

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI H. K. L. BHARGAVA): Sir, to what the honourable Leader of the House has already said, I wish only to add that I am sorry and I express my regrets to the hon. Members of the Opposition for having received their papers late because of a breakdown in the press. I wish to add that the Government has not the slightest intention to show any discourtesy or disrespect to the Opposition and certainly we are very keen, the Prime Minister is keen, that we should do things with their consultation. I wish to clarify one thing here. The notice is, of course, under the rules. Mr. Advani said that it was said in the lobbies that it might come afterwards. I wish to clarify with all the humility at my disposal that we never said that this would come after the 30th. We never said that. Secondly, I wish to say that in a different context Mr. P. Upendra did meet the Prime Minister. After that he did meet me. I wouldn't say that I talked to everybody, but most of the opposition leaders I did talk to. They raised the question of Deputy Chairmanship being given to them and we had, with humility, expressed our inability to do so. We have respect for them and I assure them that we will continue to have respect for them.

MR. CHAIRMAN: After taking the sense of the house, I extend the time for filing nominations up to 4-00 p.m. today .

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: of course, it is entirely for you and the Government. But could we have it on the 31st?

MR. CHAIRMAN: NO.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: If it is to be postponed.

MR. CHAIRMAN: It is not going to make any difference.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: It is not.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Anyway, I will give time up to 4-00 p.m. today.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: All right.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Thank you.

CALLING ATTENTION TO A MATTER OF URGENT PUBLIC IMPORTANCE

The Situation in Sri Lanka with Special Reference to Recent Intrusion into Indian Territorial Waters and Attack on Indian Fishermen by Sri Lankan Naval Vessels

MR. CHAIRMAN: We will take up now the Calling Attention. Mr. Jaswant Singh.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH (Rajasthan): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I call the attention of the Minister of External Affairs to the situation in Sri Lanka with special reference to recent intrusion into Indian territorial waters and attack on Indian fishermen by Sri Lankan Naval vessels and the action taken by Government in the matter.

The Vice-Chairman Shri Santosh Kumar Saliu in the Chair.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE, MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI KHURSHID ALAM KHAN): Honourable Chairman and Members of the House, since the House considered the question last, the situation in Sri Lanka, already grave then, has deteriorated even further.

2. Until the end of last year, though the All Party Conference was making no visible progress, its mere existence gave some hope that a negotiated settlement, acceptable to all, would be found for the problems faced by the Tamils in Sri Lanka. The draft legislation introduced by President Jayewardene last year was insuf-

ficient to meet Tamil aspirations, but was being considered seriously by the . TULF with a view to improving it to meet their demands. Unfortunately it was rejected out of hand by the Sinhala parties and the Buddhist Clergy and was then withdrawn by President Jayewardene. The AH Party Conference was terminated on 21 December, and there is now no indication that a political solution is being sought. This is a matter of grave disappointment and frustration. We fear the continuation of the situation may not permit the return, in safety and honour of many Sri Lankan Tamils who have taken refuge in India.

3. The continuing cycle of violence and counter-violence cannot resolve the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka. We are opposed to all forms of violence anywhere and deplore all loss of life and property. It is not our intention to discuss aspects of the problem which are internal to Sri Lanka, but it is unfortunate that the Sri Lankan authorities are concentrating on security operations. There are daily reports of Tamil civilians being killed by the security forces. Many Tamils of Indian origin who had settled in the North and the East are among the victims.

4. To compound all this, the Sri Lankan military has made Indian fishermen as its special targets. The Sri Lankan Government have arrest-ted many Indian fishermen alleging thiat they were terrorists for which there *is* no basis. On later admission of the Government of Sri Lanka, the Indian fishermen who have been either killed, wounded or captured 'were all engaged in Ashing.

5. What is even more disturbing, over the last month, the Sri Lankan Navy vessels have been crossing into our territorial waters to harass our fishermen and seize their catches. On three occasions, we have lodged strong pogitest to the Sri Lankan Govern-

ment, sought compensation for the loss of life and property and urged that this should stop immediately. We have asked for the release of those Indian fishermen and boats which liave been in the Sri Lankan custody for past several months.

6. To protect our fishermen, the Coast Guard patrolling has been stee ped up. The Navy has also been asked to keep vigil. On the 11th January when an armed Sri Lankan patrol craft intruded into our waters 4 1/2 miles west of Katchatheevu and was found harassing our fishermen, the Coast Guard apprehended it well within our waters. The boat, with its crew, has been brought to our shores and held in custody. We have told the Sri Lankan Government that we expect that no intrusion will take place in the future. The Sri Lankan Government have requested for the release of their boat and crew.

7. The 'absence of any progress, 'towards the political settlement and rioration of the situation in Sri Lanka, might force more Tamils to seek refuge in India. We already have our 40,000 Tamil refugees from Sri Lanka. We are looking after them on humanitarian grounds. We hope that the conditions in Sri Lanka will improve repidly so that the refugees can go back to their country in dignity and without fear.

8. "i am aware of the depth of the feeling aroused all over the country, especially in Tamil Nadu by the al most daily reports of outrages com mitted on the innocent Tamil popula tion in Sri Lanka. Violence cannot provide the answer. It only leads to more violence. We urgte it should end immediately. As the Prime Minis- ter has reiterated, there can be no al ternative to a political Slolution ac-

[Shri Khrushid Alam Khan] ceptable to all concerned, within the framework of Sri Lanka's unity and territorial integrity. The continuance of this situation has caused enormous human suffering and it remains our deep hope that the Government of Sri Lanka will take an early initiative to settle this problem through negotiations.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU): Mr. Jaswant Singh.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, in the Calling Attention motion itself, there was a mention about the action taken by the Government—and the Hon'ble Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs, in the statement that he has made on the subject is somewhat disappointing precisely about the action taken by the Government of India. So we have been witnessing a steady deterioration of the situation in Sri Lanka for almost two, certainly more than a year and a half now. We have witnessed killings. We have been witnessing its manifestation on our shores in the manner of bomb explosion at Meenambakkam airport. We have witnessed guerilla activities. We have witnessed reports of camps. We have learnt about abductions, kidnappings of boats, ambush and violence motivated by ambush, rail sabotage. There were some early initiatives taken by the previous Government. What those initiatives resulted in is now already a matter of the past. Sir, we know all this, and reading the Minister's statement carefully. I cannot help reflecting that Sri Lanka today poses as a crucial test of Indian diplomacy. The situation in Sri Lanka is both indicative and clearly illustrative of how foreign policy gets to be influenced, indeed dictated by internal problems. I recognise and indeed share the dilemma which we as a nation and which the Government as the instrument *of* the conduct of our diplomacy

faces Primarily that is the problem of the largeness. India is a big country. It is a large country—and every large dominant country in any region of the world faces problems with most of its neighbours small or big. In Indo-Sri Lankan history and context our relationship is illustrative of how the problem of bigness in itself, becomes a liability in the conduct of our foreign policy.

What distresses us most on this side, as indeed on the other side, because the lion. Minister's statement talks about it, is the human angle of the Sri Lankan question. I am somewhat intrigued by the choice of the words that the hon. Minister has used when he classified it only as a ethnic problem in Sri Lanka. I would appeal to the Government; if you go to classifying or categorising the problem in Sri Lanka as an ethnic problem, you are getting trapped in the very limitations of the word that you use. The problem in Sri Lanka is not merely an ethnic problem. It is a deep political problem; it is a sociological problem; it is a problem inherited by the very history of the land; the coming into being of Sri Lanka as an independent nation, There is an imperial legacy to take into account. To reduce these complexities of the problem of Sri Lanka and to call it as just ethnic problem. as the Minister's statement says, is, therefore, to reduce the sheer size of the problem, to reduce it to its most elementary form, and perhaps not even a correct form. Unless that is rectified in the Government of India's thinking, we would be reacting to it adequately. So the human angle is the angle which distresses us a very great deal. There are Indian citizens, not just Tamils. There are Indian citizens from Kerala and also from Tamil Nadu. There are some Indian citizens from Andhra Pradesh also. And it is a question of Indian citizens and their welfare in Sri Lanka. There is also, thereafter the question of the Tamil Sinhala disputes which are an imperial legacy.

There is a sentiment, which is historically proven, that the Tamil is, in fact, of an earlier origin in Sri Lanka than even the Sinhala. Whether it is Sinhala or Tamil, the roots of both are traced back to this very sub-continent, to this very country. And that further compounds the problem. Nobody can possibly delight in the continued killings that have gone on in Sri Lanka for the past over a year and a half.

The Sri Lankan army has, perhaps, today come to classify and categorise itself as the most ill-disciplined force in the whole world. This is not my comment alone. It is a comment which all military thinkers are today making about the Sri Lankan army. Sri Lankan army has lost its ability to take casualties. Any armed force which loses its ability to take casualties and reacts in a blind hit-in-all-directions manner is no longer a force of law and order. It becomes a force of disorder. That too, is one of our dilemmas.

In addition to the dilemmas that we face in structuring conceptualising and then conducting a responsible and reasonable foreign policy in the Indo-Sri Lankan context, there are two dichotomies that we face. They are not entirely unrelated to the problem of bigness that B earlier spoke of. How is India to influence the situation in Sri Lanka without appearing to interfere in its internal affairs? I share that difficulty of the Government of India. That makes our task, to influence meaningfully the situation in Sri Lanka without interfering in their internal affairs while taking into account the deep human aspect of the problem, so much more difficult. That is why I said that the Indo-Sri Lankan question just now is one of the most crucial tests of the conduct of Indian diplomacy. There is another aspect which illustrates the dichotomy. A venerable colleague from this side of the House has taken serious objection to equating terrorism within India to terrorism in Sri Lanka. Terrorism within India, whether it is

of the Mizo National Front variety or of the Naga variety or it is of the Punjab variety or anywhere else, is terrorism and you cannot call it anything else. If the Government of India, rightly so, talks to Mizo National Front who had at one time raised armed insurgency against the country and talks about political settlement, it is a manner of dealing with terrorism so that it is capped, it is contained, it is sorted out and enabled to be assimilated within the diversity of our country. So we too face dilemmas in the country. The story of 1984 is a story of how terrorism can go to the extreme extent of resulting in the horror of the assassination of the Prime Minister of the land. Now we are attempting to cope with that terrorism. The Sri Lankan Government looks at terrorism, on its own soil, in its own light, as a similar kind of dilemma. So, when the Government of India treats terrorism internally in a certain way and talks about dealing with terrorism in a certain way to Sri Lanka. . .

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY (Tamil Nadu) :
Could you equate the treatment of Sikhs here with that of Tamils in Sri Lanka?

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: The question is not of how Sikhs are treated here or how Tamils are treated in Sri Lanka. I started with this that it is a deeply human problem. The kind of divide that exists between the Sinhals and Tamils is much wider, while there is really no division between the Sikhs and the rest of the Indians. And I am talking of the dilemmas that we face as a country and the dilemmas which face the Government today in coming to a reasonable and rational Sri Lankan policy. All this has brought us to a situation which, as the honourable Minister himself stated, was already grave and which has deteriorated further. On January 15, to my knowledge, Athulath Mudali said that there is to be no further 'foreign interference or guidance'. He is their Minister for Security and if their

[Shri Jaswant Singh]

Minister for Security, Mr. Athulath Mxidal, says that there is to be no more foreign interference, there is no further scope for 'foreign interference or guidance,' it is like suggesting that all the good offices that the Government of India had tried to bear on the problem in Sri Lanka are now no longer welcome. President Jayawardene has, in fact, gone to the extent of blaming the TULF for the breakdown of talks, and has gone further than that and said that there are to be no further talks until terrorism is eliminated and until the TULF or anybody else in Sri Lanka gives up the demand of separatism for ever. There is a recent report about which the honourable Minister might like to enlighten us, that the Rt. Hon'ble the Prime Minister's statements on the subject, that which was a *suo motu* statement during the course of the election and subsequent statements in the other House, etc., had received consideration of the Sri Lankan Cabinet and the Sri Lankan Cabinet has passed them over by suggesting that they too deserve no further consideration. These three matters—what the Minister for Security said, what the Sri Lankan President said and what indeed the Sri Lankan Cabinet has recently commented on the Prime Minister's statements, are matters which deserve to be considered and this is again resulting in increasing belligerency. The very tone and content of the Sri Lankan statements have become shrill. It has resulted, as the Minister has pointed out, in what can only be called patrol boat diplomacy, and the conduct of diplomacy has become retaliatory—patrol boats versus fishermen. You release 17 fishermen and one patrol boat gets released. This is the dilemma. And this is the dilemma which we are facing and I would have hoped that the Government would come forward, the honourable Minister would come forward, with a statement which would resolve these dilemmas, which would point out as to how the Government is go-

ing to deal with them. Sir, I intend to say two more things before I come to the next point.

We must recognise another very important aspect of the destabilisation of Indo-Sri Lankan relations. This too is a problem connected with the problem of bigness. Every time any neighbouring country in India is internally, politically destabilised or feels insecure the resultant international effect of it is the drawing in of foreign powers, more specifically super-powers of one variety or another variety. It is the foreign policy of the Government of India, and rightly so it has been said, that we do not want any foreign interference in any of our neighbouring countries. Yet it has to be recognised as a dilemma. The moment instability is created within any neighbouring country or insecurity is created there, the first reaction is to ask for foreign agencies to come or foreign powers or super powers to intervene. Next, we must also recognise that, because the interests of various Indians living in Sri Lanka or their going out of Sri Lanka is involved, that this destabilisation in Sri Lanka for the last two and half years has resulted in an economic crippling of that country. The long-term effects of this economic crippling is not going to be solved merely by a superficial solution of the problem. Government of India must pay particular attention to this aspect because interests of large number of Indians are involved. Then, Sir, what are our national interests involved in the Sri Lanka context? And what are the security implications of the deteriorating situation in Sri Lanka? I would have felt happy if the Hon'ble Minister's statement had said that the Indian national interests is best served in the present context by doing the following things or by taking the following steps, I would bring to the notice of the Hon'ble Minister that it is a very serious matter that for the first time since the fifteenth century, when the Portuguese

first entered into our waters, India's southern flanks are again activated. Historically, our security concern has been viewed in the context of the North, North West or lately, perhaps after Independence or from the early sixties-, rather late fifties, the North East. We have all along proceeded on the basis that India's southern flanks is secure that India as a nation does not face any threat on its southern shores. I regret to say that the conduct of our diplomacy has resulted in the activation of our nation's southern flank also.

I need also to point out that the deterioration within Sri Lanka and the deterioration of Indo-Sri Lankan relations has a direct nexus with and impact on, the overall strategic situation in the Indian Ocean. As far as Indian Ocean is concerned it is a matter of considerable concern to us that the overall deteriorating Sri Lankan situation adds to our concerns.

Very briefly. I will now suggest to the Government what not to do, what we must do and what we must recognise and enunciate. It is a fact, and what I want to divulge is sufficiently well known. About a year ago, we planned! an armed intervention in Mauritius and our troops, having been in the waters for five days, were then withdrawn. The Government of India must reflect very deeply if they want to repeat that Mauritian syndrome. We must not and there are hints of that in the Minister's statement. We must not encourage terrorism from our soil. -

Finally, Sir,—this is the most important things—the Government of India must not encourage the expectation of our effectiveness to resolve the Sri Lankan problems. I say this because if we raise the expectation of what we can or cannot do in Sri Lanka, we would raise the expectation of all the Tamils there who are today in a terrible condition, who are terror-stricken, today in Sri Lanka, and if we are unable to fulfill

these expectations, there is further destabilization and that is no solution of the problem. What we must do, Sir, is to learn the problems of bigness.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY; Mr. Jaswant Singh, when you are talking about the encouragement of terrorism, that should not be a material for the Sri Lankan Government or the Press there for crushing our people there. You please understand that.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I am **not** encouraging terrorism. Terrorism has been widely reported in various journals. I am not encouraging terrorism.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU): Please conclude.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH; I am concluding, Sir.

I am not encouraging terrorism. And, Sir, he quite rightly feels very deeply about it. The question of the Tamils there, the problem of **Sri Lanka**, is quite a problem and it is a problem which is a daily problem. I fully appreciate the sentiments that he has expressed. I am not divulging any information or giving any information which is my own. This is information which is available today and it is being published in the journals.

Sir, we must recognise, the Government of India must recognise, in the Indo-Sri Lankan context, the use and limitations of power—I don't have the time to elaborate on this now—and that is why I say that this is a crucial test of the Indian diplomacy. We must recognise and enunciate that a united, cohesive—mark my words "cohesive"—independent, non-aligned Sri Lanka is in the best interests of India and it does serve in the long term even the interests of those Tamils who are today being pilloried and tortured and are being brutalised by the Sri Lankan army. We must reiterate that the Sri Lankan prob-

[Shri Jaswant Singh] lem would be best solved by nonintervention and non-interference by any power, superpower, regional power or external power. We must do everything, Sir, to safeguard the interests of the Indian citizens, whether they are Tamils or Malayalese or TeluguS', who, today, happen to be there in Sri Lanka or who might have to leave Sri Lanka. We must speak up for human rights and their violation without fear, unequivocally, and most specifically, in the context of the situation that is deteriorating in Sri Lanka. We must encourage the South Asian Regional Co-operation initiative. Possibly, there is a beginning, there is a glimmer of hope, that by encouraging that initiative, we may most meaningfully be able to, bring our influence in the right direction in the Sri Lankan context.

Sir, I would now like to come to my specific questions. I would like to know from the honourable Minister the figures, as available to the Government of India, of the casualties of Indian citizens in Sri Lanka, the damage to their property, and I would also, like to know whether any representations have been received on account of that infamous legislation which was brought forward by the Sri Lankan Government for pro-oerties being¹ expropriated.

My second question to the honourable Minister is this: Would the honourable Minister give some details of what has come to be called the Ramphal initiative? Was it the initiative of the Commonwealth Secretary-General, Shri Ramphal, as the initiative of the Commonwealth or was it his individual initiative? What was the reaction of the Government to that initiative and what are the details of the initiative proper?

My third question, Sir, is this: I have learnt from today's newspapers that an exchange is being negotiated

of the patrol boat and the fishermes and that today that exchange is to take place—Thursday is being mentioned in the newspapers—that is, the captive patrol boat that we have, and the 17 fishermen that are in Sri Lanka, are to be exchanged today. Is that report correct? If they are to be exchanged today, then, how far have the negotiations and the parleys progressed and what is the Government of India doing to obtain the earliest release of those fishermen?

Sir, I have a question on the Trin-comoly Oil complex. It is my belief, Sir, that the Indian Oil Corporation had negotiated for that oil complex. That complex, because it stores about a million tonnes of oil, is not purely a commercial complex it has high strategic importance. What were the details? Those negotiations were not conducted merely by the Indian Oil Corporation; the Ministry of External Affairs did come into play. It was at the initiative taken by the Ministry of External Affairs in the knowledge that a complex which stores about a million tonnes of oil is not a com-merical complex but it has strategic importance. And, therefore, the Indian Oil Corporation did make a bid for oil complex, which subsequently went to a Singapore firm. I would like to know what was the bid that was made and on what grounds our bid was not accepted.

I have two or three other questions. As I have pointed out earlier, when there is insecurity, foreign agencies come in. Now it is my information that Israeli Shinbet—it is not a secret service but the Minister would know what I am referring to—they are today being hired by the Sri Lankan Government. To my knowledge, there are not very many of them; there are about 25 of them, who train the Sri Lankans in anti-terrorist and anti-guerrilla activities. What is the Government of India's information on the subject? Secondly, what is the Government of India's information on

the *quid pro quo* between Sri Lanka and the Israeli Government on this particular assistance that has been received. Similarly, there is a British firm called Assets Protection International, it is known that in that there are SOS people. Is it purely an agency of mercenaries or is there any kind of Government to Government assistance between the British Government and Sri Lankan Government in this anti-guerrilla or anti-terrorist role.

Just one more question. In the SARC, which is due to be held in ten days or a couple of weeks—I do not know the exact date—in that forthcoming SARC meeting is the Government intending to take up, on bilateral basis, this particular issue of deteriorating relations with Sri Lanka?

I am grateful for the time given.

SHRI S. W. DHABE (Maharashtra) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the practice here has been that every question in the Calling Attention should be answered. To convert it into a general discussion will not pro-par. I have already protested. Let us not depart from the usual procedure of having a Calling Attention where question are put and answers given. Otherwise, nothing would come out. Only one or two questions at the last would be replied.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU): He will reply. Mr. Kalyanasundaram.

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM (Tamil Nadu): Sir, before I put my questions, I wish to convey our sympathies to those who have been killed brutally in Sri Lanka and also the fishermen who have been killed in the Palk Straits recently. Secondly, I wish to congratulate our coastal guard boats which captured naval boats in the act of killing our fisher-

men and in the act of piracy in our territorial waters. These two things will show how the situation between Sri Lanka and India is deteriorating. But whose is the fault and why is it happening? These are the two questions which every Indian must consider. I am sorry that the Government hides things. Although they are the only party which can safeguard the unity, integrity and security of the country, they fail to take the people into confidence in such a vital matter. If they had given all the facts that are there, I think Shri Jaswant Singh would not have blamed your diplomacy. Sir, you are not telling the truth. Why are you afraid of telling the truth? He has raised certain pertinent questions such as the relationship between the mercenaries that are working in Sri Lanka against the so-called Tamil terrorists and the Government of Great Britain. He has also raised the question of Israelis being inducted to train the Sinhalese Army. I will add some more points. Can you explain to us the circumstances under which the All-Party Conference was once and for all, wound up? Is there any chance of its being resumed? Why did the Government of President Jayawardene blame the leaders of TULF for the breakdown of the negotiations? Is it a fact that they have said that they do not need any good office from India? Is it a fact that they charged that {He TULF is taking instructions from the Government of India, from Mr. G. Parthasarthy? Is it not known that they are instigating against the Government of India and they are utilising what is their internal affairs to attack the Government of India and India? Now, a campaign against India is being launched. Why? Mr. Minister, has the Ministry of External Affairs not seen reports about it? I would have been very happy if the Prime Minister had been here to answer such an important question. Recently, several visits have taken place between Colombo and New Delhi by high-ranking U.S. officials who are very close to President Reagan. Are these facts not known? The Assistant Secretary of State, Mr. Richard Murphy, travelled between Colombo and New Delhi. All these things happen after the re-election of Mr. Reagan in America and after the assassination of the Prime Minister.

[Shri M. Kalyanasundaram]

ler of India. These visits have taken place during this period. The Special Emissary of Mr. Reagan visited Colombo and New Delhi and met our Ministers and officials of the External Affairs Ministry. Some Senators have also visited India. The latest visitor is the former Secretary of State, Mr. Kissinger. It is most unfortunate for him that the espionage conspiracy had burst up which accused the U.S.A. Administration and particularly their Central Intelligence Agency. What do these visits prove? Did they really take efforts to continue negotiations for a peaceful settlement of the so-called ethnic problem in Sri Lanka or did they give only encouragement by assuring them supply of arms and other financial assistance so that the negotiations can be broken and an open attack can be started against India? This question must be answered. And what is it that our officials talked to these gentlemen who pretended to be emissaries as if trying to bring about a compromise? Is it not a fact that after these visits, after every visit, the attack on the Tamils in the Tamil area has increased, killings have increased? What type of killings are they? It is very difficult to say. I have got the details. But all of them have also appeared in the Press. Those who have any consideration for human rights must examine the way in which the killings are conducted by the Sri Lankan Army. It is very true to say that the 'Tamils are terrorists because it is not true. They can exist there only with arms. Otherwise, they cannot. Either they have to surrender or leave the country. And are you prepared to take these three million Tamils from that island? That is what Jayawardene wants. Now, there is a plan. Is the Government of India aware of that plan to convert the Tamil majority area into Sinhala majority area? The plan is to induct 250 Sinhalese from each parliamentary constituency of Sinhalese majority area and transfer them and settle them in the Tamil majority area. And all the Sinhalese youth are to be given training in arms to be used against the Tamils. What does it mean? Is it just an ethnic problem? Is it the way of arriving at a political settlement or is

an attempt to make this problem permanent? That means, if the Sinhalese are in a different area, the Tamils are in a different area. Actually there is no clash between the Sinhalese and the Tamils. Those who are accused of terrorism, let that be challenged. Let them show a single incident where a Sinhalese civilian was killed even in a Tamil majority area. There are Sinhalese in Jaffna. I am not talking from press reports. I know all these things personally because I visited all these areas three times. I am speaking from personal knowledge. I am not saying from hearsay information. Now, they want the Sinhalese to actually kill the Tamils. They want to train them and to plant them in the Tamil majority area. Is it the way of reaching a political solution? Should not the whole world condemn the activities of the Jayawardene Government against Tamil population? I would like to ask our Minister whether he is aware that the entire Tamil area in the North, Jaffna and around, is cordoned off into a concentration camp reminiscent of these concentration camps of Hitler's Germany. Even in the coastal area, two lakhs of fishermen have been uprooted. They have been drawn inside, three miles away from the coast. Nobody can go near the coast. It is called a security zone and I will come to that point later. So, they are encircled like that. There is no transport facility. The Government employees get the cheques but they cannot go to a bank and encash them because the banks are not functioning. There is no food; people are asked to starve and die. Every such method is employed; military terrorism is resorted to and this method of attrition and starvation is resorted to in order to make the people of Tamil area surrender to Jayawardene Government. And by whom is this being encouraged. Is it a secret? These gentlemen who came here did that. Do they not have the influence to ask them to stop such atrocities? On the other hand, they are encouraging and giving all possible help.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BANTOSH KUMAR SAHU): Please frame questions.

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM:
I have not yet...

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRA-KANT BHANDARE (Maharashtra): He has just started.

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM:
Fishermen problem is there. I would request the whole House, through you, to bear with me so that I place some more facts before this House, so that the nation must know...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU): How long¹ will you take?

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM:
We can continue after lunch.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU): All right. The House stands adjourned for lunch and we reassemble at 2.05 p.m.

the House then adjourned for lunch at six minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at seven minutes past two of the clock, the Vice-Chairman (Shri Ashwani Kumar) in the Chair.

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THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ASHWANI KUMAR): We will continue with the discussion on the Calling attention. Mr. Kalyanasundaram may continue his speech.

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM:
Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, to continue from where I left in the morning, I was referring to some gentleman from the U.S. who had visited Colombo and New Delhi simultaneously under the guise of helping the process of a political settlement of the so-called ethnic problem in Sri Lanka.

But what they have done actually is, only to assure the Sri Lankan Government that they would supply arms to put down the terrorists. This encouragement is the main reason for the winding up of the All-Party Conference so suddenly, putting the blame on the Tamil United Liberation Front leaders. Why is it happening like this? Why should the U.S. imperialists show so much interest, why should the U.S. and their friends show so much interest, in Sri Lanka? Mr. Jaswant Singh, referred to the use of Trincomalee for storage of oil. Sir, our country offered better terms so that the countries inimical to us could be prevented from occupying there. Our terms were better. I do not know whether the hon. Minister will admit this or not. He may escape by saying that this concerns some other Minister. Is it true or not that our terms were better? But the Sri Lanka Government rejected it and wanted to give it to the U.S., to a U.S. company based in Singapore. It is not actually Singapore. It is a multinational company of the U.S. based in Singapore. They are interested in keeping up the internal destabilisation in Sri Lanka. They are interested in whipping up tensions between India and Sri Lanka. Sir, the Tamil population of Sri Lanka is indigenous, especially those who are living in the northern part of Sri Lanka are indigenous Tamils. That island belongs to these Tamilians as much as it belongs to the Sinhalese. Actually there is no clash between the Sinhalese and Tamils. They would have lived in peace but for the military terrorism of the Government since 1978 when UNP Government came to power there.

We must examine the reasons deeply. It is just 20 miles from our shore in the south. Up till now we were only concerned with the threats in the North East, in the North West and around Kashmir, but now the threat is becoming more serious in the south. That is what I want the Government to tell the nation. They know it but they will not speak. That is the danger. They will even mislead the House.

SHRI KHURSHID ALAM KHAN: I am sorry, I cannot accept it.

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM: By hiding the Facts you will be misleading the House. What are the reasons? The United States has its Indian Ocean base in Diego Garcia. They want to link it with their seventh fleet in the Pacific. Trincomalee and Sri Lanka are ideal to fill up the gap and link Diego Garcia with the seventh fleet in the Pacific. Thus their net work in the Indian Ocean will be strong. That is the game behind this. How can you blame India's foreign policy for this? There are forces in our country who will try to tilt the foreign policy of our country from nonalignment towards imperialism. Let us learn from the lesson of Sri Lanka. That is what has happened to Sri Lanka. After the UNP Government under the presidency of Jayewardene took over, they tilted towards imperialism and their island has now become a nest of all these imperialist intrigues and it is the Sinhalese and Tamil (people, both suffering there. Even the Sinhalese people are now resisting, they are blaming the Government for this chaos. Let us understand what is happening in this island. My appeal to the Tamils also is that they should combine their interests together with the interests of the Sinhalese people.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ASHWANI KUMAR) : Now please put the question. You have already taken some time.

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM. If you do not want, if you are only concerned with time, it's difficult. Even to put the question I must tell the facts. Even the Minister may not know the facts. He has prepared the (statement on the basis of some official notes. This is a very sensitive question.

SHRI KHURSHID ALAM KHAN: What is the other way of preparing the statement?

SHRI DEBA PRASAD RAY: (West Bengal); If the Member feels that the Minister has no answer, the Member has

no point to ask the question.
(Interruptions)

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM: I know the Minister is in a hurry, he has got some more engagements.

Now, the Tamil population of Sri Lanka, on the other side and the Tamil population on this side are inseparable culturally and traditionally. So, whatever happens on the other side will have its repercussions in our country. Already some thousands of refugees are in our country and our Government is not looking after them properly. That apart, the attack is now extended. They attacked Tamils on their northern parts. Now the attack on the Tamils on the mainland is being resorted to through Palk Straits in the name of fishermen residing on the coastal area from Rameshwaram to the point Calimere which is washed by the area called Palk Straits. It is a nature's gift to both Sri Lanka and India. It is a shallow water; it is not a deep sea. Big vessels cannot pass through. Only it can be used for fishing and other economic development. Sir, I recently visited Rameshwaram and all that coastal area and all the fishing centres. I am speaking from personal knowledge. I met thousands of fishermen—both those who use the power boats and those who use the country boats: Nearly 2000 boats are idle around Rameshwaram alone. That means about 10,000 fishermen in that island are idle. They have no means of livelihood. This goes up to Point Calimere in the north covering Rameshwaram, Pudukkottai and Thanjavur. Nearly 2 lakh fishermen are affected. What is the crime they have committed? Why are they being throttled and killed? Government themselves have given the figures that there were 9 incidents in 1983 and the number increased to 12 incidents in 1984. But recently, during the past two months, the activities of Sri Lankan naval boats have increased out of proportion, in spite of the fact that there is an agreement between India and Sri Lanka entered into in 1974 between Sirimovo Bandarnaike, Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, and Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ASHWANI KUMAR): I request you to put the questions. You have already taken enough time.

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM: Government of India is unable to protect them. That is my grievance. If I may read a portion from the speech made by the then External Affairs Minister, the House will understand the problem. While introducing that agreement before the House. Mr. Swaran Singh, the then External Affairs Minister had stated like this—and I quote;

"The agreement demarcating the maritime boundary 'in the Palk Bay will be considered' as fair, just and equitable to both the countries./ At the same time I wish to remind the hon. Members that in concluding this agreement the rights of fishing, pilgrimage and navigation which both sides have enjoyed in the past have been fully safeguarded for the future".

This is the crux of the agreement. There is the island called Katchatheers. This falls just on the other side of the maritime boundary—just two miles away from the maritime boundary. Sri Lanka in the guise of expanding their security zone have extended it upto Katchatheevu. The agreement does not speak about militarization of Palk Straits. Then why is it being militarized? How is the security and independence of Sri Lanka threatened? Is India threatening it?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ASHWANI KUMAR): You have already taken so much time. I will not allow you more than a minute. After all there is a limit.

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM: Then I will not speak. That is all.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ASHWANI KUMAR): No, not come, questions.

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM: Government admits that our fishermen are afraid of going there. Three fishermen have been killed; 17 fishermen have been arrested. After all these things have happened, what has our Navy done? Our

naval boat Jijibai has captured Srilankan patrol craft with its crew. They are here. Now negotiations are going on for exchanging them with our fishermen arrested by them. Will that solve the problem? What is the final solution? That will not solve the problem.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ASHWANI KUMAR): Now please let him answer. You please "finish."

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM: He is not answering individual Members.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ASHWANI KUMAR): Others have to speak. After all how much time will you take?

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM: I will take another ten minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ASHWANI KUMAR): That is not possible.

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM: Then you ask me to sit down and I will resume my seat.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ASHWANI KUMAR): Please sit down. You have already taken more than anybody else has taken. It is not proper that you take so much time.

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM: Can't you allow me to conclude?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ASHWANI KUMAR): I can give you just one minute.

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM: In one minute it is not possible. I have gone there. The Government should protect the rights of Indian fishermen as was promised by Mr. Swaran Singh in 1974 in the Lok Sabha. Why are they killed like this? If the Government fails to protect the fishermen, they decided to lead a march. Thousands of boats will march to Kachchatheevu to enforce the right that this country has according to the agreement of 1974.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ASHWANI KUMAR): Please ask the question.

SHRI M. KALYANA.SUNDARAM: I am coming.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ASHWANI KUMAR): No, not come. Please conclude. I request you to please conclude.

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM: But by entering into a discussion with me like this, you are wasting more time. If you had allowed me I would have finished. I see your anxiety. I am not obstructing you; I am not a man of that type. I am trying to help the proceedings. You kindly cooperate with me. Then I will be able to finish it. -

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ASHWANI KUMAR): I am fully co-operating with you but you are not cooperating. I have given you one or two more minutes because you are a very senior Member. Please conclude. There are other Members also who have to speak and the Minister has to reply. You cannot take the floor for the whole day.

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM: Several boats have been damaged and sunk. What is the relief they are going to give? Two fishermen have been killed. What is the relief that the Government of India is going to give to those people? What steps is the Government of India going to take to protect the lawful rights of our fishermen to go to Kachchaithivu and fish in that area? Will the Government seek a lasting solution to this whole problem of the Palk Straits and the Gulf of Mannar in the light of the agreement and demand that their naval boats should be close to their own shores and not close to any maritime boundary and they "should not enter our territorial waters? Will the Government arrange for a high-level discussion for having a final settlement so that the Sri Lanka naval boats do not enter anywhere near our maritime boundary? They should confine themselves to their so-called security zone and there should be no further harassment of Indian fisher-

men in the Palk Straits or the Half of Mannar. Their naval boats are placed there. What further steps is the Government of India going to take to protect Indian fishermen?

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, with a most depressed and distressed heart, tormenting agony and anguish I once again am on my legs in this House to participate in the Call-Attention on the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka. Sir, never before had the Tamils in the Jaffna peninsula faced such brutal and savage onslaughts of the security forces and the Sinhala thugs on an unarmed population of children and women. Men, women and children are killed by a strong force of security and armed forces in Jaffna and kept in siege.

Sir, I remember, very sadly, the most emotional speech of the then Prime Minister our beloved Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi, on 8th August 1984 on the floor of this House. Sir, when Mrs. Gandhi was assassinated here, when the news reached Sri Lanka, now where on earth other than in India people mourned with such grief as the Tamils in Jaffna mourned the death of Mrs. Indira Gandhi. Mrs. Indira Gandhi was their only hope. She was considered as their goddess. I saw a video cassette which shows how Mrs. Gandhi's death was mourned in houses in Jaffna. Every house in Jaffna was a house of sorrow and tears. When twenty youths wearing black shirt were waving black flags to mourn the death of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, they were shot dead by the Sinhala troops. Then the troops sang obscene songs and questioned, "Where is your mother? Will your mother come here and rescue you?" And then they sang "S baila". This took place there. The TULF President, Mr. Amrithalingam, made a statement about this. Why are they hunted and hounded like animals in Sri Lanka? My friend, Mr. Jaswant Singh, elaborated the problem of Sri Lanka.

Sir, for three decades they have been agitating by peaceful methods to get justice. They do not get employment in the Government. They cannot go to schools and colleges. They were treated like dogs, animals. Why? Because they

were Tamils, they were hounded and hunted like animals in Sri Lanka. Because they were Tamils, the Hindu temples, the Muslim mosques, the Christian churches were ransacked, damaged, and the Christian nunnery was damaged. Because they were Tamil, their great Jaffna Library in 1981 and the Hartley College Library in 1984 were burnt to ashes. Because they were Tamils, their youth were killed, their skulls were broken and their brain tissues were spilled over the highways. Because they were Tamils, their kids were thrown into flames. Because they were Tamils the pregnant women were attacked, their abdomens were torn open, the foetuses were dragged out and dashed to the ground. Because they were Tamils, the women were raped in the streets. Because they were Tamils, they were killed. Because they were Tamils, the women were raped by the military, the most undisciplined military, as reported by the "NEWSWEEK" Sir, the draconian laws still prevail there. They could kill any Tamil, the armed forces, and they could dispose of the dead body without any autopsy, without any post-mortem. Could you find such a law anywhere in the world? Sir, because of these things, they were forced to resort to armed resistance. Terrorism must not be confused with armed resistance. They have no other go. That is why they are fighting.

Sir, I am very sorry to tell this House, We have discussed about this umpteen number of times on the floor of this House and the other House every year, every session, but, Sir, next year there would not be any necessity to discuss the Sri Lanka issue on the floor of this House. Why? By that time the whole population would have been wiped out as *vowed* by the Internal Security Minister, Mr. Athulathmudali. Only two minutes silence will be observed to mourn the deaths of Tamils in Sri Lanka". This is the situation there. Every time we discussed the matter here, we put questions, we got answers, and again some thousand people were killed there. The situation is going from bad to worse.

Our hon. Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, who is considered to be a dynamic Prime Minister by some of my colleagues, promised that a political solution would be found. Sir, at this juncture, with a painful heart, I ask: What political solution, what negotiations? A political solution was assured when Mr. I. R. Jayawardene came here; He put forth certain proposals to the then Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi. Sir, those proposals were not included in the agenda at all for the all-party conference. But the same proposals were put forth here.

Sir, we mourned the death of Mrs. Gandhi. The Tamils in Jaffna also mourned the death. 700 millions in this country mourned the death. In Tamil Nadu every House, irrespective of party affiliations, mourned it. Even my leader described that the Indian peninsula was not floating on waters, but it was floating on tears, when Madam Indira Gandhi was assassinated. Sir, when our people are dying there, there would not be anybody to mourn for hereafter.

Madam Mrs. Gandhi was fond of a poem. I would like to quote that poem which was quoted to a foreign interviewer by Mrs. Indira Gandhi several years back:

Mourn not the dead; "But rather mourn
the apathetic throng;

The cowed and the meek

Who see the world's great anguish,
and wrong.

And dare not speak.

So, who are the apathetic throng? If we keep our eyes shut, if we do not raise our voice when human rights are violated, it is wrong. Such a situation should not come. Sir, I do not want to go into the details. Sir, in 1957 and again in 1965 there were two pacts and both pacts were abrogated by the same Jayawardene. I warned the Government on the floor of this House last year that the same thing will happen like Chamberlain was hoodwinked by Hitler. Jayawar-

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deceit is readily waiting to hoodwink and is trying to buy time. At the same time, he was getting services from MOSSAD. He was getting services from S. I. S. United Kingdom. He was getting services from Malaysian Government. He was getting services from South African Government to crush our people. After this, what is taking place now. Sir, now the situation is very grave. My hon. friend, Mr. Kalyamasundaram, had he been given some time he would have elaborated about the colonisation started some years back. Now, this colonisation is taking place in the traditional home-land of Tamils—Jaffna. Sir, this is the move of the MOSSAD. This is the strategy of the MOSSAD to repeat the West Bank colonisation by Jews overnight in violation of the Camp David Agreement between India and Israel. The West Bank colonisation was done by the Jews. The same thing is taking place in Jaffna. By whom? The Sinhalese are settled there. Who are the Sinhalese? The convicts of the prison who did the massacre which was not witnessed anywhere in the world. Inside the jail in Wellikadi the convicts killed nearly 35 Tamils including the great heroes SCuttymani, Jagan and Thangidoni. The very convicts have been released. They are settled there. Who are these convicts? They are Sinhalese. They are thugs. They have been given arms. They are supplied with weapons. Here you are saying our Tamils should practice satyagraha. Is it possible? Had Hitler ruled this country, Mahatma Gandhi would not have been able to practice satyagraha. Because the Britishers ruled this country it was possible. So the Sinhalese are speaking through guns. If you call Tamils in Sri Lanka as terrorists, then you should call all the great heroes and revolutionaries like Bhagat Singh and Khudi Ram Bose as terrorists. They have no other go. They are fighting, but they are dying. Not only that 30,000 Sinhalese are going to be settled there because of the latest colonisation programme. Even two days back Jaywardene said 'yes I am going to implement that'.

Sir, in the Coastal areas, the Northern and Eastern provinces the fishermen have

been asked to evacuate their houses. They are not permitted for fishing. So they cannot earn their bread. They are starving and some of the families have sold their treasures and jewels. So, they cannot go for fishing. The entire seashore fishing was their only living source. They cannot live now. In every village, in every hamlet and in every town the Army goes there. The youths are rounded up and are taken to the Army camps. They are tortured as the victims were tortured in Belson and Ashweiz camps by Hitler. So the youths are fleeing from that country. Nearly 30,000 youths are in Western Europe. I met them in the month of July last year. They are not able to earn even a loaf of bread there. They are also in West Germany, Italy, Rome, Switzerland, France, England, Norway, Sweden and Belgium. Now, Sir, two days back a shocking news appeared in the press that Netherlands Government have deported 45 Tamils to Sri Lanka. For what? If the Tamils are sent there, they will be immediately taken to the army-camps, they will be tortured and they will be killed. Even the United Nations Human Rights Division has made a protest with the Netherlands Government. Sir, sometime back our hon. the then Prime Minister made a statement that international public opinion should be mobilised. Sir, it is most unfortunate that we have failed to mobilise international public opinion. We have failed to mobilise opinion on this issue, on this vital issue. So the Netherlands Government is deporting 45 Tamils, and other Governments may follow suit. This is what we see in the press. What is happening? They have no place to go. They have no shelter to get. They cannot live there. They cannot go anywhere. So people are speaking about human rights. Let the Charter of Human Rights be thrown into the deep sea. What is the use of the Charter of Human Rights? Has this Government taken up the issue with the Netherlands Government? Why are you afraid? Because friends like Mr. Jaswant Singh may come and say that it will be an interference in other countries' affairs. Sir, my simple question is, what happened when our troops marched into East Pakistan? It was because according to the same poem that I quoted—we could

not be an "apathetic throng", we could not be the "cowed and meek to see the anguish and wrong" at the door of our country. That is why we interfered. At that time, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee greeted Madam Indira Gandhi as the "Durga of India". Was it not intervention in the affairs of a foreign country? Sir, this is a sensitive matter. As I have already told you, next time, next year, I think there would not be any necessity to speak on this issue. Rather I was a little bit hesitant to speak on this issue.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ASHWANI KUMAR): [am just requesting you. This is not a debate. This is Calling Attention. You put questions. I have given you enough time. That is the cooperation that I am seeking from you.

SHRI MURLTDHAR CHANDRA KANT BHANDARE: Sir, if I remember correctly, as far as I remember, the Secretary-General while announcing the business •said that there would be a debate on this, on both issues. I mean, you can still look back and we can have the tape also (played, if necessary. That it comes in the form of a Calling Attention is not really very relevant because I have noted that the hon. Member, Mr. Jaswaht Singh, has* taken exactly 26 minutes., and the hon. Member, Mr. Kalyanasundaram has taken 36 minutes. Now I do not know how you are going to restrict the remaining speakers. (Interruptions) And this was mentioned as a debate when the business announced.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I have taken only 16 minutes. Another ten minutes, please. (Previously when the issue was discussed, the Calling Attention had been converted into a full-fledged discussion. When the Calling Attention took place last time, there was a full-fledged discussion. Sir, though many names are there. I think only Mr. Aladi Aruna and Mr. Bhandare, only two Or three "Members, will take some time. But I do not want to swallow the time of the House. I would only like to bring to the "notice of our External Affairs Minister and to the notice of this House certain issues.

Sir, when Mrs. Gandhi raised the banner of freedom for Bangladesh, she was congratulated and greeted as the "Durga of India". Now people come and say. "Don't interfere in the internal affairs of Sri Lanka* It is not an internal matter. It is a universal matter. It is a 'universal problem of human rights we cannot shut our eyes to it. You may say that this is different from Bangladesh. You may equate the situation of Punjab with Sri Lanka. People have not understood what is taking place. Here no Sikh is a second-rate citizen in this country, they may be having their own grievances. But they are also treated as equal citizens with others. There in Sri Lanka for 30 years, Tamils have been treated as second-rate citizens; they have been treated as a subject race. You should not equate both the situations. That is why they have come to the conclusion that they should get their own country. Theirs is a free-- dom struggle. It is not a secessionist movement. It is a freedom movement Sir, we have failed to mobilise world opinion, international opinion. Twenty times Sri Lanka naval boats entered, intruded, into our territorial waters; twenty times. This is the statement made in the Lok Sabha by the Prime Minister in reply to a question, in a written answer, and three persons were killed. In October fishermen were taken into custody in Sri Lanka—they were our own citizens. They were abused, assaulted and treated very badly. Even now seventeen skippers are languishing in jail there. At last we have captured a naval boat, a patrol boat. And my colleague says we should not encourage any sort of thing which will not be in good spirit of developing friendly relations with a neighbouring country. The whole population in Sri Lanka, that is, Lanka Tamils and citizens of Indian origin and also Indian citizens, are all killed. This is the time to take firm action. When our honourable Mr. Rajiv Gandhi came to Tamil Nadu for election campaign, he made a speech at Salem and he referred to the Sri Lanka problem and said that the whole approach to the Sri Lanka problem would be reviewed by the Indian Government. What is the review? You sought for negotiations""and Political

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settlement from 1983 onwards and every-time layawardehe and others carte here, what assurances were given, all of them, have gone back on their promises. Again you are going to receive Jayawardene. You received him: when he came here with his hands smeared with blood of Tamils. Are you going to receive him again, welcome him again? At the same time Athulath Mudali, Security Minister of Sri Lanka—the Minister of Insecurity for Tamils—says the entire Tamil race will be wiped out, even a hundred Indians will not be able to subjugate us. This is the statement of Athulath Mudali. And you are going to have a dialogue with them. For what purpose? Unless you take a stern action the problem will not get solved. Therefore, I would ask the Government; Are you going to recognise Eelam or not? You recognised the PLO. Are you going to give an ultimatum to the Sri Lankan Government to stop killings or not? You give them an ultimatum and if that ultimatum does not serve the purpose,—this is my view, my demand—then *you* break the diplomatic "relations, call back our High Commissioner and send back their High Commissioner. You recognised Eelam and, above all, when killings are going on, I would request you to send our armed forces. I have got every right to demand, nobody can criti-me, this is my view; I pay taxes for the Indian army. When my mother, sisters and offiers are raped and their kids are thrown into the flames there, when the entire race is going to fee' wiped out, I have every right to demand such a stern measure. Unless you take such an action, there is going to take place a terrible tragedy, an entire population is going to be wiped out, Tamils are going to be wiped out. And than you will be passing a condolence resolution here for the millions of Tamils killed there...

SHRI KHURSHID ALAM KHAN: Mr. Vice-Chairman, I have to make a request to you. I have to sign an agreement with the Argentina representatives today. If you permit, I could answer the debate tomorrow. There are some more speakers on this and they can speak now. Only if I can go at 3 O'clock will it be

possible for me to sign the agreement with them. I would submit to the Members of the House to consider this suggestion.

SHRI IASWANT SINGH-. If the Minister of State for External Affairs wants to go and sign some document, it is certainly understandable and I appreciate his difficulty. But there is a Minister for External Affairs. It is after all collective responsibility. Tomorrow we will be 'having Private Members' business. It is not possible for us to wait till tomorrow, for the Minister's reply. I am not in favour of curtailment of the debate either.

SHRI KHURSHID ALAM KHAN: In that case, when I come back after I sign the agreement, we can re"sume the debate.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ASHWANI KUMAR): How long will the Minister take for signing the agreement?

SHRI KHURSHID ALAM KHAJM: The signing will not take very long. But the formalities will take time. If I go at 3 O'clock most probably I will be back by 4.30 or by quarter to 5 P. M. and then reply.

SHRI SUSHIL CHAND MOHUNTA (Haryana): In the meantime the debate can continue. The Parliamentary Affairs Minister can take down notes.

SHRI MURLIDHAR" CHANDRA-'KANT BHANDARE; The officials of the External Affairs Ministry will also be taking down notes.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA): We have four bills before us even after that. If this debate is to continue till 4.30 it will be difficult for us to complete the business for the day- Therefore, Calling Attention may be finished as early as possible. Other"Ministers are waiting for the Calling Attention to finsh. 'Some of the Bills have to be sent to the other House. Otherwise there will be no business for them tomorrow.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRA-SCANT BHANDARE: We have Monday and Tuesday. Only on Wednesday we will be taking up other legislative work.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ASHWANI KUMAR): Let us agree to continue the debate till 3 O'clock and then to take up the Sugar Undertakings (Taking Over of Management) Amendment Bill. After 5 O'clock, we will continue the Calling Attention and the Minister can give a reply. The Sugar Bill has to go to the Lok Sabha today. After passing it, we will continue to discuss Calling Attention.

SHRI SUSHIL CHAND MOHUNTA: This debate may be closed even before the Minister returns.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRA-KANT BHANDARE: Nobody is in favour of adjournment of the debate now. I think if we continue the debate, it may well be over by 4 O'clock. The Minister can give his reply after he comes back.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: (SHRI ASHWANI KUMAR): If everybody agrees that the debate can go on in the absence of the Minister, then the debate goes on. (*Interruptions*).

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Yes.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Sir, I go along with the sense of the House. But, as the Mover of the Motion, I would like to record that the absence of both the Minister of State for External Affairs and the Minister of External Affairs is an unusual absence.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRA-KANT BHANDARE: Then we can give him the permission. This is not fair at all, Sir. Then let it be adjourned till 5.00. What is it that the honourable Member is adding now? (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ASHWANI KUMAR): Anyhow, you have to decide one way or the other now. (*Interruptions*).

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SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: Sir, Calling-Attention debate is not a whole-day debate. It should be finished within a particular time-limit.

SHRI SUSHIL CHAND MOHUNTA: Sir, I have not yet started. What is the point of adjourning it now? (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ASHWANI KUMAR): Then, we will go on with this debate up to 5.00 P.M. and thereafter the sugar undertakings Bill can be taken up. The Minister will reply at the end and then will have Special Mentions. Yes, Mr. Mohunta.

SHRI SUSHIL CHAND MOHUNTA: Sir, it is most unfortunate that the Sri Lanka problem has lingered on for such a long time and that this problem has escalated and we are not nearing any solution at all. No solution is in sight. The stand of the Indian Government is also very strange. When we say that we hope that the problem will be solved, we have no positive action on our part to contribute towards the solution of the problem, because when we can pray, when we can hope, we can also speak in terms of a solution, but can offer no solution at all since it concerns the internal affairs of a foreign country. Now, Sir, it is very extraordinary that a novel method of aggression against this country has been started by Sri Lanka. Forty thousand or more people have been turned out from the Sri Lankan land and they have been made to come to and settle down in this country and this is a problem of aggression. The Sri Lankan Navy has committed acts of aggression by infringing on the territorial waters of the country. Not only this, Sir. The Sri Lankan Navy and their patrol boats have been responsible for attacking our fishermen and taking them from within the territorial waters of India into their own custody, thereby infringing on the sovereign rights of this country.

Sir, a systematic programme of genocide of the Tamilian population in Sri Lanka is afoot and I very much agree with Mr. Gopalsamy when he says that after the lapse of another year, we will

[Shri Sushil Chand Mohunta]

not be having the problem at all, we will have no reason to debate it, because the genocide programme is now being implemented with such a speed that there won't be any Tamilian population living in Sri Lanka for this House to debate on.

Now, Sir, the question is this; What has happened to our diplomacy? Is it a state of utter helplessness or we can say today that these acts of aggression cannot be tolerated? Now, Sir, there are a number of ways in which the Indian Government can intervene. One method is to create a strong international opinion against the genocide by the Sri Lankan Government. This problem can be taken up in the United Nations Organisation. After all, the United Nations' Charter is a guarantee for human rights in all parts of the world and considering the merciless manner in which the Tamilian population in Sri Lanka is being annihilated, the world, especially India which is close to Sri Lanka, cannot be a silent spectator to it. We must finally decide as to whether we are to see the annihilation of the Tamil population there or to come to its rescue. I do not say that immediately we should start off military operations against Sri Lanka. That is not what I am suggesting. But certainly it can be made known to Sri Lanka that this novel method of aggression cannot be tolerated for long. These people who have been sent as refugees into our country must be accommodated back into Sri Lanka. After all, such a problem did arise in Germany. When the Jewish population of Germany was being exterminated from that country, the whole world sat around and decided to help the Jewish population subsequently Israel was born. These people of Tamil origin who have been living in Sri Lanka now for centuries and even earlier to the Sinhalese population, this Tamilian population, though being in minority in Sri Lanka, must be accorded satisfactory protection. Innocent people, women and innocent children have been killed, mercilessly beaten and raped and their property confiscated. And this new and

novel method of invading or forcing the Tamilian population out of Sri Lanka and by settling the Sinhalese population over there should not be tolerated. We can see the consequences. The Tamils will forfeit their right of fishing. Economically they will be ruined and crippled and they will be forced to jump into the sea or to seek protection in some neighbouring country which can harbour them, for some time and give them succour and help. So we cannot sit silently. To say that we hope that this problem will be solved, we are asking the Sri Lanka Government to accommodate them or we are negotiating for a political settlement—these are words of impotency. This reflects the impotency of the Indian Government. In any case, the Indian Government has to intervene, may be in any manner. I would like to cite the case of Cuba. When the Russians were supplying the military hardware they blockaded Cuba. The Russian military hardware was stopped from Cuba, did not flow into Cuba. We do not want any aggression against anyone. We want to protect our own rights, the rights of our own people, and safeguard the territorial waters of this country and also to see that our Tamilians who are fishing in these waters have the necessary safety and protection of the Indian naval boats. After all, what has happened now in these waters is a matter of concern. We cannot overlook it. And if the relationship with that country only depends upon our playing soft I do not think we would serve the interests of our country. Therefore, Sir, I would suggest that the Indian Government should take up the strongest view against the Sri Lanka Government and see that the Tamil people get their due share of protection and are not annihilated in that country.

The Vice-Chairman Shri Syed Rahmat Ali) in the Chair.]

Therefore, Sir, I would like to put a question: Is the Indian Government prepared to deviate from the soft course it is taking and take a stronger line and see that the Sri Lanka Government either takes back these Tamilians into Sri Lanka, give them protection, stops their

annihilation keeps its military under control, and stops aggression against India by intruding into our territorial waters and sending our people into our country. Is the Government prepared to see that respect which 'any country must have towards its neighbour must be there. Is the Indian Government prepared to take that line or is it going to be a silent witness to the genocide being committed in Sri Lanka?

3.00 P.M.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRA-KANT BHADARE; Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, we are debating an issue of considerable importance and I am conscious that this is not an occasion when one should put too much of passion in one's speech. That island, Sri Lanka, has been our neighbour and we have shared humanistic traditions and democratic structure. When we find that other neighbours around us do not have democratic processes or structures and (his small island is preserving democracy, our regret for what is happening in that neighbouring country is all the more.

There are two fundamental ways of looking at the problem. There is no doubt that to a great extent this is the internal problem of a country. There is no doubt that our country, at all times followed a policy of non interference with the internal problems of other countries. *(Interruptions)* As I was telling, the most important aspect of the matter which concerns the whole globe, the entire planet, the whole world and from which, nobody can keep away or remain in isolation and which has also been highlighted by the speakers who preceded me is the problem of the violation of human rights. Speaking on behalf of my country in the India Parliament, I feel proud because nobody has abjured violence as we have done. In fact, one of the fundamental duties for every citizen of this country under Our Constitution is to abjure violence. Therefore, in no uncertain terms, I share the views of the Government that we must condemn all violence and in condemning all violence we must also go to the root of the vio-

lence. It was a matter of deep regret that some Members did not try to discern and distinguish the position which is prevailing in Sri Lanka and the position which obtains elsewhere. So far as the violation of human rights is concerned, very independent and objective studies have been made by non-governmental organisations, particularly the International Commission of Jurists and the report is known as the Paul Seighan Report. It makes a very vivid revelation of the gross violation of human rights of the Tamilians in Sri Lanka. There is another report which is published by the Amnesty International. These two reports clearly bring out that what is today prevailing in Sri Lanka is State terrorism. There is a world of difference between terrorism and State terrorism. In the case of State terrorism, the law enforcers become the law breakers. Those who are meant to save the life and property of the people themselves become the violators. They themselves become the breakers. They themselves cause damage to the life and property of the minority population. When these things happen, I don't think that anybody in the world can be a silent spectator and say that it is the internal problem of a particular nation. When millions are starving in Ethiopia, it becomes a world problem, it becomes the duty of every nation to send food there. And particularly we have got a very proud record which I must recall at this stage because we had a similar problem of a much bigger dimension and magnitude and that was the Bangladesh problem. In a way it was an internal problem of undivided Pakistan. But then as a result of suppression of all human rights there, as many as 10 million refugees had come to our country. And we had then to deal with the problem in a manner which won freedom for those oppressed Bangladeshis. And we had to fight a memorable war in 1971. This problem is also a similar one though some what of comparatively smaller dimensions because it is just not what is happening in Sri Lanka which is material but we cannot forget the fact that at least 40,000 people have crossed over and have become refugees. And I do not share the pessimism and the dark warning which hon.

[Shri Murlidhar Chandrakant Bhandare]

Mr. Gopalsamy gave. I don't think, they will be annihilated. But they will come back to our country and we will have another problem of having millions of Tamils who have had to leave their homes in Sri Lanka because of the gross violation. These are matters, therefore, to which we as Members of the Indian Parliament, we as those who champion the eradication of violence from the body politic in every part of the world have to address ourselves. In fact, the present Government is voted by a massive mandate, a mandate unknown hitherto to ensure that violence has no place in our orderly society. As the leader of the Nations in search of peace and protection of the weaker elements in our society, it becomes also our bounden duty to see that adequate measures are taken to see that the minority rights anywhere are not trampled. The violence which was there in July-August, 1983, March, April, and August, 1984, and which has again escalated in November-December, 1984 and continues till today has put a complete deadlock to the negotiating process.

Sir, if one were to analyse these incidents, I think the following very serious and quite disconcerting trends have emerged. Firstly, the most important and the most distressing thing which must be set right at once is that the desire to find a negotiated political solution to the problem of Tamils' demands seem to have waned, and available evidence points towards the Government there opting for a purely law and order approach through resort to naked force. Secondly, even as many Tamils in the rest of the country have fled from the Non-Tamil areas by retreating into their traditional lands in the Northern and Eastern provinces of Sri Lanka, the scene of violence has now been shifted and kept confined to these predominantly Tamil areas of Sri Lanka. These provinces have been cordoned off from the rest of the country through the stationing there of 5,000 out of a total number of 14,000 Sri Lankan troops who are almost entirely Sinhalese in composition and have replaced the local Administration and Police authorities, not to

mention the training which has been given by the Mossad and the British elements which have been engaged for training the Sinhalese volunteers. Thirdly, the violence against the Tamils has become a matter of direct action by the Government through the use of security forces and it is now no longer a question of sporadic communal violence but one of State-directed violence against the Tamil population—a form of collective reprisals against a community through acts of loot, arson and insensate killing. Fourthly, even if the Government's actions are interpreted as its necessary countermeasures against law breakers, a large number of newspaper testify to the fact that in carrying out their assigned task, the security forces have acted without discipline or accountability and hit innocent civilian population indiscriminately, a fact admitted by the Government itself.

Fifthly, the dimensions of the violence have so evolved that there now seems to be a pattern of systematic and continuing violence against the Tamils—almost a plan of action.

All these trends add up to a grim of scenario and bound to leave in their trail bitterness, insecurity and hatred. In the circumstances, the task of maintaining peace and restoring harmony among the two ethnic communities and setting into motion reconciliation measures with a view to finding a lasting solution seems to evade a solution. This is what I have to say so far as the human rights are concerned.

The second aspect of the matter is the direct repercussions so far as encroachments on our fishermen, on our citizens are concerned. That is a matter of grave concern and no sovereign nation should at any point of time or at any cost, yield on the basic principle of retaining its sovereignty. We have seized one Sri Lankan naval vessel; but that is not enough. The hon. Minister in his speech has stated that he has strengthened the coastal guard. But that is not enough. He must assure the House that not a single fisherman of India will ever be touched by the Sri Lankan navy or the Sri Lankan people.'

think steps must be taken; it is just not question of seizing one vessel. If necessary, we must put up our whole navy to see that they do not encroach upon our waters nor do they seize our fishermen.

I will touch upon a few points which have been raised by my esteemed friend, Mr. Jaswant Singh. I was wondering whether he was talking in the Indian Parliament or he was talking in a senate somewhere else. He talked about the failure of our diplomacy. I think if any thing we should be proud of our diplomacy. Even during the Bangladesh conflict, we should show the utmost of patience. At that time our late Prime Minister sent emissaries everywhere round the world for the world to appreciate the difficulties of Bangladesh and appreciate the stand of India on that very sensitive issue...

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: But failed.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRA-KANT BHANDARE: But they failed and we succeeded. Those who want to be impatient, like my friend Mr. Gopalsamy, may feel that we have failed; but we have not failed. I am quite sure, I have got full faith not only in the Minister of State who is here, who was with us till recently—a Member of this House—but also in the Prime Minister to do all that is necessary to keep these violations in check, to protect the territorial sovereignty in waters of our country. I have no doubt at all, and I really regret that there is a comparison drawn by some Members not forgetting the essential distinction between terrorism and State terrorism which has no sanction in any civilized society. I think it is just a problem which the Sri Lanka Government does not want to solve through normal process. They seem to be giving too much of emphasis on security measures of the problem. I think our Prime Minister has taken courageous and correct stand that if there is peace in Sri Lanka, it is to our good. We will not interfere with the internal problems of any country till they have repercussions on us. If these repercussions grow, then, it is for them to find out whether these repercussions will grow

further, whether they will be kept in check or whether they will be eliminated. But there should be an assurance which, this House must give to the rest of this country that so far as our Tamil brethren in Sri Lanka are concerned, nothing will be wanting, nothing will be missing and nothing will remain to be done by our Government, particularly; by our young and dynamic Prime Minister.

Sir, in the end, I only wish to ask the hon. Minister of External Affairs whether he would assure the House that all steps will be taken (a) to protect the lives of the innocent fishermen who go out to catch fish from the various fishing villages of Tamil Nadu and (b) that he will take up the issue before the international forum so that there is vindication of human rights and at the same time there is condemnation of the violation of human rights by Sri Lanka.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA *alias* V. ARUNACHALAM (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, at the outset, I condemn president Jayewardene, and his Government for perpetrating the violent activities and savage attacks such as massacre, looting, arson and rape against the Tamils in Sri Lanka since 1983. In the last three months, the armed forces of Sri Lanka under the pretext of curbing the violent activities of the terrorists and annihilating terrorism and maintaining the unity and integrity of Sri Lanka, ruthlessly killed the innocent Tamils, mercilessly set fire to their property and heartlessly attacked them with brutality and barbarity. The Buddhist country has become a butcher's stall. In 1983, the Sri Lankan Army with the blessings of the Sri Lankan Government, massacred one thousand Tamils, in areas where the Tamils are a minority. Now, with sophisticated weapons and increased strength of the Army, they are killing the Tamils in areas where, the Tamils are a majority. These attacks against the Tamils are unparalleled in the history of any democratic country. Innocent Tamils are harassed, hacked and killed. They are not able to come out of their residences. They are shot dead even when they travel in buses. The Army does not allow even the children to

[Shri Aladi Aruaia *alias* V. Arunachajem] survive in the hands of their mothers, who have been ruthlessly killed by them. The race which adores the chastity of married women and glorifies the virginity of unmarried women has been ruthlessly (humiliated, by molestation and rape of their women. Sir, nearly one hundred women have killed themselves by suicide. It is for the information of the House that at least 3,500 Tamils have been killed since 1983 by the Sri Lankan Army.

Sir, the Sri Lankan Government has created a non-man's land along the eastern and northern coast of Sri Lanka. This is called 'prohibited zone'. After the declaration of this 'prohibited zone', Tamil fishermen in Sri Lanka are not able to fish in the sea. Nearly two lakh families have been deprived of their livelihood. If they sail out into the sea for catching fish, they are threatened at the point of gun. The Sri Lankan Government uses the Army, Navy and its Airforce only to wipe out the Tamils from their soil, which they inhabited and inherited earlier than the Sinhalese. The object of the Sri Lankan Government is not to eradicate the terrorists, but to exterminate the Tamils. Therefore, the question before this House is, whether the Government is prepared to protect the rights, the lives and the property of the Tamils in Sri Lanka. If it is a riot or violence between the two groups of Tamils and Sinhalese, the Government can think of neutrality and principle of non-interference and teach the sermons of non-violence and salient features of international law, but, Sir, it is a planned attack and a war measure against the Tamils by Government itself. It is an undeclared war on the minority who have every right to live in equality. Therefore, the responsibility of this Government is to protect our Tamil brethren. If this Government still believes in the process of negotiations, there will be no end to the blood shed army atrocity. If sending the army is the only solution the Government need not hesitate to do so to protect our Tamil people. Whatever the policy you follow, whatever method you adopt, the paramount responsibility of the Government is to accept the burden of protect-

ing the Tamil people in Sri Lanka. We cannot run away from this responsibility for the reasons:

- (1) The victims are our brothers;
- (2) Since Sri Lanka is located just at a distance of 22 miles, any political turmoil will influence the situation prevailing in Tamil Nadu.
- (3) The deed and demeanour of the present rulers in Sri Lanka is anti-Indian,

If you allow this Government to continue their military activities, no doubt Sri Lanka will prove to be another Pakistan in the South. So, owing to the genocide in 1983, our beloved late Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, came forward to settle the issue peacefully, but Jayewardene willingly, want only and knowingly did not cooperate with this Government and allowed the process of negotiation to fail. The House is well informed about the dialogue and discussion held between our Prime Minister and Jayewardene. The efforts taken by Mr. Parthasarthy are also well known. Despite our cooperation and serious effort the response from the Sri Lanka Government is very poor. Even after the initiation of the negotiations, Sri Lanka has not taken any step in the right direction. Instead, it has widely increased its military measures. Firstly, it has inducted Mossad from Israel only to kill our Tamils. The attacks are not only in the training centres but also in operation circles. Secondly, the Government has stepped up its defence budget from Rs. 1.3 billion to Rs. 2.6 billion. Thirdly, the coastal area in the North and Eastern part of Sri Lanka has been declared as prohibited zone. The result has been that the weaker sections of the Tamil population in Sri Lanka, that is fishermen, have been seriously affected. Fourthly, sophisticated weapons have been imported from USA, South Africa and Israel. Fifthly, declaration of curfew in Tamil areas has become a day-to-day measure of the Sri Lankan Government which is not fully satisfied with its obnoxious military methods. If it has organised Gajaba Brigade consisting of ex convicts, goondas and unsocial elements just to drive out the Tamils from their

traditional areas. Apart from shooting, looting, raps, murder, the CbvefnmeHt with; military force and goondas is trying to drive away the Tamils from their traditional areas like Vavunia, Mullai Thivu and Trincemalee and settle the Sinhalese there. The attempt of the Sri Lanka Government is to change the demographic pattern of traditional Tamil area as ilese majority area.

The ray of hope to settle the issue peacefully has totally vanished. It is out our sight, but not out of our might.

Dining the dialogue between oui Prime Minister and the brother of the President of Sri Lanka, Mr. Jayewardene, there was agreement on so many matters. But now Sri Lankan Government refuses to cooperate in all those matters over which it had already agreed. The Government of India never failed extend its support for maintaining the unity and integrity of Sri Lanka. We are

lending our support. But at the • time it had been repeatedly stated by Madam Gandhi that Sri Lanka Government must come forward with a meaningful proposal about granting regional autonomy to Tamil areas, within

the framework of Sri Lanka. So far that proposal has not *been* sponsored by Sri Lankan Government. Our Late Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi- had definitely averred to the brother of President Jayewardene that forming of District Councils will not satisfy the aspirations of the Tamils in Sri Lanka and Sri Lankan Government must go beyond that. This was the definite opinion of our late Prime Minister. But President Jayewardene has butchered the process of negotiations and deliberately gone back on various matters agreed to with Mrs. Gandhi. The Round Table Conference to find a political solution has failed only because of the Sinhalese chauvinism of Sri Lankan Government. The All-Parties Conference also utterly failed because there was no cooperation from the Opposition and thg Buddhist monks 'and some of the Cabinet Ministers of Sri Lanka. Sir, in the draft proposal, the Sri Lankan Government has agreed to creat a Second Chamber, Provincial

Council and District Councils. But these Councils have not been entrusted with administrative and legislative responsibilities. Sir, we have seen various types of Second Chambers in the democratic countries of the world in East and the West. But the Second Chamber which is proposed to be created by President Jayewardene is the peculiar one not found anywhere in any democratic country of the world. It is a mockery of democracy and an insult to the initiative of the Indian Government. Even *to* this scant and vant draft proposal there is no unanimity 'among the members of Mr. Jayewardene's Cabinet. So he has decided to drop the draff proposals of All Parties Conference and decided to increase the military action against Tami-Irans of Sri Lanka.

The Sri Lankan Navy which had got accustomed to killing our Tamilians now has got encouraged to harass and kill our fishermen in Rameshwaram and Mandapam areas. This is the pathetic position now. Even in our territorial waters, our fishermen are not able to fish. They are driven out of their waters by Sri-lankan Navy. Nearly hundred boats have been damaged. More than hundred fisherman have been captured and mutilated. Fishermen are arrested and their boats seized. They are remandey to custody in Sri Lanka. For the information of the House I want to state that in 1982 two boats were seized; in 1983 one boat was seized; in 1984 in the beginning 8 boats

were seized; now about 17 boats have been _seized. One fisherman who has been released from prison on the orders of High Court of Anuradhapuram in Sri Lanka has stated: "our release has

nothing to do with any effort on the part of the Central Government of India". This is the statement from a fisherman who was released from Srilankan jail.

The situation is very explosive. That is why stem warnings are not going to be at all helpful. I welcome ftg action taken by our Navy and strong statement given by our new Prime Minister. We welcome that. But I have to remind this House about one thing—mere warnings and Protests will not help in any way

[Shri Aladi Aruna alias V. Arunachalam]

cither to arrest the military atrocities in Sri Lanka or find out a solution. Therefore, we must take some drastic action. Today also our Prime Minister himself stressed it. More declarations or warnings will not be helpful. It will be apt to quote here what the retired Supreme Court Judge, Mr. V. R. Krishna Iyer, had stated:—

"We have not done our duty as human beings towards human beings of Indian origin now being harassed and hacked in Jaffna except through occasional speeches of the Prime Minister punctuated by Parthasarathy's exertions."

Therefore, the situation warrants drastic action. Whatever diplomacy we followed in the past had utterly failed. Induction of U.S. arms, utilisation of Mossad's services and annihilation of unarmed civilians and denial of human rights cannot be considered as an internal problem of Sri Lanka. So, we have every right to intervene to protect the interests of our brethren.

Sir, theology admits only right means for right ends, but politics permits wrong means for right ends. Therefore, the time is ripe to take drastic action by sending the army against Sri Lanka to protect our Tamil people.

With these¹ words, Sir, I conclude my speech.

SHRI K. MOHANAN (Kerala): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the Sri Lanka issue serious and at the same time delicate also. The news coming from Sri Lanka every day is quite disturbing and quite alarming. Hundreds of innocent people being killed by the Sri Lanka army and navy in the name of curbing terrorist activities. Actually, Sir, it is a holocaust to eliminate the ethnic group of Tamils from Sri Lanka through military operations with the help of imperialist forces. As some of my honourable friends have already pointed out entire Jaffna has become a concentration camp

and tens of thousands of Tamils are caught there in the vice of oppressive security regulations. There is undeclared martial law prevailing in the entire island of Sri Lanka, especially in the northern and eastern parts. Yesterday our honourable Prime Minister stated on the floor of this House that this problem is mainly an internal matter of Sri Lanka. I fully agree with him but at the same time, I would like to say that in a civilized society nobody has the right to kill innocent people in thousands in the name of curbing terrorist activities. The Sri Lankan army and navy are doing this.

Sir, India is the champion of non-alignment. My request to the Government is that we have to take up this issue with the non-aligned forum because Sri Lanka is also a party in the Non-Aligned Movement. So, through this we should try to create a world opinion against the annihilation of innocent people in Sri Lanka.

Myself and my party pointed out on the floor of this House itself that there are imperialist machination to destabilize the political system of this sub-continent. Everywhere they are doing it and we can see the naked intervention of American imperialism in the Sri Lanka issue. The Jayewardene Government is only a tool in the hands of American imperialism and they want to militarize the Indian Ocean according to their whims and fancies. So, the incursion of Sri Lankan naval forces into our territorial waters is a matter of concern to everybody and it is for us to protect our territorial integrity at any cost. I can understand the feelings expressed by my colleagues, especially from Tamil Nadu. Our brethren in Sri Lanka are being killed like any thing. They are harassed by the Sri Lankan army and goonda forces like anything. But at the same time, once again, Sir, I would like to make it clear about this on the floor of this House that my party is never in favour of a military intervention or military attack against Sri Lanka to solve this problem. I say this categorically I repeat it on the floor of this House without any reservation. I am not going into the repercussion of such an action, diplomatic or something else. I do not

want to disclose it in such a manner now. A military intervention will not solve the problem. It will create more problems in this zone, in this sub-continent, and it will open the gate for interference by the U. S. imperialist forces in this sub-continent and to work for destabilisation of the political system in this region. So, my party is against a direct military intervention on this issue.

But, at the same time, on humanitarian considerations and from humanitarian point of view, it is our duty as a civilised society to mobilise the world opinion against this killing, through whatever forum we can use for this purpose. The only solution is a political solution. The only solution is through negotiations. Ours is a neighbouring country and a friendly country. Not only that, emotionally also we are connected with this population in Sri Lanka. So, we will have to extend our utmost support to solve this problem through negotiations, and we should not try to have a solution through military intervention, it will create some bigger problem.

Sir, in this context, I would like to know from the Minister one thing. In a section of the preps it was reported that the Sri Lankan Minister, Mr. Thondaman, paid a visit to New Delhi secretly two weeks back and has had a discussion with our hon. Prime Minister. If it is a fact, I would like to know from the Minister whether there is any ray of hope to settle the issue in an amicable manner, through negotiations, and, if so, what is our move on that direction? What is our move to solve the problem with the help of the Sri Lankan Government as well as the other side in that island.

At the same time, I would like to know from the Minister this thing. I would like to express my concern regarding the safety of our territorial integrity and I would like to know what action has been taken in this regard? My friends from Tamil Nadu have already elaborated the situation in Mandapam-Rameshwaram, the condition of the fishermen there, and how the naval forces of Sri Lanka are attacking and

harassing them. In this regard, we would like to get some categorical assurances from the Government, not only assurances but some concrete action from the Government to protect the integrity of this country and to protect the interests of the fishermen of the coastal area of Tamil Nadu.

With these words, I end, Sir, Thank you,

SHRI S. W. DHABE: Mr. Vice-Chair-man, Sir, we are discussing an issue which is vital to our country's interests and also the lives of millions of people. Through the Calling Attention what we have asked is about the Government's decision or attitude towards the recent intrusion in the territorial waters and attack on Indian fishermen by the Sri Lanka Government naval vessels. Sir, we have discussed this issue number of times. Two facts are very clear. The political scene in Sri Lanka has never been so sharply polarised, as it is today. Communal riots have taken place intermittently for the last many years. But the riots that took place in July, 1983 between Sinhalese and Tamils have shaken the very foundations of the democratic nation of South East Asia. Today, the Sinhalese are questioning the legal status of Tamils there. They are committing all types of onslaught on Tamils. It is very unfortunate that there is no one in that Island who can speak on behalf of the Tamils. The Sinhalese are speaking in a strong language against the Tamils. The political process has come to a halt and the situation seems to be grave at least in the foreseeable future.

Sir, about killing and other things I read what the recent 'Times' of London has said:

"A recent report in the 'Times' of London from its correspondent in Jaffna draws a horrendous picture of the reign of terror that is operating in the northern parts of the country. It speaks of a harsh and remorseless campaign of intimidation against the Tamil minority. The report goes on to add: "By means of random murder, indiscriminate shooting, beatings, torture and plunder ill-disciplined and trigger-

[Shri S. W. Dhabe]

happy soldiers keep the Tamils in the north in a state of constant fear. With the vanishing of reason, the fight against Tamil separatist terrorists has now the shrill tones of naked ethnic struggle. The predominantly Sinhalese army seems to have a free hand as it cracks down on the civilian population in the overwhelmingly Tamil northern province."

Therefore, we are in a situation which we have to appreciate today. In order to have parity between Sinhalese and Tamils the Sri Lankan Government have prepared a scheme for resettlement of Tamils in different places and bring the Sinhalese in the inner land where the Tamils are settling. It is proposed that 3 million Sinhalese will be shifted to the Tamil areas. Therefore, when we consider this question we have to see as to what can be done by us. It is no doubt that there are two types of people in Sri Lanka. Tamils who are citizens of Lanka and there are also people who are state-less citizens there is no settlement as such. The question is not free from difficulty¹. As we are conjuring up the question of people who are their citizens and the internal fight is going

In 1984 number of Tamils' were killed. But I am surprised to find from the statement of the Prime Minister today in this House to the Starred Question No. 85 dated the 24th Jan., 1985 where the question was asked as to how many Tamils and other persons of Indian origin were killed during the year 1984 in Sri Lanka? The reply is surprising as given by the Hon'ble Prime Minister himself. Although accurate figures are not available, but according to reports several hundred Tamils including persons of Indian origin have been killed during the year 1984 in Sri Lanka. What does it show? We have the information as to how many Tamils were killed in our neighbouring country. We are unable to assess the whole situation. I am surprised as to what our intelligence or other Departments are doing? They cannot even provide the figures to the Parliament as to how many Tamils were killed in Sri Lanka in the year 1984.

Sir, the Government has given a reply there also that they have expressed deep concern and they are against violence and they are "for resumption of negotiations leading to a political solution acceptable to all concerned." I am surprised at this stock argument of a political solution in Sri Lanka. It is not going to lead us anywhere. We are talking of a political solution. On the advice of the late Prime Minister, Mm. Indira Gandhi, a round table conference was called but that solution was not acceptable to the Sri Lanka, leadership and their Government, the result is that committee is not functioning. They are not in a mood to concede the rights or autonomy to the Tamil people. Therefore, we are concerned here with two aspects of the question. Firstly, what we can do to stop the mass killing of Tamil in Sri Lanka, as a neighbouring country. Last time also we had suggested and I fail to understand why, when there is an international forum, the UNO, where a complaint can be made about genocide in any country, the Government is afraid of making a complaint there. I would like to have a specific answer as to whether our Government has made a complaint to the UNO about genocide. What steps is the Government going to take to raise it in an international forum? When such a forum is available, why are we not availing of it? The second aspect is still more serious. We have been always soft when our territories are lost. We lost territory in Jammu and Kashmir. We could not get it back. We have lost territory to China. Still we are not in a position to do anything against it. We say we are for peace and non-violence and so we must resolve questions across the table. And the territories were taken not across the table but by military force. And what is the reply given by the Minister to this Calling Attention today? In paragraph 4 of the statement, he has said: To compound all this, the Sri Lankan military has made Indian fishermen as (The Sri Lanka?) Government have arrested many Indian-fishermen alleging that they were terrorists for which there is no basis. On later admissions of the Government of Sri Lanka, the Indian fishermen who have been either killed, wounded or captured were all engaged in fishing."

It is a most vague statement that I have ever came across from the External Affairs Minister. They do not know how many Indian fishermen have been arrested. It is Indian citizens whose life is at stake. The statement does not say how many have been killed. When the Calling Attention wanted specifically to know about this situation, there is only one paragraph about it in the whole statement and the rest of the statement is of a aerj] nature. Therefore, my question U how many Indian fishermen, Indian citizens have been arrested by the Sri

Lankan Government? Secondly, how many Indians have been killed by the Sri Lankan forces in skirmishes? And what steps if the Government going to take to protect its own citizens? It is not a question of Tamil population of Sri Lanka. It is a direct affront to Indian

, sovereignty that Indian citizens are not setting protection. My last question is whether the Government is going to have any economic sanctions or any sanctions against Sri Lanka Government so that it can come to its senses and stop the killing of Tamils, stop the killing of Indian citizens who are poor fishermen or who are working on those sea-shores. These are my questions which the Minister should answer specifically.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY (Karnataka): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, a i field has been covered by various speakers. I do not like to traverse the same ground. I have gone through the statement made by the Minister. I do not take objection to it. But I would only say that if you go through the statement, it leaves an impression on our mind that the Government is relying on caution, while admitting that the situation in Sri Lanka is fast deteriorating, is explosive and innocent Tamilians are being killed, and there is systematic loot, plunder, of shops, homes and stores belonging to Tamilians. While giving this picture, the strategy, the approach, that is though' of by the Government, seems to me not equal to meet the situation. The situation in Sri Lanka can be compared to the situation which obtained in Cyprus. In Cyprus, as you know, the minorities, the Turks, were suppressed by the majo-

rity, the Greeks. When the situation became critical the Turkish Government decided to invade Cyprus. Even now the Turkish army is stationed in Cyprus. Negotiations are going on between the Government of Cyprus and the Government of Turkey for withdrawing that army. In case of Palestinians, when they lost their home, the entire Arab world came to their rescue and most of the non-aligned countries supported the Palestinian cause. The Palestinians have no State. They have lost their State. They are homeless. They have become, so to say, a wandering population. In the whole world, the West, the East, the North and the South, and the majority of these countries stand solidly behind them. Take the case of South Africa. In South Africa racialism is practised in the most ugly form by the White Government. The United Nations has condemned it. Sanctions were imposed on South Africa and sanctions still continue. I am quoting these instances to show where there was human tragedy and uprooting of population and senseless and mindless violence is let loose on the population, the world has come to their rescue, the world has stood by the victims, the innocent people who had suffered. What do you find in Sri Lanka? I think, more or less the same situation prevails there. Some time ago one of the Ministers of Sri Lanka, Dr. Alwaris, gave a call to his country to prepare for war. He declared war against the innocent Tamilian population. When a responsible Minister of the Government of Sri Lanka gives a call for war against the innocent people, what is the alternative for the Tamilians there? What does the Minister's statement say? I do not want to criticise it. It says that violence cannot be met by violence; military solution is no solution; violence is counter-productive. But what is the alternative in a situation that exists for Tamilians? Violence has not abated. On the contrary it is escalating and thousands of people have suffered. The Government have deliberately adopted policies of torture, intimidation or even decimation, if I may say so, of large numbers of Tamilians who are critical of that Government. This policy of elimination or removal of innocent Tamilians should invite the wrath of not only India, but

[Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy]

the condemnation of the entire world. The matter has not been taken up in the United Nations so far even by our own Government. Why? I do not know. I would like the Minister to answer this. The matter was not discussed in the Non-Alignment Conference which met in New Delhi. The matter was not even raised in the Commonwealth Conference which also met in New Delhi. There will be a six-nation summit conference here on the 28th of this month. I do not know whether the Prime Minister will take this opportunity to discuss this matter with these friends who assemble here. You have not done anything except saying (that the problem in Sri Lanka requires a political solution. No other step is indicated here. I do not certainly suggest that there should be a war between these two countries. Short of war, there are various steps that can be taken at the diplomatic level or political level. The Sri Lankan Government has been following what I call, the gun boat diplomacy against India. We have heard of gun boat diplomacy practised in the 18th or 19th century Europe. Sri Lankan Government is just following this gun boat diplomacy. They are not satisfied with suppressing and oppressing the Tamilians in Sri Lanka. They are now attacking our fishermen and their boats. They have captured our fishermen. Their boats are entering our territorial waters. I think the Sri Lankan Government is following deliberately following, a course of confrontation against the Government* of India, against our country. Is not this the time to warn them: Thus far and no further.? I do not want to quote the example of Bangladesh. But, certainly, Sir, when the Sri Lanka Government's action creates a situation in India, is it not time for us to tell them, is it not our moral responsibility to tell them, that the situation can no longer be described as domestic? Forty thousand Tamilians, according to the statement, have come out of Sri Lanka and they have come to India. We feed them all right; we give them all succour. But there is no indication or possibility of ending this exodus from Sri

Lanka into India. The exodus is on at the time. Forty thousand have come now and this forty thousand may become fifty thousand and that may become a lakh. That is why I have said that it looks as if the Sri Lanka Government is following a policy of decimation, not merely intimidation. We have got to tell them in a language that can be understood by them, that we cannot silently witness the massacre, the torture, the oppression, which are going on in Sri Lanka and the situation in this country is boiling up and we should tell them that they cannot take us for granted any more. I do not want the present policy of caution and more caution. It should be changed. Otherwise, it may be misunderstood as a policy of imbecility. So, I would like the Prime Minister to tell the Sri Lankan Government tersely that any further attack on our naval vessels or our boats or in our fishermen will be construed as an unfriendly act. It can be described as an unfriendly act and that our territorial waters cannot be transgressed or violated at will. We should take all measures, short of war, to convince the Sri Lankan Government that unless this matter is settled quickly, we are not going to keep quiet for long, because this is creating a problem inside our own country. This should not be looked upon merely as a humanitarian problem. Of course, it is a humanitarian problem. But it should be looked upon as a mere humanitarian problem, but it should be looked upon and tackled as a political issue. I am sure, Sir, that, in the interest of the Sri Lankan Government itself, the rights of the minorities there should be given all protection and their legitimate rights have got to be respected and honoured. If Sri Lanka is to be strong and united, I think the Tamil population there, which has worked for ages for its development and prosperity, should receive attention and all steps should be taken to see that they enjoy the same rights which any other citizens in that country enjoy—nothing more. Sir, I expect the Government to keep a watch over this matter, and I would like the Government to take initiative, initiative on its own, to invite the President of Sri Lanka for talks here. Or I may even suggest that our Foreign Minister may be sent to Sri Lanka to

reopen the negotiations, because I believe here is no alternative to a political settlement.

Thank you, Sir.

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the situation in Sri Lanka is very grave. The whole country is concerned and anxiously wants, that a speedier solution should be found out for the satisfaction of the Tamil people in Sri Lanka. We do not know how much more time it will take. The Government has sent Mr. Parthasarathy as its emissary to find out the position and contact the Sri Lanka Government. But we do not know what happened. He has gone several times and come back. Again the same tragedy is being continued. Thousands of people of Tamil origin have been killed and harassed. Now we are hearing about a new method. Even the Navy and the Army are collaborating with the civilian Government in eliminating the Tamil origin people. Not only that. Even the fishermen, as my friend has narrated in detail, have been harassed and how they have been eliminated. Even the fishermen's boats have been captured. They are entering into the Indian territory and they are playing havoc. They want to eliminate the whole fishermen society. So under these circumstances, I want to know from the Government how simply tell that we are expecting a political solution will help. The other day the Prime Minister has made a statement in this House that we want to find a political solution. He has categorically stated that this country did not think that a military solution was there for the problem. We

agree. We also do not want that there should be a military action. That is no solution. But, at the same time, we would like to know what other methods the Government is contemplating to solve this most tragic problem. We do not know. In the statement the Minister has said that the All Party Conference was terminated on 21st December and there is now no indication that a political solution is being sought. This is the statement of the Minister. And the Prime Minister made a statement in the House yesterday that we will work for a political solution, we will work towards that objective, that is

to say, political solution. What steps have the Government of India taken in this regard. That has not been indicated. So I would like to know from the Government of India what concrete steps are being taken to find out a permanent solution of the Tamil people problem in Sri Lanka.

In paragraph 5 the Minister has said in his statement:

"What is even more disturbing, over the last month the Sri Lankan Navy vessels have been crossing into our territorial waters to harass our fishermen and seize their catches. On three occasions, we have lodged strong protests to the Sri Lankan Government, sought compensation for the loss of life and property and urged that this should stop immediately..."

How long is the Government of India going to take and go on lodging protests only? Fishermen have lost their lives. Many other people have lost their lives. Even if the Government gives compensation, what compensation will satisfy those who lose their lives and when thousands of people lose their lives, families and everything? This is not the way we should act. There must be some other method short of military action. I won't say that military action is necessary. At the same time, the Government of India must be firm with the Government of Sri Lanka to solve this problem.

It has been stated that some agreement was entered into between Sri Lanka and India over Katchatheevu. This agreement was signed in 1974 and 1976. According to this agreement, some uninhabited island, was transferred to Sri Lanka. Why? We want that this island should not be exploited by foreign powers for their own ends. That objective has been violated. The agreement has been violated. Let us reconsider whether we should abide by that agreement of 1974 and 1976 because this agreement was between the late Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi and the former Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, Shrimati Shri M. V. Bandaranayake. In view of the recent happen-

[Shri B. Satyanarayan Reddy]

trigs in Sri Lanka, is the Government of India going to review thiis agreement? I do not know whether the Government of India is reconsidering that agreement.

So far as the problem of Tamil minority is concerned, there are two types of people in Sri Lanka. One is Tamils who. are citizens of Sri Lanka. There are others who have settled down in Sri Lanka though they are not the citizens of Sri Lanka. How is the Government of India going to solve this problem? There are stateless people who have no citizenship either of India or of Sri Lanka. This problem is also to be tackled. I would like to know from the Government of India three things. How long are they going to wait for the solution of this problem? What are the concrete suggestions that the Government of India is going to give to the Government of Sri Lanka? Is the Sri Lankan Government prepared to have a dialogue with the All-Par'y Conference people? Is the Sri Lankan Government desirous to take the help of the Indian Government or are they only interested in prolonging the matter and playing in the hands of foreign powers? Are the foreign powers preparing to have a base roundabout Sri Lanka? These are some of the questions. At the same time, I would also like to know what serious efforts are being made to solve this tragic problem once for all.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SYED RAHMAT ALI): We shall now take up the Sugar Undertakings Bill. Special Mentions will be taken up later. Reply to Calling Attention will also be given later.

I. Statutory Resolution Seeking disapproval of The Sugar Undertakings (taking over of Mange-went) Amendment, Ordinance, 1984 (No. 14 of 1984).

II The Sugar Undertakings (taking over of Management) Amendment Bill, 1985—Contd.

SHRI V. RAMANATHAN (Tamil Nadu); Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, first of all I welcome this Sugar Undertaking-Amendment Bill because it has been brought here to help the agriculturists. I would like to know whether investigation is made subsequent to the taking over of the factories. If the factories were showing loss records, then we should know whether the factories have been running a proper condition. We should know whether they are paying to the agriculturists properly, whether they are giving; the agriculturists the amount thatthey entitled to. To know that, we must investigate whether the factories ' are running properly whether they are maintaining the accounts and the data properly-We must find out ail these.

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri Ashwani Kumar) in the Chair]

Sir, there are so many ways of showing the losses. First of all, they are not exploiting the sugar potentiality. They are showing an industrial loss upto 2.6 per. cent whereas the industrial loss will not exceed generally 2 per cent. In the case of molasses also, they give 30 to 40 per cent whereas actually it will not exceed. 20 per cent. There is the late crushing also which leads to a loss in the sugar recovery. All these facts they are giving to show a loss. And according to their accounts and data, they show that they are running on a loss But actually they are giving false figures. Sir, the sugarcane price is fixed this year at Rs. 140 for 8.5 per cent recovery. If they are able to show a lesser recovery or a recovery of less than 3.9 they can give a lesser amount to the canegrowers. They are manipulat-Tg the accounts. They are giving false data as if the sugarcane is giving a recovery of 8.5. per cent or 8.6 per cent. And there-is no agency is go to the factories and find out as to what is the actual recoveiy The recovry is not measured by an> 'other agency except the factory authoii-ties themselves. In the private factories they are