

**REPORT OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE  
ON OFFICES OF PROFIT**

SHRI SYED RAHMAT AU (Andhra Pradesh); Sir, I beg to lay on the Table a copy (in English and Hindi) of the Tenth Report of the Joint Committee on Offices of Profit.

**MOTION FOR ELECTION TO THE  
COUNCIL OF THE INDIAN INSTITUTE  
OF SCIENCES, BANGALORE**

THE MINISTER OF STATE (INDEPENDENT CHARGE) OF THE MINISTRIES OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE AND SOCIAL WELFARE (SHRIMATI SHEILA KAUL); Sir, beg to the following Motion:—

"That in pursuance of the provisions contained in sub-clause (e) of clause 9.1 of the Scheme for the Administration and Management of the properties and Funds and regulation 9.1 of the Regulations of the Indian Institute of Sciences, Bangalore, read with regulations 3.1 and 3.1.1 of the Regulations, this House do proceed to elect, in such manner as the Chairman may direct, one member from among the members of the House to be a member of the Council of the Indian Institute of Sciences, Bangalore, in the vacancy caused by the retirement of Shri Maqsood Ali Khan from the membership of the Rajya Sabha."

*'tion was put and the motion adopted.*

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

**Reported killings of Tamilians of Indian , ,  
origin in Sri Lanka ,**

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY (Tamil Nadu) : Sir, I beg to call the attention of the Minister of External Affairs to the situation arising out of the recently reported

killings of Tamilians of Indian origin in Sri Lanka and the action taken by Government in the matter.

THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO); Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, there have been several violent incidents in the Northern and Eastern Provinces of Sri Lanka last month affecting the lives of innocent people. The senseless killings have caused deep anguish throughout India, particularly in Tamil Nadu. We have conveyed to the Government of Sri Lanka our concern at these developments and have held detailed discussions with the Sri Lankan Minister for National Security, Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali, who paid a 3-day visit to New Delhi from 12th to 15th April. This visit was in response to the initiative taken by the Prime Minister who had written to President Jayewardene reiterating the urgency of working out a viable political settlement and also pointing out the dangers of a major resurgence of ethnic violence as in the recent past if the situation was not brought under control quickly.

In our discussions with the Sri Lankan Minister we conveyed the deep concern felt throughout the country over the offensive by the Army at present under way in the Northern and Eastern Provinces and over the stalemate in the political dialogue. The Prime Minister stressed the gravity of the situation. We had received disquieting reports of large-scale arrests and of the Jaffna area being cordoned off by land and by sea. We understand, moreover, that Sri Lankan naval vessels had been stationed off the Sri Lankan Coast to restrict movement of vessels. This was, naturally, a matter of serious concern. We further pointed out that the presence of such a large number of troops in Jaffna was aggravating ethnic tensions and in the process of attacks and counter-attacks the lives of many innocent people were being lost. The continuance of the army offensive was building up an atmosphere of confrontation which could vitiate the search for a political solution.

[Shri P. V. Narasimha Rao]

We stressed the need to take urgent measures to defuse tension such as reducing the presence of the army which resulted in incidents affecting the civilian population.

The Sri Lankan Minister explained to us what his Government considered to be the compulsions on their side. He said that they had to take firm action in the North and the East against the militants in order to avoid a recrudescence of ethnic violence in Sinhala majority areas in the South and in the plantations. He agreed, however, to review the situation immediately on his return to Sri Lanka and consider what measures could be taken to defuse tension. He also affirmed that the Sri Lankan Government was fully aware that a solution could only be found politically and not through military means.

We stressed the importance of working out a lasting political solution which would remove the root causes of the ethnic problem. The lack of progress in the political dialogue over the last several months was compounding Tamil frustrations. We conveyed our disappointment at the failure, so far of the All Parties Conference to consider the proposals which had been worked out in November last year with President Jayewardene's participation. These provided for the setting up of Regional Councils so as to enable the Tamils to exercise a measure of self-government in the Tamil majority areas while preserving Sri Lanka's unity. The Sri Lankan Minister explained that the idea of Regional Councils had not found support with the major Sinhala parties who were afraid that these Regional Councils could become stepping stones to Eelam. We told the Sri Lankan Minister that the content of the proposals did not justify such tensions. While pointing out that the government party itself had not supported the proposals, we emphasised the need to urgently find a political solution which would be acceptable to the Tamils and to other communities, it was essential to break the dead-

lock and move forward in the political dialogue when the Conference reconvened on May 9th.

He drew the attention of the Sri Lankan Minister to the basic allegations being made in Sri Lanka about training camps in India and reiterated that they were without any substance. Our policy had been clearly and repeatedly articulated—namely that we stood for the integrity and unity of Sri Lanka and were opposed to secession and all forms of violence.

We also discussed the uncertain future of the remaining stateless persons of Indian origin in Sri Lanka. We had been happy to hear that a consensus had been reached at the All Parties Conference to grant citizenship to the stateless persons left over from the 1964 and 1974 Agreements. We were surprised, however, that the Sri Lankan Parliament had been told that no decision would be taken on this question without recourse to a National Referendum. The Sri Lankan Minister assured us that the Sri Lankan Government would abide by the commitment given by President Jayawardene to us on several occasions. He said that they did not intend to have recourse to a Referendum on this question and would be moving the enabling legislation to fulfil this commitment.

As the House is aware, the All Parties Conference will be resuming its discussion in a few days on May 9th. Failure to seize this opportunity is likely to aggravate ethnic tensions and lead to a further deterioration in the situation. We hope, therefore, that a serious endeavour will be made to break the existing stalemate so that a lasting solution can be found to the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I mourn the death of Tamil martyrs, and salute the revolutionary behaviour of Tamil youths who have laid down their precious lives for the noble cause of liberation and emancipation of Tamils from being strangled in the clutches of Sinhalese chauvinism for more than 3 decades.

Sir, the crescendo of riots that started immediately after the attainment of independence of Sri Lanka, fell spitefully on the Tamils with every recurrence of racial riots. Sir, the innocent Tamil lives were brutally sacrificed at the altar of racial hatred right from 1956. The years 1959, 1961, again 1974—1977—1979—1981 and 1983 witnessed macabre tragedy on Tamils. Now, Sir, the Tamils of Sri Lanka are just like the persecuted Christians who landed into lions' bellies. They are just like persecuted Jews whose lives were terminated into shallow mass graves after being mowed down by machineguns. They are just like slaughtered innocents of Beirut. Sir, here is a report from New York which appeared in the Indian Express recently, on 3rd May 1984, and I quote:

"Residents of Jaffna city have told an American reporter that the Sri Lanka armed forces unable or unwilling to tackle terrorists effectively, are waging "war" against ordinary citizens."

"The curfew had been lifted for the day, and the teenage youth had gone to a neighbourhood store to buy coconuts. On the way back, soldiers stopped him, asked him where he had been, and despite the coconuts he was carrying, shot him dead.

Minutes later in the same neighbourhood, a goldsmith cycling to work was killed by a single bullet. Soon there were two more bodies, and the soldiers piled all four bodies beside a nearby railroad track and set them a fire"

"According to the residents, a few days earlier, air force men rolled up to a crowded open-air market where men, women and children went every day to buy bananas and watermelons, potatoes and pumpkins and chillies. With no warning, the troops reportedly sprayed the crowd with machinegun fire. Many people, including several elderly women, were said to have been killed."

>Now, blood is flowing on the streets in Jaffna and the streets of northern and

eastern districts, and as usual we are having a discussion on this, with no determination to take any further definite action.

Sir, the betrayal of Government of India started in the year 1964; I am sorry to say these words, once Pandit Nehru passed away from the scene. I recall the words of great leader Anura who said about the Srimavo-Shastri Pact of 1964, on the floor of the House in December 1964, and I quote him:

"I find that this Pact is a gross betrayal of the millions of Tamils whose only hope is looking towards this country and this Government for solace"

Sir, did you keep even a moment when human rights were violated in many other parts of the world? you have raised your protest; you have raised your strong voice when human rights were violated in Angola, in Mozambique, in Zimbabwe, in Namibia, in Honduras in El Salvador, in Nicaragua and in Beirut in South Africa in Rhodesia. But, Sir, you extended your full support to the agitating black masses against the racist policy of South Africa. Sir, you extended support to Algerian struggle; you allowed them to open their office in Connaught Circus in 1958. You extended support to the PLO; you recognized PLO; I do not find fault with that; that is a correct policy. And you received Arafat. When they were fighting among each other, our Foreign Minister rushed to west Asia to resolve their differences, Sir, now the whole Jaffna is like a big concentration camp. From every side, from all directions, northern and eastern districts of Tamils have been seized by thugs, armed forces. Tamils with tearful eyes have turned towards this country towards this peninsula, towards the southern part of India. For what? By culture and language, by tradition and heritage, by blood and soul, we are the kith and kin of these miserable Tamils and that is why, they are turning their tearful eyes towards this country. But you say "We do not want to interfere in the internal affairs of other

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countries; we are interested in maintaining the sovereignty and integrity of Sri Lanka', We do not support any secessionist movement in Sri Lanka, you say. But where was your argument of sovereignty and integrity, whereas your argument of not interfering in the internal affairs of other countries and not supporting any secessionist movement in 1971 when [here was the Bangladesh! crisis, when there was an internal crisis in East Pakistan following the genocide of innocent people? Then, you raised the slogan "This is not an internal problem, this is a world-wide problem. ' The Resolution was moved by no less person than Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister. This was in 1971. And the Prime Minister stated on the floor of the Lok Sabha in 1971, on 26th May, 1971: I quote:

"The question of secession is also raised, if I may say so, this is a distortion of facts. This cannot be merely an internal problem of Pakistan. It is a world-wide problem. The international community must appreciate the very critical character of the situation that has now developed."

Therefore, your humanitarian line flying sky high in 1971. What happened to this humanitarian line? Why it is at half-mast now? What is the line? You created world opinion in 1971. Our hon. Prime Minister travelled the entire length and breadth of the entire globe and ambassadors were sent throughout the world and world opinion was created. But you have failed now. The Government has miserably failed in solving Sri Lanka Tamils problem.

Sir, our hon. External Affairs Minister, in his statement has said about the regional councils. Sir, when I spoke on 16th August and again on 7th December, 1983, I warned the Government that they should not fall into the trap of Jayewardene, I said, he is trying to buy time, to prepare himself for another onslaught to liquidate

the Tamils. Now, like Chamberlain was hoodwinked by Hitler, this Government has been hoodwinked by, fooled by, Jayewardene. He has won the game and you are also a party to this trap. I also reminded you, I also warned you, about the fate of the various pacts. What happened to the pact of Selva-Bandaranaike of 1957? Abrogated. What happened to the Selva-Senanayake pact of 1965 which was also abrogated unilaterally? Sir, this idea of regional councils will not be agreed by the Tamil masses. They have given a mandate for Tamil Eelam. What happened? Mr. Jayewardene says, no more talk of regional councils. When Pressmen asked Mr. Jayewardene at Vignyan Bhavan, when they asked him about the visit of G. Parthasarathy, the emissary of our hon. Prime Minister, he casually remarked 'Why should he come, there? everything is under control we will settle the problem ourselves. This was the statement of Mr. Jayewardene. I would like to ask the Government, did you insist on a draconian provision which empowered the armed forces to dispose of the dead bodies without any inquest, without the necessity of informing even, their kith and kin? This is a licence to kill and murder Tamils. Did you insist to repeal 'No, Without your insisting, without the Sri Lanka Government repealing this provision, they were brought to the round table conference for negotiations, they were brought to the negotiating table. Your role is unpardonable. Did you insist to repeal the Sixth Amendment adopted in 1983, which deprived the basic human rights of Tamils, which are contained in the Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the U. N. General Assembly in 1948? Let the Declaration of Human Rights be thrown into the Bay of Bengal. Let the Declaration of Human Rights be buried under thousand fathoms deep. What happened to the human rights? Now, Mr. Jayewardene says 'No outside force, not even hundred Indians will be able to subjugate us, let this message be taken to the world' Another Minister was here recently. The Minister for Internal Security. Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali. He says

'The entire Tamil race will be wiped out'. Again, Mr. Jayewardene says 'If India

thinks of any direct action, that will be the end of Tamils'. The Prime Minister, Mr. Premadasa, says, Sri Lanka should enter into treaty with other countries for balancing the Indo-Soviet Treaty. Another Minister, the racist Industry Minister of Sri Lanka, Mr. Cyril Mathews, is conducting military camps at Pulanaruwa, Trincomalee, for more than 10,000 thugs who took part in last year's loot and plunder. Sir, when statements are made by the Ministers on the floor of the House in Sri Lankan Parliament, our Ministers are saying: No direct action. There should not be talk of direct action. And they say will be bombing over Tamil Nadu. Sir, this is nothing but cowardice. What has happened in St. James Square in Britain. There was a gas fire from the Libyan embassy to disperse the agitating youngsters before the Libyan Embassy. Unfortunately and unintentionally, there a British policeman Fletcher by name was shot dead. Within minutes British Forces were alerted and the diplomatic relations with Libya were broken. And even then when Mrs. Margaret Thatcher came to Parliament for allowing the unidentified killers to escape from Britain, she was criticised by the opposition. So this is the stand they take. For one single individual's life, they severed diplomatic relations with Libya. Our Chancery was burnt in 1973; we ignored. Our IDB building was destroyed; we ignored. Our tourists from India in Ceylon were killed; we ignored. The citizens of Indian origin were killed; we ignored.

Sir, I would like to ask this Government; what is the solution? The round table conference is a total failure. Mr. G. Parthasarthy has become GF (Grand Failure). Mr. Amrithalingam who was hopeful of the round table conference some months back has now stated that it is not possible to solve the problem; they have to fight for Tamil Ealam. So Tamil Ealam is the only solution. Will the Government come forward to recognise Tamil Ealam? You recognise PLO. You supported freedom movement of Bangladesh, the demand for Bangladesh. Now, Sir, the soul of Tamil nation which was kept un-

der bondage for more than 35 years, has broken all its shackles and is seeking liberation and emancipation. Their cry for justice went unheeded for 35 years. Their cry for a decent living went unheeded for 35 years. Now do you expect them to be put together with the Sinhalese? Not at all. You can make the two poles meet, but not the Tamilians and the Sinhalese. Why? Could they forget how their mothers, and daughters were raped and killed? Could they forget how 96,000 valuable Tamil treasures of the great Jaffna library were burnt to ashes, how the Hindu temples and Christian churches were demolished and destroyed? Could they forget how their mother's pregnant women, were attacked, their abdomens ripped open by bayonets, foetus dragged out and crushed under the buckled heels of the soldiers? Could they forget the terrible tragedy which took place in Velli-kade jail where 34 prisoners were killed, including Kutti Mani and Thangadurai. (*Time bell rings.*) I crave your indulgence for only two or three minutes, (interruptions). This is an emotional issue. I will take two or three minutes more.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You can go on describing every incident that took place.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: There was not a single word of condemnation from Indira Gandhi against the killings in Velli-kade jail.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You can describe every incident that has taken place last two years.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Sir, our youth are not terrorists, they are not militant. Yes, in a sense, they are militant. They are the real freedom fighters. They have to fight with arms. They have not molested any single woman. They have not attacked anyone of the Sinhalese civilian population. They are fighting for their own rights, and they need arms. We do not supply them arms. When Golda Meir went to the United States with begging

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hand, where she threw here hands in despair before the multi-milliamure Jews, dollars were heaped under her feet to buy arms. And PLO had no problems to get arms, but our Tamil youth do not get arms. Thai is Iheir fate. I am pained *at it*. When our mothers and sisters are raped and killed in the streets of another country just 20 miles from the sea shore, if our Army will not move. Then I will come to the conclusion that this Army does not belong to my country. If you say that it is an internal problem, an internal problem of Sri Lanka, a day. will come when the future generations of Tamil Nadu will come 'o the conclusion that whatever happens in Delhi is an external matter as far as the Tamilians aie concerned. If you are interested only to maintain the integrity and unity of Sri Lanka, I warn you that the unity and integrity of India will be in jeopardy. This is t'ne trend in Tamil Nadu. You say that the mighty America may intervene. Before the puny figure of Ho Chi Minh the mighty America trembled. When the American war-planes were bombing Vietnam, H<sub>0</sub> Chi Minh gave a command to his people—"compatriot<sub>s</sub> arise" whosoever has his rifle, let him use his rifle; whosoever has a sword, let him use his sword; and one who has no sword, let him use a stick. With simple weapons they were able to conquer the mighty America. Sir, those boy<sub>s</sub> also have got the same determination and spirit. They have taken a vow of celibacy. You call them terrorists, but they are freedom fighters. Every house in Jaffna, in northern and eastern districts, has stood behind ther<sub>a</sub>. They have got the mass backing\_ You have every moral duty to support ther<sub>a</sub>. I say, one day, you will be compelled to take direct action, but by t'hat time it will be a delayed action.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN. Please conclude now.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY; By that time half of the Tamil population will be wiped out. There is a naval blockade. I would like to know from this Govern-

ment, which is an impotent Gevernment, which is indifferent t<sub>0</sub> Tamils whether they will deploy their naval vessels in t'ne Ocean. When ther<sub>e</sub> j<sub>s</sub> a naval blockade an<j the very existence ol Tamilians is threatened, you are still ID-different. You have miserably failed to create world opinion. You have failed miserably to protect the lives of the kith and kin of our people. You hav<sub>e</sub> failed miserably to protect the lives in Jaffna in Sri Lanka. I would like to say to ibis Government: You prepare for the D-Day for direct action\_ I am not making an irresponsible statement. When t'ne Prime Minister and Ministers of Sil ",-ank.! aie making such statements in Sri Lankan-Parliament, you keep quiet. They are the blood of our blood; they are the soul of our soul they are the heart of our heart. We ar<sub>e</sub> prepared to lay down our lives, the Tamil youth, unless the Government comes to their rescue—the Tamil youth i<sub>n</sub> Tamil Nadu, irrespectije of any party affiliation will take up arms. I have not com<sub>e</sub> here to speak petty politics. Even on 28th July when I spoke in this House, I begged of th<sub>e</sub> Central Government, I fell at the feet of the Central Government to come t<sub>0</sub> the rescue of th<sub>e</sub> Tamilians. But you never cared.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please take your seat.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: You mus, see that the armed forces are withdrawn from t'ne northern and eastern districts. The round table conference...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now please take your seat. Don't record hiin. (Interrwptions). He vill not be recorder.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY:\*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Don't record him. I know why you are speaking.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY:\*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I know that. Please don't record him. I told you

\*Not recorded.

once that if you take so much time, we cannot go on like this.

**श्री सत्यपाल मलिक (उत्तर प्रदेश):**  
श्रीमन्, श्रीलंका का प्रश्न पार्टियों का प्रश्न नहीं है और इन्होंने जो अभी हमारे साथी ने भाषण दिया मैं उनकी मूल भावनाओं की काय करता हूँ लेकिन अगर हम लोग जनजादारी के साथ बात नहीं करेंगे तो हम श्रीलंका में तमिलों का नुकसान करेंगे। श्रीलंका में जो तमिल लोग हैं उनका जो जातीय अविश्वास है। दूसरे लोगों के प्रति वह 2600 साल पुराना ईसा से 600 साल पहले बिहार से एक विजया नाम के राजा गये और उन्होंने उस देश को जीत कर वहाँ का जो कर्नावली सरदार था उसकी लड़की से शादी करने के बाद तमिलों का नरसंहार किया और वहाँ राज्य की स्थापना की और तब से आज तक जो इतिहास है श्रीलंका का उसमें और खास तौर से अभी 1972 के बाद तमिल लोगों के साथ जो ज्यादाती हुई, जिस तरीके से सरकारी नौकरियों से उनको करीब-करीब पूरी तरह से बरतारफ कर दिया, जिस तरह से वहाँ के राज्य और समाज की हिस्सेदारी उनके हाथ से छीनी गई, जिस तरह से सिंहली को राजनाया बनाया, जिस तरह से बौद्ध धर्म को राज धर्म बनाया गया है उन सारी स्थितियों को देखते हुए यह लगता है कि यह सिर्फ मातापिताओं का मामला नहीं है बल्कि उससे भी ज्यादा गम्भीर समस्या है और मैं भारत के तमिल लोगों को भावनाओं को सिर्फ वहाँ तक सीमित नहीं रखूंगा बल्कि सारे हिन्दुस्तान के लोग और मैं समझता हूँ सारे हिन्दुस्तान के लोग उसी गम्भीरता और उसी दर्द के साथ इन तकलीफों को जो श्रीलंका के तमिलों की हैं उनको महसूस करते हैं और सारा देश उनके पीछे है। मैं भारतीय गौतमनाथी साहब को यह

विश्वास दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार हो, चाहे विपक्ष हो या सारे देश के लोग हों, जहाँ तक भावनाओं का सवाल है सारे लोग साथ हैं। लेकिन सवाल यह है कि इस मामले का हल कैसे हो? यह कोई सत्तारूढ़ दल का मामला नहीं है, ए० आई० ए० डी० एम० के० या डी० एम० के० या मेरी पार्टी का मामला नहीं है, या किसी सीमित समुदाय का मामला नहीं है। मैं चाहूंगा कि हम इसको चुनाव की दृष्टि से देखें भी नहीं।

श्रीमन्, मूल समस्या की तरफ आते हुए मैं जिक्र करना चाहता हूँ कि आज जो श्रीलंका की समस्या है, यह कर्नावेश श्री हाल में आजाद हुए जितने मुल्क हैं और जिन्होंने लोकतंत्र को चुना है, उनके संघीय संविधानों में किन्तु तरह अल्पसंख्यक लोग रहें, केन्द्र और सुबों के रिश्ते क्या हों, स्वायत्ता कितनी दूर तक मिले, एथनिक रिश्ते क्या हों, यह सारी समस्याएँ कर्नावेश सारे देशों में पैदा हो रही हैं—जो गम्भीर समस्या है, हमको उस तरह से देख कर इनको लेना चाहिए।

जब मैं यह बात कहता हूँ, तो मेरे कहने का मतलब यह नहीं है कि मैं सत्तारूढ़ारी की आड़ में जो हमको करना चाहिए, उससे मैं मुकरना नहीं चाहता हूँ, कि श्रीलंका के राष्ट्रपति एक दंगई की भाषा का इस्तेमाल कर रहे हैं। श्रीलंका के राष्ट्रपति हिन्दुस्तान की धर्म न पर आकर स्वायत्ता की बात का दावदा करते हैं और जबकि उनको वहाँ की जो संतद है, उसमें उनको बहुत जबरदस्त बहुमत प्राप्त है, वहाँ जाकर उससे मुकर जाते हैं।

वह खुद इस तरह की भाषा का इस्तेमाल करते हैं जिससे, जब राष्ट्रपति

[श्री सत्यपाल मलिक]

जिसके हाथ में संविधान है, जिसकी कलम से फौज हमला करती है, जिसके लिब्रे हुए दस्तखत से सारा देश चलता है, जब उसकी भाषा दंगई की होगी, तब वहाँ की सेवा और नौसेना के लोग लोगों का नरसंहार नहीं करेंगे, यह नहीं माना जा सकता।

भारत सरकार को जो अभी उन्होंने हाल में इंटरव्यू दिये हैं, उसके ऊपर विरोध प्रदर्शित करना चाहिए।

मैं माननीय विदेश मंत्री जी से जानना चाहूंगा कि श्रीलंका के राष्ट्रपति ने आपकी वाक्य, माननीय प्रधान मंत्री की वाक्य, देश की वाक्य, तमिल नाडू के नेताओं की वाक्य तमाम तरह की ज गैर-जिम्मेदारी की बात की है, उसके बारे में आपने अभी तक क्या उसका नोटिस लिना है और क्या आपने उस पर विरोध प्रदर्शित किया है, यह मैं जानना चाहता हूँ ?

अपने देश में चुनाव की दृष्टि से— क्योंकि श्रीलंका की जनता चुनाव में सरकारों को बदलने की बहुत आदि रही है, जो सरकार एक बार आती है, उसको फौरन बदल देती है, तो इस चुनाव की दृष्टि से आपने सरकार को कायम रखने की दृष्टि से तनाम तरह की गैर-जिम्मेदारी की बातें कह रहे हैं।

मैं भारत सरकार से चाहूंगा कि इन मामले में सखती के साथ, उनके साथ कूटनीति के स्तर पर सखती बरती जानी चाहिए और उनको बताया जाना चाहिए कि आप अपनी भाषा को संयत रखें।

मैं कोई भण्डारा देने की स्थिति में नहीं। लेकिन मैं तमिल नाडू के

जो हमारे नेता हैं, चाहे जिस पार्टी के नेता हों, उनसे भी मैं अपील करना चाहता हूँ कि श्रीलंका की समस्या का हल गैर-जिम्मेदारी की बातों से और भाषणों से नहीं होने वाला है।

अभी विरोध पक्ष का एक सम्मेलन दिल्ली में हो गया, मैं नाम नहीं लूंगा, उस पार्टी के एक नेता ने कह दिया कि जिस तरह अमरीका ग्रेनेडा में चला गया, उसी तरह से श्रीलंका अला चला चाहिए। यह नाबालिका लोगों की बचकानी बातें हैं। इस तरह से तमिलियों को कोई ताकत श्रीलंका में मिलने वाली नहीं है। इस तरह की बातें बन्द की जानी चाहिए। मैं इसको महसूस करता हूँ, इसलिए कह रहा हूँ। जो लोग यह समझते हैं कि श्रीलंका में फौज भेज कर हिंदुस्तान समस्या हल करेंगे, मैं उनके साथ अब के साथ असहमत होना चाहता हूँ। हिंदुस्तान की सीमाएँ खुद की जल रही हैं, हिंदुस्तान की खुद की आज अपनी दिक्कतें हैं, हिंद महासागर में चालीस जंगी बड़े याज अमरीका के मौजूद हैं।

दिएगो-गार्सिया का अमरीका का जो बेस है, वह दुनिया का सबसे आधुनिक बेस है। हिंदुस्तान की फौज भेज दीजिए श्रीलंका में, तो एक दिन में हिंदुस्तान के सारे नौबल शिप को अमरीका डुबाने की ताकत रखता है और उसके बाद हिंदुस्तान सारी दुनिया के सामने शर्माएगा।

श्रीलंका का राष्ट्रपति अमरीका से भी बात कर रहा है, ब्रिटेन से भी बात कर रहा है, समझौता करने की कोशिश कर रहा है। अमरीका के विदेश सचिव आए और उनसे आधा घंटा बिना ए०डी०सी० के उनकी बात हुई।

जो लोग यह कहते हैं कि बंगला देश की और श्रीलंका की समान स्थिति है,



उन्हें मैं यह बताना चाहता हूँ कि बंगला देश से सीमा मिली हुई है, बंगला देश की सारी आबादी मुक्त होना चाहती थी। श्रीलंका में बिल्कुल दूसरी स्थिति है, हमको कूटनीति के स्तर पर, बहादुरी के साथ सारी दुनिया में घूम करके जो उनके लिए हम कर सकते हैं, तमिलों के लिए करना चाहिए, लेकिन जो सेना के इंटरवेंशन की बात करते हैं, जो सामरिक वास्तविकताएं आज हिंद-महासागर की हैं, उनको नहीं जानते हैं और उनकी इस दुःसाहसिक सलाह पर अगर हिंदुस्तान की सरकार गई, तो मैं रेकार्ड के लिए कहना चाहता हूँ कि हिंदुस्तान की बुरा दिन देखना पड़ सकता है।

इसलिए इस मामले में बहुत समझदारों के साथ काम करना चाहिए, लेकिन कूटनीति के स्तर पर जो श्रीलंका के राष्ट्रपति का रुख है, जो आज श्रीलंका की शासक पार्टी का रुख है, जो श्रीलंका की सेना का रुख है, उससे निपटने के लिए हमको कोई कदम बाकी नहीं छोड़ना चाहिए।

एक मशिविरा मैं आपके और इस सदन के जरिए जो हमारे यहां तमिल नेता हैं, उन लोगों से भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि वहां मुसलिम माइनारिटी है श्रीलंका में, जो तमिल भाषा बोलती है, बुद्धिस्ट क्लर्गों के भी लोग हैं, जो इन मतलों में उनके साथ आ सकते हैं—उनको मैं मशिविरा देने की स्थिति में नहीं हूँ क्योंकि तमिलों का खून बहुत बहा है।

मैं मशिविरा देने की स्थिति में नहीं हूँ, लेकिन उनकी कामवासी मेरी निगाह में होती—अगर वह ज्यादा से ज्यादा भास बेस बना कर सिविल नाफरमानी की तरफ चलेंगे तो मुझे कोई शक नहीं कि तमिल अपने अधिकार और स्वायत्तता ले कर

रहेंगे। तो मैं मशिविरा देना चाहता हूँ तमिल युवकों को जो कुर्बानी दे रहे हैं—उनकी कुर्बानी की मैं कद्र करता हूँ, उन्होंने जो तकलीफ उठाई उनको महसूस करता हूँ कि वह ज्यादा से ज्यादा आबादी के बीच में जा कर वहां सिविल नाफरमानी की स्थिति पैदा करें बजाय इस के कि हथियारों के रास्ते पर चलें। यह मेरी व्यक्तिगत राय है।

जो सुरक्षा का वातावरण है उन के द्वारे में मैं बता चुका हूँ—ज्यादा बत नहीं लूंगा। जब कभी विदेश के मामले पर बहस हो—हमारे देश की परम्परा रही है आजादी के बाद से आज तक—कि विदेश नीति पर लगभग आम सहमति रहती है, थोड़ा बहुत इधर उधर हो। श्रीलंका के मामले में मैं भारत सरकार से चाहूंगा कि सारे विभक्ती दलों, तमिलनाडु के जो महत्वपूर्ण नेता हैं उन लोगों को बुला कर सारे स्थिति को साफ करना चाहिए। जो रुख है श्रीलंका के राष्ट्रपति का—मैं गोपाल स्वामी से सहमत हूँ—वह चालाकी का है, हो सकता है कि यहां से निकलने के बाद वह किसी बात को न मानें। उस स्थिति से निवटने के लिए भारत सरकार को चाहिए कि तमाम दलों को बुलाए, तमिलनाडु के सारे नेताओं को बुलाए और देश में इस मामले में कान्संसस तैयार करे।

मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि मैं यह मानने के लिए तैयार नहीं हूँ कि भारत सरकार ने जो उन का रोल था वह अदा नहीं किया। भारत सरकार के रोल के द्वारे में जो लोग कहते हैं कि भारत सरकार ने श्रीलंका के मामले को आन्तरिक मामला समझ कर टान दिया है वह भूलत कहते हैं। घटनाएं होने के तीन दिन के अन्दर भारत का विदेश मंत्री वहां चला जाता है और मामले को हल करने की

[श्री सत्यपाल मलिक]

कोशिश करता है। भारत का इस बात के अन्दर चले जाना भारत की कूटनीतिक जीत है, भारत सरकार की कामयाबी है। मैं यह मानने की तैयार नहीं हूँ कि भारत सरकार अपने कर्तव्य से हटी है। मेरा विश्वास है कि श्रीलंका के मानने में सरकार कूटनीतिक रास्ते से चल सकती है, उन का फौजी रास्ता मेरी निगाह में नहीं है।

इस बात का मैं विस्तार दिवाना चाहता हूँ—खास तौर से जिस तरह से घटनाएँ हुई हैं, 15 मील का फासला है, सदियों के रिश्ते हैं, खून के रिश्ते हैं—कि भारत के तमिल लोगों को जो तकलीफ है उन में उन में और भारत के तमिल वाली लोगों में फर्क नहीं किया जा सकता, इनकी और हमारी तकलीफ में कोई फर्क नहीं है। लेकिन फिर भी मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार इन में बहुत सावधानी के साथ लेकिन बहुत मजबूती के साथ कूटनीतिक पहल करे, श्रीलंका की सरकार के ऊपर सारी दुनिया में दबाव डाले और देश के सारे दलों को और खास तौर से तमिलराष्ट्र में जो दब हैं उन को विश्वास में लेकर ऐतबारपूर्ण बनाये जिस से इन समस्या का हल हो सके।

SHRI K. MOHANAN (Keraia): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, we know that the recent developments in Sri Lanka are disturbing everybody deeply. I can very well understand the feelings expressed by my friend, Mr. V. Gopalsamy on the floor of this House. But at the outset, I would like to make it clear that I beg to differ with him on some demands raised by him including the intervention of Indian army in Sri Lanka.

Sir, under the pretext of grouping for terrorist in Sri Lanka, the Armed Forces killed more than 300 innocent Tamils

within a month or so. It was a holocaust. It was a deliberate attempt to wipe out the Tamil minorities from that island.

Sir, I have so many cuttings and press reports about these incidents including the report appeared in the "New York Times" which has already been referred to by my hon. friend, Mr. Gopalsamy. But I will not go into all those details. The latest incident of killing of 13 Tamils who travelled in a boat by the Sri Lankan Naval patrol is another glaring example to substantiate my charge. Even the Sri Lankan press release did not claim that the occupants were armed or returned fire. The official press release in Colombo stated that the Sri Lankan naval patrol opened fire when the boat carrying the so-called terrorists did not stop on being intercepted and challenged by it. The press release did not say that the naval patrol met with any resistance to justify the killing. The alleged terrorists could have been captured if the intention was not to kill them. This is the position. A virtual stage is there against Jaffna and the neighbouring sea.

Sir, the new Minister for National Security in Sri Lanka, Mr. Athulathmudali is posing himself as a strongman by giving the Sri Lankan Armed Forces a freehand to use any amount of force against the Tamilians. At a certain stage, there were signs of a settlement through round table conferences. But now Mr. Jayewardene is deliberately drifting away from his own commitments. He has retracted from his own proposal for zonal councils since he is now insisting that a district council should be adequate for the present. Sir, I do suspect that the round table conference was an exercise to get time for more preparation to attack the Tamilian minority in Sri Lanka. There are also reports that Sinhalese hardliners are being encouraged by the Government to organise their own 'Lines' to fight the Tamil Tigers. This move is no doubt with the encouragement of the Government of Mr. Jayewardene and specially the National Security Minister, Mr. Athulathmudali. If such a parallel terrorist movement is organised in Sri Lanka, it will definitely lead to a civil war

in Sri Lanka, and I warn the Jayawardene Government that it will be detrimental to their internal security also. If Sri Lanka is fastly going into the hands of the imperialists and it is fast changing as the base of the imperialists. They are arming Sri Lanka under the pretext of curbing terrorist activities. The Sri Lankan armed forces are being trained in Britain and Israel, and what does Israel mean US imperialism, as we all know. The situation is so serious. At the same time, it is delicate also. I know, I can understand, that an emotional approach to this issue, to this problem, will not yield anything. We will have to show the utmost caution and the utmost restraint in this particular situation, especially in the face of the imperialists' machinations in this sub-continent.

Sir, I cannot agree with the demands for the intervention of the Indian army or taking the issue to the United Nations. It will be detrimental to the cause of the Tamilians who are fighting for their demands in the island itself, and it will be detrimental to our security and to our diplomatic relations with so many other countries and to the stability and balance of political forces in the sub-continent. So I cannot agree with such demands.

In this context, I would like to mention another thing. Some forces inside and outside this country nowadays are deliberately trying to create an atmosphere of tension or an atmosphere of confrontation with our neighbouring countries. The recent incidents on the Pakistan and Bangladesh borders are sticking in their. I am fully aware of the situation prevailing on the borders of our country. But, Sir, these people are propagating that India is surrounded by enemies and we are getting isolated more and more. The only motive behind this propaganda is, no doubt to change our foreign policy and to drag the country into the so-called "free world", that is, to the side of American imperialism. Lastly, my esteemed colleague, Shri Jaswant Singh, has accused the Government for getting isolated in the Geneva Human

Rights Conference regarding Afghanistan. I would like to ask my esteemed colleague whether he wants to bring American imperialism to Afghanistan and support Pakistan to attack India. What sort of diplomacy is this? I cannot understand it. I can understand Mr. Jaswant Singh and his party's tourism policy. They want to drag this country to the side of American imperialism. But I cannot understand this attitude of bringing America to Afghanistan, of giving them a chance to support Pakistan to attack India. India's foreign policy has not been created by this Government or the previous Government. It is a continuation of the —anti imperialist movement, anti-colonialist movement and the national movement of this country. Nobody could change it. Even Morarji Desai could not change it. The Government cannot change this anti-imperialist posture and the people of this country will never allow anyone to detract from this foreign policy. I do suspect that not only some forces in the opposition but the Government itself is playing in the hands of these forces. Everyday there is a statement made by some important person. Even yesterday, the Prime Minister said that there was a threat from our neighbours. The Prime Minister, the Defence Minister and the Congress (I) leader, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, are saying this everyday. Definitely, this will create an adverse atmosphere in this country. I do agree that we will have to be fully prepared to face any eventuality. At the same time, I warn you not to create such an atmosphere inside the country. It will be dangerous. The people of India have no desire to interfere in the internal affairs of Sri Lanka. But are seriously concerned with the violation of human rights and the suffering of Tamil minority in Sri Lanka. We stand for the unity of Sri Lanka where the Sinhalese majority and Tamil minority should have equal rights.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: What do you say about the right of self-determination?

SHRI K. MOHANAN: That is why I said that the Sinhalese majority and the Tamil minority should have equal rights.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: What about the right of self-determination?

SHRI K. MOHANAN: They should have all rights in a multilingual country. That is our demand. We will help them in this direction through negotiation. We will have to use all resources to mobilise world opinion against the inhuman killing-: of innocent Tamijj minority in Sri Lanka. There is no use of seeking any clarification. I would like fo knew from the hon. Minister about the prospects cf a bilateral talk between India and Sri Lanka. It was reported in the press that the Prime Minister has recently written a letter to Mr. Jayaward^ne and Mr. Athulathmudali who visited New Delhi recently had brought a reply with him. I would like to know whether there is any ray of hope in that reply. I would also like to know what efforts are being made by the Government to mobilise world opinion . against innocent killings in Sri Lanka in order to save the innocent people there.

SHRI J. P. GOYAL (Uttar Pradesh): Last year, there was a discussior in this House regarding the situation in Sri Lanka At that time, it was known that the Army and Police took active part and" they were responsible for the killing of so many Indians who ate known as Tamilians there. Now, the interesting thing is from Ist April 1984 the Jaffna area has been put under military rule and lot of Army personnel are there and the killings, in February and March were at the hands of the Army people. When the Srilankan Minister came here and left this country on *the* 15th April, Army was already there. Of course, the Minister's statement says that 'we expressed our concern" and all that; But I would ask the Government to be very positive about it. Why did we not tell them: "Why are you singling out Jaffna area for imposing military rule? Is it because the Tamilians are in maiority there?" Particularly when the Army and Police were responsible for lije killings of Tamilians in March thi:, year, why was Jaffna singled out? Therefore, we should te" them. Pleas, remove the Army immediately from that area. This is the first concrete suggestion I am making to the Government. Of course the

Hon'able Minister has said that we showed our concern. What is that concern? He should be very positive about it.

I have read a news item as to what they are going to do in the name of arni-terrorist laws. There is pressure on the Government to make such a law saying; that if a perso\_n dies j\_n the "custody of the Army or Police, there should be no inquiry. When they have put Army and Police there and when ;\_n addition they are going to pass such a law the intention of the Srilankan Government that they are going to do away with the Indians who are settled there is clear, if not expressly, at least by implication. The percentage of the Indian settlers there is about 12 per cent and the newspaper report says that they are under fear and some of them have left the country; some are going to Tamil Nadu, many have gone to> either USA or England just to save their lives. Therefore, the Government should take some concrete steps immediately and if necessary the Prime Minister should talk to Jayawarden\_c, or the Foreign Minister should go there and hold some conference there to solve the problem.

The newspaper report speaks about *a* particular contract being awarded by the Srilankan Government. The "Economic Times" of 6.4.84 contains a report dated Sth April from Srilanka. I want to read a few lines from that. It says;

"Keeping an Indian offer out Sri Lanka Government has awarded the projected inter-national Oil storage complex at the strategic Trincomalee Harbour to a consortium known to comprise American Pakistani and West German interests, reports PTI. Parliament here was. told today that the award was approved on December 21 last, while Sri .Lankan ministers\* had since been publicly stating that the Government was yet to choose between the Indian Oil Corporation and the Singapore firm for awarding the contract."

"A day after Cabinet formally approved the agreement backing up the letter of intent istwed ki the consortium in

February, the Industries Minister, Cyril Mathew, announced in the House the decision to turn down India's commercial bid and to lease out the storage tanks to Oroleum of Singapore. Oil Tanking of West Germany and Tradinaft of Switzerland. The parties who had made the offer other than the consortium were either incapable of handling the project or are in one way or the other connected with the power blocs, (the Minister claimed.)

So, Sir, I submit that it appears that the Government of Sri Lanka to see that the Indians who are settled there for the last several centuries get to go back to India or to some other country. So, Sir, concrete steps have to be taken by our Government and we should not sit idle and the situation has to be tackled very tactfully.

**श्री शंकर सिंह बाघेला :** (गुजरात) : श्रीमन्, उपसभापति जी, आज हम श्रीलंका की, सोने की लंका की, चर्चा यहां कर रहे हैं। श्रीलंका सोने की है, इसकी चर्चा हम कर रहे हैं, ऐसा नहीं है। आज वहां पर स्थिति यह है कि हमारे इंडियन ओरिजिन के तमिल भाई-बहनों के ऊपर जो अत्याचार किये जा रहे हैं, उनका हर रोज जो कत्ल किया जा रहा है, उनके मकानों पर हर रोज जो आग लगाई जाती है, हमारी मानधों और बहनों का हर रोज जो रेप किया जाता है, बलात्कार किया जाता है, उसकी चर्चा हम कर रहे हैं। सिर्फ श्रीलंका में ही ऐसा होता है, ऐसी बात नहीं है। हमारे जितने भी पड़ोसी आज बचे हैं, चाहे बंगलादेश हो, वहां पर बांडर की स्थिति बुरा है, यह आप सब जानते हैं। इसी प्रकार से चायना की स्थिति भी देखिये। पाकिस्तान की स्थिति देखिये। कहीं भी भारतीयों की स्थिति अच्छी नहीं है। एक सिर्फ श्रीलंका बचा था। उसके साथ भी हमारी स्थिति अब अच्छी

नहीं है। हमारी विदेश नीति जो नरसिंह विदेश नीति है, उसी का यह परिणाम हो रहा है। हमारी विदेश नीति के आधार पर हमारी गवर्नमेंट क्यों दबकर चलती है, हमको इसका पता नहीं है। लेकिन एक छोटा-सा मुल्क जो हमारे साथ अच्छा व्यवहार रखता था, आज हमारा उसके साथ बैठने का भी व्यवहार नहीं रह गया है। सन् 1948 से पहले श्रीलंका चाहे डचों के अधीन रहा हो या अंग्रेजों के अधीन रहा हो, उस समय तक यह समस्या नहीं थी। कई सालों से तमिलियन वहां पर रह रहे थे। उस वकत तक कोई प्राबल्म नहीं था। जब हम आजाद हुए तब से यह प्राबल्म शुरू हुआ। आज जो श्री जयवर्द्धन श्रीलंका में प्रेजिडेंट हैं, वे सन् 1948 के बाद वहां पर जो मिनिस्ट्री बनाई थीं उनमें मिनिस्टर थे। जब वे वहां पर मिनिस्टर थे तो एक बिल लाये थे जिसमें यह कहा गया था कि तमिलियनों को नागरिकता के अधिकार को समाप्त कर दिया जाय। वही श्री जयवर्द्धन जो उस वकत श्रीलंका में मिनिस्टर थे आज वहां पर प्रेजिडेंट हैं। ऐसी स्थिति में आप उनसे क्या अपेक्षा रखेंगे? जब वे मिनिस्टर थे तो उस वकत तमिलियन को निकाल बाहर करना चाहते थे और आज उन्होंने उनके अधिकारों को समाप्त करने का बिल चला चालू कर दिया है। ऐसे प्रेजिडेंट से आप न्याय की अपेक्षा कैसे कर सकते हैं? हमारी सरकार कहती है कि हम प्रयत्न कर रहे हैं। वे प्रयत्न कई महीनों से चल रहे हैं। लेकिन मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि इन प्रयत्नों की फल-स्थिति क्या है? हमारी सौ करोड़ की आबादी पर रोज अत्याचार हो रहे हैं। हर रोज कितने ही लोग मारे जाते हैं, लेकिन हमारी सरकार की तरफ से कहा जाता है कि हम प्रयत्न कर रहे हैं। एक समय था जब 9 से भी ज्यादा लोग वहां की सिनेट

[श्री शंकर सिंह वाघेला]

में इन लोगों के प्रतिनिधि थे । 70 प्रतिजन तमिल लोग गवर्नमेंट सर्विस में थे । अगर आप वर्ल्ड बैंक की सन् 1983 की रिपोर्ट को देखें तो आपको पता चलेगा कि उसमें यह कहा गया है कि स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति के बाद आज वहां की जो इकनोमिक स्थिति है, वहां की इकनोमी में जो आर्थिक स्थिरता आई है उसमें बहुत बड़ा हिस्सा इन तमिल लोगों का है । इनके बाद भी आज उनकी स्थिति क्या है यह किसी से छिपा हुआ नहीं है । वहां पर एक मिनिस्टर हैं—मिरिल मैथ्यू जो कहते हैं कि पूरे तमिलियन लोगों को श्रीलंका से पकड़-पकड़ कर हिन्द महासागर में डाल दिया जाय । ऐसे मिनिस्टर से आप क्या आशा कर सकते हैं ? ऐसे लोगों से न्याय की आशा नहीं की जा सकती है । हमारे यहां के प्रतिनिधि श्री जी० पार्थसारथी वहां गये । लेकिन हमारे जो हजारों भाई-बंधन वहां पर जेलों में कैद हैं उनसे उनकी मुलाकात नहीं करवाई गई । ऊपर-ऊपर से बात कर वे आये । रिपब्लिकी को नहीं जान पाये । उनको तमिलियन लोगों से मिलने नहीं दिया गया । और ऐसे ही यहां आकर रिपोर्ट करते हैं कि सब ठीक है, हम देख रहे हैं जिसका कि कोई महत्व नहीं है । लेकिन जब जयवर्धने के भाई वहां आये तो उनको रेड कार्पेट रिसेप्शन दिया । हमें कौन सी अपेक्षा उसने है जो रेड कार्पेट रिसेप्शन दिया । जब राउंड टेबल कान्फ्रेंस हुई तो दोस्ती की बात करते हैं । वह किसी तरह अपना टाइम निकालते हैं । श्रीलंका में तमिलियन्स के जीवन और मौत का सवाल है । हमारी गवर्नमेंट पता

नहीं उनसे किन वारे में आश्वासन चाहती है । मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि ठीक है आप काटो मत लेकिन फुफकारो तो सही । हमारा इतना बड़ा देश है, 70 करोड़ आवादी वाला हमारा देश है । ऐसे ही जब भूटो पाकिस्तान के प्रेजिडेंट थे तो उस समय जिस भाषा का वे इस्तेमाल करते थे वही भाषा जयवर्धने श्रीलंका में इस्तेमाल कर रहे हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान आये, हम देख लेंगे । क्या देखना है इसमें ? कहा जाता है कि वहां अमेरिकन वेड़ा है । लेकिन उनसे डरने की क्या आवश्यकता है । हमें श्रीलंका के वारे में कुछ करना है, हमें काटना नहीं है हमें कुछ करना है । हर रोज वहां लोग मारे जाते हैं और हम बातें करते जाते हैं । इसका कोई मतलब नहीं है । पिछले सत्र में लोकनभा में दिसम्बर, 1983 को प्रधान मंत्री महोदया ने कहा था कि जयवर्धने ने हमको एगोरेंस दिया है लेकिन क्या जो एगोरेंस दिया गया था उस पर ठीक प्रकार से अभल हुआ है । आपको तो पता होगा । जो वे कहते हैं वहां पर जाकर, जो भी बात वहां पर होती है, उस बात के टोटली अगैस्ट, विलकुल खिलाफ वे काम करते हैं । इसलिये मेरा सरकार में अनुरोध है कि एक अलग इंडिया पार्टी के स्तर पर कमेटी बनाकर श्रीलंका भेजी जाय जो वहां जाकर वहां की सरकार से बात करे ताकि जो तानियतों का वहां कन्व हो रहा है वह आगे न हो । अगर इमन काम न चले तो हम उन्हें अटोमेटम देकर, लाल आंख दिखाकर जो वहां पर हमारे तमिल भाई हैं उनकी जो स्थिति है उसको ठीक कर सकते हैं । उनकी जो आज वहां पर स्थिति है उसके लिए गवर्नमेंट इस तरह से सोच रही है । हां ठीक है कि वहां काटने की बात न करें लेकिन ऊपर नजर रखें जिससे कि हमारे तमिल भाइयों पर थह

होने वाला अत्याचार रुक सके। श्रीलंका की पूरी जनता हमारे साथ दोस्ती रखना चाहती है। इस लिये वहाँ की जनता का हिन्दुस्तान के साथ दुश्मनी का सवाल नहीं है। वह अच्छे संबंध चाहती है लेकिन जो वहाँ के सत्ताधारी लोग हैं, जो मिनिस्टर हैं वे अपनी विदेश नीति के हिसाब से हिन्दुस्तान के खिलाफ इस तरह का काम करते हैं और वहाँ पर हमारे तमिल भाइयों को मारते हैं। इसलिये मैं सरकार से जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या वे इसके बारे में एक आल इंडिया पार्टी के स्तर पर कमेटी बनाकर वहाँ भेजेंगे और उनसे बातचीत करने की गुंजाइश रखेंगे? मैं विदेश मंत्री से प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि वे इस पर आपकी सहमति देकर ऐसा करने की इजाजत करें।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: This debate will continue after lunch.

The House then adjourned for lunch at three- minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassemble^ after lunch, at two minutes past two of the clock, Mr. Deputy Criainuan in the Chair

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We continue with Calling-Attention\_ Miss Jayalalitha.

MISS JAYALALITHA (Tamil Nadu): Mr Deputy Chairman, while speaking about the Sri Lanka Tamils issue I wish to clarify one point at the outset. Whatever be the foreign policy of the Government of India, that is also the policy of the A.I.A.D.M.K. Time and again this has been reiterated by the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister, Dr. M.G.R. I also express my gratitude to the Honourable Minister of

External Affairs for the statement he has made today in response to the Calling-Attention Notice.

However, today there is one burning question which is smouldering like a simmering volcano in the heart of every Tamilian. What is India going to do to safeguard the lives and rights of the Sri Lanka Tamilians, to rescue them from the tyrannical oppression, and to see that justice is rendered to them? We all know about the horrifying occurrences that transpired in Sri Lanka in the month of July last year. Not only Sri Lanka Tamils, not only Tamils of Indian origin settled there, but all Indians in Sri Lanka, even pilgrims and tourists from India, were indiscriminately attacked and subjected to ghastly cruelties. Fiendish atrocities defying description were perpetrated on them.

Their properties were looted; their factories and business houses were destroyed their homes were ransacked and set ablaze. Thousands were sadistically butchered in the most brutal, diabolic manner. Hundreds of our Tamil sisters, were raped and dishonoured and forced to suffer a fate worse than death.

The Sri Lanka Army was in the forefront in committing these heinous crimes against humanity. After a considerable-length of time had elapsed, the President of Sri Lanka, Mr. Jayawardene, belatedly expressed regret for the appalling incidents that had taken place in his country.

At that time we too believed, albeit reluctantly, that Mr. Jayawardene spoke the truth when he said that he had temporarily lost control over the Sri Lanka Army, which, he said, had run berserk. But today, the same Mr. Jayawardene performs a complete volte face and loudly proclaims that "even a hundred Indian cannot subjugate Sri Lanka". We are compelled to assume that it is the encouragement and support provided by some foreign super powers; that has given the Sri Lanka President, the courage to make such statements, which should be dismissed as sheer bravado.

[Miss Jayalalitha]

There have been reports in certain sections of the press that during the past six months or more, the Sri Lankan troops have been receiving intensive training by Israeli commandos. We have heard that one of our neighbouring countries, in our immediate vicinity, as well as one of the Far Eastern countries have also assisted Sri Lanka by imparting military training to the Sri Lankan Armed Forces. It is no coincidence that all these countries which have of late been lending a helping hand to Sri Lanka fall within the orbit of the shadow cast by the protective umbrella of one major foreign super power. We are all well aware of the identity of that super power. It is with those countries that the Sri Lankan Government, we suspect, is seeking to forge a military alliance under the guise of a friendship pact, and we also suspect that this proposed military arrangement or alignment is directed against India.

Time and again, the Indian Government has clearly defined its stand to the Sri Lanka Government in unequivocal terms which is that it is India's sincere aim to find a political, not a military solution to the ethnic problem of Sri Lanka. When Mr. Jayewardene initiated the Round Table Conference talks, India welcomed the move to find a political solution to the ethnic problem. But the talks dragged on inconclusively. Then came an abrupt announcement that further talks would be postponed until the month of May. Following this announcement, all of a sudden Armed Forces were deployed in strength all over Jaffna, the northern part of Sri Lanka, predominantly populated by Tamilians. The entire area was cordoned off from the outside world. A Naval blockade was imposed. Rail, road and telecommunication links have been cut off totally.

Over eight innocent Tamilians are being methodically shot down and killed by the Sri Lankan Armed Forces. To put it plainly, they are being cold-bloodedly murdered under the guise of stamping out Tamil terrorism. Sir, I have here numerous

newspaper clippings which substantiate these reports. Sir, the recent happenings in Jaffna lead us to believe that the Sri Lanka Government is carrying out a pre-mediated, carefully planned scheme of genocide to completely wipe out all traces of the Tamil race in that country. Even those who want to flee the country are not being allowed to leave. They cannot escape by sea because of the Naval blockade. They are not allowed to leave by air either. Every route of escape to safety and freedom has been blocked. The sounds of gunfire in Jaffna can be heard by us in the southern coastal areas of Tamil Nadu. The heartrending cries of our Tamil sisters in Sri Lanka can be heard by us in Rameswaram.

Sir, we must consider the background of the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka which has now escalated to cataclysmic proportions. According to Laski, equality is not identity of treatment but affording equal opportunities for all. It is a question of securing admission to medical colleges or job opportunities in Government service, in the Armed Forces, in the police force or whatever, equal opportunities are being systematically denied in every sphere to the Tamil minority in Sri Lanka. It was the Tamils of Sri Lanka who stood in the vanguard during the country's struggle for freedom and made great sacrifices to win for Sri Lanka its independence.

Freedom from colonialism should logically bring more fulfilment to the people of a nation. In the case of the indigenous Tamils of Sri Lanka independence only resulted in their being relegated to the position of second-rate citizens. The fate of the several lakhs of Tamils of Indian origin was infinitely worse. They were relegated to the position of third-rate citizens. The forefathers of these Tamils were taken to Sri Lanka from India as cheap immigrant labour by the British. These Tamils have been living and working there as labourers in tea, coffee and rubber plantations for generations, not just for decades but for centuries. It is their labour which accounts for a major part of Sri Lanka's earnings in foreign exchange.



Immediately after achieving independence in 1948, the very same year a Citizenship Act was enacted by the Government of Sri Lanka as a result of which at one stroke these Tamils of Indian origin were reduced to a stateless minority. They were denied the right to vote. They were denied even the primary basic right of citizenship. Until this day they are stateless which means they have no rights at all. Step by step the Tamils of Sri Lanka have been calculatedly put down by successive Sinhala dominated Government. Normally any democratic country extends special concessions to its minority communities. But in Sri Lanka today the entire Tamil population of that country has been totally stripped of all basic human rights. It is difficult, well nigh impossible, to think of a parallel situation to the existing in the world today in any other country which calls itself a democracy.

"Ona kulam oruvane devan"

There is only one God and only one race—the human race. We are firm believers of this doctrine which our great leader Anna inculcated in us, his followers, and this belief has become indelibly ingrained in our consciousness. We do not recognise or believe in any distinctions or discrimination based upon religion or language or any other such consideration.

The decision taken at the last Round Table Conference to confer citizenship on the Stateless Tamils of Indian origin—was unanimously accepted by all groups in Sri Lanka, even by the most fanatical hard liners, the Buddhist monks. But later, the Sri Lanka Government reneged on its earlier decision and announced instead that it would conduct a plebiscite with regard to this matter. It is not difficult to guess what the outcome of the plebiscite will be, since the vast majority of the people in Sri Lanka are Sinhalese. Although the Minister of External Affairs today in his statement said that the Sri Lankan Minister for National Security said that there would not be a plebiscite, in this regard in Sri Lanka has such an announcement been made in Sri Lanka? We do not know, through the Minister of

External Affairs said that the Sri Lankan Minister made such a statement here in India. The reason behind this turn-coat policy in Sri Lanka is hard to discern.

Today in Sri Lanka, the Government, the ruling party, the armed forces, are all entirely dominated by Sinhala fanatics. Against this backdrop, instead of waiting further to see how the defenceless pawas are kicked and shuffled around on the chessboard of Sri Lanka politics, it is imperative for India to take speedy steps to protect the lives, properties and rights of the Sri Lanka Tamils.

During the struggle to achieve liberation for Algeria, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru openly declared his support to the people of Algeria in 1960. This gesture was widely appreciated throughout the world. In the same way, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has openly expressed her support to the Palestine Liberation Organisation Movement. This again has been warmly welcomed by most countries of the world.

Not only India but most of the countries in the world have vehemently denounced South Africa's apartheid policy which is an affront to the basic dignity of humankind, and have united with India in boycotting South Africa in all respects. When such is India's foreign policy, are the 68 crore people of India going to stand idly by, while thousands of their Tamil brothers and sisters are being savagely butchered within hearing distance, within a stone's throw from the Southernmost tip of India?

Very recently, in a press interview, Mr. Jayewardene is reported to have said that if India does invade Sri Lanka, then "that would be the end of the Tamils in his country," to quote his own words. As of and until this moment, India has not the remotest intention of invading Sri Lanka. Yet Mr. Jayewardene threatens to annihilate the entire Tamil population of Sri Lanka.

Mr. Jayewardene has also stated that his country has the right to forge any sort of alliance with any other foreign power, and asks what right India has, to question any such pact. Geographically, Sri Lanka happens to be one of India's

[Miss Jayalalitha]

closest neighbours. If a neighbour living just next door to me, insists upon setting fire to the roof of his own house, I who live in an adjacent house, will also be affected by the fire. Naturally, I have every right to be concerned about it in the interest of my own safety. It is India's earnest desire that the entire Indian ocean area should remain a zone of peace. Sri Lanka also professes to have the same desire.

Such being the case, if Sri Lanka intends to forge an alliance with a foreign superpower that could prove to be detrimental to India's interests, if such a pact poses a threat of danger to India's security, then India has the indisputable right to voice its concern about such an alliance, and is perfectly justified in doing so.

India has always adopted a conciliatory attitude towards its neighbouring countries and has made several major concessions in the interest of maintaining peace and friendly relations, India gave away Berubari to Pakistan. We hoped that this gesture of goodwill would evoke similar goodwill from Pakistan. But instead of reciprocating India's friendliness, Pakistan declared war upon India, and until today, displays consistent animosity towards India. In the same way, India parted with Katchatheevu and gifted it away to Sri Lanka. Instead of appreciating India's well-meant gesture of friendship, today the Government of Sri Lanka is indulging in anti-Indian propaganda. India's magnanimity and good intentions have gone unrecognised. Therefore, I request the Government of India to be less accommodating and adopt a firmer attitude in its relations with other countries in future.

The fishermen of Tamil Nadu have been consistently harassed by the Sri Lankan Navy in recent times. Sri Lankan naval vessels have been intruding into Indian waters and attacking Indian fishermen. The all-party delegation led by the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister, Dr. M.G. Ramachandran which met the Prime

Minister on Saturday last had requested protection for the fisher folk of Tamil Nadu. Now we hear from reliable sources, the Government of India has announced that henceforth, the Indian Navy will provide protection to the fisherfolk of Tamil Nadu when they set out on their fishing expeditions. If this is true, I express my wholehearted gratitude to the Government of India and the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, for this timely decision. If this decision is yet to be taken, I would request and plead with the Government<sup>10</sup> to speedily take a decision in this regard.

The Tamils of Sri Lanka are our brothers and sisters'. Whatever action the Government of India may take to see that their rights are restored to them— I appeal to all the Members of the Rajya Sabha to arrive at a consensus to stand solidly behind the Government of India— and unite in co-operating with whatever decision the Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi may take in this regard.

Indeed I make this appeal to everybody in the nation—let us not fight and bicker between ourselves. Let us not fritter away our strength. I wish to remind you of these words of Tennyson:

"Deliver not the tasks of might To  
weakness, neither hide the ray  
From those,  
no blind, who wait for day,

The sitting girl with doubtful light."

In conclusion, I wish to ask the following questions: Does the Government of India propose to raise the issue of atrocities on Tamils in the Jaffna Region at the U.N. Human Rights Commission? My second question is, what action does the Government of India propose to take to see that the rights of Tamils of Indian origin in Sri Lanka are restored to them? Thirdly many of the refugees from Sri Lanka who escaped to India have been staying with friends or relatives. Those who have no such contacts have been staying in refugee camps. Many of the refugees who had been staying with friends or relatives

found they were no longer welcome there. They requested admission to the refugee camps. At first, the Government of India granted such permission in its letters dated 29th February, 1984 and 30th March, 1984, to the Tamil Nadu Government. However, in its letter dated 23rd April, 1984, the Government of India, Ministry of Rehabilitation, informed the Government of Tamil Nadu that it had consulted the Ministry of External Affairs and felt it would not be advisable to admit such Sri Lanka refugees to camps as it would lead to more and more similar requests from those staying outside the camps. We wish to point out that refugees from Sri Lanka cannot hope to stay indefinitely in the homes of others nor can "hose families be expected to support the refugees for a prolonged period of time.

Therefore, since such helpless refugees have nowhere to go, the Government of Tamil Nadu requests the Government of India to grant permission for such refugees to be admitted to camps. In anticipation of further requests of a similar nature, we also request the Government of India to sanction permission and Central aid to establish more such refugee camps. To substantiate whatever I have said now, I have a bundle of photographs with me about the atrocities committed by the Sri Lankan Army on the Tamil population which I wish to place before you Sir.

**श्री रामचन्द्र बिकल :** (उत्तर प्रदेश) -  
उपन्यासिता महोदय, जैसा विदेश मंत्री जी ने कहा कि लंका में भारतीयों पर हो रहे अत्याचार भारत की चिन्ता का ही विषय नहीं है, वह एक मानवीय सवाल भी है और सारा देश इस चिन्ता से चिन्तित है। हमारी सरकार भी इस चिन्ता में बराबर तल्लीन है। यह लंका में भारतीयों पर होने वाली ज़ादती एक लम्बे समय से हो रही है। इस पर प्रधान मंत्री जी की तरफ से विदेश मंत्री जी की तरफ से और हमारी सरकार की तरफ से वार्ता हुई है और श्री लंका जा

कर भी और वहाँ के लोग वहाँ आ कर भी वार्ता किये हैं लेकिन यह सच है और विदेश मंत्री जी ने इस को स्वीकार भी किया है कि उस वार्ता का फल कुछ अच्छा नज़र नहीं आता। जो दावदे भी करते हैं वहाँ के राष्ट्रपति जयवर्धन, उस पर भी वे अमन नहीं करते और उन को खिलाफत कर जाते हैं। ज़रूरत इस बात की है कि भारत सरकार अहाँ चिन्तित है और उन ने कोशिश भी की है कि इन समस्या का बहुत जल्दी और कम समय में, शीघ्र ही कुछ हल खोजा जाय ताकि वहाँ शांति हो सके और यह ज़रूरती रुक सके। कुछ मानवीय सदस्यों ने यह कहा कि भारत की विदेश नीति कमजोर है। वह मज़बूत नहीं है। मैं उन से सहमत नहीं हूँ। वह शायद समझ नहीं पा रहे हैं इस बात को कि भारत की विदेश नीति बहुत मज़बूत है और इसी कारण सारी दुनियाँ के लोगों ने और गुट निरपेक्ष देशों ने हमारी प्रधान मंत्री जी को अपना प्रधान बनाया है। यह हमारी विदेश नीति की बड़ी भारी सफलता है और उस की मज़बूती का द्योतक है। हमारी विदेश नीति कमजोर नहीं है। अहाँ तक तमिलियनों के दुख दर्द का सवाल है वह सारे भारतीयों का सवाल है। सारा राष्ट्र और हमारा सारा समाज उस से चिन्तित है और दुखी है। लेकिन अहाँ तक विदेश नीति का सवाल है, दुनियाँ में अब छोटे मुल्कों पर या गरीब लोगों पर ज़ादती हुई है—चाहे वह अफ़गानिस्तान का सवाल हो या अफ्रीका का सवाल हो, हमारी प्रधान मंत्री जी ने और हमारे देश ने निर्भीक हो कर उस के खिलाफ आवाज़ उठाया है। चाहे बड़ी ताकतें कुछ भी उसके बारे में सोचती हों, बड़ी ताकतों ने किसी की मदद की हो और बड़ी से बड़ी ताकतें आज जो दुनियाँ में हैं, वे भी अगर ज़ुलम

[श्री रामचन्द्र धिकर]

किसी तर कर रहे हों तो इनके खिलाफ हमारे देश की प्रधान मंत्री ने और भारत सरकार ने दबावा से खड़े होकर आवाज उठाई है और कमजोर लोगों की मदद के लिए हमारा देश खड़ा हुआ है। तो यह कहना माननीय सदस्यों का कि हमारा विदेश नीति कमजोर है या दुर्बल है, ऐसा मैं मानने के लिए तैयार नहीं हूँ।

श्रीमान्, मैंने विदेश मंत्री जी के बृह-निरपेक्ष देशों में अनेक बार भाषण सुने हैं, नारी दुनिया का नक्शा उनके लिए और दिनांक में है। हमारी प्रधान मंत्री जी ने कहा है कि श्री लंका के तमिल लोगों का तनाव तिर्फतमिलों का सवाल नहीं है, वह पूरे भारत का सवाल है, जतने पूरा देश चिन्तित है। मैं सरकार से यही कहूँ कि इसके लिए शान्तिमय ढंग से शीघ्र से शीघ्र उपाय किए जाएँ और जो भी जनशक्तियाँ वहाँ हो रही हैं, उनको एकत्रित कराएँ।

सातवें बड़े की बात कुछ लोग करते हैं। हमारे देश की सेनाओं ने और हमारे देश की जनता ने ये बड़े देखे हुए हैं। जहाँ इनसे डरने की कोई बात नहीं है। तीसरे बृह के जो बड़े दुनियाँ में छाए हुए हैं, उसको रोकने के लिए हमारे देश की प्रधान मंत्री और भारत सरकार अभी तक सफल रही है। हमें विश्वास है कि हमारी सरकार दुनियाँ में तनाव और हिंसा की राजनीति को खत्म करने में सफल होगी और यही हमारी प्रधान मंत्री जी का भी प्रयास है। मुझे विश्वास है कि तमिलों पर होने वाली जनशक्तियों को शीघ्र एकत्रित करने में हमारी सरकार सफल होगी, यही मैं आशा करता हूँ।

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY (Karnataka): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, it is a very strange and sad commentary on our foreign policy that we are not making any headway with our neighbours. Over a period of years there has been considerable erosion of our effectiveness in the affairs of this region. All our neighbours seem to have taken a stand against us—a hostile posture against India, Nepal, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka—all these countries seem to be in agreement on one thing—to be hostile to India and the Indian Government. I think the time has come to review our foreign policy. We must have a heart-searching in this regard and find out where we have failed and where we have faltered. Therefore, before I take up this question of Tamilians in Sri Lanka, I would ask the Foreign Minister to ponder over this question. Once we enjoyed prestige in this region. Our voice counted. The hon. Member who spoke just now referred to our status in the world. May I remind him that our status, our prestige and name in the world depend largely on the prestige, name and status we enjoy in this region of South Asia and this position has been considerably eroded in the last few years. May I therefore ask my friend, the Foreign Minister, to review the foreign policy, where have we failed and if we have failed, how have we failed and what are the reasons for this failure?

Sir, I went through the statements very carefully. Two sentences attracted my notice. One the Foreign Minister has said that the Government of India has conveyed the deep concern of our people to the developments taking place in Sri Lanka.

In the last para, the last sentence also attracted me. "We hope that a serious endeavour will be made to break the existing stalemate so that a lasting solution can be found to the ethnic problem of Sri Lanka." Beyond expressing our deep concern, and beyond hoping for



[Shri M. S. Gurupadswamy]

be pursued. And I am glad to see in the statement that the Government of Sri Lanka has committed to this concept of constituting a regional council, and if this commitment is fulfilled, I am sure there will be easing of the situation.

Let me say in the end that there has to be a bifurcation of the political issue from the other issue of law and order and the atrocities committed on our people there. These issues have got to be bifurcated and separated, and a political solution has got to be found where the sagacity, the persuasiveness of the leadership of this Government are called for. I am afraid, the interests of every country are paramount. We understand that. And the interests of Sri Lanka are paramount to that Government. I agree. But while agreeing on the paramountcy of the interests of that country, we should not sacrifice our genuine interests. We as a big country and as a sister country, should try to persuade the Government of Sri Lanka to see that a time frame is fixed for this purpose, within which there can be a solution. Otherwise, I am afraid, the matter may become more complicated.

Thank you, Sir.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I share the sentiments and anxiety expressed by my friends from Tamil Nadu on the developing situation in Sri Lanka.

Sir, while the violence of July 1983 still remains vivid in our memory, fresh incidents are taking place, and, as per the admission of the officials of the Government of Sri Lanka, since March 27 of this year there were as many as 60 deaths on sea. This is apart from what has happened in the mainland.

Sir, we may take the plea that we should honour the territorial and political integrity of Sri Lanka and its unity as one nation. But we cannot ignore the aspirations of the Tamil population there, the population which has contributed so

much for the development of Sri Lanka. The belligerent attitude of the majority population towards the hapless minority is leading to a situation of genocide and annihilation. We cannot remain mute spectators. It is not merely a question of what is happening in a neighbouring country.

Days are gone when we can say that what is happening in a neighbouring country is not our concern. Particularly in countries with multiracial population and with population which has got bends with the population in the neighbouring countries, the problem always becomes internationalised, and it cannot remain a domestic problem. What is happening in Bangladesh and what is happening in Pakistan have got their repercussions in our country. Similarly the problem of the Tamil population in Sri Lanka has a great bearing on our country; also, not merely on Tamil Nadu but even on States like Andhra Pradesh where we have considerably Tamil population. Therefore, I express my serious concern over this situation and particularly I would like to point out to the Hon'ble Minister for External Affairs that there is no consistency or sincerity in that the Sri Lankan Government proclaims and what they do.

Firstly, the Sri Lankan Government said that they wanted a political solution and not a military solution. But they are doing exactly the reverse. The entire Jaffna region and the areas with considerable Tamil population are virtually under the seize of military authorities.

Secondly, the Minister for National Security of Sri Lanka came to India and assured the Government of India that he would review the situation after returning home and communicate to the Government of India. But he has failed to do so and the situation was further allowed to deteriorate.

Thirdly, Mr. Jayawardene promised to consider the question of regional councils. Again he went back on the same. Even in regard to the question of granting Statehood to the people of Indian origin there the Government has repeatedly gone back on its word.

Therefore, there is a considerable gap between what they profess, what they assure us and what they do .subsequent!).

I think the time has come for the Government of India to review the manner in which it is dealing with the Sri Lankan Government. I do not subscribe to the view that we should seek any military solution even though they have gone to the extent of proclaiming a naval blockade. There are also people who do not subscribe to the theory that a "just war is better than an unjust peace". But I do not subscribe to this view. Now, a time has come for the Government of India to issue some kind of an ultimatum to the Sri Lankan Government. Unless they grapple with the problem immediately and arrive at a political solution with the Tamil minorities there, the Government of India may have to take a tough attitude in future.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, there are two more speakers. Each speaker must not take more than four minutes. Since the Minister has to reply.

Now, Mr. Chaturanan Mishra.

**श्री चतुरानन मिश्र (बिहार) :**  
 उत्तराधिकार महोदय, जिस सदन पर हम लोग विचार कर रहे हैं वह अत्यन्त ही गंभीर माना है। एक वर्ष तो सारा देश अत्यन्त ही अस्थिर और फोड़ित है जिस तरह की घटनाएँ श्रीलंका में हमारे भाद्राशयियों के साथ अभिहित औरिजन जिन्को कहा जाता है, उनके साथ हो रही हैं। इस अस्थिर-तरंग अवधि में सारा राष्ट्र फोड़ित है। उनके मन में जो कार्यवाहियों को है उन तरह की और भी कार्यवाहियों करने को तैयार है। लेकिन यह हो नहीं है। इसलिए मेरा पहला मुद्दा यह होगा कि देश को जो नास्थिरता प्राप्त पाठियाँ हैं, उनके साथ हमारे विदेश मंत्रों या प्रवासी मंत्रों बँडे और बात करें और इन कड़े कार्यवाहियों के बारे में सोचें कि हम क्या करें। मैं इस सदन में उन

सारी बातों को कहना नहीं चाहता क्योंकि विषय उलझा हुआ है। इसके पीछे श्री लंका की ही सरकार नहीं है बल्कि इसके पीछे बहुत बड़ी शक्तियाँ जो अमेरिकन साम्राज्यवाद की हैं; जिन्को श्रीलंका ने सहूलियतें दी हैं अपने देश के अंदर जिन्को सैनिकों को आने के लिये, उनका भी इसके पीछे हाथ है। हम सबों को यह भी मालूम है कि जो श्रीलंका की आर्मी है वह इस मामले में निष्पक्ष नहीं रह गई है और इसलिये यह माँग अनिवार्य रूप से की जानी चाहिए कि वहाँ से, उस इलाके से आर्मी को हटा लिया जाय, क्योंकि वहाँ आर्मी, आर्मी का काम नहीं कर रही है, अत्याचार का काम कर रहा है। इसलिए उसको वहाँ किसी भी हालत में नहीं रहने दिया जाना चाहिए। मैं साथ साथ यह भी कहना चाहूँगा कि सदन को यह नहीं समझना चाहिए कि जो सिंहली पापुलेशन है वह इसके पीछे है। मुझे आज से चार दिन कबल भास्को में एक सम्मेलन में सिंहलियों के साथ बैठने का अवसर मिला। श्रीलंका में सात प्रतिनिधि वहाँ आये हुए थे जो कि मजदूरों के प्रतिनिधि थे। उन्होंने वहाँ अर्न्तः ही सरकार को काफी निन्दा की कि सरकार हमारी अस्फुट रही है। तमिल औरिजन के लोगों को सहूलता देने में। इसलिये हमें इसको इस ढंग में लेना चाहिए जिन्को सामान्य तमिल वंशज सिंहली का न हो। मैं यह नहीं समझता हूँ कि हमारी विदेश नीति अस्फुट हो गई है। लेकिन मैं यह समझता हूँ कि साम्राज्यवादी कुचक्र के कारण हमारे जो छोटे छोटे बड़ेनी देश हैं उनके साथ हमारे संबंध बिगड़ने को एक पंक्ति कोशिश हो रही है। और उन दिनों में जो भारत का प्रयास होना चाहिये वह और भी गंभीर तराके से हम को प्रयास करना चाहिये। मैं एक बात और साफ़ ढंग में कहना चाहता हूँ। जो भी हमारे तमिल भाई लोग वहाँ से आ रहे हैं उनको पूरी



*Importance***[श्री चतुरानन मिश्र]**

तरह से सरकारी सहायता मिलनी चाहिये। यह मामला सिर्फ तमिलनाडु सरकार का नहीं है यह पूरे भारतवर्ष का है। इसलिए हम लोगों को पूरे देश को इस सवाल को लेकर पूरा सहायता देनी चाहिये। मैं इस ब्याज का भी हूँ। वैसे मैं इस बात का अधिकारी नहीं हूँ कि मैं वहाँ के आन्दोलन के नेताओं को कोई सलाह दे सकूँ मेरा कहना यह है कि यह उचित नहीं है कि उन देश को दो टुकड़े में बाँटने की भाँति की जाए। इस सदन में चर्चा हुई राइट ऑफ सर्फ डिटरमिनेशन हो, मैं उनसे कम्प्यूनिस्ट होने के नाते यह कहना चाहूँगा कि राइट ऑफ सर्फ डिटरमिनेशन का सब से बड़ी परस्परिकेक्षण हुआ सोवियत युनियन में।

साम्राज्यवाद के खिलाफ घोषण, के खिलाफ यह बात आती है लेकिन राष्ट्रीय एकता के खिलाफ इसको इस्तेमाल नहीं किया जा सकता है जिसका प्रतीक सोवियत युनियन है जिसने 16 रिपब्लिकन को युनिफाई किया है इस का मुझे अधिकार नहीं है मैं यह कहूँ कि वह क्या मांग करे गया नहीं करे, लेकिन ऐसी कोई कार्यवाही नहीं हो जिसने बात और भी उलझ जाए। इसलिये मैं इस बात को फिर दोहराना चाहता हूँ कि हम सभी इन सवाल को राष्ट्रीय समस्या समझें। मैं मंत्री महोदय से कहूँगा कि इसको राष्ट्रीय समस्या समझ कर सख्त कार्यवाही हो क्योंकि मैं समझता हूँ कि अभी तक जो कार्यवाही की गई है वह काफी नहीं हो रही है और आगे कौन सी कार्यवाही करे इन पर हम लोगों को भ्रष्टीरता से विचार करना चाहिये। इतना कह कर मैं अपना भाषण समाप्त करता हूँ।

SHRI MADAN BHATIA (Nominated):  
Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I would like to make a few preliminary remarks. There are three types of Tamils in Sri Lanka: Jaffna Tamils, Tamils who are required

to be repatriated to India under the 1956 Agreement and Tamils who are required to be given Sri Lanka citizenship under the same Agreement. So far as the later two categories of Tamils are concerned, I had the occasion to submit from the floor of this hon. House that their treatment cannot under international law be treated as an internal affair of Sri Lanka. Sir, there are no guns and weapons which have so far been invented which would kill only Jaffna Tamils and not Tamils of the other two categories. Having made these remarks, my respectful submission is that there are three aspects of India's foreign policy which must be borne in mind. The first

aspect is that in spite of the fact that under international law we had every right to intervene even physically in the tragic developments of Sri Lanka, out of a policy of total goodwill and friendliness towards our neighbour, we declared that this is essentially an internal affair of Sri Lanka. Secondly, Sir, by having adopted this policy, we exposed the myth which is being sought to be projected by the United States and the forces of imperialism that India is acting as a big brother towards her own neighbours. And thirdly, by means of this policy, the Government of India succeeded in convincing the Government of Sri Lanka to accept the good offices of India for finding a lasting solution to this problem. This is no mean achievement. On the one hand, we take the stand that this is their internal affair and, on the other hand, we make Sri Lanka agree to accept our good offices to find a lasting solution.

The second aspect of this policy is as to what has been the success of this policy so far. In the first place, Sir, it is by virtue of this policy alone that the two warring groups, between whom there was no love lost and who were not on speaking terms, were able to come together for a discussion at a negotiating table. The credit for this goes to India's foreign policy. It is true, this policy has not been able to prevent the recrudescence of violence. To that extent there is a setback to this policy. It is also true that his policy has not been able to prevent the military action, very unfortunately, which has been launched



by the forces of Sri Lanka in North Sri Lanka. I respectfully submit that this violence and this military action have also not been able to prevent the ongoing dialogue between the two sides. Therefore, I submit that this policy has been tremendously successful and is on the right lines.

The third and the last aspect of this policy is that we must bear in mind that these tragic happenings in Sri Lanka and the policy that we have adopted towards these cannot be divorced from the fact that there is a deliberate, sinister, and vicious policy which has been embarked upon by the United States of encircling India. At the height of the tragic developments in Sri Lanka last year there was an unexpected and unscheduled visit of the Secretary of State for Defence to Sri Lanka. His visit was followed, by Walter Werno who is a top CIA man, and attempts are going on to secure a naval base in Trincomalee. If, in spite of these obstructions which I have a hunch there are, which are placed by the US imperialist forces to find a lasting solution, a lasting solution is found the credit for this will go to India's policy of good neighbourliness, friendship and that spirit of friendship which pervades the whole concept of non-alignment.

At the end I would ask only two questions to the honourable Minister of External Affairs firstly would the honourable Minister let this honourable House know as to what exactly is the role which India is going to play in the discussions which are going to be resumed on 9th May, 1984? Secondly, if unfortunately Sri Lanka, actuated or incited by outside forces, decides to find a military solution and abandons the political path, has India in its mind very clearly formulated its own contingency policy?

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO: Mr. Deputy Chairman, eleven hon. Members have participated in this Calling Attention. They have raised several points; they have made several points. I am grateful to all of them because at the end what has emerged is a consensus on this very important question. This is the first occasion after the retiring Members of the Previous Rajya Sabha have been replaced

by new Members, that the question of Sri Lanka has come up for discussion. I am encouraged to find that the replacement has not made any change in the opinions expressed by the Members and the Indian Parliament as much as the Indian people, stick to their opinions which have held so far, to which expression has been given in Parliament and outside Parliament, on all possible platforms, on all possible occasions. So, the policy which the Government of India and the people of India would like to be followed on this question continues to be what it has been. And that policy, I would sum up by saying, is a policy which seeks a political solution, which helps in the finding of the political solution, but at the same time which conforms to the well-established norms or international behaviour. This has been the policy which has found a consensus and which will continue to be followed by the Government of India.

Some questions have been raised. I would like to meet them one by one to the extent I can, at least the more important of them.

First I would like to say that this has already become an All India issue.

AN HON'BLE MEMBER: A world issue.

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO: This is no longer a Tamil Nadu issue. The most encouraging feature is that the whole of the Indian people are behind the Tamil brethren who are being subjected to untold suffering and harassment. I made a statement today. This is not the first I have made. I made several statements on this question and I would like to submit to the House that the statement contains all the elements of policy and fact which at the present juncture need to be incorporated in a statement from the Government.

It is true I have always avoided emotional overtones. We are all emotional. But when facts are to be marshalled before the House and policies have to be adumbrated, it is not emotion so much as reason that has to prevail. That does not mean that we are all emotionless.

[Shri P. V. Narasimha Rao] would like to assure Members who have spoken emotionally that even on that score they need not think that there is lack of emotion on the part of any one in this House or in this country. What we need, however, is a solution, and I repeat a political solution, to that extent the Sri Lankan Minister also agreed that there is no military solution to this question. Does it not mean that whatever military means they are adopting to solve the question, they are only contradicting themselves? Does it not mean that the All Party Conference which is just one way of finding a political solution will continue and they want to continue it? At one time we were told that they just want to scrap the All Party Conference. That report may or may not be correct. But there was a danger of the All Party Conference coming to a grinding halt because since the day it was announced it did not achieve anything; it was not found to be achieving anything and it was not found to be holding out any hope that it would achieve anything in future. Even so, our message to them was that in the finding of a political solution, delay should not prompt any party to scrap the process. This is not correct— So, a long gap has been given. This long gap, as I expressed the hope sometime back, should have been utilised for intensive consultations unofficially and informally between parties, between leaders, between several interests and of course, with the good offices of India. That process could have made the all-party conference a little more successful. But somehow the interregnum does not seem to have been utilised as well as it might have been. It is true that we have had consultations: it is true that we had talks; and it is true that the all-party conference which is going to meet on the 9th of May may well take up the line from where they were left last time. All these possibilities are there. But, somehow, I have a feeling, an uneasy feeling, that these six weeks could have been utilised better, more purposefully, more meaningfully. But the intervening incidents in Jaffna and the action that was taken unilaterally and, so far as we could understand, without any provocation or

any commensurate provocation, have led to a situation where the interregnum has been more or less spent not in any meaningful dialogue, but in these incidents unfolding themselves during this time. So, my hope that the resumed talks at the 'all-party conference would lead to a solution is, to some extent, a hope which is based only on the fact that there is no other way.

Mr. Gurupadaswamy seems to have read only two sentences in my statement. I would like to tell him that there is a lot between two sentences, if only he cares to read it. In fact, the penultimate sentence, the sentence which precedes the last sentence, is the expression of a stark reality that stares us all in the face. So, all the facts have been brought out and my hope is based on the fact, based on the reality, that there is no other way and I have no doubt that this process will have to continue.— I have said this several times over. Finding of political solutions, Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, has never taken place within a time frame so far and this has been the experience of mankind, the experience of nation States when they come to find political solutions. It has to be continued and it has to be preserved in and there is no other way. And, Sir, when both the sides feel that there is no other way, it will have to be continued, if not in this form, in some other form, if not in this formal, in some other format, and there may be many methods by which this could be done. But it has to be continued and this is the basic postulate, this is the basic premise, on which our efforts are continuing.

Sir, we have not been mute spectators, I would like to tell Mr. Upendra. We have neither been mute nor been just spectators. The entire history is there for anyone to see that we have not been mute spectators. We have said it in so many words that while on the one hand we have no intention of interfering in the internal affairs of any other country, it has to be borne in mind quite clearly that what happens in Sri Lanka has its repercussions across the border in India and, therefore, we

have to take note of it. Members from Tamil Nadu and other Members who have been in this House, would bear me out that on this question we have never mined words. We have been quite clear and have stated in so many words that whatever happens in Sri Lanka has its repercussions in India, that the ties between the people on both sides are too strong to be ignored and, therefore, there is no

question of ignoring it, of just turning a blind eye to what is happening in Sri Lanka. And, that is why. Sir we have been taking so much interest. I was the first to go, as the representative of the Government of India, not only as the envoy on behalf of the Prime Minister. Also the time which was chosen for my visit to Sri Lanka was very crucial in the sense that with my own eyes I could see the ravages. I have been given a set of photographs. I have gone through them here. I am grateful to the members who have sent these photographs to me. But I can assure her that I have seen with my own eyes much worse than what those photographs reveal. In fact, I was shown a video cassette, a whole video cassette, for more than an hour, which gives all the details of what happened in Colombo. It is rather amazing that while buildings are being burnt, while murders are being committed, all kinds of offences are taking place, there is also someone taking a film, a whole film as if it is something being enacted in a studio or outdoors. It was so leisurely. And it was so saddening to see that film. We are thus not unaware of this.

The point now is that since there is no other way except political solution, a political solution has to be sought. And in any case, we have to continue with the effort. This is what it boils down to, and this is what I would like to assure the House, the Government would be doing.

Now, the question has been raised: what is our role going to be, what is going to be the role of the Government of India in finding a political solution? I would like to submit that it is going to be exactly what it has been—neither more nor

less—namely, we are not going to find a proposal and place it before them. The proposal that emerged out of the discussions was not our proposal. It was not Mr. Parthasarathy's proposal. It was not Prime Minister's proposal. It was a proposal that emerged because every one found it to be reasonable, everyone thought that it could be tried and that it could be the basis for discussion. Only then it emerged and only in that form it emerged. So, while we are going on with our efforts, naturally more ideas can come. They come from anyone. None need have any copyright for these ideas, and no one need claim that the idea is his. Therefore, this is going to be our role; the role of good offices. It is not the role of participants, it is not the role of witnesses, it is something in between the two; in fact it is much more than the two put together. This is so because India is a neighbour. We have to live with our neighbours. They have to live with their neighbours as well. We have an elaborate programme of co-operation in South-East Asia.

Mr. Gurupadaswamy has also raised the question of neighbours. I regret we have no time, nor is this the occasion to discuss all these neighbours. But let us take one neighbour, Sri Lanka. What is the opinion of the House, if there has been an opinion? If there has been a criticism of the Government's policy it is that we are not strong enough, not that we are playing the role of a big brother. In fact, the Members would like us to play the role of a big brother. But in fact, we are not playing big brother, nor wish to. We are playing the role of a useful neighbour, a friendly neighbour, one ready and willing to help them, in all possible ways, so that they get over their own problems because their problem, as has been very well pointed out, becomes our problem. There is really no difference on the likelihood of their problem becoming our problem. It is just like two adjacent houses. This is why I say that the policy of good offices will continue.

Some questions have been raised about the motivation behind President Jayawardene's process of negotiations across the

[ Shri P. V. Narasimha Rao ]

table. It was said that this was meant only for buying time. Now, that is not my impression. We go by impressions. Naturally when we talk to others, we get our own impressions, we form our own impression. According to our impression there was a realisation that, may be on the basis of regional councils, a way would be found later on. I know and they also know that the District Development Councils are not the answer. There is no illusion about that. They know in no uncertain terms that what they have been offering for the last so many years will not work. So, what is it that will work This is the question to which the All-Party Council will have to address itself day after tomorrow. I am not making any prognosis. I am not making any promise that a solution is round the corner. But I am only saying that two basic things need to be considered. Firstly, there is no other alternative to a political solution. Secondly whatever had been offered before has been found unacceptable and everybody knows that that is not going to be accepted now. Therefore, what is acceptable is something which they will have to search for. It is not in anybody's mind. So, it has to evolve itself. It has to emerge as a result of consultations. This is the position in regard to the political solution.

Now, a question was raised about stateless persons and the position of the stateless of Indian origin who still are to be given citizenship of Sri Lanka. Sri Lanka Minister came here and the question was raised. The question was also raised whether the Srilankan Government has gone back on the proposal or on their decision to give citizenship to the remaining stateless persons. He told us plainly that there is no going back, that there will be an enabling legislation brought shortly and that there is no question of a referendum. I pointedly asked him whether in view of the fact that he is not likely to make a ment on these lines, I could make a ment in my Parliament quoting him and he said yes. That is why I am making this statement. So, it is for anyone to draw his own conclusions. Two statements have been made, one by the Prime

Minister and one by this Minister. The President has been making this commitment again and again and again. He has never gone back on this promise at least in his statements. But today it is not the Stateless persons whose question is foremost. There is some thing else. In fact, even if they are prepared to give Sri Lankan citizenship to these Stateless persons, it is highly doubtful whether they are likely to take it and be there, conditions being what they are. Therefore let us not really get diverted to other things. No doubt, it is a very important thing in itself which we have been dealing with and worried for quite some time. But at the moment it is a matter which is not connected with the killings, not connected with what is happening in Jaffna. Therefore, on that score, let us neither say that they are going to get citizenship of Sri Lanka tomorrow nor say that they are going to be left stateless. The point is that we are dealing with a different situation which needs priority.

Another point which was raised is concerned with rehabilitation. The House is aware that immediately after the trouble broke out last year, as a sequel to our effort, our good offices, the Prime Minister made a statement in both the Houses giving out the details of what the Government of India are going to do by way of affording relief to those who have suffered in these incidents.

Sir, about 30,000 refugees are already in Tamil Nadu. We would certainly like to help them. Relief is being given to them. If there is anything wanting there, certainly the Government of India will help. There is no doubt about that. But when it comes to rehabilitation, we have to make that distinction. Relief, yet, but when it comes to rehabilitation it is not just a question of 30,000. It is not a onetime affair. Rehabilitation has its own implications. I am sure that the Central Government and the Government of Tamil Nadu will continue to discuss this question. And as far as I can see, anything by way of rehabilitation is not going to be to the benefit of those people. It may even become counter-productive because it might bring us face to face<sup>1</sup>

with a much larger problem. This has happened before. This can happen again. Therefore, I would like to appeal to the hon. Members from Tamil Nadu to make this distinction between relief and rehabilitation. If they cannot stay with their friends and relations—as obviously they cannot for a long time—some other way should be found to see that some arrangement is made for them to stay as long as they need to stay. But the fact remains and needs to be remembered that they have to go back. They belong to Sri Lanka and they have to go back to Sri Lanka. They may remain here as long as it is needed. But to say that they need to be rehabilitated is something very different, and on that, perhaps, it may be possible for me to make any commitment.

MCSS JAYALALITHA: Excuse me, Sir, if I may make a clarification. The question which I addressed to the Minister was not really concerning the rehabilitation of the refugees. This permission has to be obtained from the Ministry of Rehabilitation. What has happened is that the refugees who first came from Sri Lanka were at first staying with their friends and relatives. But now since so many months have passed, they are no longer welcome there. They have nowhere to go. And until they are rehabilitated or until they return to Sri Lanka, whichever it is, there is no place for them to go. The Government of Tamil Nadu wants permission for them to be admitted to the refugee camps. That is the point in question.

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO: When you said until they are rehabilitated, that made me sit up and think. That is all. For the rest, we can certainly sort it out.

Sir, I think, I have covered all the points that were raised.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Yes, you have covered all the points.

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO : )  
 -would once again....

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव (बिहार) : श्रीलंका में वहाँ का पुलिस और मिलिटरी भारतवंशी लोगों को मार रही है, उसके लिए आप क्या कर रहे हैं ?

श्री पी० वी० नरसिंह राव : आप किस को बात कर रहे हैं ?

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : भारत-वंशी तामिलियन लोगों को जाफना में पुलिस और मिलिटरी मार रही है, उसके लिए आप क्या कर रहे हैं ?

श्री पी० वी० नरसिंह राव : मैंने अपने वक्तव्य में वही तो कहा है यह तो वही हुआ कि सारे रामायण सुना उसके बाद राम कौन था, और रावण कौन था ?

Sir, I have done.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Thank you. Now, we take up Special Mentions.

**REFERENCE TO THE ALLEGED VIOLATION OF CODE OF CONDUCT PRESCRIBED BY THE ELECTION COMMISSION DURING THE ENSUING BY-ELECTIONS IN TAMIL NADU.**

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, the Election Commission has laid down a code of conduct to be followed strictly by all political parties and all the State Governments. Now, Sir, by elections are scheduled in four Assembly constituencies in Tamil Nadu. Sir, all the political parties have agreed with the code of conduct laid down by the Election Commission that there should not be any transfer of higher officials in the constituencies where the byelections are to take place. But, Sir, in Tamil Nadu, in a particular constituency where a byelection has been scheduled, the Superintendent of Police has been transferred from Tiruchirapalli