

[Shri Sitaram Kesri]

(iv) Statement No. XIII-Hundred Twenty-ninth Session, 1984.
[Placed in Library. See No. LT-2051/86]

(v) Statement No. XII-Hundred Thirtieth Session, 1984
[Placed in Library. See No. LT-2052/86]

(vi) Statement No. XI-Hundred Thirty-first Session, 1984.
[Placed in Library. See No. LT-2053/86]

(vii) Statement No. VIII-Hundred Thirty-second Session, 1985.
[Placed in Library. See No. LT-2054/86]

(viii) Statement No. VII-Hundred Thirty-third Session, 1985.
[Placed in Library. See No. LT-2055/86]

(ix) Statement No. V-Hundred Thirty-fourth Session, 1985
[Placed in Library. See No. LT-2056/86]

(x) Statement No. IV-Hundred Thirty-fifth Session, 1985.
[Placed in Library. See No. LT-2057/86]

(xi) Statement No. II-Hundred Thirty-sixth Session, 1985.
[Placed in Library. See No. LT-2058/86]

Report and Accounts (1984-85) of the Mazagon Dock Limited, Bombay and related papers.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENCE PRODUCTION AND DEFENCE SUPPLIES (SHRI SUKH RAM): 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 619-A of the Companies Act, 1956:—

(i) Annual Report and Accounts of the Mazagon Dock Limited, Bombay, 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.

(ii) Statement by Government accepting the above Report.

II. Statement (in English and Hindi) giving reasons for the delay in laying the papers mentioned at (i) above. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-2019/86 for I and II.]

Calling Attention to A Matter of Urgent Public Importance

The situation arising out of the non-settlement of the ethnic problem of Tamils in Sri Lanka and reported attacks on Indian Fishing Boats by Sri Lankan Armed Forces.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, we will take up Calling Attention.

श्री प्यारे लाले खंडेलवाल (मध्य प्रदेश) :
हम लोगों ने एक सप्ताह से विशेषाधिकार का नोटिस दिया हुआ है हम जानना चाहते हैं कि उसका क्या हुआ ? इस सम्बन्ध में आपकी रुचि जानना चाहते हैं :

MR. CHAIRMAN: You will get a reply.

Now Mr. V. Gopalsamy. Absent.
Next Mr. Bhandare.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE (Maharashtra): Sir, I beg to call the attention of the Minister of External Affairs to the situation arising out of the non-settlement of the ethnic problem of Tamils in Sri Lanka and reported attacks on Indian fishing boats by Sri Lankan Armed forces and the steps taken by the Government in this regard.

[Mr. Deputy Chairman in the chair.]

THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI B. R. BHAGAT): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, Government is gravely concerned over the crisis in Sri Lanka, a close neighbour with whom India has traditionally had close and cordial ties. The Sri Lankan crisis is a political one; it can only be resolved through political means. This will depend on the willingness of the Government of Sri Lanka to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the Tamil population of Sri Lanka through the devolution of appropriate powers within the framework of Sri Lanka's unity, through legislative means and executive decisions that would redress the long standing grievances of the minorities.

The Government of India is convinced that there can be no military solution to this problem. We have extended our good offices to the Government of Sri Lanka, to assist in the negotiations between the parties to the dispute. In spite of many difficulties and obstacles, these negotiations are continuing.

The most serious and distressing result of the continuing crisis is the cycle of violence which has taken a heavy toll of the lives and property of innocent Sri Lankan civilians. This has reached dangerous proportions and, as a result, the gulf between the Sri Lankan Tamils and their government continues to widen. The crisis has had severe repercussions of India, as 125,000 refugees from Sri Lanka have sought sanctuary in our country. The Government of India hopes and urges that the crisis in Sri Lanka will be resolved through constructive political negotiations, and that conditions will be reached that would permit the early return of these refugees to Sri Lanka in honour and safety. The Government of India accord very high priority to this objective.

There have been reports of attacks on Indian fishing boats by the Sri Lankan navy and Government views these with concern. The facts of the cases reported in the press are however being ascertained Members

may rest assured that the Coast Guard and naval authorities have been given clear directions to ensure the safety of the Indian fisherman operating in Indian waters and to prevent intrusions into Indian waters. No attacks on Indian fishing boats inside Indian waters will be tolerated. Coast Guard ships on patrol are under directions to maintain utmost vigilance and to intensify night patrols. A Coast Guard station at Mandapam provides logistic support to Coast Guard ships operating in Palk Bay and close liaison with Tamil Nadu Government authorities in Rameswaram. The Sri Lankan authorities have stated that Indian fishermen regularly cross into Sri Lankan waters. It is invariably difficult to ascertain the exact position of fishing vessels. We have conveyed to the Sri Lankan authorities that in case of inadvertent crossing of the maritime boundary our fishermen should be dealt with in a humane manner.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: Mr. Deputy Chairman, the new year has arrived with very gloomy prospect so far as the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka between the Sinhalese and the Tamilians is concerned and it does appear that whatever may be professed by President Jayewardene, he says one thing and does the opposite. I have had the privilege to participate in the debate on this issue and on every occasion, I have expressed my grave reservations and doubts on the intentions of the Sri Lankan Government and President Jayewardene and I am not too happy and what I had said has come true because that only leads to the aggravation of a difficult situation, to the aggravation of genocide of Tamilians, particularly the civilian Tamilians and this is a situation which is indeed very serious. Of late, on 16th February, 1986, there was a report of an Indian boat being burnt. On 13th February, 1986, there was another report of an Indian vessel being sunk. Now, the Minister has given an explanation but on my part, I do not find it really satisfactory because if we are really asking our coas-

[Shri Murlidhar Chandrakant Bhandare]

tal guards and other agencies which he has referred to in his statement to remain vigilant. I do not see how these incidents could have ever occurred and our fishermen would have lost the safety and protection to which they are entitled. It only shows a certain amount of determination on the part of the Sri Lankan Government to deal with the problem as a military solution and not as a political solution. I think, it is this aspect which has to be reversed particularly by our Government. I have had occasion to meet last August Mr. Lalit Atulathmudali, the Security Minister of Sri Lankan Government in Geneva and an impression which I got and which I conveyed at that time was that settling this problem in Sri Lanka was only India's business and that Sri Lanka had nothing to do with it and in so many words, he told we are looking to Prime Minister Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, to do something in the matter. And I had to immediately enter a strong caveat and tell him that it was not India's problem but it was Sri Lanka's problem. Therefore, it is all the more necessary for India to take a very positive and, if necessary, a tough stand on this issue that Sri Lanka must be very positive and specific in finding a political solution to this problem. Because the problem is political, the solution must be political.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE (West Bengal) What do you mean by a "tough" stand? Can you elaborate on that?

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: Yes, I will tell you. Recent events have shown that President Jayewardene is determined to have a military solution and not a political solution. I have said in the past that this problem apparently concerns a few millions, maybe three or four millions in Sri Lanka, but it is far more serious than that. It is even more serious than the Punjab problem because today it affects 55 million Tamilians in Tamil Nadu and we cannot

ignore their feelings. We cannot ignore their distress over what is happening there. What has been very significantly pointed out in the hon. Minister's statement is that today we have as many as one lakh and twenty-five thousand refugees in Tamil Nadu. Now it is the first principle in any international law, the principle on *non refoulement*, that it is an obligation to return all these refugees to their motherland with an assurance of full safety and protection of their property and person. That is the responsibility of the Government itself. So I want the Government to take a very firm stand and to see that a situation is created within Sri Lanka which ensures safety not only for those who are living there but also for these 25,00 refugees who are to be returned to Sri Lanka. There is no reason at all for the Sri Lankan Government not to reach a political solution within the framework of the four demands which they have put forward. It is package deal. But the response of the Sri Lankan Government has been really very disappointing. And the Minister Mr. Thondaman who came talked of the award way back in 1964, when things have changed so much and when there is also a systematic attempt at disturbing the population balance. In the eastern province, you find that the Muslims are being systematically driven out and as many as a lakh Sinhalese have been put in that province since 1981. This is all to defeat their just demands and to evade a fair and equitable political solution of the problem. I am pointing this out because I would like the Government to know that unless it is determined to push through a political solution, there is no possibility of President Jayewardene or the Sri Lankan Government doing anything on its own in the matter. I would like particularly to ask the hon. Minister as to the details of the reported 57-page response to the proposal submitted by the TULF. This is a very serious, very grave human rights problem. And international human rights organisations like Amnesty International Commission of Jurists have

repeatedly, not once or twice but repeatedly, condemned and found Sri Lanka guilty of the most heinous and the most serious violations of human rights and a brutal killing and brutal reprisals of the Tamilians in Sri Lanka. I think it is the duty of all who cherish liberty, of all who endear basic human rights and fundamental freedom to see that such a situation is changed. Therefore, I would like to ask the honourable Minister the following questions: (1) What is this 57-page response, if there has been any response at all? (2) What steps is the Government taking to ensure the safe return of these refugees and for an early political solution of the problem?

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM (Tamil Nadu): Sir, going through the statement of the honourable Minister of External Affairs I came across certain important points with regard to certain issues. Even the previous speaker has pointed out something about Indian Tamilians. It is not an issue of Tamilians. It is an issue of the Tamilians of Indian origin in Ceylon. Even our Minister has said that it is a political one. Secondly, he has said about innocent Sri Lankan civilians. It is not innocent Sri Lankan civilians. It is innocent Sri Lankan Indians, because 'civilians' means both Sinhalese and Indians. It is clearly about Sri Lankan Indians, not Sri Lankan civilians. The Minister has also said that they are going to negotiate with the Sri Lankan Government to settle ethnic conditions prevailing in Sri Lanka. The Tamils in Jaffna are living in a state of constant fear and panic, not for the past one year or two years' they have been living for the past three hundred years. Especially during the past three-four years not a single day has passed without our discussing the issue on the floor of Parliament; not only in Parliament, but on every forum of this nation we are discussing about the present situation of Sri Lankan Indians. What exactly is the action going to be taken by the Government of India? The Prime

Minister the other day said in Parliament that it is an international issue, that we are not in a position to take direct action, that we can do something only through political negotiation. How long are you going to take for political negotiations? Whenever anybody comes from Bangla Desh or Pakistan you say that it is an Indian problem. Whenever anything happens in Sri Lanka you say that it is an Indian Tamil Problem. Isn't it an Indian problem? We raised this issue so many times. What exactly are the steps being taken by the Government of India? The Prime Minister as also the External Affairs Minister said that it is a fight between militants and terrorists. No, this is not a fight between militants and terrorists. It is not a fight between militants and civilians in Sri Lanka. It is a fight of the civilian Indians in Sri Lanka. Just a week ago a hundred innocent people were killed. Just two days ago 125 were killed. The army has forcibly entered the precincts of a church and arrested more than 300 persons who were offering their prayers. In the course of a military offensive nearly 150 Tamils have been killed in Killinochi and Trincomalee and one or two other important places. Also the Sri Lankan Government has increased its present budget for defence by nearly Rs. 5.8 crores. When that is the situation what is the action the Government taking with regard to solving this problem? I can tell you the enormity of the atrocities being committed on the Sri Lankan Indians, how the Tamils are killed and their ladies are subjected to violence and rape. When the Sinhalese army was attacking a Tamilian lady, in a bid to protect herself, wanted to show that she was not a Tamilian but only a Sinhalese erased the tilak from her forehead. She had to erase her tilak mark on her forehead and say, "I am not a Tamilian; I am not an Indian; I am only a Sinhalese.". This is what she had to do. Such things are going on in Sri Lanka. What about the affected persons? What is the Government

[Shri R. Mohanaragam]

going to do about the innocent fishermen? The innocent fishermen were shot dead. They were captured by the Sri Lankan Navy even when they were within the Indian jurisdiction, that is, when they were in the Indian territorial waters. They were caught by Sri Lankan Navy and they were arrested and only afterwards they were released. Unless a peaceful accord is reached on this issue, I personally feel that the Indian race will be definitely erased from the Sri Lankan soil. President Jayewardene says that he is treating it as a political issue and he is not treating it as a military question. But, after some time, he says on the floor of the Parliament in Sri Lanka that it is not a political issue, that he is not going to treat it as a political issue, but he is going to take it up as a military issue only. By the time he talked about this in such a way more than 375 people were killed. The next day his utterance in the Sri Lankan Parliament was about the military settlement of the issue. Our Minister also has stated about the qualities of Mr. Bhandari our Foreign Secretary, and he has mentioned about his talents and about his abilities. He is the fittest person and I agree on this and I do not have a second opinion about it, about the ability and efficiency of Mr. Bhandari. Otherwise how can he be there for the past thirty-five years or so in the Indian Foreign Service? But what exactly is your intention? What is your feeling on this issue? Sir, just now my friend, Shri Bhandare, spoke on this issue and he has made very good points. But he was speaking as if he was speaking in a court of law, as if he was arguing in an ordinary criminal case. He was speaking like that only. He was speaking all right, but he was speaking without any emotion. He was not in a position to speak with emotion. Why? Because he does not have that feeling. That is natural. When I speak about the Tamilians, about those people from that part of India, I will have a particular feeling and I would say that the Government should come forward and

take necessary steps to solve the problem at once. Is it not a fact, Mr. Minister, that just two months ago, in the month of November, I spoke on the same issue in this very same House and asked what exactly the Indian Government was doing, what exactly were the steps which the Indian Government was taking, to stop the killings of the Tamilians in Sri Lanka? (*Time bell rings*). You said then, "We have taken steps and everything will be stopped. We are confident that President Jayewardene will settle the problem amicably. It is a political problem." But what has happened after that, after two-and-a-half months or so, after your statement in this Parliament? More than 1850 persons have been killed. What is your answer to this? There is inordinate delay and every day of delay in solving this problem means our losing more than fifteen to twenty Indians in Sri Lanka. They may be Indians but they are all from my part of the country. So, what action are you going to take? Have you ever taken any concrete steps, have you ever taken any concrete action, to solve this problem? Mr. Hector Jayewardene came here. That is all right. Have you spoken to President Jayewardene? He says that he will have talks with the TULF and they say that they will not do anything that would destroy the unity of the country. They say that the rules and regulations under the Constitution are such that they make it a unitary one. But the next day he says that he is not going to solve this problem and that all the Tamils will bear rested and sent out of the country. On another day, Sir, he says that if the Indian army invades Sri Lanka and arrests him, he will see that when they arrest him the entire Tamil population will be wiped out. What is your answer to this? You have given your answer for the Navy's attitude towards our innocent Indian fishermen. But what exactly is your answer to this utterance or speech of President Jayewardene on the floor or Sri Lankan Parliament? He says that if you send the Indian Army there, the entire Tamil population would

he wiped out in Sri Lanka? What is your answer to this? What action have you taken or are you going to take?

You see, Mr. Edward Kennedy, the American Senator, has also pointed out that a separate Eelam is the only solution to this problem. I am not going to speak on the merits and demerits of the question of a separate Eelam. But you should be able to say, "If they want a separate Eelam, let it be given to them. This can be done by sending the Army. If you don't give, we will not keep quiet." They should be able to say this. Such a conviction our Indian Government is not at all possessing and they are not having and they do not have because they are not worried about the killings there. They can only say that they are very much concerned about this and that they have discussed this with them. He told me this and that and by the time you say this and that, they kill more than a hundred persons there in Sri Lanka. What is your concrete action? If hundreds of Punjabis are killed in South Africa, or London, if hundreds of Bengalis are killed somewhere, if some persons belong to a region other than Tamil Nadu are killed, you will not keep quiet. Will you keep quiet? That is 20,000 miles away from this area. Kindly take heart. Think about this country. From the Himalayas up to the sacred waters of Kanyakumari we are all one. They are Indians... (Time bell rings) Sir, I am from that part of the country—like you. (Interruptions)

AN HON. MEMBER: Every second hundreds are being killed.

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM: Now, Sir, as I said, this is not a question of Jayawardene *versus* Indians. This is a question of army *versus* civilians there. These army people went into Jaffna, the heartland of the Tamilians, and without saying what is there, who is who, just killed more than 575 persons without asking them, who they were. They

were all poor agriculturists. Will you keep quiet if your sisters, brothers or kith like this are killed? You will not keep quiet. They may be thousands of miles away somewhere in South Africa, London or somewhere else. They are our people—only 20 miles difference. If 20 miles water of the Indian Ocean is wiped off, that land will be ours. Ninety per cent people in the northern part of Ceylon are Indians. Once it was a part and parcel of India. Kindly think about that. They increased the Budget, Defence budget, by more than 7 millions. They have invited the Americans and they are giving them training. President Zia went there and he has assured that he would give training for the Home Guards.

What have you done for the Indians there? At least you have sent some crores of rupees for the day-to-day maintenance of our Indian refugees. But we have not given anything for the Indians in Ceylon who are oppressed by the Sri Lankan Government.

I would, therefore, ask specific questions.

What concrete action are you taking about it? Please don't tell me that you are taking political action. Kindly tell me what concrete steps, in consultation with the Prime Minister, you have taken to solve this problem. What have you spoken to Mr. Dixit who came from Sri Lanka two days back? What is the exact stage at which the matter stands at present? What is your solution for this? Kindly tell us so that we will have some answer to intimate to our people. They are responsible for this atmosphere in Tamil Nadu. Already we have lost the election. Let us not face it afterwards.

श्री सुरेश पचौरी (मध्य प्रदेश): माननीय उपसभापति जी, मैं आपका आभारी हूँ कि श्रीलंका में तमिलों के साथ जो नरसंहार हो रहा है, ताण्डव नृत्य हो रहा है, उस चौकाने वाले

[श्री सुरेश पचौरी]

विषय पर मुझे बोलने का आपने मौका दिया है। पिछले लम्बे अरसे से श्रीलंका के उत्तरी क्षेत्र में तमिलों के साथ काफी अत्याचार हो रहा है। अभी पिछले दिनों एक कैथोलिक प्रीस्ट्स की टीम वहां गई थी। जो फादर चन्द्रा फर्नेंडो है, उन्होंने यह कमेंट किया है, जो 23 फरवरी को हिन्दुस्तान टाइम्स में आया है—

"I have never heard, read or seen even in any films or books on Idi Amin and Hitler about such horrible massacre."

अभी हाल ही में जो मंत्री जी ने बयान दिया है कि यह एक राजनीतिक संकट है और इसका राजनीतिक इष्टि से, राजनीतिक तरीके से समाधान होगा। मेरा इस विषय में, मान्यवर, यह आग्रह है कि यह मानवता से जुड़ी हुई समस्या है। मानवीय भावना के आधार पर हमें अपना कर्तव्य समझते हुए हस्तक्षेप करना चाहिए और ऐसा प्रयास करना चाहिए कि लम्बे अरसे से जो यह समस्या है, इसका उचित निदान निकाल पाये क्योंकि इसका प्रभाव भारत की आर्थिक व्यवस्था पर भी है।

16 फरवरी 1986 तक तमिलनाडु में श्रीलंका से 1 लाख 25 हजार 410 रेफ्यूजीज आए हैं, इन पर खर्च 1983-84 में 68.50 लाख, 1984-85 में 143.18 लाख और 1985-86 में सितम्बर तक 1.76 करोड़ रुपये आया है। मान्यवर, मैं आपके माध्यम से सरकार का ध्यान इस ओर दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि समय समय पर जयवर्धने जी इस समस्या के मामले में अपनी प्रतिक्रिया देते आए हैं, खास तौर से जयवर्धने जी ने एक टिप्पणी की है कि जब तक आतंकवादी आत्म-समर्पण नहीं करेंगे तब तक तमिल समस्या पर बात नहीं हो सकेगी और यह जो जिया और जयवर्धने प्रमालाप चल रहा है खास तौर से जो स्टेटमेंट इन्होंने इस्लामाबाद में दिया है, यह भी एक गम्भीर संकेत है। साथ ही जैसा कि हमारे पूर्व वक्ता

ने श्री भंडारी की कोलम्बो यात्रा रद्द करने की बात बताई है, उसके बारे में भी मैं माननीय मंत्री जी से स्पष्टीकरण जानना चाहूंगा और साथ ही यह भी जानना चाहूंगा कि जयवर्धने जी को भारत सरकार की ओर से क्या कदम उठाने के लिए कहा गया है और इसके साथ ही जो इंडियन फिशिंग बोट्स पर श्रीलंका आम्बर्ड फोर्स ने अटक किया है उसके विरोध-स्वरूप हमारी सरकार की ओर से क्या प्रोटेस्ट किया गया है और उसके परिणाम-स्वरूप वहां से क्या प्रतिक्रिया जाहिर की गई है। इस विषय में मैं स्पष्टीकरण जानना चाहूंगा इस आशा और विश्वास के साथ कि लंबे असें से चली आ रही इस मानवीय समस्या के निराकरण के लिए भारत सरकार प्राथमिकता के आधार पर श्रीलंका सरकार से पहल करेगी? धन्यवाद।

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, the situation in Sri Lanka is really grave. The situation is deteriorating day by day and the Jayewardene Government is not prepared to solve this problem. On more than one occasion, he has declared and stated that he would like to solve this ethnic problem of the Tamil-speaking people by military forces. He believes in military solution and not in negotiations. He has made that very clear not only through the Press, but also through the Indian Government. In a way, he has threatened the Indian Government not to meddle in this problem.

I do not understand why the Government of India is taking so leniently this grave problem of Tamil-speaking people in Sri Lanka. Thousands and thousands of refugees are coming daily. Hundreds of civilian people are being killed. Military, Navy and Air Force are being used to kill the innocent people of Tamil origin. Not only the civilian people, but even the poor labourers and agriculturists are being killed. The other day it was reported in the Press that hundreds of inno-

cent people coming from agricultural fields, labourers and even the nomads have been killed by the Army. This is the situation prevailing in Sri Lanka. The negotiations were started between the Government of India, the representatives of Sri Lankan Tamil people, and the Sri Lanka Government delegation. They met in Bhutan, capital in Thimpu. Those negotiations failed. There was ceasefire agreement. But the Sri Lanka Government did not respect the ceasefire agreement. The negotiations were going on on the one hand and the killings were continuing on the other. So, I would like to know from the Government of India whether the Government is seriously thinking to solve this problem or they are simply prolonging the problem by negotiations by sending Foreign Secretary, Mr. Bhandari. Earlier also we discussed about Mr. Bhandari's visit to Sri Lanka. As a matter of fact, he made us to understand that the Government of Sri Lanka was sympathetic to solve the problem. He has got a very wrong impression, a wrong report. That is not correct at all. We have said at that time in the House that the Government of India has got a wrong conception, wrong information. We said whether they are getting the full information and the real situation prevailing there in Sri Lanka from our High Commission. Sir, I would like to say that Shri Jayewardene is not at all interested in solving this problem. Under the circumstances, I would like to know from the Government of India as to how you are going to tackle it and whether you are going with a begging bowl and begging hands requesting Mr. Jayewardene that we are going to mediate and that we are going to help him to solve this problem. But, he is not interested to take your help. Why are you running after him? I do not understand this. The Sri Lankan Government should give in concrete terms an assurance to the Government of India that they are interested in the mediation of the Government of India. If they seek our mediation, then you mediate and try to give your own propo-

sals in consultation with the suffering Tamil people.

Now, I would like to put some questions to the External Affairs Minister. What is the total number of civilians, the ethnic Tamil people who have been killed in Sri Lanka? What is the ex-plantation given by the Sri Lankan Government to the Government of India to these killings? What is the total damage to the property due to the mad genocide actions of the Sri Lankan Government? What is the total number of refugees settled in Tamil Nadu and the rest of the country? What is the total expenditure being met by Government of India on the refugees? (*Time bell rings*) I would like to know from the External Affairs Minister whether Shri Jayewardene has made any statement in the Sri Lankan Parliament that if Sri Lanka is invaded by India—he has taken the name of our Prime Minister—not a single Tamil will be left alive in Sri Lanka. Is it correct? If it is so, I want to know whether the Government of India has made any protest against this. What is the reaction of the Government of India in this regard? If it is so, I want to know whether the Government of India is prepared to give an ultimatum to the Sri Lankan Government to stop all these mad actions. Sir, the Government of India should treat this problem as a national problem. It concerns not only the Tamil people but it is also a problem of the humanity. Tamils are human beings. We are concerned with the genocide. We will not tolerate it whether it happens in Sri Lanka or South Africa or anywhere in the world. What is happening in South Africa is also taking place in Sri Lanka. Jayewardene is in no way better than Botha. The same genocide, the same atrocities are committed in Sri Lanka as in South Africa. We have taken economic sanction in so many actions against South Africa. We have moved the issue in the Non-Aligned Countries Conference. We have met in the U.N.O. Why isn't the Government of India taking these steps so far as the Sri Lankan Tamilian people are concerned? Thank you.

श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय (उत्तर प्रदेश) : माननीय उपसभापति जी, श्रीलंका में जो भारतीय मूल के तमिल हैं उनकी सामूहिक हत्याएं हो रही हैं। साथ-साथ जो महिलाएं हैं उनके साथ बलात्कार हो रहा है। तमिल बच्चों की भी सामूहिक ढंग से हत्याएं की जा रही हैं। यही नहीं, इस बात की भी शिकायत मिली है कि जो भारतीय मछुआरे अपनी रोटी-रोजी कमाने के लिए समुद्र में जाते हैं उनकी भी श्रीलंका के नौसैनिक अधिकारी और कर्मचारी हत्याएं कर रहे हैं, उन पर हमला कर रहे हैं। लेकिन मंत्री जी के वक्तव्य में केवल यह स्वीकार किया गया है कि समाचार-पत्रों से सरकार को जानकारी हुई है कि वहां की नौसेना भारतीयों पर हमला कर रही है, भारतीयों को हत्याएं कर रही है और इसके बारे में जो वस्तुस्थिति है उसकी जानकारी सरकार कर रही है। इस प्रकार के समाचारपत्रों में महीनों पहले प्रकाशित हो चुके हैं। एक तो मैं मंत्री जी से जानना चाहूंगा कि महीनों हो गए इस प्रकार की समाचार को छपे हुए उसमें सत्यता है या नहीं और अगर सत्यता है तो भारतीय महासागर में कितने भारतीय मछुआरों की हत्या श्रीलंका के लोगों ने की है। जैसा पंचोरी जी ने ध्यान आकर्षित किया, जो वहां का कैथोलिक चर्च है उसकी स्वतंत्र जांच रिपोर्ट है, जिसमें इस बात को कहा गया है कि अनगिनत तमिलों की हत्याएं हुई हैं। जाफना इंडिपेंडेंट समाचार की रिपोर्ट है कि एक साल के अन्दर तीन हजार से अधिक भारतीय मूल के तमिलों की हत्याएं वहां पर हो चुकी हैं। मंत्री जी ने इस बात को स्वीकार किया है आज हमारे देश में करीब-करीब सवा लाख शरणार्थी आए हैं। हमारा यह अन्दाजा है कि शरणार्थियों की संख्या इससे कहीं ज्यादा है।

जैसा कि अनेक माननीय सदस्यों ने कहा, यह समस्या केवल भारतीयों की नहीं है, केवल तमिलों की नहीं है, बल्कि पूरी मानवता से जुड़ी हुई है क्योंकि निर्दोष लोगों की बर्बर हत्याएं हो रही हैं। इसके बाद भी हमारे प्रधान मंत्री कहते हैं कि इस समस्या का राजनीतिक समाधान होना चाहिए। उन्होंने समाचारपत्रों के जरिए भी और इंडिपेंडेंट न्यूज एजेंसी है उनको इन्टरव्यू देकर कहा कि इस समस्या का राजनीतिक समाधान ही हो सकता है। लेकिन श्रीलंका के प्रेसिडेंट श्री जयवर्धने

वहां की संसद में भाषण देते हैं, वहां के समाचार पत्रों को साक्षात्कार देते हैं कि इस समस्या का कोई राजनीतिक समाधान नहीं है, राजनीतिक समाधान का अवसर जब आयेगा तब राजनीतिक समाधान करने का प्रयत्न करेंगे, अभी इस समस्या का समाधान केवल मिलिटरी के जरिए है। उनके इस वक्तव्य की ओर मैं ध्यान आकर्षित कराना चाहता हूँ। हमारे प्रधान मंत्री के बराबर कहने के बावजूद कि इसका राजनीतिक समाधान होना चाहिए, उनका यह वक्तव्य हमारी आत्मा को ठेस पहुंचाता है, भारत की आत्मा को ठेस पहुंचाता है। जयवर्धने ने एक इन्टरव्यू में कहा है, यह इन्टरव्यू उनका 26 जनवरी का है --

"The army is better equipped and better trained now and I expect them to end the guerrilla violence by the end of the year. I shall have a military solution to what I believe is a military problem and after doing so I shall tighten the political side."

मेरा नम्र निवेदन है कि प्रेसिडेंट जयवर्धने कह रहे हैं साल भर के पहले इस समस्या का समाधान होना नहीं है, इस समस्या का समाधान मिलिटरी से कर पाएंगे। मंत्री जी ने अपने वक्तव्य में चिन्ता तो व्यक्त की है कि भारतीय मूल के तमिलों की हत्याएं हो रही हैं, उनके साथ बर्बर दुर्यवहार हो रहा है, लेकिन एक शब्द भी विदेश मंत्री की ओर से इस सम्बंध में निन्दा का नहीं कहा गया है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि भारत सरकार की ओर से कोई निगश का प्रस्ताव श्रीलंका की सरकार के पास क्यों नहीं भेजा गया क्योंकि जब सारा देश चिन्तित है और बर्बर हत्याएं हो रही हैं तो निश्चित रूप से 70-75 करोड़ लोगों की भावनाओं से वहां की सरकार को अवगत कराना चाहिए। अंत में मुझे एक बात और कहना है क्योंकि हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी ने मालदीव में भी इस के लिये वक्तव्य दिया है कि इस समस्या का समाधान होना चाहिए और उन्होंने बहुत चिन्ता व्यक्त की है इस के लिये। अभी हाल में इसी महीने की 19 तारीख को मद्रास में हमारे देश के सात

बहुत प्रतिष्ठित नागरिक हैं जिन में भारत सरकार के एक भूतपूर्व मंत्री हैं श्री सुब्रमनियम, सुप्रीम कोर्ट के एक जज हैं मिस्टर कोलासन, स्वर्गीय महात्मा गांधी के पौत्र हैं राजमोहन गांधी और श्री अरूणाचलम हैं और श्री जी. के. सुन्दरम हैं और प्रोफेसर श्री निवास आर्येणर हैं, उन सब ने अपील की है प्रधान मंत्री जी से और उस की ओर से अपने विदेश मंत्री जी का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ। उन सात प्रतिष्ठित नागरिकों ने इस 19 फरवरी को कहा है कि :--

"Seven prominent citizens of Madras today appealed to the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, to take early, effective steps to bring the Sri Lankan Government and the Tamil Liberation Organisations back to the negotiating table and to guide them to forge an honourable settlement of the ethnic problem."

"There is still time to retreat and go back to the negotiating table and work out with sincerity and diligence an acceptable solution on the federal model giving the Tamils an opportunity to live with self-respect and security as citizens of Sri Lanka. A partition of the island will solve no problem and do equal harm to both the Tamils and the Sinhalese." lese."

जैसा कि इस अपील में निवेदन किया गया है कि जो हमारे भारत के नागरिक हैं वे सम्मानजनक ढंग से अपना जीवन श्रीलंका में व्यतीत कर सकते और साथ साथ हमारे देश में जो शरणार्थी समस्या है उसका समाधान हो सके इस मिलजुल में हमारी सरकार क्या कारगर कदम उठा रही है निकट भविष्य में और यद्धस्तौर पर सरकार क्या करने जा रही है यह मैं जानना चाहता हूँ। वह कुछ करने जा रही है या नहीं? क्योंकि हमारे जितने भी पड़ोसी मुल्क हैं चाहे वह श्रीलंका हो या फिर पाकिस्तान हो, उनका आज रवैया ऐसा है कि जो हमारे देश के इंटरेस्ट के खिलाफ है। अभी वहाँ पाकिस्तान के प्रेसीडेंट जिया गये थे और उन्होंने वहाँ श्रीलंका में जा कर वहाँ के जो उनके गार्ड्स हैं, होम गार्ड्स, उन की बटालियनों को पूरा आवासन दिया

था कि हम उन को पूरी सहायता देंगे। लगता है कि जितने हमारे भारत के दुश्मन हैं या भारत के इंटरेस्ट के दुश्मन हैं वे सब आपस में दोस्त हैं। इसलिये भारत सरकार को सतर्क रहना चाहिए और सख्ती से इस समस्या का समाधान करना चाहिए।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Shri K. K. Birla, not here. Shri Gurudas Das Gupta.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA (West Bengal): Mr. Deputy Chairman, the statement issued by the Minister does not reflect the gravity of the situation nor does it contain the role of imperialism in the whole development in Sri Lanka. My party and myself are really pained that the Government is still not coming to sense as to what it should do—may not be to solve the problem, but at least to ease the problem. Therefore, I accuse the Government of passivity and inaction and not being alive to the situation as it is developing now. The statement does not even say that the situation has sharply deteriorated in the recent weeks in Sri Lanka. Hundreds of Tamilians are being killed; thousands are fleeing their home and there is a great exodus of refugees to our country. All this points to a sharp deterioration of the situation in the recent period and our Minister—at least his statement—is not alive to this truth.

Secondly, Sir, is it not only a fact that people are being killed? Killing might take place as a result of riots but the plain truth is it is a State terrorism which is going on on the soil of Sri Lanka. Armed gangs whom we call Sri Lankan army, armed with American weapons are carrying out the li-

1.00 P. M. quidation of Tamils there on the soil of Sri Lanka.

It is a clear case of genocide, being perpetuated by the Sri Lankan Government, being aided and abetted by imperialism of which our respected Foreign Minister is quite ignorant of, at least the statement does not point to this indication. May I point out,

[Shri Gurudas Das Gupta]

Sir, that the atrocities being committed shall put to shame even the worst offenders of normal human conduct in history? It is in the North, it is in the East; mass liquidation is going on everywhere. Everybody knows it. Some of the international agencies are witness to this and they have corroborated the complaint and charges which many people are bringing against that Government, the so-called civilised Government of Sri Lanka. My point is, this gentleman known as Jayewardene, the so-called President of Sri Lanka, has been issuing statement on his own and sometimes through his able Security Minister, clearly stating that he wants a military solution. Imagine, Sir, when we are nearing the end of the Twentieth Century, we find a civilised man, a civilised Head of State saying that he wants a military solution. He denies there is ethnic problem in Sri Lanka. Not only that. He has rejected—let this be put on record—even the proposals of settlement put forward by the moderate Tamil movement led by the TULF. He is, on the other hand, saying that his only job is just to kill people, liquidate the Tamils, and thereby solve the problem. This is not statesmanship. I say, Sir, this statesman has behind him some forces and political power from whom he derives his power. He is the Marcos of Sri Lanka. He is the Bao Dai of Sri Lanka. He is the Chiang kai-shek of Sri Lanka. He is only the toy in the hands of American imperialism. Such an attitude, such an uncivilised and barbaric attitude, it is such an attitude on the part of the President of Sri Lanka which has led to this present deterioration in the situation.

All of us aware.—I am sorry, the hon. Minister is not aware of; at least, the statement made by him does not say so. Jayewardene is going in for imperialist help in a big way. Why did President Zia of Pakistan visit Sri Lanka? Was it for sight-seeing? Was it for taking a cup of coffee or

for dinner? President Zia was there at the behest of imperialism. The point is, it is from Zia, it is from Pakistan, that military aid and arms are being poured into Sri Lanka, which are being used against the Tamils there. The U.S.A. has very much to gain from it. Our Minister does not have the courage to speak out, even when security of India is threatened, even when world peace is being threatened, even when we know there is Diego Garcia, even we know there is a place known as Trincomalee, where the Americans want to build an oil reserve and it is for this they are fishing in the troubled waters. U.S.A. like tension between India and Sri Lanka to continue so that it can draw, President Reagan can draw, Jayewardene close to his bosom, he can net him in his global strategy, in the strategy of building bases in the Indian Ocean. Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I see in it American hand, I see in it American attempt at building bases on the soil of Sri Lanka which will be ultimately targetted against India. I see in it Pakistan's game I see in it the global strategy of American imperialism. I would like to ask our Minister to speak straight. Definitely it is a matter of the rights of the minority. Definitely it is a matter of genocide. Definitely it is a matter of tyranny going on. It is also a matter of the role of imperialism. I wonder if the Minister is going to agree to this, is he going to speak straight on this.

Secondly, that gentleman, Mr. Jayewardene, is also to gain from this. By using this problem he would like to perpetuate his rule, he would like to curtail democracy in Sri Lanka. Therefore, it is time for India to act and the Foreign Minister must tell us whether India is going to act with decisiveness, whether India is going to follow a tough line. By the world "tough" I do not mean you have to declare war against them, but you have to activate your role, more than being mere spectators, you have to build up public pressure in the community of world nations, you have to

isolate the war-mongers, not only that you have to pressurise them to bring them to senses.

In conclusion, Sir, as a member of the Communist Party of India and as a member of the international Communist movement, I remind the House of—and I put on record—the glorious role of the Communist Party, Trade Unions and the working class who, braving repression and tyranny, is fighting for a political solution, as we are speaking of. They are speaking of the minority's rights, they are speaking of the autonomy for the minorities, they are speaking of a peaceful settlement and they, along with us, are fighting against the imperialist-aided dictator known as Jayewardene. Therefore, Sir, my questions to the Minister are: What is his active role? Is he going to be only a spectator? Will he be sending envoys there? What is he actually going to do? Secondly, whether he is ready to agree with the role of imperialism. And thirdly, whether he would agree to build up mass pressure in the world comity of nations to bring that gentleman to senses. Thank you.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: How can he utter the name of imperialism?

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY (Karnataka): Sir, I welcome this short and timely debate. The situation in Sri Lanka for the ethnic minority is becoming serious, more serious and further serious and is really becoming tragic and even assuming barbaric proportions. Words fail me to describe the plight of the innocent, the helpless and the hopeless ethnic minority in Sri Lanka. The most disturbing aspect of the whole situation is that there is a stalemate, a very dangerous stalemate in the negotiation process.

Sir, since Mr. Jayewardene assumed office in 1977 it became clear to us here that he is not a person who be-

lieves in co-existence, in the rights of minorities, in establishing a secular system of government there. Because of the shortness of time I do not want to go into the whole history. Briefly, Sir, for your information and for the information of this august body, I would only list a few highlights of the tragedies which have been unleashed by the Government there against the ethnic minorities. Up till now it is estimated that 7,000 Tamilian civilians, men, women and children have been massacred by the security forces of Sri Lanka.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN (Tamil Nadu): Eight thousand.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: My friend says eight thousand. There has been reckless, arbitrary arrest, detention and torture of over 4,000 Tamilian youths. There has been rape of several hundred Tamil girls and women, and nearly four lakh Tamilians have become refugees and they have gone to several parts of the world already. They have left Sri Lanka. There has been destruction of 100 townships and villages and, as a result, loss of several billions worth of properties. There has been systematic desecration and destruction of temples, mosques and churches. Many people belonging to ethnic minorities have been deprived of their livelihood. There is no economic activity. I am told that in Sri Lanka itself, as a result of this State-sponsored terrorism, two lakh Tamilians are refugees, apart from the refugees in India and elsewhere. This is the picture, this is the tragic scene in Sri Lanka.

In the face of this, what is the reaction of our Government? I know the seriousness of the situation and also I know the delicate situation that our Government and our people have been faced with. Still, I say, what is our response to this growing, continuing tragedy enacted on peaceful civilians there? We have conducted negotiations: we have to. But talks have failed. And the Sri Lankan Government has not responded to the

[Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy]
proposals made by the representatives of the Tamilians or proposals made by our Government here. The Thimpu talks have failed. There is no resumption of talks. At one point of time—I respect my friend, his views and his earnestness—our representative had to be called back. Mr. Bhandari, the Secretary, had to go there. He was stopped from going there because we thought no useful purpose would be served by spending him. In the face of all these development now we seem to have come to a dead end, a point of return. What should we do? We have been talking, we have been negotiating, we have been mediating. All have failed. So what next? Should we continue this process? Government is playing the mediatory role. The other Governments in the world are not taking any initiative in the matter because we have been taking initiative. There is genocide going on. It should have been discussed in the international forums, I should have been taken up in the Human Rights Commission. I am told the Human Rights Commission is meeting in the next few days in Geneva.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: It is already meeting.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: It is going on. I would like our representative to take this matter up very seriously before the Human Rights Commission discuss it threadbare, involve other governments in this matter. *(Time bell rings)*

Just two minutes because this is very important. I am suggesting a few things.

Secondly, Sir, I would like the Government of India to stop the help being given by certain countries like Israel, Pakistan, South Korea, China, South Africa, perhaps America. The Government of India should take this matter up in the international forum and discuss this, prevent those countries from helping this terrorist Government.

Thirdly, Sir, I would like my friend to consider, to ponder over, whether more steps are necessary as well the negotiations have so far failed. Short of military action, can he think of certain measures for bringing pressure on the Sinhalese Government? The Sinhalese Government has realised that we were not acting strongly. To convince them that we are very serious in the matter, to bring pressure on them, can we take certain economic measures? We are taking economic measures against South Africa. Can we take certain economic measures to bring pressure on the Sinhalese Government so that the Sinhalese Government can see wisdom, come to the negotiating table and settle the matter politically once and for all?

SHRI JASWANT SINGH (Rajasthan): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I would like to take very little time as I come at the tail of the list of speakers.

I start with the hon. Minister's statement on the subject, which I find evasive because it does not recognise sufficiently the deteriorating situation in Sri Lanka, which I find repetitive because it says no more than what has been said on numerous earlier occasions, which I find disappointing because we really know nothing about how this Government intends to set right what it has contributed towards complicating. I make this charge not lightly, Sir. I put it across to you, Sir, that this Government of India cannot be absolved of its responsibility for the current plight of the Tamil minority in Sri Lanka. I am not going into the details of what is actually happening in Sri Lanka because numerous earlier speakers have talked about it.

I am going to concentrate on, and demonstrate to you, how this Government of India is responsible for the deteriorating situation in Sri Lanka. This Government of India

adopted a mediatory role. It contributed towards the imposition of an illusion of a ceasefire during which firing never actually ceased. All this has led to the present situation in which this Government of India now finds itself without any diplomatic cards to play. Such a situation in which our Government is finding itself, demonstrates gross governmental inaptitude, it demonstrates a simple-mindedness bordering on the juvenile in the formulation of our foreign policy and in the conduct of our diplomacy.

I need to give only three examples here. The chief architect of our country's foreign policy, the Prime Minister, on one occasion recently says, "Our relations with Sri Lanka have never been better." I cannot come across a more immature and a more unlettered remark than that in the conduct of international relations between one country and another, more particularly in the context of Indo-Sri Lankan situation.

Very recently on his return from yet another tour abroad, he informs the world that if the Government of Sri Lanka is not interested in our mediatory role, than they should tell us so. I found it an astounding statement to be made by the Prime Minister of this country, when events were telling the whole of the world that this mediatory role was already a hoax, that this mediatory role was contributing to nothing at all and that whatever it was contributing, it was contributing to an illusion of the solution and that it was contributing to the plight of the Tamils. It is the policies pursued by the Government of India which have contributed to the plight of the Tamils. It is because of the policies pursued by the Government of India that Sri Lanka has managed not only to continue to receive the assistance and aid that it did in previous years, but it has in fact managed to marginally increase it. It is because of the policies pursued by this Government of India

that in the U.N. Human Rights Commission, in the UNESCO and in other agencies, where the plight of the Tamils could have been taken up it was not taken up. Other Governments did not take it up saying because India is mediating, it will not be taken up in the UN Human Rights Commission. It is because of some of these contributions made by this Government of India that the plight of the Tamils in Sri Lanka is continuing to be so alarming.

Very recently in the other House, while participating in the debate the hon. Minister for External Affairs made a statement that they would want the Government of Sri Lanka to act quickly, perhaps within weeks or months. These are not his exact words, but I think they convey the sense of what he wanted to say.

I would therefore like to put a question to the Hon. Minister through you, Sir.

What will the Government of India do if the Government of Sri Lanka does not act in those weeks or months that he has delineated? Will come out with another Statement? Do you want our mediation? If you don't want our mediation, please tell us. "Mother, am I to wear my trouser or not to wear my trouser," please tell me so. This is a ridiculous manner in which to conduct the diplomacy of a major country in South Asia. I will now pose other specific questions. What is the Government of India's assessment of Sri Lanka's enhancing its military Budget to near about 30 per cent of its total Budget? Where is Sri Lanka acquiring its armaments from and how do you relate this to India's security interests in the Indian Ocean? My next question is that the World Bank and the ADB's commitments of funds to Sri Lanka have been described by their Finance Minister, Rony Meil, as an "international vote of confidence" in Sri Lanka. Do you also contribute to that international vote of confidence? Did you take up this

[Shri Jaswant Singh]

matter about the continuation of World Bank and ADB loans to Sri Lanka? Did the Government of India at any stage think that it is a diplomatic avenue through pressure could be brought on the Government of Sri Lanka to politically solve the problem? It is no good just saying we want a political problem. When you have played all your diplomatic cards, a mere issuance of statements in this House or that do not amount to any act of diplomacy of any kind.

My next question is, as a Consequence of the military offensive towards August-September last year launched by the Jayewardane Government more particularly in the Trinkomalee area, has it brought about a totally new situation in creating new gettos for the Tamil minorities there? Has it also brought about a situation which has a direct bearing on India's security interest. I would, therefore, like to know from the Government its assessment of that situation.

I would also like to know which agency of the Government of India bid for the oil storage complex at Trincomalee and why did we bid for it unless we were assured of getting a contract for that oil complex before we bid for it? My final question as far as generating the right international opinion is concerned, what does the Government of India now intend doing? Your urging the Government of Sri Lanka to act within a week or months etc., is not going to solve the ethnic problems of Tamils in Sri Lanka. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI S. W. DHABE (Maharashtra): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, it is really said that the discussion is taking place on a subject which we had already discussed earlier in this House more than once. The discussion on this subject is coming up again and again in this House due to failure of our Government's foreign policy. Sir, talks have been going

on right from August, 1977 for finding out a solution to the ethnic problems of Tamils in Sri Lanka, but so far no solution has been found. In August, 1977 the National State Assembly of Sri Lanka gave a promise to the Tamils that their problems will be discussed and a solution would be found to their demands like use of Tamil language in the education, colonization, employment in the public and semi-public corporations. The Sri Lankan Government at that time had also assured the Tamils that they would summon an All Party Conference to resolve this problem and implement its decisions.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, after the U.N.P. came to power in Sri Lanka what happened? They have unleashed a state of terrorism against the Tamilians rather than implementing their lofty promises. The Government's response to the peaceful non-violent protests of the Tamilians were criminal assault, arrest and detention. The armed services in Sri Lanka went on a rampage in various districts of the northern and eastern regions of the island and killed thousands and thousands of innocent Tamilians; and many houses and business premises were burnt down. From the beginning of 1985, the security forces shifted their operations to Batticaloa, Amparai and Trincomalee districts in the Eastern Province in order to drive out the Tamils and settle more and more Sinhalese in these traditional Tamil areas.

I think India owes a great responsibility. The situation in Sri Lanka is very, very deplorable. Neither we were successful in imposing any sanctions against that country nor successful in any negotiations. They knew our weakness. They also knew that the Indian Government will simply lodge protests and cannot do anything.

The number of Indian fishermen who were killed at the hands of Sri Lankan navy were not given. I would like to know how many Indian fishing vessels were lost. I am rather surprised that in spite of our having big

machinery and intelligence service the Government failed to come out with exact number of India fishing vessels lost there in our waters. When our fishermen were killed what our Government did? They sent a protest and asked for some compensation. The Sri Lankan Government knew our weakness that we will not use military action. If we sincerely desire that some solution should be found out immediately to the ethnic problems of Tamils in Sri Lanka we should impose economic section and if necessary military action against that country. The delay in taking action has caused elimination of Tamil population. What effort the Government has made to raise at the international for a like United Nations and Human Rights Commission? I agree that it is an internal problem. But that does not mean that we will allow genocide against our Tamil brethren there? It is very unfortunate that our foreign policy has become a total failure in this regard. In Sri Lanka, we cannot do anything. On the Bangladesh and other borders, we know the situation and therefore, a positive policy should be evolved by the External Affairs Minister to see that problems are solved and the only way of solving the problem of Tamilians is to have no talks with Sri Lanka and take it to international forums. May I know from the Minister as to how many Indian fishermen have been killed in Indian waters and what action the Government has taken up till now? What is the position in the Human Rights Commission about the complaint? Is it being heard or is it being postponed because we are negotiating and what steps have been taken by the Government to bring international pressure on the Sri Lankan Government so that Tamilians are at least given the human rights which are enshrined in the U.N. Constitution.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I think, the Minister can also reply. We can extend it for some time.

SHRI S. W. DHABE: It is 1.30 P.M. with one hour lunch. The Minister will take a long time.

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MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, no. Let us finish this.

SHRI K. MOHANAN (Kerala): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I will be very brief because my colleagues have already mentioned the gravity of the situation and the situation in the Sri Lanka is going from bad to worse and everybody knows that as far as my party is concerned, we are always for a united Sri Lanka but for equal status for the Tamilians population in Sri Lanka. But unfortunately, the Jayewardene Government is being wedded to a policy of holocaust and genocide and to settle the issue with arms and military.

Sir, it is very clear that it Jayewardene Government is so adamant and determined to settle the issue with arms it is only because of the support extended to them by the imperialist forces with a motive to destabilise this region of the world. Sir, in none of the statements made by the Government of India and the External Affairs Minister, not even in the statement made in the House today, there was any mention about this. My specific question is—whether the Government of India is prepared to denounce the imperialist machinations in this region by supporting Sri Lanka and giving them arms and all support and aggravating the Sri Lankan crisis. We are very proud of our SAARC friends but through these SAARC, the American imperialism is going to encircle this country. In this particular situation whether the Government of India is prepared to denounce the role being played by the American imperialism in this region and ask them to withdraw their support for a genocide and holocaust against the Tamilians population in Sri Lanka. Sir, as far as EELAM demand for a separate EELAM is concerned, in essence, this will help the Jayewardene Government to suppress the democratic rights of the people of Sri Lanka especially the Tamilian minority. The crux of the problem is whether the Jayewardene Government and all others concerned are prepared to accept that this

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is an ethnic problem and it should be settled through political negotiations. And in that case, there should be full autonomy for the Tamil ethnic group in Sri Lanka in a broad framework. This is the demand raised by the Sri Lankan Communist Party and the workers and other Left forces in Sri Lanka. They have been advocating this for quite a long time. But the Jayewardene Government is not prepared for that. That is the question. He is not considering it as an ethnic problem to be solved through negotiations; he is not trying to find some political solution. So will the hon. Minister inform the House what is the response from the Jayewardene Government in regard to this particular problem, whether they are accepting that this is an ethnic problem to be settled through negotiations or not? Then only the mediating role of our country will come into effect. Thank you.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, Mr. David Selborne, the world-famous columnist, has stated that the Sri Lanka problem is one of the world's most burning issues. When I look at the statement of the hon. Minister. I find that it is deeply disappointing. It says:

"In spite of many difficulties and obstacles, negotiations are continuing."

It is nothing but a travesty of truth. It does not reflect the realities and the gravity of the situation. If I am permitted, I would say that it is nothing but platitudes and verbal diarrhoea. The hon. Minister hides so many things. He has to accept the failure of the Indian office, the office offered by Sri Lanka and accepted by India. They had not made use of it. I do not know why the hon. Minister is not candid enough to tell the House that they have failed miserably. Leave alone all the controversial things like Eelam and other things. All the parties concerned have agreed for certain

things. First of all, they have agreed for a cease-fire. Is there a cease-fire in Sri Lanka? Secondly, they have agreed for a monitoring committee for the implementation of a cease-fire. Where is the monitoring committee? It has been disbanded. I want to know from the hon. Minister what he is doing, what India has done to see that there is a cease-fire and that it is monitored by a committee. Sir, nothing has happened. It is a colossal failure on the part of India, a giant in South Asia. I cannot understand as to what are the reasons for it. Yesterday the hon. Minister has stated in the other House that there are elements of genocide in Sri Lanka. How naive he is! Why don't you come forward and say that there is genocide?

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: It is a way of saying.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: No. The hon. Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi stated on the floor of the House that there was genocide in 1983. Go through the records. At that time she was bold enough, courageous enough to tell the truth to the world perhaps at the plodding of people like us. That is why we think there is a change of policy. I do not know whether there is a policy at all regarding Sri Lanka. There is bankruptcy of policy. If at all there is a policy, there has been a change. At least Mrs. Gandhi had some kind of a policy. Now there is no policy at all.

Sir, genocide is taking place every day. I want to say a few things. From January up to now, look at the picture. In Amparai 60 people have been killed. In Kokuvil in Jaffna there was bombing from air and 40 people were killed. In Kurinch theevu 60 people have been killed. In Kattaiarician there was shelling from the sea and there was bombing from air, and the Sri Lankan Government figure is that 50 people have died. In Dharampuram in Sri Lanka farmers going in a truck carrying their produce to the market were abducted. They were not Sri Lankan Tamils. They were people of

Indian origin settled there. Perhaps many of them may be future Indian citizens according to the new agreement. We have not cared for them. Then at Kilnochi railway station Tamils were waiting on the railway platform to get into a train. Suddenly a truckload of army men entered the platform and rained bullets on them killing many of those innocent people. And now Jayawardene says it is the act of one person who might have been temporarily under insanity. This is the kind of reply he is giving. We should not forget that we are dealing with a person who is acting like Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde. He says there cannot be any political solution. He says it is a military problem with only a military solution available. He says it openly. He is not hiding anything. He says Tamils have grievance at all. Now, what are you going to do with such sort of a man? How are you going to negotiate with him? He is a wolf in sheep's clothes. He is a mini-Hitler professing Buddhism. He is only trying to gain time and we have fallen into his trap. We have given him the time with the result he has internationalised the issue. Now he has got advisers from Pakistan, from Israel, from Britain and from South Africa. How are you going to offset the situation? As my friend put it do Pakistani advisers go to Sri Lanka to have a cup of coffee? Arms are coming from all parts of the world to kill the Tamils. Mr. Gurupadaswamy has said that there are several countries who have come forward to raise the issue of human rights in many international forums but India is preventing them. I accuse that 8000 people have been killed in Sri Lanka because of the inaction of the Government of India. I put the blame at your doors. In Geneva the sub-committee of the Human Rights Commission met in 1985 and Argentina came forward to raise the issue of violation of human rights, but India said we are negotiating, let us not raise the issue now. So Argentina did not raise it. The Human Rights Commission is now sitting in Geneva.

It is in session. I would like to ask the honourable Minister, leave alone other problems, will he raise the human rights issue at the Human Rights Commission which is in session in Geneva? When two African national leaders were hanged, we raised our voice in all international forums. Now more than 8000 people are killed and yet we keep quiet. Why should we keep quiet now? This is first question.

Secondly, I have received the latest news from the teleprinter of UNI. Yesterday the honourable Minister said Sri Lankan Government should act and act immediately within a week. They have now started acting from today. And what is their action?

"Sri Lankan security forces today launched a heavy, massive, air attack on several areas which they said were bases of hide-outs of Tamil militants. The strike is on northern part of the country."

This is the reply to the honourable Minister, this is the reply to the Government of India, a giant of South-Asia, from a small, tiny country which is living on the handouts of World Bank and because of the tea-pluckers of Tamils. What are you going to do? Is it not genocide? Aerial bombings have started. I ask the Minister: Will he issue an ultimatum to Sri Lanka to stop this genocide forthwith? Will you do that? What prevents you from doing it?

Then, Sir, there is another tragedy. Forget about the Sri Lankan Tamils. Are we in a position to safeguard the lives of our own fishermen? Sir, every Indian has to hang his head in shame because our fishermen in Rameshwaram are being killed by the Sri Lankan navy and we are sitting quiet here. A giant of a country like India is sitting quiet like a name duck with its powerful navy. But here he says in the statement, "No attacks on the Indian fishing boats inside the Indian water will be tolerated." These are nothing but empty

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words, How are you going to implement it? I put that question to you. How are you going to implement it, implement this statement of yours, this heroic statement of yours? (*Time Bill*).

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Our Navy is there.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: Yes, it is there. But what is our Navy doing when our people are being killed, not once or twice but systematically and continuously? If our fishermen cannot go to the seas to catch fish, what are you going to do?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please put your questions so that the Minister can reply.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: Sir, with the present set-up it is not possible to prevent the killing of our fishermen.

Sir, first of all, let us safeguard the lives of Indian citizens. You forget whether they are Tamilians or others. Let us first of all safeguard the lives of Indian citizens. You station one of your battle ships or war ships or destroyers with one mother ship and various patrol boats and station them in the Palk Straits between India and Sri Lanka not as a threat. The US had stationed their ships.

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM: The Seventh Fleet.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: ... between Formosa and mainland China. Here in our case not as a threat, but just to safeguard the lives of the Indian citizens, Indian fishermen, will you do like that? Otherwise, what is the alternative you are having?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please conclude now.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: Sir, Sri Lanka has already internationalised the situation. I would like to ask you one thing. If you do not give the ultimatum, will you at least come forward

to apply economic sanctions against Sri Lanka and towards this end, will you be in touch with the other countries? Now the situation is very bad and the final holocaust is on, the final solution is on. Sri Lanka wanted time and we walked into their trap. We gave them a lot of time. Now the situation is such that the entire Tamil population will be eliminated, will be liquidated, and there won't be any Tamil problem at all for the poor honourable Foreign Minister to decide, to settle. Therefore, I would say, act now. You said, "Act.". Now, President Jayawardene is acting. What is your answer to this? You want to see the annihilation of the Tamils there?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, the honourable Minister to reply.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I am grateful to all the honourable Members, particularly to the first honourable Member. Mr. Bhandare, who raised this question and to all the others who have participated in this discussion today.

Sir, let me, at the outset, say that I share their concern and I am one with the honourable Members and I share their serious concern, grave concern, which they have expressed over this on-going tragic drama...

SHRI THANGABAALU (Tamil Nadu): Not a drama, but it is a fact.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: ... in Sri Lanka where innocent ethnic Tamils' condition are becoming everyday worse and worse off. So, let me assure them that there is no laxity or passivity on the part of the Government so far as this question is concerned. We give it the topmost priority. Although I cannot use the same language...

SHRI ALADI ARUNA *alias* V. ARUNACHALAM (Tamil Nadu): You please understand now.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: I have listened to you all patiently. So, kindly listen. Although I cannot use the same language which you used, ...

SHRI S. W. DHABE: Tell us what you are going to do.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: This is a common issue and there are no two sides to this. That is why I am saying that I cannot use the language that you have expressed. But certainly I can only say that when you say that the statement is very mild, that the statement should have been...

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: Like Prime Minister Indira Gandhi you can say that... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: I can appreciate your sentiments and emotions. But you should also see that this is not your private problem or it is not a problem of one section of the country. I appreciate the hon. Member who said that they are not one section of the population, they are Indians, meaning thereby that the whole country is exercised, all sections are exercised, over this matter. And when I say 'all Members', let us take it that it is not a question of Tamil Nadu, it is not a question of one section of the population in the country, it is a question of the entire country.

Now, expressing concern over this, the very first sentence of my statement says:

"Government is gravely concerned over the crisis in Sri Lanka..."

Then, about the properties and lives lost, we have said:

"The most serious and distressing result of the continuing crisis is the cycle of violence which has taken a heavy toll of the lives and property of innocent Sri Lankan civilians."

I have a stronger statement... (*Interruptions*).

SOME HON. MEMBERS: We do not want a stronger statement. We want action. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM: Statement alone is not sufficient. What about the action?

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: I am coming to that.

SHRI ARUNA ALADI *alias* V. ARUNACHALAM: You have disclosed the state of affairs.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: I am in the hands of the House. Do they want me to answer the points that they have raised? The first point they made that the statement is very disappointing, the statement is weak. I am answering that point. Actions I will come to later. Let us agree that the crisis is grave, serious and it is continuing crisis. It has taken a heavy toll of lives and property, and it is a very tragic situation.

Having said that, Sir, now I come to the action part. The Prime Minister has a framework of policy to build friendly relationship with all our neighbours. This is one of the points which has been raised over and over again. One hon. Member even said that we have no good relations with any of our neighbours. But in our foreign policy it is a very high priority item that we are trying to build up friendly and good neighbourly relations.

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM: Even at the cost of Indian lives?

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Please. In that spirit we said that we assist the Sri Lankan Government in bringing about a peaceful solution of this problem. This is the genesis of the whole thing. An hon. Member criticised: you have not made any progress. Rightly so. We think the problem is there. It is far worse today. The suggestion that they imply is: what is the alternative? Well, we are engaged in bringing about a peaceful solution to this problem, and we are not unaware of the negative trends in Sri Lanka which adversely affect towards the solution. (*Interruptions*) Well, let them make all the points they want to make. I do not want to be interrupted like this.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Don't interrupt the Minister.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Otherwise they will say that I have not answered. At the end of my reply, if there are any points, I will answer. But I beg of you not to disturb me. My hon. friend has interrupted. I have to recapture it. (*Interruptions*). It is a very sensitive matter. It affects the lives of millions of our people, our own kith and kin, who are living there. The real difficulty was the ambivalent and the evasive issues in the minds of the Sri Lankan authorities about this matter. You have quoted many statements and I want to join issue with you in this matter. It appears to me that while the Sri Lankan Government were professing that they want a political solution, they were in their heart of hearts or in actual fact, opting for a military solution. This is the biggest difficulty. We have been pointing it out to them. When the ceasefire was initiated, we said that before we pick up the threads of political solution, the ceasefire must honestly be implemented. There should not be a single case. Then they would come any say that there is violation from the militant side and in order to meet it, there is violation from their side. This is not a very categorical statement. But this is wieshy-washy and vacillating statement. We have said so in this House and we have told them at every point that there are more violations from the side of Sri Lankan security forces and innocent people, civilians, are being killed. You have asked for numbers. We have given the numbers.

SHRI S. W. DHABE: We have asked about the Indian fishermen being killed.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: I will give you that also. I am dealing with fishermen also. That is also a part of the subject. You have given different figures. Some says 7000 or 8000 have been killed. Even in the statement, we have stated that they have taken a heavy toll of life and property. It is difficult to verify the exact number. The various papers have published them. We have been trying to

verify them. Sri Lankan Government, in Parliament and outside, have been making different statements. We have been trying to verify those facts. You know the difficulties. It is difficult to verify the number of all those who have been killed or the amount of property that has been damaged. But I can make this statement without any fear of contradiction that the toll of life has been substantial. Similarly, the damage to property is substantial. Recently, reports have come that a much larger number of people have been killed. These people were working in the fields. Even innocent people and workers who were harvesting their crops have been killed. This is a very serious matter. I used a particular expression. You can use a different expression. I do not have the opportunity of using the expression that you have been using. It was said that there was an element of genocide.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: It is geonocide.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: You can say so. It is a way of saying. Therefore, the situation has deteriorated. At one point we were saying that let the ceasefire be observed in totality. It has not only not been observed, but now it has come to a situation in which Sri Lankan security forces are engaged in killing their innocent unarmed citizens. This is a very serious situation. Even the Prime Minister has said so. He said: "To tackle or to deal with the extremists is one thing. But to indulge in indiscriminate killing of your own citizens of your own innocent people and unarmed people is quite a different matter altogether". And we have come to this stage now. We have condemned it. The whole House has condemned it. It needs condemnation. A question was asked whether we are going to raise this in the Human Rights Commission. Yes, Mr. Gurdia! Singh Dhillon is the leader of

200 P.M.

the Indian delegation. The Human Rights Commission is meeting in Geneva. And we have asked him to raise this matter in the Human Rights Commission. This meeting is going on.

श्री जयवंत सिंह : आप जल्द से कर लीजिए मंत्री ।

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: He is going to do it. But in that, you should also know that quick solution is not possible—you know the UN system—because the Sri Lankan Government will have the right to reply on these matters. But the matter will be raised because it is a question of human rights. The difficulty with us who are dealing with it is that Sri Lanka is not a part of India. It is an independent country.

AN HON. MEMBER: What a profound statement !

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM: This is the answer we get every time and in the mean time the entire Tamil race will be eliminated from there..

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let him finish.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: There were two premises here. The first premise was that this is an internal problem of Sri Lanka and any solution has to come within the framework of the unity and integrity of Sri Lanka. This was the first premise of the political solution. Secondly, this matter cannot be solved through a military solution and it has to be solved through a political solution. Politically it has to be through peaceful negotiations. So far as we the Government of India are concerned, we have absolutely stuck to the norms of international behaviour, civilized behaviour and we want to strengthen it and in no way we want to compromise with the unity or any other forces which want to disintegrate Sri Lanka. But on the other hand we say it more

with sorrow and not in condemnation that the Sri Lankan Government have not followed the second premise that this is a political solution. It should be done through negotiations around the table and not through a military solution. They have always been tempted to go towards that. And the result is that the situation has deteriorated and it is worsening.

AN HON. MEMBER: How are you going to solve the problem?

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Therefore, the action now. Now the position is that the time is fast running out. We have no more time to lose. The hon. Members have expressed, all of them have expressed that we must solve this question and we must do something. And we have called our High Commissioner. We are formulating our programme of action. We are going to make our position absolutely clear on these things that firstly the Sri Lankan Government must enquire or set up immediately in a manner that it gives credibility to the people there an independent enquiry into the killings that have taken place. They seems to have reportedly set up some military committee or something. That is not going to create any confidence in anybody's mind. Therefore, immediately they must enquire into and find out what has happened and take action on their military personnel if they have misbehaved, if they have acted grossly violation all the norms of behaviour of a Government or of a military conduct. So, this is the minimum that they have to do because every day the situation is deteriorating. There is no credibility and there is no confidence among the people, among the Tamilian groups and the leaders in the Sri Lankan Government. The Members have also said that Sri Lankan Government were saying one thing and doing another. They were talking about a political solution and preparing for a military action. Members have raised a question about President Zia's visit there.

[Shri B. R. Bhagat]

The Members have asked why President Zia visited Sri Lanka. Now you want me to answer this. How can I answer this question? (*Interruptions*) If the President of Pakistan wants to visit, how can I answer this question? But what is important, I know, I know what you mean, is the assistance that they are getting. The Sri Lankan Government point is that they are getting assistance. From where, I think we know. They have got assistance for training their personnel from Pakistan or even the hated Mossad, which is also involved, we are told. We have got this news and some Members have also said that the South African regime is also involved there. The Sri Lankan Government's position is that they want to deal with the terrorist activities. That is the point you are making. If you want to deal with the terrorist activities those people who are engaged in violence, and disruption and destruction and killings, well that is one thing. But if you have prepared your military might to deal with your own civilian people, unarmed people, that is quite another thing absolutely. There is no doubt about it and, therefore, in the present situation the time is fast running out. We still believe that in this situation military solution is no solution. It will only aggravate the problem. It will create untold sufferings for the people of the country in Sri Lanka itself. You ask how many refugees we have. We have now, at the moment, more than 125 thousand refugees who are living here. In any political solution that is arrived at, conditions must be created so that not only no more refugees come but every one of them who have come here must return to Sri Lanka in safety and in dignity. We cannot say that Sri Lankan Government cannot provide that climate at the moment because the conflict is going on in which a large number of civilian casualties are taking place and this is a condition in which more people are coming away and you see that in order to protect our fishermen

we have taken our ships and our Navy is there. I said there are two problems in this. Firstly, that there is no attack on our fishermen in their legitimate duties of fishing because it is the source of their livelihood, as long as they are in the Indian water, internal waters, and the second question is that we should prevent intrusion either from their Navy or military boats or their fishermen coming into our waters and this our Navy and Coast Guards are in a position to safeguard. As you know, there is no exact demarcation on the waters as to where the Indian line ends and Sri Lankan territory begins and there may be inadvertent intrusions into the Sri Lankan waters and if they take action as I said before we have to deal with this question in a humane manner as we deal with such intrusions, in a humane manner. If it is a deliberate one, certainly action has to be taken. We are quite alert on this and we can assure that hon. Member of this that we will safeguard the legitimate interests of all our fishermen who are pursuing their livelihood in Indian waters.

Finally, Sir, I would like to say that we are working on the TULF proposals which was given. We are working on it. And on the Sri Lankan earlier proposals we are trying to narrow the gap between the two positions. But meanwhile, at the point when our Foreign Secretary was on way to Sri Lanka and he had actually reached Madras to have talks with the Sri Lankan Government, to have a final round of talks so as to bridge the gap between the two positions, the Sri Lankan official position, a note, came on the TULF proposals which we considered absolutely negative. They were not agreeing to any point. Therefore, on that point we thought there was no use our Foreign Secretary going and talking to the Sri Lankan authorities and we called him back. The position is that there are very clear elements of a political solution. Sri Lankan Government has again said that they believe in political solution.

I am one with the hon. Members that this matter cannot go on drifting any further. We must have a time-frame, a small time-frame, a week or two weeks or three weeks, or a month, but not more than a month, in which political solution has to be reached. We cannot allow Sri Lanka Government to drag their feet on this question. Elements of a political solution are very clear that there should be real political devolution.

Some hon. Members asked whether we are aware of security threats from either the Trincomalee base or because of some of the actions they are taking by trying to shift away the eastern provinces. Yes, we are certain. That is one of the normal legitimate duty of the Government. Sri Lanka is a non-aligned country although we are aware of certain facilities of calling on to the ports by certain ships belonging to outside powers but we are not aware that they have given away the base to any outside power. They deny it. We are saying that there is another important element in the political devolution. We want to know content of the political devolution in which law and order powers must rest with the provincial Assembly, the councils, in order to deal with the law and order so that they are able to take care of the safety and protection of citizens in those areas. That is very important. The important thing is land settlement. Some hon. Members made this point that through land settlement that is going in during this period, an effort is being made to change demographic character of the eastern provinces by settling more Sinhala population and drifting away Tamil population. This should not be done. This is a very important question of land settlement and we are aware of it and this takes care of the population composition of eastern provinces. As I said, the provincial councils must have real decentralised powers and we are giving concrete shape to it, and this is the way to bridge the gap between the Sri Lankan position, and since they have now expressed their willingness to talk and discuss

and finalise the position on the TULF proposals, we want to achieve a peaceful solution to the problem within a small time-frame. We are discussing this position at the moment. We are engaged in it and we will make it known before negotiations start. We want to make the content of the political solution as considered reasonable by us, and also within a time frame. These two points will be communicated to Sri Lankan Government before the negotiations start so that we bring about a peaceful end to this problem so that Sri Lankan authorities achieve peace and the Tamil population can live with dignity and with a secure future and stability, peace is restored in this region. Thank you.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: We are not satisfied with the reply of the hon. Minister and to show our solidarity with the Sri Lankan Tamils we walk out. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI K. MOHANAN: This Government have failed to name the real culprits, the Imperialist forces. We are walking out as a protest. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Sir, he is soft to imperialism. We cannot accept his position. As a protest against his attitude, we are walking out. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY: Sir, President Jayewardene is reported to have said that if India invades Sri Lanka, no Tamilian will be alive...

(At this stage, some hon. Members left the Chamber).

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House is now adjourned for lunch till 2-45 P.M.

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

The House reassembled after lunch at forty-seven minutes past two of the clock.

The Vice-Chairman (Dr. (Shri-mati) Sarojini Mahishi) in the Chair.

**REFERENCE TO THE REPORTED
PERSECUTION OF MINORITIES AND
SPURT IN ANTI-NATIONAL ACTIVITIES
IN JAMMU AND KASHMIR
STATE**

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. SHRI-MATI) SAROJINI MAHISHI: We shall take up Special Mentions now. Shri Advani.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: (Madhya Pradesh): Madam, we all were really looking forward to a full-fledged discussion on this issue of the situation that is developing in the State of Jammu and Kashmir during the last few weeks. Reports that have been coming in from that State are extremely disquieting, extremely disturbing. Communication is not as free as it ought to be, but even the dribblets of reports that we get are shocking really. It seems that the anti-national elements in that State are on the rampage. They are naturally coning, killing, arson, desecration of temples and, worst of all, of molestation of women. I can say that the Hindus living in the Valley particularly are in the grip of terror and fear. I have with me a report of the meeting held three days back if Kashmiris living in Delhi. They held a meeting at Lajpat Bhavan. It was a big meeting in the course of which a longish resolution, on the basis of the reports that they had received from their relatives etc., was passed. I just quote one para from that. It says:

"While the general mass of the majority Muslim community in Kashmir has through several crisis in the past accommodated and even protected the minorities, the present campaign of loot and arson let loose in the countryside can be interpreted only as a well-organised plot of

some anti-national agencies to liquidate the minority in the Valley".

Madam Vice-Chairman, I believe that a silent procession of Kashmiris living in Delhi came to Parliament today or it was to come to Parliament today. It may have come, may have met the Speaker, may have met the Minister of Security who happens to belong to the same State. They are naturally concerned over these happenings. But here I would like to know about some facts which have come to my notice.

I believe that the Governor of Jammu and Kashmir has given an elaborate report to the Central Government on these happenings. Here I have a copy of the Sunday Mail of last Sunday. It quotes from the Governor's report. It says that "the Administration remains weak beating its dreary wings ineffectively with the albatross of corruption and unaccountability hanging around its neck." It further goes on to say that "the spectro of uncertainty continues to harm the State." Still worse, it says that the Shah Government in Jammu and Kashmir is in league with the Jamaat-e-Islami, which, perhaps, is the principal guilty party responsible for all these happenings in the State.

Now, if these are really part of an official report submitted by the Governor to the Central Government, I fail to see how the Government has remained inert and inactive for so long, and it is allowing the situation to drift.

Madam Vice-Chairman, the Shah Government is in Srinagar only because of the Central Government. So the Central Government cannot blame all this only on the Shah Government, which is a minority Government. In fact, the Shah Government is born in defection; it is a defector Government with an albatross of corruption round its neck! It is truly neck-deep in corruption. The third thing which has come out in this Governor's report is that it is colluding with anti-national elements.