

December, 1987 and February, 1988.
[Placed in library. See No. LT-5726/88].

I. Report and Accounts (1985-86) of the Kerala Agro Industries Corporation Limited, Trivandrum and related papers.

I. Report and Accounts (1985-86) of the Tamil Nadu Agro Industries Corporation Limited, Madras and related papers.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND COOPERATION IN THE MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV): Sir, I beg to lay on the Table:—

I. A copy each (in English and Hindi) of the following papers under sub-section (1) of section 619A of the Companies Act, 1956:—

(i) (a) Eighteenth Annual Report and Accounts of the Kerala Agro Industries Corporation Limited, Trivandrum for the year 1985-86 together with the Auditors' Report on the Accounts and the comments of the Comptroller and Auditor General of India thereon.

(b) Review by Government on the working of the Corporation. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-5730/88 for (a) and (b)].

(ii) (a) Nineteenth Annual Report and Accounts of the Tamil Nadu Agro Industries Corporation Limited, Madras for the year 1984-85 together with the Auditors' Report on the Accounts and the comments of the Comptroller and Auditor General of India thereon.

(b) Review by Government on the working of the Corporation.

II. Statements (in English and Hindi) giving reasons for the delay in laying the papers mentioned at I(i) (a) and (ii) (a) above. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-5731/88 for (ii) and (II)].

[The Deputy Chairman in the Chair]

Announcement Re. Government Business for the week commencing the 21st March, 1988.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI M. M. JACOB): Madam Deputy Chairman, with your permission I rise to announce that Government Business in his House during the week commencing 21st March, 1988, will consist of:

(1) Further General Discussion on the Railway Budget for 1988-89.

(2) General Discussion on the General Budget for 1988-89.

(3) Consideration and return of the following Bills as passed by Lok Sabha:

(a) The Appropriation (Vote on Account) Bill, 1988.

(b) The Appropriation Bill, 1988.

CLARIFICATIONS ON THE STATEMENT ON SRI LANKA

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY (Tamil Nadu): Madam Deputy Chairman, with much pain and agony, I place my appeal of mercy before the Government from the core of my heart to put an end to the repressive offensive of the IPKF against the LTTE—the highly motivated liberation movement of Tamils in Sri Lanka.

Madam, totally contrary to the emphatic assurances of our hon. Prime Minister, all the demands of the Tamils have not been met. The statement which was made yesterday itself admits the fact that the legislation passed in the Sri Lanka Parliament does not meet all the demands of the Tamils. The 13th amendment to the Constitution and the Provincial Councils Act do not contain any provision to fulfil the basic political demands of the Tamils. There is no constitutional guarantee for the merger of the North and East. The Councils have not been given adequate powers on

[Shri V. Gopalsamy]

crucial subjects like land, agriculture, fisheries education and employment. Mere Provincial proclamation or ordinary legislation in Parliament could dissolve the Provincial Councils. Therefore the devolution package is nothing but an empty shell devoid of any political authority. It is not an established fact which has been admitted in one place of the statement also that forceful colonisation of the Sinhalese in the traditional homeland of Tamils has been speeded up with the fullest support of the state machinery since the signing of the agreement with the sole purpose to change the entire demographic structure of the Tamil areas? This itself is a *prima-facie* evidence for the unilateral abrogation of the agreement by the Sri Lankan Government. Where is the accord? In letter and spirit the accord has been destroyed and thrown to the dust-bin by none other than Mr. Jayewardene himself.

In the statement it is also mentioned that unilateral cease-fire was announced on the 28th November by the Government. Is it not a fact that it was announced due to the embarrassment caused to India by the voluntary release of 18 Indian soldiers by LTTE in the presence of a large number of pressmen and journalists?

May I know from the hon. Minister what was the reaction of this Government to the communication sent by Mr. Prabhakaran on 13th January this year appealing to end the war and order cease-fire as the LTTE is prepared for unconditional talks including the surrender of arms?

Madam, I would like to point out in this context that on the 9th March, 1988, Mr. Prabhakaran has again communicated to the hon. Prime Minister which was sent through Mr. Kittu, once the Jaffna commander, now in Madras on 11th March. A copy of the letter is with me. It was given to me by Mr. Kittu himself endorsed with his signature. I quote that letter. This is the letter of Mr. Prabhakaran to the hon. Prime Minister.

"You will appreciate that our organisation has been appealing to you for peace, for cessation of hostility, for negotiation to put an end to this unfortunate conflict and to alleviate the sufferings of our people. Morally and spiritually, we are opposed to this war. We always wish to put an end to this painful tragedy. It was not our choice. In this context, we regret to note that the Government of India has persistently rejected our urgent and sincere feelings. In so far as Indo-Sri Lankan Accord is concerned, the LTTE has pledged to cooperate with the implementation. We still insist for the implementation of the Accord to safeguard the interests and aspirations of our people. Our concern for the interest of our people is based on our legitimate fear of the chauvinistic attitude of the Sri Lankan regime has already flouted the Accord by failing to fulfil their commitment. I officially inform you of our readiness for unconditional talks and I repeat it, for unconditional talks to resolve all the matters between the Government of India and LTTE."

Madam, I do not understand why India should shut the doors. Why don't you come forward for a dialogue? Why don't you order cease-fire when they are prepared for unconditional talks? I am terribly afraid. Already the Sri Lankan troops have come out to attack the Tamil areas which is totally contrary to the stipulated conditions of the agreement that the Sri Lankan army personnel should be confined to their barracks. Therefore, I would like to know from the hon. Minister whether they got the permission from the Government of India prior to the offensive, from the commanders of the IPKF and if so, whether there is a plan to launch a joint operation because we read from the newspapers reports from Gamin

Dissanayake, who came here to discuss this that this also figured in the discussion. I would like to draw the attention of our hon. Minister, Mr. Natwar Singh to a dangerous phenomenon which is emerging very fast in the political scenario of Sri Lanka. That is the disastrous phenomenon of JVP, Janata Vimukti Peramuna, a dreadful organisation, fully supported by the Buddhist clergy, by the Buddhist monks. Madam, it is an established fact that the sympathisers of the JVP have infiltrated into the Sri Lankan armed forces and police more than 70 per cent. More than 70 per cent of the Sri Lankan armed forces and police are infiltrated with the sympathisers of the JVP. Therefore, I am afraid, even if Mr. Jayewardene is permitted to run for a third term introducing an amendment to the Constitution, he may not win the elections. The UNP party may not win the elections. It may be hypothetical to some of my friends but I am telling the fact. You look from this angle. Suppose, JVP captures power in Sri Lanka. If it comes to sit on the saddle to hold the reins of the Government, it will be disastrous for India because it will be totally inimical to India, to the interest of India. Then the doors from that side will be totally closed and even if you want to keep your army there, you will be asked to clear off. Even today, even after signing the Agreement and exchange of letters, even after the assertion of our hon. Prime Minister, the Pakistani forces have not been asked to get out. The Israelis forces have not been asked to get out. They are still there. Therefore, you look from this angle. If JVP comes to power, then it will be disastrous and inimical to India. Then the Tamils will be thrown at the mercy of chauvinistic forces of Sri Lanka the Sinhala race. This dangerous proportion is there. Therefore, Madam, I would like to beg of this Government. If you wipe out the Tamil militant force—because Tamil militancy is your bargaining point — what will happen?

They did not take to arms against us. They did not intend to take to arms against us. They took to arms long back, after so many years of trials and tribulations and subjection and humiliation. As a last resort, they took to arms. If you annihilate, wipe out, Tamil militancy, which is a shield and cover for the Tamils there, what will be the protection? What is the shield if they are again thrown to the mercy of the chauvinistic forces? Mr. Prabhakaran has been repeatedly asking for a cease-fire and negotiation. Madam, I would like to request my hon. friends to lend me their ears. You may not accept my point of view. But I crave your indulgence to hear my point of view. In this letter, in the last two paragraphs, Mr. Prabhakaran insists:

"You may be aware that the conditions of Annamma David has become very serious. She has been fasting unto death for the last 19 days to bring about cease-fire and negotiations. I urge you earnestly to occasion a cease-fire without further delay and initiate negotiations to discuss all related issues to bring about peace in Tamil areas and save the valuable life of Mrs. Annamma David."

Madam, when the Government came to know that at any moment Mrs. Annamma David might die, which would evoke terrific reactions in Tamil areas, what did it do? You have removed her. Yes. You have released a story of interception of a message between the LTTE commanders as if it is atrocious. Yesterday, Mr. M. C. Fernando, the Chief Catholic Priest of Barticala, where the fast was undertaken, has released a press statement. He is the President of the Citizens Committee of Barticala. He has released a statement where he says that Mrs. Annamma David was forcibly taken away by the IPKF under the orders of the Indian Commander Mr. Das and all the office-bears of the

[Shri V. Gopalsamy]

(Mothers' Front were taken into custody and her three daughters, who the Government says have given a complaint, have into custody. They have been coerced and forced to give a statement. There were lathi charge tear-gas and firing in the air to chase away all the women and the members of the Mothers' Front and they were taken into custody. Mrs. Annamma David protested on the bed but the tent where she was fasting was smashed and she was taken away. Madam, it is really very painful that a Government of the land where the Mahatma was born should follow and adopt the techniques of Gestapo. I am not blaming this Government. Who is responsible for this? This is adding insult to the injury already caused. Is it not a fact that Vajayaranathunge was killed by the JVP? Is it not a fact that Mr. Abdul Kareem, the top leader of the Muslim forces who had been always supporting the Tamils' cause, was killed by the JVP? Who is responsible for the assassination of Nadarajah? I pay my homage to the greatest leader of the Tamil movement, Nadarajah Madam, the LTTE has nothing to do with it. (Interruptions) You put forth your view when you speak. I do not say all these things for any political advantage. I say these because the Minister may not be aware of them. (Interruptions) Do not take my time. Already in Jaffna area the Tigers have been driven out. The tri-star organisation, betrayers and traitors equipped with arms, are there very much already. Other elements are also there. This is really saddening, Madam. Therefore, now I am afraid. In the thick jungles fighting is going on for the past 10 or 15 days. Heavy fighting is going on. I am afraid, all the brigades have been sent to hunt for and liquidate Mr. Prabhakaran. Then you will spread the story after killing him that because he was already having cyanide capsules he committed suicide. This is the conspiracy after your concocted story relating to the fast unto death by Mrs. Annamma

David. What are you going to achieve after you kill Mr. Prabhakaran? How many years they have taken to build up this movement: They do not have their food rations for days together and for months together they do not have medicines for the wounded. But they are able to give stiff resistance to the biggest the four—the biggest army, that is, the Indian army. I do not doubt the gallantry of the Indian soldiers. But the Indian soldiers are not fighting for the interests of India. But they are playing the role of mercenaries in the hands of another Government. But these people are fighting for their land, fighting to protect their honour and their dignity, the dignity of their race. Madam, who are we to dictate terms to them about their political destiny? Madam, I am terribly afraid. If you achieve your purpose of liquidating Mr. Prabhakaran, he may die. But his very name will inspire the nation, will light the torch for generations to come. Mr. Minister, I want to ask you: What sins have they committed against your Government? Did they join their hands in the assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi? When Mrs. Indira Gandhi was assassinated, all the houses in the Tamil areas raised black flags and even on that day, eleven people were shot dead in the streets of Jaffna. What sins have they committed? You want to wipe out and liquidate the greatest liberation movement there. You may achieve your purpose. The honourable Prime Minister expected or this Government expected that within forty-eight hours the LTTE would be finished. They are, after all, two thousand boys. But even according to the Press reports during the past four years, every day there are casualties, often of fifteen or twenty LTTE men. But still their number increases. How many of the LTTE men have been killed so far? That only shows that in every house there is an LTTE man. They have got the mass support and that is why they are able to give stiff resistance. Never before in the history people were able to do it. Even in Vietnam they could not do it. Such bravery, such courage, such conviction—these are not against India and their purpose is not against India.

Therefore, Madam, at this moment, I beg of this Government to consider kindly this issue from these angles, from the point of view of the dangerous phenomenon which is emerging in the political scenario of Sri Lanka. You call them for talks. Even about surrendering of arms stage by stage, about the modalities, you talk to them. What is wrong? It is because your army is there? What is wrong if you bring them to the negotiating table for a dialogue? What is wrong? What prevents you? Therefore, Madam, I would like again to make my mercy appeal to this Government, to put it at the feet of this Government, to stop this war. Otherwise, I tell you today on the floor of his House, from my heart that if Mr. Pirabhakaran is killed, that scar will be there permanently for generations to come in the hearts of the Tamils and the very name 'India' will become a curse in the hearts of the Tamils. When the Chinese attacked, it is the Tamils who stood by you. Therefore, there is no necessity for them to fight against our army. You put an end to this offensive; you put an end to this war, and you put an end to the tears and blood of the Tamils and the Indian soldiers there. I would, therefore, like to convey our feelings and sentiments to the honourable Prime Minister of this country, but he is not here in the House now. But, Mr. Minister, you can convey our feelings from the angles which I have already elaborated and narrated. You kindly consider and call them for talks and order a cease-fire so that the prestige, the dignity and the image of India will be protected in the international foreign. Otherwise, one day an independent observers' team from the UN may visit those places and find out what atrocities have been committed and what cock-and-bull stories have been spread.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA *alias V. ARUNACHALAM* (Tamil Nadu): Madam Deputy Chairman, the statement of the Minister is full of false information, travesty of facts and distortion of truth.

It reveals and reiterates not only the sinister design of this Government but also the betrayal attitude of IPKF against the Tamils in Sri Lanka. While this Government condemns and criticises the action of LTTE and Tamils, it deliberately, want only and blindly extends its full military support to the Government of Sri Lanka, ignoring the legitimate claims and demands of the Tamils. The Minister himself has admitted in the statement that the legislation of Sri Lanka Government does not meet all the demands of Tamils. The prime demands of the Tamils are: one merger of northern and eastern Tamil provinces, and, two, devolution of power to the Provincial Council. Sir these demands have been accepted in the Accord itself. So far the Government of Sri Lanka have not come forward to implement these demands. Before the elections to the Provincial Council, implementation of these two demands is imperative to fulfil the aspirations of Tamils.

I would like to know from the hon. Minister, what steps have been taken to fulfil these demands before the election of the Provincial Council? Our Government has totally failed to pursue this matter with President Jayewardene. Instead it advises our Tamils to reply on the assurance of President Jayewardene. The question of assurance does not arise after the Accord. These demands must be implemented forthwith. So I would like to know, what steps have been taken by our Government?

Sir, the Minister has much exercised his brainy subterfuge and intellectual perfidy against LTTE in the statement. He wilfully and maliciously claims justifications for the military offensive of IPKF. Whether our Minister accepts it or not, I am to remind this House that the LTTE is the only movement which protects, preserves and safeguards the interests of the Tamils. It is the only movement, which has been acknowledged by the Tamils, without which nothing will materialize in Sri Lanka.

[Shri Aladi Aruna *alias* V. Arunachalam]

I have to remind this House that the IPKF, since its arrival there, has killed more than 5000 civilians, more than 1500 Tamil militants. Hundreds of ladies have been raped. It has been reported, Madam, that our army personnel have married Tamil ladies. What does it mean? Our army personnel are making love with our Tamil girls there. So the morality of our army has been degraded. What steps have been taken by this Government to prevent these atrocities and injustice to our Tamil ladies and Tamil brothers?

Now it has been proved throughout the world: One, the offensive of the IPKF is dead against the very objective of the accord itself. Two, the IPKF is more dangerous to Tamils than the Sri Lankan force. Three, the role of the IPKF is hated both by the Tamils and Sinhalese. Four, the IPKF is fighting not for the interests of Tamils, not for the implementation of the accord, but for a treaty with Sri Lanka at the expense of Tamils. These are the facts. That is why I appeal to the Minister to please withdraw the IPKF from the soil of Sri Lanka because the presence of IPKF is dangerous to the very interests of the Tamils.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: You ask them to go to October 9 position.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA *alias* V. ARUNACHALAM: For the last three days, as stated by my friend Mr. Gopalsamy, the IPKF and the Sri Lanka Army have joined together to wipe out the Tamil race in Sri Lankan Tamil areas. Both have joined together in attacking the Tamils. Now it is very obvious that you want to kill Prabhakaran. If Prabhakaran is killed and if the Government is successful in liquidating the LTTE, I am to remind this House that the causes of the Tamils will be taken up by the five-crore Tamils of Tamil Nadu. It is our responsibility to protect the interests and self-respect of the Tamils of Sri Lanka. Mr. Prabhakaran has repeatedly requested this Government for negotiations. He is prepared to cooperate in the implementation of the

Accord. But the Government is not relying on the words and statements of Mr. Prabhakaran. Despite his requests, the Government is still adamant, belligerent and intransigent. If the Minister speak from his heart whether our diplomacy has succeeded in Sri Lanka on this issue? Have we not been engaged in an unholy war against our Tamil brethren? Are we not wasting our money, resources and the lives of our soldiers on false prestige? Are we not helping the Sri Lankan Government by our involvement in this offensive? You claim that we are for the implementation of the Accord. You argue that the disarming of LTTE is more important for that. I am to remind this House that when Tamils were attacked by Sri Lankan Army, the LTTE was the only movement which protected the Tamils.

Now you are very serious about the Accord? Are you very serious about the Assam Accord? Are you very serious about the Punjab Accord? If not, then why are you so serious the Sri Lanka Accord? I know that you are not for the Accord. You are for the treaty with the Sri Lankan Government at the expense of the Tamils. That is why you have seized this opportunity to kill the Tamils. You want a good certificate from President Jayewardene. Thereby you want to enter into a treaty with Sri Lanka. I appeal to this Government to accept the ceasefire and to negotiate with the LTTE. The LTTE is the only organisation which can save the Tamils. When MGR was alive, he repeatedly asked this Government to declare ceasefire. When he met our Prime Minister in Washington, he pressed for ceasefire. But our Prime Minister said no to it. The Prime Minister asked our Chief Minister to issue a statement condemning LTTE, MGR said 'no' and left the room. Thereafter, there was misunderstanding between this Government and our former Chief Minister. Therefore on behalf of five crore Tamils and on behalf of Anna DMK. I appeal to this Government to accept ceasefire. This is the only way to protect the Tamils. If you take steps to liquidate the LTTE in the name of disarming them, you are doing great injustice, an atrocious injustice.

to the Tamil people. Once again I appeal to the hon. Minister to declare ceasefire and negotiate with the LTTE. This is the only way by which peace and normalcy can be restored. Otherwise, you will be in the trap of President Jayewardene for ever.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY (Pondicherry): Madam, Deputy Chairman, the statement by the Hon. Minister is very clear to show what the conditions are that are taking place in the northern and eastern Sri Lanka. The hon. Minister in his statement has said that the demand of the Tamils having been fully met by forming the provincial council, the process of fulfilling the obligations given in the agreement is being taken care of by both the Governments.

Madam, I would like to pose a question to the two leaders of the DMK and the AIMMK, who have pleaded the case of Mr. Prabhakaran and the LTTE, who were responsible for scuttling the accord and the agreement, who had given the settlement proposal to the Indian Government on the terms at which it was agreed to by President Jayewardene and the Government of India.

Madam, it is only on the concurrence of the LTTE and its leader, Prabhakaran, that the agreement was signed and even after that when there were reservations by Prabhakaran about the Agreement, the minutes were signed it before our High Commissioner in Sri Lanka. Now a propaganda has been unleashed by the leaders in Tamil Nadu stating that the Agreement was signed without the consent of Prabhakaran and that the Government are forcing Prabhakaran to agree to the terms of the agreement.

SHRI THANGKABALU (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Gopalsamy, you have made your point. You sit down now.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias **V. ARUNACHALAM**: Mr. Prabhakaran did not give consent. Madam, he is misleading the House. (Interruptions).

AN HON. MEMBER: Is it your monopoly to mislead the House.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias **V. ARUNACHALAM**: This is the basic point. You need not say, you sit down now. Let the Minister show a piece of evidence that Prabhakaran accepted the accord? What are you talking? (Interruptions)

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: That Prabhakaran consented, let the Minister establish a bit of evidence. What are you talking. (Interruptions)

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias **V. ARUNACHALAM**: That is different from giving consent to the accord.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order please.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Madam, I will quote the records. Mr. Prabhakaran himself has signed. This is Hindu dated the 13th October, 1987.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: That is about the September 28 episode. You are confusing.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Are you getting confused? (Interruptions). Order please.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Madam, Prabhakaran himself signed the letter dated 27th September, 1987, which reads: I wish to inform you that the Central Committee of LTTE has agreed to your suggestion regarding composition of the proposed interim administration. After the detailed agreed minutes dated 28th September, the LTTE's intensive discussion with the Indian delegation headed by the High Commissioner, Shri J. M. Dikshit were signed by Mr. Mahataya for militant organisation, the agreement which has been signed by them, they have agreed to co-operate with the Government. Then, what happened thereafter? They started firing at the Indian Peace Keeping Forces. (Time bell rings). Madam, I have just stated only. They have interfered in the middle.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have to finish within time.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: But they have taken more than 20 minutes.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It was decided that he will be given a little more time.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: I should also be given equal opportunity in the House.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It was initiated by him, that is why.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: They agreed that they will co-operate with the Government. But then they started attacking the IPKF. Then the developments have taken place. Even we have lost more than 300 soldiers in the fight. The LTTE's main intention is to be there and take over the control of the northern and eastern Sri Lanka by gun power. That was not agreed to by the Sri Lankan Government.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM: If that is their land, it is their legitimate right... (*Interruptions*).

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: If you interrupt, he will go on speaking.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: In Sri Lanka, the Muslims, the Sinhalese, do not want IPKF to remain there. But people in Sri Lanka, the Tamil people living in the Northern and Eastern Sri Lanka, for their security, want IPKF to remain there. This is the aspiration of the Tamil people in Sri Lanka, especially in the Northern and Eastern parts and they want IPKF to stay. But we are concerned not only with the Eastern and Northern region; we are concerned with the Southern parts as well where the Tamils are living.

I come to recent developments. Cease-fire was announced by the Government. But the LTTE violated it and started attacking the IPKF. They spread the theory, or the story that our troops have been bomb-shelling the Tamil houses, the churches, the schools and other buildings. They said our IPKF personnel have been committing atrocities on women in the Northern and Eastern parts. This is the story being spread by the LTTE purposely to tarnish the image of the IPKF person-

nel. But our Prime Minister categorically stated that India would agree to the ceasefire provided two things are satisfied: one, they should co-operate with the Government for the purpose of fulfilling the terms of the agreement, and secondly, they must surrender arms. But their previous conduct showed that they were not willing to surrender their arms and they wanted to fight the Sri Lankan forces and also the Tamil population. Madam, Muslim population have been killed by the LTTE. Their great leader Nataraja was killed by the LTTE. Our friend is now paying homage to Mr. Nataraja but he has pleaded the case of LTTE. Therefore it is very clear from the attitude of LTTE that they are not for agreement, and their purpose is to see that Indian forces go out of Sri Lanka and they are able to annihilate the other population, including Tamils in Northern and Eastern Sri Lanka. Here, I would state about an important aspect of Mrs. Annamma David. My friend said before this House today that Mrs. Annamma David went on a fast unto death and, therefore the Government has not taken any steps. I will quote an instance. A letter was given by the son of Mrs. Annamma David to the IPKF Commander.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Her daughters were taken into custody...

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM:...and forcibly removed.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: You can say that. Madam, the letter was given stating that... (*Interruptions*). What is that running commentary going on. When they spoke, we were keeping quiet.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Gopalsamy, when you spoke, nobody interrupted. You must have that much tolerance.

SHRI P. N. SUKUL (Uttar Pradesh): We will not allow you to speak if you interrupt.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Don't threaten me. You cannot threaten me. I will teach you behaviour... (*Interruptions*). You cannot threaten me.

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: Madam, can he shout like this?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please sit down. Don't lose tempers.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Mrs. Annamma David's children gave letter to the IPKF commander stating that LTTE leaders, specially Mr. Prabhakaran, corrected Mrs. Annamma David. She was forced go on fast for 5-6 days so that the Government would agree to the terms.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARU-NACHALAM: The virtuous lady has declared fast unto death. He has every right to say about her fast, but he cannot insult her fast. She was on fast for more than 20 days. There should be some sense of responsibility.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Aladi, when you speak, you speak according to your own information. He is giving his views according to his own information. Why are you unnecessarily disputing each and every thing? You must have some tolerance power.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Mrs. Annamma David wanted to break the fast. She was forced to continue it by the LTTE cadres. They wanted her to go on fast till her death because they had the bitter experience of Dileepan's hunger strike. That has been enhanced by LTTE for political reasons.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Your Government killed him.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now nothing will go on record which is without the permission of the Chair.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN (Tamil Nadu): What is without the permission of the Chair? How does the press know it because you are just saying it very mildly? They may find it difficult.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: LTTE wanted to encash on the death of Mrs. David, but she has fortunately been saved by our Indian Peace Keeping Force.

Madam, the LTTE is not agreeing for the provincial council elections. It is their own quotation. It has been argued by the Tigers that they are fighting forces which have been living in the jungles and so have remained totally cut off from the common people. They could not come out of the jungles and fight elections like politicians do. Therefore, knowing fully well that they will not win elections they have not participated in the elections. As per the terms of the Agreement provincial council elections have been announced but they are scuttling it for the reasons mentioned by me earlier. The Sinhalese population has been shifted to eastern part of Sri Lanka purposefully by Jayewardene. My point is, what was the discussion that took place between the Government of India and President Jayewardene for the purpose of removing those people from those regions because provincial council elections have been announced?

Secondly, I would like to know whether there is any headway in the matter of foreign forces who are to be removed by Sri Lanka as per the Agreement signed between our Prime Minister and President Jayewardene. After the visit of Shri Gemini Disanayake, Sri Lanka Minister of Finance and Land Development, and the talks with President Jayewardene, whether there has been any headway, what the outcome is, that is what I would like to know.

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह (बिहार):
उपसभापति महोदया, मैं आपके प्रति आभारी हूँ कि आपने मुझे इस विषय पर बोलने का अवसर दिया।

महोदया, इस सदन में जब श्रीलंका ऐग्रीमेंट के सम्बन्ध में माननीय मंत्री श्री नटवर सिंह जी ने बयान दिया था तो मैंने उस समय कहा था कि श्रीलंका का सम्झौता हमारे गले में हड्डी की तरह फंस गया है। इस पर मंत्री महोदय ने कहा था कि आपको गले में हड्डी दिखाई देती है, लेकिन मुझे तो नहीं दिखती है। उस समय मैंने कहा था कि तीन महीने बाद आपको गले में हड्डी दिखायी देगी और जोरदार दंग से दिखायी देगी, उससे दर्द होगा और सारे शरीर में दर्द मालूम होगा। तो वह

[श्री राम अवधेश सिंह]

तीन महीने तो नहीं गुजरे, वो महीने के बाद ही गले की हड्डी का दर्द बढ़ गया और सारे शरीर में राष्ट्र के शरीर में वह दर्द आज व्याप्त है। मैं यह बात मानता हूँ कि श्रीलंका की जनता भारत की जनता से प्यार करती है, दोनों में मोहब्बत है। लेकिन भारत सरकार की गलती में विदेश नीति को ठीक से न समझने के कारण भारत की तत्वीर श्रीलंका की जनता के बीच और वहाँ की सरकार के बीच भी बिगड़ रही है। जब यह समझौता हुआ था तो इसका स्वागत हुआ था। उनके प्रधान मंत्री जो प्रेमदासा हैं वह कह रहे हैं कि नहीं, यह समझौते के अन्तराल से चीज निकल रही है वह गड़बड़ है। भारत विरोधी बयान लगातार देते रहे हैं। इस समझौते में हमें मिला क्या? न तो तमिल वालों को संतुष्ट कर सके और न सिंधली को संतुष्ट कर पाये। उस गरीब जनता का कोई हिस्सा हमारे पक्ष में नहीं है। ऐसी भारी गलती तो मैं समझता हूँ एक बार और हुई थी लेकिन इससे हल्की गलती थी जिस समय तिब्बत पर भारत ने चीन की सावरेनिटी मानी थी। उस समय भी तत्कालीन प्रधान मंत्री ने भारत सरकार का डिफेंस किया था। तिब्बत पर चीन की सावरेनिटी मानना उचित नहीं है यह कहा था। लेकिन आगे चल कर उसका नतीजा यह निकला कि हमको कई हजार एकड़ जमीन गंवानी पड़ी। आज भी चाइना हमारी वस्ती पर बैठा हुआ है और हमेशा आखें दिखाता रहता है, पंजे चलाता रहता है, कभी किसी भूमि के हिस्से पर और कभी किसी हिस्से पर पंजा मारता रहता है। आज श्रीलंका की स्थिति जो है वैसी स्थिति कभी नहीं खराब हुई थी। भारत का वहाँ जाना गलत था लेकिन अब ऐसा फंस गया कि उसको बाहर निकलने में भारी कठिनाई हो रही है। इनको तत्काल निकलना चाहिये। मेरा कहना है कि एक दिन की देरी किये बिना वहाँ से बाहर आना चाहिये। वह काम उनको सुपूर्द करना चाहिये। ये लोग तर्क दे रहे हैं कि वहाँ अमेरिका आ जायेगा, वहाँ इजराइल आ जायेगा। वहाँ पाकिस्तान आ जायेगा। तो क्या आज इजराइल वहाँ नहीं है? क्या आज पाकिस्तान वहाँ नहीं है? है। उन्हीं के बल पर यह मूठठी भर एल० टी० टी० ई० आपको बतला बना रहे हैं हमारी

इंटेलीजेंस ने भारत सरकार को धोखा दिया। इंटेलीजेंस में हमारे ऐसे लोग हैं जिन्होंने कहा कि 48 घंटे के अन्दर हम कब्जा कर लेंगे और वहाँ जैसा चाहेंगे वैसा कर लेंगे। लेकिन जब यह हुआ तो मुश्किल बड़ा भारी शक हुआ। जब यह समझौता हुआ तो सर्वप्रथम अमेरिका ने इसका स्वागत किया। उसी समय मुश्किल शक हुआ कि अमेरिका ने क्यों स्वागत किया सबसे पहले। अमेरिका का काम बन गया था। इसलिए बन गया कि हमारी तीन डिबीजन फोर्स वहाँ लगी हुयी है शायद तीन डिबीजन में ज्यादा हैं...

उपसभापति : आप अपनी मालुमात के मुताबिक बोल सकते हैं।

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : तीन करोड़ से ज्यादा का रोजाना खर्च होता है। इस अकाल के युग में हम डेफिसिट फाइनेंस बढ़ा रहे हैं। माफ़े दस परसेंट बजट का डेफिसिट फाइनेंस कर रहे हैं अपनी आबादी को जिन्दा रखने के लिये, दोनों समय भोजन देने के लिये। इसी में से तीन करोड़ रुपये प्रतिदिन खर्च कर रहे हैं श्रीलंका की भूमि पर और इससे अमेरिका का काम बन रहा है। यह जितना फसेंगे उतना उनका काम बनेगा। मुश्किल याद है, नारायणसामी जी ने कहा था कि प्रभाकरन की सहमति में समझौता हुआ था तो मैं यह याद दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि उन दिनों का अबबार निकाल कर देख लीजिये। सारे अखबारों की उन दिनों की रिपोर्ट है कि जिन दिनों हमारे प्रधान मंत्री श्रीलंका में समझौता कर रहे थे उन दिनों श्री प्रभाकरन भारत की भूमि में एक तरह से कैद थे। जब श्री प्रभाकरन भारत में थे तो वे इससे कैसे सहमत थे, यह मैं जानना चाहता हूँ। श्री प्रभाकरन इस समझौते से सहमत थे, यह कहकर देश को गुमराह करना है। जब वे भारत में थे तो वे कैसे सहमत थे, यह समझ में नहीं आता। श्री प्रभाकरन ने तो इस समझौते के संबंध में अपनी असहमति जारी की थी। प्रभाकरन पर यह समझौता थोपा गया है। श्री प्रभाकरन इस समझौते से सहमत नहीं थे, यह बात सारी दुनिया जानती है। इस तरह की बात कह कर सरकार लोगों को गुमराह कर रही है। अभी श्री अलादी अरुण ने जो बात कही वह बहुत गंभीर है। अगर श्री प्रभाकरन की हत्या हुई तो मैं

इस बात को कह सकता हूँ कि अपने देश के तमिलों में भी सिविल वार हो जायेगा, उसको कोई रोक नहीं सकता है... (व्यवधान)। यह कोई हमारी बात नहीं है। जिनको आप बचाना चाहते थे, जिनके लिये आपने एयर से सामान ड्रॉप किया, आज हमारी नीति का दिवालिया इसी से निकल जाता है कि हम उन्हीं के खिलाफ लड़ रहे हैं। श्रीलंका की सरकार ने हमारे एयर ड्रॉप का विरोध किया, लेकिन फिर भी जबरदस्ती वहाँ पर सामान एयर ड्रॉप किया। तमिल पोपुलेशन को बचाने के लिये हमने यह किया। हमारी विदेश नीति इतनी नगी, इतनी कमजोर और बेपरवगी की हो गई कि एयर ड्रॉप के डेढ़-दो महीने बाद हम उसको मारने के लिये श्रीलंका में पहुँच गये। इससे बढ़कर हमारी विदेश नीति का दिवालिषापन और क्या हो सकता है?

महोदय, हमारी सरकार को समझना चाहिये कि कुछ गलती की गई है। बंगला देश में हमारी सेना गई। वहाँ के लोगों को खिन्ने करने के लिये हमारी सेना बंगला देश में गई। लेकिन वहाँ की परिस्थितियों में और श्रीलंका की परिस्थितियों में अन्तर है। बंगला देश में 95 परसेंट जनता बल्कि मैं यह कहूँ तो गलत नहीं होगा कि 99 परसेंट जनता हमारे स्वागत के लिये तैयार थी। जगह-जगह पर हमारी सेना का स्वागत करनी थी। लेकिन श्रीलंका में स्थिति दूसरी है। जिस प्रकार से अमेरिका वियतनाम में फँस गया था, उसी प्रकार से आप भी श्रीलंका में फँस गये हैं। एक बात मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज तक दुनिया में कोई ऐसा समझौता नहीं हुआ जिसमें जिन लोगों के साथ समस्या का समाधान करना हो, जो समस्या का एक पक्ष हो और दूसरा आदमी जो समझौता करने वाला हो वह उस पक्ष को साथ न लेकर खुद ही उसमें पार्टी बन जाय। भारत समझौता करने वाला था, लेकिन वह खुद ही पार्टी बन गया और जिन लोगों को समझौता करना था, उनको मारा जा रहा है। इस बात के लिये भारत सरकार को भारत की जबता से माफी मांगनी चाहिये, यह काम अविलम्ब किया जाता चाहिये। यह देखना चाहिये कि किसी प्रकार से भी प्रभावकारन की हत्या न हो। एल०टी०टी०ई० काफी मजबूत संगठन है। उसी के साथ समझौता किया जाना चाहिये। श्रीलंका में इस

प्रकार का समझौता करके हमने पंजाब में उग्रवादियों का हाथ मजबूत किये हैं। इस समझौते का नतीजा अच्छा होने वाला नहीं जो नारायणसामी जी ने कहा कि एल०टी०टी०ई० की ओर से गड़बड़ी हुई मैं उसको रिफ्यूट करता हूँ। 13 व्यक्तियों को पकड़ लिया हमारे लोगों ने और उनको पोटाशियम साइनाइड खाकर मरना पड़ा। यही दिन था जिस दिन से एल०टी०टी०ई० के लोगों ने बगावत की और उन लोगों ने कहा कि अब हम लोग इनसे समझौता नहीं करेंगे। यह भयानक विस्फोट जो हुआ यह हमारी गलती से हुआ और 13 आदमियों का जब अपनी जान गंवानी पड़ी तो विद्रोह की स्थिति पैदा हो गई। यह हमारी गलती थी इसको हमें महसूस करना चाहिये।

महोदय, अन्तिम बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि मेरा भारत सरकार से पुनः निवेदन है कि वहाँ से इमीडियेट विद्रोह हो और 9 अक्टूबर की पोलीशन पर कम से कम उनको आना चाहिये। अगर नहीं आये तो पूरे देश को बरबाद करेंगे, राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर आर्थिक हानि होगी और अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर हमें बहुत हानि होगी, हमारी प्रतिष्ठा की हानि होगी, इन्ही शब्दों के साथ धन्यवाद।

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY (Karnataka): Within the brief time I have I would like to concentrate on the formulation of our position rather than on discussion.

I would like to have de-escalation, defusion and also progressive de-involvement of our troops there. With this in view, I would like to highlight the main elements which come in the way of a lasting settlement in Sri Lanka. As I look at it, I feel there is a deep mistrust and growing suspicion on all sides. Particularly, there is mistrust and suspicion between the Government of India and its troops there and the LTTE. This wall of mistrust has to be broken.

I think the first mistake was committed when the Accord was signed between Shri Rajiv Gandhi and Shri Jayewardene. Instead if the Accord had been signed between Shri Jayewardene and the Tamil groups there, this situation would not have arisen. This is a past history. If the

[Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy]

Government of India wanted to involve itself in the Accord in a way there could have been a tripartite accord instead of the accord being signed by two parties.

I want to highlight the important elements that come in the way of settlement. LTTE is a main factor. It is a very big factor. Let us understand this. There are several Tamil groups operating there, but the LTTE is a very major group and a main factor. Without the involvement and concurrence by the LTTE, this Agreement cannot be permanent. Therefore,

1.00 P.M. I would like my friend, Shri Natwar Singhji to take this into consideration. Without LTTE there cannot be any settlement. So, what is the petition now? According to our colleagues and according to my information..

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is a general consensus to sit through the lunch period and we can continue.

There is one more announcement. I have to inform the Members that some Members have felt that the proposed statement by the Home Minister in connection with the bundh may be made at 5.00 P.M. instead of 2.30 P.M. The Minister will do so accordingly and thereafter short duration discussion listed for today will be discussed.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: Madam, my point is...

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH): You are not breaking for lunch.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No. There are many speakers. Yesterday it was a general consensus.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI M. M. JACOB): Maybe after sometime. Maybe after we finish it early.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: If we finish it early, then we can have and if there is time.

SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH: My only problem is that hon. Members after making their speeches... (Interruptions)...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Wait, wait, let me listen what he has to say?

SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH: I am merely saying if we can have a half-an-hour break... (Interruptions)...

उपसभापति : ठहरिए ठहरिए, मुझे सुनने दीजिए ।

SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH: If we can have half-an-hour break, it will be helpful.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I would request the Members to be very brief.

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA (Bihar): On Friday this has never happened.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: In the B.A.C. it was a general consensus.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: We will finish it within half-an-hour. I will not take much time.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I request the Members to be brief so that we can have half-an-hour break.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: I will just formulate. LTTE is a very big factor and its consent is very necessary for any political settlement. What is the hitch then? What is the position of my hon. friend? The position of my hon. friend is that LTTE should agree to surrender the arms and come to the negotiating table. But, may I remind him that even in the midst of war talks take place for peace settlement? Therefore, Shri Natwar Singhji should not take the position that unless and until LTTE surrenders its arms there cannot be any negotiations. No. That should not be a precondition. The only weapon the LTTE has got is weapon and nothing else. My friend wants surrender of that weapon without reaching a settlement. Therefore, they are very much under fear as to what would happen in future. Therefore, my point is that they

should not insist upon surrender of arms. Their militancy has got to be recognised and I would like that negotiations should go on immediately. There should be complete stoppage of conflict. There should be announcement in this regard and simultaneously they should hold talks, negotiations with the LTTE if possible and if necessary. That is my second point. There should not be any settlement which will bring dishonour to any body and settlement has got to be with honour.

Lastly, if there is any difficulty, if tension cannot be resolved, may I suggest let there be a parliamentary mission sent on behalf of all political parties here to talk to various interests LTTE and others and our High Commission and also Government of Sri Lanka so that an atmosphere can be created for bringing about an ultimate settlement? Thank you.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Madam Deputy Chairman, I thank you for giving me an opportunity to seek some clarifications on the statement on Sri Lanka by the Minister of State for External Affairs.

Sri Lanka problem is an emotional problem. How it is viewed by the people of Tamil Nadu and how it is being viewed by the people outside Tamil Nadu are different and that has been evidenced here.

Regarding certain points that have been given by the hon. Minister, genuine doubts have been expressed by the people of India by people who know about Sri Lanka and that why it has been argued by my friends here. Madam, I would like to seek clarifications from the hon. Minister regarding the following points which are very vital to the interest of Tamils in Sri Lanka and also regarding the interest of people in Sri Lanka. The first point that I would like to raise is regarding the statement given by the hon. Minister and the statement followed after the visit of the Sri Lankan Minister of Finance and Land Development Mr. Gamini Dissanayake. He had discussion with the hon. Minister and in paragraph 23, the hon. Minister has informed us that he came specifically to express his Government's anxiety on the recurrence of violence against civilians in the eastern

province. We also took advantage for the implementation of the Sri Lankan accord. Sir, this Minister after reaching Madras has given a statement and in that statement which has appeared in the 'Hindu' dated 17th March, the hon. Minister says there that he has come to Delhi for two purposes. One purpose is that a large number of civilians lives have been lost, many men, women and children have been killed by the LTTE. The Sri Lankan forces and police are also present in these areas. It was felt that Sri Lankan security forces can also play. I want the hon. Minister to underline this line, "can also play a role in protecting the civilian life and ensuring the safe passage and resettlement of the refugees of Sri Lanka of Tamil and Muslim origin in that province". He had talks Mr. K. C. Pant, the Defence Minister. He again says, "many of the matters on which close coordination was necessary between the Sri Lankan army and the IPKF, in all the matters pertaining to peace in Sri Lanka" I wish to bring to the notice of the Government that as per the Agreement, it is only the IPKF which is solely responsible for restoring normalcy in the eastern province which is multi-ethnic. What do we understand from the statement of that Minister from Sri Lanka? His statement is contrary to the Indo-Sri Lankan Agreement according to which he says, there will be a closed coordination between the Sri Lankan military forces and the IPKF in those provinces, which I think, is violative of the Indo-Sri Lankan Agreement and I personally feel that if the Sri Lankan military forces are also allowed in the eastern and the northern provinces for restoring normalcy, then the fate of the people of Tamils in those regions will be bleak and nobody will be able protect their interest because the people there against whom offensive can be launched are not only the LTTE people. There can be offensive against the LTTE but there are Tamil people also. The Sri Lankan army has animosity not only against the LTTE but they have animosity towards Tamils also. Ultimately, what would happen? There will be repressions by the Sri Lankan army in those places and that will lead to a lot of exodus of these people as refugees from those provinces. Does not the Minister think that the talks

[Shri G. Swaminathan]

he had regarding the coordination of the Sri Lankan forces there along with the IPKF is violative of the Indo-Sri Lankan Agreement and will it not lead further to escalation of exodus from that area? Secondly, what I would like to mention is that as per the Agreement, there should be merger of northern and eastern provinces before the election is conducted and the way the merger is being delayed and there is a contemplation of separate election in these two provinces, the hon. Minister will have to take note of it. From the statement of the Minister himself I am able to find out that the Agreement has not been totally agreed upon and acted upon by the Government of Sri Lanka. The hon. Minister has himself stated that after the passing of 13th amendment to the Constitution they adopted the Provincial Council Act between November 1987 and January this year. Although this law does not meet all the requirements of the Tamils it is another important factor. That means that is not according to the Agreement and the Sri Lankan Government has gone against the Indo-Sri Lankan Agreement. Despite some of the more specific demands of the Tamils not having been met, the devolution package provided is good. Again, in paragraph 5 in the statement he has agreed that the Sri Lankan Government has not totally accepted and gone according to the formulations of the Accord. We have also been assured that the devolution package can be further improved. That is, the Government of India is not satisfied with the devolution. This is again in the Agreement. The Government conveyed to them the Tamil concern about the charges of fresh colonisation by the Sinhalese about which they will do something. He also reaffirmed his commitment to the implementation of the Sri Lanka Accord.

The Sri Lanka Government themselves are not conforming to the Agreement. Again the LTTE also is not conforming to the Agreement. Regarding the election process, according to the original Agreement, there should be a merger and then an election. Now there is going to be election and thereafter they are going to think about the merger. Will it not be violative of

the Agreement? How do you propose to go about the election? It has to be formulated?

Then, what is the position of the Tamils in the northern and eastern provinces after the eradication of the LTTE by the IPKF? After the eradication of the LTTE, the stay of IPKF there will become irrelevant. This question is being raised continuously. That has been questioned in Parliament also. After the IPKF comes out, how will you safeguard the interests of the Tamils in the northern and eastern provinces?

From 'The Hindu' today I understand that Mr. Prabhakaran will be either captured or killed. If he is captured, what will be his status? Can he be kept by the IPKF or will he be handed over to the Sri Lankan army? Will it not be advisable for the Government of India to start negotiations for settlement with the LTTE as, at the present moment, they are forthcoming with unconditional discussions with the Government of India?

SHRI MADAN BHATIA (Nominated): Respected Deputy Chairman, an hon. Member on this side. Mr. V. Narayanasamy, has quoted chapter and verse to show that the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement was specifically accepted by the LTTE and its leaders, in particular by Mr. Prabhakaran. Then I do not wish to add to what Mr. Narayanasamy has already said, except this. After this Agreement was signed and the IPKF had gone into Jaffna, there was a semblance of surrender of arms by the LTTE itself. If this Agreement had not been accepted, why was it that that token semblance of surrender of arms was made by the LTTE? If it was not an act of mere duplicity...

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I will give you a copy of his statement.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: I am respectfully submitted, I did not intervene.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I do not want to take your time. But leisurely I will give you a copy of the letter of Mr. Prabhakaran. You read it.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: Was this semblance of surrender of arms on the part of the LTTE an act of duplicity or not? It showed its deceitful intention. It had pronounced from the house-tops that it accepted the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement. But its intentions were not honest. The letter of 9th March 1988 which is the gravamen of the attack made by the hon. Member against the Government today is the most disingenuous letter that could possibly be written by Mr. Prabhakaran.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: It is a communication.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: Whether it is a communication or a letter, it makes no difference. There are three things which are to be noticed in this particular letter or communication. This letter does not say a single word that LTTE or Mr. Prabhakaran is willing to accept the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: It is very much there.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: It is not there. The language is most disingenuous. You read that language. Again...

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: It is in the interests of Tamils.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: The interests of Tamils is totally different. Secondly, this letter does not say at all that the LTTE is willing to surrender arms unconditionally which is an integral part of the Indo-Sri Lankan accord.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Who are you to ask them? ... (Interruptions) ...

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: This is the intention, Madam ... (Interruptions) ... on the one hand, they say that they are for the agreement and on the other hand, they ask, "Who are you to talk about the surrender of arms?". You should say so honestly. You should say that you are not accepting this agreement. Don't talk in two languages ... (Interruptions) ...

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Then we will be forced to take up arms against India ... (Interruptions) ...

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: If you talk of taking up arms against India, we will see to it ... (Interruptions) ... Is this the language, Madam? Is this the language to be used Madam? ... (Interruptions) ... This is the language they speak and this should be clearly understood ... (Interruptions) ... If they are not accepting the agreement, he should say so.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Mr. Madan Bhatia, I know you have been asked by the Government to talk like this. But don't play with our sentiments.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: I am respectfully submitting, Madam, that I take strong exception to this. Madam, I have spoken on the India-Sri Lanka agreement from this honourable House twice and I have expressed my sentiments. I have spoken for the rights of the Tamils since 1983 and I have supported the rights of the Tamils right from 1983 when the first violence took place in Jaffna and I stood for their rights ...

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM: Thank you.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: But I stand for this Indo-Sri Lankan agreement. Why do I stand for it I am respectfully submitting, Madam, that there had been a sinister design on the part of the forces external to India to bring about a military encirclement of India and this sinister design was shared not only by the forces hostile to India in the neighbourhood, but also this sinister design was there in the minds of the imperialist countries led by the United States whose eyes are on the harbour of Trincomalee, the most natural harbour. By securing a base, the United States is intending and wanting to extend its hegemony over the Indian Ocean right from Diego Garcia up to the Bay of Bengal. But it is his agreement which defeated this design.

[Shri Madan Bhatia]

Madam, some honourable Members talked about air-droppings. What was the significance of these air-droppings? The significance of the air-droppings was that India could not be indifferent either to the fate of the Tamilians or to our concern for our own security. But for the air-droppings, I do not think that the Indo-Sri Lankan agreement would have been possible. This message went home and as a result of this message, this agreement came about. I submit that one honourable Member talked about the expenses which are being incurred by the IPKF in Sri Lanka. To this, my only answer is that a nation which counts its pounds and shillings before taking any action to protect its own security is a nation of petty shopkeepers only which cannot defend its own security. I submit also that it has been stated in the statement that the real difficulty which has arisen is because of the fact—this is in para 21—that the “LTTE wished to establish its own sway over one-third of the country by sheer force of arms by the gradual exclusion of all the other Tamil parties and without going through the democratic political process.” May I ask the honourable Minister: Is it not a fact that all this trouble is taking place because of the personal and pernicious political ambitions of a handful of the LTTE?

Secondly, Madam, I would like to ask the honourable Minister: Is it or is it not a fact that the LTTE and its leaders are being inspired, instigated and prompted to destroy the India-Sri Lanka agreement which has destroyed the sinister designs of the external forces to bring about a military encirclement of India?

Thirdly, Madam, I respectfully submit that the hon. Members here have spoken as if it is only the LTTE and Mr. Prabhakaran who are the main concern to them. Is it not their concern, I would like to ask from the floor of this honourable House, as to what the LTTE is doing to the innocent Tamil people in Jaffna and the eastern province

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM:*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: This will not go on record.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: I respectfully submit, Madam, that the cruelty is being perpetrated against the Sinhalese and the Muslims in the eastern province by the LTTE, whose leaders have no other desire except personal political ambitions.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY:*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It will not go on record.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: You have uttered here that you will fight against India. I can see from your face that your utterance is going to be inspiration to those people. I can see that. (Interruptions).

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM:*

SHRI GOPALSAMY:*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please sit down. Mr. Gopalsamy, now it is too much. Every now and then you go on interrupting. You promised that you would give your point of view in a very quiet manner. But you have changed your promise.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: I do not have to add anything more but to expose what has been said from the floor of this honourable House by these hon. Members: “We cannot sacrifice the interests of Tamils for the sake of India”. He cannot sacrifice the interests of the LTTE and Prabhakaran for the sake of India. He should not say “the interests of the Tamil people”. The Tamil people are aspiring for peace. It is the LTTE and its leaders who have no other desire, except political ambitions, which is destroying peace and which is destroying the tranquility of the whole region, for which this Indo-Sri Lanka accord has been entered into.

*Not recorded.

That's all.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, I will request the hon. Members to be very brief. Time is very limited. There are many more speakers in the list before me. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI M. M. JACOB: There is a misunderstanding. This is not a debate. This is only for seeking clarifications. Don't confuse it.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Till 1.45 Members will speak. After that the Minister will reply. Please be very brief. Mr. Chitta Basu.

SHRI DHARANIDHAR BASUMATARI (Assam): At what time will the Minister time?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Quarter to two. There are many Members. I will give three minutes to each Member.

SHRI PRAMOD MAHAJAN (Maharashtra): Madam, it should not be a crime to speak last.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Those people who raised the discussion and those who were from Tamil Nadu who had intense feelings about it, were given more time. It was agreed to in the Business Advisory Committee. Let there be no misunderstanding about it. I will ring the bell after three minutes.

SHRI CHITTA BASU (West Bengal): Madam, I am inclined to believe that the last visit of Mr. Disaanayake, the emissary of the President Jayewardene, who had a round of talks with the Minister of External Affairs, the Prime Minister and the Defence Minister is very significant at this particular point of time. I won't like to refer to the reaction that Mr. Disaanayake has expressed on his way back to Colombo from Delhi. It has been quoted by my friend, Mr. Swaminathan. The whole burden of his reaction, if I am allowed to say so, is the close cooperation between the IPKF and the security forces of Sri Lanka. This is not envisaged in the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement.

In this regard, may I seek the following clarifications from the hon. Minister? Did any discussion take place in which Mr. Disaanayake stressed upon the urgent need of associating the Sri Lankan security forces with the IPKF in the operations against Tamil militants in the eastern part of the Island? If that point was raised, what was the reaction of the Government and have they agreed to the proposal made by Mr. Disaanayake?

My second clarification also arises from that statement. It is also understood that Mr. Disaanayake wanted that the IPKF should also be associated in the operations of the Sri Lankan security forces in the Southern part of Sri Lanka mainly to combat the JVP terrorists or militants. Has the Government agreed to that proposal? The House has a right to know under what circumstances and under what provision of the Agreement the Government has agreed to lend the services of the IPKF as demanded by the Government of Sri Lanka. (*Time bell rings*)

Yes, we are for the implementation of Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement. Now I am quite clear in my mind that the Government of India has miserably failed to force Mr. Jayewardene to implement his part of the Agreement. I say this having in view the fact that one of the very important considerations for the Government of India, while entering into the Agreement, was to safeguard the interests of India, particularly in relation to foreign agencies. Now, is it not a fact that Mossad, the Israeli intelligence agency has been there, are there and their presence is very much increased even today. Is it also not a fact that some members of the Cabinet of Sri Lanka are also hobnobbing with the western imperialist countries and they are also interested to see that the agreement is not implemented. If that is the case is it not the failure of the Government of India to compel the co-signatory of the agreement, Mr. Jayewardene to fulfil his part of the agreement? If so, what steps have been taken in this regard.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Jagjit Singh Aurora, three minutes please.

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA (Punjab): Madam, Deputy Chairperson, I won't take very much time. Well let me see if I can manage it.

I think it has been a very depressing statement from the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs altogether and it reminds me of a hackenied phrase, many is haste and repent at leisure. There is no doubt that when we planned this agreement of accord we really missed out on the fact that you may be involved in it so deeply fighting guerilla warfare and therefore my main concern really is about the IPKF. How long we are going to keep them there, how are we going to maintain their morale, have we worked out the formula for the personnel being changed and are they happy with the allowances that they are getting there, and various other benefits? There is no doubt that whatever we may say that we are fighting for the security of India, it is for the first time that our forces have gone outside the country and they are there trying to resolve a problem which is none of their concern. Therefore, I do feel that we want to give consideration to the role of the IPKF and their morale. That is very important aspect.

The second thing is that if we get IPKF and Sri Lankan forces working together either in the north or in the south, it will have a very adverse effect on the Tamilians of Sri Lanka and the Tamilians of India. I hope that this does not come about. There may be a *quid pro quo* that the Sri Lankan forces can be involved in the eastern territories and our forces can go to the southern territories. I hope this does not take place.

And, lastly, in any guerilla type of warfare or any trouble of this nature final answer is to find a political solution and I am very sorry to see from the statement that the Sri Lankan Government is not honouring the accord in letter and spirit and in words, and we may

be getting more trouble than we have at the moment. Thank you.

SHRI THANGABAALU : Madam Deputy Chairman, first of all my salutations go to the gallant IPKF men who have lost their lives and also the misguided Tamil youths in Sri Lanka.

Madam, Deputy Chairman, before I come to the clarifications, I would like to place on record the malicious and atrocious and arrogant attack against the Government of India by the Members on the other side which is not true. They will come to know, and the country will come to know about their sinister designs and campaign against the Prime Minister and against the Congress Party. Time and again, our Government have given assurance on various vital issues related to Indo-Sri Lankan accord. We know that this agreement came into existence even with a threat to our hon. Prime Minister's life and after prolonged negotiations and discussions for years together, and only at the instance of the Congress Party and our leader, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, our hon. Prime Minister, we were able to achieve this agreement.

The statement reveals that we have met with the wishes and aspirations of the Tamils. I agree with it. Here I would seek some clarifications from the hon. Minister. Time and again, we have made complaints about attempts at colonisation of the Eastern and Northern provinces by Sinhala people. But the hon. Minister has assured the House that there has been no such incident. I would ask the hon. Minister whether it is true that even after the agreement was signed there has been this attempt at colonisation and our IPKF countered the move and according to our reports, they were not able to do so because of the intervention of Sri Lankan army personnel. Secondly, in the agreement, there is a provision that there will be merger between Northern and Eastern provinces. Even after the Presidential Order, this has not been done so far. Why is the delay? Are we going to have this merger soon or not? I believe the election process is also delayed because of merger.

So, when will the elections take place? According to our understanding, before the elections take place, there should be the Interim Council. This was agreed upon. And it is probably the lack of understanding, or a misunderstanding, on the part of Mr. Prabhakaran to say that Interim Council, Provisional Council was not agreed upon even though the Government of India agreed to whatever terms he had stipulated. I would like to know from the hon. Minister as to when the elections are to take place, and will the Government of India insist upon the Sri Lankan Government to appoint Interim Council? Secondly, letters were exchanged between our Prime Minister and President Jayewardene. It is a very interesting point. That relates to the security of India. Even after the letters were exchanged, we are told that still certain foreign forces are in Sri Lanka. I want to know whether the Government has taken steps to see that they are sent out of Sri Lanka.

Our friends here say that the IPKF intends to kill Mr. Prabhakaran. Government of India have never intended to do so. We are trying to give protection not only to Mr. Prabhakaran but to the entire Tamil population in Sri Lanka. It is because of the interest taken by our Prime Minister that Tamil race is alive today; otherwise they would have been completely massacred and killed. It is because of interest taken by our Prime Minister that they are alive not only in Sri Lanka but anywhere else. The argument made by our opposition friends is that IPKF should be withdrawn from there. It is a very interesting point... (Interruptions) Wait, wait, I never interrupted you, Mr. Gopalsamy. The IPKF should not be withdrawn at any cost because IPKF is the only force which is safeguarding the interest of Tamils in Sri Lanka. Otherwise, there will be no security for Tamils in Sri Lanka. Then, Madam, LTTE is not the only organisation, there are other militant organisations and moderate leaders to protect Tamils. We should not forget these facts also.

श्री प्रमोद महाजन : लक्ष्मणायति
महोदया, कल शाम जब विदेश राज्य मंत्री

श्रीलंका की स्थिति पर अपना वक्तव्य दे रहे थे तो मुझे लगा कि रामायण के संघर्ष की धरती पर हम महाभारत के अभिमान को देख रहे हैं जिस बेचारे ने चक्रव्यूह में जाने का रास्ता तो मां के गर्भ से सीख लिया था लेकिन वहां से बाहर निकलने के रास्ते के संबंध में वह अनभिज्ञ था। अभिमान्यु का चक्रव्यूह तो कम से कम दुर्योधन ने लगाया था माननीय नटवर सिंह जी के लिये बनाया हुआ यह चक्रव्यूह स्वयं अर्जुन ने ही लगाया है। हम तमिल शेरों को पकड़ने श्रीलंका में चले गये शेर तो पिंजरे से बाहर आ गये और हम अन्दर अटक कर बैठ गये। इस प्रकार की स्थिति... (व्यवधान)

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Who is Krishna because he was responsible for...

SHRI PRAMOD MAHAJAN: I was thinking that he will support me.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Gopala is another name of Krishna.

श्री प्रमोद महाजन : पड़ोसी राष्ट्र होने के नाते वहां तमिलों और श्रीलंका सरकार के बीच वार्ता कराने का प्रयास करना उचित था लेकिन इस समझौते पर स्वयं हस्ताक्षर कर के क्रियान्वयन की जिम्मेदारी अपने आप पर लेना इसके कारण हमन अपने देश को आग और कां के बीच में खड़ा कर दिया है। किसी की शादी की मध्यस्थता करना अलग बात है और दुल्हा बन कर परिवार चलाने की भारी जिम्मेदारी खुद पर लेना और अपने दो घाटे में डालना यह अपने आप में अलग बात है। श्रीलंका की स्थिति में आज इस कारण हम यहां पहुंचे हैं कि सिक्का हो या कांटा हो हमारा घाटा ही है। श्रीलंका की स्थिति की आलोचना हमारी सेना की आलोचना नहीं है। हमें अपनी सेना के शौर्य तथा गौरवशाली परम्परा पर गर्व है। आलोचना तो हम उस सरकार की कर रहे हैं जिन्होंने न सात महीनों में हमारी बहादुर सेना को श्रीलंका की रंगभूमि में खड़ा कर दिया जहां उन्हें पता नहीं है कि अपने बलिदान से इस देश का क्या हित होगा और इसलिये अपने बलिदान के प्रति जिसका

[श्री प्रमोद महंजन]

पता नहीं है इस प्रकार की स्थिति में सेना को डालना यह जानने जान में सब से बड़ी गलती थी। सरकार का जो वक्तव्य है उसके प्रमुख दो हिस्से हैं। एक में श्रीलंका सरकार से अनजाने के बारे में क्रियान्वयन का वर्णन है जिसके बारे में वक्तव्य से लगता है कि स्वयं भारत सरकार संतुष्ट नहीं है और दूसरे में सात महीनों की लम्बी लड़ाई के बाद भी आराजि रही लिट्टे के सम्बन्ध में सरकार का अपना काय प्रकट होता है। लेकिन वक्तव्य से त्यों भी इस संस्था से बाहर निकलने का अलग प्रकार का रस्ता सरकार के मन में है इस प्रकार का कोई प्रकाश यह वक्तव्य नहीं डालता। इमनिये मैं मानान भरो जो स्पष्टीकरण चाहता। सबसे पहले पहली बार हमारी भारतीय सेना किसी विदेशी भूमि पर लड़ रही है स्वतन्त्रता के बाद यह रहना अवसर है जब सेना की भूमिका के बारे में अपने देश में मतभेद है। हम पाकिस्तान के खिलाफ लड़े, हम चीन के खिलाफ लड़े, हम बंगलादेश का युद्ध लड़े लेकिन सेना की भूमिका पर कभी मतभेद नहीं था। मारा देश सेना का पूरा समर्थन करता था लेकिन दुर्भाग्य से सरकार ने हमें ऐसी स्थिति में डाल दिया है कि पहली बार सेना की भूमिका के संबंध में सन्देह लोगों के मन में निर्माण हुआ है। यहां तक कि सेना प्रमुख सुन्दरजी के यह वक्तव्य था कि इससे सेना की जो नैतिकता है उस में गिरावट आ रही है और इसके लिये सर्वदलीय लोगों को इकट्ठा कर के इसकी सारी भूमिका का विश्लेषण किया जाना चाहिये। और इस दृष्टि से मैं इस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करता कि एक सर्व-दलीय, इस प्रकार के प्रतिनिधि मंडल की सहायता सरकार लै और श्रीलंका में भले ही वह जयवर्धने की सरकार हो या तमिल उग्रवादी हों, इनसे यह सर्व-दलीय मंडल भेंट करके श्रीलंका की नीति के संबंध में सारे देश की राय बनाये, ताकि लड़ती हुयी सेना को, विभाजित देश अपने पीछे है, इस प्रकार की भावना से बचना पड़े। (समय की घंटी)

मैं दूसरा स्पष्टीकरण यह चाहूंगा कि श्रीलंका सरकार के दिये गये वक्तव्य, जो

सरकार का है, उसमें क्रियान्वयन के संबंध में सरकार स्वयं असंतुष्ट है और जो मांगें अभी तक पूरी नहीं हुयी हैं, उनको श्रीलंका सरकार से करवाने के लिये भारत सरकार की क्या योजनाएँ हैं, इसके बारे में माननीय मंत्री जी स्पष्टीकरण दें ?

दो दिन पूर्व, वक्तव्य के 24 घंटे पूर्व, श्री दिसानायके यहां आये उनसे बातचीत का जिक्र तो इस वक्तव्य में है, लेकिन इतनी महत्वपूर्ण बातचीत के संबंध में किसी प्रकार का कोई ब्योरा नहीं दिया गया है। तो इनमें किस प्रकार की बातचीत हुयी और जो वृत्तियाँ हैं, वह पूरा करने के लिये श्रीलंका सरकार क्या करने वाली है ? इस संबंध में उनकी सरकार की क्या राय है, यह बतायें।

मेरा अंतिम स्पष्टीकरण होगा कि लिट्टे के संबंध में सख्ती की भाषा तो हम सात महीनों से कर रहे हैं, लेकिन 29 जुलाई के बाद आज तक हम उसे शरणार्थी नहीं बना सके। (समय की घंटी) लगता यह है कि शांति समझौते का स्नेह से ही हल होगा, लड़ाई से हम पान नहीं करेंगे।

मेरा अंतिम स्पष्टीकरण यह होगा कि ऐसी खबरें छपी हैं कि श्रीलंका की सरकार के साथ भारत सरकार एक वाफा और कोई नया समझौता करना चाहती है। अगर इस प्रकार का कोई समझौता करने का सरकार का विचार है, जो इस श्रीलंका समझौते से भी आगे है, तो उसके बारे में माननीय मंत्री जी ब्योरा देने की हुवा करें।

बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद।

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: Madam Deputy Chairman, as the hon. Minister already knows, recently I was in Geneva for six weeks in connection with the Human Rights Commission meeting. I and Mr. Veerendra Patil of the other House had gone there. A number of Tamils from Sri Lanka had come there to have their case projected by different NGOs in the Commission. There one gentleman named Shri Shivaratnam, a close friend and confidant of Mr. Prabhakaran, who is based in London but whose family is in

Madras, met us and told us that although he was not a member of LTTE, yet he is a close friend of Mr. Prabhakaran. I and Mr. Patil met him and he told us that Mr. Prabhakaran really wants cease-fire and to have talks with our Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi. He has absolute faith in Shri Rajiv Gandhi and he wants to have talks with him. The only hitch, according to him, for the LTTE to surrender arms is that certain other groups who stay close to IPKF, have arms and they are using those arms against the LTTE people.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: That is correct.

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: The only hitch, according to him, is that if LTTE surrenders arms, then the other groups who are opposed to them will liquidate them.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: That is his version.

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: Yes, that is his version. He said: "We want to have direct talks with the Prime Minister and Mr. Kittoo is there in Madras". I asked him: "Can you yourself come for the talks?" He said: "Yes, I am ready to come any time you want me to come". So our leader, Mr. Patil, has already written to the Minister and the Prime Minister on the subject. I would like to know whether our Government is willing to invite the representatives of the LTTE for such negotiations which may result in surrendering of arms.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM: Very good. Thank you.

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : उपसभापति महोदय, श्री लंका का सवाल जैसा उलझता जा रहा है, उसके लिए तो 3-4 मिनट क्या, तीन महीने भी शायद लग जायें तो कोई नाज्जुब की बात नहीं है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि सरकार कुछ सवालों पर नये दृष्टिकोण से विचार करे।

पहली बात यह है कि जयवर्धने साहब, खुद राष्ट्रपति और उनकी पालियामेंट, दोनों की अवधि समाप्त हो गई है। उसको एक्सटेंड कर दिया है और इसके चलते श्री लंका की पोलिटिकल पार्टीज

में बहुत झगड़ा है और उस झगड़े में एक जे.वी.पी. के साथ जाते हैं तो दूसरा दूसरे के साथ जाता है। इसलिए अगर आप कोई सॉल्यूशन चाहते हैं तो पहला काम यह होना चाहिए कि वहाँ जनरल इलैक्शन की डेट फिक्स हो जाए। अगर यह डेट फिक्स हो जाएगी तो जे.वी.पी और श्रीलंका फ्रीडम पार्टी दोनों का मतभेद हो जाएगा। नहीं तो ये दोनों एक साथ मिल करके काम कर रहे हैं और हमारे लिए भारी समस्या पैदा कर रहे हैं। आखिर हम किसके लिए वहाँ गए हुए हैं। अपने लोगों को मार रहे हैं, जे.वी.पी. दुश्मन समझ रहा है, श्रीमती श्रीमाउ भी साथ थीं वह भी खिलाफ हैं। तो आप हैं किसके लिए? इसीलिए अविजम्ब एलायंस करवाइये और डेट फिक्स करवाइये कि वहाँ जनरल इलैक्शन हो जाए। दूसरी बात प्री-एकार्ड पीरियड के जो लोग जेल में हैं आप एकार्ड लागू करना चाहते हैं तो कम से कम जयवर्धने जी तो आपकी बात मानते हैं तो उन लोगों को रिहा करने के लिये जो एकार्ड के समर्थक हैं। आपने अभी तक कुछ नहीं किया है मैं ख़ास करके आपसे कहूँगा कि एक प्रोफेसर पुलसारा लिंग ने जो 1986 में ही गिरफ्तार हो गए थे एक महिला पड़ी हुई है, जो दुबली-पतली महिला है उस सरकार के लिए इतना खतरनाक है कि उसको बंद रखे हुए हैं और आप भी उसी में साथ दे रहे हैं। कैसा धृणित काम कर रहे हैं और ह्यूमेन राइट्स कमिशन में भी बैठते हैं महिलाओं को भीतर रख करके हम लोग क्या करेंगे? हम ह्यूमेन राइट्स की हिफाजत करेंगे, इसलिए उनको रिहा करने के लिये कुछ कीजिए। दूसरा हम चाहेंगे कि यूनि-लैटरल सीजफायर का एक बार और अभी आप अप्रैल महीने में वहाँ एक न्यू ईयर डे होगा जिसको तमिल और सिंहली दोनों संयुक्त रूप से मनाते हैं। शायद एक ही दिन है जिसको सारे कैलेंडर ईयर में संयुक्त रूप से मनाते हैं। इस अवसर का फायदा उठा करके एक और सीज फायर करा दीजिए जिसमें कोई समस्या का निदान निकल सके।

[श्री चतुरानन मिश्र]

दूसरा हम चाहेंगे कि वहाँ सभी पोलिटिकल पार्टीज जो रिकोगनाइज्ड हैं जैसा 1984 में हुआ था 1986 में हुआ था वैसे ही एक र.उडेटेबल कॉन्फ्रेंस हो जो वहाँ की एथनिक समस्या के बारे में फिर से विचार करे, जिसमें बाद में एल.टी.टी.ई. वाले भी शामिल हों। एक और सुझाव हम देना चाहेंगे कि क्या यह संभव है कि जो हमारी पीस कीपिंग फोर्स वहाँ काम कर रही है उसमें और को भी इन्वाल्व करा लें क्योंकि बहुत से देश तो श्रीलंका और भारत के एकाईड का समर्थन करने हैं। जस ने भी किया है और अमरीका वालों ने भी किया है और कहाँ-कहाँ प्रधान मंत्री गए, बहुत से देशों ने किया है। तीन मिनट में तो सबों का नाम लेना भी संभव नहीं है। तो इसीलिए क्या यह संभव है कि निर्गुट राष्ट्रीय यूनाइटेड नेशनज किसी तरह से शान्ति रक्षा में शामिल हो जाए और हम अपना पिंड छुड़ा लें ताकि उस देश की एकता की रक्षा भी हो सके और हम पर जो यह बदनामी आती है कि हम बगल के राष्ट्र हैं इसलिए बिग ब्रदरहुड दिखलाते हैं उससे हम बच सकें क्या यह संभव है या नहीं? ... (व्यवधान)

एक माननीय सदस्य : थोड़ा बच कर रहिए। ... (व्यवधान)

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : बचकर तो रहना चाहिए लेकिन आप सट के रहने हैं तो हम कहें किसको, आप तो बराबर सट के रहते हैं। अगर नहीं सट के रहते हैं तो अभी हमारे विदेश मंत्री बतावें कि एल.टी.टी.ई. और जे.वी.पी. को आर्म्ज कौन देता है जो कि भारत की फौज के साथ इतने दिनों से लड़ रहे हैं। कोई तो उनका समर्थन कर रहा है? आप उनका नाम क्यों नहीं लेते हैं? कौन उनको हथियार भेजते हैं? इसलिए मैं मंत्री महोदय से पूछना चाहूंगा कि एल.टी.टी.ई. और जे.वी.पी. को कहाँ से हथियार और इतनी मदद मिलती है जो इतने दिनों तक हमारी 50-60 हजार सेना से लगातार लड़ते चले जा रहे हैं? हम चाहेंगे कि इस का एक स्पष्टीकरण हो। एक

अंतिम बात मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि वहाँ जो दूसरी पोलिटिकल पार्टीज हैं खाम करके हमारा मतलब है श्रीलंका फ्रीडम पार्टी उन लोगों से भी संपर्क स्थापित किया जाए। अगर सरकार चहे या रूलिंग पार्टी चाहे तो एक अन-ओफीशियल पालिथामेट्री डेलीगेशन विजिट करे और उन लोगों की भावना को लेकर भारत सरकार को दे जिससे कोई रास्ता निकाला जाए। नहीं तो ज्यादा दिन तक फंसा रहकर न आप अपना कल्याण कर रहे हैं और न श्रीलंका का कल्याण कर रहे हैं। तमिलों की तो हत्या हो ही रही है। हम कहाँ क्या कर रहे हैं, कुछ पता नहीं चलता है? इसलिए इन बिदुओं पर मैं स्पष्टीकरण चाहूंगा। धन्यवाद।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. M. A. Baby will be the last speaker now.

SHRI M. A. BABY (Kerala): Thank you, Madam Deputy Chairman.

So much emotion has been expressed and exchanged. This has been converted into a mini-debate also in which I do not want to engage.

Everyone will agree that a very complex and difficult situation, serious too, has emerged in the sub-continent. When we look at the whole issue the whole national interest should also be kept in mind. As has been rightly pointed out by one esteemed colleague from the other side, Mr. Madan Bhatia, I really get this as an opportunity to agree with him, but I do not want to leave this opportunity to say that the whole situation has to be looked at the backdrop of the evil design of the external forces also. Once we lose sight of this fact it would be very difficult for us to develop a proper perspective on the problem in the sub-continent. Without taking much of the time I would like to emphasise one aspect that this question cannot be reduced to a question whether fresh talks can be initiated with the LTTE leadership. I have been very eagerly listening to the hon. Member, Mr. P. N. Sukul's observations. Now, the situation has worsened to such a complex position that unless the masses of Tamil-speaking population

in Sri Lanka as well as the masses of Sinhalese are mobilised behind the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord, it would be very difficult to defuse the situation and bring back normalcy in Sri Lanka and in the sub-continent. At a point of time the LTTE could command very much influence and a predominant position among the Tamil-speaking population in Sri Lanka, but now the situation is not so. So many factions have emerged. Similarly chauvinist and extremist activities are being fanned at both sides. In such a situation there has been some reference whether Tamil feelings can be sacrificed for the cause of India. That is not the position of some feelings being sacrificed for some other feelings, I don't find any other difficulty. Of course, it is still a difficult task, but our effort should be to safeguard the feelings of Tamils. There has not been a difference between the feelings of Tamils and that of Indians. Tamils from themselves a very significant and important factor of India and there should not be any exchange of feelings in terms of whether Tamil feelings can be sacrificed for India's feelings or vice-versa. So, in this connection I would like to specifically ask whether the hon. Minister has taken note of certain new positive forces emerging in the Sri Lankan scene such as the United Socialist Alliance. It shocked everyone who looks forward to a peaceful solution to the whole problem when came the news of the dastardly murder on February 17 of Vijay Kumaranathunga. Out of a population of 16.5 million, more than two million people participated in the procession to pay homage to Vijay Kumaranathunga. This shows that some new secular and progressive elements are emerging in the scene of Sri Lanka. So, my specific question to the hon. Minister is whether such factors are also being taken note of when you think of having negotiations and new forces being brought into the negotiation table. This is not just a question of whether discussions are resumed with the LTTE and some other faction. So, this is my specific question that I would like to ask.

2.00 P.M.

SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH: Madam Deputy Chairman, I welcome the oppor-

tunity to place before the House the evolving situation in Sri Lanka and I very much appreciate the participation of 14 hon. Members belonging to various persuasions in this discussion today which does not run merely into seeking clarifications but has turned into a major debate on an important subject. I cannot help commenting that it is a matter of regret that attendance in the House should be so poor when we are discussing a serious and an important issue and matter of even greater regret that those who sought clarifications have elected to be absent when the Minister is answering their questions. Since they are not here, I shall not extend them the courtesy which they have not extended to me.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM: I fully endorse you.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: The whole House endorses the view.

SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH: I remember the time when the House used to be full when matters of this import were discussed. I am not belittling any party. It is the general indifference to what is being discussed here which bothers me very greatly and which should bother the Members too.

First of all, I would request the hon. Members to have a look at the Sri Lanka agreement and also to read my statement carefully. I have in the statement, given an assessment of the situation in Sri Lanka since we last discussed the matter in this House. I have not gone back to the last three or four years or to the 29th July when the agreement was signed. I have tried to bring the House up-to-date about what is happening in Sri Lanka and I have also referred to the visit of Mr. Dissanayake who was here day before yesterday and I shall touch upon his visit and what he is purported to have said in Madras. I have also read the report in "Hindu". I would also like to just mention that there is a completely misleading headline in the "Hindustan Times" which says that LTTE is doing a gallant job and then goes on to say that, in fact, the Indian Peace Keeping Force which is doing a gallant job....

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Anyhow I am happy to read the caption today morning.

[Shri K. Natwar Singh]

SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH: Well, the flexibility that you have intellectually. I sometimes envy.

I have drawn the attention of the Editor of the Hindustan Times. It is not the first time that this has happened.

I think it is important to point out why we are in Sri Lanka. We should ask ourselves as hon. Members have asked: Why we are in Sri Lanka? If you read the agreement carefully, then, Members will realise that the situation as it is today in geo-political terms with regard to the security environment of India and with regard to the unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Sri Lanka remains the same. So the basic fundamental reason—why this agreement was signed between two sovereign States has not changed? That the implementation of the time-table of the agreement has not been adhered to is a fact. We would have liked to have maintained the time-table which was given in the agreement. I want to avoid apportioning blame. But the reasons are well-known the attitude of the LTTE after 29th September came in the way of the full implementation of the agreement whether it relates to the North and East, formation of an interim Government or the holding of the elections in these areas.

I was very deeply distressed when hon. Members found it necessary to make the kind of comments they did and the kind of aspersions they cast on the IPKF. I do not want to name the hon. Members but I do want to say that the IPKF is doing a great job under very difficult and complex circumstances and to attribute any motives to the Indian Army which has a most marvellous record, is reprehensible and regrettable and should not have been done. They are there as the soldiers of the great country called India. They do not represent a region, a State or any vested interest. They represent this country and we are looking at this whole issue as India and not as a particular State or a particular part of India and I do not want to say more on this subject

but I think where the question comes whether our loyalties lie with India or any other group, I am sure this House will agree that we must put the royalty to the nation before any other individual, personal, group or regional loyalty. It is as simple as that. Now we had Mr. Lee Kuan Yew the Prime Minister of Singapore here for two days and during the discussions the Singapore Prime Minister had was naturally desirous of knowing as to how the Indo-Sri Lankan Agreement was proceeding. At the Commonwealth conference in Vancouver in October last year, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew was one of the leaders of the Commonwealth who went out of his way to commend the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement and was instrumental in the Commonwealth unanimously endorsing the Agreement and supporting it and wishing both the countries well. Here once again, he said that this Agreement is of very great importance not only to the countries but to the whole region. Similarly, the international community continues to welcome it because they see that the alternative would have been the dismemberment of a country which is a member of non-alignment movement, which is a member of the Commonwealth and which is a member of the United Nations. So everybody internationally has welcomed this agreement and has been telling us that they would like us to succeed. I was even surprised when views are expressed in the House without proposing an alternative after criticising the Agreement. It is easy to criticise the Agreement. I am also aware that certain things that should have happened have not happened and I am aware of the reasons. I know the difficulty of the Sri Lankan Government. I know the circumstances in which the IPKF is carrying out their duties. It is unpleasant, it is painful it is disagreeable but it has to be done. We are not there to kill civilians. On the contrary, we are there to protect their lives. But the activities of the LTTE are coming in the way of the implementation of this Agreement. Surely nobody imagines

that the Indian army has been sent there to harm any civilians. I mean the whole tradition of this country, the great work of this Government, this nation has to be kept in mind. We went as a peace-keeping force and we would like to ensure that peace is restored to the island as soon as possible. That is the whole objective of this Agreement. That is what I have said in my statement. Now, it has been said that we are not talking to the LTTE. This is not true. At no given point of time has the communication between the LTTE and us broken down. There are various channels there are various avenues, there are various organisations through which we are in touch with them. References have been made to the letter that has been written. If we have studied the letter very carefully it does not really break any new ground if you read the letter very carefully and what the Prime Minister has said and what Government policy is that all that the LTTE has to do is to announce that they support the Agreement and they will surrender arms. Now, this is not forthcoming in clear terms. It comes to us in a round about way as I have said in my statement. One hon. Member said that the LTTE wants unconditional talks. The simple thing is that these two basic fundamental elements have to be fulfilled. We do not have a permanent quarrel with the LTTE. We recognise the role that the LTTE has played for the last four years and the discussions we have had with them. But, right now, the difficulty is that no clear, unequivocal, signal is coming that they want to sit down across the Table and discuss the implementation of the Agreement.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM: You have not relaxed your terms. You are always persistent on the surrender of arms and acceptance of the Accord. You have not relaxed. Have you ever relaxed your terms?

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: That is the point at issue here. (Interruptions)

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM: There should be relaxation from both sides. (Interruptions)

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Natwar Singhji, you are a mighty power. Why don't you show some magnanimity and call them for talks?

SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH: We are willing to show all the magnanimity if the basic condition is fulfilled. They know this. We have said so. I would agree with Mr. Gurupadaswamy. We would like to unwind the thing, wrap it up and get on with the life as before 1983. (Interruptions) I have listened to you. (Interruptions) I do not want to raise my voice. I may just inform this House that in China there was a tradition that when two persons were having discussion, the one who raised his voice first would lose the argument. (Interruptions) If the LTTE would give a categorical answer to this, we could sit down tomorrow, arrange for the merger, arrange for the elections and arrange for the new constitutional logistical thing, that I have mentioned, to come into force right away, without any delay. But this is not happening and having come to an agreement on 28th and 29th September, they have gone back on it and taken a stance against the IPKF. We find it sad and incomprehensible. I quite agree with him that it is not difficult for the Indian Army....

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : श्रीलंका में श्रीमती श्रीमाओ भंडारनायके इस सम्झौते के खिलाफ हैं, श्रीलंका फ्रीडम पार्टी इसके खिलाफ है। ऐसी स्थिति में आपने इस सिलसिले में क्या सोचा है ?

SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH: Our Agreement is with the Government of Sri Lanka and I do not want to comment on the internal differences in Sri Lanka about their political set-up and their national elections. We are concerned with the elections to the provincial councils, particularly in the

[Shri K. Natwar Singh]

North and the East because that was the principal demand of the Tamils. This was the basic demand.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: You are not clear of what exactly you want from the LTTE. Today they have written a letter. They say unconditionally they will talk. What exactly do you want from them to go to the negotiation table? You have to be clear.

SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH: If you read the statement of the Prime Minister in Parliament last session and my statement....

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM: You are repeating the same thing. Is there any relaxation on your part? Surrender of arms and acceptance of Accord are repeatedly thrust by you. Are you going to relax this or not for going to the negotiation table?

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: That is the basic thing.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM: You are not the guardians of the Tamils in Sri Lanka to dictate terms.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Is the LTTE alone the guardian?

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM: The Government of India is not the guardian of the Tamils in Sri Lanka. (Interruptions)

SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH: What I am trying to say is we offered a unilateral cease-fire for 48 hours last year and we expected that there would be a response. Unfortunately, that response was not forthcoming and they repeated the same thing, that is, 'You go back to the 10th October....' (Interruptions)

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: After two days, why did you resume the attack?

SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH: After 48 hours of cease-fire, we saw what the LTTE was doing. We are closely watching and monitoring. (Interruptions) Let me please go ahead with the reply. Otherwise we can go on here like this endlessly. What we are saying here is..... (Interruptions)

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: The position there now is quite different. They are more or less getting annihilated and destroyed. What are you going to do now? The position then and the position now are quite different. Their position is that they are on the run and after a few days they may themselves come to you for unconditional talks. But what is your stand now?

SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH: I wish to tell the honourable Members that we do not want to prolong this even a minute. But it all depends on the attitude of the LTTE and I would appeal to the honourable Members, "If you have any influence on them, please exert it for the sake of peace."

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: They have already appealed to you. What could they do? They are ready for unconditional talks and even about the modalities of surrendering the arms, they are prepared to talk.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: The position then and the position now are quite different.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Mr. Minister, the ball is in your court now.

SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH: If you let me finish, then I hope, I would be able—I don't say I would be able to convert you but to answer to your satisfaction.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: The LTTE have retracted from the agreed terms and we should not believe them.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM: Vibhishana, welcome!

SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH: I don't think you should resort to any mythology, considering what your party is facing.

DR. H. P. SHARMA (Rajasthan): Just a minute, Mr. Minister. I want to put a question. One question of concern still remains unanswered. We have disarmed the Tamils. Now, if you withdraw the IPKF which ensures the security of the Tamils and if a situation like the earlier one develops there, what will happen?

SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH: I was in the middle of it when I was saying that the honourable Members, while being critical of the agreement, have not come out with any alternative. If the IPKF is withdrawn, if it comes back, what will happen? If you have any constructive suggestions, the Government will look into them extremely carefully.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: We do not want you to withdraw the army, but to send it to the position before the 9th October.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM: The situation is much worse than before the arrival of the IPKF there.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: That is not my stand.... (Interruptions).... That is not my stand, Mr. Minister... (Interruptions)....

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Whose case are you pleading?.... (Interruptions)....

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: It should not be misunderstood. It is a very serious question by the Minister. Our stand is that the army should be brought to the position before the 9th October and then you should initiate talks. That is our stand.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You say it should be unconditional and then you put conditions.

SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH: In one breath, they say this.... (Interruptions).... I would request even the honourable Members on my side to keep quite. I am quite capable of looking after myself.

On the one hand, you say have unconditional talks. On the other hand the honourable Member says is that the Indian army should go back to the 10th October position. You are now putting a condition. The great Indian army is not going to be dictated to by the LTTE as to where it should go and where it should not go. That is quite clear. But if they say that they are willing to surrender their arms and support the agreement, we will go anywhere and talk to them wherever they want. Our representatives are there in Sri Lanka and therefore, all the arrangements can be made. But I want to tell the House that the reasons for our going there at the invitation of the Sri Lanka Government are the same as they were on the 29th July, 1987. They are geo-political, they are security reasons and they are for the territorial integrity, unity and sovereignty of Sri Lanka. These have not changed. And, if the honourable Members suggest that the IPKF should withdraw, then I would like them to tell me what the alternative is. Would they like another situation as it was before July that forces hostile to us should get entrenched there? Mr. Madan Bhatia has dealt with this at some length. Please try to understand the geo-political compulsions. Try to see the map of India, try to read the history of India and try to understand the responsibilities and burdens that history and geography have placed on this nation. There is no escape.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM: It is only a pretext.

SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH: We do not want to stay there a day extra and the Indian record is there for everybody to see. We have gone there at the invitation of a sovereign Government.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM: Then, in that case if you are asked to go back by some other Government, if that comes to power, that question I pose.

SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH: It is a hypothetical question. Right now we are dealing with the situation as it is. What I am trying to say is that it is our desire that peace and tranquility should return to this small neighbour of ours, a beautiful country which was doing so well, and that the ethnic strife should come to an end so that all communities in Sri Lanka can live in peace and amity and harmony.

Now, with regard to the visit of Mr. Gamini Dissanayake, I would like to say that some references have been made to it as also press speculation about some fresh agreement between the two Governments. Let me state clearly that there is no truth in the speculation that we have reached any understanding on Sri Lankan troop deployment. We have repeatedly stated that we remain firmly committed to upholding the Agreement and implementing it in letter and in spirit. Sri Lankan Government have expressed their disquiet about the continuing attacks by the LTTE on Sinhala civilians in the Eastern Province, especially the Trincomalee District. An attendant problem is the fact that many Sinhalese have recently fled from their homes in Trincomalee District as a result of these attacks. Refugees belonging to all communities are unable to return due to the continuing danger of attack by extremists on both sides. Our discussions centred round these problems. Some of the Sri Lankan Army camps are in Sinhala majority in villages and areas. They have pointed out that they should be able to defend themselves if they or the Sinhala villagers living around the camps are attacked by the LTTE. They feel that this would also give genuine Sinhala and Muslim refugees who have fled their homes because of attacks by the LTTE the confidence to return to their homes. These are matters which have to be

discussed by the Armed Forces and they have been asked to go into this matter and come up with a solution within the provisions of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement.

There was no other discussion and arrangement made with Mr. Gamini Dissanayake during his visit here.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: No question of joint operations?

SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH: No question of joint operations.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: In the 'Hindu'.... (Interruptions) Co-ordination of forces was discussed. You have stated nothing in your statement also. (Interruptions)

SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH: I have just now read out the statement. I have said that these are matters to be discussed by the armed forces and they have been asked to go into this matter and come up with a solution within the provisions of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement. Please read the Agreement. Nothing outside the Agreement is done. I am aware of the feelings that have been aroused because of this. But there are certain logistic problems with regard to these refugees. In this they are participating. Nothing new has happened. I share the concern of the Members of the House about the situation in Sri Lanka. We are ourselves deeply concerned. If there is anything that offers a long-term solution of this problem, it is this Agreement. And I have not heard of an alternative suggested by anybody in this House or anywhere else in this country or internationally. Therefore, (Interruptions) I am really serious, if there is any alternative that you want to suggest, please make it to me. Rhetoric is no answer for policy.

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : प्रोफेसर पुलसेरा के रिलीज के बारे में नहीं कहा ..

श्री के. नटवर सिंह : आपने जो नाम लिया है मैं फौरन पता करूंगा और

आपको इतला दे दूंगा क्या वजह है कि आपको नहीं छोड़ा गया। क्योंकि कोई कारण होगा। जयवर्धने साहब ने कहा है कि एमनेस्टी कर देंगे बहुत से लोगों को छोड़ दिया गया है कुछ को नहीं छोड़ा है। हमारी उम्मीद है कि जितने लोग रिहा नहीं हुए उनको भी रिहा किया जाएगा।

Finally, I would like to say, Madam that the Government is fully conscious of its responsibilities. We are monitoring the situation day to day, and it is our endeavour to see that peace returns to Sri Lanka. We want that the ethnic situation does not deteriorate, that all in Sri Lanka, the people belonging to all religions live happily, peacefully and quietly and the need for having a Peace Keeping Force does not arise once this tragic situation is out of the way. But so long as the Sri Lankan Government wants the IPKF, under the Agreement, to be there, it will remain there. Unless peace and tranquility reign, the elections are put in jeopardy. If the elections are put in jeopardy. If things don't take place. So the total picture is that a great deal depends on the attitude of the LTTE. Thank you Madam.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House stands adjourned for lunch till 3.00 P.M.

The House then adjourned for lunch at twenty-six minutes past two of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at one minute past three of the clock, The Vice-Chairman (Shri Jagesh Desai) in the Chair.

RESOLUTION RE. WOMEN'S RIGHTS

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Shrimati Veena Verma to move her Resolution.

श्रीमती वीणा वर्मा (मध्य प्रदेश): आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं निम्नलिखित संकल्प उपस्थित करती हूँ।

“इस तथ्य को ध्यान में रखते हुए कि यद्यपि समाज में महिलाओं के दर्जे में धीरे-धीरे सुधार हुआ है और पुरुष के मुकाबले में उसके अधिकारों को पुरुष और महिला के बीच समानता के सिद्धांत के अनुरूप मान्यता दे दी गई है तथापि वह अपने अधिकारपूर्ण स्थान को प्राप्त नहीं कर पायी है और विभिन्न रूपों में उसका शोषण अभी तक जारी है यह सभा सरकार से महिलाओं की दशा में सुधार करने के लिए निम्नलिखित कदम उठाने का आग्रह करती है —

- (i) किसी महिला को विवाह के बाद अपने पति की चल तथा अचल संपत्ति में समान अधिकार मिलने चाहिए ;
- (ii) सम्पत्ति का अधिकार, जिसे हमारे कानून किसी महिला के पति की मृत्यु के पश्चात देने का दावा करते हैं उसे उसके विवाह के तुरन्त पश्चात दे दिया जाना चाहिए ;
- (iii) वे अधिकार, जो किसी महिला को उसके विवाह-विच्छेद के पश्चात प्राप्त होते हैं, उसे विवाह के पश्चात ही उपलब्ध हो जाने चाहिए ताकि वित्तीय आधारा पर विवाह-विच्छेद के मामलों से बचा जा सके ;
- (iv) कानूनी अधिकार के रूप में पत्नी का अपने पति के साथ संयुक्त भविष्य निधि खाता होना चाहिए ;
- (v) इच्छानुसार सम्पत्ति का निपटान करने का अधिकार पत्नी को भी दिया जाना चाहिए ;
- (vi) न्यायालयों को, उसके समक्ष पेश किए गए पति और पत्नी के बीच के सामाजिक-आर्थिक