

[Shrimati Vyjayanthimala Bali]

great danger because these foreign films are full of sex and violence. Cheap soft-porn films like 'The Lonely Lady', 'Daughter of the Jungle', 'Night Games', 'Loaded Guns' and so on have been running in cities' theatres with packed houses. These films not only spoil the very fabric of morality and character of people, but also poison the minds of the younger generation.

Sir, it is most unfortunate that the Censor Board certifies such films with the sole object of earning foreign exchange without realising the irreparable damage caused to the younger generation in the country. I would therefore, request the Government to take immediate steps to stop giving certificates to such films for screening in the theatres, as also withdraw from the country these indecent and sexy, porno films.

[English]

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: We now take up the next item.

(Interruptions)

PROF. P.J. KURIEN (Idukki): A reply has to be given.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: What is there? If you want to raise you give a statement under Rule 377.

PROF. P.J. KURIEN: Under Rule 377 there is no reply. Therefore, I would request you to direct the Government to give a reply to this.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: They will give it. You do not worry.

PROF. P.J. KURIEN: This is very important.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Everything is important to us. Not only this. Everything is equally important. Why can you not make a statement?

PFOR. P.J. KURIEN: That is according to the ballot.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You can try your luck once again.

SHRI BHAGWAT JHA AZAD (Bhagalpur): If not all films, mid-night films should be withdrawn.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: We will go to the next item.

Secretly the other will see them, that is the problem.

(Interruptions)

DISCUSSION RE INDO-SRI LANKA AGREEMENT TO ESTABLISH PEACE AND NORMALCY IN SRI LANKA- *CONTD.*

12.32 hrs.

[English]

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: We will now continue further discussion on the statement made by the Prime Minister in the House on 30th July, 1987 regarding the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement to establish peace and normalcy in Sri Lanka.

Shri Kolandaivelu to continue.

SHRI P. KOLANDAIVELU (Gobichettipalayam): Sir, with regard to the Accord between Sri Lanka and India, the other day, some of the speakers in this House, while participating in the debate, have said that there are some misgivings in the Accord.

The debate was initiated by hon. Mr. Unnikrishnan. He has stated that this Accord is a discord. Again, one of the leaders of the Janata Party, Shri Jaipal Reddy, was stating that the Accord was a glass, only half full. I want to bring to the notice of Mr. Jaipal Reddy that one of the leaders of the Janata Party in Tamil Nadu is running a fortnightly called *The Tughlak*. And in one issue the author of *The Tughlak*, the editor, Mr. Cho Ramaswami, has stated this: "Ulagileye Elangai Voppandampol Vonrum Vundavathillai". That means, "where in the world such an agreement has been signed so far. It is the best in the world." He has stated that. And what Mr. Jaipal Reddy is going to say with regard to this, I do not know. But anyhow, he has stated, "We are not opposing the Accord." The Award is a glass only half full." I want to bring to the notice of Mr. Jaipal Reddy,....(Interruptions)

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY (Mahbubnagar): It was not I who said this. I was only quoting the distinguished members of the ruling party, who compared the Accord to a glass half full.

SHRI P. KOLANDAIVELU: He has stated these very words. The glass is half full. What does it mean?

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolpur): He says with reference to the context.

SHRI P. KOLANDAIVELU: In fact, that is what he said. With regard to the demand made by the Tamil militants, they wanted actually statehood linking the northern and eastern provinces. They wanted the Tamil language to be the official language along with Sinhala and English. They wanted citizenship. They wanted to be voters of the Northern and Eastern parts of Sri Lanka, by this Accord.

Let me go through clause by clause so

that each and everybody will come to know whether this Accord is a betrayal or actually it is giving a new life to them, each ethnic group has been recognised.

Clause 1.3 states, "recognising each ethnic group as a distinct cultural and linguistic entity which has to be carefully nurtured."

What else do we want? Actually, the militants dominated ethnic groups have to be identified and by means of this Accord they have been identified.

And secondly, with regard to the Northern and Eastern provinces where Tamils are more, they have to be recognised; both the north and east have to be recognised, as Tamil areas.

By clause 1.4 it ensures recognition of North and East provinces which are historically Sri Lanka Tamil speaking areas. What else do we want? Is it not clear that the aspirations of the Tamils have been fulfilled? This is an Accord full of hope. And each and every citizen in Sri Lanka wanted citizenship rights and they have to be protected.

By this clause 1.5, all citizens can live as equals. There was inequality among the Sinhalese and Tamils. By this the Tamil militants as a whole are ensured of equal status along with the Sinhalese.

With regard to north and eastern provinces, one administrative unit will be formed. The Tamil militants demanded that the north and the eastern provinces must be linked as one unit and it must be recognised as a State. By means of this accord, both north and eastern provinces have been linked together under a provincial council, a Chief Minister, a Governor and a Board of Ministers. What else do you want? It has been recognised fully by this accord. It is not a half accord but it is a full accord. All the demands, aspirations and hopes of the Tamil militants

[Sh. P. Kolandaivelu]
are being fulfilled by this accord.

There is a clause in this accord that before the elections, a provincial council is to be formed. And an interim Government, before the elections, has to be set up by President Jayawardene. If any help is needed from India, that help will be given by the Indian Government. That is also mentioned in the accord.

With regard to referendum, Mr. Unnikrishnan was having an apprehension. One of the clauses of the accord says that there would be a referendum before December, 1988. If the President wants to postpone the referendum to a future date, there is a discretion with him. But that discretion can be exercised by the President with the consent of the Indian Government.

At the time of elections, Indian observers will be invited to conduct the elections to the provincial council of North and East. Have the demands and aspirations of the Tamil militants not fulfilled by this accord? Is it not one of the best accords in the world? Have you seen any other accord like this? It is the best in the world.

With regard to lifting of emergency by 15 August, 1987, the latest information is that by 28th August, 1987 it will be lifted.

According to clause 2.40 of the accord India becomes the guarantor for the implementation of the accord. All along we were requesting the government to come forward as a mediator in order to solve this problem. Our Prime Minister came forward as a guarantor for the implementation of the accord and to see that Tamils live peacefully and in harmony in Sri Lanka. Is it not a big accord? Is it not an accord favourable to Tamils?

I want to bring to your notice that it is an agreement between Sri Lanka and India.

Some of the hon. Members who participated in this debated, asked to why the Tamil militants are not a party to this agreement.

I can say it boldly that when the Indian Government takes the guarantee for the lives of the Tamils in Sri Lanka, the Tamil militants can go freely to places where their signatures were needed previously. India stands guarantee for their life. Not only that, Indian peace keeping forces are stationed in the northern and eastern parts of Sri Lanka. Some of the newspapers have written that it is just like Afghanistan. It is not just like Afghanistan. The Indian peace keeping force is there in order to implement the Agreement. I request the hon. Prime Minister not to withdraw this Indian peace keeping force till the last word of the Agreement is implemented. They must be stationed in the northern and eastern parts of Sri Lanka because we want that the Accord must be fully implemented....(*Interruptions*).

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA (Bankura):
How long will it take?

SHRI P. KOLANDAIVELU: They will take their own time. Sir, when India has become the guarantor, we need not worry about the Tamils in Sri Lanka. All along, Trincomalee has been the base for U.S. Now by this Accord, Trincomalee comes under the control of both India and Sri Lanka. Not only Trincomalee, the Oil Tank Farm also becomes a joint venture of both India and Sri Lanka. This is very important because Trincomalee is a natural harbour with a vast area. It was under the control of U.S. and now it comes under the control of India and Sri Lanka.

With regard to the Educational Segregation Act, it has been stated that it will be suitably amended to give equal status. Formerly, the Tamil students had to get more marks in order to get admission in the universities, but now they are getting equal status

along with other students. Now each and every Tamil is entitled to get admission just like a Sinhali.

The other important point is with regard to the Tamil language. Tamil language has the same priority as the Sinhala and English. I to the hon. Prime Minister and the Government that it is the Tamils who live in Tamil Nadu. So, we request that Tamil must also be given equal status as Hindi.....(*Interruptions*).

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA: Why only Tamil?

SHRI P. KOLANDAIVELU: Other languages also - those which have been recognised under the Constitution. We have been pressing for it. In a tiny island like Sri Lanka there are three languages as official languages. In a country where 750 million people are there, why not fifteen or sixteen languages be there? In Sri Lanka, the population is only sixteen million, whereas here it is 750 million. So, why not have sixteen languages as the official languages? We have to consider it and I think the Prime Minister will come to the rescue of all other States who want their language to be recognised as one of the official languages.

This Accord would ensure that no foreign power would have its military base in the Island. This is very important. Actual our Prime Minister has taken a bold step, a courageous step as far as this Accord is concerned. When air dropping of food-stuffs had taken place, even some of the Opposition parties were criticising it. They were saying why air dropping of food-stuffs, what is the use of it, it has not reached the hands of Tamils but it has reached the hands of the Sinhalese. All these things came in the papers. But after June 4 only they appreciated that the Sri Lanka Government and the President Jayewardene had realised that it was a warning given by India to Sri Lanka.

Only after the Ministerial talks which were held in July, they came to the conclusion that there should be an accord. After the air dropping on June 4, the Agreement came to be signed on July 29. Actually, it is after the SAARC meeting at New Delhi that this has happened.

Shri Unnikrishnan was saying that LTTE and their leaders Mr. Prabhakaran, Mr. Balasingham and others were against this Agreement. I want to remind S/Shri Unnikrishnan and Jaipal Reddy, they are actually not against the agreement. They have made it clear in Jaffna, in public meeting, when more than two lakh people gathered there. At that meeting Shri Prabhakaran said, "We love India. We will not fight against India. We are laying down the arms." Has he not stated so? Shri Prabhakaran says-

"We love India. We will not fight against India."

Such are the words spoken by Shri Prabhakaran. Why are S/Shri Unnikrishnan and Jaipal Reddy bothering much and why is Shri Jaipal Reddy saying - "It is only awful." The Tamilian militants fully agree. They made a clean breast before the public that - "We love India. We are not against India. We will not fight against India". Why are S/Shri Unnikrishnan and Jaipal Reddy coming forward and saying that it is awful? And there are cheering boys in this august House. That is why they are cheering the Prime Minister. Is it not a big accord?

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: When we make a reference of cheering boys, we have not only Congress (I) men but AIMDK men also.

SHRI P.KOLANDAIVELU: Why not? Is it the duty of the Opposition always to accuse the Government?

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolgur): Is it the duty of the Opposition to support the Government?

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY- SPEAKER: Order, or-
der.

SHRI M. RAGHUMA REDDY (NAL-
GONDA): We want to know whether AIDMK
belong to the Opposition or the ruling party?

(Interruptions)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: If
there is no co-ordination alliance among
them.....

(Interruptions)

SHRI M. RAGHUMA REDDY: What is
the ruling?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Why should
I give a ruling for this?

SHRI M. RAGHUMA REDDY: What is
the position? Do AIDMK belong to the op-
position or ruling party? We want clarifica-
tion.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Order
please. Do not divert discussion. Please
carry on.

(Interruptions)

SHRI M. RAGHUMA REDDY: Except
Congress, everybody knows.....

(Interruptions)

SHRI P. KOLANDAIVELU: Shri
Prabhakaran made another statement while
protecting Tamilians he changed from LTTE

to the Government of India. He also said that
Indian Government is responsible for the life
of every Tamil in Sri Lanka. He has said so
according to the accord India became a
guarantor for the life of Tamilians in Sri
Lanka. So, the interests of Tamilians have to
be looked after along with Sinhais. India
became a guarantor in the agreement.

So far as Indian peace keeping force is
concerned, they are not only protecting
Tamilians in Sri Lanka but they are protect-
ing life of Shri Jayewardene. So, the Indian
peace keeping force must be there till the
last condition of the accord is implemented.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Is it
the Government's case?

(Interruptions)

SHRI P. KOLANDAIVELU. I request
this Government and the hon. Prime Minis-
ter that care has to be taken to deal with the
trouble makers and disgruntled elements
just like Dravid Munetra Kazakam in
Tamilnadu and also Kamraj Congress which
has been led by Shri Nedumaran and also
Shri Veeramani and also DMK chief Karun-
anidhi.

SHRI N.V.N. SOMU (Madras North):
Let me say....

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Do not in-
terefere. You speak when your turn comes.

(Interruptions)

SHRI N.V.N. SOMU: Thousands of
people died for this accord.....

(Interruptions)

SHRI P. KOLANDAIVELU: As far as the
D.M.K. stand is concerned, I want to say one

thing. When Mr. K. Karunanidhi was the Chief Minister, in 1971-72, there was some problem. *(Interruptions)*

AN HON. MEMBER: Why? *(Interruptions)*

SHRI P. KOLANDAIVELU: Sir, when Mr. Karunanidhi was the Chief Minister, he did not solve the problem, but he acted against the will and aspirations of the Tamils in Sri Lanka. With regard to Accord, he has stated that it is a political fraud. Sir, is it a political fraud? Did our hon. Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi and Shri Jayawardene make a political fraud? Is it correct?

SHRI N.V.N. SOMU: It is a fact.

SHRI P. KOLANDAIVELU: Even some of the D.M. K. Members in the other House had stated that it was a betrayal of Tamils. Sir, is it a betrayal of Tamils or is it a political fraud? Actually, by this peace Accord, a new life, a new era has dawned on the Tamils in Sri Lanka. Above all, I would request the hon. Prime Minister that he himself has to lead the political mass mobilisation against de-stabilisation and draw out all partiotic progressive forces. As far as the Agreement is concerned, the aspirations and demands of the Tamil militants are fully met and fulfilled. This is one of the best Accords in the world. Thank you.

SHRI P.R. KUMARAMANGALAM (Salem): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I would like to go on record that the Indo-Sri Lankan agreement is an historically most important agreement that the world itself has ever seen. This is for the first time that an ethnic problem in a neighbouring country has been sorted out or is being attempted to be sorted out with the help of a neighbouring country. This never happens and normally such things are encouraged by neighbouring country. Here, India has gone forward and has stood by its word that we believe in the integrity of Sri

Lanka. We want the unity of Sri Lanka to continue and we are willing to use our good offices, our good intentions, and our *bona fide* has been proved by this Agreement. Sir, this House has often debated the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka. We have seen many ups and downs in the last three years. Regarding this problem, we have seen ourselves acting in various capacities, initially as our good offices, then as mediators and then ultimately now as a guarantor. Sir, this conflict has seen the death of over 10,000 Tamils in Sri Lanka. Many a mother and a sister were raped, many a wife became a widow, many a youth disappeared. The ethnic problem has taken a toll and has witnessed such horror which this sub-continent has never witnessed for a long time.

Sir, what was the problem? The problem was to bring to an end the violence which was senseless from the day it started. Sir, I am sure even the Opposition would agree with me that this Agreement has brought to an end at least as at the moment the violence which was really uncalled for. I must go on record to say that the Prime Minister of India has done us good by this agreement. I do not say that this agreement by the mere act of signing, has solved the complete ethnic problem. No. Undoubtedly, there are many a factor, many a clause in the agreement which have to be handled delicately to ensure its implementation. We are aware that there have been settlements in the past. There has been a settlement in 1957. It was originally called the Bandaranaike-Chelvanayagam pact. We have seen the outcome of that settlement, a murder of a Prime Minister by a Sinhalese militant in the garb of a Buddhist monk. We have seen that in 1965, another agreement was entered into and again given up later, by that Government. We have seen that Sri Lanka in the last 4 decades changed its constitution three times. We have seen secular State has become a Buddhist State dominated by one race and one religion.

[Sh. P.R. Kumaramangalam]

We see now a little light in Sri Lanka, in the sense that at last, the people in power seem to realise that in a multi-racial, multi-religious and multi-lingual nation, secularism is the only answer. But the Opposition, specially Mr. Unnikrishnan has attempted to deride the whole settlement I feel a little sorry for it because this agreement is not a matter of who has done better than whom. This agreement is one which deals with the lives of millions. If this agreement works, millions of people would be saved. If it fails, it would be the worst possible thing that the sub-continent could ever see. Therefore, instead of criticising each other, what is required in this House, if I may plead with all the Members of this august House, is to do our best and support the implementation of this agreement. I am sure the whole Opposition would agree and the whole House would agree with me that if this agreement is implemented, a problem which has been there for four decades in Sri Lanka, the ethnic problem, will come to an end. We have to work towards this implementation rather than pick holes and try to make debates on small points.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, there are over a 1,50,000 refugees of Sri Lanka, Tamil refugees still in our country who ran away from murder, butchery and are awaiting peace which has some permanency, so as to return there. It is important that the whole House instead of trying to undermine the agreement, do their best to cooperate for its implementation. This agreement would achieve what even the Tamils of Sri Lanka did not imagine, they would achieve. We saw in the last one year, before the agreement, the worst form of State terrorism. We saw villages being bombed from the air, strafing of villages, which took place. One could never have imagined that the agreement would have come about and there would have been peace. It is undoubtedly true, the good offices of the Indian Army will go a very

long way in ensuring that there is peace in Sri Lanka.

There are also very delicate factors involved including that of the issue of how the interim Government is to be formed. Attempts are being made by vested interests to play one Tamil group against another. I would plead with the hon. Minister for External Affairs that he should use his good offices to ensure that all the groups are given representation and no attempt is made by any form of undue influence, to ensure any relevant representative group of Tamils is left out because if that is done, it would only pave the way for, such a historical agreement, coming to an end. Undoubtedly, lot of questions have been raised on the question of referendum but what many people have failed to note is that at the end of Clause 2.3, it is very categorically stated that

"The President may, at his discretion, decide to postpone such a referendum."

This obviously indicates that if a full peace does not come down on the Northern and Eastern provinces of Sri Lanka and the situation is not such that a referendum can be held. The President can postpone it. But let us look at the figures of percentages of people in the Eastern provinces. One would notice that the Tamil population is the majority population. If one takes Tamil speaking people, then they are well over 70%. If one takes the Tamil Moor Muslims out of the jurisdiction, even then it is 47% which is not a small percentage. Therefore, the fear of referendum, I feel is uncalled for. But, however, since India is a party in this agreement, I think India should ensure that this referendum takes place only when a real, free and fair referendum can take place and, not under the threat of violence. Undoubtedly, in Sri Lanka, there is a large extremist element of clergymen who claim that they are Buddhists. It is said that Buddha did not believe

in violence but, however, these Buddhists seem to believe that violence is the only way to attain salvation! They have extremist groups. These extremist groups would do their best and are now doing their best to ensure that their religious domination continues. It is necessary for all who are interested in peace in the sub-continent to ensure that these forces are not given any encouragement at all.

Mr. Jayewardene has come out and signed this agreement I would say, at the risk of his life. Our Prime Minister was attacked, with God's grace and his own agility, he escaped but Mr. Jayewardene is still very much in Colombo and the JVP and other militant forces would do their level best to attempt at least to get rid of Mr. Jayewardene. He is 81 years age. His continuance in this world is critical for the implementation of this agreement. It is a reality. Let us face it. It is no use laughing about it.

We have a very delicate situation, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir. We have a very delicate situation where we find that there are extremists of all types who are interested to see that the peace that has come about today in Sri Lanka comes to an early end. There are vested interests in the world who would like to see that there is no peace in Sri Lanka in order to keep their bases in Sri Lanka. This Agreement is not only one which deals with the ethnic issue of Sri Lanka, but this Agreement has gone a long way in ensuring that the Indian Ocean is a zone of peace. If this conflict had continued without any end, undoubtedly we would have seen bases belonging to Super Powers springing up on this little island to destroy the peace of the Sub-Continent. I must congratulate the Prime Minister that while he was entering into this Agreement, he saw to it that foreign powers cannot have their bases in Sri Lanka.

Sir, I would only like to end by making a little appeal to the hon. Minister for External

Affairs and to our hon. Prime Minister that on the question of devolution of power, for which I understand discussions have started, the devolution must be genuine. There should not be any attempt at allowing any form of illusory provisions to enter into the question of devolution. Sir, any attempt of the vested interests to nullify this settlement and Agreement by means of ensuring the devolution as illusory should be fought firmly. I have the total belief that the Minister of External Affairs would ensure that this is done.

There is a small problem. Quite a number of Tamil refugees who left Sri Lanka had to forge their passports to leave Sri Lanka. Unfortunately, when they landed on our shores, they have been arrested. Now, Mr. Natwar Singh, I would like to draw your attention to this. They have been arrested and put in jail for having travelled on forged passports. Yes, it is violation of the law undoubtedly. But they came as refugees, out of the fear of their life. Some of them wanted to go out on those forged passports. They also have been arrested. Some of them have been let out on bail. Large amounts - Rs. 50,000 - have been deposited by these refugees who have sold their jewellery, etc. That money is lying in the custody of the Government of India. I would appeal that considering the present situation, let all those Sri Lankan refugees, Tamil refugees, who are now in the jails in India, on various charges of this type, be released and cases filed against these Tamil refugees be withdrawn in order to pave the way for them to go back to their homeland. I would end only by requesting and pleading with the Opposition that when you speak on the question of this Agreement, please realise that every word that you say would go either towards ensuring this Agreement is a success or this Agreement is a failure. To harp criticism, you might land up in a situation where you have incited, ignited and assisted the extremists forces in Sri Lanka. Let not such a situation

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arise. We require to have unity of Tamils in Sri Lanka and at the same time to discourage the extremists elements especially the Sinhalese extremist elements in Sri Lanka.

With this appeal, I would like to thank the hon. Prime Minister for this Accord.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Shri Madhav Reddi.

SHRI C. MADHAV REDDI(Adilabad): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I do not want to....

(Interruptions)

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Sir, what about lunch break?

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Yesterday itself we have announced that. For that whole week, we have dispensed with the Lunch break.

(Interruptions)

SHRI C. MADHAV REDDI: Sir, this is the spillover of the debate on Sri Lanka which we started last week.

Our Party certainly welcomes any agreement or any settlement which is likely to bring peace to any part of the world. But there are certain disturbing clauses in the Agreement, certain situations, particularly the implementation part of it, which are naturally worrying us. The implementation of the Agreement, as we have been seeing for the last three weeks, is going through the rough weather. Just as we are discussing today, there is the disturbing news from Sri Lanka that a bomb was blast in Parliament there and a few Ministers Members of Parliament of Sri Lanka have been wounded. That shows the violent reaction which this Agreement is meeting with. That apart, what are the disturbing factors and what are the pit-

falls in this Agreement? Today what are our relations with Sri Lanka? Our status has undergone a big metamorphosis: from the stage of peace-makers, from the stage of negotiator for a peaceful settlement, from the stage of offering our good offices to Sri Lanka to settle its internal problem, India has become a party to the dispute and Agreement, a party to the whole thing which is happening today. Well, whether that was right or wrong, only future events will tell us.

But today what is important is the fate of this Agreement, whether it is being implemented or it is likely to be implemented at all and what is the risk that we have taken on ourselves. My friend, Mr. Kolandaivelu, was reading out the speech delivered by Mr. Prabhakaran of LTTE before two lakhs of Tamils on the 4th August. What did he say? He has said that the entire responsibility of protecting the Sri Lankan Tamils today rests on the Government of India, not on them. It means that they have agreed to surrender the arms which they had gathered to protect themselves, to protect their families at our behest; they are surrendering these arms putting their entire faith on us. Are we not taking a very big risk? Just now, my friend, Mr. Kumaramangalam, has said that if this Agreement fails, it is going to be a disaster. Certainly it is going to be a disaster if this Agreement fails, a disaster for us, because we will be in a very, very unenviable position. As per the terms of the Agreement, we have taken upon ourselves responsibilities which we may not be in a position to fulfil. How are going to protect the lives of the Sri Lankan Tamils? For how long are you going to keep our army there? Mr. Jayewardene says that between 15th and 20th August, the army has to go.....

SHRI P. KOLANDAIVELU: Emergency will be lifted.

SHRI C. MADHAV REDDI: Whether the Emergency is lifted or not, he says that the

army has to go. What is the position? Is it that the army has to come back the moment the Sri Lankan Government takes the decision that there is no need for the peace-keeping force in Sri Lanka? Who is to take the decision? The Sri Lankan Government or the Government of India or jointly? Or, is there any mechanism? Is there any clause in the Agreement which says that for such a decision to be taken, whether the army should be there or not, there is going to be a mechanism - through which the decision could be taken? Nothing is mentioned. We do not know whether there are any secret clauses in the Agreement. Whatever is there in the Agreement, whatever is there in the letters which form part of the Agreement which have been published in the papers, based on this, I am expressing my views there are a lot of misgivings.

Already they have got 14 or 15 thousand soldiers, hardware and all that on the Sri Lankan soil. How long are you going to keep them there Mr. Kolandaivelu says that they have to continue to stay there.

SHRI P. KOLANDAIVELU: Till the implementation of this Accord.

SHRI C. MADHAV REDDI: God knows, for how long it takes. What do you mean when you say 'implementation of the Accord'? After sometime again there could be a rebellion on the Sinhala. There could be that some sort of a violence erupts and the entire Sri Lankan Tamils will be in a very dangerous position. Is it our duty then to protect them?

Today Mr. Prabhakaran asked this question. This is a very valid question. We have not answered this question. He says that he has put faith on us, and he loves India. Whether he loves or hates, is not the point. But the point that he has raised is a valid one and we have not answered this.

What happens after one year if again violence erupts there? What happens if the Sri Lankan rebels again takes to arms? Then, according to the terms of the agreement, you have to send military to crush that rebellion. Are you going to do that unhappy thing of crushing your own people for whom you have gone there today? The agreement says that military assistance, whenever asked for from Sri Lanka, must be provided by the Government of India. For what purpose? Not to fight some external enemy - I can understand that - but to fight the Sri Lankan Tamils! Are you going to send your troops to Sri Lanka to crush that rebellion? What a predicament we will be in if we implement this accord!

If I am use my permitted to use my friends' Marxists-Communists jargon, we are going to become the friends of the expropriators to expropriate you own friends! That would be your position. Are you going to do that?.....(*Interruptions*)

The point is that suppose if tomorrow Sri Lankan Tamils do not agree with the terms of the agreement, what do you do? Today they have agreed and they are surrendering arms. At least a part of the arms are being surrendered. I am sure they are not surrendering the entire arms and there is going to be trouble as far as surrendering the arms is concerned. Suppose today if they don't surrender the arms, if they take to the arms again, the agreement says that you should not give shelter to these people on your soil to have shelter, to have the training camps there. You have agreed that we will not give shelter. This implies that we had given them shelter in past. Is it not a shameful thing that we are agreeing that once we have given this type of shelter? Does it not prove that we have agreed, we have accepted the position that in the past we had been giving shelter to them, in the past we had been giving arms to them? Why should that clause be included? Is it not a humiliat-

[Sh. C. Madhav Reddy]

ing clause? Why should we accept that position? All along we have accepted a position that we are not helping the Sri Lankan rebels. We are not responsible for training camps or we are not giving arms and ammunitions, etc. That was the correct position to take. That is, as a matter of fact, the actual position. Why today the Government says we will not give shelter, as if we have been giving shelter to them in the past?

I am happy that some of the Ministers and others - for example, the Prime Minister Mr. Premadasa and the most controversial Minister of Internal Security, Mr. Lalith Atulatumudali - who were against this Accord and who kept away from various important meeting when our Prime Minister went there, today come out and say that they will implement the Accord. And will see that the Tamil policemen are posted in the east and the north of Sri Lanka. It is very good if that happens. But what is this incident?

What is this bomb blast in the Parliament of Sri Lanka? Sir, everybody knows that there are camps, home-guards' camps in each and every village in the North and the East. Don't you know this? Have they been disarmed; have they been disbanded? No. Your army is there only at certain places but the camps of these home-guards, which are controlled by Sinhalese soldiers, are there in each and every village. Where is the security in the northern village? And it is agreed, the Prime Minister also expressed worry that they are there and they have to be disbanded. About 200 camps are there but what has been done? Have they been removed; and if not, why?

Sir, there are several questions which arise out of the implementation of this Accord and we do not have any satisfaction. I do not want to say anything against the Accord. I only say that there are certain pitfalls. Certain responsibilities have been

taken by the Government which Government should have been avoided. But, for what reason we do not know, a responsibility has been taken and it is going to land us in a lot of difficulties. These are the pitfalls I wanted to point out. Sir, I do not want to repeat what has been said by the hon. Members and that is all that I have to say.

SHRI SHARAD DIGHE (Bombay North Central): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to support whole-heartedly the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord. Sir, discussion on this started actually last week on August 11 and then there was lull for about a week. All the speakers who have spoken up to now, except the Opposition Leader, Shri Madhav Reddy, have whole heartedly supported it. The hon. Member Shri Reddy has raised several doubts and misgivings about this Accord. He feels that there is a big risk in implementing this Agreement or in entering into this Agreement. He has expressed a lot of misgivings as far as the terms of Agreement are concerned.

Now, Sir, no doubt there is a great risk, no doubt there are lot of misgivings in this Agreement, but what is the way out? There is no other solution to this problem. India is deeply interested in Sri Lanka's unity, integrity and stability and also was much disturbed about the ethnic rioting that was going on since 23rd of July, 1983. We were also concerned because several refugees were coming to this country and there were emotional disturbances in this country as far as the ethnic riots in Sri Lanka were concerned. Therefore, even though we were not directly concerned, we were always playing the role of or using our good offices as a mediator to put an end to the ethnic riots that were going on. Therefore, in this Agreement the first thing we have to appreciate is and which the hon. Member, Shri Madhav Reddy has also conceded, that we are really mediators, under-writers and guaranters as far as this problem is concerned. Of course, we have also agreed to co-operate in implementing

this Agreement.

Sir, this conflict also shattered our neighbour since July 23, 1983 and if I may give some figures: their defence spending in 1983 was 0.7 per cent of the gross revenue. It has gone upto 17 per cent today. The Defence budget for 1987 was estimated at 2.5 million U. S. dollars. Now, it has been further increased to 5.3 million U. S. dollars. A neighbour with such a huge defence budget would be dangerous for a large country. Therefore, we were deeply interested in finding out some solution to this problem. In such a situation, necessarily we have to take some risk as far as this accord is concerned.

Sir, as has been stated earlier, this accord is unique in many respects. And the first salient feature is that we are the mediators and guarantors and we have taken the responsibility of cooperation in implementing this accord.

As far as the international field is concerned, we may also appreciate the fact that two non-aligned countries have been attempting to solve a problem of one of the two non-aligned countries, with the cooperation of each other. These two countries also belong to SAARC and it is very significant that the talks have taken place directly between these two SAARC and Non-aligned countries, without any help or intervention of any super power. I may further say here that this accord is in the spirit of the Delhi Declaration, viz. 'understanding and trust must replace fear and suspicion.' Without the intervention of any super power, we have directly entered into this accord, whereby understanding and trust are replacing fear and suspicion.

Sir, it is very important to refer to Shri Jayewardene's remarks in the week-end edition of a Rome Daily, *La Repubblica*, on 11 August 1987. What he says is very significant. He says that he has lost faith in the

Great Powers and he has moved nearer India. He says, 'I believe in Rajiv Gandhi. I like Rajiv Gandhi and I consider him a friend.' He also said that India should be the guardian of this region. Further he states that the historic agreement has been made possible because for the first, time, India has offered to take direct responsibility. Lastly he says, 'I accept India as a regional great power.' Therefore, from this point of view, it is a great success. It is also a great success as far as the non-aligned countries and the SAARC countries are concerned. Through this accord, this small country recognises India as a great friend. They have realised that they should not rely on super powers because they would be able to solve some of their problems with the help of India.

I would also mention here that both the super powers have also acknowledged the greatness of this accord. Senator Mervyn M. Dymally of California has said in his resolution in the House of Representatives of the USA: "Whereas the agreement signed on July 29, 1987, by Sri Lankan President Junius Jayewardene and Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi represents an historic landmark in Indo-Sri Lankan relations and in efforts to find a solution to the Sri Lankan civil war;

Whereas the July 29 agreement provides a sound basis for ending the civil war, and as the agreement provides a basis for the just treatment of both minority and majority groups, it represents the best opportunity for a just and lasting solution to the ethnic conflict.

Whereas this peace agreement demonstrates once again Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's ability at conciliation and pacific settlement of seemingly intractable problems;

Whereas President Jayewardene and Prime Minister Gandhi are to be com-

[Sh. Sharad Dighe]

mended for their bold initiatives, despite political risks, in reaching this agreement and in moving forward with its strict implementation."

Now some of my friends would say why rely upon USA? But the commentary in the Soviet Press is also supporting this agreement. I quote a report from the PATRIOT of the 12th August, 1987:

"The Indo-Sri Lanka accord was widely commented upon here by the Soviet media as part of India's successful efforts to "remove the dangerous seat of tension in South Asia." A "Pravda" commentary said it meets the interests of both nations and of regional and global peace."

Therefore both the super powers have also supported this agreement in no less uncertain terms. The foreign intervention is also removed and when we go through the Annexure to this agreement and also the letters exchanged between the two Prime Ministers you can see all these things. I need not repeat that the intervention of USA as far as this Island is concerned is removed. It has been removed in 2-3 ways which is mentioned in those letters.

Since the execution of this Agreement, the various ways in which the progress is being made is also not unsatisfactory. Though, just now, there is a news which has been divulged by an hon. Member Shri Madhav Reddi that there has been a bomb blast in the parliament of Sri Lanka which met today. But if we see from the newspapers, even Indian legal team has visited Sri Lanka to help them as far as the constitutional aspect is concerned. We also see progress as far as the laying down of arms is concerned.

Then comes the setting up of Interim Council for the North-Eastern parts. It was a

little in trouble because various interests have to be represented there. That is also going on well. There is no reason to believe that we will meet the disaster as far as this agreement is concerned and we will not get the proper success in the implementation of this Accord.

As this Accord meets all reasonable demands of the Tamil interests, it is certain that there will be full support from the Tamilians who are there in Sri Lanka and at the request of Mr. Jayewardene, Indian military has already entered there and upto now the laying down of arms is well proceeding. There are always risks in such cases; and we have to take a calculated risk in such matters. There is no other solution possible, as far as this is concerned.

I may also take the opportunity of referring to some of the clauses which may create some trouble, as far as this Accord is concerned. I see that clause 2.16 is so drafted that all the other things have to be done only if the militant groups operating in Sri Lanka do not accept this framework of proposals. It says:

"These proposals are also conditional to the Government of India taking the following actions if any militant groups operating in Sri Lanka do not accept this framework of proposals....."

I would humbly submit that there is some difficulty in drafting this clause 2.16, because all the things which India has to do - a, b, c and d - particularly the Government of Sri Lanka requesting the Government of India to afford military assistance to implement these proposals; and then, further on, also India and Sri Lanka cooperating in ensuring the physical security and safety of all communities inhabiting the Northern and Eastern provinces.

This very important clause appears to

be dependent upon this, viz. that they would have to be implemented if any militant group does not accept these proposals. I think there is some drafting trouble in this, because it would then mean that India could not have sent the military, and they cannot also ensure the physical security and safety of all those inhabitants, unless these militant groups do not accept these proposals. I would like the hon. Minister to throw light on this part of this agreement.

I may further add that there is a provision for Indian Government sending the Army at the request of the Sri Lankan Government. Some misgivings were expressed, viz. that after laying down the arms, if the Indian military is asked to go away and, thereafter, if the Tamilians in Sri Lanka are attacked, how are we going to protect them? That question will also arise. Perhaps we may reply upon this clause which I read out, viz. that the physical security of Tamils is ensured by India and Sri Lanka, both. Therefore, perhaps relying upon this clause, we may have to use our military. I do not know whether it would be possible; but, ultimately, Tamils in Sri Lanka will have to be given an assurance that in any case they will be protected by us in the near future, till both these provinces are finally merged, and a Government is established there i.e. an elected Government is established, which will be able to protect particularly the Tamils in that area.

Similarly, I will also take the opportunity to request the Government to assure and create confidence among the Sinhalese. It is no use merely ensuring the safety of the Tamils in Sri Lanka. From a strategic point of view, we may create confidence in the Sinhalese also, that their protection also will be ensured by the Governments of both Sri Lanka and India. If that is done by the Government in some way or the other, I think a further favourable atmosphere will be created in Sri Lanka; and it will be possible to

implement this in a better way, in an easier way, which will create confidence among Sinhalese also in Sri Lanka.

With these words, I support this Accord. Thank you.

SHRI SURESH KURUP (Kottayam): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, this House has discussed several times in the past the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka and expressed its solidarity with the genuine grievances of the Tamils.

But today it is good that we are discussing an Accord between the Government of Sri Lanka and the Government of India assuring settlement of the Tamil problem and ensuring friendly relations between the two countries. And I genuinely hope that there will be no more genocide and bloodshed in Sri Lanka causing pain and concern to all those who love that great country and its people.

The continuing violence in Sri Lanka has proved beyond doubt that it is a causing political and economic burden to that country, threatening its independence and also our security.

It is everybody's knowledge that the imperialist powers and their stooges were interfering in this conflict in a big way and slowly Sri Lanka was being taken over by the military and intelligence of USA, Israel, South Africa and Pakistan, etc. So, there is hope that this drift will be blocked by this Accord and it will really be a bold step on the part of the Sri Lankan political leadership to sign the Accord despite the threats from the Sri Lankans.

Our party has always taken a sustained position that only a political solution within the framework of a united Sri Lanka keeping the Tamilian people in view can solve the problem satisfactorily. This Accord recog-

[Sh. Suresh Kurup]

nises the existence of the ethnic Tamil groups in Sri Lanka, this linguistic distinguished identity accepts the merger of the northern and eastern districts in which the Tamils are a majority, which is of primary importance.

It also says that the position will be endorsed through a referendum, the Tamil militants will surrender and India will help with her forces, if there is any difficulty in the implementation of the Accord. There will be a general amnesty for all Tamil prisoners and the Sinhalese army will be withdrawn to the barracks.

The most important part of the Agreement I think, is the letter of Mr. Jayewardene in which an assurance is given that Trincomalee area in the port of Sri Lanka will not be made available for military use to any country in a manner prejudicial to India's interests.

A joint federation between India and Sri Lanka will undertake the working of the Trincomalee oil base and Sri Lanka's agreement with foreign broadcasting companies.

SHRI P. KOLANDAIVELU: Voice of America.

SHRI SURESH KURUP: Not only Voice of America but all foreign broadcasting companies will be required to ensure that they are not used for military or intelligence purpose.

This definitely is a good move which I think all the peace loving humanity will welcome. Making Indian Ocean a zone of peace has been a consistent demand from all the peace-loving people and I think this will give a impetus to this process. There is no doubt that if all the political parties concerned help in implementing the accord, it will lead to a peaceful solution to the ethnic conflict pre-

serving the sovereignty of Sri Lanka. Of course it does not mean that signing of the agreement will solve all the political problems. There is a sizable section of Sinhalese majority under the leadership of influential political leader of course opposing the accord. Let us hope that they all will understand that the parties who benefit from the unsettled state of affairs in Sri Lanka will be the imperialist headed by U.S.A. and their agents.

Sir, there is every possibility that the implementation of the agreement is likely to meet with serious difficulty. I also have my own apprehensions regarding the accord, which I do not want to mention in this sort of a debate. Already there is some bad news which other Members who have taken part in the discussion have mentioned. But, I think the people of both the countries will be very vigilant to uphold the spirit of the accord.

Sir, our burden has increased because we have become a party to the agreement. I think our forces in Sri Lanka to help implement the accord will be totally impartial in every respect. They should help the Sinhalese and Tamils to overcome the feeling of hatred. I do not know how they can successfully act in this aspect.

Sir, with these words and extending our warm regards to all those who have strived hard to come to an accord, I conclude.

SHRI ATISH CHANDRA SINHA (Bermampore): Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir, It is one of the very happy occasions that we are discussing today after a lapse of about a week again the Sri Lanka India agreement which was concluded by Shri Rajiv Gandhi and Shri Jayewardene on 29th July 1987.

I have been listening to the speeches of the speakers on the first day and also today and excepting Mr. Unnikrishnan who initiated the debate, I find that most of the

speakers have supported this accord, which has also been hailed by countries all over the world. This agreement has ended the four years bloody ethnic conflict, which I understand has resulted in death of about six thousand Tamilians according to the Sri Lankan Government and about twelve thousand Tamilians according to the Tamil sources. Sir, without looking into the other aspects of this agreement, this fact alone that this agreement has ended the four years bloody conflict which resulted in the death of so many people, is a very good thing that all of us in this august House should support.

Sir, during 1985-86, many Members of this House along with myself put many questions in the House regarding the ethnic trouble in Sri Lanka and at that time, we tried to point out to the Government that the Sri Lankan Government were biding time for a military solution and in fact that happened in May 1987 — just a few months back, in which many people have lost their lives and many properties were destroyed. At the end of it, like many other situations when they come to a head the solution is found, this ethnic problem also came to a solution.

On the first day when Mr. Unnikrishnan initiated the debate he termed Mr. Jayewardene as ***. He was *** when he launched military on slaughter on the poor Tamil people. But change of heart has taken place. He has learnt through this military onslaught that a military solution to the ethnic problem is not possible and not a viable proposition for the Sri Lankan Government. This awakening came to Mr. Jayewardene through this military onslaught that he initiated in May, 1987. That is how he has become much wiser to come to a political solution. Ultimately he has signed an agreement with our Prime Minister on July 29, which ended this conflict. Therefore, we should all welcome it and we should not call

him a *** and we should shun use of such words. We should hail both our Prime Minister and the President of Sri Lanka for signing this agreement, which has ended four years of bloody ethnic conflict.

About 1.5 lakh refugees had come over to India from Sri Lanka during the last four years. Through this agreement, this 1.5 lakh population will be able to go back to their homeland and will be settled there. Is it not a good thing we have achieved through this agreement?

In clause 2.16 (d) there is a provision that the Tamil population, who are not citizens of Sri Lanka, will have to be repatriated. A lot of criticism has been made regarding that. I would like to point out that this is not the first time that this population of Tamils will be repatriated from Sri Lanka to India. It happened twice before in 1964 and 1974 when six lakhs of Tamil population had to be repatriated to India. Now, you cannot have all the time an agreement which will be one-sided. You have to give something in order to take something. Therefore, we are sending back 1.5 lakh of refugee Tamil population back to Sri Lanka and we will have to take probably some, who have not been accepted as citizens of Sri Lanka, back to India. I think, we should not criticise this agreement on that ground.

This agreement has ended the state of emergency that is existing in Sri Lanka. General amnesty to the Tamils has been announced. And a general atmosphere of peace and normalcy has returned in Sri Lanka. We have been seeing press reports for the last one week indicating that many people have expressed that this agreement has given rise to a lot of happiness and normalcy that were non-existent in Sri Lanka before. Hostilities have stopped. One of the main demands of the LTTE and others that

*** Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

[Sh. Atish Chandra Sinha]

northern and eastern provinces should be made into one administrative unit has been accepted in this agreement. There will be elections there. There will be a Chief Minister and a Council of Ministers with powers to decide their own economic progress. That is a great achievement which has been possible through this agreement.

Some doubts have been expressed regarding the referendum. Some of the speakers have also referred to this fact. I would like to point out that the population percentage in the eastern province is: Tamil 43. Muslim Tamils' population is 33 per cent and the Sinhalese population is only 22 per cent. With all these 1.5 lakh refugees going back to Sri Lanka, I think even if a referendum is held before 31st of December 1988, there should not be any fear in the minds that this eastern province would ultimately decide to secede from the northern province and will be separated. So, I think this fear that has been expressed by some of the Members, is completely unfounded and should not be viewed as a bad part of this Agreement. I do not think there is any fear in that respect.

Many speakers have referred to the Trinkomali Port which will not be made available for military use by any country in a manner prejudicial to India's interests. I think this has been a great achievement. We are all aware of what is happening in Diego Garcia and we have always been wanting that the Indian Ocean should be a zone of peace and had Trinkomali been offered to the super powers for their military use, the difficulty that India would have faced, very near at home, would have been tremendous. So, through this Agreement we have been able to make Trinkomali a port which cannot be used militarily by other countries in a manner prejudicial to India's interests, and I think that has been a great achievement.

The work of restoring and operating the Trinkomali Oil Tank Farm will be undertaken as a joint venture between India and Sri Lanka. This also is a very good part of this Agreement I think.

Sri Lanka's agreement with foreign broadcasting organisations is also going to be reviewed so that these broadcasting facilities cannot be used for military and intelligence purposes. This also has been a great achievement so far as this Agreement is concerned.

India will also provide training facilities and military supplies for Sri Lanka's security forces. So, India has earned through this Agreement its rightful place in this sub-continent which otherwise would have been filled up by super powers and that would have vitiated out defence position and our external affairs position, and would have put India into great deal of difficulties. There was no doubt about it. This Agreement will also ensure that foreign intelligence agencies like MOSSAD, SHINBET and KINI MEENI, etc. will also go away from Sri Lanka which will mean that these agencies which could have been potential trouble makers for India, would no longer be there very near to India's shore to create trouble for India.

The sophisticated military equipment started coming to Sri Lanka after the military onslaught that was started in May, 1987, and the Sri Lanka's military budget increased from 66 million U. S. dollars in 1983 to 600 million U. S. dollars in 1987. We are all very much aware as to what is happening in Pakistan. Since Pakistan is militarily arming themselves, we have also to arm ourselves and spend a hell of a lot of money on our defence expenditure. If a similar thing had been happening south of India in Sri Lanka also, one could easily imagine what would have happened to India's defence budget. We would have had to spend much more to ensure the safety of our southern shores.

So, that difficulty is also removed through this Agreement and I think that also has been a great achievement that Shri Rajiv Gandhi and Shri Jayawardene have achieved.

Ultimately, in order to make any agreement successful, I think a change of heart is necessary. Unless the Tamil population and the Sinhala population compromise between themselves and think of living together in peace and harmony, there cannot be any lasting peace or the possibility of this agreement coming to a very successful conclusion. Therefore, I feel that a change of heart has taken place — may not be in the whole Sinhala population but at least in a section of the Sinhala population the change of heart has taken place. Many of them have also accepted this Agreement as a good one, maybe some small portions of their population, led by some people, are against this Agreement up-till now. But I am sure that those small sections were not yet in agreement with this accord. They will realise the benefits of this agreement. They will ultimately realise that it is no good carrying on with ethnic trouble and fighting to continue between the two communities. It is much better to compromise and to live in peace and harmony.

14.00 hrs.

I would like to mention that ethnic problem was basically economic problem. After independence the Tamil population was not given the proper opportunities so far as employment was concerned, so far as education was concerned with which general population is normally concerned. If that discrimination is still there which I say will not be after this agreement. Tamil has been accepted as an official language and it has been accepted that it is multi-lingual, multi-racial country-all these good points have been incorporated in the agreement, I think there will be basic change of heart which will ultimately ensure that this agreement will be

successful. I would request that all the Members who have expressed some grievances or misgivings, whether this agreement is going to be successful or not, will realise that this agreement under the circumstances is the best that was possible to achieve and we hope and pray that this agreement will also be a very lasting success.

SHRIN. V. N. SOMU (Madras North): At the outset I want to say it is not the accord, but an imposed agreement. (*Interruptions*)

Why are you objecting? Just now I have started.

It is not an accord but an imposed agreement. Accord means there should be a mutual involvement by both the parties. But the satisfaction of the Tamils is absolutely absent in this forced agreement.

Before the agreement, India was playing a role of middleman. But all of a sudden it became a party to the agreement ignoring the feelings of the Tamils. This can very well be understood by the feelings expressed by the LTTE leader. My friend Shri Kolan-daivelu has said, he welcomes the agreement. I want to quote Shri Prabhakaran. He said:

"We have no way other than cooperation with this Indian endeavour"

It clearly shows that there was no other go for him. He further said—

"This Agreement concluded suddenly and with great haste and speed between India and Sri Lanka without consulting out people"

I want to underline "without consulting our people". It means without consulting the Tamils. This agreement concluded sud-

[Sh. N.V.N. Somu]

denly and with great haste. Not only without consulting us and our people's representatives, it is also being implemented with expedition and urgency.

"Until I went to Delhi, I did not know anything about this agreement" Shri Prabhakaran said.

"Saying that the Prime Minister decided to see me, they invited me and took me quickly to Delhi. This Agreement was shown to us after I went there" was the observation made by Shri Prabhakaran.

You can appreciate in which haste and manner this agreement was imposed on Tamils in Sri Lanka. "There were several complications and question marks in it and I pointed them out. Accordingly it was made emphatically dear to the Indian Government that we were unable to accept this agreement", Shri Prabhakaran said.

Shri Prabhakaran clearly says that this agreement concluded without consulting the Tamils. He says further that the agreement was shown to him only after he was in Delhi and they had no time to consider the merits and demerits, the advantages and disadvantages and the pros and cons. That is why I said it is a thrust agreement, forced agreement, coerced agreement, without taking into consideration the feeling of the Tamils who stood in the battle field for nearly four years. For this, thousands of Tamils were killed. For this, property of Tamils worth crores of rupees was destroyed. Tamil mothers and sisters were raped and their modesty was outraged. I want the hon. Members here to think of this. They withstood all the sufferings with fond hope that India would intervene effectively. There is no effectiveness at all in this agreement. The Tamils of Sri Lanka are completely at dismay. Why is the Government following a double standard, one policy for the people of Bangla-

desh and another policy for the people of Tamils in Sri Lanka? You have carved out a country for Bangladesh but for Tamils you are giving a continuous unit and that too subject to a referendum. You carve out a separate country for Bangladesh and a continuous unit for Tamils.

That too subject to a referendum for Sri Lanka Tamils. Thousands of people died, Property worth thousands of crores was destroyed. Having signed the agreement with Shri Rajiv Gandhi, Shri Jayawardene, the Sri Lankan President, has got the audacity of saying that integration of the Eastern Province with the Northern Province was a temporary arrangement and that he would canvas against the proposed referendum. Just now, an hon. Member from the Congress side was saying that there was a change of heart in Mr. Jayawardene. He said that it is only a temporary arrangement and that too he would canvas against the referendum. Is it a change of heart? How can the Government of India believe him? Shri Jayawardene has spent 7.5 lakhs US dollars to carry on the oppressive war not against the external forces but against the innocent Tamils. It is a unique example of a poor country which spends over 30% of its annual budget, not for defence or for External Affairs but to subjugate the poor citizens, the Tamils. The Tamil people whose origin in that Island dates back 2000 years or more are now subjected to such a humiliation by this Accord. So, this accord is an insult to the Tamil race, to the 2000 years old reputation, culture and civilization.

Mr. Balasingam says that "our problems and proper modalities should be worked out, ensuring the security of our people and our cadres." These things are not discussed, these things are not planned out. These things are not detailed out. So, just to show the world that the problem is solved for the sake of Accord, it is recorded, Sir. The Government of India is fully responsible for

the life of every Tamil, says Mr. Prabhakaran. The Tamils do not think that the Indo-Sri Lankan accord could provide a permanent solution for their problems. Sir, Shri Prabhakaran says: "the day is not far off when the Sinhala fascist monster will swallow the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord. Only an independent Tamil Eelam would solve the Problem". It is their feeling. I would like to remind Mr. Kolandaivelu. It is stated in *'The Hindu'* newspaper. He can go through. If he wants, I can give him the Xerox copy of the particular article.

SHRI P. KOLANDAIVELU: Has Mr. Prabhakaran said so? Does he say so? I think he did not utter a word about this.

SHRI N. V. N. SOMU: Yes, it is there. You please go through *'The Hindu'* newspaper. Only independent Tamil Eelam would solve the problem. It is mentioned there. Sir, I do not want to go into the Accord in detail which has already been dealt with by my colleagues here. But before I conclude, I want to say that till the separate Eelam is carved out as it was carved out in the case of Bangladesh, the accord will be only for the purpose of record and not for reality which will wipe out the tears of the millions of Tamils. Thank you.

SHRI BIPIN PAL DAS (Tezpur): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, as I was listening to the speeches, the other day, of my good friends Mr. Unnikrishnan and Mr. Reddi and also the running commentary from that side, when our people spoke, I was wondering whether they were really serious about this debate at all. Today, there is some atmosphere of seriousness. But Mr. Unnikrishnan and Mr. Jaipal Reddy did not appear to be serious at all on the subject matter of the debate.

14.11 hrs.

[SHRI ZAINUL BASHEER *in the Chair*]

They raised the debate for the sake of raising it and they also opposed the agreement for the sake of opposition. Sir, I listened to Mr. Madhav Reddi also. The whole speech of Mr. Madhav Reddi is full of "ifs" and "buts" and nothing more. The Government cannot proceed to deal with a matter like this and sign an agreement on the basis of doubts and suspicions. We have to take a step, a bold step forward. I do agree, there are risks. What is that agreement where there is no risk. What is the step that you take where there is no risk. Even if you walk out from this Parliament House, there is a risk of being knocked down. Risks are always there. We have to face and take that risk.

The question is, whether there is a solution or not. So far as my friend from DMK is concerned, I do not want to refer to his speech. It is because, if AIADMK is on the right side, DMK must be on the left side. If AIADMK is on the left side, DMK is on the right side.

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY (Midnapore): Why do you not bring an accord between DMK and AIADMK?

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI P. KOLANDAIVELU: As far as AIADMK is concerned, we are always on the right side.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI BIPIN PAL DAS: The main question is, whether you want a political solution to this problem or a military solution? That is the main question. If you want a political solution, this accord is the answer. I want to know from the hon. Members opposite whether they can produce another document better than this agreement to solve this problem. If they could come with it, of course, this can be examined. If they cannot, this agreement is a political answer to the politi-

[Sh. Bipin Pal Das]

cal problem in Sri Lanka. Anybody opposing this agreement will only encourage JVP and other Sinhalese extremists.

On the one hand, the process of surrender of arms has started and on the other, the process of withdrawal of Sri Lankan forces has also started. General amnesty has been declared for all Tamil militants. Are they not positive developments in the present situation? Do they not mean that steps are being taken to implement this agreement? Are we not on the right road? Now, Mr. Madhav Reddi has referred to the bomb explosion. Well, bombs are exploded and are being exploded every where. Is there no bomb explosion in India? Bomb explosion is done by extremists and there are extremists in Sri Lanka. It does certainly concern me. I condemn it. But that is not the reason for condemning this agreement. This is the point, I wanted to make. My friend, Mr. Madhav Reddi raised this point. So, I say that some steps have been taken, positive steps have been taken in the implementation of this agreement. This is the very happy augury.

This agreement is a frame-work of durable solution to the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka. This meets the basic aspirations of the Tamils. What are those aspirations?

They desire to be recognised as a distinct ethnic entity. Political autonomy for managing their political future, devolution of political power to meet this objective, recognition of Northern and Eastern Provinces as areas of historical habitation of the Tamils and acknowledgment and designation of Tamil as one of the official languages.

These are the basic aspirations of Tamil population of Sri Lanka. Have these not been met by this agreement? If the agreement satisfies that these aspirations are being met, then no use raising doubts and suspicions about the final success of this

agreement. I want to ask the critics of this agreement whether what I am saying is correct or not. This agreement lays down the process by which these aspirations of the Tamil population can be fulfilled. This is my contention.

A question has been raised "Does the agreement go astray from December 19 proposal?" Mr. K.P. Unnikrishnan raised it. Mr. Unnikrishnan does not know that in December 19 proposal, Northern and Eastern provinces were considered as two separate units. This agreement made Northern and Eastern provinces one single unit. Is it not an improvement? Have we gone astray? It is very much an improvement that President Jayewardene agreed to treat Northern and Eastern Provinces as one single unit.

A question has also been raised about referendum. Referendum is a democratic process. In such a matter where there are disputes in a particular area, referendum has to be taken. What is wrong in it?

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY (Midnapore): Referendum has to be taken in Kashmir.

SHRI BIPIN PAL DAS: Just wait. It is a principle. Now Mr. Unnikrishnan compared this referendum with the demand for plebiscite in Kashmir. Fantastic. I never thought Mr. Unnikrishnan would make such an irresponsible statement at this time. Are the questions same? Referendum within the unity and integrity of Sri Lanka is one thing and demand for plebiscite in Kashmir to disintegrate India is a different thing. The two things are entirely different. Can there be any comparison? I am surprised that Mr. Unnikrishnan raised this question.

This referendum will be held under the supervision of the Election Commission of India. Is that not enough guarantee that there will be free and fair conduct of the

referendum? I must thank that Mr. Jayewardene agreed to utilise the services of Election Commission of India to supervise this referendum and, this is not a very small thing.

Now some friends said that this referendum may be postponed by Mr. Jayewardene. Yes. If the situation is not quite congenial for holding a referendum, if President Jayewardene postponed it, what do you lose? The United Eastern and Northern provinces will continue to be a single administrative unit. If the referendum is postponed, the united unit of Eastern and Southern and Northern provinces will continue. What is wrong? What do the Tamils lose? They will not lose anything and the referendum, as I said, will be held under the supervision of the Indian Election Commission.

I am sorry that Mr. Unnikrishnan quoted Mrs. Bandaranaike as saying that Indian peace keeping force was an occupation force. Mr. Unnikrishnan should know that in 1971, it is Mrs. Bandaranaike herself at whose request Indian Peace force went to Sri Lanka to put down the insurgency of the JVP.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Basirhat): Our forces did not go. We sent arms.

SHRI BIPIN PAL DAS: We sent arms. All right. Mrs. Bandaranaike at that time wanted our help. She wanted our help in order to fight the terrorists there. Today, she might have something else in her mind. Perhaps, she is simply imitating the practice of some of our Opposition Leaders who would say one thing while in power and would say something else while in the Opposition.

SHRI P. KOLANDAIVELU: Not all...

(Interruptions)

SHRIBIPIN PAL DAS: It is like my friend Mr. Madhu Dandavate. I think I am right.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH): Sir, since Shri Indrajit Gupta has raised a point, the Prime Minister's statement on 31st July reads: "hon. Members will recall that the same organisation i.e. the JVP., engineered a large-scale insurrection in Sri Lanka in 1971, the then Prime Minister Mrs. Bandaranaike had asked for assistance to put down this insurgency and we had given prompt and full assistance." That is the record.

(Interruptions)

SHRI BIPIN PAL DAS: That is what has been said. Now, let it be clearly understood that the Indian peace-keeping force is there in Sri Lanka at the invitation of President Jayewardene. That was very clearly understood. The moment he feels that it is not necessary, certainly our troops will come back. I must take this opportunity to congratulate our Prime Minister and President Jayewardene for their courage, Wisdom and statemanship in signing this historic Agreement which is unprecedented in the annals of international relations. They have done great service not only to the people of Sri Lanka but also to the cause of peace in the world. They did sign this at the risk of lives. As a matter of fact, our Prime Minister actually faced that risk and President Jayewardene is still perhaps facing it.

Some people while discussing this Agreement tend to miss the wood by counting the trees. I am not going into the details of all the clauses. There is no point in it. What is the overall impact and the consequence of this Agreement. What is the vital and important point? The doubting Thomases will continue to doubt anything and everything on earth and they only get lost in an atmos-

[Sh. Bipin Pal Das]

phere of confusion or sometimes in a psychic ailment.

What is the overall significance of this Agreement? Firstly, this is a bold attempt to solve the ethnic crisis in Sri Lanka. The ball has been set into motion and I hope that the people of Sri Lanka - Tamils, Sinhalese and others will rise to the occasion and allow their wisdom and discretion to prevail and to play the desired role in implementing this Accord.

Secondly, this Agreement ensures unity, integrity and stability of Sri Lanka. This is important not only for Sri Lanka but also for us. We cannot afford to look on while our neighbour's house is on fire. It is in our interest, therefore, that the unity, integrity and stability of Sri Lanka is ensured and guaranteed.

Thirdly, this Agreement has further strengthened the bond of friendship between India and Sri Lanka. This in itself is a great achievement of our Prime Minister. Abiding friendship with neighbours is not only a basic requirement for us but also one of the major objectives of our foreign policy. We have set an example for the whole world that problems among neighbours can be resolved bilaterally if there is a will and honest intention to do so.

Fourthly, The Agreement has strengthened the SAARC and I need not dilate upon the importance of SAARC in this House. Everybody knows it. Our success in reaching this Agreement with Sri Lanka has opened the doors for similar approaches to resolve problems with other members in our neighbourhood. That is very important.

Fifthly it is in the geo-strategic interest of India that Sri Lanka does not stray into the by-lanes of international manoeuvres. Sri Lanka has conceded four major points which

had been causing us worries for quite some time. Now, Sri Lanka has agreed that she will not allow Trincomalee to become an American naval base. The tank farm contract with a Singapore-based firm which is a proxy of the U.S. interests is to be scrapped and the project, henceforward, will be a joint Indo-Sri Lanka project. The Agreement for the Voice of America transmitters in Sri Lanka will be reviewed. Fourthly, the role of outside agencies and mercenaries is also to be reviewed to conform to Indian interests. These are very significant steps in our favour. In short, Sri Lanka has become a part of India's strategic orbit, denying any other power.....

SHRI ANIL BASU (Arambagh): Is it a part of the Accord?

SHRI BIPIN PAL DAS: It is my interpretation. I am giving my interpretation.

In short, Sri Lanka has become a part of India's strategic orbit, denying any other power, regional or extra-regional, any role in the island without India's consent. This is a very vital point which we must take note of.....

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: I hope the hon. Minister will disagree with your interpretation.

SHRI BIPIN PAL DAS: He might disagree. But it is my interpretation.

From all these considerations, this Agreement will help to further strengthen the non-aligned movement and to ensure the health and development of the South Asian region free from the interference of outside powers.

I conclude by saying that the most important and significant thing that has happened is that two non-aligned countries have come to an agreement to resolve a very difficult problem without the intervention of a

third power. This is a great victory for the principle of bilateralism which we enunciated at the time of signing the Simla Agreement. This is also a great victory for the non-aligned movement.

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY (Midnapore): Mr. Chairman, Sir, we welcome this Accord which has now come, but not with euphoria; nor do we denounce this Accord. What has it achieved? We hope that it will end violence, we hope that the extremists and other forces will lay down their arms, that the northern and the eastern Tamil areas will be coming under one administration, that attempts to make the Sri Lankan Port Trincomalee a base of American forces will not succeed and that the anti-India propaganda from the Voice of America Radio Station would end. These are good things.

The economy of Sri Lanka was cracking, was being shattered day by day, 25 per cent of their budget was being spent to curb this so-called terrorism or extremism as Sri Lanka may call it. But it is one thing to have an Accord and another thing to have the Accord implemented. Actually we have seen the Punjab Accord and how its implementation has taken place. There are other Accords also. Accords meant to add a feather to the cap of the Prime Minister are one thing and implementation of the Accords is another thing. We only hope that the Accord will be implemented....

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH): I did not want to interrupt the hon. Member but I just want to make it clear that this is an Agreement, not an Accord, not a Treaty, not a Pact, not anything else. It is an Agreement. Therefore, please refer to it as an Agreement.

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY: We hope it is so. This Agreement, as today's bomb blast has proved, is not liked by large num-

ber of Sinhalese. The Prime Minister of Ceylon was absent when this Agreement was signed and we know, our Tamil brothers had to take up arms under compulsion to face Sinhalese violence and chauvanism from which this Ceylon people are suffering. It still persists. We cannot forget this thing.

So, Sir, there are many genuine apprehensions. First of all, we wish it a success. But that does not mean that if anybody has shown some apprehension, some fears, you will say, that he is anti-Agreement. This is not correct. Even it has been referred in the 'Indian Post' dated 12.8.87 that our present President has expressed his apprehension on this Agreement. He has himself expressed apprehension. I hope, that our Minister will give reply to that.

Regarding the role of the Indian Army, who controls this army? How long will it stay? Shri Jayewardene.....

(Interruptions)

SHRI BIPIN PAL DAS: He read 'Indian Post'. What is the date?

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY: It is dated 12.8.87. It has reported that our President has not liked this Agreement. (Interruptions)

The Indian Army is under Jayewardene. How long Indian Army is required to stay there? When will it come back? What happens when it departs? What will happen to Tamilians who are genuinely afraid? We know Sinhalese chauvanism. They don't like the present Indian army. Even as a peace-keeping force, nobody likes foreign army to stay there for long. That is very objectionable. What will be done if after the departure of Indian Army, Tamilians are attacked? How do you save them? This is the question. Tamilians are giving up their arms. After the laying down of arms to the Indian Army,

[Sh. Narayan Choubey]

Tamilians will not be able to put an end to the chauvanistic ideas of the people of Cylone if they are attacked. Is it a fact that Indian Army is going to stay there, if not as a peace-keeping force as an occupational force? This is a very difficult thing.....

(Interruptions)

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY
(Katwa): It is an occupational hazard.

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY: It is difficult to believe Mr. Jayewardene also. Jayewardene is a very old politician who has made, many twists and turns in his career. There are many times in the past when he had agreed to the Indian points. Again on the next day he went back. Recently he said that he has been compelled to take aid from India because he did not get aid from USA. USA has declined to give aid. Now, Sir, what is the role of USA? USA has welcomed the accord. In Bengal, we have a proverb, "Do not believe, do not like snakes who laughs."

(Interruptions)

AN HON. MEMBER: Can it laugh?

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY: It laughs sometimes before it bites. USA's imperialism is known to world peace. Mr. Reagan supported the accord. This accord does not allow US forces to come to Trincomalee. This accord does not like VOA to occupy Sri Lanka. Even then American imperialism supports this accord.

Is it not a fact that the Indian army will be only taking arms from the Tamil militants and then a situation will be so created that India cannot come out of this situation and is compelled to stay there and the American imperialism will have the last laugh? This is the danger which I point out.

Four or five days back the US imperialism has strengthened its bases in Deigo Garcia. It is because of the American imperialism that now the entire middle-east is burning and the gulf is burning. When such an imperialist America is supporting this agreement apprehensions arise. Why is it so?

There are many groups among the Tamil militants. There are LTTE, EROS, TULF, TELO, PLOTE etc. Of course, the most influential among them is the one of which Mr. Prabhakaran is the leader. The fact is that even now what we are noting with concern are the bomb blasts. Today also there was a bomb blast in the Parliament there. We are noting in the Press that Mr. Prabhakaran and his friends are not very serious about laying down the arms. They are saying, it has come in the Indian Press also, that a section of them are working so that this Accord does not succeed. I don't know why. They are making a propaganda against the Indian army. They say that it is an agreement between India and Sri Lanka, and the Tamil people of Sri Lanka have nothing to do with this. Is it the way a responsible leader has to speak on the agreement? These pitfalls are very much there for which an answer must be given by the Government of India.

You are dealing only with the group of Mr. Prabhakaran. The Government of India should deal with other groups also, if you do so you are so good. It has not been mentioned in the agreement. Of course, you should be very serious of Mr. Prabhakaran and his group because they are the strongest ones. But there are other groups also and you have to see that they don't fight among themselves. We sometimes see that the Tamils fight among themselves, killing each other and annihilating each other. They are on an annihilating campaign!

If these things are sorted out, only then this agreement is going to be successful. Otherwise the doubts and apprehensions which have been expressed by many will nullify and we shall be in an endless dispute and we won't be able to come out or live in. That will be the position.

[Translation]

It will be just like the case of a snake and musk-rat. If a snake has a musk-rat in his mouth neither he can swallow it nor throw it out.

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE (Jadavpur): As you C.P.M. people have in Bengal.

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY: She has nothing except C.P.M. in her mind. It will be all right if she is asked to keep a photograph of C.P.M. and worship it.

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE: Neither we shall allow you to swallow nor throw it out.

[English]

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY: Again we wish this agreement all success. I want to end by saying that we want this agreement to be a success, let peace prevail in Sri Lanka, let the Tamil brothers enjoy full autonomy, let the eastern and the northern parts unite and get full autonomy. But what will happen to my questions? We want them to be answered. We are whole-heartedly supporting the agreement. But supporting does not mean that we cannot put questions. We hope that he will give the answer.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Sir, through you may I request the hon. Minister to inform the House of whatever news they have officially received about this very disturbing incident, that is, the attempt on President

Jayewardene's life a few hours ago? We are getting all sorts of news but we do not know whether they are reliable or not. He must have got some official version. He might tell us what has happened.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH): Sir, we have been in touch with Colombo since this morning. The earlier report was that there had been an explosion in Parliament. That is not the case. The explosion took place inside the Committee Room of Parliament when the President was about to address the parliamentary group of the ruling party. This is the information we have got from our High Commissioner on the telephone. The incident took place between 8.50 and 9.00 AM. According to the latest information the President himself spoke to the High Commissioner after the attack. The President has mercifully escaped unhurt. But according to the report at 10 AM several Ministers and Members of Parliament had been injured. Some of them badly.

Then there was a second telephone conversation in which it was said that the Minister for Internal Security, Mr. Lalit Athulathmudali had been fairly seriously injured and two other Ministers, Mr. Vincent Pereira and Monique Jayavikrama and also Mr. Percy Samaravira, Chief Whip and Minister of State.

Sir, these reports are all received on the telephone. I am not sure whether they are 100 per cent correct because there seems to be some confusion and conflicting messages.

Another report said that four Ministers and 20 MPs had been injured. Two or three grenades had been thrown into the meeting and the people who threw them are reported to have escaped. The message that we got

[Sh. K. Natwar Singh]

at 1350 hrs was that one Member of Parliament has unfortunately died and that one of the Ministers has been seriously injured in the abdomen and neck and has been operated upon. As soon as I have any more information I will let you know. The President and the Prime Minister have sent messages to the President of Sri Lanka.

SHRI SOMNATH RATH (Aska): Mr. Chairman, Sir, India was all along saying that the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka should be solved politically and not by force. The democratic method is the only method of getting long-term solution.

This ethnic problem in Sri Lanka has been discussed in the House more than once. I only want some of the Opposition Members to recollect that it had been stated during the debate by some Members of this House that India should take extreme steps to put an end to the mass-killings in Sri Lanka and the reply given by the Minister had not satisfied them. They were also demanding that extreme steps should be taken by the Government. It had been said during the debate that Pakistan has also supplied arms to Sri Lanka and the foreign forces were very much on the soil of Sri Lanka—those forces who are against the interests of India. Under these circumstances, is this agreement not unique and historic agreement? It is the first agreement of its kind in the whole world accepting peaceful coexistence and values of non-alignment. Rightly our beloved Prime Minister Shri Rajiv Gandhi has stated that the agreement proved that the non-aligned countries can solve their problems without interference of big powers.

There are about 1 1/2 lakh Tamil refugees in our country. At whose cost? What are their miseries? To solve their problem, this agreement is the only solution. It has been commented that why should the Indian

Government enter into agreement with Sri Lanka and why not with the Tamil militants. Can there be restoration of confidence between Sri Lanka Tamils and Sinhalese unless there is some protection? Because of the agreement between President Jayewardene and the Prime Minister of India, the Tamils in Sri Lanka now feel that they have a protection. Our forces there to maintain peace have boosted their confidence.

* Sir, the foreign forces, who are against Indian interests, were showing their presence in Sri Lanka. There was a grave threat to our region. There was a concentration of naval forces in the Indian Ocean. Some foreign powers were very active to utilise the ports of Sri Lanka for their own interest. It was a threat to peace. This agreement is not only a solution to peaceful coexistence and sending the Tamil refugees to Sri Lanka and maintain peace in Sri Lanka, but also has got another significance. That significance is that we are to guard the strategic points of our country from south. There was invasion to this country from north. If the situation that was existing in Sri Lanka would have been allowed to continue, who knows some other power, hostile to us, would have utilized Sri Lanka as base and it would have been a grave threat to our independence.

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY: Who is that power?

SHRI SOMNATH RATH: My friend knows that power very well because he doesn't support that power..... (*Interruptions*).....

Sir, even the Nobel Prize for peace has been suggested for our Prime Minister Shri Rajiv Gandhi and Shri Jayewardene. The news that we have received that there was an explosion in the Parliament, necessarily provokes a fact or else raises a sufficient suspicion that some forces are out to sabotage the agreement. There are some forces

that are out to destabilise the non-aligned countries. It has come out in the newspapers; at least, one newspaper in Bombay has mentioned, how the CIA is acting.

In this House we have expressed our sentiments that the Indian Government should play some important role and the Government policy was that this problem has to be politically solved. There was no other alternative than this agreement. We should be optimistic and should not be pessimistic. At this juncture it is our duty to support this agreement, strengthen the hands of our Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, so that India can proceed further and see that the agreement is implemented. We should now give suggestions how best the agreement can be implemented.

This is a national issue; it is not a party issue. We should not oppose it for the sake of opposing it. It was stated by some Members, at least by one Member, that our forces which are there for peace, may be the force for occupation. Certainly not. The forces that were trying to go to Sri Lanka for occupation have been averted by this agreement and the Tamilians there will now enjoy all political and civil rights and live there as honourable citizens having same and equal footing with others. This agreement has given much more than the basic demands of the Sri Lankan Tamilians. They have now no grievances.

It was stated that the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka did not attend the function, but it has been reported later that he welcomed this agreement.....(*Interruptions*). Let us not import our own ideas into these things and say whatever we like.

Our Prime Minister purchased peace at the risk of his life. Now the life of the President of Sri Lanka is at stake. Under these circumstances, we should not say that this agreement is not in favour of the people of Sri

Lanka or India, but we should extend our sincere support to this agreement and see how best it can be implemented.

After this agreement, India and Bangladesh are going to reach an agreement for the repatriation of about fifty thousand tribals, mostly chakmas, to go from India to Bangladesh. Sir, for the removal of apartheid and racists' operations in South Africa, India has taken a lead. India is the Chairman of the 'Africa Fund'. South Africa is the biggest prison in the whole world. Under all these circumstances, the action taken by our Prime Minister is really praise-worthy.

Once again I request all the Members of this House, especially our friends in Opposition, for the sake of national interest, let us all join hands together to see how best these issues can be solved and our national interest is safeguarded.

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE: Sir, what happened in Sri Lanka today, should be condemned by the House.

SHRI BIPIN PAL DAS: Sir, what happened to her proposal? I think the Chair should agree to condemn the incident that took place today in Sri Lanka.

MR CHAIRMAN: Yes, it will be done.

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOOWALIA (Sangrur): Sir, while discussing the Agreement my learned friends from both sides have expressed their views, by and large, appreciating this Accord. My party Shiromani Akali Dal, under the leadership of late Sant Longowal and the present leader Sardar Surjit Singh Barnala, has always welcomed the peaceful solution of the problems through negotiations. Sir, in this House we have discussed many times the problem of Sri Lanka, but today we are discussing the Sri Lanka Accord. Sir, this Agreement will certainly strengthen the hands of nationalist

[Sh. Balwant Singh Ramoowalia]

forces who want the unity, integrity and sovereignty of Sri Lanka to be honoured by all. The continuous disturbances in Sri Lanka could result in the accumulation of weapons by the Imperialist forces. So, with this Agreement, we are now in a position to safe-guard this interest also. The terrorism from both the sides was the cause of escalation of this conflict and by this Accord the terrorism which was created by certain terrorists' group has come to an end.

So, Sir, while appreciating the step taken by our Hon. Prime Minister to bring peace in our neighbouring tiny island and also at the same time expressing good wishes for the success of this Agreement, I would like to refer to the Punjab Accord which our Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi signed with Sant Longowal. The success and failure of the Agreement and Accord depends upon its honest implementation. I would urge upon the Government and especially the Prime Minister that the way he has taken daring step to solve the problem of Sri Lanka, he should also take effective steps to implement the Punjab Accord.

15.00 hrs.

As far as this Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement is concerned, you have talked to people on all sides. You have also guaranteed general amnesty to many. But when it comes to Punjab, why are you not prepared to release the Jodhpur detenus? Only 157 persons are to be released. There are only 157 army deserters. If they are released, there will be harmony and mutual trust and this will prepare the ground to fight terrorism. If Punjab Accord is to be honestly implemented, if you want a joint effort to fight terrorism, you should carry all sections of our society-people who are nationalists and who want the unity of country-with you. With these words, I conclude.

[SHRI SHARAD DIGHE *in the Chair*]

[*Translation*]

DR. G.S. RAJHANS (Jhanjharpur): Mr. Chairman, Sir, Mr. Choubey calls it an Accord and our hon. Minister an agreement which has been signed in Sri Lanka. It is in itself an historical Accord. In future, whenever the history of South Asia will be written, I have no doubt that this agreement and the manner in which our leader got it signed will find very important place in it. It will be mentioned in golden letters that such an agreement was signed at the initiative of our leader. For the last three years this entire South Asian region was engulfed in incidents of violence in Sri Lanka. During the last 2 1/2 years we have been discussing Sri Lanka problem in this House from time to time and expressing disappointment. We had never thought that this problem will be solved, but a light in the tunnel and brightness in darkness appeared and there has been a nearabout solution to the Sri Lanka problem. The accord has since been signed. We have not paid our attention towards a very interesting thing that has taken place after signing this agreement. Most of the western press have expressed doubt about the implementation of the agreement. It was their view that it is all right that the accord has some how been, signed, but will it be implemented or not? They have given a number of reasons. The reasons are very unimaginative. It proves that our so-called friends in the Western world are not happy because the agreement was signed without seeking their help. Perhaps it is the first occasion that two non-aligned countries could arrive at an agreement on a very complicated issue without involving any super power. It is said that press is very very impartial in western world. But it is unfortunate that on this issue they sided with their leaders and not with the truth. I would like to say this much that our Government should put its heart and soul together to implement

the accord in letter and spirit. It is not easy to implement it. Many apprehensions have been expressed in this regard. But we may not discuss these apprehensions in this House because it may shake the self-confidence of our peace keeping force and our Tamil brethren. It will also strengthen the hand of those external powers which are bent upon weakening India as well as Sri Lanka.

For example, when Bangladesh became independent, there were great jubiliations in this region. But the external powers destroyed the democracy in Bangladesh and set their leadership against India. The above bitterness has receded to some extent after the SAARC, but it is still there in the hearts. Therefore, I would like to submit to my colleagues and brethren that it is a very crucial hour, a very delicate time. In this delicate hour, we should not express any apprehension. We may show to the entire world that we are fully capable and vigilant and this agreement must be implemented.

There is shocking news being displayed outside the Library, a despatch of the P.T.I. Some thing wrong has happened in the Sri Lanka Parliament or committee. A very bad news is coming. Therefore, we have to admit that President Jayewardene is passing through a lot of strain. He has mustered great courage to arrive at this agreement and we must congratulate him. Our entire country is with him and the entire country will stand by him, because it is a close relationship between two brothers. We will not allow this relationship to end. At the same time, we condemn any such attack inside the Parliament or outside it. A resolution to this effect should be passed by the House.

Finally, I would like to tell one thing that all aspects have been included in the process of implementation. I thank Shri Rajiv Ji that he has provided light to South Asia in its real sense and at the right time and South

Asia will remain grateful to him for ever.

[English]

DR. DATTA SAMANT (Bombay South Central): Sir, for the last about three years both the Tamils and the Sinhalese had been fighting a bloody battle by killing each other. So far about 14,000 people have been killed. Few crores worth property have been lost. Ladies were raped. What is happening there is I think beyond imagination. It is a very typical situation. With one-third population on one side and the other two-third population on the other side in the small State who are economically backward and in such a situation, ultimately the Government of the country has to take a decision whether it would be appropriate to take military action or not. I think, as far as my knowledge goes, I have never come across such a situation. I have never heard such thing where both the sides have lost so much. I have seen that in the labour movement. After long struggle, both of them will not be prepared to talk to each other. They want only a solution. In that situation, I think it is a good thing that our Prime Minister and the President of Sri Lanka have done to bring both the sides on a negotiating table to solve this ethnic problem.

Otherwise, until and unless one community is completely vanished, there will not be any peace in that country. And the big powers are interested to take charge of that situation. It is all right. Lot of things have been said, e.g. that in the north, some bases are there, affecting the security of our country. Tamils in India have links with the Indian Tamils there. There is some opening for the settlement of these people.

Sri Lanka is economically backward. This is the time when that State should develop. Pakistan, U.S. and Israel are trying to take advantage of the situation there, and have their roots in Sri Lanka.

[Dr. Datta Samant]

While arriving at this agreement, not Accord, both the sides were not consulted. Tamils were not consulted. Sinhalese were not consulted. Unfortunately, among the Tamils there are 4 or 5 groups. Some of them are out to take the blood of the others. I will give you credit for the agreement, only when the agreement is implemented, and peace is brought to this island. Then I think 100% credit can be given. Efforts are being made, but both the sides are not prepared. The fear in the minds of Mr. Prabhakaran and the other people are genuine. They are fighting for five years. Suddenly you tell them: 'Surrender your arms'. Ultimately, they may be killed by the Sinhalese, and the Tamils will become helpless. Anyhow, the Government has forced them, and has told them that their security will be taken care of. Gradually they are agreeing. Gradually Jayewardene is releasing the prisoners. In that sense, both the sides appear to be making honest efforts.

Mr. Jayewardene has to be believed. He is a senior politician. I think that in 1957 he was against the Sinhalese. At that time, his stand was different different from the one he is taking now. He was criticizing the Bandaranaike's Government then. Subsequently he says he has changed, and has changed his stand. These senior veteran politicians are changing their behaviour suddenly. So, our Prime Minister has to be very watchful.

A lot of things are happening in our own country. There is a lot of criticism against the Government here. Perhaps in order to create a better image for it within the country and to show how active our Government is, this has been done. During the discussion on the Bofors issue, our Defence Minister said: 'We have done such a good thing. But we are discussing the Bofors here.' Perhaps you might have decided to create an image immediately. That may be one of the rea-

sons for our Prime Minister to take immediate steps, giving publicity and what not.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH): Not, fair. (*Interruptions*)

DR. DATTA SAMANT: I am not denying the work done. But it is the duty of this Government to see that the agreement is implemented properly, and you have to bring both the parties - parties which are fighting.

There are some more points: in the Provincial Council, there are ten members. They have to be nominated. I think that there are a good number of Muslims in the North and in the East. I think you have to give them two seats. In the eastern province, there are a good number of Sinhalese in one corner. They are asking for some seats. Our Mr. Prabhakaran is not happy regarding that. It is not a small thing. It is more than a detailed, major operation. It is a big surgery. Nobody is having faith in the other. Out of these ten seats, I think some three seats will definitely have to be given. About the remaining seven, I think quarrels have already started. Our Mr. Prabhakaran says he wants a majority of seats. EROS says it wants two seats. Even Mr. Amrithalingam says he wants a minimum of one seat. So, you should be cautious in this regard. You must consult Mr. Jayewardene and see how this is going to be done ultimately. This is a question of administration. People are not going to have faith. I think our people will have to show a high degree of skill in arranging these things.

The battle there is going on for the last five years. Initially, there were two nations there; one was the Tamil, and the other Sinhalese. The Britishers brought them together and made them into one Ceylonese nation. In such a type of situation, we have killed 14,000 people. India's planes have gone there, dropping food....(*Interruptions*)

SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH: We have not killed. (*Interruptions*)

DR. DATTA SAMANT: I meant those sides. (*Interruptions*) I mentioned in the beginning that both the sides were engaged in the battle. Even monks were killed. They are also fighting. Whatever is happening. Sinhalese do not have belief. They are deadly against the President there. You have to develop faith in the minds of such people. Nobody likes a foreign army; India will not like anybody's Army coming and staying here. In such a situation, how are you going to work further and arrange things? Today, there is dissatisfaction all round. There are some other points also.

The American transmitter is still there. They have assured you that within 24 hours they will remove it, but they have not done it. It is for you to judge how Reagan and other people are honest. I do not know because so far as my knowledge goes they have not removed it from there. They may be playing some mischief with the Indian people; that is how it is to be judged. I do not understand how these things are going to happen and how they are going to work there. Tomorrow, if a referendum takes place, again the Muslims and the Sinhalese will participate in it. This is not going to satisfy you. According to this Accord, you are going to from north-east and Tamil zones and are going to give them the status. I have read about it in the Accord. What are the powers for them? Who will control the law and order situation, Will it controlled from the Centre or the State, It is not like Indian Constitution. What is their Constitution? The States which are formed, north and east and our zone, according to this Accord, what are the constitutional rights for them? It is not mentioned in the Accord. Who is going implement the law and order problem is going to be an issue?

SHRI P KOLANDAIVELU: It will become one administrative unit.

DR. DATTA SAMANT: Who is going to control the law and order situation? What are the powers for them? Tomorrow if Jayewardene says that he is going to control the law and order situation, then everything will be spoiled. You are passing through a very serious situation. After today's decision everybody will become cautious. Mr. Prabhakaran says that they are laying down the arms because the Indian Government has taken charge of their protection. But after today's decision - some of the things have already happened - again they are going to retaliate. This is more than a communal riot in India. A lot of things have been said from both the sides. It is going to be a massacre. Forget about the agreement or the accord, it is going to boomerang on you. Of course, it should not be there. I am not criticising; I am just giving a warning. It is the duty of the Indian Government to take the maximum interest in it and try to implement these Accord fully.

At any cost Mr. Jayewardene must be there. Now, Smt. Bandaranaike is criticising it; her aim is to criticise it. If at all Mr. Jayewardene is thrown away, then whatever government is going to come, it will be more harsh and there will be a masacre in Ceylon. Therefore, it is nor just a publicity Mr. Hon. Minister; not it is the duty of the Prime Minister and the Indian Government, at any cost, to see that the terms of the settlement of the agreement must be implemented to the last stage. We are passing through a big crisis and I hope you will be able to do that. Remaining compliments I will pay you after that.

PROF. P.J. KURIEN (Idukki): I rise to support this agreement. On all accounts, this agreement is historic one. I think that every Indian can be proud of this Accord.

the other day I listened to the speech of Mr. Unnikrishnan, the mover of this resolution. In spite of being a mover he is not

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present here. I am sorry to say that he was so obsessed with the kind of political jaundice that he could not see the brighter side of the Accord at all. Listening to his speech, I was reminded of a Malayalam couplet.

*Sheeramulla Akidin Chuvattilvm
Chora Thanne Kothukinu Kauthukam*

its meaning is that even in the udder of a cow full of milk, the mosquito is interested in blood only.

I think this explains Mr. Unnikrishnan's attitude. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: You compared Mr Unnikrishnan to a mosquito! (*Interruptions*) The whole couplet is gone.

PROF. P.J. KURIEN: In this context you can compare Mr. Unnikrishnan to so many things. Sir, He vehemently criticised the Accord. He has a right to do so. I have no complaint. But he seems to have forgotten that this is an Agreement and not an award. In an Agreement, always two parties meet half way. None of the parties can claim that all their points have been met. This is an agreement between our country and Sri Lanka. Therefore, we should not claim, and we do not claim, that everything that we wanted was achieved. But instead, we should look at it from a different angle. Can there be a better agreement than this? Is an agreement better than this possible, keeping the unity and integrity of Sri Lanka in view? Because that was the consistent stand we were taking. Within the territorial integrity and unity and sovereignty of Sri Lanka I do not think that a better agreement that this is possible.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please conclude.

PROF. P.J. KURIEN: What is this? How

many minutes are given?

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: You wasted time on a useless couplet.

PROF. P.J. KURIEN: I have spoken only for two minutes.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The Minister has to reply.

PROF. P.J. KURIEN: I have spoken only for two minutes. I do not want to speak then. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI A. CHARLES: You carry on. Do not be silly.

PROF. P.J. KURIEN: I have spoken for only two minutes. All the others have spoken for thirty minutes.

On all accounts it is the best.

Accord that is possible. Looking at the Accord, I have to say two or three points.

First, the most important point is, was the Accord necessary at all? In this very House We discussed a number of times about the Sri Lanka problem. All of us were clamouring for a political solution of the problem. Such were the killings going on in Sri Lanka. Such was the genocide being perpetuated on the Tamil minorities and when a political solution has come now, what are some of us doing? We are conducting microscopic research to find out loopholes if any in the Accord. Instead of seeing the Accord in its totality and welcoming it, we are asking what will happen if the Accord fails as if in any Accord, it would be written as to what happens if the Accord fails! Shri Madhav Reddi was asking, "What will happen if the Accord fails?" It is not the angle by which we should look at it. No, Sir, whether the Accord has served a purpose? It is fulfilling the objectives. The killing has been

stopped. The surrender of arms continues. Sri Lankan army is back to the barracks. Our peace keeping force is there monitoring the process. Is it not a success of the Accord? To say that the Accord is temporary or again to say that Mr. Jayawardene is not sincere, I should say, in the least, is uncharitable or cruel.

The most important thing to be looked at is, whether in this our interests have been protected or not.

Anybody who has gone through the Accord or has at least listened to the Prime Minister's speech know that we have regained the lost initiative in that region, in that political context, (*Interruptions*) is it a small thing?

Again, we could ensure that, or President Jayewardene has assured us, that no more foreign elements will be entertained there, those foreign elements which are a threat to our security.

We could ensure that Trincomalee will no more be used as a military base by foreign countries. Is it not something to be proud of? Is it a small thing?

Sir, above all, we find that our Prime Minister is being trusted by President Jayewardene and the Sri Lankan Government to solve an internal problem of theirs. Is it not something to be proud of to an Indian? I know that some people like Mr. Unnikrishnan and Company may not like it. But any Indian citizen will feel proud of it.

I do not want to take much time of the House. I require only two more minutes time.

Mr. Unnikrishnan has said that this agreement is a sell out of Tamil interests. But, you must have read in the newspapers that the Buddhists monks say that this accord is a sell out to India. It is very clear that these

are the two extreme positions. These extreme positions show that the accord is certainly sound.

Sir, hon. Member Mr. Somu was speaking sometime back in this House that the accord is something that has been thrust upon the Tamil people. Sir, I would like to quote the Times of India: dated 6th August from an eye witness.

"The massive turnout of some 200,000 people at the Sudumalai Amman temple on the outskirts of the city to hear the LTTE supreme commander, Mr. V. Prabhakaran, yesterday was indicative of the new mood of hope of the terrorised Tamils in the Jaffna Peninsula".

Sir, this is reported by an eye-witness.

Again I quote:

"Tuesday's meeting seemed to be an occasion for them to celebrate the event and people in hundreds turned up from all over the Peninsula. In contrast, in the pre-agreement situation, even holding a street-corner meet would have been difficult.

This is how the Tamils in Jaffna have welcomed this accord. They poured out into the street in south end to welcome the accord. On the day the accord was signed, there was a lot of jubilation among the Tamils in Jaffna. This is the fact.

Mr. Unnikrishnan himself has quoted, Mr. Prabhakaran was saying that by this agreement, India's influence on Sri Lanka has increased. He has criticised it. Even if that is true, why does not he like it? I would only like to say that instead of reading too much in the accord, they should try to see what is written in the accord. This accord is a historic one. This accord has brought

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home to our neighbours that we are interested in keeping their territorial integrity and we are interested in keeping them in tact. This message has gone to all our neighbours. Sir, This accord is also a victory to the non-alignment movement. Therefore, Sir, this House should whole-heartedly support this accord. This accord also speaks of the sagacity and statesmanship of our Prime Minister. Those who cannot see it are only just like blind men who say that it is dark at noon.

SHRI M.S. GILL (Ludhiana): Ever since the leader of the House, our Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, made a statement on the floor of the House on the 30th of July in connection with the agreement between India and Sri Lanka, we have been hearing multitudes of comments both from internal media and international press. Some of them have gone to the extent of calling it a "historic agreement of the century". And some of the supporters of the Prime Minister have recommended both Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, and President Jayewardene for a Nobel Prize. And some of them have called this agreement as a "monumental victory of Indian diplomacy". They have also called it "another feather in the hat of Indian foreign affairs". But on the other hand, some of them have called this agreement as going back to "square minus one of the Tamils". So many commentaries are coming from different aspects and different quarters.

As for me, I neither call it as a historic agreement or a historic document nor I call it as a document of square one. I look at it from a different angle altogether. If nothing else has been achieved, at least it is a step towards the stoppage of the flowing and spilling of Sri Lankan blood, whether it is Tamil's or Sinhalese, on the face of Sri Lanka. It is a document which is a real translation of the silent prayers of thousands of those sisters and mothers who would go to

the temples and pray for the safety of their brothers, husbands and children. Again, this is a silent echo of the moans of those orphans who are lying in the hospitals half-dead. Therefore, in view of this, in my opinion, Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi and President Jayewardene deserve our congratulations-not only our congratulations but the congratulations of all the peace loving people of this world. Let these people know that in the wars of today, struggles of today, nobody can claim total victory on the other party: no section can ever claim total victory on the other section. It will be the victory of peace and forces of tranquillity only. Ultimately, these forces can claim the victory and nobody else in the wars of today. It is in this perspective that we have to look into this document which has been brought about by a tremendous effort of both the parties.

The agreement has been brought about to meet, as the language of the agreement tells us, the aspirations of the Tamilians who were struggling for obtaining certain objects. Out of those, five objects have been detailed in the agreement. Those are: recognition of Tamil as a separate ethnic entity, their right to govern themselves as a unit, recognition of their language, recognition of the northern and eastern provinces as one unit, political autonomy with apportionment of powers and devolution of authority on them. In order to achieve this objective, this agreement which has been reduced into certain sentences, has brought eastern and northern units as one administrative unit although it is subject to referendum ultimately. Although there may be something which critics call that Jayewardene may allow certain Sinhalese to enter the eastern province and defeat the object of referendum at a particular stage later on, the object for the time being is achieved i.e. the unity of these two provinces. Then, there is the autonomy which is recognised in the Agreement itself. All these things have been achieved for the time being.

Now there are reactions. As we have seen in the news and read in the papers, there was a reaction from both the sides—the Tamilians and also the Sinhalese. The reaction is in the form of blasts, in the form of certain firings, and also in the form of certain statements condemning certain aspects of the Agreement. It is not unusual. Whenever there is an Agreement, there is always a criticism from one side or the other regarding the lacunae because it is never cent per cent fulfilment of the desires of the parties. The Agreement is always between the two and this will continue. But there are certain lessons to be noted from this Agreement. These lessons are very important for political thinkers and political pandits of India. The first lesson is that the Prime Minister has recognised one thing that those persons who demand a separate State in a country and those who speak with the barrel of the gun, have to be talked to, as they were talked to there. Although the object was complete separation, yet it was the negotiating table where this matter was sort out and not in the field. This lesson has gone through home that these things have to be tackled on the negotiating table peacefully. The second lesson that is to be learnt from this Agreement is that the linguistic minorities, the ethnic minorities, or even the religious minorities, whosoever they are, whenever they come forward with certain demands, whenever they come forward with their aspirations, they are entitled to self-determination and they are entitled to have their own say or express themselves before the majority or before the country. They may be accepted or may not be accepted, but the reasonable thing is that they have a right to be heard. This is the second lesson which has gone home by this Agreement. The third lesson is that in spite of all this which has happened and in spite of all the corpses and the deaths which have taken place, it is only the talk on the table, it is only the mutual understanding which can bring peace and make the people live within one country, and the unity of the

country, the integrity of the country is far more superior than the minor aspirations of those people. This is the third lesson. Therefore, these lessons should be taken to heart.

I congratulate our Prime Minister and our Foreign Affairs Minister for having entered into this Agreement boldly. Let us hope that with the strength and spirit which has been brought about, we execute this Agreement there with all the force at our command, and let the world know that whatever has been said is to be executed. With these words, I again congratulate them.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH): Sir, before I reply to the various points raised in the debate which began on the 11th of this month and has continued today, I will just like to say that the Prime Minister has spoken to President Jayewardene. President Jayewardene has addressed the Nation on the Sri Lanka National Television and condemned terrorism. I am sure, the House will join me in condemning this act and also to send our sympathy to the bereaved family, and to wish speedy recovery to all those who have been injured in the incident this morning in Colombo.

I want sincerely thank the 19 hon. Members who have participated in this very important debate. Except for two voices there was over-whelming support for the agreement that has been signed and before I go into details of what was said by the hon. Members, I would like to make a few preliminary remarks.

When we deal with matters of this importance, we have to have clear vision and a firm grasp of reality. Statercraft and diplomacy are concerned with action within the limits of human possibility. To advocate ideal measures suitable for angels is to say the least extremely un-realistic. The agreement reached in Colombo on the 29th, I think

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combines vision with realism. A very exhaustive exercise was undertaken in the Ministry of External Affairs under the direct supervision of the Prime Minister for working out the details this agreement. The agreement was signed on the 29th. It is three weeks. The Prime Minister spoke to the House on his return from Sri Lanka and gave the broad outlines. Then, we laid the agreement on the table of the Houses. I spoke myself in the House on 7th to inform the House about the implementation and progress that had been made. Diplomacy is not a hundred yards race. It is a never ending marathon. Each decision carries with it complex implications, risks, where steadfastness of purpose and flexibility of approach are essential.

I would, however, say that it is a matter of thanks-giving that in the last three weeks there has been no major upsetting of the agreement either in the North or in the East. The members of the Indian Defence personnel who lost their lives, did so while performing their duty when they were defusing the mines that had been laid. That in itself is a very considerable achievement.

Now the points raised by Shri Unnikrishnan I have great respect for him. He is a parliamentarian of long standing, and I had, therefore, hoped that he would offer us some fresh and creative insight into the Indo-Sri Lankan Agreement. The debate offered him a very good opportunity to do so. But regretfully, he did not offer us any creative suggestions or insight. What we got from him were his scattered reflections, verbal overkill and indignation, all poor substitutes for policy.

I will answer the points that he raised. One was inclusion of Amparai Now having been associated with the proposals of December 19, 1986. I am some kind of a mini-authority on the subject.

AN HON. MEMBER: You are very modest.

SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH: I am not often accused of that. Now, he is not obviously aware that the militants, specially LTTE, have objected to the December 19th proposals on the ground that Amparai which forms, part of the traditional home of the Tamils should not be excluded from the Eastern Province. They wanted the Eastern Province, as it is, and this has been provided in the agreement. Secondly, regarding consultations with the LTTE. Mr. Unnikrishnan said that when Mr. Prabhakaran was here, he was kept in cognito and that LTTE was not taken into confidence. Now, Sir, whatever one may say, the Ministry of External Affairs has 40 years of experience in dealing with this kind of situation and we would be guilty of extreme amateurism if we were not to deal with this matter with seriousness and concern that it deserves. We in Government had been in touch with Mr. Prabhakaran and his colleagues in Jaffna and we sent our official to Jaffna to meet him. We had discussions with him and his colleagues in Madras, so also did the distinguished hon. Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu. We had discussions with him in Delhi and we had discussions with all the Tamil Groups and we were in touch with them over the last so many months. So, to say that we did not take into confidence of Mr. Prabhakaran and his colleagues is not factually correct. As a matter of fact, Mr. Prabhakaran met the hon. Prime Minister apart from other officials and members of the Government. Now, the other thing that was flung at us on this side was that the agreement did not somehow take care of the security environment and that it only somehow took care of Indian interests. Now, Sir, the agreement between Sri Lanka and India makes it a common cause for all of us, diplomatic, domestic, international, political, economic, military. What would have happened in the last 20 days if this agreement had not been signed on 29th July ? I

would respectfully request the hon. Members to reflect on the situation that would have been today in Sri Lanka, in Tamil Nadu and in our region and the agony, apprehension, anxiety and destruction would have been great and the ethnic discard would have all but split this beautiful neighbour of ours into two. This accord has prevented this. Now, I think, all of us, whatever political affiliations we have, should recognise this fact and even if you sit on the other side at least have the wisdom to say 'Yes, this is a good thing'

Mr. Reddy and Mr. Unnikrishnan raised doubts. These doubts also assailed us. The agreement is being monitored Prime Minister himself. A group of concerned people meets me everyday. We are in constant touch with our High Commissioner with our personnel in Jaffna, in the East because we want this to succeed. Now, in any given undertaking of this nature these are imponderables. The unexpected can always happen and we have planned for contingencies. God forbid if anything was to go wrong, but then we will not be found wanting or totally unprepared. This is the business of any respectful foreign office to have papers ready for contingencies for various scenarios. If 'A' goes wrong then what you do with 'B' and if 'B' goes wrong then do 'C'. If we did not do that, we will be failing in our duty.

We ourselves raise question every day. Now, if the agreement is fully implemented, because there are uncertain areas—now the election is to take place, at the end of the year. An Interim administration has to be established. This is a delicate exercise creating a viable, acceptable, political instrumentality for the interim period. A team has left this morning of concerned officials of the Government of India to have discussions with their counterparts, Sri Lankan Government and with the Tamil groups.

Mr. Prabhakaran's speech has been

quoted in the House. I read it very carefully. I would like to say here that his whole approach has been helpful and constructive. He has certain fears. He wants to know who will look after his security. There are serious differences between the Tamil groups themselves. And the serious differences had some time led to violence and death. So, his group's security and that of other groups' has to be ensured and this is what we are trying to do. There has been no incident between Indian Army and Sri Lankan Army or our forces there and any of the militant groups. There have been some friction and violence between the groups themselves. But the atmosphere in the North and in the East has improved, since the accord has been signed, the temperature, has come down very considerably. People wherever they are, are not fearing for their lives and limbs, for their near and dear ones, and are getting on with the business life every day. This has not been happening for the last 4 years. I think, this is a very big achievement and we should all work for it to succeed; we should all pray and hope that this remarkable agreement succeeds and should be a model in a similar situation— I hope a similar situation would not arise. Now, we are not euphoric about it. We are very cautious. But at the same time, I do not want to minimise the achievements or the importance or the significance of this agreement. If we have been able to ensure that outside hostile elements will not remain in Sri Lanka, as a consequence of this Agreement, I think, this is an achievement for us. If powers which were interfering in Sri Lanka, will no longer be there to pollute the political, military atmosphere there, it is a good thing. And all the requirements of Sri Lanka — whether they are Defence, Civilian—we will meet those requirements. This is an agreement which has been signed by two Non-Aligned countries, who are neighbours. Sri Lanka has been the Chairman, Non-aligned Movement; India has been the Chairman, Non-aligned Movement.

[Sh. K. Natwar Singh]

Look at the atmosphere just two or three months ago. I have been living with this problem for nearly a year and I know the difficulties, intricacies, the pain, the anguish, the uncertainty and the annoyance. We had our differences with the Government of Sri Lanka. But I think, full marks and great tribute should be given to President Jayewardene, who has taken the position that he has, in the face of difficult odds. He decided that there was no other way out. If this accord was not signed, then the situation in Sri Lanka would be horrendous.

If you read the agreement carefully, I think your fears would be allayed. It has been asked, what has been the status of the letters. The letters have the same status as that of the body of the agreement. The letters were exchanged not by private individuals, not by Mr. Rajiv Gandhi in his personal capacity and Mr. Jayewardene in his personal capacity. They were signed by them as the heads of two Governments and the two Governments are committed to it. It is an open-minded agreement; it does not end. We would like our troops to come back as soon as possible. We want to get on with the job. For doing the job, we need your support; we need your understanding, the understanding of the whole House. I am very glad to say that out of 19 Members who spoke, we got full support from 17 Members. There are 1,35,000 refugees in Madras. We want to send them back. There has been some delay. Members have asked about the handing over of arms, the time table mentioned in the agreement had not been adhered to.

I agree. It has not been adhered to. But as I said yesterday in the Committee, we have to have a certain amount of flexibility. Acceptable flexibility has occurred, because we had to explain, certain details to various groups. We could not contact some groups in time in the North and East. Yes, There has been some delay. But we are assured that

the arms are being given up. I think the LTTE is doing it today. If I am not mistaken, there is a desire on all sides to put an end to the ethnic conflict, to see that this agreement works.

Now there are some difficulties within Sri Lanka. It is not for me to comment on the internal affairs of Sri Lanka. But I do know that President Jayewardene is doing his best to sort out things and the opposition that has been mentioned from certain responsible sources in Sri Lanka, I think, is eroded considerably during the last 5 to 7 days. But we have no doubt that all responsible, peace-loving elements within Sri Lanka will welcome this.

Then there was the mention about Trincomalee tank farm. As far as we know, in April, 1984, Sri Lanka authorities had signed a contract with a consortium, Orleans in Singapore, and other firms Switzerland and West Germany. According to our information, this contract lapsed in October, 1985 as the consortium failed to fulfil their part of the contract. Shri Unnikrishnan, therefore, need not be concerned that we have been taken for a ride on this issue.

If Tank Farm comes to us as a joint venture, what is the harm? If the broadcasting facilities are going to be used for no purpose which is hostile to India, what is the harm in it? If the Keene Meene services of U.K are withdrawn, if the MOSSAD is withdrawn, if Pakistani advisers are withdrawn, if they are replaced by our people, what is the harm in it? We have told Sri Lanka that we will train their people. We have also assured them that if any hostile activities are taking place in India, we will stop it. If you read the agreement and the letter, this is spelt out in detail.

I would like very sincerely to comment on some of the statements that have been made in the House particularly one made

this afternoon by Mr. Bipin Pal Das. I think he has in his intervention highlighted the basic and fundamental issues that are worrying some of our Members. I do not want to go into the details of what he has said. But I will briefly, if I may say, that Mr. Dinesh Singh, in his intervention, welcomed the accord and he also commended both us and the Government of Sri Lanka and the President on the agreement that has been reached and said that this should be a matter of pride for all of us. I could not agree with him more. He has, of course, with his experience has cautioned us that there is no question of our being complacent about anything. It is a very delicate, sensitive exercise. It has taken into account what has happened in the last 4 to 5 years, the emotion, the passion, that has been aroused in this case. I think it is a near miracle that all these have subsided in the manner they have after the agreement was signed in Colombo on the 29th.

Similarly, I would like to thank Mr. Swell for his intervention. He said that if your neighbour's house is on fire, then better look after your own house. I think this is very wise. If things are going wrong in Sri Lanka, it is bound to impinge on India, as it were, on Tamilnadu, as our friends from Tamil Nadu say. Shri P. Kolandaivelu's intervention did say so.

16.00 hrs.

Shri Jaipal Reddy, although he had some misgivings-I am glad and I am grateful to him-he did say that the Agreement had brought peace and that he welcomed it (*Interruptions*).

Shri B.R. Bhagat pointed out that all of us had been, for a very long time, asking for a political settlement. Now this is what this Agreement has assured. A number of times, the debate on Sri Lanka had taken place in this House and the Government has been

pilloried on such occasions and it has been said: "You have no policy on Sri Lanka; you have a weak policy on Sri Lanka; why are you not going ahead and why can't you do something for Sri Lankan Tamils"? We always said that the only answer to this problem is a political solution. We said that we are trying for it for the last four years and something has been done on December 19. Then the Prime Minister came out with this idea and I might say that he is the Author, the Director, the Producer and Conductor of this Agreement.

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY (Midnapore) : Actor and Hero also!

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH: Please be serious. This is an important issue. And so is the President of Sri Lanka.

Shri Bhagat said that this is to be achieved by political settlement. I think he is very right. It did require a lot of imagination, a lot of courage a lot of boldness to take this decision. Just as in human affairs, in the affairs of nations too, there is a tide which when taken leads and success. On this particular moment everything jelled and all the elements and pieces were put together. We were able to produce this document. Shri Bhagat said that our vital security interests had been safeguarded. That is entirely true. I do not want to elaborate upon them. It has been said that a particular power has welcomed it and if that particular power has welcomed it, well, it is good for that power. It is good that there is some enlightenment in that quarter also.....(*Interruptions*). This has been welcomed from Moscow to Washington. Can you deny it?

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY: Why Washington?

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH: It has been welcomed from Peking to Peru and Washington to Moscow.....(*Interruptions*). This is a great achievement. If I may say so, it has been welcomed from Moscow to Washington via Calcutta.(*Interruptions*)

Shri Kolandaivelu in his very detailed statement referred to the various sections of the Agreement. He said that after the signing of the Indo-Soviet Treaty, it was perhaps the most significant event as far as our foreign policy is concerned. I would also like to add to it the Delhi Declaration which was signed between Mr. Gorbachev and Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, last year. That will satisfy Mr. Choubey..... (*Interruptions*). The most important thing that our distinguished hon. Member from Tamil Nadu said was that the Tamil demands have been fulfilled. I am not saying this. A distinguished son of Tamil Nadu is saying this. There is no doubt that many Tamils have lost their lives. For them, peace has come after many years. That is why it has been welcomed in Tamil Nadu. They welcomed the agreement they attributed it to you, to your colleague and to your Leader the C.M. of Tamil Nadu for the great efforts that he has made in putting this exercise together.

Shri Kumaramangalam also welcome the Agreement. He wanted to see that the prisoners to be released. I am sure, they would be. As far as the prisoners in Sri Lanka are concerned, the President of Sri Lanka has announced an amnesty. Some prisoners have been released. As the implementation continues and arms are given up, the release will take place. I have already referred to the statement of Shri Madhav Reddi which I listened to with great respect.

Sir, when you spoke, you were sitting there. I listened to your intervention with great care. You said that the Agreement was a victory for the non-aligned and for the SAARC and in the spirit of the Delhi Decla-

ration. You also referred to para 2.16 of the Agreement about the use of the military. I could go into the details, but I am sure you would not like me to take the time of the House on this. I would clarify the doubt that you have. We have really no serious problem about paragraph 2.16. Sir, you made a memorable observation that the Agreement should be followed by our creating confidence among the Sinhales. That will be the endeavour. It will be the endeavour of the Sri Lankan Government and also the endeavour of all concerned because the majority of the people are the Sinhales. Their goodwill and understanding and help would be necessary and this is what President Jayewardene is trying to do.

I would like to thank Mr. Kurup also for the comments he made on the bold step taken by the Government of India and the Government of Sri Lanka. He referred to the Trincomalee Port. We also think that it is an extremely important achievement to have got Trincomalee out of the clutches of the outside powers.

Shri Atish Chandra Sinha also welcomed the Agreement and I thank him for that.

The observations of Mr. Bipin Pal Das, as I said, were extremely important. What he said about the referendum, I think, needs to be repeated here. If the referendum takes place, well and good. If it does not take place, even then well and good. because the North and the East remain together. It is 18 months away, and we are going to be associated with it. The ethnic composition being what it is, the demographic changes that have taken place would be reversed in 18 months. There should be no difficulty about the referendum either.

He mentioned about the JVP extremists. I am sure the Sri Lankan Government is aware of it and will do what they can.

Shri Narayan Choubey also welcomed the Agreement and I am thankful for what he has said. He wanted to know about the Indian army, under whom it was functioning. It is under the command of the President of Sri Lanka who is the supreme commander of the Sri Lankan forces. It is there on invitation, on agreement and will carry out the orders; it is working jointly with the Sri Lankan forces and we have had no problems at all.

The differences within the Tamil groups were also referred to. We are aware of those and I think efforts are being made to minimise those differences, to reconcile the various groups, and make it possible for them to participate in the interim administration which, we hope, will start functioning very soon.

I would also like to thank Mr. Somnath Rath and Mr. Ramoowalia for their interventions. I also thank Dr. Rajhans and Dr. Datta Samant. He wanted to know how we are going to implement this. A team, as I said, has gone this morning with experts from the various Ministries; they will sit down in Colombo in the next week or so to work out the various details.

Finally, a word about Prof Kurien.....
(Interruptions).

AN HON. MEMBER: Sir, it is leaking here.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: We welcome showers, but we do not welcome them inside the Chamber.

SHRI. K. NATWAR SINGH: Sir, I would like to conclude my intervention by saying that I thank Mr. Gill and Prof. Kurien for their support and the observations that they made. I think, we in Government on this side are very appreciative of almost all Members of the House about what they said about Agreement. We are grateful for their under-

standing for their support for the interest that they have taken in the subject because this is not a party matter, this is a national matter in which we have taken a risk. I am not unaware of the imponderable risk involved. Nothing venture nothing have. If this problem had to be resolved, if an end had to be put to the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka, if the security environment had to be prevented from getting worse, if the refugees had to go back, if the prisoners were to be released, and if the events that had darkened the life, and menaced the future had to be terminated, then something like this Agreement had to be produced. I want to here pay tribute to the two principal authors of this Agreement - the President of Sri Lanka and the Prime Minister of India - for having come out with a document which meets all the fundamental, basic demands of the Sri Lankan problem and the fact that the Agreement has held for the last three weeks is a great tribute to all those who are involved in having it implemented. Here is an Agreement in which there are no vanquished only victors. Thank you.

16.13hrs.

DISCUSSION RE. COMMUNAL DISTURBANCES IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THE COUNTRY:

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: We now take up item No.8; Shri Balwant Singh Ramoowalia to initiate the discussion under Rule 193.

[Translation]

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOOWALIA (Sangrur): Mr. Chairman, Sir, To-day, we are initiating a discussion on communal