

under our examination, but no impression should be created, and I am fully confident that the public sector undertakings have achieved and are capable of achieving a higher efficiency than some of the private sector undertakings. Just on the ground of

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efficiency there is absolutely no justification for private sector entering into power generation. This is a matter of faith in the public sector for our party ..

SHRI KRISHNA CHANDRA HALDER (Durgapur): That means you are not going to set up thermal power station by the private sector. Is it not ?

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKAR SINGH : I have said what I have said.

SHRI KRISHNA CHANDRA HALDER : You are not going to enter the private sector so as to setup thermal power station in our country.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR SINGH : I have made it clear. There cannot be any answer 'yes' or 'no'. I have made it very clear that I do not consider and facts are not so that efficiency is the monopoly of the private sector. But if they come up with any proposal which is backed by substantial resources of their own, then it can be considered. We have not received any such proposal and therefore, we do not see ..

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY (Calcutta South) : This will be deviation from Nehru policy.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR SINGH : I do not see any ground for deviation from Industrial Policy Resolution of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and we shall see that power sector progresses on right lines.

I hope I have tried to cover nearly all the points raised by the hon. Members and hope that they would approve motion for consideration of the Bill.

MR. SPEAKER : The question is :

"That the Bill further to amend the Electricity (Supply) Act, 1948, be taken into consideration."

The motion was adopted.

16.02 Hrs.

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

MR. SPEAKER : Hon. Members, we have to take up discussion on the statement made by the Minister of External Affairs in the House on 2nd August, 1983, regarding his recent visit to Shri Lanka.

Before we start, I may make it clear that as expressed earlier during the day and also in my discussions, I think we shall split it into two days. Tomorrow important events might be coming up. So, we shall discuss it upto 6 O'clock to-day and also take it up at 6 O'clock tomorrow.

SHRI KRISHNA CHANDRA HALDER (Durgapur) : Why not upto 15.30 tomorrow ?

MR. SPEAKER : No. Other work has also to be done.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY (Calcutta South) : How have you taken the decision ? This was not discussed in the Business Advisory Committee.

MR. SPEAKER : This was not discussed in the Business Advisory Committee.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : Do you want the House to decide it ?

MR. SPEAKER : Yes. This is what I have discussed.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : Why this deviation ?

MR. SPEAKER : It is deviation for the benefit of the House so that they may get more time. More-over, more important things are coming up. I may take the House into confidence that there are certain important things in the offing and it might have repercussions so that we take them into consideration and then tomorrow we shall finish it. Otherwise, there is no harm and no bar if you take it all today.

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI (Pollachi) : We are discussing it in the evening today. We may take it up at 12 O'clock tomorrow and complete it by 15.30.

MR. SPEAKER : It is not for lack of time. But it is for lack of certain things which might accrue during the day tomorrow that we may take into consideration. It might be beneficial.

श्री रामावतार शास्त्री (पटना) : लेकिन बिजनेस ऐडवाइजरी कमेटी को कंसल्ट करना चाहिए ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : यह तो आज के डेवलप-मेन्ट हैं जो आपके फायदे के लिए है । चारों से सलाह करके किया है ।

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV (Azamgarh) : I have to go tomorrow morning.

अध्यक्ष महोदय : जिनको जाना है उनको आज बुला देंगे ।

Shri Chandra Shekhar Singh, your remaining business shall be taken up at 6 P.M. In one hour we shall just try to finish it. We are lagging behind.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : Time factor is different. If you say that certain new events may take place, then in that case the speakers who are speaking today they would not be able to express their opinion on the events that may occur tomorrow.

MR. SPEAKER : Early in the morning Dr. Subramaniam Swamy was saying we must carry it on. In that context I am saying this. Don't worry. We are taking this step in the best of interest, you see. There is no question of time factor. There is no other compulsion at all. It is simply for this sake.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Please sit down.

Now, before Shri Ram Jethmalani raise a discussion, I will request the hon. Member that because we have had a full discussion for so many hours on this very subject, if we can throw more light on new things and new ideas and make our speech short, that will be much better. Thank you.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur) : And also prospective developments.

MR. SPEAKER : If you can forecast them.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Basirhat) : And also, there should be time-limit.

MR. SPEAKER : Yes, that is what I have said.

We should not repeat things. Speech should be concise and precise.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI (Bombay North West) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, normally, it is a great pleasure to be speaking in this House. But, Sir, some how the matter which we are about to discuss is not a matter which produces any kind of happiness or even excitement of debate. It is a matter in which the whole nation is concerned and the whole nation has to give an answer and evolve its strategy.

It is true that the persons who have suffered are those of our brethren and, of course our sisters who speak mainly the Tamil language. But, Sir, any injury done to any brother in any part of the country or in any part of the world is an injury to the entire family. It appears that the violence which has started on the 25th of July does not show any sign of abatement yet. Incidents of violence and incidents of destruction of property are still continuing and there is no firm assurance that they shall not recur again. Sir, I said that primarily though it be that our speaking people are involved in the incidents, it is a matter which has caused grave anguish and concern right from Kashmir to Kanya Kumari and from the Arabian Sea to the farthest point on the Eastern, Eastern side of this country. The anguish and concern of those who do not speak Tamil is not a bit less and, therefore, Sir, I have a slight grievance to make that my friends in Tamil Nadu ought to have treated this as not a matter of mere concern to Tamil Nadu but to the whole of the country. But, Sir, that they have missed doing so is only a sign of their anguish and I am prepared to concede that this could not possibly be intentional and in any event they could not be wanting that the rest of the country should not take as acute an interest as they themselves are taking in these affairs. Sir, in anger, in pain and in anguish, one is likely to say things, one is likely to do things which might exacerbate the situation a little more and which may bring about

some kind of retaliation and some kind of counter action. Sir, I wish, therefore, to congratulate the people of this country and particularly those who are living in close proximity to Sri Lanka that during the last few days, they have maintained a very commendable degree of restraint, both in speech and in action, and they have displayed a degree of fortitude and a degree of patience and restraint for which the entire world community must be grateful to our people. I hope that this mood shall not fail to rub off on the Government of Sri Lanka and those sections of population of Sri Lanka who are indulging in these dastardly deeds since 25th July.

Incidentally, we must congratulate ourselves that this mood, this patience and this restraint are evidence conclusive that the Gandhian tradition and influence have not yet taken their wings from this country. Let me only hope that any action which this country will take hereafter shall be consistent with the Gandhian path and philosophy and specifically there shall be no return of hate for hate. The Foreign Minister, I hope, will be able to assure us at the end that "eye for an eye" and "tooth for a tooth" shall never be the Indian way of life and shall not be the Indian specific response to this situation.

Why I am specially mentioning this is because the Foreign Minister said, "I keep my options open."

THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO) : Not for violence but for peace.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI (Bombay North West) : I do not wish to misunderstand him. I wish to make it clear and I wish to assure him that I understand him. But lest be misunderstood by somebody else, I think, he ought to make things beyond doubt whatsoever.

This is not weakness; this is the way of civilised behaviour. It is evidence of commitment to the principles of international law and our total conformity to our obligations under the Charter of the United Nations of which we are the founding members.

Now, while congratulating the people of India, I would fail in my duty if I do not congratulate the Prime Minister of this country too. I do not wish to withhold my appreciation because only the other day, when a somewhat agitated delegation from Tamil Nadu called on her, she said exactly what I would have expected the Prime Minister of this country to say. She counselled them restraint; She told them that passions must not be aroused and she also told them to so act that the problem continues to remain a problem of the entire nation. I would be only a partisan if I withhold this appreciation on this grave occasion.

A word of appreciation is due to our diplomatic Mission, the members of the staff and their families who, I understand, on the authority of the 'Foreign Minister' are discharging their duty very admirably under somewhat trying circumstances. The house in which the Mission is lodged seems to have been set on fire and perhaps another building nearby in which the Overseas Bank is situated has also been set on fire.

I must concede that the people of this country and the Government of this country are in a somewhat difficult, if not paradoxical position. The problem which faces us today has plagued us for many-many years. In fact, it has plagued us from the dawn of our Independence. I was looking into some foreign policy debates and I found great Pandit Nehru speaking in the Rajya Sabha on 6th September, 1955; in his speech on our relationship with Sri Lanka, he made two points which are relevant today. First, he said :

"In regard to Ceylon, there is the fact that Ceylon is a relatively small island very near to India. Because of this there is a fear which I think is completely unjustified—that India may overwhelm Ceylon and absorb it. I have repeatedly said that nobody in India thinks that way. We want an independent Ceylon and a friendly Ceylon. In every sense Ceylon is nearer to us than any other country—culturally, historically, linguistically, and even in the matter of religion."

He proceeded further and said :

"Normally speaking, people are not driven out of a country, even if they are nationals of another country. Individuals may be sent out if they misbehave, but whole crowds of people, tens and hundreds of thousands, are not sent out. Such a thing is unknown except under very abnormal conditions such as prevailed under Hitler."

Sir, I regret that, in spite of this problem having been with both the countries ever since both became independent and ever since this somewhat sugar coated but, nevertheless, a very bitter pill was administered by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru that these things are reminiscent of Hitlerite Germany, this problem continues, and if I am not squarely blaming the Government of Sri Lanka, it is because I do not wish to embitter the relations any more and I do not wish to accentuate the hatred that has already come to exist between some sections of the populations of the two countries.

There are two methods of solving the problem of ethnic and any kind of minorities in any country. Minorities are a very familiar part of the international scene today. There is no country worth the name which does not have a plurality of minorities. 'Minorities' is a fact of life with which every civilized government has to reckon. One is the method of peaceful assimilation, what you call, acculturation, in modern times. But the phenomenon is not modern; it is as ancient as human history is. There were those Greek armies which followed Alexander the Third, they founded kingdoms on the north-west India; within 200 years they were all absorbed in the local population and nobody said, 'Here is a Greek who lives in this part of the world.' Slowly, peacefully, by intellectual and moral transformation, minorities somehow travelled from the domain of minorities and became a part of the entire national scene in those days.

In modern times there is the wonderful phenomenon of Thailand having achieved such an objective. They had a Chinese minority, very very hard to absorb, ethnic minority, mainly traders who perhaps went there in search of economic profit but, nevertheless, the Thai Government, by a process of intensive education and by giving them various incentives, ultimately succeeded

in absorbing that minority, and Thailand no longer suffers from that kind of a minority problem. This attitude of benign tolerance, mutual accommodation and mutual enrichment is the way of the civilized world.

It is not a matter without significance that wherever Indians have gone and settled as minorities, they have not only brought honour to themselves but they have brought prosperity to the communities amongst whom they have gone to live. I have no doubt whatsoever that just as during the British times our Indian labour was taken there into Ceylon and planted in different tea estates of Ceylon and we produced some kind of an economic prosperity in Ceylon even in those days, I have no doubt that the Indian community and particularly those persons of Indian origin who have acquired Ceylonese citizenship, have contributed to the richness of Sri Lanka's society and have contributed towards its economic growth.

Sir, Hitler is dead but Hitler's souls and Hitler's ways survive in some parts of the world and I am surprised that successive Governments in Sri Lanka have taken to this path of suppressing and ejecting the minorities and the tolerance of the successive Indian governments has had no moral impact upon them whatsoever.

It is also a curious fact which puzzles me as a student of religion that those who are trying to eject the minorities come from the majority community of Sinhalese. They are all followers of Buddhist faith. Sometimes I wonder what has happened to religion, what has happened to the teachings of the great founders of the religions, would they not, if they were somewhere around, literally turn in their graves to see what their followers are doing. Was not Buddha whom an Englishman described, earth and heaven combined and incomparable, all-honoured, the wisest, the most beautiful, the preacher of Nirvan and the law? But his followers to-day are indulging in this kind violence which should bring shame not only to the perpetrators of violence but to the beholders of violence as well.

SHRI SUNIL MAITRA : Hitler was a Christian.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI : True

enough. Ultimately religion does not seem to have any sway when other passions predominate. Perhaps somebody in our Mission, perhaps our foreign Minister, perhaps a goodwill mission of Indian citizens, perhaps even a parliamentary delegation from here some day will go to that troubled country and talk to the Sinhalese about the teachings of the founder of their religion and remind them of one small little incident in the life of that great Prophet. When this brother shot down a swan with an arrow, the swan fell down bleeding and spitting blood. The brother who shot it wanted to claim the swan by the right of conquest but Buddha claimed it by the right of love. He took the bird, put it on his lap, arranged and re-arranged its feathers and applied healing honey to the smarting wounds, put the bird to peace and brought it back to life and before the wise judge of the realm succeeded in claiming and asserting his right which he has acquired by love and affection. Some day the Sinhalese population there will retrace its steps and get back to the teachings of the founder of their religion and resort to the ways of love and pity and compassion.

I am not prepared to believe that the entire Sinhalese population has gone mad or that they have turned into monsters. In all these disgraceful incidents it is only a small fraction that is always involved. But why has it happened in spite of this great tradition and culture, at least calls for a little introspection. I speak on no evidence except on conjecture which I regard as reasonable that there is something more than meets the eye in the Sri Lankan situation. Of course, one thing is very certain. Ultimately all these conflicts are clothed in religious, ethnic and racial terms but Marx was right that the basic motivation remains the economic motivation.

Ceylon is a poor country ; it continues to be a poor country. It has a miserable pittance of exports. Sir, it has a population which grows at a tremendous speed. The area of the land available to them is very small. Poverty of that country can't be denied. Therefore, the growing population, of course, of Tamils and Sinhalese, poses a serious problem. When you are in a state of poverty, you begin to look at your neighbour

who looks either slightly different from you or, who speaks slightly different from you, as the cause of misery. Sir, I have not the slightest doubt that the bad economic condition of that place and the appalling unemployment are playing that role in that conflict. But, those conditions of poverty and those conditions in which poverty can lead to a conflict are an ideal ground for some kind of political manipulators. I shall tread at nobody's toes; such as oil is extremely hospitable to some political creed. I have not the slightest doubt that my Foreign Minister and his Government, will try to look into these aspects of the problems and not merely deal with the external symptoms of this problem but to go deeper into the roots of the disease and find out all the ills of the neighbouring country of ours. What sometimes frightens me is that these conditions are also a pretext for the internal dictatorship. People take advantage of these conditions to assume more and more powers. Such is the nature of power. And where the power gets into your hands, you are very reluctant to part with it. Whatever solutions we devise, I hope, the Foreign Minister will bear this thing in mind that we do not get into the uncomfortable situation of having to foist up any regime which, ultimately, destroys the freedom, the democracy and the human rights of its own citizens. Often those conditions are a pretext of foreign intervention, occupation and subjugation. Again, I do not wish to give illustrations because I do not wish to tread on anybody's toes. But, Sir, the illustrations are well-known and require no particular imagination. I suggest that the keynote of our foreign policy and the keynote of our policy in this situation must be based on four or five elements. The first element of this policy today should be that we shall not allow anyone to intervene in this situation and the best way of bringing about that result is that we shall not intervene ourselves.

Fortunately, India has a commitment to international law and modern international law does not count in the intervention for this reason alone. I do not agree with those who suggest that our armed forces should get into that country. I can understand the anguish; I can understand the suffering which evokes this kind of demand. But, Sir, the demand is something which we shall have to resist

because the remedy will be worse than the disease.

We must resist all super-power machinations in that area and see to it that the present situation in that area is not taken advantage of by anybody should the situation deteriorate. This is the second element according to me and it is a sound policy. Should any particular kind of military assistance be necessary? I hope, Sir, that such intervention shall be on invitation and shall be, in accordance with and, under the Charter of the United Nations. The third element is important because we seem to have missed it throughout the debate with Sri Lanka during the last more than thirty years. No country has a right to refuse its nationality to thousands and millions of its inhabitants on the ground that hundreds of years ago they immigrated from a foreign country. Today is not the day of criticism. Therefore, I wish to blunt it as far as possible but I do not wish again to be misunderstood. We have treated our kith and kin as stateless persons. We have acquiesced to their position of statelessness. Sir, in 1964 we had unfortunately taken the further step of claiming back these stateless persons and getting them in slow instalments back in this country. We ought to have taken a more firm stand on this and perhaps the situation would not have arisen at all. But those were moods and those were times when other considerations prevailed and, I am afraid, we have missed the bus.

But, Sir, it is not too late in the day to impress upon the government of Sri Lanka by all methods available to us that in dealing with, the Foreign Minister will pardon me if my figures are wrong, I believe that they have now about 3 million citizens of Tamil speaking people of Indian origin out of whom nearly half are their own citizens who have acquired citizenship and I believe another 50 per cent are the so-called stateless persons and they have no civic rights of any kind and so far as those persons of Indian origin are concerned who have not acquired the nationality of Sri Lanka for every civilised Government there is the requirement of due process. People who have lived in that country for quite long, worked there and invested there cannot be thrown out because the international law is concerned with the fate of minorities and minorities cannot be

left to the Gods and cannot be left to some jingoistic elements in the Sri Lanka population. Gone are the days—and this point I have been making throughout in all the debates that I have participated on foreign affairs in this House—when the treatment of minorities was the matter of domestic concern. Treatment of minorities is not a matter of domestic jurisdiction. It is a matter today of international concern.

Sir, I am somewhat surprised when the Foreign Minister was a little apologetic in his statement when he said that our expression of concern has been made the occasion for vitriolic propaganda against us as if India was invading Ceylon and there is some controversy also on the point that they called for foreign military assistance as well. Sir, we need not be afraid. We have the right to tell the country the manner in which you treat the minorities is a matter of humanity's concern and international concern and you cannot convert your society into an iron curtain and refuse international scrutiny and inspection.

Sir, we must extend humanitarian help which must be in conspicuous and in demonstrable and massive proportions. The help that we have been promising so far, with respect to the Foreign Minister, is both party and almost as grudging people offer it. Your offer should be munificent. Let it sink into the conscience of the people of Ceylon Sri Lanka that we are there, big brothers waiting to help them. If they don't take advantage of the help we offer them, it is their fault and it is their Government at fault. To put them in fault by a demonstrable show of a picture, I hope you will feel it genuinely enough.

Sir, lastly, the best way of making a moral impact upon another nation is to make your own behaviour impeccable. Do not the members of our different religious communities come to blows inside our own national frontiers? Do we not exploit caste? Do we not exploit regional and linguistic differences in the community and the strife that goes on within our borders weakens the moral authority of this country and this country will rise to the full stature to which it is capable of rising only if we clean our Augean Stables and we go to them with the moral authority of Gandhiji

and say that we are clear and we expect you to be clean. Thank you.

SHRI MADHAVRAO SCINDIA (Guna): Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is seldom that a region is simultaneously witness to both an act of great statesmanship on the part of its member countries, along with an even which is impregnated with the dangerous seed of discord. Our Prime Minister deserves the highest praise for her sagacity in championing and endorsing fully the declaration signed by our Foreign Minister and his 6 counterparts representing the 7 sisters. This is an event which can be truly termed as historic and heralds a new era of economic co-operation—an event which if pursued to its logical conclusion, with sincerity, will succeed in banishing the mist of suspicion amongst the countries of South Asia and replacing it with the sunshine of confidence. Can we forget our cultural and linguistic affinities? Can we forget that we are all participants in the common struggle against poverty? There is no reason why we should not pull together in the same direction and achieve our peaceful goal of development. Yet along with the momentous beginning by the South Asian Regional Conference and in direct contrast to it, has taken place a crisis in Sri Lanka which has dangerous implication and can only be described as tragic. Our hearts go out to those who have suffered, those who have been rendered homeless, those who have been torn apart from their loved ones, those who have been brutally massacred by frenzied mobs. It is unfortunate that the Tamil minority is being isolated and such atrocities continue to be committed on them. One would have thought that a modern and progressive leadership would have put an end to tensions between the Tamils and Sinhalese—a tension tracing back to the Fifth Century A.D. when the Mahavansha, a chronicler of that time, gloats over how the Sinhalese King Dathgamini killed Elare, the Tamil monarch in single combat. Instead of helping to heal those wounds there are some politicians who are encouraging ethnic differences by propagating Sinhalese supremacy and Tamil subordination. The resultant demand for minority safeguards hardened the majority resistance and deepened the division. It is

unfortunate that after Sri Lanka attained independence, the policy of discrimination against the Tamil minorities seems to have increased. The Tamil share in the civil services has gone down from 30% in 1948 to 5% in 1975. There is hardly any recruitment to the Armed Forces. Trading and industrial licences are given mostly to the Sinhalese. Colonization policies which are diluting the collective Tamil bargaining power by introducing Sinhalese settlers to treat the contiguity of Tamil inhabited areas, are being implemented. Tamil admission to universities in 1948 was 31%; in 1970 it is 16%, through a system of preferential entrance and district quotas. Admission to engineering colleges 1970: 40.8%, 1975—13.2%; admission to medical colleges—1973: 36.9%, 1975—20%. This has naturally culminated in the present situation.

I do not mean it merely as a criticism, but as an explanation of the phenomena that are taking place which have to be put a stop to. These things are taking place with what I choose to call the active passivity of Government institutions, and the active participation of the country's security forces. Rampaging mobs are systematically burning, looting and pillaging large Tamil minorities; horrifying, barbaric reports are received—20 Tamils, including women and children locked in a van and set alight; the mob looks on. These human beings turn into human torches, screaming and hammering at the windows. The mob looks at them slowly disintegrating into charred cinders. There are so many horrifying tales.

How can India, the land of Gandhi, not express its sympathy, not express its abhorrence at this inhumanity taking place? Our Prime Minister has quite rightly given expression to the sentiment of concern of all Indians, and further symbolized this by ordering that all Central Government offices in Tamil Nadu should remain closed, in sympathy with the Bandh. This was a very important symbolic gesture. Our Government is exercising great patience, in spite of a hostile internal situation being allowed to exist in Sri Lanka, as far as we are concerned.

What has the Sri Lankan Government done to protect our nationals, to protect

our Embassy ? It is not a fact that a bank and other Indian property were burnt to ashes ? Why does the President not contradict a report in a newspaper which a newspaper which is known to be his mouth-piece, in which he is quoted as having said :

"If India invades, we may lose, but we will fight" It is unfortunate that the Sri Lankan Government is acting in this unwise manner ; and inspite of this, our Government is rightly patient. In the face of these internal hostilities that are allowed in Sri Lanka, we are retaining our equipoise, and our Prime Minister's voice is the voice of sanity in this region.

The Shri Lankan situation cannot be considered in isolation. The strategic position of the Indian Ocean, the American interests in expanding base facilities beyond Diego Garcia, the American apathy to the Zone of Peace concept, the Sri Lankan Government's obvious and mostly towards—those all add international dimensions and ramifications of great complexity which India cannot lose sight of.

It is also true that some nations are alarmed by the success and the significance of the SARC. The present, Srilankan situation, if not handled carefully, certainly contains potentialities of complicating the future of the SARC. History presents occasions when leadership is put to severe test and an opportunity comes for a leader to become a statesman. The present situation in Sri Lanka is one such occasion. We should not have a situation which the philosopher Nietzsche has described when talking about leadership and sheep like this. Said the sheep : "Leader guide us. So, we won't be afraid to follow you." Replied the leader "Sheep folloY me. So, I won't be afraid to lead you." Instead, as Harry Truman said, when he described true leadership "Leadership is the ability to get men to do what they do not want to do and yet like it." The Sri Lankan Government must make the Sinhalese understand, it must defuse the situation. It is disappointing that they have as yet failed to rise to that pinnacle of leadership. On the other hand, our Government has responded with alacrity and in a positive manner to the Sri Lankan Government's request for help in matters

pertaining to transport and essential supplies. The Government of India, I am sure, will continue to respond to all Shri Lankan Government's requests in future also.

It is high time that the Sri Lankan Government effectively squashed the oppression of the minority. It is only at its own perit that a country can ignore events taking place in the neighbourhood which directly affect the sensitivity and emotions of our its people and has a bearing on its own internal situation.

Our hon. Foreign Minister admitted in Parliament yesterday that there was some substance in the UPI report that the Sri Lankan Government had been in touch with some powers regarding direct military aid, which, of course, subsequently was denied by Shri Lanka. However, the tardiness of the denial and the indication given by the British Foreign Office clearly cast grave doubts about the veracity and sincerity of the denial. We can only fervently hope that wiser counsel prevails and Sri Lanka refrains from any act of adventuereism which may have serious repercussions in the region. Implications of instability across the Palk Strait certainly cannot be ignored. As the Foreign Minister said yesterday "India has to function with due regard both to the natural concern of its people and to the obligation of a good neighbour."

Unfortunately, the Sri Lanka Leadership has not yet expressed even a word of sympathy for the Tamil minority, or a word of condemnation for the troops who went beserk in Jaffna, or a word of condemnation against the jail authorities who connived in the murder of Tamil inmates. On the contrary, the constant theme that is being repeated by the government is that the Tamils are to blame. The UNP would do well to remember its 1977 election manifesto which strengthened the expectations of the Tamils by promising an all party conference which took place last months after six long years had passed. Even that was rendered totally ineffective because it confined itself to discussing guerilla activities and therefore it was predictably boycotted by all the major opposition groups which mattered. Instead of standing talking immediately with the TULF, there is further talk of disenfranchisement and

removal of citizenship which has been upheld today by the Sri Lanka supreme Court as constitutional. The situation can only be aggravated if these plans are implemented.

According to the International Commission of Jurists many of the provisions of even the Sri Lanka prevention of Terrorism Act and the Public Security Act are contrary to accepted principles of the Rule of Law, the internationally accepted minimum standard of criminal procedure, and also appear to be contrary to the provisions of the Sri Lanka Constitution. The Anti-Terrorist Act has been described as barbaric throughout the world. The provision which allows for the disposal of bodies without a *post mortem*, without an inquest, without informing even the relatives, is like a licence to kill.

The Sri Lanka Government must act soon and arrive at a long term political solution instead of isolating the Tamilians further. The Sri Lankan Government must start immediate talks and we must try and persuade them to initiate talks with the TULF which talks of division of power and not of division of the country. We must render all assistance that the Sri Lankan Government requires from us to bring about normalisation.

In conclusion, I would like to say that Sri Lanka is a country with a great cultural history and if the people of Sri Lanka act unitedly, there is no reason why they cannot be the torch-bearers of freedom, of world peace, of harmony with the message of the Buddha as their inspiration. It is really unfortunate that instead of this it is fast dividing along ethnic lines. As far as origin is concerned, the Tamilians have been a part of Sri Lanka for over 2,500 years and for that matter the Sinhalese too, it is said, originated centuries ago in Bengal and Orissa.

There is a saying which is most apt in the Sri Lanka context, "The test of tolerance comes when we are in a majority ; the test of courage comes when we are in a minority." I fervently hope that the two communities will allow amidst them these two respective sentiments, in abundance, and thereby bring peace to their country.

MR. SPEAKER : Shri Indrajit Gupta.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Basirhat) : Mr. Speaker, during the last few days enough has been spoken and written to describe or to attempt to describe the horrendous events that have been taking place in our southernly neighbour, the island of Sri Lanka. It is for the Minister to tell us when he replies, the latest reports from there, as far as they can be confirmed, say that there is some improvement in the situation. Some reasonable control is being exercised by the authorities over the mobs which have been unleashed, whether the curfew orders are being complied with or not, because they were not being complied with even two days ago and whether any concrete steps have been taken to give protection and ensure the security and the lives of those thousands and lakhs of people who have been rendered homeless almost overnight.

16.54 Hrs.

(SHRI F.H. MOHSIN *in the Chair*)

I do not know what exactly we can do from here. We were told that it has appeared in the Press, that the Tamilian refugees in and around Colombo had themselves expressed a desire to be transported in safety to the northern part of the island, to Jafna, where perhaps they feel more secure because that is the Tamil majority area, as we know. I believe the Government of Sri Lanka, at one stage, had asked for ships even from India to carry out this transport operation. I do not know what is the fate of that move now. I do not know whether the Sri Lanka Government is still willing or is still asking for assistance from us by way of transport facility for these people or whether it is capable of or willing to arrange such facilities itself. I do not know whether there is any other move. There can be some other sinister move behind this, because if all the Tamilians are taken and concentrated in one particular area, it may also be easier to liquidate them as, unfortunately, it is not a question of only rampaging mobs. The most horrendous part of this whole thing is that the Armed Forces, the Army in Ceylon, the Sinhala Army and even Naval personnel have been allowed to run amuck, killing and

shooting people. These are the very Forces on which the preservation of security depends. Naturally, all these things are very much agitating our minds. We know that this is an internal affair in the sense of international law except so far as it concerns those people, those Tamils and other non-Tamils who are our citizens and of Indian nationality. There we are on strong grounds. We would like to know from the hon. Minister what steps have been taken or are being taken to rescue all those people in Sri Lanka, who are Indian citizens, our own Indian nationals. Of course, the matter has gone much beyond that. All these lakhs of people, who have been affected, in terms of law, may not be our citizens or people of Indian origin: many of them are stateless and many of them are citizens of Sri Lanka. The Minister has said in his statement the other day and I fully agree with this statement, that :

“We in India cannot remain impervious to the sufferings of large numbers of people in our immediate neighbourhood though separated by boundaries of nationality and citizenship.”

Of course, apart from the fact of boundaries, nationality and citizenship which we are not permitted to transgress under the law, the complicating factor here is that they are all people of Indian origin and it is natural that there should be a tremendous reaction and response in this country. I do want to add my voice to this question that our Tamil Nadu friends should not assume or take this issue as though it is something affecting only the Tamils. I would like to remind that in 1971 when equally horrendous events were taking place in what was then the eastern wing of Pakistan, it was not interpreted by anybody or taken by anybody as a question of Bengalis, Bengalis being exterminated though they were all Bengalis. I would like the Government of Sri Lanka also to remember because the President in his reported statement, which has not been contradicted, to this paper ‘The Sun’ has said :

“If India invades us, we may go down but we will fight”, what was at the back of his mind? When I read that statement I had a feeling that he wanted to tell the

people all over the world that this country, a big brother country, a big brother—he wants to be a big brother of somebody; I do not want to be a big brother at all of anybody...

AN HON. MEMBER : A big brother has nothing to do with your geographical sights.

17-00 Hrs.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : A big brother is a question of your attitude and your relations with other people. May be he had at the back of his mind the desire to throw out some sort of a hint to people that after all this is the big country which had sent its Army into Bangladesh. But it was not Bangladesh, it was Pakistan at that time. I wish to remind the House and to remind President Jaywardene also that it is very wrong to draw any similarity between that situation and this situation. Here the majority community is carrying out a programme against a minority and what was happening in East Pakistan was that the majority of people inhabiting East Pakistan they were Bengalis and a campaign of massacre and extermination was launched against them by a minority represented by the armed forces of West Pakistan situated one thousand miles away. It was they who were trying to massacre and exterminate the population of East Pakistan which consisted 99 per cent of Bengalis. And even then we did not intervene, although floods of refugees were crossing the border and coming into our country by hundreds of thousands to whom we had to give shelter and succour. Our armed forces intervened only after the Pakistan army had launched an attack on us in the western sector. It was only when aggression was committed on us in the western sector that our armies went into East Pakistan. So, I know Mrs. Bandaranaike was in power at that time in 1971 and I think she also was not very sympathetic to India at that time. In fact, we had reports of Pakistani aircraft being given refuelling facilities at Colombo on their way to the East Pakistan and so on. Whatever it may be, there should be no attempt by anybody to try to smudge India's image in the world by drawing some kind of false parallels between the present situation and

what prevailed in Bangladesh at that time. Now, what is happening in Sri Lanka is a matter which ultimately the Government and the people of Sri Lanka will have to come to terms with. I am not at all in favour of this. My party is strongly opposed to any suggestions, if they are seriously being made here, that our armed forces should be sent to Sri Lanka or that our Navy should be deployed along the coasts of Sri Lanka. I think there are bigger forces in the world who will welcome such a foolish step by us, to fall into this trap, some people are waiting for that. The very next day President Jaywardane who has already expressed his apprehension that we may invade his country, a ridiculous apprehension, will call for military assistance against the invading Indian army and then you know what will happen, you know who will come to Sri Lanka? Our Government is always very chary of naming anybody. They always talk about two super powers whose rivalry in the Indian Ocean is creating so much trouble. But President Jaywardane if he calls for help, it is only one of the two super powers whom he will call. He will not call the other super powers. You may not like to call the name here but you know that very well. Already some Press reports have been published. I do not know about their veracity but the paper 'SUN' has openly written and suggested to him that he should take action against the diplomatic missions of the socialistic countries in Colombo and that the Soviet Union and German Democratic Republic missions should be called to account and should be asked to either quit or cut down their personnel or something.

I do not know whether he is going to take such a foolish step. But somebody asked the Minister in the other House, I found from the record, about the banning of these Leftist parties including the Communist Party of Sri Lanka and the hon. Minister said: "I do not know anything about it, this is what they told me that they are taking action against certain groups and parties which they feel are encouraging separatist agitation". But he has no assessment of his own. I think the Communists are known all over the world for certain things at least. The Communist Party of Sri Lanka...

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO : It is not like that. Let me explain it. It was not for the separatist movement or activity. What I was told was that they were taking advantage of a situation and they were trying to create trouble.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : What does it mean? The whole opposition is creating trouble, according to the Prime Minister. Our main profession is that, according to the Prime Minister.

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO : I am setting the record straight.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : President Jaywardane's own assessment may be, well, the result of senility or being puerile. Everybody knows that the Communist Party of Sri Lanka is a very very small party. But it is a party which has stood throughout for two or three things very clearly. One is, they have stood for the rights of the Tamil minority in Sri Lanka. But they have not stood for the concept of a separate State. They have opposed the idea of Eelam of a separate, independent, Tamil State in the north and eastern part of Sri Lanka. They have not supported it. But they have fought all along for the minority rights of Tamilians which, I am afraid, has not been recognized. But they have been trampled under foot by successive governments.

Unfortunately, none of the Governments in Sri Lanka, neither of the late Mr. Bandarnayake, nor of Mr. Dudley Senanayake, or of Mrs. Bandarnayake, none of these Governments ever made any serious and honest attempt to solve this problem of the Tamil minority by granting them the rights to which they are entitled, including some rights of autonomy. If there is such an area in Sri Lanka where the overwhelming majority of the people are Tamil-speaking, there is nothing wrong in giving them some rights of autonomy in that region, which is different from demanding a completely independent State.

About their right of language, it has always been declared that only the Sinhalese will be the State language. The Tamil language was reduced to a second class status. About employment opportunities etc. other members have spoken and I do

not want to repeat them. In a police force running into some 14,000 or 15,000, there are only 700 Tamil-speaking people. In the army I suppose there is not even one. We should react to these things.

I do not want to draw parallels, but in a different way, in a different form, in a different context, we have to deal with these problems in our own country also. Have we not said times without number that we have to create in the minorities a feeling of confidence and security by giving them certain specific rights as regards education, language, employment and all that? Unfortunately, this has been neglected totally in Sri Lanka.

I am surprised to find that President Jayawardene in his broadcast—of course, the full text of that broadcast is not with me; but some excerpts are published in the foreign press; unfortunately, we have to read it from the foreign press—the broadcast which he made on the eve of this outbreak, I am very sorry to say, was nothing but an open incitement against the Tamils. He is the President of a State in which there is a huge 3 or 4 million strong Tamil population. We expect to hear from a President some words of sympathy, some soothing words, some healing touch. But there is nothing of that sort in his broadcast. Even to this day, nothing of that sort has come from the President. Well, that is the President they have chosen. Of course, he has seen to it that he consolidates himself very well by all sorts of constitutional reforms and changes which he is bringing in from time to time. I hope some other people will not be tempted to follow him in that respect.

My Young friend, Shri Madhavrao Scindia was very sincerely and optimistically pleading for opening of negotiations between the Sinhala Government and the TULF. I believe today the TULF is being banned by a special Change in the Constitution and all their 17 members in the Sri Lanka Parliament are going to be removed. So, that kind of a dialogue and a negotiated settlement can come and will have to come some day, but this is not the time when the situation is at all propitious for that. So, what I wish to say is—I do not want to

speak for too long, but I want to emphasis one point about which I had raised the question but something intervened. And that is: Why have they made this attack on the Communist Party and two other Leftist Parties? He may have given you any explanation, but we know Mr. Jayawardene's past. He is, of course, formally a member of our Non Aligned Movement and is treated with all respect and so on when he comes for a conference of the Non-Aligned countries. But there are many people in that Movement.

AN HON. MEMBER : Cuba.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : There are many people there who certainly have no commitment and no belief in the principles of non-alignment.

AN HON. MEMBER : They are maligned.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : And, Sir, it is not now, but for several months past that we have been hearing that in the United States (*Interruptions*). The Americans have made requests to the Government of Sri Lanka in the past that they wanted to get what they called rest and recreation facilities.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : Recuperation facilities.

SHR. INDRAJIT GUPTA : Rest and recuperation facilities. Recuperating from what? (*Interruptions*). Rest and recuperation facilities in Sri Lanka for their armed personnel who are stationed in Deigo Garcia. That means, that when those people go on leave and so on, could they please be allowed to come to Sri Lanka, to some nice sea-side resort there and spend their holidays there? And, you know, wherever the American troops have gone in South-East Asia in the past, what legany they have left behind?

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : **

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Sir, he is saying something very objectionable.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : I withdraw it, Sir.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : It is a contempt of the House.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I could not hear him at all.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : When I said, 'What legacy they have left behind?', he said.**

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : We will go into the record.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : That should be expunged.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Not expunged, he as withdrawn already.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : Don't expunge my withdrawal.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Sir, we have been conscious of the fact for a long time, and I think the hon. Minister even if he does not admit, knows and should know that the United States is very much interested not only in rest and recuperation facilities, but also for getting naval base facilities in Trincomalee, on the east coast of Sri Lanka. And the President

AN HON. MEMBER : Has more or less agreed.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : I do not know whether he has more or less agreed, but so far he has not had the courage to agree to it openly. But if he is able to suppress all opposition inside the country, if he is able to suppress the Left parties which are the loudest in their anti-imperialist stand and if he is able to turn out the Opposition from the Parliament, then the decks are clear from him and if the Americans can establish themselves in Trincomalee, then does it remain only a Sri Lankan affairs or does it take on a much wider connotation in this whole region, or does it or does it not affect the security of this country and will it or will it not give a new dimension to the entire weaving of this Diego Garcia base in the Indian Ocean? And what will be its repercussion on this Movement and demand which is going on throughout the world

including in the United Nations for coverting the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace? The whole thing will be blow up completely apart from the fact that it will mean a change in the whole security perceptious of this country. So, I would also request my good friends from Tamil Nadu of course, I can very well understand their feelings, their anguish. I am speaking now as a Bengalee, we went through the same kind of terrible anguish and feelings in 1971.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : Do you suggest the same solution?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : No, I don't suggest. I have already spoken while you were out drinking coffee. But I would suggest to the Government, and for me, for once it is a pleasant task to agree on one point at least with Mr. Ram Jethmalani on the floor of this House, and I congratulate the Government also for that, that they have not been stampeded into doing anything foolish like sending our armed forces there or deploying our Navy there. I know.

AN HON. MEMBER : As suggested by me.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : He has got so many Tamil voters in the Constituency. I have not. But the point is we are a big country. We are to show that kind of restraint and statesmanship which comes with our standing in the Comity of Nations. We are the Chair Person of the non-aligned movement. The public opinion of the non-aligned has to be heard. It has to be brought into focuss. It has to be felt. President Jayewardene need not think that he can escape from the censure of the world public opinion and the opinion of the non-aligned movement. It is India's job to mobilise that opinion and make it felt so that he cannot get away with this. I think your Government should also make it abundantly clear that if anything said and done in Sri Lanka leads to the intervention or induction of foreign powers or of a super power whom we do not want to name into Sri Lanka, then India will take an extremely serious view of it because it means it will be threatening our own security and security of the entire region.

As far as humanitarian assistance is concerned, there I also agree that there should be no reservation on our part whatsoever. Here is the question of human rights and humanitarianism, of suffering of these poor people in lakhs, everything that is required whether it be food or milk for children or clothes or medicines, everything that we have got I think, in abundance, that we can spare and should be offered. Publically it should be offered. It is upto Jayewardene to accept or refuse. But the whole world should know that India is prepared to give utmost succour to these people who have been subjected to this barbarous treatment. I hope that the suggestion made earlier this morning that a suitable Resolution should be adopted in this House. I am now told that debate is continuing till tomorrow. It can be adopted only to-morrow. I am afraid I will not be present but I would like to lend my support to that Resolution. At least the voice of the parliament of India should be heard throughout the world and it will not doubt have a powerful influence on all people who are our well wishers or who may be our detractors also. Thank you.

SHRI R.S. SPARROW (Jullundur) : The persecution of Tamil minority in Sri Lanka as has been revealed to-day from various sources is a sordid story. It could not have been worse for South Asia - this type of thinking. It is unfortunate for the civilisation as it stands to-day. As chance has it, there have been certain areas around this globe where such type of black spots have been cropping up. I do not have to enumerate any of those. You know the story of Palestineans. You know the story of Kampucheans. You have just now listened to Shri Indrajit Gupta about the sordid manner in which people were indiscriminately shot about even in Bangla Desh and in certain other areas. That reminds us about caribbean cauldron, some of the South American States and all this being half way towards genocide. This is the sordid story that has come to us in a very very stunning fashion that our own civilised type of counterparts of South Asian nations should have also indulged or started to indulge, in this type of way of life. At the very outset, I would like to submit one

observation. While addressing my Tamil brothers, this hit that has been made ... (Interruptions).

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please order.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : What order ? (Interruptions)... Why have you changed the order ? It is disorder...I should have been called upon to speak.

MR. CHAIRMAN : It is the Speaker who called Mr. Indrajit Gupta.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : Whom did you consult ?

Tomorrow, I am not going to stay here. Whom did you consult ? You do not know.

MR. CHAIRMAN : But any way, the Speaker called him and you can discuss with the Speaker. I have no objection.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : What is the Speaker ? You cannot do it This is a dictatorial manner. Why are you changing the order without my permission ?

Why permitted you to do it ?

SHRI RASHEED MASOOD (Saharanpur) : Do you want to change the whole order ?

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : Without our permission, it was done.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Yes, Mr. Sparrow, you continue your speech.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : There should be certain rules and all that.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Nothing will go on record.

(Interruptions)**

SHRI R.S. SPARROW : You give him the opportunity to speak. I will sit down.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : If I am asked to speak'tommorow, I will not be here. (Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Order, order.

SHRI R. S. SPARROW : It could have been done in some other manner but not like this.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Mr. Chairman, you see there should not be any misunderstanding. I also want to make one thing clear. I had approached the Speaker to tell him, "I am also leaving in the morning". I think, some other Members also approached him and the Speaker said "Those who will not be here tomorrow morning will speak now". Because, it was stated earlier that the debate would continue the next day also. He said, "I will allow them to speak today." That is all that happened with the change, as far as I know. Nobody would object to their speaking on that side. They are bound to get the time. It is the question of the Opposition. So, that has to be adjusted and I think, it can be adjusted.

MR. CHAIRMAN : He is objecting.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : This is not the thing. Why did not the Speaker consult me ? I am also leaving tomorrow morning. If I do not speak today, I cannot speak tomorrow.

MR. CHAIRMAN : He is already speaking now.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : What about my speaking ?

MR. CHAIRMAN : After him, I will give you and not before him. I cannot stop him.

(Interruptions)

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : This is my right. Don't shout. It is not your business.

SHRI RAM PYARE PANIKA : He is a senior Member. He is behaving like this.

SHRI R.S SPARROW : I will request the Professor, kindly accept with grace now. If you permit, I will speak.

SHRI RAM PYARE PANIKA : You should not yield.

श्री रशीद मसूद : हमारे दोस्त समझ नहीं रहे हैं कि हम क्या कह रहे हैं। हमारा मतलब

यह नहीं है कि श्री इन्द्रजीत गुप्ता क्यों पहले बोले लेकिन हमारा कहना यह है कि इस के बारे में हम लोगों से पहले मशिवरा कर लेना चाहिए था। यह आर्डर क्यों चेंज कर दिया ?

श्री रशीद मसूद : ہمارے دوست سمجھ نہیں رہے ہیں کہ ہم کیا کہہ رہے ہیں؟ ہمارا مطلب یہ نہیں ہے کہ شری اندرجیت گپتا کیوں پہلے بد لے لیکن ہمارا کہنا یہ ہے کہ اس کے بارے میں ہم لوگوں سے پہلے مشورہ کر لینا چاہیے تھا۔ یہ آرڈر کیوں چیلنج کر دیا؟

सभापति महोदय : अब तो स्परो साहब बोल रहे हैं, बीच में कैसे उन को रोक दू।

श्री रशीद मसूद : यह पूरा आर्डर क्यों चेंज कर दिया ?

श्री रशीद मसूद : یہ پورا آرڈر کیوں چیلنج کر دیا؟

सभापति महोदय : मैं ने चेंज नहीं किया है।

श्री रशीद मसूद : किसी ने भी किया हो। हमारे दोस्त इस बात को समझ नहीं रहे हैं।
(व्यवधान)

श्री रशीद मसूद : کسی نے بھی کیا ہو۔ ہمارے دوست اس بات کو سمجھ نہیں رہے ہیں۔

(انٹراپشن)

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV : Sir, I think, you can solve this problem. You can call him after Shri Sparrow,

MR. CHAIRMAN : That is what I have told him.

SHRI K. MAYATHEVAR : I want to know how many Members are there in the list to speak.

MR. CHAIRMAN : There is a long list. Anyway, the discussion will go on up to 6 O'clock today. And then, it will be continued tomorrow after 6 O'clock.

SHRI K. MAYATHEVAR : All the Members in the list should be permitted to speak.

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI : According to the order, the parties should be called.

MR. CHAIRMAN* : Let him speak. Afterwards, I will call on party lines. I cannot help it when they object.

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV : The Speaker suggested that we should sit upto 6 O'clock today and continue tomorrow. As some members representing important parties will not be here tomorrow, naturally, their point of view should come. It is very important discussion. The hon. Member is on his legs; let him finish his speech. You extend the sitting of the House today from 6 O'clock to 7 O'clock so that more members who are leaving today could be accommodated. Instead of having 2 or 3 hours, tomorrow, you can have 1 hour. You want to pass the resolution. Today, you extend it upto 7 O'clock. I am also to leave today. Some other members are also leaving today. We are not going to make long speeches. But we want to make certain suggestions. Therefore, you extend the time upto 7 O'clock.

MR. CHAIRMAN : That we will consider at 6 O'clock.

Shri R.S. Sparrow to continue his speech.

SHRI R.S. SPARROW : Sir, I was making my first observation. I do not expect that in the middle of my observation, it will be taken so seriously. Nevertheless, the thing has blown off.

I was making my point that for all Tamil people and all Indian people, we have to understand one cardinal fact that this reprehensible type of situation that has arisen in

Sri Lanka is the concern of us all. I belong to north India and you do not know how badly I felt from inside all the time as to the massacres that were taking place to my brethren. It does not take one long to understand what our close civilisation, our culture, with all those Lankan people has been. You see massacre right and left, unprecedented type. One feels very and upset that way. I would like to say that it is a national issue; it is an all-India issue and we have to take it in unison. I am very glad to hear various spokesmen speaking in the same vein.

I feel happy and satisfied about one thing. On the Government side, I have every right, as others have done, to congratulate the Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister and the Foreign Affairs staff for taking such a quick step in dealing with the problem, as best as they could, his (External Affairs Minister) having to rush down straightway to the place it self is judging the situation as obtained there, coming back and taking all the action quick enough for trying to diffuse the situation, and in it order of merit having taken on the whole affair, in a calculated manner. This is something about which we can be very proud of. But we have to think about the future.

Certain questions have arisen over which one has to deliberate. I will not be repeating the questions. All has been said and done by various speakers. I will come only to the cardinal fact affecting this particular question. We have to think in terms of dealing with the problem, firstly, as I have said, in unison as a country. Secondly, what we have to do is to make certain that no influences the usual type of influences—or interventions take place in so far as that beautiful island (Sri Lanka) is concerned.

I was a little upset yesterday when I heard from the touring team of Tamil persons who had come from America, U.K., Australia and New Zealand. The people who came from America mentioned that in so far as the diffusing of the situation in Sri Lanka is concerned, the American Government may not be taking any active interest. That was something which upset me. I asked him "Why should not they". I said, "It is a human question, a question which affects the people at large; and why should not they?"

And he could not answer the full question. Indrajit Gupta Sahed has elaborated that point to a certain extent, and I fully agree with him on that. There are geo-strategic and geo-political ramifications that one has to be careful about. We all understand the situation and we understand what the global situation is *vis-a-vis* the two super Powers. So far as that angle is concerned, my submission to our High Command, as also to the Government, is that we have to react very carefully. How we have to react, how we have work ourselves forward in that context will be apropos of the condition and situation obtaining. But we cannot neglect that angle of it-waiting, seeing and then assessing.

The second point I wish to submit is that I agree, and subscribe, to the idea that some kind of a Resolution will have to be framed. At what level, it is upto the House and upto the Government to consider. In that, I would wish to recommend this. The Seven Sisters' (External Affairs Ministers of South Asian countries) as has been called by one of my colleagues, have very kindly agreed on putting a kind of pressure on the Sri Lankan authorities, Jayewardence Saheb or anybody else for that matter. But, I would wish to recommend that we should ask all the nations at large to attend to this problem and try to put any reasonable type of pressure on the Sri Lanka authorities to help defuse the situation in the best manner possible under the circumstances. As many nations as possible who become signatories to this Resolution will be doing good to the cause of the minority who is at the moment finding itself in difficulties. This is one thing we have to do.

In so far as the performance of the Tamils is concerned, people have said so much about it. Being a history student, I have been following their working there over the centuries, over the decades. The Tamils who went there did remarkably well for that country, for the tea industry or, for that matter, even in services, as industrial labour, as skilled labour and also on the educational side. They have contributed so much for the uplift of that particular island. And, it is for us to highlight all these things for the knowledge of the people at large; I am quite certain that the External

Affairs Ministry and also the other Ministries concerned will be able to push all these things out for people to know through the various media, through television and so on and so forth.

Finally, it is my humble submission that we all should ultimately produce a Resolution which we must thrash out, as has been said by many, so as to show the will of the nation as being a unified nation for certain national issues—and this is the prime issues—at the moment—and secondly to ameliorate the difficulties and the stresses and strains the Tamil minority is suffering from now.

With these words, I conclude. I thank you very much for having given me the time.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Many hon. Members want to speak today only. The Minister has also agreed to stay here till 7.00 P. M. Is it the pleasure of the House that we discuss this matter upto 7.00 p.m. ?

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS : Yes.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Now I call upon Mr. Satyasadhan Chakraborty to speak.

SHRI K. RAMAMURTHY (Krishnagiri): It is because of his loud protest that you are calling him to speak ?

MR. CHAIRMAN : He represents the biggest Opposition Group.

SARI, K. RAMAMURTHY : But his behaviour does not seem to be like that.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : I am really sorry because I had to say something. Tomorrow I am also leaving and if I could not get the chance to-day I could not have spoken.

MR. CHAIRMAN : You have said it earlier.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : You are the Chairman and I was losing my temper and I am sorry for it. But you please understand the reasons.

Sir, at the very outset, I sympathise with the people who have lost their near and dear ones in Sri Lanka because of no fault of

their own. Many people in Sri Lanka have died because of this ethnic clash that took place. My Party sympathises with the families which have suffered and also shares the agony of the people who have lost their property, hearth and home and particularly the people who have lost their near and dear ones.

The whole episode is really tragic because of the fact that it is with the active help of the Sri Lankan Government that the whole killings and destruction took place. In jails the Tamil leaders have been killed and when this destruction and killing was taking place, the Army was not only passive spectator, but in many places they took part in it. The law enforcing authority and the Government which is supposed to give protection to the people including the minorities have failed and the coercive machinery of the State was used to destroy the lives of the innocent people, to destroy their property and to destroy the security environment of the minority inhabited areas. So the Government of Sri Lanka cannot absolve itself of the responsibility of helping the murderers and the rioters. Not only that, you will be astonished to learn that the Agriculture Minister of Sri Lanka in a broadcast instigated the majority community to attack the Tamils.

If you go through the history, you will see that ever since the attainment of independence by Sri Lanka in the year 1948, there is a systematic attempt to weaken the Tamils, to drive them out by batches from Sri Lanka and also instead of giving them equal rights, to give them subordinate rights. When the Britishers left Sri Lanka, they handed over the power to the majority community and ever since then, the minority Tamils are suffering.

Some people believe that the Tamils who are living there in Sri Lanka migrated from India very recently or just before or during this century. That is not a fact. The composition of the Sri Lanka's people is this : 7% Sinhalese, more than 20% Tamils 7% Muslims and the rest-other groups.

Out of these, twelve per cent of the Tamils are therefore more than 2,000 years. Some Historians say that before the Sinhalese went there, Tamils were there. I do not know about this. There is a contro-

versy about it. But, it is the policy of Sri Lankan Government to disfranchise the Tamils. They have done it. Unfortunately, the Indian Government had accepted it by the Sirimavo Bandaranaike-Shastri Agreement. Not only that. By three Acts in 1948 and 1949, Tamilians not only had been disfranchised but now they are not getting opportunities in civil service, in Armed Forces and in other Government jobs.

You will see from the statistics that due to the education policy, due to the policy of the settlement, the Tamils who are living there for centuries, for hundreds of years are now regarded as second-class citizens and, initially, the Tamils did not demand any separate state. It is wrong to think so. They only wanted the security and guarantee to their culture, to their language and they demanded an equal opportunity which has been denied to them. It is because of this systematic attempt to exterminate this community and to disfranchise and to render them as second-class citizens that a section of the youth had taken the path to extremism. Even to-day, a majority of the Tamilians, want equal rights, equal opportunities and also they want a guarantee to their culture which is legitimate. But, instead of accepting their demands, Sri Lankan Government are trying to trample under feet the legitimate demands of the Tamilian people.

Sir, recently, due to the actions of Jayewardane Government, the Tamils were put to test. You will see that in 1972 Constitution Amendment. Whatever minorities' rights were there, were taken away. And, in the name of fighting separatism, the Sri Lankan Government is trying to take away the rights of the Tamil people. Whatever rights were there, they are now trying to take these away. You will also see that along with that, the main aim of the Government in the name of fighting terrorism, is, first of all, to fight and then to discredit the Tamils who are fighting for their legitimate rights. Their second aim is to whip up anti-India propaganda so that they can isolate these elements. If there is any movement, they can blame it as India inspired. Their third aim is to clear the deck for the American basis in the whole island. You will know it ; the Foreign Minister knows it very well that the Conference which was to take place in Colombo in

Indian Ocean could not take place because of the refusal of the Sri Lankan Government to hold it. How an Imperialist looked at the island. I would here quote from a British Statesman who said :

“The basic requirement of Commonwealth strategy was the maintenance of communications in the Indian Ocean by sea and air. Ceylon occupies a commanding position as a base for defence communications without which control over the Indian Ocean would be seriously weakened.”

It had been the policy of the British Imperialists. Now, it is the policy of the American - Imperialists because they have taken over the old Imperialist policy to have a base in Sri Lanka and with that end in view now you will see that all the steps including, as has been pointed out by Shri Indrajit Gupta, the steps that leftist parties have been banned. The leftist parties have been systematically advocating the rights of the minorities and unity of the people. They are against communalising the politics of Sri Lanka. They are trying to make politics issue based and ideological based. But these are the parties which have been banned on the flimsy ground that they were trying to take advantage of the situation.

Now, I would ask our Foreign Minister to explain. In his statement he said that there is a substance that the Sri Lankan government has wanted to take the help of the imperialist powers. In what form and in what shape. It has not been made clear in his statement. You have said that there is substance in it. If that is so how are you going to take it. First of all, you are to say on the basis of what you have said that there is substance in it. On this you have to take the House into confidence. If that is, so, then it is not simply a question of the rights of Tamilians or the question of the minority and the majority but it becomes the question of the security of the whole of the sub-continent.

Sir, in the non-aligned summit conference all the countries pointed to the dangers of imperialism in this zone. So, I would like to draw your attention to the attempt of the imperialists, particularly the USA to frustrate

all the attempts to make the Indian ocean a zone of peace and, unfortunately, the Sri Lankan government under the leadership of Jayewardene is readily agreeable to offer a base to the USA and creating conditions for it and most probably they had instigated this including the attack on soldiers to utilise this to attack the Tamilians and Leftists and also to bring certain authoritarian changes in the Constitution and create ground so that Americans can have some base there. It is for the Government of India to clarify its position and also to take into account the future shape of things that may come if the Sri Lankan government has really invited some imperialist powers to intervene. I do not know but some people are talking of military intervention and assistance. Who is threatening the security of Sri Lanka? You may say terrorists but actually nobody is threatening the existence of the Government but why is it this question of military assistance to Sri Lanka may arise. It does not arise at all. It is not also a fact that the whole armed forces have gone out of control. It is the policy of the government to use the armed forces particularly in those areas where the Tamils are in majority because without the help of the police and armed forces they cannot destroy them. They are precisely using the armed forces and the police to destroy them. That is why I would like our Foreign Minister to clarify his position and say what is happening.

Sir, I would also draw the attention of the House to a part of the statement of the hon. Minister on page 3 para 2 :

“As regards prevailing situation it was acknowledged that the community feelings that had been aroused had law enforcement agencies affected who had not always carried their responsibilities.”

According to this statement and Mr. Rao was there, he has seen the things with his own eyes and I have no reason to disbelieve him the law enforcing authorities were helping the rioters to destroy the life and property of the minorities. Nowhere the Government of Sri Lanka has said that they are disregarding their directions. Nowhere they have taken any step to stop it. It means they are covertly encouraging these

things. This is a very dangerous thing to which I would like to draw the attention of the House. Sir, I sympathise with the Tamilians who are suffering there. Sir, I believe that the rights of the minorities should be guaranteed and it is the duty of any civilized Government worth the name to guarantee the rights of the minorities and also give protection to the people who are have different religion and different faith. This is the primary duty of the civilized Government. Unfortunately, the Sri Lankan Government has failed to do it.

Sir, at the end, I would say to the Sri Lankan Government that there are certain things which are their internal matter, but there are certain things which are not internal. Even under the International law, when human rights are violated the people of other countries, the humanity at large, have the responsibility to see that these rights are not violated. Sir, it is also the responsibility of the people living in other countries to see that the mass extermination does not take place. It is precisely what they are trying to do; they are systematically trying to make them a minority without rights to remain a minority without rights so that the Sinhalese remain in the majority, control the Government and the Tamils cannot take part in the decision making process. This is their aim. We should take note of it and our Government should take note of it. It is also our responsibility because they are our kith and kin and there are thousands of Stateless persons whose fate is hanging in the balance the plantation workers and others. So, we have the responsibility, the Indian Government has the responsibility. No one can say that these are internal affairs. If it is their internal affairs, what about the tea-plantation workers who are the Stateless persons, whom they are trying to send out of the country? I would like to draw the attention of the Government to the fact that it is also the responsibility of the Government of India to see that the Stateless persons' lives and properties are not destroyed since the Sri Lankan Government have said that their future will be determined according to the Sirimao-Shastri Pact.

To conclude, I would say that the Government of India, the people of India, are behind the demand of the Tamils in

Sri Lanka for their autonomy and for their rights. We do not encourage separatism; we do not encourage that a country should be divided, but decidedly and determinately support the rights of the minorities. They have the right to autonomy; they have the right to follow their own religion. Sir, I also would like to draw the attention, through you, of the External Affairs Minister and the Government of India that serious things are taking place in the sub-continent. The U.S. Imperialism is trying to create unfriendly atmosphere in the countries around us and destabilise the regions. They are taking advantage of the conditions that have been created. We should take note of it. Unfortunately the Government of India, because of its weak economic position, taking loan from IMF and economic dependence on them, is not asserting its independent policies. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI ERA ANBARASU: Who told you that India is economically weak?

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY: Because of your economic dependence, you cannot assert your selves, cannot say anything about American imperialism. This is the danger. I would request Government to change its policy of dependence on American aid. The moment you depend on imperialists' aid, all your loud talk about non-alignment and independent policy become useless. Tomorrow, you will go to Washington with a begging bowl and ask for aid. What about your non-alignment and independent policy? You must have an independent economic policy, to sustain our independence and true freedom.

I would say that the Government should be firm; and also flexible and must act tactfully, so that we can come out of the situation and guarantee to the Tamils, their life and property. Thank you.

SHRI ERA ANBARASU (Chengalpattu): At the very outset, I would like to pay my humble tribute to our Prime Minister and the External Affairs Minister who have shown equanimity *par excellence* to find out the factual position in Sri Lanka. Our External Affairs Minister has personally visited Sri Lanka. He has given his understanding of the real situation to this august House. Our Prime Minister directed the

Central Government offices and undertakings to associate themselves with the sentiments of Tamil people in Tamil Nadu. There was a peaceful and complete *bundh* recently in Tamil Nadu.

I would like to tell this august House, and our DMK friends: never before in our history has the Central Government extended its cooperation in arranging such a *bundh*, and expressed its solidarity and respect for the feelings of the Tamil people.

17 58 Hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

Our DMK friends might come out with an argument that the Central Government has not done anything. But I would appeal to them to touch their hearts and minds.

SHRI C.T. DHANDAPANI: You speak what you want to. Why do you bring in DMK?

SARI K. MAYATHEVAR: Sir, please direct him to speak on Ceylon, not about DMK. Let him not awaken the sleeping tiger.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Mr. Mayathevar, you can reply to him, when you speak.

SHRI ERA ANBARASU: I appeal to my DMK friends...

SHRI K. RAMAMURTHY: I am on a point of order. Mr. Mayathevar was saying that Mr Anbarasu should not use the word 'DMK'. Is that word an unparliamentary one?

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Unless it is unparliamentary, what is wrong in it?

SHRI ERA ANBARASU: This is not an issue for making political capital by certain regional parties. Once again I repeat that this is not an issue for making political capital.

SHRI K. MAYATHEVAR: We are all Indians. We should safeguard Indians' right to life and property.

SHRI ERA ANBARASU: Government of India has taken maximum care and

caution, to express its concern to suffering people in Ceylon. Do you expect that India should wage a war against Ceylon? Do you expect that we all should march together towards Ceylon?

18.00 Hrs.

No government will do that, especially our government where we are committed to the principle of Gandhianism, where we are committed to the UN Charter. It is a very sensitive issue. We have shown great respect, regard and concern for it. *(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please do not inject politics into it, because the nation, as a whole, is very much agitated over it. There are not two opinions about it. Let us not inject politics in our discussion. This is a national issue and every one of us is agitated over it as much as Mr. Mayathevar.

SHRI ERA ANBARASU: The recent incident of violence in Sri Lanka is not an isolated incident to be brushed aside. It is a calculated move by the Government of Sri Lanka to liquidate the entire Tamil race from Sri Lanka and there cannot be any sector thought, second opinion about this. Therefore, I urge upon the Government of India to mobilise world opinion in different forums of the world and to expose and condemn the carnage being committed by the Government of Sri Lanka. It is not the people of Sri Lanka who have raised their voice against the Tamils; it is the Government of Sri Lanka, it is the army of Sri Lanka, it is the police of Sri Lanka, who have started attacking Tamils with their sole objective of driving them out. Therefore, I urge upon the Government of India to condemn the act of the Government of Sri Lanka and expose it in the comity of nations. *(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon. members, the seriousness of the discussion will be lost if every one interrupts like this. I would request you to sit down. When you get your turn, if you want oppose him, you can do so.

(Interruptions)

SHRI ERA ANBARASU: I once again repeat that to express sympathy about the sufferings of Tamils is not the mono-

poly of only one regional parts; it is a national issue. The whole nation is behind our hon. Prime Minister in this regard. From this angle, we have to express our views. Our Prime Minister is the Chair person of Non-Aligned Movement, of which Sri Lanka is a Member. We have created a quiet history recently in organising the meeting of the Ministers of External Affairs of South Asian countries. Sri Lankan Foreign Minister was present in this meeting. Certain unanimous decisions have been taken by them. Therefore, it is time now to mobilise world opinion to condemn the atrocities of the Government of Sri Lanka against the Tamils.

This is a delicate but distressing issue. This involves relationship with a sovereign country in which the suffering people are the oppressed Tamils. It is axiomatic that oppression leads to frustration, which erupts into movements and struggle for separation. From the date of independence, the Tamils of Sri Lanka have been facing hardships. In 1948, the Tamils of Indian origin, i.e. the plantation workers were disenfranchised and they were denied the citizenship rights. Their representation in the Ceylon Parliament was forfeited by a law.

Today, after 35 years the Sri Lanka Tamils—rather, thousands of Sri Lanka Tamils—are being disenfranchised just because they are demanding freedom from oppression. All their demands to live in amity with the Sri Lankan Government have become an exercise in futility. The recurring genocide of Tamils there confirms the determination of Sri Lanka to wipe out the Tamil race in Sri Lanka.

Sir, as I mentioned already, this incident in Sri Lanka is not an isolated incident. I have heard about Hitler killing some five million people, the Jews; I have heard about Idi Amin** but here I see Mr. Jayewardene.** The Government of India should prevail upon him, use its good will, to see that good sense prevails upon him.

As my hon. friend, Shri Scindia very rightly said, so far the Government of Sri Lanka has not expressed any sorrow over the happenings. Even the leaders of the Opposition parties were not called for any

discussion or to provide some relief measures to those suffering in Sri Lanka. And therefore, it is a calculated and concealed mischief of the Government of Sri Lanka.

I had the opportunity of meeting some of the Sri Lankan people who have escaped and come yesterday and they have told me that the Army pulled out the people from buses, they have butchered them in the open on the roads, they have entered into the houses of Tamils and dragged them outside and they were cut off, dead.

Another heart-burning information I received was that the Army people were having the voters' list in their hands, and the names of all the Tamil people were marked. So, pointedly they went from house to house, or door to door, there were also some markings on the houses of the Tamil people - dragged people out and shot them dead. This is the brutal attack of the Government of Sri Lanka. And that is why I said, today Mr. Jayewardene stands to be condemned in the eyes of the world.

I can quote, or I would like to express this in Tamil, which means :

“There is no evidence in the history of any country that the rights of the people who have fought for their freedom have been destroyed or liquidated.”

There is no organisation, which fought for its rights, that has been liquidated or destroyed. There is no such evidence in history.

Today, perhaps the Government of Sri Lanka will be very happy over the killings in Sri Lanka. But a day will come when the people who are suppressed, whose rights were suppressed, they will once again raise against them. It is definite. Not only that; there is a calculated sinister move, as our friend Shri Indrajit Gupta mentioned, that all the Tamil people are being grouped together in a particular place and mass killings may once again take place. Therefore, the Government of India should be very careful in their attempts of shifting the Tamils from one place to another. Not only that; I thank the Government of

India for their liberal contribution as well as the materials that are being sent.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : But have they reached them ? Ask him.

SHRI ERA ANBARASU : They have sent things like clothes, kerosene, medicines and other things, I would like to impress upon the hon. Minister for External Affairs, that the kerosene may be used to burn our own brothers there. It may not be used for their domestic purposes. Also the other material may not reach the suffering Tamil people in Sri Lanka. It may be distributed among their own people. Therefore, I request the hon. Minister of External Affairs to see that there should be a supervisory body, some international agency or Red Cross Society to ensure that the relief material really reaches the affected Tamil people first. After that it may be given to our Sinhalese brothers. It may be a political strategy of Sri Lanka. Our friend, Mr. Chakraborty was telling that the Indian economy is weak. I do not know how he got that information. I can tell him that the economy of Sri Lanka is very weak now it is near bankruptcy. Therefore, it may also be a political strategy to wage a war against India. The External Affairs Minister was very bold enough to state that there was some substance in the statement that appeared in the press about requesting assistance from America, U.K., Pakistan and Bangladesh. Though the Government of Sri Lanka denied it, I suspect that there is some such move, because they want to incur the pleasure of super powers to create any anti-USSR lobby as well as anti-Indian lobby and thereby to strengthen their own position there with a view to wage a war against India. When they asked for assistance from other countries, our integrity had been questioned and suspected by them. Therefore, we should also have our own yardstick to judge this issue. I leave the course open to you either to kiss him or to kick him.

SHRI K. MAYATHEVAR : Better kick him. (Interruptions)

SHRI ERA ANBARASU : 35 years of tyranny has led to the cry of secession from the Tamils. The Army, the Navy and the Air Force of Sri Lanka do not have even

two per cent Tamils. Their number in the Police force is reduced to about 5 per cent. The intake of Tamils now in the science faculties of universities has been reduced by nearly 80 per cent. The Sinhala chauvinism ensured the introduction of Sinhalese as the only official language. Therefore, these are all the steps taken by the Government of Sri Lanka only to liquidate the Tamil race.

I also appeal to the people of Tamil Nadu as well as leaders of DMK, who are agitated over this issue and have given a call for *bandh* tomorrow or continuing that *bandh*, not to be carried away... (Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : He is making an appeal. It is for you to accept it or not. (Interruptions)

This is only an appeal. He can appeal to the people of Tamil Nadu, what is the harm in that ? The appeal is to the people...

(Interruptions)

SHRI ERA ANBARASU : I cannot appeal to them, there, I am appealing to the people of Tamil Nadu through this Parliament, through this forum not to be carried away by the emotional upsurges which are being incited by some political parties in Tamil Nadu which are keen to get rejuvenated by exploiting this issue. The best course would be at this juncture to stand solidly behind the Prime Minister of India and the Government of Tamil Nadu for all the apt and appropriate action taken by them for giving succour to the sufferings of Sri Lanka Tamils and to take constructive measures to save the people of Sri Lanka from sufferings. The *bandh* like stopping the trains and all that will only aggravate the situation. Already the people of Tamil Nadu are affected by drought and other constraints and, therefore, if there is any *haartal* or any other agitation in Tamil Nadu, it will only worsen the condition of people of Tamil Nadu. Therefore, I once again appeal my brethren to stand solidly behind the Government to seek a correct remedy to have the people of Sri Lanka from the butchery.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Hon. Members, some Members have already

expressed their desire to speak today since they are leaving by tomorrow's flight. There are three hon. Members who want to speak. I want to take the permission of the House to permit them as a special case. Therefore I am going to allow the hon. Members, going against their turn. I want the permission of the House ..

(Interruptions)

SHRI C.T. DHANDAPANI : I must speak today. I am also going tomorrow morning.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : You have not given your name. If you have given, I will take your name. Are you going tomorrow ?

(Interruptions)

SHRI K. MAYATHEVAR : Sir, his turn will automatically come...

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I said that some hon. Members have expressed their desire to speak today. The names are Mr. Chandrajit Yadav, Mr. Chitta Basu and Mr. Soundararajan. Now Mr. Dhandapani says he is also going tomorrow morning. Therefore, I will include his name also here. These hon. Members will be given preference ..

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Mr. Mayathevar, one hour's time was extended. I will do one thing...

(Interruptions)

SHRI A.K. ROY : Sir, tomorrow the House is going to adopt a Resolution. If all the important Members of Parliament will go by morning flight, who will adopt the Resolution ?

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : It is left to them...

(Interruptions)

SHRI A.K. ROY : So, I request all the Members to stay and participate in the discussions.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : This is left to the leaders and their respective political parties. We have no hand in it. How these hon. Members want to go. If they feel that they must remain when the

Resolution is passed in the House in preference to their going they can remain here. It is left to them. But the House was extended by one hour only to accommodate all these hon. Members. The Chairman has already announced that he will accommodate all these Members because they have expressed their desire to go.

SHRI A.K. ROY : At least I oppose and I force a Division on that. These Members must stay and participate in tomorrow's Resolution.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : We are in majority Sir...

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : You must tell your colleagues, you convince them.

SHRI A.K. ROY : You put this in motion, I will oppose it...

(Interruptions)

SHRI K. RAMAMURTHY : Shri Roy wants to know whether these leaders are going because the Resolution is being passed. They are flying for 'flight roko' Let them be allowed to go.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : The mover of the Resolution is himself absent, after making his speech. What kind of seriousness is this on such an important issue ?

SHRI C.T. DHANDAPANI : Nobody consulted us on this arrangement. Somehow the Speaker has decided it ; or, I do not know who decided these things. Now all these instructions or suggestions are coming from the Chair. I have my own suspicions about the arrangements.

SHRI ERA ANBARASU : There is lot of time for discussion.

SHRI C.T. DHANDAPANI : I know about the time and also procedure. From 1967 I know the position. I have my own suspicions. Actually, it is not fair.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : He is free to have his opinion.

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV (Azamgarh) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, now it

is amply clear that the entire country is highly concerned over what is happening or taking place in the neighbouring country of Sri Lanka during the last few days. This has become a matter of national concern. The atrocities and inhuman killings in Sri Lanka have shocked the human conscience. I do not think that in recent time such inhuman killings have taken place in South Asia.

When we discussed this question last time, the whole picture was not clear to us. Even today the information which we are getting is not adequate information. During his recent visit, our Foreign Minister had discussions with the President and other leaders of Sri Lanka only in Colombo; he was not in a position to go to the refugee camps or other affected areas. I think he could not insist also that he will go; that was not possible.

The news which we are getting from the news agencies like PTI, from their correspondent posted at Colombo, whatever despatches are coming from Colombo are mostly hand-outs given by the Government. There is complete censor and action is being taken against the correspondents of certain newspapers who have given the correct picture. Therefore, the picture is not fully clear. But whatever has come is more than shocking and it has aroused strong feelings in all parts of the country. If our Tamil sisters and brothers are very much agitated and shocked, it can be fully appreciated, because they have special relationship with these people. They have cultural affinity and kinship with them and some people belonging to their families or relations are affected.

Therefore, it is not that we have any intention to interfere in the internal affairs of any country. In such matters, this Parliament is always very careful. If people of this country have not been able to have self-restraint in this matter, it is only because they feel very deeply and they feel that what is happening is really matter of shame and shock. I say 'shome' because the Shri Lanka Government has failed in its primary duty to protect the lives of its own citizens and the lives and property of those of a friendly country like India. From

whatever the evidence that is available, one can very easily come to the conclusion that there is complicity. The apparent evidence shows that there is a complicity of the Sri Lankan Government in the killings. Otherwise how could it happen that such a large number of people have been killed in jail? And they are not ordinary people. All those constitute 80 per cent of active Tamil leaders who have been killed in jail. How could it happen they were all detained in jail? Did Sri Lankan Government call for the assistance of the police? Has any action been taken against the jail authorities for such mass killings that have been taken place there? Were the jailor and others suspended? Did they have any information about the mass killings and did they call the Military to control these areas? As I said earlier, they are in complicity. This is, really speaking, a shock indeed. And as I said, firstly, as I see the situation again today, this is going to create basically a major problem for Sri Lankan Government themselves. If there is a civil war situation that is allowed, if there is a mass killing allowed, it will ultimately lead to political destabilisation in that country itself which, from the long-term point of view, is not a good thing for the Government of Sri Lanka.

Sir, I have to say certain things also on this question. I will say that the Government of India, whatever they could do in the special situation, they have done to the maximum extent. After all, the Prime Minister immediately got in telephonic touch with the President of Sri Lanka. She could request the President of Sri Lanka if he could receive our Foreign Minister. Our Foreign Minister immediately rushed there, When he was speaking that day in this House, he himself knew the seriousness of the situation, and he didnot perhaps at that time think that it would be possible for him to go there. Anyhow, he agreed and the Foreign Minister went there.

SHRI K. MAYATHEVAR : What did he do there ?

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV : It is not a question of his doing or not doing. Whatever the Government of India could do in that situation, they did it. We are dealing with a different country. We are

part and parcel of the international community. There are certain international relations, there is a certain code of conduct with which we have to deal with them, and therefore, we should be very careful in that respect, and our responsibility in dealing with a friendly country is a special responsibility and particularly at a time when a very major international responsibility has been given to India — our Prime Minister happens to be the Chair person of the Non-aligned Movement. Therefore, I think only that could be done. According to my information, the Prime Minister herself offered to the President of Sri Lanka that if we can, as a friendly country, help to restore peace and help them, we would be willing to do it. She also conveyed the anguish, the concern and the distress of the Indian people, how deeply distressed and concerned we felt. I think that was done up to the maximum limit.

The other thing which I am trying to say is that in my opinion should not be looked at in isolation. It is a very serious thing that has happened in our neighbourhood. In the present international context, if you see piece by piece and if you try to put them together, you will see that it is a very serious situation. Firstly, Sri Lankan Government is a friendly country, it is also a part of the Indian Ocean. We also feel greatly concerned that the Indian Ocean is going to be made the arena of so many nuclear bases. It is going to be the arena of confrontation, of many military bases that directly threaten our sovereignty and the sovereignty of the littoral States. The Sri Lankan Government has been given a responsibility by the United Nations General Assembly to call a Conference so that the Indian Ocean can be declared as a zone of peace. Unfortunately, the Sri Lankan Government has not fulfilled that responsibility. On one pretext or the other they have not called that conference.

Everybody knows by this time the United States of America had been strengthening their nuclear basis in Diego Garcia. They are trying to establish new basis in Pacific Ocean, in Indian Ocean, in many places. They have been in touch. There has been news in many neighbouring countries of India. They want to have their military base in some of the neighbouring countries of India

I do not want to mention name. We all know which are those neighbouring countries. It is also a fact that have already approached Sri Lankan Government that for their military personnel (which will be a place in Diego Garcia) they want a place for rest and recuperation. Whatever it is, in that context that things have happened? Why the Sri Lankan Government could not protect the Tamil leaders and they were killed and detained in jail? Why is it that Sri Lankan Government in this particular situation, when we got in touch with them, instead of saying that these are the matters, we may take maximum steps as you are a friendly country? It could have been said — If they wanted any kind of help they could approach us. They have approached us earlier also. Why did they approach the United States of America who are far far away. They have approached U.K., Pakistan, Bangla Desh. Before approaching India they approached other countries which are far far away. I must tell you, this is my information what they said. They said we apprehend India is going to attack us. In case of India's attack we will need your help — military help. One important country has said, that is a technical thing, because they have conditioned this help, They have said, in case India attacks. Therefore, we are not saying that they have sought military help. This is the condition with which they have said. At the same time pointing out to Soviet Union, G.D.R., these are the two countries, their embassies are responsible. If their embassies were doing something, why did they not take action? Not taking action against Soviet Union and G.D.R., apprehending India's attack on Sri Lanka, killing of important Tamil leaders in jail, banning of left political parties in Sri Lanka, if you all put together, one can draw an inference and I am drawing that inference in the interest of my own country that there is an international conspiracy and Sri Lankan Government is preparing to seek the help of the United States of America and you will see that they will approach them for their troops. They will approach for their basis. There will be so many excuses and what will happen at that time? We are discussing here because of our own sovereignty, our own independence. By these things there is a threat and therefore I am saying that the Government of India should carefully watch these developments and also get in

touch with other important countries. We should always get in touch with other important countries. To safeguard our own sovereignty I will suggest that the Foreign Minister and I am sure the Prime Minister must have taken these steps. They should at least get in touch with the United States of America, with U.K., with Pakistan, with Bangla Desh, from whom the help has been sought. I am told they have sought help from Newzealand. They are approaching so many countries.

Foreign Minister in his earlier statement has said that he has got in touch with other countries. We would like to know actually what reply those countries have given. What did they say? what they were requested for. We have the right to know and this is in the interest of our own sovereignty.

I will say that inspite of all these things the Prime Minister should get in continuous touch with the Sri Lankan President. Our Foreign Minister should get in touch with the Foreign Minister of Sri Lanka. Inspite of all these conditions we should not fall into trap of certain forces which they want us to get into trap. We should continue our negotiations and we should go on persuading them and telling them that we are interested as a friendly country, in their welfare, in their political stability and it is not good for them that these things should have been done and this should cause concern to us. If our people in Tamil Nadu and other parts of the country are agitated, one must admire that in spite of everything, what they have done is they have only demonstrated their anger; they have only demonstrated that they are shocked. They have not gone into violence and they have not done anything of the kind. These are the minium in a democrati manner and in a peaceful manner which every people have got the right to do and that has been done.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Mr. Yadav, some of the relatives of the Tamils in Tamil Nadu are living in Sri Lanka. Their with and kin are living there. Therefore, the reason for this agitational method by the Tamils in Tamil Nadu is only this. My own relatives are there in Sri Lanka. Blood

is thicker than water.

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV : That is why, I said, understand the feelings and I admire them.

I am told that the Sri Lankan Government has requested our Government also for some kind of relief and aid. I think, this becomes our very important and primary duty that we should give maximum. I do not know what aid they have asked for. But I think, in such cases, medical assistance, medicines, may-be doctors, may be cloth, may-be food are needed. I am told that for first few days at least, the conditions in the camps were very bad. Even drinking water was not available. For children, nothing was available. Arrangements were very had and now because of the number of refugees has swelled very high, I think, immediately we should rush, on the basis of urgency, the medial assistance, medicines, cloth, rice and whatever other help we could do. We should do it as if we are giving to our own people. We know our own problems here-flood, drought and so many problems. They have blood relations and they are our neighbouring country. We should give our maximum help to these people.

Last thing, I will say. I am sorry, my hon, friend has said that we all should be present tomorrow. I thought, the debate would be completed today itself. That is why, I will not be able to be present here tomorrow. In such a situation, Indian people, Indian Parliament has a great tradition to raise its voice unitedly, as one single voice, and tomorrow also we should raise our voice unitedly and we should express our concern and we should hope that the situation in Sri Lanka would be normalised.

With these words, I think that our Government whatever duty is performing in taking into consideration our national importance, infernational tasks, responsibilities and our national duty, the Government should do the maximum in this respect.

SHRI XAVIER ARAKAL (Ernakulam) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the anguish of the Indian people and the feelings of this House are well expressed by the previous speakers

on this occasion. The stand of our Government is well explained in two statements dated July 27, 1983 and August 2, 1983. However, since the statement of 27th July, many things have happened in Sri Lanka. Therefore, it is natural for a democratic, sovereign and socialist republic to debate on a subject which touches its own feelings and culture.

Sir, in Sri Lanka, apart from Tamilians, there is another category of people. That is the Stateless plantation labourers and also the Indian citizens and the Embassy personnel.

In statement of August 2, the hon. Minister has state :

“Obviously, it is not for us to comment on the perceptions of the Sri Lankan Government about the main causes of the present troubles”.

This has been a perennial problem of Sri Lanka. At the same time, as a free democratic country, India has expressed its concern regarding the Stateless people of that Island and also the sufferings of the minority communities there. What worries us most is, as expressed by the hon. Minister :

“Our earlier diplomatic expression of concern was unfortunately made the occasion for a virulent press campaign against India as though we had interfered in Sri Lankan internal affairs.”

This is where we come in.

There is as strong anti Indian campaign both inside Sri Lanka and outside. I also agree with Mr. Chandrajit Yadav when he said, very rightly so, that there is a conspiracy against India by various Powers. As a result of this, destabilising movements are taking around the Indian continent. I know, Mr. Subramaniam Swamy will not agree with me.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Man proposes, Sami disposes.

“Swami” means God. Man proposes, God disposes — here Sami disposes.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : Thank you.

SHRI XAVIER ARAKAL : Therefore,

it is imperative on the part of our Government to go in depth to examine how and why this anti-Indian campaign is unleashed against India abroad. Why is it that this conspiracy against the image, the name and fame of India is spreading at large.

The press has played a decisive role in this matter. Specially the media abroad has played a decisive role in this regard. Of course, we have very little control over them. What I am submitting is that it is high time for our Government to make a counter move in this direction and present a proper and effective image of our Government.

After 1980, the name and fame of India has gone up remarkably ..

AN HON. MEMBER : After 1980 ?

SHRI XAVIER ARAKAL : You know what happened in the period from 1977 to 1980.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : It was the golden period in Indian history.

SHRI XAVIER ARAKAL : The efforts of our Prime Minister that she has made in international affairs have enhanced the prestige and the name of India. Therefore, it is something to be watched. Specially when our Prime Minister has become the Chair-person of the NAM, it is mandatory on our part to maintain the standard which we had achieved in the past. And I am sure our Prime Minister will endeavour to do whatever is possible in this matter, to see that stability and progress in developing countries are maintained.

What worries me most is that, as has been mentioned in the statement, while the massacre was going on in Sri Lanka, the Police and the Army were silent spectators. Why has this happened ? Some papers have said that even the order issued by the President was not complied with by the Army. If so, this is the occasion for us to think : is there any movement to destabilise this region and the governments therein ? This is the genuine apprehension of this country. If this tendency develops, if this conspiracy expands, to destabilise the governments of this region, what will be the ultimate result ?

One thing we have to be proud of is this. In our country minorities are well protected, very much so. Our Constitution and the policies and programmes of the Indian National Congress have always protected the minorities. But that is not the case in Sri Lanka. That is where your feelings, our feelings and the feelings of the entire nation come in, how to protect the minorities who are the victims of this massacre. I have only one suggestion to make. As a sober nation that we are, as a leading nation of the world, we can mobilise the opinion of the world for the protection of the rights of the minorities. I fully agree with the other Members that we should not do anything which will harm our prestige, especially that of our beloved Prime Minister. We have a tradition, a culture, a civilisation, to protect the human rights, the rights of the minorities, wherever they may be. I appeal to the Government to mobilise the world opinion against this massacre which has taken place in Sri Lanka. The hon. Minister has said so earlier. What worries us most is this. The communications and news from Sri Lanka are not transmitted as frequently as they used to be. We do not know what is happening there. One assumes that things are much better or ought to be much better. However, this is an occasion for us to rise above emotions and prejudices and from a wider angle see that the human rights are protected wherever it may be, and wherever there are sufferings, massacre and murder, succour is given to them. Therefore, the help which the Government is endeavouring to give should be expedited on humanitarian grounds.

With these words, I once again thank the Government and support its stand to ameliorate the sufferings of the minorities of Sri Lanka.

SHRI N. SOUNDARARAJAN (Sivakasi): Mr Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I am grateful to you for the opportunity given to me to say a few words on behalf of the AIADMK on the deteriorating situation in Sri Lanka. The news items in the papers read like horror stories. In the prison cell, the eyes of Shri Kuttimany were plucked out alive. This could not have been done by the co-prisoners in the jail. Seven

factories were burnt down. In Colombo sixty per cent business is owned by the Tamils. All their businesses were destroyed. These could not have been done without the collusion of the police. Incendiarism is not secretly committed. I narrate this to highlight the fact that either the Government of Sri Lanka is a silent spectator of the atrocities or it has been actively encouraging the elements hostile to Tamils in Sri Lanka.

It is a human tragedy. This carnage has to be condemned unhesitatingly. The Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu organised a peaceful and total hartal in Tamil Nadu on 2.8.83. I am grateful that our hon. Prime Minister issued directives to the Central Government offices and Central public undertakings to align themselves with the State Government in expressing the sympathy of all of us for the harassed Tamils in Sri Lanka.

It is a racial conflict and not merely the activities of some goonda elements as has been alleged by a senior Minister in Sri Lanka Cabinet. The very fact that the Sri Lanka Government wants a ship to carry about 2500 refugees from Colombo to Jaffna shows the grave situation. This is not the solitary instance of racial wrath. This has been taking place at regular intervals and the victims have always been the Tamils. This ethnic intolerance has gone beyond all proportions in the recent riots against Tamils. One IG of Police who is a Sri Lankan Tamil has been shorn of all powers. You can imagine the agony of such a senior officer. There is a planned effort to eliminate Tamils from Sri Lanka. Now the Sri Lanka Parliament has passed a Bill disenfranchising Sri Lanka Tamils who want deliverance from oppression and not secession. But the Sri Lanka Government headed by Shri Jayewardene who was a party to the decision in 1948 to disenfranchise Tamils of Indian origin and who protested against Bandaranaike-Chelvanayagam Pact in 1957 for giving administrative autonomy to the Tamil territory, has now waged a war of attrition against Tamils who are the citizens of Sri Lanka. He seems to have rejected the shipload of foodgrains sent by India for the refugees. This shows his inclinations,

I know that a solution to these problems is not beyond the sagacity of our hon. Prime Minister, who has successfully solved such problems. In fact, she has the inherent talent for resolving crisis after crisis. I request her to protect the lives and property of Sri Lanka Tamils, besides ensuring the honour and dignity of Tamil women there.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Now, I call Mr. Chitta Basu. After him, Mr. Dhandapani and he will continue tomorrow.

SHRI CHITTA BASU (Barasat) : I rise to take part in this debate to-day with a deep sense of anguish, anxiety and concern because of the grim tragedy which has befallen on tens of thousands of Tamil-speaking people in Sri Lanka. When the hon. Minister for External Affairs made the statement in this House on August 2, the situation was not so clear but as information started flowing, the situation to-day seems to have assumed great and grave dimensions. The Sinhalese ethnic mobs, aided and abetted by the personnel belonging to the Navy, belonging to the Army and Air Force and also the Police committed murders, assault, arson, destruction of property and lootings. The important element which comes out of this narration is the direct complicity at the involvement of the Army, Navy, Air Force and Police, in another war—the Government itself. This makes the situation all the more grave. Therefore, the proper actions ought to have been taken to see that safety and security of the Tamilian people is properly protected. In this statement also the Foreign Minister was pleased to mention about his desire to meet in Colombo, the Leader of the Opposition of the Sri Lankan Parliament, Mr. Arithalingam. But, he says in a statement that it was not possible for him to meet him but he had some telephonic talk. Now I find from a statement which has been published to-day in the *Time of India* and which has been smuggled into India because there is press censorship in Sri Lanka, from the statement of Mr. Arithalingam, many of the narrations, many of the descriptions, which have been reported by this has been corroborated. He has particularly underlined the complicity and involvement of the administration of the Sri Lankan Government.

With your permission, I want to quote a particular paragraph of his statement in which he says :

“We strongly believe—we means, the Leftists—that the violence would have been contained if the Government had taken prompt and firm action to deal with the rioters and looters.”

This is an important aspect of the whole incidence, the whole episode, namely, the complicity and involvement of the Executive of Sri Lankan Government,

Naturally, question arises as the genesis of this episode. In the statement of the External Affairs Minister, he also informs the House and says that he had some consultation or discussion with President Jayewardene about the genesis of the incidence or the episode. He has made it known to us that they might have—Shri Jayewardene—their own conception of the situation and that he had got nothing to act on that perception. But the facts which are before us cannot be ignored by the Government of India. Sir, I do not think that he is justified to say that he has got nothing to comment on the perception of Shri Jayewardene about the genesis of the episode. The ethnic conflict has been taking place right from the day when Sri Lanka attained independence. To be very brief, I would only mention about the main reasons of the ethnic conflict which has been carried out for years together. The reasons are : “(1) Further harassment of the plantation Tamils to drive them back to India. (2) Attempts at reconciliation by the Tamil Leaders to form a Federal Constitution—not a Separate State. Here also, according to us, what they want is a federal Constitution. They want that there should be a federal Constitution but one United Sri Lanka. That attempt at reconciliation by the Tamil Leaders to form a federal Constitution was termed as an attempt to divide the country. Therefore, because of that, some oppressions and repressions were systematically carried out on the Tamilians in Sri Lanka.

19.00 Hrs.

Next, the non-violent struggle to win the rights were met by goondaism and the state terrorism bringing communal riots in

1958, 1962, 1977, 1981 and 1983. Sir, I want to emphasise here the words 'state terrorism'. The next is: Predominantly Tamil speaking areas such as plantation areas in the Central Province, Eastern Province and Southern periphery of the Northern Provinces and important Tamil cities like Trincomalee were subject to the State aided coloniazation, at the behest of the Singhala Buddhist Pressure group to destroy even the minimal representation in Parliament. Lastly, institutionalised discrimination in the field of employment and educational opportunities driving the Tamils cut of government services. Details about this have already been given by the earlier speakers.

Sir, Government as a matter of fact cannot ignore these facts. I am sorry to say that the statement of the Minister made this comment that they have got nothing to comment on those developments. This is not the way we can show our sincerety and sympathy to the people who have always been on the receiving end.

Sir, so far as the developments in Sri Lanka are concerned on the earlier occasion on this snbject I also mentioned that the present regime of Sri Lanka have been taking recourse to anti-people and anti-democratic measures moving increasingly closer to the United States imperialism and are ready to enter into a strategy by which the interests of the USA global strategy would be implemented in this region of our continent. This is the global context which we cannot ignore when we discuss about this problem because it is not merely a question of ethnic conflict. This time the ethnic conflict has been encouraged by the Government itself because of a particular set, predetermined political objective and that objective is to ensure a dictatorial regime for all times to come in Sri Lanka and in order to create that condition and in order to butteress the dictatorial regime the ruling UNP has unleashed the Sinhalese chauvinists and aided and abetted them so that a racial conflict and ehanic conflict and can create a condition by whlch the dictatorial regime can be perpetuated over them.

Therefore, Sir, for our security and sovereignty we cannot ignore this develop-

ment having bearing on the global strategy of imperialism of today. Lastly, the human rights of the Tamil speaking people are being trampled upon. My friends were mentioning about human rights and civic rights. By this time, the Sri Lankan Government would have adopted the Sixth Amendment to the Constitution and by adoption of the Sixth Amendment to their Constitution, the TULF resolution would have been prescribed and it would have given the Government the authority and the power to compensate the moveable and immoveable properties of the members of the TULF and deprived them of all basic and civic rights including of franchise. Sir, we are a democratic set up and we believe in democratic rights. Therefore I do not know why several millions of our people in Sri Lanka are being denied of their right to freedom. We cannot ignore this aspect and merely say that we have got our sympathy for the Tamil speaking people in Sri Lanka. Even today, the dayewardene Government pretends to be a democratic one. She is a member of the NAM. But it is necessary to expose the real face of Mr. Jayewardene. This very Constitution Amendment exposed this democratic facet of the Government and this Amendment seeks to legitimise through a legal device the Sinhalese chauvanism that Tamils have no political freedom, Tamils have no property, Tamils have no right to live. This is the war cry. This is the battle cry. Therefore, we must condemn those kinds of activities of the Sri Lankan Government and we should see that the human rights are protected for the people of Indian origin in Sri Lanka.

Lastly, I may submit that an all-party delegation from Tamil Nadu waited upon the Prime Minister to apprise her of the situation and the need for providing relief and succour to the Tamils in Sri Lanka. I am told that the Prime Mintster has expressed her sympathy and I would urge upon the Government that assurance which might have been given to the all-party delegation should be properly acted upon and we should extend all our help and assistance to provide necessary relief and succour to the people who have fallen victims to the Sinhalese chauvanism.

SHRI C.T. DHANDAPANI (Pollachi):

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the entire freedom loving community in the civilized world is calling the day the blackest day in the history of Sri Lankan Parliament. By this time, the Sri Lankan Parliament would have passed the Sixth Amendment to their Constitution in order to take away the rights of the Tamils who have been living in Sri Lanka for centuries. The human rights have been buried deeply in Sri Lanka, particularly the rights of Tamils have been taken away in order to drive them out of the Island. It has been stated here that the issue has been taken in a different way. As far as my Party is concerned, we feel that whatever Government has done so far, is not sufficient. Government could have done more by this time.

I will make the rest of my points tomorrow. Whatever Government has done so far is not satisfactory. I will continue my speech tomorrow...

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : We were to take up the Electricity (Supply) Amendment Bill after 6 p.m. We extended that time till 7 'O clock. But we are not taking it up to-day. The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs says that we have to forgo lunch hour tomorrow, so that we can pass the Bill and send it to Rajya Sabha .

I think the House agrees.

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS : Yes.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : The House now stands adjourned to re-assemble tomorrow at 11 a.m.

19.12 Hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Friday, August 5, 1983/ Sravana 14, 1905 (Saka)