

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY!
WHAT IS YOUR RESPONSE ON
SRI LANKA?

APPEAL TO THE UN HUMAN RIGHTS COUNCIL

**APPEL A LA PRISE DE CONSCIENCE DU CONSEIL
DES DROITS DE L'HOMME - NATIONS UNIES**

**LLAMADO PARA REACCION URGENTE DEL CONSEJO DE
DERECHOS HUMANOS-NACIONES UNIDAS**

WEBSITE : www.tchr.net

19th session / 19ème session / 19º período de sesiones

27/02/2012 -- 23/03/2012



TAMIL CENTRE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS - TCHR
CENTRE TAMOUL POUR LES DROITS DE L'HOMME - CTDH
CENTRO TAMIL PARA LOS DERECHOS HUMANOS
(ESTABLISHED IN 1990)

BRANCHES

SWITZERLAND, UNITED KINGDOM

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**TCHR PARTICIPATION IN UNITED NATIONS
WORLD CONFERENCES AND OTHER MEETINGS**

- * *On 24 June 2009 TCHR was invited to have discussion with the EU Commission's three appointed independent external experts (regarding GSP+ benefits) – on the effectiveness of Sri Lanka's implementation of certain core human rights conventions.*
- * *TCHR was a registered participant in the World Social Forum 2009 in Belem, Brazil Jan 27- Feb 1, 2009.*
- * *TCHR officially participated in the 61st annual DPI/NGO conference in UNESCO, Paris, 3-5 September 2008.*
- * *TCHR was a registered participant in the European Social Forum 2008 in Malmo, Sweden 17-21 Sept 2008.*
- * *TCHR along with ECOSOC NGO Interfaith International contributed information to UPR session on Sri Lanka in May 2008*
- * *TCHR officially participated in the 'United Nations 7th Global Forum, Re-instating good governance', in Vienna, Austria 26-29 June 2007.*
- * *Members of TCHR participated in the World Federation of United Nations Associations (WFUNA) seminar in Geneva, Switzerland, 29-31 July 2007.*
- * *TCHR was officially accredited to participate in the United Nations Conference on Anti-corruption Measures, Good Governance and Human Rights, in Warsaw, Poland 8–9 November 2006.*
- * *A meeting was held on 7 March 2006, in the European Parliament – titled "EU contribution to the peace process in Sri Lanka". This was jointly organised by TCHR and Mr. Robert Evans, a member of European Parliament and of Labour Party in UK.*
- * *TCHR was officially accredited by the United Nations to participate in the World Summit on the Information Society – WSIS in Tunisia, 16 – 18 November 2005.*
- * *TCHR officially participated in the NGO forum of the UN World Conference Against Racism – WCAR in Durban, South Africa, from 28 August to 1 September 2001. TCHR held an information stall including an exhibition at the forum. The TCHR representatives also attended the main WCAR conference held in Durban, 31 August to 7 September 2001. (http://www.tchr.net/reports/wcar_detail.htm)*
- * *A meeting was held on 14 October 1998, in the European Parliament – titled "Press censorship in Sri Lanka". This was jointly organised by the Tamil Centre for Human Rights (TCHR) and Ms. Anita Pollack, a member of European Parliament and of Labour Party in UK.*
- * *In 1993, TCHR held an information stall and a photo exhibition on human rights violations, in the United Nations 2nd World Conference on Human Rights held in Vienna, Austria, from 14-25 June.*
- * *TCHR participates in meetings of Treaty bodies and submits reports to the same.*

FACT FINDING MISSIONS TO THE NORTH EAST OF THE ISLAND OF SRI LANKA

- * *May 2003* (http://www.tchr.net/report_studymission_2003.htm)
- * *December 2003 – addendum report* (http://www.tchr.net/report_studymission_2003add.htm)
- * *July-August 2004* (http://www.tchr.net/reports/visite_2004.htm)

HEAD OFFICE

9, RUE DES PEUPLIERS
95140 - GARGES LES GONESSE
FRANCE

Email : tchrgs@hotmail.com / tchrdip@hotmail.com

Fax : + 33 - 1 – 42 67 54 36

Branches

SWITZERLAND, UNITED KINGDOM

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What Presidents and VIPs of Sri Lanka said....

If I starve the Tamils out, the Sinhala people will be happy, *J.R. Jeyawardena, 1983*
 Minorities are like creepers *D. B. Wijetunga, 1993*
 Minority community is not the original people of the Country, *Kumaratunga, 1998*
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(arrests, killings, disappearances, rapes, displacements and injuries in the North East,
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SRI LANKA SITES FOR THE DISPLACED 'APPALLING'

U.N. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon during his visit to Sri Lanka

"I have traveled around the world and visited similar places, but this is by far the most appalling scenes I have seen," Ban told CNN. "I sympathize fully with all of the displaced persons."

"I have seen the complete devastation here, and there must have been in the crossfire many civilian casualties. There simply must have been," Ban told CNN's Sara Sidner.

"I hope my visit today can help begin a process of national recovery, renewal and reconciliation for all Sri Lankans," Ban said in a written statement issued Friday. "That is why I am here."

(Excerpts) **CNN - 24 May 2009** <http://edition.cnn.com/2009/WORLD/asiapcf/05/23/sri.lanka.united.nations/>

**The President
Members and Delegates
19th Session – UN Human Rights Council
1211 Geneva 10, Switzerland**

Distinguished Sirs / Mesdames,

First of all, we extend our solidarity greetings to all delegates, participants and others.

Since the establishment of our organisation in 1990, we have been regularly reporting on the human rights violations taking place in the island of Sri Lanka, to all United Nations Human Rights forums.

International human rights law and international humanitarian law have been, and are being, massively violated by the government of Sri Lanka. Cultural genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes are alleged to have taken place - replete with the most barbaric atrocities during the final stages of the war against Tamil people, who have been struggling for their Right to Self-determination for many decades.

As the domestic mechanisms in Sri Lanka have failed either to uncover the facts, or to provide justice or to promote reconciliation, the UN Secretary-General appointed a three member Panel to look into these allegations and advise him. This panel reported that it found credible allegations, which if proven, indicate that a wide range of serious violations of international humanitarian and international human rights law were committed by both parties - the Government of Sri Lanka and the LTTE.

The UN Secretary-General referred the Panel of Experts' report to the UN Human Rights Council in September 2011. Still the Council has not taken any action to initiate an international mechanism to investigate Sri Lanka's alleged violations.

Impunity is a very serious problem. The government of Sri Lanka encourages and allows the perpetrators to move freely in society and even appoints them as Ambassadors to embassies in foreign countries.

Regarding reconciliation, the last three years of negotiations between the government of Sri Lanka and the Tamil political party – Tamil National Alliance (TNA) have been fruitless. But, as usual, more and more disasters are happening to the people on a daily basis in the North and East of the country.

Whenever clarification is sought about the "imminent" solution for the ethnic problem, the standard reply by government representatives is that *"30 years of problem cannot be solved in 3 years."* In fact, it is not a 30 year-old problem. It has been a problem since 1919, but intensified soon after Independence in 1948.

Before the end of the war President Rajapaksa consistently said in his speeches and statements that he would seek Indian help to find a negotiated settlement to the Tamil Ethnic conflict. Since May 2009 he does not mention this anymore and instead, he only talks now about Development, saying the government does not want any outside interference in its "internal affairs".

Since Rajapaksa became President, he has spoken about the 13th amendment to the constitution. The international community believed this option would be explored, without realising that the President himself opposed that very amendment to the constitution, in 1987.

The present government has a two-third majority in parliament. This allows it to amend the constitution, in order to create the long overdue settlement to the Ethnic problem. But as is the habitual pattern of any Sri Lanka government, Rajapaksa's government also, is not interested in settling this conflict.

Press freedom, freedom of expression and human rights activities are in peril in Sri Lanka. Journalists and human rights defenders are arrested, tortured, abducted, disappeared and killed over-night. Members of civil society and Parliamentarians are undergoing severe harassment by the authorities.

A better world cannot be created while justice for the Tamils in Sri Lanka and accountability for the violations committed against them are ignored. Therefore we appeal to all participants of the 19th session of the Human Rights Council to urgently act on facts given in this document and to support this long-standing legitimate human rights cause – accountability and the right to self-determination of the Tamil people.

Yours sincerely
**S. V. Kirubakaran
General Secretary**

HISTORY IN A NUTSHELL

1505 **The Portuguese** arrived in Ceylon during the existence of three sovereign kingdoms, one Tamil Kingdom in Jaffna, and two Sinhala Kingdoms in Kotte and Kandy.

The island was divided into three kingdoms, a Tamil kingdom in the North East, the Kandy kingdom of the highlands and the Kotte kingdom situated in the South.

1619 Tamil sovereignty ended in June when the **Portuguese defeated the Tamil King**, and the Jaffna Kingdom became a Colony of the Portuguese.

1658 **The Dutch** arrived in Ceylon and the Jaffna Kingdom became a Dutch Colony.

1795 **The British** arrived in Ceylon and the Jaffna Kingdom became a British Colony.

1802 Ceylon became a British Crown Colony.

1833 For the first time in over 2,500 years of its recorded history, **the entire island of Ceylon was brought under a single administration** based on the recommendations of the **Colebrook-Cameron Report**.

1862 Tamils from Southern India were brought as labourers to work in the tea plantations in the hill country by the British. During the same period Tamil labourers from South India were taken to work in the sugar cane plantations in South Africa, Mauritius and in many other British colonies.

1885 Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan Tamil leader called for increased representation in Legislative council for Tamils.

1915 **In June, Sinhala Buddhist-Muslim riots in Ceylon.** Riots spread from the central province to the western and northwestern provinces.

There were heavy casualties amongst the Muslims. According to available records, 36 Muslims were killed and 205 Muslims were injured and raped. Nearly 85 mosques were damaged and more than 4,075 Muslim-owned shops were looted by the Sinhala rioters.

1919 The Ceylon National Congress (CNC), the first full-fledged "Nationalist" political party was formed by a celebrated Tamil, Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam.

The Sinhalese leaders found that unless they made their request for territorial representation unanimously the British were not going to grant their request. So they approached Sir P. Arunachalam, gave him written undertaking that a seat would be reserved for the Tamils in Colombo, and requested him to talk to the Jaffna Association, which preferred communal representation to territorial representation.

1921 Constitution granted for territorial representation. Once the supremacy of the majority community was ensured in the Legislature the Sinhalese leaders Sir James Peiris and E.J.Samarawickreme retracted.

A seat for Tamils in Colombo was refused. Apart from saying that they were not bound by their written promise since they no longer held the offices they earlier held when promising, they also said *"You Tamils are yourselves the majority in your two provinces. Why should you have seats in Colombo?"*

Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam **quitted the CNC, denouncing it as a party** representing mainly a section of the Sinhalese.

1927-1931 Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan and Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam **had talks** with Sinhala leaders when the **Donoughmore Commission** announced its recommendations in 1927. The **talks ended in a failure** as the Sinhala leaders ignored the aspirations of the Tamils.

1944 The first Tamil political party, "All Ceylon Tamil Congress-ACTC" was founded by G. G. Ponnambalam to champion the cause of the Tamils against Sinhala Buddhist domination.

1947 The United National Party (UNP) was formed.

The first constitution of Ceylon was adopted by an Order in Council rather than by a Constituent Assembly. It was known as the (Lord) "**Soulbury Constitution**" which remained in force until 1972.

1948 The British left Ceylon independence was granted to "Ceylon" and the power to govern Ceylon was handed over to the Sinhalese who were numerically superior.

After the stringent 15 November **1948 Citizenship Act** and the laws of disenfranchisement were enacted and adopted, the Tamils of Indian origin Tamils in the hill country (plantation Tamils) were deprived of selecting their representatives to the Parliament. **More than a million plantation Tamil workers were rendered stateless.**

- 1948-50** The Government launched massive **Sinhala colonisation** schemes in the Eastern province. Gal oya in Batticaloa, Allai and Kathalai in Trincomalee were colonised under pretexts of development.
- 1949** Dissension with the “Tamil Congress” party led to the formation of the “**Tamil Federal Party**” (FP) under the leadership of S. J. V. Chelvanayagam.
- 1951** S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike broke away from UNP and forms the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP).
- 1956** On 14 June S. W. R. D. Bandaranayake **father of President Chandrika Kumaratunga** proclaimed the “**Sinhala Only Act**” which made the Sinhala language the only official language of Ceylon.

The peaceful Satyagraha campaign staged by the Tamils to protest against the “Sinhala Only Act” at the Galle Face Green, in front of the Parliament in Colombo was brutally savaged by Sinhalese thugs with the connivance of government. The outbreak of **first anti-Tamil riots** in the island. More than 150 Tamils were burnt or hacked to death and million rupees worth of properties belonging to were looted and destroyed.

| Year | Killing | Rape | Injuries | Displaced |
|------|---------|------|----------|-----------|
| 1956 | 150 | 20 | 300 | 3000 |

- 1957** Soon after the “Sinhala Only Act” was passed in Parliament, **talks** were initiated between the Prime Minister S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike and the Federal Party leader S. J. V. Chelvanayagam.

On 26 July an agreement known as “**Band Chelva**” **pact was signed** between Bandaranayake and Chelvanayagam. This agreement was based on a quasi federal system devolving certain powers to the Tamils in the North East provinces.

Within a week of signing the “**Banda-Chelva**” **pact, it was unilaterally abrogated** by the Prime Minister Bandaranaike due to vehement protests staged by the UNP, Buddhist clergy and SLFP. J R Jeyawardena of United National Party-UNP undertook a march to Kandy in protest against this pact.

- 1958** **Anti-Tamil pogrom** broke out in the island. Many Tamils were massacred and million of rupees worth of properties belonging to the Tamils were looted and destroyed.

| Year | Killing | Rape | Injuries | Displaced |
|------|---------|------|----------|-----------|
| 1958 | 355 | 100 | 350 | 35000 |

- 1965** Dudley Senanayake leader of the UNP formed the government with the **help of the Federal Party** and other parties. **Talks** were held between the Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake and S. J. V. Chelvanayagam.

On 24 March, an **agreement** known as “**Dudley-Cheva**” Pact was signed between Dudley Senanayake and S. J. V. Chelvanayagam.

The agreement was abandoned without being implemented due to opposition from the SLFP, the Buddhist clergy, and UNP backbenchers.

- 1971** Armed revolution by the Janata Vimukthi Peramuna was suppressed by Srimavo Bandaranayake. Thousands of Sinhala JVP youths were killed.

Talks were held between various Tamils leaders and Srimavo Bandaranayake on constitutional amendments. **No agreement was reached** but the Sinhala leaders went ahead undeterred with their republican constitution amending the minimum safeguards granted to Tamils by the earlier constitution.

- 1972** Ceylon became a “Republic” on 22 May and Ceylon was officially renamed as the “**Republic of SRI LANKA**”

The United Front government enacted a Sinhala-Supremacist “**Republican Constitution**” for the country, which made Buddhism the state religion.

Formation of Tamil United Front (TUF) comprising Federal Party led by, S. J. V. Chelvanayagam, Tamil Congress (TC) led by GG Ponnambalam, and Ceylon Workers Congress (CWC) led by Savariamoorthy Thondaman.

State discrimination against Tamil students' admission to Universities reached the peak with the introduction of “**Standardisation**”. University admission based on merit was abandoned deliberately to stop Tamil students entering Universities.

A youth group comprising self-sacrificing and disciplined youths named **Tamil New Tigers (TNT)** was formed by Mr. V. Pirabakaran to fight for the right to self-determination of the Tamils in the North East.

- 1974** On 10 January, Sinhalese Police unleashed an unprovoked violent attack on those attending the prestigious “**4th Tamil Research Conference**” in Jaffna, leaving **nine innocent civilians dead**.
- 1975** On 5 May the Tamil New Tigers -TNT was renamed as **Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam LTTE**. Mr. V. Pirabakaran was named the Chairman and military commander of the LTTE.
- 1977** In July, Tamil United Liberation Front-TULF, contested and won overwhelmingly at the Parliamentary election giving them a mandate to establish the “**Right to Self-determination**” of Tamil Eelam in the North East. J. R. Jeyewardena of UNP became the Prime Minister, with a five-sixth majority in the Parliament. The TULF became the major opposition party in the parliament.

Talks took place between Prime Minister J.R. Jayawardena and the Tamil United Liberation Front. **No agreement was reached**. Anti-Tamil pogrom occurred immediately after elections in the areas where Sinhalese were in the majority killing hundreds of Tamils.

| Year | Arrest/Torture | Killing | Rape | Injuries | Displaced |
|------|----------------|---------|------|----------|-----------|
| 1974 | 25 | 9 | | 15 | |
| 1977 | 45 | 150 | 90 | 35 | 15000 |

- 1979** The government enacted the draconian Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA), **banning the** Tamil militant organisations. **On 11 July, the Jaffna peninsula was brought effectively** under martial law under Public Security ordinance. **Anti-Tamil pogrom** broke out in the island. Many Tamils were killed and properties belonging to Tamils were looted and destroyed.

| Year | Arrest/Torture | Disap. | Killing | Rape | Injuries |
|------|----------------|--------|---------|------|----------|
| 1979 | 150 | 22 | 13 | 13 | 15 |

- 1981** In June, another anti-Tamil pogrom was unleashed. Increased military repression in the North. **The Jaffna Public Library was burnt down** by the Sri Lankan armed forces, allegedly under the direction of two senior government ministers, Gamini Dissanayake and Cyril Matthew. **95,000 volumes** of books including numerous culturally important and irreplaceable manuscripts and the buildings were totally destroyed by arson. The Jaffna city market, the office of the Tamils daily newspaper “Eelanadu”, the office of the political party TULF, etc were burnt down by the Sri Lanka security forces.

| Year | Torture | Disap. | Killing | Rape | Injuries | Displaced |
|------|---------|--------|---------|------|----------|-----------|
| 1981 | 200 | 4 | 35 | 50 | 37 | 5000 |

- 1982** Government sponsored a **Sinhala settlement** in the Tamil populated Mullaitivu.

- 1983** **Major anti-Tamil pogrom** took place in July all over the island with the buoyed up support of the government. During the four days riots, more than **6,000 Tamils were killed and over 250,000 were rendered refugees**. Thousands of Tamils fled the country and went to India and to Western countries. Billions rupees worth of Tamils properties was looted and destroyed by the Sinhala rioters.

Between 27-28 July, **fifty-three Tamil political prisoners were massacred** inside the walls of the Welikadai prison in Colombo by the Sinhala inmates. The government masterminded this massacre and the Sinhala attackers were released from the prison and were rewarded with houses and properties in the Sinhala settlements in the Tamil homeland.

Hundreds of youths joined the LTTE movement and the TULF Members of Parliament sought asylum in India.

J. R. Jeyawardena’s government enacts **the 6th amendment** to the constitution and rejected the right to self-determination of the Tamil people in the island **on 8th August**. This amendment outlawed the mandate voted by the Tamils in 1977 general election. The Sixth amendment and the Prevention of Terrorism Act in 1979 along with the Emergency Law provisions became the instruments through which repression was unleashed on the Tamil people.

| Year | Arrest/Torture | Disap. | Killing | Rape | Injuries | Displaced |
|------|----------------|--------|---------|------|----------|-----------|
| 1983 | 1425 | 571 | 6000 | 750 | 3383 | 250000 |

- 1984** At the beginning of **EELAM WAR-I**.

- 1985-87** State repression and counter attacks intensified in the North East resulting in all-out war between the Sri Lankan state and the LTTE. LTTE effectively **took control of the Jaffna peninsula** and other Northern areas.
- 1986** In November, **talks** between the LTTE representatives and President J. R. Jeyawardena took place through the mediation of the Indian Prime minister in Bangalore, India.
- 1987** On the 29th July 1987, a peace accord known as “**Indo-Lanka**” pact was signed between Sri Lanka and India. Even though this accord purported to bring an end to the island’s ethnic crisis, it was signed by India and Sri Lanka without any consultation with LTTE and the Tamils of the North East of the Island.
- The LTTE’s first public meeting was held in Suthumalai on 4 August 1987. The LTTE Leader Mr. Pirabakaran’s speech in this meeting became known as the “**Suthumalai Declaration**”.
- 1989** **Talks** between the LTTE the President Premadasa took place in Colombo. LTTE’s chief negotiator Dr. Anton Balasingham, Mrs Adel Balasingham and many other LTTE high-level leaders took part in the talks.
- 1990** At the beginning of **EELAM WAR II**. Hostilities broke out again between the Sri Lankan forces and the LTTE. Economic blockade was imposed causing severe shortage of food and medicine in the North
- 1994** The People’s Alliance led by Chandrika Kumaratunge won the Parliamentary elections with the pledge to “end the war and bring peace”. **The LTTE unilaterally announced a temporary ceasefire** to welcome the change of government.
- Talks between the LTTE and the PA government led by President Chandrika Kumaratunga commenced in Jaffna. Kumaratunge won the Presidential election. LTTE chief negotiator Dr. Anton Balasingham, and many other LTTE high-level leaders participated in the talks.
- 1995** On 5 January, the Government of Sri Lanka (**President Chandrika**) and the LTTE (**Leader V. Pirabakaran**) **signed an agreement for cessation of hostilities**. The Government announced lifting of the economic embargo on some items **only on paper**, but the embargo continued. Later Chandrika government argued that there was no such thing as an economic embargo in the Tamil region. This was considered by civil society and the international humanitarian organisations as an “Utter lie with hidden agenda”.
- The LTTE gave a two-week ultimatum in March to the government to implement what they had promised to the civilians. This ultimatum was later extended by another three weeks until **April 19th. Talks ended in failure.** Government launched a major offensive in July in several parts of the Jaffna peninsula after imposing a press censorship. This was the beginning of **EELAM WAR-III**.
- 2001** The LTTE have announced unilateral **cease-fires many a time. One lasted for four months.** President Chandrika’s government refused to reciprocate the cease-fire declared by the LTTE and opted to continue with its military agenda.
- The Tamil political parties formed a front known as the “Tamil National Alliance (TNA)” and contested the Parliament elections in the North East on the 5th December 2001 and won in 16 electorates. **TNA’s Election manifesto.** In December, the UNP government headed by the Prime Minister Ranil Wickremasinghe came into power with the mandate for peace and negotiations with LTTE. The LTTE declared a **one month cease-fire** and it was renewed. The government also declared one month cease-fire and renewed it.
- 2002** LTTE released 10 prisoners of war as a gesture of good will for peace.
- The Norwegian government re-activated its peace role. The Norwegian delegation led by Deputy Foreign Minister Vidar Helgesen and Mr. Eric Solheim met with the LTTE chief negotiator Dr. Anton Balasingham in London and the Prime Minister and other ministers in Sri Lanka.
- On 21 February, an historic **agreement, a “Memorandum of Understanding”** was signed between Mr. V. Pirabakaran, the leader of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam LTTE, and the Sri Lanka Prime Minister Mr. Ranil Wickremasinghe. This MOU was worked out under the facilitation of the Norwegian government.
- 2003** **May.** Due to non implementation of agreed outcome, peace talks between the LTTE and the government of Sri Lanka came to a halt.
- In November**, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) submitted its proposals for an Interim Self-Governing Authority – IGSA (in the North East region) to the Sri Lankan Government through the Norwegian facilitators.
- This proposal was totally ignored by the Sinhala leaders, but was enthusiastically welcomed by the International community.
- 2004** In the General elections the political party “Tamil National Alliance (TNA)” won overwhelmingly in 22 electorates in the Tamil region, the North East.
- Their election manifesto stated, “Accepting LTTE’s leadership as the national leadership of the Tamil Eelam Tamils and the Liberation Tigers as the sole and authentic representatives of the Tamil people, let us devote our full cooperation for the ideals of the Liberation Tigers’ struggle with honesty and steadfastness”.

- 2005** On **15 July** - Sri Lankan Supreme Court rejected the PTOMS agreement which had been signed by the GOSL and the LTTE, with the aim of ensuring equal distribution of Tsunami aid to the worst affected North East. (*Post Tsunami Operational Management Structure – PTOMS was signed between the GOSL and the LTTE – 24 June 2005*)
- In **November**, Mahinda Rajapaksa won the Presidential election with the support of the Sinhala extreme political parties.
- 2006** In **February**, the first round of peace talks was held in Geneva after an interval of two and a half years. An agreement was signed but failure to implement this led to the second round of peace talks coming to a stalemate in **October**.
- 2006 April - Beginning of Eelam War – IV**
- 2006** On 16 October - Sri Lankan Supreme Court rejected the merger of North and Eastern provinces which had been merged under the Indo-Lanka accord in 1987.
- 2008 January 3rd. Sri Lanka officially withdrew from the CFA.**
- 2009 19th May** **End of Civil War** / Tamil Liberation struggle - De facto Army rule in the North and East
229,000 IDPs ended up in an internment camps
40,000' Civilian deaths (UN source). *Civil society estimates it is three times the UN*
11,696 LTTE cadres surrendered to the Army (Government figure)
Until now no official list and figures of LTTE cadres surrendered to the Army has been released.
- Authenticated footage and numerous photographs** indicate that LTTE cadres were executed after being taken into custody by the Sri Lanka army.
 Also many top leaders of the LTTE have been **summarily executed**.
 Hundreds of **rape cases and sexual violence** against Tamil women during the final stages of the war reported.

| Year | Torture | Disap. | Killing | Rape | Injuries | Displaced |
|------|---------|--------|---------|-------|----------|-----------|
| 2009 | 15,000 | 25,000 | +90,000 | +1000 | +25,000 | 300,000 |

- 2011** From **January**, Tamil National Alliance (TNA), an umbrella association of Tamil political parties engaged with President Mahinda Rajapaksa's representatives, in discussions on the contours of a political solution to accommodate Tamil hopes and aspirations. **On going without any progress**

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U.N. SECRETARY-GENERAL PANEL REPORT ON ACCOUNTABILITY

- Apr-May 2009** Sri Lanka committed war crimes and crimes against humanity in the Tamil hereditary region.
- 22-23 May 2009** U.N. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon visited a displacement camp in Sri Lanka and flew over the site of the last battle.
- 26 May 2009** President of Sri Lanka Mahinda Rajapaksa and the UN Secretary-General, Ban Ki-moon issued a joint statement including the following words: *"The Secretary-General underlined the importance of an accountability process for addressing violations of international humanitarian and human rights law. The Government will take measures to address those grievances."*
- 26-27 May 2009** UN Human Rights Council (11th session) concluded a Special session on Sri Lanka. A resolution was worked out in favour of Sri Lanka.
- 22 June 2010** Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon appointed a panel of experts to advise him on accountability issues relating to alleged violations of international human rights and humanitarian law during the final stages of the conflict in Sri Lanka that ended May 2009.
- September 2010** The panel of Experts - Marzuki Darusman of Indonesia (Chair), Yasmin Sooka of South Africa and Steven Ratner of the United States began their work.
- April 2011** The United Nation's long delayed report into accountability for war crimes in Sri Lanka was handed to Secretary General Ban Ki-moon on 31 March 2011.
http://www.un.org/News/dh/infocus/Sri_Lanka/POE_Report_Full.pdf
- 13 Sep. 2011** **Secretary-General** Ban Ki-moon sent the report of his panel of experts on accountability issues during the final stages of the civil war in Sri Lanka to the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights and the President of the Human Rights Council – 18th session.

PROPOSED SOLUTIONS TO SETTLE THE ETHNIC CONFLICT

TAMIL CENTRE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS – TCHR/CTDH – FEBRUARY 2012

| <u>YEAR</u> | <u>TYPE OF POLITICAL SOLUTION</u> | <u>RESULT</u> |
|-------------|---|---|
| 1957 | Banda-Chelva pact – Regional Councils | Unilaterally abrogated by GOSL |
| 1965 | Dudley-Chelva pact – District Councils | Unilaterally abrogated GOSL |
| 1970 | Proposals placed by the Tamil Federal Party (A federal form of government with an autonomous Tamil-Muslims state and three autonomous Sinhala states) | Rejected by the GOSL |
| 1979 | Presidential Commission to report on (creation of District Development Councils) | This did not fulfil the Tamils' aspirations. Not intended to provide a different political or administrative structure for any particular part of the country |
| 1983 | All Party Conference (Proposals merely extended the scheme of decentralization at District level to the Provincial level with limited co-ordination) | TULF rejected these proposals as it was not the originally formulated set of proposals, known as Annexure – C. |
| 1985 | In Thimpu - The devolution proposal by Sri Lanka (District councils without executive power) Thimpu (principle) proposal placed by Tamils (Homeland, Nationhood, Right to self-determination and equal rights) | Rejected by the Tamil representatives Rejected by the GOSL Talks collapsed because while the talks take place Sri Lanka renewed its military offensive in the North East |
| 1986 | "19 December" proposals by Indian envoys (Formation of a new Eastern Province by excising Sinhalese majority areas and the creation of two Tamil Provincial Councils in the Northern and the reconstituted Eastern Province) | GOSL expressed reservations and eventually rejected this proposal. |
| 1987 | Indo-Lanka Accord (Provincial Councils) (North and Eastern Provinces were merged under this accord. 95% Tamils didn't support this accord) | After 18 years, Sri Lanka's Supreme Court rejected this merger 16 October 2006 |
| 1989-1990 | Premadasa Talks (LTTE formed a political party-PFLT and prepared to contest in the elections) | The holding of fresh elections in North East never took place. Prevented LTTE from demonstrating its support from the people in North East |
| 1992-1993 | Parliamentary Select Committee Reports (President D.B.Wijetunga said that there is no 'ethnic problem') | Eyewash to International Community No progress was made |
| 1995 | Devolution Package (Refused to recognise the existence of the Tamil homeland, rejected an asymmetric approach, continued to treat all the provinces in the same way) | Rejected by Buddhist Maha Sanga and other Sinhala political parties |
| 2003 | ISGA proposal by LTTE (Interim Self-Governing Administration) | Rejected by the GOSL and other extreme Sinhala political parties |
| 2005 | Post Tsunami Operational Management Structure – PTOMS | Rejected by the Sri Lanka Supreme Court |
| 2007 | All Party Conference* Sinhala political parties UNP, JVP, JHU strongly against its proposals | Not ALL political parties were invited to participate in its discussions. Tamil National Alliance, especially was kept away. |

*Mr. N. Satyendra, a scholar and legal expert who participated in the earlier political negotiations with GOSL, described the legislation as a "comic opera." The provisions of the 13th Amendment are impossibly "burlesque and farcical," he stated. Further Parliamentarians and academics described this proposal as 'political mockery'. GOSL = Government of Sri Lanka

FAILED TALKS AND ABROGATION OF PACTS

TAMIL CENTRE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS – TCHR/CTDH – FEBRUARY 2012

| <u>YEAR</u> | <u>TALKS BETWEEN</u> | <u>RESULT</u> | <u>REASON/CONSEQUENCE</u> |
|-------------|--|---------------|--|
| 1919 - 1921 | Sir P Arunachchalam and Sinhala leaders | Betrayal | Once the supremacy of the majority community was ensured with the support of the Tamils, the Sinhalese leaders refused to give a seat for Tamils in Colombo which had been promised to P Arunachchalam in a written undertaking. |
| 1927 | Sir Ponnambalam(s) and Sinhala leaders <i>(Recommendations of Donoughmore Commission)</i> | Failed | Tamils' point of view ignored |
| 1957 | S.J.V. Chelvanayagam and Bandaranayke <i>(In 1956 Sinhala Only act introduced by the PM Proposal for Regional Councils)</i> | Pact signed | 'Banda-Chelva' pact unilaterally abrogated by Prime Minister SWRD Bandaranayke |
| 1965 | Chelvanayagam and Dudley Senanayake <i>(Proposal for Establishment of District Councils)</i> | Pact signed | 'Banda-Dudley' pact unilaterally abrogated by Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake |
| 1971 | Tamil Leaders and Srimavo BandaranayakePM <i>(Amendments to Republican constitution)</i> | Failed | Republican constitution was passed in 1972 without the support of Tamil parties |
| 1977-1982 | TULF and President J.R. Jayawardena <i>(In July 1977 general elections Tamil people gave a mandate to the Tamil United Liberation Front - TULF, to exercise the "Right to Self-determination" in the North East)</i> | Failed | The July 1983 riots followed, marking the beginning of Eelam War - I |
| 1985 | Tamil activists including the LTTE and GOSL <i>(Thimbu talks under Indian facilitation)</i> | Failed | GOSL rejected the Thimpu principle of Tamil homeland, Nationhood, Right to self-determination and Equal rights |
| 1986 | LTTE Leader and President J.R. Jayawardena | Failed | Jeyawardena refused to recognise the right to self-determination and the homeland of the Tamils |
| 1987 | India and Sri Lanka (Accord) <i>(under the guise of settling the Tamil ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka.)</i> | Signed | Accord signed, without any consultation with Tamils, nor the LTTE, the main party to conflict. 95% Tamils didn't support this accord. |
| | <i>Under this accord merger of North Eastern province took place on 8 Sep.1988. But, after exactly 18 years, The Supreme Court delivered its political judgement on 16 October 2006, stating that the merger of these two provinces was invalid.</i> | | |
| 1989 | LTTE and President Premadasa <i>(LTTE formed a political party and named it, "People's Front of the Liberation Tigers -PFLT". It was registered with the Election officials of Sri Lanka.)</i> | Failed | GOSL prevented International Community knowing the support for the LTTE among the Tamils. |
| 1994 | LTTE and President Kumaratunga GOSL <i>(President Chandrika and the LTTE signed an agreement for cessation of hostilities)</i> | Failed | Beginning of Eelam war-II. Promised lifting of Economic embargo dragged on and on. Beginning of Eelam war-III |

| <u>YEAR</u> | <u>TALKS BETWEEN</u> | <u>RESULT</u> | <u>REASON / CONSEQUENCE</u> |
|---------------------------------------|--|--------------------------------------|---|
| 2002-2004 | LTTE and Ranil Wickremasinghe PM the agreed outcomes of peace talks <i>(Under the facilitation of Norway a Cease Fire Agreement - CFA was signed on 22 February 2002 between the LTTE and government of Sri Lanka.)</i> | Failed | The GOSL failed to implement and the CFA. Several rounds of negotiations took place in Thailand, Norway, Germany and Geneva |
| 2005 | LTTE and President Kumaratunga with the aim of ensuring equal distribution of Tsunami aid to the worst affected North East <i>(Post Tsunami Operational Management Structure – PTOMS was signed between the GOSL and the LTTE – 24 June 2005)</i> | Failed | By a political judgement from the Supreme Court, PTOMS was made null and void – 15 July 2005 |
| 2006 <i>February & October</i> | LTTE and President Mahinda Rajapaksa <i>(Talks in Geneva, Switzerland on Paramilitary activities)</i> | Failed | GOSL failed to implement the agreed outcomes of Geneva talks in February 2006 April - Beginning of Eelam War – IV |
| 2008 January | | | <i>Sri Lanka officially withdrew from the CFA on 3 January 2008</i> |
| 2011 January | Tamil National Alliance (TNA), an umbrella association of Tamil political parties engaged with President Mahinda Rajapaksa's representatives, in discussions on the contours of a political solution to accommodate Tamil hopes and aspirations. | <i>On going without any progress</i> | |

GOSL = Government of Sri Lanka

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THE LESSONS LEARNT AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION - LLRC

In order to counter the international accusation of War crimes and crimes against humanity, Sri Lanka established the LLRC on **15 May 2010**. This is neither an independent body nor does it have the mandate to investigate any of those accusations. Furthermore, many members in the LLRC were one time Sri Lankan government Lobbyists.

The Mandate of the LLRC

To inquire and report on the following matters that may have taken place during the period between 21st February, 2002 and 19th May, 2009, namely;

- The facts and circumstances which led to the failure of the ceasefire agreement operationalized on 21st February, 2002 and the sequence of events that followed thereafter up to the 19th of May, 2009.
- Whether any person, group or institution directly or indirectly bear responsibility in this regard;
- The lessons we would learn from those events and their attendant concern, in order to ensure that there will be no recurrence;
- The methodology whereby restitution to any person affected by those events or their dependants or their heirs, can be affected;
- The institutional administrative and legislative measures which need to be taken in order to prevent any recurrence of such concerns in the future, and to promote further national unity and the reconciliation among all communities, and to make any such other recommendations with reference to any of the matters that have been inquired into under the terms of the Warrant.

LLRC final report was published on **15 November 2011**

http://www.priu.gov.lk/news_update/Current_Affairs/ca201112/FINAL%20LLRC%20REPORT.pdf

COMPARISON OF EELAM TAMILS WITH PALESTINE

TAMILS OF SRI LANKA (CEYLON)

TAMIL CENTRE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS - TCHR/CTDH

Email : tchrgs@hotmail.com / tchrdip@hotmail.com

website : www.tchr.net

| | Palestine | Eelam Tamils |
|-----------------------------------|--|---|
| | <i>(2/5 landmass of Israel)</i> | <i>(1/3 landmass of Island of Sri Lanka)</i> |
| Annexed with | May 14 1948 Israel | In 1833 - Ceylon |
| Conflicting People | Israelis vs Palestinians | Sinhalese vs Tamils |
| Population | 97% in Palestine are Arabs | 93% Tamil in North-East |
| Domination by | Jews of Israel, 6 million | Sinhalese of Sri Lanka 18 million |
| Military Composition | 100% Israelis | 99% Sinhalese |
| Colonisation | Palestine by Jews | Tamil hereditary land by Sinhalese |
| Occupied by | Israeli forces | 300,000 S/L force in North-East |
| Colonised areas | About 4800km ² | 8000km ² |
| | <i>(79% of present West Bank and Gaza Strip)</i> | <i>(50% of Tamil hereditary land)</i> |
| Settlers | 400,000 Jews | 500,000 Sinhalese |
| Armed conflict started | 1964 | July 1983 to May 2009 |
| Freedom fighters | PLO | LTTE(<i>Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam</i>) |
| Freedom of movement | Denied | Denied |
| Civilians killed | Over thousand?? | More than 200,000 |
| Disappearances | figures not known | Over 50,000 (Highest in the world) |
| Mass graves | Several | Many |
| Refugees | 3.6 million | Over 800,000 Multiple displacements |
| Property damaged | 209 billion dollars | Over US \$ seven billion |
| Houses destroyed | 8500 | 500,000 |
| Attack on religious places | figures not known | 2375 (<i>both Christian and Hindu-Saivites</i>) |
| Villages demolished | 531 Villages and towns | More than 500 |
| Political Prisoners | 1682 Arabs(8/10/2000) | Over 15,000 Tamils |
| Detainees torture ratio | 85% Palestine | 99% Tamils |
| People mandates | Many | 1977, 2004 & 2010 |
| UN H/R Special sessions | Several | One |
| UN Resolutions | Several | One in favour of the government of SL |

*For facts on Palestine - Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of Internal Affairs (PASSIA)
(Updated from TCHR report dated 19 March 2001 to the UN 57th Session of the Commission on Human Rights –
19 February 2009- 27 February 2012)*

WHAT PRESIDENT RAJAPAKSA SAID ABOUT SOLUTION TO THE ETHNIC CONFLICT

OUR METHOD IS DISCUSSION INSTEAD OF WAR

The Policy Statement made by President Rajapaksa - 25 November 2005

Peace with dignity in an undivided country

My government will give the **highest priority to launch a new peace process** to usher in a lasting peace through a political solution to the country's national question. Our method is discussion instead of war. We are aware that such discussions are not simple and easy. Yet it is the only way to peace.

My Government is ready to have direct talks with the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam. The political solution to a lasting peace should be based on a consensus reached through discussions among all parties linked to the problem and it should receive the approval of majority of the people. Our policy for reaching such a consensus is as follows:

In order to realise a lasting peace by solving the national crisis, we propose to build a new social democratic state cherishing political pluralism that upholds the aspirations and rights of all sections of our society. Based on that principle we will pursue the following policy to reach a national consensus for peace with dignity. (*Excerpt*)
http://www.president.gov.lk/speech_arc_25_11_2005.php

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ALL PARTY CONFERENCE REPRESENTATIVES WILL BE DELIBERATING TO FORM THE BASIS FOR DEVOLUTION

An interview published in "Junior Vikatan" – 17 December 2006.

What did you consider as most important during your recent Indian visit?

I am happy that my recent visit to India was fruitful; the most important being my meeting with the Indian leadership when I reiterated my commitment to a negotiated political settlement to the ethnic problem.

Tamils are citizens by descent in Sri Lanka. But will the Government itself act against Tamils?

The Tamil community is an important component of our country. They have played important roles in the development of Sri Lanka and have been continuously doing so. They continue to hold high positions in the government sector including in the armed forces.

You would be happy to note that the All Party Conference representatives will be deliberating to form the basis for devolution, to meet the aspirations of all communities including Tamils, within an undivided Sri Lanka. (*S/P*)
(*Excerpt*) http://www.president.gov.lk/interviwedecember_2006_12_17.php

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"INSTEAD OF KILLING EACH OTHER, WE CAN TALK, CAN'T WE? "

**MAHINDA RAJAPAKSA, PRESIDENT OF SRI LANKA
IN AN INTERVIEW WITH SPIEGEL - FEBRUARY 21, 2006**

Rajapaksa: "It was precisely the violence of the last months, which has given me many sleepless nights since I came to office in November last year, that motivated me to pick up negotiations again. We're all human beings, Tamils and Sinhalese. **Instead of killing each other, we can talk, can't we? "**

Rajapaksa: "I would like to make one thing very clear. My government knows nothing about such "paramilitaries" or even "Karuna". The Norwegian peace monitors have themselves clarified that the Sri Lankan army has nothing

to do with any armed groups operating in eastern Sri Lanka. Still, my government is committed to disarming such groups and we have already begun to do so”.

Rajapaksa: “I became a member of parliament at age 24 and have consistently worked among the poor, common people ever since. Don’t forget, I’m also a human rights lawyer and respect all human beings, be they Tamils or Sinhalese. I want one country, I want lasting peace and I believe that talks are the only way out”. **(Excerpt)**
<http://www.spiegel.de/international/spiegel/0,1518,402078,00.html>

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**“WE REMAIN FULLY COMMITTED TO TALKING WITH THE LTTE
EITHER DIRECTLY OR THROUGH A FACILITATOR”**

**PRESIDENT RAJAPAKSA AT THE 61ST SESSION
OF THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY – 20 SEPTEMBER 2006**

“Our government firmly believes that terrorism cannot be eliminated through military means alone. **We remain fully committed to talking with the LTTE either directly or through a facilitator.** It is our hope that the LTTE will transform itself from a terrorist outfit to one that is committed to dialogue and democracy. Our government stands ready to respond to any display of goodwill and a move towards a non-violent approach”.

“We continue to take unilateral humanitarian measures which extend even to LTTE cadres. As a responsible government, we will continue to provide unhindered access to conflict affected areas to the ICRC, to UN Agencies and to other recognized humanitarian agencies”. **(Excerpts)**
http://www.un.org/webcast/ga/61/pdfs/sri_lanka-e.pdf

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**“POLITICAL NEGOTIATIONS AND CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS HAVE BEEN INITIATED TO
ADDRESS CONCERNS OF ALL COMMUNITIES”**

PRESIDENT MAHINDA RAJAPAKSA AT THE G - 11 SUMMIT IN JORDAN ON 19TH MAY 2007

“Sri Lanka has suffered heavily from terrorism. We have been working together with the global community to deal with terrorism. We have also firmly confronted senseless terrorist violence. Not only we seek to defeat terrorism, but also to liberate the people who have become victims of terrorism. In this exercise, we are fully committed to safeguarding human rights and democracy. Political negotiations and constitutional reforms have been initiated to address concerns of all communities”. **(Excerpt)** http://www.president.gov.lk/speech_.asp

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“SRI LANKA IS NOT A COLONY OF ENGLAND, AMERICA OR ANY OTHER...”

**MAHINDA RAJAPAKSA IN AN INTERVIEW WITH AL JAZEERA’S
101 EAST PRESENTER TEYMOOR NABILI – 1 JUNE 2007**

Is there any level of dialogue at all between your government and the LTTE right now?

Actually, at present there are no talks at any level. As a government we cannot have talks. We say that we are ready for talks always.

You don’t see any value in dialogue?

We are always ready for talks. Always, even today. Even while the fighting goes on, I am ready for talks. Even being armed, the way they are behaving today, we are ready to go forward.

So you are saying that you think the Sri Lankan people would prefer a defeat of the LTTE first?

First. Opinion polls seem to suggest that peace is much more important to the Sri Lankan people. For the people, LTTE, peace - the people want peace that is the truth, without defeating the LTTE, without defeating the terrorism of the LTTE. There is no politics in this. There is a political side and terrorism here. This is a terrorist group. The people are aware that as long as a terrorist organization exists, that negotiations will not be successful. They are making use of the negotiations to strengthen themselves, to bring in arms. This is a historical fact, historically because the people have been battered. Today we have to be very careful.

So let me be clear on this: what you're saying is that there must first be military victory and then peace talks?

No. That is not what I hope for. Until the terrorists are weakened, they will not come for talks. As long as they think they are strong, they will try to break up the country. Today, what we hope is to fulfil the aspirations of the Tamil people.

What do you mean by weakened? At what point will you accept that the Tamil Tigers are weakened because it's now been almost a year of ...

Even under today's circumstances. Clearly said, what the people expect. But what I expect is not that. I said that even today I am ready to negotiate, very clearly. My argument is that terrorism has to be got rid off. We cannot kneel down to that. I am not prepared to kneel down to their arms capability. But I am committed to ensuring the rights of the Tamil people. That I will achieve, somehow.

I apologise, I am not really following you. You say that terrorism must be defeated but you don't want, you don't think that a military victory is necessary?

Absolutely, a victory is essential against terrorism. That is a different story. But because we need to meet the aspirations of the Tamil people, I am prepared to go for talks, with the terrorists. I have come to that point. Has any other world leader said that?

The message I am hearing from you right now is that your military strategy is going to continue until the Tigers come to the table and ask for negotiations and lay down their arms.

No. I am ready to talk even while they carry arms. Even while they fight, if they want to negotiate with me, and reach a solution, I am ready for that too.

Let me rephrase then. What you are saying is that the government's military strategy will continue as is, until you get a signal from Pirabakaran that he is willing to talk and he is willing to stop his military action first?

If they do not attack me, I will not attack. If they stay where they are, keeping their arms, I have no problem with that. But, they must agree to a political solution. To achieve the aspirations of the Tamil people, and to achieve the aspirations of the people of this country, I am prepared. Because I will not divide people as Tamils, Muslims or Sinhalese.

Richard Boucher visited Sri Lanka recently and he said there are two aspects that concern us, abductions and killings and the freedom of the press. Other human rights organizations have also levelled criticisms at the forces, armed forces.

Actually, today I am not prepared to accept that there are human rights violations as has been reported. When such accusations are made, I, the forces, the police ...

Are you willing to accept that there are violations of human rights occurring?

Knowingly, a state will not violate human rights, abduct people. That must be stated very clearly. Our forces are a very disciplined force. Not seen in any other country. Not a single civilian was injured when we took Vakarai. We know that in certain instances when bombs are dropped in other countries, people are killed, children die. We do not behave like that. We did not do that. We protected every civilian.

The ambassador designate to the EU from Sri Lanka has been speaking about his concerns with the situation; that perhaps Europe, and maybe even a Democratic US President after the next election, may begin to support either a

humanitarian intervention in Sri Lanka, or a perhaps a slightly stronger intervention in Sri Lanka. Perhaps even ultimately a Bosnia-style solution. Is that a fear that you have?

I believe in this country, for the problem of this country, another country cannot force a solution. To find a solution for this country, it is not Europe that can help. It is India that can find a solution. India is our neighbour. It is essential for the people of India. Therefore I believe, that it is the Indian government that can help us with this question.

But what would you like India to do today?

To offer a solution to this problem, according to the present situation, to help the Tamil people, India 's support is necessary. India must work with this government. It has worked, and my belief is that there must be more support from the Indian government. Sri Lanka is not a colony of England, America or any other country. Sri Lanka is a sovereign state. So when they get involved it is important that they do not interfere in the internal affairs of this country.

(Excerpt) <http://english.aljazeera.net/news/asia/2007/06/2008525184915163734.html>

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**“THERE ARE A LARGE NUMBER OF ISSUES
THAT COULD BE RESOLVED THROUGH NEGOTIATION”**

**MAHINDA RAJAPAKSA'S SPEECH ON RANAVIRU (WAR HEROES)
COMMEMORATION DAY – 7 JUNE 2007**

“There are a large number of issues that could be resolved through negotiation. We are ready for it at any time. We are genuinely ready. It is not possible for us to give an opportunity to strengthen terrorism. We are not ready to sign fake agreements. I declare without fear that we are not at all prepared to betray the victories achieved by us and our heroes of war”. (Excerpt)

http://www.president.gov.lk/speech_2007_06_07.asp

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**WITH OR WITHOUT PIRABAKARAN, GENUINE TAMIL GRIEVANCES,
NEED TO BE RESPECTED AND ADDRESSED**

President Rajapaksa interview with Indian journalist Inderjit Badwar – 20 September 2007

Inderjit Badwar: Many Tamils, who may not even like Pirabakaran, believe that you will negotiate only so long as he is around because he is a sort of protection for them. Suppose he is no longer on the scene, what guarantee is there that Tamil political aspirations will be met and that you will not suppress them?

Mahinda Rajapakse: Until now Pirabakaran has been the main obstacle to peace. Every Tamil leader who dared to differ with him has been killed. He has stifled democracy in the areas of his influence and ruthlessly suppressed the human rights of the Tamil people.

I have already said that with or without Pirabakaran, genuine Tamil grievances, the compulsions of their ethnic honour and linguistic identity, need to be respected and addressed or the problem will not be solved.

Inderjit Badwar: As a statesman, what would you like to tell the world?

Mahinda Rajapakse: I wish to say that I am not looking for a short-term victory. I am looking for a long-term peace. We have to avoid the creation of resentment, fear and hatred. I follow the Buddha Dharma. I have no use for the joy of temporary success achieved by arms. On the contrary I take the view that in the long run, it is 'Goodwill' and 'Understanding' that count, that force is futile, and that there can be no peace until there is peace in the human heart. (Excerpt)

http://www.president.gov.lk/inter_New.php?id=13

**FOR THIS COUNTRY, ANOTHER COUNTRY CANNOT FORCE A SOLUTION
IT IS INDIA THAT CAN FIND A SOLUTION**

**Transcript of Teymoor Nabili's interview with President Rajapaksa,
- the 101 East programme on Al Jazeera English – 28 May 2007.**

Teymoor Nabili: The ambassador designate to the EU from Sri Lanka has been speaking about his concerns with the situation that perhaps Europe and maybe even a Democratic US president after the next election may begin to support either a humanitarian intervention in Sri Lanka or a perhaps a slightly stronger intervention in Sri Lanka and perhaps even ultimately a Bosnia-style solution. Is that a fear that you have?

President Mahinda Rajapaksa: I believe in this country, for the problem of this country, another country cannot force a solution. To find a solution for this country, it is not Europe that can help. It is India that can find a solution. India is our neighbour. It is essential for the people of India. Therefore I believe, that it is the Indian government that can help us with this question

Teymoor Nabili: But what would you like India to do today?

President Mahinda Rajapaksa: To offer a solution to this problem, according to the present situation, to help the Tamil people India's support is necessary. India must work with this government. It has worked, and my belief is that there must be more support from the Indian government. Sri Lanka is not a colony of England, America or any other country. Sri Lanka is a sovereign State. So when they get involved it is important that they do not interfere in the internal affairs of this country. *(Excerpt)* <http://www.president.gov.lk/interviwemay.php>

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**I AM GIVING HIGH PRIORITY TO THE MECHANISM OF THE ALL PARTY CONFERENCE
President Rajapaksa in an interview with "Tamilan Express"– 25/29 January-2007**

During the meetings the TNA MPs had with the Indian and Tamil Nadu leadership, they are reported to have discussed a political solution to the North East problem and the hardships of the Tamil people. In this context, I wish to point out that the All Party Representative Committee (APRC) is already working on finding a suitable political solution. I am giving high priority to the mechanism of the All Party Conference and I am confident that the deliberations within this forum would contribute to the national consensus on devolution. I invite the members of Parliament from TNA as well as the LTTE to make use of this democratic forum to air their views. *(Excerpt)* <http://www.president.gov.lk/interviwejanuari.php>

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**“I WANT TO ASSURE YOU THAT OUR ARMED FORCES
AND THE POLICE ARE AMONG THE MOST DISCIPLINED IN THE WORLD”**

**PRESIDENT MAHINDA RAJAPAKSA AT THE 96TH SESSION OF THE
INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE IN GENEVA – 15 JUNE 2007**

“Terrorism has no place in the contemporary world. As a government, we are not prepared, at any cost, to bow down to terrorism. Would any of your governments submit to terrorism had they been in our position? However, we are determined that in a democracy like ours where political views can be expressed freely, political objectives must be realised through negotiation and dialogue and through compromise. There can be no room for extremism, and even less for violence”.

“Today, there is a misunderstanding and false propaganda that we are involved in ethnic cleansing. This is absolutely false. I must remind this august assembly that it is the LTTE which resorted to heavy ethnic cleansing from the early nineteen eighties...”

“Those countries afflicted with the menace of terrorism know very well what they have to undergo. These terrorist outfits cannot be contained easily. Our Armed Forces and the Police have had to be extra smart in containing the LTTE. *I want to assure you that our Armed forces and the Police are among the most disciplined in the*

world, and they have great respect for human rights. Any lapses on their part will be promptly investigated and corrective action taken. But I am sad to say that there has been so much of false propaganda against the Sri Lankan Armed forces and the Police that is being taken so seriously by the rest of the world”.

“We do not believe in a military solution. Therefore, I invited all democratic political parties in Parliament to form an All Party Conference, the APC. The purpose of the APC is to formulate political proposals, to ensure political reform and through that address the grievances of the minorities. An All Party Representative Committee is in the process of examining an array of proposals that have been submitted. I firmly believe that the outcome of this process will be satisfactory. We look to our friends around the world to assist in our hour of need”.

“My party, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, also submitted a set of proposals which proposed devolution to the district level. Prior to the establishment of Provincial Councils in 1988, government effectively dealt with people’s issues with a network of 25 district secretariats. In order to devolve power to the lowest level possible, the SLFP proposed the District level devolution, **while creating a Grama Rajya, quite similar to the Panchyati Raj system in India.** We strongly believe that people at the grass-root level will be truly empowered if we adopt the district level devolution”. (Excerpt) http://www.president.gov.lk/speech_1.asp

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**“I EMPHASIZE THAT WE MUST CONCLUDE THESE NEGOTIATIONS SOON”
PRESIDENT RAJAPAKSA AT THE 62ND SESSION OF THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY – 25 SEPTEMBER 2007**

“We launched military operations only to exert pressure on terrorists in order to convince them that it will not be possible for them to obtain a military victory. Our goal remains a negotiated and honourable end to this unfortunate conflict. I must say that the All Party Representative Committee is working successfully towards it”.

“Guided by the principles of Buddhism, We have long respected the rights of our fellow human beings. Therefore, it had not been necessary for us to experience global wars or the deaths of millions to, learn to recognize their value. **My country has no record of inflicting misery on fellow human beings for the purpose of empire building,** for commercial advantage or for religious righteousness”.

“**Terrorism anywhere is terrorism.** There is nothing good in terrorism. Sri Lanka has taken an upfront position in the global community’s efforts to deal with terrorism. We have become party to 11 of 13 UN Conventions for the suppression of various acts of terrorism. We think that the Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism, which in our view remains a priority, is only limited to endless discussion. **I emphasize that we must conclude these negotiations soon**”.

“At this point, we must focus our attention on the Palestinians who are striving for an independent state. The World community must help them to manage their country without any undue influence”.

“In these sessions, I believe that our obligation as global leaders is to commit ourselves to programs that will eradicate terrorism, establish human welfare oriented development, establish democracy and ensure there is hope for lower income groups for economic development. Accordingly, I appeal to the global community to make the 62nd session the beginning of a new chapter rather than just another session”.

<http://www.president.gov.lk/news.asp?newsID=269>

(Note: This is a translation from the original text delivered in Sinhala) (Excerpt)

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**“THERE IS NO ETHNIC CONFLICT IN SRI LANKA AS SOME MEDIA MISTAKENLY HIGHLIGHT”
MAHINDA RAJAPAKSA TO THE LOS ANGELES WORLD AFFAIRS COUNCIL – 28 SEPTEMBER 2007**

“Ladies and Gentlemen, our goal remains a negotiated and honourable end to this unfortunate conflict in Sri Lanka. Our goal is to restore democracy and the rule of law to all the people of our country. 54% of Sri Lanka’s Tamil population now lives in areas other than the north and the east of the country, among the Sinhalese and other communities. **There is no ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka - as some media mistakenly highlight. Sri Lanka’s security forces are fighting a terrorist group, not a particular community.**”

“I see no military solution to the conflict. The current military operations are only intended to exert pressure on the LTTE to convince them that terrorism cannot bring them victory.” (Excerpt)

http://www.president.gov.lk/speech_latest_28_09_2007.asp

“....WE ARE EQUALLY COMMITTED TO SEEKING A NEGOTIATED AND SUSTAINABLE SOLUTION TO THE CONFLICT IN SRI LANKA”

**MAHINDA RAJAPAKSA TO THE HINDUSTAN TIMES
LEADERSHIP SUMMIT AT NEW DELHI ON 13 OCTOBER 2007**

“It is necessary for me to repeat here that while my Government remains determined to fight terrorism, we are equally committed to seeking a negotiated and sustainable solution to the conflict in Sri Lanka. If those who carry arms against the State are willing to enter a process of genuine negotiation towards a peaceful and democratic solution, the government and the people will reciprocate. In this, it would not be out of place to look forward to understanding and assistance from our regional neighbours and friends, especially those with whom we share the strongest bonds throughout history. We will see in such understanding and assistance the true signs of emerging greatness”. *(Excerpt)* http://www.president.gov.lk/speech_latest_13_10_2007.asp

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“WE ARE STILL READY TO TALK,..”

MAHIND RAJAPAKSA’S SPEECH AT OXFORD UNION – 14 MAY 2008

“As our forces seek to defeat and disarm the LTTE, we are firm in our resolve to have a negotiated solution to the crisis in Sri Lanka. I do not believe in a military solution. We have attempted talks with the LTTE on several occasions – thrice since my election as the President – but they have not reciprocated. They have always left the talks with lame excuses. We are still ready to talk, once we are certain of their genuine intent for a political solution... and their readiness to give up arms”. *(Excerpt)*
http://www.president.gov.lk/speech_New.asp?id=51

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“WE HAVE THE NEED TO GIVE THE TAMI PEOPLE IN KILINOCHCHI AND MULLAITIVU THEIR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS”

**MAHINDA RAJAPAKSA AT THE NATIONAL WAR HEROES DAY CELEBRATIONS
AT SRI JAYAWARDENAPURA, KOTTE ON JUNE 07, 2008**

“..... They are trying to get us entrapped. They are trying to provoke the people, fan communalism and benefit by it. That is their present necessity. The terrorists have plenty of time to plot how they can delay the day our troops move into Kilinochchi and Mullaitivu. That is their great need. We have the need to give the Tami people in Kilinochchi and Mullaitivu their democratic rights, as we did for the people in the East. But because the terrorists do not want that, they seek to create trouble in other areas and gain time to their advantage. It is to gain time that they seek to overthrow the government, use human rights and various other means to psychologically weaken us, and seek to defeat us by cutting off aid. All this is done to gain time for their purposes. But we do not have the time. We have to finish this battle against terrorism soon”. *(Excerpt)*
http://www.president.gov.lk/speech_New.asp?id=54

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“THE GOVERNMENT GAVE NOTICE TO ABROGATE THE CFA”

**ADDRESS BY AMBASSADOR BERNARD GOONETILLEKE
AT CAPITOL HILL, WASHINGTON DC - 25 JANUARY 2008**

The Ceasefire Agreement

Sri Lanka’s Ceasefire agreement or the CFA and its recent abrogation, has been very much in the news these days. My familiarity with the CFA runs back to the time of its presentation in draft form by Norway, to its signature in February 2002, to its implementation, or more to the point, its brazen violation by the LTTE, from day one. I recall my critical remark in early November 2005, that a glaring defect of the CFA was the inordinate haste of its conclusion, denying the opportunity, particularly to the Sri Lanka government, to deeply scrutinize it.

The eagerness to conclude the CFA with least delay, was due to the fact, that by Christmas 2001, the government had agreed to an informal ceasefire initiated by the LTTE, and Norway, in its wisdom, considered it desirable to have a formal agreement signed before the informal ceasefire began to unravel. In retrospect, at least some of the CFA's shortcomings could have been addressed, if the parties had more time to consider the ramifications of individual articles of the agreement, including practicability of timelines indicated in the CFA.

On January 3, 2008, the government gave notice to abrogate the CFA, which became operational on January 17, 2008. Since then, many close observers of Sri Lanka's conflict and the peace process, Co-Chairs of the Tokyo Donor Conference viz. Norway, Japan, the US and the EU, other friends of Sri Lanka and the civil society, have expressed concern. The sentiments commonly expressed have been that withdrawal from the CFA would escalate fighting, leading to heavy civilian casualties and violation of human rights, that there is no military solution to the conflict, that a solution can be found only through negotiation, and that parties to the conflict should return to the CFA. (Excerpt)

http://www.slembassyusa.org/statements/2008/the_ceasefire_25jan08.html

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"WE HAVE REMOVED THE WORD MINORITIES FROM OUR VOCABULARY"

**ADDRESS BY MAHINDA RAJAPAKSA AT THE CEREMONIAL OPENING OF PARLIAMENT,
SRI JAYAWARDHANAPURA - KOTTE, MAY 19, 2009**

"We have removed the word minorities from our vocabulary three years ago. No longer are the Tamils, Muslims, Burghers, Malays and any others minorities. There are only two peoples in this country. One is the people that love this country. The other comprises the small groups that have no love for the land of their birth. Those who do not love the country are now a lesser group". *(Excerpt)*

http://www.president.gov.lk/speech_New.asp?ld=74

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I DIVIDE THEM INTO PEOPLE WHO LOVE THE COUNTRY AND PEOPLE WHO DO NOT

President Rajapaksa in an extensive interview with the 'Forbes' Magazine – 01 September 2009

"The war is over," he said. "Now we have no excuses. We have to start working and develop this country."

"I am a president for the whole nation. I divide people not as Sinhalese or Tamils or Muslims or Burghers. I divide them into people who love the country and people who do not," the President said. He said he speaks Tamil when he wants to, as he can approach them more closely by speaking to them in their own language.

He spoke of his government's commitment to economic development and said "We must have a Sri Lankan model." ... "I prefer to be agriculturally based. If you can be self-sufficient in food, then the industries will come," he said. *(Excerpt)* http://www.president.gov.lk/inter_New.php?ld=15

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THE POLITICAL SOLUTION WAS DELAYED NOT BY ME, BUT BY THE LTTE I HAVE OPENLY SPOKEN ABOUT THE 13TH AMENDMENT AS A STARTING POINT

**President Mahinda Rajapaksa in an interview
with India's Tehelka magazine – 31-07-2009**

Does this mean you are committed to sharing more power with the Tamil minority in the north?

I have always believed in grassroots-level administration and I have respect for the Tamil language. I know how strongly people feel about their mother tongue. There is a saying in Tamil that even God forgives those who abuse him in Tamil! The political solution was delayed not by me but by the LTTE who held everyone seeking a political solution hostage to their gun or assassination or mass murder. I have openly spoken about the 13th Amendment as a starting point. It is acceptable to India and it has been accepted in Sri Lanka.

Did India's domestic politics, given the pressures from India's 60 million strong Tamil community, create problems for you? And do you accept that Sri Lankan Tamils had legitimate grievances?

I will not criticize anybody who expresses his view peacefully and stands up for the rights of their community. As a human rights lawyer ***I am the first to admit that the grievances that sparked Tamil animosity towards Sri Lanka in certain regions had a basis.*** And we will make sure we do not repeat those mistakes. As far as Indian compulsions are concerned, well, politics is the art of the possible and we have to deal with the fallout of ethnic and linguistic tensions with skill and maturity. I agree that today no war is a 'national' war. They all have international consequences because of human rights issues, civilian populations and ethnic identities. ***No one can deny that Tamils all over the world feel for each other as a group as all others do. If India's students get assaulted in some Western nation, India rightfully lodges strong protests.*** Similarly, I had my own domestic compulsions when I came to power. I would have liked to move faster on devolution but ***I only had a slim majority in the government and had to create a wider consensus.*** But even if I were able to move faster on a devolution formula, it would not have worked because Prabhakaran's only goal was to cut my country in half and create an independent state through terrorism. That would have created a civil war of the kind that President Lincoln had to fight to keep his country together. (Excerpt)

http://www.president.gov.lk/inter_New.php?id=14

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NEVER IN ANY OF MY SPEECHES HAVE I REFERRED TO MY MOTHERLAND AS A SMALL COUNTRY

President Mahinda Rajapaksa at the second swearing ceremony – 19 November 2010

Development does not mean living in isolation surrounded by concrete structures while abandoning great humanitarian values, distancing oneself from the greenery of trees, nature and other species around us. We should move towards development while safeguarding the great humanitarian traditions that exist among our people. Nature as seen in the trees, vegetation and animals in our habitat should also obtain the benefits of the development we achieve.

We have carried out development work in the North and East as never before in the history of these regions. All development processes carried out in the North and East, are a closure of the highways to terrorism. I strongly believe that this infrastructure to banish poverty is a major part of a political solution.

The people of the North were able to use their franchise in freedom at the Presidential and Parliamentary elections. In the forthcoming elections too, we will ensure their right to vote freely and elect their representatives.

My dear sons and daughters,

Never in any of my speeches have I referred to my motherland as a small country. I have never called the land of my birth, 'small Sri Lanka' or 'small Island'. This is a land with a great history of many centuries, where the Kalawewa, Ruwanweliseya, Sigiriya, Yoda Ela, Lovamahapaya stand; a land where the Buddha has trod thrice. A land that won our freedom from the world's most powerful imperialism from struggles that lasted nearly four centuries; and, has defeated the most ruthless and savage terrorist of the world. It is where people who follow four different faiths live in harmony and where today many communities live in brotherhood; and where the world's largest harbour and five other ports are being built, and the strides of development are proceeding to build airports, expressways and massive power stations. With such an abundance of greatness who would dare to say that this is a small island? (Excerpt) http://www.president.gov.lk/speech_New.php?id=103

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I AM CONCENTRATING ON DEVELOPMENT WORK President Rajapaksa in an interview with Hindu – 22 November 2010

Earlier you spoke about the three Ds, Development, Democratisation, and Devolution. Has that changed?

No. Development is important. Without development and peace, we can't have democracy. Democracy is very important because we are a democratic country. And then devolution: we have said we must know the minds of the people. Politicians have their own theories but people, the new generation, have different views. What we want is reconfirmation of what they want. Definitely we are going to have this. To have peace, we need all this.

Now, there are heightened expectations about the political solution, the 13th Amendment-plus, that has been promised. The impression is that there is drift here.

As you would understand, we can discuss this only now — with all the political parties. After the elections, we have had discussions and they will continue. The solution that I have in mind might not be good enough for them; they might not accept it. Not only the political parties, the people must accept it. They want a new leadership to be built up. After we send them back to their villages, they have all these expectations and hopes. We must find out from them too. I have already had discussions with our political leaders who are in the government and who are in the opposition.

Do you have in mind a clear political solution, even if you have not revealed the specifics?

Yes, but I will first find out their views. We want to appoint a committee, from both sides and discuss all these.

As you embark on your second term, your new term, as President of Sri Lanka, what is your message to your people and to the international community? How should they respond to Sri Lanka's new situation?

The message to my people is that I am concentrating on development work. I want to make Sri Lanka a hub for the development of knowledge, energy, commerce, naval transportation, and aviation. To achieve that, our people must stay together, rally round the government and achieve it — for the people. To the international community, my message is they must understand our position. We defeated terrorists, not freedom fighters. The whole world is facing this problem. So they must realise what we have achieved and help to develop the country, develop the North-East. They must help us not to widen the gap between the communities but to bring them closer. The past is past; you don't dig into the wounds. We must think positively, not negatively. (Excerpt)
http://www.president.gov.lk/inter_New.php?Id=22

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**WE WILL TAKE OUR OWN TIME AND THE SOLUTION,
YOU CAN'T ASK FOR AN INSTANT SOLUTION LIKE INSTANT NOODLES**

President Mahinda Rajapaksa in an interview with Times of India – 28 June 2010

The international community, including EU, even India, frequently asks you to speed up the process of finding a political solution. Where do you stand on that?

We will take our own time and the solution, you can't ask for an instant solution like instant noodles. Constitutions are not for one or two days. It is not a magazine which is published weekly or monthly. We can't change the Constitution frequently. We will have to take our own time. We will certainly change all this. My commitment remains. (Excerpt)
http://www.president.gov.lk/inter_New.php?Id=19

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**ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT WILL BE HIGH ON THE PRIORITY LIST
President Mahinda Rajapaksa in an interview with Times of India – 30 May 2010**

You arrive in India on June 8. Will we finally see the revival of the India-Sri Lanka Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement, which has been hanging fire for two years?

We hope to discuss a number of issues. *Economic development will be high on the priority list.*

You recently said that you learnt a lot from India's mistake in handing police control to state governments. Is that an excuse for not implementing the 13th Amendment, which provides for devolution of power to Sri Lanka's provincial governments?

India is a huge country — you can't compare it with Sri Lanka. I always say that police powers can't be given to provinces. There are too many issues. Look what happened during the Mumbai attacks, when it took so much time to get the commandos, because all kinds of clearances were required. That is why I feel that police powers on the island should be centralized. (Excerpt) http://www.president.gov.lk/inter_New.php?Id=18

WHEN I ASKED FOR TWO THIRDS MAJORITY, THEY GAVE ME NOW IT IS THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, SO WE DO THAT

President Rajapaksa in an interview with Al Jazeera's '101 East' today – 27 May 2010

Fauziah Ibrahim: But a year on, some people are saying that you have not addressed the grievances that started this war in the first place. The Tamil community still feels marginalized. How do you

President Mahinda Rajapaksa: (interrupts) I don't agree with that, because some politicians are making these issues. Or some NGO's. Now if you go to the camps and if you ask them what do you want first? They will say I want my house back, I want a job, and I want to educate my children. They will not ask for anything else. So first what we must do is resettle these people. Give them the facilities, give them the things that are enjoyed by others in the south. Why not? Let them enjoy that first, then the people will... once they elect their own people, their representatives, into parliament, into provincial governments.... And then we can discuss with them, we can have a dialogue.

Fauziah Ibrahim: You're confident of this? Why do you say that?

President Mahinda Rajapaksa: People will trust me. I know that people will trust me. *When I asked for two thirds majority, they gave me.*

Fauziah Ibrahim: Going forward and as Sri Lanka tries to rebuild itself after a near 30 year war, and reconciliation as you say is trying to take place. What do you think is the biggest obstacle that faces your people?

President Mahinda Rajapaksa: We have to build that trust as soon as possible and it's building up. This is the challenge we are ready to take. So, after 30 years we took the challenge to defeat terrorism, so we took that challenge and won. *Now it is the economic development, so we do that.* Within one year, we resettle the people. 90% have been resettled. By December, everyone will be resettled in this country.

(Excerpt) http://www.president.gov.lk/inter_New.php?id=17

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I WILL NOT MERGE NORTH AND EAST, I SHALL MERGE THE WHOLE COUNTRY. OF COURSE, TWO THIRDS WILL HELP TO CHANGE THE CONSTITUTION

President Rajapaksa in an interview with the 'Strait Times – 18 March 2010

You start your campaign on 19th. How would you rate the UPFA's prospects for the parliamentary poll. Do you think a two-thirds majority is possible ?

I am very relaxed. Two-thirds or one-third is immaterial for me because when I became president I didn't have a majority. The Speaker was appointed by the opposition. After four years when I dissolved the parliament I had 47 new people, including the Speaker, in my party and I had a majority. So, I am not interested in numbers but this will be a very comfortable victory. *Of course, two thirds will help to change the constitution because the opposition has never supported us on this matter.*

What would be the political contours of this program? What pieces do you need to put in place in order to get there?

This is what I want to discuss with the new MPs after the election.

I visited a refugee camp once for a function. A Colombo lawyer who was supporting us said if the North and Eastern provinces could be merged that would help us. I was listening. At that point a young man got up and said: Sir, please don't divide the country again. We were traitors to our country. Better keep us under one umbrella. So, in my speech, I said he gave the answer. I will not merge North and East, I shall merge the whole country. If we concede to the merger call, the Muslims will ask for a province. After that, the Burghers could come, and there other communities, too.

You don't know this boy?

No! He was completely unknown to me. He was from Mullaitivu (where the Tigers once held sway) I touched his muscles and they were firm and strong. I said: Good, good!

Even so, isn't there some merit in the federalist principle as a solution? It has worked in India, in Switzerland.

Federalism is a dirty word in Sri Lanka. It is linked so much with separation. If I want to leave politics and go home, the best way is to talk of federalism. They won't accept me after that. I am a politician, no? The actual situation is, see this country. This is not an India, a huge country. You cannot forget the history of Sri Lanka.

Right now, just because all the Chief Ministers are from my party, I have some control over them. But they do have enormous powers. They even have Security Council meetings. If you give them the powers they will do whatever they want. They might say Indian Tamils cannot come here... to their areas.

(Excerpt) http://www.president.gov.lk/inter_New.php?Id=16

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A POLITICAL SOLUTION IS AN INTERNAL MATTER WE NEED ONE COUNTRY, ONE NATION.....

The Speech made by the President on - 06 June 2011

This is a new chapter marked by successful attempts to build bonds of brotherhood between the North and the South that was once wounded by terrorism. We have gained nothing but loss from disharmony, as proved by the histories of many other countries. We must strengthen ourselves as one nation. That strength is built upon perfect harmony between nationalities. And today, youths from the North visit the South and vice versa. This bond among us, without any doubt, contributes to the country's development as one unitary nation. You should visit the North from the South and the South from the North not as tourists, but with the determination to strengthen our brotherhood.

A political solution is an internal matter. It should emanate from within all communities of the country. External forces should not interfere in the internal sovereignty of our nation. I will make sure that the people in these areas receive what they want for their wellbeing, and not what is claimed by LTTE-sympathizers.

Wherever you are, let it be Hambantota, Mullaitivu, or Colombo, all of you are same. **We need one country, one nation**, one code of law, and one system that ensures equal facilities and opportunities. That is our prime expectation. (Excerpt) http://www.president.gov.lk/speech_New.php?Id=110

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30 YEARS CANNOT BE RESOLVED IN A HURRY

President Rajapaksa said at his meeting with newspaper Editors – 30 January 2012

"Whether it be 13 plus or 13 minus, these and more issues should be sorted out through the PSC mechanism. The Opposition must join in this effort as the problems at hand should be resolved democratically," the President explained. It is the PSC which must clear-up all outstanding questions, he said. "Parliament's decision on these matters is my decision," the President emphasized.

"I am willing to expedite the PSC process to search for solutions to these issues. There is absolutely no need for intermediaries. While it is the responsibility of all to come together to search for solutions to our issues collectively, some parties in the Opposition are not even nominating their personnel to the PSC. The TNA has, on occasion, acted like the LTTE.

They have joined discussions only to leave them abruptly. All need to remember that a problem which raged for 30 years cannot be resolved in a hurry," the President explained. (Excerpt)

<http://www.president.gov.lk/news.php?newsID=1568>

RATHER THAN RELYING ON IMPORTED SOLUTIONS AND UTILIZING FOREIGN INFLUENCES....

President Rajapaksa address on the 64th Independence Day – 4 February 2012

Lessons Learnt and Reconciliation Commission has stated that all are responsible for this problem. All those who act according to their conscience should take heed of this statement. Therefore, we have already started implementing what was in the Commission. The report was tabled in Parliament on December 17. Since then we have done a lot.

Acting against public opinion using executive power is not democratic. We are committed to parliamentary democracy as well as to the country's law, independence of the judiciary and good governance.

We all know that Parliament representing people including all parties, ethnic communities, religions is the supreme democratic institution. Therefore we believe that the mechanism for solving the National Question is the Parliamentary Select Committee. It is the duty of all parties in the country to solve problems according to the people's wishes by participating in this Parliamentary Select Committee **rather than relying on imported solutions and utilizing foreign influences.** (Excerpt)
http://www.defence.lk/new.asp?fname=20120204_02

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WHAT PRESIDENTS AND VIPs OF SRI LANKA SAID.....

“REALLY IF I STARVE THE TAMILS OUT, THE SINHALA PEOPLE WILL BE HAPPY”
PRESIDENT J.R. JEYAWARDENA (FEB 1978 – JAN 1989)

“I am not worried about the opinion of the Tamil people. Now we cannot think of them, not about their lives or their opinion. The more you put pressure in the north, the happier the Sinhala people will be here. Really if I starve the Tamils out, the Sinhala people will be happy.” – **President J.R. Jeyawardena, Daily Telegraph, UK 11th July 1983** <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2008/jun/03/commentary-plucked-peace-flower/>

“MINORITIES ARE LIKE CREEPERS”
PRESIDENT D. B. WIJETUNGA (MAY 1993 – NOV 1994)

D B Wijetunga President of the UNP said that the *“minorities are like creepers clinging to the Sinhala tree.”* (Excerpt) <http://www.indianexpress.com/res/web/ple/ie/daily/19981117/32150274.html>

“MINORITY COMMUNITY IS NOT THE ORIGINAL PEOPLE OF THE COUNTRY”
– PRESIDENT KUMARATUNGA (NOV 1994 – NOV 2005)

President Chandrika Kumaratunga told South African television recently that Tamils were not the "original" people of Sri Lanka. *“They are wanting a separate state, a minority community which is not the original people of the country,”* she said in the interview. (Excerpt)
<http://www.indianexpress.com/res/web/ple/ie/daily/19981117/32150274.html>

“I STRONGLY BELIEVE THAT THIS COUNTRY BELONGS TO THE SINHALESE”
GENERAL SARATH FONSEKA

National Post, Canada - September 23, 2008 - "I strongly believe that this country belongs to the Sinhalese but there are minority communities and we treat them like our people," he says. We being the majority of the country, 75%, we will never give in and we have the right to protect this country. We are also a strong nation ... They can live in this country with us. But they must not try to, under the pretext of being a minority, demand undue things." (Excerpt - Stewart Bell, National Post, Canada - Monday, September 22, 2008)
<http://www.nationalpost.com/news/story.html?id=832374>

SINHALA TAMIL RELATIONSHIP

SINHALA BUDDHISTS DOMINATE SRI LANKA

The President is a Sinhalese and Buddhist
The Prime Minister is a Sinhalese and Buddhist
The Opposition Leader is a Sinhalese and Buddhist

The Commander of the Sri Lanka Army is a Sinhalese and Buddhist
-do- **Navy** is a Sinhalese and Buddhist
-do- **Air Force** is a Sinhalese and Buddhist
The Inspector General of Police is a Sinhalese and Buddhist
The Attorney General is a Sinhalese and Buddhist

Armed forces are 99% Sinhalese
Public service is 95% Sinhalese
Diplomatic Service is 95% Sinhalese
Admission to Law College 99% Sinhalese
Universities – Staff & students 85% Sinhalese

Political prisoners in Sri Lanka's prisons 99% Tamils
Arrested, killed, disappeared, raped and displaced (since 1990) 99% Tamils

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DENIAL OF FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS IN THE NAME OF SOVEREIGNTY AND DEMOCRACY

Bureaucrats and decision-makers in world bodies, inter-governmental regional bodies and other important actors should be aware of Sri Lanka, clothed in its own style of democracy. To quote a few examples:

- (1) **The national flag** of the post independence Ceylon has only a symbol of Sinhala Lion carrying a sword with bo-leaves at the four corners of the flag. These represents the Sinhala race, Buddhism and the lion's tail signified the eight-fold path of Buddhism. After many protests, two vertical stripes – orange and green were inserted to mark the Tamils and Muslims in the flag.
- (2) **Under the Citizenship Act** passed on 15 November 1948, nearly a million Plantation Tamils, (brought by the British from South India to work in the plantations in 1862) who had voted in the 1947 elections were deprived of their citizenship and their right to vote, reducing the proportion of Tamil representation in the Sri Lankan parliament.
- (3) Under 60 years of state-sponsored **Sinhala colonisation** in the Tamil homeland (North and East), Sinhala governments and their destructive agents have plundered and robbed 50% of the ancestral land of the Tamils. This was to deliberately change the demography of the Tamil homeland.
- (4) Sinhala was made the **official language** of the country in 1956 and made as a compulsory language for the Tamils.
- (5) **Five anti-Tamil programs** (1956, 1958, 1977, 1981, and 1983), unleashed by various Sri Lankan governments, Sinhala extremist groups and thugs, ruined the socio-economic and the political rights of the Tamil people. Thousands of Tamils were massacred, burnt or hacked to death, women were raped and millions of rupees worth of properties belonging to the Tamils were looted and destroyed. Until today, no proper investigation nor any compensation was paid to the victims.
- (6) **In 1972**, state discrimination against Tamil students' admission to Universities reached the peak with the introduction of **"Standardisation"**. University admission based on merit was abandoned deliberately to stop Tamil students entering Universities.

- (7) **In 1972**, the "**Republican Constitution**" was introduced and the Tamils lost even the minimum protection that they had under the Soulbury constitution of 1947.
- (8) **In 1978**, another new constitution was enacted, introducing an **Executive Presidency** system and promoting Buddhism as the country's foremost religion.

Sri Lanka's Constitution of 1978 - Chapter II Buddhism , Article 9, says "The Republic of Sri Lanka shall give to Buddhism the foremost place and accordingly it shall be the duty of the State to protect and foster the Buddha Sasana,....."

- (9) **In July 1979**, the government enacted the draconian Prevention of Terrorism Act (**PTA**), along with the Emergency Regulations (**ER**). Emergency rule has become the norm - for more than 36 years since independence.
- (10) **In June 1981 the Jaffna Public Library**, one of biggest library in South Asia, was burnt down by the Sri Lankan armed forces - **95,000 volumes** of books including numerous culturally important and irreplaceable manuscripts and the buildings were totally destroyed by arson.
- (11) **In 1998**, the UN Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances stated that, "Sri Lanka had the **second highest number of disappearances in the world, ranking next to Iraq**". Also Sri Lanka is the only country that the UN Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances has visited several times. So far no proper remedies have been found for these disappearances.

In 2007, Sri Lanka was ranked as the country, with the **third highest number of journalists killed** during that year, after Iraq and Somalia.

- (12) **229,000** IDPs ended up in an internment camps
40,000' Civilian deaths (UN source). *Civil society estimates it is three times the UN figures.*
11,696 LTTE cadres surrendered to the Army (*Government figure*)
Until now no official list and figures of LTTE cadres surrendered to the Army has been released.
 Authenticated footage and numerous photographs indicate that LTTE cadres were executed after being taken into custody by the Sri Lanka army.

Also many top leaders of the LTTE have been summarily executed.

Hundreds of rape cases and sexual violence against Tamil women during and final stage of the war reported

CAN THE TAMILS EXPECT JUSTICE FROM THIS GOVERNMENT?

So far the Tamils have voted in thirteen general elections and five presidential elections with the hope of living in peace and harmony with the Sinhalese. But day by day, generation by generation, the Tamils have been oppressed and ignored by the Sri Lanka government in power. Tamils hear only justifications of the atrocities and negative responses to their genuine grievances.

13 GENERAL ELECTIONS :

1947, 1952, 1956, 1960 March, 1960 July, 1965, 1970, 1977, 1989, 1994, 2000, 2001, 2004, 2010

6 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS :

1982, 1988, 1994, 1999, 2005, 2010

During recent years, many new states have eventually been born in the world because of obdurate and persistent denial of justice and equality. From Bangladesh to Kosovo and Southern Sudan it has been proved that continuous rejection of a just redress for horrendous human rights violations and failure to accept the history and realities, makes a path for international intervention. The right to self-determination is no different to any other today's struggle around the global. Those who support, advocate for others right to self-determination, cannot ignore the Ethnic crisis in Sri Lanka. It is the right time for the International Community to give a fair judgement concerning the Tamils in the island of Sri Lanka.

“THE TAMILS HAVE ONLY ONE TASK BEFORE THEM.!”

C. Suntharalingam, M. P. Vavuniya, - 28 May 1957

(MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE IN THE FIRST CABINET OF INDEPENDENT CEYLON-1948)

My Dear Prime Minister, (**S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike**)

I have just studied the press report your statement to the House on the 'reasonable use of Tamil'. That statement reminded me of a case of a peculiar criminal. He had inflicted a serious injury on his enemy with a view to murdering him. The victim, fortunately, survived. The criminal, there upon, invited his victim for a conference to devise a formula about reasonable terms on which the victim should be permitted to live! You have done, and are doing to the Tamils precisely what the criminal sought to do and did with his victim!

You are aware that until the Portuguese arrived in Ceylon in 1505, Ceylon was divided throughout the full course of its chequered history of over 2,000 years, into two or more kingdoms of which one was always the Tamil Kingdom – except for two short periods aggregating about twenty two years under the reigns of Parakrama Bahu I and Prakrama Bahu VI. The Tamils as a whole were not ruled by Sinhalese kings; and even Dutugemunu when he defeated Elala, could not secure sway over the North of Ceylon! You are also aware before the British conquered Kandy in 1815, Sir Robert Brownrigg, in or about 1813 recommended to the Secretary of State that the whole of the area to the North and East of a line drawn from Puttlam to Batticaloa should be administered in the Tamil language. The new town of Anuradhapura was then in jungle which had grown up since the Sinhalese Kings were driven out by the Tamil invaders and conquerors, from Anuradhapura to Sigiriya and thence to Polonnaruwa. If my memory is correct, I believe in his Despatch, Sir Robert Brownrigg wanted Tamil to be used in this area just as Sinhalese was to be used in the Southern part of Ceylon.

Until recently the Nuwara Kalawiya portion of the Anuradhapura District was administered in Tamil from Jaffna and all earlier deeds and official acts were executed in the Tamil language. It was not until 1932-33, after Colebrook Commission made its report, that the administration of Ceylon was unified as a whole and administered through the medium of English as the only official language. This, as you know, was done by administrative fiat. You will thus appreciate that when Ceylon passed under the foreign domination of the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English in succession, the Tamil Kingdom never passed under the domination because of the over-lordship of the Sinhalese over the Tamils.

From 1947, until 1954 we have proclaimed that Ceylon had ultimately secured independence from foreign masters after nearly 350 years. But the Tamils say now with justification that they have passed under the domination of the Sinhalese in place of the British.

You know only too well that if the State Council had not passed the motion permitting the use of Sinhalese and Tamil, the Official Languages along with English, a debate in which you took part, and voted in favour of the treatment of these two languages on an equal footing, not a single Tamil leader would have joined in the struggle for Ceylon's independence from British imperialism.

You and I were members of the Cabinet which negotiated the Independence Act of 1947 passed by the British Parliament. You are aware how in the Cabinet I resisted the desire of Mr. D. S. Senanayake, you and others to foist on Ceylon the Sinhala Kodiya, as the National Flag of Ceylon. Do you think that if I had the slightest suspicion that the Tamil language, and therefore, the Tamil people would be relegated to a position of subordination in official life, I would have continued for a day in the Cabinet or the Cabinet would have negotiated successfully the Independence of Ceylon? When I twined you in Parliament during the debate on the Sinhalese Only Official Language Bill, all that you could say was that you had changed your mind. I promptly retorted that it was 'double tongued treachery', though I had to withdraw these words as they were held by Mr Speaker to be unparliamentary. I find that the Journal of the Commonwealth Parliament has spot-lighted this episode. Up to now you have given no reason why you changed your mind. Make no mistake, the only 'Reasonable Use of Tamil' which any true Tamil would recognize is the repeal of the Official Language Act and the withdrawal of all your surreptitious, insulting, administrative orders, e.g., the use of the Sinhala 'Sri' on motor vehicles which was maliciously intended to humiliate the Tamils.

I have noted that the Federal Party has stated in Parliament sometime back that if you agreed to a Federal set-up for Ceylon, the Federal Party would not mind the use of Sinhalese as the only Official Language in the Central Government. I do not believe that the majority of self-respecting Tamil-speaking people will acquiesce in such a compromise. Much to your annoyance and that of your friends, I have once in three months appeared through the main door of the House and disappeared through the Opposition side door because I do not recognize the authority of the House and your Government to make laws for the Tamil-speaking people which amounted to a negation of their fundamental human rights. The Federal Party members continue to attend Parliament and since the passage of the Official Language Bill, your Government has heaped insults upon insults on the Tamils.

I have already referred to the Sinhala 'Sri' for motor vehicles. In the recent issue of your stamps you have printed the Tamil word 'Ilankai' which no ordinary man can read, and you do not even state in Tamil words what the denomination or value of the stamp is! I am told your Government has issued coins or are about to issue coins entirely in the Sinhalese language.

You have taken pride in what you have authorized should be done in regard to the signing of the credentials of Ceylon's Ambassadors abroad and for the first time Her Majesty the Queen is being advised by Her Prime Minister of Ceylon to attend Her Sign Manual in English to documents in the Sinhalese language. You do not seem to be aware that for a long time past the

Canadian Ambassadors who happened to be of Canadian French origin had their credentials in French while those of English origin had them in English. Hereafter, no Tamil can be appointed Ambassadors or High Commissioners because he will not be able to carry his diplomatic credentials or conduct his correspondence, in Sinhalese.

You have now directed that all new recruits to the Public Services, including clerical servants, engineers and others should have in their letters of appointment a condition that they should be proficient in Sinhalese to be able to keep official files entirely in the Sinhalese language. This means that all Tamils, Burghers and Muslim new recruits must secure such proficiency in Sinhalese, after recruitment and within three years, so as to use it for all official purposes! Under the British Colonial system you and I had to study in English language from our childhood days. In fact, you had specially to be taught by pukka English private tutors to become so proficient in the English language as to be able to compete with our English master. I admit that the Tamils are very intelligent and industrious, but I doubt whether they are so intelligent and industrious as to secure such proficiency within three years as will enable them to write out minutes, memoranda and reports in the Sinhalese language.

Your Government has by administrative fiat embarked on a policy of depriving the Tamils of even their economic welfare. You have stopped the development of the Kanesanthurai Port. You have stopped the second kiln at the Kankesanturai Cement Factory. You have stopped the installation of the plant at the D.D.T. Factory. You have stopped the opening of the Sugar industry in the Thunnukai area and your Government pretends that because Sugar Factories are to be opened in Kantalai and Gal Oya, you are have the factories in Tamil-speaking areas; but I know only too well that these factories are being erected in those areas of the Eastern Province Kantalai and Gal Oya, where Sinhalese colonists have planted to the exclusion of Tamils, notwithstanding that there are many landless Tamils in the area and its neighbourhood. Your Government is going to divert the waters which flow into the Tanks in Tamil areas so as to feed the tank in the Sinhalese areas.

In fact, your Government is carrying on in a more wicked and dishonourable manner what the U.N.P. did viz: to violate the laws of the land and to settle Sinhalese people in the homeland of the Tamils. Your Minister of Education has, in defiance of the Constitution Order-in-Council, discontinued Tamils teachers from what he has called 'Muslim majority schools' and replaced them by Muslims. This action is, in my humble view, a flagrant violation of the Constitution for which your Minister is liable to be fined and/or imprisoned. The Attorney-General has declined to prosecute and the Public Service Commission is sufficiently supine as not to enforce the law. In fact, there is no Rule of Law in Ceylon today in your democracy in so far as the Tamils are concerned. Indeed, in the democratic process followed by you, the Tamils reached a state when instead of acquiescing in the counting of heads, they must have recourse to cracking them!

On the international plane, you are mounting grandiloquent phrases about 'peaceful co-existence' while you are arranging to send detachments of your Army to keep the peace when the Federal Party launches its Civil Disobedience campaign in August and thus prevent the 'co-existence' of the Tamils with their self-respect intact! I do not know whether the public are aware that on the 4th February this year when the Sinhalese celebrated independence day and the Tamil observed their Day of Mourning, you thought you could intimidate the people of Vavuniya with a display of your armed might.

Please do not deceive yourself! At the last General Election, the slogan I used on the hustings was : Thani Arasu Tamil Ilankai, Somastia Suyachaio Selvakinpadi – 'An autonomous Tamil State, federated or separated as decided by the people'.

The conduct of your Government has made it perfectly clear to me, whatever my friends in the Federal Party may say or feel, that neither your Government nor any other Sinhala Government in the South will consent to a Federal Union. I have taken a vow that I shall say nothing disparaging about the Federal Party in regard to its policy, plan or programme which they have, though in general terms set out in the Trincomalee Resolutions last August. ***This is not the time for the Tamils to fight Tamils. I do earnestly hope that they will not make it more difficult for the Tamils than what they have to put up with now.***

You know, my dear Prime Minister, that of all the politicians in Ceylon today, not excluding yourself, I have been though from behind the scenes, most intimately associated with the politics of this country for over a third of a century from the time of Ramanathan, Arunachalam, D. B. Jayatilaka, F. R. Senanayake, James Peiris, while Akbar and the D. S. Senayake and I am now convinced, that the Tamils of Ceylon have been tricked and betrayed! I now hold the view that if one scratches a Sinhalese politician today, one uncovers: cut-throat or a traitor, or both! I shall in all conscience tell my fellow Tamils not to trust themselves to the tender mercies of any Sinhalese Government, not even yours! They must go all out and save themselves and their posterity from Sinhala colonialism and establish in the first instance an independent Tamil Ilankai.

The Regional Councils which you have proposed, are in my view only a modern version of the mid-Victorian British Colonial Councils and you hope thereby to perpetuate Sinhalese Imperialism instead of British Imperialism, in so far as the Tamils are concerned by establishing these Councils.

You have in your statement referred to an amendment to the Constitution to provide guarantees for minorities. Have you forgotten the Ministers' Memorandum in the preparation of which you played such an important part when the Soulbury Commissioners were to come to Ceylon? We all fondly hoped the Article 29 in our Constitution was a palladium of minority rights but as your predecessor Sri John Kotelawala, had admitted, all constitutional safeguards can be circumvented!

For my part, I will not advise any Tamil to rely on any guarantees that may be embodied in a Sinhala-framed Constitution worked by a Sinhala Government like yours! ***I do earnestly hope that no self-respecting Tamil M.P. will agree to serve on the Select Committee which you have proposed should be appointed to make recommendation for the Revision of the Constitution.***

The Tamils have only one task before them. Through toil and tears, come what may, they must live and fight to regain the greatness and glory of their ancestors and restore the Tamil State that existed for over 2,000 years, before Ceylon passed under Western domination. – (28 May 1957)

“MAN WHO FATHERED THE EELAM CONCEPT”

S. Sivanayagam in Tamil Information, 15 March 1985

The man who fathered the Tamil Eelam concept and introduced the word EELAM into the Ceylonese political vocabulary — Professor C. Suntharalingam — died in his ninetieth year at Vavuniya on the **11th February 1985**. But it is perhaps a tragic commentary on Tamilian life that the majority of the youths who are today engaged in a liberation struggle for the establishment of a Tamil Eelam have not even heard of him!

It was C. Suntharalingam who founded the ***Eela Thamil Ottrumai Munnani (Unity Front of Eelam Tamils) in 1959***. It is again a tragic commentary of Tamilian life that 26 years after, when Tamils in Sri Lanka are facing both individually and totally annihilation and extinction at the hands of their own government while the rest of the world maintains the hypocritical pose that it is an internal problem. The victims themselves are unable to unite in one common defence of their lives!

In a printed leaflet, dated from Vavuniya, as far back as 16th December 1959, Mr. Suntharalingam called for a "Eela Thamil struggle for Independence" (interestingly, the leaflet carries the name of an Indian printer — The Trichinopoly United Printers, Tiruchi 2)

There were no "Tigers" then. No guns.. no militancy, and in fact many of "our, boys" of today were probably not born or were in their cradles. Even the "Thamil Eelam Resolution" of the TULF came 17 years later !

(Excerpt) <http://www.tamilnation.org/hundredtamils/suntharalingam.htm>

(Ps. Late S Sivanayagam was the Editor of ‘Saturday Review’ in Jaffna, ‘Tamil Nation’ in India and UK and ‘Hot Spring’ published in UK)

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DURING MAHINDA RAJAPAKSA’S PRESIDENCY

DE-MERGING OF NORTH AND EAST

On 29 July 1987, the “Indo-Lanka” pact was signed between Sri Lanka and India, under the guise of settling the Tamil ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. Under this accord, by a special decree of the Executive President of Sri Lanka, the merger of the North Eastern province took place on 8 September 1988.

But, after exactly 18 years of this merger, the JVP filed a case in the Supreme Court, demanding the **de-merging of these two provinces**. The Supreme Court delivered its biased political decision on this case on 16 October 2006, stating that the merger of these two provinces by the then President was invalid. **Once again another agreement/accord, in this case one that even had international status, was abrogated with the biased legal support of the Supreme court.**

SRI LANKA WITHDREW FROM THE CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT - CFA

In January 2008, Sri Lanka arbitrarily withdrew from the Ceasefire Agreement - CFA that was signed between the government of Sri Lanka and the LTTE in February 2002. As a consequence of its withdrawal, the Sri Lankan Monitoring Mission, which consists of members from Nordic countries to supervise the violations of the CFA, has also quit Sri Lanka. Now war continues without any international witnesses. The situation in Sri Lanka is going from bad to worse.

On 3 January 2008, Sri Lankan Foreign Minister Rohitha Bogollagama officially conveyed in writing to the Norwegian Ambassador Tore Hattrem in Colombo, that the Government of Sri Lanka would withdraw from the CFA.

“..... it was the Sri Lankan Government who unilaterally abrogated the ceasefire agreement in January this year?” **Barry Gardiner, Minister & MP-UK said in the House of Commons on 17 January 2008.** (Excerpt)

“..... it was unfortunate that the Sri Lankan Government abrogated the peace agreement unilaterally, and I had a discussion with the high commissioner this morning in which I made that very point. **Mr. Clifton-Brown, MP-UK said in the House of Commons on 17 January 2008.** (Excerpt)

SRI LANKA RANKED AS 3RD MOST DANGEROUS PLACE FOR MEDIA

People's Daily online, December 19, 2007 - Sri Lanka has been ranked as the third most dangerous place for the media in the world, with seven journalists being killed in 2007, a local newspaper reported Wednesday. <http://english.people.com.cn/90001/90777/90851/6323674.html>

SRI LANKA 'PLUNGING INTO LAWLESSNESS'

Sri Lanka is 'plunging into lawlessness' as assassinations, abductions, threats to media and paramilitary activities continue, human rights watchdogs said.

Sri Lanka is among the most dangerous countries for media personnel in the world, according to an international media watchdog. Paris based Reporters Without Borders (RSF) says 86 journalists were killed worldwide in 2007 in 21 countries.

Sri Lanka, where at least three journalists were killed, is the fourth most dangerous country for journalists, according to RSF. *(Excerpt)* http://www.bbc.co.uk/sinhala/news/story/2008/01/080102_rsf_press.shtml

HIGHEST NUMBER OF DISAPPEARANCES IN THE WORLD - 2008

Sri Lanka may be a small island, but presently the UN Working group on disappearances has recorded that Sri Lanka ranks as the country with the highest number of disappearances in the world.

UN DID NOT RE-ELECT SRI LANKA TO HUMAN RIGHTS COUNCIL

BBSNews 2008-05-22 -- New York (HRW) - UN member states enforced the standards they established for the new Human Rights Council by not re-electing Sri Lanka to the body today. Domestic and international human rights advocates who had opposed Sri Lanka's re-election to the council said the vote was a victory for human rights standards and for victims of abuse in Sri Lanka. *(Excerpt)* <http://bbsnews.net/article.php/20080522120036196>

SRI LANKAN CITIZENS CANNOT SEEK REMEDY FROM THE UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTEE -- *Supreme Court*

Even though Sri Lanka is signatory to the ICCPR, on 15 September 2006, the Supreme Court effectively ruled that Sri Lankan citizens cannot seek remedy from the UN Human Rights Committee regarding human rights violations. It declared that the accession to the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) in 1997 **does not bind Sri Lanka and has no legal effect within the island** - Nallarathnam Singarasa vs The Attorney-General – Decision of the Supreme Court 15 September 2006 – SC Spl (LA) No 182/99.

INTERNATIONAL INDEPENDENT GROUP OF EMINENT PERSONS – IIGEP QUIT SRI LANKA

On 6th March 2008, the International Independent Group of Eminent Persons – IIGEP considered quitting Sri Lanka after issuing several exhaustive press releases. President Rajapaksa had invited the IIGEP to observe and ensure the transparency of investigations held by the Commission of Inquiries on the complaints of abductions, disappearances and other serious violations of human rights arising since 1st August 2005. Also, the IIGEP was to ensure that those inquiries are conducted in accordance with basic international norms and standards.

COLOMBO, April 22 (Reuters) - The IIGEP, which had its concluding press conference on Tuesday, quit citing **government unwillingness** to implement its recommendations to bring the probe up to international standards, **lack of financial stability, government interference and slow process**.

"We have exhausted our ability to make a useful contribution," said Professor Sir Nigel Rodley, a member of IIGEP. *(Excerpt)*

SRI LANKA IS A FAILED STATE

| Year | Place |
|------|------------------|
| 2008 | 20 th |
| 2007 | 25 th |

http://www.fundforpeace.org/web/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=99&Itemid=140

PRESIDENT RAJAPAKSHA WAS FORCED TO RETURN FROM UK

The President Mahinda Rajapaksa arrived in the UK on 29 November 2010 to address the Oxford Union, but on 30 November 2010 it was revealed that lawyers in UK were attempting to obtain a war crimes arrest warrant against Preside Rajapaksa and senior members of his entourage.

The Oxford Union cancelled Mahinda Rajapaksa's address, citing security concerns posed by the threat of protests by Tamil activists.

President Rajapakse was forced to return home from London, UK in disgrace amidst real possibility of being arrested in the UK; the first victim on whom the issuing of arrest warrant was imminent for alleged war crimes was one of the Major Generals who were in the President's entourage.

16 JOURNALISTS KILLED IN SRI LANKA SINCE 2005

| | |
|--|---|
| Shoba, O'liveechchu | 18 May 2009 in Mullivaikkal, Mullaititu |
| Puniyamoorthy Sathiyamoorthy, Freelance | 12 February 2009, in Mullivaikkal, Mullaititu |
| Lasantha Wickramatunga, The Sunday Leader | 8 January 2009, in Colombo |
| Rashmi Mohamed, Sirasa TV | 6 October 2008, in Anuradhapura |
| Paranirupasingham Devakumar, News 1st | 28 May 2008, in Jaffna, Sri Lanka |
| Suresh Linbiyo, Voice of Tigers | 27 November 2007, in Kilinochchi |
| T. Tharmalingam, Voice of Tigers | 27 November 2007, in Kilinochchi |
| Isaivizhi Chempiyan, Voice of Tigers | 27 November 2007, in Kilinochchi |
| Selvarajah Rajewarnam, Uthayan | 29 April 2007, in Jaffna |
| Subash Chandraboas, Nilam | 16 April 2007, in an area near Vavuniya |
| Subramaniyam Sugitharajah, Sudar Oli | 14 January 2006, in Trincomalee |
| Relangi Selvarajah, Rupavahini Corp. | 12 August 2005, in Colombo |
| Dharmeratnam Sivaram, TamilNet and Daily Mirror | 29 April 2005, in Colombo |
| Sahadevan Nilakshan, Chaalaram | 1 August 2007, in Jaffna |
| Sinnathamby Sivamaharajah, Namathu Eelanadu | 20 August 2006, in Jaffna |
| Sampath Lakmal, Sathdina | 1 July 2006, in Colombo |

JOURNALIST DISAPPEARED IN SRI LANKA SINCE 2005

Prageeth Ekneligoda, Lankaenews website 24 Jan 2010 in Colombo

Prageeth Ekneligoda, a journalist and cartoonist went missing in Colombo. No progress has been made in the investigation into his disappearance. (Courtesy - **Committee to Protect Journalists – CPJ**)

- 10 May 2009 -** A **Channel 4 News team** was deported from Sri Lanka after reporting claims of abuse in camps for displaced Tamils, the UK Foreign Office confirmed.
- 30 July 2010 -** Armed masked men attacked the *Voice of Asia* group – including *Siyatha TV, Siyatha FM, Real Radio* and *Vettri FM* – in Colombo.
- 15 Aug. 2010 -** The European Union withdrew its GSP+ tax concession on Sri Lankan apparel imports.
- 27 October 2011 -** Frederica Jansz, the editor of *The Sunday Leader* received death threats against her. This is not the first time Jansz has been threatened.

CORRUPTION - SRI LANKA

92ND IN THE CORRUPTION INDEX

YEAR 2008

Sri Lanka occupies the 92nd position among 180 countries in the Corruption Perception Index (CPI) 2008 conducted by Transparency International (TI), the global civil society organisation leading the fight against corruption. (Excerpt - http://www.tisrilanka.org/Press_Releases/pr53.htm)

94TH IN THE CORRUPTION INDEX

Year 2007

Sri Lanka occupies the 94th position among 179 countries in the Corruption Perception Index (CPI) 2007 (Excerpt - http://www.transparency.org/policy_research/surveys_indices/cpi/2007)

84TH IN THE CORRUPTION INDEX

Year 2006

Sri Lanka occupies the 84th position among 163 countries in the Corruption Perception Index (CPI) 2006 (Excerpt - http://www.transparency.org/policy_research/surveys_indices/cpi/2006)

78TH IN THE CORRUPTION INDEX

Year 2005

Sri Lanka occupies the 78th position among 158 countries in the Corruption Perception Index (CPI) 2005 (Excerpt - http://www.transparency.org/policy_research/surveys_indices/cpi/2005)

* * * * *

RAJAPAKSE REGIME'S TRACK RECORD IN CORRUPTION AND TERRORISM

Transcurrents, 3 January 2010 - The Government of President Mahinda Rajapakse has been assailed on many fronts for its abysmal track record in corruption and nepotism. Opposition presidential candidate Sarath Fonseka is focusing a great deal on this extremely vulnerable side of the Rajapakse regime.

On the other hand Government propagandists have mocked Sarath Fonseka's extravagant populist promises like the instant salary increase of 10,000 rupees etc and queried from where the money is going to be raised for implementing such promises

The campaigners for Fonseka have in turn presented a list of alleged acts of corruption by the Rajapakse regime and countered govt arguments by saying the necessary funds for projects benefitting people can be obtained by merely cutting down on the corruption and extracting back money from those corrupt persons

We reproduce here a list of alleged acts of corruption presented by the campaigners for Sarath Fonseka. If the Mahinda Rajapakse campaigners send us a response we would post that also:

1. Hedging Deal – Petroleum Chairman – Asantha De Mel – Exam passed - None– Cricketer- Shiranthi's relation – losses to Sri Lanka Rs. 230 Billion (Rs. 230,000 Million) Chairman lost his job by virtue of a supreme Court order. The S.C. order to sell petrol at Rs.100 not complied yet (current price of a Petrol liter is Rs 130/-)
2. Loss on National Carrier Air Lanka for 2007-2008Rs. 10,000 Million (10 Billion) – Chairman Nishantha Wicremasinghe (Shiranthi Rajapaksha's Brother) – Exam Passed GCE O/L
3. Loss on Mihin Air for 2007-2008 Rs. 4,000 Million (4 Billion) – Chief Executive Mahinda's Sajin Vas Gunawardena – Exam passed GCE O/L
4. New 2008 Budget allocation for Mihin Air Rs. 1,000 Million (1 Billion)
5. Air port project Weerawila cancelled. Initial cost on feasibility study Rs 500 Million

6. Mig Deal – through "King's cousin" Udayanga Weeratunga (Exam passed – GCE O/L Sri Lanka Ambassador – Russia - purchase of 4 Mig fighters which were not air worthy from Belimissa holdings at a price Rs. 400 Million more than the last published price.
7. All defense purchases through Lanka Logistics - Chief Executive Officer Jayantha Wicremasinghe – Exam passed GCE O/L– Mahinda's Sister Gandhini's Brother in Law the owner of 'Akuressa Palace' (also Chairman Bank of Ceylon Gamini Wicremasinghe's Brother.)
8. VAT Scam – Loss to the Country Rs. 35,000 Million. (Rs. 35 Billion) Inland Revenue Department – Minister of Finance – Mahinda Rajapaksha
9. Hanbantota Man made Safari Park to be created at a cost of Rs. 16,000 Million (1.6 Billion) This makes no sense as the Natural Safari Park is next door in Yala.
10. Kerawalapitiya power plant cost US \$ 400 Million. Actual cost US \$ 200 Million. Planned for 300 Mega Watts built for 200 mega watts.
11. Kerawalapitiya power plant. (Additional Losses) Cost per day to CEB Rs 70 million. Per year Rs 25, 550 Million (25.5 Billion) Initial agreed purchasing price per unit Rs 18. Current purchasing price Rs 40/- Loss to the CEB from a unit Rs 22/-
12. Uma Oya Project.- projected value US\$ 265 Million enhanced value US \$ 545 Million. Increase of US\$ 280 Million. Rs. 28 Billion (Rs. 28,000 Million). Two reservoirs that are built have an extent of only 50 acres. Victoria project has an extent of 7,500 acres. Minister–Chamal Rajapaksha – President's brother
13. Cabinet of Ministers have approved purchase of 35 Gantry Cranes at a price US \$ 600,000 higher than the last purchase price. This purchase has not been effected yet. (Minister in Charge; Chamal Rajapaksa- President's brother)
14. Contract signed with Dilhan Wicremasinghe Shiranthi's brother's son (Chairman Air Lanka) to supply branded computers to all divisional Secretariats at a cost of US \$ 16 Million (price per computer Rs. 150,000/=). He supplied all unbranded computers which are available at unity plaza at Rs. 50,000/=. Amount robbed Rs. 1,200 Million

ROBBED AND WASTED AMOUNT SUMMARY

| | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| Hedging deal | Robbed and wasted amount Rs. 230,000 M 230 B |
| Air Lanka | Wasted and robbed amount Rs. 10,000 M 10 B |
| Mihin Air | Wasted and robbed amount Rs. 5,000 M 5 B |
| Mig Deal | Robbed amount Rs 4,00M 0.4 B |
| Weerawila Air Port | Wasted amount Rs 500M 0.5 B |
| VAT Scam | Robbed amount Rs. 35,000 M 35 B |
| Safari Park | Wasted amount Rs. 16,000 M 16 B |
| Kerawalapitiya | Robbed amount Rs. 23,000 M 23 B |
| Uma Oya project | Robbed amount Rs. 28,000 M 28 B |
| Computers for divisional | Robbed amount Rs. 1,200 M 1.2 B |
| Purchase of Gantry | Cranes total amount robbed Rs. 24,150 M 24 B |
| Fly over contracts | Total amount robbed Rs. 3,500 M 3.5 B |
| Kerawalapitiya (Additional Losses) | Robbed amount Rs 25,550M 25.5B |
| Road Development in | North amount robbed Rs. 28,000 M 28 B |
| | Rs. 430,300 M 430.3 B |

Courtesy – http://transcurrents.com/tc/2010/01/rajapakse_regimes_track_record.html

TRUTH IS THE FIRST CASUALTY OF GOVERNMENT LOBBY

SRI LANKAN PROPAGANDISTS ATTEMPT TO INFLUENCE WORLD OPINION

SUMMARY

| | GOVERNMENT OF SRI LANKA | TAMILS |
|---|---|---|
| PROPAGANDA / CAMPAIGN | Misinformation / exaggeration Professional advertising in Foreign media | Public information campaign with facts |
| METHODS USED | TV, Radio, News papers High quality glossy printed documents. SL embassies use influence with Foreign media, journalists and Advertising companies | Websites, emails & News papers |
| PROPAGANDISTS / CAMPAIGNERS | Sri Lankan Ministers, Diplomats, Tamil quisling groups Hired Western personnel | Victims of Human Rights violations & kith and kin of victims |
| PROPAGANDA / CAMPAIGN- ORGANISATION/INSTITUTIONS | Sri Lanka Ministry of Foreign Affairs Embassies Ministry of Human Rights Ministry of Defence Attorney General's Department Hired Western organisations | Diaspora organisations |
| FUNDING | State - <i>Million dollar projects</i> | Diaspora |
| TARGET GROUP | Governments, VVIPs, Media International NGOs, Religious institutions | ----- |
| PLATFORMS | UN General Assembly & other UN institutions European Union & Parliament The Commonwealth, The SAARC, etc | ----- |
| ENTERTAINMENT | Five start hotels Invitation to Sri Lanka Romantic entertainment | Reports full of facts with evidence |
| COUNTER PROPAGANDA | Behave like local Law enforcement Agencies, Victimisation of Tamil diaspora | True facts and figures |
| OUTCOME OF PROPAGANDA | Tamil activists in the diaspora are intimidated in the Sri Lankan racist Media and pro-government websites. Harassed, menaced and physically attacked | ----- |
| SUPPORTING COUNTRIES | Claimed by Sri Lanka as China, Cuba, Pakistan, Russia, Iran, Israel, Syria | ----- |

ETHNIC CLEANSING / COLONISATION

(Figures from 1827 to 1881. still continuing)

The following statistics show how the Sri Lankan governments and their destructive agents plundered and robbed 50% of the ancestral lands of the Tamils of the Island of Sri Lanka. The author of this report is **Mr K. Sachithanandan**. He was a lecturer at the University of Jaffna and adviser to the United Nations on Food and Agriculture in twenty-three countries. He was also appointed as a research officer in the Fisheries Corporation in Colombo. (Report dated 1990)

Since 1827 - Tamil and Sinhala populations in the Eastern province (Table is shown on a language basis)

| <u>Year</u> | <u>Tamil Speaking</u> | <u>Sinhala Speaking</u> |
|-------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| 1827 | 99.24% | 0.53% |
| 1881 | 93.82% | 4.66% |
| 1891 | 93.89% | 5.06% |
| 1901 | 91.8% | 5.05% |
| 1911 | 93.4% | 3.76% |
| 1921 | 93.95% | 4.53% |
| 1946 | 87.8% | 9.87% |
| 1953 | 85.5% | 13.11% |
| 1963 | 79.25% | 19.9% |
| 1971 | 78.61% | 20.7% |
| 1981 | 74.4% | 24.92% |

Tamil and Sinhala populations in Trincomalee District, Batticaloa District* (Until 1963 it includes Amparai within Batticaloa district) & Amparai District (created in 1963)

| YEAR | Trincomalee District | | Batticaloa District | | Amparai District | |
|------|----------------------|---------|---------------------|---------|------------------|---------|
| | Tamil | Sinhala | Tamil | Sinhala | Tamil | Sinhala |
| 1827 | 98.45% | 1.53% | 99.62% | 0.00% | --- | --- |
| 1881 | 90.72% | 4.21% | 93.27% | 4.75% | --- | --- |
| 1891 | 91.44% | 4.3% | 93.2% | 5.21% | --- | --- |
| 1901 | 89.04% | 4.22% | 92.34% | 5.21% | --- | --- |
| 1911 | 90.54% | 3.82% | 92.95% | 3.74% | --- | --- |
| 1921 | 92.13% | 4.38% | 93.12% | 4.56% | --- | --- |
| 1946 | 75.09% | 20.68% | 92.55% | 5.83% | --- | --- |
| 1953 | 78.8% | 18.22% | 87.64% | 11.52% | --- | --- |
| 1963 | 79.25% | 19.9% | 95.6%* | 3.35% | 70.22% | 29.34% |
| 1971 | 70.2% | 28.8% | 94.49% | 4.49% | 69.47% | 30.18% |
| 1981 | 65.38% | 33.62% | 95.95% | 3.21% | 62.03% | 37.64% |

(<http://www.tchr.net/colanization.htm>)

In 1833 the Colebrook-Cameron Commission allocated approximately 26,500 sq.km as the Tamil People's Ancestral Motherland.

In 1901 when the nine provinces came into being, the Tamil administration of the Northern and Eastern Provinces measured approximately 19,100 sq.km. Due to some of the area being incorporated into the Sinhalese provinces the Tamil area had been reduced by approximately 7,500 sq.km.

After 1948 the government's settlement plan deprived the Tamils of 7,000 sq.km. in the Eastern Province and 500 sq.km. in the Northern Province. Although the Tamils protested, the Colombo administration ignored the Tamils and settled Sinhalese in these regions.

Approximately 7,500 sq.km of Tamil land was plundered by the Sinhala Government's Demarcation and Resettlement Plan when it came into operation. This has been taking place over the last forty years.

Before 1833, 25% of Tamil speaking people occupied 35% of land, which was in their administration as Tamil ancestral homeland. In 1901 this area shrunk from 35% to 29%.

Within 162 years the Sinhalese government under its crafty Demarcation and Resettlement Plan has plundered 50% of the Tamil ancestral homeland and is still attempting to colonise more and more!

DISPLACED TAMILS DURING COMMUNAL RIOTS :

| Year | No. of refugees | Year | No. of refugees |
|------|-----------------|------|-----------------|
| 1956 | 3000 | 1958 | 35,000 |
| 1977 | 15000 | 1981 | 5000 |
| 1983 | 250,000 | | |

'SINHALISATION OF EAST' by M. I. M. Mohideen

The Island, 27 December 2007 - Facts and figures about population growth will help to illustrate how demography patterns have been unnaturally altered or distorted through state aided colonisation, demarcation of new political and administrative units and accelerated irrigation schemes in the Eastern Province.

| | Trincomalee District | Batticaloa District | Amparai District | Eastern Province |
|------------------|----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Tamils | 93,510 (39.78%) | 238,216 (72.59%) | 79,725 (20.57%) | 411,451 (42.42%) |
| Muslims | 74,403 (29.26%) | 79,317 (24.17%) | 116,481 (41.66%) | 315,201 (32.49%) |
| Sinhalese | 89,341 (33.96%) | 10,646 (3.24%) | 146,371 (37.77%) | 243,358 (25.09%) |
| Total | 245,250 | 328,170 | 387,577 | 978,010 |

The Eastern Province is 3,839 sq. miles in extent. Originally Trincomalee - 1,016 sq. miles and Batticaloa - 2,823 sq. miles were the districts in this province. According to the 1921 census, the Sinhalese were 3% of the population in the Trincomalee District and 4.5% in the combined Batticaloa and Amparai District. The Sinhalese were less than 4% in the whole Eastern Province.

The Batticaloa District was divided into the present Amparai District - 1,775 sq. miles and Batticaloa District - 1,048 sq. miles in 1961.

Population Increase between 1949 and 1981.

Tamil population increased from 136,059 to 411,451 - 302%, Muslim population increased from 109,024 to 315,201 - 289%, Sinhalese population increased from 27,556 to 243,358 - 883%. The National average increase of Sinhalese during this period is only 238%. The sudden increase of Sinhala population is the result of Government planned Sinhala Colonisation in Gal-oya, Pannal-oya, and Ambalam-oya in Amparai District, and Kanthalai, Allai, Morawewa, Muthalikkulam, Pathaviya (Part), and Mahadiuluwewa schemes in Trincomalee District. (*Excerpt*)

TAMIL-SINHALA POPULATION IN PUTTALAM DISTRICT

| | Tamil | | Sinhalese | | Increase of Sinhalese |
|-----------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|-----------------------|
| | 1953 | 1971 | 1953 | 1971 | |
| Puttalam | 9,010 | 30,994 | 31,587 | 309,298 | 277,711 |

Source : Memorandum of the Ceylon Institute for National and Tamil Affairs

RECORDED FIGURES

ARRESTS, KILLINGS, DISAPPEARANCES, RAPES, DISPLACEMENTS AND INJURIES IN THE
NORTH EAST, COLOMBO AND OTHER REGIONS – SRI LANKA
(1956-2008 June)

Tamil Centre for Human Rights - TCHR

Email : tchr@tchr.net / tchrdip@tchr.net Website : www.tchr.net

| Year | Arrest/Torture | Disap.*** | Killing | Rape | Injuries | Displaced |
|--------------|----------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|----------------|
| 1956* | | | 150 | 20 | 300 | 3000 |
| 1958* | | | 355 | 100 | 350 | 35000 |
| 1960 | 60 | | | 15 | 200 | 0 |
| 1972 | 37 | | | | 18 | 0 |
| 1973 | 35 | | | | 24 | 0 |
| 1974 | 25 | | 9 | | 15 | 0 |
| 1977* | 45 | | 150 | 90 | 35 | 15000 |
| 1979 | 150 | 22 | 13 | 13 | 15 | 0 |
| 1981* | 200 | 4 | 35 | 50 | 37 | 5000 |
| 1982 | 300 | 0 | 47 | 45 | 22 | 0 |
| 1983* | 1425 | 571 | 6000 | 750 | 3383 | 250000 |
| 1984 | 8257 | 203 | 872 | 214 | 1720 | 0 |
| 1985 | 3616 | 246 | 777 | 399 | 1372 | 1000 |
| 1986 | 4675 | 178 | 889 | 475 | 1560 | 0 |
| 1987** | 2935 | 1303 | 3714 | 1257 | 8062 | 297250 |
| 1988** | 2460 | 1253 | 2929 | 1219 | 4502 | 253000 |
| 1989** | 4761 | 1528 | 1475 | 1031 | 2858 | 0 |
| 1990 | 2555 | 9381 | 5798 | 816 | 5601 | 78600 |
| 1991 | 3244 | 1847 | 4360 | 751 | 4917 | 1500 |
| 1992 | 2835 | 1780 | 3769 | 691 | 4020 | 0 |
| 1993 | 2929 | 676 | 2983 | 410 | 2885 | 0 |
| 1994 | 13363 | 536 | 2470 | 424 | 1663 | 0 |
| 1995 | 3565 | 934 | 3481 | 779 | 5028 | 500000 |
| 1996 | 18870 | 1678 | 4074 | 894 | 3265 | 335000 |
| 1997 | 5430 | 1463 | 4056 | 811 | 1731 | 255000 |
| 1998 | 9382 | 1338 | 2161 | 342 | 2909 | 34500 |
| 1999 | 16639 | 177 | 1661 | 339 | 1864 | 51000 |
| 2000 | 4217 | 134 | 1573 | 336 | 2442 | 192000 |
| 2001 | 182 | 5 | 88 | 131 | 120 | 67000 |
| 2002 | 16 | | 32 | 21 | 101 | 16959 |
| 2003 | 22 | 5 | 45 | 4 | 52 | 0 |
| 2004 | 16 | 4 | 87 | 10 | 61 | 0 |
| 2005 | 177 | 194 | 243 | 45 | 338 | 0 |
| 2006 | 1175 | 1064 | 1292 | 85 | 2095 | 279200 |
| 2007 | 5657 | 408 | 834 | 35 | 739 | Jan-Aug 110000 |
| 2008 June | 14208 | 182 | 446 | ----- | ----- | ----- |
| Total | 133463 | 27114 | 56868 | 12602 | 64304 | 2780009 |

(actual figures higher than documented)

Tamil Centre for Human Rights – TCHR / Centre Tamoul pour les Droits de l'Homme

* = Communal riots ** = Indian Peace Keeping Forces - IPKF

*** = Only 2% of the disappeared have been found

TAMIL CENTRE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS - TCHR
CENTRE TAMOUL POUR LES DROITS DE L'HOMME - CTDH
CENTRO TAMIL PARA LOS DERECHOS HUMANOS
(ESTABLISHED IN 1990)

Website : www.tchr.net

Head Office

9, RUE DES PEUPLIERS
95140 - GARGES LES GONESSE
FRANCE

Email : tchrgs@hotmail.com
tchrdip@hotmail.com

Fax : + 33 - 1 - 42 67 54 36

BRANCHES

Tamil Centre for Human Rights – TCHR

P. O. Box : 182

Manchester M16 8ED

UNITED KINGDOM

Fax : + 44 - 161 - 860 46 09

Email : tchrdip@hotmail.com

Tamilen Zentrum für Menschenrechten - TCHR

P. o. Box : 319

8172 - Niederglatt

SWITZERLAND