

SHRI A. CHARLES (Trivandrum): Sir, you must safeguard our rights.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Yes, definitely.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: We are a political functionary... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI C. MADHAV REDDI (Adilabad): At least let them tell us what is the business for tomorrow.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: She has said that she is going to inform. Within 10-15 minutes she is going to inform. She has already said that. Madam, after fifteen minutes you try to tell them what is the agenda for tomorrow.

SHRI AMAL DATTA: Such an important matter..... (*Interruptions*).

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I have told the Minister. She will inform. Don't worry.

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY: This has never happened before.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: I thought that *ad hocism* was only the characteristic of the Government, but it has become the characteristic of this House also.

SHRI AMAL DATTA: Sir, in that case let us discuss Article 78. That business is already there. The Speaker has admitted that.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: We will see what is the possibility. The Minister will find out. Mr. Mohanty, you can carry on.

17.25 hrs.

DISCUSSION RE: SITUATION ARISING OUT OF THE ESCALATION OF VIOLENCE IN SHRI LANKA

[English]

SHRI BRAJAMOHAN MOHANTY (Puri): What is the scenario to-day in Sri

Lanka? If you observe minutely, perhaps it is human civilisation marching backward.

(*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Order please.

SHRI BRAJAMOHAN MOHANTY: What is the scenario to-day in Sri Lanka?

SHRI AMAL DATTA (Diamond Harbour): You are taking the place of Shri Tewary.

SHRI BRAJAMOHAN MOHANTY: I do not know whether that word has been monopolised by any Member.

The situation prevailing in Sri Lanka is distressing. Not only it is distressing but also one feels as if the human civilisation is marching backward. What is the situation to-day? Jayawardhane Government is using Army and Air Force against the citizens. It is unusual. Nowhere Army and Air Force are engaged against the citizens. Not only that, the economic blockade, the communication blockade is there. In order to punish the militants, the entire population including the civil population, they were denied the opportunity of getting their provision of economic needs or communication needs. This is unfortunate.

This is not all. So far as the Tamil population is concerned, they are not safe. I mean to say, the civil Population, apart from the militants, their safety and security is not assured.

In the year 1986 alone, 2000 people had been killed. Most of them are Tamil. This I am saying from the version of the Government of India. 1,30,000 Tamil people exodus, they are inside India. That is on Government of India account. You imagine the situation there. The April 21 massacre took place in Colombo. Of course, Government of India have condemned it. The normal impression is, perhaps, the militants have committed it. But as a matter of fact it is the Israeli Mossad who have committed it. It is not my version.

[Shri Brajamohan Mohanty]

I am quoting the version of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party Members. They say:

"While some SLFP Members of Parliament suspect this ghastly work to have been an inside job done with the help of Israeli agents, the Sri Lanka Government insists on blaming the Tamil militants, so as to launch their air wax against civilian targets in the Jafna Peninsula."

It is Israeli Mossad who have done this. It is a very serious thing.

You will find South African weaponry is being used against Sri Lanka people or Tamil people violating all norms of non-alignment movement, violating all principles of non-alignment movement. Now there have been dealings of weaponry by Sri Lanka Government with South Africa. So far as the United Kingdom is concerned, 120 people have gone back, those who were mercenaries and were training the Sri Lankan people there. They have openly said that the personnel whom they were training were not disciplined personnel. They committed atrocities against the innocent Tamil people in Sri Lanka. So, they have gone back and another 20 people are there in Sri Lanka. The Home Minister of the UK has candidly admitted "Yes, the British ex-servicemen were imparting training to the Sri Lankan personnel in Sri Lanka to fight against Tamils" That is not all. Pakistan has trained 643 Sri Lankan personnel to fight against guerillas. Now, the weaponry that has been supplied by Pakistan has been used against the guerillas. They were of the USA manufacture. They are freely being used against the Tamil people in Sri Lanka. Here, I would like to point out that now Pakistan has been requested by the Sri Lankan Government for sending their ex-pilots so that they are most effective in killing innocent civilians. Now, the Chinese weaponry are also being used. Sir, my submission is this. Now, Sri Lanka has been the play-ground,

the play-ground of different political powers. Sir, what is the commitment of the Non-Aligned Movement? Is it not the commitment to keep different power blocks away from confrontation. Now, the situation is such that any moment, super-powers confrontation may take place in Sri Lanka. I would like to submit that it is a great threat to the security of India. How long should we tolerate this? Who will allow this kind of toleration? Uninterrupted massacre of innocent Tamils is going on, torture is going on and the Tamils are being killed like anything. Lakhs and Lakhs of people are affected by the economic blockade. They were denied of the minimum needs of the daily life. Fuel was denied to them. How long will they tolerate? I do not advise the Government of India that we should immediately intervene.

SHRI N. V. N. SOMU (Madras North). That should be the only solution.

SHRI BRAJAMOHAN MOHANTY: That is not the solution. That will further complicate the situation and that will escalate the confrontation and it will land everyone in difficult situation.

SHRI P. KOLANDAIVELU: Actually they have declared war against them.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I will give you time. You can speak at that time. Don't interrupt him now. Let him have his say.

SHRI BRAJAMOHAN MOHANTY: All the Members do not have uniform opinion and they do not express uniformly. So, you may advise the House what you think. But this is my advice.

Sir, I would like to place before this august House another point. Sir, we are committed to the unity of Sri Lanka. We are committed that there should not be any terrorism - either State terrorism or Tamil terrorism. All sorts of terrorism must stop. We want political settlement and we want negotiated settlement. We are opposed to military action. Now, the crisis is generated because of the vacillation of the Government of India.

Sir, I would place before you certain facts. Now, one silver lining is that the Opposition there is divided. They have asserted that there should be no military option, but there should be a political settlement. I would place before you the views of the Sri Lanka Leftist three-Party Alliance—the Communist Party, the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP) and the Lanka Mahajana Party. In a statement they warned that 'those who promote a military option through racism and confrontation with India are playing with fire. Action along the lines they advocate can well turn Sri Lanka into another Lebanon, Cyprus or Nigeria.

And the Statement further said that while condemning unreservedly both State and LTTE terrorism against uninvolved civilians, we reject the Government doctrine that terrorists and terrorism must be militarily destroyed before efforts at a negotiated political settlement can be resumed. The example of Ireland and other countries show that military conquest cannot stop terrorist actions, which will keep reappearing until a political settlement is reached.'

This is the view and this is encouraging in the sense that the saner opinion, the progressive opinion in Sri Lanka has started to assert. I do not say that some of these political parties are also not religious chauvinists, but I feel that they have committed themselves saying that the only answer to this problem is political.

**SHRI P. KOLANDAIVELU:** For the last four years you are telling the very same thing.

*(Interruptions)*

**SHRI N. V. N. SOMU:** The same philosophy. You have wasted four years talking this philosophy.

*(Interruptions)*

**SHRI BRAJAMOHAN MOHANTY:** Sir, no doubt, we have reached at the road's end, and even the Statement which the

hon. Minister had given when it was in the form of a Calling Attention Motion. I have gone through in between the lines. He has not been able to give any enlightenment as to what is the way out, where we are going, from this point where we are going, and what is the alternative to this.

I would tell you how Sri Lanka Government is Vacilating. Sir, on 12th February 1987, the President of Sri Lanka indicated that there should be negotiations in Delhi if the Liberation Tigers will join. And on 2nd March 1987 the President told our High Commissioner in Colombo that India's role is very important. This is on 2nd March. On 3rd March the total thing changed. In the UNO Human Rights Commission the Sri Lankan Government representative said that India has lost the credibility, India cannot negotiate. Not only that. He said, India has lost control over the militants as if they are our citizens, as if we are controlling them. Then on 24th April 1987 the famous statement of the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka came and in that Statement the Prime Minister says, 'Any country advocating for political settlement, they are the enemies of the Government of Sri Lanka'. *(Interruptions)*. And, Sir, on 30th April 1987 President Jayewardene said that Delhi is following Hitlerian policy. But even in that Press Conference, he said: "If Liberation Tigers will join the negotiation, then India may involve itself in mediation". These two statements are made.

I would like to invite the kind attention of the hon. Minister to these things. I take strong exception to the statement of the President, Mr. Jayewardene. Is it the Non-Alignment culture, abusing a Government that we are following the Hitlerian policy? So, this is very much offensive to us. Those who have read the Ramayan know the episode. Saint Tulsidas has written, "*bin bhay nahin preeti*". Without fear, there cannot be any friendship. When Ramachandra wanted to cross the sea to go to Sri Lanka, Ramachandra said to Lakshman: "You request the sea to dry up; I can walk over." Lakshman prayed for three days. The

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sea did not respond Then, Lakshman wanted to throw an arrow to dry it out Immediately the Sea God appeared before Ramachandra and helped him So, Tulsidas has written "*bin bhay nahin preeti*" So friendship without fear is impossible This is not possible in the world of diplomacy and the hon Minister who has worked in this field for long years knows it

SHRI RANA VIR SINGH (Kaisarganj) Don't apply Ramayan to Sri Lanka situation Otherwise many things will follow!

SHRI BRAJAMOHAN MOHANTY Whatever it may be you know, how vacillation it is You see the 19th December proposal would have been the basis for negotiation and almost all parties directly or indirectly agreed to it But the President Jayewardene has changed his mind at the last moment Naturally what is the reason that he is now giving? He is injecting communalism into Sri Lanka for his advantage That Muslims wanted a separate State' But unfortunately, I can assure you, my information is, Muslims do not contribute to his thinking But taking advantage of his position, he is now rejecting this proposal So, Sir, what is the position of the 19th December proposal? Would you enlighten us? Could our High Commissioner enlighten us? Can anybody enlighten me whether we are still accepted as a country to exercise our good offices for a political settlement?

MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER Please be brief

SHRI BRAJAMOHAN MOHANTY I am entitled to half-an-hour Now, this is only 10 minutes If you interrupt me at this moment, the spirit of speech will be lost

Now, what is the position? May I know from the hon Minister whether we are in the position of mediator and we are in a position to help them in negotiation to reach a political settlement? Which version is to be accepted—the version of the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka or the version of the

President of Sri Lanka? Who is the authority? The very word used against our Government the Government at Delhi, is very much offensive and absolutely provocative. It is not only distressing. It is provocative I am afraid, how long can we keep under control all the emotions and provocations that are being created by them?

In the UN Human Rights Commission, they had made categorical allegations It is very humiliating for us But what can we do? On second, you say our role is very important On third, you change your stand Have you protested about it? have you spoken to them direct about any foreign Powers of interventionism? I recall what Indiraji said Indiraji said, Sri Lanka is not just any other country Naturally, my submission would be, why don't you say categorically, that supposing intervention takes place by the foreign powers, we will not tolerate? Have we taken up the issue in the NAM because the very fundamental principles of non-alignment movement had been violated by Pakistan, by Sri Lanka and by other countries? What have we done? We have got no dealings with South Africa Have you taken up with UK Government? It has been admitted by UK machinery that atrocities have been committed by the personnel whom they have trained They have admitted that in that background, have we lodged a protest? If I am correct, I have put this question perhaps in the last session The question is, 'Why should you not do anything, at least, to stop intervention from other powers and some hostile powers of ours?' It is a question of security Once it is a question of security, the only consideration is that we have to protect ourselves at any cost, whatever may be the form Have you taken up the issue in NAM? Is it not a violation of principles of NAM? How the Human Rights are being violated in Sri Lanka, the world well knows 120 people returned to UK It is because world opinion was created all over the world that human rights have been violated In advance, they said "Human rights are violated So, we are leaving" Is not the situation very ripe for super-power conflict when we are com-

mitted being a member of the NAM to keep them out?

The hon. Minister has to give us some enlightenment. The statement of the hon. Minister also indicates nothing but simply urging that there should be no terrorism, that there should be peaceful negotiations and that political solutions should be found out. As a matter of fact, we have been doing it for the last four years. But the situation has not improved and they are going on their operation of torture which is inhuman. It is against the norms of human civilisation. It is against the norms of civilised Government.

At some point or the other we have to stop it. Diplomatic relationship should also be considered. If things do not improve, we may not directly intervene militarily but all the same diplomatic relations should be there. We have to consider. The matter may be right earnestly taken up in the NAM Summit meeting. It can be taken up in the UNO, in various other forums and in the international forums. At the same time, I say that I am not opposed to the Sinhalese. They have not migrated from my State or West Bengal to Sri Lanka. Both the people of Sri Lanka—the Tamils and the Sinhalese—they are the original people of India. They have migrated to that country. They have not only migrated but they have inherited the great heritage of India. Unfortunately, the Sinhalese people now disowned our heritage. They say that they have a different heritage. The Tamils have owned the Indian heritage. This is the difference. But we are not opposed to it. The very basic and fundamental principle of Buddhism, perhaps, has lost its impact in Sri Lanka.

Sangham sharanam gachhami,

Buddham sharanam gachhami,

Dhamam sharanam gachhami

What is the rule of law? The philosophy and humanitarian values of Lord Buddha did not believe in discrimination between man-to-man. He did not find any distinc-

tion between man-to-man. That was a revolutionary phase of the human history. But that has lost its impact in Sri Lanka, as I said earlier. So, my submission would be that the time has come when we have to take a decision—whatever may be its dimension. We have to act decisively so that we can protect our civilized way of life. I am recollecting one Bengali Poem that was recited in the Calcutta Congress, which is as follows:

“CHALO JAI JUDHHE

CHALO JAI JUDHHE

JUDHER VIRUDHE JUDHHA”...

The meaning is: “Let us go for war; let us go for war.

For what? War against war”. So, now the time has come to act. The civilian war that is going on there has to be stopped. We have to stop it.

SHRI P. KOLANDAIVELU: If they opt for a military solution, then we have also to opt for a military solution....

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI BRAJAMOHAN MOHANTY: I am not for a military solution. Military solution is never talked about in the language of diplomacy.... *(Interruptions)*.. It is your internal matter. Mr. hon. Minister, it is your own internal matter. Do you know what your own Foreign Secretary has said? I mean the ex-Foreign Secretary. I am quoting him, from the Tribune: “He has twitted the Centre for not being fully aware of the security dimension to the present escalation in the Sri Lankan Civil War. Any way,—here I am not quoting the name of the Foreign Secretary.....

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH): It is the Former Foreign Secretary.

SHRI BRAJAMOHAN MONAHTY: Yes, it is the former Foreign Secretary. I am further quoting from the same which says: "Anyway, he has said, Delhi tends to be insensitive to the feelings of people in the non-Hindi belt". This is very much distressing. This is the tragedy of life. A man who was administering the External Affairs Ministry for so many years, he now says: "Delhi is not sensitive about the people of non-Hindi belt. Will the Centre's reaction be the same?" It is very dangerous. It further reports: "Will the Centre's reaction be the same if blood-cousins of the people of one of the Northern States were to be subjected to this kind of aerial attack", he asked."..... It is really very much distressing. I feel distressed. He was administering the External Affairs Ministry till yesterday and immediately he now says so. He is now creating—what should I say—a very unfortunate situation.

Sir, thank you very much for giving me this opportunity. I am finishing within a few minutes. I am not going to disturb you. I would like that the hon. Minister to enlighten us and he should take some decisive steps so that this non-sense is stopped.

SHRI N. V. N. SOMU (Madras North): MR. Deputy Speaker, Sir, first of all I am thankful to the CPM and the Telugu Desam Members for having given me this chance to speak. I extend the same to Mr. Kolandavelu also...

SHRI P. KOLANDAIVELU: Sir, I have not given him the chance....

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI N. V. N. SOMU: With much agony, I am speaking because I have to attend the funeral of Shri V. P. Chintan, who has died in Moscow and his body is being brought....

SHRI P. KOLANDAIVELU: So many people are dying everyday in Sri Lanka....

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI N. V. N. SOMU: With much agony and pain, I have to address this august House. Four years have passed and yet, the tears of the Tamils have not been wiped out. Mr. Parthasarathy, Mr. Bhandari, Mr. Chidambaram, Mr. Dinesh Singh—I do not know who else are going to be added to this list of emissaries. But the problem of the Tamils in Sri Lanka has not yet been solved. Mr. Jayewardene is ready for a complete, total onslaught on the Tamil people in Sri Lanka. But we are still talking philosophy. There have been so many philosophers: as I said, the first philosopher was Mr. Parthasarathy, the second philosopher was Mr. Romesh Bhandari, the third philosopher was Mr. Chidambaram, the fourth was Mr. Dinesh Singh; like that, Mr. Natwar Singh may also be a philosopher. We have wasted four years on talking philosophy whereas in the case of Bangladesh immediate action was taken. That is why I want to quote the former Foreign Secretary, Shri A.P. Venkateswaran.

"He said that the Central Government was not as sensitive to the problems of the southern States as to those of the northern heartland. Had any linguistic group of north India been persecuted like the Tamils in Sri Lanka, the Central Government would have certainly reacted more decisively.

"He pointed out that atrocities perpetrated against the three million Tamils in Sri Lanka are a cause for serious concern to the Tamils everywhere. But their aspirations are not understood by our Central Government, he regretted."

First, there was the economic blockade. Then the Jaffna Hospital is being closed. The normal life there has been shattered and it will never again be the same as it was before. The low-lying helicopters—I want to narrate the atrocity—frequenting Jaffna not only showered bombs on the innocent civilian Tamils but also picked up the Tamil women by their hair, allowed them to dan-

gle for a while and then dropped them from a height. Have you ever heard of such atrocities being committed in any corner of the world in the last four years? In this august House we have cried like anything; not once or twice, but umpteen times we have cried. But what happened? Still, the Central Government is sleeping over it. That is why, Mr. Jayewardene is getting bold and he is not at all respecting this Government's request. The main aim of the soldiers seems to be to destroy the Tamils, particularly the men-folk in the age group between 16 and 40 years. If they destroy the Tamil youth in the age group of 16-40 years, who else is going to fight? There are homes which have not seen a grain of rice for the past six months. Rice, if at all it is available, costs Rs. 20 per kilogram and kerosene oil costs Rs. 30 a litre. What can the poor Tamils do in this situation? On the one side there is the military attack and on the other side, there is no food to eat. Also the cost of living is so high: Rs. 20 for a kilo of rice and Rs. 30 for a litre of kerosene. This is the situation there. Good crops are being destroyed by the Sinhalese military people. I request the Deputy-Speaker to prevail upon this Government to take some effective steps. Hitherto refugees were coming only from Manner area, but now refugees are flowing from Trincomalee as well as Jaffna. This is the situation in Sri Lanka.

I also want to say that this Government is dealing with this problem in a trade union fashion. I want the Indian Government to sit on one side as a party. Instead of doing that, Mr. Natwar Singh or the Prime Minister of India is asking the Tamils to sit on one side. This is just like the Labour Commissioner asking the management to sit on one side and the trade union on the other side. This should be immediately changed. I want to say that, if the Indian Government sits as a party on the one side, opposite to the Sri Lankan Government, then everything will be solved. The middleman-role being played by this Government should be stopped immediately. Sir, the middle-

18.00 hrs.  
mans role should be definitely stopped. by this Govt. He should not be a middleman,

he should be the party associates one side. Now, the help given to Tamils is highly criticised. The Sir Lankan Government is getting help from other foreign countries whereas of the Government of Tamil Nadu gives help, it is criticised. If others help Sri Lankan Elem Tigers it is being criticised.

AN HON. MEMBER: You welcome the Tamil Nadu Government's help.

SHRI N. V. N. SOMU: No, whoever helps these Tigers, there is no objection. It is a human tendency. As far as our party is concerned we tried in several ways to ask this Government to intervene effectively. Our leaders including Dr. Karunanidhi courted arrest many times. I have also courted arrest for the Sri Lanka problem three or four times. Self-emulation & rail roko were there. 50000 DMK volunteers so far courted imprisonment. Our leader has stood on his Birthday last year to collect Rs. 275000 and donated it to the Tamil militants. It is high time that when Jayewardene himself is preparing for a military solution, why not we. I want to ask you. When this Government decides to intervene effectively, by that time the entire Tamils left in Sri Lanka will be wiped out. Therefore, now or never should be the approach of this Government. I request this Govt. to intervene immediately as it had one in Bangladesh. Now or never should be the moto of this Government.

Thank you very much.

SHRIMATI SHEILA DIKSHIT: Can we extend the House time by about 25 minutes because Hon. Member Shri Shahabuddin wants to speak?

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I think the House agrees.

PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE— *Contd.*

[*English*]

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY): Sir, I beg to lay on the