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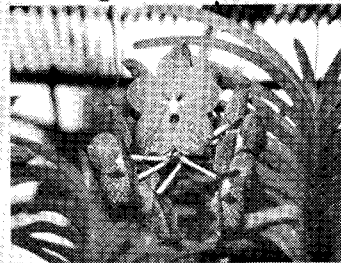
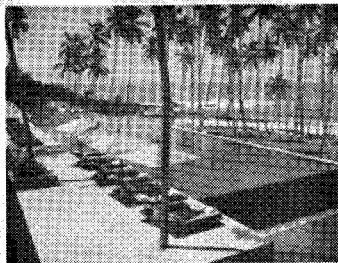




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Cover: A child walking ashore at Anugambay in east Sri Lanka; courtesy of Ms. D Kanagasabapathipillai, Humanity Ashore

# The elusive 'southern consensus'

The virtual collapse of the Norwegian facilitated peace process has brought renewed pressure from the international community, and particularly India, upon Sri Lanka to forge a 'southern consensus' on the ethnic question and come up with a political solution. The contours of such a settlement are also being spelt out clearly.

The departing US ambassador, Jeffrey Lunstead, at his farewell press conference in Colombo recently spelt out the position of the international community saying, "A solution [to Sri Lanka's civil strife] will require radical changes in the way the entire nation is governed. These changes must empower all the people of Sri Lanka: Sinhalese, Tamils, Muslims and Others, and give them a greater say in how they are governed in the areas where they live."

The incoming US Ambassador, Robert Blake, appearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee spelt out the US position as follow: "We (US) have made clear where we stand. We support the government of Sri Lanka and that nation's territorial integrity. ...The Tigers were designated a Foreign Terrorist Organization by our government in 1997, a status that remains in effect and richly deserved today...The Sri Lankan government must show it is willing to address legitimate Tamil grievances, including articulating a political vision for the future of the country that provides room for the aspirations of all Sri Lankans, from all religions and ethnicities."

The recent visit to Colombo by India's Foreign Secretary Shyam Saran has added momentum to the attempts to forge a "southern consensus" on the ethnic question through the All Party Conference (APC) convened by President Mahinda Rajapakse. The APC has been meeting all these months without much progress being made.

It appears that India's Foreign Secretary strongly advised the President that he should make some decisive political moves to avoid the country returning to another full scale war. Expressing India's concern over the influx of refugees to India due to escalating violence in Northeast Sri Lanka, Delhi's strong message conveyed through Mr. Saran was that, while India remained committed to support Sri Lanka's sovereignty and territorial integrity, the Government in Colombo should without delay come forward with a worked out political solution to the conflict. The Government should also make a distinction between the LTTE and the Tamil community and display its readiness to offer a political solution to the Tamils. While noting the President's decision to set up an All Party Conference (APC) and other similar steps aimed at preparing a devolution package, he is reported have been advised that it should not be protracted exercise. The Indian envoy had also expressed India's readiness to share constitutional expertise, if Colombo needed such assistance to facilitate the adoption of a solution based on the Indian model.

During the Indian envoy's visit, he also met Opposition and United National Party leader Ranil Wickremasinghe and urged him to support the President in an effort forge a consensus between the two main parties on a possible political solution.

In the aftermath of Mr Saran's visit, President Rajapaksa would appear to have injected a sense of urgency towards seeking an all-party consensus on a power-sharing plan based on what is described as "substantial devolution of powers" within an "undivided Sri Lanka". His recent statements appear to suggest that he is seeking to free himself from the position he adopted, at the instigation of the JVP, during the last presidential election to find a political solution within the concept of a 'unitary state'.

An All Party Representative Committee (APRC) composed of a representative from each political party taking part in the APC and a 15-member multi ethnic Advisory Board, comprising legal and constitutional experts tasked with facilitating a power sharing plan have been set up and they met on 11 July under President Rajapakse's chairmanship. While formulating its plan the Advisory Board is expected to study all available devolution models including that of India.

The southern polity is not a homogenous entity in political terms. The intense partisan rivalry between the two major national parties, the UNP and the SLFP, is legendary. All the strenuous efforts made to forge a bipartisan approach between these parties on the ethnic issue and negotiations with the LTTE during the last several years have ended in failure. The genuine efforts made by former President Chandrika Bandaranaike and her governments during her 11-year tenure to undertake constitutional reform incorporating a power-sharing plan came to nothing as the UNP and its leader refused to extend support to get them through parliament. Even presently, accusing the government of engineering defections within the UNP and luring its parliamentarians to cross over by offering them ministerial positions, it has refused to extend its support and cooperation to the government in its APC exercise.

The JVP, the third largest party in parliament, though it attends and participates in the all-party exercise, is known to oppose any devolution of powers on the ground that it will lead to the division of the country.

The LTTE has already characterised the exercise as "elaborate theatre to appease international demands, particularly India's," and as "a spectacle staged for the benefit of the assembled diplomatic corps".

In this background, what are the chances of the APC coming up with a "southern consensus" on a power sharing plan that has remained elusive all these years? If past experience is to go by, the answer must be in the negative. However, one must remain hopeful that the time has arrived for good sense to prevail, and that time is now.

## Bishop's plea for peace zones

July 7 – In a wide-ranging statement condemning several recent incidents of violence, a leading religious prelate has urged the President to consider setting up peace zones in some high tension areas such as Mannar so that people can live in safety and from which armed groups would be prohibited.

Colombo's Anglican Bishop the Rt. Revd. Duleep de Chickera in a statement also appealed in the name of our common humanity that all parties should walk the extra mile to ensure that the killings stop and that dialogue resume and trust restored.

Bishop Duleep's statement said: "The sorrow and pain of our country continues to deepen and fresh wounds are opening as killings and assassinations become the order of the day. No one and nothing seems able to stop this brutal and senseless trend.

"The violence against civilians outside and inside the church at Pesalai soon after the massacre at Kebbitigollewa must be condemned outright. The attack on those taking refuge in a Church in particular, is a serious indictment on our collective conscience. If a religious and sacred place of worship is not safe, then no place can be safe for the people.

"The Mannar Bishop is a man of integrity. He has been compelled to speak as a Religious Leader who stands for peace, and is called to represent the fears, sufferings and experiences of the people. He has exercised this role with courage and he must be heard. I urge the President to expedite the investigations into this dastardly crime and bring the perpetrators to book.

"Since much of these killings are retaliatory and often out of a sense of frustration following confrontations between the LTTE and the Sri Lanka Armed Forces, I also urge the President to consider setting up Peace Zones in some high tension areas such as Mannar, in which people can live in safety and from which armed groups will be prohibited. There is a wide world experience in this area and we need to seek the wisdom and assistance of relevant countries and groups to set them up.

"The brutal assassination of Lt. Gen. Parami Kulatunga and some of his security officers must also be condemned. It is another turn in the cycle and senseless annihilation of human beings. By all accounts, Lt. General Kulatunga was an exemplary officer and a gentleman. It is a pity that the life of a professional soldier who perhaps could have made a difference to trust-building and creating the right conditions for a new beginning has been taken away in this fashion.

"Our church offers its condolences and the assurances of our prayers to all families of all victims. May the God of grace heal their sorrow and convert their tears into forgiveness and the deepest longing for peace.

"We must also acknowledge the restraint shown by the security forces in the aftermath of General Kulatunga's killing and other provocative acts thereafter particularly in Trincomalee. We also welcome President Rajapaksa's request to the security forces that greater attention should be paid to human rights and the rights of individuals held in detention.

"We have just had news of the death of a suspect taken into custody on the recent bomb hoax at schools. It is alleged that he and another person taken in along with him were tortured. This

is a straightforward case and action can and must be taken against those responsible for their custody. If this is not done the judicial system will come under serious judgment and the people of this country will have every right to question its credentials and credibility.

"While condemning in the strongest terms the continuing violence and killings, we appeal in the name of our common humanity that all parties would walk the extra mile to ensure that the killings stop and that

dialogue is resumed and trust restored. The CFA must be revisited and restored. It is time that we now begin to focus on substantive issues that lead to a permanent political settlement. President Rajapaksa must work towards achieving a southern consensus on substantial devolution and power-sharing and offer a political package that will be acceptable to all communities and ensure sustainable peace and justice for all. We urge the LTTE to reciprocate."

## NEWS REVIEW

### India rules out military intervention in Sri Lanka

NEW DELHI, July 6: India does not wish to get involved militarily if war breaks out in Sri Lanka, "The Island" learns from a top official source here.

The authoritative Indian source told this correspondent on condition of anonymity: "We have no plans to send our troops to Sri Lanka if the current tense situation there degenerates into a full-fledged armed conflict between the security forces and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)."

"No IPKF-II either," the source declared when asked if India will consider a request from Colombo to send its troops yet again on a peace-keeping mission to the troubled island.

The bitter experiences of the Indian Peace-Keeping Force (IPKF) over 15 years ago are clearly still fresh in the minds of the people as well as decision-makers in this country.

In July 1987, then Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi had sent the IPKF at then Sri Lankan President Junius Richard Jayewardene's specific request to disarm the LTTE and other Tamil militant groups. It was a disaster from the word go.

A Sri Lankan naval cadet responded violently by attacking Gandhi with the butt of his empty rifle at a ceremonial farewell Jayewardene had arranged for the Indian leader's departure from Colombo a day after the two men signed the much-maligned Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement (ISLA).

The IPKF did manage to disarm several Tamil rebel groups, but the LTTE refused to lay down arms. It used the local Tamils in the North and East as human shields and attacked the IPKF troops, which had strict orders against shooting civilians.

During the IPKF's controversial stay in the island for 32 months from 30 July 1987 to 24 March 1990, 1,165 Indian soldiers and officers lost their lives, while 3,011 were injured—most of them maimed for life. The IPKF's very presence became a major political issue. In December 1988, UNP's Ranasinghe Premadasa won the presidential election by promising to evict the IPKF.

Premadasa supplied weapons to the LTTE to attack the IPKF, which returned home in March 1990, without being able to accomplish its original mission. The LTTE's suicide bomb-

ers assassinated both Premadasa and Gandhi in separate incidents).

However, this bitter experience notwithstanding, the official said India will do its best to help Sri Lanka find a peaceful political solution to the bloody ethnic conflict. India is ready to share with Sri Lanka its own expertise and experience in running a union of 35 states and union territories that enjoy autonomy as well as enough political and economic freedom that enables their elected representatives to run them as they wish within a united and sovereign India.

India will do everything short of military intervention to find a political solution to the ethnic problem within a united and sovereign Sri Lanka that will satisfy the Sinhalese, the Muslims, the Tamils and others.

If the current situation degenerates into an armed conflict, India believes its economic consequences will be unpredictable. If a war breaks out, the LTTE will try to hit Sri Lanka's economic targets in order to bring its \$23-billion economy to a grinding halt.

In recent years, India has made considerable investments in Sri Lankan economy. It will try to minimize damage to its economic interests in Sri Lanka without getting involved militarily, the source added.

However, India sincerely believes that war is eminently avoidable if only the disparate Sinhala political entities realize the gravity of the situation, put their heads together and evolve a southern consensus on power-sharing without any further loss of time. Analysts here believe that Sri Lankan politicians need to think and act like statesmen and work together in their country's larger national interest.

India wants to work with the Sri Lankan government, Norway, the European Union, the US, and Japan to do everything possible to prevent the present situation from escalating into a full-scale war. But a peaceful solution has to emerge from within Sri Lanka. And Prime Minister Dr Manmohan Singh sent Foreign Secretary Shyam Saran as his special envoy to Colombo to drive home this point. (by S. Venkat Narayan, The Island)

## **'United Sri Lanka' parameter not acceptable, says LTTE**

July 10 - During peace negotiations in South Sudan, Northern Ireland, Montenegro and Bougainville, the international community did not set "united country" as a pre-negotiation parameter for the expected outcome of a negotiated solution. The international community's stand that solution to the Tamil national question should be found within a united Sri Lanka, runs contrary to the current international practice, and to the law of self-determination, argued Visuvanathan Rudrakumar, legal advisor to the Liberation Tigers, in a paper presented at a conference held in Zurich in April. The paper was released by the organizers, the Centre for Just Peace and Democracy (CJPD), on Sunday, 9 July.

Mr. V. Rudrakumar said that partial blame for the impasse in Sri Lanka's peace process rests with the international community.

Extracts from the paper follow:

The Sri Lankan leaders repeatedly claim that they had established an "international safety net" designed to surround and contain the Tamils' struggle for self-determination.

The international community has failed to repudiate these claims and disassociate itself from the stated partisan goals of

such a "safety net".

The most damaging aspect of the international community's action was its insistence that a solution should be found within a unified Sri Lanka.

Such a position is not only contrary to the law of self-determination, which states that self-determination can be exercised *intra alia* through the establishment of an independent state. It is also contrary to the current international practice with respect to national conflicts in other parts of the world.

The Machakos Protocol, signed with the facilitation of the US, the UK, Norway, and Italy, recognized the South Sudanese people's right to form an independent state. The Protocol provides for a referendum in South Sudan after six years on the question of remaining within the state of Sudan or forming a separate state.

Similarly, the Good Friday agreement allows the people of Northern Ireland to determine their political future through a referendum every seven years. Along these same lines, the Serbian - Montenegrin Agreement recognizes the Montenegrin people's right to form an independent state and provides for a referendum on this matter after three years.

The Papua New Guinea- Bougainville Agreement allows Bougainville to hold a referendum between ten and fifteen years to ascertain the political aspirations of the Bougainville people.

South Sudan, Northern Ireland, Montenegro and Bougainville are not relics of colonialism. The above conflicts arose in non-colonial contexts.

The international community did not oppose the Machakos Protocol on the grounds that it infringed on the sovereignty or the territorial integrity of the United Kingdom.

It did not oppose the Serbia - Montenegro Agreement on the grounds that it infringed on the sovereignty or the territorial integrity of Serbia.

It did not oppose the Papua New Guinea - Bougainville agreement on the grounds that it violated the sovereignty or the territorial integrity of Papua New Guinea.

The international community did not set any pre-negotiation parameters on what the outcome of peace negotiations should be in any of the above-mentioned conflicts.

Recently, the UN Secretary General Kofi Annan stated that "Talks on whether Kosovo should remain part of Serbia or be given independence should start soon."

Thus, although the international community employs concepts such as "earned sovereignty," "phased out sovereignty," and "conditional sovereignty" in the above conflicts, its insistence that the Tamil - Sinhala conflict on the island of Sri Lanka be resolved within a united country creates a perception that the international community is applying a double standard.

Even purely from the point of view of negotiation, leaving the options of "earned sovereignty," "phased out sovereignty," and "conditional sovereignty" off the negotiation table will reduce the incentive for the Sinhala Nation to put forward a meaningful power-sharing proposal or even to take the peace process seriously.

On the other hand, having these options on the table will increase the confidence of the Tamils in the fairness of the current peace process.

The Seminar in Zurich, "Envisioning New Trajectories for Peace in Sri Lanka", was organized by the CJPD in collaboration with the Berghof Foundation for Conflict Studies. The CJPD is an organization formed with a team of diaspora Tamil

intellectuals and international experts in the field of conflict resolution. [TamilNet, July 10, 2006]

## Over 1500 child soldiers detained by LTTE and Karuna faction -UNICEF

July 9 - UNICEF highlighted cases of over 1500 children under the age of 18, being detained as child soldiers by the LTTE and the Karuna faction.

"Starting from as early as seven years, no less than 1470 children in Sri Lanka are currently detained by the LTTE in preparation to become soldiers, while at least 67 are being held by the Karuna faction," Sri Lanka Representative for UNICEF, JoAnna Van Gerpen, said.

A three-member UNICEF delegation visited Killinochchi recently to meet with the LTTE, to urge the militant group to stop further recruitment of underage fighters and the immediate release of those already enlisted.

"An additional cause for concern is the rapid enrolment of children to the Karuna faction, which averages approximately 30 cases of recruitment per month. These cases have been reported to UNICEF by parents and we are very concerned about the rate at which children are being recruited by this group," Ms. Van Gerpen added.

"We have a political commitment from the LTTE to release all children under the age of 18 and we have no such understanding with the Karuna group at present. UNICEF is steadfastly trying to establish such a commitment from this group. So far, their response has not been encouraging as they have denied these allegations," she said.

The ratio of boy/girl child soldiers detained by the LTTE is maintained at three boys to two girls. However, of the cases reported recruitment by the Karuna faction has been 100 per cent male.

"In our experience, approximately only one third of such cases of recruitment are reported by the families to the authorities.

The reasons behind this may be the fear of repercussions, lack of awareness that cases could be reported to the UNICEF and voluntary recruitment to the forces," she stressed.

Although reported cases only comprise a fraction of the total estimated number of underage recruitment, UNICEF is only mandated to verify and monitor the cases reported to the office primarily by families. Of these cases reported, approximately 10 percent of the families have asked UNICEF not to appeal on their behalf to the LTTE.

However, in a statement last month the LTTE declared they had handed 16 children between the ages of 15-17 back to their families.

The statement also said that names of 33 young children have been given to UNICEF and the International Committee of the Red Cross and the remaining 17 children were in the process of being released. Van Gerpen also pointed out saying, "Such children who are released have a wide variety of experience and an assessment is done on each child to determine the kind of support, which is needed to reintegrate the child in his community. As we have no access to the LTTE camps, we do not know what kind of training these children have to go through. However, we persistently request access to these camps to work directly with the children."

The reintegration process of an ex-child soldier within their

community is unique for every child. Therefore, an assessment of the child's needs is done and then, the child is linked with centres for vocational training or educational institutes. UNICEF combines with various organisations such as the International Labour Organization (ILO), United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and Save the Children to reintegrate an ex-child soldier within his community.

"The LTTE continues to recruit and use child soldiers and there has been a significant number of cases reported to the office that the Karuna faction has been recruiting children under the age of 18," the UN Special Representative for children and armed conflict, Radhika Coomaraswamy told the Sunday Times. "I have appointed the former Canadian Ambassador for the United Nations Alan Rock to visit Sri Lanka and analyse the first hand situation with regard to child recruitment on the ground. The dates of his visit will be finalised in consultation with the Government of Sri Lanka, UN parties and other relevant groups," she said.

The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1612 (2005), which strongly condemns the recruitment and use of child soldiers by parties to armed conflict, is currently being implemented in Sri Lanka. "The situation in Sri Lanka will be discussed at length at the next bi-monthly Security Council working group meeting in August. We hope to coordinate the implementation of resolution 1612 (2005) with the Government of Sri Lanka before this meeting," Ms. Coomaraswamy said.

## Govt to implement dual language policy

July 6 - In a bid to make Sinhala and Tamil languages compulsory in the government sector, cabinet on Wednesday (5) approved the dual language policy, the use of both Sinhala and Tamil languages in the public sector.

Constitutional Affairs and National Integration Minister D. E. W. Gunasekera told the media that though the dual language policy was introduced earlier in 1987 it could not be implemented due to various reasons. However, with the new cabinet approval the government hopes to implement the policy at the very earliest to avert the hardships the Tamils in the south and the Sinhalese in the north and east face due to lack of knowledge in Sinhala and Tamil respectively.

The cabinet sub committee chaired by Ministers Sarath Amunugama, Janaka Bandara Tennakoon and Gunasekera himself had made recommendations to the cabinet to get this passed as this new scheme could bridge the gap between the two communities.

According to Gunasekera, all the new recruits to the higher grades should have a proficiency in the second language apart from the mother tongue and the middle tier has to have the ability to write and speak the second language; and the third and the lower tier in the government sector should have a basic working knowledge of the other language.

"In the meantime, the government hopes to introduce periodic examinations to test the proficiency of the knowledge and those who excel in these exams would be rewarded and promotions too would be granted," added Gunasekera.

When asked as to why such a step was taken to introduce a dual language policy Gunasekera said that this would solve

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50% of the national problem the country now faces. "Apart from this it could also create a better environment conducive to political dialogue. The Tamils in the south if not familiar with the official language face hardship to get their work done and vice versa. So this would no doubt be consoling news to the people," said the Minister.

"Even the people in the plantation areas of the up country would benefit from this scheme. This should have been introduced 50 years ago but better late than never," Gunasekera said.

## Uncertainty looms over future of SLMM

July 9 - As uncertainty looms over the future of the ceasefire monitors from EU countries, the SLMM head said there was no "rationale" behind the LTTE's demand for most of its members to quit by September 1.

"Do they want to terminate the ceasefire agreement?," 60-member mission Chief Ulf Henricsson, asked in an interview. "This may be the interpretation if the LTTE goes through with its demand."

In June, the LTTE issued a month's ultimatum to Norwegian peace-brokers to remove some 37 monitors from Sweden, Denmark and Finland, saying their neutrality was prejudiced after the European Union named the LTTE as a terrorist organization. Amid strong international pressure the Tigers on June 22, extended the deadline to Sept. 1.

"We are not here as EU representatives, there is no rationale to their argument," Henricsson said, at his office in Colombo. Article 3.5 of the ceasefire agreement clearly states that the SLMM will consist of 'Nordic' monitors. The government also signed a separate Status of Mission Agreement or SOMA, with Norway on March 18, 2002 spelling out the status of the monitors. Any change in the composition to bring in non-Nordic monitors calls for an amendment to both these agreements. "You cannot take a bilateral agreement and change parts of it unilaterally," he said. "The CFA is a package, you either take it or leave it."

Henricsson said there were still ambiguous areas about the LTTE's demand and further clarification would be sought in the coming days. "We don't have all the answers to plan for the future yet."

The LTTE has said it could not guarantee the security of the EU monitors after Sept. 1. This was discussed at length during a meeting in Oslo on June 25, convened particularly to talk about the future of the mission among Nordic representatives. The meeting concluded with consensus that the monitors will continue its operations, until further notice.

"If the LTTE will not guarantee our safety, it's up to our government's to decide what to do," he said. "Currently, we are not afraid that the LTTE will send snipers after us after Sept. 1."

Henricsson said there was still no "solution" to the present questions, although several options have been discussed and mooted including down-sizing the mission. Norway says if the

EU monitors were to leave it would take six months to restore the mission to its original strength. "There is no queue of nations who want to join the mission," Henricsson pointed out.

If the LTTE's demand was to be acceded, Henricsson who is from Sweden, will also have to go. (Sunday Times)

## Rough seas thwart plan to blast Colombo port

June 19 - According to a report in the 'Sunday Times' (18 June), an LTTE plot to attack eight different ships in the Colombo Port came a cropper for two consecutive days due to rough seas and their plans going awry. Eight different explosive packages with timing devices and magnets attached were to be used in this attack.

On the morning of Saturday (17 June) one Tamil Tiger cadre died after swallowing a cyanide capsule. A second cadre was warded at the Welisara hospital. Three others who were on a boat were arrested on the high seas by the Navy. On the boat, among other things, were: frogmen's kits, oxygen cylinders, mobile telephones, a Global Positioning System (GPS), two timed-explosive devices, a passport, two National Identity Cards and cash, the report said.

The report further said that those in custody have begun baring details of the Tiger plans to cause mayhem in the Colombo Port, an exercise which, if successful, would have caused enormous damage to the nation's economy. They had tried to carry out the attacks on Friday (16 June) but found the seas too rough to move in their boats. Thereafter, things went wrong partly due to rough seas.

Quoting Navy Commander Vice Admiral Wasantha Karannagoda, the paper report said that a second incident in the Gulf of Mannar, said to be a diversion, timed for the attacks on the ships, saw gun battles between the Sea Tigers and the Sri Lanka Navy in which eleven sailors were killed, at least 25 to 30 guerrillas were killed, and eight Tiger boats were destroyed.

Details of the planned attack on eight ships in the Colombo Port began to unravel after residents along the coast of Pamunugama near Negombo heard a loud explosion at sea. Thereafter, residents had seen two suspicious persons swimming and coming ashore. One had bitten a cyanide capsule. When Police arrived, upon being alerted, the second person had swallowed a cyanide capsule. The first died whilst the other was admitted to the Welisara hospital. Within barely 35 minutes after the first explosion, a second blast was heard. Police who are conducting investigations have learnt that two explosive packages had been destroyed. Besides the two found on the boat, two were discovered by fishermen in Wennappuwa. Later another explosive package was found at Dungalpitiya in Pamunugama and defused.

After Police were told of the find, Special Task Force (STF) commandos took charge of them. One more packages is still missing. Sri Lanka Navy rushed patrols from SLNS Rangala, their main establishment in Colombo. Two Inshore Patrol Craft (IPC) ran into rough seas. One capsized. Two sailors were rescued and three were reported missing. Navy personnel arrested a Tiger cadre wearing a frogman's kit and swimming at sea. Thereafter a Navy patrol seized the Tiger boat with three cadres on board. Navy found on board a Global Positioning System (GPS), frogmen's kits, oxygen cylinders, explosive packages and mobile phones among other things. Two other packages were located floating in the seas off Wennappuwa

which were recovered by the Police.

Another news report said that a boat carrying a bomb estimated to be about 80 kilograms was detected in the Thalawila area on Saturday (June 17) evening, Kalpitiya Police said. They said the boat had reached a location close to Thalawila St Anne's church after it ran short of fuel and a lone man in the boat had tried to pay Rs 1000 for six litres of diesel. This aroused the suspicion of the residents who rejected the money and decided to inspect the boat. The man speaking only in Tamil had first claimed he was a fisherman but later identified himself as an LTTE member. "The boat was unusually heavy as we needed more than 10 people to push the boat to the shore. When we inspected the boat we did not find any fishing gear or even a bottle of water. This aroused our suspicion," a fisherman said.

Two high powered bombs weighting twenty five to thirty kilo gram of a rare type also were found in Ulhithiyawa, Wennappuwa which were handed over to the Government Analyst's Department, police said. The bombs with a fibreglass covering could be taken under water by divers and planted on the hull of a ship or naval craft with the help of a magnet attached to it. Each bomb had three water proof detonators attached and were connected together, police said.

The LTTE suspects who had swallowed cyanide capsules were immediately rushed to the Ragama teaching hospital. Hospital Director Dr. R M M Rajamanthri said that both the suspects are out of danger as there were no internal injuries.

The interrogation of those in custody have revealed that eight different explosive packages, fixed with timing devices and attached to magnets, were to be placed on eight ships in the Colombo Port.

IGP Chandra Fernando said that the suspects were laying limpet mines or mines with magnets that attach to hulls of ships along the coast. "We are now positive that these sea tigers have come targeting the naval vessels that are on daily patrol on the Wattala- Kalpitiya sea strip," the IGP said.

Security measures in and around the Colombo Port were immediately strengthened. Whilst Army units have moved into areas on ground, Navy patrols in the waters outside the port area have been stepped up.

## Threatened attack on Jaffna Magistrate

July 9 - Jaffna Additional Magistrate Srinithi Nandasegaran's official car, with her 10-year-old son and a police guard on board, narrowly escaped from an attempted attack Sunday (9) morning on Palaly Road, eyewitnesses said. Uniformed Sri Lanka Army troopers from Kantharmadam Junction followed the Magistrate's well-familiar official vehicle at gun point in an auto-rickshaw, but gave up their mission as they did not find Mrs Srinithi Nandasegaran in the vehicle, civilians who witnessed the incident said. The incident took place around 9:00 a.m. Sunday.

Srinithi Nandasegaran's car was transporting her son to a tuition centre near Parameswara junction from her residence located on Rakka Road in Jaffna.

The driver of Ms Nandasegaran's vehicle said that he has been harassed allegedly by SLA men who had sought details of Nandasegaran's routines recently.

**Protest:** July 11 - Employees of the Jaffna Magistrate Court picketed outside the court house on Tuesday afternoon protesting against the attempted attack by Sri Lanka Army



(SLA) soldiers on Additional Magistrate Srinithi Nandasegaran's official car on Sunday (9) and threats to her life, sources in Jaffna said. Meanwhile, the three SLA soldiers who were detained for threatening the judge were released on Rs. 50,000 surety bail on Tuesday (11). Judge E. Vignarajah, while releasing the suspect SLA soldiers on bail, directed the SLA commanders that the said soldiers should remain in Jaffna district and that the soldiers should only be allowed to perform duties in areas where there is no civilian presence.

## Maj. Gen. Kulatunga killed in suicide bomb attack

June 26 - A senior top official of the Sri Lanka Army (SLA), Major General Parami Kulatunga, who holds the third position in the Sri Lanka Army (SLA) high command was killed in Pannipitiya, 15 km southeast of Colombo, in Homagama police division in Western Province, in a suicide bomb attack around 7:45 a.m. on Monday (26), Police said. Maj. Gen. Kulatunga, Deputy Chief of Staff, has served as SLA Commander for Vanni High Command of the Sri Lanka Army.

Police said the attack was carried out by a suicide bomber riding a motorbike packed with explosives who rammed his vehicle into the Major General's car killing him on the spot.

According to a news update released by the SLA, a back up vehicle and the car in which the Major General was riding in were attacked when the Commander was on his way to office Monday morning. The car was set ablaze by the explosion, which killed the Commander, the driver Sergeant Gomes and Corporal Buddika. Six others who were caught up in the blast were wounded according to medical sources.

The targeted assassination of Major General Kulatunga bears all the hall marks of a Tamil Tiger suicide operation meticulously planned and clinically carried out.

Maj. Gen. Parami Kulatunga, a key Commander in the Vanni High Command of the Sri Lanka Army, has also served as Commander in Trincomalee, Vavuniya and Mannar.

Sri Lanka President Mahinda Rajapakse said in a statement that Monday's attack "is another example of the LTTE's continued commitment to terrorism and its cowardly use of suicide killers, and deserve both contempt and condemnation."

"On this sad occasion I wish to re-state my commitment to protect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Sri Lanka, and the democratic rights of all citizens of our country, for which cause Major General Kulatunga and the two others who were killed in this act of cowardice, gave their lives in such a tragic manner," he said.

"This act of violence ... will not frighten either the civilians or the security forces, nor deter them from overcoming the LTTE and its terror," the President said.

Defence correspondents in Colombo describe Major General Parami Kulatunga RSP USP USAWC, as a close associate of the SLA commander Sarath Fonseka who was seriously injured in a suicide attack in front of the Sri Lanka Military Head Quarters in April 2006. Maj. Gen. Kulatunga took over as the new Commander of Security Forces Headquarters - Wanni [SFHQ-(W)] in August 2004, the position he held when he was killed in a bomb explosion in Colombo Monday.

Maj. Gen. Kulatunga had received military training in defense academies of several countries including Singapore, U.S. and Britain. He specialized in Intelligence Operations and Spe-

cial Operations. Kulatunga holds a Masters Degree of the prestigious United States Army War College (USAWC).

In August 2004 Maj. Gen. Parami Kulathunga the Director, General General Staff (DGGS), took over as the new Commander Security Forces Headquarters Wanni [SFHQ-(W)].

Born in 1951 and educated in Trinity College, Kandy, Kulatunga joined the Sri Lanka Army in on 20th July 1971 and in 1972 he became 2nd Lieutenant in the 1st Battalion of the Gemunu Watch (GW).

Later he was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant, and Captain. He was appointed SO III at Palay Military Head Quarters in Jaffna on in August 1978. He served in Trincomalee in same position for one year in 1980-81. Kulatunga was appointed Aide-De-Camp (ADC) to SLA Commander in 1981. In 1989, he was promoted to Lt. Col. and appointed as an official at the Sri Lankan Defence HQ. He also served at 23rd Division of the Sri Lanka Army in Major rank, as SO I, Operational Headquarters and the GSO I in 23 Brigade.

He became a Commanding Officer of the 6th Battalion of the Gemunu Watch in 1990. He was again promoted to Colonel rank in 1993 and served as the Deputy Commandant at Kotalawala Defence Academy and the Commanding Officer of the 22 Brigade, in Trincomalee. Later in 1994, he was made Brigadier and Commanding Officer of SLA 22 Division in Trincomalee where he was to serve as a Co-ordinating Officer, TCO South. He also served as Deputy Defence Secretary in 1996. He also served as Director of Training Programme of the Sri Lanka Army and was posted to the Military Head Quarters in Colombo in 1996.

In 1997, he took deputy command (Deputy General Officer Commanding, DGSO) of the 55 Division of the SLA in Mirusuvil, and in 1998 he became General Officer Commanding (GSO) of 54 Division at the EPS base.

In 2000, Kulatunga was made Major General and he served as the 52 Division Commander at the Head Quarters of 52 Division in Varani, Thenmaradchi, Jaffna. Later, in 2001, he served as the GSO of Division 11 in Panagoda.

He was made Security Forces Commander (SFO) of Jaffna in 2003 and later in the same year he became Director, General General Staff (DGGS) in Sri Lanka Army Head Quarters in Colombo.

## Solution still possible, says departing French Ambassador

July 17 - Pointing that France's motto of "Liberty, Equality, Brotherhood," is adopted as founding principles of many countries, H. E. Jean Bernard de Vaivre, Ambassador of France in Colombo, said that all parties should "seek a common solution, a solution which respects the different cultures, languages, religions and ways of life which exist in this country," in a press release issued on the national day of France.

Full text of the press release follows:

"Today, France, a country which established itself as a nation over a number centuries and definitively so more than half a millenium ago, celebrates her National Day on July 14 under her national motto of "Liberte, Egalite, Fraternite". These principles are now widely regarded as universal, having been adopted as the founding principles of many countries around the world.

Sri Lanka is a country with an ancient civilization with

whom France has maintained diplomatic relations since 1948. I shall spare you a detailed catalogue of all our achievements between two "Bastille Day" and will also refrain from throwing around any figures in this regard. Suffice it to say, that over the last 18 months, we have ensured that every Euro coming from French government coffers has been judiciously spent by our NGOs for the rehabilitation of zones on this Island affected by the catastrophe and for the assistance of its people. The teaching of the French language here has made significant headway thanks to new initiatives and the sustained activities of the four Alliance françaises.

In the business field, fruitful exchanges have been established between French and Sri Lankan companies and these will be given further impetus when several French business concerns visit in the next few months. Some of them have participated in the organisation of to-day's reception and I wish to acknowledge their valuable contribution.

In some few months, my stay in this beautiful country will come to an end. I am indeed saddened to note that this Island is now more torn apart than when I presented my credentials in 2003. Since December 2005, violence, attacks have continued without cease and have reached a deplorable level.

Violence and terrorism cannot solve anything. Those in favour of such an approach will never be supported and will never receive the backing either of France or the international community. The LTTE was eventually added to the list of terrorist organisations because it consistently refused to change its behaviour despite the repeated communications sent to it over the years.

Equally, however, the State should not tolerate any repre-

hensible actions from few members of its representatives and ought to take exemplary measures against those found to have been responsible for them. More than 60 000 people, mostly civilians, have already lost their lives for nothing. It is high time that all parties sit side by side around a table to seek a common solution, a solution which respects the different cultures, languages, religions and ways of life which exist in this country. I believe a solution is still possible. It is high time that pretexts sought in order to put off dialogue or to reject it are renounced.

Sri Lanka possesses so much potential talent, so many skills within each of its large communities that it is high time that they put an end to the quarrels of the past and turn towards the future. From the bottom of my heart this is what I sincerely hope for all our Sri Lankan friends as I prepare to leave these shores after three years of mission. I do know that the large majority of them want to live in peace again.

In this purpose, may I ask to raise your glasses for the reconciliation of all Sri Lankan and the success of the different tasks of the President."

## Families flee for fear of being recruited

Mankerni - (AP) July 8 - They slipped out of the village and into the jungle after dark, whole families abandoning prized fishing boats and what little else they had to escape forced military training at the hands of the Tamil Tiger rebels. Dozens of others haven't across this seaside silver of eastern Sri Lanka - , where aid workers and villagers say the Tigers and a renegade rebel faction are abducting children and young men. The Tigers are also openly training civilians to fight.

The result: People here are struggling to keep from being sucked into Sri Lanka's ferocious ethnic conflict. Classrooms stand empty, fishing boats beached and streets deserted.

Guarded by soldiers, the people at Mankerni's church explained that they fled their village, Panichankerny, in rebel territory, after the Tigers began forcing able-bodied people between 14 and 55 to undergo military training.

"We're not soldiers, we're fishermen even firecrackers scare us," said Nadarasa, a 28-year-old who asked that his last name not be used for fear of rebel retribution. He said dozens of others remained in the village, but "they may join us if they can slip away."

As violence surges across Sri Lanka - the abductions and forced training of civilians are seen as a sign that insurgents are preparing for a possible return to a vicious civil war that for nearly two decades pitted rebels from the Tamil minority against the government dominated by the Sinhalese majority.

Peace talks have faltered, and rising violence in the past four months has killed some 700 people, more than half of them civilians.

Tensions are perhaps highest in this eastern region of fishing villages, rice paddies and groves of coconut palms, a predominantly Tamil area split between government and rebel zones. Gunfire rings out nightly from the fortified front lines, and fresh bodies turn up nearly every morning in the jungles beyond.

It's also the region where two years ago, the renegade Karuna faction broke away from the Tigers, sparking a murderous crack-down by the mainstream insurgents. UNICEF says the few hundred Karuna fighters now left who regularly attack the Ti-

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gers and are widely believed to get government protection have pressed at least 50 children into service since March.

The Tigers, who have a well-documented history of using child soldiers, abducted 64 children in April and May, UNICEF says. Aid workers also say both the Tigers and the renegades have abducted dozens of young men over age 18 in recent months.

Everyone feels the fallout. "Teachers aren't going to schools, doctors aren't attending health centers. Its having an overall impact on life in the communities," said Yasmin Haque of UNICEF.

In the nearby village of Pasikuda, one mother said she pulled a teenage son from school and asked another son, a contractor and the family's sole breadwinner, to stay away from work.

"Even going to the shop is scary," she said, asking her name not be used for fear of attracting attention to her fighting-age sons.

The rebels are also openly readying civilians for war. A pro-rebel web-site last week claimed that 6,000 civilians already had been trained in regions they control. Faced with such a frightening prospect, the fishermen of Panichankerny fled, most carrying the only valuables they could the intricate gold jewellery Hindu women are given when they marry.

"Everything else is lost," said Selvaseram, 20, who slipped into the jungle after midnight Saturday with his wife and baby daughter. He also asked his last name not be used.

One of the escapees, Kanabadipillai Balasubramaniam, 46, said that in the past two weeks his 15-year-old son and at least two other children in the village had been pressed into joining the Tigers, abductions which helped spark the exodus.

Leaving wasn't an easy decision. Abandoned were two new fiberglass fishing boats, pricey replacements provided by international aid agencies for ones lost to the 2004 Asian tsunami, which devastated this region.

But, he said, "I fish for my family, to earn them money. I am nothing without my family."

## More flee to Tamil Nadu

July 9 - Rameswaram: With the arrival of a fresh batch of 139 refugees on Sunday (9), the number of Sri Lankans who have sought refuge in Tamil Nadu since January 12 this year has increased to 4,528.

Sunday's group - among whom were 40 women and 47 children - was one of the largest to arrive in India soon after the resurgence of violence this year. Except for 12 refugees who reached Thangachimadam, the rest landed at Arichamunai in Dhanushkodi.

From very early morning, the boats carrying refugees including several infants continued to land on shore after the perilous journey. Though they had abandoned house, property and most of their belongings, they heaved a sigh of relief on reaching Indian soil in Tamil Nadu where they felt was safety, security and peace.

The border guards manning the coast were left with

little choice except to allow the refugees permission to land even though the boats from Sri Lanka were trespassing on Indian waters. After a quick check by the guards, the refugees were permitted to proceed to Dhanushkodi and Thangachimadam police stations to seek asylum.

Most of those who arrived on Sunday were from Mannar, where the people's main source of livelihood was fishing.

The refugees claimed the situation in Mannar had not yet improved even nearly three weeks after the grenade attack on those who took refuge in a church. "Even though the Sri Lanka Government relaxed the ban on fishing in the seas off Mannar, still most of the fishermen are unable to resume fishing, as the Navy personnel fire against fishermen indiscriminately without any valid reason. No one can come out from their houses after 6 pm.

## Violence adding to 600,000 displaced - Amnesty

June 29 - Saying that over six hundred thousand displaced people are suffering the effects of intensifying violence, Amnesty International blamed the Tamil Tigers, the Sri Lankan government and other armed groups. Almost 40,000 people have been displaced since April 7, the London-based human rights group said.

The following is the full text of the Amnesty International press release dated Wednesday, 28 June:

The increasing violence in Sri Lanka is creating new waves of displaced people and adding to the fear and insecurity felt by the hundreds of thousands of people who already have been forced from their homes by the conflict and the tsunami.

"The state's failure to provide adequate security and to ensure that attacks against civilians are prosecuted has resulted in widespread fear and panic," said Purna Sen, Asia-Pacific Director at Amnesty International. "Almost every major attack in recent months has had a devastating ripple effect as people flee from their homes and villages in search of sanctuary."

Many of those displaced - including those living in organized camps - continue to be extremely vulnerable to violence and harassment by the Tamil Tigers, other armed groups, and even members of the Sri Lankan security forces.

On 17 June, one woman was killed and 44 others injured when grenades were lobbed into a church in the northern village of Pesalai, where thousands of people had sought refuge from fighting between the Tamil Tigers and government forces. Consistent eyewitness accounts have identified members of the Sri Lankan security forces as responsible for the attack on the church.

A total of 39,883 people have been displaced in the north and east of Sri Lanka since 7 April 2006, according to UN figures.

A report released today by Amnesty International also describes how as insecurity increases, people who have already been displaced several times are being forced to move yet again. Many have been unable to return home for decades and the increase in military activity is a major barrier preventing them from resettling and rebuilding their lives.

"It is the government's responsibility to protect the rights of these displaced people — and numbering over half a million they make up a shockingly large constituency. The worsening security situation makes it imperative for the government to provide them with increased protection," said Purna Sen.

Manikkam Maniyam, a 62-year-old Tamil man, is one of the many Sri Lankans who has had to move between several temporary homes within the country and abroad over the last 25 years. He first fled his home in Trincomalee in 1990 because of fighting and because his thatched house was burned down. He and his family paid a local fisherman to take them to India, where they lived in various refugee camps. In 1992 they were advised that the security situation was improving and moved back to Sri Lanka, living in a welfare centre in Alles Garden. Their shelter at the welfare centre was then destroyed by the 2004 tsunami. There are many other thousands of displaced people who are still waiting to return home.

Fighting between government forces, the Tamil Tiger rebels and other armed groups has been intensifying for the last six months, with more than 700 people killed this year alone according to the Sri Lankan Monitoring Mission. Civilians face killings, abductions and 'disappearances'. Children are being recruited as soldiers.

Displaced people are particularly vulnerable to these abuses because they lack the support networks of their communities and local authorities. The violence also hinders development and aid agencies in their work with internally displaced people. In separate incidents in May a Norwegian Refugee Council employee was shot dead and three NGO offices were hit by synchronised grenade attacks.

On top of the insecurity, displaced people have to cope

with a lack of employment opportunities and limited local health and education services. Alcohol abuse and high levels of domestic violence continue to cause concern.

While most tsunami camps are well-funded and of a reasonable standard, camps for those displaced by the conflict often lack electricity, transport and proper drainage. Residents in some camps say they fall ill from drinking dirty well water.

More than 639,400 people are estimated to remain displaced in Sri Lanka. Latest UN figures state that 314,378 people were displaced by the conflict. Around 325,000 people are estimated to remain displaced by the tsunami.

The increasing violence is forcing many Sri Lankans to flee the country altogether — more than 2,800 people have sought international protection in India so far this year, according to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees.

## Rajiv Gandhi assassination: 'a monumental historical tragedy' – Balasingham

June 27 - In an exclusive interview with India's NDTV, the LTTE's Chief Negotiator and theoretician, Mr. Anton Balasingham, described the assassination in 1991 of Rajiv Gandhi as a "great tragedy, a monumental historical tragedy." Saying "we call upon the Government of India and people of India to be magnanimous to put the past behind and to approach the ethnic question in a different perspective" Mr. Balasingham said the event has to be seen in its political and historical context of the time, involving the military intervention of India and a war between the Indian Peace Keeping Force and the LTTE.

In response to a question by NDTV correspondent Noopur Tiwari on whether the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord led to Rajiv Gandhi's death, Mr. Balasingham said: "No. It happened later on. What has happened is, since we rejected the Sri Lankan accord there were a lot of events that took place creating a gulf between the LTTE and the Govt of India and the Indians later sent an IPKF - Indian Peace Keeping Force to disarm the LTTE and eventually broke out into an open confrontation. We fought a guerrilla war against the Indian army for 2 years and finally the Sri Lankans. We had a negotiation with Sri Lanka and secured the withdrawal of the Indian troops in the 90's and of course finally it was followed by the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi. As far as that event is concerned, I would say it is a great tragedy, a monumental historical tragedy for which we deeply regret and we call upon the Govt of India and people of India to be magnanimous to put the past behind and to approach the ethnic question in a different perspective."

On being asked by NDTV if the LTTE can give any sort of assurance to India that such an event wouldn't happen again, Mr Balasingham said, "We have made pledges to the Govt of India that under no circumstances we will act against the interest of the Govt of India and that ever since the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi, India played a detached role. What we feel is India should actively involve in the peace process."

Elaborating on the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord itself, Mr. Balasingham said: "We were not very happy with the political solution proposed by India because it did not satisfy the political aspirations of our people. If India has offered a federal solution as she has in her own country then we would have definitely responded positively but the provincial administration suggested by India was totally inadequate to meet the

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demands of the Tamil people so that's why we did not support the accord."

Commenting on the possible role that India could play in resolving the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka, Mr. Balasingham said that the LTTE did not want any military intervention by India as had happened in the past. He also made it clear that India cannot play a mediator's role as long it keeps the LTTE proscribed.

Mr. Balasingham further said it would be difficult for India to play a mediator's or facilitator's role without a working relationship between the government of India and the LTTE.

"The only role which India can play [now] is diplomatically and politically persuading Sri Lanka and the LTTE to seek a negotiated settlement."

Mr. Balasingham also complimented Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh's for admonishing Sri Lankan President Mahinda Rajapakse over the Sri Lanka armed forces' violence against innocent Tamil civilians and for suggesting a form of regional autonomy for the Tamils as a solution to the decades long conflict. [TamilNet, June 27, 2006]

## SLMC consults constitutional expert

July 12 - The stalemate in the peace process, continuing violence and stalled constitutional reforms as well as the Muslims' political aspirations in the current context were deliberated upon by the Constitutional Affairs Committee of the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress (SLMC) with internationally renowned constitutional expert Professor Yash Ghai during a two day session on July, 8 and 9.

The need to move forward with the peace process was agreed upon with SLMC reiterating its commitment to a negotiated resolution of the ethnic conflict. The position and the aspirations of the Muslims in the event of any interim and/or transitional arrangements were also looked into.

Internationally renowned constitutional expert Professor Yash Ghai, attended the deliberations. The SLMC Constitutional Affairs Committee has been engaging with Prof. Yash Ghai in the past as well with the view of formulating political power-sharing options for the Muslims of the North and East. A comprehensive set of principles dealing with devolution that would satisfy the legitimate political aspirations of the Muslims of the Northern and Eastern provinces were prepared in 2004 in consultation with Prof. Yash Ghai. This proposal was to be tabled for discussion as agreed by the then Government when the peace negotiations resumed.

In the backdrop of the Government's attempt towards formulating its own framework for devolution and continued marginalization of the Muslim interests in the discourse the SLMC's Constitutional Affairs Committee met with Prof. Yash Ghai to strategize and plan as to what it could do towards propagating the Muslim Dimension in the context of the ethnic conflict and towards its resolution.

In an exercise in continuity the Constitutional Affairs Committee is to meet shortly again this week to formulate its plan of action.

Together with the Leader of the SLMC Mr. Rauff Hakeem MP, the following members of the Constitutional Affairs Committee participated at the two day sessions. Mr. Hasen Ali MP, Mr. Basheer Segu Dawood MP, Mr. A. M. Faaiz, Mr. Nizam Kariapper, Mr. S. Nijamudeen MP, Mr. M. S.

Thowfeek, Prof. Hareed Zafarullah and Mr. M. I. M. Mohideen.

## Details emerge on suicide blast at Army HQs

With the revelation of the identity of the LTTE female suicide bomber responsible for the attempted targeted assassination of the Army Commander at the Army Headquarters on 25 April as 34-year-old Kanapathipillai Manjula Devi, the CID is now on the trail of the LTTE kingpin behind the suicide mission and an army 'insider' who helped the bomber to enter the premises. Investigations have also firmly established that the woman suicide bomber was not pregnant at the time of the attack.

*The following are extracts from the Sunday Times (9 July) defence correspondent's "Situation Report" column which gives the latest developments in the investigations:*

"First success came when SSP Waidyalankara, who is also an Attorney-at-Law, was able to identify, with technical assistance from a leading mobile phone operator, the cell phone used (by the suicide bomber). It was a "four by four" or one where an economy package restricted calls to four different subscribers. Technical staff confirmed that of the four, one was not functioning after the suicide bomb explosion. It belonged to the female suicide bomber. The last call on that mobile phone had been a few minutes before she blasted herself. That call was the one that alerted her that Lt. Gen. Fonseka was leaving his office. Earlier, there had been calls to Rambukkanna, Weliveriya, Delgoda and Maradana.

"When details of several calls made on April 25, the day of the attack on AHQ became clear, DIG CID Asoka Wijetilleke assigned a team under Director, Sisira Mendis SSP to widen the probe into many areas. By then, SSP Waidyalankara had achieved a second breakthrough. ....

"A technical team from the mobile phone operator helped him track down the tower from which the most number of calls had originated to the phone used by the female suicide bomber. It was located at Rambukkanna. That find was to lead to a significant breakthrough. It remained a closely guarded secret until early this week. That was when Police Chief Chandra Fernando announced the development at a news conference on Wednesday (5 July). Both the CID and the mobile phone operator did not want to discuss the process used. They fear it would give away vital information that should remain secret in the interest of future investigations.

"Last month a team of CID detectives were in Rambukkanna. A detailed search led to a vacant house. They found that it had been occupied by Shanmugalingam Sooriyakumar of Chunnakam. The son of a driver, he had come to Rambukkanna when he was 12 years old. He had later married a Sinhala girl, Asha Dilrukshi. Her parents lived in the opposite house. Sooriyakumar was the driver of a three wheeler scooter. Later he had begun driving lorries and vans.

"With the signing of the Ceasefire Agreement between the Government and the LTTE in February, 2002, Sooriyakumar drove lorries. He travelled often along the A-9 highway to Jaffna carrying goods. LTTE intelligence cad-

res spotted him and began developing a relationship. Soon he was introduced to Nixon, who was to become his handler.....

"Nixon succeeded in persuading Sooriyakumar to provide shelter to 34-year-old Kanapathipillai Manjula Devi in their Rambukkanna home. She had made her first visit to the house in July last year but did not stay there. Thereafter, she returned in January and was living with them. The presence of Manjula Devi became the subject of regular quarrels between Sooriyakumar and his in laws. They were suspicious of her presence. However, Sooriyakumar had insisted that she was his uncle's daughter.

"During their stay there, Sooriyakumar is alleged to have paid a large sum of money to the Grama Sevaka and obtained his help to secure a National Identity Card. Another case of money being used to make people in the south turn traitors. Detectives are probing whether Manjula Devi was her real name or whether it had been given so she could move around freely in Sinhala areas. Many in Sinhala households also used the same name. She spoke and read Sinhala very well. Though the name had begun with Kanapathipillai in the NIC, she was called Manjula Devi. When his in laws continued to quarrel, Sooriyakumar found a house in Weliveriya and shifted there. Asha Dilrukshi, her four-year-old daughter Anushya and Manjula Devi went along.

"Whilst at Weliveriya, Sooriyakumar drove lorries through Wannai to Jaffna. On many occasions he had broken journey in Kilinochchi to meet LTTE intelligence cadres. Manjula Devi would leave the Weliveriya house during the day saying she was going to Colombo to meet relatives or friends. She would return, sometimes with large tubs of ice

cream for little Anushya. She also brought food items. There had also been occasions when she would provide money for household expenses. She had also purchased a brand new three wheeler scooter for Sooriyakumar.

"When Manjula Devi did not travel to Colombo, she would be in the Weliveriya house reading. Mostly she read Sinhala newspapers and magazines. She was in the habit of playing Sinhala music. The volume was turned loud for the neighbours to believe it was a Sinhala household and thus avoid creating any suspicion.

"On Monday April 24, the day before she exploded herself inside AHQ, Manjula Devi behaved normally. In the night she took a meal of string hoppers, sprats, dhal and pol sambol. The next morning, Tuesday, she packed all her belongings in two different bags. She had a cup of tea and left the house promising Asha Dilrukshi she would return in a few days time.

"CID detectives have established categorically that Manjula Devi was not pregnant. They have obtained proof beyond any doubt of this fact after they interrogated Asha Dilrukshi.

"Both Sooriyakumar and Asha Dilrukshi, it has come to light, had also quarrelled with each other over Manjula Devi. Asha Dilrukshi was not in favour of her staying in their house in Weliveriya. Days after the attack on AHQ, both Sooriyakumar and his wife had seen a photograph released by the CID in the newspapers. It showed a touched up face of the female suicide bomber. The picture had been taken after the head was severed in the suicide bomb explosion. Asha Dilrukshi promptly told her husband, Sooriyakumar this is "Akka", the name by which she called Manjula Devi.

"It is immediately not clear how Manjula Devi found her way to Colombo. It is also not clear whether she was accompanied by an accomplice. However, detectives have identified an area where she had been dressed up with the suicide jacket placed in her stomach in such a way as to show she was pregnant. Sooriyakumar, Asha Dilrukshi and the Grama Sevaka are now in custody.

"It is clear from the latest CID findings that by introducing Manjula Devi to the Sooriyakumar household in January this year, they had been making elaborate preparations to target Lt. Gen. Fonseka. In the light of this, it also becomes clear that intelligence planning towards the attack had been going on even before that period. So, for six months Manjula Devi waited for her orders. Though unsuccessful, she executed them on April 25."

According to the CID, Manjula Devi arrived at Fort Railway Station in the morning and met the LTTE kingpin of the mission who had taken her to a hideout in Wellawatta where she was assisted to wear the suicide bomb kit. Well prepared for the mission, Manjula Devi had left Wellawatta within couple of hours and arrived at Slave Island shortly after 11.00am. There she had waited near the Holiday Inn, in the vicinity of the Army HQ for sometime till the final arrangements were in place. High tech investigations with the support of specialized mobile phone service providers revealed that Manjuladevi had called an unidentified person inside the headquarters and that he also had called her minutes before the explosion. The mobile phone of the insider had functioned only for a short period following the explosion after which it had been destroyed.

Meanwhile several special investigating teams have been deployed to track down the insider and the LTTE kingpin of the mission.

(Source: Sunday Times)

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## Mine attack on passenger bus 64 Killed and 87 injured

In one of the worst atrocities to be committed since the recent escalation of violence between government forces and the Tamil Tigers, at least 64 passengers in a bus were killed and 87 others injured in a blast when two claymore land mines were triggered off by remote control on Thursday (15 June) morning at Kebithigollewa in the Anuradhapura district in North-central Sri Lanka.

The Government and the Sri Lankan military accused the Tamil Tigers of having carried out the attack though Tigers have denied any involvement.

15 children, two women and a Buddhist monk were among the dead. The 87 wounded in the powerful explosion were admitted to Kebithigollewa and Anuradhapura base hospitals. Eight of them were later transferred to Colombo National Hospital for immediate surgery as their condition turned worse.

Shock and tension gripped the country in the aftermath of the most horrible attack since the ceasefire came into being in February 2002 and the government, believing that the attack was intended to produce a communal backlash, appealed to the people to remain calm.

A Sri Lanka Army release said that fifteen children proceeding to schools and many women including some who were pregnant going for pre-natal care clinics were in the ill-fated state owned passenger bus that was ripped apart by the blast. It said that the powerful explosion had thrown the mangled wreckage of the bus off the road to a distance of about 20 meters.

The incident occurred at 7.50am near the remote hamlet of Kongollewa. The commuters were all from the village of Yakawewa from where they boarded the bus

bound for Kebithigollewa and from there some of them were to proceed to Kachchikudi in Vavuniya to attend a funeral of a home guard killed earlier reported by the LTTE.

"The bus with 150 passengers in its full complement met its doom when suspected Tamil Tigers (LTTE) terrorists blew it up using two claymore mines in the rush hour.

The scene of the massacre with parts of human flesh strewn apart was littered with school books, school bags, school uniforms splashed with blood, heaps of rubber shoes and slippers and other paraphernalia. Pieces of yellow robes confirmed that there had been at least one monk in the bus when terrorists detonated two claymore mines targeting the passenger bus," one report said.

At the hospital, a separate floor was filled with bodies of the victims, whose relatives surrounded the place screaming curses against the Tamil Tigers and the Government.

"Emotional outbursts and cries of wailing men and women resonated as more and more grief-stricken relatives as well as villagers from the area began showing up at the scene. Moving scenes at the ghastly sight of the tragedy took a dramatic turn when many of them began to identify their beloved ones at the Kebithigollewa rural hospital where 58 bodies were initially placed for identification," the report said.

The Sri Lankan President was seen as one of the earliest dignitaries to visit the gory scene of the carnage and later to the hospital.

Sri Lanka Government in its statement condemning the killing said, "The Government of Sri Lanka strongly condemns the barbaric and inhuman killing of dozens of inno-

cent civilians at Kebithigollewa this morning. The Government is aware that the aim of the terrorists is to instigate a backlash in order to fulfil their evil designs. The Government urges the people to be calm and support its endeavour to eradicate the menace of terrorism."

"The Tigers have done it again, this time it is children and innocent people. What would they expect from such attacks", the President asked. He said he instructed security forces in the area to take every action to provide security to the people. However he said the peace process would go ahead as usual, but urged the international community to pay more attention to such incidents as this.

"The LTTE has murdered small children and innocent people, I hope the international community will pay more attention to such barbaric incidents. At the same time the Government is still committed to a negotiated settlement", he said.

Following the mass killing in Kebithigollewa, hundreds of people from nearby villages started to flee from the area seeking shelter in other places, NCP Chief Minister Berty Premalal Dissanayake said.

The Government had already started to provide dry rations to these people with the authorities estimating some 2000 families would have moved to safer places in Kebithigollewa town. Shops in Kebithigollewa town were closed and roads blocked by burning tyres placed by some angry youth protesting against the claymore attack.

The LTTE issued a media statement condemning the Kebithigollewa as "senseless violence used for political ends," Tamilnet reported. Armed acts targeting civilians "cannot be justified under any circumstances," the LTTE said charging that Sri Lankan armed elements who have intensified their attacks on Tamil civilians for political ends, have also begun targeting Sinhala civilians with the aim of blaming the Tigers. The LTTE urged the International media "not to fall prey for the reprehensible propaganda tactic" "The attack in

Kebithigollewa timed to occur immediately after the arrival of the LTTE delegation from Europe is a reprehensible act of murders with the sole aim of blaming the LTTE for the attack," the LTTE statement said.

However, Government Defence spokesman and Minister Keheliya Rambukwella said the attack had the hallmarks of the LTTE and was clearly directed towards the civilians as the military did not use the path where the calamity took place. "This was not an accident as the army does not use this road. So the motive is clear. We have informed the international community including the co-chairs to take note of this terrorist act. The ceasefire is still in place but we will have to take a serious re-look at the agreement owing to the attack," Minister Rambukwella said.

Some ten thousand people attended a mass funeral held in Kebithigollewa on the following day. Tight security was enforced in and around Kebithigollewa for the funeral which was held at state expense. Police said tension still prevailed in the area and several hundred families had taken refuge at Wijayabahu Maha Vidyalaya where basic facilities were being provided to them.

#### Condemnation

The Catholic Church expressed shock. In a statement Bishop of Anuradhapura Rev. Norbert M. Andradi said that he was shocked and saddened on hearing the news of the unwanted brutal attack on civilian life and condemned the attack on innocent civilians in the strongest terms possible. He appealed for calm and restraint and conveyed his deepest sympathies for the affected families.

The Janatha Vimukthi Peremuna (JVP) urged the government to ban the LTTE and take well planned strategies to defeat terrorism without holding onto 'foolish' hopes of false negotiations. JVP said government should not limit its actions to retaliatory attacks, but should go for a strongly planned one from beginning to the end as a re-

ply to the barbaric terrorist activities. "The LTTE is trying its best to put Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims at each others throat. No one should fall into this trap as it would help the 'dark picture' LTTE is trying to paint internationally," the JVP said. It also noted that public should not forget there were forces to put the country under the control of foreign troops, if this situation leads to communal riots.

National Unity Alliance Leader Ferial Ashraff in a message condemning the brutal attack by the LTTE on the innocent civilians in Kebithigollewa said, "We strongly condemn the brutal attack on the innocent civilians by the LTTE. We cannot perceive what the LTTE is trying to achieve releasing such a horror. The Sri Lanka Government and all democratic political parties believe that dialogue is the only way to find a lasting solution. In such a circumstance, it is highly regrettable the attack aimed at a group of civilians killing over 60 people and injuring many others. The inhuman attack of the LTTE not only destroys the goodwill that is being built but put the entire Tamil community in danger. We express our deep sorrow and send our condolence to the families of the victims of the massacre."

The Communist Party of Sri Lanka (CPSL) said that it "condemns with all vehemence the savage murder of civilians including school children in Kebithigollewa - by the LTTE through the claymore mine blast. This demonstrates most nakedly the beastly and violent nature of the LTTE terrorism. Frustrated and incensed by the mounting pressure of world opinion against the LTTE for their continued intransigence and blatant violations of human rights, the LTTE has once again resorted to their inherent forms of terrorism against the most innocent and helpless segments of the society. Their intransigent behaviour explicitly reveals their inability or unwillingness to seek a political solution through a process of negotiated settlement."

The Catholic Bishops' Conference

issued a statement on the Kebithigollewa attack. "We are greatly distressed by the shocking attack on innocent civilians in Kebithigollewa, resulting in the loss of 64 lives and many more injured," the statement said. "It is unbelievable that a group of unsuspecting civilians should have been the target of this terrorist attack. We vehemently condemn this atrocity. We appeal once again in the name of our country and its people to stop this meaningless violence and return to the Negotiating Table to work for lasting peace in our country," it added. "Violence can never create the atmosphere conducive to building up of mutual trust and understanding. Stop the violence and the destruction of precious human beings and return to the Negotiating Table is our heart's cry and prayer," it further added.

Widespread condemnation of the attack came from many countries. They included the United States, Commonwealth Secretary General, Mr McKinnon, Switzerland, United Kingdom, Japan, India, Australia, European Union, Norway, Canada and many other countries.

#### Retaliation

In the aftermath of yesterday's Kebithigollewa massacre, the Sri Lanka Air Force backed by the Army and the Navy launched a wave of retaliatory strikes on LTTE positions in Sampur as part of the strategy of 'limited retaliation'.

As the Air Force bombarded Tiger targets in Sampur, the Navy and Army also joined in by launching multi-barrel artillery fire. The military assault lasted about 45 minutes. Meanwhile Tamilnet reported that two Kfir bombers of the Air Force carried out air strikes on Tiger held Mullaitivu and its suburbs yesterday afternoon. In the meantime according reports revealed by pro-LTTE websites, Kafir jets belonging to Sri Lanka Air Force bombed locations in Mullaithivu, Kilinochchi, LTTE controlled Tharavai and Pulipanthal in the Eastern province. □



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# Navy men in rampage

## 5 civilians killed, 44 wounded

On Saturday, 17 June, personnel from the Sri Lanka Navy (SLN) reportedly shot and killed five fishermen at the shores of Pesalai in Mannar and lobbed at least four grenades into the Church of Our Lady of Victory in Pesalai, killing a woman and wounding at least 44 other persons. Around 25 huts belonging to fishermen were also burnt down by the SLN troopers.

The fishermen were killed at the shores of Pesalai, 15 km northwest of Mannar, around 7:00 a.m. Saturday, when Navy personnel mounted frenzied attack in the aftermath of a naval battle with the Sea Tigers near Pesalai that had taken place earlier. Later it was learnt that in the naval battle six of eight missing SLN personnel were confirmed dead. It was this incident between the SLN and the LTTE that provoked the Navy men to go berserk and go in a rampage of revenge.

The 44 injured civilians were transferred to Mannar hospital from Pesalai Peripheral Medical Facility. Around 20 persons in a serious condition were being transferred to Anuradhapura and Vavuniya hospitals.

One of the grenades landed on a 70-year old woman, Manuel Clara Amma Leema, from 4th Division in Pesalai. She was killed on the spot inside the church with severe injuries to her skull. There were also gun shots fired. Due to the great numbers injured there was blood splattered on the walls and flesh everywhere.

The four fishermen killed in Kattaspathiri, were identified as Thurairajah Vijayakumar, father of 3, from Tharapuram, Abdul Rahuman Lathib, 28, father of 4, Jesudasan Jude Nixon, 24, from Pesalai, and Siril Appar Sen Jude from Vidathalthivu.

Body of another fisherman, Koodalingam Linganathan, 20, was recovered from a boat on Kattaspathiri shore, where more than 40 boats with engines and fishing nets were set on fire by the navy troopers. Remains of a youth burnt inside a boat was located by villag-

ers, later in the day in Pesalai. The body has not been identified yet.

73 huts of the fishermen in Vanakalaipaadu had been burnt to ashes. The fishermen had come to Vankalaipaadu from Vankalai due to restrictions on fishing imposed by the SLN and were living there in temporary huts with all their belongings.

5 fiber-glass boats were burnt in Vankalaipadu, 15 boats were partly destroyed and 90 expensive Out Board Motors (OBMs) were destroyed. Two oil shops, one grocery, a generator and a mini-theatre were also destroyed.

Due to the violent incidents that have been taking place in the area almost on a daily basis, many civilians have been seeking refuge in the church of Our Lady of Victory, St. Mary and St. Fatima schools in Pesalai. Many of them stayed in the church and the schools during the night time and left for their huts and houses early in the morning. At the time of the latest incidents an estimated 2000 civilians had sought refuge in the church premises.

Bishop Rayappu Joseph, one of the first persons to enter the church, Our Lady of Victory, after the attack targeting civilians who had taken refuge in the church, told media that the attack was carried out by men in blue uniform, alluding that the attackers were Sri Lanka Navy men. "There was no fight on land; no LTTE cadre was present at the attack site in Pesalai," the Bishop of Mannar Diocese told BBC Tamil Service. Fear has gripped civilians of Pesalai, who have no other place to seek safety, said Parish Priest Vincent Patrick. Nearly 3000 civilians, most of them women and children, were forced to remain inside the Church, for hours, among the many injured victims of the attack.

Bishop Rayappu Joseph told BBC that the men wearing blue had first gone to the hospital next door to the church and held a doctor at gun point, threatening him with expletives before throwing the grenades in to the church from the fence.

The Bishop said there was no land battle or attack on the police station by the LTTE or any one else as claimed by the Sri Lankan officials and the SLMM spokesperson, Thorfinnur Omarsson, in Colombo.

The biggest church in Sri Lanka "has been desecrated by innocent blood being shed [in it] by unjust aggressors, the Sri Lanka Navy," Bishop of Mannar, Rt. Rev. Dr. Rayappu Joseph, protested this week in a letter to the Vatican, through the Apostolic Nuncio to the island. "Today I buried the six civilians murdered by the Navy at Pesalai yesterday," the outraged Bishop wrote. The local people are "mortally afraid of the Navy" and when they met the local Navy commander, 7,000 people of Pesalai begged to be allowed to flee to India or LTTE-controlled Vanni, he said.

In his lengthy letter to the Holy See setting out an eyewitness-based account of the navy's rampage through the coastal village, Bishop Joseph described the cold-blooded summary execution of five fishermen unfortunate enough to be outside working on their boats as vengeful navy personnel stormed through the village.

Amongst the dead were three Catholics, including the 75-year old woman, two Hindus and a Muslim, he said.

He protested also that "military sources had tried to spread false news stating that there had been an attack by the LTTE on land at Pesalai on the Police and the Navy had to open fire."

"All the people of Pesalai say that there was absolutely no [such] incident on that morning and the grenade story as stated by the military sources is adding insult to injury," the Bishop said. Military officials had also "been stating that a grenade held by one of those inside the Church had exploded," he protested.

The people's "immediate expectation is that a neutral force should be brought in to take care of the security of the innocent people in a situation where nearly 95% of the Security Forces in Sri Lanka are Sinhala and, except a few very good officers, almost all of them are prejudiced against the Tamil people," the Bishop said.

Describing the Navy's rampage on Friday, the Bishop said following sounds of a clash at sea between the SLN and the Sea Tigers, thousands

of villagers who had been sheltering in the Church for two days, following an attack on Mannar police station, had huddled inside the building.

"As this [sea] battle was dying out around 8.00 am, the people heard heavy firing coming from the side of the Siruthoppu Navy camp and they knew that the Navy was advancing towards the village of Pesalai and towards the Church."

"On the way, the Navy had set fire to the cadjan houses of the fishermen at a costal location known as Vankalai Padu and gutted several of them together with fishing nets, outboard engines and other valuables. This location was deserted by the fishermen who had taken shelter in the Church at Karisal a kilometer away from this their habitation, a towards the interior."

"The Navy personnel proceeded further towards Pesalai it is related by eye witnesses and on the way they signalled to six fishermen who were returning to the shores at a costal location called Kaataspathri. The fishermen came down from their boats with their Identity Cards in hand. The Navy men asked them to go on their knees and fired at them through the mouths."

"Four of them fell dead still holding in their hands their identity cards. The rest of the two had tried to run away and one of them was caught by the Navy and fired through his mouth and his body was found in one of the boats and the other sustained injuries on his stomach and holding his stomach, he ran and fell down at one of the houses at the village and he was immediately taken to the nearby church of Kaataspathri. He was removed by the SLRC to the Mannar hospital after an hour at 9.30 AM and had been sent from Mannar to Anuradapura hospital for special treatment."

"The Navy personnel proceeded to Pesalai blindly firing around and several houses at Pesalai are seen damaged. They came around the Church of Our Lady of Victory at Pesalai and took positions outside its walls."

"At this point four men in shorts and t-shirts rushed into the church compound by the main entrance riding on two motor cycles it is said. They started firing at the church walls, doors and windows where over 6000 people, after having fastened all

## Renewed Conflict Displacing Thousands

New York, 12 July - The New York based Refugees International has urged the Government of Sri Lanka and the LTTE to make every effort to adhere to the ceasefire and resume peace talks immediately.

Refugees International has

the doors and windows from within, were taking shelter."

"Some Navy personnel had fired into the church through the little openings found on the large doors and a good number of innocent civilians there sustained injuries and even the frame on the main altar holding the statue of Our Lady of Victory is seen damaged."

"One of the Navy personnel, then had opened one of the windows and hurled one after the other two hand grenades in to the church. One of these fell back striking the window grills and the other blasted in the church with a big noise and heavy smoke resulting in one lady's head being blown off in the church and several others sustaining injuries, some of whom had received serious injuries."

### Culprits identified

As the outrage mounted against those who carried out the brutal attack in the church, and following representations from Bishop Rayappu, President Mahinda Rajapaksa appointed a high-level military committee with representatives from the Army, Navy and Air Force to probe the incident.

The wrongdoers had been identified, Minister Keheliya Rabukwella, the Government's chief defence spokesman said, declining to disclose the identity of the perpetrators. He said details of the investigation will also be released in the near future. He said the papers had been with the Attorney General who would advise whether there was enough evidence to file charges. The Attorney General's Department is expected to make known its opinion if indictments should be served on suspects involved in an attack on civilians in Pesalai. □

pointed out that in response to the rising violence in the country since of late; more than 2,800 people have fled from Sri Lanka to India since the beginning of 2006. In desperation, some people are paying traffickers their lifetime savings to get on board fishing vessels to India.

It further pointed out that the Tamils who flee the country travel in boats packed with people and travelling at night, with no radar or modern equipment, to avoid navy patrols. Those on board face risks such as abandonment at sea and capsized vessels. In May, ten people died when the boat carrying them to India capsized, the reports revealed.

The following is the full text of the report released by Refugees International:

In Sri Lanka increasing violence between the Tamil militant group, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, and government soldiers and allied militias has displaced 40,000 people in the north and east and driven another 2,800 to seek safety in India. The violence is a bitter blow to the 300,000 Sri Lankans, primarily Tamils, who have remained displaced even after the 2002 ceasefire that brought an end of the 19-year civil war.

Additional hundreds of thousands are largely cut off from development assistance in LTTE-controlled areas or live precariously in contested zones in the north and east. The promise of the ceasefire and the tenuous peace that resulted appears on the verge of shattering.

The December 2004 tsunami was indiscriminate in its impact, devastating Tamil, Muslim, and Sinhalese villages from the northeast to the southern coast. Unlike in Aceh, Indonesia, however, the shared suffering did not encourage further political reconciliation that might have built on the ceasefire.

A period of bickering between the LTTE and the government over the

allocation of relief funds, and the failure of the government to abide by commitments to share resources equitably, were followed by the November 2005 election of President Mahinda Rajapahse, who ran on a platform rejecting the agreements on tsunami aid-sharing and committing to reviewing the premises of the Norwegian-facilitated peace process.

For its part, the LTTE prevented Tamil citizens under its control from voting in the Presidential election, in effect ensuring that the opposition candidate, who had negotiated the original ceasefire agreement and remained committed to its implementation, would lose the closely fought contest. With the LTTE having pulled out of any further negotiations in April, the escalating violence is leading to fears of a return to full-blown civil war.

In response to the rising violence, more than 2,800 people have fled from Sri Lanka to India since the beginning of 2006. In desperation, some people are paying traffickers their lifetime savings to get on board fishing vessels to India. The boats are packed with people and traveling at night, with no radar or modern equipment, to avoid navy patrols. Those on board face risks such as abandonment at sea and capsized vessels. In May, ten people died when the boat carrying them to India capsized.

The Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) recently released a statement urging those planning on making the journey to India to consider the serious dangers they may face. Most of the Sri Lankan asylum seekers head for the southern Indian state of Tamilnadu, an area that has hosted Tamil refugees since 1983 when large-scale violence broke out in their country between the majority Sinhalese and the minority Tamils. Although many refugees returned to Sri Lanka during the ceasefire, approximately 60,000 still live in about 100 government-run camps in Tamilnadu. At least another 20,000 refugees live outside the camps.

The Sri Lankan asylum seekers arriving in Tamilnadu are processed primarily at the Mandapam transit camp. They

are interrogated by a special branch of the state police, especially about any connections with the LTTE, and after clearance they may either stay in the transit camp, or be moved to one of the refugee camps. New arrivals receive ration cards and small monthly stipends and can also take advantage of the health and educational facilities at the camps.

Refugees International commends the Government of India for keeping its borders open and for assisting and protecting Sri Lankan asylum seekers. It is imperative that if more refugees come to India to escape the violence and insecurity in Sri Lanka that India not turn them away. The Government of India has not signed the 1951 Refugee Convention and takes direct responsibility for Sri Lankan refugees, allowing UNHCR only to become involved in facilitating and verifying the voluntariness of their return. RI urges the Government of India to allow UNHCR and international NGOs in addition to the Jesuit Refugee Service, which has been working in the camps, to become involved with provision of services and protection for the refugees. Sharing the responsibility of caring for the Sri Lankan refugees would improve the overall support to them.

The recent arrivals in India cite fear of being caught in the crossfire between the army and the LTTE as a major reason for fleeing. They also mention the rapidly deteriorating security situation and the lack of protection within Sri Lanka. Many of the refugees arriving in India are from Sri Lanka's eastern area of Trincomalee where there has been a sharp rise in violence in recent months. There have also been reports of increased child abduction in Trincomalee and Batticaloa. Clashes between LTTE and the military and naval forces in Mannar in the north-west have also led to reports of violence against civilians, with rape of women prevalent.

The intensified fighting between the military and the LTTE in recent weeks has led to the displacement of nearly 40,000 people in the north and east of the country. The newly displaced are in addition to the 300,000 who have re-

mained displaced for years due to the conflict. Humanitarian agencies began to scale back assistance to people displaced by the conflict during the ceasefire and there has been little funding available for those currently displaced. The decision announced on July 4 by the European Commission to allocate seven million euros to humanitarian relief for conflict-displaced people is welcome and timely, but even greater commitments from the EC and other donors will be required.

Since the 2004 tsunami, humanitarian assistance funding has been devoted to tsunami relief and reconstruction, leaving many people displaced by the war without support. While millions of people sent money to assist in the reconstruction of Sri Lanka after the deadly 2004 tsunami, agencies and donors have struggled with how to extend that generosity to the Sri Lankans that fled man-made violence. As the political situation in Sri Lanka deteriorates, it is critical that international humanitarian agencies communicate with their donors about the need to loosen restrictions on funds to allow response to those who have been displaced due to conflict.

Refugees International recommends

- \* The Government of Sri Lanka and the LTTE make every effort to adhere to the ceasefire and resume peace talks immediately.

- \* The Government of India allows UNHCR to become involved with protection and assistance of Sri Lankan refugees.

- \* UNHCR increases its presence in northern and eastern Sri Lanka.

- \* International donors increase funding to UNHCR both in India and Sri Lanka in anticipation of further displacement.

- \* International agencies working on tsunami reconstruction in Sri Lanka seek permission from their donors to allocate funds to meet the emergency needs of internally displaced persons fleeing conflict.

*Advocate Kavita Shukla and Vice President for Policy Joel Charny have conducted assessment missions to India and Sri Lanka focusing on conflict-affected refugees and internally displaced people.* □

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# All Party Conference Experts panel formed

July 11 - Addressing the All Party Representative Committee on Constitutional Reforms and the Panel of Experts at the Presidential Secretariat in Colombo on July 11, Sri Lankan President Mahinda Rajapakse, without spelling out specifics, laid a broad framework for the APC to begin work, saying, "The international community, notably India and the Co-Chairs have endorsed our approach - a solution to the national problem must exclude any division of the country," and wished the committee success in "formulating a political and constitutional framework for the resolution of the national question."

At its previous meeting of the APC on 9 June, an All Party Representative Committee (APRC) consisting of one representative from each of the political parties was set up. The current members of the APRC are: Viswa Warnapala (SLFP), Anura Kumara Dissanayake (JVP), Manohara De Silva, PC (JHU), Nizam Kariapper (SLMC), M M Abul Kalam (NUA), P. Yogarajan (CWC), Prof. Nalin De Silva (MEP), Prof. Tissa Vitharana (LSSP), D E W Gunasekera (CP), N M Shahid (All Ceylon Muslim League), S Thavarajah (EPDP), Dr Adambawa Uthumalebbe (National Congress), P. Radhakrishnan (Up Country People's Front) and Dr N Kumaragurubaran representing the Western Peoples Front. Though the UNP participates in the APC, so far it has failed to nominate its representative to the APRC.

A Panel of legal and constitutional experts have also been constituted composed of the following: Dr. Nirmala Chandrasan, Gomin Dayasiri, H. L de Silva PC, Dr. Shivaji Felix, R. K. W. Goonesekere, Asoka Gunawardena, Faisz Mustapha PC, Dharmasiri Peiris, Dr. Rohan Perera, Mrs. T. Perera, Dr. N. Selvakumaran, Dr. K. Vigneswaran, Dr. Jayampathy Wickramaratna PC, Ms Malkanthi Wickramasinghe, Secretary, Ministry of Constitutional Affairs & National Integration, and K. H. J. Wijedasa.

The following is the full text of the President's address:

"While our attempts at bringing the LTTE to the negotiating table continues, we have a responsibility to address the national question. The issue we are dealing with is of the gravest importance. The problem has dragged on for well over two decades and has retarded our progress; we have not been able, over this period, to fulfil the true dreams and aspirations of our people. Over this same period, so many other countries less developed than us, have surpassed us and have been able to deliver to their

people hope, benefits, higher standards of living and a better quality of life.

Successive Governments have taken initiatives to resolve our national problem without much success, which points to a weakness which we need to overcome. However we have the capability, the values and the commitment to do so. In the past we may not have demonstrated the political courage to take the bold decisive steps necessary, and as a result have failed to improve the quality of life of our people leading to dashed hopes and aspirations, not to mention lost opportunities. I regard it as my bounden duty to do my best with all sincerity and commitment, however difficult the task is, to strive for peace on behalf of all our people. I will take whatever measures necessary to bring peace with honour and justice to my country; your country; our country.

However, it is not a task that can be performed only by the President of the country however powerful the office of the Executive President may be. Finding a political and constitutional solution to the national question requires a multi-party effort and an inclusive approach. We need to devise a HOME GROWN solution with the support of our people. I think it important that any solution must be underpinned by our great traditional values and heritage moulded by the four great religions practiced in our country - i.e. Buddhism, Hinduism, Christianity and Islam. The core human values of compassion, kindness, understanding, generosity, forgiveness and trust are ingrained in our religions and consequently, in us, and must form the basis for any solution to the national question.

It is also important that we study the experiments in political and constitutional reform in other parts of the world, including our region, bearing in mind our own specificities as well as commonalities. We must look to other inspiring examples and draw the appropriate lessons.

I have every confidence that we will succeed eventually, with the good will and support of the world community and the determination of our people. Our success will enable us to hold ourselves as a good example to the rest of the world in conflict resolution as there are many more such conflicts around the world.

Your proposals will be the ones which will be examined for adoption by the APC. Thus your role and contribution is critical. I would urge that your proposals be creative and imaginative. I wish to take this opportunity to place before you what I consider to be some elements that need to

be encapsulated in the broad framework for a political and constitutional solution to the national question.

The international community, notably India and the Co-Chairs have endorsed our approach - a solution to the national problem must exclude any division of the country.

Each party represented here, has its own solution to the national question. We will discuss and synthesize these different approaches and develop our own Sri Lankan model. We must explore all past attempts from the Bandaranaike - Chelvanayagam pact onwards. We must draw appropriate lessons from the experience of other countries. I will not impose a solution on the country. But in keeping with the sentiments enunciated in the Mahinda Chinthanaya, you will through your deliberations provide a broad framework that will generate a consensus among all parties.

In the settlement of the conflict we cannot for short term expediency sacrifice our cherished democratic values and our commitment to the rule of law. Nor can we ignore the human rights standards sweeping through every corner of the globe. There is justifiable cause for our insistence on these issues, arising from the wanton killings of Tamil political and other Tamil leaders whose only crime was that they held views contrary to that of the LTTE. There are other situations where the fundamental rights of individuals might have been infringed. We will insist on democratic values, political pluralism and the tolerance of dissent being established within the shortest possible time throughout the country. We will make every effort to advance human rights standards in every part of this land. The challenge is to evolve a solution that meets these fundamental basic needs. The rule of law, basic decency in the conduct of those in authority are also core values that we must safeguard.

The LTTE will need to respond equally to these rightful expectation and we hope that the settlement that we offer will pave the way to embrace these values which are a norm in all civilised and developed societies the world over.

People in their own localities must take charge of their destiny and control their politico-economic environment. Central decision making that allocates disproportionate resources has been an issue for a considerable time. In addition, it is axiomatic that devolution also needs to address issues relating to identity as well as security and socio-economic advancement, without over-reliance on the centre. In this regard, it is also important to address the question of regional minorities.

In sum, any solution needs to as a matter of urgency allow people to take charge of their own destiny. This has been tried out successfully in many parts of the world. There are many examples from around the

world that we may study as we evolve a truly Sri Lankan constitutional framework including our immediate neighbour, India.

Improving the lives of Sri Lankans all over the country is our ambition. Improving the lives of the impoverished in the North and the East is a priority. Having suffered much over these two decades of a war imposed on them by the LTTE, we must create a safe, stable and meaningful environment that enables the impoverished in the North and the East to participate in economic activity, which will give them the capacity to progress towards their life ambitions.

The government has committed US\$1.25 billion for this purpose and we are encouraging active private sector and international agency involvement in the development of the North and the East. Rapid development is quite achievable within a short time given the international community's desire to engage in the reconstruction effort and the local entrepreneurs' desire to invest in this area. The government remains committed to channelling investment funds to the North and the East. I believe that the beneficiaries of such development must be the people of the North and the East. One thing that eludes us is peace. But that is no justification for prolonging the return of normalcy or allowing impoverished people to continue in fear and poverty, whether it be in the conflict-affected North and the East or the rest of the country. One cannot take a fatalistic stand that the future will be somehow and somewhat better for the future generation. Why not make it happen now?

The solution we offer should be one that offers an immediate resolution to the ones affected. It is not enough to keep people waiting in fear for an uncertain future.

Any solution must be seen to be good and reasonable enough to address the concerns for which great suffering has been endured. Large numbers have sacrificed their lives, lives of many others have been devastated and resulted in displacement of family units who have migrated to safer countries to avoid conflict. Many a mother's tears have flowed over the lifeless body of a child killed in this needless conflict.

It therefore behoves on particularly the majority community to be proactive in striving for peace and there must be a demonstration of a well stretched hand of accommodation. Any solution must therefore address these expectations as well.

The role of the All Party Representative Committee as well as, its Panel of Experts is to fashion creative options that satisfy the minimum expectations that I had enumerated earlier as well as provide a comprehensive approach to the resolution of the national question. I have invited the LTTE to engage itself on this process. It is only by doing so that the aspirations of the Tamil people can be addressed, not through

## The 'Indian Model' and the 'Indian Experience'

N. Sathiya Moorthy

No debate on power-devolution in Sri Lanka these days, ends without a reference to the 'Indian model' of constitutional experience. While India has developed a constitutional model of power devolution, more importantly, it has also evolved 'constitutional nationalism' into a fine art, so much so, the diverse and otherwise diversified nation, has not only stood together in times of peril, but also, grown from strength to strength, on the political and economic planes, jointly and severally. If anything, it is this 'Indian experience' that Sri Lanka needs to imbibe as much as the 'Indian model', of which, however, there could be variations, acceptable and adaptable to the Sri Lankan situation, thus creating a 'Sri Lankan model', if and when required.

True, both India and Sri Lanka attained Independence from the same foreign ruler and almost, around the same time. It is also true, that neither really fought for their Independence – that is, if one tended to discount the Indian experience of civilian non-cooperation of Mahatma Gandhi and

streams of blood and shattered limbs.

There are well-wishers locally and internationally who will be glad to help with ideas that address the concerns of both sides. I would also suggest that the interest groups in our society be invited to contribute their views in a specified period of time so that such ideas too may be considered.

In conclusion, I wish the All Party Representative Committee and its Panel of Experts all success in their collective endeavour in formulating a political and constitutional framework for the resolution of the national question. It is imperative that the process moves speedily and effectively. After more than two decades of a protracted, cruel and violent conflict, the country cannot wait any longer to usher in a just and a sustainable peace for all peoples of Sri Lanka irrespective of their place of origin, ethnicity and religion.

My hope is that this conflict that has torn brother from brother and sister from sister can be brought to an end now. Let the soothing thoughts of peace be a balm in your discussions. Let your work provide hope to every tear drenched eye and an inspiration to every flickering dream.

May the blessings of the noble Triple Gem be with you." □

the Congress movement, as of little or no consequence, in a world still recovering from the blood-shed and mayhem of the war. Maybe, it is also the contrast that worked in India's favour, yet, it is the Indian experience in the making of the constitutional scheme that is worthy of emulation, even today.

History has strange ways of influencing the polity and society and nowhere else does the distinction show up so clearly, as in the case of the Indian sub-continent. It is here, for instance, the religious commonality in Pakistan and the unfought freedom war in Sri Lanka, that contributed to their polity and society treating the constitutional process and Constitution-making, casually. The creation of the 'Union of India' also involved the unification of India that was left behind, after the creation of Pakistan – but, it still involved the merger of a very high number of 625 princely States, into the residual India left behind by the British ruler 'at the stroke of the midnight hour', on August 15, 1947.

No other nation, in modern times or otherwise, has been created by merging so many 'independent princely States' with an existing Raj, which itself was an acquired amalgam of various other States that were princely and independent earlier. With the result, the Founding Fathers of the Indian Constitution, laid as much stress on tending to fissiparous tendencies that could crop up from time to time, as to keeping the nation united from the very word go. It was thus, that the Indian Constitution retained for the 'Federal Parliament', the exclusive powers to define/re-define national boundaries or, to create new States (or, provinces) by re-adjusting the boundaries of existing States.

It is here that the happy marriage between the 'Indian model' and the 'Indian experience', needs to be understood and appreciated. The average Sri Lankan, who argues the case for a 'Federal Constitution', needs to understand that the controversial Indian decision to hand over the Kachchativu islet to Sri Lanka, flowed from one such 'simple resolution' of the 'Federal Parliament', without it having to pass through the Tamil

Nadu legislature, which felt hurt over the decision – and, not without reason. Left to itself or, if mandated by the Constitution to be consulted, neither the Tamil Nadu Government nor, the Tamil Nadu Legislature nor, the polity or, the society would have acceded to the Centre's decision.

However, it needs to be underscored that the 'Indian model' had in-built provision for addressing the aspirations of regional societies and communities that had merged in the emotional union that created the Indian State in the first place. It was thus, that new States were born out of existing ones, with the latter often recommending the creation of the former, in most cases, through legislative resolutions addressed to the national Parliament – that are only 'recommendatory' in nature. It is this flexibility with change and, change with flexibility, that has been the hallmark of the Indian experience.

It is another matter that the Indian Constitution does not use the word 'federal', to begin with. The reference to 'unitary' is also not there and, in political terms, the nation-State itself is described only as the 'Union of India' or, the 'Union of States'. It was the later-day academics and constitutional experts, who began defining the 'Indian model' as 'quasi-federal' or, 'quasi-unitary', as the situation warranted. Even here, such definitions are now confined to the class rooms teaching political science or constitutional law. There is no public debate or, even discourse, on the subject, with the people and the polity coming to exercise the 'Indian experience' instead. Whatever discourse today, is held in relation to the 'Indian model', it is in and on Sri Lanka, not with regard to reviewing the Indian constitutional model – though, here again, India has had no problem 'reviewing' the 'working of the Constitution' from time to time, through expert committees.

The 'Indian experience' does not stop there, though. Where, in given circumstances, the polity had been weakened and the stability of the polity (if not the nation) felt threatened, other arms of the Government have successively and successfully rose to the occasion. It was thus, that throughout the time, the national polity was going through the transformation process, to be able to accommodate and accept 'coalition politics' and thus, the Government of the day was seen as weak, through much of the '90s, the institution of Election Commission, a constitutionally-mandated body, stood up, to check and

curb the politics of blatant opportunism, political corruption and horse-trading, when the nation needed such an intervention the most.

The Election Commission's contribution has not stopped there however. Today, as an independent constitutional body, the Election Commission in India has become a pro-active body, going as far as to ensure that polls are fought by as fair a means as can be enforced and that, politicians elected to office, do not hold multiple positions to make a monopoly – and also, make themselves inevitable. It was thus, that the ruling Congress President Sonia Gandhi, who the nation admired, after she stepped aside, after being elected Prime Minister, could not but quit her parliamentary seat and contest it again earlier this year. The offence related to Sonia Gandhi holding another 'office of profit' prohibited by law but, she managed to escape the Election Commission's wrath by quitting office voluntarily and well in time.

Earlier discourses on the 'Indian model', have often criticised the wayward ways in which the institution of 'constitutional amendments' was being put to use, often by the political masters of the day. Looking back 50-plus years, after the Constitution came into being, it is now being realised that the flexibility of the Indian Constitution to accommodate, not only the regional aspirations of the people wanting a separate State but even, the socio-economic aspirations that has helped in the growth and development of the nation. Today, India stands unique, in that, it has evolved into a 'constitutional model', where the individual derives not only the spirit but also, the benefits of a politico-administrative model.

It is thus, that what was once considered the weakness of India, namely, the multiplicity of religion and caste, region and language, geography and climate, have all become a source of eternal strength, not only for the nation-State but also, for the individual. It has also provided an 'internal agenda' for nation-building, that may be lacking in nations like Pakistan, which continue to harp on 'Kashmir-centric' India-baiting, instead. So much so, the pessimistic West, that used to blame India's problems on the numbers, has begun seeing in them 'high-value human resources' – and of course, an eternal market. Both of these imply that independent India has been able to add 'value' to the human resources and empower them to be of an interesting market proposition for the West, to feel caring and

concerned at the same time.

All this does not mean that the Constitution has remained static and has directed the growth and development from within. Nothing can be farther from the truth. Instead, the Indian constitutional scheme has grown with the nation's growth and changed with the changing times. It is thus, that decades after the Constitution, unilaterally empowered the Union Government to 'dismiss' elected State Governments or, 'dissolve' State legislatures, the Supreme Court of India, as the watch-dog and the conscience of the Constitution, has interfered effectively, to lay down different guidelines, first in the 'Bommai case' a decade ago and refined it even more, in the 'Bihar dissolution case' in 2005.

It also needs to be conceded that, between the framing of the Constitution and the Supreme Court verdicts, the India has evolved into a full-fledged nation-State, with no fears of alienation of the times leading to secession. If anything, the Indian polity has been able to absorb and dissolve 'one-time secessionist movements', starting with the 'Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam' (DMK) in southern Tamil Nadu and mainstream them without effort. To the Indian polity and political understanding should go the credit for one-time secessionist or insurgent movements evolving thus, into mainstream political parties, most of them coming to share power, even at the federal-level.

India was also the first nation in the world to 'mainstream' the communist movement, with the late Kerala Chief Minister, E M S Namboodiripad, becoming the democratically-elected communist Head of State in the world, as far back as 1957. If two years later, the Congress Party Government at the Centre had dismissed the State Government, today, the polity in the country has evolved so much that the Congress-led coalition Government at the Centre is surviving on the 'outside support' being offered by the Left parties.

The role of the Indian judiciary, in this evolutionary process of 'constitutional nationalism' in India, does not stop with defining and refining the Union Government's powers to dismiss elected State Governments and dissolve State Legislatures. Judicial intervention, to define and re-define the scope of various laws, had also changed with the times, with the Supreme Court of India, after addressing contemporary issues, in the contemporary context, without living in the past all the time. If in 1951, the Supreme Court upheld the First

Amendment to the Indian Constitution, empowering States and the Centre to fix job and education quotas, for what came to be known as the 'backward classes', 50 years later, the court had no hesitation in re-defining the position. It was thus, in the 'Mandal case', in the mid-Nineties, the Supreme Court of India evolved the 'creamy layer' theory, to rule that those sections of the backward classes that had already obtained socio-economic benefits from the reservations scheme, should be made, by law, to make way for the less fortunate among them.

The taste of the pudding is in the eating and the complaint in Sri Lanka, for instance, is that a non-Sinhala cannot become either the President or, the Prime Minister. The Indian Constitution does not mandate it nor, did the Founding Fathers visualise it but, by sheer political practice, the Indian scheme has provided for the 'indirectly-elected' Prime Minister, who alone, is answerable to Parliament and thus, to the people and the 'even-more-indirectly-elected' President coming from two different regions and religions. It is not always that such a practice has been put to use but, the Indian polity has been able to give the impression that such is the case – not through deceit or stealth but, through honest practice, on which circumstances, at times, have imposed impracticability.

Today, President A.P.J. Abdul Kalam and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh come from two minority religions and from two corners of the nation – with the so-called 'majority' Hindi-belt in central India, having no say in the matter. What more, they are also no ordinary politicians but, technocrats of a high and proven calibre in their respective fields. Their choice, though not directed by the voter, was definitely dictated by voter-sentiment, which would not settle for anything but the best. If nothing else, the choice of Kalam and Singh meant that the polity had to feed the 'feel-good-factor', to which the Indian voter was getting increasingly accustomed to and the absence of which, was also getting reflected in the general voter antipathy towards things politics.

For those in Sri Lanka, still feeling that the Tamils and Muslims of the country could not aspire to the presidency or, the prime minister's office, India has the example.

It was here that the leaders of the 'southern minority', namely, the late P.V. Narasimha Rao and H.D. Deve Gowda, became Prime Ministers. Between them, Gowda was also the leader

# Anatomy of a confrontation

**Behind the failure to reach a compromise is the incompatibility of the Sinhalese and Tamil nationalist projects.**

Jayadeva Uyangoda

SRI LANKA'S peace process and Sri Lanka itself is in serious trouble. The escalating violence between the government and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) has pushed the country into a major crisis. And the crisis is deepening, with an undeclared war intensifying. Its latest victim is the third highest-ranking officer in the Sri Lanka Army. Neither of the two main protagonists in the conflict, nor the international community, not even Sri Lanka's powerful neighbour, appear to possess the capacity to arrest this sliding back to a major conflagration.

There are three aspects to the current phase of escalating violence. First, civilians have been targeted for attack. Each side would deny responsibility and then blame the other side. Secondly, violence, whether it is perpetrated against civilians or combatants, has a retaliatory dimension. Thirdly, each side has been

of a minority party, not one of the two major political organisations at the national-level, namely, the Congress (to which Rao had belonged) and the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP).

The evolution of politics in the 'Hindi heartland' since Independence, had ensured that no one leader from this region or, his party, would be acceptable to other political parties and leaders, with equal or greater clout in the region - or, even in other parts of the country. With 45-plus members, in a 225-member Parliament, the Tamil-speaking regiment in Sri Lanka, could aspire to obtain the prime minister's office, if not that of the executive Presidency - and legitimately so.

If they have not done so already, it is not the rest of the Sri Lankan polity (read: Sinhala) that is to blame. The Tamil-speaking polity and the larger Tamil-speaking society, including the 'Malayaha Tamils' and Muslims, have only to look into the mirror – and see it all for themselves. □

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targeting high-value military assets, or personnel. It started in 2003 as a shadow war between the intelligence wings of the Sri Lanka Army and the LTTE. Now the targets are senior cadre and officers.

Looking at the way in which civilians have been targeted during the past few months, one can even say that the dirty war phase of the conflict has earnestly re-surfaced. In this backdrop, the challenge today is not about settling the ethnic conflict, but about breaking the vicious cycle of retaliation.

Has the war really begun in Sri Lanka? This is the question that baffles not only ordinary citizens, but also professional civil war-watchers. It is probably the case that this time, the war has new dimensions. It unfolds while the two sides remain technically committed to the ceasefire agreement of 2002. It has a low-to-middle intensity character, focussing on limited military operations, brief retaliatory attacks, targeted assassinations and the attacks on civilian communities. Major military campaigns as in the period of 1996-2000 do not seem to be in the immediate agenda of either side. But the logic of spiralling violence might change, sooner or later, the entire complexion of the war. What appears certain at present is the impossibility for the government and the LTTE to return to substantial political engagement.

## Failed Peace Process

Why did the peace process, initiated in 2002, fail? In the political debate, there are many answers to this question and they, despite where they originate from, provide useful insights. Sinhalese nationalists and critics of the LTTE make the point that the rebel group was never interested in a negotiated settlement and that it was merely trying to gain unilateral advantage through the ceasefire and negotiations. The LTTE turns this argument around to accuse the governments of not being interested in a political settlement. Those who view Sri Lanka's world of conflict from a non-partisan perspective see another lost opportunity for peace through compromise.

Compromise has been the most difficult result to achieve in all the negotiations in Sri Lanka to resolve the ethnic conflict. Assessing it from the perspective of the potential for compromise, the peace process of 2002 had a truly promising beginning. The ceasefire agreement, facilitated by the Norwegians, was a major compromise that froze the military ground conditions between the two sides. But that also was the compromise which irked almost all political forces in Sri Lanka except the two signatories to the ceasefire document. In the absence of a political agreement, the agreement was unsustainable. With no will to making dramatic political compromises, the negotiations could not produce an agreement to settle the problem.

Interestingly, negotiations ran into crisis at two crucial points that required parties to work together for historic political compromises. The first was immediately after December 2002 when in Oslo the two delegations agreed to explore a federalist option within a "united Sri Lanka". The second was in October 2003 when both sides put on table their proposals for an interim administration for the North and the East. Even the opportunity offered by the tsunami was not utilised by the political forces to move towards a sustainable framework of cooperation. It may be the case that the ethnic conflict, even after 20 years of civil war and a huge humanitarian disaster, is not yet ripe for settlement.

At the heart of the failure to reach a compromise is the enduring incompatibility of the Sinhalese and Tamil nationalist projects. The dominant Sinhalese nationalist argument refuses to acknowledge the presence of an ethnic conflict. It views the entire ethnic conflict as a terrorist problem, or even a minority conspiracy, that requires a military solution. In the vision of Sinhalese nationalist ideologues who are quite influential now in shaping the thinking of the polity, a limited measure of power-sharing may be possible after a military-administrative unification of the "nation". Some argue that the Indian model, without its federal features, is best suited for a post-conflict Sri Lanka.

This limited vision of Sinhalese nationalism is matched by the secessionist objectives of Tamil nationalism as spearheaded by the LTTE. The LTTE's compromise framework is one that approximates confederalism, a fairly advanced form of regional autonomy. The conceptual foundation of the proposal for an Interim Self-Governing Authority which the LTTE presented to the government in October 2003 was confederalism,

which laid greater emphasis on self-rule and a little on shared rule.

The talks that began in 2002 did not lead to a negotiation between these two qualitatively different ethno-nationalist imaginations. Interestingly, when the talks entered a phase of crisis, the differences between the two projects were sharpened. Now they stand, their paths crossed, with no possibility of finding a meeting point in the near future. The unstated assumption currently shared in both camps seems to be a troubling one: a drastic alteration in the military balance of forces might create new conditions for a new phase of political engagement.

Meanwhile, the re-escalation of violence has occurred in the backdrop of the recent failure of the two sides to restart the stalled peace process. The first such attempt under the government of President Mahinda Rajapakse was made in February this year in Geneva. Facilitated by the Norwegian peace brokers, the two sides met there after an absence of direct talks for three years. The immediate context for the Geneva meeting was the increasing violations of the ceasefire agreement and the threat of the resumption of full-scale war.

In Geneva the two sides agreed to renew their commitment to honour the agreement fully and take immediate steps to prevent future violations. But that was a pledge that remained on paper. Within two weeks of the Geneva accord, killings resumed on a larger scale, each side blaming the other for re-escalating violence.

### International Pressure

Meanwhile, the European Union (E.U.) on May 29 listed the LTTE as a terrorist entity in the backdrop of an increasing risk of full-scale hostilities breaking out. The E.U. said that its decision "should not surprise anybody" because the LTTE had systematically ignored prior warnings. It seems to have been quite concerned with what it saw as the LTTE's disregard of its repeated insistence that the parties in Sri Lanka "show commitment and responsibility towards the peace process and refrain from actions that could endanger a peaceful resolution and political settlement of the conflict".

The meeting of the Co-Chairs - the E.U., the United States, Norway and Japan - which took place a few days later blamed the Sri Lankan government and the LTTE for the crisis and insisted that both parties should take immediate steps to "reverse the deteriorating situation and put the country back on the road to

peace". The Co-Chair statement demanded from the LTTE to re-enter the negotiating process, renounce terrorism and violence and "be willing to make the political compromises necessary for a political solution within a united Sri Lanka". From the government, the Co-Chairs demanded that it must address the legitimate grievances of the Tamils, take steps to prevent acts of terrorism by armed groups and protect Tamil civilians throughout the country.

More important, the Co-Chairs insisted that the Sri Lankan government "show that it is ready to make the dramatic political changes to bring about a new system of governance which will enhance the rights of all Sri Lankans". The formulation "dramatic political changes" meant federalist state reforms. There is an international consensus that federalism is the only alternative to Tamil separatism and Sinhalese unitarism.

If the Co-Chairs thought that by being "tough" on both sides, they could pressure them back to the negotiation table, it was only a shortlived hope. Responding to intense international pressure, the LTTE agreed to meet with the government delegation in Oslo on June 8. The two delegations did go to Oslo. The most unexpected happened in the morning of June 8 when the LTTE delegation, led by the head of the rebel group's political wing, refused to meet the government delegation. The LTTE's explanation was that since the government had sent a junior official delegation, its representation would not meet them.

The government responded to this unexpected move by recalling its team. Most embarrassed, the Norwegian facilitators fired a letter to the government and LTTE leaders demanding them to re-commit themselves to the ceasefire agreement and ensure the security of the Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission (SLMM). As the things stand now, the international actors are realising that they have little or no role to play in re-convening Sri Lanka's peace process. It may be the case that the international actors are looking for an honourable exit strategy.

Why did the LTTE go back on its word in Oslo by not taking part in negotiations with the Sri Lankan government delegation, when it had promised the Norwegians that its intention of coming to Oslo was to resume talks with the government?

Excuses given by the LTTE apart, it appears that the rebel group implemented in Oslo a major political decision to terminate on their terms the peace process that began in 2002. Actually, the peace



process has been in crisis for about three years and it intensified particularly during the past six months in a context of regime change. Both the government and the LTTE have repeatedly expressed deep dissatisfaction with the peace process, for their own specific reasons. The present Sri Lankan government assumed power six months ago on a Sinhalese nationalist platform promising the electorate that it would amend the ceasefire agreement and start a new peace process. Its thinking has been that the peace process, initiated in 2002 by the United National Front government, accorded unnecessary legitimacy to the LTTE, and gave the rebel group several concessions, placing at risk national security and sovereignty. The LTTE's negative assessment of the peace process is based on the view that it did not produce any political outcome favourable to it.

The E.U. ban appears to have provided the context for the LTTE to bring the 2002 peace process to a political end, without saying it in writing or officially announcing it. The Oslo communique which S.P. Tamilselvan, the head of LTTE's political wing, announced on June 10 was a further step in the direction of a unilateral path that the rebel leadership seems to explore. The LTTE's unilateralism is also a response to the E.U. ban. It seems to entail separating the E.U. from the peace process. It is now becoming clear that the LTTE is experimenting a strategy of re-internationalising the conflict and peace processes. Normalisation of relations with India would be one of its key components.

### Three Dilemmas

It appears that in the context of the current crisis facing the 2002 peace process, which has now approached what may be seen as its final phase, the Sri Lankan government, the LTTE and the international community are facing three sets of dilemmas.

For the Sri Lankan government, the dilemma is to prevent a major war, while weakening the LTTE militarily and politically. The government does not want to be seen by the international community as taking any direct initiative to bring the peace process to a formal end. Meanwhile, there are groups within the government that continue to argue that the opportune time has come to defeat the LTTE militarily. The radical Sinhalese Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP), a key member of the ruling coalition with 39 parliamentary seats, has launched a campaign saying that "enough is enough" and telling the government to move to defeat "LTTE terrorism" once and for all. The

JVP and sections of the military have been making the point that the war with the LTTE is necessary and winnable. But President Rajapakse appears to be cautious about a large-scale war. Politicians know that a big war will give an opportunity for the LTTE to launch massively destructive attacks on economic and infrastructure installations. Maintaining the low intensity war, which would weaken the LTTE's offensive capacity, seems to be the government's preferred option for the moment.

The LTTE's calculations seem to be quite interesting too. Although not officially stated, it has bid farewell to the 2002 peace process. Its dilemma is essentially about what next. The LTTE too does not want to be blamed for unilaterally initiating the next phase of war. But at the same time, the government's low intensity offensive has hurt the LTTE militarily. With the defection of Karuna, the LTTE's military commander in the Eastern Province, to the side of the government in 2004, the LTTE's military strength and control of the Eastern Province suffered a considerable setback. With the assistance of the Karuna group and other armed groups, a number of LTTE's local military commanders and key civilian supporters have been assassinated in recent months. The LTTE's claim that it can protect the Tamil civilians is also coming under serious doubt, particularly in the context of continuing abduction and killing of pro-LTTE civilians by anti-LTTE armed groups. The government has also begun a policy of launching retaliatory air and artillery strikes against the LTTE in response to the rebel group's offensive.

Thus, from the LTTE's perspective too, a major war seems to be a necessity. But, as the rebel group's recent official statements clearly suggest, at the centre of its strategic preoccupations at present is the project of militarily consolidating what it views as the regional sub-state, with its own notions of shared sovereignty that include the claim to the air and sea space. If war-making has been a process of state-making, the coming phase of the conflict would be seen by the LTTE as one of consolidating the state-making process. That would, if one may hazard a risky prediction, logically preclude a full-scale war.

The LTTE's new attitude towards the international community is worth studying. After the E.U. ban, it seems to be exploring possibilities of redefining the role of the international community in Sri Lanka. The LTTE has also realised the limited nature of the role of Norway as peace facilitator. From the LTTE's perspective, Norway has not been able to

ensure that the Sri Lankan government implemented promises made at negotiations. The LTTE might look for a bigger power, with the capacity for power mediation. Yet, there are probably no volunteers to take up this responsibility, particularly in view of the international community's frustration and disappointment with the Sri Lankan government and the LTTE.

In this backdrop, the international custodians of Sri Lanka's peace process do not seem to have many options. In banning the LTTE and in the Tokyo statement, the international community reasserted its role in Sri Lanka. But there are limits to what the external players can do especially when the domestic actors in Sri Lanka are not in a mood to work together for peace. The United Nations might be the next in line to get involved, though reluctantly, in the Sri Lankan conflict.

Meanwhile, the escalating war has opened up space for a new kind of role for the international community. It entails the setting up of an international verification commission to investigate incidents of violence. Although there have been many recent incidents of gruesome violence against Sinhalese and Tamil civilians, including the recent massacre of Sinhalese bus passengers in the remote village Kebithigollewa, the SLMM does not have power or capacity to conduct thorough investigations, and identify the perpetrators. While the government and the LTTE exchange charges and counter-charges about responsibility for such acts of war crime, the presence of other armed groups in the Northern and Eastern Provinces has made such violence against civilians a crime with impunity. It is time now to think about an international verification commission for Sri Lanka with powers of investigation and compliance. That would be a small, but necessary, step towards humanising a conflict that looks truly intractable.

Finally, Sri Lanka's crisis tells us three fundamental lessons about settling the country's ethno-political armed conflict. Every failed peace attempt only redefines the conflict in new terms. A protracted civil war requires a protracted peace process for its termination. A political engagement between the Sri Lankan state and the LTTE can produce a settlement process only when it is backed by a dialogue among the island's many ethno-nationalist projects.

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# Inviting India

B. MURALIDHAR REDDY

in Colombo

*The state and non-state parties to the Sri Lankan conflict want India to play a more active role.*

AS Sri Lanka grapples with yet another round of ethnic conflict, the spotlight is on India. It is no surprise, since the island-nation is a mere 18 nautical miles away from India. With the wave of assassinations and bomb explosions reaching a new high in the past few weeks, the debate on the India factor is getting shriller. It revolves around questions such as whether India can afford to be a silent spectator to the events happening in its neighbourhood, what options it has before it, and what could be the possible scenarios.

Ironically, the various parties involved in the guessing game have their own expectations of India. The clear indications from New Delhi about the nature of its approach to the latest phase of turbulence has had little dampening impact on the expectations of key players. The perceptions in Sri Lanka on the influence India could exert in determining the course of events could actually be a cause for anxiety for New Delhi. For India, no common denominator is available from the varied expectations to define its role and carve out a please-all strategy. It is as if every interested party wants New Delhi to become a partner in its own pursuits. In other words, no one is ready to concede an unfettered role to India.

The ruling Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) and its chief and President of Sri Lanka, Mahinda Rajapakse, has not missed a single opportunity to talk about the importance of India and the role it can play in helping the government tackle the turmoil. Since assuming office in November 2005, Rajapakse has invoked the India factor and its relevance repeatedly in finding a lasting solution. However, these pronouncements are short on details.

However, senior Ministers and also the Foreign Office do spell out in private some of the things New Delhi could do in the short and medium term. The emphasis appears more on military rather

than political involvement. They want greater military cooperation from New Delhi to take on the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam in the context of the latter's newly acquired capabilities. In addition, they want India to make public statements on the need for a solution within the framework of a united Sri Lanka in order to disabuse the minds of the Tigers of any illusion that one day India would reconcile to a Tamil Eelam. The government wants India to convince the various constituencies in Sri Lanka of the virtues of federalism or what is often referred to as the 'Indian model' as the ultimate solution.

Colombo is of the view that New Delhi has not paid enough attention to the growing military power of the LTTE, particularly in the context of the danger it poses to stability in the region. There have been murmurs about the insufficient appreciation on the part of India of the aerial raids conducted by the Sri Lankan military targeting the military airport supposedly built by the LTTE in the north. The exhortations by New Delhi on the adverse effect of collateral damage and civilian casualties, of course behind closed doors, are viewed as proof of India's indifference to the ground realities. Colombo's logic is that it is a war-like situation, if not war, and India should give the necessary leeway to Sri Lanka to deal with it, without raising too many questions.

The LTTE, the principal non-state party to the conflict, has its own expectations. Anton Balasingham, chief negotiator and ideologue, in a much-publicised interview to an Indian television channel, chose to articulate them. "As far as that event [Rajiv Gandhi assassination] is concerned, I would say it is a great tragedy, a monumental historical tragedy for which we deeply regret and we call upon the Government of India and the people of India to be magnanimous to put the past behind and to approach the ethnic question in a different perspective," he said.

Asked whether the LTTE could assure India that an event like the Rajiv Gandhi assassination would not happen

again, Balasingham replied: "We have made pledges to the Government of India that under no circumstances we will act against its interest and that ever since the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi, India played a detached role. What we feel is India should actively involve [itself] in the peace process."

It is a clever-by-half approach on the part of the LTTE. Without acknowledging its role in the assassination of the former Prime Minister, Balasingham tries to tell India to forget the past and focus on the rights of Tamils. He wants India to team up with the LTTE to take up the cudgels with the Sri Lankan government on behalf and in the name of Tamils.

Balasingham did not bother to clarify the LTTE's position as stated in its 'Oslo communique', where it has returned to the position of 'self-determination' and an independent Eelam state. There is wide consensus within and outside Sri Lanka that the appeal made by the LTTE for greater Indian involvement is a result of its own isolation in the international community. Perhaps it was a renewed effort to reach out to constituencies in Tamil Nadu that were disillusioned with the LTTE after the assassination.

The other non-state actors from the Tamil-speaking community concede that they have lost ground to the LTTE thanks to the policy of systematic elimination and co-option followed by the LTTE supremo V. Prabhakaran in the past two decades. These parties have their own wish lists. They would like India to help them regain lost ground, particularly in the North and East. Besides, they want New Delhi to put pressure on Colombo to ensure that the legitimate grievances of Tamils are addressed and the process for genuine power-sharing between the South and the North and East is put on the fast track.

Veteran Tamil leader and president of the Tamil United Liberation Front V. Anandasangaree, in a lengthy letter to Rajapakse in the last week of June, made a strong case for the adoption of the 'Indian model' to resolve the ethnic conflict and to isolate the LTTE. He argued for a sincere attempt by Colombo to end the conflict, on the grounds that the LTTE would settle for nothing less than Eelam, and said that a workable model on devolution of powers could be the beginning of a strategy to isolate the Tigers.

The non-LTTE political forces also desire a greater role from India in encouraging those who are willing to take on the

LTTE. Of course, they have no clear thinking on how New Delhi could help them in regaining lost ground in the Tamil areas.

India, on its part, is watching the situation closely and sticking to a nuanced position emphasising the need for an 'expeditious' solution to the legitimate aspirations of all sections of Sri Lankan society. A statement issued after a meeting between Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and Sri Lankan Foreign Minister Mangala Samaraweera in the third week of June said that the Prime Minister had conveyed India's abiding commitment to the unity, sovereignty and territorial in-

tegrity of Sri Lanka even while the legitimate aspirations of all sections of Sri Lankan society needed to be addressed expeditiously. It said he emphasised the need to make all possible efforts to strengthen the ceasefire between the Sri Lankan government and the LTTE and to work towards a devolution package that would win the approval of the major political parties and restore ethnic harmony.

The statement went on to add that Samaraweera conveyed to the Prime Minister that for his government, war was not an option and that it remained committed to a political solution. The

government had invited the LTTE for talks to strengthen the ceasefire, he said. At the same time, an all-party conference in Sri Lanka decided to set up an advisory committee to look into different variants of a devolution package. India more or less repeated its position a day after the assassination of the deputy Army chief of Sri Lanka Lt. Gen. P. Kulatunga, on June 26 by a suspected suicide squad member of the LTTE on the outskirts of Colombo. Condemning the killing, India made it known that there could be no military solution to the ethnic conflict.

- *Frontline*, 1 July 2006

**LTTE official killed in Batticaloa:** June 12 - A Sri Lanka Army sniper shot and killed Batticaloa Kudumbimalai Political Coordinator Ramanitharan in Murakkoddanchenai on Saturday (10) morning around 9:45 a.m., LTTE's Batticaloa District Political Head Daya Mohan said. The incident took place at Thihiliveddai, a hamlet across the lagoon from Santhiveli, about 24 kilometers north of Batticaloa. Captian Ramanitharan (Vadivel Kangatharan), 28, is from Thihiliveddai. The Sri Lanka Army sniper had targeted the LTTE official from the SLA controlled area beyond the lagoon, from Murakkoddanchenai.

**Two soldiers killed:** June 12 - Lance Corporal M Kumararatne, 34, was killed by a suspected LTTE sniper fire while he was engaged in security duties at the Vavunativu, Batticaloa Sri Lanka Army (SLA) camp at 5:10 p.m. on Sunday (11). Kumararatne's body has been taken to Batticaloa hospital for postmortem examinations. In another incident, a Sri Lanka Army soldier was killed Monday (12) around 8:00 a.m. when a Claymore mine exploded on a road clearing patrol of the SLA soldiers at Barathipuram. A SLA soldier and a civilian were wounded in the attack.

**Claymore attack kills driver, wounds DS:** June 12 - According to LTTE sources, Sri Lanka Army Deep Penetration Unit exploded a Claymore mine seriously wounding the driver of the vehicle in which Vavuniya North Divisional Secretary was riding in the LTTE controlled Mathiyamadu village. The driver, N. Balasingam, seriously wounded in the attack and rushed to Vavuniya hospital, succumbed to his wounds while being transferred to Anuradhapura hospital. The Divisional Secretary, Mr. Pathmanathan, was wounded.

**NGO official shot, injured in Jaffna:** June 12 - A senior member of the Jaffna branch of the 'White Pigeon' was shot and seriously injured by unidentified armed men at his house in Moolai in the Jaffna peninsula, around 7 p.m., on Monday (12), according to LTTE sources. Thangarasa Mukunthan, 41, was former member of the Jaffna Municipal Council.

**Two SLA soldiers injured in grenade attack:** June 13 - Two Sri Lanka Army (SLA) soldiers were injured when suspected Tamil Tigers lobbed a grenade at a sentry post at Bharathipuram, a suburb of Trincomalee town, around 8 a.m. on Tuesday (13)

morning. The injured soldiers were admitted at the Trincomalee general hospital, the sources said.

**Tamil youth shot dead in Chenkalady:** June 13 - Unidentified gunmen shot and killed a Tamil youth, Ponniah Pulendiran, 20, around 9.30 p.m. on Monday (12) at Ammanpuram in Kumaraveliyar village, Chenkalady, 15 km Northwest of Batticaloa, Eravur. Pulendran was with his parents when the gunmen entered the house, forced him out of the house before shooting him in close range, his parents said. An armed group previously abducted Pulendran and held him for around 7 months before releasing him 3 months ago. After the release Pulendran was working as a mason, sources said.

**3 dead in gunfire:** June 13 - According to LTTE sources, members of the LTTE's Tamil auxiliary brigade on a road clearing patrol on Nedunkerni road, between Nainamadu and

Puliyankulam, inside the LTTE controlled area intercepted a team of Deep Penetration Unit (DPU) troopers of the Sri Lanka Army, who were allegedly fixing 3 Claymore mines. Two Tamil auxiliaries and an SLA soldier were killed when both exchanged gunfire. At least one bag with "SLA" mark was recovered from the attackers, according to the video footage released by the National Television of Tamilcealam (NTT). The SLA soldier killed was clad in LTTE uniform. The clash took place around 11:00 a.m. on Tuesday (13). The body of the SLA trooper was captured by the auxiliaries. Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission officials inspected the clash site and the body of the DPU trooper who was killed in the firefight.

**Two SLA soldiers injured in gunfire:** June 13 - Two Sri Lanka Army (SLA) soldiers were injured in three incidents of gunfire and grenade attack by suspected LTTE gunmen in Jaffna during the last 24 hours, sources in Jaffna said. One SLA trooper engaged in security duty at the junction of Jaffna-Palaly road and Amman road near Kantharmadam in Jaffna was seriously injured when unidentified gunmen fired at the trooper at 2:00 p.m. on Tuesday (13). Another SLA soldier was injured in another attack by gunmen 1 km from the first incident along the Kachcheri-Nallur road in front of the Holy St. Benedict's church at 3:00 p.m. Sources in Jaffna said there were two incidents of grenade attack on the Kopay police station midnight Monday (12). Meanwhile, a former Jaffna student leader, Muhunthan,

## NEWS TRACK

who was shot and injured on Monday (12), and was admitted to the Jaffna Teaching Hospital, was taken to Palaly and air-lifted to Colombo for emergency treatment, sources in Jaffna said.

**Civilian shot dead in Vahaneri:** June 14 - A yet un-named civilian was shot and killed in front of his wife at Natrapaalathadi on Tuesday (13) at 5:00 p.m. The couple were cycling from the LTTE controlled area in Vahaneri, Mullivettavaan in the Batticaloa District to Oddamaavedi when the attack took place, said Daya Mohan, the political head of the LTTE for the Batticaloa District. The name and other details of the victim and his wife are yet unknown.

**Home Guard shot dead in Vavuniya:** June 14 - Suspected Tamil Tigers shot and killed homeguard, Vasantha Chandana Seneviratne, 22, at 6:15 a.m. on Wednesday (14) in Mamaduwa, 10 km South East of Vavuniya, and robbed his T56 assault rifle and bullets. Seneviratne joined the armed home guard forces only 4 days earlier, said Police sources.

**2 killed, 3 injured in Jaffna attacks:** June 14 - One Sri Lanka Army (SLA) trooper and one civilian supporter of Eelam Peoples Democratic Party (EPDP) were killed, and one SLA soldier and two Sri Lanka Police officers were injured in continuing attacks by suspected Tamil Tigers across Jaffna district on Wednesday (14). Two Police constables attached to Ilavai Police were injured when the pickup vehicle they were travelling in came under claymore attack along the Periyavilan-Pandatharippu Road at 10:40 a.m. At 11:45 a.m. an SLA trooper who was on security duty at the Jaffna-Palaly road near Urumpirai junction came under grenade attack. The trooper was seriously injured and was taken to Palaly Military Hospital for treatment. Meanwhile, gunmen shot dead Philip Mariyanayagam, 56, near Kottady junction in the centre of Jaffna town at 12:30 p.m. Mariyanayagam, alleged to be a supporter, and who worked for the Sri Lanka Government's trading establishment SATHOSA was riding a bicycle towards Jaffna town when the gunmen struck from behind and escaped. In another incident a SLA soldier engaged in security duties was shot dead by gunmen near Sattanathar temple Kalviyankadu junction along Jaffna-Point Pedro road at 1:35 p.m.. His body has been taken to the Palay Military Hospital.

**Two Sri Lanka Police injured in attack:** June 14 - Suspected LTTE armed men lobbed hand grenades at Arumuhaththan Kudiyruppu police sentry post, 16 km north of Batticaloa, in the Tamil-Muslim border area of Eravur, at around 7:15 p.m. on Tuesday (13), seriously injuring two police officers. The injured officers, M Vilanthlava, 35, and R Ranjith, 40, were first admitted to Eravur hospital, and later were rushed to Batticaloa hospital for treatment, police sources said.

**SLA soldier from DPU gunned down:** June 15 - Liberation Tigers cadres shot dead a Deep Penetration Unit (DPU) soldier of the Sri Lanka Army (SLA) on Thursday (15) morning in LTTE controlled Puliyanukulam Nedunkerni Road between Mathiyamadu and Nainamadu, LTTE officials told media. The dead body of a SLA soldier who was wearing LTTE uniform was handed over to the ICRC officials at the request of Vanni command of the Sri Lankan forces, the Tigers further said. Vavuniya district Political Head of the LTTE, Gnanam, handed over the dead body of the Sri Lankan DPU trooper to the ICRC officials. SLMM officials were also present at the Vavuniya district po-

litical secretariat of the LTTE in Puliyanukulam where the body was handed over to the ICRC, sources added.

**Three policemen wounded in grenade attack:** June 15 - Three policemen were wounded when suspected LTTE men lobbed a grenade at the police sentry located in Pesalai in Mannar district on Thursday (15) night around 7.40 p.m. The injured were identified as Bandara, 44, Wijewickrema, 41 and Abeyaratne, 32. The wounded policemen were first taken to Mannar hospital and later airlifted to Colombo from Thallady army camp. Fearing reprisals from Sri Lanka security forces Pesalai families fled from their houses and sought refuge in Pesalai Our Lady of Victory Church.

**DPU agent killed, one captured, two trapped:** June 16 - Two Sri Lankan Deep Penetration Unit attackers, who fled Illuppadichenai, a LTTE controlled territory 17 km west off Batticaloa, were chased by the Tigers, after a Claymore attack Thursday 9:30 p.m. according to LTTE sources. The DPU personnel went hiding into the Pankudaveli jungle close to the Batticaloa lagoon. Later, Sri Lanka Army dispatched a DPU rescue team of two, from Eravur towards the Pankudaveli jungle across the Batticaloa lagoon, in boats. LTTE cadres gunned down one of the two rescue DPU team members and the other was captured alive by the Tigers around 2:20 a.m. on Friday (16), Batticaloa District Political Head Daya Mohan said. The two DPU attackers were still hiding in the jungle area. A cordon and search operation by the Tiger cadres was going on, Mr. Daya Mohan said.

**Three service personnel killed in attacks:** June 16 - Two Sri Lanka Army (SLA) troopers and one Sri Lanka Police constable were killed and two SLA troopers injured in four different attacks by suspected Tamil Tigers in Jaffna district in the last 24 hours. Gunmen attacked a group of three SLA soldiers on a road clearing patrol along Kankesanthurai (KKS) road in Inuvil area at 7.30 a.m. on Thursday (15). One soldier who was seriously injured in the attack died on his way to the Palaly Military Hospital, SLA. Another SLA soldier was shot dead during a road patrol by an unknown gunman waiting in ambush in Neerveli, Valigamam east at around 12:00 noon. A Police officer in civilian clothes was shot dead in Jaffna town along Kasturir Road near Kannathiddi junction by a gunman at 4:45 p.m. on Thursday. The officer died on the spot, sources in Jaffna said. Meanwhile, two SLA troopers were injured on Wednesday (14) night 7:30 p.m. when the SLA sentry point located at the Nallur Temple Road and Jaffna Hospital Road junction came under grenade attack.

**Kilinochchi bombed again:** June 16 - Sri Lankan Kfir bombers, for the third time within the last 36 hours, Friday (16) evening from 5:20 p.m. to 6:00 p.m., dropped 10 bombs in the suburbs of Kilinochchi. Kfir bombers also dropped six bombs in the suburbs of Kilinochchi Friday morning. At least two Kfir bombers and a reconnaissance aircraft were observed in high altitude over Vanni in the morning and the evening. Casualty details of the aerial bombings, carried out by the Sri Lankan Air Force, were not available.

**Explosive wired cell phone detonates wounding woman:** A young woman was seriously wounded in Stanley Road, at a location between the Eelam People Democratic Party (EPDP)

office at Srithar theatre and SLA 512 Brigade camp at Wellington theatre junction, in Jaffna town at around 10:15 a.m. on Friday (16) when an explosive device fitted cell phone detonated as the girl tried to use the phone, sources in Jaffna said. The woman yet to identified, was admitted to the Jaffna teaching hospital and is guarded by Sri Lanka Army (SLA) soldiers, sources said. The army alleged that the girl a suspected Tamil Tiger and was the carrier of the device with the intention of causing bodily harm to a designated target. The explosive device went off just before soldiers completely blocked off Stanley road and armed soldiers took position on both sides of Stanley road between Ariyakulam junction and Wellington theatre junction in Jaffna, to facilitate visit of Douglas Devananda, the EPDP General secretary and government minister, to his EPDP office at Srithar theatre, in Jaffna town..

**Three Tamil youths shot dead:** June 16 - Three Tamil civilian youths were shot dead on Friday (16) morning at Periyakulam, located close to the Welgampura along Trincomalee-Anuradhapuram Road about ten km off the east port town. The youths were engaged in the supply sand to construction sites in the Trincomalee town. Friday morning around 7.30 a.m. the youths went to the area in a tractor to transport sand. At around 2.30 in the afternoon they were found dead with gunshot injuries. The driver of the tractor was found lying on the steering wheel head down with bleeding injuries. He was identified as one Babu of Varothiyanagar. Other two youths are said to be from Anpuvallipuram and Uppuveli, suburbs of Trincomalee town but not identified yet.

**3 SLN boats sunk, 12 troopers killed – LTTE:** June 17 - Twelve Sri Lanka Navy (SLN) personnel were killed and three “Blue Star” boats of the SLN were sunk in the LTTE controlled seas in Mannar districts when SLN boats interrupted a Sea Tiger movement, LTTE media unit said in a press note. Two Sea Tiger cadres sustained minor injuries in the defensive act, the Tigers said. Three of the four SLN boats involved in the offensive act were sunk and the fourth boat was damaged, the LTTE said. The Sea Tigers recovered two PKLMG guns, 3 AK 47 automatic rifles, one MP5, two communications equipments and ammunitions from the SLN boats in the clashes that took place around 7:00 a.m. on Saturday (17). In regard to the same incident, army spokesman Brigadier Prasad Samarasinghe said that the Navy base at Pesalai was attacked by LTTE cadres in flotilla of 12 dinghies but were thwarted by the navy. The LTTE had launched three simultaneous attacks at the naval detachment and police around 6.45am which had lasted for about an hour. Eight LTTE dinghies were destroyed by the Navy and three navy boats sustained minor damage in the battle. A police post and a church in the area was also damaged, the Army said.

**Body of missing youth recovered:** June 17 - The body of a youth recovered from the no-man zone in Muhamalai in north Sri Lanka with gunshot wounds on Wednesday 14 June was identified as belonging to a 16 year-old youth from Point-Pedro by the youth's mother at the Jaffna Teaching Hospital mortuary on Saturday (17), hospital sources in Jaffna said. Sri Ravindrarajah Thineswaran disappeared from his Point-Pedro home two weeks earlier and complaints about his disappearance were filed with the Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission (SLMM) and the Jaffna Human Rights Commission by his mother, civil society sources said.

**Three SL Police officers killed:** June 18 - Three Sri Lanka Police officers including a sergeant was killed in a claymore attack in Thuttuwewa, a Sinhala settlement along Horawapotana road, at 10:05 a.m. on Saturday (17), Vavuniya Police said. The mine was fitted to a tractor with a water bowzer in tow, sources added. The bodies have been taken to the Vavuniya General Hospital for postmortem examinations, hospital sources said.

**Attack on LTTE office repulsed:** June 18 - According to LTTE sources, Special Task Force (STF), the elite counter insurgency arm of the Sri Lankan forces and paramilitary cadres launched an attack on the Political office of the LTTE located in Pavatta, in the interior west of Thirukkivil in Amparai district, on Sunday (18) around 2:15 a.m. during the night. The Tigers repulsed the STF and paramilitary cadres, according to Amparai District LTTE Political Head, Jeya. Truce monitors are yet to visit the attack site. Paramilitary cadres brought in 2 lorries were moving around in the STF controlled area. The LTTE counter-attack lasted for 35 minutes till the STF troopers with their paramilitaries withdrew from Pavatta, 2 km from Kanjirankuda where a STF camp is located.

**Two SLA soldiers killed in Manalaru:** June 19 - The LTTE said two Sri Lanka Army (SLA) soldiers were killed and their bodies captured by the Tigers when a group of SLA troopers launched an attack on the Forward Defence Line (FDL) of the Tigers in the remote jungles of Manalaru, south of Mullaithivu, on Sunday (18). Two T-56 automatic rifles, four grenades, ten magazines and three magazine holsters were captured by the Tigers, according to the press note issued by the media unit of the LTTE. The dead bodies of the SLA soldiers would be handed over to the ICRC, the Tigers said. Manalaru is located in Mullaithivu district.

**Man shot dead in Batticaloa town:** June 19 - A male, aged between 45-50, was shot dead by unidentified gunmen riding a motorbike between Lloyds Avenue and Arunagiri Road in front of the Vijaya theatre in Batticaloa at 8:45 a.m. on Monday (19), sources from Batticaloa said. The killing took place 25 meters from a Sri Lanka Army (SLA) sentry point. The body of the dead man has not identified.

**Soldier's body found with gunshot wounds:** June 20 - The body of a Sri Lanka Army (SLA) soldier who disappeared from the Thatchanthoppu SLA camp on Tuesday (20) morning at 6:30 a.m. was found with gunshot wounds in shrub jungles in a non-residential area of Kaithady in Thenmaradchy close the SLA camp, at 11.40 a.m. Soldiers from the Thatchanthoppu camp found the body after a searching the area during the morning.

**85-year old man knifed to death:** June 20 - Kathiravelu Subramaniam, 85, from 7th division in Punguduthivu, was found with severe cut wounds in his home on Monday (19) around 6:00 p.m., sources in Jaffna said. The lower parts of his body, including his genitals were severely dismembered. The body of Subramaniam, who lived alone in the house, was discovered by neighbours who alerted the Kayts Police..

**Businessman shot dead in Batticaloa:** June 20 - Two armed men who came in a motorbike entered a crowded liquor restaurant in Kommaturai, 16 km northwest of Batticaloa, shot and killed the business owner, Iyathurai Nirmalakumaran, 55, on

Tuesday (20) around 7:00 p.m. He was shot three times in the head and the chest with a 9 mm handgun, Police said. The victim, Mr. Nirmalakumaran, born in Kopay, Jaffna, was a resident of Kalkudah Road, for 30 years. Nirmalkumaran, a father of four, was running the liquor restaurant in Kommathurai near the Eastern University in Vantharumoolai for several years.

**Children abducted for training: June 21** - A group of men driving a white van abducted Thayaparan Subaraj, 18, of Thalankuda in Puthukudiyiruppu in the Batticaloa Kattankudi police division at 5:00 p.m. on Tuesday (20), Kattankudi police said. Local witnesses said the abductors belonged to Karuna group. In a disturbing trend that has terrified parents more than 150 youths have been abducted in the last two weeks in Valaichenai, Mangkerni, Santhivelli, Kiran, Murakkotanchenai, Vandarumulai, Batticaloa and Iruthayapuram in the Batticaloa district, sources in Batticaloa said. Most of the youths abducted are under 18 years of age and are alleged to have been taken by Karuna group to their camp in Thivichenai for arms training. Not all parents have reported the abductions to the Police,

**Youth shot dead: June 21** - Unidentified armed gunmen riding a motorbike shot and killed Jeyaraj Suthaharan, 24, at Urani within the Batticaloa police division on Tuesday (20) afternoon, Batticaloa police said. TSuthaharan was cycling from Batticaloa to his home in Thiraimadu when he was shot close to the Urani SLA camp.

**Soldiers injured in attack: June 21** - Three Sri Lanka Army (SLA) soldiers including a corporal level officer were seriously injured when an SLA road patrol came under grenade attack followed by gunfire by suspected Tamil Tigers along the Point Pedro - Chavakachcheri road between Manthikai junction and Kalikai junction in Vadamardchy on Wednesday (21) afternoon. Gunmen escaped after the attack which occurred near the Inthira Amman Temple. The soldiers wounded in the attack were identified as Corporal Ranjith, 32, Munasinghe, 23, and Bandara, 22. In another incident on the same day, two Sri Lanka Army (SLA) soldiers were injured when soldiers on road patrol duty, and suspected LTTE gunmen clashed about 100 meters from Vaddukoddai Hindu college, in Vaddukoddai, 9 km northwest of Jaffna town. The gunmen escaped with no injuries.

**Son shot dead, father injured: June 22** - Armed men, carrying T56 assault rifles shot and killed, Milred Roy Weld, 39, and seriously wounded his father Milred Weld, 64, at around 9 p.m., on Wednesday (21), while the two were resting after taking dinner at their home on Semakkalai Road in Jeyanthipuram, 1.5 km north of Batticaloa town.

**Two civilians shot dead in Batticaloa: June 22** - Two separately abducted Batticaloa residents, Kanthasamy Thavarajah, 20, and Shanmugam Jeyaratnam, 39, were shot and killed by their abductors, in two different locations at Santhiveli, 19 km north of Batticaloa Town, and Vinayapuram, 32 km north of Batticaloa town, on Thursday (22). Rice mill worker Thavarajah, a resident of Palaiyadihorna in Santhiveli, and a father of a 16 day-old-baby, was shot dead early morning, 500 meters from the nearby Jeevaparam railway station. He was abducted at a bus stop, while waiting to catch a bus to take him to work in a rice mill in Akkaraipattu. Jeevaratnam, a cow-herder, was shot in the head and killed, Thursday morning at around 7:10 a.m.,

near the local Vinayapuram school in Kalmadu Road, police sources said.

**Tamil businessman shot dead in Negombo: June 23** - Two unidentified gunmen riding motor bikes shot and killed Sivarathnam Sasikumar, a businessman, on Wednesday (21) at 10:15 p.m. in Negombo. Sasikumar was going home with a friend when he was shot in the head and chest police said. The businessman, a father of one child, was born in Jaffna and had been resident in Negombo for many years.

**Two SLA soldiers injured in Point-Pedro: June 23** - Two of the SLA soldiers including a corporal who suffered serious injuries, when their road patrol came under attack in Thunnali, on Wednesday (21) evening, died on Thursday in Palaly military hospital, sources said. The third SLA soldier injured in the attack underwent emergency treatment at the military hospital in Palaly. Meanwhile, suspected LTTE gunmen attacked the Sri Lanka Army (SLA) sentry post, located near the Sebamalaimatha Catholic church in Colombuthurai, a suburb of Jaffna town, at around 5:30 p.m., on Thursday (22), by hurling grenades and firing at the sentry. The SLA soldiers counter attacked but the gunmen escaped without injuries, sources added.

**Grenade attack on house: June 24** - Unidentified persons lobbed a grenade at the house of Mr. Ilayathamby Indrakumar located in Ellai Veethi Kanapathipillai village at Chenkalady in Eravur Police division in Batticaloa district on Thursday (23) night around 10 p.m. The house was severely damaged but the occupants escaped unhurt, police sources said. Mr. Indrakumar, his wife and his two children were staying in the house at that time. He owns a jewellery store.

**Two SLA soldiers killed in Vavuniya: June 24** - Two Sri Lanka Army (SLA) soldiers were shot and seriously injured by suspected LTTE gunmen riding a motorbike, at Vepankulam, 5 k.m. west of Vavuniya, around 2.15 p.m. on Saturday (24). The injured soldiers succumbed to their injuries at Vavuniya hospital, police in the northern town said. The SLA soldiers were on a road clearing patrol on the Vavuniya-Mannar main road when they were attacked, sources said.

**Grenade attack on police sentry: June 24** - Suspected LTTE gunmen hurled a hand grenade at the Sri Lanka police sentry point located in Iruthayapuram along the Batticaloa-Trincomalee road at around 4:45 p.m. on Friday (23), security sources said. Four police officers engaged in security duty at the time fired back following the attack. No one was injured in the incident, Batticaloa police said. Traffic to and from Batticaloa town was blocked for more than half an hour along the main Batticaloa-Trincomalee road, traders in Batticaloa town said.

**SL Police officer shot, injured: June 25** - Unidentified gunmen shot and injured Police officer, M.W. Luxman, 35, in Mandur, Batticaloa at 7:30 p.m. on Saturday (24) near the Batticaloa-Amparai border area, security sources said. The incident took place near the Vellavelly Sri Lanka Army (SLA) camp. Two gunmen were involved in the attack, sources said. The injured police officer was first admitted to Mandur hospital and later transferred to Batticaloa Teaching Hospital in critical condition, medical sources said.

**PLOTE cadre shot dead in Jaffna:** June 25 - A Senior member of Peoples Liberation Organization of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE) was shot dead by suspected LTTE gunmen in front of Jaffna Teaching Hospital, in the bicycle park located at Hospital Road Jaffna, at 12:35 p.m. on Sunday (25). Mohammed Bazeer, 42, with nom de guerre "Simon," was originally from White Sand area of Trincomalee joined PLOTE ten years ago and has been working in Jaffna district, sources said. Bazeer, a father of two children, died on the spot, sources said. His body has been taken to Jaffna Teaching Hospital for postmortem examinations. The cycle park is operated by PLOTE. In January this year another PLOTE cadre, Kennedy, was shot and injured at the same location and later in April Kennedy was shot dead in Navanthurai.

**Tamil expatriate shot dead:** June 25 - An expatriate Tamil from Switzerland who was in Valaichenai, visiting his family on a 2-weeks vacation, was shot and killed by unidentified gunmen on Sunday (25) evening around 3:15 p.m. at Kannankiramam, Police said. The victim, Vadivel Puvendran, a father of five, was visiting a relative's birthday function, near 3rd cross junction Kannankiramam, when three men came to the house and took him away, according to the relatives. A brother of the victim, known as Mama, is a long time cadre of PLOTE, which has alleged that the Tamil Tigers were responsible for the killing.

**Arrested youth found dead:** June 26 - The body of one of the three Tamil youths allegedly arrested by soldiers of the Sri Lanka Army (SLA) during the cordon and search operation on Sunday (25) evening was recovered with cut and gunshot injuries on Monday (26) morning along cemetery road in Bharathipuram, a suburb of east port town in the Uppuveli Police Division. The body has been identified as belonging to Baskaran, a mason by profession, from Kanniya Road, Anpuvullipuram. The whereabouts of other two civilians arrested by the SLA were not known. The SLA troopers conducted a house-to-house search operation Sunday afternoon following a grenade attack near the public market in Gandhi Nagar in Anpuvullipuram area. No one was hurt in that incident.

**Tamil civilian shot dead in Batticaloa:** June 26 - Unidentified assailant using a 9mm pistol, shot and killed Batticaloa resident Mr Thurairajah Jogaraja, 34, at 6:30 p.m., on Sunday (25), at his home in Onthachchimadam, Kalawanchchikudi, 20 km south of Batticaloa, said OIC Jayawardena of Kalawanchchikudi police. Motivations for the killing were not known. Kaluwanchchikudi Police are conducting investigations. Yogaraja's body has been transferred to Kalawanchchikudi hospital for postmortem examinations.

**EPDP supporter shot dead:** June 26 - Owner of a welding plant in Vankalavadi, Velanai in Jaffna islets was shot dead at 1:35 p.m. by two suspected LTTE gunmen who arrived on a motorbike at the garage. C. Yogeswaran, 55, who is alleged to be a supporter of Eelam Peoples Democratic Party (EPDP) is from Nayanmarkattu area in Nallur, local residents said. The gunmen escaped after firing at Yogeswaran at close range. The killing took place in an area under complete control of the Sri Lanka Navy (SLN), sources said.

**Senior EPDP activist shot, injured in Jaffna:** June 27 - A senior member of Eelam Peoples Democratic Party (EPDP) who

served as Jaffna Municipal Council member for several years was shot and seriously injured by suspected LTTE gunmen at 7:05 p.m. on Monday (26) in Jaffna, EPDP sources in Jaffna said. Manickam Kanagaratnam, 70, was shot outside his house near Aariyakulam junction along the Jaffna-Point Pedro road. He has been admitted to the Jaffna Teaching Hospital with serious wounds to his chest. The shooting took place within 400 meters of Sridhar theatre, the fortified party offices of the EPDP led by Sri Lanka's Minister of Social Services and Social Welfare, Douglas Devananda. The area is within high security zone and is under full surveillance by the Sri Lanka Army (SLA).

**Four Tamil civilians reported missing:** June 27 - Three Tamil farmers of Bharathipuram in Killiveddy village located in the government controlled Serunuwara police division in Trincomalee district have been reported missing since Monday (26) morning around ten a.m. after they went to Aathiamankerni area in search of their cattle. Another Tamil civilian was reported missing in Periyakulam in the government controlled Kuchchaveli Police division since June 25 after he went to the nearby jungle to bring firewood. The three villagers reported missing in Bharathipuram in Killiveddy are Nallathamby Gneswaran (46), father of two children of Bharathipuram, Paththakutty Thiraviyaraja (40) father of four children and Ampalavanapillai Sathisivam (45) father of four children of Lingapuram in Killiveddy. In the other incident Antony Joseph of Periyakulam aged 51 has been reported missing. He has been running a limekiln in Periyakulam in the SLA controlled area and on June 25 he went to the nearby jungle to bring some firewood. Thereafter he has failed to return, sources said.

**LTTE cadre killed in clash:** June 27 - A cadre of a search party of LTTE fighters, who went in search of Deep Penetration Unit (DPU) attackers who had moved into the LTTE controlled territory in Kirimichchai area in Vaharai region of Batticaloa district, was gunned down by DPU gunmen, on Tuesday (27) around 6:00 a.m., according to the Tigers in Batticaloa. LTTE cadre Pallavan (Sivalinkam Sivakumar), 24, was from Panichchankerni and a father of a child, P. Dayamohan, Batticaloa District Political Head of the LTTE told media. A clash took place when a search party of LTTE fighters went in search of members of DPU unit after receiving information that a DPU group has infiltrated Kirimichchai area. About 15 members of the paramilitaries and soldiers of the SLA were part of the group which was repulsed to the Kirimichchai SLA camp, Dayamohan said. SLA soldiers from Karadikulam and Mankerni camps had provided artillery and RPG fire support to the DPU unit during their withdrawal, Dayamohan added.

**Alleged informant shot dead:** June 27 - A youth from Singainagar in Vallipuram in Vadamaradchy, alleged by the LTTE to be an informant to the Sri Lanka Army (SLA), was shot dead by suspected gunmen when he was on his way towards Manthikai along Jaffna - Point Pedro road at 6:30 p.m. on Tuesday (27). Mr. Jeya, a driver by occupation, was followed by the gunmen, after he allegedly came out of the SLA camp in Point Pedro town and was shot as he tried to run into Vallipura Pariyariyar lane, LTTE sources said.

**Grenade attack on Mannar Police:** June 27 - One Sri Lanka police constable, Mr. Vithanavasa, was injured when suspected Tamil Tigers lobbed a grenade at the police sentry point located

in the premises of Telecommunications station in the heart of Mannar town on Tuesday (27) night around 7.15 p.m. In the retaliatory fire by the police two Tamil civilians were injured, civil sources said. The injured civilians have been identified as S.Thiruchelvam, 52, and his wife Mariyanayagi, 46, who have been running a grocery store in front of Telecom station, sources said. All three injured were admitted to the Mannar general hospital. The security forces immediately launched cordon and search operation and arrested five Tamil youths in Pankatikotu area, sources said.

**5 SLN sailors, 1 LTTE cadre killed in sea clash:** June 28 - Sea Tiger vessels counter-attacked and sunk a Sri Lanka Navy (SLN) navy water-jet vessel and destroyed another SLN vessel in the northwestern seas, according to a news release issued by the media unit of the LTTE. Five SLN troopers were in the boat which was sunk by the Sea Tigers. One LTTE cadre was killed in the clash. Meanwhile, Sri Lankan Police sources in Puttalam claimed that the clash had taken place between Kuthiraimalai and Kalpitty in Puttalam district. The confrontation, according to the LTTE, was defensive and originated on Wednesday (27) around 11:25 a.m. in LTTE controlled waters, when SLN vessels interrupted a Sea Tiger convoy. The clash went on for 55 minutes in the sea till the SLN troopers withdrew, the news release said. Two LTTE cadres were wounded in the clash. Kalpitty is located 145 km north of Colombo

**One of four missing civilians found dead:** June 28 - Mr. Anthony Joseph, one of the four Tamil civilians reported missing, was found dead with gunshot and cut injuries on Tuesday (27) evening at Periyakulam in Kuchchaveli Police division in Trincomalee district. The whereabouts of other three Tamil civilians of Bharathipuram in Killiveddy in Serunuwara police division are not still known, civil sources said. Mr. Anthony Joseph was reported missing from June 25 after he went to collect firewood for his limekiln located in Periyakulam. Other three Tamil civilians, Nallathamby Gnaneswaran, Paththakutty Thiraviyaraja and Ampalavanapillai Sathasivam of Bharathipuram in Killiveddy were reported missing after they went to Aathiamankerni in search of the cattle they left before being displaced from their village due to violence, sources said. No information has been received about these Tamil civilians up to now, civil sources said.

**3 Tamil youths shot dead in Batticaloa:** June 28 - Unknown gunmen who arrived in motorbikes, shot and killed 3 youths, using military-type 9mm pistols, on their way home in Mylambaveli, 7 km, north of Batticaloa town, on Tuesday (27) at 8:30 p.m., said Eravur police. The killings took place 250 meters from the Sri Lanka Army (SLA) camp at Mylambaveli on the Batticaloa-Trincomalee road. The gunmen after killing the youths poured gasoline and set the bodies alight, local residents said. The victims - Sinnaiyah Mahesh Vasanthakumar, 26, from Puvaththegawittiya, Kegalle, Navaratnam Arunasiri, 22, from Vipulananthapuram, Mylambaveli, and Muththukaruparan Krishnakumar, 21, also from Vipulananthapuram were temporarily residing in the house and were masons by profession.

**Three businessmen missing:** June 28 - Three businessmen who had gone to Vakara area in Batticaloa in a lorry with a consignment of soft drinks have been reported missing for three days, relatives have reported to Valaichenai Police. Segu Lebbe

Ibrahim, 32, from Otamavadi, Indika, 24, from Minneriya, Polannaruwa, and Prasanna, 27, from Polannaruwa did not return after travelling to Vaharai in a lorry with registration number 48-1272, relatives said in the complaint. Valaichenai police are conducting investigations into the disappearances, police sources said.

**SLA soldier shot, injured in Batticaloa:** June 28 - Suspected LTTE gunmen shot and injured a Sri Lanka Army (SLA) soldier in Saththukondan, Batticaloa-Trincomalee road at 7:40 a.m., on Wednesday (28) near the Saththurukundan SLA camp. The gunman came in a motor bike and opened fire with a pistol. The injured SLA soldier Lance Copral M.Karunarathna, 29, is getting treated at the Saththurukundan SLA Camp, sources said.

**Claymore explosion kills three civilians:** June 28 - Three Tamil persons were killed in a claymore explosion on Wednesday (28) afternoon around 4:00 p.m. while transporting sand in a tractor from Kallaru located in the LTTE controlled Musali division in Mannar district. Saminathan Jacob, 58, Simion Regin, 22, and Simion Antony Gnanapragasam, 17 of Kokupadaiyan area in Musali DS division were returning with their loaded tractor to Kokupadaiyan when their tractor hit a claymore mine buried along the road. The tractor was destroyed in the explosion. All three occupants died on the spot. The site where the explosion took place is located about 30 km off Mannar town. LTTE sources accused alleged that the Deep Penetration Unit (DPU) of the Sri Lanka Army was responsible for the incident.

**Gunmen attack circuit court:** June 29 - Murunkan circuit court proceedings came to an abrupt end after about fifteen minutes on Wednesday morning around 10.15 a.m. when unidentified gunmen fired at the building hiding behind densely grown shrub area at the rear of Murunkan post office building, attorneys attending the court said. Mannar Magistrate Mr.N.M.M.Abdullah who was hearing a case, four attorney-at-laws, and litigants fell to the ground for safety, sources said. The circuit session was in progress at the library building of the Nanattan Pradesiya Sabha when the incident took place. There was panic inside the courts during the barrage of gunfire but none was hurt in this incident, sources said. The Magistrate postponed all cases listed for hearing for Wednesday for July 12 and left the court building with Police security.

**Jewellery shop owner missing:** June 29 - Kanesan Sivanesan, 36, the proprietor of a well known Jewellery store in Inuvil in Jaffna has gone 'missing' since 28 May. Relatives say, an anonymous phone caller informed the family that they were holding Sivanesan and demanded Rs.500, 000 for his release. The army has denied that Mr Sivanesan was in its custody. Sivanesan was last seen in the Inuvil area on Kankesanthurai Road, detained for questioning by the SL Army. Local residents say Sivanesan has not returned home, since that day. The family members say they have appealed to Sri Lanka Human Rights Commission (SLHRC), Sri Lanka Police, and the SLA to find out the whereabouts but they have received no response from any of them.

**Young family man shot dead:** June 29 - Unknown gunman shot and killed Thayanithy Ketheeswaran, 29, a father of a child, with a 9mm pistol at his home in Arasunar Road, Pandiruppu, Kalmunai, 39 km south of Batticaloa, on Wednesday (28) night at 8:00 p.m., said Kalmunai Police. He was with his young



family in his house when the assailant who came in a vehicle, struck him and escaped. Katheeswaran's body has been transferred to Kalmunai hospital morgue for postmortem examinations.

**Civilian shot, injured in Jaffna:** June 29 - Unknown gunmen shot and seriously injured a civilian in Naval North, Aanaikottai area in Valigamam, Jaffna district at 7:30 p.m. on Thursday (29), civil sources in Jaffna said. The gunmen requested Ilayathamby Vanniyasingam, 46, to come out of his house and fired at him at close range, sources added. Vanniyasingam was admitted to the Jaffna Teaching Hospital with serious gunshot wounds in his upper part of the body, hospital sources said. Motivations for targeting Vanniyasingam are not known.

**Muttur East resident abducted:** June 29 - Mr. Selliah Varnakulasingham, 51, a watcher of the Muttur Pradesiya Sabha (PS) was abducted Tuesday evening by unidentified men in the heart of Muttur town located in the government controlled area when he was returning in a three wheeler to his home in the LTTE held village in the Muttur east. Mr. Varunakulasingham works in the Kaddaiparichchan sub-office of the Muttur Pradesiya Sabha. On Tuesday he came to Muttur town to obtain a loan from a bank. He was abducted when he completed his work at the bank and was travelling in the three-wheeler towards Kaddaiparichchan army camp to enter LTTE held Muttur east.

**SLA sentry in Mannar attacked:** June 30 - Unidentified men lobbed a grenade at an army sentry located near the office of the Eelam Peoples Democratic Party (EPDP) on Friday (30) early morning around 5.45 a.m. A soldier, M. Surasena, 46, was injured in the attack, police sources said. The EPDP office is located along Field Road in Mannar bazaar. The residence of the monitors of the Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission (SLMM) is also located close to the site. The wounded soldier was first admitted to the Mannar general hospital and later transferred to the Anuradhapura general hospital.

**Navy intelligence officer, gunman killed:** June 30 - A Sri Lanka Navy Intelligence officer was shot and killed when he was shopping at the bazaar in Mannar around 10:00 a.m., on Friday (30). Sri Lankan troopers who surrounded the area shot the gunman who gunned down the intelligence officer, Police said. Dissande de Gostha, 28, the SLN intelligence officer was gunned down by the "Pistol Unit" of the LTTE intelligence, Police in Mannar said. A 9 mm pistol was found in possession of the gunman, bearing the identity, Arulappu Rajeevkumar, 24. The incident took place near the Mannar Mohideen Jumma Mosque. Sri Lanka Army (SLA) and SLN troopers were rushed to the scene. Sri Lankan troopers blocked all roads leading to the bazaar and launched a combined cordon and search operation with the assistance of the Police.

**Daughter shot dead, father seriously injured:** June 30 - Unidentified gunmen shot and killed Jaffna resident Ms Sathasivam Mathuri, 32, and seriously injured her father Kasipillai Sathasivam, 75, Thursday (29) midnight at 12:17 a.m. at their home in Athiyadi New road, in Athiyady, located 2 km northeast of Jaffna Town. Sathasivam is the father of a senior LTTE commander Archuna, who died in mid 80's in Mannar, and Mathuri is his sister. The assailants reportedly first opened

fire at the victims' relative house next door and shot Mathuri and Sathasivam as they emerged from their own house to enquire. Sathasivam was admitted to the Jaffna teaching hospital in a critical condition and Mathuri's body has been taken to the hospital's morgue, sources said. Mr. Sathasivam, who was actively engaged in non-violent campaign in the sixties had resigned his Sri Lankan Government post in protest against the Sinhala Only act. His son, named Thamilarasuvaran, joined the Liberation Tigers and was one of the first Lieutenants of the Tigers.

**Two SLA troopers injured in attack:** June 30 - Two Sri Lanka Army (SLA) troopers were seriously injured when they came under fire from suspected Tiger gunmen in front of the Soosaiyappar Church in Alaveddy, Valigamam, Jaffna district at 1:30 p.m. on Friday (30), sources in Jaffna said. The troopers were carrying food parcels in bicycles for other soldiers engaged in security duty when they were attacked. The troopers returned fire and the firefight lasted for more than 10 minutes before the attackers escaped from the site. The injured troopers were taken to Palaly Military Hospital.

**Ex-LTTE cadre shot dead:** June 30 - A former member of Liberation Tigers was shot and killed by gunmen on Friday (30) at 1:30 pm on Vivekanantha Road in Karaitheevu Kalmunai, sources in Kalmunai said. Four gunmen came to the house in motorbikes, talked to Kanthasamy Jeyanthakumar, 28, before shooting him at close range with a 9mm pistol. Jeyanthakumar got married February of this year.

**Man shot dead at checkpoint:** June 30 - A Tamil civilian was reportedly shot dead by soldiers of the Sri Lanka Army (SLA) manning a checkpoint at Sambaltivu junction about five km off north of Trincomalee town on Friday (30) around 3:00 p.m., security sources said. The body was brought to the Trincomalee general hospital and was yet to be identified, hospital sources said. According to police sources, the civilian was shot by the SLA when he failed to stop his motorbike at checkpoint after soldiers signalled him to stop.

**Alleged informant shot dead:** June 30 - Vijayarajah, 53, from Araly North near Vaddukoddai, alleged by LTTE sources to be an informant of the Sri Lanka Army (SLA), was shot dead by suspected Tamil Tigers close to the Mawaththai playgrounds in Araly, on Thursday (29) at 5:30 p.m., sources from Jaffna said. Vijayarajah is a father of six children. Araly is located 10 km northwest of Jaffna town.

**Man shot dead:** June 30 - Sri Lanka Army (SLA) soldiers shot dead a Tamil male at 6:00 p.m. Friday (30) in Chenkalady near the Bank of Ceylon building area in Eravur Police division in eastern Sri Lanka, police said. SLA soldiers said the man attempted to throw a hand grenade, and after they fired at him, found one hand grenade in his possession. Santhiran has been living in Badulla Road, Karadiyanaru and is a father of a child.

**Two fishermen missing in Thondamanaru:** July 1 - Two fishermen from Valvettithurai have been reported missing in the northern waters off Thondamanaru on Friday (30 June) night. The boat, belonging to the missing persons caught fire when Sri Lanka Navy (SLN) troopers shot at the boat. Thevamani Arul, 30, and Krishnapillai Chandramohan, 28, father of three, from

Mathavady in Valvettithurai, were the fishermen missing according to the officials of the fisherie consortium.

Sri Lanka Navy and Army troopers had barred civilians from accessing the coastal belt starting from Thondamanaru to Valvettithurai, fishermen in the area said.

**Abductions in Muttur:** July 1 - A twenty five year old Tamil youth Mr.Raju was abducted by unidentified persons on Saturday (July 1) morning around 11:00 a.m. at Navalady in the heart of Muttur town when he was on his way to Muttur jetty, Muttur. The abducted youth was a resident of Ralkuli, an area controlled by the LTTE and a labourer working in ferry plying between Navalady and Ralkuli.

Meanwhile, the whereabouts of the abducted Mr.Selliah Varnakulasingham, fifty five year old employee of the Muttur Pradesiya Sabha who has been working in the sub-office at Kaddaiparichchan located in the LTTE controlled Muttur east is still not known. He was abducted two days earlier by unidentified persons in the Muttur town when he was travelling in a three-wheeler to his village in Muttur east, Tamil civil sources said. In the meantime, the Tamil civilian shot dead by soldiers of the Sri Lanka Army (SLA) at Sampaltivu checkpoint on Friday (30 June) afternoon has been identified as Selvarajah Vasanthan aged 30 of 24, Amman Street, Linganagar, a suburb of the east port town. The body was handed over to his relatives after the magisterial inquest Friday evening, sources said.

**Six thousand civilians complete arms training:** July 1 - The graduation ceremony for about six thousand villagers who have completed their training under the civilian volunteer force programme in the LTTE-held Muttur east villages was held on Friday (30 June) evening at Sri Senbaga Maha Vidiyalayam grounds in Eachchilampathu division in the Trincomalee district. Villagers who have excelled in shooting practice and competitions related to military training were awarded special prizes.

"Sinhala government in the south has shown its unwillingness to respect the legitimate rights of Tamil people. We are forced to strengthen ourselves with the support of Tamil people under the leadership and guidance of our national leader to move the liberation struggle vigorously forward," said Mr. S. Elilan, LTTE Trincomalee district political head, in a speech at the event, LTTE sources said. Mr. Elilan further said, "We are disappointed with the approach of the international community toward resolving the conflict in Sri Lanka. They appear to be driven by their own domestic agendas."

**Tamil youth shot dead in attack:** July 1 - Suspected Tamil Tigers on Saturday (1 July) morning attacked a group of soldiers of the Sri Lanka Army (SLA) in Sirukandal village in Murunkan division in Mannar district. Markandu Parathanathan from Thumpalai, Point-Pedro was killed when SLA retaliated, security sources said. Parathanathan was identified by his National Identity Card found in his clothing, sources. Mannar Additional Magistrate Mr.T.J.Pirapaharan Saturday evening inspected the body of the youth in the Mannar general hospital and ordered the Medical Superintendent to hold the post-mortem examination.

**Journalist shot dead in Colombo:** July 2 - An unidentified gunman shot and killed Lakmal Sampath, a former defence correspondent at the Sinhala newspaper 'Sathdina' on Sunday (2) morning in Dehiwala, Police said. Lakmal Sampath was a popu-

lar columnist who revealed details about the Sri Lankan Military Intelligence, corruption at various levels of the Sri Lankan defence establishment, and underworld activities in Colombo, according to Sinhala media sources in Colombo. Sampath had continued as a source to fellow Sinhala writers despite warnings by the intelligence establishment, media sources said. His articles have been published in news papers such as Irudina, Lakkima, Sathdina. He also worked for TNL television.

Lakmal Sampath, who was reportedly earlier warned not to reveal details about the Sri Lanka intelligence community in his articles, had gone out with a person to discuss matters to a story Sunday morning, relatives said. He was found dead on Vijaya Road in Dehiwala, 10 km away from his residence in Verahara in Kiriyandena, sometime after he left home.

**Abducted Tamil civilian killed:** July 2 - Mr.Sivasubramanian Suvakaran (40) alias Raju who was abducted by unidentified men on Saturday (1 July) morning at Navalady junction in the Muttur town located close to the police station was found dead with gunshot injuries in a playground at Knox Road in Alimsenai in Muttur town. Muttur Magistrate Mr.Manickavasagar Ganesharajah on receipt of police report visited the site and viewed the body, police said. The body was removed to the Muttur general hospital where post-mortem examination was held on the orders of the Magistrate.

**TRO worker abducted:** July 2 - Krishnapillai Kamalanathan, an official of the Tamil Rehabilitation Organization (TRO) was abducted allegedly by members of the Karuna paramilitary group at Valaichchenai, about 30 km. north of Batticaloa, around 10.30 a.m. on Sunday (2), according to TRO sources. Krishnapillai has been working as a child protection officer of the TRO, Vakara division. Krishnapillai was riding motorbike in Valaichchenai when he was abducted. Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission (SLMM) in Batticaloa has been informed about the abduction, according to the sources said.

**Auto-rickshaw driver shot, wounded:** July 2 - Unidentified gunmen hijacked a three-wheeler on Sunday (2) around 12:30 p.m. near Valaichenai Railway station, 28 km north of Batticaloa town. The driver of the vehicle, shot and wounded by the gunmen, was rushed to Valaichenai hospital and transferred to Batticaloa hospital for further treatment, medical sources said. The auto-rickshaw driver, Krishnapillai Karunaharan, 28, a resident of Puthukudiyiruppu in Valaichenai, is from Kathiraveli in Vaharai. A carpenter by profession, Karunaharan rides auto-rickshaw as a part time job.

**Series of violent incidents in Jaffna:** July 2 - Two Sri Lanka Army (SLA) troops were injured in two attacks on SLA troops and an incident of firefight was reported between the SLA and unknown gunmen in Jaffna district on Sunday (2). No one was injured in a shooting incident in Nelliady, Point-Pedro area.. An SLA soldiers who was deployed for security duty near Kokuvil junction, 3 km north of Jaffna town was seriously injured when suspected Tigers opened fire at the troops at 3:00 p.m. In another attack at 5:45 p.m., assailants hurled hand grenades at SLA troopers stationed near Kondavil junction along Jaffna-Palaly road seriously injuring a soldier. Meanwhile, no one injured during a firefight lasting nearly five minutes between SLA troops and suspected LTTE gunmen at a location along the Jaffna- Point Pedro road. The incident happened between

Muthirai Santhi and Sattanathar Hindu Temple, sources said.

A shooting incident was also reported to have occurred in Nelliady town near the Luxmi Cinema along the Nelliady-Kodikamam road. The targeted civilian escaped with minor wounds and the gunmen escaped after the attempted shooting.

**Seven killed, 13 injured in Trinco mine attack:** July 3 - One soldier of the Sri Lanka Army (SLA), one woman home guard, two police constables, a police sergeant and a civilian were killed when a claymore mine exploded at Anuradhapura junction, about three km off the east port city on Monday (3) around 11.55 a.m. At least fourteen others were injured. Another woman police constable, seriously injured in the explosion, died on her way to the hospital. Conditions of two others were reported to be serious. In this attack by suspected Tamil Tigers, the claymore mine fixed in an abandoned three-wheeler near the army sentry was detonated by remote control when a group of soldiers and police tried to search the three-wheeler. However the majority of those injured in the blast were passengers in a bus bound for Kanniya village which got caught in the explosion. The number of injured now stands at 13. Of them, two critically wounded persons have been transferred to general hospitals in Kandy and Colombo, medical sources said.

**2 STF personnel wounded in landmine attack:** July 3 - Two elite counter-insurgency Special Task Force (STF) troopers in a road clearing patrol were wounded in a Claymore landmine attack by suspected Tamil Tigers on Monday around 6:45 a.m. at Puthukudiyiruppu, 10 km southeast of Batticaloa town, Kaluwanchikudy. The STF troopers, M. Sarath, 36, and W.P. Rajapakse, 28, wounded in the attack which was reported at Kurukkalmadam Ampilanthurai junction, were rushed to Amparai hospital. All traffic, on Batticaloa Kalmunai Road that had come to a halt for more than an hour following the attack.

**SLA soldier killed, 2 wounded:** July 3 - A Sri Lanka Army soldier was killed and two were wounded in a Claymore attack by suspected Tamil Tigers that took place in Thikkam, Vadamaradchi North, around 2:40 p.m. on Monday (3). A Sri Lanka Air Force helicopter was used to transport the wounded soldiers to Palaly military hospital. The SLA soldiers were on a road clearing foot patrol from Thikkam Junction towards Vathiri when the Claymore mine attack occurred 600 meters away from Thikkam SLA camp.

**Man shot dead, education official wounded:** July 3 - Policemen in Kaluwanchikudy shot and killed a man and a T-56 automatic rifle was found near his dead body. The incident took place near Kaluwanchikudy Telecom and Paddiruppu Zonal Education office around 1:00 p.m. on Monday (3). An Education Official, Mrs. S. Baskaran, 40, was wounded in the gunfire. Police sources claimed that the man, yet to be identified, was an unidentified gunman who had fired on a police checkpoint. The police handed over the body of the victim to Kaluwanchikudy hospital for postmortem examinations and identification, medical sources said.

**Man shot dead inside HSZ:** July 3 - An unidentified man was killed by Sri Lanka Army (SLA) soldiers inside Thandikulam High Security Zone (HSZ) near Vavuniya on Sunday (2) night, security sources said. The SLA said the dead man is a member of LTTE and that they had recovered an AK-47 rifle and a new

brand of bullet magazine near the dead body. Vavuniya Police arranged the body to be transported to the Vavuniya Teaching Hospital Monday morning. Vavuniya district judge, Mr Ilancheliyan, inspected the body at the hospital and ordered the Police to send the recovered firearm for forensic investigation. He also directed the Police to seek help of International Red Cross to identify the body, sources said.

**Two soldiers injured in mine attack:** July 3 - Two Sri Lanka Army (SLA) soldiers were seriously injured in a claymore mine attack by suspected LTTE assailants on Jaffna-Palaly road near Urelu junction at 6:00 p.m. on Monday (3). The injured soldiers were taken to Palaly Military Hospital. The claymore mine was targeted on a SLA truck, but hit the SLA troopers following behind the truck on bicycle patrol in the area. The mine attack took place inside the Palay High Security Zone (HSZ) 300 meters from the SLA camp that houses the SLA Intelligence wing. The claymore explosion inside the HSZ took place 4 hours after another explosion in Thikkam, near Point Pedro.

**Fisherman shot, injured Trincomalee sea:** July 4 - Mr. Ramiah Vinayagamoorthy, a fisherman of Salli was shot and injured by masked men who came in a boat on Tuesday (4) morning around 6 a.m. in the Salli Sea located about 7 km off north of Trincomalee town. Vinayagamoorthy was fishing in Salli Sea in a boat with two fellow fishermen. Suddenly three masked men came in a boat ordered Vinayagamoorthy to stay in the boat and the other two to leave the boat. Thereafter masked men fired at Mr. Vinayagamoorthy. He received injuries in waist and hands. The victim was admitted in the Trincomalee general hospital, sources said.

**Ex-EPRLF cadre shot dead:** July 4 - A former member of Eelam Peoples Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF-Varathar faction) was shot dead in Mathews Street Jaffna at 8:30 p.m. on Monday (4) by suspected LTTE gunmen. Mr Thirumani Ariyaratnam Ligan, 34, was having a drink with his friends when two gunmen riding in a motorbike shot him dead at close range. Ariyaratnam Ligan died on the spot. Ariyaratnam Ligan left the EPRLF-Varathar group in 2000 and has been living in Mathews Road residence since then.

**Woman raped, murdered:** Ambalavanar Punithavathy, 43, from Uduvil in Manipay area has been shot dead after being raped by unknown assailants at 11:00 p.m. on Tuesday (4), sources in Jaffna said. Assailants who forced entry into the unmarried woman's home, told the occupants that they have come to search the house, attacked the elderly mother before raping the woman, local residents said. The house is located in Ponniah lane in Uduvil, Valikamam in Jaffna district. The mother has been admitted to Jaffna Teaching Hospital with serious assault injuries. Mallakam District Court judge, Sarojini Ilankovan, inspected the site of the crime and directed the police to transfer the body to the Jaffna Teaching Hospital for postmortem examinations.

**Soldier killed in claymore mine attack:** July 5 - A Sri Lanka Army (SLA) soldier was killed in a claymore explosion in Pirappamadu area in Vavuniya at 9:00 a.m. on Wednesday (5) morning, Vavuniya Police said. SLA soldiers were engaged in street patrol near Mahakatukodiya Road in Pirappamadu when the explosion occurred. The seriously injured soldier died on his way to the Vavuniya General Hospital, police said.

**Four SL Police injured in attack on EPDP office:** July 5 - Four Sri Lanka Police constables deployed on security duty at the Eelam Peoples Democratic Party (EPDP) office located along Jaffna-KKS Road in Chunnakam were seriously injured when suspected Tamil Tiger assailants hurled several hand grenades inside the office building at 7:15 p.m. on Wednesday (5). The EPDP office is located adjoining the Chunnakam Police Station and the Chunnakam Sri Lanka Army (SLA) camp. SLA soldiers blocked traffic along the Jaffna-KKS road and conducted search operation in the area following the attack.

Earlier at 3:00 p.m. a SLA soldier engaged in street patrol on Jaffna-KKS Road near Chunnakam junction was seriously injured when suspected LTTE gunmen threw a grenade at him. He was taken to Palaly Military Hospital for treatment. Also, Wednesday morning suspected LTTE assailants hurled a hand grenade at the SLA troops on security duty near Jaffna Hindu College, sources said. The grenade did not explode. Soldiers of the SLA bomb disposal squad rushed to the scene to take care of the grenade.

Meanwhile, SLA soldiers and suspected LTTE gunmen exchanged gunfire for more than five minutes near Udupiddy junction SLA sentry point in Vadamardchy at 8:00 p.m. on Wednesday. There were no reported injuries to local residents as most of them are confined to their homes after dark. No other details are available on the incident.

**SLN Petty officer killed, bodyguard wounded:** July 6 - A Sri Lanka Navy Chief Petty Officer was shot and wounded and succumbed to his wounds in Jaffna. Suspected LTTE gunmen, waiting in ambush fired with pistols at the officer of the SLN and his bodyguard attached to the Thurayoor camp in the Jaffna islet of Velanai around 10:30 a.m. on Thursday (6). Tension prevailed in the area and the SLN conducted a search operation in and around the area where the official was attacked. Soon after the incident the SLN began conducting a search operation in and around the area where the soldiers were attacked.

**Muslim civilian shot dead in Trincomalee:** 07 - Unidentified gunmen shot dead a Muslim fisherman at Ganesh Lane in Palaiyootu, a suburb about six km off Trincomalee town at 7:30 a.m. on Friday (7), sources in Trincomalee said. The person was identified as Mohamed Wahid Ali, 41. The deceased was taking his son to a pre-school located close to his residence when two persons who came in a motorbike shot at him. Mr Ali died on the spot.

**Abduction of 35 children:** Local reports from eastern Sri Lanka said that unidentified gangs on Thursday (6) abducted more than 35 underage young persons from the villages of Thivuchenai, Karuppalai, Sorivil and Sevanapitty in Batticaloa district. Parents of the abducted children, gripped by fear and insecurity, are reported to be afraid to make complaints to the police or human rights watchdogs. Tension prevailed in the interior villages of Batticaloa district.

LTTE sources alleged that more than 125 underage Tamil youths were abducted by the paramilitary Karuna Group, in June 2006, from the villages of Valaichenai, Kiran, Santhiveli, Pethalai, Vinayakapuram, Kannakipuram, Pattiyadichenai and Kalkuda in Batticaloa. UNICEF, in a statement released from their Colombo office on 22 June, had called for immediate action to halt the abduction and forced recruitment of children by the Karuna group.

**Ex-PLOTE cadre shot, injured in Jaffna:** July 8 - A former member of Peoples Liberation Organization of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE) was shot and seriously injured by suspected LTTE gunmen in front of the Jaffna Teaching Hospital at 8:15 a.m. on Saturday (8), sources in Jaffna said. The victim, Rasa Premkumar, 32, was immediately taken to the Jaffna Hospital and was undergoing emergency surgery, hospital sources said. The gunmen used hand pistol at close range and escaped after firing at Premkumar. Mr Premkumar is the third ex-militant who has been attacked near the same area in the past two months. Other two died in these attacks.

**Housing project worker found beaten to death:** July 8 - The body of a mason working in a housing development for tsunami victims was found with severe assault injuries in Polikandy, Vadamardchy on Saturday (8) morning, sources in Vadamardchy said. Rasiah Muraleeswaran, 42, from Meesalai East was a resident mason at the Nilavan Kudiyiruppu Housing scheme funded by FORUT when he was killed. Another mason, Mr Rajani, 26, from Jaffna Islet of Punguduthivu, working on the same Housing Project, has mysteriously disappeared, according to the same sources. Muraleeswaran was earlier working on housing projects administered by the Liberation Tigers, and then continued to carryout mason work, local residents who knew Muraleeswaran said. No details on the whereabouts of Mr Rajani are known.

**Three soldiers injured in attacks:** July 8 - Two Sri Lanka Army (SLA) troops were injured when suspected LTTE gunmen attacked soldiers on street patrol near Methaikadai Junction 400 meters south of Point Pedro town along Jaffna-Point Pedro road at 11:45 a.m. on Saturday (8). Another SLA soldier was injured in a firefight lasting five minutes between suspected LTTE gunmen and SLA troops in Kachchai in Thenmaradchy on Saturday (8) afternoon. Meanwhile, a decomposed body washed ashore near Allaipiddy Kovilady beach in Jaffna Islet on Saturday. The identity and the sex of the deceased were not established due to the decayed state of the body. Civil society sources said that the body may belong to one of the refugees who may have drowned in choppy seas while taking the dangerous boat ride to South India from Mannar.

**LTTE arrests Karuna group member:** July 8 - LTTE cadres on Saturday (8) morning reportedly arrested a cadre of Karuna group inside the LTTE held Eachchilampathu division in Trincomalee district, LTTE sources said. Karuna group member identified as Jeya of Puthur, Kathiraveli in Batticaloa district was in possession of a claymore mine, a roll of wire and detonator at that time of arrest, LTTE sources further said. Jeya under interrogation had told LTTE cadres that he had been sent on the orders of one Riyaseelan, now being called as Bandara, to penetrate into LTTE held Eachchilampathu in a clandestine mission to target LTTE senior leaders in the area. Jeya is now under LTTE custody, A TamilNet report said.

**Peace prayer campaign in Amparai:** July 8 - The Sarvodaya Movement on Saturday (8) held a prayer campaign in the Amparai town for permanent peace in Sri Lanka, according to local reports. Large number of people from all the three communities participated in the event at Amparai-Japan Peace Hall with Dr.A.T.Ariyaratne, founder of Sarvodaya Movement in Sri Lanka as the chief guest.

Dr.A.T.Ariyaratne said that peace could dawn in the

country only through non-violence (ahimsa) and not through war. Spiritual guidance should be provided to the people in taking decisions for the well-being of the country, he said. Governments in power in early days implemented decisions taken at the rural level thus ensuring communal harmony among all communities. Dissension and difference of opinion arose when central authority started to impose decisions against the wishes of the people. Powers should be devolved to the grass root level, he added.

**3 youths abducted, man shot:** July 8 - An unidentified gang abducted 3 youths from Pethalai village located in Valaichenai Police area in Batticaloa district on Friday (7) night, residents said. Parents, gripped by fear and insecurity, have not reported the incident to the Police or human rights organizations. Meanwhile, a building worker was shot and wounded by unidentified gunmen with a 9mm pistol in Karuwakerny Saturday (8) 6:15 p.m., Valaichenai Police said. Mr. Muththulingam Parameshwaran, 21, a resident Kinnaiyady Valaichenai, was shot while returning from work riding a bicycle along RDA Road in Karuwakerny.

**MP's bodyguard shot dead:** July 10 - M.I.M.Nizar, 31, the body guard of Digamadulla District Member of Parliament and Deputy Minister, Anver Ismail, of ruling United Peoples Freedom Front (UPFA) was shot dead by two unidentified men riding a motor bike near the MP's house 8pm on Sunday (9) night. Nizar was shot at close range near the MP's home in Hospital road Sammanthurai. Nizar has been working for 5 years as the body guard for Anver Ismail and is a father of two children.

**PLOTE cadre shot dead in Jaffna:** July 10 - A member of the People's Liberation Organization of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE) was shot dead by suspected Tamil Tigers at a cycle park operated by the group in front of the Jaffna Hospital, around 9 a.m., on Monday (10), police in the northern town said. Sri Lanka Army soldiers handed over his body to the Jaffna Hospital. Three PLOTE cadres have been killed and another wounded in four separate attacks at the cycle park recently.

**Two Tamil youths shot dead in Mannar:** July 10 - Two youths were allegedly shot dead by soldiers Monday morning in Mannar district in two separate incidents. One body was found in a paddy field opposite the Nanattan Pradesiya Sabha (PS) office building and the other body at Rasool Puthuveli area, located one and half km off Nanattan. A group of SLA soldiers on patrol duty in Sooriyakaddaiakadu in Nanattan Monday (10) morning around 8:30 p.m. fired at an unidentified person for placing a claymore mine on their route. But the person had fled from the area. Later the Police found the body of a person in a paddy field located two hundred yards away from the Nanattan PS office building. Police said they also recovered a T 56 gun, a micro-pistol and grenade near the body. Thereafter SLA soldiers had launched a cordon and search

operation in the area. During the search operation the soldiers were attacked with grenade followed by firing and SLA soldiers retaliated. SLA troopers came under gunfire second time around 12:30 p.m. when they continued their search operation. They retaliated and later found a person with gunshot injuries on his head at Rasool Puthuveli located about one and half km off Nanattan.

The troopers told police that they had recovered a micro-pistol and a grenade, also from this youth. The dead youth in the first incident that took place on Monday (10) morning was identified as Ravi with his identity card, police said. Mannar Acting Magistrate Mr.A.S.Johnthasan Monday afternoon visited the site of the bodies and instructed the Murunkan Police to remove them to the Mannar general hospital for identification and post-mortem examination, police said.

**Claymore blast kills soldier, injures 2:** July 11 - A Sri Lanka Army soldier was killed and two others were injured in a claymore mine attack by suspected Tamil Tigers on Kodikamam - Pt.Pedro road in the Jaffna peninsula, around 9.30 a.m.on Tuesday (11). The mine was set off about 500 metres from the Kodikamam junction, targeting the troops on a road clearing operation. The wounded soldiers were transported to SLA's base hospital at Palaly. All transport through the blast site was stopped and troops conducted a search operation in the area.

**Body found with gunshot wounds:** July 11 - The body of a young man was found with gun shot injuries at Gurunathar Shop Road in Alaiyadivembu in Akkaraipattu Police Division, in the Ampara District, around 7 a.m.on Tuesday (11) and the victim was identified as Veluppillai Mohanarasa, 25, from Kolavil. The body was transferred to Akkaraipattu District Hospital for postmortem examinations, the sources said.

**LTTE craft attacked in Kilali seas:** July 11- Two attack crafts belonging to Sri Lanka Navy (SLN) and a Sea Tiger craft exchanged fire in Kilali seas at 1:15 p.m. for more than 15 minutes on Tuesday (11). Sri Lanka Army said a Sea Tiger dinghy with 4 members on it was destroyed during the confrontation. Defence Ministry sources said that no SLN personnel was hurt and their crafts did not suffer any damages in the sea encounter. The sea engagement was triggered when the SLN crafts were dispatched to investigate the suspicious movement of a craft in the Kilali sea stretch.

**Mine attack kills 2 policemen, injures 5:** July 12 - A Claymore attack on a Sri Lankan police vehicle claimed the lives of two policemen near Chetty Street-Navalar road junction in Nallur, Jaffna around 2:00 p.m. on Wednesday (12). The attack took place in a highly guarded area surrounded by Sri Lanka Army camps and checkpoints near Kaylasapillayar Temple, Narikkundu and Muthirai Junction, Jaffna Police said. Five policemen, wounded in the attack, were rushed to Jaffna Hospital. The attackers, sus-

pected to be Tamil Tigers, had selected an isolated pocket in the highly crowded suburb of the Jaffna town to carry out the attack, Police sources further said. The vehicle which the victims used was destroyed in the attack caused by the "side-charger" Claymore explosion.

In another landmine attack on the same day between Udupiddy junction and Vathiri junction in the Vadamaradchi sector of the Jaffna peninsula a soldier was injured seriously when troops went on a road clearing operation from a camp close to Thamotheerampillai Vidyalyam.

**Senior PLOTE member shot dead:** July 13 - Head of Jaffna district PLOTE group, Sebastian Iruthayarajan (alias Bolder Rajan), 43, was shot dead along Martin Street, Jaffna by suspected LTTE gunmen on Wednesday (12) afternoon, sources in Jaffna said. Iruthayarajan was riding a bicycle towards the Girls' Convent located in Martin Street to pickup his school aged children when he was shot, witnesses to the shooting said. Iruthayarajan is a father of nine children. The gunmen reportedly followed Mr Iruthayarajan shot him at close range and escaped. A senior member of People Liberation Organization of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE) for several years, Iruthayarajan was an honorary member of the last Jaffna Municipal Council under the leadership of Mr Sellan Kandaiyan.

**Vavuniya PLOTE leader killed:** July 13 - Leader of the PLOTE's military wing in Vavuniya was abducted and shot dead on Wednesday (12). The body of Ratnam Sriskandarajah, alias Bavan, 46, was found Thursday (13) morning at Cheddikulam, about 15 km. southwest of Vavuniya, police said. 'Bavan' has been operating with PLOTE in Vavuniya for a long period. He was abducted by suspected Tamil Tigers when he went Wednesday night to put up posters.

**Police search Karuna office:** July 14 - The Batticaloa Police on Thursday (13) searched the political office operated by the Karuna faction in the Batticaloa town following reports that three abducted youths were being held in the premises. According to the SLMM, the search was conducted after witnesses informed the ceasefire monitors that the three missing men were seen in the office of the Tamil Makkal Viduthalai Pullikal (TMVP), the political arm of the Karuna faction. However, despite a more than one hour search by some 12 police officers, the three men were not found in the TMVP office premises, the SLMM said.

**Four LTTE cadres killed:** July 13 - The LTTE on Thursday (13) said four of their cadres were killed in its area at Kadawanaikulam in Thampalakamam division in Trincomalee

(continued on page 41)

## Rare film on Gandhi

**'Gandhi: Twentieth Century Prophet'**, a film on the life and struggle of the Mahatma, written by Tamil writer and journalist, A K Chettiar and believed to have been lost for more than 40 years, was screened Wednesday at the Gandhi Study Centre, T Nagar. In association with the Gandhi Museum in Madurai, the documentary film showcase A K Chettiar's stupendous effort of travelling thousands of kilometres across the globe to collect 50,000-feet of film shot on Gandhi. He edited them into a 12,000-foot documentary and released it for public to see in 1940. He re-edited the film in Hollywood, with an English commentary and screened it in the U.S. in 1953. The film include footages of the Mahatma's venture in South Africa and Europe.

Poignant scenes clearly signify the Mahatma's belief on nonviolence, satyagraha and passionate humanism was well laid out. Flashes of the Mahatma's funeral, the United Nations flag lowered as a sign of respect and millions of people shed tears, only one question was raised,

Who is this man and why is the world mourning for him? A man devoid of power, wealth or gun.

Flashing back, scenes that followed showed a rundown of Gopalakrishna Gokhale's visit to South Africa in 1912, with Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi in tow, dressed nattily in a suit. Events that came next, was a documentation of how Gandhi decided to shed the western influence in him and be with his people in his motherland whom he led at the Dandi march when he was 61. With a purpose of gathering salt for the nation, the Mahatma was first accompanied by 79 of his followers that swelled into thousands welcomed by the chanting of satyameva jayate (hail the truth) in every village they went through.

The film's narration emphasises on Gandhi's tenet of nonviolence which he calls as a great force with its own law, that should be used scrupulously. A scene that featured Nehru spinning the charka was described, by the narrator, as a way of binding the country, as one. This scene segue

to the highlight of the film - the mass-spinning sequence shot by Chettiar in Tirupur. Two thousand women is seen spinning the charka as the music 'Aadu Ratte' (Let the spinning wheel turn) was sung by Carnatic singer D.K. Pattammal. The song was derived from a patriotic poem in Tamil, written by freedom fighter Namakkal Ramalingam Pillai.

A K Chettiar, a native of Kottaiyur near Karaikudi in Tamil Nadu, was a great admirer of the Mahatma. He was greatly influenced by the Gandhian philosophy. A simple, self-effacing man who never sought the limelight. He trained in photography at the Imperial College of Photography, Tokyo, and the New York Institute of Photography. He was the founder-editor of a Tamil monthly magazine, Kumari Malar (1943-1983), in which he gave prominence to articles on Gandhian tenets such as wearing of khadi, combating untouchability and establishing Dalits' right to enter temple.

A K Chettiar was 72 years old when he died on September 10, 1983.

Rare moments on the life of the Mahatma, caught in camera and brought to life in the film titled "Gandhi: Twentieth Century Prophet" is a must-see for every Indian citizen.

(Chennai, Apr 28, 2006, News Today)

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### OBITUARY



**Dr. Vettivelu Rajeswaran (Rajes)**

Son of late Dr. and Mrs. S.A.Vettivelu, son-in-law of late Mr. and Mrs. J.M.G. Samuel; Loving husband of Chandra, father of Nira and Suren; Father-in-law of Pradeep; Grandfather of Kishan and Prashant; Brother of Gnaneswaran, late Yogeswaran (MP), Mahes-

waran, Balayogini, Kamaleswary, Sivakumary and Jegatheeswary; Brother-in-law of Ann, late Sarojini, Vasuki, Ramanathan, Nadarajah, Thayaparan, Jegapragasan, and also of late Mohan, Indran and Peter. Rajes passed away peacefully on 28 June 2006. The funeral took place on 8 July 2006.

The family wishes to thank all those who attended the

funeral, sent messages of condolences and helped them in many ways. They would be grateful, to anyone wishing to honour his memory, for donations to be sent to Cancer Research UK: <http://www.cancerresearchuk.org/donate>.

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### IN MEMORIAM

In Memory of  
**Mr. Justice Aiyadurai Sivanandan**  
On the fifth anniversary  
Of his passing away on 25th July 2001



Greatly missed and fondly remembered by his loving wife Pushpavaty; children Sivaraman, Sri Lakshmanan and Umayal; daughters-in-law Bahirathy and Kumuthiny; son-in-law Sam; grandchildren Aarabhi, Krishna, Akhilesh, Abhilash and Kanna; sisters Pathmavathy Jayaseelan, Thilakavathy Wijayaratham and Ankaikattanni Sivapirapillai.

### Mrs Mangai Sivasampu



In loving memory of **Mrs Mangai Sivasampu** on the sixteenth anniversary of her passing away on 2nd August 1990.

Sadly missed and fondly remembered by her two sons.  
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### Forthcoming Events- August 2006

1. 7 p.m. Wimbledon, Shree Ghanapathy Temple, Vairavar Madai to conclude the Annual Maha Festival; Aadi Sevvai 3; Feast of St. Alphonsus Liguori  
 2. Guru Pooja of Saint Sundramoorthy Nayanar  
 4. Varalaxmy Viradham  
 5. Eekathasi  
 6. Feast of The Transfiguration of the Lord, Jesus Christ  
 7. Pirathosam  
 8. Full Moon; Aadi Sevvai 4; Feast of St. Dominic  
 10. Feast of St. Lawrence  
 12. Maha Sankadakara Sathurthi  
 15. Aadi Sevvai 5 (Last); Feast of The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary  
 16. Aadi Karthigai  
 19. Eekathasi  
 20. Pirathosam; Chandi Homam; Feast of St. Bernard  
 22. Feast of Our Lady Queen and Mother  
 23. Amavasai  
 24. Feast of St. Bartholomew  
 27. Sri Vinayagar Sathurthi; Feast of St. Monica  
 28. Feast of St. Augustine  
 29. Shashti; Feast of Beheading of St. John the Baptist.  
 At Bhavan Centre, 4A Castle town Road, London W14 9HQ.  
 Tel: 0207 381 3086/4608.

Website: www.bhavan.net.

**Aug. 4th 7.40 p.m.**

The Asian Music Circle presents  
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Pandits Rajan and Sajan Misra – Vocal  
 Sanju Sahai – Tabla  
 Uday Bhawalkar - Vocal  
 Manik Munde – Pakhawaj  
 Please contact  
 020 8742 991  
 for ticket details

**Aug. 5th 6.30 p.m.**

The Asian Network presents  
 SITAR & THUMRI

Purbayan Chatterjee – Sitar  
 Sunanda Sharma - Thumri  
 Please Contact 020 8742 9911  
 for ticket details

**Aug. 11th 6.30 for 7 p.m.**

Independence Day Celebrations

in the presence of The Indian High Commissioner  
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**Aug 12th / Aug 13th 4 p.m.**

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## Vaigasi Visagam Festival Sri Thandayuthapani Temple Tanjung, Malim, Malaysia



Heavy rain failed to dampen the spirit and enthusiasm of hundreds of devotees who thronged the historic Sri Thandayuthapani Temple, Tanjung, Malim located 50 miles north of Kuala Lumpur, the capital of Malaysia to witness the annual auspicious festival of Vaigasi Visagam held on 9th June 2006.

Religious rites started as early as 5am with morning prayers and Sangabhishegam. This was followed by a

Pal Kudam carrying ceremony procession by about 150 devotees.

Annathanam ( refreshments) were served by the temple from noon till late evening.

The highlight of the celebration was the drawing of the Temple Chariot carrying Lord Thandayuthapani by the devotees on a preplanned route from and back to the Temple while Priests performed poojas all along the way.

Text/picture by E Param

## The Srilanka Railway Past Employees' Welfare Association, 35 Byron Avenue, Kingsbury, London NW9 0ER.

The Eleventh Annual General meeting of the above association was held on the 17th June 2006 at John Innes Youth Centre, Wimbledon and the following were elected office-bearers for 2006-2007.

**Patron:**

Mr. A. Manikkam,

**President:**

Mr. C. Kannuthurai,

**Vice-President:**

Mr. P. Gnananandan,

**Hon. Secretary:**

Mr. M. Selvanayagam,

**Hon. Asst. Secretary:**

Mr. S. Saravanapavan,

**Hon. Treasurer:**

Mr. K. Paramanathan,

**Editor:**

Mr. E. Soundaranayagam,

**Committee members:**

Mr. K. G. Alwis,

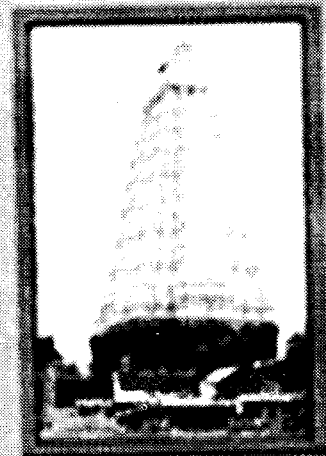
Mr. V. J. Constantine,

Mrs. P. Arulampalam,

Mrs. Ida Patrick and

Mrs. I. Thevarajah

## The Tevaram Contribution to Saivism and Indian Music



Dr. K. G. Alwis



BOOK REVIEW

# The Tevaram Contribution to Saivism and Indian Music

by  
**Ponniah Jeyalakhi Arunagirinathan**

*P. Jeyalaki Arunagirinathan's book, published in the U.K., is a welcome addition to our knowledge of Saivite Hinduism and of Karnatic music. It is invaluable too as a source of the stories of the famous saints of Taminadu, the Nayanmar, which at one time everyone learned at their mother's knee. At the same time her book outlines the philosophy of Saiva Siddhanta giving clear explanations of Tamil and Sanskrit terms and of the stages of the Marga, or path, of Bhakti, Love of God, the way to the Soul's liberation.*

*Beginning with a reminder that Hinduism and particularly Saivism have their roots in both the Indus Valley Civilisation and in Vedic Hinduism Ms. Jeya points out that there is ample literary evidence, from around 2nd century B.C., that, while many of the Vedic gods developed absorbing the gods of the Dravidian - speaking area, the descriptions in the early Tamil Sangam literature of the qualities of The three-eyed Lord, The Blue-throated One, of his sons Murugan and Pillaiyar and of his wife the goddess Korravai, point to a southern origin of the cult of Siva and his family. She shows how Saiva Siddhanta Philosophy, while based on the Vedas and Upanishads, finds devotional and poetic expression in the Tevaram and the lives of the Nayanmar, the 63 Saivite saints of the 7th - 9th. Century. Noting that music and religion are inseparable in Indian culture and considered a divine art form, music's origin is traced back to the Samaveda and the oral tradition by which it was passed down father to son or teacher to pupil. Although the early music has been lost the Tamil epic poem Cilappatikaram and the Sanskrit seminal text Natyasastra give vivid descriptions of a then living musical tradition.*

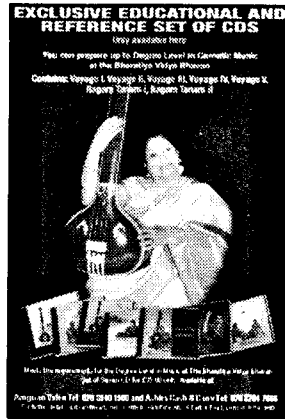
*In a chapter illustrated by woodcuts from a text of the Periya Puranam and with some beautiful translated quotations the author tells the stories of the 63 Saivite saints whose ecstatic devotional songs, colourful lives and insistence that caste was no barrier to love of God profoundly affected Saivite practice and philosophy in the 7th to 9th century. Icons of these saints are still found and honoured in South Indian temples.*

*The account of the loss of the original texts of the Tirumurai, their miraculous recovery and recompilation as Panniru-Tirumurai in the 10th.C. by King Raja-raja Chola I and a brahmin boy Nampiy Antar Nampi, is supported by one of several useful tables. A table of the saints' names together with the social groups to which they belonged shows the extraordinary effect their Love of God had on a strictly regulated society. The Tirumurai are heard in temples and used for household rituals to this day.*

*The hymns the Nayanmar sang as they went on pilgrimage from temple to temple were all composed and sung in 'pan', that is, melody, and rhythm. The 103 pans are listed and clearly analysed to show how they prefigured the modern ragas which date from 17th.C. parallel pans and ragas are also indicated. A bibliography has been conveniently included at the end.*

*Ms. Jeyalaki is to be congratulated on making accessible to the general reader and the world at large an important part of the Tamil literary tradition. The Tirumurai, particularly the first 7 books, are rightly re-asserting their position in the consciousness of the Tamil people.*

**- Wendy Marr**



**Copies of this book which has been published by the Ratnam Foundation, UK are available for sale at £10 from the author whose contact details are as follows:-  
8D, Colville Square, London W11 2BD,  
Telephones 020 7727 9059 or 07930 100 743.**

(continued from page 38)

district by a group of soldiers of the Sri Lanka Army (SLA) in ambush Wednesday (12) night around 9 p.m. A group of SLA soldiers had penetrated into the LTTE held area Kadawanaikulam along Trincomalee-Kandy highway located about 20 km off southwest of east port town, LTTE sources in Sampoor said. LTTE sources gave the names of four LTTE cadres killed in the attack: 1. Lt.Colonel Eesan (Muthulingam Kalaiarasan of Eachantivu-Alankerni); 2. Captain Theepan (Nagarajah Venthan, of Pattithidal-Muttur); 3. Captain Thanushan (Venthan of Batticaloa), and 4. Veeravengai Karuna (Thangavel Karunakaran of Mullipottanai-Thampalakamam).

**3 SLA soldiers killed:** July 13 - Two Sri Lanka Army soldiers were killed in a Claymore attack at Kalmadu, 12 km northwest of Vavuniya town around 5:00 p.m. on Thursday (13). One soldier was wounded and rushed to Vavuniya hospital, Police said. Meanwhile, a clash erupted at Omanthai Forward Defence Line (FDL), located 14 km north of Vavuniya, where one SLA

soldier was killed and another trooper was wounded.

**Remains of two 'missing' civilians found:** July 13 - The remains of two Tamil civilians Sakhivel Sivasankaran, 28, and Thasan Thevarajah, 24, who disappeared on 22nd May after leaving Kattumurivu village to the border area of Pollonaruwa district to collect honey in the jungle, were recovered by their relatives on Tuesday (11). Kattumurivu village is located about 12 km off Kathiraveli in Vaharai division in Batticaloa district. According to village level officer of the area, both persons had died of gunshot wounds.

Residents of Vaharai division usually go to jungles of the Pollonaruwa border to collect honey and meat for their livelihood. Relatives of both persons went in search of them to the border area of Welikanda located in Pollonaruwa division when they failed to return home more than a month. On Tuesday the relatives found the remains of these persons in highly decomposed state with their belongings. □

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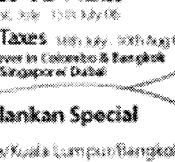
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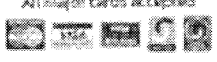
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