

'Tarun Bharat' in a telegram sent to the Chief Minister demanded speedy action to book the culprits and to provide protection to journalists. Further news in "Tarun Bharat" of Nagpur of 13th August, 1983 says that the assailants were hired goondas for Rs. 10,000 by one person and that they were paid an advance of Rs. 2,000.

Sir, this is a very serious matter. During the last year, about 15 attacks took place in various parts of the country on journalists because some of them were busy to expose the corruption and anti-social activities and inconvenient political matters. Sir, freedom of the press is very essential for the success of democracy. And the contribution of journalists is very significant in this matter. Their protection is essential and is the responsibility of the nation and also of the Government. I, therefore, request the hon. Home Minister to issue special instructions for giving adequate protection to journalists and also direct the Maharashtra Government to book the culprits in this case and to take steps to enforce law and order strictly.

Mr. Arvind Karhadkar was an eminent journalist and his death is a great shock and a great loss to the country, specially to my part of the country.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI (Madhya Pradesh): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I would like to associate myself with the anguish and shock expressed by Shri Dhabe and pay my homage to the journalist, Mr. Karhadkar. This is a very serious matter and the Home Minister should take notice of it.

SHRI V. N. TEWARY (Nominated): Sir, I would like to be assured that people who raise their voices against anti-social elements are protected. Sir, if this is going to be their fate, nobody will be safe in this country. Those who want to fight out anti-social elements will not be safe from these people who want to buy everything with money.

SHRI G. C. BHATTACHARYA (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, only the other day, one Mr. Gupta of Banda was brutally assaulted and murdered.

### RULINGS BY THE CHAIRMAN

#### I. Notices of breach of privilege against Government of Orissa—Contd.

SHRI SHYAM SUNDAR MOHAPATRA (Orissa): Sir, with your permission, I would like to thank the Chairman and you, Mr. Deputy Chairman, for the initiative both of you have taken to secure the rights and privileges of the Members of Rajya Sabha, both this side and that side. And also the way the Secretary-General also conducted himself to secure the rights is praise-worthy. Sir, the Government of Orissa has now withdrawn the obnoxious circular by which they deprived us of the right to be in the Committee. I also thank the Deputy Leader of our Party, Dr. Rafiq Zakaria (*Interruptions*) I thank you, Sir, on behalf of all.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Thank you.

SHRI HAREKRUSHNA MALLICK (Orissa): The Government there should be warned not to behave like that in future.

### DISCUSSION UNDER RULE 176

#### Situation in Sri Lanka

SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, though it is a great privilege to raise this debate on Sri Lanka today in this House, I do so with a very heavy and a sad heart.

Sir, at the outset, the people of India should be commended and applauded for they have risen as one man on this

[Shri R. Ramakrishnan]

occasion. They are not merely distressed but they are agitated, whether they are from the South or they are from the North. Sir, the issue today before us is not merely an issue which concerns the fate of several thousands of Tamilians or persons of Indian origin. It is a national issue, and I may be pardoned, Sir, if I say that it is even an international issue. Sir, today, it is the desire of all of us that the debate in this House should be purposeful and objective, and should be of a high order.

Keeping this in mind and in view of the great tragedies that have taken place there, I do not want to inject any party politics in this issue.

Sir, I appreciate the bold and firm stand taken by our hon. Prime Minister to act in a situation which could have well gone out of control. In a difficult and sensitive matter such as this, she has acted with considerable restraint, which has earned her the approbation of the entire world press and also of the 68 crore people of India.

SHRI SHRIDHAR WASUDEO DHABE (Maharashtra): The Prime Minister is not here.

SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN: Perhaps, she will be hearing the debate in her room.

She has also displayed mature statesmanship when she has talked with President Jayewardene and where she has to be soft she has been soft and where she has to send a message loud and clear, while both talking on the phone and, I understand, with the emissary of President Jayewardene, she has expressed her distress and our displeasure in no uncertain and unclear terms.

Sir, in this connection, I would only like to inform the House that our party, the All India Anna D.M.K. Party at its General Council meeting, which met yesterday, has unanimously passed a Resolution placing on record the appreciation of the Prime Minister

for her statement in Parliament on this issue.

Sir, Sri Lanka was once regarded and described as the pearl of the East and it was described and known as a small island country, whose people had a reputation of being happy, friendly and free but today, Sir, what we see there is that it is in flames.

Sir, the relationship between India and Sri Lanka does not need any re-mention in that it extends or goes beyond to the 4th Century B.C. from the time of Ashoka when his son, Mahindra, and his daughter Sangamitra, visited Sri Lanka, and that is how the Buddhism started there. So, also, Sir, Tamilians have been settled there for centuries and it is not as if they were settled there yesterday or today. No doubt, certain Tamilians might have gone there recently and these are now described as the persons of Indian origin. Today it is not the issue of this Tamil and that Tamil but it is an issue between Sinhalese and Tamilians. And, at one stage it was an issue not merely Sinhalese versus Tamilians but Sinhalese versus Indians. That is why we learnt with great distress the attack on persons of Indian domicile and I am told that even certain Indian citizens there have been killed, which is for the Minister of External Affairs to clarify. Sir, I will not go into the history of the whole thing because most of us are quite aware as to the exact origin of this particular crisis. But it is essential that the Government should have in its mind the background of this conflict itself. The reasons, Sir, for emotions running so high in Tamil Nadu are also not far to seek. Each one of us in Tamil Nadu is so intimately connected with one or the other person in Sri Lanka either by friendly ties or by family ties or even by marriage or relationship or even by blood that there is reason for our emotions to run so high. No doubt, we are quite happy that the entire country is with us but the particular reason for emotions running high in Tamil Nadu on the recent turn of event there and the agitation and demonstrations there is because

so many of us are not only socially but also otherwise involved in the whole problem.

Sir, coming now to the high drama which took place recently, I want to point out that it all started with the Public Security Ordinance which was brought forward by the Government of Sri Lanka which gave the Army there the power to dispose of bodies without inquest. This, Sir, is the exact origin of the present conflict. A little later, Sir, we had the report that ten girls of Indian origin or Tamilians were raped in a hostel in Sri Lanka, which the Sri Lanka Government has denied. But, Sir, every action will have an equal and opposite reaction. And it is not as if that the ambush of 13 army personnel which happened there in Sri Lanka was just an event own; it was a reaction to an event which should be totally condemned because each one of us, whether it is our own sister or our own mother or our own kith and kin or even if it is a friend, feel so when a thing such as rape takes place. And just imagine the feelings of millions of people of that island when they hear of this news of mass rape by Sinhalese soliders in hostel...

DR. HAREKUSHNA MALLICK (Orissa): Shame, shame.

SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN: Apart from this, we have had the reports of rape, loot, arson and the killings, and murders in the jail in Sri Lanka. Sir, it is a sad commentary that persons who advocated non violence, Gadhians like Raja Sundarm have died. It is a further sad commentary that political prisoners who are there—may be their cause was right or wrong; but they were there in the jail—persons like Kuttimani and Jagannathan, have been killed in what can be described as a premeditated and sinister operation which could not have been there but for the tacit approval and connivance of the Government of Sri Lanka. If you hear the first-hand accounts which have now come out about the torture of Kuttimani in jail, his hav-

ing to kneal down on pices of broken glass, his eyes being sort of gouged out because he had donated them for a cause dear to his heart, his testacles being punctured like a bull or something in the countryside, these are the reports only to sordid to bear and this deserves the total condemnation of the entire world. What has Mr. Jayewardene got to say about this? He says that for 2 days or 3 days he was totally blacked out. Sir, no doubt, he is the President of an independent country, and we respect fully the sovereignty and integrity of that country. But don't we have hands? As the chairperson of the non-aligned movement. Mrs. Gandhi has got a responsibility to see, when civil got a responsibility to see, when takes place, what exactly is happening there. And I do not know really what President Jayewardene has to say about this.

Then we hear that the army became totally indisciplined. There was almost a mutiny in the army and the police went berserk, and almost civil war broke out there, Sir. We do not know the facts whether President Jayewardene lost control over the army and this statement which he made, is just to placate the feelings of the people and to show why he could not act. Only the time can tell this. But, Sir, as Walter Scot once said; I do not know what the truth may be, I can tell the tale which was told to me. And when we hear these sordid accounts from Sri Lanka, one will naturally get very much agitated about it.

Sir, I belong to the ruling All-India Anna DMK party which rules Tamil Nadu, and our Chief Minister, our revolutionary leader, Sri M.G. Ramachandran, has shown considerable restraint. And if he has been in close contact and touch with the Central Government, it is not as if he was doing so for any political gain or for personal publicity. As a responsible head of the State Government where emotions are running high, it was his bounden duty and he has acted with equal statesmanship and maturity, and

[Shri R. Ramakrishnan]

he has acted totally in consonance with the wishes of the Government of India, at the same time not sacrificing the rights of the Tamil-speaking people there or in any way being less sympathetic or showing any less solidarity towards the cause which is so dear to all of us. In fact, he set up the Chief Ministers Relief Fund for which donations are coming forward in a big way and we also are happy that recently in a statement to Parliament, the Prime Minister herself has taken the lead in not only appointing a committee with herself as the head but also setting up Sri Lanka Relief Fund at the Centre itself and we are sure that in course of time, contributions worth crores would be coming which could be despatched to Sri Lanka.

Sir, the Parliament was seized of the matter and the Prime Minister did really act swiftly when she sent our Hon. External Affairs Minister to Sri Lanka immediately after telephoning President Jayewardene, and he also gave us report of what happened there, and we also sought clarifications from him. And this was followed by a visit of President Jeyewardenes' emissary, his own brother, S. W. Jayewardene who is an eminent jurist and a lawyer. And he came and had several discussions with the Prime Minister and other important personalities here. This was followed by—I am just recapitulating what happened—the Prime Minister's statement in the House which was received well throughout the country. Finally, today, we have on our hands, the visit of the Tamil United Liberation Front Lader and General Secretary, Shri Appa Pillai Amrithalingam who is here, who has had talks with our Chief Minister and other leaders in Tamil Nadu and who is presently at New Delhi having further rounds of talks with the Prime Minister and other important personalities.

Now, we come to the point. What really has happened, what should be

done and what ought to be done. The is where this House really comes into the picture.

Sir, at the outset, we would like to know how many persons were killed in the recent tragedy. It is not merely of statistical interest. But it is really a tragic thing that the reports range from the officially-estimated 350 to as many as 3,000 according to the unofficial estimates. According to one report which has been quoted in the Guardian of London, a leading newspaper in England, two days back, there were many persons whose bodies were just thrown, who were shot at and whose bodies were just thrown in the burning buildings and only their charred remains could at best have been retrieved. I would like to know whether it is true that the number of those who have been killed runs to 3,000. Three thousand is not an ordinary figure. There can be no value placed on human lives. Even if one person is killed or dies, we feel for him. If as many as 3,000 of our brethren have been killed in the neighbouring country, it is a matter of shame. Therefore, I would like to know from the hon. Minister of External Affairs what exactly is his information as to the total number of persons killed.

Then, Sir, I come to the point about the damage to the economy of Sri Lanka. Sir, we may have our differences of opinion with the neighbouring countries. But even according to the Finance Minister of Sri Lanka, Shri Rane De Mel, about 18,000 houses have been damaged, another 10,000 houses have been partly damaged and about one hundred factories and textile mills have been totally razed to the ground. According to him, the damage to property is estimated at more than Rs. 200 crores. This is only an estimate by the Finance Minister of Sri Lanka which again is subject to survey. Sir, in terms of dollars, the damage is estimated at nearly 85 million US dollars. He himself has admitted that the economy of Sri Lanka would

have been set back by about 20 years on account of this. This means, Sri Lanka will require massive world aid for reconstruction of its economy.

It has also been estimated that six million dollars worth of clothing and linen would be required to rehabilitate the people who number 1,35,000 who are today in 27 refugee camps, about 18 in and around Colombo and about 10 in other places. This figure is also slowly coming down. After normalcy is restored, most of the people will go back to their old places of work. But still the problem is there as it is.

I now come to the most important point. What is the attitude of the Government of India towards restoration of properties to the rightful owners and also the payment of compensation to the persons who are affected and how they will be rehabilitated. This, particularly, comes in to relevance, because, recently, by an Ordinance, President Jayewardene has stated that all the properties, the right to all the properties will vest in the Government. He has so far not said what exactly will be the procedure adopted by the Government to restore the properties to the rightful owners, what will be the compensation paid to them. These are matters of detail which can be worked out. At least, in principle, we should know what exactly is being done in regard to this problem.

Coming to the problem of the refugees as I said just now there may be refugees, who, after normalcy is restored, will go back to their places of work. But what about these refugees who have nowhere to go, their entire houses have been razed to the ground, their family members have been killed? Perhaps there may be dependent members of the families. What about the fate of these thousands of people who still will be there, who will not find any work in Sri Lanka? Will the Government of India come forward to see that these refugees are, at least, temporarily rehabilitated in India? For that purpose, I may tell you that our State

Government has already anticipated them at Madras and Tiruchirapalli airports and several rehabilitation centers have been opened. Our rehabilitation Department of the State Government is already at work to see that these persons can at least be temporarily rehabilitated in some form or other. What exactly will be the attitude of the Government of India in this? Will they come forward to help the State Government, both financially and otherwise in this matter? What exactly are the feelings of the Sri Lanka Government on this?

Then there is one very important point. This may not be in the order of priorities right now, but I would like to ask the Foreign Affairs Minister about the old unsolved problem, about the Shastri-Sirimar talks on the question of stateless citizens. Sir, here I would like to refer to an editorial of the Hindu in Madras which appeared on 30th April—it is not now, it appeared as early as that day. It says and I quote:

“The Shastri-Sirimavo pact promised in 1964 that some 5.25 lakh people of Indian origin settled on the island, along with those added naturally to their numbers, would be repatriated in a period of 15 years; Sri Lanka was to absorb three lakhs and their children as its nationals. A further agreement in 1974 committed India to the repatriation of 75,000 more people of Indian origin along with the natural population increase within a period of two years after the completion of the repatriation of those covered by the 1964 agreement. Together, the agreements promised to grant Sri Lankan citizenship to 3.75 lakh people, the formula being that for every seven repatriated to India, four would be given citizenship by Sri Lanka.”

Here comes the crucial point. It is said,

“thanks to the lack of implementation of the arrangement by both

[Shri R. Ramakrishnan]

Governments, a very large number of 'stateless' persons face a grim and uncertain future."

Now this is the point, what exactly has been the attitude of Mr. Jayewardene? Have any talks taken place between him and the Government of India on this? In the light of the developing situation in particular, has the Government of India any rethinking on the subject?

Then, Sir, we come to the actual visit of the special emissary himself. Mr. Jayewardene had talks with Mrs. Gandhi and according to all the reports, though crucial issues were discussed, the entire talks were not exactly of a satisfactory nature. Mrs. Gandhi has told him the mind of the Government of India and he has promised to convey the same to his brother.

I would like to know whether you have received any feed-back on this which is likely to improve the situation and also improve the matters as they stand today.

Now we come to Shri Amrithalingam's visit. It is very clear that the whole matter cannot have a satisfactory solution unless the feelings and the rights of the affected people, there as of date, are acceded to. We do not want to go into the extremes. I will not comment on the controversial point also which is reging there about separate Tamil Eelam. I do not want to touch upon these points because we have always taken the position that we respect the sovereignty and integrity of the country, but some satisfactory solution has to be found there to the demands of the Tamils, particularly with relation to provincial autonomy. Even recently Mrs. Gandhi has said that the federal principle should be there and the talks which are there between the leaders of the TULF and others connected and our Government, unless they take into account the language problem ..... (Interruptions). I am very happy that the Prime Minister herself is coming. It is not merely a question

of trying to give them some development councils, or some sort of very small things will not do. This is a situation which has developed in a very complex manner. Therefore some strong steps will have to be taken to improve the situation. I would like to know whether the Government of India will appoint some person to look into the matter. Now we have full trust and confidence in Mr. Narasimha Rao in doing his duty, but he will have so many other problems, particularly in the U. N. Meet which is going to be there and there will also be so many other international issues of equal importance. I would like to know whether the Prime Minister and the Government will consider appointing some person as her Special Emissary, as Special Emissary of the Government, who will be in close touch with the leaders there and also with our State Government and other Opposition leaders, who can closely coordinate and monitor the whole thing. She has got so many persons; I do not like to mention names. But she should definitely come forward to appoint a Special Emisary immediately.

Further, Sir, he has also stated in his statement that the Government will consider and President Jayewardene will also like to receive an all-party delegation which will help to assuage the feelings between the peoples of the two countries. Such an all-party delegation is most welcome. Our party's General Council has also endorsed this, with one request that the all party delegation should also include representative members of the Tamil Nadu legislature because they are particularly aware of the problems there and they will be able to do a good job.

Sir, so many other Members are there to speak after me and I have really taken more than 30 minutes of your time. I will only like to conclude by saying that the Government has acted wisely, but they should not just rest on their heels. A time-bound

programme should be there to settle this matter because there is an old saying in Tamil—Arina Kanli Paz-nankanj” A porridge which is old is like a porridge which is cold and unpalatable and nobody will care for it. Therefore, there should be a time-bound programme by which we should try to come to terms, President Jayewardene should come to terms with us and with his own people there, and I am sure, the Prime Minister, in consonance with this verse from the Upanishad—

अयं विश्वः परो वेसि, गणना, लघूचेतनाम् ।

उदारचरितानां च वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम् ।

i.e. only the small minded differentiate between one and others, for the broad-minded the entire world is one family—keeping this verse of the Upanishad, I am sure she will act in a very firm and bold manner, as she has been doing. Thank you.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We shall continue the discussion after lunch.

अब सदन को कार्यवाही 2 बजे तक के लिए स्थगित की जाती है।

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

The House reassembled after lunch three minutes past two of the clock, The Vice Chairman, Shri R. Ramakrishnan) in the Chair.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAMAKRISHNAN): When I am in the Chair, I have no colour.

SHRI HAREKRUSHNA MALLICK: That means, you must be white.

श्री बुद्ध प्रथम धर्म (आंध्र प्रदेश) : आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, भारत का यह सिद्धान्त रहा है कि दुनिया को किसी भी कानून जल निर्मम हत्याएँ होती हैं, दुनिया को किसी राष्ट्र में जिन पुलिस और फौज के द्वारा निरर्थक नागरिकों की जान ली

जाती है या दुनिया को किसी भी क्षेत्र में विदेशी फौजों अपने हथियारों के बल पर नर-संहार करती हैं तो भारत ने हमेशा अपनी चिन्ता प्रकट की है। इसका अर्थ यह कभी नहीं लगाना चाहिये कि भारत किसी भी राष्ट्र के अन्दरूनी मामलात में दखलन्दाजी कर रहा है। इतिहास इस सत्य का साक्षी है। वियतनाम में वियतनाम-वासियों के अधिकारों के लिए भारत ने हमेशा आवाज उठाई और अमेरिकी साम्राज्यवादी नीति का विरोध किया। चिली में भारत ने चिन्ता प्रकट की, दक्षिण अफ्रीका हमारे लिए आज भी चिन्ता का विषय बना हुआ है। लेबनान में पी. एल. ओ. को लेकर, जिस समय इजरायली फौजों ने, इंसानों का, बच्चों का, स्त्रियों का कत्लेआम किया, भारत सबसे पहला राष्ट्र था, जिसने चिन्ता प्रकट की थी और उस खूबगर्जी का विरोध किया था। भयंकर कत्लेआम जिसमें पहली बार फौज और पुलिस ने खुलेआम हिस्सा लिया, हमारे पड़ोस में हुआ। ऐसा पड़ोस जो कि हमारी सभ्यता से जुड़ा हुआ है, ऐसा पड़ोस जो हमारे अतीत से जुड़ा हुआ है, तो वहाँ पर पहले भी सिंहालीज और तमिल के बीच दंगे हुए श्रीलंका के अन्दर, 1958, 1961, 1977 और 1981 में लेकिन इस बार जिस तरह से वहाँ पर हत्याएँ हुईं शायद पिछले ढाई हजार वर्ष में ऐसा नहीं हुआ। श्रीमन, मैं मे दो तीन लाइन कोट कर रहा हूँ :

“The wildfire of communal violence that raged across Sri Lanka last week left many observers wondering if much had changed in the past 2500 years. Indeed the ebb and flow of Sinhala-Tamil rivalry has marked the country's history.”

श्रीमान, मैं यह पहले ही निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि मेरा इरादा श्रीलंका की सरकार की टीका करने का निश्चितपूर्वक नहीं है लेकिन कुछ ऐसी घटनाएँ हो जाती हैं और वे एक प्रकार से हमसे जुड़ी हुई घटनाएँ हैं, भारत के नाम से जुड़ी हुई हैं, इसीलिए उसमें विशेष रूप से हमारी भावनाएँ जुड़ जाती हैं। भारत की, देश की माननीय प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी और भारत के नाय-

रिकों ने निश्चितपूर्वक बर्दाश्त का एक ऐसा सबूत दिया है, सहनशक्ति की एक ऐसी मिसाल कायम की है कि दुनिया के सभी सम्म राष्ट्र भविष्य में इसकी मिसाल दिया करेंगे।

[श्री वृद्ध प्रिय मैर्य]

श्रीलंका की आजादी आने के बाद किस प्रकार से वहाँ की यूनिवर्सिटियों में, कालेजों में सरकारी नौकरियों में, उद्योगों में, रिजर्वत में, एक विशेष भाषा बोलने वाले तामिल श्रीलंका के वासियों के साथ, बर्ताव हुआ है, यह सन् 1948 की घोषणा से, उनकी भाषा-नीति से पता चलता है। सिंहलियों को किस तरह से असली यूनिवर्सिटियों, कालेजों और उद्योगों में उन के मुकाबले में जो कि वे भी भारत के अंग हैं, किस तरह से उनको बढ़ावा दिया, यह उनकी नीति और रीति से पता चलता है। श्रीमन्, इस पर चर्चा करने से पहले मैं कुछ क्षणों में, पांच मिनट में श्रीलंका के इतिहास पर चर्चा करूंगा उसके बाद विषय पर आ जाऊंगा क्योंकि उससे जुड़ी हुई यह चर्चा है। जहाँ तक श्रीलंका के इतिहास का प्रश्न है, लिखित में लगभग ऐसा माना जाता है कि ईसा मसीह से लगभग पांच-छ सौ वर्ष पूर्व भारत से ही, कुछ विशेषज्ञों और इतिहास लिखने वालों का कहना है कि, आये गए। कुछ का कहना है कि वे गुजरात से गए। कुछ का कहना है कि वे बंगाल से गए। लेकिन भारत से गए। यह सभी मानते हैं। प्रोफेसर गीजर ? ने कहा है कि करीब 543 बी. सी. में विजय सिंह गुजरात से गए थे, लेकिन कुछ लोगों का विचार है कि ये बंगल से गए थे और उन्होंने वहाँ जाकर अपना राज स्थापित किया। वहाँ की जंगल की वासी ट्राइबल कौम की कुबानी से शादी की और उसके बाद जब उनका राज्य स्थापित हुआ, तो भारतवर्ष के दक्षिण के राजा की कन्या से इनकी शादी हुई। लगातार इस तरह के रिश्ते सिंहालीज के जो आर्य सभ्यता से जुड़े हुए हैं, दक्षिण भारत से होते रहे। जहाँ तक सिंहालीज और तमिल का प्रश्न है, यह दोनों ही सभ्यताएं एक दूसरे से जुड़ी हुई हैं। इनको अलग मान कर चलना, केवल राजनीति में अपना उल्लू सीधा करना है। दोनों का

विकास भारत से, दोनों के रिश्ते भारत से, बल्कि ईसा मसीह से तीन सौ वर्ष पूर्व महाराजी अशोक जिन्होंने वृद्ध धर्म स्वीकार कर लिया था, उनकी पुत्री संगमित्रा उनका बेटा महेन्द्र श्रीलंका गए। उसके बाद श्रीलंका प्रबुद्ध राष्ट्र बना।

यह इतिहास मैंने इसलिए कहा कि चाहें सिंहालीज हों लोग, चाहें तमिल हों लोग, दोनों का विकास भारत से है। यह दूसरी बात है कि अंग्रेजों ने कम्यून्स रेप्रेजेंटेशन के नाम पर उनमें साम्राज्यिकता पैदा की—जिस समय वह अंग्रेजों के गुलाम बने, कम्यून्स रेप्रेजेंटेशन का अवाइड वहाँ दिया गया। भारतवर्ष भी इस साजिश का शिकार हुआ था और देश का बंटवारा हुआ। अंग्रेजों के शासनकाल में कम्यून्स रेप्रेजेंटेशन ने जातीयता की भावना पैदा की। यह इसका सूक्ष्म में मैंने आपसे निवेदन किया, इतिहास रहा है।

जहाँ तक श्रीलंका का प्रश्न है, वहाँ पर बहुत से धर्म हैं, बहुत सी जातियाँ हैं। भारतवर्ष में बहुत से धर्म हैं, बहुत सी जातियाँ हैं। वहाँ की वेषभूषा, खाद-पीना केवल भारत से ही प्रेरणा लेकर—एक तरह से मिंग भारत ही श्रीलंका में नजर आता है। यह दुर्भाग्य है कि बावजूद इसके कि 72 करोड़ की जनता में बहुत से धर्म और जातियाँ हैं, वहाँ की सरकारें प्रवेश की और केन्द्र की, मिल कर कम्यून्स बैसंस कायम रखती हैं। वहाँ की सरकार किसी का पक्ष नहीं करती और यह दूसरी बात है कि श्रीलंका में अध्यक्ष पद को धारण करके भी एक इनसान विशेष वर्ग और जाति की बात करता है इसी वजह से फौज और पुलिस को बढ़ावा मिला कत्लेआम करने का।

श्रीमन्, इसके रिलसिले में मैं आगे चल कर कहूंगा। जहाँ तक श्रीलंका की आबादी का प्रश्न है—श्रीलंका की आबादी जो करीब डेढ़ करोड़ के है, उसमें सिंहालीज 72 फीसदी, तमिल 20 फीसदी, माइनाटीज 6.5 फीसदी और दूरे यूरोपियन वगैरह करीब 1.5 फीसदी, इस तरह से है।



अगर धर्म के आधार पर लिया जाए, तो वहां पर बुद्धिष्ट 68.5 फीसदी, हिन्दू 17.6 फीसदी, ईसाई 7.7 फीसदी, मुसलिम और दूसरी माइनार्टीज 7.1 फीसदी हैं। इस तरह से वहां की आबादी का गठन है।

श्रीमन्, मैं निवेदन कर रहा था कि किस तरह से आजादी आने के बाद सन् 1948 के बाद ही साम्प्रदायिकता की भावना घर करती चली गई। मैं नहीं जानता कि वहां की सरकार उस को बढ़ावा देती गई। आजादी से पहले सन् 1948 में पार्लियामेंट में तमिल भाषी करीब 24 हुआ करते थे, लेकिन तुरन्त ही सिटिजनशिप एक्ट के नाते करीब-करीब एक लाख तमिल भाषी लोगों को वोट देने का अधिकार वापिस ले लिया गया। यहां से प्रारम्भ होता है साम्प्रदायिकता का दौर। वहां दो भाषाएं थीं, एक भाषा ब्रह्मन्त में बोलने वाली थी सिंहालीज-उसको राजभाषा बनायें, यह बात मानी जा सकती है। लेकिन दूसरी भाषा जिस को कि बहुत बड़ी संख्या बोलती थी, तमिल, उस भाषा को इरादे के साथ कमजोर करना, उस को किसी भी तरह का बढ़ावा न देना किसी भी तरह की मान्यता न देना दूसरा कदम था।

श्रीमन्, जहां तक तमिल साधियों का प्रश्न है, श्रीलंका मैं उनको भी दो हिस्सों में बांटा जा सकता है। 11 फीसदी के करीब तो ऐसे हैं जितने लम्बे अरसे से वहां पर सिंहालीज आबाद हुए हैं उतने ही लम्बे अरसे से के भी वहां पर आबाद हैं, चाहे उसे ढाई हजार वर्ष कहिए, चाहे उसे दो हजार वर्ष कहिए, चाहे डेढ़ हजार वर्ष कहिए और 10 फीसदी से कम ऐसे हैं जो टी प्लांटेशन के लिए अंग्रेजों के जमाने में गए थे। उन की संख्या 10 लाख के करीब आती है। पण्डित जवाहरलाल नेहरू के विचार इस पर बहुत साफ हैं। जो भी समझौते शास्त्री जी और वहां के राष्ट्रपति जी के बीच में 64 और 66 में हुए मैं उन समझौतों को सही नहीं मानता। पण्डित जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने आजाद होते ही यह कहा था कि भारतवासी दुनिया के हर क्षेत्र में बसे हुए हैं और

उन राष्ट्रों के सब क्षेत्रों में उन्हीं ने अपनी बुद्धि और कूबानी से योगदान दिया है, भारतवर्ष आजाद हुआ है, हमारी शुभकामनाएं उन के साथ हैं और हम आशा करते हैं कि-उन की भी शुभकामनाएं हमारे साथ रहेंगे, लेकिन भारतवर्ष दुनिया में जहां भी है उन को अगर वहां की सरकार उखाड़ेंगी, हटा देंगी तो इस को भारत बर्बाद नहीं करेगा। यह हमारी राष्ट्रीय नीति थी 47 में, यह हमारी राष्ट्रीय नीति संविधान के लागू होने तक रही, लेकिन पण्डित जवाहरलाल नेहरू के निधन के बाद नीति में बदल आई और 64 में एक अजीब समझौता किया गया। इस समझौते को मैं गलत मानता हूँ। लेकिन यह गलत समझौता भी जो किसी भी माने में भारत के पक्ष में नहीं था, किसी भी माने में जो तमिल तीन पीढ़ी से, चार पीढ़ी से दो पीढ़ी से, 50 वर्ष से, 60 वर्ष से, 70 वर्ष से, 80 वर्ष से वहां रह रहे थे उन के पक्ष में भी नहीं था, लेकिन एक समझौता हुआ और उस समझौते के आधार पर, श्रीमन्, 64 में यह माना गया दोनों सरकारों के बीच में, समझौता हुआ कि 9 लाख 75 हजार तमिल प्लांटेशन लेबर है जिस में से भारत ने अपने ऊपर जिम्मेदारी ली-जो मैं फिर दोहराना चाहता हूँ गलत थी-5 लाख 25 हजार को वापस लेने की और श्रीलंका ने अपने ऊपर जिम्मेदारी ले ली 3 लाख को नागरिकता देने की और 1 लाख 50 हजार को लिए छोड़ दिया गया कि इस पर फिर विचार होगा, निश्चय किया जायेगा कि उन के बारे में क्या किया जाए। 66 में दोबारा इस पर मोहर लगा दी गयी। मैं इन दोनों समझौतों को राष्ट्र की उस नीति के विपरीत, जो पण्डित जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने आजादी के बाद दी थी, मानता हूँ। लेकिन दार्शनिक्यवश श्रीलंका ने इस को भी पूरे तौर पर लागू नहीं किया। अगर यह पूरे तौर से लागू कर दिया जाता तो वहां के कुछ लोग जो साम्प्रदायिकता में विश्वास करते हैं वह अलसंस्थकों के साथ इस तरह का वर्तव नहीं करते। अगर यह निश्चय हो जाता कि कुछ ऐसे तमिल जो 60, 70, 80 वर्ष से रह रहे हैं, जिन्होंने श्रीलंका की आजादी की लड़ाई में किसी

## [श्री बुद्ध प्रिय मैर्य]

से भी कम कुबानी नहीं दी है, यदि उन को नागरिकता मिल गयी होती तो दूसरे तमिलभाषियों को भी हाँसले बुलन्द होते। लेकिन दुर्भाग्य से भारत सरकार ने श्रीलंका सरकार पर यह जोर नहीं दिया कि यह समझौता जो तुम ने हम से किया है उस को पूरा क्यों नहीं किया जाता। यह चीजें हैं जो हवा देती हैं। अभी-अभी माननीय सदस्य बोल रहे थे। श्रीमन्, आप जब इस आसन पर विराजमान नहीं थे तब बोल रहे थे। आप ने कहा था कि कुछ समय के लिए श्रीलंका से तमिल शरणार्थियों को भारत में ले लिया जाए। श्रीमन्, मैं इस सुझाव के विरोध में हूँ। यह बहुत खतरनाक कदम होगा। एक तरह से जो तमिल वहाँ हैं और जिन को वहाँ की नागरिकता प्राप्त है मैं ऐसा महसूस करता हूँ कि उन को पैर उखड़ जायेंगे। यह बात उन को कमजोर करने की होगी। हमारी मदद से जितने भी रिफ्यूजी वहाँ बना दिए गए हैं उन को वहाँ पर सेंट्रल डाउन किया जाय। भारत सरकार बीच में पड़ कर उन की जो सम्पत्ति नष्टी गयी है उन की वह सम्पत्ति उन को वापस दिलवाये। मुझे ताज्जुब हुआ। फ़ौजी तानाशाहों के लिए सुना थी कि वह लोगों की हत्या कराते हैं और रिश्तेदारों को खबर नहीं देते। लाशों को जला देते हैं। बन्द करवा देते हैं। परिवार के लोगों को और बच्चों को और उन की कांई सुनवाई नहीं होती। लेकिन एक जनती का चुनाव हुआ नेता इस तरह का रवैया अख्तियार करे और कहे कि यह हमारा कानून है, ऐसे कानून का कोई भी जनतंत्र में विश्वास करने वाला व्यक्ति समर्थन नहीं कर सकता। यह काला कानून है इस का विरोध हम को बहुत मजबूती से करना होगा और इस के विरोध में भारत सरकार को यह महसूस नहीं करना चाहिए कि हम किसी के अन्दरूनी मांगलात में दखल दे रहे हैं। क्योंकि अगर हम इस सहायता, इस सलाह, ऐसी मदद, ऐसा सहयोग अपने पड़ोसी राष्ट्रों को नहीं देंगे जहाँ पर कम्युनिस्ट वॉलेंस कायम कर के शान्ति स्थापित करने की जरूरत है तो हम अपने लिए एक बड़ी मुसीबत का बीज बोयेंगे।

इस लिए जरूरी है कि भारत सरकार निर्भीक हो कर स्टैंड ले। मैं इस अलबार को पढ़ कर यहाँ पर सुनाना नहीं चाहता और सदन का ज्यादा समय नहीं लेना चाहता-गार्डियन के बारे में आप ने कहा था और जिस में लिखा है कि किस तरह से वहाँ बच्चों को जलाया गया और किस ने जलाया, किसी फिरकापरस्त नागरिक ने नहीं, किस ने मारा 3 साल के बच्चे को बन्दूक की गोली से, किसी समाज के ऐंटी सोशल एलीमेंट ने नहीं बल्कि फौज के एक सिपाही ने तीन साल के बच्चे को मारा, बारह साल के एक बालक को मारा और 25 साल के एक नौजवान को मारा और 75 साल के एक बीमार बूढ़े को मारा, सड़कों पर मारा, घरों में मारा, छत पर मारा, अस्पताल में मारा। यह किस तरह का रवैया है। इस तरह का रवैया किसी भी सभ्य सरकार का, सभ्य समाज का नहीं हो सकता। हमें बहुत मजबूती से अपने पड़ोसी राष्ट्र के नेता को कहना होगा-मैं देश की प्रधान मंत्री जी को दाद देता हूँ। बावजूद इस के कि हमारी भावना को उत्तेजित करने की कोशिश की गयी, उन्होंने उत्तेजित भावनाओं से नहीं बल्कि संयम से काम लिया और माननीय विदेश मंत्री को सहयोग के लिए श्रीलंका भेजा कि किस तरह से हमें आने पड़ोसी राष्ट्र की मदद करें कि वहाँ पर इस तरह का कत्लेआम न हो। वहाँ पर देश के टुकड़े न हो जायें। मैं निश्चितपूर्वक ऐसे एक्सट्रीमिस्ट को चाहें वह अपने को नमिल क्यों न कहता हो, मैं ऐसे एक्सट्रीमिस्ट की वही समर्थन नहीं कर सकता। जो देश को तोड़ने की बात करता हो। जैसे मैं भारत में देश को तोड़ने वालों को देशद्रोही मानता हूँ ठीक उसी तरह से श्री लंका में भी श्री लंका के तोड़ने वालों को मैं देशद्रोही मानता हूँ। निश्चितपूर्वक मेरे जैसे लोग सेपरेटिस्ट टैंडेंसीज को बढ़ावा नहीं दे सकते। मेरे जैसे लोग, जो देश को तोड़ने की बात करते हैं उन को बढ़ावा नहीं दे सकते, लेकिन यह निश्चितपूर्वक सोचना पड़ेगा, देशना पड़ेगा कि कहीं हमारी वर्तित के साथ-साथ यहीं सन्तुलन रहा उस के साथ कुछ लोगों ने, वेस्टेड इन्टररेस्ट ने एक ऐसा माहातल पैदा किया, कुछ शक्तियाँ

ने, कुछ विदेशी शक्तियों ने श्रीलंका के नेताओं को इस तरह का भूँ दिया। हमेशा भारतवर्ष उसकी मदद के लिए गया है। हालाँकि मैं 1971 की मदद के पक्ष में नहीं हूँ। सन् 1971 में भारतवर्ष मदद पर गया था, वहाँ के प्रधान मंत्री ने मदद मांगी थी हालाँकि मैं उस तरह की मदद के हक में नहीं हूँ। आज भी भारतवर्ष वहाँ की सरकार की हर तरह से मदद करना चाहता है। लेकिन कुछ बैस्टेड इण्टरस्ट्स ने इस तरह का वातावरण पैदा किया कि भारतवर्ष श्रीलंका पर दबाव डालना चाहता है। भारतवर्ष किसी दूसरे देश पर दबाव डालने के पक्ष में नहीं है, हमारी नीति साफ है, हमारा देश सत्यता के सिद्धान्त का देश है। इसलिए हम चाहेंगे कि वहाँ की सरकार मजबूती से चले। लेकिन श्रीमन् मुझे आप यह कहने की इजाजत दीजिए कि भारत सरकार को इस बात से आगाह होना चाहिए कि वहाँ के राष्ट्रपति एक गुट में शामिल होने की साजिश कर रहे हैं, वहाँ के राष्ट्रपति ने एक गुट बना लिया है जो तटस्थता की नीति के विरोध में है। वहाँ के राष्ट्रपति उस तरह की ताकतों से जुड़ना चाहते हैं जो नान-अलाइनमेंट की, तटस्थता की नीति के खिलाफ हैं। वहाँ के राष्ट्रपति का मन कुछ दूसरी तरफ चलने लगा है। वहाँ नजदीक में फाँजी अड़डा है, कहीं ऐसा तो नहीं है कि यह सुविधा देने की साजिश हो। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ सरकार से कि हम को निश्चिततापूर्वक यह सतर्कता बरतनी पड़ोगी कि भारतवर्ष पर अचानक हमला न हो सके। यही हमारा इतिहास बताता है, हमारे ऊपर हमले हुए हैं, हमने हमला कहीं भी नहीं किया है। कहीं ए-नी परिस्थिति आप अपनी शान्ति से पैदा मत कर दीजिएगा जो अभी उत्तर पूर्व में हो गई। ऐसी परिस्थिति आप नहीं आने देंगे, यही मैं आपसे निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ।

श्रीमन्, मैं प्रार्थना करता हूँ अपने उन साथियों से जिनके जज्बात कभी-कभी भड़क जाते हैं। लेकिन हमको यह स्मरण रखना चाहिए कि कुछ ताकतें यह चाहती हैं कि भारतवर्ष इसमें उलझ जाय। यह चक्रव्यूह बनाया है कुछ लोगों ने, सांठ-

गाँठ करके चक्रव्यूह बनाया है। एक विशेष राष्ट्र की साजिश है, एक चक्रव्यूह बनाया है ताकि हम उसमें उलझ जायें, हम युद्ध के वातावरण में फँस जायें और भारत वर्ष को इस युद्ध की धक्कती हुई ज्वाला का शिकार बनया जाए।

श्रीमन्, भावनाओं के साथ-साथ संयम रहे, ऐसा मैं मानता हूँ। भारत की सरकार और भारत के नागरिकों को यह अग्नि-परीक्षा है। हमारा विश्वास है कि माननीया इन्दिरा जी के नेतृत्व में हम इसमें सफल होंगे, सफल रहेंगे और शान्ति का वातावरण अपने-पड़ोस में कायम रखेंगे।

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं आपका धन्यवाद करता हूँ।

SHRI ERA SEZHIYAN (Tamil Nadu): Vice-Chairman, Sir, I want to put on record our sympathy and condolences to those hundreds of thousands of persons who have suffered during the recent tragic events in Sri Lanka. I want to pay homage to those persons who fought and fell, who fought for their freedom, who fought for their rights, their basic human rights, in a land where they were born and to which they belong to for centuries. Also I want to condemn the atrocious way the macabre tragedy was enacted with the help of the army there, with the help of those in authority, the blatant way in which the brutality was perfected, suppressing all basic rights, and taking away the human dignity of the citizens of Sri Lanka. It was an organised violence by the Sri Lanka Government and I want to pay homage to all those who fought it. I also want to express my appreciation not only of the violent Tamilians there but others also, because there were some Sinhalese also in the medley who did not associate themselves with these happenings but who resisted the frenzied brutality that of the army there. Then there were the Sinhalese leaders belonging to the Sarvodaya movement and the leftist parties who were against these happenings. They all deserve our appreciation.

(Shri Era Sezhiyan)

Sir, while initiating the discussion, the mover that he wanted to have a purposeful discussion. I am all for a discussion with some purpose. What is the purpose of this discussion? This is a discussion under Rule 176, that is, a purposeless, senseless, formless, colourless and tasteless motion to discuss the situation in Sri Lanka. What will be the outcome of this discussion? What is the view of this House? We cannot express an opinion in this discussion under Rule 176. What is the outcome? What is the desire? What is the position? What is the assessment of this House? It cannot be expressed in this form. It is highly regrettable that the Government has not come forward with a positive Resolution, with a positive motion, expressing its condemnation against these killings, expressing its sympathy and anguish to the suffering persons. Individual statements have come from the Minister and the Prime Minister. But the House as a whole has not expressed any opinion so far.

As stated and by Mr. Maurya, this is not an internal matter, Rajaji once remarked:

"Most private wrongs are done within the family, family walls, and most public wrongs within the borders of States. If the world opinion has to consider the State frontiers as sacrosanct, then there will be no chance for world progress as a whole. Tyranny will receive a wide charter....."

Whenever something wrong is done, whenever macabre tragedy is enacted, not only in Sri Lanka but anywhere in the world, if we become quiet we become abettors to the crime; we give a wide charter to perpetuate the evil.

I would invite the attention of this House to the fact that in the year 1960, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, then Prime Minister of the country, and who was in charge of Foreign Affairs,

moved a Resolution in Parliament and deploring the firing in Langa township, a small town in South Africa.

He moved a Resolution—

"That this House deplores and records its deep sorrow at the tragic incidents which occurred at Sharpeville and in Langa township near Capetown in South Africa on March 21, 1960, resulting in the death of a large number of Africans from police firing. It sends its deep sympathy to the Africans who have suffered from this firing and from the policy of racial discrimination and the suppression of the Africans people in their own home land."

This was a Resolution moved in the House by no less a person than the Prime Minister and he commented whether it was an internal matter:

"It is not the custom of the House normally to consider such matters which are supposed to be in the internal jurisdiction of another country nor indeed would we like the other countries to consider matters in the internal jurisdiction of this country. That is the normal practice, and it is the right practice. However, sometimes things happen and occurrences take place which are not normal at all but are exceedingly abnormal, and then it becomes rather difficult if some convention comes in the way of the expression of feeling which is deep-seated and powerful. After all, this House is and ought to be in some measure a mirror of our people's feelings. Therefore, although this is not a normal procedure, we felt that this House should be given an opportunity to express the strong feelings which it has in regard to this tragic incident."

Therefore, this House, this Parliament, should have been given an opportunity by substantive motion, moved by the Prime Minister or by the Government expressing in a posi-

tive way the anguish of the House at the deplorable things in Sri Lanka,

Sir, the same thing was followed by Prime Minister Mrs. Gandhi also when Bangladesh was under fire. When human rights were trampled there, when individuals were being crushed and the elected representatives were not allowed to function, then a positive Resolution was moved in the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha, which said amongst other things:

"This House calls upon all peoples and Governments of the world to take urgent and constructive steps to prevail upon the Government of Pakistan to put an end immediately to the systematic decimation of people which amounts to genocide."

Sir, the Working Committee of the Congress also at that time came out with a Resolution:

"The Working Committee expresses its solidarity with the people of East Bengal and solemnly pledges itself to do whatever lies within its power to mitigate their suffering. The Working Committee appeals to the international community to raise its voice against this crime of genocide."

I would like to know why such a resolution could not be passed when we were so much agonised. Why this House and the Parliament should not come forward with a positive resolution to be moved by the Prime Minister or by the Party in power to express its condemnation at this deplorable act? I am at a loss to understand as to why we should not put our considered views on record of this House.

[Mr. Deputy Chairman in the Chair]

It has not been as if this kind of animosity between the Tamils and Sinhalese was always there. They were the making only of the recent three decades. If we go through the pages of history for the last 2000 or

2,500 years, both these communities have been living in a peaceful co-existence in that emerald island, in that island of paradise. If you go through the chronicles, you will find that there have been kingdoms of Tamils in Jaffna and kingdoms of Sinhalese around Colombo, and Kandy, what they call Kotte Kingdom and the Kandian Kingdom. In the Kandian Kingdom of predominantly Sinhalese population, often there have been Tamil kings. It is worthwhile recording here that the last Tamilian King at Jaffna, by name Sangli, went to the help of the Sinhalese king of Colombo who was invaded by the Portuguese. The Tamil King from Jaffna went with his army, he was defeated and captured by the Portuguese, he was transported to Goa where he was hanged. Why? Because the Tamil King wanted to help a Sinhalese King. This thing was not new. The Sinhalese and the Tamils have been living together. In 1915, when the British ruler, the British imperialists, put in jail the Buddhist monks on the charge that they had been conspiring against the British kingdom, the Tamil Opinion, the Tamil section of the island, rallied round the famous barrister, Hon. Ram-anathan who argued the case. He argued the case. He argued so effectively that all the Buddhist monks were set free. When he came from London after winning the case, the Sinhalese gave him a very rousing reception. The grateful Sinhalese drew the chariot without allowing the horses to be used.

The Ceylon National Congress was founded in 1919 to raise its own battle, on the lines of the Indian Congress, against the British imperialists in that island. It was again a Tamilian who headed that Congress. He was one Ponnawbalam Arunachalam.

I am saying all these things to show that for centuries both these communities have been living in harmony and both these communities have been living in peaceful coexistence. As late

(Shri Era Sezhiyan)

as in 1944, in the State Council of Ceylon, a Resolution was adopted unanimously by both the Tamilians and the Sinhalese that at the time of independence, both Tamil and Sinhalese would replace the English as the official language in Ceylon. In 1945, a Select Committee was appointed. It also went into the question and recommended that Tamil as well as Sinhalese would be the official language. Till 1955, whether it was the U.N.P. of Seinanyake or the S.L.F.P. of Bandaranaike, whatever may be the hue or name of any party in Sri Lanka all the parties and everybody was of the same opinion that Tamil should be treated as an official language of the island. Only from 1956 onwards, when Sinhala only Act came, the tide began to turn and animosity and acrimony began to be sown in that beautiful island. It was a pity that in the constitutional history of Sri Lanka, from the time of Independence of 1948 onwards no party was able to be in power for more than one term continuously. Parties were rolling about. Whenever a party was in power, they did not bother about the problem of Tamil, those out of power would give all sorts of assurances. Even there were written agreements. Once they go into power, when pressure comes from the Sinhalese, they used to abrogate them and unceremoniously those assurances would be put into the wastepaper basket. This has started all the trouble.

Sir, the extent of damage in the recent holocaust we do not know. We do not know how many persons have died, how many persons have been rendered homeless, how many persons have been thrown into the fire, how many skulls were broken, how many necks were twisted. We do not know how many children were put on the burning fire. There is an Act of the Parliament of Sri Lanka which says that anybody who has been butchered and tortured or killed can be given a

quiet cremation without getting an inquest. Therefore nobody knows, and indeed the outside world may not know the extent of the tragedy. The official records may not give you the number of casualties. But it was surely very heavy. It may be 2,000 as contended by Mr. Amrithalingam or it may be 3000 or more Sir, the height of the tragedy was the euphemistic expression given by a spokesman of the Sri Lankan Government, as the Express News Service of 11th of August reported. "In reply to another question, the Spokesman said, 316 persons died innocently. They "died innocently" means that they have been butchered and they have been killed. The official estimate does not accept that anybody has been killed. They only say that they had "died innocently. This is the euphemistic way of expressing a very high order of brutality. There have been communal clashes, in India, now and then. In many civilized countries sometimes, somebody goes mad and something happens. But those who are in power, those in authority used to condemn such tragedies and immediately take steps to give relief. But here, in this island of paradise, those who are in authority, neither the Prime Minister nor the President there had a single word of sympathy or a single mark of condemnation about what has been done.

Sir, I am now going to quote from the official record of the Hansard, that is the proceedings of the Parliament of Sri Lanka that had taken place on 4th August, 1983. When the Sixth Amendment was being discussed no less a person than Mr. Thondaman—he himself is a Minister—he comes from the Kandy area; he is a Tamilian Leader of the Ceylon Workers Congress; has this much to say in his speech "His Excellency, the President went all out last time and said I am ashamed to be a Sinhala; I am ashamed to be the Leader of a party, and if necessary, I will go out of it.

In 1981, even when there was a gruesome massacre of Tamils it was reported that President Jayawardene was very angry with his own party-men and said, "If such a thing happens, I will not be the Leader. I will get out of the Office". And, Sir, I do not know what made him change his human tendencies, human kindness and humane feelings, from 1981 to 1983.

Mr. Thondaman spoke, "He used these strong terms but, unfortunately, this time when very much more serious difficulties took place, I am sorry to say that not only His Excellency but none of the Ministers who came expressed even a regret for these victims."

Here are the macabre happenings in which people are being killed, people are being hounded out of their homes, hounded out of their hearths but not a single word of sympathy has come from the Prime Minister or from the President of the Island or from the other Ministers. This is a charge made by one Minister of the Cabinet. Mr. Thondaman further said, "We joined to strengthen the hands of His Excellency, the President", because Mr. Thondaman belongs to a Tamil Party which did not subscribe to the idea of separation. He did not go with the TULF. He broke from it and said, "We should have all the powers of autonomy within the framework of the federal system in Sri Lanka."

Therefore, he joined the Government. He supported Mr. Jayawardene and he is a Minister, and he says why he joined this party, the ruling party. Mr. Khondaman says:

"We have joined to strengthen the hands of His Excellency the President and unfortunately this is my own opinion that those who have pretended to agree with the policy of His Excellency have not been honestly following it. I have been very sincere, very honest in the belief that we can find a solution to the problem of minority and that

we can live peacefully. It is very unfortunate that we are now trying appease the very people who have been doing criminal acts, lawless people and in this way we cannot forge national unity and development. It is a unitary State, there must be protection. The Government must give protection. It has completely failed this time. We cannot allow this thing to continue. This is not the first time that we have suffered. We have suffered in 1977, 1979, 1981, 1983. We are human beings. Yesterday the Daily News wrote about "Dumb Friends. They are trying to prevent cruelty to animals. The Daily News is the official organ in Colombo. Today the whole country is on fire, people are dying. Hundreds of thousands of Tamilians are suffering, but the Daily News the Government organ, writes about dumb friends. They are interested in cruelty to animal. We are reduce to that hopeless position. It is not my intention to take too much of your time. What he says is this. Over one thousand people, a lot of people are in private homes. They will come out. When they will come out it will be known."

This is a proclamation or a pronouncement or an open declaration made by a Minister of the Government.

Sir, in the elections held in 1977 the T.U.L.F. got 18 out of 19 seats in the northern and eastern provinces, only one seat was won by the ruling party, the UNP, that too with a narrow majority of 500 votes that is in the northern and eastern part, it has been said that they won them on the plea of secession, on the plea of self-determination, on the plank of their manifesto, but, Sir, Mr. Thondaman differed with them. Another Minister on the day when a Constitution Amendment was being put forth, the Sixth Amendment to the Constitution, was responsible for depriving all these 18 representatives of TULF of the Tamil

[Shri Era Sezhiyan]

lians from being Members of Parliament. This was hurried through in a single day.

When entire Sri Lanka is on fire, when there is so much of distress and animosity, when hate is ruling the streets of Colombo and Jaffna, when the army is patrolling, not only patrolling but shooting down people in Batticola and Triwewalle a Constitution Amendment to drive out the MPs from Parliament was to be passed. They had driven out Tamilians from their homes. They had driven out shopkeepers from shops. They had driven out prisoners out of the world gouging their eyes, breaking their skulls, and now they are driving out PMs from Parliament itself. On that memorable day, one Minister, by name Cyril Mathew, he is a Minister, a responsible Minister, he is considered to be the most powerful Minister..

AN HON. MEMBER: He is not a Minister; he is a sinister....

SHRI ERA SEZHIYAN: This man, Cyril Mathew, says in the open House that "This is a subject which has never been discussed in the House before. I am speaking on behalf of 10,986,000 Sinhalese."

Here is a Minister of a Government in power supposed to rule the entire country, supposed to represent the entire people supposed to maintain the law and order of the entire island, irrespective of the language that they speak, irrespective of the religion that they followed..... (Time Bell rings Sir, please give me a few minutes more.

And this Minister comes forward and says: 'I am speaking on behalf of the Sinhalese'. Suppose, if you drive out the Tamil representatives, out of Parliament and all the Ministers, the Sinhalese, are going to speak only for the Sinhalese, who is going to speak for the Tamilians inside the Government, inside the Parliament?

I understand from Mr. Amrithalingam that on the 3rd of August, he phoned personally to the President and said he wanted to come to Colombo to visit refugee camps and see the situation. And the reply of the President was—Please don't come there is no security for you; we cannot afford; we cannot give you security; please don't come today. And on the 4th, the next day, they are conducting the proceedings of Parliament, banning all these people, without giving an opportunity to these persons.

I would like to say that madness was let loose in the whole process and there has been some method in that madness also. Wherever, Sinhalese are dominant, Tamils are hunted down and their homes are being looted by the Sinhalese mobs. The army and the police are passively looking at them. But in the areas, where the Tamilians are in majority, it was the army, the navy and the airforce that took the initiative. They know which is the house belonging to a Tamilian and which house is owned by Sinhalese with a Tamil are living there and they will harm the property of the Tamilians and will not set fire to the house if it is a Sinhalese house. Therefore, with unerring accuracy, they had all this information with them and they acted accordingly.

Now, it looks as though the temper, the tragic impulses are coming down. But to me, it appears to be not so, because every time the same thing erupts and every time it looks as though it will be the last time it has erupted again that way. After 1956, Mr. Howard Riggins who was the Ambassador to Sri Lanka, of U.S.A. wrote a book "Ceylon: Dilemmas of a new Nation and I am quoting from that book, because Mr. Jayawardene will not object to the assessment made by an American, where he said: "In the event the majority community succeeded in obtaining the language reform legislation, its ardent spokesman sought. The alarming riots of



1958, unparalleled in the island history were the direct results of these reforms and of Government's reluctance to insist, the public order be maintained and individuals protected. The memory of these events will retard the creation of a unified modern nation commanding allegiance of all communities."

At that time it was thought that 1958 riot was unparalleled in the history of Sri Lanka.

Again, coming to 1981, in the months of August-September, there were huge riots. This is what the London Observer wrote at that time: "It is now established that the orgy of looting and arson in Jaffna and northern side of Jaffna in one minority Hindu Tamil community was planned, orchestrated and carried out by predominantly Sinhalese Buddhists, police force in the area. Among the targets were the Jaffna public library where 97,000 books were burnt; the office of Tamil newspaper attacked, and home of Tamil MP destroyed." Everytime the orgy comes, it has been orchestrated it is being well-planned.

It has been often said, why should there be this cry of separation?

If you go through the political history of this island, you will see that they have not asked for this. Actually, the present TULF started as the Tamil Congress in the year 1947. After the Citizenship Act, when more than a million people were disenfranchised when the number of representatives to be sent from the Tamil area was reduced deliberately, the Tamil Congress split and the Federal party was formed. The Federal Party advocated for a federal structure for the entire Ceylon, with autonomous areas or self-governing areas for the Tamils and the Sinhalese. Afterwards, this became the Tamil United Party. Only after this, when all their efforts were set at naught, they were disillusioned. Selvaneyagam, the very famous Gandhian, who was called very belovedly as the Ceylon Gandhi, said he was disillusioned with these people and

that he had no other option, but separation.

Sir, at this juncture, what should we do? I would request the Government to come forward with some concrete proposals. You may not spell out everything. I know. This is a test of your diplomacy, how you are going to accomplish your job is your responsibility. This is a responsibility which cannot be shirked. This is a responsibility which cannot be delayed. If you delay it, it means, Jayewardene is buying time.

Afterwards another orgy will come. Another tragedy will occur in this island.

Therefore, I would say that this House should come out with a proper, substantive, motion, condemning the wholesale tragedy and the orgy which was perpetrated. We should mobilise world opinion, as we did in Bangladesh, as we did wherever human rights were trampled. It should become the late. Ceylon is known as the island of paradise. But today, that paradise is lost. Hell has been let loose there. Mistrust, hate, animosity and macabre brutality are ruling that country. Therefore, this paradise should be regained. In this, our country has a great responsibility. It is not only a great responsibility in regard to the Tamils there. It is also a great responsibility in regard to human rights, human rights which have been enshrined in the UN Constitution of which you and all the others are Members. Therefore, we should come forward and give assistance.

Somebody has cautioned that there should be proper supervision in regard to the assistance which we give. In regard to the funds which the Prime Minister wants to collect in this country. We do not know how this is going to be spent. We do not know how this is going to be spent. We do not know whether it will reach the affected persons; it is highly doubtful. We do not know whether the kerosene which we send from India is going to light a lamp in a hut or it is going to burn that very hut. We do not know. There-

[Shri Era Sezhiyan]  
fore, there should be some machinery for ensuring the proper utilisation of the assistance which we give. More than the assistance which we give, more than the money which we send from here, it is the trust which you create, it is the confidence which you send from here, which is important. Instead of sending things from here, let us send the message of confidence that we are there to help them, irrespective of the fact whether it is an internal problem or otherwise. We should not go into these niceties. When Jawaharlal Nehru moved the resolution in 1960, these things were not gone into. These things were not looked into when Bangladesh was on fire. The same position is prevailing.

Therefore, I would urge upon the Government to take time by the forelock and act. While talks are being held with the TULF leaders, I would again urge that any settlement in Sri Lanka can never be full, can never be completed, without the assistance and active co-operation of the TULF. They are the proper representatives of the Tamil People, who won 18 out of 19 seats there. They are the sole representatives of the Tamil speaking Eelam, which consists of the Northern and Eastern provinces. They should be associated. They may be associated directly or indirectly or through India. But they should be associated. Again, Sir, any solution of a long-standing nature should be constitutional. It cannot be a pact. It cannot be an agreement. It cannot be promises. These promises have been broken. The pacts have been thrown into the waste paper basket.

P.M.

All these things have been forgotten. Therefore, if you want to have stable and assured peace in this island, there should be a constitutional solution. The basic thing should be enshrined in the Constitution to the satisfaction of the people. Otherwise, we do not know where it will end.

Just because I come from Tamil Nadu, it should not be viewed that I am having the side, it has been re-

verse of history. In Tamil Nadu there has been a separatist movement that went later for federal system. Here there was a party in Sri Lanka which supported the federal system and ended in a separatist party. Therefore the confidence that you created in those who wanted separation has not been created in Sri Lanka. Therefore, I appeal to this Government and to those same persons who are left in Sri Lanka to take them as humanity. There is none like people of Indian origin. Even Sinhalese are of Indian origin. The Buddhist religion is of Indian religion. Everything that is worth known in the history of Sri Lanka comes from India. Sri Lanka is a part of India. I do not say geographically or politically, but spiritually and culturally it is a part of India. Therefore, in a big way we feel the agony. We have no animosity against anybody. We do not want the army to be sent to over run the island, or to take over the administration. If any army is sent, it should be sent to give protection to those stateless people. It need not be Indian army. It can be an army of the world, organisation, I do not want to suggest the name, but if somebody is able to give protection, the purpose will be served.

Therefore, I appeal to the Government to take the time by the forelock, not to drag on, not to consider what should be the solution and all that. We are always late. Our seismograph machine, our meteorological section in the Foreign Affairs Ministry is always late. Only after the rain comes they will say that the rain has come. Even in Sri Lanka they have been very late. They did not prepare the Government. They did not prepare the world opinion. They did not prepare the opinion of this country. Even after the eruption came on 23rd and 24, the opinion of the Government was very weak, they were not coming forward to have a discussion because they were not aware of it. Even though our Foreign Minister whose name is blood curdling 'Narasimha' went there, I do not think they have so much fear of him. Therefore, I

do not want to put our weight, but we should ensure the safety and dignity of the human beings there.

There is one thing more. Whatever is happening to the Tamils there is sure to visit the other sections of Sinhalese. When Hitler first put his target on Jews, it did not stop at Jews, it went to other communities, other parties and then it overflowed the frontiers of Germany, and the entire Europe was engulfed in hate and destruction. Therefore, if something happens in Sri Lanka, it may be Tamils today, it will be other parties tomorrow and then it will be Muslims, Christians, other leftist parties and then parties within themselves. They are saying all these things in the name of Buddha, Buddha did not teach things. Buddha taught love, but these people are hating in the name of Buddha. At least they should spare the fair name of Buddha, the proudest contribution from the Indian civilization to the whole world of philosophy and humanity.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Mohapatra. Please be brief in your observations. There are a large number of speakers.

SHRI SHYAM SUNDAR MOHAPATRA (Orissa): I have always been brief.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, the whole country today is charged and surcharged with the emotion which has been caused in Ceylon due to oppression on the Tamil population, Sir, the discussion is reminiscent of the days when the whole country was face to face with the torture which the Bengali population had in Bangladesh in 1971, but today war is not fought on grounds, probably war is fought through diplomacy. And in this respect I can say, the leadership which has been shown by our Prime Minister. Mrs. Indira Gandhi, is too laudable. Even Mr. Amrithalingam has said that he is deeply satisfied with the role of

the Government of India, particularly of Mrs. Gandhi.

Sir, this oppression on the Tamil community has caused us more concern in the sense that one might feel that the whole country is face to face with war, but as I said, the country has to be restrained because today Mrs. Indira Gandhi is not 'Mrs. Indira Gandhi', she is the Prime Minister of India, she is the Chairwoman of the whole non-aligned nations.

So in this respect, caution is absolutely paramount. Today the whole world is having cold war here and there. Belligerency is sparking off in this country and that country—from Kampuchea to Laos to Iraq and Iran and to far off Argentina and through all Arab countries and African countries this struggle is going on against imperialism and imperialist powers not only want Diego Garcia, they probably are keen on Ceylon in the Indian Ocean where imperialist power can have their conspiracy and intrigue and spark off their domination. In this respect, what I want to impress on the House is that this is an issue which has cut across party lines and as Mr. Sezhiyan said, what is the outcome of this discussion? The outcome is mobilisation of popular forces' sympathy for the suffering Tamil community in Ceylon.

The Tamilians are suffering there because they have a genuine problem of language, a genuine problem of their own establishment, of their own culture, retention of their heritage and they do not want to consider themselves as aliens in Sri Lanka politics. Their language has not been accepted in Ceylon, although it is in the Constitution that it should be the second language. Today we see hardly 3 per cent of the Tamilians are in the Army and hardly 5 per cent Tamilians are in the police. And in all major, important posts, the Tamilians have been relegated to background. Tamilians are not at the mercy of Mr. Jayewardene. Tamilians do not want anything

[Shri Shyam Sundar Mohapatra]

with a begging bowl; they demand their own rights.

It is unfortunate that Indians in many countries have been treated with contempt and they have been—thrown out of Burma. I know how thousands of Indian people in Burma came to India with a begging bowl. I know hundreds of them are still there in Orissa, starving without jobs. We know they were thrown out from East Africa and what torture they had to undergo at the hands of that monster, Idi Amin. So it happens. Indians will suffer in other countries because they are enlightened people. I had been to the United Kingdom. The modern United Kingdom has been built because their mercantile firms, industries medical profession—all are manned by Asians—Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis. The Indians have proved their genuine talent and Indians cannot be taken for granted that when they are thrown out from this country or from that country, each time the Government of India will come to their rescue. It is my firm opinion that wherever Indians are, they must fight for their genuine rights and come what may they should rally round a cause. And Tamilians in Ceylon today are rallying round a genuine cause, with which we Indians are very much in sympathy. I knew when Mr. Jayewardene came to power and as Congressmen we had probably spoken out when Mrs. Bandarnaike we denied the right of citizenship and Mr. Jayewardene came that it was the success of a rightist conspiracy in Ceylon. And it is not uncommon that Mr. Jayawardene will take this course. I do not know how far it is true, but it came out in the papers released by an American journalist that he had sought help from other foreign powers. I do not know how far it is true. It could be true. After all, probably the entire military of Ceylon is no match to the police force of Tamil Nadu. But India has no extra-territorial interests. Indeed under the leadership

of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, she has shown extreme restraint. The Simla Accord, our role in Bangladesh has proved to the whole that Indian, under the leadership of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, has no extra territorial interests, has no desire to dominate over other countries. We stop where we want to stop and not an inch forward we go. That has been our policy. In this case, my own impression is that Ceylon Government, with the help of American conspirators want to unpopulise Mrs. Indira Gandhi because she is the Chairman, of the Non-aligned Movement. The whole world is looking to India as to what course India will take. Should it go for a war? Should it go for a military exercise? Should it allow its aeroplanes to fly over Ceylon to terrorise the Ceylonese Government? No, nothing. That has not been our policy. Otherwise Mr. Narasimha Rao, our Foreign Minister, would not have rushed to Ceylon. I will say that he was not a Chamberlain. Chamberlain went to Munich to negotiate with Hitler and came back with his umbrella, saying he had won peace with honour. It was belied by the forces of history because Czechoslovakia was raped by Nazis. But Mr. Narasimha Rao has been successful.

But Mr. Narasimha Rao has been successful. He went there with Mr. Vajpayee, his Secretary, and told them about the concern of the Indian people and the concern of the Government of India. And that is why Mr. Jayewardene sent his brother to have a parley with the Prime Minister and Mr. Narasimha Rao. In what respects have we been successful? Mr. Jayewardene has now agreed for a round table conference with the Tamilians, to which he was not agreeing before. He has agreed that Tamil language could be considered as the second language of Ceylon. He has also agreed for district development committees, and amnesty to all people. Of course, he says, amnesty after non-violence. He has agreed for discontinuance of Army in Jaffna. Of course, he has made a

clause, after cessation of violence. Sir, my own personal feeling is that Mr. Jayewardene is captive today in the hands of military. He has no power today probably, although he received the mandate of the people. Otherwise, how could there be mass killings of innocent people, men, women and children, and maiming of citizens. It is reminiscent of the days of Bangladesh when Mujib was killed and his family was routed, all patriots, all writers, all intellectuals were killed and imprisoned in Bangladesh. That happened recently in Uganda and in many other places. Sir, it is inhuman killing. The whole world opinion today is against the Government of Mr. Jayewardene. I can tell you that if Mr. Jayewardene does not see reason, he will be not Jayewardene but Prajewardene in course of time. There is no doubt about it.

Sir, the Seventh Fleet is cruising in the Indian Ocean very near to Ceylon. The entire Ceylon secret agency is manned by the Government of Begin, that means, the Government of Israel. It is negotiating for knowledge in the manufacture of atomic weapons. Sir, these are all intelligence reports; and I think Mr. Narasimha Rao seems to be knowing all this. Ceylon is going to be converted into a base in the Indian Ocean. Ceylon is going to be a base for the imperialist cliques and imperialist designs. And in this unless we do something today, it will be very difficult to meet the situation later on. Sir, the Americans are causing concern for the whole world in Central America, in El Salvador Nicaragua, or in Honduras. At all these places the American Government is trying to utilize CIA to cause concern to the people, to support the puppet regimes of the United States, to support fascist regimes, to support military dictatorship. The idea is that the toiling people should not be able to form the government, there should not be any socialist government, only puppet government. And Ceylon is probably going to be the latest victim of American conspiracy. India cannot lose

interest in it. We cannot close our eyes; nor can we close our ears. The fear is that today India is a big power, 5th or 7th industrial power, our people with a strength of 700 million are a big power. We cannot stand by tyranny. We should stand by those people who are fighting against aggression of imperialism and all that.

Today our concern is for the Tamil people. I will not, of course, support secession of the Tamil area from the whole of Ceylon. It is for the Tamilians to decide. But Mr. Amrithalingam says they have not rejected the idea. They still want a Tamil State in Ceylon. It is for them to decide, it is not for us, because there has been such belligerency in many parts of the world; when a particular part of the whole State was suppressed, they demanded statehood. Why does it happen? It is because of torture, because of economic exploitation, because of political subjugation, which Bangladesh had to face. For thirty years Bangladesh was raped by West Pakistan. The whole economy was raped. Bangladesh were ousted from all posts, from colleges, from government offices, from mercantile firms. And that is why they rose in revolt and got their independence. India could not close its eyes because it was on the border, and about a crore of refugees came into India. But, before that, Mrs. Gandhi made a diplomatic mission all over the world. She went to all important countries, big and small, mobilized public opinion against Pakistan and in favour of Bangladesh, and then it was time for India to intervene.

It is too early for us to say that India should intervene. Yes, India should intervene diplomatically. India should intervene with the might of the popular force behind Mrs. Gandhi to tell Mr. Jayewardene, "You must see reason, and if you do not see the person; well, of course, the Indians are there." But probably that is the last testament we can give to the posterity, because after all what is Ceylon. Historically Tamilians are there. If you read history, Vijay Singha who belonged to West Bengal and Orissa, ruled

[Shri Shyam Sundar Mohapatra]

over there. He was the monarch, and his name is written in letters of gold. I do not find any difference between Tamilians and Ceylonese. We were probably part of one history, one culture. I am not quoting the Ramayana. Somebody probably will say that I will say it was the country of Ravana. Not that. We had single history, single culture, single tradition, and we cannot lose our interest in what is happening in Ceylon.

Sir, I can tell you that when Mr. Jayewardene was here during the Non-aligned Conference, the Press people asked him, "Mr. Jayewardene, your excellency, will you kindly tell us what is happening about the stateless people in Ceylon and Tamilians?" What did he say? He said, "There are only 1 lakh stateless persons in Sri Lanka, and so the problem is no intractable. We cannot put them in a ship and send them off. Besides, we need them in the country, and we cannot keep them without giving them civic rights." This is what Mr. Jayewardene said in Delhi in the presence of 700 million people of India. We thought that well, he was a great god. Of course, he looks like a Roman Senator, with his height, *lungi* and white *kurta*. He invariably looks like a Senator. We thought probably he was speaking the truth. But actually he was going to put the Tamilians in the ship and throw them into the sea, the Indian Ocean or the Arabian Sea. This is what he has done and is going to do. And it is time that he saw reason, Mr. Jayewardene, the President of Ceylon, that the Tamilians are not alone in Jaffna, that the entire Indian population, 700 million, are going to sympathise with the Tamilians and stand by the Tamilians in their just cause, reasonable cause, constructive cause to help them establish themselves.

This is a click, as Mr. Sezhiyan said, to remove the Tamilian parliamentarians from the Parliament. It is a

sinister design on the part of Mr. Jayewardene's party and the Government to deny them the right. It is a sinister design that the Tamilian MPs will not be there. And that is probably why, Sir, that the TULF is demanding a statehood. It is the last stage of frustration, it is the last stage of patience, it is the last stage of tolerance. That is why it has gone to demand a separate statehood, because it is nowhere, it is a non-entity, it has no *locus standi* in society, and that is suffering of the Tamilian people, and we can appreciate their feelings.

Sir, I can say in this respect that Mrs. Gandhi has shown a laudable leadership. She has shown a commendable sense of diplomacy. In the galaxy of world politicians, Mrs. Gandhi today is one who is so much appreciated, not by the east or the west, not by communists or capitalists alone, but by every block of people. She is a departure from Fidel Castro. If you see the role of Fidel Castro, it was Fidel Castro who sent arms to Africa to fight the battle with the oppressed people. Fidel Castro sent his soldiers who are fighting in Central America, in El Salvador, in Guatemala, in Honduras and may be side by side with the Nicaragua patriots against the American hegemony. But Mrs. Gandhi does not send troops anywhere. Mrs. Gandhi does not try to intervene anywhere. The Government of India is not advocating a policy of interference and intervention. But sanity demands, justice demands, reasons, demands that we keep our head high, not bow down before any click conspiracy, however mighty, however strong it may be. In this respect we support Mrs. Gandhi, the policy of the Government of India and Mr. Narasimha Rao who has taken a long stride for success of the discussion. And most of all, irrespective of party affiliations we are one with the suffering Tamil Nadu populations of Sri Lanka. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI HARKISHAN SINGH SURJEET (Punjab): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, the tragic happenings in Sri Lanka and the sufferings of the Indian

nationals and people of Indian origin have shocked the whole world, and the political and social forces in our country have rightly expressed deep concern over these happenings. The unity which the whole country expressed on this issue is unique. It is natural because Sri Lanka is our close neighbour and the events there directly have an impact on our situation here. And secondly, Tamil speaking people, people of Indian origin and Indian citizens are directly involved there. That is why these shocking events have aroused justified anger in the whole country, and the whole country has expressed its sympathy with those suffering people and anger against the Government of Sri Lanka. These shocking events have surpassed many earlier records. Thousands have been done to death. Properties worth billions have been destroyed. The Government figures there go to show that only 350 people have died. But the other figures are there, including the British news papers, which go to prove that more than 2,000 have died in this violence. Not only that, no body has been spared; women, children, old men—nobody has been spared. And even those behind bars have not been spared; they have been done to death. And this has not been confined to areas where the Tamil majority was there. It has spread to other areas too, including the Capital of Sri Lanka, Colombo. Nobody has been safe there. Even the car of the Leader of the Opposition was attacked. Every where the industry, the economy is disrupted. This is the situation which we are faced with today in Sri Lanka. This carnage was not confined to Jaffna alone. The whole of the Tamil-speaking people, the people of Indian origin, Indian citizens, everybody got affected. And they had to move in large numbers—80,000, even according to the Government of Sri Lanka figures—to the camps. This is the situation which that country is faced with. And this has all been done with the help of the army.

These were not sudden events. This violence against the Tamil-speaking

people started in 1956 and those people waited for 25 long years for a solution. The last carnage took place in 1981, after which negotiations started. Because of the world public opinion, the Government was forced to carry on the negotiations. As a result of the negotiations, some agreement was arrived at. That agreement remains unimplemented. Instead of implemented, that agreement to assuage the feelings of the Tamil-speaking people so that they are able, in the united Sri Lanka, to fulfil their aspirations and advance in their cultural, linguistic, political and economic life, violence is unleashed and that violence is unleashed with the support of the army. This is a very strange situation. And even the President of the country says that he is ignorant about what has happened in Jaffna. This is what has happened.

To blame those Tamil speaking people would be very wrong because the Government, instead of implementing the agreement came forward with draconian laws like the Public Security Ordinance. They did not spare those parties, may be they represented the minority point of view—which represented the Sinhalese population and raised their voice in support of the demands of Tamil population. You know, all the Leftist parties who stood up firmly in support of the Tamil-speaking population and supported the demand for autonomy for them, were banned. This voice was not allowed to be raised. All that has been mentioned. I do not want to repeat it.

Even the Members of Parliament were barred from attending the House because of certain measures taken by the Government. The result is that a situation has arisen in that the Tamil-speaking people are forced to raise certain slogans because the Government has done all this in the name of fighting against the violent activities of the extremists and the secessionist movement? The real problem for the Tamil-speaking people today is whether they can live, they can survive, in Sri Lanka today, whether they

(Shri Harkishan Singh Surjeet).

can own their properties there, whether the military will not come all of a sudden and kill anybody without any notice and grab their property. This is the situation they are faced with. They are driven to the wall. What they should do is the real problem. The problem is not what slogan is being raised. The problem is a human problem, whether somebody can be allowed to live there or not. This is the situation they are faced with. And this situation they are facing after waiting for 25 years, to find a genuine solution. Nobody can blame them. They have always been wanting a reasonable solution. Even now Shri Amrithalingam the Secretary of the TULF who had come here, stated very clearly; any reasonable proposition he is prepared to agree to which can ensure, which can guarantee their culture, their language, their political life to freely develop. They are prepared to agree to that. But that is not the situation. You know the figures of percentages of the population. Tamil speaking people constitute 27 per cent. I do not want to go into that. Even the administration, even the police in Jaffna, they have some 80 per cent, 90 per cent, belonging to — even 95 per cent — the Sinhalese. How can you manage in such a State. You try to do it here and let us see. If you do it, its consequences will be very dangerous. But the regime there is trying to do it today.

The situation, as my friend there stated, is no doubt being utilised by imperialists. Sometimes you forget, after having gone through the struggle against imperialism. We should always keep in mind the motives. It is not accidental that when a situation arose, the Jayewardene Government sought the help of the United States imperialists, the British imperialists, Pakistan and Bangladesh. Why could he not come to India? Of course, now he is forced by the world opinion and by the initiative of the Government of India he has to do it. But earlier they have gone there be-

cause the imperialists are trying to destabilise this region and they want to encircle India and bring the maximum pressure. On the one hand they are militarising Pakistan, and, on the other hand, they are creating a base in Sri Lanka and they are trying to utilise the situation.

Therefore, in this respect everybody in the country has welcomed the steps taken by the Government of India. The Government of India on this issue has not lagged behind. They have got the support of the whole country, of the entire people, and this backing has given them the courage to take a forthright stand and we are glad they have taken a forthright stand on this issue. They have gone to this length that today the proposals made by Jayewardene cannot satisfy the Tamil-speaking people. Somethings more has to be done. What else can you do? Yes, people are expecting more. Yes, the imperialists want to involve us and some other forces also in this region. We should not allow imperialism to enter this region. We should deal with the situation in such a way where we can ward off that danger; and at the same time find a solution to this problem. At this stage I only want to say one word of caution; that Jayewardene should not be taken on his words. He had made promises in the past also. He himself came to an agreement in 1981. But much more needs to be done. World public opinion has to be aroused against him. He is not a man who can have that courage in this zone to stand up against the world public opinion. India being the chairperson of the non-alignment movement, India should arouse the feelings of the non-alignment countries, they should unitedly find a peaceful solution and fight against imperialism to solve the problem, by mutual cooperation, by South-South dialogue as decided by VII non-aligned summit in Delhi.

Why should we not be able to solve this problem by bringing all these pressures on the Government of Sri Lanka?



I do not want to say anything more because the whole House is united on this and there is no difference of opinion on this issue.

I only want to mention three points. First and foremost is restoration of complete peace. The situation has changed and in changing the situation the Government of India has played its part.

Secondly, rehabilitation of the people has to be attended to. Full compensation should be given to those whose property has been lost. Mr. Jayawardhane has assured to our Government that the Ordinance or law for seizing property is meant only to protect such properties and to enable them to hand over such properties to the owners. This should be implemented. Sufficient relief should be provided to those who are in need of it.

The Government of India has indicated in its statement that solution cannot be found on the basis of the earlier position because confidence is lost. Confidence is lost because of the experience the Tamil people have had for the last 26 years. New solution can be found only in a federal set up where there should be proper autonomy for the Tamil people with freedom to develop their language, culture and economy and where they should have their political rights.

Apart from taking steps to achieve the above three objectives, we should do our utmost to see that the world public opinion is created so that President Jayawardhane sees reason to solve this problem.

Finally, I would also request the Minister of External Affairs to bring forward a Resolution. This is such an issue on which the whole House is united. No doubt the proceedings of the House will have their impact. But there will be much more impact if the Foreign Minister, in the light of the statement made by the Prime Minister in the House the other day,

comes forward with a Resolution, to be passed unanimously by the Parliament, calling upon the nations of the world to exert their influence on the Government of Sri Lanka, so that, that Government sees reason and finds a proper solution to this vexed problem in such a way that the Tamil people living in Sri Lanka, where they were born and where their forefathers lived amicably with the Sinhalese people, have full freedom to work, to develop their language and culture with all their political rights.

SHRI P. N. SUKUL (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Deputy Chairman, all that has happened in Sri Lanka recently by way of mass murders of thousands of innocent men, women and children of Indian origin; including looting and burning of their properties, has come to us as the worst shock of the decade. And what has shocked us most is the fact that the Government of Sri Lanka has been found to be hand in glove with those who have perpetrated these heinous crimes in that country.

No less a person than the Industries Minister of Sri Lanka, Mr. Ceril Mathew, is reported to have spearheaded the entire well-laid plan for the genocide of Tamils in Sri Lanka. Why do I call it genocide? I call it genocide because according to the Genocide Convention of the United Nations, any deliberate attempt to exterminate or wipe out a racial, linguistic and ethnic minority is a genocide. In fact this has been attempted in Sri Lanka. Under the veil of curfew imposed in Colombo, mobs were allowed to seek out members of the Tamil ethnic minority for killing them in cold blood. In the process they were also allowed to ransack shops, offices and homes and loot them and set them on fire. While this was being done the police and the military were standing as just passive observers.

It was reported by the UPI that four hours after the curfew was declared, streets of Colombo were littered with burnt cars and buses.

[Shri P. N. Sukul]

Even the office of the Indian Deputy High Commissioner and the residence of the Acting High Commissioner of India were attacked by these elements. In Jaffna town, Sir, the army men were on a total rampage and they were reportedly raiding each house and each shop and shooting down the Tamil youths indiscriminately. On the 26th July, Sir, 35 Tamils were killed in a Colombo jail and, on the following day, four more Tamils were killed in another jail massacre. On the 28th July, a train coming from Kandy was attacked and the Tamils therein were killed. In Colombo, at the Fort Railway Station, Tamils were dragged out from another train and they were killed and seven bodies were recovered from that train. Sir, Mr. Jayewikrama, the Secretary of the Ceylon Chamber of Commerce himself told the Reuters that properties worth tens of millions of dollars had been damaged in Colombo and, consequently, the economy of the Island was bleeding. Besides the hand of the Industries Minister behind the massacre, the rampage and the killings under the cover of curfew, Sir, President Jayewardene himself failed to make any public appeal for the restoration of peace in the Island. This goes to show that the entire Sri Lanka administration was behind the entire holocaust in that country. Also, Sir, on the 25th July itself, Sri Lanka cut off all channels of communications with India and imposed a strict censorship. The State-owned TV and radio were silent about all that was happening in the country. Moreover, Sir, anti-India speeches were made in the National Parliament on the 26th and 27th July and this goes to prove the attitude of that country towards India and the Indians living there. Even while our External Affairs Minister was in Sri Lanka, the carnage was continuing unabated and the people of Indian origin were being massacred. There is no doubt that our Government has acted with the utmost restraint and tolerance and, for this, Sir, our great and beloved Prime

Minister, as well as our learned and shrewd External Affairs Minister, deserves our wholehearted congratulations. But, Sir, our tolerance must never be mistaken for our weakness. Here we should also not lose sight of certain facts. Firstly, in the first week of October 1981, there were reports in the Press that President Jayewardene was actively considering a proposal for inviting American soldiers in Diego Garcia for relaxation, for rest and for recreation in Sri Lanka. Secondly, in the first week of August, 1982, it was reported in the Press that the Sri Lanka Government of President Jayewardene was planning to have a station of the Voice of America in Muthurajawala in Sri Lanka. These facts together with the reaction of President Jayewardene in 1957, who on an agreement concluded by the then Prime Minister, Mr. Bhandaranaike, with the TULF leaders, took out a procession and organised a march to Kandy as a result of which there had been riots and the march had to be cut short, prove his attitude. All these things go to show the attitude of that country towards us and they throw a flood of light on the character of Mr. Jayewardene and his attitude towards the Tamils there, towards India and towards the American bloc. This no doubt necessitates a review of our policy towards that country.

Sir, in this connection, I would like to make certain observations and suggestions, a few of them for short-term consideration and a few others for longterm planning:

Firstly, Sir, compensation must be paid for the entire loss of life and property in Sri Lanka. Our Government has to ensure in all possible ways that this compensation is paid by the Government of Sri Lanka to the suffering families. Secondly it is also to be ensured that this genocide does not repeat itself. And for that we should have negotiations with Sri Lanka Government or

we may approach the United Nations or any international body like the International Court of Justice to ensure that this kind of thing does not recur in future. Thirdly, about the problem of refugees it is also to be ensured that all the refugees—there are said to be 50,000 persons of Indian origin rendered homeless—are properly rehabilitated. Fourth, and the most important, which should be a part of our suggestion for long-term consideration: what is our attitude towards the TULF demand for separate State? Mr. Amrithalingam has said yesterday that the TULF stands for separate Tamil State and that there was no change in the TULF policy, but if the Government comes up with concrete alternative proposal to solve the problems of Tamilians in Sri Lanka his party would consider its stand. Now, Sir, what can be the alternative proposal? Naturally the adoption of a federal Constitution instead of unitary Constitution that they are having ... (*Time Bell rings...* under which the Tamilians may enjoy full autonomy as desired by them. This has also to be ensured at all costs and we must knock at the door of the United Nations or any suitable international agency. Fifth, our policy towards this country, as I said, must be reviewed properly.

Thank you, Sir.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR (Madhya Pradesh): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, the happenings in Sri Lanka have aroused more anguish in this country than anger. Anger there is, because what has happened there defies all description, all imagination. Human rights have been violated in a most flagrant way, and as friends have mentioned we are reminded of the happenings in Bangladesh. And it was a one-sided affair with the Armed Forces of the State taking sides and not only joining the rioters but actually sometimes initiating action against defenceless,

peaceful citizens, whose only fault was that they happen to speak a different language and perhaps come from a slightly different origin. As friends have mentioned, Sir, it cannot be called even ethnic was because both the Sinhalese and the Tamils originated from India, and the difference is in their religion or in the way of worship—all to be found in this country. We have Buddhism here. We have a form of Hinduism which is practised in the northern part of Sri Lanka. We have so many more types and forms of faiths and worship. But with all that, we feel that is the beauty of our life, that is the beauty of our culture. Such things should have happened in Sri Lanka is something which has depressed most of us, and all of us have been thinking if there was any way we could do to solve this situation. Sir, the unfortunate fact is that there is the background to all this and there have been previous incidents also of the same type in Sri Lanka. The last of them in 1981 was one when riots in Jaffna started and the Police set fire to a great library. Policemen set fire to a library. Yesterday, we were told that on one occasion 40 people were assembled in one catholic church. The Policemen asked them to assemble there so that they may be secure. After they had gathered there, the Policemen went and told the rioters that they could attack and kill. One of them, called Subramaniam was cut into pieces. Someone sat on him and drank his blood. Such a thing happening anywhere would be a shame and slur on humanity. When it happens in country which is so close to us not only geographically, culturally and historically, but also from the point of view of sentiments, it naturally cuts a deep wound in the hearts of all of us.

These riots that have rocked Sri Lanka recently have brought about a massive destruction, a senseless destruction. Industries have been destroyed. One factory producing garments and exporting them world

[Dr. Bhai Mahavir]

wide by the name of Candy Garments, has been completely burnt down and destroyed. Loot has been of an unprecedented degree. We are told that in one shop there were 12,000 T.V. sets. All of them were carried away systematically in a well-planned manner. This could not be happened without the active connivance and the support of the Police or the Armed Forces there. Hindu temples have been destroyed. 130 Navy personnel are said to have gone on rampage and destroyed everything that came in their way. Of all this, we cannot have better testimony than what the President of Sri Lanka himself has given. Shri Jayawardene has admitted that his Army has an anti-Tamil feeling. He even conceded that on certain occasions, they not only did not stop the rioters, but even instigated them and encouraged them. Originally, it was made known that the initial spark came from an ambush in which 13 Army men were killed. Subsequently, it was admitted that the riots started even before that ambush took place. What is worse is that the President himself has tried to find scapegoats. Instead of accepting all the responsibility for what has happened, he has tried to find scapegoats. One scapegoat he has tried to find is in us. He is on record having said that the South Indian States were talking about invasion. I do not know which responsible person in this country has talked of invasion. But President Jayawardene says that he has heard of this talk. Helping terrorists and harbouring them. Naturally, in this vast country, one cannot totally rule out the possibility of one or two terrorists speaking into the country from some island or unknown port and finding some shelter for himself. But has any responsible Government official or any responsible person in this country given shelter to terrorists of Ceylon? I do not think that could be a fact. If it was a fact in any measure, this was something which could have been brought to the notice of Govern-

ment and could have been set right through appropriate action. But the President tries to utilise this or to make use of this. Here is something which is not a friendly act at all.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I would like to inform the hon. Members that the hon. Prime Minister will intervene in the debate at 4.40.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: Sir, he says, "I am not harbouring people who want to separate Punjab or Assam from India". And by this totally uncalled for analogy, he tries to blame some Southern States with the charge that they are harbouring terrorists. I do not know, Sir, but the hon. Minister for External Affairs would be able to say how far the press reports are correct that when he was there, he wanted to visit some refugee camps but was not allowed to visit them. Not only that. When our High Commission wanted to visit those camps and find out how many Indian passport-holders were there, our High Commission was not permitted to do that. It is said that the State Bank of India and the Syndicate Bank of India offices were burnt down. Sir, how much Indian property has been destroyed, how many Indian passport-holders, who are Indian citizens and who were there just as tourists—may be for business, may be for visiting friends, or may be for some other work—were affected and embroiled in these riots is something which cannot but concern us.

[The Vice-Chairman (Shrimati Margaret Alva) in the Chair]

But, Madam, the starting point of all this was probably the tirade in the controlled press of Sri Lanka against India. Now that tirade was justified, nobody has been able to tell us. Perhaps the only provocation was that we had expressed concern at the situation in Sri Lanka as if our expression of concern at such an inflammable situation, at a situation in which human lives were being endangered, at a situation for the creation of which the Government of Sri Lanka was solely responsible, was

considered to be sufficient cause, a sufficient provocation for a whole tirade being let loose against us. We are told, Madam, that an Indian ship which was sent by our Government for the purpose of evacuating refugees and bring them to Jaffna was not allowed to load those refugees on some flimsy pretext or the other. And, perhaps, the worst example of what I would say, could be considered a provocative action or irresponsible action was the mention in particular column of the 'Sun' that India might invade Sri Lanka. 'And if India invade, we shall fight. We may lose but we shall lose with dignity.' Wherefrom such ideas got into their mind, we are unable to understand. But along with this was the report that they had asked for military aid from America, from Britain, from Pakistan, from even Bangladesh. How far these countries are willing to oblige is not for me to say, nor is it for us to guess. But certainly it would be a piece of childish activity if such a thing really happened. It was promptly denied. The official sources said that nothing like that had happened. But we are told that the column in which this talk, this gossip or this report came is the column which the President has often made use of to air his views. If that is so, it certainly gives some cause for giving credibility to that particular column or that report. Madam, we are told that these things stem from the fear of a powerful neighbour in the form of India. Since India is there, Sri Lanka Government, their rules have feeling that they have great neighbour and so they developed some sort of fear complex with in themselves. If there is any truth in this, Madam, certainly India cannot help being a great country, being a large country, just as Sri Lanka cannot help being a small country, relatively speaking. But are these things a reason why we should harbour disbelief in another's intentions? Our foreign policy has been very clear. And I would certainly compliment the hon. External Affairs Minister and the Government of India of having taken this parti-

cular challenge with a great restraint, with a great sense of responsibility and with a realisation that it is something which does not concern only this country or only a small minority of people. (Time Bell rings) Madam, I am just finishing and I will take a few minutes more.

The question that remains, Madam, is where we go from here; whether we have reached the end of the crisis, the end of the troubles or whether there can be a conflagration again? The question that remains is whether the Government of Sri Lanka has learnt a lesson and will take steps not only to suppress terrorism but to make that terrorism irrelevant, to make it unnecessary because Madam, all that we are told today is that if the Tamil minority today is asking for separation, it is asking for separation with a certain background. Mr. Amrithalingam was here. We heard him. We talked to him. We are told that they have given assurances after negotiations lasting 13 months at a stretch and after some agreements were signed, but none of them have been honoured. These are the things which have led them to ask for separation. Naturally we believe and I suppose that our Government has not left the Ceylonese Government in any doubt about our interest in the integrity of Sri Lanka. We want the country to remain one integral unit. But, then, Madam, the things which have happened just now, are a disgrace. University lecturers have been killed in their beds, when they were asleep. They ran amuck and killed and destroyed what ever came their way. (Time Bell rings) Madam, I will just make a mention about two or three points on which I would like the hon. Minister for External Affairs or the Prime Minister to enlighten us. Firstly, it is with regard to the Srimao-Lal Bahadur Pact. It is said that we have honoured the major portion of this Pact. But still there are some 1.8 lakhs of people there whom neither they are prepared to own nor have they any chance of coming and settling here.

[Dr. Bhai Mahavir]

What exactly is the position in regard to them? Are we bound by something which we have committed and which we have not been able to implement so far? My friend, Mr. Maurya was condemning that pact. I think it is too late in the day to say that. But we should certainly know what the position is. Secondly, what are the facts with regard to the report that Indian property has been destroyed; our banks, the State Bank of India, the Syndicate Bank, have been destroyed? Has there been a destruction of Indian property; and if so, to what extent? Thirdly, our concern, Madam, is about the talk of regional autonomy, which the Sri Lankan Government has been assuring. It should be held with the Tamil speaking people and it should be held in a way in which they are inspired by the genuineness, by the bonafide of the authorities also. That is something where our Government should be able to help. Lastly, Madam, our concern about the welfare of Sri Lankan and the Tamil people there is very obvious. The Government of India cannot escape its responsibility. It has to be cautious but firm; careful but imaginative. In any case, we cannot let down the Tamils of Sri Lanka any more than the Sinhalese, since both happen to be the flesh of our flesh and the blood of our blood. What has happened there is a shame for any democratic Government. It is slur on human dignity and it is disgrace even for the great Buddha by whom some of our people there swear. With this situation, Madam, we have to find a way in the present impasse and I hope the Government of India will rise to the occasion and will be able to discharge its responsibility in such a way that there is no further repetition of such an orgy of violence where innocent people are butchered like dumb animals.

4 P. M.

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM (Tamil Nadu): Madam Vice-Chairman, at last we really affected persons, were given an opportunity to

speak about the situation in Sri Lanka. So many members have spoken very elaborately with regard to ethnic violence prevailing in Sri Lanka. Some spoke very emotionally and some spoke as if they were reciting a bible, and some spoke from the bottom of the heart. I being a person, coming from that part of this country who actually have been affected by the ethnic violence would like to speak about the real situation and the happenings in Sri Lanka.

One of the Members rightly pointed out that it cannot be taken as an internal matter. It has to be taken as an international matter. But as far as my position is concerned, since we have taken up this discussion thrice during the last 15 days, this matter is not an internal matter of Sri Lanka. Not only it is a matter concerning our country, but it is an international matter, because this is such an important question that we have assembled here to discuss it third time during the last 15 days. I have never seen such instances in any democratic country of the world in the recent history as the things happened in Sri Lanka. The persons who actually visited there, came to Madras and narrated the entire matter, and if anyone comes forward to listen to these things, will definitely ask—not only those people who are affected but their kith and kin, and also if the Members of Parliament hear those things, will definitely press our Prime Minister to send our army to that territory. Such is the violent situation going on in Sri Lanka.

Before dealing with those various aspects of the issue, I would like to appreciate the timely action taken by our Prime Minister with regard to this matter. In her statement she has clearly mentioned that even though it is the internal matter of Sri Lanka, but we are having connections socially and also culturally between our two countries. That is why we are not unaffected. That is the reason why in our General Council Meeting and

Executive Council Meeting which took place in Madras city, we have recorded our appreciation for the timely action taken by our Prime Minister with regard to this particular item. Even Mr. Amrithalingam who is the Opposition leader in Sri Lankan Parliament went to the extent of telling that because of the intervention of our Prime Minister, the atrocious attitude in Sri Lanka completely stopped and now they are completely depending upon our Prime Minister. It has been stated in the statement that the life and property of the Sri Lankan citizens should be preserved and should be given back. I do not say anything about the property which has been lost and which can be given back. But we cannot bring back lives to thousands and thousands of those who were killed in the recent ethnic violence in Sri Lanka. What about the property now? The millionaires have been converted into paupers in 20 days and those who were living in palatial buildings are now wandering in the streets. Thousands of Tamilians used to give employment to thousands and thousands of persons and they are now trying a job for themselves in small factories or are trying to come out of the country.

I would like to ask 3 or 4 questions from the Prime Minister or our External Affairs Minister. Is it not our duty to request the United Nations to send a peacekeeping force and that force should be stationed in the island permanently until the life and property of the persons, the Tamils in Sri Lanka, is secure? Just simple compensation for those who are affected would not be enough if a thousand rupees or two thousand are given. I know of certain cases and I can cite the case of Mr. Gurudatta Rao who was the owner of Paradise and Vidya Studios, with about millions of rupees, has lost everything and he is reported to be now working in a factory getting Rs. 200 only.

I do not know how far it is true. A gentleman who came from Sri Lanka told me that this person who used to give employment to thousands, is now out of his factory and is now searching for a job. Not only that. When we talk about compensation, the compensation should be full and not partial compensation. Our Tamil people who have shed their blood, sweat and tear for the economic development of Sri Lanka, because of this ethnic violence, have been deprived of their life and property. They have left their relatives and they are wandering in the streets and they are in the refugee camps.

Secondly, what about the fundamental rights? The fundamental rights as we have in our Constitution, should be given to all the citizens, irrespective of the fact whether they are Sinhalese or Tamils. There should not be any discrimination between the Sinhalese and the Tamils. Their civil rights should be protected. Compensation should be given to the owners of industries.

I have talked about compensation to be given to the persons who have lost their life and property. But hundreds of factories belonging to Tamilians have been burnt. The owners of these industries should be compensated, Madam, that too fully, not by individuals but by the Government. If the Government of Sri Lanka is not in a position to give proper compensation to the owners of these industries, to the industrialists who are the owners of these factories, the Government of India should take necessary steps to request President Jayewardene, or, they should be properly compensated through international institutions.

It has been mentioned in the Prime Minister's statement that an all-party delegation of MPs will be sent to Sri Lanka to study the situation and to visit the places where all these

[Shri R. Mohanaragam]

factories were burnt and so on and where actually the ethnic violence has been going on. I am not talking about Tamil Nadu or other parts of India. But specially, we have our social and cultural relationship with Sri Lanka. Therefore, more representation should be given to Tamil Nadu. At the same time, representatives from the Tamil Nadu Assembly should be included in the delegation. It is not my intention to draw the attention of the House on the merits and demerits of the question whether the High Commissioner of India to Sri Lanka should be from Kashmir or Kanyakumari. But Madam, in this matter, it is better that we should have a Tamil speaking gentleman as our High Commissioner in Sri Lanka. He will be in a better position to understand the situation in that area, because, we are nearer to them. Of course, persons who are living in the northern parts of the country have full support, full affection and everything. But they will not come to know this much as we come to know, in regard to the affairs in Sri Lanka. Therefore, my request, through you, Madam, to our Prime Minister is that, we should appoint a Tamil-speaking gentleman as our High Commissioner in Sri Lanka.

There is another point. Just now, Mr. Sezhiyan has pointed out that the assistance which we give should be properly distributed there. We should ensure that the assistance which we give goes to the persons who are actually in need, it should go to the affected areas and to the affected persons. I know fully well Jayewardene's tactics. Mr. Amrithalingam told me this morning that President Jayewardene has got the habit of accepting everything and he will say 'I will do it; I will do it'. He will talk like a politician. He is a real politician. But he will never implement anything. He has been talking about so many things for the past three years. There have been 26 assurances. But all these

assurances have not been fulfilled and he is the man who is responsible for all these things, for all these complications prevailing in Sri Lanka.

Madam, the future is bleak for the Tamils in Sri Lanka. We know fully well how we have suffered on the language issue. We have been a witness to these things. As you know, even though one-fifth of the total population of Sri Lanka, even though 31 lakhs of people, is Tamil-speaking, they have Tamil as their mother-tongue, even though the language was accepted as one of the Official Languages before the Independence of the country, this language has now been completely removed and taken out. Tamil is not the Official Language there now. Our Prime Minister may say that it is an internal problem. But she should request President Jayewardene that Tamil should also be accepted as one of the Official Languages, even though it is an internal problem of that country.

Madam, Tamils are the deciding factors. Therefore, at the time of elections, whether it is Jayewardene, whether it is Bandaranaike, they will go to the Tamil areas and say we are going to fulfil all the assurances, we are going to fulfil at the aspirations of the Tamil people. But by the time they come to power, they will not fulfil even a single item, even a single assurance which they have given to the Tamil speaking people. Even before contesting the elections, they will say in their election manifestos that Tamil will be made as one of the Official Languages.

They will say that all civil rights will be given to the Tamilians, there would not be discrimination between the Sinhalese and the Tamilians, but when they enter into the Government, they forget all the assurances and they do everything possible to please the Sinhalese. That attitude should be removed from the minds of the Sinhalese.



Finally, my point is that we have to pass a resolution here. My friend, Shri Ramakrishnan, has given the resolution and that resolution should be passed here. The resolution is :

"That this House expresses its deep anguish over the recent atrocities perpetrated on Tamils and people of Indian origin in Sri Lanka and condemns the events which tantamount to genocide;

appeals to the Government of Sri Lanka to immediately restore normalcy in the country and urges upon that Government to give the victims suitable compensation and arrange for their proper rehabilitation."

Madam, so far we have discussed so many things, but until and unless we take drastic steps, the situation will not come under control. We should not dump all these things that have happened in Ceylon, we should take up the responsibility jointly. Under the leadership of the Prime Minister we should share the responsibility jointly and do everything possible to remove all the grievances and see that normalcy prevails in Sri Lanka.

With these words, I conclude.

**SHRI M. S. RAMACHANDRAN** (Tamil Nadu): Madam Vice-Chairman, I am thankful to you for giving me this opportunity to participate in this debate. Madam, I support and welcome the statement made by our Prime Minister in both the Houses last week. People of the whole nation, particularly the people of Tamil Nadu are extremely grateful to the Prime Minister for all the efforts she has taken to meet the crisis, and particularly for (1) voicing the deep concern of the Parliament and the people of India to the atrocities and other violence committed against the Tamils and other Sri Lankan or Indian origin; (2) constitution of a relief fund for providing immediate relief to the people affected in the Sri Lankan violence; and (3) persuading the Sri Lankan

Government to agree to have talks with Tamils leaders without any conditions and on broader base for finding an amicable solution for the problems which are evading the solution in the last several decades.

Madam, I am sure that every patriotic citizen of this country will support the Prime Minister in her efforts to provide immediate relief to the affected people and help the parties in finding an amicable solution to the serious and highly complex crisis. Madam, all are agreed that to find an amicable solution in a crisis of this nature, what is utmost essential is existence of mutual trust, but unfortunately the required element of trust is not in existence now. It is because of the performance of the Sinhalese in Sri Lanka by the repeated atrocities and acts of violence during the past 30 years and also violation of the past assurances given. Tamilians in Sri Lanka have lost their faith in the words and performance of the Sinhalese. Further, Madam Vice-Chairman, among all the riots the recent riots are unprecedented. There are reports to show that not only the extremist elements of Sinhalese but the whole armed force, Police and the Government machinery were behind the atrocities committed on the Tamil population. But still either to sooth the hurt feelings of the Tamils or to restore their confidence, nothing is said or done by the Sinhalese leaders, so that there could be some amount of confidence created among them.

It is stated that Colombo is calm now and there is relative calm in certain other parts of Sri Lanka. On the other hand, the reports indicate that the calm is an uneasy calm and people are still living under tension and fear of eruption of violence at any moment. If calm prevails in Colombo and other places today, it does not mean that the attackers have returned to the path of sanity. The fact is that there is nothing more left to loot or burn.

Madam, Vice Chairman, we want our Government to persuade the Sri

[Shri R. Mohanaragam]

Lankan Government to have a negotiated settlement and to have talks for finding a permanent solution of this problem. But it is very doubtful whether the Tamil people can come to the negotiation table with any sense of confidence, because apart from atrocities, certain other actions taken by the Sri Lankan Government have not in any way been helpful in the restoration of that confidence. They have timed the Sixth Amendment to the Constitution at such a time. They now feel that this is the time to finish the Tamilians once and for all and they want to expel all the elected representatives of the Tamils from Parliament. For that purpose, the Sixth Amendment has been passed. Apart from that, certain political parties are also being banned. If they want negotiations with all sections of the Tamil people, then with the Sixth Amendment to the Constitution and the banning of political parties, it may not be possible for the Tamilians to come to the negotiation table with any sense of confidence. It would, therefore, be necessary, either by diplomatic means or whatever other means that are available, for our Government to persuade the Sri Lankan Government to remove the ban on the political parties and also to scrap the Sixth Amendment to the Constitution.

Before concluding, I would like to place before this House one unfortunate position. This is a time when our country is facing a delicate problem which has to be handled with all the tact and patience. But unfortunately some political sections of my State are trying to make this as an occasion for their political game and in the process they are trying to be more loyal than the king himself. I would appeal to all such political leaders to try to realise the gravity of the situation and the immediate need for giving relief to our suffering brothers and sisters in Sri Lanka and to strengthen the hands of our Government in its efforts to give immediate relief.

In conclusion, Madam Vice-Chairman, I would urge upon our Government to see that whatever monetary relief or other relief we are sending, that should go to the deserving and needy people and not to the undeserving or any other people. Therefore, some machinery or agency should be evolved to see that whatever relief we are giving is properly monitored and utilised. And, above all, about the present Act that all the properties affected in the riots are vested with the Government, the Sri Lanka Government has said that is only to safeguard the interests of the Tamilians. Even if they hand them over to the Tamilians as they are it cannot be of much help. Those properties should be re-built and adequate compensation should be given for all the losses suffered by them. In the process of resettlement of refugees, this is an immediate must.

In conclusion, I thank you once again for the opportunity given to me.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA (Nominated): Madam Vice-Chairman, the hon. Members have given expression to feelings of distress and anguish of the Indian people on account of these tragic happenings in Sri Lanka. It is needless for me at this stage to repeat the expression of those feelings which I share. One of the hon. Members on this side had suggested that we should pass a Resolution placing on record the condemnation of the atrocities which have taken place in Sri Lanka. I respectfully submit that after the statement made by the hon. Prime Minister, we have crossed the stage when we should pass such a Resolution. The statement made by the hon. Prime Minister has thrown up five significant points. The first point is that she has been able to persuade President Jayewardene to accept the good offices for finding a solution to the problems in Sri Lanka.

Madam Vice-Chairman, in order to appreciate the tremendous diplomatic achievement on the part of the hon.

Prime Minister in securing this agreement, we must consider the background against which these killings have taken place. There was not even one national party left in Sri Lanka which was having either the political courage or willingness or inclination to speak the voice of reconciliation, harmony and peace between the two communities. It is against this tragic development on the political scene that these killings took place in Sri Lanka. At this stage, the passions are running high, there is complete deadlock.

**श्री रामेश्वर सिंह (उत्तर प्रदेश):** उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदया, यह क्रम से चल रहा है कि ऐसे ही चल रहा है ?

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्रीमती मार्ग्रेट आल्वा):** सब कुछ ठीक चल रहा है ।

**श्री रामेश्वर सिंह:** अगर यह पार्टीवाइज चल रहा है... (व्यवधान)

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्रीमती मार्ग्रेट आल्वा):** सब तो डोलेगें एक-एक ग्रुप से ना।

**श्री रामेश्वर सिंह:** मेरा एक व्यवस्था का प्रश्न सुन लीजिए । अगर यह क्रम से चल रहा है, तब तो हमको कोई बात नहीं कहनी है । अगर आपने कोई व्यवस्था बना दी है, तो मुझको जरूर कहना है । आप इस लिस्ट को उठा कर के दीखिए । इस लिस्ट के क्रम से अगर चल रहा है, तब तो उसको आप चलाइये । लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि आप चैयर पर बैठी हैं और इच्छानुसार जिसको चाहती हैं, उसको बुलवाती हैं और जिसको नहीं चाहती हैं, आप नहीं बुलवाती हैं । अगर यह क्रम लेना था, तो पहले सत्तारूढ़ दल को लेना था, फिर रामचंद्र जी ने बात उठाई, इनको आप माँका देती, फिर जनता पार्टी को देती या सी. पी. आइ. (एम.) को देती, फिर सत्तारूढ़ दल को देती ।

आपने तो सारे हाउस को बुलवाने की कोशिश की है । अगर यह परम्परा है, तो आप कहिए—अगर इसी परम्परा से कालिग अटेंशन चलानी है, तो हमको कुछ नहीं कहना है ।

संसदीय कार्य विभाग में राज्य मंत्री  
श्री कल्पनाथ राय: नहीं है ।

**श्री रामेश्वर सिंह:** मुझे आपकी व्यवस्था पर ध्यान आकर्षित है क्योंकि इस तरह से अगर आप व्यवस्था चलायेंगे, तो कभी भी कार्यवाही ठीक से नहीं चल सकती ।

**SHRI MADAN BHATIA:** The hon. Member has been absent, I think, during the previous debate. He has just walked in.

**श्री रामेश्वर सिंह:** पहले उनको बुलवाती और फिर इनको बुलवाती ।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्रीमती मार्ग्रेट आल्वा):** जो लिस्ट हमारे पास दी गई है, उसमें से एक-एक पार्टी में से एक-एक संउंड से बुलाया है ।

**श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर (उत्तर प्रदेश):** एक-एक राउंड में बुलायेंगे ना... (व्यवधान) ..

**श्री विश्वजीत पृथ्वीजीत सिंह (महाराष्ट्र):** आने डिस्टर्ब किया है, मेहरबानी करके जरा बैठ जाइए ।

**श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर:** दीखिए ।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्रीमती मार्ग्रेट आल्वा):** वह बात रहे हैं, उन को खत्म करने दी-जिए ।

**श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर:** कांग्रेस के वाद में जर पार्टी लॉक दल है, उस का गन्धर आना चाहिए । इंडिपेंडेंट्स का नहीं आ सकता ।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्रीमती मार्ग्रेट आल्वा):** उन का रूप है ।

**श्री रामेश्वर सिंह:** तीन आदमी उधर के बुला दिए, एक आदमी इधर का बुला दिया, एक इधर का बुला दिया ।

**श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर:** दीखिए श्री रिकग्नाइज्ड ग्रुप है। (व्यवधान)

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्रीमती मार्गरेट आल्वा):** आप ने जो कहा रामेश्वर सिंह जो वह ठीक नहीं है। इधर के दो बुलवाने के बाद उधर का बुलाया। आप देख लीजिए।

**एक माननीय सदस्य:** यह कानि सा तरीका है? हाउस में इन के आने के पहले ठीक ढंग से चल रहा था। (व्यवधान)

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA):** There is a certain system followed. Every party is being called one by one.

**SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI (Assam):** Let us not waste the time of the House. The procedure is very simple. With respect, with humility, I submit that the procedure has not been probably followed. The procedure is the first name invariably opens the discussion. Thereafter it becomes a general discussion when the normal procedure is followed. One from this side and one from the ruling party will speak. Now the normal channel of the CPM, the Janata, the Lok Dal, probably has not been followed. What I submit is, let us not argue over this matter. You can find out with the Secretary-General if the procedure has not been followed. Henceforth the procedure may be followed. Let us not waste the time of the House on this.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA):** I have just come in now. Certain names had already been called. The parties which had not been called, I have started calling now, and we will follow this system until I am here.

**SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR:** You have given precedence to a new group over the Lok Dal which is a recognised group.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI MARGARET ALA):** There is no new group.

**SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR:** This is a new group. I do not blame you for this. (Interruptions).

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA):** Do not disturb a Member. We are only wasting the time of the House.

**श्री रामेश्वर सिंह:** आप के ऊपर आरोप नहीं है। आप अभी कुर्सी पर बैठे हैं। यह लिस्ट गवर्न बनी है, नियम को तोड़ा गया है।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्रीमती मार्गरेट आल्वा):** जो लिस्ट मेरे पास है मैं उसी के मुताबिक चलूंगी।

You please resume speaking.

**SHRI MADAN BHATIA:** I was respectfully submitting that in order to understand the deep implications and the tremendous diplomatic achievement of this particular step, we must bear in mind the political situation which prevailed in Sri Lanka before this tragic happenings took place, and when they were taking place there was not even one national party in the whole of Sri Lanka which had the political courage or the willingness to speak the language of peace, reconciliation and harmony between the two communities. It is against this background that these killings took place, and today we find that there is a complete deadlock between the two communities, and the passions are running high.

In a state such as this, the only thing that can bring about a reconciliation between the two communities is the good offices of a third friendly country which is willing and prepared to play the role of an honest broker. Therefore, when the hon. Prime Minister has succeeded in securing the agreement of President Jayewardene to accept the good offices of India in order to find a solution with regard to the problems prevailing in Sri Lanka, I would submit that this hon. House should place on record its thankfulness and congratulations to the hon. Prime Minister for having attained this particular objective.

[Mr. Deputy Chairman in the Chair]

The second aspect of the statement made by the hon. Prime Minister is that President Jayewardene has agreed to consider five points at the all-party conference. This, by itself, is a big step forward. In the 1977 manifesto, President Jayewardene had spelt out his aim of holding such a conference, but six years went by and no such conference took place. It is only last month that it was decided to hold such a conference. But the objective of this conference was limited to considering the problem created by the guerillas. It is now, through the diplomatic achievement of the hon. Prime Minister, that President Jayewardene has stated that he is willing to consider at least five points at his conference of all parties. But even with regard to this, the hon. Prime Minister has clearly stated that this may not be enough to meet the aspirations of the Tamil community, and rightly so, because the basic malaise of Sri Lanka is complete political, economic and social discrimination against the Tamilian people. I would give only a few examples in support of this submission of mine. The share of the Tamilians in the civil services fell from 30 per cent in 1948 to 5 per cent in 1975. There was no recruitment of Tamilians in the armed forces. There were no trading and industrial licences given to the Tamilian people. And the worst deprivation took place in education where, on account of the quota system and on account of the preferential system, so far as entrance into the higher colleges was concerned, the percentage of the Tamilian people fell from 31 to 16 per cent. It is this deep-rooted problem of economic, social and political discrimination which has to be dealt with at this all-party conference. And we, I think, should extend our total support to the stand taken by the hon. Prime Minister that his particular conference, if it is restricted to the consideration of only the five points spelt out by President Jayewardene, would not be enough.

Then the third aspect of the statement is that the hon. Prime Minister has said that we stand for the unity and integrity of Sri Lanka. I submit,

Sir, that in this regard also, this hon. House should unequivocally state that an independent, friendly, stable, non-aligned and united Sri Lanka is the national imperative of India. It is in the interest of India that Sri Lanka should be independent, should be stable, should be non-aligned and should be united. In this regard again, I would respectfully submit, the stand taken by the hon. Prime Minister is totally correct and elicits complete support from me.

Fourthly, the hon. Prime Minister has said that India cannot remain unconcerned with the forces of de-stabilisation which are operating in this area, and rightly so. The forces of de-stabilisation working in this area directly affect and impinge upon the security of India. And the happenings in Sri Lanka provide a fertile ground for the flourishing of these forces of de-stabilisation.

It is in our interests that we should be able to grapple with this particular situation and once again restore the stability and harmony and peace in Sri Lanka, if the forces of destabilisation operating in this area are to be defeated.

The last aspect of the statement is the honourable Prime Minister has stated that because of historical, cultural and other close ties between India and Sri Lanka India cannot remain unaffected by what is happening in Sri Lanka. I respectfully submit this is so. We must have full moral and political conviction for our stand over Sri Lanka. I had stated from the floor of this honourable House only last Friday or, I think, two weeks ago, that by standing up on behalf of the people who are victims of atrocities in Sri Lanka, we are very much within the limits of international law, I submit that there are other reasons as well. There was the Shastri Agreement between India and Sri Lanka which dealt with two categories of people. One was those to whom Sri Lanka agreed to grant citizenship of

[Shri Madan Bhatia]

Sri Lanka. The other category consisted of those whom India agreed to take back and grant to them Indian citizenship. I shall take the second category first. They have been described as Stateless people, because many of them are still in Sri Lanka—more than a lakh of them, I suppose. They have not yet come down to India and they have not yet acquired Indian citizenship. But I respectfully submit that under international law citizenship is not co-terminus with nationality, and the right to intervene or intercede on behalf of certain individuals in another country springs not from the citizenship but from their nationality, and in this regard I would like to quote one or two important international authorities. One is Bishop who writes in his 'International Law';

"The word 'nationality' has a broader meaning than citizenship, the latter being primarily the domestic term applied to persons with full political and civil rights while the term 'national' includes both citizens and those persons who, while not being citizens, owe permanent allegiance to the State and are entitled to its protection."

They are potential Indian citizens who have not yet come down to India, but under the international agreement they are fully entitled to Indian citizenship and so long as they remain on the soil of Sri Lanka, under the international agreement entered into between India and Sri Lanka, they continue to be the potential Indian citizens, and, as such, they are entitled to the protection of India. This is so because another international authority, Yon Brownley, says:

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

"Conditions for exercise of this right are as follows:

(1) an imminent threat of injury to the national;

(2) a failure or inability on the part of the territorial sovereign to protect them;

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

I respectfully submit that these so-called Stateless persons are potential Indian citizens and under the international law they are entitled to be treated as Indian nationals by India and India is entitled and has the right to seek their protection.

The second or the other category of persons who are covered by this agreement are those to whom Sri Lanka agreed to grant its own citizenship.

I submit, what is citizenship? Citizenship is not a formal thing. It has some substance and spirit. The substance and spirit is that an individual is entitled to protection of his life, liberty and property from the State. That citizen is entitled to the protection of equal laws from that State. It is by virtue of international agreement between Sri Lanka and India that those 5 or 3 lakhs of people became Sri Lankan citizens. If Sri Lanka acts in a manner and says: "I grant you citizenship, but in substance I take away all the protection to which you are entitled as a citizen and I will give you no protection to your property. I will take your life", then in substance and spirit Sri Lankan Government is denying the elements of citizenship to those lakhs of people and is thus committing breach of agreement. It is said in the Constitutional law that in order to see the validity of the State action one has not to go by the form of action, but by its substance. The dictum of the Constitutional law is: Forcible the romantics go by the substance and see the degree of harm that is inflicted. That is the dictum which should apply equally to the interpretation of international agreement. If Sri Lanka acts in

a manner as to suggest formally: "I give you citizenship, but in substance I take away all the rights and elements of citizenship". then Sri Lanka Government is guilty of committing breach of international agreement. Under the international law India has full right to secure conformity of the Lankan Government to the terms of the international agreement, namely, the Shastri Agreement.

At the end, I submit that our immediate problem is to provide relief to those widows who have lost their husbands, to those children who have lost their parents and to the lakhs of people who have become homeless. An our long-term problem indeed is to find a lasting solution which has been baffling this entire region for the last thirty years. Unless we find a lasting solution, history is being to be harsh to us.

**श्री रामेश्वर सिंह:** मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है। आप सुन लीजिए। मैं आपसे यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि यह जो कालिंग अटेशन आपने एक्सेप्ट किया है...

**एक माननीय सदस्य:** यह कालिंग अटेशन नहीं है.....

**श्री रामेश्वर सिंह:** यह जो आपने वहस शुरू कराई है उस वहस को आप किस नियम के मुताबिक करा रहे हैं? किसी नियम के मुताबिक करा रहे हैं या जनरल रूप में करा रहे हैं? अगर किसी नियम के मुताबिक शुरू कराई है...

**श्री उपसभापति:** एजेंडा पेपर आपने नहीं देखा।

**श्री रामेश्वर सिंह:** आपको नियम के मुताबिक सदन की कार्यवाही चलायी चाहिए। यह नियम के मुताबिक नहीं है। अगर यह आपके नियम के मुताबिक है तो आपको मबारक है। यह पांच बजे के बाद होनी चाहिए थी। इतना ही मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है।

**श्री उपसभापति:** नियम 176 के अन्दर डिस्कशन हो रही है। मैं समझता हूँ नियम के अनुसार यह हो रहा है। इसमें कोई असंवैधानिक नहीं है। (व्यवधान)

**THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI):** Mr. Deputy Chairman, the day after my last statement in Parliament, Mr. A. Amrithalingam, who is the Leader of the Opposition in the Sri Lankan Parliament and is also Secretary-General of the main Party representing the Sri Lankan Tamils, left Jaffna to come to Delhi. He has met me. He has also talked with the Minister of External Affairs, other Ministers and several Members of Parliament representing different parties.

Mr. Amrithalingam has given a harrowing account of the brutalities to which the Sri Lankan minority has been subjected. I personally, my Government and my Party are just as deeply distressed as any who has spoken here. We have condemned and we do condemn genocide and where and we realise the, harassment of and injustice to the Tamils of Sri Lanka. However, I am sure hon. Members will understand that however strong our feelings the Government has to show greater restraint, not because we are hesitant or reluctant, but because at every steps we have to consider whether our words and actions will help or harm the Sri Lankan Tamils.

I should like to express my admiration for the statesmanship which Mr. Amrithalingam has shown in his discussions with me and with others despite his own anguish, and the bitterness that has been caused in Sri Lanka.

( Shrimati Indira Gandhi )

On behalf of his party, Mr. Amirthalingam has also welcomed our offer of good offices. He said on arrival in Delhi that this has changed the picture so far as negotiations with the Government of Sri Lanka are concerned; the Tamil people, including his party, had lost confidence in negotiations and could not in any case have entered into them on the basis of a mere reiteration of the earlier promises which were inadequate. But with India's good offices, a basic change had been brought about. In his subsequent talks with us, Mr. Amirthalingam has pointed out that for many years, his party had worked for the satisfaction of the Tamil demand for their rights within a united Sri Lanka, but the neglect and increasing hostility of the Sinhala majority had brought them to the end of their tether and forced them to the conclusion that negotiations on this basis were no longer useful. However, this approach has opened fresh possibilities which they could consider.

As I have said before, a solution to this problem has to be sought at the conference table. It is for the Sri Lankan Government to decide how and when a conference with the Tamil leaders is to be brought about. The immediate need is to restore a sense of security among the people. It is no less urgent to begin with a search for a permanent solution. Because of our deep concern, we should like to assist in any way we can. If a settlement is to be reached, both sides have to talk to each other. I am prepared to send an emissary to Sri Lanka to facilitate this process. Now we can get in touch with President Jayewardene. In the meantime Mr. Amirthalingam is returning after a few days in Madras, for discussions with his party in Jaffna.

Sir, this is the fourth successive week that the sorrow and concern felt in our country over the tragic developments in Sri Lanka have found expression in Parliament. The agony of our brothers and sisters in Tamil Nadu and of

Tamils everywhere, is also our own. Today's debate in this House again shows that deep feelings have been aroused not in any one part of the country or any part of the political spectrum, but over the entire nation and beyond party differences.

I am again grateful to honourable Members for appreciating the delicacy and difficulty of the situation facing us. They have been good enough to note and largely support the restraint which was unavoidable in the circumstances, but which was coupled with firmness. We are anxiously and closely watching the situation and hope that with the continued support of Parliament and the Indian people we shall be able to bring about an atmosphere more conducive to negotiations. This will be a first step to eliminate communal tension and could lead to concrete measures for a lasting political settlement. Thank you, Sir.

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा (बिहार): आप एक प्रस्ताव क्यों नहीं रखते हैं? जिस प्रकार का प्रस्ताव गण्डित जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने रखा था और आपने बंगलादेश के सम्बन्ध में रखा था, उसी प्रकार का प्रस्ताव क्यों नहीं रखते हैं?

श्री उपसभापति: आप बैठ जाइए । श्री रामेश्वर सिंह ।

श्री रामेश्वर सिंह: उपसभापति महोदय, पहले तो मैं प्रधान मंत्री महोदय का अभिवादन करूंगा कि उन्होंने वहाँ के विरोधी दल के नेता से बात की और उस बातचीत से कुछ सन्तोष मिला ।

अब मैं उसली बात की तरफ सदन का और आपका ध्यान ले जाना चाहता हूँ । भारत एक बहुत विशाल देश है । श्रीलंका, बर्मा, तिब्बत और पाकिस्तान इसके अंग रहे हैं । हमें भावावेश में और गुस्से में कोई ऐसी बात नहीं कहनी चाहिए जिससे हमारे पड़ोसी देशों को हमसे कोई खतरा या उनको कोई कष्ट हो । श्रीलंका



में जो कुछ हो रहा है, मैं उसकी निन्दा किए बिना नहीं रह सकता हूँ। जहाँ तक मुझे इतिहास की जानकारी है, इतिहास हमें बताता है कि पाँच सौ साल या सौ साल पहले वहाँ पर लोग गए। तमिल करते हैं। कहने का तात्पर्य मेरा यह है कि भारत सरकार को इन सारी बातों पर दृष्टि दृष्टि नहीं रखेगी, मैं प्रधान मंत्री जी को लोग भी गए, सिंघली लोग भी गए और वहाँ से उनकी आवादी शुरू हुई, उसमें मैं पड़ना नहीं चाहता। लेकिन जयवर्धने साहब ने जो कुछ किया है, उस और मैं सदन और देश का ध्यान दिलाना चाहूँगा। जयवर्धने साहब ने 1977 में प्रधान मंत्री रहते हुए भी चुनाव कराये और प्रजातांत्रिक प्रणाली को राष्ट्रपति प्रणाली के रूप में उन्होंने परिवर्तित किया। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, सदन को इस बात की भी जानकारी होनी चाहिए कि यही जयवर्धने महोदय कुछ वर्ष पहले, तमिल विरोधी वहाँ संघटन है, सिंघली लोगों के तमिल विरोधी सम्मेलन में गए, जब वे प्रधान मंत्री नहीं थे और श्रीमती भण्डारनायक प्रधान मंत्री थी, उस वक्त उस सम्मेलन में गए थे। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ और मैं वह मानता हूँ कि जयवर्धने ने वहाँ की सिंघली जनता को भड़काया, उन्होंने वहाँ पर अपने को सत्ता में बनाये रखने के लिए तमिल जनता के खिलाफ सिंघली जनता को भड़काया और तमिल लोगों को मरवाया है। उनको मारने का क्रम उनके मकान के दगल में, 200 गज की दूरी पर शुरू हुआ, वहाँ से उपद्रव शुरू हुए, खुराफात वहाँ से शुरू हुई। क्या जयवर्धने को इस बात की जानकारी नहीं थी? उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं दो-तीन बातें और कहना चाहता हूँ। 1977 में चुनाव कराते हैं और 1978-79 में 51 प्रतिशत वोट पाकर फिर वे राष्ट्रपति प्रणाली के लिए रफ़ेरेन्डम कराते हैं और बहुमत हासिल करते हैं। कहने का तात्पर्य मेरा यह है कि भारत सरकार को इन सारी बातों पर दृष्टि रखनी होगी। भारत सरकार अगर यह दृष्टि नहीं रखेगी, मैं प्रधान मंत्री जी, को मवारकवाद देना चाहता हूँ कि आपने वहाँ पर पहले की और आपने वहाँ अपनी दूत भेजा, हमारे विदेश मंत्री को भेजा। लेकिन मैं साफ साफ भारत सरकार को यह

चेतावनी देना चाहता हूँ कि आज अपने देश में क्या हो रहा है, इसकी क्या प्रतिक्रिया हो रही है। वहाँ की सरकार चाहे जो भी सरकार हो, श्रीमती भण्डारनायक की सरकार हो चाहे जयवर्धने की सरकार हो, इन सरकारों ने क्या किया। सारे मौलिक अधिकार इन्होंने छीन लिए और मौलिक अधिकारों को छीनकर जो जन-आधार था उस जनआधार को छिन्न-भिन्न कर दिया। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आप देखेंगे कि उनको कोई दूत वहाँ के लिए नहीं मिला और उन्होंने अपना सगा भाई दूत के रूप में भेजा। इसका क्या मतलब है? यहाँ कहां देश जा रहा है, कहां प्रवृत्ति जा रहा है, यह सारी की सारी परम्परा जो है यह परम्परा अधिनायकवाद की तरफ जा रही है, व्यक्तिवाद की तरफ जा रही है जयवर्धने जो वहाँ पर राष्ट्रपति बने हुए हैं, वे सारी की सारी ताकत अपने हाथ में रखना चाहते हैं। मैं महोदय, जब आपको आगे ले चलना चाहूँगा, दो-तीन बातें बताने के लिए। महोदय, मैं उन लोगों में से हूँ मेरे जैसे आदमी जो डा. लोहिया के नेतृत्व में पले पोसे लोग हैं, जिनका उनका नीति से सम्पर्क रहा है, हम लोगों ने उसी वक्त कहा था कि तिब्बत से हमारी फाँड़ें नहीं हटनी चाहिए। हमने तिब्बत के मामले में कहा था कि अगर तिब्बत हमारे हाथ से चला जायेगा, तिब्बत की आजादी छीनी जायेगी और वहाँ पर विदेशियों का कब्जा हो गया तो यह हिन्दुस्तान के लिये सर्वत्र एक खतरा रहेगा। हमने यह भी कहा था, जब देश का बंटवारा हुआ, उस वक्त भी हमने कहा था कि पाकिस्तान के साथ हमारा रिश्ता भाई-भारत का होना चाहिए, भाई-भारत का रिश्ता कायम होना चाहिए। आज इस देश में अलगवादी शक्तियाँ, प्रतिक्रियावादी तत्व वही काम कर रहे हैं जो वहाँ पर कायम हैं। वहाँ पर जो हमारे तमिल भाई हैं, उनके साथ हमें पूरी हमदर्दी उनकी भी बात जो है उसको मैं पढ़कर सुनना चाहता हूँ। ये सारे तथ्य जो मैंने इकट्ठे किए हैं, इस सारे तथ्यों को मैं बताना चाहता हूँ... (आवधान)... लालबहादुर शास्त्री जी के टाइम में जो आपने समझौता किया था, उस समझौते के अन्तर्गत

[श्री रामेश्वर सिंह]

आपने तमिल लोगों के अधिकारों की बात की थी कि उनको क्या स्थान मिलेगा और उनको अधिकारों की रक्षा का बात आपन का थी। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि इतने दिनों तक भारत सरकार ने क्या किया। इतने दिनों तक आपने जोरिद्धने के उभर दबाव क्यों नहीं डाला ? भारत सरकार पर हमारा अभियोग है कि भारत सरकार वहीं नीति चलाना चाहती है जो जयवर्धन सरकार चला रही है और जयवर्धन जो नीति चला रहे हैं उस नीति से इस एशियाई इलाके का लाभ होने वाला नहीं है। उपसभापति महोदय, एक दो बातें और कह कर खत्म करना चाहता हूँ। जयवर्धन साहब ने, विदेश मंत्री जी ने भी आप भी यहां विरोधी दलों की बैठक बुलाते हैं। आप भी विरोधी दल के लोगों को बैठक में बुला कर समस्याओं को रखते हैं लेकिन सारे फैसेल अपने आप से करते हैं। कोई भी फैसला विरोधी दल की राय से आप नहीं करते हैं। यही काम जयवर्धन ने वहां पर किया। वहां पर विरोधी दलों के लोगों की मीटिंग उन्होंने बुलाई उन्होंने वहां पर प्रजातान्त्रिक प्रणाली के बारे में उनसे राय ली तो विरोधी दल के लोगों को राय के खिलाफ उन्होंने काम किया। वह उनकी राय नहीं माने और वहां पर चुनाव करा दिया। हम विरोधी दल के लोग सरकार को जो राय देते हैं सरकार हमारी राय को नहीं मानती है। क्या किया वहां के विरोधी दलों के लोगों ने ? विरोधी दल के लोगों का मीटिंग के लिए जब जयवर्धन ने बुलाया तो उन्होंने इन्कार कर दिया। उन्होंने कहा कि जयवर्धन की सरकार जब तक यहां रहेगी तब तक विरोधी दल के लोग मीटिंग के लिए नहीं जाएंगे। मैं वहां के विरोधी दलों के लोगों से यह बात नहीं कहना चाहता हूँ क्योंकि इस स्थिति में मैं नहीं हूँ लेकिन इस देश के अन्दर भी यही स्थिति हो सकती है कि हो सकता है कि भारत सरकार भी विरोधी दलों के लोगों की मीटिंग बुलाए तो उस मीटिंग में विरोधी दल भी शिरकल न करें। क्योंकि सारे फैसेल तो सरकार अपने मन से ही करती है। हम

लोगों ने बराबर इनका सचेत किया है, पांच वर्ष पहले लोगों ने किया, 10 वर्ष पहले हम लोगों ने किया और कह रहे हैं और आज भी कह रहे हैं कि आ नरसिंह राव जी आंस खोले कर सुन लीजिए (अवधान) कान से सुनिए और आंस खोल कर देखिए। आंस खोले कर देखिए और कान से सुनिए, मैं आपको हिदायत देना चाहता हूँ कि श्री लंका आपका एक पड़ोसी गिने देश है। श्रीलंका भारतवर्ष पड़ोसी है। वहां भारतवर्ष की सरकार नहीं है। किसी जमाने में आपकी सरकार थी। वह जमाना खद गया। सारी विदेशी ताकतें लगी हैं कि श्रीलंका के सवाल पर भारत के साथ में टकराव पैदा हो जाए और कहीं ऐसा न हो जाए हमारी नीतियों के चलते और डर की वजह से कमजोर आदमी कहीं दूसरे खेमे में चला जाए और वह दुनिया भर की जो विदेशी ताकतें हैं उनके चंगुल में फंस जाए। नरसिंह राव साहब आप आंस खोले कर देखिए, कान से सुनिए और फैसला अपने विवेक से लीजिए। श्री जयवर्धन की सरकार को यह अहसास नहीं होना चाहिए कि भारत ताकत के बल पर अपनी बात हम से मनवाना चाहता है। मैं वहां के तमिल भाइयों से कहना चाहता हूँ कि जिस देश में आप रही वह आपका मूलक है उस मूलक में आपको बराबरी से शिरकत करनी पड़ेगी। यही बात मैं भारतवर्ष के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ। भारत वर्ष में भी विभिन्न सम्प्रदायों के लोग रहते हैं—उनको बराबर शिरकल करने का हक है लेकिन यदि किसी समुदाय को यह अहसास होता है कि इस धरती पर हमें जन्म लेने का अधिकार है मगर स्वतन्त्र रहने का अधिकार नहीं है तो इस देश में भी वही स्थिति होगी। इसलिए नरसिंह राव साहब मैंने दो बातों की तरफ आपका ध्यान दिलाया है। एक यह है कि जयवर्धन की सरकार जिस रास्ते पर चल रही है प्रधान मंत्री से प्रजातान्त्रिक प्रणाली से राष्ट्रपति प्रणाली पर और राष्ट्रपति प्रणाली से डिक्टेटोरशिप पर चली गई उस रास्ते पर आप मन जाना अगर आप जाएंगे तो आंस जो

जयवर्धन की हालत हो रही है उससे भी बदतर हालत आपकी हो जाएगी । क्यों-कि श्रीलंक एक छोटा सा इलाक है । उपसभापति महोदय, यह आपके बनारस जिले के बराबर है, बलिया जिले के बराबर है । बलिया और बनारस जिले में भी एक डेढ़ करोड़ आदमी रहते हैं और इससे ज्यादा आबादी मरे ख्याल में श्रीलंका की नहीं है । मैं दूसरा भारत सरकार को आग्रह कर देना चाहता हूँ कि किसी भी पृथक्तावादी ताकत को आप बढ़ाया मत दो चाहें देश के अन्दर है देश के बाहर हो, अंकश आपको बराबर रखना चाहिए। नहीं शब्दों के साथ मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूँ ।

श्री उपसभापति: धन्यवाद । श्री कल्याणसुन्दरम् ।

श्री जी. सी. भट्टाचार्य (उत्तर प्रदेश): हम लोगों का नम्बर कब आएगा?

श्री उपसभापति: आया, आप बैठिए ।

श्री जी. सी. भट्टाचार्य: कोई न्याय भी होगा जैसे चाहेंगे वैसे चलाएंगे ।

श्री उपसभापति: आपको बुला लें तो न्याय, नहीं बुलाएंगे तो अन्याय ।

श्री जी. सी. भट्टाचार्य: मेरा नाम तीसरा है । 20 आदमियों का हमारा ग्रुप है । आपने इंडीपेंडेंट्स को पहले बुला दिया और हमें मौका नहीं दिया, अनरिक्मनाइज्ड में भी हम लोग ज्यादा हैं । कोई नियम है क्या? (व्यवधान)

5 P.M.

श्री उपसभापति: बैठिए, नियम से चल रहे हैं, घबड़ाइये नहीं ।

श्री जी. सी. भट्टाचार्य: कोई नियम नहीं है ।

श्री उपसभापति: है, आपको पता नहीं है, आप फालो नहीं करना चाहते हैं ।

श्री जी. सी. भट्टाचार्य: आपको मालूम नहीं है... (व्यवधान)... आप गलती कर रहे हैं ।

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, the statement made by the hon. Prime Minister just a few minutes

ago and the statement made by her on Friday do convey certain shifts in the situation. But it will be too premature to assess these developments with over-optimism. I am unable to share the feelings of optimism. The news coming out from that country still does not indicate that there is any feeling of remorse on the part of the rulers of that country and attempt for reconciliation. So, surely there is a shift in their course. The upsurge in our country and the skill with which our Government moved the diplomatic channels certainly forced the Government of Sri Lanka to change its course. What did they expect to achieve in the beginning? They wanted to turn the situation against India and create a scare that India is going to invade. They did not even spare a country like the Soviet Union. The entire Soviet people, the entire country are for peace throughout the world. And they did not even spare them. They slandered that they are also attempting to destabilise their country. That was his attempt in the beginning. Now, he even attempted to get military aid from the United States, from Britain and Pakistan although they may deny that. But, true, our country stood firm that it is a matter concerning our country and it concerns no other country because no American was killed, no Pakistani was killed, no British citizen was killed or their properties looted. It is the people of Indian origin, people who have blood relationship with the Indian people, it is they who are being butchered. And they have lost their lives and they have lost their property. So, we took a firm stand that no country can interfere, and we cannot keep quite saying that it is an internal matter of that country. To that extent, there is our firmness. And more than that the upsurge in our country. One must go and see Tamil Nadu. It is not any political party which is engineering those demonstrations. Every day hundreds of effigies of Jayewardene are carried and consigned to ashes in front of the Deputy Commissioner's office spontaneously. As in

[Shri M. Kalyanasundaram] the days of freedom struggle, people now are spontaneously doing it. Let us not imagine that DMK or some other party is doing it for their political advantage. Not at all. They might try. There may be some people who try to take the credit for that. But it is spontaneous mass movement. Not only that. The discussion in our two Houses and the whole country, and the skill and the firmness with which the Prime Minister spoke, all these things have forced the Sri Lankan Government to change its course. [The Vice-Chairman (Shri Dinesh Goswami) in the Chair]

But don't create an illusion that the results are going to be very sure or very near. True, ultimately a negotiated settlement must be sought. A political settlement must be sought by the forces in that country. What was the attitude of Jayewardene two weeks ago? When the Prime Minister said, we are concerned about the happenings there; they said, they are trying to interfere in our internal affairs. Now he is forced to accept the good offices of the Prime Minister and the Prime Minister just now said that she is even intending to send her emissary to help the process. These are welcome shifts, no doubt. But I am not prepared to over-estimate them because there is no basic change in the attitude of the Government of Sri Lanka or the United National Party of Sri Lanka which is headed by Mr. Jayewardene. He is himself a prisoner in the hands of the rightists and the racists in that country. I do not know whether he can change it even if he wants to, so easily or so quickly. It is not the first time that these things are happening. Even this time we are making so much effort. In 1981 a similar thing happened. In 1978 it happened. In 1977 he came to power. Ever since this party came to power in Sri Lanka, it was a bad day not only for the Tamils but also for the Sinhalese. Don't think that it is only the Tamils who are losing their human rights. who are harassed. What about the Sinhalese people? Even the Sinhalese

opposition parties are stripped of their political rights. All the political parties are banned. Where is democracy in that country? A captive Parliament is kept there and all the opposition parties are finished. Just as my friend, Mr. Sezhiyan, was saying, they have sent all opposition parties out of Parliament. There is only one communist M. P. there who had the guts to go there and oppose it and walk out. He is a Sinhalese man. He went there and opposed it. Are there not Sinhalese who are fighting against this brutal massacre and butchery of democracy by the Jayewardene Government? Let us have faith in those Sinhalese people and those Tamil people.

Another thing that I want to say is that the question of sending our Army or inviting the U. N. forces are all not relevant for the time being. They won't solve the problem. These things will only complicate the matters. As a Communist, I won't say that the Army can never be sent. But it is not my view that military intervention alone is the solution. It will all depend upon the circumstances and the result it will produce. The Tamil population is about 30 lakhs. i.e. indigenous Tamilians. Then there are the Sri Lanka Tamils, those occupying the area called Eelam. I do not know the number. The External Affairs Ministry record may show about two and a half lakhs or three lakhs Stateless people of Indian origin. That figure is not correct. It is more. It will exceed ten lakhs; It will be something near fifteen lakhs. Apart from that there are other Tamilians who are businessmen, industrialists and they are also suffering. So, how is the problem to be solved? I will tell you why I am not supporting the demand for sending our Army. It is not only because of international complications but also because there is no need for that. There is so need to help those Tamilians and those Sinhalese who are assisting these atrocities. (Interruptions). Let us help those Tamilians who are in need of our help. Do not put all your

eggs in one basket. Because our Prime Minister has spoken and over-estimated the visit of Mr. Amrithalingam. I want to bring some facts to the attention of this House and through this House, to the attention of the nation, I will blame some of the Tamil leaders equally as I would blame Jayewardene for bringing about this situation. It is not new. Mr. Narasimha Rao may not be able to understand quickly. They knew of these developments on the spot. What did they do? And Mr. Jayewardene depended on some of them. What was the attitude of the leadership of TULF at the time of referendum to postpone elections and make this Parliament a captive Parliament? What was the attitude of the Sri Lanka leadership when Mr. Jayewardene wanted to contest as President one year ahead of schedule? Normally the Presidential elections should take place after electing Parliament, but he chose to elect himself as President and then go in for elections to Parliament. What was the attitude then? If they had faith in Sinhalese opposition also, if the Sinhalese people who are fighting for democratic liberties to these people, and these Tamil leaders had combined together, Mr. Jayewardene would not have been, or would not have become what he is today. I can say this without fear of contradiction anywhere, even in the presence of those people. There are three Tamil Ministers in his Cabinet. One is Mr. Cyril Mathew of Tamil Nadu: he was the leader of plantation workers then Mr. Rajudurai is also the Minister Devanaiyan is the Home Minister....

SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN: Even Mr. Hamif is Tamil-speaking.

THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO): Is this necessary?

SHRI M. KALANASUNDARAM: I am sorry, I have to go into the details. Mr. Narasimha Rao may not be able to open his mouth because of his position.

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO: Is it only the question of opening ones mouth?

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM: Whenever there was resistance to the atrocities by these people, they kept mils that if this demand for autonomy or blamed the so-called extremists. Mr. Amrithalingam now admits that if this demand for autonomous status or federal structure, had been granted earlier, this would not have happened.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): There are large number of speakers.

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM: I will take 3 minutes more and finish. Because I am expressing my sentiments, they must also go on record, because I am anxious about the result. Let us not give the illusion on quick political solution as being possible. Political solution is the only way. I am not suggesting that a separate sovereign Eelam State is essential. Or the only basis of settlement is the formula given by Mr. Jayewardene or his emissary. No these are all the things which have been tried and which have failed, for so many years. Tamil people should have some confidence. First, there are some urgent measures to be taken. They should be convinced that the Government is trying to restore normalcy, restore peace: there will be no more threat to what is the step taken? These confidence building measures must begin. Only then the question of negotiation

[Shri Kalyanasundaram]

will arise. We all talk of negotiations. I ask my friend Mr. Amrithalingam—I hold him in high esteem for his sufferings. These are others who have lost their life and have undergone worse type of sufferings—if he reaches a settlement short of separate Eeslam State, can he go and face the people there? That is the situation today. Of course, we should try to find a solution. That is why, the Communist Party of Sri Lanka which believes and which is working for the unity of the country and restructuring its democratic set up has come out with the demand that the right of self-determination should be recognised. Then only, unity can be thought about. It is on this basis, on this twin principle of unity and right of self-determination, that the Communist Party of Sri Lanka is working. Has he agreed to lift the ban? Has he agreed to withdraw the Act? He has put forward the condition that if they give up the demand for separate State, the Prevention of Terrorism Act will be withdrawn. There are so many ifs and buts and conditions for even starting the negotiations. I do not know whether Mr. Amrithalingam will find it easy, in spite of the blessings and in spite of the good offices of our Prime Minister, to go and sit at the negotiating table on the basis of these conditions.

Sir, I am only anxious that our good offices should not be misused by Jayewardene to pursue his tactics in a different manner. This is my anxiety and concern. But I do not say that our Government will be so ignorant of it. They knew about it. Today, there is a race for diplomatic skill. The question is whether Mr. Jayewardene will win or India will win in this diplomatic race. I wish success for Mr. Narasimha Rao and our Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. They should also show their diplomatic superiority and skill. They should show that isolate him—I am not talking about the men—they can isolate the policy of racism, repression and butchery of demo-

cracy in that island. Restoration of democracy is equally important to the Tamil-speaking population. I our Prime Minister use her good offices to make President Jayewardene withdraw the Sri Lankan Army from the Tamil area? If Mr. Jayewardene is so sincere, he should request our Prime Minister to send a small contingent of the Indian Army to be stationed in the Tamil area so that the Tamils will be assured that there will be no further attacks on them. Is he afraid that India is going to invade Sri Lanka? We have no desire to invade any country. There is no question of it. But we can help in so many ways. Is he sincere about a settlement? If he wants to give confidence to the Tamilspeaking people, their security is important and the second thing is that all the properties taken over should be restored to the rightful owners and suitable compensation should be paid to those who have lost their properties to rebuild. If these things are assured, then, here will be a change in the atmosphere which will be conducive for a negotiated political settlement of the basic question of Sri Lankan unity and equal rights to both the nationalities in Sri Lanka. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI G. C. BHATTACHARYA:

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, today, in Sri Lanka, both the Sinhalese and the Tamils are the victims of the American conspiracy. This should be kept in the forefront. Otherwise, we will be only trying to find a solution, which we will never be able to reach. Sir, after India became the Chairman, after Mrs. Gandhi became the Chairperson of the non-aligned movement, America got totally nervous. They are not so much afraid of competition from other developed countries. They are their allies. The real danger to American imperialism is the non-aligned movement. They term it as the trade union movement of the third world, as if they are our employers and we are their employees.

So, they are afraid of this trade union movement. They may call it by any name, but we will have to understand it from that angle. Immediately thereafter they have tried to acquire bases in Pakistan. Now there are 112 air bases for U.S. Airforce in Pakistan, 6 underground cantonments are being constructed for their soldiers and 4 bases for naval facilities are being given in Pakistan. They want to turn to Sri Lanka for their bases. In Trincomalee they have been given facilities. Although they call them the recreation facilities, but in fact, a military base has been given there. Why do they want bases there? That is because they want to destabilise India and, if necessary, to attack India through Pakistan and through other places. That is why they have started a separatist movement inside the country and also separatist movement in Ceylon. The parallel is there. In Sri Lanka the separatist movement is the handwork of the American imperialism. I have got a proof and I want to put these facts before the External Affairs Minister. If I am incorrect, he will correct me and if I am correct he will correct me and if I am correct Sir you are aware that a U.S. functionary, Mr. Griffin, who wanted to destabilise the country was in Bangladesh at that time. Then he tried to influence in Afghanistan. Then he tried to come to India, but Mrs. Gandhi stopped him. What he wanted to achieve by coming to India, he is trying to achieve the same thing by remaining in Sri Lanka on the eve of the violence. I want to know from the External Affairs Minister whether Mr. Griffin was there on the eve of Violence or not and whether he is still there or not. If he is still there, then we must come to the conclusion that the hand of the American imperialism is clearly there. I want to know the American submarines which were present in Sri Lanka a day before the ethnic violence took place in Sri Lanka. How is it that almost all the Tamilians have either been killed or driven away from Trincomalee? What is the

reason? Why this is the most affected area, I want to know. This area is so much affected because they want that this area should be free from the Tamilians so that this place could be safe for their military base. Apart from that, the Tamilians are being refused visas by the American Embassy. Visas are being given to everybody else but when the Tamilians go, they say, how can we give you visa, the Sri Lanka Government has informed us that you want to destabilise the Jayewardene Government? We would like to know from our External Affairs Minister, is it not a fact that Mr. Jagjit Singh Chauhan who has declared himself as 'president of Khalistan', has been given a Visa by America? Is he not trying to destabilise India? Has he not declared that Punjab is an independent State has he not started ramifications of an independent state of Punjab? I would like to know whether this is correct or not that the Tamilians have been refused visas on this sole ground that the Jayewardene Government have informed them that the Tamilians wanted to destabilise the Sri Lanka Government and that is why they should not be given visa.

**SHRI V. GOPALSAMY** (Tamil Nadu): Are you trying to equate the demand of Khalistan with this problem?

**SHRI G. V. BHATTACHARYA:** No, no, I am only trying to say how the American imperialism is playing the double standards. I am only saying that they are hypocrites. On the one hand, they give visa to Jagjit Singh Chauhan and on the other they refuse visa to Tamilians in Sri Lanka.

I want to tell you, Sir, that it is not all of a sudden that these Sinhalese, Tamil things have come in. They were there, but they have taken advantage of it. There is one other aspect of the whole thing. As some of my friends have said, Mrs. Bandaranaike was deprived of her right to contest the elections and this rightist Government is now absolutely in the

[Shri G.C. Bhattacharya]

captive hands of American imperialism. He does not know that his army is going berserk, killing Tamilians, who have nothing except their two hands to protect themselves. And the game of American does not stop there. It wants to replace even Mr. Jayewardene with their chosen Generals in the army so that whatever facade is there. I do not call it a Parliament because there is no opposition party; the way the elections took place there, it was a farce—they do not want even that. They want absolute military dictatorship, like in Pakistan. They want to make Sri Lanka a cantonment of America. People have started saying that even the anti-India tirade is the handiwork of America. They are trying to have Diego Garcia, the Rapid Development Force, the Central Command etc. because they are very much concerned with whatever is happening in the Gulf and in the Indian Ocean as it threatens the security of America which is situated thousands of miles away. And we are here not even 10 miles or 15 miles away and we should not be concerned about our security. We are not concerned with our security; our security is not affected? Therefore, what I am saying is that we will have to clear our views. We should have very clear views. Everybody has appreciated the steps taken by the Government and by Mrs. Indira Gandhi. But there have to be some farsighted moves also because I feel that we must tell the American and other imperialist forces, "hands off India and Sri Lanka", otherwise you will not be able to score any success in your diplomatic mission because whatever you may do, Mr. Jayewardene, his Government and army are totally in their pocket. They will not allow to succeed. So you should be very firm with American imperialism.

I do not want the Sri Lanka-Indian question to be internationalised. We are a non-aligned country. Sri Lanka is also a non-aligned country, as they

member of the Non Aligned Movement. And we will not allow anybody. That was made clear by Mrs. Gandhi in her second statement, even in her first statement and even in this statement. The message is clear, but I want what is latent should be made patent.

Some of my friends have talked about a peace-keeping force. I respectfully disagree on that. Whenever the question of peace-keeping force is there—we have seen in Lebanon and many other places—the hidden hands of American imperialism are there. Therefore, it is a matter for the Non Aligned Movement. The Non Aligned Movement alone will decide this and no outside forces.

And secondly, Sir, some of our friends have said the federal set-up. I would very respectfully submit that this is not very clear. It has to be spelt out. But whatever it may be, the question is not that of federal set-up or unitary type of government which is there, and whether federal set-up will be suitable or not is another matter. We should not rush with this solution. It requires some deep thinking. I would also agree with the External Affairs Minister that his mind is also working in that direction. But I would like to totally disagree with my friend, Comrade Kalyanasundaram regarding the right of self-determination. Sir, if you apply that to Tamilians, you cannot deny that right to Sikhs for Khalistan.

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM: You have not understood the twin principle.

SHRI G. C. BHATTACHARYA: The twin principle will not work. On the one hand, you are saying that both the Sinhalese people and the Tamilians are fighting ....

DR. MALCOLM S. ADISESHIAH (Nominated): What is the solution?



**SHRI G. C. BHATTACHARYA:** My solution is that you will have to work for the unity of the Sinhalese people and the Tamils people. You cannot work for self-destruction. It will be self-destructive if you work for self-determination. I am warning you. This should not even be thought of. I know that some of our friends did it during 1947, as a result of which we got partitioned. Mr. Adhikari in 1947 talked of 14 nations. What would have happened if that was conceded. It would have divided India into 14 nations. *(Interruptions)*

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI):** I think Mr. Bhattacharya can carry on without your support, Mr. Mallick. So please let him continue.

**SHRI G. C. BHATTACHARYA:** Sir, I am not at all disturbed by that. What I am saying is that whatever way we want to apply the right of self-determination, as talked about by Marxist and other respected leaders, in the Indian context is not at all apt. It is suicidal for both India and Sri Lanka. We cannot do it. We should not do it. Sir, today the Jayewardene Government and the American Government have started this solution. I have given the motives of the American imperialists.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI):** Please finish now.

**SHRI G. C. BHATTACHARYA:** I am finishing. You will try to understand that we are adding a second new dimension, because the debate here on Sri Lanka is going to affect our future also. Don't think that the Sri Lanka affair is an isolated one. America has very shrewdly and very cunningly played its cards. They want to test our leadership for their tactics and for their farsightedness. Therefore, you must understand this. You must examine the Sri Lankan issue in that context. *(Interruptions)* Because my friend has made some remarks. I am

bound to react. He is a senior member. I have great respect for him. *(Interruptions)* Yes, I am proud of being one. I am surely junior to him. I am proud of that. There is nothing wrong in that.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI):** You must finish. There are many speakers.

**SHRI G. C. BHATTACHARYA:** I am going to finish. Therefore, what I want to say is that unless we make our attitude clear and are prepared to meet the situation, it is not going to work. Ultimately, America is fighting India through Sri Lanka. So we should be prepared to fight America by giving a call to the 700 million People of India and the entire people of Sri Lanka: Hands off Sri Lanka. Hands off India. This should be the slogan. Any other solution will not work. Any other solution which you may try, you are bound to fail, unless you make your attitude clear and tell them, "If this time you fail, you will see that the pressure on India will be much more." Therefore, start the fight, start the struggle, here and now along with the Sri Lankan people, and in that case you will succeed; otherwise you will not succeed. Thank you.

**SHRI MURASOLI MARAN (Tamil Nadu):** Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, today we have been called upon to discuss the Sri Lankan situation which is one of the worst tragedies that humanity has encountered so far. But, Sir, the way in which this subject has been brought into this House under rule 176, is very much dissatisfactory it is not adequate, I would say. Sir, here we are discussing, we are having a discussion without any message, without any operating portion.

Sir, during 1971 when we had the Bangladesh struggle, when thousands and thousands were killed, when a similar genocide was done by Pakistan, Parliament passed a Resolution condemning the genocide, condemning

[Shri Murasli Maran]

the attitude of the Pakistanis. Sir, here is the Resolution of 1971:

"Situating as India is and bound as the people of the sub-continent are by centuries old ties of history and culture and tradition, this House cannot remain indifferent to the macabre tragedy being enacted so close to our border, throughout the length and breadth of our land our people have condemned in unmistakable terms the atrocities now being perpetrated on an unprecedented scale upon unarmed and innocent people."

This is a long Resolution. Then it says:

"The House calls upon all peoples and governments of the world to take urgent and constructive steps to prevail upon the Government of Pakistan to put an end immediately to the systemic decimation of people, which amounts to genocide."

Sir, this Resolution was discussed in Parliament on the 31st of March, 1971.

Sir, what prevented us from bringing such a kind of resolution here? Are we not having the same kind of bonds of culture, tradition and language? The Resolution at that time was moved by no less a person than the Prime Minister herself. This is what is hurting us. So, every Tamilian in Tamil Nadu and every right-thinking person is asking why the Government of India should hesitate to call a spade a spade, why it should not condemn it, why it should not bring a resolution in Parliament so that the entire world may know the atrocities that had been perpetrated in Sri Lanka.

Sir, today only for the first time when the hon. Prime Minister intervened, she used the word "genocide" and pointed her finger at Sri Lanka. Sir, this, I think, is a great improvement. I do not know the reasons for

the hesitation. Sir, I would say our External Affairs Ministry, the bureaucrats there, are very adept, very clever, in drafting any documents, any resolutions for international forums. Sir, whenever something happens far away in Zimbabwe, Namibia, Honduras, Nicaragua—those names cannot be even pronounced by the common man—we rush with a condemnation, we rush with a resolution. But, Sir, it is a pity that our External Affairs Ministry, the officials there, are not aware of the situation which is prevailing in our neighbouring countries. That is why, Sir, our Government has not been properly advised.

I would go one step further and accuse our Indian High Commission there. They have not foreseen things. They should have foreseen the coming genocide. They should have informed our Government. They did not do that. Even now, Sir, I ask the question: How many people have been killed in Sri Lanka? Sir, everybody speaks different figures. The official figure is 300 persons. No, Sir. Here is a report from "THE HINDU". Sir, a member of a group of World Bank mission to Sri Lanka, says, "Though about 200 deaths were reported, it would quite easily have been 3,500." This is reported in "THE HINDU" which is not a partisan paper.

Sir, what has happened in Sri Lanka is a holocaust, a genocide, the like of which has not been happened in that part of the country. There might have been riots before but not this kind of genocide which was been planned, engineered by the ruling party and executed by the army and the police, with the goondas of the Ministers. Sir, for example, I can name Cyril Mathew, one of the Ministers. He was in charge of the operation of genocide in Sri Lanka. Again to show the hand of the Ministers, for example, in the See Street there are famous jewellers. They seem to be the financiers of the Prime Minister, Mr. Premadasa. Fortunately nothing was destroyed in that

street. Everything is safe in that street. It clearly shows that right from the President to all the Ministers, they were responsible for this genocide. They initiated it; they executed it.

Sir, at the same time, all those atrocities are harrowing. Our blood boils when we hear those stories. They can be compared only to the atrocities of Attila, the massacres of Tamerlane, the village of Genghis Khan and the barbarities of Hitler. I want to quote a few examples. This is *Hindu* of July 29 and the reporter says:

"Nine Tamils burnt alive at Colombo main railway station."

Again the *Hindus* of July 28 carries a report from Oslo :

"A mini-bus full of Tamils was stopped by Sinhalese who poured petrol over it and set it on fire. All the doors were kept closed and several hundred people must have watched the 20 Tamils burn to death."

This is what *Hindu* has written. Another thing. Even the prison was not safe. In the famous prison called Welikade which is supposed to be one of the high-security prisons, one freedom fighter named Kuttimani was killed. There, on two occasions, 52 prisoners or freedom fighters or suspects were killed. Sir, Kuttimani wanted to donate his eyes to someone so that at least that person could see in future a free Eelam. So what happened was that these people gauged his eyes out. Now this is the version in the *Guardian*. One version said that Kuttimani's tongue was cut out by an attacker who drank the blood and cried "I have drunk the blood of a Tiger". This is what Mr. David Benesford has written in the *Guardian*. Because of the situation when our hearts, our emotions were deeply touched, when we were emotionally upset, irrespective of party affiliations, there came the news that an emissary of President Jayewardene was coming to Delhi. Who was this emissary? It was his

own brother, who is supposed to be a jurist. Sir, President Jayewardene is clever enough to send his External Affairs Minister. Mr. Hameed to London where it seems he had met all his ambassadors of European countries. Then it seems he had proceeded to New York probably to get an assurance from America, or some kind of a guarantee. Sir, why is he working in such a way? We do not know about the secret mission of Mr. Hameed. Probably the hon. External Affairs Minister may know and I hope he will tell us about the secret mission. Whether he has succeeded or not, we do not know. Sir, we know that there is a strong bargaining position for Sri Lanka. They have the world's best natural harbour in the name of Trincomalee. Once Napoleon Bonaparte said, "If only I have Trincomalee, I would be the Emperor of the Indian Ocean also." So with that bargaining position, they may knock the doors of big powers; they may go and bargain with America also. I am afraid President Jayewardene is buying time. He may not have confidence in his colleagues or party comrades. That is why his brother has come. What are the discussions that took place between the hon. Prime Minister and the External Affairs Minister and Mr. H. W. Jayewardene? Sir, one outcome is that the relief fund that has been instituted with the hon. Prime Minister as the Chairman. It is a welcome move. But at the same time I have my own doubts whether the relief money will reach the suffering Tamils. It is a question mark, because already two workers of the International Red Cross have been given out by the Sri Lankan Government. That is why I would insist on the Government that all relief measures should be routed through an Indian agency or an international agency like Red Cross. Thousands of refugees are still there and they are not given proper food, proper medical attention, proper sanitary facilities. I would urge the Government to communicate with the Commissioner of

[Shri Murasoli Maran]

Refugees of the UN. Then only we can solve the problems; otherwise, whatever money we send, whatever food articles we send, will find their way into the black market or to the unemployed Sinhalese who are roaming about the streets just now.

Then the second proposal found in the honourable Prime Minister's statement is that a delegation of MPs is to be sent. I cannot understand why an MPs' delegation should visit Sri Lanka. Why should we visit Sri Lanka at this stage? Is it to find out how President Jayawardena's *swarga* has become a *parakaddu*? In fact what we should have done is instead of sending a delegation of Members of Parliament, the Government of India should have sent a group of eminent judges and jurists to collect evidence, to conduct investigations, to assess the damage to life and property and prepare a report about the genocide. Because, in the Neurenberg trial it was found that genocide was a crime against humanity and in the Neurenberg trial those who had committed the crime, were punished. We should have taken a leaf from that. I would urge upon the Government not to send a delegation of Members of Parliament. But if the Members of Parliament are given the task of finding and investigating about the genocide, then I will be happy; otherwise, it is no use of sending a delegation of MPs. Rather I would urge the Government to consider sending a team of eminent judges and jurists.

Then there was a suggestion of a round-table conference. Even now the "honourable Prime Minister talked of offer of good offices by India." I have my own doubts about this particular aspect. I want to know what the offer of good offices by the Government of India is, and in what way our offices are going to be used. This is a big issue. This problem is there right from the beginning of Sri Lanka. It is as old as their history. How are we going to offer our good offices? Are we going to be the mediators between the

Sinhalese and the Tamils? If so, what is our role? The Prime Minister also announced that another emissary will be sent. That means another Kissinger in the form of External Affairs Minister or Mr. G. Parthasarathy will be shuttling diplomats between Delhi and Colombo. We know President Carter, when he was mediating between Israel and Egypt, calling a conference of President Sadat and Prime Minister Begin in Camp David. They were there for 13 days and only after 13 days they could arrive of some kind of a solution. I would like to ask the Minister of External Affairs. Are you thinking of a Camp David-type of talks or dialogues between the Sinhalese and the Tamils? I have my own doubts whether this round-table conference will give any fruits at all. In the past round-table conference after round-table was held. In Nineteen fifties it was called the Banderanayake-Selvanayagam pact, they compared it to the Gandhiji-Irwin Pact. In the sixties it was Dudley Senanayake-Selvanayagam Pact between the Tamils and the Sinhalese. In the seventies it was Sirimave-Selvanayagam Pact. They have discussed everything right from federalism, autonomy, decentralisation and district councils. These facts were not implemented and they were thrown into waste-paper basket.

If anybody says that normalcy has been restored in Jaffna, I will say it is fravesty of truth. Jaffna is in a stage of seige.

What is the mentality of Jayawardhane? The Guardian has condemned him as "a dictatorial and racist third world outcrat" He has passed the Sixth Amendment Bill. Through this Bill he has banned any political party which would preach secession of self-determination. This means, those who preach that will lose immovable and movable property. They will not have any right to obtain a passport. They will not have any right to sit for public examinations. They will not have any

right to own any immovable property. They cannot even engage themselves in trade or profession. Why he has passed such a legislation? President Jayawardhane says according to "The Telegraph": "That was the only way to cool the Sinhalese temper". This is the attitude of the gentleman.

Again, two weeks before the genocide, the Daily Telegraph Reporter, Mr. Ian Ward of Singapore met him. To him he said: "The more you put pressure on Tamils, the happier the Sinhalese will be here". Then he added: "Really if I starve the Tamils out, the Sinhalese will be happy." This is his position. Look at the situation. In the recent Time magazine there is a report. I quote:

"Said one Sinhalese Army Colonel: It is our land. We win or we die and there are hell of lot of us then them done. When all the dead are counted, the Sinhalese still will be there. We will build again".

This is the attitude, of this—I am told—deceitful person who bides his time. How are you going to talk to him? As my brother Mr. Kalyanasundaram has said, Tamils have made their position very clear. If the UNP has a manifesto the TULF has also a platform and a manifesto. To have a separate Eelam is their main plan. On that they fought the election and captured all the seats. Thus they came to Parliament. When the Parliament was meeting in Colombo Mr. Amrithalingam telephoned to President Jayawardhane and requested him: "Please give me security. I want to attend Parliament". President Jayawardhane said: "No, I cannot give you security". Here is the person with whom you invite Mr. Amrithalingam for talks. It seems to me that it is just like Yahya Khan inviting Mujibur Rehman for a round table conference. In the circus we have seen that wolf and lamb are made to sit together or are made to hug each other. For that you require a ring-master. Without the presence of the ring master, the lamb will be eaten away. That is the position. I want to ask whether the Government

of India is going to play the role of a ring-master. Even when the ring-master is out, the situation will be very difficult. That is why I could not put my faith in the so-called round table conference. Systematic methods are there right from the beginning to destroy a way of life, to liquidate a race. I do not want to go those details. According to me, according to all observers and according to the international press, the Tamils cannot live in peace in Sri Lanka. What has been developing there is a Cyprus like situation. There is a good parallel between the Cyprus situation and the Sri Lanka situation. If Cyprus is a small island in the Mediterranean Sea, Sri Lanka is an island in the Indian Ocean.

Sri. Cyprus is seven times smaller than Sri Lanka, with half of its population. In Cyprus, 78 per cent of the people are Greek-speaking Cypriots and 18 per cent of the people are Turkish-speaking Cypriots. Here we have about 25 to 30 per cent Tamils and in Cyprus the immority is only 18 per cent of the population. What happened on 21st December, 1963? When conflict arose, when 800 Turkish Cypriots were killed or wounded, the UN Security Council met and passed a resolution according to which an international peace-keeping force was to be sent to contribute to the maintenance and restoration of normalcy there and this force was sent to Cyprus. So, Sir, I would urge upon the Government that it should send such a force. We should send a peace-keeping force in Sri Lanka by using diplomatic pressure. Sir, Jaffna is like a big concentration camp today and it is in a State of siege. So India should send such a force, make a request to the UN to send such a peace keeping force. Otherwise Sir it will be like a powder keg and any spark will create another episode more dangerous than the present one. What happened in Cyprus; after the peace-keeping force was sent. Again, in 1976; when the crisis deepened; Turkey sent its navy and its air force to

[Shri Muresoli Maran]

resolve the crisis by asserting its right to protect its minority; the Turkish Cypriots. Even sending this peace-keeping force would only be a temporary measure. To get a permanent solution we should send our forces there and carve out a home land for the Tamils there. We should recognise the Tamil Eelam movement there. Otherwise, if we keep quite, history will not pardon us. We would be receiving very sad comments and cures even from our children. Sir, it has been the glory of this nation that whenever human dignity and human freedom were attacked, we have raised our voice and we have expressed our opposition. Not only that we have with active help to see that those forces of freedom and democracy could succeed.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): Please conclude now.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: I am just finishing. Sir. In the 19th century. Sir when Greece was attacked and oppressed by the Turks three great powers rushed there. In 1827 the three powers that rushed there were England, France and Russia. Why? It was said openly that they could not remain silent spectators to the scene of innocent Greeks being butchered by the Turks. We must have a positive role. When one John Rasion was injured and his property was seized by the Greeks the British fleet blockaded the Greek and declared an embargo claiming the right of reprisal, stating that no country in the world had the right in the exercise of its domestic jurisdiction, to destroy the lives and properties of the citizens. Now, our chancery has been burnt in Sri Lanka and the Indian Overseas Bank's building has been destroyed. Many of our citizens have been killed. Why should we keep quiet? I cannot understand this at all. Sir, we should recognise the Tamil Eelam movement there. You can very well tell us that you are against terrorism. But what terrorism is only a question of perception. The meaning changes

according to the times. When the great Bhagat Singh threw a bomb in this Parliament House the then British condemned him as a terrorist. But now we are praising him as a great patriot. Sir, nothing succeeds like success. If this succeeds, naturally history will call them as great patriots. It is time we recognised the Tamil Eelam movement there. Otherwise, Sir, the Tamil race will be effaced from there, will be decimated, will be destroyed. That is why I would like urge upon this Government to recognise the Tamil Eelam movement.

Sir, nothing succeeds like success. When Spain was ravaged by Franco's hordes with the help of the fascist troops, England and many other countries rushed to give recognition. At the time, Sir, Franco said that these people were rushing to give recognition to him because they knew he was going to succeed. This what he said. So, if we also come to know, if the Government and other come to know, that they are going to succeed, succeed as they will and succeed as they must then everybody will follow. That is why, Sir, we recognised the FLN, the spearhead of the liberation movement in Algeria in 1958 and we had given them permission to open an office in Cannaught Circus. Therefore, Sir, I would like to tell the Government that the present approach will not solve the problem. (*Time Bell rings*). We should not fall a prey and walk into the trap of President Jayewardene, because if we lose time some other power will entrench itself in Sri Lanka. That is why I request the Government of India to show some spirit, some courage, some initiative, some regard for the practical needs of the day.

Thank you.

6 PM

SHRIMATI MAIMOONA SULTAN (Madhya Pradesh): Sir, I rise to

speak on a subject that has caused us deep agony and grief. The House today is involved in discussing the recent happenings in Sri Lanka and the subject deals with the killings, arson, murders, and thousands and thousands of our Tamil brethren either went to the valley of death or were rendered homeless and fenceless. They fell victims to mad frenzy—uncontrolled, inhuman and brutal beyond description. Sir, when I was coming to this House I had a look at the map of India, with Sri Lanka suspended just beneath. And while looking at the map of Sri Lanka I had come to feel as if a tear had rolled down the face of our motherland, that is, India.

Sir, we are close to Sri Lanka in so many ways. Our associations are long, over centuries—historically, traditionally, culturally and even spiritually. Sri Lanka is in the Indian Ocean, just 30 miles away from the mainland, from India. But the Sinhalese are the descendants of India who went and settled in Ceylon about 2500 years ago. They were followed among others by Indian Tamils who constituted a cheap labour force over there and they are in a minority. In Jaffna district the Indian Tamils are in majority and the Sinhalese constitute 1 per cent of the population. Apart from this, Sri Lanka also became a member of the United Nations in 1956 and a member of the Non-alignment movement. I specifically mention the Non-alignment movement over here for two reasons, particularly because I cannot but recollect with pride that when the Non-aligned Conference was held in Delhi, one of their delegates came forward, took the floor and declared that the Non-alignment movement has come of age under the aspiring leadership of Prime Minister of India. Secondly, I mention this because it is very much relevant in the context of the election of the Prime Minister of India as the Chairperson of the Non-alignment movement. And in this context it is very relevant in the prevailing situation in Sri Lanka.

Sir, I want to mention that the religion of the Sinhalese is Buddhism, of the Buddha, an apostle of peace and enlightenment and compassion. Lord Buddha attained enlightenment in Gaya and he spread his message to all the corners of the world—to Sri Lanka also. Even today as we look at the image of Lord Buddha, serenity and compassion oozes out from his face and we feel purified and in sublimity. Lord Buddha, through his Bikkhus and emissaries, spread the gospel of love and compassion to all the corners of the world, with the command that they will not kill even an animal, what to talk of a human being or mass killings.

Therefore, in that context it is rather sad that this sort of thing should have happened in our neighbouring country, i.e. Sri Lanka it is of no consequence whatsoever as to how an individual reacted to the situation. What is important is the fact that it is of great concern to our nation and to our Prime Minister that thousands and thousands of Tamilians were left at the mercy of mob frenzy and even the Army did not go to the rescue of these people. Thousands of them are in jails. They say that about 80,000 of them are in refugee camps. We are told that the situation is improving. How we, as human beings, react to a situation like this? The answer is obvious. We are not going to take up the path of retaliation. We are going to follow the path showed to us by our leaders Mahatma Gandhi, the Prime Minister and others. We shall suppress our emotions. We shall suppress our hearts and rise to the occasion united as one man and do everything possible to alleviate the suffering of those who are bereaved and who have lost their kith and kin in these worst racial riots in Sri Lanka.

Sir, before I proceed further, I will take this opportunity to say that this is the occasion when no matter to what part of the country we may belong, irrespective of caste, creed and religion, we should show that we are second to none in working shoulder to shoulder with those who are working

[Shrimati Maimoona Sultan]

for the rehabilitation of those displaced persons and of those bereaved persons and are trying to bring relief and succour in their lives. Sir, time and again, our Prime Minister has stressed the need to preserve the unity. I feel that unity is not only the need of the hour, but is a compulsive necessity. Sir, while the unity of the people, their determination, their courage are sources of infinite joy to us, it is also a cause of a major worry to one of the super powers which betrays its apprehension that its plans to dismember India may not succeed just because of this patriotism of the Indian people. Have we not heard or read the plan of a super power for the balkanisation of our country? Whether we have read it or not, we know it for certain that every possible move is being made to damage our interests and weaken us so that we may not succeed in our efforts to unite the developing countries. I may remind the House that in 1981 Mrs. Kirk Patrick visited India. She came from the U.S.A. and visited Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Sri Lanka and Pakistan in 1981. During a meeting with the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, she gave an assurance :

"In spite of some differences in participation between India and the United States, the U.S. wishes to have good relations with India and enlarge the areas of understanding between the two countries."

We sincerely wanted to believe that and even now we would like to hear these assurances, even though we know what the truth is.

But we want to hear it for the reason, I shall say, if you are interested :

भूठी तसल्ली दो कुछ दिल तो बहल जाये,  
कुछ धुंधली ही सही, शमां तो जल जाये।

If nothing helps for no other reason, for this reason alone we want to have this assurance again and again. Again, Sir, despite all our yearning for peace and bringing about harmony among the nations of the world, are we not aware of the fact that the Indian Ocean has been turned into an area of war with the armed presence of the United States over there? And this has been done with a specific purpose and a motive to destabilise the region in and around the Indian Ocean—and that includes Sri Lanka also—with the purpose of fostering divisions in the developing countries and weaken our country so that the developing countries under the Chairmanship of our Prime Minister may not forge a united front and face the situation. Sir, we are a friendly country. We are not hostile to any country, not even to the United States of America. But we want to safeguard our interest. In this context, I think it will not be irrelevant to point out, how is it that we have to run to the United States of America for every little thing that we require in our country? Even for the supply of small arms such as are required for the use of our Military people or our police personnel, we go to America even though we know that the rates are higher. Could we not explore the European markets and other places also? That is the point which I shall request the hon. Minister to please note down and think over it. At the same time, Sir, I read in the newspaper a few days earlier that the United States of America is very much interested in making investment in the industries over here. Sir, we welcome the investment provided it does not hinder the industrial growth of our country and ultimately rendering us helpless to get out of the mess of a situation. Again Sir, I may make point more clear if I put it before the hon. Minister. It is a word of caution:

है जलवाह सर बसर, मुझे डर है दिल  
वे-सबर कही छिप न जाये तेरी नजर

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): I think, you



should conclude your speech with this remark.

SHRIMATI MAIMOONA SULTAN:  
Sir, since I cannot disobey the Chair, I shall come to the end of my speech and refer to the statement of the hon. Prime Minister which was made in the House on Friday. It is rather unfortunate that I was not in the House that time. The hon. Prime Minister spoke today also. She has spelt out many things in her statement. Every one of us has read it and I need not go into it. But we certainly welcome the constitution of the Sri Lanka Relief Fund with the contribution of Rs. 1 crore. We also welcome the steps that have been suggested by the Prime Minister to Mr. Jayewardene that for a lasting solution, it is necessary that the Tamil community and the Government of Sri Lanka come together to the conference table and find a solution.

Lastly, Sir, since there is no time, I shall briefly refer to a few things. The Prime Minister said about sending a Delegation of Parliamentarians to Sri Lanka. Sir, there was an hon. Member who opposed this.

Sir, I think it is very highly advisable to do so. Some eminent Members of Parliament will have an opportunity to go there and assess the situation. Then they could come back. Sir, we have no hostility against the Government of Ceylon. In fact, we respect the sentiments of Sinhalese. But at the same time, we want that they should also respect the sentiments of the Tamil Indians. So, if a delegation of Parliament goes there, I think it will be to our advantage and we shall not lose anything by that. With that, Sir,

I thank you very much for giving me an opportunity to speak.

श्री शिव चन्द्र भाः श्रीमन्, जब आप नीचे बैठे थे तो आपने खुद ही कहा था कि नियमों को तोड़ा-मरोड़ा जाता है। जब आप सैंकड राउन्ड शुरू कर रहे हैं तो इधर से शुरू होना चाहिए... (व्यवधान)।

उपसभापति (श्री दिनेश गोस्वामी): आप बैठ जाइये।

Mr. Jha, your party had 20 minutes. But Mr. Sezhiyan took 37 minutes. Therefore, the question of calling other Members does not arise, unless there is time. Then, the Deputy Chairman gave me this instruction that Members from Tamil Nadu of all the parties should be called as far as possible because they are very much concerned with this issue. Yes, Dr. Mrs. Muthu.

श्री शिव चन्द्र भाः क्या हम लोगों का उससे कन्सर्न नहीं है?... (व्यवधान)। आप इस प्रकार से कुछ ही लोगों को बुलाना चाहते हैं, तो बुलाइये। मैं वाक-आउट करता हूँ।

(इस अवस्था में माननीय सदस्य सदन छोड़कर चले गये)

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the whole nation is concerned on this issue and it does not concern Tamil Nadu alone.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): Mr. Satyanarayan Reddy, your name is not before me. Please sit down.

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY: The whole nation is concerned about this issue...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): I am not saying that the whole nation is not concerned. But obviously on issues like this it has been always the practice

[Shri Dinesh Goswami]

that if any matter affects a particular State more, we call more Members from that State to speak.

**SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY:** Sir, I am unable to understand your views and the views expressed by the Deputy Chairman. If you think that it only concerns a particular State, it is wrong. It concerns the whole of the country. It is not the problem of Tamil Nadu alone.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI):** Nobody has said that it is not the problem of the whole country. If that were not to be the case, the Minister of External Affairs would not have been here and the Prime Minister would not have been here; if the problem had not been that of the whole country. But when we call speakers to participate, from the Chair certain discretion is always followed. Even on matters under discussion like floods, which concern the whole country if, a particular area is affected more by floods we call more speakers from that area. Similarly, as in the case of debates on Assam—though I should not say it—though it was a matter which concerned the entire country, Members from Assam were accommodated as far as possible. Therefore, let us not make an issue of this. Secondly, Mr. Reddy, your name is not here before me. How can I call you? (*Interruptions*). I am on my legs; therefore please sit down. I want to point out that a discussion under Rule 176 is not the same thing as a discussion on Calling Attention. In Calling Attention we follow the names as appearing in the list. But for a discussion under Rule 176, the rule is that the first Member in whose name the discussion stands, initiates the discussion. After that it becomes a matter for the party; every party or individual has to express his opinion, either through the Whip or individually, that he wants to speak. For example, if you look to the list, the second name was that of Mr. P. N. Sukul. But Mr. Maurya was called

because the party wanted Mr. Maurya to be the first speaker. You have not expressed the intention that you want to speak. Obviously, when I look into the list, your name is not there. That is why I cannot call you. (*Interruptions*). . . . .

**SHRI HAREKRUSHNA MALLICK:** Sir, this being the last item... I am not disturbing. (*Interruptions*).

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI):** I will hear you afterwards. Yes, Dr. Mrs. Muthu.

**DR. (SHRIMATI) SATHIAVANI MUTHU (Tamil Nadu):** Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I thank you for the opportunity given to participate in this important discussion on Sri Lanka. Sir, with swollen heart I thank the Prime Minister for the timely intervention into the problem of Sri Lanka which has helped the nation to an extent. Now we come to know the brutal violence, the mass killings, lootings and arsoning have stopped and the country is returning to normalcy. But, Sir, the ovation in both sides is not decreased. We are told that there is no property of the Tamils left to be destroyed and no Tamilian can come out to be killed. Talks are going on between the two countries. Our External Affairs Minister visited Sri Lanka and the brother of President Jayewardene came here and conferred with our Prime Minister. So, the first round of talks is over. Now, Mr. Amrithalingam, leader of the Opposition party in Sri Lanka and leader of TULF has come to New Delhi to apprise the Prime Minister about the recent riots in Sri Lanka and the true story behind this violence, and how it developed and how the massacre took place, and who was the brain behind it, and so on. Our Prime Minister will now know the depth of the sufferings of the Tamilians and the reasons for this violence and who are the persons to be blamed. But the whole world knows what happened in Sri Lanka. One of the super powers, the

USSR, Sir, through its official organ, *Pravda*, has condemned the Government of Sri Lanka for the violence they have sponsored. Sir, I would like to quote the statements of our External Affairs Minister and also of our hon. Prime Minister in the House. I first quote from the statement of our External Affairs Minister on 5-8-1983: "I am happy to say that our position was being appreciated, fully understood, not only in this country but in all the countries with whom we had occasions to discuss this matter, whom we had occasion to inform about how we feel about this matter." This is the position. And our Prime Minister has endorsed his statement saying: "Other countries have also expressed, as the Foreign Minister told you just now, appreciation of our restraint and have acknowledged our special interest." So, from this context, we are able to know that the foreign countries are aware of the real culprit behind it. We cannot take things so easily and come to a conclusion that the matter is over and settled. If you think on that line, you will be disappointed. Thiru Jayewardene may say now that he intended to convene a conference for full implementation of the laws relating to the District Development Councils, the use of Tamil as provided for in the Constitution as a national language, to initiate a dialogue on amnesty on condition that violence will be given up, and discontinuance of the active role of the armed forces in Jaffna on the secession of terrorist violence, and to repeal the Prevention of Terrorism Act. Sir, why did he want to speak to the leaders before the violence? Why was the delay? What was his intention? Sir, I condemn the statement of Shri Jayewardene as cunning and cruel and heartless. Now, he has come forward, after making himself very strong in passing the sixth amendment. Now he says that he is prepared to speak to the leaders as well as to use good offices of the Government of India. So, when our

President in the House, she added in addition: "If the idea of a separate State is abandoned, the President is willing to discuss the release of those detained in the prisons not already convicted or awaiting trial and to implement any other assurances contained in the 1979 manifesto of the U.N.P." This statement comes from the Sri Lankan Government after passing the Sixth amendment and making their position strong. So, our Prime Minister expressed alongwith this: "I expressed my view that these proposals may not meet the aspirations of the Tamil community. Mr. Jayewardene told me that Sri Lankan Government are willing to consider any other proposal which would give the Tamil minority their due share in the affairs of the country within the framework of the United Lanka."

Sir, We shall consider now which is the force which has started this. Is it the militant group, that is the Eelam liberation Front? They have started this militant fight and there are many reasons for it. I will be failing in my duty if I do not give an account of the harassment and the conspiracy planned by the Government of Sri Lanka from 1968 purposely to wipe out Tamilians once and for all from Sri Lanka. In 1948, the citizenship law was framed to drive out lakhs of Tamils. They were refused citizenship rights. The number of seats for the Tamils in Parliament was reduced from 24 to 16. In 1956, Sinhala was declared as the Official Language, denying the due status to Tamil. In 1972, Buddhism was declared as the State religion. All enactments were against the Tamils. For admission to colleges; Tamils have to secure 25 per cent more marks than the Sinhalese. As I said earlier, the number of seats for the Tamils in Parliament was reduced. Tamil representation came down from 30 per cent to 5 per cent in top services, from 50 per cent to 5 per cent

Prime Minister expressed her, view and this intention of the Sri Lankan

[Dr. (Srimati) Sathiavani Muthu.]

in subordinate services, from 60 per cent to 40 per cent in technical jobs and from 40 per cent to just one per cent in the Army and the Police. These are the main reasons why the militant group is agitating and demanding a separate Eelam State. Don't we realise the motive of the Sri Lanka Government? This is the reason why they have allowed the U.S. to have their naval base in Trincomalee and made it as their tourist paradise. They have allotted some area to stock their tankers and they have now enched their warships in the Indian Ocean even though the Indian Ocean has been declared as the zone of peace.

Sir, Sri Lanka is one of the 142 Members of the non-aligned movement. They are aware that our Prime Minister is the Chairperson of the nonaligned movement. They agree that we are to be friends and we want to maintain it. But then why do they want to create this enmity? Sir, they are prepared to loose their friendship with India at the cost of the lives of the Tamils and they want to wipe out the Tamils totally from Sri Lanka. May be they have joined hands with the United States for this purpose. Their planned activities and the legislations which they have passed up till now is sufficient proof which nobody can deny or contradict. President Jayewardene made a statement. I quote from the *Times of India* dated 2nd August, 1983, wherein, he has said if India by some chance even decided to invade us we will fight and may be, lose but with dignity then, we will go into exile'. After getting defeated, he says, they will go into exile and come back to the country later on. How will they come back to the country later on? Is he going to be helped by somebody to come back to the country later on? There is something fishy in it. This shows that he is prepared for war. He needs a war on the issue of the Tamils. He hopes that a war is the only solution to drive away the Tamils.

Sir, just now, my hon. friend, Mr. Bhattacharya, said that the Sinhalese may interfere in our country's problems; he said that they may support the demand for Khalistan. The problems of the Sikhs in India and that of the ethnic differences between the two communities, Sinhalese and the Tamils, in Sri Lanka, are quite different from each other. No Sikh has been driven away from Punjab. No Sikh has been denied his citizenship right in India. There is no Sinhalese population residing in Punjab so that you may say that they may support the demand for Khalistan. I would request hon. Members not to mix these two issues when we are talking here with our heart bleeding, on the issue of Tamils in Sri Lanka.

Sir, thirteen lakhs of Tamils living abroad are agitating on the issue of the massacre of Tamils in Sri Lanka.

They are mobilising the world opinion on this issue, they are trying to take this problem of violating human rights before the United Nations. They have gained sympathy of many foreign countries many institutions and many governments. But Jayewardene has very cunningly passed the sixth amendment of their Constitution to put down the demand for separate State which is the vital issue of Liberation Tigers who sacrificed their lives, who were mutilated in Jail and killed without modicum of sympathy. Here I would like to mention how Kuttimani's eyes, the Liberation Tiger's eyes, were gauged and thrown on the ground, how the eyes were stamped by the army people saying, you wanted to dedicate or gift your eyes to any person to see the free Eelam, now come and see your free Eelam. After taking out his eyes and stamping them on the ground they were telling him to see the free Eelam. Here for us it may appear to be a fairy tale, but how the Liberation Tigers who have come forward to sacrifice their lives to see the free Eelam, those who are

fighting, will feel about it when this sort of story comes out in the open, when these sort of atrocities are committed on these liberation leaders. So, after passing the resolution he has stopped the killings, after making his position more strong he has sent his brother as envoy to India to talk on restoration of peace. Now he says that we are friends and still we want to continue to be so. This is the point to which I would like to draw the attention of our Government.

Now I would like to draw the following few points to the notice of the hon. Minister. Firstly, they did not make any arrangements for our External Affairs Minister to visit the refugee camps and have talks with Tamil victims and Tamil leaders. Secondly, they refused our ships in the beginning and still I think our ships are not utilised properly to transport the Tamilians from Colombo to Jaffna. Thirdly, no arrangements were made for our External Affairs Minister to meet the leaders of the Tamilians. Fourthly, all the properties of the Tamils are taken by the Government. Then, the army is not withdrawn from the streets of Sri Lanka as yet. Still Mr. Jayewardene says that his doors are open, the parliamentary delegation could come from India, he was prepared to talk to the leaders for the safeguard of the rights of the Tamils within the framework of the Sri Lankan Constitution. Sir, there is tension still prevailing in many places. Tamilians have lost the hope of getting justice at the hands of Mr. Jayewardene. Hostility is more deep-rooted than before between the Sinhalese and the Tamilians. There is no opportunity for the two communities to live peacefully in future. Some protection should be given to them. I do not know if my information is correct but I stand by it that the Massachusetts Parliament have passed this resolution saying, "According to the International Commission of Jurists many of the provi-

sions of the Srilankan Prevention of Terrorism Act and public security Acts are contrary to the accepted principle of the rule of law, internationally accepted minimum standards of criminal procedure and also appear to be contrary to the provisions of the Sri Lankan constitution." In the second resolution passed by them, they have said: "We request the Commonwealth not to contribute to the revenue of Sri Lanka because of violations of the human rights of the Tamils."

Sir, when the Parliaments of other countries can come forward to pass such resolutions, why not the Parliament of our country, which is directly involved in this problem, passes some such resolution? Our parliamentarians are denied such a right to pass a resolution. I want our Government to interfere and take this issue to the United Nations. It is not a new thing for our Government, or it is not the first time. When the South African Government awarded death sentence to three freedom fighters in Pretoria, our representatives in UNO raised a protest against the South African Government in its policy of apartheid. So, now the leader of the TULF is here.

I have read his statement in the newspapers to the effect that after 25 years of frustration and suffering, they have come to this conclusion of demanding a separate state. Now I would like to point out that the TULF leaders abandoned the demand of a separate State long ago. But now two or three new organisations were constituted and they are the militant types. So I request the Government that when we confer with them or any conference is arranged, they should call for those leaders because even in the statement of the Prime Minister, it was stated: "I expressed my view that these proposals may not meet the aspirations of the Tamil community there". This is the statement of our Prime Minister. This statement was made in th

(Dr. (Shrimati Sathiavani Muthu.)

House. So whatever proposals are given by the President of Sri Lanka, the Tamil community there may not agree to them. Either Mr. Amrithalingam or TULF or many of the leaders may or may not agree to them. So we must have close door talks with the leaders of Liberation Tigers who are there still.

In conclusion, I just want to place on record our party's resolutions which were passed a few days back. Our hon. Member, Shri Ramakrishnan, has also given a "No Day Yet Named" Motion, but I would like to place these on record as the leader of the party.

**SHRI HAREKRUSHNA MALICK:** How can resolutions passed by the party be kept on record?

**DR. (SHRIMATI) SATHIAVANI MUTHU:** You can also bring it. I just want to place these on record. This is the first resolution.

"The U.N. Peace Keeping Force should be stationed in the island rocked by ethnic violence, until such time the people affected by the riots were compensate in full for the damaged property and loss of life, were granted equal status and civil rights along with the Sinhalese and were not stripped of any of their fundamental rights granted them under the constitution".

By another resolution, the AIADMK demanded that the Sri Lanka Government compensate in full the damages suffered by the people and industrialists in the violence. It also requested the Prime Minister to appeal to the Sri Lanka Government to rehabilitate all the industrialists whose factories had been burnt down in the ethnic violence.

In another resolution, the Council said:

"The decision of the Union Government to send a team of parliamentarians to Sri Lanka to get a first hand account of the problems there was welcome and it should also include members of the Tamilnadu Assembly".

The Council also said that since a large chunk of the population in Sri Lanka was Tamil-speaking, the Indian Government should send a Tamil-speaking High Commissioner. All aid being given to Tamils in Sri Lanka should be sent by the Indian Government directly to the affected, or at least channelled through the agencies of United Nations. The Council felt and condemned that medicines and clothes sent for the Tamils had not been distributed to them.

On these lines, I request the Government of India to take immediate action and come forward to help the affected people—the Tamilians in Sri Lanka. Thank you.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI):** Shri Syed Ahmad Hashmi.

**SHRI V. N. TIWARI (Nominated):** I am painfully bringing this to your notice, Sir. Firstly, the office has accepted its fault in not including my name. Secondly, every time I have been told that my number is second and this is the eighth speaker who has been called. I am not used to this type of things being passed on to me. So may I know what is my exact position?

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI):** Who has told you so? There was some fault on the part of the office. I will look into that.

**SHRI V. N. TIWARI:** But I should not suffer for that.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): I will look into that.

SHRI V. N. TIWARI: You will appreciate that if a person shows decency and patience, he should not be treated so casually.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): I am finding it out.

SHRI V. N. TIWARI: I want to know what my position is.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: my THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: As per the list that has been given to me, Mr. Gopalswamy, Mr. Ganesan and then your name comes. If there has been something wrong, I will find it out. your name here has been mentioned in pencil. If something wrong has been done, I will give you the chance. I am enquiring into it.

SHRI V. N. TIWARI: Mr. Vice-chairman, I have been patiently listening and waiting for my turn. Now my patience is exhausted. Therefore, I want to know what my position is. And I will be the last person to raise an issue until and unless I am sure of my facts. Other people whose names are even not there in this list have been called.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): I am enquiring into this matter. Till that time, let Mr. Hashmi continue.

श्री संयद अहमद हाशमी (उत्तर प्रदेश): सर, श्रीलंका के अन्दर जिस तरीके से इन्सानियतसोजे वाक्यात हुए हैं और जिस तरीके से जनोसाइड और नस्लकशी हुई है तमिल पीपल्स की तमिल बोलने वालों की वह पूरे हिन्दुस्तान के लिए गमो-गुस्से और दुख का सबब है और इस लिए आज पूरे मुल्क में उस के खिलाफ गमो-गुस्से और नफरत का इजहार किया जा रहा है। मैं समझता हूँ कि आज भी सिचुएशन वहाँ की बदली नहीं है। यह जरूर है कि सेंसरशिप की वजह से वहाँ के हालात हमें

पूरे तरीके से नहीं मिल रहे, लेकिन आज भी तमिलियन्स के ऊपर उसी तरीके से एट्रोसिटीज और उसी तरीके से मजालिम का सिलसिला जारी है और उन के खिलाफ तशब्द के वाक्यात, वायलों के वाक्यात अब भी हो रहे हैं। जो एनाहगुजी कैम्प है उन के मुतालिक अब तक जो इत्तिलात है वह यह है कि वहाँ के हालात इनतहा खराब हैं, वहाँ लग बेवसी और बेकसी की जिन्दगी गुजार रहे हैं। जयवर्धने की सरकार बजाय इस के कि उन मजलूमों को इन्साफ दे, उन के रिहोबिलिटेशन या उन के बसाव का इन्तजाम करें और पोलिटिकल हल, पोलिटिकल सोल्यूशन उन के लिए तलाश करें, आज भी अपनी वही पॉलिसी जारी रखे हुए है कि तमिलियन्स का कोई हिस्सा श्रीलंका के अन्दर न हो।

यहाँ पर एक बात मैं अर्ज करूंगा कि य सही है कि आज हिन्दुस्तान के सारे लोग इस दुख और दर्द में शरीक हैं, लेकिन हम लोग जो इस मुल्क के अन्दर अक्लियत में हैं, माइनारिटी में हैं, हम उन फीलिंग्स को जो आज तमिलियन्स के अन्दर हैं, श्रीलंका में उन के हालात गुजर रहे हैं शायद उन को दूसरे न फील करें, हम ज्यादा फील करते हैं, उसे हम ज्यादा महसूस करते हैं क्योंकि हम उन हालात से गुजरते रहे हैं, हम पी ए सी की बरबरीयत का जिक्र दर्जनों मर्तबा इस एवाम के अन्दर कर चुके हैं, हमें मालूम है कि किस तरीके से पुलिस के मजालिम होते हैं लेकिन जब वहाँ पर फौज भी शामिल हो जाय उस ज़ुल्म के अन्दर, फौज खुद पाट बन जाय तो आप नहीं कह सकते कि तरीके से यह नस्लकशी वहाँ पर हो रही होगी, उस का अन्दाजा नहीं किया जा सकता। हमारे पास जो फिगर्स हैं—दो हजार की बात कही जाती है—उस के मुताबिक मेरा यह कहना है कि दो हजार की फिगर जो बतलाई जाती है अखबारों या सरकार अदादांशमार के अन्दर वह गलत है, दस सौ हजार की तादाद है जिन की नस्लकशी हुई है, जो मारे गए हैं, जिन का पता नह है। आज उन वाक्यात को व

[श्री सैयद अहमद हाशमी]

कर के पेश करने की कोशिश की जा रही है और मैं यह अर्ज करूँ कि यह एक बहुत सोची समझी पालिसी और कांस्पेरेसी का हिस्सा है। यह कोई आज का वाक्या नहीं है। जरा मूलाहिजा कीजिए पीछे की तरफ भ्रम किए तो आप को मालूम होगा कि 1944 में यह सिंहली और तमिल जुबानों जो है इन दोनों का दर्जा एक सा था और उन में कोई फर्क नहीं था। लेकिन 1948 में जब डॉमिनियन स्टेट्स की हँसियत से श्री लंका डिक्लेयर हुआ और आजादी की तरफ उस ने आगे कदम बढ़ाया तो मैं अर्ज करूँ कि उस वक्त क्या हुआ। उस वक्त सिटीजनशिप ऐक्ट धाया और उन सिटीजनशिप ऐक्ट में तकरीबन एक लाख तमिलियन्स को वॉटिंग राइट से निकाल दिया गया, गहरूय कर दिया गया और इस तरीके से पार्लिमेन्ट के अन्दर जो उन का रिप्रेजेंटेशन था 24 परसेन्ट वह घट कर 16 पर पहुँच गया। मैं बतलाऊँ कि—यह एक सिलसिला है—1956 में श्रीमती बन्दरनायक ने सिंहली जुबान को सरकारी दर्जा देने की पालिसी अख्तियार की। लेकिन उस के बाद जो दर्दनाक बात है बात यह है कि 26 जुलाई 1957 को एक एग्जी-मेन्ट हुआ है तमिलियन लीडर श्री सत्त्वाना-यगम के साथ जिस में बहुत सी तमिलियन्स की डिमांड्स को एक्सेप्ट किया गया। लेकिन उस के बावजूद क्या हुआ कि यही मौजूदा प्रेसीडेंट मिस्टर जयवर्धन जो उस जमाने में अपोजीशन में थे उस के खिलाफ उन्होंने पर मार्च आर्गनाइज किया और वहाँ पर फसादात के एक सिलसिला शुरू हो गया। 1957 की बात मैं कह रहा हूँ। इस लिए मैंने कहा कि आज जो जयवर्धन सरकार है उस जमाने में वह अपोजीशन में थे। उस वक्त भी उन्होंने तमिल लोगों के हित के लिए या उन की डिमांड्स की एक्सेप्टेंस के खिलाफ मार्च आर्गनाइज किया था और आज वह खुद प्रेसीडेंट है। तो आप अन्दाजा कर सकते हैं कि उन का एटो-ड क्या होगा। इस लिए मैं कह सकता हूँ कि मिस्टर जयवर्धन श्री लंका के प्रेसीडेंट की गह सोचा समझी पालिसी है कि तमिलियन्स के खिलाफ पूरे तरीके से

अपनी हकूगत की गशीनरी को आर्गनाइज किया जाय, उन के खिलाफ एक्शन लिया जाय और इसी लिए मैं कहता हूँ कि इस जुलाई के फसादात के अन्दर जो आर्गनाइज्ड व में हुए जिन के अन्दर वहाँ की आमीं शामिल हुई उन को स्पॉन्सर किया है

[उपसभापति महोदय पीठासीन हुए]

जयवर्धन ने और उन की सरकार ने। मैं बतलाऊँ कि यही मिस्टर जयवर्धन है कि जिन्होंने 1977 के अन्दर अपनी पार्टी की तरफ से चुनाव के मैनीफेस्टों में तमिल प्राबलम को हल करने के लिए थालू पार्टीज कांफरेंस बुलाने का वायदा किया था, लेकिन क्या हुआ। जब उन की सरकार बनी तो उन्होंने उस को इग्नार किया और उस को भुला दिया। इसी लिये मैं कहता हूँ कि यह सोची समझी बात है और, इसी सरकार ने 1979 में, सिर्फ तमिल लोगों के खिलाफ एक्शन करने के लिए और उसे मॉबिलाइज करने के लिए फौज और पुलिस के लिए एक कानून बनाया और गैर-सामूली अख्तियारात हासिल किए और मैं अर्ज करूँ कि मसला सिर्फ इतना ही नहीं है कि वहाँ पर तमिल बोलने वाले भाई और इन्सान मारे जा रहे हैं। यह अपनी जगह पर दुःख की बात है, गम और गुस्से की बात है कि वहाँ पर इन्सानियत का खूब किया जा रहा है, इन्सानियत को बरबाद किया जा रहा है, पामाल किया जा रहा है। बच्चों, औरतों, बूढ़ों को तमिल किसी कि डिस्क्रिमिनेशन के मारा जा रहा है। उनके टुकड़े-टुकड़े किए जा रहे हैं। यह तो अपनी जगह पर हमारे लिए दुःख की बात ही है लेकिन इसके अलावा भी हमारे लिए चिन्ता की बात यह है, जो कि काबिले गौर है हिन्दुस्तान के लिए, कि आज सामाज्यवादी ताकतें, अमरीकन इम्पी-रियलिस्ट, सामाज्यवादी पालिसी वाले यह समझते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान जो आज नान-अलाइनमेन्ट मूवमेन्ट का सरंजाम बना हुआ है उसको एक ताकत मिल रही है आर्म्स रंग के खिलाफ, न्यूक्लियर जंग के खिलाफ वह यह समझता है कि किस तरीके से इस (इसरीफे को, इस मूवमेन्ट को बल देने की कोशिश की जाए और हिन्दु



को किस तरीके से घेरे में लिया जाए। हम डर लगता है कि आज श्रीलंका की गवर्न-मेन्ट अमरीकन साम्राज्यवादी पालिसी का टूल बन रहा है। इसलिए उद्योग इन्डियन ओशन के लिए इण्डियन ओशन कांफ्रेंस के सिलसिले में जो इनीशियेटिव लेना चाहिए था वह न लेकर वह तीन साल से टाल-मटोल कर रहा है। आज हम देख रहे हैं कि श्रीलंका की गवर्नमेन्ट उन इलाकों को जहाँ तमिल अक्सरियत है, यह 19 कांस्टीट्यूसीज जहाँ से कि 18 नूगाइन्दे तमिल बालों के ट्रिकोमाली वगैरह का इलाका जहाँ से वह कामयाब हुए, उस ट्रि-कोवाली के बन्दरगाह को, जहाँ पर आज अमरीकन डियगो गार्शिया के अन्दर 5वें प्लैट के अन्दर है, जो डियगो गार्शिया के अमरीकन देश के अन्दर उस बैंग पर काम कर रहे हैं, आज उनकी आशा आमोदरस्त हो गई है। आज वह चाहता है कि अमरीका वहाँ से अपने ईंधन का जखीरा लेने के लिए उसका इस्तेमाल करे। इसलिए आज हम गहसूस कर रहे हैं कि अमरीका की यह स्वाहिश है कि उन इलाकों को तमिलियंस से खाली कराया जाए। आज श्रीलंका गवर्नमेन्ट की पूरी साजिश है कि तमिलियंस की उन इलाकों से पूरी तरह से निकाल दिया जाए। मैं अर्ज करूंगा की यह जो किया जा रहा है वह स्पष्ट रूप से इसी साजिश का सिल-मिला है। आज यह जो कहा जा रहा है कि वह सैपरेटिस्ट मूवमेन्ट, अलहदगी प्रसन्द रिसायत की बात करते हैं, लेकिन गौर करने की बात यह है कि मैंने अभी एक मिसाल दी कि किन हालात में ऐसा किया जा रहा है, उसका रिप्रजेंटेशन 24 से 16 पर पहुँच गया है। एंडीमिनि-स्ट्रैटिव सर्विसज के अन्दर आज उनका तना-सुब था 30 परसेन्ट तमिलियंस का गिर कर 5 फीसदी हो गया और मूस्तलिफ दूसरे सैक्शंस के अन्दर 40 परसेन्ट रिप्रजेंटेशन था वह 10 परसेन्ट तक पहुँच गया है। फौज और पॅलिस में उनका तना-सुब है फौज नहीं। जाहिर है कि उन्होंने 1964 के अन्दर तमिलियन्स ने एक कांफ्रेंस अपनी डिमांड्स के सिलसिले में की गोलम्बो के अन्दर, लेकिन उनको पॅलिस से डिस्मिस कर दिया गया। उन्होंने जो डिमांड्स की उनको माना नहीं गया

और उन्हें मजबूर किया इस बात के ऊपर कि वह अपनी उस इतिहास पर पहुँचें, और उसके अलावा कोई रास्ता नहीं था। अभी अमृतलिंगम जो अपोजिशन के लीडर यहाँ पर आये हैं, उन्होंने खुद कहा है कि कोई अल्टरनेटिव रास्ता हो तो वह उस पर गौर करने के लिए तैयार हैं। उसको यहाँ तक किसने पहुँचाया? जाहिर है कि मरता क्या न करता? इस जगह पर जो पहुँचे हैं उसी का यह नतीजा है कि आज उनकी गवर्नमेन्ट उनकी डिमांड्स के ऊपर, उनके मतालबों के ऊपर संजीदगी से कोई गौर नहीं कर रही है। हम इसका खैर-मकदम करते हैं, इसका बेलकम करते हैं कि हमारे मुल्क ने इस सिलसिले के अन्दर एक रोल अदा करने की कोशिश की। और उनको टेबल नेगोसिएशन के ऊपर लाने की कोशिश की। मैं यह समझता हूँ इससे पहले भी इस तरीके की नेगोसिएशन हो चुकी है। वहाँ के लोगों ने काफी कोशिशों की लेकिन जयवर्धने की सरकार कभी भी अपने वादों पर कायम नहीं रही। अभी मैंने मिसाल दी कि उन्होंने अपने मनीफेस्टो के अन्दर इसका वादा किया लेकिन वह मूकर गए। इसलिए मैं कहता हूँ कि इस तरफ भी ध्यान रखना जरूरी है कि टेबल नेगो-सिएशन टेबल नेगोसिएशन नहीं होना चाहिए।

एक बात और अर्ज करना चाहूंगा। यह ठीक है कि हम किसी मुल्क के मामलात में इन्टरफियर नहीं करते लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर इन्सानियत का कहीं खून हो रहा है, कहीं इंसानियत के ऊपर जुलूम हो रहे हैं तो यह हिन्दुस्तान की रिवाजत रही है हमारे मुल्क का यह ट्रेंडी-शन रहा है कि हमने उसके खिलाफ आवाज उठाई है—चाहे लेबनान हो, माउथ अफ्रीका हो या, दूसरे मुल्क हो। अगर कहीं ऐसा जुल्म होता है तो हमने उसके खिलाफ आवाज उठाई है। इसलिए हम इस बात का पूरा हक है कि श्रीलंका के अन्दर तमिलियन के ऊपर जो जुल्म हो रहे हैं हम उनके ऊपर अपने हक का इस्तेमाल करें। यह ठीक है कि हम अपनी फौजों

[श्री सैयद अहमद हाशमी]

को न भेजे । आज अमेरिकन की पालिसी यह है जिसका टूल श्रीलंका बन रहा है, वह यह चाहता है कि कन्फेडरेशन का माहौल पैदा किया जाए। वह इस तरह का माहौल पैदा कर रहा है। पिछले दिनों खबर आई थी कि श्रीलंका के बार्डर से हमारे बार्डरों पर फायरिंग हुई। हमारे मछुआरों को वहां मारा गया। जाहिर है कि इस किस्म की छड़े-छाड़ महज इसलिए हो रही है कि जज्बात के अन्दर बह जाए और कोई ऐसा इकदाम कर बैठे जिससे साम्राज्य ताकतों को इस बात का मौका मिले कि वे श्रीलंका के अन्दर आ जाए। आज श्रीलंका गवर्नमेन्ट ने मुख्तलिफ हुकूमतों से—अमेरिका से, पाकिस्तान से बंगलादेश से, मदद मांगी। मैं इस सिलसिले में यह कहूंगा कि अलग मुद्दातक इनका अमेरिका था, दूसरे मुल्कों को पाकिस्तान को, बंगला देश को महज इसलिए शामिल किया कि नान-एलायड में जो कंटर्रीज शामिल हैं उनके अन्दर आपस में गलतफहमी पैदा की जाए, आपस में बंद-गुमानी पैदा की जाए ।

आखिर में एक बात और अर्ज करूंगा । हम इस बात की थोड़ी देर के लिए मान लें कि हमारे हाउस के अन्दर कंडमनेशन का रेजोलूशन न पास हो लेकिन कम से कम हमारे हाउस की तरफ से इतनी अपील हो कि जिस तरीके के हालात हैं उनको हल करने के लिए बहुत ही नरमी के साथ अपील करें । हल करने के लिए हमारे जो बेहतर खिदमात हो सकते हैं उनको शामिल करें । हम उनके हल करने के लिए श्रीलंका गवर्नमेन्ट से कौशिश करें । इन अल्फाज के साथ मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि सूरते हाल जो भी श्रीलंका के अन्दर हालात पैदा हुए हैं फिर भी जो हमारे पुराने ताल्लुकात हैं, पुराने रिलेशंस हैं आज भी हम उन रिलेशंस को, मोहब्बत के रिश्तों को कायम रखना चाहते हैं । हम उन तमाम वाक्यात की मुजम्मत नहीं करते हैं न सिर्फ जिनासाइड के उपर बल्कि इन्टर-नेशनल साम्राज्य तौर तरीके जो श्रीलंका के अन्दर पैदा हो रहे हैं, जो वहाँ पर सिच्चु-

एशन एराइजा हो रही है उसके उपर घोर दने की जरूरत है ।

[श्री سید احمد ہاشمی : سر]

شہری لنگا کے اندر جس طریقہ سے انسانییت سوز واقعات ہوئے ہیں اور جس طریقہ سے جیلو سائیڈ اور نالاشی ہوئی ہے ناممکن بیویلیس کی - قابل بولہ والوں کی وہ پورے ہندوستان کے لئے غم و فتنہ اور دکھ کا سبب ہے اور اس لئے آج پورے ملک میں اس کے خلاف غم و فتنے اور نفرت کا اظہار کیا جا رہا ہے - میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ آج بھی سچا دشمن وہاں کی بدلی نہیں ہے - یہ ضرور ہے کہ سینسر شپ کی وجہ سے وہاں کے حالات ہمیں پورے طریقہ سے نہیں مل رہے ہیں - لیکن آج بھی ناممکن کے اوپر اسی طریقہ سے ایجنڈا سٹیز اور اسی طریقہ سے مظالم کا سلسلہ جاری ہے - اور ان کے خلاف تشدد کے واقعات، اٹالیس، واقعات اب بھی جاری ہیں - جو یہاں میں ہیں ان کے متعلق اطلاعات ہوں اب تک کہ یہاں کے حالات اب تک خراب ہیں - وہاں لوگ بے بسی اور بے کسی کی زندگی گزار رہے ہیں - جے وردھنے کی سوکا سجائے اس کے کہ ان مظلوموں کو انصاف دے - ان کے دی ہومیلیٹیشن یا ان کے بساؤ کا انتظام کرے اور

(Transliteration in Arabic Script)

پولیمٹیکل حل - اور پولیمٹیکل سولوشن  
ان کے لئے تلاش کرے آج بھی ایسی  
وہی پالیسی جاری رکھ ہوئے ہے کہ  
ٹامپلس کا کوئی حصہ شری لٹا  
کے اندر نہ ہو -

یہاں پر ایک بات میں عرض  
کروں گا کہ یہ صحیح ہے کہ آج  
ہندوستان کے سارے لوگ اس کے  
دکھ اور درد میں شریک ہیں -  
لیکن ہم وہ لوگ جو اس ملک کے  
اندر اقلیت میں ہیں - مائی نارپتی  
میں ہیں ہم ان فیلنگس کو جو  
آج ٹامپلس کے اندر ہیں - شری لٹا  
میں ان کے اوپر کس طرح کے حالات  
گزر رہے ہیں شاید ان کو دوسرے نہ  
فیل کریں - ہم زیادہ فیل کرتے  
ہیں - اب ہم زیادہ محسوس کرتے  
ہیں کیونکہ ہم ان حالات سے لڑتے  
رہے ہیں - ہم پی - اے - سی -  
کی بربریت کا ذکر درجہوں سرتبہ  
اس ایوان میں کر چکے ہیں -  
ہمیں معلوم ہے کہ اس طریقہ سے  
پولیس کے مظالم ہوتے ہیں - لیکن  
جب وہاں پر فوج بھی شامل ہو  
جائے اس ظلم کے اندر - فوج خود  
پارٹی بن جائے تو آپ نہیں کہہ  
سکتے کہ کس طریقہ سے یہ نسل کشی  
وہاں پر ہوئی ہوگی - اس کا اندازہ  
نہیں کیا جا سکتا - ہمارے پاس  
جو فیکٹس ہیں ... دو ہزار کی  
بات کہی جاتی ہے ... اس کے

مطابق میرا یہ کہنا ہے کہ دو ہزار  
کی فیکٹ جو بتلائی جاتی ہے اخباروں  
کے اندر یا سرکاری اعداد و شمار کے  
اندر وہ غلط ہے - دسیوں ہزار کی  
تعداد ہے جن کی نسل کشی ہوئی  
ہے - جو مارے گئے ہیں جن کا پتہ  
نہیں آج ان واقعات کو کم کر کے  
پیش کرنے کی کوشش کی جا رہی  
ہے - اور میں یہ عرض کروں کہ یہ  
بہت سوچی سمجھی پالیسی اور  
کانسپریسی کا حصہ ہے - یہ کوئی  
آج کا واقعہ نہیں ہے - ذرا ملاحظہ  
کیجئے پیچھے کی طرف جھانکیے تو  
آپ کو معلوم ہوگا کہ ۱۹۴۴ میں  
یہ سنہلی اور ناسل زبانیں جو ہیں  
ان دونوں کا درجہ ایک سا تھا اور  
ان میں کوئی فرق نہیں تھا لیکن  
۱۹۴۸ میں جب قومیتیں امتحان  
کی حیثیت سے شری لٹا ڈکلیئر ہوا  
اور آزادی کی طرف اس نے قدم  
بڑھایا تو میں عرض کروں گا کہ  
اس وقت کیا ہوا - اس وقت  
سٹیژن شپ ایکٹ آیا اور اس سٹیژن  
شپ ایکٹ میں تقریباً ایک لاکھ  
ٹامپلس کو ووٹنگ رائٹ سے نکال  
دیا گیا - محکوم کر دیا گیا - اور  
اس طریقہ سے پارلیمنٹ کے اندر جو  
ان کا ریپریزینٹیشن تھا ۲۴ پرسیینٹ  
وہ گھٹ کر ۱۶ پر پہنچ گیا - میں  
بتلاؤں کہ یہ ایک سلسلہ ہے - ۱۹۵۶  
میں شری لٹا نے سنہلی  
زبان کو سرکاری زبان کا درجہ دیا

[شری سید احمد ہاشمی]

کی پالیسی اختیار کی - لیکن اس کے بعد جو درد ناک بات ہے وہ یہ ہے کہ ۲۶ جولائی ۱۹۵۷ کو ایک ایگریمنٹ ہوا ہے تاملین لہڈر شری سلوا نایکم کے ساتھ جس میں بہت سی تاملینس کی قیامانڈس کو ایکسپریٹ کیا گیا لیکن اسکے باوجود کیا ہوا کہ یہی موجودہ پریسیڈنٹ مسٹر زمانے میں اپوزیشن میں تھے اسکے خلاف انہوں نے مارچ آرگنائز کیا اور وہاں پر فسادات کا ایک سلسلہ شروع ہو گیا - ۱۹۵۷ کی بات میں کہہ رہا ہوں - اسلئے میں نے کہا کہ آج جو ہے دردہنے کی سرکار ہے اس زمانے میں وہ اپوزیشن میں تھے اسوقت بھی انہوں نے تامل لوگوں کے حق کے لئے یا انکی قیامانڈس کی ایکسپریٹ کے خلاف مارچ آرگنائز کیا تھا اور آج وہ خود پریسیڈنٹ ہیں - تو آپ اندازہ کر سکتے ہیں کہ انکا ایتنی ثبوت کما ہوگا - اسلئے میں کہہ سکتا ہوں کہ مسٹر جو دردہنے شری لنکا کے پریسیڈنٹ کی یہ سوچی سمجھی پالیسی ہے کہ تاملینس کے خلاف پوری طریقہ سے اپنی حکومت کی مشینری کو آرگنائز کیا جائے - انکی خلاف ایکشن لیا جائے اور اسی لئے میں کہتا ہوں کہ اس جولائی کے فسادات کے اندر جو آرگنائزڈ وے میں ہوئے جنکے

اندر وہاں کی آرمی شامل ہوئی انکو اسپانسر کیا ہے جو دردہنے نے اور ..... ”اسوقت جناب وائس چیئرمین تشریف فرما ہوئے“ انکی سرکار نے ..... میں بتاؤں کہ یہی مسٹر جو دردہنے ہیں کہ جنہوں نے اندر اپنی پارٹی کی طرف سے جاناؤ کے مینی فیسٹو میں تامل پریلیم کو حل کرنے کے لئے آل پارٹیز کانفرنس بلانے کا وعدہ کیا تھا - لیکن کیا ہوا - جب انکی سرکار بنی تو انہوں نے اسکو اگدور کر دیا اور اسکو بھلا دیا - اسی لئے میں کہتا ہوں کہ یہ سوچی سمجھی بات ہے اور اسی سرکار نے ۱۹۷۹ میں صرف تامل لوگوں کے خلاف ایکشن کرنے کے لئے اور اسے موبلائز کرنے کھلئے فوج اور پولیس کے لئے ایک قانون بنایا اور غیر معمولی اختیارات حاصل کئے اور میں عرض کروں کہ مسئلہ صرف اتنا ہی نہیں ہے کہ وہاں پر تامل بولنے والے بھائی اور انسان مارے جا رہے ہیں یہ اپنی جگہ پر بہت دکھ کی بات ہے - غم اور غصے کی بات ہے کہ وہاں پر انسانیت کا خون کیا جا رہا ہے انسانیت کو برباد کیا جا رہا ہے پامال کیا جا رہا ہے - بچوں، عورتوں، بوزھوں کو بگھڑ کسی کی ڈسکریمینیشن کے مارا جا رہا ہے - ان کے تکرے تکرے کئے جا رہے ہیں یہ تو اپنی جگہ پر ہمارے لئے دکھ کی بات ہے

ہی لیکن اس کے علاوہ بھی ہمارے لئے چننا کی بات یہ ہے جو کہ قابل غور ہے ہندوستان کے لئے کہ آج سامراجیہ واکر طاقتیں - امریکن امپیریلزم - سامراجیہ وادی پالیسی والے یہ سمجھتے ہیں کہ ہندوستان جو آج نان الائن میڈت مومینٹ کا سربراہ بنا ہوا ہے اس کو ایک طاقت مل رہی ہے - آرمس ویس کے خلاف - نیو کلیر جنگ کے خلاف - وہ یہ سمجھتا ہے کہ کس طریقہ سے اس تحریک کو - اس مومینٹ کو ختم کرنے کی کوشش کی جائے اور ہندوستان کو کس طریقہ سے کھیرے میں لینا جائے - ہمیں تو لگتا ہے کہ آج شری لنکا کی گورنمنٹ امریکن سامراجیہ وادی پالیسی کا ٹول بن رہا ہے - اس لئے اس نے انڈین اوپن کے لئے انڈین اوپن کانفرنس کے سلسلے میں جو انیشیٹیو لینا چاہئے تھا وہ نہ لے کر وہ تین سال سے ٹال مٹول کر رہا ہے - آج ہم دیکھ رہے ہیں کہ شری لنکا کی گورنمنٹ ان علاقوں کو جہاں شامل اکثریت ہے - وہ ۱۹ کانسٹی ٹیونسز جہاں سے کہ ۱۸ نمائندہ شامل والوں کے ٹرنکومالی وغیرہ کا علاقہ جہاں سے وہ کامیاب ہوئے - اس ٹرنکومالی کے ہڈیگاہ کو جہاں پر آج امریکن ڈیگو گارڈیا کے اندر پانچویں فلیٹ کے اندر ہیں جو ڈیگو گارڈیا کے امریکن دیس کے اندر اس دیس پر کام کر رہے ہیں

آج ان کی آشا پوری ہوگئی ہے - آج وہ چاہتا ہے کہ امریکہ وہاں سے اپنے ایلدھن کا ذخیرہ لینے کے لئے اس کا استعمال کرے اس لئے ہم متحسوس کر رہے ہیں کہ امریکہ کی یہ خواہش ہے کہ ان علاقوں کو تاملینس سے خالی کرایا جائے - آج شری لنکا گورنمنٹ کی پوری سازش ہے کہ تاملینس کو ان علاقوں سے پوری طرح نکال دیا جائے -

میں یہ عرض کروں گا کہ یہ جو کہا جا رہا ہے وہ سوشل روپ سے کسی سازش کا سلسلہ ہے - آج یہ جو کہا جا رہا ہے کہ وہ سپرے ٹسٹ مومینٹ - علیحدگی پسند ریاست کی بات کرتے ہیں - لیکن فور کرنے کی بات یہ ہے کہ میں نے ابھی ایک مثال دی تھی کہ کن حالات میں ایسا کہا جا رہا ہے - ان کا ری پریزنٹیشن ۲۳ سے ۱۶ پر پہنچ گیا ہے - ایڈمنسٹریٹیو سروسز کے اندر جو ان کا تناسب تھا ۳۰ پوسٹل تاملینس کا وہ کر کر ۵ فیصدی ہو گیا ہے - اور مختلف دوسرے سیکشنز کے اندر ۲۰ پرسیینٹ ری پریزنٹیشن تھا وہ ۱۰ پرسیینٹ تک پہنچ گیا فوج اور پولیس میں اس کا تناسب ہے ہی نہیں - ظاہر ہے کہ انہوں نے ۱۹۶۳ کے اندر تاملینس نے ایک کانفرنس اپنی پیمانہ کے سلسلے میں کی کولمبو

[شری سید احمد ہاشمی]

کے اندر لیکن ان کو پولیس نے قسرب کر دیا۔ انہوں نے جو قیमानدس کہیں ان کو ماننا نہیں کیا اور انہوں معذور کہا اس بات کے اوپر کہ وہ اپنی اس انتہا پر پہنچیں - اور اس کے علاوہ کوئی راستہ نہیں تھا - ابھی اس وقت تک جو ایوزیشن کے لیڈر یہاں پر آئے ہوں انہوں نے خود کہا ہے کہ کوئی انتہیت ہو راستہ ہو تو اس پر غور کرنے کے لئے تیار ہیں - اس کو یہاں تک کس نے پہنچایا ظاہر ہے کہ مرنے کا نہ کرنا - اس جگہ پر جو پہلچے ہوں اسی کا یہ نتیجہ ہے کہ آج ان کی کورنگس انکی قیماندس کے اوپر انکے مطالبوں کے اوپر سنجیدگی سے کوئی غور نہیں کر رہی ہے - ہم اسکا خبر مقدم کرتے ہیں - اسکا ویلکم کرتے ہوں کہ ہمارے ملک نے اس سلسلے کے اندر ایک رول ادا کرنے کی کوشش کی - اور انکو تبدیل نامہ دینے کے اوپر لانے کی کوشش کی - میں یہ سمجھتا ہوں کہ اس سے پہلے بھی اسطریقہ کی نیگوسی ایشن ہو چکی ہوں - وہاں کے لوگوں نے کافی کوششیں کیں لیکن جے وہاں کی سرکار کہی ہو اپنے وعدہ پر قائم نہیں رہی - ابھی میں نے مثال دی کہ انہوں نے اپنے سول فیسٹو کے اندر اسکا وعدہ کیا لیکن وہ مکر گئے - اس لئے میں کہتا ہوں کہ اس طرف بھی دھیان

دکھنا ضروری ہے کہ ٹیبل نیگوسی ایشن ٹیبل نیگوسی ایشن نہیں ہونا چاہئے -

ایک بات اور عرض کرنا چاہوں گا یہ ٹھیک ہے کہ ہم کسی ملک کے معاملات میں تفریق نہیں کرتے لیکن میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ اگر انسانیت کا کہیں خون ہو رہا ہے - کہیں انسانیت کے اوپر ظلم ہو رہے ہیں تو یہ ہندوستان کی روایت رہی ہے - ہمارے ملک کا یہ تریڈیشن رہا ہے - کہ ہم نے انکے خلاف آواز اٹھائی ہے - چاہے لہذا ہو - ساؤتھ افریقہ ہو یا دوسرے ملک ہوں - اگر نہیں ایسا ظلم ہوتا ہے تو اسکے خلاف آواز اٹھائی ہے - اس لئے ہمیں اس بات کا پورا حق ہے کہ شری لنکا کے اندر تاملینس کے اوپر جو ظلم ہو رہے ہیں ہم انکے اوپر اپنے حق کا استعمال کریں - یہ ٹھیک ہے کہ ہم اپنی فوجوں کو نہ بھیجیں - آج امریکی کی پالیسی یہ ہے جسکا قول شری لنکا بن رہا ہے وہ یہ چاہتا ہے کہ کنگڈم شری - ساحل پیدا کیا جائے - وہ اس طرح کا ساحل پیدا کر رہا ہے - پچھلے دنوں خبر آئی تھی کہ شری لنکا کے بارڈر سے ہمارے بارڈروں پر فائرنگ ہوئی - ہمارے - چھپداروں کو مارا گیا - ظاہر ہے کہ اس قسم کی چھپ چھپ محض اسلئے ہو رہی

ہے کہ جذبات کے اندر بہہ جائے اور کوئی ایسا اقدام کر بیٹھے جس سے سامراجیہ وائی طاقتوں کو اس بات کا موقع ملے کہ وہ سری لنکا کے اندر جائیں۔ آج سری لنکا گورنمنٹ نے مختلف حکومتوں سے امریکہ سے پاکستان سے بلکلہ دھش سے انہوں نے مدد مانگی۔ میں اس سلسلے میں یہ کہوں گا کہ اصل مخاطب انکا امریکہ تھا۔ دوسرے ملکوں کو پاکستان کو بلکلہ دیس کو محض اس لئے شامل کیا کہ نان الائن میں جو گٹریز شامل ہیں انکے اندر آپس میں غلط فہمی پیدا کی جائے۔ آپس میں بدگمانی پیدا کی جائے۔

آخر میں ایک بات اور عرض کروں گا۔ ہم اس بات کو تھوڑے دیر کے لئے مان لیں کہ ہمارے ہاؤس کے اندر کنڈ منیشن کا ریپوزیشن نہ پاس ہو لیکن کم سے کم ہمارے ہاؤس کی سنسد کی طرف سے اتنی اپیل ہو کہ جس طریقہ کے حالات ہیں ان کو حل کرنے کے لئے بہت ہی نرمی کے ساتھ اپیل کریں۔ حل کرنے کے لئے ہماری جو بہتر خدمات ہو سکتی ہیں ان کو شامل کریں۔ ہم ان کے حل کرنے کے لئے سری لنکا گورنمنٹ سے کوشش کریں۔ ان الفاظ کے ساتھ میں یہ کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ صورتحال جو بھی ہو سری لنکا کے اندر حالات پیدا ہوئے ہیں پھر سے جو ہمارے پرانے

تعلقات ہیں۔ پرانے رلیشنس ہیں آج بھی ہم ان رلیشنس کو مصمت کے رشتوں کو قائم رکھنا چاہتے ہیں۔ ہم ان تمام واقعات کی مذمت نہیں کرتے ہیں نہ صرف جینیوسائیڈ کے اوپر بلکہ انگریزوں کی سامراجیہ طور طریقہ جو سری لنکا نے اندر پیدا ہو رہے ہیں جو وہاں پر سچویشن اراٹز ہو رہی ہے اس کے اوپر دھیان دینے کی ضرورت ہے۔

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We have already taken 5½ hours. Now I propose to call three more speakers. I would request the Members not to take more than ten minutes each so that we can call the Minister after that. Now Mr. Tiwari.

SHRI V. N. TIWARI: Mr. Deputy Chairman, the country's concern about the happenings in Sri Lanka is clear from the fact that the Prime Minister of the country made two statements, one on Friday and the other today, on Sri Lanka. You have just mentioned that for 5½ hours the debate has been going on in this House and everyone has been keen and has narrated the inhuman happenings happening at our doorstep. The sentiments of the persons nearer the tragedy have been moving one and all in this House.

7 P. M.

I am not here to sing the saga of ancient tradition of love and good neighbourly relations between India and Sri Lanka. I am not here to interfere into the internal affairs of another sovereign State. I am also not here to repeat the tragedy of murder of hundreds; rape of innocent girls in hostels; arson and loot of thousands of innocent Tamils, all of which have been mentioned by

[Shri V. N. Tiwari].

one and all in this House. But I cannot but share my fears and agony when I read in papers—to quote—“Sri Lanka appeals for pledges of military assistance from United States, Britain, Pakistan and Bangla Desh in case of foreign attacks, highly placed Government source said on August 2, 1983” and “Pakistan and Bangla Desh have responded favourably”. It may have been denied, but certainly the words of a foreign diploma are ringing in my years. He asked me: “How can India remain united?”

Efforts by super powers to create tension on our border States, whether it is my own State of Punjab or whether it is Assam and now it is the border country Sri Lanka. Terrorism, murders and then diplomatic appeals to the Western Block who are finding a chance to destabilise us. What a lie one has to listen and that too from the mouth of President Jayawardhane. To quote:

“If India by some chance decides to invade us, we will fight, maybe we lose, but with dignity.”

Are we thinking of attacking Sri Lanka when our Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, tells the people of India to use restraint and declares in Parliament that India does not want to interfere into the internal affairs of Sri Lanka, and has offered Rs. 1 crore to help the helpless Tamils in Sri Lanka? Shrimati Indira Gandhi is today not only the Prime Minister of India, but is also the President of the non-alignment movement of the world of which Ceylon is also a member. She is also one who even after helping Bangladesh had not made it part of this country. How can she think of attacking Sri Lanka? It may be the other way round. This is where I want the External Affairs Minister and his Ministry to show their concern. The Western Bloc wants to

squeeze India from all sides, whether it is north, east or now even the south. In the north we have been listening to this not for two years or three years, but for years together. Those who go to Pakistan know that it is impossible for them to forget the past and their equation with the United States is well known and their interest in this border is equally well known. This is a point which has not been focussed in this House during the last five and half hours of debate. I want to focus on it with certainty that we should be on our guard against the imperialist designs of the Western Bloc. They want to squeeze us and they want to destabilise us.

Even if I do not want to propose to interfere into the internal affairs of Sri Lanka, I as a humanist and as a poet cannot bear and condone the Public Security Ordinance under which dead bodies are buried without post mortem, in Sri Lanka. Are we going to the barbarian age in this twentieth century? Where is civilization going? How are we going to treat it as an internal matter? Are we going to treat it as an internal matter or as a matter of human concern when people are killed? At least the people must have an opportunity to know how those people have been killed, why they have been killed. But there is no justice. No justice, no vakil, no appeal and no dalil. This may be the method of autocrats, but not of democrats and not of the people who have faith in democracy, to which we are wedded and to which they are wedded. Violence is bad, Sir. But State violence is the worst which is going on in Sri Lanka. This is my second submission and I would like the External Affairs Minister to throw light on this.

Sir, Indians and Tamilians all over the world have shown concern over the shocking events in Sri Lanka. Sympathy and concern will not satisfy the sentiments and will not solve



the problems of the Tamilians. The Government must use all moral pressure and the influence of the non-aligned movement to get Tamilians their due share in Sri Lanka. I am glad that the External Affairs Minister is here now and my appeal to him is this: The Government must study all the possible strategies and tactics of the Western bloc and the army of the Sri Lanka under the influence of the imperialist interests which can threaten our country at any moment because of their jealousy towards us on account of the progress we have made under the dynamic leadership of Shrimati Indira Gandhi, which is not being tolerated by the Western block. Therefore, Sir, for me the problem of Sri Lanka is not just an internal problem of Sri Lanka, but a problem which has the dangers of a global war and a war just on the borders of India. The Government must help the Tamilians. But, at the same time, it should also be prepared for any eventuality. We would not like to consider it as a Tamilians' problem only, but surely we would face it as our own problem. One more word, Sir. The suggestion that the Tamilians from there should be brought here, made by an honourable Member, is not acceptable to me and it is because of the past experience and because of the problem of Indians and non-Indians that we are facing in certain States. We must help the Tamilians in Sri Lanka and we should see that they are settled there where they have been staying for centuries together and they should not be brought into this country. This is my submission.

Sir, I have full faith in the wisdom of our External Affairs Minister and in our leader, Shrimati Indira Gandhi. But still I urge upon them to save the Indian borders, whether it is in the South or in the North or in the East, from the Western bloc. Therefore, Sir, the Sri Lanka problem is not an internal affairs for me, but an affair which concerns India the most. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, at the outset, I

express my gratitude for the courteous opportunity given to me at the fag end of this discussion.

Sir, we have heard the voice of concern and distress, anguish and agony, indignation and resentment, disappointment and disapproval, anger and outrage, over the gruesome tragedy of the Tamils in Sri Lanka, which is one of the greatest tragedies in human history. A land which was ruled by the Tamils gloriously for thousands of years has now become crimson-red with their blood.

Sir, the atrocities of Timur, Hitler, and others have been surpassed by the latest episodes in Sri Lanka and the atrocities committed by its rulers. Sir, this is a pre-planned attempt at genocide. I can substantiate this charge by quoting President Jayewardene himself who gave an interview to Mr. Ian Ward of "The Daily Telegraph" on the 11th July 1983. In that interview, the President, Mr. Jayewardene, whose prime concern was to protect all the communities, said: "I am not worried about the Jaffna Tamil people. Now we cannot think of them, nor about their lives nor about their opinions about the Sinhalese." This was his statement and this statement was made by him even before the trouble started there on the 23rd July 1983. Now, our Tamils have lost all their properties. Fifty billion dollars worth of property has been looted and destroyed. Millionnaires have been made beggars and put in refugee camps. No more property is left there for further looting and burning. Sir, so many people have been killed and massacred. Mothers and babies were killed. They were thrown into the flames. Sir, the Tamil women, our sisters, who cherish chastity and modesty greater than their lives, were tortured, molested and raped, by the armed forces, by the police, hoodlums, ruffians, before the very eyes of their fathers, before the very eyes of the husbands, before the very eyes of their brothers. They were raped. Some boys who reached the seashore, when we were conducting our

[Shri V. Gopalsamy]

District Convention at Ramanathapuram, were crying and they described the crimes committed before their eyes perpetrated on the Tamils there, and how.....(Interruptions).

AN HON. MEMBER: Shame, shame.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Sir, is it an internal matter? The anguished voices of the Tamilians, the anguished voices of the thousands, and thousands of the slaughtered, the corpses, should reach all the capitals of the world, the whole humanity, for succour and help at this grief and hour of distress and enslavement.—these black deeds of human rights, police and military brutality, master-minded by the Government itself. Sir, our Government has shouted from the housetops over the Lebanese killings, over the inhuman tragedy in Vietnam; it has raised our strong protest against oppression in Mozambique and Angola. We supported the liberation movement of PLO and of Rhodesia and South Africa. We have been opposed to the racist policy of apartheid in South Africa. Now can you remain indifferent when people related to us by religion, language and heritage are killed? Of course, I welcome the Prime Minister's statement to the extent that she has condemned the crime of genocide. But our duty does not end there. If this is a crime of genocide, why has this Parliament not passed a Resolution? That was the pertinent question put forth by my colleague here, if it is a crime of genocide then why the Government has not taken up the issue to the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations? Is it not the duty of the Government to raise this issue in the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations? I would like to quote a towering personality of the Parliament, a great parliamentarian, Shri Bhupesh Gupta. Had he been alive today, he would have thundered now. I quote

from his speech on the 29th March, 1971. Shri Bhupesh says:

"I say it is a case of genocide. Let it be very very clear. It is not a law and order problem and it is not a problem that should be viewed from that angle. Here is a whole population in a mighty upheaval and upsurge the like of which we have rarely seen, which is sought to be drown in blood by the power of metal, gun, weapons, and so on. If that is not genocide, I should like to know whether history carries any example of genocide. Therefore, it should be treated as such. Once you treat it as genocide, we are entitled, according to international law, according to the norms and usage of the international community, to raise our voice of protest and also agitate the international public opinion that this genocide be put a stop to, that this murder in the name of dealing with an internal situation be put a stop to. Every genocide in history has taken place in the name of internal situation being dealt with. Therefore, I think Government should be very clear in their mind."

If this is a case of genocide, then you cannot say that this is an internal matter. It will be very proper if I quote her speech in the Lok Sabha of 26th May, 1971.

"The question of secession is also raised. If I may say so, this is a distortion of facts. This cannot be considered merely as 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. It is a problem created by calculated genocide that is resulting not only in the muscles of tens of thousands of men, women and children but also forcing many more to seek refuge and shelter in India. I have no doubt that the spirit of man and the spirit of freedom cannot be vanquished."

Is it not a duty of the Government to create international opinion? What steps are you going to take in this regard? During those days, our Ambassadors were sent through the world. Our Prime Minister visited all the capitals of the world. Is it not the duty of the Government to create international opinion to condemn this crime of genocide? Sir, I was surprised and shocked when we heard Mr. Bhattacharya equating the question of Khalistan and separate Tamil Eelam. Here, it is not a question of secession. This is a question of freedom. They are fighting for their homeland; traditional homeland because they have been treated like slaves; a subject race. If any part of this country is treated like that, if any country is treated like that, if any citizen of any State is treated like that, then whatever law you may have they will revolt. But that is not the situation here.

We have suggested certain measures in the statement. A federal framework. Will a federal framework. No. As Mr. Masan said all the pacts agreed to by Mr. Sainanaik and Mr. Bandaranaike and assurance given by Mr. Jayewardene were thrown into the dustbin; Now can Mr. Amrithalingam or whom I have got the greatest respect, could go and say "Here is the assurance of Jayewardene; So we give up the demand for a separate Tamil Eelam? Can he go and say that? They have got the mandate from the people; He cannot say so. You stated about the negotiating table. Can they go to the negotiating table unless the Sixth Amendment is repealed? Can they go to the negotiating table unless the Prevention of Terrorism Act is repealed. Can they go to the negotiating table unless the Public Security Ordinance is repealed. They cannot go to the negotiating table. Then, what steps are we going to take to create an atmosphere. They have been pushed to the wall. They are fighting for Tamil Eelam. Sir, having the same religion, people in East Pakistan were not able to live under one umbrella.

They had to have their own country. It is meaningless to say that this is a kind of secession. No. This is a freedom movement. Sir, even our colleague says that we cannot condone terrorists. Are they terrorists? No. They are freedom fighters. They are heroes who dedicated their lives for the cause. They are martyrs. If you say that he is a terrorist, then as Mr. Maran says, Bhagat Singh is a terrorist, Deshpande is a terrorist, Veer Savarkar is a terrorist, Rash Behari Ghosh is a terrorist, Subhash Chandra Bose is a terrorist. The patriots of today were the terrorists of those days. Sir, there is no instance in Sri Lanka where militant youth killed or injured a single Sinhalese civilian. There is no instance where these militant youth outraged the modesty of any single Sinhalese woman. There is no instance where the militant youth raped any single Sinhalese woman because they come from such culture and heritage where they worship womanhood, they worship women. But, on every occasion, innocent people were killed by the Sinhalese. On every occasion, women were raped. So....

श्री कल्याण राय : वस, वस ।

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: What bus? What are you talking? You cannot understand our feeling. My blood is boiling. You cannot simply laugh at this. You know they are the blood of our blood, they are the flesh of our flesh; they are the soul of our soul. This is not for msking a speech. I know that only a thin attendance is here. But my sentiments should go and get recorded in the Parliament. That is why I am speaking. Our fiery speeches will not ward off the bullets there. Our fiery speeches will not ward off the army which is readily there to crush our people, the so-called terrorists but who are the real patriots. Sir, I have got reliable information from a lawyer, Mr. Karikalan who is now in Delhi—who defended the case of Kuttimani Jagan and Thangadurai. He says that

[Shri V. Gopalsamy]

they have been respected by their co-prisoners in the Sinhalese prison because whenever the Sinhalese prisoners were ill-treated, they protested. And these heroes have requested their Counsel to help some of the families of the prisoners. So, it is a cock and bull story to say that the prisoners entered the detenus block. How could they carry axes, spears and weapons? So, the Army marched in. The Army marched in and they were killed. But these people have shed their blood not in vain, not to embrace again the shackles of slavery. They have laid down their lives for the separate Tamil Eelam. Their names will ever be remembered by the Tamils there. Their names will go down the history of Tamils. And so the sordid saga can never be obliterated from the minds of the Tamils. Sir, here are the photographs of those boys—Thangadorai, Jagan and Kuttimani—with sparkling eyes even in chains. Even when they were being marched by the Army, they were smiling. Sir, these valiant martyrs have laid down their lives. There will be thousands of Kuttimanis, thousands of Jagans, thousands of Thangadorais. Then there will be a separate Tamil Eelam. They are going to see it, even we help it or not. We are going to have an Embassy of Tamil Eelam in our country in Delhi. This is going to happen if I live for a long time. That is going to happen. Sir, here is a journal which is always pro-Congress, pro Nehrus, pro-Madam Gandhi. This is a Congress Weekly. This is started by Mr. Vasani, the Gandhian. See, this is the sentiment, and how it has been picturised. "The Tamil blood is flowing into the ocean and the Mother India is shedding tears of blood. Could you sit idle without sending the troops?" Sir, I tell you that India's intervention is the only silver-lining at present in an otherwise dark horizon. So, you frustrate the nefarious game of Jayewardene. I would request the Government to send the Forces, as suggested by my colleagues,

not to conquer the island but to protect the lives. To protect the lives, send the Forces, and also you prepare the climate in the international forum. Create an international opinion. The uneasy calm now is a calm before the storm, as has been warned by Mr. Amirthalingam. Any time it could explode and thousands could be killed. We cannot remain idle spectators in that case. If there is no ocean, thousands would have flocked there rather, thousands would have marched into the land from Tamil Nadu if there is no ocean. Even if the Indian Army is not prepared to a march on, people will march on from Tamil Nadu into Sri Lanka. They cannot remain idle spectators. This is the real situation. Since you have admitted that this is a crime of genocide, you take it up with the Human Rights Commission and create the atmosphere for a negotiating table. If not, then you must prepare for every action to protect the Tamilians. Otherwise, we also will lose hope in this system. We are sisters, we are brothers, as stated by our hon. Prime Minister. Therefore, we seek the intervention of India. With these words, I conclude.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes, Mr. Ganeshan, please be brief now. Do not repeat the whole thing.

SHRI HAREKRUSHNA MALLICK: Sir, this being the last item on the agenda today and there are only a few Members....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We will see that later. Only six hours were allotted to this item. Yes, Mr. Ganeshan.

SHRI L. GANESAN (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, at the very outset, I should thank you, for the other day when I met you, as soon as the fact was over, you have been very courteous enough to inform us that we could make a statement in connection with our fast. We did not avail of the offer then but now I take

this opportunity to thank all the Members of the House who have expressed their concern through the Leader of this House, Mr. Pranab Kumar Mukherjee, and myself and Mr. Gopalsamy must thank all the Leaders of the Opposition Parties who had been there, who have expressed their concern for us and expressed their solidarity behind us. Sir, I do not want to go into the details since they have been narrated elaborately. I just want to go straight to the subject. When our Prime Minister made her first statement here the other day, it was said that almost everybody except Mr. Gopalsamy and myself welcomed it, appreciated it, applauded it, but we were not so happy as others were. Why is it so? I just want to pose this question. Is it because of our emotional involvement in the problem than the emotional involvement of others? Of course, our emotional involvement is more. No doubt about it. But that is not the case. That is not the reason why we were not so very happy over the statement of the hon. Prime Minister. Then, why we were not so very happy? The Prime Minister stated in her statement that Jayewardene has promised to do this, has assured to do that. Sir, who is Jayewardene? He is a liar, greater than the greatest of liars, Goebbels. He is a murderous maniac, genocidal monster. Before him Hitler pales into insignificance, when compared with murderous maniac Jayewardene. He will think one thing, tell another thing and do yet another thing. How does our beloved Prime Minister believe such a person that he will keep up his promise? He had made thousands of promises to the leaders of Tamilians in Ceylon and broken one thousands and one promises. Sir, whether it is Kothawala or Bandarnaike or Jayewardene or Senanayake, they are all the same people; they are all of the same stock. There is no difference.

To be very brief, Sir, before Independence in 1944 Jayewardene moved a resolution in the State Council to make Sinhalese language as an official

language of Sri Lanka. Nallaiya gave an amendment that both Sinhalese and Tamil should be made official languages. The amendment was adopted, Sir, before independence, some four years before independence. Independence was won on the understanding that both the languages will be made official languages. Once again, in 1954, the then Prime Minister, Mr. Kothawale gave the assurance that both the languages will be accorded equal status and both will be made official languages. But what happened then? President Jayewardene was the person who agitated. The result was that in 1956, Sinhalese Language Act was passed, that is, Sinhala language alone was made the official language by the Act of 1956. Tamilians demonstrated. So, in 1957, Prime Minister Bandaranaike entered into agreement with Selvanayagam, the great leader of Tamils. But the 1957 Act was thrown in the dust-bin. Once again in 1965, another Prime Minister, Sainanaike and Jayewardene the monster, entered into an agreement with Selva to safeguard certain rights of Tamil. In 1964, regulations were made in Parliament for that purpose but those regulations were never implemented at all. Not only the regulations were not implemented, but also they were given a ceremonial burial in 1970-71. In 1957 Bandarnaike and Selvanayagam signed an agreement. We all understand, the talks between our beloved Prime Minister and Mr. Jayewardene, were only telephonic talks. So many agreements, written agreements, signed agreement have been thrown into the dust-bin. In 1957, Bandarnaike and Selva signed an agreement "and it was agreed that in the matter of colonisation scheme the powers of the regional council, shall include the power to select the allottees to whom the lands within the area of the authority, shall be alienated and also power to select personnel to be employed for working such schemes." In 1957, Bandaranaike made a statement in which he stressed that "the instrument of colonisation should not be used to convert northern and eastern provinces into Sinhalese majority areas in any other manner, to the detriment

(Shri L. Ganesan)

of Tamil speaking people of these areas." In 1965, an agreement was made between Selva and Senanaik and Jayewardene in which the terms of agreement of 1957 were confirmed and affirmed. "Mr. Senanaik further agreed that in granting of land under colonisation schemes, the following conditions be observed in the northern and eastern provinces:

(a) Land in northern and eastern provinces should in the first instance be granted to landless persons in the district;

(b) Secondly, to Tamil speaking persons residing in northern and eastern provinces; and

(c) Thirdly to other citizens of Ceylon, preference being given to Tamil citizens in the rest of the island."

Sir, this is the agreement signed by Selva and Dudley Senanaik in 1965 regarding colonisation, and this agreement was thrown to the winds. And that is the major cause for this situation about Tamils in Ceylon even in those areas where the Tamils were in a majority. Senanaik or Bandaranaike, this Naik or that Naik, they have all very methodically and systematically settled the Sinhalese in those Tamil majority areas so that Tamils become a minority people. And that too they are doing after having entered into written agreements. And our beloved Prime Minister has said in the House that: "Jayewardene has told me that normalcy is returning fast." I am not using her exact words, and I would quote from her statement: "Mr. Jayewardene told us that the situation in Sri Lanka is fast returning to normal." Sir, the very same news is published in the English Daily, The Times of India, on the same day on which our Prime Minister's statement was published that is, on 13th August 1983. The news item says:

Tamils flocking to Foreign Missions: Colombo, August 12 (UNI

"Srilankan Tamils in large numbers are knocking at the doors of foreign missions here swamped by visa-seekers in the wake of try."

The Indian High Commission was swamped by visa-seekers in the wake of the disturbances. Apart from stateless people of Indian origin a large number of Sri Lankan Tamils also approached the Indian Mission. Some of them mentioned danger to their lives as the reason for wanting to go to India. One applicant pleaded that he was not able to give photograph with the application as he dared not go to the studio to have a picture taken. The High Commission, rising to the occasion, relaxed the normal rules to help the people in distress and issued as many as 2,000 visas in a five-day period. The number of refugees wishing to go to India is not known. But it is likely to run into tens of thousands. The ethnic holocaust had so terrified the Tamils that the injured among them did not feel secure in hospitals. All Tamil patients in the city's main hospital were, therefore, removed to the refugee camps for their safety. Tamil doctors and nurses who had sought refuge in the camps, looked after them there.

This is the normalcy which is coming back. It is said, slowly and gradually, normalcy is returning back. But is it so? (*Time bell rings*) Sir, I would require some more time. This is because the valiant section of the Tamils who could resist the brutalities and the barbaric acts of the Sinhalese have been murdered or they have been sent out. Therefore, if at all there are any Tamils they are widows, they are children, they are women and, therefore, they will not be able to resist. That is why, normalcy is coming back. This is only after suppression, complete murder, complete massacre and after complete genocide. Is this normalcy? No. It is at all normalcy.

Sir, for lack of time, I want to be brief. The Tamils in Sri Lanka are in

a state of continuous terror and horror, in a state of uninterrupted insecurity and unsafety, ever since Independence in 1948 until now. Lot of time will be required to narrate all the facts. For want of time, I wish to be as brief as possible.

In 1948, the Citizenship Act was passed which rendered 9,75,000 plantation labourers stateless. They were taken from India as indentured labour and settled in Ceylon during the British rule. They have made Ceylon fertile and flourishing by their sweat and blood.

In 1949, the Indian and the Pakistani Residents' Act was passed which disenfranchised them. By this Act, Tamil representation in Parliament was reduced. Both these Acts made the 9,75,000 plantation workers Stateless and voteless.

In 1956, the Sinhala Only Act was passed which deprived the language rights of Tamils. The Tamils carried on peaceful demonstrations to establish their democratic rights. In 1957, Prime Minister Bandaranaike entered into an agreement with Tamil leader, Selvanayagam. But in 1958, the agreement was thrown into the winds. When the disappointed and disillusioned Tamils agitated, the Government instigated communal riots which took hundreds of lives of Tamils. Inhuman atrocities were committed. In 1961, the Tamils started peaceful Satyagraha. The infuriated Sinhalese indulged in orgy, violence and vandalism.

In 1972, a new Constitution was promulgated which eliminated even the minimal rights of the Tamils enshrined in the previous Constitution. In 1973, the Government imposed the Standardisation Scheme which further infringed the rights of Tamils in admission to colleges. In 1974, the World Tamil Conference was conducted in Jaffna. Such conferences were held in Kolalampur in 1966, in Madras in 1968, in Paris in 1970 and in Madurai in 1981. When the conference was in

progress, on 10th January, 1974,—there were 50,000 spectators,—the Sinhalese Police made a premeditated brutal attack on them. Nine persons were killed and several persons were mutilated and several persons were grievously hurt. In 1977, once again, communal riot was abetted by Mr. Jayewardene. According to Government reports, 300 people were killed and several thousand people were rendered homeless.

In 1978, a new enactment was made prescribing Tamil Liberation Movement. Several youth were arrested tortured and kept in solitary confinement, in army and navy camps. In 1979, the Government declared Emergency regulations in Jaffna. It also imposed the Prevention of Terrorism Act. Under the Act, people could be arrested and kept in police custody for 72 hours and kept in detention for 18 months without any enquiry or any trial. Armed forces are empowered to extract confession from the arrested and to use them against the arrested in courts of law. Six were tortured and murdered among the arrested youth. They are: Viswajothirathnam alias Inbam, Saravanamuthu Selvarathnam, T. R. Balendra, Sellathurai Rajeswaran alias Radha, Sellathurai Parameswaran and Ayydurai indraja In district council elections....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please conclude, everything is known.

SHRI L. GANESAN: All this I am narrating to impress upon the hon. House how year after year brutalities were committed, and now I come to the role of our own Government. I should have come to this earlier because this is much more important.

Coming to the role played by the Government of India, so many things ought to have been done. On the one hand the Tamilians are tortured, butchered, massacred, plundered, they are crying for help from the Government of India for the simple reason that we are brothers, we are sisters, we are of the same race, we are of the same lin-

[Shri L. Ganesan].

guistic group, we are one and the same. India and Ceylon had been one and the same. As a matter of fact, many people have confused that people from Tamil Nadu had gone and settled there. That is not the case. Originally, the Tamilians lived in Ceylon and also in Tamil Nadu. There was no difference between the two places. Now our forefathers might have migrated from Ceylon to Tamil Nadu or they might have gone from Tamil Nadu to Ceylon. So, the whole thing is confused. Now they are crying for help, and what is the role of the Government of India? I am pained to mention about the 1948 Citizenship Act, the 1949 Indian and Pakistani Residents Act and the 1964 Agreement when several lakhs of people were made stateless. At that time Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was the Prime Minister. I have the greatest regard for him. Of all the Indian politicians, irrespective of any amount of difference of opinion, I have got the greatest regard for him, he was the beloved Prime Minister then. He did not raise his voice. If he had raised his voice for giving citizenship to them, the problem would have been solved, but Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, for whom we have so much regard, to whom we are indebted so much, did not raise his voice, and now not only we have been let down but so many atrocities are also being committed on innocent people. You were blind at that time, you did not hear, and in 1964 Agreement it was the real sell-out. In 1964 Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri and Bandarnaike entered into an agreement to take back our citizens. It was a sell-out.....

*Time bell rings*). Just a few minutes more.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I think everything has been said.

SHRI L. GANESAN: Just two more minutes please. I am concluding, this is more important. Whenever there is some atrocity or injustice committed elsewhere, in far off countries, in South Africa or Uganda or the U.K. or Canada or any other place, our Prime Mi-

nisters' hearts melt immediately, but the tears that are rolling from the eyes of the several women in Sri Lanka are not able to melt the heart of our present Prime Minister. I do not know why this partiality is there. I am very proud to say that I do belong to a different school of thought, the Dravidian school of thought. With any amount of pride I declare that I belong to the DMK Party. At that time my beloved Anna, while he was alive, demanded separation, but when China made aggression on India, immediately he left the demand. He has said openly, when there is a house, then only we can talk about changing the roof and when there is a danger to the very house, we cannot be talking of changing the roof. Therefore, when there is a nation, we can decide who will be ruling the country, but when the nation is in danger we cannot be talking of who would rule the country. Once again when Pakistan made an aggression on India, when the leaders of other parties were talking about Tamil nationalism, about Indian nationalism, about internationalism, they were talking of stipulating conditions for giving support to Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, my beloved leader Anna was alive at that time, and, though of short stature, stood up and said that this was a danger for the whole nation and, therefore, he declared to give unconditional support to Shri Lal Shastri, till the naked aggression was over. Not only that he declared that, till the danger was over, he would not have any agritational politics in Tamil Nadu. On behalf of DMK, he declared that when there was the Bangladesh war, our beloved leader, Shri Karumanidhi, who was then the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, contributed Rs. 6 crores for the war fund. And U.P., which is the home State of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, our beloved Prime Minister and which is twice as big as Tamil Nadu, did not contribute so much for the war fund. So if any part was attacked, whether it was in the north or in north-east north-west, we rose to the occasion and we gave up our demand. We have said:



"We are Indians" and we have contributed every thing for you. But where are you when my brothers and sisters are killed, tortured and butchered? You don't rise to the occasion. Are you treating us as Indians, or are you treating us as second-rate citizens? Are you going to treat us as Indians, we the 5 crore Tamils in India? Whatever may be the differences of opinion between us, we are Indians first and foremost. On behalf of these 5 crore Indians, I ask the Government whether you are going to accept the Tamils in Tamil Nadu as Indians or not?

Many of our friends do not understand why we are so emotional. We are emotional because they are our own brothers and sisters. Still we have got marital alliances; still we are maintaining our relationship. Coming to the last point, our friend, the prime mover of the discussion, Mr. Ramakrishnan, had given some Sanskrit quotation. I have my own quotation. The greatest saint Tamil Nadu has ever produced, Thiruvalluvar, has said, which means first diagnose the disease, then discover the root cause of the disease and then decide the course of treatment, and then seek treatment accordingly. Therefore, you must first understand what is the root cause of the disease, what exactly is the disease in Ceylon? To do or not to do; to be or not to be. This is the question before the Tamils in Sri Lanka. They have decided that they cannot get along. They have tried their level best to be in Sri Lanka. But having been cheated, having been butchered, having been treated as slaves, they have a feeling that they cannot get along with the Sinhalese in one and the same nation. That is how Eelam has come into existence.

This is nothing but a historical inevitability. This inevitability, our beloved Prime Minister and the two Ministers of the Government of India must recognise. This seems but inevitable. Therefore, in the name of 5 crore Tamils in Tamil Nadu and 9 cores all over the world, I pray and appeal to

the Government of India to recognise Eelam. There is no other way and there is no other go. At least this is your security problem. You have a headache in the north, in the north-east and in the north-west. At least south is very safe. If you are going to miss the bus, tomorrow you will be very much handicapped. In the head you are having headache. In the feet—i.e. Sri Lanka—at least for the sake of 65 crores of Indians, I appeal to you to please see this. Trincomalee has already been bartered away; an American base has been formed there. Tomorrow this will happen to you. At least, for the sake of the country as a whole, for the sake of 65 crore Indians, inclusive of 5 crore Tamils—whether you treat us as Indians or not, it is immaterial, but we call ourselves as Indians—I appeal to you to please take necessary steps. And what steps are necessary? I know Mrs. Gandhi is the shrewdest politician. If she decides, the next moment it will be done. All that is required is quick decision on her part. If this is done, tomorrow every thing will be solved. And one more minute, Sir. The two great Ministers are much more responsible. I have great grievance against the External Affairs Minister and also a great grievance against our Defence Minister, Shri Venkataraman. Both of you should help us. If you had persuaded our beloved Prime Minister, in a single day, you would have been successful. Why are you keeping mum? Perhaps you might be doing it. But I request you, in the name of Tamilians, to see that we are protected from this.

With these remarks, I conclude.

SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN: Once again.....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We have discussed it for more than six hours and every party has spoken.

SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN: While everybody has shown his due concern, is it not a matter for introspection that we here in this Council of States

[Shri R. Ramakrishnan]

for such an important debate are only 16 Members? According to article 103 of the Constitution, there is not even a quorum. I am not challenging it. But it shows the state of our interest in this matter.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Most of the people have gone.

SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN: It is a matter over which the Prime Minister and the whole House should be concerned. (*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We have been discussing it for more than six hours. There is no idea left and all parties have participated in it. I am not going to extend the time. Please take your seat.

SHRI HAREKRUSHNA MALLICK: When three Members have been debarred from speaking, I am walking out in protest. (*Interruptions*) I am sorry to tell you. I do not accept it. I am walking out.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: All right. Walk out. Don't take time. You may say 'I am walking out' and walk out.

SHRI HAREKRUSHNA MALLICK: If this is the attitude, it shows a very strange thing. (*Interruptions*) It is very strange that you are not allowing.....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am not allowing anybody to speak. Mr. Mallick will not go on record. Only the Minister will go on record (*Interruptions*)

SHRI HAREKRUSHNA MALLICK:\*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I will not allow it.

SHRI HAREKRUSHNA MALLICK:\*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: This way I cannot give you time. The House may go on sitting, but it will not go on record.

SHRI HAREKRUSHNA MALLICK:\*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: This will not go on record.

SHRI HAREKRUSHNA MALLICK:\*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please take your seat. (*Interruptions*) That shows your interest in the matter.

SHRI HAREKRUSHNA MALLICK:\*

At this stage, the hon. Member ..left the Chamber)

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO: Sir, I am grateful to the 20 hon. Members who have participated in this debate and given us their views, the benefit of their views. There have been several levels of emotion, but I am glad to say that the objective has been the same, the trend has been the same, the spirit has been the same. The Prime Minister, while making her statement, brief but pointed, put the whole thing in the correct perspective when she said that what we say or do should have only one criterion, one consideration, in view, viz., whether it is going to be helpful or harmful to our Tamil brethren in Sri Lanka.

It appears that each one of us has his own idea of what is going to be helpful to the Tamil brethren of Sri Lanka. I am sure no one wants to harm them. But we have different ideas of what is going to help them. So, when we have adopted different tones, probably, it is the result of the difference in what we think is going to be useful to them but not any difference in regard to our spirit in helping them. So, I take it that the difference lies in this. We think that res-train is going to be helpful to them, we

want a practical approach, an approach in which we get the Government of Sri Lanka, the President of Sri Lanka and the leaders of the Tamil community together to sort out these difference to go once again into this question of broken promises, admittedly broken promises, to see if by the use of our good offices there is going to be any difference at all. This is the trial we are going to give the process. We think this is going to be useful for the whole of Sri Lanka, for this region, for India in many respects. This is going to be the direction in which one has to try. This is our approach. There is another approach which says, "Well, nothing will work. So has take the extreme posture."

This difference is some thing one to recognise. So, I have no quarrel with any tone or any content of any speech made here. I only say, we have gone on record, some people have gone on record, but we just cannot stop after going on record. We have to try to find a solution. Now, when President Jayewardene has welcomed the good offices offer made by our Prime Minister, that casts a responsibility on the Prime Minister. The irresistible logic of that acceptance or welcoming on the part of President Jayewardene is that this additional responsibility has to be shouldered by her and she will have to shoulder it according to her lights, according to what is good for the whole country. Therefore, the statement which she has made, the operative portion of the statement which says that she has adopted a particular course of action hereafter, that she has placed before the House on behalf of the 68 crore persons of India including the 5 crores of Tamil Nadu, let me make it very clear.

So, this is in the larger interest of the nation, larger interest of the country. We do not want any complication from anywhere because we are friendly countries, we have been friendly, we have had very long

standing relations, and we would like to continue this friendship if we can help it because it is only in a spirit of friendship that this can be solved: it cannot be solved in a spirit of confrontation, according to us, according to the Government. Therefore, instead of going into what happened in the past, we have to look ahead.

What happened in the past is admittedly something which should not have happened. Otherwise, we would not have come to this pass. That is admitted. There is no one who says that what has been done in the past was right. In fact, the Sinhalese leaders, the leaders of the Sri Lankan Government themselves, said that in the past promises were broken, as a result of which this situation had arisen. So, it is something like a consent decree. There is nothing more to be said about it. We have to look ahead and see what can be done. This is the spirit in which the Prime Minister has approached the problem. She has made a statement, after which no further statement is possible because she has already adopted a course of action. Now we have to see

how that course of action is 8 P.M. actually carried out. We are in the process of carrying it out. So

I would not like to anticipate anything that might happen once we put that into action. I am not fully aware of what the next step is going to be because that we will have to consider. Mr. Amirthalingam came here. He met her twice. He met me twice. He met all of us. We had a very very useful discussion and at the end of the discussion, at least I feel satisfied that he is satisfied with our discussions. His satisfaction is important to us. This is what I told some leaders of Sri Lanka also. Some of them were telling me that Mr. Amirthalingam's party has become weak and, therefore, they cannot deliver the goods. I asked them: "If he cannot deliver the goods, which other party can deliver the goods on behalf of the Tamils of Sri Lanka?"

[Shri P. V. Narasimha Rao]

Please tell me. I would go to them and talk to them." Then they had no answer." So I told them: "My dear friends, let us not gloat over Mr. Amirthalingam's party becoming weak. If that party becomes weak, the prospect of a settlement becomes weak. Therefore, let us do something to strengthen him. Let us do something to see that he is able to deliver the goods. I do not know how weak he has become or his party has become. But even if what you say is correct, I would say, this is no time to gloat over it." This is how the Government of Sri Lanka also have an opportunity now. We have provided them an opportunity, a fresh opportunity. The TULF had already decided not to have any more parleys. Now we have brought about a situation wherein Mr. Amirthalingam feels that there is a qualitative change. Therefore, there is the possibility of parleys again re-starting. Now we do not know how they are going to re-start because we do not have the the scenario fully worked out. But our good offices will be available for re-starting the parleys and seeing to it that these parleys now have a better chance to succeed, a better chance to result in something concrete, which is to the satisfaction of all concerned. So it is another opportunity, yet another opportunity which the Prime Minister's good offices will be able to provide in the situation. We are not going to guarantee results, but we are going only to try our best and we hope, after taking to Mr. Amirthalingam, that the chances of success, even according to him, are not so bleak that he would prefer not to start at all. He would like to start, he would like to give a full trial, he would like to go ahead with this. Therefore, at this stage, it is no good for anyone to speculate about what is going to happen in the future. Let us try step by step. You have heard the Prime Minister's statements. Two statements have come. The second one goes beyond the first. There are operative portions there.

Her views are expressed, her approaches very clearly indicated. Now the point is whether we should really give all this process a chance to succeed, a chance to go ahead. I would appeal to the Members that this chance is to be given because it is in the interest of one and all, both countries, both peoples, particularly the Tamil community in Sri Lanka whose rights have to be given to them. They have suffered already so much that we should not do or say anything which exposes them to further suffering. So would only say that at this stage, the Prime Minister's statement which she has just made is the beginning, is the next starting point of what is going to happen tomorrow. We have gone on record. What has happened in the past has come into the record. But that is only for the record, as far as I can see. For action, for what is to happen hereafter, the Prime Minister's statement is to be taken as the starting point.

There are many other things which were raised in regard to properties, what is to happen to them, whether they are going to be expropriated, whether they are going to vest in the Government for all time, and so on. We have answers but the answers are not very clear. I have a copy of the regulation here. I have studied it. Not that we are going to discuss the legislation or the law of another country. But since we are all interested, the Tamils are interested in it and they are going to be the losers or the gainers, as the case may be, I have tried to make a study of the vesting; there is also a provision for divesting. Now, this is something which has not been brought to the notice of the House. There is a provision for vesting of these properties in the Government of Sri Lanka. Later on, there is also a provision that whenever the Government feels, the Government can divest this property, the ownership or the title of this, and give it back to the person to whom it belongs. Once it is divested, it also says that the *status quo ante*

will revert. Therefore, both provisions are there. So far as the laws is concerned, the provisions are there. But much will depend on how it is worked, how it is implemented. So, one has to see, one has to wait and see how it is implemented. It is not proper in my view to pass a judgment in advance on this law. There may be flaws here and there. They will perhaps be set right. But the law as it is, the regulation as it stands, has both the provisions. Let us see how it is actually going to be implemented.

In regard to the assistance that we were sending, the Red Cross has been involved in it. We are getting regular reports from the Red Cross and the reports show that we have sent a lot of material already, about 150 tonnes; more can go. Now it can go to Jaffna because clearance has been given for flights to Jaffna also. So there would be no difficulty on that. We would like to know how much more is wanted from time to time, because although the number of refugees in the camps has come down appreciably—from 80,000 it has now come down, I am told, to a very small figure, comparatively small figure, of 13,000 or 14,000—that does not mean that all of them have been taken care of. They are not in the camps, but wherever they are, they need to be taken care of. They may be in their homes, or on the way to their homes; where there are no homes, they have to be rebuilt. Maybe, they are living with friends and relations or somebody. But they need to be taken care of. And the number of persons who need to be taken care of has not been reduced. So, all these things have to be taken care of, have to be calculated and we are prepared to send more, more assistance, more food, if necessary.

There is an unprecedented rush on the High Commission. I think the honourable Member who spoke last referred to this. It is a fact; there is an unprecedented rush on the High Commission to let them come back to

India. Those who have no business here, those who have nothing to do in India, those who are Sri Lankan citizens or have recently been given citizenship; even those people want to come to India. Now, what does that mean? That means that conditions of security have not fully returned there. This is what I said in the other House. It is nobody's claim that normalcy has come. What one can see is that the worst is over, and if there is no recrudescence, we will be on the way to normalcy. This is the correct picture. They may want to come to India today, but after three days they may say, 'okay' we will stay back. That is the position in which people find themselves. There was panic. When I went there, one or two days before that, there was much more panic.

Then it came down and it has tapered to some extent. Therefore, it is a revolving situation. Let us see. Meanwhile we are taking certain steps. The Prime Minister has outlined a course of action. If that course of action succeeds, to the extent it succeeds normalcy also will return. It is something interlinked. We cannot wait for normalcy to return before we talk of the solution. Solution also will have to be thought of. We have to be ready with several alternatives and several procedures. How do you bring them to the conference table? Where should it be? There are so many hurdles and obstacles even for coming to the conference table. That is where the good offices of India and the good offices of the Prime Minister come in. Therefore, I would only say: Let us wait and see. Not that we are waiting without doing anything. We have already outlined the next step. Let us hope that this will lead to another step and finally to a permanent settlement which is acceptable to all. Thank you.