

and put them on record again. Now, Mr. Gopalsamy, I do not want all these things to go on record. Would you kindly withdraw your statement?

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY (Tamil Nadu): I have got the highest respect for the Chair. I am always there to uphold the decorum of the House. I did not want to offend anybody wantonly.

MR. CHAIRMAN: That is enough. You have to withdraw the remarks.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I did not want to offend anybody.

MR. CHAIRMAN: If you do not withdraw the remarks, I am removing them, I am expunging them, from the proceedings. I think the use of the words is improper.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM: Sir, please give a direction to the press.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Whatever I say is on record and what goes on record, the press has to take note of.

Now we go to the Calling-Attention. Mr. Bhandare. Not here. Mr. Gopalsamy.

### CALLING ATTENTION TO A MATTER OF URGENT PUBLIC IMPORTANCE

#### Situation in Sri Lanka

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Chairman, I beg to call the attention of the Minister of External Affairs to the situation in Sri Lanka.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH): Mr. Chairman, Sir, the ethnic crisis in Sri Lanka is a matter of serious concern to all of us in all parts of the country. Government is

gravely concerned about the manner in which the situation in Sri Lanka has developed, especially the large number of civilian casualties and the suffering caused to civilians in the North due to the economic and communications blockage that was imposed by the Government of Sri Lanka in the beginning of this year. These developments have been monitored very carefully by the Government and the Prime Minister has been reviewing the situation on a regular basis.

Let me briefly summarise the recent developments in the negotiating process and the events which had led us to suspend our good offices for the time being.

Progress till then was reviewed between Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and President Jayewardene at Bangalore during the SAARC summit in November 1986. As a follow up of these discussions, the Foreign Minister of Sri Lanka, Mr. Hameed visited Delhi immediately after the Bangalore summit. Thereafter, Minister of State Chidambaram and I visited Colombo on November 24 and again from December 17 to 19 and had extensive discussions with President Jayewardene and his advisers. As a result of these discussions, certain proposals were formulated on December 19. These proposals dealt specifically with the question of the Eastern province and the Tamil demand for a merger of the Eastern and Northern provinces to create a single Tamil linguistic unit. It was agreed that we would convey these proposals to the Tamil groups to carry the process further.

Immediately after our return to Delhi, however, we received a message saying that it would be difficult for Sri Lanka to implement these proposals due, we were given to understand, to opposition from some elected representatives of the Eastern province. Later Sri Lanka reiterated a conditional commitment to these proposals. The situation on the ground had meanwhile altered radically. Towards the end of the last year, the

[Shri K. Natwar Singh]

LTTE announced their intention to set up their own machinery to deal with some areas of administration in Jaffna. The Sri Lankan Government imposed an economic and communications blockade of Jaffna on 2nd of January. This was followed by the launching of large scale military operations in the Eastern and Northern provinces. The main sufferers, as a result of both these pressure have been, needless to say, civilians. According to some reports as many as 500 civilians, most of them Tamils, eight have been killed since January 1987. It appeared once again that the Sri Lankan Government, while continuing to talk of a political settlement, was pursuing a military option.

Government of India conveyed its grave concern at these developments in a message from the Prime Minister to President Jayewardene on February 10, stressing the need for the cessation of military operations and the lifting of the blockade to create the proper conditions for resumption of our good offices on the basis of the December, 19 proposals. Since the situation in the Jaffna areas continued to deteriorate, with serious hardship being caused to the population as a result of the blockade, and since there was imminent possibility of large scale civilian casualties, the Prime Minister sent Shri Dinesh Singh as his personal emissary to meet President Jayewardene to express our grave concern about the situation. He also impressed upon him the need for a political solution.

Since then Sri Lanka Government has announced its intention to wind down the blockade against Jaffna. But we will have to see how this is actually translated into action on the ground. There is also some lessening of military activity. We remain convinced that there can be no solution through military means. We hope that sanity will prevail and conditions will be created in which negotiations for a political solution can begin. We shall keep the house informed regarding further developments.

[The Deputy Chairman in the Chair.]

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Madam Deputy Chairman, eleven Indian delegations have visited Sri Lanka since July, 1983. More than 11,000 Tamil civilians, men, women and children, have been mercilessly massacred in Sri Lanka when we were sending these 11 delegations. Now, our hon. Prime Minister has sent Mr. Dinesh Singh as a special emissary to Sri Lanka. Our hon. Minister Mr. Natwar Singh has agreed, and I quote him: "It appeared once again that the Sri Lankan Government while continuing to talk of a political settlement was pursuing a military option." Mr. Jayewardene has so far succeeded in hoodwinking and playing the drama of dialogue and destruction. Yes, under the guise of dialogue the militarist regime has decimated and destroyed the Tamil population in Sri Lanka. Whenever India shows some concern, expresses some concern and when the world expresses its concern Jayewardene is a clever fellow he has to offer something to mislead and hoodwink and he will act differently and our Government, I am pained to say has played in the hands of Jayewardene and become a pawn in his hands. The alphabet 'D' has become anathema as far Tamils in Sri Lanka are concerned, 'D' means dialogue for Indian Government, which means death and destruction for Sri Lankan Tamils. For Jayewardene it means also Delhi, which could be easily duped and deceived. Now, you have again sent Mr. Dinesh Singh, yes. And you say he is prepared to revive the dialogue or the negotiations. But I am afraid that he will use the same trick which will be a greater danger to our people. Our hon. Minister stated in the other House yesterday that we cannot be indifferent to the atrocities committed against the Tamils in Sri Lanka but you have been indifferent all these years. Because of your indifference and callous attitude he was able to continue and not only hoodwink you, but also to liquidate the Tamils in Sri Lanka.

Now, Madam, the Sri Lankan Government has launched the biggest murderous military offensive of U.S. trained and Pakistan supplied vessel 'Task Force' backed by helicopter gunships piloted by South African and American mercenaries. Regarding this the former Foreign Secretary, Mr. Venkateswaran, had to face the wrath of our Prime Minister when he visited the United States and raised the issue in Washington during his talks with the U.S. Under Secretary of State. He was told that the U.S. Government was not aware of the activities of the American mercenaries in Sri Lanka and was assured that it would take appropriate action. I quote the Hindu of January 18: "The Bell aircraft company sent some American pilots last year to train the Sri Lankan air force personnel to operate Sri Lankan helicopter gunships for its anti-insurgency operations. These pilots left after a few weeks when the Sri Lankan personnel acquired the necessary capability to operate them. But more recently a couple of American mercenaries were recruited along with some other foreigners for participating more actively in these operations. The U.S. Government is now inquiring whether these American mercenaries have used forged passports to conceal their U.S. nationality or agreed to serve as Americans in their individual capacity without bothering about legal consequences of their actions."

Madam, when I brought to the attention of the Government about the involvement of South Africa that Sri Lanka is getting arms from South Africa. When I raised the question on the floor of this House last year, when I sought a clarification, a categorical reply from our hon. Prime Minister. I am sorry to say that our hon. Prime Minister got wild, got very angry, and he called me ignorant on the floor of this House. Now this is the photograph of the South African armoured cars destroyed by the militants in Sri Lanka. Now, the Government itself comes and says, yes, they are getting

help from countries which are inimical to India. Who is ignorant? Whose ignorance has been exposed to the world? Madam, even the U.K. mercenaries, unable to tolerate the gruesome killings have left Sri Lanka. This also appeared in the press.

Madam, one thing more. The Sri Lankan press, particularly the English Daily *SUN*, which is the mouthpiece of Jayewardene, has written an editorial, arrogant, venomous, poisonous and barbaric editorial, and in that, it says:

"Used as he is to mouthing blunt curt orders from the cockpit, untrained in the arts and language of diplomacy, Rajiv Gandhi often, too often, puts his foot in his mouth—as he did at Harare and more recently in New Delhi."

This paper is the mouthpiece of Sri Lanka. How the press in Sri Lanka which has got the support of the Government, has got the audacity to criticise our hon. Prime Minister in this manner? They should be taught a fitting lesson. And our hon. Minister says, yes, they are going to revive the dialogue to consider the December, 19 proposals. Madam, I am pained to say that these proposals of December, 19 would not be accepted by the Tamils. According to the proposals, the Minister says of linkage of northern and eastern provinces as one unit. But I would like to seek a clarification from Mr. Natwar Singh. When the Sri Lankan Government formulated a proposal about the Eastern province, they said 'minus Amparai electorate from the Eastern province' which is the feeding line for the Eastern province. This Amparai electorate area is full of natural resources and rivers which is the feeding line for the entire Tamil area. They will take away this Amparai electorate from the Eastern province, which will never be accepted by the Tamils. Madam, they are not serious and sincere in the talks. Even these December, 19 proposals would not be accepted by Tamils. Our hon. Prime Minister was kind enough to send a message on February, 10 which

[Shri V. Gopalsamy]

was rejected at that time. Even after the message, the President of Sri Lanka said "Physician, heal thyself". And your message was thrown to the dustbin. Our hon. Prime Minister said, after the message, violence came dustbin. Our hon. Prime Minister said, come down, Madam, according to the Indian Express of February, 20:

"Sri Lanka troops massacred 37 Tamils in villages of Muthur in the eastern province on Tuesday..... Giving details of the gruesome incident, the villagers of Pachanur, Koonithivu, Uppuveli areas were attacked in their houses with swords and knives. Soldiers hacked 17 people to death and shot another 20 later.

The victims included six children below 10 years of age, and 13 women. The soldiers ignored pleas to spare the children. Women were raped and killed. After the carnage, the soldiers decamped with the Tamils' livestock."

Not only that. Again, I quote Hinduistan Times of 13 March:

"The 'homeguards', set up in late 1984, are recruited, controlled and directed by politicians of the ruling party. Lacking in basic training, but armed with guns, grenades and petrol bombs, they have wrought havoc and destruction conducting a merciless campaign of looting, arson and murder mainly in the eastern province."

Madam, the violence has not come down. Very often our hon. Minister and our Government used to preach to us that we should not interfere in the internal matters, in the domestic matters, of another country, and that we are for maintaining the unity, integrity and sovereignty of Sri Lanka. Madam, unity, integrity and sovereignty in India mean one thing and in Sri Lanka they have a different meaning. In India sovereignty means equality. In India, everybody is equal. We are not treating any citizen of India as a slave in this country. Therefore, nobody can equate

the situation in India with that in Sri Lanka. In Sri Lanka, sovereignty means slavery. Tamils will not accept it. If sovereignty means serfdom, Tamils will not accept it. If sovereignty means bondage, Tamils will not accept it. If sovereignty means Tamils will have to live as a subject-race, Tamils will not accept it. Tamils want to live in honour and dignity. Mr. Jayewardene says 'I want to protect the sovereignty and unity of Sri Lanka and you have to surrender'. When their mothers are killed, when their children are killed, when their mothers and sisters are raped, when they are not able to live in dignity and honour, Tamils are not for that unity, integrity and sovereignty. Madam, Jayewardene says 'Tamils, Tamil militants, have to surrender'. Then, he will continue the talks. Tamils will not surrender. They will die. All these years, right from 1948, they have been subjected to all kinds of humiliations and sufferings in the hands of the Sri Lankan Government. They will not surrender. A report in 'The Hindu' of today says:

"Mr. V. Balakumar of the Eelam Revolutionary Organisation (EROS) who has returned to Madras after a three-month's stay in the Tamil majority area, in the northern and eastern parts of Sri Lanka said today that the Sri Lankan Government had embarked on its final military plan in the Tamil areas. 'It is time the Government of India helped us on a humanitarian basis.

He told THE HINDU that the Sri Lankan Government, labouring under the impression that 'it has duped the Government of India' was going ahead with a massive programme of military activities in the Tamil areas all over the North and East. It was not prepared to take any steps to restore normalcy in the affected Tamil areas. Colombo could no longer change word opinion that it was for a political solution to the island's ethnic crisis. At last, it stood fully exposed 'he said."

Madam, they are not, therefore, for a political solution. The Sri Lankan Government is not for a political solution. By saying that they are for a political solution, they only want to buy time. You

have expressed your concern. The Government of India has expressed its concern. Argentina has expressed its concern. Therefore, they want to buy time. They want to buy time in order to cheat the world, in order to dupe the world and India. Therefore, they say that they are for a political solution. I am not saying that there should not be a political solution. But my point is, there cannot be a political solution through negotiations, dialogue, with this Government. Tamils want to live in honour and dignity. That is why they have demanded Eelam. I am not blaming the hon. Minister or anybody from this side. I know your concern. People advise us that we should not speak about Eelam and other things. Then, why did you recognise ILO? Tamils want to live in honour and dignity. They do not want to live as a subject-race. What is wrong if I ask you to recognise Eelam? You may not agree with me. But I have got every right to demand from the Government that they should recognise Eelam. It is my right to demand. When my kith and kin are being massacred, killed, butchered, it is my duty and right to come here and make this demand. If I demand that we should send our Army, that we should intervene militarily, there is nothing wrong. That is why I have been demanding this. Madam, the whole race has been subjected to starvation. More than a million have been without even a single meal a day. No hospitals. No medicines in hospitals. Even hospitals were bombarded. They continue to be bombarded. If I demand that you should rush supplies to the affected area, what is wrong in it? Nobody can do anything? Nobody can say that you are interfering in the affairs of others when our own fishermen have been killed by the Sri Lankan navy. That English daily has got the guts and audacity to call the Prime Minister in such a manner. Therefore, I would request the hon. Minister, do not expect that a solution will evolve through political negotiations with this Government. I request you not to play again in the hands of Jayewardene. Do not pressure on the militants or the Tamils. You have agreed to

certain proposals. You have stated earlier that such and such proposals were good. Therefore Madam, may I request the hon. Minister to give an ultimatum that we will intervene militarily if you continue with the attack, we will supply food, fuel, medicines to the people who are dying there? The entire lot is there to support you and it is not that I am saying all these things to have political gains.

Madam, 'The Hindu' has correctly said that there can be no question. This is the editorial of February, 24. This is the question before the Government of India, before the people of India. I quote:

"There can be no question—and that is the real bottomline for Indian policy—of allowing the Sri Lankan Tamil demands and struggle to be drowned in blood by the Jayewardenes or the Athulathmudalis."

So, even their tears have dried up, even their blood has dried up. Now no more tears to shed. When you say something that you won't be indifferent you implement your decision, you rush the supplies to the affected areas and give them an ultimatum. Don't wait. By the time you will be waiting, people will be dying there and posterity will never forgive you for this. I have warned you many a time on the floor of the House. I have stated it here on the floor of the House and it has come true. Now you have realised and you yourself have admitted that.

So, I want action. Otherwise; we will never forgive you.

श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय (उत्तर प्रदेश) : माननीय उपसभापति जी, श्रीलंका की जातीय समस्या के नाम पर वहाँ पर जो तमिल है, जिस पर जयवर्धने सरकार जिस प्रकार का बर्बर अत्याचार कर रही है अपने ही लोगों के

[ श्री तत्त्वप्रकाश मालवीय ]

साथ जिसकी दुनिया में कोई दूसरी मिसाल नहीं मिलेगी, वहाँ पर नरसंहार हो रहा है, बलात्कार हो रहे हैं, मंदिर मस्जिद, गिरजा, चर्च और साथ ही सभ गांव के गांव वहाँ पर लूटे जा रहे हैं, सम्पत्ति लूटी जा रही है और वहाँ के देश के जो नागरिक हैं उनके साथ जय-वर्धन सरकार सौतेला व्यवहार कर रही है। इस विषय पर बराबर इस सदन में चर्चा हो चुकी है। 27 फरवरी, 1986 को चर्चा हुई, 13 मई 1986 को चर्चा हुई और उसके बाद भी चर्चा हुई। कल भी लोक सभा में इस विषय में चर्चा हुई थी। लेकिन इस समस्या का समाधान नहीं हो रहा है और बराबर यह समस्या जटिल होती जा रही है। अभी भारत के प्रधानमंत्री ने अपने विशेष दूत के रूप में संसद सदस्य श्री दिनेश सिंह जी को वहाँ पर भेजा। इसके पहले भी तीन-चार माह पूर्व हमारे केन्द्र के मंत्री श्री चिदम्बरम जी वहाँ पर गए। उसके पहले जो एक्सटर्नल एफेयर्स सेक्रेटरी थे श्री रामेश भंडारी इनको भी वहाँ पर भेजा गया। इस प्रकार के मिशन जो भारत सरकार भेजती है उनका जयवर्धन की सरकार पर तनिक भी असर नहीं हो रहा है। 13 अक्टूबर, 1983 को एक करोड़ भारतीय लोगों की ओर से हस्ताक्षर करा करके डॉ. एम. के. पार्टी के अध्यक्ष श्री एम. करुणानिधि ने यूनाइटेड नेशन्स को अपना एक पत्र भेजा था कि 17 पृष्ठों का था और उसमें इन सारी घटनाओं की चर्चा की गई थी। इसको करीब-करीब चार वर्षों के बीतते हो चुके हैं, लेकिन इन चार वर्षों में जयवर्धन की सरकार वहाँ पर बराबर अतंक कर रही है और इसका सहारा लेकर सारी दुनिया में जितने भी शांति में विश्वास करने वाले लोग हैं, अहिंसा में विश्वास करने वाले लोग हैं, हिंसा का बायकाट करने वाले लोग हैं उन सब के लिए यह सारी समस्या एक चुनौती हो गई है। और अभी हाल में भी संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ के पास, वहाँ की जो मानव अधिकार आयोग है, ह्यूमन राइट्स कमिशन, उनके पास एक पत्र दिया है और इस घटना का उसमें

जो रिकॉर्ड है, उसके अनुसार अब तक करीब करीब 11,000 व्यक्तियों को मृत्यु हो गयी है। लेकिन इसमें जो विवरण है 1 जनवरी, 1986 से 30 जून, 1986 तक का, लगभग छह महीने का, उसकी समरी में पढ़ना चाहेंगे :—

That summary reveals that over 2,079 persons have been killed, 1,853 persons have been injured, 17,198 persons have been illegally arrested and detained for varying periods of time, 27 women and girls have been molested or raped, 1,272 houses, 106 shops, 12 temples, 12 churches, 1 mosque, 9 schools, 2 hospitals have been damaged or destroyed.

The total value of the damage to and destruction of properties is estimated at over Sri Lanka Rs. 2.1 billion.

और इसमें जिन घटना का विवरण है, वह जितनी वास्तविक है, इससे जानकारी होगी और इसमें पता लग रहा है कि जितने भी आतंक किसी भी इंसान के साथ दुनिया में हो सकते हैं वे सारे अन्याय वहाँ की मिलट्री और पैर मिलिट्री फोर्सज तमिल जनता के साथ कर रही है। इसमें इसका विवरण इस प्रकार से है :

In almost all the above cases the killings and injuries have taken place in incidents of indiscriminate shooting by the security forces and the home guards at defenceless civilians in their villages (farmer in their fields, workers in their work places, fishermen in boats and refugees in government approved camps)...

The arrests have been in large scale (mass) and arbitrary, for Tamils, particularly the youths, are today arrested merely on grounds of race. A village or area is surrounded by the security forces and all youth and young men, and lately, even elderly men and sometimes women too are arbitrarily arrested without informing them or their

kith and kin of the reasons for, or the law under which they are arrested or the place of detention or inquiry to which they are being taken. Rapes include 'gang rapes' during the so-called 'search operations' of Tamil villages and sometimes of those in custody.

महोदया, यह सारा काम श्रीलंका में बही लोग कर रहे हैं, जिनके हाथ में इनकी सुरक्षा का भार दिया गया है। इसलिए मैं भारत सरकार से आग्रह करना चाहता हूँ, भारत सरकार ने अपनी चिन्ता व्यक्त की है, भारत सरकार ने अपने दूतों को वहाँ भेजा है और भारत सरकार ने बराबर इन चीजों के संबंध में अपनी बात व्यक्त की है, लेकिन जैसा कि हमारे विद्वान भक्ति श्री गोंपालसामी ने कहा है कि जयवर्धने सरकार केवल प्रस्ताव को मानने वाली नहीं है। आपने 19 दिसम्बर को प्रस्ताव किया और आज भी मंत्री जी ने अपने वक्तव्य में स्वीकार किया कि केवल 500 हत्याएं जनवरी, 1987 में हुईं और इसलिए भारत सरकार जो पहल कर रही थी, उनके लिए भारत सरकार को फैसला लेना पड़ा और अपने निर्णय को कुछ दिनों के लिए स्थगित करना पड़ा। इसलिए मैं आग्रह करना चाहता हूँ कि जो हमारे मानव-अधिकारों का वहाँ हनन हो रहा है, मानव अधिकारों पर कुठाराघात हो रहा है, जो बराबर हिंसा और बलत्कार हो रहा है, इसके सिलसिले में भारत सरकार को तुरंत ही कड़ी कार्यवाही करनी चाहिए, कड़ी कदम उठाना चाहिए।

महोदया, अभी जनवरी के महीने में जो वहाँ जफता क्षेत्र है, वहाँ पर जितने भी आवश्यक पदार्थ थे, उनकी आपूर्ति को बंद कर दिया गया। इसलिए भारत सरकार से यह निवेदन है कि वहाँ पर जो लोग इन आवश्यक चीजों के बगैर रह रहे हैं, जिनको खाना नहीं मिल रहा है, जिनको दवा नहीं मिल रही है, जिनके पास पहनने का कपड़ा नहीं है, उनके लिए तत्काल भारत सरकार को सहायता भेजनी चाहिए। दूसरे करीब-करीब डेढ़

लाख शरणार्थी तमिलनाडु राज्य में आकर बसे हुए हैं और करीब-करीब डेढ़ लाख शरणार्थी दूसरे देशों में जाकर बसे हुए हैं। अब जब यह शरणार्थी हमारे देश में बस गए हैं, तो इसके मायने यह सारी समस्या भारत की समस्या हो गयी है। मैं यह नहीं कहना चाहूँगा कि जिस प्रकार से बांग्ला देश के सिलसिले में भारत सरकार ने हस्तक्षेप किया और बांग्ला देश एक दूसरा देश था, उस समय कुछ लोगों ने आवाज उठायी थी कि बांग्ला देश में हस्तक्षेप करने के मायने हुआ दूसरे देश के मामलों में हस्तक्षेप करना। मैं उस हद तक नहीं जाना चाहता, लेकिन मैं भारत सरकार से आग्रह करना चाहूँगा कि जयवर्धने शान्ति की भाषा समझने वाले नहीं हैं, उनको उनकी ही भाषा समझाना आवश्यक है। इस सिलसिले में जो 19 दिसम्बर का प्रपोजल है उसके ऊपर क्या कार्यवाही हुई है इसके बारे में सदन को स्पष्ट बताया जाना चाहिए।

दूसरा मेरा सुझाव यह है कि श्री दिनेश सिंह वहाँ पर प्रधान मंत्री के दूत बनकर गए थे, उनसे क्या बातचीत हुई, इसकी कोई जानकारी इस दशतक में नहीं है। इसलिए मेरा मंत्री जी से अनुरोध है कि श्री दिनेश सिंह से श्रीलंका सरकार की क्या बातचीत हुई, इसकी जानकारी सदन को दी जानी चाहिए। इसके साथ ही भारत सरकार को कठोर कार्यवाही करनी चाहिए। (Interruptions)

• SHRI J. P. GOYAL (Uttar Pradesh): Madam, I associate myself with what my two friends have said: I also feel that there must be a political solution. And to create an atmosphere for that it is necessary that the Embargo on Jaffna and places where the Tamilians are living must be immediately lifted. In the *Times* or *India* dated 18th March 1987 I find a heading, "Fuel Embargo in Jaffna Lifted." In the *Indian Express* of 13th March, 1987 there is an observation that the lifting of the economic blockade is just by the way,

[Shri J. P. Goyal]

otherwise the Sri Lankan Government is not sincere about having a political dialogue. In my submission, if a political solution can be achieved, there can be nothing like that; that is the thing desired and our Government must try for it. Therefore, our negotiators with the Sri Lankan Government must insist that an atmosphere of confidence must be created amongst the Tamilians that killing of innocent persons which had happened so far will not be there, that is must be stopped immediately. Therefore, with the help of our Government the Sri Lankan Government must be brought to the negotiating table and along with them a political solution must be found.

If it is not possible for them to live together, I would suggest that there must be some sort of political settlement and some sort of autonomy must be given to the Jaffna area where the Tamilians are living and there might be Federation type of Government in Sri Lanka. Therefore, I submitted earlier, our Government must insist that firstly they must consider lifting the embargo and then confidence must be created amongst the Tamilians there so that they are persuaded to come to the negotiating table so that some political solution is found and killing innocent persons at the instance of the Sri Lankan Government is not allowed any further.

With these observations, Madam, I conclude my arguments regarding this subject matter. Thank you

**श्री सुरज प्रसाद (बिहार) :** महोदय, कई हमारे माननीय सदस्यों ने तमिलों पर जो जुल्म, अत्याचार हो रहे हैं उनके बारे में अपनी भावनाओं को व्यक्त किया है। मैं भी उनकी भावनाओं के साथ हूँ। अभी श्रीलंका में जो कुछ भी हो रहा है...

**उपसभापति :** मेरा आनरेबल मैम्बर्स से रिक्वेस्ट है कि कृपया थोड़े ही टाइम में समाप्त करें। अभी 9-10 लोगों ने और बोलना है।

**श्री सुरज प्रसाद :** मैंने तो अभी शुरू ही किया है।

**उपसभापति :** पहले से ही इसलिए बता दिया कि आप को जो कुछ कहना है संक्षेप में कहें।

**श्री सुरज प्रसाद :** मैं यह कह रहा था कि श्रीलंका में जो कुछ हो रहा है वहाँ की सरकार के द्वारा उसे सरकारी आतंकवाद के सिवा दूसरी कोई संज्ञा नहीं दी जा सकती है। जैसा-जैसा समय बीतता जा रहा है वैसे वैसे श्रीलंका की समस्या का समाधान होने के बजाय और भी अधिक कठिन और दुष्कर होता जा रहा है। श्रीलंका सरकार ने अभी तक जो कदम तमिलों के खिलाफ उठाया है उसका कुफल काफी भयंकर हो चुका है। काफी बड़ी संख्या में तमिलियन अपने देश को छोड़ कर भारत में या अन्य देशों में शरणार्थी बन चुके हैं। भारत सरकार को भी उन शरणार्थियों को अपने यहाँ बसाने के लिए काफी पैसा खर्च करना पड़ रहा है। एक तरफ श्रीलंका सरकार वार्ता भी करती है और दूसरी तरफ समस्या के समाधान के बजाय सैनिक कार्रवाई कर रही है। इस तरह से श्रीलंका की सरकार द्वैत नीति अपना रही है एक तो वार्ता करने की और दूसरी समाधान के लिए सैनिक कार्रवाई करने की। इस तरह से भारत सरकार को भूल-भुलैया में रखना चाहती है। अभी तक भारत सरकार ने जो भी मिशन श्रीलंका भेजा है उससे कोई फल नहीं निकला है अगर यह कहा जाये तो कोई अतिशयोक्ति नहीं होगी कि वह असफल रहा है। श्रीलंका सरकार के साथ बैठ कर हम कोई राजनीतिक समाधान खोज पाये इसमें हम असफल रहे हैं। अभी भी जो दिनेश सिंह जी को वहाँ भेजा है उससे भी कोई खास फल नहीं निकला है। यह ठीक है कि अभी सैनिक कार्रवाई कुछ कम हो गयी है लेकिन इसका यह अर्थ नहीं निकाला जाना चाहिए कि श्रीलंका सरकार ने सैनिक कार्रवाई को बिल्कुल ही बन्द कर दिया। सैनिक कार्रवाई वह और भी अधिक भविष्य में कर सकता है। इसमें भी शक नहीं कि श्रीलंका की

[श्री सूरज प्रसाद]

सरकार को विदेशी सहायता मिलती है और विदेशी सहायता का इस्तेमाल वह इन लोगों पर कर रही है। इसलिए मैं सरकार से कुछ जानकारी हासिल करना चाहता हूँ। पहली यह है कि क्या अभी तक सरकार ने जो मिशन भेजा है उससे कोई लाभप्रद हल निकला है? यदि नहीं निकला है तो ऐसी अवस्था में मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या सरकार श्रीलंका के खिलाफ कोई सख्त कदम उठाने के पक्ष में है? दूसरी बात मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि अखबारों में यह समाचार आया है कि जब से श्री दिनेश सिंह का मिशन वहाँ गया, भारत सरकार का जो भी पत्र वह लेकर गया था उस पत्र में इस बात की भी चर्चा थी कि तमिलों के खिलाफ जो कदम श्री सरकार ने फयूल सप्लाई बंद करने का उठाया है उसमें सरकार तमिलों को हिन्दुस्तान से फयूल भी भेज सकती है? मैं सरकार से यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि अगर सरकार को यह जानकारी है कि जाफना में जो लोग रहते हैं उनके लिए फयूल की सप्लाई बंद कर दी गई है तो क्या भारत सरकार फयुअल भी वहाँ सप्लाई करना चाहती है? तीसरी बात मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि जब इस तरह की घटनाएँ हो रही हैं तो क्या सरकार मानवीय दृष्टि को ध्यान में रखते हुए वहाँ मेडिकल सहायता भेजेगी क्योंकि भूतकाल में आप बहुत से देशों को इस प्रकार की सहायता भेज चुके हैं, आजादी से पहले चीन को सहायता भेजी गई और यूरोप के किसी अन्य मुल्क में भी भेजी गई है। मैं स्पष्ट रूप से जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या जाफना के लोगों की सहायता के लिए सरकार कोई मेडिकल सहायता भेजेगी? चौथी बात मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि श्रीलंका की गवर्नमेंट की ओर से वहाँ पर सैनिक कार्यवाही हो रही है ऐसी स्थिति में क्या भारत सरकार अपनी शक्ति का इस्तेमाल इस रूप में करेगी ताकि श्रीलंका की सरकार सैनिक कार्यवाही बंद करे?

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY (Karnataka): Because of the paucity of time I do not like to go to the question of atrocities committed by the Government of Sri Lanka on the Tamilians, particularly on the innocent men, women and children in Sri Lanka. The tragic ethnic conflict which we see in Sri Lanka is taking very ugly proportions. There is no end to this conflict and no solution is visible. All efforts made by the Government of India have failed so far to yield any result. If the effort of the Government has caused anything it is that it has only given time for the Government of Sri Lanka to commit more and more atrocities on the peaceful Tamilians in Jaffna and other area. The Western media is not friendly to the policy and approach of the Government of India. It is not at all friendly to the ethnic minorities in Sri Lanka. I have got a few writings published in the Western Press—Wall Street Journal, The Time Magazine, the New York Times, Vancouver Sun and so on—which depict the role of India in a very bad light. As a sample I will read one sentence from the Vancouver Sun. It says, I quote "The Tamil separatists receive aid and military training from the Palestinians, Libyans and Russians. Their main guru is pro-Soviet India, Sri Lanka's non-aligned neighbour which has broken all international convention by providing the Tamils with training camps on Indian territory." Such things are told by the Western media. There is no effort made by the Government of India to meet this malicious and wild propaganda. The Government of India is now honestly but weakly trying to mediate between the Government of Sri Lanka and Tamils. Our complaint is the Government of India is not effective. But the Western press is indulging in all sorts of falsehoods and lies against the Government of India. This is one aspect on which I would like my friend, Shri Natwar Singh to take notice of and the Government of India should meet this adverse publicity which we are receiving in the Western press.

Madam, coming to the main question, where do we stand now I have gone through the statement carefully. After SAARC conference certain proposals were

[Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy]

formulated with the help of Shri Natwar Singh and Mr. Chidambaram when they went to Sri Lanka. Before the proposals were discussed with the Tamil groups, the Government of Sri Lanka launched a massive attack against the North and Eastern provinces of Sri Lanka and imposed the economic and communication blockade making it impossible for Tamil communities there to live. Many people were made to starve. Now after these developments when the genocide was going on without an let or hindrance, when the blockade was tightened and innocent civilians were killed in large numbers, the Government of India woke up again. They sent Mr. Dinesh Singh as a special envoy to Sri Lanka. Mr. Dinesh Singh is a good friend of mine. I wish him good luck. But I fail to understand why missions are changed very often. My friend Mr. Gopalsamy said that so far 11 missions were sent to Sri Lanka with no result. But I want to know why missions are changed so often? Earlier there was Romesh Bhandari, then G. Parthasarthy was there. Later on, Mr. P. Chidambaram and Mr. Natwar Singh. I do not know whether you have left anybody. Anyway, so often, they are changing the negotiating teams, the personnel, why? Why is it so? Have they failed in the past? My friend Mr. Dinesh Singh has been brought now. I already said, he is a good friend of mine. I wish him good luck. But what for has he brought at all I think, it lacked maturity. That is all I could say. There has got to be continuity in our diplomacy in our media-tion efforts. It is not done. Anyway, I am not making any adverse criticism about the person concerned but I wish to draw attention to this. This is not done.

Finally, may I say how do you go about on this issue? Have you reached the dead end a point of no return. I would like to know from the Minister concerned? There has been now a sort of easing of the situation, a partial lifting of the blockade may be but it is a make-believe. The President of the Government of Sri Lanka, Shri Jayewardene cannot be trusted. It is unfortunate. We have to trust him but he cannot be trusted. We have to negotiate with him but his credibility is so low now, he has been shifting his position so often. So, what do we do? What is the

framework, what is the solution that the Government of India has got in mind, I would like to know. I do not want our military to go to Sri Lanka unless compulsion dictates. When Tamilians die in large number, their kith and kin are with us here in that contingency, on humanitarian grounds, we may be compelled to send the military to arrange supply. I hope such a situation will not come. Shri Jayewardene has got to be warned that if he imposes the blockade again or tighten up the blockade we will be left with no other alternative but to go to the help of the innocent Tamilians, men women and children, who starve who die. We cannot allow the Tamilians there in Sri Lanka to be decimated, we cannot allow them to be destroyed. We have been helping P.L.O. For what? We are supporting PLO that they must have the homeland. Here I will not go to this extent, that Sri Lanka should be dismembered, bifurcated or vivisected. No, I do not go that far but I say, those Tamilians who have good blood relations with us here should live as full citizen of Sri Lanka. Equality and justice is the thing that we want I use these words very carefully. What we want is equality and justice in Sri Lanka where all the citizens including Tamilians should live, should enjoy rights, should have ample opportunities for development for social, economic and political development. With this in view, I say, the strategy of the Government of India, the approach of the Government of India lacks teeth and lacks the necessary edge. You are following a very docile policy a lame duck policy, if I may say so. And the world press, the western press, condemns us that we are encouraging separatists, and militants; we are encouraging violence by Tamilians there though it is not true. We are not taking any steps to see that this problem which is a festering sore not only for Sri Lanka but also India is solved quickly. This requires a political solution. I know. But if military intervention is necessary to save the people there, it is a must. That is military intervention is necessary to save the people there, it is a must. That is all. I don't advocate it. I hope and trust such a situation will not arise. It is not my party's stand that we should send the

army. Let me make it very clear. We want a peaceful solution, a political solution a solution within a framework evolved for that purpose. In this context the Government of India has got to play a very helpful, very active role, not a mere weak-kneed, mediatory role as it is being played all along. May I hope and trust that the Government of India will take us into confidence and tell us what the details are that they had evolved on the 19th December and what they are proposing to do now? What is the mission of Mr. Dinesh Singh? What did he discuss? What assurance has he brought to the Government of India? Has there been any success in Mr. Dinesh Singh's efforts and mediation in his mission, at all? In what way, if it is true? And is it leading us to any settlement in the near future?

**SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY** (Andhra Pradesh): Madam Deputy Chairman, what is happening in Sri Lanka today against the ethnic Tamil people by the actions of Sri Lankan Government their mobing and blockadings, is most inhuman and barbarous. The whole civilised world today will condemn in and even when we are discussing this issue now, atrocities are continuing to be committed in Sri Lanka against the ethnic Tamils. What is the Government of India going to do to solve the problem? This is the question now. The people, the suffering people of that country, have little hope that they will get some concrete help from the Government of India. Eleven delegations have been sent and the last one has been when Mr. Dinesh Singh went there as a special emissary of the Prime Minister and we had some hope, the people had some hope, that something will come out of it and that the Government of Sri Lanka will come to senses. But nothing happened and atrocities are increasing and Sri Lanka Government has become bold. Not only that, it has been reported that even some foreign countries are being involved against the ethnic Tamils in Sri Lanka. For example, Israel, South Africa, even UK and America and Pakistan, are sending their mercenaries to help Sri Lanka Government against the innocent Tamils. Thousands and thousands of innocent people including women and children, are being killed by

the actions of the barbarous and uncivilised Government of Sri Lanka led by Shri Jayewardene. Their homes have been destroyed. Even the temples and places of their worship are not spared. Even the hospitals are not spared. So, under these circumstances, how are we going to help those innocent people. How are we going to solve this problem. That is the most important question. I understand—and this House also has been informed—that the honourable Minister himself along with Mr. Chidambaram had been to Sri Lanka to formulate what is known as the 19th December proposals. We do not know what those proposals are and what concretely was discussed. I would like to tell the Minister: Kindly let us know, let this House know and let this nation know as to what actually happened in those meetings, what those proposals contained, whether both of them were satisfied that the Sri Lanka Government was sincere in solving this problem. Many honourable Members have expressed their doubts and fears here. Not only we, but also the civilized countries in the whole world, are very much agitated and if this problem is not solved, I think something worse will come out of this. Therefore, I appeal to the Minister not to wait for even a day. I would like to know what concrete proposals the Government of India is placing before the Sri Lankan Government. Of course, the Sri Lanka Government gave some proposals, but it went back on them. You met them and you arrived at certain proposals and again the Sri Lanka Government was going back. I would like to know what concrete proposals you would actually like to give to Sri Lanka and also to the Elam people and the Tamils, the people of Tamil origin, in Sri Lanka. The present position is that there is a blockade and the supply of essential commodities has been stopped and the people are starving. No food is being supplied to them! I would like to know whether the Government of India will try to see that this situation is eased and whether it will take concrete steps to send at least the essential commodi-

[Shri B. Satyanarayan Reddy] •  
ties, food and medicines and other things, to those people. Also, will the Government of India warn and categorically tell the Sri Lanka Government that it must immediately stop the bombing and terminate the blockade? If the Sri Lanka Government fails to do this, what concrete action is the Government of India going to take? We fail to understand now. Every time somebody will go there and negotiate and you will go on issuing statements, issuing Press statements and statements in this House. These statements are not going to have any effect on the Sri Lanka Government and you are also not going to solve the problem by making such statements. We would like to know whether any concrete action would be taken by the Government of India. It is for the Government of India to decide what action should be. But we would like to know what action will be taken. But the action must be such that it makes the Sri Lanka Government to come to its senses and solve this problem.

You see, there was an agreement between the then Government of Ceylon and the Government of India on the question of boundaries and there was an article in that agreement to the effect that the Indian fishermen and pilgrims will enjoy access to Kachchativu as hitherto and they will not be required by Sri Lanka to obtain travel documents or visas for these purposes. But this article has been violated and is being violated continuously by the Sri Lanka Government. Our fishermen have been harassed .... (Time bell rings) ... and they are arrested in large numbers. I think recently twelve of them were killed and I think many more might have died. What action has the Government of India taken against the violation of this article by the Sri Lanka Government? Day after day, Madam, the Sri Lanka Government is not only committing atrocities on the people there, but is also taking provocative actions. It is also not prepared to honour the agreement which it entered into with India. I would like to

make an appeal to Sri Lanka Government, because I read the speech delivered by President Jayewardene in the SAARC meeting at Bangalore. I have got a copy of it. I have forgotten to bring it. I wanted to read out from that. In that letter addressed to the Prime Minister of India he said that he is a votary of truth and non-violence, he is a follower of Mahatma Gandhi. When I read that he is such a 'good man', I thought how he can commit these atrocities. But in action he is quite a different man. By deceiving the mankind, by playing up the name of Mahatma Gandhi or advocating truth and non-violence but at the same time, a man who kills his own people by engaging the mercenaries of other countries—such a man cannot be a follower of Mahatma Gandhi; he cannot be a votary of truth and non-violence, he cannot be a follower of Mahatma Buddha. He has also said that he is a follower of Buddha. I would like to appeal to Mr. Jafewardene, and the Sri Lankan Government that if he believes in truth and non-violence, if he follows the principles preached by Mahatma Gandhi and Buddha, he should immediately stop blockading and killing innocent people and he should honour the dignity and prestige of the Sri Lankan Tamil people and accept their demands honourably and have peace in that part of the country.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Don't expect compassion from a man-eater.

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN (West Bengal): Madam, I will be briefly putting some questions to the hon. Minister. Now India is playing a mediatory role. But every day when we read the newspapers, about the killings of Sri Lankan population, particularly the civilian population, our hearts bleed for those who are in that way killed or butchered or in that way tortured. We are helpless, in fact. In fact, Madam, in the statement the Minister has mentioned about the December proposal and the Sri Lankan Government's volte-face on it later on and then our emissary, Mr. Dinesh Singh's offer to talk to Mr. Jayewardene. Now, I would

like to put a question to the hon. Minister. It is not a one-way traffic. Has the Government also consulted the militants, with whom the Government was in contact, whether they are also for a political solution? We are blaming the Sri Lankan Government, because the Sri Lankan Government is totally banking upon the belligerent elements in the Sri Lankan territory, that they are for a military solution. They talk of negotiations, they talk of political solution, but in the heart of their hearts they are bent upon a military solution. By this they want to have time so that they can launch an offensive against the militants and finish them. It is their actual motive. So I would like to know whether they have consulted the militants that they also are for political solution. If both sides are for a military solution, where do we stand? Where does India stand? What is the view of the militants, whether they are for a political solution, whether they are agreeable to it? If they are agreeable to it, then we can put severe pressure on the Sri Lanka Government for a political solution.

**SHRI V. GOPALSAMY:** Are you opposed to the armed struggle for a just cause?

**SHRI SUKOMAL SEN:** I support the armed struggle for a just cause. I am prepared for an armed struggle for some just purpose. But the point is whether they are for a political solution.

Another point, the last point is, that there are forces in Sri Lanka among the Sri Lankan people who want a democratic solution, who want political solution, and they are trying to mobilise public opinion in Sri Lanka, within Sri Lanka, for democratic solution. For example, Madam, there is the Communist Party in Sri Lanka; they are very much for political solution.

They are the trade unions which command both Sri Lanka and Tamil workers. They would like a political solution. I would like to know whether the Government is prepared to contact those democratic forces or they are trying to enlist the support of these people also. In their mediatory role, will India simply talk to Jayewardene and his belligerent people? If they do that, it will lead us nowhere. I feel that while talking to Jayewardene and the militants, we should also contact the other forces which are there in Sri Lanka and wanting a solution other than the military solution. Otherwise this problem will not come to an end. I would also like to know what transpired in the meeting between Dinesh Singh and Jayewardene. Is there any concrete proposal Jayewardene to Dinesh Singh? Has Dinesh Singh put forward any new proposals to Jayewardene? Nothing has been said about what transpired between them.

**SHRI V. RAMANATHAN** (Tamil Nadu): Madam, we are discussing it in a very sorrowful manner when the Sri Lankan Government is massacring the Tamilians. They are killing thousands and thousands of people by using all sorts of weapons from all the countries which are inimical to us and even from countries which claim to be our friends. They are getting arms and mercenaries from countries like the U.K., the U.S.A. and Pakistan. They are getting assistance from China, Belgium, Singapore and South Africa. They are getting all sorts of arms for wiping out the Tamil population in Sri Lanka. As other hon. Members have pointed out, we have taken so many trips to Ceylon and the Ceylon Government is sending its representatives here. They have talked many times, but no solution is there so far. We have not been able to arrive at any solution. What is the reason for it? Thousands of people are fleeing from Ceylon fearing arms, foreign mercenaries and armies. They are fleeing to so many countries like Canada, West Germany and India. The Tamils are suffering in Sri Lanka as well as in Canada, West Germany and other countries. At the same time, we are unable to solve this problem. Our own brothers are being killed. Our kith and kin are suffering and being killed

[Shri V. Ramanathan]

in Ceylon and we are not able to solve the problem. We claim that we are a big country and that we are a powerful non-aligned nation. We have got SAARC. We have got so many other institutions and we claim that we are one of the leading countries in the world. The Ceylonese Government is wiping out the Tamilian population.

What are our embassies doing in other countries? What are our diplomats doing in other countries? They should tell the outside world how the Ceylonese Government is massacring, killing and wiping out the Tamil race. We should make the Ceylon Government understand that we are a giant country. A small country with a small population is threatening us for the last so many years. They are killing so many thousands of our people and we are talking here and there. We are not able to come to any solution. Is this the way in which we are saving the Tamil people? The Tamil people are dying in Sri Lanka. It is not merely a sentimental feeling. No Tamil can be silent, no Tamil can tolerate it. It will have its own repercussions. In it will have repercussions here and there in India. It may go haywire. It may create a very big fire in India, not only in Tamil Nadu but all over the country. Therefore, we must take it as a caution. We must prove to Sri Lanka that India is a big country. They must be made to fear that India will one day teach a lesson to Sri Lanka. We must prove it. Further, the hon. Minister said about the 19th December proposals. That will not be sufficient. They have created economic blockade. There must be cessation of hostilities. They must withdraw the economic blockade. They must stop violations by the Armed forces. They must release all political prisoners. And they must send out the foreign mercenaries, the hired personnel from that country. Unless these things are completed, unless the foreign hired personnel are sent out from that country, the problem cannot be solved. There are mercenaries who are instigating, helping and aiding the Sri Lankan Government to wipe out the Tamil race. They are hired people. Un-

less the hired people are sent out, any number of rounds of talks you may have, we will not be successful in solving the problem. Therefore, as a pre-condition, the foreign hired personnel, the hired mercenaries must be sent out of that land. The Government of UK, the Government of USA and so many other countries are sending men and material. We must convince them not to help that country which is wiping out a race, which is making the people die there by shelling the residential places and temples and other places. We must convince them that unless these hired mercenaries are sent out of that land, this problem cannot be solved. Therefore, I may tell the Government that before proceeding further, we must ask the Sri Lankan Government to lift the economic blockade. In a deceptive manner, they are putting the fuel blockade. They are stopping the supply of rice. There is no free supply of materials to the general public. Innocent civilians are suffering. Therefore, withdrawal of the economic blockade, cessation of hostilities, release of political prisoners and sending out of hired mercenaries can only solve the problem. Therefore, we must take all steps to convince the Governments which are helping them with men and materials not to do that. Our close friends are there, countries which are having respect for democracy, for humanitarian feelings. We must convince all these Governments about what is happening there. We must create public opinion throughout the world against what is going on in Sri Lanka. We must tell them what the Sri Lanka Government is doing against the Tamil community. India cannot be a silent spectator. All sorts of atrocities are going on in Sri Lanka. Therefore, we must come forward with concrete steps to solve this problem with a time-bound programme. Otherwise we must show in what way we will solve the problem. We must prove it to Sri Lanka, we must prove it to the world, and we must solve the problem.

**SHRI JASWANT SINGH (Rajasthan):**  
(Madam, it is not easy to be the last speaker. Most of the things that had to be said on the subject...

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** There are others also.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I am the last but one...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There are still more.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Nevertheless, I continue to be unhappy that we are again having to discuss Sri Lanka. I seem to remember having discussed it in the last four years on so many different occasions, and so many previous speakers have already said most of the things that had to be said. Therefore, considering how bored everyone is in the attendance on this discussion, let me be very brief.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: You can take longer.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I am glad to hear it. Therefore, I will take longer.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, please. We will have to sit a little longer because we have some more speakers and it is already 1.25.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Madam Deputy Chairman, in examining this problem of Sri Lanka we have to examine the effectiveness of the Government of India's policy and the effectiveness of any policy, for that matter can only be measured against one criteria: What has it achieved? Has it been able to influence the situation and has it attained the stated aims of the policy? Then the other index of assessment is whether the more visible part of our policy, the conduct of our diplomacy, in this particular crisis, has it been marked by continuity, efficiency and coordinated ability? And then the third criteria will become whether we have prevented the difficulties of our neighbours from the partisan passions of foreign lands? Finally, have we been clear about what Indian national interests are involved, what national security issues are likely to be affected and have we in these respects attained our objectives.

The stated aim of the Government of India is clear. It wants a political solution to the problem and an early solution to the ethnic crisis in Sri Lanka and an end to human suffering. Have we attained any of these? Madam, I submit

very briefly that the original difficulty and the continuing difficulty lies in the fact that there is not a clear enough understanding; a clear and realistic enough understanding about the concept of power, thereafter a realistic enough understanding about the true nature of India's power and finally, in the ability to use that power to subserve our national interests. It is because of this difficulty that the government of India's policy in respect of Sri Lanka continues to flounder. Now, against this established criteria and stated aims, etc. what is the balance sheet, about bearing influence in Sri Lanka? The very fact that we are continuing to discuss it for the fourth year in succession and repeatedly, in every session, is clear demonstration of the fact that we have not been able to influence the situation. About the conduct of our diplomacy in this respect, Madam, that is where I am most saddened, I may say that the overriding impression is about lack of coordination and continuity. I come, therefore, to the latest mission to which a number of speakers have referred, Raja Dinesh Singhji's mission. Now, I would request the Hon. Minister, Kanwar Natwar Singhji, to clarify as to what was Raja Dinesh Singhji's mission to Sri Lanka. Was he sent as Hanuman or as Angad? Here I am faced with a real difficulty, a genuine difficulty, because some people from Rajasthan came to meet some Members of this Government and one of the members of the Government said, I do not know, they referred to Vibhishan, and a prominent member of this Government asked who this Vibhishan is that you are referring to. When it comes to Raja Dinesh Singhji's mission to Sri Lanka, there is a wonderful Hanu manstuti, which I am sure the Hon. Minister of State is well-versed with.

श्रंजनी नन्दनम् वीरम् जानकी शोक  
नाशनम् ।

कपि समक्षतारणम्, बन्दे लंका भञ्ज  
करजम् ।।

आपने श्री दिनेश सिंह जी को श्रीलंका भेजा । वे न तो जानकी का शोक हर सके और न दूसरा क.न. कर. दि. लंका इतनी भंजकर हैं कि यह कार्य श्री नहीं कर पाये । यह हम सबका निन्द

[Shri Jaswant Singh]

सिंह जी को कौन-सी उपाधि दें ? उनको हनुमान कहें या अंगद कहें, मंत्री जो इसको साफ कर दें तो हम समझ जाएंगे। क्योंकि दिक्कत यह होती है कि राज-धान से कुछ लोग इनके पास गये और इन्होंने वाकई यह बात कही। खैर, मैं आगे चलता हूँ।

The other criterion I spoke of was about insulating domestic policy from foreign passions ...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:

हनुमान जी ने आग लगाई थी, ये आग बुझाने के लिये गये थे।

SHRI JASWANT SINGH:

इसीलिये मैं पूछ रहा हूँ कि वे किस रूप में गये।

It is unfortunate. The latest example of the rail sabotage resulting in the death of so many persons goes again to show how we have failed in that respect. Have we safeguarded our national security interests? I am not very sure on that aspect. And also if one does not go to the extent of talking of our southern maritime territories to the days of the Portuguese well, the latest I can think of is, our southern maritime territories have never been the security concern of our country, at least not until after the end of the Second World War, and it is not a positive factor that on account of continuing ethnic crisis in Sri Lanka, our Southern maritime territories should also now be destabilised.

Madam, I have to conclude with one or two questions, but with an overriding impression that I am really not reassured that the handling of Sri Lankan ethnic crisis by the Government of India has demonstrated any great ability. The first clarification relates to December 19 proposals. Its political context the 'objective reality on the ground'—if one is to borrow the phrase from the hon. Minister's statement itself—since December 19 has changed beyond recognition. Therefore, when you continue to adhere to December 19 proposals, you

also simultaneously suggest that some kind of *status quo ante* be restored. And unless that *status quo ante*, unless that previously obtaining objective reality on the ground is restored, how do we resume negotiations, etc.? Therefore this is an aspect which is well worth clarifying.

The second aspect is about one unit formula. Hon. Minister's statement refers to it. What is Government of India's stand on one unit formula? Are you for unification of the two? Then, what is Government of India's attitude to the other Sri Lankan groups? Are you talking only about the LTTE or any other Sri Lankan groups?

Finally about proposal for humanitarian assistance to Jaffna. I know in the other House the hon. Minister stated that this option is still open. But the difficulty in Jaffna is continuing. So I want to know about humanitarian assistance to Jaffna. Thank you.

SHRI P. N. SUKUL (Uttar Pradesh): I am thankful to you for giving me the belated opportunity to speak on this very important subject...

AN HON. MEMBER : What about lunch break?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : We will have two Members to speak and then the Minister replies.

SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH : My reply will take about 20 minutes.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You can reply after lunch.

SHRI P. N. SUKUL : Shri Jaswant Singh seemed to have his own reservations about the success of our diplomacy and about the net result of our policy and mediation. For his information, I may say that our success lies in the fact that we have been able to persuade the militant Tamils to drop their demand for separate EELAM, within the parameters of

our own eternal policy which includes our own external policy which includes mutual regard and respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity of other countries. We have been able to persuade them to drop this demand altogether. Secondly, as announced by the hon. Minister today, we have been able to bring round Sri Lankan Government to December 19 proposals. Perhaps they are going to accept it in full. Madam, the ethnic violence in Sri Lanka has been a matter of grave and deepening concern for India since 1983 when, for the first time, the Sri Lankan Government launched a major offensive against the Tamils in Jaffna resulting in huge loss of life and property of Tamils. Thousands and thousands of Tamils had to flee from Sri Lanka from their homeland and come to Tamil Nadu. There is no denying the fact that during the last four years, thousands and thousands have been butchered. I have been told, the number of people killed in Sri Lanka is much more than those killed in South Africa. This is the situation. More than 2,000 Tamils were killed in just one year, in 1986. This gives an idea of the situation that exists today. Of course, in the last four months, because of aerial bombings and other military operations and finally because of the economic and communications blockade in Jaffna, things seem to have deteriorated like anything. But thank God. Now, the Sri Lankan Government has agreed to abide by the December 19 proposals. Besides other things the two major components of the December 19 proposals are: devolution of power and territorial adjustment to the benefit of the Tamils living there. I am sure both these things are going to prove satisfactory for the Tamil population and I earnestly hope that these proposals will go a long way to pacify the Tamils. Despite the unitary character of the Sri Lankan Constitution, the Tamils will now be able to enjoy real federal autonomy which they wanted and which they still want.

Therefore, the success of our diplomatic efforts, the success of our diplomats who have been trying to mediate to the best of their ability, lies in the fact that the Sri Lankan Government has been made to agree to these proposals. Now the question remains whether the Tamil militants, specially those of the LTTE are going to accept these proposals. Here, Madam, I will request my friends like Mr. Gopalsamy to make these persons agree to these proposals to make them come to the negotiating table....

**SHRI V. GOPALSAMY :** Mr. Sukul, I have expressed my opinion. Even the December 19 proposals cannot be accepted at all, as far as I am concerned.

**SHRI P. N. SUKUL :** It means you want a prolongation of the whole thing.

**SHRI V. GOPALSAMY :** You should know the details of the proposals. Then, you will understand.

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN :** No interruptions please.

**SHRI P. N. SUKUL :** If you want Tamil Eelam, if you want a separate Tamil State, it is a different thing. Government of India can never agree to that because of our policy within the parameters of our foreign policy. But short of that, this seems to be the best proposal. It seems, this has now been finally agreed to by the Sri Lankan Government. But Madam last time also, the Sri Lankan Government agreed to the proposals and within four days, they spurned the proposals.

**SHRI V. GOPALSAMY :** Within 24 hours.

**SHRI P. N. SUKUL :** Then, they unleashed a reign of terror and atrocities on our Tamil friends. Having agreed a second time, if they do it once again if they spurn the proposals once again...

**SHRI V. GOPALSAMY :** Where is the guarantee?

**SHRI P. N. SUKUL :** If they do it, our Government should reconsider the whole thing, review the whole thing. Here, I would like to have an assurance from the hon. Minister that the Government of India will take suitable action, proper action, to restore human rights to the Tamils and also to ensure that there is no further bloodshed because of the mischievous designs of the Sri Lankan Government.

Recently, I was in the last session of the Human Rights Commission that was held in Geneva and there was a resolution there on the Sri Lankan problem also. Somebody took the name of Argentina. Yes, Argentina moved the proposal. We were asked to move the proposal, but because we wanted to mediate because of our mediatory role, we did not make the proposal. So, there should be no misunderstanding on the point. But I must say that the behaviour of the Sri Lankan representative who was Mr. Hector Jayawardene, who is the younger brother of Mr. Jayewardene...

**SHRI V. GOPALSAMY :** Who came to India. He got a royal welcome here. Now you understand.

**SHRI P. N. SUKUL :** His speech was very sarcastic against India, very bad. In his speech he said that India had destroyed its credibility with the Sri Lankan Government and had no capacity to play the role of an honest broker... I have got the full speech.

**SHRI V. GOPALSAMY :** And now you understand. He got a royal welcome here.

**SHRI P. N. SUKUL :** We treated him as a friend, as our counterpart from Sri Lanka. But this is how he behaved. Of course, he was given a befitting reply. He was trying to display the case as if it was a case bet-

ween Sri Lanka and India. Next day, he gave a hunch and invited me. In the presence of those dignitaries I told him that had it been a bilateral issue, this matter would not have lingered on for four years, it would have been clinched in four days. I told him that we are trying to help you. Had it been a bilateral issue, India is so powerful that we could have clinched it within four days. So, that is the point. They are mischievous.

So I want an assurance from the hon. Minister that again if the Sri Lankan Government spurns these proposals and does not abide by them, that will be the fittest time for our intervention and most effective intervention. I hope our Government will be alive to the situation and will also be good enough to give this assurance to this House.

**SHRI MADAN BHATIA (Nominated):** Madam Deputy Chairman, I share the agony and the pain of the hon. Members over the plight of Tamilians in Sri Lanka. The question before this hon. House is as to what is the genesis of this ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. The genesis is total suppression and discrimination of Tamilians in Lanka since 1948. Their share in the civil services over three years was reduced from 30 per cent to 5 per cent. There was no recruitment of Tamilians in the Armed Forces of Sri Lanka. They were even denied the trading and the industrial licences.

And the worst of all through its disingenuous system of educational quota, their share of the higher education was reduced from 31 per cent to 16 per cent. And a most pernicious persistent policy was adopted to change the demography of eastern provinces by forcible plantation of Sinhalese in place of the Tamilians. This was the position when Jayawardene issued a manifesto of his party in 1977. In his manifesto he said that I would convene a meeting of all the parties to

find a solution to the ethnic problem. Six years passed after he came into power and nothing happened. And the whole situation exploded and blew into his face. There was a massacre of Tamilians in 1983. And even those stateless persons who had been given the guarantee of citizenship under the Sirimavo-Shastri Agreement did not escape the holocaust. What is the basic postulate of India's foreign policy so far as Sri Lanka is concerned? The basic postulate of India's policy towards Sri Lanka is that there should be a united, stable, non-aligned Sri Lanka, free all ethnic conflicts. Free from all ethnic conflicts because there cannot be a peaceful, stable and non-aligned Sri Lanka unless the Tamilian people in Sri Lanka are guaranteed their basic human rights as full-fledged citizens of Sri Lanka. With this policy of the Government, I can find no exception. The question today before this hon. House is, with the situation which is continuing to develop in Sri Lanka, what are the options open to the Government of India? India stands for united Sri Lanka. India stands for the rights of the people of Tamilian origin. But India's options are not merely closed by having negotiations with one party or with the other party. I respectfully submit, Madam, that the induction of foreign military advisers from countries which are not very friendly with India has not only escalated the military situation in Sri Lanka, has not only encouraged Jayawardene to find a military solution of the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka, but has created a very disturbing situation so far as security of India on the southern fringe is concerned. Has India got an option to deal with a situation such as this under the international law? I respectfully submit, the Government of India has the right within the international law by way of anticipatory right of self-security to put Sri Lankan Government on alert as against the induction of the foreign military advisers and foreign military elements into Sri Lanka.

This was the situation which confronted Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, over Nepal in 1950. When King Tribhuvan took refuge in the Embassy of India, the Prime Minister of Nepal installed a three year old boy on the throne and there was a danger that in this internal crisis, he would invite foreign assistance. It was this doctrine of anticipatory self-security which was invoked by Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru and he declared to the world and all those elements within Nepal which were intending to induct foreign elements into Nepal thus—and I quote Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru:

"We are not going to tolerate any person coming over that barrier. Therefore much as we appreciate the independence of Nepal, we cannot risk our own security by any thing going wrong in Nepal which permits either that barrier to be crossed, or otherwise weakens our frontier. India did not like and did not propose to like any foreign interference."

That option is open to us and it is high time that we should make a declaration on the same lines so far as the existence of the foreign military elements in Sri Lanka is concerned.

Secondly, let us assume that Shri Jayawardene decides to find a military solution: he bombards his own civilian population, he tries to starve his own citizens. Whether India has got any other option under the international law to intervene. I respectfully submit, yes. International law recognizes the right of a State to intervene on humanitarian grounds to put an end to barbarism and cruelty by a State against its own nationals.

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: That we did in East Pakistan.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: I am respectfully submitting, the first situation which arose like this in the history of the world was in 1827 when the people of Greece were massacred by Turkey. Britain and France joined

[Shri Madan Bhatia]

hands together to put an end to the massacre of the people of Greece at the hands of Turkey. Oppenheim, the famous international law expert, says:

"The Charter of the United Nations in recognizing the promotion of respect for fundamental rights and freedoms as one of the principal objects of the organization marks a further step in the direction of elevating the principle of humanitarian intervention to a basic rule of organized international society. ... This is so although the Charter itself expressly rules out intervention in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the State."

Another such situation arose in the 19th century, that is, when the Christians in the district of Lebanon were massacred. Then all the countries of Europe joined hands together to put an end to the massacre of Christians in the district of Lebanon and a famous international authority on international law again says:

"An intervention to put a stop to barbarous and abominable cruelty is a question of policy rather than of law. When in 1860 the Great Powers of Europe intervened to put a stop to the persecution and massacre of Christians in the district of Mt. Lebanon their proceedings were worthy of commendation."

If the situation on the ground does not change, if the poor Tamilian civilian population is massacred by bombardment from the air by its own Government, if the Tamilian population is starved to death by denial of the basic amenities to the population, the Government of India, under the international law, has the right to intervene and must intervene.

Thirdly, has the Government of India any other right under the international law to intervene? We must not forget that in the Central Highlands lakhs of people are there who are covered by the Sirmavo Shastri agreement. They are also Tamilians. As I have stated earlier, they fell

within the holocaust of 1983 which was primarily, no doubt, directed against the Tamilians in Jaffna. A similar fallout can at any time again rope them in. But who are those people? One segment of those people are those who, under this agreement, have been promised — it is an international agreement between India and Ceylon — Sri Lankan citizenship. There are those who have to be repatriated to India and have to be given Indian citizenship under the international law. So far as the second category, at least, is concerned, they will be treated as Indian nationals. It is the basic right of every nation to protect its nationals, wherever they are. I quote, in this regard; another authority on international law, You Brownley. He says:

"The right of intervention is linked to a concept of nationality which has not received any definition in international law. It is assumed that some substantial link should exist between State and an individual before the latter can be regarded as a national. There is little precision to be found in law."

But the basic postulate is a substantial link between the individual who is being persecuted and the State which seeks to intervene. Can we say that there is no substantial link between those individuals who are covered by this international agreement and India? It is impossible even to ask that. What are the limits of intervention? I must place them on record. The same authority mentions these limitations. They are:

(1) Imminent threat of injury to the national.

(2) Failure or inability on the part of the territorial sovereign to protect them.

(3) The measures of protection should be directly confined to the object of protecting them against injury.

Therefore, Madam, I would like to ask only two or three questions from the hon. Minister. They are:

(1) Will the 19th December, 1986 proposals, if they are accepted, ensure

elimination of the genesis of the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka and in what manner?

(2) Will India consider making a declaration on the same lines on which Jawaharlal Nehru made the declaration in 1950 with regard to the crisis in Nepal?

(3) Will India make it clear to Mr. Jayewardene that India is not without options under the international law if he persists in finding a military solution?

(4) Will India impress upon the Tamilians militants that a united Sri Lanka, a stable Sri Lanka and a non-aligned Sri Lanka is not only good for them but it is the national imperative of India because India's experience is that a disintegrated country becomes a hotbed of international intrigues, and India cannot afford to have international intrigues in a disintegrated Sri Lanka, on its southern fringe.

Thank you.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Matto, Two minutes.

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO (Jammu and Kashmir): Madam Deputy Chairman, I agree with the Hon. Minister when he says that the ethnic crisis in Sri Lanka is a matter of serious concern to all of us in all parts of the country. Everybody over here is concerned. Mr. Gopal-samy and my friend, Mr. Bhatia, have given a lucid illustration of how our Tamil brothers are being persecuted over there. While I agree with the hon. Minister that there can be no solution through military means as far as possible, I would request him to elucidate with regard to the visit of Shri Dinesh Singh, which he has not done in the statement. He has stated:

"...the Prime Minister sent Shri Dinesh Singh as his personal emissary to meet President Jayewardene to express our grave concern about the situation. He also impressed upon him the need for a political solution."

What was the reaction of the Sri Lankan Government? What did they tell Shri Di-

nesh Singh precisely about the mission on which he had gone? This has not been clarified, and this may be clarified.

The second point I want to ask is with regard to the blockade against Jaffna. My friend, Mr. Bhatia has stated that in Jaffna our own Tamilians live there. The blockade is there, and our Tamilians brothers are suffering. Not taking into consideration a military option which they have, as Mr. Bhatia has stated, will this limited option of ending the blockade be exercised by the Government of India in the foreseeable future?

These are the questions that I wanted to ask. Thank you, Madam.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The hon. Minister desires to speak right now, reply right now. After that we will adjourn.

SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH: If it is convenient to the hon. Members,

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO: Yes, yes.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Does not matter.

2.00 P.M.

SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH: We have had a debate of a high order in which Members from all sections of the House have expressed their views on the very tragic and grave issue that we are confronting in Sri Lanka.

Before I come to the various points raised by the hon. Members, may I, with your permission make a few preliminary remarks in addition to what I said in my opening statement?

First, any solution—and we are all in favour of a political solution—must take to account the unity, sovereignty and integrity of Sri Lanka. We made this clear even to our Tamil friends and we have said that the option they are presenting would lead to the dismemberment of a neighbouring non-aligned country, an event which is fraught with grave consequences and danger as has been pointed

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out in Shri Bhatia's memorable intervention a few moments ago.

Second, the proposals that Shri Chidambaram and I brought with us on the 19th of December are not India's proposals. They are the proposals given by the President of Sri Lanka. We were to convey these proposals to the Tamil groups on our return to India. Why this has not happened I have already stated in my opening remarks. It was because the Sri Lanka authorities went back on at least a portion of those proposals.

Third, I would like to say in all humility because I share the anguish and the anxiety and the concern of the hon. Members—I cannot honestly go along with the anger of Prof. Gopalsamy. His intervention generated more heat than light, if I may respectfully say so. We have to look at this issue in a mature, balanced and restrained manner as a responsible Government and as a responsible and mature people.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Your showing of light and restraint has so far witnessed killings. I am saying this because you said my arguments generated only heat, not light. But I want to put it on record that your restraint which has not shown light all these years has witnessed killings.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have not allowed you to speak.

SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH: I understand the hon. Member's anguish, feelings and passions, but what I am trying to say is that one can be hard on facts and be soft on words and yet convey one's message gently, firmly and clearly. This is what we intend to do. And as I said in the other House words and language are themselves a weapon which are available to this House, to the hon. Members, to diplomats and the statesmen the world over. Ideas become forces because of the words and language. It is easy to get angry, but it is difficult to be restrained. Therefore, I would like to be soft on words not because we do not share the anxiety, the pain, the sorrow...

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I cannot accept that from you. I cannot.

SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH: ...of the people who are suffering.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I cannot expect that concern from you.

SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH: We will go on trying. You are entitled to your views. Unfortunately I do not share them. Now, we have been asked what is the Government of India doing. On the one hand, it has been said that we are following—if I remember the phrase correctly of respected, distinguished hon. Member, Shri Gurupadaswamy who was himself in the Government—a lame duck policy; on other hand we are not doing enough to counteract Western press about what they say, our interference in Sri Lanka affairs. I am trying to reconcile these two. From 1983 onwards, Sri Lankans have asked us for our good offices. We have offered these good offices and a number of proposals have been made and they have not worked not because we did not want them to work, they were not acceptable to Tamil groups. Meetings were held in Sri Lanka, meetings were held in Delhi and meetings were held in Thimpu. But I will come to the proposal of 19th December. I do not want to take much time of the House on what has been said in the past.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: You said that the proposals were not accepted by the Tamil groups. When you say something or utter even a word you should be very cautious. Even a word will tilt the balance. The Prime Minister himself will not like such words.

SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH: First of all I am not yielding. As I said earlier, I would like to choose my words very carefully unlike the distinguished Member. What I said was that some of the proposals in the past were not acceptable. I am not going to that. Now the proposals that were brought on the 19th December, the objective was that we should convey to the Tamil groups. But before we could do so, the Sri Lankan Government had some reservations on the proposals which they themselves have made. So what could we have taken to the Tamil groups—that here are the proposals which are in part acceptable to Sri Lankan Government? Naturally there could be no basis for any

negotiations. As I have said in my statement, certain events have occurred as a consequence of which the Sri Lankan Government took some action. This action was to have a blockade of Jaffna. Who suffered in that blockade? Only innocent Tamils, men, women, old people and children. This blockade continued and a situation was being created which was going to be extremely serious. For this particular purpose, the Prime Minister sent Mr. Dinesh Singh, to show our grave concern about the situation in Jaffna area. As I said in the other House yesterday, there has been some indication of unwinding of the economic blockade. There has been some reduction in the intensity of the military activity. Now we have to watch this very carefully because if any solution has to be arrived at or if any political settlement has to be arrived at, it is essential that we must have the agreement of Sri Lankan Government. This is what we are working for. Here I would like to say that in diplomacy even modest progress reserves highest respect. We cannot expect overnight change. There is a history to it. Honourable Members have referred to it. Now, we are hoping that the military activities will be completely stopped; the blockade will be completely lifted. Then we will convey these proposals to the Tamil groups and request them to have a very good look at them because in our judgement these proposals need serious examination, serious consideration by the Tamil groups. This is what our attempt will be.

Madam, one or two points that worried the hon. Members were, why the Government of India is unable to stop some of the actions of the Sri Lankan Government and whether our High Commission and our Embassies abroad have taken enough initiatives and exerted themselves sufficiently. I can assure that both we in Delhi with the Sri Lankan High Commission and our High Commissioner in Colombo have been sparing no effort to keep the Sri Lankan Government informed about what is happening. At the Human Rights Commission, our delegation consists of Mr. Sukul and Mr. Virendra Patil. A resolution was adopted at Geneva at

Human Rights Commission for the first time and it was accepted by every Member present and whatever Sri Lankan authorities might say, the fact remains that it was a moral defeat for them. Now, we want that the Government of Sri Lanka should adhere to those proposals of the 19th December so that we can go ahead with our good offices. We have stopped these good offices because after the 19th December, as I said earlier, the Sri Lankan Government have had some reservations. Thereafter, they sent one of their Ministers here Mr. Dissanayake, who met me, met Mr. Chidambaram and we asked him, are you adhering to the proposals of the 19th December or not? I said unless you are going to unwind your blockade and relieve the difficulties, miseries, sorrows and anxieties of the Tamil population and reduce your military activities there, how do you expect the Tamil groups to come and have a discussion either with you or with us? I regret to say that there was no satisfactory answer.

We conveyed this to the President of Sri Lanka. I spoke to him on the telephone twice myself. Our High Commissioner met him a number of times. We conveyed certain messages to him in the month of February that we would like to resume the negotiating process provided these things are done. Yet when the situation in Jaffna reached a stage that it had a few days ago, the Prime Minister said, let us, first of all, look at this particular problem and he sent Shri Dinesh Singh. He has come back after the discussion with the President of Sri Lanka and has conveyed it to the Prime Minister and in the last 48 hours or more, we have seen some alteration. We are observing it, we are watching it, it our sincere hope, it is our desire, it is our prayer that what has been told to us will in fact be put into practice so that we can re-start the negotiating process and take these proposals to the Tamil groups. We are convinced, Madam, that the only lasting solution, and I want to repeat this and labour this point, can be arrived at through negotiations, through discussions because alternatives have very vague and serious consequences and as hon. Members have said that the security environment in the seas and waters around Southern India, around Sri Lanka is not what it

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was and not what we would like it to be and therefore the meddling of outside powers, not entirely friendly to India is naturally a grave concern to us and to our security and we are keeping a very watchful eye on what is going on. We are also making every possible effort to have a peaceful political solution to this problem but that does not depend on us entirely. It depends upon the Sri Lankan Government and we have appealed to them more than once with all the emphasis at our command, as a Government. They are aware of the consequences. I do not want to go beyond this but as hon. Members have said, there are over 50 million Tamilians living in Tamil Nadu. They have relations who live in Sri Lanka. They cannot possibly be indifferent to the sufferings of these people. And when fifty million people of India are concerned about a particular event in Sri Lanka, then the whole of India is concerned about it, then the whole of India shares that anguish, their sorrow, their anxiety. We are in touch with the Tamil Nadu Government. I have on a number of occasions had meetings with the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu. We want to take everybody together in this exercise, all sections of the House, to arrive at a solution so that this agony of Sri Lanka is a thing of the past.

**SHRI V. GOPALSAMY:** When certain people become blind, they cannot see any light at all.

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** We will now adjourn for lunch and meet at 3.00 P.M.

The House then adjourned for lunch at sixteen minutes past two of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at one minute past three of the clock, the Deputy Chairman in the Chair.

**RESOLUTION RE. APPROVAL OF RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE RAILWAY CONVENTION COMMITTEE. 1985—Contd.**

**THE BUDGET (RAILWAYS) 1987-88  
GENERAL DISCUSSION—Contd.**

## THE APPROPRIATION (RAILWAYS) Bill, 1987

The Appropriation (Railways) No.  
Bill, 1987

## THE APPROPRIATION (RAILWAYS) NO. 3 BILL, 1987

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** The Appropriation (Railways) Bills will now be discussed together. The Minister, Mr. Scindia, to move the motion.

**THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF RAILWAYS (SHRI MADHAVRAO SCINDIA):** Madam, I beg to move:

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of India for the services of the financial year 1987-88 for the purposes of Railways, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

Madam, I also beg to move:

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain further sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of India for the services of the financial year 1986-87 for the purposes of Railways, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

Madam, I also beg to move:

"That the Bill to provide for the authorisation of appropriation of moneys out of the Consolidated Fund of India that the amounts spent on certain services for the purposes of the Railways during the financial year ended on the 31st day of March, 1985, in excess of the amounts granted for those services and for that year, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

*The questions were proposed.*

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** We shall now have a combined discussion on these Bills and also on the Rail-