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Title: Discussion on the plight of Tamils in Sri Lanka.

MADAM SPEAKER: The House shall now take up Short duration Discussion under Rule 193 on the Plight of Tamils in Sri Lanka. Hon. Members, before we take up the Short Duration Discussion under Rule 193 on the Plight of Tamils in Sri Lanka, I have a small observation to make. As the Hon. Members are aware, the subject matter of discussion pertains to a neighbouring country with which we have close and friendly relations. I would, therefore, urge upon the members to maintain objectivity while expressing their views on the subject and refrain from saying anything that may adversely affect our relations with that country. I would also urge upon the Hon. Members to discuss the matter in an orderly and peaceful manner and keep the standard of the debate high.

Now, I call Shri T.R. Baalu to initiate the discussion.

...(Interruptions)

श्री अर्जुन राम मेघवाल (बीकानेर): अध्यक्ष महोदया, मैं एक बहुत गंभीर विषय की ओर सदन का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ... (व्यवधान) राजस्थान के मुख्यमंत्री ने खान आबंटन... (व्यवधान)

MADAM SPEAKER: We will take it up during 'Zero Hour'.

SHRI T.R. BAALU (SRIPERUMBUDUR): Hon. Madam, first of all, I have to profoundly thank you for having permitted me to discuss the plight of the Sri Lankan Tamils.

Madam, I am reminded of a poetry written by Alfred Tennyson: 'Man may come man may go but I will go on for ever'. In the banks of the river, people may come and go but the river will be flowing for ever. So, the Ministers of External Affairs will come and go but the policy remains but the policy pertaining to Sri Lanka remains unaltered. Hon. Pranab Mukherjee was there. He has been elevated as the President of India. Hon. S.M. Krishna was there. But there is no change in the actual policy as far as Sri Lanka is concerned. Now my friend who is very sweet, cute and ever smiling, Shri Khursheed has come. I think some result would come through the pragmatic approach of hon. Madam who is sitting here.

Last year on 1st November, under the instructions and guidance of Dr. Kalaignar Karunanidhi, the crusader of Sri Lanka Tamils, crusader of human rights, the President of DMK, the President of Tamil Eelam Supporters' Organization, Dr. Stalin went up to the United Nations Organization on 1st November, 2012 to meet the Deputy Secretary-General of UNO, Dr. Jan Eliasson. On 06.11.2012, he met Madam Navanethem Pillay, the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights. I had an opportunity to accompany him. We handed over the Memorandum pertaining to the problems being faced by the Sri Lankan Tamils. After the discussion, both these persons had asked a particular question. Whatever Dr. Eliasson had asked, Madam Navanethem Pillay had also asked. What was that question? They said that Dr. Stalin, you have come all the way from India braving the nature and braving the sandy cyclone which almost spoiled normalcy in New York. We appreciate that but at the same time what is the view of your Government? What is the view of Dr. Manmohan Singh? What the Government of India thinks as far as the issue of Sri Lankan Tamils is concerned?. The same question was asked by Madam Navanethem Pillay also. It was somewhat an embarrassing question for both of us. But at the same time, I could not reply because it is our Government. We have answered both the personalities. We said that the Government of India is doing its best and is

trying to help the Sri Lankan Tamils because it is headed by no less a person than Madam Sonia Ji who has got a pragmatic approach as far as Sri Lankan Tamils are concerned because I personally know what it is.

Hon. Speaker, there is a problem. Wherever we go, even when our Members of Parliament sitting over here, for the past one month, we were meeting the representatives of the various countries who are the members of the UNHRC. There are 47 member countries. Each and every day we have a call to go, meet them and explain to them. We extend a Memorandum about the Sri Lankan issue. Even to our Members of Parliament also, the question posed by Ambassadors and High Commissioners who are the members of the UNHRC is about our Government's view. That means, something is misplaced somewhere. Otherwise, it is for the Government of India to see that it is corrected at least now. We do not know what does that question mean. I cannot say that. It is our Government. We have established this Government. We are part and parcel of this Government but at the same time, I do not think, under the leadership of Madam Sonia Gandhi, there is any hidden agenda. But people suspect. The countries of the world are suspecting. That is why, we have arranged a Tamil Eelam Supporters Organisation meeting today at 5 p.m. in Delhi itself. My leader, Dr. Kalaignar Karunanidhi has already extended an invitation to leaders of all the parties in Parliament including Madam Sonia Gandhi.

My request is, at least now, the Government of India should come forward forthrightly, uprightly, as to what it is thinking about alleviating the problems of Sri Lankan Tamils. We have asked for Tamil Eelam. There is no doubt about it. We have asked for Tamil Eelam. Just mention one Party in this House who has not asked for Tamil Eelam. We are together but at the same time, as of now, the point at issue is not for a separate Eelam. It is there in our policies and principles and since such time the discrimination of Lankan Tamils goes on, we will fight for Tamil Eelam because there is no other way for us to proceed.

As far as DMK is concerned and as far as TESO is concerned, we will demand a Tamil Eelam. But what is the minimum requirement as of now? The minimum requirement is to safeguard the interests of Tamils on human rights. We have to go forward and see that the problems of Sri Lankan Tamils are alleviated quickly. For the past four years, Sri Lankan Tamils have been trying to pick up the broken pieces of their lives shattered in the long war which is a 27 year old war. It was a brutal war. It was the war that persisted between the* ... Sri Lankan administration and their own citizens. We all know the armed conflict or armed struggle arose out of large-scale discrimination of Tamil language, Tamil tradition, Tamil culture, holistically the Tamil race itself. Over and above, there is deprivation of equal rights and equal opportunities as far as education and employment is concerned. Their tyranny still continues. It is not yet over. What is the outcome of the war? What is the outcome of the bloody war? About 90,000 women lost their husbands. They have been widowed. They have lost their *mangal sutras*. We do not know the whereabouts of two lakh Sri Lankan Tamils, men, women and children. About 1,20,000 people fled out of their country, fled out of their homeland, fled out of Sri Lanka for safety and security during the war. Tamil women were murdered; Tamil women were detained in various security camps. Unbridled atrocities are still going on. Human rights violations are still persisting. After the war in 2009, Dr. Ban ki Moon and the Head of the Sri Lankan Government jointly issued a statement on 23.3.2009 saying a panel will be appointed to advise the Secretary-General on the implementation of commitment of human rights accountability. You know Darusman of Indonesia has been appointed as Chairman of this particular Committee. Yasmin Sooka of South Africa and Steven Ratner of USA have submitted a Report in which it is said that 40,000 people have been killed. It was the first Report. The Commissioner of UNHRC, Madam Navanethem Pillay has appointed a Committee. That has submitted a Report on 11.2.2013. It is being discussed in UNHRC now.

At this juncture I want to tell you that the Human Rights Watch, internationally famous NGO of New York has submitted a 140-page Report. It has narrated the horrible stories of Sri Lankan Tamils. There were 75 incidents of rapes and sexual abuses of not only Tamil sisters, but also brothers shamefully. In the HRW's Report it is said that a 31-year old Tamil woman was picked up from her house by the CID personnel. That Sri Lankan girl said: "I was taken to the fourth floor of CID's office in Colombo. I was not given food or water. They abused me – we have to understand what does this mean. I was burned with cigarettes during questioning. I was asked as to where is my husband. I said my husband has gone abroad. They stripped me."

I am very sorry there is no other way for me. It is a Report. It has come in various media. "I was raped one night. Then second day two men came to my room and they ripped my clothes and both of them raped me the second day."

Another episode, Madam. A 23 year old male; that youth was caught in August 2012. He said, "I was tied up in a chair and they questioned about my recent travel abroad. They stripped me and started beating me with the electric wire. Later that night, I was raped first by one man, who came alone and anally raped me. The second and third nights, two men came to my room, they not only anally raped me but also forced me to have oral sex." This is what the Human Rights Watch reported on the issue.

Madam Speaker, out of 75 cases of rape and sexual abuse, I have only narrated two, which were reported in the Human Rights Watch Report. When such types of incidents took place in various countries, what action the world countries have taken? Bosnia, a breakaway group of Yugoslavia, South East of Europe witnessed similar type of rape and sexual abuse. A similar type of rape and sexual abuse was inflicted on the Bosnian woman. Thousands of Bosnian women have been sexually abused by the Serbian Security Forces.

This plight of Bosnian women went up to the International Court of Justice. Who has argued? It was argued by Francis Boyle, who knows the international law. This particular gentleman has argued and got the relief. This particular gentleman, on a comment over the HRW Report, says, "This widespread and systematic rape by Government of Sri Lanka – he says Government of Sri Lanka – against Tamils violates article 2b of 1948 Genocide Convention to which Sri Lanka is a party."

What is article 2b of International Convention on Genocide? It says, "Genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy in whole or in part national, ethnical, racial or religious group as such causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of this group." I think the hon. External Affairs Minister could understand. Not necessarily a particular person or a particular group of people could be killed, but even mental agony, even mental stress after these incidents could both show that is genocide. Sri Lankan Tamils were subjected to various heinous forms of genocide.

The Darusman Committee Report says 40,000 people have been killed. These were civilian killings. It is one form of genocide. The next one is systematic rape and sexual abuse as stated in the HRW Report is the second form of genocide. Now, I give you the evidence on the third form of genocide which is being committed even today by the Sri Lankan Army and Sri Lankan Government. It is nothing but cultural genocide wherein the language, the identity, the tradition and culture of Tamils are almost wiped out.

The rest of the world should know 367 Hindu temples have been destroyed. I got a list. I could read it but due to paucity of time I do not want to read. If you want I can submit to you later on. These 367 Hindu temples have been destroyed and 89 villages have been renamed in Sinhala. This story has already been written by my leader Dr. Kalaignar M Karunanidhi in the official organ 'Murasoli' DMK organ. He has also written to Government of India for remedial measures. They have changed the historical names. This is nothing but cultural genocide.

Here, I am reminded of the famous ...* who had destroyed thousands of books written by Albert Einstein and Sigmund Freud. Thousands of books had been burnt to ash in Berlin Library. Other symbols of Jewish culture had been destroyed. Similarly, Madam, Sri Lankans are destroying the symbols of race, language, culture and tradition. If ...* atrocities against Jews are called genocide, then, is it not necessary to call the Sri Lankan's atrocities against Sri Lankan Tamils as genocide?

What our religions say – various religions – Christianity, Islam and Hinduism? Bible says in Matthew Chapter 2 verses 16, Massacre of Innocents. King Herod of Bethlehem, who could not detect the child Jesus, killed all children because he thought that child Jesus was a threat to him. He ended his life with visible wounds crawling all over his body that caused scabies and died. This king is condemned by the Bible and by the entire world. Not only the Christianity but the entire world has spitted on his history. Islam, according to Sahih Muslim Book 019, Hadith 1319 and 4320 – women and children should not be killed even during the war. In Hinduism, Rig Veda verses 6-75: 15 says, that a warrior will go to hell if he attacks a child or a woman; do not attack or kill the old; do not attack from behind; and do not poison the tip of your arrow. This is what Rig Veda says. But, Madam, a war criminal, who is being accused of killing 40,000 citizens; a war criminal committed rape and sexual abuse of thousands of Tamil women; a war criminal who has demolished hundreds of temples, has been allowed in famous Tirumala Temple. How has this happen? How could it happen? A person who has demolished Hindu shrines, a person who has demolished the holy places of India, welcomed in India with a red carpet welcome. Do you know why is he coming? He is coming to wash his hands which is full of bloodstains of Tamils.

Madam, not only thousands of Sri Lankan Tamils had been killed but also the child, Balachandran, had been killed. To kill a 12-year old boy, one bullet has been injected on his chest and he died on the spot. Just 10 minutes back, he was eating some biscuits inside the bunker. He had been taken outside and within a very short distance a security person had injected one bullet on his chest. Even after his death, that man had injected four bullets on him. All together he injected five bullets on him. I am sure that the Sri Lankan Government and the person who killed this innocent boy have to suffer like – what Bible said – about the death of the King Herod.

Madam Speaker, I would like to refer to the Bosnian issue once again – Bosnia, a breakaway group of Yugoslavia; and there was an evidence of ethnic cleansing, and mass killings, rapes and assaults were repeated by various agencies. In Bosnia, 8,000 Muslims had been killed by the Serbian forces. This had happened in 1991. In 1992, the UN Secretary-General

himself appointed a Commission to investigate violation of international humanitarian law. In 1993, the UN Secretary-General established a Tribunal. The Tribunal is conducting a trial in which ...* and...* now facing the charge for killing 8,000 Bosnian Muslims. The Tribunal is still hearing, and by the end of this year, I think, the judgment will be pronounced shortly. In the same way, the war criminals of Sri Lanka should be punished. Is it not necessary, Madam?

I am reminded about Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. This great man, himself moved a Resolution against the South African apartheid. He was the root cause for dismissing South Africa out of the Commonwealth countries. If what Nehru had done, taking into account of the humanitarian issue, is correct, why not ...* be punished? If hundreds of people had been killed in Iran during the 2009 elections for the stand taken by it is correct; if ...*facing the UN Sanction for killing 1,300 Syrians for having voiced democracy is correct; if a warrant issued by the United Nations to ..* for having killed two lakh people is correct, why not ...* The same fate has to be faced by ...*

MADAM SPEAKER: I do not think you should be taking names like this.

SHRI T.R. BAALU : Okay, Madam. Why not the Sri Lankan administration? ...(*Interruptions*)

MADAM SPEAKER: I have told you right at the beginning. This will be expunged.

SHRI T.R. BAALU : Madam, there is a 140-page Human Rights Watch Report, which addresses to find out the ways and means of the Human Rights violations. I could only see that the root cause of this issue is the Administration there and they should be condemned.

MADAM SPEAKER: Please conclude, now.

SHRI T.R. BAALU : We all know about the conflict on this particular issue. It is nothing but deprivation of equal right and equal opportunities. We all know that because of the discrimination of Sri Lankan Tamils, the feelings have aroused. So, we have to find out the ways and means; and we have to get rid of this problem. The Government of India should not keep lukewarm. Their approach should be positive. There should be a clear-cut decision and the Government of India should go before the UNHRC to see that this particular issue is sorted out immediately.

Madam, what has happened to the 13th Amendment? What has happened to the Indo-Sri Lankan Agreement? The Indo-Sri Lanka Accord was signed between the greater leaders, Mr. Rajiv Gandhiji and Mr. Jayewardene 25 years ago. The Silver Jubilee Celebration is going on for this Accord. But what has happened till date? Nothing has happened. But what did his brother Defence Secretary say about one month back? He said: "If at all there is anything, I have to recommend for not holding and not having the 13th Amendment." The President of Sri Lanka himself said: "We are not for the 13th Amendment. Any decision, which is taken, will be home ground only. You could not expect the decision just like noodles that can be prepared within one minute."

How many years have they taken? For the past four years he has been saying it. But nothing is happening. That is why I have to make a request; I have to make a demand to the Government of India to see that there is a Resolution, there is an Amendment to the Resolution of the United Nations to see that proper accountability is fixed on the Government of Sri Lanka to implement the LLRC process. Not only that, the guilty should be punished. Those who are responsible for the Human Rights violation, there should be brought before the International Court of Justice. That is more important as far as the DMK party is concerned.

I would make a request. Madam Sonia Gandhi is here. With all her humanitarian approach and the pragmatic approach, the Government of India should come forward and see that such a Resolution is taken up before the UNHRC and ensure that solace is given to the Sri Lankan Tamils.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA (HAZARIBAGH): Madam Speaker, I rise to participate in this discussion with a very heavy heart.

Talking about a neighbouring country with which we have had the best of relationships in the past, is a very tricky business, and I am, therefore, grateful to you for having advised us about the sensitivity of the situation and to be restrained in the

language that we use.

Madam, I recall because I spent a couple of years in the Ministry of External Affairs that dealing with Sri Lanka was one of the easiest jobs while dealing with all our neighbours. Each one of them had some issue or the other but it was only with Sri Lanka that we could deal with on the basis of sovereign equality without any hang-ups either on their side or on our side and this whole House is aware of the fact that Sri Lanka is one of our closest neighbours that we have had a civilizational relationship and in modern times, one of the most cordial relationships with it. But at the same time the tragedy of the Sri Lankan Tamils is one of the greatest tragedies of our times.

When you are dealing with a neighbour, it becomes very difficult to remain untouched by the events and the goings on which take place in that country. We have been affected. People, who have been close to us in Sri Lanka, have been badly mauled in this war and the worst part is that the tragedy of the Sri Lankan Tamils continues. They have not only been massacred, abused, their human rights violated, atrocities committed, when the war was on, but it is also something, as my friend Mr. T.R. Baalu has said, which continues even today.

Anyone of us who saw the picture or watched the video of that young child, 12 year old, sitting in a bunker, then eating a biscuit and then his dead body lying on the ground with five bullet holes in his chest cannot remain unmoved by the tragedy of war. If the ugliest face of war was brought home to all of us in this whole long conflict, it is the picture of that innocent child being done to death in a manner which is clearly unacceptable.

Madam, my colleague Mr. Baalu has described the plight of the Tamils in great detail. I do not wish to revisit that issue in my intervention. But I would certainly like to raise issues of policy in this debate because I think it is important for this House to tell the Government of India what our policy towards Sri Lanka be in the changed circumstances. You are aware of the flip-flops in the past. I am not raising it in a spirit of partisanship but facts of history are facts of history and cannot be really denied. What happened when the LTTE emerged is well chronicled. We first encouraged them. Then we sent our Army after them in Sri Lanka to destroy them. They could not be destroyed. Madam, 2900 of our brave *jawans* and officers lost their lives on Sri Lankan soil. There is no memorial to them, Madam, in our country, not yet. These are the greatest losses that the Indian Army has ever suffered.

We were back to square one because this policy achieved nothing. Now, we are all aware that in early 2005, there was a change of Government in Sri Lanka. The present President of Sri Lanka came into office by a very narrow margin. They engaged the LTTE in a war. The war went on for a while. But, they chose the moment of the final assault on the LTTE very carefully and I want the House to take a note of this fact. The final assault against the LTTE was launched when we were all engaged in the General Elections of 2009. We were all busy, all of us here, including those who did not succeed and are outside. The whole country was engaged in what? In elections. It was at that point of time that the Government of Sri Lanka decided to launch its final assault against the LTTE and against the Tamils of Sri Lanka. They won a famous battle in which the LTTE chief was killed; his son was killed; thousands of Tamil civilians were butchered. Untold atrocities were committed and the war came to an end with the final annihilation of the LTTE in the middle of May when the results of the Lok Sabha elections were coming. You will remember that the counting for the Lok Sabha elections took place on the 16th of May that year. Unfortunately, the triumphalism became a State policy of Sri Lanka after that and the spirit of triumph continued even today.

What was happening, Madam, in the Government of India at that point of time when all our attention was on the elections. There is a very famous book written by Nitin Gokhale, who was the defence and strategic correspondent of NDTV, who covered this 33 month Eelam War in great detail in his book called 'Sri Lanka From War to Peace'. He has openly accused the Government of India of being the hidden hand behind the success of the Sri Lankan army against the LTTE. I am quoting from that book that: 'although in the initial days, the President of Sri Lanka was advised to seek a negotiated settlement with the LTTE, New Delhi saw merit in Sri Lankan President's argument that the LTTE is only biding its time to regroup and re-arm itself and that war was inevitable sooner than later'. New Delhi's only concern was that the war should be concluded before the summer of 2009 when India was expected to hold General Elections. The Sri Lankan President suggested to New Delhi the ideal of an informal exchange mechanism between the two countries and deputed a troika consisting of his two brothers, who were holding various positions, and his own Personal Secretary. India reciprocated immediately.

Our team consisted of the then National Security Advisor, the then Foreign Secretary and the then Defence Secretary. This was the troika on both sides which was coordinating action and the action was so well coordinated that the Indian Navy intervened and destroyed the Sea Tigers' vessels and broke their back. That was the strength of the LTTE and once their back was broken, there was nothing they could do.

More importantly, the idea that there was no military solution to the conflict, which had been the centrepiece of our country's policy, was abandoned. From that time until the end of the Eelam War, according to this book, we, in India, never again said publicly or even privately that there was no military solution to the conflict. The then NSA flew to Chennai in April, 2009 and met the then Chief Minister and the President of Shri Baalu's party. He flew to Sri Lanka. Nothing happened. They were being told one thing in Chennai and something else in a different language was being conveyed to the Sri Lankan Government. That was the duplicity of the policy that we were following at that point of time.

This is not the only evidence. The former Commander of the Indian Peace Keeping Forces, Major-General Ashok Mehta said in June, 2009 – this is all contemporary evidence - and I quote:

"We were complicit in the last phase of the offensive when a great number of civilians were killed. Having taken a decision to go along with the campaign, we went along with it all the way and ignored what was happening on the ground."

Then, ...* the Asia Director of Human Rights Watch â€¦.

MADAM SPEAKER: Hon. Member, I will have to expunge the name. Please be careful.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA : Okay, cut out the name.

I am just saying that the Asia Director of Human Rights Watch. He is not a Government functionary. He is the Head of the Human Rights Watch - Shri Baalu was quoting him – and he said that India had failed to act when the Red Cross warned it of an unimaginable humanitarian catastrophe. India could have saved many lives if it had taken a pro-active position.

The Asia-Pacific Director of Amnesty International said "India simply chose to support the Sri Lankan Government's motion that it could kill as many civilians as it would take to defeat the Tigers."

The most damning evidence is, of course, the statement of the then Defence Secretary of Sri Lanka, who also happens to be the brother of the Sri Lankan President, when he said on June 1, 2011 while explaining what the difference was between 1987 and 2009. My friends will remember that in 1987, there was a campaign in Vadamarachhi, which was known as Vadamarachhi Offensive, against the Tamil Tigers and when the war went on for a while, India intervened. It stopped the Sri Lankans from completely annihilating the Tamil Tigers. We know what happened. As a result of India's intervention, the 1987 Accord was signed, and the 13th Amendment to the Sri Lankan Constitution was carried out. The year of that amendment is 1987.

What does he say comparing 2009 with 1987? He said : "The primary problem in 1987 was that the relationship between the two countries -- India and Sri Lanka -- had not been managed very effectively, but this time the President of Sri Lanka went out of his way to keep New Delhi briefed about all the new developments taking place in Sri Lanka. He understood that while other countries could mount pressure on us through diplomatic channels or economic means, only India could influence the military campaign." He went on to add that : "The relationship between Sri Lanka and India was managed through maintaining a clear communication line at the very highest level in the Government." This is the Defence Secretary of Sri Lanka making a statement.

Further, after his re-election in January 2010, the Sri Lankan President makes a State visit to India in June 2010. I have here a copy of the Joint Declaration, which was issued then. India repeated the homilies that seek a peaceful settlement, negotiated settlement, but there is not a word in that Joint Statement about human-rights violations; about the atrocities committed on the civilian Tamils in the northern province; and their massacre. There is nothing in the Joint Statement.

12.58 hrs (Dr. Raghuvansh Prasad Singh *in the Chair*)

In a book, which was released in Sri Lanka, called Gota's War, the same sentiment is repeated, and that is evidence of the fact that unfortunately despite the fact that we knew fully well what was happening in Sri Lanka, we not only kept quiet, but we became complicit in the crimes against the Tamils. There is no more evidence that you need because this is confirmed both by Indians as well as Sri Lankans.

Sir, I do not know what my other colleagues were doing at that time when this war was going on, but, fortunately, I have been able to access some of the statements, which I made at that point while stating my party's approach to this problem.

13.00hrs

I had gone for campaigning in the Lok Sabha elections to Karnataka. This was at the end of April, 2009. So, what I am

saying in this House is not something that I am imagining today. I am quoting evidence from April, 2009. The Leader of the Party to which Dr. Thambidurai belongs had issued a statement saying 'that India should impose sanctions against Sri Lanka to stop them from carrying out these atrocities. It was in that context that media persons approached me in Bengaluru and this is what I said. I am repeating because this continues to be the policy of the Bharatiya Janata Party even today.

"We are not in favour of a separate nation created out of Sri Lanka, but totally against the butchering of Tamil civilians. They have to be protected. The Party, that is, my Party, is for giving rights to the Northern Tamils within the integrity and territorial unity of Sri Lanka. Our only concern was, is and will remain the plight of the civilian Tamil population who are suffering untold misery through military action of both sides – LTTE as well as Sri Lankan Government. India must make its intentions very clear to Sri Lanka. With diplomatic channels and high-powered delegations not working (and I just said the NSA was visiting Sri Lanka), the only option left is imposing sanctions on Sri Lanka if it goes ahead and disregards our advice."

This is what I had said on behalf of my Party echoing what the Leader of the Anna DMK had said. This is what we should have done.

Then, again, Sir, my friend, Shri Vaiko, who used to be a Member of this House, came in August, 2011 to invite me to join one of his protest rallies in Delhi against genocide of Tamils in Sri Lanka. In his meeting with me, he told me that he had met the Prime Minister and the Prime Minister had told him that India could not impose economic sanctions against Sri Lanka as it would encourage China to displace us as a strategic and trading partner of Sri Lanka. When I asked Shri Vaiko whether I could quote him publicly, he said I could. So, when I went to address his rally, I naturally pointed out this statement and said this represented helplessness on the part of the Government of India, and I do not agree that we should formulate our policy, especially neighbourhood policy, in a state of helplessness.

So, today, Sir, if I speak on behalf of my Party for the Tamils of Sri Lanka, I shed tears on their plight. It is not because this debate is taking place in the House today. It is because we truly feel for our brothers and sisters in Sri Lanka. We truly feel. I am sorry that there could be people who either through ignorance or through policy may not share this view.

Triumphalism will not work. Even after a war, peace is always negotiated. Therefore, even the war becomes irrelevant if there is no peaceful resolution of the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka. Sir, what is it that we would like the Government of India to do? I am making very specific suggestions.

We have friendly relations with Sri Lanka but we are a neighbour and therefore, the right to urge upon them, the right to advise them, the right to remonstrate with them, the right to argue with them does belong to India. Therefore, I will suggest the following points to the Government of India as points for action in future.

First, please urge the Government of Sri Lanka to withdraw its army from the Northern Province. The war ended four years ago. Sri Lanka should already have had normal law and order, duties assigned to the police. Let the army of Sri Lanka go back to the barracks. Let them not run the Northern Province on a daily basis and continue to commit the atrocities to which my friend Baalu has referred.

Second, let them sincerely implement the recommendations of the LLRC. The LLRC is Lessons Learnt and Reconciliation Commission. The Committee has made the recommendations. The Sri Lankan Government is not implementing those recommendations. Let them implement those recommendations.

Third, let them implement without any further delay the provisions of the 13th Amendment and more. The Sri Lankan Government in its discussion with us has always promised that they will implement the 13th Amendment plus. But I am saying this with some reservations. Sir, why am I saying it with reservations? In January this year, the Sri Lankan Government came out with Divi Neguma Bill which has actually further reduced the powers enjoyed by the provincial councils. Far from implementing the recommendations of the 13th Amendment, far from giving provinces 13th Amendment plus, they have come out with this Divi Neguma Bill which reduces the powers of the Provincial Councils and actually vests more powers in the Minister for Economic Development of Sri Lanka who happens to be another brother of the Sri Lankan President. When the Chief Justice of Sri Lanka Shi-rani Bandaranayake protested and said this was unconstitutional, she was summarily impeached. When an international commission was supposed to visit Sri Lanka, they did not allow that Commission to visit.

Fourth, let an impartial inquiry be held into the charges of genocide and atrocities against the civilian Tamils by the Sri Lankan forces during the Eelam war and it should be absolutely impartial inquiry with outsiders, people outside of Sri Lanka, so that the truth comes out.

Next and the fifth one is, let there be a clear commitment on the part of the Sri Lankan Government that after the inquiry, the guilty shall be punished. Sixth is, let India not merely vote in the UNHRC, let India take the lead in drafting the Resolution in the UNHRC. It is because I read a statement somewhere and perhaps the Prime Minister said it yesterday that we would look at the language of the Resolution and then decide whether we shall vote for it or not. No. Let India take the lead in drafting the language of that Resolution and carry it through the UNHRC.

Finally and very importantly, let India convey, in no uncertain terms, to the other nations in our neighbourhood and to the world at large that any undue interference by them in the affairs of Sri Lanka or in India-Sri Lanka relationship will not be acceptable to India. We are always afraid of big brother China that China will replace, China will replace. No. Foreign policy is not conducted out of fear. Foreign policy is conducted out of confidence. And let that confidence inform the foreign policy and the neighbourhood policy of the Government of India.

Sir, India is a country with a great deal of clout. But we seem to have lost that clout. We seem to have lost that momentum. That is why, these kinds of things are happening in our neighbourhood. I hope, there will be a debate in this House on what is happening in India's neighbourhood some day. I do not want to take – you already have rung the bell – your time today on our neighbourhood policy. I would like to say that when I assumed the charge of the External Affairs Ministry from my distinguished colleague Shri Jaswant Singhji, I went to seek the guidance of my Prime Minister, respected Shri Atal Behari Vajpayeeji. I said: "What should I do? How should I proceed with my task?" The advice that he gave me was: "Please take care of our neighbours first. Before India ventures out into the world, our neighbourhood must be India friendly ." Therefore, as Foreign Minister of India, my first visit was to Male, Sri Lanka was number two.

श्री सैयद शाहनवाज़ हुसैन (भागलपुर): माले में भी हालात खराब हैं।

श्री यशवंत सिन्हा : जी, वहां भी हालात खराब हैं। So, let India conduct its foreign policy with confidence, with $\text{Å}^{\text{©}}$ lan. There is a Urdu word called " इकबाल " । सरकारें इकबाल पर चलती हैं लेकिन हमारे इकबाल को क्या हो गया है? What has happened to India's Iqbal that nobody even in our neighbourhood is prepared to listen to us? It is a sorry state of affairs. But I hope, the Government will wake up to it. We have a young, very smart External Affairs Minister. I hope, he will do his best to regain the clout that India seems to have lost.

सभापति महोदय : सभा की अनुमति हो तो भोजनावकाश न करके इस चर्चा को जारी रखा जाए।

कई माननीय सदस्य : जी हां।

DR. M. THAMBIDURAI (KARUR): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I thank you for giving me this opportunity to participate in the discussion on the plight of the Tamils in Sri Lanka. The plight of the Tamils is not a recent one in Sri Lanka. It has been going on for the past 60 years. Many Tamil people are suffering in Sri Lanka because they are not given their proper dignity. They are not able to get whatever they want according to the Constitution.

The Tamil minorities are ill-treated by the Sinhalese rulers. That is the issue. That is the reason why our former Prime Minister Shri Rajiv Gandhi visited Sri Lanka in 1987 and India and Sri Lanka entered into an agreement called Rajiv Gandhi-Jayawardene Accord. This led to the 13th Amendment to the Sri Lankan Constitution. According to this Amendment, the Northern and Eastern Provinces of Sri Lanka were supposed to have been merged and to be made the homeland for Sri Lankan Tamils. I would like to know from the Government whether this Accord, initiated by Shri Rajiv Gandhi, is being implemented in Sri Lanka or not. Hon. Prime Minister yesterday said that it is not fulfilled. In that case, the question arises as to what our Government is doing.

While this Accord has not been implemented there, Tamil minorities in Sri Lanka are being killed on the ethnic issue. A UN report says that more than 40,000 Sri Lankan Tamil civilians were killed by Sinhala Army in the 2009 war apart from LTTE cadres. This is a lower figure. If you go into actual figures, about three lakh Sri Lankan Tamil people in Sri Lanka have been killed. It is genocide. India cannot shirk its responsibility. India is a country that stands for democracy. India is a country that stands for human rights. Those being the governing principles of our country, India should have taken serious action when our brothers in Sri Lanka suffered this kind of humiliation and stopped this kind of genocide. As Hon. Member Yashwant Sinha also said, even though India got many clues about the 2009 war, the genocide war, at that time our

Government failed to take necessary action. That is what I want to say.

Now, the Indian Government does not seem to be very serious about this. We know how the Prime Minister replied on this yesterday. But most of the other countries are very serious about this human rights violation and genocide and crimes committed by ...* against the Sri Lankan Tamils. That is a serious thing. I would request the Government to back the resolution which is going to come in UNHRC moved by the USA. We expect that that resolution must be fully supported by our Government.

Hon. Members explained many incidents about how Sri Lankan Tamils are humiliated, raped and killed; how they suffered this genocide. They were thrown out of their country, Sri Lanka. When they have gone back, they are not properly treated. They have not been given back their properties. They are suffering a lot. But Sri Lanka is not in a position to rehabilitate the Sri Lankan Tamils. That is the issue. For that, we want to take up certain issues. Our people have explained how they are ill-treated, how many people are killed, what atrocities are committed by the Sri Lankan Army headed by the ...* All those things are explained. It is a well-known fact. Everybody knows what happened there. But what do we have to do now? What is the action that needs to be taken? Hon. Member Yashwant Sinha has moved certain resolutions for Government's consideration. That is a good suggestion.

As soon as, she assumed office, hon. Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, Dr. Amma, already had a resolution passed in the Tamil Nadu Assembly on 8th June 2009 demanding the following actions which have to be taken seriously by the Central Government. First, the Central Government must take up this issue in the international fora such as the UNO. That was a resolution passed in the Tamil Nadu Assembly. It is also demanded that equal rights should be given to Tamil minorities in Sri Lanka. This is another resolution passed there at the same time. Further, she demanded that economic embargo must be imposed on Sri Lanka till that country settles all Tamil issues, till the problems of Sri Lankan Tamils are solved and they get their dignity and all the rights. Till then, India must see that the economic embargo remains imposed on Sri Lanka.

She further demanded in that Resolution that ...* should be declared as a war criminal and should be tried in the international court. This is the Resolution passed by the Tamil Nadu Assembly. It has to be taken seriously by this Government.

I want to narrate certain instances which took place on our Party's side, from my Party leader and the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu. She had taken so many steps to help Sri Lankan Tamils.

On 09.06.2011, when the NSA, Shri Shankar Menon met the hon. Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, she demanded that the Sri Lankan Tamils should be given equal rights. He met the Chief Minister before going to Sri Lanka. At that time, she demanded it and it should be done. On 14.06.2011, when our Chief Minister came to Delhi and met the hon. Prime Minister, she submitted a Memorandum, demanding that the Sri Lankan Tamils should be resettled and rehabilitated quickly. On 29.02.2012, she wrote to the hon. Prime Minister requesting him to support the US-backed UN Resolution, condemning Sri Lanka. On 06.11.2012, she stated that the Sri Lankan army personnel should not be given training in Tamil Nadu. Since they were misusing that, it needed to be stopped. On 16.07.2012, she wrote to the hon. Prime Minister demanding that Sri Lankan Air Force personnel should not be given training in any part of India, not just in Tamil Nadu. As recently as on 21.02.2013, she said that the Asian Games that are to be held in July in Tamil Nadu should not be held because the Sri Lankan players are also participating. These are the steps that the hon. Chief Minister has taken; she is an elected mass leader; she is conveying the feelings of the people of Tamil Nadu. So, the Government has taken these measures.

We know very well that the UN Panel Experts have called those events as grave assault on the entire regime of international law, and that since the conflicts are culmination of six decades of denial of rights and harassment of Tamils in Sri Lanka, given the nature of crimes committed by the Government of Sri Lanka, the investigation must be of international character.

Shri Sinha also said that when they constitute a Committee, it must consist of various other countries; they must go and visit, and impartially analyze what happened there; and whoever committed a crime, must be booked and tried in the international forum.

Another important thing is about the article which *The Indian Express* has published today. It is regarding Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting. It says that if that meeting is not moved out of Sri Lanka, the Commonwealth will abandon its enlightened commitments.

What they are telling is this. I want to quote the first sentence:

"Since 1991, the Commonwealth has been a potent force behind the scenes for democracy, rights and human dignity. For example, it has persuaded the leaders of several one-party states to adopt open multi-party systems and it has ensured that leaders who have lost elections do not cling onto power. This admirable record is about to be squandered. "

Why am I telling this? You know the real position in Sri Lanka. As the hon. Members said, even if any Supreme Court Judge of Sri Lanka says something, she is impeached there. So, there is anarchy in judiciary. The Press is not protected properly there. If anybody writes, he will be harassed and even killed. Many journalists are killed there. That is the situation that is prevailing in Sri Lanka. They do not have any right to speak anything. Their rights are curtailed there. That is the type of democracy that is going on there. There is anarchy going on there and autocratic system is going on.

So, if the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting is going to take place there, it will be an insult to Indian democracy. We are for moving it out of Sri Lanka. We cannot deny that right; since it is a neighbouring country, we cannot keep quiet; because human rights issue is involved here.

The great Mahatma Gandhi went to South Africa to protect the rights of the Indians there. He was born in this land and we claim him as the Father of our nation. We are living in that land. When Mahatma Gandhi could fight for the rights of the Indians living in South Africa, what is wrong in our fighting for the rights of Tamilians living in Sri Lanka? We should see that our Tamils are protected and given equal rights. Since it involves a neighbouring country we should not keep quiet in the name of having friendly relations with it. We do have friendly relations with them. We have also friendly relations with Pakistan also. But they have to reciprocate those relations, otherwise there is no use.

I would like to quote a statement made by hon. Chief Minister Ms. Jayalalitha on 4.10.2008. In 2008 she was not in power. She said "It was a considerable shock that I saw a Media report that over hundred Sri Lankan military personnel had undergone one month long secret training course in Haryana". Besides this, our Government has given a lot of latest army equipment to Sri Lanka. I would like to know for what purpose it was given. Can we give the same thing to Pakistan? Nobody can deny that terrorism is there in Pakistan also. To control terrorism in Sri Lanka if we train these people under some agreement, they will definitely misuse it. They have used all the weapons to liquidate our Tamil civilians there. We are against terrorism. We are not for terrorism. We do not want a separate Tamil Eelam.

Shri Baalu has talked about Eelam. I do not know how he is going to propagate it while being in the UPA Government. This Party has been in power for the last 18 years. From 1999 onwards, for five years, the NDA was in the Government. Now also, it is in power since 2004. Even Congress Party could not continue to remain in power for 15 years. BJP could not continue to be in the Government for six years but DMK has been continuously in power at the Centre for the last 18 years. Who is responsible for this for this plight of Sri Lankan Tamils in Sri Lanka?...(*Interruptions*)

सभापति महोदय : माननीय सदस्य के अलावा किसी की भी बात रिकार्ड में नहीं जाएगी।

...(व्यवधान) *

DR. M. THAMBIDURAI : I would like to know from the Central Government whether it can deny the report of training the Sri Lankan Army here. Who is part of the Government? Let them answer whether they are part of the Government or not. Why are they then raising this issue? I am telling the fact. Let them deny it....(*Interruptions*) Sir, I would like to make a specific point.

In 1998-99 I was a Minister in Shri Vajpayee Government.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please conclude.

DR. M. THAMBIDURAI : I would like to make clear certain points. We had a difference of opinion with Shri Vajpayee on Cauvery issue because that affected Tamil Nadu. On the advice of my Leader Dr. Amma, I resigned from the Cabinet. That was the spirit I showed on that day on behalf of my party. Can they do that? I did not serve in the Government even for one year but I quit the position because Tamil Nadu's interest was involved....(*Interruptions*) I am not yielding.

With regard to ...** issue..

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please conclude.

DR. M. THAMBIDURAI : I am just going to conclude, Sir. Sir, yesterday, the hon. Prime Minister in his speech referred to

the wording of the Resolution that has been moved in UNHRC, Geneva against Sri Lanka. Even Mr. Sinha has also mentioned it. It is our duty. We have to initiate it. Even Shrimati. Indira Gandhiji and Rajiv Gandhiji took a lot of efforts to protect the human rights in various countries. When there was a problem in East Pakistan and Bengali-speaking people suffered, Mrs. Indira Gandhi helped them a lot. Similarly, Rajiv Gandhi went to Sri Lanka to help our Tamil people. Therefore, we have to unite ourselves because we have to fight for them. Our hon. Chief Minister has passed a Resolution unanimously in the Assembly of Tamil Nadu to see that whoever has committed the war crimes, must be taken to task and put behind bars. The Prime Minister also referred to the language of the Resolution against Sri Lanka which is going to be moved in UNHRC by USA. Have our Members said that it is our prime duty and we have to initiate action? We are Indians. We are the greatest democracy of the world. We are the champions of the human rights. We are the champions of democracy. It is high time that India must take the initiative to take the Resolution against the war crimes committed by the ...*. This Resolution has to be passed.

Therefore, I humbly request our Union Government to take necessary steps to see that the Accord between Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and Mr. Jayawardhane must implemented *in toto*. It is because as long as militancy was there, they exploited us. They gave wrong information to India. Mr. Sinha has also said that. After eliminating LTTE, they have taken a different stand and have gone to China for having diplomatic relations against India. China has given 9 billion U.S. dollars to ...* the Sri Lankan Government. India is not taking note of how this relationship is developing. We are also suffering as far as relationship with Maldives is concerned. Even with Pakistan, we are suffering. I agree it is essential to develop relations with our neighbours but it cannot be at the cost of minority Tamils in Sri Lanka who are facing a lot of problems.

Therefore, I would request once again the hon. Prime Minister and even Shrimati Sonia Gandhiji to accept whatever our hon. Chief Minister has said. It has to be taken up *in toto* and that has to be implemented in the interest of Sri Lankan Tamils.

श्री मुलायम सिंह यादव (मैनपुरी): सभापति महोदय, आज तमिलों के साथ अत्याचार हो रहा है तथा उनके बच्चों, महिलाओं और विधवाओं के साथ हिंसा हो रही है, इसके संबंध में बालू साहब और सिन्हा साहब ने काफी चर्चा की है, एक ही मुश्किल सवाल हमारी विदेश नीति का है। इस संबंध में हमारी विदेश नीति शुरू से ऐसी रही है, जब नेहरू जी ने भी घोषणा की थी और देश में सारे नेताओं ने घोषणा की थी कि यदि दुनिया में कहीं भी मानवाधिकारों का हनन होगा तो भारत चुप नहीं रहेगा। यह हमारी नीति है और उस नीति का पालन न करने के कारण ही आज तमिलों के ऊपर अत्याचार हो रहे हैं, यह आपको स्वीकार करना पड़ेगा। हमारे श्रीलंका से बहुत अच्छे रिश्ते थे। इस पूरे सदन को याद करना चाहिए कि जब चीन ने हिंदुस्तान पर हमला किया था तो दुनिया का कोई देश ऐसा नहीं था, जिसने चीन के संबंध में उनकी इच्छा के विरुद्ध कुछ कहने की हिम्मत की और न किसी ने हिंदुस्तान का साथ दिया, तब अकेला श्रीलंका ऐसा देश था, जिसने कहा था कि चीन को तत्काल अपनी सेनाओं को हटाना चाहिए, हमारे उससे बहुत गहरे संबंध थे और श्रीलंका हमारा इतना साथ देने वाला देश था और श्रीलंका का साथ देने वाला हिंदुस्तान था। फिर आखिर इतने समय से यह स्थिति क्यों चली आ रही है? कोई एकाध साल से नहीं बल्कि कई सालों से तमिलों के ऊपर अत्याचार हो रहा है, हिंदुस्तान में चाहे कोई भी सरकार रही हो, उसने इस बारे में गंभीरता से न तो कोई कदम उठाया है और न ही बातचीत की है।

महोदय, यह मामूली बात नहीं थी कि जब श्री राजीव गांधी श्रीलंका गये थे तो उनके सैनिकों ने उन पर ही हमला कर दिया। वह वहां सैल्यूट लेने गये थे, लेकिन किसी तरह से उनकी जान बच गई। फिर हिंदुस्तान सावधान क्यों नहीं हुआ। क्या उसके बाद भी उनकी नीयत समझ में नहीं आई कि तमिलों की वजह से हिंदुस्तान के प्रति श्रीलंका की नीति बदल गई। लंका हमारा इतना खास है, कई मायनों में हिंदुस्तान के एक साथ था, सांस्कृतिक दृष्टि से भी साथ था। मैं लंबी बात नहीं कहूंगा। सिन्हा साहब, बालू साहब और एआईएडीएमके के नेता ने विस्तार से कहा है, उन बातों को हम दोहराना नहीं चाहते हैं। इतने वर्षों के बाद सरकार क्या कोई कदम उठा रही है? तमिलों के खिलाफ इतना अत्याचार हुआ, बच्चों के हुआ, महिलाओं के साथ हुआ और हो रहा है। भारत सरकार तमिलों के लिए वार्षिक मदद करती है। आप भी सरकार में रहे हैं और हम भी रहे हैं। लेकिन क्या वजह है कि इसके बाद भी तमिलों के ऊपर इतना अत्याचार हो रहा है? वे शिक्षा में क्यों पिछड़ गए हैं। वहां येजंगार नहीं मिल रहा है। वे आर्थिक दृष्टि से सामाजिक दृष्टि से और शैक्षिक दृष्टि से पिछड़ते चले जा रहे हैं और कमजोर होते चले जा रहे हैं और उसके बाद उनके ऊपर इतना अत्याचार हो रहा है। हमारी यह नीति है कि दुनिया में कहीं भी मानव अधिकारों का हनन होगा तो हिंदुस्तान चुप नहीं रहेगा। यह हमारे देश की नीति है। आप विदेश नीति के बारे में कह रहे हैं, आप बताइए कि विदेश नीति क्या है? सदन में कोई खड़ा हो कर कहे, स्पष्ट बताए कि सरकार की विदेश नीति क्या है?

सभापति जी, सत्ताई यह है कि कुछ समझ में नहीं आता है कि हमारे देश की विदेश नीति क्या है? किस देश के साथ क्या रिश्ते हैं? विदेश नीति तो सबसे महत्वपूर्ण नीति है। विदेश नीति का मतलब है कि दुनिया के जितने देश हैं, उन देशों से हमारे अच्छे रिश्ते हों। दुनिया में हमारा कम से कम विरोध हो। यह कोशिश करनी चाहिए।

सभापति जी, मैंने एक बार कहा था कि हमारा कांग्रेस पार्टी की नीतियों से विरोध है, इंदिरा जी की नीतियों से हमारा बहुत विरोध रहा था, समाजवादियों का बहुत विरोध रहा था, लेकिन विदेश नीति के मामले में इंदिरा जी सबसे चतुर थीं। उन्होंने यह साबित कर दिया था। जब बंगलादेश में अत्याचार हुआ और बंगलादेश से यहां लाखों लोग आए तो हिंदुस्तान के लिए समस्या पैदा हो गई थी। फिर इंदिरा जी ने किसको चुना? जय प्रकाश जी को चुना। उनको दुनिया में भेजा और उन्होंने प्रचार किया कि बताइए कि हिंदुस्तान क्या करे क्योंकि बंगलादेश के लाखों लोग आ रहे हैं, उनको ठहराने का, खाने का, दवाई का तमाम इंतजाम करना पड़ रहा है, हिंदुस्तान पर दबाव है। अब हिंदुस्तान क्या कदम उठाए? पूरी दुनिया के अंदर एक वातावरण बना दिया। आज जो तमिलों के साथ हो रहा है, क्या विदेश मंत्री, प्रधान मंत्री या कोई यह बताएगा कि क्या उन्होंने दुनिया के देशों में प्रचार किया कि तमिलों के साथ ये अत्याचार हो रहा है। इसमें नाकामयाब रहे या नासमझी रही, कोई महत्व नहीं दिया गया। कोई न कोई ऐसा है, जिसकी वजह से दुनिया को नहीं बता पाए कि तमिलों के ऊपर अत्याचार हो रहा है। अगर हमें कोई कदम उठाना भी पड़े तो दुनिया के देश यह तो कहें कि हिंदुस्तान ठीक कर रहा है। हम सब कुछ दे रहे हैं, लंका को दे रहे हैं।

लंका हमारा मित्र रहा है। सबसे अच्छा मित्र रहा है। मुसीबतों के दिनों में दुनिया में सबसे पहले खड़ा हुआ है। पड़ोसी देशों से अच्छे संबंध बनाए रखने की हमारी नीति

तो हैं और नीति रखनी पड़ेगी, लेकिन साथ में श्रीलंका की यह समस्या इतनी गंभीर होती चली गई कि हमारे प्रधान मंत्री पर भी हमला हुआ। तमिलों के पर लगातार अत्याचार हो रहे हैं। अभी सिन्हा साहब और बालू साहब ने जिक् किया है कि कितना दर्दनाक और हृदयविदारक अत्याचार हो रहा है और हम चुप हैं। अभी तक सरकार की तरफ से कोई भी ऐसा बयान नहीं आया है कि हमारी सरकार कहीं सक्रिय हैं। नहीं तो अभी बताएं कि सरकार ने क्या-क्या किया है? लंका की सरकार से क्या बातचीत की है? हम चाहते हैं कि बातचीत से ही मामला सुलझे। कोई ऐसा कदम नहीं उठाना पड़े जो ठीक न हो। लंका हमारा पड़ोसी देश है। मुसीबतों के दिनों में एक बार साथ दे चुका है। तमिल विधवाओं की हालत ठीक नहीं है। सरकार ने क्या किया है? सरकार क्यों चुप है? आप लंका से बात क्यों नहीं करते हैं? वहां एक डैलिगेशन क्यों नहीं जाता है? वहां कोई डैलिगेशन नहीं भेजा गया है। सरकार चुप-चाप है। मैंने तो पहले भी कहा है और अब भी सिन्हा साहब कह रहे हैं, खड़े हो कर बताइए कि आपकी विदेश नीति क्या है। बताएं कि इन्होंने किस देश के साथ क्या किया है? प्रधान मंत्री जी ने दुनिया का दौरा तो बहुत किया है। यह दौरा करना अच्छा है, दूसरों से अच्छे संबंध बनाने की कोशिश की गयी है। जैसा मैंने अभी कहा और कई बार कह चुका हूँ कि सरकार सावधान हो, दुनिया में एक देश बता दो, जो आपका मित्र हो। अच्छे सम्बन्ध हो सकते हैं, मैं बार-बार कह रहा हूँ, दुनिया में कोई भी मित्र देश आज हिंदुस्तान का नहीं है। हमारा देश बहुत विशाल है और उस देश के लोगों पर इतना बड़ा अत्याचार करने की हिम्मत श्रीलंकाई सरकार करे, यह मामूली बात नहीं है, इसमें कहीं न कहीं हमारी कमजोरी है। आंतरिक कमजोरी या बाहरी कमजोरी, कहीं न कहीं कमजोरी है। इस बारे में मजबूती के साथ कदम क्यों नहीं उठाया जा रहा है? विदेश नीति के बारे में आपने ठीक कहा कि कमजोरी से विदेश नीति नहीं चलेगी। विदेश नीति के लिए साहस चाहिए, इच्छाशक्ति चाहिए, संकल्प चाहिए, यह काम आपको करना चाहिए। सारी दुनिया में क्या यह मजाक नहीं है कि ये लोग हिंदुस्तान के रहने वाले हैं और कितने ही सालों से वहां बसे हैं, उनके ऊपर अत्याचार हो रहा है और हिन्दुस्तान जैसा देश देख रहा है, लगातार देख रहा है। इसलिए आज यह महत्वपूर्ण सवाल उठा है, जिसके बारे में यशवंत सिन्हा साहब ने भी अपने विचार कहे, बालू साहब ने भी कहा और हमारे एआईडीएमके के नेता ने भी कहा। हम आपसे कहना चाहते हैं कि लंका में तमिलों को अच्छे मकान, बच्चों की शिक्षा, स्वास्थ्य की व्यवस्था, रोजगार, व्यवसाय एवं नौकरी दी जाए। इस संबंध में सरकार को मजबूती के साथ कदम उठाना चाहिए। वहां उनके ऊपर अत्याचार बंद हों। यह आपकी नीति होनी चाहिए।

हम चाहते हैं कि हमारे सभी पड़ोसी देशों से अच्छे संबंध रहें। मैं कह ही चुका हूँ कि वह विदेश नीति सफल है जिसमें दुनिया के ज्यादा से ज्यादा देश हमारे हमदर्द बनें, सहायक बनें और हमारे विरोधी कम से कम हों, तब हमारी विदेश नीति सफल होगी। हम यही कह सकते हैं कि यह समय ऐसा नहीं है। तमिलों के ऊपर अत्याचार हो रहा है। हम वहीं तक सीमित रहना चाहते हैं मतलब उन पर अत्याचार बंद हो। सरकार क्या चाहती है, हम लोगों से भी पूछिए, हम उनके साथ हैं, हम उनका साथ देंगे। तमिलों के ऊपर जो अत्याचार हो रहा है, वह बंद होना चाहिए। जब हमारी नीति यह है कि दुनिया में सब जगह मानवाधिकारों का हनन बंद हो, हम उसके खिलाफ रहेंगे और पहले भी रहे हैं, लेकिन अब क्या हो गया है? मंत्री जी खड़े होकर बतायें कि हमारी विदेश नीति क्या है? तमिलों के ऊपर जो अत्याचार हुआ, विधवाओं और बच्चों के खिलाफ जो हुआ, जिसके बारे में यहां कहा गया, मैं उसको दोहराना नहीं चाहता हूँ, उसके संदर्भ में आपने क्या कदम उठाए हैं, लंका की सरकार से क्या-क्या बात हुई, कितनी बार बात हुई, लंका की सरकार ने क्या कहा? यह सदन के सामने आना चाहिए कि सरकारी स्तर पर इस संदर्भ में क्या प्रयास किए गए? यह हम जानना चाहते हैं। इस अवसर पर हम आज इतना ही कहेंगे कि सबसे पहले यह कोशिश करनी चाहिए और साफ कहना चाहिए कि तमिलों के इलाके से लंका की सेना को हटाया जाए, जब सेना इस्तेमाल की जा रही है, तो हम लोग चुप क्यों हैं? हिंदुस्तान चुप नहीं रहेगा, पहले से हमारी यह नीति रही है कि दुनिया में कहीं भी अत्याचार होगा, तो हिंदुस्तान चुप नहीं रहेगा तो इस मामले में हिंदुस्तान चुप क्यों है, विदेश मंत्री चुप क्यों हैं, प्रधानमंत्री जी चुप क्यों हैं और माननीय सोनिया गांधी जी आप चुप क्यों हैं? आपको चुप नहीं रहना चाहिए। आपको भी आवाज उठानी चाहिए। आपके बिना इस सरकार की हिम्मत नहीं है, इस सरकार पर आपका पूरा हाथ है, नियंत्रण तो पूरा आपका है, ये आपकी बात नहीं काट सकते हैं। आप बुलाकर बात कीजिए, प्रधानमंत्री जी से बात कीजिए, विदेश मंत्री जी पीछे बैठे हुए हैं, उन्होंने अभी तक क्या किया है? तमिलों पर हो रहे अत्याचार के खिलाफ क्या उन्होंने अपना रोष प्रकट किया है, क्या चिट्ठी लिखी है, क्या संपर्क किया है? यह आज सदन के सामने आना चाहिए। यह हमारी मांग है।

SHRI S. ALAGIRI (CUDDALORE): Hon. Chairman, thank you. I want to convey my opinion regarding the condition of Sri Lankan Tamils and their sufferings. Even in the 21st century, a major section of Tamil people have suffered very much without any political rights in a nation which is very nearby to the Indian side, which is Sri Lanka. In this condition, the UPA alliance partner, the DMK, is holding a Conference in Delhi to support the Sri Lankan Tamils. We, the Members of Parliament of the Congress Party from Tamil Nadu, congratulate the DMK for its efforts and we wish them to succeed .

Sir, in Sri Lanka, the Tamils have not attained any position in the State Administration. They have only in the District Administration. They have not got equal rights with the Sinhalese people have in Sri Lanka. It is highly condemnable. Throughout the world, wherever the Tamils are living, they are raising their voices to support the Sri Lankan Tamils. They want that the Tamils in Sri Lanka would get their political rights. They believe that it is possible only by India. The Indian Government alone do that work for the Sri Lankan Tamils. So, India should support the American Resolution in the UN Human Rights Council. Previously, India did it. For that action, we thank the hon. Prime Minister. Crores and crores of Tamils want India should support the American Resolution in the UN Human Rights Council.

In this connection, I would like to say that I have my own doubts about the American Resolution. America is not a Godfather for human rights. It did so many trespassings in Vietnam, Iraq and so many countries. When the war was going on in Sri Lanka very severely, at that time, America was very much silent but now it is bringing a Resolution in the UNHRC. Anyhow, we should utilise the opportunity to support the Resolution. But my doubt is America is not for the Sri Lankan Tamils. America is afraid of China because China's place is very much strong on Sri Lanka. So, America wants to pressurise Sri Lanka to come down and to take a neutral position. Anyhow, we should utilise the American Resolution and support the Resolution.

Sir, in the Congress Party, we are totally supporting the Sri Lankan Tamils. We have participated in their sufferings. Our hon. Prime Minister, the Indian Government gave more than Rs.1000 crore to the Sri Lankan Tamil people for constructing their houses, for their education and livelihood at that time. Then only, they reached a good condition even after the war. For this, I would like to congratulate the Indian Government and our Prime Minister.

In Tamil Nadu, some of the extremist outfits have charged the Congress Party and the Indian Government rather than Sri Lankan Government and Rajapaksa. I am not able to understand why they charged us in such a way. They have been telling that Rajiv Gandhi was murdered by LTTE people, and so, the UPA Government and the Congress Party does not care to provide any security or help to the Sri Lankan Tamils. That is absolutely wrong. Congress has a democratic vision. It never see any man in terms of his caste, language, religion and colour. Even when LTTE murdered our Rajiv Gandhi, we saw them as terrorists, not as Tamil. This august House should remember that. Our beloved leader, Sonia ji, wrote a letter to the hon. President to reduce the Nalini's sentence from death to life. The House has to remember that when a dear one in our family is lost, would anyone think on those lines? But our Madam Soniyaji has done that by writing a letter to the President of India to reduce the sentence of Nalini. Extremist outfits in Tamil Nadu should realise the magnanimity of our Madam.

Also, we lost our leader, Indira Gandhi due to terrorism; we also lost Mahatma Gandhi due to terrorism. When Indira Gandhi was murdered, we saw men who killed her as terrorists not as Sikh. We have selected hon. Manmohan Singh as the Prime Minister, even though he belongs to the Sikh community. We see him, first of all, as an Indian; then, we see him as a Congress man; then, he is a genius, an economist, etc. What I would like to emphasise here is that Congress never see any person by his religion, language or anything else. So, I want to tell my friends that India is the only nation which extends support and livelihood to the Sri Lankan Tamils.

Sri Lanka is under the shadow of China. Hon. Yashwant Sinha has expressed here that our external policy should be framed by courage. Yes, that is correct. At the same time, our external policy should also be framed by reality also. If we miss the reality, then, the result will be very bad. Now, the Chinese and Pakistan Governments are very close to Sri Lanka. If India brings in any proposal or resolution in the UN, China would use its veto power. We do not fear that. But anyhow we should know that the Sri Lankan problem would be solved across the table where India and Sri Lanka only should be there. The other super powers or any other neighbouring countries are not 100 per cent committed to this cause. The way we have been solving our problem with Pakistan across the table, the same way we should bring peace to our brothers in Sri Lanka where Sri Lankan President and Indian Prime Minister should sit across the table to solve the problem. That would be very useful.

Sir, I want to suggest one thing. The hon. Minister of External Affairs, Shri Salman Khurshid, is here. In a statement, a week ago, he expressed that Sri Lanka is our friendly country. I regret that. We are not accepting it. Sri Lanka is never our friendly country. We know that. When Rajiv Gandhi went there, in the parade he was attacked by Ceylon security people. If they are our friends, how can they treat our Tamil brothers in Sri Lanka as second rank citizens? In the Twenty-first century the slavery is vanishing from everywhere. But in Sri Lanka slavery is there. Our Sri Lankan Tamils are treated as second rank citizens there.

I want to convey my opinion in this august House that India is the only source to settle the Sri Lankan problem and offered equal rights to the Tamil people at par with Sinhalese. They are in majority and our people are in minority there. Among the majorities, minorities should not live with equal respect. In India we have succeeded in this regard. In India there is no majority, no minority. But in Sri Lanka the ethnic difference is still existing. So, India should check that inequality and control the Sri Lankan Government to bring equality to the Tamils.

Sir, the hon. Member, Shri T.R. Baalu, quoted so many versions from Gita, Bible and Quran. I want to convey that the higher authorities in Sri Lanka are not even ready to follow Buddhism. Then how can they be ready to read Quran, Bible and Gita or Vedas. That is not possible.

Anyhow, our learned and genius Prime Minister can bring to the notice of the Sri Lankan Government and insist upon them to implement the 13th Amendment. Sir, 13th Amendment was made by our eternal Leader, Rajiv Gandhi. If Rajiv Gandhi-Jayawardane Accord was accepted by LTTE leader, the problem would not have happened in Sri Lanka. After 30 years, I can proudly say that Rajiv Gandhi-Jayawardane Accord is the only solution to settle the Sri Lankan problem. So, our Indian Government should take necessary steps to insist upon the Sri Lankan Government and influence the Sri Lankan Government by using India's influence and then only the Sri Lankan Tamils would live equal to Sinhalese and other people there.

14.00hrs

श्री दारा सिंह चौहान (घोसी): सभापति महोदय, आपने मुझे श्रीलंका में वर्ग विशेष पर जो हमला हो रहा है, उस पर बोलने का अवसर दिया है, इसके लिए मैं आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ। आज पूरा देश, खासकर भारत जो है, श्रीलंका में जिस तरीके से मानवाधिकार का हनन हो रहा है, उसकी धजियां उड़ाई जा रही हैं, उसको तार-तार किया जा रहा है। आज भारत, पूरा सदन इससे विनित है। इस नाते पूरी दुनिया में मानवाधिकार का अगर प्रबल पक्षधर कोई है तो वह भारत है। आज जिस तरीके से श्रीलंका में वर्ग विशेष के लोगों के ऊपर हमला किया जा रहा है, उनको मारा जा रहा है, यह पूरा देश और दुनिया जानती है। मैं समझता हूँ कि एक सुनियोजित षडयंत्र हो रहा है, श्रीलंका में जो वर्ग विशेष के लोग रह रहे हैं, उनको सुनियोजित तरीके से समूल उन्हें खत्म करने की साजिश हो रही है। हमने कई फोटोग्राफ्स में देखा और लोग भी जानते होंगे कि जिस तरीके से बच्चों की निर्मम हत्या वहां हुई है, निश्चित रूप से महिलाओं के साथ जो बलात्कार हुए हैं, उन्हें गोली मार कर मौत के घाट सुला दिया गया, बहुजन समाज पार्टी इसकी घोर निन्दा करती है।

14.03hrs (Mr. Deputy Speaker in the Chair)

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपके माध्यम से सदन में कहना चाहूंगा कि भारत ने हमेशा पड़ोसी देश श्रीलंका होने के नाते हर मुसीबत में भारत ने श्रीलंका का समर्थन एवं सपोर्ट किया है। अगर आपने उसकी हर मुसीबत में मदद की है तो मैं बहुजन समाज पार्टी की तरफ से सरकार से मांग करता हूँ कि अगर आपने मुसीबत में उनका समर्थन एवं सहयोग किया है तो आज श्रीलंका में जिस तरीके से वर्ग विशेष के साथ सुनियोजित षडयंत्र हो रहा है, कत्लेआम हो रहा है, उसकी सुरक्षा की जिम्मेदारी भी भारत सरकार की है। अगर इच्छाशक्ति है तो निश्चित रूप से वहां पर जो मानवाधिकार की धजियां उड़ाई जा रही हैं, उसको रोका जाए। जो पशुवत व्यवहार उनके साथ श्रीलंका में तमिलों का हो रहा है, उसको रोकने की कोशिश होनी चाहिए।

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं अपनी बात को खत्म करते हुए इतना कहना चाहता हूँ कि भारत सरकार को इस घटना को गंभीरता से लेते हुए, जो वर्ग विशेष के साथ वहां पर कत्लेआम, पशुवत व्यवहार हो रहा है, यह तभी रुक पाएगा, जब दुनिया का सबसे मजबूत मानवाधिकार का जो प्रबल पक्षधर है, भारत सरकार को उसमें हस्तक्षेप करना होगा।

श्री जगदीश शर्मा (जहानाबाद): उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, काफी महत्वपूर्ण विषय पर चर्चा हो रही है और आपने मुझे बोलने का अवसर दिया, इसके लिए मैं आपका आभारी हूँ। चर्चा का विषय बहुत ही महत्वपूर्ण और गंभीर है। तमिल हमारे भाई हैं और श्रीलंका में ये कोई विदेशी नहीं हैं। ये श्रीलंका के स्थायी निवासी हैं और वहां इनका रहने का जन्मसिद्ध अधिकार है। हमारी जो विदेश नीति है, जो हमारे पड़ोसी मुल्क हैं, उनके साथ व्यवहार, सद्भाव, मैत्री का संबंध, हमारी विदेश नीति की जड़ में सद्भाव और अच्छे संबंध का मामला होता है।

महोदय, अभी कुछ देर पहले आदरणीय यशवंत सिन्हा जी कह रहे थे कि राज इकबाल से चलता है। जब किसी सरकार का इकबाल खत्म हो जाएगा, तो देश का भूगोल नहीं बचेगा। श्रीलंका के संबंध में सभी जानते हैं, देश के बड़े नेता परम् आदरणीय राजीव गांधी की शहादत हुयी। जिस देश के लिए शहादत हुयी, आज उसी देश में जो हमारे तमिल भाई रहते हैं, उनके साथ नरसंहार हुए। अखबार, मैगजीन टेलीविजन, आदि सारे मीडिया के स्रोत पर जो दिखलाया गया, वह बहुत ही हृदय विदारक है। इस सदन में डीएमके और एआईएडीएमके दोनों के माननीय सदस्य आपस में भिड़ रहे थे। हमारे सामने चुनौती है कि जो तमिल श्रीलंका में हैं, उनके मान-सम्मान और स्वास्थ्य की रक्षा कैसे हो। हम आपस में लड़ना-भिड़ना बंद करें। तमिलों की श्रीलंका में जो बुनियादी जरूरत है, उन जरूरतों को पूरा करने के लिए हम सबको एकजुट होकर उनके साथ रहना है।

महोदय, हम आपके माध्यम से एक राय सदन को देना चाहते हैं। अभी जो नरसंहार हुए, उसकी पूरी इंडिपेंडेंट इन्वैस्टिगेशन हो, अंतर्राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर इन्वैस्टिगेशन हो और जो उसमें दोषी लोग हैं, जिन्होंने नरसंहार को अंजाम दिया है, उनको कड़ी से कड़ी सजा मिले, ताकि भविष्य में कोई ऐसी हुकूमत इतना बड़ा जल्लाद होने का काम नहीं करे, उसे सबक मिले।

महोदय, इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं अपनी बात को विराम देता हूँ।

PROF. SAUGATA ROY (DUM DUM): Sir, I join to speak on the discussion under Rule 193 moved by Shri T.R. Baalu and also by Dr. Thambidurai.

I can understand the anguish of Shri T.R. Baalu at the persecution of fellow Tamils but we feel the same way about the Bengalis demonstrating in Shahbag in Dhaka against the war criminals. When we share the same language even though it is a different country, here it is the question of emotional ties. That is why, we, as Bengalis, are with the people demonstrating against fundamentalist forces and war criminals in Shahbag, Dhaka.

But I do not understand one thing about Shri T.R. Baalu. If you are so anguished about what is happening to the Sri Lankan Tamils and the Government of India's attitude about it, why are you still in the Ministry? We, the TMC, had differences with

the Government on hike in the diesel price and on the FDI issue, we left the Government. What is the big problem? Why are you sticking to the Government? That is the question which I would like him to answer.

Sir, I refer to the caution given by the hon. Speaker. She said that we should not talk irresponsibly about a neighbouring country, another country. It is true that Sri Lanka is another country; and as a policy, we should not interfere or talk about internal affairs of another country.

Foreign Policy has always been dictated by national interest; and there has always been a consensus on Foreign Policy. So, I did not like the tenor of Yashwant Sinha's speech where he tried to score brownie points. Maybe, he is still nostalgic about his stint in the Foreign Ministry where he flew abroad every two weeks. It should not have happened. Let us briefly trace the problem of Tamils in Sri Lanka.

Sir, as you know, Sri Lanka is separated by a 22 mile Palk Strait from Rameswaram to Dhanushkodi. People have swam across that Palk Strait also. The relations are very close. Now, there are several types of Tamils in Sri Lanka. One is the Plantation Tamils, those who are in Kandy doing tea plantations. The others are the Jaffna Tamils. The Jaffna Tamils have been there for many years; and in the North, the Jaffna Tamils are mainly Hindus and Christians. There are big Christian Churches as well as Hindu Temples in the North. In the North-East, the Tamils are mainly Muslims. So, there is also a difference among Tamils in Sri Lanka.

Now, it is true that ever since Independence, Tamils have not got their proper rights in Sri Lanka. Earlier, there was the Democratic Party called TULF (Tamil United Liberation Front) led by Amrulingam. They tried democratically to project the demands of the Tamils. LTTE was formed in 1976, and, after anti-Tamil riots in 1983, which followed the ambush of the Sri Lankan Army patrol, many Tamils took to arms.

I want to just state briefly that the present conditions of Tamils in Sri Lanka is as much the fault of the man called Velupillai Pirbhakaran as that of Sri Lankan leaders...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Who created him?

PROF. SAUGATA ROY : I would talk about that...*(Interruptions)*

He was called Pirbhakaran for some reasons. Pirbhakaran created a fascist and terrorist organization...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI T.R. BAALU :He was carrying out the arms struggle only...*(Interruptions)*

PROF. SAUGATA ROY : Mr. Baalu, listen to me...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI T.R. BAALU : He conducted arms struggle only...*(Interruptions)*

PROF. SAUGATA ROY : Mr. Baalu, listen to me. I am not against your point. All I want to say is that you do not become like Vaiko. Remember that LTTE had murdered the leaders of EPRLF, another Tamil Group. They came to Chennai to murder the leaders of another TELO organization. LTTE was a thoroughly terrorist organization.

First time -- Yashwant Sinha did not acknowledge it -- who really looked into the problems of Sri Lankan Tamils was Rajiv Gandhi, whom Yashwant Sinha criticized. In 1986, the Elephant Pass was closed. You know, between Jaffna and the mainland, there is the famous Elephant Pass. If you block that, you cannot go into the main body of Sri Lanka. The Tamils were disturbed. Rajiv Gandhi took the initiative to drop food grains in Jaffna. Do not forget that. Then in 1987, he signed the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord with Jayewardene. It was a progressive Accord. One of the most important things that was achieved was that the 13th Amendment to the Sri Lankan Constitution was proposed. According to that Amendment, the Northern and Eastern Provinces of Sri Lanka were supposed to be merged to make it a homeland for traditional Tamil people living there.

This is an agreement which was signed by Jayewardene, who was also called the 'sly fox' by international commentators. Rajiv Gandhi, as a straightforward man, sent the Indian Peace Keeping Force. You have criticized the Indian Peace Keeping Force. The Indian Army could always finish LTTE but if you read all the accounts of IPKF campaign, you will read what they are saying-- "We are fighting with our hands tied behind our backs." An Army like Indian Army could finish LTTE in two weeks. We did not do that. We did not capture...*(Interruptions)* Please understand.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Do not disturb him.

PROF. SAUGATA ROY : Mr. Anurag Singh, please listen to me. You are young. You must learn about history. Do not be misled by Yashwant Sinha Ji. What happened? What happened was that we did not capture Pirabhakaran. Earlier,

Pirabakharan had come to Thimpu for discussion. He came and stayed at Ashoka Hotel in Delhi. Do not forget. We could have captured Pirabakharan. ...(*Interruptions*) Please listen to me.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Please address the Chair.

...(*Interruptions*)

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : कोई रिकार्ड में नहीं जाएगा। सिर्फ उनका जाएगा।

(*Interruptions*) *
*

PROF. SAUGATA ROY : I am praising. I am not condemning.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Mr. Roy, please address the Chair. Do not address them.

PROF. SAUGATA ROY : I shall be brief. All I am saying is that Rajiv Ji genuinely tried for a solution of the Sri Lankan problem but the LTTE betrayed him. They surrendered their arms. One Jogirathinam laid down one pistol but the LTTE kept all their arms intact, which is why IPKF went into Sri Lanka to disarm the militants....(*Interruptions*) Now I am talking of history. I will come to the subject.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Please address the Chair and conclude.

PROF. SAUGATA ROY : Just because I am a Bengali, they will not let me speak on Tamil issue....(*Interruptions*)

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : किसी का रिकार्ड में नहीं जाएगा।

(*Interruptions*) *
*

PROF. SAUGATA ROY : I will come back. I will come to the subject matter.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Please conclude.

PROF. SAUGATA ROY: Sir, what happened is, this story ends with 1991 when Rajiv Gandhi was cruelly assassinated by LTTE suicide bomber. That was not the end of LTTE terror. Then after Rajiv Gandhi lost power, Premadasa and LTTE became hand in glove. They wanted the IPKF out. At that time, Rajiv Gandhi was not in power. IPKF came out of Sri Lanka. ...(*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Please conclude.

PROF. SAUGATA ROY : I am a supporter of Vaiko....(*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Please conclude. Do not divert the debate.

...(*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Please do not divert the debate.

...(*Interruptions*)

PROF. SAUGATA ROY : Mr. Palanimanickam, you are a Union Minister. I am an ordinary Member. You are a Minister of State....(*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Please conclude.

PROF. SAUGATA ROY: Now, I will come to the main topic. What happened?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: How long will you speak? You have taken already five minutes.

PROF. SAUGATA ROY : Sir, LTTE went on with the terrorist activity. In 2005, Mahindra Rajapaksa became the President of Sri Lanka. For some reason, Mahindra Rajapaksa decided to take on the LTTE. He got arms from everywhere.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Please do not take name.

प्रो. सांगत राय : जरूरी है, पाँच मिनट में खत्म करूँगा।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : पाँच मिनट तो हो गया। अब किसी का नाम नहीं लेंगे। विषय पर बात कीजिए।

PROF. SAUGATA ROY: His name is Mahindra and his brother is Gotabhaya. Then, he decided to take on the LTTE....(*Interruptions*) Please listen to my words. ...(*Interruptions*) I may like them. Since you are giving one sided view, I must tell here the entire story.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Please conclude.

...(*Interruptions*)

PROF. SAUGATA ROY : Now, you leave the UPA and shout at me. Leave the Government. Resign from the Government.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Please conclude.

...(*Interruptions*)

PROF. SAUGATA ROY : Why are they objecting it? I do not want to state history.

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : किसी अन्य माननीय सदस्य की बात रिकॉर्ड में नहीं जाएगी।

...(*व्यवधान*) *

PROF. SAUGATA ROY : I will come to that. ...(*Interruptions*)

Please understand...(*Interruptions*) Now, what happened between 2005 and 2009 is a story of genocide of the Tamil people.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Please speak on the subject.

प्रो. सौगत राय : सर, मैं अपनी बात समाप्त कर रहा हूँ।...(*व्यवधान*)

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : आप विषय पर नहीं बोल रहे हैं, कहानी बता रहे हैं। कहानी मत बताइए।

â€¦(*व्यवधान*)

PROF. SAUGATA ROY : Sir, I finish in just two minutes. What happened was that there was a case of genocide. This genocide of Tamils in Sri Lanka can be compared with genocide of Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the genocide in Rwanda in the sides between Hutus and Tutsis and even the genocide of Bengalis in Bangladesh by the Pakistani army. I agree that over one lakh Tamil people had died.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Please conclude.

प्रो. सौगत राय : सर, दो मिनट में खतम कर रहा हूँ।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : आप अपनी बात खतम करिए। आप लम्बी बात कह रहे हैं दुनिया की। This is not good.

...(*Interruptions*)

PROF. SAUGATA ROY: Sir, one lakh Tamil people have died. Why did it happen? Part of the fault again lies with the LTTE. Instead of taking to Guerrilla warfare, they changed their tactics and tried to fight like a conventional army. The Sri Lankan army was better equipped and they totally decimated the Tamils. And, what the LTTE also did, they put civilians as human shields in front of the rampaging Sri Lankan army. ...(*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Please conclude.

...(*Interruptions*)

PROF. SAUGATA ROY : I am saying that LTTE had a bad defence and they did that. ...(*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You are creating controversy. Nothing will go on record.

(Interruptions) *

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Please conclude.

...(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Shri P.R. Natarajan, you may start please.

...(Interruptions)

PROF. SAUGATA ROY : Sir, I will conclude. ...(Interruptions)

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : अब आपकी बात रिकॉर्ड में नहीं जाएगी।

...(व्यवधान) *

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय: आपकी बात रिकार्ड में नहीं जा रही है। कृपया बैठ जाएं।

...(व्यवधान) *

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Please sit down.

...(Interruptions)

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : जो माननीय सदस्य अपना भाषण लिखित में देना चाहें, वे सभापटल पर रख सकते हैं।

***SHRI P.R. NATARAJAN (COIMBATORE):** Hon'ble Deputy Speaker, Sir, Evidences have surfaced again pointing to the serious Human Rights violations and war crimes, by Sri Lanka's armed forces in the final stages of its war against the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). Photographs of Balachandran, the younger son of LTTE chief Velupillai Pirabhakran, which were made public by a British television channel earlier this week indicate that the twelve year old boy was executed at close range by Sri Lankan soldiers.

It appears that the boy was in the custody of soldiers for some hours before he was shot dead. Video footage released last year by the same channel indicated that the boy was shot along with his bodyguards. The recent photographs confirm suspicions that Balachandran, a mere child, was killed not by an accidental casualty of the war but like many other Tamils he was a target of a merciless execution by Sri Lankan soldiers. All wars are brutal but the one waged by the Sri Lankan Government against its own people was particularly horrific. Right through the 30-year-old war, it aeri ally bombed thousands of unarmed Tamil civilians. The final stages of this war saw soldiers sinking to alarming levels of depravity. They stripped, tortured and gunned down surrendering militants as well as innocent civilians. They even executed children. This is a gross violation of international norms of war. It is likely that the execution of Balachandran was cleared by * * * They must be tried for their flagrant violation of rules of war. The latest photographs have understandably evoked outrage across the world. The orders to execute the LTTE top leaders, including their kin, must have come from the top. Therefore, we reiterate that those responsible for the terrible crimes have to be punished.

Several investigations have found evidence of war crimes in Sri Lanka's conduct of war. Though the Sri Lankan Government has denied these charges, the time has come for the world to act to seek justice on behalf of the victims and India must be part of such an international effort. It must move beyond passing resolutions expressing concern to putting in place robust mechanisms and processes to further justice. Those who ordered the systematic executions of Tamils have to be brought before justice.

Sir, the feelings, sentiments and anger of the Tamils have been felt by all the Indian political parties. The House is now unanimous to create a peaceful atmosphere for the Tamils living in Sri Lanka.

We say that Sri Lanka is a friendly country. We have to maintain friendly relationship with them. This has to be our stand. It is not necessary for India to break its relationship with Sri Lanka.

But at the same time, Sri Lanka refused to implement Rajiv Gandhi Jayewardene agreement which was signed by India and Sri Lanka. Why is the UPA Government hesitant to enquire about the implementation of the abovementioned agreement? This reduces the trust on this Government.

In the 13th paragraph of the statement given by the External Affairs Minister, he has said that the Government of India has reiterated the Sri Lankan Government to implement the promises made before United Nations Human Rights Council in Geneva. In fact, none of this has happened. This Government has to be very cautious. The plight of Tamils in Sri Lanka is continuing. Why can't you implement the India-Sri Lanka agreement? On this background, the union Government of India has to intervene in the plight of Tamils in Sri Lanka. In order to bring a political solution to the Tamils, India has to strongly persuade the Sri Lankan Government using its diplomatic relationship. With these words, I conclude my speech.

***SHRI P. LINGAM (TENKASI):** Hon'ble Deputy Speaker, Sir, Sri Lanka is our neighbouring country. I would like to point out to this House about the ethnic genocide and Human Rights violations that are taking place in that country. After the independence of Sri Lanka, that is after 1956, that country was following the policy of racism. Two communities, the Tamils and the Sinhalese are living in that country. Tamil language was neglected. Sinhalese language was given preference. The struggle of the Tamils started as the struggle for equality. The course of the struggle for equality evolved into extremism after 1980s. This evolution is distressing. The main reason for this is the negligence shown by the then Sri Lankan Government. Till today, one lakh and fifty thousand people were massacred. Fourteen lakh people were evacuated from Sri Lanka. In our country, one and a half lakh Tamils are living as refugees. At such an instance, what is the situation in India? Our country is not intervening in the plight of Tamils in Sri Lanka. It is really a disappointment. Our country always follows the principle of Non Aligned Movement. But such a country like India, is indifferent to the plights of Tamils in Sri Lanka. I would like to enquire what is the reason behind it. Our Prime Minister and our External Affairs minister say that it is a friendly country.

Almost six hundred Indian fishermen, most of them being Tamil fishermen, are killed by Sri Lanka. Is it a friendly country? Our fishermen's properties are confiscated by them. Properties worth Rs. 25,000 crore (Twenty five thousand crore only) were destroyed. Even yesterday Tamil fishermen were attacked. I would like to ask once again whether it is a friendly country. During Bangladesh war, when we were fighting with Pakistan, Sri Lanka supported Pakistan. It was the stand taken against India. What is happening at present in Sri Lanka is against India. India should understand the real nature of Sri Lanka. Indian diplomatic policy should not fail in the presence of Sri Lanka. India is in power in Sri Lanka. After the 2009 war in Sri Lanka, on 17th and 18th May, 2009, forty five thousand people were killed. Many women, children and elder people were killed. It is ethnic genocide. It is not an internal matter. It is Human Rights violation. As per the agreement made by our former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, Sri Lankan Government said that autonomy has to be established in Northern and Eastern States of Sri Lanka. That is the essence of thirteenth amendment. The Sri Lankan Government did not implement the thirteenth amendment. Instead, the Government has resettled Sinhalese in Tamil areas. In 1980s only forty thousand Sinhalese were residing in northern and eastern parts of Sri Lanka. Nevertheless, four lakh Sinhalese are residing there at present. Their main intention is to kill the Tamils who are residing there.

Not only this, the situation in Tamil Nadu is also affected by Sri Lanka. Many fishermen of Tamil Nadu are killed. The entire world is shedding tears with respect to what is happening in Sri Lanka now. But, India, its neighbouring country is indifferent about the issue. India is a country of unity and integrity. India has integrity with the State of Tamil Nadu. The country like India, which has a high stature for its integrity, is indifferent to the plight of Tamils is Sri Lanka. This indifference may be a threat to our integrity.

The resolution with respect to ethnic genocide and Human Rights Violations in Sri Lanka should have been proposed by India in the United Nations. But India did not do it. It is really disappointing. Now, the resolution is proposed by America. Even now, we say that we will consider the phrases in the resolution. Is it not disgraceful? India has to support the resolution brought by America unconditionally. India has to strive forward to enhance the resolution in order to provide political solution to the plight of Tamils in Sri Lanka. Instead, mere consideration of the phrases in the resolution brought by America is not enough. In the past, India has strived for international peace. Therefore, reconsideration of the resolution is against the policy of Non Aligned Movement which was cherished by India.

The main solution for the plight of Tamils is political solution. That is the best solution for protecting Tamil nationalism in Sri Lanka. Political solution is recommended in thirteenth amendment. India has advocated for the implementation of thirteenth amendment. Therefore, efforts have to be taken to find a political solution. In order to find a political solution, India has to be brought before the international community and should be persuaded to implement the policy of political solution. That country has committed war crimes. Human Rights violations have taken place in that

country. Since 2009, sixteen thousand Tamils have disappeared. Many journalists have disappeared. Recently, the photograph showing the dead body of Balachandran, son of Pirabhakaran, was published in many newspapers. That is the photograph of a single boy. Thousands of young children like him have been killed. Lessons Learnt and Reconciliation Commission (LLRC) was formed by Sri Lanka. The country is not implementing the recommendations of LLRC, the commission formed by its own self. In order to protect the rights of Tamils, in order to bring peace to the life of Tamils, in order to give political solution to the Tamils, India has to support the resolution brought by America unconditionally. Equality has to be given to the Tamil society living in Sri Lanka. With these words, I conclude my speech.

SHRI BHARTRUHARI MAHTAB (CUTTACK): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I rise here today to intervene in a Short Duration Discussion, which has been moved by Shri T.R. Baalu and Dr. Thambidurai relating to the plight of Tamils in Sri Lanka.

The photograph that we saw the other day in a newspaper and, subsequently, the Channel-IV that broadcasted that film, many of us must have seen that – a young boy, hardly 12 years old, looking very distantly, not looking at the camera but to the other side and chewing some snacks.

The next photograph shows five bullets on the chest. What was he looking at? He must have been looking at those scenes of destruction, scenes of human tragedy. The face demonstrated not of fear but of anguish. By looking at those two eyes, it still haunts many of us, not only Shri Baalu or Dr. Thambidurai but also many of us who have seen that photograph of Balachandran. Why was he killed? Was he killed anticipating that after 10 years or 15 years, he will continue the legacy of Pirabhakaran? Or was he killed in a cross fire as the Sri Lankans have been saying? Or is he still alive? If so, why is the Sri Lankan Government not producing him before the court? This question actually bothers every human being who has seen that photograph. That is why, today after four years we are discussing the plight of Tamils in Sri Lanka. The Government has provided support for reconstruction of Tamil villages and township in Jaffna Peninsula. Of course, in between, there have been Calling Attention, there have been discussions in this House relating to the plight of Tamils, relating to the support of Indian Government. There has been a Delegation of Indian Parliamentarians who have been to Sri Lanka to see how the Tamils are being resettled in Sri Lanka. But by this photograph, it has not only touched Indians, but it has touched the core of heart of every human being of this world. On this platform, India will be going to attend the International Human Rights Committee in Geneva.

In the wake of photograph and forensic evidence that appears to confirm a terrible crime occurred four years ago with LTTE Chief Pirabhakaran's young son brutally killed, Sri Lankan army has lot to answer. The least it can do is order an independent inquiry by an international panel. The world was surprised. Many of us were also surprised when the Sri Lankan Government won the battle against the LTTE in 2009. But Colombo achieved success not without indulging in objectionable acts. Sri Lankan Tamil Civilians had to undergo an excruciating experience. They suffered indescribable miseries. The video broadcast has shown horrendous scenes of human rights violation in the name of establishing peace. Sri Lanka is terming it as a western self-indulgence and interventionism and saying: 'This endangers peace and reconciliation in post-war Sri Lanka'. This will not do. India should not accept this. The world is outraged at the behaviour of Sri Lankan army, which did not think that one day would come when it would be held accountable for its human rights violations.

Here, the story of the final days of the war has not yet been told in full about atrocious details but we know LTTE was using human shield. A number of video clippings were shown that how the groups of people carrying a white flag were coming and exploding themselves. There were gun fires from above, from the sky. There were guns pointed at them moving from

one place to another. That was the plight of Tamil civilians in Sri Lanka. They did not know where to go. That was the situation in 2009 from January till May. Thousands died collaterally when bombs fell indiscriminately on them from the air as they were fired to move. They were forced to move from one place to another for their safety. They died of horrible deaths either by bomb or by disease or by starvation.

After defeating LTTE in 2009, the Sri Lankan Government is yet to adhere to the 13th Amendment by which the Tamil dominated areas would be provided with more power. There was a time in 1987 when the present President Mr. Rajapaksa had quoted India-Sri Lanka Agreement and argued to provide autonomy to Sri Lankan Tamils. But now, he has gone back on his words.

I would only ask our Foreign Minister to recollect that a similar commitment was given earlier. We have to maintain good neighbourly relations with our neighbouring countries. But, at the same time, it is diplomacy which prevails. We have to see whether the Government in the neighbouring countries is being benevolent to us or is acting against us. This is not the forum where we will be discussing the diplomatic issues, relating to different other countries including Sri Lanka. Why did Shrimati Indira Gandhi have a different opinion about Sri Lanka? What prompted late Shri Rajiv Gandhi to correct that decision? What prompted us to continue and what is prompting us today to continue in a lackadaisical manner? Under these circumstances, India should not be a mute spectator. Any country, whichever it may be, should not be allowed to protect its war crime and trample the minorities, be it linguistic or religious.

There are two issues over which the Indian Government should step up pressure on Sri Lanka. One is to bring to book war crimes and the broader issue is of devolution of political power to the Sri Lankan Tamils. The compulsion, one can understand, of Indian foreign policy may well force it to see beyond Tamil sentiments and look at Sri Lanka as a neighbour. This was demonstrated by softening the UN Resolution against Sri Lanka. But the least we can do now is to push Sri Lanka towards agreeing to a fair inquiry relating to the killing of a 12 year old boy and other war crimes. We understand that Indian diplomacy is faced with a serious challenge in these circumstances. We cannot ignore the atrocities perpetrated on the Tamils in Sri Lanka. We need to take a stand also keeping in view the hard reality in Sri Lanka. The complexity of the situation calls for a very measured move. There is no doubt that Sri Lankan Tamil minority needs to be guaranteed its political space, legal equality and cultural dignity. ...(*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Please conclude.

DR. M. THAMBIDURAI : He is going to conclude. This is a very serious matter. After a long time, we are having this debate. ...(*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: That is all right. The time is limited. There are so many Members.

...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI DAYANIDHI MARAN (CHENNAI CENTRAL): The House is one on this issue.

SHRI BHARTRUHARI MAHTAB : Aggressive ethnic nationalism, especially of the kind the previous generation of Singhalese politicians encouraged, has no place in today's world. It is important not to lose sight of the broader picture. With the Indian Ocean emerging as an area of 21st century geopolitical competition, it would be shortsighted for us to look at Sri Lanka in the context of one aspect. I need not elaborate on that.

I fully endorse on these three issues. Tamils in Sri Lanka should be living in dignity. They should be provided with political power. They should continue to enjoy their cultural identity. At the same time, I would also say that the culprits of the war crimes that have been committed during the last six months of the civil war in 2009, should be punished and India should take a lead in that.

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : श्री भर्तृहरि महताब द्वारा उठाए गए विषय से श्रीमती दर्शना जरदोश, श्रीमती जयश्रीबेन कानुभाई पटेल और श्री रमेन डेका अपने आपको सम्बद्ध करते हैं।

***डॉ. किरीट प्रेमजीभाई सोलंकी (अहमदाबाद पश्चिम):** जब से कांग्रेस के नेतृत्व वाली यूपीए सरकार सत्ता में आई है तब से देश की विदेश नीति में हम निष्फल रहे हैं। अंतरराष्ट्रीय स्टेज की बात के सिवा हम हमारे पड़ोसी देशों के संबंध में भी कुछ गलत नीतियों की वजह से, जो हमारे परंपरागत साथी एवं मित्र थे, हम उनके साथ भी संबंध अच्छे नहीं बना पाए हैं।

हमारा पड़ोसी, पाकिस्तान के साथ तो हमारे रिश्ते अच्छे नहीं हैं, उसे समझा भी जाता है, मगर श्रीलंका, नेपाल, बांग्लादेश और अन्य पड़ोसियों के साथ हमारे रिश्ते इतने अच्छे नहीं रह पाए हैं। भारतीय उपमहाद्वीप में हमारे पड़ोसी देश के साथ में कमजोर रिश्ते, मैं यूपीए सरकार की विदेश नीति की सबसे बड़ी विफलता मानता

हूँ।

श्रीलंका में तमिलों पर जो अत्याचार हो रहे हैं, महिलाएँ एवं बच्चों को भी निशाने पर लिया जाता है और निर्दोष तमिलों की हत्या की जाती है, उनके ऊपर हमें कड़ा खैया अपनाना चाहिए और उनकी रक्षा के लिए श्रीलंका सरकार को सख्त नसीहत देनी चाहिए।

मुझे स्मरण है कि लोक सभा में नेता प्रतिपक्ष श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज पिछले साल भारतीय पार्लियामेन्टी प्रतिनिधि मंडल के नेता के तौर पर वहां गई थी। तब श्रीलंका सरकार को मंत्रणा में दो टूक बातें कही थी और श्रीलंका में तमिलों की रक्षा एवं मानवाधिकारों को लेकर अहम बातें तथा सुझाव दिए थे।

मैं सरकार का ध्यान आकर्षित करता हूँ। नेता प्रतिपक्ष (लोक सभा) के सुझावों पर ध्यान दिया जाए और तमिलों के मानव अधिकारों की रक्षा की जानी चाहिए।

समुद्री मछुआरे चाहे वो गुजरात के हों या फिर तमिल हों, उनकी रक्षा के कड़े इंतजाम होने चाहिए और पाकिस्तान एवं श्रीलंका को उनका अपहरण और बंदी बनाने से रोकना चाहिए। जो मछुआरे जेलों में बंद हैं उनको मुक्त कराने के राजनैतिक उपाय शीघ्र ही होना चाहिए।

***श्री महेन्द्रसिंह पी. चौहान (साबरकांठा):** हम सभी जानते हैं कि आज श्रीलंका में तमिलों की जो स्थिति है वो चिंताजनक है। वहां पर युवाओं, बच्चों, महिलाओं तथा बूढ़ों पर अत्याचार हो रहा है। श्री लंका में तमिलों, उनकी संस्कृति परंपरा तथा भाषा को मिटाने की कोशिश की जा रही है। श्री लंका की सरकार ने तमिल बाहुल्य क्षेत्रों को स्वायत्तता प्रदान करने का अपना वायदा आज तक पूरा नहीं किया है। आज भी श्रीलंका में विस्थापित तमिलों के पुनर्वास का मुद्दा बना हुआ है। श्रीलंका सरकार तमिलों के पुनर्वास की समस्या पर ध्यान न देकर वह तमिलों पर बर्बर अत्याचार को अंजाम दे रही है जिसके चलते वहां रहने वाले तमिलों की हालत दिन प्रति दिन दयनीय होती जा रही है। श्री लंका की सेना ने 2008-09 में तमिल हितों के लिए संघर्ष करने वाले तमिल उग्रवादी संगठन लिट्टे को जिस बर्बरता और अमानवीयता से कुचला था उसे लेकर हर तमिल भाषी नागरिक का गुस्सा अस्वाभाविक नहीं है। श्री लंका हमारा पड़ोसी देश है इसलिए हमें कुछ भी करते समय एक परिपक्व देश की तरह व्यवहार करना चाहिए। वहां पर हमें तमिल नागरिकों की हिफाजत तथा सम्मान बरकरार रखने के प्रयासों के साथ-साथ यह भी सोचना होगा कि कहीं भी हम उसे दूसरे देशों की गोद में तो नहीं फेंक रहे हैं। श्री लंका में भारत की आवासीय परियोजना एक पृथग्वितीय कदम है। इस आवासीय परियोजना से श्रीलंका में गृहयुद्ध के दौरान विस्थापित हुए लोगों को आसरा मिल जाएगा। श्रीलंका में इस आवासीय परियोजना का फायदा मन्नार और जाफना से हटकर अन्य तमिल बाहुल्य इलाकों तक बढ़ाया जाना चाहिए। इसके साथ ही वहां मानवाधिकार संगठनों के सम्मान, तमिलों को बराबरी का हक देने तथा प्रेस को स्वतंत्र रखने के मुद्दों को भारत को राजनयिक स्तर पर उठाना चाहिए। अंत में श्रीलंका में रह रहे तमिलों के सुरक्षा, सम्मान तथा विकास के लिए भारत सरकार को राजनयिक स्तर पर बात कर यह सुनिश्चित करना चाहिए कि वहां रह रहे तमिलों को किसी भी तरह की दिक्कत का सामना न करना पड़े।

*** SHRI SUVENDU ADHIKARI (TAMLUK):** I would like to draw the kind attention to Union Government regarding current incident in Sri Lanka. Our Party All India Trinamool Congress and my Leader Smt. Mamata Banerjee strongly condemned the incident happened in Sri Lanka, it's a genocide like incident, we must protest this type of barbaric incidents organized by Sri Lankan army. Central Government should take necessary steps so that the life of Tamils should be protected.

***SHRI S. SEMMALAI (SALEM):** In Sri Lanka in 2009, tens of thousands of Tamils that too youths were systematically killed in the final months of Sri Lanka's conflict, leading to crimes against humanity and genocide. The UN panel of Experts

has called those events a "grave assault on the entire regime of international law". This conflict is a culmination of six decades of denial of rights and harassment of the Tamil in Sri Lanka. Given the nature of crimes committed by the Government of Sri Lanka, the investigation must be of international character.

The next Commonwealth Heads of Govt. meeting in November is to be held in Sri Lanka. The Sri Lankan Govt. has committed genocide, multiple outrages. When the other Commonwealth Heads tried to change the venue from Sri Lanka, its Secretary-General, Kamlesh Sharma had blocked the change. He is a former Indian Diplomat.

It appears that India had urged him to avoid offending Sri Lanka. India is anxious about China's growing influence in Sri Lanka. China has invested massively in Sri Lanka. It is reported that China had given Rajapakse \$9 million to be used at his discretion. The president made a threatening telephone call to the Newspaper Editor to suppress the report.

There is no democracy in Sri Lanka. Anarchy is prevailing. The venue should be changed because Commonwealth Meet has its own reputation for human decency.

Let see how the Sri Lankan President behaves now. We do not have a rule of law in Sri Lanka. The President Rajapakse lied about the death of Prabhakaran; he continued his lies about the death of his 12 years old son, which was shown on British Channel 4 TV. He was brutally attacked in close range; but Rajapakse told that he was killed in cross fire.

Recently the Chief Justice of Sri Lanka's Supreme Court was impeached – because he gave an uncomfortable ruling. There is no judicial independence. The International Bar Association wanted to send Former Chief Justice of India J.S.Verma to Sri Lanka. He was denied visa.

Armed men continue to abduct journalists. This was admitted by the Sri Lankan Ruling Party's Chief Whip in Sri Lankan Parliament. In 2012, a Minister of Sri Lanka physically attacked a BBC Correspondent and said that they should not write things which will lead them to be hanged. Two weeks ago, armed men entered a Colombo journalist's home and shot him dead.

Rajapakse did not honor the assurance given to Indian leaders to transfer powers to elected regional councils and to give Tamil minority some autonomy. But he announced that power would be centralized. What is Indian Govt. doing now?

Till 2010, Sri Lanka's National Anthem used to be sung in Tamil and Sinhalese languages, but after 2010, they stopped singing in Tamil. This is Rajapakse's attitude.

In July 2012, over telephone, Gotabhaya Rajapakse (Defence Minister and brother of President) abused a journalist; he used foul and filthy words 22 times in two telephone conversations.

Anarchy is prevailing; barbaric acts are taking place under dictatorial and arbitrary leadership. But the present Govt. has failed in its relations with neighbouring countries. The PM is not reading the Sri Lankan President correctly. He is going to miss the bus. It is high-time that the Indian Govt. supports the Resolution in the UN.

Sri Lankan Govt. attacked Sri Lankan Tamils brutally; they are not being given equal rights; they do not enjoy equal status in Sri Lanka. It is India that should have taken action and initiated to pass a Resolution against Sri Lanka – considering that Tamils are our own brothers. But here, after seeing the barbaric acts of Sri Lanka, US is bringing a Resolution against Sri Lanka. Instead of candidly saying that India would support, even now, the Prime Minister is meekly surrendering to Sri Lanka and makes this sort of statement in the House.

Even if you take Mahatma Gandhi, he fought for the rights of Indians in South Africa. He fought for the human rights and dignity of human lives. It is a shame that in the land of Mahatma Gandhi, we are so-meekly giving away our rights.

India should take into consideration the aspirations of 6-7 crores of Tamil population. It will be counter-productive if we do not respect their hopes and aspirations. Sri Lankan Tamils should not be allowed to die a natural death. India should necessarily take up the matter with Sri Lanka.

The Indian Govt. should reply at the end of the debate that it would support the US- Backed Resolution against Sri Lanka.

श्री शरद यादव (मधेपुरा): उपाध्यक्ष जी, मैं इसका समर्थन करता हूँ। जो श्रीलंका तमिलियन्स हैं, मैं उनका पूरी तरह से समर्थन करता हूँ। मेरे पास वक्त नहीं था, मैं दूसरी मीटिंग में चला गया था। लेकिन जितने भी लोगों ने बोला है, बालू साहब से लेकर एआईएडीएमके के सभी लोगों का मैं पूरी तरह से समर्थन करता हूँ और आप सभी को बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

SHRI DAYANIDHI MARAN (CHENNAI CENTRAL): Sir, thank you for giving me this opportunity to speak on the most serious issue of today on which the entire House cutting across all political parties shares a similar view on the pitiful situation of Sri Lankan Tamils who are left as destitutes suffering under the Sri Lankan Army.

This House has witnessed from 1980s many speakers including my father who have stood here and spoken on the same issue – the pitiful situation of the Sri Lankan Tamils. Many speakers have gone, but the situation in Sri Lanka has not changed. It is the same. We have to look into the past to know what we can do in the future. The past cannot be forgotten - I am not going to the past of the 1980s – at least the past that happened in 2009.

During the war, the Tamils of Sri Lanka were tortured, butchered by the Sri Lankan Army. Channel 4 of the UK has given evidence to show that the war crimes committed by the Sri Lankan Army. There were areas declared as No Fire Zones. The UN Red Cross was present there and asked the people to come and stay there for treatment. After declaring certain places as No Fire Zones, Sri Lankan Army bombarded those places and killed all the innocent Tamils there.

At that time, my leader met the National Security Advisor and insisted that he go and convince the Sri Lankan Government not to trespass international agreements and not to fire on people in No Fire Zones. All along, my leader has stood for the Tamils.

Today we realize that an innocent boy who died in 2009 was not fighting the war on behalf of the Tamils. Yes, that is Mr. Balachandran. He was shot with five bullets, point-blank. Those photos which have come now are not taken by any Sri Lankan Tamil. Those photos are trophies, taken by the Sri Lankan Army to show off among themselves that they have a trophy of the Prabhakaran's son. We know what happened to Prabhakaran's son and the way he had been killed – after giving him an assurance that he will be securely sent back to some of his close relatives, he was shot. You see his innocent face, when he was eating very shyly. His close bodyguards' hands were tied at the back and shot, right before him. His hands were also tied and he was also shot. We do not know what happened to other persons – his mother and his sister, who were not part of the war. Probably, if an inquiry is done, we will know what the war-chest or the trophy-chest which the Sri Lankan Army possess, the kind of photographs and video evidence which they took to show to their people that they massacred the Tamils ruthlessly – we will then come to know about the truth.

What are we asking for and what are we asking the Indian Government? When I was a student in the school in 1986, I was proud to be an Indian because at that time, Rajiv Gandhi Ji sent Operation Poomalai, where our Indian Air Force went and dropped food-grains to the Tamils of Sri Lanka. I was proud of my country then. I then realized that my country is big, strong and my country can take strong and powerful decisions to ensure and protect the neighbours, my Tamil neighbours.

I am proud to be a Tamilian; Tamil is the sweetest language in the world. For me, Tamil is my language and I care for my citizens. As everyone expressed here, what are we asking here? We are not asking you to go to war. They are our neighbours, closest neighbours. If our neighbour has misbehaved and if our neighbour has ill-treated and has been massacring its own kith and kin, what should we do? What are we asking? We are asking for ensuring an independent international inquiry. Why can India not do it? Why are you threatening us, saying that China will come there and Pakistan will come there? China and Pakistan are already there. China is building an international airport there, so what? India is not a small country; we are all born-Indians. Like our Finance Minister, Shri P. Chidambaram said, our youths are anxious; they want to know. Tamil Nadu consists of more than eight crore people; we are looking at you. We are asking you, what you are going to do. Empty words will not do. Our youth would like to know this; our youth are looking at you, to see what decisive decisions that you are going to take when it comes to the issue of Sri Lankan Tamils.

The evidences are before us. We are asking you – should not we take the lead, should not India take the lead and put forward a Resolution in the UN, saying that we should have an inquiry made into the plight of Tamils and whatever happened during the war? Should not we do it? It is a pitiful situation for the Tamils in Sri Lanka. What about the Indian citizens? Our own fishermen are suffering. Who do they belong to and which country do they belong to? They belong to our country; they are citizens of India; they are shot by the Sri Lankan Army. What are you doing to protect them? What have

we done? Is there any single incident where the Indian Coastal Guard has accidentally shot a single Sinhalese fisherman? No. Only our Tamil Nadu fishermen, only our Indian citizen are getting shot, day in and out. Is it fair? I am asking; the youth of Tamil Nadu are asking you – what are you doing?

We want a decisive decision. We want to have a friendly equation with Sri Lanka. But you are a big country. You are the biggest force in this region. The world is looking at you.

Our Indians migrated not only to Sri Lanka. There are many Indians who had migrated to so many parts of the world, who are living peacefully, thinking that you, the Indian Government, would protect them at the time of crisis. If you let them go like the Tamils in Sri Lanka, if you do not take measures to solve their problems, what faith will they have on you? I am asking you. What else we want?

Today we are worried about the future of the citizens. We have full trust in our Prime Minister. When our Prime Minister spoke yesterday in this House, he made it very clear that the dignity and pride of Tamils will be protected. We trust the Prime Minister. But his words must come into action and we expect that – India should take a decisive decision and do not fall prey because every time, Sri Lanka has promised something and it has only misled India.

15.00hrs

Let us not get misled any more. Time has come to act. I would like to quote an incident. The World War II saw the worst tyranny incident where 100,000 women became widows in the city of Moscow. After that, the tragic incident has only occurred in Sri Lanka where 90,000 women became widows overnight. What is their plight? Young children were taken by the Sri Lankan Army saying that they were part of the war rebels. Where are they? No one knows! Young generation has been wiped out. Sir, we, the Indians are looking at the Government. Our Prime Minister has given a clear statement. We are expecting India to act. It is time to act. I wish and I am sure the External Affairs Minister will come out not with words but with action. We expect the first action on the UN.

I thought the whole House was unanimous on this issue but my good friend, Shri Thambidurai took to dig a tussle, we should also say something. We are ready to resign. If the resignation will solve the issue, immediately from today we will resign. We have no hesitation in that....(*Interruptions*) Has the Cauvery water problem been resolved? No, Sir. Let them go back to the history and see what Resolution their Leader passed in the Tamil Nadu House in 1993.

***SHRI ARJUN RAM MEGHWAL (BIKANER):** I want to lay some of the important suggestions regarding discussion under 193 on the plight of the Tamils in Sri Lanka:-

1. India should formulate the Foreign Policy in such a way that every Indian origin should not suffer in any kind, whether on the issue of human rights violation or other atrocities committed on them. India should command the diplomatic relations with neighbouring countries.
2. India should watch every activity going on with Tamilian people of Sri Lanka as well as the issue of minorities of Pakistan because atrocities are being committed by Pakistan against citizens of Hindu minority living in Pakistan. So many Hindus belonging to SC/ST communities or weaker sections of society are forced to leave Pakistan and they are interested to settle in India particularly in Jodhpur Region of Rajasthan. They want shelter in India because their family and property are not safe and secure.
3. Though Tamil issue is sensitive, India should command the issue of Tamilians in Sri Lanka and Hindu minorities in Pakistan also.

श्री लालू प्रसाद (सारण): महोदय, पूरा सदन, सभी पार्टियों के लोग तमिल भाईयों के ऊपर लंका आर्मी के द्वारा जो अत्याचार, अनाचार हुआ है, हम सब लोग उसके सख्त खिलाफ हैं। सिर्फ भाषण के लिए नहीं, ठीक है कि वह हमारा मित्र देश है, समय-समय पर लंका को सुनामी से लेकर हर तरह का पैकेज भारत सरकार मुहैया कराती है। जो हमारे तमिल भाई और बहन हैं, वहां उन पर जिस तरह से अत्याचार किया जा रहा है, हम लोग भारत सरकार से यह अपेक्षा करते हैं कि यह जो जुल्म और मानवाधिकारों का हनन हो रहा है, आज समय की पुकार है कि उसके खिलाफ जबरदस्त आवाज बुलन्द की जाये। मंत्री जी यहां बैठे हैं, हम सरकार को पूरी शक्ति देते हैं, लेकिन बार-बार ऐसी घटना नहीं होनी चाहिए और इसे रोका जाना चाहिए।

15.03hrs (Shri P.C. Chacko in the Chair)

इसका सॉल्यूशन, पॉलिटिकल सॉल्यूशन होना चाहिए और उनका रीसेटलमेंट होना चाहिए और जो लंका आर्मी ने अन्याय किया है, उनको सजा दिलाने के लिए भारत सरकार को आगे आना चाहिए। यह सवाल सिर्फ तमिल भाईयों का ही नहीं है, यह पूरे भारत का सवाल है, उत्तर, दक्षिण, पूरब, पश्चिम, हम सब भारत के लोग, जो वहां हमारे तमिल भाईयों के ऊपर जुल्म हो रहे हैं, उनके साथ खड़े हैं। उनको इंसाफ और न्याय दिलाने के लिए हम लोग आगे बढ़-चढ़कर हर तरह का सहयोग करेंगे।

***SHRI A. GANESHAMURTHI (ERODE):** Mr. Chariman, let me now thank you for this opportunity. Right from this morning, leaders of various political parties have brought to the notice of this House the current situation and the going on in Eelam. What is happening there is genocide, the massacre of an ethnic race. Human Rights violations have taken place there. During the last phase of that war in Sri Lanka, internationally banned bombs were used and war crimes were committed. All these leaders have narrated things happening there. You may not give me that much of time to continue harping on it. Hence let me express my views as I may want to. What is taking place in Eelam is genocide. It has not just begun today. Right after Shastri-Sirimavo Accord, right from the repatriation of the plantation workers from Sri Lanka, the task of wiping out the Tamil race is continuously going on in Eelam. Be it Bhandaranaike or Sirimavo Bhandaranaike or be it Rajapakse, 'Tamils must not live in Eelam anymore' is the verve with which everything is happening there.

As our friends spoke here ahead of me, in the beginning Tamil was denied its due place, then employment opportunities were denied, subsequently Education was denied. And similarly when spiritually spirited non-violent 'ahimsa' struggle also failed, Thanthai Selva, the father-figure passed a resolution in the Vattukkottai Conference and brought it out. With that resolution as basis, which stated that there could be no other way out other than Tamil Eelam, during the General Elections that took place then, people voted for it, expressing their resolve as a 'referendum'. The Sri Lankan government used its military to suppress that movement. Ever after that Eelam Tamils are massacred and subjected to genocide continuously. I now thank Channel 4 for bringing to light the genocide that is going on there.

The world has now opened its eyes. The world that had its eye shut till now has opened its eyes. An ambience has been created now to discuss in UN forum this issue. At a point of time, UN has admitted in one of its Reports that UN itself has erred and we all bear witness to it. Who else other than the UN can provide a way out? India has got a moral obligation. We, the ten crores of Tamils are living in Tamil Nadu. We remain there as ones who have accepted you. We are living as Tamils who have accepted the sovereignty of India. Sovereignty of a state is not a mere dominance over its people. Sovereignty is the confidence reposed by its people on their government. You must take measures without endangering it. All those who have spoken ahead of me described all about the killing and massacres there. My esteemed colleague, Mr. Yashwant Sinha pointed out the blunder of our Indian Government and exposed the role of the Indian Government in the genocide that took place there. I do not want to go into it. Now, the Government must intervene immediately. Almost all of them have stated so.

When Mr. Dayanidhi Maran spoke, he said that all of us move about with a similar view. We differ slightly here. When our friend Mr. Lingam spoke, he said that we must support the resolution to be moved by America. What is the Resolution that

America is going to move? It is just a pretention, a deceit. Last time they moved a resolution. An LLR was formed. What happened to it? Even the UN constituted Committee had erred. The concluding part of the UNHRC Report brings it to light. We cannot depend entirely on the UN also. If India is not coming to the rescue, who else can help save the people there? We call that a neighbouring country, a friendly country. I would like to ask of you. We are ten crores of Tamils living in Tamil Nadu and there are Hindus all over the country and it is our duty. More than 2500 temples have been razed in Sri Lanka to eliminate a religion. Tamils are not having a conducive atmosphere to continue to live there. Women are sexually assaulted there. Fishermen are not allowed to go to the seas for fishing. They cannot carry on with agriculture too. They have no opportunity to fend for themselves. The ongoing all-out effort to wipe out a race must come to an end. Appropriate action is warranted. Relying on an American Resolution can only be futile. Indian government on its own must come forward to move a resolution. UNHRC's Report points out in its concluding part the blatant violation of human rights in Sri Lanka. So there must be an independent and credible enquiry. Our resolution must also insist on suitably punishing the guilty so identified. Whatever that has happened in Eelam cannot be ignored as mere war crime, but it is a definite ethnic cleansing and genocide. Tamil race was sought to be wiped out completely from the Sri Lankan island. Hence, coexistence has become impossible henceforth. The only way out to solve the Tamil National Race issue would be to hold a free and fair and credible referendum, a Plebiscite involving all the diaspora, the migrant Tamils. We must move a resolution in this regard in the UN Forum.

On 4th of this month, I got an opportunity to be there with the diaspora, the Tamil migrants gathered in front of the UN. Thousands of Tamils there resolved that Tamil Eelam alone can be a solution and there is no way out. "Else, Ellalan will come again", was their refrain in one voice. I am duty bound to remind you of that here. The clamour that Ellalan would come again is coming up in Eelam. Subduing that voice and protecting the Tamils is our responsibility.

Referendum is nothing new now. About 15 new countries have emerged globally today as the result of Plebiscites. Sovereignty and right to self determination have been obtained through referendum. Why cannot we resort to it in Sri Lanka? Why not India emphasis that? Do we have a moral right? India has not only a moral right but also a moral obligation. This is because we are united with you. It is because of our being remained united with you that we have lost Katchativu. It is only because of our being with you that lakhs of plantation workers who enriched Sri Lanka were sent out on repatriation. Right from 1956, till date, in all these years continuously relief funds are being apportioned in the Budget presented in the Legislative Assembly of Tamil Nadu for Relief and Rehabilitation of displaced Tamils. The influx is still continuing and every year the Government of Tamil Nadu has been allocating funds since 1956 to help them survive and live here. Do we not have the responsibility to put an end to this? So, I urge upon the Indian Government to take it upon itself to bring a resolution. India must move a resolution in the UN forum to go in for a Plebiscite.

Prior to that, the military and the police should withdraw immediately from the Tamil areas. Torture, sexual assaults and all other forms of violence against the Tamils that go on unabated must end. Tamils who are still living in camps should be sent back to their own respective localities. International voluntary agencies that are helping the affected Tamils should be permitted to extend their services there. Colonizing the Sinhalese in the Tamil areas must be stopped forthwith immediately. The Sinhalese settled so far in the Tamil areas must be evacuated. Tamil youth confined in the Sri Lankan prisons must be released immediately. India has the moral obligation to implement all these measures. Whether we wish or not, having accepted India, we the ten crores of people are living as Tamils in India. India has the responsibility to protect our umbilical cord relationship that needs to be guarded. Upholding Hindu culture in this world, crores are living in India and hence it is moral obligation. I earnestly appeal to you that India must act without endangering its sovereignty. With this let me conclude.

*SHRI THOL THIRUMAAVALAVAN (CHIDAMBARAM): Sir, I would like to express my thanks to this House to discuss the issue of Eelam Tamils. This discussion has continued for the past three hours. Not only the members from Tamil Nadu, but also the members from all political parties in India have spoken for the welfare of Eelam Tamils. I express my heartfelt thanks to them. It is my duty. Our Hon'ble Madam Speaker, when initiating the discussion, said that we should not hurt the sentiments of a friendly neighbouring country. She said that our bilateral relationship with a neighbouring country should not be spoiled. Sir, you have the concern that the bilateral relationship between two countries should not be spoiled. But, we view this plight as an issue of an ethnic community. Our main concern is that an ethnic community should not be annihilated. We shed tears about the annihilation of an ethnic community. The Government of India view this as an issue of an organisation. But we view this problem as an issue of an ethnic community. We are arguing for the same cause. Members from all political parties of India discussed the plight of Eelam Tamils in this House. Even after all these discussions, it is really depressing that Sri Lanka is considered as a friendly country by India.

Sir, whenever Sri Lankan authorities are visiting India, we are giving warm reception to them with red carpet. But we

have to think whether the Sinhalese chauvinists have pursued that civilized culture? The Hon'ble members who spoke ahead of me discussed about the incident that happened to our former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi when he visited Sri Lanka in 1987. There was an attempt to murder our former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi by a brutal attack. It is shameful act.

We should not forget it. Sir, you say that we should not mention the name of the leader of the Government of a foreign country. It is really breaking the heart. You say that we should not mention the name of the person who has murdered lakhs of civilians. It is really disgraceful. Sir, I would like to enquire how the Government of India have forgotten about what had happened to our Former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. We should bow down our head in shame. Many political leaders pointed out Rajiv Gandhi Jayewardene agreement. They mention about the thirteenth amendment. As per the thirteenth amendment, northern and eastern provinces of Sri Lanka have to be united and should be given autonomy. Those areas should be announced as the mother land of Tamils. This amendment has to be acknowledged. But, now, they have separated the northern and southern parts of Sri Lanka and have announced that they are separate provinces. Had they respected Rajiv - Jayawardhane agreement? They would not have done so. Sir, we have to think about it. It is an insult to Rajiv Gandhi. It symbolizes that it is an insult to the Government of India. Many Hon'ble members have pointed out what has happened there afterwards.

Have they considered India as a friendly country? During the last twenty five years, almost five hundred Indian fishermen of Tamil Nadu were killed by Sri Lanka. Sri Lankan navy used to trespass our Indian maritime boundary and attacking our fishermen. Yesterday, a fisherman of Karaikkal was shot and he is hospitalized now. Hundreds of Indian fishermen of Tamil Nadu were kidnapped. Many fishermen are languishing in Sri Lankan jails. Even now more than thirty fishermen are in the Jail, Colombo.

It is our duty to point out that they never considered India as a friendly country. What has happened in Sri Lanka is not merely the violation of Human Rights . We are facing these violations of Human Rights everyday. It is not merely a war crime. War crimes may be committed only against armed sections of people. War crimes are related to violation of international norms of war. But what is actually happening there is nothing but ethnic genocide. Moreover, they have involved in structural genocide. An entire ethnic community is targeted. All their identities are targeted and are destroyed. This structural genocide is carried out under the leadership of ~~the~~ Government of India should not view it as an internal problem of a country. It should not view it as an issue of a particular movement. This issue should be viewed as an issue of structural ethnic cleansing. It should be approached with a view of annihilation of all the identities of an ethnic community. Leaders from all political parties pointed out what should be done with regard to the draft resolution which is going to be proposed by America in United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) meeting which is going on in Geneva. The above mentioned draft resolution to be moved by America is unworthy. It will not benefit the people. They have sought for the implementation of the recommendations of Lessons Learnt and Reconciliation Commission (LLRC). It speaks about nothing else. So this is not enough. We are not asking for the implementation of LLRC recommendation. The people are tortured in their own land. It is unprecedented in history. Bombs containing poisonous gases were thrown over its own people. Should such a Government not be punished? Should they not be brought before international court of justice? Should they not be enquired? Should it not be under the supervision of United Nations?

Sir, this is the duty and responsibility of India as a neighbouring country, to initiate all the above steps. Sir, we have the right, as citizens of India, as Members of this House, to make this request that the Government of India should intervene in this . Without the intervention of India, Eelam issue will not be solved, we know.

But the Government of India always support the Sinhalese. Eight crore people of Tamils say that ~~the~~ should not enter India. But our Minister reiterates that Sri Lanka is our friendly country and that we will invite the Sinhalese and that we will give training to them.

Sir, it is like throwing arrow in the Firewood. Those Sinhalese fanatics should not be allowed into India at any cost. This is the sentiment of the people of Tamil Nadu. It is our humble request. What we ask for is an international independent investigation. The enquiry has to be impartial, independent and has to be under the supervision of United Nations. Such an enquiry has to be conducted by a forum of multinationals. . Those assassins should be enquired in the International Court of Justice and they should be punished for the crimes of Genocide.

I would like to point out another important demand. It is learnt that the Conference of Commonwealth countries which is to be held in Colombo, in forthcoming September. One hundred and seventeen Members of Parliament from England have signed a memorandum demanding that the British Government should not participate in the Commonwealth Conference that is to be held in Sri Lanka. On that basis, on behalf of Tamil Nadu, we request you that India should not participate in the Commonwealth Conference to be held in Colombo. Even after hearing all these views, the Government of

India is adamant on its stand that Sri Lanka is a friendly country and that Government of India will always support Sri Lanka. If the same attitude continues, this will lead the young generation of Tamil Nadu to have a view that they are not Indians. They may feel that India is not their country. So, the Central Govt. is responsible for intensifying this sentiment in Tamil Nadu.

Sir, young son of Mr. Prabhakaran was brutally killed with criminal intention that another Prabhakaran should not come up again. The boy was not carrying arms. He did not fight. He is a small boy. Many young children like him were killed. Many women were killed. Many older people were killed. Many physically challenged people were killed. In order to carry out ethnic cleansing, all these massacre have taken place. The young boy, Balachandran has gone to the bunker of enemies and has faced them with courage. I pay my brave salute to Balachandran. He had borne bullets in his chest. He has shown bravery in his death. Though he is a small boy, though he is a twelve year old child, he has embraced death courageously. We are very proud of him.

Government of India should not maintain friendly relationship with Sri Lanka. We need not any explanation of friendly relationship with them in the name of issues related to China and Pakistan. India should not continue this historical blunder. In the name of foreign policy of our country we should not revenge against our Tamil ethnic community. We can not allow this. Sinhalese are insulting India. We should not consider them as a friendly country.

Sir, I would like to ask whether it is the foreign policy of India to allow Sri Lanka to continue their ethnic cleansing and to protect bilateral relationship with them. There should be a change in the foreign policy of India relating to Sri Lanka. Sir, this is the request on behalf of eight crore of Tamil Speaking people . We are living in India. We are the citizens of India. This is our request to the Government as citizens of India. In Geneva conference, Government of India should come forward on its own to bring a new resolution against Sri Lanka of India. You should support the resolution brought by America. This is our demand. It is the duty and responsibility of the Government of India.

Otherwise it will be a it is a black mark in the history of India. Not only Eelam Tamils, but also the Tamils of Tamil Nadu, will have to struggle against Government of India if India pursues the same foreign policy, which is against Tamils.

SHRI J.M. AARON RASHID (THENI): Sir, the hon. Member said that India has a responsibility; otherwise, a situation would arise in future where the youth of Tamil Nadu would have to fight for a separate Tamil State. That should be deleted.

*SHRI THOL THIRUMAAVALAVAN :Sir,that is why I wish to point out that sentiments against India should not be allowed to grow. Therefore, Government of India should give up the policy of going against Tamils. Sir, Today's Tamil youths are respecting India as their own Tamil Nadu. The Government of India should change its foreign policy with regard to Eelam Tamils . The only solution to this issue is Tamil Eelam. In order to find a solution, a referendum has to be conducted at the international level for Tamil Eelam. Our Government has to take steps for this. Once again, I thank you very much for giving me this opportunity. With these words, I conclude my speech.

MR. CHAIRMAN :Any objectionable portion will be examined and will be removed.

*SHRI C. SIVASAMI (TIRUPPUR) : Government of Sri Lanka is continuously attacking Tamils living in Sri Lanka. Lankan Government wants to completely vanish the Tamil community from its soil. India should not be a silent spectator to the atrocities committed against Tamils in Sri Lanka. Tamils should have equal rights as the Sinhalese in that country. Government at the Centre should take prompt action so as to protect the interests of Tamils in Sri Lanka. There should be an independent and impartial enquiry into the brutal attacks of Lankan Military on Tamils during the civil war in that neighbouring country. Tamils should enjoy equal rights as that of Sinhalese. Sinhalese people have been settled in the places from where Tamils were displaced. Indian government should persuade Lankan government to evacuate Sinhalese from these areas where Tamils lived before. The villages whose Tamil names were changed into Sinhalese names should be restored to their original Tamil names. Under the able supervision of its Officers, the Government of India should come forward to help the affected people. Sri Lanka poses to be friendly country. In future we may come to know that Sri Lanka is a rival country. Tamil fishermen are being attacked, arrested and shot dead by the Lankan Army. What is the action taken by the Indian Government to stop this? Lanka is under the impression that there is no one to protect Tamils in that island nation. We should teach them a lesson. Then only our neighboring countries will be afraid of India.

SHRI NAMA NAGESWARA RAO (KHAMMAM): Mr. Chairman, I thank you for giving me this opportunity to speak on this important Discussion.

चेयरमैन साहब, श्रीलंका में तमिलों के साथ जो हुआ, इसके लिए भारत देश में हम लोगों को भी श्रेम फील करना चाहिए। यह टोटल ह्यूमन राइट्स का वाइलेशन है। ह्यूमन राइट्स का इतना वाइलेशन आज तक वर्ल्ड में कभी नहीं हुआ। इतना होने के बावजूद हमारी गवर्नमेंट ने आज तक कोई भी एक्शन नहीं लिया है। अभी सिन्हा साहब ने अपनी स्पीच में बहुत सारे उदाहरण कोट किये कि किस तरीके से उन लोगों ने प्लान किया है। एक या दो नहीं उन्होंने बहुत सारे उदाहरण कोट किये हैं। कैसे उन लोगों ने प्लान किया है, वर्ष 2009 में India का जनरल इलेक्शन के समय में उन लोगों ने स्टार्ट कर दिया। इसके साथ-साथ इनडायरेक्ट की भी कुछ मैसेज आये, इनडायरेक्ट में भी उधर से जो मिला है, श्रीलंका आफिशियल्स ने जिस तरीके से इंडियंस के साथ बात की है, इस सबके साथ यह पूरा हो रहा है। इससे एक डाउट क्लियर हो रहा है। यह गवर्नमेंट इस पर्टिकुलर इश्यू में डबल स्टैंडर्ड प्ले कर रही है। इसमें इस गवर्नमेंट को आज बहुत विलयर कट देश को बताना पड़ेगा। श्रीलंका में तमिलों के साथ जिस तरीके से हुआ है, इसके बारे में विलयर कट बोलना चाहिए। हम भारत के लोग श्रीलंका के तमिलों के साथ हैं। मगर इस गवर्नमेंट की जो दोहरी नीति, डबल स्टैंडर्ड है, उससे कुछ डाउट लग रहा है। उसे वलेरीफाई करने की जिम्मेदारी गवर्नमेंट के ऊपर है।

महोदय, रियेंटली बहुत सारे इश्यूज हम लोगों के पास आये हैं। कभी भी इस गवर्नमेंट ने श्रीलंका गवर्नमेंट को वार्न नहीं किया है। कभी भी एक स्ट्रॉंग स्टेटमेंट भी नहीं किया है। जब श्रीलंका तमिलों को किल कर रहा था, तब कभी भी ओपनली इस गवर्नमेंट ने इसके बारे में कुछ नहीं बोला। इस सबसे काफी डाउट लग रहा है। The Government has to work with other nations and move a resolution to be passed in the UN. I want the Government to ensure that all those who are involved in war crimes in Sri Lanka should be tried in the international court. इस तरह से आयेगा या नहीं आयेगा, गवर्नमेंट को इसके बारे में बताना पड़ेगा। उससे यह पता चलेगा कि गवर्नमेंट की इस इश्यू के ऊपर क्या नीति है? मुतायम सिंह यादव साहब ने भी कई बार बहुत विलयरली बोला है, गवर्नमेंट की पॉलिसी नेबर कंट्रीज के साथ ठीक नहीं होने की वजह से ऐसा हो रहा है। इस सबके लिए भी यह गवर्नमेंट जिम्मेदार है। I demand from the Government of India to firstly condemn the Sri Lankan activities for its human rights violations and war crimes and the same should be treated as genocide.

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ यह बहुत सेंसेटिव और इंपोर्टेंट इश्यू है, गवर्नमेंट को इस पर अपना स्टैंड बताना चाहिए।

श्री अजय कुमार (जमशेदपुर): सभापति महोदय, मैं आपको धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूँ कि आपने एक महत्वपूर्ण विषय पर बोलने का अवसर दिया है।

हमारे कई माननीय सदस्यों ने इस विषय पर बहुत सी बातें कही हैं, इसलिए मैं ज्यादा समय नहीं लूंगा। नन्हें बाल चन्दर की हत्या और जो अन्य अनेक हजारों लोगों की हत्या हुयी, यह एक विचित्र नरसंहार है। आफिशियल रिकार्ड है कि चालीस हजार लोगों की हत्या हुयी और एक लाख साठ हजार लोग मिसिंग हैं। हमें यह चीज समझनी पड़ेगी कि श्रीलंका सरकार के रिकार्ड के मुताबिक चालीस हजार लोगों की हत्या हुयी है और एक लाख साठ हजार लोग मिसिंग हैं। वर्तमान सरकार की एक पार्टी है, डेवू नेशनल डेमोक्रेटिक पार्टी, जिसने आफिशियली कहा है कि इस युद्ध में जो नागरिक लोग फंस गए थे, उनको एक वार क्रिमिनल के रूप में देखा जाएगा और इनके ऊपर हर तरह की कार्रवाई ये लोग कर सकते हैं।

माननीय मंत्री महोदय से हम यह कहना चाहेंगे कि पूरे दुनिया को थोड़ा सा कंप्यूजन है, हम विदेश नीति को देखते हैं, लीबिया से ले कर, सीरिया से ले कर, हम लोगों ने हर समय यूनाइटेड नेशंस सेक्ट्री काउंसिल में ऐक्सटेल किया है। मुझे लगता है कि जिस तरह लीबिया में नरसंहार हो रहा था, अगर उस समय हम लोगों ने रोक लगा दिया होता तो श्रीलंका की सरकार को इतनी हिम्मत इस तरह की कार्रवाई करने के लिए नहीं होती। हमारे विदेश बहुत ही बुद्धिजीवि व्यक्ति हैं, हम आप से अनुरोध करेंगे कि अब समय आ गया है कि भारत की विदेश नीति को सिर्फ सरकारी आफिसर या ब्युरोक्रेट्स, सिविल सर्वेन्ट्स के ऊपर न निर्भर कर के, आप को सभी स्ट्रेक होल्डर्स को साथ में रखना होगा। इतना बड़ा देश हो कर भी एक फॉरेन पॉलिसी डेवेलप नहीं हुआ है जिसमें राजनीतिक पार्टी से संबंधित लोग, डिफेंस एक्सपर्ट्स, इकोनॉमिक एक्सपर्ट्स सभी लोगों को ले कर, इस सरकार से एक थिंक टैंक क्लियर करने के लिए अनुरोध करूंगा जिससे हम लोगों की विदेश नीति स्पष्ट हो जाए। जहां तक श्रीलंका सरकार की बात है वह तो स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि वह कभी वाइना को आने करता है तो कभी भारत को आने करता है। किसी ने तो सही कहा कि वाइना श्रीलंका में एयरपोर्ट भी बना रहा है। हम आप से यह पूछना चाहते हैं कि यदि हम वाइना के पास एयरपोर्ट बनाते तो क्या वह बनाने देता? इसलिए हम लोगों को यह सुनिश्चित करना है कि हमारे आसपास के क्षेत्र में भारत का दबदबा रहे।

आप के माध्यम से हम विदेश मंत्री से सिर्फ चार-पांच मुद्दे पर अनुरोध करेंगे - एक तो श्रीलंका के खिलाफ वोट डालने के लिए युनाइटेड नेशंस पर, एक इंटरनेशनल रेड क्रॉस सोसायटी को वहां पर काम करने के लिए पूरा फ्री हेंड दिया जाए। तीसरी बात है, जैसा कि यशवंत जी ने वहां से तुंत आर्मी को हटाने के कहा। चौथा है कि एक इंटरनेशनल इन्वेसिगरी इस नरसंहार के बारे में हो जाए, यदि यह सब नहीं होगा तो हम लोग सुनिश्चित कर लेंगे कि 10-15 साल बाद श्रीलंका में एक विस्फोटक स्थिति फिर से उत्पन्न होगी। इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ, तमिलों के साथ जो अत्याचार हो रहा है, सदन ने जो विचार प्रकट किया है हम उसके साथ हैं।

***SHRIMATI J. HELEN DAVIDSON (KANYAKUMARI):** Indian Government should resettle and rehabilitate the internally displaced persons there and ensure a life of peace, dignity and equality for Tamil people. The UPA Government always tells that Sri Lanka is our friendly nation and we should keep good relation with Sri Lanka. If any of the Indian

Community other than Tamils, living in other nations and killed by their government, will the Indian Nation and its media keep quiet? Now the entire world has come to know about the brutal activity of Sri Lankan Government on the massacre of lakhs of Tamils including children, women and the aged. Thousands of Tamil Women were raped and killed by the Sri Lankan Government. India is a Nation, which is famous for its Spirituality and National integrity. We will lose such name and fame if we continue allow such war committed criminals to India.

Our party Chief Thalaivar Kalaingar also urged Hon'ble Prime Minister many times to support the US backed Resolution against Sri Lanka at the United Nations Human Rights Council meet at Geneva in this month. Channel 4 is making clear to the world various atrocities committed by the Sri Lankan Army and the face of Rajapakshe, who claims himself to be a noble man. And it is a matter of regret that India has officially not declared its stand so far. Therefore, when countries like US come forward to take action against Sri Lanka, Indian Government should also come forward to strengthen such initiative rather than shielding it. This is the desire of the people of Tamil Nadu and other Hon'ble Members of Tamil Nadu.

DR. TARUN MANDAL (JAYNAGAR): Sir, the plight of Tamils in Sri Lanka is beyond description. It is horrible that in the name of a democratic Government over there huge number of deaths, destruction, disability, rapes, killing of children had been perpetrated. That cannot be contained by any international convention, covenants of human rights.

Sir, I do not want to enumerate the magnitude of the numbers of the crimes again but in unequivocal terms, I would like to record here that the perpetrators of the crimes, the Sri Lankan military, who have done it in cold blood should be prosecuted and punished as per international standards. Our Government should take initiative to oblige its international duty.

Sir, it reminds us of the massacre of Jalianwala Bagh by the British Raj. It reminds us of the holocaust of Second World War perpetrated by Nazi Hitler. It reminds us of the war crimes in Vietnam, in Afghanistan and in Iraq by the US imperialism. It also hammers our mind by the crimes perpetrated almost regularly in the Middle-East by the Israeli Forces on Palestine backed by the imperialists. It reminds us of more than 30 lakh killings in 1971 War of Bangladesh Liberation for which in the Shahbag Square till today the youths of Bangladesh are protesting and demanding the real punishment to the perpetrators of the crimes.

Sir, the ethnicity, the language, the equality and the freedom of the Tamil people of Sri Lanka must be respected, protected and they should be given, in all sense, equal rights with non-Tamil people within the boundary of Sri Lanka.

Sir, when there are any sort of conflicts or agitations by any sort of ethnic people, that should be mitigated by political dialogue and not by any military might. The people who were killed there should be properly compensated as per the norms of the international standard. They should be rehabilitated in a most friendly and amicable environment so that the Tamil people in Sri Lanka got back the confidence on the Government. When criticising our neighbours, we must look into our own activities and self-criticise ourselves also. We should not promulgate or form any policy or act so that our people can be treated inhumanly what we are observing in some parts of Kashmir, in some parts of Manipur and in many other States. Our military, our administrators, our Government should not indulge in such acts and omissions, law and order otherwise human rights can also be violated in our own land.

Sir, our relations with Sri Lanka are mythological, historical and democratic. There is a saying in Bengali. There was a great poet. He said:

"Bangalir chhele Bijoy Singha Lanka koria joy,
Singhal naame rekhe elo nijo shourjer porichoy."

It means, 'a Bengali fellow, Bijoy Singh conquered Sri Lanka one day and named it Singhal on his name'. Today, definitely, we cannot conquer Sri Lanka by any sort of waging war or weapon but we must win our neighbour with our humanitarian, progressive and brotherly international relations.

Sir, I believe that Sri Lanka is also suffering as a capitalist country, democratic country of the world like any other country in their internal problem of recession, unemployment, education, health problems, etc. It has become a weapon of such kind of democracy today to divide its own people into different religion, parochial, castes and creeds etc. We should

not consider any difference between the Tamil people and the Sinhalese people of Sri Lanka. They should fight together against any sort of undemocratic, inhuman and anti-people policies perpetrated by the Sri Lankan Government. Our Indian Government must fulfill its international obligations and give solace to the people of India and our other neighbouring countries.

***SHRI R. THAMARASELVAN (DHARMAPURI):** All of us know that United States is proposing to move a Resolution against Sri Lanka for its war crimes and genocide committed on the innocent Tamils in Sri Lanka.

First of all I feel very sorry that the country from which the Tamils moved to Sri Lanka centuries ago, did we find time to move a Resolution against Sri Lanka Government for its human rights violation against the Sri Lankan Tamils. But I am very happy that now the U.S. has initiated this step.

When the entire world has taken note of the dictatorial policies and condemned, we are unable to understand, why the Government has failed to move or hesitating to move such Resolution before the United Nations Human Rights Commission? When will India understand the man, who possess a smiling face but harbours a heart full of poisonous vengeance against Sri Lankan Tamils? Our Government has failed to recognize the 'Double Standard' of the .

The Channel-4 has recently taken the photographs of war crimes committed by Sri Lanka Government against Sri Lankan Tamils. One such photograph was that of the brutal killing of innocent 12 year old boy Balachandran, who is young son of Prabhakaran. But our Minister for External Affairs says that this photograph could not vouch for their authenticity. This is very unfortunate statement from the Hon'ble External Affairs Minister.

We cannot forget Sri Lanka is a single day massacred more than 40,000 innocent Tamils including women, children and elderly people. More than 2 lakh people were killed.

There are reports that the United Nations authorities were unable to free the population of Tamil people. The places filled with Tamil people now looks like a desert and nobody knows their whereabouts.

The financial assistance provided by our Government to the Sri Lankan Tamils has been diverted for the welfare of Sri Lankan people. The funds have not been utilized for the rehabilitation of Tamil people.

Therefore, I strongly urge upon the Government to move own Resolution before the United Nations Human Rights Commission in Geneva against Sri Lanka for its war crimes, human rights violation and genocide committed against innocent Sri Lankan Tamils and also support the Resolution to be moved by the US in United Nations Human Rights Commission in Geneva.

***श्री राजेन्द्र अग्रवाल (मेरठ):** श्रीलंका में तमिलों की दुर्दशा पर चल रही चर्चा पर आपने भाग लेने का अवसर प्रदान किया, इसके लिए मैं आपका आभारी हूँ। महोदय, तीन घंटे से भी अधिक समय से यह चर्चा चल रही है तथा संपूर्ण सदन श्रीलंका में तमिलों की स्थिति पर अत्यंत चिंतित एवं दुःखी है। सभी दलों से यही सर्वसम्मति संवेदना प्रकट हुई है कि तमिलों के सम्मान पुनर्वासन में पड़ोसी के नाते भी तथा मानवता के नाते भी भारत की भूमिका है तथा हमारे देश की सरकार को इस संबंध में उचित एवं प्रभावशाली कदम उठाने चाहिए।

किसी भी पड़ोसी देश में उसकी सरकार के द्वारा या व्यक्तियों के द्वारा भारतीय मूल के किसी भी वर्ग पर कोई अत्याचार होता है तो उस वर्ग के व्यक्तियों की सुरक्षा की चिंता कौन करेगा? अंतर्राष्ट्रीय मसलों में हस्तक्षेप की जिम्मेदारी, यदि वह आवश्यक है तो वह किसकी है? नःसंदेह यह जिम्मेदारी प्रवेश सरकारों की नहीं है, यह केन्द्र सरकार की ही जिम्मेदारी है। यह अत्यंत दुःख तथा चिंता का विषय है कि दुनिया के विभिन्न देशों में भारतीय मूल के व्यक्तियों पर अत्याचार होते हैं, उनका अपमान होता है तथा हमारी सरकार की प्रतिक्रिया बड़ी कमजोर होती है। श्रीलंका में जो कुछ हजारों-लाखों तमिलों के साथ हुआ है वह मानवाधिकारों का घोर एवं पाश्चिक उल्लंघन है जो शर्मनाक है। श्रीलंका हमारा पड़ोसी है, परंपरा से भारत तथा श्रीलंका का ऐतिहासिक जुड़ाव रहा है। हम श्रीलंका की इस मित्ता का

सम्मान करते हैं परंतु हमें इतना कमजोर क्यों समझ लिया जाता है कि श्रीलंका ने हमारी मित्रता को मूल्यवान नहीं माना। मुझे यह लगता है कि विदेश नीति के संबंध में हम अपने राष्ट्रीय हितों को ऊपर नहीं रख पाते, कहीं हम स्वतंत्र रूप से निर्णय नहीं कर पाते। तिब्बत के प्रकरण से लेकर आज तक ऐसे अनेक उदाहरण हैं जो हमें दुनिया के सबसे बड़े एवं समर्थ लोकतंत्र के नाते प्रतिष्ठित नहीं करते। विदेश नीति सर्वसम्मति का विषय है परंतु आज यह स्थिति नहीं है। सरकार को इस संबंध में खुले मन से, पूर्वाग्रहों को छोड़कर अपने राष्ट्रीय हितों को सर्वोपरि रखते हुए सर्वदलीय विचार-विमर्श करना चाहिए। तमिलों की विंता दूर होनी चाहिए। देश की एकता-अखंडता के लिए यह आवश्यक है कि केन्द्र सरकार पर विभिन्न वर्गों का सुरक्षा की दृष्टि से भरोसा तो है। मैं यही कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस भरोसे का सरकार निर्माण करे। श्रीलंका सरकार के साथ बैठकर दृढ़ता के साथ ऐसी व्यवस्था करे कि तमिलों का असम्मान पुनर्वासन हो, वे श्रीलंका में सुरक्षित रहे। साथ ही हम ऐसा भी सुनिश्चित करे कि अन्य किसी देश में भी भारतीय मूल के व्यक्तियों को अपमानित या उत्पीड़ित न किया जाए।

***श्री नारनभाई काछडिया (अमरेली):** आने वाले समय में सरकार को श्री लंका के प्रति संयुक्त राष्ट्र के प्रस्ताव के संदर्भ में सख्त कदम उठाना होगा। श्रीलंका का शासन बिना जिम्मेवारी और जवाबदेही वाला है। ये पूरे देश में कहीं भी, कुछ भी कर सकते हैं। तमिल क्षेत्र दुनिया के सबसे कुर और गैर-जिम्मेदाराना सशस्त्र बलों को ऐड़ी के नीचे रखने को मजबूर हैं। केवल यह एक ऐसा शासन है जो श्रीलंका में या बाहर विदेश में, कहीं भी जवाबदेह नहीं है। और यह कहीं भी कुछ भी, जब इनकी मरजी हो, न केवल तमिल क्षेत्रों में बल्कि पूरे देश में कुछ भी करने के लिये महारथ हासिल है। यह भय उत्पन्न करने वाली भाषा नहीं है, वास्तव में, मरते हुए तमिलों के मानव अधिकारों का गंभीर उल्लंघन और हनन है। एक अंतरराष्ट्रीय स्तर पर विश्वसनीय संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ महासचिव द्वारा तमिलों के लिये तबाही शब्द का उपयोग करता है, इस शब्द का प्रयोग, जहां तक मेरा मानना है, कभी नहीं किया गया है। जो कुछ भी श्रीलंका में हो रहा है, उस "नरसंहार" के उपर तत्काल कार्यवाही करने हेतु एक अलार्म है, यह एक ऐसा शासन है, जो गंभीर युद्ध अपराधों और मानवता के विरुद्ध कार्य कर रहा है। जनवरी 2009 के प्रारंभ से हजारों बेहिसाब निहत्थे तमिल नागरिकों की मातृ 5 महीनों के अंदर वहशीयाना रूप से हत्या कर दी गई, जिसका कोई गवाह मौजूद नहीं है। यह एक अत्यंत दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण घटना है। हम इस प्रकार के अत्याचार के सख्त खिलाफ हैं।

MR. CHAIRMAN: The discussion is over. Now, the hon. Minister is to reply.

THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI SALMAN KHURSHEED): Thank you, Sir, for giving me this opportunity to reply on the Short Duration Discussion raised by Shri T. R. Baalu, 'The Plight of Tamils in Sri Lanka' and I might add that we have seldom seen in the House, the compassion, the feeling, the sincerity and the concern for human beings as has been expressed from all sections of the House today.

Sir, I want to compliment Shri Baalu for having set the tone. It was the tone that combined pain with sincerity; sincerity to find a solution and to express the pain in the most careful of words that could have been expressed in the House today. I want to say that we are extremely grateful to all the Members across the House starting with Shri Baalu.

And then the very erudite intervention made by Shri Yashwant Sinha, my very distinguished predecessor as Minister of External Affairs, followed by Dr. Thambidurai, who again made a very impassioned intervention. मुलायम सिंह जी इस समय यहां नहीं हैं। उन्होंने बड़ी दूरदर्शिता से मित्रता की बात की और पूरे हाउस के सामने जो इतनी बड़ी समस्या है, उसके संदर्भ में भी कुछ बहुत दूरगामी सुझाव दिए।

Sir, I am also thankful to Shri S. Alagiri for the contribution that he made. दाय सिंह जी हमेशा बड़ी सहानुभूति और सकारात्मक सुझाव सामने रखते हैं। आज भी उन्होंने संक्षेप में ऐसा ही कहा। जगदीश शर्मा जी ने इस बात को और आगे बढ़ाया। Prof. Saugata Roy made what I believe was a very careful, insightful speech but it somehow created ripples across the House for reasons that I could not understand. Shri Natarajan made a very impassioned speech about the young boy, Balachandran who was lost obviously in very tragic circumstances has been reported. Shri Lingam and Shri Mahtab also contributed. Dayanidhi Maran Ji has posed, I believe, important challenges to us.

श्री शरद यादव ने सभी लोगों की भावनाओं को अपना पूर्ण समर्थन दिया। तालू जी ने अपने ही अंदाज में आगे बढ़ने के सकारात्मक सुझाव हमें दिए। तालू जी की

बात हमेशा बहुत पोलिटिकल भी होती है और इसीलिए उससे हमें बड़ा सहयोग मिलेगा। गणेश मूर्ति जी, तिरुमावलावन जी, श्री नागेश्वर राव, श्री तरुण मंडल और श्री अजय कुमार, श्री अजय कुमार ने कहा कि वे चाहते हैं कि थिंक टैंक हो, भारत की विदेश नीति पर सभी स्टैकहोल्डर्स का समावेश हो, उनकी बातों का समावेश हो। सबसे पूछकर, समझकर और वार्ता के बाद विदेश नीति बननी चाहिए और सिर्फ सरकारी अधिकारियों पर नहीं छोड़ना चाहिए। मुझे अजीब लगा कि जिस व्यक्ति को सरकार की सेवा करने का बहुत लम्बा अवसर मिला और जिसने बहुत अच्छी तरह सरकार की सेवा की, वह आज हाउस में आकर ऐसी बात कह रहा है। हम इसका स्वागत करते हैं, लेकिन उम्मीद करते हैं कि किसी और अवसर पर आप यह भी कहेंगे कि अधिकारियों की बात भी कभी-कभी सुन लिया कीजिए, सिर्फ अपनी ही बात न करें।

Sir, I deeply appreciate what Baalu Ji has said and I want to make it very, very clear that the feelings of the House are feelings that we share. Though we share every little bit of the feeling of the House but I must say that this involves both the heart and the head. Where does anger reside? I do not know. Sometimes I heard strains of anger as well. We cannot be angry because this is a huge humanitarian problem that our generation has to find a solution to and help our friends in Sri Lanka find a solution. This has gone on for too long.

Sir, 27 years of pain and misery that has been suffered by a country that is next to us, our neighbour, pain and misery that spilt over into our country but this is no time to recount that because if I did, I will only be opening up old wounds. I do not want to open old wounds because I know that each one of us at some moment has suffered something that relates to what has happened in Sri Lanka. It is clear that we want all that to end. It is clear that we want Sri Lanka to be in peace. It is clear that we want all people in Sri Lanka, all citizens of Sri Lanka, particularly the Tamil citizens of Sri Lanka to live in equal participation in a democracy that gives them dignity, comfort and closure to the wounds of the past. The closure will happen and we and they will be able to move forward only if there is acceptance of the truth there is reconciliation after acceptance of the truth with provision for a life of dignity and participation as equal citizens for Tamil Sri Lankans at all times of the future.

In order to accept truth, one has to have a heart that is big and shoulders that are strong. In order to accept the truth, sometimes for every society or country, the past looks very hurtful. But we have to move beyond the past. But, I do want to say to all our hon. Members today, who expressed their deep concern, particularly hon. Members from Tamil Nadu – because it is nearest to their heart; nearest to their shores; nearest to their sense of grievance, sense of identification – that this is not your problem alone. This is something in which all of India is involved and all of India shares your concerns and feels your pain. Share your pain with us and your pain may be lightened; share your burden with us and your burden will be lightened. In that spirit I only say this to you; whatever we say here today and whatever we do must not tomorrow be thrown back at us, because this is a complicated world. Not everybody is our friend though not everybody is our enemy. But, there are many people, who raise all kinds of questions about every country and about every society.

We have seen across the globe, as to what has happened in Central Asia, in West Asia; we have seen what happened in East Europe and in Africa. We have seen what has happened in different parts of the globe. Therefore, whatever we decide today should add a dimension to our foreign policy foundation that will not tomorrow be used against us, not be exploited against us, but without saying that we should dilute our commitment and determination to ensure that any inhuman acts receive total accountability, and sanction is imposed or punishment given. So that we can hold up our heads. But, is it for us to do this or is it for the Sri Lankan society, their Government and people to do it? If we attempt to do it from outside, we will violate what we have always believed that we should not dictate reordering of societies; that we do not allow for interference of other countries into the sovereign affairs of a country and that we do not play the policeman of the world or our region or play big brother to anybody.

Every country in the SAARC region, in Asia, in the world are all equal sovereign partners for India. It is true that sometimes someone, who has been a friend, decides to take a path that we disagree with. The courage and moral strength of India lies in having the ability to say to a friend that they have done wrong. It is very easy to say to an enemy 'you have done wrong', but it is very difficult to say that to a friend. That is the courage that I seek support from the House today, that when we see something wrong, whether it is in a country, that is friendly to us; or we see something done wrong in our own country, we should together in one voice say that it is wrong and that we will put it right. In human nature as evident in human history, one has had to move beyond the wrong done and find some path to look beyond, towards the future that is brighter than the past suffered. Such is the spirit in which, I hope, today to be able to persuade you to take us forward.

I know that there are human rights reports, and evidence of violations produced on TV channels and in newspapers and that the bottomline remains to be addressed. The bottomline with which we have engaged with Sri Lanka, is political devolution, that ensures the legitimate rights and aspirations of the Tamil people of Sri Lanka, must be implemented *in toto*.

Several of us have spoken about the 13th Amendment. We have actually talked about the 13th Amendment—plus; not about the 13th Amendment—minus. The 13th Amendment *in toto* must be implemented and hopefully we can then look beyond at 13th Amendment—plus.

Similarly, the LLRC *in toto* must be implemented and then we can think at something beyond and ahead. I note that many hon. Members feel that there should be an external international inquiry into what has allegedly happened in Sri Lanka. I know that the adjudication is necessary and it is inevitable.

It is a part of the process of the healing. If there has to be durable and sustainable political solution in Sri Lanka, the facts will have to be established and accepted and the consequences that come from acceptance of those facts must also follow. But as my good friend, Prof. Saugata Ray said, this must follow not only in one society, but in every society where we have seen something going wrong. He mentioned some other countries in this context.

I believe the principle must prevail across the world, but it is important - and I think this is where the hon. Members drew a contrast - the society that to come to terms with its past, must do that itself. This happened in South Africa where they did it themselves. It is happening in Bangladesh where again they are doing it themselves. Reconciliation will be durable and sustainable, if a country does it itself. Of course, we can persuade, nudge and help them find way so that they will believe this is something that they need to do to be a part of the comity of nations. This is what diplomacy is about.

Diplomacy can do what war cannot. Today I ask beseech you to search your hearts and ask yourselves what happens when there is war. With the best of intentions, war does things that inhumanitarian are totally unacceptable. What happens to women, to children, to institutions and what happens to ordinary people when war takes place? That is why, India believes in peace, but we do know that as a last resort, if somebody imposes war on us, we will have no choice but to defend ourselves, but you should not willingly and lightly walk into a situation in which we become the subject of war or participants in war. The end of war and the consequences of war are never the same as the consequences of peace .

Shri Yashwant Sinha said that even after war, you have to negotiate peace. Now if we have to negotiate peace after war, is it not better to negotiate peace before war? Let us negotiate peace, but I do know that some people do not negotiate peace unless there is war. I think, the faith that India has in peaceful diplomatic methods of avoiding war and violence, is something that we should strengthen today whilst very clearly and categorically saying that we do believe that justice requires that certain steps to be taken.

That is the reason why we voted for the American resolution last year. Look at the remarkable things that are happening today. Many of our colleagues, who are suspicious of the American point of view, are today supporting that resolution because there can always be convergence between people who otherwise disagree. But there can be convergence on something that is meaningful, beneficial and useful. Today if there is convergence in the House, it is a similar convergence that last year persuaded us to support that resolution. Do you think that it was easy? If one support a resolution against any country, do you think that it is easy? You have to explain, and continue a dialogue with them and relationship with them despite the fact that of voting against them. But if this is on a principled position with confidence that it is not something that one is doing for self advantage but that is for their benefit, and benefit of all humanity, it is possible to look them in the eye and say that it was important that we vote against you because this will help you resolve your problems.

This year, again, when a procedural resolution comes as a follow up of the last year's resolution, what is to be our position? Our position is that we will take into account what all the hon. Members have said, including what the Senior leader of the Opposition has said. We will study this in terms of developments on the ground and information that we collect that is authentic and reliable. We will put all that together and we will look at what Sri Lanka has to say. We will see what other countries have to say and come to a decision as to what the best possible decision. Once we take the decision, we will share that with you. You will know what we have done. The world will know what we have decided. Maybe it will be different from what some of the hon. Members have articulated here today, but it will certainly tally with what many other hon. Members have said.

I realise that when you go back home, to your constituencies, you are answerable to the people who will ask as to what you have done. Let me say this to you on behalf of all the Members here that you have done your duty with exemplary courage and determination. I express my gratitude to all Members who have taken up what I believe is a great humanitarian cause. ...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI T.R. BAALU : Hon. Minister, I want a categorical reply from the Government. Are you, at least, going for a separate Amendment? I am asking this because you cannot go for a Resolution now. You can go for an Amendment to see that

international agency / multilateral agencies look into this aspect or inquire into the war crimes and see that culprits are brought to book.

SHRI SALMAN KHURSHEED : I am grateful to the hon. Member to remind me about we are to do. I agree that we have to do something; what we do must be effective; clear and it must not be lukewarm – since I have been told that we should not be lukewarm. But how we do it and what indeed we do, this freedom must be left to the Government to be able to translate your wishes and desires in a proper manner diplomatically, in order to achieve what we want to achieve. ...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI T.R. BAALU : There is no political settlement; there is no rehabilitation; and resettlement has not yet taken place. What is your answer on this?

SHRI SALMAN KHURSHEED : My answer is that ...(*Interruptions*)

मुख्य विपक्ष की तरफ से इकबाल की बात कही गई। मैं पहले समझा कि मोहम्मद इकबाल की बात कर रहे हैं, लेकिन वे दूसरे इकबाल की बात कर रहे थे। ...(*व्यवधान*) मैं समझा कि आप सारे जहां से अच्छा- हिन्दुस्तान हमारा कहने वाले थे।

श्री निशिकांत दुबे (गोड्डा): वह तो कहकर चले गए।

श्री सलमान खुरशीद: वही तो मैं कह रहा हूँ कि हर कहानी वहां समाप्त नहीं होती। हमने वह गीत गाया, हिन्दुस्तान की आज़ादी का वह गीत गाया। वह चले गए, लेकिन वह भावना वह यहां छोड़ गए, शब्द यहां छोड़ गए। इसलिए आज भी वह गीत हम यहां गाते हैं। लेकिन आपने इकबाल की बात की, मैं यह मानता हूँ कि इकबाल हमारे मुल्क का है और होना चाहिए। इकबाल तब मजबूत होगा, जब आप और हम एक ही आवाज़ में, एक ही ध्वनि में, एक ही भावना से और एक ही भाषा में अपनी बात कहेंगे, तो हमारा इकबाल बढ़ेगा। अगर हमें दुनिया देखेगी कि हम आपस में ही बंटे हुए हैं, हमारा आपस में ही झगड़ा है, तो कौन हमारी बात बाहर मानेगा। तब मानेंगे अगर हमारी एक आवाज़ हो। अगर आप यह मानें कि हम सच्चे मन से, सत्य दिल से हम आपके सामने वही बात रख रहे हैं जो शायद आप भी सत्ता करते। हम यह भी नहीं कहने जा रहे हैं कि आपके सामने चुनौतियां आईं, आपके सामने ऐसी दुविधाएं आईं, जिसमें आपको भी कुछ वे बातें करनी पड़ीं, जिस पर हो सकता था हमें कष्ट होता। आप कंधार गए, लेकिन इसलिए गए कि आपको देश को सबसे आगे रखना था। इसलिए हर बात पर हम पूंन चिन्ह लगाएं, हर बात पर कहें कि ऐसा क्यों करते हो, तो जवाब यही होगा कि हर बात पर पूंन चिन्ह लगता है तो बाहर इकबाल की बात नहीं हो सकती। हम पर भरोसा करें, हम कह चुके हैं कि यह दुख जितना आपका है, उतना ही हमारा है। कुछ न कुछ तो करना है और जो करना है, वह करके दिखाएंगे।

SHRI T.R. BAALU : What is that something that you are going to do after four years of the end of the war? ...(*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Baalu, please take your seat.

...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI T.R. BAALU : The Ministers come and Ministers go, but the same reply is given. ...(*Interruptions*) It is the fourth time that I am raising this issue either under Rule 193 discussion or a Calling Attention. ...(*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, please take your seat.

...(*Interruptions*)

DR. M. THAMBIDURAI : Sir, I would like to ask a clarification. The Minister is beating around the bush, and he is not coming to the point. ...(*Interruptions*) The last time also he supported the Resolution against Sri Lanka, and when it took place he said that when other countries are taking initiative, why India is not taking initiative in this. Why cannot you formulate your Resolution against human light violations and genocide of the Sri Lankan Tamils in 2009 conflict. Knowing the fact that other countries are forming it? But you keep on telling that they are neighbours. Already China is a neighbour to him. ...(*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Okay, you have made your point.

...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI T.R. BAALU : It is not possible to make a Resolution now. Where is the chance for them to go for it? You have to go for an Amendment. ...(*Interruptions*) Are you going for an Amendment? ...(*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please speak one at a time.

...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI SALMAN KHURSHEED : Sir, if my two hon. friends will allow me then I would say that if I cannot even get my two hon. friends to agree on something in the House, then how do I get anybody to agree outside?

16.00 hrs

Please hear me. We cannot take a final decision here. I am saying that we will take the final decision, keeping in mind your sentiments, your concerns and the totality ...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI T.R. BAALU : We are totally dissatisfied with the reply. We are not agreeable with you. We are walking out.

16.0¼hrs

At this stage, Shri T.R. Baalu and some other

hon. Members left the House.

...(Interruptions)

DR. M. THAMBIDURAI : We are not satisfied with the reply. We are walking out.

16.0½ hrs

At this stage, Dr. M. Thambidurai and some other

hon. Members left the House.

...(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Let there be some order in the House. What is happening in the House? Those who want to go out can go out, but do not disturb the House like this.

...(Interruptions)

श्री सलमान खुरशीद : इस समय हमारी चेष्टा है कि आप यहां रहें और आप यहां रहे, इसके लिए आपको धन्यवाद और बधाई। लेकिन इसके साथ-साथ यह न कहा जाए कि आपने जो कुछ कहा वह सिर्फ शब्द थे, कुछ करके दिखाया भी है कुछ किया है या नहीं किया है? यह डिस्कशन जो हमारे तमिल साथी श्रीलंका में हैं उनकी स्थिति पर था।

Sir, of course, we have a long history of cooperation with Sri Lanka, but since 2009, in a determined way, we have tried to ensure and reached out with welfare measures to our very unfortunate brothers and sisters in that part of Sri Lanka. Therefore, I want to share with the House that as the Members of Parliament are aware, the Prime Minister had announced in June, 2009 a grant of Rs. 500 crore for relief, rehabilitation and resettlement work in Sri Lanka. Since then, a lot of this money has already been spent. We also took up various projects for rehabilitation of Internally Displaced Persons and reconstruction of infrastructure. ...(*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Let there be order in the House. Please do not shout like this.

...(Interruptions)

SHRI SALMAN KHURSHEED: We also took up reconstruction of infrastructure in the Northern and Eastern Provinces of Sri Lanka. Many of these projects are related to rail, housing, vocational training and economic revival, and they have been taken up with a sense of urgency. Several of these projects cater to the pressing requirements of the people in the affected areas. We have also deployed de-mining teams in Sri Lanka and held artificial limb fitment camps in Jaffna and Vavuniya in Northern Sri Lanka.

To revive the agricultural activities in Northern Sri Lanka, India has gifted 95,000 agricultural starter packs, seeds and 500 tractors for the use of Internally Displaced Persons. ...(*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: What are you doing? Why do you not listen to him? He has made that point. You do not want to listen.

...(Interruptions)

श्री विष्णु पद राय (अंडमान और निकोबार द्वीपसमूह): सर, ये एक ही पाइंट को घुमा रहे हैं...(*व्यवधान*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please take your seat.

...(Interruptions)

श्री यशवंत सिन्हा : मैं बहुत अदब के साथ आपके माध्यम से मंत्री जी से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि ट्रैक्टर भेजने से या मकान बनाने से श्रीलंका तमिलस का ह्यूमन राइट्स इस्टेब्लिश नहीं होता, होगा क्या? अगर मैं सदन की भावना को सही ढंग से समझा हूँ तो सदन की भावना आज यह है कि श्रीलंका तमिलस के

हूमन राइट्स को, उनकी मर्यादा और सुरक्षा को सुनिश्चित करने के लिए भारत सरकार की क्या योजना है? अगर कोई योजना नहीं है तो माननीय मंत्री महोदय कहें कि हमारी आज के दिन योजना नहीं है, आगे इस पर विचार करेंगे, हम फिर इस पर तय करेंगे।

श्री सलमान खुरशीद : सर, मैं बड़े आदर के साथ माननीय यशवंत सिन्हा जी को एक शेर सुना दूँ, कल भी शेर सुनाए गये थे। ...(*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Why are you not listening to the Minister? After asking a question, you must at least listen to the reply.

...(*Interruptions*)

श्री सलमान खुरशीद : "मेरी आंख बंद थी जब तलक मेरे सामने बूरे जमाल था,

और खुली आंख मेरी तो न खबर रही वो ख्वाब था या खयाल था।"

मैं इसलिए कह रहा हूँ, आप मुझे माफ करें मैं आपको बताने जा रहा हूँ।...(*व्यवधान*)

श्री यशवंत सिन्हा : सभापति जी, मैं शेरों-शायरी में एक्सपर्ट नहीं हूँ, फिर भी एक शेर मैं आपको पढ़कर सुनाना चाहता हूँ कि भारत सरकार की आज पालिसी क्या है-

"तनज्जुल की हद देखना चाहता हूँ कि शायद वहीं हो तरक्की का जीना । "

श्री सलमान खुरशीद : जब आपने कह ही दिया है तो मुझे कहना पड़ेगा :

"गिरते हैं सह सवार ही मैदाने जंग में, वो तिपल क्या गिरेणे जो घुटनों के बल चले।"

अब हमें घोड़े पर सवार होने दीजिए। हम भी देखते हैं।

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA : The Minister has chosen not to reply to the point that I had made. Therefore, Sir, we are walking out.

16.06 hrs

At this stage, Shri Yashwant Sinha and some other

hon. Members left the House.

श्री सलमान खुरशीद : मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि 50 हजार घर हम दे रहे हैं। We are giving 50,000 houses. ...(*Interruptions*)

श्री जगदीश शर्मा : सभापति महोदय, ...(*व्यवधान*)

MR. CHAIRMAN : You are not allowed. Please take your seat. Hon. Minister, please continue.

...(*Interruptions*)

16.07 hrs

At this stage, Shri Jagdish Sharma and some other Hon'ble Members

left the House.

SHRI SALMAN KHURSHEED: About 50,000 houses have been sanctioned. I am happy to inform the House that the pilot project for construction of 1000 houses was completed in August, 2012 and the houses have been handed over to the beneficiaries. We have also launched the second phase for construction and repair of 43,000 houses which will be on 'owner driven model' and on 2nd October, 2012, this was done. I am happy to inform the House that this stage is progressing well and 8,314 beneficiaries have already received the first installment payments. Work for undertaking the third phase for remaining 6,000 houses under the 'agency driven model' has also been initiated. We expect to complete 10,000 houses before the end of the year. In addition, the Government has extended a line of credit of about 800 million US dollars for restoration of the Northern Railway lines. We expect to complete the basic work by December, 2013 in order to restore rail connectivity between Jaffna, Mannar and other places in Northern provinces. We are also providing considerable assistance for the return and rehabilitation of internally displaced persons and help restore a modicum of normalcy in affected areas in Northern and Eastern Provinces of Sri Lanka. ...(*Interruptions*) मैं लालू जी को एक बात बताना चाहता हूँ।...(*व्यवधान*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: You need not reply. You can complete your speech.

SHRI SALMAN KHURSHEED: I only want to tell Luluji and other Members that a Parliamentary Delegation had gone to Sri Lanka and seen all this. It was led by Shrimati Sushma Swaraj. They have seen all this and at that time, when they returned we do not seem to have heard from them any dissatisfaction about the manner in which things are progressing. I agree a lot more has to be done. ऐसा नहीं है कि आज जो कुछ हुआ है वह काफी है। हम संतुष्ट नहीं हैं और इसलिए हम बार-बार श्रीलंका सरकार के सामने यही बात रखते रहे हैं।

श्री लालू प्रसाद : आपके नेतृत्व में आल पार्टी डेलीगेशन वहां जाए। हम लोगों को हनुमान बनकर वहां पता करना पड़ेगा कि क्या-क्या गड़बड़ हुई है।

श्री सलमान खुरशीद : अगर आप हनुमान बन जाएं, तो सारे मसले हल हो जाएंगे।...(व्यवधान)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please allow the Minister to complete.

SHRI SALMAN KHURSHEED: Sir, I believe this will sum up the feelings that have been expressed by many Members. I want to say that 13th Amendment is the beginning. We can further build upon 13th Amendment. We hope elections in Northern Provincial Council will be held by September. There will be transparency. There will be observers and we will then know about the aspirations of the people of the Northern Provinces which are reflected in the results of those elections.

We believe, there is a moral duty. The inhuman acts mentioned about of oppression, sexual assault and torture of helpless persons, including the family of Pirabhakaran, must all be accounted for. We do believe and we will continue to persuade Sri Lanka that an independent and acceptable inquiry into violations of human rights is conducted and that a closure on this very unhappy and unpleasant 27 years in the history of Sri Lanka finally brought to an end.

As I said, this wish of the House or the expression of the feelings of this House will be foremost in our mind when we take a final decision about the UN Human Rights Council Resolution. I thank you Sir, and all the Members for their cooperation.
