

Mr. Harikesh Bahadur has asked whether the U. P. Government has submitted their recommendations. Yes, they have done it and we are examining all these recommendations.

AN HON. MEMBER : What about area restriction ?

SHRI NIHAR RANJAN LASKAR : About area restriction, as you know, by passing an Act here in Parliament, that was removed. But immediately after that, there was a hue and cry from Gujarat; they said because of that, they were suffering. Again we have to go in for this particular Bill. It is a comprehensive one. We are looking into all aspects.

AN HON. MEMBER : What about Madhya Pradesh ?

SHRI NIHAR RANJAN LASKAR : Except four States, the others have given their comments.

About exclusion, there are certain recommendations also that certain communities should be excluded. But that does not mean that they will be excluded. We will examine all these and then take a decision.

18.00 hrs

DISCUSSION ON STATEMENT OF  
MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
RE. HIS RECENT VISIT TO  
SRI LANKA

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Now we go to the next item. Discussion Under Rule 193, further discussion on the statement made by the Minister of External Affairs in the House on 2nd August, 1983, regarding his recent

visit to Sri Lanka. Mr. Dhandapani was on his legs. Mr. Dhandapani.

SHRI ERA. ANBARASU (Chongalpattu) : On a point of order. Yesterday during my speech, I said\* But without telling me it has been expunged, I want to know why. (*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : There is no point of order.

SHRI K. MAYATHEVAR (Dindigul) : It should not have been expunged. (*Interruptions*).

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : If anything has been done, it shall be under the rules. You can meet the Speaker or myself.

SHRI K. MAYATHEVAR : Are you going to expunge it ?

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : That is all right. Please sit down. I have told you. If you have got anything, you can come and see me or the Speaker in the Chamber.

SHRI K. MAYATHEVAR : What he said is hundred per cent correct.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Mr. Dhandapani.

SHRI C.T. DHANDAPANI. (Pollachi) : The whole House is agitated over the killings and murders of Tamils in Sri Lanka. Right from the 26th of July, cutting across party lines, all political parties, whichever ideology they profess, condemn the draconian law Sri Lanka government has enacted yesterday.

As far as this issue is concerned, my Party's stand is very clear. We do not want to take any political advantage out of it. Our clearcut position is this. Even though a call attention was tabled, I was the first person to approach the Speaker and requested for a full-scale debate. Of course, Speaker.

in his wisdom, has admitted a call attention motion to which I protested. I wanted a full-scale debate on the 26th. I was so happy that day that the Hon Minister for External Affairs was kind enough to be present in the House and he also agreed for a full-scale debate. But, at the same time, we, all the Members of Parliament, from the south have been called for a meeting.

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY (Nizamabad): Why South? All were called.

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI : May be, but particularly we were informed like that. After that we have been told that only Members belonging to a certain political party were meeting. Then from our side we offered our co-operation with all political parties to stage a *dharana* or demonstration in front of Sri Lanka High Commissioner's office. That was not also accepted. Then three groups went there and met some officials and we handed over some memorandum and we lodged our protest against the killings and other things. So this is the position. Why I have said is this that yesterday unnecessarily one of our friends dragged the name of my Party. That is why I am telling. But nobody was agitated when news papers like *The Hindu* and others published reports of riots in Jaffna and killing of many people. Only the DMK was agitated over it I must say. I am very proud to say that it is we who took up the matter. I am not saying this to hurt anybody's feelings or to offend any body. Just I am telling the fact.

From the 25th onwards there were rallies, there were demonstrations and bandhs in all metropolitan cities. In Bombay the Tamil Peravai organised a rally which was attended by more than 2 lakhs people. They took out a very big procession...

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur) : Bigger than Madras even.

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI : Yes, bigger than the Madras rally. Then there

was a rally in Calcutta also. On behalf of my Party bandh was called and within 12 hours time, five lakhs of people gathered in the Madras city. Secondly, an all-Party Committee in Tamil Nadu called for a bandh on the 2nd. That was a total bandh. All Parties including the State Government participated in it and the Central Government offered its participation.

Then, only, I thought that this issue pertained only to Tamils, if it related to the whole of India, the bandh would have been at the all-India level. I can presume that the Central Government itself was convinced that the matter was related to the Tamils. However, Sir, I am thankful to the Government, that is, the Central Government, for participating in that. Three people in Karnataka were killed while they were participating in the peaceful demonstration and the procession.

In Tamilnadu, some enthusiastic youngsters, those who could not bear the torture and the killings of Tamils in Sri Lanka, got themselves self-immolated and died in Tamilnadu. Yesterday, there was a bandh which was called by the DMK Party—the rail-stopping bandh—the rail roko bandh. According to the Chief Secretary of the Tamilnadu Government Central has instructed the Railway Department not to run the railway service. All this is not against the Central Government one must understand this. It is not against anything; it is against only the dictatorial regime of Sri Lanka and to strengthen the Prime Ministers hands. All the political parties were staging a demonstration. It is an example, I would say. One of the important points is this. Apart from having diplomatic contacts and others, to rouse a public opinion is most important. I would like to quote from a letter written by the Prime Minister in the year 1978—27-1-1978; this was a letter written by the then Prime Minister (Shrimati Gandhi) to one Shri Vaikuntavasagam. (Interruptions) The former Prime Minister (Mrs. Gandhi) in 1978 had written the letter to Shri Vaikuntavasagam, a Tamil from Sri Lanka when he appealed to the then Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi at that time,



She wrote the letter as the Prime Minister to Shri Vaikuntavasagam, consoling him. This is the letter from her to Shri Vaikuntavasagam :

"I have received your letter of 22nd August. I am horrified to see the enclosed. The Janata Party Government is going out of its way to be friendly the Government of Sri Lanka. I doubt if they will wish to take up the issue, the sufferings of Tamils in Sri Lanka.

At this way all our attention is now in elections. But I shall see if it is possible to bring this issue to the nation and the public in some other way."

So, the matter is important to bring to the public. That is most important. That is the reason why we had staged a demonstration; we took out a procession and rallies. I would like to say this. The Tamil origins of Sri Lanka, of course, have lost their Kingdom. Till 1833 they were two separate entities till the British came to the Island. Therefore, they are not outsiders as others think.

But the Tamils now, once the rulers of that country, have become orphans and outsiders in their own land. This is the position.

Sir, much has been said about the agitations. I do not want to tell much about it because already we have said about it. But what are the reasons for these agitations, particularly in Sri Lanka and what are the reasons for the separatist movement. One must understand this. Bankaranaike-Chelvanayagam pact was entered in 1957 about understanding between Tamils and Sinhalese and the present President, Shri Jayawardene took out a procession. He himself led the procession from Colombo to Candy protesting against the pact. Then Dudley Senanayake-Chelvanayagam pact was entered into in 1965. That was also opposed by all. Thirdly, Sir, the District Development Councils which they wanted have not been allowed. Fourthly, the Tamil leaders

agitating in a peaceful manner. Chelvanayagam was known as Jaffna Gandhi. He used to adopt Gandhian non-violent methods but as time passed by the situation changed. Then many youngsters have been attacked and killed by Sinhalese.

Sir, Mr. Jethmalani was telling here Indian Tamils and Jaffna Tamils. Sir, the question is only Tamils versus Sinhalese. Nobody thinks that there are two kinds of Tamils. They think they can divide them and rule but, Sir, even Hindu temples were all destroyed. Sir, what happened in 1979. Many people and youngster were killed. They were made invalid. They were killed by the Sri Lankan people.

Sir, my friend Mr. Jethmalani and others said that we must respect the sovereignty of the State. Our Law Minister is here and he is well aware of the International law where now the sovereignty of the State has gone and the sovereignty of the individual is more important than the sovereignty of the State. In this connection I would like to quote from a book ;

"costly lesson that mankind has learnt from the Nazi holocaust is that human personality belongs not to Sovereign States but to sovereign individuals... human rights inhere in every human being everywhere and are an international responsibility. The walls of sovereignty are no longer impregnable if behind them monstrous acts are perpetrated by a government against its own citizens."

Therefore, Sir, we must respect the sovereignty of an individual. That is most important. A layman walking on the street is asking us that the Government of India should **intervene** because many of our kith and kin are very much affected, many of our people are killed, our relatives' properties were destroyed. Naturally, we have full sympathy for them and we are full of emotions. We wanted that the Indian army should be sent there. But many people here said that it would not be wise to do so. They said that it would a foolish

thing to do so. They here suggested that there are many other courses which the Government of India can take. For example everybody knows that the Indian Government is against racism. Everybody knows that the Indian Government has made a strong protest against the South African regime because the South African Government had awarded death sentence to 3 freedom fighters. We protested; not only that but the Indian Government directed our Special Representative in the UNO to raise this matter in the United Nations forum. On 17-3-1981, our Special Representative raising this matter in the UNO had exposed the hypocrisy of many Western countries who not only had foreign concern for human rights and liberty but act with disgusting duplicity in their attitude towards the obnoxious South African Government which persists in its policy of apartheid in defiance of world opinion.

So, Sir it, was raised in the UNO by our Special Representative. In this context, our Prime Minister had also urged upon them for the commutation of the death sentence. She said in the following words :

"I have learnt with deep sorrow that three African freedom fighters have been condemned to death in Pretoria. They were carrying out the noblest duty of people anywhere, that is to fight for their right to freedom."

This is what the Prime Minister had said. So Sir, in the same way we appealed to the Central Government to intervene when Mr. Jagan and Mrs. Kuttimani were arrested and were awarded death sentence. The appeal was made in the following words :

"I earnestly request you to move the President of Sri Lanka to exercise his kind clemency, commute the death sentence on the two youths and give them a fresh lease of life."

So, Sir, we appealed and pleaded with the Central Government for the clemency of the two young freedom fighters. My point

is : why can't we plead for our own people in Sri Lanka ?

Secondly, we wanted this matter to be raised in the UNO. But I do not know what is the difficulty with the Indian Government for not raising this matter in the UNO.

Thirdly, we wanted that the diplomatic relations between Sri Lanka and India should be snapped. But that is not done. We had done so on some previous occasion. For example, in 1969, we snapped our diplomatic relations with Morocco. The reason was that some communal riots took place in India and a meeting was called upon by the Arab countries in Rabat, capital of Morocco. There in the meeting our representative was not allowed to attend the meeting.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE  
(New Delhi) : That is not correct.

SHRI C.T. DHANDAPANI : The next minute we snapped our ties with them. Mr. Jethamalani and other Hon. Members suggested that we should not interfere with the sovereignty of any other country. But what happened in 1979? The Indian Government was in power, supported separation of Western Sahara.

We supported the revolutionary movement against Morocco in November 1979 which was their internal matter. It had appeared in the paper. Supporting a particular movement is only for the convenience of an individual, not for the convenience of an individual, not on the basis of human rights or any principle.

Our Hon. Foreign Minister has immediately visited Sri Lanka. The Sri Lanka Government did not allow him to go around although he wanted to go. For example, he went to Kandy where there is a Tamil Association. There were 200 tourists from Tamilnadu. He was not allowed to speak to them; he was not able to enter into that place to find out their position. So, he could not get any information what was happening there.

The day he visited, while he was discussing with Mr. Jayewardene, 33 people were killed in Colombo alone and 22 people killed in the Chettiar Street. I do not know whether it is a fact or not. Today I received a telephone to say that after the visit of our Foreign Minister, the attitude of the High Commissioner of India was entirely different from the previous days. He is not listening to the sufferings of the Indians. This is for your information. You kindly check it up. He is not meeting any Indians now-a-days. I got an authenticated news. I am not accusing anybody. This is the information got from my side from Sri Lanka,

Our Minister had also said something about this statement. We were told that the armies were consciously carrying out their task? I want to know what is their task? Today it has appeared in the paper that one lady escaped from Sri Lanka came to Tiruchirapalli. She gave an interview. She said as follows :

“Incidents of attack on Tamils in Sri Lanka still continue despite the government’s claim of normalcy in the island, according to a woman passenger who arrived here from Colombo by an Indian Airlines flight today. The woman, who did not want to be identified, told that she saw an ugly scene at the government headquarters hospital in Colombo yesterday. She said a group of persons forcibly entered the hospital all of a sudden and attacked the patients who looked like Tamils. The army men at the hospital were mute spectators. She said nobody came to the rescue of the victims. A few old patients fell at the feet of the assailants and begged them not to attack even though they were attacked and killed.”

This is the task of the army, How are we going to believe that government? Who will believe the statement that the army is carrying out their task? How are you going to solve this problem? Secondly, this is the paper which I have got.

I am quoting from the New Statement to show that Jayawardene has decided, com-

pletely decided, to liquidate the Tamil population :

“Under the Jayawardene regime, anti-Tamil communalism has reached new heights, because it has been manipulated directly through the Sinhalese army and police force and through the use of hired thugs ”

That is the position. So, I do not think that this army will protect our Tamilians, I do not know what they will do this time also. About the other matters I do not want to say anything, nor about the sufferings and other things or other matters and what we are doing now. This is a delicate matter.

We are shifting our refugees from Colombo, Kandy and other places to Jaffna. According to my information the Sri Lanka Government has refused to accept our ships to carry the refugees. There are more than a lakh of refugees. They have shifted only 2,500 so far. There is no food at all : no water. Even if they carry water to Jaffna the people are afraid. They do not want to take that water.

SHRI K. MAYATHEVAR : It may be poisoned.

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI : Yes ; they are so scared. I do not know what would be the position. The Government may think that if our people are shifted to Jaffna area they will be safe. That also is not correct.

One doctor, a seventy-four year old doctor,—I do not want to read much — working in Kandy said, “My house was burnt. Again, I was shifted to Jaffna, where also my house was burnt, I do not know what to do.” This is a report of Francis Payne of *London Times*. The condition is like that.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Please conclude now.

SHRI XAVIER ARAKAL (Ernakulam) :  
Let him continue.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : There are many other speakers. I am conducting the proceedings. It is left to him. How do you know? He may conclude also now.

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI : I will take some more time.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Why do you plead his case ?

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI : This is one part of the army's rule.

Secondly, their Finance Minister, Mr. Ronne Deinel and another Minister, Mr. Cycil Mathew, both of them are directly asking the thugs and instigating them to attack and kill the Tamil. That is the position and what this Government of India is going to do, or to protest against this with the Government of Sri Lanka, is not known. This is the position.

Thirdly, the Sri Lankan Government has been named as a racist Government, not only by us, the entire world now says it. *The Guardian*, editorially, says,

‘President Jayawardene had increasingly come to resemble a dictatorial third world autocrat with more of racist sentiments.’

So, this is a racist government, I do not know what the Government is going to do to deal with this racist government.

Fourthly--I do not want to deal with much because you have already said much about it—I want to mention only one suggestion. This is with regard to.....  
(Interruption.)

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY : Only suggestion (Interruption)

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI : That is what I am telling, you could not have felt as we do; that is what I am saying.

PROF. N. G. RANGA (Guntur) ; Who told you? who says?

SHRI K. MAYATHEVAR : These are personal feelings. This is not the time to laugh or criticise.

SHRI C.T. DHANDAPANI: First, I would like to request the Government—I do not want to say much about it — actually, I humbly request the Government, first to make some sort of an arrangement to stop the killings I do not know in what way to stop this. It is up to you to decide. If you want to tell us, I do not know whether you will act, or not, that is a different question. At the same time, as a Government you cannot tell us, what action you are going to take. That is also there.

I do not want to ask in what way you are going to act. But I want to ask you in the name of all the citizens of India that for heaven's sake do something to stop killings. Secondly, you can approach some neutral countries to send assistance to Sri Lanka to help the affected people there. As Chairperson of NAM our Prime Minister can use her good offices with some other non-aligned countries so that those countries can influence Sri Lanka and tell them to stop killings or they can come forward to help the refugees and help the people who are suffering from want of food and water. As far as India is concerned, we are not tilting to any power. So, we have many friends. We can ask our friends to send a team of observers, foreign diplomats. Their presence will certainly help the people there and the Sinhalese may have some sort of fear and they may refrain from killing the Tamils. You say that India has got very good relations with Sri Lanka. I accept your statement. In that taste, why can't you ask Mr. Jayawardene to accept a team of observers, diplomats from India to be present at least till the time such kind of atrocities are stopped? After this bitter



experience, I do not think both India and Sri Lanka can remain friendly. So, I suggest to the Indian Government to consider snapping ties with the Sri Lanka Government. This is a genocide. The Government should come out with a categorical statement that this is a clearcut genocide and mass killing. Simply telling that they are our friends and all that will not help. Sri Lanka should be called a country of genocide. Sri Lanka should be condemned as racist regime. I would also request you to make an appeal to UNO for assistance and other things.

There are boys who are fighting for the liberation. Many people said that we do not support separation. It is not a movement of separation but a movement of liberation. So, the Government must also consider to recognise them in this way.

Finally, I would like to say that we have already agreed to pass a resolution in this House. I do not know what will be the wordings of that resolution. But Massachusetts, one of the provinces of the United States, has passed a Resolution which I would like to read out for the benefit of the House and you.

“WHEREAS, from ancient times two nations, the Sinhalese and Tamils possessed distinct languages religions, cultures and clearly demarcated geographic territories until the British, who were characteristically oblivious to the differences between these two separate nations, imposed one rule for the purpose of colonial administrative unification; and

WHEREAS, since 1948, when the British departed the island and two unwilling nations were consequently left under a unitary Governmental, structure, the majority Sinhalese faction has subverted democratic principles to become the new masters of the Tamil speaking people; and...

WHEREAS, further evidencing the discriminatory and intimidating policies of the majority, security forces recently went on a rampage in the northern provincial capital of Jaffna, almost all the inhabitants of which are Tamils who make up approximately 20 per cent of the population of the Island, once called Ceylon, thereby leaving more than 500 people homeless.

WHEREAS, according to the International Commission of Jurists, many of the provisions of the Sri Lankan Prevention of Terrorism Act and Public Security Act are contrary to accepted principles of the rule of law, internationally accepted minimum standards of criminal procedure, and also appear to be contrary to the provisions of the Sri Lankan Constitution; and

WHEREAS, the Massachusetts House of Representatives does not wish the Commonwealth to contribute to the revenues of Sri Lanka because of its violations of the human rights of the Tamils, and so on.

It is a big Resolution passed on 9th June, 1983 in the Parliament.

The American Congress also has passed a Resolution. I would like to quote :

- “(1) encourage the Government of Sri Lanka to declare its intentions to withdraw troops from the Tamil areas of Sri Lanka in a phased and orderly manner; and
- (2) reaffirm United States Government support for full restoration of human rights as a means of promoting self determination for the Tamils.”

These are the Resolutions passed by the Congress and one of the provinces in the United States of America. Therefore, by saying this, I also appeal to the Government to express our concern and anguish. I request the Government and the Chair also to pass a Resolution on this line so that let the entire world know what is happening in Sri Lanka and we will be giving a lead to other nations to condemn the racist act of Sri Lanka. By saying this I conclude my speech. Thank you.



**SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY** (Narasaraopet) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I welcome the statement of our Foreign Minister made on August 2, regarding his recent visit to Sri Lanka at the instance of the Prime Minister. I and in fact the whole House I think, wish to express their appreciation of the handling of the situation ably by the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister, Mr. Jethmalani, while initiating the debate, seemed to me to have spoken rather in a philosophical vein but his appreciation of the stand taken by the Prime Minister expressly stated here is very refreshing though in the concluding portion of his speech he left a small sting. It is acknowledged that the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister have taken a very balanced, mature and restrained attitude in regard to this issue in spite of the fact that there is anguish in the entire country, in all the people of this country including the Tamils having in several regions of this country. In fact, as has been mentioned, there was a larger procession in Bombay than possibly in Madras consisting not only of Tamils but of many other people living in Bombay.

So, it must have happened in Calcutta and in other areas as well. Therefore, it should leave no room for any doubt in any Tamilian that this entire country is not behind the Tamilians in their suffering.

It is a horror to see the Sinhalese communal passion, which rose to a frenzy, as a result of which loot, arson and, possibly rape, and killings have taken place. People believe in some quarters that they are continuing to take place. We are very sorry to be told by the press that allegedly the army and the police, who should be the guardians of law and order, who should be the protectors of the liberty of the citizens, should be themselves involved in these killings. It is indeed a matter of great pain. The butchery of unarmed political prisoners under confinement in jails reminds one of the Jallianwala massacre having been re-enacted in Sri Lanka. It is a great pity that Shri Jayewardene, who had been in office for quite some time and who had been dealing with several nations in this world, should not have thought it fit even to express sympathies to the victims, or even to condole the

relations of the deceased, much less to condemn the alleged involvement or encouragement of the army in these mad killings.

Sir, let me be pardoned, if I am compelled to say that Shri Jayawardene, I am afraid, is making himself more and more vulnerable to a remark that he seeks political advantage by posing himself as a Sinhalese communalist than as a national leader. His reported statement that "India may attack" or "if India attacks, will you and you help" exposes him to a legitimate inference, particularly in view of his known attitude to the question of keeping the Indian Ocean a zone of peace and some other matters connected with that, which the Foreign Minister very well knows, which we also know to some extent. His belated statement that this is without substance speaks more than what it actually says. The belated denial—I do not say denial but rather watering down, if I may say so—may be the result of a realistic appraisal; I wish it is so or 'that grapes are sour'.

This is in spite of the fact that the Prime Minister took the earliest opportunity at Madras and elsewhere to say that this is an internal matter; and though the entire nation is greatly agitated, worried and dismayed at the happenings in Sri Lanka, she called for restraint, which displays equanimity and balanced judgement, which India has in its blood and in its tradition.

That the Prime Minister took the earliest opportunity to send the Foreign Minister to Sri Lanka to speak to the President and that she also is reported to have spoken to him directly on the telephone are evidence of her great concern in this regard. This at least should have re-assured Shri Jayewardene of the honest intentions of India. India is a peace-loving country, a freedom-loving country which, at no time, in thought, word or deed has thought it fit to make any design on any country. It is certainly a very helpful coincidence that at that very critical juncture, the seven Foreign Ministers of South Asia were meeting at Delhi. It is very good of our Foreign Minister to have taken the opportunity to speak to the Foreign Ministers concerned, particularly of Pakistan and Bangladesh, including Sri Lanka, and

their reported statement or their reaction appeared to be helpful. I feel, Sir—excuse me if I am wrong—that our Foreign-Minister's disguised warning has gone home. I am glad that India in line with its great tradition is rushing food, medical and other supplies. I am glad about it. But I must also say here, whether sending away Tamils from the Southern area to a northern area is a good thing or not, the Government must consider. After all, any country in this world today has a composite Society. Irrespective of wherever they are concentrated, there are bound to be minorities, either linguistic or religious or any other, and it is in the interests of the governments concerned today as much as possible to secure the confidence and support of the minorities.

Sir, I want the House to appreciate two or three things clearly—that the Indian people are in their heart and soul with Tamils in India in regard to the inhuman suffering of their kith and kin in Sri Lanka. There can be no doubt about it. Shri Dhandapani or his Party may not have any misgivings about it. We are all one. And I want to say particularly not to Dhandapani, but generally that no political leader of any hue or colour should try to rouse the passions amongst Tamilians particularly and seek short-term political advantage. This is very necessary and I want particularly to tell my Tamil friends who are close to my heart that irrespective of the provocation of any leader or sub leader, because the Government of India is doing all that is possible and is prepared to do all that is possible, they need not feel apprehensive and need not unnecessarily damage the issue.

19.00 hrs.

There is another thing, Sir. You may agree or you may not agree. But I have my personal opinion that this is a matter of some international dimension requiring India to keep in mind all possible perceptions and acting warily and also along side keeping themselves in close touch with all countries concerned. Sir, Shri Jayawardene and his Government would be well advised—I am not his adviser but I have the right to say and speak here—to keep their head calm and cool and make realistic gestures to

inspire confidence in this large minority of 3 millions which may not be merely wished away or even washed away. Strong arm methods like disenfranchising or curbing the civic rights or even banning Parties may look attractive when they have a large legislative majority, but in the end, they are bound to prove harmful to the peaceful development of Sri Lanka and also harmful to the forces of integration in Sri Lanka itself.

Sir, yesterday, Shri Madhavrao Scindia while opening the debate on our behalf, apart from the good speech he made gave us some figures as to how from year to year in the last decade, employment of Tamils and admission of their children to educational institutions were steeply declining. Because of this and other discriminatory measures, the Tamils will be naturally nursing grievance. It is also conceded—it is reported in the Press—by the Sri Lankan Government that the implementation of programmes intended to benefit the Tamils were tardy. It is, here, that the Sri Lankan Government can do something to push forward programmes and to give help to the Tamils to inspire in them the confidence. Therefore, the Sri Lankan Government should try to rectify the situation and bring goodwill in their country.

I am sure the Government of India—there can be no doubt about it—the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister will do everything in their capacity to do what is just and possible consistent with the legitimate grievances of the Tamils in Sri Lanka and consistent with the dignity, security and respect of India.

SHRI RATANSINH RAJDA (Bombay South) : We are told that the Prime Minister is going to make a statement. The Prime Minister is going to take the House into confidence about the latest developments. If that is so, we would like to express our opinion after the statement about the latest developments is made.

Actually, the House should be kept informed every day of the latest developments.

**श्री रशीद मसूद (सहारनपुर) :** डिप्टी स्पीकर साहब, आज जिस मसले पर हम बहस कर रहे हैं, यह बहुत ही नाजुक मसला है। इस मसले पर बहस करते हुए हमें अपने जज्बात पर भी काबू रखना होगा और उन लोगों के जज्बात को भी तस्लीम करना होगा जिनके रिश्तेदार, जिनके अजीज, जिनके अपने जानो-माल मुतासिर हुए हैं। एक तरफ वे लोग हैं जिनकी रगों में हमारा अपना खून दौड़ रहा है। जिनका एक रिश्तेदार श्रीलंका में हैं और दूसरा तमिलनाडु में है या हिन्दुस्तान के किसी हिस्से में है। हम अपने तमिलनाडु के भाइयों से एक बात साफ तौर पर कह देना चाहते हैं कि वे एक बात को जहन-नशीन कर लें कि हिन्दुस्तान में रहने वाला हर आदमी चाहे शमाल का हो, जनूब का हो, मशरिक या मगरिब का हो, वह उनके जज्बात में बराबर शरीक हैं। उसके भी वही जज्बात हैं जो उनके हैं, उनको भी उतनी ही तकलीफ हो रही है। हम बहुत से मामलों में इस्तिलाफ रख सकते हैं, मैं यह बात खासतौर से अपनी पार्टी की तरफ से कहना चाहता हूँ लेकिन जब मसला तकलीफ का आता है तो सबको बराबर तकलीफ होती है।

आज जब हम बोल रहे हैं तो हमारे सामने वे लोग हैं जो हमारे अपने हैं और दूसरी तरफ वह मुल्क है जिससे हमारा बहुत पुराना ताल्लुक रहा है। जिससे जुबान में, मजहब में, बिजनेस में हमारा ताल्लुक रहा है। ऐसी सूरत में जब हम कोई बात बोलेंगे तो मैं समझता हूँ कि बहुत संजीदगी से सोचने के बाद बोलनी चाहिए।

19.00 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

जैसा कि अभी फर्माया गया कि हमें दूसरों

के मामलात में दखल नहीं देना चाहिए, यह बात सही है। हमें अपने ऊपर बहुत ही काबू रखना चाहिए। मगर जैसा कि मैंने अभी कहा हमारा गम, गुस्सा और अफसोस उस वक्त बढ़ जाता है जब हम यह देखते हैं कि हमारे अपने लोगों को मारने वाले लोगों में वहाँ की सरकार, पुलिस, एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन भी शामिल हैं। मुझे अफसोस है और मैं अपने फारेन मिनिस्टर साहिब से और प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहिब से कि जब वे इस सिलसिले में बात करें तो श्री जयवर्धने साहब के मुश्तकिल बयानात खासतौर से जो उन्होंने एक इलाके को डिग्रिफाई कर देने के बारे में या यह कह देना कि मुझे जाफना में रहने वालों की कोई खास फिक्र नहीं है क्योंकि वहाँ पर एक खास कम्युनिटी के लोग रहते हैं, इस बारे में सही जानकारी पर प्रकाश डालें। ऐसी सूरत में हमारा फिक्र बढ़ जाता है। अगर यह मामला खालिस सिंहलीज और तमिलों का आपस का होता तो शायद उम्मीद रहती, कि वहाँ की सरकार इस मामले को ठीक तरह से देखेगी। सबसे अफसोस नाक बात यह रही है कि इस मारने के काम में अखबारों में रिपोट्स आई हैं, उनसे पता लगता है कि वहाँ की पुलिस, मिलिट्री भा शामिल है। इस सूरत में हमारे लिए बहुत सीरियस मसला हो जाता है और हमारे ऊपर यह जिम्मेदारी आ जाती है कि हम किसी भी सूरत से वहाँ की सरकार को इस बारे में मशविरा दें कि ऐसा क्यों हुआ और आइंदा इस बात की गारंटी होनी चाहिए कि ऐसा नहीं होगा। मगर मशविरा उस जगह दिया जाता है जहाँ ऐतमाद होता है। मैं यह कहते हुए माफी चाहूंगा कि हमने अपने पड़ोसी देशों में ऐतमाद खो दिया है। आज कोई भी मुल्क चाहे पाकिस्तान हो, बंगलादेश, भूटान, नेपाल या सीलोन हो, कोई हमारे ऊपर ऐतमाद करने को तैयार नहीं है। इस बारे में मैं एक बार फिर

माफी चाहूंगा कि हमें शत्रुमुर्ग की तरह इस बात को कहते नहीं रहना चाहिए कि हमारी फारेन पालिसी बेहद कामयाब है। तमाम पड़ोसी देशों से हमारे ताल्लुकात बहुत अच्छे हैं। इस बारे में हमें एक बार फिर ठंडे दिल से गौर करना चाहिए। क्या वजह है कि हमारी मोहतरमा प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहिबा के श्रीलंका के प्रैसीडेंट से बात करने के बावजूद वहां के लोगों में यह अहसास पैदा हुआ है कि हम लोग उनके मामलात में दखल दे रहे हैं। अगर ऐतमाद होता—तो इस काम में मशिवरे को कभी भी बुरे तरीके से या गलत मानों में नहीं लिया जाता। सबसे बड़ी कमजोरी हमारी यह है कि हम पड़ोसियों का ऐतमाद खो चुके हैं। इस ऐतमाद को हमें दुबारा बहाल करना चाहिये।

चाहे इस तरफ बैठने वाले हों या उस तरफ जहां तक फारेन पालिसी का ताल्लुक है इसके बारे में कोई इस्तलाफ नहीं है। लेकिन जो गाइडलाइज हैं उन पर अमल किस तरह से आप करते हैं। उसके बारे में हमारा इस्तलाफ हो सकता है, दो रायें हो सकती हैं। मुहतरिमा प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहिबा ने एक सिलसिला शुरू किया है कि अपोजीशन के लीडर्ज को इस सिलसिले में बुलाकर उनसे सलाह मशिवरा उन्होंने करना शुरू किया है। यह बहुत अच्छी बात है, हौसला अफजाई वाली बात है। लेकिन मुझे अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता कि इस बारे में हमारा बड़ा तलख तजुर्बा है। पिछले दो तीन मामलात में हम लोगों ने ईमानदारी के साथ अपना पूरा सहयोग दिया है, ईमानदारी और सच्चाई से जो मशिवरा दिया जा सकता था दिया है, जो इस मुल्क के लिए और अपने लिए समझते थे दिया है और किया है। लेकिन उसके बावजूद हर मामले में प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहिबा ने अपने दयानात में अपोजीशन के

लोगों के ऊपर अगर कोई गलती हुई है जिम्मेदारी डालने की कोशिश की है। जब किसी मामले में आपके और हमारे बीच बातचीत के बाद अच्छे नताइज निकलते हैं उसकी जिम्मेदारी तो आप लें और इसमें हमें कोई एतराज भी नहीं है लेकिन हम से मशिवरा करने के वाद उस पर आप अमल न कर पाएं और उससे आप में और हमारे बीच कोई इस्तलाफ पैदा हो जाए और किसी मामले में मुल्क में कहीं हालात खराब हो जाएं और उसकी सारी जिम्मेदारी आप अपोजीशन पर डाल दे तो यह ठीक नहीं है। हम जानते हैं कि हम बहुत बड़ा मुल्क के लिए कुछ नहीं कर सकते हैं। लेकिन उस हालत में मजबूर होकर हम लोगों को इमेज नहीं दे पाएंगे कि हम सब भी किसी मामले पर मुत्तफिक हो सकते हैं और यह कुदरती बात है।

मैं श्रीलंका की गवर्नमेंट की बात कर रहा था। मैं फारेन मिनिस्टर साहब से दरख्वास्त कर रहा हूं। जबान का मसला ऐसा हो गया है कि जिस को हल करना बहुत जरूरी हो गया है। जब तक यह मसला वहां हल नहीं होगा मैं समझता हूं कि शायद उनमें भाईचारा और मुहब्बत और अच्छे ताल्लुकात पैदा होना मुश्किल होगा। 1971 में वहां अंग्रेजी को सरकारी जबान खत्म कर दिया गया था। वहां उसके बाद सिंहलीज को सरकारी जबान बना दिया गया था। इतनी बड़ी तादाद में जो तमिल बोलने वाले लंग थे उनकी जबान को कोई अहमियत नहीं दी गई। नतीजा हमारे सामने है। स्टेटलैस लोगों के बारे में मिसेज भंडारनायके और शास्त्री जी में एक समझौता हुआ था, उसको भी इम्प्लेमेंट नहीं किया गया। तब यह तय हुआ था कि साठ परसेंट को उनमें से हिन्दुस्तान में ले लिया जाएगा और चालीस परसेंट को वहां की सिटिजनशिप दे दी



जाएगी। वह सिलसिला शुरू भी हो गया था। कुछ लोग हिन्दुस्तान आए। लेकिन उनमें से बहुत से लोगों को वहां पर आज तक भी सिटिजनशिप का हक नहीं दिया गया। वह भी मसला है। जबान का मसला भी था। साथ ही दूसरे ममाडल श्री राम जेठमलानी जी ने जो बताए थे, कल, उन सबके मिल जाने से इतना जबर्दस्त मामला हो गया कि नताइज हमारे सामने हैं।

कल उधर से कुछ इस तरह का मुश्विरा दिया गया था कि हमें हमला कर देना चाहिये, अपनी फौजें भेज देनी चाहिये। जैसा मैंने पहले कहा यह मामला ऐसा कि हमें जज्बात में वह नहीं जाना चाहिये। सब्र से काम लेने की जरूरत है। वहां पर हमारे भाइयों के साथ जो कुछ हुआ उससे हमें सख्त तकलीफ हुई है, जो खून वहां बहा है उससे तकलीफ हुई है, लेकिन इसका हल वहां फौज भेज देना नहीं है

#### (व्यवधान)

एक बात यह है कि आपको फौज नहीं भेजनी चाहिये। दूसरे यह कि जो कैम्पस हैं उनमें आपकी जो बात हुई थी और क्या-क्या चीजें भेजी हैं जैसे मेडिसिन और मिट्टी का तेल आदि उनको जितनी जल्दी हो सके भेजिये और जैसा माननीय जेठमलानी साहब ने कहा मैं उन से मुत्तफिक हूं कि यह चीजें इतनी बड़ी तादाद में भेजिये ताकि उनको महसूस हो कि आप उनकी मदद करना चाहते हैं। केवल नाम के लिये हम मदद नहीं कर रहे हैं, बल्कि वाक्यतन मदद होनी चाहिये।

तीसरी बात यह है कि इस मसले पर अगर पड़ोसी आपका मुश्विरा मानते हैं तो इन सवालात का मुस्तकिल हल निकलना चाहिये। क्योंकि आज नहीं तो आगे कभी भी यह मसले फिर उमड़ सकते हैं। इसलिये इन मसायल को आप हल करने की कोशिश करें।

شری رشید مسعود (سہارنپور): ڈیٹی اسپیکر صاحب آج جس مسئلے پر ہم بحث کر رہے ہیں یہ بہت ہی نازک مسئلہ ہے۔ اس مسئلے پر بحث کرتے ہوئے ہمیں اپنے جذبات پر بھی قابو رکھنا ہوگا اور ان لوگوں کے جذبات کو بھی تسلیم کرنا ہوگا جنکے رشتے دار جن کے عزیز جنکے اپنے جان و مال متاثر ہوئے ہیں۔ ایک طرف وہ لوگ ہیں جنکی رگوں میں ہمارا اپنا خون دوڑ رہا ہے۔

جنکی ایک رشتہ دار شری لنکائیں ہیں اور دوسرا تامل ناڈوس میں ہیں یا ہندوستان کے کسی حصے میں ہیں۔ ہم اپنے تامل ناڈو کے بھائیوں سے ایک بات صاف طور پر کہہ دینا چاہتے ہیں کہ وہ ایک بات کو ذہن نشین کر لیں کہ ہندوستان میں رہنے والا ہر آدمی چاہے شمال کا ہو جنوب کا ہو مشرق یا مغرب کا ہو وہ انکے جذبات میں برابر شریک ہیں۔ اسکے بھی وہی جذبات ہیں جو انکے ہیں انکو بھی اتنی ہی تکلیف ہو رہی ہے ہم بہت سے معاملوں میں اختلاف رکھ سکتے ہیں یہ بات خاص طور سے اپنی پارٹی کی طرف سے کہنا چاہتا ہوں لیکن جب مسئلہ تکلیف کا آتا ہے تو سب کو برابر تکلیف ہوتی ہے۔

آج جب ہم بول رہے ہیں تو ہمارے سامنے وہ لوگ ہیں جو ہمارے اپنے ہیں اور دوسری طرف وہ ملک ہے جس سے ہمارا بہت پرانا تعلق رہا ہے جس سے زبان میں مذہب میں بڑی فیسی میں ہمارا تعلق رہا ہے۔ ایسی صورت میں جب ہم کوئی بات بولیں گے تو میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ بہت سنجیدگی سے سوچنے کے بعد بولنی چاہئے۔

جیسا کہ ابھی فرمایا گیا ہے کہ ہمیں دوسرے کے معاملے میں دخل نہیں دینا چاہئے یہ بات صحیح ہے یہ ہمیں اپنے اوپر بہت ہی قابو رکھنا چاہئے۔ مگر جیسا کہ میں نے ابھی کہا کہ ہمارا غم غصہ اور افسوس اس وقت بڑھ جاتا ہے جب ہم یہ دیکھتے ہیں کہ ہمارے اپنے لوگوں کو مارنے والے لوگوں میں وہاں کی سرکار پولیس ایڈمنسٹریشن بھی شامل ہیں۔ مجھے افسوس ہے



اور میں اپنے فارن منسٹر صاحب سے اور پرامن منسٹر صاحبہ سے کہ جب وہ اس سلسلے میں بات کریں تو شری جے وردھنے صاحب سے مستقل بیانات خاص طور سے جو انہوں نے ایک علاقے کو ڈسٹرینچاٹ کر دینے کے بارے میں یا یہ کہہ دیا کہ مجھے جانتا ہے کہ وہاں کی کوئی خاص فکر نہیں ہے کیونکہ وہاں پر ایک خاص کمیونٹی کے لوگ رہتے ہیں اس بارے میں صحیح جانکاری پر برکاش ڈالیں۔ ایسی صورت میں ہماری فکر بڑھ جاتی ہے۔ اگر یہ معاملہ خالص سنہیلیز اور تاملوں کا آپس کا ہوتا تو شاید امید رہتی کہ وہاں کی سرکار اس معاملے کو ٹھیک طرح سے دیکھے گی سب سے افسوس ناک بات وہ رہی ہے کہ اس مارنے کے کام میں اخباروں میں رپورٹس آئی ہیں ان سے تہ لگا ہے کہ وہاں کی پولیس ملٹری بھی شامل ہے۔ اس صورت میں ہمارے لئے بہت سیریس مسئلہ ہو جاتا ہے اور ہمارے اوپر یہ ذمہ داری آ جاتی ہے کہ ہم کسی بھی صورت میں وہاں کی سرکار کو اس بارے میں مشورہ دیں کہ ایسا کیوں ہوا اور آئندہ اس بات کی گارنٹی ہونی چاہیے کہ ایسا نہیں ہوگا۔ مگر مشورہ اس جگہ دیا جاتا ہے جہاں اعتماد ہوتا ہے۔ میں یہ کہتے ہوئے معافی چاہوں گا کہ ہم نے اپنے پڑوسی دیشوں میں اعتماد کھو دیا ہے۔ آج کوئی بھی ملک چاہے پاکستان ہو نہ کہ دیش ہو بھوٹان نیپال یا سیلون ہو کوئی ہمارے اوپر اعتماد کرنے کو تیار نہیں ہے۔ اس بارے میں میں ایک بار پھر معافی چاہوں گا کہ ہمیں شتر مرغ کی طرح اس بات کو کہتے رہنا نہیں چاہئے کہ ہماری فارن پالیسی بے حد کامیاب ہے۔ تمام پڑوسی دیشوں سے ہمارے تعلقات بہت اچھے ہیں۔ اس بارے میں ہمیں ایک بار پھر ٹھنڈے دل سے غور کرنا چاہئے کیا وہ ہے کہ ہماری محترمہ پرامن منسٹر صاحبہ کے منٹری لنکا کے پریذیڈنٹ سے بات کرنے کے باوجود وہاں کے لوگوں میں یہ احساس پیدا ہوا ہے کہ ہم لوگ ان کے معاملات میں دخل دے رہے ہیں۔

اگر اعتماد ہوتا تو اس کام میں مشورے کو کبھی بھی

دسمداری تو آپ ہیں اور اس میں ہمیں کوئی اعتراض بھی نہیں ہے لیکن ہم سے مشورہ کرنے کے بعد اس پر عمل نہ کر پائیں اور اس سے آپ میں اور ہمارے بیچ کوئی اختلاف پیدا ہو جائے اور کسی معاملے میں ملک میں نہیں حالات خراب ہو جائیں اور اس کی ساری ذمہ داری آپ اپوزیشن پر ڈال دیں تو یہ ٹھیک نہیں ہے۔ ہم جانتے ہیں کہ ہم بہت بڑا ملک کے لئے کچھ کر نہیں سکتے ہیں۔

لیکن اس حالت میں مجبور ہیں کہ ہم لوگوں کو ایک امیج نہیں دے پائیں گے کہ ہم سب کچھ کسی معاملے میں متفق ہو سکتے ہیں اور یہ قدرتی بات ہے۔

میں سری لنکا کی گورنمنٹ کی بات کہہ رہا تھا۔ میں فارن منسٹر صاحب سے درخواست کر رہا ہوں۔ زبان کا مسئلہ اب ہو گیا ہے کہ جس کو حل کرنا بہت ضروری ہو گیا ہے۔ جب تک یہ مسئلہ وہاں حل نہیں ہوگا میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ شاید ان میں بھائی چارہ اور محبت اور اچھے تعلقات پیدا ہونا مشکل ہوگا۔ ۱۹۷۱ء میں وہاں انگریزوں کو سرکاری زبان ختم کر دیا گیا تھا۔ وہاں اس کے بعد سنہیلیز کو سرکاری زبان بنا دیا گیا تھا۔ اتنے بڑی تعداد میں جو تامل بولنے والے لوگ تھے ان کی زبان کو کوئی اہمیت نہیں دی گئی۔ نتیجہ ہمارے سامنے ہے۔ اسٹیلیس لوگوں کے بارے میں مسز بھنڈارا راتنا کے اور سائمنز

وے طریقے سے یا غلط معنوں میں نہیں لیا جاتا۔  
سب سے بڑی کمزوری ہماری یہ ہے کہ ہم بڑوسیوں کے  
اعتماد کھو چکے ہیں۔ اس اعتماد کو ہمیں دوبارہ  
بحال کرنا چاہیے ہیں۔

چاہے اس طرف بیٹھنے والے ہمیں یا  
اس طرف جہاں تک فارن پالیسی کا تعلق ہے اس  
کے بارے میں کوئی اختلاف نہیں ہے۔ لیکن  
جو گائیڈ لائن ہیں ان پر عمل کس طرح سے لپ  
کر سکتے ہیں اس کے بارے میں ہمارا اختلاف ہو  
سکتا ہے دورانے ہو سکتی ہے۔ محترمہ پرام  
منسٹر صاحبہ نے ایک سلسلہ شروع کیا ہے کہ اپوزیشن  
سے لیڈرس کو اس سلسلے میں بلا کر ان سے صلاح  
مشورہ انہوں نے کرنا شروع کیا ہے۔

یہ بہت اچھی بات ہے حوصلہ افزائی دہانی  
بات ہے۔ لیکن مجھے افسوس کہ ساتھ کہنا پڑتا ہے  
کہ اس بارے میں ہمارا بڑا تلخ تجربہ ہے۔ پچھلے  
دو تین معاملات میں ہم لوگوں نے ایمانداری  
کے ساتھ اپنا پورا سہیوگ دیا ہے۔  
ایمانداری اور سچائی سے جو مشورہ دیا جاسکتا  
تھا دیا ہے جو اس ملک کے لئے اور اپنے لئے  
صحیح سمجھے تھے دیا ہے اور کیا ہے۔ لیکن  
اس کے باوجود ہر معاملے میں پرام منسٹر  
صاحبہ نے اپنے بیانات میں اپوزیشن کے لوگوں  
کے اوپر اگر کوئی غلطی ہوئی ہے ذمہ  
داری ڈالنے کی کوشش کی ہے۔ جب کسی  
معاملے میں آپ کے اور ہمارے بیچ بات  
چیت کے بعد اچھے نتائج نکلتے ہیں اس کی

جی میں ایک سمجھوتہ ہوا تھا اس کو بھی اپیلی میٹ  
نہیں کیا گیا۔ تب یہ طے ہوا تھا کہ ساتھ پریسٹ  
کو ان میں سے ہندوستان میں لے لیا جائے  
گا اور چالیس پریسٹ کو وہاں کی سٹی زن  
شپ دے دی جائے گی۔

وہ سلسلہ شروع بھی ہو گیا تھا۔ کچھ لوگ  
ہندوستان آئے۔ لیکن ان میں سے بہت  
سے لوگوں کو وہاں پر آج تک بھی سٹی زن  
شپ کا حق نہیں دیا گیا۔

وہ بھی مسئلہ ہے۔ زبان کا مسئلہ  
بھی تھا۔ ساتھ ہی دوسرے مسائل مثلاً رام  
جھٹہ ملائی جن نے جو بتائے تھے کل ان سب  
مل جانے سے اتنا زبردست معاملہ ہو گیا کہ  
نتائج ہمارے سامنے ہے۔

کل ادھر سے کچھ اس طرح کہ مشورہ  
دیا گیا تھا کہ ہمیں حملہ کر دینا چاہیے اور اپنی  
فوجیں بھیج دینی چاہئیں۔ جیسا میں نے  
پہلے کہا یہ معاملہ ایسا ہے کہ ہمیں زبردست  
جذبات میں یہ نہیں جاوا چاہیے۔ صبر سے  
کام لینے کی ضرورت ہے۔ وہاں پر ہمارے بھائیوں  
سے ساتھ جو کچھ ہوا اس سے ہمیں سخت تکلیف ہوئی ہے  
جو خون وہاں بہا ہے اس سے تکلیف ہوئی ہے  
لیکن اس کا حل وہاں فوج بھیج دینا نہیں ہے

ایک بات یہ ہے کہ آپ کو فوج نہیں بھیجینی  
چاہیے۔ دوسرے یہ کہ جو کمیونسٹ ہیں ان میں

PROF NARAIN CHAND PARASHAR (Hamirpur) : First of all I would like to contradict an argument which has been advanced by Shri Rasheed Masood that somebody on this side proposed that armed forces should be sent to Sri Lanka. Nobody from the Congress Party ever suggested this during the debate. This must be clarified and this remark should be withdrawn by him because it is untrue.

Secondly, we speak more in anguish and pain than in anger on what is happening in Sri Lanka these days. It is becoming increasingly clear that the President of Sri Lanka is working under an illusion and he is getting isolated more and more.

MR. SPEAKER : We have already had a good discussion on this subject. The points have been thrown up. Now the speeches should be concise.

PROF NARAIN CHAND PARASHAR : I would suggest one thing. The Father of Tamil Nationalism had expressed one fear sometime back. His name was TV Chelvanayakam. He spoke to this effect : "Our fundamental mistake was not to ask for independence when the British left us." Against this background, the then President of the Ceylon National Congress and the first Prime Minister, Senanayake had given this solemn assurance : 'On behalf of the Congress and on my own behalf, I give the minorities a sincere assurance that no harm need they fear at our hands in free Sri

Lanka.'" This assurance should be kept and the cordial relations that have developed between India and Sri Lanka over the centuries must be made more cordial. There was a time when Ashoka's son, Mahendra and his daughter, Sangamitra fostered and promoted the cordial relations between these two countries and there have been times when people from Sri Lanka like Vir Dharmapala had also been coming. It is very painful to note now that these relations have been distorted and even the Sirimavo Shastri Pact of 30th October of 1964 is honoured more in breach than in the fulfilment.

The whole country as has been witnessed from the debate, irrespective of political differences and the States from which the Members come—has come to the view that we are very much disturbed and pained over the willings in Sri Lanka and the entire nation is with the Hon Prime Minister and with our Foreign Minister when they are expressing sympathy for the people who are dying there. The immediate concern must be to stop these willings and I would just record one appreciation from the other side also it has been said—they appreciate the efforts of our Government in this regard.

The cry for the severing of diplomatic relations or the cry for sending troops there are cries of desperation which need not be heeded to, because it is not the consensus of this House. The consensus of the House is to promote friendly relations and to bring home to the Sri Lanka government and the President of the Sri Lankan Republic that what he is doing is ultimately going to be very harmful not only to the economy and development but also to the unity of the

country which has been professing and preaching the message of Gautam Bhddha, and of the great heritage given by Ashoka. With these few words, I would join my Hon. friends from this side and also from the other side in appealing to the President and to the people of Sri Lanka to see reason to force their Government to honour the positive assurance given to them by Shri Senanaike in the solemn words that I had reproduced and quoted.

Thank you, Sir,

MR. SPEAKER : Shri Rajda.

SHRI RATANSINH RAJDA : Sir, the situation on the Island of Sri Lanka is presenting a horrible picture of death and destruction. This House is called upon in a very short time to give its approval—this was discussed twice—on the note given by the External Affairs Minister. There is a background to this. Over the last few years, a situation developed and very little attention has been paid to the tension between the ethnic majority and the minority of Sri Lankan Sinhalese and the Sri Lankan Tamilians.

Now, Sir, the basic thing which come out of the picture is this. All the successive Government in Sri Lanka have been deliberately trying to support the detrimental policy of pushing the Tamil-speaking people to the wall. What happened was that the population of the entire Sri Lankan Tamils are pushed back to the wall; they are discriminated day in and day out in the policy of exterminating them that is pursued vigorously by the successive Governments. This is the culmination of the President, Jayawardene's speech in following and pursuing the detrimental and pernicious policy. But, Sir, this policy has been pursued successively by all the Governments. This is the glaring fact which the entire world must take note of.

Sir, this policy has been pursued systematically against the Sri Lanka Tamils. When I say this, I say so with all sense of responsibility. I am not one who will say that we must send our Army; we should march our

Army there. I would not say it. I would not say that there is no sovereignty.

My Hon. friend just now had spoken with all sentiments. He was right that India is a mature nation and so, when we speak, we must speak with maturity. Our maturity should teach us and command us that we should not speak something in such a situation about which the people would say that only the immature people will speak. We respect the territorial integrity of any nation. The Sovereignty of Sri Lanka has been respected by us and our Leadership, right from the beginning, has been telling that we respect the Sovereignty of Sri Lanka. There is no other question.

Now, Sir, this policy of discrimination which I narrated that is being pursued, is a pernicious and detrimental policy. Sir, the Tamilians were not allowed to enter into the universities. They were called upon to have more marks than the local Sinhalese. That was the policy of discrimination. In the case of Government employment, army, the policy and everywhere, the discrimination was there. Ultimately, the entire policy resulted into one thing. That was the Tamilians were just thrown out from the national stream; they did not feel that they were the nationals of Sri Lanka. They were pushed to such an extent that they were thrown out of the national stream. Since others have talked about it, I am not going to repeat it. These are the glaring facts. This is the background which we should bear in mind while understanding the entire issue in a proper perspective.

Sir, having stated this, I would now come to the statement of our Hon. Minister.

Sir, this statement I feel makes a very apologetic reading. I congratulate the Hon. Minister for making a very guarded statement and a very tactfully worded statement but at the same time a very glaring fact comes out that when we said that the situation in Sri Lanka causes concern in India immediately the reaction comes and there is a bogey, the bogey that India is trying to interfere in the internal affairs of Sri Lanka. Now, this is highly objectionable. Nowhere

in the past any slightest event has taken place where we have ever tried to interfere in the affairs of our neighbours. We have espoused friendly relations with all our neighbours. It may be a pity that sometimes situations do arise when these suspicions are created in the minds of our neighbours but in this case we have not done anything which would create any suspicion in the mind of Sri Lankan Government. In spite of that they have raised this bogey that India is trying to interfere in the affairs of Sri Lanka. How this bogey and why it is raised is a pertinent question and we can draw the conclusion—as right type of people who have just learnt the things from international events—that it is the guilty conscience of the Sri Lankan Government. They know that they have massacred thousands and thousands of Tamilians. They know that they want to exterminate the minority in Sri Lanka. They know that they are heaping injustices on them day in and day out and because of that they are under the feeling of guilty conscience and this guilty conscience is prevailing in them which makes them mislead the entire world to say that India is trying to interfere in the internal affairs of Sri Lanka.

Sir, we should not allow go unchallenged the guilty conscience of Shri Jayawardene. We shall have to expose this game black-mailing. This is nothing but policy of black-mailing India. Merely to say that there is some ethnic relationship between our Tamilians and Tamilians in Sri Lanka and we are concerned and our feelings are hurt is nothing wrong. From this view point I would like to suggest that this blackmail must be exposed at the forums of the world.

Sir, having said this I would like further to make certain suggestions. This genocide which has been carried out systematically by the government of President Jayawardene they are culprits before the bar of the humankind and the civilised world. Nazi Hitler had pursued the same detrimental and pernicious policy of exterminating and annihilating Jews from Germany. They are following the same policy today and we must expose them before the bar of the world. Sir, their government is in the docks. The

hands of Mr. Jayawardene are blood stained.

Sir, it is said that Lady Macbeth had committed many sins in her day and when at last she came to know that she has been exposed then she started repenting. I do not know whether wisdom will dawn on these people who are bent upon pursuing the same pernicious policy and they would repent as Lady Macbeth repented. She said that my hands are blood-stained and if I try to wash them all the seven seas will turn red. My sins are horrible to that extent horrible. Sir, the hands of President Jayawardene are blood-stained. My language may be a bit harsh but this is the truth and truth must be told. We will have to stare in the eyes of the Sri Lankan government and tell them certain truths.

Sir, I do not know why our external Affairs Minister, Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao, was not allowed to visit the refugee camps. I think he pleaded with them that he would like to visit the refugee camp but permission was not given to him. If that is a fact, that shows that the Government of Sri Lanka, was reluctant to show the real thing. Now, I think, it is high time we should have made certain basic statements with regard to the situation in Sri Lanka. We have no intention to invade or interfere in the internal affairs of Sri Lanka. But at the same time, we cannot be a silent spectator to the ostrich policy followed by the Sri Lankan Government. We cannot be a silent spectator as far as this situation is concerned. We never encouraged separatism as far as these minorities are concerned. After making the policy statement, which I think has already clarified the stand, we must approach the world and create a world opinion so that the entire world would know the truth and it would help in bringing about an amicable solution to the Sri Lankan problem.

SHRI K.T. KOSALRAM (Tiruchendur) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am glad that you have given me an opportunity to take part in this discussion. Sir, the President of Sri Lanka. Mr. Jayawardene had told yesterday



the Sri Lanka Parliament that in the 10 days of ethnic violence, 300 people have been killed and 75,000 rendered homeless. He has stated that large sums of money have been given by certain vested interests to the local thugs who have been supplied with marked places for their attack. He has admitted that the spree of murder, arson and mob brutality was sparked by the July 23 killing of 13 soldiers by the extremists.

Through the Public Security Ordinance he has empowered the Army to kill the extremists and cremate them without inquest. Probably such a drastic step has been taken by him to restore law and order. But his Government's effort to get the Constitution Amendment Bill passed for taking away the voting rights of Sri Lankan Tamils is a real sign of ethnic intolerance.

In 1948, President Jayewardene was a Minister in the Dudley Senanayake Government which denied citizenship rights to lakhs of Tamils of Indian origin, disenfranchised them and removed their 7 representatives in the Ceylon Parliament through the Citizenship Bill. After this, all the successive Sri Lankan Governments have been thriving on Anti-Indian Tamil origin policy. Each General Election was followed by mob violence against the Tamils of Indian origin, who have converted dense forests into money-spinning Tea Estates and Rubber Estates. From 1948 to 1983, the Tamils of Indian origin have been the worst affected in such racial riots.

President Jayewardene led the Protest March from Colombo to Kandy against Bandaranaike-Chelvanayagam Pact in 1957 which talked of administrative autonomy for Tamil areas of Sri Lanka.

Not only that, again he was in the lead protesting against his own Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake's pact with Chelvanayagam in 1965 recognising the rights of Sri Lankan Tamils. Throughout this three and half decades, the representation of Sri Lankan Tamils in the government service has been reduced to 5 per cent, in the Army,

Navy and Air Force to 2 per cent and in the science faculties to 10 per cent. In 1981 the Tamil Library, which has been the world-wide centre for Tamil studies and Tamil culture, was burnt to ashes. Mr. Jayewardene was responsible for that. All along, they are raising anti-Tamil, anti-Indian slogans.

All my friends have already stated what is going on there. President Jayewardene has expressed his fear of Indian invasion and his determination to go down fighting and also his hope of staging a come back. Then he has stated after the expulsion of UPI Correspondent who flashed the news about Sri Lanka seeking the military assistance of USA, UK, Pakistan and Bangla Desh. The UPI Correspondent has asserted that he has positive proof about Sri Lanka asking for the military assistance of these countries.

Last year I had gone to Trincomalee Harbour, which is called the eye of Indian Ocean. Here at one stroke 700 ships can be hidden. At the same time they can have surveillance over the movement of ships outside and can also attack them. There are 105 Giant Oil Tankers in this harbour. The Sri Lanka Government is reported to have leased them to an American Oil Company. The Sri Lanka Government has also given this area for establishing a recreation centre for the American marines. This was stated on the floor of this House. I am apprehensive of threat to the security of our country here. I had seen the American Consul moving in Trincomalle and pleading with the Chairman of District Council for his support to American moves. With 106 giant oil tankers full of fuel, even the entire 7th Fleet can stay put in this harbour for months together without being the target of attack. If this eventuality comes about, then there is real threat to India from South. It is common knowledge that Sri Lankan economy is in doldrums and the government wants massive investment from abroad. The US may exploit this opportunity also. I wish to suggest that if necessity arises according to intelligence sources of the Government, we should not hesitate to safeguard the security of our country by blocking Trincomalee

harbour with our Navy. We should also launch a massive diplomatic move to apprise the world community of the injustice being done to the racial minorities in Sri Lanka.

I appeal to the people of Tamilnadu to have faith in our Prime Minister and to lend their whole-hearted support in all her initiatives.

श्री ए० नीलालोहिथा दसन नाडार (त्रिवेन्द्रम) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, पिछले सप्ताह में हमारे विदेश मंत्री जी ने जो श्रीलंका का पर्यटन किया था, उसके बारे में उन्होंने जो बयान दिया है, वह बयान वास्तव में उनको वहां जो अनुभव हुआ है, उस अनुभव के आधार पर नहीं दिया है और वह तथ्यों से कहीं दूर है। वे अपने अनुभवों और वास्तविकता को अपने बयान में छिपाने की कोशिश करते हैं। अपने बयान के तृतीय पैराग्राफ में वे कहते हैं।

'My day in Colombo began and ended with meetings with the President. In between I met the Prime Minister of Ceylon, Shri R. Premadasa and my counterpart Mr. A.C.S. Hameed. I also met several Cabinet Ministers both Timils and Sinhalese.'

मैं उनसे पूछना चाहता हूं कि पिछले सप्ताह जो इस सदन में इस मामले पर बहस हुई थी, उसके आधार पर आपने इस मामले के बारे में उनसे कुछ कहा होगा तो उसके बारे में उनकी प्रतिक्रिया क्या थी, यह मैं आपसे जानना चाहता हूं। मंत्री महोदय अपने बयान में फिर कहते हैं।

'I have hoped to meet the Leader of the Opposition in Parliament, Mr. Amruthalingam of the T.U.L.F. but since he was not in Colombo I could only speak to him on the telephone.'

मैं आपके माध्यम से मंत्री महोदय से पूछना चाहता हूं कि क्या अमृतलिंगम से मिलने की आपको अनुमति नहीं दी गई, यह असत्य है ?

आप फिर अपने बयान में कहते हैं।

"Both in Colombo and Kandy where I went by helicopter..."

मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि आप हेलीकोप्टर में क्यों गये, क्या यह सत्य नहीं है ? आपको सड़क से जाने का अवसर उन्होंने नहीं दिया ताकि आप वास्तविक स्थिति न जान सकें।

SHRI RATANSINH RAJDA : Then you would come across the dead bodies, That is why he was not allowed. There is nothing to laugh about it.

श्री ए० नीलाल लोहिथा दसन नाडार : इस सिलसिले में हमारे केरल के कुछ अखबारों में खबरें आई हैं और मैं आपका और इस सदन का ध्यान उनकी तरफ दिलाना चाहता हूं। मेरे सामने केरल के दो-तीन प्रमुख अखबार हैं, 'मलयाला मनोरमा', 'मातृभूमि' और 'केरल कौमुदी'। 31 तारीख के अखबार में यह खबर आई है कि तमिलनाडु की दो लड़कियां जो छुट्टियों के दिनों में लंका गई थीं और उसी समय वहां पर भारत मूल के भारत-वासियों पर अत्याचार हुआ था, तो उनको तमिलनाडु नहीं आने दिया। इसलिए वे त्रिवेन्द्रम के हवाई अड्डे पर उतरीं और वहां पर अखबार वालों से मिलने वर उन्होंने कहा। यह जो छपा है यह अखबार में बहुत लम्बा छपा है और मैं इसको पूरे तौर पर नहीं पढ़ना चाहता हूं। क्योंकि समय नहीं है। उनकी तस्वीरें सभी अखबारों में छपी हैं। वे कहती हैं।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : ट्रान्सलेशन कर दीजिए सीधा ?

श्री ए० नीला लोहियादसन नाडार : दो लड़कियां हैं बसन्ता आलटणी और चन्द्रवरदमुत्तु । वे कहती हैं कि शरणार्थी कैम्पों में सभी लोग विदेश मंत्री श्री नरसिंह राव की प्रतीक्षा में थे, लेकिन श्रीलंका की सरकार ने उनको शरणार्थी कैम्पों का पर्यटन करने की अनुमति नहीं दी । प्रैजीडेंट जयवर्धन से मिलने वे हेलीकोप्टर में लाये गये ताकि स्थिति का विदेश मंत्री को वास्तविक पता न लग सके । हमारे विदेश मंत्री कांडी भी हेलीकोप्टर से गये । वे सड़क से कहीं गये तो उन सड़कों पर जो जलती हुई गलियां थीं, वैसे जली हुई थीं, उनको देख सकते थे । मैं इनके बारे में माननीय मंत्री महोदय की राय जानना चाहता हूं ।

इस विषय पर कल और आज जो चर्चा हुई उससे मैं सन्तुष्ट नहीं हूं । शासक दल के सभी सदस्यों ने और हमारे विपक्षी दलों के श्री रामजेठमलानी और श्री चन्द्रजीत यादव ने प्रधान मंत्री को बधाई दी है । मुझे पता नहीं कि यह बधाई उन्होंने किस बात के लिए दी है । क्या उन्होंने यह बधाई इस बात के लिए दी कि उन्होंने अपने अमूल्य समय का त्याग कर श्रीलंका के राष्ट्रपति श्री जयवर्धन से टेलीफोन पर बात की ? क्या हमारी प्रधान मंत्री 1966 से 1977 तक प्रधान मंत्री की स्थिति में रही हैं और पिछले साढ़े तीन वर्ष से भी वे प्रधान मंत्री हैं । क्या यह बधाई उन्हें इस बात के लिए दी गई है कि वे इतने वर्षों में भी श्रीलंका में बसे भारतीय नस्ल के लोगों की समस्या को हल करने में कुछ भी नहीं कर सकीं ?

श्रीलंका में भारतीय मूल के वासियों पर जो अत्याचार हुए और श्रीलंका में भारत के विरुद्ध जो भावना पैदा हुई वह पिछले साढ़े तीन वर्ष की वर्तमान सरकार की विदेश नीति की पराजय का उदाहरण है । यह बात भी

ध्यान में रखने की है कि श्रीलंका एक तटस्थ राष्ट्र है । तटस्थ राष्ट्रों की अध्यक्षता करने में हम जो गर्व का अनुभव करते हैं उसकी निरर्थकता ही इसमें दीखती है ।

यहां सभी वक्ताओं ने दुनिया भर की राय श्रीलंका की घटनाओं के विरुद्ध बनाने के बारे में बहुत कुछ कहा । मैं कह सकता हूं कि इस हालत में हम क्या कर सकते हैं जबकि हम बहुराष्ट्रिक कम्पनियों और वैदेशिक आर्थिक शक्तियों के इशारे पर चलते हैं । ऐसी हालत में हम दुनिया भर के राष्ट्रों को कैसे इकट्ठा कर सकते हैं । हमारी बात मानने वाला कौन है ?

जैसा कि मैंने पिछले अधिवेशन में विदेशी मामलों पर हुई चर्चा पर बोलते हुए कहा था कि किसी भी राष्ट्र की विदेश नीति दो बातों पर आधारित है । पहली बात यह है कि हम अपने लिये क्या कर सकते हैं और दूसरी बात यह है कि हम दूसरों के लिए क्या कर सकते हैं । आज परिस्थिति यह है कि जब हम अपने लिए कुछ नहीं कर सकते तो हम दूसरे राष्ट्रों के लिए क्या कर सकते हैं ।

श्रीलंका का ही मामला अकेला नहीं है । मूल भारतवासियों की समस्या बर्मा में भी है, मलेशिया में भी है । मैं मंत्री महोदय से आपके माध्यम से जानना चाहता हूं पिछले साढ़े तीन वर्ष में बर्मा, मलेशिया आदि राष्ट्रों में मूल भारतवासियों की समस्या को हल करने में आपकी सरकार ने क्या किया ?

मैं आगे और कुछ नहीं कहना चाहता । मैं अपनी ओर से और अपनी पार्टी की ओर से श्रीलंका के मूल भारतवासियों के कष्टों पर संवेदना प्रकट करना चाहता हूं । हमारी पार्टी की एक अगस्त को मीटिंग हुई थी जिसमें एक

रेजोल्यूशन अडाप्ट हुआ था। मैं उसको पढ़कर अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूँ...

The National Executive...

अध्यक्ष महोदय : यह क्या कर रहे हैं आप। समाप्त कीजिए।

(व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदय : नाट अलाउड

SHRI A. NEELALOHITHADASAN NADAR : The National Executive Committee of the Democratic Socialist Party noted with deep concern the recent development in Ceylon.

While extending its heart-felt sympathies to the victims of unprecedented violence caused by racial hatred, the Committee calls upon the Government of Sri Lanka to take as drastic action as may be needed to stop this orgy of violence.

It calls upon the Government of India to extend all material resources for relief of the victims and take up this issue which borders on ethnic genocide with the U.N. Human Rights Commission...(Interruptions.)

MR. SPEAKER : Now Shri B.K. Nair...  
(Interruptions.)

SHRI A. NEELALOHITHADASAN NADAR : Let him resign and I myself will resign. Let Mrs. Gandhi contest from my constituency. I am ready to challenge her...  
(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Please sit down now. Order Please. Mr. B.K. Nair.

SHRI B.K. NAIR (Quilon) : Mr. Speaker Sir, the happenings in Sri Lanka have filled us all with anguish and excitement. It is not a matter of Tamils alone, the entire nation is concerned about it. The victims of this horror are not only Tamils, there are

Malayalis among them, there are also people from other Indian States among them. It only happens that the majority of them are Tamils. The entire nation is concerned about this incident and we express our sympathies and sorrows for what is happening in Sri Lanka.

What has happened in Sri Lanka is that the Government in power has nothing less than declared a sort of war on the people, on its inhabitants. They are not in small numbers but about 2.5 million Indians and persons of Indian origin are there out of a total population of about 15 million. This is a substantial number. These Indians have not gone there of their own, they were taken there for employment. They form the backbone of the whole economy of Sri Lanka. Sri Lankan economy is based on plantations and the plantations are developed entirely by Indian labour. The ancestors of these people were taken there by European planters about hundred years ago and these hundred years they have been labouring hard. They have been shedding their sweat and blood for the development of that country and it is only because of them that this country has come up to the present level. Sri Lanka economy as you know, is a rather weak economy. We are poor, but they are much more poor. It is entirely a plantation economy, which depends on tea, rubber and coconut exports. For their food, clothing, everything else; they have to depend on import alone. They get a small income from tourism also. It is a very weak economy. Unemployment in that country is growing. The recent drought which affected us, has affected them also. Naturally, the question of unemployment is very much there.

Apart from the question of the growing unemployment, what Shri Jayewardene is aiming at is to build up some sort of anti-Indian credo. India—baiting has become very fashionable nowadays. Sri Lanka is just on our door step and it is a small country. Everything that we do will be built up, dubbing us as being imperialist. Only the other day Shri Jayewardene was referring to the happenings in Uganda and even in London, the anti-Indian agitation in those countries, and asked whether the Prime Minister would be sending her Minister to



London and the other place. Sri Lanka is in a peculiar situation. It is just on our door step. Any instability in that country will be conducive to instability in our own country. So, we have to be very cautious about what we say. The talk of army marching into Sri Lanka is absurd. It is highly dangerous and even suicidal.

The economy of Sri Lanka being a plantation economy, it depends on Tamil labour. What is the objective or the game behind the present agitation? In my view, they are trying to drive out the Tamil plantation workers so that their place can be taken by the Sinhalese workers. But this is never going to happen. More than 70 per cent of the labour in the plantations are Tamilians. So, it is just impossible for the Sinhalese to think of taking over the plantation work.

Perhaps what is being aimed at is to create an atmosphere of fear in Sri Lanka and to say or project that Sri Lanka is being threatened by our country. Already, attempts are being made all around us to create an anti-Indian attitude. Small countries around us are vying with each other to curry favour with one big country or the other. That is what we are finding. Shri Jayewardene is trying to create a picture of being in distress or of being under threat of attack from India. By taking this stand he can get millions of dollars worth of arms from his friends and that is what he is expecting. This is happening in other countries. By just creating the anti-Indian feeling, anti-Indian stand, many other countries are profiting.

He is also trying to take an anti-Soviet attitude. He is saying that the presence of the Soviet Union in this region is a threat to other countries. It is all being used as a cover against what is happening in his own country, to get foreign aid and arms supply for his country.

We should never be taken in by all these things. What should we do? We should not lose our temper because there is so much at stake. Our eyes should be calm and clear we should not look at things with blood-shot eyes. We are very calm. We are actively

striving for rendering assistance to the affected people through the Red Cross. We want to help those people to the maximum extent possible. Earlier Sri Lanka wanted ships to transport people from Colombo to Jaffna. Now they say that the ships are no longer required they will be taken by train. My fear is that if they are taken by train they will be massacred on the way. So, let us try to awaken the international conscience on this issue.

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN (Bedagara): Mr. Speaker, this is the second occasion that we have had during this session to discuss there deeply disturbing events of our southern neighbour, which are of vital consequence to us in many ways. The only difference is that we have had the privilege of listening to our Minister of External Affairs, who had been to Colombo.

Colombo is far away and yet so near, just as the Tamils of Sri Lanka are dear to our hearts but most of them at least are citizens of another country, another nation State. We have to bear this in mind when we discuss a question of this kind. But, Sir, it is important to understand the present situation in Sri Lanka in many of its details. Sir in a situation of this kind the choice of our options and policy instruments are the most important consideration that Parliament should address itself to. What is the choice of options that we have in a situation of this kind? What are the policy instruments through which want to promote our interest? Sir, I want to underline and say one thing that it is not the first time that President Jayewardene has spoken about the bogey of Indian invasion. He has been saying this for the last few days and the UPI correspondent, Mr. Stewart Slaring who has been thrown out of Sri Lanka, has said, after the External Affairs Ministers' statements, that he stands by his story.

Sir, I would invite the attention of this House to an interview given by President Jayewardene to the *Hindu* of Madras as early as 9th or 10th of May this year, where almost unprovoked he bursts into an answer by saying;



"Take Sri Lanka and rule it, You cannot rule 15 milion people if they are opposed to it. If I am alive; I will carry on the movement against Indian invasion."

There was no question from the correspondent, Mr, Katiyal, which provoked an answer. So, he has been building up stage by stage through the speeches—whether it be in the Parliament of Ceylon or in Sri Lanka or outside, he has been building up this theme of the bogey of Indian invasion. I would also beg of you to consider this that it is not only the question of conflict between the interests of Sinhalese and Tamils. It has been there for ages and even after the Independence of Sri Lanka in 1948, from Senanayake's Government to Jayewardene's Government every other Government has been pursuing this policy. But what is more specific and contemporaneous for us to consider is this that he is not only involved with the fate of the Sinhalese or Tamils, but is also involved with certain movements which are of global significance. I have no quarrel if he were to assert the independence of his country or its sovereignty or be brave enough to say almost touchingly that he will continue his struggle for the freedom of his country. These are the psychological compulsions of his vocation which I can understand. But what is more important that we have to understand is that is taking place in a particular international milieu. It is very significant that in this very same interview he referred to Mrs. Bandarnayeke's visit to New York during the U. N. General Assembly Sessions in 1971 and then to Washington for having a private luncheon with President Nixon when the Bangladesh crisis was emerging, which has been contradicted by Mrs. Bandaranayake but she subsequently came out with a statement almost saying that it is in their national interests to be guarded against what she would call the likelihood of an Indian invasion. This is very important because as I said, the Western press has been saying that this is a question of ethnic fundamentalism or Sinhalese chauvinism, but there is a clear design now, a design far more clear today than it was in 1948 or subsequently.

Sir, that is what I want to say. Now, I want to refer to one or two events if you would permit me. One is the arrangement they have entered into with the Voice of America for granting transmitter facilities.

Now, I would like the Minister for External Affairs and the Prime Minister to tell us. As far as I understand, this is not just a transmitter. This is closely to the international electronic and surveillance system that has been developed for Indian Ocean by the United States. It is closely linked with the Canberra Station. It is not merely a transmitter which was there for Voice of America broadcast. So, it is a part of network of American interventionism in this region. Similarly, there is a question of Trincomalee storage tanks. What is this storage tank with which they negotiated first with the Coastal Corporation of Texas, a very big oil firm and multi-national? Then, defending in the very same Hindu interview, he says, "I am going to ask for global tenders". Everybody knows that his global tenders are eye-wash. Whether it be in Colombo or elsewhere, how these are manipulated, we know. But, Sir, in this case, that is not the question. In this case, but he also says, "We are free to give it to any one. Who are you to come and tell us to whom it should be given?" But he does not forget to say that the Western offers are very attractive. So, whether it be the Voice of America transmitter or whether it be the Trincomalee naval facilities, that has not been hidden from us. Same is the case with regard to the question of Indian Ocean. It was after 1971 when the United Nations passed this resolution on the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. And now, according to the President Jeyawardene, Mrs. Bandaranaike took initiative in this because she was afraid of India's design. Such preposterous non-sense, I have not heard from any one.

Whatever may be our differences, one thing I may say. One thing, I am sure, most of the same world would agree with us that this is not an interventionist country and this can never be an interventionist by its very composition, heritage and background. This country may stand up

for human dignity and human right. But it cannot be an interventionist. That has been our record whether it be Bangladesh where we withdrew under certain circumstances or, Sir, even in Sri Lanka when we went to the aid in 1977 for a legitimate government in defence of a legitimate government. So, the question of Indian Ocean is of paramount importance to us.

There is a question of Law of Seas as well as Ocean-bed resources. What is the attitude of the United States and what is the attitude of Sri Lanka on all these questions? So, Sir, it is very important for us to understand the ramifications of this. It is not just as though people would like us to believe a conflict of certain interests which have been there historically and which have been there even after independence. But today it is a new international importance. If President Jayawardene and his Party wishes to be *gendarme* in this part of the world for the United States, we can have no quarrel. But then, we have to be cautious and we have to react and we have to defend our interests. So, the question is, whose voice is he echoing?

When he says certain things or when he says that he is going to somebody, what does it mean? It is of consequence to our strategic environment. We cannot sit still when Indian nationals are attacked, apart from all this. When people of Indian origin had been killed, we had to stand up and they cannot cover up our concern by saying there is a question of domestic jurisdiction. Even as you would know, article 2 of the U.N. Charter clearly lays down that all States have to defend and to promote human rights. Now, what is the Sri Lanka's record with regard to the defence of human rights? It is not only the Amnesty International or others who have said it but even the U.N. It is important for us, through a diplomatic friendship, to focuss our attention and also through various other organisations. There has been complete and total discrimination with regard to the educational and cultural rights of the citizens and protection of minorities. You see, we cannot understand what he has been saying. I do not know

what he means by that this is not the genocide but this is patricide.

I cannot understand a statesman, even a politician, of his maturity saying this kind of a thing that it is fratricide and that it is not genocide.

When Dalai Lama came here in 1959 and we welcomed him, one of the first countries to support us was Sri Lanka, the then known as Ceylon. What is the position today? The External Affairs Minister would know better the position with regard to Tamilians in Colombo and various other places. Tamil Tigers may be wrong in having their choices. But one thing I can say that nobody can question their patriotism. They have been driven to a point of no return. When their vital interest, their future is at stake, naturally, they have to rise in revolt.

What I mean to say is that as far as Sri Lanka is concerned they have by their own choice created another Ulster, a nation within nation. If it develops into a sign of national liberation tomorrow, they have to only blame themselves. At the same time, I wish to warn about one thing. Mr. Subramaniam Swamy is not here. He said something preposterous which I could not understand, talking about a naval blockade. I could not imagine that there could be anything more irresponsible coming as it does from an Hon. Member of the House.

We have to exercise restraint just as we would continue to pursue our national goals. So, we have to be careful because, as I said, I wish to repeat that it is a question involving our security environment and the entire of our country is at stake.

DR. KARAN SINGH (Udhampur): Mr. Speaker, Sri, the truly horrifying situation that has arisen in our beautiful neighbouring country of Sri Lanka, has been a matter of very great sorrow and shock to everybody, the unprecedented violence against Tamils; lakhs of people uprooted, fleeing in terror, hundreds, if not thousands,

massacred and many gruesomely and in cold blood in jail and, if Mr. Dhandapani's report is correct, even in hospitals; property worth millions of rupees destroyed and an already a weak economy shattered.

The murder of 13 soldiers may have been a very bad thing. Even that is said to be in response, in retaliation, to the rape of Tamil girls earlier. But this cannot be a licence for the armed forces of any nation to turn against their own country men. It is an astounding and unprecedented situation. Let it be very clear that although the affected people are Tamils, this problem is not one which is only agitating the Tamilian population but the whole country, from Kashmir to Kanyakumari. I represent the northern most State in India. The whole nation, irrespective of party, irrespective of language or religion, is deeply concerned. There is deep distress, resentment and anger, in the same way, as developments in the Bangladesh situation were not only a matter of significance for the Bengalis but become a national problem.

Secondly, I would submit very respectfully that this cannot be looked upon only as an internal matter of Sri Lanka. Our vital national interests are involved. The anti-Indian tirade that is going on there, the fact that Indian nationals and Stateless people, the refugees, have been attacked and the impact of that upon 60 or 70 million Tamils living in India; the possibility of super power involvement on our very door-step which would be a grave security risk, all those things make this a matter of very close national interest to us. It will not be chauvinistic if we say that India cannot remain a mere spectator when such developments occur so close to us and in such a sensitive area.

There are three dimensions that should be considered which I would submit for the consideration of the House and the Prime Minister. Firstly, there is the human aspect, the appalling human suffering that has taken place. We must rush massive aid through the Government authorities and also through non-official authorities like the International Red Cross or the Ramakrishna Mission and others.

I would suggest that the Prime Minister should set up a Sri Lanka National Relief Fund and that, as a symbol of our solidarity every Member of this House should begin by donating one day's allowance to this Fund, so that it gives a sense of solidarity, regardless of party differences, to this matter. She must make an appeal for donation in cash and kind, especially clothing, medicine and foodstuff. Transportation must be arranged for these. The Foreign Minister mentioned about the ships and how they were at the last moment asked not to leave. In the refugee camps, diseases are breaking out. We should offer doctors nurses, medical assistance and medical relief, because our experience, since 1947, of refugee camps shows that this is the most important and the most critical and painful area where we can help.

Some mention was made by Mr. Dhandapani of the fact that certain Hindu temples had been broken. If any help is required in the matter, if the Government cannot do it, certain other organizations can help in sending images or any other help to the temples which may have been broken according to Mr. Dhandapani's report.

So, the first aspect is humanitarian. The second aspect is political, and the Foreign Minister himself has said that "the most crucial point is the root cause of the present problem and how to deal with it." It is a long and complicated matter into which we cannot here go. But the Sinhalese—Tamil relations have been very unhappy, and in her own interest Sri Lanka should work out a political settlement acceptable to the bulk of the three million Sri Lankan Tamils. A two language situation is not unknown in the world; in Canada, for example, or Belgium; there are situations where solutions can be found; a federal solution can be envisaged; a certain autonomy can be given. These are various details that have to be worked out. But this is a problem which the Sri Lankan Government will have to tackle in her own interest. Otherwise, simply banning parties and forcing the Tamils to flee to the northern part may defeat the declared purpose of maintaining unity in that country.

Finally, the question of security. If our national security continues to be threatened in whatsoever manner, we will have to maintain a series of options—diplomatic options, bilateral and multilateral, economic options and other options. This is something which only the Government can spell out.

Shri Ram Jethmalani in his remarkably mellow and, what shall I say, uncharacteristic speech when he started this debate, spoke of the tradition of Lord Buddha. We all revere Lord Buddha; and the tradition of love and generosity is there. But let me remind Shri Ram Jethmalani and the other Members of the House that we also have the tradition of Lord Rama who fought all his life against injustice and oppression. We also have the tradition of Lord Krishna who, when Arjuna did not want to fight, said :

तस्मादुत्तिष्ठ कौन्तेय युद्धाय  
कृतनिश्चयः ।

And we also have the tradition of Lord Subrahmanya, the *Senapaty* of the Gods, the great Tamil deity, who rides with his spear against ill-doers.

Therefore, Sir, without in any way saying that we should be aggressive, there can be no shirking of our responsibility. And if the Prime Minister, as we all hope, moves with clarity of purpose, wisdom and courage, I am sure the entire House and the nation will support her.

SHRI TRIDIB CHAUDHURI (Berhampore) : I rise only to add my voice to the consensus that has emerged in this discussion. In this crisis—I call it a crisis involving not only Sri Lanka and India but the entire Indian subcontinent and the South Asian Nations—the consensus that has emerged in this House is that we should act with utmost restraint. We have also to take stock of the fact that howsoever much we may wish it, we have to live with this problem for sometime to come.

The Tamil-Sinhala conflicts in Sri Lanka are not going to disappear simply because of our restraint or by the offer of help that we have made to the Government of Sri Lanka for foodstuff, medicines, fuel and other things. We do not know as yet whether the Sri Lankan Government would receive it. At the same time, we have to bear in mind that the fact the biggest Tamil party in Sri Lanka has been banned and the Liberation Front, the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) has been forced to go underground.

(Interruptions)

The main opposition party in Sri Lanka has thus been driven underground. The Elam Liberation Tiger's, the terrorists or the extremist group are also active and there is no doubt that this internal fight in Sri Lanka will go on for some time and repression of the type that we have just seen will again recur from time to time. That is why it is all the more necessary that we should act with a certain amount of restraint and not lose our perspective. And from that point of view, I add my voice to support the general policy line that has been followed by the Government.

MR. SPEAKER : Shri Banatwalla.

SHRI K. MAYATHEVAR : Sir, I have given my name.

MR. SPEAKER : Your leader has already spoken.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Please don't argue with me.

SHRI K. MAYATHEVAR : No, Sir. Please understand my feelings.

MR. SPEAKER : I have understood. Please sit down.

SHRI K. MAYATHEVAR : If you have understood, you should then allow me to speak.



SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA (Ponnani): We are thankful to the Prime Minister for having rushed the Minister for External Affairs to Sri Lanka. That was what we all had suggested last time.

And, immediately after discussion here, in this House, our Minister of External Affairs visited Sri Lanka. This shows the manner in which the Government has responded to the suggestions made here, to the feelings of this House and also to the feelings of the entire nation. This is a commendable act. I hope it will be maintained and our other suggestions will also receive the same kind of response from the Government.

Sir, after his return from Sri Lanka, we have been told that supplies of essential commodities are being air-lifted and so on. Again, all this shows that the Government has great concern for the developments over there and the needs of the people who are in distress. However, the statement by the Minister of External Affairs here in this House, after his return from Sri Lanka, leaves much to be desired.

Sir, I may here point out one thing. It was rather unfortunate that I was misunderstood and the *Hindu* daily and, perhaps, the *U.N.I* reported that I had objected to the supplies of essential commodities like kerosene to Sri Lanka and that on raising such an objection, I had walked out from the House. Sir, it is preposterous to think so. What I had said before walking out along with my colleague, Mr. Abdus Samad was that this kerosene—supplying statement that is kerosene—supplying type of Statement was unsatisfactory. I had said that the visit is unfortunately ineffectual and on the unsatisfactory statement on the visit, we had walked out from the House. I have given you a notice of breach of privilege and, as I see your reaction, I am sure, that any moment, you will ask me to move for the leave of the House.

MR. SPEAKER : You are very segacious.

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA : I shall wait for your decision.

Now, Sir, the present ghastly killings and the reprehensible atrocities that have taken place in Sri Lanka cannot be viewed in isolation. They are a culmination of a developing situation. Unfortunately, our Government took an attitude of indifference. I may say that there is a deviation from our national policy. I offer this criticism not with any spirit of confrontation but, in order to indicate the areas of lapse because this is a critical issue. And this is a critical time and in this issue, the hands of the Prime Minister have to be strengthened so that she can deal with the question in a firm manner and see that justice is done.

It is, therefore, that I say that unfortunately there was a deviation in our policy with respect to Sri Lanka. Sir, Sri Lanka wanted compulsory repatriation of those who are of Indian origin. Our late lamented Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, was vehemently opposed to it.

Till his sad demise he reiterated that those of Indian origin in foreign countries should be granted citizenship by those countries and must accepted by the governments and people over there. But unfortunately no sooner Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru was no more then we had this agreement between the Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri and the Prime Minister Mr. Bandaranaike in 1964 and thereafter again in 1974 accepting repatriation of the people of Indian origin in Sri Lanka.

Sir, this was accepted even against the wishes of the Tamilians and the fact has been recorded by the Estimates Committee of our Seventh Lok Sabha in its Twentieth report part II on Sri Lanka presented to this House on 19th March, 1982. Because of lack of time I would not read out that aspect but I want to quote :

“The Committee strongly feel that while discussing the future of ‘Stateless’ Indians in Sri Lanka, these

persons should not be viewed merely in terms of numbers whose dispersal can be decided by applying a mechanical formula of ratio and proportion. They are thinking human beings who have grown in a certain social, cultural and emotional milieu and who should be presumed to know where they belong and what their future status should be."

Further the Committee said :

"It will be unfair, nay inhuman, to uproot any such person from the place of his birth or domicile or work and repatriate him against his wish."

Sir, the government of Sri Lanka always wanted to uproot these people but it is rather unfortunate that we in our desire perhaps to promote friendly relations and to strengthen relations with Sri Lanka had this unfortunate deviation.

Sir, there were several complaints about the discrimination against the Tamilians of Indian origin. There were several complaints about that. But I may say that it is rather unfortunate that an attitude of indifference was adopted with respect to these reports. So much so that as is reported by the Estimates Committee in this Twentieth report which I am referring to at page 28 we are told that officials appeared before this Committee and repeated that there was not any discrimination whatsoever in Sri Lanka. Sir, I quote just a few lines and I will conclude :

"Refuting reports of discrimination against Indians in Sri Lanka, the Ministry has stated that it is not a fact that persons of Indian origin in Sri Lanka are being discriminated against on grounds of race or on grounds of nationality vis-a-vis other non-Sri Lanka nationals."

Sir, what is this ? We have been saying that discrimination takes place but the government has been refuting these things

with the result I may say that this is a betrayal of Tamilians of Indian origin in Sri Lanka by the Government.

Sir, I do not want to be harsh. Perhaps advertantly or inadvertantly, consciously or un-consciously such statements have been made by the officials before our Estimates Committee. I hope now that the developments have taken place in Sri Lanka it will open the eyes of the Government and a firm policy will be adopted. If this is done the entire nation will be behind the government.

श्री अब्दुल रशीद काबुली (श्रीनगर) :

जनाब स्पीकर साहब, इस वक्त यह सदन यहां बैठकर सीलोन के वाकयात पर बहस कर रहा है। हमारी निगाहें इस वक्त सीलोन के इलाकों पर जा रही हैं जहां तकरीबन एक लाख लोग इस वक्त रिफ्यूजी कैम्पों में हैं। अभी एक पालिसी के तहत सीलोन के तमिलों को उठाकर जाफना की तरफ भेजा जा रहा है। यह एक ऐसी गंभीर सूरते हाल है जिसमें सिर्फ गवर्नमेंट ही नहीं बल्कि अपोजीशन और अपोजीशन के साथ मेरी जमात नेशनल कान्फ्रेंस भी अपने जज्बात बाबस्ता करती है। तमिलों के साथ जो नाइन्साफी हो रही है यह कोई एक तमिल लोगों का मसला नहीं है बल्कि पूरे हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों का मसला है। उनके दुःख दर्द के साथ हम भी हैं।

मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि इस वक्त सूरते हाल यह है कि लंका की सरकार ने जहां एक तरफ ऐलान किया है कि 258 आदमी इस हालिए फसाद के नतीजे में मारे गए हैं। हकीकत यह है कि सिर्फ सीलोन के शहर में 3-4 हजार लोग मारे गए हैं। जाफना में रिफ्यूजियों पर हमले हुए हैं और बेगुनाह लोगों को मारा गया है। अखबारों से जो रिपोर्ट्स हमारे पास आई हैं उनके मुताबिक वहां औरतों के साथ नाइन्साफी हुई है। आज सीलोन की सरकार यह कह रही है

कि वहां पर एक बगावत के आसार हैं और टी.यू.एल.एफ. ने बगावत कर दी है और हथियार अपने हाथ में ले लिए हैं तो मैं सदन से कहना चाहता हूं कि कोई भी इज्जतदार कौम, जिन की औरतों की इज्जत अगर खतरे में पड़े तो वह कौम अगर हथियार हाथ में ले ले और अपनी इज्जत बनाने की कोशिश करे तो उसका कोई कुसूर नहीं होगा।

मैं बताना चाहता हूं कि इससे अधिक दुःख की बात और क्या हो सकती है कि आज लंका में इन लोगों को जिनको तमिल कहा जा रहा है या जिनको स्टेटलैस कहा जा रहा है, जबरदस्ती जाफना की तरफ लाया जा रहा है। मैं श्री लंका की सरकार से पूछना चाहता हूं कि क्या उन्होंने यह बात सोच ली है कि जाफना के लोग उनके अपने लोग नहीं हैं। जाफना भेज कर इन लोगों के साथ जो सुल्क किया जा रहा है इससे क्या यह नतीजा निकालें कि ये लोग लंका के लोग नहीं हैं। क्या श्रीलंका की सरकार को इनसे कोई हमदर्दी नहीं है। क्या सरकार का यह फर्ज नहीं था कि आज जो लोग अपनी जान माल बचाने के लिए जहाजों और मोटरगाड़ियों में बैठकर जाफना जा रहे हैं, उनकी जान-माल की रक्षा का प्रबंध करती। बल्कि यह कहा गया हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार से कि वह जहाज भेजे ताकि इन लोगों को वहां से जाफना भेजा जा सके। सरकार का यह रवैया बहुत दुःख की बात है। मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि वहां की 19-20 फीसदी जनता को दबाना, कत्ल करना कहां का इन्साफ है। सीलोन की सरकार का यह रवैया हिन्दुस्तान की 70 करोड़ जनता को कतई बरदाश्त नहीं होगा। जिस प्लान के तहत, साजिश के तहत जेनोसाइड करने का सिलसिला शुरू किया गया है, मैं सरकार से चाहूंगा कि इस मामले को मामूली वाक्या न समझें। हमें पूरी दुनिया के लोग मिले हैं, लंदन

से आए एक शरूस ने बताया कि तमाम दुनिया में जो हिन्दुस्तानी बसते हैं वे सीलोन की तरफ देख रहे हैं। देख रहे हैं कि सीलोन में सरकार क्या रवैया अख्तियार करती है। अगर सीलोन में सरकार तमिलियन्स की जान-माल को बचाने में नाकामयाब रहा तो यह एक सिलसिला शुरू हो जाएगा। साउथ अफ्रीका, इंग्लैंड में तो वैसे ही हिन्दुस्तानियों को तंग किया जा रहा है, एशियंस को तंग किया जा रहा है। मैं सरकार से गुजारिश करूंगा कि हमारी प्राइम मिनिस्टर नातरफदार मुल्कों की चेयरमैन हैं और श्रीलंका भी अपने आपको नान एलायन नेशन कहता है। फिलिस्तीन और साउथ अफ्रीका के मामले में जियोनिस्ट के खिलाफ जब हमने आवाज उठाई है तो आज तो विपदा अपने ऊपर आ पड़ी है, मैं सरकार से चाहूंगा कि जो पालिसी हमने साउथ अफ्रीका और मिडिल ईस्ट में बनाई है, उससे दो कदम आगे उठाएं।

इस वक्त तमिलियंज को हम बचाएं। तमिलियंज को मैं एहसास दिलाना चाहता हूं कि तह तमिल जवान बोलने वाले लोगों का ही मसला नहीं है हिन्दुस्तान के तमाम लोगों का मसला है, काश्मीर से कन्याकुमारी तक के लोगों का मसला है।

नेशनल सतह पर मैं चाहता हूं कि इमदादी काम शुरू किया जाए। यु. एन. तक में इस सवाल को उठाया जाना चाहिये, जो नाइंसाफी हो रही है उसको उठाया जाना चाहिये। जवानी जमा खर्च से काम नहीं चलेगा हुकूमत और अपोजीशन दोनों को मिलकर पूरे मुल्क में इमदाद के सिलसिले में काम करना चाहिये और जान भी पेश करनी पड़े तो उस सिलसिले में भी कोई कोताही नहीं होनी चाहिये। तमिलियंज के जज्बात के साथ मैं अपने जज्बात भी बावस्ता करता हूं और कहना चाहता हूं कि यह

हिन्दुस्तान का ही नहीं बल्कि इंसानियत का  
सवाल है ।

THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO) : MR. Speaker, Sir, 23 Hon. Members have participated in this debate and I am grateful to them for the views they have expressed and the solidarity they have demonstrated literally from Kashmir to Kanyakumari on this issue. This is hardly a debate because there is nothing to debate on. We stand for the same thing, we have expressed the same opinion. In fact, we have expressed the same emotions; and when it comes to emotions, there will be no end to the expression of emotions; it is a continuous thing. Therefore, I would like to say that there is very little for me to reply to with the exception of one or two opinions which were different from the general trend. I see no other point, no other opinion or view which calls for a reply. No one claims, not even the Government of Sri Lanka that the situation in that country has already come back to normal or everything is fine.

SHRI K. MAYATHEVAR : When ?

AN HON. MEMBER : No body claims.

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO : It is no one's claim. What is being said is that the worst is over and if effective control is exercised, or continues to be exercised, there is a likelihood, there is a possibility of this situation tapering off thereafter. This is the position there and I would not, therefore, jump to conclusions; we only hope, fervently hope, that things will come back to normal in due course. They can erupt suddenly, such things can erupt suddenly but they do not come back to normal suddenly. We all know this and therefore this is the position which I would like to inform the House of in regard to the situation in Sri Lanka. Since the Prime Minister is going to intervene.

I would only.....(Interruptions)

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE (New Delhi) : She will be replying. You are intervening. (Interruptions)

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI) : No. the Minister is replying.

(Interruption)

SHRI K. MAYATHEVAR : Did you discharge your duties? What was your mission? Did you discharge it? You did not tell the truth to the House at all. You have not brought all the facts to the notice of the House and of the nation.

(Interruptions)

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO : I have made a detailed statement on that. I would not like to repeat what all I have said. I would only like to place before the House certain information which I think the House should know. Earlier on, I told the House that they asked for ships and we were sending the ships; after that statement, there was a bit of confusion or doubt in regard to whether the ships were still needed. I was categorically told that they were needed.

And when we made a further probe it was said that they are needed for taking about ten to fifteen thousand refugees who have some connections with the northern provinces and who would on their own free will like to go there. So, after that we agreed. But when we gave orders for the ships to move, we got certain different signals, certain different messages, which made us believe that there is some rethinking in regard to whether the ships are needed or not. So, I spoke the Foreign Minister of Sri Lanka myself again in order to clarify the position. In this process, the ship which had already left Bombay had necessarily to be slowed down on its way because if it was not wanted, there was no point in its entering the Sri Lanka territorial waters. But the latest position is that we have been told, and it has been confirmed, that all the three ships are



needed and they are proceeding. The first ship that would have reached yesterday is going to reach tomorrow morning and it is going to be used tomorrow.

About food supplies, the first plane load of supplies must have landed at Colombo an hour ago or it is landing just now. It was in readiness to take off since about two days. But at the other side certain things had to be sorted out and they were not prepared to receive it. So, after we got the green signal it took off this afternoon and must have reached today. A total of nine tonnes of wheat flour, plus bread, plus sugar, plus milk powder, plus some clothing and medicines has been sent as a first consignment.

SHRI K. MAYATHEVAR : To whom ? I want to know, to whom it is being supplied.

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO : The plane will be flying shuttle service from tomorrow. It will be shuttling between Madras and Colombo and more supplies would be sent. Naturally, we will keep an eye on how much more is needed from time to time, but the shuttle will start tomorrow.

Something was said about the High Commissioner, our High Commissioner in Sri Lanka. Our High Commissioner has not only organised the evacuation of these Indians who could not fly out earlier on because they were trapped in several places. It had become almost impossible for us to look after their safety and safe transit to the airport. Conditions were so difficult at that time. During that time the High Commissioner, his Deputy and the entire staff of the High Commission, under great personal risk did every thing that was necessary to ensure the safe transit and safe reaching of these people the airport and from there they were sent back to India. Not only this. Since then the High Commissioner had been knocking at the door of the Sri Lankan Foreign Office for permission to visit camps where other Indians are kept. This was not given for a few days. As I was not in a position to visit the camps myself, the

High Commissioner also was not in a position, but he has succeeded in securing permission and he is visiting the camps now.

So far as Kandy area is concerned, our Assistant High Commissioner, Kandy, has been visiting the camps regularly since the day I went there. So, about visits, about taking care, about finding out the news, now there is no difficulty. It is unfortunate that such a dedicated person has come in for criticism by one Hon. Member.

SHRI C.T. DHANDAPANI : Sorry for interruption. I received this message.

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO : Have you received anything ?

SHRI C.T. DHANDAPANI : I received this message this morning...

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO : Let us not castigate openly in this House.

SHRI C.T. DHANDAPANI : I have said that there is that allegation and there is that criticism. This is just for the information of the Hon. Minister. He can check it up.

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO : If you have received anything, please let me know. If there is any individual complaint, I am prepared to look into it personally. But from the floor of the House if this is said, it is very difficult for any person to work with the zeal and enthusiasm that are needed at the present juncture. These are some of the points which I wanted to clarify and the information which I wanted to place before the House. There is nothing more which I could add. I would not like to anticipate what the Prime Minister is going to say. I would only submit that the situation has never been easy. But we, as a neighbouring country, as a nation which is vitally interested in what happens across the straits, have been paying the utmost

attention to the developments in Sri Lanka. I do not wish to go into details of how many others we have been contacting. It is necessary that at a time like this, this should be done on the largest possible scale. This is being done. And I am happy to say that our position has been appreciated, fully understood not only in this country but in all countries with whom we had occasion to discuss this matter, whom we had occasion to inform about how we feel about this matter. This is the position. I have done.

**THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI) :** I am not replying. The Foreign Minister has replied to the Debate. I merely want to give some information to the House.

The debate in this House and in the other have amply emphasised the intensity and extent of concern felt in the whole country over developments in Sri Lanka.

If I may digress for a moment, I should like to remind the House that when we speak of the southernmost point of India let us remember that Nicobar in the east and Minicoy in the west are far farther South than Kanya Kumari. I am specially mentioning this because every time I have been there, the people have complained and asked: Are we not part of India. Why do people of the main land always stop at Kanya Kumari?. That is why I should like Hon. Members to keep this in mind.

Now, to the debate. It has shown that these events are of relevance not only to our Tamil population but have caused anguish and anxiety to the entire nation. I should also like to say that the attacks in Colombo have not been on the Tamil population alone. About two or three days ago, a group of Sindhis came to see me with a message from Sindhis there who have lost everything and some of them, I am told, have been living in Sri Lanka for sixty years or more. I believed other people of Indian origin have also suffered.

Sir, I am glad that the Hon. Members who participated in the debate by and large showed balance and restraint. Other countries have also expressed, as the Foreign Minister told you just now, appreciation of our restraint, and have acknowledged our special interest in this matter.

I thank the Hon. Members for their support to the Government's stand.

As Hon. Members are aware, I had personally conveyed our concern to the President of Sri Lanka, when I spoke to him on the phone last Friday.

It was re-affirmed by our foreign Minister when he visited Colombo. He has already reported to Parliament about this. President Jayewardene spoke to me on the phone. He told me that the situation was coming under control and our people would soon be returning to their homes.

As you know, we have made it clear in every forum and in every possible way that India does not pose any threat to Sri Lanka, nor do we want to interfere in their internal affairs. I reassured the President on this. We want the unity and national integrity of Sri Lanka to be preserved. At the same time, I pointed out to the President that developments in Sri Lanka affect us also. In this matter India cannot be regarded as just any country. Sri Lanka and India are the two countries who are directly concerned. Any extraneous involvement will complicate matters for both our countries. We live in a region where many forces are at work, not all of whom wish India or our neighbours well. Forces of destabilisation are at work. Hence, we must make every effort to minimise any opportunity for foreign elements to weaken us.

Members are naturally worried about the possible involvement by other governments in this situation. I asked the President about the reports that Sri Lanka had approached other governments. His reply was that America has promised some wheat and U. K. some money.

PROF. N. G. RANGA (Guntur) : When approached or independently ?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : When approached. Well, I did not ask this but just Judge by other reports. The President said that Sri Lanka does not have any outside ships except those sent by us and that they do not have much need of money at present. The rehabilitation work, according to the President has started. The Sri Lankan President has appointed a special authority to take charge of this work. The President said there are about 80,000 displaced persons and he expects that they will return home within a week. I also referred in my talk to the special powers assumed by the Sri Lankan Government to deal with the secessionist movement and persons. This may be necessary in exceptional circumstances. However, the manner in which these powers are used is important because of likely reaction within that country and beyond. I suggested to the President that

everything possible should be done to start a process of reconciliation at the earliest. I do not wish to go into the various aspects of the situation which have been brought out by the Members who have spoken, or the dangers inherent in it. We are alive to them. Our immediate interest is two-fold to see that the killing, the destruction, the looting and the harassment is stopped and, secondly, to provide as much help as we can to those who are in need. Thank you.

MR. SPEAKER : The House stands adjourned to meet at 11 A. M. on Monday. the 8th August 1983.

20.58 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Monday, August 8,-1983/ Sravana 17, 1905 (Saka).*

---