom of movement. In Sri Lanka, they are currently living in conditions that are reasonably good. There is absolutely no reason for the Tamils to come to Australia illegally now in boats.

The end

- The fact that the Rudd Government had pandered to the gallery and exacerbated the problem, the tree of illegal migration has grown an enormous extent, and it continues to spread its roots too widely like a large octopus spreading its many legs.
- **The regional solution and the Pacific solution are too difficult to be adopted, we ask that the boats be safely towed back by the Australian Navy to their source destinations, so that the boat people will be safely returned*. Australia must work closely with the source countries. Giving money to East Timor and Nauru will be like pouring water into an empty bucket.**

  *in actual fact this solution is the best, more practical, humane way to treat the asylum seekers and they send a definite, deterring message to the people smugglers. **People smugglers**

must be sentenced to lengthy prison sentences and their rickety boats must be burnt down in front of their own eyes.

- Again, Australia must act courageously and boldly to get rid of this dangerous menace.
- We hope that there will be correct, bold leadership in Australia to tackle the problem of people smuggling. What we need is a permanent solution to the problem, not a bandaging the problem.

Chanaka Bandarage, Barrister at-Law
(President, Sri Lanka Support Group)

The writer has exceptional, specialised knowledge of Australian asylum seekers laws, policies and history; he has written this article without affiliation to any political party in Australia and with only the best interests of Australia and Sri Lanka in mind.

This year, 2015, marks the bicentenary of the Kandyan Convention- Did Sri Lanka lose sovereignty due to supremacy of the British Empire or Sinhala infighting?

Posted **in Lankaweb** on June 29th, 2015

Chanaka Bandarage

By late 18th Century, the mighty British were ruiling pockets of Sri Lanka; despite strenuous attempts they were unsuccessful in taking over the whole country. During this time they had taken over the reins from the Dutch, yet, a major portion of the country was ruled and controlled by the Sinhala, Buddhist Kingdom from 'Mahanuwera'. The Kingdom's northern boundary extended to the current day, Elephant Pass.

True, the King, Sri Wickrama Rajasinghe, was not a native Sinhalese (a Tamil speaking Telugu from South India), but, he carried out his duties as a true Sinhala Buddhist. Being nephew of the King, Sri Rajadhi Rajasinghe (1782–1798), Prince, Kannasamy Nayaka (ascended to the throne as Sri Wickrama Rajasinghe) was raised in Sri Lanka and was brought up as a Sinhala, Buddhist. Upon the demise of his uncle, Kannasamy Nayaka was handpicked as the King of 'Thun Sinhale' by Sri Rajadhi Rajasinghe's Prime Minister ('Maha Adhikaram'), Pilimathalawe. It was Sri Wickrama Rajasinghe that gave further high prominence to 'Dalada Perahera'; he modernised the Dalada Maligawa where among other things he built the magnificent 'Paththiriuppuwa', 'Wahalkada' and beautiful temple ponds. By way of 'Nindagam' he donated more land to the Dalada Maligawa. The work to construct the Kandy Lake to its tremendous glory, as seen today, was another achievement by the King.

The aristocratic Sinhala, Buddhist leaders of the Upcountry conspired with the British to bring the King's downfall. Those who were in the forefront of the conspiracy such as Ehelepola (nephew of Pilimathalawe), Eknaligoda, Molligoda, Galagoda Adhikaram et al foolishly thought that after removing the King, the British would hand power to them, on a platter. The British always had other ideas. Though mightiest of all the then Empires – ruled under the iron fist of George III, Sri Lanka was one of the few places that it failed to capture wholesomely. For closer to 20 years, hundreds of British troops sacrificed their lives in several of their unsuccessful attempts to capture the Kandyan kingdom. Each of their attempts was unsuccessful. The wars waged by the Governors Frederick North, Thomas Maitland and Robert Brownrigg are noteworthy.

After the 1815 Sinhala-British pact was signed (the Kandyan Convention), the British did not respect/honour the document. One could say they regarded it useless than the paper it was written on.

When the Sinhalese realised the mistake and their foolish act, all was too late.

In the latter part of his kingdom, the King also did stupid things. In 1814, the King did the stupid act of killing Ehelapola's wife and children (Ehelepola was rebelling against the King in Sabaragamuwa); this along with his other eccentric acts perpetrated under the influence of heavy alcohol – whiskey (introduced to him by the British, through Sinhala aristocrats), tainted the reputation the King had among his subjects. For majority of the reign (1798 – 1815), Sri Wickrama Rajasinghe was a reasonably good King, but, his rule was full of turbulence. Often he faced opposition from his aristocratic Sinhala Buddhist Ministers. Upon realization that the Ministers were adamant in hounding him down and that he had no getaway, Sri Wickrama Rajasinghe became 'mad' and eccentric. But, he never betrayed his nation and the religion. Throughout his reign, he kept the powerful

British army away from the kingdom. This is a remarkable achievement.

If the Sinahala Buddhists wanted to overthrow Sri Wickrama Rajasinghe, they should have conspired against him themselves, rather than conniving with the British.

They had not learnt a lesson from the previous similar pacts the Sinhala kings had with the Portuguese and the Dutch.

After the King fled to Hanguranketha in January 1815, the aristocrats, if smart, could have captured the kingdom themselves (true, the King held the custody of the sacred Tooth Relic). Instead, they (led by Ehelepola), foolishly decided to hand the country to the British, precisely, on 10 March 1815.

A regal act of the King was that he never bowed down to the British, even after his capture. When he was captured from his hideout in 'Meda Mahanuwera' , he refused to walk, but, demanded 'dolawas' for him and his wives (2). The British obeyed; though some Sinhala leaders like Eknaligoda insulted him. Before repatriation to India, the King made a powerful speech to the British officials in Colombo, asserting that he would not accept their annexation of his kingdom and that he was still the King of 'Kanda Udarata' (Thun Sinahale). At this meeting he also stated he did not order the pounding of Ehelepola's infant son in a rice pounder (wangediya). He foolishly tried to justify the gruesome murders of Ehelepola's wife, his daughters and the sister-in-law by drowning them in Kandy lake (a despicable crime); stating that he only carried out an ancient custom. He alleged Ehelepola was forewarned about the executions, and that Ehelepola purposely decided to remain in Sabaragamuwa.

The writer states it was a stupid act by the aristocrats to seek Britain's help to overthrow the King. They did not seem to have the

intelligence/wisdom to fathom that the British rule would be more torturous than that of the King's. When they realised the real brutality of the British, happened more or less immediately after the pact; as stated before, all was too late. Hundreds and thousands of innocent Sinhala Buddhists , notably in Wellassa, were massacred by the British from 1815 to 1818. They even killed some of the aristocrats who helped them to capture power, including Weera Keppetipola, who was a signatory to the Kandyan Convention (Keppetipola, albeit too late, led a spectacular rebellion against the British in 1818 where he displayed exceptional heroism). Even the main aristocratic leader, Ehelepola was captured and imprisoned (in Mauritius).

On this 200th anniversary of the Sinhale – British 1815 pact (signed on 2 March 1815), it is not too late for the British to apologise to the direct descendants of the Sinahala Buddhist families that suffered from their brutal carnage. The atrocities committed were crimes against humanity of unimaginable proportions. It is not too late for the British to pay compensation to the direct descendants of their atrocities – a recommendation made by the Sinhala Commission in the early 2000s. On behalf of few Uva families (direct innocent descendants of the atrocities), Sri Lanka Support Group (Global) has decided to take up the issue of compensation with the British Government.

The writer is the President of Sri Lanka Support Group (Global)

40 Responses to "This year, 2015, marks the bicentenary of the Kandyan Convention- Did Sri Lanka lose sovereignty due to supremacy of the British Empire or Sinhala infighting?"

1. *Lorenzo* Says:
   The main reason for the fall of the SINHALE KINGDOM in 1815 was Singhalese trusted a TAMIL.

2. *Lorenzo* Says:
   BREAKING NEWS – parliament dissolved, elections on August 17.

3. *Susantha Wijesinghe* Says:
CHANAKA !!! SO NICE TO SEE YOU BACK.
DO YOU KNOW THAT THERE IS A TUNNEL FROM THE MALIGAWA TO THE KANDY LAKE OUT HOUSE.

LANKAPUTHRA Says:
June 26th, 2015 at 7:11 pm
Lorenzo, The last king of Lanka was a cannibal,

Chanaka B Says:
Lorenzo, My replies are below in response to your statements (in inverted commas)
"The main reason for the fall of the SINHALE KINGDOM in 1815 was Singhalese trusted a TAMIL."
– It was the Sinhala aristocracy that picked him as their King; so blame the Sinhalese, not the King. One thing is sure, Sri Wickrama Rajasinghe never betrayed the country; he fought on. Working to preserve the country's sovereignty is most important than anything else**.**
"True, the King, Sri Wickrama Rajasinghe, was not a native Sinhalese (a Tamil speaking Telugu from South India), but, he carried out his duties as a true Sinhala Buddhist." –

4. *Chanaka B* Says:
Hi Susantha. Yes, I have heard the story, but, unaware of the truth. If true (the tunnel), it is a remarkable achievement
Sir Walter Griffin designed the Canberra Lake after he saw the Kandy Lake – a very beautiful manmade creation that all Sri Lankans can be immensely proud of

5. *Independent* Says:
"True, the King, Sri Wickrama Rajasinghe, was not a native Sinhalese (a Tamil speaking Telugu from South India), but, he carried out his duties as a true Sinhala Buddhist."
– I don't understand how a king who kills children as a punishment to father can be considered as "carried out his duties as a true Sinhala Buddhist. This is an insult to Buddhism.

6. *Lorenzo* Says:
Chanaka,

That Tamil was made king because Singhalese were divided and in-fighting. It should NOT have happened.
I agree with the main topic of the article – Did Sri Lanka lose sovereignty due to supremacy of the British Empire or Sinhala infighting?

7.  *Chanaka B* Says:
Lorenzo, the Nayaks dynasty ruled Sri Lanka for about 80 years. Altogether, there were fourTelegu kings. It was the Sinhala Adhikarams who selected those kings. Sri Wickrama Rajasinghe was the last.
I did not try to whitewash Sri Wickrama Rajasinghe. I outlined the gruesome atrocities he committed. My attempt was to analyse the issue –whether or not Sinhala infighting caused the loss of sovereignty. Anagarika Dharmapala in his diaries (compiled by Dr Ananda Guruge) blamed the Sinhalese for working with the British to overthrow the King. He stated we should have stuck with the King. Surely, the great patriot (especially a person who lived under the British rule), knew what he was talking about.

8.  *Susantha Wijesinghe* Says:
HEY CHANAKA !! In that film, they show Sampath entering into the water from the Maligawa end, and then coming out into the Kandy Lake out house, right opposite the Maligawa.
9. June 27th, 2015 at 7:19 am
”Had there been a SINGHALA BUDDHIST king we should have survived 1815 as we survived previous attempts.”

 *Chanaka B* Says:
June 27th, 2015 at 9:03 am
From Vijaya onwards Sinhala kings brought women from South India for marriage. It is probably for their own convenience to avoid internal conflicts and disputes.
In the 17th and 18th century, the Kandy kings received military support from the Nayaks (Governors of Vijayanagara Empire) to fight off the Portuguese and the Dutch.
When the last Sinhala King of Sri Lanka, Narendrasinghe died without an offspring, the brother of his Madurai Nayak Queen succeeded the throne under the coroneted name of Sri Vijaya Rajasinghe. Thus, in 1739 there began the Nayak rule in the Kandy kingdom, which lasted closer to 80 years.
Though they were Telegus, unlike the Cholas and Maghas, the Nayaks were not people of evil.
It is not incorrect to say that there was a great revival of Buddhism during the Nayaks period.

The Nayaks, devoted a great deal of time to the furtherance of Buddhism. For example, Sri Vijaya Rajasinghe (1739 – 1747) is said to have caused life sized images of Buddha in recumbent, standing and sitting postures to be cut in the rock caves in various parts of the country. His reign also marked several conflicts with the Dutch who were ruling the coastal provinces, based on trading issues. The King destroyed churches and initiated a persecution against the Portuguese and Dutch, which was continued under his brother-in-law, Kirti Sri Rajasinghe. It ceased only because the King considered that certain calamities which fell upon the country were due to his action.

Kirti Sri Rajasinghe (1747 – 1782). devoted his reign to the advancement of Sinhala literature and Buddhism. The king, got down learned Bhikkus from Siam (Thailand) for the purpose of advancing Buddhism in Sri Lanka, and established the Siam Nikaya. He also built Raja Maha Vihara (Gangarama) in Kandy. He built the existing inner temple of the Sacred Tooth Relic, and caused the Mahavansa chronicle to be continued from the time of Parâkkamabâhu IV down to his own reign.

In 1761 Kirti Sri Rajasinghe attacked the Dutch garrisons and forts at Matara, Katuwana and Tangalle, completely destroying them, and killing hundreds of Dutch while some surrendered and ended as prisoners.

In order to revenge the humiliation, the new Dutch governor had plans to attack Kandy, but the weakness in fortification and garrison forbade him. The Governor wished the King to cede the three four and seven Korales and Puttlam and hand over the entire coastline of the island to the Dutch. The King was not agreeable to any demand that diminished his sovereignty and was deliberately delaying a settlement hoping for help from the English in Madras after his discussion and negotiations with John Pybus in 1762 (an English writer in Madras).

John Pybus in his notes described the King as a man of tolerable stature, and very brisk in his movements. Pybus was amazed as to how the Kandyans had managed to fight a war with Dutch and had captured Matara Dutch Fort. He wrote that "They had put every European to the sword except two officers who are now prisoners of the country."

The King, Kirti Sri Rajasinghe, died on 2 January 1782, of the injuries caused two months before by a fall from his horse after a reign of 35 years which the people saw as a period of religious revival; they had a sentimental attachment to the King.

Sri Rajadhi Rajasinghe who became the next King (1782–1798) was the brother of Kirti Sri Rajasinghe. A very sophisticated person, he spoke many languages amongst which were Pali and Sanskrit. A lavish patron of Buddhism, he was a great aficionado of poetry and he himself was a poet. He died childless in 1798 without nominating a successor.

The burden to find a successor fell on Pilimathalawe, the first Adhikaram (Prime Minister). There was a rival claimant to succeed King Sri Rajadhi Rajasinghe, the late King's brother, who had a stronger claim. However, Pilimatalawe, choose Prince Kannasamy Nayaka to the Kandyan throne, with the deep seated plans to usurp the throne to set a new dynasty of his own. Pilimitalawe plotted to overthrow the King and seize the crown for himself, but his plot was discovered, and, having been pardoned on two previous occasions, he was finally executed. As stated in the article, the King, Sri Wickrama Rajasinghe (1798–1815), upon ascending the throne at the young age of 18, faced many conspiracies and reigned through one of the most turbulent periods in Sri Lanka's history.

10. *Fran Diaz* Says:
June 27th, 2015 at 2:31 pm
Chanaka,
Thank you for the interesting write up on Lanka history.
Chanaka, I wonder what you think of this version of events in Lanka ?

11. *Lorenzo* Says:
June 27th, 2015 at 3:40 pm
That is right Chanaka. But they never made these south Indian queens and their relatives kings until later in history.

Chanaka B Says:
June 27th, 2015 at 6:00 pm
Fran, there is sense in the story.
Pilimathalawe who handpicked Kannasamy as the King was the mentor and chief advisor for the young King. It is not incorrect to say that Pilimathalawe basically ran the kingdom. Pilimathalawe always had the ulterior motive of becoming the King himself; he started covert operations with the British to provoke the King into acts of aggression. Pilimathalawe thought this would give the British an excuse to seize the Kingdom, and through them he can become the King. For example, Pilimathalawe manipulated the King into beginning a military conflict with the British, who at that time had gained a strong position in the coastal provinces. War was declared and on March 22, 1803 the British entered Kandy with no resistance, But, cunning Sri Wickrama Rajasinghe fled to the interior leaving Pilimathalawe in charge. Pilimathalawe had no other alternative but to massacre the British garrison in Kandy (in June)- and restored the King to the throne. Pilimathalawe's great desire to become the King never ended. The King had to execute him, albeit reluctantly.

It is because of the gratitude the king had to Pilimathalawe that he appointed Pilimathalawe' s nephew, Ehelepola, as the new Maha Adhikaram. But, Ehelepola followed his uncle's pathway. A rebellion instigated by him was suppressed, where he fled to the South and joined the British. After failing to surrender (after 3 weeks' of notice), the exasperated King dismissed Ehelepola, confiscated his lands, and ordered the imprisonment and execution of his wife and children. The King was acting like a mad man during that time. A propagandized account of the execution was widely circulated by sympathisers; especially by Molligoda and Eknaligoda. The people in Kandy started to hate the King.

If one applies the 1815 scenario to today, I think infighting is tolerable as long as they are done in the best interests of the country. When the paramount concern for infighting is personal benefit (not the best interests of the nation), then, it is a recepie for disaster, The enemy forces will not hesitate to grab the opportunity and take the upper hand.

I say Ehelepola et al wanted to overthrow the drunkard King, for the primary reason of acquiring power for themselves. If their 1st thought was the country, they should not have made deals with the arch enemy, the British.

Lorenzo, your two statements:

"Had a Singhalese king ruled Kandy in 1815, the Kandyan Kingdom would never have fallen.

Had a Singhalese king ruled Jaffna the 17th century, the Jaffna Kingdom would never have fallen."

One could also argue that it was thanks to the Nayaks (Nayakkars) that Kandy was safe for the entire 80 years of their reign. Did the Dutch have to leave Sri Lanka due to the military tactics and commitment displayed by the Nayaks? If Ehelepola et al did not hand the Kandy kingdom on a platter to the British, was it still possible for the British to capture Kandy so easily. Or would they have been confined to the coastal areas, just like the Portuguese and the Dutch?

It was the Portuguese who captured Jaffna in the late 16h century (in 1591 precisely) The Nayaks were not there then. Kandy was ruled by Vimaladharmasuriya 1.

These hypothetical situations can be answered in a similar hypothetical way – like the expression 'whether the glass is half empty or half full'.

12.  *Fran Diaz* Says:

Chanka,

Many thanks. Now the whole Kandyan history picture is fairly clear on the Last Days of Kingdom there.

I do totally agree with you that infighting will be tolerated ONLY so long as it serves the country as a whole and a wholesome purpose is served at the end of the day. However, I think it is far better if serious infighting is avoided by small fry countries like Lanka as infighting can be misconstrued – like a shove turning into fisticuffs. It will require high political wisdom to back off at the right time, for the sake of the country. I hope our politicos know this fact and wisdom prevails, always.

13.  *Fran* *Diaz* Says:
Sorry, typo. Read as "Chanaka".

14.  *LANKAPUTHRA* Says:
It is ok, but do not confuse the Kandian History. Wimaladrmasooya was from Kote Rajadhniya and had nothing to do with Kandy. Last so called KING, the Malabhar man was a cannibal he raped and ate the breast of Ahalepola desawas's wife, also ate her other children.

15.  *Chanaka* *B* Says:
June 28th, 2015 at 9:52 pm
Lankaputhra,
I was talking about Vimaladharmasuriya I, also known as Konappu Bandara. He was the king of Kandy from 1590 to 1604. He is renowned for repulsing two major Portuguese offensives in to Kandy, the battle of Danture in 1594 and the Battle of Balana in 1602, in both of which the Portuguese were humiliatingly defeated. When Dharmapala died (1597), the Sinhalese in Kotte treated Vimaladharmasuriya I as their king. They turned to him for support against the Portuguese. He was the only Sinhala king left at that time.
Fran, I fully agree.
Whether at work or at home, infighting should be avoided at all times. It is a recepie for disaster.
In politics, the applicable principle as I stated before is whether or not a person is acting in the best interests of the country. If one conspires against the country with enemies or plunders public wealth that belongs to the citizens, he/she cannot be acting in the best interests of the nation. When one makes money by stealing or other means of corruption; there is no stopping of that person (it is like the behaviour of an heroin addict). Like Pilimathalawe and Ehelepola, they will not hesitate to make deals with arch enemies for personal benefit; not knowing or being reckless as to their action – that they can even affect sovereignty. I herein talk generally about how the principle works in relation to politics. I am not referring to any particular

present day individual or a political party. As you know in Sri Lanka, there is corruption in most spectrums of the politics.

The sad thing is that in contemporary Sri Lanka, the entire public discourse seems to be focused on politics. It seems, there is not much interest to write about social, cultural, history, literature, health and many other things.

I am pleased that through this article and the subsequent comments, I was able to give an interpretation as to what happened in the Kandyan kingdom in the 18th and 19th centuries. Of course, people can give other interpretations, for example, by Lorenzo and Lankaputhra.

Though they were foreigners, the Nayak kings were not too bad rulers (leaving aside the last stages of Sri Wickrama Rajasinghe). They got themselves converted to Buddhism and acted like Sinahala Buddhists (in contrast, the British rulers promoted their own culture and religion). Nayaks were Tamil speaking Telegus. As you know, their origin is Andra Pradesh, (present day Bangalore is the capital -where Sai Baba was living). In the 16th -18th centuries the Nayaks (Telegus) ran a vibrant empire (part of the former Vijanagara empire) from Madras, ruling the whole of Tamilnadu. It was a very significant empire. Our Indian (estate) Tamil brethren are not decedents of the Nayaks (Telegus); they were brought in by the British (as a result of the 1815 Convention). Some say Sri Lanka's 'Ahikuntakayas' (gypsy people) who speak Telengu, are descendants of the Nayaks. I have not come across any research on this.

In regards to securing compensation for the descendants of the innocent victims of the rebellion – in Welimada, our Group has identified few families whose forbearers were indiscriminately killed by the British, soon after the 1815 pact was signed. They are extremely poverty stricken people, living in a remote village called 'Palugama' – a former stronghold of Weera Keppetipola. The name of the village was so given as during the rebellion, the British army ransacked the entire village killing all men, even women and children. The village became empty, hence, was called 'Palugama'. Even today, it is called by that name. The British set fire to people's paddy fields, granaries and even killed farm animals that were used to plough the paddy fields. Yes, it will be very difficult to win some form of compensation for these descendants of the British atrocities, but, at least we want to put the record straight and bring their story to the attention of the British authorities.

16.  *Lorenzo* Says:

Chanaka,

Nayak kings were GOOD. But KANNASAMY was bad. He should have acted more responsibly especialy when SL was under threat.

17.  *Chanaka* *B* Says:
Lorenzo
SW Rajasinghe did not betray the nation at any stage
Apart from that, you and I are in agreement

18.  *Fran* *Diaz* Says:
Chanaka,
Thank you very much for all write here. Education re the past in the most accurate way is so important.
What you say is absolutely true. INFIGHTING MUST BE AVOIDED. Infighting will mean gaps left open for foreign powers to take over the country or parts of it.

19.  *Chanaka* *B* Says:
Thanks Fran. The good thing is that in a democracy, people decide who they want as their representatives. It is the people's responsibility to oust corruptors and appoint good ones. Lately, people seem to have not taken their responsibility too seriously. A Code of Conduct for the parliamentarians? – a good thing as long as those who breach same are disciplinarily dealt with

20.  *RohanJay* Says:
Its interesting regarding that period. However, I am not sure Sri Lankan historians have overlooked one important aspect of that period. 1770s-1815. It is well Known that during this period the British were fighting the American Colonists who wanted to break from Britain.

21.  *LANKAPUTHRA* Says:
Chanaka, I apologize, my mistake I hate this Royal Asiatic Society, some times author names get mixed up. You gave a good history lesson.

22.  *Chanaka* *B* Says:
Lankaputhra, thanks for the correction. It is courageous for you to seek the apology; a noble act in this day and age. Yes, the apology is given. Whether or not Sri Wickrama Rajasinghe was a Cannibal; I am not sure. Let's do more research about this.
Fran, about Kannasamy; true his real whereabouts are not fully known. Clearly, he was not a close relative of Sri Rajadhi Rajasinghe (1782–1798), but a distant one. I've heard a story (oral) that Kannasamy (18) was loitering

in Kandy streets, when Pilimathalawe picked him. If he called Pilimathalwe ‘aahttha’, well, that’s opening up a new Pandora’s Box!

23. *Independent* Says:
I said earlier killing of an infant, two children and the mother was good enough to refute the claim this Tamil man “carried out his duties as a true Sinhala Buddhist”.

24. *LANKAPUTHRA* Says:
Chanaka, Thanks again for the reply. I got severely reprimanded by my niece for writing bad things about you. Your sister Asoka was in the same class as my niece Dinasha Kulathunga, at Vishaka Vidyala in Colombo; (we had a nick name for her “Bushy”) who now lives in Australia. You come from a 1st class family; son of Dr DS Bandarage, GM of Levers (Father of Modern Management of Sri Lanka).

25. *Asanga* Says:
Chanaka, Lankaputhra and others,
Thank you for posting this host of enlightening information on the last days of the Kandyan aristocracy.

26. *Chanaka B* Says:
Lankaputhra, all I can say is that you are a man of integrity; something sadly lacking in today’s society. I admire people with such qualities – may be because you belong to the ‘bygone era’ where people stressed on good manners. I have few friends in Florida; what a lovely place. Same tropical weather as Sri Lanka!. As soon as I could verify the facts about his cannibalism, I will certainly write another piece.
Regards to Dharamasiri Senevirathne’s article on the same topic today, I commented to Lorenzo that I did not want to whitewash SW Rajasinghe. I stated that if the Adhikarams wanted to overthrow SW Rajasinghe, that was ok, but, they should not have connived with the then arch enemy, the Briritish (thanks to the 1815 Convention, we were stuck with the British for another 133 years). For 310 years, despite strenuous attempts by them, no European army was able to capture Kandy (1505 – 1815). It is we who gave Kandy on a platter to them. What Rajasinghe II stated in 1656 (third King of the Kandy Kingdom – 1629 – 1687) “ඉහුරු දීලා මිරිස් ගත්තා වගේ” is applicable to what happened in 1815. In my article I stated the following:

"If the Sinahala Buddhists wanted to overthrow Sri Wickrama Rajasinghe, they should have conspired against him themselves, rather than conniving with the British.
They had not learnt a lesson from the previous similar pacts the Sinhala kings had with the Portuguese and the Dutch.
After the King fled to Hanguranketha in January 1815, the aristocrats, if smart, could have captured the kingdom themselves (true, the King held the custody of the sacred Tooth Relic). Instead, they (led by Ehelepola), foolishly decided to hand the country to the British, precisely, on 10 March 1815."
Asanga, I encourage you to study Sri Lankan history – which is fascinating. I am not a historian myself but a lawyer. Like law, history asks us to investigate why things happened in a particular way/s (history is not the mere study of past events)

27. *Fran Diaz* Says:
Lesson Learnt : A bad/unstable/inept monarch or leader has spelt the end for many a country, however good the people. Lankans must choose their leader/s wisely. Choose only the time tested, trusted ones to lead the country.

28. *LANKAPUTHRA* Says:
Fran Diaz, this Siri Wicrama kings did good as well as bad.

29. *samurai* Says:
Mr. Gamini Gunawardane read a paper entitled " A Closer Look at the Fall of the Last Kingdom of Sinhale in 1815″ to mark the 200th year since that tragic event,
under the auspices of the Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka at the Mahaweli Center in Colombo on June 29, 2015

30. *Fran Diaz* Says:
July 2nd, 2015 at 6:46 am
L'puthra,

31. *Fran Diaz* Says:
July 2nd, 2015 at 7:59 am
L'puthra,
When you say Rajasingha II, you probably mean Sri Wickrema Rajasingha and not King Rajasingha II ?

32.  *Chanaka* *B* Says:
July 2nd, 2015 at 8:51 am
Given that it is the 200th anniversary (bicentenary) of the Kandyan Convention, I believe there should have been more discourse in the country about this important event (everyone seems to be more interested in the current politics!). In Europe, ther has been lots of discourse about the bicentenary of the Battle of Waterloo, which also fell this year (in June).
It is excellent that the Royal Asiatic Society held the discussion last week.
I believe this should be a debating topic for our school children this year.
Fran, when we talk about Rajasinghe II, we refer to the King who who reigned from 1629 – 1687 (pre coronation Prince Mahastana); third king of the Kandy kingdom. He is the King who requested the Dutch to expel the Portuguese from the island, which they successfully did in 1656.
Rajasinghe I (**පළමුවන රාජසිංහ**) was the king of Sitawaka. He is known for his extreme bravery and patriotism. Born as Tikiri Bandara to King Mayadunne of Sitawaka, the name "Rajasinha" (King of Lions) was given to him after a fierce battle against the Portuguese.
Lankaputhra erroneously referred to Sri Wickrama Rajasinghe as Rajasinghe II. You are again excused! (a minor mistake)

33.  *Chanaka* *B* Says:
July 2nd, 2015 at 9:32 am
Rohan Jay
Indeed, the American revolution, France and Sri Lanka are all seemed to be linked
However in 1815, the British defeated Napoleon (France), true, after the Kandyan Convention, precisely in June 1815
The then powerful European nations were hell bent on capturing Sri Lanka and keeping it as a colony. For them, Sri Lanka was the ultimate Jewel. I believe they were interested in Sri Lanka not just for its strategic location, but, mainly for economic reasons. The country had an abundance of resources available for them (spices, elephants, gems, silver, timber, coffee, tea, rubber – the list was endless)
During this time, Britain had taken control of Australia; 19th century was the golden century for them. They went from strength to strength in that century.

34.  *Fran* *Diaz* Says:
Chanaka,
You are correct. Thank you.

35.  *samurai* Says:
have noted several instances where people have confused Sri Wickrema Rajasinghe with previous Rajasinghes in our history.

Bandaranaike Assassination– due to Banda – Chelva pact?

Posted **in Lankaweb** on September 28th, 2015

Chanaka Bandarage

During the 1956 election campaign Bandaranaike promised to make Sinhala the only Official language. But, after he came to power he was slow to implement the promise.

Staunch protests were initiated by nationalists including a fast to death demonstration by AP Jayasuriya MP, which was strongly supported by KMP Rajarathne MP and Wimala Wijeyawardena MP, who was also the then Health Minster. Bandaranaike had no other alternative but to introduce legislation to legalise his 'Sinhala Only' policy. The Act was passed by a majority in the parliament in 1956.

But, Bandaranaike could not live with his nationalist policy for too long. The pressure put on him by SJV Chelvanayakam (Federal Party Leader) was too much, Bandaranaike could no longer take it. He signed the Bandaranike – Chelvanayakam pact (Banda – Chelva pact) in 1957. This gave equal status to both Sinhala and Tamil languages and covered a broad range of areas. Effectively, what the two leaders consented was to have a federal administrative system in Sri Lanka.

This (Banda – Chelva pact) infuriated the Sinhala Buddhists. There were mass protests in the country against the pact and Buddhist monks took the lead role in them. Hundreds of Buddhist monks (about 200) camped outside of Bandaranike's Rosmead Place residence. Bandaranike had to erect a barbed wire fence to keep them away from entering his residence. Ven Mapitigama Buddharakkitha, the chief incumbent of the Kelaniya temple was the leading figure who

marshaled the camping monks. Bandaranaike went out of his house and met the monks; he promised to abrogate the Banda-Chelva pact. He also confirmed this in writing and sent a hand written note to the monks through Wimala Wijeyawardena . The monks dispersed. This was also in 1957.

The Banda – Chelva pact seriously dented the excellent relationship that existed between Bandaranike and the Buddhist clergy (and aspects of the 'pancha maha balawegaya'). Mapitigama Buddharakkitha had spent hundreds and thousands of his own money to bring Bandaranike to power; but, by 1957 the two had become enemies (some say Buddharakkitha's animosity towards Bandaranaike was not due to nationalist reasons, but personal – Bandaranaike refused to award a lucrative shipping contract to Buddharakkitha's brother's company; and Wimala Wijewardana's son was also engaged in that business).

Mapitigama Buddharakkitha was an extremely influential monk of the time. This can be illustrated from the following two incidents:

- After he was sworn in as the Prime Minster, Bandaranike, rather than paying homage to the sacred tooth relic at the Kandy temple, went to worship the Kelaniya temple where Buddharakkitha was the chief incumbent.

- Immediately after Bandaranaike's death, the then incumbent Prime Minister, Dahanayaka, requested Buddharakkitha to give a sermon on national radio praising Bandaranaike, which Buddharakkitha did (Buddharakkitha was arrested a few days afterwards).

Buddharakkitha and Wimala Wijeyawardena were close friends, it is also well known that both were ardent nationalists. There were incidents to prove this; some are mentioned in this article.

The Buddhist clergy was angry with Bandaranike about the Banda – Chelva pact; and by 1959 the pact had very much resurfaced. Despite his promise to the monks, Bandaranaike was very committed to implementing the pact. He wanted to bring in legislation to legalise it (JR Jayawardane initiated a walk from Colombo to Kandy to protest against the pact which was thwarted by SD Bandaranike MP at Gampaha). Bandaranike genuinely thought that the pact would bring a lasting settlement to the Sinhala – Tamil problems (in 1958, the first ever Sinhala – Tamil communal clashes occurred over the issue of 'ශ්‍රී' vehicle number plates).

Buddharakkitha and Wimala Wijeyawardena were accused in the Bandaranike murder trial. The latter was acquitted during the course of the proceedings, but, Buddharakkitha was convicted and sentenced to death. The death sentence was commuted to a life imprisonment by the 1965 Dudley Senanayake government. Buddharakkitha died in the prison, at the age of 46.

The primary suspect of the murder trial was Ven Thalduwe Somarama (4th accused of the trial). It was alleged that Buddharakkitha used Somarama to commit the murder.

Somarama was also a well-known nationalist. He lived at a temple in Borella. He was an Ayurveda Physician and a lecturer at the Borella Ayurveda College. He hailed from a paddy farming family in Mathara. He became a monk when he was 14. He was ordained at the age of 21 in Kandy. After he was found guilty of the murder by the jury, he was *hanged to death* in 1962. He was 47 then.

Immediately after shooting Bandaranaike, Somarama repeatedly uttered the words 'country, race and religion'('රට, ජාතිය, ආගම'). These are words of an extreme nationalist, not of a person with a different motive to kill.

Somarama, the strong nationalist, would have never got involved in the murder, unless the killing in his eyes was definitely political.

Somarama' s above words allow us to draw the inference that he killed Bandaranike due to Banda – Chelva pact.

Various other conspiracy theories have emerged in regards to the assassination such as it being a CIA plot, the involvement of one Ossie Corea etc. They have proven to be bunkum.

It seems the real motive to kill Bandaranaike was the Banda-Chelva pact, but, no one can say this with absolute certainty. This is because the two murderers did not confess to the killing. They pleaded not guilty to the offence of murder that they were charged with.

It is stated that Buddharakkitha privately attributed that his motive to kill Bandaranaike was his "failure to aggressively pursue the Nationalist reforms".

The then press did not give publicity to the nationalist statements made by Somarama and Buddharakkitha following the incident of shooting. Today, they allow us to draw inferences in regards to their motive to kill.

The writer stresses that it was a despicable act to kill Bandaranaike in such a horrendous manner; the popularly elected Prime Minister.

42 Responses to "Bandaranaike Assassination– due to Banda – Chelva pact?"

1.  *Christie* Says:
Banda was the first leading politician to rely on funds from Indian colonial parasites and the tradition continues . Banda reaped what he sawed.

 *Dilrook* Says:
A good analysis by Chanaka. A few errors.

2. *Chanaka* *B* Says:
Thanks Dilrook
DBS Jeyaraj has written about the utterences by Somarama in his article "The incident that rocked Ceylon 55 Years Ago The Assassination of Prime Minister S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike." I obtained Buddharakkitha's quote directly from Wikipedia

3. *mario_perera* Says:
The Sinhala-Tamil conflict was aggravated beyond very point of return by the Prevention of Social Disabilities Act of 1957.

4. *mario_perera* Says:
The BURGEONING LOW COUNTRY RICH created for themselves new monastic orders to break free from Kandyan comination),….

5. *Independent* Says:
All Sinhalayas who were bright enough to benefit directly and not so bright who were cunning enough to fool the public using "Rata Jaatiya Aagama" to their benefits shall be in debt to Bandaranayaka.
Without him none of us possibly could have come up to a completely different social status than out parents.
Thanks to DS Senannayake's foresight there are a considerable of Sinhalese in the east but stupidness of others and specially the more recent fools, it has become a Tamil Speaking province recently. Even Colombo has become Tamil and English Speaking district , thanks to "NEW RICH" who completely disregard the cultural values, worse than the Kalu Suddas may be we should call them Kudu Suddas.

6. *Chanaka* *B* Says:
The Sinhala Only Act (Official Language Act) was passed on 15 June 1956 by a majority of 27 votes.
Prevention of Social Disabilities Act was passed on 13 April 1957. It was not a race based Act. It was an Act to proclaim that imposition of social disabilities on persons by reason of their caste is an offence
Banda – Chelva pact was signed in 1957. It was not a legal document. I stated "He wanted to bring in legislation to legalise it ".
Buddhist monks (correction; it should be about 100 monks and 300 civilians) protested outside of Bandaranike's residence against the pact. This was in 1957, precisely on 4 October 1957

The pact resurfaced in 1959 after the communal riots in 1958.
It is universally accepted that the first Sinhala – Tamil race riots happened in 1958; not the alleged 1939 incident.
The '𝒮' vehicle number plates were first issued in 1956, it became a race based issue in 1958. 𝒮' was a main reason that triggered the race riots – Sinhalese attacked Tamils in Ambepussa and Polonnaruwa, and Tamils attacked Sinhalese in Batticaloe and Jaffna

7.  *SA Kumar* Says:
Chanaka
Tamil race riots happened in 1958; not the alleged 1939 incident.- Agreed but 1939 also start but not big scale as white man was ruling us.

8.  *Christie* Says:
Poor Somarama was hanged for killing one of the worst leaders od Ceylon.

 *Chanaka B* Says:
The article was never written with the intention of attacking Bandaranaike personally. It is an analysis of evidence that was not properly examined during the trial. Motive is important in sentencing an accused person. If Buddharakkitha forced Somarama to commit the crime (see Jeyaraj's article – "…..Being highly emotional Somarama was easily manipulated by Buddharakkita who convinced him into believing that the PM was a traitor to the country, race and religion and therefore should be eliminated. Somarama was a mere cat's paw."), Somarama should have pleaded not guilty on the basis of duress. Under the law, he should have then received a total acquittal, or a reduction in the conviction from murder to manslaughter. Death sentence cannot be imposed on a person convicted for manslaughter. The defence of duress was not raised during Somarama' s trial.
Buddharakkitha's motive to kill is a mystery. Was it due commercial or nationalist interests? One could argue it in both ways. His nationalist interest argument was not given due publicity by the then media. Whatever the motive, he was the mastermind of the whole operation. Due to a legal loophole, instead of the death sentence, he received a life sentence. I made an error saying that Dudley Senanayake commuted his death sentence to a life imprisonment. What Dudley did was commuting the life imprisonment to a 20 year sentence (also that for the , 2nd accused). The error is regretted.
The 2nd accused, HP Jayawardane was a close friend of Buddharakkitha. He owned a printing press in Wellampitiya. Whether or not he received a fair trial, I am unable to comment

9.  *anura* *seneviratna* Says:
Many thanks to Chanaka for this post reminding us the past we tend forget easily and to others of their interesting comments with much past data which calls for skill and effort to find.

 *mario_perera* Says:
I join you all in thanking Chanaka for dwelling skilfully on this very interesting topic.

10.  *Fran* *Diaz* Says:
I would like to thank Chanaka for bringing up this important topic.

11.  *Fran* *Diaz* Says:
The part "Chanaka is quite correct in saying …." is part of # (4).

12.  *Chanaka* *B* Says:
(1) According to Wikipedia:
"Somarama Thero was hanged on 7 July 1962. He gave up his robes a fortnight before his hanging and, two days before his execution, was baptized as a Christian by an Anglican priest. It was speculated that this ritual was forced on the assassin by the authorities as it would bring shame to the country, when a Buddhist priest was hanged for committing the murder of its prime minister"
(2) According to Jeyaraj:
"An SLFP government led by Bandaranaike's widow was now in office. The most powerful minister in her cabinet was a nephew Felix Dias Bandaranaike. Despite SWRD's plea for clemency the SLFP government was unforgivingly ruthless. Angered by the Appeal Court decision the government decided to go ahead and enact special legislation.
On January 18th 1962 the Parliament's order paper carried notice of presentation of the Capital Punishment (Special Provisions) Bill. It was presented by CP de Silva, Leader of the House.The bill dealt specifically with the Bandaranaike assassination and made express provision for execution of those convicted for murder and conspiracy to murder the former premier. Clause 3 of the bill rendered null and void the Appeal courts decision to alter death sentence to life imprisonment for those guilty of conspiracy.
The malevolent nature of the bill evoked loud protests and outcry. It was obvious that a vengeful government was planning to condemn to the gallows

persons who benefited from a legal loophole. LSSP leader and eminent lawyer Dr. Colvin R de Silva summed up the bill pithily by observing that the "barbarous bill amounted to murder by statute".
Above (1) and (2) show the determination of the then government to exert maximum punishment (death sentence) on the three accused who were found guilty.

13. *Lorenzo* Says:
"Clause 3 of the bill rendered null and void the Appeal courts decision to alter death sentence to life imprisonment for those guilty of conspiracy."
A FANTASTIC BILL.

14. *Fran Diaz* Says:
It is high time Tamil People of Lanka started thinking of issues for themselves as Vellala Tamil leaders tend to mislead them.

15. *Chanaka B* Says:
Lorenzo, that Bill only dealt with the Bandaranaike assassination; it was not meant to cover other life imprisonments for conspiracy imposed by courts.
As stated before, the Social Disabilities Act was passed to eliminate certain caste based discrimination. The intention of the Act was to assist low caste Tamils. I have not heard that it was the cause for the 1958 Sinhala – Tamil riots. '𝒈' was a definite reason for the riots.
The monks protested in front of the Rosmead Place residence to oppose the Banda Chelva Pact and nothing else.

16. *Dilrook* Says:
There is no "universal acceptance" of first Sinhala-Tamil riots to have taken place in 1958. *Dilrook* Says:
The caste system helped industries in the north as "low caste" people had no avenues of improvement forcing them to work as slave labour.

mario_perera Says:
Fran Diaz Says:
September 28th, 2015 at 5:11 pm
Dilrook has stated that : "Prevention of Social Disabilities Act of 1957 was the main reason for Tamil agitation …"This fact is very surprising as the PSD Act of 1957 was meant to help the Caste trodden Tamil masses to gain a

proper education with some dignity. It was meant for them to gain entry into the Hindu Temples – so why the agitation ? – Fran.

17. *SA Kumar* Says:
if it was secret pack between these leaders than how come people demonstrated outside SWRDB's residence.

18. *mario_perera* Says:
the author of the text explains what he means .by 'secret': that "People, the parliament and even the Cabinet were not informed of let alone sanctioned it".

19. *Fran Diaz* Says:
Many thanks for clarity on the issue raised.

20. *Fran Diaz* Says:
Sir P. Arunachalam's statue still stands in front of the old Parliament building, and we honor those who deserve to be honored.

21. *SA Kumar* Says:
My question is the B-C Pact has been given(not question about approval) to the Parliament ? (is it in the book or not) ?

22. *mario_perera* Says:
Our common endeavour is to light up the torches of our minds to trace the footsteps of the past in the ever sifting sands of time.

23. *SA Kumar* Says:
. In 1919, Sir P Arunachalam managed to bring the Ceylon Reform League, the Ceylon National Association and the Jaffna Association into a single national organization – the Ceylon National Congress.

24. *Fran Diaz* Says:
In an attempt to be as fair as possible to Sir P. Arunachalam, I am giving below his career details in then Ceylon under British Rule.

25. *mario_perera* Says:
Fran, I suggest a book that will clear all your doubts.

26. *Fran* *Diaz* Says:
Thanks, Mario.
27.
28. *Christie* Says:
..... Political innuendo is all assumptions and allegations**.....** With SWRD the Sinhala businesses also died but there is a bit of Sinhala business revival now.
29. *Nanda* Says:
bandaranaika (even if assumed as a betrayer due to so called dead act) is no match compared to **.....**
30. *SA* *Kumar* Says:
Why no one wanted his head !**.....**
31. *Nimal* Says:
Buddataketha may have instigated it and some said that Ossie Corea was involved in the attempt as he had jumped over the wall after the shooting.
32. *AnuD* Says:
This story is missing parts. I think, the businesses had a had a role may be true, I am wondering whether the Church also was aligned. I had heard that one monk who ran away jumping over a wall was Ozzie Corea.
33. *Chanaka* *B* Says:
I agree, this is not the full story. I was only touching on the motive. After the incident, Ossie Corea, a famous underworld figure of the time, was found dishelved like a monk and was hiding. There was a story that after Somarama shot dead the Prime Minister, Ossie Corea, who was hiding in the bushes shot Somarama in his groin and jumped over the parapet wall of the Rosemead Place residence. He did this to eliminate Somarama, as Buddharakkitha will be safe then; who feared that Somarama would talk after the event. As I said in the article there were so many conspiracy theories surrounding the murder, Ossie Corera's is just one. Ossie Corea was a defendant in the case, he was acquitted. Thus, I believe Ossie Corea had no part to play in the murder; but, I may be wrong. Believe it or not, there was a story against one of the eminent surgeons of the medical team– that he did something to Bandaranaike after the surgery (the initial surgery was a success), on the instigation of a powerful person. I say this is also bunkum.

34.  *Lorenzo* Says:
Banda-Chelva Pact ended in 1958. **.....**

35.  *Susantha Wijesinghe* Says:
Ossie Corea was in the lobby with Somarama in yellow robes, **.....**

36.  *Susantha Wijesinghe* Says:
SA K !!

37.  *Susantha Wijesinghe* Says:
SA K !!

38.  *Chanaka B* Says:
Lorenzo, you are right; the pact ended in 1958. His eccentric action led to the first ever communal riots between the two communities in 1958 (Prabhakaran was later motivated by the riots to take up arms). Though the pact ended, Bandaranaike did not give up the idea. At the time of assassination, he was trying to pass legislation identical to the pact. The monks protested, spearheaded by Buddharakkitha, chief incumbent of Kelaniya Vihara; a very powerful monk of the time (immediately after the death, the then incumbent Prime Minister, Dahanayaka, requested Buddharakkitha to give a sermon on national radio praising Bandaranaike, which Buddharakkitha did; he was arrested a few days later!). The then Government did not want to tell that Bandaranaike was likely killed due to the pact/impending legislation; it said the motive was purely 'business' (commercial); a reason hard to believe.

39.  *Lorenzo* Says:
Thanks Chanaka for the information. Yes it is HARD to believe that it was purely business.

40.  *SA Kumar* Says:
Chanaka B
motive was purely 'business' (commercial); a reason hard to believe- fully agreed .

41.  *SA Kumar* Says:
SL must be renamed **.....**

අදින් වසර 510ට පෙර (1505) මෙරටට ගොඩබට පෘතුගීසි නාවික බලකාය

Posted **in Lankaweb**on October 20th, 2015

වානක බණ්ඩාරගේ

***2015** ඔක්තෝම්බර් මස දින* දිවයින පුවත් පතේ පලවූ *මෙම ලිපිය ලන්කවෙබ් වෙබ්අඩවියේ ද පලවිය.*

***'15/10/1505 (510 years ago to date) is the day that the Portuguese first landed in Colombo, Sri Lanka'** යන ලිපියේ සිංහල පරිවර්තනය*

1505 වසරේ ඔක්තෝබර් මස මැද සමයේ කපිතාන් ලොරෙන්සෝ ද අල්මේදාගේ නායකත්වයෙන් යුත් යුධ නැව් 9ක් ඉන්දියාවේ කල්කටාවෙන් සහ ඉන්දියන් සාගරයේ මාලදිවයින් දුපත් වලින් තම නැව් සඳහා අවශ්‍ය කරන නාවික කඹ සොයා ගත නොහැකිව නැවත පෘතුගාලය වෙත යාමට තීරණය කරන ලදී. ශ්‍රී ලංකාව පිළිබඳව අල්මේදා දැන සිටියේ නැත. මාලදිවයිනේ සිට ආපසු යන ගමනේදී ඈත ක්ෂිතිජයේ තද කොළ පැහැති ගස් කොළන් සහිත දිවයිනක් ඔහුගේ නැවියෝ දුටුහ. එම දිවයින (ශ්‍රී ලංකාව) වෙත ඉතා ඉක්මනින් ගිය නැව් පංතිය ගාලු වරායට සෙන්දුවී එහි නැන්ගුරුම් ලා ගත්හ.

මෙම සිද්ධියට පරම්පරා දෙකක කාල පරිච්චේදයකට පෙර තොටගමුවේ ශ්‍රී රාහුල හිමියන් සිය පරෙවි සංදේශයේ 84වැනි කවියෙන් ගාලු පුරය වර්ණනා කර තිබුනේ එහි සාප්පුවල මුතු, මැණික්, රත්තරන් ප්‍රදර්ශනයට තබා තිබූ අයුරින් කෙනෙකුට සිතෙනුයේ මුළු මහත් මුහුදු පත්ලම හරා ඇද්දෝයි කියායි.

ගාල්ලේ නැන්ගුරුම්ව තිබියදී නැව් වලට අවශ්ය අලුත්වැඩියා කටයුතු කරගන්නා ලදී. තමනට අවශ්‍ය නාවික කඹද පෘතුගීසිහු ගාල්ලෙන් සොයා ගත්හ. දින ගනණාවක් සඳහා අවශ්‍ය ආහාර පාන සහ ජලය ඔවුහු එක්රැස් කර ගත්හ. මේ සිය නව ගමන් මාර්ගය උදෙසායි. ඒ, ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ කොලොම්තොට (කොළඹ) කරා යාත්‍රා කිරීමයි.

කොළඹ වෙත ගොඩබිමට කිට්ටුවෙන්ම ඔවුහු යාත්‍රා කළහ. මෙම අපූරු දිවයිනේ චමත්කාරජනක දර්ශනයෙන් ඔවුහු මවිතයටත්, සතුටතත් ඔවුහු පත් වුහ. ඔවුන් මාලදිවයිනේ සහ කල්කටාවේ දුටුවේ වියලි, කර්කෂ භූමීන්ය. නමුත් ශ්‍රී ලංකාව අසිරිමත්, සාරවත් දේශයක් බව ඔවුහු දුටුහ. මුහුදු දෙසට නැමුණු පොල් ගස් වලින් නික්මුණු ප්‍රනීත සුවඳ ඔවුහු ආශාවෙන් ආශ්වාස කළහ. සැම තැනකම තද හරිත වර්ණ වෘක්ෂ, සහ වනාන්තරද, කඳු මත ගොඩ නගා ඇති සුදෝ සුදු බෞද්ධ චයිත්‍යයන්ද ඔවුහු ආශාවෙන් නැරඹූහ. අප දිවයිනට ඒමට පෙර ඉමහත් දුර්මුඛ මානසිකයෙන් හෙබි පෘතුගීසීහු අප දිවයින දැකීමෙන් නව ජීවයක් ලබා ගත්හ. මේ සුන්දර, රමණීය දිවයින සොයා දීම ගැන සිය දෙවියන්ට ඔවුහු ස්තුති පුද කළහ.

1505 ඔක්තෝබර් 15 දින පෘතුගීසි නාවික බලකාය කොළඹ වරායට සේන්දු වුහ.

කොළඹ මෝදර මුස්ලිම් පල්ලි දෙකක් පෘතුගීසින් දුටුහ. පිරිමි සහ ගැහැණු ළමුන් ධීවර ගී ගයමින් මසුන් පිරි දැවැන්ත මාදැලක් අදිනු ඔවුහු දුටුහ. කොළඹ වරායේ නවාතා තිබූ නැව් රාශිය දැක පෘතුගීසීහු විශ්මයට පත්වුහ. නැව් වලට සපයන අපනයන භාණ්ඩ අතර දළ ඇතුන්, කොප්පරා, අලුත් පොල් (ගෙඩි), කුරුඳු සහ වටිනා දැව වර්ග ආදිය විය.

කෝට්ටේ එවකට සිටි ධර්ම පරාක්‍රමබාහු රජතුමාට (8වන පරාක්‍රමබාහු) සුදු හමැති පෘතුගීසීන්ගේ නැව් පංතියේ පැමිනීම එසැනින්ම සැල විය. ඔහුගේ චර පුරුෂ සේවයට අනුව පැමිණි ආගන්තුකයන් නරක අයවුන් නොවිය. තමන්ගේ පැමිනීම ගැන අල්මේදා රජතුමාට දැන්වීමට සැලැස්විය. මේ පැමිණි සිටින්නේ පෘතුගාල රජුගේ දූතයන් බවත් කපිතාන් අල්මේදා යනු එවකට ඉන්දියාවේ (කල්කටාවේ) සිටි පෘතුගීසි රජුගේ ප්‍රථම නියෝජිතයාගේ පුතා බවටත් රජතුමාට දැනගැනීමට ඔවුහු සැලස්වුහ. තමනට රජතුමා හමුවීමට අවැසි බව ඔවුහු අවධාරණයෙන් සැල කර සිටියහ. තමා හමුවීමට අවස්ථාව දෙන ගමන්, කොළඹ වරාය තුල ජලය සහ දර සෙවීමට සිංහල වැසියන් පෘතුගීසින්ට කරන ලද අවහිරතා පිළිබඳව රජතුමා තම කණගාටුව පෘතුගීසින් වෙත පිරිනැමීය. ඒ අතරම, පෘතුගීසි නැව් වල තිබූ කාලතුවක්කු පෙන්වා සිය රට වැසියන් නැවත බිය නොවද්දන මෙන් ඉල්ලීමක්ද රජතුමා පෘතුගීසින්ගෙන් කර සිටියේය.

රජු හමුව සඳහා අල්මේදා තම දූතයා වූ ෆ්රැන්කෝ කොට්‍රින්ව යැවිය. රජ මාලිගය වෙත ඔහුව ගෙන ගියේ ගංගා, කඳු, තරණය කර දින 3ක් ගෙවා, අති දුරස්ථ වූ දුෂ්කර මාර්ගයකිනි. ඇත්ත හැටියෙන් නම් ඒ ගමන පැයකින් කල හැකිව තිබුණි. 'පරංගියා කෝට්ටේ ගියා වගේ' යන පිරුළ අප අතර ඇත්තේ එබැවිනි.

මෙවැනි ධීර්ග මාවතක් තෝරාගැනීමට හේතුව රජතුමා සහ රාජධානිය ගැන විස්තර පෘතුගීසින්ගෙන් වසං කර තැබීමටයි.

පැවති සාකච්චාවලදී පෘතුගිසි නියෝජිතවරයා රජතුමාට සැලකර සිටියේ ඔවුහු රජතුමා සමඟ වෙළඳ සහ වාණිජ කටයුතු සිදු කිරීමට කැමති බවයි. එසේ කිරීමට නම් රජතුමා තම පෘතුගාලයේ සිටින රජතුමා වෙත පඩුරු/ත්‍යාග යැවිය යුතු බව හේ පැවසිය. තම රජුද එවැනි පඩුරු/ත්‍යාග ඉන්පසුව එවන බවද දැන්විය. තමන්ගේ යෝජනා රජතුමා පිළිනොගත හොත් ඔහුට දඩුවම් කිරීමට සිදුවියහැකියයි තර්ජනයක්ද කළේය. පෘතුගාල නාවික හමුදාව එවක ලොව සිටි ප්‍රබලතම නාවික හමුදාවක් බවත් රජතුමා තමන්ගේ යෝජනාවලට එකඟ වුවහොත් රජතුමාට අවශ්‍ය මුහුදු ආරක්ෂාව තමනට ලබා දිය හැකි බවද පෘතුගාල නියෝජිතයා රජතුමාට සැල කර සිටියේය.

කපටිකමින් අනූන වූ පෘතුගාල දූතයා රජුට පෙන්වූයේ තමන්ට ශ්‍රී ලංකාව අයිති කරගැනීම පිළිබඳව කිසිම ආශාවක් නැති බවත් තමන්ගේ එකම උවමනාව ශ්‍රී ලංකාව සමඟ වෙළඳ සහ වාණිජ කටයුතු පටන් ගැනීමත් ඉන්දියාව සමඟ (කල්කටා) තමන්ගේ දැනට පවත්නා විශාල පරිමාණයේ වෙළඳ සහ වාණිජ කටයුතු සඳහා ශ්‍රී ලංකාව තාවකාලික නාවික නැවතුම් පලක් බවට පත් කර ගැනීමත් බවය.

දෙරට අතර රාජ්‍යතාන්ත්‍රික ගිවිසුමක් (treaty) අත්සන් කල යුතු බවද හේ පැවසිය.

රජතුමා මේ සමන්ධව සිය ඇමති මණ්ඩලය සමඟ (එයින් හතර දෙනෙක්ම ඔහුගේ සොහොයුරෝ වුහ) සාකච්චා කළේය. එහිදී තීරණය වූයේ මෙම රාජ්‍යතාන්ත්‍රික ගිවිසුම එකෙහිනිම අත්සන් තැබිය යුතු බවයි. ඒ අනුව ගිවුසුමට ඔවුහු අත්සන් තැබුහ. ගිවිසුම ප්‍රකාරව රජතුමා වසරකට කුරුඳු අති

විශාල ප්‍රමාණයක් (රාත්තල් ලක්ෂ 2ක් පමණ) පෘතුගාලය වෙත තුටු පඳුරු ලෙස සැපයිය යුතු වීය.

ගිවුසුම අත්සන් කිරීමෙන් පසුව පෘතුගාල නියෝජිතයා තම නැව් වෙත රැගෙන ගොස් බැහැරන ලදී.

සාකච්චාවන් වලින් ලද අති සාර්ථක ප්‍රතිපල ගැන අල්මේදා අති මහත් ප්‍රීතියට පත් විය. ලැබූ ජයග්‍රහණය සමරනු වස් සිය නැව් වල කාලතුවක්කු වලින් අහසට වෙඩි තබනු ලැබිය. වෙඩි හඬ ඇසුණු කොළඹ වැසියෝ අති මහත් භීතියට පත්ව අවට ඇති කැළයන්හි සැඟ වුහ. කොළඹවාසින් එයට පෙර කිසිදාක කාලතුවක්කු වෙඩි හඬවල් අසා නොතිබුණි.

අල්මේදා ඉතා විගසින් ශ්‍රී ලංකාවට අදාළව තානාපතිවරයෙක් පත් කළේය. ඔහු පයෝ ද සුසා විය. මෙම තානාපතිවරයා රජතුමා වෙත යැවීමට අවශ්‍ය බව ඔහු කීය. තානාපතිවරයා රැගෙන යාමට රජතුමා අලි ඇතුන් එවිය. මෙවරද රජ මාලිගයට ගියේ දින 3ක් ගෙවා දුර බැහැර මාර්ගයෙනි. නමුත් කොළඹ වරායේ නවත්වා ඇති තම නැව් වල කාලතුවක්කු වෙඩි හඬ කෝට්ටේ රජවාසලට ඇසීමෙන් රජතුමා තමන් රැවටූ බව තානාපතිවරයා දැන ගත්තේය. මෙම වෙඩි තැබීම කෝට්ටේ එවිට සිටි තානාපතිවරයාට ඇසේදැයි බැලීමට අල්මේදා විසින් කරන ලද්දකි.

රජතුමා සමඟ ඉතා සුහද සාකච්චා තානාපතිවරයා පැවැත්විය.

කෝට්ටේ රාජධානිය සතු ධනය සහ එහි සශ්‍රීකභාවය පිළිබඳව තානාපතිවරයා විශ්මයට පත්විය. ඔහුගේ දෑසින් දුටු මැණික්, රත්තරන් සහ වෙනත් ස්වර්ණාභරණ ඔහුටම ඇදහිය නොහැකි තරම් විය. රජතුමා තානාපතිවරයාවෙත රනින් කල අක්තපත්‍රයක් පිළිගැන්විය. එහි අකුරු ලියා තිබුනේ සිංහලෙනි.
ආපසු නැවට පැමිණි තානාපතිවරයා අල්මේදා විසින් ඉතා හොඳින් පිළිගැනුණි. ඔහුව රැගෙන ආ සිංහල රාජ සේවකයන්ද ඉතා හොඳින් පිළිගැනුණි, ඔවුන් වෙත විශේෂිත භෝජන සංග්‍රහයක්ද පැවැත්විණ. භෝජන සංග්‍රහයට පාන් සහ රතු වයින් අඩංගු විය. සිංහලයෝ මෙවැනි ආහාර වැළඳු ප්‍රථම අවස්ථාව මෙය විය. පරන්ගීහු ගල් කා ලේ බොන බව සිංහලයා එදා කිවේ එහෙයිනි.

පොරොන්දු වූ කුරුඳු තොගය එදිනම පෘතුගීසි නැව් වලට පැටැවිණි. කෝට්ටේ රජුගෙන් පෘතුගාල රජ වෙනුවෙන් ඇත් පැටවූ 2ක් ත්‍යාග වශයෙන් පිරිනැමුණි. මුහුදු ගමනේදී ආහාර පිණිස ජීවත්වෙන කුකුලන් රාශියක් නැව් වලට පැටැවිණි. පිරිසිදු පළතුරු විශාල ප්‍රමාණයක් (කෙසලේ, අඹ, අන්නාසි, තැඹිලි ආදිය) නැව්වලට පැටැවිණි. පෘතුගීසීන්ගේ ඉල්ලීමට ඉඩ දෙමින් ඔවුනට තම රජතුමාගේ නිල මුද්‍රාව සහ ක්‍රිස්තු කුරුසය කොළඹ වරාය තුල ගලක කෙටීමට ඉඩ දෙනු ලැබිය (කොලඹ වරායේ මේවා අද දවසටත් දක්නා ඇතැයි කියත්). පිටත්වීමට කලින් ඒ ස්ථානයේ කුඩා කතෝලික දේවස්ථානයක් සාදා එහි කතෝලික පූජාවක් පැවැත්වීමටත් අනුමැතිය ලැබුණි. මේ, ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ පැවැත්වූ ප්‍රථම දිව්‍ය පූජාව විය හැකයි. පල්ලියට අසලින් කුඩා කර්මාන්තශාලාවක් සැදීමත් එහි ස්ථිර මට්ටමින් පෘතුගීසි සේවකයන් කිහිප දෙනක් නවත්වා තැබීමටත් අවසර ලැබුණි.

නැව් සමූහය පෘතුගාලයේ ලිස්බන් වරායේදී වීරවරයන් මෙන්, මහත් වූ හරසරයෙන් පිලි ගනු ලැබුහ. නැව් කාණ්ඩයේ අති මහත්වූ සාර්ථක ප්‍රතිපල පිළිබඳව පෘතුගාලය තුල ඒ වනවිට ඉමහත් ප්‍රසිද්ධියක් ලැබී තිබුණි. ලොරෙන්සෝ ද අල්මේදා අද්මිරාල් තනතුරට උසස් කරන ලදී. ත්‍යාග කරන ලද දළ ඇතා (එක් ඇතෙක් මුහුදු ගමනේදී මියගොස් තිබුණි) පෘතුගාලයට පා තැබූ ප්‍රථම අලියායි.

පෘතුගාලයේ මැනුවෙල් රජතුමා (1495 – 1521), පුද්ගලිකව සහභාගී වූ දේව මෙහෙයක් ලිස්බන්හි දී 21/12/1507 දින පැවැත්විණි. එහිදී දෙවියන් වහන්සේ විසින් එරටට ලබාදුන් අනගි ත්‍යාගය (ශ්‍රී ලංකාව) පිලිබඳ තුති පිදීමක් විය. මැනුවෙල් රජතුමා 1507 වසරේදී එවකට සිටි පාප්තුමා වූ පාවුළු ජුලියස් II තුමාට (1443 – 1513),තම රටට ලැබුණු මහඟු ත්‍යාගය ගැන ලියා දැන්විය.

කෝට්ටේ රාජධානිය තුල යුධ කඳවුරක් සහ කොළඹ නගරය තුල කොටුවක් (fort) තැනිය යුතු බව පෘතුගාල රජතුමා අණ කළේය. එවකට ඉන්දියාවේ (කල්කටාවේ) සිටි පෘතුගීසි රජුගේ ප්‍රථම නියෝජිතයා (ලොරෙන්සෝ අල්මේදාගේ පියා, ෆ්‍රැන්සිස්කෝ අල්මේදා) මින් ඉදිරියට ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ සිට තම කටයුතු කල යුතුයයි පෘතුගාල රජතුමා නියම කළේය. පෘතුගාල රජයේ ඉදිරි ආසියාව සම්බන්ධවූ වැඩපිළිවෙලවල් ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ සිට මෙහෙයවිය යුතු යයි අන්ග්යාවක් දෙනු ලැබිය.

ශ්‍රී ලංකා රජු වෙත සුදුසු තුටු පඬුරක් යැවිය යුතු බවට පෘතුගාල රජතුමා නියම කළේය.

කෝට්ටේ රාජධානිය සහ පෘතුගාලය අතර පැවතී මේ පුදුමාකාර, තදබල මිත්‍රත්වය රඳා පැවතියේ මාස කිහිපයක් පමණි.

පෘතුගීසි හමුදා විසින් කොළඹ වරායෙන් පිටවන සියලු නැව් තම පරික්ෂාවට භාජනය කරවිය. මෙයට මුස්ලිම් නැව් හිමියෝ සහ සිංහල වෙළඳුන් විරෝධය පෑහ.

ශ්‍රී ලංකා සමාජය ක්‍රිස්තියානිකරණය වීම සහ බුද්ධාගමට පෘතුගීසින්ගෙන් ඇතිවූ තර්ජන සහ ඔවුන්ගේ අයහපත් කල් ක්‍රියා නිසා සාමාන්‍ය වැසියන්ට පෘතුගීසින් එපාවී තිබුණි.

1518දී පෘතුගීසින්ට කොළඹ කොටුවක් සැදීමට රජතුමා අවසර දුන්නේය.

1519දී ධර්ම පරාක්‍රමබාහු රජතුමා මිය යනවිට පෘතුගීසීහු ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ සිය පියවර මැනවින් සටහන් කරගෙන තිබුණි. ධර්ම පරාක්‍රමබාහු ට පසුව රජවුයේ ඔහුගේ සොහොයුරු විජයබාහුයි. ඔහු 1521 වෙනතුරු රජකම් කළේය.

1521දී විජයබාහු රජුගේ පුතුන් තිදෙනා සිය පියා ඝාතනය කර කෝට්ටේ රාජධානිය තම තමන් අතර බෙදා ගත්හ (*'විජයබා කොල්ලය' නවකථාව කියවන්න*). වැඩිමහලු, බුවනෙකබාහු කෝට්ටේ රජකමටත් සෙසු සහෝදරයන් දෙදෙනා සීතකවක සහ රයිගම රාජධානිත් ඝාදාගත්හ. බල පරාක්‍රමයෙන් සහ දක්ෂකමින් අග තැන්පත් සීතාවක රජවූ මායාදුන්නේ බුවනෙකබාහුගේ කෝට්ටේ රාජධානියෙන් කොටස් වරින්වර අල්ලා ගත්තේය. මේ අනුව ආරක්ෂාව පතා බුවනෙකබාහු පෘතුගීසින් කරා බෙහෙවින් යොමු විය. මේ අනුව, දිගින් දිගටම පෘතුගීසින් වෙත කුරුඳු ත්‍යාග පිරිනැමීමටත් වෙනත් තුටුපඳුරු පිරිනැමීමටත් ඔහුට සිදු විය. පෘතුගීසි බලය මැඩීමට මායාදුන්නේ එවකට කල්කටාවේ පෘතුගීසින් සමඟ සටන් වැදී සිටි සැමොරියන්වරුන්ගෙන් උදවු උපකාර ලබා ගත්තේය.

මායාදුන්නේ සහ පෘතුගීසින් අතර දැවැන්ත සටන් ඇති විය. මායාදුන්නේගේ පුත්, රාජසිංහ (සීතාවක රාජසිංහ) පියා මෙන්ම දක්ෂ රණ ශූර රජෙක් විය.

මුහුදු නාවුක ශක්තිය නොමැතිවීම කොට්ටේ සහ අවට රජවරුන්ට තිබූ බලවත් අඩුපාඩුවක් විය.

ක්‍රමානුකූලව පෘතුගීසීන් මුළු කෝට්ටේ සහ ඒ අවට කුඩා රාජධානි අත් පත් කර ගත්හ.

1565දී ඔවුහු සිය රාජධානිය කෝට්ටේ සිට කොළඹට ගෙන ගියහ.

බුවනෙකබාහුගේ අභාවයෙන් පසු ඔහුගේ මුනුබුරු ධර්මපාල කුමරා (දොන් ජුවන් ධර්මපාල) රජ විය (1551 – 1597). ධර්මපාල කුමරුට සහාය දෙනමෙන් බුවනෙකබාහු 1543දී පෘතුගීසීන් සමඟ සම්මුතියකට එළඹී තිබුණි. ධර්මපාල රකින බවට පෘතුගීසීන් කැප වුහ. නාම මාත්‍ර රජෙක් වූ ධර්මපාල සැබවින්ම පෘතුගීසීන් විසින් පාලනය කරන ලද ‘පඹ රජෙක්’ විය. ෆ්‍රැන්සිස්කන් වරුන් විසින් අධ්‍යාපනය ලබා දුන් ධර්මපාල කතෝලික භක්තිකයෙකු ලෙස බවුතිස්ම ලැබුවේය. ශ්‍රී ලංකාව පාලනය කල එකම සහ අවසාන කතෝලික රජතුමා ධර්මපාල විය. ඔහුගේ සහකාරියක් වූ, දෝන කැතරිනා, පසුව කෝනප්පු බණ්ඩාර හා විවාහ විය. මොහු, පසුව විමලධර්මසූරිය නමුත් උඩරට රාජධානිය පාලනය කළේය (1592–1604).

1559දී ඇතිවූ මුල්ලේරියාව සටන (මායාදුන්නේ සහ පුත් රාජසිංහ එකමුතුව) සහ 1594දී ඇතිවූ දන්තුරේ සටන සිංහලයන් විසින් පෘතුගීසීන් වෙත විශාල හානි සිදුකල සටන් වේ. මුල්ලේරියා සටනින් එහි වගුරු බිම් ලේ පැහැ විය. දන්තුරේ සටනින් මුළු පෘතුගීසි හමුදාවක්ම සමූලඝාතනය කිරීමට සිංහලයෝ සමත් වුහ. දන්තුරේ (මහනුවර නගරයට සැතපුම් කිහිපයක් දුරින් පිහිටි ගම්මානයකි – අද, ගන්නොරුව) සටන පැරදුනි නම් කන්ද උඩරටද අල්ලා ගැනීමෙන් පෘතුගීසීන්ට මුළු ශ්‍රී ලංකාවම අල්වා ගතහැකි වනු ඇත. මේ සටන මෙහෙයවූයේ විමලධර්මසූරිය රජතුමායි.

මුළු රටම (ශ්‍රී ලංකාවම) අල්වා ගැනීමේ පෘතුගීසි සිහිනය කිසිදා සැබෑ නොවිය.

1658දී ලන්දේසි සහයෙන් පෘතුගීසීන් මෙරටින් පනවා දමනු ලැබීය.

බ්‍රිතාන්‍යයන් (1798- 1948) මෙන් නොව, රටේ ආර්ථිකය සරු කිරීමට පෘතුගීසීහු මුකුත් නොකළහ. ඔවුන්ගෙන් මෙරටට ලැබුණු ප්‍රධානතම ලැබීමක්

නම් කතෝලික දහමයි. මෙය ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ කතෝලිකයන්ට මහඟු දායාදයක් බව නොරහසකි.

නමුත්, මේ දායාදය පෘතුගීසින් මේ රටට පිරිනැමුවේ ශුද්ධ වූ කතෝලික ධර්මතාවන්ට අනුව නොවේ. කතෝලික ආගම ව්‍යාප්ත කිරීම සඳහා පෘතුගීසීහු බෞද්ධ පන්සල්, පිරිවෙන්, පුස්ථකාල රාශියක් ගිනිතබා විනාශ කළහ. වෙරළාසන්න බෞද්ධයන් හට නොයෙක් අයුතු ලාබ ප්‍රයෝජන ලබා දී ඔවුන්ව කතෝලික ආගමට හරවා ගත්හ. උදාහරණයක් ලෙස කතෝලික වූ බෞද්ධයන් සහ පෘතුගීසි නම් ගත් සිංහලයන් පෘතුගීසි ආණ්ඩුව වෙත ගෙවිය යුතු නොයෙක් බදු , ආදායම් බදු ආදිය ගෙවීමෙන් නිදහස් කළහ.

මෙම සිංහල පරිවර්තනය මුල් ඉංගිරිසි ලිපියේ කතුවරයා විසින්ම වේ

කතෘගේ පසු සටහන්:

සිංහලයන්ගේ අහිංසකත්වයෙන් සහ ආගන්තුක සත්කාරයෙන් පෘතුගීසීහු අයුතු ප්‍රයෝජන ගත්හ.

ලොරන්සෝ ද අල්මේදාගේ ක්‍රියාවන් විමර්ශනය කිරීමේදී විද්‍යාමාන වන්නේ ඔවුන් නාවික භටයන්ට වඩා මුහුදු කොල්ලකරුවන්ට සමාන කල හැකි පිරිසක් බවයි. ඉන්දියන් සාගරයේදී, මැද පෙරදිග සහ අපරදිග බලා යාත්‍රා වූ සහ එහි සිට පැමිණි නැව්, විශේෂයෙන්ම මුස්ලිම් නැව්, මේ අය කොල්ලකන ලදැයි සැක කරන කරුණු සාධක ඇත.

නැව් 9කින් පමණක් පැමිණ මේ තරම් ලේසියෙන් රාජ්‍යයක් කොල්ල කෑමට ඔවුනට හැකි වීමෙන් පෙන්වන්නේ (ක්‍රමානුකූල, කාලාන්තරයක් තුල බව සත්‍යකි) එවකට සිටි කෝට්ටේ රජු කොතරම් අඥයානවන්ත රජෙක්ද යන්නයි.

වෙරළබඩ බෞද්ධ සිද්ධස්ථාන කැඩීමෙන් ලැබුණු ගල්, කොළඹ කොටුව සැදීමට යොදාගත් බව ‘“16th Century Clash of Civilizations” නමැති ග්‍රන්ථයේ සඳහන් වන බව පැවසේ.

ලන්දේසින් සහ බ්‍රිතාන්‍යයන් මෙන් නොව පෘතුගීසින් සාමාන්‍ය ශ්‍රී ලංකික වැසියන් සමඟ කුළුපග ආශ්‍රයක් ඇතිව ජීවත් වුහ (සාමය පැවති සමයන්හි). බොහෝ පෘතුගීසින් සිංහල කාන්තාවන් විවාහ කර ගත්හ. මෙයට පෘතුගාල රජය කෙලින්ම අනුබල දුන්නේය. මේ නයින් 'බර්ගර්' නමින් වූ නව ජාතියක ආරම්භය මේ රටේ ඇතිවිය.

4 Responses to "අදින් වසර 510ට පෙර (1505) මෙරටට ගොඩබට පෘතුගීසි නාවික බලකාය"

1. *S.Gonsal* Says:
October 20th, 2015 at 2:47 pm
Very colourful. Thank you **Mr** Bandarage. When we read this, we get the feeling of history repeating. Having a foolish king made us bloody fools of Indian ocean.

2. *Independent* Says:
October 20th, 2015 at 3:04 pm
"තමන්ගේ යෝජනා රජතුමා පිළිනොගත හොත් ඔහුට දඩුවම් කිරීමට සිදුවියහැකියයි තර්ජනයක්ද කළේය."
"රජතුමා මේ සමන්ධව සිය ඇමති මණ්ඩලය සමඟ (එයින් හතර දෙනෙක්ම ඔහුගේ සොහොයුරෝ වුහ) සාකච්චා කළේය. "
"කෝට්ටේ රජුගෙන් පෘතුගාල රජ වෙනුවෙන් ඇත් පැටවූ 2ක් ත්‍යාග වශයෙන් පිරිනැමුණි."
මුග්ධ රජතුමා තමන් ගේ පුක බේරාගැනීමට කල ගොන් වැඩ නිසා රටම අමාරුවේ වැටින.
ලොරෙන්සෝ අද මෙන්ම එදාත් සිංහලයා රවටා ඇත. පරිස්සම් වන්න.

3. *Independent* Says: October 20th, 2015 at 3:34 pm
Reading this, it can be concluded that having NO king is 1000 times better than having foolish king.
Current buggers have already started the loot. Foolish king gone, trying to come back somehow using a non existing Tamil issue. . We need a group of leaders who work cohesively eradicate corruption, the main Enemy now. We have a short time only. The best opportunity.**.....**

4. *Chanaka B* Says: October 21st, 2015 at 8:43 am
Independent, true corruption is an enemy, but, 'the main Enemy now' (as you put it) is the **.....**

15/10/1505 (510 years ago to date) is the day that the Portuguese first landed in Colombo, Sri Lanka

Posted on October 14th, 2015

Chanaka Bandarage

Towards mid October 1505, the Portuguese Naval Captain, Lorenzo De Almeida, aka Don Lorenzo, who manned a fleet of nine war ships, had decided to return to Portugal as he could not secure marine rope from the Islands of Maldives or Calcutta in India. Almeida was not aware of the existence of the island nation, Sri Lanka. During the return journey to Portugal, his crew witnessed on the horizon of a land that was lush in vegetation. They decided to sail towards that land, Sri Lanka; and upon arrival therein anchored at the Galle Harbour.

Two generations prior to this visit, Ven Thotagamuwe Shri Rahula Thero in verse 84 of his Parevi Sandeshaya (**පරෙවි සංදේශය**) described Galle as a place where gems, pearls and gold were displayed in shops in such abundance as if the entire seabed had been mined to secure them.

While berthed in Galle, minor repairs to the fleet were attended to. The Portuguese managed to secure the required marine rope as well. They procured food and water in large quantities for their new voyage; the destination was Colombo, Sri Lanka.

While sailing to Colombo the Portuguese were mesmerised with the beauty of the island nation. What they had witnessed in Calcutta was a dry, harsh and a rough land. In contrast, they realised that Sri Lanka was a refreshing, fertile land. They saw whispering palm trees and very much enjoyed the fragrant breeze that blew through them. They could see lush green vegetation everywhere and the beautiful white Buddhist

pagodas (dagobas) that appeared on hilltops. The Portuguese were exceptionally happy that they found this beautiful, prosperous island paradise at a time when the fleet was highly demoralised. They could not wait until they reached Colombo. During the voyage, they gave thanks to their God for the finding.

On **15 October 1505,** exactly 510 years to date, the ships anchored at Colombo Harbor.

The Portuguese observed two Muslim churches in Modera area. They watched young Sinhala children while singing, joyfully pulling giant fishing nets to the shore, filled with fish. The Portuguese were surprised that the Colombo Port was full of ships. Among the items that were destined to export from Colombo to various parts of the world were tusked elephants, desiccated coconuts, fresh coconuts, cinnamon and valuable timber.

The King, Dharma Parakramabahu, who held the seat in Kotte was quickly informed of the arrival of the flotilla of ships that contained the 'strange, white skinned sailors'. After obtaining favourable reports about them from his Spy Service, the King agreed to receive the visitors. By this time the fleet had informed the King that the Naval Captain Lorenzo De Almeida was a representative of the King of Portugal and was the son of Francisco De Almeida, First Viceroy of the Portuguese India. They had sought an audience with the King. While granting the audience, the King through his representative indicated the visitors of his regret for the inconvenience caused to them by the local people who had prevented the Portuguese from collecting water and firewood within the Harbour. The King also advised that the Portuguese should not have displayed their artillery power to the locals.

Lorenzo De Almeida's representative (Farnao Kotrin) was picked up from a ship in the Colombo Harbor and taken to the King's Palace , using a very circuitous route. It took three full days for the team to

reach Kotte. In actual fact, it was a one hour journey (hence, the proverb, 'පරංගියා කෝට්ටේ ගියා වගේ').

The purpose of taking the circuitous route was to deceive the Portuguese about the Kingdom's whereabouts.

During the discussions the Portuguese representative advised the King that they were interested in doing trade and commerce with the King. He stressed that the King must send gifts and pleasantries to the King of Portugal every year, then their King will reciprocate. The Portuguese made a 'mild' threat that if their proposals were not adhered to, they may have to punish the King. The representative indicated that Portugal has one of the most powerful naval fleets in the world and if the King co-operated, they could provide him with protection against enemy forces.

The Portuguese cunningly stressed that for them Sri Lanka was only a transit point and that their intention was to do extensive business (trade and commerce) with India.

It was agreed that a Treaty should be entered into between Portugal and the Kotte Kingdom in regards to trade and commerce and the provision of naval security to the King. The King and his Ministers (comprised of four of his brothers) were pleased with the Portuguese proposals and indicated of their desire to sign the Treaty immediately.

According to the Treaty, the Portuguese were allowed to establish Settlements in Colombo and that the Sinhala Kingdom would gift Portugal with a large quantity of cinnamon every year (about 200,000 pounds).

After entering the Treaty, the Portuguese agent returned to the fleet stationed in the Colombo Harbour.

Lorenzo De Almeida was extremely thrilled and happy with the outcome, he could not basically believe it. To celebrate, he ordered the firing of several rounds of ships' artillery into the air. The Colombo residents were so terrified about the gunfire; it was for the first time they had experienced anything like that. They fled their dwellings in large numbers and hid in bushlands.

Lorenzo De Almeida immediately appointed an Ambassador (Payo De Souza) and wanted to send him to the King with a group of Portuguese men. The King provided elephants for the journey, which again took three days to reach Kotte (by then the Portuguese had realised that the King had tricked them as to the distance, as they could hear the ships' artillery fire in Kotte).

The Ambassador had a cordial audience with the King.

The Ambassador was astonished with the wealth and prosperity of the nation. He could not believe the quantity and the value of the gems, gold and other jewelry that he witnessed at the palace. The King gave a golden memento to the Ambassador. The words therein were inscribed in Sinhala.

Upon his return to the fleet, the Ambassador was well received by Lorenzo De Almeida. The King's Sinhala entourage who travelled with the Ambassador were cordially welcomed by him and given a sumptuous meal that included bread and red wine. This was the first time that the Sinhalese had consumed such food. First, they thought the Portuguese were eating rocks (bread) and drinking blood (red wine).

The promised load of cinnamon was loaded to Portuguese ships on the same day. The King gifted two tusked calf elephants to be given to the Portuguese King. To consume during their voyage, the King donated them large numbers of live foul, fresh fruit that included bananas, mangoes, pineapple and king coconuts. The Portuguese were

authorised to inscribe their country's Crest and the Christian Cross upon a rock in the Harbour (this inscription is believed to be still preserved in the Harbour). Prior to their departure, the Portuguese were allowed to build a small Catholic church at the same place in the Harbour and conduct a mass there. This should be the first ever Catholic mass to be held in Sri Lanka. Next to the church, the Portuguese were allowed to open a factory and few Portuguese were allowed to live there permanently.

The fleet when arrived in Lisbon was received as heroes. There was much publicity in the country about their most astonishing achievements. Lorenzo De Almeida was promoted to the rank of Admiral. The tusked elephant (one had died during the journey) was the first ever elephant to set foot in Portugal.

King Manuel (1495 – 1521), personally attended a mass in Lisbon on 21/12/1507 to thank the God for the valuable gift (Sri Lanka) bestowed on his nation. He drafted a letter in 1507 to Pope Julius II (nicknamed 'The Fearsome Pope' and 'The Warrior Pope' (1443 – 1513), informing him of the remarkable achievement by his country.

The Portuguese King ordered that a military Garrison and a Fort be established in Sri Lanka and that his First Viceroy in India should henceforth reside in Sri Lanka. He wanted all Asian operations to be conducted from Sri Lanka.

The Portuguese King organised a suitable present for his Sri Lankan counterpart.

The unbelievably friendly relationship between the two nations lasted only a few months.

The Portuguese interrupted and searched ships that carried cargo from Colombo to other nations (mainly Muslim ships). Thus, the Sinhala and Muslim merchants despised the Portuguese.

Christianization of people by the Portuguese and damage caused to Buddhism furthered the Sinhala friction with the Portuguese.

In 1518 the Portuguese were permitted to build a Fort in Colombo and they were given further trading concessions.

When King Dharma Parakramabahu died in 1519, the Portuguese had firmly established their footprint in Sri Lanka. Dharma Parkarambahu's brother, Wijeya Parakramabahu (Vijayabahu of Vijeyaba Kollaya fame) took over the reins and ruled the country until 1521.

In 1521 three sons of Vijayabahu, put their father to death and partitioned the kingdom amongst themselves. The oldest of the brothers, Buvanekabahu, ruled at Kotte, and the two others set up independent kingdoms at Sitawaka and Rayigama. Mayadunne, the King of Sitawaka, was an ambitious and able ruler who sought to expand his frontier at the expense of his brother at Kotte. Buvanekabahu could not resist the temptation of seeking Portuguese assistance. The Portuguese were eager to help the King, and the more he was pressed by Mayadunne, the greater was his reliance upon them. Buvanekabahu defended his kingdom against Mayadunne, who in turn allied himself with the Zamorin of Calicut (in India), an inveterate enemy of the Portuguese.

Buvanekabahu was succeeded by his grandson Prince Dharmapala (Don Juan Dharmapala, 1541 – 1597), who was even more dependent on Portuguese for support. An agreement between Buvanekabahu and the King of Portugal in 1543 guaranteed the protection of the Prince on the throne and the defence of the Kingdom; in return the Portuguese were to be confirmed that they would receive all of their privileges and the

tributes of cinnamon. The Prince was educated by Franciscans; in 1557, when his conversion to Christianity was announced, he had become nothing more than a Portuguese protégé .

Fierce battles erupted between the Sinhalese and the Portuguese in Mayadunne' s kingdom. His son, Rajasinha, continued with the ferocious battles on land.

The Sinhala Kings failed because they had no way of combating the Portuguese sea power.

The Portuguese captured the whole of Kotte and conquested the surrounding Sinhalese kingdoms as well (Dharmapala , the Portuguese puppet, was only a name sake King (from 1551 to 1597). He was the first and only Christian King of Sri Lanka. His wife – Dona Catherina, later married Konappu Bandara, who became the King of Kandy in the name, Vimaladharmasuriya (1592–1604).

In 1565 their capital was moved from Kotte to Colombo.

The battles of Mulleriyawa (1559) and Danthure (1594) were turning points in the indigenous resistance to Portuguese expansion. In Danthure, for the first time in Sri Lanka an entire Portuguese army of many thousands was completely annihilated (according to 'රාජාවලිය', the Portuguese death total was 20,000), when they were just a fraction away from the total conquest of the island. The Danthure battle was led by the King of Kandy, Vimaladharmasuriya.

The Portuguese were finally chased away, in 1658, after fierce battles with the Dutch.

Unlike the British (1798- 1948), the Portuguese did very little to improve the country's economy. Their legacy was the endowment of Catholism to the country. No doubt that endowment is a blessing to the

hundreds and thousands of Catholics living in the country. But, the manner in which Catholism was introduced by the Portuguese was contrary to the noble Christian principles. The Portuguese burnt down Buddhist temples, pirivenas, and libraries and Catholism was basically forcibly imposed upon the coastal Buddhists. Lots of inducements were given to people who converted themselves from Buddhism to Catholicism; and to those who took up Portuguese names. For example, such converts were exempted from paying taxes that were payable by all subjects to the Portuguese Government.

Facts to write this article were obtained from the book '*ලංකාව: පෘතුගීසී යුගය*' by Abehya Hewawasam; and from other reputed sources including '*මහාවංශය*' and '*රාජාවලිය*'.

10 Responses to "15/10/1505 (510 years ago to date) is the day that the Portuguese first landed in Colombo, Sri Lanka"

1.  *Lorenzo* Says:
MORE SL songs are there about the Portuguese than ANY OTHER invader. Almost all of them PRAISE them and their BAILA then blame them!!

.  *Christie* Says:
Forget about the Portugese who gave us lots of skills at least to the people in the coastal areas.

2.  *Nalliah Thayabharan* Says:
Sri Lankans should have retained their friendly, childlike nature and combined it with the inventiveness of their European conquerors. Sri Lankans inherited the power lust of their European colonisers, but none of their vision. Sri Lankans also inherited Portuguese lethargy, Dutch hedonism and British snobbery.The British left no room for the leadership to emerge from the truly indigenous people.
The Portuguese who arrived in 1505 with a gun in one hand and the bible in the other, occupied the coastal areas and soon became a constant source of aggression, annoyance and terror to the large mass of people. In the coastal areas that they occupied, almost all Viharayas and Privenas were destroyed, including the Kelani Raja Maha Viharaya, the famous Totagamuwe Vijayaba Pirvena, Padmavathi Pirivena of Keragala and Sunethra Devi Pirivena of

Pepiliyana.
The Dutch who ousted the Portuguese in 1640 and were instrumental in destroying temples, monasteries including the royal palace at Hanguranketa. The British who ousted the Dutch in 1796 had a well-planned program of activities, for a continuous period of about 150 years, led to the greatest damage to the country's culture, social cohesion, unity and dignity.

 *Nalliah Thayabharan* Says:
If Portuguese rule had continued and spread to the interior of the island, Sri Lanka would have completely lost its Buddhist heritage and become a completely Westernized and Catholic country. But even with the limited territorial reach (they were strong only in the Western maritime provinces) the impact had been deep, perhaps even indelible.
It was the Portuguese who first created a division between the Sinhalese and the Tamils.

3.  *Chanaka B* Says:
Nalliah
It is the innocence and the hospitality of the Sinhalese that the Portuguese exploited
Lorenzo De Almeida was effectively a pirate **(මුහුදු කොල්ලකරුවෙක්)** who was roaming the Indian ocean with his 9 ships. They were more bandits than naval officers. They mainly robbed Muslim ships that transported goods between Europe and Asia
For just 9 ships to come like that and conquer a country (yes, gradually) is remarkable, and unbelievable. The stupidity of the Kotte king is so obvious
I agree with what you said 'British occupation of Sri Lanka was one of sheer exploitation and devastation'. It is the British who attacked our psyche not anyone else. The brainwashing they did to us, we still suffer. 'Kalusuddhas' is just one end result. Thanks to patriots like Walisinghe Harischandra, Anagarika Dharmapala, S Mahinda Himi etc we at least came to know that we ha**d** a problem

4.  *Chanaka B* Says:
Nallaih
True, the Portuguese and the Dutch did forced religious conversions and many other bad things. But, why I said "it is the British who attacked our psyche, not anyone else " is because it is the British who caused divisions in our society and also upset our thinking
Yes, among many other vices, they taught us snobbery
Only the British practised the 'divide and rule' policy

Apart from stealing the nation's wealth which all the three colonial rulers did so well, it the British who controlled our innermost thinking; ie, attacked our psyche (soul, mind, and spirit)

5.  *Independent* Says:
Chanaka,
This is without researching, I thought it was the Portuguese who brought the tobacco growers trained in Tamil Nadu as the first Tamil settlers in large numbers. If that is correct they are the people (Lorenzo's men) who have done the worst harm.

6.  *Chanaka B* Says:
Independent, it is the Dutch who brought Tamils from Tamilnadu to work in the northern tobacco plantations. Yes, they were the early Tamil settlements there. Prior to that due to harsh climatic conditions, the north was sparsely populated
None of the early history books (prior to 1980), including those written by the British, mention about a King by the name Sankili. If you can show me otherwise, please do so
The Dutch attacked Catholism and introduced Protestantism
It was Joseph Vaz (now St Joseph Vaz), who revived Catholism in the country during the Dutch period in the 17 century. Vaz travelled throughout the island bringing back the Catholic mass to clandestine groups of Catholics. Later in his mission, he found shelter in the Kingdom of Kandy under the Sinhala rule, where he was able to work freely. By the time of his death, Vaz had managed to rebuild the Catholic Church on the island
The Portuguese and the Dutch did not unsettle our psyche much. It was the British who did this. Basically the Portuguese were jovial people who wanted to have a good time in Sri Lanka and were fond of Sri Lankan women. Lisbon actively encouraged intermarriage with the Sinhalese, hence the formation of the new racial group: the Burghers. The ordinary Portuguese basically treated the Sri Lankan equally. Baila is a gift from the Portuguese to us. The Dutch concentrated on coffee and tobacco plantations. They built elaborate forts and canal systems.
It is the British who wanted to change our way of thinking. For example, they wanted us to think that we were inferior to them. Their 'divide and rule' policy created various divisions such as, between the:
Sinhalese and the Tamils, rich and the poor , English speaking Sinhalese against the non English speaking Sinhalese etc
They also created the class structure that we unfortunately still have

7.  *Nalliah Thayabharan* Says:
In 1805 Capt.Robert Percival of British army in Jaffna wrote in his book “An account of the island of Ceylon” that the majority in Jaffna peninsula were Moors who wore a little white round cap on their shaven heads. Second largest community was Malabars, who had migrated to Lanka after the Portugese period, from the Coromandel coast of South India. They appeared different to the South Indians in Jaffna. Capt. Percival also recorded in his book that there were more foreigners in Jaffna than the people who were native to Jaffna. These “foreigners” were those Malabars who came from the Coromandel coast to grow tobacco. The legacy of the tobacco boom in Jaffna was reflected in the thousands of odd wells that have been used and are still being used for irrigation. Even after the big massacre of the Sinhalese in Jaffna in 1478, third largest community in Jaffna at that time was the Sinhalese. The South Indian community who had arrived as merchants and invaders, was smaller than all the above three communities.

Unnatural death of an Elephant every second day – future generations to identify an elephant from a carved wooden statue?

'World Elephant Protection', London May 2010, and *Lanka**web*** on July 16th, 2015

Chanaka Bandarage

It is estimated that closer to 200 elephants are being killed by humans in Sri Lanka each year. About the same number of elephants die from natural causes. At present the elephant birth rate is lower than the mortality rate, thus, it will be of no surprise if future generations are asked to identify an elephant from a carved wooden statue.

A census conducted by the Sri Lankan government few years ago (about six) recorded that there were about 5,000 wild elephants in Sri Lanka, but elephant conservationists who have grassroots level presence in Sri Lanka say that this is a vastly exaggerated number. It is stated that during the census the same elephant was sometimes recorded more than once, and that it did not happen accidently.

The advantage to the governments (central and provincial) by showing a higher elephant number is that it will then be subjected to less public critique about its treatment of the elephants. Though governments do not like to admit it, in Sri Lanka, the elephant is a threatened species. One reason for this is that they basically do not have solutions for the fast deteriorating elephant numbers (there are numerous other threatened wildlife species in the country including the bear, leopard, sāmbhar, crocodile and deer; to name just a few).

According to wildlife activists, the real number of elephants in the wild today is only a few thousands, definitely not in the 5000s that is boasted by the governments.

The elephant, especially the Sri Lanka elephant, is a unique species. They are exceptionally intelligent, generally friendly and kind to humans and playful when happy. It is believed that a mature elephant has an IQ of a five year old child. Similar to that of a human, an elephant is known to have a sharp memory. Elephants are extremely emotional; it is known that when a member of a clan dies, elephants engage in communal mourning for several days. A heartwarming thing is that when an elephant calf is born all young females in the clan start producing breast milk for the new offspring, out of love – a remarkable quality that even we humans cannot match!

In Sri Lanka elephants are getting killed indiscriminately on a regular basis. It is an exceptionally sad thing to view photos/videos of elephants that lie in pain for several days before they finally die. Being huge beasts, the sufferings that the elephants undergo as a result of the human-elephant conflict is enormous.

Elephants get shot dead by rural villagers, who fight for the same land that the elephants thrive. Some elephants are killed from 'hakka patas' (a 'bomb' like object). In Sri Lanka elephants also sustain death by human poisoning, or drowning in irrigation tanks (a phenomenon that has emerged recently). Every year elephants get killed by the Batticaloe – Colombo night train. Responsibility for these deaths squarely lay with the relevant governments – their inability to avoid such tragedies is a clear demonstration that the governments lack clear policy to safeguard this most precious, majestic animal.

Due to lack of habitation and scarcity of food, more and more elephants are compelled to leave jungles and venture into human habitation. There is no purpose in 'blaming' the elephants for this, though this is the

position adopted by some. Newspaper photos/videos have appeared how elephants converge around human garbage piles, competing with stray cattle and dogs, to eat rubbish. For example, in Manampitiya wild elephants gather most days around a huge garbage dump to eat thrown away items from a nearby big hospital. That garbage includes used blood soaked bandages, used syringes and volumes of polythene. Many road users travelling in remote areas of the country get to see wild elephants roaming on busy national highways, most probably searching for food and water. This is also a new development, a sad eye opener that Sri Lanka's elephants are in real trouble.

A veterinary surgeon friend of the writer stated to him that often in wild elephant post mortem examinations, they find polythene in the dead elephants' intestines.

A new reason for the scarcity of food for the elephants is the 'brave' decision by milk producers (with the blessing of the politicians) to raise cattle inside national parks. These cattle eat the very same grass that the wild elephants eat. This scenario can be seen by a visitor in certain sections of the Uda Walawe and Yala national parks. Some of the grasses that the cattle in the wildlife parks eat are imperative for the survival of the baby elephants.

The recent phenomenon of stealing elephant calves (about 50 or more) from the wild (after killing the adult elephants that guard the offspring) has compounded the problem. This means there will be a void in healthy wild elephants to produce the future generations. The impact of this will be felt once the current fertile elephants are faded away. The fact that there had been political patronage for this illegal trade is a personification that the governments are not serious in preserving wild elephants. Making a quick income in whatever way they can, including stealing baby elephants from the wild, has become the norm of the day! Was this practice applied to other important wildlife species as well? Only the perpetrators would know.

One elephant conservationist stated this writer that there is hardly a single adult elephant in the wild that is not carrying a gunshot wound. This is something we as a nation should be ashamed of.

The human – elephant conflict took an adversely sharp turn with the advent of the accelerated Mahaveli scheme. Hundreds and thousands of virgin forests were cleared for new settlers (note Mahaveli B and H projects – Embilipiya/Uda Walave and Mahiyangana/Giranduru Kotte areas where virgin forests were cleared and thousands of new settlers were settled). The authorities in those projects did not allocate sufficient land for the elephants who lost large swathes of habitation. They built new reserves and tried to confine elephants to them. They were reckless in blocking ancient elephant corridors –routes that the elephants had used to cross from one area to another from time immemorial. It was ridiculous to expect the elephants to accustom to a brand new route made for them by the humans. The authorities should have considered that an elephant walks at least 50 – 60 miles a day, and they constantly venture into new areas for the purposes of finding water, salt, partners for mating, exercise and of course food.

The writer acknowledges that the governments have a duty to provide land for the increasing human population and also to do things to improve their living standards. But, these activities should not happen at the expense of the wild elephant. All development work has to be sustainable – so that all beings can live harmoniously in the small and beautiful Sri Lanka.

The authorities seem to believe that building electric fences will solve the human-elephant problem, and that this is the only solution available. This may be a good solution for the humans but not for the elephant. Electric fencing is another way of artificially restricting the elephants' movements. Electric shocks have caused miscarriages in female elephants. Elephants have developed other ailments too, including

psychological trauma. Electric fencing is a way for the humans to further encroach into elephant areas.

Elephants (and other wildlife) need sufficient land to roam around in their own habitats. When Sri Lanka gained independence (in 1948) it had about 50% of land under forest cover. How much land remains as forest cover today is a big question; some say it is less than 20% of the total land mass. In such a scenario, it is not surprising that elephant numbers have dwindled to such a low level today. When we gained independence there were in excess of 10,000 elephants in the country.

As emphasised before, due to expansion in human population, people do need new land. People clear forests to build houses and cut timber for their daily needs. It is the duty of the governments to do proper planning so that sufficient forest cover is preserved for the elephants and other wildlife. Replanting trees for timber in forests is a must. It is stated that when the new airport was built thousands of acres of virgin forests were cleared – they were the former roaming grounds of the wild elephants. We hear reports frequently how important wildlife such as elephants, peacocks, monkeys etc are getting killed on a daily basis by various ways in this area, as those animals now have less space to roam. Elephants have died of electrocution as well.

Construction of new super highways may have contributed to the dwindling of wildlife numbers including elephants. To the writer's knowledge no study in this regard has yet been undertaken.

Clearly, the governments do not seem to have a solution to one of the major burning problems of Sri Lanka – stopping the human/elephant conflict; so that the lives of both humans and elephants can be saved (this article is only highlighting the adverse effects of the problem on elephants – the voiceless group).

The current problem simply cannot continue on. Elephants will continue to incur painful deaths until their numbers have dwindled irrecoverably. Until they become extinct (quite a possibility), they, in smaller numbers may be confined to the major elephant parks such as Yala, Wilpattu, Minneriya and Uda Walawe; and the remaining jungles of the North (In China's Yuan rainforest the elephant numbers have dwindled to a mere 250, several decades ago there were thousands of elephants there). Is this exactly the desire of the governments; if not why do they not come up with a feasible policy to curb this most important problem?

Due to the introduction of the provincial government system (in 1987), work done by governments have often become duplicated. Governments are confused as to who is responsible for certain work. There is a conflict in the powers held by the central government and provincial governments. To satisfy cronies – to give them cabinet positions, important ministries had been split into pieces. For example, today the elephant protection activities (wildlife) are managed by a number of ministries such as Land, Mahaveli, Environment, Wildlife Conservation, Forestry, Irrigation, Human Resettlement, Livestock Development etc. It does not appear that there is a close co-ordination between the ministries so that the elephants and other wildlife could be well protected. There are greater restrictions/impediments on the officials who do their normal work, under very trying conditions. For example, a wildlife department official who seeks to rescue an injured elephant may need permission from the forestry department to enter the forest. By the time the administrative red tape is removed, the injured elephant could die. Another big problem is that the government departments (central or provincial) do not have adequate budgets for the welfare and wellbeing of the elephants (they are even struggling to provide services to the public).

There is a saying that the elephants do not vote, but humans. Thus, it is very convenient for the politicians to neglect the welfare of the

elephants (and other wild animals). This is a foolish and selfish way of looking at the problem, quite a contrast with how developed nations would handle a similar problem. Sri Lanka earns millions of dollars each year from tourism. Tourists want to see elephants and other wildlife in the wild; not in zoos and orphanages. If we lose our wild elephant population (and other wildlife), that will be a huge blow to the country's lucrative tourist industry. The loss of revenue to the country will be extraordinary (in millions of dollars).

There is an enormous goodwill in the veterinary community to save the lives of the injured elephants. Though rural villagers kill and maim elephants (sometimes they have no other alternative but to deal with elephants in such a drastic way – elephants kill about 100 people every year), they still want to protect and safeguard the elephants that destroy their homes, crops and even their lives. It is part of the Buddhist culture to be a friend and a carer for the elephant.

The general goodwill that prevails among the people for the elephant is a good thing. But, the focus should be on preventing the elephants from getting injured or killed by humans. The responsibility herein well and truly lies with governments and sadly they have massively failed in this regard. Proper measures of planning must take place at central and provincial government levels to safeguard the wild elephant. It is of paramount importance to put a stop to the clear or illicit felling of forests. It may be appropriate to monitor the daily movement of wild elephants (the highly endangered ones) using GPS technology –such as being done in some African countries like Kenya and South Africa. There are international wildlife organisations that provide assistance in this sort of work. It is time for the central government to seek assistance from overseas experts as how best to save the wild elephant, using the best available technology (satellite tracking (GPS), radio collaring (SIM chips) etc. Let's hope that at least in the future there will be sufficient measures to protect the elephant numbers in Sri Lanka. Let's hope that the country's future generations will not be required identify an

elephant relying on a carved, wooden elephant; but watching them in the wild.

11 Responses to "Unnatural death of an Elephant every second day – future generations to identify an elephant from a carved wooden statue?"

1. *Ancient Sinhalaya* Says:
   What a shame it is happening to these majestic creatures?

2. *Fran Diaz* Says:
   Chanaka has addressed a serious problem here.

3. *Susantha Wijesinghe* Says:
   HEY CHANAKA !! Your thoughts on these Beautiful, Majestic, Priceless and Voiceless Innocent Pachyderms, are very meritorious, and you would be adequately blessed. I do hope that the Animal Lovers will take your suggestions seriously, and do their best to alleviate the misery that these animals suffer at the hands of two legged brutes called Human Beings. I have absolutely no faith in the Politicians showing any interest on your suggestions, as their first thoughts are how to rob the country, period.

4. *Susantha Wijesinghe* Says:
   AS a young boy, I remember the Mollamures used to establish KRAALS in the jungle to catch wild Elephants. That was when the Elephant population was huge.

5. I took some Tourists to a Koggala Beach Resort. The owner had a young mischievous Elephant, named Podi Appuhamy. I used to take bananas from the Dining table and feed this young fella, always using his name to address him. On about the third day, a few of us were standing at the building entrance, when we saw Podi Appuhamy being taken on the compound road, with the Mahout on his back. The distance would have been about 50 feet away.
   I shouted, ** Podi Appuhamy, Apita kiyanneth nathuwa yanawaa nehede. The Elephant did a 45 degree left turn and came straight at me. Everybody with me ran away. I stood still at the Entrance. This Fella, put his wet trunk on my shoulders, and was apparently showing his love for me. Just a three day love. The rest who ran away is now back with me.
   The Mahout then said, (English translation) This Elephant has done something very strange, that I have never experienced in my life with him. I

cannot believe it. Little did he know that I used to go and talk to him, address him by name, and feed him with Bananas. We formed a lifetime friendship.

6. *Chanaka B* Says:
Very few want to give a voice to the voiceless!
This (elephant) is not a major problem if we had handled it well. The blame squarely lies with the recent Governments. They simply did not have a plan as how to curb or at least minimise the problem. Anywhere in the world, people will try to encroach and grab land for themselves. This is a human weakness. That is why we have the laws. Unfortunately,in Sri Lanka ,Environment Protection Laws are inadequate, and also not sufficiently enforced. People who destroy the environment and grab state land must be severely dealt with. They should spend time in jail (at lest the repeat offenders). Unfortunately, in Sri Lanka, most of the time, the law breakers are the lawmakers! Today, it is the politicians (or their agents/cronies) who are behind deforestations and land grabbing. As the politicians give orders to the Police (and influence them in many other ways), the Police are unable to carry out their duties.
Fran, the argument that Sri Lanka is too small, thus we cannot support a generous wild elephant population is not sound . It is our duty to preserve what is given to us by nature. The most important thing is to allow the existing herds to live a free and stress free life. Use of modern technology to fix the problem is a must.
Susantha, 'Podi Appuhamay' story is beautiful. There are so many beautiful elephant stories in Sri Lanka.

7. *Susantha Wijesinghe* Says:
CHANAKA !! an Elephant Joke.:-

8. *Chanaka B* Says:
Elephant jokes:
How are elephants and computers similar?
They both have big memories
How do you stop an elephant from charging?
Take away his credit card
Teacher: "Where would you find an elephant?"
Pupil:"You don't have to find them, they're too big to lose!"

9. *Fran Diaz* Says:
Chanaka,

I personally would be happy to see really effective modern tech possibilities emerge for wild life preservation, especially in small countries like Lanka, where man vs beast happens for land use.
Chanaka, it is good to explore the facts and possibilities to Save the Elephants, wherever they are. Thank you for bringing up the topic.

10.  *Susantha Wijesinghe* Says:
Chanaka ! You must have heard the joke about the Lion telling the Elephant, ::: Danne naththan, danne hehe kiyanawa Oiy::::

11.  *Ananda-USA* Says:
Your story about Podi Appuhamy is one of the most endearing stories I have heard about our Elephant relatives in Sri Lanka. Thanks for sharing it.
Chanaka,
I am with you.

12.  *Chanaka B* Says:
Satellite tracking is the way to go.
Contrary to popular belief, it is relatively cheap – much cheaper than electric fencing and more effective. There is advanced/sophisticated software available; some of the things one can do are amazing.
With satellite tracking, wildlife officials can track the exact position of any elephant in Sri Lanka at any time of the day. For example, when an elephant herd approaches a human habitat wildlife workers can stop prevent the approach or alert villagers (through mobile phones), thus, the conflict can be avoided.
Officials/researches will know the exact routes used by elephants in moving from one part of their range to another. This is important for mapping corridors and preventing human elephant conflict. I think poaching still happens in Sri Lanka. Due to poaching, unfortunately, we have very few tuskers left.
Once data is at hand, researches can use the information to prepare detailed maps of elephant movements, for management purposes.
There are fine international organisations that we can secure assistance from, sometimes at no cost. I know a group British volunteers wanted to come and help some time ago, but, we did not reciprocate well.
Yes, we in Sri Lanka love our Elephant. It is sacred object. That is why created Pinnawala.
But, I think if we do not have the human-elephant conflict, we do not need elephant orphanages.

I know US had a bad record in environmental protection, but, they realised their mistakes. People in the West are now very concerned about the environment and environment protection laws. Today, I think US, Canada, Australasia, Sweden and New Zealand have a fine record in looking after their wildlife and protecting the environment.

Susantha, I can remember hand feeding a middle aged elephant with sugarcane and bananas at a friend's place in Ambalanthota, about 20 years ago. He was exceptionally friendly and cute. I wonder whether it was 'Podi Appuhamy'!

Convergence of Patriots to Canberra - Posted **in Lankaweb** on March 8th, 2014

Chanaka Bandarage

On Friday 7 March 2014 about 50 patriots from different parts of Australia converged to Canberra to meet with representatives of the UNHRC member countries located in Canberra. The delegates met with nearly 30 such Missions located in Canberra. They also met with the Office of Julie Bishop, Hon. Minister of Foreign Affairs for Australia, a friend of Sri Lanka.

The delegates had lengthy discussion with representatives of the UNHRC member countries and most representatives offered signs that their countries may not vote in favour of the proposed US Resolution in Geneva this time. It seems many member countries are not happy with the way the US is bringing forward such a Resolution that will not help Sri Lanka, but will damage Sri Lanka. The proposed Resolution will be an impediment to Sri Lanka's economic progress, unitary status (sovereignty) and ethnic reconciliation.

At the discussions, a Petition was handed to the representatives of the UNHRC member countries and that of Ms Bishop's Office and representatives of the US/UK , Indian and Canadian Governments.Â Below, please find a copy of the said Petition:

——

7 March 2014

UPCOMING US SPONSORED UNHRC RESOLUTION AGAINST SRI LANKA

Dear Your Excellency

PREAMBLE

We, the peace loving Australians of Sri Lankan origin, wish to register our concerns with your government through Your Excellency, in regards to the proposed US Resolution against Sri Lanka at the March sessions of the UNHRC. The US is seeking a probe into the human rights violations allegedly committed by the Sri Lankan security forces, in the last stages of the over three decades of long war in Sri Lanka conducted by the Sri Lankan Government against the Tamil Tigers (LTTE) -a UN designated international group (under the UN Resolution 1373 of 2002). It is disappointing that such a Resolution will be brought forth by the US when Sri Lanka has done everything possible to restore normalcy to those who were affected (mainly Sri Lanka's Tamil population) from Tamil Tiger terrorism.

THREE DECADES OF TAMIL TIGER TERRORISM

In Sri Lanka, for over 30 years, the Tamil Tigers bombed, killed and maimed people and committed other horrendous crimes. During the period of Tamil terrorism, Sri Lankans hardly had a day of peace, having to suffer terrible carnage at the hands of Tamil Tigers. Hundreds and thousands of innocent Sri Lankans died due to Tamil Tiger terror and many thousands were maimed. Husbands and wives did not travel together in the same train compartment (they travelled in separate compartments) due to the fear that the train may be bombed (a recurring occurrence at the time). They knew at least one of them should live to provide for the children.

In 2009, the Tamil Tigers were successfully defeated by the Sri Lankan security forces, under the leadership of the President, HE, Mahinda Rajapaksa, with overwhelming support from the peace loving citizens of all communities of Sri Lanka.

It is indeed an achievement without any parallel where 21 million of Sri Lankans were liberated from the yoke of the Tamil Tiger terror. The Tamil Tigers held the country to ransom for many years. The whole world witnessed on electronic media how nearly 300,000 Tamils ran towards the Sri Lankan forces seeking shelter and protection; after freeing themselves from the LTTE.

The US Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in their publication dated 10 January 2008, under the title 'Taming the Tamil Tigers' identified Tamil Tigers as the most dangerous and deadliest extremists among all of the terrorist groups in the world. The Tamil Tigers invented the suicide belt, used women in suicide attacks and extensively used child soldiers. All the LTTE cadres wore a cyanide capsule around their neck. The LTTE launched many civilian suicide attacks**,** frequent bombings in Colombo and other major cities, attacked Sinhalese villages in the North and the East where they raped women and killed infants. They assassinated politicians (including scores of Tamils, Government ministers, a Sri Lankan President and the then Indian Prime Minister). They also committed other forms of crimes. such as, armed robberies, human trafficking, drug peddling and money laundering.

The Tamil Tigers had fund raising organisations established throughout the world, especially in the West. Although the US, UK,Â EU, Canada, India, Malaysia and several other countries proscribed the Tigers (Australia made a limited listing of them under the Charter of the United Nations Act), it is well known that displaced LTTE members, Tamil separatists and their sympathisers, continued with fund raising, and used those funds to buy arms/ammunitions and war equipment to continue with its brutal war against Sri Lanka.

Now after the war, expatriate Tamil separatists, Tamil separatist sympathisers and their cohorts have started another war (by pen) â€“ to exert pressure on politicians and intellectuals in their respective

domiciled countries to garner support to achieve their final goal of carving out a separate, racist state exclusively for the Tamils in the North and East of Sri Lanka, the Tamil Eelam. It is estimated Tamils constitute less than 14%, of Sri Lanka**'s** total population, but they claim more than 1/3 of Sri Lanka**'s** landmass and ¾ of the coastal area. In Sri Lanka, majority of the Tamils live outside of the claimed area. it is believed that in Greater Colombo, at least 40% of the population is Tamil.

ADDRESSING ACCOUNTABILITY

In the aftermath of the LTTE military defeat a key allegation made against Sri Lanka was that there were large scale Tamil civilian deaths by the Army during the last stages of the war. The Government correctly refused the accusations and requested those who made the accusations to provide them with particulars.

During last stages of the war the Government soldiers refrained from firing at the ˜No Fire Zone', fearing that the civilians may be harmed. But, Tamil Tigers continued to shell at the Army, this resulted in many soldiers being killed effectively they sacrificed their lives to save the lives of the Tamil civilians. The Tigers shelled and fired at the civilians who freed themselves from their captivity. The war finally ended on 19 May 2009 after the terrorist leader, Prabhakaran was killed that day (the final war was started in March 2007). Prior to its Northern operation, the Sri Lankan Forces successfully rescued thousands of civilians from the East with minimal collateral damages. The security forces adopted the same tactic when it came to rescuing civilians in the North.

During the war, according to the UN spokesman in Colombo of the time, Mr Gordon Weiss the dead civilian number was only about 7,000 (he gave these numbers in about March/April 2009), the Sri Lankan

Government at that time rejected that high number. Mr Weiss was asked to leave the country.

About 9 months after the war, there were claims, (mainly by Mr Weiss) that the dead civilian number was much higher**,** about 40,000. In 2011, the UN Secretary General's advisory panel- ˜Darusman alleged that a similar number may have been killed. When questioned at his book launch in Melbourne in October 2010, Mr Weiss was unable to properly answer how his own 7,000 figure had increased to 40,000. Under intent questioning, Mr Weiss stated that the dead number may have been between 10,000 - 40,000, he failed to explain properly how he arrived at different figures at different times.

Thus, after end of the war, there had been accusations against the Sri Lankan government of gross civilian deaths (something that was not raised during the time of the war, including by India), but no one had been able to say how such a number (eg 40,000) had come to be, who were the dead people (their names, addresses, or at least who are their living relatives), where were the dead corpses buried (the No Fire Zone was less than a 3 sq. km area). Documentary videos prepared by a British TV station (Channel 4) made horrendous accusations of war crimes against Sri Lanka but it later emerged that authenticity of the claims made in the documentaries was highly dubious. It became obvious that Channel 4 had deliberately concealed important information from its viewers, allegedly used edited videos to produce the documentaries. Channel 4 stated that the original videos provided to them were taken using mobile phones by those who were in the battlefront. Expert technical analysis show that some of the videos have been made using sophisticated video cameras that have zoom lenses. Mobile phone cameras do not have zoom lenses. On 27 February 2014 Lord Nesby stated in the British Parliament (House of Lords) that 2 people who appeared in a Channel 4 video had admitted that they were paid by Tamil Tigers. It is a well-known fact that Channel 4 is highly biased against Sri Lanka. The Sri Lankan Government produced

a series of documentaries '˜Lies Agreed Upon' which correctly showed the dubious nature of the Channel 4 documentaries.

As stated before, all those who have made allegations of horrendous war crimes atrocities against Sri Lanka have failed to articulate the sources of their information, details of the alleged incidents including names of the alleged victims or their relatives and any witnesses etc. Even the Darusman Report (UN) did not provide such information and when questioned the UN panel refused to disclose the evidence that it allegedly have. This placed the Sri Lankan government in a very difficult position. It very much wanted to investigate the allegations made against it, but those who made the allegations apart from rhetoric, would not provide any information/evidence about them. The Government appointed a Commission of Enquiry – Lessons Learnt and Reconciliation Commission (LLRC); only five incidents of civilian deaths were complained to the Commission. We believe they are now being investigated under the Government's National Plan of Action.

Sri Lanka's critics have completely ignored independent and reliable reports/sources such as the Sri Lankan Census and Statistics Department's Report which confirmed that the number of deaths were around 7,000 up to the end of May 2009; they included the dead LTTE cadres. In the last stages of the war, thousands of Tamil Tigers were killed by the Sri Lankan government forces (to camouflage the Army, some of them wore civilian attire). Sri Lankan forces were killed by the Tamil Tigers and Northern civilians died of non war related causes; so deaths did occur in the war areas. But, the Sri Lankan Army did not intentionally or recklessly kill Tamil civilians.

The Sri Lankan Government continues to request those who make the blatant allegations against it to provide them with information/evidence of the alleged atrocities. But, no one has come forward to do so (apart from the 5 complaints to the LLRC), thus, as stated before it is currently placed in a precarious situation..

PROGRESS IN THE RECONCILIATION PROCESS IN SRI LANKA

As mentioned before, soon after the conclusion of terrorism in May 2009, the Sri Lankan government appointed the LLRC and the Government did all it could do to implement its recommendations (the National Plan of Action). The areas of action taken by the Government, apart from the massive infrastructure development (over US$ 3 billion worth of projects in the North alone), included resettlement of people, providing compensation/relief to people and implementing policies of reconciliation.

A key progress was achieved via restoration of the democratic rights of the people by conducting elections in the areas affected by the war (North and the East), appointment of a Commission of Enquiry into the alleged disappearances (in co-operation with the ICRC) and conduct of a Census on deaths/injuries to civilians and property damages due to the war. These achievements are further described below.

The status as at December 2013 of the Government's progressive actions in the North in brief are as follows (the statistics provided hereunder are authentic and can be substantiated).

a) Tracing of missing/disappeared persons:

A survey on the tracing of missing/disappeared persons, especially those who were forcibly abducted by the LTTE, was completed with the corporation of the Family Tracing and Reunification (FTR) Unit of the UNICEF.

The President, HE Mahinda Rajapaksa appointed a Commission to investigate cases of missing persons in the Northern and Eastern Provinces, particularly those who allegedly went missing during and after the war. The Commission has been given the authority to conduct

inquires and investigations as necessary, and submit a report to the President. The President stressed the necessity to identify the persons responsible in cases where abductions or disappearances were found to have taken place and to take legal action where necessary.

It is noted that well over 100,000 Tamil citizens left Sri Lanka between 2007-2013, seeking refugee status in Canada, Europe, Australia, India and some using illegal means (boat people). It has been reported that these people have also been included in the missing persons' lists by those who have prepared such lists. It is estimated that about 7,000 Sri Lankan Tamils travelled to Australia alone in boats in the past 5 years.

b) Rehabilitation of the Ex-LTTE cadres:

Out of the total of about 12,000 ex-LTTE cadres surrendered/captured, 97% have already been rehabilitated and released to the society. A further 2% is currently under rehabilitation. This gesture alone shows that the Government is keen on rehabilitation rather than retribution. This also rebuts the accusation that the Government deliberately killed Tamil civilians; if wanted, it could have easily killed those captured LTTE cadres.

c) Resettlement of IDPs:

Out of the total of 224,432 Tamil families who were residing in temporary accommodation 96.9% have already been resettled. There are 22,134 Muslims registered for resettlement in the Northern Province and are in the process of being resettled. Out of the 100,000 Sinhalese displaced from the Northern province since early 1980s, about 90% are still living in areas outside of the Northern Province.

d) Re-establishing of democracy:

Presidential, Parliamentary, Local Government and Provincial Council elections were held since the eradication of terrorism. A Tamil political party (TNA) won the election and are currently governing the Northern province.

e) Land released by Security Forces and the reduction of troops:

Out of the 34.561 acres of private lands occupied by the security forces, 78% has already been released. The army battalions have been reduced from 152 to 104 since May 2009. These numbers continue to come down.

f) Demining

According to the data available up to September 2013, only 4.2% of land is yet to be cleared.

g) LLRC

Some of the recommendations of the LLRC require an evolving/progressive consensus among the ethnic, religious, regional and political diversity of the nation, the Government has commenced grassroot level activities to achieve these.

AN APPEAL TO YOUR EXCELLENCY

Considering the gravity and enormity of the conflict, we say that the goal for full reconciliation cannot be achieved within a short period of time. Quick fixes and ad hoc policies in the guise of resolving problems (especially as enunciated by powerful external elements) will in reality acerbate the problems. All solutions to the conflict must arise within the framework of a united Sri Lanka, and they must be authentic, indigenous and acceptable to all peoples of Sri Lanka.

Since ending the war, Sri Lanka has taken great strides to address concerns raised by the international community. Sri Lanka has always been willing and able to listen to the international critique and has adjusted its policies accordingly. Given that Sri Lanka has co-operated well with the international community and has taken genuine attempts to redress grievances of the minority Tamils, Sri Lanka should not be subjected to harsh measures by the UNHRC member nations in March this year. There is absolutely no requirement to conduct an international investigation to the alleged civilian deaths/human rights violations in Sri Lanka. Demanding an enquiry only to investigate the conduct of the war in the last stages of the war has no rational. What about the atrocities committed by the LTTE and the alleged atrocities committed by an occupying foreign Army during the 30+ years of the war? Why should those atrocities go un-investigated?

It is only the wearer who knows wherein the shoe that pinches. In Sri Lanka, it is its people who have the tragic war experiences. It is Sri Lankans who know what it meant to live under the clutches of brutal terrorism. It is Sri Lankans who defeated terrorism using their own skills and resources (when Sri Lanka was winning the war in 2009, some powerful nations tried to stop it). It is Sri Lankans who should dictate the future pathway of their country, not outsiders, who have little or no understanding of Sri Lanka.

The emergence of the new Sri Lanka that dawned after 19 May 2009 should change lives for all Sri Lankans for better. True everything that happened in Sri Lanka after the war in the past 4 years may not be perfect, yet, Sri Lanka has moved forward. Sri Lankans want to continue that forward march so that they can build a rich, harmonious, peaceful Sri Lanka for all Sri Lankans. Already Tamils, Muslims, Sinhalese and Burghers live like the children of one mother in Sri Lanka. This settled peace must not be disturbed.

Adverse outside forces should not be allowed to come and interfere with the intricate way of Sri Lankan life. Again, they should not be allowed to destroy Sri Lanka's recent gains after winning of the war. The proposed US Resolution should be looked in that perspective. It is a reckless attempt to unduly interfere into Sri Lanka's internal affairs and a measure to stop its forward march. It is important to note Australia's excellent policy on Sri Lanka – engage, not isolate/punish Sri Lanka.

The best way to assist Sri Lanka is to provide her with financial, moral and other assistance. And include Sri Lanka fully in world affairs. At the Tokyo Summit in 2002, the international community pledged to assist Sri Lanka with a rebuilding fund (like the post-World War II Marshal Plan) worth over $US 4.5 billion. These pledges were not met with. After the war, Sri Lanka borrowed monies (about US$ 7-8 billion) at high interest rates. Most of the monies were used to build new infrastructure for their Tamil brethren in the North and East. Many large scale infrastructure projects are in the pipeline.

In the recent past, the Sri Lankan Government conducted negotiations with South Africa and the two countries agreed to work together to resolve the outstanding issues, including the West's demand to establish an international Commission of Enquiry to investigate the alleged war crimes. We say that the international community must give this new initiative a chance to succeed than giving deference to the proposed US Resolution.

Before casting your country's valuable vote at the UNHRC sessions in Geneva in March 2014, we humbly request you to carefully consider all the factors outlined herein. A vote in favour of the US Resolution (ie against Sri Lanka) or an absent vote will have the huge impact of derailing all the gains achieved after winning the most brutal, recent civil war of the world. The US Resolution will damage the substantial achievements that Sri Lanka has gained over the past 4+ years

especially in relation to ethnic reconciliation, ethnic harmony and economic development. Even a section of Senators within the US are opposed to the US Resolution.

The US Resolution will polarise the Sinhalese and Tamil communities, not unite them. Sri Lankans are determined to make their beautiful country the Wonder of Asia, we ask you to cast your country's vote against the US Resolution (ie vote in favour of Sri Lanka) in Geneva, so that this dream of the 21 million Sri Lankans will become a reality. Again, please note that a vote in favour of the US Resolution or abstaining from voting means sending Sri Lanka backwards.

We kindly ask you to forward this Petition to your foreign office and the UNHRC post in Geneva.

We thank you very much.

1) Sri Lanka Support Group-Australia and Global

2) Society for Peace, Unity and Human Rights in Sri Lanka VIC

3) Society for Peace, Unity and Human Rights in Sri Lanka-NSW

4) Australian Federation of Sri Lankan Associations-NSW

5) Sinhala Cultural Association of Australia Inc ACT

6) United Australians of Sri Lankan Organizations- VIC

7) Sri Lankans Against Terrorism NSW

8) Veera Parakramabahu Foundation NSW

9) Sinhala Cultural and Community Services Foundation Inc VIC

10) Society for Peace, Unity and Human Rights in Sri Lanka-QLD

11) Society for Peace, Unity and Human Rights in Sri Lanka- WA

12) Only One Lanka, ACT

Contact Person and Convener:

Chanaka Bandarage, Lawyer, President, Sri Lanka Support Group, GPO Box 3004, Canberra ACT 2601, Australia. Ph , srilaankasupportgroup@bigpond.com

18 Responses to "Convergence of Patriots to Canberra -new"

1. *Mr. Bernard Wijeyasingha* Says:
Since it is now obvious working with the accusers to come to some mutual understanding is almost impossible Sri Lanka has to act independent of them. Seek out those elements within Sri Lanka who **....**

2. *Nanda* Says:
Live: Terrorism fears grow after discovery that TWO passengers on missing Malaysia Airlines flight were using STOLEN passports

3. *Lorenzo* Says:
Good work BUT these govt.s will NOT change their decision due to what we say NOW.

4. *Sooriarachi* Says:
We should be and will be ever grateful to these Sri Lankan Societies and members of these societies,

5. *Sooriarachi* Says:
Sorry, the Daily News editorial extract in my previous comments, is only the 3 lines section typed within quotes, and the rest below it are my own observations and comments.

6.  *Chanaka B* Says:
Lorenzo, it's not all over; there is scope to garner votes to us, given the new US draft Resolution. **....**

7.  *Lorenzo* Says:
CB,
We FULLY support your moves. FANTASTIC!
Anyway better late than never! Good luck!

8.  *Chanaka B* Says:
Lorenzo, the US put out its Resolution only last week – Wednesday; as you can see it is a much diluted Resolution. The previously strong rhetoric is gone. It is possible they might further amend it; so we have a chance to lobby. The countries will not just vote, they want to see what's in the Resolution. I still think the Resolution can be defeated. It will be a BIG win then.

9.  *Sooriarachi* Says:
I think the USA is very cunning and has deliberately watered down the resolution to ask only **.....**

10.  *Chanaka B* Says:
The UK Govt was adamant that if Sri Lanka failed to establish a local commission of enquiry, they want an international enquiry established this year. They need to explain why they now like to settle for something less, given that the allegations are extremely serious. Are they implying they themselves are unsure of the allegations?

11.  *Christie* Says:
Thanks for all the good work.

12.  *Christie* Says:
When it comes to the Western nations it is **.....**

13.  . Says:
Bandu **Says;**
Dear Chanaka,
Thank you for the final text of the Petition handed over to Heads of Mission

in Canberra. I note that slightly different versions were handed over to different Hs/M. That's good. Australia was the best place to take such an initiative as the Ausie govt is supportive ofSL's efforts and fully understands the need for time forreconciliation which is no easy task for any country after a longdebilitating war against a ruthless terrorist outfit.Australian govt's stance can make an impression on Hs/M present there.I wish similar efforts were made in other Capitals. Thanks for thisexcellent initiative which I have observed as a former SL diplomat whoserved a long time in Australia as Deputy HC and acting H/C for a good part of the time. Pl convey my appreciation to other groups which co-operated.

 *Chanaka B* Says:
Bandu, Australia was a co-sponsor of the US Resolutions in previous years. The fact that they are not doing that this year itself is a major victory for us

14.  *Nanda* Says:
CB,
Good work. Since they are hanging on to the ropes, it is the time now to knock out the buggers.

15.  *Chanaka B* Says:
Nanda, if we win in Geneva this time, it will be equally important as winning the war on 19/5/09

16.  *Christie* Says:
Hi all I am sure Australia got a new government in September last year.

17.  *Nanda* Says:
CB,
Even if we win , if it is on the assumption that LLRC rubbish and 13A will be implemented OR some South African nonsense introduced accepting a false Tamil Land, it is the same as RanNils CFA, not 190509**.**

 *douglas* Says:
Mr. Chanaka Bandara**ge**: You said "we failed in 2012 & 2013 at UNHRC" and "2014 could be a close call". We know why we failed two times and also know where we are heading. In this background there is a "Proposal" (NOT MINE) as follows:-

1. “An Army Take Over” of the administration of the country.
2. “To establish Sri Lanka as a UNITARY SINHALA BUDDHIST COUNTRY”

What is your considered opinion of the above proposals as a way to get out of this messy situation?

I tried to oppose it and got my “Identity” changed to “LTTE+UNP”. Anyway that should not concern you.

Appreciate your thoughts. Thank you.

18.  *Chanaka B* Says:
First of all let me say this – none of us are perfect. In life, we all need good counsel. A good frind will always give good counsel. Some of the counsel may sound bitter, but the friend (like a loving father), will still give them, as they are given with good intent to genuinely help the friend. Good friends know they should agree to disagree. This rationale applies to giving advice to the Government. A patriot will always give good counsel to the Government always in good faith. The advice may sometimes sound unpalatable, the Government being an intelligent body, will accept them to consider.

Slinging mud at a person or a Government in a public forum in the guise of giving advice is unacceptable.

Criticism should always be constructive, not personal.

Kumar, I am glad you are satisfied with my answer.

It is great to hear from two Patriotic Giants; Charles and Douglas. Let me reply to Charles first.

Yes, Charles I did state “ Since 1980 or so our country has become very corrupt. ” Please note the adjective ‘very’. I added it purposely.

Not only DS Senanayake, I think even Kothalawela was accused of corruption. NM was implicated having a pecuniary interest in a private

graphite mine. DS Senanayake, a Great Leader – Father of the Nation, is credited with introducing nepotism to our politics.

I agree 13th Amendment is a difficult issue to the Government. It was not a creation of this Government; part of JR's legacy.

I agree Sri Lanka need not be a Singapore, we have more resources than Singapore. Singapore is just a commercial hub – in a way a concrete jungle. We have an ancient civilization going back to 2500+ years! Our giant tanks, lush green vegetation, beautiful beaches, wildlife – the resources are endless. But, if we want to be the 'Miracle of Asia', we have to curb corruption, mismanagement, maladministration etc and must always maintain sound economic policies (macro and micro). Singapore is a good role model to us in this regard. They are so developed, largely because of less corruption and fine administration.

By the way Charles we have a list of names to go to Geneva (just a draft only at this stage). There are some Great Names in it including a patriotic commentator from this Geneva blog. Because you live in close proximity to Geneva (France), would you be interested to include in the team? You will be a fine member. Briefly I have set it out in the article the type of activities that the team would do in Geneva. But, largely it will be conducting talks with the representatives of the 47 states.

Douglas, that proposal (I know it cannot come from a person like you!) is not worth even discussing. A waste of time.

19. *Lorenzo* Says:
Doglas is showing his petty **.....**

20. *Lorenzo* Says:
Charles, With 2/3 in parliament why is the government hesitating to SCRAP 13 amendment? It has given SL enough problems already. NEW PROBLEMS come in every day from 13 amendment.

21. *Lorenzo* Says:
Kumar, Accept there are exceptions.

22.  *douglas* Says:
Mr. Chanaka Bandarage:

Thank you for your response. In regard to this question I posed to you, please read the presentation made by Mr. C.Wijayawickrama in CT (Colombo Telegraph) today. He refers to the speech made by Mr. Wigneswaran on January 5th 2014 at the inauguration of the SOS Children Village, in that, he (Mr.Wigneswaran) too stresses the cry of a so called "UNITARY SINHALA BUDDHIST COUNTRY".

23.  *Lorenzo* Says:
Of course SL is a **.....**

24.  *Lorenzo* Says:
CB,

Please COORDINATE with the GOSL delegation. We don't want to confuse the UNHRC and 47 states with TWO DIFFERENT versions of the PRO-SL position.

25.  *Chanaka B* Says:
We don't need a military led Government

The country, Sri Lanka, has a Sinhala Buddhist foundation. It does not mean other races cannot live there. We all must live in One Nation, Sri Lanka; like the children of One Mother. All the Sinhalese and majority of Tamils in Sri Lanka want this, except few separatist like the TNA. Tamil Diaspora is now the main problem

Lorenzo, on this Geneva issue, yes, we will work in close co-operation with the Government

26.  *Chanaka B* Says:
Lorenzo, those UNHRC country representatives are seasoned diplomats. They will not get confused. I belive they must have met so many Tamil

Diaspora teams. The problem is that we Sinhalese (Sinhala Diaspora) are lagging behind. Given our numbers and the caliber of people we have, rather than be on the last carriage, we should be driving the train

27.  *Lorenzo* Says:
CB,

Absolutely! All the best.

28.  *douglas* Says:
Chanaka B: You are on the correct path. Please proceed, unconcerned of this "Military Take Over" and "Unitary Sinhala Buddhist Country" theories spread by the LTTE Diaspora and its agents, that would poison the minds of those UNHRC country representatives.

GOOD LUCK.

29.  *Chanaka B* Says:
If a Sri Lankan Diaspora team goes to Geneva in March (a long way off at the moment), it will be a separate delegation. They will be our friends; but, the Government team will conduct its own lobbying, negotiations etc.

30.  *Nanda* Says:
It is good if "Sri Lankan Diaspora " consists of Sinhala Buddhist, Sinhala Others and Tamils too.
Any chance to get a Good Tamil or Two ? Lorenzo ? Nalliah Thayabaran ? Kantha ?

31.  *SA Kumar* Says:
Lorenzo
Reson for this exception these few never identify as Tamils or any other community they identify geneuvinly Sri Lanka ! so They have no problm one more advandage they speck fuluant Sinhala !

32.  *douglas* Says:
Please refer to the article (para 2 of the Introduction) of Mr. Wijayawickrama in Lanka Web today.

33.  *Charles* Says:
Thnk you Douglas for highlighting the present dilemma Sri Lanka is in and what is appropiate to do instead of writing nonsense which will put Sri Lanka further into the boiling couldron

34.  *aloy* Says:
NPC's CM is a creation of MR against the wishes and appeals of many commentators in this website. If he now cries foul and threaten to take the regime to UNHCR who is to be blamed?. We all have rights to write and comment about 'my' country. But those living in it has more rights to complain about the law and order situation than those living in London or Paris as they are the people exposed to the dangers posed by drug addicts and criminals.

a wonderful" job?. And is that not the fault of the regime that implemented it

Navatkuli Sinhala Village attacked on Saturday 10 August 2013 at 930 pm

Posted **in Lankaweb** on August 11th, 2013

Chanaka Bandarage, Sri Lanka Support Group

It is regrettable to note that the Navatkuli Sinhala village (the Sinhalese settlement 6 km south of Jaffna) had been bombed on Saturday 10 August 2013.

Miraculously no one had been injured.

A bomb had been thrown at the Navatkuli Buddhist temple at about 930 pm, during which time the main priest (in his mid-eighties) and the 2nd monk had been inside the temple. They were spending their වස් season inside the temple. A devotee (leader of the Navatkuli Sinhalese village) had just finished offering flowers to Lord Buddha in the Buddhist Shrine and had stepped out of the temple (about 5 minutes before the bomb blast).

The bomb had been thrown inside the temple from outside of the village.

Fortunately, the bomb had not landed inside the temple. It had bounced on an iron mesh and hit outside wall of the temple. The wall had been badly damaged.

After the bomb blast, due to shock, the elderly monk had developed diahoria. He has somewhat recovered now. Most of the other Sinhalese villagers are extremely shocked and they do not know what to do next.

There is an Army camp adjoining the Navatkuli Sinhala village; the bomber had managed to evade Army surveillance of the village.

Now the Buddhist temple and the villagers have been provided with security.

Recently the Electricity Board had disconnected the electricity connection to the village alleging it was not legal. Now the villagers live in dark (for the last two months). Due to this, there exists a major security risk for them in the night. When the bomb had blasted, the village had been in dark except for the few faintly lit kerosene lamps in the temple and people**'s** sheds .

Due to lack of electricity, the villagers are even unable to charge their mobile phones. Without mobile phones, they have absolutely no contact with the outside world.

As they have no employment, the villagers are destitute. They have no source of income. They do not have money to pay for a new electricity connection.

Most of the times, the monks eat dana with rice and vegetables. Very seldom would they get to eat fresh fruits.

There are few toilets for the village, built by the villagers recently. The villagers live in ram shackled tin roofed sheds. In the night it is easy for someone to throw a bomb inside the sheds through gaps on walls, and flee. More children have come to live with the parents during these school holidays.

Villagers say it is normal for unknown people to throw stones into the village. Even just prior to bombing, stones have been thrown on the temple tin roof. On that occasion, the villagers had thought they were droppings from nearby coconut trees.

Soon after the war, about 3,000 displaced Northern Sinhalese returned to Navatkuli and surrounding areas, now only a very few are left there. All of them returned to the South as there was no relief provided to them by the authorities, unlike to the Tamil UDIs.

Earlier in the year, **a** TNA MP had visited Navatkuli and stated to the Sinhalese villagers that they must leave the Navatkuli settlement:

*www.**youtube.com/watch?v=fKfrUS–twIs***

According to Navatkuli Sinhalese villagers, it could be Tamil separatists who have thrown the bomb at them but they have absolutely no clue as to who has actually done it. They believe it may have been an attempt to harm the Buddhist monks and the villagers who were inside the temple at the time.

Again, they do not know the exact person who threw the bomb. The culprits remain at large.

Later on Sunday (11 August), a second bomb was found by STF, hidden in a tin shed 4 or 5 meters behind the temple. This bomb had been de-fused.

If separatists are treating the Sinhalese this way when the Central Government is still in control of the North, what can one expect from TNA when TNA assumes the control of the North? (it is not alleged that TNA is behind the bombing).

There are a few Sinhalese settlements in the North. Most of them are Sinhalese who have been born and bred mostly in the North. Of the Navatkuli villagers, everyone speaks fluent Tamil and their ancestors have lived in Jaffna. Some were the famous Bakers of Jaffna who provided bread to the whole of Jaffna before the troubles began in the 70s (like the Nawatkuli Sinhalese group leader**.**

It is estimated that in the 70s at least 100,000 Sinhalese lived in the North with about 24,000 in Jaffna. Today the number is miniscule and those Sinhalese who wish to return to their ancestral lands have not received any incentive.

Earlier in the year, there had been demonstrations in Tamilnadu about the Nawatkuli Sinhalese Village, where some Tamilnadu leaders have participated.

Some Muslims have managed to return to the North, especially to Mannar, but many are still stranded in the South, especially in places like Puttalam.

We have fears for the of Navatkuli residents. Next time, they may not be this fortunate.

The international community would not comment about the rights of these unfortunate people**,** usual residents of Jaffna who have returned to their native land after the war.

WE AGAIN ASK THE GOVERNMENT NOT TO HOLD THE NPC ELECTION THAT WILL GIVE POWER TO TNA (SEE OUR MEDIA RELEASE BELOW, DATED 8 AUGUST 2013). THE ONLY SOLUTION IS TO ABOLISH ALL THE PROVINCIAL COUNCILS BY WAY OF A NATIONWIDE REFERENDUM. THIS IS THE ONLY WAY TO PROTECT MOTHER LANKA (AND THE SINHALESE LIVING IN THE NORTH).

Those who wish to assist Navatkuli residents, please contact:

srilankasupportgroup@bigpond.com

13 Responses to "Navatkuli Sinhala Village attacked on Saturday 10 August 2013 at 930 pm"

1.  *Lorenzo* Says:
It is the duty of the govt. to look after them.

2.  *Lorenzo* Says:
Govt. should **.....**

3.  *Mr. Bernard Wijeyasingha* Says:
After reading the article what is apparent is that those who **.....**

4.  *Susantha Wijesinghe* Says:
HERE WE GO AGAIN**.....**

5.  *Sampath* Says:
..... I am sorry for the Buddhist priest **.....**

6.  *ranjit* Says:
August 12th, 2013 at 2:02 am
I am very sad to hear all these stories**.....**

 *callistus* Says:
Susantha Wijesinghe's comment is important**.....**

7.  *Lorenzo* Says:
Agree with SW**....**

8.  *Indrajith* Says:
It is very important to**.....**

9.  *Fran Diaz* Says:
Lorenzo, I agree with you**.....**

10.  *Senevirath* Says:
Killing PRABHA **.....**

11.  *Susantha Wijesinghe* Says:
..... AS TO WHY HE THREATENED **.....**

Legal Action seems the only way available to protect mother Lanka

Chanaka Bandarage, Sri Lanka Support Group, Australia

It seems all the protests and demonstrations against the 13th Amendment have come to no avail. The Government will hold the Northern Provincial Council (NPC) election on Friday, 21 September 2013, with the current provisions of the 13th Amendment intact.

The Government states like the eight other provincial councils, the NPC, once formed will also not receive the Police and Land powers.

All Governments since inception of the 13th Amendment in 1987 suppressed giving Police and Land powers to provincial governments. This has been a good move.

It is refreshing to note that the current Government will also carry out this policy.

But, will the Government t be able to sustain the policy, when it will be under enormous international pressure to give those two powers to the TNA led NPC? The writer believes it is unlikely.

The moment Wigneswaran comes to power, he will ask for the two powers – Police and Land. When the Government refuses to give them, the TNA and Tamil Diaspora will initiate a massive international campaign. That campaign will be different to the massive international campaign they launched worldwide during the last stages of the war; that campaign somewhat ended with the death of Prabhakaran and the fall of Nanthikadal. Wigneswaran has already indicated that his government will work closely with the international community, ie, India and the West (note, Foreign Affairs is not a power that he will

have under the 13th Amendment – this shows his clear intention to disregard the Constitution).

India and the West will take the side of the TNA and will impose pressure on the Government until those powers are fully given. They may make threats to Sri Lanka such as imposing economic sanctions, threat to take the country's leaders to the War Crimes Tribunal in the Hague, suspend Sri Lanka from the Commonwealth, vote against Sri Lanka at the UNHCR sessions in Geneva or at the UN General Assembly and the threat (bogus) that India will invade Sri Lanka.

No doubt the current Presidnet will bravely resist the demand to handover the Police and Land powers to the TNA led provincial government, but under intense international pressure, it is unlikely that such resistance can be sustained forever (this applies to any future Presidnet). The unfortunate thing will be that at that time, it will be too late to abolish the 13th Amendment. Such action will clearly be seen as an act against the Tamil people who had elected their own provincial government.

In 1987, the then President JR Jayawardane succumbed to immense Indian pressure and agreed to sign the Indo-Lanka pact (after placing the whole country under curfew), which led to the enactment of the 13th Amendment. Presidnet Premadasa was brave to demand India to withdraw the IPKF from Sri Lanka, and India had no choice but to comply. The current President was brave to withstand the pressure put on him by the West during last stages of the war.

But, on this issue, when the two powers are already set out in the Constitution (13th Amendment) as Concurrent Powers to be shared with the provincial governments (in the event of inconsistency provincial council laws will prevail over the federal government laws, to the extent of inconsistency); and India being architect of the 13th Amendment who openly advocates the full implementation of the 13th Amendment,

it will be very difficult for any President to resist such a worldwide pressure. That pressure will be different to what the President experienced in 2009 to stop the war.

Wigneswaran has already stated his provincial council without Land and Police powers will be a toothless tiger. He along with his TNA members will fight to their last resource to obtain the full powers or more, granted to them under the Constitution.

Some of the dangers of giving the Police and Land Powers to a future NPC led by a separatist group like the TNA:

Police Powers

- A Police Officer of one province cannot enter another Province without the permission of the Chie Minister of the other Province (Central Government Police Officers (Federal) would not even be able to wear their uniforms when they enter another province. So, if a Federal Police officer enters the Northern Province (under permission granted by the NPC Chief Minister), they will have to remove the federal uniform, and wear civilian clothes.
- The Provincial Police Commission will be controlled by the Chief Minister of the Province, it will be the Chief Minister who will appoint the provincial government DIG, not the Presidnet.
- To the NPC Police force, TNA will appoint personnel that will speak Tamil only (including ex-Tigers). The TNA Police Force, that will bear arms, will effectively be another military force. If the Sri Lankan military will remain in the North (unlikely), it is possible that confrontation may occur between the two armed forces.

- It will be very difficult for the Central Government Police Force (Federal) to investigate alleged offences by the country's citizens. That will be the duty of the provincial councils (imagine having 9 separate Police forces in tiny Sri Lanka!). The Central Government Police force (Federal) will become a minute Police force who will be confined to duties in federal institutions like the airports (2), ports (about 4 or 5), defence installations (many), federal Parliament, Foreign Ministry, Supreme Court, Post Offices and Customs etc. A person who would commit a crime in the South (eg. a person like Pottu Amman), who would mastermind a range of criminal activities like bomb blasts in Colombo, can flee to the North and stay hiding there. Only the Northern Police can arrest him. The Federal Police will have to seek an 'extradition order' from the NPC Chief Minister to prosecute the offender in the South.

Land Powers

- The TNA provincial government will be able to sell, transfer, lease, mortgage, donate, and acquire land anyway it likes within the province. This is exactly what the LTTE fought for. Currently these powers exclusively vest with the Central Government.
- Once the TNA wins the NPC, it will be almost impossible for any person in the South to live in the North. This will be a grossly unfair situation for the Sinhalese – the South of Sri Lanka is jam-packed with an ever-growing population. There is hardly any space left in the South for human expansion. The only areas available for future human habitation/expansion is in the Northern and Eastern provinces.

- The future TNA Government will seriously discriminate against the Sinhalese. They will not allow the former Sinhalese in the North to re-settle (about 100,000).
- The NPC government can even block the Sinhalese from travelling to the North entirely, even though freedom of movement is enunciated in the Constitution.
- Once TNA comes to power the Sinhalese currently living in the North can be chased away. There are pockets of Sinhalese settlements in the North – these people have lived in the North for generations. The TNA MP Mr Suresh Premchandran recently threatened the Sinhalese who are resettled in Navatkuli Village near Jaffna (6 km from Jaffna) that they must return to the South. This is a forewarning as to what we can expect from a future TNA government. Will S and M (two brave female Sinhalese women of Navatkuli) and their compatriots who have lived in Jaffna since birth (with intermittent spells of time away from the North), be expelled from the North by the TNA? it is worth observing these post -election developments.
- Many Northern Sinhalese are living under licenses issued to them by the Land Reforms Commission (LRC). The TNA Provincial Council with Land Power will be able to revoke these licenses, and chase the Sinhalese away. Past experience show that the international community will not show any concern or empathy towards the Sinhalese when they are harassed and/or discriminated against by the Tamils (ie, the LTTE).
- With the TNA in power in the North, it will be possible for them to provide easy passage to such enemies of Sri Lanka like Vyko, Nedumaram, and Seaman et al, who advocate secession of Sri Lanka, even to set up para military style camps in the North. It is not a secret that Vyiko and Nedumaram had wanted

to establish such camps in Sri Lanka. Nedumaram had been to Sri Lanka several times in boats (without a visa). He wined and dined with Prabhakaran and returned to Tamilnadu, without getting caught by the Navy. The distance he had to travel was a mere 30 km.

- Once TNA is in power, possibly due to international pressure, the Sri Lankan military may likely to be confined to Northern barracks or they could be withdrawn mostly from the North. Though the Government will resist these demands, the international pressure will be so huge, it is unlikely that the Government will be able to withstand them.
- Boatloads of illegal immigrants can freely sail from India to Sri Lanka. Some can come in the guise of fishermen. The illegal migration of Tamils into Sri Lanka is not an old phenomenon, it has happened since time immemorial. Chola and Magha were some of them, in fact, invaders. Then the Kallathonis, who come even now. This activity can flourish once the Land and Police powers are vested with the future Northern provincial governments.
- It will be very easy for these Tamilnadu illegal immigrants (there are 70 million Tamils in Tamilnadu) to obtain Sri Lankan citizenship. It is well known that the Tamil separatists are masters in producing forged documents. Even in today's Sri Lanka, one can prepare a National Identity Card (NIC) even from home. As far as the writer is aware, the name on the NIC is still handwritten. For the illegal immigrant, it will be just a matter of writing their name on the photocopied yellow NIC paper and then laminate it – then they have the Sri Lankan NIC! Armed with that and the forged Birth Certificate, they can apply to obtain the Sri Lankan Passport . If a higher fee is paid, it will

be issued within 24 hours! (this alone shows that the documents may not be thoroughly checked before issuing the Passports).

- It is true document fraud happens everywhere in the world, but, in Sri Lanka we deal with master crooks, who until few years ago were engaged in the most brutal terrorist activities of the entire world. As opposed to other countries, sadly there is very little criminal prosecution in Sri Lanka for such forgery (the writer has heard stories that there are Maldivians (and Pakistanis) living in Sri Lanka illegally, using the system above mentioned and other methods; he is unable to confirm the authenticity of the stories.

Once the Government gives those powers (Land and Police), that will be the end of One Sri Lanka.

Apart from the above Police and Land powers, the separatist NPC can discriminate against the Sinhalese living in the North on the grounds of Health (withholding medicine etc to Sinhala area hospitals), Education (step- motherly treatment to Sinhalese schools, teaching fake Tamil Elam history etc), Roads (not maintaining roads in Sinhala villages), Transport (non- provision of public transport to the Sinhalese). The ways to discriminate the Sinhalese are unending.

Furthermore, just like how the Tigers ran them, the separatist NPC government will have the power to run their own Courts (they can have their own Attorney General, Solicitor General, Judges etc), Banks, Railway and Bus stations, Fisheries Harbours, Radio /TV Stations etc. The TNA government will have powers to legislate on such important areas as the Environment, Sports, Irrigation, Rivers, Lakes, Wildlife, Forestry, Cultural Affairs, Agriculture and National Heritage etc.

Given the enormous international support they have (ie, from India and the West), having the above powers alone (sans the Police and Land

powers), the TNA led NPC may be able to make a successful UDI (Unilateral Declaration of Independence). This is how Kosovo was accepted as a new nation – a declaration of independence by a group of people. The main criteria for Kosovo's formation and the recognition of the Baltic nations (Croatia, Bosnia, Albania etc) was the West's perceived bias against Serbia (similar to what Sri Lanka is currently facing).

The development of international law (both customary and codified); is so western centric, we live in an era where new nations are constantly being created at the whim and fancy of the West. Note the new nations that emerged since the World War 2 – Israel, Taiwan (true, like Kosovo, it is still not UN recognized), Pakistan, Bangladesh, South Sudan, East Timor, Eritrea, Sikkim (now part of India)**,** Falklands (now part of the UK), Puerto Rico (part of the US since 1917**),** Reunion Island (now part of France), South Ossetia, Abkhazia, Ingushetia, Georgia and Kosovo. Then, all the new nations that emerged from the breakup of the former Soviet Union. As it has no Western support, Palestine is still a non-nation.

Thus, as also stated by the writer in a previous Media Release, Wigneswaran may make a UDI even without those two powers. It is expected that the TNA will gain more than 75% of the vote at the forthcoming election. It has already stated they will ask the world to consider the NPC election result as a Referendum for a separate Tamil State in Sri Lanka; true they are very cautious as to what they say now, before the election, but they will loudly demand for the recognition of Tamil Eelam after their historic, grand victory – on Friday 21 September 2013.

India will be the first country to accept Tamil Eelam as a new nation, the West will follow suit.

One may say these predictions are farfetched and fanciful.

The future is formed from events in the past and present. One can predict the future by studying them, also using his/her visionary skills.

The readers will agree that giving the North to a group of people who have openly stated that they do not believe in a unitary Sri Lanka (this is exactly what the TNA has been saying until very recently), and that they actively advocate secession, is akin to handing over the care of chooks to the fox (or using another parable, placing Dracula in charge of the Blood Bank).

Even V Perumal during his very short spell as the Chef Minister did not hesitate to make a UDI (Unilateral Declaration of Independence); true he failed. This shows the sheer desperation and urgency the separatist Tamils have to carve out a separate nation within Sri Lanka. The TNA is worse than Perumal (we should not forget they were the LTTE proxy in the parliament). Already, Sampanthan is a highly regarded statesman worldwide. Upon formation of the Tamil Eelam, sometime later in the future, it is highly likely he will be award the Nobel Peace Prize. He will thereafter be treated by the world (ie, the West, who 'run' today's world) like Tutu, Suu Kyi, Dalai Lama etc.

On the last occasion the Tamil UDI failed because India did not recognize it. But today's India is much different. As stated before, India will be the first to recognize new Tamil Eelam (it may be called by a different name). Irrespective of whether the Congress or BJP are in power – it is the best way for them to win the Tamil vote and the Tamilnadu vote is crucial for both parties to form a majority government. There is no material benefit for an Indian political party to

take the side of the Sinhalese, who are about 15 million in population and confined only to Sri Lanka.

In 1991 or so, the then President, Premadasa was able to very quickly invoke Article 154J of the Constitution to dissolve Perumal's government (this provision , the only one available, allows the dissolution of a Provincial Council, using the Central Government's 'Public Security Ordinance' based on threat to the country's security owing to war or external aggression or armed rebellion). This time it is doubtful whether or not the President Rajapaksa (or a different President) would be able to dissolve the future Northern Provincial Council using the Article 154J. That time President Premadasa used it because Perumal tried to mobilse the province's 15,000 strong police force like an 'Army', but this time the calling of the UDI by Wigneswaran (under the able leadership of Sampanthan) will be an entirely peaceful act. Furthermore, once the new nation is recognized by several important countries like India, the US, the UK, Canada etc,, Sri Lanka will not be able to do anything to oppose the recognition (like the Kosovo case).

The beauty of it will be that like Kosovo and many other new states, the Sri Lankan Tamils will also get their long desired state (Tamil Eelam), without a single bullet being fired.

If we stop the mechanism (the vehicle) that will bring TNA to power (the NPC Election), we can at least for the moment stop the Tamil Eelam being formed. The only avenue available at the moment seems legal action, to be initiated in the Supreme Court. If an injunction or other similar Order can be obtained from the Supreme Court to postpone the election (due to Article 80 (3) of the Constitution, it is impossible to challenge the unlawful enactment of the 13th Amendment in 1987), that process will assist the government also, which is now embroiled in the preparations to host the CHOGM in November. As things currently stand, it will be very difficult for the Government to

postpone the NPC election or abolish the 13th Amendment (by way of a 2/3 vote in the parliament or by Referendum) prior to CHOGM. If these actions are now undertaken, CHOGM leaders may boycott the summit and Sri Lanka may be suspended from the Commonwealth. True, Sri Lanka should not be concerned about them - preventing the TNA or similar separatist outfit, who are hell-bent on creating the Tamil Eelam after gaining the NPC power, is the most important need of the country - a matter that goes to the country's sovereignty, than hosting the CHOGM, which has no relevance to 21st century Sri Lanka, or for that matter any other 3rd world Commonwealth nation. But, since the Government does not want to muddy the waters, it is better if the Order to postpone the election is made by the Supreme Court, an independent arm of the Government. Then, no one can apportion blame on the Government, and CHOGM leaders would understand this. There are several grounds available to challenge the holding of the NPC election in September in the Supreme Court.

Once CHOGM is over, rather than holding the NPC election with the current 13th Amendment intact, the country can be well protected if the election is held after abolishing the Police and Land powers from the Constitution, or totally abolishing the 13th Amendment by way of a nationwide Referendum (as enunciated in our numerous Media Releases, the latter is the best solution for the country). The total abolishment will mark the end of the entire provincial council system - all of the nine provincial councils, who are nothing else but huge white elephants.

Finally - it was thanks to late HL De Silva, Eminent Counsel, that we won the previous Supreme Court case; otherwise the North and East are still merged. Always, it is just one or two who will come and rescue others, this time it will be the brave lawyer/s in Sri Lanka who will file the legal action and argue the matter in Court to obtain the postponement.

srilankasupportgroup@bigpond.com

74 Responses to "Legal Action seems the only way available to protect mother Lanka"

1. *Samanthi* Says:
Hello friends,
Please don't discuss in detail……...

2. *Fran* *Diaz* Says:

Multipronged action called for to get rid of the 13-A.

3. *Ananda-USA* Says:
Let us all sing that timeless refrain ….

4. *Ananda-USA* Says:
This is what happens when political proxies and supporters of terrorists are allowed to ESCAPE SCOT-FREE.

5. *Indrajith* Says:
August 6th, 2013 at 6:35 pm

6. *Chanaka* *B* Says:
Neville through Nilwala,
I have a difficulty with your No 4:
" If TNA wins the NPC election and files action for full implementation of 13A, SC can say the case will have to await the on-going consultative process."
The purpose of the whole exercise is to stop TNA from winning the election. For this, we must stop the NPC election – this is the only way. Once TNA wins, that will give them international legitimacy – then, it will be too late to do anything like abolishing the 13 by 2/3 majority in the parliament or by way of a Referendum. The world will say we have denied the Northern Tamil people of their democratic right.
In this Tamil conflict, all Governments have been slow to act or have omitted to act entirely, thus generally they have created very disadvantaged situations for us (except finally winning the war by this Government) (eg. LTTE was not nipped in the bud – Prabha was captured and released and many other

dangerous LTTE cadres were released, stopped the Vadamarachchi operation, see above Poonryn, Mulatiwu disasters, failed to counter the false accusations made against us by the international (West) community, NGOs etc). There are so many mistakes the Governments have made, and the country paid a huge price.

There is a saying 'no point of closing the stable door once the horse has bolted'. So let's try to stop the NPC election at all cost now. By doing this, we are not going against the Government. We are helping it.

Once the 21 September 'flood gates are open', no one will be able to stop the TNA's forward march to create the Eelam.

One needs to look into both short term and long term strategies to safeguard mother Lanka.

We are not opposing the NPC election simply because it will be run by Tamils. If it is run by Tamils who believe in an inclusive Sri Lanka, then that is fantastic. But, the TNA who will obtain at least 75% of the vote (the poor Northern Tamils will vote for them under duress, most of them are illiterate anyway) has already stated that they do not accept Sri Lanka as a unitary state. They were the LTTE proxy in parliament. They have threatened to chase Sinhalese from the North. They have done very adverse things against Sri Lanka internationally (one can write a book about them). TNA has implied they will make a UDI after winning the NPC election. If the NPC is run by a Tamil party who does not advocate secession and who will welcome Sinhalese into the North and do other positive things to bind the two communities, then we should support them. In the Eastern Province. Pilliyan a Tamil, was the Chief Minister until recently – the Sinhalese had no problem with that. It is the Sinhalese who protected Murali, and the current cricket captain is a Tamil. We Sinhalese adore them. Our foreign Minister was a Tamil (the Sinhalese put him in the parliament, it was the TNA proxy, the LTTE that killed him). In Colombo we go to Tamil Doctors, Lawyers, Accountants, buy from Tamil shops; we have no problem with Tamils. Lots of our friends whom we socialize with are Tamils. In Tamil Kovils, most of the devotees are Sinhalese.

The legal action by SJP, and the one that we contemplate to file, are designed to seek an injunction (or similar relief) to postpone the election. If we manage to obtain the Injunction, then the NPC election may not be held on 21 September (the Supreme Court in these matters normally take a long hearing perod). If it is postponed to a date say, beyond late November, then the Government can go ahead and hold the CHOGM in November peacefully. Afterwards, the President should call for a Referendum. He does not need to obtain an Opinion from the Supreme Court to do this. He has two clear options available under Articles 86 or Articles 80(2) and 85 (1).

True, as Neville says, the President can also consult the Supreme Court under Article 129 and request the Court to review the circumstances associated with the passage of the 13th Amendment in 1987. Then, the Supreme Court can advise the Presidnet (provided that they are not caught by Article 80 (3) – this is unsure), that a Referendum should now be held. But, again the Presidnet has to use the above Articles 86 or Articles 80(2) and 85 (1) to call the Referendum. So, I see no real purpose in making the referral under Article 129, unless the President wants further reassurance from the Supreme Court before calling the Referendum.

At the Referendum, if people say that they want to abolish all the provincial councils, then there is no need for the President to hold the NPC election. All the nine PCs will get abolished.

Samanthi – I note your point. It is important, us , the ordinary citizens, to discuss and express our views – this is somewhat lacking in Sri Lanka. We simply listen to what the Politicians say and most of the time they say (and do) wrong things. So, we get into trouble.

We are not discussing finer details of impending legal action here (causes of action, names of witnesses, names of counsel etc), so no harm in having this type of a discourse. It is healthy and good for the country. As Kosala states Lankaweb is a voice for the Expatriate Sri Lankans to express their views. Through our remittance we contribute vey largely to the country's GDP growth, the Government has a duty to listen to us. We have a right to express our views, the Government and all political parties including Tamil people must listen to us. We have nothing to hide. We are not anti-Tamil. We are just patriots, we are only trying to preserve the country's sovereignty and territorial integrity, nothing else. Lorenzo is a Tamil, so are a few others who comment here. We welcome all of them, as long as they regard Sri Lanka as One County.

The SJP legal action is now filed (which is a major relief). So their Application is a public document. Anyone can check it from the Court's registry. No need to be of secretive of about the SJP legal action anymore.

7. *Ananda-USA* Says:

When that self-proclaimed bastion of Democracy, the cradle of Paliamentary Rule, actively INVESTIGATES, ARRESTS and DEPORTS ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS, can Sri Lanka DO ANY LESS?

8. *Fran Diaz* Says:

Hats off to the British for good administration. ….

9.  *Senevirath* Says:
CHANAKA ——PUDANA KOTAMA KAAPI YAKA KIVVALU S.J.P IS WITHDRAWING THE CASE THEY HAVE GONE WRONG MIGHT RE-FILE THAT IS WHY I TOLD U TO BE READY

10.  *Mr. Bernard Wijeyasingha* Says:
To quote the article:"India and the West will take the side of the TNA and will impose pressure on the Government until those powers are fully given. They may make threats to Sri Lanka such as imposing economic sanctions, threat to take the country's leaders to the War Crimes Tribunal in the Hague, suspend Sri Lanka from the Commonwealth, vote against Sri Lanka at the UNHCR sessions in Geneva or at the UN General Assembly and the threat (bogus) that India will invade Sri Lanka." and the article states once these powers are given to the provinces that would be the end of Sri Lanka……..
I would guarantee that within a few years Sri Lanka's economy and politics will be strong enough to be an influential force in that region and the "me only" Tamil policy will collapse as it has already collapsed with the end of the war.

11.  *Chanaka B* Says:
Senevirath
It is true the SJP has withdrawn the Application. I believe they will re-file.
In regards to what our group may or may not file, I am unable to comment. On a closer examination, I believe our intended cause of action is different to that of the SJP.
There are several causes of action one can file against the Commissioner of Elections (and AG), to postpone the NPC election, such as the following:
• Holding of the election when voting rights of the displaced Sinhalese have not been granted
• Holding of the election when voting rights of the displaced Muslims have not been granted
• Holding of the election when voting rights of the displaced Tamils have not been granted
• Denying voting rights to Sinhalese who are already living in the North – it is reported some Gramaka Sevakas have refused to register Sinhalese voters
• Denying voting rights to Muslims who are already living in the North
• Denying voting rights to Tamils who are already living in the North (unsure of this)
• Holding of the NPC election before the findings of the Parliamentary Select

Committee (PSC) is handed down (to my knowledge the PSC was set up by the Honourable Speaker of the Parliament to investigate the possible breaches of the country's Sovereignty as a result of holding of the NPC Election (I may be wrong). One can argue that the NPC election should not be held until the PSC findings are handed down; otherwise it will be a breach of Articles 1 and 2 of the Constitution (Article 1 – Sri Lanka (Ceylon) is a Free, Sovereign, Independent and Democratic nation; Article 2 – The Republic of Sri Lanka is a Unitary State.

• Due to duress put on Sri Lanka by India to sign the Indo-Lanka Agreement that led to the enactment of the 13th Amendment – the whole nation opposed it in 1987, the Agreement was signed after placing the country under curfew (about 300 people that protested against it were shot dead by the Government, and so much of public property was destroyed, about 500 Government owned buses alone were set fire by the angry public, a vicious assault on the then Indian Prime Minister by a member of his guard- of honour and numerous other anti-Agreement incidents. In 1987, the majority of the Supreme Court was of the view that a Referendum should be held before implementing the 13th Amendment, the then government disregarded it), one can now seek a Declaration from the Supreme Court that the 13th Amendment is null and void (void ab initio – 'there was no 13th Amendment at all'). If this action is successful, rather than postponing the election, it is possible that all the 9 provincial councils can become inoperative (no referendum or 2/3 majority from the parliament will be required). This is what happened after the de-merger argument was won – a Declaration by the Supreme Court, followed with the Government's gazette notification I believe. I have previously stated that the Supreme Court is estopped by examining the enactment of the 13th Amendment due to Article 80 (3), but one may argue that the Court is not estopped, due to the issue of duress by India that caused the enactment (an Agreement may be invalid, if undue pressure was exerted to enter it).

• Then individuals in the South, including Sinhalese, Muslims and Tamils, whose usual place of residence is North, can argue that they are confined to the South (such as the displaced Sinhalese who are living in Medawachchiya, Mihintale areas) as a result of being displaced due to the war, they should be re-settled before the election is held. – an argument similar to this was raised by SJP.

• Individual Northern Sinhalese whose fundamental rights will be violated if the NPC election is held – the TNA will govern the province (this may not be a strong argument). Threats by the TNA MPs (note the threat made by the TNA MP to Sinhalese in the North that they should leave the North).

So, there are various genuine avenues available to file legal action in the Supreme Court. If you know of patriots in Sri Lanka, you can ask them to

consider mounting an action. People can file action on their own also (if they can't find Legal Counsel).

Though some say it is futile to embark on legal action, I do not think so. Even if we lose, it is not going to cause us harm, and it will not be a victory for the separatists.

Whether or not the group that I am working with will file legal action, I cannot say with certainty. I hope it will be undertaken. I am only a member of the group, I can do so much and I am currently in Australia.

It is important to stress that we are doing this not to make things difficult to the Government but to genuinely assist it. If an independent body like the Supreme Court makes an Order, the Government simply has nothing to do with such an Order – no one, even India or the West can blame the Governmet that it failed to hold the election in September.

Bernard, it is a blessing we have such true friends like China and Russia in the UN Security Council. With respect, we should not be too naïve to think that China and Russia will come and rescue us all the time in the Security Council. Note, when the UN Security Council approved the referral of Mr Omar Al Bashir of Sudan to the War Crimes Tribunal in the Hague, his best friends, China and Russia abstained from voting – they did not veto the proposal (after he was indicted by the War Crimes Tribunal, Mr El Bashir agreed to hold the Referendum to divide Sudan into two. The new South Sudan emerged; no one seems to be interested anymore in pursuing him in the Hague. The West basically achieved what it wants – create South Sudan (may be Tamil Eelam next? I heard El Bashir who is on an international warrant for arrest, was in China and also in Egypt some time ago , no one had bothered to arrest him? Your argument that as China has invested large sums of monies in Sri Lanka (I am not sure whether they are investments, most of them are loans) they will come and rescue us would not stand, I believe when El Bashir's matter was raised in the Security Council, China was investing in Sudan more than any other African country. The same thing happened in relation to Libya, to overthrow Gadhafi- both China and Russia abstained from voting so the West was able to send planes to bomb Libya. Then, in 1990 both Russia and China consented to sending forces to Iraq. If a vote is taken in the UN General Assembly (not the Security Council), therein no Chinese or Russian veto power, all nations have one vote. Then, at UNHRC in Geneva, we failed twice – India voted against us; and we are due to go before them again in February next year. Last time, true, 13 countries voted for us (which is great) but, 25 countries voted against us.

It is not correct that the President has the power to dissolve a provincial council anytime he likes. He can only dissolve under Article 154J – on the ground that maintenance of essential supplies and services are threatened or that security of the country is threatened by war or external aggression or

armed rebellion; the President may be able to dissolve a provincial government after issuing a Proclamation under the 'Public Security Ordinance' (note: not under the 13th Amendment). Even herein, the words 'dissolve or dissolution' are not used. What it states is that "the President to hold that a situation has arisen in which the administration of the Province cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution." The then President Premadasa used this provision to dissolve Vardharaja Perumal's provincial government because he used the police force like an 'Army' and unilaterally declared the 'Tamil Eelam' in northern Sri Lanka. I say it is highly likely that this will happen again under a TNA run Northern Provincial Council.

I know some have argued that following Articles of the 13th Amendment allows the President to dissolve a provincial council when they do not:

Article 154K – this is not a power available for the President to dissolve a Provincial Council. It allows him to give a direction to the Governor and Provincial Council that directions to the Provincial Council be carried out. This has nothing to do with dissolution.

Article 154L – If the President is satisfied that a situation has arisen in which the administration of the province cannot be carried out per the Constitution (failure of the administrative machinery), the President may assume the functions of the administration of the Provincial Council. The President can only do this only by Proclamation (to be approved by a resolution of the Parliament) and such Proclamation is valid only for 2 months.

Article 154N – If the President is satisfied that a situation has arisen whereby the financial stability or credit of Sri Lanka is threatened, he may make a Proclamation to that effect (to be approved by a resolution of the Parliament) and such Proclamation is only valid for 2 months. During the period of Proclamation, the President is only allowed to give directions to the Governor in relation to 'observe such canons of financial propriety'. Again, this does not give power to the President to dissolve the Provincial Council.

What we are saying is that the Government must take precautions now rather than waiting for the problem to occur (the 'stable door' argument). After 9/11, the Western nations including Australia enacted stringent anti-terror laws; they did not wait until a terrorist event to happen in their countries. These precautionary methods have immensely helped these countries.

Even Udaya Gammanpila states very similar thing to what we articulate. Please read his article; "It's now or Never" appeared in the Daily Mirror 5 August 2013.

12.  *Fran* *Diaz* Says:
Thank you for clarity, Chanaka.

We agree with you that the various provisions set out in the Articles (of the Constitution) appear insufficient to protect Sri Lanka from Separatists.

13. *Lorenzo* Says:
Chanaka,
Udaya's article is a good read. It contained a SHOCKING TRUTH.

14. *Sampath* Says:
dear chanaka
You are wasting your time writing here. it is not ranil who will give elamm MR

15. *Samanthi* Says:
Hello Chanaka,
Whatever we do, we've to do fast. Time is running out fast ….tick, tick, tick!!!

16. *Samanthi* Says:
There's also a very frightening thing going on in the North. Please read the following article publised in Lanka Page.

17. *Fran Diaz* Says:
Let's wait and see what happens with the Navi Pillai visit. …….

18. *Senevirath* Says:
WHEN THERE IS A NOTHERN TAMIL P.C ALL THE WESTERN COUNTRIES WHO ARE PRO – TIGERS WILL GO THERE TO HELP THEM …… THEY MIGHT START BLAMING THE GOVT FOR NOT GIVING ENOUGH POWERS TO TAMILS TO DEVELOPE THEIR PROVINCE

19. *Chanaka B* Says:
It is good if the North develops and become prosperous. It is good if standard of living of the Northerners, which is predominantly Tamil, goes up. It is good if there exists a North sans corruption. This will have an impact in the South. The South will have to follow suit. We have nothing against the Tamils (our bretheren), What we oppose is Tamil separatism and discrimination against the Sinhalese. We argue TNA is the embodiment of that; among other things they want to exclude Sinhalese from the North and establish the Eelam. This is clear as a whistle. Unfortunately, lots of Sri

Lankan Tamil political groups are like TNA, but, not all. Their backers, Tamil Diaspora have not given up the dream of creating the Tamil Eelam – this is why Rudrakumaran established a government in exile. Our Government must do all things before the election to prevent an Eelam being created in northern Sri Lanka. Chelvanayakam stated "ask a little now and ask more later". The Government can't simply sit and wait saying they will act only after the TNA Government has shown signs of separation. It is like allowing Prabhakaran to go scot free in the 80s. After 9/11, the US went in to Afghanistan at great cost because they did not want Taliban/Al Qaida to launch attacks against them again. These were sound precautionary measures. Developed countries do such things all the time. That is why the Guantanamo Bay. Israel built a massive wall despite opposition from the entire world. We must not live in fear of our enemies/critiques; we must do everything humanly possible to save the country, no matter what our adversaries may think or do, as long as our acts are done intelligently and in good faith. At the end, there will be no one outside to help us, except ourselves. If TNA comes to power in the North, especially within the current 13A framework, that will definitely be the end of One Lanka. The best solution is to abolish the entire PC system and go back to the pre-1978 Constitution. It served the country very well.

20.  *Lorenzo* Says:
"The best solution is to go back to the pre-1978 Constitution. It served the country very well."

21.  *Sooriarachi* Says:
The facts are, the 13th amendment was never implemented fully and India too failed miserably in its attempt to get the Tigers to lay down arms and allow opposing politicians to enter its captured regions.

22.  *nilwala* Says:
ChanakaB:
Neville says:
Thanks for your comment on my response. Sorry for this delay.
Re #4…. My conclusion was based on the premise that:
a) politically it will not be possible for the Government to postpone the NPC elections;
b) by President consulting the Supreme Court on the legality of 13A before the elections, SC would be entitled to not entertain any case dealing with 13A (Police and Land powers) after the election, for as long as the Consultative process is going on.

If you can indeed get the elections postponed by filing action, please do go ahead. You have my full support.

23. *Chanaka B* Says:
Sooriarachi
Your argument has merit and this is also the current position adapted by the Government. But, we all know that TNA refuses this and they have indicated that they will raise the matter internationally. We do not know what Mr Menon has stated to the Government and what India has stated to Basil. If India agrees with the Government's position, TNA will have to bite their tongue and wait; of course they will continue to lobby India.
Whether the US or UK will make a big issue about it (not giving Police and Land powers to TNA Government), this is something difficult to predict at this stage. I think they will first consult India and if India is not bothered, it is quite possible that they will keep quiet.
Even if India agrees with us now, the problem with India is that they are unpredictable. We know how India behaved during the last Geneva Resolutions. At one stage they wanted luke-warm Resolutions passed against Sri Lanka, but, suddenly, after Tamilnadu protests (both by Karunandhi and Jayalaltha), India changed its position and demanded that stringent Resolutions be passed against Sri Lanka. Fortunately, the US did not agree. So, at the moment India's foreign policy on Sri Lanka is largely dependent on the severity of the protests emanating from Tamilnadu. The BJP, if in power, their policy on Sri Lanka will be similar. To our utter disadvantage, both parties are eying for the Tamil vote in Tamilnadu (there are 70 million Tamils in Tamilnadu and 0 Sinhalese voters are there, for that matter in the whole of India).
This is a major headache for Sri Lanka, it is better if the Government sorts out the problem now; once and for all. Especially when India is somewhat silent on Police and Land powers, this is the ideal time to abolish them and hold the election. For this, the Government can mount a 2/3 majority in the parliament. Such an action will take a huge burden off the country, (and we patriot will be able to sleep properly thereafter!).
How the world will treat us in the years to come in relation to the Tamil issue, no one can predict, But it will be continuous fight for us. Therefore, proactive action by the Government now will be a huge help for future Governments, ie, our future generations.
Neville
I agree with your explanation given in #4. It looks like it is almost impossible for the Government to postpone the election. I believe the Government should have waited until at least the outstanding major issues were resolved

before holding the election (eg. dealt with the Police or Land powers head-on and abolished them, if the Government did not want to abolish the entire 13th Amendment entirely, hold CHOGM before the election etc). If Pope is going to come, better finish that before a future Referendum (if any) is held.

Again, the best solution would have been to entirely abolish the 13th Amendment, by way of a Referendum. If the Government does this (it can still do it), it will be the 2nd biggest patriotic act of it (after winning the war).

Because the Government is now somewhat entrapped to hole the election in September, and it seems it does not want to do anything before the election, it is only through a court action that we would be able to obtain relief. I believe the Government will not see court action as an anti-Government activity. In a way, by initiating court action, we are helping the Government to come out of the mess that it is currently in (to a certain extent created by itself).

With your 4(b) answer, I believe you are right, the Supreme Court may not entertain any other matter until it provides advice to HE the Presidnet. Whether or not HE the Presidnet would seek an opinion from the Supreme Court (per Article 129), at the moment it is unlikely, but the situation might change in the future. So the pathway is currently clear to initiate legal action. I urge the patriots in Sri Lanka who read this to contemplate this.

You and I were engaged in many activities in Sri Lanka lately, let's keep doing the best we can for the mother country. Your offer of support is indeed a Great Strength.

ABOLISHMENT OF THE 13TH AMENDMENT – A SUGGESTION

Chanaka Bandarage
Courtesy - *Lankaweb*

It is refreshing that abolishment of the 13th Amendment has become a major issue in Sri Lanka.

There is a lot of momentum in Sri Lanka now to abolish the 13th Amendment, and as patriots we must be happy about it and must work towards that.

Given the international ramifications on the abolishment, we should bear in mind that this is a very difficult act on the part of the Sri Lankan government, as patriots we must try everything to motivate the government to embark on the correct pathway so that the international outcry (if any) is minimised.

As **per** the wise doctor, Gunadasa Amarasekara**,** the Government should have abolished the 13 Amendment soon after winning the civil war against the Tamil Tigers in 2009. Unfortunately this was not done and since then so much of 'water has flown under the bridge'.

The provincial council system is a white elephant and there is no purpose of having them for such a small country like Sri Lanka. The cost of running the provisional governments is enormous and most of the funds are spent on maintaining the expensive provincial government legislatures. Very little of the allocated funds go to the people, and the works of the provincial governments can be effectively done by the central government (as was under the Saulbory Constitution). Basically having separate governments for such small units like Wayamba, Sabaragamuwa, etc is simply a joke (some provinces do not even have more than 150,000 voters and the land mass for each provincial council is too small). India imposed the provincial government system on Sri

Lanka, they did not consider that Sri Lanka is such a small nation compared with India, and that India and Sri Lanka are poles apart. For example, the population of Tamilnadu is more than 3 times than that of Sri Lanka.

As stated before, there is a demand mounted by the patriots both within and outside of Sri Lanka to abolish the provincial government system, and it is a just and an intelligent demand. But, given the adverse international reputation Sri Lanka currently has we believe the total abolishment of the provincial government system can unfortunately bring adverse consequences. If we do not play the card properly the Tamil Diaspora and their western friends can use the opportunity to ask the international community to interfere and even divide the country through a South Sudan/East Timor type intervention. Because the current demand by the west and India is for Sri Lanka to expand further, especially give land and police powers to the provinces, one has to be extremely careful not to give further ammunition to Sri Lanka's adversaries. They can create a further international problems for Sri Lanka (note that the SLMC has already threatened that they will leave the government should the provincial governments were to be abolished – there will be many more such threats forthcoming). In this regard, we suggest the following change to the Constitution:

Abolish the provincial governments except the Northern and Eastern provincial governments. Let the two provincial governments stay intact but dismantle the other 7 provinces (their work can be covered by the central government – just like under the Saulbory Constitution).By doing that the international community including India cannot criticise Sri Lanka being discriminatory towards the minority Tamils. We need not give any more powers notably the land and police powers for the two remaining provinces (Northern and Eastern). This means the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of Sri Lanka will be preserved and the international critiques of Sri Lanka, especially by India can be minimised. The act will show that Sri Lanka has considered the Tamils (and also the Muslims) as people of special significance and only they

have been given special administrative units (two provincial governments). These action constitute as affirmative actions for the minorities, especially the Tamils.

By embarking on this pathway, effectively we are killing two birds with one stone.

The demand to abolish the provincial governments by way of a referendum is not required. If there is 2/3 majority in the legislature the act can be carried out. I believe such a majority can easily be found. One must not forget that the manner in which the provincial governments were established (13th Amendment) was unlawful, it was done by JR Jayawardane by way of Executive power. If a patriot could mount a challenge to that conduct in the Sri Lankan Supreme Court their act would no doubt be successful.

Chanaka Bandarage, President
Sri Lanka Support Group, Canberra
srilankasupportgroup@bigpond.com

6 Responses to "ABOLSIHMENT OF THE 13TH AMENDMENT ARTICLES 154G(2) AND 82 (5) OF THE CONSTITUTION ARE NOT IMPEDIMENTS TO HOLD THE REFERENDUM UNDER ARTICLES 80(2) AND 85 (1) OR ARTICLE 86"

1. *Ananda-USA* Says: June 20th, 2013 at 6:27 pm
   Rise Up … O Patriots of Mother Lanka …. Rise Up to DEFEND and PROTECT your Nation and your People…..……
2. *Ananda-USA* Says: BanglaDesh, at least, knows how to PUNISH terrorists and murderers: DO UNTO AS DONE UNTO!....
3. *Ananda-USA* Says:
   JAYAWEWA! This is something I had STRONGLY advocated in the past to PROTECT the native people of Sri Lanka from foreign predators……

‘Paaradisaya Soya’ (’පාරාදීසය ඉසායා’) – this film has incorrect Sri Lankan history

Chanaka Bandarage

A write-up appeared in ‘RASSL’ S Forum on Strategy, Battle and Military’ Study (September 2015)

Paaradisaya Soya (පාරාදීසය ඉසායා) is a new film, yet to be released. In fact, it is not a film, but, a documentary. It is a narration of Sri Lanka’s history from Prince Vijaya’s arrival until the assassination of SWRD Bandaranaike in 1959.

There are few incorrect assertions in the film:

- According to the film Tamils existed in the country in 300 BC. The film states that recent archeological findings in the western and eastern provinces of Sri Lanka (Puttlam and Trincomalee areas respectively) substantiate this. It is unclear whether or not these new archeological findings have been authenticated by reputed archeologists. The British did not find them during their time, nor did Dr Senarath Paranavithana. The boarders of Prabahakaran’s enlarged Eelam map also covered these areas – his map was from Puttlam to Panama (according to Sri Lankan History books published prior to 1980, the Tamils arrived in the country much later than the Sinhalese).

- The film tries to depict Elara, Chola and Magha as proper Tamil kingdoms that existed in Sri Lanka. This is wrong. They were South Indian invaders who were chased away to South India by heroic Sinhala kings.

- At one point the film implies that Tamils arrived in the country thousands of years ago and elaborate Tamil kingdoms existed in Sri Lanka between 13 to 17 centuries (AD), including a Tamil kingdom in Jaffna when the Portuguese arrived there.

- The film explicitly deals with the SWRD Bandaranaike assassination and makes the assertion that Buddharakkitha and Somarama represented 4/5 'pancha maha balavegaya' (guru, govi, sanga and weda) and it was this 'balawegaya' that both elected and killed Bandaranaike. The two were extreme Sinhala nationalists; they cannot be categorised as representatives of the pancha maha balavegaya. Their action was thoroughly condemned by the nation that included the pancha maha balavegaya in 1959. The whole nation went into mourning for several days.

- The film is almost about the affluent western endowments to Sri Lanka like the English speaking 'elite' society, 'elite' schools of the north and south, Christianity, the plantation and mining based economy that the British built, along with the elaborate transport system (roads and rail). The film does not discuss Buddhism's influence on the country's people . The Sinhala Buddhist way to 'paradise' ('පාරාදීසය') was through giant manmade tanks, hydraulic irrigation systems (that the westerners are marvelled at), creation of structures of unimaginable proportion like Ruwanweliseya, Jethawanaaramaya, Sigiriya and one of the world's most beautiful cultural pageants, the Kandy Esala Perahera. None of these are mentioned in the film, nor are the great freedom

struggles that the Sinhalese fought against the three colonial powers (it is a 2 ½ hour long film).

- The film states that introduction of Catholicism by the Portuguese was a big reward to the nation (රටට ලැබුණු 'මහඟු දායාදයකි'). There was no mention about the burning down of Buddhist temples, pirivenas, and libraries by the Portuguese and that Catholism was imposed upon the coastal people by force.

- The film erroneously states that Meda Mahanuwara is Hanguranketha. Meda Mahanuwera is the area currently known closer to Hunnasgiriya. It is located on the Kandy to Mahiyanganaya road. Sri Wickrama Rajasinghe was captured there.

- The film makes an attempt to depict Sinhala nationalists including Buddhist monks who fought for the Sinhala Buddhist rights as racists. They are referred to in the film as 'jaathiwadin' (ජාතිවාදීන්). But, high regard is shown to Tamil nationalists like GG Ponnambalam and SJV Chelvanayakam. There is no mention about their racist statements and the incitement of communal harmony by Tamil political leaders.

- The film tries to glorify the LSSP leaders and spends too much time on them; true they were popular up to mid 70s, the masses wholesomely rejected them at the 1977 election. The leftist parties never made a comeback, after that huge defeat.

- Very little is mentioned about Anagarika Dharmapala, the Sinhala Revivalist, a great Sinhala Buddhist leader who lived in Sri Lanka in the 19 and 20 centuries. No mention is made about

Dharmapala's contribution to build self-confidence in the Sinhala people, his temperance movement and the false incarceration of him by the British - falsely linking him with the Muslim riots in 1915. The film mentions that Dharmapala's brother was imprisoned by the British in Jaffna in connection with the Muslim riots in 1915 saying he transported Sinhala thugs in his car (transportation of thugs, seems to be a new finding as the writer, a Dharmapala specialist, has not come across such a story before). Is this a belated attempt to implicate the Hewawitharana family with the Muslim riots of 1915? (it is well accepted that Dharmapala was imprisoned by the British for six years to take revenge on; when the riots happened Dharmapala was in Calcutta)

- The film states that the first Prime minister of Ceylon DS Senananayake during his Prime Ministership stated that his government was not linked to any religion. The writer is unaware of such a statement made by him. The then government always considered Buddhism to be the primary religion of the country.

In his review on the currently showing film '**ඔබ` නැතුව ඔබ එක්ක**' (published in Lankaweb two weeks ago), the writer outlined that some produce films downgrading Sri Lanka with the intention of winning international awards. He stated this is the best way to win international awards as there are some international film festivals that would simply love to give awards to films that criticise countries like Sri Lanka. In his said review the writer stated that producers should not do this as they have a moral obligation not to be disloyal to Sri Lanka; the country that gave them the birth.

The writer has outlined these incorrect versions of the history in good faith hoping that the producers will correct them before releasing the film to the mainstream Sri Lankan audience. Given that the film is a documentary, editing the narration, hopefully may not be of a too difficult task.

The film makes a remarkable analysis as to how some rich and prominent families of Sri Lanka at the beginning of the 20th century made their wealth by producing and selling alcohol to the local population. Some of the names in the list were also the country's then top most politicians and prominent philanthropists. Two such families were instrumental in setting up two leading Buddhist schools of the country; Mahinda College and Visakha Vidyalaya!

Chanaka Bandarage

Parallels between Kosovo and Tamil Eelam

This is what Wikipedia states about Kosovo Independence:

*the **Republic of Kosovo** (Albanian: Republika e Kosovës; Serbian: Република Косово, Republika Kosovo) declared itself an independent state. It has control over most of the territory and has partial international recognition.[9][10][11] North Kosovo, the largest Serb enclave, is largely under the control of institutions of the Republic of Serbia or parallel structures subsidised by Serbia.[9][10][11][12][13] Serbia does not recognise the secession of Kosovo[14] and considers it a UN-governed entity within its sovereign territory, a position supported by a number of other countries*

After the Kosovo War and the 1999 NATO bombing of Yugoslavia, the territory came under the interim administration of the United Nations Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK), most of whose roles were assumed by the European Union Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo (EULEX) in December 2008.[22] In February 2008 representatives of the people of Kosovo, acting outside the UNMIK's PISG framework (not representing the Assembly of Kosovo or any other of these institutions),[23] declared Kosovo's independence as the Republic of Kosovo. Its independence is recognised by 103 out of 193 UN member states and the Republic of China (Taiwan). On 8 October 2008, upon the request of Serbia, the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution asking the International Court of Justice for an advisory opinion on the issue of Kosovo's declaration of independence.[24] On 22 July 2010, the ICJ ruled that Kosovo's declaration of independence did not violate general international law because international law contains no 'prohibition on declarations of

independence': nor did the declaration of independence violate UN Security Council Resolution 1244, since this did not describe Kosovo's final status, nor had the Security Council reserved for itself the decision on final status

TNA will do the same trick as the representatives of people of Kosovo.

The saddest thing is that Sri Lanka is providing TNA with the vehicle (the NPC Government) to make the launch (UDI).

By putting a retired Judge and a lawyer as Chief Minister (Mr Wigneswaran), the TNA led NPC (aka Tamil Eelam) is well placed to be accepted by the international community as a New Nation. Just as 103 out of 193 UN states have recognized Kosovo – the former Serbian enclave; with the help of India, Tamil Eelam is likely to be recognized by majority of the world's nations. The remarkable thing is that this will happen without a shot being fired.

This is not a farfetched/fanciful idea, but a real possibility.

Wigneswaran's UDI will be different to that t of Perumal's. Now that the TNA has the support of India – (TNA is working in close unison with India); it will be easy for them to obtain the recognition.

Once India has recognized Tamil Eelam, which seems to be the case, many other counties will follow suit, especially the western countries. That will be the end of One Sri Lanka.

Sri Lanka may try to dissolve the TNA provincial government (like what Premadasa did with Preumal), but, it may be too late. The recognitions will come very fast. India may protect the new country to the end anyway.

The only way to stop this is to stop the September election. The vehicle to do is the Referendum. The government can hide behind the issue of sovereignty, which is provided in Article 4.

True, the 6th Amendment talks about giving allegiance to Sri Lanka by way of an oath. All the MPs have given the oath, including provincial council MPs. But TNA MPs have breached the oath many times. Most of the times they travel overseas they demand that the Tamils be given a separate state (Tamil Diaspora parrots this on a daily basis).

Even inside Sri Lanka, TNA has publicly stated that they do not believe in a unitary Sri Lanka (so, how can we hand over the NPC to such a group of people!).

The 7 September 2013 election may be able to be postponed through Supreme Court actions that will challenge the holding of the NPC election. More about this in a later Media Release.

Chanaka Bandarage
srilankasupportgroup@bigpond.com
15 Responses to "Parallels between Kosovo and Tamil Eelam"

 *aloy* Says:
It is very strange why our Sinhala parliamentarians cannot understand the game. Recently I saw on TV those northern priests visiting the president and appreciating his efforts to develop the north. Only about two months ago, I think, they wrote to UN say that there is discrimination against the tamils. The development in the north did not happen just two weeks ago for them to change so soon.

 *Lorenzo* Says:
Aloy,
OF COURSE……

 *AnuD* Says:
both the United States and …….

 *Fran Diaz* Says:
TNA is not a legal entity – it is not a registered political party. But it operates like one, ….

 *Ananda-USA* Says:
I have submitted the following as a stand-alone Article to be published at LankaWeb……..

 *S de Silva* Says:
When are the Sinhala Political Morons going to open their eyes and recognise the impending doom?

 *Susantha Wijesinghe* Says:
S DE S ! These Sinhalese Political Morons, they are an uneducated invertebrate lot, …….

 *aloy* Says:
This is what happened to all our politicians from Banda to JR. They all closed their eyes to ……

 *Lorenzo* Says:
Agree with Aloy.

When will Wigneswaran call for the UDI?

Posted on July 18th, 2013

Chanaka Bandarage – President, Sri Lanka Support Group, Australia & Global

After its triumphant win on 7 September 2013, Wigneswaran, the new NPC Chief Minister, will not wait for too long to call for an UDI (Unilateral Declaration of Independence).

It is expected that TNA will gain more than 75% of the vote at the forthcoming election. TNA has already stated they will ask the world to consider the NPC election result as a Referendum for a separate Tamil State in Sri Lanka.

TNA has publicly stated that they do not believe in a unitary Sri Lanka. In Geneva early this year they lobbied for the Tamils right for self-determination (ie, a separate state).

It is not unfair to say that Wigneswaran will call for the UDI irrespective of whether the Police and Land powers are given to the NPC or not.

Wigneswaran has already indicated he is not afraid to breach the Country Constitution. That is why he stated he will seek foreign aid and foreign participation to build the Northern Province. According to the Constitution a Chief Minister does not have such powers (Foreign Affairs is a Central Government power).

In Kosovo's case, it was the US closely followed by UK that accepted it as a new Nation. Due to our current weak foreign policy where we have cultivated enemies in so many countries, including our 'big brother' India; in regards to Tamil Eelam, it is likely that at the moment India

will recognize it first, followed by the US, the UK and the European Union.

The Sinhala patriots ran a weak, incoherent campaign. Neither the JHU nor NFF demanded a Referendum to abolish the 13th amendment, instead they asked for tinkering of the current legislation (13th amendment); which will not solve the problem. The only solution is to abolish the 13th amendment totally by way of a Referendum (then, that will be the end of the entire provincial council system). This is not an anti-Tamil act, but, a pro Sri Lanka act. Many Tamils demand this brave act from the government, to preserve Sri Lanka's sovereignty.

Some argue that after the NPC is formed, amendments to curtail the powers of the NPC can be introduced. This is a foolish argument, akin to closing the stable door after the horse has bolted.

The ordinary citizen has shown apathy about the NPC election. Most of them do not see the danger of giving the NPC to TNA on a platter (on 7 September). For them, the war is now over, they blindly believe that the country sovereignty is safe, People are too preoccupied with their daily chores and the cost of living has sky rocketed. The principal concern for the ordinary citizen is how to place food on the table for the family, not the 13th amendment or any other matter.

Furthermore, the people believe that the JHU and NFF will come and rescue the country; both are political parties whose primary aim is to enhance their vote banks. The NFF leader made a 'circus' by going round the country in a decorated bus with a petition in hand. He initially stated that he will resign from the Government if Police and Land powers are not removed from the Concurrent List, he now implies that he will continue to stay in the Cabinet irrespective of the outcome of the government's proposed changes to the Constitution (only if they occur). The JHU made a big issue about its draft Bill to amend the 13th amendment, but they are silent about it now (the biggest worry for the

Sinhala patriot is the JHU and NFF. The Sinhalese believe JHU and NFF are the saviours of the nation; unfortunately, their track record does not show this).

It is obvious the parliament will not give 2/3 majority to further amend the 13th amendment. This means the efforts of NFF and JHU will be in vein.

People will one day realise that they were again hoodwinked by political parties that come in the pretext of Saviors of the Nation. Anagarkika Dharmaplaa, Ven Hikkaduwe Sri Sumangala Thero etc, did things for the Sinhala Buddhists with a wholehearted commitment. They were not politicians with vested interests.

Per article 4 of the Constitution the sovereignty lies with the people. The Sovereignty of the People shall be exercised and enjoyed by the People at a referendum.

It is the people who can decide whether or not the country should have provincial councils. In 1987, the then Supreme Court also advocated the Referendum pathway.

Unfortunately, the Government seems hell bent on holding the CHOGM in November spending millions of rupees (CHOGM Sri Lanka, is not going to bringforth benefit to the country, but bad publicity), hence, tries to stick to its promise of holding he NPC election in September.

Preventing the TNA or similar separatist outfit from gaining the NPC power is more important than holding of the CHOGM. The former is a sovereignty issue. Many moderate Tamils agree with this.

It is foolish to hold the NPC election before CHOGM to impress the international community who due to our bad foreign policies are

largely biased against Sri Lanka anyway. Holding of CHOGM is a mere event (given the huge western media contingency that will arrive in the country during CHOGM, the Conference is likely to bring adverse publicity for Sri Lanka). The Government held the International Film Festival of India (IFFI) in 2010, it did not bring the desired results for the county.

Before calling the NPC election on 7 September , the government should have seriously considered the damage it will cause to the country. The election will be the beginning of the separation of One Sri Lanka.

It is still not too late for the Government to act. Rather than trying to tinker the existing legislation (but, per Keheliya Rambukwella, the Government will hold the elections under the existing full provisions of the 13th amendment; ie with Police and Land powers intact). Instead of holding the 7 September elections (3), the Government should put the matter before the people at a Referendum. This is the only way to save the country. The Government can explain to India and western countries that given this is a sovereignty issue, it had no other alternative but to put the matter before the people.

The 7 September 2013 election may be able to be postponed through Supreme Court actions that challenge the holding of the NPC election. More about this in a later Media Release.

srilankasupportgroup@bigpond.com

21 Responses to "When will Wigneswaran call for the UDI?"

1.  *Lorenzo* Says:
Well said Chanaka. This is what will happen.

2.  *Susantha Wijesinghe* Says:
I SEE THROUGH THE FACETS OF A PRISM, “” A JACKASS TRYING TO MAKE THE PEOPLE OF SRI LANKA SWIM IN BLOOD “”

3.  *Nalliah Thayabharan* Says:
C.V.Vigneswaran was educated at Royal College and his son is married to the daughter of Vasudeva Nanayakkara……..

4.  *Chanaka B* Says:
In Kosovo situation, Kosovo did not try the UN Security Council or the UN General Assembly, but simply made a UDI. Kosovo is now accepted as a new nation by majority of the countries. Russia and Serbia still have not recognized Kosovo (need to check China’s position), but customary international law has intervened and recognized Kosovo. The same situation applied to new nations of South Ossetia, Abkhazia, Ingushetia and Georgia. They are members of the UN.
We can still save the country:
The JHU can, per Article 80 (2) of the Constitution, place its Bill to abolish the 13th amendment before the Cabinet for approval (a simple majority of the Cabinet is sufficient). Hon Ranawaka, being a member of the Cabinet, can do this. The Cabinet of Ministers should issue a Certificate stating that they intend to submit the Bill for approval by the People at a Referendum (if they do not exercise this right given to them by the Constitution, some may not regard them as patriots). Per Article 85 (1), HE the President will have to submit the Bill to the people by Referendum (he has no discretion in this regard).
Suggested Referendum question: ‘Do you agree to abolish the 13th amendment to the Constitution, that was enacted in 1987, that has created the present Provincial Council system?
If the ‘Yes’ vote has obtained majority of the votes, then, per Article 80 (2), the President is required to issue a certificate in the following form: “This Bill/provision has been duly approved by the People at a Referendum.”
Once this process is successfully carried out, that will be the end of the Provincial Councils (all 9 of them).
The Country will be saved! There will be no NPC for Wigneswaran to call for an UDI.

5.  *S.Gonsalkorale* Says:
time for …….

6.  *aloy* Says:
North will be another Kosovo very soon…….

7.  *Chanaka B* Says:
Leaving the Articles 80 (2) and 85 (1) aside, per Article 86 of the Constitution, based on the issue of 'national importance', the President can call for a national referendum anytime (JRJ used this provision in 1982 to hold the national referendum; though, it was not based on an issue of national importance, he simply wanted to avoid a parliamentry election).

8.  *Fran Diaz* Says:
Chanaka,
Thanks for article.

9.  *Samanthi* Says:
This is a very good analysis of current situation in Sri Lanka and an eye opener.
Also, this is the scariest news article I read in the recent past! Wake up people!!!

10.  *SA Kumar* Says:
Lankan Tamil do not believe in a unitary Sri Lanka ! fully agreed ! We all believe in United Mother Lanka !!! Unit in diversity !

11.  *Indrajith* Says:
Dear Chanaka, thank you for writing this excellent article. But not enough, this is only a starting point. Please, bring this issue to the national level. As an organization, you can do it! LankaWeb is doing a great service to the nation by publishing these articles on very important issues facing our motherland today. However, looking at the comments published, it looks like the readership of this website is not sufficient. We're trying our best to spread the message among Sinhalese but you must reach the highest level in the present govt. to negate the impending danger. There are several patriots in the present government too. Mr. Udaya Gammanpila is one such person although he is not an MP. I think he and others like Dr. Gunadhasa Amarasekera, Elle Gunawansa thero, Kengamuwe Nalaka thero, Mr. S.L. Gunasekera, Dr. Nalin De Silva are already working behind the scene. This is the time to act! Save our motherland!!!

12.  *Lorenzo* Says:
MAY BE (just may be) the govt. is giving enough rope to TNA to hang themselves.
IF they declare UDI then MOST people will be against 13 amendment and ALL forms of political solutions nonsense. THEN a referendum can be held to SCRAP IT ALL.
Tamils will BOYCOT such a referendum which is even better.

13.  *Fran Diaz* Says:
Any prelude to any UDI will be bad. Remove that UDI game once and for all. If they want games, then let them play safer games, but not games that endanger the lives of thousands of people. Can't we grow economically without dangerous political games ?

14.  *SA Kumar* Says:
Fran Diaz
let them play safer games or harder games are not worth with lives of thousands of people !
unit in diversity !!!
live & let live happy for ever !!!

15.  *Ananda-USA* Says:
I have submitted the following as a stand-alone Article to be published at LankaWeb. I am presenting it here as a comment because the issue is important and needs to be urgently addressed.

16.  *Fran Diaz* Says:
Bravo Ananda USA ! …..

17.  *Chanaka B* Says:
It was rumoured that during the Ceasefire period a UNPer, now dead used his ships to carry illegal immigrants from South India to Sri Lanka. I believe there is justification in the belief. May be late' medical doctor' was also aware of this. Tamilnadu Govt knows their people are coming to Sri Lanka in the guise of fishermen; unfortunately like many other things we have not been strict on this

18.  *jayasiri* Says:
Dear Dr Chanaka Bandarage…….Many months ago, you published a similar

thought provoking,action oriented article. I wondered WHY after that everybody was quiet & silent about Sri Lanka & its recent developemnts.
A legal mind, and ecellent presentation is what is needed NOW, BUT not before CHOGM..because, at any cost, against ALL, President will want this conference held in Hambantota. It is his dream, so we have to reluctantly agree to this.
Thank you..Glad that there are quite a few responses….BE POSITIVE & UNITED.. then we will win~ J

19.  *Chanaka B* Says:
Dear Jayasiri
I appreciate your comments
Current problem:
The irony is that we Sinhalese have not fought a coherent battle thus far. Various groups are making various demands – both JHU and NFF seem happy with partial abolition of the 13th amendment. This means the TNA will still get to form the government, which means among other avenues, they can make the demand for UDI. This must be the main reason why they appointed Wigneswaran (an experienced lawyer) as the Chief Ministerial candidate.
If all patriots work in unison and make one loud demand – "We want a Referendum to abolish the entre 13th amendment", the government will listen.
I have sadly noted some patriots are doing the current anti-13th amendment work somewhat in a competition like manner. This is what I experienced in Colombo and also in an email forum that I created with about 50 members. Some patriots (say 3 or 4 in the 50 member group) feared one group/individual may become prominent over others, or will get more publicity etc. They disliked fresh ideas/fresh thinking, costs saving measures. They wanted to take over the leadership of the group which was receiving lots of expatriate funding. Instead of attacking the separatists, they viscously attacked a fellow patriot for no reason whatsoever, who was doing a fantastic job. He had no option but to drop out from the forum. This is just one example.
These are silly, childish thinking and practices. By engaging in them, we are digging our own grave. The country will be the loser. TNA and Tamil Diaspora will gain.
Read Anagarkika Dharmaplaa diaries – when he was under house arrest in India for about 10 years, not a single person spoke on his behalf nor made representations to the British about him. When his ashes were brought to the

country (he died as a monk) from Bodhgaya, the then leaders fought hard to get a photo opportunity at every possible event!

But, overall patriots are working with remarkable determination. I met a lawyer friend who had spent every cent of his against the anti- 13th amendment campaign.

I was fortunate to distribute leaflets in front of the Fort Railway Station. It was a fun thing. The ordinary person on the street is very eager to have a discussion about the matter.

Yes, I believe it is important to meet with HE the President personally and outline him the problems properly and effectively. I am happy to be part of that delegation. HE the President is a good listener and a strategist; he will take appropriate action(Referendum in this situation) to protect the Nation.

Our group in Colombo (13වන සංශෝධණය අවලංගු කිරීම සඳහා වූ ජාතික පෙරමුණ) have had meetings with top government officials, unfortunately not with HE the President. We will continue to do lobbying.

Future

Leaving the past failures behind all patriots should get together and run a full scale battle in one voice (the demand for Referendum) – the government will also come on board then. It will be a strength to the Government if we do this. The Government will say to the world (and also CHOGM) that the public momentum was too high, due deference had to be given to people's voice (this includes the expatriates voice). We have not reached this point yet.

Once we hit the peak, the Government will say it has no other alternative but to scrap the forthcoming provincial council elections (3) and hold the Referendum instead.

So let's fight hard to reach that peak.

Once we abolish the provincial councils, it will give us some protection and breathing space; but, that does not mean the battle is over. Like a deer in jungle who is constantly looking for ways and means for survival, we have to look for ways and means to keep our country intact. The international situation is so bad, we have too many very powerful enemies now, they are the lion we are the deer.

nb – CHOGM is a spent force which has no relevance to today's society. It is a mechanism to keep the British Monarch intact. They hold the Commonwealth Games every four years where 2 or 3 countries completely sweep the medals table. It is a good preparation for those countries for Olympics. We should be happy we did not win the Hambanthota Games. It would have ben another colossal waste of money. In our efforts to hold this big party in November (they will wine and dine and go), why should we run the risk of losing our sovereignty? If we lose CHOGM it is a one off thing

(who cares anyway), if we lose our sovereignty, that is forever. The North will not go alone, it will take the East with it.
Let's keep our discussion herein going.
Kind regards
Chanaka

20.  *Fran Diaz* Says:
Chanaka,
Our heartfelt thanks for your efforts. All you say is true. We are concerned to note that the Sinhala groups are not yet shouting with one voice for removal of 13-A. Some people do not know all the facts, and that may be a reason for keeping quiet.
Sometimes they do not want to challenge a 'learned' person, and they would rather keep quiet. Or it may be that they do notwant to go public with what they know, but tell their immediate family only. Inability to properly articulate what they want to say may compel them to keep quiet too. There are many reasons why some folk may not participate in our hour of need.

21.  *Chanaka B* Says:
Illegal immigration from Tamilnadu happened largely throughout the colonial periods and post-independence and in the mid-20th century. That is why the big Tamil population in the North especially in Jaffna,. After independence, in the 50s and 60s, the illegal immigration was well monitored and controlled. We called them Kallathoni. They still came but with much difficulty. The whole country was vigilant about them. Sirimavo and Dudley in the 60s want to curb the problem. They were somewhat successful.
There have been very prominent Tamils who were Kallathonis; they came in the 20th century, after the 1st and 2nd world wars. I can give you the names in private.
It is probable Prabhakaran's father was a Kallathoni who crossed the Palk Strait from Kerala.
Now, illegal immigration is happening in a grand scale; unfortunately most people are either ignorant or do not care. Some don't know what to do with the problem. They think best thing is to keep it quiet.
Note what I have stated about Maheshwaran and Jayalth J in my comments under SL's above article.
Tamilnadu insists that their fishermen plunder our fish; the hidden agenda is that they can also send Kallathonis to Sri Lanka in the guise of fishermen.
Vaiko and Nedumaran wanted to establish terrorist camps in Sri Lanka. They can send their people in boats. Nedumanran had been to Sri Lanka several times in boats (without a visa). He wined and dined with Prabhakaran.

It is very easy for an illegal immigrant to become a Sri Lankan citizen. Forged documents are in plenty. One can prepare a National Identity Card even at home. Can you believe it – they still handwrite the name on the NIC! It is just a matter of writing your name on the photocopied yellow paper and laminate it. You've got your Sri Lankan NIC! With that and the forged birth certificate in arm, you apply to obtain the Sri Lankan Passport . It is given within 24 hours. The government will readily issue the passport provided that the higher fee is paid.

So any illegal can become a citizen of Sri Lanka. There is hardly any prosecution in Sri Lanka for such forgery.

I have heard many Maldivians (and Pakistanis) are living in Sri Lanka illegally, using the system above mentioned and other methods. No wonder why in Colombo and other big cities you now see so many Muslims. This was not the case about 20 years ago.

WHY IS IT TOO DANGEROUS TO HAND THE NPC TO TNA OR A DIFFERENT SEPARATIST GROUP – REFRENDUM IS THE ONLY WAY

Chanaka Bandarage

Posted in Lankaweb on June 16th, 2013

The 13th amendment will definitely lead to creating of the Tamil Eelam Giving the North to TNA (or similar separatist group) is akin to The Government and people of Sri Lanka should do everything possible to stop this from happening. Rather than doing things to facilitate the forming of Eelam (like holding the September election), we must do everything to discourage and stop it.

Currently JNN and HU|HU have started agitation to stop the formation of Tamil Eelam upon successful formation of the Northern Provincial Council by the TNA under 13th amendment of the Constitution.

Both are campaigning to remove the Police and Land powers from the list of concurrent powers in Schedule 9 of the 13th amendment.

We say giving such important powers as health, highways, irrigation, education etc to a future NA Government will allow them to seriously discriminate against the Sinhalese.

The writer, a Lawyer, after a through examination of the Constitution states confidently that the best and most simple way to abolish the 13th

amendment is by way of the Cabinet of Ministers calling for a national referendum. With this method, it is not required to obtain any approval from the Parliament (need not even debate therein) furthermore, there is no need to refer the matter to the Supreme Court. The process is as follows:

4) Per Article 80 (2): A Bill to abolish the 13th amendment (like the current JHU Bill) should be put to the approval of the Cabinet of Ministers (a simple majority in the Cabinet is sufficient), who should issue a Certificate sating that they intend to submit the Bill for approval by the People at a Referendum.

5) Per Article 85 - The Presidnet will have to submit the Bill to the People by Referendum

The suggest the following question to be asked from the people at the Referendum:

'Do you agree to abolish the 13th amendment in the Constitution, that was enacted in 1987, that has created the present provincial council system?'

If the 'Yes' vote has won, then,

6) Per Article 80 (2), The President is required to issue a certificate in the following form: "This Bill/provision has been duly approved by the People at a Referendum."

The above 1), 2) and 3) activities are activities are sufficient to abolish the 13th amendment.

Then, that will be the end of the provincial councils (all 9 of them). The country will be saved!
Note Article 4 (a) of the Constitution reinforces the above process – '**the Sovereignty of the People shall be exercised and enjoyed by the People at a referendum**.'

We must be **realistic** to accept that the abolishment of 13A may solve our problems domestically, but, like what Mr Dayan Jayatilleka et al state, internationally this could cause us huge problems (opening of a Pandora's Box). Mr Jayatilleka has argued the abolishment of 13A will lead to stringent Geneva Resolutions in 2014, imposition of sanctions against Sri Lanka etc. Some have predicted even a possible invasion of Sri Lanka by India – we believe this is unlikely. **We should bear in mind whether we abolish the 13th amendment or not, the international community (our current 'enemies' in Geneva etc– US, UK, Canada, Norway, EU, India –unless we immediately mend bridges and become friends with them), will not give up its desire to carve out a separate state in North Eastern Sri Lanka for Tamils.** The 'enemy' forces are slowly and steadfastly working towards this common objective. The elected Northern Provincial Government (most likely led by TNA) and of course the most powerful Tamil Diaspora will continue to falsely agitate the international community (largely western) that Sri Lanka is discriminating against the Tamils – they will **never give up** of making false accusations against the Sinhalese and the Government. Once the Northern Provincial Government is formed, they can request the international community to accept them as a separate nation (similar to how Kosovo was formed). There is provision in the current Constitution for them to merge with the East (using Article 154A (3), and eventually create a bigger and more prosperous nation–

'North-Eastern Sri Lanka' – encompassing 1/3 of the current Sri Lanka's land mass and 2/3 of the coast.

To avoid and minimise the international pressure on us, we should do the following (by saying these, we are not being unpatriotic, we believe as citizens it is our duty to assist the Government **fully** to find solutions to this most difficult and complex problem that the nation is currently facing, and we make the suggestions in that spirit).

- Conduct informal discussions with the US on equal footing (if we can convince the US, the other countries who voted against us in Geneva will fall in line with them) - there must be a series of discussions with the US (it is ok to explain to UK, Canada, Norway, EU and India also, but US is the key). We must clearly explain to them why it is imperative that the 13th amendment must be abolished (true they will not accept our point of view, but, it is important to open a window of dialogue with them. We must openly and freely discuss with our 'enemies' and at least explain them why we do this – again, true they may not accept our position, but let us engage them - something the Tamil Diaspora does so well and we have failed so miserably).
- We should find out from the US in writing what works exactly they want us to do in order to comply with the current Geneva Resolutions, and if we comply, they will not pursue us again on the same matter/s in Geneva or other forum (we should obtain this assurance from them in writing before embarking on any Geneva compliance work). If the US is too unfair with us in negotiations, we can raise the difficulties in Geneva in September 2013 and beforehand. We should not forget we have thirteen true friends in Geneva - we should also work towards cultivating more friends - especially those who abstained from

voting. It is a blessing we have such true friends like China and Russia in the UN Security Council, but we should also realise they may not be there for us all the time (note, when the UN Security Council approved the referral of Mr Omar Al Bashir of Sudan to the War Crimes Tribunal in the Hague, his best friends, China and Russia abstained from voting – they did not veto the proposal. The same thing happened in relation to Libya, to overthrow Gadhafi).

- For above purposes, we must sit down with Robert Blake et al on *equal footing* (emphasis added) and engage in extensive discussions/negotiations with them. Only those with exceptional communication and negotiation skills and possess a sound knowledge on the matters can do this type of work. The government has to be extremely careful in picking the right people. They should not be mere political nominees. We need the best patriotic brains of the country to go into negotiations with these top US diplomats. Our team should be able to confront/convince John Kerry, Robert Blake, Michele Sison et al and obtain best possible outcomes for the country.
- When negotiating, our team must always keep the best interests of Sri Lanka at head and heart. We must constantly bear in mind that we will not agree to anything that will be a threat to Sri Lanka's sovereignty and territorial integrity (this is what JR Jayewardene and his team failed to do when his Government signed the 1987 pact). We should envisage both short and long term threats to the country's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

At talks with the US (can be held both in Washington and Colombo), if we can come up with the following agreements in relation to scrapping the 13th amendment and regards to the outstanding Geneva

Resolutions, it will be a huge win for us (note, currently we are totally entrapped by 13A, also by the Geneva Resolutions –that is why especially India has taken the upper hand over us).

Again, there is absolutely no alternative but to scrap the 13th amendment (removing the land and police powers from the concurrent list (9th Schedule) will not eliminate the threat to our sovereignty), in lieu of our adversaries accepting this or at least understanding why the country must do this and obtaining assurances from them that they will not take adverse action against us, we could agree to the following:

- We can agree to some toning down of military from the north but not entirely as suggested by the US
- We can agree to hold an independent enquiry about the last stages of war, but, it is not international, but an entirely local enquiry. They must provide us with the complaints
- We can agree to hold an independent enquiry about the alleged human rights violations in Sri Lanka, but, it is not international, but an entirely local enquiry. They must provide us with the complaints
- We can implement most of the LLRC recommendations provided that a special fund is set up by the international community to assist Sri Lanka (some of the recommendations are very costly to implement)
- After the provincial governments are abolished, we can agree to decentralise more power to provinces especially to North and East (so the people can attend to most of their affairs within the province rather than travelling to Colombo etc), through Divisional District Councils (Pradeshiya Sabhas), whose memebers are elected

In summary, basically, we have two solutions at hand - (1) abolish 13A ASAP (before the proposed Northern Provincial Council Election), and (2) engage positively with the international community to the maximum to minimise the adverse impact flowing from the abolishment.

After strenuous, positive negotiations with the US (and other adversaries) we would be able to obtain a firm written assurance from the US that we will not be hounded down again in Geneva or any other forum, and that they will not impose sanctions and do other things like initiating action against our leaders and war heroes in the Hague, they will not seek to split Sri Lanka (for a brilliant diplomat, these are achievable), all peoples can thereafter live in Sri Lanka as One Nation. And, Sri Lanka will flourish in international forums, and will be able to keep its head high, like in the past.

The writer, Chanaka Bandarage, President of Sri Lanka Support Group, is a Lawyer

If you wish to sign the Petition to HE the President requesting him to take action to abolish the 13th amendment (please read it below – Lankaweb, dated 24 May 2013), please provide us with the information below:

නම	තරාතිරම	අත්සන

විද්‍යුත් ත් මාධ්‍යයෙන් පෙත්සම අත්සන් කිරීම සඳහා කරුණාකර ඊමේල් පණිවිඩයක් එවන්න – srilankasupportgroup@bigpond.com

3 Responses to "WHY IS IT TOO DANGEROUS TO HAND THE NPC TO TNA OR A DIFFERENT SEPARATIST GROUPS – REFRENDUM IS THE ONLY WAY (ARTICLES – PART 1)"

1.  *Senevirath* Says:
"'Rasthiyadugahana balukukkanta rassawal denapalaath sabha ahosi karanu

2.  *Lorenzo* Says:
What more convincing do we need?.....

3.  *Susantha Wijesinghe* Says:
REFERENDUM BY THE PEOPLE IS THE STRONGEST ANTIDOTE FOR THIS MENACING CANCEROUS INDIAN 13TH AMMENDMENT.

Vasudeva is wrong to say that the President can dissolve the Provincial Councils anytime

Media Release – Chanaka Bandarage, Sri Lanka Support Group

On 30 May 2013, in Sirasa TV program 'Satana', Hon Minister Vasudeva Nanayakkara, participating in a debate with Hon Minister Champika Ranawaka stated that people should not be scared of provincial governments because the President can dissolve them anytime. To stress this point, he mentioned Articles 154A1, 154 J, 154K, 154L, 154M and 154N of the Constitution (these are the English version Articles, he referred to the corresponding Sinhala ones).

These provisions do not provide power to the President to dissolve the provincial councils willy nilly:

Article 154A1 – this Article is about the President establishing the Provincial Councils – it does not talk about dissolution

Article 154J – On the ground that maintenance of essential supplies and services are threatened or that security of the country is threatened by war or external aggression or armed rebellion, the President may be able to dissolve a provincial government after issuing a Proclamation under the 'Public Security Ordinance' (note: not under the 13th amendment). Even herein, the words 'dissolve or dissolution' are not used. What it states is that "the President to hold that a situation has arisen in which the administration of the Province cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution." The then President Premadasa used this provision to dissolve Vardharaja Perumal's provincial government (Perumal tried to mobilse the province's 15,000 strong police force like an 'Army' and unilaterally declared a 'Tamil Eelam' in northern Sri Lanka – this will happen again under a TNA run Northern Provincial Council).

Article 154K – This is not a power available for the President to dissolve a Provincial Council. It allows him to give a direction to the Governor and Provincial Council that directions to the Provincial Council be carried out. This has nothing to with dissolution.

Article 154L – If the President is satisfied that a situation has arisen in which the administration of the province cannot be carried out per the Constitution (failure of the administrative machinery), the President may assume the functions of the administration of the Provincial Council. What Mr Nanayakkara failed to say is that the President can do this only by Proclamation (to be approved by a resolution of the Parliament) and such Proclamation is valid only for **2 months**.

Article 154N - If the President is satisfied that a situation has arisen whereby the financial stability or credit of Sri Lanka is threatened, he may make a Proclamation to that effect (to be approved by a resolution of the Parliament) and such Proclamation is only valid for **2 months**. During the period of Proclamation, the President is only allowed to give directions to the Governor in relation to 'observe such canons of financial propriety'. Again, this does not give power to the President to dissolve the Provincial Council.

Therefore, the representations made by Mr Nanayakkara seem wrong and he may have misled millions of viewers who watched the Program.

Hon Ranawaka very correctly showed that the Chief Minister is the head of the Provincial Government and the Governor – appointed by the President, acts in accordance with the advice of the Board of Ministers (Article 154F1 – Sinhala 154ඊ(1)). Mr Nanayakkara tried to emphasis that discretion available to the Governor is absolute, but this Article clearly articulates that it is subject to the Constitution, thus is very limited.

Mr Nanayakkara failed to mention to the live and TV audience that unlike in Sri Lanka, per the Indian Constitution, its President can easily dissolve a Provincial Government. He also failed to say that

in India (and also in Australia) where a Provincial Government/(State) law is inconsistent with a Central Government law (made under the concurrent heads of powers), the latter prevails over the former, to the extent of inconsistency, this is not the case in Sri Lanka. Even though JR Jayewardene did not say it, what he effectively created in Sri Lanka in 1987 was a federal structure, giving far reaching powers to the Provinces - more than in India (and Australia) (this is why we say that giving the Northern Province to the separatist, TNA, is akin to 'entrusting the surveillance of a chicken coop to a fox'.

Mr Nanayakkara also stated that a Referendum to ask people whether or not they wish to keep the Provincial Government system (9 such Provincial Governments) may be inappropriate because "more than 70% of the population is Sinhalese." This is an indication he may lack respect to representative democracy. 'One Vote, One Voice', is the cardinal rule of democracy; Mr Obama came to power not just on the back of Black and Hispanic votes, he campaigned hard and secured white votes too. Those who campaign to keep the Provincial Council system (like Mr Nanayakkara), if they want to win the Referendum (if held), should try to secure the Sinhala vote also, rather than trying to denigrate it.

Chanaka Bandarage, President of Sri Lanka Support Group, is a Lawyer
srilankasupportgroup@bigpond.com

දේශ අභිතෙෂී චිත්‍රපටියක්

Courtesy – Lankaweb; Thursday, September 17th, 2015

චානක බණ්ඩාරගේ

'ඔබ` නැතුව ඔබ එක්ක' නමින් චිත්‍රපටියක් මේ දිනවල ප්‍රදර්ශනය වේ. මේ චිත්‍රපටිය බටහිර රටවල ජාත්‍යාන්තර සිනමා උළෙලන්හිදී සම්මාන පිට සම්මාන ලබා ඇතැයි මේ චිත්‍රපටියේ නිෂ්පාදකවරු පවසති. ඒ කථාව ඇත්තය. ඉදිරියේදී තවත් බටහිර ජාත්‍යාන්තර සිනමා උළෙලන්හිදී සම්මාන පිට සම්මාන මෙම චිත්‍රපටය විසින් ලබාගනු නිසැකය.

මේ චිත්‍රපටිය දේශ අභිතෙෂී එකකි. ඒ මන්ද?

මේ චිත්‍රපටියේ කතාව පදනම්ව ඇත්තේ අපගේ හමුදා විසින් අහිංසක දෙමළ වැසියන්ට හිරිහැර කිරීම පිළිබඳවයි.

සිංහල හමුදාව යනුවෙන් අපේ හමුදාව හඳුන්වා එය කෲර, ම්ලේච්ච එකක් බව ලෝකයට පෙන්වීමට බෙදුන්වාදීන් සැම විටම උත්සහ කරත්.

අපේ හමුදාව තුල දෙමළ වැසියන්ට කෲර දේ සිදුවෙන බව පෙන්වන චිත්‍රපට තැනීමෙන් එකී නිෂ්පාදක වරුන් කරන්නේ එවන් උත්සාහයන්ට අත දීමකි.

මෙහි කතාව අනුව සිංහල තරුණයෙක් දෙමල තරුණියක්ව විවාහ කර ගනී. දෙදෙනාම අනෙකාගේ පසුගිය අතීතය ගැන කිසිවක් නොදනී.

සැමියා හමුවීමට එන ඔහුගේ මිත්‍රයෙක්ගෙන් සැමියා කලක් හමුදාවේ සිටි කෙනෙක් බවට බිරියට දැනගන්ට ලැබේ.

සැමියා නිතරම 'කික් බොක්සින්' (ත්‍රාස ජනක) රූපවාහිනී වැඩ සටහන් බලයි.

සැමියා ළඟ පිස්තෝලයක් ඇති බව බිරිඳ වටහා ගනී. දිනක් ඇය පිස්තෝලය ගෙන ඇගේ නිදා සිටී සැමියාගේ හිසට මාන කර ආපසු ගෙන ගොස් එය තබයි.

සැමියා බිරිඳට බෙහවින්ම ආදරය කරයි. එහි කිසුදු සැකයක් නැත. බිරිඳ වෙනුවෙන් තම නුවර එළියේ උකස් බඩු සාප්පුවද විකුණා දමා ඇය සමග ඉන්දියාවේ ජීවත් වීමට යාමට ඔහු කටයුතු කරයි.

නමුත් සැමියා ඔහුගේ හමුදා අතීතය විවාහයට පෙර තමන් වෙත නොපැවසීම බිරිඳගේ මහත් මානසික ආතතියට හේතු වේ. සැමියා යුද හමුදාවේ සිටි බව තමා දන්නේ නම් ඔහුව නොබඳින බව ඇය පවසයි.

චිත්‍රපටයට අනුව සැමියා හමුවට එන මිතුරා හිටපු හමුදා සෙබළෙකි (හැඩ දැඩි ස්වභාවයක් ඔහුට දී ඇත). හමුදාවේදී ඔහු සහ ඔහුගේ සගයන් පිරිසක් අහිංසක දෙමළ තරුණියක් දූෂනය කර ඔවුන් පසුව ඇයව මරා දමයි. සැමියා ඉදිරිපත්ව බොරු සාක්කි කියා මිතුරන්ව බේරා ගනී.

දෙමළ තරුණිය කියන පරිදි ඇගේ සොහොයුරන් දෙදෙනක් හමුදාව විසින් ඔවුන් දෙමළ වූ නිසා මරා දමයි (ද්‍රවිඩ තරුණියට අනුව ඔවුන් කොටින් නොවිය).

තමන් අහිංසක දෙමළ වැසියන්ව හමුදාවේ සිටියදී නොමරු බව සැමියා පවසයි. නමුත් බොරු සාක්කි දී මිතුරන් බේරා ගත් බව සැමියා පිළිගනියි.

දෙමළ තරුණිය මානසික අසහනයට පත් වන්නේ මේ කරුණු සංකලනය නිසාය.

අවසානයේදී සිද්ධීන්ගෙන් ඉමහත් සේ කැලහෙන බිරිඳ සිය දිවි නසා ගනී.

හමුදා අපරාධ පිලිබඳ සිද්ධීන් රූප රාමුවලින් නොව දෙබස් වලින් පමණක් පැවසේ.

මෙවැනි කථා ප්‍රහන්ද කර, ඉංග්‍රීසි වැකි සමඟ චිත්‍රපටය නිපදවීමෙන් මේ අය බලාපොරොත්තුවන්නේ කුමක්ද?

මෙවැනි චිත්‍රපට බටහිර රටවලට යවා හමුදාව මඟින් ශ්‍රී ලංකාවට අවමන් කර, ජාත්‍යන්තර සම්මාන උළෙලවල්වලදී උපරිම සම්මාන දිනා ගැනීමයි. 2012 සිට මේ චිත්‍රපටය විදේශ චිත්‍රපට උළෙලල්වල් අති විශාල ගණනක ප්‍රදර්ශනය පිණිස යවා ඇත.

මෙවැනි චිත්‍රපටවලට සම්මාන දීමට පුල පුලා බලා සිටින චිත්‍රපට සම්මාන උළෙලවල් ඇත.

නමුත් තම රටත්ජාතියත් පවා දීමෙන් ලබා ගන්න සම්මානවලින් ඇති පලය කුමක්ද?

අපේ විරෝධාර රණවිරුවෝ ඉතා උසස් අයුරින් යුද්ධය කළහ. වෙනත් හමුදා සමඟ සසඳන කල්හි ලොව ඉතාම විනය ගරුක යුද හමුදාවක් සිටියේ ශ්‍රී ලංකාවෙයි. සිවිල් දෙමල වැසියන් ආරක්ෂා කිරීමට ගොස් දිවි නැතිකරගත් රණවිරුවෝ බොහෝයි. මොවුන් ගැන, මේ සත්‍ය සිදුවීම් අලලා චිත්‍රපට නොසාදන්නේ ඇයි?

කථා ප්‍රහන්ධ කර මෙවැනි චිත්‍රපට නිපදවීමෙන්, අනියමින් මේ අය පෙන්වන්න හදන්නේ කුමක්ද? - ශ්‍රී ලංකාවට විරුද්ධව ඇති යුධ අපරාධ චෝදනා සත්‍යය විය හැකි බව නොවේද? අපේ හමුදාව දෙමල වැසියන් **40,000**කට නොවැඩි ගණනක් (TNA මන්ත්‍රීවරයෙකුට අනුව **70,000** ක්) මැරූ බවට අභූත බොරු චෝදනා එල්ලවී ඇති මෙවැනි සමයක ප්‍රහන්දනාත්මකව හෝ මෙවැනි, හමුදාවට නරක නමක් එන චිත්‍රපට හැදීම නොකළ යුතුයි. එය උපන් රටට ද්‍රෝහී වීමකි. රට බෙදීමට වෑයම් කරන්නන් සහ මෙවැනි චිත්‍රපට නිෂ්පාදකයන් අතර එතරම් වෙනසක් නැත.

සියළු ශ්‍රී ලාංකික රජයන් ජාතින් අතර සංහිදියාවට ගොඩ නැගීමට ඉමහත් වෙහෙසක් දරයි. මෙවැනි චිත්‍රපට එවැනි වැඩවලට බාධාවකි. ජාතින් දෙක අතර විරසක ඇති කරයි.

Denazification සංකල්පය යටතේ යුරෝපිය රටවල නාද්සිවරුන් විරුවන් ලෙස පෙන්වා පොත් පත් ලිවීම, චිත්‍රපට හැදීම තහනම්ය.

නමුත් අප රටේ විරෝධාර රණවිරුවන් බරපතල අපරාධකාරයින් කර චිත්‍රපට හැදීමට ඉඩ දී ඇත. ජනතාව මේ චිත්‍රපට බලා මෙවැනි සිද්ධීන් සත්‍යය සිද්ධීන් ලෙස මනසින් ධාරනය කර ගන්නවා ඇත. කුඩා ළමුන් මේ මඟින් නොමගට යැවීම ඉතා පහසුය.

දෙවන ලෝක යුද්ධයේදී ඇමෙරිකාව සහ බ්‍රිතාන්‍යය බොහෝ යුධ අපරාධ කළහ. නමුත් මේ පිළිබඳව බටහිර රටවල් (හොලිවූඩ් ඇතුළු) චිත්‍රපට නිෂ්පාදනය නොකළහ. ඔවුන් ඔවුන්ගේ රටවල් 'ආරක්ෂා කලේ' එලෙසිනි. නාද්සි සහ ජපන් යුධ අපරාධ පිළිබඳව නම් බොහෝ චිත්‍රපට නම් තැනුහ.

මෙවැනි සත්‍යය සිද්ධීන් **IPKF** සමයේ සිද්ධ නොවුවා නොවේ. නමුත් මෑත කාලයේදී **(IPKF** ගිය පසු) අප දන්නා තරමින් සිදු වුයේ නැත.බොහොමයක්ම, හමුදාවෙන් සිද්ධ වුයේ මානුෂිය මෙහෙවරකි; අහිංසක ජනයා මුදා ගැනීමකි. ඒ නිසා

නොවුණු සිද්ධීන් පිළිබඳව, ප්‍රහාන්දනාත්මක කතා ගොතා, මෙවැනි චිත්‍රපට සැදීම සාධාරණ නොවේ.

ශ්‍රී ලංකා රජයේ හමුදා භටයන් කාණ්ඩායම් වශයෙන් හොරෙන් ගොස්, සැලසුම් කර, ද්‍රවිඩ ස්ත්‍රීන් දූෂණය කිරීමක් සිදු වුයේ නැත. හමුදා විනය ඉතා තදබල ලෙස ක්‍රියාත්මක විය. යම් හමුදා භටයෙක් කලාතුරකින් හෝ එවැන්නක් කර තිබුනා නම් (ස්ත්‍රී දූෂණයක්) නීතියේ රැහෙනෙන් මිදීමට ඔවුනට කොහෙත්ම ඉඩ ලැබෙන්නේද නැත.

කොටි ත්‍රස්තවාදීන් නොවන ද්‍රවිඩ තරුණයන් දෙදෙනෙක් (මේ යුවතියගේ සොහොයුරන්) හමුදාව විසින් ඔවුන් දෙමල වූ පමණක් නිසා මරාදමුවෙයයි කියා කතාවක් නිර්මාණය කිරීම රටේ බහුතරය වන සිංහල ජනතාවට පහර ගැසීමකි, අවමන් කිරීමකි.

කාන්තාවක්දූෂණය කිරීම අපරාධ නීති පොතේ දෙවැනි වන්නේ මීනීමැරුමකට පමණි. ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ හමුදාව තුල සංවිධානාත්මකව හට පිරිස් විසින් ද්‍රවිඩ කාන්තාවන් දූෂණ කරන බවත් එසේ කොට, අසුවූ පසු, බොරු සාක්කි කියා, නඩුවලින් ඒ භටයන්ට නිදහස් විය හැකි බවත් මේ චිත්‍රපටියෙන් බටහිරට දෙන සුක්ෂමවූ පණිවුඩයයි. එසේම, අහිංසක අසරණ ත්‍රස්තවාදී නොවන දෙමල තරුණයන් හමුදාව විසින් අමු අමුවේ මරා දමන බව මේ චිත්‍රපටයෙන් බටහිරට සුක්ෂම ලෙස දෙන දෙවන පණිවුඩයයි.

අපේ රටේ අයට බොහෝවිට මේ සැඟවුණු සුක්ෂම පණිවුඩ නොපෙනේ.

මෙවැනි චිත්රපට තහනම් කලයුතුයයි මේ ලියුම්කරු නොකියයි. ප්‍රජාතාන්ත්‍රික සමාජයක ඔවුනට ඒ දේ කිරීමට අයිතිය ඇත.

නමුත්, චිත්‍රපට නිපදවන්නෝ තමන් උපන් දේශයට සහ ජනතාවට (සිංහල/දෙමල දෙජාතියටම) සාධාරණ විය යුතුයි. ඔවුන් කරන්නේ හරි දෙයක් දැයි ඔවුන් විසින්ම තම හදවතට කථා කර ඇසිය යුතුය.

චිත්‍රප ටියේ එක් තැනක නව යුවල විවාහත් වීමෙන් පසු පෙන්වන ලිංගික දර්ශන ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ නිෂ්පාදිත චිත්‍රපටයකට සුදුසු නොවේ. බටහිර චිත්‍රපටියක වුවද මෙවැනි

දර්ශන වැඩිහිටියන්ට පමණක් සීමාවූ දර්ශනයි. නමුත්, මෙය වැඩිහිටියන්ට පමණක් සීමාවූ චිත්‍රපටියක්ද නොවේ, මේ ලියුම්කරු දන්නා පමණින්.

චිත්‍රප ටියේ එක් තැනක ද්‍රවිඩ යුවතිය සිංහල තරුණයාට සිය දෙමල ජාතියට සිංහලුන්ගෙන් මහත් හානි සිදුවූ බව වැනි වදන් ප්‍රකාශ කරයි (චිත්‍රපටියේ හැටියට ඇය යාපනයේ උපන් කාන්තාවකි). මේ ප්‍රකාශය ඇය කරන්නේ උඩරට වතුකරයේ සිටය.

වතුකරයේ දෙමල ජනතාව සිංහලයන් ගැන එවන් අකාල්පයක් නොදරයි. ජාතින් දෙක ඉතා හොඳ මිත්‍රත්වයෙන් පසු වෙත්. ලක්ෂ ගණනක් වූ වතුකරයේ දෙමල ජනයා නැවත ඉන්දියාවට නොයවා ඔවුනට පුරවසිභාව ලබා දුන්නේ ශ්‍රී ලාංකික රජයන්ය.

ජාත්‍යාන්තර සම්මාන ලබා ගැනීමේ පටු ආසාවෙන්, තමා උපන් මව්බිමට ද්‍රෝහී වන චිත්‍රපට නොසාදන ලෙස සිංහල චිත්‍රපට නිෂ්පාදකයන්ගෙන් ඉල්වා සිටින කාලය එළෙඹ ඇත. සිංහල ජනතාවගේ සහ හමුදාවේ හොඳ පැත්තද පෙන්වා දිය යුතුය. උදාහරණයක් වශයෙන් **1983** කෝලාහල වලදී සිය දෙමළ සොහොයුරන්ට/සොහොයුරියන්ට පිහිට වුයේ සිංහලයන් නොවේද? **1983**න් පසු කිසිම දෙමල කෝලාහලයක් අප රටේ ඇති වුයේ නැහැ නේද? මේවා ගැන චිත්‍රපට නොසාදන්නේ ඒවාට ජාත්‍යන්තර සම්මාන නොලැබෙන නිසා නේද?

TNA ජ්‍යෙෂ්ට මන්ත්‍රීවරයෙක් **2013** ඕස්ත්‍රේලියාවේ කැන්බරා නගරයට පැමිණ මෙවැනිම අභූත චෝදනා එල්ල කළේය. ඕස්ත්‍රේලියානු ජාතික විශ්ව විද්‍යාලයේ **(ANU)** සුදු ජාතික සහ බෙදුම්වාදීන්ගෙන් පිරි සභාවක් ඉදිරියේ දේශනයකදී 'හඬා වැටුන' එතුමා කිවේ සිංහල හමුදා දෙමල කාන්තාවන් අතෝරක් නොමැතිව දූෂණය කරන බවත් හමුදාව විසින් දෙමල මිනිසුන්ගේ ඉඩම් බලහත්කාරයෙන් අල්ලා ගන්නා බවත්ය. ඔහුගේ කථාව අනුව **2013**ද ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ උතුරේ මෙවැනි තත්වයක් පැවතුනේය. සුද්දෝ මොහුගේ කථාව අසා සිටියේ ඇස් වල කඳුළු දල්වාගෙනය. මේ ලේඛකයා TNA මන්ත්‍රීවරයාව මුහුණට මුහුණ දී කොටු කර ප්‍රශ්ණ කලේ **TNA** මන්ත්‍රීතුමා ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ සිට ඕස්ත්‍රේලියාවට පැමිණ මේ නගන්නේ අමූලික පට්ටපල් බොරු නොවේද කියායි. ඔහුගේ බොරු චෝදනාවලට සාක්කි ඉදිරිපත් කරන මෙන් ඉල්වූ විට ඔහු බිම බලා ගත්තේය, පැටලෙන සුළු උත්තර දුන්නේය. මේවා ලංකාවේදී පාර්ලිමේන්තුවේදී හෝ මාධ්‍යය වෙත හෙළි නොකළේ මන්දැයි කියා ප්‍රශ්න කරන විට උත්තර දී ගත නොහැකි විය. පොලිසියට මෙවැනි අපරාධ වාර්ථා

කලේදැයි ඇසුවිට උත්තර දී ගතහැකි නොවීය. තමාගේ බොරු කථා හකුලා ගැනීමට එතුමාට එදා සිදු විය. සිය දේශනයේ ස්වභාවය වෙනස් කරන්නට සිදු විය. මෙතුමා බොරු කිවූ බව සුද්දන්ට වැටහිණි, ඔවුහු අප සමඟ කතාවට වැටුණි. මේ ලේඛකයාට අනෙක් දේශප්‍රේමීන්ගෙන්ද නොමඳ සහාය එදා රැස්වීමේදී ලැබුණි. පසුදින උදයේ TNA මන්ත්‍රීවරයා කැන්බරා ශ්‍රී ලංකා මහකොමසාරිස් කාර්යාලට ගොස් මහා කොමසාරිස් තුමාගෙන් සමාව අයැද සිටි බව මහකොමසාරිස්වරයා මේ ලේඛකයා සමඟ කිය (මහකොමසාරිස් තුමා මොහුට දුර කථනයෙන් කථා කර කැඳවා තිබුණි) .

අද ජාතික ලැයිස්තුවෙන් පත්වී සිටින සිංහල මන්ත්‍රීවරයක්ද මෙසේම 2012 වසරේ කැන්බරාහි ඕස්ත්‍රේලියා ජාතික විශ්ව විද්‍යාලයට (ANU) පැමිණ ශ්‍රී ලංකාවට විරුද්ධව කථාවක් පැවැත්විය. ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ජනවාර්ගික ප්‍රශ්නයට විසඳුම දෙමළ ඊලාම් රාජ්‍යය ලබා දීම බව ඔහු නොකියා කිය. ඔහුවද මේ ලේඛකයා විසින් ප්‍රසිද්ධියේ ප්‍රශ්න කිරීමෙන් අනතුරව තම දේශනයේ සැර ඔහු බාල කරගත්තේය. තවත් දේශප්‍රේමීන්ද ඔහුගෙන් ප්‍රශ්න කළහ. ඊට පසු දින කැන්බරා ශ්‍රී ලංකා මහකොමසාරිස් කාර්යාලට ගොස් මහා කොමසාරිස් තුමාගෙන් සමාව අයැද සිටි බව බව මහකොමසාරිස්වරයා මේ ලේඛකයා සමඟ කිය (මහකොමසාරිස් තුමා මොහුට දුර කතනයෙන් කථා කර කැඳවා තිබුණි).

2 Responses to "දේශ අභිතෛෂී චිත්‍රපටියක්"

1. *Independent* Says:
වානක,
ඔබ වැනි සිංහලයෝ විශාල සටනක් දෙති. මෙහි සැකයක් නැත. එසේම අපි අවංකවම සාධාරණ ලෙස කතා කරමු. එහෙත් අපටත් ලැජ්ජා වෙන අන් දමට හිරි ඔත්තප්ප නැත්තා සේ ලංකාවේ නායකයෝ හැසිරෙන විට සිදුවන්නේ කුමක් ද ?

2. *Chanaka B* Says:
බෙදුම් වාදයට විරුද්ධව පසුගිය 20 වසර තුල සෑම දිනකම මොකක් හෝ වැඩක් කරන්න ඇති. ඒ ගැන නිහතමානිවූ ආඩම්බරයක් ඇත. මැරෙනතුරු එය එසේමයි 48න් පසු අපට සිටියේ හොඳ නායකයෝ අතේ ඇඟිලි ගානටයි. අපේ සහ රටේ අවාසනාව

ශ්‍රී ලංකාව ‘ඉන්දියාවේ හොංකොං’ විය යුතුයි - *මෙයින් අදහස් කරන්නේ ශ්‍රී ලංකාව ඉන්දියාවේ ‘කර මතින්’ ගොස්’ ධනපති විය යුතුය යන්න මිස අප ඉන්දියාවේ ඉන්දියාවේ කොලනියක් විය යුතුය යන්න නොවේ.*

වානක බණ්ඩාරගේ

6/9/2015 දින ලංකාවෙබ් හී පළවූ ‘Sri Lanka should be the Hong Kong of India’ යන ලිපියේ **(**සංශෝධන සහිත**)** සිංහල පරිවර්තනයයි

හොංකොං දේශය චීනයේ කරපිටින් ගොස් ධනවත්වූ බව කිසිවෙක් විවාදයෙන් තොරව පිළිගන්නා සත්‍යයකි **(**චීන විප්ලවයෙන් පසු **1940** අග භාගයේදී හොංකොං වේගවත් සහ සාර්ථක කාර්මිකත්වයට පත්ව, ධනවත් රටක් බවට පත් විය**)**.

ඩෙන් ෂියාඕ පෙන් විසින් **1970** දශකයේ අග භාගයේදී චීන විවුර්ථ ආර්ථික ක්‍රමය (Open Door Policy) හඳුන්වා දීමෙන් අනතුරුව හොංකොං දේශය, ඒ ලැබුණු මහඟු අවස්ථාවෙන් උපරිම ප්‍රයෝජනය ගෙන චීනයත් සමඟ ස්වකීය වෙළඳාම දස ගුණයකටත් වඩා වැඩි කරගතතේය. වසර කිහිපයක් ඇතුලතදී හොංකොංහි චීන අපනයන (exports) චීනයෙන් හොංකොංවෙත එන අපනයන වලට වඩා වැඩි විය.

බොහෝ දුරට චීනයට ස්තුතිවන්තව, **20**වෙනි ශතවර්ෂය තුලදී, හොංකොං, ඉතා ධනවත් රටක් බවට පත්විය.

ඉන්දීයාව ආර්ථික වශයෙන් අද ලෝකයේ ඉතා බලවත් රටක් බවට පත්වී ඇත. එය චීනය පසු කර යනු ඇතැයි ඇතැමෙක් පවසත් **(**චීනයේ කඩිනමින් වයසට යන සමාජය සහ උග්‍ර ස්ත්‍රී පුරුෂ වෙනස ආදිය නිසා **(**ස්ත්‍රී ඌනතාව**)**.

ලෝකයේ ආර්ථික වශයෙන් බලවත්ම රට වීමටද ඉන්දියාවට හැකි බවට ඇතැම්හු අනාවැකි පල කරත්.

චීනය නිසා හොංකොං ධනවත් වූවාක් මෙන් (හොංකොං චීනයට ඉතා ආසන්නයේම පිහිටා ඇත), ඉන්දියාව නිසා ලංකාවට ධනවත් වීමට මෙතෙක් පුළුවන් වුයේ නැත (ලංකාව ඉන්දියාවට ඉතා ආසන්නයේම පිහිටා ඇත).

ශ්‍රී ලංකාව 'ඉන්දියාවේ හොංකොං ' බවට පත් වුයේ නැත.

පසුගිය දස වසර තුලදී ඉන්දියාව වසරකට 10%ට කිට්ටු ආර්ථික වර්ධනයක් (GDP growth) පෙන්වුවත් එයින් නිසි ප්‍රයෝජන ලබා ගැනීමට ශ්‍රී ලංකාවට පුළුවන් වුයේ නැත.

පසුගිය දස වසර තුලදී ශ්‍රී ලංකාව සිය සියලුම බිජු (බිත්තර) චීනය නමැති කූඩයට පමණක් දමා ගත්තේය. මෙය බුද්ධිමත් නොවූ ආර්ථික න්‍යාමයකි.

යුද්ධයෙන් පසු අප අවාසනාවකට මෙන් ඉන්දියාව සමඟ තිබූ හොඳ හිත පලුදු කර ගත්තෙමු (මෙය හුදෙක් තමිල්නාඩු බලපෑම් නිසා සිදුවූ බව සැබවි, නමුත්, ශ්‍රී ලංකාව තුල ලොව වෙනත් රටවල් සමඟ ශක්ත්මත් වූ රාජ්‍ය තාන්ත්‍රික සහ තානාපති සහධතා ඇති කර ගැනීමේ හැකියාව අඩු බව පෙන්වූ නිදසුනකි මෙය. රටවල් සමඟ මිත්‍රශීලි සහධතා නොපැවැත්වූවොත් ඉන් අහිතකර පළ ඇතිවන්නේ එම එම දෙරටටමය).

චීනයේ කරපිටින් පමණක් ගොස් ධනවත් වීමට බැරි බව ශ්‍රී ලංකාව අවබෝධ නොකරගෙන සිටියේය. ඉන්දියාවෙන් කරපිටින් ගොස් ඊට වඩා පහසුවෙන් ධනවත් විය හැකි බව ශ්‍රී ලංකාව සැලකිල්ලට නොගත්තේය.

මෙයින් අදහස් කරන්නේ ශ්‍රී ලංකාව චීනය, ඇමෙරිකාව, බ්‍රිතාන්‍යය, රුසියාව, ජපානය වැනි රටවල් සමඟ ආර්ථික සමඟධතා ඇති කර ගත නොයුතු බව නොවේ.

චීනය වනාහි ශ්‍රී ලංකාවට සිටිනා ඉතා වටිනා, සමීපතම මිත්‍රයෙකි. එහි කිසුදු වාද විවාදයක් නොමැත. චීනය වනාහි ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ප්‍රශ්නවලදී හැමදාම ශ්‍රී ලංකාවට ලඟින්ම සිට උදවු කල මිත්‍රයෙකි. එහෙත් චීනය පිහිටියේ ශ්‍රී

ලංකාවට බොහෝ ඇතිනි. ශ්‍රී ලංකාව සමග සැසඳීමේදී චීනය ඉතා වෙනස් වූ රටකි. නමුත්, ඉන්දියාව ශ්‍රී ලංකාවට ඉතා කිට්ටු සමානාකම් ඇති රටකි. සංස්කෘතික, ආහාර, වස්ත්‍ර,, භාෂාව (සිංහළ. සංස්කෘතික (sanskrit) සම්භවය ඇති භාෂාවක් වන අතර දෙමල ඉන්දීය භාෂාවකි), ක්‍රීඩා, ආගම්, ගති, සිරිත්, පැවතුම් සහ පුද්ගලික චරිත ලක්ෂණ ආදියෙන් ශ්‍රී ලාංකිකයෝ සහ ඉන්දියයෝ ඉතා කිට්ටු සමීපකමක් දක්වති.

ශ්‍රී ලංකාව සහ ඉන්දියාව අතර ඇති දැඩි සම්බන්ධතාවට පහත කරුණුද හේතුවේ:

- ශ්‍රී ලාංකික බෞද්ධයෝ විශ්වාස කරන්නේ බුදු රජාණන් වහන්සේමේ ලොව පහළ වූ ශ්‍රේෂ්ඨතම පුද්ගලයාලෙසයි. උන්වහන්සේ ඉන්දීය (දඹදිව) ජාතිකයෙක් විය.
- ශ්‍රී ලංකා දේශය බිහි වූයේ බුදු රජාණන් වහන්සේගේ පරිනිර්වාණයත් සමග (මෙයට වසර **2498**කට පෙර - ක්‍රි පු **498**) උතුරු ඉන්දියාවේ සිංහපුර, වංග දේශයේ, ලාට රටේ (අද උතුරු බෙංගාලයේ) සිටි විජය කුමරුගේ ශ්‍රී ලංකාවට (තම්බපන්නිය) වූ ආගමනයත් සමගිනි. 'සිංහළයේ' ප්‍රාරම්භකයා, විජය, ඉන්දියානුවෙකි (බෙන්ගාලියෙකි).
- මහාවංශය සහ වෙනත් අටුවා පොත් අනුව සිංහලයන් බුදු බුදුරජානන් වහන්සේට ඥාති සම්බන්ධතාවක් ඇත. ලංකාවේ දෙවන රජ වූ පඬුවස්දේව (ඔහුට විජය කුමරු තම මාමණ්ඩිය විය) විවාහ වුයේ බුදු රජාණන් වහන්සේගේ සමීපතම ලේ ඥාතියෙක් වූ බද්ධ කච්චානා (කපිලාවාස්තුහි, ශාක්‍ය වංශයේ) කුමරිය සමඟයි.
- ශ්‍රී ලංකාව සහ ඉන්දියාව වෙන් වන්නේ ඉතා පටු මුහුදු තිරයකිනිනි. තමිල්නාඩුවේ ඊලාම් වාදී ප්‍රතිපත්ති හා කටයුතු හැරුණු කොට දෙරට අතර ඇත්තේ වසර දහස් ගණනක් දිව යන සහෝදරාත්මක සම්බන්ධතාවයකි, බැම්මකි. ඉන්දියාව ශ්‍රී ලංකාවට කෙතරම් කිට්ටුව පිහිටියත් ඉන්දියාව කිසිදාක ශ්‍රී ලංකාව යුධමය වශයෙන් ආක්‍රමණය කර නොමැත. මෑත කාලයේදී ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ පැත්තෙන් අනගාරික ධර්මපාල, සිරිමාවෝ බණ්ඩාරනායක, සනත් ජයසුරිය ආදීන් දෙරට

අතර සම්බන්ධතාව ශක්තිමත් කිරීමට කටයුතු කල අය වශයෙන් නම් කළ හැකයි.

පසුගිය වකවානුවේ ශ්‍රී ලංකාවට ඉන්දීය අපනයන දස ගුණයකින් පමණ වැඩි වෙද්දී ශ්‍රී ලංකාවෙන් ඉන්දියාවට අපනයන එවැනි වේගයකින් වැඩි වුයේ නැත.

මෑත කාලින ශ්‍රී ලාංකික රජයන් (පසුගිය වසර 20 ඇතුලත), ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ නිෂ්පාදනමය සහ කර්මාන්ත කෙරෙහි නැඹුරුවූ ආර්ථිකයක් (productivity **and** manufacturing based economy) තනනවාට වඩා උත්සුක වුයේ, වඩා පහසුවෙන් තැනිය හැකි සේවාමය ආර්ථිකයක් (service based economy) ගොඩ නැගීමටයි. මෙයින් රැකියා ප්‍රශ්නයට විසදුමක් ලැබීම යනු සත්‍යකි. නමුත්, මෙහි මූලිකම අවාසිය වුයේ රට ආහාර සහ භාණ්ඩ අතින් ස්වයන්පෝෂිත නොවීමත්, විදේශ විනිමය (ඇමරිකන් ඩොලර් වැනි) රට තුලට නොපැමිනිවීමත්ය.

1950 සිට **1970** අග භාගය දක්වා (නිදහසින් පසු) සැම රජයක්ම ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ඇතිකිරීමට උත්සහ ගත්තේ නිෂ්පාදනමය සහ කර්මාන්ත කෙරෙහි නැඹුරුවූ ආර්ථිකයකි. එකල ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ විදුලි/ඉලෙක්ට්‍රොනික් භාණ්ඩ, මහන මැෂින්, විදුලි පංකා, ශීතකරණ, රේසර් බ්ලේඩ්, බයිසිකල්, චොකලට් සහ උසස් ගනයේ රසවත් ටොෆි වර්ග, උසස් ගනයේ බටහිර ඖෂධ, ටයර්, අත් ට්‍රැක්ටර් පමණක් නොව මෝටර් රථ පවා නිෂ්පාදනය කරන තත්වයක් විය. ශ්‍රී ලංකාව බොහෝ ආහාර වර්ගවලින් ස්වයන්පෝෂිත විය. එකළ අප ලොවට ණය ගැති නොවීමු. අද, අප කන සහල් පවා බොහෝ දුරට එන්නේ පිටරටෙනි. අල්පෙනෙත්ත, ඉඳිකටුව, නූල් බෝලය පවා පිටරටෙන් එයි. ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ කියා නිෂ්පාදනය වන තරම් දෙයක් නැති තරම්ය. ශ්‍රී ලංකාව චීනය, තායිවානය, කොරියාව, ඉන්දියාව වැනි රටවල්වලට ස්වකිය භාණ්ඩ මෙරට තුල දමා යන තෝතැන්නක් **(dumping ground)** බවට පත් කර දී ඇත.

පසුගිය කාලයේ ශ්‍රී ලංකාව තුල පැන නැගුනේ බොහෝසෙයින්ම සන්නිවේදන/රූපලාවන්‍ය මද්‍යස්ථාන, ලොතරැයි/අශ්ව රේස් සුදු, හෙරොයින් කුඩු/එක්ස්ටසි, කුඩා කැසිනෝ, ආයුර්වේද යන නමින් පවත්වාගෙන යන සම්භාහන මද්‍යස්ථාන සහ ත්‍රී වීලර් ටැක්සි ආදිය මගින් දිවූ සේවාමය ආර්ථිකයකි (ත්‍රී වීලර්ම අද රටේ මිලියනයකටත් වැඩිය ඇත; එමගින්

බොහෝ තරුණ කොටස් ත්‍රී වීලර් තුල, අලස වී සිටිත්) (සංචාරක අංශය වැඩි දියුණු වීමෙන් බොහෝ විදේශ විනිමය රටට ලැබුණි. මෙය සුබදායක දෙයක් විය). මෙවැනි ආර්ථිකයකට අපනයන ඉල්ලුමක් නැත. එවන් ආර්ථිකයකින් දේශීය බදු ආදායම් ලැබුනත්, විදේශ විනිමය රටට ගලා නොඑන හෙයින් රට ධනවත් කිරීමට එය එතරම් ඉවහල් නොවේ. රටේ වටිනාම සම්පතවන මිනිස් ශ්‍රමය හැකි තරම් පිටරට පැටවීමට **1976**න් පසුව පාලකයෝ උත්සුක වුහ. එමගින් රටේ රැකියා විරහිත ප්‍රශ්නය විසඳිය හැකියයි ඔවුහු විශ්වාස කළහ. අද වසරකට ලක්ෂ **3**ක් ශ්‍රමිකයෝ රට හැර යත්. රටේ හොඳම මිනිස් ශ්‍රමය (උගත්, තරුණ සහ බොහෝ විට ඉංග්‍රීසි කථා කරන), පිටරට පටවා (ඒ රටවල් ඉතා ධනවත් රටවල් බවට පත් කිරීමට), අපේ පාලකයෝ කටයුතු කලේ, ශ්‍රමිකයන් එවන විදේශ මුදල් වලින් ඔවුනට ඉතා සුඛෝපභෝගී ජීවත ගත කල හැකි බව දත් නිසාය. මැද පෙරදිග, ඔස්ත්‍රේලියාව,කොරියාව, කැනඩාව, ජපානය, ඉතාලිය, එංගලන්තය, ඇමරිකාව ආදී රටවල් අපේ වටිනා මිනිස් ශ්‍රමයෙන් (තවත් අප වැනි 3වන ලෝකයේ රටවල මිනිස් ශ්‍රමයද ඇතුළුව) ඉතා ධනවත් වූ රටවල්ය. රැකියා විරහිත භාවය තුරන් කිරීම පිණිස හැකි තරම් පාලක පක්ෂවලට හිතවත්වූ අයට (මැතිවරණවලදී උදවු කල අයට) රජයේ රැකියා ලබා දුනි. මේවා සුදුසුකම් අනුව දුන් රැකියා නොවන නිසා බෙහවින් ආකාර්යක්ෂම සහ උදාසීන රාජ්‍ය සේවයක් බිහි විය. ආර්ථික සංවර්ධනයට මේවා මරු පහරවල් විය.

පසුගිය වසර **10** තුල රජයන් බොහෝ විදේශ ණයලබා ගෙන අප රට උග්‍ර ණය හරිත රටක් බවට පත් කළේය. ලබා ගත් ණය නිදහස් කිරීම නිසා ආර්ථික වර්ධනය **6 %**ක් පමණ **(GDP)** පමණ රඳවා ගත හැකි වුවත් ණය වලින් කොටසක් වැය වුයේ ඒ මුදල් ගසා කෑම සහ අපතේ යන වැඩ සඳහාය. අද අපේ විදේශ ණය හරිතභාවය ඩොලර් බිලියන **25** ඉක්මවා ඇතයි පැවසේ. මීට අමතරව දේශීය බැංකු සහ රාජ්‍ය ආයතනවලටද **(EPF/ETF** වැනි), පුද්ගලික සමාගම්වලටද ශ්‍රී ලංකා රජය අධිකව ණය බරවී සිටියි. මෙය ශ්‍රී ලංකාව මෙන් කුඩා ආර්ථිකයක් ඇති රටකට ඉසිලිය නොහැකි තත්වයකි.

ලබා ගත් ණය මඟින් නියම ආර්ථික සංවර්ධනයක් සිදු වූවා නම් උද්ධමනය **(inflation)** අඩු විය යුතුය. නමුත් ඇත්තටම සිදු වුයේ උද්ධමනය වැඩි වීමකි. අද ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ උද්ධමන අගය **10%** කි. දියුණු රටවල මේ අගය **2%** හෝ **3%** පමණ වේ.

නිදහස ලබන විටදී **(1948)** අප ආසියාවේ දෙවන හොඳම ආර්ථිකය තිබූ රට විය (ජපානයට පසුව). අද බොහෝ රටවල් අප පසු කර, බොහෝ දුර ගොසිනි. කොරියාව, සිංගප්පුරුව, මලයාසියාව, තායිලන්තය, පිලිපීනය අපව පසු කර ගොස් ඇති අප ජීවත්වන කලාපයේ ඇති සමහර රටවල්ය. අප තවමත් උග්‍ර 3වෙනි ලෝකයේ රටක් ලෙස ජීවත් වෙමු.

මෑතක සිට අංග සම්පූර්ණවූ ආර්ථික සහයෝගිතා ගිවිසුමකට (CEPA - Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement) එළඟෙන මෙන් ඉන්දියාව ශ්‍රී ලංකාවට උදක්ම ඇරයුම් කර සිටියි. මෙවැනි ගිවිසුමකින් ශ්‍රී ලංකාවට සමස්ථ ඉන්දියාවටම විශේෂ සහනදායි ක්‍රම වේදයක් තුලින් භාණ්ඩ අලෙවි කිරීමේ හැකියාව ලැබෙනු ඇත. මෙය ඉතා සතුදායක පුවතකි. නමුත් ඉන්දියාවටද එවැනි මාර්ගයක් ශ්‍රී ලංකාව තුල සැලසීමෙන්, ඉන්දියාවේ ලාභවූ බඩු භාණ්ඩ සීමාවක් නොමැතිව ශ්‍රී ලංකාවට ඒමට සැලස්වීමෙන් ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ අද පවත්නා කුඩා අපනයන ආරිථිකය සහ දේශීය ආර්ථිකය තවත් කඩා වැටීමකට ලක්වේදැයි සාධාරණ බියක් රට තුල පවතී.

CEPA ඇතුව හෝ නැතුව, වේගයෙන් සංවර්ධනය වන ඉන්දියාවට භාණ්ඩ සහ සේවා සැපයීමෙන් (හොංකොං චීනයට සැපයුවා මෙන්) අපට ‘ඉන්දියාවේ හොංකොං’ බවට පත්විය හැක. නමුත් ඉන්දියාවට අප අපනයනය කරන්නේ මොනවාද? ඔවුන්ට යැවීමට තරම් භාණ්ඩ සහ සේවා අපට තිබේද?

2011/12 කාලය තුල ඉන්දියාව ඩොලර් බිලියන **4.3** වටිනා භාණ්ඩ අප රටට අපනයනයකළ අතර එම කාලය තුල අප ඉන්දියාවට අපනයනය කලේ ඩොලර් මිලියන **721**ක් පමණක් වටිනාවූ භාන්ඩයි. නුදුරු අනාගතයේදී දෙරට අතර පවතින වෙළඳාම ඩොලර් බිලියන දහය දක්වා ලඟා වෙනු ඇත. නමුත් අවාසනාවකට මින් බහුතර වෙළඳාම අත්වනුයේ ඉන්දියාවටයි - ඒ ඔවුන් අපට එවන මහා පරිමානයේ අපනයන භාණ්ඩ නිසායි.

අද පවත්නා තත්වය යටතේ අපට ඉන්දියාවට යැවිය හැකි භාණ්ඩ අතර ධීවර සම්පත්, කෘෂි නිෂ්පාදන, සහ ප්‍රති අපනයන භාණ්ඩ (value added items imported from other countries) සඳහන් කළ හැකයි. මේ භාණ්ඩ බාන්ඩ වැඩි කරගත හැක්කේ කෙසේදැයි මේ ලිපියේ අගට සලකා බැලේ.

අප CEPA අත්සන් නොකළ යුතුයයි මේ ලිපිකරු කිසිසේත් නොකියයි. ඔහු කියනුයේ CEPA අත්සන් කිරීමට නම් අපට මීට වඩා වෙළඳ වාසි ලබා දිය යුතු යයි කියායි. කිසිදු ඉන්දීය තීරු බදු (tariff) නොමැතිව ශ්‍රී ලංකාවෙන් ඉන්දියාවට ඕනෑම භාණ්ඩයක් අපනයනය කිරීමට හැකි වන්නේ නම් (ප්‍රති අපනයන භාණ්ඩ ද ඇතුළුව) එය මහඟු ජයග්‍රහණයකි. එවන් පසුබිමක CEPAඅත්සන් කලාට කමක් නැත. මන්ද, බිලියන 1.2 ජනතාවකට (ලෝක ජනගහනයෙන් 1/6 ට කිට්ටු) භාණ්ඩ සහ සේවා සපයන කේන්ද්‍රය බවට ශ්‍රී ලංකාව පත්වුවහොත්, ශ්‍රී ලංකාවට එයින් කිසිවිටකත් අවාසියක් විය නොහැක. එය ශ්‍රී ලංකාව 'ඉන්දියාවේ හොංකොං' බවට පත් වීමට උදව් වීමකි. ශ්‍රී ලංකාව මේ මඟින් පහසුවෙන් ධනවත් රටක් බවට පත් කර ගත හැක.

මෝඩි මහතා ශ්‍රී ලංකාවට උසස් ආර්ථික අවස්ථා ලබා දීමට ඉතා කැමැත්තෙන් සිටී. එතුමාගේ අව්‍යාජ මිත්‍රත්වය අප රටට මහත්වූ භාග්‍යයකි.

ශ්‍රී ලංකාව 'ඉන්දියාවේ හොංකොං' බවට පත්වීමේ අවස්ථාව අප අහිමි කරගතහොත් එය අපට සදහටම අහිමි වීමක් විය හැක. මන්ද, වෙනත් රටක්, උදාහරණ වශයෙන්, නේපාලය හෝ බංග්ලාදේශය 'ඉන්දියාවේ හොංකොං විය ' හැකි බැවිනි.

CEPA හෝ එවැනි ගිවිසුමක් අත්සන් කිරීමට ප්‍රථම (කලින් කි පරිදි තවම එයට අවසන් අවස්ථාව මේ නොවේ) ශ්‍රී ලංකාව තමන්ට ඉතා වාසි සහගත කොන්දේසි එම ගිවිසුමට අඩංගු කර ගත යුතුය. මේ සඳහා ජාත්‍යන්තර නීති, ජාත්‍යන්තර වෙළඳ නීති පිළිබඳව කෘතහස්ත දැනුම ඇති නීතිඥයන්ගෙන් උපදෙස් ලබා ගැනීම අනිවාර්යවේ. මීට කලින් ශ්‍රී ලංකාව එලෑහී ඇති ජාත්‍යන්තර ගිවිසුම් මඟින් පුදුමාකාර පාඩු අප රට ලබා තිබේ (එයා ලංකා, හෙජීන්, ෂෙල්, කෑන්ස්, IOC, ක්‍රිෂ් වැනි). උදාහරණයක් ලෙස ගතහොත් එයා ලංකා ගිවිසුම ශ්‍රී ලංකාවට කොයි තරම් අවාසිසහගත ලෙස එලහුනාද යත් කටුනායක ත්‍රස්ත බෝම්බ ප්‍රහාරයෙන් විනාශවූ එයා ලංකා සතුව තිබූ, ගුවන් යානා සියල්ලටම ලැබුණු ඩොලර් බිලියන ගණනක්වූ රක්ෂණ වන්දි මුදල් ගියේ එයා ලංකා සමාගමට නොව එවකට එයා ලංකා පාලනය කල එමිරේට්ස් සමාගමටයි. අද එයා ලංකාවට අයිති එකදු ගුවන් යානයක්වත් අයිති නොමැත. හෙජීන් ගිවිසුම නිසා ශ්‍රී ලංකාව ලැබූ පාඩුව ඩොලර් බිලියන 20ට ආසන්නයයි පැවසේ. මේ නඩු විභාගය තවම මුළු මනින්ම අවසන්ව නැත. උසස් තත්ත්වයේ නීති උපදෙස් නොලබා, අධි වටිනාකමින් යුත්

ජාත්‍යන්තර ගිවිසුම් අත්සන් කිරීමට යාමේ ආදීනවයි මේ. ශ්‍රී ලංකා රජය මෙවැනි නීති උපදෙස් ලබා ගැනීමට නීතිපති දෙපාර්තමේන්තුවෙන් පමණක් යොමුවීම නැණවත් කටයුත්තක් නොවේ.

CEPA අත්සන් කිරීමට ප්‍රථම අප රටේ දේශීය නිෂ්පාදන අරක්ෂා කර ගැනීමට බලපාන වගන්ති එහි අඩංගු කර ගත යුතුය. CEPA අත්සන් කිරීමට නම් ඉන්දියාව අපේ මුහුදේ කරන නීති විරෝධී මත්ස්‍ය ඇල්ලීම (මේ මගින් වසරකට ශ්‍රී ලංකාවට වන පාඩුව ඩොලර් බිලියනයකට වැඩිය) සම්පූර්ණයෙන්ම තහනම් කරන වගන්ති CEPAහි අඩංගු කර ගත යුතුය. මේවා අමාරු කාර්යන් වුවත් දක්ෂ නීතිඥයන්ට/ සන්නිවේදකයන්ට අපහසු කාර්යයන් නොවේ.

දැනට, අප දෙරට අතර **1998** දී අත්සන් කල නිදහස් වෙළඳ ගිවුසුමේ (FTA-Free Trade Agreement) හි ඇති අඩුපාඩු, ශ්‍රී ලංකාවට අහිතකරවූ වගන්ති (බොහෝ වේ) CEPA හි අඩංගු නොවීමට අපගේ පාර්ශවය පැත්තෙන් අප වග බලා ගත යුතුවේ.

අද අප අපේ අසල්වැසි ඉන්දියාව සමග අප ඉතා හොඳ සමීප සම්බන්ධතා පවත්වමු. **2013** වසරේ ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ **CHOGM** සමුළුව වර්ජනය කලේ ඉන්දියාවයි. ඊට පෙර වසරේ ඉන්දියාව ශ්‍රී ලංකාවට විරුද්ධව ජෙනිවාහිදී සම්බාධන යෝජනාවක් ගෙන ආවේය. එවන් තත්වයක් යටතේ අප දෙරට නැවත මෙවන් දැඩි මිතු දමක් ඇතිකරගැනීම ගැන ශ්‍රී ලංකාවට ඇල්ම කරන්නෝ සතුටු විය යුතුයි. ඉන්දීය අග්‍රාමාත්‍ය තුමෙක් මේ වසරේ ශ්‍රී ලංකාවට පැමිණියේ (මෝඩි මහතා) වසර **28**ට පසුවයි. අසල්වාසීන් හැටියට සතුරන් ලෙස වාසය කිරීමට දිගටම සිදු වුවහොත් එහි පාඩුව එම රටවල් දෙකටමය, විශේෂයෙන්ම වැඩි අවාසිය කුඩා ශ්‍රී ලංකාවටය. සතුරන් ලෙස නොවමිතුරන් ලෙසින් අසල්වාසීන්ට විසිය හැකි නම් එය කෙතරම් අග්ේද (win/win situation)?

අද ශ්‍රී ලංකාවට වැඩියෙන්ම සංචාරකයන් පැමිණෙන්නේ ඉන්දියාවෙනි. කලින් කීවාක් මෙන් මෝඩි මහතා ශ්‍රී ලංකාවට විශේෂ ඇල්මක් දක්වයි. එතුමා බෞධාගමට ඉමහත් ලෙස ගරු කරයි. ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ සංවර්ධන කටයුතු වෙනුවෙන් ඉන්දියාව බෙහෙවින් ආධාර කිරීමට ඉදිරිපත් වී සිටීම ඉතා හොඳ නිමිත්තකි. දෙරට අතර සම්බන්ධතා වර්ධනය කර ගන්නා අතරම අප රටට

අහිතකර යමක් සිදු නොවීම සඳහා අප සැමවිටම විමසිල්ලෙන් සිටිය යුතුයි. නමුත්, වරදක් නොකළ ඉන්දීය නව රජයට බැනීමෙන් වැලකි සිටීම අප තුල තිබිය යුතු වූ හොඳ ගතියකි.

තමන්ටම වූ ස්ථිරසාර දේශපාලන මතයක් තිබීම හොඳය. නමුත් උගත් දේශප්‍රේමීන්ගේ මූලිකම වගකීමවිය යුත්තේ දේශපාලන පක්ෂ/චරිත දිවිහිමියෙන් ආරක්ෂාකිරීමට වඩා තම මව් බිම වූ ශ්‍රී ලංකා මෑණියන්ට යහපතක් වන දේ සඳහා සැමවිටම ඇප කැපවී වැඩකිරීමයි/කථා කිරීමයි/ලිවීමයි. මෙය - ශ්‍රී ලංකා මාතාවට ඇළුම් කිරීම, ඔවුන් සතු විය යුතු මූලිකම ගුණාංගය විය යුතුයි (හුදු දේශපාලන මතවාදයට වඩා).

ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදිව, මහජන වැඩි චන්දයෙන් රජයක් බිහිවූ පසු ඒ රජයේ ක්‍රියා විවේචනය කල යුත්තේ සාධාරණ පදනමක සිටයි. රට ඉදිරියට ගෙන ගොස් රටට හානියක් නොමැති, පොදු මහජනතාවට සේවා සපයන, විශේෂයෙන්ම රටේ දුප්පත්කම තුරන් කරන (රටේ ස්වයංරිභාවය ආරක්ෂා කරන ගමන්) ප්‍රතිපත්ති සඳහා රජයට උපදෙස් දීම උගත් දේශප්‍රේමීන්ගේ මූලිකම වගකීමයි. මැතිවරණයෙන් පරාජය වී ජනතාව ප්‍රතික්ෂේප කළ වුනට විට මන්ත්‍රී පදවි ලබාදී ඇමති පදවි වලින් පිදීම, 'ජම්බෝ කැබිනට්' එකක් බිහි කිරීම, නුසුදුසු ලෙස මුළු රටම දන්නා අයට ඇමති ධුර පිරිනැමීම මොනයම් රජයක් සිදු කලත් තරයේ හෙලා දැකිය යුතු ක්‍රියාවන් වේ. මේවා යහ පාලනය නොව අයහ පාලනයේ සාධක වෙත්.

වංචා, දූෂණ, අල්ලස් මොන රජයක් මඟින් සිදු කලත් එවැනි දේ පෙන්නා දීම, ඒ ගැන ලිවීම සහ විවේචනය කිරීම උගත් දේශප්‍රේමීන්ගේ වගකීම විය යුතුයි. එවන් දේශප්‍රේමීන්ව සෙසු දේශප්‍රේමීන් විසින් (බොහෝවිට , දේශපාලන පක්ෂ/චරිත දිවිහිමියෙන් ආරක්ෂාකිරීමට කැපවී වැඩ කරන දේශප්‍රේමීන්) විවේචනය/චරිත ඝාතනයට ලක් කරන්නේ නම් එය සැබවින්ම කනගාටුවට කරුණකි. එයින් රටට, ජාතියට සෙතක් නොවේ. 1931දී අනගාරික ධර්මපාල තුමා රට අත් හැර යාමට එක් හේතුවක් වුයේ ඇතැම් උගත් සිංහලයන් එතුමාව ඉතා දැඩිවූ, අසාධාරණ චරිත ඝාතනයට ලක් කිරීමයි. සෝම හෑමුදුරුවන් ජීවත්ව සිටියදී ලැබුනේද බොහෝ නින්දා අපහාසය. මරණයට පත්වූ කාලයේ උන්වහන්සේව බොහෝ රූපවාහිණී නාලිකා මඟින් තහනම් කර තිබුණි.

ඉන්දියාවේ අද කෝටි 250ක්වූ මදාසම පන්තික ප්‍රජාවක් වෙත්. 2025 වනවිට මේ ගණන කොටි 550 දක්වා ඉහල යනු ඇත. මෙවැනි ඉන්දියාවකින් (අපට ඉතාම සමීප රට) CEPA ඇතුව හෝ නැතුව, අපට ලබා හැකි ආර්ථිකව වාසි කියා නිම කල නොහැක. ශ්‍රී ලංකාව 'ඉන්දියාවේ හොංකොං' බවට පත්වුවහොත් අප ඉතා දියුණු ධනවත් රටක් බවට පත්වීම කිසිවෙකුට නතර කල නොහැකිය. මේ සඳහා අප ඉන්දියාවේ වහලෙක් වීමට හෝ එහි ප්‍රාන්ත රාජ්‍යක් බවට පත් වීමට අවශ්‍ය නොවේ. මේ යෝජනා කරන්නේ තනිකරම ආර්ථික සම්බන්ධතාවයක් (economic arrangement) පමණි. ඉන්දියාව හැරුණු විට අපට කරපිටින් ගොස් ධනවත් විය හැකි රටක් අප ජීවත්වන කලාපයේ නැත.

කලින් කීවාක් මෙන් අපට ඇති විශාලතම ප්‍රශ්නය වනුයේ ඉන්දියාවට සැපයීමට තරම් අපනයන භාණ්ඩ අප දැනට නිෂ්පාදනය නොකිරීමයි. කලින් සඳහන් කලාක් මෙන්, පසු ගිය වසරවල නිෂ්පාදනමය සහ කර්මාන්ත කෙරෙහි නැඹුරුවූ ආර්ථිකයක් (GDP growth economy) වෙනුවට සේවා සලසන ආර්ථිකයක් අප රටේ නිර්මාණය කිරීමේ පළ විපාකයිමේ. කෙසේ වෙතත් කෘෂි නිෂ්පාදන, මල්, එළවළු, පලතුරු වර්ග, කළා ශිල්ප භාණ්ඩ, සුළු අපනයන නිෂ්පාදන, විශේෂයෙන්ම කුරුඳු, ගම්මිරිස් (spices) ආදිය අපට යම් ප්‍රමාණයෙන් ඉන්දියාවට දැනටමත් යැවිය හැකියි. ඉන්දියාව විශාල වශයෙන් තේ නිෂ්පාදනය කරන රටක් වුවත් එම රටෙහි අද විශාල අභ්‍යන්තර පාරිභෝගික තේ හිඟයක් පවතී. මේ අනුව ලොව විශිෂ්ටතම තේ නිපදවන රට වන ශ්‍රී ලංකාවට ඉන්දියාවට තේ අපනයනය කල හැකි වනු ඇත (හොඳින්, ඒ පිලිබඳව අලෙවි පිලිබඳවූ කාර්යයන් සිදු කළහොත්). මේ වනතුරු අප ඉන්දියාවට තේ යවා නොමැත.

ඉන්දියාව ශ්‍රී ලංකාව තුල ඉන්දීය කර්මාන්ත ක්ෂේත්‍රයට අවශ්‍ය මුල් ද්‍රව්‍ය නිෂ්පාදනය කිරීමේ කම්හල් පිහිටුවීමට ආධාර කල යුතුයයි ශ්‍රී ලංකාව ඉන්දියාවට පැවසිය යුතුයි (Sri Lanka to become a logistic hub to various production chains in India). මෙය CEPA ගිවිසුමේ අඩංගු කල යුතුයි.

ඔවුන් ඒ ඉල්ලීම භාර ගන්නවා ඇත. දැනටමත් ත්‍රිකුණාමලයේ සහ උතුරේ එවැනි මද්‍යස්ථාන පිහිටවීමට ඉන්දියාව පොරොන්දු වී සිටී. මේ වෙනුවෙන් ඉන්දීයරජයට අමතරව ඉන්දීය පුද්ගලික අංශය ඩොලර් බිලියන 5ක් හෝ ඊටත් වඩා ආයෝජනය කිරීමට පොරොන්දු වී තිබේ. හම්බන්තොට වරාය ආශ්‍රිතවද එවැනි නව ඉන්දීය කර්මාන්ත පුරයක් **(Indian economic zone)** බිහි කල යුතු යයි අප ඔවුනට කිව යුතුය.

මෙවැනි කර්මාන්ත පුර වලින් ඉන්දීයාවේ පිහිටි මව් කර්මාන්ත ශාලා වලට අවශ්‍ය කොටස් (රථවාහන, පරිගණක, බෙහෙත් ද්‍රව්ය, ආහර වර්ග උදාහරණ කිහිපයක් පමණි) නිපදවිය හැකිවේ. මේවායින් ලංකාවට අධික විදේශ විනිමය ගලා එනවාක් පමණක් නොව විශාල පරිමානයේ රැකියා අවස්ථා ඉපදෙනවා ඇත. ශ්‍රී ලාංකිකයන් රැකියා සඳහා විදේශ ගතවීම නතරවීමෙන් පවුල් වල ඇතිවන පුද්ගලික/සමාජමය ගැටළු/ ප්‍රශ්න අඩු වෙනවා ඇත. ශ්‍රී ලංකාව 'ඉන්දියාවේ හොංකොං' වීය යුතුයයි කිවේ මේ කරුණුද සලකා බලායි. මෙය ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ස්වයරිභාවයට හෝ ආත්ම අභිමානය හින වීමේ ප්‍රශ්නයක් නොවේ.

ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ දුම්රිය සංවර්ධනය, විශාල පරිමානයේ නිවාස ව්‍යාපෘති (උතුරේ නිවාස **50,000**ක්), සාම්පුර් ගල් අඟුරු බලාගාරය වෙනුවෙන් විශාල මුදල් පරිත්‍යාග කිරීමට ඉන්දියාව ඉදිරිපත්ව සිටියි. ඉන්දියාව ශ්‍රී ලංකාව වෙනුවෙන් ඩොලර් බිලියනයකට අධික මහා බැංකු ණය අයිරා (line of credit), විනිමය හුවමාරුතා ගිවුසුමක් (currency swap agreement) දැනටමත් ක්‍රියාත්මක වේ.

මේ ආධාර පිළිබඳව අප ඉන්දියාවට ස්තුති කළ යුතුයි (මේවා බොහොමයක් ණය නොව සෘජු ආධාරයි).

කෙසේ වෙතත්, ඉන්දියාව විසින් ආසියානු සංවර්ධන බැංකුවේ ආධාර යටතේ, ඔවුන්ගේ වියදමින් ඉදිකිරීමට බලාපොරොත්තු වන, පෝක් සමුද්‍ර සන්ධිය ඔස්සේ ඉන්දියාවේ ධනුෂ්කොඩි සිට ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ තලේමන්නාරම දක්වා ඉදි කිරීමට අදහස් කරන අධිවේගය සහ දුම්රිය මාර්ග යෝජනාවට අප දැන්මම අවසාන කැමැත්ත ප්‍රකාශ කල යුතු නොවේ. විශේෂයෙන්ම තමිල්නාඩුව නිසා තිබෙන ප්‍රශ්න/ හිරිහැර නිසා ශ්‍රී ලාංකිකයෝ මේ නව

මාර්ගය (පාලම) ගැන විවික්සාවෙන් පසු වෙත්. ඔවුහු මේ ගැන බොහෝ සොයා බලමින් සිටිත්.

මෙවැනි පාලමක් නිසා ශ්‍රී ලංකාවට කිසියම් ආර්ථික වාසි ලැබෙන බව නම් නොරහසකි. ශ්‍රී ලංකාව 'ඉන්දියාවේ හොං කොං' බවට පත්වීම මේ නිසා වේගවත් වනු ඇත. ශ්‍රී ලංකාවට ඉන්දියාවේ සිට පැමිණෙන බටහිර සංචාරකයන් ගණනම (යුරෝපා, ඇමෙරිකා ආදී) මෙවැනි පාලමක් නිසා දහස් ගණනින් ඉහල යනු ඇත. ප්‍රවාහන ගාස්තු අඩු වීමෙන් ඉන්දියාවෙන් එන භාණ්ඩ මිල අඩු වෙනු ඇත. අප ඉන්දියාවට යවන භාණ්ඩ මිලද අඩු වනු ඇත. බොහෝ පිරිසකට බුද්ධගයා වන්දනාව ඉතා අඩු මිලකට කර ගැනීමට හැකිවනු ඇත. මෙවන් පාලමක් නිසා ලැබෙන වෙනත් ආර්ථික සහ සමාජීය වාසි බොහෝය. දකුණෙන් උතුරට යන ජනතාව වැඩි විය හැක.

නමුත්, මෙවැනි ව්‍යාපෘතියකට කැමැත්ත දීමට ප්‍රථමව එවන්නක් මඟින් ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ස්වයිරිභාවයට සහ භෞමික අඛන්ඩතාවයට බාධාවක් නොවන බවට ස්ථිරවම ශ්‍රී ලංකා වාසීන්ට එත්තුගැන්වීමට ශ්‍රී ලංකා රජය සමත් විය යුතුය. තවම මෙවැන්නක් සිදුවී නැත. මෙය, ඉන්දීය, විශේෂයෙන්ම දකුණු ඉන්දීය ජනතාවට ශ්‍රී ලංකාවට පහසුවෙන් ඒමට (ඇවිදගෙන පවා) හැකි පාලමක් වන්නේනම් (ශ්‍රී ලංකාව පැත්තෙන් ඉන්දියාවට යන ජනගහනය අඩු) පාලම ඉදිකිරීමේ කටයුතු අත්හැර දැමීම ඉතා ප්‍රන්ග්‍යාගෝචරයි.

අද දිනයේ ජනතාව තුල මෙවැනි ව්‍යාපෘතියකට ඇත්තේ ඉමහත් වුබියක් බව මෙහිලා කිව යුතුය. මේ පාලම ඔස්සේ තමිල්නාඩුවේ සිට ශ්‍රී ලංකාවට ත්‍රස්තවාදයක් නැවත ඇති කිරීමට පාර කැපිය හැකිද (ආයුධ, උපකරණ, පිරිස්); තමිල්නාඩු ආක්‍රමණයක් මේ මඟින් අපේ උතුරට -උතුරේ ඊළාම්වාදීන් සමඟ එක්ව කල හැකි වේද, එවැනි තත්ත්ව මර්දනය කිරීමට අපේ ත්‍රිවිධ හමුදාව සහ බුද්ධි අංශ ශක්තිමත්ද/නැද්ද; මේ කරුණු පිළිබඳව මනා කථිකාවක් රට තුළ ඇතිවීම අතයාවශ්‍යය (තමිල්නාඩුව කොතරම් තර්ජන ගර්ජන කලත් අපට අයත් කච්චතිව් දූපතට ආක්‍රමණයක් කිරීමට ඔවුනට නොහැකි වූ බවද අප අවධාරණය කරගත යුතුය. ඒ, කච්චතිව්හි රඳවා සිටින අපේ එඩිතර නාවික භටයන් නිසාය, සහ ඉන්දීය මධ්‍යම රජයෙන් ඔවුනට ධෛයිරයක් ලබා නොදුන් නිසාය).

මෙම සිංහල පරිවර්තනය මුල් ඉංගිරිසි ලිපියේ කතුවරයා විසින්ම වේ

29 Responses to "ශ්‍රී ලංකාව 'ඉන්දියාවේ හොංකොං' වීය යුතුයි"

 *Dr.K* Says:
කතුවරයා ඉතා සරල ලෙස චීනය හමුවේ හොංකොං දියුණුව .....

 *Hiranthe* Says:
Becoming India's Hong Kong is only a myth. At that time China was backward and Hong Kong opened itself to the world with British rule and with the power of English language to communicate. Hong Kong was a gateway to the world**.....**

 *Lorenzo* Says:
Poll finds almost a third of Americans would support a military coup!!

.....I'm sure more SLs support the RIGHT thing as they are MORE INTELLIGENT than Americans.

 *Chanaka B* Says:
According to Mahavansa, Sri Lanka was founded soon after the demise of Lord Buddha (2498 years ago – (498 BC), where Vijaya, a Prince from northern India (Singhapura Village in Wanga Land of Lata Nation, located in the present day northern Bengal) landed in Sri Lanka (Thambapanni). According to Mahavansa, Vijaya's father was King Singhabahu; and Singhabahu's father was a lion (was his hands and feet were like a lion's paws?). Singhabahu's mother was a princess of the same area (Kalinga).

This is the accepted version of Sri Lankan history (up to now, we have accepted Mahavansa, the chronicled history of Sri Lanka, as the gospel truth). Also, read 'ධර්මපාල ලිපි' edited by Dr Ananda Guruge. Dharmapala stressed this version of the history.

I agree, prior to Vijaya's arrival, Sri Lanka was occupied by indigenous 'hela' tribes (Yaksha, Naga Deva).

The 'hela' people mingled with Vijaya's clan ('Singha') and formed the race, 'Singhala (Singha +Hela). Up to 1815, this country was called 'Sinhale'.

Those who did not mingle remained indigenous – the Veddahs. A small number of them exist even today

Note, what the Eelamists say – according to them the Hela tribes (Kuveni) were their people. I have not seen anyone comprehensively attacking this blatant untruth

With respect, the argument that Indians are aggressive people and Chinese are not is a shallow one. Our focus should be to work with everyone and make Sri Lanka a prosperous state. What I have articulated is purely an economic arrangement. I am not saying we should become a satellite state of India. I also agree there would be problems when working with the Indians in large scale; this is normal part of life. It is a matter of how we would sort things out.

 *Chanaka B* Says:

I do not discount for a moment that India helped Prabhakaran to run camps in Thamilnadu. There are western nations that helped terrorism also. Just because of that we cannot disregard/ignore them. As a good member of the international community, we have to work with all nations. The crux of the matter is how well we can progress in dong trade and commerce with our giant neighbour, India. I have simply shown an opportunity that is available, which I believe, we should tap. That's all

 *Lorenzo* Says:
Chanaka,

> **….** HK did well because HK was under the UK until 1998. China could NOT dictate terms to HK because of UK. SL has NO such external sponsor.

 *Chanaka B* Says:
September 12th, 2015 at 9:02 pm

> About Christie's comment above**…….**

 *Lorenzo* Says:
..... Chanaka is a PATRIOT and we should LEARN to peacefully **.....**

 *Chanaka B* Says:
Lorenzo, the terminology, ‘‘Sri Lanka should be the Hong Kong of India ‘is just metaphorical. I used it like a pproverb to stress the idea. I have seen lots of extreme poverty in Sri Lanka. It is time we improve the standard of living of our people, as our politicians have destroyed the country since independence. They took us the downhill pathway. If my suggestion works (it can work), we can come out of this cure – extreme poverty. All countries in the world are eager to do business with India. India is a member of G20, APEC and BRICS; so why not us? With this economic arrangement, all people of Sri Lanka will benefit – Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims. And that should be the way

 *Senevirath* Says:
.....ඉන්දියාවෙන් සිංහලයන්ට ලබාගත හැකි හොඳ සිරිත් විරිත් නැත එකිනෙකා කොටා ගන්නා උන් ගේ සල්ලි වලට වහ වැටුනොත් එය අපගේ අවසානයය් සිංහල පැවතුම් ඉන්දියානු පැවතුම් වලට වෙනස් ය

 *Chanaka B* Says:
13

1987 හඳුන්වා දුන් JRගේ 13 අනුමත නොකරමි. මෙය ලංකාවට අද ලොකුම ඍාපයකි. පළාත් සභා යනු දැවැන්තම වූ සුදු අලියෙකි. 13 අහෝසි කිරීම සඳහා JR සමයේ මුල් බැස වැඩ කල කෙනෙකි මෙම ලියුම්කරුගේ පියා (ආචාර්ය **DS** බණ්ඩාරගේ). මාදුළුවාවේ සෝභිත හිමි, ගාමිණි ඉරියගොල්ල, බෙන්ගමුවේ නාලක හිමි, කිතලගම සරණංකර හිමි, ගාමිණි කිර්තිවන්ද්‍ර, පද්මා බේලි, හේවගේ ජයසේන වැන්නන් දේශප්‍රේමී කරලියට ගෙන ඒමට හෝ ඔවුන් සමඟ උරට උරදී **1980/90** දශකවල ඔහු වැඩ කල කෙනෙකි නැසී ගිය ආචාර්ය **DS** බණ්ඩාරගේ. මේ ලියුම්කරු, සිය පියා සමඟ 1980 මුල් භාගයේ දෙමල ත්‍රස්තවාදයට එරෙහිව. 13 අහෝසි කිරීම සඳහා 2012දී (උතුරු පළාත් සභා වන්දයට පෙර) ඉදිරියෙන්ම වැඩ කල කෙනෙක් (ඔහුගේ ලිපි/අත් පත්‍රිකා මෙහි lankawebහි archives ගොස් බලන්න.මා මිත්‍ර SL ගුණසේකර ආදරයෙන් මේ මොහොතේ සිහිපත් වේ). මේ

ලියුම්කරුට 'ත්‍රස්තවාදියා' කියා මෙහි (lankawebහි) දේශප්‍රේමියෙක් යයි කියාගන්නා කොමෙන්ට් ලියන කෙනෙක් වෙනත් වෙබ්සයිට් වල ගොස් කොමෙන්ට් දමන්නේ ඒ නිසා විය හැකියි – ධර්මපාල, සෝම හිමියන්ට පවා පහර ගැසූ සමාජයකින් ඊට වඩා වෙන කුමක් බලාපොරොත්තු වෙන්නද?

2012 අපගේ ඒ ක්‍රියාවන් ප්‍රධාන වශයෙන් අඩපන කලේ දේශප්‍රේමීන් යයි කියා ගන්න දේශපාලන පක්ෂ 2ක් (මේ පිලිබඳ ලිපියක් මතුවට). NPC යන වාහනය සාදා, විග්නේස්වාරන් නමැති බෙදුම්වාදියා නිර්මාණය කර, ඔහුට ඉදිරියේදී රට දෙකඩ කරන්න හැකි වාතාවරණය සහ ඉදිරියේදී මහා පෙරලි ඇති කරන්න අවස්ථා සලස්වා දුන්නේ දේශප්‍රේමී ලේබලය අලවා ගත් රජයක් නොවේද? අප දේශප්‍රේමීන් එදා නැගූ හඬ යම්තම්න්වත් ගණන් ගත්තේ නැහැ නේද?

ඉන්දියාව

අද ලංකාවේ වැඩියෙන්ම තියෙන්නේ ඉන්දීය වාහන (මරුටි, අල්ටෝ, බජාජ්, හින්දුස්ථාන්, ස්ටේටිස්මන්), ඉන්දීය බස් සහ ඉන්දීය දුම්රිය. ඉන්දීය බෙහෙත්, ඉන්දීය සරොන්, සාරි, කමීස. ඉන්දීය බොලිවූඩ්, ඉන්දීය තොසේ, වපාති, නාන්. ඉන්දීය ටෝච්, කුඩ, විවිධ උපකරණ (මෙවැනි භාණ්ඩ වල නිමක් නැත), ඉන්දීය ඇපලෝ රෝහල. ශල්‍යකර්ම වලට යන්නේ ඉන්දියාවට. ඉන්දියාව ඔයතරම් නරක නම් මුදල් දී මේවා ගන්නේ මන්ද?

ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ දුම්රිය සංවර්ධනය, විශාල පරිමානයේ නිවාස ව්‍යාපෘති (උතුරේ නිවාස 50,000ක්), සාම්පුර් ගල් අඟුරු බලාගාරය වෙනුවෙන් විශාල මුදල් පරිත්‍යාග කිරීමට ඉන්දියාව ඉදිරිපත්ව සිටියි. ඉන්දියාව ශ්‍රී ලංකාව වෙනුවෙන් ඩොලර් බිලියනයකට අධික මහා බැංකු ණය අයිරා (line of credit), විනිමය හුවමාරුතා ගිවුසුමක් (currency swap agreement) දැනටමත් ක්‍රියාත්මක වේ. මේවා ණය නොවේ; ආධාරයි. ඉන්දියාව නැත්නම් යාල්දේවි දුම්රිය සේවය නැවත පටන්ගත හැකි වෙදැයි සැකයකි. මන්නාරම දක්වා දුම්රිය මාර්ගය දැන් සාදා ගන යන්නේ මුලුමිනින්ම ඉන්දීය ආධාර වලින් (ණය නොවේ). 2004 සුනාමියේදී ලංකාවට වැඩිම ආධාර දුන්නේ ඉන්දියාවයි- ආධාර පිරි රෝහල් නැවක්ද සමඟ සෙසු රටවලට කලින් මුලින්ම අප රටට ආවේ ඉන්දියාවයි. ඉදිරියේදීත් මහා විපතක් වුනොත් මුලින්ම ආධාර දෙන්න ඉදිරිපත් වනුයේ ඉන්දියාවයි; එහි කිසිදු සැකයක් නැත. ඉන්දියාවෙන් ආධාර ලබා ගන ඒවා පාරිභෝජනය කරන අතර ඉන්දියාවට බැනීම වැනි ක්‍රියාවලට ඉංග්‍රීසියෙන් කියන්නේ hypocrisy කියායි

Fran Diaz Says:
Sri Lankans like Development too, not necessarily in the HK & S'pore style.....

 *Fran Diaz* Says:
I do heartily agree with Chanaka that DEVELOPMENT must happen.

 *Independent* Says:
වානක,
ඔබගේ මාතෘකාවට උත්තරය ‘‘නෑ’’ යන්නයි. මන්ද Hong Kong චීනයේ කොටසක් පමණි. ඔබ ලංකාව එසේ වියයුතුයි කීවොත් මම ‘‘නැත’’ කියමි. ඉන්දියානු වාහන අපේ රටේ මහා විපත්තියකි. විශේෂයෙන්ම බජාජ්.

ඔබ කියා ඇති බොගහෝ දේවල් ගැන එකහෙලාම එකඟයි.

 *Chanaka B* Says:
Fran, I clearly indicated when I say ‘Sri Lanka should be the Hong Kong of India ‘it is metaphorical (I used it like a proverb – (උපහැරණක් පමණයි) – read my article and also the comment to Lorenzo (9.24 pm – 12/9/15).

> Hong Kong became a part of China in 1998; but it is still considered a Special Administrative Zone. Prior to 1998 it was governed by the British. I was referring to Hong Kong in the 20th century, when it was governed by the British. The mainland land Chinese still need a visa to travel to Hong Kong.
>
> I emphasised it was an economic arrangement to provide goods and services to India, nothing else. If we can enter into favourable economic agreements with other countries, including China, we should do so. That is the pathway to become rich.
>
> I know ‘India bashing’ is a fashion; but, we should not forget about the Sri Lanka’s down trodden. Don’t we need foreign exchange to improve the standard of living of the extreme poor (surely, we cannot keep on going borrowing)? Hundreds and thousands of people live in appalling conditions – the expressways did not help them. Lots of people still do not have sanitation, pipe borne water and electricity, lots of people live in huts, not houses.
>
> It was Camern who flew to Jaffna Library by an Air Force helicopter to meet with Wigneswarn and ran a media circus; not Modi (the NPC ‘vehicle’ was created in 2012 which would be used to form the Eelam) Who invited Chanel

4 to this country? If we had the guts to abolish all provincial councils in 2009 soon after the war (through 2/3) or 2012 (through referendum plus 2/3), the country would have been saved.

What do you say to my 'hypocrisy' comments at 11.17 am on 13/9/15.

 *Lorenzo* Says:
Chanaka,

It will not work because the WAY the 2 countries do business is DIFFERENT.

 *Asanga* Says:
Chanaka,

With respect to the CEPA agreement, hoping for the Indians to stick to any clauses that are favorable to us and less for them, is like the Native Americans to have hoped that the United States government respected their mutual treaties.

Should India Bashing be a mere fad??No I think it should become a national pastime, and not only during a Cricket tournement!!!

 *Lorenzo* Says:
Actually I propose the exact opposite of what Chanaka says. SCRAP ALL business dealings

 *Independent* Says:
IF WE ARE AS POWERFUL ECONOMICALLY AS USA WE CAN "THINK " WHAT LORENZO IS ASKING TO DO. EVEN AUSTRALIA DARE NOT ANGER INDIANS AS THEY LOOSE BUSINESS.

 *Chanaka B* Says:
Asanga
I appreciate your comments
I appreciate there had been difficult moments in our relationship (India/Sri Lanka), that spans over thousands of years
I was concentrating on selling our goods and services to India; not India dumping goods on our doorstep.
I did say we can do business with India without CEPA
I did say I have reservations on the proposed bridge (due to Thamilnadu factor)
Subject to international law, if there is any country that wants to buy our goods and services, we should sell them. Whether that is Timbuktu or India, I wouldn't care. That is the best, significant way of earning valuable foreign exchange for the country
As stated before, we cannot go on borrowing from overseas (we are already in serious debt). And earning foreign exchange through exports is the best recepie to pay off debt and become rich
We must build an export oriented economy. India is the best place to send our goods (1.2 billion people, and a rising middle class)
Lorenzo said we should become China's 2nd Hong Kong. No one can build up export markets like that. It is a very difficult, pain staking exercise. Takes long time to build a business relationship. I do not think there are many things that China can buy from us, but we can certainly be the hub for India (due to proximity)
If India breaches the laws, there are remedies available. WTO in Geneva, Switzerland is the place to go for arbitration. If we do not use these resources available, it is our problem
Even now we send exports to India worth nearly $1 billion a year. The trade is flourishing between the two countries. 'Because of India is such a bad country' (this is India bashing by some Sinhalese), should we stop this?
One person mentioned he hates 'Indian Bajaj', but, everyone uses them in Sri Lanka. The quickest and cheapest mode of transport (the problem is that there are too many of them and young people think it is the best way to earn an income. India has nothing to do with that problem)
I did not mention outsourcing of services to India. It is not relevant to our trade with India. Manila is the outsourcing capital of the world
You said "Should India Bashing be a mere fad??No I think it should become a national pastime" – looks like we are talking about apples and oranges
'If Indians are so bad', why do we accept all the free aid from that she gives us? Why do we continue to send our patients to India and our children to study in

India? See what I mentioned about ‘hypocrisy’ in my comment above at 11.17 am on 13/9/15

 *Asanga* Says:
Chanaka,

Thank you for your response. Maybe I misunderstood what you meant when I read this paragraph in your article

මෑතක සිට අංග සම්පූර්ණවූ ආර්ථික සහයෝගිතා ගිවිසුමකට (CEPA – Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement) **එළඟෙන මෙන් ඉන්දියාව ශ්‍රී ලංකාවට උදක්ම ඇරයුම් කර සිටියි. මෙවැනි ගිවිසුමකින් ශ්‍රී ලංකාවට සමස්ථ ඉන්දියාවටම විශේෂ සහනදායි ක්‍රම වේදයක් තුලින් භාණ්ඩ අලෙවි කිරීමේ හැකියාව ලැබෙනු ඇත. මෙය ඉතා සතුදායක පුවතකි. නමුත් ඉන්දියාවටද එවැනි මාර්ගයක් ශ්‍රී ලංකාව තුල සැලසීමෙන්, ඉන්දියාවේ ලාභවූ බඩු භාණ්ඩ සීමාවක් නොමැතිව ශ්‍රී ලංකාවට ඒමට සැලස්වීමෙන් ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ අද පවත්නා කුඩා අපනයන ආරිථිකය සහ දේශීය ආර්ථිකය තවත් කඩා වැටීමකට ලක්වේදැයි සාධාරණ බියක් රට තුල පවතී**

From the ‘ **මෙය ඉතා සතුදායක පුවතකි.**’ I thought that you were very pleased to see such a partnership taking place, maybe I was wrong in my interpretation.
However I do see that you added a caution with that last sentence there-regarding breakdown of SL’s economy if we are flooded with cheap Indian stuff, which includes people wanting jobs as well.

The point I was trying to make is that it might not be the wisest of decisions to regard an official signing of any trade agreement with India with starry eyed optimism.

You said that we should seek help from the WTO in Geneva if there are breaches of the laws by India. I am sorry, maybe I am getting really skeptical in my old age, but the ability for any organization based in the west for offering a Balanced, non-biased solution (without wanting something in return) seems again to be a bit too unrealistic.

I do agree with you, it all seems very hypocritical, our University students use Indian edition books over the original texts to save costs; the same can be said for sending our kids to their Universities for education.

But none of that was donated to us, sending children to study in India, and so on. We still have to pay for all that. Not as much as for sending them to Australia or the US, but still we pay.

Again, to reiterate my one and only point here- CEPA seems a very unwise thing to sign for, given the current situation in India economically, which is not as rosy as they might paint it.

You did not mention outsourcing to India, that is true. I mentioned it, in order to say something about the way the things are heading employment-wise, across the world. It was meant to illustrate the fact again, that India is not doing too hot these days economically, relatively speaking. (Note I said relatively speaking, compared to the boom of the circa. 2005-2012 or so era. I am sure you can show me statistics about how their economy is still growing, in absolute terms)

Let's do trade, I am all for it. But please let's not sign any agreement that will have their unemployed professionalls flooding our country and taking the jobs away from our own.

The India bashing comment I made was merely a tongue in cheek one; but at the same time I was saying we should never stop being vigilant about the motivations and intentions of our neighbour.

 *Chanaka B* Says:
Asanga

I am glad you said "Let's do trade, I am all for it". This is exactly what I am saying too

About CEPA, I also said the following:

CEPA ඇතුව හෝ නැතුව, වේගයෙන් සංවර්ධනය වන ඉන්දියාවට භාණ්ඩ සහ සේවා සැපයීමෙන් (හොංකොං චීනයට සැපයුවා මෙන්) අපට 'ඉන්දියාවේ හොංකොං' බවට පත්විය හැක

අප CEPA අත්සන් නොකළ යුතුයයි මේ ලිපිකරු කිසිසේත් නොකියයි. ඔහු කියනුයේ CEPA අත්සන් කිරීමට නම් අපට මීට වඩා වෙළඳ වාසි ලබා දිය යුතු යයි කියායි

CEPA හෝ එවැනි ගිවිසුමක් අත්සන් කිරීමට ප්‍රථම (කලින් කි පරිදි තවම එයට අවසන් අවස්ථාව මේ නොවේ) ශ්‍රී ලංකාව තමන්ට ඉතා වාසි සහගත කොන්දේසි එම ගිවිසුමට අඩංගු කර ගත යුතුය. මේ සඳහා ජාත්‍යන්තර නීති, ජාත්‍යන්තර වෙළඳ නීති පිළිබඳව කෘතහස්ත දැනුම ඇති නිතීන්ඥයන්ගෙන් උපදෙස් ලබා ගැනීම අනිවාර්යවේ

CEPA අත්සන් කිරීමට ප්‍රථම අප රටේ දේශීය නිෂ්පාදන අරක්ෂා කර ගැනීමට බලපාන වගන්ති එහි අඩංගු කර ගත යුතුය. CEPA අත්සන් කිරීමට නම් ඉන්දියාව අපේ මුහුදේ කරන නීති විරෝධී මත්ස්‍ය ඇල්ලීම (මේ මගින් වසරකට ශ්‍රී ලංකාවට වන පාඩුව ඩොලර් බිලියනයකට වැඩිය) සම්පූර්ණයෙන්ම තහනම් කරන වගන්ති CEPAහි අඩංගු කර ගත යුතුය. මේවා අමාරු කාර්යන් වුවත් දක්ෂ නිතීන්ඥයන්ට/ සන්නිවේදකයන්ට අපහසු කාර්යයන් නොවේ

දැනට, අප දෙරට අතර 1998 දී අත්සන් කල නිදහස් වෙළඳ ගිවිසුමේ (FTA- Free Trade Agreement) හි ඇති අඩුපාඩු, ශ්‍රී ලංකාවට අහිතකරවූ වගන්ති (බොහෝ වේ) CEPA හි අඩංගු නොවීමට අපගේ පාර්ශවය පැත්තෙන් අප වග බලා ගත යුතුවේ

CEPA ඇතුව හෝ නැතුව, වේගයෙන් සංවර්ධනය වන ඉන්දියාවට භාණ්ඩ සහ සේවා සැපයීමෙන් (හොංකොං චීනයට සැපයුවා මෙන්) අපට 'ඉන්දියාවේ හොංකොං' බවට පත්විය හැක

I agree people send their relatives to India for health and education and other purposes and they pay for these services. The question is with the type of India bashing in Sri Lanka (this website is the example) I find it difficult to understand why people still do these things. One person in another article in this website on the same topic stated that India is a 'vicious, beggar' and that 'internationally India is poorer than us' (but, we are not a member of G20, APEC and BRICS but India). If India is so bad why should we accept and enjoy all the free aid from India (I outlined them in my article and comments). India has given us things free – I am not sure about the proposed Sampur, China has given us loans, except the Port City; both are now very good friends and import trade partners of Sri Lanka. Let's move on and make

our small, beautiful and beloved country prosperous.  *Chanaka B* Says: should read as:both are now very good friends and important trade partners of Sri Lanka. Let's move on and make our small, beautiful and beloved country prosperous.

Sri Lanka should be the 'Hong Kong of India' - *this only means Sri Lanka should become prosperous 'by riding on the back of India'; it does not mean Sri Lanka should be subservient to India*

Lankaweb; posted on September 5th, 2015

Chanaka Bandarage

No one would disagree that Hong Kong rode to its prosperity on the back of China (after the Chinese Revolution, Hong Kong underwent a rapid and successful process of industrialization, from the late 1940s, and became a rich nation).

After the liberalisation of China's trade (Chairman Deng's Open Door Policy' in the late 1970s), Hong Kong grabbed the opportunity and increased its trade with China by tenfold. Within few years, the tiny Hong Kong's exports to China surpassed its imports from China.

When it comes to India, Sri Lanka is today placed in a similar position as that of Hong Kong.

India is a significant global player and it is estimated that economically it may surpass China (given China's fast ageing population and the gender imbalance), and it has the ability to become the world's biggest economy.

Unlike how Hong Kong prospered thanks to China (Hong Kong is located in very close proximity to China); Sri Lanka (located in very close proximity to India), has thus far been unable to grab the opportunity and capitalise on India's growth.

India had closer to a double digit GDP growth in the past decade, but, as stated before, Sri Lanka failed to capitalise on this.

In the past ten years Sri Lanka 'put all its eggs only in the China basket'. After the war, it sadly developed a relationship of mistrust and annoyance with India (true, Thamilnadu created the problem, but, Sri Lanka diplomatically failed to secure New Delhi's support).

Sri Lanka failed to realise that it cannot rise to prosperity by riding solely on the back of China, but, it could comfortably do so by riding on the back of India.

Indeed, China is an excellent friend for Sri Lanka. This has been the case historically. Sri Lanka should be ever grateful for China's help afforded to Sri Lanka during many difficult times. But, China is too far away from Sri Lanka and it is very 'different' than that of Sri Lanka. On the other hand, Sri Lanka and India are very similar when it comes to many things such as the culture, food, attire, language (English is well spoken in both countries; also, Sinhala (a Sanskrit) and Tamil, an Indian language), sports, religion, values and traditions and physical characteristics of the people. The fact that Sri Lanka's first King (Prince Vijaya) was an Indian (from Bengal) and that Sri Lanka's third King, Panduwasdewa, was married to a blood relative of Lord Buddha (Princess Bhaddha Kachchayana of the 'Shakya Wangsha'), are notable and significant features of the relationship.

Furthermore, Sri Lanka and India are separated only by a short stretch of the sea and apart from the examples in the preceding paragraph, excellent, brotherly relations have existed between the two nations from

time immemorial (of course, despite animosities between Sri Lanka and Thamilnadu). India as a nation has never invaded Sri Lanka in a war like manner. Sri Lanka's Anagarika Dharmapala was a person who recently brought the two countries closer. Another was Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaike.

In the past decade, India's exports to Sri Lanka almost doubled, Sri Lanka failed to keep pace with the growth of its exports to India.

The recent Sri Lankan governments (in the past 20 years), rather than building a manufacturing and productivity based economy, focused on a service based economy (it was the 'easy way out'). Thus, such unproductive and non-manufacturing ventures like communication centres, beauty palours, trishaw taxis (there are over one million of them in the country), importation and distribution of illicit drugs such as heroin and ecstasy, betting centres, lottery sales centres, small-scale casinos, massage parlours in the guise of Ayurveda centres, private tuition centres (even Sinhala, Buddhism and History are taught for school children in these centres), variety of international schools and tourism based industries (the latter is somewhat good) mushroomed in the country. They became the whole mark of the country's economy. These ventures, though created jobs, generated no or less GDP for the economy. The governments by trying to reduce the country's unemployment, gave jobs as public servants to thousands of people who supported them politically during elections (these were not merit based appointments, hence the lethargic and corrupt public service that we have today).

The governments not knowing how to create employment for its citizens (both skilled and unskilled workers) encouraged them to leave the country in search of the 'greener pastures'. Lots of women ended up working as domestic maids in Middle Eastern countries (stories have emerged that some of them have been treated like slaves) and lots of men were found jobs in South Korea. The governments were

unconcerned in paying attention to the adverse socio, cultural and psychological effects of the family members that were left in the country, caused as a result of the mass migration of people to overseas countries. Drastic stories have emerged about the plight of children and elderly who were left in their respective homes helpless. The governments liked the idea that its citizens left its shores as their remittance became the biggest source of revenue for them. The rulers plundered and mismanaged the public wealth from the left, right and the centre.

The governments borrowed heavily, especially in the past 10 years, the injection of such monies to the economy created somewhat an artificial growth in the GDP (of 6%). Today, Sri Lanka is a hugely debt ridden country, its foreign debt alone has exceeded US$25 billion (?), which is far too much for a country of the size of Sri Lanka. The country owes money to other sources too, including local banks and various employee trust funds.

Unlike in the 1960s and 70s, where governments helped to build a strong manufacturing/productivity base economy, in the last 35+ years, large numbers of small factories, textile mills and small businesses were compelled to be closed down. Local businesses were unable to compete with the influx of cheap Chinese, Taiwanese and Indian exports to the country. Like few third world countries have done in the past 20 years, Sri Lanka failed to become a newly developed country (apart from corruption, mismanagement and maladministration, the effects of the war was a major impediment for the country's development).

Today in Sri Lanka, almost everything is imported, including the country's main staple diet, rice. Basically Sri Lanka today has very few items available to export to India (or to any other any country); except things like fish harvested from the sea, some agricultural/horticultural products and a few value added items imported from other countries for the sole purpose of re-export. The irony is that this is a country that

once produced fine electrical and electronic items, textiles, furniture, handicraft, confectionaries, tyres, bicycles, batteries, razor blades, perfumes and even motor cars.

During 2011/12, India's exports to Sri Lanka amounted to $4.3 billion, Sri Lanka's exports to India during the same period amounted to only $721 million. The total bilateral trade is earmarked to reach $10 billion in the near future; the trade balance will continue to be very much in favour of India.

Since of late, India has been pressurising Sri Lanka to sign CEPA – 'Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement'. No doubt that such an agreement would provide Sri Lanka preferential access to the very large Indian market, but due to CEPA, the country could be flooded with cheap Indian exports. They can destroy the country's remaining, very small scale production/manufacturing based economy. The writer does not say that Sri Lanka should flatly say 'no' to CEPA, he states Sri Lanka should use CEPA as a bargaining tool to obtain more favourable trade advantages from India. For example, Sri Lanka should ask India to rectify the anomalies (several) in the Free Trade Agreement (FTA) that both countries signed in 1998. Sri Lanka should demand that it should be given export access to the entire Indian market, with zero tariffs (1.2 billion people!). If the latter could be achieved (a difficult task, but a possibility), Sri Lanka should be able to sign CEPA.

Furthermore, prior to signing CEPA, Sri Lanka should implement adequate measures to protect its local industries from the possible massive scale intrusion of Indian products into the country. An intelligent and a tactful Sri Lankan leadership should be able to successfully achieve this.

This is the time for Sri Lanka to negotiate with India on trade and obtain the best economic outcome for itself. Sri Lanka should seriously

ask India to stop poaching on her waters which causes US$1 billion loss to Sri Lanka per year (this could be a pre-condition to signing CEPA).

If Sri Lanka foolishly enters into trade agreements, international contracts etc with overseas countries (including that of India), without obtaining competent legal counsel (some of the past foolish examples are the Hedging deal, Air Lanka agreement, Cairns oil contract, Shell gas deal, IOC deal etc), it is the innocent public who will pay the ultimate price for the huge misdeeds of the politicians. The few examples cited herein brought forth billions of dollars of losses to Sri Lanka.

Now that Sri Lanka has a new government and India's Mr Modi has extended the true hand of friendship to Sri Lanka, if wise and intelligent, this is the opportunity for Sri Lanka to grab and try to become the 'Hong Kong of India' (note the remarkable turnaround in the relationship between the two nations – in 2013 India even boycotted CHOGM; the year prior to that it co-sponsored a resolution against Sri Lanka at the UNHRC in Geneva).

If Sri Lanka (still, very much a third world country), wants to become rich capitalising on India's massive economic growth (the Indian middle class alone is more than 250 million, by 2025, this number is likely to increase to 550 million); it should evaluate (before signing CEPA) what goods it could and should produce for the Indian market. For example, if properly planned, Sri Lanka can be a large scale food and agro business supplier for India (notably, things like tea, spices, fresh fruits, vegetables and flowers (true, India is the world's largest tea producer, but, there is a scarcity of tea in India, and there is the tremendous potential to introduce 'Ceylon Tea' (the world's finest) in India, in a very big scale).

If Sri Lanka is to sign CEPA, Sri Lanka should ask as a precondition that India should assist Sri Lanka to become the logistic hub to various

production chains in India. Few industry examples that come to the writer's mind are automobile and IT components, manufacturing of pharmaceutical products, electrical machinery and parts and food processing products.

In this regard, the new Sri Lankan government must work hard in creating these opportunities for Sri Lankan companies. Creating new economic zones solely for the purpose of manufacturing products for India is a good idea. Since land is in scarcity in most parts of Sri Lanka and they being closely located to India, such economic zones can be established (with Indian aid) in the North, South and East of Sri Lanka (for example, in Kilinochchi, Hambanthota port area and Trincomalee respectively), but, all Sri Lankans should be able to work in those ventures.

India has agreed to spend money on Sri Lanka's Railway projects, massive scale housing developments in the North and the Sampur Power plant project. It has offered millions of dollars as lines of credit to Sri Lanka, also a massive currency swap agreement that is currently in place. Sri Lanka should accept these gifts with gratitude. This is in addition to the US$5 billion (or more) that India's private sector is earmarked to invest in Sri Lanka in the coming years. India is Sri Lanka's largest source of foreign tourists.

But, it is still too early for Sri Lanka to say 'yes' to the rail and road link that India wants to build at its own cost (an ADB loan project) over the Palk Strait from Dhanushkodi to Talaimannar. Naturally, due to Thamilnadu hostility, the people in Sri Lanka has a strong reservation about this proposed mega-project; despite the fact that it could bring huge and unprecedented level of economic benefits to Sri Lanka, including a tenfold increase in tourist numbers, especially thousands of new European and US tourists that will travel from India to Sri Lanka by rail or road. It is up to the new Sri Lankan government to convince its people as to why this new rail/road bridge is necessary and that it is

not harmful to Sri Lanka's sovereignty and territorial integrity. For this, the new government will have a lot of explaining to do to its people.

Chanaka Bandarage
srilankasupportgroup@bigpond.com

19 Responses to "Sri Lanka should be the Hong Kong of India"


Ananda-USA Says:
The FIRST Ray of HOPE for Sri Lankan Patriots EMERGES as MPs of MINOR constituents parties and SOME SLFP MPs move to form a NEW Opposition block in Parliament.


Ananda-USA Says:
LIES, MORE LIES, and MORE GOD-DAMN LIES howled in venomous rage by the ……


Independent Says:
It doesn't work this way……


Charles Says:
It is a good article but I have still not finised reading it. India is paranoic. Whay has it got to be frightened


Charles Says:
It is a good article but I have still not finised reading it. India is paranoic.


Fran Diaz Says:
Hong Kong & Singapore are British creations……


Lorenzo Says:
I DISAGREE.


Chanaka B Says:
I am not suggesting that Sri Lanka should become a satellite state of India. What I have outlined is purely an economic arrangement – supplying goods and services to the huge Indian market of 1.2 billion people. This is creating a Win/Win

situation for both countries, the benefits to Sri Lanka will be huge. This has nothing to do with our sovereignty.

When we are only 20 km away from India, and when Mr Modi is extending the hand of genuine friendship, why not grab it and create opportunities for all Sri Lankans?

We cannot continue to live in 3rd world conditions, it is time that we become a rich nation. This Indian opportunity that I am proposing is the best available one at the moment.

It is a shortcut to prosperity.

If we miss the 'bus' (again), there may be no other bus to catch. Either Nepal or Bangladesh can become the 'Hong Kong of India'; so. again, we should not let this golden opportunities go by.

We could do this only now as India was not friendly with the previous regime. Emphasis added – we have to do this in friendship and co-operation with India (that is how Hong Kong did it with China, especially during China's 'Open Policy' period). And now is the best time to do it. India is ready, are we ready also? I am not sure about us.

We have to revive many things – CEPA, the new rail/road project, the Indian economic zones in Sri Lanka, incentives for Sri Lankan exporters are just a few to mention here.

The Prime Minister's forthcoming visit to India is very important. This will be a groundbreaking visit.

I am not proposing Sri Lanka should stop trading with other nations like China, Russia, US, Japan etc. We should trade with the whole world. I am saying it is only for India that we can become a hub to export goods and services. There is no other country available (proximity is the key).

The biggest problem at the moment is that we do not have enough products (and services?) to offer to India. We cannot do this with the many thousands of communication centres, beauty palours and the one million three wheeler cabs we have now. We must build a strong productivity/manufacturing base. Sadly, the country is producing very few things. During the past 35 years we almost destroyed everything what we built after the independence – during the 50s to 70s. But, there is a lot of potential in Sri Lanka to build,rebuild and improve, and to 'take off' to become the 'Hong Kong of India'. The biggest asset we have is our remarkable workforce.

One can say hundreds of negative things about India (Lorenzo's Endia), but, they will not take us anywhere. India today is vastly different to what it was 25 years ago.

Giving Land and Police powers to the Provinces is dangerous – it should not happen

Courtesy – *Huffington Post; October 2013*

Chanaka Bandarage; Sri Lanka Support Group, Canberra

News emanating from Sri Lanka shows that there is tendency to give land and Police powers to the Provincial Governments including the Northern and Eastern provincial governments. The Sri Lankan Government is under tremendous pressure both from India and some powerful western nations, it is quite probable that the ultimate political package can contain giving these powers to the Provinces.

It is to be noted that the CHOGM, to be held in Sri Lanka in 2013, will give enemies of Sri Lanka the opportunity to exert enormous pressure on the Sri Lankan government to give wider powers to Northern and Eastern provincial governments. For example, the Canadian Prime Minister has already stated he will not attend CHOGM in Sri Lanka unless Sri Lanka gives more benefits to the minority Tamils. Such stance can be anticipated from the British, Australian, New Zealand and even South African leaders.

We note that most of the positive social cultural activities conducted by the Sri Lankan Army in the Northern province, including running of cafes etc, are under threat to be stopped or have already been stopped. The Army does not now hold most of the land in the Jaffna HSZ zone. The Government is under enormous pressure to reduce the troop numbers in the north, if this is carried out, it will be a major threat to the country's sovereignty.

Why is it that giving Land and Police powers to the Provinces too dangerous?

This means they will have the sole power to legislate in relation to land and Police. Then, basically the provincial governments can sell, transfer, lease, mortgage, donate, and acquire land anyway they like within the province. This is exactly what the LTTE fought for. Now the TNA has taken over the cause that the LTTE had left (when the LTTE was alive, they were their political proxy). It seems the TNA demands that they will not talk to the government unless land and Police powers are part of the political package.

It is to be noted that Sri Lanka is very small and it is currently jam-packed with an ever-growing population. There is hardly any space left in the South for human expansion. The only areas available for future human habitation/expansion is in the Northern and Eastern provinces. Once the central government loses entire control of these areas, there is absolutely no way that people from other provinces can live in these areas. This will be a grossly unfair situation for the rest of the people. The Constitution articulates free movement of the peoples.

Once they have land power, these provincial governments can effectively (legally) block the southerners from not only buying land but also visiting those areas.

Once these two powers are given, if the two provincial governments want (they will be hostile to Sri Lanka anyway), they can give land to their counterparts in India, bypassing the central Government. It will be easy for such enemies of Sri Lanka like Vaiko, Nedumaran, and Seeman et al to set up even para military style camps in Sri Lanka on the invitation of the Chief Ministers of the two provinces. After vesting Police powers with the Northern and Eastern provincial governments,

boatloads of illegal immigrants can freely sail from India to Sri Lanka. Some can come in the guise of fishermen. The illegal migration of Tamils into Sri Lanka is not an old phenomenon, it has happened since time immemorial. This activity can flourish under the new powers given to the future Northern and Eastern provincial governments.

The Police positions - IGP downwards in the provinces will be appointed by the Chief Ministers of the provincial governments. With time, these two Police forces will exclusively have Tamil speaking people serving them, with a Tamil speaking Muslim component in the Eastern Police force (note the Muslims are also demanding the two powers, with the TNA). The two Chief Ministers will have the power to disallow the Sinhalese from joining their Police forces. We see how the current Eastern Province Chief Minister et al are even now trying to remove Sinhalese people who live in the marginal villages of the Eastern province. Once the full Police powers are given (it will be like their own para-military force), they can do what they now do illegally.

Once these two powers are granted, it is possible for the two provinces to re-merge and then make a claim to secede from Sri Lanka. They may then have the key ingredients for claiming a separate nation of their own. The international law is so developed now, we live in an era where new nations are constantly being created. Kosovo is a creation entirely by the international world – it was created despite severe opposition by its former 'owner' Serbia. Serbia had the support of Russia and China, but, still failed to hold on to Kosovo. Other examples of the creation of new countries are –South Sudan, East Timor, Eritrea, South Ossetia, Abkhazia and Ingushetia, Then, all the new nations that emerged from the old Soviet Union.

Under enormous pressure from India, in 1987, JR Jayawardane, introduced the provisional government system in Sri Lanka. This has caused untold problems in Sri Lanka, and the problems continue. The system has made Sri Lanka poorer. Previously the people had to put up with corruption by the centralized government only. After 1987, corruption spreaded like a cancer to the provincial levels. The country's bureaucracy increased tremendously, it cannot sustain such an array of legislatures and bureaucrats, most of who are unsuitable for the jobs and cause much problems to the country.

Prior to 1978, Sri Lanka was served under the 'Saulbury Constitution' which was slightly amended by the Sirima Bandaranaike Government in 1972. Under the old Constitution, Sri Lanka had a strong centralised government, which served the country remarkably well. Parliamentary democracy flourished where Independent MPs were elected to the parliament defeating candidates from the two dominant parties (this can never happen under the current electoral system).

Sri Lanka is simply too small and too poor to be governed by provincial governments (9), with a central government in the Centre; then also an Executive President.

We must not forget that the country's armed forces made supreme sacrifices to preserve the sovereignty and territorial integrity. If land and Police powers are given to the two provinces in question, the supreme sacrifices that the armed forces made may be in venin.

We must understand that there is no ethnic problem in Sri Lanka. Only there was a terrorism problem which was resolved in 2009. Now the country's two main communities are living in harmony like loving siblings of one family. This should be encouraged. Land, Police powers, creating a Senate will not build the unity between the two peoples, but

division. Like what they are doing now, the Government must try to uplift the standard of living of all the peoples including those in the Northern and Eastern provinces. Then, the standard of living of the people will increase. During Mrs Bandaranaike's regime of 1970 to 1977, the northern farmers were greatly benefitted. That is why they voted for Hector Kobbekaduwa in large numbers at the Presidential election in 1982. They wanted to show gratitude to his good work as a Minister who helped to increase the country's food production.

True, the Government is under enormous pressure from India and some western states to create a federal system (giving these two powers will solidify the current federal system). Let us hope that the country's leaders will have the courage not to succumb to this enormous pressure. All peoples of the country must support the Government in its endeavour to keep its unitary nature, including the opposition. Currently this is not happening. Even the JVP now seems to favour the giving of land and Police powers. This is for their sheer political advantage. There is hardly any opposition in the country against the proposal of giving land and Police powers, albeit a handful of Government ministers, who may change their stand in time to come. Once they too approve the proposal, it will be very difficult for the masses to oppose.

Creating a Senate is not going to serve any purpose for Sri Lanka. It will be another layer of government (Sri Lanka is one of the most highly governed countries of the world). This will be an opportunity to create more and more politicians and bureaucrats, who will thrive on the limited resources available to the whole country, where a large number of people still live in utmost poverty.

The most important thing is to show to the entire world including India that Sri Lanka is looking after its Tamil minority well (which is a fact),

Tamils are happy and they are economically progressing; it is impractical to create such a federal system in Sri Lanka as demanded by India and some western nations. In relation to the 13th Amendment, it is functioning, the country has not dismantled the provisional government system, although it is an unworkable system for the country. There is nothing in the 1987 India – Sri Lanka pact that states that land and Police powers must be given to the two provinces. It is up to the Sri Lankan Government, in accordance with the Constitution, to determine what powers should be given to the two provinces, and what powers should be held exclusively by the centre. This is an internal issue for Sri Lanka. If the Government now states that the land powers were always given by the 13th Amendment (enacted as a result of the India – Sri Lanka pact, 1987), but were suppressed; there is no need to lift the supersession now. In this Media Release we have shown the dangers of giving such powers to the two (2) Provincial Councils in question.

What India is asking is that Sri Lanka should enforce the 13th amendment to the letter. The country has not dismantled the provisional government system, despite the fact that it is a costly, unworkable system for the country. India and Sri Lanka are two different countries. Federal system may work in India, which is a huge country. It had separate states in the past, but, Sri Lanka has always been a one nation.

The most important thing is for Sri Lanka to show the entire world, including India, that Sri Lanka is looking after its Tamil minority well (which is a fact), Tamils are happy and they are economically progressing; it is impractical to create such a federal system in Sri Lanka as demanded by India and some western nations.

Because the current Government has messed up its foreign policy so badly and has cultivated 'enemies' almost everywhere (even our 'big brother' India), we do not receive friendly assistance that we desperately need from other nations. The western nations that attack us, including Japan, have been excellent friends of Sri Lanka in the past. Germany was a major financial donor for Sri Lanka. The current government's belief that 'China will be there for us always, for everything' is a foolish policy (China's support for Sri Lanka is most welcome and should be much appreciated).

In relation to the war crimes allegations made against Sri Lanka, Sri Lanka now correctly states that it will investigate each and every credible allegation of war crimes as put to them and will prosecute those who have allegedly offended. It is up to the those who make the allegations to provide particulars of the alleged atrocities. Sri Lanka cannot conduct an investigation based on a TV documentary, parts of which are fabricated anyway.

Overall, Sri Lanka is an independent sovereign nation; other nations have no right to interfere into her affairs, unless very serious human rights violations have taken place. Then the government must investigate. Again, the serious allegations waged by Channel 4 are fabrications. It is not to be forgotten that very serious human rights violations have taken place, and may still be taking place in the rich west. They do not want others' to investigate their affairs, but, they continue to pick on tiny Sri Lanka. This is because we have not run our foreign policy effectively. Our leaders have not shown skill and vision as how to handle foreign relations. Thus, the country is paying a huge price.

There is an obligation on Sri Lankan Patriotic organisations operating in the western countries to explain to those governments and agencies about the correct situation in Sri Lanka. We must highlight the hidden agenda of some of the Tamil Diaspora organisations – ie, create a separate state, - a 'Tamil Ealam' in Sri Lanka.

Sri Lanka Support Group (Global), srilankasupportgroup@bigpond.com

Mega Projects is not the way; but, Small Business (Microcredit)
Posted on August 16th, 2015

Chanaka Bandarage

Politicians love megaprojects. They know it is not their money that they spend. In megaprojects, they often enrich themselves through massive commissions and other unethical ways. At the end of the megaproject, they revel in trying to obtain the credit for themselves, even if it was a failure.

According to Professor Bent Flyvbjerg of University of Oxford, nine out of ten megaprojects in the world end up in failure. The biggest drawback in megaprojects is the cost overruns. In the US alone, about 65% of the megaprojects have failed ('Infrastructure Intelligence', September 2014). In Sri Lanka, the biggest drawbacks are the waste, mismanagement and massive corruption.

In Sri Lanka, we first experienced a megaproject in the then government's accelerated Mahaveli program. True, Mahaveli opened up thousands of new agricultural land and volumes of hydro power, but, it also caused severe environmental damage. Large swaths of fertile land (eg. rich fertile lands of Teldeniya) went under water and thousands of people were forcibly uprooted from their ancestral lands. Thanks to Mahaveli, the human – elephant conflict took an adverse upturn. Hundreds and thousands of virgin forests were cleared for the new settlers. The deforestation blocked ancient elephant corridors. Other wildlife too lost their habitats; they either became extinct or endangered. Veddah communities lost land that they had enjoyed from time immemorial. In some areas, due to the building of huge dams, the

healthy Mahaveli almost ended up ‘dead’. The large, shark-like fish (some capable of growing to over 8 feet in length) that roamed Mahaveli are no more; they have disappeared forever.

In the last ten years we have seen the emergence of megaprojects in Sri Lanka on an unprecedented scale* The Hambanthota Port (Rs 36,100 million), Mattala Airport (Rs 21,000 million), Sooriyawewa Cricket ground (Rs 4,000 million), the new expressways (Rs 70,000 million), Uma Oya project (Rs.76,316 million) are just a few examples (*the author is unable to confirm the accuracy of the megaproject costs stated herein; the records were obtained from reputed sources).

The then government was hell-bent on developing Hambanthota into a ‘concrete jungle’. Was it necessary to do that? They even wanted to hold the Commonwealth Games there after building an Olympic style stadium including an athletes’’ village, a modern swimming pool, basketball/netball/tennis and badminton courts, a velodrome, and a gymnasium!

The question that needs to be asked is why do we not leave the ‘sleepy’ Hambanthota on its own; so that its authenticity and natural charm can be preserved (the place where Lenord Woolf’s Silindu and his two daughters, Punchi Menika and Hinnihami ‘lived’). Hambanthota is a beautiful, rural location which is in very close proximity to Sri Lanka’s large wildlife parks, Yala, Uda Walawe and Bundala. There is no need to create a ‘new Colombo’ in Hambanthota. We already have enough ‘concrete jungles’ in Sri Lanka.

To create the new port in Hambanthota, one of Sri Lanka’s most beautiful beaches was mercilessly dug up, thus that fabulous beach was denied to future generations forever.

What the then government should have done was to expand the existing harbor in Galle (130 km from Hambanthota). Galle is much closer to

the busiest east-west international shipping route (where more than 1,000 ships ply a day), than Hambanthota. Galle is a superb harbor built by the Dutch in the 17th century. Infrastructure and manpower for a world class port were already available there.

The building of a second airport in Hambanthota was unnecessary. Any proper feasibility study would have revealed that such an airport was doomed to fail. What the then government should have done was to expand the current Katunayake airport. For this, land adjoining the airport, belonging to the SLBC, Air Force, CGR and private owners should have been acquired, after paying due compensation. Any developed country needs a modern, sophisticated airport located closely to its capital/main city. In Sri Lanka, all energy and resources should have been utilised to develop Karunanayake, so that it could compete in equal terms with such world class airports as Singapore, Hong Kong, Bangkok and Kuala Lampur. Spending money to build a new airport in remote Hambanthota was definitely a mistake. When Katunayake is unavailable, planes can land in Chennai or Bangalore – they are close enough international airports for the purpose of emergency landings.

There was absolutely no necessity to spend Rs 4 billion to build a floodlit cricket stadium in Sooriyawewa, Hambanthota. Thanks to Sooriyawewa, the fine cricket stadium in Dambulla has almost become obsolete. On a per capita basis, Sri Lanka (still a 3rd world country) has more international cricket stadiums than any other ICC nation.

When Mattala and Sooriyawewa were built, thousands of acres of virgin forests (connected to Yala, Bundala and Panama) were cleared – they were the former roaming grounds of the wild elephants and other wildlife. We hear reports how important wildlife such as elephants, peacocks, monkeys etc are being killed on a daily basis in this area, as those animals now have less space to roam. Elephants have died of electrocution as well.

The Uma Oya project has already caused enormous health, hygiene and livelihood problems to sections of people in Uva, especially in Bandarawela, Badulla areas. Lots of drinking water wells and even some water falls have gone dry. True, Uma Oya will help to cultivate more land in Wellassa plus the generation of new hydroelectricity, but its adverse effects on the people and the environment (note the massive impending de-forestation) needs to be given high consideration.

Despite certain environmental concerns and earlier frequent breakdowns, the megaproject, Norochchalai coal power station, is a success story. It currently provides 400 MW to the national grid. The government spent a massive Rs 134,100 million for the project, some say the end cost was three times more than the initial estimate. Let's hope that Sampur coal power station (500 MW) will also be successful.

The previous government spent billions of rupees on new expressways. Today, not many vehicles ply on them; lots of people are unable to pay even the toll to use them. Sri Lanka is still largely an agrarian society where only about 20% of the population own a vehicle (excluding the owners of three wheeler taxis). Building high speed motorways is not a must for Sri Lanka, just because many other countries have them.

Tiny Sri Lanka is only of 65,600 sq km. What Sri Lanka requires is a well carpeted network of roads everywhere, including in rural areas. Preferably they should be dual track on the main highways. The burning transport problem in Sri Lanka is the lengthy traffic jams in major cities especially in Colombo and the dilapidated roads of the interior. Everyone knows that the bottlenecks created by the new Expressways have exacerbated Colombo's traffic congestion.

These traffic jams are a major impediment for attracting foreign investment and tourism promotion. Instead of spending large amounts of money on expressways that extend to very remote areas like Hambanthota, the government should have given top priority to fixing

the traffic problem in Colombo and other major cities like Kandy, Kurunegala etc (repeat, this is a major problem for Sri Lanka).

To ease the huge Colombo traffic congestion during the working week, where applicable, the government should have erected more traffic lights, widened the streets, created new alternative roads, built more overhead bridges and even considered building underground road tunnels.

Also, the interior village roads (and bridges) should have been upgraded. Most of these roads are not tarmacked and are in pathetic condition. When rural roads are improved, farmers will be able to sell their produce speedily and at a reasonable price (where trucks and lorries can reach the villages directly).

Thanks to the Southern and Katunayake Expressways one could see how fertile rubber estates and paddy fields have been divided into two. As a result, the adverse impact on the economy must be huge. Large, dark swaths of land (due to lack of sunlight) that lie under these giant concrete structures are now unproductive and cannot be used for any purpose. They are an eyesore too. Contrary to what was anticipated, foreign tourists who travel to Galle prefer taking the Galle Road instead of the expressway. The former is more scenic, lively and refreshing (runs parallel to the coast). The roadside businesses, especially restaurants that operated on the Galle Road had a massive economic setback. On the expressways, one could see the carcasses of dead wildlife, especially alligators that get killed by vehicles, when they cross the expressways.

The writer is not implying that these expressway projects were an entire waste of money, he states they were not the priority for the nation. Given the country's small size, high costs of these projects, and of course the serious damage to the environment; the government should have concentrated on micro development rather than macro

development solely. For example, when the majority of the population still commute on jam packed rickety old buses and trains, where patients still sleep on fly infested floors in public hospitals, where school children lack desks and chairs in many remote schools and where sewer and garbage disposal in the main cities is a major environmental and health hazard (the list is endless), governments should have been wiser to identify these major problems and attended to them first, giving top, urgent priority. What is important is that the governments must assist people directly, not doing things from the periphery. The governments must have the intellect and the capacity to understand the people's real needs and assist them directly. This is not a time to do experiments or waste valuable time and money.

It is rumored that thanks to the Karunanayake Expressway, politicians (from both sides of the politics) grabbed and acquired valuable state land for themselves. Even the most precious Muthurajawela marshy land was not spared.

The writer acknowledges that the Mathara and Katunayake expressways are now built and though there are genuine environmental and other concerns, they do serve a purpose. He states it is not required to extend them beyond Mathara and Katunayake respectively, to remote areas where traffic congestion is not an issue. He believes given that work has already commenced on the Kandy expressway, that project should be carried out to the finish, if the environmental impact assessment for same is favourable. There is absolutely no need to build a Northern Expressway when vehicular traffic on the current A9, which is a well carpeted, modern road, is minimal.

In Sri Lanka, the recent unsuccessful megaprojects, including some expressways, have not helped to bring down inflation, but, they have helped to increase inflation. Due to imposition of various taxes and duties, the cost of living for the people has skyrocketed. Some basic consumables are more expensive than those found in developed

countries (eg. bread, fresh liquid milk and fresh fruits). The writer has come across people who are so poor that they are unable to feed their families with three meals a day.

Thus, it is appropriate that we ask the question whether megaprojects have really helped Sri Lanka or not?

The megaprojects have increased the country's foreign debt (as of 31 December 2009 Sri Lanka's external debt stood at US$19.45 billion – *per Wikipedia*).

Today Sri Lanka is one of the most debt ridden nations in the world (about 30 years ago it had almost zero foreign debt). True, it is thanks to the injection of foreign debt that the country's economy grew at about 6% per annum, but, it was an artificial growth of the GDP.

No country can go on borrowing money from elsewhere, like what Sri Lanka has done in the past 10 years. About 90% of the country's earnings are spent on paying off the debts. Some economists have alarmed that Sri Lanka can face the same fate as Greece, and people can lose their life savings deposited in banks.

The political parties that canvass for votes in the present general election promise creating new jobs if they are elected to power. This is very good. But, these new jobs should not be government jobs but private sector jobs. It is time that Sri Lanka starts creating 'small governments' and give every possible incentive for the private sector to flourish.

Small businesses should be the engine room of the Sri Lankan economy. Sri Lankan people are so entrepreneurial, hardworking and determined. Given a small incentive, they will start new businesses and flourish. There should be no doubt about this. It is the new small

businesses that will create new jobs and a prosperous Sri Lankan economy, nothing else.

Giving incentive for small business can stop people from leaving the country looking for 'greener' pastures. At the moment about 300,000 people leave Sri Lanka every year to work in foreign lands. This must not be encouraged. People should be afforded opportunities to remain in the mother country, live around their families.

It is very difficult for a person to obtain a personal loan from a bank today. This especially applies to poor people who cannot provide a collateral, those who are unemployed and those who do not have a verifiable credit history. For this, at least the future governments must intervene and start initiatives to provide people with microloans so that they can start their own businesses.

For people who work in the public and private sector, the government must encourage state banks to provide low interest home loans (at the moment, the home loan interest rates are too high).

In Sri Lanka even a startup capital of Rs 100,000 can make a big difference in a person's life – who wants to be their 'own boss'. When the person has established good credibility, the microloan amounts can be gradually increased.

What is important is that for the future governments to initiate projects, including through state banks to provide microloans to all eligible and deserving citizens (not just for the Samurdhi recipients). This should happen on a grand scale. The microloans need to be low, fixed rate interest loans, with no fees and charges attached. As stated before, these loans should be for people who want to start/expand their own small businesses.

Microcredit is the best way of empowering women, thereby uplifting entire communities. Grameen Bank founded in Bangladesh in 1983 reports that the repayment success rates are between 95 and 98 percent. Grameen loans have been provided to people from buying a cell-phone to establish a profit making venture, to fishery, livestock, carpentry, masonry, tailoring, food preparation, cleaning, grocery store, typing services, IT related work and running passenger transport operations.

The writer, a Lawyer, is the President of Sri Lanka Support Group (Global) (chanakab@hotmail.com)

25 Responses to "Mega Projects is not the way; but, Small Business (Microcredit)"

1. *Raj* Says:
August 16th, 2015 at 3:09 pm
The Thames Barrier Project was built for events likely to happen 20 years ahead.

2. *Ananda-USA* Says:
August 16th, 2015 at 4:04 pm

I agree about the Hambantota Harbor and the air port. However
Lorenzo Says:
August 16th, 2015 at 4:20 pm
Lorenzo Says:
WELL SAID CB!
We all know you are a true patriot.
I DISAGREED with CB on SHRI WICKRAMA RAJASINGHA who killed Singhala men, women and children.
But this time he is right.
Before barking at this man who has stood up for SL at very difficult situations, read what he has written. He has NOT blamed the MR govt. He GENTLY tells them to CORRECT the wrongs. He does NOT praise the UNP. His timing is perfect.
I sincerely hope MR's NEW GOVT. will prioritize SMALL PROJECTS that benefit LOCALS than mega projects that benefit others. Very STRATEGIC

thinking. Allow me to twist your name to CHANAKYA – the great strategist!! :))

3. *Ananda-USA* Says:
August 16th, 2015 at 4:26 pm
Chanaka Bandarage,
The UNP mocked the Magama Port, and the Mattala Airport … just as they mocked the War Effort …

4. *Lorenzo* Says:
August 16th, 2015 at 4:34 pm
..I sincerely hope MR's NEW GOVT. will prioritize SMALL PROJECTS that benefit LOCALS than mega projects that benefit others.

5. *Christie* Says:
August 16th, 2015 at 5:33 pm
The writer, a Lawyer, is the President of Sri Lanka Support Group (Global) (chanakab@hotmail.com)..

6. *Chanaka B* Says:
August 16th, 2015 at 6:47 pm
For me, country comes first over party politics. I only write in the best interests of the country; especially for the downtrodden. I am unable to write to please politicians, but will give them credit where credit is due

7. *Chanaka B* Says:
August 16th, 2015 at 9:05 pm
Lorenzo, I do not think I praised Sri Wickrama Rajasinghe. I only criticised the Sinhala infighting of the time, which allowed the British to conquer the whole nation.
Lorenzo Says:

8. *Chanaka B* Says:
In the birth certificate, my father gave me the name, Chanakya. At Royal, teachers and friends called me Chanaka (it was easy for their mouth), so, ever since, I go as Chanaka
When I say 'small business', I mainly meant small self-employment projects

9. *Ananda-USA* Says:
August 16th, 2015 at 9:16 pm

Susantha,
I am GLAD that you have FINALLY SEEN the LIGHT about this TREACHEROUS REPROBATE Lorenzo!

10. *Ananda-USA* Says:
August 16th, 2015 at 9:33 pm
A large Port such as the Magampura Port, creates direct jobs for navigators, pilots, ship and tug captains and officers, administrators, security forces, accountants, crane operators, truck drivers, master craftsmen and supervisors, machinists, welders. fitters, electricians, cooks, waiters, cashiers, road workers, masons, carpenters, ad infinitum, and indirect jobs in the greater neighborhood for sub-contractors, truckers, shippers, construction crews, construction materials suppliers, hoteliers, restaurants, cooks, waiters, telephone companies, home builders, home appliance sellers, equipment manufacturers for local and export markets, farmers supplying food, ad infinitum, ad nauseam.

11. *Lorenzo* Says:
August 16th, 2015 at 10:01 pm
Report receiving from SL.
1030 in SL. VERY HIGH enthusiasm in voting despite being a working day.
Some private buses running FREE while canvassing for UNP candidates. El-Co notified.
Meanwhile Modananda screams from USA unable to bring AT LEAST ONE vote. DEFEAT the USA conspiracy! Down with USA!
Jayawewa!

12. *Lorenzo* Says:
August 16th, 2015 at 10:16 pm
Chanaka B,
Good.
Don't be discouraged. People IN THE KNOW very well know who you are and what your intentions are. KEEP GOING!
Politicians are temporary. SL is FOREVER! At times you can't serve both. At other times you can.
(Even MR regrets MEGA projects. That is why he SACKED the former economic minister in December 2014 and told him to get out of politics in June 2015. During his 200 temple visits program MANY people told him what you say here. MR is a convert from MEGA to MICRO projects. Now RUN-NIL is the BIGGEST advocate of MEGA projects because Karunka can rob them.)

13.  *Charles* Says:
August 16th, 2015 at 11:24 pm
Patriots, half patriots and pseudo patriots do not be fooled by gooey pretended enthusiasm for a MR Come Back.

14.  *Dilrook* Says:
August 16th, 2015 at 11:43 pm
Politics aside, I agree with Chanaka. The main reason for mega projects is to bring foreign currency to the country. These were/are used to repay older debt. Not the best in managing debt but this is how all governments have done since 1977.

15.  *Ananda-USA* Says:
August 17th, 2015 at 12:30 am
LORENZO the BLOODY SHAMELESS IDIOTIC TREACHEROUS HYPOCRITE!

16.  *SA Kumar* Says:
August 17th, 2015 at 2:35 am
Ananda-USA
We-Tamil are always Tamils , You know what I mean My sinhala sakotharam !!!

17.  *Fran Diaz* Says:
August 17th, 2015 at 11:51 am
Some Mega Projects may be needed, but they appear to have been done already by JRJ & MR govts. What else can be done in the Mega Project areas ? Only one I can think of is Oil/Gas possibilities around Lanka coastlines.
The rest of projects could be mid size to small. Local Food Production and Preservation should receive top priority in such projects.
Certainly Co-ops are the most attractive for village projects. It would be a natural way to go considering Lanka culture.
***** GoSL now and future must have/bring in SOCIAL SECURITY especially for families that lose their bread winner due to disease or accidents etc. We have to recall that Rohana Wijeweera, the leader of the JVP, turned to Communism with violence because his family was left destitute after the death of his father when Rohana was young.
Let such events never happen in Lanka *****

18.  *Ananda-USA* Says:
August 17th, 2015 at 3:11 pm I want to ask Chanaka Bandarage to view the Youtube Video of this Megascale Project above, and to explain to uus how the MicroCredit he proposes would have helped to bring a like amount of water to the Libyan people to create the opportunities they now have for operating their small-business of farming, animal herding, etc.

19.  *Chanaka B* Says:
August 17th, 2015 at 8:09 pm
Fran, I do not oppose megaprojects per se. As you can see despite the massive costs blow out and probable corruption, I gave credit to the Norochchalai power project
The Hambanthota megaprojects and some expressway projects are a serious concern. The manner in which they were carried out raised the eyebrow of many (costs blow outs, massive scale corruption , callous disregard to the environment etc)
The argument that some of these lost making ventures may derive a profit in the future is farfetched. Though they were done by a government, they were business (commercial) ventures. As you will agree, no businessman would invest money anticipating a profit in say 10 – 20 years' time. It will be a very different world in 10-20 years' time. Some of the current technology may then be obsolete
The then government should have had a strategy how to 'market' the Hambanthota port given that its main competitor, Singapore, which is located in close proximity to Sri Lanka, is the world's best port. There was no point in diverting Colombo port traffic to Hambanthota, to show activity. Mattala is a total failure and a colossal waste of money. Therein, the biggest loser is the environment
The burning needs of the country are such things as health, water, sanitation, education, roads, telecommunication, transport etc. Rather than embarking on fanciful megaprojects (my article), the new government must pay full attention to improve the basic facilities for the people; especially the poor. They should work day in and day out to uplift the people's conditions and all citizens must extend their full co-operation to the new government. The new government must not borrow relentlessly, that can bankrupt the nation.
We are still a third world country, we have a long way to go to become a newly developed nation, Given the great resilience of our people, this is a distinct possibility
The duty of the patriot is to be frank and brave to constructly criticise any government. Like the advisors of the former Presidnet, if we also say 'yes' to

everything, even for bad things, it will be at the detriment of the country. We are not doing our service to the nation then

The best interests of the country should be the paramount consideration for all patriots. Party politics comes second

For those who criticised me, I say thank you

There is no point in 'shooting the messenger'

Voltaire said –

"I disapprove of what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it"

SLankan group pushes for resolution of Oceanic Viking stand off

Updated 18 January 2012, 19:05 AEDT
Chanaka Bandarage is a Canberra based barrister, and a leading figure in the Sri Lanka Support Group in Australia.

He was the moderator at a recent forum in the Australian capital, titled 'Sri Lanka after the war - building of a new nation' in the Australian Parliament, attended by Australian MPs and the Sri Lankan High Commissioner.

Presenter: Joanna McCarthy

Speaker: Chanaka Bandarage, Sri Lanka Support Group

MCCARTHY: Is it fair to say your group is a strong supporter of the Sri Lankan government?

BANDARAGE: Not necessarily so. We are a group of people who are committed to creating a peaceful and harmonious, 'one nation' Sri Lanka. If there are any unfair things or unjust things done by the Sri Lankan Government, we will criticise the Sri Lankan Government as well. But at the moment, there is a lot of unfair and unjust criticism made against Sri Lanka and most of the allegations are not true and some of them are totally fabricated. So we are trying to defend Sri Lanka in that manner.

MCCARTHY: Okay, and we'll move on to some of those allegations later. First of all, can I just get your perspective on the Oceanic Viking stalemate. The Sri Lankans on board have made it plain they are not going to leave voluntarily. How do you see this situation being resolved?

BANDARAGE: Yeah, I think Mr Rudd, our prime minister, should resolve this with his Indonesian counterpart. He had some arrangements with the Prime Minister of Indonesia. I think Mr Rudd made a big publicity by saying that he had struck a deal with Indonesia beforehand, so he should use his diplomatic skills and resolve this problem with Indonesia. It looks like at the moment, Indonesia is not cooperating with Australia, which is a very unfortunate situation. Indonesia has already stated that they want this boat to be removed from their waters, so I think Australia should speak with Indonesia very intently. Mr Smith should be in Indonesia now and speak to his Indonesian counterpart and try to resolve this issue, because it's a problem between Australia and Indonesia. And if Mr Rudd has an understanding or if he has made some arrangements with Indonesia, then Indonesia should honour that and they have to talk to each other and try to resolve this problem.

MCCARTHY: Mr Rudd, of course, came into office saying he wanted to change the image of Australia in the region. Do you think his handling of this issue has hampered his public image in the region?

BANDARAGE: I believe even within Australia his ratings have come down. When he was in the Opposition he criticised the Howard Government, but you have to understand that during the Howard Government, he [John Howard] stopped all these boats from coming to Australia. It is my group that advised him about this policy. Whether the Pacific solution was good or not is not an issue, but the boats stopped coming, but now with what [Mr Rudd] has done, he has virtually opened the floodgates, so these boats are keep coming and there's no end to that. So Mr Rudd has to stop this from happening, otherwise the problem will exacerbate in the future.

MCCARTHY: Okay, and let's turn to some of the developments regarding Sri Lanka in the US this week. As you would be aware, the US authorities say they want to question former military commander General Sarath Fonseka about suspected human rights violations during the last days of the civil war. Do you agree that General Fonseka should be made to answer these allegations?

BANDARAGE: Well, you see the US Government, the US Department of Homeland Security states that they want to question Sarath Fonseka, but what they said is that they want Mr Fonseka to give evidence against the Sri Lankan defence secretary, Gotabhaya Rajapakse, so he said, if you give evidence against Mr Rajapakse, then we will let you go. So this is not fair dinkum investigation by the US Government. You see if

they are really genuine about investigating Sri Lanka's human rights allegations, they can't be partial and be biased against Mr Rajapakse. They have to have an impartial investigation. They just had a report published here about Sri Lanka and if you read that report, you will see that it hasn't really blamed Sri Lanka, but it had really reported certain instances that happened. So fortunately the interview didn't go on and the Sri Lankan Government I believe has lobbied the US Government very strongly, so the problem is solved and Mr Fonseka is back in Sri Lanka. But, I think if the questioning went ahead, then it would have seriously tarnished the good relations that Sri Lanka has with the US.

MCCARTHY: A number of human rights organisations though have raised serious questions about the conduct of the Sri Lankan Government during those last days of the civil war. Shouldn't there be some accountability for what happened?

BANDARAGE: Yeah, that's right. You see now some even have gone and said that Sri Lanka had committed genocide, so if you see the definition of genocide, it is a systematic murder of a whole community or a race. So no responsible person can make such an allegation against Sri Lanka. Sri Lanka was fighting against the most brutal terrorist group in the world, the Tamil Tigers. Actually, Sri Lanka should be congratulated for getting rid of the Tamil Tigers and it's good for Sri Lanka and for the entire world. And if Sri Lanka had made any human rights violations

during the last stages of the war, well then, they had to substantiate them and state exactly what happened. You see there is an issue where some civilians got killed, but at the same time, we know that the LTTE were shelling and firing at those civilians who were fleeing the no-fire zone. The Sri Lankan military actually sacrificed a lot of its men during that war, because they didn't want to fire back. Then again, the internal displaced people - you see once the war ended, there were about 300,000 civilians became homeless and they had nowhere to go. So Sri Lanka went and established these camps over a very short period and they did very well and housed those people and now they are resettling them back. So they are doing their best; you see to look after these people and move on with them and then create a prosperous and united country - the world should help Sri Lanka rather than criticising. But if there are any serious human rights violations occurred, then they should really pinpoint and say this is what happened, rather than making blatant open, unsubstantiated statements.

Film Review (Media Release)

– 'Sri Siddhartha Gautama' - a critique

Chanaka Bandarage, President Sri Lanka Support Group

This is overall a good film with good acting, it is good that Buddhist films are made. There is no harm in employing non-Buddhist actors to play the roles of Siddhartha and others. Gagan Malik taking up the role of Prince Siddhartha is a well done act. There is a critique that Ranjan Ramanayake should not have been used as Suddhodhana, this is bunkum. He has acted superbly.

We note the following shortcomings:

Period between leaving the palace and attaining enlightenment - too short and a hurried up job - each stage of searching the truth was not shown clearly and sufficiently. The way he gave suffering to his body for 7 years ('dushkarak kriya') had been quickly brushed off. Names of the previous teachers were not even mentioned sufficiently, those people were shown as living around a small area closer to each other. The scenery resembled Menik Ganga or a similar river, unfortunately the river was without adequate water. Again, a great shortcoming is that the important period of 'Dushkarak Kriya' was too short. Sujatha's name was not mentioned, prominence was not given to the sacred bo tree. Muchalinda was not shown at all.

Siddhartha kissing the horse's forehead prior to crossing the river resembles more of a western style man/animal relationship, than eastern. It is unlikely Siddhartha actually kissed Kanthaka the way it was depicted in the film. Kanthaka died of extreme sorrow, in the film the horse's death was shown poorly. It was as if the horse was sleeping.

Buddhist records say that Siddhartha cut a substantial part of his hair from his sword, this was not well portrayed.

In the film, Channa reports back to the palace saying Siddhartha told him he will return to the palace; and everyone was relieved to hear that. Actuality, this did not happen that way. Siddhartha never stated he will return, nor did Channa state anything like that to the Palace.

Siddhartha was born in Lumbini Sal Uyana – a park full of Sal trees. Only one Sal tree was shown, that tree only had a couple of sal flowers on top, looks like artificially planted.

The most affluent and luxurious palaces and the lifestyle that the prince lived were not resembled in the film, rather very modest and cheap palace structures. This may be for costs saving reasons and was not a major shortfall. It looks like a low cost production.

The prince was shown to be in the company of Channa most of the time, the stable boy, it is not sure whether that was the case in real life.

Immediately after birth, Prince Siddhartha supposed to have walked on 7 Lotus flowers (he possessed extraordinary traits). This had been omitted from the film.

Too much emphasis had been given to the rift between Siddhartha and Devadatta. According to Buddhist history Devadatta became prominent only after the Buddhahood was attained. No records existed that Devadatta was in the same palace with Siddhartha and the incident such as the injured pigeon etc., as shown on the film actually happened. Siddhartha ordering that low caste children sit with other children – looks like an invention to show Siddhartha was always a passive, good man. But, the fact remains that per Buddhist records, Siddhartha

changed to good after Dushkarak Kriya; he decided to leave the palace after seeing the 'Satara Pera Nimithi' (the real world) and finally hearing that his son was born. The film tries to show Siddhartha was always - from birth a passive person. According to Buddhist history he was a prince indulged in extreme pleasures (Kamasukallikana), until he became fed up of life after seeing the Satara Pera Nimithi.

It was Asitha Thawusa who stated Siddhartha would become the Universal King if stayed indoors, otherwise a Buddha. The film states this was stated by the elders and Asitha only stated Siddhartha would become the Buddha. The scripture states the prince's foot hit the Thouwsa's head cover, this was not shown.

In the film, the way Siddhartha picked up his bride, Yashodhara and the love that blossomed at first glance between them are somewhat cheap romantic scenes. There is no record that a parade of the prospective brides took place, as portrayed in the film. In the film, Yashodhara was a tall, fair, very attractive woman compared to other 20 or so contestant brides. It is obvious any man would pick up 'Yasodhara' as opposed to the other women who were no match to her. In the film, Siddhartha states he was looking for a pretty wife, it is not sure whether he actually stated this in real life. The Buddhist history does not say those things happened that way. The film shows that after the marriage Siddhartha and Yashodhara were deeply in love with each other, the Prince was a good husband and they together planned a child. The Buddhist history does not say this.

Satara Pera Nimithi happened in four different occasions. According to the film it appears all four happened in two separate occasions. According to Buddhist history, the old man that Siddhartha saw was not Channa's father, but, an entirely different, unknown person. Siddhartha

only saw the sick man, like in the film, he did not nurse him. Siddhartha saw a complete dead body not a corpse covered in drape. In real life Siddhartha saw the monk (priest) on the fourth occasion, per the film, the monk appeared immediately after the Prince saw the corpse,

Siddhartha never planned his departure from the palace with his wife and the parents. His departure was a surprise to everyone. Leaving of the palace was a decision Siddhartha took after seeing Satara Pera Nimithi. The final blows to Siddhartha's mind were the ugly, disorganised scenes of the female dancers who had fallen asleep after their performances (this incident was not well covered in the film) and the news that son Rahula was born. According to the film, Siddhartha was fed up of Devadatta's harassment of a female dancer on the final night, the scripture does not say this. Buddhist history does not say that that final night Devadatta was also in the palace. The true fact is that night Siddhartha had one quick glance at Rahula and decided to leave everything in search of relieving the human suffering. After seeing Rahula, he stated to himself 'another bond' had formed. He did not tell Yashodhara prior to leaving that she won't be lonely after he is gone because she has the son Rahula. There is no record Siddhartha decided to have a son with Yasodhara so that Yashodhara would not to be lonely. As in the film, in real life, Siddhartha never stated to Yashodhara that she will be in his memory and will think about her after he had left. According to the film, Yashodhara was pretending to being in sleep that night until the Prince left the palace. This is wrong. Also, there is no evidence that the Prince placed a gold ornament on Yashodhara's bed before leaving the palace and he gave his ring to Nanda few days prior to his departure. According to history, Siddhartha made the decision to leave the palace that night instantaneously. There is no record Siddhartha had asked his father to

appoint Nanda as Deputy King in lieu of him. Siddhartha seems to be in tears owing to sadness of leaving Yashodhara and Yashodhara was in tears too. It is unlikely that was the case, the Buddhist scripture does not subscribe to this.

In one place Siddhartha states that for him every life is sacred ('poojaneeyai'). The correct terminology should have been that he respected every life.

The film tries to give a 21st century perspective to what happened more than 2500 years ago. It tries to respond to any possible contemporary western critique of the actions of Siddhartha – that he was a playboy and that he abandoned his wife and child. That may be why the film tries to show Siddhartha was deeply a family man and he was always (from birth) a good and passive person. But, this is contrary to Buddhist history. By trying to whitewash Siddhartha, the film creates more unanswered questions. The society at that time was very difficult – an extremely stratified society. Siddhartha was born after 1000 lives of reincarnation as Bodhisatva. He was born as Siddhartha for a mission and purpose– to salvage humanity from suffering. As stated before, the catalyst for him to leave the palace was seeing Satara Pera Nimithi, the final night's scenes in the palace and the news that the son, Rahula, was born. Until then, he was a joyous young prince who indulged in extreme pleasures. There is no point of trying to fine tune (tinker) the facts now.

According to the film, Siddhartha and Yashodhara enjoyed the birth of the son, Rahula. The scriptures do not subscribe to this.

The film should have been named 'Siddhartha', not 'Sri Siddhartha Gauthama'. ' Sri' was never attached to his name. Only after attaining enlightenment, he was called Gauthama Buddha.