

# COLOMBO CITY



Under the earlier delimitation, the Colombo Municipal Council area had 5 electorates and 47 municipal wards.

For administrative purpose Colombo City comes under the Divisional Secretaries' Divisions of Colombo – Urban and Thimbirigasyaya – Rural.

Number of Grama Sevaka Nilatharies for Colombo Municipal Council Area in 1995 was 55

Population 2001 D.S. Divisions	Total Population		Sinhalese		Tamils		Muslims		Other	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Colombo	377,396	100	117,090	31	125,456	33.2	128,789	34.1	6,061	1.6
Thimbirigasyaya	264,767	100	148,567	56.1	74,184	28	35,659	13.5	6,357	2.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>642,163</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>265,657</b>	<b>41.4</b>	<b>199,640</b>	<b>31.1</b>	<b>164,448</b>	<b>25.6</b>	<b>12,418</b>	<b>1.9</b>

Population 2001 Electorates	Total Population		Sinhalese		Tamils		Muslims		Other	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Colombo North	137,423	100.0	50,289	36.6	62,821	45.7	21,325	15.5	2,988	2.2
Colombo Central	237,788	100.0	69,530	29.2	61,297	25.8	103,193	43.4	3,768	1.6
Borella	98,091	100.0	62,461	63.7	18,601	19.0	15,394	15.7	1,635	1.7
Colombo East	99,647	100.0	62,267	62.5	26,919	27.0	8,322	8.4	2,139	2.1
Colombo West	74,151	100.0	26,385	35.6	29,791	40.2	14,933	20.1	3,042	4.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>647,100</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>270,932</b>	<b>41.9</b>	<b>199,429</b>	<b>30.8</b>	<b>163,167</b>	<b>25.2</b>	<b>13,572</b>	<b>2.1</b>

## Colombo Municipal Council Election - 2006

POLITICAL PARTY/ INDEPENDENT GROUP	VOTES	PERCENTAGE	SEATS-53
	OBTAINED		
INDEPENDENT GROUP III	82,580	40.24	23
UNITED PEOPLE'S FREEDOM ALLIANCE	57,158	27.85	14
INDEPENDENT GROUP IV	17,480	8.52	4
WESTERN PEOPLES FRONT	16,068	7.83	4
DEMOCRATIC UNITY ALLIANCE	8,106	3.95	2
UP-COUNTRY PEOPLES FRONT	7,717	3.76	2
PEOPLES LIBERATION FRONT	6,145	2.99	2
INDEPENDENT GROUP II	3,931	1.92	1
JATHIKA HELA URUMAYA	3,281	1.60	1
INDEPENDENT GROUP I	1,609	0.78	-
UNITED SOCIALIST PARTY	1,160	0.57	-
Regd. Electors	395,914	100.00	
Total Polled	214,960	54.29	
Valid Votes	205,235	51.34	
Rejected Votes	9,725	2.45	

# 1. Colombo Central

Colombo Central – Three Parliament member electorates and 20 Municipal Council member wards. Annex A1 – A9

*W-15, MW-5*

- |                                |                                |                              |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 9. Kochchikade North <i>MW</i> | 10 Gintupitiya <i>M</i>        | 11 Masangas Weediya <i>W</i> |
| 12 New Bazar <i>W</i>          | 13 Grandpass North <i>MW</i>   | 14 Grandpass South <i>W</i>  |
| 15 Maligawatta West <i>W</i>   | 16 Aluthkada East <i>W</i>     | 17 Aluthkada West <i>W</i>   |
| 18 Kehelwatta <i>W</i>         | 19 Kochchikade South <i>MW</i> | 20 Forth <i>MW</i>           |
| 21 Kompannaweediya <i>W</i>    | 22 Wekanda <i>W</i>            | 23 Hunupitiya <i>W</i>       |
| 24 Suduwella <i>W</i>          | 25 Panchikawatta <i>W</i>      | 26 Maradana <i>W</i>         |
| 27 Maligakanda <i>W</i>        | 28 Maligawatta East <i>W</i>   |                              |

15 Jumma Mosques, 21 Ordinary Mosques, 6 Zaviyas and 11 Thakkiyas.

15 Muslim Schools

Muslim Population – 103,193 – 43.4% (2001)

Muslim Residence – 18,619, Muslim Voters – 76,747 – 50.96% (2007)

## General Election - 2004

	Votes	%
UNP	71,599	71.50
UPFA	17,681	17.66
JHU	8,881	8.87
NLF	225	0.22
UMPA	317	0.32
Indepnt. Groups	581	0.58
Regd. Votes	153,763	
Total Polled	105,593	68.67
Valid Votes	100,142	
Rejected Votes	5,451	5.16

## Presidential Election - 2005

	Votes	%
Mahinda Rajapakse	20,395	20.31
Ranil Wickremesinghe	78,908	78.57
Regd. Votes	144,916	
Total Polled	102,040	70.41
Valid Votes	100,424	
Rejected Votes	1,616	1.58

## Western Province PC Election - 2009

	Votes	%
UNP	45,414	53.58
UPFA	25,505	30.09
SLMC	9,023	10.65
DUA	2,350	2.77
Regd. Votes	151,308	100
Total Votes Polled	90,025	59.50
Valid Votes	84,753	56.01
Rejected Votes	5,272	3.49

## 2. Colombo North

Colombo North – One Parliament member electorate and 8 Municipal Council member wards. Annex B1 – B5 *Mullinar 2*

1. Mattakkuliya *MW* 2. Modera *MW* 3. Mahawatta 4. Aluthmawatha  
5. Lunupokuna 6. Bloemendhal 7. Kotahena East 8. Kotahena West

4 Jumma Mosques, 5 Ordinary Mosques and 1 Ziyaram.

2 Muslim Schools, Muslim population – 21,325 15% (2001)

**General Election - 2004**

	Votes	%
UNP	40,387	70.20
UPFA	12,724	22.12
JHU	3,409	5.93
NLF	175	0.30
UMPA	75	0.13
Indepnt. Groups	85	0.15
Regd. Votes	86,388	
Total Polled	60,959	70.56
Valid Votes	57,528	
Rejected Votes	3,431	5.63

**Presidential Election - 2005**

	Votes	%
Mahinda Rajapakse	14,270	23.74
Ranil Wickremesinghe	45,161	75.13
Regd. Votes	85,967	
Total Polled	61,050	71.02
Valid Votes	60,111	
Rejected Votes	939	1.54

**Western Province PC Election - 2009**

	Votes	%
UNP	27,866	52.24
UPFA	15,746	29.52
DUA	4,267	8.00
SLMC	3,332	6.25
Regd. Votes	103,050	
Total Votes Polled	57,012	
Valid Votes	53,346	
Rejected Votes	3,666	6.43



### 3. Borella

Borella – One Parliament member electorate and 7 Municipal Council member wards. Annex C1 – C5 = *Multi-member wards?*

29 Dematagoda *m/m*      30 Wanathamulla      31 Kuppiyawatta East  
 32 Kuppiyawatta West *m/w*      33 Borella North      35 Borella South  
 36 Cinnamon Garden

2 Jumma Mosques and 1 Thakkiya.

Muslim Population - 15,394 - 15.7% (2001)

**General Election - 2004**

	Votes	%
UNP	21,543	52.68
UPFA	12,484	30.53
JHU	6,360	15.55
NLF	89	0.22
EPDP	12	0.03
USP	27	0.07
Regd. Votes	62,722	
Total Polled	42,350	67.52
Valid Votes	40,893	
Rejected Votes	1,457	3.44

**Presidential Election - 2005**

	Votes	%
Mahinda Rajapakse	15,644	37.42
Ranil Wickremesinghe	25,784	61.67
Regd. Votes	60,678	
Total Polled	42,262	69.65
Valid Votes	41,809	
Rejected Votes	453	1.07

**Western Province PC Election - 2009**

	Votes	%
UNP	16,994	49.88
UPFA	14,950	43.88
SLMC	894	2.62
JVP	587	1.72
Regd. Votes	63,884	
Total Votes	35,494	
Valid Votes	34,073	
Rejected Votes	1,421	4.00

## 4. Colombo East

Colombo East – One Parliament member electorate and 6 Municipal Council member wards. Annex D1 – D4

34 Narahenpita                      40 Thimbirigasyaya                      41 Kirula  
44 Kirullapone                      45 Pamankade East                      46 Pamankade West

3 Jumma Mosques

Muslim Population - 8,322 - 8.4% (2001)

General Election - 2004		
	Votes	%
UNP	23,739	52.09
UPFA	12,141	26.64
JHU	9,116	20.00
NLF	166	0.36
EPDP	65	0.14
Regd. Votes	67,885	
Total Polled	47,265	69.63
Valid Votes	45,576	
Rejected Votes	1,689	3.57

Presidential Election - 2005		
	Votes	%
Mahinda Rajapakse	16,919	36.62
Ranil Wickremesinghe	28,832	62.40
Regd. Votes	65,732	
Total Polled	46,900	71.35
Valid Votes	46,206	
Rejected Votes	694	1.48

Western Province PC Election - 2009		
	Votes	%
UNP	18,922	48.72
UPFA	16,890	43.48
JVP	1,061	2.73
SLMC	506	1.30
Regd. Votes	72,446	
Total Votes	40,761	
Valid Votes	38,841	
Rejected Votes	1,920	4.71

## 5. Colombo West

Colombo West – One Parliament member electorate and 6 Municipal Council member wards. Annex E1 – E4 *Muslim - Muslim wards 2*

37 Kollupitiya *M/W*                      38 Bambalapitiya                      39 Milagiriya  
42 Havelock Town                      43 Wellawatta North *M/W*                      47 Wellawatta South

4 Jumma Mosques and 1 Ordinary Mosque

1 Muslim School

Muslim Population - 14,933 - 20.1% (2001)

### General Election - 2004

	Votes	%
UNP	19,084	73.64
UPFA	3,613	13.94
JHU	2,824	10.90
NLF	150	0.58
EPDP	21	0.08
Regd. Votes	40,209	
Total Polled	26,783	66.61
Valid Votes	25,914	
Rejected Votes	869	3.24

### Presidential Election - 2005

	Votes	%
Mahinda Rajapakse	5,104	19.73
Ranil Wickremesinghe	20,475	79.16
Regd. Votes	38,621	
Total Polled	26,264	68.00
Valid Votes	25,865	
Rejected Votes	399	1.52

### Western Province PC Election - 2009

Colombo West		
	Votes	%
UNP	12,244	61.62
UPFA	5,483	27.59
SLMC	796	4.01
JVP	152	0.76
Regd. Votes	41,441	
Total Votes	21,031	
Valid Votes	19,871	
Rejected Votes	1,160	5.52

## MOSQUES IN COLOMBO CITY

### Colombo Central – Jumma Mosques

No.	Reg No.	Type	Name	Address
1	R/40/C/07	☉ JM	Muhyideen Jumma Mosque	113 Abdul Hameed Street, Colombo 12
2	R/41/C/08	☉ JM	Masjidul Jamia Jumma Mosque	Java Lane, Colombo 02
3	R/50/C/10	☉ JM	Jumma Mosque	Maradana, Colombo 10
4	R/63/C/12	☉ JM	Muhyideen Jumma Masjid	61 St. Joseph's Street, Colombo 14
5	R/259/C/30	☉ JM	Wekanda Jumma Mosque	21 Saunders Court, Colombo 02
6	R/266/C/31	☉ JM	Masjidul Akbar Jumma Mosque	157 Kew Road, Colombo 02
7	R/436/C/43	☉ JM	Maligawatte Jumma Mosque	273 Jumma Masjid Road, Maligawatte, Colombo 10
8	R/755/C/64	☉ JM	The Colombo Grand Mosque	151 New Moor Street, Colombo 12
9	R/782/C/65	☉ JM	Meeraniya Jumma Mosque	263 Meeraniya Street, Colombo 12
10	R/891/C/76	☉ JM	Dematagoda Masjid Mohideen	331 Dematagoda Road, Colombo 09
11	R/920/C/79	☉ JM	Colombo Fort Jumma Mosque	87 Chatham Street, Colombo 01
12	R/1059/C/111	☉ JM	Jamiul Ashraff Mosque	99 Belmont Street, Colombo 12
13	R/1115/C/120	☉ JM	Almahadul Bukkariyul Mosque	80/82 Newham Sq, Colombo 13
14	R/1457/C/141	☉ JM	Rahmaniya Jumma Mosque	265 Grandpass Road, Colombo 14
15	R/1539/C/151	☉ JM	Maradana Jumma Mosque	Maradana, Colombo 10

### Mosques

No.	Reg No.	Type	Name	Address
1	R/02/C/01	☾ M	Kanimathul Cassimiya	Dematagoda Place, Colombo 09
2	R/90/C/19	☾ M	Almasjidul Buhary	23 Forbes Lane, Colombo 10
3	R/91/C/20	☾ M	Jamiul Alfar Mosque	228 2 <sup>nd</sup> Cross Street, Colombo 11
4	R/142/C/26	☾ M	Memon Hanafi Mosque	45 3 <sup>rd</sup> Cross Street, Colombo 11
5	R/196/C/27	☾ M	Almasjidul Lafir	122 Wolfhendal Street, Colombo 12
6	R/197/C/28	☾ M	Un Nadavathul Shathuliya Z.thl	20 Sir Henry De Mel Mawatha, Colombo 02
7	R/340/C/39	☾ M	Small Mosque	84 Kew Road, Colombo 02
8	R/620/C/57	☾ M	Masjidul Us Sageer	16 Symonds Road, Colombo 10
9	R/717/C/61	☾ M	Muhyideen Masjid	Kotehena, Colombo 13
10	R/1070/C/113	☾ M	Al Masjidul Najimi	55 Marties Lane, Colombo 12
11	R/1207/C/123	☾ M	Almasjidul Muhamadiya Mosque	251/19 Sri Sangaraja Mawatha, Colombo
12	R/1295/C/126	☾ M	Masjidul Hameediya & Mahal MDR	11/4 Station Passage, Colombo 02
13	R/1315/C/128	☾ M	Masjidul Quadhir	18/52 Church Street, Colombo 02
14	R/1339/C/130	☾ M	Shahul Hameediya Mosque	42/30, 231 Steuart Street, Colombo 02
15	R/1495/C/143	☾ M	Almasjidul Kiluriya	118/6 Maithri Bodhirajah Mawatha, Colombo

16	R/1509/C/146	☪M	Almasjidul Muneer Wal Madrasa	42/20 St. Sebastian Street, Colombo 12
17	R/1560/C/154	☪M	Almasjidul Muhiyadeen	63/7 Veluwana Road, Colombo 09
18	R/1562/C/155	☪M	Masjidul Muhiyadeen	263/40 Dam Street, Colombo 12
19	R/1591/C/158	☪M	Almasjidul Noor Wal MDR Noora	151/200 Maligawatte Place, Colombo 10
20	R/1685/C/168	☪M	Almasjidul Muhiyatheen	55/8 Union Place, Colombo 02
21	R/1691/C/169	☪M	Maradana Mosque	Maradana, Colombo 10

### Zavias

No.	Reg No.	Type	Name	Address
1	R/54/C/11	☪DR	Peer Sahib Street	64 Peer Sahib Street, Colombo 12
2	R/109/C/24	☪Z	Mariyakade Zavia	528/12 2 <sup>nd</sup> Division, Colombo 10
3	R/304/C/35	☪Z	Laha Noorush Shathulee Zavia	Panchikawatte Road, Colombo 10
4	R/419/C/40	☪Z	Awwal Zavia	21 Awwal Zavia Road, Colombo 14
5	R/585/C/53	☪Z	Ummul Zavia	19 M.J.M. Lafir Mawatha, Colombo
6	R/971/C/89	☪Z	Al-Zaviathul Fasiya	59 Bankshall Street, Colombo 11

### Thakkiyas

No.	Reg No.	Type	Name	Address
1	R/43/C/09	☪T	Munbikul Mukafileen Thakkiya	Maligawatte Lane, Colombo 10
2	R/80/C/14	☪T	Muhyideen Thakkiya	223 Mohideen Masjid Road, Colombo 10
3	R/85/C/16	☪T	Katakalamarathy Thakkiya	32 Clifton Lane, Colombo 10
4	R/332/C/36	☪T	Jiffriyathul Alaviya Thakkiya	156 New Moor Street, Colombo 11
5	R/336/C/38	☪T	Kalandar Sahib Mosque	Orabipasha Street, Colombo 10
6	R/565/C/50	☪T	Maganamus Sauda Thakkiya	159 Old Moor Street, Colombo 12
7	R/986/C/93	☪T	Sheik Fareed Thakkiya	95 Temple Road, Colombo 09
8	R/1016/C/106	☪T	Muhyideen Thakkiya	27 Messenger Street, Colombo 12
9	R/1071/C/114	☪T	Al Masjidul Rahumaniya Mosque	80/82 Newham Sq, Colombo 13
10	R/1455/C/140	☪T	Almasjidul Dheeniyah	257/63 Wolfhendal Street, Colombo 12
11	R/1498/G/144	☪T	Abu Sahib Thakkiya	251 Mohideen Masjid Road, Colombo 10

### Colombo North – Jumma Mosques

No.	Reg No.	Type	Name	Address
1	R/88/C/17	CJM	Mutwal Jumma Mosque	74 Mutuwella Mawatha, Colombo 15
2	R/101/C/23	CJM	Muhyideen Jumma Mosque	67 Dr. S.D. Fernando Mawatha, Colombo 15
3	R/1035/C/109	CJM	Al-Masjidul Baduriya	233/221 Henemulla Camp, Madamptiya, Colombo 15
4	R/1588/C/156	CJM	Masjidul Hidayath Jumma Mosque	300 Mahawatte Road, Colombo 14

## Mosques

No.	Reg No.	Type	Name	Address
1	R/1010/C/101	☪M	Shrine - Sheik	75 Mosque Lane, Colombo 15
2	R/1521/C/148	☪M	Masjidul Denul Islam	166 Swanachaitiya Road, Colombo 14
3	R/1555/C/152	☪M	Almasjidul Badirya	47/A, 22 Summitapura, Colombo 15
4	R/1618/C/163	☪M	Almasjidhul Dheeniya	Kalyani Gangarama Mawatha, Colombo 15
5	R/1668/C/166	☪M	Masjidhul Kahumaniya Thakkiya	Bloemendhal Road, Colombo 15

## Zavia

No.	Reg No.	Type	Name	Address
1	R/700/C/58	☪Z	Zaviathul Khairiya	22 Zaviya Lane, Colombo 15

## Borella – Jumma Mosques

S. No.	Reg No.	Type	Name	Address
1	R/334/C/37	CJM	Dewatagaha Mosque and Shrine	12 Baptist Chapel Road, Cinnamon Garden, Colombo 07
2	R/1012/C/103	CJM	Borella Jumma Mosque	Cross Road, Borella, Colombo 08
3	R/2538/C/150	☪T	Meeraniya Thakkiya	114/2 Aramya Road, Colombo 09

## Colombo East – Jumma Mosques

S. No.	Reg No.	Type	Name	Address
1	R/982/C/92	CJM	Kirilapona Jumma Mosque	6 Kirilapona Masjid Road, Colombo 06
2	R/1294/C/125	CJM	Jawatte Jumma Mosque	50 Torrington Avenue, Colombo 07
3	R/1559/C/153	CJM	Muhyadeen Jumma Masjid	45 Mayura Place, Havelock Town, Colombo 06

## Colombo West – Jumma Mosques

S. No.	Reg No.	Type	Name	Address
1	R/483/C/45	CJM	Wellawatte Jumma Mosque	48 Galle Road, Colombo 06
2	R/508/C/47	CJM	Kollupitiya Jumma Mosque	61 St. Micheal Road, Colombo 03
3	R/744/C/63	CJM	Bambalapitiya Mohideen Jumma Mosque	55 New Bullers Road, Colombo 04
4	R/978/C/90	☪M	Majmaul Khairath Mosque	30/1 Nimal Road, Colombo 04
5	R/1491/C/142	CJM	Masjidul Noor JM & Madrasa	404/10 Baudhaloka Mawatha, Colombo 04

CJM – Jumma Mosque

☪M – Mosque

☪Z – Zavia, DR – Dharga

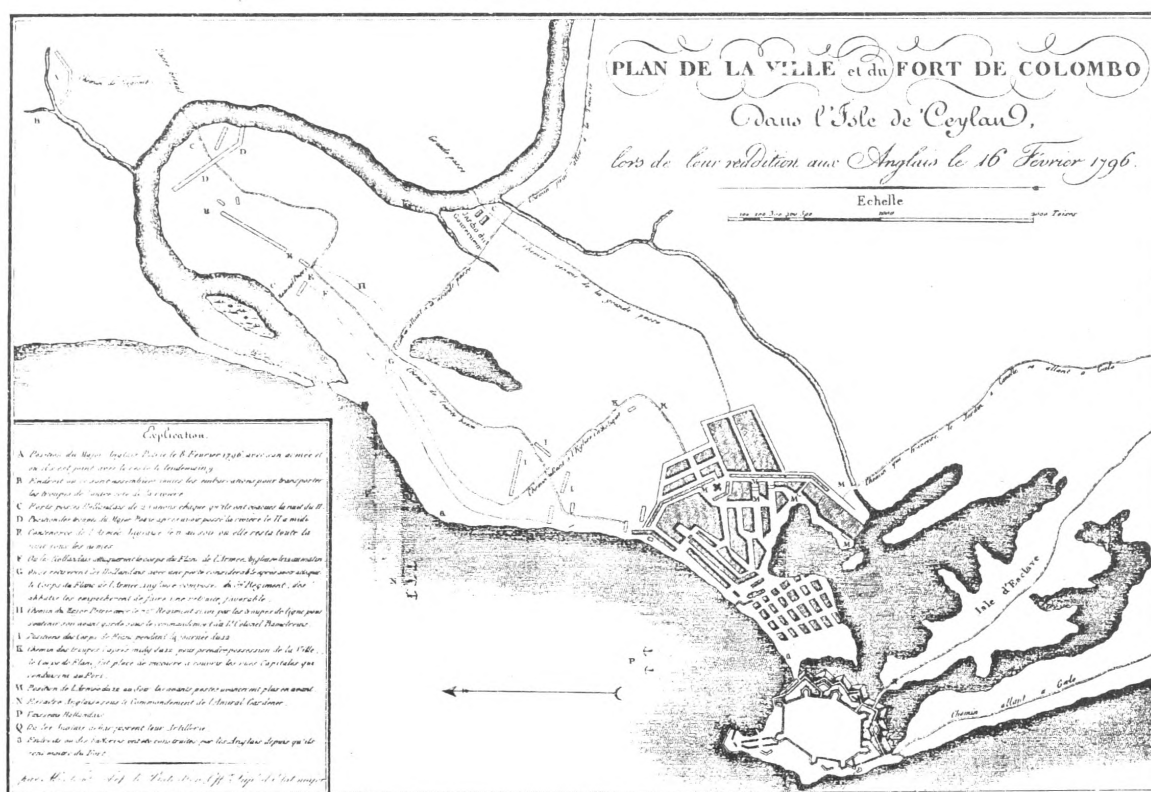
☪T – Thakkiya

# THE PLIGHT OF COLOMBO MUSLIMS

## 1. Economy and Employment

Colombo is the capital city situated in the West Coast of Sri Lanka. It has a natural harbour in the middle of the East-West international shipping route. The Arab traders settled in Colombo from early part of 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C. because the port helped their business and controlled much of the trade between the Sinhala kingdom and the world outside. Morocco traveler Ibn Batuta who visited Sri Lanka known as Al-Ceylan in the 14<sup>th</sup> century mentioned in his "Rehla" that the Colombo harbour was under the dominance of an Arab captain known as "Jalasthi".

FORT OF COLOMBO IN 1796



Source: Survey Department of Sri Lanka

Our Arab ancestors were a peaceful and law abiding people with strong religious conviction. They came to Sri Lanka as traders whose arrival was not accompanied by any military subjugation. Therefore, there was no bitterness or animosity between the natives and the Muslims.

Colombo had a large Muslim Population when the Portuguese landed in 1505. They called the Muslims "Moors", a name derived from the Greek "Mauros" which denoted the Muslim inhabitants of Mauritania in North Africa, who over ran Spain and Portugal in the 8<sup>th</sup> century. Although it was one time customary

in Europe to refer to Muslim from whatever country they came, by this name and in local usage the expression "Ceylon Moors" has since acquired an ethnic connotation.

The Portuguese, by devious methods got around the Sinhalese Kings and in 1518 Dharma Parakrama Bahu granted them permission to erect a fort in Colombo. The Portuguese who had already gained a foothold in India, ordered their war galleons to seek out and destroy every merchant ship of the Arabs, whom they called Moors. They considered the Muslims their sworn enemy, not only because of business rivalry but also they found that it was almost impossible to convert them to Christianity while some leading members of the other communities readily embraced the new religion. To the Portuguese, the Muslims were the "Sworn enemies of the King and God". Therefore, to expel them from the Portuguese territories was patriotic and to deny them the right to live in this world was service to God.

The Portuguese drove the Muslims from pillar to post and the only consistent thing was the cruel and inhuman treatment the Muslims were subjected to by the Portuguese. Their properties were confiscated and they were forbidden to enter certain areas in the City of Colombo like Fort and Pettah.

When the Portuguese expelled the Muslims in 1526, King Mayadunna of Sitawaka and King Senerath of Kandy gave them asylum in their territories. King Senarath settled the Muslims at various strategic areas along the Eastern coast.

The Muslims of Sri Lanka formed a well integrated community at the time of the arrival of the Dutch to the shores of Ceylon. There were long established settlements of Muslims all along the coasts of the Island as well as inland. Even the Portuguese persecutions did not seem to have succeeded in driving away the coastal Muslim settlements.

The Dutch records were full of oppression and discriminatory regulations against the Muslims. No land and property could be sold to them. They were required to perform the odious "Uliyam" on fear of confiscation of their land, ordered to evacuate Gall and Matara in 1659 and Colombo in 1670 and were prohibited from possessing houses and lands within the Fort and Pettah areas of Colombo by a regulation that was not rescinded till 1832. The British succeeded the Dutch after a series of encounters and on the 16<sup>th</sup> February, 1796 the Dutch ceded the entire Maritime Provinces to the British.



The British recognized the Muslims as a separate political entity and removed the irksome civil and economic restrictions imposed on the latter by the Portuguese and Dutch. Muslim began to participate actively in the new economic openings. The traditional trading instinct of the community received a fresh fillip in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In Colombo, the Muslims were confined by the Dutch to the "Moor Street". After the removal of the restrictions; there was an influx of Muslims into business quarters of Colombo. The Muslims began to acquire the properties in the Pettah areas of Colombo and in the process of time nearly all the immovable properties here which originally belonged to the descendants of the Dutch passed into the hands of the Muslims. By 1875, in the Main Street of the Pettah alone there were 73 business firms belonging to the Muslims. Similarly in Kandy, Galle, Matara and Nuwara Eliya the Muslims, along with the other English, Indians and Low-country men were opening up business firms. They were the best gem merchants at that time. According to the census of 1911. of the 979 gem dealers in Ceylon, 866 had been Muslims. Similarly among a total of 848 Jewellers at that time 411 had been Muslims.

Economically, there was an air of prosperity among the Muslims. Beside the development of plantation and international trade, the growth of Colombo as the metropolis was the most outstanding feature of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The building trade prospered as a result and the Muslims with their special aptitude for masonry were quick to exploit the opportunity. The General Post Office, the Museum, the Customs, Old Town Hall in Pettah, Galle Face Hotel, Victoria Arcade are but a few of the Architectural wonders shaped by the hands of the Muslim genius of yore.

One notable feature in the 19<sup>th</sup> century economic changes was the widening class difference within the various communities of Ceylon. The Muslim community was not an exception to this. A class of "New Rich" was emerging within the Muslim community. They represented not even 5 percent of the Muslim population. It was this 5 percent that controlled the destiny of the Muslims and this rich minority group, lacked educational enlightenment and political foresight to lead the community in the right direction. As a result, the Muslim community is educationally backward, politically insignificant, economically retarded and culturally isolated.

However, things changed with the agitation by Muslim youths in 1889 for Independent Muslim representation in the legislative council. Mr. W.M. Abdul Rahman, the father of Sir Razik Fareed and the son of Wapitche Marikar, a

master builder, a great philanthropist, keenly interested in education of Muslim Children, was appointed to look after the interest of the Muslims.

With the gaining of independence in 1948, various changes have been effected in the economic structure of the country. The establishment of co-operative movements and the state-owned co-operative wholesale establishments with retail outlets throughout the country has placed the Muslim community in an unfortunate position as trade was one of their main occupations. These and subsequent state monopolies, have created problems and difficulties for the Sri Lanka Muslims particularly in the City of Colombo after the independence. Muslim share of Colombo City revenue drastically reduced as follows:

Year	1963	1973	1981	1991	2001
Muslim Share	22.2%	12.6%	11.4%	10.2%	10.0%

(Source: Marga Institute of Colombo – Muslim Community income distribution)

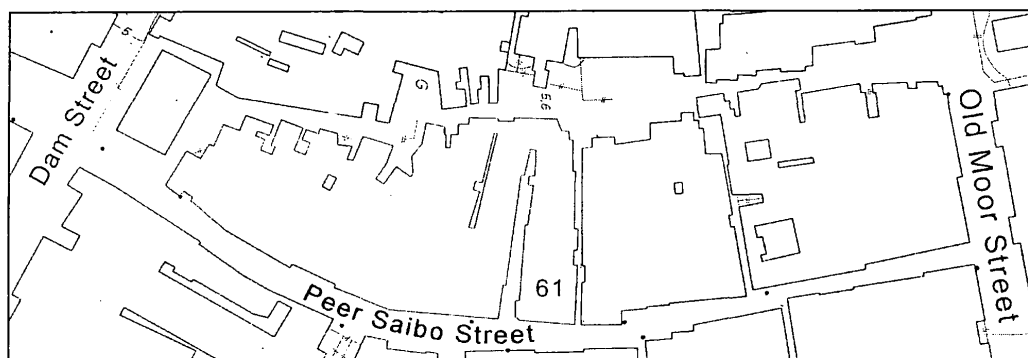
The Muslims are a misunderstood community as far as the economic position is concerned. They are loosely referred to as a rich community whereas the fact is otherwise. Muslim community has been engaged in trade in the past. They were dealing in a big way in the export and import Business during the pre-independent period.

The present economic position of Sri Lanka Muslims could be summed up by referring to one vital matter, namely the low per-capita income of the Muslims in relation to other communities. Central Bank Surveys have revealed that the per Capita income of the Muslims is the lowest, below even to the up country Indian Tamils, most of whom are employed in the estates. Mass poverty amongst the Muslims is also reflected in the fact that on a population basis one of the largest group of public assistance recipients, charity and T.B. allowances, etc., are the Muslims.

Mr. M. Abdul Bakeer Markar, M.P. Beruwala, submitted a proposal in Parliament on 11 August 1967 to improve the lot of hawkers. Representations were made to the Ministers concerned and the Chairman of the CWE for the issue of permit to every genuine hawker so that they could start their trade once again and earn a living to maintain their families.

## 2. Housing

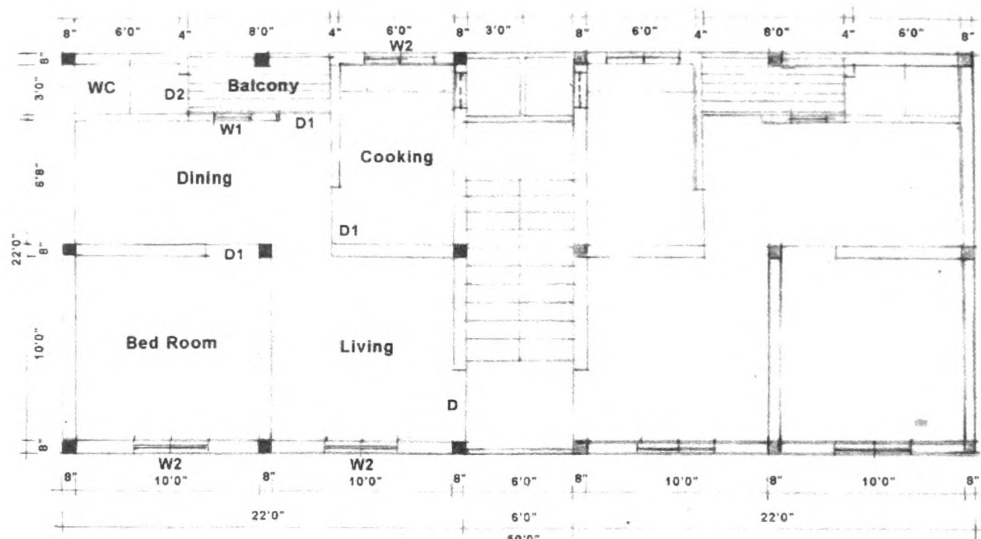
Area of Colombo City 37.31 Sq. Km. (3731 Hectares). About 63% of the population of Colombo are living in shanties or unauthorized structures and occupy only nine percent of the land area of the district. Most of the shanties are in the predominant Muslim areas in Maradana, Maligawatta, Panchikawatta, Dematagoda, Aluthkada, Masangas Weediya, Kehelwatta, Grandpass and Slave Island in Colombo Central, Mattakkuliya and Modera in Colombo North, Kuppiyawatte and Borella in Borella. Colombo Municipal Council recently recorded permanent Houses 40,861 (49%), Old Residence 22,358 (27%), Shanties 20,685 (24%), Total 83,904 (100%). Colombo City infrastructures used by about 642,000 (2001) permanent residents and a floating population of another 400,000 in Colombo City was originally created over 100 years ago for the then City population of only 35,000.



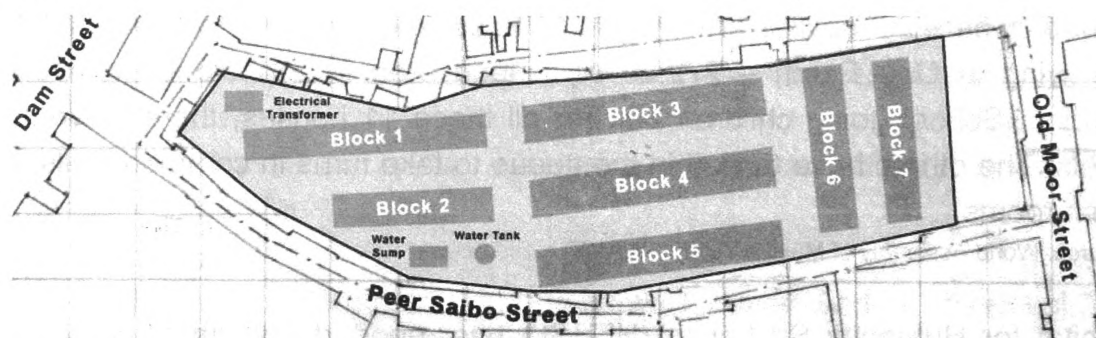
In No. 61 Tenement Garden, Peer Sahibo Street in Kehelwatta, Colombo Central, where 20 families are living in 11 housing units. Out of which 4 families are living in One Perch – 272.25 sq.ft. land area in a 4 storied temporary building. School going children 20. For all these 11 houses, there are only 2 toilets. The others have to wait in the queue to take turns in common wells and wash rooms.

(Source: World Assembly of Muslim Youth – WAMY)

Habitat for Humanity Sri Lanka (HFHSL) has reported that about 30.6% are living in less than 400 sq.ft. and that the Government lacks a national policy and commitment to provide adequate housing for the lower income families in Colombo City. Corruption and politicization of housing programmes and development projects have undermined the progress towards providing adequate housing. HFHSL also points out that the Government's inconsistency in enforcing housing regulations and standards and the mismanagement of funding as the prime obstacles to provide better housing for the lower income families.



The Ministry of Construction and Engineering says that the construction costs have come down and the Ministry is currently engaged in the construction of housing for the relocation of about 60,000 shanties in Colombo City where about 5-6 people are housed in a shanty average 80 sq.ft. The shanty relocation programme is currently taking place with the first phase having commenced in Dematagoda which is expected to provide 320 flats to relocate the shanties from the Beira – (Slave Island) area with two rooms per housing unit in 450 sp.ft. Currently the total extent of land area occupied by shanties in Colombo is about 1000 acres. The Government has already undertaken the task of finalizing negotiations for the first installment of US\$ 99 million from China.



In Peer Saibo Street there are 576 voters (2007) in 158 tenements bearing odd Assessment Nos. on the same side as Tenement No. 61 Garden. Land area – 1A.0R.35P (195 Perches) Muslims are living in 128 tenements – voters 466 (2007) and others – 30 tenements – 110 voters (2007). For the construction of 180 housing units each floor area 483 sq.ft. Total Building Area – 19,800 sq.ft. (72.7 Perches) Cost 550 sq.ft. (US\$ 10,000 per unit). Cost of 180 housing units US\$ 1,800,000. Electricity, Water and other infrastructure US\$ 200,000/-. **Total Project cost US\$ 2.0 million.**

### 3. Education

Sri Lankan Muslims have long been identified as an educationally backward community. The main cause for this is being the inseparable association of Western Education and Christianity. Since Education appeared to them as synonymous with conversion especially in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. The majority of the Muslims preferred to keep completely out of the Western Educational scene.

Proctor M.C. Siddi Lebbe of Kandy prevailed upon Orabi Pasha an Egyptian Exile who arrived in Colombo on 10<sup>th</sup> day of January 1883, to join him in the effort to rouse the Muslim Community in the field of Education. The result was the establishment of Al-Madrasathus Zahira in the Maradana Mosque premises where there was already an elementary school by the name of "Maradana Mohammedan Boys' School". At the public meeting held at the Maradana Mosque grounds, Mr. Wapiche Marikar was appointed Manager of the school and after some time a two storied building was erected financed by Karimjee Jafferjee. Wapiche Marikar himself spent a good deal on the project till he handed over the management of the school to Mr. N.H.M. Abdul Cader.

The first Vice Chancellor of Ceylon University Sir Ivor Jennigs has revealed that "out of the 315 students in the Ceylon University College in 1927 only 3 were the Muslims. In 1942 when the Ceylon University was formed, out of the total 904 students only 24 were Muslims and in 1946 out of the 1302 students only 37 were Muslims.

Dr. T.B. Jaya's policy on Muslim Education.

1. Commencing early education in child's mother tongue.
2. Importance of English Education.
3. Education in Religious environment.
4. Muslim Women's education

While tracing the recent development of Muslim Education many names are remembered. Dr. W. Dahanayake who showed great interest and took concrete steps to strengthen the position of the Muslim Schools. Where there was 51% of Muslim children in a School, he declared it to be a Muslim School with a Muslim Head.

As Minister of Education, Al-Haj Dr. Badiudin Mahmud, conscious of the grave disabilities of the Muslims of Sri Lanka, due to their educational backwardness, tried very hard to give the Muslims their rightful share in the construction of schools, the up grading of the existing Schools, provision of educational equipments and facilities, appointment of teachers and educational officials in proportion to the Muslim population, out of the appointment he made for the country.

## Schools

Most of the Muslim Schools in Colombo started before 1970. Muslim Political leaders have considered to improve the existing schools rather than opening new ones. There are 19 Muslim schools in Colombo City with nearly 20,000 students and 730 teachers, another 10,000 Muslim students are studying in non-Muslim schools.

85% of the students in Muslim schools are from the poor families, of this at least 25% are under poverty line. The rate of dropouts are considerably high. Male students want to support their families by doing some odd jobs. Parents consider that their male children studying upto 8 or 9 standards is quite sufficient to earn a living for the family. With regard to female students, the Muslim parents think that they should give up going to schools once they attain age. Some parents fear to send their grown up daughters to schools because of modern city culture and security.

### Colombo Central

No.	Name	Address	Medium			O/L	A/L
			Tamil	Sinhala	English		
1	Zahira College	Maradana, Colombo 10	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2	Hameed Al-Husseinie College	45 Husainiya Street, Colombo 12	✓	✓		✓	✓
3	Darussalam Maha Vidyalaya	281 Jumma Masjid Road, Colombo 10	✓	✓		✓	
4	Fathima Muslim Ladies College	155 Bandaranayake Mawatha, Colombo 12	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
5	Al-Hidaya Maha Vidyalaya	Sri Sangaraja Mawatha, Colombo 10	✓	✓		✓	
6	Khairiya Muslim Balika Maha Vidyalaya	166 Dematagoda Road, Colombo 09	✓	✓		✓	✓
7	Al Ameen Vidyalaya	54/1 Sir Mohamed Macan Markar Mawatha, Colombo 03	✓			✓	
8	Al Iqbal Balika Maha Vidyalaya	60 Sir James Peiris Mawatha, Colombo 02	✓			✓	
9	Al Nasser Maha Vidyalaya	61 St. Joseph's Street, Colombo 14	✓			✓	
10	St. Sebastian Tamil Maha Vidyalaya	108 Belmont Street, Colombo 12	✓			✓	
11	Kotahena Muslim Vidyalaya	19 Green Lane, Colombo 13	✓			✓	
12	Al Hakeem Vidyalaya	57 Belmont Street, Colombo 12	✓			✓	
13	T.B. Jayah Maha Vidyalaya	24 Sir James Peiris Mawatha, Colombo 02	✓			✓	
14	Al Hikma College	65 St. Sebastian Street, Colombo 12	✓			✓	
15	St. Sebastian Sinhala Vidyalaya	Silver Smith Lane, Colombo 12		✓		✓	

**Colombo North**

No.	Name	Address	Medium			O/L	A/L
			Tamil	Sinhala	English		
1	Sir Razick Fareed Muslim Vidyalaya	St. Mary's Road, Mattakkuliya, Colombo 15	✓			✓	
2	Hamza Muslim Maha Vidyalaya	74 Muthuwella Mawatha, Colombo 15	✓			✓	✓

**Borella**

No.	Name	Address	Medium			O/L	A/L
			Tamil	Sinhala	English		
1	Al Hijra Muslim Vidyalaya	239 Sri Dhamma Mawatha, Colombo 10	✓			✓	

**Colombo West**

No.	Name	Address	Medium			O/L	A/L
			Tamil	Sinhala	English		
1	Muslim Ladies College	22 Kensington Garden, Colombo 04	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Out of the 19 Muslim Schools, 15 are Boys schools and 4 are Girls schools, 11 are Tamil medium, 4 are Tamil and Sinhalese medium, 3 are Tamil, Sinhalese and English medium and 1 Sinhalese medium. All the 19 schools have classes upto G.C.E.-Ordinary Level. Only 6 schools have classes upto G.C.E.-Advance Level. The principals in Colombo Muslim schools – 40% are Grade I. 50% are Grade II and the balance 10% from service. Of this 70% are males and the balance 30% are females. 60% of the principals are permanent residents in Colombo, the balance 40% come from out stations.

There are 2 specific problems with regard to the teachers in Colombo Muslim Schools.

1. Insufficient trained subject teachers.
2. Shortage of graduate teachers.

Tamil and Sinhalese medium Muslim schools in Colombo do not have a single trained Sinhalese medium teacher to teach Islam. The other important issue is to find out whether the teachers performing their duties with responsibility and dedication. Many teachers have organized transfers to Colombo Muslim schools in order to continue their higher studies to improve their earning. There are about 20% untrained voluntary teachers, mostly females to cover up the shortage of teachers. Salaries and remunerates for these volunteer teacher are met by the School Development Societies (SDS) or private donors.

**Examinations and results**

Students performance in examination is an important aspect of the schools.

<u>Name of Examination</u>	<u>Student participation</u>	<u>Results</u>
5 <sup>th</sup> Standard Scholarship	100%	25%
G.C.E. (O/L)	100%	25%
G.C.E. (A/L)	100%	10%

(Source: All Ceylon Union of Muslim League Youth Front – ACUMLYF)

The following statistics show the University admission from Colombo Muslim schools for the last five years.

Name of Schools	Arts	Commerce	Science	Medicine	Engineering	others
Hameed Al-Hussainee College	-	2	-	-	-	-
Al-Hakeem M.V.	1	-	-	-	-	-
Fathima M.B.M.V.	4	2	1	1	-	2
Khairiya M.B.M.V.	1	-	-	-	-	-
Muslim Ladies College	3	3	9	-	-	3

Main reasons for unsatisfactory examination results:

1. Negligence of parents and students.
2. Shortage of qualified and experienced principals and teachers.
3. Lack of tuition and revision classes.
4. Insufficient infrastructure facilities.

eg: Fathima Muslim Girls school with 3150 students – class room requirement is 72, but it has only 50. Teachers requirement is 106 but has only 84. Shortage 22.

### Other Drawbacks

Colombo Muslim schools with more than 3000 students have less than 1 acre land space. At the same time Colombo Royal College with 7000 students have more than 20 acre of land area. Most of the Muslim schools in Colombo do not have play grounds. Muslim schools with over-crowded multi storied buildings look like factories and warehouses.

### Particulars of Muslim Schools in Colombo District

No.	Name of Schools	No. of Students	Land Area	Classroom Space
01	C/Sir Razik Fareed M.V., Colombo 15	856	1 acre, 16 prchs	7200 sq.ft
02	C/Hamza Muslim V., Colombo 15	626	12.60 prchs	
03	C/Al-Hidaya M.V., Colombo 10	1310	1 acre, 1root	
04	C/Al-Iqbal Balika M.V., Colombo 02	256	1.5 acre	1800 sq.ft
05	C/Al-Nasser M.V., Colombo 14	796	36.5 prchs	8140 sq.ft
06	C/Darussalam M.V., Colombo 10	1059	30.65 prchs	
07	C/Khairiya M.B.M.V., Colombo 10	1430	22.1 prchs	
08	C/St. Sebastian T.M.V., Colombo 12	404	26 prchs	
09	C/Kotahena Muslim V., Colombo 12	720	2 acre	8000 sq.ft
10	C/Al-Hakeem M.V., Colombo 12	60	6.22 prchs	400 sq.ft
11	C/T.B. Jayah M.V., Colombo 02	456	17 prchs	
12	C/Al-Ameen M.V., Colombo 03	328	40 prchs	3500 sq.ft
13	C/Al-Hijra M.V., Colombo 10	304	1 acre	3300 sq.ft

With these meager facilities, they are put into the same basket with the highly developed schools like Ananda, Nalanda, Royal, Vishaka, Devi Balika, Sirima Bandaranayke. The cutoff marks for the university admission is the same to all the schools. This system greatly affects the Muslim schools.

(Source: Ministry of Education – Report on issues related to Education of the Muslim Community – 2009)



#### **4. Social Welfare**

##### **Drugs Trafficking and Underworld Terrorist Gangs**

The number of drug addicts have doubled during the last 25 years. Although there are 15 different brands, Heroin No. 1 – type 3 is more popular. Police Narcotic Bureau says Heroine manufactured in Pakistan, Afghanistan and Lebanon are smuggled into Sri Lanka via India. Heroine is also smuggled from Myanmar, Laos and Thailand. The Police have carried out 10,117 raids in the year 2000 alone and arrested 10,278 illegal drug traffickers. Most of the drug traffickers in Colombo are Muslims.

According to National Dangerous Drug Control Board there are 40,000 regular Heroine users in Sri Lanka. Out of this 20,000 are from Colombo and its suburbs. Some powerful rich businessmen are behind the illegal Heroine business in Colombo.

'Ganja' known as 'Cannabis Sativa' is widely used in Sri Lanka. It is illegally grown in the jungles and transported to Colombo. According to Police Crime Division there are about 200,000 Ganja addicts in Sri Lanka and 50,000 in Colombo. Large numbers of Muslim youths in Maligawatta – Colombo Central and Mattakkuliya – Colombo North have become Ganja addicts.

Politician and senior police officers are said to be responsible for the large number of Muslims to become drug addicts and traffickers. They have been using their political power and Government vehicles for smuggling drugs. Muslim youths in underworld terrorist gangs have become drug addicts and criminals. According to Police Narcotic Bureau, Police Terrorist Investigation Division, Local Police, Custom Police and Exercise Department, Muslim youths in Colombo Central and North are very active in drug trafficking.

The underworld terrorist gangs in Colombo are not confined to the Muslim Community alone. Sinhala and Tamil youths with the support of powerful politicians and senior security officers are believed to be behind the Underworld Terrorist Gangs in Colombo. According to information gathered by Police Criminal Division in 2005 there were 84 underworld gangs operated in the whole country. Out of this 54 gangs were in Colombo and its suburbs. More than 20 gangs were operating in Colombo City alone. Maligawatta, Borella, Kimbula Ela, Bloemendhal Road, Central Road, Kirillapone, Grandpass, Kehelwatta, Maradana and Slave Island have been identified as very active underworld terrorist locations. There were 4 Muslim gangs operating in

Maligawatta and "Apple watta" is the centre of illegal activities. According to a former Police Chief, there were 10 Muslim women also carrying out illegal operations here.

From ordinary guns to T57 are being used by the leaders of underworld terrorist gangs. Police Crime Division have found that they have been using explosives also. Arms and ammunition bought from Army deserters are being used for contract abduction and extortions.

(Source: World Assembly of Muslim Youths – WAMY)

Unemployment, inadequate housing and lack of education are the main causes for the rapid growth of underworld terrorism and drug trafficking among Colombo Muslims.

## MUSLIMS AND CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS IN SRI LANKA

The racial harmony and peace which existed during the British rule in Ceylon was shattered as a result of the Sinhala-Muslim riots in 1915. The principal effect of the riots was a sense and feeling of helplessness among the Muslims in Ceylon. The bitter memories and the impact of the 1915 riots, polarized the forces among the Muslims and encouraged them to form various organizations in order to safeguard their political rights as well as to better their economy, social and cultural backwardness.

The “Moors Union” established on 29<sup>th</sup> August, 1900 and “Ceylon Muslim Association” formed in 1903 immensely contributed towards the maintenance of the separate identity of the Muslim community. Sidde Lebbe, M.C. Mohamed and I.L.M. Azeez were the pioneers of the “Moors Union” Through this Union it refuted the charges made by Ramanathan about the Anthology of Muslims. When the first Muslim Advocate in Ceylon Mr. M.C. Abdul Cader was forbidden by the Chief Justice in 1905 to appear before the High Court with head and feet covered, the Muslim community immediately agitated and this campaign ended with the withdrawal of the original ruling and was a victory for the Muslim activists.

Manning Reform increased the unofficials in the Legislative council to 36 and 12 members to be elected on communal basis. In this constitution, Muslims were given three communally elected seats, H.M. Macan Markar, N.H.M. Abdul Cader and T.B. Jaya were elected to represent the Muslim community in the new legislative council inaugurated on October 15, 1924.

When Donoughmore Commissioners visited Ceylon to make changes in the constitution, the Muslim political Association led by N.H.M. Abdul Cader, T.B. Jaya and H.M. Macan Marker gave evidence before the commission. Their main representation was to increase the member of Muslim representatives in the legislature from 3 to 5 members, Communal representation and the safeguarding of their rights from the majority community. The Donoughmore Commissioners abolished communal representation, extended the franchise to all adults over 21 years and recommended the creation of electoral districts with population of 75,000 to 90,000 each, they substituted the state council and handed over its functions to the board of Ministers. The elections on the extended franchise were held in May-June 1931 and when the first State

council met in July 7, 1931, there was only one Muslim member elected from Batticaloa South.

The Muslim community was not satisfied with the position to which it had been relegated by the Donoughmore commission, Mr. T.B. Jaya led a deputation to Whitehall London in 1932 and demanded a system of representation in which the Muslim community, scattered as they were, could have adequate representation. The British Government did not make any electoral adjustment favourable to the Muslims. When the election in 1936 was held for the state council, none of the Muslim members won. However A.R.A. Razik and T.B. Jayah were nominated as Muslim representatives.

The All Ceylon Muslim political conference which united all the political divisions among the Muslims went before the Soulbury Commission on 5<sup>th</sup> February, 1945 and demanded that the communal representation to be replaced to safeguard their interests. The Soulbury Commissioners were greatly concerned about the position of the minorities under the New Constitution and expressed the hope that in the demarcation of electorates, such electoral devices as multiple member constituencies, reduced electoral strength for minority areas etc., would be utilized in order to give adequate representation to the Minority communities, especially the Muslims as they are more or less scattered throughout the country.

At the end of the first state council the Board of Ministers demanded full Responsible Government by the removal of the three officers of state and the reserve powers of the Governor. In the meantime, world war II broke out in 1939 and the Secretary of State put off all questions of constitutional reforms. He, however, appealed to the Board of Ministers for their co-operation in the war efforts and made a declaration that Ceylon would be considered for independence after the war. The Ministers and the people gave their full support for the war-efforts.

When the war came to an end, the Board of Ministers reminded the British Government of its promise and presented their Dominion Status Bill before the State council. British Government – Whitehall insisted on approval of it by a Majority of three quarters of the total members of the State council – an impossible task unless the minorities gave their supports. Indeed this requirement of three quarters majority was the most potent guarantee that the wishes of the minorities would be given a great deal of consideration. All the Muslim members supported it. Mr. T.B. Jayah and Dr. M.C.M. Kāleel spoke in

favour and A.R.A. Raziks and Dr. Kaleel voted for it. Jaya was not present at the time of the voting.

When the Muslim members of this Council decided to take a definite stand at the time the "Sri Lanka" Bill was introduced, they did so for one and one reason only. The reason was that where political freedom of this country was involved, they were prepared to go to any length, even to the point of sacrificing advantages and benefit as a result of such action.

Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike expressed his gratitude to the Muslim members on behalf of his own community. Hansard of 22<sup>nd</sup> March 1945, Column 2062 Hon'ble Bandaranaike "..... May I refer to the support that the main principle of the bill has received from the Hon'ble Nominated member Mr. T. B. Jayah, The Hon'ble Nominated member Mr. Razik and the Hon'ble member for Colombo Central Dr. M. C. M. Kaleel among the minority members".

"What have the Nominated member Mr. T.B. Jayah and his colleagues the Hon. Nominated member Mr. Razik and the Hon. Member for Colombo central have done? There is provided in the bill a scheme of representation under which the Muslim community in this country might suffer in the form in which it appears, but yet, he himself was so sincerely determined to work for the main idea of freedom that he was prepared to vote for the principle embodied in the bill"

"But I can give the Hon. Nominated Member Mr. Jayah this assurance on behalf of, I think, the vast majority, at least of the community that I represent, that in the struggle for freedom whatever may or may not be the recommendation of the Soulbury Commission on our representation, he may be rest assured that we will be quite prepared to consider any reasonable point of view that he might put forward."

Many were familiar with the part played by Sir Mohamed Macan Markar, Dr. T.B. Jayah, Sir Razik Fareed, Dr. M.C.M. Kaleel, Mr. M.A.C.M. Saleh, and Dr. Badiudin Mahmud the founder joint secretaries of All Ceylon Muslim League and Siddi Lebbe, Wapiche Marikar and I.L.M. Abdul Azeez of Moors Association. They enthusiastically supported the independence of Sri Lanka. The Muslims never obstructed the political progress of the country.

In 1924, Manning Reforms increased the unofficals in the Legislative Council to 37 of which 6 were to be elected on communal basis. 3 Muslims were

elected by the entire Muslim Community of the Island. It was after 1924, when the communally elected members represented the Muslim interests in the legislature, Muslim education was given some thought, Muslim peasants were given lands for cultivation. Muslim law Committee was set up under the chairmanship of Justice M.T. Akbar, which produced the Muslim marriage and Divorce Ordinance and the Muslim Intestate Succession and Wakfs Ordinances.

Donoughmore Commission abolished communal representations, extended the franchise to all adults above 21 years, recommended the creation of electoral districts and substituted State Council for the Legislative Council. Only one Muslim member was elected from Batticaloa South in the election held in May-June 1931 for the State Council.

Muslim community was not satisfied with the position to which it had been relegated by the Donoughmore Commission. When the election was held in 1936 for the State Council, none of the Muslim members won. However, A.R.A. Razik and T.B. Jayah were nominated as Muslim representatives. The Governor made the nomination on the advice of the Board of Ministers which was dominated by Sinhala Buddhists. In other words Muslim representatives under this system were selected by the leaders of the Sinhala Community. The obligation of these Muslim representatives were more towards their patrons than towards the community they are supposed to represent. This system gave rise to the emergence of Muslim representatives not quite familiar with the aspirations of the Muslims Community. So the agitation for directly elected Muslim representation commenced with the removal of the communal representation by the Donoughmore Commission.

### **The Soulbury Constitution – (1947 – 1972)**

The All Ceylon Muslim Political Conference which united all the political divisions among the Muslims went before the Soulbury Commission on 5<sup>th</sup> February 1945. They demanded that the Communal representation to be replaced to safeguard the ethnic rights of the Muslims in Ceylon.

The Soulbury Commissioners were greatly concerned about the position of the minorities under the new constitution and expressed the hope that in the demarcation of electorates, such electoral divisions as multiple members constituencies, reduced electoral strength for minorities areas etc. would be utilized in order to give adequate representation to the minority communities, specially the Muslims as they are more or less scattered throughout the

country. It also provided protection to minorities against legislations which the majority might be tempted to enact to the disadvantages of the minorities.

### **SLFP – Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike Constitution – (1972 – 1978)**

The Sri Lanka Freedom Party received a mandate at the general election held on 27<sup>th</sup> May 1970 to repeal the Soulbury Constitution and drafted a new constitution. SLFP declared the parliament to be the National State Assembly and removed some of the important safeguards provided for the minorities by the Soulbury Constitution. The provisions of Section 29 (2) and (3) of the Soulbury Constitution which were designed to give some protection to minorities did not find a place in the SLFP Republican Constitution. It did not re-enact the provisions for the appointment of members to represent interests that are not represented or adequately represented. The Senate where in the minorities found a forum to air its views and grievances was also disappeared in the new constitution.

### **UNP – J.R. Jayawardena Constitution – 1978**

The United National Party headed by Mr. J.R. Jayawardena, won the election on 21<sup>st</sup> July 1977 and drafted a new constitution on 7<sup>th</sup> September 1978. The UNP constitution is the same with SLFP constitution of 1972 with regard to the abolition of safeguard to minorities. Both constitutions refrained from re-enacting the provisions of section 29 of the Soulbury Constitution, reinstating the principals of appointment and resurrecting the Senate. More damaging are the provisions for the Executive Presidency, the demarcation of electoral districts and the proportional Representation election system introduced in the UNP – Jayawardena Constitution which have seriously affected the rights the Muslim Community enjoyed for more than half a century in this country.

### **Citizenship Act.**

At the time of independence it was made out that under the Soulbury Constitution, out of the 95 elected members 42 members would be returned from the minorities. Within four years of independence, the whole scheme of representation which involved weightage to the minorities, was totally distorted. Passing of the Citizenship Laws which de-citizenshiped and disfranchised about a million Muslims and Tamils and deprived them of the representation they had in Parliament, was the first blow directed against the minorities in this country. It also resulted in the majority community – Sinhalese who were only 68% of the population at that time, captured 80% of the representation in Parliament. The Citizenship Laws made the totality of the Muslims and Tamils in the country as doubtful citizens and we were undergoing several hardships in

registering of names in voters list, obtaining National Identity Cards and many other matters to which the Sinhalese were not subjected to. It is one of the most discriminatory piece of legislation. Not only it was passed and circulars sent to Departments not to employ doubtful citizens, but also the issue of Ration Books to the Muslims and Tamils depends on the proof of citizenship. As the Laws stands today, Muslims and Tamils who would be born in the future, will with the passing time, have to prove the birth in Sri Lanka of themselves and a series of ancestors, if they want to establish their citizenship.

### **Officials Language**

With the passing of the Official Language Bill in 1956 and the introduction of Sinhala and Tamil as the medium of instructions in schools, the Muslims accepted the change and opted to learn Sinhala. Several Muslims particularly those who live in the Urban Towns in the Sinhala speaking areas, educated their children in the Sinhala medium. As a result a new generation of Muslim youths have emerged in the Sinhala speaking areas who speak very little Tamil if not none at all, and who now demand even the religious sermons in the mosques to be delivered in Sinhala, the only language they understand. This transformation has awakened the Muslims to the most complicated problem of finding instantly, sufficient Islamic religious books and literatures in Sinhala and also to find the ways and means of preventing a potential split in the community between the Sinhala Speaking and Tamil Speaking. Almost all the Muslim schools in the Sinhala Speaking areas are Tamil medium schools. More than two – third of the Muslims living in the Sinhala Speaking area where the language of administration is only Sinhala, have to educate their children in Sinhala. Unfortunately the Muslims do not have sufficient Sinhala medium Muslim schools in many parts of the country where the Muslim children could get their education in Sinhala medium up to the university entrance. As it is, the Official Language Bill has done more damages and have placed the Muslim community in a disadvantageous position than any other community in Sri Lanka.

### **Local Government**

Pradeshiya Sabhas, Urban Councils and Municipal Councils constituted under the provisions of the Pradeshiya Sabhas Act and Local Authorities Election (Amendment) Act did not give equal opportunities for the Muslims to participate in decision making process relating to Administration and Development activities at the local level.



The UNP proposal dated 20 February, 1984 to the All party Conference, it was stated that there would be 200 – 250 Pradeshiya Sabhas and that they would be vested with necessary powers and functions. The economic viability and stability will be ensured by careful demarcation of the area of authority, taking into consideration of population, size, resources etc.

His Excellency the president in his statement dated 25 June, 1986 said that in order to allay the apprehension of any community the Government was prepared to consider the establishment of units to give the ethnic groups the control of Provincial Government such as community oriented AGA Division, Pradeshiya Sabhas and other unit of local self – government.

There were 549 Village Councils with 7,316 members, and 83 Town Councils with 528 members prior to the getting up of the Development Councils in 1981. We had 138 DRO's Divisions before the establishment of the 241 AGA Divisions for local administration directly under the Ministry of Home Affairs. The Government without appointing a delimitation commission and inviting the members of the public to make representations they desired regarding the delimitation of the area of administration of the local bodies, have established 257 Pradeshiya Sabhas to elect 3,695 members, 39 Urban Councils to elect 416 members and 12 Municipal Councils to elect 255 members in the 25 districts of the country. This important operation was carried out unilaterally by the Government without consulting the people specially when these sub-national units are meant to give an opportunity to the minorities to share power at the local level.

In the list of local bodies, we find that the interests of the Sri Lanka Muslim Community have been deliberately ignored when carving out the local bodies. Muslims do not have Pradeshiya Sabhas, Urban Councils and Municipal Councils according to our national ethnic ratio. Muslims being 8%, it is our legitimate right to elect 181 members in 21 Pradeshiya Sabhas, 32 members in 3 Urban Councils and 19 members in 01 Municipal Council in order to participate effectively like the Sinhalese and Tamils in decision making process relating to administration and development activities at the Local level.

Muslim majority local bodies could be easily created in the AGA Divisions of Colombo, Beruwela, Harispattu, Puttalam, Pottuvil, Akkaraipattu, Attalaichenai, Nanthavur, Sammanthurai, Kalmunai, Irrakkamam, Kattankudi, Eravur, Ottamawadi, Valaichenai, Muthur, Kinniya, Thoppur, Kuchchaveli, Musali,

Erikalampiti, Kalpiti, Kuliypitiya, Thampalakamam, Thambakaduwa, Lankapura, Welimada, Mawanella, Udunuwera and Medadumbura.

On population basis the land area allocated to the Sinhala Pradeshiya Sabhas are 13 times more than the land area allocated to the Muslim Pradeshiya Sabhas in the Ampara District. Worst discriminations have taken in Kattankudi, Eravur, Ottamawadi, Valaichenai in Batticaloa District and Muthur, Kinniya, Thampalakamam and Kuchchaveli in the Trincomalee District.

### **Parliament - Demarcation of Electoral Districts**

The UNP – Jayawardene Constitution of 1978 is the same as its predecessor with regard to the abolition of safeguards to minorities. It also refrained from re-enacting the provisions of Section 29 of the Soulbury Constitution, reinstating the principals of appointment, and resurrecting the Senate. More damaging are its provisions with regard to demarcation of Electoral Districts.

Article 96

- (1) The delimitation Commission shall divide Sri Lanka into not less than twenty and not more than twenty four electoral districts, and shall assign names thereto.
- (2) Each Province of Sri Lanka may itself constitute an electoral district or may be divided into two or more electoral districts.
- (3) Where a province is divided into a number of electoral districts, the Delimitation Commission shall have regard to the existing administrative districts, so as to ensure as far as is practicable that each electoral district shall be an administrative district or a combination of two or more administrative districts together constitute an electoral district.
- (4) The electoral district of each Province shall together be entitled to return four members. Independently of the number of members which they are entitled to return by reference to the number of electors whose names appear in the register of electors of such electoral districts, and the Delimitation Commission shall apportion such entitlement equitably among such electoral districts.

The Jayawardene Constitution of 1978 does not contemplate the establishment of any other future Delimitation Commission than the one which was established within three months of its coming into operation. Therefore, the demarcation of electoral districts that it has carried out is final for all times, and equally final is its distribution of the 36 members among the electoral districts of each of the nine provinces on the basis of Article 96(4) and the 160 members in

terms of Article 98. These could be altered only by amending the Constitution by two third majority, which is not practical politics under the proportional representation system which has been introduced into the machinery of elections. This is one of the most reactionary features of the Jayawardene Constitution of 1978.

We notice that the provisions cited above do not contain any instructions to the Delimitation Commission to some attention to the existence of minorities in the country while demarcating electoral districts. In other words, the provisions of the Soulbury Constitution with regard to minority representation have been deliberately omitted in the Jayawardene Constitution of 1978.

When a Delimitation Commission was appointed under the Soulbury Constitution there was a specific direction in Section 41 that the Commission shall have regard to the transport facilities of the Province, its physical features and the community or diversity of interest of its inhabitants. There was a further specific direction that in so doing, that is to say, in dividing the Province into Electoral Districts, where it appears to be Commission that there was in any areas of province a substantial concentration of persons united by a community of interest, whether racial, religious or otherwise, but differing in one or more of these respects from the majority of the inhabitants of that area, the Commission may make such division of the Province into electoral districts as may be necessary to render possible the representation of that interest.

The essence of this provision is that the Commission, in demarcating an electoral district, was required to take into account the question of minority groups, whether they by found on race, religion or other common interest, in order to render possible the representation of such group in the legislature. A Delimitation Commission appointed under that Constitution would therefore have acted contrary to the terms of that provision if of of indviding a Province into electoral districts, it has disregarded this requirement regarding a minority with a common interest.

It was made quite clear in the direction contained in Section 41 (3) that the general rule of each electoral district having as nearly as possible an equal number of persons was subject to this exception, regarding the representation of minority group with a common interest was to over ride the requirement of each electoral district having an equal number of persons. It was in addition to this requirement that the Delimitation Commission under the Soulbury

Constitution was empowered to create multy member constituencies in any Province returning two or more members.

In the 1972 Constitution of Mrs. Bandaranaike, although the Delimitation Commission was required as a general rule to carve out an electoral district for every 75,000 persons and further to create an electoral district for every 1,000 Sq. Miles (calculated according to the provisions laid down) the minority interests was given a special place. In contrast to these directions, in the present Constitution there is total absence of these provisions in the matter of division of Provinces into electoral districts. This Law seems to directed at the Muslim Community rather than at any other in Sri Lanka.

### **Election – Proportional Representation**

When we consider the political fate of the Muslim Community under the system of Proportional Representation introduced by the Jayawardene Constitution of 1978, we have to look closely at the community's dispersion in the country vis-a-vis the provision of paragraph (6) of Article 99 of the Constitution:

“Every recognized political party and independent group polling less than one twentieth of the total valid votes polled at any election in any electoral district shall be disqualified from having any candidate of such party or group being elected for that electoral district”.

In other words, in order to qualify to have its candidates elected, the party or independent group should have polled not less than 5% of the total valid votes polled at the election. The proportion of Muslim voters to other communities is much less than 5% in 11 out of 22 electoral districts. In these districts even if the Muslim community forges a complete solidarity and vote unblock for a party or a group of Muslim candidate, it cannot poll the required minimum and therefore will be disqualified from having any of its candidates elected to represent it. The election laws introduced by the present constitution entitle the voters to vote for one of the parties or independent group whose list of candidates appears on the ballot paper. The party or an independent group that polls the highest number of votes in any electoral district shall be entitled to have the candidate nominated by it, who has secured the highest number of preferences, declared elected, - Article 99. The disqualified votes polled by the parties and independent groups, if any, shall be deducted from the total valid votes polled at the election in that electoral district and the number of Valid votes resulting from such deduction the “relevant number of votes” shall be divided by the number of members to be elected for that electoral district

reduced by one. Then what happens to the Muslim community in electoral districts like Batticaloa or Trincomalee to which 4 seats have been assigned. In these districts in order to have one member elected, the Muslims should collect 1/3 of the relevant number of votes. But Muslims are only 24% and 29% in Batticaloa and Trincomalee districts respectively. It is the same position in other electoral districts except in Colombo and Digamadulla. Therefore nearly 75% of the Muslim community is deprived of the opportunity of being represented by members elected independently by their own community, an opportunity which other communities – Sinhalese and Tamils, have in ample measure.

Under the present system of Proportional Representation election a voter can indicate his preference for three candidates of any one party or independent group. But the UNP and SLFP have nominated only one or two Muslim candidates in their nomination lists in most of the electoral districts Outside Northern and Eastern Provinces. In some districts none. When the Muslims are denied the opportunity to use all the three preferential votes to secure representation for themselves by their own Community members, they are forced to cast their votes for non-Muslim candidates. The present election system enables the non-Muslim community to derive an undue advantage for itself of the Muslim preferential votes.

It is said that to change the present constitution there should be two-third majority in parliament and a referendum. In 1977, the UNP had five-six majority and the former President Jayawardene introduced the new system of Proportional representations. Under this system it is almost impossible for any political party to get two-third majority. In other words the 1978 Constitution cannot be lawfully changed by the methods spelt out in the constitution. This is one of the obnoxious features of Jayawardene Constitution.

The proportional representation cannot be applied to by-elections. When vacancies occur, they are filled by party loyalists, regardless of the opinion of the voters in the electorates or of the appointees connection with them.

Glaring examples of disparity can be noticed with regard to the allocation of voters to electoral districts. No two electoral districts are equal. For instance, the number of voters in the Kandy electoral district in 1983 was 602,232 for 12 members or 50,186 voters per member where as the number of voters in the Vanni electoral district was 128,590 for 5 members or 25,718 voters per member. That is to say, one voter in the Vanni electoral district is equal to nearly two voters in the Kandy electoral district.

## **Delimitation of Electoral Districts**

- (1) **1946 (First) Delimitation** – Constitution 1946. Population 6,484,409. Twenty five electorates on territorial basis. One per 1000 sq. miles and 64 electorates in proportion to persons at the rate of one per every 75,000. Total 89 Seats – Article 76 (2). 89 electorates returning 95 members – One 3 member electorate for Colombo Central. 4-two member electorates for Kadugannawa, Ambalangoda, Balapitiya and Balangoda. With 6 appointed members to represent the unrepresented and under represented interests. Total membership of parliament was 101.
- (2) **1959 (Second) Delimitation** – Constitution 1946 Amended Act No. 4 of 1959. Population 9,361,300. Citizens 8,213,800. Creation of multi member constituencies was limited to racial (interest) groups only and not for the benefit of others. 145 electorates to return 151 members. One 3 members electorate in Colombo Central and four 2 member electorates in Colombo – South, Akmeemana, Muthur, and Batticaloa. With 6 appointed members the parliament had 157 members.

This position remained same at the 4<sup>th</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> parliament. Elections held in March, July 1960, 1965 and 1970 respectively.

### **(3) 1976 (Third) Delimitation:**

- (a) 1976 Delimitation Commission used 1971 Census. Population 12,711,143. Citizens 11,605,903 and provided 143 territorial constituencies on the basis of 90,000 people per constituency. Total 160 territorial constituencies returning 168 members.
- (b) The 1,105,240 non citizens, had no voting rights to elect the representatives provided for their number in population.
- (c) This gave the 73% Sinhalese an undue advantage to elect 82% of the membership while the minorities – 12% Tamils had the opportunity to elect 11% members, 8% muslims had the opportunity to elect 5% members and the 6% Indian Tamils had the opportunity to elect only 3% members.
- (d) In demarcating territorial constituencies the 1976 Delimitation Commission was required to take into account the question of minority

interests. Quite contrary to this, the Delimitation Commission had divided minority villages as in Akkaraipattu, one part in Pottuvil and the other part in Sammanthurai electorates and made the people of Akkaraipattu politically weak.

- (e) The general rule of each electorate having as possible an equal number of voters was subject to exemption with regard to the representation of minority interests only. But the Delimitation Commission had created constituencies with less than half the average number of voters in predominant Sinhala areas – Mahanuwa, Teldeniya, Wiyaluwa and Colombo West.

**(4) 1981 (Fourth) Delimitation:**

- (a) 1981 delimitation was carried out without the General Census due in 1981. It retained the 160 territorial constituencies determined by the 1976 delimitation. 36 seats added for the 9 provinces – 4 seats each without any consideration for the population or land area. Further 29 seats added on the National PR. Total members in Parliament 225.
- (b) The provisions of 1978 constitution with regard to the demarcation of Electoral Districts and the PR election system virtually eliminated elected representatives for the Muslims outside the Northern and the Eastern Provinces from the legislature.
- (c) Out of the 22 Electoral Districts, Muslims have been denied the opportunity of electing their own representation in 18 Electoral Districts.
- (d) However good a representation chosen for it by others may be, he cannot be regarded as an adequate substitute for a representative chosen by the community itself.

**Executive Presidency**

The Executive President of Sri Lanka, is the head of State, head of Government and Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces. No legal proceedings can be initiated against the Executive president in any court or tribunal in respect of anything done or omitted to be done by him or her either in his or her official or private capacity. This means that the head of Government can treat the law with absolute contempt because the law cannot touch him or her. The Executive Presidency is an all powerful institution and

does not enable other institutions to function properly because all those institutions come under the shadow of the Executive Presidency.

When the Executive Presidential system was set up, it was thought that the presidential candidate will have to have the support of the minorities to win and therefore will be sensitive to minority sentiments and aspirations. But what had happened after the elections? The minorities had no chance what so ever to influence the Executive President during the six year of his or her tenure. This has been proved quite clearly by the four elected Executive Presidents we had earlier.

The office of the Executive President is limited to two terms only. The person who won the election for the second term had ignored the minority interests because he or she knew that he or she cannot become the President for the third time under the present constitution.

It is argued that the powers of the Executive Presidency are necessary for rapid economic development. But we have realized that the Executive Presidency had not worked the way it was expected. During the last twenty years rule of the Executive Presidency, thousands of men, women and children have been killed and injured. The number of people who have become refugees have exceeded million. Billions of Rupees have been spent on war.

When the Executive President's political party secures overwhelming majority as happened during the terms of President Jayawardene and President Premadasa, then the Executive President has the right to choose the Prime Minister, the right to determine the number of Ministers and appoint Ministers and assign subjects and functions to them, to determine what subject and functions shall be retained by him or her, change the assignments, alter the composition of Cabinet and the right to appoint Ministers outside the Cabinet and the absolute power to remove any one of them from office, coupled with the powers to dissolve Parliament after the expiration of one year after the general election, his or her unfettered right to appoint the highest posts in the public service, the judiciary, diplomatic representatives and the defence forces are breathtaking and make the Executive President the most powerful person in Sri Lanka.

To circumvent the requirement of Parliamentary approval for expenditure, there is a special fund known as the President's Fund and payments out of this fund



do not need to conform to the procedures for payments and is operated according to President's discretion and pleasure.

The situation would be different when the political party of which the President is the leader, ceases to be the majority in Parliament and the President is confronted by a hostile majority and he or she is vulnerable to the risk of impeachment and dismissal from the office. If the President's policies encounter opposition at the General Election or secure a slender majority, there will be substantial dissemination of the powers of the Executive President.

Parliament is the sources of law making. But there is a rival law making body as well. That is the Executive Presidency. The Executive President under emergency regulation under the Public Security Ordinance not only made laws but also made them prevail over ordinary laws if they conflict. The sole purpose of this kind of use of Emergency Regulations was to by pass Parliament and to dispose with debate, discussions and questions that would otherwise have been raised in Parliament.

There is little justification for granting the Executive President the power to dissolve Parliament which body has as much legitimacy and claim to freedom of action as being elected as representatives of the people in the same way as the Executive President. There can be no equality between the Executive President and Parliament when the life of Parliament depends upon the Presidential will.

The Executive Presidency in Sri Lanka has made a single person a dictator where by the sovereignty is removed from the Parliament where it should be vested.

### **Devolution**

Devolution of power was first introduced into the Sri Lankan Constitution with the passage of the 13th Amendment, certified on 14th November 1987, following the Indo-Lanka Accord of July 29, 1987. Although the scheme of devolution was meant to cover all the nine Provinces, it is disputable that the catalyst was the ethnic conflict and the need for a politically negotiated settlement by addressing the legitimate grievances of the minorities of Sri Lanka – Tamils and Muslims.

The 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment being a part of the constitution, it need not have the approval of APRC or any political party for the implementation of the provisions

of the constitution. This is a constitutional right of the people. However, His Excellency the President Mahinda Rajapaksa has instructed the APRC Committee to identify immediately a course of action to achieve maximum and effective devolution of powers to the provinces under the 13th Amendment in order to meet the aspirations of the Tamil speaking peoples – Tamils and Muslims, especially in the North and East.

### **Presidential Directive for the Implementation of the 13th Amendment**

In formulating a political and economical frame work for the resolution of the national question, the APRC has been guided by the address made by the President on 11 July 2006.

- (a) People in their own localities must take charge of their destiny and control their political and economical environment.
- (b) Devolution also need to address issues relating to identity as well as security and socio-economic development without over reliance on the Centre.
- (c) To address the question of regional minorities.
- (d) A solution to the national question must ensure the unity of the country.

### **Local Bodies:**

To achieve the objectives of the President as given in the guidelines, a Local Government Delimitation Commission should be appointed immediately in order to carry out the following:

- (a) Delimitation of ethnic oriented local bodies and administrative units including the state land and natural resources in proportion to the population.
- (b) Delimitation of the Grama Sabhas, Urban Council and Municipal Council areas and Wards.
- (c) In demarcating Grama Sabhas, Urban Councils and Municipal Councils areas and Wards, consideration should be given to the geography of the area, communication facilities, economic activities and community cohesiveness of the population within the area should be taken into consideration.
- (d) It should also be necessary to ensure that the boundaries of Pradeshiya Sabhas are co-terminus with the boundaries of administrative divisions under the Divisional Secretaries. However, this conditionality need not apply in Urban and Municipal areas.
- (e) The population figures for consideration should be the figures from the 2001 Census except for the Northern and Eastern Provinces wherein available

authentic figures allowing for displacements (both internal and external) since 1983 should be used. The Census figures of 1981 should also be used as a guide in these two Provinces.

### **Police Powers and Law and Order:**

Appropriate action should be taken to ensure that police powers are devolved to the Provinces in terms of the 13th Amendment to the Constitution, the Police Commissions Act No. 1 of 1990 and the 17th Amendment to the Constitution.

The 13th Amendment devolves the subject of Law and Order on the Provinces. The composition of the National Police Commission is provided for in the 17th Amendment while the 13th Amendment provides for the establishment of Provincial Police Commission. It may be prudent to appoint a Senior DIG as head of every Provincial Police Division, as a Senior DIG will also fall into the category of DIGs referred to in the 13th Amendment.

**It would therefore be necessary for the Cabinet of Ministers to take an executive decision to permit the Provinces to exercise powers on Law and Order as stipulated in the 13th Amendment.**

### **Barriers in Implementing the 13th Amendment to Constitution**

1. The existing institutional structures in the Provinces and the Districts are not conducive for devolution.
2. All the three Lists of devolution given in the 9th Schedule to the Constitution are weighted in favour of the Centre, due to the unitary character of the Sri Lankan Constitution.
3. The unitary character of the Sri Lankan Constitution help the Sinhala majority Central authorities, most of whom have an anti-devolution mindset to infringe upon the powers devolved to the minorities.
4. Last twenty two years experience shows that even the minimum devolution to the minorities will not be possible until the anti-devolution mindset of the Sinhala politicians and bureaucrats are removed.

### **Cabinet Ministerial Sub Committee**

The Cabinet Ministerial Sub Committee appointed for the full implementation of the Thirteenth Amendment has not met yet. The Minister of Constitutional Affairs is not a member of that Committee. Neither is Prof. Vitharana who is the Chairman of the APRC.

## MUSLIMS AND THE NATIONAL POLITICAL PARTIES IN SRI LANKA

A true Muslim cannot be a loyal member of such political party whose policies run counter to the interests of his community or religion. When some thing is done in the detriment of Muslim community, Muslim members in the national political parties dare not open their mouths in defence of their community in the appropriate forum for fear of loosing cast in the party hierarchy. However, their membership in the party, and their holding office under it, are held out to the Muslim Community in Sri Lanka and to the outside world as pointing to the high esteem in which the Muslims are being held in Sri Lanka and the political generosity of the ruling party.

In this multi-ethnic, multi-religious, multilingual country, the Muslim community finds itself quite marginalized in that it has not effective representation to make know its needs and aspiration in the decision making body, the Parliament of this country. Like the other communities, the Muslims too want to have their grievances aired in the appropriate forum and have them redressed.

In a parliamentary democracy, a community take part in the government of the country through its freely elected representatives. This fundamental right had been taken away from the overwhelming majority of the Muslim community by the provisions of UNP Jayawardene Constitution of 1978.

Dr. M.C.M. Kaleel and Mr. A.C.S. Hameed were the Chairmen of the UNP and Dr. Badiudin Mahmud was the founder Secretary of the SLFP. The Muslim representatives in the UNP & SLFP were party to the Citizenship Act of 1948, Language Act of 1956, Finance Act of 1963. Also they were party to the removal of Section 29 and the Senate in the Soulbury Constitution and the removal of the Westminster System of Parliament and introducing the Proportional Representation Election System which have made the Muslims of Sri Lanka a community of political and social slaves.

After the independence in 1948, various changes have been effected in the economic structure of the country. State monopolies in the wholesale establishment and retail sales outlets have seriously effected the employment opportunities of Colombo Muslims.

Habitat for Humanity, Sri Lanka – HFHSL, has reported that the Government lacks a national policy and firm commitment to provide adequate housing for

the lower income families in Colombo. There are 18,619 Muslim housing units (2007) in Colombo Central – Annex A12-23, out of which more than 50% are old and unauthorized shanties in predominant Muslim areas. 10,000 new housing units costing US\$ 100 million is the immediate need for the solution of housing problems of lower income Muslim families in Colombo.

85% of the students in Muslim schools are from the poor families, of this at least 25% are below poverty line. Shortage of infrastructure facilities and qualified and trained teachers are the main reasons for the poor examination results. Colombo Muslim schools are put together with government patronized highly developed schools like Ananda, Nalanda, Royal, Visaka and Devi Balika. The cut off marks for the university admission is the same for all the schools in Colombo District. This system has seriously affected the university entrance of Colombo Muslim students.

According to Police Narcotic Bureau, Muslim youths in Colombo are very active in drug trafficking. Lack of employment opportunities, inadequate housing and shortage of proper educational infrastructure facilities in Muslim schools are the root cause for the Colombo Muslim youths to become drug traffickers and members of underworld terrorist gangs.

Colombo population (2001) Sinhalese 270,932 – 42%, Tamils 199,429 – 31%, Muslims 163,167 – 25% and others 13,572 – 2%, Total 647,100 – 100%. Tamil speaking peoples – Tamils and Muslims are 56% and over 2/3rd – 67.3% of the population of Colombo Divisional Secretariat Division. But the Divisional Secretary and the language of administration have always been Sinhalese. Government Employees in Colombo Municipal Council, Colombo Divisional Secretary's Division, Police Stations, Hospitals, Maternity Homes and all the Government Departments in Colombo Municipal area are not according to ethnic ratio.

From what had happened to the minorities in Sri Lanka, the Muslims find it difficult to accept the view that the UNP and the SLFP are truly national parties. They are Sinhala parties to look after the interest of the Sinhalese only. When one bears in mind the policies that have been pursued by successive Governments, by one or the other of these parties, on Citizenship, Language, Education, Employment and Land Alienation, Muslims find it difficult, in fact, impossible to accept their position as National Parties.

Political powers by virtue of numbers have always been in the hands of the majority community – Sinhalese. This had led to serious discrimination of the

minorities, Tamils and Muslims, by successive governments of the so called National political parties - UNP and SLFP, since independence. It is the failure of the Sinhalese majority to recognize and respond to the legitimate rights and needs of the minorities have led to dissatisfaction, terrorism and demand for separation.

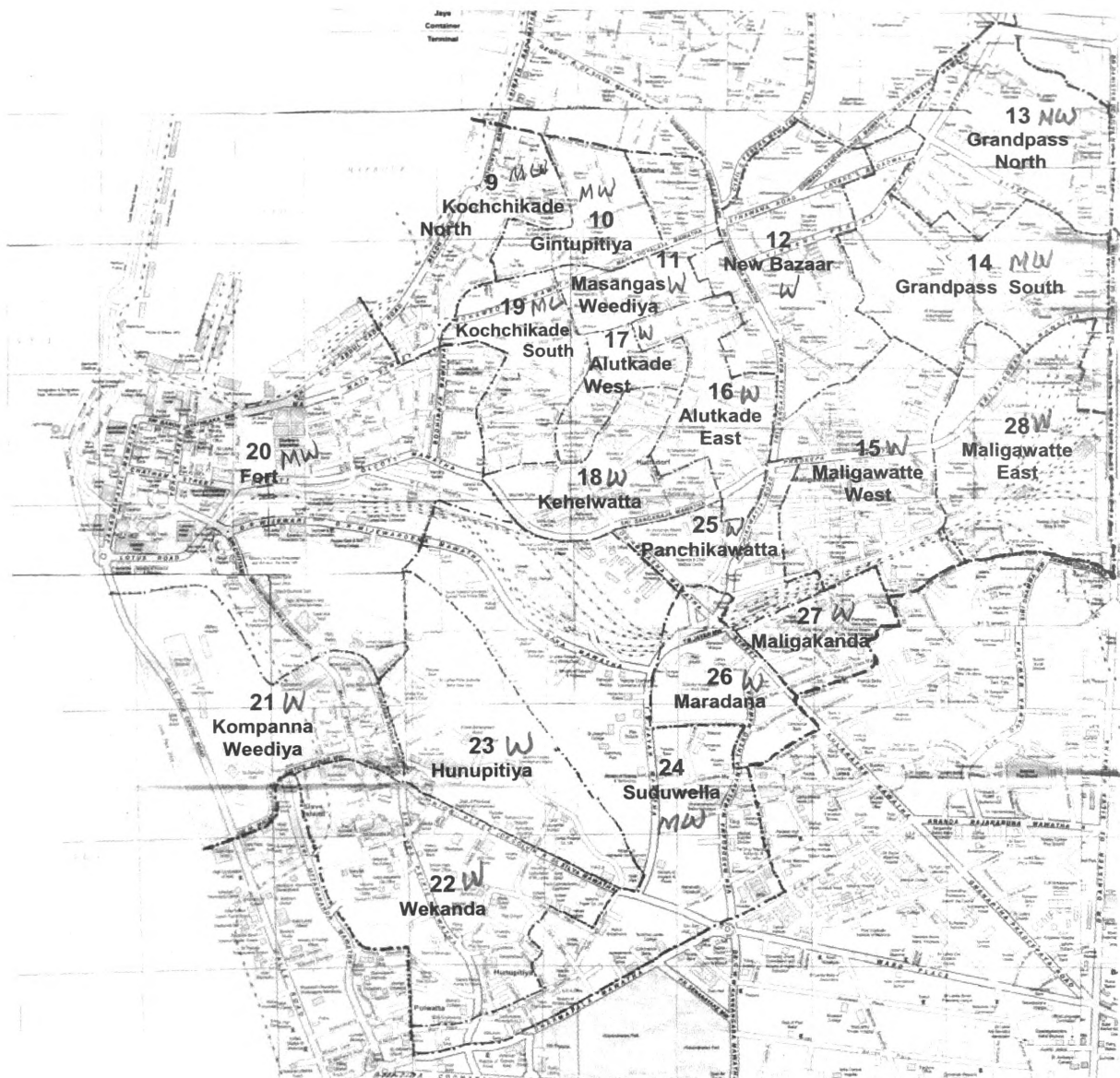
We the “Sri Lankan Muslims” have our own ethnic, religious, cultural and political identity. As people who have been subjected to dual oppressions of Sinhala hegemony and Tamil terrorism in the social, economic and political spheres, our intensified political activities through powerful Muslim political organisations have assumed vital importance in the present context. Nowadays, the political tendency is to view matters in the light of Sinhala interests, Tamil interests and Muslim interests. Under these circumstances, it is the responsibility of the politically conscious members of the Muslim civil society to carry the burden of consolidating the political strength of the Muslims by organizing awareness programmes in predominant Muslim areas.

In the light of lessons learned from the past and with the goal of a dignified and peaceful co-existence on the basis of equality with the other communities, this is the most opportune time for us to raise our voices and wage our struggle to win our legitimate rights. In this regard, it has become an absolute necessity to establish a unified political command and an enlightened leadership with a view to articulate the political future of the Muslims.

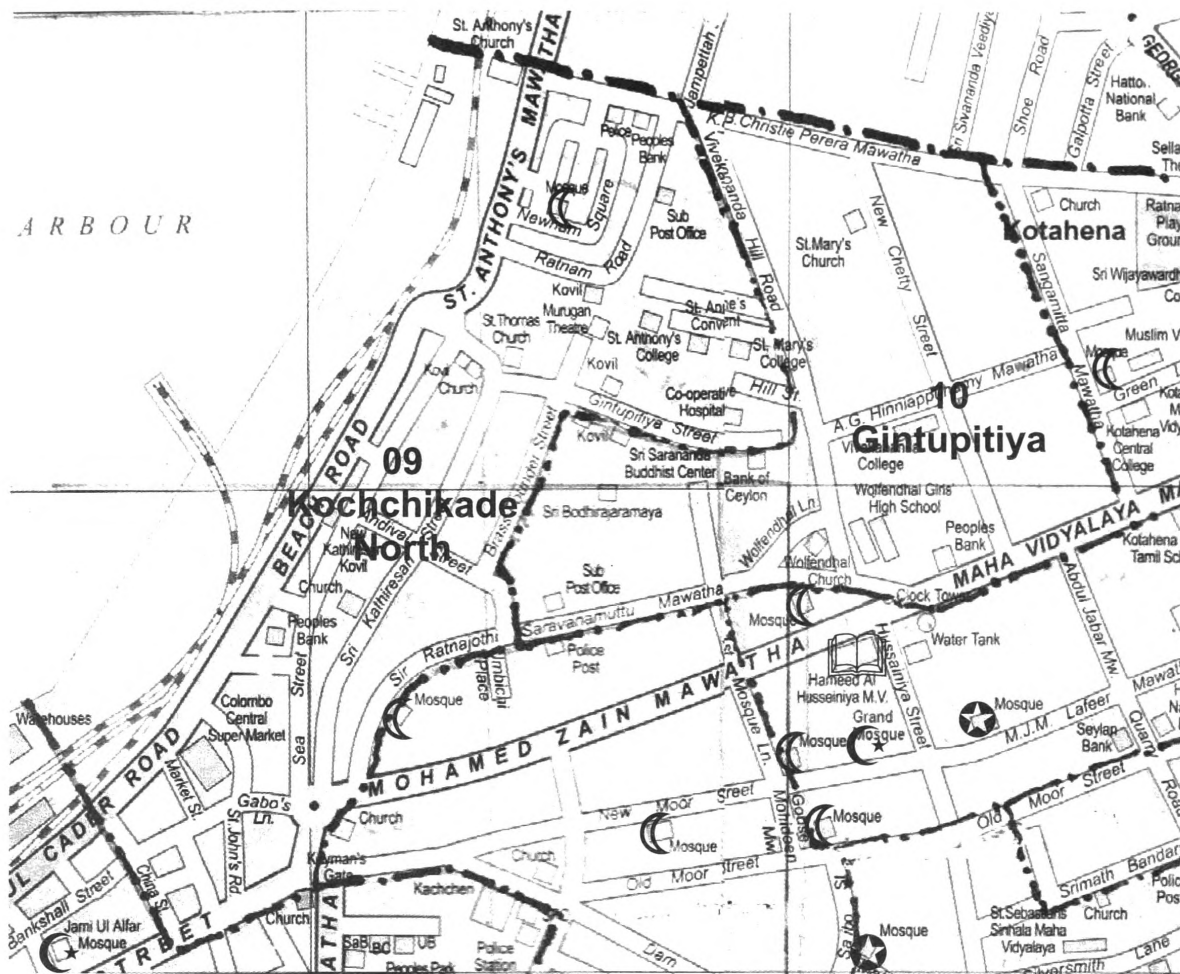
Before we place our grievances before the other communities and their political leaders, we must clearly identify our problems and arrive at a consensus among ourselves. Unfortunately such a consensus has proved elusive so far and this has stood as a barrier between us and the realization of our objectives for a long time. The most urgent issues faced by the Colombo Muslims which need immediate solution:-

1. Employment – 10,000 jobs
2. Housing – 10,000 housing unit for the lower income Muslim families
3. Education – vacancies for qualified and trained teachers and the shortage of infrastructure facilities in the 19 Muslim schools should be filled immediately.
4. Social welfare – eradication of drug trafficking and underworld unlawful activities among the Muslim youths.

**A Muslim Special Task Force is necessary to mobilize all our resources and energy in order to formulate our objectives. This has become the urgent need of the hour.**



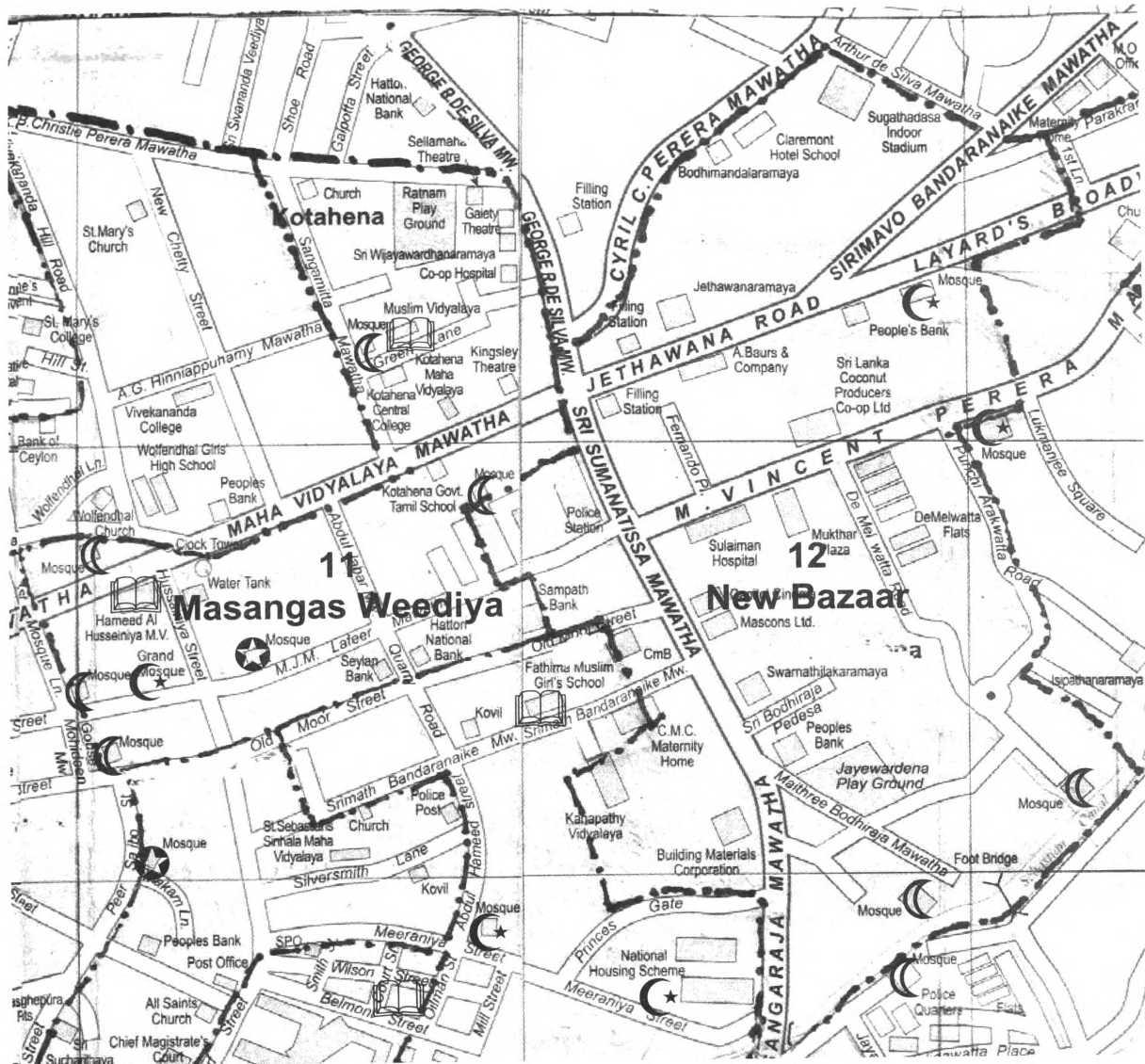
## COLOMBO CENTRAL ELECTORATE NO. 02



## KOCHCHIKADE & GINTUPITIYA

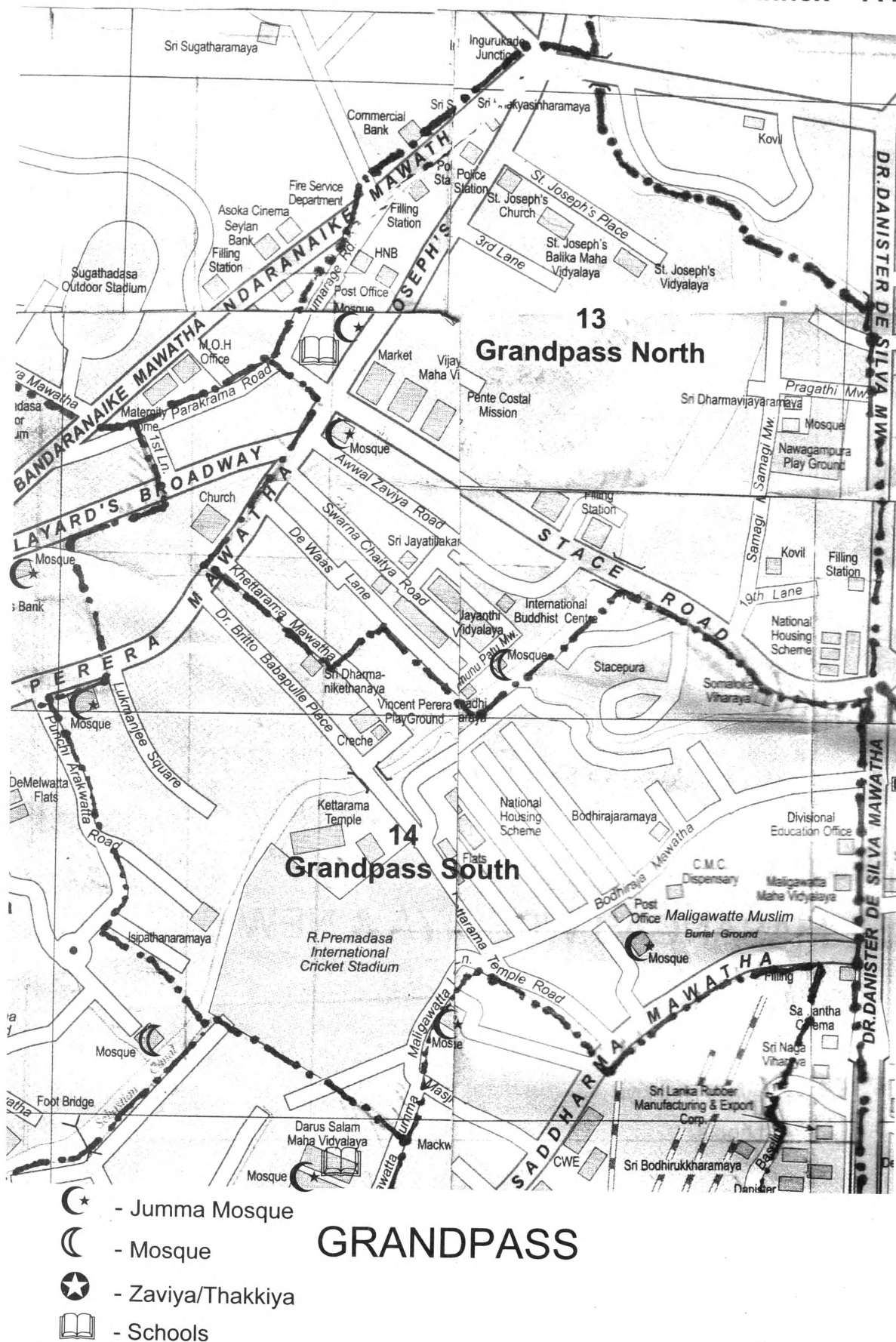
- ☾ - Jumma Mosque
- ☾ - Mosque
- ★ - Zaviya/Thakkiya
- 📖 - Schools





## MASANGAS WEEDIYA & NEW BAZAAR

- ☾ - Jumma Mosque
- ☾ - Mosque
- ★ - Zaviya/Thakkiya
- 📖 - Schools



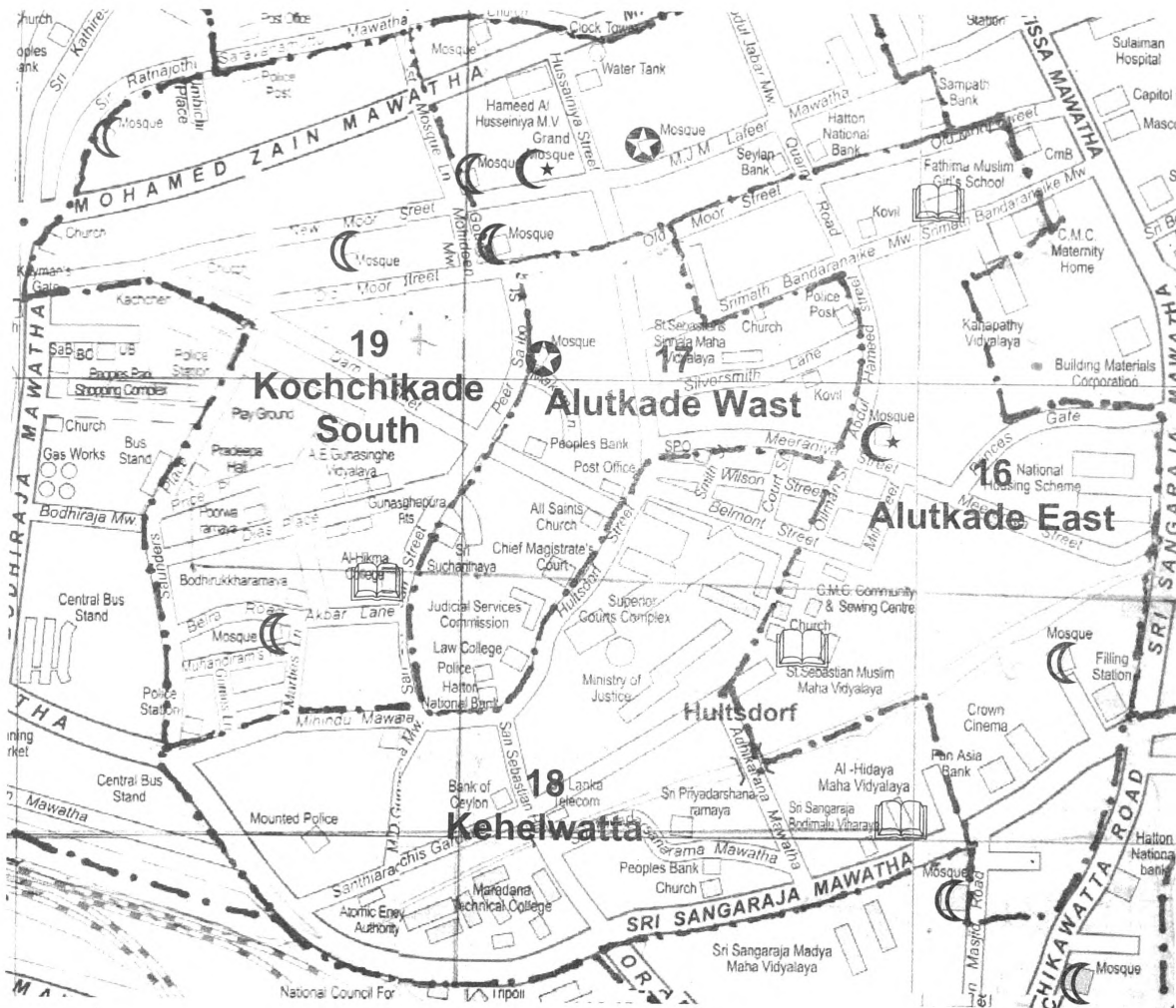
15, 28 ✓

## Annex – A5



## MALIGAWATTE

- ☾★ - Jumma Mosque
- ☾ - Mosque
- ☼★ - Zaviya/Thakkiya
- 📖 - Schools



## ALUTKADE & KEHELWATTA

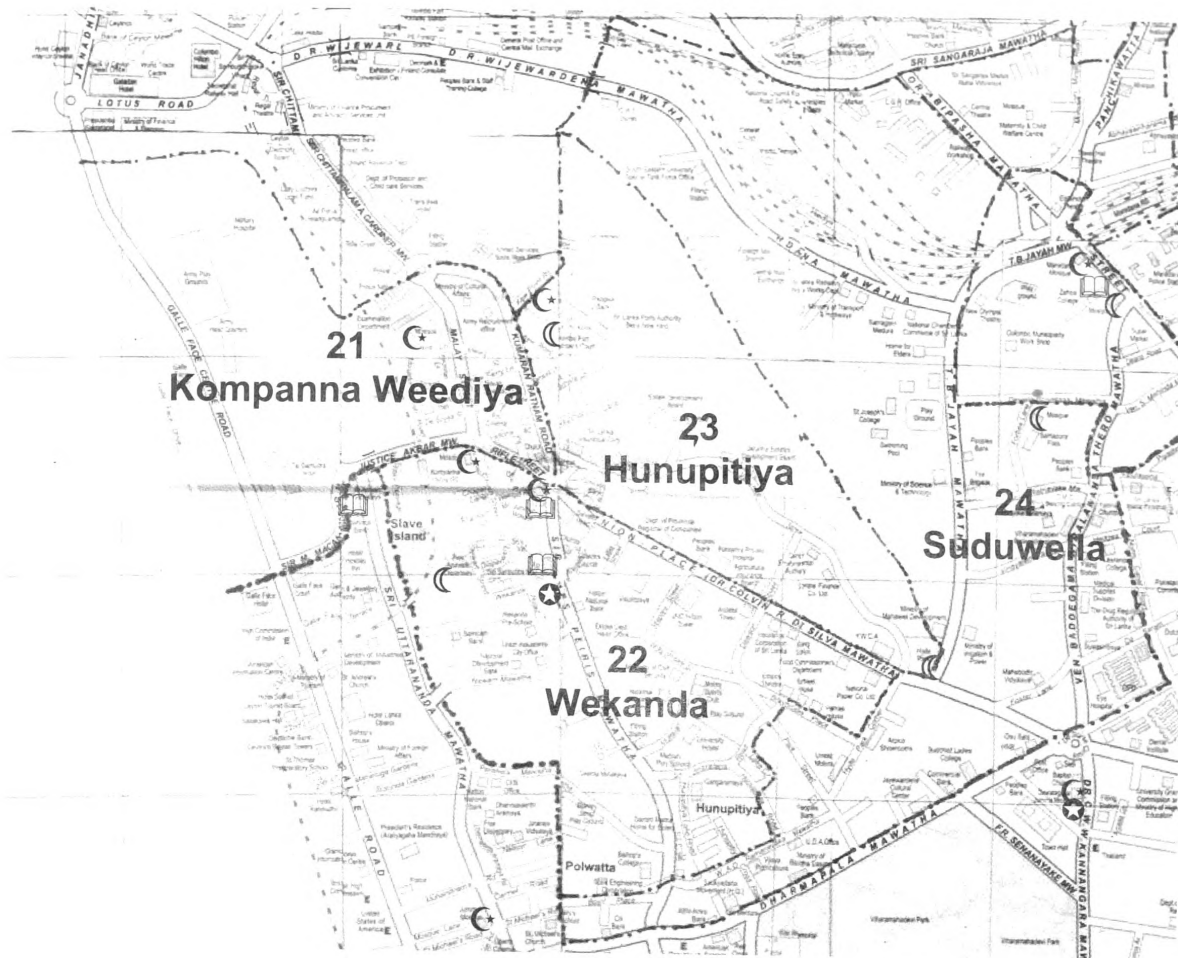
- ☾ - Jumma Mosque
- ☾ - Mosque
- ★ - Zaviya/Thakkiya
- 📖 - Schools



## COLOMBO FORT

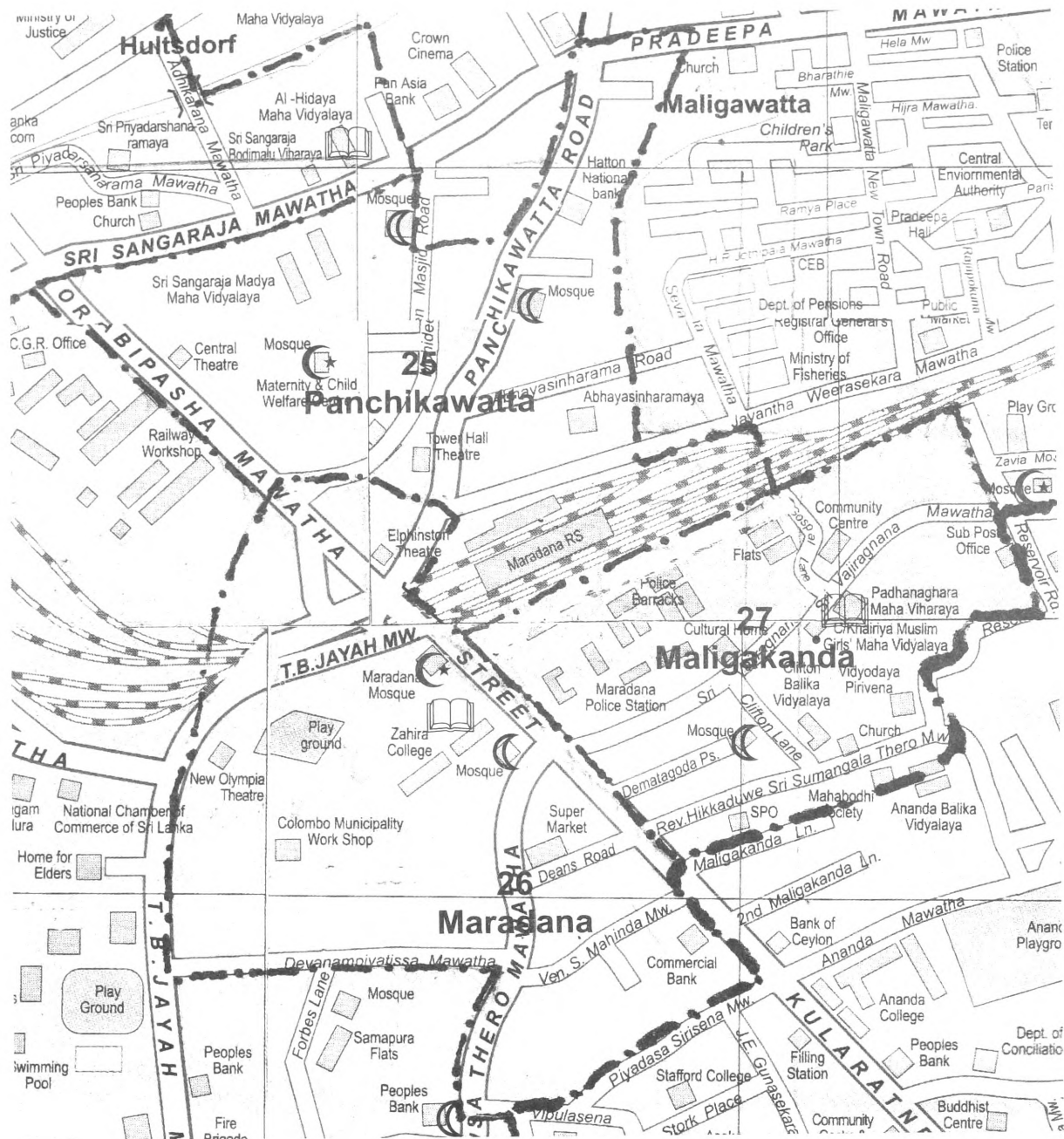
- ☾★ - Jumma Mosque
- ☾ - Mosque
- ★ - Zaviya/Thakkiya
- 📖 - Schools





## SLAVE ISLAND

- ☾★ - Jumma Mosque
- ☾ - Mosque
- ★ - Zaviya/Thakkiya
- 📖 - Schools



## MARADANA

- ☾ - Jumma Mosque
- ☾ - Mosque
- ★ - Zaviya/Thakkiya
- 📖 - Schools

## Annex – A10

### MUSLIM HOUSES AND VOTERS

#### Election Department Voters Register - 2007

	Muslim Houses	Muslim Voters	Other Voters	Total Voters
<b>Polling Division No. 1</b>				
Jampettah Lane (Even Nos. 2 - 54)	2	7	114	121
Newham Square (All Nos.)	13	65	1,031	1,096
Ratnam Road (All odd Nos.)	0	0	552	552
St. Anthony's Mawatha (Even Nos. 94 - 246)	0	0	124	124
<b>Total</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>1,821</b>	<b>1,893</b>
<b>Polling Division No. 2</b>				
Ginthupitiya Street (Odd Nos.)	0	0	150	150
Hill Street (All Even Nos)	0	0	33	33
Jampettah Lane (Even Nos. 66 - 74)	1	8	258	266
Ratnam Road (All Even Nos.)	6	32	688	720
<b>Total</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>1,129</b>	<b>1,169</b>
<b>Polling Division No. 3</b>				
St. Anthony's Mawatha (Even Nos. 6 - 44)	7	28	478	506
Main Street (Odd Nos. 333 - 355)	0	0	3	3
Sea Beach Lane (All Nos.)	0	0	67	67
Beach Road (All Nos.)	0	0	28	28
Sea Beach Road (All Nos.)	0	0	71	71
Sea Street (All Nos.)	7	30	367	397
Sri Kathiresan Street (All Nos.)	11	44	398	442
Gabos Lane (All Nos.)	0	0	9	9
<b>Total</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>1,421</b>	<b>1,523</b>
<b>Polling Division No. 4</b>				
Sri Kathiresan Street (All Even Nos.)	5	13	704	717
Andivel Street	28	125	354	479
Brass Founder Street (All odd Nos.)	2	8	359	367
Ginthupitiya Street (Odd Nos.)	0	0	77	77
Ratnajothi Saravanamuttu Mawatha	0	0	78	78
<b>Total</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>146</b>	<b>1,572</b>	<b>1,718</b>
<b>Polling Division No. 5</b>				
Ginthupitiya Street (Odd Nos. 99 - 161) <b>Total</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>1,178</b>	<b>1,271</b>
<b>Polling Division No. 6</b>				
Jampettah Lane (Even Nos. 76 - 128)	2	5	259	264
New Chetty Street (Odd Nos.)	2	8	374	382
Vivekananda Hill Road (Odd Nos.)	15	56	701	757
A.G. Hinniappuhamy Mawatha (Even Nos. 62 - 138)	0	0	18	18
<b>Total</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>1,352</b>	<b>1,421</b>



## Annex – A13

	Muslim Houses	Muslim Voters	Other Voters	Total Voters
<b>Polling Division No. 23</b>				
Awwal Zaviya Road (Odd Nos. 3 - 141, Even No. 174)	86	351	33	384
Grandpass Road (Even Nos. 434 - 458)	9	34	25	59
Stace Road (Odd Nos. 177-185)(185 Watta included)	59	125	610	735
Dr. Danister de Silva Mawatha (No. 801-80,825-829,851,887)	0	0	3	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>154</b>	<b>510</b>	<b>671</b>	<b>1,181</b>
<b>Polling Division No. 24</b>				
Kamkaru Housing Scheme (A,B,C,D,E,F,G,H,J)	37	164	785	949
Stace Road (Even Nos. 2 - 110)	42	200	74	274
<b>Total</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>364</b>	<b>859</b>	<b>1,223</b>
<b>Polling Division No. 25</b>				
19th Lane (All Even Nos.)	15	61	334	395
Navagampura Houses (E,F,G,H,J)	28	125	815	940
<b>Total</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>186</b>	<b>1,149</b>	<b>1,335</b>
<b>Polling Division No. 26</b>				
19th Lane	68	198	457	655
Navagampura	52	245	1222	1,467
<b>Total</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>443</b>	<b>1,679</b>	<b>2,122</b>
<b>Polling Division No. 27</b>				
Awwal Zaviya Road	168	796	204	1,000
Molewatta Lane	33	168	9	177
<b>Total</b>	<b>201</b>	<b>964</b>	<b>213</b>	<b>1,177</b>
<b>Polling Division No. 28</b>				
De Wass Lave	14	59	103	162
Gemunu Mawatha	97	412	297	709
Grandpass Road	0	0	35	35
Swarna Chaithiya Road	63	253	441	694
<b>Total</b>	<b>174</b>	<b>724</b>	<b>876</b>	<b>1,600</b>
<b>Polling Division No. 29</b>				
Stace Road (All Nos.) <b>Total</b>	<b>128</b>	<b>476</b>	<b>1842</b>	<b>2,318</b>
<b>Polling Division No. 30</b>				
Grandpass Road	29	118	146	264
De Wass Lane (All Even Nos., Odd Nos. 91 up to last)	59	301	435	736
Swarna Chaithiya Road	8	40	14	54
Kettarama Mawatha	8	22	11	33
<b>Total</b>	<b>104</b>	<b>481</b>	<b>606</b>	<b>1,087</b>
<b>Polling Division No. 31</b>				
Layards Broadway	32	623	292	915
1st Lane (All Even Nos.)	11	62	15	77
2nd Lane (All Nos.)	7	22	0	22
Maha Kumaraage Road (Odd Nos. 1 - 27)	2	8	2	10
Parakrama Road (Even Nos. 70 up to the last)	22	79	98	177
<b>Total</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>794</b>	<b>407</b>	<b>1,201</b>

## Annex – A14

	Muslim Houses	Muslim Voters	Other Voters	Total Voters
<b>Polling Division No. 32</b>				
Dr. Babapulle Place (All Nos.)	50	241	709	950
Maligawatta Lane (All Nos. on the right, 75/2 on the left etc.)	59	244	397	641
<b>Total</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>485</b>	<b>1,106</b>	<b>1,591</b>
<b>Polling Division No. 33</b>				
Grandpass Road (Even Nos. 180-320, 180/1-180/34)	91	382	283	665
Kettarama Mawatha (All Even Nos.)	29	139	350	489
Lukmangee Square (All Nos.)	21	81	167	248
<b>Total</b>	<b>141</b>	<b>602</b>	<b>800</b>	<b>1,402</b>
<b>Polling Division No. 34</b>				
Bodhiraja Mawatha (Emergency Housing Scheme Nos. 1-20)	3	23	37	60
Bodhiraja Mawatha (A1, AA46, B1-B40, C1-C91)	182	657	1189	1,846
<b>Total</b>	<b>185</b>	<b>680</b>	<b>1,226</b>	<b>1,906</b>
<b>Polling Division No. 35</b>				
Bodhiraja Mawatha (765/1 - 765/451) <b>Total</b>	<b>279</b>	<b>1018</b>	<b>2509</b>	<b>3,527</b>
<b>Polling Division No. 36</b>				
Sri Saddarma Mawatha (Odd Nos. 265 up to the end)	81	280	190	470
Baseline Lane (All Nos.)	3	11	69	80
Dr. Danister De Silva Mawatha	38	143	482	625
<b>Total</b>	<b>122</b>	<b>434</b>	<b>741</b>	<b>1,175</b>
<b>Polling Division No. 37</b>				
Maligawatta Jumma Masjid Road (Odd Nos. 211/1-211/53) <b>Total</b>	<b>385</b>	<b>1392</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>1,468</b>
<b>Polling Division No. 38</b>				
Maligawatta Jumma Masjid Road (Odd Nos. 149-325)	357	1215	178	1,393
Maligawatta Road	8	32	29	61
Maligawatta Place	108	376	26	402
<b>Total</b>	<b>473</b>	<b>1,623</b>	<b>233</b>	<b>1,856</b>
<b>Polling Division No. 39</b>				
Jayantha Weerasekara Mawatha <b>Total</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>281</b>	<b>730</b>	<b>1,011</b>
<b>Polling Division No. 40</b>				
Jayantha Weerasekara Mawatha <b>Total</b>	<b>121</b>	<b>484</b>	<b>1279</b>	<b>1,763</b>
<b>Polling Division No. 41</b>				
Jayantha Weerasekara Mawatha	97	400	995	1,395
Maligawatta Road (Odd Nos. 59-101)	2	12	9	21
<b>Total</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>412</b>	<b>1,004</b>	<b>1,416</b>

## Annex – A15

### Polling Division No. 42

Jayantha Weerasekara Mawatha (Flats A/13 - A16)
Jayantha Weerasekara Mawatha (B/44 - B/52)
Jayantha Weerasekara Mawatha
<b>Total</b>

Muslim Houses	Muslim Voters	Other Voters	Total Voters
19	72	130	202
18	99	332	431
95	389	1029	1,418
<b>132</b>	<b>560</b>	<b>1,491</b>	<b>2,051</b>

### Polling Division No. 43

N.M. Ishaque Mawatha
Quraishani Moulana Lane
School Lane (All odd Nos.)
Zaviya Mosque Lane (All Nos.)
<b>Total</b>

53	272	61	333
43	197	56	253
77	343	127	470
120	505	175	680
<b>293</b>	<b>1,317</b>	<b>419</b>	<b>1,736</b>

### Polling Division No. 44

Maligawatta Place (All odd Nos.)
Police Flats
Sri Sangaraja Mawatha (Even Nos. 276 - 376)
<b>Total</b>

691	2125	677	2,802
1	4	59	63
0	0	4	4
<b>692</b>	<b>2,129</b>	<b>740</b>	<b>2,869</b>

### Polling Division No. 45

Maligawatta Place (No. 120, 159 Gardens) <b>Total</b>
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<b>442</b>	<b>1123</b>	<b>610</b>	<b>1,733</b>
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### Polling Division No. 46

Bandaranayaka Mawatha <b>Total</b>
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<b>227</b>	<b>1126</b>	<b>381</b>	<b>1,507</b>
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### Polling Division No. 47

Bandaranayaka Mawatha
Hill Castle Place (All Even Nos.)
Old Moor Street (Even Nos. 314 - 460)
<b>Total</b>

105	548	315	863
10	30	2	32
2	6	7	13
<b>117</b>	<b>584</b>	<b>324</b>	<b>908</b>

### Polling Division No. 48

Abdul Hameed Street (Odd Nos. 3 - 109) <b>Total</b>
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<b>233</b>	<b>1070</b>	<b>232</b>	<b>1,302</b>
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### Polling Division No. 49

Abdul Hameed Street (Odd Nos. 111-123) <b>Total</b>
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<b>157</b>	<b>915</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>915</b>
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### Polling Division No. 50

Meeraniya Street (Odd Nos. 123 - 195)
Princes Gate (All odd Nos.)
<b>Total</b>

140	657	10	667
76	347	52	399
<b>216</b>	<b>1,004</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>1,066</b>

### Polling Division No. 51

Sri Sangaraja Mawatha
Mohideen Masjid Road (All odd Nos.)
Mohideen Masjid Road (Even Nos. 214-238)
Princes Gate (All even Nos.)
<b>Total</b>

17	64	361	425
6	19	21	40
16	95	67	162
118	552	415	967
<b>157</b>	<b>730</b>	<b>864</b>	<b>1,594</b>

## Annex – A16

	Muslim Houses	Muslim Voters	Other Voters	Total Voters
<b>Polling Division No. 52</b>				
Meeraniya Street (Odd Nos. 206-263, Even Nos. 106-142)	162	796	99	895
Mill Street (all Nos.)	3	7	14	21
Belmond Street	4	24	36	60
Oilman Street (All odd Nos.)	9	37	18	55
Wilson Street (Odd Nos. 93 till last, Even Nos. 108 till last)	20	106	13	119
<b>Total</b>	<b>198</b>	<b>970</b>	<b>180</b>	<b>1,150</b>
<b>Polling Division No. 53</b>				
Vella Street (Even Nos. 222 - 288)	8	22	23	45
Mihindu Mawatha (Odd Nos. 119 - 167)	14	57	32	89
St. Sabastian Street	263	1072	576	1,648
Sucharitha Mawatha (All Nos.)	7	25	109	134
<b>Total</b>	<b>292</b>	<b>1,176</b>	<b>740</b>	<b>1,916</b>
<b>Polling Division No. 54</b>				
Vella Weedi (Odd Nos. 311 - 397)	7	36	28	64
Aluthkade Weedi (Even Nos. 44-218, Odd Nos. 27-65)	59	332	59	391
Old Moor Street (Even Nos. 152 - 278)	11	54	5	59
Peer Sahibu Street (All Nos.)	254	1106	117	1,223
Hill Castle Place (All odd Nos.)	3	15	0	15
<b>Total</b>	<b>334</b>	<b>1,543</b>	<b>209</b>	<b>1,752</b>
<b>Polling Division No. 55</b>				
Abdul Hameed Street (All even Nos.)	79	332	99	431
Srimath Bandaranayaka Mawatha	18	132	23	155
Aluthkade Road (Odd Nos. 81 - 109)	3	13	23	36
Meeraniya Street (Odd Nos. 1 - 117)	72	354	49	403
Silver Smith Lane (All Nos.)	181	958	242	1,200
<b>Total</b>	<b>353</b>	<b>1,789</b>	<b>436</b>	<b>2,225</b>
<b>Polling Division No. 56</b>				
Mihindu Mawatha	7	27	143	170
Marties Lane (All odd Nos.)	7	25	102	127
Beira Road (All even Nos.)	32	103	155	258
Muhandiram Lane (All Nos.)	22	78	236	314
Muhandiram Road (All Nos.)	69	343	82	425
Gomes Lane (All Nos.)	2	9	83	92
Olcot Mawatha (Odd Nos.)	0	0	35	35
Saunders Place (Even Nos. 2 - 28)	1	2	187	189
<b>Total</b>	<b>140</b>	<b>587</b>	<b>1,023</b>	<b>1,610</b>
<b>Polling Division No. 57</b>				
Mihindu Mawatha (Odd Nos. 83 - 117, All even Nos.)	12	134	12	146
Marties Lane (All even Nos.)	94	436	214	650
Akbar Lane (All odd Nos.)	77	320	93	413
St. Sabastian Street (Odd Nos. 1 - 37)	65	279	116	395
<b>Total</b>	<b>248</b>	<b>1,169</b>	<b>435</b>	<b>1,604</b>

## Annex – A17

	Muslim Houses	Muslim Voters	Other Voters	Total Voters
<b>Polling Division No. 58</b>				
Belmond Street	19	84	23	107
Usaviya Weedi (All Nos.)	12	51	12	63
Meeraniya Street (Odd Nos. 2 - 102)	24	98	9	107
Sanchi Arachi Watta (All Nos.)	64	280	942	1,222
Smith Street (All Nos.)	11	47	5	52
Wilson Street (Odd Nos. 1 - 91, Even Nos. 2 - 104)	38	169	36	205
Aluthkade Street (Odd Nos. 115 - 265)	0	0	2	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>168</b>	<b>729</b>	<b>1,029</b>	<b>1,758</b>
<b>Polling Division No. 59</b>				
Maradana Road (Odd Nos. 1 - 65, Even Nos. 3 - 34)	0	0	21	21
Sangaraja Mawatha (Odd Nos. 1 - 183)	2	5	79	84
Sri Priyadharshana Mawatha (All Nos.)	107	397	702	1,099
<b>Total</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>402</b>	<b>802</b>	<b>1,204</b>
<b>Polling Division No. 60</b>				
Dias Place <b>Total</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>465</b>	<b>837</b>	<b>1,302</b>
<b>Polling Division No. 61</b>				
Akbar Lane (All even Nos.)	26	97	12	109
Beira Road (All odd Nos.)	30	150	30	180
Price Place (All even Nos.)	1	3	56	59
Dias Place (Part)	92	345	1015	1,360
<b>Total</b>	<b>149</b>	<b>595</b>	<b>1,113</b>	<b>1,708</b>
<b>Polling Division No. 62</b>				
Central Road (Odd Nos. 67 - 127)	138	737	30	767
First Mosque Lane (Odd Nos. 9 - 51)	86	508	4	512
Ghouse Mohideen Lane (All even Nos.)	34	151	0	151
<b>Total</b>	<b>258</b>	<b>1,396</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>1,430</b>
<b>Polling Division No. 63</b>				
Vella Street (Odd Nos. 1-309, Even Nos. 102-210)	100	437	263	700
New Moor Street (Odd Nos. 53-146, Even Nos. 76-172)	70	386	44	430
Old Moor Street (Odd Nos. 1-145, Even Nos. 2-148)	58	220	73	293
<b>Total</b>	<b>228</b>	<b>1,043</b>	<b>380</b>	<b>1,423</b>
<b>Polling Division No. 64</b>				
Central Road (Odd Nos. 129-139, Even Nos. 74-192)	40	161	116	277
New Moor Street (Odd Nos. 1-47, Even Nos. 2-74)	9	48	35	83
Umbitchi Place (All Nos.)	1	4	357	361
Ratnajothi Saravanamuthu Mawatha	122	513	437	950
<b>Total</b>	<b>172</b>	<b>726</b>	<b>945</b>	<b>1,671</b>

## Annex – A18

	Muslim Houses	Muslim Voters	Other Voters	Total Voters
<b>Polling Division No. 65</b>				
Central Row (All Nos.)	0	0	1	1
Kotigaha Street (All Nos.)	0	0	9	9
Laden Bastian Street (All Nos.)	0	0	20	20
York Street (All Nos.)	0	0	7	7
Baron Jayathilaka Mawatha	0	0	5	5
Warf Street (All Nos.)	0	0	28	28
Hospital Street (All Nos.)	0	0	7	7
Regent Street (All Nos.)	0	0	2	2
Main Street (All Nos.)	0	0	2	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>81</b>
<b>Polling Division No. 66</b>				
Bankshall Street (All Nos.)	0	0	19	19
China Street (All Nos.)	1	1	0	1
Beach Road (Even Nos. 2 - 90)	1	10	10	20
Gas Work Street (All Nos.)	0	0	18	18
Keyzer Street	1	7	5	12
Main Street	0	0	2	2
N.M. Abdul Cader Mawatha (All Nos.)	0	0	12	12
Prince Street (Odd Nos.)	0	0	2	2
1st Cross Street	1	2	5	7
2nd Cross Street	4	7	6	13
3rd Cross Street	0	0	4	4
4th Cross Street	1	8	0	8
<b>Total</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>118</b>
<b>Polling Division No. 67</b>				
Front Street (Even Nos. 2 - 92)	0	0	3	3
Maliban Street (All Nos.)	1	4	7	11
Miyuri Lane (All Nos.)	0	0	23	23
Olcot Mawatha (Odd Nos. 43-145, Even Nos. 12-140)	0	0	13	13
Sir Chittampalam A. Gardiner Mawatha	21	50	286	336
Prince Street (Odd Nos. 1-63, Even Nos. 2-202)	1	2	0	2
2nd Cross Street	1	2	0	2
1st Rohini Lane (All Nos.)	0	0	53	53
2nd Rohini Lane (All Nos.)	0	0	80	80
4th Cross Street (Odd Nos. 1-77, Even Nos. 2-80)	0	0	1	1
Kosala Lane	0	0	4	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>470</b>	<b>528</b>
<b>Polling Division No. 68</b>				
Ahamed Lane (All Nos.)	8	32	25	57
Justice Akbar Mawatha (Odd Nos. 1-35, Even Nos. 2-40)	3	9	65	74
Mosque Lane (Even Nos. 84 - 194)	172	319	82	401
Glenni Passage (All Nos.)	203	623	378	1,001
Station Passage (All Nos.)	112	405	171	576
Glenni Street (Even Nos. 70 - 130)	1	4	0	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>499</b>	<b>1,392</b>	<b>721</b>	<b>2,113</b>

## Annex – A19

### Polling Division No. 69

Justice Akbar Mawatha (Even Nos. 56 - 106)
Chapel Lane (All Nos.)
Mosque Lane (All Nos.)
Mosque Street (Even Nos.)
<b>Total</b>

Muslim Houses	Muslim Voters	Other Voters	Total Voters
2	9	32	41
37	198	178	376
29	99	50	149
180	819	137	956
<b>248</b>	<b>1,125</b>	<b>397</b>	<b>1,522</b>

### Polling Division No. 70

Justice Akbar Mawatha (Odd Nos. 47 - 105)
Sir Henry de Mel Mawatha
De Soysa Street (Odd Nos.)
Glenni Street (Odd Nos. 1 - 61)
Kavuldin Street (All Nos.)
Masjidul Jamia Street (Even Nos. 16 - 80)
Kumaran Ratnam Road (Even Nos. 30 - 136)
Malay Street (Odd Nos. 95-161, Even Nos. 90-154)
Market Lane (All Nos.)
Market Place (All Nos.)
Mews Street (Even Nos. 60 - 82)
Aluth Thotupola Road (All Even Nos.)
Parana Thotupola Road (All Nos.)
Velance Passage (All Nos.)
<b>Total</b>

3	17	30	47
37	164	44	208
21	76	109	185
13	79	17	96
10	44	26	70
7	48	11	59
51	228	46	274
16	61	91	152
15	76	33	109
13	51	48	99
18	67	11	78
4	19	2	21
15	65	25	90
14	77	78	155
<b>237</b>	<b>1,072</b>	<b>571</b>	<b>1,643</b>

### Polling Division No. 71

Glenni Street (Even Nos. 2 - 62)
Masjithul Jamia Street (Odd Nos. 99-143, Even Nos. 100-152)
Java Lane (All Nos.)
Lismon Lane (All Nos.)
Malay Street (Odd Nos. 15-85, Even Nos. 20-76)
Mews Street (All Odd Nos., Even Nos. 2-50)
Aluth Totupola Street (All Odd Nos.)
<b>Total</b>

9	42	41	83
62	247	83	330
45	221	96	317
40	167	65	232
1	5	13	18
31	131	42	173
8	45	2	47
<b>196</b>	<b>858</b>	<b>342</b>	<b>1,200</b>

### Polling Division No. 72

Mosque Road (Odd Nos. 1 - 155)
Dispansary Lane (All Nos.)
Justice Akbar Mawatha (All even Nos.)
Saunders Court (All Nos.)
Sir James Peiris Mawatha (Even Nos. 2-60, Cont.)
Stewart Street (All odd Nos.)
<b>Total</b>

27	116	91	207
18	62	12	74
1	2	83	85
60	247	106	353
0	0	13	13
154	665	422	1,087
<b>260</b>	<b>1,092</b>	<b>727</b>	<b>1,819</b>

### Polling Division No. 73

Mosque Lane (Kompany Weedi) (Odd Nos. 159-185)
Vithanage Street (Ramsay Road) (All odd Nos.)
Sir James Peiris Mawatha (Even Nos. 80/110, G110/7)
Stewart Street (All even Nos.)
<b>Total</b>

7	26	6	32
50	263	249	512
7	38	132	170
195	761	346	1,107
<b>259</b>	<b>1,088</b>	<b>733</b>	<b>1,821</b>

## Annex – A20

	Muslim Houses	Muslim Voters	Other Voters	Total Voters
<b>Polling Division No. 74</b>				
Gorden Street (All Nos.)	17	50	149	199
Wekanda Road (Odd Nos. 51 upto last, All even Nos.)	232	916	429	1,345
<b>Total</b>	<b>249</b>	<b>966</b>	<b>578</b>	<b>1,544</b>
<b>Polling Division No. 75</b>				
W.A.D. Ramanayake Mawatha (Even Nos. 38 til last)	4	10	181	191
Baybrook Road (All Nos.)	0	0	25	25
Hunupitiya Lake Road	4	11	191	202
Hunupitiya Street (All even Nos.)	4	14	51	65
Lake Crescent (Odd Nos. 51-69, All even Nos.)	0	0	5	5
Lilli Street (All Nos.)	7	30	0	30
Sir James Peiris Mawatha	0	0	13	13
Union Place (Even Nos. 2 - 278)	14	47	55	102
Sri Jinathna Street (Continuation)	0	0	89	89
<b>Total</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>112</b>	<b>610</b>	<b>722</b>
<b>Polling Division No. 76</b>				
Barrak Lane (All Nos.)	2	8	14	22
Sri Murugan Street (All Nos.) (Sir Henry de Mel Mawatha)	5	30	6	36
Bahjathul Asraj Lane (Kew Lane) (All Odd Nos.)	154	665	225	890
Kew Place (All Nos.)	4	24	12	36
Kew Road (Odd Nos. 101-149, Even Nos. 52-154)	42	204	265	469
Kumaran Ratnam Road (Flats) (All Odd Nos.)	0	0	41	41
Morgan Street (Odd Nos. 41-45, Even Nos. 40-40/21)	12	40	120	160
Police Station Lane (All Nos.)	2	9	10	19
<b>Total</b>	<b>221</b>	<b>980</b>	<b>693</b>	<b>1,673</b>
<b>Polling Division No. 77</b>				
Dawson Street (All odd Nos., Even Nos. 2 - 74)	33	143	142	285
Hyde Park Corner (Even Nos. 30 - 50)	0	0	4	4
Union Lane (All Nos.)	38	161	24	185
Union Place (Odd Nos. 1-427, Even Nos. 288-360)	26	104	204	308
Vauxhall Street (Odd Nos. 201 upto 129)	90	285	484	769
<b>Total</b>	<b>187</b>	<b>693</b>	<b>858</b>	<b>1,551</b>
<b>Polling Division No. 78</b>				
Bahjathul Asraj Lane (All even Nos.)	32	138	39	177
Kew Pesch (All Nos.)	3	22	32	54
Kew Road (Odd Nos. 51 upto last)	12	45	50	95
Vauxhall Lane (All Nos.)	18	64	44	108
Vauxhall Street	157	649	538	1,187
<b>Total</b>	<b>222</b>	<b>918</b>	<b>703</b>	<b>1,621</b>



## Annex – A21

Polling Division No. 79	Muslim Houses	Muslim Voters	Other Voters	Total Voters
T.B. Jaya Road (Odd Nos. 377 - 461)	38	163	359	522
Temple Road (All Nos.)	0	0	62	62
D.R. Wijewardena Mawatha (Odd Nos. 127-395, Even Nos. 70-380)	13	31	137	168
T.B. Jaya Mawatha (Darley Road)	0	0	117	117
Vinayalankara Mawatha (Truds Lane) (All even Nos.)	2	6	13	19
<b>Total</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>200</b>	<b>688</b>	<b>888</b>

Polling Division No. 80	Muslim Houses	Muslim Voters	Other Voters	Total Voters
Forbes Lane	203	712	796	1,508
Devanampiyathissa Street (Even Nos. 2 - 78)	25	92	159	251
<b>Total</b>	<b>228</b>	<b>804</b>	<b>955</b>	<b>1,759</b>

Polling Division No. 81	Muslim Houses	Muslim Voters	Other Voters	Total Voters
Deans Road (Even Nos. 154 - 318)	10	54	117	171
Devanampiyathissa Street (Even Nos. 80 upto the end)	58	206	126	332
Arnold Ratnayaka Mawatha (Odd Nos. 357/1 - 357/36)	17	58	93	151
Vinayalankara Mawatha (All odd Nos.)	6	16	178	194
<b>Total</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>334</b>	<b>514</b>	<b>848</b>

Polling Division No. 82	Muslim Houses	Muslim Voters	Other Voters	Total Voters
W.A.D. Ramanayake Mawatha (All odd Nos., Even Nos. 2-34)	8	23	7	30
Deans Road (Odd Nos. 245-533, Even Nos. 320-464)	1	4	78	82
Dharmapala Mawatha (Odd Nos. 79 till the last)	6	21	82	103
Foster Lane (All Nos.)	0	0	17	17
Fountain House Lane (All Nos.)	2	3	43	46
Hedges Court (Odd Nos. 1-37, Even Nos. 2-18)	4	9	27	36
Hunupitiya Cross Road (All Nos.)	1	2	0	2
Hunupitiya Road (All odd Nos.)	1	5	11	16
Hyde Park Corner (All odd Nos., Even Nos. 68 till the last)	1	1	45	46
Lake Crescent (Odd Nos. 1 - 43)	0	0	4	4
Norris Canal Road (Even Nos. 10 - 114)	1	3	39	42
Park Street (All Nos.)	4	6	65	71
Vipulasena Mawatha (Even Nos. 6 - 32)	1	3	57	60
Union Place	0	0	4	4
Sir James Peiris Mawatha (Odd Nos. 185-203)	0	0	16	16
<b>Total</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>495</b>	<b>575</b>

Polling Division No. 83	Muslim Houses	Muslim Voters	Other Voters	Total Voters
Mohideen Masjid Road (Odd Nos. 139-269, Even Nos. 130-212)	328	1288	235	1,523

Polling Division No. 84	Muslim Houses	Muslim Voters	Other Voters	Total Voters
Badriya Lane (All Nos.)	2	6	34	40
Mohideen Masjid Lane (All even Nos.)	52	223	40	263
Mohideen Masjid Road (Even Nos. 72-212)	105	436	310	746
Panchikawatta Road	12	48	6	54
<b>Total</b>	<b>171</b>	<b>713</b>	<b>390</b>	<b>1,103</b>

## Annex – A22

	Muslim Houses	Muslim Voters	Other Voters	Total Voters
<b>Polling Division No. 85</b>				
Sri Sangaraja Mawatha (Even Nos. 2-180) <b>Total</b>	<b>177</b>	<b>764</b>	<b>960</b>	<b>1,724</b>
<b>Polling Division No. 86</b>				
Maradana Road. (Odd Nos. 71-247, 191/1-191/32 excluded)	96	385	430	815
Mohideen Masjid Road (Odd Nos. 1-37, Even Nos. 72)	198	767	322	1,089
Saheer Cassim Hajjiyar Place (Odd Nos. 191/1-191/32)	8	35	0	35
<b>Total</b>	<b>302</b>	<b>1,187</b>	<b>752</b>	<b>1,939</b>
<b>Polling Division No. 87</b>				
Abeysingharama Road (All Nos.)	0	0	282	282
Jayantha Weerasekara Mawatha	3	15	14	29
Panchikawatta Road (Odd Nos. 4-229, 231/7, All even Nos.)	92	322	813	1,135
<b>Total</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>337</b>	<b>1,109</b>	<b>1,446</b>
<b>Polling Division No. 88</b>				
T.B. Jaya Road (Odd Nos. 1-259)	14	65	33	98
Mohideen Masjid Road (Even Nos. 2-42)	1	3	7	10
Maradana Road (Odd Nos. 249, 345, Even Nos. 210-388)	1	5	15	20
K.D. David Mawatha (All Nos.)	7	20	7	27
Devanampiyatissa Road	104	376	431	807
<b>Total</b>	<b>127</b>	<b>469</b>	<b>493</b>	<b>962</b>
<b>Polling Division No. 89</b>				
Arab Passage (All Nos.)	6	27	35	62
S. Mahinda Mawatha (All odd Nos.)	2	8	91	99
Dean's Road	28	118	318	436
Maradana Road (Even Nos. 390 - 562)	36	134	429	563
Symond's Road (Odd Nos. 1-103, Even Nos. 2-84)	42	170	551	721
<b>Total</b>	<b>114</b>	<b>457</b>	<b>1,424</b>	<b>1,881</b>
<b>Polling Division No. 90</b>				
S. Mahinda Mawatha (All Even Nos.)	21	121	121	242
Dean's Road (Odd Nos. 149 - 243)	28	170	131	301
Maradana Road	5	15	116	131
Piyadasa Srisena Mawatha	30	166	238	404
Sri Vipulesena Mawatha (Odd Nos. 1 - 63)	49	233	274	507
<b>Total</b>	<b>133</b>	<b>705</b>	<b>880</b>	<b>1,585</b>
<b>Polling Division No. 91</b>				
Maradana Road (Odd Nos. 377-461)	5	20	374	394
Quraishani Moulana Lane (All odd Nos.)	125	508	157	665
Gosbal Lane (Odd Nos. 225/1 - 225/78)	44	176	79	255
<b>Total</b>	<b>174</b>	<b>704</b>	<b>610</b>	<b>1,314</b>
<b>Polling Division No. 92</b>				
Sri Vajiraghana Mawatha (Odd Nos. 1 - 303) <b>Total</b>	<b>267</b>	<b>1047</b>	<b>330</b>	<b>1,377</b>

## Annex – A23

### Polling Division No. 93

Jalasaya Lane (All even Nos.)
Jalasaya Road (All even Nos.)
Sri Vajiraghana Mawatha (Even Nos. 114-312)
<b>Total</b>

Muslim Houses	Muslim Voters	Other Voters	Total Voters
27	120	65	185
52	218	88	306
212	938	276	1,214
<b>291</b>	<b>1,276</b>	<b>429</b>	<b>1,705</b>

### Polling Division No. 94

Clipton Lane (All Nos.)
Dematagoda Passage (All Nos.)
Maligakanda Road (Odd Nos. 1 - 131)
Maradana Road (Odd Nos. 463-541)
Sri Vajiraghana Mawatha
<b>Total</b>

24	118	13	131
71	329	266	595
59	274	336	610
0	0	11	11
7	32	13	45
<b>161</b>	<b>753</b>	<b>639</b>	<b>1,392</b>

### Polling Division No. 95

Maligawatte Lane (All Even Nos.)
Maligawatte Jumma Masjid Road
Sri Saddharma Mawatha (Odd Nos. 181 - 259)
<b>Total</b>

242	984	112	1,096
379	1288	194	1,482
37	160	43	203
<b>658</b>	<b>2,432</b>	<b>349</b>	<b>2,781</b>

### Polling Division No. 96

Maligawatta Jumma Masjid Road (Even Nos. 132-334)
Sri Saddharma Mawatha (Odd Nos. 1 - 175)
<b>Total</b>

383	1359	181	1,540
58	267	74	341
<b>441</b>	<b>1,626</b>	<b>255</b>	<b>1,881</b>

### Polling Division No. 97

Jayantha Weerasekara Mawatha
Maligawatta Road (All even Nos.)
Sri Saddharma Mawatha
Sri Saddharma Mawatha (Ingram Road) (All even Nos.)
<b>Total</b>

5	16	50	66
98	390	241	631
29	74	220	294
103	367	474	841
<b>235</b>	<b>847</b>	<b>985</b>	<b>1,832</b>

### Polling Division No. 98

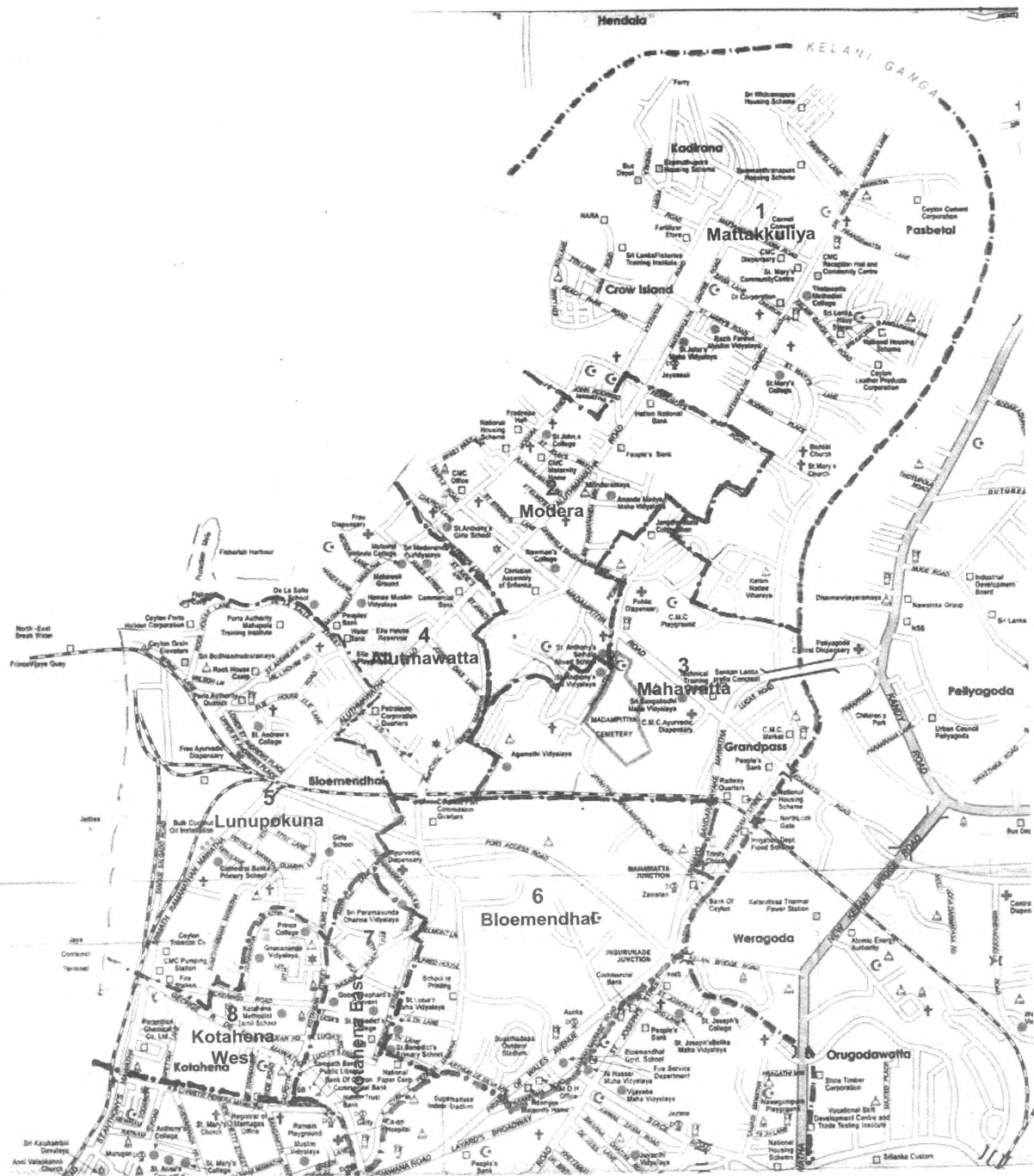
Dematagoda Road (Odd Nos. 419-579)
Dr. Denister de Silva Mawatha
School Lane (All even Nos.)
Mallikarama Road (All Nos.)
Dematagoda K.V. (All Nos.)
<b>Total</b>

54	187	535	722
4	8	189	197
18	70	9	79
53	185	291	476
0	0	55	55
<b>129</b>	<b>450</b>	<b>1,079</b>	<b>1,529</b>

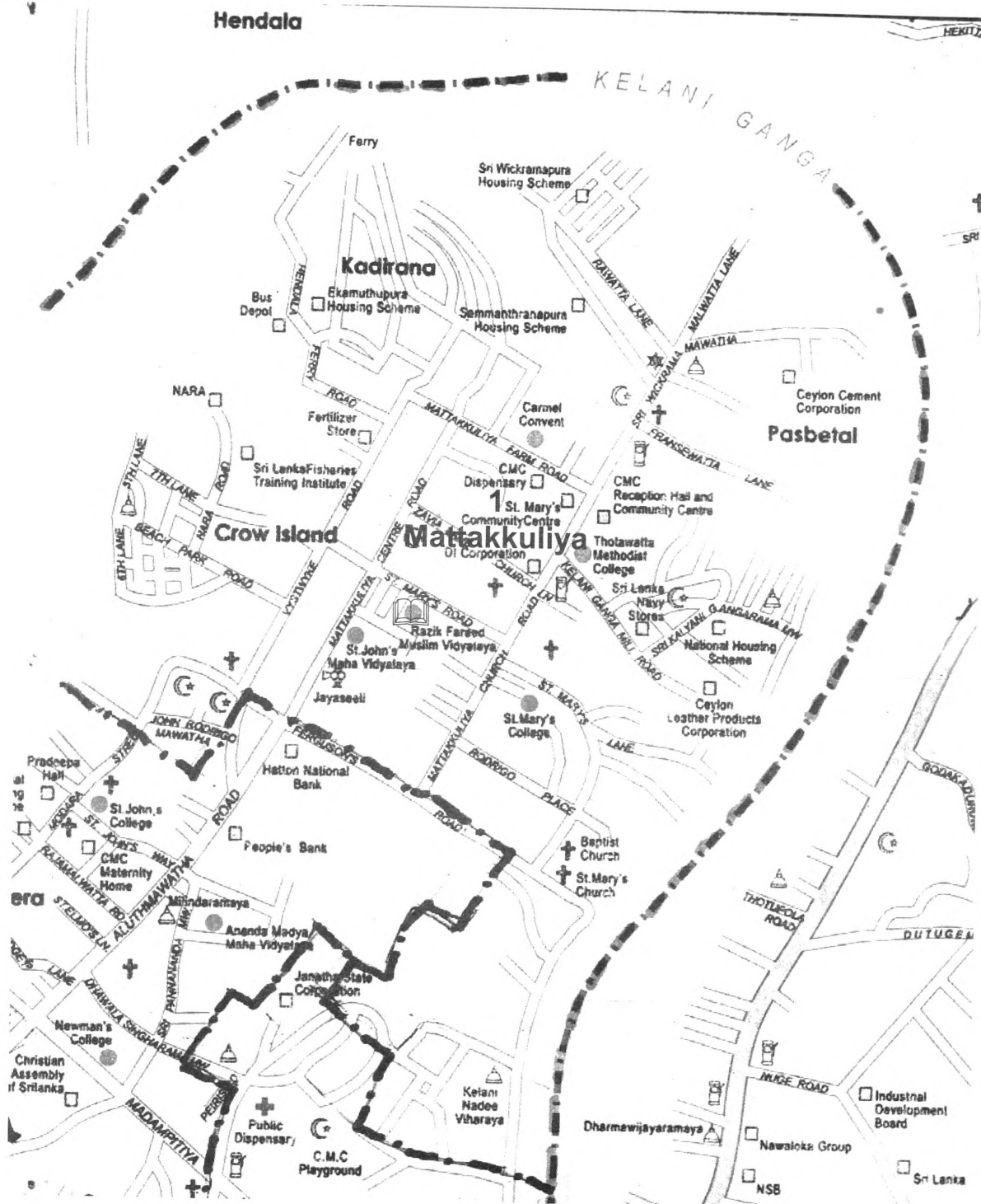
### Grand Total

<b>18,619</b>	<b>76,747</b>	<b>73,862</b>	<b>150,609</b>
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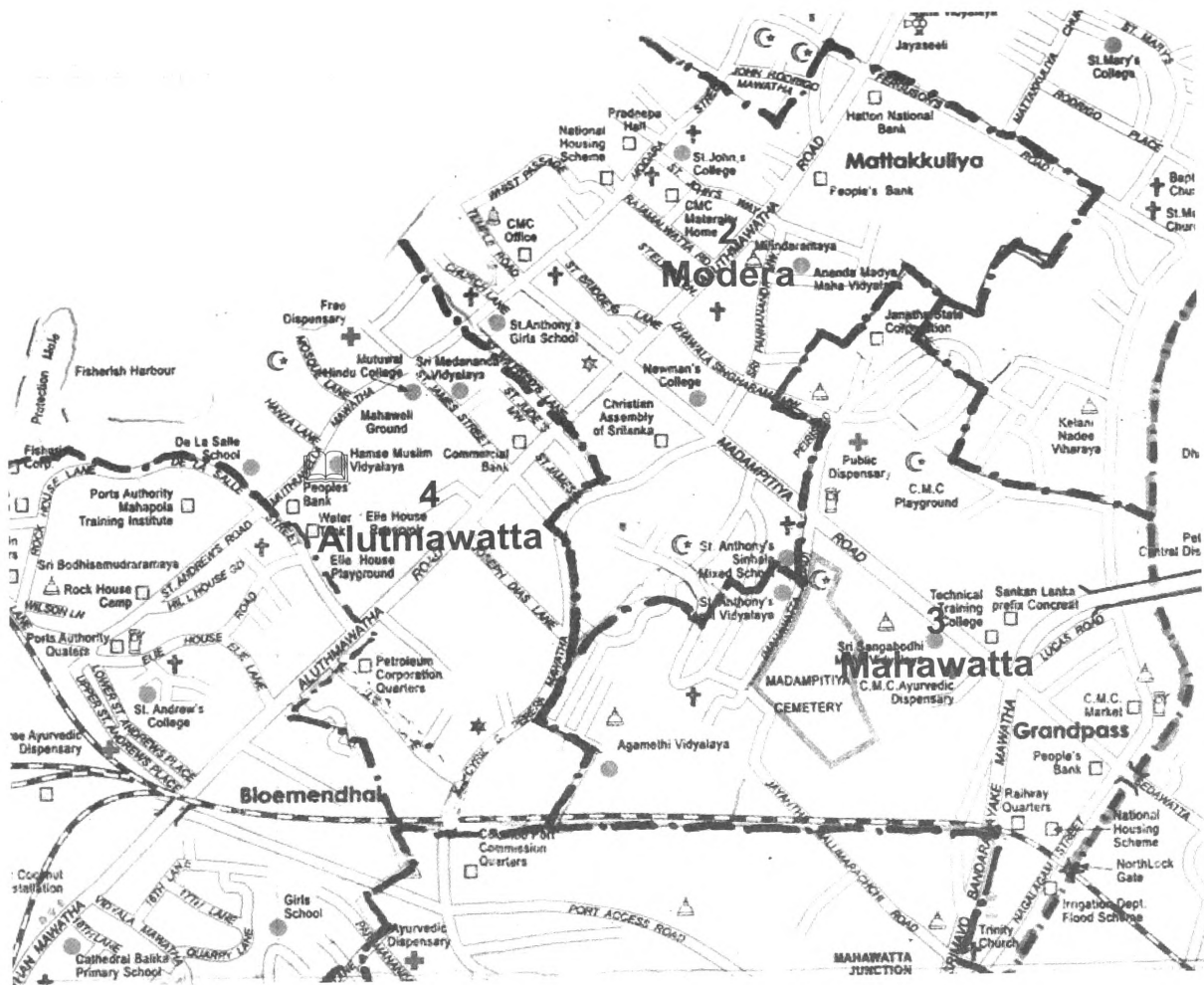
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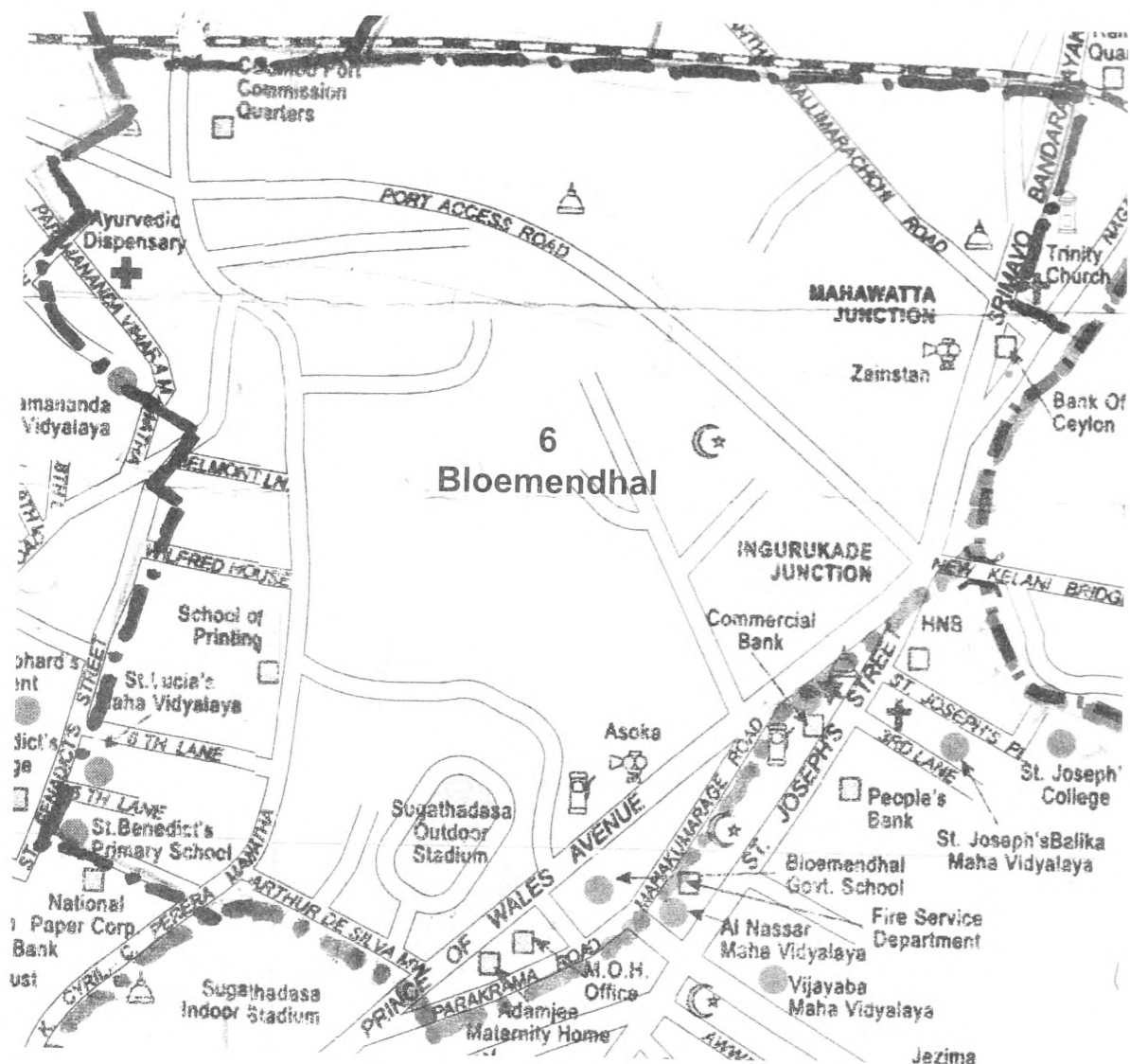
## COLOMBO NORTH ELECTORATE NO. 01



## MATTAKKULIYA



## MODERA

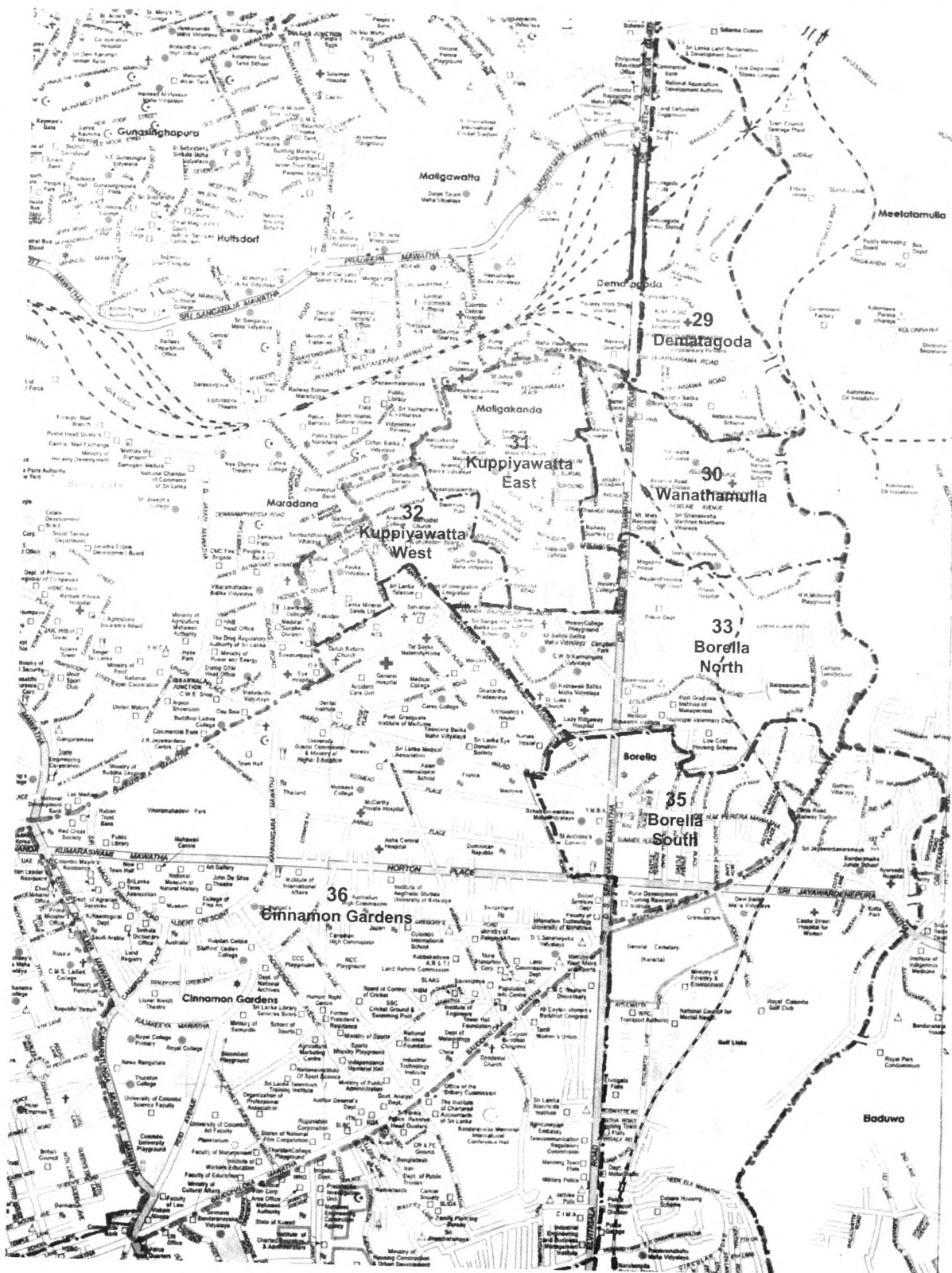


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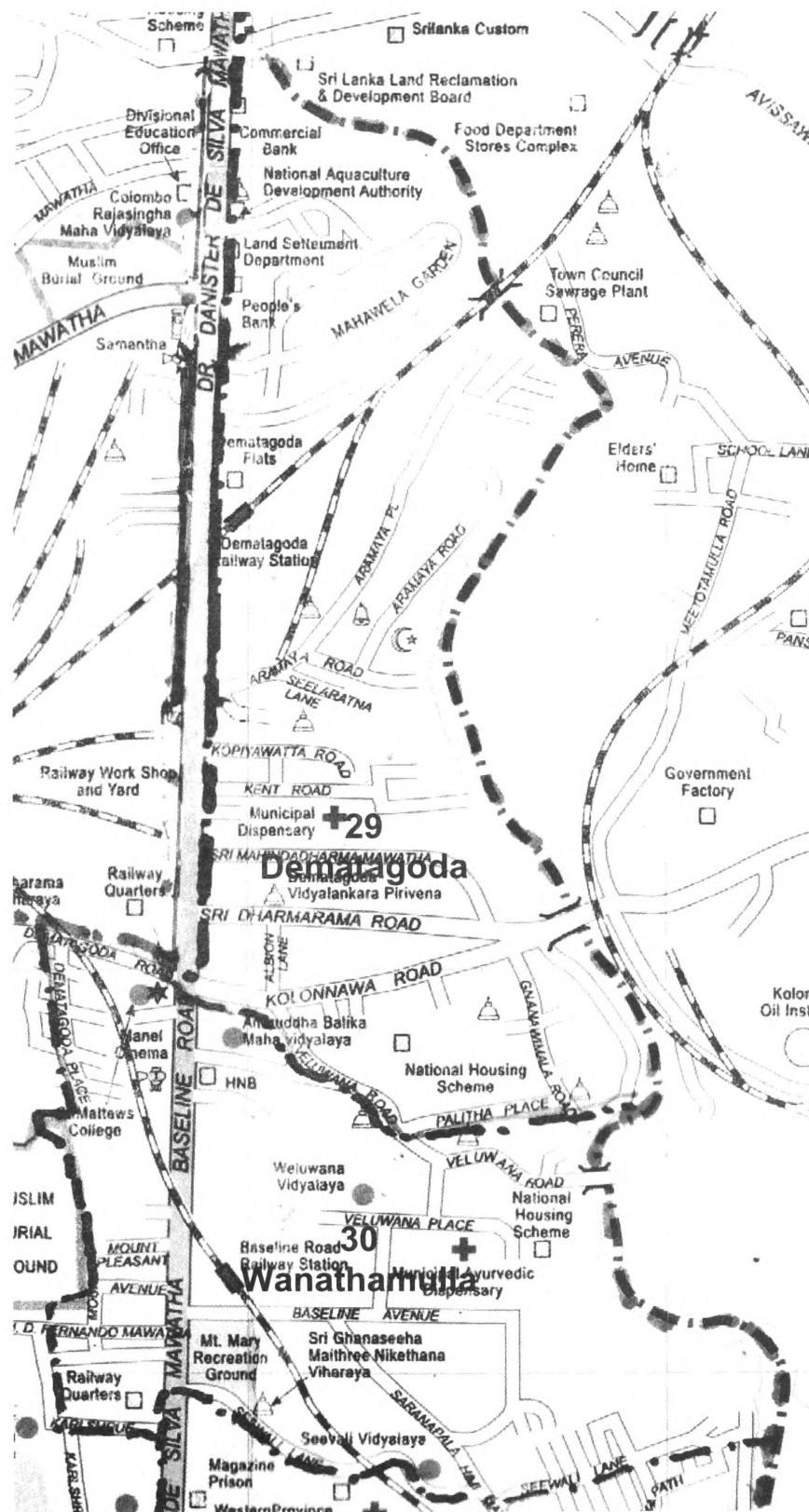


## LUNUPOKUNA & KOTAHENA

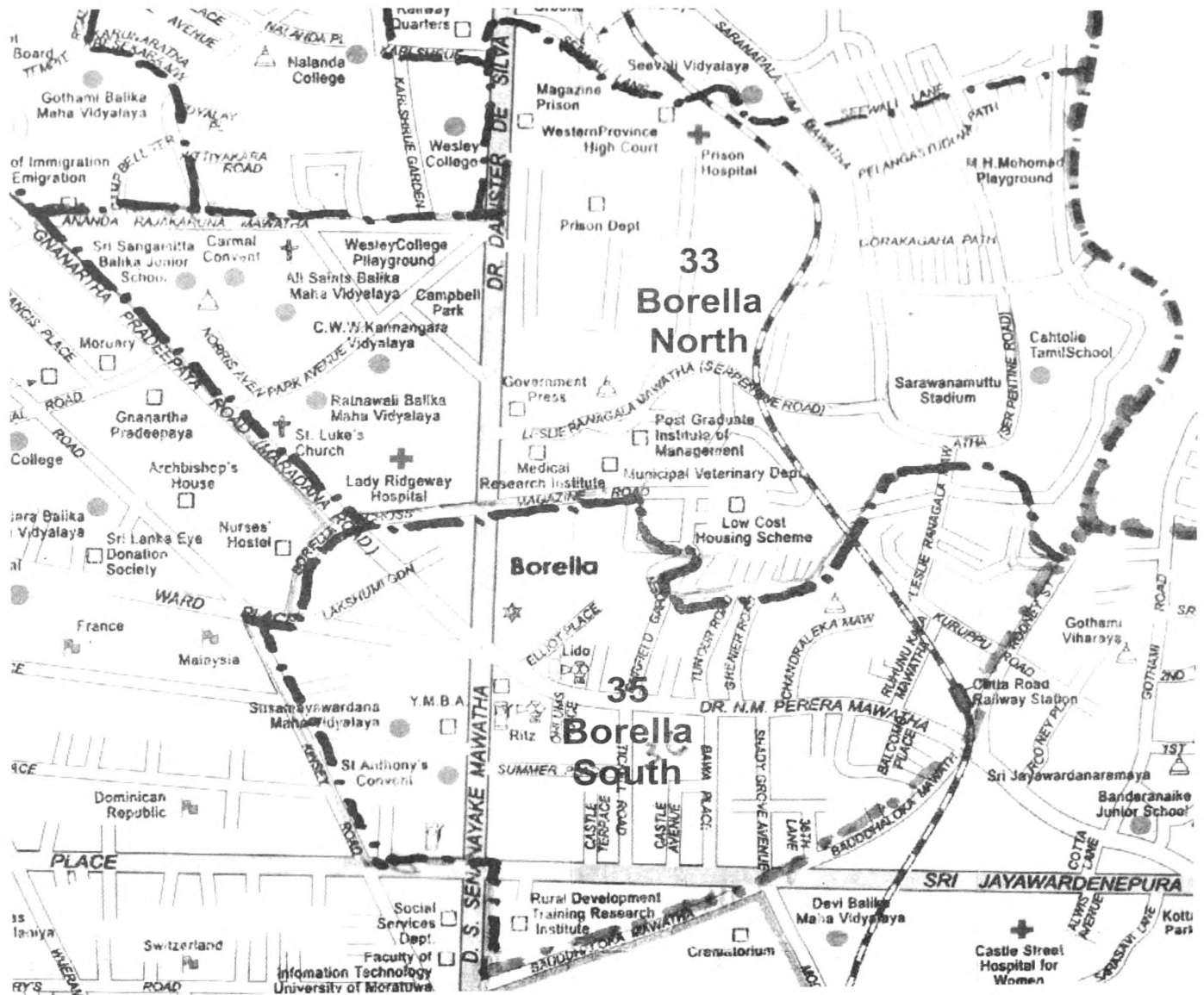




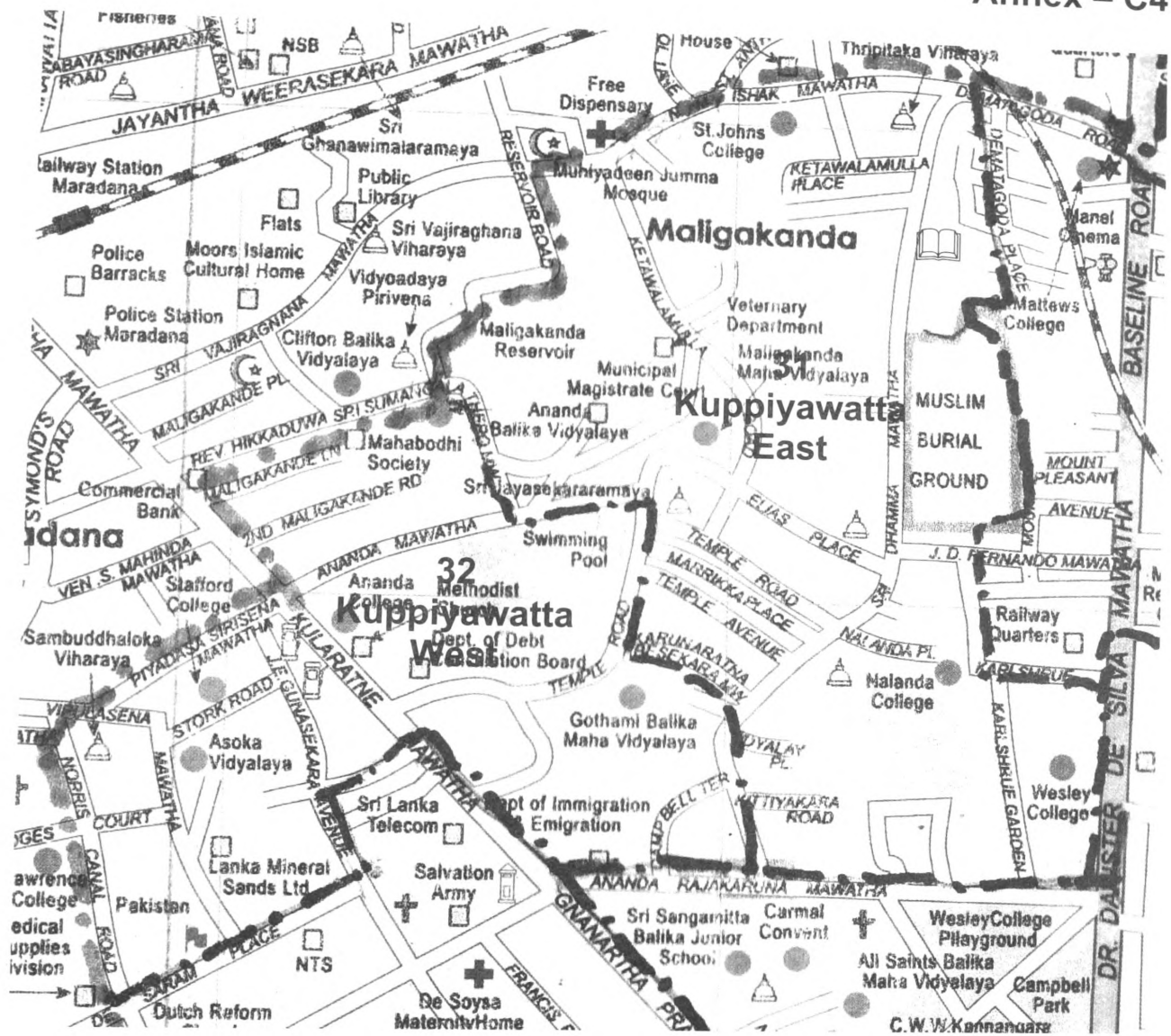
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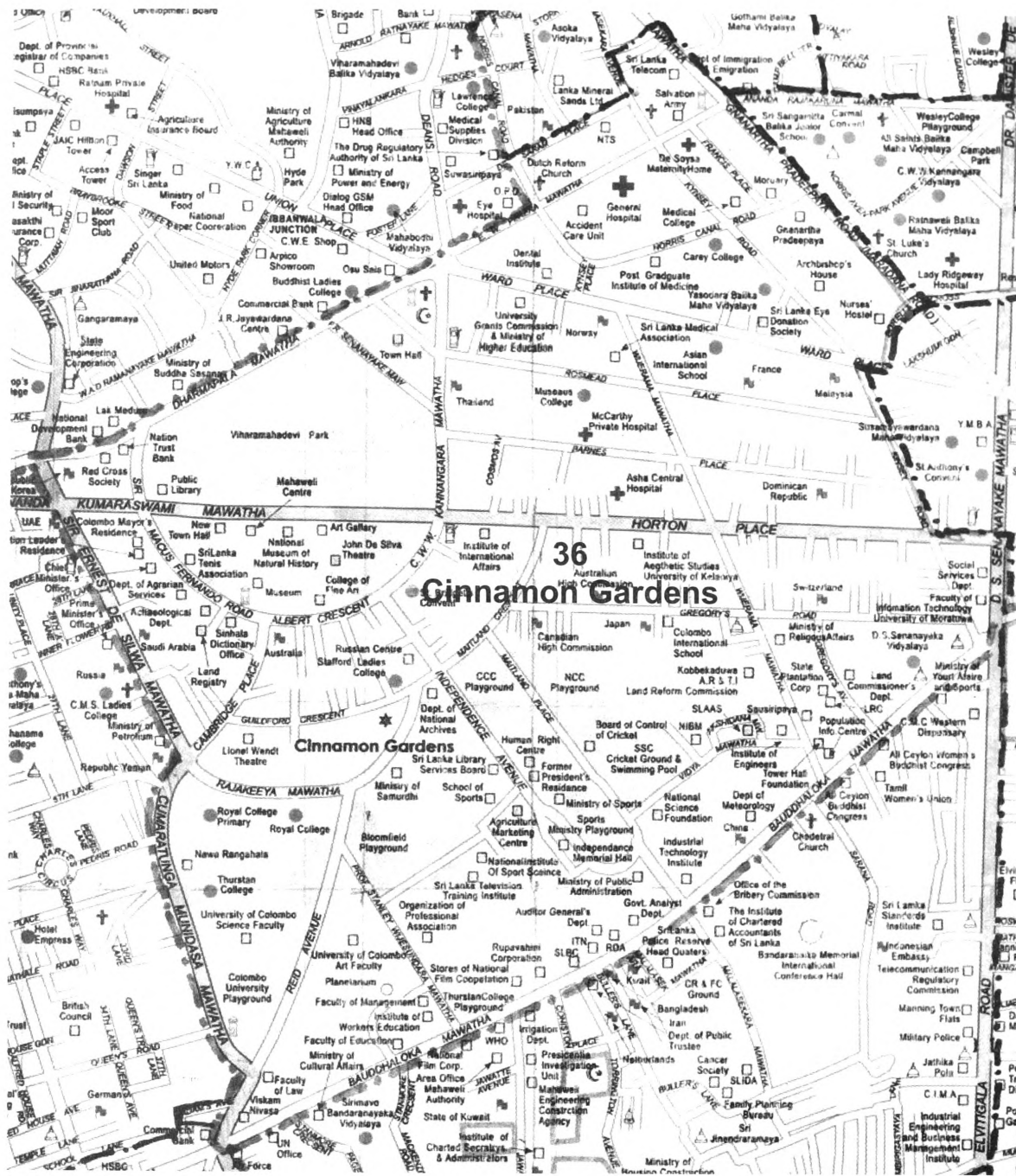
## DEMATAGODA &amp; WANATHAMULLA



## BORELLA

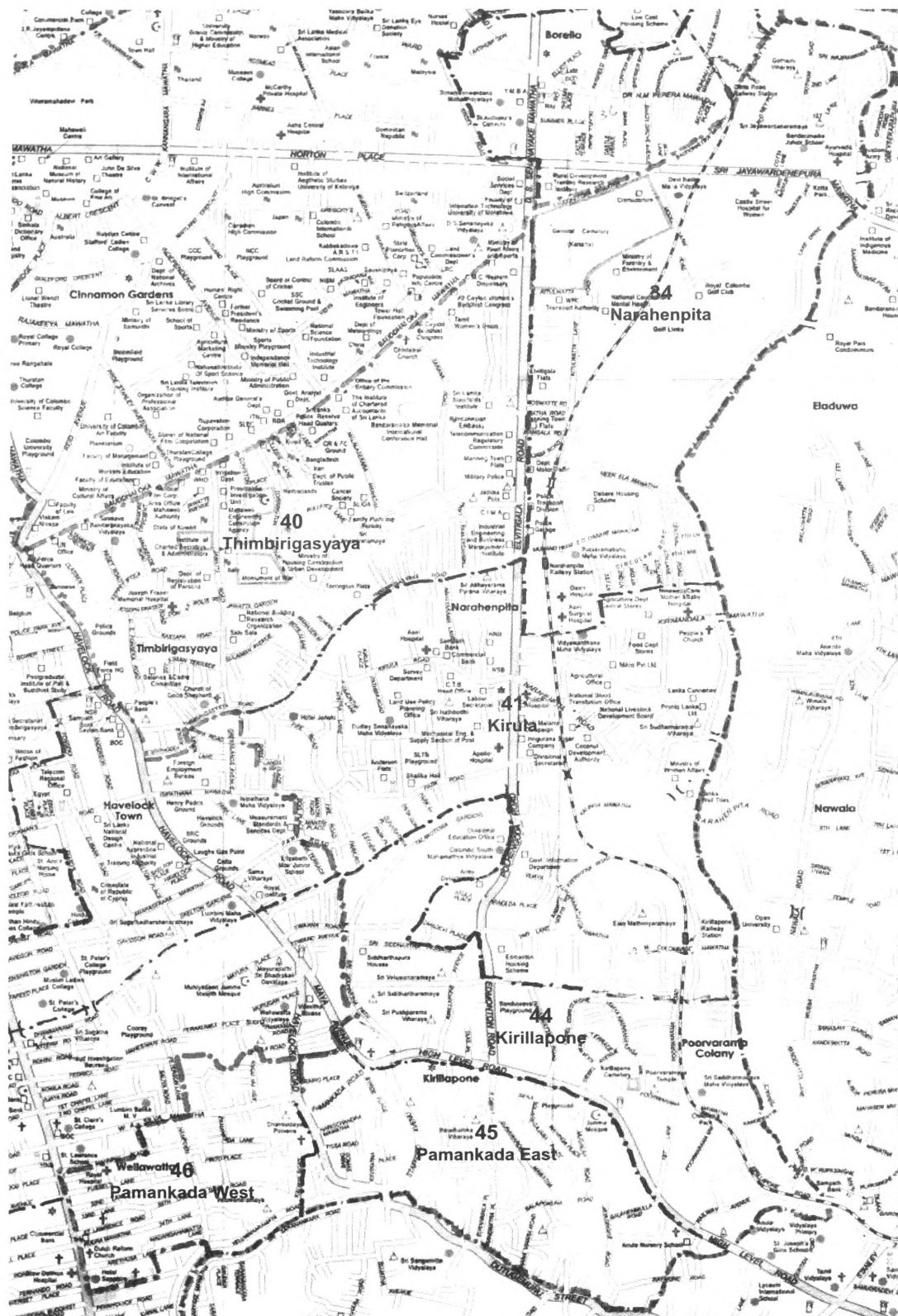


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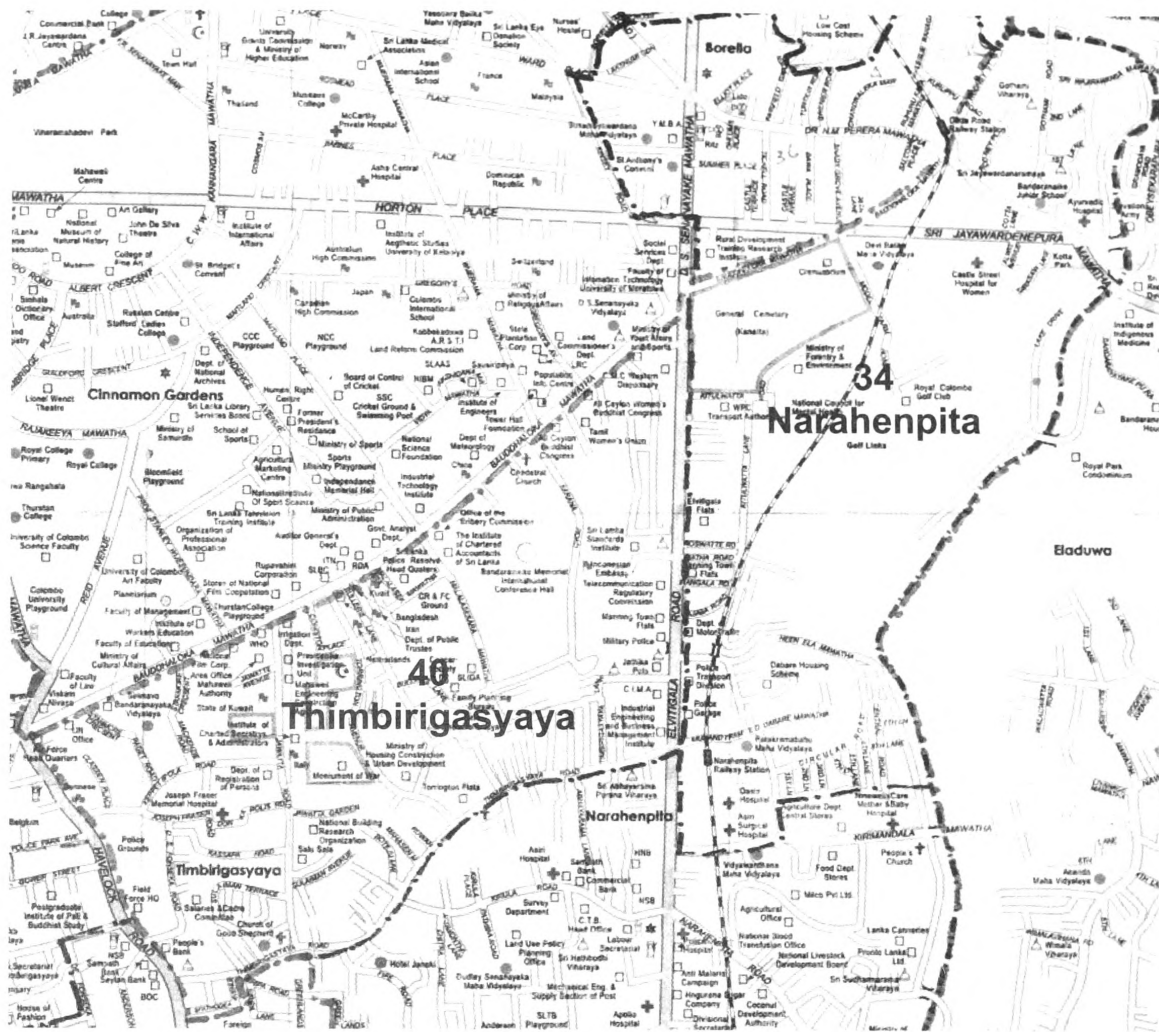


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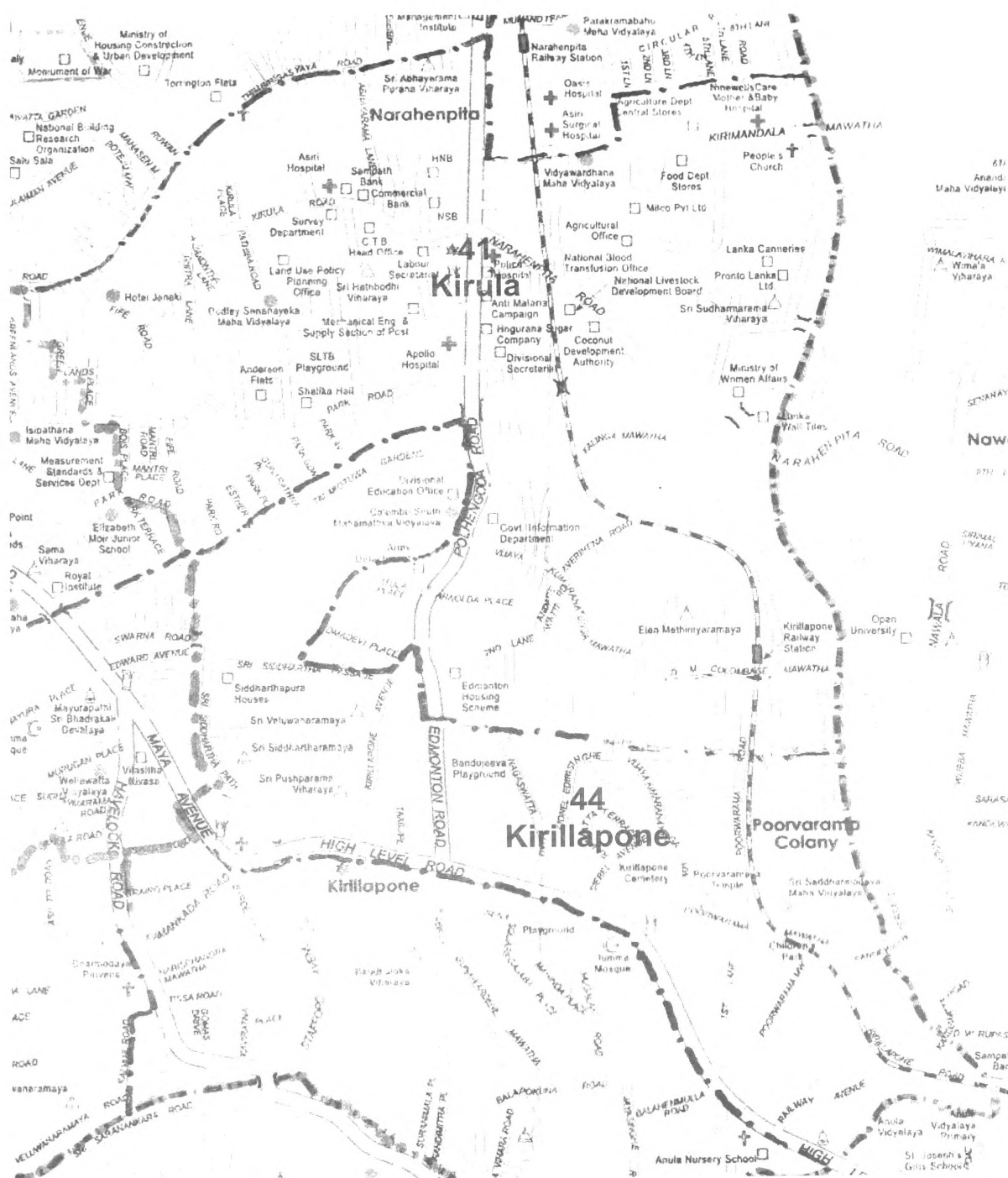




## COLOMBO EAST ELECTORATE NO. 04

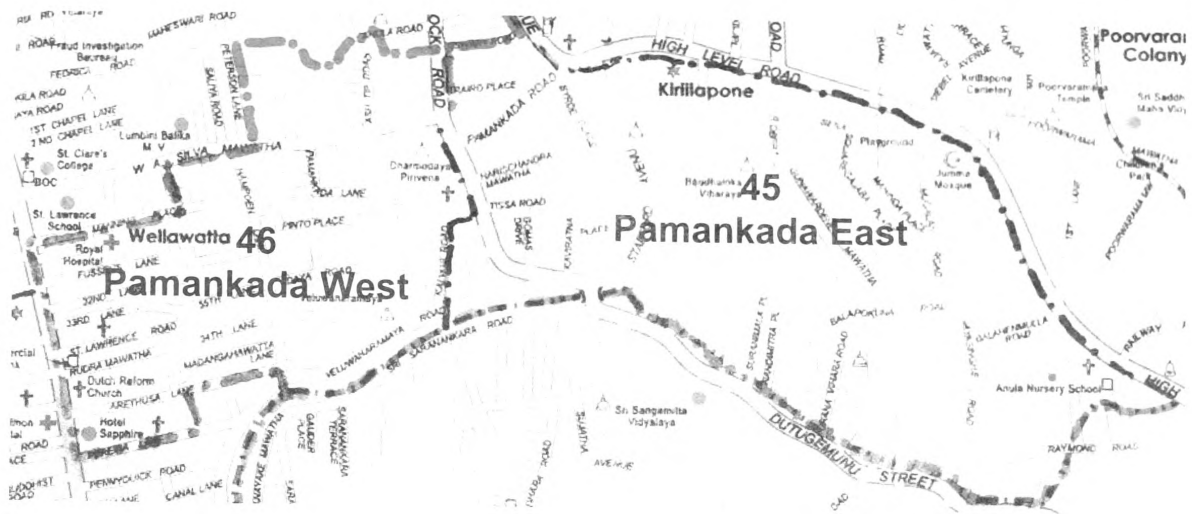


## NARAHENPITA & THIMBIRIGASYAYA

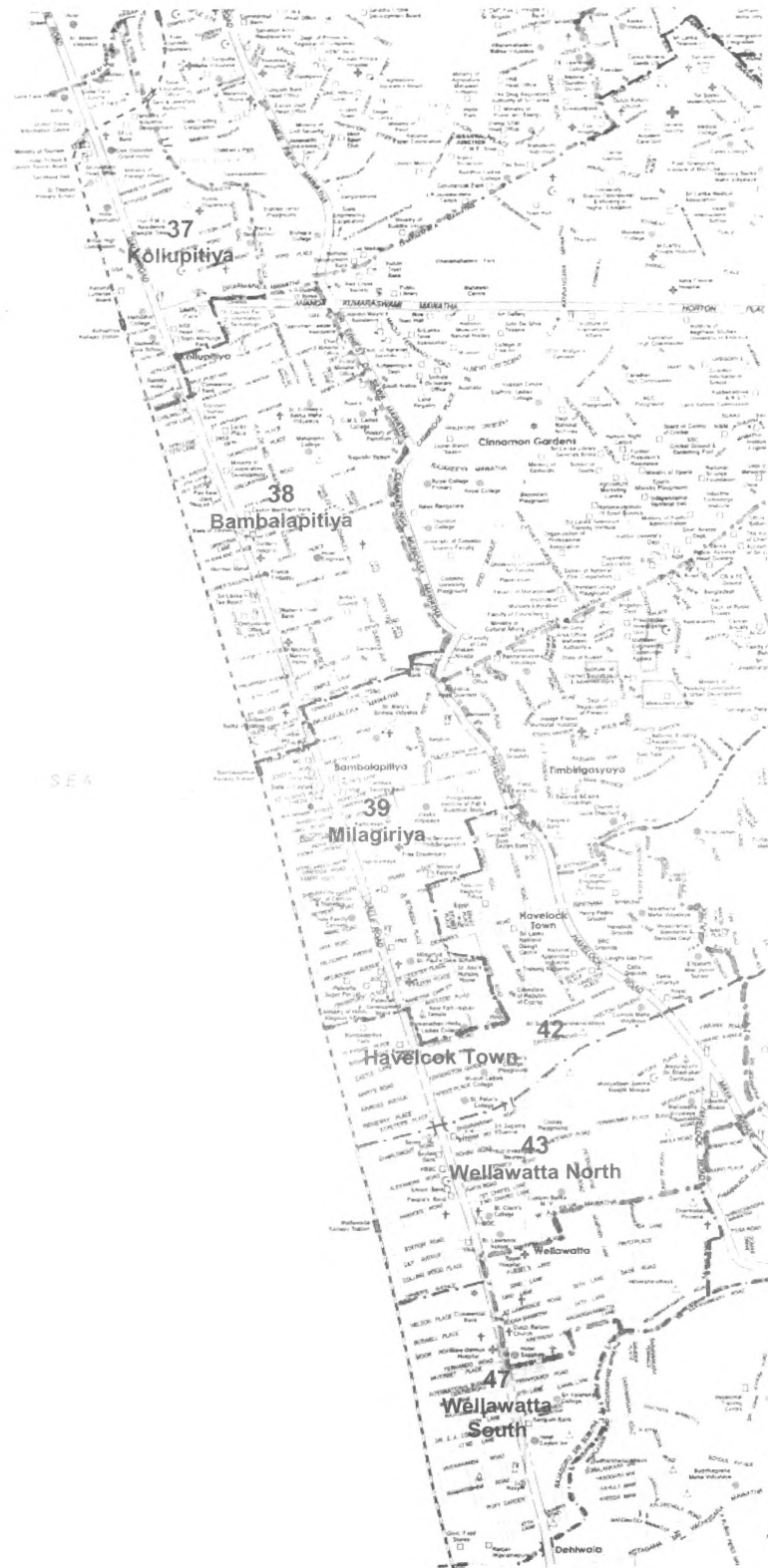


## KIRILLAPONE





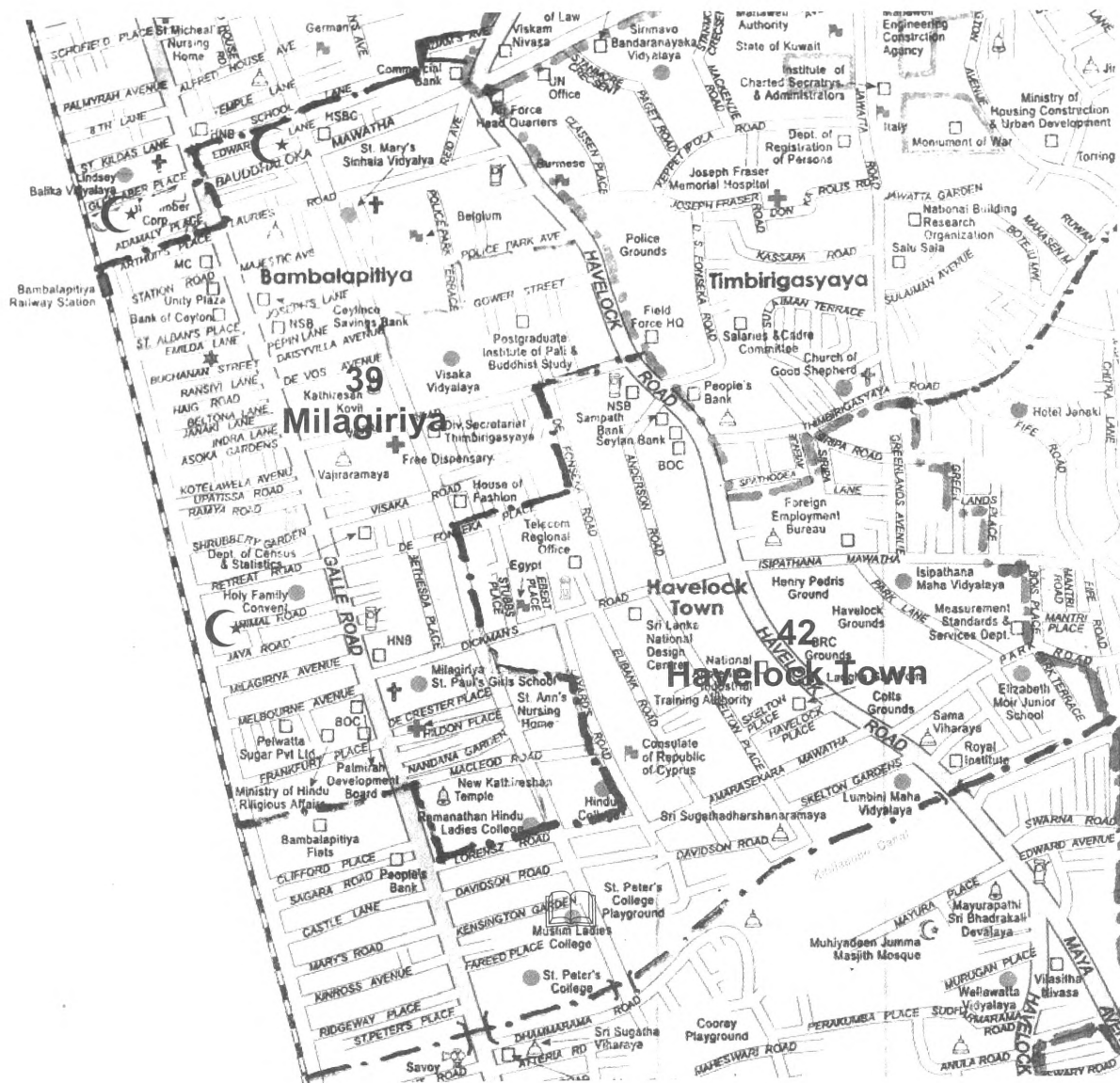
## PAMANKADA



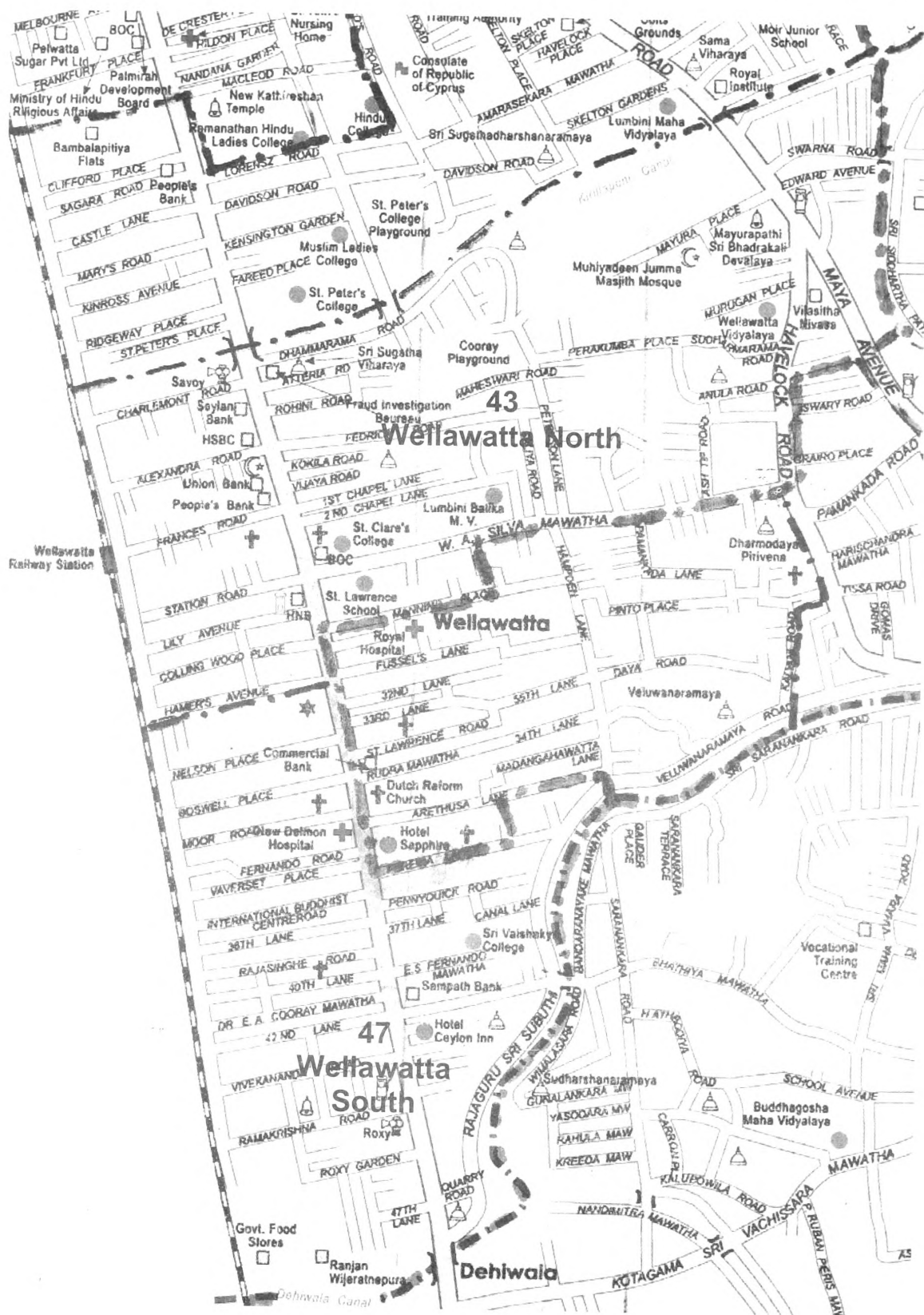
## COLOMBO WEST ELECTORATE NO. 05



# KOLLUPITIYA & BAMBALAPITIYA



## MILAGIRIYA & HAVELOCK TOWN



## WELLAWATTA



A true Muslim cannot be a loyal member of such political party whose manifesto contains proposals some of which run counter to the interests of his community or religion. When some thing is done in the detriment of Muslim community, Muslim members in non-Muslim political parties dare not open their mouths in defence of their community in the appropriate forum for fear of loosing cast in the party hierarchy. However, their membership in the party, and their holding office under it, are held out to the outside world as pointing to the high esteem in which the Muslims are being held in Sri Lanka and the political generosity of the ruling party.

As for the Muslim MPs in National Political parties elected in the non-Muslim electorates, it is commonsense that these persons are elected by their voters not because they are Muslims but because there is complete accord between their political views and those of the non-Muslim voters. In fact the Muslim MPs in order to strengthen their rapport with their voters and to establish their bona fide with them, do their utmost to serve them. As for the Muslims are concerned these MPs afford cold comfort to them, as these gentlemen know on which side their bread is buttered.

**M.I.M. Mohideen**

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