

है, कब्जा जब सरकार का होता है तब का मुआवजा किसान को मिलना चाहिये। इस संशोधन का सभी ने समर्थन किया है। तो मैं प्रधान मंत्री जी से प्रार्थना करूंगा कि वह मेरी इस बात पर ध्यान दें। मैंने यह कहा है कि वह जमीन जब ली जाती है, जब उस पर कब्जा किया जाता है उस समय का मुआवजा किसान को मिलना चाहिये। इस का सभी संसद सदस्यों ने समर्थन किया है, और आपने भी किसान रैली में घोषणा की थी। तो जब सारे सदस्य, नेता और पार्टियां चाहती हैं कि जब जमीन पर कब्जा हो तब के बाजार भाव का मुआवजा दिया जाय इतना छोटा सा मेरा संशोधन है जिसको सब मान रहे हैं।

16.10 hrs.

DISCUSSION ON STATEMENT RE : SITUATION IN SRI LANKA

MR. SPEAKER : Now, before we, proceed, we have to take up the discussion on Sri Lanka. After finishing discussion on Sri Lanka, we shall again take up this Bill and pass it.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY (Calcutta South) : What is the latest information about the hijacked plane ? We are very much worried. I want to know the latest information. What is the position ?

MR. SPEAKER : Now Prof. Madhu Dandavate will speak.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur) : Mr. Speaker, I rise to raise the discussion under Rule 193 on the statement that was made on the situation in Sri Lanka by the hon. Minister of State on 16th August.

There are occasions in the file of a nation when the agony and anger of people

can be expressed in one voice in the sovereign Parliament of the country and I will not be exaggerating the situation if I say that this is one such occasion on which we all should be able to speak in one voice so that the nation's voice can be asserted and the will of those who are concerned with taking fire and adequate steps will be strengthened and this problem will be resolved.

As far as Ceylonese situation is concerned, especially since our Prime Minister happens to be the Chair person in the Group of Non-aligned countries, very often when we discuss on the floor of the Parliament the situation in Sri Lanka, we get unwanted and uninvited advice, particularly from the West, that if we go on debating and discussing the problem in our sovereign parliament, it will mean a slur on our spirit of non-alignment.

At the very outset, let me make it very clear that non-alignment does not mean, when there is a struggle between justice and aggression, remaining non-aligned between the two; that is not our concept of non-alignment. Time and again, the leaders of this nation, right from the days of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, have made it explicitly clear that our concept of non-alignment would mean that, while we will not get entangled in the internal conflicts of the power blocs, we shall judge every international issue on its own merits and we shall reserve to ourselves the right to speak with a firm voice on any international issue where we would like to take up a particular perspective and a particular approach, and that being our approach and attitude, there is nothing wrong if we decide to take a firm attitude about the happenings in Sri Lanka.

No doubt, there is something like the concept of sovereignty of nations. But permit me to say, Sir, that there is something like the sovereignty of human values, and the sovereignty of human values is more sovereign than the sovereignty of nations. Therefore, whenever there has been an attack on the human rights in any part of the world, we have shown the sensitivity of the mind to respond to the suppression of human rights. In this very House, I may recall, in March 1960, when in the distant

corner in South Africa, in Cape Town, there was a brutal police firing arising out of racial discrimination and innocent citizens in South Africa were killed, the then Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru got up in the House and moved a Resolution condemning those atrocities, condemning the racial discrimination, making it clear that even though atrocities were being committed beyond the borders of India, and he used a precious expression—as far as freedom and justice were concerned, there were no boundaries or limitations for freedom and justice and, therefore, we were justified in adopting the Resolution on the floor of Parliament. That is what Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said condemning those atrocities on 21st March, 1960. This is the legacy of the nation. With that legacy we have to move forward. Therefore, we need not worry about the so-called international moralists who, time and again, in season and out of season, give as unwanted and uninvited advice not to talk about the situation in Sri Lanka. On the contrary I am one of those who feel that, as Chairperson of the non-aligned group of nations, just as we were also concerned with trying to resolve in our own way the conflict between Iraq and Irag both of whom have actually pledged their loyalty to the concept of non-alignment, similarly when Ceylon happens to be a non-aligned nation and India is also a non-aligned nation and when unfortunately there is a conflict of interests between the two, the Chairperson of the non-aligned group of nations should take the initiative in the comity of the international world and try to see that maximum international pressure is brought so that this problem is softened to a great extent and ultimately the problem is solved.

As far as the situation in Sri Lanka is concerned, this is not something that has happened only in 1983 or 1984. Unfortunately, the tragedy of the people of Sri Lanka, the tragedy of the Tamils in Sri Lanka, has not been just an event, but it has been a prolonged process. It is not that in 1983 and 1984 we saw atrocities on the Tamil-speaking population in Sri Lanka. We found that, in 1956, in 1958 in 1966, in 1977, in 1981 and in 1983, there were similar holocausts in Sri Lanka; the Tamil speaking population suffered; there were atrocities;

they were subjected to indignities. But, recently, on the last four occasions, we find that they have gone mad, but there is a method in their madness. In 1977, 1981, 1983 and 1984, the type of violence and atrocities that have been committed there have a new dimension, and that is altogether a new problem that has to be tackled very effectively and very firmly. The new problem is this. In the past there were atrocities there was terrorism, there was violence, but the security forces, the Army and the Navy, were not involved in those atrocities to the extent they were involved on the last four occasions from 1977 onwards.

That adds a new dimension to the problem of suppression of the Tamil-speaking population. One cannot just imagine the Army entering the jail and committing acts of atrocities against men and women. We have seen the breaking of the Bastille cut that was by the spirit of freedom. The freedom fighters came out. Here it is the reverse process, They wanted to enslave the Tamils, they attacked the prison and broke it in the reverse direction and they tried to suppress the freedom of those who were there for a number of years. This has happened in the jails in the northern areas and in other parts of Sri Lanka. This is a new dimension that has to be taken note of.

There is one more aspect that has to be noted as far as the upsurge in Sri Lanka is concerned and The atrocities and the recoiling action. It is very important to note that two-thirds of the population there is below 25 years of age. This lends a sharper edge to the explosive situation there. As far as the conflict and tensions are concerned, there is one aspect which is totally neglected and overlooked. Not only there is a North-south tension and conflict in Sri Lanka but there is also south-south tension in Sri Lanka and those visitors and experts who have visited Sri Lanka and come back, have given their own inferences and observations. They made a particular reference to this aspect that in the situation in Sri Lanka there is to-day not only north-south conflict and tension but there is also south-south tension and conflict. That has also to be taken note of.

There is one more aspect that has to be taken note of about the developments in Sri Lanka - the pluralist character and structure of the society there. Probably had the society of Sri Lanka been uniform and regimented in terms of language, in terms of religious composition, in terms of racial and cultural composition, the problem would have been different. But the problem has become more deep and complicated because of the pluralist and complex character of the entire society of Sri Lanka.

Sri Lanka is an area of 25,232 sq miles and the population is more than 15 millions and it presents a picture of diversity - racial, religious, communal and linguistic. According to the 1946 census - the figures I have got here - we find among the Sinhalese 92% are Budhists and 8% Christians. Ceylon Tamils - 81% Hindus, 16% Christians and 3% Budhists. Among what we call Indian Tamils - 89% are Hindus, 8% Christians and the rest Budhists. Ceylon Moors - here, of course, I am a little bit doubtful - 99% Mouslims and the rest are Budhists, Hindus and Christians, but many people say it is almost 100% Muslims.

This exactly is the structure and composition and in such a composition with such complex languages, complex religious, complex racial roots, we will always find that whenever any conflict takes place, it occupies a different position than what would have happened in a uniform country where in terms of race, in terms of religion and in terms of culture, you have a uniform society. Ceylon Tamils preponderate in north and south and the Sinhalese in other areas, that has created a new type of tension. It is not merely one territory fighting against the other. It happens that in certain territorial areas there is a predominance of a particular language groups and in another area another language group is predominant. So in different areas there is a preponderance of different religious and language groups. That is why you will find a different problem has been created and as a result of that all sorts of allegations are made. Only recently the President was here. He made some statement. On the 16th August when the Minister of State for External Affairs made a statement in the House certain important features of this statement have come out

and I would just like to review them before I offer my criticism and analysis or some observations.

Firstly he has told that the situation in Sri Lanka has taken a grave turn recently and that the Sri Lanka armed forces are conducting large scale operations in Jaffna and other parts of the Northern territory, where the Tamils constitute the overwhelming population.

Then he further told us that in northern parts, Tamils of Indian origin have also been affected. When President Jayawardene was in India recently, our Prime Minister, Shrimati Indra Gandhi, had impressed upon him to search a political solution - not a military solution. Though President Jayawardene agreed, no progress has been made in this direction. It is admitted now. Recently, President Jayawardene sent a message to our Prime Minister that in northern provinces Tamil Extremists had decided to confront the security forces and, that is the reason why renewed violence has taken place. Really speaking, there is mass violence which can only be described as genocide.

When Sri Lankan Government has inducted outside the security agencies in the domestic situation, that aggravated the situation further. That is what the Minister said in his statement. But, strangely enough, having said all that, the Minister concludes that the Government has been doing everything possible so that these indiscriminate killings and large scale operations directed against the Tamil population of Sri Lanka are stopped.

I think this is an expression of pious intention of the Government. I would have been extremely happy if the Minister were to amplify this last statement of his rather than by saying that all possible steps are taken. Sir, in this Sovereign Parliament of the country, we expect from the Ministers the spelling out of the various steps that they have taken. Here, the people are agitated; the Members of Parliament are agitated and therefore we should know concretely as to what exactly are the steps that are to be taken by them. Against this background, there are three things that are

to be kept in mind not just by keeping up an external appearance—nationally and internationally. President Jayawardene has been occasionally taking of all-party talks. I am sure that the Prime Minister will bear me out that even when he was here last, while talking to the press, he did talk of all-party talks when he goes back to Sri Lanka so as to devise a political solution to settle the ethnic problem once and for all. But, this was only for the international appearance. After that, he has not done anything at all. In reality he is not exploring any political solution but he is only trying to explore a military solution. If he continues to explore or search only a military solution and avoids all-party talks, political solution is to be disillusioned completely.

There is another aspect about the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka. Instead of directly justifying the genocide action in Sri Lanka, he is putting the entire blame—the Sri Lankan Prime Minister is putting the entire blame—on the Tamil extremists who are settled there in the northern part and he gives the feeling that because the Tamil Tigers are behaving in a terrorist fashion and because they are indulging in an extremist manner, that is the reason why the security forces—the navy and the army—are forced to take a particular action.

Lastly, Sir, President Jayawardene has gone back on his promise that he gave at Delhi. Again and again, that promise was repeated. What is the promise? To me this promise is very significant. His promise was that he will set up in Sri Lanka an autonomous Zonal Council of Tamils and this will be able to ease the problem to a great extent. Now, he has gone back in that. There is no chance of any autonomous Council being set up in the areas which are in flames. We are told that the moderate TULK leaders have become ineffective. When the extremists rise on the political scene—they are responsible leaders of an organisation—and if you refuse to deal with the liberal leaders, that is, those who have got the balanced mind, and if you refuse to settle the problem with them, it is likely that the Extremists Forces will rise. To-day the situation has so developed in Sri Lanka when some of the liberal leaders of TULF go to the masses and they are told that we have not much

faith left in us, unless you resolve to retaliate violence against the violence of the State, it will not be possible for us to stand by you. Now, that type of a feeling is developed there. Therefore, a proper mood is also to be taken on that aspect. There are certain aspects in which the foreign policy aspects are also involved. Sir, we claim that we are non-aligned. Sri Lanka claims that they are non-aligned. But if you analyse very carefully the economy and the foreign policy of Sri Lanka, with all their pretences of a non-aligned character, you will find that their non-alignment is leaning on the West. So, it is not for nothing that when the situation was at its worst they had indicated that they would invite the help from countries like USA, the UK, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Australia. Now, that is what they have done. With the economy which they are following—a free economy—they are relying on multinationals. All sorts of multinationals from the West infiltrated into Ceylone. They have already developed certain contacts and there again leaning on them and again we find that again and again President Jayawardene has admitted that when the situation was at its height, saturated to its climax, he had in self-defence, given a call that “we will have to take assistance from outside countries also.” He is on record.

Now, all these aspects have to be kept in mind when we settle the problem, whether we use economic sanctions, whether we use our position in the comity of non-alignment or whether we use any other forum, these aspects have to be taken note of. I would sound a note of warning here that if situation is allowed to deteriorate, the super-powers are not going to remain quiet. I am not one of those who will equate on every issue both the Super-Powers. For example, when the Bangladesh crisis occurred, as far as the common man is concerned, with all our non-alignment, when we found that the 7th Fleet had threatend to come to India, some other super power threatend “we are prepared to save you” whatever be our nicities regarding alignment and equate all nations, equate the super-powers whichever bloc had shown you sympathy, you would be sympathetic towards it. That was in 1962 when the Chinese aggression took place. At that time, America had said “we are

prepared to give assistance" . People did feel sympathy towards them and during the Bangladesh war, when America said "we will send our 7th Fleet" the people were angry against them. Then the Soviet Russia said "if you move a step forward in that, you will have confrontation with us before you have confrontation with India." This was the situation that took place. You may remain non-aligned, but mentally, people do not remain non-aligned. All these aspects should be borne in mind and that aspect also should be kept in mind.

In the end, I would only make some suggestions. There is one point which is repeatedly raised in Sri Lanka and that is the question of separatism. They say that Tamil population in Sri Lanka is out to create an independent State, independent of Sri Lanka. Let us take the experience of our own country. I hope my friends will not misunderstand me, the leaders from D.M.K. There was a time when DMK in India had given a call of secessionism. But it must be said—I give tribute to the maturity of the national parties in the country—that frightened by the slogan of separatism, we did not take a fear complex, we maintained our contracts with them leaders like Annadurai and we maintained honesty and integrity. We contacted all the national parties. Both the ruling party and the Opposition parties continued to maintain contacts with Annadurai because we had confidence on both the sides that we would try to persuade Annadurai to come to the mainstream of our political life. These efforts of all the national parties succeeded and today we find that like any other party in the country, the DMK and the A.I.A.D.M.K. have become the parties in the mainstream of Indian National life. That is the triumph and the strength of the Indian nationalism. I have not the least doubt that when the Indian nationalism triumphed and could reassert its strength in Tamilnadu, it will be able to reassert its strength in Sri Lanka also.

Therefore, I shall not say, get frightened by separatism there ; I shall say that find a political solution and separatism will end there. If we succeed in doing that, the problem of Sri Lanka will be solved. I hope, it will be treated as a national

problem and settled in a national perspective.

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO (Mormugao):
Mr. Speaker, Sir, for the last more than a fortnight, from the third of this month to be precise, there has been an escalation of violence in the friendly country of Sri Lanka and the violence is by what is euphemistically called the Security Forces, which are, in fact the army and the navy, against the Tamil minorities. It began on the third of this month with a bombardment by the navy of Sri Lanka of the town of Velvettiturai, where hundreds of people were killed, and hundreds of houses of Tamil minorities and crores worth of property were destroyed. It is a classic example of State terrorism that is just now taking hold of Sri Lanka. What happened a few days later in Chunnakam? In this town of Chunnakam, 21 Tamils were detained by the police, were kept in the local police lock-up, and what does the police force do? The police force vacates the lock-up, vacates the police station, booby-traps the doors, and when the prisoners come out, the bomb explodes and a few hours later, 21 dead bodies of Tamils are found at that place.

A few days ago, the Jaffna Citizens Committee issued an appeal for release of the teenagers. Five hundred teenagers, people ranging between the age of 15 and 25, had been detained by the army, had been taken to undisclosed locations, and next day after the appeal was issued, the bodies of some of those persons who had been missing were found. Now, we come to know from the Government of Sri Lanka that they are releasing 10-15 of these people per day. How long is this going to take until all these innocent people are released? That is the state of terrorism, that is unfortunately happening in the friendly country of Sri Lanka.

However, this situation is not now. The discrimination against which the Tamils of Sri Lanka are fighting in employment, in education, in denial of fundamental Rights, comes as long as from the independence of this Island. It is unfortunately enshrined in the very Constitution that Sri Lanka gave to itself, that the majority Sinhalese gave to themselves soon after the independence.

It is against this discrimination in employment, in education and in all walks of life that the Tamils are fighting, and it is for this that they are being massacred, killed, and their property being burnt and looted by the so-called security forces.

At present, the civil administration in the northern region of Jaffna, in the eastern sea border, where there is concentration of Tamil population, has ceased to exist. There is no civil rule there at all; It is the military rule, and the military is accountable to nobody. There are a lot of atrocities being committed, which the Sri Lankan officials themselves admit that the atrocities are being committed against the civil population and there is nobody accountable. Nobody is taken to task. There is no action being taken against a single military personnel for the deaths of scores and scores of innocent Tamil minority people.

It goes to the great credit of this Government that just an year ago, precisely when the ethnical riots erupted in July-August, 1983, soon thereafter, this Government took the initiative to find a spirit of conciliation, to find, in short, a political solution to the problem between the two major communities in Sri Lanka. And it goes to the credit of special envoy of the Prime Minister that he managed to do what looked at that time almost impossible, namely bringing together at one table both the sides, TULF and the Government representatives and make them to talk. President Jayawardene, as per the reports, did come to Delhi, did accept in Delhi the formula that was reached after consultations among all the parties and the formula was for the constitution of Regional Councils, which would give some measure of autonomy to the Tamil population, some ground for them to govern themselves to some extent. It may be pointed out here Sir, that what the Regional Councils were providing for was far less powers for the region than the States in this Constitution of ours, in this set up of ours enjoy right now and whilst asking for more powers apparently genuinely in some aspects, this Regional Council in fact contains much less power than the States have right now. This proposal that President Jayawardene accepted in Delhi, he went back on it,

as soon as he reached the Colombo, obviously on pressure from some of the Sinhalese leaders and some members of the Buddhist Clergy. And now what is happening? Now it appears from what the President is saying, from what the Parliament, the Prime Ministers and the Security Forces are saying, that the solution that they are finding out to the problem is what was known during the Gestapo in the Nazi days as the 'final solution', the solution of pronom, the solution of genocide, the solution of killing and liquidation of the minorities.

Sir, whilst complimenting the Government for their bold initiative which yielded some result, until the posillanimity of President Jayawardene made him go back on what he has agreed to in Delhi, I would urge the Government to pursue in this right course, which is the course of conciliation amongst the two major communities in the friendly country of Sri Lanka which is of course a political solution, while maintaining at the same time, while asserting all the time the unity and integrity of Sri Lanka.

AN HON. MEMBER : If it fails ?

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO : If it fails? Whatever solution is found and whatever solution is suggested, it should be a solution which is in the interests of the people whom we are seeking to protect, namely the Tamil minority in Sri Lanka. It should not be what my friend on the right side has been suggesting, I think, without much seriousness, namely the military solution. Military solution is not feasible on any account and it is not particularly feasible on the account that it will damage most the interests of those whom we seek to protect the most. It will damage the Tamils most and nobody else.

Sir, the proposal now put forth by President Jayawardene is a proposal which was tried and found discreditable, namely to have a second chamber, to have the district as a base for the second chamber, to have two members elected to the second chamber from each of the 25 districts and then on top of these 50, to nominate 25 by President Jayawardene or by the Government of Sri Lanka themselves. Now, President Jayawardene says that out of the second chamber,

he will appoint some ministers who will look after these areas. What will be the powers of these ministers? What will be the legislative backing for devolution of power that these ministers seek to accomplish? None of these things are said. All these remain unsaid. In view of the past experience, the district, which in the small Sri Lanka will be indeed a very small unit, is not at all a reliable unit or credible for any type of substantial devolution of power.

President Jayawardene has again come now with a slightly changed proposal, the proposal for provincial council. Again the same question arises as to whether the competence of these councils, the amount of power that these councils will have, will in any manner satisfy the minimum requirements, the minimum aspirations of the Tamil population. Apart from this proposal and the need for a political solution, let me point out the humanitarian aspect of this whole question. People have died. Admittedly innocent people have died. Ministers of Sri Lanka have accepted it. Now it is necessary to rehabilitate those people, it is necessary to compensate those people for the loss if not of life which cannot be compensated, of property, substantial loss of property that they have suffered.

I would like to point out here that in the town of Munnar, one of those that were affected by military operations, the victims, according to Government, are being paid compensation. Why only in Munnar? Why not in valvatturai; why not in any other town? We would like the Government to tell us what are the reasons and compulsions that make only the people of Munnar eligible to get compensation, and not of other towns. I would like the Government to see that the innocent people who are affected in any part of Sri Lanka, whatever be the town or area they live in, are paid compensation and are rehabilitated.

It is unfortunate that whilst during the ethnic riots of July last year, the International Red Cross was allowed to extend its beneficial influence there, this time that body is being forbidden from operating in Sri Lanka. One finds it very curious, and one finds that it is not humanitarian.

The humanitarian aspect is very important; but no less important is the need for safeguarding the security of our country. This need has arisen because of the induction of foreign forces in that area. The Americans over the last one year have indeed established a very firm foothold in that island.

What is happening in Trincomalee? According to the information that comes out from the island, military facilities are being given to the United States by the present Sri Lankan administration. This the Sri Lankan administration denies. It says that there are only rest and recreation facilities, which any country can use. But those who bring in information of militarization of that important and sensitive port should know better.

The renowned Peace Corps is back in action again in Sri Lanka. The Voice of America is strengthening its transmission facilities, with the possibility of indoctrination and brain-washing of people in that island and in the whole region.

We have news that Isrealis have opened what is known as an Interest Section in the U.S. Embassy there. Simultaneously, Mossad is training Sri Lankan operators against Tamilian freedom fighters, if I may call them so.

Knowing the infamous record of the Mossad against the Palestinians in the West Bank, against the Muslims in Beirut, their technology and manner of operation, viz. first strike, search and destroy, one has really reasons to believe that in what happened at the Madras airport, i.e. the bomb explosion killing a lot of our people, the Isreali Mossad's hand can be reasonably suspected.

It is not only the Isrealis. It is the South Africans also who are operating there. A South African Plane has admittedly landed in Colombo, and has discharged armaments. This is the way the induction of foreign forces is taking place in Sri Lanka. This is a danger to the security and independence of Sri Lanka, because once these forces come, i.e. from Isreal, they do not go back

easily. It is a threat to the security of this country, in view of our proximity to Sri Lanka. It is, therefore, necessary that the Government of India should very seriously convey to the administration in Sri Lanka the dangers of induction of foreign forces in Sri Lanka—for Sri Lanka and for our country.

I would, therefore, request Government to proceed towards finding a political solution. We most all, in this House, strengthen the hands of the Government, so that the Government is in a position to play its role. We must also bring to the notice of President Jayawardene that the induction of foreign forces is against his country's interests, and our interests. The people of this entire country are behind the Tamilians in Sri Lanka; and we hope that better days will come soon.

SHRI M.M. LAWRENCE (Idukki);
Sir, this issue has been discussed in this House so many times. Our government is trying to solve this problem amicably between the Sri Lanka Government and the Sri Lanka Tamil leaders. But, so far, that attempt has failed. Not only that, the atrocities are increasing in Sri Lanka. Already, the hon. members who have spoken earlier, have narrated so many incidents here. Now, the speciality of this attack is that it is perpetrated by Sri Lankan Government using army against the unarmed Tamil people. A real genocide has taken place in Sri Lanka. Those killed were mainly women and children, not men; and so many shops were looted and burnt down. Now, the Tamil people are ruined economically.

This Jayawardene Government is following the policy of dividing the people of Sri Lanka; they are trying to divide and rule. How Jayawardene came to power we very well know. There has a parliamentary system in Sri Lanka as we have here. But then it was changed to a presidential system; after conducting some sort of a referendum. Jayawardene became the President of Sri Lanka; and now, after becoming the President, he is killing all democratic rights of Sri Lankan people irrespective of Tamilians and Sinhalese. He is not solving any problem of the people. Sri Lanka is economically a backward country having a small population. Unemployment is on the

increase there. A bunch of people are exploiting the majority of Sri Lanka people and Jayawardene is ruling for this bunch of exploiters. To continue that rule now he and his henchmen are trying to divide the people and that is why this problem has cropped up in Sri Lanka. Earlier, he was expected to form a zonal council. Now, again he has gone back. Sri Lankan Government is a weak government. Now, he is getting advice and help direct from Israel as well as American imperialists. Already, my hon. friend has mentioned about it. So many times it was mentioned here in this House. Trincomalle is becoming a base of USA imperialism and Mossad from Israel has been brought to Sri Lanka to train counter-insurgency forces. Not only Mossad but also SAS, an organisation based in U.K. The SAS is a repressive force which was used by the British imperialists in Malaysia to suppress the democratic and revolutionary movement in 1950.

Now, the same SAS people are in Sri Lanka to train the Government instigated terrorists to kill unarmed Tamilians in Sri Lanka. This Mossad is working there and giving training. The same Mossad is helping Latin America's counter-revolutionaries of Latin America to attack the ordinary people and to block the advance of the liberation movement there. They are helping the military rulers in Latin America in collaboration with CIA. About the role of Israel, we all know very well what they are doing in the Middle East, what they have done in Beirut and Lebanon. With the help of American imperialism Israel has succeeded in dividing the people of Lebanon into Christians and Muslims. They are attacking each other. The Mossad engineered in Beirut the killings of thousands of unarmed people both children and women. The same Mossad has come to Sri Lanka, our neighbourhood. Sir, due to the presence more and more an international problem and particularly a very serious one of these outside intelligence and subversive forces the Sri Lankan issue is becoming a problem concerning our country's sovereignty, independence and integrity. This Mossad is seriously engaged in training to these forces in Sri Lanka. If we go to the history of Mossad we can understand that they will definitely try to infiltrate through various agents to our

country also. Perhaps they might have entered our country and might be helping the subversive activities in our country.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : In Kerala also.

SHRI M.M. LAWRENCE (Idukki) : I appreciate your comment.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Basirhat) : You mean that Isreal have entered into our country through Dr. Swamy.

SHRI M.M. LAWRENCE : I do not think, he will deny it.

Once I had the occasion of reading an article written by Dr. Swamy in a weekly pleading the case of Isreal...

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Jadavpur) : Why did you waste your time in reading his article ?

SHRI M.M. LAWRENCE : ...requesting the Government of India to recognise Isreal.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : The Government has already recognised Isreal. I only want the embassy to be there.

SHRI M.M. LAWRENCE : Government of India cannot take such a step in my opinion and in the opinion of my party.

17.00 hrs.

But Dr. Subramaniam Swamy is pleading for that. For whom is he pleading ? He is pleading for U.S. imperialism. Not only Dr. Swamy, there are certain other organisations also in our country which have now started a campaign against PLO at a time when this Mossad has come to Ceylon to train the anti-insurgency forcers against common people of Sri Lanka.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Don't give sort form, some people may confuse it with PLO and ULO.

SHRI M.M. LAWRENCE : Why, these organisations have, started this campaign

against polostine Liberation Organisation at a jnncture when this Mossad has come Sri Lanka to help the govt. to suppress the democretic movements of Tamilians ? Actually, they are in collaboration with these forces, I may mention their names also. It is RSS. The RSS chief recently has disclosed his opinion about this. Not only now, even before also they have told their intention of having collaboration with all these international reactionary forces, forces which are working in collaboration with U.S. imperialism. They have no objection to Pakistan becoming a communal country, a fundamentalist country. They are interested about Bangladesh also becoming like that they think. Why are they arguing for that ? Because then only they can substen-tiste their case for establishing a Hindu Rashtra in India. That is their intention. Whether they will succeed or not, that is a different matter. I am sure that they are not going to succeed but we cannot shut our eyes to their attempted create such a situation in this country by campaigning among the common masses for these dangerous reactionary ideology and aims.

PROF. K.K. TEWARY : You did not mention Chines interest in Sri Lanka.

SHRI M.M. LAWRENCE : I am not arguing for Chinese, it is for you to say something if you have about that. But I can say one thing certain that China is interested in settling issues with India. Recently I have been to China. I am very much conversant about their mind, they are very much prepared to settle issues with India — (Interruptions).

MR. SPEAKER : Let us confine ourselves to Sri Lankan problem for the time being. Don't try to widen the scops of this issue.

SHRI R.L. BHATIA (Amritsar) : He has referred to Chinese interest in Sri Lanka not China's.

SHRI M.M. LAWRENCE : This discussion was hijacked to China by K.K. Tewari. Any way, I am sure that Chinese Government or the people of China are not against Tamilians in Sri Lanka there. They are on good terms with the Government of that country I am sure. Anyway, Sir,

Because of this attack, about one lakh people have become refugees in Sri Lanka. They are living in a very bad plight. Some people have come to India and some more want to come to India. I do not know what the Government of India is going to do in this matter. The attitude taken by our Government is, by and large, correct. They are trying to solve this problem through negotiations. Some people are arguing for military intervention but my party strongly oppose such a step. That is not going to solve this problem. We have no right to intervene in that country by using our military or army. So, we are against that.

To solve this problem, our Government has to take more action steps. Already Prof. Madhu Dandavate has mentioned about our role as Chair Person of Non-Aligned Movement. By using the influence of the Chair Person of the Non-Aligned Movement we can do something. I think we are not doing much about that. Our country and Ceylon are members of Commonwealth also. I want to know what this Commonwealth is doing in solving this problem? this problem is between Tamil speaking people of Ceylon and Jayawardene Government and not between Sinhalese and Tamilians. It is only between the people and the atrocious who is ruling that is land with the support U. S. imperialism. That country is a member of the Commonwealth and our country is also a member of the Commonwealth. What is the Commonwealth doing? Are they doing anything in that matter? Why should we continue with the Commonwealth if it is not useful? Now it is reported in the paper that Norway and Sweden are taking some initiative to solve the problem. I do not know how they can solve this problem. Anyway, now there is a strong feeling all over India, and specially in the Southern States of our country. Tamil, Nadu, Kerala and Karnataka - that India Government is not doing what they can do for solving this problem.

Government is not acting with all their might to solve this problem as early as possible. So, I would request the Government, and especially the Prime Minister, to take the initiative to solve this problem as early as possible by taking more strong action by using the forum of the NAM, the

Commonwealth and any other forums which will help to solve this problem.

SHRI ERA ANBARASU (Chengalpattu): Sir, day before yesterday this august House has seen how all the political parties united together to make a mountain out of a mole-hill out of the Andhra Pradesh problem. I am sorry to say that the same interest is not shown in discussing this important Tamil problem. (Interruption). Then they were all united together and the cry was that democracy has been buried in India. But they do not bother about the actual murder and actual burying of Tamil people in Sri Lanka. They are more bothered about Andhra Pradesh... (Interruptions)

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY: Out of their party only one Tamil MP is present in the House. All the others are absent... (Interruptions).

MR. SPEAKER: Let us discuss the Sri Lanka problem.

SHRI ERA ANBARASU: Not even a single BJP leader is not present here.

MR. SPEAKER: You discuss the Sri Lanka problem.

SHRI ERA ANBARASU: Before I come to the happenings Sri Lanka, I would like to bring to the notice of this hon. House the history of Sri Lanka. Once Sri Lanka was part and parcel of Tamil Nadu. There is historical evidence... (Interruptions) I am not playing any Telugu drama, as the other political leaders did day before yesterday, or like NTR, who played a big drama by bringing all the MLAs to Delhi. I am from Tamil Nadu... (Interruptions) Let me express my views.

I want to express my sincere feelings the problem of the Sri Lanka Tamils, unlike some political parties, who only play political dramas

** (Interruptions)

There is historical evidence that during AD 113-125, Gagabagu the second, the Ruler of Ceylon, accepted the invitation from seran sengutuvan, one of the three

grand monarchs of Tamil Nadu, and participated in the installing ceremony of the status of Kannaki, the Goddess of Chastity, in Kanji. This has been mentioned in *silappadikaram*, one of the foremost epics of Tamil literature of second century AD. It has been corroborated in *Mahavansa*, the Ceylon chronicle, that Ceylon was part and parcel of Tamil Nadu during the earlier centuries of the Christian era. According to the oriental and occidental historians of repute, it was described as *Tamparabane*.

Sir, *Tamparabane* means a pearl in the Ocean. It is a clear evidence to press that it was a part and parcel of the Tamil order in the good old days. Therefore my point is that the Tamils in Sri Lanka have undisputed right to live in Sri Lanka. No one else, I have alone Jayawardene, can evict them. They have their birth right to live in Sri Lanka.

Sir, genocide has been carried on in Sri Lanka for quite a long time. Here I must point out that when ten civilised nations agree that it is a genocide, then it is the moral obligation of every country to protect the victims and to prevent such a genocide. Sir here I would like to recall the resolution passed by the U. N. general Assembly in 1948. It said:

“Genocide in any part of the world can never be considered to be an internal affair of the country concerned.”

Genocide whether committed in time of peace or in time of war is a crime under the international law which is not only to be condemned and prevented, but also to be punished. Evidence of mass killings, the state terrorism on the innocent Tamils are clear evidences of crime of genocide. Therefore, what I would like to say is that we cannot simply say that it is an internal matter. We cannot keep quiet. Something has got to be done. A viable political solution should be found immediately.

Sir, I thank the Prime Minister of this country for all the initiatives she has taken, otherwise by this time so many more murders would have taken place.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: What else has taken place?

SHRI ERA ANBARASU: I must also thank the Government of India for its timely intervention.

Sir, butchery, torture and merciless killing which is going on in Sri Lanka is a barbaric act on their part. The brutal killing of the Tamils is a direct onslaught of worst kind on human rights and the Champions of human rights all over the globe should come forward to protest and prevent the State terrorism perpetrated on the minority Tamils in Sri Lanka.

Sir, here I would like to bring the notice of the august House that the minority problem of Sri Lanka is not a peculiar problem. Such a problem has been faced by so many other countries. In Malaysia and in Pakistan also there was such a problem, but they were all mature enough to solve the problem with due caution and care in approaching to the problem. But President Jayawardene did not have that maturity in approach to find out a proper and viable solution. Instead he behaved like an autocrat. He never wanted to solve this problem. Instead he was dilly-dallying. Whenever he came to Delhi he came forward with a new proposal. The formal proposal agreed to by Mr. Jayawardene. Mr. Parthasarathi and the TULF leader was not carried out. It was thrown into the dustbin.

Here I would like to impress upon that President Jayawardene is not only interested in wiping out the Tamils in Sri Lanka, but also he will not tolerate any one else leave alone any individual or even any political party, to oppose him. Sir, we know how Mrs. Bhandaranaike ruled Sri Lanka. The then Prime Minister of that country how has got now civic liberty. Her civic liberty has been suspended. She cannot address any meeting now. Our Opposition leaders yesterday were shouting that democracy has been uprooted from India. They should go to Ceylon and find out the misrule of President Jayawardene. The civic rights of one million people there have been taken away by one stroke. It is a shame.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: I think during the next Emergency you will send us to Ceylon.

SHRI ERA ANBARASU : What I would like to point out is, immediately after Jayawardene came into power, he had subverted the Constitution of Sri Lanka, the judiciary is now crippled to serve its short-term political gains. This has been very clearly brought out by a famous book brought out by an eminent jurist. Although there was no credible threat to the life of the nation, a state of emergency was proclaimed for no other reason than to block legal and constitutional remedies to Tamils on whom the State vengeance now came down with a bang. Here I would like to quote from an excellent report on Sri Lanka published by the International Commission of Jurists and its British Section by Justice Paul Sieghart :

“By way of successive constitutional amendments and promulgation of oppressive ordinances, each one of them being violative of the Sri Lankan Constitution, President Jayawardene has thus by one stroke destroyed the checks and counter-checks obtainable in a given democratic State.”

That is the state of Administration going on in Sri Lanka and therefore, it is only because of the misrule of Jayawardene this problem has not yet been settled. The judiciary ceased to apply its judicious mind and the Legislature was reduced to serve for partisan ends of the unconstitutional and illegal objectives of the dominant majority and therefore, this is nothing but misrule of President Jayawardene which the main cause for the killings of Tamils.

My friends were talking about the presence of Mossad. It was not only in Sri Lanka, but it is spotted out in Tamil Nadu also. In this connection, I would like to read an extract from *Patriot* of 28th July 1984 as follows :

“The entry of the Israeli outfit, Mossad, is a new element in the State-sponsored terrorism in Sri Lanka. Inhuman torture, humiliation and murder on streets have become order

of the day. Mossad with the help of the CIA may tomorrow stretch its plan of action to the shores of the India.”

It was reported that in Kumbakonam two Israeli persons were found and then the local people lodged a complaint and the next day it seems they disappeared and their whereabouts could not be traced. What I would like to say is, they are stretching their hands even in India, especially in South India, and our security is also in danger. Therefore, I would like to once again bring to the notice of this honourable House the argument of Jayawardene. He said he would like to contain terrorism. Even assuming that there is terrorism in Sri Lanka this is not the way to contain it by killing people of Tamil origin in Sri Lanka. If he really wants to contain terrorism if at all it is there, the reasonable aspirations of the people of Sri Lanka should be fulfilled. If the aspirations and ambitions of Sri Lankan people are fulfilled, there will not be any terrorism. After all they did not want any separate land. For 30 years they lived peacefully like brothers along with the Sinhalese. When did they come forward to work for a separate State? It is only in the year 1974 when there was a Tamil Conference going on in Sri Lanka there was firing on the crowd and hundreds of people were murdered. At that time another Jalianwalla Bagh incident was enacted in Sri Lanka. They wanted to contain State-terrorism, they wanted to have some militant force and that is why the Tamils were driven to the wall. The Tamil people there wanted to have an equal right along with Sinhalese. You know how a discriminatory treatment is given to them. Therefore, before I conclude, I would like to once again reiterate that the Government of India should take up this problem in all the world forums, especially in the Human Rights Commission and India should also come forward to give a severe warning to Sri Lanka.

MR. SPEAKER : The House and the country is not divided. It is one on this issue. They are absolutely one.

SHRI ERA ANBARASU : India should impose economic sanction and withdraw all the sides given to them. Otherwise, they will

not care for India's intervention or initiative and the problem will not be solved.

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI (Pollachi) : I thank very much the Members who have condemned the State terrorism which has been unleashed by the Government of Sri Lanka against Tamil minority.

Last year, in the month of July, innocent people, particularly the un-armed people were killed in the prison. Because of many reasons and bonds of people in Tamil Nadu and Sri Lanka, we raised this issue in the House. The Government of India played a role of a mediator in this case. It was said by the Government of India in 1983 that it will not be a silent spectator. After one year, it is a very sad thing, the very same statement is being made by the Government of India. In the recent incidents and riots in Velvettiturai and Chunnakam areas many people were killed. More than 300 children, were arrested. They were made captive. Nobody knows the whereabouts of 2000 youths who were arrested. Yesterday, their mothers i.e. mothers of those 2000 youths took out a procession. They gave a representation to the Government that the detained people should be released immediately. The Sri Lankan Government has some peculiar way to tackle the issue. They have decided to liquidate the youth—age ranging from 15 to 30. That is a calculative method which they are adopting. Those who love democracy and the entire press who are for the human rights have condemned those acts. Government of India have been writing to the Sri Lankan Government. After these letters, Mr. Lalith Athulathmidali, Sri Lanka's Minister for National Security made a statement :

“The Army, the statement said, had taken a humanitarian attitude in the course of its operation.”

2,000 people have been killed. Even then the National Security Minister says that the Army had taken a humanitarian attitude ! Actually they wanted to liquidate the entire Tamil Community. That was not done by the Army. This I am saying, keeping in view the statement of the National Security Minister that their action was based on humanitarian attitude. He appreciates

the action of the Army. This is the way things are happening there.

Sir, I do not want to say much about the atrocities which they are committing. Even some of the people from Tamil Nadu, about 16 passengers, who had gone to Jaffna were not spared. Those 16 passengers travelling in a hired van were pulled out of the van by the Sri Lankan armed forces and shot dead at Kaithali, 5 kms., from Jaffna. This is what has been stated. Now, Indian citizens from Tamil Nadu were killed. I do not know what is the Government of India going to do. Of course, I can understand that many people plead that it is an internal affair. But here, our citizens from Tamil Nadu were killed. I want to know whether the Government of India made any protest against the Sri Lankan Government.

Many hon. Members have said and I suppose the hon. Members from the Congress bench must appreciate it. What I would like to say is, you see the attitude and tendency of the Tamils. Allen couple was kidnapped by Tamil Youth. They are Americans and suspected to be CIA agents. Of course, they were, no doubt, CIA agents. They were kidnapped by the Tamil youth and kept. Madam Prime Minister made an appeal to the youth that these couple should be released. With all the humility, the Tamil youth had released this couple but at the same time, they made a demand to the Government of India, particularly to the Prime Minister that one lady by name Nirmala Nithyanandam, a professor in a college who was detained by the Sri Lanka Government should be released. They wanted that the Indian Government should tell the Sri Lanka Government to release the lady from the jail. Of course, we did not do that. We are not able to write to the Sri Lankan Government to release Nirmala Nithyanandam. Some-how she was liberated ; she was freed from the Jail by the Tamil youth.

Again, I would like to state how the minority people are subjected to harassment. Many forums, even international forums and jurists in many places have condemned this action and many associations have also condemned it. With a heavy heart, I am asking. The entire Tamil community,

whether they are in Sri Lanka or Tamil Nadu are in dark. We do not know where to go to whom to go and what to tell. We are in a dark situation. It is because, nobody is there to come to our rescue. That is the situation. That is what is happening now a-days. The Minister and the Government, all these years, at least since last year when the ethnic violence took place, have been telling us, as far as the Government of India is concerned, they have no proposals at all. We just helped the Sri Lanka Government to come to a settlement. In that case, why did you invite, say, President Jayawardene last June? What was the necessity for you to invite him here? Why did you invite him without any proposal with you? If you don't have any proposal, why such a mediation was initiated? At the same time, I would like to say that even in that meeting, according to Press, he was accepted something. I do not know what has been discussed. But according to the Press, Jayawardene accepted many proposals placed by you but after he went to Sri Lanka, he turned them down. He goes against the settlement and assurances which he has given to you. He says like that. In that case, what is the position?

HROF. N. G. RANGA (Guntur) : What shall we do?

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI : That is your question.

SHRI K. MAYATHEVAR (Durdigul) : You are asking that question because you cannot have the feelings which we are having.

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI : The TULF leaders first did not want to Participate in the Round Table Conference...

PROF. N. G. RANGA : I did not wish to interrupt you. I wanted to help you.

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI : In the beginning, they did not want to attend the RTC, the Round Table Conference. But the Government of India insisted that they should go to the Round Table Conference. They attended the RTC. They wanted a Regional Council which was refused by

President Jayawardene. Now, they say, it is a second chamber. My hon. friend, Mr. Faleiro, stated here correctly how the second chamber is going to function.

Then, they said something about terrorism. I would like to tell you, how the boys become terrorists. I must say, it is inevitable. Certainly, I would openly say, I support them. But at the same time, they did not want to get allied with any other power which is against India. I would like to tell you the truth. The very same Mossad organisation offered their services to the Sri Lankan Tamil youth. The Mossad organisation assured the boys that 2000 boys would be trained in Israel itself. They refused it. The meeting took place in Geneva between the Tamil leaders and the Mossad organisation. They refused it for two reasons, firstly, that they were against Israeli's political ideology and secondly, that Israel was against India. Therefore, they refused it. Had they accepted the offer made by Mossad organisation, I do not know what the Tamil boys would have done by this time. They would have faced the entire army forces of Sri Lanka. They missed an opportunity, believing the Central Government. Now they do not know where to go. That is the position.

Again, I would like to say something about the statement made by the hon. Minister. On p. 3, it is stated :

“We have taken steps to curb activities which may be directed against Sri Lanka from our soil.”

I cannot understand the meaning of this sentence. What activities they are going to call as “from our soil”? I do not know what it means. The hon. Minister should enlighten me about it so that I can be convinced on this.

My hon. friend, Prof. Madhu Dandavate, said that he is against separatism. I am also against separatism, a separate nation in India. He also said about our late Anna. I am thankful to him for his comments on that. However, we support a separate Eelam in Sri Lanka. We cannot compare the demand of DMK for a separate nation

in India with the demand of Tamilians in Sri Lanka

At the same time, we cannot equate the democratic values of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru and the dictatorial arrogance of Shri Jayawardene.

I would like to quote from Sri Lanka News Review Volume-I p. 5 :

“By 1975—a year before the TULF had adopted separatism as a political solution, the terrorists made it known that their aim was to divide Sri Lanka by dint of force and to establish separate State.”

This is the booklet. According to this, they raised the slogan in 1957. Before that, what happened.

On August 18, 1977 Shri Jayawardene, as Prime Minister declared open war against Tamils. In 1977, it started. Therefore, because of the various factors and atrocities on Tamils, they raised this issue. Even now, in June, 1983, Mr. Amrithalingam said :

“I am ready to give up the demand of separate nation provided we are given State autonomy and more powers to the State.”

It was denied. Therefore, as far as I am concerned, there is no other solution except separate State for Tamils in Sri Lanka. They have been fighting for it for decades.

17.37 hrs.

[SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE *in the Chair*]

There is another calculated conspiracy going on. Sinhalese are being dumped there. What will happen? In due course, the culture and separate identity of Tamils will be destroyed. This is another act. It is against human nature. Therefore, I would also say that this colonisation should be stopped.

Total military regime is there. They have to oppose it. Sri Lanka is buying arms from

many countries including Israel, South Africa and UK.

It has been accepted by all peace-loving countries that Indian Ocean should be a zone of peace. This demand is being made because Sri Lanka is allowing USA to use it as base for landing of F16 and re-fuelling. Our accepted policy is that the Indian Ocean should be a zone of peace. This also should be taken into consideration.

Professor Madhu Dandavate has said that our Prime Minister is the Chair Person of the Non-aligned Nations. But, one of the countries of NAM is going against the interests of the other nations, particularly Asian nations, by polluting the entire Asian region. That may be the reason for another Asian regional war. Therefore, is it not the duty of the Chair Person to bring it to the notice of other non-aligned countries and condemn Sri Lanka for having allowed the super-powers to deploy more arms in Sri Lanka?

It has been said that it is an internal problem. According to my information more than 2,000 people have been arrested and they are kept in jail. In these 2,000 people, there are many Indian citizens. Therefore, Government have every right to see that the Indian citizens are freed from jail. One may not bother about the people of Indian origin who are living there. This is one matter.

There is another matter. They say that it is an internal problem. If a country wants to tackle a particular issue within its own limits in the country, it is alright, it is an internal matter. But Sri Lanka has started buying arms from other countries, not only they are buying arms. But the other countries' agencies are also being deployed there and they are giving training to those people. So, it is becoming an international problem. In that case, the Government of India cannot escape from the responsibility by just saying that it is an internal problem. Now, it is becoming an international problem. The Government of India has got every right to intervene in the matter.

I would again appeal to the Government that they must recognise Eelam and snap

ties with Sri Lanka because of its anti-democratic activities as well as violation of human rights. I hope, the Government of India would behave sensibly hereafter.

SARI K.T. KOSALRAM (Tiruchendur) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, the Sri Lankan problem is a very, serious problem. As a freedom fighter, I know what happened in those days, was in jail for more than four years. In those days, in my area one British man was murdered and a number of railway stations and police stations were burnt. But the Britishers did not send the army to those places. Therefore, in whatever other things I may differ from my friend, Mr. Dhandapani, I would also say that I do not approve of the army action there ...

SHRI K. MAYATHEVAR (Dindigul) : What is the solution that you want to suggest?

SHRI K. T. KOSALRAM : Please allow me to speak.

I know Mr. Jayawardene very well. I had been to Sri Lanka three years back. He categorically told me that the Tondaman Report had been approved by the Cabinet, that is, the Stateless people would be given citizenship rights. Thereafter, he came to India and he told the press categorically that he was going to give citizenship rights to those Stateless people, of Indian origin ... But that assurance has not been implemented. Our Prime Minister sent Mr. G. Parthasarathy as her special envoy to Sri Lanka. Mr. Jayawardene categorically assured him and committed himself that the District Councils would be given more autonomy, that law and order and legislative power would be given to them. But he is biding his time. Now he has started with Second Chamber. He was first saying that powers would be given to the District Councils.

This is the kind of things President Jayawardene is telling and we cannot believe him. Not only that, there is Trincomalee, a natural harbour. 800 warships can be berthed there. An oil bunker is being constructed there. We also tendered but it has gone to the Americans. So the American forces are there. No our ships

will have to go around Sri Lanka. We are not safe unless the Sethusamudram project comes through. So that is the most important thing.

My friend, Mr. Mayathevar wanted my solution. The only solution is a political solution. Political solution means somehow or other we must see that Jayawardene comes round. We are sure this military action is not going to solve this problem.

I wanted to reply my friend, Mr. Dandapani. I am glad that he told that in India we do not want any separate State. I am congratulating him. But at the same time he is supporting the demand for Eelam. ...

SHRI K. MAYATHEVAR : We are having a fundamental right here. We enjoy all political rights here.

SHRI K. T. KOSALRAM : Northern Sri Lanka consists of 20 Lakhs of Eelam people. The other areas spread over Sri Lanka have 12 Lakhs of people of Indian origin and Indian citizens. If we send our Army for a separate Eelam, what will be the fate of 12 lakhs of people of Indian origin and Indian citizens? That is my question. So, Sir, the military action of Sri Lanka, I condemn like anything. Similarly, we cannot send our troops for Eelam separatism. That is my contention. But I whole-heartedly agree with Mr. Dandapani and support him in all other aspects except that.

SHRI K. MAYATHEVAR: To stop genocide what action is being taken?

SHRI K.T. KOSALRAM : I am asking. Did anybody ever think of Bangladesh problem to be solved so quickly? Nobody. Similarly, have patience. Our Prime Minister is capable of solving this problem also. This is not a Tamil problem. This is a national problem. This is not a regional problem. This is not a Tamil problem. Our Prime Minister rightly considers it as a national issue. I have full confidence in our Prime Minister. She said, 'I cannot keep quiet. My people are there. If you butcher like this, I cannot

sleep.' That way she has spoken. So much So I appeal to my friends ...

AN HON. MEMBER: At least she should give a warning.

SHRI K. T. KOSALRAM : You know what happens to these warnings. In case of Bangladesh also we gave warning.

SHRI K. MAYATHEVAR : Even a resolution is not being passed here.

SHRI K. T. KOSALRAM : We should realise the American presence there. The Prime Minister's move is the correct is the correct move. Her approach is the correct approach. Even President Reagan went and told - not Kosalram or Mayathevar or Chatterjee, he went and told President Jayawardene that our Prime Minister's approach is the correct approach. So have confidence in our Prime Minister for the solution of this problem.

She is now and then writing letters and sending telegrams every munte. We see how Jayawardene is cheating or how he is adopting the delaying tactics. Now I want to tell you that only a few people want separatism. All these Tamils People want some power. That is all, Our Prime Minister must see that power are given to the Elam people and they live together. We cannot send our military there for the separatism to butcher our people. I request my hon. friends to note this. Thousands of Muslims are from my constituency. All of the Indian muslims had been butchered in Bangladesh. We cannot act as we did in Bangladesh. 2,000 people have been arrested and sent to jails. If there are Indians, we cannot keep quiet. We must see that we are here to safeguard our Indian citizens. Our Prime Minister will safeguard everybody there.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Dr. Subramaniam Swamy. You have got five minutes.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : Sir, when the Prime Minister spoke from the rampart of the Red Fort, the feeling was that Government of India was about to

embark on some decisive step on the Sri Lanka question. But, since then, I think they have lost the momentum. To-day we are coming back to the old position of debating the old issues. The question in to-day's discussion should be—what is the Government of India going to do in the event of this kind of killing that goes on erupts again? What is happening in Sri Lanka is a process of genocide being dished out in doses. Some killing takes place and then there is some peace and again the killing starts. It appears that very time the position is that the Tamils become a little worse off. In 1983 when the most severe riot took place, at that time, Shri Amrithalingam came to India. He was a Member of Parliament; there was a lot of talk about the Government of India's doing something. Then Jayawardene came here. That was all right. Subsequently in Sri Lanka Parliament, the Tamil MPs were removed from the membership of Parliament. But, you had not been able to stop that. Everything what happens is that when a riot takes place, the situation of Tamils worsens. Then a little piece is there. We forget that and then whole process starts again. Unfortunately, the riots in Sri Lanka have taken the form of genocide. In fact I was looking at the International Convention. On the Apartheid there was a U.N. General Assembly Resolution No. 3068. The definition given for the apartheid applies not only in South Africa but also it applies to what is happening in Sri Lanka. There are two International Conventions to-day which Sri Lankan Government is violating with all immunity. And Government of India is only giving a running commentary as to what is happening in Sri Lanka. (*Interruptions*). It shows your effectiveness and you are not able to stop them. It shows how ineffective your diplomacy is. You cannot stop that. What is the use of speaking that you are having the fourth largest army in the world. Why go on telling this instead of telling 'friends' this is what we are doing? What is the use of telling that we have millions of people here in arms and our army is the fourth largest in the world.

AN HON. MEMBER : What are your friends doing?

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : Well, I am ready to help you with my friends, if you like.

Today the worst part of the Sri Lankan situation is that there is no Sinhalese leader to come and speak for the whole nation. The Sinhalese leaders speak for Sinhalese and the Tamils leader speaks for Tamils. Of course, the Tamils are in minority. But it is a very very terrible situation where the polity is destroyed, that the political processes are subverted because of the fact that the leaders of Sinhalese today have become factional leaders and the leaders are only interested in furthering the genocide. The question really arises as what is to be done. In Sri Lanka there are three categories of Tamils - the Jaffna Tamils, the Plantation Tamils and the Sinhalese Tamils. Actually, it is wrong to say that the Tamils are the only people who came from India. In fact, Sinhalese are also the people who came from India. Sir, they came from your region and from Orissa. They both are Indians. I do not make any distinction between the Sinhalese and the Tamils. But the question is that they are not able to get along together. Mr. Anbarasu is not here. He let the cat out of the bag by saying that Sri Lanka is part of India. Sri Lanka administration was part of India. As late as in 1935, it was separated from India without the concurrence of the people. Pakistan was separated with the concurrence of the people. Whereas Sri Lanka was not separated from India with the concurrence of the Indian people and it is only 35 Km. away from India. Whereas the Andaman and Nicobar Islands are about 2000 Kms. away from India and they are part of India. Whereas this is only 5 Kms. away from India. The Chinese can talk about Hongkong but India cannot talk about Sri Lanka. I am unable to understand this logic. I am not suggesting anything.

I am only saying that when you talk about interference, there is already interference when Mr. Parthasarathy goes to Sri Lanka. That is interference. Now, the question is the extent of interference. How much are you prepared to go? How far are you prepared to go? When you telephoned Mr. Jayawardene and enquired about the situation there, I said "that is also interference". But the question is; what is the extent of interference? That is the real issue.

Sir, I am afraid in Tamilnadu a feeling is growing that this Government does not

care for Tamils. Some Tamilians tell me that when a few Hindu Panjabis were killed in Punjab, the army was despatched. Whereas Tamilians are being killed in thousands in Sri Lanka and this Government is not doing anything except the speeches. This is the general opinion in Tamilnadu and you have to recognise this. Therefore, I say, to put it bluntly....

आचार्य भगवान देव : आप क्या चाहते हैं कि सैनिक कार्यवाही की जाए ?

डा० सुब्रह्मण्यम स्वामी : यह आपके बस का नहीं है।

आचार्य भगवान देव : आप चाहते क्या हैं ?

(Interruptions)

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : Therefore, in conclusion, I ask this Government : what have you got in mind? You have got two international conventions to support your action. This kind of killings cannot go on. I say this kind of killing is actually affecting the people of Tamilnadu itself. I do not know whether Eelam is a viable solution. In fact when Eelam is born, it won't be economically viable. It will have to be supported by foreign powers. If you have integrity and if Sri Lanka is to be maintained, then I am afraid Mr. Jayawardene will have to act very quickly for a political solution. Otherwise, there are enough precedents in this world, in recent history, for intervention. The Government of India has defended the Soviet Union for sending troops to Afghanistan. They said that they had invited them. So, here you also can be invited. If you want, I can arrange for the invitation. The U.S.A. have also sent their troops to Grenada to defend their interests. Therefore, if the Tamils are killed in Sri Lanka, you have every right to send the military to defend the Tamils there and to see that the Government there comes to senses and does not encourage genocide. This is the solution.

18.00 hrs.

श्री जगपालसिंह : (हरिद्वार) सभापति, श्री लंका की समस्या पर हम यहां विचार कर

रहें हैं। पंडित जी के समय से लेकर आज तक यह भारत की परम्परा रही है कि दुनिया के किसी भी कोने में यदि मानवता को कुचला गया है, लोगों के अधिकार को छीना गया है, तो इस सदन में चर्चा हुई है। हम लोग जन-तंत्रीय प्रणाली के मानने वाले लोग हैं, जो कुछ श्री लंका में हो रहा है, मैं उसकी घोर निन्दा करता हूँ, लेकिन अगर इस सदन में कुछ लोग ही यह चाहें कि श्री लंका और तमिलियन्स को प्रोवोक करके हम अपने देश पर एक अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय खतरा मोल लें तो मैं इसका समर्थक नहीं हूँ।

आज श्री लंका की समस्या हमारे देश की एकता, अखंडता और सार्वभौमिकता की समस्या से जुड़ी हुई है, उसको हम अलग करके नहीं सोच सकते। जो इस सदन में यह सुझाव देना चाहते हैं कि श्रीलंका की समस्या को अपने सिर पर मढ़ लें तो मैं और मेरी पार्टी इस राय के नहीं है। उस समस्या को भारत सरकार जिस ढंग से ले रही है, मैं उसकी कोई प्रशंसा तो नहीं करता हूँ, लेकिन जिस रास्ते पर वह चल रही है, उससे अगर हटने की कोशिश की तो विश्व की बड़ी शक्तियाँ एक तरफ जहाँ हिन्दुस्तान को घेरने की कोशिश कर रही हैं, इंडियन ओशन को हम जोन आफ पीस बनाने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं, भारत की प्रधान मंत्री इस बात को लेकर चल रही हैं तो हमारी तरफ से कोई भी ऐसा कदम न उठे कि बड़ी ताकतों को बहाना मिल जाये कि श्री लंका की प्रावलय को लेकर हिन्दुस्तान ने श्रीलंका के अन्दरनी मामलों में दखलअन्दाजी की है।

श्रीलंका की समस्या एक मानवतावादी समस्या है। वहाँ हमारे हिन्दुस्तान के लोग भी हैं। मैं प्रधान मंत्री से जानना चाहता हूँ कि 1974 में आपने श्रीमाओ भंडारनायके के साथ समझौता किया था उसमें तय हुआ था कि

आप 5 लाख, 60 हजार लोगों को हिन्दुस्तान के मूलवासियों को वापिस बुलायेंगी। श्रीलंका न उस वक्त तैयार था और न आज तैयार है, कि उनको अपनी नागरिकता दें। आपने खुद स्वीकार किया था कि उन 5 लाख, 60 हजार भारतीय मूलवासियों को वापिस बुलाने का काम नहीं किया गया, तो क्या यह ब्रीच आफ कम्प्रोमाइज नहीं है? जो हमारी ट्रीटी उनके साथ हुई थी?

आपसे पहले 1964 में श्री लाल बहादुरशास्त्री ने भी श्रीमती भंडारनायके के साथ समझौता किया था, लेकिन उस के एम्पलीमेंटेशन की भी कोई कोशिश भारत सरकार द्वारा नहीं हुई। अगर हुई होगी तो हमारी प्रधान मंत्री यहाँ बैठी हैं। मिलेट्री एक्शन का डा.स्वामी ने जिक्र किया अफगानिस्तान का। अफगानिस्तान की समस्या को आप श्रीलंका के साथ मत जोड़िये मैं वहाँ पर फौजों की हिमायत नहीं करता हूँ, वह वापिस होनी चाहिये। वह हमारे देश के लिए भी खतरा है लेकिन आप इस बात को भी जानते हैं कि अगर 5 घंटे रशियन फौजें वहाँ पहुंचने में लेट हो जाती हैं तो वहाँ अमेरिकन फौजें रशियन फौजों की जगह होती आज जो ज्वायन्ट कोमनिक चाइना और अमेरिका का पब्लिस हुआ, आपको मालूम है चाहे रूलिंग पार्टी हो चाहे हम लोग हों, आज अमेरिका और चाइना में ट्रीटी हुई है, उनमें समझौता हुआ है।

हमारे लोगों की यह कोशिश नहीं होनी चाहिये कि चीन और अमेरिका दो बड़ी शक्तियाँ अफगानिस्तान में बाँकर बैठ जायें। दोनों को बलग अलग रहना चाहिये। मैं अफगानिस्तान की फौजों की वकालत नहीं करता हूँ।

मैं इसीलिए कहता हूँ कि श्रीलंका की समस्या पर यह सदन बड़ी गहराई से विचार

करे। वहां पर सेना भेजने के क्या रिपर्कशनज होंगे, हमारे देश पर उसका क्या असर होगा? मैं उसकी भर्त्सना करता हूँ जो श्री रामचन्द्रन ने 9 अगस्त को वहां के सदन में बयान दिया कि अगर वहां यह चीज चलेगी तो एक-एक तमिलियन हथियार उठाकर यहां से मार्च शुरू कर देगा। इस तरह की प्रोवोकेशन न इस सदन में हो न सदन के बाहर हो। हिन्दुस्तान की परम्परा रही है हरेक मुल्क की एकता अखंडता की हमेशा हमने चिंता की है।

आज हमारी प्रधान मंत्री निगुंट राष्ट्र सम्मेलन की अध्यक्ष हैं, मैं उनसे कहना चाहूंगा कि आप अपने इस स्थान, जो विश्व के देशों ने आपको दिया है, मजबूती से उस स्थान से अपना असर इस्तेमाल करके श्री जयवर्द्धन पर पोलिटिकल प्रैशर डालें और उनको मजबूर करें।

मैं तमिल भाईयों की इस राय से सहमत हूँ कि श्रीलंका के तमिल लोगों का आन्दोलन खालिस्तान की तरह का एक सैपेरेटिस्ट आंदोलन नहीं है। वे चाहते हैं कि जयवर्द्धन की सरकार उन्हें सिंहलियों की तरह बराबरी के अधिकार दें और उनके साथ समानता का व्यवहार हो। अगर वे एक अलग स्टेट की मांग करते हैं, तो वह उसी तरह जिस तरह हमारे देश में समय समय पर अलग अलग स्टेट्स बनाने की मांग की जाती रही है और पंजाब तथा दूसरी स्टेट्स को मान्यता मिलती रही है। मैं मांग करता हूँ कि विश्व की जो साम्राज्यवादी ताकतें हमारे देश के खिलाफ सक्रिय हैं और श्रीलंका में अपनी फौजें भेजने की कोशिश कर रही हैं, यह सदन उनकी भर्त्सना करें। मैं उन शक्तियों की भर्त्सना करता हूँ। अमरीका हो या इस्त्राईल वे अपने आप को श्री लंका की समस्या में इनवाल्व न करें, क्योंकि इसके भयानक नतीजे निकल सकते हैं।

मैं जयवर्द्धन से कहना चाहता हूँ कि जहां हम अपनी सार्वभौमिकता, एकता और अखंडता की रक्षा के लिए कटिबद्ध हैं, वहां हमने भौगोलिक सीमाओं से ऊपर उठकर हमेशा मानवाधिकारों की रक्षा का समर्थन किया है।

हमारे देश की किसी पार्टी के लीडर का भले ही यह विचार हो, मैं समझता हूँ कि श्रीलंका को तोड़ना पाकिस्तान को तोड़ने से भी ज्यादा खतरनाक होगा। उस वक्त हम सब एक थे। हमें यह बात समझ लेनी चाहिए कि जितना छोटा कोई देश होता है, साम्राज्यवादी ताकतों को उसके मामलों में दखल-अंदाजी, इन्टरवीन करने का उतना ही अधिक मौका मिलता है। जो लोग श्रीलंका में फौज भेजने के पक्ष में हैं, मैं उनको बताना चाहता हूँ कि वहां पर दो देश बन जाने से विश्व की बड़ी ताकतें वहां पर दखल देंगी, वहां पर बार बार कू होंगे। यह हमारे नैशनल इन्ट्रेस्ट में है कि श्रीलंका नहीं टूटना चाहिए। वहां पर सेना भेजकर समस्या को हल करने की हमारी कोशिश नहीं होनी चाहिए। मैं प्रधान मंत्री जी से कहूंगा कि विश्व के देशों में उनको एक बड़ा महत्वपूर्ण स्थान मिला है, वह डिप्लोमेटिक प्रैशर इस्तेमाल करके श्रीलंका की समस्या को पोलिटिकल सालूशन निकालने की कोशिश करें।

SHRI K. A. RAJAN (Trichur) ; Mr. Chairman, we have been discussing this issue of Sri Lanka on various occasions, but now we are discussing the issue of Sri Lanka in a peculiar context and in the recent development that has taken place inside Sri Lanka as also outside. Sir, we have trying, rightly trying for a political solution to this Sri Lanka problem. I want to emphasise on behalf of my party that military intervention is not at all a solution. Military intervention will be a counter-productive one. Military solution will be only playing into the hands of President Jayawardene and other reactionaries who want to take advantage of the situation. So that is not the solution for the problem.

Unfortunately we have been hearing that even Mr. Jayawardene is not earnest in having a political solution. That is what Mrs. Bandarnayake's statement given recently, and the statement of the TULF leaders say. They say that Mr. Jayawardene is not at all earnest in finding a political solution for the problem. What is the reason? What is the new development that has taken place in Sri Lanka? In Sri Lanka there is a neo-colonial economic development and that is the basic factor which has developed in these recent years. President Jayawardene is not at all inclined to have a political settlement to this ethnic problem because he is trying to secure more arms and other types of military aid from USA, UK and Israel. His recent visits to Washington and London, striking deals for having international terrorism, all that has led to the present situation. It is a collaboration with the US and Israel as also opened an office in Colombo and the services of Mossad have been secured and navy boats have been purchased from Japan and something more nefarious is deliberated upon, causing grave concern. I need not narrate what Mossad is. Mossad is an Israeli organisation having its foothold in many countries, where it has played a very nefarious role in upsetting established Governments. It is using all sorts of International terrorist methods to see that the normal and legitimate rights of the people are scuttled.

In this situation, it is not a question entirely of Sri Lanka alone. If Sri Lanka is harmed, if Trincomalee is used by the United States for the Diego Garcia establishment, if the whole of Indian Ocean is going to be threatened by this development, it is not the security of Sri Lanka alone that is threatened. Also threatened is the existence and stability of India, because of the new developments taking place in Sri Lanka.

These are the reasons why we are anxious to say that Jayawardene is not at all serious about having a political solution to this problem. Unfortunately, genocide is being committed. This problem has to be raised. India especially has a special role to play. As the Chair-person and as one of the strong pillars of the non-aligned movement, India has to mobilize public opinion against the wrongs and injustice perpetrated against the Tamils of that country. The Tamil people

there have got every right to have the protection of their language, culture, freedom of association and everything. Those things have to be given to them.

Self determination is a slogan which they have approved and agreed to. It has to be upheld, in explaining the rights of the Tamil people. In this context, I would like to stress that the Government must move a bit forward and take the initiative in arousing public opinion through various forums of the country, and see that in the light of the new developments taking place in that country, it points out the situation to which Jayawardene is leading his country, by allowing American bases and all sorts of Israeli activities etc.

In this manner, we have to find a political solution to the problem. India especially has a role to play. India has already made it clear that it always wants to have good, neighbourly relations with Sri Lanka. We do not want to interfere in the internal affairs of any country. But in spite of all these things, India has got an important role to play, to see that these nefarious activities of Jayawardene—the open genocide that has been perpetrated against the Tamils there—are stopped, and that that country is saved from such stooges of imperialism.

श्री हरीश कुमार गंगवार (पीलीभीत) : माननीय सभापति जी, श्रीलंका की वर्तमान समस्या पर विचार करते समय ही यह भी सोचना होगा कि भारत में बहुत से तमिल लोग हैं और जिनकी भावनाओं को बड़ी ठेस पहुंची है अपने भाईयों के मारे जाने से और उन के जरिये सारे देश को ठेस पहुंची है इस मामले में। क्योंकि किसी भी स्थान पर इस तरीके से सामूहिक हत्याएं हों, जिनके पास हथियार न हों उनके ऊपर मिलिटरी के तीनों विंग या उनमें से एक विंग भी हमला करे तो जो हमारे अधिकार हैं और जो मानवता के नाम पर हमें दिए गये हैं जिनको यू० एन० ओ० ने माना है और हम मानवतावादी हमेशा से मानते आये हैं, उन अधिकारों का भी श्रीलंका में हनन किया गया है।

श्रीलंका में बहुत समय से तमिल लोगों के साथ जो कि भारतीय मूल के हैं उनके साथ दुर्व्यवहार किया जाता रहा है। छठे संविधान बिल के जरिये उन्हें निर्वाचन के अधिकार से वंचित किया गया है। समस्या वहां चाय के बागों में काम करने वाले लोगों की भी है और क्या यह अच्छा लगता है कि 30 लाख व्यक्ति घर से बाहर कर दिये जायें, उनके रहने का कोई ठिकाना न रहे, उनके बच्चों को भून दिया जाय, मां बहनों के साथ रेप किया जाय तो क्या हम चुप-चाप इन अन्यायों को देख सकते हैं और सह सकते हैं? वे मांग कर रहे होंगे अपने अधिकारों के लिये, हमने भी मांग की थी हिन्दुस्तान को आजाद करने के लिये..... और बहुत सी जगहों पर यह मांगें उठती रहती हैं अहिंसात्मक रूप से, और कहीं पर कुछ हिंसा भी हो जाती है। लेकिन मैं समझता हूं तमिल लोग इन अत्याचारों को बहुत समय से, कम से कम तीन दशकों से सहते चले आ रहे हैं और भारत ने सिवाय कागज-पत्र लिखने के, कागज पर अपनी संवेदना प्रकट करने के और कोई भी सहायता उनकी नहीं की है। यह कहा जा सकता है और कहा गया है और मैं भी इस व्यू का हूं कि वहां पर सेना नहीं भेजनी चाहिए। सेना के द्वारा यह सवाल हल नहीं होगा। सेना भेजने पर लोग हमारे ऊपर आरोप लगा सकते हैं। जो बात दूसरों के लिए कह रहे हैं वह हमारे ऊपर भी आ सकती है। इस लिए मैं यह नहीं कहता, लेकिन एक बात जरूर जानता हूं कि जब हमारी देश की प्रधान मंत्री नान-एलाइंड मूवमेन्ट की भी चेयरमैन हैं तो क्या उसके जरिये इस मामले को हल नहीं किया जा सकता? क्या उन लोगों की कोई कमेटी नहीं बनाई जा सकती जिसके जरिये इस मामले को हल किया जा सके? आखिर हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों की भावनाओं का भी ध्यान करना उनका फर्ज बनता है।

दूसरी बात यह है कि क्या हम इतने कम-जोर हो गए हैं कि हम किसी बात को कायदे में, नियमों के अनुसार मानवता के नाते करना चाहते हों परन्तु एक छोटा सा देश भी उसको मानने के लिए तैयार न हो? हमारी फारेन पॉलिसी का यह दिवालियापन ही कहा जा सकता है कि पाकिस्तान हमसे नाराज रहे, श्रीलंका हमसे नाराज रहे और हमारी बात न माने... (व्यवधान) सही बात कभी अच्छी नहीं लगेगी। तो मैं कह रहा था कि पाकिस्तान से हमारे टर्म्स अच्छे नहीं हो सके, बंगला देश से हमारे टर्म्स खराब, नेपाल भी हमारे साथ अच्छा व्यवहार नहीं करता और उधर श्रीलंका भी हमारी बात मानने के लिए तैयार नहीं है। तो फिर हम कैसे बड़े भाई हैं, कैसे चेयरमैन हैं, नान-एलाइंड नेशन्स के कि कोई भी हमारी बात मानता ही

18.18. hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER *in the chair*]

नहीं? इसका मतलब यह है कि हम शक्तिशाली नहीं हैं अपनी बात मनवाने के लिए। हमारी चिट्ठी का, हमारे टेलीग्राम का, हमारी भावनाओं का और इस पार्लमेन्ट की भावनाओं का कोई भी असर पड़ोसी देशों पर पड़ सकता है - इसमें शक है, क्योंकि हमने अपने को उस प्रकार से शक्तिशाली नहीं बनाया हुआ है।

इसलिए मैं अनुरोध करता हूं कि इस सम्बन्ध में कोई बहुत तेज और व्यापक पग उठाए जाने चाहिए जिससे इस समस्या का हल निकल सके। बहुत दिनों तक मूकदर्शक बनकर इस समस्या को हमें देखते नहीं रहना चाहिए। इन शब्दों के साथ ही मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूं।

श्री रीतलाल प्रसाद वर्मा (कोडरमा) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, श्रीलंका में कई वर्षों से नरसंहार का भीषण चक्र चल रहा है।

नरसंहार होता है, फिर बीच बचाव शांति होती है। उसके बाद फिर नरसंहार होता है। यह जी दुश्चक्र चल रहा है इसका अन्त कैसे हो, मैं समझता हूँ, सिवाय राजनीतिक समाधान के और कोई दूसरा सल्यूशन इसका नहीं हो सकता है। कई मित्रों ने अपने विचार प्रकट करते हुए कहा कि सैनिक कार्यवाही होनी चाहिए, कई मित्रों ने अन्य बातें कही हैं, लेकिन मैं स्वयं और हमारा दल भी ऐसा समझता है कि आज की परिस्थितियों में आज की अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय शिच्युएशन में इस तरह की कोई कार्यवाही नहीं की जानी चाहिए। लेकिन वहाँ पर जो नरसंहार चल रहा है उसकी मैं घोर भर्त्सना करता हूँ और सरकार को भी इसकी भर्त्सना करनी चाहिए। श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी आज नैम और चोगम की चेयरपर्सन हैं इसलिए उनसे बड़ी उम्मीद है। जब विश्व का अन्य परिस्थितियों पर विचार किया गया तब क्या कारण है कि श्रीलंका में जो यह अनवरत् समस्या चल रही है उसके लिए अन्य देशों के साथ मिलकर इस राजनीतिक समस्या का कोई हल नहीं निकाल सकते ?

श्री लाल बहादुर शास्त्री और श्रीमती भण्डारनायके के साथ जो समझौता हुआ था, उसमें अभी तक क्या कार्यवाही हुई है ? यदि उसमें कमी है, तो उस कमी को अगर कारगर ढंग से नहीं लिया जाएगा तो यह समस्या चलती रहेगी। जहाँ तक लाखों तमिलियन्स और अन्य भारतीयों के साथ जो मानवीय अधिकारों पर प्रहार हो रहा है, उसकी और हमको ध्यान देना चाहिए।

आज विश्व बहुत छोटा हो गया है। एक और से दूसरे ओर आदमी आसानी से पहुंच सकता है। ऐसी परिस्थिति में हम विश्व के देशों के साथ मिलकर राजनीतिक और कूटनीतिक ढंग से समाधान कर सकते हैं। लेकिन जितना हमें इस पर ध्यान देना चाहिए, मैं

समझता हूँ कि वह अभी नहीं दिया गया है। इसी कारण से यह बराबर नर-संहार का चक्कर चलता रहेगा और हम यहाँ संसद में चर्चा करते रहेंगे और आंसू बहायेंगे, लेकिन कोई समाधान नहीं निकलेगा। यह भी बहुत खेद का बिषय है कि हमारे देश के जो राजनीतिक और राजनैयिक संबंध हैं उन संबंधों में इतने दिनों से जो कार्यकलाप हुए हैं, उससे कोई नतीजा सामने नहीं आ पाया है। चूँकि हमारे जितने भी पड़ोसी देश हैं, चाहे बंगला देश हो चाहे पाकिस्तान हो और चाहे श्रीलंका हो व चीन हो - इन सभी देशों के साथ किसी न किसी तरह से अभी तक हमारे संबंध सामान्य नहीं हो पाए हैं। स्व० पंडित जी का सिद्धांत पंचशील या गुटनिरपेक्षता अथवा सहअस्तित्व का हमारे देश के लिए अच्छा था महात्मा गांधी ने रंगभेद और जातिभेद के आधार पर जो समस्या उत्पन्न हुई थी, उसके लिए वह अफ्रीका तक गए और आज जब तमिलियन्स की समस्या श्रीलंका में उत्पन्न हो रही है, तो उनकी समस्याओं के समाधान के लिए अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ, "नैम" और "चोगम" के सदस्यों से बातचीत करके राजनीतिक हल ढुढ़ना चाहिए।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूँ।

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI) : Sir, my colleague, Shri Mirdha, will reply to the debate. If I rise now, it is to share my growing concern at what seems to be a deteriorating situation in Sri Lanka.

Hon. Members know and they have referred to the various incidents and events which have taken place since we last debated this matter. It has been discussed several times before. They have referred to the extensive shelling by the Sri Lankan Navy and what happened in Mannar and other places such as Velvettiturai and the killings of many innocent people. In fact, the latest

news is that more people of Indian origin have been killed.

Originally I thought of making only some general remarks, but certain points have been raised on which I should like to say a few words.

I want to congratulate Prof. Dandavate, who made a learned and informative speech as is expected from him. He told us about the origin of the trouble which is of long standing. Various points of view have been expressed here. Although our Friend who spoke just now, I think Jagpal Singh Ji...

(Interruptions)

AN HON. MEMBER : Yes, Lok Dal.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : Whatever Dal, that does not matter, but he made a sensible speech and took a national points of view. However, he said that we were not doing anything. This is not a fact. Some people have said—I am sorry that I was not present when Shri Subramaniam Swamy made most of his speech, I heard only the tail end he spoke of interference and said it was only a question of degree. This is not so. If we sent anybody to Sri Lanka, it has been with the concurrence of the President and the Government of Sri Lanka. We did not announce that we would send somebody whether they wanted it or not. If I have telephoned or written, that is a normal way of keeping in touch with Heads of other governments and States and I have done so even when the matter did not concern India directly. I consult leaders of many countries whenever the occasion so demands. I have been in touch with President Jayawardene and written or spoken to him whenever a specially disturbing event has taken place. Another point needs to be clarified. An Hon'ble member spoke of Soviet interference at the time of Bangladesh. Our agreement with the Soviet Union is not at all a military agreement, it is purely a treaty of peace and friendship. So, except that it was a moral booster at that particular time when nation was feeling a bit low, otherwise it was not connected with events in Bangladesh or the subsequent outcome.

We are deeply concerned about the induction of Mossad in Sri Lanka. The Sri

Lanka Government have compared this with our having an Israeli Consulate in Bombay. The two issues are not at all at par ; there is no comparison between the two. This particulate Consulate was set up in the fifties, intended only to provide visa facilities to Indian Jews, many of whom live in Bombay or Chochin and that area. Now we do not even have a Consul in Bombay. Sri Lanka, on the other hand, is virtually forging a security relationship with Israel. These two are very different situations. President Jayawardene told a News Conference that he would seek help "from the devil himself" necessary. The ostensible rationalisation given for their decision by President Jayawardene is that he has not been able to obtain anti-terrorist assistance from other countries. This explanation is rather intriguing to us because we do know, and this has been confirmed by the British Government, that British experts have been providing anti-terrorist training to the Sri Lankan police since October last. They are attached to the police Academy at Kalutare in the western province and have been helping to raise a special Commando unit there. Similar help may also be forthcoming from other countries.

With regard to the plane, it was a chartered one from the East African Airlines, but who chartered it and who or what came on it, we do not know. Anybody can charter a plane and use it. However, in the present circumstances, it is intriguing.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : Ambarasu knows it is of South Africa.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : I do not want to blame them if they are not involved, at the same time, I have no information to the contrary.

In one of today's newspapers I see a report that the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, Shri Premadasa, has produced an Indian journal, INDIA 2,000, in his Parliament, which sets out an alleged Indian plan to invade the island State last September. I refute this false allegation strongly. It is utterly irresponsible for people in the authority to behave like this. There was no such plan. And, although I do not like to disappoint

my friend opposite, we have no such plan for the future either.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : What about this ?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : That was what I said just now.

श्री मनी राम बागड़ी (हिसार) : जरा एक प्वाइन्ट साफ कर दीजिए कि क्या आप का यह स्टेटमेंट था कि आप ने अमेरिका से कोई मदाखलत करने की अपील की थी। ऐसा लोक सभा में भी सवाल उठा था कि आप ने कहा था कि अमेरिका, लंका और हमारे बीच में बिचोलिया हो कर कुछ करे।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : वाजपेयी जी ने 377 में यह सवाल उठाया था।

श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी : मैंने ऐसी बात बिल्कुल नहीं कही थी।

There is no truth in this statement. I have not heard about it before, otherwise, I would have mentioned it. But we have expressed our concern...

श्री मनी राम बागड़ी : वाजपेयी जी ने यह रेज किया था।

श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी : इस बात में कोई सच्चाई नहीं है।

We have written or otherwise approached many leaders of other countries, Heads of Governments, on events in Sri Lanka to express our grave concern at developments there and how the violence and crime are escalating. You have all heard that 500 young people were taken away. Their parents were told that they would be returned very soon. Out of these I believe only 100 have come back. But subsequently, about 150 or so others have been taken away, and nobody knows where they are.

When we heard that other countries were approached for military and other

assistance to put down what was the Sri Lankans call Tamil terrorism, we conveyed our viewpoints that it would pose dangers to our security to have foreign forces so close by. We wondered also whether these countries understood the basic nature of the problem and whether they would like to get involved in the manner in which we had heard they were being asked to do.

The size of a country has nothing to do with its sovereignty. Somebody has spoken of being Big Brother. We do not believe in this theory. We do not think in terms of big or small brothers. We believe in the equality of all nations. In the non-aligned movement even though India is the Chairperson, our attitude has been not to flaunt our leadership there, or to pressour views on others. We try to work in partnership. That may have certain weaknesses but, on the other hand it has also its advantages, because one gets greater cooperation. The whole question of Big Brother irritates our smaller neighbours and also certain countries which may not be so never. Some Indians refer to special cultural relations and so on. This may boost our pride, but it is not welcome in the countries concerned.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : What about big sister ?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : Either Big Sister, or Big Brother. It makes no difference. When we say we are equal, it can be equality amongst sisters and equality amongst brothers, just as you like.

Every country has its national interest at heart and would not like to brook any interference from outside, as indeed we ourselves would not like such interference from outside in our country. When we speak to Sri Lanka, we speak as a friend and neighbour who is deeply concerned.

A question was asked about previous agreements. We had agreed to take 6 lakh people. Out of that, 510,000 applied by the last date, which was 30th October 1981. All these have either been registered, or their registration is being processed.

President Jayawardene has agreed to give Sri Lankan citizenship to this balance

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : Are you calling it a genocide ?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : I do not know whether that word was used. The killing, the massacre of the Tamilians, these are some of the words which have been used earlier. Whether in letters I have written 'genocide' I do not now remember. I can look that up. But when I say that people are being massacred and whole populations are being sought to be annihilated. I think it means the same thing.

Initially I had offered to send medicines, food, anything that was needed either for the refugee camps or other places. At that time we were told that everything needed was available. At that time they did not allow the Red Cross. But later we have been helping. We have given Rs. 60 lakhs on Government to Government basis and Rs. 54 lakhs through the Indian Red Cross. But naturally if more is needed, it can be considered even though we are not flush with funds. We shall certainly help in whatever way we can.

PROF. N. G. RANGA : At present ?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : The Red Cross itself does not go in. The Red Cross goes only in a war situation. But the League of Red Cross Societies helps in such situations.

MR. SPEAKER : I think now there is nothing much more left in this and I can go to the next item, I suppose.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : What is the latest position regarding the hijacked plane ?

MR. SPEAKER : She has said, when she gets information she will give it.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : We are going to adjourn now and tomorrow is Sunday. We should know something.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : There is some Bill going on.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : I know that there is a Bill going on, but the plane is also going on.

I have a small matter of personal explanation. My name is there in the passenger list. (*Interruptions*) Because, otherwise, Mr. Tiwary may start saying, I have hijacked the plane.

MR. SPEAKER : I read that. I immediately sent my Marshal to enquire whether you are here or in the plane.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : I am here. I want that all my friends should be assured that I am here.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : This shows that the Soviet Union is behind the hijacking ;

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Is it Shri Indrajit Gupta or his triplicate ?

18.48 hrs.

LAND ACQUISITION (AMENDMENT)
BILL—CONTD.

MR. SPEAKER : I think we may now take up the Land Acquisition (Amendment) Bill.

We may finish it to-day.

श्री मनोराम बागड़ी : अध्यक्ष जी, दिगम्बर सिंह जी ने संशोधन के बारे में प्रधान मंत्री जी से कहा था। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि वह उठकर न जाएं। इसको मंजूर करके जाएं, जब भी जाए, इस संशोधन के बारे में फैसला करके जाएं, ऐसे नहीं। (व्यवधान)

श्री सज्जन कुमार (बाह्य दिल्ली) : अध्यक्ष जी, मैं आपके माध्यम से सरकार को बधाई देना चाहूंगा क्योंकि लैण्ड एक्वीजिशन बिल जिसकी पिछले कई सालों से हम लगातार कोशिश करते रहे हैं कि यह बिल संसद के सामने आए और जो किसानों का शोषण हो रहा है, उनको कुछ रिलिफ मिल सके। ... (व्यवधान)

SHRI KRISHNA CHANDRA HALDER (Durgapur): The Land Acquisition Bill is a very important Bill. Many Members have to speak on this. This may be taken up on Monday.

MR. SPEAKER: Let me get over it. It has been decided by the House to finish this Bill to-day.

श्री सज्जन कुमार : अध्यक्ष जी, मैं आपको बधाई देना चाहता हूँ क्योंकि लोकसभा के अध्यक्ष के साथ-साथ आप कृषि पंडित हैं और कृषक समाज के अध्यक्ष भी हैं।

मैं भी जानता हूँ, संसद भी जानती है और सारा देश जानता है कि आपकी लगातार यही कोशिश रही है कि यह बिल संसद के सामने जल्दी से जल्दी आये, और यहां से स्वीकृति मिलने के बाद लागू हो, ताकि किसानों का जो शोषण हो रहा है, उनको कुछ रिलीफ मिल सके। इसलिए अध्यक्ष जी, मैं किसानों की ओर से और अपनी ओर से आपको भी बधाई देना चाहता हूँ।

यहां मैं आपके माध्यम से मंत्री जी से आग्रह करना चाहूंगा कि जहां आपने इस बिल में बहुत से नये प्रावधान किए हैं, दफा चार और दफा छ; के नोटिस के सम्बन्ध में आपने कहा है कि इसमें एक साल से अधिक का समय नहीं लगेगा, लेकिन मैं यहां सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ कि एक साल का समय भी बहुत अधिक है। क्योंकि जब किसान को दफा चार के नोटिस दे दिए जाते हैं तो उस का इंटरेस्ट उस जमीन के प्रति नहीं रहता। क्योंकि उसको पता लग जाता है कि बहुत जल्दी सरकार इस जमीन को ले लेगी। इस कारण उस जमीन से अधिक पैदावार होने की आशाएं खत्म हो जाती हैं और दूसरी तरफ कई परेशानियां भी सामने आती हैं। मैं आपके माध्यम से सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ कि इस अवधि को घटाकर 6 महीने कर दिया जाना चाहिए।

दफा 6 के नोटिस के बाद एवार्ड दिये जाने के सम्बन्ध में आपका कहना है कि इसमें दो वर्षों से अधिक का समय नहीं लगेगा। अध्यक्ष जी, दिल्ली में हमारा यह अनुभव रहा है कि दफा 6 का नोटिस देने के बाद एवार्ड मिलने तक के काल में कई परेशानियां खड़ी हो जाती हैं। जैसा मैंने कहा, एक ओर तो किसान का अपना इंटरेस्ट उस जमीन के प्रति खत्म हो जाता है, दूसरी ओर यह भी देखने में आया है कि कुछ असमाजिक तत्व उस जमीन की खरीदफरोख्त शुरू कर देते हैं और उसमें नई-नई घन-औथोराइज्ड कालोनियों का निर्माण शुरू हो जाता है। इसलिए मेरा सुझाव है कि दफा 6 के नोटिस के बाद एवार्ड मिलने तक के बीच के समय को अधिक से अधिक एक साल रखा जाना चाहिए। जब हमने जमीन को लेने का एक बार निश्चय कर लिया है तो उसके बाद भी सालों तक उसको ऐसे ही डाले रखने का मैं कोई औचित्य नहीं समझता।

इस बिल में एक महत्वपूर्ण प्रावधान और किया गया है, जिसके लिए मैं आदरणीय प्रधानमंत्री जी को बधाई देना चाहता हूँ, कि अर्जित भूमि के बाजार मूल्य की 15 प्रतिशत की तोषण की दर को बढ़ाकर तीस प्रतिशत किया जा रहा है। इससे किसानों को अवश्य ही कुछ रिलीफ मिलेगा। लेकिन मेरे विचार में यह भी कुछ कम है। उसका कारण यह है कि एक ओर तो सारी चीजों की कीमतें बढ़ती चली जा रही हैं, इसलिए उसके अनुरूप किसान को जमीन की कीमत का तोषण दर 30 के स्थान पर 50 प्रतिशत होना चाहिए। यदि इस 30 प्रतिशत दर का आप पूरा अनुमान निकालकर देखें तो इससे किसान को जितना लाभ पहुंचना चाहिए उतना नहीं मिल पाएगा। मैं आशा रखता हूँ कि सरकार इस ओर ध्यान देकर इस दर को बढ़ाकर 50 प्रतिशत करेगी।

of about 93,000. But, Sir, Sri Lanka, which had agreed to accept 3,75,000 People has so far to this date i.e. upto 31st January, 1984, given citizenship only to 1,90,000. The balance is their responsibility. The 93,000 to which they have now agreed is in addition to the others.

As I said earlier, we are doing everything possible to bring people to the negotiating table. That is the only way by which a peaceful solution can be found.

As regards the children and various other matters as I said earlier, not only the Foreign Office; but I personally have spoken to the Sri Lankan High Commissioner here about the fate of the children, the young people there and have also written to President Jayawardene on this matter.

Now, the question before us is whether this issue is one merely of terrorism and law and order, as the Sri Lankan authorities claim, and which is the point which President Jayawardene made in his last letter to me? In our judgment the problem goes much beyond this. It has grown to such dimension, not only because of the cumulative frustrations, but also because of the persistent and increasing violence and attacks on the Tamils in Sri Lanka. You know how many have been killed and how much of their property has been destroyed. Today they all live in great danger. They are daily subjected to torture, discrimination, indignity and terror.

The continuing violation of the basic human rights of the Tamil population has evoked deep concern here. We have drawn the attention of the appropriate international agencies to these violations. We have voiced our grave anxiety in the Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities and in the Human Rights Commission. Earlier on, we have sent financial help through the League of Red Cross Societies. It has also evoked worldwide concern. One hon. Member spoke about the concern of some Western countries which are giving Sri Lanka financial and other aid. They are examining the situation and are worried.

The problem there is indeed a very complex one. The majority of the Tamils

are in the North where it is sought to oppress them. Then there are Tamils in the Eastern Province, where the majority community of the whole of Sri Lanka i.e. those of Sinhalese origin, have been inducted and settled there so as to reduce the strength of the Tamils there. And finally there are those who are called Tamils of Indian origin. Of course, you have rightly pointed out that they all are originally of Indian origin, but now I am not talking of those who went long long ago but of those who were taken by the British about a hundred years ago. They are the ones who are normally referred to as Tamils of Indian origin. These are scattered in and around Columbo, on the Highlands and other parts of Sri Lanka.

Sir, some elements may be interested in aggravating the situation so that there is excuse for intervention from outside. We have to be very careful about this. We are keeping the situation under close watch. But we do not wish to say or do anything that might worsen the situation and make the problem more acute for the Tamils. On the other hand, we have to be alert about the activities of foreign agencies. The Island is very close so us, only about twelve miles away. Obviously we can not remain unconcerned. It is not at all the same as some of the other instances that were pointed out. This is not the occasion to discuss the presence of the Soviet troops in Afghanistan. Our view is quite clear. We do not approve of foreign troops or any type of interference and we have made this clear to all concerned. The Sri Lankan problem is entirely different. We are interested in ending the repression on, and the killing of, the Tamil population there.

And this will only happen, this stage can only be reached when there are serious negotiation for a viable political settlement which is acceptable to all concerned.

Whenever we say that India should advise or make itself felt, it does not help the ethnic minority because it irritates the majority community, which retaliates on the Tamils. Therefore, even when we talk to the President or his representative, our attitude is one of how to get them to propose something that will be acceptable to the Tamils as well as all the other communities. (*Interruptions*). The President made