# PRABHAKARAN'S RUTHLESS TERRORISM IN THE GUISE OF LIBERATION

# ARE THE SRI LANKAN SECURITY FORCES GUILTY OF GENOCIDE?

HOW THE LTTE VIOLATED HUMAN RIGHTS BY INTENTIONALLY COMMITTING GENOCIDE

# THE SUCCESS STORY OF **REHABILITATION & RESETTLEMENT**

J.F Ranjith Perera

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J. F. Ranjith Perera

# Other Books Written by the Author

- A comprehensive Guide to Information on Sri Lanka (Published by the Ceylon Tourist Board)
- Winning an Unwinnable War, A Tribute to the War Heroes (Published by Sarasavi Publishers (Pvt) Ltd)
- Prabakarange Eelam Sihinaya Sunuvisunu Kala Ranawiruwo (Sinhala Language) (Published by Sarasavi Publishers (Pvt) Ltd)
- Should Sri Lankan Security Forces Apologize for Eradicating Terrorism? (Published by Sarasavi Publishers (Pvt) Ltd)
- *Reminiscences of Ananda (Co Editor)* (*Published by Ananda College Old Boys Association*)

#### Preamble

This preamble is intended to make a preliminary clarification of the contents of Part 1 and Part 2 of this book which is dedicated to providing information on **three** subjects, relating to the war that prevailed in the peaceful Island of Sri Lanka for a period of 30 years, perpetrated by a group of terrorists led by a ruthless terrorist known as Velupillai Prabhakaran, a Sri Lankan of the Tamil community who lived in the Northern region of this country.

**Part one** of the book titled **'Prabhakaran, the Ruthless Terrorist in the Guise of a Liberator'**, provides a comprehensive description of all the ruthless crimes committed by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) led by Prabhakaran.

**Part two** of the book is dedicated to a discussion of facts relating to the **alleged violation of International Humanitarian Laws**, in the **final phase of the war launched by the Sri Lankan security forces to eradicate terrorism form the country** and restore its sovereignty, territorial integrity, and to restore peace and harmony.

Section (A) of part two of the book is intended to refute the unjust allegations levelled against the security forces for the alleged violation of the Humanitarian Laws by committing genocide in the fourth phase of the war.

Section (B) of part two of the book is dedicated to providing a description of how the LTTE led by Prabhakaran committed genocide by ruthlessly decimating people of his own community and that of the other communities.

**Section (C)** of part two of the book is dedicated to a discussion of the success story of rehabilitation of ex-combatants of the LTTE and resettlement of Internally Displaced Persons.

J.F. Ranjith Perera The Author

#### **DEDICATION**

*This book is dedicated to my dearly beloved parents & to my revered teacher and father-in-law.* 

#### It is especially dedicated to

all those personnel who served in the respective security forces and made enormous sacrifices to eradicate terrorism from our country and annihilate its leadership to retain the country's territorial integrity and its sovereignty.

> Our grateful nation should place on record this historic achievement and perpetuate the names of these great men as "Sri Lanka's National Heroes of the Twenty First Century"

# PART I

#### PRABHAKARAN'S RUTHLESS TERRORISM IN THE GUISE OF LIBERATION

# PART II

# **SECTION (A)**

ARE THE SRI LANKAN SECURITY FORCES GUILTY OF GENOCIDE?

# **SECTION (B)**

HOW THE LTTE VIOLATED HUMAN RIGHTS BY INTENTIONALLY COMMITTING GENOCIDE

&

DEPRIVING THE INNOCENT CIVILIANS OF THEIR BASIC NEEDS OF FOOD AND MEDICAL FACILITIES TO LIVE

&

DEPRIVING THE INNOCENT CHILDREN OF THEIR RIGHTS AND EDUCATION

# **SECTION (C)**

THE SUCCESS STORY OF REHABILITATION & RESETTLEMENT

By

J.F. Ranjith Perera

Sarasavi Publishers (Pvt) Ltd

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# PART I

# PRABHAKARAN IS RUTHLESS TERRORISM IN THE GUISE OF LIBERATION

# THE STORY OF THE CARNAGE UNLEASHED BY PRABHAKARAN, THE RUTHLESS TERRORIST LEADER OF THE LIBERATION TIGER'S OF TAMIL EELAM (LTTE) DURING A THIRTY YEAR PERIOD OF HORROR IN THE PEACEFUL ISLAND OF SRI LANKA

#### PART I – INTRODUCTION

People of all communities living in the peaceful island of Sri Lanka underwent a traumatic and an intolerable experience for a period of approximately three decades due to a "reign of terror" perpetrated by a ruthless killer, who was a fearful monster, or an "Asura" in the form of a human being. He who belonged to the Sri Lankan Tamil Community and the one who led the most violent and ruthless terrorist organization at the time in the world, was known as Velupillai Prabhakaran.

Prabhakaran was born in Velvetithurai in Jaffna on 26<sup>th</sup> November 1954. This date will go down in the historical records of Sri Lanka as the date of birth of a monster in human form, who later during his life time of 55 years decimated nearly one hundred thousand valuable human lives and caused an enormous destruction to the valuable assets of the country. He compelled the government to indulge in wasteful expenditure, to deal with a war against terrorism perpetrated by him.

This will enable the people of the Tamil community to realize that he was not a genuine liberator but was only presumed to be one.

For the first time since Sri Lanka's independence in 1948 the country's main Tamil political party was endorsing the call for Tamil separatism. This Declaration electrified Tamil politics. Prabhakaran who was there at the venue of the declaration, became one of the admirers of the fiery speech made by A. Amirthalingam who succeeded S.J.V. Chelvanayagam as the leader of the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF). By the Declaration they made at Vadukkodai, Jaffna in May 1976. At this declaration inter-alia they decided to establish the TULF and called for the establishment of a separate state. This was the beginning of the establishment of the terrorists groups in the North including that of the LTTE.

After his initial successes in his pursuit of criminal acts Prabhakaran was afflicted by a megalomania. This was one among his series, of blunders. He was keen to be the sole leader of the proposed State of Eelam. Led by this illusion he went on to decimate all rival terrorist groups and their leaders who were trained and were militarily equipped by India. If he was genuinely concerned in liberating his people, setting aside his selfish motives, he would have sought the assistance and the co-operation of the rival groups to battle against the Sri Lankan Security Forces and perhaps would have been able to force the government to a peaceful settlement.

He also killed all those who helped him in developing his terrorist outfit. He even eliminated his closest allies whom he thought would be a threat to his leadership. In the end he had more enemies than friends.

On 5<sup>th</sup> May 1976 Prabhakaran who had completed 3 years of underground life, formed the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), as a successor to his own Tamil New Tigers (TNT). The avowed aim of the group was to form an independent homeland in Sri Lanka's North and East for the Tamil speaking people of the country.

By then Prabhakaran had already committed his first political assassination gunning down the forty eight year old Mayor of Jaffna Alfred Duraiappah. This assassination stunned the then SLFP government of Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, as Duraiappah was the representative of the government in Jaffna.

Due to the early successes of Prabhakaran, the TULF leaders picked him and his band of terrorists, as the military arm of the TULF to fight the battle against the government for the establishment of the proposed **State of Eelam**.

As Prabhakaran progressed in his criminal pursuits escaping the arm of the law, and strengthening his organization, the LTTE with the guidance and the assistance of the TULF developed it **to be the most organized terrorist group in the world.** 

The extremist racial politicians of the North of Sri Lanka and their sympathisers in the West infused a fear in the minds of the Sinhala political leaders in the South, that the LTTE and the allied terrorist groups are so organized and powerful that they cannot be militarily destroyed and the so called ethnic problems of the north could be resolved only through negotiations. This perhaps precluded the leaders of the South from militarily confronting the terrorists and consequently the terrorists continued their violence unabated.

In the year 2005 Mahinda Rajapakse who was elected the President, initially provided an opportunity to the LTTE to resolve whatever problems they had through negotiations. However, when it was revealed that they were not willing to a settlement through negotiations and created a problem by closing down the Anicut at Mavilaru, denying several hundreds of innocent people of their basic rights to have access to even drinking water, President Rajapakse the Commander-in-Chief of the Security Forces ordered the forces to launch a 'Humanitarian Operation' (A military operation causing minimum loss or injuries to human life) to reopen the Mavilaru Anicut. When the Security Forces successfully achieved this task, the President on the advice of the Secretary of Defence (Gotabhaya Rajapakse) and the Commanders of the respective Security Forces, decided to proceed disregarding the fear of confronting the LTTE militarily, and to proceed with the military operations to recapture the territories which were forcibly occupied by the LTTE. Accordingly, the Security Forces continued their 'humanitarian operation' with determination and courage of the security forces adopting the correct military strategies from 26th July 2006, and succeeded in completing the operation by destroying terrorism and eliminating its leadership of the LTTE in May 2009.

The objectives in writing this book is to, falsify the claim that Prabhakaran was a liberator and that the ruthless and selfish policies he adopted and the methods he used would not have resulted in achieving his desired objective. Instead the ultimate outcome was the decimation of the valuable lives of approximately one hundred thousand people of all three major communities in the country, including that of the security forces and to cause destruction to the valuable assets of the country. It also resulted in creating animosity and rivalry among the different communities who lived together in friendship for several centuries. All these resulted in retarding the progress of the country for nearly half a century.

Information regarding the nature and the type of ruthless crimes committed by Prabakaran the leader of the LTTE were obtained from authentic and reliable sources, to reveal the truth of what actually took place. The information and the data published in this book were obtained from the publications of the different media organizations in Sri Lanka, India and in other countries. The web sites of these organizations have also been referred for this purpose.

#### Where relevant I have quoted the teachings of the Buddha the Enlightened one as the validity of these noble teachings are everlasting truths applicable to the conduct of the human beings, at all times, the past, the present and the future.

In addition, information was also obtained from the books published by Sri Lankan authors and some authors in foreign countries on the subject of the terrorist movement in Sri Lanka, local and foreign magazines, publications of the Ministry of Defence, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Rehabilitation and Resettlement, publications of the Department of Census and Statistics, the Central Bank of Sri Lanka. The web sites of these organizations etc. have also been referred to obtain the relevant information and data.

It must be mentioned that the authenticity or the accuracy of the information/data that has been published by the media organisations and in the other publications referred to above relating to the crimes committed by the LTTE during a period of nearly three decades have hitherto not been challenged or questioned by any person, organisation or any authority. Hence the author did not encounter the slightest doubt in extracting the relevant information from the above sources, to be published in this book.

I consider it to be a privilege for being able to obtain the guidance and counseling of the veteran journalist, scholar and eminent mass media consultant Kalakeerthi Dr. Edwin Ariyadasa, in editing the contents of this book for which the required information was collated over a period of two years. Dr. Ariyadasa read the contents of the final format of the book and having been highly impressed by its contents in exposing the hypocrisy of Prabhakaran by pretending to be a liberator when he was none other than a megalomaniac in pursuit of his selfish desires, for which he decimated the valuable lives of nearly one hundred thousand consisting of men, woman and children belonging to all three communities including those of his own community, whom he presumed to liberate. I am extremely grateful to Kalakeerthi Dr. Ariyadasa for providing the Preamble to this book which is in fact a brilliant summary of its contents which could have been written only by an eminent scholar of his calibre.

This book was ready to be published in 1995, however, a new government was elected to power that year which was a coalition of the right-wing Sinhala political party and the Tamil National Alliance (TNA) in the North and the East of Sri Lanka.

Hence the new political climate that prevailed at the time was sympathetic towards the remnants of the terrorist elements secretly surviving in the North.

The objective of writing this book is to expose the authentic facts and figures to dispel the view that Prabhakaran was a genuine leader who made a self-sacrificing effort to establish a separate state to liberate his people from the injustices caused to them by the majority community, the Sinhalese living in the country.

After his death, the extremist elements in the North elevated him to the level of a superhuman being and to commemorate his birth. Hence, it is has become necessary to expose in particular to the people of his community that Prabhakaran was not a genuine liberator, but a ruthless criminal who endeavored to establish a separate state of which he wanted to be the one and only leader.

Views have been expressed recently that it is the most appropriate period to publish this book in view of the recent developments in the North and the East to resurrect the remnants of the terrorist elements secretly operating in the North and the East by engaging among other things to organise ceremonies to commemorate Prabhakaran and to pay homage to him. The outcome of this would be to develop a tendency and an effort to revamp terrorism in the country.

Instead of instigating the youth of the North and the East to resort to violence to achieve unrealistic objectives, they should be convinced that liberation could be achieved only by aligning with the majority community as a nation and making a combined effort to develop the country through the process of economic development. It is my wish that our country, Sri Lanka, thrice blessed with the visits of the Buddha, will never ever experience the "reign of terror and the horror" which we have undergone for a continuous period of three decades.

The readers may draw their own conclusions regarding the above matters after carefully reading the contents of this book.

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#### FOREWORD

A distinguishing characteristic of Sri Lanka's glorious history, is its uninterrupted chronicle, maintained to relate the saga of our Nation that dwelt in this Island citadel. The national chronicles Mahawansa and Culawansa, set down the evolution of this land, over a period, spanning nearly 22 centuries.

These works survey the reigns of 186 major rulers tracing the ups and downs of our national fortunes.

In the course of this long national journey, this land had traversed through intensely dark-days of warfare-famine- droughts and other disasters – both natural and man made. Over and above those gloomy times, we were blessed with eras of prosperity, peace and prolonged calmness.

In our very recent history, we were forced to pass through one of our darkest eras, which threatened to devastate all aspects of civilized life, making the inhabitants of this sacred land lose hope even of the return of tranquil times.

The diabolical and inhuman menace, arrayed against the innocent people of this compassion – dominated Island, was so horrid, that men, women and children were reduced to such a state of benumbing that they were frightened even to breathe.

Sudden death lurked in the most unexpected of places. To these inhuman hordes of terrorists, nothing was sacred - religious shrines, priests, monks, clergymen, young ones, old persons, women were ruthlessly destroyed, employing methods, no civilized person would like even to talk about. Devotees at prayers, monks on their disciplined way to religious rites, passengers in public transport, vehicles, women bearing the burden of unborn children – no one was spared.

They victimized people at all levels of life and in all walks of social existence.

They were a horde of vicious and uncouth beings who were clearly, outside the limits of civilized life undeserving the description 'human'.

But, enduring untold privations, limitless suffering and mass sorrow, enlightened leaders rid this land of this grave evil.

Peace, harmony and friendly co-existence dawned again. What many an individual thought was a diabolical era of unfading darkness, was totally eradicated restoring life to innocent masses, who had given up all hopes of a bright day.

The blossoming forth of a reawakened land, after such an evil phase, has to be adequately and substantially chronicled, both to enable the contemporaries to obtain proper perspectives and to provide guidance to those who came after this, to be alert to such disastrous upheavals.

But as far as I am aware, such a centrally crucial and deeply significant era of our history, has not been duly, responsibly and comprehensively chronicled yet.

Though several works have appeared, they have not been able to take that vivid panoptic view that is called for when such a phase of history profoundly recorded.

Such a chronicling has to be invariably comprehensive, meticulously detailed, and of course scrupulously objective. It has to filter out, flimsy gossip, groundless hear-say prejudiced pronouncements, arbitrary conclusions, biased assertions and attempts at deliberate distortion. Such a historical record should not at all be a weapon in partisan advocacy. It should not deteriorate into a promotional tool in the hands of those who would wield it to rally round violent remnants.

A chronicling of this phase of history, avoiding such pitfalls, has, I am happy to say, now been attempted.

Titled, "**Prabhakaran, Ruthless Terrorist in the Guise of a Liberator**". This thorough tome has been written by J.F.Ranjith Perera. The material, recorded in this chronicle has been mustered with a national focus. The clearly implicit purpose of this substantially researched work is, to present the mind-searing criminal record of a diabolical terrorist, who acquired global notoriety, by committing a vast series of inhuman acts, victimizing masses of innocents using those helpless lives as fodder to nourish his hideous ambition of achieving the hellish comfort of occupying a Throne of Blood.

The senselessness and utter viciousness of this criminal Demon is proved beyond even the shadow of doubt, when we come to know, that he forcibly extracted hash earned money of Tamil People living abroad, for the express purpose of sending small Tamil children to face death as child soldiers.

This chronicle composed by the Author J.F.Ranjith Perera is, decidedly a tremendous service to the Sinhala, Tamil, Muslim, Burgher and other communities in Sri Lanka and also to the totality of humanity, enabling them to see the shocking inhuman ways of Terrorists, who live outside the edges of human civilization, devoid even of an iota of pity for the lives they casually rub out.

#### This work, in effect proclaims a human message of universal compassion, loud and clear to the whole of mankind, by presenting to the world the stark truth of a phase of Terrorism that is a slur polluting every human individual.

The work is unassailably researched. The Author makes a praiseworthy effort, to utilize all the documents that matter, from the point of view of upholding the veracity of what he states.

Cumulatively, all facts, figures and instances the Author gathers between the covers, convey an unerring message to the discriminating reader.

The readers are invited with deference to study the story of the terrorist diabolism, and to form their own conclusion in terms of the evidence, presented in this work.

Such an unbiased and objective perusal of this will, unquestionably permit them to decide whether Prabhakan is a Liberator or one of the worst enemies of mankind, on record.

If he liberated anything it was the freedom given to terrorists to kill, maim and massacre. He ushered in the liberate flow of blood of tens of thousands of innocent men, women and children

It will emerge clearly that we have just overcome the greatest phase of terrorism mankind ever faced.

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I am grateful to all those who assisted me in the laborious task of collating the required information, type-setting and re-checking the information published in this book.

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> J.F. Ranjith Perera The Author

# **CHAPTER 01**

#### VALUE OF HUMAN LIFE

It is not a pleasant experience to say the least to relate the story of the carnage unleashed by a ruthless terrorist, who disguised himself to be a liberator during a thirty year period of fear and horror in the peaceful island of Sri Lanka.

He, who was a demon in the guise of a human being, was known as Velupillai Prabhakaran. He had a megalomaniac desire, to sever the North and the East of Sri Lanka and to set up a separate state to be called Eelam.

In his endeavour to achieve this objective, among other things he launched a killer campaign which led to the horrendous end of nearly one hundred thousand valuable human lives, including those of the security forces.

This book is intended to expose to the world for the first time, the nature of the crimes committed by Prabhakaran and the brutal methods used for its execution. The priceless value of human life was of no concern to Vellupillai Prabhakaran the ruthless leader of the LTTE. In fact, he decimated several eminent and valuable human lives, which were more or less irreplaceable.

In this context, it is necessary to divert the attention of the readers to provide a clear understanding of the value attached to human life.

**"The Buddha the enlightened one,** whose followers constituting one fifth of the world's population, hailed him as the greatest religious teacher who ever lived on this earth".

<sup>\*</sup>The Buddha preached that in the long journey through Sansara (the cycle of birth, death and rebirth), it is a rare achievement to be born in the realm of Manussa or as human beings, as it is the only realm in which good and meritorious deeds could be done with good effects for the future birth. It is the only realm in which the mind

<sup>\*</sup> Ref: \* The Buddha and His Teachings - Venerable Naradha Thero

is capable of guiding one to indulge in good or bad things and in which the mind could be developed to relinquish the desires to attain Nirvana or the end of rebirth. Besides it is the only realm in which the requisites of Buddha hood could be perfected.

#### Hence the Buddha attached tremendous value to human life and placed human beings on a higher pedestal than the Devas (the Celestial Beings).

The Buddha preached that any material form in which life force is embodied, is subject to rebirth depending on the karmic forces (all moral and immoral volitions affecting future birth), until it relinquishes all its desires, which is the cause of rebirth, and reaches the state of Nirvana or the end of rebirth.

Birth may take place in different spheres of existence. There are altogether thirty one places in which human beings manifest themselves according to their moral or immoral karma.

There are four states of unhappiness:-

- (1) Niraya (Woeful state) where beings atone for their evilkarma, where beings are not subject to endless sufferings. Upon exhaustion of the evil karma, there is the possibility for rebirth in blissful states).
- (2) Tirachchanayoni The animal kingdom
- (3) Petayoni Departed beings or those absolutely devoid of happiness
- (4) Asurayoni The place of the demons. A class of unhappy beings similar to Peta.

Next to the four unhappy states are the seven happy states.

- (1) Manussa The realm of human beings. It is a mixture of both pain and happiness. It is the best field to serve the world and to perfect the requisites of Buddha-hood. It is the only realm in which good could be done.
- (2) Catummaharajika The lowest of the heavenly realms.
- (3) Tavatmisa The celestial realm of the thirty three devas where Deva Sakka is the head.
- (4) Yama The realm of the Yama devas
- (5) Tusitha The realm of delight

- (6) Nimmanarati Devas who delight in created mansions
- (7) Paranimmitavasavatti The realm of the Devas who make others.

The Buddha analyzed all aspects of human life and preached on leading a contended and a moral life to enable human beings to achieve the optimum use of their birth as human beings. **The mind is exclusively possessed only by human beings with the exception of animals.** Hence he made an indepth analysis of the human mind and advised on the methods of developing it, to enable the humans to cleanse their mind of desires, to end craving, which is the cause of rebirth.

According to the first precept of the five precepts enunciated and preached by the Buddha, that should be adhered to by human beings in their daily life, precludes a person from destroying the life of another human being or an animal viz any material form in which life is embodied.

The five precepts are embodied in the basic disciplines propounded by the other religions in the form of commandments or the scriptures, laid down for the adherence of the Christians, Hindus and the followers of Islam and other religions.

Apart from the religious importance attached to human life, human beings are necessary for the continued existence of the human species and all other living objects on earth.

In comparison to the animals, greater value and importance is attached to the life of human beings. Any person or authority is strictly precluded from causing any injury, assault or death to any human being irrespective of where he/she lives and for any reason unless for judicial reasons and through a judicial process.

It is due to this reason that when a human being is born on earth irrespective of where he was born, is entitled to some inherent rights which are not normally provided or available to animals.

Firstly, human beings of the male and the female species are necessary to continue the process of procreation, for the continued existence of the human race. Human beings should exist in adequate numbers to be engaged in different spheres of activity for the existence of all human beings and all other living objects.

It is due to these reasons that the United Nations have formulated the **Charter of Human Rights** and all members of the United Nations are required to strictly adhere to the stipulations laid down in the Charter and the required legal machinery has been established to ensure strict compliance and to take appropriate action to deal with any violations.

It is the human mind which was instrumental in evolving and civilizing human beings from the primitive stage to the modern world. The thinking that had to be done to make the discoveries and inventions were made using the human mind. In fact, the world is what it is today, due to the efforts of great men utilizing their minds.

Accordingly the so called super powers, or a group or a union of countries or any other individual country, or an individual person or a group of persons in a country, cannot launch an attack or attacks for any reason such as ethnic cleansing, political, religious, or for realizing ones megalomaniac objectives to kill or cause injury to human beings.

It is also not possible to cause any destruction to their habitats and economic assets or to cause disturbances and disabilities to their normal and peaceful lives.

Human labour is an important economic component for the production process, whether it is agriculture, industry or for providing services. Despite high mechanization of the industrial and the agricultural process, human involvement is necessary at some stage in the production process. Human involvement is necessary for providing the medical services etc., for the care of human beings and other living beings.

It is clear from what is stated in the preceding paragraphs, the value and the importance attached to human life in contrast to any other living species including the animals. A human being once born wherever it was, has the right to live whilst enjoying his rights as a human being till the end of his life span, caused by natural death or death caused due to a reason beyond his control. His right to live cannot be denied or terminated prematurely by any person or any authority. The right of a human being to live till the end of his life as stated above is acknowledged by all the religions, and strict legal provisions have been stipulated to safeguard these rights in criminal law and procedures practiced in all countries of the UN.

#### WHAT CONSTITUTES A CRIME

We will now proceed to identify as to what constitutes a crime, as the readers should be able to comprehend the nature of the acts committed by Prabhakaran to ascertain whether these acts were committed in pursuit of liberation or to achieve his megalomaniac objectives.

"A crime is an act committed by a person which includes manslaughter, murder, rape, mayhem, kidnapping, burglary, house breaking, extortion accompanied by threats of violence, assault with dangerous weapons or assault with intent to committing an offence, which is punishable in accordance with the punishments stipulated in the penal code adopted and practiced in the respective countries".

It is clear that a crime includes many other acts other than manslaughter or murder, to ensure the safe and peaceful existence of human beings wherever they live in this civilized world.

It is clear that a criminal is one who has committed a criminal offence which includes all the offences listed in the above definition as stated earlier.

The objective of writing this book, is to place on record for posterity and for the information of the readers the world over, the inhuman and intolerable crimes committed by the ruthless terrorist Prabhakarn, unparallel in the history of Sri Lanka, in pursuit of his megalomaniac desire to carve out the North and the East, of the peaceful island of Sri Lanka, to setup his nightmarish state of Eelam and to be the sole leader equivalent to a despotic ruler.

# **CHAPTER 02**

#### CASTECISM IN THE TAMIL COMMUNITY

When a child is born to a family of a **higher caste** in the Tamil community of the North of Sri Lanka in which the caste system is deeply entrenched in the social web, he inherits by birth certain privileges which are denied to a child born to a family of a **lower caste**.

The caste system which prevails mainly in South Asian region, is strictly enforced among the followers of the Hindu faith resulting in the denial of fundamental rights meant to be enjoyed by all human beings without any discrimination as recognised and stipulated in the UN Charter of Human Rights. This has caused enormous social injustice to people of the lower castes which cannot be remedied as long as the people of the higher castes are selfishly safeguarding their exclusive rights and privileges.

This type of social discrimination prevalent in such a society maybe quite alien, intolerable and unjustifiable to a typical westerner. However it is a fact of life confronted by the people living in the South Asian Region, particularly in the case of those countries which historically came under the Indo-Hindu influence. Castecism still prevails among people of Indian Hindu origin wherever they live at present, in the world.

Sri Lankan Tamils are descendants of South Indians, who have migrated to Sri Lanka from time to time during different periods in the history of Sri Lanka. Hence these migrants brought with them to Sri Lanka the social systems, customs, habits and the ways of life which were prevalent in India and continued to practice them in the new land in which they settled. However it must be mentioned, that castecism prevails among all communities living in Sri Lanka including the majority community the Sinhalese who constitute 68% of its population, who are not adherents of Hinduism.

From time to time in the history of Sri Lanka, its people were fortunate to receive many priceless and important gifts from our closest neighbour, India. Apart from the highly civilized Aryan culture, the greatest and the priceless gift Sri Lanka received from India was the noble doctrine of Buddhism preached by Gauthama the Buddha. Buddhism was gifted to Sri Lanka in the 3rd century BC by Emperor Asoka through his own son, Arahat Mahinda. Thereafter Emperor Asoka continued to maintain cordial relations with Devanampiyatissa, the King of Sri Lanka at the time. Arahat Mahinda was followed by his sister, Theri Sangamitta who brought a sapling of the Bo tree which provided shelter to Gauttama the Buddha to attain enlightenment. This valuable gift from Emperor Asoka has been one of the holiest places of worship to the Buddhists the world over. Another valuable gift received from India was the Tooth Relic, brought to Sri Lanka by Prince Dantha and Princess Hemamali of the Indian Royalty at the time.

Since the sacred Bo sapling and the Tooth Relic were brought to Sri Lanka, they were adopted as holy objects of veneration by Buddhists the world over.

Another gift received from India was the introduction of the highly advanced architecture and the highly skilled arts and crafts. These skills prompted the ancient kings of Sri Lanka to undertake the construction of irrigation schemes and religious monuments, which are acknowledged by the modern engineering experts as some of the marvels of ancient civilization and history.

### Whilst accepting with veneration the invaluable gifts from neighbouring India, one of the social perverse impacts introduced to Sri Lanka from India was the social stigma of castecism.

Despite the prevalence of Buddhism in Sri Lanka since the 3rd century BC and the European influence for four centuries, the caste system is yet prevailing among the Tamil Hindu community to a greater extent than the majority Sinhala community.

In the modern sense there is no logical or rational basis for the existence of castecism. During the period when Sri Lanka was ruled by kings and subsequently when the feudal system prevailed, the caste system arose consequent to the different tasks assigned and performed by the people of the community – viz the farmers, those engaged in fishing, those engaged in making jewellery, the cinnamon peelers, makers of clay

products, those engaged in the washing of clothes, drummers etc. The lowest caste among the Sinhala community the "Rodiyas" are said to have consisted of the outcast of the royal and aristocratic families who were desecrated to be outcasts for misdemeanor and discrediting their families.

In Sri Lanka there are some people who are still engaged in their traditional crafts. However, there is no social stratification according to the task or the jobs performed by any section of the community. In modern Sri Lanka, any task except in Tamil/Hindu communities or job can be performed by any person based on their education, their skills and experience, without any social discrimination.

The social stigma of castecism, unlike the class system, one cannot penetrate the caste barrier irrespective of his education, knowledge, expertise, wealth or power to obtain social recognition in comparison to a person belonging to a higher caste. Greater consideration is still given to castecism in the case of matrimony. A person despite his personal attributes and achievements will not be able to marry a woman unless both are of the same caste, mainly due to the objections of the parents of both parties. Marriage through romances is an exception with or without the consent of the parents. This requirement is observed to a lesser degree by those of the Sinhala community, but to a higher degree by those of the Tamil community. They even consider people of the Tamil community living in the Jaffna peninsula to be superior to those Tamils living in the Eastern province, even though they may be of the same caste.

It was considered relevant to mention regarding the castecism in the Tamil/Hindu society in the North and the East of the Sri Lanka as it has been revealed that the majority of the young men and women including Prabhakaran was from the lower rungs of the caste system that prevailed in those areas. In the Jaffna Community the "Brahmins" and the "Vellala" are considered to be higher castes, and all others belonging to the lower castes were considered to be "parayas".

The rigidity of the caste system prevailing in the Jaffna peninsula was well described in the book of Jane Russell, an Oxford graduate who visited Sri Lanka to carry out a research for a doctorate. She studied the political situation in Sri Lanka after which she wrote the book titled "Communal Politics under the Donoughmore Constitution 1931 – 1947. She had written in her research document how the non-Vellala were treated in Jaffna. "Schools and colleges in Jaffna provided differential treatment to children of different castes which manifested itself in three ways. First, Childern of certain castes, the Parayas for example, were not permitted entry into a number of schools. Secondly, the Children of non-Vellala caste who were permitted to enter the schools, either sat on the chairs a few inches lower than the Vellala children or sat on the floor. Thirdly, commensality or interdining between the Vellala and the non-Vellala caste was considered taboo by "Vellala" Hindus. In 1930 three leading politicians approached the Governor during the Colonial period to request to disregard the enforcement of the rule of interdining between Vellala and non-Vellala students at Kopai Training College. A few weeks later several schools which had tried to enforce the equal seating rule were burnt down by the infuriated Vellala parents, and there were some outbreak of violence between the castes over this issue. In other rural Missionary Schools, the Missionaries reported that the Vellala children had stopped attending schools which had equal seating and several schools had to be closed for want of pupils.

Page 12 and 13 of the above book has stated that "After the illfeeling caused by the equal seating rule had subsided, caste friction transformed itself to other spheres. In 1933 the Vellala bus drivers went on strike in protest against attempts by the depressed classes to emancipate themselves to the extent of exercising the prerogative of sitting on the bus seats as opposed to the floor which had previously been their preserve". A few months later in a caste feud beween the Vellala and the non-Vellala Catholics, a Velllala was killed and houses of several Parayas were burnt down over the issue of a Paraya man wearing shoes in church. Soon after another feud developed in another village between the Vellala and the Nalavas (a lower caste) over the rights of Nalavas to cremate their dead in the Vellala crematorium. A man was shot over the issue. The Judge in this case reprimanded the Vellala.\*

Jane Russell has stated that the outcastes or the Parayas had a deplorable social status. There was a ruling unique to Jaffna which applied from Turumbas or washer men caste to the Parayas. **It is the** 

<sup>\*</sup> Reference : conflict resolution lessons for sri lanka. G.D.C. Weerasinghe.

Vellalar's who inflict such horror or discrimination against the non Vellalar who, come to the South and state that they are discriminated against by the Sinhalese. The Political establishment of Tamils Virtually was entirely Vellalar. All Tamil MPs from the Northern Province were Vellalar. In the Eastern Province, the MPs were Tamil Catholics, Muslims and some belonged to the non Vellala

Those belonging to this caste were not allowed to be seen during the day time. They could travel only at night.

In 1939 S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike the then Minister for Local Administration highlighted the fact that "the Caste Problem is much more acute in Jaffna than in any other district". (Page 13). As an example he cited that two members of Village Committee who belonged to a non-Vellala Caste had not been given Chairs to sit on at the Committee Meetings.

When Mr S.W.R.D. Bandaranayake was the Prime Minister the Prevention of Social Disabilities Act was passed in 1957. This Act was primarily intended to prevent caste discrimination in the Northern Province. The very famous Nallur Kovil did not permit non-Vellalas to enter it for worship. Some non-Vellala's in 1957 using Rights granted under the Abolition of the Social Disabilities Act tried to enter the Kovil. There were riots and disturbances in the Northern Province. C Sunderalingam Vellala Leader slept between the gate posts to prevent non-Vellala from entering the Kovil. Sunderalingam was an ex-Minister having been a Minister in the first Government formed in 1948 after Independence. He was an Advocate, ex-Civil Servant and a Professor of an University.

Some of these acts of discrimination which the non-Vellala were subjected to, precluded by the Act could be obtained from the clauses of the Prevention of Social Disabilities Act. Section 3 of the Act has documented some of the actions of discrimination against the non-Vellala in the East.

#### The acts prevented : -

- *"(a)* If he prevents or obstructs such other persons from or in
  - (i) Being admitted as a student to, or being employed as a teacher in, any educational institution.
  - (ii) Entering or purchasing any article at any shop, market or fair,
  - (iii) Entering or being served at, any public hotel, resthouse, eating house, restaurant or any other place where articles of food or drink are sold to the public,
  - *(iv) Obtaining any room for residence in a public hotel, resthouse or lodging house,*
  - (v) Obtaining or using water from any public well, spring water, pipe or any other source of water supply to the public.
  - (vi) Entering or obtaining services provided at a hairdressing saloon or laundry,
  - (vii) Entering any public cemetery and attending or taking part in any burial or cremation therein,
  - (viii) Wearing any kind of clothes, head-covering or footcovering at any place to which the public have access whether on payment or otherwise, or at the place of such other person's employment, or in the course of such other person's trade, business or employment,
  - *(ix)* Being carried as a passenger in any public vehicle or vessel,
  - (x) Entering or being present in any place to which the public have access whether on payment or otherwise other than a temple,
  - (xi) Being engaged in any lawful employment or activity."

This Act seeks to prevent these discriminations. After objections were made regarding the implementation of this Act by the Vellalas,

headed by Mr. Sundaralingam at that time, the Government softpeddled the implementation of this Act and the non-Vellala were continued to be treated in a discriminatory manner. This shows how non-Vellalas were never able to enter Parliament at that time from the Northern Province. As a result, large numbers of non-Vellala were prevented from any participation in the political process.

It is to be questioned whether a person, or a group of persons, irrespective of their economic, political or social position or authority could, prevent or preclude the implementation of an act duly approved and has become a part of the law of the country?

In fact, the "Prevention of Social Disabilities" Act was primarily intended to alleviate the discrimination caused to a large innocent section of the Tamil community living in the North and the East. This type of social discrimination almost amount to the violation of the "Human Rights" stipulated in the "UN Charter of Human Rights".

It is rather surprising as to why the relevant authorities have remained silent without taking appropriate action to execute the provisions of this act.

As already stated, in Sri Lanka, no particular ethnic, social or religious group or groups are given any exclusive rights or privileges which are denied to others, like the "Bhumiputhra" rights given to those who profess the Islam religion in some East Asian countries.

If any rights are denied to the people of the Tamil community in Sri Lanka, it is not due to any other reason other than the rigid caste system prevailing in the North and the East. It is none other than the Vellala Tamil Leaders who are denying these rights to the discriminated people, in order to retain their exclusiveness and privileges, as a social group.

After the disastrous incidents that took place in "Black July" the Vellala politicians of the North and the East of the TNA deceived the powers of the West by requesting them to grant "refugee status" to the Tamil people of Sri Lanka as they are denied their basic Human Rights in their country of birth and thereby concealing the genuine facts relating to this problem. It would have been appropriate if the Lessons Learned and Rehabilitation Commission (LLRC) appointed by the government on conclusion of the war against terrorism, could have drawn their attention to this problem to alleviate the sufferings of the majority of the community subject to discrimination, arising from the rigid caste system practiced in these areas.

The author is of the view that among other political, economic and social measures taken by the present government, it should draw its attention without further delay to inquire into the cause of the delay in implementing the "Prevention of Social Disabilities" Act passed in parliament in 1957 and to initiate action to implement it, which is intended to prevent social injustices caused at present and provide enormous relief to the helpless majority community in North and the East.

If this act of parliament is successfully implemented, it will result in providing great relief to the depressed majority of the people of the Tamil community who have undergone untold suffering since the introduction of the caste system with the settlement of people in those provinces several centuries ago and it will be recorded as a remarkable measure of social justice in the political history of Sri Lanka.

When the struggle for Eelam by the Vellala was unsuccessful within legal parameters, the non-Vellala were mobilized for the struggle.

They were primarily given recourse to extra-legal or terrorist activities. What Prabhakaran did however was, he eliminated all other groups including the Parliamentary Vellala group. He was able to do this because he used guns under his ruthless leadership. He now is in control of the entire situation and has a set of puppets in Parliament. They dutifully obeyed his orders as otherwise, they too would be bumped off.

The leader of the TULF (formerly the Federal Party) Mr. V.Anandasangari is the only Tamil leader who defied the orders of the Tigers and he was given protection by the government. Therefore, he has survived. All the other TULF leaders have become puppets and were carrying out Prabhakaran's orders. The TULF was the largest democratically elected party before the Tigers established their terrorist rule.

In Sri Lanka there is absolutely no discrimination legally or socially. In fact, the majority of the Tamils live in the South amongst the Sinhalese. In fact the majority of the population of a suburb to the south of Colombo called Wellawatte, are Tamil people. They are also spread out over the rest of the South and in the other Provinces of Sri Lanka and live among the Sinhalese and Muslims. The Tamils can point to no discriminatory law in Sri Lanka.

The regrettable incident was the anti-Tamil riots in 1983. This was a pre-planned act by the Tiger terrorists perhaps advised by the Vellala Politicians of TULF who wanted to create unrest in the country. To do this, they killed 13 soldiers in Jaffna. The reaction to this was a communal riot in which some Tamils were killed. Adequate steps were not taken by J.R. Javawardene's government at the time to curb it. This was a breakdown of law and order and not discrimination. President Javawardene allowed the rioting to continue for a considerable period of time. This enabled Tamil racists to paint the Sinhalese as barbarians round the world. A number of countries opened their doors to Tamils. Thus a Tamil diaspora was created. This diaspora is now financing the Tiger terrorists. The J.R. Javawardene Government cannot be forgiven for the harm it has done to this country. How can the devolution of power assist the Tamils in Jaffna if there is a breakdown of law and order in Colombo?

As stated above there is no discrimination in Sri Lanka as the Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka and the subsequent amendments to the Constitution where necessary, has provided for the following fundamental rights.<sup>\*</sup>

#### Fundamental Rights Freedom of thought, conscience and religion

**Section 10:** Every person is entitled to freedom of thought, conscience and religion, including the freedom to have or to adopt a religion or belief of his choice, **Freedom from torture** 

<sup>\*.</sup> Ref. The Constitution of Sri Lanka Text, Cases and Materials - N.M.Reyaz

Section 11 : No person shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

#### **Right to equality**

- Section 12 : (1) All persons are equal before the law and are entitled to the equal protection of the law.
  - (2) No citizen shall be discriminated against on the grounds of race, religion, language, caste, sex, political opinion, place of birth or any one of such grounds.

#### Language Rights

#### Amendment S2.13

- Section 18 : (1) The Official Language of Sri Lanka shall be Sinhala.
  - (2) Tamil shall also be an official language.
  - (3) English shall be the link language.
  - (4) Parliament shall by law provide for the implementation of the provisions of this Chapter.

#### National Languages

Section 19 : The National Languages of Sri Lanka shall be Sinhala and Tamil.

#### **Medium of Instruction in Education**

Section 21 : (1) A person shall be entitled to be educated through the medium of either of the National Languages.

#### Languages of Administration

#### Amendment S3.16

Section 22 : (1) Sinhala and Tamil shall be the languages of administration throughout Sri Lanka and Sinhala shall be the language of administration and be used for the maintenance of public

records and the transaction of all business by public institutions of all the provinces of Sri Lanka other than the Northern and Eastern Provinces where Tamil shall be so used.

#### Language of Legislation

#### Amendment S3.16

Section 23 : (1) All laws and subordinate legislation shall be enacted or made and published in Sinhala and Tamil, together with a translation thereof in English.

#### Language of the Courts

#### Amendment S4.16

Section 24 : (1) Sinhala and Tamil shall be the languages of the Courthroughout Sri Lanka and Sinhala shall be used as the language of the Court situated in all the areas of Sri Lanka except those in any area where Tamil is the language of administration. The record and proceedings shall be in the language of the Court. In the event of an appeal from any court records shall also be prepared in the language of the court hearing the appeal, if the language used by the court from which the appeal is preferred. From what is stated above it is clear that the Fundamental Rights to be enjoyed by the people of the country are laid down in the Constitution and there is no discrimination on the basis of race, religion or sex.

Hence, the author is of the view that if there is any discrimination to which the people of the Tamil community are subjected to, it would arise only from social discrimination resulting from the rigid caste system which is deeply entrenched in the social system prevailing among the Tamil Community, irrespective of the religion they profess Hindu or Christian. The people of the Vellala caste whether they were Hindus or Christians are equally concerned in maintaining and safeguarding their rights and privileges and thereby denying even the basic human rights of the people of the non-Vellala castes. It is these Vellalas who inflict such horror and discrimination against the non-Vellalas, who came to the south and state that they are discriminated by the Sinhalese. The political establishment of Tamils virtually consisted of Vellalas. In the Eastern Province the Members of Parliament were Tamil Catholics, Muslims and some belonged to the non-Vellala Castes.

In 1983 there was only a breakdown of law and order but there was no discrimination. This breakdown of law and order was contrived by the terrorists by attacking the Army in Jaffna. J.R Jayawardena must be held responsible for not taking immediate and adequate measures to control law and order.

## Hence, in order to alleviate this situation it is recommended that action be taken to implement the Social Disabilities Act introduced by Mr S.W. R.D. Bandaranaike who was the Prime Minister at that time.

The Sinhala leadership of the country should have taken steps to address the problem of the basic human rights of the oppressed Tamil non-Vellala minority. The Vellala only constituted about half the population in the Northern Province but controlled all the echelons of power in that Province. In view of this, the voice of the oppressed Tamils was not heard. It was the duty of the Sinhala leadership to have assisted the oppressed Tamil minority to obtain their rights and thereby counter the power and control the Vellalas who wielded power in the Northern Province. It is clear that the Constitution has provided equal rights to people of all communities in Sri Lanka as provided in the relevant sections of the Sri Lankan Constitution, the details of which were given above. Hence it is evident that no special rights or privileges have been given to any particular community in Sri Lanka. Accordingly the Tamil Community cannot claim that the people of the Tamil Community are discriminated by the people of the Sinhala Community. Notwithstanding the above, if any discrimination is prevailing that would arise only from the rigidity of the caste system prevailing among the Jaffna Hindu Community.

The young men and the women of the lower castes would have joined the terrorist movement as they were duped by the fallacy that they could gain some recognition in a society in which they were subjected to severe social discrimination by fighting for a cause; which was glorified by Prabhakaran to be a fight to achieve what he considered to be liberation.

Prabhakaran evolved the "Mahaviru" concept to honour those who sacrificed their lives for this cause.

# **CHAPTER 03**

#### WHO WAS PRABHAKARAN?

Prabhakaran was the ruthless terrorist who led the LTTE (Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam), which was one of the most feared terrorist groups that existed in the world. His ruthlessness was innovative and knew no limits in the massacre of human beings. He used his talents and abilities to the maximum, engaging in terror tactics to achieve his dreamland state of Eelam. He succeeded in misleading the world to create the impression that he was engaged in liberating his Tamil community, who were said to be denied of their basic human rights even though they were a constituent community of the country's population. He distorted the country's history that the Tamils were the people who were living in the North and East of Sri Lanka almost from the inception of human settlement in the island.

The world was hardly aware of the actual ground situation and his ruthless terrorism and genuinely thought that he was a liberator and provided him with all forms of assistance, including financial and military assistance to enable him to achieve his objective. However he pursued the extreme path of ruthless terrorism to achieve his objectives, which itself was the cause of his ultimate destruction.

In the end he did not succeed in liberating his people or setting up his dreamland, Eelam. Instead, he succeeded in providing adequate tears to his people who continued to live in the country to weep for the rest of their lives.

The readers of this book the world over, will realize the nature and the type of inhuman tactics adopted by the "liberator" in achieving his megalomaniac dreamland of Eelam.

The people of Sri Lanka including those who lived in the North and the East, experienced for three decades a period of absolute fear of life due to terrorism, the like of which never prevailed in this country in its recorded history of over 2500 years.

## The objective of the author in writing this book is to expose this tale of intolerable horror perpetrated by one of the most wicked people who lived in this world.

### Though Prabhakaran was wicked and ruthless, he was undoubtedly an extraordinary character. He was a character directly out of the history books and fables. Hence we can consider him to be an "Asura", a cyclic emanation and a visitation, familiar in Indian mythology.

"Asuras" are spectres of evil that arise time and again to plague the world. Some such characters who plagued the world in the 20th century were Adolf Hitler of Germany who tried to ethnic cleanse the presumed "Aryan" German race by mercilessly killing thousands of Jewish men, women and children. Polpot of Kampuchea (Cambodia) who massacred a large number of Kampucheans to achieve his political objectives. Another was Bin Laden, the terror leader of "Al Qaeda", who hated among others the USA where he had his higher education and thereafter indulged in terrorism destroying the lives of several thousand innocent civilians in his attempt to implement his extremist idea of establishing a Muslim empire in the Middle East.

# Prabhakaran of Sri Lanka belonged to this category of "Asuras" who tried to establish a state of Eelam through the ruthless path of terrorism.

# All these men who tried to follow the extreme path of terrorism failed to achieve their objectives and had an unexpected and a disastrous end.

This reminds us of the teachings of the Buddha, who taught us that those who pursue an extreme path to achieve an objective will not succeed in his endeavour. The Buddha preached this eternal truth by realizing it through his own experience by not being able to achieve enlightenment or Buddhahood by endeavouring to cleanse his mind to renounce all his desires by pursuing the extreme path of "Atthakilamathanuyogaya", meaning inflicting severe hardship to one's body.

Prabhakaran lost interest in education in his early life. He had his education only up to secondary level at his school in his village where he was born. However what he did to set up an organization to achieve his objectives, revealed that by any standard, he was a person of extraordinary qualities of leadership and talent. Even at the height of his leadership, he never desired to receive any training in any aspect of his involvement in terrorism. All his knowledge was confined to what he had learnt through his own efforts. He even learned to use his pet weapon the revolver, by his own effort and subsequently acquired the skill of being a top marksman. No one was able to challenge him in target shooting.

Even though Prabhakaran lost interest in his education, he had a great desire for reading from his young days, despite the fact that he was able to read only those books written in his own language, which was Tamil. He in particular, desired to read books on revolutionaries, whom he thought he should emulate.

He was not fascinated by Mahatma Gandhi, who was considered to be an apostle of non violence (avihimsa) by most Indians. Prabhakaran admired two other Indian leaders who took to arms against the British colonial rule in India. One was Baghatsingh, a Sikh who organized a secret society to fight against the colonialists and who was subsequently executed by the British. The other was Subash Chandra Bose, who also resisted British rule. Bose who was imprisoned by the British, escaped to Germany from where he sailed to Singapore. There with the assistance of the advancing Japanese, he formed the Indian National Army consisting of the British and the Indian troops who had surrendered to the Japanese Army.

The Indian National Army marched to India to fight the British, but was routed near the Burmese border. Bose had a mysterious death when the small plane in which he travelled crashed in Taiwan in 1947. Bose was a hero to millions of people in India for his heroic resistance against the British. Prabhakarn read almost everything on Bose written in Tamil. He also read about the exploits of Napoleon and watched plays of Socrates. He attended religious discourses and was impressed by the "Mahabaratha", the Hindu epic relating the story of a great battle for justice, truth and fairplay.

Prabhakaran read Tamil classics with keen interest and historical novels which glorified the ancient Tamil kingdoms. Prabhakaran had stated that those books aroused his desire to see that the Tamil nation rising again from servitude and that the Tamil people should live a life of dignity and freedom in a liberated motherland. Therefore he questioned as to why the Tamils should not take up arms to fight against those who have enslaved them.

Prabhakaran was under a misconception that historically the North and the East of Sri Lanka was the motherland of the Tamils. Even the Tamils of Sri Lanka were those who migrated to Sri Lanka from time to time from India during different periods of Sri Lankan history. Hence South India is the homeland of the Tamils and not the North and East of Sri Lanka.

In addition to the Tamil classics and the other historical books, he also desired pictorial cartoons which were commonly known as "comics", specially that of "Phantom" the fictitious character created by Lee Falk, who fought evil doers single handedly. Hence it is apparent that Prabhakaran acquired his background knowledge by his addiction to reading.

It is now appropriate to examine the strength of the LTTE which was organized under the leadership of Prabhakaran and known to be the most organized terrorist group in the world, as identified and classified by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) of the USA.

Prabhakaran headed a military machine trained to engage in ruthless terrorism which was established from almost nothing. It consisted of young men, women and even children, who were conscripted by forcing them out of schools and from their parents.

Even though Prabhakaran had never gone through any form of military training, he ensured that his personnel were provided with the necessary military training, initially in India, with the concurrence of the Indian government. In addition to the training provided, India also provided the LTTE with arms and ammunition to battle against the Sri Lankan security forces. Thereafter he got the senior cadres of his army specially trained in terrorist warfare in certain countries in the Middle East, which were secretly operating some terrorist organizations and promoting terrorist movements.

It has now been revealed, that some terrorists of the LTTE

received advanced military training specially in planning, implementing and adopting the military strategies, use of sophisticated arms and equipment. The LTTE had even acquired advanced technical knowledge in the manufacture of explosives, which were effectively used by them for their terrorist activities.

Prabhakaran also used his leadership skills and abilities and organized a worldwide network for the collection and extortion of funds from the Sri Lankan Tamil Diaspora, who had migrated to all parts of the world particularly since 1983. For this and other purposes, they established offices in the western capitals and elsewhere in which the Sri Lankan Tamil Diaspora lived. These offices were networked through an advanced computer and communication system. Each of these offices possessed detailed information on the Sri Lankan Tamil Diaspora and their relations in Sri Lanka.

The LTTE was ruthless in the collection of funds, some of which were voluntary contributions while others were by way of compulsion and extortion. These funds were secretly deposited in foreign banks in a manner to avoid disclosure and detection.

The LTTE also operated a highly advanced communication system which linked the LTTE operations in Sri Lanka with the Tamil Diaspora and governmental and non-governmental organizations around the world, who were sympathetic to them. These funds were mainly used for the purchase of arms, ammunition and other military hardware to fight the security forces of Sri Lanka and to carry on their other illegal activities.

The LTTE also operated a fleet of commercial ships registered in Panama, to illegally transport arms and other military hardware required for their use and to deal in international smuggling of arms to other terrorist organizations in the world, and to engage in the highly lucrative international narcotics trade and for smuggling other contraband items.

Some of these large commercial vessels were anchored in mid sea and were used as store houses to store their illegal arms, ammunition and other military hardware. From these vessels, arms and ammunition were delivered in small high speed boats which transported them to areas in the North and East where the LTTE was carrying on their terror operations.

The LTTE was one of the world's largest dealers in narcotic drugs which was a major source of income to the organization. As reported in the media recently, the scale and the volume of their international drug trade was such, that after the LTTE was defeated the other international drug dealers fiercely competed with one another to obtain a share of the drug trade which was earlier handled by the LTTE.

In addition, they also operated a fleet of various types of high speed sea vessels with short and long range fire power. They also acquired expertise in the use of underwater explosives.

The LTTE doled out large amounts of their funds to win over certain key decision makers in some governmental and nongovernmental organizations in the West and even in the USA. In fact many leaders and political parties in the USA and the Western countries maintained close relations with the LTTE. Funds were also utilized to influence some media organizations like Channel Four to espouse the cause of the LTTE and to carry out false propaganda alleging the denial of human rights by Sri Lankan Security Forces in the final stages of the war.

Having established the most organized terrorist outfit in the world, Prabhakaran used the strength of his organization and the skills of his militia to destroy approximately one hundred thousand human lives including those of the security forces, and in addition destroyed valuable assets of the country, the replacement cost of which was an enormous burden on the governments budget. In addition the Government had to incur enormous expenditure in providing the requirements for an unwarranted and a wasteful war, and deprived the government from utilizing these resources for essential priorities.

In addition, the LTTE disrupted the peace of Sri Lanka by engaging in a reign of terror for nearly three decades. By utilizing the strength of his organization he assumed the position of a "DemiGod" in the eyes of some whom he claimed to represent.

Long before Bin Laden sent his fanatic followers to launch an attack on the Twin Towers in U.S.A. in November 2004, Sri Lanka's much smaller World Trade Centre building in the capital city of Colombo was attacked by the LTTE, causing tremendous destruction and loss to the owning company, and the country.

However unlike Bin Laden, Prabhakaran was not fuelled by religious extremism. Instead, his extremism was confined to "Tamil Nationalism". To achieve this objective he sacrificed as a child, whatever comforts his middle class family could have provided him, to tread on a cruel path that meant embracing pain, suffering and the risk of sudden and painful death.

Within a period of a little over a decade, Prabhakaran developed his organization from an outfit of less than fifty men with a few weapons into a frightening organization. Within a period of another decade, he developed his army to be a formidable terrorist force.

During the blood spilling period, due to his terrorist activities, Prabhakaran killed without mercy in pursuit of his cause, without drawing much attention of the West. Hence he succeeded in getting assistance from the West, as they thought that he was engaged in a war of liberation. Prabhakaran killed at will anyone who attempted to cross his path. They who tried to cross his path met a disastrous end. Anyone within his own ranks or in other terrorist groups, members of the Sri Lankan government, including President Ranasinghe Premadasa, senior politicians of his own community and even the former Prime Minister of India, was not spared when he tried to cross his path and had a disastrous end.

In the early period while the LTTE fought many ferocious battles with the Sri Lankan Security Forces losing some and winning some, Prabhakaran organized a corps of men and women who came to be known as the "Black Tigers" and another corps which formed the "suicide squad". Members of these squads did not hesitate, even to die in the most horrible manner, to destroy those who were considered by Prabhakaran to be their enemies or impediments, to their struggle, to establish an independent state, which they identified as "Eelam". The "Black Tigers" were the most feared suicide squad of Prabhakaran of whom he was greatly exalted. It is a mystery as to how Prabhakaran brainwashed this corps of terrorists to sacrifice their young valuable lives for his megalomaniac cause. It is not clearly known, as to the number of suicide attacks ordered by Prabhakaran since July 1987, when he successfully test experimented the first attempt to inflict maximum destruction on the enemy, by ramming a truck packed with explosives into a military camp in the North. Since then, suicide killings became a deadly weapon of destruction, for which, the Sri Lankan Security Forces could not find an effective counter defense. The Security Forces have acknowledged that during the period between July 1987 and November 2001, the LTTE had carried out a total of fifty four suicide attacks.

The actual number would have been much more, as the LTTE due to dubious reasons did not accept responsibility for the attacks on military targets, probably to prevent causing embarrassment to the West where the LTTE ran a plethora of offices and frontal organizations. The LTTE continued this suicide bombing spree almost till the end of its annihilation.

In addition to the enormous destruction it caused, it had a tremendous destabilizing effect on the Sri Lanka government and the country as a whole, the impact of which was much more than what the Islamic fundamentalists tried to achieve through their terrorist activities in the Middle East and elsewhere in the world.

Prabhakaran's appetite for blood-letting continued unabated for nearly three decades. During that period, people in almost all parts of the country, North or South, West or East, lived in absolute fear expecting a surprise and a sudden death at any moment. When a person left for his place of work in the morning, he was not certain whether he would be able to return home safely. It is not an exaggeration that during that period, people in the country lived with a "fear psychosis" of uncertainty regarding the safety of their lives, including that of their children.

Even during this period, the large mass of people of the Tamil community living within the country and living overseas, hailed him for refusing to compromise on the Tamil issue. However with the passage of time, **Prabhakaran lost sight of his cause and became subservient to** 

#### and gave greater priority his personal megalomania and madness to grab power for himself to the exclusion of all others of his community.

Prabhakaran during his career initially as a rebel and later as the head of the ruthless killer organization which adopted military and terrorist strategies, systematically suppressed, all those who opposed him within the Sri Lankan Tamil community. Some of them hurriedly migrated to other countries to safeguard their lives, with the hope that he would not find or locate them, or hoping that he had forgiven them of which there was no precedence.

At the inception, Prabhakaran was a strict disciplinarian. The original constitution of the LTTE drafted by him was more a code of conduct than a constitution drafted for a new state. In drafting this document, he did not give due consideration to human rights, natural tendencies or desires of human beings. He strictly prohibited love affairs and engaging in sexual activities. It also strictly banned the consumption of liquor and smoking. There were other conditions relating to sabotaging the cause of the LTTE, conspiring against the organization and providing secret information regarding the organization to others etc. The penalty for violation was death. His strict control over his domain was rapacious. He ordered the execution of two of his body guards, a man and woman for committing the sin of engaging in sex whilst on duty.

The world outside Asia was hardly aware of the horrendous crimes committed by him, by employing his ruthless terrorist outfit. This was due to the fact that the struggle carried out by Prabhakaran was confined to Sri Lanka, occasionally extending it to India.

The most gruesome example came in 1991, when a female of the suicide squad of the LTTE blew up India's former Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi while he was participating at an election campaign in Tamil Nadu, which was meticulously planned by Prabhakaran leaving no room for the failure of the mission. This act was one of the biggest blunders done by Prabhakaran without giving due consideration to its grave consequences and repercussions, as it made him an unpardonable enemy of India. (*Refer Chapter 12 of Part I*) He further antagonized the popular and the politically powerful family of the Gandhi's, who hitherto maintained cordial relations with Sri Lanka. Despite this incident and without much concern, Prabhakaran continued to tread his chosen path. He continued committing more and more atrocities on those whom he identified as his enemies.

His trained military outfit confronted the Sri Lankan security forces with determination, making the respective governments which came to power from time to time, desperate and forcing them to seek assistance from the Norwegians, to explore the possibility of taming the LTTE.

Meanwhile some of the leading countries in the world acknowledged that the LTTE was a ruthless terrorist organization and decided to outlaw this organization, particularly after the brutal assassination of Rajiv Gandhi. Initially the LTTE was banned in India, Britain and the USA. In addition as the LTTE activities were beginning to cause concern, these countries closely monitored the activities of this organization. Meanwhile INTERPOL issued a red corner alert against Prabhakaran, who was subsequently outlawed. The countries to which the red alert was intended in particular were Canada, Malaysia and Australia. Those were the countries which opened the flood gates to permit Sri Lankan Tamils to migrate to their countries on compassionate grounds as refugees, due to the ethnic disturbances that took place in Sri Lanka in 1983. (*Refer Chapter 08 of Part I*)

These disturbances were sparked off consequent to an ambush of the security forces in the Jaffna peninsula, organized and executed by a gang of Tamil Youth led by Prabhakaran. It was one of the first acts of violence perpetrated by him. This led to the assassination of thirteen soldiers of the Sri Lankan Army. The Tamils who migrated to these countries consequent to the "Black July", which constituted the Tamil Diaspora, most of whom were sympathetic to the LTTE movement, contributed funds continuously on a systematic basis. It became not problematic to those countries which genuinely thought that the Tamil immigrants were desperate and needed assistance. However information received subsequently through the international media has revealed that some of the Tamils living in those countries are engaged in dubious activities, which are detrimental to the political interest of those countries.

This then is the LTTE led by its ruthless leader Velupillai Prabhakaran. The members of his militia complied with his orders meticulously. They had no right to question their leader. Their task was to do or die without raising any questions. To them he was a "Demi-God" and he alone knew what was good for the Tamil community. If the leader ordered to kill, it was executed without any objection. The leader was always considered to be right. Those who questioned him had no place in the LTTE. Some of them had a disastrous end.

In the Chapters 10-11 to follow, it is proposed to expose the details of the horrendous crimes committed by Prabhakaran employing his ruthless terrorist outfit. This will enable the readers of the world over to evaluate and determine whether Prabhakaran was a genuine liberator of the Tamil community or whether he was a selfish and ruthless terrorist in the guise of a liberator. (*Refer Chapter* 10 and 11 of Part I)

# **CHAPTER 04**

## PRABHAKARAN'S CHILDHOOD AND WHAT INFLUENCED HIS MIND AND CONDUCT

The 26th day of November 1954, should be recorded as a black letter day in the 20th century history of Sri Lanka, as it registered, the birth of a baby boy at the Jaffna hospital in the North of Sri Lanka who grew up to be a monster in the guise of a human being, and caused the death of nearly one hundred thousand people, before he suffered a tragic death on 18th May 2009 at the hands of the heroic Sri Lankan security forces. He was known as Velupillai Prabhakaran.

In a traditional Hindu community, greater recognition was given to males than females. Accordingly, the birth of a boy was considered to be enhancing the value of a family.

The birth of a boy brought tremendous joy to Vallipuram Parvathi and her husband, Thiruvenkatham Velupillai. The boy was named Velupillai Prabhakaran, adding a part of the name of the father to that of the son, which is normally a traditional practice in a Hindu Tamil family. He was the fourth in a family of three girls.

This family lived in a coastal village, located in the northern edge of the Jaffna peninsula. With the passage of time, it was merged to form the small town of Velvatithurai.

The Jaffna Peninsula in the North of Sri Lanka which is nine hundred and ninety nine square miles in extent is joined to the mainland in the south by a half a mile wide strip of land which was identified as the "monkey bridge" in the legendary epic "Ramayana".

The Dravidians who migrated to Sri Lanka during different periods of Sri Lankan history was the predominant community living in Jaffna and the surrounding areas for several centuries. Jaffna was joined to the capital city of Sri Lanka, Colombo by a train service which ran daily between the two cities. This train service had to be terminated over the years as the railway tracks were blasted by the LTTE terrorists and the steel railings were used by them to construct bunkers etc by them.

Prabhakaran's father was born in 1924 in Singapore, where he lived and was later employed in the postal service. He returned to Sri Lanka and married Vallipuram Parvathi in 1947.

Prabhakaran was born as the fourth in the family after three daughters and soon became the favorite of the family. As a young boy he often slept at night with his father as he was fond of him, and he often stated that his father's conduct was exemplary and it was his father who moulded his conduct.

Prabhakaran said that his father was strict, but soft and kind hearted and was very persuasive. Prabhakaran's mother was a typical housewife, a devoted mother and a very religious woman. His mother was also fond of him and always took his side when the other children tried to annoy him. In later years when Prabhakaran was getting involved in military activities, his mother was not scared to face the security personnel.

The Velupillai's family was well known in Velvatithurai, which was a small settlement of about ten thousand people. There was a Catholic church and two Hindu shrines, one of which was devoted to God Shiva and the other to the elephant hooded God, God Ganesha. The Velupillai's who were Hindus were closely attached to these two shrines.

Prabhakaran's father, Velupillai started his career in the government clerical service and later served as a District Land Officer. His work involved creating new settlements in the previously unexplored areas bordering the forest. As a boy, Prabhakaran regularly visited the Shiva Temple with his family, to participate in religious activities. Young Prabhakaran dressed in short trousers and short sleeved shirts, ran to the neighbouring houses when his neighbours could not attend the temple ceremony, to handover their share of the food items.

Prabhakaran attended a school in the Eastern town of Batticaloa for two years, as his father was transferred to Batticaloa for the performance of his work as a public servant. Later when his father was transferred to Velvatithurai, he attended a local school where he spent his boyhood as a loner, as his parents hardly permitted him to associate with other children in the neighbourhood. He was shy of girls and was keen on reading books and comics in Tamil.

Prabhakaran later recalled the days of his boyhood and has stated that as a child, he was the pet of the family and that he was subject to a lot of restrictions at home and that his playmates were the children in the neighbourhood. He had further stated, that he was confined to his neighbour's houses.

From his young days, he had been a lover of books and spent the pocket money given to him by his parents to purchase books from the bookshop in his village.

Most of the people in Velvatithurai, were either public servants, traders or fishermen. Velvatithurai was known as a smuggling hub in the whole of Sri Lanka which was a thriving activity. Due to it's close proximity to India, boats were operating regularly to and from Velvatithurai to South India.

The Sri Lankan government was aware of this illegal operation and the Sri Lankan Police and the Customs kept close watch. The boatmen who were very familiar with the sea were engaged in a lucrative business, despite the restrictions placed by the governments of both countries. These boatmen later provided valuable support to the LTTE, during the period of the insurgency movement.

Like most Tamils, Prabhakaran's father served the government with loyalty. Most of the residents in Velvatithurai were politically conservative. However things started changing, when the Central Government of Sri Lanka made it compulsory for all public servants to learn Sinhala. If not they were required to leave or submit their resignation. This new rule caused annoyance to most of the Tamil public servants. Many Tamil parents began to think that the government jobs they thought to be more recognized and particularly due to a pension, after retirement might not be the best option for their children in the future.

Velupillai was also compelled to learn the Sinhala language to retain his job and look forward to salary increments. The change in the language policy made it difficult for the Tamils to adjust themselves, as they traditionally taught their children English as it provided an assurance for employment, as agriculture and industries were not well developed in the Tamil areas.

As Prabhakaran grew up, he got closer to his aunt and uncle who lived with them. He loved eggs. But during religious festivals, his mother refused to cook meats or eggs. The Velupillai's had poultry amounting to about one hundred hens and eggs were sold to a shop in the neighbourhood which gave them some added income.

From childhood, Prabhakaran was in the habit of doing certain acts without the knowledge of his elders. He often entered the poultry farm stealthily picked an egg and bore a tiny hole and sucked the egg. It was his aunt who discovered that some eggs were hollow. In the beginning, she put the blame on some mysterious insect or bird. One day when she organized a close watch to detect the culprit, Prabhakaran was caught in the act and he got so frightened that he promised not to repeat it again.

#### WHAT INFLUENCED PRABHAKARAN'S CONDUCT

Velupillai wanted his son to study diligently so that he could find employment in the government sector. When it was revealed that Prabhakaran was poor in his studies at school, he found a private tutor to assist Prabhakaran in his studies. The teacher was a diehard Tamil nationalist who brought to bear a tremendous impact on the radical thinking and the conduct of Prabhakaran. His conviction was that the Tamils in the North and the East of Sri Lanka could progress and develop only if they separated from the mainland, where the majority community Sinhalese lived. He openly expressed his views to his pupils, relating to them the glory of Tamil kingdoms that existed in Sri Lanka and India. Prabhakaran himself later acknowledged that it was his teacher who impressed upon him the need to launch an arms struggle and persuaded him to place his trust in it.

As Prabhakaran's father was a well known person in Velvatithurai, many visited his home and had lively political discussions with his father and he carefully listened to their arguments and sentiments, similar to what he heard from his tutor. During this period due to various political reasons, the relations between the Sinhalese in the South and the Tamils in the North were getting further strained, which disturbed the minds of the Tamils. Young Prabhakaran who was already inspired by Tamil nationalist feelings started attending political meetings, at which extremist Tamil speakers blasted what they called the atrocities committed by the Sinhalese. The aggressive speeches, openly called for arms resistance against the Sri Lankan state.

At Prabhakaran's home, his father and his friends spoke angrily regarding the humiliation and lack of respect for people of their community. At times, Prabhakaran sat on his father's lap and listened to these discussions patiently. **Gradually he got to know the grave experiences of ethnicity.** 

Prabhakaran was four years of age, when he heard that a priest of a Hindu temple was burned alive by a mob of Sinhalese during the anti Tamil riots of 1958. Prabhakaran recalled three decades later, that the feeling among the Tamils was, that if a religious priest was burned alive by the Sinhalese, why the Tamils should not develop their capabilities to strike back.

Despite the father's interest in educating his son, Prabhakaran was losing interest in his studies. But he took a liking to reading the books on revolutionaries and thought that he should emulate them. As stated earlier, he was not fascinated by Mahatma Gandhi and his concept of "Avihimsa" or non violence. He was fascinated by two other Indians who rose against the British rulers. One was BAGHAT SINGH, a Sikh leader who headed a secret organization to fight the British colonialists. The other was Subash Chandra Bose, a nationalist who defied Mahatma Gandhi to deal with the British.

Prabhakaran read almost everything written on Bose in Tamil, the only language he knew. As stated earlier, he also read regarding the exploits of Napolean written in Tamil and was also keen on watching the plays of Socrates. **He was also impressed by the Hindu epic "Mahabaratha"**, which related the story of a battle for justice, truth and fair play. When Prabhakaran shifted his base of operation to Tamil Nadu, India long after 1993, he told a person who interviewed him, that Subash Chandra Bose impressed him even as a child. As a boy, Bose went in search of spiritualism and finding that life as a spiritualist was dissatisfying, reverted back to lay life. But repeatedly he reverted back to spiritualism in times of great difficulty and crisis. **Prabhakaran has further stated, that he followed Subash Chandra Bose's life history with fascination and he became his hero and was impressed with some of his orations which made him courageous.** 

Prabhakaran read the Tamil classics and historical novels with great interest and observed that they aroused in him, a desire to see that the Tamils rise again from what he described as servitude and that the Tamil people should live with dignity and freedom in a liberated motherland. He also questioned as to why they should not take up arms to fight those who have "enslaved" them.

It is not clear as to what Prabhakaran meant when he stated that the Tamil people should rise against "servitude". When he referred to his people as Tamils, did he include only the Tamil people living in Sri Lanka who constituted only 12% of a total Sri Lankan population of slightly over twenty million, or did he include the Tamils living in India numbering over sixty five million in the State of Tamil Nadu? It is also not understood as to what he meant by the words "servitude" and "enslaved".

Under the "Rajakariya" system which prevailed in Sri Lanka during the period when the Sinhala kings were ruling the country, the people were assigned to perform certain compulsory tasks in exchange for land given to them for cultivation for their existence. The system of "Rajakariya" was abolished by the British during the period of the British rule in 1832. Since then, even under colonial rule any form of "servitude" did not prevail in Sri Lanka and all people irrespective of their ethnic or religious differences had the freedom to engage in any work of their will, depending on their knowledge and skills and in later stages of the British rule, was based on education and knowledge of the English language. Abolition of the "Rajakariya" System was a landmark in the history of Sri Lanka. Since granting independence from the British rule in 1948, all people living in the country despite ethnic, religious or social differences were permitted to live in any district of the country, whilst enjoying similar rights of education, livelihood, right of speech, follow any faith of their conviction and the right of speech under a democratic parliamentary system of government.

However it cannot be denied, that there were certain problems related to the use of languages and equal rights could not be resolved due to the conservative and extremist attitudes of the leaders of both the Sinhala and the Tamil communities. **However as at today, even problems relating to the use of the Tamil language in any part of the country has been resolved.** However it is not understood, as to what Prabhakaran meant by the word "enslaved". No community living in Sri Lanka is "enslaved" or permitted to be "enslaved" by another. These are mere slogans used by radical politicians to whip up hatred and animosity among people who prefer to live peacefully, than go through horror and disaster.

Prabhakaran who belonged to a lower caste prevailing in his community and who has spoken of "enslavement" of his people, has never spoken or exposed the rude castecism prevailing and practiced in his community, which has subjected the vast majority of people to the worst form of social discrimination amounting almost to the denial of basic human rights, provided in the Charter of Human Rights laid down by the United Nations applicable to all human beings in the world.

Even if the problems relating to equal rights in the use of the Tamil language and other connected problems are resolved, the majority of the Tamil community consisting of those who belong to the lower castes, will not be able to live a contented life in a truly free atmosphere, as long as castecism is strictly enforced and practiced in the Tamil community mainly due to the conservatism of the people, of the higher caste known as the Vellala.

The government of Sri Lanka has given serious consideration to the implementation of the recommendations of the Lessons Learnt & Reconciliation Committee (LLRC) appointed by the President Mahinda Rajapaksa after the eradication of terrorism from Sri Lanka, to ascertain the unresolved problems confronted by the people of the Tamil community and make recommendations to ensure peace and harmony among the Sinhala and Tamil communities, to enable the government to fully concentrate on the development of the country.

#### Prabhakaran's peculiar hobbies as a child

The earliest weapon Prabhakaran took to kill as a child was a "catapult", which he used to kill birds, lizards and squirrels which came to his garden. After some time he used an "air gun" and shot with accuracy. When he started using the "air gun" in comparison to the "catapult", he was able to kill more innocent animals.

Prabhakaran's family observed that the little boy was changing and thought that it was unusual. Flying kites was his famous hobby. When a kite was not available, he caught a dragon fly and tied a string to his tail and enjoyed seeing it flying. He also trapped the garden lizards and squirrels from his childhood which were his likes and hobbies, which indicated that he had a tendency and a desire to kill all kinds of living objects.

Whilst Prabhakaran had a desire to read Tamil classics and historical works, he loved to read comics especially on "Phantom" created by Lee Fawk. He was fascinated by the way "Phantom" fought the evil doers single handed. He was also thrilled by the way, in which the comic hero used a ring which he wore with an embossed skull, and with which he punched the bad guys. As stated earlier one of his good desires was the desire to read. However what he preferred to read was about the characteristics of those who were involved and engaged in some form of violence, which greatly inspired him.

Prabhakaran also started learning judo and karate much to the amusement of his family, who knew him to be a shy and obedient child. At school, Prabhakaran with his selected band of friends experimented with improvised bombs, attaching lighted incense sticks to chemicals. His friends attached cigarettes to fire crackers and lit them and placed them in the school toilet. Prabhakaran's peculiar hobbies, habits and desires as a child, gave some indication as to what he would be when he grew up to be an adult. One of Prabhakaran's earliest friends was Sathasivam Krishnakumar, who was his neighbour and who was slightly younger than him, and popularly known as **"Kittu"**. Both of them experimented with chemicals pilfered from the laboratories of the schools in the vicinity. They experimented by filling the chemicals to bottles and blowing them up. "Kittu" remained a loyal friend of Prabhakaran and a decade later, became the feared and admired LTTE military commander in the whole of the Jaffna peninsula, as the LTTE gained control of the peninsula.

As Prabhakaran started growing up, problems between the Tamils and Sinhalese were widening. The decisions of the government in 1956 to make Sinhalese the official language, was the first which annoyed the Tamils. This was followed by the brutal anti Tamil violence in 1956 and 1958. They were also concerned regarding the fact that the Tamil leaders were considered insignificant in national affairs.

This attitude of the government of Sri Lanka evoked a strong reaction in the Tamil areas, particularly among the youth. By 1970 unrest among students in Jaffna was becoming quite common. They held street protests, pelted stones at government buses and blocked roads with trunks of trees chopped by them. The more violent ones stole chemicals from laboratories or schools to make crude explosives. Sri Lankan Government Ministers visiting Jaffna were greeted with black flags. All these had a dramatic effect on Prabhakaran. The once shy boy who was confined to his house, started cycling around Jaffna meeting people whom he had not met before, discussing Tamil politics and nationalism and the need to organize an arms struggle. Like the other young boys, he decided to join the Tamil Students League and the Tamil Youth League. anti government protests continued. Prabhakaran was comparatively younger than most of the other members of these leagues and some of them resented the over zealous behaviour of Prabhakaran.

## **CHAPTER 05**

#### THE PERIOD FROM 1970'S TO 1983 PRABHAKARAN'S FIRST ACT OF VIOLENCE

Prabhakaran's first act of violence took place in the early 1970's, when he set fire to a bus which was owned by the Ceylon Transport Board at a place close to Velvatithurai. His family was amazed to hear that Prabhakaran ganged up with some boys, stopped it and burned it after dousing it with diesel obtained from the tank of the bus.

Some people who saw the incident reported it to Prabhakaran's father who was furious. When the police questioned Velupillai regarding this incident, he was scared, as he was a government servant and would lose his job. This incident affected the relationship Prabhakaran had with his father and created a rift in the family. Velupillai was hard on his son and told him that he was a government servant and not to create difficulties for him, so that he would be able to continue in employment.

Prabhakaran had his own personal hero, a young man called Sivakumaran, a Tamil militant who was pursued by the police. In September 1970, Sivakumaran tried to assassinate a Sri Lankan Minister visiting Jaffna and five months later he made an abortive attempt on the life of the Mayor of the Jaffna Municipal Council, Alfred Duraiappah. Eventually the latter was assassinated by Prabhakaran dramatically in June 1974. The police caught Sivakumaran but as he did not want to surrender, he swallowed a cyanide capsule and collapsed dead. Prabhakaran followed the example of Sivakumaran, when much later he decreed that every member of the LTTE should carry a cyanide capsule to be swallowed if certain to be captured.

During this period anti-government violence was spreading in the Tamil areas, particularly in Jaffna. In the early 1970's, a group of Tamil youth killed a taxi driver, during an attempt to kill a pro government Tamil Member of Parliament. Another politician, an MP narrowly escaped death for supporting an Act of Parliament, intended to make Buddhism the state religion. Some Tamil politicians sympathized with the youth, whom they referred to as the **"Boys".** 

Prabhakaran started staying away from his home, as he found his parents were not prepared to accept his conduct. **His new conduct caused a great consternation to his parents.** Initially he kept away from home for a day or two, but later extended to a longer period. In course of time, no one knew his whereabouts or when he would return home.

His older associates started calling him "Thambi". This name continued until he grew in stature in the LTTE. Over the years, he came to be called "Thalaivar" (leader) and much later "Desiya Thalaivar" (national leader).

In the 1970's Prabhakaran was a leader of an informal group of eight young men, whose sole desire was to possess a revolver by any means. Each in the group of eight, contributed twenty five cents to Prabhakaran every month and the collection amounted to forty rupees. The group became aware, that a gangster in Jaffna who had a revolver was willing to sell it for one hundred and fifty rupees. However, their joint collection was inadequate to purchase it. Prabhakaran was determined to go ahead and make the purchase and decided to sell a gold ring in his possession, which was gifted to him during his sister's marriage and collected seventy rupees from it's sale.

At home, Prabhakaran's father who was worried, tried to distract his son from the violent activities he was gradually getting involved in, and did his best to get him to focus on his studies. But Prabhakaran who was determined to tread his chosen **path stopped attending school after grade ten.** His conduct and actions at this age were clear indications of what he would become in the future. Later in life, he became the hallmark and the leader of the terror campaign unparallel in the recent history of the South Asian Region.

As a child, to the amazement of his family members, he tied himself in a gunny bag (bag made out of jute) in a dry climate when the temperature on an average reaches 100° F in the Jaffna Peninsula. This conduct of Prabhakaran would have alarmed anyone who is familiar with the climate normally prevailing in the Jaffna province. He was also in the habit of wrapping himself up with bags used for carrying red chillies or inserting pins into his nails. Inflicting suffering of this nature to his own body, foresaw a man who was preparing himself for a life that requires tremendous levels of physical endurance.

Prabhakaran also had a hobby of pricking insects to death with needles.

It is speculative, as to what motivated a boy of a loving middle class devoted Hindu family, to indulge in such weird experiments. It is so surprising that he thought ahead so much, that he destroyed all his photographs in his family album as he knew what he was planning to do. Hence it is evident, that he had an extraordinary capacity to forecast the future, similar to a person who had a highly developed mind.

Much later, when the police were making an effort to arrest Prabhakaran for alleged crimes they were unable to identify him to be arrested, as they did not possess a photograph of him, except the photograph taken when he was a small boy.

One day in 1972, when Prabhakaran was seated with a gang of men under a palm tree in a deserted place making bombs, one bomb accidentally blew up slightly injuring three persons. Prabhakaran had a narrow escape but his right leg got burned leaving a permanent black scar. Thereupon he earned the nickname "karikalan" (the man with black legs). When the police were looking for him not knowing what he looked like, they had to check the legs of young men in an attempt to identify the elusive man!

After the accidental bomb blast that wounded him, he wanted to do another change to his appearance. Instead of combing his hair from left to right which gave the appearance of the head being flat, he decided to comb from front to back giving his face a puffy look. Once again, he was carefully thinking of the need to change his appearance, evidently to disguise his appearance, perhaps to prevent identification and detection.

Meanwhile, the most feared Tamil Inspector of Police who was well known for cracking down Tamil militants started visiting Velupillai's residence. When he was not able to find Prabhakaran, he angrily warned Prabhakaran's mother that if he got hold of her son he would break him into hundred pieces! The mother who was agitated by the remarks of Inspector Bastianpillai, ordered the Inspector to leave the house. However, this tremendously worried Prabhakaran's family, as the threat of Bastianpillai could not be ignored.

As Prabhakaran was aware of the danger to which he was exposed, one night before he went to sleep, he advised that no one should open the door, if someone knocked on the door. Those who were at home clearly understood the message.

Bastian Pillai who never gave up his efforts, visited Prabhakaran's house again at night. Prabhakaran who preferred to wear shorts, also kept a sarong by his bedside before he slept. When he heard the knocks on the door, he quietly slipped out from the rear of the house and entered his uncle's house through the side gate. His shirt was torn when creeping through the fence. He asked for another shirt from his uncle and after changing slipped out, never to return to the family.

The year he left was 1972, when he was eighteen years of age. Thereafter fortune favoured him for several years and he did not confront any problems.

However as militancy continued to develop in the Tamil areas, the Police made a string of arrests and Prabhakaran's name was repeatedly mentioned in several interrogations. He was already a suspect in the assassination attempt on the Mayor of Jaffna and an unsuccessful robbery of a hardware store in Jaffna. Bastian Pillai and his men continued their search looking for Prabhakaran but he evaded detection and arrest.

Prabhakaran was barely out of his teens when he began his underground life, despite warnings from his trusted friends to leave Jaffna. It was becoming too dangerous, due to the police pursuing militant Tamil youth. Though it involved a rough boat ride, it was worth sailing to India for safety. His friendly boatmen who were part-time smugglers, offered to ferry him for a small fee.

Accompanied by his cousin, Periyasothi he crossed over to Tamil Nadu. There they met a local politician, T.R. Janaidhanan, who had authored a book on the problems of Tamils in Sri Lanka. He played host to many Sri Lankan activists arriving in Madras. Prabhakaran frequently visited the house of Janaidhanan for meals and to engage in discussions on the future of Sri Lankan Tamils.

Quite by chance, Prabhakaran met a young Tamil from Jaffna who had escaped from prison in Sri Lanka. He was accused of robbing a bank in Jaffna. His name was "Chetty" and he had a criminal record. Prabhakaran became friendly with Chetty, to the annoyance of his cousin, Periyasothi. When Periyasothi complained to Janaidhanan, **Prabhakaran told him that even if they did not do things "right", they were active. These utterances made it clear, the length to which Prabhakaran was willing to go to uphold his cause.** Janaidhanan once took Prabhakaran to a quiet spot in the sea beach of Madras. Prabhakaran was fascinated by what he saw and remarked that it was the kind of place ideal for military training. Janaidhanan ignored him.

A few weeks later, Prabhakaran left India for Jaffna. When Prabhakaran reached Jaffna he found it to be more turbulent. An International Conference organized in Jaffna in January 1974 had ended in violence and this had led to clashes between the people and the police. Nine people had died during the clash when an electric cable snapped and electrocuted the victims. The Tamils blamed the government for the incident. When Prabhakaran returned to Jaffna, he was cut off from most of his previous friends and contacts and was virtually on his own.

Prabhakaran who was revengeful over this incident, decided along with Chetty to accord a hot welcome to Prime Minister, Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaiake, who was due to visit Jaffna in October that year.

A bomb went off at a railway station and one at a bus terminal. **Prabhakaran and Chetty were blamed for half a dozen explosions which created panic.** One explosion took place at the residence of a Tamil politician, who was to have been the Prime Minister's interpreter and the other bomb exploded at a police station.

Chetty was arrested by the police which was a big blow to Prabhakaran. He was forced to rebuild like-minded contacts and look for fresh hideouts etc. Later Prabhakaran's relations with Chetty strained and Chetty masterminded a bank robbery and bought a car.

He lied to his friends when they inquired about his new life style. Prabhakaran found that it was difficult for him to operate underground without Chetty. He avoided meeting people, because he thought that he was being watched by the police. It was the time the militants were short of money. Prabhakaran did not trust anyone. He avoided going to Velvatithurai, but occasionally he cycled to places close to Velvatithurai to meet people for financial assistance.

Prabhakaran now started going to Jaffna sometimes on bicycle and sometimes by bus. When he went around Jaffna, he avoided roads and routes patrolled by the police. Unlike any of the other Tamils whose identity was known, the police were not aware what Prabhakaran looked like, as he had destroyed his photographs in the family album a long time ago. The only photograph the police were able to get was one in a school file, taken when he was a small boy which looked innocent. Since then, he had changed considerably in his physical appearance. Despite the fact that he was careful in avoiding arrest by the police, it did not stop him from talking about the Tamil cause with passion, with those whom he trusted.

Occasionally he went to a small restaurant and quickly vanished. Those who knew him were aware that he was dedicated to his cause. **He thought that he should not ask others to do what he did not want to do.** 

**Comment** – However in real life, he did many things which were strictly prohibited to his followers.

#### PRABHAKARAN'S FIRST POLITICAL VICTIM ALFRED DURAIAPPAH MAYOR OF JAFFNA

At this time, Prabhakaran decided to take the first step to implement his philosophy of killing, by planning his first assassination. It was the 27th day of July 1975. It is not clear as to when he decided to kill the Mayor of the Jaffna Municipal Council, Alfred Duraiappah, who was a leader of the ruling Sri Lanka Freedom Party, headed by Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaike. The Mayor had already survived two attempts on his life and was already a marked person. Some Tamils blamed him for the deaths of nine Tamils at the Tamil conference held in Jaffna in 1974.

One Saturday, Prabhakaran went to the house of a friend in Jaffna which was located in a crowded area. Prabhakaran was in the habit of occasionally visiting this friend and spending a night with him. However the visit on this particular Saturday was to perform a special task.

Prabhakaran carried with him two revolvers, a bundle of match boxes and some chemicals. After obtaining permission, he began mixing whatever he had to produce the pellets. His friend was amazed and inquired whether it could be possible to shoot with those pellets. He responded and requested his friend to be quiet and to see what would happen tomorrow.

The following day was Sunday, 27th July 1975. Prabhakaran quietly left the friend's house at 5 a.m. in the morning. In a couple of hours, he was joined by three others. The four waited for a long time on the granite steps leading to the Hindu temple.

Many in Jaffna knew that Mayor Duraiappah was in the habit of visiting the temple on Sundays for worship and Prabhakaran was also aware of this. As they were waiting, a woman inquired from them as to what they were doing there, to which one of them responded and said that they were waiting for some friends. The woman left, but was able to remember the faces when the police questioned her later.

Duraiappah arrived at the temple in a car almost around mid-day with two other persons. The Mayor started walking towards the temple. One of those who accompanied Duraiappah saw three men rushing towards the Mayor screaming "shoot ..... shoot". Two of them had revolvers and one was armed with a knife. The Mayor's companion who panicked tried to run into a shop. Five or six shots were fired. Duraiappah who was shot and wounded tried to get back to his car. But he staggered and collapsed. The killers ran towards the car brandishing their weapons, and ordered the driver to get out of the car, after which the men got into the car and drove away. When they travelled a fairly long distance, they saw a police jeep coming in the opposite direction, whereupon they abandoned the car and ran off. The policemen not knowing as to what had happened did not stop to investigate.

The killing stunned the government and the whole of Sri Lanka. It was the first assassination of a politician in the turbulent Tamil areas. Until that day, most Sri Lankans thought that the grievances expressed by the Tamil leaders were probably exaggerated. The killing of Duraiappah, made the politicians in the South and the people at large, realize that the grievances were more serious than what they thought to be. It was now revealed that the Tamil youth were prepared to kill even the well known political personalities.

The police promptly commenced their investigations. Many suspects were taken in for questioning and several arrests were made. Prabhakaran advised his companions not to sleep in their homes for several days. However, the police were able to track them one by one. **But Prabhakaran managed to escape arrest.** 

By this assassination, Prabhakaran achieved two objectives. It further strengthened his objective and also established him as a cold blooded person who could kill. By now, Prabhakaran had formed a small group of militants with a close circle of friends called "Tamil New Tigers" (TNT). The police referred to them as "Tigers", but officially they were identified as terrorists.

The police were looking for a person known as Prabhakaran, who was then a dangerous killer. They knew who he was, but did not know what he looked like.

# THE SECOND POLITICAL VICTIM OF PRABHAKARAN – A. THIYAGARAJAH – MP (UNP)

The second political victim of Prabhakaran and his killer gang was A. Thiyagarajah, a Member of Parliament of the United National Party (UNP) representing Vadukkodai, Jaffna. He was brutally assassinated by being shot on the head on 24th May 1981. He died upon admission to the Jaffna hospital.

#### THE PERIOD FROM 1981 TO 1983

As Prabhakaran was a megalomaniac, he could not have possessed the qualities of a genuine leader though professed to be so, as he did not work towards achieving the common cause of setting up a state for the Tamil speaking people. If genuine, he should have sought the assistance of the leaders of the other terrorist groups, whose members were trained and equipped by India. Instead he wanted to pursue this objective all by himself excluding all others. He further attempted to restrain the rise of a democratic political leadership from among the Tamil community, which took him on a bloody trail of murder and mayhem and started assassinating the leaders not only of the Sinhalese community but also of his own community.

After returning to Sri Lanka from India literally with his trained team of terrorists, he started a ruthless campaign of exterminating the members of the other terrorist groups and their leaders.

The killing spree assumed such a violent and ruthless scale that there were violent protests from the civilians of the North and the East including the parents of the victims. If Prabhakaran was a genuine liberator of his people as he claimed to be, he would have sought the co-operation and assistance of all the leaders of the other terrorist groups and utilized the services of these men to confront the security forces. However he being a selfish leader, who wished to be the sole leader of the proposed state to be established, decided to proceed under his leadership employing his own people.

Having successfully done this, he took steps to fine tune the weapons in his armoury using the brainwashed Tamil youth as human bombs to further propagate the killing of the opposing politicians and other community leaders. He also dealt with anybody who crossed his path whether a one time friend, foe or anyone whom he thought could be a potential danger to his leadership, whether Sinhala, Tamil or Muslim. He justified in killing them as they were considered to be traitors to the cause of the Tamil speaking people. In fact it was not so. The leaders of the other terrorist groups too genuinely pursued the cause of liberating the people of the Tamil community. However, Prabhakaran who did not wish to obtain their support to pursue the common cause, which would have been the most appropriate and the successful approach in achieving this common objective. However being extremely selfish and ambitious he embarked on a campaign to destroy the leadership and the members of the other terrorist groups and decided to confront the security forces all by himself and his terrorist outfit. In this process he failed to achieve his objective and finally he and his leadership had to face a disastrous end at the hands of the Sri Lankan security forces.

The first political victim of Prabhakaran was the popular Mayor of Jaffna, Alfred Duraiappah, who as stated earlier was gunned down outside the Krishnan Hindu Temple at Ponnnalai on 27th July 1975.

In fact the LTTE had not been formally set up at that time Duraiappah was killed by the Tamil New Tigers, formed by Prabhakaran which was later named the LTTE. The assassination had been carried out by three youth led by Prabhakaran.

With the first major political killing in its bag, the LTTE with the backing of finance and training which it got mainly from India, went on to become the most dangerous and deadly extremist outfit in the world with scores of people killed in its campaign of violence and bloodshed, including two eminent leaders, one in India and one in Sri Lanka, "the only terrorist organizations to do so".

It is thought that it would be appropriate to provide some background developments in the North that led to the assassination of Duraiappah and the subsequent violent massacres carried out by the LTTE.

The rise of political violence in the North in the early 1970's after the enactment of the Republican Constitution of 1972 by the Parliament, should be looked at not merely as a spontaneous reaction to the legislation or the administrative steps taken by the government from 1948, **but as a** calculated move by the extremists leaders of the North to destabilize the country and unnecessarily instill fear to the Tamil people of the North who were usually enterprising, hard working, frugal and law abiding, who did not resort to violence to address their problems. The assassination of Alfred Duraiappah, the Mayor of Jaffna, came after several incidents of violence and sabotage started after the formation of the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF). But the motivating force behind was the extremists elements among the politicians of the North, notably A. Amirthalingam who was to succeed the first leader of the Illankai Thamil Arasu Kachchi, erroneously known in English as the Federal Party. When the Republican Constitution of 1972 was enacted in Parliament, no less than five members from the North, all of them Tamils voted for the constitution and it was recorded that Amirthalingam had stated that these five members will not die natural deaths but would die in some other ways. The TULF youth had threatened these five members and posters were displayed in Jaffna naming them as "traitors of the Tamils".

It was in this background that the rise of the LTTE and the other terrorist groups had to be understood. Initially a group of about fifty Tamil youth started collecting small arms and some explosives from private parties.

Amirthalingam had advised the youth that they should fight to create a separate state for the Tamils and that they may get arrested, tortured or even suffer heroic deaths and with the passage of time they may be able to win a separate state of Eelam. Amirthaligam had also told the youth that they should seek the assistance of the people of the North for their struggle. However, the tragedy the people of the North had to confront was that after some time, the youth began to get themselves organized as terrorist groups.

Duraiappah was a lawyer and was a politician in Jaffna. He believed that the people of the North and South should unite and he worked hard to bring prosperity to the people of the North. When he joined the government headed by Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaike, it was in the background of the national food production drive. The farmers of Jaffna had become so rich producing rice, vegetables and fruits that were mainly sent to Colombo for sale. Duraiappah was loved by the poor of the North, especially by the fisher folk of Meesalai. The day he was gunned down by Prabhakaran, the fisher folk of Meesalai, both men and women rolled on the sand when they heard about it. His funeral was attended by them and the farmers who had prospered during that time. Duraiappah never believed that anyone would harm him, let alone kill him. Such was his popularity among the people and he worked hard to raise their living standards using his influence with the Prime Minister, Mrs Bandaranaike and the other Ministers to do good to the farmers and the fisher folk. He was from a wealthy family and married into a family of the late G.G. Ponnambalam.

At the time, the presence of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) in Jaffna was an embarrassment to the leaders of the TULF, specially to Amirthalingam who had by that time become the "God Father" of the armed Tamil youth who were fondly known as the **"boys"**, by their patrons who were not so popular among the people of the North.

On the day in question, when Duraiappah was killed at the Punnalai Kovil, the others who came along with him, D.K. Rajaratnam, a member of the Jaffna Municipal Council and Yoganathan, an employee of the Council were also injured in the attack. Associated with Prabhakaran in this attack were other terrorists namely, Kirubakaran, Sridaran, Sothiratnam, Kailasapathy and Selvakumaran.

Though Amirthalingam and Duraiappah were Members of the Jaffna Bar neither Amirthalingam nor any other member of the TULF attended the funeral. It was very clear that the TULF had condoned the assassination as they were hand in glove with the terrorist gangs at the time. It had been reported that Amirthalingam's wife had such an antagonism and hatred towards the Sinhalese community that, after the "Black July", she had expressed the desire to wear shoes made out of the skins of the Sinhalese people. When she expressed this vicious and inhuman desire, she may have forgotten that the immediate cause of the incident that led to the holocaust "Black July" was the assassination of thirteen Sinhala soldiers of the Sri Lanka Army in Jaffna, which was planned, organized and executed by their "pet boy", "Prabhakaran".

The common men including the farmers and the fisher folk of Jaffna will not be so ungrateful as to forget the contribution made by Alfred Duraiappah to uplift their living standards, in contrast to the caste conscious presumed liberators of the TULF dominated by the politicians of the Vellala caste. Had Alfred Duraiappah survived the assassination, he would have definitely returned to parliament. When Duraiappah contested the Jaffna seat even as an independent candidate, he defeated Tamil Congress Leader, G.G. Ponnambalam Q.C and the TULF candidate Kadarawalipillai. Amirthalingam, his wife and a number of prominent leaders of the TULF, paid penance when they were killed by the LTTE terrorists, who were encouraged and nurtured by the TULF.

"If one thrusts a sword in the hands of an undesirable person to deal with one of his enemies, no sooner he accomplishes the task assigned to him, he will turn against the person who gave the sword to him and will annihilate him".

#### 5.1 THE CONSPIRACY IN SACRAMENTO (USA) TO ESTABLISH A TAMIL HOME LAND BY STEPHEN LONG\*

An exclusive private meeting that was held in the early 1980's in Sacramento, California, has recently come to my attention. This gathering of approximately five hundred wealthy, influential Tamil expatriates from around the world chartered the cause of the LTTE, and developed a strategic plan for using it as a vehicle for establishing a Tamil homeland. The motivation was the fact that there were nearly one hundred million ethnic Tamils scattered throughout the globe, but alas, there was no independent sovereign State they could call their own.

These members of the elite Tamil Diaspora felt that they were "step-children" wherever they lived, and their low collective self-esteem determined that it needed a national sentiment with which to identify.

They decided that only by having a separate, monoracial country could they improve their self-esteem, regardless of the fact that although they were successful professionals who had made material fortunes in their adoptive countries. They felt inferior as "second class citizens" and they wanted a piece of the global pie to make them feel equal and whole.

<sup>\*</sup> The writer Stephen Long is based in Los Angeles, USA. This highly informative. Article had been published in a Magazine in USA. Which was reproduced in a Newspaper in Sri Lanka.

They chose to take on the struggle of the LTTE against the Sri Lankan Government because they could not find another solution anywhere else in the world. Even though Tamil Nadu is the real ethnic homeland of the Tamils, a civil war against India for a secessionist State held no hope at the time. They also realized that to go up against the Governments of Australia, Singapore, Malaysia, Canada or any of the European countries would be futile. The very thought is ridiculous to the extreme.

By proximity and by opportunity, they focused on Sri Lanka as the place where they felt they had their best chance to fulfill their nationalist ambitions. By "opportunity" I mean that the conditions were better there than anywhere else. There was the general disorganization of the Sri Lankan government at the time, and the fact that Sri Lanka had been home to tens of thousands of ethnic Tamils for nearly one thousand years. They also knew that they could take advantage of the existing bitterness between the Sri Lankan Tamil factions that were based on caste and education.

Religion played its part in this decision as well. The catholic Church had long been the religion of many of the Jaffna Tamils, and a large percentage of the priesthood was made up of men of Tamil origin. This elite group in Sacramento knew they could get support from this ecclesiastical organization if they promised some sort of reciprocity as part of their end game.

Catholic Church history is filled with similar arrangements that closely mirror this model, and many of the members of the Tamil Diaspora were now assimilated Christians in their new countries.

Fundamental Christianity also played a part in this developing drama but at a later date with its marauding missionaries.

I have begun to suspect that the meeting in Sacramento went a step further in identifying its real end game: a unified Tamil Eelam with pieces of it in both Sri Lanka and India in Tamil Nadu to be specific.

If the LTTE was able to establish a separate sovereign Tamil State in Sri Lanka then it would be a perfect launching pad for coordinating the same thing in Tami Nadu. Funds and arms flowing into the region from other countries could be supplied to Indian rebels over the Palk Straight unobstructed and with ease from a Tamil state in Sri Lanka – much in the same way weaponry and financial supplies have flowed for the past 25 years, but in the other direction.

Ethnic conflict in India could be easily fermented with enough arms and money pouring in nonstop and un-curtailed from wealthy Tamils around the world, and the Indian Government would be faced with a situation similar to breakaway civil wars in other parts of the globe, Tamil Nadu could easily become another Pakistan or Bangladesh.

The current furore over the Tamil Nadu political position on the war against the LTTE in Sri Lanka is easy to figure out when you think about it. It is to the best advantage of the Tamil Nadu politicians to keep the war going, and to have the Indian Federal Government step into persuade the Government of Sri Lanka to halt its operations – ostensibly for peace talks and humanitarian concerns. As in the past, this would give the LTTE an opportunity to re-load for yet another assault on the people of Sri Lanka, and the world goes round and round.

The establishing of a separate Tamil State in Sri Lanka is crucial if this idealized, unified Tamil end game is to be realized. The only way this will happen is if the GOSL succumbs to Tamil Nadu pressure and halts the war, or if the Federal Government of India succumbs to Tamil Nadu pressure just to keep its fragile coalition alive or both.

The two sovereign Governments need to stay their course at this point realizing that ending the war against the LTTE is in, their best interests both in the short and the long terms.

I hope that the Prime Minister of India might consider the possibility of an eventual Tamil Nadu uprising, and by doing so realize that if he wants to keep India in fact, the LTTE insurgency in Sri Lanka must be crushed. I also hope that Dr. Singh will begin investigating the possible links between the LTTE's assassination of former Prime Minister Rajiv Ganthi, and the Tamil Nadu politicians. I feel that looking for these links has never been taken seriously, but the time has come.

I congratulate Rukman Senanayake, the President of the United National Party in Sri Lanka, for joining the GOSL's position on finishing the war against terrorists, and for his opposition to the popular Tamil Nadu political perspective, which is pushing for a halt to the war.

I admire him for putting country first – and party second. I hope that Ranil Wickremesinghe will wise up and follow his Party President by adopting this intelligent view.

Peace has never been so close. I urge the Government of Sri Lanka to continue its excellent job of ridding the country of terrorists and their merciless suicide bombers. You're getting closer than you ever have been before. Be strong. Do not give the LTTE a single inch. Get Prabhakaran.

Bless President Rajapaksa and his talented, competent team that includes Defence Secretary Gotabhaya Rajapaksa. Bless the soldiers for their sacrifices - End of article.

#### 5.2 The Dravidian Objective of Establishing a Separate State, When & Where?

- Who, when, and where was the original decision to set up a base in the North/East of Sri Lanka was made to achieve the Dravidian objective of a separate state?

- What was the primary objective of establishing a state of Eelam?

- Is it to set up a base to achieve the larger objective of the international Dravidian community or to be a separate state exclusively for the Sri Lankan Tamils?

The article referred to in chapter 5 - 5.1 by Stephen Long of Los Angeles, USA, had led to the doubts referred to in the questions given above. The writer is based in Los Angeles, USA. This highly informative article had been published in a magazine in USA which was reproduced in a newspaper published in Sri Lanka. It is clear particularly from the concluding paras of the article referred to at 5.1 of chapter 5, pages 55 - 58, both India and Sri Lanka are cautioned regarding the danger and the threats to the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of the two countries arising from the decision taken by the international Dravidian community at an exclusive private meeting held at Sacramento, USA in the late 1980s attended by 500 wealthy and influential Tamil expatriates living around the world. An exclusive ethnic group of people of this nature is identified in the current context as a diaspora. Hence, it could be called a **Dravidian diaspora**.

The global political strength of this group strongly supported by its enormous financial resources were fully exposed from the vast support they gave to the cause of the extremist Tamils of the North and the East of Sri Lanka who were militarily supported by the LTTE led by Prabhakaran who was a ruthless criminal in guise of a liberator.

Though the meeting of the Tamil expatriates held in Sacramento, USA was identified as a 'exclusive private meeting', due to its large attendance of 500 expatriates it could have taken the form of a 'public meeting'. Those who attended the meeting were described as a representative group of over 100 million ethnic Tamils scattered throughout the globe. Hence, the decision taken at a meeting attended by as many as 500 cannot be considered a "conspiracy" in the true sense of the term. Due to this reason those who organized, convened and attended the meeting would not have expected the decisions taken at the meeting to be confidential or to be confined to a few.

Hence, the ethnic Tamil hierarchy of Sri Lanka's North and East could not have been ignorant of the decisions taken at this meeting either, through communication or due to their participation.

#### The conspiracy in Sacramento, USA took place in early 1980s. A significant political development in the North and the East of Sri Lanka at that period was the declaration made by the extremist Tamil political leaders to endorse the cause for Tamil separation.

By the declaration made by the leader of the TULF, A. Amirthalingam at Vadukkodai in May 1976, it was decided to establish the TULF and called for the establishment of a separate state.

The declaration resolved 'the restoration and the reconstruction of the free, sovereign and secular social state of Tamil Eelam based on the rights of self-determination inherent in every nation as it had become inevitable in order to safeguard the very existence of the Tamil nation in this country'.

Was this the primary and the only objective of the Vellala Tamil leaders of the Tamil National Alliance (TNA)

It cannot be believed that the TNA were not aware of the conspiracy in Sacramento, USA, formulated by the international Tamil ethnic group and the reference made to Sri Lanka.

Since the enactment of the republic constitution in 1972 there were civil unrest in the North and the East which by late 1970s developed to a level of establishing terrorist groups, inspired and encouraged by extremist Tamil leaders of the North and the East.

The ethnic Tamil conspirators who assembled at Sacramento would have conveyed their decisions to the Tamil leaders of the North and the East of Sri Lanka who were closely linked with the LTTE and the other terrorist groups.

However, there was no credible evidence that they revealed this to the people of the North and the East as well as the respectively leaders of the terrorist groups.

There is no reliable evidence that even the Sinhala political leaders of the country were aware of this conspiracy. As declared in the Vadukkodai resolution, they gave the impression that the objective of establishing the state of Eelam was to establish a separate country in the North and the East for the Tamil community living in Sri Lanka. Hence, they encouraged and supported the development of terrorist organisations and got them militarily trained and equipped with the assistance of India.

It was also not known whether the Indian political leaders too were aware of the conspiracy of the Tamil leaders living throughout the world to establish a separate country of the ethnic Tamils.

The TNA, due to the success of Prabhakaran in his early criminal activities, considered Prabhakaran and his LTTE to be the

## strongest terrorist group among other groups and the TNA adopted them as their military wing.

According to the information revealed by Stephen Long in his article regarding the conspiracy in Sacramento, they were aware of the development of terrorist groups in the North and East of Sri Lanka and the LTTE has emerged to be the most organized terrorist group and were espousing the cause of the LTTE to establish a separate state which they were planning to use as a base to achieve the bigger objective of establishing a separate country, like Israel, for the ethnic Tamil community living all over the world.

It maybe that Prabhakaran was not aware of the schematic objectives of the conspirators as his megalomaniac objective was to become the one and only leader of the proposed state of Eelam. The objective of the conspirators may have been to support Prabhakaran to fight against the Security Forces of Sri Lanka to set up Eelam through terrorism.

It was only subsequently revealed that nearly 100 million ethnic Tamils scattered throughout the globe chartered the course for the LTTE and developed a strategic plan for using it as a vehicle for establishing a Tamil homeland. Their objective was, **despite the fact that these ethnic Tamils living throughout the world were successful professionals who had made material fortunes in their adopted countries, they felt inferior as second-class citizens and they wanted a piece of the global pie to make them feel equal and whole.** They decided that only by having a separate mono-racial country could they improve their self-esteem regardless of the fact that although they were successful professionals and had made material fortunes in the adoptive countries. **Hence, they chose to take on the struggle of the LTTE against the government of Sri Lanka as they could not find another solution anywhere else in the world.** 

By proximity and by opportunity, they focused on Sri Lanka as the place where they felt that they had the best chances to fulfil their nationalist ambitions. It was apparent that the Indian government at the time, did not pay much attention to the likely threat of the conspirators as the possibility of establishing a separate state in India was ruled out by the conspirators themselves.

However, they probably did not mind such a state being established in the North and in the East of Sri Lanka including the stategically important harbour at Trincomalee as it, among other things will enable India to have a better grip over Sri Lanka and enable it to continue its dominance over South Asia as its presumed "Big Brother".

Apart from the enormous pressure exerted by the extremist political leaders of Tamil Nadu, it could have been another reason for India to train and militarily equip the terrorist groups of Sri Lanka, to enable them to fight against the Sri Lankan Security Forces in achieving their presumed state of "Eelam".

There was no justifiable reason or any kind of animosity between Sri Lanka and India for India to undertake the disastrous task of the training and militarily equipping the terrorist groups from Sri Lanka.

The Indian government should have given serious consideration to the likely disastrous effect that will be caused by terrorism to "LANKADEEPA" (Sri Lanka) blessed by, three visits of the "Enlightened One", The Buddha, born, attained enlightenment and lived in India for 45 years and entrusted to LANKADEEPA, the noble task of preserving and propagating the "Budda Sasana" (The noble teachings of the Buddha), which the Buddha knew through his exclusive powers of prediction, that his Sasana will be extinct from India within a short spam of time after he passed away.

The disastrous effects of Indian participation in training and equipping the terrorists of the North and the East of Sri Lanka was that, Sri Lanka had to undergo a "reign of terror" for 30 long years, causing the death of approximately 100,000 (One hundred thousand) valuable human lives including that of the security forces.

The tremendous loss caused to the economic assets of the country, which retarded its development for three decades. During

that period, the people of the country lived with absolute "fear of life" and were unable to make any positive contributions to the development of the country which resulted in obstructing its progressive development.

India, in training and militarily equipping the terrorists, completely ignored the fact that, once brainwashed and trained they become absolutely brutal, not second to ferocious animals and they were guided only by the "laws of the jungle".

Hence due to the lack of gratitude, on the instructions of Prabhakaran, their ruthless and ungrateful leader, assassinated some of the prominent leaders of the Tamil National Alliance (TNA), their God Fathers, and there after turned towards India and paid their gratitude to India by schematically planning and assassination, Rajiv Gandhi, a former Prime Minister of that country, which made them realise the true nature of terrorism and the brutal culture of terrorists.

The statements of wisdom made by those who lived in the past, are valid even in the modern era. Such a statement of wisdom was "If you provide a destructive weapon to a lawless person to deal with a person against whom you have developed some animosity, after completing the task assigned to him, for some reason or other he will turn against you and cause your destruction."

True to this statement, after causing enormous damage to their own country, Sri Lanka, the terrorists turned against India by assassinating Rajiv Gandhi, a leader who would have had a great future in that country.

## **CHAPTER 06**

#### THE AMBUSH WHICH CAUSED "THE BLACK JULY"

It was a day in July 1983. The time was around midnight. The streets of Jaffna were deserted, as the people kept away from the streets due to the growing tension predominantly in the Tamil areas. A white van was driven out of its hideout towards the Jaffna University.

The van was driven by Chellakili. He was cautious to avoid the main roads that were deserted, to stay clear of the Police and the Army patrols. **Prabhakaran and his gang of terrorists were on an important mission that ultimately resulted in an unprecedented violence throughout the country, between the people of the Sinhala and the Tamil communities. It led to disastrous results and painted an irrevocable black patch in the 20th century history of Sri Lanka, which came to be described as the "Black July".** 

Chellakili was not aware that the Army would deal with him that night, as they were desperate in netting him. The top brass of the Army realized that only if they caught him or killed him, would they be able to quell the growing Tamil insurgency taking root in Jaffna.

Some time before, the Army received information regarding another Tamil militant, one Seelan who was hiding in a small village away from Jaffna. When the soldiers approached the village, Seelan a strong man, who was warned by an informant on the approach by the Army, got on his bicycle and fled with his two associates. The soldiers were following them in a jeep but as they could not keep pace with the jeep, they got off the bicycles and started running in the countryside. However they could not proceed much of a distance. The three young men were members of the **then little known organization called** "Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam" (LTTE).

Their objective was to set up a separate independent homeland for the Tamils in the North and the East. They were of the view that without any justifiable reason, they were discriminated by the majority Sinhalese community and the government was only concerned with the welfare of the majority.

The soldiers who were chasing Seelan and his friends were determined not to allow them to escape. Seelan who already had a wound in his knee due to a bullet injury which he received when he earlier tried to attack a Police station, kept running but could not keep up with the pace. Seelan who knew the consequences if apprehended by the Army, requested his friend to shoot and kill him. The friend was stunned by this request. He pleaded with Seelan to run a little more to reach the village where they could hide. Seelan who was tired and refused to run anymore whilst gasping for breath, begged his friend to shoot him. The friend who had no alternative aimed the rifle at Seelan's forehead and fired. The friend saw that Seelan's eyes were filled with tears, revealing that Seelan wanted to live, in order to continue to fight for their cause. Thereupon the friend fled and escaped.

The Army rejoiced the killing of Seelan. But it was a blow to the LTTE and it's leader, Prabhakaran. He considered Seelan to be a close and a trusted friend. Prabhakaran who was provoked by anger decided to take revenge. **He requested Chellakili to assist him to plan an ambush, to teach a lesson to the Army.** Meanwhile, the Army was also planning to get rid of Chellakili, the next most important colleague of Prabhakaran. The Army was of the view that if they succeeded in dealing with Chellakili, it would be a tremendous blow to Prabhakaran's striking capabilities.

The confrontation between the two parties, namely the Sri Lankan Army and the LTTE was imminent, not knowing each other's plans. The meeting spot for the confrontation was carefully planned by the LTTE.

Prabhakaran assigned the task of selecting the spot of the confrontation to his two faithful followers, Chellakili and his bosom friend Kittu. After surveying the Jaffna town and its environs, they picked a cross road near the University of Jaffna to ambush the Army which led to devastating effects. The weapon used was a landmine made out of stolen chemicals. Following the instructions of Prabhakaran to the last letter, Chellakili and Kittu carefully surveyed the Jaffna town to select the spot for the confrontation, **at a place called Thinnaveli.** At this spot, the Telecommunication Department had dug up the road to lay telecommunication cables. Any vehicle passing through that point had to slow down to go over the crossing.

The assailants also found a small shop near the crossroad, the terrace of which was a good hideout. The well built houses with high walls provided an ideal spot for sniping. Not being satisfied with the description of the spot provided by his colleagues, Prabhakaran decided to inspect the place himself. Kittu and Prabhakaran set out on bicycles to the university area and **found the place to be ideal for the ambush**.

They now set out on their mission in a van driven by Chellakili. They drove towards the Hindu Temple and seated beside the driver was Victor. Those who occupied the rear seat of the van consisted of the best of the LTTE – viz. Ponnamman, Ganesh, Santhosam, Pullendran, Ranjan, Bashir, Kaka, Lingam, Appiah and the leader Prabhakaran.

Prabhakaran was silent throughout the journey, directing his watchful eyes to spot any danger. More men joined them at the Hindu Temple. It was a quiet night, with the moonlight getting covered on and off and the men wanted to complete the operation as fast as possible and to return to their hideout.

The men got off the van and found their way to the chosen spot. There were slight disturbances from the people walking in the streets. When the noises stopped after a while and after ensuring that no one was watching, Chellakili, Victor and Appiah started hurriedly digging up the tarred road to bury the deadly land mine. Others took up their hiding places. From there as instructed, they would rain grenades and fire from their rifles and sub machine guns. Each person who was there was able to handle several tasks.

The young sympathizers, who constantly kept watching the movements of the Police and the Army, passed on information to the LTTE. Every night soldiers of the Sri Lankan Army set out in two vehicles from the Army Camp and made their way to another point across the university area, passing Thinnaveli around mid night. This was valuable information to the LTTE who had already selected this spot for their operation. All men of the LTTE were capable of handling many types of weapons. Appiah was the oldest of the group. Chellakili and Victor were skilled in digging, whilst the former was an expert in explosives.

While the trio was still digging, a young spotter with a walkietalkie informed the waiting group, that about a dozen soldiers were coming in that direction in a jeep and in a heavyduty vehicle. The soldiers were mainly young men from the South, who were complete strangers to Jaffna with no knowledge of Tamil. They were constantly in radio contact with their base due to a poor knowledge of the terrain. The soldiers made their first contact at 10.17 p.m. and the next at 11.28 p.m.

The last message was "that there was nothing to report and the town was very quiet". Victor began to hurry up and Appiah laid explosive charges and connected them to the detonator to be reactivated from the roof of a nearby shop. The mine was hurriedly covered up. Prabhakaran and his team who were hiding could now see the head lights of the vehicles. Everyone was excited and yelled to Appiah to speed up. He noticed the lights of the vehicles and finished his work just in time to get back to his hiding spot. The two vehicles, the jeep followed by a truck continued to proceed.

Prabhakaran who was watching from his hidden spot, saw the jeep passing him. The truck filled with soldiers followed. According to the plan and the instructions given earlier by Prabhakaran, the jeep was allowed to pass. But when the truck reached the point, Chellakili had been instructed to press the detonator to blow it up. Immediately everyone was required to fire at the jeep using their weapons, at whatever that was left of the truck and the occupants. Prabhakaran had to perform a crucial task of targeting those who would scramble away from the truck due to the impact of the blast. Prabhakaran was armed with an American G3 rifle for this purpose.

Contrary to the expectations of Prabhakaran and his team, it was the jeep that took the impact and was hurled high in the air in a cloud of dust and rubble before it crashed to the ground. Most of its occupants died almost immediately. The truck came to a halt and the soldiers who were in it screamed in terror. The LTTE terrorists opened fire instantly with their weapons. The headlights of the vehicles were blown off by Kittu, while Pulendran threw the grenades.

The impact of the blast damaged the electric power cables which made the place completely dark. The moonlight helped the terrorists to see the survivors as they were trying to escape. Even though the soldiers stood no chance, some of them started firing back. If the truck was blown up, most of the occupants would have been killed. But almost everyone in the truck survived and fired away. Two of them aimed at Prabhakaran but he held out on his own. The gun battle was short. The soldiers were shot down as they tried to find an escape route. It was a grenade attack that finally silenced the soldiers who were firing at Prabhakaran.

At dawn, it was revealed that thirteen of the fifteen soldiers were dead. It was undoubtedly a gruesome massacre. The worst casualty the Sri Lankan Army suffered since the seeds of Tamil insurgency were sown in Jaffna in 1975, when Prabhakaran and his gang of terrorists brutally assassinated the Mayor of Jaffna, Alfred Duraiappah.

Later when another military patrol reached the site, it was a ghastly scene which horrified them. They reported to the headquarters that "both vehicles were destroyed and all dead".

A little before that, the highly excited terrorists patted each other as they gathered around Prabhakaran to celebrate a victory achieved during the short history of the LTTE, by wiping out an Army Patrol.

Even when they were talking excitedly, Prabhakaran was informed that Chellakili was missing. Victor ran to the terrace of the shop and saw Chellakili lying dead with a bullet wound. This unexpected death of one of the key members of the terrorist group overshadowed the glamour of the victory which resulted from the ambush. The LTTE launched the ambush to avenge Seelan's killing, but it dealt another major blow to the terrorists.

Meanwhile, it started drizzling; and it was not the time for introspection. Prabhakaran and his mates quickly grabbed the weapons that were strewn in the debris which was a rich harvest of weapons, sub machine guns, self loading rifles, shot guns, a dozen grenades, bayonets and a small pile of ammunition. Chellakili's body was put into the same van which he drove a few hours before. Prabhakaran said that if Chellakili's body was handed over to the Police, members of his family would be harassed. The van was driven to an open space. Kittu was crying after giving a kiss to the departed friend. They dug a pit in the open space and buried Chellakili's body. Thereafter they went to a house in Jaffna which was safe and took stock of what happened in the last few years. Prabhakaran kept his rifle aside and squatting on the floor started to think. He lost Seelan two weeks ago and now Chellakili, two of his most faithful colleagues. He wondered what would be his future and that of his group.

Suddenly everyone was amazed to see that Prabhakaran broke down and started crying. In fact it was the first time and the last time anyone had seen him crying.

### **CHAPTER 07**

#### THE "BLACK JULY" THE HOLOCAUST

When an in-depth study is made of the life of Prabhakaran, firstly as a child and thereafter as an adult, it is revealed that he possessed some extraordinary qualities of leadership. Even at a very young age, he knew the path he would tread. When he developed to be an adult slowly and steadily, he got himself trained to lead an arduous life, which would enable him to achieve his objective.

Despite his father's efforts, he was not interested in studies and dropped out of school at grade ten. Thereafter, he did not attend any school or institute for any form of higher studies. He did not learn any military activities or the use of arms in any military school or academy. Nor did he undergo any form of training in guerilla warfare, the handling of arms or the art of making and using explosives. The only method through which he learned was by reading books on subjects or persons written in Tamil, in which he showed some interest. It was not known as to why he did not want or did not desire to be educated and/or to be trained in terrorist or military activities when he intended to tread the path of violence. However he fully realized the need for such training for his followers, who initially received training in India and thereafter in different terrorist organizations operating in the Middle East namely, Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), Al-Qaeda, Hamas etc.

He had a tremendous skill in firing to a target which he acquired on his own, first through a catapult, then an air gun, and thereafter a revolver.

Prabhakaran developed his desire to kill first by killing the birds, squirrels and lizards that were seen in his garden. He also developed the habit of pricking the insects to death by using a needle. It is now known as to what motivated a child of a middle class religious family to engage in such eccentric experiments. This was an early indication of the hall-mark of his violent terrorist campaign later in his life. In addition he was practicing judo and karate. He also practiced endurance by self inflicting pain and suffering in the mid-day heat rising over 100 degrees Fahrenheit. Prabhakaran got inside a gunny bag, tied it up and waited in the open amidst dry and hot sunlight. Sometimes he tied empty gunny bags around his body in which red chillies had been packed, which gave him a painful burning sensation. Prabhakaran's parents were amazed by witnessing the most unusual likes and habits of their son.

Another talent he possessed was the talent to organize in particular crimes and it's execution. He personally planned the very important crimes with such precision, to ensure that he achieved his disastrous objectives. In some instances he consulted those who were close to him, regarding these matters. However, the final decision was always his own.

Prabhakaran had a remarkable ability to brainwash his followers to such an extent that they were prepared to lay down their lives for a cause, which was thought to be noble and genuine.

The psychological methods or tactics he adopted to brainwash the minds of his disciples were not known. However, we only knew that he was able to do this with extreme success.

At a very early stage in life, he had the foresight to remove all his photographs from the family album. It was evident that even at a very early stage in life he knew what he will be doing when he grew up. He had very correctly thought that the criminal acts he was planning to commit would necessarily result in the police chasing after him. In fact at a later stage when the police wanted to detect him, they had no idea as to what he looked like, as they did not possess a photograph. When he was an adult the only photograph the police found was that of a child obtained from the primary school he attended.

One of the outstanding and remarkable abilities which Prabhakaran possessed was his ability of foresight and to predict. Such rare abilities are possessed only by those who have a highly developed mind, like the ascetics who lived a secluded life in remote places dedicated to developing their minds. However, there is no information or evidence regarding any activity in which Prabhakaran was engaged in developing his mind. However, this ability which was possessed by Prabhakaran enabled him to perform his criminal activities with precision and great success. It is presumed that time and again, history has witnessed the birth of "Asuras" who were extremely wicked and ruthless, like Adolf Hitler, Pol Pot, Bin Laden and Prabhakaran who have caused extreme devastation to human beings and the valuable assets of a country.

It is apparent that such men have inherited by birth certain rare talents and abilities to indulge in heinous and unpardonable crimes, which they are destined to commit during their lifetime.

## THE OUTCOME OF THE AMBUSH CARRIED OUT BY THE LTTE

Prabhakaran planned and executed the ambush, to take revenge from the army for killing his friend, Seelan. This probably would have been the superficial reason to launch an attack on the army. However, it is not known whether Prabhakaran had at the back of his mind, envisaged some form of retaliation or a backlash from the majority Sinhalese in the south, when he decided to plan, the ambush and kill thirteen Sinhala soldiers of the Sri Lankan Army. If so he may have thought of utilizing the outcome of such a retaliation or a backlash to his advantage. Perhaps, it may be that the leaders of the TULF would have advised Prabhakaran in this regard, as they were envisaging to use the outcome of a likely backlash to implement their vast plans leading to the establishment of their proposed state of Eelam.

However, as envisaged the ambush resulted in a severe retaliation on the part of the Sinhalese in the south, which ended in a holocaust unparallel in the post independent history of the country. In fact the TULF and Prabhakaran succeeded in using the negative effects of the holocaust to their advantage, to develop and expand their terrorist organization and terrorist activities for the purpose of achieving the ultimate objective.

In the period preceding the ambush, the Sinhalese in the south observed that there were some incidents of unrest in the North, which the police and the security forces were able to suppress temporarily. Besides the Sinhalese in the south except perhaps the government, were not fully aware that these incidents were caused by a group of terrorists, who were more or less in the formative stages. Hence the majority of the Sinhalese were under the impression, that the massacre of the thirteen soldiers was undertaken by an organized group of Tamils.

This incident was quite different from earlier incidents, where some policemen were killed individually in several places in the North. The majority Sinhalese first blamed the government for its inability to quell the unrest in the North. The angered Sinhalese thought that it was appropriate to take upon themselves, the task of teaching the Tamil community an unforgettable lesson. This incident also angered members of the security forces including the police. As they were members of the security forces, they may not have participated in escalating the violence that took place, but they did not participate in its suppression. This anger on the part of the majority community, was further aggravated by the attitude taken by the then ruling government of the United National Party (UNP) which won the elections held in 1977 by a twothirds majority.

The corpses of the thirteen dead soldiers were brought to be buried at the General Cemetery Colombo on 24th July 1983. A large crowd gathered at the cemetery, including the relations of the dead soldiers.

The mood of the crowd which was initially subdued gradually turned out to be violent, after witnessing what was seen and what was heard at the time of the burial. As darkness fell, gangs led by supporters of the ruling party started chanting antiTamil slogans, inciting violence against the Tamils. Violence erupted first in the city of Colombo by setting fire to some shops and business establishments owned by the Tamils. Meanwhile, people started running about looting from the Tamil shops and establishments which were set on fire. However, police personnel who became very active during times of such disturbances were not seen discharging their duties and looked as if they had disappeared.

Thereafter, the violent mobs started attacking the residences of the Tamils. It was reported, that the mob leaders had in their possession electoral lists with relevant information, to easily identify the residences occupied by the Tamils. Valuables in those houses were looted and the houses were set on fire by dousing them with highly inflammable liquids. The occupants of the houses were forcibly dragged out, assaulted and some were killed. The mobs became particularly active in areas of the city predominantly occupied by the Tamils, like Wellawatte, Bambalapitiya and Mutwal etc. Before long, almost every part of the city and the immediate suburbs were affected by violence.

Very soon information regarding what had transpired in the city of Colombo spread to other parts of the country and they followed suit. Organized mobs started attacking the Tamil shops and business establishments, launching attacks of the severest type. The violence that took place in the different provinces was inspired to a great extent by Sinhala nationalism, in comparison to what happened in the capital city, which was inspired more by the instigation of the political elements who were supporters of the government.

The helpless Tamil civilians though sought the assistance of the police, they never came to their rescue, probably acting on the instructions of their superiors. They in turn, had instructions from the government regarding the action that should be taken in the event of such complaints. Thereupon these helpless civilians, ultimately sought refuge in the premises of the government schools and the Hindu and Buddhist temples. After they took refuge in such places, their basic needs were provided by the government Department of Social Services, NGOs and other voluntary organizations.

It must be mentioned that some Sinhalese people in the city of Colombo, in the suburbs and in some provincial areas who did not approve of this violence against the innocent people of the Tamil community, particularly their neighbours and friends whom they associated closely, took the risk of providing protection to them, by providing accommodation in their respective residences and looking after their food and other requirements etc.

Thus they allayed the fears of the Tamil people against the attacks of the violent mobs and providing them the necessary safety and security. After some time when the violence gradually eased with the security forces providing the required protection, Tamil persons who were provided with temporary protection, were handed over to suitable refugee camps, thus ensuring the safety of their lives.

Hence it is clear that despite the anti Tamil feeling which was prevalent among the Sinhalese generated due to the ruthless killing of the thirteen Sinhalese soldiers of the Sri Lankan Army by Prabhakaran and his gang of terrorists, it was not the Sinhala community as a whole who developed this hatred towards the people of the Tamil community with whom they lived together for many centuries peacefully and harmoniously.

It is some of the extremist elements who were at the helm of the then government, who blew up the incident that occurred in Jaffna out of proportion and whipped up anti Tamil hatred among the Sinhalese.

The violence escalated due to the reluctance on the part of the government to take adequate security measures to control it from spreading to all parts of the country.

The resultant disaster that was caused and it's negative effects was one of the major reasons for the rise of terrorism in the North and the East and the devastation caused by the terrorists which led to untold suffering for thirty long years.

Despite the prevalence of violence throughout the country of this magnitude, there was no positive response from the government for a few days since it's inception. In the end, the magnitude of the ethnic holocaust by way of destruction caused to human life and property took such enormous proportions, to be second only to the fury of the kind not seen in South Asia since India's partition which led to a massive Hindu-Muslim conflagration in 1947.

The ruling government at the time did not seem to be alarmed and hence adopted a somewhat unconcerned attitude in effectively dealing with the holocaust. The government was silent for one week, desisting from taking any positive action to deal or prevent the spreading of violence. At the end of one week, the then President of the ruling government, J.R. Jayawardene addressed the nation and blamed the Leftist Parties for igniting and propagating the violence, thus fully exempting some of the extremist elements in his own cabinet who were responsible for engaging in disastrous activities for which the President accused the Leftists. Subsequently, the Leftist Parties very rightly denied any involvement in the ethnic violence, as the policies of these Leftist Parties have been formulated on the basis of Marxism, which does not recognize differences based on ethnic or religious differences in society.

## The worst statement made by J.R. Jayawardene in his short address to the nation was that "the people should look after their own security".

The "Asia Week Magazine" which was published sometime before the holocaust, recognized J.R. Jayawardene to be "the most matured and the sharpest politician in Asia".

J.R. Jayawardene was a lawyer before he took to politics. Hence he had an in-depth knowledge of the fundamental principles of democracy and in particular, that of parliamentary democracy. It is basic knowledge of any person who has studied political science that, one of the fundamental responsibilities of a democratic government, is to provide adequate security for the people from both internal and external forces, and to ensure peaceful existence. It could be inferred that J.R. Jayawardene would have made this statement not due to his ignorance, but merely to get himself and his government absolved from responsibility for their refusal or failure to take appropriate action to prevent the holocaust. There was no doubt that if the government took timely action, it would have reduced the magnitude of the violence to a large extent.

In a democratic country, a government could be elected by the majority ethnic or religious community living in that country. However when a government is appointed, it is the government of all the people living in that country irrespective of their ethnic or religious differences. Hence the government in power should execute its policies without any prejudices for the benefit and welfare of all the people living within its territorial boundaries.

It is an acknowledged fact, that the immediate cause of the holocaust was the massacre of thirteen soldiers of the Army by Prabhakaran and his terrorist gang. It is also a fact, that time and again there were acts of violence caused by different groups of Tamils prior to 1983, for which innocent Tamil civilians could not be held responsible. Based on the above, some members of the J.R. Jayawardene government were of the view, that it was a good opportunity to teach the Tamil community an unforgettable lesson by displaying the power and the political authority of the Sinhala community. However it should be stated, that it was a policy based on hatred which is contrary not only to the principals of democracy, but also to the religious principles of tolerance and temperance practiced by the large majority of Sinhalese living in the country, who are the adherent of the teachings of the Buddha.

Hence despite the statement made by J.R. Jayawardene, his government cannot absolve itself from responsibility of being partisan and initiating violence and permitting it to be escalated to the magnitude of a holocaust, which became an indelible black mark in the history of Sri Lanka, which is predominantly a Buddhist country.

It should be emphasized that since the introduction of Buddhism to Sri Lanka in the 3rd century BC, the kings or the leaders who ruled this country had never professed or practiced any form of extremism or fundamentalism in our political or religious practices which was mainly due to the fact, that the rulers were influenced and guided by the principles of temperance and tolerance preached by the Buddha.

President Jayawardene who was perhaps a pseudo Buddhist and one who practiced Machiavellian politics may have found it prudent and wiser to adopt a political philosophy different to that of the ancient rulers of our country. **However, the resultant price the country and it's people had to pay for the disastrous effects of his political and economic policies were enormous and unimaginable.** 

# **CHAPTER 08**

## THE ADVERSE CONSEQUENCES OF "BLACK JULY"

One of the most harmful consequences of "Black July" was the bitter animosity that developed between the Sinhalese and Tamils, the two major ethnic communities in Sri Lanka who have lived together harmoniously for several centuries.

The objective of the extremist Tamil leaders including Prabhakaran, was to indoctrinate in the minds of the Tamil people that Sinhalese are their worst enemies. This they thought was necessary, to persuade the Tamils to take up arms against the Sinhalese, to set up a separate state for the Tamils in the North and the East of Sri Lanka. They succeeded in polluting the minds of the Tamil youth in particular, quoting the grave consequences of the "Black July" and the subsequent burning of the renowned Jaffna Library.

Due to the suffering undergone by some Tamils at the hands of some Sinhalese extremists, the Leaders of the TULF who were expecting this backlash, took maximum advantage of this situation and indoctrinated into the minds of the people of the Tamil Community, that it would no longer be safe for them and their families to continue to live in Sri Lanka and advised them that it would be safer to migrate to some other countries.

Thereafter the Tamil leaders promptly made representations to the foreign missions in particular, those representing European countries, Canada, Australia etc that Tamils living in this country are deprived of their human rights and it was no longer safe for them to continue to live in this country.

The Tamil leaders made their submissions so convincingly to the diplomatic missions in Sri Lanka, in particular those representing the Western European Countries Canada, Australia etc that to permit people of the Tamil community mainly on humanitarian grounds, without stipulating any conditions or requirements, to migrate to their countries. The Tamil leaders hardly made any requests to the developed and developing countries in the East, to seek permission for the Tamils to migrate to those countries for reasons best known to them. They did not make a request even to India, to which Sri Lankan Tamils had a direct cultural and religious affinity. The Tamils who migrated were those who could afford the air fare and the other travel costs. All others of the Tamil Community remained living in the country without going through any hazards except perhaps what they had to suffer when Prabhakaran temporarily captured the Northern and the Eastern Provinces and held sway over these provinces.

At the time when the countries of Western Europe permitted the Sri Lankan Tamils to migrate to their countries, they were not aware of the long term and hidden objectives of the Tamil leaders including the ruthless terrorist leader, Prabhakaran. Much later, when the immigrants started stretching their political tentacles by becoming political threats to their respective countries, they realized the impending dangers and decided to ban the LTTE as a terrorist organization. It is evident that if these countries did not continue their vigilance, the migrant Tamils could be a potential danger to their political stability in the future.

The concealed objectives of Prabhakaran by the massacre of the thirteen soldiers of the Army and the subsequent backlash of the Sinhalese, was succinctly revealed when he later stated that "the July holocaust has united all sections of the Tamil masses". It is strange, that he did not realize the untold sufferings the innocent Tamil masses had to undergo to achieve this heinous objective. It was evident that Prabhakaran had acted on the advice of his "God Fathers", the leaders of the TULF.

One of the worst adverse effects of "Black July" brought to bear on Sri Lanka was the wrong impression the world had of Sri Lanka, contrary to what they knew of Sri Lanka earlier as a peaceful Buddhist country. Due to the outcome of the holocaust and in particular due to the adverse publicity, Sri Lanka came to be known as a country of barbarians and no longer a peaceful Buddhist country. This was mainly due to the anti Sri Lankan propaganda done by the Tamil Diaspora and the Pro Tamil Organizations who espoused their cause. One of the immediate effects resulting from their campaign was that on their request, some of the donor countries refused to continue their aid assistance to Sri Lanka. This in turn, had serious impacts on the economy and was a burden on the budget of the government. All these were intended to impose impediments on Sri Lanka, mainly due to various forces which were against Sri Lanka.

Another adverse impact on Sri Lanka was that, the up and coming terrorist organizations in the North and the East were able to obtain vast amounts of funds voluntarily or by compulsion from the Tamil Diaspora, who migrated to different countries of the world. Gradually they developed an effective and efficient network for the systematic collection of vast amounts of funds. They used these funds not only to strengthen their organization, but also to acquire arms, ammunition and other requirements necessary for their terrorist activities. This was one of the objectives of the TULF in inducing and encouraging the Tamils of Sri Lanka to migrate to countries of Western Europe, Canada, Australia etc.

In addition, they used these funds to purchase and operate a fleet of naval vessels to deal in trafficking of narcotic drugs and to engage in the illegal trade of smuggling arms and ammunition to other countries engaged in terrorist and other subversive activities. They also purchased these ships to be used as store houses for their arms and ammunition, whilst being anchored in the deep sea or in the sea around Sri Lanka. As stated earlier, the volume and the quantity of narcotic drugs they handled was such, that when the LTTE was eliminated from Sri Lanka, the other major drug dealers and traffickers in the world were competing with one another to capture the share of the narcotics trade which was handled by the LTTE. Trafficking in drugs and engaging in the transport of illicit arms and ammunition, were two major sources of income to the LTTE.

One of the gravest of the adverse consequences of "Black July" was to antagonize Sri Lanka's historical and friendly neighbor, India. The reaction of India to the massacre of Tamils was most harmful to Sri Lanka. Thousands of Tamil people in Tamil Nadu having a close ethnic connection with the Tamils in Sri Lanka, engaged in severe protests denouncing and accusing the government of Sri Lanka and requested the Indian Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, to intervene on behalf of the Sri Lankan Tamils. They even requested the Indian government to sever diplomatic relations with Sri Lanka. Mrs Gandhi decided to take action in the face of violent protests in Tamil Nadu which could not be ignored mainly due to its political implications to the Central Government of India.

Meanwhile hundreds of Sri Lankan Tamils started arriving in Tamil Nadu by boat, similar to the refugees who fled in desperation to India from East Pakistan in 1971, before the outbreak of the war between India and Pakistan.

Mrs Gandhi communicated with President Jayawardene of Sri Lanka and expressed her concern over the violence in Sri Lanka and stated that she would be sending an emissary to Sri Lanka to bring the TULF and the Central Government in Colombo to the negotiating table.

In addition within a short period of about two weeks, Mrs Gandhi took another vital decision which led to far reaching consequences for Sri Lanka and India. It made Sri Lanka go through a disastrous period of fear and terror which lasted for a period of nearly three decades. It culminated in the brutal assassination of Mrs Gandhi's own son many years later.

Due to the severe pressure brought to bear by Tamil Nadu, Mrs Gandhi made a regretful and disastrous decision that India will train and arm the Tamil militants similar to the manner in which India helped to build up a guerilla Army in East Pakistan before the conflict in 1971, which ultimately led to the partition of Pakistan and gave birth to Bangladesh.

The message of India's willingness to assist the terrorist group in this regard quickly spread among the Tamils in the North. Earlier only a few young Tamils were ready to join the militant groups, as they were doubtful whether they would be able to take on the military might of the Sri Lankan Security Forces. However, when they learned that India, a country which had close links with Sri Lankan Tamils, was ready to train and arm the Tamil youth, there was a terrible rush to join the militant groups. Hundreds of young men and women fled from their homes and began to get themselves willingly enlisted to the militant groups to proceed to India.

It is doubtful whether Prabhakaran who had a tremendous capacity of foresight, had these likely developments even in the back of his mind, when he planned and executed the massacre of the thirteen soldiers of the Sri Lanka Army in Jaffna. Probably Prabhakaran would have been exalted to hear this news. However much later, people of his community and the people of Sri Lanka had to pay an incalculable price for his exaltation.

He and his gang of terrorists realized that the violent storm they had unleashed, had been effectively felt by the Indian Government in New Delhi. Prabhakaran reacted without delay and communicated with Anton Balasingham who was living in London and who was at that time in India, requested Balasingham to join him. There was no need to persuade Balasingham and his Australian wife Adele. The Tamils in London were highly agitated by the happenings in Sri Lanka during "Black July". In response, Balasingham decided to ally with Prabhakaran as the political advisor to the LTTE and his wife Adele also got directly involved in the activities of the LTTE.

Beyond any doubt, the immediate cause of the holocaust the "Black July", was the massacre of the thirteen soldiers of the Sri Lankan Army, by Prabhakaran and his gang. However being a megalomaniac, he was not concerned regarding the price the innocent civilians of his community and the civilians at large in the country had to pay, in the form of sacrificing their valuable lives and their hard earned assets during their lifetime. However as stated earlier it should be conceded, that the violence that erupted was escalated to the level of a holocaust, was due to the deplorable inducement, encouragement and the irresponsible conduct of the government in power at the time in Sri Lanka. The government should be held responsible, for its failure to take timely and appropriate action to bring the violence under control. As a responsible democratic government, irrespective of whatever reasons adduced by them to justify their failure, reluctance or inability to bring the holocaust under control, cannot be excused or justified.

The majority of the people in Sri Lanka have been practicing the virtues of tolerance and temperance, since embracing Buddhism as their religion, introduced in the 3rd century BC. Since then, their conduct and behavior were governed by these virtues and Buddhist cultural practices. Hence it became difficult to induce Sinhala people to indulge in mass violence, though there could have been individual cases of violence due to personal reasons etc. However, notwithstanding the restrictions and controls exercised by religious practices, human beings due to their human nature, are influenced by emotions and in certain rare instances, emotions could overstep restrictions placed by the religious preachings and practices and could react violently.

The situation that arose and the reaction of the people due to the massacre of the thirteen soldiers by Prabhakaran could be one such instance. The Sinhalese in the South have witnessed the escalating violence in the North for some time without any form of retaliation. However, when the thirteen soldiers who were all Sinhalese were massacred, it caused much annoyance to the majority community as well as the Security Forces, who considered it as an insult to their capabilities of dealing with violence and maintaining law and order in the country.

Hence the emotional feelings in this instance, churned into violence which surpassed the limit of tolerance and burst into a major conflagration.

The fact that the people in the South cannot be easily provoked to violence was proved in two other instances of attacks by the LTTE on two of the holiest places of worship of the Buddhists the world over. One is the LTTE attack on the sacred Bo tree in Anuradhapura, which is a sapling of the Bo tree in India, where the Buddha is believed to have attained enlightenment or the Buddhahood. The next attack was on the Temple of the Tooth in Mahanuwara (Kandy), where the Sacred Tooth Relic of the Buddha is placed. Please see Chapter 10 - (10.3) for details of these attacks.

Prabhakaran would have planned and undertaken these attacks expecting that these would result in severe backlashes from the people of the South. However, the people of the South realizing the severe outcome of the "Black July", were not further provoked to resort to violence in retaliation. The reasons that led to the "Black July" and its outcome was discussed at length, as it was a landmark incident in the history of Sri Lanka which arose due to the terrorism perpetrated by Prabhakaran in his thirty years of terrorism in the island.

It is now proposed to familiarize the readers with the vast number of crimes committed by Prabhakaran in a logical sequence under different headings.

# **CHAPTER 09**

#### WAS PRABHAKARAN A MEGALOMANIAC?

When one makes an in-depth analysis of the life of Velupillai Prabhakaran from his childhood up to the time of his death, his thinking and his conduct made him to qualify to be identified as a megalomaniac.

According to the oxford advanced learners dictionary, a megalomaniac is a person having a form of madness in which he has an exaggerated view of his own importance, power etc. It is a condition similar to that of a dictator suffering from a similar mindset.

The key words in that description are; "madness", "exaggerated view", "importance" and "power". Let us now proceed to interpret these words in relation to the thinking and the conduct of this disastrous character. "Madness", is a state of being insane or indulging in insane behaviour. "Exaggerated", means to make things seem larger than what they really are. "View", in this context means personal opinion or attitude. "Importance", means significance or values. "Power", means influence or authority over others by using ones strength or power.

When we put together the interpretations of the above words and phrases, "a megalomaniac could be identified as a person in a state of madness, or one indulging in insane behaviour, having a personal opinion of himself larger than what he really is, regarding his significance, and his influence or his authority over others, by using his strength or force to do whatever he wants to do to achieve his objective".

#### WAS PRABHAKARAN INSANE ?

Prabhakaran was born to a middle class Tamil Hindu family, living in the Jaffna peninsula in the North of Sri Lanka.

In a society in which the caste system is deeply entrenched in the social web, he would have been highly privileged if he was born to a family of the "Brahmin" or the "Vellala" castes, which were considered to be high castes. However, he was born to a less privileged caste, which proved to be advantageous to him to further his terrorist activities. **It so happened that the majority of the young men and women who joined his terrorist organization were belonging to the less privileged or lower castes.** As stated earlier in the Tamil Hindu community of the North, the people of the less privileged castes, were subject to many social disabilities or discriminations, in comparison to those of the privileged castes. However, as the majority of the Political leaders of the Tamil community belonged to the privileged or higher castes, they did not seem to be concerned in rectifying the social injustice caused to those belonging to the less privileged castes which amounts almost to the violation of basic human rights.

It is not known of any instances where Prabhakaran reacted to this social injustice to which he and his family were subjected to, as they belonged to a low caste. However he was shrewd enough to use this disadvantage to implement his terrorist designs, by inducing a large number of young men and women of the low castes to join his movement.

#### PRABHAKARAN'S CHILDHOOD

As stated earlier, Prabhakaran was the youngest child in his family. His birth after four girls brought great joy to his parents, being the only boy in the family. Hindus are God fearing, peace loving and highly religious people. His parents were highly involved in religious activities, as his father being the caretaker of a Hindu temple in the neighbourhood. As a child, he was closely associated with the religious activities of the temple, together with his devoted parents. His parents ensured that there were no perverse or bad influences on his development as a child.

However as he was gradually advancing in age as a child, he developed certain desires and had some hobbies, which were quite unusual for a child of his age. As stated earlier at a tender age, he developed a liking to killing birds, lizards and squirrels that came to their garden. The earliest weapon he took up was a catapult which he used to kill birds, squirrels and lizards. Thereafter he started using an air gun and perfected his marksmanship which was a rare talent for a child of his age. Though he really changed from a catapult to an air gun, his victims suffered more or less the same fate and not many of the victims survived.

His religious parents became very conscious and concerned that their little boy was changing. For them the change was quite alarming and unexpected. His famous hobby was flying kites and when he did not have a kite, he would catch a dragon fly and tie a thread to it and set it flying. He would also trap garden lizards and squirrels.

Prabhakaran started learning judo and karate much to the amusement of his family, who knew him to be a shy and an obedient boy. It is apparent that Prabhakaran got the taste of killing, as he relished destroying the lives of animals which were seen in his garden. As stated earlier Prabhakaran also practiced extreme forms of endurance which were very unusual for a child of his age. He got into a gunny bag and tied the top and waited in the bright sunlight with a temperature of 100°f. He also wrapped himself in gunny bags used for storing chillies and waited in the sunlight despite an acute burning sensation. It is evident that even at a very young age he was aware what he would do in the future. It is rather strange as to how and from whom he learned these practices. He also had a strange hobby of pricking insects such as ants with a pin. He continued this practice even when he was living in the Wanni jungle as the leader of the LTTE. Weren't they not the childhood indications of a maniac to be, when he grew up?

At school Prabhakaran and his small band of friends, proceeded further by indulging in dangerous experiments not in keeping with children of his age. He made improvised bombs by attaching lighted incense sticks to chemicals in a bottle and exploded it. On one occasion, his friends attached a fire cracker to a cigarette, lit it and placed it in the school toilet.

It is clear that at a very early age in life, he showed signs of eccentricism by indulging in activities which were not normal for children of that age. This tendency became much clearer when Prabhakaran met one of his earliest friends, who was a neighbour slightly younger to him named Sathasivam Sivakumaran, popularly known as "Kittu". Together they experimented with chemicals pilfered from the school. Prabhakaran was now getting associated with the act of stealing as well. As Prabhakaran's personality was changing, the problems between the Sinhalese and the Tamils in the country were getting wider and by 1970, student dissatisfaction became a common feature in Jaffna. The students held noisy protests and were engaged in violent activities. **Prabhakaran who was still in his early teens, started cycling around Jaffna meeting people alien to him, discussing politics and nationalism and the need for an arms struggle.** He proceeded further by joining the "Students League" and the "Tamil Youth League". Most members of these organizations were older than Prabhakaran and **some of them even resented Prabhakaran's eccentricity.** 

By the early 70's when Prabhakaran was still in his teens, he was criminally inclined and did not fear to indulge in his first act of violence, where he ganged up with some boys to set fire to a state owned bus. They halted the bus and doused it with diesel from its own tank and set it on fire. Some people who were witnessing this incident became furious. The police interrogated his father, who was worried that it would have an adverse effect on his government job.

When we consider the thinking and the conduct of Prabhakaran as a child, there was no doubt that he would be inflicted with insanity when he grew up to be a young man, and thereafter an adult. The following will adequately substantiate this conclusion.

- 1. The fallacy of forming a separate state and amalgamating theNorthern and Eastern provinces of Sri Lanka to be called Eelam.
- 2. Sri Lanka is a sovereign state located in the Indian Ocean and its existence as a separate country has been acknowledged by the United Nations, by granting fully fledged membership of that organization. Sri Lanka has existed as a separate country since it has got geologically separated from the Indian subcontinent. It has a land area of 65,525 sq. km. Indian's land size is 64 times the land size of Sri Lanka. It has a population of 22.32 million consisting of different ethnic communities. The majority being the Sinhalese who constitute 74.9%,

Sri Lankan Tamils 11.2%, Indian Tamils 4.2%, Moors 9.2%. The Sri Lankan Tamils are living widely disbursed throughout the nine provinces of the country (see Table 1), but they were initially living in the Northern and Eastern provinces of Sri Lanka. However, historical records are not available to substantiate the claims made by the Tamil extremists, that the Northern and Eastern provinces constitute the "homeland" of the "Tamil speaking people". However, historical records are available to prove that there were two hundred and sixty five (265) places of Buddhist worship in the Northern and Eastern provinces of Sri Lanka.

Buddhism was introduced to Sri Lanka initiated by Emperor Asoka of India in the 3rd century BC. Until the advent of the Portuguese invaders to Sri Lanka, all people of the Sinhala community living in the whole of Sri Lanka were Buddhists. Hence it is evident that there would have been a large community of Sinhalese at the time living in the North and the East of Sri Lanka, for there to be such a large number of Buddhist places of worship.

It is only after the advent of Vijaya from Wangadesh of India to Sri Lanka in the 5th century BC, that South Indians migrated to Sri Lanka from South India, during different periods of the history of Sri Lanka. The early inscriptions found in all parts of the country, recorded that by about the 3rd century BC, the Sinhala people at the time had settlements in the North, South, West as well as in the East of the island. Hence, their first migration into the island must have been a few centuries before that period. Accordingly, there is no historical evidence to substantiate the claim made by the Tamil extremists including Prabhakaran, that the North and East of Sri Lanka was the homeland of the Tamil speaking people of Sri Lanka. Thus it is evident, that Prabhakaran has been misled by the Tamil extremists leaders, who have been propagating this misconception of a "Tamil Homeland", and the need to set up a separate state, to restore lost land rights of the Tamil speaking people.

Prabhakaran who had an insane mind, was convincingly deceived of the need to fight for a separate state which he called "Eelam". However,

in his insane state of mind, he may not have realized the extremely hazardous path he would be required to tread, by overcoming enormous obstacles to achieve his objective. Since granting independence from the British colonial rule in 1948, the Tamil political leaders were clamouring that the rights given to the majority community mainly the Sinhalese, should also be given to the people of the Tamil community. Equal rights have been given to all communities living in Sri Lanka in terms of the constitution formulated in 1948, 1972 and 1978. As per the provisions of the constitution, no special rights or privileges were given to the people of any particular community or religion. In addition, on the basis of the representations made by the Tamil political leaders from time to time, the respective constitutions have been suitably amended to accede to their demands.

In particular, there were problems relating to the use of the language, mainly Sinhala, Tamil and the English languages. The present position is that all ethnic communities and all those practicing different religions are given equal rights, as laid down in the UN Declaration of Human Rights. This is substantiated by the fact, that the Moors who constitute 9.2% of the population, hardly made any representations since independence, regarding equal rights for the people of their community.

The Tamil leaders have also made representations from time to time to the respective governments in Sri Lanka, regarding the establishment of a Federal Form of Government. Under a Federal Form of Government the Central Government is exercising the major powers such as the economic policy, the financial policy, the foreign policy and the security affairs of the country. The other powers are vested in the provincial states or provincial administration. Example: USA and India. In Sri Lanka at present the major powers of the government are exercised by the Central government, as it is a unitary state established in terms of the Soulbury Constitution of 1948. In terms of the Constitution of 1978, a Presidential System of Government was established according to which, the President is the Chief Executive in place of the Prime Minister, under a Parliamentary System of Government.

It took considerable time and effort to the respective governments in power since independence, to convince the Tamil leaders who concealed their schematic designs to establish a Federal System of Government in Sri Lanka. The governments established in Sri Lanka since independence were of the view, that a Federal Form of Government is necessary for countries like US or India, with a large land area and territory in which there are numerous ethnic and religious differences and hence, they are unable to be governed effectively and to provide equitable services to the people.

When the Tamils realized that the respective governments refused to accede to their demands to establish a Federal Form of Government, they came up with a proposal to amalgamate the Northern and the Eastern provinces of Sri Lanka to set up a separate state which they called "Eelam". They took great effort in polluting the minds of the Tamil youth that setting up a separate state of the Tamil speaking people, was the only solution they had, to win their legitimate rights.

Velupillai Prabhakaran who had some inborn abilities which made him a monstrous character, having eliminated the young leaders of all the other Tamil terrorist groups, took upon himself the task of achieving the objective of establishing a separate state. In this process, he became absolutely ruthless and eliminated anyone and everyone who crossed his path, using his gang of terrorists whose minds were distorted, to execute his commands, even at the cost of sacrificing their lives.

As stated earlier, the immediate cause of "Black July" was the massacre of thirteen Sinhala soldiers of the Sri Lanka Army in Jaffna, by a gang of young men led by Prabhakaran. The backlash that resulted from this massacre was one of the significant developments, which was an impetus to the Tamil extremists including Prabhakaran, to formally commence terrorist activities at an accelerated scale. It may be that Prabhakaran who formed the LTTE had a remarkable foresight that enabled him to predict the likely outcome of the massacre of the thirteen soldiers. In the alternative, it may be that the Tamil leaders with whom Prabhakaran associated closely would have advised and guided him and he would have faithfully followed their advice and guidance in this regard. Initially he may have been guided by them, but after having established himself, decided to tread his own path and did everything possible to achieve his objective through terrorism. By the time Prabhakaran was a youth, he became inflicted with vengeance, ruthlessness and lack of fear to indulge in crimes of any form.

He was born to a typical Tamil Hindu family and his devoted parents brought him up as a child, in accordance with the Tamil Hindu cultural customs and habits. However, Prabhakaran was still in his teens when he refused to attend school and distanced himself from his parents, to pursue his disastrous objectives. By then, it was apparent that he was not prepared to lead the life expected of him by his innocent religious parents.

In fact, he turned out to be a different person living the life contrary to all Hindu religious practices, customs and traditions. Instead, he went to the extent of violating all basic values, and ethics practiced even by the Veddha Community (Aboriginies) living in the jungles of Sri Lanka. His disrespect for religion was displayed, when he committed mass massacres in some of the holiest places of Buddhist, Hindu and Muslim places of worship.

## Would it be possible to consider such a person to be one with a normal mind? A human being with a normal mind ought to be able to distinguish right from wrong and good from bad. If not, he will be a wild beast and not a human being.

Prabhakaran in his state of insanity did not attach any value to human life and human rights. The value attached to human life as preached by the Buddha, the enlightened one, is described in chapter 1 of this book. In pursuit of his terrorist objectives, he did away with the lives of approximately one hundred thousand human beings, mostly innocent unarmed civilians, including the men of the Sri Lankan and Indian security forces. They included people of all ethnic communities, the Sinhalese, the Tamils and the Moors. The details of the massacres are given in the subsequent chapters of this book. In addition, he blatantly disregarded all the human rights stipulated in the UN Charter of Human Rights, as if he was unaware of the existence of the human rights associated with human beings living in the world. If he did not attach any value to human life, how could one expect him to respect human rights?

A vivid description of the ruthless massacre of human beings, planned and executed by Prabhakaran by employing his band of terrorists,

is provided for the information of the readers in the chapters to follow, in this book. It is apparent that one reason for massacring the innocent Sinhalese civilians living in the villages adjoining the disputed areas was that he wanted to scare them away from their settlements, to amalgamate their land to his proposed state of Eelam, which was intended to be a land of the Tamil speaking people. It is clear that what he intended was to indulge in ethnic cleansing by forcibly driving away the settlers in these areas.

In that context, it is not understood why he killed the people of the Muslim community, as they also belong to the community of Tamil speaking people. Almost all the people belonging to the Muslim community, living in the Northern and Eastern provinces, spoke the Tamil language and not any languages of their own. Hence, if the proposed state of Eelam was meant for all people speaking the Tamil language, there is no acceptable or logical reason to massacre the people of the Muslim community living in the North and the East. **Hence, the only reason that could be attributed for massacring the people of the Sinhala and Muslim communities was that Prabhakaran wanted to ethnically cleanse the Northern and the Eastern provinces, to set up the state of Eelam consisting of only the people of the Dravidian community and not a separate state of the Tamil speaking people.** 

After the violent incidents that took place during "Black July" and due to the mass migration of people of the Tamil community, as well as the strong protests and pressures exerted by leaders of Tamil Nadu, namely M.G. Ramachandran, Karunanidhi, Wyco and others, Mrs Indira Gandhi and her Congress Government, decided on a course of action against Sri Lanka leading to dreadful consequences. The Congress Government not only permitted Tamils to migrate to India, but also decided to train and militarily equip the Tamil youth of Sri Lanka to confront the security forces of the Sri Lankan Government. In addition to the outcome of the "Black July", the Indian government which had some political and economic issues against the J.R. Jayawardene Government of Sri Lanka, decided to directly confront the Sri Lankan Government by deciding on this dreadful policy. This may have also been due to the fear that if the proposed open economic development strategy of the J.R. Jayawardene Government succeeded, in addition to the pro-west foreign policy of the Sri Lankan Government, it might perhaps be a threat to the assumed position of India to be the "Big Brother" of South Asia. Ranasinghe Premadasa who was the then Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, had also antagonized Mrs. Indira Gandhi, by making some abusive statements regarding her and her two sons. In addition, due to the cordial relations Mrs. Gandhi maintained with Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike who was the former Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, Mrs. Gandhi was very critical of the vindictive denial of civic rights of Mrs. Bandaranaike by the J.R. Jayawardene Government.

Due to the direct involvement of India with assisting the terrorist groups in Sri Lanka, many terrorist organizations sprang up in the North and East and Prabhakaran became the leader of one such organization, namely the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam. Prabhakaran who got his men initially trained and equipped in India, later got them trained in other well known terrorist organizations in the world namely, Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), Al-Qaeda, Hamas etc.

It is apparent that the objective of India may have been to create disturbances in Sri Lanka, so that it would among other things, retard the economic activities planned and implemented by the government under the open economic system of development.

Prabhakaran by using his acquired military strength, not only made things difficult for the Government of Sri Lanka by embarking on violent terrorist activities, but also indulged in ethnic cleansing in the neighbouring villages in which there were Sinhala and Muslim communities.

Besides the objectives of the then Central Government of India to assist the terrorist organizations in Sri Lanka, the Tamil leaders of Tamil Nadu may not have helped the Tamils of the North to set up a separate state purely for altruistic reasons, but may have been to achieve their long term objective of establishing a Pan Dravidian State, by linking the proposed State of Eelam with Tamil Nadu, by initially establishing a foundation base of operations in Sri Lanka, as stated in 5.1 of Chapter 5. Irrespective of the initial objectives of the Indian Central Government in assisting and establishing the terrorist organizations in Sri Lanka, they made it clear to Prabhakaran that they are not in favour of establishing a separate state in Sri Lanka. Subsequently the Government of India may have hardened the decision not to assist or encourage the establishment of a separate state in Sri Lanka, perhaps due to the bitter lesson India learnt from the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi by the ruthless Tamil Tigers led by Prabhakaran.

The fanatical mind of Prabhakaran was most revealing, when one considers the ruthless and the most inhuman manner in which he massacred the innocent unarmed civilians. Prabhakaran adopted the following methods in annihilating these human beings: -

- 1. Utilizing the services of young men and women whose minds have been brainwashed and distorted to sacrifice their lives, in executing the orders of the supreme leader to kill.
- 2. Use of explosives viz suicide bombs, land mines, grenades, parcel bombs etc
- 3. Using fire arms viz revolvers, shot guns, rifles, machine guns etc
- 4. Using sharp instruments –viz swords, knives, machetes, axes, sharpened sticks etc.
- 5. Burning alive or semi-alive after being injured.

Assassinations done by employing the services of "suicide bombers" had been one of the most successful methods employed by Prabhakaran, especially in the assassination of important persons which had been planned and executed by him with meticulous precision. This method was used to access places or targets, for which access was difficult due to the maximum security cover provided. In certain instances, the assassination was planned and intended to be executed over a long period of time. "Suicide bombers" were a highly trained and a selected group of terrorists. Their training involved the distortion of their minds by brain washing to sacrifice their lives, which was said to be for a worthy cause. The cause as decided by the leader may not be worthy for the terrorists when sacrificing their lives, but a worthy cause in the pursuit of the objectives of the leader. The suicide kit containing the explosives to be worn by the "suicide bomber" was prepared by those who have been specially trained for making the explosives. The person or persons to be assassinated was decided by the leader. The formulation of the plan for the execution of the assassination was done with meticulous care by the leader himself, minimizing the margin of error. Thereafter, the terrorist selected for the execution, was properly advised and trained and in the case of important assignments, a rehearsal was undertaken to ensure the success of the mission. Consequently in most cases, the desired objectives have been achieved.

Two classic examples of these assassinations were that of Rajiv Gandhi of India and President Ranasinghe Premadasa of Sri Lanka. Details of these assassinations are given in chapter twelve (12). A considerable number of political personalities in Sri Lanka have also been assassinated by employing suicide bombers. *(Refer Chapter 12 of Part I)* 

Another method used for assassinations was explosives – viz land mines, parcel bombs, grenades etc. There were terrorists who were trained in the manufacture and the use of these explosives. Land mines were normally used to destroy moving vehicles and also to prevent advancing security forces. A large number of security personnel who were travelling in vehicles for security operations lost their lives or were injured due to land mines laid across the road by the terrorists. Many other soldiers travelling on foot were either killed or maimed due to explosions caused by land mines. As stated earlier killing of thirteen soldiers of the Sri Lanka Army in Jaffna, which resulted in the backlash "Black July" was caused by a land mine laid across the road by a gang of terrorists led by Prabhakaran. At the time, they were in the initial stages of using this destructive method of killing.

The LTTE also used the method of placing parcel bombs in buses and trains which led to the loss of lives of a large number of innocent commuters. (*Refer Chapter 10 of Part I*)

The crudest and the most inhuman method employed by the terrorists was the mass murders done especially in the neighbouring villages along the disputed areas, by using sharp instruments namely, swords, knives, machets, axes, sharpened sticks etc. These methods were used particularly for massacring unarmed innocent civilians living in villages further away from military camps and security posts etc. The terrorists quietly entered the villages when it was dark and slaughtered men, women, children including infants using their sharp instruments without using their fire arms. The terrorists used different methods to massacre innocent civilians living in these villages.

Some innocent civilians were killed, slitting their throats after tying their hands behind. Some infants were held by their limbs and their heads were dashed on the ground. Some victims were pregnant women whose stomachs were slit open with swords. In certain instances the civilians were axed to death. In certain villages the civilians were dragged out of their houses, lined up and shot dead mostly in the head to be certain of their death. Thereafter their houses were set on fire to scare them away from their villages. Some of the civilians who were seriously injured due to the attacks and were unable to escape and still alive were burned to death when their houses were set on fire.

### These massacres were one of the crudest and the most inhuman forms of ethnic cleansing that had taken place anywhere in the world. The victims were innocent Sinhalese and Muslim civilians.

These methods were used to scare away the villagers, as the intended purpose was to drive them away from their settlements. Some of these killings were done so ruthlessly, that they were condemned even by some of the Tamil leaders. (*Refer Chapter 10 of Part I*)

#### WAS PRABHAKARAN A LIBERATOR?

Prabhakaran was presumed to be the liberator of the Tamil speaking people. However, when it affected his own security and safety, he did not mind sacrificing any member of his own ranks for his selfish and personal reasons.

When the security forces were steadily advancing to recapture the territory occupied by the terrorists, he used his own people as human shields. The security forces who launched a humanitarian operation declared "no fire zones", to enable the civilians in the areas occupied by the terrorists to escape and ensure their safety. Prabhakaran ordered his terrorists to enter the "no fire zones" and to attack the security forces to prevent them from advancing to recapture the territory. In certain instances, the security forces had no alternative but to fire back at the terrorists which also resulted in injuring or causing death to the civilians, as the terrorists were attacking whilst mingling with the innocent civilians.

It was reported that towards the end of the war, some terrorists who were injured battling with the security forces, were loaded into two buses and were blown up by using explosives, on the instructions of the LTTE leadership. This shows that the LTTE leadership did not have any mercy even for their own men who fought on their behalf and were injured and in a helpless condition. *(Refer Chapter 11 of Part I)* 

As Prabhakaran was a person with an erratic mind, he did not appreciate the people who assisted him in developing and sustaining his terrorist organization. He got rid of two of his closest associates who helped to develop the LTTE to be a strong and a deadly organization. **Prominent among them were Mahattaya and Uma Maheswaran.** 

Prabhakaran got A. Amirthalingham, leader of the TULF killed. Amirthalingham was considered to be the "God Father" of the LTTE. He advised and encouraged Prabhakaran at the early stages of the development of the LTTE.

Prabhakaran ungratefully got two other prominent leaders also killed, who assisted him in the development of the LTTE at the very early stages. **One was Rajiv Gandhi, a former Prime Minister of India** who continued the policy of his mother, Indira Gandhi, in training and militarily equipping the terrorists. If not for the assistance given by Rajiv Gandhi at the inception, Prabhakaran and the other terrorist leaders would not have got large numbers of their terrorist groups trained, mainly due to the pressure exerted by the important and influential political leaders of Tamil Nadu. This was due to the links the Tamils of India had with the Tamils of Sri Lanka. After training them, they were provided with military equipment and were sent back to Sri Lanka ready to confront the Sri Lankan security forces, at the disposal of Prabhakaran and the other terrorist leaders. *(Refer Chapter 12 of Part I)* 

Another political leader who was ungratefully assassinated by Prabhakaran was Ranasinghe Premadasa, President of Sri Lanka. President Premadasa who disliked the presence of the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) in Sri Lanka, encouraged and provided military equipment such as arms and ammunition, vehicles, steel, cement and other items requested by the LTTE to encourage them to drive away the IPKF from Sri Lanka. Subsequently on a request made by the government of Sri Lanka, the Indian government decided to withdrawn the Peace Keeping Force from Sri Lanka.

A few years later, on a long term plan meticulously formulated by Prabhakaran, President Premadasa was brutally assassinated by a suicide bomber, when he was participating at a May Day procession in Colombo. (*Refer Chapter 12 of Part I*)

It is reported that towards the end, when the security forces were steadily progressing to recapture the occupied territories, Prabhakaran disassociated himself from his long term close associate and political advisor, Anton Balasingham, who is supposed to have advised Prabhakaran to give up his dream of establishing the state of Eelam and agree to a peaceful settlement with the government. However, Balasingham was fortunate that he was one of the very few who dissented with Prabhakaran and yet managed to survive.

Prabhakaran who was a megalomaniac continued to think that he had the capability of successfully confronting the Sri Lankan security forces. Accordingly as he was unable to realize the reality, he continued his battle with the security forces which ultimately resulted in his tragic end and that of his leaders and his organization, at the hands of the highly professional security forces of the Sri Lankan Government.

Prabhakaran in his megalomaniac state of mind did not realize the value of a joint united front, in his effort to establish a separate state for the Tamil speaking people. He never realized the value of a united effort. Instead he destroyed all other groups of terrorists, who were trained and equipped by India. Prabhakaran went further and killed the leaders of all these groups as he, selfishly wanted to be the sole leader of the proposed state of Eelam. As stated above, consequent to the backlash of "Black July", among other things the Indian Central Government decided to provide military training to the young men and women. Consequently, some young leaders including Prabhakaran took the initiative to form different terrorist organizations and dispatch people of their respective organizations for military training to India. Some of these organizations were EPRLF, ENDF, PLOTE and LTTE. On completion of the training in India by engaging the services of professional military trainers, which included the use of sophisticated arms, manufacture of different types of explosives and the effective use of other military hardware. All terrorist groups had a large number of well trained terrorists who would have been an effective force against the security forces of the government of Sri Lanka.

Taking advantage of this military strength, if Prabhakaran shared a common objective with the other terrorist leaders to setup a separate state for the Tamil speaking people, it would have been a strong and an effective force against the Sri Lankan security forces. However Prabhakaran who was suffering from a megalomania did not permit the other organizations to exist, as he thought that these parallel organizations, would challenge his authority and that of his own organization.

Hence, Prabhakaran never thought of forming a common military front. Instead, thinking that they would be a threat to his leadership he decided to annihilate them. Gradually he not only did away with these trained military men, but also annihilated the leaders of the respective groups.

Hence it is evident, that he never wanted to share power with others, and what he selfishly desired was to be the sole leader of the proposed state Eelam. He thereby sacrificed the common cause of the Tamil speaking people and decided to acquire power solely for himself and his organization. In fact, it was one of the major reasons for the failure of the LTTE to establish a separate state, for which enormous sacrifices were made by the people of the Tamil community, who were misguided and felt the need for the establishment of a separate state for themselves. However, despite this acute rivalry among the different terrorist groups, it is not known how Prabhakaran succeeded to have an edge over the other leaders. Being highly ambitious resulting from a distorted mind, he never wanted to either share power or the leadership and consequently jeopardized the common cause and the objective of all the other terrorist organizations.

Prabhakaran who was in India during the period when his men were being trained there, discussed various issues with the leaders of Tamil Nadu. Thereafter, he returned to Sri Lanka and embarked on a campaign of ruthlessly eliminating members of the opposition groups and his leaders as stated above. At the time, there was no indication of any leader other than Prabhakaran, who wanted to eliminate the members of the other groups or their leaders.

If all the leaders with their trained men formed a cohesive force, they could have confronted the government forces more effectively and could have forced the government to a settlement acceptable to both parties.

Prabhakaran after eliminating the members and the leaders of the other groups despite much resentment from the people of the North and the East, embarked with his band of terrorists to unleash a reign of terror massacring innocent civilians in the North and the South destroying valuable economic assets, much more than concentrating on effectively dealing with the security forces. This led among other things for several leading countries to ban the LTTE terrorists as a ruthless terrorist organization, being a potential danger to the world.

Despite the fact that he had never undergone any form of training in terrorism or in guerilla warfare, he was the leader of the most ruthless terrorist organization in the world. In fact, the LTTE terrorists had expert skills in the manufacture and use of explosives. Prabhakaran the leader had not even learnt to handle any arms. All what he knew was what he acquired through his own efforts which made him a self made leader. It is not known as to why he refused to undergo any form of training even though he had adequate opportunities, particularly during the period he spent in India. As stated earlier his pet instrument was a revolver, and he was a highly skilled marksman who could not be beaten by any of his highly trained men. However, he knew the value of training and got his men well trained in military activities, initially in India and later in other terrorist organizations in the Middle East.

Despite the fact that Prabhakaran lacked practical knowledge in military warfare and terrorist activities, he planned and executed destructive missions employing his trained men. When he first exploded the land mine to kill the thirteen soldiers he was still in his experimental stage of terrorism, equipped with some arms stolen or acquired from the police or the security forces. However after assassinating the thirteen soldiers, it gave Prabhakaran and his men tremendous confidence, as to what could be achieved even with the limited resources. As stated earlier, due to the backlash that followed, it opened the way for Prabhakaran and other terrorist leaders in the North and the East to proceed with their terrorist activities. One important resultant development was the participation of India, in providing military training and equipping the terrorist groups. Having got the men trained and equipped, Prabhakaran developed tremendous confidence in expanding his terrorist activities. Initially starting with the assassination of the personnel of the security forces, the police, followed by the Mayor of Jaffna, he developed confidence in himself and his men that he could undertake any form of terrorism and destruction in any part of the country.

One significant reason for the success of these terrorist activities, was the meticulous planning undertaken personally by Prabhakaran, his patience to wait for the appropriate time, to select the location, to issue specific instructions regarding execution, training and rehearsing where necessary, and the selection of the right men or women of the suicide squad to assign the task.

Prabhakaran created mayhem throughout the country using his men, by carrying out disastrous activities killing unarmed innocent men, women and children whether they were living in the villages neighbouring the disputed areas, in the capital cities, its suburbs, at places of work, vehicles used for public transport, schools and/or at places of worship.

On the initial success of these disastrous activities, Prabhakaran proceeded to assassinate some key security personnel whilst there were

some others who escaped miraculously. As stated earlier, on the success of these assassinations, Prabhakaran stretched his tentacles to India and with meticulous planning and execution, brutally assassinated Rajiv Gandhi. Thereafter, he patiently planned and monitored for two years and successfully assassinated President Ranasinghe Premadasa of Sri Lanka. He thereafter attempted to assassinate Chandrika Kumaranatunga who escaped after being injured. **She was subsequently elected President of Sri Lanka**.

#### THE END OF PRABHAKARAN'S REIGN OF TERROR

With the success Prabhakaran achieved in executing the disastrous massacres, he had a bloated impression of his power, when his terrorists undertook the blockade of the Mavilaru anicut by denying a large number of people with the basic needs of their water for drinking and for agricultural activities.

This was really the turn of events for Prabhakaran. Mahinda Rajapakse who was elected president in 2005, in keeping with the assurance given to the people decided to eradicate terrorism, as he was convinced that a negotiated settlement with the LTTE was not feasible. Thereupon, the President on the advice of the Secretary Defence and that of the Commanders of the respective security forces provided the required personnel and equipment, to the respective security forces to confront Prabhakaran and his gang of terrorists.

With the confidence given to the security forces by the President, the security forces using their professional knowledge adopted the necessary strategy and gradually succeeded in finally destroying the enemy in May 2009, which was a historical achievement by the security forces.

One key advantage the security forces had was the conflict between Prabhakaran and the Eastern Commander of the LTTE, Karuna which finally resulted in Karuna abandoning the LTTE and crossing over to assist the security forces.

Another advantage the security forces had was that despite the over confidence of Prabhakaran, his lack of knowledge and experience in warfare and military strategy, in comparison to that of the security forces, led and commanded by highly trained military professionals who adopted the required strategy to deal effectively with the enemy.

The description given above will enable us to clearly understand the thinking and conduct of Velupillai Prabhakaran and there was no doubt that he was a typical megalomaniac. He was also not a liberator but only presumed to be one.

It is now proposed to provide details of the atrocities and the unpardonable crimes committed by Prabhakaran and his gang of terrorists.

# **CHAPTER 10**

## THE TYPES OF RUTHLESS AND UNPARDONABLE CRIMES COMMITTED BY PRABHAKARAN

The monstrosity and the ferocity of Prabhakaran the terrorist leader will be revealed only when we are made aware of the manner and the methods he used to mercilessly kill among others, thousands of innocent unarmed civilians of the country, irrespective of any ethnic or religious differences, as summarised below:

- Massacring unarmed innocent villagers living in the remote villages neighbouring the Northern and the Eastern provinces.
- Attacking civilians using public transport namely, public buses and trains.
- Attacks on holy places of all religions. Buddhist, Hindu, Christian and Islam.
- Assassinating religious prelates.
- Attacking public and private buildings and killing innocent civilian employees.
- Attacks on politicians and political meetings.
- Attacks on the injured and disabled, cadres of the LTTE.
- Attacks on schools and disruption of Examinations.
- Attacks on intellectuals and media personnel etc.

#### 10.1 RUTHLESS AND INTOLERABLE CRIMES COMMITTED AGAINST INNOCENT UNARMED SINHALA AND MUS-LIM CIVILIANS WHO LIVED IN THE VILLAGES NEIGH-BOURING THE NORTHERN & EASTERN PROVINCES

#### **INTRODUCTION**

Up to the outbreak of communal violence in 1983, a substantial number of people of the Sinhala community were living in the Jaffna peninsula, engaging in different types of work for which they possessed adequate knowledge and experience, in comparison to the people living in Jaffna. In addition, there was a large community of Muslims living in the peninsula, mainly engaging in trade etc.

During the period which immediately followed the granting of independence from British colonial rule, the respective governments in power took action to develop agriculture in the sparsely populated areas in the North Central and Eastern provinces of the country, mainly in river basins where water was available to undertake agricultural activities. This was followed by developing the required irrigation facilities, by restoring and redeveloping the ancient irrigation works constructed by the ancient Sinhala kings.

Thereafter, large settlements were set up in the areas consisting of mainly people of the Sinhala community and a mixture of people of the Tamil and Muslim communities. The people in these settlements were engaged in the cultivation of paddy and chena cultivation and they were known as villages neighbouring the Northern and the Eastern provinces.

However, it must be stated, that these were not new settlements as stated by the LTTE. Instead they were resettlements, due to the fact that the original settlers were compelled to abandon these areas and migrate to the South, due to various hazards confronted by them, such as lack of adequate water for cultivation and as the areas came to be inflicted with deadly diseases such as malaria etc. According to the Tamil extremists and the LTTE, these villages constituted a part of the Northern and the Eastern regions which they were proposing to amalgamate to form their proposed state of Eelam. The Eelamists stated that the proposed state would be the land of the "Tamil speaking people". The Moors who were living in the Northern and the Eastern provinces had been living in these areas for several centuries. They had also adopted the Tamil language as their language of speech and writing.

In fact, some Moors living in the Northern and the Eastern provinces cannot speak or communicate in any other language other than in Tamil. Hence in fact, they rightfully constitute a community which only speaks the Tamil language. Their differences arose only due to the fact that they professed the faith of Islam. In that respect it should be pointed out, that all those belonging to the Tamil community do not practice Hinduism as their religion. There are a large number of Tamils who practice Buddhism, Christianity and other religions.

However it was evident that Prabhakaran tried the path of indulging in ethnic cleansing in his proposed state of Eelam. Hence in pursuit of this objective, he indulged in the utterly crudest form of terrorism to ethnic cleanse and massacred hordes of innocent unarmed civilians of the Sinhala and the Moor communities. However, strangely, people of his own community were not an exception. They received the same treatment if they stood in his way or crossed his path.

One of the worst crimes perpetrated by Prabhakaran was the ruthless massacre of unarmed innocent people of the Sinhala and the Moor communities, who were living in the Northern and the Eastern provinces.

What constitutes a "crime" has already been defined and explained in Chapter 1 of this book. However the methods employed by the LTTE terrorists were the crudest, ruthless and intolerable that no definition or explanation has hitherto been formulated by the legal luminaries to describe these types of crimes.

The settlements in which these innocent unarmed civilians lived were located either in the periphery or in the midst of forests cleared to provide for the settlements. These being remote areas did not have the facility of electric power. With the fall of night, these villages were covered with pitch darkness. The civilians lit their homes mostly with kerosene lamps. Living further away from a town or a bazaar, kerosene was also a scarce resource which they obtained on occasional visits to the closest town or bazaar when obtaining their provisions. At night the villagers rarely went out of their homes due to fear of attacks from wild animals. Despite the danger of wild animals, they did not possess any fire arms and even if they possessed the required funds, they could not obtain fire arms due to the severe restrictions imposed by the authorities for the purchase and use of fire arms. Hence the innocent civilians were unarmed. Besides almost all the civilians living in these villages were of the Sinhala community and were Buddhists, who were reluctant to use fire arms despite the danger of wild animals. There were no security force camps or police posts in the close vicinity of these villages. It is only after the terrorists became a continued threat to these villagers, that the government made adequate security arrangements for their protection.

The background prevailing in these villages where innocent civilians lived, provided an ideal hunting ground for the ruthless terrorists of the LTTE. It was clearly evident, that the terrorists who were detailed to carry out these attacks were given clear instructions by their higher command, regarding their target attacks and what should be done and what should not be done.

The terrorists were also aware of the penalties that were to be imposed on them, if the instructions given were violated or not complied with, or for not achieving the desired results of the respective attacks. Hence the attackers ensured that they complied with the instructions given to the last letter.

The terrorists normally launched their attacks in the cover of darkness. Depending on the nature of the attack, the high command of the LTTE released the number of terrorists required for each operation. They were given instructions regarding the type of arms and instruments to be taken for each operation. If there was a security camp or security post located at a distance to which gunfire could be heard, the terrorist contingent was advised not to use fire arms as the gun fire could be heard. **Instead instructions were given to use sharp instruments like swords, knives, axes, hatchets, machetes etc., in carrying out the operations.** 

The terrorists mostly entered the villages in the cover of darkness, stealthily emerging from the forest unnoticed, till they arrived at the village. Thereupon they either got the doors of the houses opened or forced open the doors and either using fire arms shot or slaughtered the occupants using sharp instruments, depending on the instructions given to them by their higher command. Firing meant instantaneous death to most victims without suffering. The worst form of death to the victims was the slaughter done with the use of sharp instruments, such as swords, knives, axes, hatchets, machetes etc. In certain instances, the inmates were dragged out, of their houses hands were kept behind and tied and their throats were slit with sharp instruments. In certain cases, the civilians were hacked to death using sharp instruments. Among the victims were men, women, children and infants. In certain instances when some mothers were breast feeding their infants, the infants were pulled out, held by their infant legs and dashed on the ground. It was reported that in some instances, the stomachs of pregnant women were slit open using sharp instruments like swords, letting out the foetus and intestines of the victim. It cannot be surmised for what earthly reason these types of heinous and atrocious crimes were committed by the LTTE.

It has been reported that when persons commit heinous crimes under the influence of liquor or drugs, they are not aware of the consequences of their conduct. However, in the case of these terrorists, they were not under the influence of liquor or drugs, as consumption of liquor or intoxicating drugs by the terrorists were strictly prohibited by the strict code of conduct formulated and imposed by Prabhakaran on his band of terrorists.

Hence it is presumed that these terrorists were persons who were in their normal senses, when they perpetrated these crimes. It is evident that as the minds of the terrorists had been distorted to indulge in these crimes, they may have relished and derived much pleasure by witnessing blood-letting and witnessing human suffering after slaughtering them with sharp instruments. Axes are used for cutting or chopping timber or firewood. It is unimaginable, nerve wrecking and ghastly for a normal human being to watch another human being chopped using an axe. However, the terrorists would have enjoyed the blood-letting, crying in pain and suffering undergone by their victims.

After completing the massacre, they got onto the next stage of their operation which was to set fire to all the houses in the village. Some of the civilians who were attacked and had suffered serious injuries but were still alive, and unable to come out of their homes due to injuries in their limbs, they were also burned to death alive when the houses were indiscriminately set on fire by the terrorists. The hierarchy of the LTTE instructed the terrorists who invaded the villages not to use fire arms and instead to use sharp instruments, due to two reasons.

One was to carry out their invasions without being heard by the closest security or the police post. Secondly they were required to economize on the use of arms and ammunition, as they required funds to purchase arms and ammunition. It meant that these ruthless terrorist leaders valued their arms and ammunition more than the priceless human lives. The value of human lives has already been described in chapter one of this book.

Due to the frequent attacks on these villages, latterly the innocent villagers had no alternative but to creep into the jungles after sunset, with their children for safety. This was because they found that it was safer to live in the jungles with wild animals, than being exposed to the terrorists as they were far worse than the animals.

As stated earlier, the LTTE continuously attacked unarmed innocent Sinhala and Moor civilians, and burnt their homes to infuse fear in them, thereby driving them away from their villages. This was done mainly for ethnic cleansing as desired by Prabhakaran. By eliminating the innocent civilians of the Moor community who were also speaking the Tamil language, meant that the state, Prabhakaran was proposing to establish, was really not meant for all the people speaking the Tamil language. He in fact meant it, only to those belonging to the ethnic Tamil community. Hence his objective as stated earlier, was to cleanse the Northern and the Eastern provinces by eliminating all those who did not belong to the ethnic Tamil community.

Hence Prabhakaran who had a maniacal mind, indulged in ethnic cleansing which was done in the crudest and in the most unpardonable manner, which cannot be easily forgotten or erased from the history of our country.

Another person who indulged in ethnic cleansing of the world was Adolf Hitler of Germany. He wanted to ethnic cleanse Germany by eliminating all the Jews who lived in Germany, which he wanted to be occupied only by the Aryan German community. Hence he used the Nazi army to round up all the Jews who lived in Germany and held them in camps and gradually exterminated them, by putting them in gas chambers. When they were put into the gas chambers and filled with poisonous gases, they would have died undergoing the pain of suffocation by inhaling the poisonous gas.

## Whilst condemning any form of exterminating valuable human lives which is inhuman, the method adopted by Adolf Hitler to annihilate the Jews could be considered as causing a lesser degree of suffering than the crudest methods of axing people to death.

It may be that even the least civilized people who ever lived on earth, have not used axes to slaughter or to kill animals. Hence it is evident that when the history of the world is recorded in the future, Prabhakaran will be identified as one of the worst ruthless terrorists who ever lived on earth.

A summary of the ruthless attacks on the unarmed innocent civilians who lived in the Sinhala and Moor villages is furnished to substantiate what is stated above.

Some of the killings were of such a barbaric nature, that they shocked the nation and the blood-letting by the LTTE continued almost daily.

These incidents brought to light the vulnerability of the innocent civilians living in these villages being butchered in monstrous regularity at this time.

Newspapers and television media frequently carried the news of the carnage which indeed would have moved even the hardest of the hearts. Most of the children who were victims were toddlers and some were killed while clinging on to their mothers, for breast feeding.

These were civilians who, through force of circumstances were consigned to doom. In fact for them, each day was an exercise in survival. Even though the government was aware of the plight of these innocent civilians, nothing much happened for their protection and therefore fleeing villagers became the happy hunting ground of the ruthless two foot tigers. As stated earlier, due to the prevailing situation, entire villages were forced to flee deep into the jungles, willing to take a chance with the wild beasts, rather than confront the blood thirsty murderers who descended on them without any sort of warning.

Temporary security posts were set up in villages most at risk, but these did not deter the terrorists who went on rampage of the villagers with blood lust. Even though the plight of these civilians was highlighted, they were sitting ducks to the terrorists and were virtually offering themselves as a buffer to the rest of the country, to continue to live their lives.

In fact, the country in the latter part of the 1980's was confronted with insurrection of the JVP. Hence the security forces were compelled to deal with them as well, whilst forgetting the plight of the innocent people in these villages who were regularly preyed on by the LTTE. **Under these circumstances, they were left to fend for themselves helplessly.** 

In all these killings of the villagers, the LTTE followed the same method of entering unprotected remote villages, attacking and killing the villagers and escaping into the darkness before the security forces or the police could arrive.

It was already stated, that Prabhakaran the ruthless terrorist was not guided by any religious principles or any form of ethics.

To provide an example:

April 17th 1987 was a Good Friday. A week before that, the government had declared unilateral declaration of a ceasefire as a move to bringing the murderous separatists' group to the negotiating table, to discuss a settlement backed by India to the so called ethnic problem. On this holy day when the Christians of the country were at prayer and retreat, two buses were travelling, one from Trincomalee to Colombo and another in the opposite direction. The terrorists stopped both buses and the passengers were ordered out and lined up first. They were released of their cash and gold jewellery and were ordered to move by the terrorists. Nearly ninety civilians, including women and children among them were all killed. Those who hid in fear in the buses were also killed by the terrorists, after relieving them of their cash and valuables. With the gory carnage of killing innocent civilians including women and children,

one hundred and thirty people had lost their lives and sixty others were injured. Among the dead were thirty unarmed servicemen in civies going home on leave. This massacre was done on a holy Good Friday.

It meant that Prabhakaran who was born a Hindu and was later a converted Christian, had not cared a straw for Good Friday, which is one of the holiest days for the Christians.

Hence all those optimists including the "God Fathers" of the ruthless terrorists, could only be described as those living in a fool's paradise, if they thought that the blood thirsty terrorists could be made to reason their actions.

Even though Prabhakaran pretended to be the liberator of the Tamil speaking people, there were several instances, when he exposed his hidden intentions when he decided to sacrifice even his own people for his salvation. In instances when there was crossfire between the government forces and the LTTE, he used innocent Tamil civilians as human barriers. It was a regular feature during the three decades long separatist conflict. (*Refer Chapter 11 of Part I*)

In one of the earliest known incidents which took place on 16th December 1987, twenty Tamil civilians were killed in an exchange of fire between the LTTE and the Indian Army in Mullaitivu.

This was a time when the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) was attacking in all earnest, following the cold blooded shooting down of a group of Indian paratroopers by the LTTE, violating all norms and conventions of war.

During this period, the LTTE which was essentially a guerilla outfit were engaged in a spate of hit and run attacks against the Indian Forces, which drew a fierce retaliation by the Indian Forces against the civilian population in their frustration.

A similar incident took place in April 1961. The security forces were able to repulse a LTTE attack on their forward defence lines in Pemaduwa and Yakawewa in Vavuniya. The LTTE detained two thousand five hundred Tamil civilians at Thandikulam. Initially they were allowed to leave, but were forced to turn back and return to the North, instead of proceeding to the South as they wanted to.

Hence it was clear that in instances when Prabhakaran had to confront the security forces, either the IPKF or the Sri Lankan Security Forces, he was not a bit concerned of the consequences of the actions and made the innocent Tamil civilians sacrificial lambs, when confronting the opposing security forces.

The LTTE leadership dealt severe blows to the livelihood of the Tamil civilians by ordering boycotts and hartals (strikes) in their battle against the IPKF as well as the Sri Lankan Security forces.

The strategy of the LTTE was to cripple economic activity by ordering work stoppages to gain some measure of ascendancy over the IPKF at the time and the government. On one occasion, the Batticaloa leader of the LTTE, Sitta warned the poor Tamil workers of the Valachchenai paper factory not to report for duty. Similarly, they brought pressure on the Tamil workers at the Prima factory in Trincomalee to keep away from their work places.

It was clear that the hapless civilians were caught in between two contradicting forces in their bid for supremacy and it was evident that their lives were plunged into despair and misery. This formed the pattern of the lives of the innocent civilians until the destruction of the LTTE by the Sri Lankan security forces in May 2009.

In addition, the LTTE proceeded with their threat to disrupt the G.C.E. Ordinary Level examination in the North and East, by kidnapping four Examination Officials and a Post Master of Mullaitivu and Batticaloa respectively.

These incidents clearly demonstrated the lengths to which Prabhakaran and his gang of terrorists had gone to achieve their bloodthirsty goals contrary to the popular conception that the leader never interfered with educational activities amidst the fighting.

For month after month, day after day, year after year from the early 1970's, these so called liberators had killed more Tamil people before they started their mass murder of the Sinhalese and the Muslims in all the provinces in the country. Though some of the apologists of the West for human rights were harping on a negotiated settlement for what they called the ethnic problem of Sri Lanka, such people mainly the hypocrites in political positions did not even express any shock apart from the condemnation when scores of innocent civilians were slaughtered by the LTTE. They were apologetic and espousing the cause of a group that denied the people their very right to live, leave alone their human rights.

Those who were harping on human rights remained hidden in their luxury towers, while even the very right to life was being denied to hundreds of innocent unarmed civilians.

As stated earlier, Prabhakaran's objective in attacking the Sinhala and Muslim villages and burning down the houses was to either kill them or scare them away, as he was indulging in ethnic cleansing of the North and the East to establish his state of Eelam.

In the last week of October 1990, a large group of armed LTTE terrorist arrived at the Mannar district and ordered all the Muslims to quit the area immediately.

All the valuables including jewellery and household effects were grabbed by the terrorists and each person was allowed to take only one bag of clothes. The terrorists inspected all the bags before the people left their homes and each person was allowed to take only Rupees one hundred and fifty with him or her.

The total number of Muslims chased out of Mannar was nearly fifty thousand and the LTTE did not allow these people to return to their villages again.

These Muslims had to walk miles and miles and finally they were sheltered in temporary structures in Puttlam and in other places where they languished till recent times.

These helpless people who were robbed off their cash, valuables and even their property, were not allowed to come back to Mannar and they continued to live as refugees in the South, proving that Prabhakaran and the LTTE terrorists were prepared to go even to the fires of hell if they could profit even by robbing the most harmless. On November 7th 1999, the LTTE threatened the Muslims of Batticaloa and Killinochchi and they started fleeing the areas outside their hometowns, for fear of another massacre like the one at Kattankudy.

Some of the innocent Muslim civilians fled to distant areas like Kurunegala and Kegalle for fear of being killed by the LTTE, as the threat could not be taken lightly.

It was very clear from the beginning of the LTTE, that it was always ready to kill the most unsuspecting and clueless civilians of the remote areas. At this time when their cadres were also getting killed by the armed forces, they had demanded at least one child from every Tamil family and threatened to kill the parents in the event they refused to comply with their demands.

#### THE FIRST ACT OF GENOCIDE

## 1. ATTACK ON KENT AND DOLLAR FARMLAND AT MULLATIVU AND PADAVIYA - 11th NOVEMBER 1984

The LTTE committed the first act of genocide in Padaviya, which they described as an achievement in one of their publications. This attack was led by Captain Lawrence (Sivalingam) and Lt. Ravi (Karmarasa) who were specially trained in guerilla combat operations.

The innocent Sinhalese farmers who were living in the Kent and Dollar farms were poor but were prepared to do hard work to support their families.

The Kent and Dollar farms were not in fact farms but ancient settlements under the Padaviya irrigation schemes. They were villages of the Sinhalese from very ancient times despite the claims made by the LTTE that these lands formed a part of the so called motherland of the Tamils. The very word Padaviya is a Sinhalese term though the two villages were given foreign names. But to the LTTE with their warped minds and cooked up history claimed that these places had to fall into their imaginary homeland Eelam.

At dawn on this particular day 11th November 1984, the LTTE terrorists raided the Kent and Dollar farms at Padaviya and shot at random where most of the people fell dead, while the survivors were either injured or hiding in fear.

Some attempted to creep into the woods but failed in their attempts to escape death, as the terrorists in their numbers had surrounded the farms, blocking all the escape routes. The terrorists then prevented those who were trying to flee, tied them up demonstrating their savagery and then urinated on them. Later they shot or hacked to death helpless people demonstrating their brutal mindset.

At the end of the carnage, thirty three people in the Dollar farm and twenty nine in the Kent farm were killed instantly. Later those injured also succumbed to their injuries. The final death count was sixty five, unarmed men, women and children. This was the largest number of unarmed civilians killed by the LTTE in the first few years of their killing spree. In the early 1970's when the Tamil terrorist groups were in their formative stage the first Tamil civilian to be killed was a driver named Ulaganathan. From then on they started killing civilians they thought were informants or those who helped the Police or the Security forces.

However, the LTTE did not have the strength to attack human settlements until they turned on the Kent and the Dollar farms, displaying brutality in its extreme, hacking to death little children and the old people without exception.

On 5th May 1976 Prabhakaran formed the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) as a successor to his own Tamil New Tigers (TNT) He also formed a code of conduct for the members of his terrorist outfit.

The first of these rules was that none in the outfit could have love affairs with young women. But by 1984 Prabhakaran himself had violated the rules by having a love affair with a young woman undergraduate, Madhivadani whom he later married in Chennai on 1st October 1984. However as a newly married man of almost one month, he had ordered the massacre of two villages killing sixty five unarmed innocent civilians, which was a grave act of genocide.

## 2. ATTACK ON ANCIENT FISHING VILLAGES OF KOKILAI AND NAYARU – 1<sup>st</sup> DECEMBER 1984

The group of terrorists had suddenly left after the above attack to the Kokilai lagoon and they started firing their machine guns continuously.

On 1st Dec 1984, armed LTTE terrorists attacked the two ancient fishing villages in the North Eastern coast, killing eleven civilians including women and children. Thirteen others suffered injuries. After the attack the government moved the villagers of Kokilai to Pulmuddai and those in Nayaru to Mullaitivu.

The Ministry of Defence told the media that several women cadres accompanying the terrorists had looted the goods of the fisher folk, while their counterparts had gone on murdering the innocent civilians. The terrorists set fire to the houses of the villagers before they left. It was reported that the forces could not reach the villages on time because the approach routes had been mined.

#### 3. DUTUWEWA, HOROWPOTANA – 11<sup>TH</sup> FEBRUARY 1984

Thirty-four (34) Sinhalese villagers were brutally massacred by the LTTE at Dutuwewa, Horowpotana

## 4. WILPATTU VILLAGE MASSACRE – 5<sup>th</sup> MAY 1985

A group of armed LTTE terrorists raided an ancient Sinhalese village in the Wilpattu forest reserve in the Anuradhapura District, killing eighteen villagers including women and children.

#### 5. DEHIWATTA VILLAGE MASSACRE – 30<sup>th</sup> MAY 1985

Over one hundred (100) LTTE terrorists armed with sharp weapons, butchered fifteen (15) villagers of Dehiwatta in the Polonnaruwa district while they were sleeping on their houses. The majority of the victims were women and children.

Some of the civilian massacres carried out by the LTTE were not given publicity in the media fearing a communal backlash. It was during this time that the term "the villagers adjoining the disputed areas" was introduced by the separatist elements, to develop an idea in the minds of the public that there existed two states.

## 6. AWARANTALAWA VILLAGE MASSACRE -14<sup>th</sup> AUGUST 1985

A group of armed LTTE terrorists raided a Sinhalese village at Awarantalawa, in the Vavuniya District. The terrorists butchered seven villagers after torturing them and set fire to forty houses.

During this time, the villagers started sleeping in the jungles at night to protect their families from the terrorists who raided their villages at night.

# 7. NAMALWATTA VILLAGE MASSACRE (i) -18<sup>th</sup> AUGUST 1985

On 18th August 1985, a group of LTTE terrorists armed with sharp weapons hacked seven innocent villagers including children after torturing them at the Namalwatta village, in the Trincomalee District.

# 8. NAMALWATTA VILLAGE MASSACRE (ii)

## - 7<sup>TH</sup> NOVEMBER 1985

On 7th November 1985, the LTTE terrorists raided the Namalwatta village for the second time and executed ten villagers including women and children.

## 9. KANTALE VILLAGE MASSACRE

## $-2^{ND}$ FEBRUARY 1986

On 2nd February 1986, a group of LTTE terrorists armed with small arms and swords raided the Kantale village in the Trincomalee district. The terrorists tortured and hacked nineteen civilians who were still sleeping in their houses. The majority of the victims were women and children.

#### 10. KANTALE VILLAGE MASSACRE – 19<sup>th</sup> FEBRUARY 1986

LTTE terrorists came hunting for Muslim civilians at the Kinniya village, in the Trincomalee district and slaughtered four civilians after brutally torturing them.

# ATTACK ON THE MAHADIVULWEWA FARMING VILLAGE, TRINCOMALEE DISTRICT – 25<sup>th</sup> MAY 1986

The LTTE attacked the Mahadivulwewa farming village in the Trincomalee district and killed twenty six villagers, among them were women and children. Thereupon they set fire to twenty houses and five people were burned inside.

The people were harassed and tortured mentally before they were finally gunned down. First, they ordered the villagers to come out of their houses. Next, they were asked to kneel down. Then they were asked to walk along a path. Again, they were asked to kneel down. This was repeated many times before they were finally gunned down in cold blood. **They even killed infants sucking milk from their mother's breasts.** 

In this country it is an accepted practice even by the hunters, not to kill a deer if it is feeding. It was only the terrorists who had done this in this country.

On the same day they killed a village leader at Viduthalathivu, Mannar. He was Augustine Rajendran, eighty seven years old and the chairman of the village committee. His body was found tied to a post.

## 12. ATTACK AT 3RD MILE POST TRINCOMALEE - 2<sup>ND</sup> JUNE 1986

A group of LTTE terrorists armed with guns, swords, and knives stormed civilian houses at 3rd Mile Post, **Trincomalee and butchered 10 civilians, including women and children, to death.** 

## 13. ATTACK ON TWO SMALL VILLAGES IN ANANDAKULAM, THREE MILES WEST OF TRINCOMALEE – 4<sup>th</sup> JUNE 1986

LTTE terrorists armed with automatic rifles entered the 3rd Mile Post and killed twenty villagers, including two farmers and Ven. Bakamune Subaddalanakara Thero. Thereafter they burned eight houses and two trucks belonging to the farmers.

# *14. WILGAMVEHERA VILLAGE MASSACRE* -21<sup>st</sup> JUNE 1986

A group of armed LTTE terrorists stormed the Wilgamvehera hamlet in the Trincomalee District and butchered nine civilians including children.

It could be observed that the terrorists were increasingly using sharp weapons to kill and maim the innocent civilians in order to give maximum suffering to the victims and horror to the other villagers in the neighbouring areas. The terror stricken civilians started vacating the ancient villages they lived in for generations and started moving towards the South.

## 15. ATTACK ON MIHINDUPURA, TRINCOMALEE – JUNE 1986

The LTTE attacked Mihindupura which was close to the irrigation reservoir. In this attack sixteen Sinhalese villagers were killed. At the time of the attack, the victims were at the tank bathing, whilst some others were harvesting lotus flower seeds. They were shot at point blank range.

# 16. LTTE KILLED 16 SINHALESE IN SITTARU KANTALE – 25<sup>th</sup> JUNE 1986

A bomb explosion carried out by the LTTE killed 16 Sinhalese villagers in Sittaru, Kantale.

## 17. ATTACK ON MEDIRIGIRIYA, POLONNARUWA – 20<sup>th</sup> JULY 1986

The attack took place at night on 20th July 1986, killing twenty one civilians and they set fire to twenty houses. The terrorists had stealthily come through the jungle paths from the East of this predominantly farming area where the people's houses were scattered among the sprawling paddy fields.

The group comprising thirty to forty terrorists had come to attack them and some had fled through the jungle paths. In a few days, the number of deaths rose to thirty, as several persons among the injured succumbed to their injuries.

#### 18. ATTACK ON DEHIATTA, TRINCOMALEE – 7<sup>th</sup> JULY 1986

On July 7th whilst some civilians from Dehiatta in the Trincomalee district were passing through the neighbourhood where all the residents were Tamils, the terrorists taking cover behind the civilians shot and killed a woman and her infant while injuring four others.

## 19. ATTACK ON MANNAR BAZAAR - 8<sup>TH</sup> JULY 1986

The next day in Mannar, the terrorists entered the bazaar of the town and set fire to seven shops belonging to Tamil traders and two shops owned by Muslims. They were small time traders who lost all the goods in the respective shops and had to suffer the loss.

## 20. MUSLIMS IN MANNAR FORCED TO QUIT – JULY 1986

The Muslims in Mannar were forced to quit their homes after the terrorists set fire to the houses and shops of these helpless people. This was the method adopted by the LTTE to terrorize the people, after they became the leading separatist terrorists.

#### 21. ATTACK ON BAKMITIYA AMPARAI DISTRICT – JULY 1986

On the same day in Bakmitiya in the Amparai District, the terrorists abducted six Sinhalese villagers and brought them to the town where they were forced to rob some shops in the area. Thereafter the armed terrorists who supervised the robbery of the shops got away with the cash and the loot.

On the same day, a Sinhalese woman named Chandrawathi who was married to a Tamil in Batticaloa was shot dead in her home by the terrorists.

Two days later, people travelling in a convoy of three fish lorries on the Trincomalee–Kantalai road were attacked by the terrorists and twelve men, two children below the age of five and a woman were killed by the terrorists.

On the same day, a Tamil civilian identified as Eliyathamby Nadarajah was killed on the Batticaloa–Trincomalee road and a note was left near his body that the LTTE killed him for being an "undesirable person".

# 22. MONKEY BRIDGE VILLAGE MASSACRE – 8<sup>th</sup> JULY 1986

Armed LTTE terrorists attacked the Monkey Bridge Sinhalese village in Trincomalee and killed fifteen civilians including women and children.

#### 23. MOLLIPOTHANA VILLAGE MASSACRE – 9<sup>th</sup> JULY 1986

LTTE terrorists armed with swords, machetes and clubs stormed the Mullipothana village in the Trincomalee District during night hours.

Sixteen civilians, largely women and children were killed. According to the coroner's reports, the child victims had been clubbed to death by the terrorists, while their parents had been hacked.

Most of these brutal crimes against humanity were not given publicity by the international media. Human Rights organizations, NGOs and various other international champions of human rights who kept silent on the humanitarian disaster in the island nation.

#### 24. PAVAKKULAM VILLAGE MASSACRE – 13<sup>th</sup> JULY 1986

Four armed LTTE terrorists travelling in a jeep, opened fire at the villagers of Pavakkulam, in Trincomalee. Eleven villagers including women and children lost their lives.

# 25. VADIGAWEWA, MEDIRIGIRIYA, POLONNARUWA - 19<sup>th</sup> JULY 1986

Armed terrorists shot dead twelve (12) Sinhalese villagers including women and children in Vadigawewa, Medirigiriya, Polonnaruwa. At least five others suffered serious cut wounds.

## 26. BERUWIL AND WADIGAWEWA VILLAGE MASSACRE – 19<sup>th</sup> JULY 1986

Over one hundred armed LTTE terrorists with sharp weapons, clubs and small arms stormed the villages of Beruwil and Wadigawewa. Seventeen villagers were killed including women and children. At least five others sustained serious cut wounds.

#### 27. ATTACK ON DAMANA – 24<sup>TH</sup> JULY 1986

About 50 LTTE cadres entered Damana, a Sinhalese village and killed nine persons, injuring another 13 people.

## 28. KANTALE MASSACRE IN THE SUGAR CROPORATION - 17<sup>th</sup> SEPTEMBER 1986

Ten civilians, seven Sinhalese, one Tamil and two Muslims were killed while another Sinhalese was injured, when the terrorists stormed a farmer settlement in Kantale near the Sugar Corporation factory.

## 29. ATTACK ON ELLA-KANTALE ROAD – ZONE 4 SETTLEMENT

The terrorists dressed in military attire drove into the Zone 4 settlement on the Ella–Kantale road stating that they were soldiers and machine gunned the farmers as they came out of their houses.

## *30. WADIGAWEWA VILLAGE MASSACRE* – 17<sup>th</sup> SEPTEMBER 1986

Yet again on 17th September 1986, after massacring ten villagers in Kantale, the same terrorist group attacked the ancient Sinhalese village of Wadigawewa, Trincomalee.

Twelve villagers including women and children were killed.

#### 31. ANNALGAMA ROAD – 4<sup>th</sup> FEBRUARY 1987

As the night fell, a band of LTTE terrorists who had waited for darkness to fall to escape detection, stole into the rag tag hamlet and got into the huts where the poor civilians were going to sleep, ordered them out, herded them into an open place, tied them up one by one with a gun pointed at their heads and shot these helpless poor people who were eking out an existence without causing harm to anyone.

There were about forty people of this isolated community, without any link with the other village communities and the LTTE terrorists used that disadvantage to massacre these villagers including women and children.

The LTTE terrorists were now giving a new dirty name to guerilla warfare fought by such great freedom fighters like Mao Zedong or Ho-chi-minh. The champions of these LTTE killers like the TULF or even their South Indian patrons identified the LTTE militants as liberators, thereby disgracing the true liberators of China and Vietnam.

However, to call one a fighter, there should be another party whom he could fight with. The LTTE or any other separatist Tamil terrorist group did not opt to fight like the Vietnamese or the Chinese Guerilla Armies for the cause of liberation. Instead the LTTE had now become experts in killing innocent unarmed civilians, including women and children.

Hence there is no justification whatsoever to place them on par with the genuine liberators of China or Vietnam. Instead of killing the innocent civilians, the genuine liberators convinced the civilians to join their ranks to fight against the armies of the then established autocratic order against whom they were fighting for the cause of true liberation.

## 32. ATTACK ON THE FARMING VILLAGE AT ARANTALAWA – 5<sup>th</sup> FEBRUARY 1987

The innocent civilian farmers in the small farming village of Arantalawa, Amparai were going to sleep that night on 5th February, when a group of about forty LTTE terrorists fully armed with guns and also with sharp instruments stealthily entered the village. As darkness was falling on the road, they slowly emerged and accessed the farming hamlet.

A home guard far away from the hamlet had seen the evil group turning into a jungle path and had fired three warning shots in the air. But when he knew that the shots could not be heard by the personnel manning the nearest police post or the army camp, he hid in the jungle to escape sure death if found by the terrorists.

The LTTE group did the cowardly act again in the hamlet at Arantalawa where they first tied the hands of the men, women and even the children at gun point. Thereafter, they slit the throats of everyone including two infants. The death toll was twenty eight and among the children killed with the throats slit, were children of eight, nine, eleven and fourteen years of age. Only two persons including a child survived to relate the story.

It was very clear now that the LTTE were not guerrilla fighters fighting the armed forces, but cowardly killers who slit the throats of even the infants choosing the poorest and the weakest, as they did not have the courage to fight, trained and armed soldiers.

## 33. ATTACK ON SERUWEWA VILLAGE, NORTH WEST OF KANTALAI – 24<sup>th</sup> MARCH 1987

On a pre-dawn attack on the Seruwewa village, terrorists killed at least twelve women, five children and eight men and set fire to all the houses in the Seruwewa village. The authorities interpreted the latest attack of the LTTE on the Seruwewa village and the military camps in the north, as a signal of their resentment for being pressurized by India to join the negotiations for peace.

## *34. ATTACK SERUNUWARA HOROWPATHANA* - 22<sup>ND</sup> MARCH 1987

Armed terrorists shot dead 26 Sinhalese villagers in Serunuwara, Horowpathana.

# 35. LANDMINE EXPLOSION AT ARAWANTALAWA IN THE VAVUNIYA DISTRICT – 4<sup>th</sup> APRIL 1987

A landmine placed by the LTTE at Arawantalawa in the Vavuniya district claimed seventeen lives. The dead included seven army volunteers, four members of the national auxiliary force and six civilians.

A spokesman stated that the LTTE was trying to get the Sinhala villagers out of these remote farming settlements.

## 36. JAYANTHIPURA MASSACRE – 20<sup>th</sup> APRIL 1987

On 20th April 1987, just six days after the traditional Sinhala and Hindu New Year celebrations, a group of armed LTTE terrorists raided Jayanthipura, a Sinhalese village and butchered fifteen civilians including 5 (five) women, 4 (four) young girls and 1 (one) boy. The attack was launched on Sunday night led by LTTE leader Pulendran.

## 37. ATTACK AT KADAWATHMADU – 29<sup>th</sup> MAY 1987

On 29th May 1987, a group of armed LTTE terrorists raided the Kadawathmadu ancient Sinhalese village. Seven civilians were killed while five others suffered injuries. The terrorist failed to attain the intended kill, as the civilians used to sleep in the jungle hideouts at night due to the terrorist threats.

## 38. ATTACK AT POLONNARUWA – 12<sup>th</sup> JUNE 1987

About one hundred and seventy five villagers had assembled to discuss at a new temple at Medirigiriya, Polonnaruwa. Terrorists had surrounded the temple and attacked the villagers killing eight and a soldier, while injuring six.

## 39. ATTACK AT POINT PEDRO - 11<sup>TH</sup> JUNE 1987

Terrorists killed 29 Tamil civilians at Point Pedro including 11 terrorist suspects who were released by the authorities held in custody at the Boosa Camp. These 11 suspects were released by the authorities but the LTTE killed them for reasons best known to them.

Sixteen (16) Muslims travelling in a van were killed when the van ran over a mine at Pan Medawachchiya in the North and some Sinhalese were injured due to the mine.

## 40. ATTACK AT PALLORUWA

In Palloruwa near Vavuniya, the LTTE killed three civilians.

## 41. ATTACK AT LAHUGALA

A report stated that five persons riding motor cycles had also been killed.

## 42. GODAPOTHA MASSACRE – 21<sup>st</sup> JUNE 1987

A group of LTTE terrorists with small arms raided the ancient Sinhalese hamlet of Godapotha, Medirigiriya in Polonnaruwa. About one hundred and seventy five villagers had gathered to discuss at a new temple. The Terrorists surrounded the temple killing eight villagers and a soldier. Six were found with serious injuries.

## *43. THOPPUR MASSACRE – 29<sup>TH</sup> JULY 1987*

On 29th July 1987, the LTTE terrorists armed with swords, machetes and small arms butchered nine villagers after brutally torturing them

## 44. THARAVI MASSACRE – 6<sup>TH</sup> OCTOBER 1987

Over one hundred LTTE terrorists armed with swords, machetes and small arms, stormed the Sinhalese village of Tharavi and butchered twenty five civilians. Most of the victims were women and children, including infants and pregnant mothers.

## 45. ATTACK AT ERAVUR – 6<sup>th</sup> OCTOBER 1987

In a fishing wadiya in Thalawi, Eravur, twenty five fishermen who were settlers in the area were killed.

## 46. KILLED 18 SINHALAESE CIVILIANS IN BATTICALOA – 6<sup>th</sup> OCTOBER 1987

Armed LTTE cadres shot dead 18 Sinhalese civilians in Batticaloa.

## 47. SAGARAPURA MASSACRE –6<sup>TH</sup> OCTOBER 1987

Nearly one hundred LTTE cadres armed with small arms and sharp weapons raided Sagarapura, a Sinhalese village near Padaviya and butchered twenty seven farmers.

The terrorists carried out a house-to-house massacre, clubbing the children to death while their parents watched and then chopping the adults to death using sharp weapons. They looted the belongings of their victims and set fire to fifty seven houses burning their wounded victims alive. Six villagers survived the cowardly attack with serious cut wounds

# 48. GANTHALAWA, KANTALAI MASSACRE -10<sup>th</sup> OCTOBER 1987

The LTTE terrorists armed with swords, machetes and small arms, attacked the Gantalawa hamlet in Kantalai and butchered nine civilians while wounding three others.

## 49. ELLA KANTALAI – 15<sup>th</sup> OCTOBER 1987

On 15th October 1987, LTTE terrorists armed with swords, machetes and small arms attacked Ella Kantalai, a Sinhalese village and butchered fourteen civilians including women and children.

## 50. ATTACK AT TRINCOMALEE EASTERN PROVINCE - 17<sup>th</sup> OCTOMBER 1987

The LTTE gunmen killed eleven more civilians in the Trincomalee area of the Eastern Province bringing the total massacred during two days to twenty four. Among the dead were three policemen. Three women were also victims. Four others killed were identified as employees of the Mineral Sands Corporation at Pulmuddai.

Indian TV channel "Dudarshan" reported that the LTTE had used a five year old child to place a grenade intended to kill advancing IPKF forces. They also accused the LTTE of continuing to use women and children as human shields to protect themselves.

#### 51. ATTACK AT KALKUDAH – 11<sup>th</sup> NOVEMBER 1987

Seven Sinhalese selling fish were shot dead by LTTE cadres in Kalkudah.

#### 52. ATTACK AT MULLAITIVU – 7<sup>th</sup> DECEMBER 1987

Innocent Tamil civilians becoming victims of the crossfire between the LTTE and the Security Forces of the government, was a regular feature during the thirty year war. This was the time the IPKF was going in full force to destroy the LTTE in all its earnest, following the cold blooded shooting down of a group of Indian paratroopers by the Tigers against all norms and conventions of war. This was also a period when the LTTE were conducting state of, hit and run attacks against the IPKF, which drew fierce retaliations by the Indians. However, it was evident that the LTTE did not care for the consequences of their actions and therefore made civilians their sacrificial lambs in their quest to counter the Indian attacks.

#### 53. DEVALAGODALLA MASSACRE – 15<sup>th</sup> DECEMBER 1987

Terrorists with small arms and sharp weapons attacked Devalagodalla, an ancient Sinhalese village in Kantalai and butchered seven civilians.

#### 54. MORAWEWA MASSACRE – 22<sup>ND</sup> DECEMBER 1987

On 22nd December 1987, armed LTTE terrorists abducted six Sinhalese fishermen and later tortured them to death.

## 55. KATTANKUDY MUSLIM MASSACRE - 22<sup>ND</sup> DECEMBER 1987

The 31st December 1987 marked the end of Sri Lanka's bloodiest year. On the New Year eve itself, LTTE terrorists carried out two cowardly village massacres in Batticaloa and Trincomalee.

A group of LTTE terrorists armed with sharp weapons and small arms raided Kattankudy, a Muslim village in Batticaloa and butchered thirty civilians, including women and children. The severely mutilated bodies of the innocent civilians, displayed the extent of the brutality that they had to suffer at the hands of their killers.

## 56. KARUNIYANKULAM VILLAGE ATTACK –1<sup>st</sup> JANUARY 1988

On 1st January 1988, armed LTTE terrorists attacked Karuniyankulam, a Sinhalese village in Trincomalee and murdered three civilians and wounded another two.

## 57. ATTACKONTHESINHALAVILLAGEMAHADIVULWEWA – 2<sup>ND</sup> JANUARY 1988

Mahadivulwewa, a Sinhala village on the remotest borders in the North Eastern and the Eastern provinces, were invaded by a band of terrorist marauders on a Thursday night that week. They left ten men, women and children dead and several more injured. The village was attacked in the night while the villagers were staying in their homes. Mahadivulwewa is forty miles East of Anuradhapura. Earlier attacks on this border were at Morawewa, a village which is also in close proximity to the Eastern Province border of the Trincomalee district, where sixteen Muslims were reported killed in June and three months before, a number of Sinhalese residents were killed including an Assistant Government Agent.

The lines of travel of the LTTE cadres from the extreme North Western jungles of Vavuniya and Wilpattu, was across these villages and there was a foot path through these villages to Trincomalee in the Eastern Province. The LTTE cadres in retreat from the Jaffna peninsula were using this route on their way to the Eastern Province. Hence they were now attempting to gain foothold in these villages.

Meanwhile reports received from Batticaloa stated that two companies of Indian troops who moved in to Kattankudy found twenty five residents killed during clashes between Muslims and the LTTE.

The clashes were the culmination of the LTTE kidnapping two Muslims. It was followed by a ransom demand of Rupees ten thousand for the return of each hostage. The ransom demand was refused by the Muslims and a counter attack on the LTTE followed.

When the IPKF moved in to restore peace, they found twenty five dead, eight injured, eleven missing and five shops looted and burned.

## 58. BOGAMUYAYA VILLAGE MASSACRE - 2<sup>ND</sup> FEBRUARY 1988

On 2nd February 1988, LTTE terrorists stormed the Sinhalese hamlet of Bogamuyaya in Ampara and butchered eleven civilians including women and children.

## 59 MORAWEWA, TRINCOMALEE – 2<sup>ND</sup> MARCH 1988

LTTE terrorists shot dead 14 Sinhalese villagers at Morawewa, Trincomalee.

## 60. SITTARU VILLAGE MASSACRE – 5<sup>th</sup> MARCH 1988

A gang of LTTE terrorists wielding swords, machetes and rifles, raided Sittaru, a Sinhalese Village in Kantalai at night. The terrorists carried out a house-to-house massacre butchering twenty four innocent civilians including women and children.

## 61. GALMITIYAWA VILLAGE MASSACRE – 14<sup>th</sup> MARCH 1988

Armed LTTE terrorists shot dead thirteen Sinhalese villagers at Galmitiyawa,Trincomalee.

## 62. KIVULKADE VILLAGE MASSACRE – 15<sup>th</sup> MARCH 1988

Two groups of terrorists raided Kivulkade, an ancient Sinhalese village in Morawewa in the Trincomalee District and butchered seven villagers.

## 63. DEEGAVAPI VILLAGE MASSACRE, AMPARA DISTRICT – 19<sup>th</sup> MARCH 1988

LTTE terrorists killed twelve people and seriously wounded eight others when they raided a Sinhala village at the Batticaloa–Ampara district bordering the Deegavapi Chetiya, late on Thursday. The dead included four children and three women.

The terrorists who were responsible for this latest massacre of the Sinhala people in the Eastern Province, had descended on the village at around 8.00 p.m. in two groups of twenty five each. They attacked ten houses and hacked eight families to death and escaped to the nearby jungles.

The killers who were described to have been in military type uniforms had used swords, sharp knives, rods and clubs for the savage attack on the villagers.

They were using sharp instruments as the gun fire would have alerted the soldiers of the army detachments posted to the Deegavapi temple, about a mile away from the temple. The killers had cut, chopped and bludgeoned their victims to death. The terrorists had stealthily closed in on the village and after approaching some homes had first called the inmates by their names. The screaming noise of the victims thereafter had alerted the other villagers who had rushed out and sought cover in the jungles. The killers had entered the houses which were abandoned, looted all the belongings and smashed up the furniture and other belongings when they found that the occupants had escaped them.

Almost all the residents of the village were Buddhists who were "dayakas" (Patrons) of the Raja Maha Vihara Chethiya, which was surrounded by Muslim and Tamil settlements.

This was the second attack on this village. When it was first attacked by the LTTE, they had gunned down thirty innocent villagers.

#### 64. ATTACK ON MUNDIMURUPPU AND AUSADAPITIYA IN VAVUNIYA – 22<sup>ND</sup> MARCH 1988

On March 22nd, the LTTE attacked two Sinhala villages, namely Mundimuruppu and Ausadapitiya in the Vavuniya district killing fifteen people including nine children.

A group of about fifty terrorists came out of the jungle to the two villages about three km away from the Vavuniya town using the jungle track. The LTTE used the cloak of darkness to hack to death twelve civilians and seriously injured another eight.

# 65. PUNDUKULAM VILLAGE ATTACK – 22<sup>ND</sup> MARCH 1988

Armed LTTE terrorists attacked one of the last remaining Sinhalese villages in Vavuniya, namely Pudukulam. Four civilians were hacked to death while three sustained serious injuries.

#### 66. MEDAWACHCHIKULAM VILLAGE MASSACRE – 22<sup>ND</sup> MARCH 1988

On 22nd March 1988, terrorists attacked Medawachchi Kulam, the other remaining Sinhalese village in Vavuniya. Nine civilians were hacked to death and three sustained serious wounds. With this attack, the LTTE successfully completed its brutal ethnic cleansing campaign against the Sinhalese in the Northern Province.

#### 67. SAINDAMARANDU/KALMUNAI VILLAGE MASSACRE – 31<sup>st</sup> MARCH 1988

Armed LTTE cadres attacked the Saindamarandu village in Ampara and butchered seventeen civilians including women and children.

#### 68. ATTACK AT MORAWEWA – 4<sup>TH</sup> APRIL 1988

The Tamil terrorists disguised in military fatigues attacked Morawewa in the Trincomalee District on a Wednesday night killing fifteen people, including nine children between the ages of nine and fourteen and injuring three others.

They had gone simultaneously to five houses at around 8.45 p.m. just opened the doors, walked in and machine gunned the inmates.

Unit one of Morawewa, had four hundred Tamil families and nine Sinhala families. The attackers went only to the houses occupied by the Sinhalese. One of the dead was a Tamil man who tendered cattle for a Sinhala family. The rest who were killed were Sinhalese.

#### 69. MEEGASWEWA/HOROWPATHANA VILLAGE MASSACRE – 8<sup>th</sup> APRIL 1988

On 8th April 1988, the LTTE terrorists extending their ethnic cleansing raids to the Anuradhapura District, attacked the Meegaswewa ancient Sinhalese village. Terrorists wielding sharp weapons killed fourteen civilians including women and children in their usual hacking and chopping fashion.

## 70. A LANDMINE EXPLOSION AT SITTARU – 1<sup>st</sup> MAY 1988

A landmine explosion carried out by the LTTE killed 26 people, 12 sinhalese, nine Muslims and five others at Kantalai.

## 71. ETHAWETUNUWEWA VILLAGE MASSACRE – 28<sup>th</sup> JULY 1988

Terrorists attacked Ethawatunuwewa, an ancient Sinhalese village and butchered sixteen civilians including women and children. One sustained serious injuries.

Later, this became the last Sinhalese village to survive on the borders of the Northern Province and obviously the one that suffered the most terror raids.

## 72. CENTRAL CAMP VILLAGE MASSACRE – 10<sup>th</sup> AUGUST 1988

On 10th August 1988, a group of armed LTTE cadres stormed the Central Camp village in Amparai and massacred eleven innocent civilians after brutally torturing them.

## 73. MARAWILA VILLAGE MASSACRE – 25<sup>th</sup> AUGUST 1988

LTTE cadres armed with swords, machetes and firearms raided Marawila, an ancient Sinhalese village in Polonnaruwa in the midnight hours. The terrorists forced themselves into the houses of the villagers and beheaded eleven civilians including women and infants after brutally torturing them.

# 74. THE 16<sup>th</sup> COLONY VILLAGE MASSACRE -10<sup>th</sup> SEPTEMBER 1988

On 10th September 1988, a group of armed LTTE terrorists raided the 16th Colony Sinhalese village during the night and hacked to death seven civilians including women, while inflicting serious injuries to five others. The terrorists were unable to achieve the intended kill in this attack as the villagers were sleeping in the jungles due to terrorist threats.

#### 75. MAHAKONGASKADA VILLAGE MASSACRE – 11<sup>th</sup> OCTOBER 1988

A gang of LTTE terrorists the day before brutally **shot and hacked to death forty five men, women and children** in a remote village North of Medawachchiya. A group of about twenty five terrorists descended on the village, surrounded the homes of the villagers and opened fire **killing thirteen men, fourteen women and eighteen children.** 

The villagers at the time were after dinner and were about to go to sleep when the terrorists attacked. The barbaric nature of the killings shocked the nation which was now getting used to almost daily bloodletting by the LTTE.

Those were civilians who through force of circumstances were consigned to doom. In fact for them, each day was an exercise in survival. Due to terrorist attacks, the entire village was forced to flee into the jungles, willing to take a chance with the beasts, rather than confront the blood thirsty marauders who descended on them without warning. Temporary security posts were set up in villages most at risk, but this did not deter the terrorists who went on prey on the innocent villagers with bloodlust.

## 76. SUMEDAGAMA VILLAGE MASSACRE -12<sup>th</sup> DECEMBER 1988

A group of armed terrorists raided Sumedagama, a Sinhalese village in Trincomalee and butchered seven civilians after inhumanely torturing them. Four others sustained serious cut wounds.

## 77. MAHARAMBEKULAM VILLAGE MASSACRE -17 JANUARY 1989

On 17th January 1989, the LTTE attacked one of the last remaining Sinhalese Villages on the Vavuniya – Anuradhapura border. Heavily mutilated bodies of nine civilians including women and children were found, while seven survived with serious cut injuries caused by sharp weapons.

## 78. BOGAMUYAYA VILLAGE MASSACRE – 2<sup>ND</sup> FEBRUARY 1989

On 2nd February 1989, just two days prior to the National Independence Day, a group of over fifty LTTE cadres armed with machetes, swords and firearms attacked Bogamuyaya, a Sinhalese village in Amparai.

#### 79. ATTACK AT DUTUWEWA, NORTH CENTRAL PROVINCE – 12<sup>th</sup> FEBRUARY 1989

In the month of February 1989, the LTTE terrorists once again demonstrated that the Tigers had not changed their stripes yet. The IPKF had left and they once again started attacking the villages occupied by innocent farmers. In a village at Dutuwewa in the north central province after the people had gone to sleep and in the deep night, a gang of about fifty terrorists quietly crept into the houses of the villagers and started killing children, women and men, a total of 27 while injuring many others who had escaped death, as the terrorists had fired in total darkness. Afterwards they set fire to some of the houses and the bodies of the inmates were charred beyond recognition.

On the same day on February 12th at Amparai, the terrorists shot six Muslims dead. On the same day they also shot dead the brother of the TULF Member of Parliament, G. Yogeswaran of Jaffna.

Once again, the LTTE was the main terrorist group and later events proved that they had to be completely wiped out if there was to be any peace.

In all these killings of the villagers, the terrorists followed the same old method of entering an unprotected remote village, attacking and killing the villagers and escaping into the darkness. They always ensured that they escaped in the night, before the men of the security forces or the police could arrive.

#### 80. ATTACK AT SINHAPURA, ANURADHAPURA PROVINCE – 22<sup>nd</sup> FEBRUARY 1989

A group of nearly thirty Tamil terrorists armed with automatic rifles stormed into Sinhapura on Wednesday night and **killed six sleeping villagers, including women and three children and later set the houses on fire.** Ten others injured in the attack were admitted to the hospital. The body of one of the victims was burnt beyond recognition.

## 81. BORAWEWA VILLAGE BLOODBATH – 27<sup>th</sup> FEBRUARY 1989

A group of over one hundred LTTE terrorists wielding swords, machetes, clubs and firearms, stormed Borawewa, an ancient Sinhalese village in Polonnaruwa in the middle of the night.

The terrorists carried out a house-to-house murder of innocent civilians on their sleeping mats. The terrorists slaughtered thirty eight civilians including a large number of children, and women after brutally maiming them.

Only three people in the village survived with serious cut wounds. Most of the children were clubbed to death, while some of the infants were killed by smashing them onto the walls of their houses while their parents were made to watch. All adults died slow and painful deaths, after their body parts were chopped out.

## 82. KILLED EIGHT CIVILIANS IN NOCHCHIKULAM – 17<sup>th</sup> AUGUST 1989

**Eight civilians were killed and four others were injured** due to an IED explosion in Nochchikulam, Vavuniya.

## 83. MAHINDAPURA/DEHIWATTA VILLAGE MASSACRE – 30<sup>th</sup> MAY 1990

A group of LTTE terrorists raided the Mahindapura and Dehiwatta villages in Trincomalee and slaughtered five civilians.

## 84. VEERACHOLAI VILLAGE MASSACRE – 23<sup>RD</sup> JULY 1990

The terrorists had killed eight persons and hung them on trees. It was suspected that the bodies were of Muslim villagers.

## 85 ARALAGANVILA VILLAGE MASSACRE – 24<sup>TH</sup> JULY 1990

A group consisting of over fifty LTTE cadres armed with firearms, swords and machetes attacked the Aralaganwila village in Amparai.

The terrorists brutally massacred eight civilians including women and children by torturing and chopping them with sharp weapons.

The terrorists carried out seven village massacres during that week alone.

## 86. MEEYANKULAMA VILLAGE MASSACRE – 25<sup>th</sup> JULY 1990

The LTTE after attacking the Aralaganvila village, stormed the Meeyankulama ancient Sinhalese village in Polonnaruwa.

Armed with sharp weapons and fire arms tortured eight civilians including women and children to death.

# 87. WANELA VILLAGE MASSACRE – 25<sup>th</sup> JULY 1990

On the very same day that the LTTE terrorists attacked the Meeyankulama village, they stormed Wanela ancient Sinhalese village in Trincomalee.

The terrorists armed with firearms and sharp weapons brutally massacred nine civilians including women and children after subjecting them to inhuman torture.

The terrorists could not attain their intended killings in village massacres in 1990, as majority of the Sinhalese and Muslim civilians had already abandoned their homes and the remaining few used to hide in the jungles during the night.

No international humanitarian organization or countries now trying to preach human rights to Sri Lanka, did not make any noise about the sufferings of these innocent civilians.

#### 88. THAMMANNAWA VILLAGE MASSACRE - 30<sup>th</sup> JULY 1990

The very next day of the Wanela massacre, the terrorist managed to bring about the brutality they were longing for when they attacked an ancient Sinhalese village of Thammannawa in Anuradhapura. A group consisting of over fifty LTTE terrorists wielding clubs, swords, machetes and firearms ran amok in the village, **ripping off wombs of pregnant mothers, smashing heads of children with clubs, and torturing men and women, cutting out their body parts one by one until they died a painful death.** 

Police found nineteen inhumanely mutilated bodies. Three others survived serious cut wounds.

## 89. TIGER MASSACRE IN THE VILLAGES IN THE NORTH EAST – 29<sup>th</sup> JULY 1990

The Ministry of Defence stated that the security in the North East had been increased, due to the massacre of forty **eight villagers in the neighbouring villages.** 

The number massacred in Thammune Elawaka in Medawachchiya – **twenty**, Wanela Oya in the Trincomalee district – **twelve**, Maduru Oya right bank – **eight** and in Thammune in Aralaganwila, Polonnaruwa – **eight**.

#### 90. ATTACK AT AKKARAIPATTU – 30<sup>th</sup> JULY 1990

**Fourteen Muslim farmers were killed** by the LTTE at Akkaraipattu in the Eastern Province on Monday night. **Some of them had been shot dead while the others had been hacked to death with swords and kris knives.** The bodies were found scattered in the Akkaraipattu market the following morning. The farmers had been attacked while they were returning after harvesting.

The Tigers had been continuously attacking the Muslim community in the Eastern Province for some time during the past. The terrorists had distributed quit notices among the Muslims living in the Amparai and Batticaloa districts ordering them to leave the villages where they had been living for generations. The terrorists informed the Muslims to leave the areas before 10th August or to face the most painful deaths at their hands.

On July 15th Tigers ambushed three lorries and two buses in Batticaloa and **massacred sixty Muslims.** The previous Saturday Tigers

had raided a mosque and killed six Muslims when they were praying. Other **Muslims** were also injured in this attack. A few days before, they had stormed into another mosque in the same area and opened fire **killing two persons including the preacher and injuring four others.** 

## 91. KOVILLADI VILLAGE MASSACRE – 30<sup>th</sup> JULY 1990

On the same day they attacked the Muslim village in Amparai, the terrorists attacked the Kovilladi Tamil village in Trincomalee in order to settle a personal grudge, a regional LTTE leader had with the villagers.

## The terrorist with axes and swords killed nine Tamils and one Muslim in the village after subjecting them to inhuman torture.

#### 92. PODANKADY VILLAGE MASSACRE – 31<sup>st</sup> JULY 1990

A group of LTTE terrorists armed with firearms stormed Podankady Sinhalese village in Trincomalee and gunned down eleven civilians including women and children.

## 93 MULLIYANKADU VILLAGE MASSACRE – 5<sup>th</sup> AUGUST 1990

On 5th August 1990, a group of terrorists armed with firearms and sharp weapons attacked the Muslim villagers working in their paddy fields at Mulliyankadu in Amparai. **Police found mutilated bodies of seventeen civilians including some teenagers.** 

As the terrorists increasingly found it difficult to get their intended kill in the night since the civilians used to hide in the jungles, they introduced a tactical change to their cowardly attacks by targeting the civilians working in the paddy fields in groups. The intention was not only to kill them but also to destroy their livelihood.

## 94. AMPARAI VILLAGE MASSACRE – 6<sup>th</sup> AUGUST 1990

The day following the Mulliyankadu massacre, terrorists rounded the Muslim farming families working in their paddy fields in Amparai and attacked them with firearms and sharp weapons. Police found thirty four inhumanely mutilated bodies of civilians including of woman and children.

## 95. BANDARADUWA VILLAGE MASSACRE – 7<sup>TH</sup> AUGUST 1990

A group consisting of more than one hundred LTTE cadres stormed the Bandaraduwa village and **butchered thirty two civilians and wounded five others.** 

The terrorists entered the village clad in uniforms in the middle of the night and carried out house-to-house attacks using machetes and swords. The majority of the victims were children and women.

## 96. TWO ATTACKS IN THE EASTERN PROVINCE - 7<sup>th</sup> AUGUST 1990

**Fifty one Muslims were killed** by a group of Tigers in two separate attacks in the Eastern Province, **seventeen at Attalachenai and thirty four at Akkaraipattu.** 

Twenty Muslims were also injured during the two attacks while the Security Forces killed thirteen terrorists.

## 97. NAVAGAMUWA VILLAGE MASSACRE – 8<sup>th</sup> AUGUST 1990

A group of armed LTTE terrorists attacked the ancient Sinhalese village of Navagamuwa in Vavuniya. They tortured seven civilians to death while four others survived serious injuries caused by swords and axes.

## 98. KILLED ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY THREE CIVILIANS – 11<sup>th</sup> AUGUST 1990

A group of over 200 LTTE terrorists wielding clubs, machetes, swords and firearms carried out a night raid targeting Saddam Hussein village. Ponnaikadu, and Klawaichannai in Eravur and butchered 173 civilians and wounded over 20 others. In the orgy of violence carried out by the terrorists many victims were seen brutally tortured, with limbs chopped away one by one before the terrorists finally beheaded their victims. A large majority of the victims were women and children. The terrorists also looted all their belongings before they left the villages.

## 99. ERAVUR – THE BLOODIEST ATTACK AGAINST MUSLIMS– 11<sup>th</sup> AUGUST 1990

LTTE terrorists in three batches of around forty each, raided the predominantly Muslim township of Eravur, north of Batticaloa late Saturday night and hacked and **shot to death at least one hundred and five Muslims.** 

## Among the killed were forty five men, twenty nine women and thirty one children. Around twenty more seriously injured were evacuated to the Minneriya hospital.

People reported that the LTTE had started their attack around 11.30 p.m. that Saturday when they had entered the township from the West, just one and a half miles south of the Chenkalady army camp.

They had come on foot via the Punnakadu area killing and hacking to death anyone they met. Those who had escaped being slaughtered, stated that the terrorists had called out to the occupants of the sleeping households in Sinhala deluding them into believing that they were safe. The butchery is said to have lasted until 1.30 a.m. on Sunday with houses at twelve different points been attacked. Houses of the occupants who did not respond to the terrorists were broken into and hand grenades were thrown inside.

The killings had not taken place simultaneously. They had gone in small numbers to each place within the Saddham Hussein village, having the largest number in a single place. Even those who stayed on the road were gunned down. Villagers had stated that those who tried to reach the Chenkalady camp earlier had been prevented from doing so by the terrorists.

According to security reports received, the final tally of killings at Eravur was over one hundred and seventy three.

## 100. WEERACHOLAI VILLAGE MASSACRE – 12<sup>тн</sup> AUGUST 1990

The LTTE surrounded the Muslim civilians working in their paddy fields at the Weeracholai village in Amparai and tortured four civilians to death while ten others survived the serious injuries caused by sharp weapons.

## 101. MUTTUR FISHING VILLAGE MASSACRE – 13<sup>th</sup> AUGUST 1990

A group of LTTE terrorists **abducted six Muslim fishermen and hacked them** to death, after brutally torturing them. Their bodies were found hidden in the mud in the Gangi area.

## 102. ARANTHALAWA VILLAGE MASSACRE – 13<sup>th</sup> AUGUST 1990

A group of LTTE terrorists stormed the Avranthalawa Muslim village in Vavuniya and **butchered ten civilians including women and children to death with sharp weapons.** Three others survived the attack.

## 103. BANDARADUWA VILLAGE MASSACRE, AMPARAI DISTRICT –13<sup>th</sup> AUGUST 1990

On the night the attack took place, a terrorist group entered the Sinhala village Bandaraduwa in the Amparai district, with automatic weapons, swords and axes.

The terrorists hacked to death thirty two villagers and critically injured another five people. The entire population of this remote village, once a place where a clan of the Veddah community descendants of ancient settlers lived, came under brutal attack of the terrorists that night.

## 104. UHANA VILLAGE MASSACRE – 9<sup>тн</sup> SEPTEMBER 1990

A group of LTTE cadres attacked a tractor carrying Muslim farmers at Uhana, in Amparai. The terrorists hacked and shot seven civilians to death while two others sustained serious injuries.

# 105. PUNANI VILLAGE MASSACRE – 13<sup>th</sup> SEPTEMBER1990

Seven Muslim farmers of the Punani village in Anuradhapura were abducted and brutally tortured to death. The Special Task Force personnel found inhumanely mutilated bodies of the victims.

#### 106. ATTACK AT FISHING VILLAGE, WELLEMUNDAL NORTHWEST OF PUTTLAM – 21<sup>st</sup> SEPTEMBER 1990

Tigers stormed the fishing village of Wellemundal, Northwest of Puttlam that Wednesday evening and **massacred nearly forty villagers including men, women and children.** Around thirty to forty Tigers had taken part in this brutal massacre. Reports stated that some of the critically wounded children had been thrown into the raging fires of the houses set fire by the attackers. The Army Camp in the vicinity was prevented from providing assistance due to landmines.

## 107. PUDDUKUDIRUPPU VILLAGE MASSACRE – 21<sup>st</sup> SEPTEMBER 1990

On 21st September 1990, a group of LTTE cadres armed with sharp weapons and automatic rifles stormed Puddukudiruppu village resided by both Muslims and Tamils in Ampara. **Terrorists butchered 15 Muslim civilians including women and children while 11 others sustained serious injuries** caused by sharp weapons.

# 108. ATTACK AT GAJABAPURA, PADAVIYA – 29<sup>th</sup> SEPTEMBER 1990

Around one hundred heavily armed LTTE terrorists had raided the Sinhala settlement of Gajabapura, Padaviya on the night of Monday, 24<sup>th</sup> and had **brutally massacred an unknown number of villagers.** Initial reports said that six villagers from the same family were killed and **twelve wounded.** 

It was also reported that the Tigers had set fire to several houses in the vicinity of the Kankesanturai cement factory.

# 109. MAHAOYA VILLAGE MASSACRE – 30<sup>th</sup> SEPTEMBER 1990

On 30th September 1990, a group of LTTE terrorists stormed the Maha Oya village in Amparai, and **hacked to death nine (9) civilians.** The village which was attacked by the terrorists was occupied by the Sinhalese, Muslims and Tamils for generations.

# 110. PERUWALTHALAWA VILLAGE MASSACRE – 1<sup>st</sup> OCTOBER 1990

A group of LTTE terrorists armed with firearms and sharp weapons attacked Peruwalthalawa, a Sinhalese village in Amparai and **butchered nine civilians including women and children to death while wounding three others.** 

By this time most of the villages resided by Sinhalese and Muslims adjoining the LTTE dominated areas were vacated. The terrorists stepped up their ethnic cleansing process killing all the remaining residents who did not vacate their homes despite the terrorist attacks.

# 111. WAHALKADA VILLAGE ATTACK – 2<sup>ND</sup> OCTOBER 1990

On 2<sup>nd</sup> October 1990, a group of armed LTTE terrorists stormed Wahalkada, an ancient Sinhalese village in Anuradhapura and hacked and shot four civilians to death.

# 112. TIGERS KILLED TWO VILLAGERS IN PULMUDDAI – 8<sup>th</sup> OCTOBER 1990

Two villagers were brutally shot in their head and killed by LTTE terrorists at the Pulmuddai junction in Trincomalee.

Official sources reported that five villagers of Kurunduwinna in the Amparai District were missing. Another villager who had gone in search of them on a push cycle had ridden over an anti-personal mine. The villager escaped unhurt. The push cycle however was badly damaged. The sources also said that LTTE terrorists attacked two Security Force detachments. The separate attacks were launched by LTTE at Valaichenai in the East and Elephant Pass in the North. Security forces in both instances had returned fire causing the terrorists to withdraw.

# 113. ARUGAMBAY VILLAGE MASSACRE – 11<sup>тн</sup> OCTOBER 1990

A group of armed LTTE terrorists wielding machetes, swords and automatic rifles raided Arugambay, a Muslim village in Amparai. The terrorists butchered nine civilians including women who were collecting firewood.

# 114. KOKABE VILLAGE, ANURADHAPURA MASSACRE - 23<sup>rd</sup> OCTOBER 1990

On 23rd October 1990, a group consisting of thirty armed LTTE terrorists with sharp weapons and firearms surrounded the Chena cultivators of the Kokabe village in Anuradhapura and **tortured ten civilians to death.** 

# 115. ATTACK AT PANMEDAWACHCHIYA – 27<sup>th</sup> OCTOBER 1990

The LTTE stormed the remote farming village of Pan Medawachchiya on Thursday killing four villagers and wounding two others.

# 116. OLUKULAMA VILLAGE ATTACK – 29<sup>TH</sup> OCTOBER 1990

Three Muslim civilians of the Olukulama village in Batticaloa were tortured by the terrorists.

# 117. ATTACK AT THANTHRIMALE, ANURADHAPURA – 30<sup>th</sup> OCTOBER 1990

The LTTE **shot and hacked to death five civilians including a woman** in the village of Thanthrimale in the Anuradhapura district.

# 118. CHASING MUSLIMS OUT OF VILLAGES IN MANNAR – 31<sup>st</sup> OCTOBER 1990

The year 1990 witnessed the most ruthless attacks by the LTTE who aimed at devastating the lives of the rural community in their cowardly night attacks on poor isolated villages of the Sinhalese and Muslims mainly in the Eastern region.

During September the terrorists attacked Eravur killing one hundred and seventy nine Muslims with nearly half the number being women and children.

The excuse the LTTE offered was that some Muslims in the East were taking up arms for a religious struggle, but there was no evidence to prove that the Muslims were arming themselves.

The Tamil political groups including the Tamil National Alliance requested the government to disband Muslim Home Guards protecting the Muslim villages on the excuse that the Home Guards were harassing the Tamil villagers. But some of the Tamil groups including PLOTE and EPRLF were also carrying arms. The request to disband the Muslim Home Guards meant that the Muslim villagers were exposed to the attacks of the terrorists.

The request from the Tamil political groups after the massacre at Kattankudy of over one hundred and forty and at Eravur of over one hundred and seventy showed the callous cynicism of those who made the request.

The month of October also witnessed the attacks on the Sinhala villages both in the East, North East as well as in the North Central region.

On October 2nd the terrorists killed two (2) villagers at Vahalkada in the Padaviya region but earlier on September 27th they also attacked a village, Pan Medawachchiya in the East and killed four (4) villagers. During the last week of October 1990, a large group of armed LTTE cadres arrived at the Muslim settlements in the Mannar district and ordered all the Muslims to quit the area immediately. All the valuables including jewellery and household effects were grabbed by the terrorists and each person was allowed to take only one bag of clothing. The terrorists inspected all the bags before the people left their homes and one person was allowed to take only Rupees one hundred and fifty with him/her.

The total number of Muslims chased out of their homes was nearly fifty thousand and the LTTE did not allow these people to return to their villages once again. These Muslims came walking for miles and miles and finally they were sheltered in temporary structures in Puttlam and other places where they languished till recent times. These helpless people were not allowed to come back to Mannar and continued to live as refugees in the South.

On Friday, 26<sup>th</sup> October 1990, the Tigers ordered all Muslims in Mannar, Vavuniya, Jaffna and Mullaitivu to leave their homes by midnight.

In Mannar at Silavaturai, nearly one thousand five hundred Muslim families sought refuge in the Silavaturai army detachment. An official of the army stated that all the cash, jewellery and other valuables of these families had been confiscated by the Terrorists.

This officer further reported that several families in Vavuniya had sought refuge in the main Army camp, as they had been ordered to hand over their children above the age of eight to the LTTE.

# 119. ATTACK AT THE REMOTE VILLAGE OF HELAMB GAWEWA, WELIOYA, TRICOMALEE DISTRICT – 2<sup>ND</sup> NOVEMBER 1990

In November, the remote village of Helambagaswewa, Welioya in the Trincomalee District was attacked for the third time since June 1990 and eleven civilians including women and children were killed by the LTTE along with five soldiers on duty at a guard post. Another six soldiers received injuries.

The village at the time was almost deserted and as night fell some people had crept into the jungle to spend the night for fear of terrorist attacks

# 120. BANDARA KUMBUKKWEWA VILLAGE ATTACK – 3<sup>rd</sup> NOVEMBER 1990

On 3rd November 1990, a group of LTTE terrorists armed with sharp weapons attacked Bandara Kumbukkwewa. Four civilians were brutally murdered and two others were seriously injured.

# 121. TEN FISHERMEN DEAD, SIXTEEN MISSING ATTACK AT KEVILIYA - 3<sup>rd</sup> APRIL 1991

LTTE terrorists on two boats surrounded 6 vallams and opened fire at the fishermen at Keviliya, Foul Point in Trincomalee. Some fishermen jumped into the sea and swam away. Four vallams were set on fire. **Ten dead bodies and 11 injured were found. Over 16 were missing,** believed to have drowned after been shot.

# 122. KALUDAVELI VILLAGE ATTACK – 2<sup>ND</sup>MARCH 1991

LTTE terrorists **gunned down four Muslim inhabitants** of the Kaludaveli village in Batticaloa, after subjecting them to inhuman torture.

# 123. ERAKKANDY VILLAGE ATTACK – 2<sup>ND</sup> MARCH 1991

On 2nd March 1991, the same day they attacked a Muslim village in Batticaloa, LTTE terrorists **hacked and shot dead five more Muslim civilians of Erakkandy**, a village in Trincomalee.

# 124. ATTACK AT BOGAMUYAYA, MAHA OYA, AMPARAI – 23<sup>rd</sup> JANUARY 1991

**Twenty seven civilians were brutally shot and hacked to death** by the LTTE terrorists at Bogamuyaya in the Maha Oya police area of the Amparai district the previous morning.

# The dead included fifteen children, seven women and five men. Nine others who were injured in the attack were admitted to the Maha Oya hospital.

Bogamuyaya is an isolated village on the Maha Oya–Polonnaruwa road. Defence sources were of the view that some terrorists who had escaped the Thoppigala onslaught were behind this attack. These villagers had resettled in the village only recently having left the village due to previous attacks. The report had said that the Tigers wanted to frighten away the Sinhala villagers into leaving the district.

In yet another incident on Tuesday, the terrorists attacked the official residence of the Batticaloa district judge, the police station and the office of the Superintendent of Police. All attacks had been repulsed and the Tigers had fled taking their injured cadres with them.

#### 125. FISH MARKET, AKKARAIPATTU – 24<sup>th</sup> MARCH 1991

Bomb explosion at Fish Market, Akkaraipattu, killing nine Muslims and injuring 32 others.

# *126. ATTACK IN THE HEENETIGALA JUNGLES* – APRIL 1991

Two males of the Veddah community, (early settlers) were killed and eight others were abducted by the LTTE, while they were hunting in the Heenetigala jungles. A muscle loading gun and a torch were removed by the killers. Four of the abducted Veddahs later appeared, while the whereabouts of the other four were not known.

## 127. ATTACK ON THE WELIGAHAKANDIYA FARMING VILAGE, BATTICALOA DISTRICT – JUNE 1991

Nine Tamil civilians, six men, two women and a twelve year old girl were killed on that Monday night in the farming village of Weligahakandiya in the Southern border of the Batticaloa district.

The victims had been taken to a nearby jungle South of the Unnichchi tank and hacked to death. A woman survivor namely Dayawathi Jayaratnam, a Sinhalese woman married to a Tamil farmer who managed to escape by trekking through the jungle reported the massacre. The woman had injuries on her neck and spine. She had been rushed to the hospital. She had stated that the massacre at Weligahakandiya, a Tamil village, was a revengeful act by the LTTE who suspected the villagers of having informed the security forces of the LTTE camp at Weligahakandiya. The camp was raided by the security forces on June 5<sup>th</sup>.

## 128. LTTE GUNNED DOWN ONE HUNDRED FISHERMEN IN THE VILLAGE OF SAMPUR – 4<sup>th</sup> APRIL 1991

The village in Sampur in the Trincomalee district was a well known locality of traditional fishermen who used "Vallams" (a type of fishing boat) to go to sea to make a living. The times were not good for them yet to make a living.

On the night of the previous day, a group of "Vallams" had been put out to sea and were almost about to reach the area where shores of fish were usually present, when they saw a set of mechanized boats approaching them.

Soon the flotilla of boats approached the fishermen. The men in the flotilla were in some kind of uniform. At first the fishermen thought it was the Sri Lankan navy on a patrol of the seas, but when the men in the boats ordered the fishermen to turn back, their "Vallams" sailed towards the beach. The boats carrying the armed men directed the "Vallams" towards Kodiyar Bay near Trincomalee, where the fishermen were ordered to go ashore leaving the fishing craft at the beach.

There were over one hundred fishermen who were taken to a lonely stretch of the beach and were ordered to line up. By now the fishermen knew that they were being abducted by the LTTE terrorists, but the unarmed could not defend themselves. They were lined up and shot at point blank range by the terrorists and exactly one hundred among them fell dead. Another ten fishermen were injured as the LTTE most probably missed the target. The injured fishermen were admitted to the hospital.

The LTTE killed not only the Sinhalese, the Muslims and fishermen, but also killed Tamils who opposed or disagreed with them.

#### 129. ATTACKONAFARM COLONYAT ETHIMALAI, AMPARAI, MONERAGALA DISTRICT – 16<sup>th</sup> APRIL 1991

While most of the country was about to retire to sleep after celebrating the Sinhala/Hindu New Year on Sunday, 14th the LTTE terrorists set about butchering civilians in the farming colony of Ethimalai on the border of the Amparai–Moneragala districts.

# Seventeen persons including three women and seven children were brutally shot and hacked to death by a band of some twenty terrorists armed with guns, swords and knives.

The victims were all asleep after their traditional New Year observances. Six of the houses in the colony were set on fire and were charred by the time the STF commandos responded to the news.

A villager who had rushed to seek the assistance of the STF, had his leg blown off when he stepped on a pressure mine while leading the STF team to the scene of the massacre.

#### 130. NIYANDELLA VILLAGE MASSACRE – 20<sup>th</sup> APRIL 1991

A group of LTTE terrorists wielding sharp weapons and firearms attacked Niyandella, a Sinhalese village in Okkampitiya, Moneragala. The terrorists butchered twenty two civilians including women and children after subjecting them to inhuman torture.

# 131. TERRORIST FIRED AT A GROUP OF MUSLIMS - 20<sup>th</sup> MAY 1991

Terrorists fired at a group of Muslims who were returning from their paddy fields in a tractor at Malwatta Samanthurai. **Nine Muslims** were killed and two others were injured.

## 132. KILLING FOURTEEN (14) PEOPLE AT KOKKADICHOLAI – 12<sup>th</sup> JUNE 1991

LTTE bomb explosion took place in Manmunai ferry in Kokkadicholai, killing 14 people, including 10 civilians.

# 133. WELIGAHA KANDIYA VILLAGE MASSACRE – 24<sup>th</sup> JUNE 1991

LTTE terrorists attacked Weligaha Kandiya, a village in Periyapullumalai, Amparai. The terrorist using swords, axes and machetes chopped ten civilians including women and children to death.

#### 134. PUTTUR VILLAGE MASSACRE – 6<sup>th</sup> JULY 1991

On 6th July 1991, a group of over fifty LTTE terrorist armed with firearms and sharp weapons raided Puttur, a Muslim village in Polonnaruwa.

In a house-to-house attack the terrorists **hacked fourteen civilians including women and children after brutally torturing them.** Police found four survivors with serious cut wounds.

#### 135. KARAPOLA AND MANAMPITIYA VILLAGE MASSACRES -6<sup>th</sup> JULY 1991

On 6th July 1991, the same night that they butchered a Muslim village in Polonnaruwa, LTTE terrorists attacked Karapola and Manampitiya, two Sinhalese villages and hacked nine civilians to death. The terrorists first abducted the victims and robbed a van belonging to one of the victims, and then tortured them inhumanly by chopping away their limbs, to their death, at an isolated place.

#### 136. SAMANTHURAI VILLAGE ATTACK – 6<sup>th</sup> JULY 1991

A group of LTTE terrorists abducted eight Muslim farmers of Samanthurai, a village in Amparai and brutally tortured them.

Later, severely mutilated bodies of six victims were found, while two others sustained serious cut wounds.

# 137. PALLIYAGODELLA VILLAGE ATTACK – 19<sup>th</sup> SEPTEMBER 1991

LTTE terrorists attacked Palliyagodella, a Muslim village in Medirigiriya.

Thirteen civilians including women and children were found hacked to death. Police found six survivors with serious cut wounds inflicted on them.

## 138. KILLED ONE HUNDRED AND NINE MUSLIM VILALGERS - 15<sup>th</sup> OCTOBER 1991

Tiger terrorists killed 109 Muslim villagers, including women and children in Palliyagodella, Polonnaruwa.

# 139. WELIKANDA GENOCIDE AGAINST MUSLIMS – 29<sup>th</sup> APRIL 1992

On 29<sup>th</sup> April 1992, over four hundred LTTE terrorists stormed three Muslim villages in the Polonnaruwa district namely, Karapola, Alanchipothana and Muthugala and carried out one of the most barbaric genocide acts against Muslims in the world.

Shortly after midnight, the gang of terrorists swooped down on the sleeping villagers and carried out a house-tohouse massacre killing one hundred and thirty civilians and injuring over seventy one others. A majority of the victims were women and children.

According to the eyewitness accounts, the LTTE had used a large number of child soldiers in this attack and asked them to kill women and children with sharp weapons. Several houses were set ablaze by the terrorists, burning the residents alive and most of the other houses were looted after murdering their residents.

In the year 1991, village massacres reduced in numbers as hundreds of thousands of Sinhalese were driven out from their homes by the terrorists. Yet, there were a few Muslim villages that did not heed the orders of the LTTE and villages in Polonnaruwa were also wiped out with this attack.

# 140. ATTACK ON ALINGHIPOTHANA MUSLIM VILLAGE, EAST BANK MAHAWELI – 30<sup>th</sup> APRIL 1992

In the Muslim village of Alinghipothana is located in the east bank of Mahaweli. Early morning on the previous day, April 29th the LTTE terrorists hacked to death fifty five villagers and injured thirty four others. Of those killed fourteen were males, sixteen were females, while sixteen were boys, girls and infants. The thirty four injured, seventeen critically including fourteen children, were admitted to the hospital. An AFP report stated that the LTTE terrorists stormed the sleeping village and systematically went from house to house dragging men, women and children whom they hacked with machetes, swords and sharp instruments. They carried automatic weapons, but avoided using them fearing that it would alert the nearest military camp which was about six miles away.

The massacre of the villagers clearly showed that the LTTE was killing not only Sinhalese but Muslims as well, as this was about the twentieth time the LTTE had massacred Muslims during the past few years.

But this time something more pathetic and heart rendering happened. After the massacre in a few hours time Muslim people of the area who had been provoked by the continued attacks on them, raided two Tamil villages in the same region namely Muthugala and Karapola and killed sixty six among them.

This incident showed that it is always the innocent unarmed people who are not at all responsible for any political or terrorist activity who are victims. In this attack of reprisal, twelve people of Muthugala and fourteen of Karapola, all Tamil villagers were killed by the raids carried out by the Muslim villagers in an ugly fall out of the killings of the LTTE terrorists.

# 141. KOSGOLLA VILLAGE ATTACK – 16<sup>th</sup> MAY 1992

A group of LTTE terrorists stormed Kosgolla, a village in Amparai and **butchered five civilians using swords and axes.** 

# 142. NINE FISHERMAN KILLED IN KARAPOLA LAKE - 6<sup>th</sup> JULY 1992

Nine Sinhala fishermen fishing at Karapola Lake and the owner of the Manampitiya Vadiya who arrived there in his Delica Van No. 84-7071 were abducted by terrorists and **9 of them were killed.** One fisherman escaped and informed Manampitiya detachment.

## 143. MAILANTHENNA VILLAGE MASSACRE – 9<sup>th</sup> AUGUST 1992

A group of LTTE terrorists wielding swords, clubs, machetes and firearms stormed Mailanthenna, a Sinhalese village in Polonnaruwa. The terrorists butchered twenty five civilians including women, children and pregnant mothers. Police found ten survivors with serious cut wounds.

# 144. ATTACK ON A SINHALA VILLAGE IN WELI OYA – SEPTEMBER 1992

LTTE terrorists attacked a village in Weli Oya area during the early hours of the previous day **killing fifteen civilians and injuring nine others before setting fire to the houses.** Twenty families were living in this village. The civilians killed included men, women and children.

# 145. KILLED 22 MUSLIMS IN SAINDAMARUDU - 1<sup>st</sup> SEPTEMBER 1992

LTTE killed 22 Muslims while 67 others were injured in an explosion that took place in Saindamaradu, Kalmunai.

# 146. KONWEWA VILLAGE MASSACRE – 1<sup>st</sup> OCTOBER 1992

A group of LTTE terrorists armed with firearms and sharp weapons raided Konwewa, a village in Polonnaruwa and **butchered fifteen civilians including women and children.** Only nine of the civilians managed to survive with serious cut wounds.

# 147. KILLINGS AT FOUR FARMING VILLAGES IN POLONNARUWA – 15<sup>th</sup> OCTOBER 1992

One hundred and forty one civilians, eight soldiers and eleven policemen were killed and eighty three civilians were wounded when a band of over one hundred and fifty terrorists struck four farming villages on the Polonnaruwa–Batticaloa border. Over one hundred houses had been burnt and all the civilians had been hacked and burnt. The attacks were on the villages of Agbopura, Ahamedpura, Palliyagodella, and Pamburana, a cluster of four villages with a radius of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  km. The villages are situated about thirty five km from Polonnaruwa on the Western bank of the Mahaweli. Agbopura is primarily a Muslim village.

The villagers were guarded by a police platoon with military training and a section of national guards. The five policemen killed included a sub police inspector. Security had been allocated in the eastern province to prevent retaliatory attacks on Tamils.

# 148. LTTE RAIDED A SINHALESE VILLAGE – JANAKAPURA – 25<sup>th</sup> JULY 1993

LTTE raided a Sinhalese village and killed nine civilians by stabbing, shooting and blowing up with grenades at Janakapura.

# 149. KALLARAWA VILLAGE MASSACRE – 25<sup>th</sup> MAY 1995

The LTTE terrorists recommenced their bloody ethnic cleansing campaign against the Sinhalese and Muslims by attacking the Kallarawa fishing village on the Eastern seaboard, located thirty five kilometers from the **Trincomalee** town.

A group consisting over one hundred LTTE terrorists armed with swords, machetes, axes and firearms stormed the village resided by fisher folk belonging to Sinhalese, Muslim and Tamil ethnicities, and **butchered forty two civilians. Police found fifteen survivors with serious cut wounds.** 

The village was populated by migrant fishermen at the time of the attack. **The terrorists tortured children to death and killed the parents by hacking them.** Majority of the victims were women and children. The remaining civilians fled the village after this incident.

# 150. MANGALAGAMA VILLAGE MASSACRE – 21<sup>st</sup> OCTOBER 1995

The LTTE terrorists carried out three brutal village massacres in three districts during the night of 21<sup>st</sup> October 1995.

A group of LTTE terrorists armed with firearms and sharp weapons stormed Mangalagama, a Sinhalese village in Batticaloa. The terrorists **killed sixteen civilians including women and children** in their usual barbaric manner, repeatedly attacking them with sharp weapons.

In the same week, the LTTE carried our six other village massacres.

# 151. MONARATHANNA VILLAGE MASSACRE – 21<sup>st</sup> OCTOBER 1995

On the same night of 21st October, they massacred a village in Batticaloa. Over one hundred LTTE cadres armed with sharp weapons and firearms attacked Monarathanna, a Sinhalese village in Polonnaruwa.

The terrorists carried out a house-to-house massacre butchering thirty six civilians, including infants, children and women after subjecting them to brutal torture. Police found twelve survivors bearing serious cut wounds.

# 152. GALTALAWA VILLAGE MASSACRE – 21<sup>st</sup> OCTOBER 1995

Yet again on 21st October 1995, the LTTE carried out their third cowardly village massacre at Galtalawa in Padaviya.

Police found nineteen inhumanly mutilated bodies of victims including infants, women and children. All the victims were tortured to death with swords, machetes and axes.

# 153. ATTACK ON ATTEMALAI AND KOTIYAGALA - 23<sup>RD</sup> OCTOBER 1995

A group consisting over one hundred LTTE cadres armed with sharp weapons and firearms stormed the Attemalai and Kotiyagala hamlets in Moneragala. The terrorists butchered **nineteen civilians including women and children. One survived with serious cut injuries.** 

## 154. PANAMA VILLAGE ATTACK – 25<sup>th</sup> OCTOBER 1995

On 25th October 1995, a group of LTTE terrorists **abducted eight civilians** of the Panama Muslim village in Amparai. Heavily mutilated bodies of the victims were found the next morning by the police. All the victims were tortured to death with their bodies ripped open with sharp weapons.

# 155. ATTACK AT TAMMENNAWA, HERATHGAMA HAMILLEWA, NORTH CENTRAL PROVINCE -27<sup>TH</sup> OCTOBER 1995

The LTTE terrorists **killed twenty three civilians** in Thammanna Herathgama, Hamillewa, twelve km from Kebathigollewa in the North Central Province. Official sources stated that the Tigers were thoroughly desperate, after suffering heavy losses in the current military offensive and had resorted to diabolically killing, to distract the attention of the security forces to promote a communal backlash.

# 156. ALAPATHWEWA VILLAGE MASSACRE – 26<sup>TH</sup> OCTOBER 1995

On 26th October 1995, the same night, they butchered a village in Anuradhapura, the LTTE terrorists attacked Alapathwewa, an ancient Sinhalese village in Welioya.

A terrorist group consisting of over one hundred, armed with sharp weapons, clubs and firearms stormed the village shortly after midnight and carried out their usual orgy of violence butchering **twenty six civilians, including infants, pregnant women and children.** 

## 157. SIYAMBALANDUWA VILLAGE MASSACRE - 2<sup>ND</sup> NOVEMBER 1995

2nd November 1995 was the day a group of terrorists stormed the Siyambalanduwa village in Monaragala and butchered **five civilians including children**, with swords and machetes.

The terrorists could not achieve their intended kill in this attack, as the villagers had recommenced their practice of sleeping in the jungle hideouts for safety.

# 158. MAHANIKAWEWA VILLAGE MASSACRE - 22<sup>ND</sup> FEBRUARY 1996

LTTE cadres wielding swords, knives and firearms attacked the Mahanikawewa Sinhalese village in Kebithigollewa. Terrorists **butchered six civilians and wounded three others.** 

#### 159. ATTACK AT THE SINHALESE VILLAGE ILVANKULAM IN RANMADU CLOSE TO WILPATTU – 12<sup>th</sup> JUNE 1996

Over two hundred LTTE terrorists stormed a Sinhala village, sixteen miles off Puttalam and **hacked to death fourteen civilians including women and children.** They also set ablaze the houses located at Ilvankulam, a Sinhalese village in Ralmadu in close proximity to the Wilpattu sanctuary.

According to reports the day prior to the incident, Tigers had abducted three persons from this same village (a father and his two sons) and one son had been released after he was badly assaulted by the Tigers.

#### 160. ATTACK ON PAVATKULAM VILLAGE VAVUNIYA DIS-TRICT – 15<sup>th</sup> JULY 1996 (WEEK-END)

Eleven villagers including five women were killed by LTTE gunmen who drove into the Pavatkulam in the Vavuniya district on Sunday night that week-end. Two of the civilians massacred were Sinhalese, while the others were Tamil. A Tamil woman, K. Villuamma, the widow of a Sinhalese was shot dead by the terrorists. Her husband had been killed earlier, caught in a landmine explosion.

# *161. ATTACK AT PALMADUWA NEAR ELUVAKKULAMA* – JULY 1996

During the month of July 1996, about two hundred LTTE terrorists raided the village of Palmaduwa at Eluvakkualama in Puttalam **killing fourteen civilians including men, women and children.** After the attack they set fire to the houses in the village, most of them being cadjan and the villagers fled the area.

#### 162. PALIYAGODELLA ATTACK – 1<sup>st</sup> FEBRUARY 1997

Terrorists attacked seven civilians and a Home Guard while they were at the paddy fields. **One civilian was killed and others escaped.** 

# 163. ODDAIMAVADI VILLAGE MASSACRE – 10<sup>th</sup> FEBRUARY 1997

A group of LTTE terrorists attacked Oddaimvadi, a Muslim village in Batticaloa. The **terrorists shot five civilians to death and wounded three others.** 

# 164. MORAWEWA VILLAGE MASSACRE – 12<sup>TH</sup> MAY 1997

LTTE terrorists attacked the police station of Morawewa and the Morawewa village in Trincomalee. The terrorists **butchered five** civilians in this attack.

#### 165. ERAKKANDY VILLAGE MASSACRE – 2<sup>ND</sup> JULY 1997

On 2nd July 1997, over one hundred LTTE terrorists wielding sharp weapons, clubs and firearms stormed Erakkandy, a Muslim village in Trincomalee and **butchered thirty four civilians.** 

# In their usual orgy of violence, the terrorists clubbed and tortured children and infants to death, chopped women including pregnant mothers, and hacked men and women until they suffered a slow painful death.

Unlike in the 80's and early 90's, the LTTE and its NGO lackeys could no longer alter the facts or conceal the crimes they committed from the world, with the internet and other enhancements of communication technology that were available during this period.

Humanitarian agencies and Western Powers that were silent about the sufferings of the Sri Lankan citizens so far, slowly started making comments and issuing press releases etc, in their usual tone, placing both the LTTE and the government at the same status and advising both parties to stop fighting.

#### 166. ATTACK ON BATTICALOA TOWN – 24<sup>TH</sup> AUGUST 1997

Four civilians were killed and another 13 were injured when LTTE terrorists fired mortars at 233 Brigade in Kalladi which fell on populated areas in the Batticaloa town.

#### 167. KILLINGS AT KANTHANKUDY - 2<sup>ND</sup> JANUARY 1998

25 (Twenty Five) Residents were killed due to clashes between Muslims and the LTTE. The clashes were due to kidnapping two Muslims followed by a ransom demand of Rs. 100,000 (One Hundred Thousand) for return of each hostage. The ransom demand was rejected by the Muslim leadership at Kattankudy, which is a suburb of Batticoloa where 50,000 (fifty thousand) Muslims lived.

#### 168. KILLINGS AT MAHADIVULWEWA - 2<sup>ND</sup> JANUARY 1998

The LTTE killed 10 (ten) men, women and children and several others were injured when they launched an attack to Mahadiulwewa. 40 (forty) miles East of Anuradhapura.

# 169. KADAWATMADUWA VILLAGE ATTACK -26<sup>TH</sup> FEBRUARY 1998

One Home Guard and three soldiers were killed, while another Home Guard and three civilians were wounded, when a group of terrorists attacked civilians while harvesting.

#### 170. MEDAVACHCHI KULAM ATTACK –22<sup>ND</sup> MARCH 1998

Armed terrorists shot dead nine Sinhalese villagers in Medavachchi Kulam, Vavuniya.

#### *171. TWO YOUNG MEN OF VAUNIYA TIED TO A LAMP POST AND KILLED* - LAST WEEK OF MARCH 1998

The LTTE tied two *young men to a lamp post and were shot in the head* with a note at their feet that punishment was meted out for being informants to the IPKF.

# 172. TRINCOMALEE VILLAGE ATTACK – 20<sup>th</sup> MAY 1998

**Two civilians were killed when terrorists fired mortars** on the village of Puwarasanthivu, Trincomalee.

# 173. NUGALANDA, AMPARAI – 11<sup>TH</sup> JULY 1998

One civilian was shot dead while several others were wounded by LTTE terrorists in Nugalanda, Ampara.

# 174. ATTACK ON TWO VILLAGES – 18<sup>th</sup> JULY 1998

Two civilians were killed and one injured when terrorists fired at a group of civilians in the villages of Mangalagama & Nuwaragaltenna, Amparai.

# 175. NAVALADDY, BATTICALOA – 18<sup>th</sup> JULY 1998

One civilian was killed by LTTE gunmen in Navallady, Batticaloa.

# 176. BATTICALOA VILLAGE ATTACK – 4<sup>th</sup> AUGUST 1998

Two civilians were killed when terrorists fired while they were farming in the area around the Badulu Junction, Batticaloa.

#### 177. ATTACK ON POONEWA VILLAGE – NORTH OF MEDAWACHCHIYA - 11<sup>тн</sup> NOVEMBER 1998

The LTTE brutally shot dead and hacked 45 men, women and children in a village North of Medawachchiya. 25 LTTE cadres descended on the village Poonewa, Mahakongaskada and killed 13 men, 14 women and 18 children. They surrounded the homes of the villagers opened fire killing them.

# 178. ELEVEN SINHALESE CIVILIANS MURDERED AT INGINIYAGALA - 2ND JUNE 1999

**Eleven Sinhalese civilians were murdered** by LTTE terrorists at Inginiyagala.

# 179. ATTACKS AT UHANA, AMPARAI, MAHADIVULWEWA ANURADHAPURA – 9<sup>th</sup> AUGUST 1999

**Fifty nine people were massacred by the Tigers in two separate incidents in the North Central and Eastern provinces** at Uhana in Amparai and Mahadivulwewa in Anuradhapura.

In the first incident Tigers armed with swords, axes and kris knives stormed the village of Bandaraduwa in Uhana, Amparai on Tuesday night and massacred **thirty two villagers and critically wounded another five.** The wounded were rushed to the Amparai hospital.

The Tigers were cautious not to open fire as the nearby police post would have heard the sound of gunfire.

In the following incident at Mahadivulwewa in Anuradhapura, Tigers killed twenty seven passengers who were on a bus from Horawapathana to Trincomalee. They were dragged out of the bus by gunmen near Mahadivulwewa and shot dead. Five other passengers were also wounded by gunfire. The dead included fifteen men, women and three children.

# 180. ATTACK ON THE MUSLIM VILLAGE OF SIYABALAGASKADA, MEDAWACHCHIYA –10<sup>TH</sup> AUGUST 1999

The terrorists attacked the Muslim village of Siyabalagaskada near Medawachchiya and would have wiped out the entire village, if not for the Army who arrived on information received of the impending danger of the terrorist attack.

On this occasion, several LTTE terrorists were killed by the Army and the rest who realized that they could not contend with the troops fled.

# It was now becoming clear that the LTTE terrorists who were usually cowards were going on a spree of killing day in and day out to cleanse the North and East of all other communities and to instill fear in the minds of the people.

A vast majority of these helpless poor villagers like those of Bandaraduwa, could not fight back or defend themselves against trained and fully armed terrorists who always used the cloak of night to reach the remote villages and who were far away from police stations or army detachments.

## 181. MASSACRE OF THREE VILLAGES IN AMPARA – 18<sup>th</sup> SEPTEMBER 1999

It was September 18th 1999. Ranhamy was an old peasant who had been killed by the terrorists in June. The people of Gonagala near Uhana had made preparations for an alms giving.

(The traditional religious rites held three months after a death).

While the men, women and children were taking part in the religious rites that day to invoke blessings on the deceased, around three hundred LTTE terrorists both men and women, surrounded Ranhamy's home and started massacring innocent unarmed people.

Following is the detailed account of one survivor, Herath Mudiyansalege Premasiri, a 29-year-old farmer.

"We finished late and went to bed. There were about fifteen of us, relatives and friends who came to help us for the alms-giving. I was sleeping alone in my room. Around 2 a.m. I heard a group of people banging on the door. They later broke into the house."

He had survived by hiding under his bed, but fourteen other people who stayed at his home on that day were killed by LTTE cadres.

Once the killers had finished hacking the unarmed villagers with swords, forty eight people were dead. Among them were fifteen women two pregnant and fourteen children between the ages of two and six. Even worse than cannibals, the LTTE murderers sat down and enjoyed the meal that the villagers had prepared for the alms giving. After the meal, they ransacked the houses of the dead, robbed their cash and valuables and left. A handful of the injured villagers survived but the critically injured died later on admission to hospital.

The total number dead were fifty two.

The Gonagala massacre gained notoriety, because unlike previous attacks, most of the LTTE cadres who took part in it were

**women.** According to survivors, there was a significant presence of female cadres who took part in the killings.

There were no Home Guards and even if a few of them were present, they could not have fought the three hundred terrorists who were armed with automatic weapons, swords and knives.

Another resident of the village, who was a Home Guard, had been on duty at a checkpoint further away. When he returned home in the morning, he found his pregnant wife, two children aged six and eight, his father, mother, sister and brother-in-law, dead.

# 182. ATTACK ON A REMOTE VILLAGE AT THAMMINNA, ARALAGANWILA – 7<sup>th</sup> APRIL 2000

The LTTE attacked a remote village, Thamminna near Aralaganwila in the Polonnaruwa district, killing eighty villagers including two children and two women. The attack was a night raid and the target as usual was a remote village where poor and helpless people lived.

# 183. ATTACK ON CIVILIANS IN JAFFNA - 15<sup>th</sup> MAY 2000

LTTE terrorists **killed six civilians** at random shelling densely populated areas around Jaffna.

# 184. ATTACK AT VILGAMVEHERA, TRINCOMALEE -10<sup>th</sup> JULY 2000

Four villagers were killed and a Budduhist Monk received injuries when terrorists fired mortars at the Vilgamvehera detachment in Trincomalee.

# 185. WELIKANDA VILLAGE ATTACK –7<sup>th</sup> DECEMBER 2000

On 7<sup>th</sup> December 2000, a group of LTTE terrorists stormed the Kurulubedda village in Welikanda and **slaughtered five civilians after subjecting them to inhuman torture.** 

# 186. LTTE SHOT DEAD CIVILIANS AT POLONNARUWA – 11<sup>th</sup> AUGUST 2001

**LTTE shot dead two civilians** in the Eastern district of Polonnaruwa. The civilians are believed to have been shot in revenge for the recent air attacks by the government on terrorist training camps. The civilians were shot as they were returning from a night watch in their farms.

#### 187. MENIKDENIYA VILLAGE ATTACK – 16<sup>th</sup> OCTOBER 2001

Eight Tiger terrorists attacked Menikdeniya, shot dead two civilians while wounding one civilian. They then proceeded to shoot dead three soldiers who arrived at the village after hearing the earlier gunshots.

# 188. ATTACK ON VEHERAGAMA VILLAGE, NORTHEAST OF AMPARAI – 24<sup>th</sup> OCTOBER 2001

A group of LTTE Tamil Tiger Terrorists stormed a family of four including a home guard at Veheragama village, northeast of Amparai town, around 8.50 p.m. **The deceased home guard, his wife, father and a relative were inside the house, watching TV at the time of the massacre.** These civilians were shot dead at close range. The Tigers then fled the area with some of the family's belongings. Another resident at the home who was seriously injured was rushed to the Amparai Hospital by security personnel who visited the scene immediately after the tragedy.

## 189. ATTACK ON KANDEGAMUWA VILLAGE INMADURU OYA – 29<sup>th</sup> OCTOBER 2001

Two people who were fishing in the Maduru Oya tank in Polonnaruwa district were shot dead by LTTE terrorists. The terrorists arrived at Kandegamuwa village in Maduru Oya, Polonnaruwa, from the jungles before they fired at the fishermen indiscriminately.

## 190. ELEVEN-YEAR-OLD GIRL WAS SHOT DEAD BY THE LTTE – 29<sup>th</sup> OCTOBER 2006

An eleven-year-old girl was shot dead by the LTTE in Eravur, Batticaloa. The body of the victim was found in the compound of her

residence after the shooting, carried out by a group of four LTTE cadres who also shot at her sister, brother in-law and one-year-old niece near their residence.

## 191. ASIX-YEAR-OLD GIRL WAS KILLED AND SIX CIVILIANS WERE INJURED – 30<sup>th</sup> OCTOBER 2001

A six-year-old girl was killed and six civilians were injured when LTTE terrorists threw four hand grenades at a civilian's house in a village in Muttur in the Trincomalee District.

# 192. TWO BROTHERS KILLED AT VALACHCHENAI - 27<sup>th</sup> JUNE 2002

**Two brothers** who were Muslims age 20 and 26 were abducted and killed by the LTTE from a Tamil wedding ceremony in Petthalai, Valaichenai where they had been invited to cook.

# 193 ATTACK AT VALAICHENAI - 27<sup>th</sup> JUNE 2002

**Two civilians** H.M. Kaleel Rajman (22) and P.M. Ajwath (25), returning to Valaichenai, were abducted in Kiran by an LTTE party under Jim Kelly Thattha. The duo were later killed by the Tigers.

# 194. THREE MUSLIM FISHERMEN KILLED VAHANARY – 27<sup>th</sup> June 2002

**Three Muslim fishermen** – N.M. Abusally (35), H.M. Mohamed Usan (44), and M.A. Hyath Mohamed (42) who went fishing in Vahaneri reservoir were abducted and later killed by the LTTE.

# 195. ATTACK ON A RESIDENT IN MUTTUR –22<sup>ND</sup> APRIL 2003

Meera Lebbe aged fifty, a resident of Selvanagar in Muttur, was shot dead by the LTTE. The LTTE had slashed the neck of the man and taken away the head. His daughter Lafir Sashila aged twenty four who was with him survived with injuries.

#### 196. ATTACK AT KOLAKANA WADIYA –3<sup>RD</sup> MAY 2005

Terrorists killed **six villagers and wounded three** at Kolakana Wadiya in the Polonnaruwa District.

## 197. ATTACK AT WELIKANDA -7<sup>th</sup> MARCH 2005

LTTE terrorists stormed a village in Welikanda and killed six civilians including a Sinhalese, four Muslims and one Tamil. Terrorists stormed the Kolakanawadiya village and indiscriminately opened fire on civilians.

# 198. GOMARANKADAWALA MASSACRE – 23<sup>RD</sup> APRIL 2006

The Gomarankadawala massacre occurred on April 23, 2006, at Kalyanapura, Gomarankadawala six farmers were killed when they were trying to retrieve a tractor that had got stuck in the mud in a paddy field.

Suddenly, a group of LTTE cadres had raced from the nearby forest and indiscriminately fired on them. A Home Guard who was engaged in farming during his leisure time, was also among the slain farmers.

All the victims had died on the spot before other villagers could rush into the paddy field to aid them.

#### 199. MURDERED A THREE-YEAR-OLD MUSLIM CHILD IN TRINCOMALEE – 23<sup>RD</sup> APRIL, 2006

The LTTE murdered a three-year-old Muslim child while he was with his mother in Trincomalee.

# 200. TRINCOMALEE MASSACRE – 23<sup>TH</sup> APRIL 2006

LTTE terrorists massacred six farmers working in their paddy fields in Trincomalee.

# 201. CHILD KILLED AT KADURUWELA, POLONNARUWA – 25<sup>th</sup> APRIL 2006

Earlier during the night, another attack was carried out when a **three and a half year old child was killed** in a Muslim colony in Kaduruwela, Polonnaruwa. The **mother of the child who sustained injuries** had been admitted to hospital for treatment.

#### 202. WOMAN KILLED AT SERUNUWARA – 25<sup>th</sup> APRIL 2006

The LTTE continued with their barbaric acts against civilians. This time they **attacked a thirty eight year old woman while she was feeding her baby** at Block C, Serunuwara in Trincomalee.

The woman was stabbed to death by two LTTE cadres who came to launch another brutal attack on the civilians around 1.30 p.m.

# 203. LTTE SHOT DEAD 12 CIVILIANS IN OMADIYAMADU – 30<sup>th</sup> MAY 2006

In a brutal attack the LTTE shot dead 12 civiians in Omadiyamadu, close to Welikanda. The 12 Sinhalese villagers from Mahasenpura had been restoring a neglected stream to get water for their families.

Police investigators probing the Omadiyamadu massacres have made a shocking discovery that the ruthless killings had been part of LTTE training for their child recruits. Investigating officers found that **three child cadres were involved in shooting the 12 workers** at Omadiyamadu.

## 204. DETONATED A CLAYMORE MINE IN TRINCOMALEE - 1<sup>st</sup> MAY 2006

LTTE detonated a claymore mine strapped on to a bicycle killing four civilians and a sailor, near Shanmugam Vidyalaya in Trincomalee town Seven people including four civilians were injured.

#### 205. INDISCRIMINATELY FIRED AT UNARMED INNOCENT CIVILIANS IN THALGASWEWA –1<sup>st</sup> MAY 2006

Tiger terrorists indiscriminately fired at unarmed innocent civilians in Thalgaswewa, at the Bogas Junction in Pulmodai Road, Welioya, killing two of them and injuring three others.

## 206. LANDMINES KILLED 7 PEOPLE IN THE WILPATTU WILD LIFE PARK – 26<sup>th</sup> MAY 2006

Three LTTE landmines killed seven people in the Wilpattu Wildlife Park. The victims were local visitors from Colombo that included author Nihal Silva.

# 207. TAKING 15 CIVILIANS AT MUTTUR TOWN – 3<sup>RD</sup> AUGUST 2005

**Fifteen civilians** taking refuge at the Al-Nuriya Muslim School in Thoppur and the Arabic School in Muttur **were killed and more than 30 injured** when LTTE terrorists indiscriminately fired artillery at two different times towards Muttur town.

#### 208. THIRTEEN CIVILIANS WERE INJURED IN POONTHOTTAM, VAVUNIYA – 13<sup>th</sup> SEPTEMBER 2006

**Over thirteen civilians were injured** when an LTTE terrorist lobbed a hand grenade into a poultry stall in Poonthottam, Vavuniya. The terrorist had arrived on a push cycle, threw a hand grenade and fled the scene injuring 13 civilians.

#### 209. ATTACK POTTUVIL – 17<sup>th</sup> SEPTEMBER 2006

**Eleven Muslim civilians,** who had gone to repair an irrigation system, were murdered by LTTE terrorists, armed with guns, knives and axes, in Pottuvil. The Tigers had taken the civilians to the forest and blindfolded them before killing then indiscriminately.

#### 210. MASSACRE AT IRATHALKULAM, PANAMA – 19<sup>th</sup> SEPTEMBER 2006

Ten Muslim youth who were returning after constructing a sluice gate were hacked to death by the LTTE early morning the previous day near Irathal Kulam, Panama.

The victims all residents of Panama had been repairing the sluice gates so that the local community comprising mainly Muslims and Tamils could receive an uninterrupted supply of water for cultivation. They had been hired by a local contractor on a daily wage basis. The LTTE had issued a warning to the workers involved in repairing the sluice gates.

# 211. A CIVILIAN WAS SHOT DEAD IN TRINCOMALEE - 25<sup>th</sup> SEPTEMBER 2006

A civilian was shot dead by an LTTE gunman in Trincomalee. Mohammed Musur, the deceased was a business man from Trincomalee.

# 212. LTTE TERRORISTS KILLED 10 MUSLIM WORKERS - 26<sup>th</sup> SEPTEMBER 2006

Eyewitness reports confirmed that it was the LTTE terrorists who **brutally hacked and chopped to death the 10 Muslim workers** at Sasiriveli in Pottuvil 11 days ago (on Sep 11, 2006) F.I. Meera Mohideen, the only surviving victim of the incident said 11 workers including himself arrived at the worksite at Raddella irrigational tank in Sasiriveli.

# 213. AT PERIYAKULUM -10<sup>th</sup> OCTOBER 2006

**Three civilians were killed and three others injured** when Tiger terrorists detonated a claymore mine fixed inside a van in Periyarakulum, Punthottam.

# 214. ATTACK SITHANDI AND CHENKALADI AREAS IN BATTICALOA – 7<sup>th</sup> NOVEMBER 2006

**Five civilians were killed and several others were wounded** as LTTE carried out indiscriminate mortar attacks on the Security Forces and civilians. LTTE cadres fired on an Army foot patrol in Thirunaveli, Jaffna using small arms. The Tiger cadres directed fire from the uncleared areas using 81mm. mortars towards Sithandi and Chenkaladi areas in Batticaloa.

# 215. LTTE TERRORISTS KILLED A FISHERMAN AT NORTH OF BATHTHALANGAMUWA OFF KALPITIYA - 30<sup>th</sup> NOVEMBER 2006

LTTE terrorists killed a fisherman and severely injured another in the seas North of Baththalangamuwa off Kalpitiya. The LTTE was forcing them to engage in unlawful activities such as transporting drugs, arms and ammunition and harassing them at sea. Navy boats rushed to the area and found a number of fishing boats abandoned. Among them was a body of a fisherman and another with serious injuries.

# 216. ATTACKS ON JAFFNA PENINSULA IN JAFFNA – 23<sup>rd</sup> JANUARY 2007

**Five school children were among 15 civilians injured** in two separate claymore mine attacks in the Jaffna peninsula in which a soldier and another civilian were killed. Two soldiers were also injured in the blast which occurred at Sandilippai and Chavakachcheri. A soldier was killed and eight civilians injured when a claymore mine went off at Thanankilappu, Chavakachcheri targeting an Army truck.

# 217. ATTACK ON TWO VILLAGES IN BATTICALOA – 28TH MARCH 2007

Indiscriminate mortar fire by the LTTE at Sittandy and Morankottanchchena in Batticaloa claimed the lives of **eight civilians including that of an eighteen month old baby girl.** The rains of mortar fire directed by the LTTE from the cover of the Thoppigala jungles had caused the deaths of eight civilians while causing injuries to eighteen civilians.

## 218. LTTE KILLED INNOCENT SINHALESE AID WORKERS -1<sup>st</sup> APRIL 2007

LTTE killed six innocent Sinhalese aid workers who attended to construction work at Village of Hope, a housing scheme built for orphaned children in Eravur, Mailambaveli. Two others suffered serious gunshot injuries. The Sinhalese civilian workers were helping the Tamil community to provide better living conditions for children.

# 219. ATTACK ON A VILLAGE IN ARALAGANVILA – 5<sup>th</sup> APRIL 2007

LTTE cadres attacked a village in Nidanwela, Aralaganvila killing over ten civilians.

## 220. LTTE SHOT DEAD TWO PERSONS FROM SAME FAMILY, BATTICOA – 17<sup>th</sup> APRIL 2007

**Two persons from the same family were shot dead** by LTTE cadres in the wee hours in Kovilkudiyiruppu, Batticaloa.

Muttiah Paskaran (27) and Suppam Rasamani (58) were shot dead by the Tigers at their residence. Another civilian was gunned down in Thirunavakulam, Vavuniya.

# 221. THE LTTE THREATENED A GROUP OF FISHERMEN AND FORCIBLY TOOK AWAY 13 BOATS – 22<sup>ND</sup> APRIL 2007

The body of a fisherman who went missing following the LTTE attack on a group of fishermen in the Silvathurai Sea was found near the seas off Baththalangunduwa. The LTTE threatened a group of fishermen and forcibly took away 13 boats fitted with high powered outboard motors.

# 222. SHOT AND KILLED THREE TAMIL CIVILIANS IN BATTICALOA – 1<sup>st</sup> MAY 2007

LTTE terrorists shot and killed three Tamil civilians who refused to supply fuel and batteries to the LTTE organisation in Batticaloa. The three victims, at Thiliveddi in Batticaloa. were under death threats from the LTTE outfit since these hapless civilians continuously refused to supply petrol, diesel and batteries to the LTTE.

## 223. INDIAN FISHERMEN CAPTURED BY LTTE – 4<sup>th</sup> MAY 2007

Tamil Nadu police disclosed that **12 Indian fishermen were** captured by LTTE terrorists.

# 224. EXPLODED A ROAD SIDE BOMB IN THIRUKKOVIL - 27<sup>th</sup> MAY 2007

The LTTE exploded a roadside bomb, targeting a truck, **killing three civilians** in Thirukkovil.

# 225. THREE CIVILIANS AND A POLICE CONSTABLE INJURED AT BATICALOA – 6<sup>th</sup> JUNE 2007

Three civilians and a police constable were injured when the LTTE exploded bombs fixed to the railway track in at Vakaneri, Batticaloa. The derailed train was damaged in the incident.

# 226. OPENED FIRE AT A POLICE CHECKPOINT IN VAVUNIYA –20<sup>th</sup> AUGUST 2007

Tiger terrorists, in a jeep, opened fire at a police checkpoint in Vavuniya district, killing four Home Guards, including three females and one civilian.

#### 227. ATTACK ETHAVETUNUWEWA – 3<sup>RD</sup> SEPTEMBER 2007

**Three civilians including a child were injured** when the LTTE fired mortars at the Ethawetunuweva village in Weli-Oya. Three LTTE mortars had fallen into the Ethavetunuweva, injuring two women aged 35 and 55 and a 15-year-old boy.

## 228. ATTACKS TARGETING INNOCENT TAMIL CIVILIAN AT MULLAITIVU –30<sup>th</sup> OCTOBER 2007

LTTE intensified their attacks targeting innocent **Tamil civilians** and nine disgusted **Tamil youth aged between 2025**, residents from Mullaitivu, surrendered to the naval detachment at Mannar-Pallimunai. The youth stated that as the Tigers were conscripting youths, they fled Mullaitivu to seek protection from the Government.

# 229. ATTACK ON CHENA FARMERS AT DAMBUYAYA, MONARAGALA – 17<sup>th</sup> JANUARY 2008

The terrorist launched an attack to a Chena farm at Dambuyaya, Monaragala killing 01 (one) farmer and injuring 04 (Four) others. Thereafter the terrorist fled detonating two claymore bombs in Buttala.

# 230. A LTTE SUICIDE BOMBER BLEW HIMSELF AT THINNAVELI – 31<sup>st</sup> JANUWARY 2008

A LTTE suicide bomber on a bicycle blew himself at Thinnaveli in the Jaffna district killing three civilians and injuring 170thers.

# 231. KATUPATTUWA AREA IN WILPATTU - 2<sup>ND</sup> APRIL 2008

A group of suspected LTTE cadres **killed a man and his 17-year-old son** when they had gone to collect firewood in the Katupattuwa area in Wilpattu yesterday afternoon.

# 232. DISTRUPTION OF ELECTIONS EASTERN PROVINCIAL COUNCIL – 9<sup>th</sup> MAY 2008

The LTTE proved that they do not believe in the ballot when they attempted to disrupt elections to the Eastern Provincial Council. **Thirteen civilians were killed and 29 others injure**d when a parcel bomb ripped through an eatery in Amparai. The blast at the City Café Hotel near the Amparai Clock tower came on the eve of the Eastern Provincial Council (EPC) election.

## 233. SIX CIVILIANS INCLUDING TWO CHILDRENAND A WOMAN WERE KILLED – 29<sup>th</sup> MAY 2008

Six civilians including two children and a woman were killed when artillery shells fired by the LTTE during a sea battle with the Security Forces fell in the Jaffna town area in the wee hours.

## 234. VAVUNIYA TOWN – 28<sup>th</sup> SEPTEMBER 2008

An LTTE suicide cadre on a bicycle struck his bike against a three-wheeler and blew himself up **killing one civilian and injuring nine others** in the Vavuniya town. Four police personnel, including three women, were about to leave the place in the three-wheeler after their duty. Two soldiers, including a female, at the nearby roadblock on 2nd Cross Street and two civilians were also injured in the explosion. One of the injured soldiers died later.

#### 235. MONERAGALA ATTACK – 9<sup>th</sup> NOVEMBER 2008

The terrorists attacked Kottiyagala, a village in Moneragala where seven civilians were killed.

## 236. TERRORISTS CONTINUED TO ATTACK 25 CIVILIANS IN THE SECOND HALF OF 2008

The Second half of year 2008 proved to be decisive and crucial for the people of the country as the LTTE terrorists, who were completely defeated and forced out of the Eastern Province were going to face their defeat battling against the security forces. It appeared that they have overestimated their military power. Hence the terrorists did not deviate from the acts of genocide against the Sinhalese and the Muslims. In the regions outside the North and East, the suicide and other cadres continuously carried out attacks on unarmed civilians of the South with ruthless accuracy.

It was the same method and the same weapon that they took to destroy the lives of the civilians, more often attacking loaded passenger buses at some lonely stretch of road preferably at dawn or when the day was to end.

# 237. KARAMETIYA VILLAGE MASSACRE - 21<sup>st</sup> FEBRUARY 2009

Bordering the Gal Oya National Park, the village had found itself a victim of nightmarish events on 21 February, when it sacrificed more than a dozen of its inhabitants to the guns of the LTTE.

A group of LTTE terrorists had stormed into the Karametiya village, a predominantly Sinhalese village, located along the Bibile–Amparai main road and opened indiscriminate small arms fire at civilians who were mainly Chena cultivators. The injured civilians had been evacuated to the General Hospital at Amparai.

#### 10.2 RUTHLESS AND INTOLERABLE ATTACKS COMMITTED AGAINST INNOCENT UNARMED CIVILIANS IN THE CITIES, TOWNS AND SUBURBS

#### 1. ATTACK NEAR GAIETY CINEMA, COLOMBO 13 - 12<sup>th</sup> JUNE 1986

At least twenty people including women and children were injured in a bomb explosion near the Gaiety Cinema, a Tamil-language movie theatre in Kotahena, Colombo 13, around 8.45 p.m. on 12th June 1986.

Police said the bomb appeared to have been exploded to catch the crowd streaming out of the cinema after the 6 p.m. show. A senior official of the Government Analyst's Department who visited the scene said the bomb was a "dashing" type similar to that thrown into a Kotahena Kovil previously.

S. Hameed aged twenty one who was hurt in the blast, said that he had come for the movie. He suddenly heard a loud blast and found a bleeding injury on his left arm.

A large crowd thronged the scene and police had to bring in reinforcements. IGP at the time Cyril Herath said that citywide checks had been intensified and would continue. Two trishaws parked near the scene had been badly damaged.

# 2. ATTACK AT THE MANNAR BAZAAR – 8<sup>th</sup> JULY 1986

Fourteen terrorists entered the Mannar bazaar and **destroyed** seven shops, five belonging to Tamils and two belonging to Muslims.

# 3. EXPLOSION AT BATTICALOA TOWN – 8<sup>th</sup> SEPTEMBER 1986

The terrorists exploded a car bomb in the Batticaloa town killing twelve civilians and also injuring seven personnel of the Security Task Force (STF) who were on a foot patrol in the Batticaloa town.

# 4. BOMB EXPLOSION IN MARADANA – 9<sup>TH</sup> NOVEMBER 1987

Terrorist bomb explosion in a vehicle parked in Maradana killed **23 civilians and injured 106 others.** 15 vehicles were also damaged.

# 5. ATTACK ON THE AKKARAIPATTU BAZAAR – 25<sup>th</sup> MARCH 1991

A bomb exploded in the crowded Akkaraipattu fishmarket **killing nine people and injuring another fifty.** Among the injured were women and children of the Sinhala, Tamil and Muslim communities. The injured had been admitted to the hospital. It was revealed that the LTTE terrorists had set off the bomb.

# 6. ATTACK ON MAHARAGAMA – 10<sup>th</sup> APRIL 1992

A car bomb, set up by the LTTE, exploded in Maharagama, killing 8 civilians and a policeman another 25 civilians were injured.

# 7. ATTACK ON AMPARAI – 10<sup>th</sup> APRIL 1992

A powerful bomb explosion by Tiger terrorists killed 25 civilians and injured several others in Amparai.

# 8. ATTACK ON SAINTHAMURATHU, AMPARAI BAZAAR -2<sup>ND</sup> SEPTEMBER 1992

**Twenty two civilians were killed and forty others were injured** when a bomb planted by the LTTE exploded at the Amparai bazaar on the morning of 1st September. The bomb had been placed in an ice cream box tied to a push bicycle which had been abandoned in the crowded bazaar.

#### 9. ATTACK TAJ SAMUDRA HOTEL – 10<sup>th</sup> NOVEMBER 1992

A suicide bomb attack in front of Taj Samudra Hotel,Galle Face killed four persons, including Navy Commander Admiral Clancy Fernando and injured several others.

#### 10. SLAVE ISLAND RAILWAY STATION IN COLOMBO – 11<sup>TH</sup> NOVEMBER 1995

A female suicide bomber exploded herself near the SlaveIsland railway station in Colombo killing over 15 people, including children. Over 35 people were injured.

## 11. BOMB IN MARADANA KILLS THIRTY TWO AND INJURED ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTEEN – 5<sup>th</sup> MARCH 1998

The year 1998 was one in which the LTTE was not as free as the previous year to attack civilians, but they were certainly not done with killing civilians, especially in the South.

On this day 5th March 1998, an explosive laden bus driven by a suicide LTTE cadre was exploded in the heart of Colombo almost opposite the Maradana railway station, which is one of the busiest centres in the city, **killing thirty one people immediately and injuring nearly two hundred and fifty.** All that remained of the explosive vehicle was a twisted chassis, the body of which was shredded into pieces.

It was 12.30 p.m. The vehicle had been fitted with a time device so that the explosion would take place during the busy lunch hour.

A Police Officer attached to the Maligawatte traffic branch stated, that he had given chase to the explosive laden white Rosa bus. He also stated that this bus a short while before the blast, had hit a private jeep belonging to a owner of a motor spare shop on the Panchikawatte road. The accident had occurred a thousand meters from the scene of the blast. The driver of the bus had then stopped his vehicle and had tried to reach a settlement with the owner of the jeep by offering him rupees one thousand. The bus driver had difficulty in expressing himself in Sinhalese. The owner of the jeep had demanded more.

The bus driver without conducting any further negotiations had then sped off in his vehicle. The owner of the jeep and the police officer had given chase, but the bus driver had refused to stop his vehicle despite repeated calls whilst driving parallel to the jeep.

The bus driver had then turned his bus towards Maradana. The Maradana Police who were alerted, had dispatched two armed traffic Policemen towards the Maradana junction.

Meanwhile the jeep had overtaken the bus and had blocked its path by cutting across the road. The bus driver at this stage had detonated the explosives killing him instantly along with the two persons in the jeep. The two traffic Policemen who were in close proximity however escaped with injuries. Police had found explosives hidden on either sides of the bus.

The overhead bridge at Maradana, connecting T.B. Jayah Mawatha (Darley Road) with Panchikawatte was also damaged in the explosion. Sixty one shops in and around the area and thirty six vehicles were also damaged in the blast.

The Police were of the view that the original target may have been an important person travelling in a convoy.

Once again the LTTE had declared a ceasefire and was now on a low key in its attacks and activities, but had clearly shown that the Tiger's stripes had not changed when embarking on attacks of this nature aimed at innocent civilians.

#### 12. ATTACK AT JAFFNA MARKET – 13<sup>th</sup> APRIL 1998

A LTTE terrorist lobbed a grenade in a crowded marketin Jaffna killing two people including a pregnant woman and injuring eighteen others.

The attack came during the festive season as civilians were shopping ahead of the traditional Sinhala/Tamil New Year.

## 13. ATTACK AT BATTICALOA TOWN – 17<sup>th</sup> AUGUST 1998

Two policemen and eleven civilians were injured when a bomb exploded near a bank, damaging the bank building, one van and two motor cycles.

## *14. HAND GRENADE AT MUSICAL SHOW, BATTICALOA* – 19<sup>th</sup> OCTOBER 1998

Two civilians were killed and twenty two were injured when the LTTE hurled a hand grenade during a musical show at Karathivu, Batticaloa.

## 15. KILLING TWO CIVILIANS AND INJURING 17 OTHERS - 17<sup>th</sup> JULY 1999

A time bomb fixed to a bicycle exploded near the old policestation, Batticaloa, killing two civilians and injuring 17 others.

## 16. ATTACK AT CHAVAKACHCHERI - 15<sup>th</sup> DECEMBER 1999

LTTE terrorists launched a mortar attack on the populated areas of Chavakachcheri, Jaffna killing one civilian and wounding another eight.

## 17. LTTE ATTACK IN AYURVEDA JUNCTION – COLOMBO 08 – 10<sup>th</sup> MARCH 2000

Twenty two persons including three LTTE terrorists were killed, among them six policemen and six women, when a LTTE group launched a terrorist attack at the Ayurveda junction in Colombo 8 on 10th March 2000 in the evening. Sixty nine persons had also sustained injuries.

Eight vehicles had been damaged, while one office van had been completely destroyed, killing the women occupants.

The attack occurred when two policemen on duty observing suspicious movements in a bush by the roadside had walked up to investigate. They had discovered two armed terrorists connecting wires to a claymore mine, which had already been placed by them on a tree close by.

On being discovered, one terrorist had opened fire at almost point blank range, **killing both policemen instantly.** Another terrorist had started firing rocket propelled grenades and machine guns, while exploding bombs and hand grenades in all directions.

Meanwhile the STF Commandos from a unit close by and the Police who were on duty in the vicinity had counter attacked, causing the terrorists to scatter. Many of them had run along the Kelani Valley railway line towards the Wanathamulla area, while the others had run for cover to a school nearby.

Meanwhile, the Security Forces had defused the claymore mine fixed on the tree. The Security Forces believe that the terrorists had planned to attack a VIP returning from the parliament, but due to the discovery of the two terrorists, the attack on the VIP had been aborted.

## 18. TARGET A SRI LANKA AIR FORCE BUS AT WATTALA - 14<sup>th</sup> JUNE 2000

**Two civilians were killed and 11 persons sustain injuries** during an abortive attempt by a person on a bicycle fitted with an explosive device at the Gemunu Palace cinema junction in Wattala to target a Sri Lanka Air Force bus.

## 19. ATTACK ON CIVILIANS INCLUDING THREE FOREIGNERS AT THE COLOMBO TOWN HALL – 19<sup>th</sup> OCTOBER 2000

Three civilians were killed and 21 persons, including three Americans, were injured in a suicide bomb attack near the Colombo Town Hall. It was the day on which the Cabinet of the new government appointed took oath.

## 20. ATTACK AT JAFFNA MARKET $-12^{TH}$ JANUARY 2001

An LTTE terrorist threw a hand grenade into a crowded market in Jaffna **killing three Tamil civilians.** The intended target of the terrorist was unclear.

## 21. ATTACK AT WELLAWATTA - 25th OCTOBER 2004

A group of LTTE terrorists from the Wanni murdered one

Tamil civilian while three others were seriously injured in Wellawatta.

## 22. KILLING 15 CIVILIANS AT MUTTUR TOWN - 3<sup>RD</sup> AUGUST 2005

Fifteen civilians taking refuge at the Al-Nuriya Muslim School in Thoppur and the Arabic School in Muttur were killed and more than 30 injured when LTTE terrorists indiscriminately fired artillery at two different times towards Muttur town.

## 23. TIMLEY DETECTION OF A CLAYMORE MINE IN HEART OF BORELLA COLOMBO 08 – 22<sup>ND</sup> AUGUST 2006

A diabolic attempt by the LTTE to cause mayhem and destruction in the city was thwarted with the timely detection of a claymore mine in the heart of Borella. A police constable on a routine patrol found the bombs strapped to a bicycle near the Borella fuel station.

## 24. CLAYMORE MINE AT COLOMBO-KANDY ROAD - 19<sup>th</sup> OCTOBER 2006

LTTE's aim for another major attack targeting the public was averted after a claymore mine was detected by the side of the Colombo-Kandy Road in the Kadawata town. The eight kilo claymore bomb was detected by a civilian who alerted the Police.

## 25. ATTACK AT KOLLUPITIYA - 10<sup>th</sup> NOVEMBER 2006

LTTE's attempt to target another attack target was prevented after two foreign-made hand grenades were recovered in Carlwill Place, Kollupitiya following a tip off from a civilian. Police found two K-400 Pakistani made hand grenades hidden between the rocks along coastal railway track in Kollupitiya.

## 26. RATMALANA BOMB BLAST – 28<sup>TH</sup> MAY 2007

In a claymore mine attack against the Special Task Force (STF) on 28th May 2007, the LTTE killed eight civilians and injured thirty six others at Ratmalana. Among the dead were two women, five men and six personnel of the Special Task Force.

The bomb went off as a STF truck passed the Belek Kade junction at Ratmalana, where the claymore was planted on a roof of a closed down shop. The truck veered off the road with the impact of the blast.

Several shops in the vicinity including a VCD shop were damaged due to the explosion, suspected to have been activated by a remote control device.

#### 27. HIDING 20KG BOMB IN RAJAGIRIYA – 26<sup>th</sup> JUNE 2007

A major disaster was averted due to public vigilance on suspicious elements as police detected a 20kg claymore mine transported from Kilinochchi and hidden in a backyard at Obeysekarapura, Rajagiriya. The bomb was found inside the petrol tank of the double cab EP GX 8886.

## 28. BLAST IN KANDY - 26<sup>th</sup> AUGUST 2007

A major disaster was averted when the Randoli Perahera of Sri Dalada Maligawa in Kandy was about to parade the streets when Police found a claymore mine in a lonely place close to Prince Street, Kandy. The Army Bomb Disposal Unit rushed to the scene and defused the bomb weighing nearly 2kg.

## 29. LTTE EXPLODED A PARCEL BOMB AT NUGEGODA – 28<sup>th</sup> NOVEMBER, 2007

Nineteen civilians were killed at Nugegoda and 39 were injured when the LTTE exploded a parcel bomb near a popular fashion store at Nugegoda junction. The parcel bomb had been placed in one of the parcel counters at the clothing store by an LTTE cadre who had left the scene. Several buildings were also damaged.

## 30. PARCEL BOMB OPPOSITE LAKE HOUSE ROUNDABOUT, COLOMBO – 8<sup>th</sup> JANUARY 2008

A suspected parcel bomb placed in a telephone booth opposite Lake House roundabout, Colombo and adjacent to the Regent flats injured nine people. It exploded minutes after Air Force Commander Roshan Goonetilleke passed the location.

## 31. ATTACK ON DEHIWELA ZOOLOGICAL GARDENS -3<sup>RD</sup> FEBRUARY 2008

Around seven civilians, including two children, were **injured** in a low intensity grenade explosion inside the Dehiwala Zoological Gardens on the outskirts of Colombo.

## 32. BLAST IN MODERA COLOMBO NORTH –1<sup>st</sup> MARCH 2008

On information received, the Police raided a lodge at Aluth Mawatha, Ibbanwala Watta, Modera where a suspect suicide cadre identified as Nadarajah Sherma Vijayatharan alias Vijayan, aged twenty eight from Punkuduthivu, Jaffna was residing.

When the Police attempted to arrest him on Friday, 29th February 2008, the terrorist blew himself up **injuring four civilians and three policemen, while a part of the building also collapsed.** According to investigations, Vijayatharan had been living in Modera for several years along with his sister and brotherin-law who had rented the house three years ago.

A spokesman reported that he had exploded a claymore mine inside the room which was evident from the number of iron balls which had hit the walls. **"The suicide and the recovery of cyanide capsules confirm that he was a hardcore Tiger cadre engaged in a dangerous mission in Colombo,"** he added.

## 33. EXPLOSION IN A CAFÉ AT AMPARAI – 9<sup>th</sup> MAY 2008

Eleven innocent civilians were killed while over twenty five were injured when the LTTE terrorists exploded a parcel bomb inside the "New City Cafe" hotel near the Amparai clock tower on the eve of the Eastern Provincial Council elections.

## 34. BOMB EXPLOSION IN PETTAH – 30<sup>th</sup> AUGUST 2008

**Over forty five people were injured by a bomb explosion** carried out by LTTE terrorists near the Bo tree at Olcott Mawatha, Pettah on 30th August 2008.

## 35. VAVUNIYA BOMB BLAST – 28<sup>th</sup> SEPTEMBER 2008

**One civilian died and nine were injured** due to a suicide attack which took place around 3.05 p.m., in the Vavuniya town. As a result of the explosion, three Army personnel, four Police officers and two civilians were injured. The victims had been admitted to the hospital, the Media Centre for National Security reported the incident. According to police sources, a cyclist who was suspected to have carried the bomb triggered the explosion when his bicycle knocked against a three-wheeler with Security Forces and Police personnel in it at the Second Cross Street, Vavuniya.

#### 36. FRONT STREET, PETTAH - 29<sup>th</sup> SEPTEMBER 2008

A bomb explosion damaged several vehicles at the parking slot in Front Street, Pettah, leaving two persons injured. The time bomb was placed in a parcel under a van. Three vans, two cars, three trishaws, a lorry and two motorcycles were damaged.

## 37. PARCEL BOMB AT WELLAWATTE – 28<sup>th</sup> MARCH 2010

A parcel bomb left on the road pedestrian island at Galle Road, Wellawatte, exploded in the morning hours **killing one pedestrian and injuring six others including two school children**.

## 10.3 ATTACKS ON PIOUS CIVILIANS IN PLACES OF RELIGIOUS WORSHIP

## 10.3.1 ATTACKS CARRIED OUT IN BUDDHIST PLACES OF WORSHIP

#### 1. A DEADLY TERRORIST ATTACK IN WORLD HISTORY SACRILEGE AND MURDER AT THE SACRED JAYA SRI MAHA BODHI ANURADHAPURA – 14<sup>th</sup> MAY 1985

Terrorism knows no religious sanctity, nor does it care for human lives of infants, children, women, men and clergy. Terrorists have no reasoning or respect for any principles. As stated earlier to them human life is not worth the spit they throw out. Their killing spree is done in the most heinous manner with no social, moral or any other distinction.

Buddhism, the teachings of the Buddha was the greatest gift Sri Lanka received from India in the third century BC when Emperor Asoka was the ruler of India.

The contemporary ruler in Sri Lanka at that time was, King Devanampiyatissa and Emperor Asoka was the ruler in neighbouring India. In order to strengthen the relations the two rulers had already established, Emperor Asoka sent his son, Arahath Mahinda to Sri Lanka to introduce Buddhism and to establish the Buddha Sasana in Sri Lanka.

After a short period of time on a request made by King Devanampiyatissa, Emperor Asoka sent his daughter, Theri Arahath Sangamitta with a sapling of the Bo tree from India, under the shadow of which Gauthama the Buddha attained enlightenment. The sapling was planted in Anuradhapura and since then, the Jaya Sri Maha Bodhi became one of the holiest places of worship of the Buddhists in Sri Lanka.

Month of May 2013 marked the 28th anniversary of one of the deadliest terrorist attacks in world history. The entire nation and the Buddhist world were shocked at the news of the barbarism displayed by the notorious terrorist outfit when they attacked the unarmed innocent civilian worshippers including the clergy, women and children. The attack was masterminded by the megalomaniac terrorist, Velupillai Prabhakaran himself, intended at flaming communal hatred and a spree of island-wide mob attacks targeting innocent Tamil civilians.

# The masses, however, though emotional and in tears, did not fall prey to the LTTE tactics.

The LTTE cadre hijacked a bus of the Sri Lanka Transport Board (SLTB) on May 14, 1985 and entered the sacred city of Anuradhapura, armed for another human massacre.

The terrorists first went to the bus stand of the Anuradhapura town. As unarmed civilians in the town who were attacked with gunfire ran hysterically in all directions, many lay dead or bleeding with no knowledge of what was going on.

The armed terrorists then drove the bus to the Sri Maha Bodhi and indiscriminately opened fire, gunning down bhikkhus and the civilian devotees who had been worshipping inside the shrine. The terrorists had opened indiscriminate gunfire at both the Uda Maluwa (the upper tier) and Pahala Maluwa (lower tier), killing scores of pilgrims and bhikkhus.

## All in all, a total of 148 hapless people were gunned down by the LTTE terrorists while 85 people sustained serious injuries in the Anuradhapura attack. This was the first major operation carried out by the LTTE outside the North and the East.

LTTE leader **Parithy** killed in France in November last year was a member of the terrorist group that carried out the Sri Maha Bodhi attack, according to the Head of International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research at Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, Prof. Rohan Gunaratna. According to intelligence sources, Parithy, a supporter of the LTTE's Nediyawan faction, had been killed by the Vinayagam faction which is now aligned with the US-based lawyer Rudrakumaran of the TETG. Parithy, whose real name was Nadarajh Matheenthiran was known by the name Reagan in Sri Lanka, was appointed Head of LTTE in France in 2003 by Nediyawan who lives in Norway. Prof. Gunaratna had said that Parithy had received terrorist training in Himachal Pradesh, India in 1984. He had participated in several terrorist attacks within Sri Lanka before fleeing to South India in 1990 after being injured by the IPKF.

These are a few of the many ruthless terror attacks carried out by the LTTE for over 25 years which ruined the country. All those who now vociferously talk on the so-called human rights of the LTTE terrorists being violated, have conveniently forgotten the same rights of the thousands of civilians butchered by the Tigers in broad daylight.

Thanks to the supreme sacrifices made by the Security Forces and the political sagacity of President Mahinda Rajapaksa, all communities are now living in peace and are reaping the rich dividends of peace. Hence, it is a shame for those in the West, who turned a blind eye when Sri Lanka was hit by terrorism, to point an accusing finger at us when we have achieved peace and all communities in the country are living in perfect harmony.

The sacred Bo tree which is one of the oldest trees in the recorded history of the world, is over two thousand three hundred years old. The holiest of the Buddhist festivals, Vesak is held every year on the full moon day of the month of May. The Sri Lankan Buddhists in particular travel to Anuradhapura during this month and live there for weeks observing Dasasil, the ten precepts at the Jaya Sri Maha Bodhi or in other places of Buddhist worship.

14<sup>th</sup> May 1985 was a day during the Vesak month when the holy city witnessed one of the most unholy sights in that year. The details of the incident had to be recalled for the readers to understand the lowest depths to which certain people of this country who called themselves "freedom fighters" had sunk.

On the 14th day of May, the holy ground was filled with pilgrims. Some of them clad in pure white clothes were meditating while others were chanting religious stanzas. It was dawn and the silence was broken only by the soft chants of the pilgrims.

A bus was being driven towards the holy city at this time. But before it reached Anuradhapura an incident had occurred at the Ceylon Transport Board depot, Puttlam, in that morning.

A group of about twenty armed men who were terrorists dressed in military type uniforms had come to the depot, boarded one of the buses parked at the front of the depot, shot dead the conductor who was a Muslim and the driver who was a Sinhalese and driven the bus away. They had driven in the direction of Anuradhapura which they reached around 8.00 a.m. The bus turned towards the Jaya Sri Maha Bodhi shrine, where the pilgrims were performing religious rites at the hallowed ground.

The bus had stopped in front of the open space before the shrine and the armed ruthless terrorists had opened fire from the bus onto the unsuspecting pilgrims. The monstrous exercise had taken about twenty minutes at the end of which, over one hundred and twenty including the clergy, the pilgrims, men, women and some senior citizens lay dead on the ground in pools of blood.

The terrorists having completed their carnage had got off the CTB bus and got into another bus parked on the grounds and driven towards Nochchiyagama. While fleeing the scene of the crime, they had also opened fire on a police post on the way.

The next destination of the terrorists was the Wilpattu National Park. That day the park which was regularly visited by local and foreign tourists had not attracted many visitors, due to the prevalence of terrorist activities in the North and East. The officer in charge was surprised to see a group of persons since they had not received any visitors for some time due to terrorism. He had requested one of the employees to enter all their names in the register and provide them with a guide. However, when the employee took out the register and was preparing to record the names, he felt the presence of a gun barrel on his face. When he looked up he had seen a young man pointing a gun at him. Other armed terrorists had followed and started ransacking the office after ordering the entire staff to stand in a line.

Next the terrorists had rummaged the living quarters of the staff and robbed their money and valuables. They had then attempted to start some of the vehicles but did not succeed. The Centre expecting a terrorist attack, had thoughtfully manipulated the electricity circuits of the vehicles so that the engines could not be ignited by any outsider.

However, one of the employees standing in the line thinking that he would stand a chance to escape death, volunteered to start one of the land rovers. The terrorists had first shot down six who were standing in line and later shot at the rest.

However, they had spared the life of an employee named Abraham who was trying to register their names and taken him as their guide. The terrorists had then sped through the jungles towards Puttlam with Abraham. On the way they had spotted a helicopter hovering overhead, at which stage they had stopped the vehicles, got down and stretched on the ground after removing their shirts. Abraham who had an opportunity to escape had run away and while running had fallen in to an irrigation reservoir where he hid till the terrorists had left the area. He was the only person who survived to relate the tale.

The LTTE terrorists had killed one hundred and forty eight people that day. Twenty four were employees of the Wilpattu National Park while one hundred and twenty were pilgrims at the Sacred Jaya Sri Maha Bodhi and two were employees of the CTB bus depot in Puttlam. The only survivor was Abraham.

Since the establishment of the ancient city of Anuradhapura in the 5th century BC, during its existence for over twenty five centuries, conflicts had taken place between invading South Indian forces and the local armies in more than eighteen instances. Some of these invaders had even ruled the North and the North Central Provinces for short periods of time. **Subsequently, our valiant kings and rulers at the time had chased these invaders away from the shores of our country.** However during the greater part of the history of this ancient city, the valiant kings and the rulers were known to have ruled from this capital with great zeal and piety taking utmost care of the holy places of worship not second to their own lives.

Hence this attack on one of the holiest places of Buddhist worship planned and executed by Prabhakaran and his ruthless gang of terrorists, was an unbearable shock to the Buddhists of Sri Lanka and was condemned by Buddhists the world over.

#### 2. ATTACK AT SOMAVATHIYA TEMPLE - 2<sup>ND</sup> AUGUST 1985

Armed LTTE terrorists shot dead three Buddhist monks and three civilians at Somavathiya Temple, Thrikonamadu, Polonnaruwa.

#### 3. MASSACRE AT THE GODAPATHA SHRINE 6<sup>th</sup> DECEMBER 1987

The terrorists surrounded the Buddhist shrine in the village of Godapotha, Polonnaruwa and massacred the devotees. Eight (8) were killed and six (6) wounded.

## 4. ATTACK ON THE SRI DALADA MALIGAWA OR THE TEMPLE OF THE SACRED TOOTH – 25<sup>th</sup> JANUARY 1998

Extensive damage was caused to the Dalada Maligawa or the Temple of the Tooth in the city of Kandy on 25th January 1998, due to a huge explosion caused by terrorists of the LTTE. The Dalada Maligawa which is the holiest shrine of the Sri Lankan Buddhists shocked the nation more than any other in the three decades, when the LTTE terrorists came out in the open to attack civilians and important sites including places of worship.

The Sacred Tooth Relic of the Buddha brought to Sri Lanka from India in the 4th century AD, is safely enshrined in this temple. Since it was brought to Sri Lanka, it was in safe possession of the king who ruled the country. In fact it was the symbol of sovereignty, meaning that he who possessed the relic had the right to rule the country.

Hence during different periods of history when the kings shifted their capitals from place to place, due to foreign invasions they took the Sacred Tooth Relic with them and enshrined it safely in a specially constructed temple. As the last king of Sri Lanka ruled the country from Kandy in the Hill Country, the Sacred Relic was enshrined in the Temple of the Tooth in Kandy.

The "Maligawa" meaning palace is a magnificent shrine built by the kings who lived in Kandy, being the capital of their kingdom. It is a shrine built in accordance with Kandyan architecture with decorative walls, a moat, turrets, golden roof and fine traditional wood work, vividly displaying its 16th-19th century ambience.

It is believed, that the lorry carrying the explosives was driven breaking down the iron road blocks opposite the entrance to the Dalada Maligawa where it had exploded. This caused the death of eight persons and injured many others who were pilgrims.

Though the attack did not kill a large number of people, it caused extensive damage to the Holy Shrine, which took a long time and several millions of rupees to repair the invaluable sections of the building with traditional architecture which had both a religious and archeological value. The explosion caused damage to the front of the portal, the old octagon and the rampart around the Maligawa, but the four hundred year old inner chamber where the Tooth Relic is enshrined remained intact.

The attack on the Sri Dalada Maligawa by the LTTE cannot be conscribed as one more attack on the civilians at a strategic site like the Central Bank or the World Trade Centre. The Sri Dalada Maligawa is the holiest of the Buddhist Shrines in the country which the terrorists chose to attack for several reasons.

The LTTE from the beginning had symbolized everything that was either non-national or anti national as seen from the logo on its flag, a ferocious wild animal, a tiger with two guns crossed behind it with a rising sun in the background. Tigers did not live in the jungles of Sri Lanka for over twenty five centuries and in its known history, the tiger had not been used as a symbol or as a motif in ancient, medieval or in later works of art or sculpture in Sri Lanka. It means that the tiger was foreign to Sri Lanka, though the LTTE chose it as its symbol. They were probably identifying the tiger with India, where they live in the jungles. Only leopards live in the jungles of Sri Lanka. There is no doubt that the animal portrayed in the LTTE flag is a tiger and not a leopard.

As stated earlier, neither a tiger nor a leopard is depicted in any of the ancient cultural or architectural structures in Sri Lanka. In fact, Prabhakaran got the LTTE flag designed by an artist in Tamil Nadu during the time he slipped from Sri Lanka to Tamil Nadu to escape detection from the Sri Lankan Security Forces. The concept for the design was given to the artist by Prabhakaran, when he drew a sketch of the design on the cover of an empty box of matches.

The attack by the suicide cadres of the LTTE on the Sri Dalada Maligawa was an assault on the symbol of the religious culture of Sri Lanka that had a harmonious history among all the religions of the country, even though ruthless attempts were made to provoke majority Sinhala Buddhists to retaliate by the three colonial powers who were present in Sri Lanka from 1505 to 1948, for nearly four centuries. This was mainly due to the virtues practiced by the majority Sinhalese who were adherents of Buddhism.

It is on record that King Senarath of Kandy during 16041635 AD allowed the Roman Catholic community in the coastal regions who were persecuted by the invading Dutch in the 17th century, to come into his kingdom and build a church at Vahakotte in the present district of Matale where they lived at the time practicing their religion, even though the king was a Buddhist and there were no Roman Catholics in his kingdom.

There was no doubt that the king was aware that the Portugese themselves mercilessly persecuted the Buddhists to convert them to their own religion, Catholism. This is evidently a classic example of the extent to which the kings at the time practiced the virtue of tolerance.

In fact, the Sri Lankan nation grew up in the cradle of Buddhism.

In fact, it is recorded in history that Buddhism is the only religion which was propagated through a process of convincing and not through a process of forced conversion by way of persecution. "Buddhism offers the goal of Nibbana to those who require it and it is not forced on anyone". "Buddhism is saturated with this spirit of free inquiry and complete tolerance. No coercions, persecutions, or fanaticism play any part in Buddhism.

To the unique credit of Buddhism it must be said that throughout its peaceful march of over 2600 years no drop of blood has been shed in the name of Buddha or Buddhism".\*

<sup>\*</sup> Reference - "The Buddha and his Teaching" - Rev. Naradha

From the several theories put forward by various analysts and writers on the motivation and ideals of the LTTE, it was very clear that the terrorist group did not respect religion as proven by the attack on Muslims while at prayer at the Kattankudy mosque where nearly two hundred people were killed, after they entered the place of worship under the pretext of being worshippers.

When the LTTE attacked the Sri Dalada Maligawa, it was proved again that they did not respect any religion, but were a group to whom the only motivating force was hatred which was not a part of the Sri Lankan civilization in the past or present, as no one could ever imagine attacking a place of worship. There was no such history in the island. Attacking places of worship of any faith to attain their so called "liberation", was something that none of the sympathizers or supporters of the LTTE would ever be able to explain.

It is evident that the LTTE would have expected a severe backlash from the Sinhala Buddhists, consequent to their attacks on two of the holiest Buddhist places of worship. As the majority of Buddhists lead a life governed by the religious principles of loving kindness, compassion,

appreciative joy and equinaminity, they cannot be easily provoked to retaliatory action. Had there been a backlash it would have been tremendously advantageous to the LTTE, as it would have resulted in a state of absolute chaos in the country which would have diverted the attention of the government than concentrating on fighting the terrorists.

The Sinhalese community who learned an unforgettable lesson from the outcome of the "Black July" of 1983, very wisely refrained from any retaliation. Hence it is evident that the Sinhalese people were induced to retaliating against the Tamils in 1983, mainly due to the provocations by the key politicians of the then government to achieve their selfish and short sighted objectives.

#### 5. ATTACK ON BUDDHIST RELIGIOUS CEREMONY GONAGALA NEAR UHANA – 18<sup>th</sup> SEPTEMBER 1999

People of Gonagala made preparations for an alms giving after three months of the death of Ranhamy an old peasant killed by terrorists in June. While men, women and children of Gonagala in Uhana were taking part in the ceremony of the alms giving. (The traditional religious observances held after three months of a death). It was September 18th 1999, the villagers had come to Ranhamy's house in Gonagala to take part in religious rites held after three months of the death. When they were taking part in the ceremony about 300 (Three Hundred) LTTE killers surrounded Ranhamy's house and started massacring the people. The Terrorists were armed with automatic weapons and swords and knives. Then the Terrorists attacked the unarmed villagers. Forty Eight (48) were dead Women fifteen 15, Pregnant Women 2, Children 14 between two and six years old.

Even worse than the cannibals the terrorists sat and ate all the meals prepared for the religious ceremony. After eating, ransacked the houses of the dead, robbed their money, jewellery and valuables and left.

Some were critically injured, some died in the hospital. The death toll was 52 (Fifty Two). Among the dead were 14 peasants from a neighboring village. They looted 24 thousand rupees from one villager before hacking him to death.

## 6. BLAST ON THE HOLY DAY OF VESAK OUTSIDE BUDDHIST TEMPLE – 17<sup>th</sup> MAY 2000

As stated earlier the Vesak day is the holiest day for the Sri Lankan Buddhists as well as the Buddhists the world over. It marks the birth, the enlightenment and the passing away of the Buddha. Consequent to the efforts made by Sri Lanka harping on the religious importance of Vesak to the Buddhist the world over the U.N.O. decided to declare the Vesak day as an international religious day.

Twenty two persons of whom sixteen were innocent civilians, mostly of the Tamil community and six members of the security **forces including the police, were killed** when a time bomb placed by the LTTE near a Vesak Pandal outside the "Mangalaramaya" Buddhist temple in Batticaloa exploded on Friday, 17th May 2000.

The blast in Batticaloa where the Sinhalese, Tamil and Muslim communities live in harmony seems to be an attempt by the LTTE to trigger ethnic backlash and bolster their propaganda machine.

The day marked the first time that the Vesak Poya was declared as an international religious day by the United Nations. Hence the blast set off near a Buddhist temple proves the ruthlessness of the LTTE.

The LTTE attacks on innocent civilians and places of worship several years ago namely, the attack on pilgrims at Anuradhapura in 1985, the killing of Buddhist priests at Arantalawa, the assassination of the Chief Priest of Dimbulagala, the bomb explosion at the sacred Sri Dalada Maligawa in 1988 are a few examples of the brutality of the LTTE.

The aim of the LTTE was to stall the war effort of the security forces in the North, by causing ethnic disharmony through the bomb blast on the Vesak day which was sacred to Buddhists the world over. There was no doubt that the Buddhists were deeply shocked by this brutal attack.

It is due to this reason that the government withheld this news until steps were taken to safeguard the innocent civilians and prevent an ethnic backlash.

## 7. KELANI NADI VIHARA IN MODERA – 16<sup>th</sup> October 2005

The LTTE failed with another mission to target civilian life as C-4 type deadly explosives, weighing 1.5 kg was found near the Kelani Nadi Vihara in Modera. The highly destructive explosive type that could create extensive damage was found inside a biscuit tin near a wayside garbage dump.

#### 10.3.2 ASSASSINATIONS DONE IN THE PREMISES OF HINDU TEMPLES (KOVILS)

#### 1. ASSASSINATION OF ALFRED DURAIAPPAH AT THE PONNALAI SRI VISHNU TEMPLE – 27<sup>th</sup> JULY 1975

Prabhakaran and his outfit did not practice or have faith in any religion, but only practiced and were guided by the principles of violence and destruction which they practiced to the maximum with great devotion and enthusiasm.

He was not the least bit affected in committing heinous crimes in any place, religious or otherwise. He knew nothing called the sanctity of a place of worship. Hence planned and executed heinous crimes in two of the holiest places of Buddhist worship namely, Sri Maha Bodhi at Anuradhapura and the Sri Dalada Maligawa at Kandy.

As already stated such crimes were never even committed by the three colonial powers who initially occupied the maritime provinces of our island, particularly the Portugese who persecuted the Buddhists and the Hindus to convert them to the Catholic faith.

It should be recorded that when considering the heinous, ruthless and unpardonable crimes committed by Prabhakaran for nearly three decades, those who gave life to this "Satan" on earth would have committed an unpardonable sin which could never be excused or pardoned.

One of the earliest political crimes committed by Prabhakaran in a Hindu place of religious worship was the assassination of the popular Mayor of Jaffna, Alfred Duraiappah. He was assassinated in the premises of a holy Hindu Temple in Jaffna.

As Prabhakaran's parents were Hindu, he was born into a devoted Hindu family. It has been revealed that he subsequently became a Christian. All religions are intended to promote morality among human beings and guide them to achieve the ultimate objectives of those respective religions.

However Prabhakaran who had no faith in any religion nor guided by any religious principle, was guided by his "own philosophy" of crime. This may have been the reason he decided to choose a place of worship to commit his first political crime. The victim was the popular Mayor of Jaffna, Alfred Duraiappah.

Even though Duraiappah was popular among the people, he was not popular among the extremist politicians of the North, as he supported the then government in power of which Sirimavo Bandaranaike was the Prime Minister. Duraiappah used his influence with Mrs Bandaranaike to look after the welfare of his his people. He had several plans to develop the Jaffna town, especially to convert the beautiful beaches to tourist resorts. Hence Duraiappah was loved by both the rich and the poor of the North, especially the fisher folk. With the assistance of the government in power, he was trying to do the best possible to improve the conditions and the quality of life of the people of the North. He was probably the only politician of the Vellala Caste, a caste considered to be a high caste among the Hindu Tamil community in the North. Duraiappah who genuinely tried to help the down trodden people of the lower castes who were the majority in Jaffna.

This was a crime he committed in the eyes of the extremist political leaders of the North, notably Appapillai Amirthalingham who instigated and encouraged terrorism in the North. At the time, Prabhakaran and the other terrorist leaders sought advice from Amirthalingham with regard to his suggestion to fight for a separate state for the Tamils.

Hence as Duraiappah was supporting the government in the South for the benefit of the people of the North. Hence he was identified as a "traitor". It was this reason which prompted Prabhakaran to do away with Duraiappah. Perhaps it may have been that Prabhakaran obtained advice from the extremist politicians in the North in this regard.

The day Duraiappah was murdered as usual he went for worship to the Poonalai Sri Vishnu Temple in Jaffna. He would have never believed that anyone would ever harm him and particularly within the precincts of a holy place of worship. Such was his popularity among the people.

When Duraiappah arrived at of the Ponnalai Temple the terrorist group was waiting for him. When Prabhakaran saw Duraiappah he (Prabhakaran) whipped up a pistol and shot Duraiappah at pointblank range killing him almost on the spot. A member of the Jaffna Municipal Council, D.K. Rajaratnam and an employee of the Municipal Council were also injured in the attack.

A large crowd of wailing common people including the fisher folk who had prospered during that time attended his funeral.

#### 2. SELLA SANNATHI HINDU TEMPLE ATTACK – 7<sup>th</sup> JULY 1986

Terrorists opened fire at the Army Camp in Thondamanaru, Jaffna on Saturday from the Sella Sannathi Hindu Temple which was due to commence its annual festival the following day. The security forces were compelled to fire back to disperse the terrorists. This attack had soured the feelings of the residents around the Temple.

According to the trustees, the Sella Sannathi Hindu Temple is second in importance only to Kataragama among Hindu devotees. After the incident the Army Commander had assured the trustees that adequate protection would be provided for the ceremony to be conducted.

### 3. BOMB BLAST AT THE HINDU TEMPLE, BAMBALAPITIYA – 16<sup>th</sup> FEBRUARY 1988

Six persons were killed and twelve including a priest were injured when two bombs exploded in quick succession at the "Sri Kathira Velantha Swami" Hindu Temple in Bambalapitiya on 16th February1988 at around 8.00 p.m.

Seventy five to one hundred devotees were worshipping at the temple during the Mahasivarathri Festival, when the bombs went off within two minutes of each other. Mahasivarathri is a very important religious day for the Hindus the world over. However the LTTE which had no concern or respect for any religion or any religious event, did not hesitate to make human sacrifices even on a religious day, irrespective of where it is done. To kill a devotee on a religious day and particularly at a place of warship should be considered as a humiliating insult to a religion like Hinduism, which has millions of followers the world over.

According to an eye witness, the people ran out with the explosion to the compound of the temple. Some were bleeding profusely. The bombs

appear to have been placed near the altar. The force of the explosion had toppled a heavy brass lamp which was broken into pieces and there was speculation that a bomb had been placed under this big brass lamp.

## 4. LTTE USED HINDU KOVILS TO STORE THEIR ARMS AND AMMUNITION – 3<sup>RD</sup> MAY 2007

The LTTE used even Hindu kovils to store their arms and ammunition. Police uncovered a haul of arms and ammunition hidden inside the Amman Kovil at Velanthurai in Kayts Island. The items were found during a combined search operation.

## 5. ASSASSINATION OF T. MAHESWARAN AT THE SIVAM KOVIL, KOTAHENA, COLOMBO 12 – 1<sup>st</sup> JANUARY 2008

The other assassination carried out by the LTTE on the instructions of Prabhakaran in the premises of a Hindu Temple, the Sivam Kovil at Kotahena, Colombo 12, was that of T. Maheswaran.

Maheswaran was a vociferous and a controversial opposition member who represented the Jaffna District contesting as an UNP candidate. It was a known fact that he had been threatened by the LTTE for joining the United National Party, a major political party in the South, to contest the Jaffna Electorate. However, since he was a courageous man he was in and out of parliament and did not hesitate to agitate for his people and criticize the government or its ministers, whenever there was an important debate in parliament.

He was also a businessman who resided at Wellawatte, Colombo and who was engaged in the transportation of goods by ship to the North.

Even though the LTTE had warned him that his presence was not required in Jaffna, he sought to carry on with his political activities through his many supporters and contacts in the North and he became highly critical of the government, even while the military operations against the terrorist groups were escalated by the security forces in the North and East.

Maheswarn was attending the customary New Year religious rites around 10.00 a.m. on 1st January 2008, when a LTTE gunman shot him.

One of his body guards too died in the shooting, while one hundred others including four women and a child were injured.

Maheswaran first entered Parliament by contesting the Jaffna District from the UNP at the general elections held in 2000.

When Maheswaran was killed at the Sivam Kovil on the 1st January 2008 when he had gone to worship, it was another example of the terror unleashed even in places of worship, by the ruthless terrorists of the LTTE.

Hindus are highly devoted to their religion. They practice their religion in their homes and by visiting the Hindu Temples. They are harmless people leading their day to day life according to the principles of their religion. Unlike in other religions, they make offerings of fruits to the gods for devotional purposes.

Prabhakaran who was born into a traditional Hindu family, disgraced the Hindu religion and traditions practiced by millions of Hindus living the world over by making human sacrifices in the premises of the holy shrines, thus tarnishing the spiritualism, the image and the traditions of this age old Hindu religion, practiced from time immemorial.

## 10.3.3 ATTACKS CARRIED OUT IN MOSQUES -

## 1. MASSACRE AT THE KATTANKUDY MOSQUES MEERA JUMMA AND HUSSAINYA MOSQUES – 3<sup>rd</sup> AUGUST 1990

As stated earlier, terrorism knows no religious sanctity nor did it care for the lives of human beings, whether infants, children, men, women or clergy. This was proved once again when the Tiger terrorists cold bloodedly **butchered one hundred and forty seven Muslim devotees praying in the mosques in the predominantly Muslim town of Kattankudy**, Batticaloa in the East.

The massacre at Kattankudy which shook the nation and drew worldwide attention and condemnation, was meticulously pre-planned and executed in secrecy by the Tiger terrorists. Having disguised themselves as Muslim prayers entered the Meera Jumma and Hussainya Mosques when hundreds of devotees were attending the Friday Isha prayers on 3rd August 1990. Gun carrying Tamil tiger terrorists swooped on Muslim prayers inside the holy Kattankudy Mosque and butchered one hundred and three Muslim prayers including over twenty five small children. The dastardly mass murder provoked condemnation from the international community.

As stated above on Friday, August 3rd 1990 over **three hundred Muslims men and boys were prostrate in prayer at the Meera Jumma Mosque**, located fifty yards from the Kandy– Batticaloa road. It was seven twenty in the evening and the town of Kattankudy was lit up. The prayers continued even when there was a power cut throwing the mosque into darkness.

A stones throw away from the Meera Jumma was the smaller Hussainya Mosque. There was a smaller gathering of approximately forty people prostrate and in prayer. The power cut had been affected by the large group of LTTE cadres on their murderous mission.

The eye witnesses had stated that the raiders were dressed in battle fatigues and others in sarongs and tee shirts. They had come in several white Hi Ace vans.

In Kattankudy the population is denser than in any part of South Asia. It is estimated that fifty thousand people live within 1½ kilo meters. In August 1990 there had been agitation in the Eastern province of Sri Lanka that the security provided to that province was inadequate and the Muslim and the Sinhalese civilians were exposed to the aftermath of the "Black July" 1983.

The LTTE attacks had accounted for the death of fourteen Muslims on August 1st in Akkaraipattu. The dead men had their hands tied with their own cloths behind their backs and were then shot in the back of their heads. Between August 2nd and 3rd of that year, fifteen other Muslims were killed in LTTE attacks.

In Kattankudy each neighbourhood had its own little mosque to permit the faithful to pray five times a day. When the public address system calls the faithful to prayer, the streets are empty in a few seconds. They come to the mosque and perform ablutions (wash) before every prayer. On August 3rd 1990, they performed the same ritual. In their innocence they were unaware that this would be their last prayer. The LTTE were on a rampage murdering the unarmed Muslim civilians. **The terrorists who stormed the premises of the mosque fired the prayers through the windows.** They were shot in the back by the ruthless murderers who do not respect even a place of worship. Before this, they had lobbed grenades to kill the worshippers. On the walls of the mosque were the marks left by machine gun fire. The floor bears the markings of the grenades that were thrown at the worshippers prior to firing at them.

Profaning of a religious place of worship and the worse, drenching the place with blood of the faithful was condemned by the Sri Lankan society, as we had deep rooted religious traditions handed down for over three millennium and even during a war the Sri Lankan Army or even a soldier would not dare to kill anyone inside a place of worship as that was sacrosanct in our culture. The attacks by the LTTE on places of worship, demonstrated that they had no religion, morals or ethics and would only kill innocent unarmed people even at prayer.

As stated previously, Prabhakaran wanted to set up a separate state for the Tamil speaking people amalgamating the Northern and the Eastern provinces of Sri Lanka. The people of the Tamil and the Muslim communities who traditionally lived in these provinces adopted the Tamil language as their language for speech, writing and for all their other transactions and activities. Hence the Muslims did not speak any language of their own. Even the Sinhalese community who lived in these provinces was thoroughly conversant in speaking the Tamil language.

However as Prabhakaran was inflicted with the mania of ethnic cleansing in the Northern and the Eastern provinces, he launched a ruthless campaign of killing to infuse fear of life in the minds of the people of the Sinhalese and Muslim communities, thereby compelling them to desert these areas and migrating to the South or any other provinces. Hence it meant that the proposed state of Eelam was to consist of only people of the Tamil community.

## 2. ATTACK ON MOSQUE AT SAMANTHURAI

Even prior to the attack on Kattankudy, the LTTE killed two refugees who had come to a mosque at Samanthurai for protection and injured another five refugees who were there.

#### 3. ATTACK AT ODDAIMAVADY MOSQUE – 28<sup>th</sup> JUNE 2002

Several Muslim devotees were killed when the LTTE opened fire and threw grenades at worshippers at the Oddaimavady Mosque.

#### 4. SUICIDE ATTACK ON THE MILAD-UN-NABI FESTIVAL AT THE JUMMA MOSQUE IN GODAPITIYA, AKURESSA – 10<sup>th</sup> MARCH 2009

Eighteen people were killed and another forty six were injured including Mahinda Wijesekera, Minister of Posts and Telecommunication in a suicide attack which targeted the National Milad UN-Nabi (the birthday of Prophet Mohamed) at the Jumma Mosque in Godapitiya, Akuressa, around 10.30 a.m. on 10th March 2009.

Around five thousand people including several Government Ministers were proceeding to the mosque in a procession to attend the main event held in celebration of the Prophet Mohamed's birthday, when the suspected LTTE suicide bomber struck.

Minister Mahinda Wijesekera who was participating as the Guest of Honour was seriously injured in the blast and later air lifted to Colombo, where he underwent emergency surgery. Several other Ministers who participated escaped unhurt. Many members of the Provincial Council and Pradeshiya Sabha were injured in the explosion. At the time of the explosion, two Ministers and other Government Officials were proceeding on foot to the mosque premises.

#### 10.3.4 ATTACKS CARRIED OUT IN CHURCHES -

## 1. ABDUCTING MADHU PILGRIMS -12<sup>TH</sup> DECEMBER 1985

Six Madhu pilgrims who were abducted by LTTE terrorists were executed.

#### 2. GRENADE ATTACK ON ST LUCIA'S CHURCH, MANNAR – 25<sup>th</sup> DECEMBER 2006

A policeman was killed after Tigers lobbed a grenade at the Police Post at St. Lucia's Church in the Mannar District.

## 3. TAKING CONTROL OF THE MADHU CHURCH – 21<sup>st</sup> APRIL 2008

The LTTE took control of the Sacred Madhu Church and removed the statue of Our Lady of Madhu into an uncleared area.

The Catholic Bishops Conference (CBC) appealed to the LTTE to adhere strictly and observe international law regarding places of worship and asked the outfit who occupied the sacred precincts to vacate the premises forthwith.

## 4. LTTE BLAST NEAR ST ANNE'S CHURCH, WATTALA – 28<sup>th</sup> DECEMBER 2008

The LTTE terrorists carried out a suicide bomb attack near the sacred St Anne's church, at Hekitta, Wattala on 28th December 2008. According to police sources, a male suicide bomber exploded himself around 9 a.m. in front of the Civil Defence Force (CDF) office on the road leading to the church. According to eyewitnesses, the suicide bomber had exploded himself when he was stopped by the security personnel on guard from entering the CDF office

**Eight people were reported killed while seventeen suffered injuries in the attack.** An Army officer and six other CDF personnel were among those killed in the bomb blast. Thirteen CDF personnel and four civilians including a woman were reported injured due to the blast. The injured had been admitted to the Teaching Hospital, Ragama and National Hospital, Colombo.

## 10.3.5 ATTACKS ON RELIGIOUS PRELATES (BUDDHIST PRELATES)

#### 1. TERRORISTS SHOT DEAD THREE SINHALESE BUDDHIST PRIESTS 2<sup>ND</sup> AUGUST 1985

Armed terrorists **shot dead three (3) Buddhist priests and 3 civilians** at Somavathiya Temple in Thirkonamadu, Polonnaruwa.

#### 2. ATTACK ON TWO SMALL VILLAGES IN ANANDAKULAM, THREE MILES WEST OF TRINCOMALEE – 4TH JUNE 1986

LTTE terrorists armed with automatic rifles entered the 3rd Mile Post and **killed twenty villagers, including two farmers and Buddhist priest Ven. Bakamune Subaddalanakara Thero.** Thereafter they burned eight houses and two trucks belonging to the farmers.

## 3. BUTCHERY OF THIRTY (30) BHIKKUS (BUDDHIST MONKS) AT ARANTALAWA – 2<sup>ND</sup> JUNE 1987

In the remote Amparai district, people living in the Maha Oya area were amongst the most harmless and for generations faced odds amidst the jungles where they cultivated on their lands most often threatened by wild animals. However they were very hardworking men and women.

Among them was a Buddhist prelate, the Chief Sangha Nayaka for the Amparai and Batticaloa Districts, Venerable Heboda Indrasara Nayaka Thero. He was a pious monk who lived and worked among the people and strived to uplift the Buddhist Sasana and served the people of these two districts with dedication.

Leading the life of a Buddhist Monk, the prelate not only performed religious rites but also moved among the laymen in the village, seeing to their welfare and taking an interest in helping them to better their lives.

On the 2nd June 1987, he had organized a pilgrimage for the Samanera (young monks) of his Pirivena (monastery for teaching Buddhism), at the Mahavapi Viharaya in Amparai to enable the monks to worship the Raja Maha Viharaya at Kelaniya and later the Kalutara Bodhiya and from there to join the pilgrimage of one hundred and fifty miles on foot to Kataragama, to attend the ceremony for the unveiling of the statue of the national heroine, Vihara Maha Devi. The prelate who was well known for his piety walked to meet his people and used a vehicle only when it was urgent.

They took off from the temple at dawn that day and were travelling in a bus on the Maha Oya–Amparai road when suddenly on a deserted patch of the road with jungle on either side of the road at **Arantalawa**, a group of armed terrorists suddenly appeared where a log had been placed across the road. The terrorists in commando type of uniforms were aiming their automatic rifles at the bus. The driver of the bus got frightened and stopped the bus. The terrorists surrounded the bus and asked the driver to turn the bus to a side road into the jungle. **There were forty monks and three laymen in the bus including the driver**.

They first gunned down the driver and the conductor. Thereafter they came to the prelate and spoke something in Tamil. The prelate offered all the money he had and told them that they could kill him, but to spare the young monks. The terrorists took the money and removed the wrist watches of the driver and conductor and got off the bus. After a while they boarded the bus again and came to the prelate and shot him eight times at point blank range. After that they started firing at all the others, spraying bullets around.

After the shooting, the terrorists took swords and knives and started hacking everyone who had fallen down. Only one Samanera priest survived the attack to relate the story.

The Arantalawa massacre of thirty two Buddhist monks and three civilians came as the greatest shock to the nation, especially to the Buddhists. This was the largest number of Buddhist monks killed in the known history of the country. Prabhakaran and his killers showed their true colours to the country by carrying out this massacre.

#### 4. DIMBULAGALA PRELATE WHO SERVED THE POOR WAS KILLED BY THE LTTE – 8<sup>th</sup> AUGUST 1995

On 8th August 1995, Venerable Matara Kithelagama Sri Seelankara Nayaka Thero, popularly known as Dimbulagala Hamuduruwo was killed by the LTTE terrorists when he was on his way to visit a farm belonging to the temple. The most Ven. Matara Kithalagama Sri Seelalankara Nayaka Thera, better known as Dimbulagala Hamuduruvo, the Chief Incumbent of the Dimbulagala Temple in Dimbulagala was assassinated by the LTTE terrorists during the month of Vesak on 25th May 1995.

Dimbulagala was known as the Gunner's rock during British colonial rule. It is a rock formation in the Polonnaruwa district and when anthropologist Charles Gabriel Seligman visited it way back in 1911, a section of the Veddha community had taken refuge in a cave within the rock.

By the 12th century AD, the Sinhalese had constructed a temple within the Dimbulagala rock formation.

The world-renowned Dimbulagala Raja Maha Viharaya was restored in 1950's. In 1990's, the villagers around the rock were of mixed Veddha (early settlers) and Sinhala ancestry, speaking both Sinhala and Veddha languages.

The Dimbulagala Temple of which he was the chief incumbent, was a rock cave where he had sought shelter, living a very hard life for the greater good of the people, to offer them comfort in the spiritual realms.

Yet this unorthodox member of the Buddhist clergy was concerned with more mundane matters, but in fact he had spent his life to uplift the **poor and disfranchised peasants of the East, who had been cheated of their birth right,** living a hand to mouth existence in the remote hamlets surrounded by the jungle.

When the Venerable Kithelagama Sri Seelankara Nayaka Thero first visited Dimbulagala he found the illiterate and the impoverished villagers who had been living there for a long time having peculiar names. They had names like Piyadasage Selvam, Jayaratnage Nathan etc. half of which was Sinhalese and the other half Tamil.

He delved deeper into the strange mixture of people's names having two ethnic identities and inquired how they had such names. The illiterate peasants, most of whom had not even attended school informed the Thero, that the Tamil public servants who worked in the divisional offices of the Registrar Generals Department in the nearest town had recorded their names in the birth certificates in this manner.

This could be considered as clear evidence on how the Tamil officers who belonged to a minority ethnic community and who were employed due to their comparative knowledge of the English language in branches or the divisional offices of the respective government departments, tried to deny the birth rights of some from the majority Sinhalese community who lived in these remote villages and who were illiterate due to not having adequate facilities for education, in comparison to the Tamil community of the North.

Hence the Thero decided that he should live among these helpless peasants and work for their upliftment and development. During this time, the majority of the business community of Trincomalee was from the Southern Province and the Thero told them about the plight of the Sinhalese peasants who were being **terrorized due to their extreme poverty and ignorance.** 

Initially the Thero requested the businessmen to help the poor people by collecting and distributing sufficient day rations and providing their day to day requirements. He then gradually induced the peasants to engage in cultivation and introduced methods of improving their economic condition.

The Venerable Kithelagama Nayaka Thero lived in a rock temple without even the basic comforts of the usual Buddhist temples, but worked day and night to improve the living conditions of the poor peasants living around Dimbulagala.

The late Nayaka Thera exerted pressure on the government in 1970s and settled more than 65,000 cultivators on the land and converted it to fertile and successful cultivations in Dimbulagala.

He pioneered the building of temples in 84 villages on the banks of the Mahaweli and ordained more than 1,500 Buddhist monks during his lifetime," he said. The Thero was a national leader and despite death threats from the LTTE he continued his work, until the terrorists gunned him down. The Thero not only toiled for the development of the Buddha Sasana but also for the future of the Sinhala community who lived there.

## Hence he became a thorn in the eyes of the LTTE and the other terrorist groups who wanted ethnic cleansing of the Eastern province, leaving only the Tamils in that province.

On this day at around 7.15 a.m. nearly one hundred LTTE terrorists raided Dimbulagala, when the Thero was leaving the rock temple in his vehicle to visit the farm that fed the poor peasants. They were hiding in the jungle lining the road and opened fire with automatic weapons killing the Rev. Monk instantly.

Without stopping at that, they next raided the village and **killed forty two villagers and unarmed civilians including women and children**, devastating a community of the poorest of the poor who were being gradually uplifted by the efforts of the Thero, who had dedicated himself to help the poor peasantry to develop their living conditions with a great degree of success.

### 5. KILLING VITHARADENIYE CHANDRAJOTHI THERO, VIHARADHIPATHI OF THE SAMBUDDHALOKA VIHARAYA, FORT –15<sup>th</sup> OCTOBER 1997

When the terrorists exploded a powerful bomb at the car park of the Galadari Hotel, Colombo 1, the priest who heard the gunfire was inquisitive and came out of the temple onto the pavement adjoining the temple premises. The terrorists after their attack at the Galadari Hotel whilst running towards Lake House passing the temple saw the priest there and shot him dead.

## 6. SHOOTING VENERABLE NANDARATHANA THERO - 13<sup>th</sup> MAY 2007

The chief incumbent of the Pabbatharamaya Temple at Mahadivulwewa in the Morawewa area of Trincomalee, Venerable Nandarathana Thero, was shot dead by three LTTE gunmen. The Thero was known to be a prominent social worker in the area.

## 10.3.6 MURDERING HINDU PRELATES (POOSARIS)

#### 1. MURDER OF THE POOSARI WHO GARLANDED THE PRESIDENT – 7<sup>th</sup> FEBRUARY 2007

Selliah Kurukkal Parameswaran, the Chief Poosari of the Santhiveli Pulleyar Kovil in Batticaloa who garlanded President Mahinda Rajapakse during his visit to Vakarai was shot dead by the LTTE gunmen just outside his residence on the night of 7th February 2007.

The LTTE terrorists entered the Santhiveli Pulleyar Kovil and had taken him to the backyard of his residence saying that they needed to question him and then shot him using a T56 weapon.

The Poosari was sixty three years old and the father of three. According to the family members, the gunmen had mentioned that they were from the LTTE and that they wished to question the Poosari in connection with the garlanding of the President Mahinda Rajapakse on his arrival to the Kovil on 3rd February 2007.

#### 2. SHOT DEAD SIVASHRI KUNGARAJA KURUKKAL – 21<sup>st</sup> SEPTEMBER 2008

The chief priest of Koneswaran temple in Trincomalee, Sivashri Kungaraja Kurukkal was shot dead by Tiger terrorists.

## 3. SHOOTING THE CHIEF PRIEST OF THE KALI KOVIL -30<sup>th</sup> DECEMBER 2008

It was reported that the Chief **Priest of the Hindu Kali Temple at Negombo** in the Colombo District, **identified as Muttiah Sivaprakashan was shot inside his house** at around 11.30 p.m.

## 10.3.7 MURDERING CHRISTIAN PRELATES (REV. FATHERS KILLED)

## 1. KILLING FATHER GEORGE JEYARAJASINGHAM – 13<sup>th</sup> DECEMBER 1984

Methodist Priest, Father George Jeyarajasingham was shot dead by Tiger terrorists in Mannar.

#### 2. KILLING FATHER MARY BASTIAN – 6<sup>th</sup> JANUARY 1985

Catholic Priest Father Mary Bastian was killed by the LTTE terrorists in Vankalai, Mannar.

#### 3. FR. CHANDRA FERNANDO IN BATTICALOA – 6<sup>th</sup> JUNE 1988

Fr. Chandra Fernando, a prominent Catholic priest in the East, was shot dead by terrorists in Batticaloa.

## 4. KILLING REVEREND NICHOLAS PILLAI PACKIYARANJITH – 26<sup>th</sup> SEPTEMBER 2007

The LTTE killed the Catholic Priest, Reverend Nicholas Pillai Packiyaranjith on 26th September 2007, in an area which was not cleared by the security forces in Mannar.

Subsequent to the killing, the LTTE launched a false propaganda campaign alleging that the killing was perpetrated by the Army.

However, the government clarified that there were no security forces operating in the uncleared areas of Mannar. The assassination of the Catholic Priest had taken place in the North of Mannar, where the LTTE was active and where the security forces had no access.

It is very clear that the LTTE terrorists had no respect or faith in any religion, had no regard whatsoever to the prelates of these religions, whether Buddhist, Hindu, Muslim, Christian or any other religion. If they disliked them for some reason or if they were an impediment to their terrorist activities, they got rid of them without any consideration.

If the LTTE attached no value to the life of a religious priest who provided a substantial service or contributed to uplift the social and religious standards of the poorest of the poor living a hard life, particularly in the remote areas where the religious prelates were assassinated, could these terrorists have any concern for the lives of innocent civilians? They would have comparatively attached greater value to the animals which they would have slaughtered for their flesh.

#### 10.4 ATTACKS ON CIVILIANS USING PUBLIC TRANSPORT

The majority of the people in Sri Lanka use public transport viz either buses or trains for travelling, whether they are living in urban or rural areas. As the work places and schools are located either in the cities or in the major towns, in the respective provinces, most adults and children have to travel to their places of work or schools daily, either by bus or by train, depending on the distance from their homes to the places of work or schools.

Hence another method employed by the ruthless terrorists to attack the unarmed civilians was to attack the buses and the trains in which they travelled. The methods employed by the terrorist was to place parcel bombs or time bombs in the vehicles or to lay high explosives across the roads or to stop moving vehicles and drag the passengers out by force and shoot them or enter the vehicles and indiscriminately shoot at all the passengers inside the vehicle.

There was no doubt that Prabhakaran with the assistance of his terrorist outfit embarked on these attacks to achieve his objectives.

Prabhakaran planned and launched their attacks with the assistance of the ruthless terrorist outfit as a part of an overall plan to create chaotic situations, to draw the attention of India and some other countries of the West who were inclined to assist them, not knowing the true nature of terrorism perpetrated by Prabhakaran to achieve his concealed and selfish objectives.

He was at war with the democratically elected government of a sovereign state to establish a separate state annexing the Northern and Eastern provinces of the country. To achieve this objective, he was engaging in terrorism and creating mayhem to coerce the government to give into his selfish objectives. For these purposes he did all within his powers to distract and divert the attention of the government to the North and the East and to concentrate in dealing with the problems in the South created by him through terrorism. For this purpose, he created as many problems as possible in the South, the inevitable result would be to preclude the government from utilizing its security strength fully to deal with the problems in the North. It would also result in creating mayhem in the South and would result in distracting the attention of the government and to prevent it from concentrating on other priorities, such as managing the economy and continuing to provide the required health and other welfare services, education for children, to continue to engage in production and agricultural activities, to sustain the economy for which the continued maintenance of the transport system was an important requirement. Any destruction to the transport network of the country would mean an unbearable loss to the government and the replacement costs would be enormous. It would in turn result in the government been compelled to cut down on its defense expenditure. This would weaken the strength of the security forces and it would be comparatively advantageous to the terrorists.

One of the most undesirable effects of constant attacks on the civilian community would be to infuse fear in the minds of the people regarding the dangers to which they are exposed to. This would result among other things people being psychologically affected and preclude them from reaching the required levels of performance in their day to day work in their respective places of work. Uncertainty of one's life and that of his family would affect all levels of employment and the day to day work of the people.

In addition school children will develop a fear to travel to attend the schools. This would undoubtedly affect their education.

In order to enable the reader to understand the horrendous nature of the attacks perpetrated by the LTTE on civilians who utilized public transport, namely buses and trains and other forms of transport namely lorries, vans, motor cycles, etc. It is proposed to provide in this book details of a few major attacks on transport followed by a summary of the rest.

#### PRABHAKARAN'S FIRST ACT OF VIOLENCE

**Prabhakaran's first act of violence was setting fire to a CTB bus in the early 1970's barely two miles from Velvetithurai.** His family was stunned when they learned that Prabhakaran had ganged up with some boys, halted the bus, doused it with diesel drawn from the tank of the same bus and later set it on fire. It should be noted that Prabhakaran was involved in these activities, even before he established his terrorist organization which came to be known as the LTTE. Some people had complained about this incident to Prabhakaran's father, Velupillai who was furious. The police began to question Velupillai who was afraid as he held a government job and did not wish to lose it. This incident strained the relationship between Prabhakaran and his father.

# After that the terrorists caused enormous destruction to public transport for a continuous period of nearly 30 years.

The terrorists without any consideration to the convenience of the residents living all over the country including the North and the East attacked all forms of transport including buses, trains, lories, vans etc killing many an innocent traveller in the process.

They destroyed the valuable railway tracks laid from Colombo the capital city to the North and the East, the signaling system, the railway bridges, and used the steel railings for the construction of bunkers. They also caused tremendous damage to the railway compartments and engines, completely destroying the entire railway network in the areas which came under the control of the LTTE.

The terrorists wanted to achieve their selfish objectives by preventing the government from transporting the security personnel and providing their requirements of food, fuel and military equipment. This intern seriously affected the life of the people living in the North and the East. However, the government continued to supply the requirements of the people and that of the security forces by road, air and sea transport.

It is really the Tamil people in the North and the East, who really suffered tremendously due to the destruction of the railway system, as the trains were a popular mode of transport, particularly among the Tamil public servants who were employed in the South. They along with members of their families travelled long distances to their homes in the North and the East, using the railway warrants, which was a facility provided by the government to its employees.

Trains were also heavily used to transport the bulk requirements to the people in the Northern and Eastern regions, such as food and other consumables, industrial and agricultural requirements and fuel, as it was a cheaper and more convenient mode of transport in comparison to road transport.

In addition to causing severe destruction to the railway network, the LTTE terrorists caused enormous damage to the road transport system by destroying a large number of buses belonging to the state owned Ceylon Transport Board (CTB), in all parts of the country and later to privately owned buses, which came into operation with the establishment of a new Government of the United National Party (UNP) in 1977.

The malicious objectives of Prabhakaran by destroying the assets of the state, namely the buses owned by the state organization, the Ceylon Transport Board, was to inflict heavy losses on the government, instill fear in the minds of the people and create a chaotic situation in the country placing the government in a state of confusion, thereby distracting it's attention from taking action against the LTTE.

The relevant details of the attacks carried out by the LTTE are provided separately on the basis of the available information.

The terrorists destroyed and damaged the road network to prevent the movement of vehicles, particularly those carrying troops as well as supplies required by the security forces. Constant attacks on buses and other modes of transport by using explosives made it difficult for the authorities to continue to maintain even the important main roads leading to the North and the East. This in turn made it difficult to transport even the basic requirements to the people of the North and the East.

Due to the high cost of transport, the innocent civilians in the North and the East had to pay exorbitant prices to purchase even their basic needs, such as food items not produced in their areas, medicines, fuel required for their vehicles and even for lighting their lamps due to the disruption of the electrical supply, by attacking and destroying the installations etc. This in turn made life extremely hazardous to them.

Details of the acts of violence perpetrated by the LTTE, to disrupt the transport system, namely road transport, rail transport, air transport and sea transport is provided, depending on the available details to which the author had access, for the information of the readers.

# ATTACKS ON BUSES

#### 1. ATTACK AT LAHUGALA, POTHUVIL

An area worst affected was Lahugala a few miles from Pothuvil, where a bus was set on fire after it's **twenty passengers had been killed**.

#### 2. ATTACKS ON TRINCOMALEE, VAVUNIYA, PULLMUDAI – JUNE 1986

At least twenty civilians were killed and fifty eight injured in three terrorists attacks in the districts of Trincomalee, Vavuniya and Pullmudai.

On the previous evening, four children were killed in Jaffna and two civilians were killed at Tampalakamam. At Sittaru, on the Allai– Kantalai road, the terrorists exploded a landmine at 8.30 a.m., killing sixteen men and women and injuring seven others. The terrorists fired at the victims after the explosion blew up the vehicle belonging to the Assistant Government Agent in which they were travelling.

#### 3. THE TWIN EXPLOSIONS THAT ROCKED THE TRINCOMALEE TOWN – 12<sup>th</sup> JUNE 1986

A disastrous explosion perpetrated by the ruthless LTTE took place in the Trincomalee town on 12th June 1986. On this day suddenly the town and the harbour was rocked with two huge explosions, the second taking place shortly after the first. It was on the Inner Harbour Road that the two explosions went off in two buses of the Ceylon transport Board (CTB).

One bus was bound for Colombo and the other for Kotmale. With these explosions, the police and the armed forces rushed to the scene where scores of people were lying in pools of blood while four or five people had been thrown out of the buses to the sea, as the road ran adjacent to the sea.

When the police and bystanders rushed to the two buses at the first count, they found **twenty people dead and about eighty people injured**. The injured were rushed to the hospital where two more succumbed to their injuries.

The continued killings of the unarmed civilians was the method adopted by the LTTE. On this day, two time bombs had been planted in the two CTB buses that were carrying only civilians. Among the dead were eighteen women and children from all three communities, Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims.

Though this attack was condemned by India and the other countries immediately after the blast which killed twenty two people, the government of India which was the patron of the Tigers had not realized that the LTTE was a terrorist organization militarily assisted by them and had become a problem to Sri Lanka.

However in the end, India realized its mistake and had to pay a very high price for supporting the terrorists who were at that time commonly known as Tigers.

Meanwhile the Ministry of Security in a release stated that the LTTE had forced two hundred lorries to drive around Jaffna in a protest against the permit system introduced by the government, as a precaution against bombs brought in trucks together with produce from the North to the South. The lorry owners liked this system as they did not have to pay the extortion money to the LTTE. The LTTE was blocking the free movement of people and goods by extorting Rupees one hundred from each passenger coming to Jaffna.

#### 4. A BOMB EXPLOSION IN SITTARU, KANTHALE - 25<sup>th</sup> JUNE 1986

A bomb explosion inside a vehicle carried out by the LTTE, killed 16 Sinhalese in Sittaru, Kanthale

#### 5. MINE RIPS CTB BUS ON THE ULLANKULAMA– POONAWA ROAD AND KILLS THIRTY – JUNE 1986

An explosion occurred on the Ullunkulama–Poonawa road in the North of Vavuniya, when **thirty passengers were killed and forty two were seriously wounded** when a landmine hit their bus.

In Pulmudai the terrorists blew up the jeep in which police were providing an escort for the CTB bus. **Seven policemen were injured**  and two of them seriously, in the explosion and the shooting that followed. Helicopters flew the doctors and the drugs to the Anuradhapura hospital where all the injured were rushed for treatment.

#### 6. MINE RIPS CTB BUS IN THE VAVUNIYA DISTRICT AND KILLS THIRTY TWO – 22<sup>ND</sup> JULY 1986

At least thirty two people including eight women died and two children were killed and twenty other injured at Dikwewa in the Vavuniya district, when the LTTE terrorists exploded a landmine which blew up a crowded CTB bus into pieces.

It was reported that the children caught in the blast were beyond recognition. There were two Tamils among the dead, while the rest were Sinhalese.

The coachwork of the bus had been blasted to pieces and only the chassis was left. The mine had blown a large crater in the middle of the road.

It was reported that as at that date, **the terrorists had killed sixty persons within five days.** 

#### 7. PARCEL BOMB BLASTAT ISINBASGALA-MEDAWACHCHIYA - KILLS TWELVE AND INJURED TWENTY EIGHT - 24<sup>th</sup> JULY 1986

When CTB bus No. 28 Sri 6899 was proceeding from Vavuniya to Anuradhapura with a load of passengers at Isinbasgala, a bomb was exploded inside the bus killing thirteen passengers.

#### 8. TERRORIST MASSACRE OVER ONE HUNDRED CIVILIANS IN THREE BUSES ON THE HABARANA– TRINCOMALEE ROAD – 18<sup>th</sup> APRIL 1987

Over one hundred bus passengers belonging to all communities were killed on Friday, 17th April 1987 in one of the worst terrorist attacks, when three buses travelling along the Habarana–Trincomalee road were stopped near Kitulothuwa between the 123rd and 129th mile post and the passengers were shot dead in cold blood.

# The authorities stated that one hundred and seven persons including women and children were dead and over sixty were injured.

Two of the three buses were coming from Trincomalee while the other was proceeding to Trincomalee from Colombo. The police confirmed that all three were private buses.

Another report stated that a fourth vehicle, a private car had also been stopped and the passengers in it were also killed. The injured had been taken to hospital in Habarana.

The attack came on the seventh day of the unilateral ceasefire announced by the government. A number of the victims were believed to be people travelling at the end of the Sinhala/ Tamil New Year holidays. The 17th April 1987 was a Good Friday.

As stated earlier, the previous week the government had declared a unilateral ceasefire as a measure to bring the murderous separatist terrorist groups to the negotiating table, to discuss an Indian backed settlement to the so called ethnic problem.

On this day when the Christians of the country were at prayer and retreat, two buses were travelling from Trincomalee and heading South while the other bus was travelling in the opposite direction.

The buses were stopped and the passengers were first ordered out and later lined up. They were next relieved of their cash and gold jewellery and were finally gunned down. **Nearly ninety civilians, women and children among them were killed. Those who hid in the buses out of fear were also killed, after relieving them of their cash and valuables.** The next bus proceeding in the opposite direction was also stopped and a similar fate awaited the passengers including women and children.

When the gory carnage of killing was complete, **over one hundred** and thirty people had died while another sixty were injured. Among the dead were also thirty servicemen in civvies who were on their way home from leave and were unarmed.

Among those who survived, were two young men who saved themselves by mere chance. They had pretended to be dead and hidden themselves under the seats. The Kitulothuwa massacre of civilians including women and children came to be known as the Good Friday massacre. It proved something that most people were not aware of or had not noticed, that Prabhakaran who was from a Hindu family and who later became a Christian convert, did not care even as much as he cared for a lump of spit he threw out in the morning for Good Friday, which was one of the holiest days for the Christians.

Hence it proved that being a Hindu or a Christian was considered necessary only for his own convenience and not because of faith in any religion.

Therefore all those optimists including the "God Fathers" of the separatist terrorists could only be referred to as living in a fool's paradise if they thought that blood thirsty terrorists could be reformed to stand for reason.

#### 9. BOMB AT PETTAH BUS STAND – 21<sup>st</sup>APRIL 1987

On 21st April 1987, the LTTE terrorists detonated a car laden with high explosives at the Pettah bus stand **killing one hundred and ten civilians and injuring two hundred and ninety eight others.** This was one of the disastrous and ruthless attacks carried out by the terrorists of the LTTE in the city of Colombo.

#### 10. INTOLERABLE MASSACRE AT ARANTALAWA - 2<sup>ND</sup> OCTOBER 1987

Terrorists have no reasoning morals or principles. As stated earlier, human life was not worth even a lump of spit they threw out. Their killing spree was done in the most heinous manner, no social, religious or ethical considerations were ever present.

In the remote Amparai district the people who were mostly innocent villagers, eked out a living in the Maha Oya area by cultivating their lands. They were hardworking peasants who were most harmless and who lived for generations amidst the jungles, sometimes threatened by wild animals. As stated earlier at pages 212 to 213 the Chief Sanganayaka or the Chief Buddhist Priest for the Amparai and Batticaloa Districts, Ven Hegoda Indrasena Nayaka Thero, who worked and lived among the people, was a pious monk who had spent his life working to uplift the living standard of the villagers who were mostly Buddhists and to serve the people of the districts with dedication. Whilst living the life of a monk, the prelate not only performed religious rites, but also moved among the laymen, seeing to their welfare and taking an interest in helping them to better their lives.

On October 2nd 1987, the Nayaka Thero organized a pilgrimage for the Samanera monks (young monks awaiting higher ordination) of his Pirivena (the school for monks), Mahavapi Viharaya, Amparai, to enable the monks to worship the Kelaniya Maha Viharaya and later the Kalutara Bodhi Viharaya.

At Kalutara they were due to join the pilgrimage on foot to Kataragama over one hundred and fifty miles, to attend the unveiling ceremony of the statue of the national heroine, Queen Viharamahadevi.

At dawn that day the High Priest together with the young monks took off from the temple and were on the Maha Oya– Amparai road, when suddenly on a deserted patch of the road at Arantalawa lined on either side with jungle cover and where a log had been placed across the road, an armed group of terrorists suddenly appeared. The group wearing commando type uniforms were aiming their automatic rifles at the bus. The frightened driver stopped the bus. There were thirty monks and three laymen in the bus, including the driver. They were all gunned down by the LTTE terrorists. They next came to the high priest and said something to him in Tamil. He offered all the money he had to the terrorists and told them that if they wanted to they could kill him, but they should spare the young Samanera monks.

The terrorists who were dressed in commando type dress armed with guns, swords and knives, had placed a log across the road. Two of them got into the bus and threatened the driver to turn the bus to a road leading to the jungle. After the driver proceeded about thirty metres they asked the driver to stop the bus. Once the bus was stopped they shot the conductor and the driver who both fell dead. They took the money and removed the wrist watches of the driver and conductor and got off the bus. They then came to the prelate and shot him eight times at point blank range. After that they started firing at all the others spraying bullets everywhere.

The terrorists not being satisfied after shooting the monks took swords and knives and started hacking away everyone who had fallen down. After the carnage was over the terrorists left the place.

The Arantalawa massacre of thirty Buddhist monks was the largest number of Buddhist monks to be killed in the known history of the country.

Hence, the Arantalawa massacre of thirty two Buddhist monks came as a great shock to the nation and in particular, to the Buddhists of the country. It should be stated that this type of persecution of Buddhist monks has not taken place in any other country in the world where Buddhism is practiced. Though condemnation from local and foreign political leaders and religious leaders followed the massacre, the international foreign bodies of the West on Human Rights seemed not to have noticed this unprecedented and ruthless act, perpetrated by their terrorist friends in Sri Lanka.

#### 11. AMPARA BUS ATTACK –7<sup>TH</sup> OCTOBER 1987

Armed terrorists shot dead twenty five Sinhalese passengers, who were travelling in a CTB bus on the Moneragala Road, Amparai. They also killed five motor cyclists who came along the same route.

#### *12. PULMODDAI, TRINCOMALEE ATTACK* -16<sup>TH</sup> OCTOBER 1987

A private bus was stopped by LTTE cadres, who took out the passengers killing eleven including three Policemen.

#### 13. KALKUDAH ATTACK – 19<sup>th</sup> OCTOBER 1987

Forty Tamil civilians including some undergraduates were killed by a LTTE land mine at Kalkudah. An Indian soldier was also killed. They were travelling in a bus to Batticaloa under IPKF (Indian Peace Keeping Force) escort. In addition 12 (Twelve) passengers were injured. The LTTE was reluctant to let civilians leave Jaffna Peninsula intending to hold them back as human shields during future battles.

#### *A PASSENGER BUS BLOWN UP AND FORTY TAMILS DEAD* - 24<sup>TH</sup> OCTOBER 1987

The barbarism of the LTTE even towards their own community was witnessed clearly on Sunday, 24th October 1987, when they blew up a passenger bus killing forty Tamil civilians, thirty of whom were undergraduates of the Jaffna University.

The bus was travelling from Jaffna and was heading towards Batticaloa when it was hit by a landmine in Kalkudah.

This was the first time the LTTE targeted such a large number of Tamil civilians in a single incident and went on to demonstrate its blood thirsty nature. All civilians were Tamils brutally done to death by their so called protectors and saviours.

The incident also marked the beginning of mass killings of Tamil civilians who went against the Tiger edict, irrespective of whether they were children, adults, clergy and in this instance, university students. It also provided shades of what was to follow when the LTTE went on to kill intellectuals of the Tamil community, such as school principals, scholars and politicians.

Until then, the Tigers were accorded a certain respect in the South for not disturbing the academic life of the youth of the North, despite the raging war. This enabled the schools and the universities to function normally amidst the booming guns and bombs. **But this incident where thirty undergraduates were willfully killed led to reversing this thinking regarding the Tigers and branded them as just another blood thirsty terrorist organization which cared nothing for the lives of the students, let alone their education.** 

This also brought into sharp focus the real motive of the LTTE, while portraying itself as the sole representative of the Tamil people.

Some people were of the view that the LTTE was targeting the civilians leaving Jaffna, as they were intending to hold them as human shields during future battles.

#### 15. ATTACK ON PRIVATE BUS IN SUHADAGAMA -11<sup>TH</sup> MARCH 1988

A group of armed terrorists attacked private bus 22 Sri 2128 at Suhadagama with small arms and grenades, **killing nineteen passengers and injuring nine others** in Horawapathana.

#### 16. ATTACK ON SLTB BUS MEDAWACHCHIYA – HORAWAPATHANA – 29<sup>th</sup> MARCH 1988

On March 28th the LTTE terrorists blasted a SLTB bus 29 Sri 9037 at Wewalketiya, Anuradhapura. The time bomb explosion in the bus, which was plying between Medawachchiya– Horawapathana killed nine passengers instantly and injured the rest of the twenty five passengers.

This brought the total number of people killed during the month to thirty six, including two LTTE cadres who had bitten their cyanide capsules when the IPKF was about to arrest them.

# 17. ATTACK ON PUBLIC BUS IN AWARATHALAWA – 30<sup>th</sup> APRIL 1988

The LTTE had ambushed a bus in the Northern Vavuniya District, killing five civilians and six Sri Lankan soldiers who were guarding the vehicle

# 18. LANDMINE ATTACK ON BUS IN TRINCOMALEE -1<sup>st</sup> MAY 1988

LTTE cadres exploded a land-mine on a CTB bus and killed twelve Sinhalese, nine Muslims and five Tamils at Sittaru, Kantalai, Trincomalee

# 19. TIGERS AMBUSH BUS LOAD AT SITTARU - 2<sup>ND</sup> MAY 1988

**Twenty six civilians were killed in a landmine explosion** at Sittaru on the Allai–Kantalai road on Monday, 2nd May 1988.

The previous Saturday morning, six civilians and six soldiers of the Sri Lankan Army were killed when the LTTE ambushed their bus at Arawathalawa, close to Vavuniya. The six civilians who died were residents of Awarantalawa, which is five miles from Vavuniya.

A survivor stated that a large number of terrorists took part in the attack on the bus, at a spot just three miles from a Sri Lankan Army camp. The attack was carried out by men with automatic guns.

Soon after an explosion hit the CTB bus, the terrorists poured out of the jungle and boarded the bus **shooting the seventy one passengers on board at point blank range. Fifteen out of the thirty passengers injured were in a critical condition** and taken to the Anuradhapura hospital. Ten passengers were unhurt.

The Awarathalawa attack was on a bus where five men of the Sri Lankan Army of the Gajaba Regiment who were also riding on escort duty. Three of them were killed instantly. The other soldiers who were mowed down by heavy automatic fire were those on leave.

#### 20. BUS ATTACK ON HORAWAPATHANA– TRINCOMALEE ROUTE – 8<sup>th</sup> AUGUST 1990

The terrorists waylaid a bus travelling on the Horawapathana– Trincomalee route coach No. 60-228. After boarding the bus, they **pulled out the passengers who were all unarmed and shot dead twenty seven. Among the dead were nine women and three children.** 

### 21. THE LTTE ATTACKED A PRIVATE BUS AT LAHUGALA – 27<sup>th</sup> JUNE 1991

The LTTE attacked a private bus 60-976, proceeding towards Moneragala to Pottuvil by using two claymore mines and then opened fire at the passengers, killing 16 civilians and injuring eight in Lahugala, Amparai.

### 22. MAHA OYA–AMPARAI BUS BLOWN UP – 26<sup>th</sup> JANUARY 1992

A private bus plying between Maha Oya and Amparai got caught in a land mine explosion killing nine civilians and an Airman while twenty six people were wounded.

### 23. BUS BOMB AT THE AMPARAI BUS STAND KILLS TWENTY FIVE – 11<sup>th</sup> APRIL 1992

On April 11th 1992, twenty five people were killed and about fifty injured when a bomb placed inside a private bus exploded at the Amparai bus stand. The bus which had arrived from Kalmunai was parked at the bus stand when the bomb exploded. The bomb had been placed by the LTTE and the explosion was timed to scare and prevent the public from using public transport during the New Year season.

Ten bodies were beyond recognition while the other fifteen had been identified. Out of the seriously injured, twelve were flown to the Kandy hospital while another seven were flown to Colombo. Fifteen had died at the Amparai hospital while eleven were killed on the spot.

Six other buses halted at the Amparai private bus stand during that time were also damaged due to the blast. The explosion caused extensive damage to the roofs and windows of the houses in the vicinity.

# 24. TERRORISTS KILLED 15 PASSENGERS AKKARIPATTU – 2<sup>ND</sup> JUNE 1992

A group of LTTE terrorists stopped a private bus, No. 60-9799 plying from Akkaraipattu to Pottuvil and opened fire killing 15 passengers and injuring several others.

# 25. ATTACK ON A CIVILIAN BUS FROM KATHTHANKUDY TO KALMUNAI – 15<sup>th</sup> JULY 1992

Terrorist attacked a civilian bus proceeding from Kaththankudy towards Kalmunai, killing 19 Muslims and injuring seven in Kirankulam.

# 26. BOMB EXPLOSION IN BUS AT TRINCOMALEE TOWN KILLING NINE AND INJURING THIRTY FOUR -30<sup>th</sup> AUGUST 1992

At least nine passengers were killed and thirty four were injured when a bomb placed in a bus by the LTTE exploded in a Kandy bound private bus stationed in the Trincomalee town on 30th August 1992. The explosion occurred a few minutes before the bus was scheduled to leave with about fifty passengers on board. Another bus which had been parked alongside was also destroyed due to the explosion. There were several limbs and parts of bodies scattered over the scene of the blast.

Commuters at the bus stand stated that an unidentified person handed over a box to the conductor who had stored it in the luggage compartment. About two minutes later the bomb had exploded.

On week days hundreds of people gather at the bus stand. However, as it was a Saturday it was not over crowded. The police stated that the passengers had been Sinhalese and Muslims. The injured were admitted to the hospital.

## 27. BUS BOMB KILLS TEN AND INJURED FORTYAT RAMBEWA – 19<sup>th</sup> JANUARY 1994

At least **ten passengers were killed and forty injured** some of them critically, when a bomb placed by the LTTE in a private bus exploded the previous day at Rambewa, a few miles North East of Anuradhapura on the Pulmuddai– Anuradhapura road. Some passengers escaped as they got off from the bus having noticed smoke emanating inside the bus prior to the explosion.

# 28. SUICIDE MISSION AT MARADANA-COLOMBO - 5<sup>th</sup> MARCH 1998

A Tiger terrorist, on a suicide mission, blew up a mini bus packed with explosives at a bus intersection in Maradana, Colombo, killing 36 civilians, including two school children. Over 300 were wounded. The bomb was exploded outside Zahira College, near the Maradana Police Station in Colombo.

# 29. ATTACKING A BUS PLYING BETWEEN MADAWACHCHIYA AND HORAWAPATHANA - 28<sup>th</sup> MARTH 1998

The terrorist blasted a CTB bus plying between Medawachchiya and Horawapathana killing 09 passengers, injuring 25. The total

number killed during the months of March and June 1998 were 36 which included two LTTE cadres killing themselves by biting the Cyanide pill.

# 30. EXPLOSION IN KANDY BUS –11<sup>TH</sup> APRIL 1999

**Two persons were killed and more than twenty others injured** when a suspected LTTE suicide bomber blew himself up in a passenger bus in Kandy. Police said the suicide bomber, in the guise of a passenger had occupied a seat in the bus, bound for Polonnaruwa. When the bus started he had activated the bomb blowing up the bus killing two persons and injuring more than twenty.

# 31. EXPLOSION AT NEGOMBO – 22<sup>ND</sup> SEPTEMBER 1999

An explosion occurred in a private bus parked at the Negombo private bus stand **injuring two civilians**.

# *32.* BOMB EXPLODED IN SLCTB BUS – 22<sup>ND</sup> SEPTEMBER 1999

A bomb exploded in a SLCTB bus plying from Negomboto Kuliyapitiya, **injuring nine passengers.** 

# 33. BOMB EXPLODED IN BADULLA – 26<sup>th</sup> SEPTEMBER 1999

A bomb exploded in a private bus near the 2nd mile post of Badulla-Passara-Moneragala road **killing one civilian and injuring 28 others.** 

# *34. LTTE TERRORISTS FIRED AT A BUS IN THE MANNAR DISCTRICT – 10<sup>th</sup> DECEMBER 1999*

A group of around fifteen LTTE terrorists fired at abus carrying civilians in the north-western Mannar district **killing three people and injuring four civilians.** There were around forty (40) civilians travelling in the bus at the time of the incident.

# 35. EXPLOSION IN KURUNEGALA–ALAWWA PRIVATE BUS –30<sup>th</sup> JANUARY 2000

A parcel bomb exploded in a Kurunegala–Alawwa privatebus injuring twenty passengers.

The explosion occurred around 2.30 p.m., at Alawwa junction, Polgahawela, when the bus stopped to pick up more passengers. Eyewitnesses believe that the bomb was in an unattended parcel, which had been kept under the rear seat. Ten of the injured passengers were admitted to the Kurunegala Hospital and eight were warded at the Polgahawela hospital. Two others with minor injuries were discharged after treatment.

#### 36. THREE BOMBS IN DEMATAGODA, KADAWATHA, AND WANDURAGALA IN KURUNEGALA – 3<sup>rd</sup> FEBRUARY 2000

Seven people died while another six were critically wounded and more than hundred others received minor injuries, in three separate bus bomb attacks carried out on civilians by the Tamil Tiger terrorists on 3rd February 2000.

#### *37. TWO EXPLOSIONS IN MONERAGALA DISTRICT* – 6<sup>TH</sup> FEBRUARY 2000

**Thirty-five persons were injured** when two time bombs exploded in two cluster company buses at Bibile and Medagama in the Moneragala District.

One bomb went off in a bus parked at the Bibile depot at 8.20 a.m. injuring fifteen persons and the other at Medagama injuring twenty persons in a bus plying from Moneragala to Bibile at 9.20 a.m.

# 38. EXPLOSION OF TWO BOMBS – 12<sup>th</sup> FEBRUARY 2000

The LTTE exploded two bombs in public transport buses killing three and injuring over fifty civilians.

One of the bombs ripped through a public bus in Colombo when it was taking on passengers before leaving for a distant town at midnight. The bus was gutted by fire. The other blast hit a moving bus at Wattala.

#### *39.* SHOOTING BUS PASSENGERS IN TRINCOMALEE - 7<sup>th</sup> SEPTEMBER 2001

A group of about one hundred and forty bus passengers were indiscriminately fired upon by LTTE **terrorists killing four of them.** These passengers, using their one and only bus service available on the Kantalai–Verugal road, were on their way to a religious ceremony at the Sri Kandaswami Hindu Kovil in Kadiraveli.

### *40. A BOMB PLANTED IN A PRIVATE BUS AT TRINCOMALEE* - 30<sup>TH</sup> AUGUST 2002

A bomb planted in a private bus parked at Trincomalee bus stand exploded, killing nine civilians and injuring 34 in Trincomalee Town.

#### 41. LTTE CLAYMORE ATTACK KILLS SIXTY FOUR KANUGAHAWEWA TO KEBATHIGOLLEWA – 15<sup>th</sup> JUNE 2006

Sixty four innocent civilians were killed including fifteen children. Eighty seven others were wounded as the LTTE detonated twin claymore mines targeting a fully crowded bus plying from Kanugahawewa to Kebethigollewa on 15th June 2006 around 8.00 a.m.

Innocent villagers from the Sinhalese villages of Yakawewa, Halmillewa, Kanugahawewa and Nikawewa in the far end of the Anuradhapura district were killed in this claymore attack. Fifty eight died on the spot.

The LTTE launched twin side charger claymore mines targeting the civilian TATA Bus using a remote control device, even after the Army and the Home Guards cleared the road around 6.45 a.m.

This attack by the LTTE was seen as the most violent attack perpetrated by the terrorists against the civilians since the signing of the peace agreement. This was the only available bus for these villagers to reach Kebethigollewa for their daily needs.

Some of the passengers were going the Kebethigollewa children's clinic. Among the dead and injured, were students attending tuition classes for the grade five scholarship examination. Among the dead was a family of thirty five who were on their way to a funeral in

Vavuniya. Around forty others in the bus were also attending the same funeral. The driver was killed on the spot while the conductor escaped with injuries. A Buddhist Monk, a Home Guard and a Police Constable were also killed in the incident. Out of the eighty seven injured, eight of the seriously injured were air lifted to Colombo while sixty four were admitted to the Kebethigollewa hospital.

Meanwhile President Mahinda Rajapakse disregarded his security and reached out to the victims of Kebethigollewa within hours after the LTTE brutally massacred sixty four innocent civilians.

An emotional and deeply concerned President held the hands of weeping mothers and assured them that the security would take care of them. This criminal Act committed by the LTTE is seen as the most serious and violent act perpetrated against civilians since the signing of the ceasefire agreement in 2002.

It was perhaps one of the most weird and harrowing moments for the people of this remote locality and proved again that there was absolutely no meaning in wasting time in trying to negotiate a peaceful settlement with the LTTE terrorists, who were terrorists first, terrorists second and terrorists third and no other type of people!

#### 42. LTTE CLAYMORE MINE IN MEDAWACHCHIYA – 4<sup>th</sup> SEPTEMBER 2006

**Two buses transporting 30 policemen narrowly escaped being caught in an LTTE claymore mine in Medawachchiya.** LTTE terrorists detonated two claymore mines targeting the buses carrying policemen on a special duty assignment to Kantale. The two claymores, weighing around 25kg, were planted in a part of the stretch between Thambave and Medawachchiya on the A9 road in the direction of Chettikulam.

### 43. NEARLY 100 UNARMED SAILORS KILLED IN LTTE SUICIDE ATTACK – 17<sup>th</sup> OCTOBER 2006

After killing two or three year old baby's at Kebethigollewa the LTTE cowards again set upon a convoy of unarmed sailors coming home in buses on leave from duty on 17th October 2006.

For cowards it was always an easy task to attack unarmed people. The LTTE never had the honour though some Western friends of the ruthless group of blood thirsty separatist terrorist group like the Amnesty International, Red Barna or Norway attempted to white wash the blood stains of the LTTE. They hypocritically witnessed and encouraged the terrorists to carry on the blood-letting regardless of the immense anguish and the deprivation of human beings who carried no arms and could not hurt even a fly if they wished to.

The sailors were unarmed and in civvies when they were coming to the South from the East and usually at Diganapathana near Habarana they changed vehicles after taking a rest for some time as the journey was long and tedious.

On this day as usual the **sailors on off duty, who were unarmed and not on the offensive** had come to the place where they got off the bus and taking a short break before they boarded the buses to reach home, when an explosive laden truck driven by a LTTE terrorist cadre rammed into the stationery buses setting off a large stock of explosives killing over hundred sailors.

The attack was neither the first nor the last of such cowardly attacks on unarmed people, as the LTTE heavily relied on killing unarmed or most helpless people and this attack that killed over hundred unarmed sailors was once again an attack by a brainwashed suicide terrorist, who like a robot was merely carrying out the order of the terrorist hierarchy.

It was also done on the day the Supreme Court ruled out that the merging of the Northern and Eastern provinces were illegal as the two provinces were created by the British for their convenience, but merged by the United National Party (UNP) leader J.R. Jayewardene under Emergency Regulations, was invalid.

In other words this was a day on which the terrorists suffered a constitutional setback as their dream of the merged Northern and Eastern provinces, the so called region of historical habitations of the Tamils or the Tamil speaking people fell apart from been a reality.

#### 44. LTTE TERRORIST ABDUCTED SIX CIVILIANS FROM A BATTICALOA-COLOMBO BUS – 20<sup>th</sup> December 2006

LTTE terrorists abducted six civilians from a BatticaloaColombo bus in the Kiran area of Korakallimadu, Eravur. An armed LTTE group stormed a Batticaloa-Colombo bound bus and forcibly pulled out several adult males and females and fled from the area. The passengers were travelling from uncleared to cleared areas. The bus was blocked by 15 armed Tigers who pulled out 19 passengers comprising 16 males and three females.

#### 45. NITTAMBUWA–GIRIULLA BUS BLAST KILLS SIX AND INJURED FIFTY– 5<sup>th</sup> JANUARY 2007

A bomb exploded aboard a private bus plying between Nittambuwa and Giriulla via the Colombo–Kandy route **killing six and injuring fifty passengers** on 5th January 2007.

The blast took place at Nittambuwa around 6.45 p.m. At the time of the blast there had been nearly eighty passengers in the bus.

It had been revealed that the bomb weighing two kilos (4.41 pounds) had been fixed under a seat of the bus and had been triggered close to the Damro factory at the Nittambuwa junction.

# 46. SEENIGAMA BUS BLAST – $6^{TH}$ JANUARY 2007

On 6th January 2007, the LTTE terrorists exploded a powerful bomb inside a civilian bus in Seenigama, close to the resort town of Hikkaduwa killing fifteen civilians and injuring forty others.

#### 47. AMPARAI EXPLOSION IN BUS - AMPARAI TO BADULLA - 1<sup>st</sup> APRIL 2007

Sixteen people including three children were killed and twenty five civilians were injured as a bomb exploded inside a CTB bus 63-4387 plying from Amparai to Badulla via Bibile, when it was stopped at a security check point near the Konduwattawan tank on 1st April 2007.

# 48. KONDUWATTAWAN BUS BOMB – 2<sup>ND</sup> APRIL 2007

The LTTE displayed their total desperation in the face of continued defeats in the Eastern theatre by exploding a bomb inside a civilian bus killing sixteen people in Konduwattawan in the Amparai District and gunning down another six Sinhalese aid workers in Malimbaveli in Batticaloa.

The civilians killed were six innocent Sinhalese aid workers who attended the construction work at the "Village of Hope", a housing scheme built for orphaned children in Eravur, Maliambaveli around 8.15 p.m. on Sunday. Two others suffered serious gunshot injuries.

## 49. LTTE CLAYMORE ATTACK ON MANNAR – COLOMBO BUS KILLING FOUR AND INJURING THIRTY FIVE –23<sup>RD</sup> APRIL 2007

**Four civilians were killed and thirty five injured** when a Colombo bound night bus from Mannar was caught in a LTTE claymore attack on 23rd April 2007 at a place near Cheddikulam around 11.30 p.m. When the bus was passing the Menik Farm junction, the LTTE triggered the claymore mine.

# 50. EXPLOSION IN ANURADHAPURA BUS – 12<sup>th</sup> MAY 2007

Terrorists exploded a claymore mine targeting a bus which was transporting civilians from Anuradhapura to Janakapura. **Twenty one** were killed and fourteen were wounded in this attack.

# 51. SETTING FIRE TO A SCHOOL BUS – 15<sup>th</sup> MAY 2007

The LTTE set fire to a SLCTB school bus in Jaffna after ordering school children to get off. The bus belonging to the Kondavil depot was plying from Maradanamadam to Urimpiral with students when it was forced to stop. Nine children were injured in this incident.

# 52. TIGER TERRORISTS DETONATED A CLAYMORE MINE TARGETING A CROWDED CIVILIAN BUS – 29<sup>th</sup> JUNE 2007

**Four civilians including two school children sustained injuries** as Tiger terrorists detonated a claymore mine targeting a crowded civilian

bus, plying from Chettikulam. The rear of the bus was completely destroyed in the attack.

### 53. ATTACK ON A BUS AT PIRAMANALANKULAM – 4<sup>th</sup> JULY 2007

A public transport bus carrying civilian commuters from Mannar to Vavuniya on the A-30 road was attacked by the LTTE with a claymore mine at Piramanalankulam in the Vavuniya District. **While six were killed seventeen were wounded in this attack.** 

# 54. LTTE CLAYMORE MINE EXPLOSION INABHIMANAPURA – 5<sup>th</sup> DECEMBER 2007

Sixteen passengers were killed and another 23 sustained injuries as their bus was caught up in an LTTE claymore mine explosion in Abhimanapura, Kebithigollewa. The morning explosion took place in the morning as the crowded SLTB bus from Janakapura was nearing its final destination. This was the second such attack in Kebitigollawa after 64 civilians including 12 children were killed in a similar claymore mine targeting a bus on June 15, 2006.

# 55. FOUR KILLED IN CLAYMORE ATTACK ON ARMY BUS - 2<sup>ND</sup> JANUARY 2008

A claymore-mine targeting an Army bus exploded in front of the Hotel Nippon, Slave Island Colombo on 2nd January 2008 around 9.30 a.m. **killing 4 persons including two school children and injuring 24 others.** Four were critically injured. The army bus was travelling from Army Head Quarters to the Army Hospital at Narahenpita carrying thirteen soldiers. The army bus and a part of the Nippon Hotel was badly damaged.

# 56. CLAYMORE BOMB PLANTED AT BUTTALA - 16<sup>th</sup> JANUARY 2008

A roadside bomb in Buttala, targeting a passenger bus packed with civilians, killed 27 civilians including three schoolchildren and wounded 67 others. The Tiger gunmen started shooting passengers, **as they tried to flee** after the bus was hit by a powerful Claymore mine which was packed with explosives and ball-bearings.

In yet another blast at the same locality, **three soldiers were killed** while three civilians were injured. The fleeing terrorists later shot dead a farmer in a remote hamlet in Buttala.

#### 57. CLAYMORE ATTACK IN OKKAMPITIYA, MONERAGALA KILLED TWENTY SIX AND INJURED SIXTY THREE – 16<sup>th</sup> JANUARY 2008

The LTTE terrorists set up a claymore bomb on a tree targeting a passing bus which was travelling from Niyadalla to Buttala. The bus was packed with school children, office workers and farmers from Okkampitiya, a village nestled among the jungles and shrubs, when the terrorists set off the claymore hitting the bus. When the bus came to an abrupt halt after the explosion, which occurred at around 7.30 a.m. at the 3rd mile post at Okkampitiya, **some of those who were not injured or killed had rushed out of the bus, only to face the terrorists who had fired indiscriminately at the running men, women and children.** 

By the time the gory attack was over, twenty six people were killed and another sixty three persons including ten children were injured.

### 58. ATTACK ON BUS AT ABHIMANAPURA – DECEMBER 2008

At this time, the LTTE which was fighting a series of battles in the North and the East and were desperately attacking civilians in the South, triggered off a claymore mine targeting a civilian bus in Abhimanapura, Kebethigollewa in December 2008, killing fifteen civilians and injuring twenty three others.

# 59. ATTACK ON BUS CARRYING CHILDREN AFTER THAI PONGAL HOLIDAYS

The LTTE also targeted a civilian bus, as children were returning to school after four days for the Thai Pongal holidays. The claymore mine was placed on the road side along the jungle corridor along the Batticaloa–Miyandella road. A team of doctors from Colombo had been airlifted to the scene to administer emergency treatment. Several schools in the area were closed following the twin blasts. Security was increased immediately after the explosion. Army and Police Personnel numbering five thousand were deployed in the Moneragala district to provide security.

# 60. ATTACK ON BUS NEAR THE MADHU SHRINE - 29<sup>th</sup> JANUARY 2008

Twenty civilians including eleven children were killed and fourteen others injured in a claymore mine attack on a bus near the Madhu shrine, in the LTTE controlled North Western Mannar District.

# 61. EXPLOSION IN BUS AT DAMBULLA – $2^{ND}$ FEBRUARY 2008

The LTTE terrorists exploded a bomb in a passenger bus at Dambulla killing twenty passengers and injuring over fifty others.

### $62. EXPLOSION ON BUS IN MULLAITIVU - 2^{ND} APRIL 2008$

The Terrorists exploded a claymore mine targeting a public transport bus plying from Parakramapura to Janakapura in Nikawewa killing eight and wounding twelve.

### 63. A POWERFULL BOMB WAS EXPLODED INSIDE A CTB BUS PARKED AT PILIYANDALA – 25<sup>th</sup> APRIL 2008

LTTE carried out a cowardly bomb attack targeting innocent civilians who were returning home after office hours at Piliyandala. A powerful bomb was exploded inside a CTB bus parked at Piliyandala public bus stand. 24 people including a monk were killed and over 40 people, including school children were injured.

### 64. SUICIDE TERRORIST RAMMED MOTOR CYCLE INTO POLICE BUS – 16<sup>th</sup> MAY 2008

Ten people including **seven police personnel and over 75 others were injured** as a suicide bomber in a motor cycle laden with explosives rammed into a bus carrying police officers around 12.05 p.m. in front of Sambodhi Viharaya at Colombo on Friday 16th May 2008. Police authorities stated that around fifty police personnel in three buses deployed on riot duty were targeted by a suicide bomber at the junction between Hilton Hotel and Sambodhi Viharaya.

The police authorities deployed the police riot squad following information of a demonstration organized by the United National Party, to prevent the demonstrators entering the high security zone and to maintain normalcy in the area. The Director of the Colombo National Hospital stated that **ninety five injured persons have been admitted to the hospital following the blast. Among the dead were three female police officers, in addition to thirty other police personnel who had been admitted with severe injuries.** The Hospital Authorities stated that out of those admitted with injuries, fifteen were in a critical condition including three soldiers who were manning the checkpoint there. In addition to the ill fated bus which carried the police personnel, few other vehicles were also damaged

#### 65. LTTE CLAYMORE MINE TARGETS KOTTAWA KATUBEDDA BUS – 6<sup>th</sup> JUNE 2008

In the morning, a bus plying from Kottawa to Katubedda with office and factory workers in it, was struck by an explosion on a side road near its destination, whilst passing a roadside thicket with no houses or buildings in the immediate vicinity. The weapon was a claymore mine operated by a remote control gadget and the mine was exploded as the bus passed the thicket in front of a small hill. **The blast killed twenty one people and injured over seventy.** 

# 66. BUS BOMB AT POLGOLLA KILLS TWO, INJURED TWENTY $-6^{TH}$ JUNE 2008

LTTE terrorist carried out a cowardly bomb attack inside a public bus in Polgolla, Kandy. The bus was plying from Waththegama to Kandy. The explosion occurred near the Teachers' Training School in Polgolla. Two people were killed and 20 were injured.

## 67. ATTACK ON BUS FROM AVISSAWELLA TO COLOMBO – 18<sup>th</sup> JUNE 2008

The Security Forces averted a major disaster as a booby trapped hand grenade, fixed inside a bus was defused by Special Task Force (STF) personnel at Slave Island. The hand grenade had been fixed to a seat in the bus by wire so that anyone tripping over it would set off the blast.

# 68. LTTE TARGETS KATARAGAMA PILGRIMS - 11<sup>th</sup> JULY 2008

Four people including a mother and her son and two other females were killed and twenty five others had been injured on Friday, 11th July 2008, as LTTE cadres hiding in the Yala National Park had opened fire at a Sri Lanka Transport Board bus plying from Moneragala to Kataragama between the 50 and 51 km posts on the Buttala–Kataragama road around 10.30 a.m.

The family of four who lost their lives had been from the Puwakgoda area and they were travelling to the religious site of Kataragama to attend the annual festival.

According to the Kataragama Police, the driver had accelerated the bus despite the minor injuries caused to him from the shooting and arrived at Kataragama once he realized that the bus was under fire and the passengers had been injured.

It is believed that the motive of this cowardly attack by the LTTE was to disturb the ongoing religious festival in Kataragama.

# 69. PARCEL BOMB EXPLOSION IN COLOMBO – 16<sup>th</sup> SEPTEMBER 2008

The LTTE Tamil Tiger Terrorists exploded a parcel bomb in a public transportation bus plying from Moratuwa to Mattakkuliya on route 155.

The explosion which occurred around 1.50 p.m. at the 'Horton place' round about in Colombo 7 resulted in **four persons receiving injuries.** 

#### 70. A TERRORIST ARRESTED IN A BUS AT MEEGODA, PADUKKA - 19TH DECEMBER 2008

Another major disaster planned by the LTTE was averted when an LTTE suspect who attempted to explode a bomb inside a bus was arrested in Meegoda, Padukka. A policeman travelling in a packed CTB bus plying from Maharagama to Kurunegala observed the man carrying a suspicious looking parcel, which was revealed to be a bomb.

#### 71. PULIYANKULAM BUS ATTACK – 12<sup>th</sup> FEBRUARY 2009

LTTE rebels tossed a hand grenade into a bus packed with refugees in Northern Sri Lanka killing one civilian and injuring thirteen others at 1.30 a.m. at Puliyankulam. According to the defence sources, the bus was transporting a group of refugees who had recently fled from the LTTE clutches. A 60 year old mother of two was killed while four children and nine elderly people were among the injured. The injured were treated at the government hospital Vavuniya.

#### 72. LTTE CLAYMORE TARGETS KOTTAWA- MOUNT LAVINIA BUS

At least twenty one civilians including eight women were killed and over seventy others were injured, when the LTTE triggered off another claymore mine targeting a packed passenger bus at Katubedda, Moratuwa during the morning rush hour.

The ill-fated private bus bearing number 29-1885, plying at capacity level with more than one hundred passengers from Kottawa to Mount Lavinia, caught a claymore mine which was placed in a thicket between the Sahila Bimbaramaya Buddhist Temple and the University of Moratuwa, Katubedda.

Over seventy injured persons had been rushed to the Kalubowila hospital and the serious casualties, to the Colombo Hospital

#### ATTACKS ON TRAINS

#### 1. THE YALDEVI BLAST – 19TH JANUARY 1985

The night train from Jaffna to Colombo, the "Yaldevi" was getting ready for the departure to Colombo and the passengers were boarding the train at the Elephant Pass station for their onward journey to Colombo by dawn the next day.

The train was passing the jungles and going across Murukkandi and Mankulam. When it passed a culvert, a loud explosion broke the silence of the night and the train derailed causing considerable damage to the carriages, while around three hundred meters of the railway track was badly damaged. The derailed train dragged along the ground and came to a standstill.

The passengers who experienced the first shock by the explosion had to undergo a shock of their lives, when the LTTE terrorists who had ambushed the Yaldevi surrounded it and started firing at close range at all the passengers they could.

The LTTE terrorists had fixed a high powered explosive device under the culvert and set it off once again demonstrating their ruthless terrorist plans, not only to sabotage the train services to the North, but to take the lives of the passengers and all others in the train, thereby killing thirty eight servicemen who were returning home on leave and another eleven civilians, bringing the total number killed to forty eight. More than nine carriages were badly damaged, in addition to the rail track. This hampered the government sending food and fuel supplies to the North.

As stated earlier, several groups of Tamil terrorists were trained in India with the blessings of the Indian Government's intelligence arm, the RAW and the Veterans of the Indian Armed Forces. While training them and arming them, some of the LTTE cadres were also trained in the manufacture and the handling of high explosives. They manufactured and used these explosive devices for mass murder, genocide and further destruction of valuable economic assets of the country.

# 2. VALAICHCHENAI TRAIN MASSACRE – 6<sup>th</sup> OCTOBER 1985

The night-mail train from Valaichchenai, Batticaloa was stopped by LTTE terrorists and **forty passengers were killed.** Most of them were Sinhalese.

# 3. ATTACK AT VEYANGODA STATION – 31<sup>st</sup> MAY 1986

The LTTE terrorists activated a train bomb at the Veyangoda station killing thirteen people and injuring many more.

# 4. EXPLOSION OF BADULLA BOUND EXPRESS TRAIN - 6<sup>th</sup> JUNE 1986

A powerful explosion rocked the railway yard at Dematagoda, when a bomb exploded at 5.30 p.m., in the guard wagon of the express train which was bound for Badulla.

Fortunately, no lives were lost as the explosion occurred before the train was driven to the Fort railway station.

It is presumed that the explosion took place at that time, as the details of departure time was mistaken.

# 5. TERRORIST WRECK JAFFNA RAILWAY LINE -AUGUST 1986

The Northern Railway line was destroyed by the LTTE terrorists at two points North of Vavuniya intended to prevent extending the service up to Killinochchi, which was restored after a few months. **This was due to the blasting of two small bridges North of Vavuniya which forced the train to be stopped at Vavuniya.** The first explosion was at Thandikulam and the second was at the 159th mile post. This was done when Railway Authorities informed that the service was extended up to Killinochchi for the convenience of the passengers who were traveling up to Jaffna.

#### 6. ATTACKS ON CIVILIANS AT BATTICALOA – 7<sup>th</sup> OCTOBER 1987

During this period, Batticaloa was the worst affected due to attacks on civilians by the LTTE. The number of civilians killed was eighty five. Forty of the dead were passengers of the night mail to Colombo. It was attacked and set fire at the Batticaloa railway station.

Even the LTTE men of the area were quick to disassociate themselves from the killings, which they lamely blamed on rival groups and the police. What they were smarting about most was, that the killers were members of their own group who descended on their district from outside and left soon after the bloodshed.

#### 7. ATTACK AT KUMBURUPPULAI, BATTICALOA DISTRICT -21<sup>st</sup> JULY 1992

On 21st July 1992, the LTTE stopped a train at Kumburuppulai in the Batticaloa district by waving a red flag on the rail track, when the train was proceeding to Colombo from Batticaloa. As the train stopped, the terrorists ordered some Muslims who were in the compartments to get off the train and shot seven of them dead, while five escaped with injuries.

The LTTE was clearly demonstrating that they were no longer friends but enemies of the Muslims of Sri Lanka, although the Indo-Lanka accord and apologists like Sri Lanka's Arasu Kachchi had always insisted that the Eastern Province was the "homeland" of the "Tamil speaking people" and therefore any solution like the devolution of power was to benefit the two ethnic groups of the North and East. By now it was patently clear that the so called "homeland" would be only an LTTE dominated region where the Sinhala and Muslim people would not have any place and right to live.

At this time some of the LTTE cadres in the North began to feel that the Armed Forces would defeat them, as a number of their positions were overrun by the Army. Some young cadres began deserting the terrorist ranks as they were facing defeat after defeat in the North and the number of terrorists killed was high. The LTTE leaders and the senior cadres were beginning to feel that some action had to be taken to stop the dilution of their group.

Hence on the final week of July, it was reported that the LTTE traced twenty three of the deserters and executed them in public at two places in Jaffna.

### 8. TERROR ON COLOMBO BOUND BATTICALOA TRAIN - 22<sup>ND</sup> JULY 1992

The LTTE terrorists killed seven Muslim passengers on the Colombo bound train from Batticaloa and critically wounded five others at Kumburipuli (South of Valachchenai) around 11.45 am. The terrorists had used red flags to bring the train to a halt. They had then stormed the train, got the passengers to disembark and fired at them. Thereafter the engine of the train had been set on fire.

#### 9. EXPLOSION ON ALUTHGAMA TRAIN – 24<sup>th</sup> JULY 1996

Two powerful bombs ripped through the Aluthgama bound evening train at the Dehiwela railway station around 6.10 p.m. the previous day killing seventy people and injuring three hundred innocent passengers.

The carnage occurred when the parcel bombs placed in the second and seventh compartments exploded. The train was packed to capacity with office workers leaving for their homes.

# A senior police officer stated that this was the worst terrorist attack perpetrated by the LTTE targeting the civilians after the Central Bank bomb blast in January 1996 which claimed ninety five lives.

The police officer further stated that the perpetrators of the crime had placed three parcels of explosives in the train, but an alert railway protection officer had spotted a suspicious looking parcel and removed it to the platform. This did not explode but the other two exploded simultaneously.

Apart from the two carriages which turned into a complete wreckage some other compartments of the train and the station were

damaged. The sound of the explosion had been heard more than five kilometers away.

The blast site was a picture of total destruction with rubble, smoke, blood and dismembered bodies strewn everywhere.

Irrespective of the number of persons killed, the LTTE was not concerned at all with humanity but only with the ruthless murder of innocent people.

Despite the atrocities that were committed at the time, the government decided to amend the constitution to devolve power to the North and East, the LTTE was not interested in any settlement but continuing with their killing spree.

### 10. EXPLOSION ON POLONNARUWA–COLOMBO NIGHT MAIL – 31<sup>st</sup> JANUARY 2000

**One person was killed** when a parcel bomb kept on the footboard of the Polonnaruwa - Colombo night mail train exploded at the Galoya Railway station.

### 11. ATTACK ON BADULLA–COLOMBO PASSENGER TRAIN –10<sup>th</sup> FEBRUARY 2000

Security forces defused two powerful bombs aimed at a crowded Badulla-Colombo passenger train. The explosive devices had been placed near the railway track in the picturesque tea-growing region of Hali-Ela in the Badulla district. "The bombs had been designed to go off at the time the Badulla-Colombo train was passing the area," but failed to explode.

# 12. CLAYMORE EXPLOSION AT PARAKRAMA ROAD IN KANTALE –18<sup>th</sup> DECEMBER 2007

The LTTE failed with another public devastation when a Colombo bound train from Trincomalee was caught in a claymore explosion at Parakrama Road in Kantale. No one was injured **but the engine suffered slight damage.** 

#### 13. ATTACK ON BATTICALOA TRAIN – 22<sup>ND</sup> MAY 2006

A Colombo bound night train from Batticaloa came under LTTE fire at Wandaramulla. **One compartment was damaged in the attack.** 

## *14. THREE CIVILIANS AND A POLICE CONSTABLE INJURED BATTICALOA – 6<sup>TH</sup> JUNE 2007*

**Three civilians and a police constable were injured** when the LTTE exploded bombs fixed to the railway track in Vakaneri, Batticaloa. The derailed train was damaged in the incident.

# 15. BLAST AT COLOMBO FORT RAILWAY STATION - 11<sup>th</sup> JANUARY 2008

A blast at the Colombo Fort railway station caused minor damages to the railway station. The public panicked after hearing the explosion. One person who was injured was admitted to the National Hospital.

# 16. ATTACK AT MAIN RAILWAY STATION COLOMBO FORT - 3<sup>RD</sup> FEBRUARY 2008

At least twelve people were killed and around one hundred were injured, ten of them critically when an LTTE suicide militant blew himself up inside the Colombo Fort railway station on 3rd February 2008. Killed in this incident were seven school children of the baseball team of D.S. Senanayake College, a leading school for boys in Colombo.

The suicide bomber who arrived at the railway station in a train blew himself up opposite the station cafeteria on platform number three. The head of the suicide cadre was lying on the platform along with a cellular phone connected to a hands free kit.

# 17. ATTACK ON PANADURA TRAIN – 26<sup>th</sup> MAY 2008

The LTTE struck again during the rush hour. A slow evening office train leaving Maradana for Panadura was the target. A parcel bomb was placed in one of the crowded carriages and it exploded a few minutes after the train departed the Dehiwela station. This resulted in the services on the Southern railway coming to a standstill.

Eight passengers including four females and a pregnant mother were killed while another seventy three were injured. This was the second attack on a train departing the Dehiwela station.

## 18. A PARCEL BOMB IN OFFICE TRAIN $-4^{TH}$ JUNE 2008

A parcel bomb targeting a Colombo bound office train from Panadura was set off near Wasala Mawatha between Dehiwela and Wellawatte. 18 civilians, 15 males and 3 females, who suffered injuries, though it missed the target.

## *A MINOR BLAST OCCURRED IN MOUNT LAVINIA* – 7<sup>th</sup> JANUARY 2009

A minor blast occurred in Mount Lavinia along the railway track behind St. Thomas College. No casualties were reported and the police and STF conducted a raid in the area following the night blast.

# DESTRUCTION CAUSED TO THE RAILWAY NETWORK

#### 1. TERRORISTS WRECK JAFFNA RAILWAY LINE – 29<sup>th</sup> AUGUST 1986

The Northern railway line was destroyed by the LTTE terrorists at two points North of Vavuniya, intended to prevent extending the service up to Killinochchi, which was restored after a few months. This was due to the blasting of two small railway bridges North of Vavuniya, forcibly suspending the train service at Vavuniya.

The first explosion was at Thandikulam and the second was at the 159th mile post. The railway authorities informed that the service was extended up to Killinochchi for the convenience of the passengers who were travelling up to Jaffna.

### 2. DETECTION OF EXPLOSIVES AT DEHIWELA - 5<sup>th</sup> SEPTEMBER 2007

Another LTTE attempt to cause mayhem in the city was averted by the detection of 9 kg explosives in the Dehiwela coastal area, following a tip off by a civilian. Seven kg of C4 explosives which were concealed in 14 small packets were uncovered by the Dehiwela police. The police suspected that the explosive were intended to cause destruction to the Train or the Railway track

## 3. MINOR BLAST ON WELLAWATTE RAIL TRACK – 4<sup>th</sup> JUNE 2008

A bomb hidden in the Railway track exploded when it hit by a packed commuter train at 07.10 a.m. local time between the Dehiwala and Wellawatte railway stations **injuring at least twenty four people.** 

# 4. MINOR BLAST ON MOUNT LAVINIA RAILTRACK – 10<sup>th</sup> SEPTEMBER 2008

The LTTE terrorists exploded a bomb on the coastal rail track near De Saram Road, Mount Lavinia. Over 200 grams of C4 explosives had been used for the bomb. One railway track was slightly damaged but fortunately there were no injuries and a major disaster was averted.

# 5. MINOR BLAST ON SEDAWATTE RAILTRACK – 11<sup>th</sup> DECEMBER 2010

An explosive device was exploded on the railway track close to the Kelaniya railway bridge (Black Bridge) around 7.45 p.m. It was confirmed that no one was injured in this incident. According to Security sources, the bomb has been placed on the railway track about 100m towards Sedawatte from the railway bridge. The explosion had caused about a one foot crack on one of the rails the source added.

# ATTACKS ON PRIVATE VEHICLES

#### 1. HIJACKING VAN IN MANNAR – 23<sup>RD</sup> JULY 1986

The LTTE boarded a van at Mannar and ordered all the passengers out. A passenger identified as Abdul Nazar was robbed of all his money and later killed. The van was taken away by the terrorists.

# 2. ATTACK ON LORRY CREW – 29<sup>TH</sup> AUGUST 1986

A lorry crew on the Habarana Road, Trincomalee was attacked by the terrorists and **Rs. 50,000/- in cash was robbed.** 

### 3. PRESSURE MINE EXPLOSION ON PRIVATE VAN – 11<sup>th</sup> JUNE 1987

Private van number 38 Sri 496 proceeding from Horowapathana to Trincomalee was blasted by an LTTE pressure mine **killing one soldier and thirteen civilians.** 

#### 4. TERRORISTS SHOT DEAD 14 SINHALESE -15<sup>th</sup> OCTOBER 1987

Armed terrorists **shot dead 14 Sinhalese passengers travelling in two lorries** on the Ella Kantale Road, Trincomalee.

#### 5. KILLING 12 TAMIL PERSONS AND 13 PLOTE MEMBERS IN CHEDDI KULAM, VAVUNIYA – 12<sup>th</sup> NOVEMBER 1987

A van transporting passengers was blasted by land mine explosion, killing 12 Tamil persons and 13 PLOTE members in Cheddi Kulam, Vavuniya.

# 6. ATTACKED A TRAVELING TRACTOR – 19<sup>th</sup> SEPTEMBER 1990

Terrorists attacked passengers travelling in a tractor, killing five and injuring two others at Kotmale Colony, Uhana, Amparai.

#### 7. TIGERS AMBUSHED PRIVATE VAN AT LAHUGALA AND KILLED EIGHTEEN PASSENGERS – APRIL 1990

The previous Thursday evening, the LTTE terrorists killed eighteen passengers in a private van, including a Danish tourist by the name of Rasmussen Tesferto who was returning from a wild life expedition. The terrorists ambushed the vehicle with claymore mines near the 12th mile post at Lahugala in the Amparai district and sprayed it with bullets.

The vehicle was on its way to Colombo from Pottuvil carrying a load of Sinhala and Muslim passengers. Thirty passengers were seated and ten were standing. **Among the dead were eleven women, two children and the driver of the van.** 

The van had left Pottuvil on its journey to Colombo. After passing the STF barrier at the approach to Lahugala, it had entered the town which is 10 km from Pottuvil.

The van had commenced the second leg of the journey to Siyambaladuwa and had proceeded 4 km when it ran into the LTTE ambush. The conductor who was the brother of the van driver had led a few passengers including two Buddhist Monks into the jungle. A few minutes after the terrorists massacred the passengers in the van, they had in Sinhala, ordered the others hiding in the jungles to come out. The conductor after identifying the voice asked the passengers not to heed to the call and they had escaped death.

# 8. LTTE FIRED AT CIVILIAN VAN – 24<sup>th</sup> OCTOBER 1991

The LTTE fired at a civilian van killing three Tamils and three Muslims in Iqbal Nagar.

#### 9. TIGERS KILL EIGHTEEN MUSLIMS IN VAN HOLD UP – 16<sup>th</sup> JULY 1992

The previous morning the LTTE terrorists had attacked a civilian van between Batticaloa and Kalawanchikudy at Kirankulam, **killing eighteen Muslims including four women and two children and wounding seven others.** The wounded were dispatched to the Batticaloa hospital and serious cases to Colombo. On this occasion the LTTE were attired in uniforms similar to those worn by the Army. They had ordered the van to be stopped and the driver mistaking them for the Army had readily stopped whereupon they had started shooting the passengers.

# 10. BOMB EXPLOSION ON TRACTOR –9<sup>TH</sup> MARCH 1998

**Four civilians and a Policeman were killed** when a bomb aboard a tractor-trailer loaded with rice bags exploded in the East.

At least another **twenty six people were wounded in the blast** near Eravur town in the Eastern Batticaloa District which was triggered by the terrorists.

### 11. ATTACK ON TRACTOR TRANSPORTING SAND – 7<sup>th</sup> SEPTEMBER 2007

**Three civilians were killed** when a tractor transporting sand from **Uppudai to Vantharamoolai** in Batticaloa was caught in a landmine explosion. Three civilians aged 40,41 including the tractor driver and a 17-year-old youth travelling in the tractor were killed in the land mine explosion set by the LTTE.

# ATTACKS ON AIR CRAFT

# 1. EXPLOSION OF AIR LANKA TRISTAR – 3<sup>RD</sup> MAY 1986

The Air Lanka flight UL 512 had taken off from London's Gatwick Airport with a twenty member crew and over one hundred passengers on board. The Lockheed L-1011-385 Tristar was heading for Male with three stopovers in Zurich, Dubai and Colombo. When the aircraft took off from the Dubai International Airport, it had one hundred and twenty eight passengers onboard, apart from the crew members.

However, the ill-fated Air Lanka flight could not reach its final destination, the Maldivian capital of Male, as the LTTE terrorists had planned to cut short its journey in Colombo, **planting a powerful bomb inside the aircraft.** It was after the Air Lanka flight had touched down at the Bandaranaike International Airport (BIA) that **the Tigers achieved their target, blasting the aircraft with a powerful bomb, in an act** 

# which shocked the world. Over twenty one people were killed and forty one others injured in this merciless attack.

The UL 512 flight had been carrying mainly French, British and Japanese tourists and was about to take off after its third stopover at the BIA to Male when the bomb exploded, even shattering the windows of the BIA's main passenger terminal. It was stated that the bomb may have been concealed in crates of meat and vegetables being freighted to the Maldives.

Certain countries in the West which still show extraordinary concern over the human rights of the terrorists killed in action, must take a closer look at these numerous LTTE atrocities which brought nothing but misery to twenty million people of Sri Lanka.

#### 2. AIR FORCE AIRCRAFT EXPLODED BY TERRORISTS – 29<sup>th</sup> APRIL 1995

Fifty members of the security and three journalists from Lake House lost their lives, when the Air Force aircraft they were travelling in was exploded by the terrorists.

The aircraft was en-route to Palaly, where the journalists were scheduled to report on the Avro Jet aircraft.

#### 3. EXPLOSION OF LIONAIR FLIGHT 602 – 29<sup>th</sup> SEPTEMBER 1998

Lionair Flight 602 was an Antonov AN–24 captained by a highly experienced Ukrarian pilot named Matochko Anatoli. The aircraft which departed the Kankesanturai Airport with several high-ranking military officials of the Sri Lankan Army on a flight to Colombo, disappeared from radar screens just after the pilot had reported depressurization. Reports indicated that the plane had been shot down by LTTE terrorists, **and all seven crew and forty eight passengers were killed.** 

Following the downing of Flight LN 602 all civil aviation flights between Colombo and Jaffna were suspended for many months by the Civil Aviation Authority. The first signs of an LTTE threat to Lion Air came a month earlier, when a letter was delivered to the airline office at Stanley Road in Jaffna warning the airline for carrying military personnel and stating that if it continued to ignore the warning, it would be attacked after September 14. The airline office in Jaffna was closed for four days before the plane was attacked after a second warning was given.

#### 4. ATTACK AT THE BANDARANAIKE INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT, KATUNAYAKE – 24<sup>th</sup> JULY 2001

As a result of the attack carried out at the Katunayake International Airport, seven were killed while twelve sustained injuries.

The government had to bear a severe loss, owing to the destruction caused to two A320's, **two A330's and one A340 commercial aircraft of Sri Lankan Airlines**, which is the national carrier of Sri Lanka.

### 5. LTTE CARRIED OUT AN AERIAL ATTACK DROPPING TWO SHELLS DAMAGING TWO MI 24 HELICOPTERS – 22<sup>ND</sup> OCTOBER 2007

Subsequently the LTTE carried out an aerial attack dropping two shells damaging two MI 24 helicopters parked in the hangar. A BELL-212 helicopter that was to reinforce SLAF fighter craft resisting LTTE air movement in Anuradhapura was crash-landed due to a technical fault in the Doramadalawa area, close to Mihintale, **killing both pilots and two gunners.** 

#### 6. LTTE LIGHT AIR CRAFT SHOT DOWN IN COLOMBO AND KATUNAYAKE – 21<sup>st</sup> FEBRUARY 2009

LTTE light aircraft were shot down by the Sri Lankan Air Force in Colombo and Katunayake through the air defense system. The LTTE light aircraft which dropped a bomb on the Inland Revenue Department in Colombo was looking for other places to be attacked. This light aircraft was shot down by the Air Force consequent to the bomb dropped at the Inland Revenue Department. **50 suffered injuries including 06 (Six) women, 02 (Two) others were killed and 01 (One) child was injured. Due to the attack on Katunayake 04 (Four) women were injured.** 

# ATTACKS ON SEA VESSELS

#### 1. ATTACK ON FERRY – 11TH SEPTEMBER 1992

Thirty persons were killed, while eleven civilians and nine soldiers were injured, when the LTTE blew up a ferry which was transporting civilians and troops from Kilaveddy South of Trincomalee to Muttur in Kodiyar Bay.

The ferry was transporting around twenty eight soldiers, twenty two civilians and an Army truck.

# ATTACK ON NORTH KOREAN SHIP –17<sup>TH</sup> JULY 1997 A North Korean ship carrying food was attacked by LTTE terrorists who later seized it killing one crew member.

#### 3. ATTACK ON "MV CORDIALITY" – SEPTEMBER 1997

The LTTE hijacked the Chinese owned cargo vessel near the port of Trincomalee and **killed all five Chinese crew members on board.** 

#### 4. ATTACK ON PRIVATELY OWNED SHIP – 26<sup>th</sup> AUGUST 1999

The LTTE blasted a privately owned ship at the Trincomalee jetty which had been brought to transport passengers between Trincomalee and Mannar.

**Two Black Tigers including terrorist frogmen were involved in blowing up the ship.** A body of a terrorist was found floating at the Trincomalee harbour. Fortunately there were no passengers on board.

#### 5. ATTACK ON "MV UHANA" – 26TH JUNE 2000

A ship carrying private cargo to Point Pedro from Trincomalee was attacked by a ring of LTTE suicide boats and the vessel was later sunk by explosion.

Out of twenty eight members of the civil crew on board the ship twenty three were rescued. **Eight people including three Navy officers died in the incident.** 

#### 6. *ATTACK ON "FU-YUAN" – 20<sup>TH</sup> MARCH 2003*

A Chinese fishing trawler was captured and exploded off Trincomalee and twenty of its crew members were killed.

#### 7. ATTACK ON "PEARL CRUISE II" EU BAN LTTE - 30<sup>TH</sup> MAY 2006

LTTE atrocities prompted the European Union to formally ban the LTTE as a terrorist organisation on May 30, 2006. The 25-nation block rubber-stamped the ban, which was agreed in principle, at a meeting of EU Ministers. The ban followed a series of deadly LTTE ambushes on the military, including the abortive attacks on the "Pearl Cruise II" vessel carrying 710 service personnel

# 8. ATTACK ON "JET LINER" – 1ST AUGUST 2006

An attack had been launched by the LTTE off the coast of Trincomalee, on the troops carrying passenger vessel "Jet Liner", transporting eight hundred and fifty four unarmed Security Force personnel returning home on leave. The LTTE had deployed several explosive laden suicide boats in an effort to destroy the troop carrying passenger vessel in a collision explosion. Several Naval craft of the Sri Lanka Navy had successfully repulsed this attack, preventing any damage to the troop carrying vessel.

#### 9. ATTACK ON "MV FARAH III" – 23<sup>RD</sup> DECEMBER 2006

A Jordanian owned cargo vessel was hijacked by the LTTE off Mullaitivu on 23rd December 2006 and goods including 14,000 tons of rice was looted.

#### *10. "GREEN OCEAN I" – 9<sup>TH</sup> NOVEMBER 2006*

Sri Lanka Navy repulsed a major LTTE attack on the civilian passenger vessel 'Green Ocean I" with 300 Jaffna bound civilians from Trincomalee in the sea off Nagar Kovil, destroying a flotilla of Sea-Tiger suicide boats rammed into two Dvora fast Attack Craft escorting 'Green Ocean I', destroying one and damaging the other.

#### 11. ATTACK ON "MV CITY OF LIVERPOOL – 21<sup>st</sup> JANUARY 2007

Fifteen to twenty vessels belonging to the LTTE terrorists, had attempted to attack and destroy a Cambodian owned cargo vessel off Point Pedro, while it was transporting essential food supplies to the Jaffna Peninsula.

#### 12. HIJACKING INDIAN FISHING TRAWLER, "SRI KRISHNA" -16<sup>th</sup> MAY 2007

The LTTE hijacked an Indian fishing trawler off the Maldivian territorial waters and used it for arms smuggling.

Subsequently the Maldivian Coast Guard destroyed the vessel while it was carrying a large consignment of ammunition and arrested an Indian national and four LTTE cadres. Thereafter the LTTE cadres were sentenced to fifteen years imprisonment.

# 13. ATTACK ON MERCHANT SHIPS- "RUHUNA AND NIMALAWA" – 22<sup>ND</sup> OCTOBER 2008

Three LTTE suicide vessels carried out an attack targeting the Merchant Ships "Ruhuna" and "Nimalawa", while transporting essential items to civilians in Jaffna. The incident occurred in the North Sea of Sri Lanka at 5.10 a.m. on 22nd October 2008.

This attack was viewed as another cowardly attempt by the terrorists to deny essential supplies to the civilians living in war affected areas.

#### 10.5 ATTACKS ON BUILDINGS OF THE GOVERNMENT, STATE AND PRIVATE SECTOR INSTITUTIONS AND KILLING INNOCENT CIVILIANS EMPLOYED IN THOSE INSTITUTIONS

Any country whether developed or developing has only limited resources or what the classical economists called the factors of production namely, land, labour and capital. However, the modern economists have added another resource or factor of production namely, management skills and the technical skills. Whether the classical economists included these skills in the resource they identified as labour is not clearly known. The modern economists are of the view, that the resource identified as management and technical skills are considered important, as it is the management skills which decides on the right combination of the limited resources for the manufacture of any product, whether agricultural, industrial, or in the provision of any services.

It is an established fact, that peace is a prerequisite for the optimum utilization of limited economic resources for development. The obvious inference is that there cannot be development, if there is no peace. In such a situation, the state will be compelled to concentrate all its efforts and resources in eliminating the factors or the forces which had caused the breach of peace. This is exactly what transpired in Sri Lanka for a period of three decades.

It is regrettable that the successive governments in power up to the year 2005 failed to take any meaningful steps to eliminate the forces responsible for disturbing the peace of the country, nor embarked on a programme of development.

Mahinda Rajapakse was appointed President at the presidential election held in 2005. He gave a pledge that if elected, he would take positive action to eliminate terrorism from the country. Accordingly, he initially took steps to induce the terrorists to resolve their problems through negotiations. However, as the terrorists continued to indulge in terrorist activities despite the peace efforts of the President, it was clear that there was no alternative other than eliminating terrorism through military action.

Accordingly, he took necessary steps to strengthen the Security Forces by recruiting additional personnel and providing the respective forces with their requirement of military hardware.

Besides, he made a firm decision to eliminate terrorism, despite the pressure brought to bear by the internal and external forces. This gave among other things, tremendous confidence to the Security Forces, to deal with the terrorists to a finish and to eliminate terrorism and its leadership from the country.

However, despite the fact that the security forces had to deal with a group of ruthless terrorists, specific instructions were given to them that instead of adopting a strategy of an all out attack on terrorists, they should adopt the strategy of a "humanitarian operation".

The objective was to minimize the impact of the war on innocent civilians. It was recorded from the re-commencement of the war against the terrorists from Mavil Aru, that the terrorists were using innocent Tamil civilians living in the uncleared areas as "human shields" or "human barriers" against the Security Forces.

During the period of nearly thirty years when terrorism prevailed in the country, Prabhakaran and his gang of terrorists destroyed the valuable assets of the state, the value of which amounted to several billions in Sri Lankan rupees. The actual cost of the unwanted and destructive war to eliminate terrorism which lasted for nearly 30 years, is yet to be ascertained and computed.

#### **GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS**

This included important government buildings in the city of Colombo such as the Central Bank of Sri Lanka, the Central Telegraphic Office, the Inland Revenue Department, the Registrar Generals Office, the Army Head Quarters, branch office buildings of the respective government departments, buildings of the respective local authorities, hospital buildings, school buildings which were in the respective provinces and districts captured by the LTTE.

Almost all the government buildings in the city of Colombo which were used by the government for providing different important services were destroyed by using various devices of explosives and employing similar methods. Due to these explosions, these buildings were fully or partially destroyed. In addition, all the valuable office equipment and furniture were completely destroyed.

In the case of the **office buildings of the respective government departments and the local authorities,** the terrorists either used explosives or launched direct attacks and removed all the equipment, furniture, as well as the doors, door frames, windows, window frames, roofing sheets and any iron frames used in the construction of these buildings, to be used for their terrorist activities. The LTTE terrorists also destroyed the **residential quarters of the public servants** in the areas under their control and removed everything that was available and possible to be removed. When these facilities were destroyed, it became difficult for the public servants to live in these areas and engage in providing their services.

In the case of **hospital buildings** which were attacked and destroyed by the terrorists, they removed all the iron beds etc to utilize the metal for their own constructions including bunkers.

The terrorists also attacked a few large **factories** which were established in the North and the East, such as the first Cement Factory established in Sri Lanka at Kankesanthurai, the Paper Manufacturing Factory at Valachchenai and the Sugar production Factory at Kantalai.

The **school buildings** in the areas which were under the LTTE control were attacked and destroyed, while the furniture and equipment were removed, including doors, windows, roofing sheets, iron structures etc.

Due to the terrorist threat of forcibly abducting children to be recruited as child soldiers, some schools in the remote areas of the North and the East were abandoned. Thereafter the terrorists occupied these buildings for their purposes. A detailed description of these destructions will be provided on the basis of the available information.

# 1. ATTACK ON PEOPLE'S BANK, PUTTUR – 5<sup>th</sup> MARCH 1976

On 5th March 1976 Prabhakaran and his small band of terrorists, them robbed the People's Bank at Puttur of Rs. **668,000/- in cash and jewellery.** The LTTE also attacked the branches of the government banks in the respective provinces, and looted large sums of money, including jewellery etc., which have been pawned by the customers of the respective branches. This resulted in tremendous losses, to the government and resulted in closing down some branches of the two state banks in these areas which were thereafter occupied by the terrorist.

#### 2. RAID ON PEOPLES BANK, NALLUR – $5^{TH}$ DECEMBER 1978

The LTTE robbed the People's Bank at Nallur of over one million rupees in cash and shot dead Police Constable Kingsley Perera and Satchithanandan during the raid.

# 3. BOMB BLAST AT HOTEL OBEROI COLOMBO 3 - 21<sup>st</sup> JANUARY 1984

The second floor of the Hotel Oberoi at Colombo 3, was bombed on 21st January 1984 leaving **one person dead**, and causing damage to the tourist Hotel, which among other things had a considerable negative impact on the Tourist Industry of the Country.

#### 4. THE LTTE KILLERS BLAST THE CENTRAL TELEGRAPHIC OFFICE (CTO) –7TH MAY 1986

The Central Telegraphic Office (CTO) is located in a two storey building constructed during the British colonial period in the heart of Colombo Fort.

The day was 7th May 1986. At the time of the blast the staff employed at the CTO numbered around one hundred and fifty and a number of civilians who had come there for various activities were present in the building. At 9.23 a.m. a deafening explosion suddenly rocked the whole building.

The glass on the windows splintered and flew around, while sheets of wood, cement, plaster, bricks and iron railings crashed on to the ground. With the explosion some concrete slabs on the first floor were broken and the debris fell on the inmates of the building.

After the blast there were shrieks and yells from those who were covered with debris, while they were struggling to free themselves from the heavy weight. These were the lucky ones, as fourteen including some young telephone operators would never breathe again. In addition to those who perished, not less than one hundred and fourteen were injured.

The two-storey building constructed during the British colonial era was a strong and impresive one and sat in the hub of the city of Colombo Fort area facing the main Lower Chatham Street that joined Olcott Mawatha. It had a staff of about one hundred and fifty, while a number of people who had come there for various matters were also present. The first floor, a timber structure made of hard timber which was available in plenty during the time of construction, came down with the explosion.

The time bomb device was set up by the LTTE terrorists who had now become the strongest killer group among the separatist groups, having virtually wiped out the TELO terrorist group led by Sabaratnam, a few weeks prior to the CTO bomb.

Rescue operations were necessarily slow as the floors above the basement were also investigated. The body of Assistant Postmaster, S.B. Ranasinghe was taken out nearly two hours later.

The government authorities issued a statement noting with concern, that the TULF leader, A. Amirthalingham who was in Tamil Nadu during this time had informed a journalist hours after the Tristar disaster caused by the LTTE, that more bombs are to be expected. As predicted by Amirthalingam, another bomb was exploded by the terrorists at the CTO. This only proved that Amirthalingam was well aware of the plans of the terrorists to cause death to the innocent civilians.

He who was the "God Father" of the LTTE terrorists was not aware during this time of his own fate, at the hands of the very terrorists who were nurtured and encouraged by him to indulge in terrorism.

The final count of the disaster read as eleven dead and one hundred and fourteen injured.

#### 5. POWERFUL BLAST AT TORRINGTON SQUARE, COLOMBO 7 - 7<sup>th</sup> AUGUST 1995

At least twenty one people were killed and fifty five were injured when a powerful bomb hidden in a handcart piled with king coconuts exploded outside the Torrington Square office of the Chief Minister of the Western Provincial Council around 11.00 a.m. on 7th August 1995. A security guard at the Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation (SLBC) which is located nearby had stated that he saw a man pushing a cart and that he signaled the man to stop, but as he passed him the bomb went off.

# The blast wrecked the domed building constructed during the British colonial period at Torrington Square, Colombo, strewing the area with mutilated bodies with their limbs torn off, which were laid out on the front lawn of the building.

The Chief Minister, Susil Premajayantha was about to start a meeting elsewhere in the building when the blast went off. He escaped unhurt. Many of the staff in the front portion of the building had been injured by the flying shrapnel. Most of the dead had come to either meet the Chief Minister or on some other business. Some senior members of the staff were among the injured.

An official of the Government Analyst Department stated that the explosion had been triggered off by a time bomb which had gone off before it reached the intended target. The police suspected that the target may have been the Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation (SLBC) and the Rupavahini Corporation. If it succeeded, it would have destroyed the key media network of the government.

#### 6. TERRORISTS ATTACK THE CENTRAL BANK OF SRI LANKA – 31<sup>st</sup> JANUARY 1996

Two powerful bombs exploded in quick succession at the Central Bank around 10.30 a.m. on 31st January 1996. The Central Bank, the Ceylinco House, which was directly opposite, as well as the Hotel Ceylon Intercontinental which was adjoining, were engulfed in thick smoke and flames within minutes. Other buildings in close proximity were the Galadari Hotel, the World Trade Centre and the Bank of Ceylon Tower.

The explosion carried out by the LTTE, was the most powerful in the city of Colombo. A LTTE squad namely Raju, Kutti and Raghu carried out this attack supported by a few other terrorists. This suicide squad had driven an explosive packed truck into the Central Bank building firing at the security guards as they moved. The devastating explosions had occurred seconds later causing the inferno. The terrorist Raju had been at the wheel of the explosive laden lorry which rammed into the Central Bank building. Raju was killed in the explosion, while Kutti and Raghu were arrested in Pettah with the assistance of the public when they were trying to flee.

The lorry involved in the explosion had arrived in Colombo with a load of rice from Vavuniya. It was not clear if the explosives were fitted into the vehicle at Killinochchi or in Colombo. The police investigations had revealed that one Rajasingham had obtained a permit in Vavuniya for the lorry to proceed to Colombo with the consignment of rice. It had been driven from Vavuniya by one Navaratnam, who had tendered his identity card at the Vavuniya check point.

The lorry had arrived in Colombo around 7.00 a.m. on 30th January when Navaratnam handed over the lorry to Raju. Around 7.00 a.m. on 30th January, Raju had driven the lorry to the playground at the Wolfendhal flats. The task of triggering the explosion had been entrusted to Raju, a terrorist of the LTTE suicide squad.

As the lorry approached Janadhipathi Mawatha, Colombo 1, Kutti had been seated alongside Raju who was driving the lorry.

As the lorry approached the Central Bank premises, the other two terrorists Raghu and Kutti had jumped off the vehicle and started shooting all around.

Amidst the pandemonium, one of them had hung an explosive device on the iron railings in front of the Central Bank blasting it instantly. The other had sat at a three wheeler taxi parked nearby and activated the engine. As the lorry rammed into the building, the one who fixed the explosive device to the iron railings had also climbed into the three wheeler and the two of them had made a quick exit.

It is clear to the readers that the LTTE had meticulously planned this explosion and carried it out with precision.

At least fifty people were killed immediately by the two explosives. However, the fate of the staff and the people who had gone to the bank for official purposes and who were trapped inside the two burning high rise offices were not known at that time. However, the final

# death toll was ninety, while one thousand and four hundred were injured.

The vibrations triggered by the explosions caused considerable damage to the buildings in the city's commercial hub. Hundreds of the occupants of these buildings were injured by the flying glass splinters and the falling debris.

The impact of the blast was heard at a distance of about ten miles and several buildings were shaken and the city power supply and telecommunications were disrupted.

In a few hours, the fire in the building had spread to the highest storey and the other high rise buildings in the vicinity were engulfed in thick smoke. Several trapped employees were frantically calling out to be rescued.

The LTTE terrorists true to form carried out one of their biggest attacks on civilians, when they attacked the Central Bank building in the heart of the Colombo Fort. The Central Bank contained all the gold reserves that were in fact, the wealth of the whole nation.

The LTTE not only tried to terrorize the people of the South, but more so wished to ruin the country's economy, or at least to cause immeasurable losses to the national economy. Due to the huge explosion, the frontage of the buildings as well as several sections of the building collapsed, while large parts of it were ripped apart.

The usual number of employees attached to different departments of the Central Bank on a working day was over one thousand five hundred, of which number **ninety were immediately killed**.

Though Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunge who led the government at the time, believed that the LTTE terrorists could be persuaded to enter into negotiations for a peaceful political settlement, it was ultimately evident that Ms Kumaratunge had underestimated the efficiency of the terrorists, or had overestimated the efficiency of the peace initiatives offered by her government.

The Colombo Fort area was virtually a heap of rubble and debris after the high powered explosions hit the Central Bank building.

Though the attack was condemned by the local and foreign authorities, there remained peace makers who perhaps were gullible enough to believe, that the LTTE at some point of time would become reasonable human beings.

The LTTE terrorists by this act demonstrated, that they would in no way agree to any talks nor settle for any political solution, but would totally depend on terrorist methods and mass murder. Their main objective was to ruin the national economy through their violent attacks and to compel the authorities to go on their knees in order to settle this problem on their own terms.

It was obvious to sensible persons with matured minds, that Prabhakaran only wished to create mass bloodshed and sabotage, which could be vanquished only by the force of military power.

#### 7. COLOMBO WORLD TRADE CENTRE BOMBING -15<sup>th</sup> OCTOBER 1997

Since the thirty nine twin storey towers that housed the Colombo Stock Exchange and the Information Ministry at the time was inaugurated a few days before, it was suspected to be the main target of the LTTE. A bomb explosion at the Colombo World Trade Center **killed eighteen persons and injured around hundred and ten persons.** 

#### 8. LTTE ATTACK ON THE VAVUNIYA POST OFFICE - 27<sup>th</sup> JANUARY 2000

The LTTE terrorists rarely chose civilians targets in the Wanni region, unless they were to explode a bus bomb to kill civilians who were travelling through the region, or some vehicle travelling on one of the Wanni roads.

Yet there were civilians who were employed in government departments, the government hospitals or teachers who were Sinhalese or Muslims in the town of Vavuniya, a heavily secured outpost where there was strong Military and Police presence

After the abortive attempt to assassinate President Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaranatunga and the assassination of Minister C.V. Gooneratne at Dehiwela, in Colombo South along with forty two civilians including the wife of the minister, terrorists had become almost experts in the art of killing civilians at even highly secured places.

On 27th January 2000, the Vavuniya post office was crowded with over two hundred people who had come to send remittances to their families after the public servants pay day.

The LTTE was aware that a considerable number of Army and Police personnel would also be coming to the post office for the same purpose. Therefore they had placed a time bomb at the post office that day. When the post office was crowded, the bombs exploded killing eight persons and injuring seventy three among them fifty seven civilians. Of the injured, forty five were women and twelve were men while sixteen were Army and Police personnel respectively. Among the injured, several were in a critical condition. This was the worst bomb blast recorded in Vavuniya.

A large number of security analysts who specialized in counter terrorist activities and even civilian analysts had stated that the violence of the terrorists was always aimed at achieving two objectives.

# One was to instill fear in the minds of the public and the other to deter the activities of the Police and the Armed Forces to prevent them from confronting and defeating the terrorists.

The objective of the explosion at the Vavuniya post office was to achieve both objectives, as the LTTE had decided that Wanni was one of the important regions of their so called homeland of the Tamil people, they were hell bent on ethnic cleansing this area.

The LTTE also had a large number of nongovernmental bodies and foreign sympathizers, especially in Western countries which were assisting terrorists by ostensibly performing social or humanitarian tasks pretending to be philanthropists.

Vavuniya was noted for these type of organizations which had prepared the background to make the region inhabited by a large number of people of Indian origin from the plantations of the Central Province.

One notorious NGO had managed to get thousands of such people settled in the district, so that they could increase the number of people living in these areas to make it easy for the LTTE to carry out their bloody terrorist activities with ease.

When the bomb exploded at the Vavuniya post office, it was an attempt to kill a large number of unarmed Army and Police personnel and also civilians of the South who were employed by the government, to serve the people of Vavuniya.

The LTTE was therefore trying to instill fear in such people so that others would not accept jobs or employment in the district.

#### 9. ATTACK AT THE BANDARANAIKE INTERNATIONAL AIR-PORT, KATUNAYAKE – 24<sup>th</sup> JULY 2001

As a result of the attack carried out at the Katunayake International Airport, seven were killed while twelve sustained injuries.

The government had to bear a severe loss, owing to the destruction caused to two A320's, two A330's and one A340 commercial aircraft of Sri Lankan Airlines, which is the national carrier of Sri Lanka.

# *10. ATTACK ON THE ICRC OFFICE, JAFFNA* – 1<sup>st</sup> OCTOBER 2006

Tiger terrorists, ignoring all universally accepted principles, exploded a grenade outside the office of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in Jaffna.

# *ARTILLERY FIRE AT MURUNKAN HOSPITAL* – 1<sup>st</sup> APRIL 2008

The LTTE directed 120 mm artillery fire at the Murunkan hospital causing heavy damage to the building.

One 120 mm artillery round fell on the hospital building compelling patients to flee the hospital in search of cover.

Security Forces and the Police took immediate measures to evacuate the patients to safe areas.

#### 12. LTTE RAID ON CITY OF COLOMBO $-20^{TH}$ FEBRUARY 2009

On the night of 20th February 2009, two light LTTE aircraft laden with explosives flew to the South on a suicide mission.

They were light civilian aircraft and not bombers. **This was with the intention of bombing vital government and commercial targets,** in the belief that the Armed Forces were cowards. They flew at night at low altitude but as their bombing accuracy was absent, the bombs they dropped fell off the targets causing comparatively little damage.

The Air Force authorities stated that following the detection of the two LTTE aircraft by the radar, the air defense system was activated.

The first aircraft flew towards the Sri Lanka Air Force base at Katunayake and was shot down by the Air Force. It fell down, but the bombs in the aircraft did not explode as the pilot had been killed before he could detonate the explosives.

The injured had been admitted to the hospital. Among them were four women. Eye witnesses had stated that there was a blackout in the whole area and they heard a barrage of firing in the air. It was also reported that two light aircraft had been seen flying at a low altitude.

The second aircraft flew to Colombo over the Colombo Port, but after being spotted by the Navy it turned its course and flew towards the Sri Lanka Air Force (SLAF) Headquarters and was hit by anti aircraft fire of the SLAF. It exploded over the Inland Revenue Department building and was torn to shreds killing the pilot, but resulting in comparatively little damage to the buildings.

# Fifty persons who sustained injuries were admitted to the Colombo National Hospital and two succumbed to their injuries. Among the injured were six women and a twelve year old child.

There was a blackout in the Colombo city and the suburbs for about an hour from 9.20 p.m.

That was the end of the LTTE air power and from then onwards within a short span of time, the scourge of terrorism with the leader and his lieutenants were eliminated by the Security Forces, thus ending the curses that ravaged the country for thirty long years.

# **BUILDINGS OWNED BY STATE ORGANIZATIONS** (BOARDS/ CORPORATIONS ETC)

In addition to the destruction of the government buildings and structures, the LTTE also destroyed the buildings and factories owned by the state organizations such as Boards / Corporations etc.

The LTTE destroyed the valuable cement production factory owned and operated by the State Cement Corporation. The factory was producing high quality cement, utilizing raw materials available in the area. It provided employment to a large number of people and was able to produce a substantial percentage of high quality cement requirements of the country.

Another factory which was destroyed by the LTTE was the paper manufacturing factory at Valachchenai. The factory used all the waste paper collected from different areas of the country, as raw material to manufacture high quality paper and supplied the stationary requirements of mainly the government and state organizations as well as the public schools. The factory provided employment to a large number of people living in the area.

The sugar manufacturing factory of the State Sugar Corporation at Kantalai, had to cease its operations due to problems arising from terrorist activities and terrorist threats confronted by the cultivators and suppliers of sugar cane.

In addition to the production of sugar, the residue of the sugar cane was used to produce various kinds of alcohol, which enabled the Corporation to enhance its turnover and its profits. This had to be stopped due to the closure of the factory. Consequently, the quantity of sugar produced by the factory had to be imported to meet the local requirements.

In addition, a large number of factory employees of the area lost employment while the farmers were compelled to stop cultivation, depriving them of their livelihood.

The terrorism of the LTTE dealt a severe blow to the economy by being a threat to the tourist industry of the country, which was a major source of foreign exchange earnings for the country. The Eastern province of the country had several major tourist attractions, particularly water based attractions. The tourist season in the Eastern province was from about August to December each year, when the monsoons affected the South Western province from about June till September. This enabled Sri Lanka to attract tourists almost throughout the year which helped the economy tremendously, by its foreign exchange earnings.

However, the terrorist activities of the LTTE seriously affected the tourism industry of the whole island, in particular that of the Eastern province. The land allocated to the Sri Lanka Tourist Board in the Eastern Province for Tourism Development, were forcibly occupied by the LTTE, along with some of their tourist establishments.

Hotel properties in the Eastern province were either destroyed or forcibly occupied by the terrorists, as the relevant management of these hotels refused to accede to the demands of the terrorists. This caused a tremendous loss to the owners of these properties and a loss of income to the country and employment to the people of the area. However, a few hotels in the Eastern province managed to survive, due to their acceding to the demands of the terrorists. Consequent to the continued menace of terrorism, such as extortion of money and the demand to provide food etc continuously to the LTTE, the hotel owners were not prepared to spend or invest on maintaining and renovating their properties.

The destruction of the tourist industry deprived the country of earning foreign exchange, thus enabling the terrorists to achieve one of their objectives by enforcing economic hardships on the government and the country.

# 1. TIGERS BLEW UP THE CEYLON ELECTRICITY BOARD TRANSFORMERS IN BATTICALOA – 17<sup>th</sup> APRIL 1992

To the LTTE human life was meaningless, particularly if they were either Sinhalese or Muslims. Even the Tamils who were in the opposition camps were their enemies, whom they preferred to do away with than permit them to live. Such was the attitude of the LTTE terrorists to human lives. They could not be expected to have any concern whatsoever to the conveniences or facilities provided to civilians, in order to lead a contended life. They never hesitated to deprive the humans of these facilities such as drinking water, water for cultivation or electricity. Wherever possible and whenever possible, they ensured that they destroyed these facilities to drive away the people from their settlements and to impose financial and other burdens on the government.

On the night of Friday, 17th April 1992, nine, well populated towns in Eastern Batticaloa mostly occupied by people of the Muslim community were plunged into darkness, when the LTTE terrorists blew up the Ceylon Electricity Board's transformer supplying power to Ondachchimadam, Kalawanchikudy, Tettativ, Mullaitivu, Kovil. Poraitiv, Kalathaweli, Kirankulam and Talankudah.

It cost several millions of rupees to replace the transformers. Hence despite the tremendous inconvenience caused to the innocent civilians, the LTTE terrorists had achieved their objective of causing enormous losses to the government.

### 2. ATTACKS ON OIL REFINERY, KOLONNAWA AND OIL INSTALLATION, ORUGODAWATTE – 20<sup>th</sup> OCTOBER 1995

A terrorist strike at the Ceylon Petroleum Corporation (CPC), Kolonnawa and the Crude Oil Depot, at Orugodawatte in the early hours on Friday the 20th October 1995, triggered one of the biggest blazes seen in Colombo with subsequent shooting leaving **at least twenty one persons dead.** 

The first attack was a ground attack intended to destroy the large oil tanks at Kolonnawa and cause severe losses to the Ceylon Petroleum Corporation.

Four of the Kolonnawa storage tanks out of the forty seven were set ablaze in the attack, in which about twenty heavily armed Tiger terrorists had participated. Three tanks had also been set on fire at the crude oil facility at Orugodawatte.

Among the dead were Air Force, Army and Police Personnel who died in the shooting which followed the explosion and the fires. Investigations revealed that the terrorists had planted explosives in the Oil Facilities and then destroyed them electrically. A man whom the police believed to have led the attackers was shot dead by the Police, near the Baseline Road railway crossing. The Police also found two legs of a man with the body missing, close to the main gate of the Kolonnawa Installation.

The police had arrested four of the attackers among them was the driver of a lorry loaded with the tools of terror. A 60mm rocket launcher, wire cutters, nylon rope and military uniforms were among the items hidden among the cartons of soap, milk powder and food items which the driver claimed to be transporting to Killinochchi. He stated that a businessman at Rajagiriya had hired him and he could not account for the items hidden in the vehicle.

Investigations revealed that the security guards of the Petroleum Corporation had seen four men dressed in dark shirts and trousers trying to enter the Kolonnawa facility when he shouted "hora", "hora", (thief, thief).The intruders had opened fire which had been returned and the military had been informed. Within minutes of this encounter, an explosion was heard followed by the blaze. The lorry with the other equipment was detected about half an hour after the fire had begun.

The man who was shot dead at the Baseline road railway level crossing was armed with a T56 rifle and carried three thousand five hundred rupees in cash. Investigations carried out by the police had revealed that the terrorists had been sent by the LTTE with the Killinochchi leader, Suruban. Their plans had been finalized at the businessman's home at Rajagiriya. Detectives had found that four of the attackers had travelled to Kolonnawa by lorry and by van. How the rest of them reached their target was not known.

The damage done to the oil storage tank was a serious threat to the national economy, as the Orugodawatte Oil Installation was one of the most important facilities that supplied crude oil to the Oil Refinery at Sapugaskanda.

Though the terrorists had come with the intention of attacking the entire forty seven tanks at Orugodawatte with mortar fire, the counter attack on the terrorists by the army and police personnel saved the larger number of tanks and did not interrupt the fuel storage and distribution. Had the LTTE succeeded, it would have caused unimaginable devastation to several areas including Orugodawatte, Dematagoda, Kolonnawa and Rajagiriya, with the burning oil flowing into these areas. This would have been the objective of the LTTE, apart from causing unbearable loss to the Ceylon Petroleum Corporation (CPC).

#### 3. ATTACK ON OIL STORAGE AT KOLONNAWAAND GAS STORAGE FACILITIES AT MUTHURAJAWELA – 28<sup>th</sup> APRIL 2007

Minor damages were caused when the LTTE dropped two bombs at the main oil storage depot at Kolonnawa in Colombo and a further two bombs at the Muthurajawela gas storage facility of Shell Company. Fortunately the two bombs did not explode, thus preventing a catastrophe.

#### **BUILDINGS OWNED BY PRIVATE SECTOR ORGANIZATIONS**

Even though the terrorists aimed at destroying economic targets like the Central Bank of Sri Lanka, the impact of the explosions not only destroyed the intended targets, but also caused immense damage to the valuable commercial establishments in the neighbourhood. The Galadari Hotel, the Intercontinental Hotel, the Ceylinco Building, the World Trade Centre Building, the Bank of Ceylon Tower, the George Stuart Building, the archaeological building of the Dutch Hospital etc was badly damaged by the explosion thereby causing a heavy loss. In addition to the immense cost involved for the renovation and the reconstruction of these properties, their business operations had to be closed down for a considerable length of time which was a tremendous loss to these commercial establishments. Details on these attacks have been furnished for the information of the readers.

#### 1. TERRORISTS BLAST KILLS NINE AT COLOMBO COLD STORES. VICTIMS MUTILATED BEYOND RECOGNITION – 29<sup>TH</sup> MAY 1986

Colombo once referred to as the garden city of the orient, retained some of the nostalgic activities even as late as 1986, though some of the enterprises were started during the British colonial era.

One such industry was the Elephant House. The main factory and the offices of the Ceylon Cold Stores stood adjoining the Beira Lake at Slave Island. The main activity of the Company was bottling and distributing aerated waters of the Elephant Brand to all parts of the country.

On that day 29th May 1986, the workers were very busy and had to work longer during the lunch break which usually sees around four hundred workers coming out for lunch almost at the same time. When a few of them came out for lunch, a loud explosion rocked the building. A powerful bomb went off and parts of the roof collapsed. Nine workers were killed immediately and their mutilated bodies were strewn all over. Among the eighteen injured, ten were critical. The explosive device had come into the factory in a truck carrying empty bottles from Vavuniya.

The police had stated that the vehicle blew up while men were unloading it. The trucks parked in close vicinity were also damaged and a part of the building collapsed. Some of the victims were blown to pieces and grim faced rescuers collected pieces of separated bodies.

From the scene of the blast, the police stated that the number of casualties would have been many more but for a delayed lunch break. The drivers and the cleaners of the three Lorries which arrived at the premises of the Ceylon Cold Stores from the North the previous day, had gone missing.

# 2. BOMB EXPLOSION AT THE GALADARI CAR PARK, FORT - 15<sup>th</sup> OCTOBER 1997

The LTTE terrorists exploded a powerful bomb in the car park of the Galadari Hotel, Fort causing extensive damage to several buildings in the Fort. The bomb which exploded was hidden in a truck which was transporting rice to the Galadari Hotel. **Twelve persons were killed and one hundred and thirteen were injured.** The Army and the Police succeeded in killing five of the ten suicide bombers.

Among those who were killed by the terrorists were Venerable Vitharadeniye Chandrajothi Thero, the Viharadhipathi of the Sambuddhaloka Viharaya, Fort, a soldier, six security personnel – four attached to the Galadari Hotel and two attached to the World Trade Centre.

The ASP Nissanka Dharmaratna was one of the first people to rush to the scene of the attack and combat the terrorists, after hearing about it whilst walking at the Galle Face Green.

Immediately after the attack on the Galadari Hotel, the terrorists had rushed to the road and then attempted to enter the main entrance of the World Trade Centre. They had failed due to the Army and Police killing one of them. Three others had escaped and gained entrance to Lake House through the rear entrance. The terrorists had then taken cover inside the building, with the Army Commandos rushing in. This was followed by a shoot out killing one suicide bomber, while the other two suicide bombers had swallowed the cyanide pill to avoid capture. The situation at the Lake House was brought under control, without much damage to the building.

One hundred and eleven persons who were injured had been treated at the National Hospital, Colombo. Thirty five of the injured were tourists. The Commandos who conducted the operation at the Lake House found five T56 rifles, three suicide kits, several grenades and other items which had been in the possession of the terrorists.

A combined operation by the Police and the Army was carried out during the night in the Colombo city, in order to trace the five missing suicide bombers who had arrived to bomb the Fort in Colombo.

# **CHAPTER 11**

# PATH TO DESTRUCTION THROUGH TAMIL BLOOD\*

# 11.1 HOW PRABHAKARAN KILLED PEOPLE OF HIS OWN COMMUNITY IN HIS MARCH TOWARDS LIBERATION OF THE TAMIL SPEAKING PEOPLE.

#### 11.1.1 BRUTAL ASSASSINATION OF INNOCENT TAMIL CIVILIANS

When an unbiased and an independent reader goes through this chapter of this book, he will no doubt realise that the so called liberation struggle of the LTTE brought the Tamil People nothing but, painful death, destruction and misery. It gave them the "opportunity to shed adequate tears" as the decimation of valuable human lives of people of his own community was an important component of Prabhakaran's struggle for liberation, which was based on, jealousy selfishness, maniacal hatred, enmity and destruction

Prabhakaran's final goal was to destroy each and everyone who stood in his way, whether Sinhalese, Muslims or Tamils. In this process, many Tamils, who were his own brethren, have been killed. Tamil intellectuals of international fame of the calibre of Lakshman Kadirgamar, Neelan Thiruchelvam, and Rajani Thiranagama. He killed politicians like Amirthalingam, Dharmalingam, and Yogeswaran, some of them, his own mentors. The list include many second and third rung politicians, in addition to a large number of ordinary civilians who did not agree with him. In this process, the cream of the Tamil Society has been neutralized.

In the course of this wicked hate campaign, Prabakaran and his terrorist outfit has made thousands of his Tamil mothers and sisters widowed and thousands of his own Tamil children orphaned and thousands of his own Tamil brothers killed or maimed. *This was how* \*. (\*Source : Publication Titled- "Path To Destruction Through Tamil Blood".)

# Prabhakaran led his ruthless terrorists outfit against his own innocent Tamil Community, whilst pretending to be their liberator.

LTTE the most ruthless terrorist outfit in the world, which claimed that it was the sole representative of the Tamil people, had killed thousands of innocent Tamil civilians brutally during the three decades of terrorism. The LTTE eliminated any Tamil persons, irrespective of their ages, who raised their voices against them or crossed their path. The LTTE killed civilians of political parties who opposed it and ignited communal violence with the ulterior motive of putting the blame on the Government of Sri Lanka and to collect funds locally and internationally. On the basis of the available information given below are some such crimes committed by the LTTE of its own people.

# 1. FIRST TAMIL CIVILIAN KILLED

In the early 1970's during their formative stages, the first Tamil civilian to be killed by the terrorists was a driver named Ulaganathan. From then on, they started killing civilians whom they suspected to be informants or those who helped the police, the security forces or the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF).

# 2. MASSACRE IN UPPUVELI

On 04.01.1985, LTTE **killed 03 persons** and displayed their bodies at Uppuveli, Trincomalee with a notice warning others that offending the LTTE would result in earning this punishment.

# 3. KILLING OF AMARASINGAM YOGARANI

On 08.01.1985, LTTE killed Amarasingham Yogarani and displayed her body tied to a tree, even without considering that the victim was a female and a mother.

#### 4. ATTACK AT PATHITHALAI, BATTICALOA – AUGUST 1986

At Pathithalai, Batticaloa, a Tamil woman named Siridevi was tied to a lamp post and was shot dead by the terrorists.

### 5. ATTACK AT HABARANA ROAD, TRINCOMALEE – 29<sup>TH</sup> AUGUST 1986

The LTTE shot and killed Visvalingham, Nadarasaswamy at Habarana Road, Trincomalee on 29<sup>th</sup> August 1986 while he was riding a push bicycle on his way home.

On the same day terrorists also attacked and killed a lorry crew travelling on the Habarana road, Trincomalee and among other things, robbed Rupees fifty thousand cash carried by the driver.

# 6. ATTACK ON TAMIL VILLAGE IN MULLAITIVU - DECEMBER 1986

In the first week of the month of December Terrorist entered a Tamil village in Mullaitivu, assaulted the villagers and abducted two men. About 100 (Hundred) villagers went to Army positions and complained and sought protection.

#### 7. KILLING AT KATTANKUDY – 9<sup>th</sup> DECEMBER 1986

Twenty persons were killed due to clashes between Muslims and Tamils at Kattankudy. According to intelligence reports, Prabhakaran had ordered his men in Batticaloa to disarm the home guards providing security to Kattankudy and to collect their arms and ammunition. However, the home guards had confronted the terrorists and had attempted to drive them away. But the terrorists in response shot and killed the home guards.

Thereupon the Muslims who were angered by this act of the terrorists retaliated by attacking the Tamils. The Tamils who were attacked by the terrorists killed the home guards. In turn the Tamils who were in a bus were killed by the Muslims. They were identified as employees of the Akkaraipattu CTB depot. The bus was on its way from Batticaloa to Akkaraipattu. According to reports, Prabhakaran was said to have ordered his terrorists to disown responsibility for killing the home guards, since the loss of life of Tamils in the incident could damage the image of the LTTE.

#### 8. ATTACK IN MUTTUR –16<sup>th</sup> MAY 1988

The LTTE terrorists killed Rajeswary Vedanayagam, wife of Dr S.P.R. Vedanayagam by hacking her to death on a Saturday morning.

A nineteen year old youth was reported missing. Another young man, by the name of Nagamani Karunanidhi was abducted from his home on 12<sup>th</sup> May 1988.

That Saturday, the terrorists had also killed Masilamani Kanagaratnam, principal of the Araipattu Vidyalaya at Araipattu.

# 9. TIGERS TURN ON CIVILIANS IN NORTH AND EAST - 29<sup>th</sup> JUNE 1988

LTTE killed at least 03 (Three) more civilians in the North and the East during the earlier 24 hours to retaliate against informants to the IPKF who pressed on with their operations code named "check mate" aimed at LTTE who have not yet laid down their arms.

One civilian killed was a young Tamil student pulled out of a Colombo bound bus. The body was later found in a paddy field with gunshot injuries.

In Batticaloa district two men kidnapped by the LTTE were, shortly found dead. One was a labourer attached to the Batticaloa hospital. The other was a person named Kanapathipillai. In Kalmunai a member of TELO was killed. In Trincomalee a civilian was killed in an exchange of fire between the LTTE and the IPKF at Pattiyamattu. Indian Defence Ministry has recorded that Tigers were extorting money from the people in the area under their control. In the Vadamarachchi area the civilians were not prepared to pay money despite threats from the LTTE. The LTTE intercepted killing 15 civilians.

#### <u>MASSACRE IN ALLAPIDDY</u>

A family consisting of father, mother and two children were brutally hacked to death by the LTTE in Allapiddy, Jaffna. LTTE did not spare, even the 02 small children aged 04 years and 04 months respectively. This was an incident where the LTTE clearly demonstrated that they were not liberators, but a group of barbarians.

### 10. MARIMUTTU MANIKKARASA KILLED AT KILLIWEDDI, MUTTUR – 6<sup>th</sup> JUNE 2000

Marimuttu Manikkarasa (33) was forcibly taken out of his residence at Killiweddi, Muttur and killed by the LTTE for refusing to join the terrorist organisation.

# 11. TWO TAMIL YOUTHS WERE SHOT DEAD VAVUNIYA - 6<sup>th</sup> JUNE 2000

**Two Tamil youths** were shot dead by members of the LTTE's pistol gang in Vavuniya.

# 12. TERRORISTS USING A LAND-MINE EXPLOSION AT JAFFNA - 24<sup>th</sup> SEPTEMBER 2001

**Six members of a Tamil family, all civilians, were killed** by the LTTE terrorists using a land-mine explosion near Jaffna. The family had been travelling in a three-wheel taxi to the airport, bound for Colombo to escape the LTTE terror.

# 13. MASSACRE IN MANNAR – 9<sup>th</sup> JUNE 2006

On 09.06.2006, LTTE brutally killed a family, father, mother and 02 children and went to the extent of raping the teenage daughter before killing her.

# 14. MASSACRE IN KOLOMBUTHURAI – 29<sup>th</sup> MAY 2008

LTTE killed 6 Tamil civilians and another 20 Tamil civilians, including a pregnant mother, were injured when they launched indiscriminate artillery attacks towards the densely populated Jaffna mainland on the morning of 29 May 2008. According to published reports, 20 rounds of heavy artillery shells have fallen in the densely populated Kolombuthurai, Gurunagar and Pasioor areas causing havoc among the civilians who are Tamils.

# 15. FLEEING TAMIL CIVILIANS KILLED –11<sup>TH</sup> MAY 2009

The LTTE proved that they do not care for the lives of their own community when the terrorists indiscriminately fired at Tamil civilians who were running from the No Fire Zone to cleared areas to seek the protection of the Security Forces. Many **Tamil civilians were killed while 60 managed to escape and seek protection with troops.** 

The names of the five (out of 6) Tamil civilians killed in the artillery attack of the LTTE terrorists were:

\* Joseph Francis (54),

\* Francis Sanarayan (53),

\* R.P. Mary Anita (39),

\* R.P. Nirushan (14) and

\* R.P. Roshan (11) of Jaffna

Many civilian properties, including vehicles and residences, were also destroyed in this attack. A Catholic Priest, children and elderly civilians were among the victims who suffered injuries.

# 11.1.2 ASSASSINATION OF TAMIL MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

# 1. A. Thiyagarajah

Date	: 1981-05-24
Place	: Vadukoddai, Jaffna
Status of the victim	: A Member of Parliament of the United National Party, representing Vadukoddai Electorate.
Incident in brief	: Brutally killed by shooting on his head. Died upon admission to the Jaffna Hospital.

# 2. V. Dharmalingam

Date	:	1985-09-03
Place	:	Muthukrishnan Lane, Chunnakam, Jaffna

Status of the victim:	Former Member of Parliament Tamil National
	Alliance (TNA). A very popular politician among
	the Tamil populace, who was a firm believer
	that the ethnic conflict could be solved only
	by negotiations.

Incident in brief : He was abducted from his home in Thavady, Sudumalai, Jaffna, and killed by shooting. Police found the bullet ridden body the following morning with visible gun shots on his head and chest. A hand written notice warning that "this is the punishment of the Tamil people for being "traitor" was found near his body.

# 3. Aalala Sundaram

Date Place Status of the victim	<ul> <li>: 1985-09-03</li> <li>: Thirunalveli, Jaffna</li> <li>: Former Member of Parliament and the Administrative Secretary of the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF). A brilliant orator who had won the hearts and minds of the Tamil populace. Supported the then Govt. in solving the ethnic issue.</li> </ul>
Incident in brief	: He was abducted during night from his home in Thirunalveli, Jaffna. <b>His body was found</b> <b>the following morning with gun shot</b> <b>injuries on the chest at King Street, Jaffna.</b> A hand written notice warning that "this is the punishment of the Tamil people for being traitor" was found near his body.

#### 4. Vettivel Yogeshwaran

Date and Time	:	1989-07-13 at 7.35 p.m.
Place	:	Buller's Lane, Colombo 08

Status of the victim	:	Former Member of Parliament, Tamil United Liberation Front/Jaffna District.
Incident in brief	:	He was shot dead while engaged in a discussion with the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) leaders Shivasidambaram
		and Amirthalingam at TULF Party Headquarters in Colombo. Died on the spot with head injuries.

#### 5. Sam Thambimuttu

**Date** : 1990-05-07

Place : Gregory's Road, Colombo 08

Status of the victim	: A Member of	Parliament	of Eelan	n Peoples
	Revolutionary	Liberation	Front	(EPRLF)
	Batticalloa Dist	rict. Strong	believer	that the
	only solution to	the ethnic	conflict i	s through
	negotiations.			

Incident in brief : He was shot dead at his home in Colombo. Suffered gun shot injuries to the chest and abdomen.

6.	Yogasangary
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Date and Time	: 1990-06-19 at 6.00 a.m.
Place	: Kodambakkam, Madras, India
Status of the victim	: A Member of Parliament of the Eelam Peoples' Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF) for Jaffna District.
Incident in brief :	He was shot dead whilst attending a Central Committee meeting of the Party at a hotel in Sachchiral Colony, Chennai,

India.

### 7. Arunachalam Thangathurai

**Date and Time** : 1997-07-05 around 7.40 p.m.

- Place : Sri Shanmuga Hindu Ladies College, Trincomalee.
- Status of the victim : Member of Parliament of the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) for Trincomalee District and the Administrative Secretary of the Party, who had more than 30 years experience in politics. Had held the position of Chairman of the Trincomalee Youth Society.
- Incident in brief : He was brutally killed by a grenade attack in front of around 500 parents and students whilst returning from a school Development Meeting at Sri Shanmuga Hindu Ladies College, Trincomalee.

#### 8. Shanmuganathan (Vasantham)

Date and Time :	998-05-17 around 10.10 p.m.
Place :	Rambaikulam, Vavuniya
Status of the victim :	Member of Parliament of the People's Liberation Organization of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE) for Vavuniya District.
Incident in brief :	He was killed in a claymore mine attack at Rambaikulam, Vavuniya, whilst travelling in a car with his family and relatives. His son and nephew were also among the dead.

#### 9. Dr. Neelan Thiruchelvam

Date and Time	:	1999-07-29 around 9.30 a.m.
Place	:	Kinsey Road, Colombo 8
Status of the victim	:	Member of Parliament and Vice President of the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF). A great scholar in Social and Political Scientist and Legislator of inestimable repute. A strong

	believer that the only solution to the ethnic	
	conflict is through negotiations. The brains	
	behind the draft constitution and Devolution	
	Package framed under H. E. the President	
	Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaranatunga.	
	He was also the founder of the Institute for	
	International Education and the Institute of International Law & Education.	
Incident in brief :	He was killed by a Suicide bomber whilst proceeding to Parliament in his vehicle about	
	200 meters away from his residence at Kinsey	
	Road, Colombo 07.	
10. Nadarajah Athputharajah		

Date : 1	1999-11-02
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Place :		Wellawatta,	Colombo 06.
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**Status of the victim:** Member of Parliament and the Political Secretary of Eelam Peoples' Democratic Party (EPDP).

Chief Editor of the popular anti LTTE Tamil Weekly Magazine "Thinamurasu", which highlights LTTE killings, abductions, harassments etc.,

**Incident in brief :** He was shot dead at Wellawatta, Colombo whilst walking along with his brother in-law.

#### 11. Nimalanayagam Soundaranayagam

**Date :** 2000-11-07

#### Place : Korakallimadu, Batticaloa

- Status of the victim : Member of Parliament of the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) of Batticaloa District.
- Incident in brief : He was shot dead. Died on the spot with head injuries.

#### 12. Kingsley Rajanayagam

Date and Time :	:	2004-10-20 around 5.30 p.m.
Place :	:	Near Timber Corporation, Batticaloa
Status of the victim :	:	Former Member of Parliament of the Tamil National Alliance (TNA). Resigned from Parliament after winning the elections in 2004.
Incident in brief :	:	He was killed at his estate in Kalliyankadu, Batticaloa by the LTTE cadres who had come in a Three Wheeler. Died on the spot with gun shot injuries to his head and chest.

#### 13. Lakshman Kadirgamar

Date : 2005-08-21

Place : Buller's Lane, Colombo 07

- Status of the victim : Foreign Minister of the United People's Freedom Alliance (UPFA) Government. A prominent Lawyer and a brilliant debater with First Class Honors degrees in Law from Sri Lanka and Oxford Universities A well known figure in the International Arena who had held several positions in international bodies. Was a strong believer and promoter of peace through discussions to the ethnic issue in Sri Lanka. LTTE branded him as a traitor to the Tamil community.
- Incident in brief : He was sniped at his residence by a Liberation Tiger of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) cadre whilst he was doing his daily swim in his private pool. Died on admission to the Colombo National Hospital. It was an assaniation meticulously planed and executed by the LTTE to ensure his certain death. He being an eminant and an outstanding politician, a legal luminary highly knowledgeable in political Science Human Rights and International Affairs. And his losst to the country is irreparable

### 14. Joseph Pararajasingam

Date and Time	: 2005-12-25 at 1.20 a.m.
Place	: St. Mary's Catholic Church, Batticaloa
Status of the victim	: A Member of Parliament of the Tamil Natonal Alliance(TNA) for Batticaloa District. Most Senior politician in the TNA who agitated openly against the abductions of Tamils and extortions. Obtained the highest number of preferential votes from the North and East during the entire election history.
Incident in brief	: He was shot dead whilst attending the Christmas mid-night mass at St. Mary's Catholic Church, Batticaloa. His wife too sustained injuries in this attack.

#### 15. Nadarajah Ravirajh

Date and Time	: 2006-11-10 at 9.20 a.m.
PLACE	: Elvitigala Mawatha, Narahenpita
Status of the victim	: Member of Parliament of the Tamil National Alliance(TNA) for Jaffna District. A Lawyer by profession. Fluent in English, Tamil and Sinhala languages. Regularly seen on Television (TV) in discussions regarding the ethnic con-flict. Held the position of Executive Officer of the Colombo Human Rights Society from 1984 to 1990 and from 1993 to 1999.
Incident in brief	: He was shot dead by 02 gunmen who had come in a motor cycle at Elviti-gala Mawatha, Colombo while he was proceeding in his vehicle to a local media organization for a voice cut. Died on admission to the hospital with multiple gun shot injuries.

#### 16. Thiyagarajah Maheswaran

Date and Time	:	2008-01-01 around 10.35 a.m.
Place	:	Ponnamparameshwaran Sivam Kovil, Kotahena, Colombo.
Status of the victim	:	A Member of Parliament of the United National Party (UNP) for Colombo District. Former Minister of Hindu Cultural Affairs. A leading businessman, the first Tamil politician to join a Sinhalese Political Party (UNP). A prominent activist who campaigned against the war and human rights violations. Competent in English, Sinhala and Tamil languages.
Incident in brief	:	He was shot by a pistol group cadre while he was performing Hindu rituals at the aforementioned Kovil with his family. Succumbed to his injuries at the Colombo National Hospital.

#### 17. Kittinan Shivaneshan

#### Place : Mallavi, Wanni

- **Status of the victim :** Member of Parliament of the Tamil National Alliance (TNA). Former Co-operative Store Manager, an energetic Union Leader who fought for the rights of the Tamil employees.
- **Incident in brief** : **He was killed by a claymore mine** explosion in the LTTE controlled area in Mallavi on A-9 road whilst proceeding to his residence.

#### 18. Jeyerajh Fernandopulle

Date and Time	: 2008-04-06 around 7.30 a.m.

- Place : Weliveriya, Gampaha
- Status of the victim : Minister for Road Development. Chief Whip of the Government. Senior Deputy Leader & Treasurer of Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) and a Leading Lawyer. Competent in English, Tamil and Sinhala languages. Strong critic of the LTTE and its

leadership inside and outside the Parliament and also in the international forum.

#### Incident in brief : A suicide cadre exploded himself at a Sinhala and Tamil New Year Sports Festival where the Minister was the Chief Guest, killing the Minister on the spot with 14 others.

#### 11.1.3 ASSASSINATION OF LEADERS OF TAMIL POLITICAL PARTIES

#### 1. Sundaram Sri Sabarathnam

Incident in brief	:	He was shot dead in Kondavil, Jaffna
Status of the victim	:	Leader of the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization (TELO).
Place	:	Kondavil, Jaffna
Date	:	1986-05-06

#### 2. Appapillai Amithalingam

Date and Time	:	1989-07-13 around 7.35 p.m.
Place	:	Buller's Road, Colombo 7
Status of the victim	:	Member of Parliament & General Secretary of the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF). A figure who played a key role in signing the Indo-Lanka PeaceAccord in 1987. Had made a strong statement in Parliament in June 1989 regarding the importance of the continuance of the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) in Sri Lanka, which eventually led to expedite this killing by the LTTE. A Senior Politician in the North who represented the Tamil aspirations who finally paid with his life on behalf of the Tamils. He was considered to be the "God Father" of the LTTE, and would have never thought that, that the very organization he

encouraged and created would destroy his life.

**Incident in brief** : He was shot dead at his Colombo residence along with Yogeshwaran, a member of the TULF whilst at a political discussion. TULF Leader Sivasidambaram was also at the meeting, but escaped with gun shot injuries.

#### 3. K. Pathmanaban

Date and Time	:	1990-06-19 around 6.00 a.m.
Place	:	Chennai, India
Status of the victim	:	Leader of the Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF).
Incident in brief	:	He was shot dead whilst at the EPRLF Central Committee Meeting at Sachchira Colony Apartment, Chennai. 13 others were also killed in the shooting.

#### 4. Karavai Kandasamy

Date and Time	:	1994-12-31 around 8.30 p.m.
Place	:	Robert Place, Dehiwala
Status of the victim	:	Deputy Leader of the Democratic People's Liberation Front (DPLF), the Political Wing of the People's Liberation Organization of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE). <b>Upheld the firm stance that</b> <b>the People's Government should discuss</b> <b>the Tamil Issue with the other Tamil political</b> <b>parties as well, without confining it only to</b> <b>the LTTE.</b> Maintained a close relationship with the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) and a supporter of the Government strategies during the J.R. Jayawardena regime.

Incident in brief	: LTTE launched an attack with hand grenades
	and shooting at his residence whilst he was
	watching the television. Died at the hospital
	due to injuries.

#### 5. Mutthulingam Ganeshkumar

Date	: 1999-05-29
Place	: Batticaloa Town
Status of the victim	: Leader of the Razik Group (a breakaway faction of t the LTTE working in alliance with the Sri Lanka Army). A strong believer of a negotiated settlement to the Tamil Issue.
Incident in brief	: He was shot dead in Batticaloa town whilst travelling on a motor cycle.

#### 6. Nagalingam Manikkadasan

Date and Time	: 1999-09-02 around 12.45 p.m.
Place	: Vavuniya Town.
Status of the victim	: Senior Deputy Leader of the Eelam Peoples' Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF). A strong believer of a negotiated settlement to the Tamil Issue.
Incident in brief	: Killed by a remote control explosive device inside the EPRLF Political Office, Vavuniya whilst at a party meeting.

#### 7. Kumar Ponnambalam

Date	: 2000-01-05
Place	: Ramakrishna Road, Wellawatta, Colombo.
Status of the victim	: Leader of All Ceylon Tamil Congress (ACTC), the first Tamil political party in Sri Lanka, founded by his father late G.G. Ponnambalam. A leading Lawyer who raised

	his voice all the time with regard to the rights of Tamil people. Father of Gajendra Kumar Ponnambalam, a Member of Parliament of the Tamil National Alliance (TNA) at present.
Incident in brief	: He was shot dead whilst traveling in his car in Wellawatta. Died with gun shot injuries to his head and chest.

#### 11.1.4 ASSASSINATION OF PROVINCIAL COUNCIL TAMIL MINISTERS IN THE NORTH AND EAST

#### 1. Ganeshalingam

Date and Time	:	1990-01-28 at 7.45 a.m.
Place	:	King Street, Trincomalee
Status of the victim	:	Minister for Land, Agriculture and Rehabilitation. Former Deputy District Agent (DGA) of Trincomalee District and Assistant Divisional Secretary of Muttur. Fearlessly contested the Provincial Council Elections on 19.11.1988 when most of the politicians backed out due to threats from the LTTE.
Incident in brief	:	He was shot dead at his residence at King's Road, Trincomalee.

2. Kirubakaran

Date and Time	: 1990-06-19 around 6.00 a.m.
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- Place : Chennai, India
- Status of the victim : Finance Minister of the North and East Provinicial Council. After surviving assassination attempts by LTTE earlier, he was finally killed on 19.06.1990.

Incident in brief	:	He was shot dead at the Eelam Peoples'
		<b>Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF)</b>
		Central Committee Meeting held at
		Sachchira Colony Apartment, Chennai. 12
		others were also killed in the shooting.

#### 11.1.5 ASSASSINATION OF TAMIL MAYORS OF MUNICIPAL COUNCILS

#### 1. Alfred Duraiappah

Date and Time	:	1975-07-27 at 1.00 p.m.
Place	:	Ponnalai, Jaffna
Status of the victim	:	He was the mayor of Jaffna and the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) organizer for Jaffna District. A Graduate of the Ceylon Law College, he was a senior and a popular political figure loved by the Tamils.
Incident in brief	:	He was shot dead when he went for prayers at Ponnalai Krishna Kovil in Jaffna.
2. Thomas Anthony		
Date	:	1995-10-26
Place	:	Dutch Road, Batticalloa
Status of the victim	:	Member of the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization (TELO) and Mayor of Batticaloa. He was the architect in the development of the Batticaloa town.
	:	Was shot dead whilst playing at the Playground of Vipulananda Maha Vidyalaya.

#### 3. Sarojini Yogeswaran

Date and Time	:	1998-05-17 around 10.30 a.m.
Place	:	Wannappanni, Jaffna
Status of the victim	:	First Lady Mayor of the Jaffna District, representing the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF). A social worker who spent a greater part of her life with the public for their welfare and upliftment.
Incident in brief	:	Was shot dead at her residence whilst attending a meeting with members of the Jaffna Municipal Council. Her husband was also killed earlier by the LTTE along with A. Amithirilingam.

#### 4. Ponnuthurai Sivabalan

Date and Time Place		1998-09-11 at 11.00 a.m. Municipal Council Office in Jaffna
Status of the victim	:	<b>Mayor of Jaffna</b> of the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF). <b>A great social worker</b> who used his official capacity to the maximum in serving the public in Jaffna.
Incident in brief	:	Was killed by an explosion inside the Municipal Council office whilst attending a meeting with Police and Security forces officials with regard to improving of the traffic scheme in Jaffna.

#### 5. Vadivelu Wijayarathnam (Sellakkili Master)

Date	:	2000-01-14				
Place	:	Point Pedro, Jaffr	na			
Status of the victim	:	Chairman of representing th Tamil Eelam (Pl	e P	eople's	Libera	ation of
Incident in brief	:	Was shot dead a	t Poi	int Pedr	<b>`0.</b>	

6. Sheliyan Perinba	nayagam			
Date and Time	: 2000-09-10 around 10.30 a.m.			
Place	: Pandirippu, Ampara			
Status of the victim	: Former Mayor of Batticaloa. Contested the Parliamentary Election for Baticaloa District under the People's Alliance (PA). Reporter of Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation (SLBC) and "Thinakaran" Tamil newspaper for Batticaloa District.			
Incident in brief	: Was shot dead at his residence in Pandirippu			
7. P. Sooriyamoorth	y			
Date	: 2005-05-25			
Place	: Trincomalee			
Status of the victim	: Mayor of Trincomalee Municipal Council representing the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization (TELO).			
Incident in brief	: Was shot in Trincomalee in 18.05.2005. Succumbed to his injuries on 25.05.2005			

#### 11.1.6 ASSASSINATION OF TAMIL CHAIRMEN OF PRADESHEEYA SABHAS

1. Thurairathnam Jeyaraj

Date and Time	: 1994-09-1	3 around 1.00 P.	М	
Place	: Chenkalad	ly Pradesheeya S	abha Office	
Status of the victim	Sabha,	<b>of the Eravur</b> Chenkalady. tary Elections ur on.	Contested	the

Incident in brief	: Was shot inside his office at Eravurpattu Pradesheeya Sabha. Succumbed to his injuries in hospital.
2. Kandiah Amirtl	nalingam
Date and Time	: 1996-09-29 around 10.00 a.m.
Place	: Ottamavadi, Batticalloa
Status of the victim	: Deputy Chairman of the Vakarei Pradesheeya Sabha representing the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization (TELO) and Organizer for Valachchenei.
Incident in brief	: Killed by a grenade attack in Ottamavadi whilst travelling on a motor cycle.
3. Nadarajah Sivar	ajah
Date	: 1999-02-02
Place	: Valikamam, Jaffna
Status of the victim	: Pradesheeya Sabha Member of Valikamam representing the Eelam People's Democratic Party (EPDP)
Incident in brief	: Was shot dead whilst walking in Valikamam area.
4. Marimutthu Raj	alingam
Date and Time	: 2003-04-18 around 11.45 a.m.
Place	: Akkaraipattu, Ampara

Status of the victim: Chairman of the Alayadivembu<br/>Pradesheeya Sabha representing the<br/>Eelam People Democtratic Party (EPDP)Incident in brief: Was shot dead whilst traveling on a motor

Incident in brief: Was shot dead whilst traveling on a motor<br/>cycle at Sagamam Road, Akkaraipattu

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5. Dharmarajah Jeyaraj			
Date :	2003-05-03		
Place :	Point Pedro, Jaffna		
Status of the victim :	Former Chairman of the Karaveddy Pradesheeya Sabha representing the Eelam People Democtratic Party (EPDP). Swetted for the upliftment and development of his party.		
Incident in brief :	Was shot dead in St. Luke's Church in Point Pedro whilst returning home after distributing the party tabloid "Voice of People".		
6. Ravindran Velayutham (Kamalan)			
Date :	2004-07-21		
Place :	Bus Stand, Akkaraipattu		
Status of the victim :	<b>Chairman of the Alayadivemby</b> <b>Pradeshiya Sabha representing</b> the Eelam People Democratic Party (EPDP)		

Incident in brief	:	Was shot dead whilst attending official
		work at the bus stand. Died whilst being
		transported to Akkaraipattu Hospital.

7. Mayan Chandramohan (Arundas)		
Date	:	2004-09-11
Place	:	Karamban, Jaffna
Status of the victim	:	Former Chairman of the Point Pedro Pradesheeya Sabha.
Incident in brief	:	Was shot dead in Karamban, Jaffna.

#### 8. Somasundaram Warnakulasingam (Singam)

Date	:	2004-09-23
Place	:	Wellawatta, Colombo
Status of the victim	:	Former Chairman of the Manipay Pradesheeya Sabha and a Central Committee Member of the Eelam People's Democtratic Party (EPDP).
Incident in brief	:	<b>Was shot dead</b> in Vihara Road, Wellawatta

#### 11.1.7 ASSASSINATION OF TAMIL MEMBERS OF PRADESHEEYA SABHAS

1. Kanagasabai Rajadurai

Date	:	1998-10-06
Place	:	Point Pedro, Jaffna
Status of the victim	:	A member of the Vadamarachchi South Pradesheeya Sabha.
Incident in brief	:	Was shot dead in Puloli, Point Pedro.

2. Yocub Anthony Peter

Date	:	1999-01-11
Place	:	Nelliady, Jaffna
Status of the victim	:	Member of Pradesheeya Sabha, Velvetithurai, Jaffna representing the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization (TELO).
Incident in brief	:	Was shot dead at Nelliady area. He had suffered head and chest injuries.

3.	Pandari	Kandasamy
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Date	:	1999-02-14
Place	:	Kopay, Jaffna
Status of the victim	:	A Member of the Kopay South Pradesheeya Sabha representing the Eelam People's Democtratic Party (EPDP).
Incident in brief	:	Was shot dead in Avaragal, Kopay. Had suffered head and chest injuries.

4. Murungan Poobalasingam

Date	:	1999-05-13		
Place	:	Urumpirai West, Jaffna		
Status of the victim	:	A Member of Valigamam East Pradesheeya Sabha representing the Eelam People's Democtratic Party (EPDP).		
Incident in brief	:	Was shot dead in Urumpirai, Jaffna		

#### 5. Vyramutthu Anthony Shivalingam

Date	:	2000-03-01		
Place	:	Jaffna		
Status of the victim	:	A Member of the Jaffna MunicipalCouncil representing the Eelam People's Democratic Party (EPDP)		
Incident in brief	:	Was shot dead at his residence in Jaffna. Suffered chest injuries.		

6. Thambirajah Subath	rar	n (Robert)
Date	:	2003-06-14
Place	:	Jaffna Town
Status of the victim	:	Former Jaffna Municipal Council Member representing the Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF) (Varathan Group). Candidate at the Parliamentary General Election.
Incident in brief	:	Was shot dead in Jaffna town.
7. Valli Sundaram <i>(Sund</i>	daro	am Iyar)
Date	:	2004-09-27
Place	:	Valigamam, Jaffna
Status of the victim	:	Former Pradesheeya Sabha Member of the Valigamam North. A candidate

# for Parliamentary General Election.Incident in brief: Was shot dead in Valigamam area.

#### 11.1.8 ASSASSINATION OF DISTRICT TAMIL ORGANIZERS OF POLITICAL PARTIES

1. V. Thambapillai

Date and Time	:	1982-11-15 around 10.00 a.m.
Place	:	Attpai Junction, Punnalai-kadduwan, Jaffna
Status of the victim	:	Chief organizer and a longtime member of the United National Party (UNP) Punnalaikaduwan) who had won the confidence of the party leadership and the people of the area. He was a Justice of Peace (JP).

Incident in brief	:	Was shot and attacked with a grenade whilst hewas at his shop at Atpai Junction, Punnalaikadduwan, Jaffna. Died on the way to Hospital.
2. K.p. Pulendren		
Date	:	1983-01-19
Place	:	Vavuniya
Status of the victim	:	Chief Organizer of the United National Party (UNP), Vavuniya District and Chairman of the Mineral Sands Corporation. Worked to win the rights of the Tamil people.
Incident in brief	:	<b>Was shot dead</b> at his residence in Vavuniya while watching the television.
3. Sambantha Moorth	y	
Date	:	1989-03-07
Place	:	Chenkalady, Batticalloa
Status of the victim	:	Former Chairman of the Batticaloa District Development Committee representing the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) and a member of the Central Committee. A strong believer of a negotiated settlement to the Tamil Issue.
Incident in brief	:	<b>Was shot dead</b> in Chenkalady while he was proceeding to his paddy field. Suffered injuries to his head and the abdomen.

## 4. Ponmathimuga Rajah

0	•		
Date and Time	:	1998-12-26 at 3.00 p.m.	
Place	:	Nallur, Jaffna	
Status of the victim	:	Tamil United Liberation Front Party District Secretary of Jaffna District.	
Incident in brief	:	Was shot dead at the entrance to the stage whilst attending a ceremony held to commemorate the Birth Anniversary of late Mr. M.G. Ramachandran, Chief Minister/Tamil Nadu.	
5. Manoharan Pillai			
Date and Time	:	2000-09-10 at 12.30 a.m.	
Place	:	Pandirippu Junction, Kalmunai	
Status of the victim	:	District Organizer (Ampara Tamil areas) of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP). He was a Co-operative Inspector of Amparai District.	
Incident in brief	:	Was shot dead when he was with his friends at Pandirippu Junction. He had suffered head injuries.	
6. Aath Malingam l	Ran	nani (Pandiyan)	
Date and Time	:	2004-08-10 at 9.40 p.m.	
Place	:	Gnanam Road, Trincomalee	
Status of the victim	:	Deputy Leader of the Eelam PeopleDemoctraticParty(EPDP)forTrincomaleeDistrict.Contestedthe2004GeneralElectioninTrincomaleeDistrict under EPDP ticket.	

Incident in brief	: Was shot dead whilst proceeding to his residence for dinner at Gnanam Road from the EPDP District Office, Trincomalee.		
7. Thambithurai Siv	vakumaran (Bavan)		
Date	: 2004-09-19		
Place	: Puttalam		
Status of the victim	: Deputy District Organizer of the Eelam People's Democtratic Party (EPDP) for Jaffna District.		
Incident in brief	: Was shot dead at Puttlam area.		
8. Mahesh Thavach	nelva		
Date	: 2008-10-11		
Place	: Vavuniya Town		
Status of the victim	: United National Party (UNP) Organizer for Vavuniya District. Contested the General Election 2004 under the UNP ticket. He was appointed to the above post after the death of Shantha Punchihewa, who was killed by a suicide attack targeting major General Janaka Perera on 08.10.2008 in Anuradhapura.		
Incident in brief	: Was shot dead in front of the Vavuniya Bus Stand.		

#### 11.1.9 ASSASSINATION OF TAMIL ELECTORAL CANDIDATES

1. Shamuel Shivarathnam Muththiah			
Date and Time	:	1983-04-29 around 4.30 p.m.	
Place	:	Chavakachcheri, Jaffna	
Status of the victim	:	<b>Chief Candidate</b> of the United National Party (UNP) for mayor Chavakachcheri Urban Council.	
Incident in brief	:	<b>Was shot dead</b> at his residence in Chavakachcheri.	
2. RAJAN SHATHYAMOORTHY			
Date	:	2004-03-03	
Place	:	Kalliyankadu, Batticaloa	
Status of the victim	:	Tamil National Alliance (TNA) Candidate for Batticaloa District at 2004 General Election.	
Incident in brief	:	Was shot dead in Kalliyankady area. He had suffered head and chest injuries.	

#### **11.1.10** ASSASSINATION OF RELIGIOUS PRELATES

1. Rev. Father Karunarathnam

Date and Time	:	2008-04-20
Place	:	Vavunikulam Road, Mallavi
Status of the victim	:	Head of the Human Rights Organization for North and East. Had held discussions with the Heads of Human Rights Organization if Europe in 2004. Held several meetings and conferences with local and international humanrights activists in Kilinochchi.

Incident in brief	:	Was killed inside the LTTE controlled area whilst travelling from his residence to the Mankulam Catholic Church.
2. Sellaiyah Parame	eswa	aran Kurukkal
Date	:	2007-02-11
Place	:	Vakarei, Baticaloa
Status of the victim	:	Chief Priest of Pillair Kovil in Sandiveli, Baticaloa, who garlanded H.E. the President with the traditional robe when he visited Vakarei after Security forces liberated the area.
Incident in brief	:	<b>Killed by the LTTE pistol group</b> two days after honouring H.E. the President in Sandiveli. He had suffered head and chest injuries.

#### 3. Shivasiri Shivakukarajah Kurukkal

Date and Time	:	2008-09-21 around 5.45 p.m.
Place	:	Thirukoneshwaram Kovil in Trincomalee
Status of the victim	:	<b>Chief Priest of Thiru-koneshwaram Kovil,</b> <b>Trincomalee</b> for the last 09 years. Had won hearts and minds of the Tamil people in the area.
Incident in brief	:	Was shot dead by two LTTE pistol group cadres who had come in a motor cycle near Sri Shanmugananda Hindu College whilst he was riding a motor cycle.

#### 11.1.11 ASSASSINATION OF TAMIL INTELLECTUALS

#### 1. C. E. ANAND ARAJAH

Date	: 1985-06-	-26
Place	: Jaffna	
Status of the victim	<b>much lo</b> his caree	I of St. John's College, Jaffna. A ved educationist who had dedicated er for the upliftment of education y in the fields of medicine, engineering blogy.
Incident in brief	: Was show and chest	<b>t dead</b> in Jaffna and had suffered head t injuries.

2. Rajani Thiranagama

Date	:	1989-09-25
Place	:	Thirunalveli, Jaffna
Status of the victim	:	Professor of the Medical Faculty of the University of Jaffna. She entered the University of Colombo to study medicine. At the university, she became actively involved in student politics. Breaking all religious and ethnic barriers she married a Sinhalese named Dayapala Thirangama, a lecturer of the Kelaniya University in 1977. Formerly a sympathizer of the LTTE later became a critic after seeing its real face. She was the Author of the book "Broken Palmyrah", which severely criticized the LTTE for human rights violations that finally added her name in the LTTE hit list. She was killed a few weeks after the book was published.

Incident in brief	:	Was shot dead in front of her house by the LTTE pistol group. cadres who had come in a motor cycle near Sri Shanmugananda Hindu College whilst he was riding a motor cycle		
3. T. Kailainathan				
Date	:	2005-04-04		
Place	:	Batticaloa		
Status of the victim	:	<b>Director of the Vocational Training</b> <b>Centre. A member of the (EPDP)</b> Eelam People's Democtratic Party. Swetted throughout to educate the Tamil youth in the North and East.		
Incident in brief	:	Was shot dead whilst having lunch at his office.		

## 4. Kanapathy Rajathurai

Date and Time	:	2005-10-10 around 3.45 p.m.
Place	:	Jaffna
Status of the victim	:	<b>Principal of Jaffna Central College.</b> A supporter of the Eelam People Democratic Party. Contributed immensely for the upliftment of the school. LTTE had threatened him on several occasions.
Incident in brief	:	Was shot dead inside the school at the entrance to "Weerasingham Hall" whilst attending a cultural program. His assassination was witnessed by a large number of students and parents.

#### 5. Nadarajah Shivakadachan

Date	:	2005-10-11
Place	:	Manipay, Jaffna
Status of the victim	:	<b>Principal of Kopay Christian College.</b> <b>A strong activist against the LTTE child</b> <b>recruitment.</b> He criticized the LTTE openly for recruiting students from his school.
Incident in brief	:	Was shot dead by the LTTE pistol group at his residence.

#### 6. Ketheesh Loganathan

Date	:	2006-08-12
Place	:	Colombo
Status of the victim	:	<b>Deputy Secretary of the Sri Lanka Peace</b> <b>Secretariat.</b> A former member of the Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF). <b>A prominent Lawyer vigorously</b> <b>worked against human rights violations</b> <b>by the LTTE.</b> A well read person on Law and Social Science locally and internationally. Had held top positions in Government as well as Non Governmental Organizations. Was a member of the Tamil delegation for the Thimpu Talks.
Incident in brief	:	Was shot dead by the LTTE pistol group in Colombo and had suffered head injuries.

#### 11.1.12 ASSASSINATION OF TAMIL JOURNALISTS & MEDIA PERSONNEL

#### 1. K.s. Rajah

Date	: 1994-12-03
Place	: Colombo
Status of the victim	: A welknown media person who won hearts and minds of the people by his journalism. A veteran of the Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation (SLBC) and a wellknown producer.
Incident in brief	: Was shot dead by the pistol group in Colombo area and had suffered head and chest injuries.

#### 2. Myukvagaban Nimalarajan

Date Place	: 2000-10-19 : Jaffna
Status of the victim	: A Freelance Journalist and a prominent reporter for the BBC Tamil and Sinhala Broadcasts, Veerakesari Tamil newspaper and Ravaya Sinhala newspaper. Reported defence related activities, human rights violations and political situation.
Incident in brief	: He was taken out of his house in the mid night and shot dead in front of his house. Suffered head and abdomen injuries.

#### 3. Iyathurai Nadeshan

Date	: 2004-05-31
Place	: Batticaloa
Status of the victim	: Vice President of the Sri Lanka Tamil Journalists Association. He had won the Award for the Best Editor in 2000. Had the pride of working for the leading

Tamil newspaper "Veerakesari" for over 20 years. He was also an Area Correspondent especially of war related news in the North & East for Shakthi Television and Radio & London International Broadcasting Corporation.

- **Incident in brief** : Was shot dead by a LTTE pistol group in Batticaloa area and had suffered head injuries.
- 4. Bala Nadarajah Iyar (Sinna Bala)
- **Date :** 2004-08-16

Place : Pamankada, Colombo 06

- Status of the victim : Media Secretary of the Eelam Peoples' Democtratic Party (EPDP). Had fought vigorously to uphold the aspirations of the Tamil populace from 1970's. A member of the Editors Board of the Tamil tabloid "Manithan" published by the Jaffna University. Also an editor of "Tharkiyam" Tamil newspaper and "Makkal Kural" tabloid published by the Eelam People Democtratic Party.
- **Incident in brief** : Was shot dead by the LTTE pistol group at Pamankada. He had sufferend head and chest injuries.
- 5. Relangi Selvarajah

**Date** : 2005-08-12

- Place : Bambalapitiya
- Status of the victim: A welknown Tamil media person of the Sri<br/>Lanka Rupavahini Corporation (SLRC) and<br/>Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation (SLBC).<br/>A Tamil announcer very much liked by the

Tamil viewers. Married to Mr. Selvarajah a member of the People Liberation of Tamil Eelam, who was running a Travel Agency in Bambalapitiya. She was under threat by the LTTE to resign from the Govt. Media Institutions.

Trincomalee. He had suffered head injuries.

- Incident in brief : Was shot dead by the LTTE pistol group along with her husband inside their Travel Agency. Both had suffered head injuries.
- Subramaniyam Sukirtharajan 6.

Date and Time	: 2006-01-24 around 6.00 a.m.
Place	: Trincomalee
Status of the victim	: A veteran Tamil Journalist. Once served for "Sudar Oli" newspaper. A political and defence correspondent and a critic of the Tamil political parties in the North and East.
Incident in brief	: Was shot dead by LTTE pistol group cadres who had come in a motor cycle. Whilst the victim was on his way to work in

Sinnathambi Shivamaharajah 7.

Date and Time	:	2006-08-20 a	round 7.20 p.	m.
Place	:	Thelippalai, J	laffna	
Status of the victim	:	the Multi F (MPCS) Jaffr Parliament of	Magazine. Purpose Coop na District. Fo f the Tamil U F). A promini	of the Chairman of berative Society rmer Member of Inited Liberation ment social and

**Incident in brief** : Was shot dead by the LTTE pistol group at his residence. He had suffered head injuries.

#### 11.1.13 ASSASSINATION OF TAMIL POLIC OFFICERS

The LTTE killed more than 100 Tamil Police Personnel, for the simple reason that they belonged to an arm of the State, which was primarily tasked with the responsibility of keeping peace and public order in the society. Apart from their normal duties relating to the maintenance of law and order they were of immense help to all in times of chaos and turmoil and were particularly helpful to that hapless Tamil citizens who were undergoing untold hardships due to the war path chosen by the LTTE. Their aim in resorting to this dastardly crime was to distance the ordinary Tamils further and further from the civil administration of the Government. It is more tragic and heart-rending to hear these innocent Tamil Personnel being named as "Traitors".

Due to this killing spree, more Police Personnel who could have been of immense service to their own community by serving many more years in the Police Service, resigned in disgust. Some of them migrated to foreign countries or chose to play a subdued role in society. The plight of the innocent Tamils was partly due to the inhuman acts of killing the police personnel by the LTTE.

The incidents of brutal killings of some of the police personnel are given below on the basis of the available information:

Name: T.I. Bastian Pillai Rank: Inspector of Police

#### Incident

T.I. Bastian Pillai was a feared police inspector who had earned a fearsome reputation of tracking down Tamil militants, started visiting the residence of Velupillai, the house of the father of the Prabhakaran. Not able to lay his hands on Prabhakaran, the enraged inspector talked to his mother and said "if I get hold of your son, I will break him into hundred pieces". The agitated women ordered the officer to leave the

house. This development greatly worried the family. Bastian Pillai's threat could not be taken lightly.

On 7<sup>th</sup> April 1987 Bastian Pillai and 03 policeman reached an LTTE training camp in a desolate corner of the Northwestern district of Mannar and stumbled upon a group of Tamil Youth. Both sides seemed to be surprised to see each other. No one ever came to know how Bastian Pillai managed to locate the hideout where Uma Maheshwaran was perched on a makeshift wooden platform on a tree. Uma froze when he saw Bastian Pillai's sight.

He demanded the identity of the men. They replied that they were working in a farm. Some of them did look like farm workers. One had the presence of mind to call out in Tamil "Serve some water to these gentlemen" it was just the way farm labourers would treat visitors particularly those in uniform.

Bastian Pillai fell for the ruse. Thinking that these men were indeed what they claimed to be, placed his sub machine gun by a wall & bent down to drink water.

Chellakilli a former driver who was a confidante of Prabhakaran pounced on the sub machine gun and hit Bastian Pillai on his head and simultaneously opened fire, killing him and a sergeant before they even realized what had hit them. Another sub-inspector, however put up a fight, lost his balance and fell into a well. He was then shot dead. The driver of Bastian Pillai's jeep started to run but was chased and shot down.

It was a bloody end to a dramatic raid by a police officer considered by the police authorities to be both ruthless and supremely efficient.

When it was all over, Uma came down from the Tree. The Tigers quickly shifted to another hideout. The dead officer's van was driven off and abandoned in an elephant-infested area about 50 miles away. For some time, nobody knew about Bastian Pillai's death. It was not unusual for him to go away from his family for days on duty to hunt down Tamil militants. The killings were discovered only when a woodcutter alerted the authorities about decaying bodies in a well. The identities of Bastian Pillai and the others were revealed only when the identity card of the police sergeant who had crashed into the well was found on his blood-soaked and stinking uniform. Police found 300 expended cartridges and a dummy on top of a tree.

The LTTE was jubilant over the death of the man who had once vowed to break Prabhakaran into a hundred pieces. Not only had the Sri Lankan police been dealt a major blow, but the Tigers had proved they could kill at will and disappear.

#### 11.1.14 ASSASSINATION OF OTHER TAMIL POLICE PERSONNEL

Name Rank Police Station	:	F.D. Thiyagarajah Sub Inspector of Police Batticaloa
Name Rank/Reg. No	:	Sellathambi Thiruchelvam Police Constable (28378)
Name Rank/Reg. No	:	Arulrajh Police Constable/20637
Name Rank Police Station	: : :	Perinparajah Sub Inspector of Police Batticaloa
Name Rank/Reg. No	•	Sellathambi Thiruchelvam Police Constable (28378)
Name Rank/Reg. No	:	Arulrajh Police Constable/20637
Name Rank/Reg. No	:	Perinparajah Police Constable/16840
Name Rank/Reg. No	:	Navarathnam Sivanantharajah Police Sergeant (5494)

Name :	Sivarajah Pakkiyarajah
Rank/Reg. No :	Police Constable (14654)
Name :	Kadirgamarathambi Umapathisivam
Rank/Reg. Number :	Police Constable/16840
Name :	Sivakumar
Rank/Reg. No :	Police Constable (1694)
Name :	P.J.U. Sundararajah
Rank/Reg. No :	Police Sergeant (15243)
Name :	Rajendren
Rank :	Police Constable (44417)
Police Station :	Hirukkovil
Name :	K. Jeyakumar
Rank/Reg. No :	Police Constab le (15590)

#### 11.1.15 ASSASSINATION OF SOME OTHER TAMIL CIVILIANS

NAME	ADDRESS	KILLED DATE
Sundaravel Shantha Kumar	Nilaveli, Trincomalee	21-05-2007
Nagalingam Selvarathnam	Sithambaraouram Vavuniya	27-12-2007
Velayudam Thavabalan	Chengalady, Baticaloa	27-03-2007
Sachithathantan Ganeshwaran	Chengalady, Baticaloa	27-03-2007
Rasaiyah Vigneshwaran	Jaffna	12-10-2006
Aalalasundaram Satheshkumar	Nedunthivu, Jaffna	12-10-2006
Arulnayagam Nedunthvu	Jaffna	12-10-2006
Kadirgamarthambi Nagarajah	Jaffna	27-10-2006
Franchise Jeganathan	Vavuniya	14-09-2006
Mahakanathipillai Saravanamuttu	Jaffna	24-07-2006
Arumugam Loganathan	Vavuniya	11-06-2006
Wellaipodiyan Rajanayagam	Trincomalee	13-11-2005
Michel Jesudasan	Navanthurai, Jaffna	29-05-2006
Sellathurai Sivakumar	Batticaloa	20-04-2006
David michel Kolin	Ttrincomalee	11-12-2005
Marimuttu Mahendren	Vavuniya	02-03-2006
Kingsly Veeradaran	Trincomalee	06-10-2006
Nadarajah Keshawarman	Jaffna	20-08-2005
Ganakumar Subramaniyam	Vavuniya	19-06-2005
Arumugam Murugupillai	Batticaloa	18-05-2005
Wijayadasan Wijendren	Trincomalee	11-04-2005
Ponnaiya Ramachandren	Batticaloa	15-06-2003
Sellathurai Thangarajah	Jaffna	12-03-2002
Nagarajah Nesharajah	Batticaloa	12-03-2002
Shanthan Kandeepan	Trincomalee	15-05-2000

Piyasena Karunarathnam	Amparai	16-07-1999
Arunachalam Preman	Batticaloa	22-08-1999
Alfred shatyarajah	Batticaloa	28-05-1999
Kanagasabai Rajathurai	Jaffna	06-10-1998
Kandaiyah Sellathurai	Batticaloa	05-04-1998
Rangasamy Kumar	Kilinochchi	23-01-1998
Marimutthu Sudakaran	Batticaloa	23-01-1998
Ganasambanthar Senthil kumar	Jaffna	23-01-1998
Sellaiyah Dharmarajah	Batticaloa	23-01-1998
Marimuttu Rajalingam	Batticaloa	23-01-1998
Manikkam Jegatheesan	Mannar	23-01-1998
Sithambaran Shathyaseelan	Mannar	23-01-1998
Anadan Jebaneshan	Mannar	23-01-1998
Thambiraraj Vadivel	Kallaru, Batticallo	27-09-1997
Sellathurai Gangadaran	Talawakele,Nuwara-eliya	03-03-1997
Anthonipillai Sebasthianpillai	Trincomalee	10-02-1993
Arachananth Udayanath	Twarmalai, Trincomalee	09-10-1995
Mariappan Singarajah	Batticaloa	08-10-1995
Aasaipillai Koganadas	Meesalai, Jaffna	09-10-1995
Balan Selvakumar	Poovarasankulam,Vavuniya	09-10-1995
Shanmugam Perinbanayagam	Batticaloa	09-02-1995
Kirishnapillai Udayakumar	Silavathurai	09-10-1995
Nagarajah Nesharajah	Batticaloa	12-03-2002
Shanthan Kandeepan	Trincomalee	15-05-2000
Piyasena Karunarathnam	Amparai	16-07-1999
Preman Arunachalam	Batticaloa	22-08-1999
Alfred shatyarajah	Batticaloa	28-05-1999
Kanagasabai Rajathurai	Jaffna	06-10-1998

Kandaiyah Sellathurai	Batticaloa	05-04-1998
Rangasamy Kumar	Kilinochchi	23-01-1998
Marimutthu Sudakaran	Batticaloa	23-01-1998
Ganasambanthar	Jaffna	23-01-1998
Sellaiyah Dharmarajah	Batticaloa	23-01-1998
Marimuttu Rajalingam	Batticaloa	23-01-1998
Manikkam Jegatheesan	Mannar	23-01-1998
Sithambaran Shathyaseelan	Mannar	23-01-1998
Anadan Jebaneshan	Mannar	23-01-1998
Thambiraraj Vadivel	Kallaru, Batticallo	27-09-1997
Sellathurai Gangadaran	Talawakele,Nuwara-eliya	03-03-1997
Anthonipillai Sebasthianpillai	Trincomalee	10-02-1993
Arachananth Udayanath	Twarmalai,Trincomalee	09-10-1995
Mariappan Singarajah	Batticaloa	08-10-1995
Aasaipillai Koganadas	Meesalai, Jaffna	09-10-1995
Balan Selvakumar	Poovarasankulam, Vavuniya	09-10-1995
Shanmugam Perinbanayagam	Batticaloa	09-02-1995

Kirishnapillai Udayakumar	Silavathurai	09-10-1995
remisinapinar o augananar	Silavailalai	0) 10 1))2

#### 11.2 ATTACKS AND ASSASSINATIONS OF RIVAL GROUPS AND LEADERS OF RIVAL GROUPS

## RISE OF MILITANT GROUPS IN THE NORTH AND THE EAST

Sri Lanka was known as Ceylon at the time, when it was a colony of the British Empire. On conclusion of the 2<sup>nd</sup> world war in 1945, Britain started loosening her colonial strings. The first country in Asia to become free from colonial rule was India, in 1947. Sri Lanka was granted independence seven months later in February 1948 and became free from colonial rule.

The constitution of the independent state of Sri Lanka was formulated by a Commission led by Lord Soulbury, who was the last Governor General of Sri Lanka. On the recommendations made by the Commission, a democratic parliamentary system of government was established in Sri Lanka. Accordingly, even though power was transferred to Sri Lanka, the ethnic sores which resulted from the "divide and rule" policy of the colonial rule swiftly came out in the open and led to disastrous consequences.

Sri Lanka is divided into nine provinces and for administrative purposes divided into twenty five districts. The Sri Lankan Tamils claim that the Northern and Eastern Provinces to be their traditional homeland. The people belonging to the three major ethnic communities lived widely distributed throughout the nine provinces prior to 1983. Since 1983 which witnessed the holocaust, which was known as the "Black July", some of the Sinhalese and Muslims were forced out of the Northern and the Eastern provinces due to fear of life arising from terrorism of the LTTE.

\*\*\*According to the report of the Department of Census and Statistics based on the Census of Population and Housing 2012, the population of Sri Lanka is reported to be 20,277,597 million. This report covered the entire country after a lapse of 30 years. The earlier census taken in 2001 covered only 18 out of 25 districts of the

#### country.

The Sri Lankan community consists of three major ethnic groups namely, the Sinhalese, the Tamils and the Moors. Out of the total population, the Sinhalese constitute 74.9%, the Sri Lankan Tamils 11.2%, the Indian Tamils 4.2% and the Moors 9.2%. The minority communities consisting of Burghers, Malays and Chinese etc constitute 0.5% of the population#. The land area of Sri Lanka is 65,525 sq km, together with international waters of 1,570 sq km.

Please see table 1 at page 328 for the distribution of the population by district and province.

D.S. Senanayake, a Sinhalese leader who was considered the "father of the nation", became the first Prime Minister of Sri Lanka. He was also the leader of the United National Party (UNP) which formed the first government of the independent Sri Lanka. Some of the Ministers of this government were Tamil politicians who represented the Northern and Eastern Provinces.

The Department of Census and Statistics in its report on the census of 2001 has stated that the census that was taken in that year covered only 18 districts out of the 25 districts excluding Jaffna, Mannar, Vavuniya, Mullaitivu and Kilinochchi in the Northern Province and in Batticaloa and Trincomalee Districts in the Eastern Province. This they attributed to the conflict situation that prevailed in those provinces during that period. Accordingly, the population in those provinces were taken on an estimated basis. The total population of Sri Lanka as at 1981 July was estimated to be 18,797,257. It was later revealed that the LTTE terrorists prevented the census to be taken in these two provinces as they were reluctant to reveal the actual numbers living in these provinces, to continue to justify its claim of the Northern and Eastern provinces to be the Homeland of the Tamil people.

According to the census taken in March 2012 which included all the provinces in the country after a lapse of 30 years was reported as 20,277,497. (Source "A Report of The Census of Population and Housing

Sinhalese         Sri Lankan         Indian         Sri Lankan         Burgher         Malay           Sri Lankan         Tamil         Tamil         Tamil         Moors         Burgher         Malay           Sri Lankan         Tamil         Tamil         Tamil         Moors         Burgher         Malay           Sri Lankan         Tamil         Tamil         Moors         8.2         1.2         1.3         0.6					TABLE 1				
up-country)         up-country)           cCOLOMBO(Dist)         77.6         10.0         1.2         8.2         1.2         1.3           KANDY (Dist)         77.6         10.0         1.2         8.2         1.2         1.3           KANDY (Dist)         74.3         5.0         9.4         10.5         0.1         0.1           RANDY (Dist)         74.3         5.0         9.4         10.5         0.2         0.3           RANDY (Dist)         74.3         5.0         9.4         10.5         0.1         0.1         0.1           ROUS         94.5         0.9         1.4         3.2         0.1         0.2         0.3           Dist)         94.5         0.7         2.2         2.5         0.1         0.2           Dist)         94.5         0.7         2.2         0.1         0.2         0.3           Dist)         97.1         0.6         0.1         1.2         1.2         1.2           Dist)         9.4         7.0         0.1         1.2         1.2         1.2           Dist)         0.8         9.5.2         2.4         1.6         0.1         0.1           Stu		iinhalese bri Lankan low &	Sri Lankan Tamil	Indian Tamil	Sri Lankan Moors	Burgher	Malay	Others	
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\* According to the census which covered the entire country after a lapse of 30 years the total population was reported as 20,277,597 million. The average annual population

growth between 1981 and 2012 stood at 1.0%. While the same between 2001 and 2012 was reported as 0.7%.

2011-2012" – Department of Census and Statistics).

S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, who was a Sinhalese leader and a prominent member of the UNP, left the party and formed the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) under his leadership. He espoused the cause of the Sinhalese Buddhists which constituted 69.3% of the population. He identified five important sectors of the Sinhalese Buddhist Community namely Sangha (Buddhist clergy), Veda (indigenous medical practice), Guru (those who pursued the teaching profession), Govi (the farmer) and Kamkaru (the workers). He pledged that if voted to power, he would take action to develop the five major sectors of this community which he claimed to have been neglected during the colonial rule as well as by the previous government.

Bandaranaike got the opportunity in 1955, when the then UNP government was headed by Sir John Kotalawela, who was the Prime Minister. He was considered to be a politician who upheld the colonial traditions and who did not have much respect for the local culture and traditions. In addition, Kotalawela visited the Tamil homeland of Jaffna and pledged to give equal constitutional status to the Sinhalese and Tamil languages. Some Sinhalese politician distorted what Kotalawela promised and spread fear that the Sinhalese community would be compelled to study Tamil, in order to get government jobs. This resulted in anti government protests all over the country. Bandaranaike seized the opportunity and projected himself as their saviour and promised that he would make Sinhalese the only official language, if elected to power. Kotalawela who realized that he was losing ground, decided to change his promise to the people of the North and he too committed to make Sinhalese the only official language. This resulted in the Tamil community losing confidence in Kotalawela.

In addition, the Buddhist clergy in particular, seriously utilized and condemned the anti religious and cultural speeches of Prime Minister Kotalawela, resulting in his becoming increasingly unpopular among the Sinhalese Buddhists. Without adequate knowledge of the pulse of the people, Kotalawela decided to conduct the general elections in 1956. As the electorate was frustrated with the performance of the UNP government, the SLFP headed by Bandaranaike was voted to power.

As promised, Bandaranaike sought passage through parliament to make Sinhalese the official language. It led to violent protests by the Tamil political leaders. Three hundred members of the Federal Party led by S.J.V. Chelvanayagam sat in front of the parliament protesting against the legislation. Chelvanayagam was a prominent Tamil politician who advocated non-violence as a political tool. A mob of Sinhalese attacked the protestors and drove them away and only Chelvanayagam was spared.

In no time violence erupted throughout the country and by the time it was brought under control, one hundred and fifty people were dead, mostly the innocent Tamils. This occurred when there were two Tamil Ministers in the government which was dominated by the Sinhalese. Some Tamil Members of Parliament even supported the government by voting for the legislation intended to strip the citizenship of some Tamils of Indian origin who were engaged in the plantation sector.

Hence the attack against the members of the Federal Party stunned the Tamils, but did not infuse a sense of Tamil nationalism in them. But those who did not consider the 1956 violence seriously were proved to be wrong, as the country's two main political parties, the UNP and the SLFP only considered the concerns of the Sinhalese in their lust for power and the Tamils felt let down and left out.

Bandaranaike who was a prudent politician felt that he had not done justice to the Tamil people and proposed to sign an accord with the leader of the Federal Party, Chelvanayagam, to provide autonomous councils in Tamil areas. This came to be known as the Bandaranaike– Chelvanayagam pact (PC pact).

It was now the turn of the UNP to create a hue and cry against the pact and used it to its political advantage. J.R. Jayawardene organized a violent protest against the BC pact alleging that Bandaranaike was trying to give into the demands of the Tamils at the cost of the Sinhalese.

Bandaranaike now wanted to win over the Sinhalese hardliners and made it obligatory for all motor vehicles in Sri Lanka to prefix their number

plates with the Sinhalese letter Sri and the number. The Tamil politicians in protest called upon the motorists to affix the Tamil letter instead of the Sinhalese letter "Sri"

In protest the Sinhalese hardliners took to the streets demanding the abolition of the BC pact. **Bandaranaike gave into the demands of the hardliners which came as a shock and a great disappointment to the Tamils.** 

In May 1958 another incident took place, which led to another wave of fury against the Tamils. In May, supporters of the Federal Party were attacked by a Sinhalese mob when they were returning by train after a party convention held in Jaffna. The violence spread to the major cities and the suburbs, forcing a large number of Tamils to abandon their homes and seek shelter in camps. The government declared a state of emergency and had to shift some refugees to the North and the East.

Prime Minister Bandaranaike was assassinated in 1959. This was followed by two quick elections. The SLFP returned to power with his widow, Sirimavo Bandaranaike being elected Prime Minister, the first woman Prime Minister of the world. **Due to the pressures of the hardliners who supported and influenced her, she also tried to thrust the Sinhalese language upon the Tamils. The government documents were issued to the Tamils in Sinhalese. Knowledge of Sinhalese was made compulsory for employment in the government sector.** 

When the UNP won the election in 1965, the Prime Minister, Dudley Senanayake decided to resolve the problems with the Tamil people by signing an agreement with Chelvanayagam. This came to be known as the Dudley– Chelvanayagam pact.

Senanayake wanted the legislation to give official status to the Tamil language in the North and the East. As protests against the legislation built up in the Sinhalese dominated areas, Senanayake abolished his pact with Chelvanayagam, which delivered a severe blow to a possible Sinhalese–Tamil rapprochement.

Sirimavo Bandaranaike returned to power in 1970. During the campaign she accused the rival UNP of placating the Tamils. Her first major crisis in office came not due to the grievances of the Tamils

# but originated from a Sinhalese extreme leftist group the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (J.V.P.) which launched an insurrection in 1971, intending to capture power.

It was led by Rohana Wijeweera, a Moscow educated socialist. The aim of the party was to establish a socialist state similar to that of North Korea. The uprising was launched by young people mostly from the rural Sinhalese areas who attacked the outlying police stations. As the security forces at that time were not fully equipped to handle the uprising, they sought the assistance of friendly governments including India. The uprising was crushed by the Police and the Army and nearly ten thousand young people lost their lives. The rebels caused considerable damage and destruction among other things to public assets.

# In 1972 the government of Sirimavo Bandaranaike introduced a new constitution which changed the name of the country from "Ceylon" to "Sri Lanka". It also re-affirmed the status of the Sinhalese language and gave a pre-eminent position to Buddhism.

These developments brought together for the first time, the three Tamil parties namely, the Federal Party (FP), the Tamil Congress (TC) and the Ceylon Workers Congress (CWC), which was the political forum of the Tamils in the plantation sector. Until then the CWC, had kept away from the Tamil politics of the North and the East.

The three parties which managed to form the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) demanded a secular state, recognition of the Tamil language, decentralization of the administrative powers and constitutional protection of the minorities. When the government turned a deaf ear to these demands, the Tamil MP's warned that the Tamils were being pushed against the wall.

In Sri Lanka, education in schools was imparted in Sinhalese and Tamil. Ever since Sinhalese was made compulsory for employment in the government sector, Tamils thought that learning the Tamil language was a futile exercise.

Tamil tradition placed greater emphasis on the education of their children, due to many schools being established by the Christian

missionaries in Jaffna. Sinhalese hardliners articulated the high proportion of Tamils in universities, to alleged collision between teachers and students. It was alleged that the Tamil teachers leaked out question papers to their students and gave them higher marks and thereby admitting more and more Tamil students to the universities.

As the government thought that it caused tremendous injustice to the students in the rest of the country, a new policy known as "standardization" was introduced for admission to the universities. It was meant to balance the imbalances in educational levels between various districts and resolve the urban–rural division. The Tamils alleged that the Tamil students in Jaffna were now required to score more marks than the students in the other areas in order to seek admission to the science, medical and engineering faculties of the universities.

The young Tamils in the North took to the streets in protest against the "standardization" and wrote anti government slogans on the walls. In many places government property was attacked and burnt.

Chelvanayagam, in protest against the new "standardization" policy resigned from his parliamentary seat in October 2<sup>nd</sup> 1972. He challenged the government to hold byelections for the vacated seat, to gauge the popular response.

The government ignored the request initially, but as the parliamentary seat could not be kept vacant beyond the time period specified legally, the election for the single seat was held in 1975. The government did not nominate a candidate from the ruling party and instead supported a Tamil who represented the Communist party.

Chelvanayagam won by a huge majority. He who had reached the end of his long parliamentary career, over the years had steadfastly opposed separation. He was of the view that a separate Tamil state would benefit neither the Sinhalese nor the Tamils and said that all should live like brothers.

After his decisive win he changed his view for the first time. He declared that the verdict of the people of the North was a mandate that the Tamil Eelam nation should become free and that his party

#### would carry out this mandate.

Another event took place in 1975 that made the politicians of the South sit up and take serious note. The Mayor of Jaffna, Alfred Duraiappah who was a prominent member of the SLFP, the party then ruling the country was shot dead. The young Tamil assailant who shot Duraiappah was never caught.

He slowly rose to prominence to be the most ruthless terrorist leader among the other terrorist groups that sprang up in the North during the 1970's. For nearly three decades he travelled far and deep in the world of terror, murder and mayhem, until the government eliminated him and his terrorist outfit by using weaponry of the security forces, the only method he preferred to resolve his problems. The person was none other than Velupillai Prabhakaran.

Anti government violence was spreading in the North. In the early 1970's due to the various political actions taken by the then governments in power, the Tamil youth reacted engaging in anti-government violence. In the 1970's Prabhakaran was the head of an informal militant group of young men. Certain Tamil politicians privately sympathized with the militant Tamil youth, who were referred to as the "boys".

In 1972 Prabhakaran's right leg was burnt, when he was among some youth making a bomb which accidentally exploded. In the face of growing militancy in Tamil areas, the Police cracked down in Jaffna and made a string of arrests. Prabhakaran was already a suspect in the assassination of the Mayor of Jaffna and an unsuccessful robbery at a hardware store in Jaffna. By 1972 Prabhakaran was eighteen years of age.

Barely out of his teens, Prabhakaran commenced his underground life, amidst warnings from trusted friends to leave Jaffna. The place was becoming too dangerous with the police in hot pursuit of militant Tamil youth. Accompanied by his cousin, Periyasothi he then crossed to Tamil Nadu by boat.

A few weeks later, Prabhakaran returned to Jaffna. However, the experience in Tamil Nadu had toughened him more. When he returned to Jaffna, he found it to be more embittered and turbulent. An international Tamil conference organized in Jaffna in January 1974, ended in violence triggering clashes between the participants and the police. Tamils blamed the government for the incident.

A vengeful Prabhakaran together with an accomplice named Chetti, decided to welcome Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike with a hot reception, during her forthcoming visit to Jaffna in October that year.

On 27<sup>th</sup> July 1975, Prabhakaran accompanied by four other accomplices shot dead Alfred Duraiappah at a Hindu Temple in Ponnai in Jaffna. The killing stunned the entire country. It was the first political assassination in the increasingly turbulent Tamil areas.

Until that day, most Sri Lankans thought that the sense of injustice felt by the Tamils and expressed by the Tamil political leadership was probably exaggerated. The killing of Duraiappah made it clear, that the discontentment among the Tamils was far more serious than they had realized. It was now evident that young Tamils were now ready to kill even high profile personalities.

The murder accomplished two things for Prabhakaran. It enhanced his recognition in the underworld and established him as a cold blooded murderer who could kill.

He also proceeded to form a small group of militants called the Tamil New Tigers (TNT). The Tamil militants came to be referred in the Police circles as "Tigers", although they were officially terrorists. The Police had already been looking for Prabhakaran. But now they were on the trail of a dangerous killer. **They knew who they were looking for, but did not know what he looked like.** Three days following the assassination of Duraiappah, Prabhakaran escaped to Tamil Nadu. After his return to Sri Lanka, Prabhakaran became more careful and suspicious than ever before.

The killing was a defining moment in the country's Tamil politics, as it was the first instance in which Tamil militancy took a bloody turn, a dangerous development that would eventually be a tremendous threat to Sri Lanka's sovereignty.

The assassination of the Mayor of Jaffna drew more hot headed young men towards Prabhakaran. In the Tamil areas, the young militants were referred to as "our angry boys who have gone astray". The majority of the Tamils remained indifferent to the cause. However, people in the main Tamil political stream admired Prabhakaran, even if they did not agree with his violent methods.

On March 5<sup>th</sup> 1976, Prabhakaran and his small band of men stormed the People's Bank branch at Puttur in Jaffna during the day and carried away Rupees five hundred thousand in cash and Rupees two hundred thousand worth of jewellery, after holding up the staff at gun point.

On 5<sup>th</sup> May 1976, Prabhakaran who had completed three years of underground life formed the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), as a successor to his own Tamil New Tigers (TNT). The LTTE was to establish an independent homeland in the North and the East for the Tamil speaking people.

# The Vadukoddai Resolution of the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF)

In May 1976, the Tamil politicians met at a crowded convention in Jaffna and announced the setting up of the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) Party. S.J.V. Chelvanayagam, the ailing moderate presided over the meeting. He was re-elected to the parliament a year ago. However, the key person of the day was Appapillai Amirthalingham, who was Chelvanayagam's deputy, clearly seen by many as his successor.

As Amirthalingam and others made fiery speeches, the new party accused the Sinhalese majority of depriving the Tamils of their territory, language, citizenship, economic life, opportunities of employment and education, thereby destroying all the attributes of nationhood of the Tamil people.

This convention went on to say, "resolved the restoration and the reconstruction of the free sovereign secular socialist state of Eelam based on the right of self-determination inherent in every nation, which has become inevitable in order to safeguard the very existence of the Tamil nation".

#### This declaration which was known as the "Wadukkodai declaration"

#### really ignited Tamil politics.

# Dr. Dayan Jayathilaka's Interpretation of the Vadukoddail Resolution.

Dr. Dayan Jayathilaka refers constantly to a 30-year-old war in his book "Long War, Cold Peace". That would take him to a date three years after the war was declared by the Vadukoddians. The Vadukoddai Resolution which declared war on May 14, 1976 cannot be erased by the arbitrary dismissals of "political scientists". The duration of a war is calculated from the date it was declared officially to the date on which it came to an end. Accordingly, the dating of the Vadukoddai War should begin from May 14, 1976 and end in May 18, 2009, which adds up to 33 years, give or take a few days. So on what political science has Dayan concluded that it is a 30year-old war and not 33 years?

However, it must be said that there is total confusion on this date. BBC says 26 years. Even the Ministry of Defence is not clear when the war began and when the war ended. This detail may seem rather trivial. But getting this date correct is important not only for historiographers (present and future) but also to those who are attempting to bring peace and reconciliation. Clarity of knowing what happened precisely in the past is vital for the reconstruction of the future. It also can determine as to who should be held responsible for unleashing violence when the options were open for non violent negotiations as seen in the case of the other two Tamil-speaking communities – the Muslims and the Indians. Besides, at the end of a 33-year-old war – the longest running war in Asia – haven't the Vadukoddains who opted for the military solution in 1976 come back to negotiations in the post-Nandikadal phase, beginning in May 2009?

Two factors are critical in fixing the date at 1976. **First**, Velupillai Prabhakaran, restructured and renamed his war machine in April 1976 as Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) making it the juggernaut that carried the Vadukoddai violence to its bitter end in Nandikadal. He became the official war lord of the violence endorsed in the Vadukoddai Resolution. The resolution called upon the youth to take up arms and never shirked until they achieved Eelam. It was the ideology that Prabhakaran pursued to his last waking minute in Nandikadal. Second, the entire Jaffna elite, led by S.J. Velupillai Chelvanayakam, the so-called Gandhian, officially endorsed the military solution in passing the Vadukoddai Resolution in May 1976. Velupillai Chelvanayakam who led the Federal Party, scrutinized and endorsed every word of the Vadukoddai Resolution, as stated by his son-in-law, Prof. A.J. Wilson in his biography of the father of Tamil separatism (p. 128 – S. J. V. *Chelvanayakam and the Crisis of Sri Lankan TamilNationalism, 1947 – 1977, A. J. Wilson*).

Legitimising Vadukoddai violence officially by Velupillai Chelvanayakam, "the trousered Gandhi" (Ibid – p. 95), is as important as the LTTE war machine that was launched in the same year. The convergence of the two forces in 1976 – one at the top in Vadukoddai and the other at the lower-level with Prabhakaran carrying out the violence legitimized by the Vellala leadership – cannot be ignored in determining the date of the Vadukoddai War. It is true that Velupillai Prabhakaran began his killings in May 1975 when he gunned down Alfred Duraiyappa, the mild-mannered Mayor of Jaffna. But the official endorsement for the Vadukoddai violence and the launching of the LTTE killing machine for the Vadukoddai violence came within one month of each other in 1976. It is the convergence of two forces that over determined the politics of the post Vadukoddai period.

What happened in Vadukoddai in 1976 is absolutely critical: the Vellala elite handed their power to Velupillai Prabhakaran hoping to ride on their backs to power. It was the deliberately chosen means of speeding up "the little now and more later" policy of Velupillai Chelvanayakam through the guns of Velupillai Prabhakaran resorting to violence in any situation is a huge gamble which could go either way. And it did turn against the entire Vellala elite who opted for the military solution in Vadukoddai.

The Vellala elite handed the guns to the lower-level to target the Sinhala south. But the first victims were the fathers of the Vadukoddai Resolution. Velupillai Prabhakaran, the first born son of Velupillai Chelvanayakam's Vadukoddai Resolution, devoured their fathers. Violence has a way of recoiling and hitting the very sources from which it came. The Tamil Tigers were the brutal Jacobins who decimated their own leadership as in the French Revolution. In modern terms, Prabhakaran became "the latest Pol Pot of Asia" (James Burns, New York Times) – the mass murderer of his own people. The Vellala elite reaped the violence they sowed.

History records that the two Velupillais jointly took to violence on an organized scale in 1976. Prof. Wilson concedes that both groups coalesced in the mid-seventies. (Ibid – 128). Though both took place in two different dates, within a space of one month, of the same year, the ideology spun at the top and the execution of it by the lower-level dovetailed, merely to produce the horrors of the post-Vadukoddai period. Both groups abandoned mainstream non-violent politics to pursue violence to the bitter end as laid down in the Vadukoddai Resolution. The legitimizing of mono-ethnic violence at the highest level gave the required political cover for Velupillai Prabhakaran to perpetrate and perpetuate his brutal violence.

For the first time in the history of Jaffna, the Vellalas embraced the non-Vellalas as their "boys" in Vadukoddai. It was a deadly combination. The Vadukoddai Resolution was the extremist fire that was lit at one end of a dry rope of monoethnic extremism, that burnt slowly but surely until it hit the powder keg packed by Velupillai Prabhakaran. Appapillai Amirthalingam and his band of Tamil lawyers defended their "boys" violence in courts. Velupillai Chelvanayakam even garlanded Sivakumaran's statue, one of the first militants who attempted to assassinate a Police Superintendent. He even accepted a human blood mark placed on his forehead instead of the customary yellow pottu that represents holiness in Hinduism. (Ibid -119).

Prabhakaran who was present at the venue of the convention was one of the many admirers of Amirthalingham. Although his interest in political work was minimal, Prabhakaran quietly started meeting Amirthalingham and the other Tamil politicians at their Jaffna homes.

The LTTE had a five member central committee and Prabhakaran named him as a member of the leadership committee. He formulated a constitution which was accepted and signed by all the members. The document advocated formation of an independent Tamil state to be called "Eelam" and warned members against compromising their loyalty to the LTTE cause with family bonds or romantic affairs. The constitution promised that it would be dissolved once a Tamil Eelam came into existence and **declared the death penalty for those who quit the group and formed new and rival groups.** 

In his desire to expand the LTTE'S influence, Prabhakaran decided to destroy the formidable police network in Jaffna. In July 1976, the Manager of a fuel station suspected of being a police spy was shot dead. Thereafter the LTTE began targeting Policemen.

In February 1977, the LTTE shot dead a Tamil Police Constable who was investigating the assassination of Alfred Duraiappah. Three months later, a group of LTTE activists cycled towards two Policemen, gunned them down and peddled off. The situation was getting worse and the government was getting worried.

When the parliamentary elections were held in 1977, the main opposition admitted in its manifesto that numerous problems were confronted by the Tamils and that it would do its best to resolve them if voted to power. The TULF on the other hand, called upon the Tamil people to vote exclusively for them to "proclaim with the stamp of finality and forthwith that we alone shall rule over the land our forefathers ruled". It further stated that "Sinhalese imperialism shall quit our homeland".

The Prime Minister, Sirimavo Bandaranaike's SLFP was badly defeated in the July 1977 elections. The UNP under J.R. Jayawardene stormed to power with an absolute majority and he became the new Prime Minister

# In the North and the East, the TULF won all the fourteen seats in the North and four out of ten in the East. The TULF emerged as the main opposition, where it had more seats than the SLFP.

Amirthalingam was jubilant and so were the rest of the Tamil people. Most of them took this to be a mandate for an independent Tamil homeland.

The celebrations were however short lived. On August 15<sup>th</sup>, three Policemen on a routine patrol stopped three young men cycling in Jaffna.

One of the cyclists fired from a revolver and injured one Policeman and thereafter, all three men rode off from the scene.

The next day the Policemen went berserk in Jaffna, killing four civilians and injuring twenty one. The Prime Minister, Jayawardene ordered the military to go to Jaffna to restore peace. But **they spread more disorder. Simultaneously anti Tamil violence spread in the Sinhalese areas of the country, the first such fury seen after two decades.** 

## ETHNIC TURBULANCE

The violence spread throughout the country targeting Tamil interests. Hundreds of Tamil civilians suffered, even though they had no links with the terrorists.

For the first time, a sprinkling of Sinhalese living in Jaffna came under attack. Although majority in Jaffna were Tamils, there were also many Sinhalese residents who were government employees, traders or businessmen. There was even a government Sinhalese school for children living in Jaffna. Until 1977 they had never felt threatened by Tamils, despite two decades of ethnic turbulence.

The outburst of anti Tamil violence became an impetus to the Tamil youth, to resort to violence and to organize militant groups. They were encouraged by the Tamil politicians, who thought that the "boys" were necessary to teach a lesson or two to the Sinhalese, Police and the Military. Anti Tamil violence that occurred in the late 1970's encouraged by the Tamil hardcore politicians, led to the conditioning of the minds of the Tamil youth to engage in violence and was the foundation for the militant groups in the North. The slow growth of militancy which started during this period, grew at an accelerated pace due to the developments arising from the "Black July" in 1983.

It is evident that the ethnic turbulence between the Sinhalese and the Tamils which commenced since the late 1950's and erupted from time to time, was mainly due to various political developments which reached a climax in 1983. As stated previously, the immediate cause of the resultant disaster was the attack of a military convoy and the killing of thirteen Sinhalese soldiers of the Sri Lankan security forces by Prabhakaran and a gang of terrorists in July 1983 in Jaffna.

The conduct of the Sinhalese Buddhists, are in conformity with the Buddhist principles of tolerance and compassion. In addition, Sri Lanka is a country which has a high rate of literacy. In fact, the highest in South Asia in relation to its population. Hence the majority of people cannot be easily provoked to resort to violence. However, as they are human, there could be certain incidents or occurrences of such a magnitude, that they could surpass beyond the level of tolerance, which would result in giving into provocation.

The massacre of thirteen Sinhalese soldiers by Prabhakaran and his gang of terrorists was one such incident in the post independent era. This was one incident which deeply penetrated the hearts of the Sinhalese.

The hard line politicians of the TULF also encouraged the young Tamil militants to indulge in some violent activities, "to teach a lesson or two to the Sinhalese". It is also likely that the hard line politicians of the TULF would have expected a severe backlash by the Sinhalese, which they could turn to their advantage and would have advised the young militants accordingly

After winning fourteen electoral seats to the parliament in the 1977 general elections, Amirthalingam and his hard line politicians would have been confident of his unprecedented success at the elections and being the main opposition party, was a verdict they received from the Tamil people to establish an independent Tamil homeland.

Hence it may have been possible that Amirthalingam who was the "god father" of the LTTE, utilized Prabhakaran to implement his schematic plans directed towards achieving the objective of establishing an independent state for the Tamil people, for which he thought that he had got a mandate from the people of the North, at the election held in 1977. The UNP led by J.R. Jayawardene, having given an assurance in his election manifesto that he would do his best to resolve the "human problems" confronted by the Tamil people, may have been dejected by the violence initiated by their young Tamil militants on 15<sup>th</sup> August 1977.

Consequently Jayawardene and some of the hard line Sinhalese politicians in his government would have considered it to be a bad omen, when they were in the process of what they described as relieving the people of the hardships and suffering, that they alleged the SLFP to have burdened the people of the country with, by importing unlimited quantities of agricultural and industrial goods etc, in keeping with their policy of an "open economy policy".

# It must be stated that even though this policy of the UNP immediately relieved the hardships faced by the people, it had a tremendous negative impact on the local agriculture, industrial activities and enterprises in the country.

Due to the restrictions imposed by the pre 1977 SLFP Government and the incentives and assistance given by the government, agriculture developed on a unprecedented scale in the North and the East. Despite the ethnic disturbances that arose from time to time, the farmers were engaged in producing a fair share of the food requirements of the country, including the fisheries requirements of the people.

The farmers were generating substantial incomes over their cost of production, by marketing their products in the South and all over the country. This kept the farmers and the peasantry contented, despite the ethnic disturbances that arose from time to time during the SLFP regime. This was quite evident from the reaction of the people when Prime Minister, Sirimavo Bandaranaike visited the Jaffna peninsula.

However, due to the unrestricted import of food items by the UNP, the local producers could not compete with the low prices of the imported items and were compelled to give up their agricultural activities. This resulted in the loss of income to the farmers and the peasantry of the North, which seriously affected their standards of living and the quality of life. The frustration among farmers and the peasantry when added to the ethnic disturbances, the outcome became advantageous to the Tamil politicians, to promote terrorism among the people including the youth. They successfully convinced the people, that the "fete of the people of the North depended on the decisions taken by the people in the South".

It should also be stated that despite the fact that the TULF was the main opposition at the time, they apparently failed in influencing the government to modify or change the agricultural policy of the UNP to safeguard the interests of the farming and agricultural peasantry in the North. It may be that they were unconcerned, as they would have been able to further their objectives due to the resultant frustration arising from destroying the agricultural activities of the North and the East.

As stated above, the UNP government which was discontented with the pre 1983 violent activities that occurred in the North due to activities of the militants, the government may have thought of using the incident which took place in July 1983, to teach a good lesson to the militants as well as to the people of the North and the East.

As stated earlier the massacre of thirteen soldiers by a gang of terrorists led by Prabhakaran was "like a dagger that made a deep thrust into the heart of the country". The backlash that resulted, developed into a volcanic ethnic fury of the kind not to be witnessed in South Asia since 1947, when India's partition led to a massive Hindu–Muslim conflagration.

When the violence that took place throughout Colombo spread, to the suburbs and to the outstation areas, it was evident that it proceeded on an organized basis. It was subsequently revealed, that some hard line politicians encouraged the escalation of violence as stated earlier, as they wanted to teach a lesson to the militants and the Tamil people of the North. However, those who paid the price were innocent Tamil civilians who lived in other parts of the country, who were not directly or indirectly connected with any form of militant or violent activities prevalent in the North.

It was evident that the government was silent for one week, since the commencement of violence. The Police and the Security Forces were not adequately deployed to efficiently handle the situation. The leaders of the mobs were armed with copies of electoral lists handed over by some persons, after obtaining them from the relevant government departments. This enabled them to easily identify the houses occupied by Tamils. These houses were looted, the occupants were taken out of their homes and they were attacked, the houses were set on fire. No announcement or statement was made or issued by the government for one week since the commencement of the violence.

After one week, J.R. Jayawardene, the then President issued a statement and blamed the Leftist Marxists for promoting violence and made a very irresponsible statement as the head of the government, "that the people should look after their own security", forgetting that one of the fundamental responsibilities of a government is to provide adequate safety and security for the lives and property of its people. The Leftist parties promptly denied these allegations against them and blamed the government for the half hearted action taken by them to bring the violence under control.

Meanwhile there was no evidence nor record of any appeals or requests made by the TULF which represented the people of the North and the East, in Parliament, compelling the government take action to safeguard the lives and properties of the Tamil people, by crushing the violence effectively without delay. Instead whilst failing to discharge their responsibilities towards the people whom they represented in parliament by allowing violence to take its own course, they sacrificed the interests of their own people, to achieve their objectives.

It was evident that the TULF was not the least concerned for the safety of the life and property of their people and instead were looking forward to the disastrous consequences of the violence. It was clear that they had planned to use the outcome of the sacrifices and sufferings undergone by their people for the furtherance of their objective which they shared with the terrorist groups in establishing a separate state.

Immediately after the violence was over, they appealed to the countries in the West, Australia and Canada, that Sri Lanka had denied the rights to the Tamil pupil to live in this country and requested refugee status for these people. However, the politicians of the TULF did not request refugee status to them, which meant that it was safe for them to continue to live in Sri Lanka. Hence their intention was not to provide for the safe living to the people or the Tamil community but to use them as the source of generating funds to assist the terrorist to achieve their hidden objectives. Hence it was evident that the TULF shrewdly maneuvered their strategy to make the west gullible to their trickery.

Even though some people migrated to India, the TULF did not make any specific requests to Asian countries including India. They were particularly concerned in gaining refugee status for their people in the Western countries mainly to benefit from their entitlements, despite them being granted only refugee status.

Once they were settled in those countries, they formed the Tamil diaspora, which they used for the furtherance of their objectives. Apart from extorting a part of their dole payment made to them as refugees, they utilized what was extorted to develop a fund, to purchase the military requirements of the terrorists which ravaged the country for over thirty years.

The TULF which had no refugee interest in India fully utilized India with the influence exerted by their friends in Tamil Nadu, to persuade the Indian government to provide the required military training to the terrorists and to equip them with the required military hardware.

The Sri Lankan government headed by President J.R. Jayawardene, who did not maintain candid relations with India, due to inter-alia conflict of political and economic interests, the Indian Government acceded to the requests made by the terrorists and their promoters, the TULF. When India agreed to provide traning women voluntarily joined the militant groups which were formed by some militant leaders.

By then Prabhakaran who had initially formed the TNT and thereafter formed the LTTE, was maintaining candid relations with the TULF leadership, and was in the forefront.

Apart from the LTTE, other terrorist groups which sprang up during this period were the EPRLF, PLOTE, ENDF, TELO and EROS. After their limited training in India, they received advanced training, especially in the manufacture and use of high explosives and the use of advanced and sophisticated military hardware in Palestine, Lebanon, Syria and in other terrorist organizations like IRA, Alfatah, Al-Qaeda, Hamas etc. It has also been revealed that some key men of the LTTE had also been trained in Israel.

When an analysis is made of the causes of the ethnic disturbances that have occurred during the period of the respective governments headed by the two major political parties the UNP and the SLFP that ruled Sri Lanka, since the mid 1950's, it has been revealed that these disturbances have been caused mainly due to the problems that arose from time to time regarding the use of the Tamil language in the North and the East.

The Tamil language is the mother tongue of the Tamil people, including those Tamils of Indian origin the total of which constitute approximately 16% of the population of Sri Lanka. It is nothing but reasonable to permit Tamil people of the North and the East to get themselves and their children educated in their mother tongue and to permit them to transact their activities with the government in the same language. It is not just and fair to impose another language on them without their consent.

The knowledge of the language in which one was educated, should be adequate for employment. However, a working knowledge of the official language may be specified for promotions whilst in employment.

In a country where the parliamentary democratic system is practiced, once a government is appointed at a general election, it constitutes the government of the people of the country irrespective of the ethnic basis on which they received the votes at the election. Hence once a government is elected, it cannot confine itself, in looking after, the interests and the concerns of only those who voted for them at the elections. If a government in power is to adopt this policy, those who did not vote in favour of the government will be dejected and would create problems for the government.

This was exactly what happened to the respective governments which were in power from the mid 1950's. Due to their lust for power, they drew their attention only to the concerns of the Sinhalese community and did not want to consider the demands of the minority Tamils, as it would have displeased those who voted them to power.

Two genuine attempts were made to resolve this problem, but it had to be abandoned due to violent protests from the Sinhalese hardliners.

As stated earlier, when the coalition led by S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike won the election in 1956, he brought in the legislation to make Sinhalese the official language. It was a monumental decision that served to sow the seeds of Tamil separation.

As the parliament enacted the law, violence erupted for the first time in the North and the East. As stated earlier a protest organized by the Federal Party and led by its leader Chelvanayagam opposite the parliament, was attacked by a mob of Sinhalese and the protest was disrupted. Thereafter, anti Tamil violence erupted first in the suburbs of Colombo and thereafter spread to several parts of the country.

S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike who perhaps thought that his government had wronged the Tamil people decided to rectify the situation by entering into a pact with Chelvanayagam, to promote the autonomous councils in the Tamil areas. This came to be known as the Bandaranaike–Chelvanayagam pact.

J.R. Jayawardene who led the UNP, organized a violent protest against the BC pact, demanding the abrogation of the pact. The pressure mounted was such, that Bandaranaike had no alternative but to abrogate the pact much against his will. Thereafter Bandaranaike is said to have remarked that even though he had to give in to the demands of those who protested, it would result in disastrous consequences in the future.

As stated earlier when the UNP won the elections in 1965, Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake tried to resolve the problems of the Tamils by signing an agreement with Chelvanayagam and proceeded to accord official status to the Tamil language. Although it was more or less on the lines of the previous agreement proposed and signed by her husband, Sirimavo Bandaranaike, who was the leader of the opposition led a violent campaign against it. This compelled Senanayake to abrogate the agreement which again dealt a blow to a possible Sinhalese– Tamil rapprochment.

Hence, two genuine attempts to resolve the language problem failed due to the unmindful, selfish and power hungry policies of the politicians who ruled the country since the 1950's. Consequently, the unrest and discontentment that prevailed among the Tamils in the North continued. This was further aggravated by the ethnic turbulence that arose from time to time due to various reasons.

During the 1970's the Tamil leaders who kept harping initially on making Tamil an official language, proceeded with further demands relating to the rights of the Tamil people. Commencing from the 1970's, they advocated that the only solution to their problems was to launch a struggle to set up a separate state by amalgamating the North and the East of Sri Lanka, which they claimed to be historical homeland of the Tamil people.

In May 1976, Tamil politicians at a convention held in Jaffna announced the formation of the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) and resolved to set up the State of Tamil Eelam.

For the first time since independence in 1948, the Tamil leaders endorsed the call for Tamil separation.

The statements made by the Tamil leaders inspired the young men to resort to violence. The respective militant leaders established their own terrorist organizations namely LTTE, TELO, EROS, EPRLF, PLOTE and ENDLF etc

# Out of the Tamil militant groups that sprang up, Amirthalingam appeared to have considered the TULF and the LTTE as two sides of the same coin, one political and ideological and the other armed and military

One evening, Amirthalingam convened a secret meeting with the LTTE at his residence in Jaffna. He explained that the TULF had won a great victory at the elections held in 1977 and should be given a chance in its efforts to see whether a negotiated settlement was possible to the

Tamil problem. He requested Prabhakaran to put the killings and criminal activity on hold, at least for some time. **Even if Amirthalingam thought** that he had convinced Prabhakaran that he was wrong. Prabhakaran who was already committed to the cause of an independent state was not prepared to ask his colleagues to give up their campaign.

Tamil militancy had gathered a momentum of its own and there was no stopping now. Rapid militancy came about in the North and the East due to the developments that followed the "Black July" of 1983. As stated earlier the Tamil leaders of the TULF who were hand in glove with the leaders of Tamil Nadu had conspired to get the assistance of the Indian government to train and equip the militants of Sri Lanka. When India agreed to oblige with this dangerous and destructive request, a large number of Tamil youth both men and women, volunteered to join the militant groups to be trained in India.

As mentioned earlier some of the militant groups who received basic military training in India, were sent to some other countries, where terrorist groups were operating such as Palestine, Syria, Lebanon and Ireland, where they were provided advanced training in the manufacture of explosives, the use of modern and sophisticated military hardware and training in guerilla warfare and other military tactics etc.

#### ELIMINATING THE RIVAL TERRORIST GROUPS

Out of all the militant groups which were initially trained in India and thereafter in other countries where terrorist organizations thrived, the LTTE led by Prabhakaran was identified by the TULF as the most violent of all militant groups.

This was due to the fact that the LTTE had to its credit, the commission of some of the daring acts of violence, such as the assassination of Bastianpillai the dreadful Police Inspector, the assassination of Alfred Duraiappah the Mayor of Jaffna, the killing of C. Kanagaratnam the TULF Member who crossed over to the

# UNP after being elected and the daylight robbery of State Bank branches in Jaffna. No other militant leader had such a criminal record to his credit.

Prabhakaran who was deeply committed to the cause of establishing a separate state as preached by his "God Father" Amirthalingam, was inflicted with the megalomaniac thinking that he and he alone should set up this dreamland only with the efforts of his own gang of terrorists, where he could be its undisputed leader.

Prabhakaran was never inflicted with the idea of getting the support of the trained militants of the other groups, which would have been a substantial force to achieve his objectives. He never believed that "unity would give greater strength". He would have been inflicted with the fear that somebody would supersede him for leadership.

Hence instead of seeking their support for a common cause, from the very inception **he was seeking the flimsiest reason to eliminate the members belonging to other militant groups, whilst also head hunting to eliminate their leaders. Some of these leaders were those who were closely associated with him at the inception, having helped him in his efforts to establish the LTTE.** 

But Prabhakaran had no permanent friends, nor did he have any concern for those who assisted him. He eliminated all those whom he thought to be potentially dangerous to his cause of leadership.

by 1985 there were at least five prominent terrorist groups namely LTTE, EPRLF, TELO, EROS, and PLOTE. At the time the TULF was the godfather of these terrorist groups trying to instigate and promote these terrorist groups to resort to violence to achieve what they called the rights of the "Tamil people". However, before long infighting developed among these groups mainly due to the selfish intentions of Prabhakaran the leader of the LTTE, to eliminate all other groups and their leadership and to be the one and only group that should undertake the task of setting up a separate state for the Tamil speaking people. He also made a self determination that he should be the sole leader of this proposed state of Eelam. Hence by 1983 out of the terrorist groups that existed at

# the time the LTTE was the main terrorist outfit that dominated the acts of terrorism killing civilians the Sinhalese, the Muslims and the Tamils living in the North and the East.

A summary of the attacks carried out by the LTTE on the rival groups and the leaders are provided for the information of the readers.

# 1. MASSACRE OF TELO MEMBERS –4<sup>TH</sup> MAY 1985

The LTTE launched a massacre of members of the rival Tamil militant group, the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization (TELO) led by Sri Sabaratnam. In the subsequent weeks, over five hundred members of TELO were rounded up and slaughtered by the LTTE in its battle for the monopoly of the Tamil Eelam cause.

# 2. LEADER OF THE TELO KILLED $-6^{TH}$ MAY 1986

The LTTE killed C. Sabaratnam leader of TELO on 6th May 1986.

# 3. KILLING EPRLF CADRES – DECEMBERR 1986

In the second week of December the LTTE suddenly attacked the EPRLF cadres and killed forty five (45) of its members.

# 4. ATTACK ON KITTU, THE LTTE COMMANDER OF JAFFNA – 3<sup>RD</sup> MARCH 1987

During the month of March 1987, the terrorist groups were at one another's throats. A terrorist group had lobbed a grenade into the vehicle in which the LTTE's Jaffna Commander, Kittu was travelling and he was seriously injured. The LTTE rushed Kittu across the Palk Strait to India for treatment, since he could not be admitted to a local hospital as he was a fugitive, a man suspected in a number of murders. Kittu became a cripple for life depending on crutches to move about, but his ruthlessness remained with him till the end of his life.

On that occasion when grenades were lobbed into the vehicle in which Kittu was travelling, two of his body guards were killed on the spot. A group of EPRLF members were reported to have celebrated, playing music for several hours.

# 5. KILLING EPRLF AND TELO MEMBERS IN JAFFNA - 4<sup>th</sup> APRIL 1987

Just five days after Kittu was attacked, the LTTE started rounding up all the members and sympathizers of the rival TELO and EPRLF terrorist groups.

First they abducted twenty eight youth on 3<sup>rd</sup> April and then again that same night, another thirty seven young men mostly from Jaffna were rounded up and shot in public spots bringing the total number to sixty five. A jeweller was also killed for allowing a young man belonging to the TELO, another rival group, to hide in his house, which was raided by the LTTE killers. It was evident that LTTE was trying to bring all other organizations under its control.

# 6. LTTE ATTACKS ON RIVAL GROUPS IN EASTERN PROVINCE – 6<sup>th</sup> JULY 1987

The violence against the rival groups which erupted in the Eastern Province exploded into a nightmarish orgy of killing, as gunmen engaged in a battle for supremacy among **Tamil terrorist groups**. One hundred bullet riddle bodies of young men were lying at the mortuary of Batticaloa hospital for identification. Another One hundred members of the EPRLF and PLOTE sought Police Protection.

Fighting outside Batticaloa and Kalmunai started by the LTTE led to a blood bath on Sunday against the rival groups who were unarmed, were shot down in cold blood. Vasudewa the second in command of PLOTE and Kannan the area leader of Batticaloa were killed in the first wave. The EPRLF unarmed members who went in a van to Batticaloa after a trip, including two women and six others were seriously injured. The gun battle at Mandalachena, near Kalmunai ended with the killing of two members of EPRLF and two were injured. All gun battles took place outside Batticaloa and Kalmunai city limits where rival groups have established offices to canvas support for the forthcoming Provincial Elections provided in the Indo-Sri Lanka Peace Accord.

Time bombs and grenade attacks were common throughout the night. Both police and IPKF were trying to prevent the killings. LTTE lost one key man Jeganathan Rajendran of KKS. To retaliate LTTE killed two civilians and one of ENDLF. The Catholic Priest Reverend Joseph Swamipillai stated that there was no fighting, and all those who were ambushed died.

### 7. THE ORGY OF KILLING 13<sup>th</sup> SEPTEMBER 1987

Despite the peace accord the LTTE continued to possess weapons and launch attacks on rival groups in Batticaloa and Kalmunai. They attacked members of the EPRLF and PLOTE and **the death toll rose to 72** and 100 and whilst some others were injured. Thousands of women and children took to streets to protest in both towns. After gunning down the rivals the LTTE cadres vanished.

It became clear that the LTTE was trying to eradicate the rival groups and assume the role of the sole representative of ruthless terrorism.

# 8. LTTE GUNNED DOWN UNARMED RIVALS IN SURPRISE ATTACK - 15<sup>th</sup> SEPTEMBER 1987

The previous Sunday, the Eastern Province exploded into a nightmarish orgy of killings as the gunmen of rival Tamil separatist groups engaged in a battle for supremacy.

Forty bullet riddled bodies of young men lay at the mortuary of the Batticaloa hospital, awaiting identification by mourning relatives.

It was reported that over one hundred young men of PLOTE and EPRLF had sought police protection fearing attacks by the LTTE.

Reports received had stated that the LTTE had massacred at least sixty six people in this most recent bout of blood-letting and over one hundred young men who had no chances of defending

#### themselves had lost their lives.

The LTTE gunmen had started a blood bath the previous Sunday evening, attacking members of the rival separatist groups who were unarmed and shooting them down in cold blood.

# Vasudeva, second in command of the PLOTE had been killed in the first wave of killings and Kannan a leader of the same group in Batticaloa had suffered the same fate.

Seven members belonging to the EPRLF, none of whom were armed died as they drove back to Batticaloa after a Sunday picnic. Two women who were in the van with them died while six others in their party were seriously injured. This incident had taken place in Karankulam.

All the shoot outs and massacres had taken place outside the precincts of Batticaloa and the Kalmunai city limits, in villages where the rival groups had opened their offices and begun canvassing support in preparation for the forthcoming provincial elections, prior to the Indo–Sri Lanka peace accord.

The Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) and the local Police moved out of Batticaloa in an effort to call a halt to the killings, but the results were negative. The Police had reported that as far as they were aware, the LTTE had not lost any lives. The LTTE had however lost one of its key men in Killinochchi the previous week. The body of Jeganathan Rajendran of Kankesanthurai was found with no trace of a killer.

In a retaliatory move the following day 11<sup>th</sup> September 1987, the LTTE led by Alex and Yasanthan opened fire on an ENDLF office in Killinochchi killing two civilians and one ENDLF member. Meanwhile Reuters News Agency quoted Catholic Bishop, Joseph Swamipillai "that there has been no fighting – all the dead were ambushed and eliminated".

# 9. KILLING OF SIX MEMBERS OF ENDLF -7<sup>th</sup> DECEMBER 1987

The LTTE killed six members of the ENDLF at Mankulam in Northern Mullaitivu and two refugees who were in the refugee

# camps run by the ENDLF. 10. OMANTHAI LAND MINE KILLS 5 IPKF -2<sup>nd</sup> DECEMBER 1987

A Land mine exploded on the Vavuniya Jaffna road on Monday night the blast occurred between the 116<sup>th</sup> and 117<sup>th</sup> mile post at Omanthai. The IPKF search resulted in arresting 40 persons described as LTTE hardcore terrorists, among them a man described as a kinsman of the LTTE who was the Batticaloa leader responsible for a number of attacks against the civilians and wanted for **master minding a killing of the teenage son of the A.S.P. Batticaloa**, Theophilius an year ago. The IPKF has also repulsed an LTTE attack on the Batticaloa police. After a seven hour exchange of fire one injured soldier and one policeman his wife and his two daughters of a living in quarters were also injured and hospitalized.

## 11. TWO RIVALS GUNNED DOWN – MAY 1988

In the Amparai district, two young members of PLOTE namely, Manikkam and Yoga were gunned down by the LTTE who were increasingly becoming violent even against the Tamil people whom they claimed to represent, or were said to be fighting for the liberation of the Sri Lankan Tamil people.

### 12. TWENTY TWO KILLED IN LTTE MASSACRE OF RIVALS – 25<sup>th</sup> OCTOBER 1988

The LTTE terrorists had killed around twenty two young men of rival groups at Kalawanchikudi, Jaffna, Adampan, Koviladi and Trincomalee between Sunday, October 23<sup>rd</sup> night and 6.00 a.m. the following morning.

The LTTE had launched a campaign to eliminate the EPRLF and ENDLF cadres and attacked their provincial council election meetings.

The LTTE had also ordered the principals of schools in the peninsula to close their respective schools for a week from Tuesday, 25<sup>th</sup> October 1988.

# 13. LTTE ACCUSED OF POISONING EPRLF GROUP – 21<sup>st</sup> FEBRUARY\_1989

Forty two members including some women of the EPRLF were taken violently ill shortly after consuming food in the boarding in Mullaitivu.

Earlier during the day, Tamil guerillas had shot dead the brotherin-law of a former Tamil separatist who was elected to the Parliament in the general election.

The EPRLF spokesman who blamed the LTTE for the poisoning stated that the LTTE Tigers may have mixed poison with the food, prior to delivering it to the heavily guarded EPRLF boarding.

It was stated by the EPRLF spokesman, that this was a new method adopted by the LTTE to strike at them. He said that the LTTE had been targeting the EPRLF boarding for some time. Reports were later received that some of the potatoes purchased at the Mulaitivu market for the EPRLF hostel had contained cyanide.

The LTTE which had rejected a 1987 Indo–Sri Lanka Peace Pact which sought to end the Tamil separatist campaign, bitterly opposed to the EPRLF for the latter's proximity to the Indian Government.

On Sunday, 19<sup>th</sup> February 1989, the LTTE terrorists shot dead the brother-in-law of an EPRLF Member of Parliament named Ganesh Ashanki Yogasankani in Jaffna. It was later reported that some of the potatoes purchased at the Mullaitivu market to be delivered to the EPRLF hostel contained cyanide.

# 14. EPRLF MAN KILLED BY LTTE AT KALAWANCHIKUDI – 5<sup>th</sup> NOVEMBER 1990

The LTTE shot dead an EPRLF supporter identified as Kanapathipillai Kamalanathan at Kalawanchikudi on Monday, 5<sup>th</sup> November 1990.

# 15. KILLING MUTHULINGAM GANESHKUMAR -29<sup>th</sup> MAY 1999

A teenaged suicide bomber on a bicycle killed Muthulingam Ganeshkumar alias Razeek, leader of an anti LTTE vigilante group called the "Razeek Group" on the Trincomalee road in Batticaloa. Along with Razeek, his bodyguard Chandran Jeyakumar, two civilians and the suicide bomber were killed and eight others were wounded.

#### 16. KILLING ANTON SIVALINGAM – 3<sup>RD</sup> JANUARY 2000

Two LTTE terrorists shot dead Anton Sivalingam of the Eelam People's Democratic Party (EPDP) in the Main Street of Jaffna.

#### 17. KILLING TELO MEMBER – 8<sup>th</sup> JUNE 2000

A prominent TELO member of Arayampathi was shot dead by the LTTE terrorists close to the Education Department in Batticaloa.

## 18. MARIMUTTU MANIKARASA KILLED AT KILLIWEDDI, MUTHUR – 6<sup>th</sup> JUNE 2000

Two Tamil youths were shot dead by members of the LTTE's pistol gang in Vavuniya.

# 19. TELO MEMBER DEAD IN BATTICALOA – 7<sup>th</sup> JUNE 2000

TELO member Kanapathipillai Navaratnarajah was shot dead by LTTE terrorists in Batticaloa.

#### 20. THAMBIRAJA JEYAKUMAR SHOT DEAD IN BATTICALOA - 18<sup>th</sup> NOV 2001

LTTE gunmen shot dead an opposition candidate campaigning for the parliamentary elections. He was Thambiraja Jeyakumar, a United National Party candidate, who was shot dead while driving to a campaign event in the Batticaloa district by members of the LTTE terrorist gang. 21. EPDP CHAIRMAN KILLED –  $3^{RD}$  MAY 2003

Tiger terrorists broke the Norway led ceasefire killing former EPDP Chairman of the Karaveddu Pradeshiya Sabha.

# 22. LEADER OF THE EPRLF PARTY KILLED -14<sup>th</sup> JUNE 2003

Leader of the EPRLF political party, Thambirajah Subathiran was murdered in the city of Jaffna by an LTTE *sniper. Mr. Subathiran* has been critical of the way LTTE have been harassing the Tamil population in Jaffna.

## 23. POLITICAL LEADER OF PLOTE KILLED – $5^{TH}$ JULY 2003

The LTTE shot and killed Mohamad Seyyadu, a political leader of the PLOTE organisation and wounded his wife.

# 24. SHOOTING EX-PLOTE MEMBER K.DEVARAJA -28<sup>th</sup> JUNE 2004

LTTE pistol group shot dead an ex-PLOTE member at Pattakulam in Vavuniya.

K. Devaraja aged forty nine and the father of two children was on his way home riding a motor cycle when two gunmen shot him killing him instantly.

#### 25. ATTACK ON ENDLF-15<sup>th</sup> APRIL 2005

Tamil militants killed at least nine members of a rival group at Vannaturayadi, a village about ninety kilometres West of the Eastern town of Batticaloa. **Heavily armed cadres of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) launched a pre-dawn attack on the makeshift base of the rival group, the Eelam National Democratic Liberation Front (ENDLF) killing nine and causing injuries to several others.** 

It was reported that the **dead included Vijayan**, a senior ENDLF cadre in the East. Two persons with serious injuries had been admitted to the Polonnaruwa hospital. The wounded men were identified as K.

#### Yogarajah and Sinnathamby Mahendran. 26. KILLING EPDP MEMBERS –1<sup>st</sup> JUNE 2005

Two members of the EPDP were gunned down by the LTTE *in Poomankulam, Vavuniya.* 

# 27. SIVAGURU NAVARATNARAJAH LEADER EPRLF -14<sup>th</sup> SEPTEMBER 2005

Leader, EPRLF (Razeek Group) Sivaguru Navaratnarajah (alias Kanthy) was killed in an LTTE grenade attack in Batticaloa.

### 28. UNP ACTIVIST KILLED IN JAFFNA -18<sup>th</sup> NOVEMBER 2005

In Jaffna, one UNP activist was shot and killed by the LTTE and the voters from the LTTE controlled area were not allowed to cast their votes by them.

# 29. UNP MEMBER KILLED IN TRINCOMALEE - 18<sup>th</sup> NOVEMBER 2005

UNP member, R. Somapala residing on Kandy Road in Trincomalee was shot dead by the LTTE. He was working for the UNP at the Presidential Elections.

# 30. KILLING JEINULABDEEN MOHAMMEDBASHEER – 25<sup>H</sup> JUNE 2006

An official of the People's Liberation Organization of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE), Jeinulabdeen Mohammed Basheer aged forty six was shot dead in Jaffna by two gunmen on a bicycle.

#### 31. ATTACKS ON SITTANDY - 29TH AUGUST 2006

The LTTE killed a woman who allegedly had relations with an anti-LTTE faction, near Murugan Kovil, at Sittandy. The 48-year-old woman victim, Wellakuttu Veeramuttu's son was killed earlier by terrorists after he was found linked to another anti-LTTE outfit. Four days before, LTTE gunmen killed one more mother in Batticaloa after

# she opposed the LTTE's attempt to abduct and conscript her son. 32. KILLING TWO TMVP MEMBERS – 24<sup>TH</sup> FEBRUARY 2008

A LTTE suicide bomber on a bicycle had rammed into a motorcycle at Kalawanchikudi, Batticaloa in Eastern Sri Lanka. The two on the motorcycle had been members of the Tamil Makkal Viduthalai Pulikkal (TMVP), a political party contesting for local government polls in Batticaloa. A TMVP spokesman had reported that two of their political activists canvassing in the area for the upcoming elections had been killed, as they tried to inspect a suspicious looking man riding a bicycle. It was also stated that a woman in the vicinity had also been injured and admitted to the hospital.

# 34. KUMARASAWAMY NANDAGOPAN – 14<sup>th</sup> NOVEMBER 2008

LTTE terrorists shot dead TVMP President Kumaraswamy Nandagopan alias Ragu in Colombo.

# 35. TRACING AND EXECUTING 23 DESERTERS -31<sup>st</sup> JULY 2009

The LTTE leader and his senior cadres were beginning to feel that some actions had to be taken to stop the dilution of their groups. Therefore on the final week of July it was reported that the LTTE traced 23 deserters and executed them in public at two places in Jaffna.

# 11.3 CONSCRIPTION OF INNOCENT TAMIL CHILDREN AS CHILD SOLDIERS

#### CONVENTION ON THE RIGHTS OF CHILDREN

One of the worst crimes perpetrated by Prabhakaran was the conscription of innocent children and sacrificing them to achieve his megalomaniac objective of a separate state.

The principles outlined in the International Human Rights framework apply both to children and adults. Children are mentioned explicitly in many of the Human Rights Instruments and standards are specifically modified or adopted, where the needs and concerns surrounding rights are distinct for children. The Convention on the Rights of the Child brings together the human rights of children articulated in other international instruments. This Convention articulates the rights more completely and provides a set of guiding principles that fundamentally outlines the way in which we view children.

Some of the important rights stipulated are: -

- The right to life
- Right to freedom from torture, cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment
- Right of detained person to be treated with dignity
- Right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion
- Right to freedom of opinion and expression
- Right to an adequate standard of living
- Right to health and health services
- Right to education

The children who had been conscripted by the LTTE were of a tender age of twelve years and above. They were of the growing age when they were forcibly taken by the LTTE to be trained in military activities. The minimum age to be qualified for recruitment to the security forces is eighteen years. The basic training in military warfare for a new recruit is for a period of six months. Apart from the prescribed age, a person recruited for training to the security forces should be in good health and should be in a physical condition to undergo a rigorous form of training normally under hazardous conditions.

It is evident that a child just above the ages of twelve or thirteen does not have the physical or mental capacity to undergo the hardship of military training.

Under such conditions, it is obvious that a child is denied of not, one but, all the rights of children, as stipulated in the United Nations Convention on the rights of children.

Apart from lacking the mental and physical capacity to undergo military training, it is not certain whether these children who were of a very tender age were able to carry the rifle, as some of them may not have been, even as tall as the rifle they carried, when it was kept vertically on the ground.

Hence, it is clear that due to the limited mental and physical capacity of these child soldiers, the military training provided to them should have been of a very basic nature which cannot be compared to the professional training provided to the recruits to the security forces.

It is clear from what is stated above and the basis of the confessions and experiences related by the ex-child soldiers it had been revealed, that towards the end of the war the LTTE was desperately trying to recruit additional men to confront the advancing security forces. Hence, they did everything in their power to recruit child soldiers. It is not known how they deployed the child soldiers to confront the security forces. It is clear that even if they were among the senior cadres in the battle field, they would have been eliminated without difficulty due to their limited ability and training.

Sri Lanka is a country in Asia which has adopted and practiced an advanced legal system dating back to one and a half centuries. It prohibits the employment of any persons below the age of eighteen years. Accordingly, employment of child labour is banned in Sri Lanka.

In addition, child abuse of any form is an offence, punishable by law. In Sri Lanka a separate government department has been established to ensure the enforcement of the laws intended to protect the interests of children.

However, the government could not prevent the LTTE from abducting children secretly at gun point from their parents and using them as child soldiers for terrorism. The parents did not complain to the police or the security forces due to fear of reprisal action against them by the LTTE.

In 2007, the LTTE forced each family to handover one child,

#### which was subsequently increased to two children in 2008, when they realized that their cadres were getting exhausted due to the activities of the advancing security forces.

James Elder a spokesman for UNICEF, and one of the most reputed and respected journalists in an article to the "Economist", had stated that from 2003 to the end of 2008, more than six thousand instances of child recruitment by the LTTE had occurred in the North and the East of Sri Lanka. However, the Organization (UNICEF) speculated that only a third of such cases were reported to them.

# According to UNICEF figures since signing the cease fire agreement in July 1987, the LTTE had abducted five thousand six hundred and sixty six children up to July 2006.

However, the Organization speculated that only about a third of such cases were reported to them. It was also reported that the forces nicknamed one unit of the LTTE as the "Baby Battalion" or the "Baby Brigade", as it consisted only of children.

#### A child under fifteen years is universally recognized as having the right to decide against participating in active military combat.

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, is an international treaty setting out the civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights of children adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on November 20<sup>th</sup> 1989. In article 38 it states that, "parties shall take all feasible measures to ensure that persons who have not attained the age of fifteen years will not take a direct part in hostilities".

However, the convention allows children who are over the age of fifteen but under the age of eighteen to take part in combat as soldiers, provided they do so voluntarily.

Furthermore, the optional protocol on the involvement of children in armed conflict (which came into force in 2002), which is an adjustment to the main convention, **provides that all states "shall take all feasible measures to ensure that individuals below the age of eighteen do not take a direct part in hostilities and that they are not compulsorily** 

#### recruited into the Armed Forces".

The protocol further states, "that all feasible measures should be taken to prevent such recruitment and to adopt legal measures to prohibit and criminalize such practices".

As at 31<sup>st</sup> December 2008, one hundred and ninety three countries had ratified the United Nations Convention on the rights of the child. This is almost the entire world, setting a universal and incontrovertible standard on the reprehensibility of the recruitment of child soldiers.

Prabhakaran was the father of two boys and one girl. He treated his own children differently to those children of his community, who were conscripted forcibly to be child soldiers. He denied the rights of these children, depriving them of their education and all other rights which were entitled to them. In the end, they were deprived of their very right to live as human beings.

However, Prabhakaran ensured that his own children received a proper education and in fact both his elder children were educated overseas. They were given the best of facilities and their protection was ensured wherever they lived.

It is true that the elder son of Prabhakaran joined the LTTE cadres. But it was after the completion of his overseas education, that he was trained in terrorist warfare. He was probably expected and was groomed to succeed Prabhakaran as the leader of the proposed state of Eelam. He refrained from compelling his daughter to join the ranks of the LTTE women's cadre.

The parents of the young lovable children who were forcibly conscripted by the LTTE and who were relentlessly lamenting would have even cursed the ruthless LTTE leader, Prabhakaran.

When Prabhakaran formulated a rigid code of conduct for the members of his Organization, he pledged not to do anything which would contradict his thinking. Hence at the time he wanted to create the impression that he was exemplary in his conduct and in all other activities. However, contrary to this pledge there were several instances when he absolved himself from complying with his own rules of conduct. One such instance when he violated his own rules was when he selfishly treated his children differently from other children of his community, having proclaimed that he was the liberator of his people.

Hence there is no doubt that the parents who grievously lamented when the LTTE forcibly took away their loving children, would have appealed to all the known gods and would have cursed Prabhakaran and his ruthless gang of terrorists, while praying that "Asuras" such as Prabhakaran should never be born again in this country in the future!

Some child soldiers who were forcibly conscripted by the LTTE were free to express themselves after the war and related how they were forcibly taken by the terrorists and the enormous suffering they underwent when they were under the command of their ruthless masters.

In addition, there were eye witnesses who reported on the atrocities committed by the LTTE in desperation, during the last days of the battle the security forces launched against terrorism.

Parents of the child victims, a member of the clergy and the ex-LTTE cadres testified about the nightmares experienced by them on the forced conscription of under aged children.

The Catholic Priest at St Mary's church, Valayamadam in north Mullaitivu described about the forced recruitment of under aged children to fight the war. He revealed how the LTTE stormed the church premises, where displaced civilians and orphans had been accommodated.

St. Mary's church, Valayamadam was in the "no fire zone" and was the last refuge for children brought in by their parents who were terrified that the children would be forcibly taken away by the LTTE to fight the last battle. Reverend Father James Paththinandan who was the resident priest of the church witnessed the heinous crimes committed by the LTTE, and stated that, "It was an intense situation where the Army was advancing and the Tigers were resisting. The church was not meant to be a refuge for people due to its very small size of 60 x 30 feet. However not only children and adults, but Tiger deserters also sought shelter in the church. We received information that the Tigers were going to raid the place and take the children. As I was in charge of the church, I repeatedly requested the LTTE to avoid stepping into the church as there should be no violence. Announcements were also made for people to find alternate safe places. Despite our protests, the LTTE took control of the church on March 21<sup>st</sup> 2009 and installed heavy weapons within the premises. The terrorists moved in and took out over six hundred civilians that time. There was nothing I could do to prevent the abduction" he stated.

Following are the testimonies of some of those who experienced LTTE terror during their stay in the church.

Velayudan, a labourer who lived in Rektavaikkal related the following story. "I sent my daughter Niruba aged fifteen to the church in fear of the LTTE abducting her as I was sure the LTTE would not conscript children who were in the church. But the LTTE who had no regard for the clergy came one day firing indiscriminately and took away all the children from the church".

"One day the LTTE surrounded the church and we ran to hide ourselves. They blocked the entrance and opened fire at the roof. We were ordered not to run and threatened that we would be killed if we defied their orders. However I managed to run and hide in a neighbouring house. Apart from me the terrorists took away the rest of the children in the church after beating the parents who refused to hand over their children" stated Niruba, who does not want to experience the same agony in future.

Niruba and thousands of other children in the North want a violent free, secure future. "We hate violence. No child joined the LTTE willingly. They have always been taken forcibly. God has saved our lives" stated the teenager in her native Tamil language.

Among the eye witnesses to the LTTE's forced conscription was Madavaraja, President of the Vallipuram Regional Development Society who recalled an unforgettable incident where the LTTE dragged out under aged children who were crying and pleading with their helpless parents to save them from the terrorists.

"It was on the morning of 20<sup>th</sup> March 2009 that I heard the LTTE shooting inside the church and dragging away the children. They were

intimidating the priest and the parents who were desperately trying to stop them. All who tried to stop the abduction were beaten badly. During the final stages of the battle we experienced immense hardships. Children were not spared and were abducted continuously. There was a terrible struggle, day and night, to keep ourselves awake as the LTTE made every attempt to snatch away the children and we did not have anything to eat during this period" he said.

Sinnaya Sivaneshan said "my mother brought me to the church like many other children. We were provided with meals from our households while we stayed inside the church throughout the day. There were hundreds of people in the church so we suffered a lot, as there was only one well with water for drinking and bathing and one toilet close to the beach. The girls had a difficult time going to the toilet far away, as there was fear of the LTTE conscription during day time".

"One day the LTTE cadres stormed the church to abduct the children. There were ex LTTE cadres amongst us who had their weapons. When the LTTE stormed the church, the ex-cadres began shooting but could not prevent the parents being assaulted and the children being taken away. My little sister aged fourteen was also shot at and dragged away while the Reverend Father was beaten when he tried to stop them".

"The other children also experienced a similar fate. The LTTE indiscriminately fired at the roof and the children were subsequently forced into a vehicle".

"My brother suffered serious head injuries. In sheer desperation we broke some furniture to be used as clubs to fight the LTTE. Deserters who were armed retaliated with gun fire. Shovels were also used to fight them. We fought desperately and were able to drive them away only to have them return the same evening and try to forcibly take away the children".

"Some of the children managed to escape while half the abducted children also abandoned the LTTE and returned to their families. But we don't know what happened to the rest of them. My sister was found with injuries and admitted to the medical centre". These victims of child conscription narrated incidents when the LTTE forcibly took them away.

Nimalan stated that his parents used to hide him in a bunker inside the house. Fearing his abduction his father had sent him to the church thinking that the LTTE would not abduct children from the church. But after staying only one day in the church, the LTTE had stormed the place and abducted the children. The children who were all over the church had been shot at by the LTTE. Pieces of the roof had fallen on the ground. The LTTE had left only one door open and had pulled out the children one at a time. A woman had been shot at, while obstructing the terrorists from taking away her child. Nimalan too had been inside the vehicle.

"We were on our way to the church that day, but could only go fifty metres when we heard the LTTE firing inside the church. I hid myself and later ran home. I heard that the LTTE had taken away all the children. When I returned to the church, one woman was crying and cursing the LTTE for abducting the children" narrated Vignesh.

Bala was another child who was snatched away by the LTTE while he was at the church along with many other children.

"We were confident that the LTTE would not enter the church and they would listen to the priest. But it didn't quite happen that way. They abducted many children and I was among them. The LTTE took me to Mulliviakkal to fight" stated Bala.

It is evident from the above that Prabhakaran has committed an unpardonable criminal act by conscripting children below the age of eighteen as soldiers of his terrorist Army.

Apart from the laws prevailing in Sri Lanka, he had blatantly violated the conditions of the United Nations Conventions of 20<sup>th</sup> November 1989 on the "rights of children" and the "optional protocol on the involvement of children in armed conflict" which came into force in 2002, which is an adjunct to the main convention. It provides that state parties shall take all feasible measures to ensure that persons who have not reached the age of fifteen years do not take a direct part in hostilities.

Despite the fact that in terms of the UN Convention, the government had the authority to prevent the conscription of under aged children, the LTTE did the proscription of children in areas which were under their control. Hence the LTTE was able to engage in their ruthless and inhuman activities in the way they desired.

When Prabhakaran established the LTTE, he also formulated a code of ethics to regulate the conduct of those belonging to his terrorist outfit. Among other things, this code of ethics prohibited marriages and sexual activities among members of the LTTE. Death was the penalty for disloyalty or insulting the group and for forming rival groups.

After formulating the code of ethics, Prabhakaran declared that "he would not expect his people to do anything which he was not willing to do".

The perverse effects of the crime of child conscription could be understood only if analyzed in the perspective of the rights of children as stipulated in the UN Convention.

#### THE SRI LANKAN GOVERNMENT'S RESPONSE TO CHILDREN CONSCRIPTED BY THE LTTE

As at December 31<sup>st</sup> 2008 one hundred and ninety three countries including Sri Lanka, had testified to the United Nations Convention on the rights of the child. This has stipulated the universal and inconvertible standard on the reprehensibility of recruitment of child soldiers.

Therefore by taking several hundred child soldiers of the LTTE who survived after the humanitarian operation into the fold of the government, Sri Lanka as a nation has demonstrated a committed conviction to rehabilitate the child soldiers who have suffered enormously under the LTTE.

James Elder, a spokesman for the reputed "Economist" had stated that the Sri Lankan government had made a genuine attempt to help the child soldiers to reform them as civilized human beings. The "Economist" had also commended the work carried out under the auspices of the government at the protection and rehabilitation centres, which provided children and adults with vocational training and education, while giving them an opportunity to participate in cultural and sports events.

The "Economist" had further stated, that "it is indeed heartening and encouraging to both Sri Lanka and others to witness that the government under the guidance of the Head of State, has alighted a platform of humanity with regard to those who had been misled and were incapable of forming their own opinions of good and bad".

The measures taken by the government demonstrates forgiveness and understanding which we have learnt from the teachings of the Buddha. Forgiveness is giving up ones right to hurt another, for hurting the former.

Learning how to respond properly is one of the basics of civilized life. Forgiveness is often followed by self construction and these concepts are complementary and can never be mutually exclusive. The forgiven has to make sure the process of hurting will not recur, by reconstructing himself.

Generations to come will analyze the way in which wars were handled and peace made. That will be our legacy. It is natural to feel overwhelmed in a time of crisis. When the crisis passes, we must share our stories and experiences and build relationships.

These are the legacies that would be passed on to future generations. We should not be overshadowed by our forefathers, but rather be strengthened by their values.

There is no room for doubt that it is a turning point in the history of Sri Lanka not only in terms of reconstruction, but also in terms of reconciliation and forgiveness.

#### 1. HANDING OVER CHILDREN ABOVE EIGHT YEARS OF AGE TO THE LTTE

An official of the Army reported that several Tamil families in Vavuniya had sought refuge in the main army camp as they had been threatened to hand over their children above eight years of age to the LTTE.

On November 7<sup>th</sup>, the LTTE threatened the Muslims of Batticaloa and Killinochchi and they started fleeing to areas outside their home town for fear of another massacre like Kattankudi. Some fled to distant areas like Kurunegala and Kegalle for fear of being killed by the LTTE as the threat could not be taken lightly.

#### 2. THE REQUEST OF AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL TO LTTE TO END POLITICAL VIOLENCE - 4<sup>TH</sup> DECEMBER 2005

Amnesty International (AI) Director Irene Zubaida Khan has urged LTTE's political wing head S.P. Thamilselvan to put an end to LTTE inspired political violence and uphold human rights.

She also expressed her concerns over recruitment and training of underage youth by the outfit. Urging the LTTE to abide by the Ceasefire Agreement, Khan expressed her concerns over the killings of civilians by the LTTE in the North and East.

#### 3. THE LTTE MISERABLY FAILED IN THEIR ATTEMPT TO RECRUIT CHILDREN – 27<sup>th</sup> APRIL 2006

The LTTE miserably failed in their attempt to recruit children to their baby brigades from Trincomalee as none of the children had shown any interest in joining the LTTE fighting battalions. The LTTE had carried out an extensive campaign in the Tamil populated Salli area in Trincomalee for several weeks in a desperate bid to recruit more children to the terror outfit.

#### 4. SHOOTING THE 12 WORKERS AT OMADIYAMADU

Police investigators probing the Omadiyamadu massacres have made the shocking discovery that the ruthless killings had been part of LTTE training for their child recruits. Investigating officers found that three child cadres were involved in shooting the 12 workers at Omadiyamadu.

#### 5. U. S. REPORT REVEALED THAT LTTE RECRUTED TSUNAMI ORPHANED CHILDREN – 7<sup>th</sup> SEPTEMBER 2006

A US Government report disclosed that the LTTE had recruited tsunami orphaned children into its fighting units picking them from

survivors camps in the North and East. US Government report on Child Labour revealed that the Tigers recruited children from Tsunami survivors camps.

#### 6. LTTE CONTINUING FORCIBLE RECRUITMENT OF CHILDREN AND ADULTS IN MANNAR – 14<sup>th</sup> MAY 2007

The National Peace Council accused (NPC) the LTTE of continuing with forcible recruitment of children and adults in the Mannar area regardless of protests by the Catholic Church. The NPC said that the situation in parts of the north, in particular, has sharply deteriorated with the LTTE stepping up its recruitment drive.

#### 7. VOICE OF AMERICA NEWS REPORT ON CHILDREN FORCIBLY RECRUITED - 31<sup>st</sup> AUGUST 2007

People in Kilinochchi said that LTTE terrorists were forcing families to turn over at least one family member to serve as combatants. Among those forcibly recruited are children, the Voice of America said.

## 8. UN REPORT ON ABDUCTION AND RECRUITMENT OF CHILDREN – 30<sup>th</sup> DECEMBER 2007

The LTTE continues to recruit children to fight against the Sri Lankan Government despite an earlier UN appeal, Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon said in a news report. The 20-page report on Sri Lanka covering the period from November 2006 to September 2007, notes that the LTTE failed to cease the abduction, recruitment and use of children for military activities.

### 9. TARGETING SCHOOL CHILDREN FOR TERRORISM - 14<sup>th</sup> MAY 2008

The LTTE intensified its forcible recruitment drive of children depriving their education rights of those who sat for the G.C.E. Ordinary

Level Examination. The LTTE targeted school children in the Killinochchi and Mullaitivu Districts who had failed the G.C.E. O/L examination.

#### 11.4 RUINING THE LIVES OF YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN BY TRAINING AND USING THEM AS SUICIDE CADRES

Human Rights Watch (HRW) expressed its unequivocal view that suicide bombing is a crime against humanity. HRW also claims that the political elites, commanders, and those that organize, facilitate, and encourage these suicide attacks are likewise guilty of conduct that offends against prevailing norms of international criminal law.

\*In the words of Kenneth Roth, the Executive Director of Human Rights Watch, "The people who carry out suicide bombings are not martyrs, they're war criminals, and so are the people who help to plan such attacks." As such, Adele Balasingham, a key member of the LTTE and head trainer of the LTTE's female cadres needs to stand trial for her crimes against humanity. India and Sri Lanka need to step up demands from the UK Government for action. Adele was a woman born in Australia and later became the wife of Anton Balasingham who became the chief political advisor of Velupillai Prabhakaran. Balasingham was a Sri Lankan Tamil who migrated to England and lived there with Adele. After establishing the LTTE by Prabhakaran, together with his other comrades, they invited Balasingham to come over to Sri Lanka who was at the time attached to the London branch office of the LTTE. Balasingham who was sympathetic to the cause of the LTTE accepted the invitation and came over to Sri Lanka with his wife Adele and served as the political advisor of Prabhakaran. Adele who was a nurse by profession also came to be associated with terrorism in Sri Lanka and took charge of the LTTE women's cadre. It was not known whether she herself had any training in terrorism. However, she took charge of developing the women's cadre of LTTE to be an extremely ruthless wing of the LTTE.

The LTTE has a habit of drawing attention to the development of the ruthlessness of their terrorist activities. That attention has propelled the LTTE to be classified and viewed at a level higher than other terrorist organizations.

<sup>\*.</sup> Courtesy Publications of the ANCL

<sup>[</sup>Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, Article 28 (b), U.N.Doc. No. A/CONF. 183/9 (17 July, 1998), 37 I.L.M. 999]

#### Not many of them can pride in the ability to manufacture ready batches of girls with guns, making themselves the pioneers of modern-day suicide bombing, willing to even export them.

The new method of guerilla warfare was championed by the LTTE with their first suicide mission carried out in 1987 followed by several hundred over the three decades of militant rule in the areas forcibly captured by them and in the other areas of the country. The LTTE account for one third of all suicide attacks in the world. With the Tiger leader treating himself as a demi-god, it is no surprise that he would opt to instill the culture of sacrifice and martyrdom amongst his worshipping killer force. The female killer force was trained by none other than Adele Balasingham.

The LTTE never kept its killing or killer trainings a secret. In 2002 TIME magazine was given a first-hand look at a female LTTE Tiger base. Hundreds of INGOs present in the North had close links to the LTTE and cannot deny that they were not aware of LTTE's recruitment of children. None cried foul or cared to even report to the UN or their governments.

A world that pays rigid attention to the words "human rights" – what stopped them from demanding why children were being manufactured into killers and told to commit suicide when caught? What have the international authorities, mandated to protect children, done, except issue publications year in and year out while giving heartening speeches at annual conferences? What is stopping action against the criminal Adele Balasingham?

Unlike other terrorist organisations, the LTTE has found fund-raising and influencing through funds the perfect means to silence critics. The LTTE diaspora has infiltrated the weaknesses of Western politicians and decision-makers using the strength of dollars and pounds gained illicitly by fooling foreign citizens through LTTE scams, human smuggling and now bogus refugee claims which is becoming a growing nuisance.

Another word gaining fashionable prominence amongst international mouthpieces is "accountability". Accountability must rightfully start with those responsible for turning men, women and children into killers, kidnapping them from their parents, giving them training in arms, placing suicide vests on them, drugging them and brainwashing them into killing others and themselves – this is nothing any human being should feel proud of, most of all Adele Balasingham, a nurse who is adopting euthanasia into terrorism and terrorists who she has trained.

What critics need to first take note of is that a state military does not give orders to kill. Orders are given to only protect a nation's sovereignty and its people from those who pose a threat to that sovereignty. Therefore, it is very important to differentiate orders from State military and those that terrorists give. Whatever arguments adduced for the LTTE to exist or prevail, Adele Balasingham, an Australian woman who was a nurse by profession and the spouse of the LTTE's spokesperson, Anton Balasingham, took pride in training young girls as young as 10 years old to be suicide bombers.

She proudly hands the only piece of jewellery these LTTE women are likely to ever wear – a tag on the wrist, neck and waist for identification purposes. Their only hair style was two plaits and the only songs these girls would ever sing were hosannas to Prabhakaran.

Due to the rehabilitation of these young women during the postconflict period, they are now seen on the catwalk modeling fashions whilst some have taken up hairdressing and beauty culture. It is not difficult to understand what the LTTE and Adele have denied these young females.

Adele was responsible for training, arming and tying a cyanide vial around the necks of these innocent children. Orders were simple – if captured, commit suicide by taking the cyanide. Terrorists giving such orders is excusable, but a Western woman with a western background and a nurse at that is nothing compared to her parents being proud of their daughter training child soldiers.

The UK authorities appear unconcerned about a war criminal living happily in Surrey, England after driving thousands of young girls to their graves. Of course, those authorities have done little over the years to really clamp down on LTTE terrorism and **one wonders**  why it would even allow its capital to be used as the international headquarters of the LTTE despite the LTTE being banned in the UK. Why ban an entity as a terrorist organisation if the UK allows it to hold demonstrations, collect funds, influence its politicians, have them speak on LTTE stages, strange indeed.

The tragedy is that Adele and the LTTE were responsible for turning probably talented individuals into killers, many of whom have committed suicide on the orders given. None of these Black Tigers had any evidence of psychological disorder nor were they mentally imbalanced. Therefore, the responsibility of denying them their youth falls at the feet of the LTTE and Adele. This was very clearly established when the government of Sri Lanka decided to rehabilitate them, and returned them back to civil society having trained them in skills in which they displayed some talent.

Contrary to the promoted norm of self-sacrifice, the reality is that these women suffered from peer pressure, social stigma and fear – this is what made the suicide service possible. A third of the LTTE comprised women and it is believed that 6000 of them died in combat and Adele Balasingham is directly culpable for their deaths and the parents of these young girls should take legal action. The LTTE has killed a large number of Tamils who were of their own community, half of which have been killed during ceasefires. It has recruited close to 5,000 Tamil children, most of whom are from lowincome, low caste families which is why not too many Tamils abroad or those living in Sri Lanka's south or Tamil politicians have ever cared to denounce the recruitment of child combatants.

The LTTE's female military unit was headed by Adele Balasingham; she christened them "Freedom Birds" with no worries economically, socially or politically, all these girls were focused to kill. **If these cadre had freedom, why would there be any need to keep them under tight surveillance** and accompany them even to the washroom and be severely punished for wanting to leave?

The "freedom" the LTTE had given Tamil women and in fact all of its cadres is by breaking their will to think, their ability to analyse right from wrong and hypnotized them into killer machines. Once their natural thinking abilities have been broken, it is easy for any group to have its followers function as zombies, remotecontrolled. The trust these young girls had placed in Adele was such that she was even referred to as "Aunty" – what aunty would lead children as young as 10 to their deaths?

Where is the "freedom" when anyone attempting to leave faces summary execution? The code of ethics applicable to the members of the LTTE formulated by its leader Prabhakaran had even denied them of basic human desires and tendencies such as love or sex etc. Any members of the LTTE who even if accidentally violated any of these restrictions were not excused or pardoned. Instead they were summarily done away with. When there are enough of men who desert the Army, and the other security forces there are hardly a handful of surviving LTTE'ers who have managed to successfully flee the LTTE! Given the argument that these females, or males for that matter, have selfsacrificed their lives to free Tamils from the Sinhalese – the all important question is why are there no suicide attempts after the demise of the LTTE, especially since there is a big hue and cry over "militarization" of the North?

This categorically proves that Tamil women were misled to their deaths by a programme enticing them to kill and be killed, spearheaded by the LTTE and facilitated by Adele Balasingham. It is clear that LTTE suicide killers never functioned in a vacuum and as Simone de Beauvoir aptly says, "suicide bombers are not born, they are made."

Proof of Adele Balasingham being an LTTE key member is given in the Norwegian Government website (SL) where she is a member of the LTTE delegation during the 2002, the world peace talk sessions held in Thailand (three sessions), Oslo Germany and Japan.

If suicide bombers are made, its relevance to terrorism is not far behind. Given the inaction of global authorities towards eliminating terrorism, it is for us to accept that terrorism is nothing today, but an international political tool used to manipulate and influence governments. Suicide is being used as a strategy and form of protest, we cannot depart or hide from the fact that it is nothing more than mass murder, coercion towards death, destruction of life and intentional killing of others

Where can there be any legitimacy for such crimes under international or local laws? Is there a "just cause" in homicide? Terrorist organisations can call themselves what they like, they can have an umpteen number of reasons to wage wars, but they have no validity under international law or the law of the territory and representatives of international bodies must desist from misusing their office to promote their personal theories.

All suicide bombings are crimes against humanity whatever ways treaties describe them. No suicide bomber or its supervisor can be more important than the life or lives that they have intentionally planned and snuffed out. Suicide attacks fall into the category of murder with a mens rea – willingness to kill and willingness to die.

What the LTTE and Adele Balasingham and all others whether international and local, promoting and excusing LTTE terror all these decades, have left the people of the North and Eastern regions of Sri Lanka, a legacy of violence and killing with impunity and that culture of habit is now being tested minus the LTTE.

It is only a matter of time that the pieces of lies that made up the LTTE propaganda machinery, duping people into giving money towards some "cause" for liberation from the Sinhalese would come to mean nothing other than filling one's own coffers and living it good on foreign soil.

Raj Rajaratnam finds himself in prison and others are likely to follow with time. With the LTTE fighting force gone, there is a scramble for the LTTE wealth and accusations are galore that Adele has part of those ill-gotten funds including millions of dollars from ransoms, scams and illegal businesses across the globe. Therefore, we have a right to inquire whether the mansion Adele has in Surrey is from those funds and why UK authorities do not wish to investigate?

From the theatrics taking place, it is our turn to ask for balcony tickets to watch LTTE representatives now scramble and scammer for

supremacy, fighting for leadership of the LTTE, but the real catch is they are all fighting for that pot of wealth and care little for any Tamils in Sri Lanka. Greed will be the eventual downfall of the foreign LTTE.

For foreign governments to be concerned, it is when they know that their names are associated with secrets they desire to keep hidden. Adele's safety is assured as long as she does not ruffle any State secrets. But that should not stop justice. She should not remain a free bird when she killed a lot of birds with freedom, training to kill and commit suicide.

Adele Balasingham's war crimes cover 10,000 or more female LTTE'ers who had been trained to kill and to die when caught. It is time to seek justice for those crimes and the parents of these dead girls can help build a case for which the UK Government must also take action without silently harbouring a war criminal on UK soil.

#### 11.5 SACRIFICING INNOCENT UNARMED CIVILIANS AS HUMAN BARRIERS

\*Prabhakaran pretended to be a liberator of his own people. He clearly and shrewdly brainwashed and won over young Tamil men and women to sacrifice their valuable lives for his cause. These thoughts and actions may have been genuine at the inception of his movement. However with the passage of time as he proceeded implementing his megalomaniac policies and tactics, he lost sight of his original objective and strayed desperately and selfishly doing anything and everything possible for his survival.

One could argue that he could be justified in sacrificing his militia to battle against the security forces. Some of the well known genuine leaders of the world who lived in the twentieth century in the West as well as in the East gave leadership to their men and led them to oust the existing regimes to achieve liberation.

Such leaders had never unjustifiably sacrificed their men to achieve their objectives. They fought on behalf of their people for the genuine

<sup>\*. (</sup>Courtesy a Publication of ANCL)

cause of liberation. They achieved success as they had a clear vision and an objective. In addition, they possessed sound knowledge of military activities, tactics and strategies. As they valued the lives of the men in their militia, their lives were sacrificed only when and where necessary.

In contrast, Prabhakaran lacked the knowledge, attributes and qualities for successfully achieving liberation in his many attempts. No doubt Prabhakaran had a sharp and a shrewd mind.

He also possessed some qualities of leadership. These were not acquired by him but were inherited by birth. Unfortunately, what he may have acquired by birth was not adequate, to achieve the success which was achieved by the other great liberators recorded in world history of the twentieth century.

Prabhakaran only had limited educational knowledge. He lacked any knowledge or training in military warfare, guerilla warfare, handling and using military equipment. His knowledge was limited only to what he had read or what he had seen.

Besides these disadvantages, being a megalomaniac he was hard headed, and he did not seek the advice of others where he lacked knowledge. Despite the fact that he got his men trained in military activities, guerilla warfare and the manufacture and use of explosives, he hardly consulted them when necessary. This was due to the fact that he thought that his knowledge in anything and everything was superior to that of all others.

In addition, he also had the weakness of not having trust and confidence in any of his men in the superior ranks of the LTTE, as he thought of them as a threat to his leadership. Hence he ruthlessly eliminated some of his key men when he felt they were a threat to him.

The only person he respected and sought advice on political matters was Anton Balasingham. However, towards the end of the fourth phase of the Eelam war, when Balasingham witnessed that the LTTE could not stand against the highly trained and well equipped security forces, he is said to have advised Prabhakaran to give up the call for a separate state and to consent for a peaceful settlement.

However, Prabhakaran had refused to heed to the advice given by

Balasingham and decided to continue to confront the security forces, thereby facing a disastrous end to himself and to his leadership.

A genuine leader, among other things, will need the continued support and assistance of the people whom he strived to liberate. Hence he will be extremely concerned and mindful to refrain from causing any harm or detriment to their interests. The least they would do is to sacrifice their valuable lives except in extreme situations where there is no alternative and is absolutely necessary, for the cause of achieving their objective of liberation.

It was evident that Prabhakaran never appreciated the services and the assistance given to him by others and did not realize the importance of their continued support to achieve his objectives. He also failed to avoid doing things detrimental to their interests.

There were many instances and incidents where Prabhakaran sacrificed unarmed innocent Tamil civilians to selfishly save himself.

When Mahinda Rajapakse was elected President in 2005, he initially attempted to negotiate with Prabhakaran for a peaceful settlement for the so called ethnic problem said to be confronted by the Tamil community.

However, when it was revealed that Prabhakaran adopted an indifferent attitude to a settlement through negotiations, President Rajapakse had to seek advice of the Secretary Defence and the Commanders of the respective security forces to think of an alternative solution.

Due to the closure of the anicut at Mavil Aru in the Eastern Province, thus depriving several thousands of innocent peasants even with their basic need of drinking water, the President had no alternative but to resort to military action against the LTTE, to reopen the anicut to provide the basic needs of the innocent peasants, who were dependant entirely on the water supply through this anicut for drinking and for agriculture.

In ordering the security forces to restore this anicut, specific instructions were given that it should be a "humanitarian operation", thus causing minimum harm to the innocent civilians, irrespective of whether they were Sinhalese, Tamils or Muslims.

When the security forces successfully accomplished the recapture of the Mavil Aru anicut, the President on the advice of the Secretary Defence and the Commanders of the respective forces, decided to proceed with the humanitarian operation to recapture the other territories held by the LTTE.

However specific instructions were given to the security forces by the Commander In Chief of the Security Forces, to ensure that any adverse impact of the military operations to the civilians should be minimized.

As the security forces proceeded in recapturing the territories occupied by the LTTE, they decided to declare "no fire zones" to provide an opportunity for the innocent unarmed civilians, the Sinhalese, the Tamils and the Muslims who were earlier in the areas occupied by the LTTE to migrate to the "no fire zones" for their safety.

The ruthless LTTE leadership which took advantage of the policy of the security forces, instructed their cadres to penetrate the "no fire zones" and to mingle with the civilians while continuing their operations against the security forces.

Consequently the security forces were compelled to face quite an unexpected problem. The LTTE cadres started attacking the security forces whilst being among the civilians who managed to migrate to the "no fire zones" in the respective areas for their own security and safety.

Confronted with this unexpected situation, the security forces had no alternative but to fire back in response at the LTTE cadres who were mingling among the innocent civilians. The LTTE was in fact using the innocent civilians as "human barriers" to defend themselves.

When the security forces fired back to attack the LTTE cadres, it was a physically impossible task to identify the terrorists from the innocent civilians, particularly due to the fact that the dress of the LTTE cadres was similar to that of the civilians. This obviously resulted in causing injuries and in certain instances death to the innocent civilians. The worst situation was that the security forces were unable to enter the "no fire zones" amidst the attacks of the LTTE cadres, to identify the injured civilians and to dispatch them to the hospitals for treatment. This inevitably caused some deaths among civilians whose lives could have been saved had they been dispatched immediately to the hospitals for treatment.

Despite the fact that this situation arose due to the ruthless policies adopted by the LTTE, with absolutely no concern for the safety of the innocent civilians, the terrorists took maximum advantage of the adverse consequences arising from this situation by unjustly criticizing the security forces of killing innocent civilians.

It is clear from what is stated above, that the situation arose due to the policies adopted by Prabhakaran to use the innocent civilians as "human barriers" or "sacrificial lambs" for which the security forces cannot be held responsible or blamed. They were compelled to confront this situation in the absence of any other alternative. Causing death and injuries to civilians, was never the policy of the government and the security forces.

In fact, it was quite contrary to the policy of the government and the security forces, *a*s the battle against the LTTE was a "humanitarian operation", whilst adopting the policy of "zero casualties", intending to minimize the impact on the civilians in the battle against the terrorists.

It is regretful that the humanitarian organizations in the West are unjustly criticizing the Sri Lankan security forces without any clear understanding of the facts relating to these accusations. They have not understood clearly, or have pretended ignorance of the fact, that due to the selfish policies adopted by Prabhakaran and the LTTE leadership in using the innocent civilians as "human barriers" or as "sacrificial lambs", the security forces were left with no alternative and were unwillingly compelled to confront a situation which caused injuries to the civilians as stated above.

It is a cause for concern that the human rights organizations in the West, are still continuing to level false allegations against the security forces for violating human rights in particular during the last phase of the Eelam war, without ascertaining or refusing to ascertain or explore the authentic information relating to these accusations.

These allegations would never have been levelled against the security forces, if the foreign allies of the LTTE succeeded in their attempt to provide safe passage to Prabhakaran out of the country during the last phase of the Eelam war, when he timidly hid himself in the Nandikhadal Lagoon. However, due to the excellent vigilance, in particular of the Sri Lankan Navy the plans formulated by the allies of the LTTE for Prabhakaran to escape did not succeed.

It is the responsibility of the governments to reveal and make available all authentic information to the humanitarian organizations in the West, who are backed and financially supported by the enormous funds of the LTTE.

This would redeem the country of unjust allegations and accusations which have turned out to be a tremendous obstacle to the reconciliation and development efforts of the government.

The following are some other instances in which the LTTE has used the Tamil civilians as human barriers and used them as sacrificial lambs in confronting the security forces, both Sri Lankan and the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF).

#### 1. HOW LTTE SACRIFICED THE CIVILIANS IN BATTLING THE IPKF – 16<sup>th</sup> DECEMBER 1987

As stated above innocent civilians have been victims of cross fire between LTTE and the government forces and the LTTE and the IPKF, when the latter was present in Sri Lanka.

Twenty (20) Tamil civilians were killed in the exchange of fire between the LTTE and the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) in Mullaitivu on 16<sup>th</sup> December 1987. This happened when the IPKF was attacking the LTTE for their cold blooded shooting of a group of Indian paratroopers when they were in the process of landing and thereby violating all norms and conventions of war. During fighting a number of LTTE cadres were killed at the hands of the IPKF including one of the district commanders. Due to the hit and run attacks of the LTTE on the IPKF, it resulted in fierce retaliation by the Jawans against the civil population. The LTTE in its retaliatory action, did not care for the consequences of their actions to the civilians. The LTTE also dealt a severe blow to the livelihood of the people by ordering boycotts and harthals in their battle for supremacy against the Indian army. The poor employees had to sacrifice their salaries for the days they were prevented from working.

The strategy of the LTTE was to cripple economic activities by ordering work stoppages to gain some ascendancy over the IPKF and the security forces of the government. On that day the LTTE Batticaloa leader Sitta warned workers of the Vallachenai Paper Factory not to report for work. He similarly ordered the workers of the Prima factory in Trincomalee.

The hapless civilians were caught between two contending forces in their bid for supremacy, resulting in plunging the lives of the civilians in to despair and misery. This formed the patterns of life of the civilians till end of the war in May 2009.

This incident clearly demonstrated the lengths to which the LTTE would go to achieve their blood thirsty goals contrary to the popular conception that its leader never interfered with the normal life of the people amidst fighting.

#### 2. FIVE THOUSAND CIVILIANS HELD AS HUMAN BARRIERS – APRIL 1991

Two thousand five hundred Tamil civilians who were being detained at the LTTE base at Thandikulam were finally allowed to leave, but were forced to turn back and return to the North instead of proceeding to the South. The LTTE prevented them from proceeding to the south, as they wanted to use them as human barriers when necessary.

#### 3. HUMAN SHIELD AT VAKARAI - 8<sup>th</sup> NOVEMBER 2006

LTTE used civilians trapped in the uncleared areas as a human shield to cover up its artillery and mortar positions and to tarnish the image of the Security Forces when civilians get caught in the retaliatory fire. As a result of the LTTE holding hapless civilians as a human shield, Tamil people were killed under tragic circumstances and over 135 people sustained injuries in Vakarai.

#### 4. MORE THAN 700 CIVILIANS IN UYILANKULAM IN MANNAR ENTERED CLEARED AREAS – 12<sup>th</sup> NOVEMBER 2006

More than 700 civilians, who had been subjected to untold privations in the LTTE held areas in Uyilankulam in Mannar, dismantled a Tiger roadblock to enter the cleared areas and sought protection of the Security Forces. Many of the civilians had been detained by the LTTE in Madhu while they were travelling between Vavuniya and Jaffna. They had been treated with disdain by the Tigers during the enforced stay.

#### 5. THOUSANDS OF TAMIL CIVILIANS IN BATTICALOA CROSSED INTO CLEARED AREAS – 21<sup>st</sup> NOVEMBER 2006

Thousands of Tamil civilians staged a protest in Batticaloa and Mankerni demanding the LTTE to allow more than 30,000 civilians forcibly kept by them in Vakarai and Mankerni areas to cross into cleared areas in Batticaloa. More than 1,500 people in Mankerni were engaged in the protest demanding the LTTE to allow civilians to move to Government controlled areas.

#### 6. OVER 85 CIVILIANS ENTERED THE GOVERNMENT CONTROLLED AREAS- 12<sup>th</sup> DECEMBER 2006

Over 85 civilians, who had been subjected to untold privations under LTTE terror rule, entered the Government controlled area enduring severe hardships. They were provided shelter, food and medicine at the Army camps.

#### 7. THE REQUEST MADE BY SLMM TO LTTE TO STOP USING HUMAN SHIELDS -13<sup>th</sup> DECEMBER, 2006

Condemning the fierce fighting in the East, the SLMM (ceasefire monitoring mission) called upon the LTTE to allow civilians trapped in the fighting to reach safe ground without hindering their exit. The

monitoring body criticized the LTTE for its failure "to protect civilians in Vakarai by restricting their movements." They urged the LTTE to stop its brutal use of civilians as a human shield to take cover and attack the military forces.

#### 8. CIVILIANS IN VAKARAI, KATHIRVELI TOOK REFUGE IN GOVERNMENT CONTROLLED AREAS - 18<sup>th</sup> DECEMBER 2006

Tamil civilians who had been subjected to untold privations in the LTTE held areas sought protection of the Security Forces. The civilian population trapped by them for one and a half months in Vakarai and Kathirveli continued to pour into Government held areas in Valachchenai. In Welikanda nearly 24,000 civilians took refuge in areas cleared by the security forces in Batticaloa.

#### 9. LTTE TERRORISTS ABDUCTED SIX CIVILIANS FROM A BATTICALOA-COLOMBO BUS – 20<sup>th</sup> DECEMBER 2006

LTTE terrorists abducted six civilians from a BatticaloaColombo bus in the Kiran area of Korakallimadu, Eravur. An armed LTTE group stormed a Batticaloa-Colombo bound bus and forcibly pulled out several adult males and females and fled from the area. The passangers were travelling from uncleared to cleared areas. **The bus was blocked by 15 armed Tigers who pulled out 19 passengers comprising 16 males and three females.** 

#### 10. TORTURE CHAMBERS FOUND -16<sup>th</sup> JANUARY 2007

**Torture chambers were used by the LTTE to** punish escaping Tigers and informers, including women fighters, were found at captured LTTE camps set up to torture escapees and informers including women cadres.

#### 11. STATEMENT OF INTELLECTUALS ON VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS - 4<sup>th</sup> SEPTEMBER 2008

Intellectuals for Human Rights in a statement urged the LTTE to immediately stop forcible use of innocent civilians as a shield in its

war activities, since they believe that the LTTE is bent on keeping the innocent civilians in the Wanni against their will, when the Government is requesting these people who have become refugees in Wanni to settle in the cleared areas.

#### 12. CIVILIANS OF THANAMKILAPPU, JAFFNA, SEEKING PROTECTION OF SECURITY FORCES -11<sup>th</sup> NOVEMBER 2008

LTTE intensified its attacks targeting civilians and as a result group of Tamil civilians escaping from the LTTE grip came to the cleared area seeking protection from the Security Forces in Thanankilappu, Jaffna. 15 civilians comprising five males, eight females and two children had crossed Kilaly lagoon from their homes in the uncleared area of Paranthan.

#### 13. UNITED NATIONS CALLED THE LTTE TO ALLOW CIVILIANS IN VANNI TO MOVE INTO GOVERNMENT CONTROLLED AREAS - 16<sup>th</sup> JANUARY 2009

The United Nations called on the LTTE to allow civilians in the Vanni region to move into government controlled areas without keeping them as a human shield in the face of the military advance. There were increasing reports of over 100,000 Tamil civilians, including women and children and the aged, being forcibly prevented from entering the safety of Government controlled areas in the North, to be used as human shield against Security Forces advancing into the LTTE held areas of the Mullaitivu district.

#### 14. THIRTEEN YEAR OLD SUICIDE BOMBER – 4<sup>TH</sup> FEBRUARY 2009

LTTE terrorists used a 13 year old child suicide bomber against the advancing 55 Division troops in Chalai on 4th February 2009.

### *15. LTTE HUMAN BOMB KILLED 28 AND INJURED 60 – 8<sup>th</sup> FEBRUARY 2009*

A LTTE woman suicide bomber mingling with a group of

displaced civilians coming from uncleared areas blew herself up at Sughandhirippunam North of Vivamadu on Monday 8<sup>th</sup> February 2009 **killing twenty eight (28) innocent civilians and injuring sixty (60) others.** Among the dead were 8 civilians and twenty (20) security personnel which included female soldiers. In addition among those who were injured there were twenty four (24) soldiers. The report stated that the **suicide bomber who had come with around one thousand displaced civilians from the uncleared area of Mulaitivu** had blown herself around 11.40 p.m. when a woman soldier had tried to body check her at the checkpoint prior to be taken in to a transit welfare center.

A large number of civilians who had braved the tiger clutches to reach Vishvamadu area too were either injured or dead. The authority had rushed medical units and the injured had been taken to Hospitals in Kilinochchi, Vavuniya and Anuradhapura. The authorities stated that this was a desperate attempt by the LTTE to prevent thousands of displaced civilians from fleeing the uncleared areas.

It was further stated that despite the Tiger threats more than twelve thousand civilians from the uncleared areas had sought refuge with the security forces of the government during the 7 days within which this incident occurred.

The security forces stated that steps were taken to enable the civilians trapped in the remaining uncleared pockets in the Mullaitivu to reach safer environs.

#### 16. ATTACKING TAMIL CIVILIANS IN CAPTIVITY - 11<sup>TH</sup> FEBRUARY 2009

One thousand and fifty seven civilians who were under LTTE captivity were making their way from Mullaitivu jungle to reach the government controlled territory. They were fired at by the LTTE to prevent them from escaping and among the injured were 11 children twenty six women of whom 30 were critically wounded.

#### *17. LTTE DETAINS ONE THOUSAND FIVE HUNDRED CIVILIANS* - 10<sup>TH</sup> MAY 2009

Over one thousand five hundred civilians who were forcibly held by the LTTE terrorists crossed over to the cleared areas.

Troops advancing further into the "No Fire Zones" amidst heavy resistance by the LTTE freed over six hundred and fifty civilians, while the Sri Lanka Navy freed over three hundred who were attempting to flee the area by boats.

#### 18. TWO THOUSAND FIVE HUNDRED (2500) TAMILS CIVILIANS DETAIN BY THE LTTE 29<sup>TH</sup> JULY 2009

Two thousand five hundred (2500) Tamil civilians detained by the LTTE in their barrier at Thandikulam were finally allowed to leave the area. However, in turn they were forced to return back to the North, after permitting them as they wanted to keep them as a human barrier.

It clearly meant that the LTTE were more concerned regarding their safety against the advancing security forces than in safeguarding the lives of the civilian population.

### 11.6 DESTROYING THE LIVES OF INJURED LTTE COMBATANTS THE RUTHLESS MASSACRE OF INJURED TIGER COMRADES

The laws and the ethics of the civilized world, has recognized the right for human being to live even if severely wounded or paralyzed until he breathes his last.

# The horrible incidents related below took place during the final stages of the battle fought between the security forces and the LTTE in Vellamullivaikkal and Wadduwakkal in May 2009.

Unaware of the fate that would befall them within the next few minutes, dozens of wounded Tiger terrorists, including forcibly conscripted children brought from the battlefield in a Rosa bus were helplessly gasping for life.

Another group of Tigers who were guarding another bus load of wounded youth a few metres away, were impatiently watching for the final nod from their superior to finish off their task. Their intention was to get rid of the "burden" and also not to leave any room for the wounded to be interrogated in the event of their capture.

While those who fought unwillingly to make the dream of their megalomaniac leader a reality were struggling to breathe, the Tigers hurriedly strapped explosives around the buses. In the last minute everything disappeared under heavy black smoke triggered by a thundering explosion. The two badly damaged buses lay between Wellamullivaikkal and Wadduwakkal.

We cannot forget for a moment that those who suffered the disastrous end were themselves ruthless Tigers. However, cannot this be considered as one of the most atrocious crimes committed against badly injured helpless human beings placed in a desperate state?

The new found peace and the fear free environment after the elimination of terror, restored the freedom of speech in the North of the country enabling people who had been suppressed and oppressed to come out to express their views and those who had been trampled under a terror filled era to reveal the atrocities committed by the ruthless LTTE against humanity.

Thiruchelvam Varadarasa from Wattappalai who was temporarily accommodated two hundred metres away from the location of the above disaster was an eyewitness to a mass murder that had been intended to remain hidden forever.

He stated the following. "The LTTE forcibly brought a bus full of boys, girls and elders from the battlefront. The bus was then exploded with the passengers inside it, under the instructions of a leader of the LTTE, by the name of Nedumaran. I witnessed this with my own eyes".

This was a firsthand account of a civilian who narrated his agony two and a half years ago in the latest video titled "Ruthless", released by the Ministry of Defence to show the world, just how ruthless the LTTE was. It is an account that provides concrete evidence about the LTTE's ruthlessness towards their people.

It was on May 17<sup>th</sup> 2009 in the wee hours that the murder described above took place, while the soldiers were squeezing the terrorists into their last patch of land in the edge of Mullaitivu. Two days before the LTTE was annihilated in the waters of the Nandikaddhal lagoon, the LTTE leader had instructed his subordinates to destroy their battle casualties who had been forcibly taken and were not adequately trained and conscripted to fight the advancing security forces. All of them were severely injured and were in a disabled condition. The ruthless LTTE had loaded the disabled and wounded cadres into a bus from the makeshift hospital, (a Rosa bus) on May 16<sup>th</sup> "I pleaded with them to release my step brother, who was injured and was in the bus" but they refused to release him. Next morning around 3.30 a.m I heard a thundering blast and when I arrived at the site, people were running in all directions as the buses had caught fire after the blast. Even at the time those who were in the bus were scattered all over due to the blast and some were still screaming with wounds. He further stated that he recalled spotting the burning bus in which his step brother was lying semi conscious.

"As the LTTE chased us we had to leave in tears", stated Jesikumar an ex-LTTE cadre who was marched away while returning from school in 2007 and who was an eye witness to the bus bomb blast to destroy the LTTE casualties.

"On 17<sup>th</sup> May we were fleeing as the soldiers were taking control of the land. It was 4.00 a.m. and while we were nearing the bridge an LTTE cadre tried to prevent us proceeding further, as they were preparing to explode a bus containing injured soldiers. A few minutes later the bus went up in flames" stated Jesikumar who had sustained injuries while fighting in Pooneryn and Mannar.

Apart from eye witness accounts on the atrocities during the last days of the battle against terrorism, victims, parents, a member of the clergy and an ex LTTE cadre have testified about their nightmarish experiences on the LTTE's forced conscription of under aged children as child soldiers.

#### 1. EXECUTION OF DESERTERS TO STOP DILUTION OF THEIR GROUP – 21<sup>st</sup> JULY 1992

At this time some of the LTTE cadres in the North began to feel that the Armed Forces would defeat them, as a number of their positions were overrun by the Army. Some young cadres began deserting the terrorist ranks as they were facing defeat after defeat in the North and the number of terrorists killed was high.

The LTTE leaders and the senior cadres were beginning to feel that some action had to be taken to stop the dilution of their group.

# Hence on the final week of July, it was reported that the LTTE traced twenty three of the deserters and executed them in public at two places in Jaffna.

#### 2. TIGERS EXECUTE TWO DESERTERS – 14<sup>TH</sup> JANUARY 2007

LTTE cadres shot dead two deserters from their ranks identified as T. Mohan and K. Srikumaran after storming their residence at Kondayankerni junction in Valachchenai in the Batticaloa district.

#### 3. HOW THE LIBERATOR KILLED HIS OWN PEOPLE - 9<sup>th</sup> FEBRUARY 2009

The year 2009 came exactly after three decades since separatist terrorism was hatched by the racist politicians of the North especially those like Amirthalingham. He was the front figure of the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF), who openly invited the disobedient politicized youth of the North to resort to violence with a view to creating a separate state for the Sri Lankan Tamils by separating the two provinces of the North and the East.

However, long after Amirthalingam was killed by the very forces he created, the most ruthless killer among the separatist terrorists, Velupillai Prabhakaran who was to be what the LTTE termed the "sole leader of the Tamil people". As stated earlier he resorted to eliminating all Tamil political leaders and all other terrorist leaders including some of his close associates, in order to become the most feared man heading a terrorist group with international links and with well wishers, both at home and overseas.

Yet perhaps he (Prabhakaran) would never have imagined even in

his wildest dreams, **that the year 2009 would be his last on this earth**, as the Sri Lankan security forces would rout his once ever powerful terrorist group, known to be the most dreaded terrorist force on earth.

As witnessed, nearly all previous attacks carried out by the terrorists were cowardly and aimed at unarmed innocent civilians at the most unlikely places where violence could take place.

By the end of 2008 and the beginning of 2009, the security forces successfully recaptured the territory held by the terrorists in the North and the East for decades, resulting in the LTTE suffering one military defeat after another.

Some of the civilians of the North were aware for the first time in three decades that the areas brought under government control after the forces defeated the terrorists, were safer and more secure. They were now confident that their children would not be dragged out of their homes and schools and given a military training forcibly. When the LTTE saw the exodus, their wrath turned on the people of the North, whom they claimed to represent.

On 9<sup>th</sup> February 2009, a large group of civilians who had fled the area under LTTE control came to Visvamadu seeking freedom, but the LTTE sent a woman suicide bomber disguised as a freedom seeker who fled with the others and exploded herself. Twenty eight civilians including twenty Army personnel who were waiting to receive the civilians were killed in the attack. Another sixty were injured.

The following day, the LTTE once again attacked civilians fleeing the area under their control by killing nineteen and injuring another seventy five at Udayakathu, making it abundantly clear that they were desperate.

#### 11.7 PRABHAKARAN DENIED THE PEOPLE IN THE NORTH AND THE EAST THEIR RIGHT TO LIVE

In chapter one of this book it was made clear to the reader that Prabhakaran did not attach any value to human life. Apparently he saw no difference between a human being and an animal. This could be probably the reason, he treated human beings as "sacrifical lambs" to achieve his objectives.

Our objective is to reveal to the readers, that the presumed liberator, Prabhakaran, made his people to undergo intolerable suffering for nearly three decades by denying to them their basic needs, for existence.

As stated earlier, since 1948, Sri Lanka had been an independent and a sovereign state after being a colony of Britain since 1786 AD. In that year Britain colonized the maritime provinces of Sri Lanka, then known as Ceylon having captured it from the Dutch.

Notwithstanding the fact that Sri Lanka is a developing country the successive governments in power since independence have been providing some important welfare facilities to all citizens of the country, which has enabled them to maintain a high standard of living and a higher quality of life, in comparison to most countries of the South Asian region.

Sri Lanka is a Unitary State, and the central government of Sri Lanka is providing the following welfare facilities to all the citizens living in, all the provinces of the country without any discrimination:-

a) Free Health facilities and services.

b) Free Education from primary up to the university level.

In addition to the above welfare facilities, the successive governments since independence from colonial rules have been providing the staple food of the people, rice, free of charge on a rationed basis. However due to the economic and financial reasons etc., this scheme has now been done away with and instead the staples food rice, is now made available in all the provinces at a regulated and an affordable price.

A presidential systems of government based on the principles of parliamentary democracy is prevailing in Sri Lanka.

As stated earlier Sri Lanka is an Island in the Indian Ocean with a land area of approximately 65,000 sq/km, with only three ethnic groups speaking only two major languages with a population of 20.27 million,

as revealed at the, last population and housing census of 2012.

Hence the framers of the first constitution (the Soulbury Constitution) and the framers of the subsequent constitutions were firmly of the view that the distribution of powers of the state and the government should be based on a Unitary System of government and not on a Federal System of government, taking into consideration the relevant factors such as the land size of the country and its population etc. Hence even as per the 1978 constitution which has provided for an Executive Presidential system of government, the powers of the Central Government and that of the respective provinces in Sri Lanka are exercised and delegated on the basis of a Unitary System of government. Accordingly, the Central Government is exercising its powers and authorities in all the provinces of the country except those delegated to the provincial administration. However, all provincial administrations are subject to the control and supervision of the Central Government. It should be stated that in particular the major powers and authorities relating to the provision of the welfare facilities and services are exercised by the Central Government.

As already stated, the political and social peace of Sri Lanka was disturbed by the violence perpetrated by the LTTE for approximately three decades. During this period the terrorism of the LTTE affected the people living in all provinces of the country. Consequently they lived with enormous fear of life apart from the hazards they confronted in obtaining their day to day needs.

It must be mentioned that out of all the provinces in Sri Lanka the worst affected were people who were living in the Northern and the Eastern provinces. This was due to the fact that the LTTE unleashed their terrorism at an intolerable and unpardonable scale in particular in the Northern and the Eastern Provinces.

The people living in those provinces not only had the fear of life, but also the fear of extermination any day, any time and at any moment. They would have been spending 24 hours of the day in fear and uncertainty of their lives and that of their children.

In addition to the acute mental unrest they had, they were compelled

to undergo enormous physical hazards due to not been able to obtain their basic needs, such as food, drinking water, medicine, medical facilities, education facilities etc., for their children, kerosene to light their lamps, fuel for the vehicles and non-availability of transport facilities etc.

As already stated, the LTTE terrorists were forcibly occupying certain areas in the Northern and the Eastern provinces, for a certain period of time during the 30-year period of terrorism.

However, the government of Sri Lanka did not consider the LTTE to be the de jure rulers of these areas, and acknowledged that it is its responsibility to continue to provide the basic needs and the facilities required by the people of all communities living in the whole of the Northern and the Eastern provinces. Hence the government did everything possible to provide the basic needs of the people living there, despite enormous hazards and difficulties encountered due to impediments placed by the terrorists.

#### 11.7.1 DEPRIVING THE INNOCENT CIVILIAN OF THEIR BASIC NEEDS OF FOOD AND MEDICAL FACILITIES TO LIVE

Comparatively the cheapest and the most effective mode of transport of food and fuel etc. to the Northern and the Eastern provinces was through the Railway system. However, this was sabotaged by the terrorist due to the destruction of the railway network in the Northern and the Eastern provinces. They removed the railway tracks and destroyed the buildings and the yards in all the stations, the signaling system, thereby destroying the whole railway network. This resulted in depriving the government of the possibility of transporting the food, medicine, and the other basic requirements through the railways.

Due to this reason the government was compelled to make use of the road transport to deliver the basic requirements to the North and the East. The road transport too became extremely difficult due to many reasons. The roads were damaged and destroyed by the terrorists to prevent security personnel, arms and ammunition been transported to the North and the East. Consequently, the roads were in a state of disrepair due to the inability of undertaking regular maintenance which in turn was due to the dangers to which the maintenance staff was exposed.

As an alternative the government authorities were compelled to use private transport to deliver the essential items to the North and the East. If and when any government vehicles were used for the transport of any items to the North and the East, they were forcibly captured by the LTTE and taken for their use.

Due to the high risks to which the vehicles and the personnel were exposed to, the government and/ or the traders had no alternative but to pay the high cost of transport demanded by the providers of private transport.

In addition to the high cost of transport, the ruthless terrorists imposed a levy/tax on everything that had to go through their barriers. In fact, they were collecting funds to swell their collection to finance the terrorist's activities. The rate of the levy/tax varied according to the nature – type of the goods transported. If the goods transported belonged to the government for example:- food items, they plundered a portion of these items to be kept for their own use. In addition they levied higher taxes on the goods transported by the government. This they did, to make things difficult for the government, despite the fact that these food items and other essential requirements such as medicines, were meant for the civilians. In fact, when the security forces ultimately eradicated terrorism in May 2009, it was revealed that the LTTE had stocked large quantities of food items in their underground store houses which were there in several places.

Another source from which the LTTE extorted funds were from the boutiques and the shop keepers, who were engaged in business with limited items for sale due to the enormous difficulties they had to undergo in obtaining the required items to be made available for sale. The end result was that all these costs had to be borne by the innocent civilians. Consequently, the prices of these essential items became prohibitive to the civilians and they had to suffer as they could not obtain them. It may be that they were able to have access only to those limited food items which were dispatched and made available to the civilians by the government. In many instances the

# government sought the assistance of the INGO'S and NGO'S in the distribution of these food items.

The lack of adequate food led to malnutrition and thereby weakening their body immunity and were prone to sicknesses.

When it became impossible to provide the basic needs of the people through road transport, the government tried to continue to supply through sea transport, by hiring the services of some cargo vessels. There upon the "Sea tiger wing" of the LTTE attacked these vessels and tried to disrupt the services.

The government also transported certain items such as pharmaceutical drugs which were urgently required to treat the sick and those civilians who have suffered injuries resulting from incidents relating to attacks launched by the terrorist. The LTTE also continued to disturb the services provided by air by launching all possible attacks on the air craft and on the airports and the installations of the Sri Lanka Air Force.

Hence it was clearly evident that the government tried every possible mode of transport to supply the basic and the essential items to the civilians living in the North and the East, when the LTTE was battling the security forces in all phases of the Eelam war and in particular in the most critical fourth (IV) phase of the war. However, the leadership of the LTTE which had no respect or regard for human life were not the least concerned about the basic needs of the civilians which were required for their very existence. It is clear that the objective of the LTTE in placing maximum obstacles to the government to provide the basic requirements of the civilians of the North and the East was to bring disrepute to the government by indicating to the civilians in the North and the East that the government should be blamed for its inability to provide these basic needs which resulted in causing enormous suffering to them.

There was no doubt that LTTE who were experts in brain washing, would have deliberately created a situation to distort the minds of the people, that they are suffering due to the inability of the government to provide their essential consumer items including

#### food, and fuel etc. and thereby to discredit the government and to win the people to support their cause.

On the basis of the available information, details of some of the violent acts perpetrated by the LTTE to disrupt the food supplies to the North and the East have been furnished to enable the readers to determine as to who was responsible for making the people of the North and the East to suffer by denying their basic requirements, which resulted in agony and enormous suffering to the innocent civilians.

## 11.7.2 DEPRIVING THE INNOCENT CHILDREN OF THEIR EDUCATION

The Department of Census and Statistics of Sri Lanka has conducted a "Census of Population and Housing in 2012" between 27<sup>th</sup> February and 21<sup>st</sup> March 2012 covering the entire country including the Northern and the Eastern provinces. These two provinces were not included in a similar survey done in 2001. As stated earlier the LTTE deliberately prevented the census been taken in those two provinces as they did not want to reveal the actual population statistics of the respective communities living in those provinces and their distribution as at date. The districts that were not covered during the 2001 survey were Jaffna, Mannar, Vavuniya, Mullaitivu, Kilinochchi (in the Northern Province), and Batticaloa Trincomalee (in the Eastern province). The department is conducting their surveys in conformity with the internationally accepted practices and procedures and the collated data had been analysed and published accordingly.

One of the important welfare facilities provided by the government of Sri Lanka is free education to children of all communities without any favour or discrimination from the primary up to the university degree level. The students are permitted to undergo their education in any one of the two major languages in use in Sri Lanka, Namely Sinhala or Tamil and in English if they wished to do so. English is considered to be the link language between the Sinhalese and the Tamils. In addition, all students are provided with free text books and free school uniforms.

The Department of Education of the government of Sri Lanka as at 2012 was funding and operating under its management a total of 10,763 government schools throughout the Island and a total of 4,786, 808 students are attending these schools.

\*In addition, the government has granted permission for the operation of private schools and as at 2012, six thousand one hundred and fourteen (6114) such school are in operation throughout Sri Lanka.

In addition, the government has permitted the student to sit examinations conducted by professional organizations and the reputed universities the world over.

Several reputed universities in different countries, have already established their branches in Sri Lanka.

In addition as at 2012, 88,356 undergraduates are attending the different faculties of the fifteen universities established in the different provinces in Sri Lanka, funded and managed by the Ministry of Higher Education.

Accordingly, as at 2012 a total of 4,875,164 students are undergoing education at Primary, Secondary and University levels in Sri Lanka. This figure does not include the students attending the 6,140 private schools.

This total constitutes approximately 25% of the total population of Sri Lanka."

Traditionally education in Sri Lanka is associated with the Buddhist temple in the village. The monks associated with the Temple, in addition to their religious activities, voluntarily educated the children in the village to read and write their language and thereafter proceeded with educating them in literature and Buddhism.

During the British colonial period, they established a few missionary schools in the main towns particularly to educate their converts. In addition, the British colonialists established many missionary schools in the North to provide education in English, much more than what was required in proportion to its population. The objective was to provide a higher level of education to the Tamil community in the North to effectively implement their colonial policy of "divide and rule".

<sup>\* –</sup> Ministry of Education

<sup>-</sup> Economic and Social Statistics of Sri Lanka - 2013 Central Bank of Sri Lanka

<sup>\*\*</sup> Source - Ministry of Education

Thereafter in conformity with the colonial policy they employed the educated people of the Tamil community in the service of the government to rule the majority community in the country. The educated people of the Tamil community continued to dominate the administration of the country and many professions, for many more years after Sri Lanka was granted independence by the British Colonialists in 1948.

When the American Theosophist Colonel Henry Steele Olcott arrived in Sri Lanka in the mid nineteenth century, he witnessed the injustice caused to the people of the majority community, the Sinhala Buddhist in denying them the opportunity of been educated in English. Thereupon in order to rectify this situation, in association with the eminent Buddhist monks at the time, established the first English school at the Maliban Street, Pettah, (Colombo 11) to provide education in English to the Sinhala Buddhist children. At a later period this school was shifted to a land gifted by a Buddhist Philanthropist at Maradana, Colombo 10. This was the first Buddhist school established to educate the Sinhala Buddhist children in the country. The school was named Ananda Collage which was the name of the chief first disciple of the Buddha (Arahath Ananda Thero). Subsequently, Colonel Olcott in association with the eminent Buddhist Prelates and Philanthropists, succeeded in establishing several Buddhist schools in different parts of the country.

Due to the nature and the type of facilities available for education in Sri Lanka, it has succeeded in achieving a literacy rate of 91.9% \*, which is one of the highest in South Asia and comparatively higher than the literacy rates prevailing in most of the developing countries in Africa and South America.

As stated earlier the British colonialists established many missionary schools in the Jaffna peninsula. However, they did not provide similar educational facilities in the Eastern province to the extent to which they did in the Jaffna peninsula.

The elite of the people of the North, those who belong to the "Vellala" caste took optimum advantage of the missionary schools established by the colonial powers. Having had a solid educational foundation in these

schools, qualified to enter the local and mostly foreign universities for higher education. They got themselves qualified in different fields and became an important and an influential segment in the countries social hierarchy.

It was rather doubtful whether the people of the lower castes in the Jaffna peninsula had the same opportunities, rights and privileges for education in the missionary schools, as the people of the Vellala Caste wanted to maintain their superiority as against those of the lower castes. Despite these social disadvantages the people of the Jaffna peninsula as a whole maintained a high rate of literacy.

The facility for higher education in the Northern provinces was enhanced by the government establishing a separate university in the Jaffna Peninsula.

As in the case of many other things the education of the North and the East was badly affected due to the terrorist activities in those two provinces. The LTTE which attached no value to human life, was not the least concerned with any other activities associated with human life. In fact they did not require their cadres to possess any educational qualifications. To the parents in the North and the East the education of their children was very important aspect of their lives. Hence they wanted their children to be well employed after completing their education, making optimum use of the facilities available for children.

As at the year 2010, there were 840 government schools in the Northern Province and 1003 in the Eastern province\*. As the schools have been established in the respective districts in the Northern and the Eastern provinces, many years ago depending on the student population in these areas, it is likely that all these schools may have been established many years before terrorist activities took place in those provinces.

In particular during the fourth phase of the Eelam war which commenced in 2006 the LTTE was engaged in abducting children from schools in the Northern and the Eastern provinces and conscripted them as child soldiers.

Consequently, the parents of these children who were concerned

about the security of their children could not get them to attend the schools regularly. The LTTE killed several principals of schools for protesting against the abduction and conscription of students attending their schools.

The LTTE attacked some of these government schools and took away equipment in these schools for their use. Some school buildings were taken over by the LTTE to be used for their operations and activities. The terrorists harassed the teaching staff and made things difficult for them, if they criticized and disagreed and their thinking and their activities. In addition people living in these areas had to face enormous difficulties in obtaining their necessities and finding transport to and from their places of residence to the schools where they were teaching.

One of the worst hazards for education in the North and the East was the disruption caused to conducting the public examinations for students namely the G.C.E. (O/L) and G.C.E. (A/L) examinations. The objective of the LTTE was to place as many impediments as possible for the government to proceed in providing the services to the people, whether food, education, or health services. They may have thought, this action could discredit the government and thereby enable them to win them over to pursue their cause. To disrupt conducting the examinations where ever possible they harassed the officials of the Department of Examinations who were assigned to conduct these examinations. There were incidents when the postal services have been disrupted to prevent examination papers to be delivered in time.

It must be mentioned that even though Prabhakaran unreasonably and for no valid reason, placed all the possible obstacles to prevent the education of children, whom he presumed to liberate, he secretly ensured that his children were educated by sending them overseas. It should not be forgotten that Prabhakaran once stated that he will never do anything which he will not expect his people to do. This is another instance in which he acted contrary to the pledge he has given to his people that he will never do anything which he did not expect others to do. Hence this is another instance which proved that the lack of genuineness on the part of Prabhakaran who presumed to be the liberator.

As stated earlier providing free health facilities in government

hospitals and Health Care centres is one of the important welfare facilities provided by the government to all people of the country without any discrimination. As at the year 2012 the government had established five hundred and ninety three (593) hospitals and in addition four hundred and eighty (480) Primary Health Care Units throughout the country including the Northern and the Eastern provinces.<sup>\*</sup>

#### HEALTH FACILITIES

As the state was providing free medical facilities to the people, they were able to maintain a higher quality of life. Due to the medical facilities and services provided in Sri Lanka some of the major diseases rampant in some other countries in South Asia, Africa, South America, such as sexually transmitted diseases, Malaria, Filariasis, Respiratory diseases have been kept effectively under control. Diseases such as smallpox and poliomelitis, have been completely eradicated. The spreading of some of the other diseases have been under control. Consequently Sri Lanka has succeeded in maintaining a high level of Life Expectancy i.e. 74.9% which is comparatively the highest in South Asia. The infant mortality rate which stands at 6.2% (per one thousand (1000) live births) and maternal mortality rate which stands at two hundred and twenty (220) (per one hundred thousand 100,000 live births) which is the lowest among the SAARC Countries.

Not withstanding the fact that the LTTE was time and again occupying different parts of the Northern and the Eastern provinces the government continued to provide the medical services as it was the responsibility of the government to provide these medical services which were important for the life of the people.

The health services provided by the government of Sri Lanka as in the case of other services provided by the government, were badly affected by the terrorist activities of the LTTE. They jeopardized the services provided by the Government Hospitals and Medical Centres, by engaging in all types of terrorist activities. They forcibly carried away the steel beds meant for the patients and used the metal for the <u>construction of their</u> bunkers and other underground constructions.

\*. Source - Ministry of Health

They plundered the medicine from the hospitals which were meant to treat the innocent civilians and the helpless patients. Some hospital buildings or some sections of the hospital buildings were occupied by the terrorists for various activities.

The worst they did was to directly interfere with the work of the medical practitioners. Based on the instructions of the Department of Health the Medical Officers attached to the hospital could treat only the civilian patients. However the LTTE compelled the doctors and the other medical staff attached to the hospitals and the medical centres to treat the injured cadres of the LTTE.

Those medical staff who refused to accede to their requests were threatened and harassed and forced them to comply with their requests. In certain instances they even brutally killed them, if they refused to carry out their instructions. This resulted in the medical personnel including the doctors, refusing to accept transfers to the government hospitals in the North and the East.

In transporting the medicine and the other medical requirements for the treatment of civilian patients the government had to undergo all types of extreme hazards caused by the terrorists. In addition the terrorist forcibly took large quantities of medicines away from the hospitals. This led to acute shortages in medicines to treat the innocent civilians who came to hospitals for treatment.

In addition due to terrorism in the North and the East the government was not able to upgrade the medical services which were provided in Hospitals in the North and the East for nearly 30 years. Consequently the medical services that could be provided through the hospitals were limited. This in turn seriously affected the innocent civilian patients who called over at these hospitals for medical treatment. Due to the non availability of transport facilities the patients could not travel to other parts of the country for medical treatment to make use of facilities which were not available in the hospitals in the North and the East.

On the basis of the available information the disastrous activities perpetrated by the LTTE in preventing the innocent civilians of the

North and the East from making use of the welfare facilities provided by the government and the enormous suffering the people had to undergo are described below for the information of the readers.

#### **ATTACK ON FOOD SUPPLIES :-**

#### 1. ATTACKING SHIPS CARRYING FOOD - 17<sup>th</sup> JULY 1997

A North Korean ship carrying food was attacked by the LTTE terrorists who later seized it, killing one crew member.

#### 2. LTTE ATTACK ON FOOD CONVOY – 26<sup>TH</sup> NOVEMBER 2006

As many international and local organizations in Batticaloa were taking measures to carry food items in a large convoy of over seventy five vehicles to the un-cleared Vakarai area, it had been revealed that the LTTE laid heavy mines and 1,000 kg bombs on certain points and placed bottle necks on the road to prevent them being carried to the uncleared areas.

#### 3. REFUSING THREE URGENT REQUESTS BY THE GOVERNMENT - 8<sup>th</sup> DECEMBER 2006

The LTTE once again showed its total disregard to the plight of the innocent civilian population in Jaffna and Vakarai by refusing three urgent requests conveyed by the Government to them through the Norwegain Special Envoy Jon Hansen Bauer, who flew to Killinochchi to convey the Government's request for urgent humanitarian needs.

#### 4. LTTE ATTACK ON FOOD CONVOY – 16<sup>th</sup> OCTOBER 2008

50 (Fifty) world food programme (WFP) lorries carrying essential food items, medicine and other day rations for Wanni civilians were forced to return to Vavuniya due to LTTE artillery fire and claymore mine attacks. The convoy loaded with essential food items had crossed the Omanthai entry - exit point. However, due to the terrorist attacks the convoy was forced to return to Vavuniya. The convoy had to face

a barrage of LTTE artillery fire and claymore mine attacks. The lorries were carrying a large stock of essential food items such as rice, sugar, dhal and a large stock of medicines. Some other lorries were due to be sent to civilians living in IDP centers in Kilinochchi and Mullaitivu Districts. Five out of the eighteen lorries have been instructed to distribute essential food items co-ordinating with the relevant authorities in the Mullaitivu District, while the balance stock to be distributed in the Kilinochchi District.

According to a report submitted by the Commissioner General of Essential Services regarding the supply of food items to the Vanni, has stated that the **Government had been able to continue the provision** of essential food items to civilians in Kilinochchi and Mullaitivu districts effectively despite non- cooperation of some International AID Agencies.

#### 5. CARRYING ESSENTIAL ITEMS TO CIVILIANS IN JAFFNA – 22<sup>ND</sup> OCTOBER 2008

Three LTTE suicide vessels carried out an attack targeting the Merchant Ships "Ruhuna" and "Nimalawa", while transporting essential items to civilians in Jaffna. The incident occurred in the North Sea of Sri Lanka at 5.10 a.m. on 22<sup>nd</sup> October 2008.

The attack was viewed as another cowardly attempt by the terrorists to deny essential supplies to the civilians living in war affected areas.

#### **INCIDENTS OF DISRUPTING EDUCATION**

#### 1. JAFFNA PENINSULA - 4<sup>TH</sup> DECEMBER 1987

The G.C.E. (Ordinary) Level Examination which was due to be held on 5<sup>th</sup> Saturday December 1987 was not held in Jaffna as the Government had received intelligence reports of possible attacks on examination centres by the LTTE. An official of the Ministry of Education stated that preparations have been made to hold the examinations at 130 examinations centers in Jaffna.

#### 2. DISRUPTING G.C.E. (O/L) EXAMINATION -10<sup>TH</sup> DECEMBER 1987

The terrorist attempted to disrupt the December 1987 G.C.E. (O/L) Examination by obstructing the officials who were detailed to make arrangements to hold the Examination in the North and the East. Four officers who were organizing the examination in Mulaitivu and the Postmaster of the Batticaloa sub Post Office were kidnapped by the LTTE. The Postmaster had helped to distribute the examination documents speedily. The personnel of the examination department included the officer-in-charge, and education officers assisting him and peons.

#### 3. ASSASSINATING THE PRINCIPAL OF PALUGAMAM MAHA VIDYALAYA – 14<sup>th</sup> DECEMBER 1987

M.E. Kandasamy, Principal, Palugamam Maha Vidyalaya was murdered on 14<sup>th</sup> December 1987.

#### 4. ASSASSINATING THE PRINCIPAL OF WIGNESWARA VIDYALAYA – 13<sup>th</sup> JANUARY 1988

S. Siththamparanathan, the Principal of the Wigneswara Vidyalaya in the Trincomalee District was assassinated by the LTTE.

## 5. ASSASSINATING TWO SCHOOL PRINCIPALS IN JAFFNA - 11<sup>th</sup> OCTOBER 2005

The LTTE terrorists assassinated two school Principals in the Jaffna peninsula. The Principal of Kopay Christian College, Nadarajah Sivakadadcham was assassinated by the terrorists in front of his home in Kopay North. A day earlier, the principal of the Jaffna Central College, K. Rajadurai, was assassinated near the Jaffna library. Both principals were known to be strong critics of LTTE child conscription.

#### 6. ELEVEN CHILDREN AND A TEACHER WERE INJURED AT SOMADEVI VIDYALAYA – 7<sup>TH</sup> DECEMBER 2006

Three civilians were killed, 11 school children and a teacher were injured when indiscriminate artillery fire by the LTTE hit Somadevi Vidyalaya in the village of Kallaru, Trincomalee when the school with three hundred students was in session. The Tiger cadres fired artillery towards Somadevi school in Kallaru and later fired another round of artillery shells on a house in the Kallaru village killing three civilians including a 10-year-old child.

## 7. LTTE ABDUCTED 24 STUDENTS AND TWO TEACHERS -19<sup>th</sup> DECEMBER 2006

The LTTE abducted 24 students and two teachers in Vinayagampuram, Batticaloa. The students, twenty one (21) girls and three (03) boys, were revising the subjects they were to sit the next day's GCE (O/L) when they were taken away by the LTTE to their training camps in Kanchikudiaru.

## 8. ATTACK ON SCHOOL BUS NEAR HINDU COLLEGE - 8<sup>th</sup> JANUARY 2007

A school bus was set on fire by the LTTE cadres after forcing out the students and the teachers of Hindu College, Jaffna. The bus was burnt to provoke school children into violence.

#### 9. SETTING FIRE TO A SCHOOL BUS – 15<sup>th</sup> MAY 2007

The LTTE set fire to a SLCTB school bus in Jaffna after ordering school children to get off the vehicle. The bus belonging to the Kondavil depot was plying from Maradanamadam to Urimpiral with students when it was forced to stop. Nine children were injured in this incident.

#### 10. LTTE MORTAR FIRE INJURED FIVE STUDENTS AND TWO TEACHERS -26<sup>TH</sup> NOVEMBER 2007

LTTE mortar fire injured five students and two teachers of Irakkam school in Pulleadi, Mannar. A school located between the Madhu and Murunkan road came under LTTE artillery attack. Four shells hit the Irakkam school in Mannar. Injuring five students and two teachers.

## 11. TARGETING SCHOOL CHILDREN FOR TERRORISM - 14<sup>th</sup> MAY 2008

The LTTE intensified its forcible recruitment drive depriving the education rights of those who sat for the Ordinary Level Examination. The LTTE targeted school children in the Killinochchi and Mullaitivu Districts who had failed the G.C.E. O/L examination.

## 11.8 INDUCING LTTE CAPTIVES TO SELF DESTRUCTION BY CONSUMING THE CYANIDE CAPSULE

As stated earlier, Prabhakaran who did not attach any value to human life **devised two methods which caused destruction to his followers.** The first method was to brainwash the followers and to create the impression that they are considered to be heroes and **to induce them to sacrifice their lives by carrying out suicide attacks** against the so called enemies of the tamil people or Prabhakaran or those who crossed his path or those who were a challenge to his leadership.

The second method of self destruction was biting a cyanide vile, if in the event any member of the LTTE was taken captive by the security forces to prevent them from providing information to the security forces. In most cases they strictly complied with the instructions given to them by the leader. Both methods led to the destruction of valuable human lives.

Long before the modern legal systems stipulated that self mortification is a criminal offence, the Buddha who lived in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC preached the five precepts which people should follow in their day to day lives. The first of the five precepts he preached was "Panathipatha", that is to refrain from taking away the life of another living being which he stated was a grave sin.

The Buddha who attached enormous value to human life preached that "Panathipatha" includes self destruction by a human being or killing oneself, is a grave sin. He further preached that due to the commission of this grave sin, a living being in his journey through "Sansara" (birth, death and re-birth) he will never be born again as a human being. It meant that in his journey through "Sansara" he will never have the opportunity to indulge in meritorious deeds which in turn will preclude him from achieving the salvation which he preached to be Nirvana, the state which will end suffering and re-birth.

The first incident of self mortification in the 20<sup>th</sup> century which had taken place in a war environment was reported from Germany towards the end of the World War II. In about March 1945 Hitler had taken up residence in his bunker under the Reich Chancery in Berlin. At that time the Russians were advancing from the East of Germany, the British and the Americans from the West.

Eva Braun, Hitler's mistress is said to have committed suicide when the allied forces were marching towards Berlin to capture them. She is said to have committed suicide by biting a cyanide capsule on 30<sup>th</sup> April 1945, twelve days before the end of World War II. Immediately after, Hitler is said to have shot himself dead. Hence the allied forces were not able to capture Hitler alive. This act on the part of Hitler displayed the quality of his leadership, even though he himself was a ruthless killer, indulging in ethnic cleansing, by killing millions of Jews. Due to his enormous pride as a leader he never wanted to surrender alive or to permit his enemies to kill him.

This was quite a contrast to the conduct of Prabhakaran, when the security forces were pursuing him to capture him dead or alive. By hiding in the Nandikhadal Lagoon, he was expecting his foreign allies to rescue him and make way for his escape leaving behind the members of his family, his faithful leaders and all other cadres of his terrorist outfit, to be captured by the security forces. However, as per the instructions given to the security forces they received all the civilians and the LTTE cadres who surrendered to the security forces, and treated them as human beings without indulging in any form of harassment.

Even though the security forces did not succeed in capturing Prabhakaran alive he died due to a gun shot injury fired in the direction of the Nandikhadal Lagoon to counter the attacks launched by the bodyguard of Prabhakaran, who provided protection to enable their leader to escape. However, even on the verge of capturing him by the security forces he never wanted to kill himself by biting the cyanide vile which was around his neck. The conduct of Prabhakaran in this instance was in violation of his own code of conduct which he has stipulated to his followers. In fact, he truly displayed his cowardice to sacrifice his life for his cause. In contrast to Adolf Hitler would it be possible to consider Vellupillai Prabhakaran to be a genuine and a courageous leader.

Prabhakaran's code of ethics stipulated that in the event any of his cadres were captured by the security forces, they should kill themselves by biting the cyanide vile or the capsule tied around their necks. This was to prevent them from disclosing any information to the security forces. This is another instance in which the leader violated the stringent stipulations of his code of conduct.

In contrast to the conduct of the leader, the disciples of Prabhakaran strictly complied with this stipulation whenever they were captured by the security forces. If caught or detected by the security forces when on a suicide mission, the particular LTTE cadre pressed the button in the explosive kit he wore and killed himself instantaneously, thus sacrificing his life for the cause of the LTTE or to that of his leader. If caught or detected by the security forces when on any other mission the LTTE cadres killed themselves by biting the cyanide capsule hung around their necks. By adopting these crude methods of self mortification Prabhakaran ruthlessly ended the valuable lives of many young men and women who were his faithful and committed disciples. They would have regretted very much if they knew that their leader did not follow suit when he was about to be captured by the security forces, whilst hiding in the Nandikhadal Lagoon with the hope of escaping without been captured by the security forces in the final phase of the Eelam war in May 2009.

He died due to a gunshot injury to his head which was caused by the security forces when they were spraying bullets in the dark in the direction of the Nandikhadal Lagoon, suspecting that he could be hiding in the Lagoon.

Would it not be possible to consider that the manner in which he died was an unpardonable betrayal of the young men and women who sacrificed their valuabe lives for the cause of the LTTE.

# CHAPTER 12

# ASSASSINATION OF IMPORTANT PERSONS

# (POLITICIANS, INTELLECTUALS, PROFESSIONALS, EDUCATIONISTS AND SOCIAL WORKERS)

#### POLITICIANS

In any country in the world irrespective of the size of its land and its population, those who possess the acknowledged, characteristics of leadership are only a selected few.

\*As stated in chapter one of this book titled "The Value of Human Life", the "Buddha the Enlightened One" has preached that in the journey through "Sansara" (the cycle of birth, death and rebirth) it is a rare achievement for a living being to be born a human being\*.

It is only human beings who could exclusively possess the mind in comparison to animals. As the human beings possess the mind it is only they who could understand what is good and what is bad, and what is moral and what is immoral. According to the teachings of the Buddha, after the death of a human being, the time, the place, the position, the parents, etc of the persons to be reborn depends on the good and the bad things done, the moral and the immoral life led in his previous birth. Hence it is clear that in comparison to others it is only those who have done good and led a moral life in their previous births will possess the talents and the attributes to be a leader and in particular to be a chosen leader.

Since the human race reached the age of civilization some outstanding leaders emerged in the world who have made remarkable and outstanding contributions to humanity. Some of them were religious leaders, namely, the Lord Buddha, Jesus Christ and Prophet Mohammad. They made an everlasting contribution through their religious teachings

<sup>\*.</sup> Source: The Teachings of the Buddha – Ven. Naradha

by advising and guiding the people to refrain from indulging in evil and to do good to achieve what they interpreted to be the emancipation or salvation.

Apart from the religious leaders, there were the national leaders who lived in particular, during the period from the 18<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> century AD. Some of these leaders were **George Washington of U.S.A.**, Lenin and Stalin of Russia, MaoTse-Tung and Chu-En-Lai of China, Ho-Chi-Min and Von Giap of Vietnam, Mahatma Gandhi of India, Fidel Castro and Che-Guvera of Cuba, Kim-Jong-iL of Korea, Nelson Mandela of South Africa Jomo Kenyata of Nigeria who fought on behalf of the people of their respective countries and liberated them from colonialism, slavery, oppression tyranny, despotism and dictatorship. The contributions made by these great men were so remarkable and outstanding that they have been elevated to the rank of national heroes in their respective countries.

In addition to the national leaders mentioned above there were some other leading personalities who lived during the different ages of world history, who have made remarkable contributions to change the destinies of the world and positively contributed to its development to achieve what the world had achieved today.

All the leaders whose names are mentioned above are those who are venerated in their respective countries for the outstanding and remarkable services they have rendered to their countries and its people. Their names and the services they rendered will be perpetuated forever in those countries.

In contrast to these great men, some countries in the world had witnessed the birth and existence of some men who assumed leadership through some dubious and or unethical means and relished in indulging in the most ruthless forms of crimes.

Such evil doers were described in the Hindu Chronicles as "Asuras" Buddhist chronicles described them as "Maras", the Holy bible compared such men to "Satan". Due to some meritorious acts they have performed in their previous births they were fortunate to be born in the human world. Hence they had the physique of the human beings but their thinking and conduct made them "Asuras" or "Devils" in human form. Such men who lived in the twentieth and twenty first centuries were Adolf Hitler of Germany, Pol Pot of Kampucha (Cambodia), Prabhakaran the ruthless leader of the LTTE in Sri Lanka, Bin Laden the terrorist leader of "Al Qaida". The destruction, disaster, atrocities and the crimes committed by these men, were so ruthless, intolerable, and unpardonable, that it is a great pity that they were born among the rest of the mankind.

The thrice blessed peaceful land of Sri Lanka, by the visit of the Buddha on three different occasions had the sad experience of going through a thirty year period of a "reign of terror" perpetrated by the "Asura" or a "devil" in human form, known as Velupillai Prabhakaran. Among the different types and the large number of crimes perpetrated by Prabhakaran, was the assassination of some important personalities. Among such important personalities he ruthlessly decimated were religious prelates, intellectuals, politicians, professionals, educationist, social workers, etc.

Prabhakaran who was a megalomaniac was a person with a distorted mind. Hence, he did not realize the value of human life. **He detested any kind of leadership, as his desire was to become the one and only leader of his dreamland, Eelam.** He never gave any consideration even to the very political leaders who encouraged and assisted him to establish his ruthless terrorist outfit. He even did not spare the "God Father" of the LTTE, A. Amirthalingam the leader of the TULF. Thereafter he proceeded to kill other key leaders of the TULF. The worst was the **meticulously planned assassination of Rajiv Gandhi a former Prime Minister of India,** who arranged to train the different groups of terrorists including the LTTE and militarily equipped them to fight against the Sri Lankan Security Forces.

As Prabhakaran was a megalomaniac he could not have possessed the qualities of a genuine leader. Though professed to be, he did not work towards achieving the common cause of establishing a separate state for the Tamil speaking people. If so, he should have sought the assistance of the leaders of the other terrorist groups, whose members were highly trained in military and guerilla warfare and were militarily equipped by India. Instead he wanted to pursue his objectives all by himself, excluding all others. He further attempted to restrain the rise of a democratic political leadership among the Tamil community, which took him on a bloody trail of murder and mayhem and **started assassinating the leaders not only of the rival groups but also the leaders of the Sinhala and the Tamil communities.** 

After returning to Sri Lanka from India with his highly trained gang of terrorists he started a ruthless campaign of exterminating the members of the other terrorist groups and their leaders.

This killing spree assumed such a violent and ruthless scale that there were violent protests from the civilians in the North and the East, including the parents of the victims.

If Prabhakaran was a genuine liberator of his people as he claimed to be, he should have sought the co-operation and assistance of all the leaders of the respective terrorist groups and utilized the services of these men to confront the security forces. However, he been a selfish leader who wanted to be the sole leader of the proposed state to be established decided to proceed under his leadership employing his own men. (*Refer Chapter 11 of Part I*)

Having successfully done this he took steps to fine tune the weapons in his armoury by using the brainwashed Tamil youth as Human bombs to further propagate the killing of opposition politicians, intellectuals, community leaders, religious prelates, social workers etc.

He also dealt with anybody whether friend or foe, whether Sinhalese, Tamil or Muslims whom he thought could be a potential danger to his leadership.

Having sent teams of well trained group of terrorists to India to decimate Rajiv Gandhi, Prabhakaran turned on Ranasinghe Premadasa the President of Sri Lanka who assisted and militarily equipped Prabhakaran to drive away the IPKF, the Indian Peace Keeping Force. Prabhakaran formulated a long term schematic plan to assassinate President Premadasa and executed it so effectively leaving no trace to be detected by the Sri Lankan intelligence services. Similarly he planned to assassinate Rajiv Gandhi and fully rehearsed it and executed, without leaving a clue to be detected by the well organized and effective Indian intelligence services the RAW.

Among the other important politicians of the respective government in Sri Lanka who were assassinated were several important cabinet ministers namely two Defence ministers Ranjan Wijeratne, and Lalith Athulathmudali, and several others including Lakshman Kadiragamar the Minister of Foreign affairs, Jeyaraj Fernandopulle the Minister of Highways and Road development, etc. Several other key ministers escaped death as the attempts on their lives did not succeed. The sin committed by them was to criticize Prabhakaran and working against the LTTE. He also killed several religious prelates, professionals, social workers and educationists for either criticizing or crossing the path of Prabhakaran or for becoming a challenge to his leadership.

## He justified killing them as they were labeled as traitors to the cause of the Tamil Speaking people or for criticizing the LTTE or for crossing his path.

On the basis of the available information the details regarding the assassinations and the attempted assassination of important personalities are furnished below for the information of the readers.

## 12.1 ASSASSINATION OF TAMIL POLITICIANS

## 1. THE FIRST POLITICAL VICTIM – ALFRED DURAIAPPAH – 27<sup>th</sup> JULY 1975

As stated earlier, Prabhakaran's first political victim was the popular Mayor of Jaffna Alfred Duraiappa who was gunned down outside the Krishnan Hindu Temple at Ponnalai on 27th July 1975. In fact when Prabhakaran assassinated Duraiappa, the LTTE had not even been formally setup at that time. Duraiappa was killed by a terrorist group called the Tamil New Tigers (TNT) founded by Prabhakaran, which was later named the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam. The assassination had been carried out by three youths led by Prabhakaran. Duraiappa was shot dead on his way back after prayers in the Ponnalai Krishnan Kovil in Jaffna. With the first major political killing in its bag the LTTE with the backing of the training and finances it got mainly from India, later went on his own to become the leader of the most dangerous and deadly extremist outfit in the world with scores of people killed in its campaign of violence and bloodshed including two eminent leaders one in India and the other in Sri Lanka, **"the only terrorist organization to do so".** 

It was thought that it would be appropriate to provide some background developments of the North that led to the assassination of Duraiappa and the subsequent violent massacres of the LTTE.

The rise of the political violence in the North after the Republican Constitution of 1972 enacted by Parliament, should be looked at not merely as a spontaneous reaction to the legislative or the administrative action taken by the government from 1948. It was a calculated course of action by the respectives extremist leaders of the North to destabilize and unnecessarily instill fear into the Tamil people of the North who were usually enterprising, hardworking, frugal and law abiding and who did not resort to violence to address their problems.

The assassination of Alfred Duraiappah the mayor of Jaffna came after several incidents of violence and sabotage started by the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) and the Tamil United Youth Front (TUYF). But the motivating forces behind them was the extremist elements among the politicians of the North notably A. Amirthalingam who was to succeed as leader of the first leader of the Illankai Tamil Arasu Kachchi, erroneously translated into English as the Federal Party

When the Republican Constitution of 1972 was enacted in Parliament no less than five members of parliament from the North, all of them Tamils voted for the constitution. It was recorded that Amirthalingam had said "that the five members who supported the passage of the new constitution will not die natural deaths and would die in some other way. The TULF youth had threatened these five members and posters were displayed in Jaffna naming them as "traitors of the Tamils"

It was in this background that the rise of the LTTE and the other terrorist groups had to be understood. Initially a group of above fifty (50) Tamil youth started collecting small arms and some explosives, mostly robbed from government institutions or from private places. Amirthalingam had advised the youth that they should fight to create a separate state for the Tamils and they may get arrested tortured or even suffer death and with the passage of time they would be able to win the separate state of Eelam.

Amirthalingam had also told the youth that they should seek the assistance of other countries for the struggle of the Tamil people. The tragedy of the people of the North and the East was that later the youth began to get themselves organized as terrorist groups.

Duraiappah was a lawyer and was a popular politician of Jaffna. He believed that the people of the North and South should unite and he worked hard to bring prosperity to the people of the North. When he joined Mrs. Bandaranaike's government it was in the background of the national food production drive. The farmers of Jaffna had become rich producing rice, vegetables and fruits and were mainly sent to Colombo for sale.

Duraiappah was loved by both the rich and poor of the North, especially by the fisher folk of Meesalai. The day he was gunned down by Prabhakaran the fisher folk of Meesalai men and women rolled in the sand when they heard about the assassination. His funeral was attended by them and the farmers who had prospered during that time. He never believed that anyone would harm him, let alone kill him. Such was his popularity among the people and he worked hard to raise the living standards of the people and used his influence with Mrs. Bandaranaike and the ministers of the government to do good to the farmers and the fisher folk. He was from a wealthy family and married into a family related to late G.G. Ponnambalam.

Despite the fact that like the other leading politicians of Jaffna he also belonged to the Vellala caste. However unlinke the other politicians he treated all people alike despite their caste differences. In particular the fisher folk though belonged to a lower caste he kept close associations with them and was most concerned regarding their welfare. This was another reason why he was so popular among the rank and file of the people in Jaffna.

At the time when Mrs. Bandaranaike was in power the presence of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) in Jaffna was an embarrassment to the leaders of the Tamil United Left Front (TULF) especially to Amirthalingam who had by that time become the "God Father" of the armed Tamil youth who were fondly, known as the "boys" by their patrons who were not so popular among the people of the North.

On the day in question when Duraiappah came out of the Punnalai Kovil after worshipping, the terrorist group was waiting for him, while he was coming to get into his vehicle. Prabhakaran pulled out his revolver shot Duraiappah at point blank range killing him almost on the spot. D. K. Rajarathnam a member of the Jaffna Municipal Council and an employee of the council, Loganathan were also injured in the attack. Associated with Prabhakaran were other terrorists Kirubhakaran, Sridharan, Sunthian, Sothirathnam, Kailasipathi and Selvakumar.

The group got into the mayor's car and fled the scene of the crime and on the way abandoned the vehicle and disappeared.

Though Amirthalingam and Duraiappah were members of the Jaffna Bar neither Amirthalingam nor any other member of the TULF attended the funeral. It was very clear that the TULF had condoned the assassination, as they were hand in glove with the rising terrorist bands at the time. It had been reported that Amirthalingam's wife had such an animosity or antagonism towards the Sinhalese community particularly after the "Black July", that she had expressed the desire to wear shoes made out of the skins of the Sinhala people. When she expressed this vicious and inhuman desire she may have forgotten that the immediate cause of the incident that led to the holocaust of "Black July", was the assassination of thirteen soldiers of the Sri Lankan Army in Jaffna which was organized and executed by their "pet boy" Prabhakaran.

The common people including the farmers and the fisher folk of Jaffna will not be so ungrateful to forget the contributions made by Alfred Duraiappah to lift their living standard in contrast to the caste conscious but presumed liberators of the TULF.

Had he survived the assassination, the popular politician would have been definitely re-elected to parliament. Duraiappah earlier contested the Jaffna Seat as an independent candidate and defeated Tamil Congress Leader G.G. Ponnambalam QC and Federal Party candidate Kadiraveli Pillai. Amirthalingam, his wife and a number of members of the TULF paid penance when they were ruthlessly killed by LTTE terrorists, who were encouraged and nurtured by the TULF.

"If one thrust a sword in the hands of an undesirable person to deal with one of his enemies, no sooner he accomplishes the task assigned to him he will turn against the very person who gave him the sword and will annihilate him".

On the basis of the available information details of the leaders who were assassinated by the LTTE are furnished for the information of the readers:-

## 2. A. THIYAGARAJAH, MP FOR VADUKKODAI – 25<sup>th</sup> MAY 1981

Vaddukkodai MP, A. Thiyagarajah was one of the first Tamil MP's to die at the hands of a Tamil assassin. His assassination on May 25th, 1981 was the first major political killing after Duraiyappah's assassination six years earlier. Attacks on politicians who were with the then government in power increased, as Tamil groups slowly strengthened their position with training and financial assistance provided by the Government of India.

## 3. K.T. PULENDRAN, MP FOR VAVUNIYA – 19<sup>th</sup> JANUARY 1983

Former UNP MP for the Vavuniya District and UNP organizer, **K.T. Pulendran was shot dead by the LTTE in Vavuniya**.

# 4. VELMURUGU MASTER TULF MEMBER, ORGANISER – 20<sup>th</sup> AUGUST 1983

LTTE terrorists shot dead TULF Member, organizer, and chairman Kalmunai Citizens Committee Velmurugu Master, in Kalmunai.

### 5. SINNATHAMBI SIVAMAHARAJA, TULF FORMER MP – 20<sup>th</sup> AUG 1983

Former TULF Parliamentarian and TNA activist **Sinnathambi Sivamaharaja was shot dead by** LTTE terrorists at his home in Tellipalai, Durgapuram, Jaffna. He was shot using a T56 rifle by two men on a motorcycle. Sivamaharaja was a Secretary to the Tamil United Liberation Front from 1977 to 1983.

## 6. S. GOPALLAPILLAI, UNP CANDIDATE - 18<sup>th</sup> SEPTEMBER 1983

The terrorists shot dead the UNP candidate for provincial elections, S. Gopallapillai in Jaffna.

## 7. M. ALALASUNDARAM, MP FOR KOPAY – 2<sup>ND</sup> SEPTEMBER 1985

Alalasundaram who was from the Northern Province of Sri Lanka became a teacher on completion of his education. He was the Federal Party candidate for Kilinochchi at the1970 parliamentary elections but was defeated.

In March 1981 on the death of the TULF MP for Kopay, Alalasundaram was nominated by the TULF as his replacement and entered parliament after being sworn in on 23rd July 1981. On the fateful night of 3rd September 1985, he was kidnapped at gun point from his home in Kalliyankadu, Nallur by two persons.

His body was recovered the following day in a scrub jungle near his home at Kalliyankadu with bullet wounds in the chest and arm.

## 8. V. DHARMALINGAM, MP FOR MANIPAY - 3<sup>RD</sup> SEPTEMBER 1985

Dharmalingam who had entered the Ceylon Law College gave up a career in legal practice to enter politics. He was elected to the Uduvil Village Council in 1944 and later headed it as the chairman. He was the TULF's candidate in Manipay at the 1977 election which he won. After three months of absence, Dharmalingam finally forfeited his seat in Parliament on 8th October 1983.

He was the father of D. Siddharthan, the leader of PLOTE.

On the night of 3rd September 1985, he was abducted from a wedding reception. His body was subsequently found at a cemetery in Thavady, Manipay, with a bullet wound in the forehead.

## 9. SRI SABARATNAM, TELO LEADER – 6<sup>TH</sup> MAY 1986

Sri Sabaratnam was the charismatic leader of the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization (TELO) from 1983 until his brutal assassination by the LTTE on 6th May 1986 at a betel plantation in the Jaffna peninsula.

He was an "energetic and capable" leader, who substantially increased the TELO's strategic and political influence.

# 10. A.L. ABDUL MAJEED M.P. OF MUTTUR, TRINCOMALEE - 13<sup>th</sup> NOVEMBER 1987

Tiger terrorists shot dead independent (formerly SLFP) MP for Muttur, A.L. Abdum Majeed in Muttur, Trincomalee.

#### 11. S. NADARAJAH, FORMER MEMBER OF SENATE - 12<sup>th</sup> FEBRUARY 1988

S. Nadarajah (Poddar) was the former elected Member of the Senate from 1967 till 2nd October 1971, till the Bill for the Abolition of the Senate (Sri Lanka's Upper House of Parliament) was signed by the Governor General.

#### 12. THE LTTE CENTRAL COMMITTEE PASSING A DEATH SENTENCE ON THEIR "GOD FATHER", APPAPILLAI AMIRTHALINGAM – 13<sup>th</sup> JULY 1989

As stated earlier, the assassination of Alfred Duraiappah, the Mayor of Jaffna came after several incidents of violence and sabotage started by the Tamil United Liberation Front and The Tamil Youth Front. The motivating force behind them was the extremist elements among the politicians of the North, notably Appapillai Amirthalingam, who was due to succeed as the leader of the TULF after the death of the founder leader, S.J.V. Chelvanayagam.

As stated earlier when the Republican constitution was enacted in 1972, five Members of Parliament who represented the North who were Tamils voted for the constitution.

It was recorded that Amirthalingam had said at a public meeting held in Jaffna that these five members will not die a natural death, but will die in some other way. The TULF youth had threatened these five members and posters were placed on the walls in Jaffna, naming them as traitors of the Tamil people. It was in this background, that the emergence of the LTTE should be understood. As stated earlier at the time, a small band of terrorists started collecting small arms and sticks of dynamite mostly stolen from government institutions.

Amirthalingam who was associating these youth, told them that they should fight to set up a separate state for the Tamil speaking people, for which they would be compelled to undergo enormous hazards like getting arrested, torture and even suffer death, but in the end they would be able to win a separate state called "Eelam". They were also advised by Amirthalingam to seek the assistance of foreign organizations for the struggle of the Tamil people.

Thereafter what really happened was that the Tamil youth of the North, began to get themselves organized as terrorist groups. Thus, it was clearly evident that among other things, the advice given and the guidance provided by the extremist leaders of the North was responsible for polluting the minds of the youth of the North and diverting them to resort to terrorism. This led to disastrous results, which among other things, also led to the destruction of the very creators of the terrorist movement.

When Sri Lanka signed the Peace Accord with India in 1987, Ranasinghe Premadasa was the Prime Minister in the J.R. Jayawardene government. Subsequently, he succeeded Jayawardene as the President. From the very inception, Premadasa resented the Peace Accord and in particular the presence of the IPKF in Sri Lanka. He may have envisaged that it would at some stage be a threat to the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of Sri Lanka. Premadasa was aware that the **Peace Accord was imposed on Sri Lanka by the Indian Government, mainly due to the pressure exerted by the powerful leaders of Tamil Nadu.** 

The Indian Army which was sent to Sri Lanka as a peace keeping force, before long was compelled to confront the LTTE in battle.

During this period, the Sri Lankan government had the additional burden of confronting the uprising led by the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP), a left wing political group founded by Rohana Wijeweera, who was a pro Maoist.

In April 1989, the government summoned a week long cease fire throughout the country and invited the LTTE and the JVP for negotiations with the government. The JVP rejected the appeal, but the LTTE agreed to talk to the government.

The LTTE requested President Premadasa to publicly demand the withdrawal of the Indian Army. Rajiv Gandhi refused to withdraw the troops from Sri Lanka unless the Tamil Community was given its due, in line with the 1987 Accord. **Thereupon President Premadasa requested New Delhi to withdraw the Army and gave a deadline of 31st July 1989.** Premadasa stated that it was his prerogative to take care of the Tamil community in Sri Lanka.

Prabhakaran also used the opportunity to demand arms and ammunition from Premadasa to meet the military challenge of the Indian Army. Premadasa obliged this request despite the objections of the security forces, as he felt that the only method to force away the Indian Army from Sri Lanka was to strengthen the LTTE. The government started supplying weapons to the LTTE from June 1989. The LTTE brimming with renewed arrogance and a replenished military outfit turned against the government with a terrible virulence.

It was during this period, that the LTTE without the knowledge of the government quietly laid a network of agents and temporary dwellers in Colombo and its suburbs. They would one day create havoc in these areas.

Contrary to the demands made by Prabhakaran to President Premadasa, Amirthalingam and the TULF had been publicly demanding that the Indian Army should not be withdrawn unless the Tamil people felt safe and secure to live in Sri Lanka. Prabhakaran who did not tolerate any impediments in implementing his decisions got his Central Committee to pass a death sentence on Amirthalingam, the leader of the TULF and the "God Father" of the LTTE.

It was also reported that a year or so back, the LTTE central committee had discussed a possible death sentence on Amirthalingam, but the committee was divided on whether he should be killed or not.

One evening in the month of July 1989, the LTTE men walked into the apartment of a Tamil political leader in Colombo to meet Amirthalingam and his colleagues for pre scheduled talks.

The three Tamil senior politicians who were present were under the impression that Prabhakaran wanted to enlist their help in articulating the "demands of the Tamil speaking people". The visitors enjoyed the refreshments given to them and were also enjoying some jokes. In a flash, the head of the killer team kept his tea cup aside, whipped out a revolver and shot Amirthalingam dead at point blank range. Before anyone could react, he killed Amirthalingam's close colleague, V. Yogeswaran. The third TULF leader Sivasithamparan was also shot at but he survived. The killers tried to escape but they were killed by the police in their attempt to escape.

The cold blooded killings including Amirthalingam the "God Father" of the LTTE, sparked outrage. The fact that the LTTE had assassinated the most prominent Tamil politician even while peace talks were on with the government, embarrassed President Premadasa and disgusted Rajiv Gandhi and his government.

As usual, the LTTE denied involvement that the killers were its ex members but had later branched away. They even suggested that the assassins could have been working with the Indian Intelligence.

# A few months later they accepted responsibility for assassinating both Amirthalingam and Yogeswaran.

"Mahattaya", Prabhakaran's deputy referring to the assassination, expressed with a sense of success that they were killed not because they held views different from the LTTE, but because they were acting as agents of India. In short, they were identified as traitors or collaborators of India. He further stated that the LTTE even killed its own men who were found to be "betraying the cause". Mahattaya suffered the same punishment, imposed on him by his ruthless leader, Prabhakaran.

# SOME OTHER TAMIL POLITICIANS ASSASSINATED BY PRABHAKARAN

As the blood lust Prabhakaran attempted to restraint the rise of a democratic political leadership from among the Tamil community, took him on a bloody trail of murder and mayhem starting from the charismatic Alfred Duraiappah, former Mayor of Jaffna.

#### 13. CHELLIAH KUMARASURIYAR

The then Minister of Posts and Telecommunications was another politician who became a victim of the terrorists during their formative years.

During the early 70's prominent Tamil politicians such as the Member of Parliament for Nallur - C. Arulampalam, Member of Parliament for Vadukkodai - A. Thiagarajah, the second MP for Batticaloa - Ranjan Selvanayagam and Kanagaratnam who crossed over to the UNP from the TULF, had been targeted.

As the LTTE gained prominence with the necessary training and financial backing from overseas, attacks on politicians of the government intensified and they became prominent targets of the LTTE.

# 14. V. YOGESWARAN, MP FOR JAFFNA – 13<sup>th</sup> JULY 1989

V. Yogeswaran who was a strong supporter of the Tamil United Liberation Front, was a member of the TULF's Action Committee and in

charge of youth affairs. He was the TULF's candidate for Jaffna and won the election and entered Parliament.

As stated earlierin the evening of 13th July 1989, a meeting between the TULF leaders and the Tamil Tigers was arranged in Colombo. Yogeswaran, Amirthalingam and Sivasithamparam represented the TULF at the meeting. The meeting took a drastic turn when the Tigers fired at the TULF leaders and Yogeswaran succumbed to his injuries.

Yogeswaran's wife Sarojini, who later became Mayoress of Jaffna, was also assassinated by the Tamil Tigers.

# 15 SAM THAMBIMUTTU, M.P. FOR BATTICALOA – 13<sup>th</sup> JULY 1989

Sam Thambimuttu was a lawyer who became a Member of Parliament for the Batticaloa District.

A motorcycle-borne LTTE gunman shot him and his wife, Kala, outside the Canadian High Commission in Colombo.

## 16 UMA MAHESWARAN, PLOTE LEADER – 16<sup>th</sup> JULY 1989

PLOTE was founded in 1980 by an ex-surveyor, Uma Maheswaran alias Mukundan, who became its General Secretary. He was the chairman of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) from 1977–1980. He was trained in terrorism in Lebanon and later in Syria. After a bitter rivalry with Velupillai Prabhakaran Uma Maheswaran left the LTTE in 1980 and formed the PLOTE.

On the night of July 16th, 1989, an unidentified gunman shot dead PLOTE leader Uma Maheswaran at Frankfurt Place, Colombo 4, opposite the Maldivian High Commission.

# 17. P. GANESHALINGAM, PROVINCIAL COUNCIL MINISTER FOR NORTH AND EAST – 28<sup>th</sup> JANUARY 1990

Former EPRLF Provincial Council Minister for North and East, T. Ganeshalingam was assassinated on 28th January 1990.

## 18. V. YOGASANGARI, MP FOR BATTICALOA – 19<sup>th</sup> JUNE 1990

V. Yogasangari of the Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF) was shot dead in Chennai on June 19th 1990.

## 19. KILLING OF P. KIRUBAKARAN – 19<sup>th</sup> JUNE 1990

Former Finance Minister of the North Eastern Provincial Council, P. Kirubakaran was killed by Tiger Terrorists in the Tamil Nadu capital, Chennai.

#### 20. KILLING OF K. PATHMANABHAN – 19<sup>th</sup> JUNE 1990

Leader of the EPRLF, K. Pathmanabhan was killed by LTTE terrorists in Chennai.

### 21 K. KANAGARATNAM, MP FOR POTTUVIL – 15<sup>th</sup> JULY 1990

The TULF candidate for Pottuvil, K.Kanagaratnam was elected as the 2nd MP for Pottuvil, and then he became a turncoat. He was assassinated on 15th July 1990.

#### 22. T. JAYARAJAH – CHAIRMAN CHENKALADY PRADESH YA SABHA – 13<sup>th</sup> SEPTEMBER 1990

Chairman, Chenkalady Pradeshiya Sabha, T. Jeyarajah was shot dead by LTTE terrorists at Chenkalady, Batticaloa District.

## 23. ASSASSINATION OF RAJIV GANDHI – 21<sup>st</sup> MAY 1991

Rajiv Gandhi the eldest son of Indira Nehru and Feroze Gandhi was the 9th Prime Minister of India since his mother's death on 31st October 1984 until his resignation on 2nd December 1989 following defeat at the general elections. He was the youngest Prime Minister of India when he took office at the age of forty.

Before entering politics, he was a professional pilot working for the Indian Airlines. While studying in England he met Sonia Maino whom he later married. He remained aloof from politics despite his mother being the Prime Minister. It was only after the death of his younger brother, Sanjay Gandhi in 1980, that Rajiv entered politics. After the assassination of his mother in 1984, leaders of the Indian National Congress Party nominated him as Prime Minister.

Rajiv Gandhi led the Congress Party to a major political victory in 1984 soon after amassing the largest majority ever in the Indian Parliament. The Congress Party won four hundred and eleven seats out of five hundred and forty two.

In 1988 Rajiv reversed the coup in the Maldives antagonizing the militant Tamil outfit known as PLOTE. He was also responsible for first intervening and then sending Indian troops (IPKF) for peace efforts to Sri Lanka in 1987.

The Bofors scandal tainted his honest and corrupt free image and resulted in major defeat for his party in the 1989 elections. Rajiv Gandhi remained the President of the Congress Party until the election in 1991.

While campaigning for the elections in 1991, he was assassinated by a LTTE suicide bomber. His widow, Sonia Gandhi became the leader of the Congress Party and led the party to victory in the 2004 election. His son, Rahul Gandhi is a Member of Parliament and the General Secretary of the All India Congress Committee.

Rajiv Gandhi's assassination was meticulously planned rehearsed and executed to ensure its success. There was no doubt that Prabhakaran the LTTE leader who was associated with the planning of this assassination would have taken great care in planning, as it had to be executed in a foreign land, namely India.

# The assassination of Rajiv Gandhi was another example of the LTTE being ungrateful to those who helped them in many ways.

When Prabhakaran decided to kill Rajiv Gandhi, he selected one of his closest associates, **Sivarasan to execute the plan formulated by him.** The suicide bomber selected for the mission was known as Dhanu, a 25 year old female LTTE terrorist trained in India years earlier and now part of the suicide squad, whose members underwent intense physical and psychological sessions before being sent on a mission. She was sent to Madras with another companion called Dhara. Sivarasan who was also travelling up and down from Jaffna to Tamil Nadu several times, secretly made the necessary arrangements. Sivarasan who returned to Tamil Nadu in May 1991 with seven other Sri Lankans together with Dhanu, left for Madras the next morning. In Madras Dhanu was joined by another companion named Subha.

A small group of LTTE terrorists prepared the vest Dhanu would wear for the assassination. The denim vest was packed with highly lethal C4RDX explosives.

In May, the killer squad wanted to know whether they would be able to get close to Gandhi when he visited Madras to address the election meeting. **The killer squad decided to do a rehearsal at a similar election rally of former Prime Minister, V.P. Singh.** Sivarasan, Dhanu and Subha with the Indian photographer went to Singh's meeting about 25 miles from Madras. As the Indian leader was leaving after the meeting, Dhanu walked up to him and touched his feet as a Hindu mark of respect for an elder. The entire exercise was recorded on video and viewed many times to check for the necessary flaws.

**Gandhi's election meeting was rescheduled for 21**<sup>st</sup> **May.** The photographer, one Haribabu new nothing of the conspiracy. On the evening of the day of the meeting, Sivarasan, Dhanu, Subha and another woman, Nalini left for Madras and there they met the photographer who had brought a sandalwood garland to Rajiv Gandhi.

All of them left for the venue of the meeting. Sivarasan dressed in a white kurtha Pyjama, a dress popular with Indian politicians stood near the dais of the meeting like a media reporter. He stood not far from Hari Babu, who would vouch for him if someone questioned. Dhanu was wearing a bright orange salwa kameez, a flowing shirt and loose pants. The loose shirt hid the explosive laden vest. A police woman tried to question Dhanu after spotting her standing near the VIP enclosure holding a garland.

A huge roar heralded the arrival of Gandhi who reached two hours before mid night. Although looking exhausted, he was smiling and slowly made his way towards the dais waving to the crowd. Sivarasan stood in the vicinity. His eyes were on Gandhi. Gandhi started walking towards Dhanu. The police woman who also inquired earlier tried to push Dhanu aside, but Gandhi told her to allow everybody a choice. Around 10 p.m. Dhanu without speaking took steps towards Gandhi coming face to face and put the garland around the neck. She then bent down as if to touch his feet. Thereupon Gandhi bent forward to lift her. Dhanu activated the switch of the vest, triggering a deafening blast that ripped through her, Gandhi and sixteen others.

Gandhi, Prime Minister from 1984 to 1989 and the third from his family to be Prime Minister after his grandfather and his mother, was blown to smithereens. The face was ripped off. The survivors recognized his body only from his lotto sneakers.

## 23. KARAVY KANDASAMY, MP FOR VAVUNIYA – 31<sup>st</sup> DECEMBER 1994

Karavy Kandasamy was a Member of Parliament for the Vavuniya District and the Deputy Chairman of DPLF. **He was shot dead in Colombo** on 31st December1994.

# 24. THOMAS ANTHONY, DEPUTY MAYOR OF BATTICOLA – 26<sup>th</sup> OCTOBER 1995

Terrrorists killed Deputy Mayor of Batticaloa, Thomas Anthony in Batticaloa.

## 25. KANDIAH AMIRTHALINGAM, CHAIRMAN VAKARAI PRA DESHIYA SABHA – 29<sup>th</sup> SEPTEMBER 1996

Vice Chairman, Vakarai Pradeshiya Sabha Kandiah Amirthalingam was killed by Tiger terrorists in Oddamavadi.

# 26. A. THANGATHURAI, MP FOR TRINCOMALEE - 2<sup>ND</sup> JULY 1997

He was a member of the TULF and a Member of Parliament for the Trincomalee District. **He was assassinated by the LTTE** at the age of sixty one in the presence of hundreds of school children.

#### 27. MOHAMMED MAHAROOF, MP - 20<sup>th</sup> JULY 1997

Member of Parliament for Trincomalee District, Mohammed Maharoof **was killed by LTTE** terrorists.

#### 28. S.P. DHARMALINGAM – 3<sup>RD</sup> OCTOBER 1997

The SLFP organizer for the Jaffna district, S.P. Dharmalingam was assassinated on 3rd October 1997.

#### 29. SAROJINI YOGESWARAN, MAYOR OF JAFFNA -17<sup>th</sup> MAY 1998

The Mayor of Jaffna, Sarojini Yogeswaran, the wife of the TULF Member of Parliament, V. Yogeswaran was **shot at her residence** in Nallur, Jaffna by a LTTE gunman on 17th May 1998. The terrorist came on a bicycle, shot her and got away on the same bicycle. Her husband, V. Yogeswaran was killed by the LTTE along with A. Amirthalingam.

The Mayoress was trying to do some good to her people when she also had to suffer the same fate as her husband. She was not the only first citizen of Jaffna who was murdered by the LTTE terrorists. **Many others** who chose the path of democratic governance and peaceful methods of settling problems were also killed by the LTTE.

# *30. S. A. OSWALD – SLFP SECRETARY OF GURUNAGAR – 24<sup>th</sup> JUNE 1998*

SLFP Secretary of Gurunagar, S.A. Oswald was shot dead by LTTE terrorists in Gurunagar, Jaffna.

### *31. S. SHANMUGANATHAN, MP FOR VAVUNIYA* – 15<sup>th</sup> JULY 1998

Also known as Vasanthan, Sarawanabavanandan Shanmuganathan was a Member of Parliament for the Vavuniya District. **He was killed by a landmine** at Rambaikulam in the Vavuniya District on 15th July 1998. It was reported that **his three year old son and three others also died in the blast.** 

# *32. PONNUTHURAI SIVAPALAN, MAYOR OF JAFFNA* – 11<sup>th</sup> SEPTEMBER 1998

Ponnuthurai Sivapalan was a politician who belonged to the Tamil United Liberation Front. He succeeded Sarojini Yogeswaran as the Mayor of Jaffna after her assassination by the LTTE in 1998. **He died** at the age of forty six **when a suicide bomber detonated a bomb** strapped to his body at the Municipal Council building in Jaffna. Along with Sivapalan **eleven others were killed and twelve were injured.** 

Following Sivapalan's death, the Mayor's office in Jaffna was officially dissolved and remained under the purview of the Government Agent of the Jaffna District.

# *33. CANAGASABAI RAJATHURAI, EPDP MEMBER OF JAFFNA – 6<sup>th</sup> OCTOBER 1998*

Canagasabai Rajathurai, an **EPDP Member of Jaffna was shot** dead by the LTTE on 6<sup>th</sup> October 1998.

## *34. PONMATHIMUKARAJAH, GENERAL SECRETARY, TULF NALLUR– 26<sup>th</sup> DECEMBER 1998*

The LTTE terrorists shot dead the General Secretary of the TULF Nallur Branch, Ponmathimukarajah.

## 35. M. BALASINGHAM, PRADESHIYA SABHA MEMBER – 12<sup>th</sup> MAY 1999

Pradeshiya Sabha Member, M. Balasingham **was assassinated by the LTTE** in Urumpirei, Jaffna.

# 36. ASSASSINATION OF DR NEELAN THIRUCHELVAM – 29<sup>th</sup> JULY 1999

On 29<sup>th</sup> July 1999, the LTTE killed Dr Neelan Thiruchelvam, one of the eminent Tamil politicians who had been nominated to Parliament on the national list of the TULF. He was an outstanding Lawyer and Queens Counsel, as well as an expert on constitutional law and an internationally recognized Human Rights Activist. Neelan hailed from a well known Tamil family in Jaffna and was the son of the former Minister of Local Government and Housing in the UNP government of Dudley Senanayake.

# Neelan stood for democracy as well as national unity, and was known to have shunned violence, while believing strongly in the rule of law.

He was highly respected by political leaders on both sides of the political dichotomy and worked very hard with the government and the opposition to formulate proposals for the devolution of power to the people of the North and the East.

On the morning of July 29th, he left his residence at Rosmead Place, Colombo 7, with his Police Security. While proceeding to office, at the Rosmead Place–Kynsey Road junction the car came to a halt.

A man who was standing by the side of the road came round the car which had stopped. He leaned on the right hand side of the rear door of the car and exploded himself killing Dr Thiruchelvam instantly. The LTTE suicide bomber was dressed in a blue checked shirt and a black trouser.

Three years earlier in 1996, he tried his utmost to implement the District Development Council Law which was drafted by him. He urged the TULF to work towards its implementation, which led to the displeasure of the terrorists.

This assassination once again proved that the LTTE terrorists were not in favour of any democratic or constitutional mechanisms. Nor were they in favour of those who advocated finding solutions to problems faced by the people. They only wished to continue with their killing spree, of all those who crossed their path.

It was nearly twenty seven years since the monster LTTE was created by the TULF. They had perhaps begun to regret their past blunders or culpable acts of creating the killer groups and using them. **The ultimate prize they and the people of Sri Lanka had to pay was enormous.**  Even the untimely loss of life of one of the most valuable members of the TULF did not yet teach the politicians a lesson, for they continued to remain mere tools of the LTTE terrorists.

#### 37. MURUGESU GUNARATNAM AND NAGALINGAM MANIKKAM RAJAN OF PLOTE KILLED – 2<sup>ND</sup> SEPTEMBER 1999

Former PLOTE Deputy Chairman, Kaluvanchikudi, Pradeshiya Sabha and Public Relations officer Murugesu Gunaratnam (alias Vino) and Deputy Leader and 'Military Wing' leader, PLOTE, Nagalingam Manikkam Rajan (Manickathasan) were killed by an LTTE bomb attack in Vavuniya.

#### 38. ATPUTHARAJAH NADARAJAH, EPDP PARLIMENTARIAN – 2<sup>ND</sup> NOVEMBER 1999

Atputharajah alias "Ramesh" was an **EPDP parliamentarian who** was also the managing editor of 'Thinamurasu', a Tamil language weekly newspaper. On 2<sup>nd</sup> November 1999, he was murdered in Jaffna.

#### 39. KILLING KUMAR PONNAMBALAM, LEADER OF THE TAMIL CONGRESS – 5<sup>th</sup> JANUARY 2000

Kumar Ponnambalam, **parliamentarian and lawyer was killed** in his car at Wellawatte. After the assassination, his body was found slumped on the driving seat of his car with bullet wounds on his head. Kumar Ponnambalam who was the leader of the Tamil Congress, was the son of the previous generation Tamil leader, G.G. Ponnambalam, a leading criminal lawyer and the founder leader of the political party of the Tamil Congress, who had asked for "fifty-fifty" in parliament meaning that the Tamils and the Sinhalese should have an equal number of seats in the parliament.

Killing Kumar Ponnambalam was a surprise as he had not openly or even covertly opposed the LTTE or other terrorist organizations. The assassination of Kumar Ponnambalam was clear evidence of the fact that Prabhakaran resented the likely leaders whether Sinhalese or Tamil, who were likely to be a threat to his leadership in his proposed state of Eelam.

# 40. V. VIJEYARATNAM CHAIRMAN, POINT PEDRO UC – 14<sup>th</sup> JANUARY 2000

LTTE terrorists fired at the Chairman of the Point Pedro Urban Council, Vadivelu Vijeyaratnam when he was riding his motor cycle. He died on the spot while his body guard who also received bullet wounds died later in hospital.

#### 41. S. KANDEEPAN - MEMBER JAFFNA MC - 15<sup>th</sup> MAY 2000

A Member of the Jaffna Muncipal Council, Santhanam Kandeepan was also a victim of the Tiger terrorists while he was standing outside his house in the Arasadi area.

#### 42. KANAPATHIPILLAI NAVARATNARAJAH, TELO MEMBER FOR BATTICALOA – 7<sup>th</sup> JUNE 2000

Kanapathipillai Navaratnarajah, a prominent member of the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization (TELO) and former President of the Arayampathi Pradeshiya Sabha, was shot by two men near the Education Department office in Batticaloa where he later succumbed to his injuries.

#### 43. LTTE KILLED TWO PARLIAMENTARY CANDIDATES -10<sup>th</sup> SEPTEMBER 2000

Terrorists killed two parliamentary candidates ahead of elections in Kalmunai, Batticaloa. The victims were identified as Chelliah Perinpanayagam, a former Mayor of Batticaloa and S. Manoharpillai also a PA party member.

# 44. CHELIYAN PERINPANAYAGAM, PEOPLES ALLIANCE CANDIDATE FOR BATTICALOA – 10<sup>th</sup> October 2000

**Ex-Batticaloa Mayor Cheliyan Perinpanayagam contesting the Batticaloa District on the PA ticket was shot dead** on the morning of 10th September 2000 at the Kalmunai residence of Sathasivam Manoharan Pillai. He was a journalist, writer and Tamil literary figure.

#### 45. SATHASIVAM MANOHARAN PILLAI, PEOPLES ALLIANCE (PA) ORGANIZER FOR BATTICALOA DISTRICT – 10<sup>TH</sup> OCTOBER 2000

Sathasivam Manoharan Pillai who contested the last general election on the PA ticket and organizer for the Batticaloa District was shot dead.

# 46. KINGSLEY RASANAYAGAM TNA MP – 20<sup>th</sup> OCTOBER 2000

The LTTE shot dead TNA MP for Batticaloa District Kingsley Rasanayagam at Iruthayapuram, Batticaloa.

# 47. NADARAJAH RAVIRAJ TNA M.P. PARLIAMENTARIAN – 20<sup>th</sup> OCTOBER 2000

LTTE terrorists shot dead former TNA parliamentarian for Batticaloa District and former Mayor of Jaffna, Nadarajah Raviraj in Colombo.

# 48. ASLIE NIMALAN SOUNDARANAYAGAM, MP ELECT BATTICALOA – 7<sup>th</sup> NOVEMBER 2000

MP of the Tamil United Liberation Front, Nimalan Soundaranayagam was killed at 6.20 p.m. by four unknown gunmen while travelling on a motorcycle with his body guard. Soundaranayagam had been riding between Sandaweli and Kiran with his bodyguard on the pillion of the motorcycle, when two cyclists who approached from a by road shot him. The MP had been killed on the spot while his body guard had been admitted to the Batticaloa hospital.

#### 49. RAJAN SATHIYAMOORTHY TNA PARLIAMENTARY CANDIDATE – BATTICALOA –30<sup>th</sup> MARCH 2004

**TNA Parliamentary election candidate** Raja Sathiyamoorthy **was shot dead by LTTE** terrorists in Batticaloa.

# 50. K. BALANADARAJAH, EPDP MEDIA SECRETARY - 16<sup>th</sup> AUG 2004

**EPDP Media Secretary was gunned down** in broad daylight at Wellawatte, Colombo, K. Balanadarajah who was also a former EPDP election candidate for the Jaffna district **was shot dead by two unidentified gunmen** near his home at W.A. Silva Mawatha.

# 51. KINGSLEY RASANAYAGAM, MP ELECT BATTICALOA – 19<sup>th</sup> OCTOBER 2004

Rasanayagam was involved in the Federal Party since his early days. He was a close confidante of Karuna Amman, who helped him to contest and win the Parliamentary elections in 2004. However, due to immense pressure from the LTTE he resigned from his parliamentary seat on May 2004, after holding office for just over one month.

Around 6:20 p.m. on 19th October 2004, two LTTE pistol gang members arrived on a motorcycle and shot him dead near the Kalliyankaadu cemetery in Iruthayapuram, within the Batticaloa municipal limits.

# 52 ASSASSINATION OF LAKSHMAN KADIRGAMAR, MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS –12<sup>th</sup> AUGUST 2005

The Foreign Minister of the Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaranatunga Government, Lakshman Kadirgamar was assassinated by a LTTE sniper at his private residence in Colombo.

He attended Oxford College to do a postgraduate degree in Law. He was President of the Oxford Union and was the first Honorary Fellow of the college to be assassinated.

His death created a void in the political arena, of a very rare person among politicians whose integrity, academic excellence,

# oratorical skills, legal expertise and a good grasp of international relations and diplomatic realities were a combination that could not be matched for a very long time to come.

He was remarkably effective in representing Sri Lanka abroad, in facing up to its problems at home, and in recognizing the key issues at stake in the struggle between the government and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam.

Before Lakshman Kadirgamar joined the government of Chandrika Kumaranatunga, he was based in London and was highly respected as an eminent lawyer, appearing mainly for international bodies in Geneva.

His entry into politics was looked down by some people, as he was sacrificing a very lucrative career to take up the position of Foreign Minister on the invitation of a newly elected government.

During the few years he served as the country's Foreign Minister, he brought in a new vision of global diplomacy in making a very strong case against the LTTE terrorists and successfully convinced the most powerful and globally strategic countries to ban the terrorist group.

His convincing presentations of Sri Lanka's case against terrorism had the ring of truth, the moment he was heard presenting it.

Hailing from a highly respected Jaffna Tamil family of a Christian background, the Kadiragamar's produced eminent people including the first Commander of the Sri Lanka Army.

Lakshman Kadirgamar once in his speeches has said "a label had been given to me as a Tamil. But despite my birth among that group, I belong to humanity and not to a particular group of people". It was a wide perception and the belief that, he held, of belonging to humanity irrespective of borders or diverse constraints, that built a regard for himself amongst some eminent leaders of the world.

He was also witty and very clever. Once when a foreign journalist was interviewing him about the armed conflict in Sri Lanka, the journalist said that some International Rights Groups had levelled allegations against Sri Lanka. Kadirgamar's reply was "I am not impressed", clearly showing the journalist that such human rights watchdogs need not necessarily be taken as the authentic truthful genuine groups working for the welfare of humanity.

Kadirgamar was proud of his country, and though he was not born a Buddhist, he valued the teachings of the Buddha, specially the teachings of loving kindness, tolerance and respect for the views of others. He lived following the teachings of the Buddha and was the main force behind making Vesak, the holiest day in which Lord Buddha was born, attained enlightenment and passed away. It is the most important religious day for Buddhists the world over, He convinced the United Nations to declare that day to be an international holiday.

When the LTTE killed Lakshman Kadirgamar, they proved to the world that their hatred was built on a structure of untruth and social prejudices, as they had made him number one in their hit list.

The LTTE which is noted for its rather limited intellect did not give any consideration or recognition to others or to human values.

His untimely death shook the whole country and people of all the ethnic groups mourned his death and gave him the honour due to one of the noblest sons of Sri Lanka.

The invaluable contributions made by him to his country and the world will remain, as the LTTE cannot erase these contributions by physically killing him.

Had he continued to live, he definitely would have challenged the leadership of Prabhakaran, as his capabilities as a politician and his recognition in the international forums would have placed him on a much higher scale than Prabhakaran.

#### 53. JOSEPH PARARAJASINGHAM, MP FOR BATTICALOA -25<sup>th</sup> DECEMBER 2005

Joseph Pararajasingham was a Member of Parliament and a poet known for his pro-Tamil Tiger views and advocacy of human rights. Pararajasingham was a founder member of the North East Human Rights Secretariat, NEHRS. Pararajasingham became a member of the Sri Lankan Parliament in 1990 and joined the Tamil National Alliance, a prorebel party.

He was assassinated in 2005, while attending a Christmas midnight mass at St Mary's church in Batticaloa. Gunmen opened fire on Pararajasingham killing him and injuring eight others, including his wife.

#### 54. S. SIVADASAN, EPDP MP – 8TH AUG 2006

Three persons were killed and eight others including former EPDP Parliamentarian S. Sivadasan injured when a bomb planted by LTTE ripped through the vehicle transporting the ex-MP at Milagiriya, Colombo. Among the dead was a two-year-old child who was on the road at the time of that incident.

#### 55. SINNATHAMBI SIVAMAHARAJA TULF PARLIAMENTARIAN – 20TH AUGUST 2006

Former TULF Parliamentarian and TNA activist Sinnathambi Sivamaharaja was **shot dead by LTTE** terrorists at his home in Tellipalai, Durgapuram, Jaffna. He was shot using a T56 rifle by two men on a motorcycle. Sivamaharaja was a Secretary to the late Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) leader A. Amirthalingam from 1977 to 1983.

# 56. M.K. SHIVAJILINGAM – TNA PARLIMENTARIAN – 3<sup>rd</sup> DECEMBER 2007

Timely intervention by **the Security Forces prevented another LTTE attempt to assassinate a Tamil politician** as a bomb weighing 1.5kg was recovered on a tip-off and defused by the Air Force opposite the residence of Tamil National Alliance (TNA) parliamentarian M.K. Shivajilingham at the Summit Flats in Keppitipola Mawatha, Jawatta. The parcel bomb had been placed near a telephone post exactly opposite the Summit Flats.

#### 57. SINNATHAMBY SIVAMAHARAJAH, MP FOR JAFFNA DISTRICT – 21<sup>st</sup> AUGUST 2006

Former Jaffna district TULF Parliamentarian Sinnathamby Sivamaharajah was killed in the High Security Zone (HSZ) in Tellippalai. According to reports **unidentified gunmen had shot dead the sixty eight year old MP** around 7.30 p.m. at his house.

## 58. T. MAHESHWARAN UNP PARLIMENTARIAN, – 1<sup>st</sup> JANUARY 2008

T. Maheshwaran, the UNP Parliamentarian was shot by the LTTE at the Sivam Kovil at Kotahena, Colombo North at 10 a.m. on 1st January 2008.

He was a vociferous and a controversial opposition member who represented the Jaffna District contesting as an UNP candidate.

It was known that the UNP parliamentarian was threatened by the LTTE for contesting the Jaffna Electorate. But since he was a courageous man, he was in and out of parliament and did not hesitate to agitate for his people and criticize the government or its Ministers whenever there was an important debate in the House.

Maheshwaran was also a businessman engaged in the transportation of goods by ship to the North and lived at Wellawatte, Colombo. The LTTE had warned him that his presence was not needed in Jaffna. Yet he sought to carry on his political activities through his many supporters and contacts in the North and was highly critical of the government even while the military operations against the terrorist group were escalated by the Armed Forces in the North and the East.

Hence when Maheshwaran was killed at the Sivam Kovil in Kotahena when he had gone to the Kovil on 1st January, **it was another example of terror unleashed even in places of worship** like the murder of the Jaffna Mayor, Alfred Duraiappah over two decades ago. Maheshwaran was gunned down as he too like Alfred was coming out of a Hindu temple after worshipping.

# As stated earlier, Alfred Duraiappah was gunned down by Prabhakaran himself, to be certain of the success.

Both had joined one of the main national political parties namely, Duraiappah the SLFP and Maheswaran the UNP. The message of the LTTE was clear that the people of the North and the East should not join the national political parties in the South.

#### 59. JEYARAJ FERNANDOPULLE MINISTER OF HIGHWAYS AND ROAD DEVELOPMENT – 7TH APRIL 2008

Jeyaraj Fernandopulle, Minister of Highways and Road Development / Chief Government Whip and Treasurer of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party was killed along with thirteen others, in a LTTE suicide bomb blast in the Gampaha District around 7.45 a.m. on Sunday, April 6<sup>th</sup>.

The powerful blast occurred when the Minister was about to flag off a marathon organized in lieu of the Sinhala–Tamil New Year celebrations at the Kanthi playground in Weliweriya.

# Among the dead were Sri Lanka's national athletic coach, Lakshman De Alwis and ace marathon runner, K.A. Karunaratne. Over ninety persons of the large gathering received injuries, while eight were in a critical condition.

Minister Fernandopulle who was a lawyer by profession, had his primary and secondary education in the town of Negombo. Thereafter he began his political career, when he was elected to Parliament in 1989 from the Gampaha district. He was well known to advocate religious and ethnic harmony and in fact spent the last few minutes of his life at two Buddhist temples before fate intervened.

It is believed that the suicide bomber would have come in the guise of a marathon runner or posed as a keen spectator of the proceedings. A severed head was found twelve feet from the scene of the blast.

The demise of Minister Fernandopulle was said to be an irreparable loss to the government, as he was forthright in expressing his views. He had also gained recognition as a good debater in parliament.

# 60. MAHESHWARY VELAYUDAN– ATTORNEY-AT-LAW - 13<sup>th</sup> MAY 2008

Douglas Devananda's Advisor Attorney-at-Law Maheshwari Velayudan **was killed by LTTE gunmen in Point Pedro.** She succumbed to gunshot injuries before being removed to hospital.

#### 61. ERAVURPATTU PRADESHIYA SABHA DEPUTY CHAIRMAN ASSASSINATED IN ERUVUR, KALAWANCHIKUDI – 2<sup>ND</sup> JUNE 2006

Tamil Makkal Viduthalai Pulikal (TMVP) Eravurpattu Pradeshiya Sabha Deputy Chairman and his bodyguard were shot dead by unidentified gunmen in Eruvur, Kalawanchikudi.

# 62. N. NANTHAKUMAR – DIVISIONAL SECRETARY – 29<sup>th</sup> JUNE 2008

Divisional Secretary of Thunukkai in Mullativu District, N. Nanthakumar was killed in a claymore bomb attack in Mullativu.

## 63. KUMARASWAMY NANDAGOPAN – TVMP PRESIDENT 14<sup>th</sup> NOVEMBER 2008

LTTE terrorists shot dead TVMP President Kumaraswamy Nandagopan alias Ragu in Colombo.

# 64. ABDUL MAJEED, MP FOR MUTTUR – 13<sup>th</sup> NOVEMBER 1987

M.A. Abdul Majeed, MP for Muttur and Deputy Minister, was shot dead at his home in Kinniya, Trincomalee.

#### 12.2 ASSASSINATION OF SINHALA/MUSLIM POLITICIANS

# 1. RANJAN WIJERATNA – DEPUTY MINISTER DEFENCE - 2<sup>ND</sup> MARCH 1991

Since the separatist terrorists first ambushed a group of soldiers in the North on July 24th 1983 on the outskirts of Jaffna, the killing of soldiers and civilians continued for several years, but an important victim of the LTTE terrorists was the State Minister of Defence and the Plantation Minister, Mr Ranjan Wijeratne which took place on 2nd March 1991.

At the time, the intelligence services knew that Ranjan Wijeratne who was known to the terrorists as the "white bear", was a man they feared. That Saturday, when the Minister's motorcade with two commando vehicles driving on either side and two commando vehicles in front and behind the Minister's limousine, a guard given only second to that of the President's security, an explosion rocked the Havelock road near the Police Park killing Ranjan Wijeratne instantly.

The Havelock town massacre set off with a bomb placed in a vehicle, killed the Minister on the spot with eighteen other elite commandos escorting him. A total of seventy three people down Havelock Road were injured. Ranjan Wijeratne had earlier stated that he would wipe out the LTTE terrorists within the next six months. But the LTTE who feared the "white bear" got rid of him before that.

Lieutenant Colonel Ranjan Wijeratne was posthumously promoted to the rank of General and the Kotalewela Defence University at its second convocation conferred on him, the degree of the "Doctor of Laws" Honorary Degree.

#### 2. LALITH ATHULATHMUDALI MNISTER NATIONAL SECURITY – 24<sup>th</sup> APRIL 1993

Lalith Athulathmudali was the Minister of National Security of the J.R. Jayawardene government. When he was appointed as the Minister of this important Ministry, he declared that "the battle against the LTTE terrorists must be specific, cold and calculated".

Mr. Athulathmudali was accepted both nationally and internationally as an outstanding person. He was educated at Oxford and Harvard Universities and was a lawyer and an eloquent speaker. He was well read and had up-to-date knowledge of almost everything. On many occasions, he was invited by international organizations and UN bodies, especially the UNCTAD to address their conventions.

His professionalism also showed in the way he handled media interviews. He would never antagonize the interviewer. Instead he would make every attempt to convince the interviewer and through him the audience.

Late President J.R. Jayewardene trusted him to lead many Ministries such as Trade and Shipping, Agriculture, Food and Cooperatives, Education and Higher Education and National Security.

When the Indian government was negotiating with the LTTE for the proposed Peace Accord to be entered into with the government of Sri Lanka, Rajiv Gandhi pressed the Indian officials to coerce Prabhakaran to the Peace Accord with the Government of Sri Lanka, as it would be a feather in his cap if it brought about an end to the bloodshed in Sri Lanka. Gandhi knew that Prabhakaran's acceptance of the Peace Accord was crucial to the success of the pact.

During the discussions, Prabhakaran put forward the demand that Sri Lankan security forces should be withdrawn from the Vadamarachchi region, which the Sri Lankan security forces had recaptured about two months previously. He was trying to win diplomatically what he could not do militarily. When Rajiv Gandhi came to know that Prabhakaran was insisting on this demand, he instructed the Indian diplomat, Dixit to exert diplomatic pressure to ensure withdrawal of the Sri Lankan Military from the Vadamarachchi region.

At that instance, Lalith Athulathmudali, the architect of the military action that brought the LTTE to its knees was furious and refused to accept the demand. Dixit met the Sri Lankan President, J.R. Jayawardene and informed that Gandhi would call off his trip to Colombo if the troops were not pulled out of Vadamarachchi. Jayawardene over ruled the decision of Athulathmudali, which obviously annoyed the Minister. This made Athulathmudali sternly anti-Indian. It must be stated that this was a cowardly and a traitorous decision on the part of the then president of Sri Lanka. It also amounted to permitting India to infringe the sovereign rights of Sri Lanka.

By 1993, Ranasinghe Premadasa was the President of Sri Lanka. At the time some political rivalry developed between President Premadasa and the two prominent members of the UNP namely, Gamini Dissanayake and Lalith Athulathmudali.

On 24<sup>th</sup> April 1993, Lalith Athlathmudali was shot dead by a lone gunman when he was attending a political meeting in Colombo 5. The enraged supporters of Athulathmudali openly accused President Premadasa of doing away with the Oxford educated politician due to political rivalry.

Later President Premadasa addressing the nation denied any involvement with the assassination of Athulathmudali. It was later revealed that this assassination was carried out by the LTTE.

With the assassination of Lalith Athulathmudali, Sri Lanka lost the services of a highly educated and efficient politician who would have contributed heavily to the development of the country in the future.

# 3. KILLING OF PRESIDENT RANASINGHE PREMADASA – 1<sup>st</sup> MAY 1993

1<sup>st</sup> May 1993, marked the second assassination of a Head of Sri Lanka since independence was regained in 1948. The first Head of Government assassinated was Prime Minister S.W.R.D. Bandaranayake in 1959 and thirty four years later, President Premadasa was killed by an LTTE suicide bomber who had been among his personal aides living at his Keselwatte residence in Colombo. The whole affair was a mystery, as it was a well known fact that President Premadasa befriended the LTTE terrorists by helping them directly and indirectly through many years. The suicide bomber known as Babu was a young man who had become a friend of Mohideen, the valet and personal aide of President Premadasa. On this day when the May Day rally was to be held at the Galle Face Green, Colombo the main procession started from Keselwatte in the North of Colombo and was moving towards Armour Street, Colombo, with the President and his retinue also joining the procession. When the group of UNP supporters and Premadasa's inner circle including Mohideen, Babu and his body guards approached the Armour street junction, it was seen on video tapes that Babu was pushing a bicycle and coming towards the group which was around Premadasa.

Though Babu was coming closer to Premadasa, Mohideen held the bicycle by its handles preventing it from coming closer to Premadasa. Just then Premadasa who was looking at the moving procession carrying a white handkerchief in his hand, waved the handkerchief and attempted to get into the bullet proof jeep which was parked along the moving procession.

# In that same instant, a huge explosion deafening the ears of the people in the vicinity was heard and Premadasa and several other persons including Mohideen, Babu and President Premadasa's body guards were killed in the bomb blast.

At the time of the incident, it was not known why Premadasa waved the handkerchief or why Mohideen prevented Babu from coming closer to Premadasa, but the police and the intelligence officers found that **Babu** was a suicide bomber who was responsible for the assassination.

According to the investigations, the assassin Babu had been sent to live in close proximity to President Premadasa's residence at Keselwatte. Subsequently, Babu had developed an acquaintance with Mohideen who was Premadasa's personal valet and thereafter closely associating him, had succeeded in getting permission to be in and out of the President's house.

When Babu was seen in the inner circle of Premadasa, everyone accepted him as one of the group. It was not known as to why he came pushing a bicycle on the day he participated in the May Day procession. It was a mystery as to why the scene of the occurrence was washed a few hours after the explosion. It was not known on whose instructions it was done and the reason for doing so.

Once again the LTTE terrorists amply demonstrated that they would always betray and destroy the people who had helped them. The LTTE killed their "God Father", A. Amirthalingam the leader of the TULF and other members of the same party. The LTTE became the strongest terrorist group after systematically eliminating all other terrorist groups and their leaders. Next they killed Rajiv Gandhi who too had helped them in many ways.

Premadasa was also known to have been instrumental in sending back the IPKF when the LTTE was nearly finished with only a few hundred cadres and limited resources, after the IPKF went all out to attack them.

It was also known that Premadasa gave the LTTE arms, ammunition, cement, money and vehicles on the pretext of strengthening the LTTE to fight the IPKF. The LTTE clearly proved that neither were they respectful nor grateful to those who had helped them.

The assassination of Premadasa was meticulously planned by Prabhakaran and the execution of the plan was spread over a long period of time. Hence it was proved that the LTTE when necessary had the patience to wait for the most appropriate time and place to execute these plans to ensure that the desired success was achieved.

#### 4. GAMINI DISSANAYAKE MEMBER OF PARLIMENT AND PROMINANT POLITICIAN –24<sup>th</sup> OCTOBER 1994

Gamini Dissanayake was a prominent politician and held the important portfolio of Minister of Mahaweli Development in the 1977 UNP government of J.R. Jayawardene.

After President D.B. Wijetunge indicated that he would not run in the 1994 presidential elections, **Dissanayake was nominated by the UNP as the candidate and at the same time, he was the leader of the opposition in parliament.**  This was cut short when **he was assassinated by a female suicide bomber of the LTTE.** But his wife contested instead, but was defeated by the candidate of the Peoples Alliance and the then Prime Minister, Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaranatunga.

At the time of his death, he was the opposition leader and was the UNP candidate for the presidential election of 1994. He was addressing his presidential election campaign on 25th October 1994 in Colombo North at Thotalanga, Grandpass. **The police stated that the assassination had the stamp of professional killing.** It was carried out by a suicide bomber. The blast ripped the campaign stage when Mr Dissanayake had just ended his speech. The police described the explosion as massive.

The Prime Minister at the time, Chandrika Kumaranatunga at an emergency cabinet meeting suspended round two of the peace talks with the LTTE scheduled for the day after the assassination. The government declared a state of emergency and an indefinite curfew.

Due to this explosion, Dr Gamini Wijesekera, Secretary of the UNP and two former cabinet ministers namely Weerasinghe Mallimarachchi and G.M. Premachandra also died.

# 5. G.M. PREMACHANDRA, MEMBER OF UNP - 25<sup>th</sup> OCTOBER 1994

G.M. Premachandra was the Minister of Labour and Vocational Training of the United National Party (UNP) government from 1990 –1994.

He was re-elected at the 1994 parliamentary election, but was assassinated by a LTTE female suicide bomber, while attending an election rally in support of Gamini Dissanayake.

# 6. WEERASINGHE MALLIMARACHCHI – 25<sup>th</sup> OCTOBER 1994

Weerasinghe Mallimarachchi was the Minister of Food and Co-operatives (Later Janasaviya) of the United National Party(UNP) government from 1990–1994.

He was re-elected at the 1994 parliamentary election, but his political life was cut short when he was assassinated by a LTTE female suicide bomber while attending an election rally in support of Gamini Dissanayake.

#### 7. OSSIE ABEYAGUNASEKERA LEADER SRI LANKA MAHAJANA PAKSHAYA –25<sup>th</sup> OCTOBER 1994

A former Member of Parliament and Chairma/leader of the Sri Lanka Mahajana Pakshaya, Ossie Abeyagunasekera was **also assassinated by the LTTE female suicide bomber while attending an election rally in support of Gamini Dissanayake**.

#### 8. M.H.R. MAHROOF, M.P. FOR TRINCOMALEE - 20<sup>TH</sup> JULY 1997

A Member of Parliament for Trincomalee, M.H.R. Mahroof was assassinated by the LTTE.

## 9. C.V. GOONERATNE MINISTER INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT – 7<sup>th</sup> JUNE 2000

C.V. Gooneratne, the Industrial Development Minister of the Chandrika Kumaranatunga government and his wife were assassinated by a male LTTE suicide bomber on Tuesday, 7th June 2008 near Soysapura at Katubedda, on Galle Road, Ratmalana when he was leading a war heroes march.

Twenty one others including the Deputy Mayor of Dehiwela-Mount Lavinia, five officers of the Ministerial Security Division and a number of officials were also killed in the blast. Eight persons including the Minister's wife were seriously injured and underwent immediate surgery at the Colombo South Teaching Hospital. Thirty six others were injured in the blast.

Minister Gooneratne earlier attended a National War Heroes day to honor the government troops at the Presidential Secretariat, which was presided over by President Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaranatunga. C.V. Gooneratne was the younger son of L.B. Gooneratne, who was the first Mayor of Dehiwela-Mount Lavinia. He received his education at Royal College, Colombo, where his father taught a generation of pupils.

#### 10. M.H.M. ASHRAFF, MINISTER PORTS DEVELOPMENT, REHABILITATION & RECONSTRUCTION - 16<sup>th</sup> SEPTEMBER 2000

A lawyer by profession, Ashraff was the founder/leader of the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress (SLMC) political party, established in Kattankudy.

He was elected to Parliament in 1989 to represent the Amparai District and was re-elected to Parliament in 1994. The appointment of Minister of Ports Development, Rehabilitation & Reconstruction was awarded to him, after the SLMC party joined the new government in power.

Ashraff was killed on 16th September 2000, when the Sri Lanka Air Force MI-17 helicopter he was travelling exploded near the Urakanda mountain range near Aranayake in the Kegalle District. Fourteen others on board were also killed. Ashraff was buried the same day at the Colombo Jawatta Muslim burial ground. It was suspected that the explosion was by a bomb concealed in the aircraft.

## 11. BAITHULLAH SLMC CANDIDATE MUTTUR - 2<sup>ND</sup> OCTOBER 2000

A suspected Tiger suicide bomber on a bicycle assassinated Muslim Congress (SLMC) candidate, Baithullah who was contesting the parliamentary elections in the town of Muttur in Trincomalee.

It was reported that twenty others died including four policemen, while forty nine received injuries.

#### 12. D.M. DASSANAYAKA- DEPUTY MINISTER – 8<sup>th</sup> JANUARY 2008

The month of January was barely one week old when the LTTE proceeded with their assassination spree, when they assassinated the Deputy Minister, D.M. Dassanayaka on his way to Colombo from his electorate, Anamaduwa.

In this incident a claymore mine was set off on the Negombo road, Ja-ela when he was travelling in his official vehicle. He died within one hour from the time of the blast. **His security personnel too were killed.** 

Dassanayake was a controversial but a very popular figure of the Puttalam District and during the aftermath of the tsunami, he had gone to the Eastern Province to help the affected people of the province and had worked very hard to provide relief to the affected communities of the East.

At home he was one of the most accessible politicians, whose doors were open to the public even during late hours or on holidays. It was not very clear why the terrorists had targeted Dassanayake, but it was also the same road that a more important Government Minister, Jeyaraj Fernandopulle took daily to his Ministry. There were some who were of the view that the claymore mine was intended for Minister Fernandopulle who was expected to go to parliament on the day the incident occurred.

#### 13. MAJ. GEN. JANAKA PERERA AND OTHERS – UNP CANDIDATE – 6<sup>th</sup> OCTOBER 2008

A bomb explosion carried out by the LTTE in Anuradhapura killed 28 persons, including Opposition Leader of the North Central Provincial Council, Maj. General Janaka Perera and his wife. More than 86 people were injured following the suicide bomb attack inside the UNP office near the Old Bus Stand. UNP Anuradhapura district organizer Dr. John Pulle, UNP Legal Advisor and Attorney-atLaw A.C.S. Hameed, North Central Provincial Council UNP member Shantha Dissanayake and UNP Provincial Council candidate Subashi Charles were among others killed.

#### 12.3 ASSASSINATION OF PUBLIC OFFICERS

#### 1. LTTE TERRORISTS KILLED THE GRAMA SEVAKA OF KUDUMBAMALAI – 1<sup>st</sup> DECEMBER 2001

LTTE terrorists abducted and killed the Grama Sevaka of Kudumbamalai and a youth at Santhiveli, north of Batticaloa. The two bodies of the deceased were found tied to lampposts with chains on two by-roads leading to the Batticaloa beach. They had head injuries.

#### 2. P. WEERASINGHAM IN VAVUNIYA – 18<sup>th</sup> OCTOBER 2005

LTTE terrorists fatally shot dead a village official – P. Weerasingham, in Vavuniya

# 3. W.L.M. FALEEL AGA OF KATTANKUDY – 4<sup>th</sup> DECEMBER 2005

Divisional Secretary (AGA) of Kattankudy, A.L.M. Faleel was shot dead by LTTE terrorists in Batticaloa.

# 4. PON GANESHAMOORTHY, PEOPLE'S BANK MANAGER IN JAFFNA – 4<sup>th</sup> AUGUST 2006

People's Bank Manager in Jaffna Pon Ganeshamoorthy was shot dead at his residence in Thirunelveli by LTTE terrorists who came on a motor bicycle.

## 5. HERATH ABEYWEERA CHIEF SECRETARY OF THE EASTERN PROVINCE – 16<sup>th</sup> JULY 2007

The Chief Secretary of the Eastern Province, Herath Abeyweera was assassinated by a LTTE terrorist of the pistol gang at his office in Trincomalee.

# 12.4 ASSASSINATION OF SINHALA AND TAMIL INTELLECTUALS AND SOCIAL WORKERS

#### 1. GEORGE JEYARAJASINGHAM –13<sup>TH</sup> DECEMBER 1984

A minority Tamil human rights activist and a Methodist missionary from the Mannar District of Sri Lanka, George Jeyarajasingham and three others were shot dead on 13th December 1984 when they were travelling in a vehicle. Later their bodies were burnt along with the vehicle.

He was in charge of a big Methodist farm known as the Jeevothayam Methodist Centre in a nearby village called Murunkan in the Mannar District and was engaged in social and pastoral work. He was known to help the civilians by interceding on behalf of them with the local military authorities.

He and Mary Bastian became the local contact for the Sri Lankan Government appointed Presidential Committee to Investigate Human Rights violations in the Mannar District.

# 2. ASSASSINATION OF K. KADIRAMALAI–GANDHI OF THE NORTH – 27<sup>th</sup> SEPTEMBER 1986

Kadiramalai was a social worker, better known as "the Gandhi of the North". He was kidnapped by the terrorists from the "Sarvodaya" headquarters in Jaffna on September 19th 1986.

"Sarvodaya" is a social organization engaged in a tremendous volume of social work in all provinces of Sri Lanka. The Sarvodaya movement is led by A.T. Ariyaratne, a Sinhalese and a prominent social worker in Sri Lanka. Kadiramalai was the head of the Sarvodaya Branch in Jaffna.

At the time he was taken by the terrorists, he was making preparations to attend the annual Sarvodaya convention to be held in Moratuwa, Sri Lanka with about two hundred Sarvodaya workers. The LTTE terrorists abducted him, and shot him in the head and tied him to a lamp post. The leader of Sarvodaya, A.T. Ariyaratne expressed deep sorrow over the untimely death of Kadiramali who had given exemplary leadership to some thirty thousand workers in the North. **He was** essentially a social worker and not a politician.

Through the Sarvodaya movement he had done a large volume of social service to uplift the living standards of the people in the North. He had done such a volume of social work that he was popularly referred to as "the Gandhi of the North".

As he was not involved in politics, Prabhakaran would not have labelled him as a traitor of the Tamil people. Hence Prabhakaran may have disliked him as he was popular in the North and was closely associated with the people in the South, in doing his social work. Hence it is apparent that Prabhakaran disliked not only the traitors of the Tamil people, but also those who became popular among the people with their social work which was beneficial to the community.

A group of Northern Sarvodaya workers had staged a fast demanding their leader to be released. Later it was reported that the terrorists had removed his body after shooting him dead, having tied him to a lamp post.

By this brutal assassination of an innocent social worker, it was evident that Prabhakaran disliked any person becoming popular among the people irrespective of what he did, which was beneficial to the people and the community.

#### 3. REV. CHANDRA FERNANDO – 6<sup>TH</sup> JUNE 1988

A priest who hailed from the town of Batticaloa in the Eastern Province of Sri Lanka, Reverend Chandra Fernando was **well known for his human rights activism.** 

He was ordained as a Catholic Priest in the Year 1970. He served as a Parish Priest at St. Mary's Cathedral, Batticaloa from 1984 until his assassination on 6th June 1988 at his own church.

He was also the secretary of the local Batticaloa Citizens Committee and was instrumental in highlighting human rights violations of all sides in the Sri Lankan civil war.

#### 4. DR RAJINI THIRANAGAMA NEE RAJASINGHAM – 25<sup>th</sup> SEPTEMBER 1989

Dr Rajini Thiranagama (nee Rajasingham) was perhaps the most famous human rights activist gunned down by the LTTE following her criticism of the movement over atrocities of the LTTE. She was assassinated in September 25tH 1989 in Tirunelvely, Jaffna by the LTTE whilst serving as the Head of the Department of Anatomy, University of Jaffna.

She was also a founder member of the Jaffna Branch of the University Teachers for Human Rights. A remarkable feature of her struggle for the rights of the Tamils and particularly the women was the radical shift of her political position from a believer in arms struggle to a fierce Human Rights Activist.

In the early days she joined the LTTE inspired by her elder sister, Nirmala. However having witnessed the human rights violation and the narrow nationalism of the LTTE, Rajini was thoroughly disenchanted with the LTTE and authored a book titled "The Broken Palmyra".

Following her assassination, the late Rajini went down in history, as a worldwide icon of the human rights crusade. Her memory and her life was immortalized with the launching of the documentary titled "No More Tears Sister", an anatomy of hope and betrayal produced in 1975 by the National Film Board of Canada.

Rajini's assassination goes down in history as a potent symbol of the LTTE's brutality and its total disregard for human rights.

#### 5. FATHER EUGENE JOHN HERBERT – 15<sup>th</sup> AUGUST 1990

Father Herbert was an American born Jesuit Missionary in Sri Lanka, noted for his human rights activity on behalf of the local civilians.

With his Tamil driver, Bertram Francis disappeared while en route to the Eastern City of Batticaloa from the nearby town of Valaichchenai. Father Hebert was a prominent member of the Batticaloa Peace Committee that interceded on behalf of the many disappeared and missing people with both the Sri Lankan government officials and the LTTE rebel group.

## 6. LTTE TERRORISTS BRUTALLY KILLED VANNIASINGHAM VIGNESWARAN PRESIDENT OF TAMIL PEOPLES FORUM IN TRINCOMALLE – 7<sup>th</sup> APRIL 2006

LTTE terrorists brutally killed Vanniasingham Vigneswaran, President of the Trubcinakee Dustruct Tanuk Oeioke's Forum in Trincomalee. Vigneswaran, an employee of the Bank of Ceylon, was shot dead by an unidentified gunmen who arrived in a motorcycle when he was entering the bank.

# 7. KETHESWARAN LOGANATHAN, DEPUTY SECRETARY GENERAL, GOVERNMENT PEACE SECRETARIAT – 12<sup>TH</sup> AUGUST 2006

He was shot dead on 12th August 2006 by a LTTE terrorist at his home in Dehiwela, Colombo South. The attacker was a member of the LTTE Pistol Gang.

# 8. KILLED JAFFNA UNIVERSITY LECTURER AND A GOVERNMENT TECHNICAL OFFICER – 25<sup>th</sup> SEPTEMBER 2007

A Jaffna University lecturer and a Government Technical Officer were killed and three soldiers injured in an LTTE claymore mine attack targeting a Security Forces foot patrol at Sithankerni Junction along the Manipay-Karainagar road in Jaffna. Sharadha Maransodhi, 42, a senior lecturer of the Jaffna University and Kandan Nishanthan, 25 a Technical Officer of the Uduvil AGA office were the unfortunate victims.

#### **12.5 ATTACKS ON DIPLOMATS**

# 1. ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION OF PAKISTAN HIGH COMMISSIONER BASHIR WALI MOHAMED –14<sup>th</sup> AUGUST 2006

An attempt was made on the life of H.E. Bashir Wali Mohamed, who was the High Commissioner of Pakistan while he was driving down Kollupitiya, Colombo 3.

It was reported that a high explosive was fitted to a three wheeler and detonated using a remote control device.

The High Commissioner escaped death, but seven were killed in the blast while eight received injuries.

#### 2. ATTACK ON A GROUP OF DIPLOMATS IN BATTICALOA– 27<sup>th</sup> MARCH 2007

The Ambassador of Italy Pio Miriani and the US Ambassador Robert Blake were injured in the LTTE's mortar firing, targeting two helicopters carrying Disaster Management Minister, Mahinda Samarasinghe, along with few foreign diplomats in Batticaloa. Defence sources said that the mortars were launched as the two helicopters landed

#### 3. UN PROTEST FOR REFUSING TO ALLOW UN STAFF TO RETURN - 22<sup>ND</sup> JAN 2009

The United Nations in Sri Lanka issued its strongest possible protest to the LTTE for their refusal to allow UN staff and dependents to return from the Vanni with the UN convoy.

# **CHAPTER 13**

# ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION OF IMPORTANT PERSONS

#### **13.1 ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION OF POLITICIANS**

#### 1. MINISTER NIMAL SIRIPALA SILVA ESCAPED DEATH TO A SUICIDE CYCLIST ATTACK – 4<sup>th</sup> JULY 1996

The then Housing, Construction and Public Utilities Minister, Nimal Siripala Silva narrowly escaped death in Jaffna, when a woman suicide bomber crashed into the vehicle he was travelling in.

Twenty persons including four soldiers, three policemen and eleven civilians were killed in the impact at Stanley Road, Jaffna on 4th July 1996 at around 12.45 pm. The dead civilians included R. Godamuna, Chairman Cement Corporation, A.A. Dissanayake, B.M.C. Official, Captain C.D.P.K. Colombage of the Military, Carlyle Dias, retired S.S.P and Police constable Banda.

The Minister's Security Officer was also killed in the attack as well as several other members of the security services. Over fifty others were injured in the blast, when the Minister was leaving the Stanley Road venue, where he declared open an outlet of the Building Materials Corporation as part of the reconstruction taking place in the North. The Minister who was injured was air lifted to the Palaly base hospital for treatment and later transferred to Colombo.

#### 2. ANURUDDHA RATWATTA – DEPUTY MINISTER DEFENCE – 06<sup>th</sup> DECEMBER 1998

Tiger terrorists attempted to assassinate Deputy Minister Defence Anuruddha Ratwatta, by firing mortars when he went to Oddusudan.

## 3. PRESIDENT CHANDRIKA BANDARANAIKE KUMARANATUNGA SURVIVED SUICIDE TERRORIST ATTACK – 18<sup>th</sup> DECEMBER 1999

President Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaranatunga was contesting for the second term as President. She was at the last presidential election campaign meeting held on Saturday, 18th December 1999 at the Town Hall premises, Colombo 7.

Even though she was expected to win the second term, the public were dismayed when the LTTE tried to make an attempt on her life during the presidential election campaign. The election was scheduled for Tuesday, 21st December. She survived the suicide bomb attack but injured one of her eyes.

The People's Alliance Government which she headed, made many attempts to start peace talks with the LTTE terrorists and introduced proposed amendments to the constitution to devolve power to the North and the East.

It is important to recall, that before she came back to lead the SLFP which was earlier led by her mother Sirimavo Bandaranaike, she was associated in forming the United Socialist Alliance headed by her deceased husband Vijaya Kumaranatunga, actor turned politician and paid a visit to the North to meet the terrorist groups and paid another visit to South India to ask the terrorists to give up arms and accept a political settlement.

However, the LTTE terrorists never honoured what normal honourable people or groups respect as they were only a group of murderers who had no honour. Hence when the attempt on her life came it was not a surprise, as the separatist terrorists usually forgot any kindness or any recognition given to them.

Therefore, the only surprise in the suicide attack was that the intended target, Chandrika Kumaranatunge survived with a permanent injury to one of her eyes, but twenty three others were killed, while a large number of people including three Ministers were injured in the attack.

The suicide bomber was a woman who was amidst the large crowd of people and kept very close to the first row of the meeting, pretending to be one of the supporters. When Chandrika finished her speech and was moving towards her vehicle with her bodyguards, the woman bomber attempted to climb over the barricade on the grounds, but a senior police officer saw her and pushed her down to prevent her climbing over the barricade. She then just exploded her bomb and a large number of people were killed.

The LTTE once again demonstrated that the only language they spoke was that of murder and were not prepared to listen to any person who wanted to resolve their problems through peaceful methods.

Out of the whole lot of leaders who were targets of the LTTE, she was one of the very few people who were fortunate to escape their attack.

#### 4. EXPLOSION OUTSIDE PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE, COLOMBO –6<sup>th</sup> JANUARY 2000

Nine Police personnel and four civilians were killed, when a suspected LTTE woman suicide bomber exploded herself in front of the Prime Minister's office at Flower Road, Colombo 7. The explosion also injured twenty four persons.

The woman dressed in a black pair of jeans and a shirt had been loitering in the area around 7.30 a.m. and walked past the Prime Minister's office several times. Acting on suspicion, the security personnel had asked her to produce the national identity card.

The two women security personnel had attempted to search her as they suspected that the identity card was not genuine. She had resisted the body search and detonated the explosives strapped around her body.

Investigators believed that the suicide bomber was targeting a senior government politician, who was expected to drive past Flower Road on their way to an important meeting.

# 5. BOMB EXPLOSION AT EYE HOSPITAL COLOMBO - 15<sup>th</sup> SEPTEMBER 2000

The death toll increased up to seven following the bomb explosion carried out opposite the Colombo Eye Hospital in the morning of 15th September 2000.

Following the bomb blast, thirty people were admitted to the Colombo General Hospital ten of them in a critical condition.

Three civilians killed in the explosion and most of the others injured were believed to be visitors to the Eye Hospital who were waiting outside the main gate for their turn to be checked by the hospital security.

The LTTE suicide bomber had been loitering near the Eye Hospital from the early hours of yesterday, disguised as a beggar.

According to security intelligence official, the suicide bomber might have come with the aim of killing Minister Nimal Siripala de Silva who was due to pass the place a few minutes later.

#### 6. TISSA KARALIYADDE – 5<sup>TH</sup> OCTOBER 2000

At least twelve persons were killed and over forty were injured when a LTTE suicide bomber blew himself up in an attempt to jeopardize a People's Alliance election meeting at the Medawachchiya bus stand, which was being addressed by the Deputy Minister for Health and Indigenous Medicine, Tissa Karaliyadda.

The assailant who had approached the meeting on a bicycle had triggered off the bomb when a police constable tried to body check him prior to allowing him to enter the meeting premises. The Deputy Minister escaped as the bomb exploded fifty metres from the stage.

This attack took place just three days after a similar attack at Muttur, Trincomalee, which left twenty six dead including Baithullah who was contesting the parliamentary elections. The blast left forty nine dead, including four Policemen.

#### 7. M.L.A.M. HIZBULLAH – 2<sup>ND</sup> OCTOBER 2000

The LTTE made two abortive attempts to assassinate M.L.A.M. Hizbullah, Deputy Minister of Posts, Telecommunications and Media and a member of the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress.

In the first attempt on Saturday, 30th September 2000, Hizbullah was saved by his bulletproof vehicle when gunmen with automatic weapons opened fire as his convoy stopped to let a cattle herd pass, on the Batticaloa-Eravur road. At least nine people were injured, including four bystanders.

In the second attack, a bicycle bomb went off after Hizbullah passed the spot on the Eravur-Kalmunai main road around 4.00 p.m. on Monday, 2nd October 2000.

# 8. ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION OF PRIME MINISTER RATNASIRI WIKRAMANAYAKA – 29<sup>th</sup> October 2001

Sri Lankan Prime Minister Ratnasiri Wickremanayake escaped an assassination attempt at **Chitra Lane**, **Narahenpita**, **Colombo**, when police intercepted a would-be suicide bomber who detonated explosives strapped to his body, killing himself and five others.

# 9. DEFENCE SECRETARY, GOTABAYA RAJAPAKSA – 1<sup>st</sup> DECEMBER 2006

A suicide attack by the LTTE targeting the Defence Secretary, Gotabaya Rajapaksa near Piththala junction, Dharmapala Mawatha in Colombo injured seven army personnel and seven civilians. Two of the injured army personnel subsequently succumbed to their injuries. The suicide bomber rammed his threewheeler into the convoy of the Defence Secretary who was en-route to the Temple Trees for an official meeting. He escaped unhurt. The headless body of the suicide bomber was recovered from the incident site. At least eight vehicles, including that of the Defence Secretary, were damaged in the attack.

#### 10. DOUGLAS DEVANANDA, MINISTER OF SOCIAL WELFARE- 28<sup>th</sup> NOVEMBER 2007

Minister Douglas Devananda was one of the most wanted men by the LTTE. They made another attempt on the life of Minister Devananda, by sending a female suicide bomber to his residence in Colombo to assassinate him. He appeared to be a man with a charmed life, despite so many attempts made on his life by the LTTE, being perhaps the only person fortunate enough to be able to save his life.

In this instance, the woman suicide bomber, one with a disability in one of her legs, had come to meet the Minister. When she handed over her national identity card and entered the ante room before entering the Minister's office, the security personnel asked her to get her body searched by a female security guard. But she had refused to allow the search.

Thereupon when there was an argument regarding the routine security check, the Public Relations officer of the Minister had told the woman that she should allow the body search. Just then she exploded the bomb tied to her body killing the Public Relations Officer and two Security Personnel.

Douglas Devananda, one of the LTTE's arch opponents and a person who always said that the terrorist group would never agree to peace and democracy was saved again.

He was the single Tamil politician from the North who insisted that it was fruitless trying to get the LTTE terrorists to join the democratic mainstream stating, that it was like "attempting to give a snake in marriage to an elephant!".

## 11. MINISTER MAITHRIPALA SIRISENA ESCAPES DEATH – 9<sup>th</sup> OCTOBER 2008

The then Agriculture Development and Agrarian Services Minister, Maithripala Sirisena escaped a LTTE attempt on his life on 9th October 2008, at the Pirivena junction when the Minister was returning after a government function in Bandaragama. The Minister escaped unharmed, but one of the cars in the convoy was caught in the suicide attack. A civilian was killed and five others were injured including Siripala Gamlath, the Deputy Minister and Ranjith Wijetilaka, the Ministry Secretary. Out of the three injured persons admitted to the General Hospital Colombo, one succumbed to the injuries on admission to the hospital. Two of the Minister's vehicles and one other vehicle were damaged.

Minister Sirisena escaped an earlier attempt on his life by the LTTE in Modera, Colombo on 1st March 2008.

#### 12. OTHER MINISTERS –10<sup>th</sup> MARCH 2009

Fifteen people were killed and another sixteen including the Posts and Telecommunications Minister, Mahinda Wijesekera were injured in a suicide attack, which targeted several Ministers of the government who were participating in the national Milad-Un-Nabi Festival at the Jumma Mosque in Godapitiya, Akuressa, around 10.30 a.m. on 10th March 2009.

Around five thousand including Ministers A.H.M. Fowzie, Mahinda Yapa Abeywardena, Ameer Ali, Pandu Bandaranaike and Chandrasiri Gajaweera escaped unhurt. They were proceeding to a mosque in a procession to attend the main event held in celebration of Prophet Mohamed's birthday, when the suspected LTTE suicide bomber struck.

Minister Mahinda Wijesekera, who was participating in the event as the Guest of Honour was seriously injured in the blast and was later air lifted to Colombo, where he underwent emergency surgery.

Minister Fowzie who was participating in the event as the Chief Guest was covered in blood and flesh in the aftermath of the blast.

Minister Ameer Ali stated that he saw a severed head in front of him immediately after the blast.

A member of the organizing committee of the event had stated that he saw a dark skinned young man wearing a yellow shirt approach the procession, after getting down from a bicycle. As he acted in a strange manner, a member of the organizing committee who first saw him had grabbed the intruder by the hand and called a policeman who was nearby. When the police tried to check him, he exploded.

This ruthless attack on a religious procession, on an important religious day celebrated worldwide reaffirmed, that the LTTE was not only a ruthless terrorist outfit, but also one which had no regard or respect for religion. This was an attack that deliberately targeted the Muslim community and one that has sought to sow ethnic and religious disharmony, selecting a Muslim shrine and a day sacred to Muslims both in Sri Lanka and the world over. To carry out this attack, underscores the hatred the LTTE had towards the Muslims, a community which spoke the same language as Tamils, who have suffered considerably due to the policies of ethnic cleansing both in the North and the East of Sri Lanka.

# **CHAPTER 14**

#### ASSASSINATION OF KEY SECURITY PERSONNEL

## 1. DEFENCE MINISTER RANJAN WIJERATNE – 2<sup>ND</sup> MARCH 1991

Since the separatist terrorists first ambushed and killed a group of thirteen (13) soldiers in the North on July 24th 1983 on the outskirts of Jaffna, one of the most important victims of the LTTE terrorists was the State Minister of Defence and the Plantation Minister, Ranjan Wijeratne which took place on 2nd March 1991.

At the time, the intelligence services knew that Ranjan Wijeratne who was known to the terrorists as the "white bear", was a man they feared. That Saturday, when the Minister's motorcade with two commando vehicles driving on either side and two commando vehicles in front and behind the Minister's limousine, a guard given only second to that of the President's security, an explosion rocked the road near the Police Park Havelock Road, Colombo killing Ranjan Wijeratne instantly.

The Havelock road massacre set off with a bomb placed in a vehicle, killed the Minister on the spot with eighteen other elite commandos escorting him. A total of seventy three people down Havelock Road were injured. **Ranjan Wijeratne had earlier stated that he would wipe out** the LTTE terrorists within the next six months. But the LTTE who feared the "white bear" got rid of him before that.

Lieutenant Colonel Ranjan Wijeratne was posthumously promoted to the rank of General and the Kotalewela Defence University at its second convocation conferred on him, the Honours degree of the "Doctor of Laws".

#### 2. MAJOR GENERAL DENZIL KOBBEKADUWA – 8<sup>th</sup> AUGUST 1992

During 1992 and 1993, the security forces made a determined effort to take the Northern peninsula and end Prabhakaran's authority over Jaffna. Just when it appeared that the Sri Lankan security forces managed to bottle up the LTTE to Jaffna and were poised to take over the region, a powerful blast caused by a landmine on 8th August 1992, wiped out almost the entire Northern command of the security forces. Among the dead was Major General Denzil Kobbekaduwa, a graduate of the prestigious British Military Academy. He was a very courageous, straight forward and ambitious officer in the Sri Lanka Army, who was fifty two years at the time of his untimely death. He was known to be immensely popular during his thirty two year career in the Army and was the highest ranking officer to die in the North– East conflict.

He was flown to Colombo in a special SLAF craft, after losing a hand and leg in the explosion. It is stated that a determined effort was made till the very end by the medical team, who attempted to save the General's life.

Along with some senior officers of the security forces allocated to the North, General Kobbekaduwa was travelling in a jeep to Kayts, a small island off Jaffna when the explosion occurred.

Fifty two year old Brigadier Vijaya Wimalaratne, Commander of the Northern security forces was also a victim. He was the second Army Brigadier to die in the nine year old Eelam conflict, the first being forty six year old Lucky Wijeratne who was the co-ordinating officer of the Trincomalee district.

The Northern Naval Area Commodore, Mohan Jayamaha who was forty three years at the time and two Navy Lieutenant Commanders, Chandima Vijayapura and Asanga Lankathilaka along with Private W.J. Wickramaratne were also caught in the blast.

Three senior Lieutenant Colonels namely, G.H. Ariyaratne, A. Palipana and H.R. Stephen along with Major Nalin S. de Alwis had died on the spot and their bodies had been charred beyond recognition, riddled with shrapnel wounds.

This particular island was controlled by an anti-LTTE pro government terrorist group and was considered to be safe to travel. The deaths of these senior officers of the Northern Command were more or less a psychological victory to Prabhakaran, who thought that he could reach anywhere.

#### 3. COMMANDER SRI LANKA NAVY, VICE ADMIRAL CLANCY FERNANDO – 10<sup>th</sup> NOVEMBER 1992

Three months later, the LTTE struck again in the heart of Colombo. The Commander of the Sri Lanka Navy, Vice Admiral Clancy Fernando was assassinated by a LTTE suicide bomber.

A male terrorist rammed his motor cycle laden with explosives into the official vehicle of the Commander down Galle Face Road, Colombo, around 9.00 a.m. on 16th November 1992. Four Navy Personnel were also killed in the explosion.

# The deaths of two senior officers of the Security Forces, Lt Gen Denzil Kobbekaduwa and Vice Admiral Clancy Fernando which came one after another, seriously affected the morale of the Security Forces.

Since the resumption of the "Eelam war ii" in June 1990, it became difficult to persuade young people to join the Security Forces. With the assassination of Lt Gen Denzil Kobbekaduwa, soldiers of the Security Forces started deserting in certain instances with arms, which became a serious problem to the Security Forces. Many Sri Lankans felt that the dragging war against Prabhakaran could not be won.

Prabhakaran who was elated by his success, while making his annual "Heros Day" speech ("Mahaviru") in November, pledged to continue his armed struggle.

He further stated with pride that "..... In the course of our struggle, extraordinary sacrifices have been made, which have not taken place anywhere, any time in the world. I can proudly say that none can equal our martyrs in their dedication, deep commitment and tremendous courage that transcend the fear of death. Such magnificent qualities have enabled them to create an unparalleled legend of terrorism". Here Prabhakaran was referring to his suicide bombers, whose minds have been derailed to undertake unquestionably any ruthless task assigned to them by him, the leader.

## 4. MAJOR GENERAL ANANDA HAMANGODA – 4<sup>th</sup> JULY 1996

Winning the hearts and minds of the Jaffna civilians was the only goal of Major General Ananda Hamangoda. He paid the price on 4th July 1996 in Jaffna for the goodwill he had brought about in the peninsula.

He had firmly believed that no one would harm him, as he had been able to build a strong bond between the people and the troops.

But it is believed that Brigadier Ananda Hamangoda who stood closer to the female suicide bomber died on the spot when she detonated the explosives strapped to her waist as the motorcade of Housing and Construction Minister, Nimal Siripala de Silva stopped on Stanley Road in the Jaffna town.

At the time of his death he was commanding the 512 Brigade which was responsible for the security of the Jaffna town.

# 5. BRIGADIER LARRY WIJEYARATNE – 14<sup>th</sup> MARCH 1998

One of the Sri Lankan Army's top commanders, Brigadier Larry Wijeyaratne was killed in Jaffna by a woman suicide bomber wearing a bomb in the belt.

## 6. BRIGADIER SUSANTHA MENDIS – 11<sup>th</sup> SEPTEMBER 1998

On September 11, 1998, Brigadier Susantha Mendis was killed in a powerful blast in the Jaffna Municipal Council building at Nallur close to the famous Nallur temple.

Other victims caught in this attack were Captain Ramanayake, the Jaffna SSP Chandra Perera, ASP's Chandramohan and Sarath Fernando, the Jaffna OIC Chief Inspector Mohandas and PC Gerard as well as many officers attached to the Jaffna Municipal Council, **bringing the number to thirteen**.

Brig Mendis was one of the most senior officers in the Sri Lanka Army. He was posted to Jaffna as Town Commander in 1996. He had won praise for his sensitive handling of the problems faced by Tamil civilians in his area. It was under him that several military check posts, regarded by Tamils of the North as symbols of Sinhalese oppression, were dismantled and a degree of normalcy restored to the Army administered town.

## 7. MAJOR GENERAL (RTD) LUCKY ALGAMA - 18<sup>th</sup> DECEMBER 1999

Skandaraja Ashoka, a suicide bomber, detonated a bomb strapped to his body killing **Major General Lucky Algama (rtd), who was well known as an efficient and courageous officer who had defeated the LTTE in the Eastern Province, whilst attending a UNP election rally at Ja-ela.** 

## Eleven others including (DIG) P.K.C. Perera, (DIG) Camilus Abeygoonewardene and (SSP) F.R. Alles lost their lives.

The clear signal was that the terrorists would wait for months or years to kill those they had placed on their hit list.

# 8. LIEUTENANT COLONEL NIZAM MUTHALIPH -31<sup>st</sup> MAY 2005

Commanding Officer of the Military Intelligence Unit, Major Nizam Muthaliph was gunned down by the LTTE at Polhengoda, Colombo in broad daylight, while on his way to participate at a function at the Kotelawela Defence University.

# 9. LIEUTENANT COLONEL T. RIZI MEEDIN -30<sup>th</sup> OCTOBER 2005

The LTTE shot dead a senior officer of the Military Intelligence Corps Lieutenant Colonel T. Rizvi Meedin. A Tiger terrorist shot Meedin with a 9mm pistol near the officer's home in Kiribathgoda.

#### 10. KILLING A SLN OFFICER - 11<sup>TH</sup> FEBRUARY 2006

One of four suspected LTTE Sea Tiger aboard on a speeding trawler blew himself up in mid-sea off Thalaimannar after being intercepted by SLN personnel, killing a SLN officer

#### 11. MAJOR GENERAL PARAMI KULATUNGA, CHIEF OF STAFF, SRI LANKA ARMY – 26<sup>th</sup> JUNE 2006

Major General Parami Kulatunga, Chief of Staff of the Sri Lanka Army was killed on 26th June 2006 at Pannipitiya whilst he was travelling in his official car, by a male suicide bomber, who exploded a very high explosive installed in his suicide kit. In this explosion, Major General Kulatunga and four others were killed while seven were injured.

# 12. MAJOR GENERAL (RTD) JANAKA PERERA -6<sup>th</sup> OCTOBER 2008

Major General (rtd) Janaka Perera, after his successful career in the Sri Lanka Army, had also been appointed the Sri Lanka's High Commissioner to Australia. He was a successful military officer who had routed hundreds of LTTE terrorists who came to attack the Weli Oya military camp, he was commanding.

The United National Party (UNP) perhaps believed his fame as a General would make him an ideal Chief Minister, though very clearly there was a major LTTE terrorist threat on his life. Therefore, he had some of his former Army men providing security for him.

On 6th October 2008, he was attending a function in Anuradhapura, where a large gathering was present at the Provincial Council election meeting. As it was proceeding, a short man in a trouser and checked shirt came into the premises. The security personnel may not have noted anything strange in the short man. As soon as he was at close range to Janaka Perera the man exploded a powerful bomb tied to his body killing twenty six people, including Janaka Perera who was killed instantly.

His wife, Vajira who was also a former Army Officer and one of the first female officers to be commissioned to the Army, was killed along with several other prominent members of the UNP in the Anuradhapura district.

The suicide attack on Janaka Perera was a shock to the nation, as he had served the country as a senior officer of the security services with courage, determination and commitment.

#### 14.1 ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION OF KEY SECURITY PERSONNEL

# 1. CHIEF INSPECTOR MOHAMMED NILABDEEN – 18<sup>th</sup> MARCH 1999

A female suicide bomber killed herself and two persons near a police station in Colombo. The bomber's target was Chief Inspector Mohammed Nilabdeen, head of the Terrorism Investigation Unit of the Mount Lavinia Police. Nilabdeen and eight civilians were injured.

## 2. COL. PIYAL ABEYSEKARA – 2<sup>ND</sup> MARCH 2000

**Colonel Piyal Abeysekara was targeted by a female suicide bomber** at the Inner Harbour Road in Trincomalee. While the Colonel survived the assassination attempt his driver was killed.

#### 3. LT GEN SARATH FONSEKA, COMMANDER OF THE SRI LANKA ARMY – 25<sup>th</sup> APRIL 2006

The LTTE planned an attempt on the life of the Commander of the Sri Lanka Army, Lt Gen Sarath Fonseka. They were so bold and courageous to execute their plan to assassinate the Commander at the Army headquarters itself.

It is a mystery as to how the female suicide cadre had access to the Army Headquarters in the high security zone in Colombo. Besides, it was extremely difficult at the time to have access to the headquarters of any of the security forces, due to the severest forms of security checks. Nobody below the rank of Brigadier or of equal status was permitted to enter the headquarters of any of the security forces, without submitting to the required security checks. Hence it was presumed at the time, that the suicide bomber would have gained entry to the Army Headquarters with the assistance of a senior officer of the rank or above the rank of Brigadier. The bomb was exploded by a female terrorist when the Commander was being driven within the headquarters approaching his office.

The Commander suffered severe injuries due to the explosion, but was fortunate to escape death. It may have been due to him still being inside the car which was a bullet proof vehicle. The suicide bomber and nine security personnel were killed and twelve were injured. The Commander was rushed to the hospital where he had to undergo treatment for a long period before recovery.

# 4. GOTABAYA RAJAPAKSE, DEFENCE SECRETARY – 1<sup>st</sup> DECEMBER 2006

The Defence Secretary, Gotabaya Rajapakse was a key person in the hit list of the LTTE. He earlier served as an Officer in the Army and had been in the battle front against the terrorists. The LTTE was aware of the enormous contribution he could make to organize, equip and strategically direct the security forces against the LTTE. Hence it would be an outstanding victory to the LTTE if they succeeded in an attempt on his life. Hence the LTTE detailed a male suicide bomber, who may have been well trained to execute the extremely important task assigned to him.

When the Defence Secretary, Gotabaya Rajapakse was travelling down Kollupitiya on 1st December 2006 with his convoy of security vehicles, the suicide bomber came close to the approaching convoy of vehicles and exploded. Fortunately there would have been a lesser impact of the explosion on the vehicle in which the Defence Secretary travelled. Hence he escaped death with minor injuries.

It must be stated that if the attempt of the LTTE on the life of Gotabaya Rajapakse succeeded, it is likely that the history of the country would have been different. It may be that the destruction of the LTTE by the security forces would have been delayed beyond the year 2009, or the country could have been yet going through the agony of the unbearable horror of terrorism.

## 5. AIR MARSHALL ROSHAN GOONETILLEKE – 8<sup>th</sup> JANUARY 2008

# The SLAF Chief, Air Marshal Roshan Goonetilleke, narrowly escaped being caught in a bomb blast in Colombo.

The SLAF Commander had passed by the site of the blast in the Fort area of Central Colombo, just three minutes before a parcel bomb placed in a roadside public telephone booth opposite the Lake House roundabout and adjacent to the Regent Flats went off. Fitted with a timer, the bomb caused some minor damage to a building nearby. However, no casualties were reported.

## 14.2 ATTACKS ON UNARMED SECURITY AND POLICE PERSONNEL

#### 1. SHOOTING PC A. KARUNANDHI –14<sup>th</sup> FEBRUARY 1977

A Police constable attached to the Kankesanthurai Police Station investigating charges against the LTTE was shot dead by the Tiger terrorists in Maviddapuram.

## 2. POLICE CONSTABLES KINGSLEY PERERA AND SACHITHANADAN WERE SHOT DEAD BY THE LTTE -5<sup>th</sup> DECEMBER 1978

Police constables Kingsley Perera and Sachithanadan were **shot dead by the LTTE** terrorists who robbed the People's Bank branch at Nallur and escaped with over Rs. One million in cash.

#### 3. EXPLOSIVES KILL THIRTEEN SOLDIERS – 23<sup>RD</sup> JULY 1983

Thirteen soldiers including an officer were killed and two were seriously injured when the terrorists blew up their jeep at Tinnavely. The jeep was blown up by an explosive device followed by fire from automatic rifles and shot guns. This attack was launched by Prabhakaran and a small gang of terrorists which ultimately resulted in the holocaust called "Black July".

#### 4. LANDMINE KILLS TWELVE COMMANDOS – 29<sup>th</sup> JANUARY 1987

Twelve Police Commandos were killed near Batticaloa in one of the worst landmine attacks when their armoured personnel carrier was blown-up with a huge charge of explosives.

This team of Special Task Force (STF) Commandos, were the reinforcements rushed to Kokkadicholai ten miles from the Eastern provincial capital, after terrorists had launched a fierce attack on a STF search and destroy mission air-dropped close to the terrorist base.

# Sub-Inspector Priyantha Alwis, leading the group was killed in this attack and the reinforcements arriving there were ambushed by the landmine costing the lives of twelve STF personnel.

It was reported by SLBC that the main LTTE base was destroyed.

One of the landmine casualties was twenty seven year old Inspector K. U. Fernando who was leading the commandos in the personnel carrier caught-up in the ambush. Despite the landmine reverse, two other armoured personnel carriers from Velaveli and Kalavanchikudi reached the scene and **captured the LTTE's Kokkadicholai base.** 

Although no firearms were recovered, over one thousand five hundred rounds of ammunition were seized along with a cache of detonators and a stack of survey maps of Northern and Eastern areas.

In addition to the two officers, the ten (10) other Commandos were killed. One commando was missing.

#### 5. ATTACK ON NELLIADY ARMY CAMP – 5<sup>th</sup> JUNE 1987

On June 5, 1987, while the Sri Lankan Armed Forces were engaged in 'Operation Liberation' to wrest control of Jaffna, the LTTE decided to turn the tables. Confronted with the firepower of a conventional Army replete with its numbers and hardware by rough estimates eight thousand soldiers and officers took part in this operation - the Tigers had to dig deep into the reserves and bet on their advantage.

The LTTE employed a member of the 'Suicide cadre' known as Captain Miller alias Wasanthan to drive an explosive laden truck into the Nelliady Army Camp in Jaffna around 8.15 P.M. on July 5, 1987. He blew himself and the truck up, after crashing through the entrance, **killing two dozen soldiers.** 

This was the first suicide operation by an LTTE cadre taking a leaf out of the experience of Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and Hezbollah Guerillas of Lebanon. The type of explosives used had been TNT weighing around 50 kg.

#### 6. KILLING OF SIX SOLDIERS AT VAKARAI – OCTOBER 1987

Six soldiers were killed in a landmine at Vakarai, while they were patrolling the borders of Batticaloa and Polonnaruwa Districts. Ten other soldiers were wounded, three of them critically.

#### 7. MURDER OF EIGHT SOLDIERS – 7<sup>th</sup> OCTOBER 1987

Eight soldiers held prisoners by the LTTE in Jaffna for several months, were brutally murdered and their bodies were dumped at the Jaffna bus stand.

The killing spree continued when the LTTE **murdered two policemen** at Valvettithurai and disposed their bodies by burning them.

The brutal cold blooded slaying of eight Army Personnel held hostage by the LTTE in Jaffna was in retaliation to the mass cyanide suicide of prominent Tiger leaders who were captured by the Sri Lankan Navy at mid sea off the Northern shores.

This was an episode that shocked the civilized world and brought in to sharp focus, the perverted mindset of Prabhakaran who had no compunction in ordering the massacre of unarmed servicemen and defenseless civilians.

This was the first known instance where the LTTE massacred captured servicemen in their custody, a trait that was to unfold as most brutal and gory in the years that followed.

At the time, nowhere in the contemporary conflicts that had raged between a government and rebel forces the world over, was a heinous crime reported which perhaps earned the LTTE the tag of the most ruthless and bloodthirsty terrorist organization in the world.

The hapless soldiers in custody were not even allowed to contact their relatives, but were lined up and gunned down on the orders of Prabhakaran on 5th October 1987. It triggered off events which for the first time since the IndoLanka Accord brought the IPKF to battle the Tigers.

The mass killing of the LTTE also caused the strongest condemnation of the US, which urged India to put an end to the killing of civilians.

# 8. AMBUSH OUTSIDE KUCHCHAVELI POLICE STATION – 11<sup>th</sup> FEBRUARY 1988

The LTTE launched a landmine ambush outside the Kuchchaveli Police Station, Trincomalee District on the same day that Vijaya Kumaranatunga was gunned down by the JVP.

Two Policemen who were thrown out of the jeep due to the explosion survived. The other eight Policemen and two Muslim civilians died in the explosion.

#### 9. AMBUSH OF AN INDIAN ARMY TRUCK –7<sup>th</sup> MARCH 1988

The terrorists ambushed an Indian Army Truck in the North killing two soldiers and seizing a third. The bodies of two others who were wounded in the outskirts of the Vavuniya town were thrown into the back of the truck and burned.

This was the second instance the LTTE took an Indian soldier hostage. The first time was in October 1988.

#### 10. KILLING IPKF OFFICERS- 24TH APRIL 1988

Lieutenant Colonel A.S. Shelton, the IPKF Commander of the seventh battalion was killed in a terrorist ambush at Uriththapuran, 7 km West of Paranthan.

# An IPKF Captain was also wounded. However he succumbed to his injuries, only after the three terrorists involved had been killed.

#### 11. ATTACK ON BATTICALOA POLICE STATION – 31<sup>st</sup> APRIL 1988

The terrorists attacked the Batticaloa Police Station and **a gun** battle followed resulting in six deaths.

# 12. TRAGEDY AT MAHAKALUGOLLAWA POLICE POST – 14<sup>th</sup> SEPTEMBER 1988

The Sub Inspector and six constables attached to the above Police Post were killed when their jeep hit a terrorist land mine at Lahugala on the Pottuvil road. Two civilians in the vicinity were also killed.

The Police were on a routine patrol when they met their fate. With the explosion, the occupants fell out of the vehicle and the terrorists lying in ambush fired. Thereafter the terrorists escaped with the arms and ammunition carried by the Police.

# 13. TWO SEPARATE ATTACKS ON INDIAN PATROLS -1<sup>st</sup> MARCH 1989

A total of twenty four Indian soldiers were killed, when the LTTE carried out two separate attacks in the North.

In the first attack, eighteen soldiers were killed and two were injured when the LTTE blew up a truck in the village of Olamadu, Wanni.

In the second attack, the LTTE ambushed another Indian patrol killing six soldiers.

## 14. INCIDENT AT THANDIKULAM –7<sup>th</sup> JUNE 1990

On June 7th 1990, a vehicle carrying Army personnel from Vavuniya to Mullaitivu was fired by the LTTE. One soldier died while nine others were injured. However, the Defence Ministry instructed that no retaliatory action should be taken.

#### 15. MASSACRING OVER SIX HUNDRED UNARMED POLICEMEN -11<sup>th</sup> JUNE 1990

According to many, this is the saddest day in the history of the Sri Lankan Police, as the LTTE terrorists massacred over six hundred Policemen from several police stations in the East, who surrendered following the instructions the President of the Government Probably on a request made by Prabhakaran.

The LTTE had surrounded police stations in Batticaloa, Vellaveli, Kalmunai, Valachenai, Samanthurai, Eravur and Akkaraipattu. In a most cowardly way the LTTE had murdered the unarmed Police personnel, even after giving an assurance to the political leaders with whom they were engaged in dialogue, that no harm would be done.

According to eye witness accounts, Policemen were taken into the jungles blindfolded hands tied behind their backs and shot at close range with bullets to the back of their heads.

#### 16. ATTACK ON NAVAL VESSEL IN TRINCOMALEE –12<sup>th</sup> JULY 1990

Six SF personnel were killed when a group of four male suicide squad cadres of the LTTE attacked a Naval Vessel in Trincomalee with an explosives-laden boat.

## *17. AMBUSH OF ARMY PERSONNEL* – 24<sup>th</sup> SEPTEMBER 1990

A Sergeant of the Sri Lanka Army along with nine soldiers were killed and two others were injured when their truck was ambushed while travelling from Welikanda to Sinhapura. Soldiers of the Sinhapura Camp were on a road clearing operation to Welikanda, when they were ambushed with hand grenades and rifle fire at about 10.30 a.m. on 22nd September 1990.

#### 18. AMBUSH OF SEVEN SOLDIERS –5<sup>TH</sup> OCTOBER1990

Seven soldiers were killed and one was wounded when a foot patrol between Mankulam and Yakawewa on the Medawachchiya– Mannar road was Ambushed by LTTE terrorists.

## 19. AMBUSH OF SEVEN SOLDIERS –26<sup>TH</sup> OCTOBER1990

Seven Army personnel were killed in a Tiger ambush near the 123rd mile post on the Habarana-Trincomalee road. The dead soldiers were identified as those beloging Kitulutuwa Army Camp.

## 20. ATTACK ON MANKULAM ARMY CAMP – 23<sup>RD</sup> NOVEMBER 1990

**Three soldiers died** as two suicide bombers attacked the Mankulam Army Camp with explosives.

# 21. AMBUSH OF STF VEHICLE –15<sup>th</sup> DECEMBER 1990

During the second week of December 1990, Seven STF commandos were killed when a killer gang of about one hundred terrorists had ambushed the STF jeep on its way from Arugam Bay on the Panama-Potuvil road.

However, police had swiftly retaliated, killing at least thirty fleeing terrorists in a "pursue and destroy" operation.

# 22. ATTACK ON SILAVATHURAI ARMY CAMP - 19<sup>th</sup> MARCH 1991

**Five soldiers were killed** in a LTTE suicide cadre attack at the Army camp in Silavathurai.

# 23. ATTACK ON GAJABAPURA – 6<sup>th</sup> APRIL 1991

The terrorists killed five soldiers and wounded five others in an attack carried out on troop patrol at Gajabapura Welioya, Trincomalee District.

# 24. ATTACK ON NAVAL VESSEL IN TRINCOMALEE - 5<sup>th</sup> MAY 1991

Two 'Sea Tigers' attacked a Naval Vessel in Trincomalee with an explosive-laden boat killing five Naval **personnel**.

## 25. ATTACK IN KANKESANTHURAI – 11<sup>th</sup> MAY 1991

**Three Navy personnel were killed** during an attack by a group of three male 'Sea Tigers'.

# 26. ATTACK ON JOINT OPERATIONS COMMAND OFFICE - 21<sup>st</sup> JUNE 1991

A minimum of twenty one people were killed and more than one hundred and seventy five others sustained injuries when a suicide bomber drove a truck laden with explosives into the Joint Operations Command Office at Flower Road in Colombo 7.

## 27. KILLING TWENTY SOLDIERS – 11<sup>TH</sup> APRIL 1992

Six soldiers were ambushed at Punnai in the Batticaloa District by a group of about fifty terrorists while in the Trincomalee District, fourteen soldiers were ambushed.

## 28. AMBUSH OF POLICEMEN – 31<sup>ST</sup> JULY 1992

On the 29th July 1992 morning, eighteen soldiers and eight policemen were ambushed and killed, while another eight were wounded when they were engaged in a road clearing patrol.

# 29. ATTACK ON POONERYN ARMY CAMP –10<sup>тн</sup> NOVEMBER 1993

**Eight officers and two hundred and thirty three soldiers were declared killed** in action in the LTTE's attack on the Pooneryn defence

# The LTTE also executed two hundred soldiers captured during this attack on the Pooneryn Camp.

## 30. ATTACK ON NAVAL VESSELS – 19<sup>th</sup> APRIL 1995

A suicide squad attacked two naval vessels in Trincomalee killing twelve soldiers.

# 31. ATTACK ON NAVAL FACILITY TRINCOMALEE - 17<sup>th</sup> OCTOBER 1995

Nine Navy personnel were killed and a Vessel was damaged after a male suicide bomber targeted the naval facility in Trincomalee.

# *32. ATTACK ON POLICE CAMP, BATTICALOA* – 5<sup>TH</sup> DECEMBER 1995

During an attack on the Police camp in Batticaloa by a group of three male suicide bombers driving a truck laden with explosives, **at least twenty three police personnel were killed.** 

# 33. ATTACK ON ARMY HEAD QUARTERS COLOMBO – 11<sup>th</sup> DECEMBER 1995

Fourteen civilians and three SF personnel were killed and fifty nine persons sustained injuries when two LTTE suicide bombers blew themselves up during an attack on the Army Headquarters complex in Colombo 02.

# 34. ATTACK ON BATTICALOA – 30<sup>тн</sup> DECEMBER 1995

An Army officer and a civilian were wounded when a member of the LTTE suicide squad blew himself up at Kalladi in the Batticaloa district.

## 35. TWO HUNDRED & TWELVE SOLDIERS WERE KILLED IN SECURITY FORCES CAMP IN THE NORTH – 11<sup>th</sup> DECEMBER 1999

A total of 212 soldiers were killed by LTTE terrorists. Another 37 soldiers were reported missing in action while 2,118 were wounded as Tiger terrorists overran a Security Forces camp in the North.

# 36. ATTACK AT BATTICALOA – 30<sup>th</sup> DECEMBER 1995

A Sri Lanka Army (SLA) officer and a civilian were wounded when a member of the LTTE suicide squad blew himself up at Kalladi in the Batticaloa district.

## 37. EXPLOSION AT VETTILAIKERNI – 1<sup>st</sup> APRIL 1996

At least ten SF personnel were killed after two suicide squad cadres detonated a boat laden with explosives at Vettilaikerni.

## 38. A FEMALE SUICIDE CADRE EXPLODED HERSELF

A female suicide cadre exploded herself when she failed to penetrate the SLAF road block near the Rio Cinema at Slave Island. Six soldiers and nine civilians were killed.

## 39. KILLING OVER 1,200 TROOPS – 18<sup>TH</sup> JULY 1996

Tiger terrorists overran the Sri Lanka Army camp in Mullaitivu, killing over 1,200 troops. LTTE terrorists burnt alive hundreds of soldiers who had surrendered during the attack.

# 40. EXPLOSION IN TRINCOMALEE – 25<sup>th</sup> OCTOBER 1996

Twelve personnel of the Sri Lankan Navy were killed when a boat laden with explosives was detonated by two suicide squad cadres in Trincomalee.

## 41. ATTACK IN TRINCOMALEE – 25<sup>TH</sup> NOVEMBER 1996

A suicide bomber died in an attack on a police vehicle, which critically wounded a police driver in the Trincomalee town.

# 42. ATTACK ON DEPUTY POLICE COMMANDER, AMPARAI – 17<sup>τ</sup> DECEMBER 1996

A Deputy Police Commander was killed when a motorcycle laden with explosives was blown up by a male suicide bomber at a Police Unit in Amparai.

## *43. ATTACK ON AIR FORCE BASE, TRINCOMALEE* -5<sup>th</sup> MARCH 1997

During an attack at the Air Force base in Trincomalee, four LTTE suicide cadres were killed and four Air Force personnel sustained injuries.

#### 44. ATTACK ON NAVAL BASE, GALLE – 28<sup>th</sup> DECEMBER 1997

Three suicide bombers died when their truck exploded half a mile from the Magalle Naval base in the Galle District where the Commanding Officer lived in the Naval Base. **Ten shops and two houses were damaged.** 

#### 45. LANDMINE ATTACK ON TROOPS – 2<sup>ND</sup> FEBRUARY 1998

The LTTE launched landmine attacks on Sri Lankan troops on three consecutive days. Thirteen soldiers of the Gajaba regiment were injured near the Monkey Bridge.

#### 46. ATTACK ON NAVY SHIPS – 23<sup>RD</sup> FEBRUARY 1998

In a suicide attack on the Point Pedro Coast in the North, eight boats laden with explosives and steered by suicide bombers crashed into two Navy ships. At least fifty one troops and twenty eight civilians were killed in this attack.

## 47. ATTACK ON POLICE TRUCK IN VAVUNIYA – 4<sup>TH</sup> AUGUST 1999

Nine Police Commandos and one civilian were killed when a woman suicide bomber blew herself near a police truck in Vavuniya. Eighteen commandos aboard the truck were injured.

#### 48. ATTACK ON VAKARAI CAMP –9<sup>TH</sup> AUGUST 1999

In the first suicide bombing within an army camp, a male suicide bomber entered the Vakarai camp on the pretext of collecting weekly food relief and detonated a bomb strapped to his body killing Major T.G.J.B. Karunanayake, the second in command of an infantry battalion.

Major J.H. Karunadasa, and three soldiers were wounded in the attack.

## *49. LTTE ATTACK ON ARMY CAMP AT ODDUSUDDAN* – 1<sup>st</sup> NOVEMBER 1999

A massive LTTE attack on an army camp at Oddusuddan left over 800 soldiers killed or missing and another 1,200 deserted.

#### 50. SINKING NAVY VESSEL IN JAFFNA - 5<sup>th</sup> JUNE 2000

Thirty-four naval personnel were killed as a suicide squad of the 'Sea Tigers' sank a gunboat of the Sri Lankan Navy off the Vadamarachchi coast in the Jaffna peninsula.

#### 51. ATTACK ON SRI LANKAN AIR FORCE BUS –14<sup>th</sup> JUNE 2000

**Two civilians were killed and eleven sustained injuries** during an abortive attempt by a person on a bicycle fitted with an explosive device, at the Gemunu Palace Cinema Junction in Wattala, targeting a Sri Lanka Air Force bus.

#### 52. ATTACK ON KATUNAYAKE AIR FORCE BASE AND BANDARANAIKE INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT – 24<sup>th</sup> JULY 2001

Heavily armed LTTE terrorists attacked the Katunayake Air Force Base and adjoining the Bandaranaike International Airport, Katunayake, killing 21 people. They also destroyed as many aircraft as possible, crippling the country's economy and it had an adverse impact on the tourist industry.

# 53. ATTACK ON POLICE STATION IN THE EAST -21<sup>st</sup> AUGUST 2001

The LTTE terrorist launched an attack on the Central Camp police station in the Amparai district. Seventeen injured policemen had been admitted to the Amparai hospital and four who were in a serious condition had been sent to the National hospital in Colombo.

#### 54. TWO POLICE OFFICERS AND A CIVILIAN KILLED AT KALMUNAI – 30<sup>th</sup> AUGUST 2001

A civilian and two police officers were killed by a bomb planted by LTTE in Kalmunai, Amparai district. The civilian was a labourer attached to the Kalmunai Divisional Secretariat, who was injured and later succumbed to his injuries.

#### 55. ATTACK ON ARMY DETACHMENT - 27<sup>th</sup> NOVEMBER 2001

The LTTE killed two civilians and injured two others in the Eastern Province, when LTTE terrorists fired 81 mm mortars towards the Army detachment in Kattaparichchan, south of Trincomalee, killing one woman and injuring another.

#### 56. KILLED OFF DUTY TAMIL POLICEMAN - 14<sup>TH</sup> DECEMBER 2001

LTTE terrorists **shot dead an off duty Tamil policeman, a father of five children, inside his home.** The terrorist armed with an automatic weapon shot dead the policeman while he was at his home in Vavuniya town watching television. Earlier the policeman had been threatened by LTTE rebels asking him to leave the service but he refused.

## 57. ATTACK INSIDE THE COLPETTY POLICE STATION -7<sup>th</sup> JULY 2004

A woman suicide bomber, identified as Thiyagaraja Jeyarani, detonated the explosives strapped around her waist at the Kollupitiya Police station next to the Sri Lankan Prime Minister's official residence in Colombo killing herself and four police personnel and injuring nine persons.

She was reportedly on a mission to assassinate Cabinet Minister Douglas Devananda, a vocal critic of the LTTE. She was found loitering in front of the Minister's office which was situated near the Police Station and when taken in for questioning had blown herself.

# 58. LTTE WOMAN SUICIDE BOMBER BLEW HERSELF - MARCH 2005

An LTTE woman suicide bomber blew herself up in the Vannankulam area, to the east of Elephant Pass and to the south of Vettilaikerny, when troops of the 55th Division attempted to go close to her on suspicion.

# 59. LTTE FIRED POLICE AND CID TEAM IN JAFFNA - 17<sup>τH</sup> AUGUST 2005

Two policemen, one from Jaffna police and the other from the CID, were injured when the LTTE fired at the police and the CID team engaged in a search operation to arrest the suspects in the DIG Charles Wijewardena murder case. LTTE fired at the police and the CID team near the Jaffna University in a bid to foil police attempts to arrest the suspects.

# 60. LAKE ROAD CAMP OF THE SRI LANKA ARMY - 14<sup>th</sup> SEPTEMBER 2005

LTTE cadres lobbed a hand grenade into the Lake Road camp of the Sri Lanka Army killing one soldier attached to the 14th Sri Lanka National Guard and injuring another.

## 61. ATTACK ON TRINCOMALEE NAVAL HARBOUR -7<sup>th</sup> JANUARY 2006

**Fifteen Sri Lankan Navy personnel were killed** in a suspected suicide attack by the LTTE on a Navy gunboat outside the Trincomalee Naval Harbour.

# 62. ATTACK AT KANKASANTHURAI HARBOUR -1<sup>st</sup> SEPTEMBER 2006

LTTE made an unsuccessful attack at Kankesanthurai harbor. Later 20 LTTE boats, including five suicide boats laden with explosives, had attacked a Naval patrol near the Kankesanturai harbor, injuring two sailors.

#### 63. NEARLY ONE HUNDRED UNARMED SAILORS KILLED IN LTTE SUICIDE ATTACK – 16<sup>th</sup> OCTOBER 2006

After killing babies and infants at Kebethigollewa, the LTTE cowards once again set upon a convoy of unarmed Sailors coming home on leave from duty, in buses on October 16th 2006.

For cowards it was always an easy task to attack unarmed people. The LTTE never had any honour though some Western friends of the ruthless group of blood thirsty separatist terrorists namely, the Amnesty International and Redd Barna of Norway, attempted to whitewash the blood stains of the LTTE. After hypocritically witnessing and encouraging them to carry on with their blood-letting regardless of the immense anguish and deprivation of human beings, who were unarmed and were unable to hurt even a fly if they so wished.

The Sailors were unarmed and in civvies when they were returning to the South from the East, and usually at Diganapatana near Habarana they changed vehicles after taking a rest for some time, as the journey was long and tedious.

On this day as usual, the Sailors were off duty, unarmed humans as they were not on the offensive, had come to the place where they got off the bus and took a short break before they boarded their buses to reach home when an **explosive laden truck driven by a LTTE terrorist** cadre rammed into the stationary buses setting off a large stock of explosives killing over one hundred sailors.

This attack was neither the first nor the last of such ruthless attacks on unarmed people, as the LTTE relied heavily on such killings of the most helpless. Hence the attack that killed over one hundred unarmed Sailors was once again an attack by a brainwashed suicide terrorist who like a robot was merely carrying out the order of the terrorist hierarchy.

It was also on the day the Supreme Court ruled that the merger of the Northern and Eastern provinces was illegal as the two provinces were created by the British for their convenience, but recreated by the UNP leader, J.R. Jayawardena under emergency regulations.

In other words, this was a day on which the terrorists suffered a constitutional set back, as the dream of the merged Northern and Eastern provinces of the so called region of historical habitation of the Tamil speaking people fell apart from being a legal reality.

#### 64. ATTACK ON NAVAL BASE, GALLE – 18<sup>TH</sup> OCTOBER 2006

Suspected LTTE cadres carried out a suicide mission on the Dakshina Naval Base at Galle. Troops however successfully repulsed the attack killing fifteen LTTE cadres while one sailor also died in the incident. Another fifteen sailors and fourteen civilians sustained injuries in the clashes.

# 65. SRI LANKA NAVY DESTROYED LTTE SUICIDE CRAFT – 10<sup>th</sup> NOV 2006

The Sri Lanka Navy destroyed one weapon laden LTTE suicide craft and captured another that were sailing in the seas off Nilaveli coast in the guise of ordinary fishing boats. At least six Sea-Tigers aboard were killed.

## 66. ATTACK NEAR THE AKKARAIPATTU HOSPITAL -11<sup>τ</sup> DECEMBER 2006

**Five policemen and a civilian were injured** when a claymore mine targeting a police van prematurely exploded near the Akkaraipattu Hospital.

## 67. ATTACK AT AIR FORCE BASE, KATUNAYAKE – 26<sup>th</sup> MARCH 2007

A light aircraft of the LTTE failed with it's target to destroy MIG ground aircraft, during a pre-dawn air attack carried out by the LTTE on the Air Force base in Katunayake.

Three Air Force personnel were killed and sixteen others were injured when three bombs were dropped from a light aircraft over the Katunayake Air Force base.

## 68. ATTACK ON ARMY BASE CHENKALADY – 27<sup>th</sup> MARCH 2007

The LTTE carried out a suicide attack targeting the Army main base at Chenkalady in the Batticaloa District. A 12-year-old boy Navarathnam and two Security Force (SF) Personnel were killed in the explosion. Five civilians, two Army Soldiers and two Policemen were injured.

According to reports, soldiers on sentry duty at a road barrier in front of the Chenkalady Army Camp who spotted the unusual movement of a tractor around the camp premises alerted the main road barrier as the tractor laden with explosives was fast heading towards the main entrance of the camp. The tractor with two suicide bombers crashed into the barrier but the troops immediately opened fire on the tractor. Subsequently, LTTE cadres blew themselves up causing a huge explosion that covered a considerable extent of the area that housed a political office of the EPDP nearby.

## 69. ATTACK ON ARMY BASE PALALY – 24<sup>TH</sup> APRIL 2007

Six soldiers, five attached to the Engineering Regiment and one attached to the Infantry Regiment were killed, as an LTTE light aircraft dropped three bombs on the Palaly Air Base. Twenty LTTE artillery shells fell inside and ouside the Palaly high security zone. They were fired from the direction of Pooneryn.

## 70. SUICIDE TERRORIST RAMS MOTOR CYCLE INTO POLICE BUS – 24<sup>th</sup> MAY 2007

An LTTE suicide bomber on an explosives laden motor cycle rammed into a bus carrying Army personnel at First Cross Street in Colombo.

Two soldiers were killed and five others were injured in this attack.

## 71. ATTACK ON THE SPECIAL TASK FORCE – 28<sup>TH</sup> MAY 2007

The Tiger terrorists detonated a bomb targeting a truck carrying the Sri Lanka Special Task Force (STF) personnel at the Belek Kade junction, in Ratmalana. Seven civilians were killed and more than thirty nine people were injured, including seven STF personnel. Among the dead was one pregnant mother.

## 72. TWO POLICEMEN WERE INJURED IN CHUNNAKAM, JAFFNA – 27<sup>th</sup> SEPTEMBER 2007

**Two civilians were killed and 15 others including two policemen were injured** when the LTTE set off a claymore mine targeting a Security Forces convoy in Chunnakam, Jaffna. LTTE had targeted a police convoy near the public market in Chunnakam.

# 73. THREE AIRMEN AND A CIVILIAN INJURED IN VAVUNIYA - 1<sup>st</sup> OCTOBER 2007

**Three Airmen and a civilian were injured** in an LTTE claymore mine attack targeting an armoured personnel carrier in Vavuniya.

## 74. SUICIDE ATTACK ON SLAF BASE, ANURADHAPURA -22<sup>ND</sup> OCTOBER 2007

Elite Army Troops of the Special Forces (SF) confronted LTTE cadres who infiltrated and carried out a suicide attack on the SLAF Base at Anuradhapura and evicted them from the premises killing twenty militants.

Nine SF personnel, including two officers, were killed and twenty others wounded in the encounter. Subsequently the LTTE carried out an aerial attack dropping two shells damaging two MI 24 helicopters parked in the hangar. One more BELL212 helicopter that was to reinforce SLAF fighter craft resisting LTTE air movement had to crash-land at the Doramadalawa area, closer to Mihintale, due to a technical fault, killing both pilots and two gunners. This was the first time the outfit had carried out a combined air and ground attack.

# 75 THE NAVY FOILED ATTACK ON PESALAI POLICE STATION - 23<sup>RD</sup> NOVEMBER 2007

The Navy foiled an attempt by a cluster of LTTE boats to target a police station in Pesalai. Six LTTE boats deployed from Vedithaltivu mingling with fishing boats launched an attack targeting the Pesalai police station.

# 76. FOUR KILLED IN CLAYMORE ATTACK ON ARMY BUS – 2<sup>ND</sup> JANUARY 2008

A claymore mine targeting an Army bus exploded in front of the Hotel Nippon at Slave Island, Colombo 2 on Wednesday, 2nd January 2008 at around 9.30 a.m. Three civilians were killed including two school children and one soldier. Twenty four others were injured and four were in a critical state.

The Army bus was travelling from Army head quarters to the Army hospital at Narahenpita carrying thirteen soldiers. The Army bus and a part of the Hotel Nippon were badly damaged.

#### 77. SUICIDE TERRORIST RAMS MOTOR CYCLE INTO POLICE BUS – 17<sup>th</sup> MAY 2008

Ten people including seven police personnel were killed and nearly ninety five others were injured, as a suicide bomber on a motor cycle laden with explosives rammed into a bus carrying Police Officers at around 12.05 p.m. on Friday, 16th May 2008 in front of the Sambodhi Viharaya in the Colombo Fort. Among the dead were also three female Police officers.

Police authorities stated that around fifty police personnel in three buses deployed on riot duty were targeted by a suicide bomber at the junction between the Hilton Hotel and the Sambodhi Viharaya, Fort Colombo.

Police authorities had deployed the police riot squad following information on a demonstration organized by the United National Party, to prevent the demonstrators from entering the high security zone.

The Director of the Colombo National Hospital stated, that ninety five injured persons had been admitted to the hospital following the blast. Among them were thirty Police personnel with severe injuries. The hospital authorities stated that out of those admitted, fifteen were in a critical condition including three soldiers who were manning the check point. In addition to the ill fated bus which carried the Police personnel, a few other vehicles were also damaged.

#### 78. ATTACK ON VAVUNIYA POLICE BUILDING –16<sup>th</sup> JUNE 2008

A suspected LTTE suicide bomber on a motorbike blew himself up in front of a Police building in Vavuniya **killing twelve police personnel including three female Police Officers while wounding twenty three others,** the military said. The suicide bomber blew himself up in front of the SSP office complex in Vavuniya targeting the Police personnel leaving the SSP office for their duties at around 7.10 a.m.

#### 79. SUICIDE CADRE RAMS AGAINST A THREE WHEELER – 28<sup>th</sup> SEPTEMBER 2008

An LTTE suicide cadre on a bicycle struck his bike against a three-wheeler and blew himself up killing one civilian and injuring nine others in the Vavuniya town. Four police personnel, including three women, were about to leave the place in the three-wheeler after their duty when it was targeted by the suicide cadre injuring all inside the threewheeler, including the driver. Two soldiers, including a female, at the nearby roadblock on the 2nd Cross Street and two civilians were also injured in the explosion. One of the injured soldiers succumbed to his injuries.

#### 80. MANDAN, NELLIADI AREA IN JAFFNA – 21<sup>st</sup> OCTOBER 2008

In a pre-dawn attack, the Security Forces obstructed an LTTE attempt to infiltrate troops manning an outpost in Mandan, Nelliadi area in Jaffna.

## 81. ATTACK ON CIVIL DEFENCE POST, WATTALA – 28<sup>th</sup> DECEMBER 2008

Eight persons were killed when a suspected LTTE suicide bomber blew himself after entering the premises of a Civil Defence Force (CDF) post at Wattala in the Colombo District. One Army officer, six CDF personnel and one civilian died while seventeen others sustained injuries.

# 82. ATTACK ON AIR FORCE CAMP, SLAVE ISLAND - 2<sup>ND</sup> JANUARY 2009

A LTTE suicide bomber blew himself up **killing three persons**, **including two Airmen, and injuring thirty seven others** at the entrance to the Air Force Camp in Slave Island in Colombo 2 at around 5.15 p.m. An accomplice of the suicide bomber was arrested at the incident site.

## 83. INCIDENT AT ELEPHANT PASS – 2<sup>ND</sup> MARCH 2009

A LTTE woman-suicide bomber blew herself up in the Vannakulam area, to the east of Elephant Pass and to the south of Vettalaikerny, when troops of the 55th Division attempted to go closer to her on suspicion.

#### 84. INCIDENT AT PUTHUKKUDIYIRUPPU – 16<sup>th</sup> MARCH 2009

A LTTE suicide bomber, clad in Army-type uniforms as a Sergeant, blew himself up while trying to infiltrate the SFs held areas in the area west of Puthukkudiyiruppu. However, the troops escaped unhurt. The SFs later recovered the dead body of the bomber along with his T-56 weapon.

#### 85. SUICIDE BOMBER IN VAVUNIYA – 28<sup>th</sup> MARCH 2009

A LTTE suicide bomber blew himself up targeting Security Forces on a search operation in the Varikottoruwa area in the Vavuniya District.

#### 86. INCIDENT AT MULLAITIVU – 6<sup>TH</sup> APRIL 2009

A woman suicide bomber of the LTTE blew herself in the Ramanathapuram area of Mullaitivu District immediately after she spotted the presence of Army troops ahead of her, reported Sri Lanka Army. The impact of the explosion injured one of the officers on duty in the area.

# **CHAPTER 15**

#### WHY THE LTTE FAILED?

Sri Lanka's Security Forces redeemed their professional reputation with their resounding success in the fourth phase of the Eelam War, which has been going on since 2006 against the LTTE, popularly known as the Tigers. They were not able to achieve decisive results against the LTTE in their earlier phases.

The United States Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) had rated the Tigers as "among the most dangerous and deadly extremists in the world". The FBI has stated that the LTTE's "ruthless tactics have inspired the terrorist network worldwide, including Al Qaeda in Iraq. So, the Security Forces success against the LTTE should not be under estimated, particularly when similar wars against insurgents and terrorists in other countries, including Afghanistan, have been dragging on for a considerable length of time.

#### **DEADLY RESULTS**

The LTTE, over the past 25 years, has built a 15,000 strong force that innovatively adapted its suicide war tactics to both land and naval warfare with deadly results. It mastered the use of terror tactics as a force multiplier. The LTTE's ruthless leader, Velupillai Prabhakaran, built a loyal network of cadre – the Black Tigers – whose deadly suicide terror attacks changed the course of political history in Sri Lanka and to a certain extent in India too.

The LTTE demonstrated its prowess with a daring suicide attack on the Katunayake International Airport, destroying 26 military and civil aircraft, in July 2001, just four months before Al Qaeda's dramatic 9/11 attacks at New York. It sent a strong message to Sri Lanka and to the world at large that the LTTE was a formidable force not be trifled with. But the consequences of the 9/11 attack on the global attitude to terrorism was far-reaching. The U.S. marshalled forces for a global war on terror to destroy Al Qaeda and its roots in terror. The LTTE was already listed in the US as a dangerous terrorist organization. The late Anton Balasingham, a close confidante of Prabakaran and the political adviser to the LTTE apparently understood the need to modify the LTTE strangely in the face of the rising tide against terrorism. He persuaded a reluctant Prabakaran to agree to take part in a Norwegian mediated peace process, deferring the idea of an independent Eelam in favour of finding a solution to accommodate Tamil aspirations within a federal structure. That was how the 2002 peace process came into being.

The LTTE signed the Cease Fire Agreement (CFA) with the government in 2002 as part of the peace process from a position of political and military strength, having weathered four wars – three against the Security Forces and one against Indian Forces. It was at the pinnacle of its power at that time. To a certain extent, this enabled the Tigers to dictate the terms of the peace process which recognized it as the sole representative of the Tamil minority, a status denied to it earlier. Thus the peace process accorded parity of status to the LTTE at the negotiating table in its equation with the elected Government.

By then, the repeated stories of LTTE successes, propagated by its well-oiled propaganda machine that glossed over its significant failures (for example, **the retaking of control of Jaffna by the Army**), reinforced the popular belief of Prabakaran's invincibility in war. It also generated great political expectation among the Tamil population of his ability to satisfy their long-standing aspirations through the peace process, although he had dropped the demand for an independent Tamil Eelam. **All that had been proved wrong now.** 

Winston Churchill once remarked." Those who can win a war well can rarely make a good peace and those who could make a good peace would never have won the wars" This was very true in the case of Prabakan's handling of events leading up to the war. **His monolithic and egocentric leadership style did not encourage the free exchange of ideas except with his trusted childhood friends. This has been the big roadblock in his strategic decision-making process. Prabakaran failed to use fruitfully the political talent at his disposal, among the seasoned members of the Tamil National Alliance** (TNA) in handling complex political issues during the period of peace. **Their advice was neither sought nor paid heed to in taking decisions on key issues.** The LTTE's handling of the Presidential Poll of 2005 is one such instance when their plea for his support to elect Ranil Wickremesinghe, an architect of the peace process went unheeded.

#### **Dismantling the LTTE**

Wickremesinghe's rival, Mahinda Rajapaksa, had promised, in his election manifesto, to eliminate LTTE terrorism. Prabakaran not only ignored this but, on the basis of some convoluted reasoning, enforced a boy-cott of the Presidential Poll in areas under LTTE control. This action prevented a bulk of the Tamils from voting for Wickremesinghe. This enabled Rajapaksa's victory with a majority through Southern Sinhala votes. And the newly elected President went about systematically dismantling the LTTE.

Similarly, Prabakaran's handling of the international community lacked coherence. Apparently, he misunderstood the international involvement in the 2002 peace process and thought it was a vindication of the LTTE's methods. Perhaps this made him complacent when it came to observing the ceasefire in spirit. The LTTE's conduct, which was in utter disregard of international norms on human rights and humanitarian laws during the entire period of the ceasefire, came under severe criticism from international watchdog bodies and the United Nations. These related to a large number of issues, including the recruitment of child soldiers, illegal arrests and kidnapping apart from the assassinations and suicide bombings. This made the LTTE's rhetoric on human rights hollow.

#### LTTE's indifference

While the Co-chairs were sympathetic to the Tamil struggle for equity, they were wary of the LTTE's tactics and covert operations in their own countries. And the LTTE's indifference to their counsel during the peace process eroded its credibility. Things came to a boil with the assassination of Sri Lankan Foreign Minister. Lakshman Kadirgamar in August 2005. This wanton act compelled the European Union and Canada to ban the LTTE. By this act LTTE shot itself in the foot as it was banned in 32 countries. The ban also coincided with the introduction of strong international protocols in shipping and against money laundering to prevent the international operations of terrorists.

Prabakaran probably failed to appreciate the implications of these developments when he gave the Government a legitimate excuse to abandon the peace process after the LTTE made an abortive suicide attack in April 2006 on Lieutenant General Sarath Fonseka, the Army Chief. It also enabled Rajapsksa to persuade the international community to crack down on the LTTE's support network and front organizations in their midst. International cooperation was further enlarged in scope to intelligence sharing and economic aid, which indirectly underwrote Sri Lanka's mounting burden of war.

Similarly, Prabakaran never made any effort before the war to redeem the LTTE's relations with India. He failed to tap the fund of sympathy for the Tamil cause that existed in India even among large sections of the non-Tamil population. Presumably, his dubious role in Rajiv Gandhi's assassination prevented him from dispassionately examining the positive contribution India could have made in pushing the Tamil cause at the negotiating table. Apparently, he put his faith in the international community rather than in India to bail him out when the Government decided to go to war.

#### **Played havoc**

This showed a lack of understanding of the complexities of international relations. On the other hand successive Sri Lankan Presidents went out of their way to keep India in good humour and that helped the country politically and militarily in its war with the LTTE, In Eelam War III (1995-2002), the performance of the Security Forces was far from satisfactory. By then, the LTTE had developed the Sea Tiger wing- a daring guerilla navy that played havoc with the Sri Lanka Navy. The Sri Lanka Army had suffered heavy casualties in defending Mullaithivu and suffered a huge setback in Elephant Pass despite its superior strength and firepower. In that operation, the LTTE acquired its modern artillery, armour and high tech communication systems apart from capturing equipment.

At the start of the peace process, the Security Forces were a demoralized lot. The terms of the peace process further added to their misery as it prevented them from retaliating when the LTTE's pistol groups systematically eliminated the forces' intelligence operatives and killed even military commanders during the first three years of peace. In this backdrop no one was sure of the ability of Sri Lanka's Forces to sustain an offensive against the LTTE when Eelam War IV started in 2006. Even after the LTTE defeat in Mavil Aru in the Eastern Province in July 2006, the Security Forces were cautious in their optimism. However, the LTTE belied the defence analysts expectations when it floundered in the Eastern Province, offering stiff resistance only in patches. Perhaps, it was at this time that Rajapaksa and the Commanders of the Security Forces made up their minds to go the whole hog against the LTTE in the North.

#### Failure

Although Prabakaran has demonstrated strategic military capability in the past, he appears to have failed to draw two obvious strategic deductions in the developing the war scenario, which put the LTTE at a disadvantage. The first was not factoring the impact of the defection of Karuna, his able military commander from Batticaloa, on the LTTE's overall military capability. The second was in underestimating the determination of Sri Lanka's political and military leadership to turn Rajapaksa's promise to eliminate the LTTE into a reality. Prabakaran never made any effort to patch up with Karuna, who had grievances with respect to their poor representation of Easterners in the leadership although they provided the bulk of the LTTE cadre. Instead, he dispatched killers to eliminate Karuna.

The Tiger leader Karuna commanded wide support among cadre in the East, particularly around LTTE strongholds in Batticaloa. A direct consequence of his defection was the disbanding of a bulk of LTTE cadre, other than Karuna's core supporters. It also drove Karuna into the arms of the Sri Lanka Army for protection, So when the war started in the east, the LTTE's strength as well as its maneuvering space was reduced. In the course of time, recruitment from the East to augment LTTE strength petered out. Ultimately, when the Security Forces launched their offensive in the North with huge numerical superiority, the LTTE did not have the essential strength to face the onslaught. It was clear that the LTTE would not be able to halt the Security Forces by conventional warfare.

However, somehow Prabakan failed to use his insurgency tactics to overcome his limitations in conventional warfare, Instead, the LTTE adopted a passive defensive strategy with a line of bunds that reduced the natural advantage of guerilla mobility enjoyed by the cadre. The bunds imposed a limited delay as they required heavy firepower to break up the offensive. This was a luxury that the LTTE did not enjoy.

Military capability.

The second aspect was the LTTE leader's failure to read the mind of Rajapaksa. Inhis first two years in Office, the President had oriented his entire policy framework towards the goal of eliminating the LTTE. His strong support to the operations of the Security Forces, regardless of national and international compulsions, enabled the Security Chiefs to plan and execute his offensive.

Prabhakaran failed to take into account the impact of Karuna's defection from the LTTE on its overall military capability.

His strategic direction of war, operational planning and neat execution undoubtedly paved the way for success. In the words of Lieutenant General Satish Nambiar, the distinguished Indian Army officer. Sri Lanka's army Commander "displayed the qualities of a great military leader nations are blessed with from time to time". In short, under his leadership, the demoralized Armed Forces reinvented themselves to become a wellknit and highly motivated force.

As a result, when the Security Forces went to war in 2006, they were well trained and enjoyed superiority in firepower and ability. Learning from the past they built up a force in land operations in the air and at sea to ensure success against the Tigers. The army went on a recruiting spree. For instance, in the year 2008 alone 40,000 troops were added to raise infantry battalions, 13 Brigades, four task force contingents and two divisions. Accordingly the Army had 13 divisions, three Task Forces and one armoured Brigade. Evidently Prabhakaran failed to read and see the change taking place in the capabilities of the Security Forces and adapt his tactics. Instead, he stuck to a conventional warfare mode that was doomed to fail although it inflicted causalities on the advancing troops.

The Security Forces adopted a multipronged strategy to split the defending Tiger ranks and keep them guessing. It aimed at pinning down the LTTE at the forward defended localities astride the Kandy-Jaffna A-9 road in the North from Kilali-MuhamalaiNagarkovil in the South alo ng the Pulamoddai- Omanthai line. This prevented the LTTE from thinning out the troops to reinforce its defences along other axes Offensives along two broad axes were launched: along the Manner-Pooneryn/Jaffna A-32 Road on the West coast to block LTTE access to Tamil Nadu through the Mannar Sea and along the Welioya-Mullaithivu Puthukudiyiruppu line on the east coast. Operations on these axes progressively cut off the external supply of military equipment and essential goods to the LTTE by sea. In tandem with ground operations, the Sri Lanka Navy progressively curtailed the freedom of movement of Sea Tiger boats and prevented LTTE shipments from reaching the Sri Lanka coast. In well-planned raids in international waters, the Navy destroyed eight ships of the LTTE's tramp supply shipping fleet in 2006-07.

Despite faltering steps at times, the Security Forces maintained the momentum of their offensive in the North from the second half of 2007, which culminated in the dramatic capture in January 2009 of Kilinochchi, the socalled administrative capital of the LTTE. This capture contributed largely to the rapid advance of the Security Forces in areas east of A-9 axis, which never gave the withdrawing LTTE a respite or permitted it to deliver a strong counterstroke.

In the present Eelam war except for a short-lived surprise offensive in the Jaffna peninsula in the early stages of the confrontation in the North, the LTTE was never able to launch proactively a major offensive or a sizable counteroffensive against the Security Forces that would have turned the course of the war. The LTTE strategy of carting off all the civilians from captured areas to areas under its control after the fall of Kilinochchi is questionable.

This reactive defence strategy affected the mobility of cadre, pinning them down to static defences rather than allowing them to adopt a resilient mobile withdrawal strategy.

This strategy neither prevented the Security Forces from using their heavy weapons or Air Force not vindicated the LTTE's use of civilians as human shields. It only generated adverse publicity, and that the Security Forces were also blamed for the same callousness in dealing with ordinary people is no consolation as they have emerged as victors.

The performance of the LTTE in Eelam War IV glaringly displayed Prabakaran's limitations in mastering the art of conventional warfare. As he was a military leader, if he survived the current ordeal, he will put on his thinking cap to reinvent the LTTE, just as Commanders of the Sri Lankan Security Forces reinvented their Forces when they took on the monumental task of reviving them and leading them to war.

## **CHAPTER 16**

## EXPENDITURE INCURRED IN ELIMINATING TERRORISM

It is a fundamental responsibility of a democratic government elected by its people inter-alia, to ensure the safety of the life and the liberty of its people.

Hence the government of Sri Lanka had no alternative, but to incur the expenditure in paying compensation to those who lost their lives due to the terrorism perpetrated by the LTTE, whether they were civilians or members of the security forces and to those who suffered injuries or became disabled or partially disabled.

It is most surprising as to how, a government of a developing country with, primarily an agricultural economy, continued to sustain a war effort and other related expenditure for a continuous period of thirty years, whilst providing a package of welfare facilities namely, free education and free health facilities to all citizens, subsidies to the agricultural sector, whilst making a payment to people of the lower income groups to enable them to survive above the poverty level.

It is creditable for Sri Lanka to have achieved even this level of development, while the country was battling the most ruthless terrorist organization for nearly half the period since it's independence from colonial rule in 1948.

## 1. PAYING COMPENSATION TO SECURITY PERSONNEL KILLED IN ACTION AND INCURRING MEDICAL EXPENDITURE FOR THOSE INJURED

The government paid compensation to the security personnel who died in action depending on their rank, whilst bearing their funeral expenses etc.

The government also incurred heavy expenditure in treating the injured security personnel depending on the nature of injuries suffered by them whilst in action.

## 2. PAYING COMPENSATION TO CIVILIANS KILLED DUE TO TERRORIST ATTACKS AND THE COST OF TREATMENT FOR THE INJURED

It was incumbent upon the government which was responsible for providing security to its citizens to pay compensation to those who lost their lives due to the attacks launched by the terrorists.

The government also had to bear the funeral expenses of those who were killed or lost their lives due to terrorist activities.

The injured civilians had to be provided with medical facilities at a tremendous expenditure to the government until they were restored to their normal health.

## 3. REPLACEMENT COST OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT/ TRANSPORT VEHICLES USED BY THE SECURITY FORCES

The security forces used war tanks, heavy cannons and other military equipment to confront the terrorists effectively. In different stages of the war, this equipment was destroyed or damaged due to enemy action.

However, in order to sustain the war effort, these had to be repaired wherever possible or replaced. Similarly, the government had to incur enormous expenditure to maintain an effective Navy and an Air Force to supplement the efforts of the ground forces.

The equipment used by the Navy and all types of air craft used by the Air Force had to be replaced whenever necessary. All such requirements had to be obtained from overseas organizations costing the government enormous expenditure.

## 4. REPLACEMENT COST OF HEAVY EQUIPMENT / TRANSPORT VEHICLES USED BY GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS/STATE CORPORATIONS

The LTTE attacked the Divisional Branch Offices of the Government Departments in the North and the East and acquired by force the vehicles allocated to them, such as cars, jeeps, lorries and heavy equipment like tractors, bulldozers etc and used them for their terrorist activities after modifying them where necessary.

As it was difficult for them to purchase and transport heavy vehicles such as tractors and bulldozers, to the North and the East they forcibly took these vehicles from Government Departments mainly, the Department of Agriculture and the Irrigation Department, who were mostly using these vehicles for their activities.

Hence the respective Government Departments were compelled to incur the loss and provide new vehicles, as the services provided by these Departments had to be continued.

## 5. REPLACEMENT COST OF AIR CRAFT USED FOR AIR TRANSPORT

The LTTE launched an attack on the international Airport at Katunayake on 24th July 2001 and destroyed the commercial aircraft of Air Lanka / Sri Lankan Airlines, resulting in even more losses to the government, as this airline is the national carrier of Sri Lanka. Details have already been furnished in the relevant chapters of this book.

It is evident from the above that the budgetary allocations for the defence sector, for the respective years from 2005 to 2009 have been comparatively higher than what had been allocated to the other important sectors such as education and health. Providing free education and health facilities are two important welfare facilities provided to all citizens in Sri Lanka. This has enabled Sri Lanka in comparison to other countries in the South Asian region to achieve a higher rate of literacy and a higher standard of health and quality of life.

Spending enormous amounts of the limited financial resources of a developing country to the Defense Sector in comparison to the other sectors of the economy could be considered as wasteful expenditure, which could have been used for achieving a higher rate of growth for the country. Due to the war perpetrated by the LTTE for a period of three decades, the government had to curtail all other important items of expenditure to allocate more funds to service the requirements of the defence forces. This wasteful expenditure retarded the development of the country for a continuous period of 30 years. However, since 2005 despite the prevalence of the war the government endeavoured to provide the welfare facilities to all the people of the country including those in the North and the East continuously despite limited budgetary allocations for these sectors. The Government also endeavoured to maintain the infrastructure facilities to an acceptable level despite budgetary constraints. This could be considered as a creditable achievement of the government.

ANNUAL BUDGETARY ESTIMATES FOR	EFENCE, EDUCATION, HEALTH, WELFARE, COMMUNITY SERVICES	FOR THE PERIOD OF 2004 – 2010 – RS. MILLION
	DEFENCE, 1	

Year	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
DEFENCE	62,788	71,663	100,286	96,863	134,260	134,260	147,348
EDUCATION	49,288	58,350	65,503	65,503	81,827	81,827	84,876
HEALTH	27,118	40,118	45,044	45,004	66,726	60,726	60,802
WELFARE	61,456	70,682	78,688	82,279	109,878	109,876	114,091
COMMUNITY SERVICES	7,683	6,008	13,605	10,084	13,736	13,736	14,899

Source – Annual Reports of the Central Bank of Sri Lanka

**ANNEXUR I** 

## STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF THE ATTACKS CARRIED OUT BY THE LTTE ON **CIVILIANS / SECURITY / TARGETS**

# ASSASSINATION OF TAMIL POLITICIANS/ACADAMICS/INTELLECTUALS/GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

SER No.	DATE	LOCATION	NAME	MODUS OPERANDI
20	13/07/1989	Colombo	Mr. A Amirthalingam, MP. Secretary General of the TULF/ a Former Opposition Leader	By gunning down
21	13/07/1989	Colombo	Mr. V Yogeshwaran - TULF, MP for Jaffna	By gunning down
22	28/01/1990	Trincomalee	Mr. P Ganeshalingam - EPRLF, Ex-Provincial Council Member	By gunning down
23	02//05/1990	Trincomalee	Mr. Sam Thambimuttu - EPRLF MP for Battlaloa	By gunning down
24	19/06/1990	India	Mr. V K Yogasangari - EPRLF, MP for Jaffna District	By gunning down
25	19/06/1990	India	Mr. Periyathamby Kirubakaran - Finance Minister of North East Provincial Council	By gunning down
26	19/06/1990	India	Mr. Kandasamy Pathmanabha - EPRLF Leader	
27	15/07/1990	Ampara	Mr. K Kanagaratnam - MP for Pottuvil	By gunning down
28	15/07/1994	Batticaloa	Mr. Velepodi Alagiah - TELO, Pradesiya Sabha Member	By gunning down
29	03/09/1994	Batticaloa	Mr. T Jayarajan - Deputy Leader of TELO / Chairman of the Provincial Council in Batticaloa	By gunning down
30	31/12/1994	Colombo	Mr. Arumugam Chelliah @ Karavai Kandasami - Vice President of DPLF / Leader of PLOTE	By gunning down
31	28/04/1995	Colombo	Mr. K Vinodan - Former SLFP Organiser, Jaffna	By gunning down
32	11/06/1995	Ampara	Mr. Pathmanandan - Chairman of Thirukkovil Pradesiya Sabha	By gunning down
33	26/10/1995	Batticaloa	Mr. Anthony Thomas - Deputy Mayor (TELO member)	By gunning down
34	05/07/1997	Trincomalee	Mr. Arunachalam Thangathurai - TULF MP for Trincomalee	By gunning down
35	03/10/1997	Jaffna	Mr. S P Tharmalingam - President of SLFP Jaffna office	By gunning down
36	16/05/1998	Jaffna	Mrs. Sarojini Yogeshwaran - Mayor of MC, Jaffna / Wife of Mr. V Yogeshwaran TULF MP for Jaffna who was killed by the LTTE on 13/07/1989	By gunning down
37	15/07/1998	Vavuniya	Mr. Saravanabawanandan Shanmuganathan @ Vasanthan - PLOTE, MP for Vavuniya District	By claymore mine attack
38	11/09/1998	Jaffna	Mr. Ponnadural Sivapalan - TULF / Mayor of MC, Jaffna	Time Bomb Explosion
39	26/12/1998	Jaffna	Mr. Ponnadural Mathimugarajah - District Secretary of the TULF, Nallur/ The Chairman of the International M G Ramachandran Organisation	By gunning down

SER No.	DATE	LOCATION	NAME	MODUS OPERANDI
40	04/02/1999	Jaffna	Mr. Nadarajah Sivarajh - The Vice Chairmen of Valikamam East Provincial Council and an EPDP member	By gunning down
41	04/02/1999	Jaffna	Mr. Bandari Kandasami - EPDP member of Vallkamam East Provincial Council	By gunning down
42	05/05/1999	Vavuniya	Mr. Veerahathahy Gunarathnam - PLOTE Provincial Council member for Pachchilaipalli	By gunning down
43	13/05/1999	Jaffna	Mr. Kailasapathi - PLOTE, Pradestya Sabha member of Valikamam East	By gunning down
44	29/05/1999	Batticaloa	Mr. Moorthilingam Ganeshamoorthi - RAZIK Group Leader	Suicide Attack
45	31/05/1999	Jaffna	Mr. Thiyagarajah Rajkumar - EPDP/Member and Vice Chairman of Provincial Council, Nallur	By gunning down
46	16/07/1999	Vavuniya	Mr. Baskaralingam - PLOTE Leader in Vavuniya	By gunning down
47	16/07/1999	Jaffna	Mr. Piyasena Karunarathne - Chief Organizer of EPDP	By gunning down
48	29/07/1999	Colombo	Dr. Neelan Thiruchelvam - TULF MP (National list)/Constitutional Lawyer	Suicide Attack
49	02/09/1999	Vavuniya	Mr. K Manickadasan - Deputy Leader of PLOTE	
50	12/10/1999	Ampara	Mr. Thambirasa Vinayagamoorthl @ Vasikaran - EPDP Co-ordinating Officer	By gunning down
51	02/11/1999	Colombo	Mr. Nadarajah Atputharajah - EPDP, MP/Secretary of the Politbureau of the EPDP/Editor of " <i>Thinamurusu</i> " (a Tamil tabloid)	By gunning down
52	05/01/2000	Colombo	Mr. Kumar Ponnambalam - General Secretary of the All Ceylon Tamil Congress (ACTC)/ leading lawyer	By gunning down
53	13/01/2000	Jaffna	Mr. Vadivelu Wijayarathnam - UC Chairman, Point Pedro	By gunning down
54	02/03/2000	Jaffna	Mr. Anton Sivalingam - EPDP/Member of Municipal Council, Jaffna	By gunning down
55	07/06/2000	Batticaloa	Mr. Kanapathipillaí Navarathna Rajah @ Robert - TELO, member of Pradesiya Sabha, Arapathi, Batticaloa	By gunning down
56	10/09/2000	Ampara	Mr. R. J Perimanayagam - PA Candidate for Batticaloa - General Election 2000	By gunning down
57	07/11/2000	Batticaloa	Mr. Ashley Nimalanayagam Saundranayagam - TULF MP for Batticaloa	By gunning down
58	17/11/2001	Batticaloa	Mr. Sinnathamby Rajkumar - UNP Candidate for Batticaloa district - General election 2001	By gunning down

	DATE	LOCATION		OPERANDI
8/04	18/04/2003	Ampara	Mr. Mariyamuttu Rajalingam @ Jegadeesan the Chairman of the Alayadivembu Pradeshiya Sabha (Member of EPDP).	By gunning down
3/05	03/05/2003	Jaffina	Mr. Dharmarajah Jeyarasa - EPDP, Former Chairman of the Nelliady Pradeshiya Sabha	By gunning down
1/06	01/06/2003	Batticaloa	Mr. Kalirajah Ramanan - Former member of the Batticaloa Minicipal Council and Former TELO member	By gunning down
4/06	14/06/2003	Jaffna	Mr. Subaddiran @ Robert - Deputy Leader of PLOTE	By gunning down
6/0	16/06/2003	Batticaloa	Ponniah Ramachanran @ Prathab - Candidate Contesting the Local Govt. Election for the Batticaloa Urban Council	By gunning down
0/1	01/03/2004	Batticaloa	Mr. Sinnathambi Sundarampillai - UNP candidate for the Batticaloa District at the General Election 2004	By gunning down
0/0	30/03/2004	Batticaloa	Mr. Rajan Sathyamoorthy - TNA Candidate for Batticaloa District	By gunning down
1/0	21/07/2004	Batticaloa	Mr. Ravindran Velaudan @ Kamalan - the Chairman of the Alayadivembo Pradeshiya Sabha (Member of EPDP)	By gunning down
6/0	16/08/2004	Colombo	Mr. Balraj Nadarajah Aiyar @ Ileiyavan - EPDP Tamil media spokesman / an EPDP candidate for the Jaffna District at the General Election 2004 and a senior journalist	By gunning down
0/0	10/09/2004	Trincomalee	Mr. Athmalingam Ramani @ Pandiyan - the Deputy Orgniser of the EPDP for Trincomalee	By gunning down
1/0	11/09/2004	Jaffna	Mr. Mayan Chandra Mohan @ Aruldas - An EPDP member, (Ex-member of Kayts Atchuveli Pradeshiya Sabha).	By gunning down
8/0	18/09/2004	Puttalam	Mr. Thambithurai Sivakumar @ Bawan - the EPDP leader of Thilladi, Jafina. (An EPDP candidate for the Jaffna District Parliamentary Election 2004)	By gunning down
2/0	27/09/2004	Jaffna	Mr. Vallisundaram - a former member of the Valikamam North Pradeshiya I Sabha (from 1998-2002) and a member of the EPRLF (Vardaraja Perumal group)	By gunning down
1/6	19/10/2004	Batticaloa	Mr. Kingsly Rajanayagam - a former TNA MP for Batticaloa	By gunning down
8/0	28/04/2005	Batticaloa	Mr. Murugesu Wardaraja, EPRLF - A member of Porathivu Pradeshiya Sabha (former EPRLF deputy leader in Batticaloa)	By gunning down
5/0	25/05/2005	Trincomalee	Mr. Perlyapudi Sooriyamoorthi - Former Mayor of Trincomalee (A TELO member)	By gunning down on 18/05/2005

SER No.	DATE	LOCATION	NAME	MODUS OPERANDI
75	12/08/2005	Colombo	Hon. Lakshman Kadiragamar - Minister of Foreign Affairs	By gunning down
76	28/11/2007	Colombo	Mr. Stephen Peiris - MP Dougals Devananda's Secretary Coordinator	Suicide Attack
11	01/01/2008	Colombo	Mr. T Maheswaran - A former Minister of UNF government	By gunning down
78	06/04/2008	Gampaha	Mr. Jeyaraj Fernandopulle - Minister of Highways & Road Development and Chief Government Whip	Suicide Attack
62	13/05/2008	Jaffna	Miss Maheshvari Velautham - MP Dougals Devananda's Adviser	By gunning down
80	02/06/2008	Batticaloa	Mr. Pushpanadan Aiyathure - Vice Chairman of Kaluthavali Pradeshiya Sabha	By gunning down
81	06/10/2008	Anuradhapura	Dr. Raja Johnpulle - Organizer of Anuradhapura District	Suicide Attack
82	11/10/2008	Vavuniya	Mr. T M Tavachelvam - UNP Organizer, Vavuniya	By gunning down
			GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS	
83	25/05/1984	Jaffna	Mr. Vaththiyampillai Francis - Gramasevaka of Madagal	By gunning down
84	18/09/1984	Batticaloa	Mr. Samythambi Gopalapillai - Special Service Officer of Thambiluvil	By gunning down
85	08/12/1984	Jaffna	Mr. U Ramaiah - Supervisor of Cement Corporation - Kankesanthurai	By gunning down
86	24/02/1985	Kilinochchi	Mr. S Gnanachandiram, GA, Mullattivu	By gunning down
87	03/10/1985	Batticaloa	Mr. Vadivel Perimbam - Gramasevaka	By gunning down
88	23/08/1986	Trincomalee	Mr. S Vishvalingam - Gramasevaka	By gunning down
68	09/04/1987	Batticaloa	Mr. Kanapathipillai Sundaralingam - Gramasevaka	By gunning down
90	15/09/1987	Ampara	Mr. P Vignarajah - AGA, Samanthurai	By gunning down
16	28/09/1987	Trincomalee	Mr. Arumugampillai - Secretary UC, Trincomalee	By gunning down
92	08/10/1987	Batticaloa	Mr. S S Jeganathan - AGA, Batticaloa	By gunning down
93	06/11/1987	Trincomalee	Mr. V S Paramaguru - Dept. Engineer	By gunning down
94	26/11/1987	Trincomalee	Mr. P Sinnadurai - AGA, Mr. Haniffa - Gramasevaka	By gunning down
95	17/12/1987	Trincomalee	Mr. P Sundaranayagam - Gramasevaka, Kokkadichoalai	By gunning down
96	17/12/1987	Batticaloa	Mr. P Undaranayagam - Gramasevaka of Kokkadicholai	By gunning down
26	11/05/1988	Batticaloa	Mr. Nadarajah Kugadasan - Co-operative Manager	By gunning down
98	07/04/1989	Jaffna	Mr. Ramanathan - AGA, Jaffna	By gunning down
66	01/05/1989	Jaffna	Mr. V M Panchalingam - GA for Jaffna	By gunning down

MODUS OPERANDI	By gunning down	By gunning down	By gunning down	By gunning down	By gunning down	By gunning down	By gunning down	By gunning down	By gunning down	By gunning down	By gunning down	By gunning down	By gunning down	By gunning down	By gunning down	of By gunning down u	By gunning down	By gunning down	By gunning down	Hand Grenade attack	By gunning down	Pistol Group	By gunning down	er By gunning down	By gunning down
NAME	Mr. Panchalingam - Assistant Manager of Marketing Depot - Kilinochchi	Mr. Mahalingam - Asst. Manager of Marketing Depot - Kilinochchi	Mr. Arasaratnam Ganeshapillai - Supervisor of the Irrigation Department	Mr. K Pulendran - AGA, Jaffna	Mr. P Ravindran - Station Master	Mr. Krishnamooth - Gramasevaka	Mr. Shammughanathan - Gramasevaka	Mr. Sivendraraja - Gramasevaka	Mr. P L Anthonees - Doctor	Mr. K Sundaralingam - Clerk of the MPCS Union, Pandirippu	Mr. Kandasamy Sadanandan Jothi - Gramasevaka of Nilaveli Division	Mr. S Wijeratnam - Gramasevaka, Kokkadicholai	Mr. K Podiweerartnam Gramasevaka - Pandariyawela	Mr. S M Chandrapala - Post Master of Bakitiyawa	Mr. Kunjitahmbi Sivaraza - Gramasevaka Karadyanaru	Mr. Thyagaraja Kailanadan - Director of Vocational Training Ministry of Agricultural Marketing Development Co-operative Development and Hindu Affairs	Mr. Sivarathnam Arunambalam - Development Registrar of Samurdhi	Mr. T Thawarasa - Divisional Secretary	Mr. Marimuttu Paskaran - Gramasevaka Kalmunai - 3	Mr. A Jeevaratnam - Gramasevaka - Kinniady	Mr. Peraira Weerasingham - Gramasevaka - Kankankulam	Mr. A L M Falleel - Divisional Secretary - Kattankudy	Mr. Artyarathnam Linkgeshwaram (Education Office - Valachchenai)	Mr. Rathnam Rathnarajah - Provincial Official Director, Irrigation Engineer - Batticaloa	Mr. Sinnamam Tharmarajah - Manager of URELU Co-operative Society
LOCATION	Kilinochchi	Jaffna	Batticaloa	Jaffna	Kilinochchi	Jaffna	Jaffna	Batticaloa	Ampara	Batticaloa	Trincomalee	Batticaloa	Batticaloa	Ampara	Batticaloa	Batticaloa	Ampara	Ampara	Ampara	Batticaloa	Vavuniya	Batticaloa	Batticaloa	Batticaloa	Jaffna
DATE	02/05/1989	10/05/1989	102 03/08/1989	103 28/06/1989	104 06/09/1989	105 09/09/1989	106 09/09/1989	107 12/10/1989	108 21/11/1989	109 30/11/1989	110 28/01/1990	111 20/11/1991	112 23/11/1991	113 09/09/1993	114 09/07/2004	115 04/04/2005	10/04/2005	117 15/04/2005	118 20/06/2005	119 21/09/2005	120 19/10/2005	121 02/12/2005	122 24/04/2006	123 26/05/2006	124 21/06/2006
SER No.	100	101	102	103	104	105	106	107	108	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116	117	118	119	120	121	122	123	124

SER No.	DATE	LOCATION	NAME	MODUS OPERANDI
125	04/08/2006	Jaffna	Mr. Ponnatural Ganesha Moorthi - Bank Manager of People's Bank - Kankesanthurai	By gunning down
126	126 12/08/2006	Colombo	Mr. Kethesh Loganathan - Deputy General of Secretariat Coordinating for Peace Process	By gunning down
127	127 16/10/2006	Jaffna	Mr. Marakandu Mahendran - Gramasevaka - J/95 Artalat	
128	128 30/10/2006	Jaffna	Mr. Qubat Anand Rajah - Gramasevaka - J/70 GS Division	By gunning down
129	129 05/01/2007	Vavuniya	Mr. V Ganeshalingam - Agricultural officer	Claymore mine
130	130 05/01/2007	Vavuniya	Mr. V Mahendran - Agricultural officer	Claymore mine
131	131 12/01/2007	Jaffna	Mr. Vellayan Premachandran - Gramasevaka - J/383 GS Division	By gunning down
132	132 22/01/2007	Vavuniya	Mr. Daramakulasingham - CTB Depot Manager - Vavuniya	By gunning down
133	133 20/09/2007	Batticaloa	Mr. Muthukumaran Paramasodi - Gramasevaka - Palaththadichenai	By gunning down
134	134 07/01/2008	Batticaloa	Mr. Parasuraman Nanthakumar - President of Batticaloa District Volunteer Teacher's Union	
135	135 20/04/2008	Batticaloa	Mr. Kanagarathnam Anadi - Gramasevaka - Kalmunat	By gunning down
136	136 16/11/2008	Batticaloa	Dr. Palitha Padmakumara - Thavakkadu Hospital	By gunning down
			INTELLECTUALS	
137	137 01/07/1979	Jaffna	IP Mr. Gurusamay - A witness of the SANSONI Commission	By gunning down
138	138 05/05/1984	Mullaitivu	Sinnathammby Appukutty Ambalavanar, JP	By gunning down
139	22/08/1985	Mullaitivu	Mr. D K Thambipillai - President of Citizen Committee	By gunning down
140	140 14/12/1987	Batticaloa	Mr. Kanapathipillai Sundaralingam - Member of Gramodaya Mandalaya	By gunning down
141	17/12/1987	Batticaloa	Mr. K Sugathadasan - Ex-President of Ambalanthural Citizens Committee	By gunning down
142	142 27/10/1988	Jaffna	Mr. Raja Shankar - President of the Citizens Committee	By gunning down
143	143 18/02/1989	Jaffna	Mr. Mylvaganam editor of the Daily "Elamurusu"	By gunning down
144	144 14/07/1989	Batticaloa	Mr. Krishnapillai - Ayuvedic Physician	By gunning down
145	145 10/05/1989	Jaffna	Mr. Mahalingam - Reporter of the Island Newspaper	By gunning down
146	146 27/05/1990	Batticaloa	Mrs. Thambimuttu - Social worker/Wife of Mr. Sam Thambimuttu, EPRLF MP for Batticaloa	By gunning down
147	147 24/05/2004	Batticaloa	Mr. Kumaravellu Thambaiya - Lecturer of Eastern University	By gunning down

14807/04/2006TrincomaleeMr. V Wignashwaram - Leader of North and East Tamil Organization in TrincomaleeBy gu Pistol14926/06/1985JaffnaMr. C E Anandarajah - Principal of St. Johns CollegePistol15005/08/1986BatticaloaMr. C E Anandarajah - Principal of St. Johns CollegeBy gu15103/11/1987BatticaloaMr. K Ellyathambi Kandasamy - Principal of Puttur CollegeBy gu15314/12/1987BatticaloaMr. K Ellyathambi Kandasamy - Principal of Palugamam Maha VidyalayaBy gu15314/12/1987BatticaloaMr. K Ellyathambi Kandasamy - Principal of Palugamam Maha VidyalayaBy gu15414/12/1987BatticaloaMr. K E Kandasamy - Principal of Palugamam Maha VidyalayaBy gu15314/12/1987BatticaloaMr. K E Kandasamy - Principal of Palugamam Maha VidyalayaBy gu15414/12/1987BatticaloaMr. K E Kandasamy - Principal of Palugamam Maha VidyalayaBy gu15513/05/1988BatticaloaMr. K E Kandasamy - Principal of Palugamam Maha VidyalayaBy gu15601/11/1995JaffnaMr. Kandasamy - Principal of Manipay Hindu VidyalayaBy gu15601/11/1995JaffnaMr. Kanabatin Kanagaranam - A Teacher of OIR School JaffnaBy gu15811/10/2005JaffnaMr. Kanabatin Rajadorai - Principal of I/Christian College · KopayBy gu15911/10/2005JaffnaMr. Kanabatin Rajadorai - Principal of I/Christian College · KopayBy gu15011/10/2006Batticaloa	SER No.	DATE	LOCATION	NAME	MODUS OPERANDI	
ACADEMIC PERSONNEL         Mr. C E Anandarajah - Principal of St. Johns College         Mr. Sivalingam - Principal, Sittandy Ramakrishnan Mission School         Mr. E Dharmalingam - Principal of Puttur College         Mr. K Eliyathambi Kandasamy - Principal of Palugamam Maha Vidyalaya         Mr. K Eliyathambi Kandasamy - Principal of Palugamam Maha Vidyalaya         Mr. K E Kandasamy - Principal of Palugamam Maha Vidyalaya         Mr. K E Kandasamy - Principal of Palugamam Maha Vidyalaya         Mr. K E Kandasamy - Principal of Palugamam Maha Vidyalaya         Mr. K E Kandasamy - Principal of Palugamam Maha Vidyalaya         Mr. Masalamani Kanagaranam - Principal of Arampathi Maha Vidyalaya         Mr. Parameshvaram - A Teacher of OLR School Jaffna         Mr. Parameshvaram - A Teacher of OLR School Jaffna         Mr. Nadaraja Shivagadasan - Principal of J/Christian College · Kopay         Mr. Kanabathi Rajadorai - Principal of Central College · Jaffna         Mr. Shivaghana Selwam - Teacher of Saraswathi College · Kinnlady	80	07/04/2006	Trincomalee	Mr. V Wignashwaram - Leader of North and East Tamil Organization in Trincomalee	By gunning down	
Mr. C E Anandarajah - Principal of St. Johns College         Mr. Sivalingam - Principal, Sittandy Ramakrishnan Mission School         Mr. E Dharmalingam - Principal of Puttur College         Mr. K Ellyathambi Kandasamy - Principal of Palugamam Maha Vidyalaya         Mr. K Elamppodi Gunaratnam - Teacher of Palugamam Maha Vidyalaya         Mr. K Exandasamy - Principal of Palugamam Maha Vidyalaya         Mr. K E Kandasamy - Principal of Palugamam Maha Vidyalaya         Mr. K E Kandasamy - Principal of Palugamam Maha Vidyalaya         Mr. K E Kandasamy - Principal of Palugamam Maha Vidyalaya         Mr. K E Kandasamy - Principal of Nanipay Hindu Vidyalaya         Mr. Parameshvaram - A Teacher of OLR School Jaffna         Mr. Parameshvaram - A Teacher of OLR School Jaffna         Mr. Nadaraja Shivagadasan - Principal of J/Christian College · Kopay         Mr. Kanabathi Rajadorai - Principal of Central College · Jaffna         Mr. Kanabathi Rajadorai - Principal of Central College · Kinady         Mr. Shivaghana Selwam - Teacher of Saraswathi College · Kinady				ACADEMIC PERSONNEL		-
Mr. Stvalingam - Principal, Sittandy Ramakrishnan Mission School         Mr. E Dharmalingam - Principal of Puttur College         Mr. K Eilyathambi Kandasamy - Principal of Palugamam Maha Vidyalaya         Mr. Velamppodi Gunaratnam - Teacher of Palugamam Maha Vidyalaya         Mr. K E Kandasamy - Principal of Palugamam Maha Vidyalaya         Mr. K E Xandasamy - Principal of Palugamam Maha Vidyalaya         Mr. K E Kandasamy - Principal of Palugamam Maha Vidyalaya         Mr. K E Kandasamy - Principal of Palugamam Maha Vidyalaya         Mr. Rasalamani Kanagaranam - Principal of Arampathi Maha Vidyalaya         Mr. Parameshvaram - A Teacher of OLR School Jaffna         Mr. Parameshvaram - A Teacher of OLR School Jaffna         Mr. Nadaraja Shivagadasan - Principal of J/Christian College · Kopay         Mr. Kanabathi Rajadorai - Principal of Central College · Jaffna         Mr. Shivaghana Selwam - Teacher of Saraswathi College · Kinnlady	49	26/06/1985	Jaffna	Mr. C E Anandarajah - Principal of St. Johns College	Pistol Group	_
Mr. E Dharmalingam - Principal of Puttur College         Mr. K Eliyathambi Kandasamy - Principal of Palugamam Maha Vidyalaya         Mr. Velamppodi Gunaratmam - Teacher of Palugamam Maha Vidyalaya         Mr. K E Kandasamy - Principal of Palugamam Maha Vidyalaya         Mr. K E Sandasamy - Principal of Palugamam Maha Vidyalaya         Mr. K E Sandasamy - Principal of Palugamam Maha Vidyalaya         Mr. Kandasamy - Principal of Manipay Hindu Vidyalaya         Mr. Pasupathipillai - Principal of Manipay Hindu Vidyalaya         Mr. Parameshvaram - A Teacher of OLR School Jaffna         Mr. Nadaraja Shivagadasan - Principal of J/Christian College · Kopay         Mr. Kanabathi Rajadorai - Principal of Central College · Jaffna         Mr. Shivaghana Selwam - Teacher of Saraswathi College · Kinnlady	50	05/08/1986		Mr. Swalingam - Principal, Sittandy Ramakrishnan Mission School	By gunning down	
Mr. K Eliyathambi Kandasamy - Principal of Palugamam Maha Vidyalaya         Mr. Velamppodi Gunaratnam - Teacher of Palugamam Maha Vidyalaya         Mr. K E Kandasamy - Principal of Palugamam Maha Vidyalaya         Mr. K E Kandasamy - Principal of Palugamam Maha Vidyalaya         Mr. Masalamani Kanagaranam - Principal of Arampathi Maha Vidyalaya         Mr. Masalamani Kanagaranam - Principal of Arampathi Maha Vidyalaya         Mr. Parameshvaram - A Teacher of OLR School Jaffna         Mr. Parameshvaram - A Teacher of OLR School Jaffna         Mr. Nadaraja Shivagadasan - Principal of J/Christian College - Kopay         Mr. Kanabathi Rajadorai - Principal of Central College - Jaffna         Miss Shivaghana Selwam - Teacher of Saraswathi College - Kinnlady	51	03/11/1987	Batticaloa	Mr. E Dharmalingam - Principal of Puttur College	By gunning down	
Mt. Velamppodi Gunaratnam - Teacher of Palugamam Maha Vidyalaya         Mt. K E Kandasamy - Principal of Palugamam Maha Vidyalaya         Mr. Masalamani Kanagaranam - Principal of Arampathi Maha Vidyalaya         Mr. Pasupathipillai - Principal of Manipay Hindu Vidyalaya         Mr. Parameshvaram - A Teacher of OLR School Jaffna         Mr. Nadaraja Shivagadasan - Principal of J/Christian College · Kopay         Mr. Kanabathi Rajadorai - Principal of Central College · Jaffna         Mr. Kanabathi Rajadorai - Principal of Central College · Kinnlady	52	14/12/1987	Batticaloa	Mr. K Eliyathambi Kandasamy - Principal of Palugamam Maha Vidyalaya	By gunning down	
Mr. K E Kandasamy - Principal of Palugamam Maha Vidyalaya         Mr. Masalamani Kanagaranam - Principal of Arampathi Maha Vidyalaya         Mr. Pasupathipillai - Principal of Manipay Hindu Vidyalaya         Mr. Pasupathipillai - Principal of Manipay Hindu Vidyalaya         Mr. Parameshvaram - A Teacher of OLR School Jaffna         Mr. Nadaraja Shivagadasan - Principal of J/Christian College - Kopay         Mr. Kanabathi Rajadorai - Principal of Central College - Jaffna         Miss Shivaghana Selwam - Teacher of Saraswathi College - Kinnlady	23	14/12/1987	Batticaloa	Mr. Velamppodi Gunaratnam - Teacher of Palugamam Maha Vidyalaya	By gunning down	
Idoa     Mr. Masalamani Kanagaranam - Principal of Arampathi Maha Vidyalaya       Mrs. Pasupathipillai - Principal of Manipay Hindu Vidyalaya       Mr. Parameshvaram - A Teacher of OLR School Jaffna       Mr. Parameshvaram - A Teacher of OLR School Jaffna       Mr. Nadaraja Shivagadasan - Principal of J/Christian College · Kopay       Mr. Kanabathi Rajadorai - Principal of Central College · Jaffna       Mo. Kanabathi Rajadorai - Principal of Central College · Jaffna       Mo. Miss Shivaghana Selwam - Teacher of Saraswathi College · Kinnlady	54	14/12/1987	Batticaloa	Mr. K E Kandasamy - Principal of Palugamam Maha Vidyalaya	By gunning down	
Mrs. Pasupathipillai - Principal of Manipay Hindu Vidyalaya         Mr. Parameshvaram - A Teacher of OLR School Jaffna         Mr. Nadaraja Shivagadasan - Principal of J/Christian College · Kopay         Mr. Kanabathi Rajadorai - Principal of Central College · Jaffna         Mr. Kanabathi Rajadorai - Principal of Central College · Jaffna         Mrs Shivaghana Selwam - Teacher of Saraswathi College · Kinnlady	53	13/05/1988	Batticaloa	Mr. Masalamani Kanagaranam - Principal of Arampathi Maha Vidyalaya	By gunning down	
Mr. Parameshvaram - A Teacher of OLR School Jaffna           Mr. Nadaraja Shivagadasan - Principal of J/Christian College · Kopay           Mr. Kanabathi Rajadorai - Principal of Central College · Jaffna           Mo. Miss Shivaghana Selwam - Teacher of Saraswathi College · Kinnlady	56	01/11/1995	Jaffna	Mrs. Pasupathipillai - Principal of Manipay Hindu Vidyalaya	By gunning down	
Mr. Nadaraja Shivagadasan - Principal of J/Christian College · Kopay           Mr. Kanabathi Rajadorai - Principal of Central College · Jaffna           Mo. Miss Shivaghana Selwam - Teacher of Saraswathi College · Kinnlady	57	03/10/2005	Jaffna	Mr. Parameshvaram - A Teacher of OLR School Jaffna	By gunning down	
Mr. Kanabathi Rajadorai - Principal of Central College - Jaffna Joa Miss Shivaghana Selwam - Teacher of Saraswathi College · Kinnlady	58	11/10/2005	Jaffna	Mr. Nadaraja Shivagadasan - Principal of J/Christian College - Kopay	By gunning down	
Miss Shivaghana Selwam - Teacher of Saraswathi College · Kinnlady	59	11/10/2005	Jaffna	Mr. Kanabathi Rajadorai - Principal of Central College - Jaffna	By gunning down	
	99	11/10/2006	Batticaloa	Miss Shivaghana Selwam - Teacher of Saraswathi College · Kinnlady	By gunning down	

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## SOME OF THE ATTACKS CARRIED OUT BY LITTE ON CIVILIAN TARGETS

SER No.	DATE	LOCATION	KILLED	WOUNDED	MISSING	DESCRIPTION
I	14/05/1985	Sri Maha Bodiya - Anuradhapura	120	85	0	LTTE massacred Buddhist devotees at the Sri Maha Bodhiya
2	14/05/1985	Wilpattu Jungle - Puttalam	18	0	0	Armed terrorists shot dead 18 Sinhalese
3	02/08/1985	Thirukonamadu - Polonnaruwa	6	0	0	Armed terrorists attacked Ruhunu Somawathiya Temple
4	03/05/1986	Katunayake - Gampaha	16	0	0	Bomb exploded in Tristar aircraft at the Bandaranaike International Airport, killing foreigners and local travellers
2	07/05/1986	Colombo	14	0	0	Bomb exploded in Central Telecomminucation Office complex
9	30/05/1986	Colombo	11	0	0	Bomb explosion at the Elephant House Supermarket killing civilians
7	30/05/1986	Pahala Thoppur - Tricomalee	S	0	0	Land mine explosion on a moving Bus carrying Security Force personnel and civilians
8	31/05/1986	Veyangoda Railway Station - Gampaha	10	0	0	A bomb explosion in Yaldevi train
6	11/06/1986	Trincomalee	22	75	0	Killing of a large group of people in a bomb explosion in a bus at Inner Harbour Road - Trincomalee
10	25/06/1986	Sittaru Kantalai - Trincomalee	16	0	0	Killing of a large group of people in a Bomb explosion in the area
н	13/07/1986	Pavakkulam - Trincomalee	п	0	0	04 armed terrorists had come in a jeep to Pavakkulam and attacked the civilians
12	17/07/1986	Block 4 Sugar Corp. - Trincomalee	10	0	0	Terrorists had exploded a bomb
13	22/07/1986	Mamaduwa - Vavuniya	32	2	0	Terrorists exploded a Land Mine on a civilian bus
14	24/07/1986	Issenbessagala - Anuradhapura	17	40	0	Killing a large group of people in a Bomb explosion

SER No.	DATE	LOCATION	KILLED	WOUNDED	MISSING	DESCRIPTION
15	18/02/1987	Nelumgama - Badulla	2	0	0	A time bomb explosion
16	17/04/1987	Habarana - Tricomalee	96	44	0	LTTE massacred 96 civilians and 31 SF personnel who were travelling in a passenger bus
17	21/04/1987	Central Bus Stand, Pettah - Colombo	106	295	0	The LTTE exploded a car bomb at the Pettah Bus Stand
18	02/06/1987	Arantalawa - Ampara	35	14	0	Massacre of 31 Buddhist Priests and 04 civilians
19	11/06/1987	Veppankulam - Trincomalee	13	0	0	Killing a large group of people in a presure mine explosion
20	12/06/1987	Godapotha - Polonnaruwa	8	9	0	Terrorists surrounded a temple and attacked
21	29/07/1987	Thoppur - Trincomalee	9	0	0	Terrorist attack on civilians
N	06/10/1987	<b>Batticaloa Town</b>	18	9	0	Armed terrorists fired at civilians
23	06/10/1987	Valachchenai - Batticaloa	40	0	0	LTTE set fire to the Batticaloa mail train
24	07/10/1987	Lahugala - Pottuvil - Ampara	30	0	0	The LTTE killed 30 Civilians travelling in a passenger bus from Moneragala to Pottuvil
25	16/10/1987	Pulmoddai - Anuradhapura	8	0	0	A bus proceeding from Pulmoddai was stopped by terrorists and attacked
26	19/10/1987	Kalkudah - Batticaloa	40	24	0	LTTE exploded a landmine
27	2861/11/60	Maradana - Colombo	23	106	0	Vehicle bomb explosion opposite Zahira College
28	22/12/1987	Morawewa - Trincomalee	6	0	0	Terrorists abducted 06 fishermen and later killed them.
29	11/03/1988	Horowpothana - Polonnaruwa	19	9	0	A group of armed terrorists had attacked a private bus at Suhadagama with small arms and grenades
30	27/03/1988	Wewalketiya - Anuradhapura	9	14 '	0	A bomb which was hidden in a gunny bag inside a CTB bus , plying from Medawachchiya to Horowpathana exploded

MISSING DESCRIPTION	0 Terrorists attack on a civil bus	0 Terrorists exploded a Land Mine on a civilian bus	A passenger bus leaving Jaffna was ambushed by LTTE	0 A time bomb explosion in Bandula Hotel causing damage to the Building	A bomb was exploded by the LTTE	0 Armed terrorists had killed civilians by cutting their throats	0 Terrorists ambushed a civil bus	0 A Car bomb explosion	0 An IED explosion	0 Civilians were hacked to death by terrorists	0 Terrorists fired at a Mosque	0 Terrorists abducted and killed 14 Muslims	0 Terrorists massacred Muslim devotees at a Mosque	0 Terrorists killed civilians working in a paddy field	0 Terrorists killed civilians working in a paddy field	0 A Private coach proceeding from Morawewa to Horowpathana was attacked by Terrorists
WOUNDED	S	35	10	15	19	0	8	43	4	0	m	0	20	0	0	2
KILLED	4	26	2	5	6	11	28	21	8	8	5	14	147	17	34	26
LOCATION	Awarathalawa - Vavuniya	Sittaru/Kantalai - Trincomalee	Irattaperiyakulam - Vavuniya	Trincomalee town	Trincomalee town	Marawila - Polomaruwa	Peniketiyawa - Trincomalee	Centre Road - Trincomalee	Nochchikulam - Vavuniya	Meeyankulam - Polonnaruwa	Samanturai - Ampara	Akkaraipattu - Ampara	Kathankudy - Batticaloa	Mullayankadu - Ampara	Ampara area	Meegaswewa - Trincomalee
DATE	30/04/1988	01/02/1988	09/07/1988	21/07/1988	16/08/1988	25/08/1988	14/11/1988	13/04/1989	17/08/1989	25/07/1990	29/07/1990	30/07/1990	03/08/1990	02/08/1990	06/08/1990	08/08/1990
No.	31	32	33	<b>34</b>	35	36	37	38	<b>3</b> 0	40	4	42	43	44	45	46

No.	DATE	LOCATION	KILLED	WOUNDED	MISSING	DESCRIPTION
47	12/08/1990	Weerachcholaí - Ampara	4	10	0	Terrorists attacked Muslim civilians working in a paddy field
48	13/08/1990	Muttur - Trincomalee	9	0	0	06 Muslim fishermen were killed and burried at Gengai villiage by terrorists
49	13/08/1990	Pulmoddai - Welioya	14	0	0	Terrorists ambushed a lorry travelling from Negombo to Kokkuvil
20	0661/60/60	Uhana - Ampara	2	2	0	Terrorists attacked farmers who were travelling on a tractor
51	13/09/1990	South of Poonani - Anuradhapura	7	0	0	Security Forces recovered 07 mutilated bodies of Muslim villagers. The deceased had been hacked to death.
52	24/09/1990	Gajabapura - Welioya	4	0	0	Terrorists set fire to 05 houses
53	30/09/1990	Maha Oya - Ampara	6	0	0	Terrorists hijacked civilians and killed them
<b>¥</b>	11/10/1990	Arugam Bay - Ampara	6	0	0	Terrorists shot and hacked to death 09 Muslims who were collecting fire woods near Kirankove Jungle
55	02/03/1991	Havelock Road - Colombo	19	20	0	A suicide vehicle bomb explosion
56	24/03/1991	Fish Market - Akkaraipattu - Ampara	6	32	0	Bomb explosion at Fish Market
22	03/04/1991	Keviliya - Trincomal <del>ce</del>	10	п	16	Terrorists attack on fishing vallams
58	12/06/1991	Kokkadicholai - Batticaloa	10	0	0	Bomb explosion on Mannunal Ferry
20	08/08/1991	Samanturai - Batticaloa	6	0	0	08 Muslim farmers who were on their way home from their paddy fields had been killed by a group of terrorists
60	26/01/1992	Between Aratalawa and Borapola - Ampara	10	26	0	Killing a large gp of people who were travelling in a private bus playing between Maha Oya and Ampara through a land mine explosion
61	10/04/1992	Ampara	28	36	0	A bomb exploded in a private bus which was parked at the Ampara bus stand

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DESCRIPTION	At the Maharagama town a bomb exploded in a car close to the National Youth Council building	Killing a large group of people in a car bomb explosion	Terrorists stopped a private bus plying from Akkaraipattu to Pottuvil and opened fire	Terrorists attacked a civil bus proceeding from Kathankudy towards Kalmunai	Terrorists stopped the Colombo-Batticaloa train and ordered the passengers to get down and opened fire at the Muslim passengers	Killing a group of people in a explosion by a bomb planted in a private bus at the bus stand	LTTE launched a bomb attack	Blasted a ferry at Kiliveddy Point	A Maruti Jeep (17 - 5747) carrying the Additional AG (Batticaloa), AGA (Valachchenai) and 04 others was caught in a land mine explosion	A suicide bomb explosion killing HE R Premadasa, the President of Sri Lanka	Bomb blast in a bus at Rambawewa	Approx. 10 boats that had gone fishing close to Kudiramalai point were attacked by terrorists	A suicide bomb explosion	A suicide cadre pushing a cart fixed with a bomb exploded it at the gate of the Ministerial office of the Western Province Chief Minister
MISSING	0	0	0	0	0	0	22	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
WOUNDED	23	23	3	7	4	34	0	2	0	23	0	æ	72	6 <del>4</del>
KILLED	6	8	14	19	×	6	0	9	9	13	10	17	54	23
LOCATION	Maharagama - Colombo	Maradana - Colombo	209 mile post - Pottuvil - Ampara	Kirankulam - Batticaloa	Batticaloa	Trincomalee	Saindamadu - Ampara	Trincomalee	Vakaneri South • Batticaloa	Armour Street Junction - Colombo	Rambawewa - Anuradhapahura	Kudiramalai - Puttalam	Thotalanga Junction - Colombo	Independence Square - Colombo
DATE	10/04/1992	10/04/1992	02/06/1992	15/07/1992	21/07/1992	30/07/1992	01/09/1992	10/09/1992	26/12/1992	01/05/1993	19/01/1994	16/03/1994	24/10/1994	07/08/1995
SER No.	62	63	64	65	99	67	68	69	20	71	72	73	74	75

No.	DATE	LOCATION	KILLED	WOUNDED	MISSING	DESCRIPTION
76	25/10/1995	Panama - Ampara	æ	0	•	Terrorists kidnapped 02 villagers from Panama village and killed them. Later they kidnapped another 06 and killed them.
12	11/11/1995	Slave Island - Colombo	Π	25	•	A suicide bomber who had been in the vicinity of AHQ detonated himself in close proximity to the Slave Island Railway Station
78	05/12/1995	Puthukudirippu - Batticaloa	12	0	0	A vehicle bomb exploded in front of the Puthukudirippu camp
29	31/01/1996	Colombo	80	1200	0	A large group of people were killed in a bomb explosion in front of the Cental Bank
80	18/06/1996	Meegasgodella - Trincomalee	9	2	0	A vehicle belonging to Survey Department was fired on by a group of terrorists while it was returning from Kantalai to Kallar
81	04/07/1996	Jaffna Town	12	50	0	Suicide bomber exploded
82	24/07/1996	Dehiwala - Colombo	57	356	0	Bomb explosion on the Alutgama train at Dehiwala station
83	12/09/1996	Arantalawa - Ampara	11	31	0	Terrorists attacked the SLTB bus plying from Ampara to Kandy
84	15/10/1997	Colombo Fort	11	105	0	Terrorists activated lorry bomb at Galadari Hotel and at the World Trade Centre
85	25/01/1998	Kandy	6	15	0	A large group of people were killed when a LTTE suicide bomber exploded 02 bombs in the vicinity of Dalada Maligawa in Kandy
86	05/03/1998	Maradana - Colombo	36	270	0	Vehicle bomb explosion near Maradana Police Station
87	8661/20/60	Eravur - Batticaloa	2	26	0	Claymore mine explosion in the centre of Eravur town
88	8661/60/11	Nallur - Jaffna	5	12	0	Bomb explosion that took place in the Municipal Commissioner's Office close to Nallur Kovil
68	29/09/1998	Jaffna	54	• 0	0	LTTE attack on a passenger aircraft belonging to Lion Air Flight killing 54 civilians including the crew members
8	20/11/1999	Madhu Church complex - Mannar	38	99	0	Terrórists fired small arms and mortars on the Madhu Church complex

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No.	DATE	LOCATION	CETTED	WOUNDED	DNISSIM	DESCRIPTION
16	18/12/1999	Town Hall - Colombo	16	106	0	A suicide cadre exploded herself at a Presidential Election Campaign Meeting
92	18/12/1999	Ja-Ela - Gampaha	12	45	0	A LTTE suicide bomber attacked a UNP election meeting
93	05/01/2000	Flower Road - Colombo	6	16	0	A female suicide bomber exploded herself when police officers attmpted to check her in front of the Prime Minister's Office
6	27/01/2000	Vavuniya	13	58	0	A Parcel bomb planted in the Vavuniya post office exploded
95	10/03/2000	Rajagiriya - Borella - Colombo	15	94	0	The LTTE killed a large group of people when their mission of assassinating cabinet ministers and top defence officials returning from the Parliament failed
96	07/04/2000	Aralaganvila - Polonnaruwa	4	0	0	Terrorist fired at famers
26	12/04/2000	Fort Fedrick - Trincomalee	10	09	0	Terrorists threw a Hand Grenade at a Musical Show
86	17/05/2000	Batticaloa	17	78		A bomb exploded opposite the "Vesak Pandal" at Mangalaram Temple, Batticaloa
66	07/06/2000	Ratmalana - Colombo	24	09	0	A large group of people were killed in a LTTE suicide mission
100	15/09/2000	Maradana - Colombo	5	25	0	A suicide cadre exploded himself at Deans Road near the Eye Hospital while being checked by a Police Constable
101	02/10/2000	Mutur - Trincomalee	27	46	0	A suicide bomber riding a bicycle strapped with explosives drove into a three wheeler carrying Mr. Mohamad Latiff Baithullah, a PA candidate, killing a large group of people
102	05/10/2000	Medawachchiya • Anuradhapura	п	40	0	A LTTE suicide bomber exploded herself at a General Election meeting held by the Peoples Alliance in Medawachchiya Town, killing a large group of innocent people
103	28/11/2000	Kebitigollawa - Anuradhapura	16	36	0	Passenger bus which was proceeding on the Medawachchiya - Kebitigollewa Road, got caught to a pressure mine killing a large group of innocent people

MISSING	0 A group of gunman suspected to be LTTE attacked a group of civilian	0 A Civilian lobbed two hand grenade at the Main Mosque in Akkaralpattu	0 A bomb exploded near Public Market - Trincomalee	0 LTTE cadres fired at the farmers who were in a paddy field	0 A group of 07 civilians who entered the Wilpattu National Park were killed when the vehicle in which they were travelling got caught to a cluster of landmines	0 LTTE had massacred 12 persons who were engaged in a tank construction project	0 LTTE had exploded 02 claymore mines targeting a passenger bus transporting approximately 160 passengers from villages of Viharahalmillewa, Halmillawetiya, Yakawewa and Talgaswewa to Kebitgollewa, In the explosion 01 soldier, 15 Home Guards and 48 civilians were killed and 01 soldier and 86 civilians were injured	0 10 Muslim civilians were killed by the LTTE group whilst they were engaged in construction works at Radaella Tank in Panama - Potuvil area	0 A Time bomb exploded in a private bus plying between Nittambuwa to Giriulla	0 An explosion occurred inside a Matara bound private bus plying from Colombo at Seenigama, near the Kahawa Junction, Ambalangoda	0 An LTTE armed gang forcibly took 08 Civilians, workers out of a construction site (Village Hope a housing scheme for Orphanage Children and took them 200m away and shot them)
WOUNDED	3	35	45	0	0	2	87	-	54	30	M
KILLED	9	4	15	s	2	12	55	10	ŝ	п	ø
LOCATION	Kolakanawadiya - Polonnaruwa	Akkaraipattu - Batticaloa	Trincomalee Town	Kallampaththuwa - Trincomalee	Nochchiyagama - Puttalam	Omadiyamadu - Polonnaruwa	Kebitigollewa - Anuradhapura	Panama - Ampara	Nittambuwa - Gampaha	Seenigama - Galle	Mailambaveli, Eravur - Batticaloa
DATE	05/03/2005	18/11/2005	12/04/2006	23/04/2006	27/05/2006	29/05/2006	15/06/2006	18/09/2006	05/01/2007	06/01/2007	01/04/2007
No.	104	105	106	107	108	109	110	111	112	113	114

SER No.	DATE	LOCATION	KILLED	WOUNDED	DNISSIM	DESCRIPTION
115	25/04/2007	Kondavattavan - Ampara	14	25	0	Passenger bus plying from Ampara to Badulla <i>via</i> Bibila was blown up by a bomb hidden inside the bus by LTTE terrorists
116	05/04/2007	Nidanwala - Polonnaruwa	4	0	0	04 male farmers were killed by a group of LTTE terrorists consisting of 10 - 15 terrorists with fire arms while the farmers were harvesting
117	07/04/2007	Piramanalankulam - Vavuniya	9	17	0	A passenger transport bus carrying civilian commuters from Mannar to Vavuniya (A-30 road) was attacked by LTTE with a claymore mine in the general area Piramanalankulam
118	13/04/2007	Aiyankerni - Batticaloa	'n	2	0	LTTE attacked, using small arms, a group of TMVP members. Due to the fire 02 TMVP members and 03 civilians received injuries
119	01/05/2007	Thihihilaweddi - Batticaloa	8	0	0	LTTE shot dead 03 farmers including a woman at Thihilaweddi in an uncleared area while the farmers were in their farm
120	26/11/2007	Wilachchiya - Anuradhapura	4	0	0	04 civilians were killed by LTTE
121	26/11/2007	Nugegoda - Colombo	15	36	0	An explosion took place at Nugegoda junction in front of shopping complex
122	05/12/2007	Abimanapura - Anuradhapura	14	21	0	LTTE terrorists exploded a claymore mine targeting a bus which was transporting civilans from Anuradhapura to Janakapura
123	16/01/2008	Okkampitiya - Monaragala	27	65	0	Blasting of a claymore mine followed by shooting LTTE terrorists targeted a passenger bus which was plying from Okkampitiya to Buttala in the general area of Weliara
124	31/01/2008	Thirunelvely - Jaffna	4	14	0	An LTTE suicide bomber who had come in a pedal cycle exploded himself on the Jaffna - Nallur road
125	02/02/2008	Dambulla - Matale	18		0	Passenger bus plying from Kandy to Anuradhapura was blown up by a concealed time bomb inside the bus at Dambulla bus stand
126	03/02/2008	Colombo	15	85	0	An LTTE female suicted bomber blew herself on platform No.3 inside the Colombo Fort Railway Station

No.	DATE	LOCATION	KILLED	WOUNDED	MISSING	DESCRIPTION
127	04/02/2008	Nikawewa - Welioya	8	12	0	Blasting of a claymore mine by LTTE terrorists targeting a passenger bus which was plying from Parakramapura to Janakapura in Nikawewa.
128	06/04/2008	Weliweriya - Gampaha	10	72	0	LTTE Suicide attack at Weliweriya which killed Mr. Jeyaraj Fernandopulle, Minister of Highways & Road Devlopment and the Chief Govt. Whip.
129	25/04/2008	Piliyandala - Colombo	27	67	0	A bomb explosion using a remote control device took place inside a crowded passenger bus plying between Piliyandala and Kahapola.
130	08/05/2008	Ampara	12	36	0	An explosion took place close to the Clock Tower of Ampara.
131	26/05/2008	Dehiwala - Colombo	6	80	0	Blasting of a bomb inside the Panadura bound crowded office train at Dehiwala Railway Station.
132	06/06/2008	Katubedda - Colombo	23	28	0	Blasting of a claymore mine targeting a private passenger bus proceeding towards Mount Lavinia from Kottawa between Shilabimbarama Temple and the University of Moratuwa.
133	11/07/2008	Galge - Yala - Hambantota	4	21	0	LTTE fired on a passenger bus travelling from Buttala to Kataragama.
134	06/10/2008	Anuradhapura	27	84	0	An LTTE male suicide bomber exploded himself killing Major General K J C Perera RWP RSP VSV USP rcds Psc (Retd), leader of the opposition North Central Provincial Council, and 26 other persons and injuring 84 persons during a function held to declare open the new UNP office in Anuradhapura.
135	09/02/2009	Puliyampokkanat - Kilinochchi	6	41	0	An LTTE female suicide bomber exploded herself while troops were conducting body searches of IDPS.
136	10/02/2009	Puthukkudiyiruppu - Mullaittivu	19	75	0	Terrorists fired at IDPs coming to SF controlled area.
137	10/02/2009	Akuressa - Matara	13	42 .	•	An LTTE suicide bomber attacked the Jumma Mosque at Godapitiya in Akuressa.

**ANNEXUR III** 

## THE LIST OF LITTE ATTACKS ON VULNERABLE VILLAGES

SER No.	DATE	LOCATION	DISTRICT	KILLED	WOUNDED	DNISSING	TACTICS / MODUS OPERENDI
-	29/11/1984	Dollar Farm, Welioya Vavuniya	Vavuniya	33	0	0	Sinhala fishing village was attacked using automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
5	30/11/1984	Kent Farm, Welioya	Vavuniya	29	0	0	Sinhala fishing village was attacked using automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
m	04/06/1985	Dehiwatta	Trincomalee	15	0	0	Sinhala village was attacked using grenades, automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
4	14/08/1985	Arantalawa	Ampara	7	0	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
ŝ	18/08/1985	Namalwatta	Trincomalee	7	0	0	Sinhala village was attacked using grenades, automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
9	07/11/1985	Namalwatta	Trincomalee	10	0	0	Sinhala village was attacked using grenades, automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs <i>etc.</i>
2	19/02/1986	Kantalai	Trincomalee	61	0	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
æ	01/12/1984	Kokilai	Welioya	п	0	0	Sinhala fishing village was attacked using automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
6	05/05/1986	Kinniya	Trincomalee	4	0	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
01	25/05/1986	Mahadivulwewa	Trincomalee	. 20	0	0	LTTE attacked Sinhala village using automatic weapon and subsequently set fire to 20 houses.
11	02/06/1986	Trincomalee, 3rd mile post	Trincomalee	10	0	•	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.

TACTICS / MODUS OPERENDI	Sinhala village was attacked using grenades, automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs <i>etc</i> .	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.	Sinhala village was attacked using grenades, automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs <i>etc.</i>	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.	Sinhala village was attacked using grenades, automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs <i>etc</i> .	Sinhala village was attacked using grenades, automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.	Sinhala village was attacked using grenades, automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs <i>etc</i> .	Sinhala village was attacked using grenades, automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.	Sinhala village was attacked using grenades, automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs <i>etc</i> .	Sinhala village was attacked using grenades, automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.	Sinhala village was attacked using orenades automatic weapons, swords,
	Sinhala grenade: knives, c	LITTE	Sinhala grenades knives, c	LITTE	Sinha grena knive	Sinha grena knive	Sinha grena knive	Sinhala grenade knives, c	LTTE weap	Sinha grena knive	Stinha grena knive	Sinha
MISSING	0	0	0	0	0	•	0	0	0	0	•	•
WOUNDED	0	0	0	0	s	0	0	0	0	0	0	S
KILLED	17	6	15	16	17	10	12	æ	27	25	15	~
DISTRICT	Trincomalee	Trincomalee	Trincomalee	Trincomalee	Polonnaruwa	Trincomalee	Trincomalee	Ampara	Ampara	Anuradhapura	Trincomalee	Polonnaruwa
LOCATION	Andankulam	Wilgamwehera	Monkey bridge	Mollipothna	Wadigawewa	Kantalai	Wadigawewa	Manthottam	Aranthalawa	Serunewa	Jayanthipura	Kadawathmadu
DATE	04/06/1986	21/06/1986	08/07/1986	9861/20/60	19/07/1986	12/09/19 6	17/09/1986	04/02/1987	07/02/1987	25/03/1987	20/04/1987	29/05/1987
No.	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	61	20	21	22	23

SER No.	DATE	LOCATION	DISTRICT	KILLED	KILLED WOUNDED	DNISSIM	TACTICS / MODUS OPERENDI
24	21/06/1987	Godapotha - Beruwila	Polonnaruwa	æ	I	0	Sinhala village was attacked using grenades, automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs efc.
25	06/10/1982	Talawai	Batticaloa	25	0	0	Sinhala village was attacked using grenades, automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
26	06/10/1987	Sagarapura	Trincomalee	27	9	0	LTTE attacked Sinhala village using automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
27	10/10/1987	Gantalawa / Kantalai	Trincomalee	6	3	0	Sinhala village was attacked using grenades, automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
28	15/10/1987	Ella Kantalai	Trincomalee	14	0	0	Sinhala village was attacked using grenades, automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
29	15/12/1987	Devalegodella	Polonnaruwa	2	0	•	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
30	31/12/1987	Batticaloa	Batticaloa	30	0	0	LTTE attacked Kathankudi Muslim village using automatic weapon.
31	01/01/1988	Kuruniyankulama	Trincomalee	m	2	0	Sinhala village was attacked using grenades, automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
32	02/02/1988	Bogamuyaya	Ampara	11	0	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
33	02/03/1988	Morawewa	Trincomalee	15	3	6	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
34	05/03/1988	Sittaru, Kantalai	Trincomalee	24	0	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
35	14/03/1988	Galmitiyawa	Trincomalee	12	2	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs $etc$ .
36	15/03/1988	Kivulkade	Trincomalee	2.	0	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
37	17/03/1988	Deegawapi	Ampara	13	6	0	Sinhala village was attacked using grenades, automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.

SER No.	DATE	LOCATION	DISTRICT	KILLED	WOUNDED	DNISSIM	TACTICS / MODUS OPERENDI
38	22/03/1988	Pudukulam	Vavuniya	4	в	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
39	22/03/1988	Medawachchikulam	Vavuniya	6	в	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
40	31/03/1988	Saindamaradu/ Kalmune	Ampara	17	0	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
41	08/04/1988	Megaswewa, Horowpathana	Anuradhapura	14	0	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
42	28/07/1988	Ethawetunuwewa	Welioya	16	1	0	Sinhala village was attacked using grenades, automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
43	10/08/1988	Central Camp	Ampara	11	0	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
4	10/09/1988	10/09/1988 16th Colony	Ampara	7	2	0	Sinhala village was attacked using grenades, automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs efc.
45	10/10/1988	Mahakongaskada- Medawachchiya	Vavuniya	44	4	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
46	12/12/1988	Sumedagama	Trincomalee	7	4	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
47	17/01/1989	17/01/1989 Maharambekulam	Vavuniya	6	2	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
<b>4</b> 8	02/02/1989	Bogamuyaya	Ampara	11	0	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
49	11/02/1989	Dutuwewa	Welioya	37	5	0	Sinhala village was attacked using grenades, automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
20	11/02/1989	Singhapura	Welioya	9.	2	0	Sinhala village was attacked using grenades, automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
15	27/02/1989	Borawewa	Polonnaruwa	38	ĸ	0	Sinhala village was attacked using grenades, automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.

SER No.	DATE	LOCATION	DISTRICT	KILLED	WOUNDED	MISSING	TACTICS / MODUS OPERENDI
52	30/05/1990	Mihidupura	Trincomalee	5	0	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
23	24/07/1990	Aralaganwila	Ampara	80	o	o	Sinhala village was attacked using grenades, automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
54	25/07/1990	Wan Ela	Trincomalee	6	0	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
22	26/07/1990	Tammannawa	Anuradhapura	19	æ	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
26	31/07/1990 K	Kantalai	Trincomalee	11	0	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
27	05/08/1990	Bandaraduwa	Ampara	30	4	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
58	N 0661/80/80	Navagamuwa	Vavuniya	2	4	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
29	11/08/1990	Eravur	Batticaloa	173	20	0	LTTE attacked a Muslim village using automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
60	13/08/1990	Avarantalava	Vavuniya	10	B	0	LTTE attacked Muslum and Sinhala villages using automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
61	19/09/1990	Vellamundel	Puttalam	23	2	0	Sinhala fishing village was attacked using automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
62	21/09/1990	Pudukudiruppu	Ampara	15	п	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
63	0661/01/10	01/10/1990 Peruwaltalawa	Ampara	6	ß	0	Sinhala village was attacked using grenades, automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
64	02/10/1990	Wahalkade	Anuradhapura	4.	0	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
65	23/10/1990	Thantirimalai	Anuradhapura	10	0	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.

SER No.	DATE	LOCATION	DISTRICT	KILLED	WOUNDED	MISSING	TACTICS / MODUS OPERENDI
66	25/10/1990	Paranamedawach- chiya	Welioya	4	2	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
67	27/10/1990	Thantirimalaí	Anuradhapura	S	0	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
68	29/10/1990	Olikulam	Batticaloa	3	0	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
69	0661/11/10	Helambaw wa	Welioya	10	1	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
70	03/11/1990	Bandarakubukwewa	Anuradhapura	4	2	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
12	23/01/1991	Bogamuyaya	Ampara	29	5	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
72	02/03/1991	Kaludaveli	Batticaloa	4	0	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
73	02/03/1991	Erakkandy area	Trincomalee	3	0	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
74	14/04/1991	22nd Colony, Athymale	Ampara	17	0	•	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
75	20/04/1991	Niyandella, Okkampitiya	Ampara	22	0	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
76	24/06/1991	Periyapullumalai	Ampara	10	0	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
22	06/07/1991	Puddur	Polonnaruwa	16	'n	o	A group of 50 LTTE attacked a Muslim village using automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
78	06/07/1991	Karapola & Manampitiya	Polonnaruwa	Ð	0	1	Sinhala village was attacked using grenades, automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
62	1661/60/61	Palliyagodella - Medirigiriya	Polonnaruwa	J3	9	•	LTTE attacked a Muslim village using automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.

No.	DATE	LOCATION	DISTRICT	KILLED	WOUNDED	DNISSIM	TACTICS / MODUS OPERENDI
80	29/04/1992	Karapola, Muthugla & Alinchipothana	Polonnaruwa	130	12	0	LTTE attacked a Muslim village using automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
81	16/05/1992	Kosgolla village	Ampara	s	0	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
82	09/08/1992	Mailanthenna	Polonnaruwa	25	10	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
83	01/10/1992	Konwewa	Welioya	15	6	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
84	15/10/1992	Palliyagodella & Ahamedpura	Polonnaruwa	146	83	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
85	25/05/1995	Kallarawa	Trincomalee	42	15	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
86	21/10/1995	Mangalagama	Batticaloa	16	0	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
87	21/10/1995	Monarathanna	Polonnaruwa	36	12	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
88	21/10/1995	North of Padaviya (Galtalawa)	Welioya	19	0	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
68	23/10/1995	Atthimalat/ Kotiyagala	Monaragala	19	I	0	LITE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
06	26/10/1995	Tammanna Halmillewa	Anuradhapura	26	27	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
91	26/10/1995	Alapathwewa	Welioya	26	0	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
92	02/11/1095	Siyabalanduwa	Moneragala	5	0	0	LITE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
93	22/02/1996	Mahanikawewa, Kebetigollawa	Anuradhapura	9.	3	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
8	11/06/1996	Eluwankulama	Puttalam	14	•	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.

No.	DATE	LOCATION	DISTRICT	KILLED	WOUNDED	DNISSIM	TACTICS / MODUS OPERENDI
95	10/02/1997	10/02/1997 Oddaimavadi	Batticaloa	S	£	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
96	12/05/1997 Morawewa	Morawewa	Trincomalee	S	0	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
97	02/07/1997 Erakkandy	Erakkandy	Trincomalee	34	0	o	LTTE attacked a Muslim village using automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
86	05/07/1999	05/07/1999 Rathmalgahawella	Ampara	4	0	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
66	18/09/1999	Galapitagala, Badirekka, Borapola	Ampara	50	S	0	LTTE attacked village using grenades, automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
100	07/12/2000 Welikanda	Welikanda	Polonnaruwa	5	0	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
101	101 17/10/2001 Ruwanpitiya	Ruwanpitiya	Polonnaruwa	2	3	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
102	_	12/04/2007 Awarantulawa	Vavuniya	7	0	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
103	16/01/2008	Buttala (Niyanda- gala/Waralanda)	Moneragala	6	ß	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
104		17/01/2008 Tissamaharama	Moneragala	8	5	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
105	11/09/2008 Kotiyagala	Kotiyagala	Moneragala	2	0	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
106	21/02/2009	21/02/2009 Nelliadi Karamatiya Ampara village	Ampara	14	8	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
107	12/04/2009	107 12/04/2009 Mahagodayaya village	Mannar	6	0	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
108		13/04/2009 Makul ara village	Moneragala	ë	1	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.
109	25/04/2009 Okanda	Okanda	Ampara	5	0	0	LTTE attacked village using the automatic weapons, swords, knives, clubs etc.

**ANNEXUR IV** 

## ATTACK ON ECONOMIC TARGETS

No.	DATE	LOCATION	DESCRIPTION	TARGET	TACTICS/ MODUS
	01/02/1983	Kondavil - Jaffna	Kondavil - Jaffna Setting fire to the Yaldevi Train at Passenger Train Kondavil	Passenger Train	Set Fire
	21/01/1984	Colombo	Bomb explosion at Hotel Oberoi	Oberoi Hotel	Time Bomb Explosion
	19/01/1985	Murugandi - Mullaitivu	Land mine explosion on Yaldevi Passenger Train Train	Passenger Train	Land Mine Explosion
	03/05/1986	Katunayake	Bomb planted on a Tristar Air Craft Tristar Plane at the Bandarnaike International Airport exploded	Tristar Plane	Time Bomb Explosion
	02/05/1986	Colombo	Bomb explosion in the Central Telecommunication Complex	Central Central Telecommunication Complex	Telecommunication Bomb was exploded before it was placed
	30/02/1986	Colombo	Bomb explosion within the Elephant Elephant House Commercial Time Bomb Explosion House Commercial Building	Elephant House Commercial Building	Time Bomb Explosion
	21/04/1987	Colombo	Car bomb explosion in the Central Central Bus Station Bus Station, Colombo	Central Bus Station	Car bomb
	06/10/1987	Valachchenai - Batticaloa	LTTE set fire to the Batticaloa train Passenger Train killing 40 civilians	Passenger Train	Set Fire
	09/10/1994	Vettalakerni - Jaffna	LTTE attack on MV "Ocean Trader" MV Ocean Trader vessel	MV Ocean Trader	Sea Tiger Attack
	09/08/1995	Pulmoddai - Trincomalee	MV "Princess Wave" ship was damaged due to an explosion carried out by the LTTE	ship was MV Princess Wave Ship ston carried	Explosion
10	20/10/1995	Kolonnawa and Orugodawatta - Colombo	LTTE launched an attack on the Oil Oil Tanks Refinery at Kolonnawa and the Oil Installation at Orugodawatte	Oil Tanks	Infiltrated Sucide attackers launched RPG attack
	9661/10/18	Colombo	LTTE activated a vehicle bomb in Central Bank and adjoining Suicide vehicle Bomb front of the Central Bank causing building extensive damage to the building, roads vehicles and the surrounding area	Central Bank and adjoining building	Sulcide vehicle Bomb attack

SER No.	DATE	LOCATION	DESCRIPTION	TARGET	TACTICS/ MODUS
12	24/07/1996	Dehiwala - Colombo	Bomb explosion on the Alutgama Train at the Dehiwala Railway station	Alutgama Railway	Time Bomb Explosion
13	2691/60/60	Pulmoddai - Trincomalee	A foreign ship "MV Cordiality" at anchorare off Pulmoddal was attacked by the LITE. It is believed 90 persons were on board including 05 Army personnel, 31 Crew members and 54 minor workers.	MV Cordiality	Sea Tiger Attack
14	15/10/1997	Colombo	LTTE exploded a Vehicle (Lorry) Hotel Galadari/Twin Towers bomb at the Galadari Hotel car park close to the World Trade Centre (Twin Towers). Killed 13 and wounded 113 included civilians and SF personnel.	Hotel Galadari/Twin Towers	Suicide attacker launched attack while vehicle Bomb exploded
15	04/12/1997	Colombo Harbour	A group of suicide Sea Tigers launched Colombo Harbour a sea borne attack on Colombo Port	Colombo Harbour	Suicide Sea Tiger attack
16	26/06/2000	Point Pedro - Jaffna	The ship MV Huan carrying private MV Huan Cargo Vessel cargo was attacked by LTTE suicide boats. The vessel sank due to damage	MV Huan Cargo Vessel	Suicide Attack
17	24/07/2001	Katunayake - Gampaha	The LTTE suide cadres attacked the Bandaranaike International SLAF base and the Bandaranaike Airport and SLAF Base International Airport at Katunayake	Bandaranaike International Airport and SLAF Base	A group of Suicide attackers launched an infiltration attack
18	29/04/2007	Kolonnawa - Colombo	An LTTE Light Aircraft dropped 02 bombs targeting the Kolonnawa Oil Tanks and Storage Complex area	Kolonnawa Oil Tank	Air Attack
19	29/04/2007	Muturajawela - Gampaha	An LTTE Light Aircraft dropped Muturajawela Oil Tank 02bombstargetingtheMuthurajawela Gas Storage Complex area	Muturajawela Oil Tank	Air Attack
20	26/05/2008	Dehiwela - Colombo	nside office t	the Panadura Train rain	Time Bomb Explosion

No. DATE	LOCATION	DESCRIPTION	TARGET	TACTICS/ MODUS
0/2008	Kankesanturai - Jaffna	Sea Tiger suicide bombers on three Merchant Ships MERCS LTTE suicide craft attempted to " <i>Nimalawa</i> " and MERCS blow up the merchant ships MERCS " <i>Ruhuna</i> " <i>Nimalawa</i> " and MERCS " <i>Ruhuna</i> " <i>carrying essential relief items for</i> carrying essential relief items for civilian in the North. Two LTTE Suicide craft were completed destroyed and another was captured by the SLN.	Merchant Ships MERCS " <i>Nimalawa</i> " and MERCS " <i>Ruhuna</i> "	Suicide Attack
22 28/10/2008	Grandpass - Colombo	An LTTE light Air craft dropped Kelanitissa Power House 02 bombs on the premises of the Kelanitissa Power House and escaped	Kelanitissa Power House	Air Attack

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## ATTACKS ON VVIPS/ VIPS

	DATE	LOCATION	<b>OBJECT/PERSON ATTACKED</b>	TYPE OF ATTACK
	27/07/1975	Ponnalai Kadduwan (near Krishna Kovil)- Jaffna	Mr. Alfred Duraiappa - MP and Mayor of Jaffina	By gunning down
	19/01/1983	Vavuniya	Mr. K T Pullendran - Ex-MP/UNP organiser for Vavuniya	By gunning down
1000	2861/60/10	Point Pedro - Jaffna	Mr. K Thurairathinam - TULF MP for Point Pedro	By gunning down
_	03/09/1985	Uduppiddi - Jaffna	Mr. K Rajalingam - TULF, MP for Uduppiddi	By gunning down
the second se	03/09/1985	Manipai - Jaffna	Mr. V Dharmalingam - TULF MP for Manipal Father of Mr. D Siddharthan (PLOTE Leader)	By gunning down
-	03/09/1985	Thinnaveli - Jaffna	Mr. K Alalasundaram - TULF, MP for Kopay	By gunning down
-	13/11/1987	Mutur - Trincomalee	Mr. Abdul Majeed - MP for Mutur	By gunning down
-	13/07/1989	Wijerama Mawatha - Colombo	Mr. A Amirthalingam - MP, Secretary General of the TULF/ a former Opposition Leader	By gunning down
-	13/07/1989	Wijerama Mawatha - Colombo	Mr. V Yogeshwaran - TULF, MP for Jaffna	By gunning down
	0661/20/20	Trincomalee	Mr. Sam Thambimuttu - EPRLF MP for Batticaloa	By gunning down
_	19/06/1990	Madras - India	Mr. V K Yogasangari - EPRLF, MP for Jaffna District	By gunning down
-	15/07/1990	Pottuvil - Ampara	Mr. K Kanagaratnam - MP for Pottuvil	By gunning down
	18/12/1990	Morawewa - Trincomalee	Major General C L Wijeathne	Land mine
	02/03/1991	Havelock Road - Colombo	Deputy Defence Minister Mr. Ranjan Wijeratne	Vechicle bomb
the state of the s	21/05/1991	India	Sri Rajiv Gandhi - former PM of India	Human bomb
	16/11/1992	Galle Face - Colombo	Navy Commander, Vice Admiral, W W E C Fernando	Sucide Attack
Concerning of the local division of the loca	23/04/1993	Kirulapone - Colombo	Kirulapone - Colombo Mr. Lalith Athulathmudli - DUNF Leader and Former Minister of National Security	By gunning down
	01/05/1993	Armour St. Junction - Colombo	His Excellency R. Premadasa - President of Sri Lanka.	Human bomb

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SER No.	DATE	LOCATION	<b>OBJECT/PERSON ATTACKED</b>	TYPE OF ATTACK
19	24/10/1994	Thotalaga - Colombo	Mr. Gamini Dissanayake Leader of the opposition & UNP candidate for the presidential elections - 1994	Human bomb
20	24/10/1994	Thotalanga - Colombo	Mr. G M Premachandra - MP/DUNF Leader	Suicide attack
21	24/10/1994	Thotalanga - Colombo	Thotalanga - Colombo Mr. Weerasinghe Mallimarachi - MP/Former Minister of Food and Co-operatives	Suicide attack
22	24/10/1994	Thotalanga - Colombo	Mr. Ossie Abeygunasekera - MP Colombo Dist./ SLMP Leader	Suicide attack
23	05/07/1996	Jaffna	Major General A S S K Hamangoda	Human bomb
24	2661/20/20	Trincomalee	Mr. Arunachalam Thangathurai - TULF MP for Trincomalee	By gunning down
25	20/07/1997	06th mile post, Nilaveli - Trincomalee	Mr. M E H Maharoof - UNP MP for Trincomalee	By gunning down
26	14/05/1998	Point Pedro - Jaffna	Major General L A R Wijeratne	Human bomb
27	15/07/1998	Vavuniya	Mr. Saravanabawanandan Shanmuganathan @ Vasanthan - PLOTE, MP for Vavuniya District	By claymore mine attack
28	59/07/1999	Borella - Colombo	Dr. Neelan Thiruchelvam - TULF MP (National list)/ Constitutional Lawyer	Suicide Attack
29	02/11/1999	Wellawatta - Colombo	Mr. Nadarajah Atputharajah - EPDP, MP/Secretary of the Politbureau of the EPDP/Editor of "Thinamurusu" (a Tamil tabloid paper)	By gunning down
30	18/12/1999	Ja-Ela - Gampaha	Retired Major General C L Algama	Human bomb
31	18/12/1999	Town Hall - Colombo	Abortive attempt on the life of Her Excellency the President Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga. A female suicide bomber exploded herself, when President was arriving at the election rally held at the Town Hall grounds, Colombo.	Human bomb
32	07/06/2000	Ratmalana - Colombo	Minister of Industrial Development Mr. C V Goonarathne	Human bomb
33	16/09/2000	Aranayake - Kegalle	Mr. M H M Ashraff - MP & Minister of Ports Development, Reconstruction & Rehabilitation and Founder Leader of Sri Lanka Muslims Congress (SLMC)	Heli Crash
34	02/11/2000	Korakallimadu - Batticaloa	Mr. Ashley Nimalanayagam Saundranayagam - TULF MP for Batticaloa	By gunning down

TYPE OF ATTACK	Human bomb	By gunning down	In an ambush on 07/02/2005 (clash between inter Tamil rebel groups)	By gunning down	By gunning down	Suicide Attack	Suicide Attack	By gunning down	By gunning down	Suicide Attack	Human bomb	By gunning down
OBJECT/PERSON ATTACKED	A Female LTTE suicide bomber who was arrested by the MSD Human bomb at the entrance of the office of Minister and the EPDP Leader Mr. Douglas Devananda, blew herself up	Mr. Kingsly Rajanayagam, a former TNA MP for Batticaloa	Mr. Ariyanayagam Chandranheru, Former TNA MP for Polonnaruwa District	Mr. Lakshman Kadiragamar - Minister of Foreign Affairs	Mr. J Pararajasingham - MP, Tamil National Alliance (TNA)	The attempt on the life of the Comd of the Army Lt. Gen. G S C Fonseka RWP, RSP, rcds, psc. Army Comd was seriously injured when a female LTTE suicide bomber who had entered into the WHQ premises disguised as a pregnant woman blew herself targeting the carrying the Army Commander in front of the exit of the Military Hospital.	An LTTE suicide cadre riding an explosive laden motorcycle rammed into the car carrying Chief of Staff Maj. Gen. P S B Kulatunga RSP USP USAWC, killing him	Mr. Sinnathambi Sivamaharasa - Former TNA MP for Jaffna District	Mr. Nadarajah Raviraj - TNA MP	Abortive attempt on the life of Secretary Defence, Mr. Gotabhaya Rajapakse RWP RSP psc. An LTTE sucide bomber (male) driving an explosive laden three wheeler detomated targeting the car carrying the Secretary Defence in his motorcade.	Abortive attempt on the life of Minister Douglas Devananda. A Female handicapped LTTE suicide bomber exploded herself at the Minister's Office Complex.	Mr. T Maheswaran - A former Minister of UNF government
LOCATION	Kollupitiya - Colombo	<b>Batticaloa Town</b>	Pillalyaradi - Polonnaruwa	Cinnamon Gardens - Colombo	Batticaloa Town	Army Headquarters - Colombo	Pannipitiya - Colombo	Tellippalai - Jaffna	Narahenpita - Colombo	Kollupitiya - Colombo	Thibirigasyaya - Colombo	Kotahena - Colombo
DATE	07/07/2004	19/10/2004	07/02/2005	12/08/2005	25/12/2005	25/04/2006	26/06/2006	20/08/2006	10/11/2006	01/12/2006	28/11/2007	01/01/2008
SER No.	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	1	45	46

SER No.	DATE	LOCATION	<b>OBJECT/PERSON ATTACKED</b>	TYPE OF ATTACK
47	47 08/01/2008	Ja-Ela - Gampaha	Mr. D M Dasanayake - MP & Minister of Nation Building	By claymore mine attack
48	48 06/03/2008	Mankulam - Kilinochchi	Mr. K Sivanesan - Tamil National Alliance MP, Jaffna District	By claymore mine attack
49	49 06/04/2008	Weliweriya - Gampaha	Weliweriya - Gampaha LTTE Suicide attack at Weliweriya which killed Mr. Jeyaraj Human bomb Fernandopulle, Minister of Highways & Road Development and the Chief Govt. Whip.	Human bomb
50	50 06/10/2008	Anuradhapura	An LTTE male suicide bomber exploded himself killing Maj. Human bomb Gen. K J C Perera, RWP RSP VSV USP rcds Psc (Retd), leader of the Opposition, North Central Provincial Council.	Human bomb

**ANNEXUR VI** 

### MAJOR ATTACKS LAUNCHED ON SF CAMPS/ESTABLISHMENTS

SER.	DATE	GENERAL AREA	SECURITY FORCE CAMPS/ESTABLISHMENTS	DETAILS OF KILLED / WOUNDED & MISSING
-	05/07/1987	Nelliady Jaffna	Nelliady camp	19 Army Killed, 31 Army Wounded
2	15/06/1990	Mannar	Detachment at Thalai Mannar pier	07 Army Killed, 19 Army Wounded, 11 Army Missing
m	12/07/1990	Kokavil	Kokavil detachment	48 Army Killed, 18 Army Missing
4	02/08/1990	Jaffna Fort	Terrorists attacked Jaffna Fort using Arty and Mortars weapons.	06 Army Wounded, 03 Police Wounded
S	22/11/1990	Mankulam	Mankulam camp	20 Army Killed, 37 Army Wounded, 77 Army Missing
9	1661/20/61	Mannar	Kokkupadayan and Silawathurai camps	27 Army Killed, 68 Army Wounded, 05 Army Missing
7	1661/20/01	Elephant Pass	Elephant Pass camp complex	156 Army Killed, 748 Army WIA
8	02/10/1992	Vettalikerni, Kaddaikadu	Kaddailkadu Detachment FDLs	12 Army Killed, 27 Army Wounded, 03 Navy Wounded
6	25/07/1993	Janakapura - Welioya	Janakapura camp	24 Army Killed, 31 Army Wounded 20 Army Missing
10	11/11/1993	Pooneryn	Pooneryn camp	227 Army Killed, 514 Army Wounded, 305 Army Missing 14 Navy Killed, 47 Navy Wounded, 88 Navy Missing
=	12/08/1994	Polonnaruwa	Kaddamuruvikulam camp	22 Army Killed, 45 Army Wounded 01 Civilian Wounded
12	28/06/1995	Jaffna	Mandaitivu camp	90 Army Killed, 41 Army Wounded, 17 Army Missing, 06 Civilian Killed 01 Civilian Wounded
13	28/07/1995	Welloya	Kokkutuduvai camp	02 Army Killed, 29 Army Wounded
14	18/07/1996	Mullaitivu	Mullaitivu camp compact	1,173 Army Killed

SER No.	DATE	GENERAL AREA	SECURITY FORCE CAMPS/ESTABLISHMENTS	DETAILS OF KILLED / WOUNDED & MISSING
15	11/12/1996	Batticaloa	Terrorists attacked and over ran the Pulukunawa Special Task Force detachment	16 Army Killed, 08 Army Wounded, 03 Army Missing 28 Police Killed, 27 Police Wounded
16	2661/10/60	Paranthan	Paranthan and Elephant Pass complex	158 Army Killed, 392 Army Wounded, 65 Army Missing, 07 Civilian Killed, 17 Civilian Wounded
17	05//03/1997	Trincomalee	Chinabay Air Force camp	07 Air Force Wounded
18	06/03/1997	Batticaloa	Vavunathivu camp	73 Army Killed, 98 Army Wounded, 02 Army Missing
19	01/02/1998	Kilinochchi/ Paranthan	Kilinochchi/Paranthan FDL	89 Army Killed, 405 Army Wounded, 26 Army Missing
20	8661/90/80	Kilinochchi	Kilinochchi FDL	30 Army Killed, 256 Army Wounded, 33 Army Missing
21	27/09/1998	Kilinochchi	Kilinochchi FDL	857 Army Killed, 936 Army Wounded, 171 Army Missing
22	02/11/1999	Oddusudan	Oddusudan/Mankulam/Kanagarayankulam camp including Western sector	117 Army Killed, 1,459 Army Wounded, 94 Army Missing
23	11/12/1999	Vettilaikerni, Jaffna	Vettilaikerni and Thanankilappu FDLs	197 Army Killed, 1,921 Army Wounded, 28 Army Missing
24	14/12/1999	Kadjuwatta - Batticaloa	Kadjuwatta detachment with 81mm mortar fire	80 Army Killed, 450 Army Wounded
25	23/04/2000	Elephant Pass	SF camp at North of Elephant Pass	80 Army Killed, 450 Army Wounded
26	10/05/2000	Ariyalai/ Thanankilappu, Jaffna	FDL at Ariyalai/Thanankilappu	628 Army Killed, 5,129 Army Wounded, 301 Army MIA
27	11/08/2006	Jaffna	Muhamalai FDI.	191 Army Killed, 901 Army Wounded, 06 Navy Killed, 32 Navy Wounded
28	26/03/2007	Katunayake - Gampaha	Katunayake SLAF Base	03 Air Force Killed, 17 Air Force Wounded

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WOUNDED MISSING	Ŧ	1	4		1	1	1	1	l.	2	4	1	2	2	í
KILLED	t	4	80	L.	•		+	9	20	1		3	1	L	a
DESCRIPTION	Minor damages due to LTTE suicide diver attack	Destroyed due to LTTE suicide diver attack	Sunk due to LTTE suicide attack	Damaged due to LTTE RPG attack	Destroyed due to LTTE RPG attack	Sunk due to LTTE suicide attack during a confrontation	Sunk due to LTTE suicide attack	Sunk due to LTTE suicide attack	Sunk due to LTTE suicide attack	Destroyed during LTTE cluster attack	Destroyed due to LTTE fire from Long Range Weapon	Destroyed due to LITE fire from Long Range Weapon	Destroyed due to LTTE suicide attack	Destroyed during LTTE cluster attack	Destroyed during confrontation
LOCATION	Karainagar, Old Pier	Karainagar, Old Pier	South of Mullaittivu	South of VTK	Off Chundtkulam	Off Trincomalee Harbour	Off Kokkilai	Off Point Pedro	Off Point Pedro	Off Mullaittivu	Off Nakarkovil	Off Nakarkovil	Modaragammaru	Off Vettilaikkeni	Off Vettilaikkeni
SHIP/CRAFT	P 243- Coastal Patrol Craft	P 232- Coastal Patrol Craft	SLNS Ranaviru - Fast Gun Boat	P 161- Inshore Patrol Craft	P 164- Inshore Patrol Craft	P 457-Fast Attack Craft	P 452-Fast Attack Craft	SLNS Pabbatha - Landing Craft Mechanized	Valampuri I - Ferry	P 498-Fast Attack Craft	P 463-Fast Attack Craft	P 493-Fast Attack Craft	P 170- Inshore Patrol Craft	P 482-Fast Attack Craft	P 496-Fast Attack Craft
DATE	12/06/1996	13/06/1996	31/07/1996	20/10/1996	20/10/1996	25/10/1996	19/10/1996	22/02/1998	23/02/1998	30/10/1998	07/04/2000	07/04/2000	12/04/2000	05/06/2000	05/06/2000
No.	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	¥.	35	36	37	38	39	40	41

SER No.	DATE	SHIP/CRAFT	LOCATION	DESCRIPTION	KILLED	WOUNDED	MISSING
	30/09/2000	P 183- Inshore Patrol Craft	North of Kalpitiya	Destroyed due to LTTE RPG and Mortar fire	Ť	1	•
	23/10/2000	A 542 · Fast Personnel Carrier	Trincomalee Harbour	LTTE launched a suicide attack and the ship was badly damaged	ī	T	r
	21/03/2001	P 495-Fast Attack Craft	Off Mullaitivu	Destroyed during LTTE cluster attack	T	13	S
	16/09/2001	P 251- Coastal Patrol Craft	North East of Point Pedro	Destroyed due to LTTE attack during a confrontation	•		10
	07/01/2006	P 476-Fast Attack Craft	East of Rocky Point	Destroyed due to a LTTE suicide attack.	r	3	13
	25/03/2006	P 431-Fast Attack Craft	Off Kudiramalai	Destroyed due to LTTE suicide attack disguised as a fishing trawler	ı.	п	8
	11/05/2006	P 418-Fast Attack Craft	Off Nagarkovil	Destroyed due to a suicide attack during a confrontation	8	'n.	6
	28/06/2006	P 190-Inshore Patrol Craft	Off Baththalangunduwa Island	Damaged severly due to LTTE RPG attack	5	æ	,
	18/10/2006	P 167-Inshore Patrol Craft	Galle Harbour	Destroyed due to LTTE suicide attack	r	5	r
	19/10/2006	P 126- Inshore Patrol Craft	Galle Harbour	Destroyed due to LTTE suicide attack		5	r
	20/10/2006	P 223- Coastal Patrol Craft	Galle Harbour	Destroyed due to LTTE suicide attack	-	4	1
	09/11/2006	P 416-Fast Attack Craft	Off Thondiatmanaru	Off Thondialmanaru Destroyed due to a suicide attack during a confrontation	10	2	,
	19/11/2006	P 461-Fast Attack Craft	Off Thondiaimanaru	Off Thondiaimanaru Destroyed during LTTE cluster attack	6	1	T
	06/04/2007	P 132- Inshore Patrol Craft	Off Kalpitiya	Destroyed during LTTE cluster attack	'	'	s

SER No.	DATE	SHIP/CRAFT	LOCATION	DESCRIPTION	KILED	KILLED WOUNDED MISSING	MISSING
56	26/12/2007	P 413-Fast Attack Craft	Off Delft Island	Destroyed due to a suicide attack during a confrontation	3	9	6
22	14/02/2008	P 147- Inshore Patrol Craft	North of Mannar	Destroyed due to LTTE attack		ı	6
58	22/03/2008	P 438- Fast Attack Craft	Off Nayaru	Suicide attack using semi submerged craft by LTTE	3	5	6
59	10/05/2008	A 520- Auxiliary Ship	Ashroff Jetty, Trincomalee Harbour	LTTE launched an attack using suicide divers and the ship was sunk		ı	,
60	01/11/2008	Z 142- Inshore Patrol Craft	Off Point Pedro	Destroyed due to LTTE suicide attack	T		4
61	19/01/2009	P 434- Fast Attack Craft	Off Mullaíttivu	Suicide attack using semi submerged craft by LTTE		1	19
62	30/04/2009	P 017- Inshore Patrol Craft	East of Nayaru	Destroyed due to LTTE attack	11	2	ı.
63	30/04/2009	Z 137- Arrow Craft	Off Mullaittivu	Destroyed due to LTTE attack	3	ı	τ
64	04/05/2009	P 020- Inshore Patrol Craft	Off Mullaittivu	Destroyed due to LTTE attack	4	2	1
TOTAL	J				145	125	243

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## MAJOR ATTACKS LAUNCHED BY LTTE ON SRI LANKA AIR FORCE

No.	DATE	AIR CRAFT DESTROYED	LOCATION	DESCRIPTION	KIITED	MISSING
	14/09/1985	B-212	Mutur	Passenger Flight	,	'
	22/03/1986	B-212	Elephant Pass	Passenger Flight	,	,
	13/09/1990	SF-260	Palaly	SLAF Base Palaly	1	'
	16/06/1991	B-212	Vavuniya	Passenger Flight	-	,
	02/05/1992	Y-8	Palaly	Cargo Flight	9	'
	08/02/1994	B-212	Palaly	Passenger Flight		'
	28/04/1995	AVRO	Palaly	Passenger Flight/LTTE Missile Attack	48	'
	29/04/1995	AVRO	Palaly	Passenger Flight/LTTE Missile Attack	52	1
	14/07/1995	IA-58	Palaly	Attack Mission	1	'
10	18/11/1995	Y-8	Palaly	Cargo Flight	5	1
	22/11/1995	AN-32	Palaly	Passenger Flight/LTTE Missile Attack	63	'
	22/01/1996	MI-17	Palaly	Passenger Flight/LTTE Missile Attack	39	1
13	12/07/1996	B-212	Welioya	Passenger Flight	,	r
14	16/01/1002	UAV	Pooneryan	Aerial Observatoin Mission	'	'
15	20/01/1997	Y-12	Palaly	Passenger Flight	4	'
	03/05/1997	Y-12	China Bay	Camp Attack	7	'
17	19/03/1997	MI-24	Mullativu	Heli returning home after working in Palali	r	9
18	2661/10/20	UAV	Omanthaí	Aerial Observation Mission	,	'
19	2661/01/11	MI -24	Kokilat	Escort Mission	2	'
20	25/11/1997	B-212	Palaiyavadi Vavuniya	Passenger Flight	4	
21	01/02/1998	MI-17	Olumadu	Casualty Evacuation Flight	'	'
22	26/06/1998	MI-24	Irattaperiyakulam	Attack Mission	4	'
23	12/06/1998	11AV	Omanthat	Aerial Observatoin Mission	'	'

SER No.	DATE	AIR CRAFT DESTROYED	LOCATION	DESCRIPTION	KILLED	MISSING
24	29/03/1999	UAV	Pompemadu	Aerial Observatoin Mission	1	
25	29/09/1998	AN-24	Iranativu	Civil Passenger Flight	50	•
26	17/12/1999	MI-24	Kilali	Attack Mission	4	ł
1	17/02/2000	B-212	Muhamalai	Casevac Flight	ß	•
28	24/05/2000	MI-24	Meesalai	Attack Mission	2	
29	19/10/2000	MI-24	Nagar kovil	Attack Mission		
30	23/10/2000	MI-24	Koddiyar Bay	Attack Mission	4	•
31	24/07/2001	71-IM	Katunayake	Attack on Katunayake Air Base and	9	,
		71-IM		Bandaranaike International Airport		
		MIG-27				
		KFIR (C 722)				
		KFIR (C 723)				
		K-8				
		K-8				
		K-8				
		A-330				
		A-340				
32	22/01/2003	UAV	Alaweddi	Aerial Observatoin Mission		
33	19/09/2005	UAV	Mankulam	Aerial Observatoin Mission	Ļ	200
34	26/03/2007	•	Katunayake	An LTTE Air attack on the SLAF Base, Katunayake, Two Light Fixed Wing Aircrafts of LTTE, flying over the SLAF Base, Katunayake dropped three bombs	e.	•
35	20/04/2007	UAV	Kokilai	Aerial Observatoin Mission	•	
36	24/04/2007	•	Palaly	An LTTE Light Aircraft dropped three bombs near the Myladdy Beach closer to the Coastal Defence Line	9	9

DNISSING	l.	1					3			,	(		1	•
KILLED					,	v				13	1	,	4	15
DESCRIPTION	An LTTE Light Aircraft dropped 02 bombs targeting the Kolonnawa Oil Tanks and Storage Complex area. Almost simultantoushy another LTTE Light Air Craft dropped 02 bombs targeting Muturajawela Gas Storage Complex area.					Attack on SLAF Base Anuradhapura				Combined ground and air attack on the SLAF Base Anuradhapura by LTTE Black Tigers. 02 Bombs were dropped by 02 LTTE Light Aircraft which flew away.	An LTTE Air attack on Army positions. TwoLTTE light aircraft dropped 03 bombs in to the Area HQ Welioya and HQ 224 Brigade Galkulama and escaped.	Aerial Observatoin Mission	An LTTE Air attack on the SLN Dockyard, Trincomalee. Two LTTE light Aircraft dropped two improvised bombs on the Navy Camp Premises and escaped.	An LTTE Air craft dropped two bombs targeting 211 Brigade officers mess and Special forces Brigade area in a combined ground and air attack on the SF HQ(Wanti) complex, SLAF base and Radar Station
LOCATION	Kolonnawa/ Muthurajawela					Anuradnapura		000		Anuradhapura	Kokkuthuduvai & Padaviya	Anuradhapura	Trincomalee	Vavuniya
AIR CRAFT DESTROYED	1	MI-24	B-212	3 X PT-6	K-8	MI-24	71-IM	8206	Beech Craft	1		UAV		1
DATE	29/04/2007					/007/01/77				22/10/2007	27/04/2008	08/08/2008	26/08/2008	09/09/2008
No.	37				2	28				39	9	41	42	43

No.	DATE	AIR CRAFT DESTROYED	LOCATION	DESCRIPTION	KILLED	SNISSIM GETTIN
44	11/09/2008	UAV	Anuradhapura	Aerial Observation Mission	E)	Ъ.
45	28/10/2008		Grandpass	An LTTE light Air craft dropped 07 bombs into the premises of the Kelanitissa Power station and escaped		•
46	28/10/2008		Thallady	An LTTE light Air craft dropped 03 bombs at the Area Headquarters, Mannar and escaped		×
42	20/02/2009	•	Colombo & Katunayake	02 LTTE Air Craft on a suicide mission targeting Inland Revenue building and SLAF base Katunayaka were destroyed	•	

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# REPORTED PROCUREMENT OF WARLIKE EQUIPMENTS DURING PEACE PROCESS

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			- 3441 10	_		15	S/BOATS	ha 01		t 02				a 05				03 (Purchased - 10)	5,985 Ltr			100	100				
RADARS	Radar (X - band) Koden	Radar (Furuno )	Radar - Koden - 3441	Radar - (Furuno) MK 1	Radar - JRC	Raymine radar	BOAT ENGINES/BOATS	1250 HP Yamaha	1200 HP Yamaha	New cargo boat	Remote control boat	300 HP Yamaha	250 HP Yamaha	225 HP Yamaha	200 HP Yamaha				Fuel	398,160 OTHERS	NCB MASK Filter	NCB Gloves				•	
ARTILLERY GUNS	152 mm Guns 09		130 mm Barrel assemble 04		ANTI AIR CRAFT GUNS		12.7 mm 50				MORTAR	82 mm 25		32 mm 471		ASSAULT RIFLES	AK or T 56 10.000		MINES	Mines 398,	EXPLOSIVES		L	C4 50 tons	<b>MISSILLES</b>	16)	IGLA - Launcher 05

### PRABHAKARANS RUTHLESS TERRORISM IN THE GUISE OF LIBERATION

### **PICTURES FOR PART 1**

### BRUTAL ASSASSINATION OF INNOCENT TAMIL <u>CIVILIANS</u>

LTTE, was the most ruthless terrorist outfit in the world. Which claims that it was the sole representative of the Tamil people, had killed thousands of innocent Tamil civilians brutally during the 03 decades of war. It eliminated any Tamil person, irrespective of their ages, who raised their voice against LTTE activities. LTTE killed civilians of political parties who opposed it and ignited communal violence with the ulterior motive of putting the blame on the government of Sri Lanka and to collect funds locally and internationally. Below are few such crimes committed by the LTTE, of people of its own community.



**Massacre in Allapiddy.** A family, father, mother and 02 kids were brutally hacked to death by the LTTE in Allapiddy, Jaffna. LTTE did not spare, even the 02 small kids aged 04 years and 04 months respectively. This is an incident where the LTTE clearly demonstrated that they are not liberation fighters, but a group of barbarians.



**Massacre in Manner.** On 09.06.2006, LTTE brutally killed a family, father, mother and 02 children and went to the extent of raping the teenaged daughter before killing her.



**Massacre in Kolombuthurai.** LTTE killed 6 Tamil Civilians and another 20 Tamil Civilians, including a pregnant mother, were injured when they launched indiscriminate artillery attacks towards the densely populated Jaffna mainland on the morning of 29 May 2008. According to published reports, 20 rounds of heavy artillery shells have fallen in the densely populated Kolombuturai, Gurunagar and Pasioor areas causing havoc among the civilians who are Tamils.

### Some other Brutal Killings of Tamil Civilians



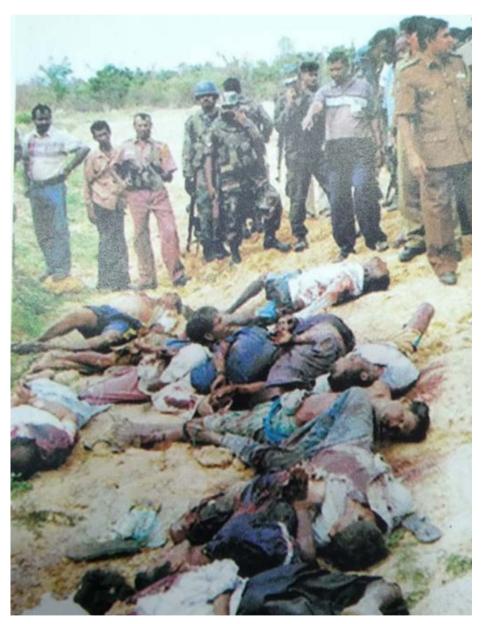
### BATTACKS ON INNOCENT CIVILIANS LIVING IN VILLAGES ADJOINING THE NORTHERN PROVINCES



On 30 November 1984, LTTE terrorists attacked civilian settlements at Dollar Farm and Kent Farm killing 62 unarmed civilians including women and children.



On 01 October 1992 LTTE terrorists attacked Palliyagodella Village and Killed 146 Civilians including Children.



### Attacks on Irrigation Workers in Welikanda

On 01 October 1992 LTTE terrorists attacked Palliyagodella Village and Killed 146 Civilians including Children.

### ATTACKS ON PLACES OF RELIGIOUS WORSHIP



On 14 May 1985, LTTE terrorists shot and killed 120 devotees, including children and wounded 85 others at the Sri Maha Bodhi in the Buddhist sacred city of Anuradhapura.



On 25 January 1998 attacked by Suicide Cadre using explosive laden truck, Caused extensive damage to the Sacred Temple of the Tooth Building at Kandy. Killed 12 x Innocent worshippers and Injured 13 others.

### ASSASSINATION OF RELIGIOUS DIAGNITARIES

### <u>Buddhist</u>



Aranthalawa Massacre on 2 June 1987, LTTE terrorists massacred and brutally mutilated 33 young monks and their mentor Chief Priest Ven. Hegoda Indrasara at Aranthalawa in Ampara.



Ven. Kethalagama Sri Seelalankara Thero brutally murdered by the LTTE on May 1995.

### <u>Hindu</u>



Sellaiyah Parameswaran Kurukkal Chief Priest of Pillair Kovil vakarei Batticaloa 11 April 2007.



Shivakukarajah Kurukkal, Chief Priest of Thirukoneshwaram Kovil in Trincomalee 21 September 2008.

### <u>Catholic</u>



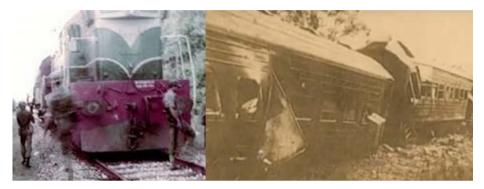
Rev. Father Karunarathnam, Mallavi Mankulam was killed inside the LTTE controlled area whilst travelling from his residence to the Mankulam Chursh on 20 April 2008.

### <u>Islam</u>



On Friday, 03 August 1990, LTTE terrorist opened fire and killed 103 Muslim and Injured 70 others while they were praying at the Meera Jumma Mosque in Kattankudy. Later on 28 October 1990 the LTTE engaged in ethnic cleansing evicting 90,000 Muslims from Jaffna.

### ATTACKS ON CIVILIANS TRAVELLING IN PUBLIC TRANSPORT



Yal Devi Train Attack - LTTE bombed the northern railway line at Murikandy, killing 34 people and completely destroying the tracks.



Bomb Blast at Pettah Bus Stand - Killing 110 civilians and injuring 298 others on 21 April 1987.



On Friday, 03 August 1990, LTTE terrorist opened fire and killed 103 Muslim and Injured 70 others while they were praying at the Meera Jumma Mosque in Kattankudy. Later on 28 October 1990 the LTTE engaged in ethnic cleansing evicting 90,000 Muslims from Jaffna.



Attack on the Bandaranaike International Air Port - On 24 July 2001, 14 people were killed and 11 aircraft were destroyed in the attack



Kebithigollewa Bus Massacre - On 15 June 2006, Carrying Coffins of 60 innocent Civilians For Burial-killed by LTTE when they blew up a Bus at Kebithigollawa on 15th June 2006.



Digampathaha Bombing - On 16 October 2006, the bombing killed between 92 and 103 sailors and wounded more than 150 people, including over 100 sailors. The bombing also killed a number of civilians, including eight employees of the Sri Lankan military, and wounded many passers-by and roadside traders.



ChuddikulamBusBlast-On23April2007,LTTE terrorists detonated a claymore mine on a Bus travelling in Manner-Medawachchiya road in Chunddikulam killing 7 civilians and injuring 37 others.

### **EMINENT POLITICIANS ASSASSINATED BY THE LTTE**



Ranasinghe Premadasa President of Sri Lanka



Ranjan Wijeratne Minister



**A. Amirthalingam** eader Tamil United Liberation and Leader of Opposition



Rajiv Gandhi Prime Minister - India



Lalith Athulathmudali Minister



Jeyaraj Fernandopulle Minister



Lakshman Kadirgamar Foreign Minister



Gamini Dissanayake Minister



C. V. Gunaratne Minister

### ASSAINATION OF LEADERS OF TAMIL POLITICAL PARTIES



Mr. Sundaram Srisabarathnam Leader of the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization (TELO)



Mr. Karavai Kandasamy Deputy Leader of the Democratic People's Liberation Front (DPLF)



**Mr. Nagalingam Manikkadasan** Senior Deputy Leader of the Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF)



**Mr. K Pathmanaba** Leader of the Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF)



Mr. Mutthulingam Ganeshkumar Leader of the Razik Group



Mr. Kumar Ponnambalam Leader of the All Ceylon Tamil Congress, Lawyer

### TAMIL INTELLECTUALS ASSASSINATED BY THE LTTE



Mr C E Anandarajah Date: 26.06.1985 Place: Jaffna

Principal of St. John's College, Jaffna. A much loved educationalist who had dedicated his career for the upliftment of education especially in the field of medicine, engineering & technology.

### Mrs Rajani Thiranagama

Date: 25.09.1989

Place: Thirunalveli, Jaffna

Professor of the Medical Faulty of the University of Jaffna. She entered the University of Colombo to study medicine. At the university, she became actively involved in student politics. Breaking all religious and ethnic barriers she married a Sinhalese named Dayapala Thirangama, a lecturer of

the Kelaniya University in 1977. Formerly a sympathizer of the LTTE became a critic after seeing its real face. She was the Author of the "Broken Palmyrah", which severely criticized the LTTE for human rights violations. She was killed a few weeks after the book was published.



### Mr T Kailainathan

Date: 04.04.2005

Place: Batticaloa

Director of the Vocational Training Centre. A member of the Eelam people's Democratic Party. Swetted throughout to educate the Tamil youth in the North and East.



**Mr Kanapathy Rajathurai** Date: 10.10.2005 around 3.45pm

Place: Jaffna

Principal of Jaffna Central College. A supporter of the Eelam People Democratic Party. Contributed immensely for the upliftment of the school. LTTE had threatened him on several occasions.



Mr Ketheesh Loganathan

Date: 12.08.2006

Place: Colombo

Deputy Secretary of the Seri Lanka Peace Secretariat. A former member of the Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF). A prominent Lawyer vigorously worked against human rights violations by the LTTE. A well-read person on Law and Social Science locally and internationally.

Had held top positions in Government as well as non-Government Organizations. Was a delegate of the Tamil delegation for the Thimpu talks.



**Dr. Neelan thiruchelvam** Eminent Constitutional Lawyer

### <u>KEY SECURITY PERSONNEL ASSASSINATED BY</u> <u>THE LTTE</u>



Major General Denzil Kobbekaduwa



Major General Parami Kulatunga



Vice Admiral Clancy Fernando



Brigadier Vijaya Wimalaratne



Major General Janaka Perera



Major General Ananda Hamangoda



Brigadier Larry Wijerathna



Brigadier Susantha Mendis



Lieutenant Colonel Nizam Muthaliph

### ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION OF PROMINENT SRI LANKANS



President Chandrika Bandaranayake Kumaratunga on 18 December 1999 by Female suicide bomber using high explosive 12 killed 100 injured.



Mr. Gotabaya Rajapakse - The Then Defence Secretary and at Present H.E the President of Sri Lanka - 01st December 2006, by a suicide bomber whilst travelling in his official vehicle. Escaped death with minor injuries.



Attack on Minister Nimal Siripala Silva on 04 July 1996 at Jaffna by Suicide Bomber using high explosives 21 Killed and 64 injured.



Minister Douglas Devananda on 07 July 2004 at Colombo. 04 Killed and 09 injured. The LTTE had made several attempts to assassinate him.



Lieutenant General Sarath Fonseka, Commander of the Sri Lanka Army 25th April 2006 – attempted to assistance at the Army Headquarters. By a suicide bomber. He was severely injured, but escaped death.



Air Marshal Roshan Goonatilake 08th January Escaped death in a bomb blast in the fort area Colombo Central, opposite the lake house building Colombo Central.



A former Minister Mahinda Wijesekara when participating in a procession accompanied by politicians, A. H. M. Fowzie, Mahinda Yapa Abeywardhana, Ameer Ali, Pandu Bandaranayake, Chandrasiri Gajadeera when participating in the National Milad Un-Nabi, Festival at the Jumma Mosque at Godapitiya Akuressa 10 March 2009 were attacked by a suicide bomber and was severely injured. Many others were also injured.

### ATTACKS ON IMPORTANT ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL ACTIVITY CENTRES



Attacks on Central Bank of Sri Lanka on 13th January 1996 by suicide cadres with explosive Laden vehicle.



Attack on Colombo World Trade Centre and Galadari Hotel Colombo on 15 October 1997 by using high explosives.



Attack on Oil Installations at Kolonnawa, Colombo on 20 October 1995 by using high explosive mortar. 17 were killed & 35 were injured.

### <u>THE DETERMINED AND THE BOLD LEADERSHIP THAT</u> <u>ELIMINATED TERRORISM AND ITS LEADERSHIP</u>



H.E the President Mahinda Rajapaksa



Mr. Gotabaya Rajapaksa Secretary to the Ministry of Defence



Air Chief Marshal Donald Perera Chief of Defence Staff



General Sarath Fonseka Commander of the Sri Lanka Army



Admiral Wasantha Karannagoda Commander of the Sri Lanka Navy



Air Chief Marshal Roshan Goonetileke Commander of the Air Force



Mr Jayantha Wickremaratne Inspector General of Police



Rear Admiral Sarath Weerasekara Director General Civil Defence Force

## THE HEROIC LEADERS WHO LED THE FINAL PHASE OF THE WAR TO ELIMINATE TERRORISM AND ITS LEADERSHIP



General Sarath Fonseka Commander of the Sri Lanka Army



Major General Prasanna De Silva Commander 55<sup>th</sup> Division



Brigadier Nandana Udawatte Commander 59th Division



Brigadier Rohana Bandara Commander Task Force II



Major General Jagath Jayasuriya Commander, Security Force (Wanni)



Major General Udaya Perera Director Operations



Brigadier Shavendra Silva Commander 58<sup>th</sup> Division



Brigadier Sathyapriya Liyanage Commander Task Force III



Major General Kamal Gunaratne Commander 53<sup>rd</sup> Division



Major General Jagath Dias Commander 57<sup>th</sup> Division



Brigadier Chargie Gallage Commander Task Force I



Brigadier Nishantha Wanniarachchi Commander Task Force IV



Brigadier Vijitha Ravipriya Commander Task Force VIII



Colonel Ralph Nugera Commander, Commando Brigade



Colonel Sumith Athapaththu Commander, Mechanized Infantry Brigade



Brigadier Priyantha Napagoda Commander, Artillery Brigade



Colonel Athula Kodippili Commander Special Force



Lieutenant Colonel Shantha Dissanayake Commander Air Mob Brigade



Colonel Sudath Perera Deputy Commander, 53 Division



Colonel Nirmal Dharmarathne Commander Special Task Force Brigade



Lieutenant Colonel Jayanath Jayawera Commander 533 Brigade



Lieutenant Colonel Lalantha Gamage Commander 681 Brigade



Lieutenant Colonel Subhashana Welikala Commander 682 Brigade



Major General G A Chandrasiri Commander Security Forces (Jaffna)



Major General MCMP Samarasinghe Commander Security Forces (Jaffna)

Major General GA Chandrasiri was the Commander of the Jaffna Peninsula. He played a vital role from the very beginning in defending the Jaffna peninsula which was of utmost importance. The LTTE was unable to cause any destruction in Jaffna as he maintained complete control over the entire peninsula and prevented the LTTE from infiltrating and destabilizing it.

He was succeeded by Major General MCMP Samarasinghe

## PRABHAKARAN THE RUTHLESS LEADER OF THE LTTE AND HIS LEADING DISCIPLES AND THE THEORETICIAN <u>AN OF THE LTTE</u>



LTTE leader Velupillai Prabhakaran



Karuna Amman (Ampara / Batticaloa Military Leader)



Pottu Amman (Intelligence Leader)



Balraj (Military Leader)



Soosai (Leader of Sea Tiger Wing)



Bhanu (Leader of Artillery and Motor Wing)



Theepan (Jaffna Military Leader)



Sornam (Trincomolee Military Leader)



Jeyam (Vavuniya / Manner Military Leader)



Ramesh (Ampara/Batticaloa Military) Leader



Shanker (Founder and Leader of Air Tiger Wing)



Durga (Leader of Sothia Regiment)



Vithusha (Leader of Malathi Regiment)



Charles Anthony (Prabhakarn's Eldest Son)



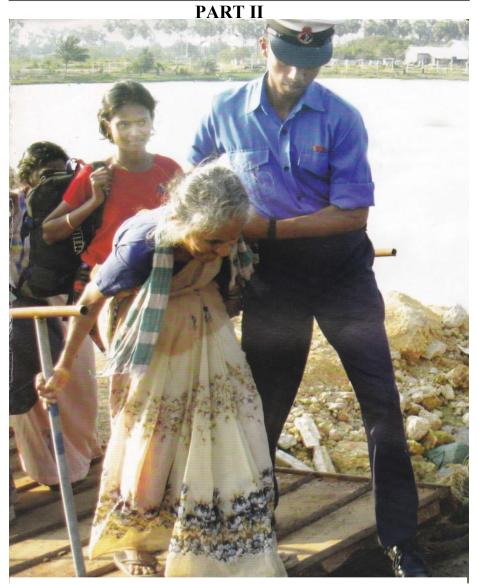
Daya Master (Media Spokesman)



Thamilselvan (Political Leader)



Anton Balasingham (LTTE Theoretician)



The story of the alleged crimes against humanity perpetrated by the Sri Lankan Security Forces is contained in the gaze of the girl in this picture. It is a picture worth a thousand words which, in fact clearly revealed what the Security Forces had in fact done as against the alleged crimes said to have been committed by them.

## PART II

## **SECTION A**

ARE THE SRI LANKAN SECURITY FORCES GUILTY OF GENOCIDE?

## **SECTION B**

## HOW THE LTTE VIOLATED HUMAN RIGHTS BY INTENTIONALLY COMMITTING GENOCIDE

HOW THE LTTE LED BY PRABHAKARAN, PLANNED AND RUTHLESSLY DECIMATED PEOPLE OF HIS OWN COMMUNITY AND THAT OF OTHER COMMUNITIES (VIZ. SINHALA & MUSLIM, ETC.) AND COMMITTED GENOCIDE

&

## DEPRIVING THE INNOCENT CIVILIANS OF THEIR BASIC NEEDS OF FOOD AND MEDICAL FACILITIES TO LIVE

&

## DEPRIVING THE CHILDREN OF THEIR RIGHTS AND EDUCATION

## **SECTION C**

# THE SUCCESS STORY OF REHABILITATION & RESETTLEMENT

THE SUCCESS STORY OF HOW THE SRI LANKAN ARMY REHABILITATED THE EX-COMBATANTS OF THE LTTE AND RESETTLED THEM

#### PART II – INTRODUCTION

Having gone through the hazardous experience for several years in eliciting and collating authentic and reliable, information and facts hitherto undisclosed and unrevealed information regarding the ruthless and unpardonable crimes committed by decimating thousands of innocent civilians belonging to all three major communities in Sri Lanka mainly Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims, the author succeeded in recording the nature and the details of these crimes committed by the LTTE led by its ruthless leader Prabhakaran.

This information as recorded in part one of this book reveal to any intelligent and a rational reader, that Prabhakaran was not a genuine liberator of his people, not of the calibre of Lenin and Stalin of Russia or Mao-Tse-Tung of China who succeeded through their honest, dedicated, and committed efforts in liberating their people to the genuine cause of liberation against those unjust leaders of their respective countries.

These leaders of both Russia and China had a genuine cause or causes for liberation, as the mass of the people who were living in those countries had gone through intolerable hazards prevailing in those countries for long periods of time.

In contrast to the acute problems prevailing in those countries, people of the Tamil community living in the North and the East of Sri Lanka and widely distributed throughout the 26 provinces of the Island constitute only 12% of the total population of approximately 22.3 Million population of the island. *(Please refer the statistical table in part 1 of this book)* 

The Sri Lankan Tamil community referred to above have migrated to Sri Lanka from India at different historical periods since the advent of Prince Wijaya from India in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C.

In addition, during the British colonial period, a large number of South Indian Tamils were brought to Sri Lanka to be engaged in their plantations and they live mainly in the Central Province of Sri Lanka and they constitute approximately 6% of the total population. Sri Lanka became independent from British Colonial rule in 1948. Since that period, Sri Lanka practiced a parliamentary democracy similar to Britain. Sri Lanka was granted independence after formulating a constitution by a commission appointed by the British parliament led by Lord Soulbury, who was a former governor of Ceylon during the colonial rule.

The political demands of the extremist leaders of the Tamil community, started even before Sri Lanka became independent. They submitted a claim for 50/50 representation in the proposed parliament at the time when the percentage of the Tamil population was much less than what it is at present. This unjust claim of the Tamil extremist leaders was rejected by the Soulbury commission but the commission ensured that no particular community was given any special rights or privileges based on ethnicity, language or religion.

Since 1972, Sri Lanka adopted a Presidential system of government and the constitution formulated to setup a new system of government, ensured that people of all communities were given equal rights and privileges and ensured that no community was given any special rights or privileges denied to any other communities living in the country.

With the rejection of the demand for 50/50 representation in parliament at the inception, the extremist leaders of the North submitted a demand to establish a Federal System of Government in Sri Lanka and to establish a separate state combining the North and the East of Sri Lanka to setup an exclusively separate state for the Tamil people, which did not include the Tamil estate workers who were of the same ethnic group and spoke the same language.

Having recorded the various types of ruthless and unpardonable crimes committed by the LTTE, the author thought that it should be placed on record particularly for the information of the UNHRC and the world at large, to refute the unjust and unfounded allegations made against the heroic security forces of committing genocide and violating the International Humanitarian Laws in the last phase of the war concluded in May 2009, should be nullified by authentic facts and figures which were particularly revealed by the Commission appointed by the Sri Lankan Government on conclusion of the war.

## **Humanitarian Operations**

Buddhism was introduced to Sri Lanka in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C. Since then, the majority of the kings who ruled Sri Lanka were adherents of Buddhism. They ruled the country in compliance with the religious principles and practices of Buddhism.

Since Sri Lanka received independence from British Colonial Rule in 1948, all the leaders of the country whether they were Prime Ministers or Presidents were adherents of Buddhism, and they continued to rule the country in compliance with the principles and practices of Buddhism. They sought the advice of the Buddhist clergy when and where necessary.

Conformity with this ancient tradition in ruling the country was reiterated by the present President of Sri Lanka, H.E Gotabhaya Rajapaksa, when he recently addressed the nation at the 73<sup>rd</sup> independence celebrations held on 4<sup>th</sup> February, 2021. He boldly stated that he is a "Sinhala Buddhist" and that he will rule the country in accordance with the Buddhist religious principles and practices.

H.E Gotabhaya Rajapaksa was the Secretary of the Ministry of Defence, when H.E Mahinda Rajapaksa was the President of Sri Lanka, when the Security Forces battled against the LTTE to eradicate terrorism from Sri Lanka.

The Buddha, the Enlightened One, in his preaching's has clearly stated the value of human life. *Please refer Chapter 1 of Part I of this book.* Rebirth is an important concept in Buddhism. The Buddha emphatically preached to his followers that "To be born a human being is a rare achievement in the journey through 'Samsara' (The Continuous cycle of birth and rebirth)". *Please refer Chapter 1 of Part I of this book.* 

The Buddha further clarified that out of all those living on earth (Human beings, animals, reptiles, insects, etc.) the most superior are the 'Human Beings' as it is only human beings who possess a 'mind' which could be used to cleanse all the defilements leading to rebirth and even attain the stage of 'Enlightenment' and attain Buddhahood.

The Buddha differentiated human beings from animals by preaching that it is only the human beings who possess a mind and not the animals. It is only by using the mind, the people could determine what is good and what is bad and what is right and wrong. In accordance with the teachings of the Buddha, the rulers among others are expected to give due consideration to the concept of the value of human life, in making their decisions and to ensure that all what is necessary should be done, among other things, to ensure the security and the safety of human beings to enable them to live during their normal span of life.

Having given due consideration to this religious concept the H.E the president, the Secretary of Defence and the leaders of the respective security forces in planning and executing the military strategies to effectively confront the LTTE, decided to adopt a policy of a 'Humanitarian Operation'. Accordingly, specific instructions were given to all ranks of the security forces that, firepower should be used only to deal with the terrorists and to ensure that every precaution is taken to safeguard the lives and the safety of innocent civilians. All officers of the respective security forces were given instruction to ensure the strict compliance of this rule.

# The protection provided to civilians by the Security Forces during the Humanitarian Operations

There are many places in the world with similar conflicts, including Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq and Israel. However, when it comes to minimizing civilian casualties, the Sri Lanka military has performed better than many other armed forces fighting terrorism around the world. Though various organizations sympathetic to the LTTE have levelled accusations regarding high civilian casualties, the fact is that the number was lower due to the humanitarian measures adopted on the strict instructions of President Rajapaksa, the Commander of the Armed Forces, who proclaimed a 'zero casualty' policy.

During the latter stages of the operation, when the LTTE used civilians as human shields, the government and military had to take their sad plight into account and adopt different tactics and consequently demarcated certain areas as No-Fire Zones (NFZs). The authorities requested the civilians to move into the NFZs so that the Army could proceed with their military operations in other areas. Thereupon, the LTTE moved into the NFZs and started attacking the Security Forces from these areas. Despite such provocation, the Army refrained from firing into the NFZs. Thereafter the LTTE forced civilians to move from the first NFZ to Pudumathalan, and in response the Army, considering the safety of the civilians, extended the NFZ to include Pudumathalan. Once all other areas were recaptured, the Army surrounded the NFZs from all directions.

At this stage, there was much pressure exerted by various organizations to save Prabhakaran and the LTTE leadership. Certain sections of the international community feared heavy civilian casualties as the Army prepared to push forward into the NFZs.

At this stage, the LTTE, which portrayed themselves as the saviours of the Tamil community, used Tamil civilians as human shields to protect their leadership. Thereafter, the Army had no alternative but to commence the largest ever hostage rescue operation in the world. On April 20, 2009, they rescued around 25,000 civilians, and within three days the figure had risen to 100,000.

It is said that this is the first instance in which the policy of a 'Humanitarian Operation' was adopted, in the history of military warfare in the world.

Having adopted a policy of a 'Humanitarian Operation', it is a remarkable achievement for the Sri Lankan Security Forces with a comparatively lesser military strength to succeed in defeating the LTTE terrorists which was presumed to be the most organized terrorist group in the world. Thus, eradicating terrorism from the country and annihilating its leadership which is undoubtedly an outstanding achievement in the history of modern warfare.

It must be placed on record that, hitherto, Sri Lanka is the only country despite limited military resources which has succeeded in eliminating terrorism from its country and its leadership.

In Sri Lanka, we consider this achievement to be the greatest historic achievement of our security forces in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

The UN and its affiliated organ, the UNHRC etc are aware that terrorism is the greatest catastrophe confronted by humanity in the 20<sup>th</sup> and the 21<sup>st</sup> centuries and it is a defenceless threat to human existence. The UN and its agencies are also aware that all the military superpowers in the world hitherto failed in their endeavours to destroy terrorism wherever they were militarily involved, in attempting to eradicate terrorism.

Besides the UN and its agencies, have hitherto, failed to evolve a solution or to develop methods to deal or overcome terrorism.

Despite these drawbacks, it is most unfortunate and a matter for regret that the UNHRC without commending the heroic security forces of Sri Lanka and the government for its remarkable and outstanding achievement of destroying the most organized terrorist group in the world, is continuously endeavouring to level false allegations and discredit Sri Lanka and its security forces that it has committed genocide in the final stages of the war and thereby violating the International Humanitarian Laws.

Despite the fact that the Sri Lankan government has continuously submitted to UNHRC that these allegations are based on false and unfounded information and maliciously formulated and submitted to UNHRC by the Tamil diaspora backed by their enormous financial resources forcibly and unjustly extorted from their Sri Lankan Tamils who migrated from Sri Lanka to different countries of the world, consequent to the "Black July" that occoured in Sri Lanka, in 1983.

On conclusion of the war against the terrorists in May 2009, the government at the time appointed a commission of inquiry consisting of eminent persons to conduct a thorough investigation regarding the allegations relating to the alleged violation of Humanitarian Laws by the security forces in the final phase of the war.

The commission was named, the "Commission of Inquiry on Lessons Learned and Reconciliation", regarding the alleged violation of Humanitarian Laws by the Security Forces in the final stages of the war against the LTTE.

The summary of the findings and the observations of the Commission of Inquiry (LLRC) is furnished in Chapter 5 of Part II of this book.

The conclusion of the commission regarding the alleged violation of Humanitarian Laws is quoted below: Quote – "It is the considered view of the Commission however, that eye witness accounts and other material available to it indicate that considerable civilian casualties had in fact occurred during the final phase of the conflict. This appears to be due to cross fire, the LTTE's targeted and deliberate firing at civilians, as well as due to the dynamics of the conflict situation, the perils of the geographical terrain, the LTTE using civilians as human shields and the LTTEs refusal to let the hostages get out of harm's way."

In contrast, please refer Chapters 10 & 11 of Part I of this book, which provides a vivid description of how the LTTE deliberately and consciously violated International Humanitarian Laws by committing genocide in the most ruthless crimes as they (LTTE) being terrorists, were not bound by any laws, or any code of ethics, and conformed only to the 'laws of the jungle'. It must also be stated that those who have framed the allegations against the security forces have failed to submit authentic information and statistics to prove the charges against the security forces beyond reasonable doubt, unfortunately military administration at the time has also failed through an oversight or for not giving much importance to it, has not maintained authentic records of the casualties and deaths, etc. of who and why those casualties were caused.

It must also be stated that based on the above facts, one may conclude that the intention and the objective of the unjust allegations levelled against the security forces was to shield and justify the blatant and the conscious acts of genocide committed by the LTTE in the final phase of the war etc.

In other words, the unfounded allegations against the Sri Lankan security forces are considered as an attempt to make the 'innocent' guilty, and the 'guilty', the innocent. This unjust effort would result in, among other things, a boost to terrorism and it would be an impetus to terrorism and to continue terrorism as an insurmountable curse to humanity.

### It could be quoted as an instance in which the strength and 'power of wealth' accumulated by the Tamil diaspora has proved to be more effective than the 'value of truth'.

I am of the view that I have made adequate submissions in this book to refute the unjust charges levelled against the security forces that they intentionally violated International Humanitarian Laws and Indulged in genocide.

In contrast, I have also furnished adequate information and data to prove how the LTTE led by ruthless Prabhakaran, intentionally planned and ruthlessly decimated a large number of innocent civilians, both of his own community and that of the other communities to achieve his megalomaniac objective of establishing a separate state of which he was determined to be the one and only leader. Hence, the LTTE led by Prabhakaran cannot plead ignorance to the charges held against him for committing genocide.

As already stated, the kings who ruled this country in the ancient period and the rulers who ruled the country since independence from colonial rulers were guided by the principles and practices of Buddhism.

It is due to this reason that in the battle against the terrorists, the government of President Mahinda Rajapaksa adopted the policy of a 'Humanitarian Operation', notwithstanding the fact that the LTTE terrorists were absolutely ruthless and not guided by a code of ethics.

On conclusion of the war after eradicating terrorism, a large number of ex-combatants of the LTTE surrendered to the Security Forces. The Security Forces, without any vengeance, accepted them without imposing any form of punishment despite the fact that they have not renounced their murderous and ruthless attitudes, the security forces considered that they were human beings following the noble Buddhist religious practices that "vengeance cannot be overcome by vengeance".

This is another, instance in which the Sri Lankan government was guided by religious principles and practices in formulating a policy and a scheme of their own, to use the very Security Forces who fought the terrorist to reform, the thinking, discipline and conduct

## of a group of human beings who were considered to be inhuman and succeed, in its endeavour.

Thereupon, the security forces adopted a rehabilitation process based on the religious principles of 'loving kindness and compassion'. Those principles were adopted as the guiding practices in transforming their ruthless mental makeup and succeeded in transforming their thinking and got them to be accustomed to a practice to lead a life beneficial to them and to that of the society at large, successfully resulting in enabling them to lead a normal life in civil society.

This is the story of the successful rehabilitation of ex-combatants of the LTTE. It was such a remarkable success that none of the ex-ltte combatants who were rehabilitated have not reverted back to terrorism or terrorist practices, thus denouncing their earlier practices based on violence and extremism.

Thereafter, the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) were successfully rehabilitated in different areas of the North.

It is highly creditable that this rehabilitation programme was successfully executed and achieved the desired results due to the dedicated efforts of the Bureau of the Commissioner General of Rehabilitation of Sri Lanka.

Having stated the facts relating to the alleged violation of the International Humanitarian Laws (IHL) by the Sri Lankan security forces and the facts stated regarding the acts committed by the LTTE in consciously committing genocide, I leave it to the intelligent and rational reader and the relevant international organisations (UNHRC, etc.) to decide who was in fact, guilty of genocide and who was innocent of committing these acts considered inhuman and unpardonable.

> J.F Ranjith Perera The Author

## PART II (A)

## **CHAPTER I**

#### CATASTROPHE OF TERRORISM, THE DEFENCELESS THREAT TO HUMANITY

Ever since the evolution of mankind, natural disasters, which are mostly unavoidable have caused enormous destruction to humanity and its habitat. In the modern era natural disasters have escalated due to the selfish, and unwarranted conduct of the human beings who in the end cannot avoid facing the consequences of their evil doings.

In addition there are the manmade disasters, invented and used to cause enormous destruction to human beings their habitats, valuable economic assets and to their environment.

Firstly, there was the invention and the use of the atomic bomb and secondly the invention of the most disastrous hydrogen bomb. These inventions and their use caused destruction to millions of innocent human lives their dwellings, habitats, valuable economic assets etc. The lasting adverse effects to the environment, by dropping the atomic bomb in Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan towards the end of the 2nd world war are yet to be estimated, despite the elapse of nearly half a century after the event took place. The adverse impacts of using the hydrogen bomb would be enormous, that it cannot be estimated.

The second man created disaster terrorism which developed in the 20th century initially in the Middle East as a reaction to the despotism, tyranny, abject poverty, inhuman forms of punishment, suppression, social injustice etc.

From here it has developed to be a catastrophy engulfing the whole world and had developed to be a man created disaster, helplessly confronted by the human race. The human beings the world over, across the borders have become innocent and helpless victims of ruthless terrorism. **The obnoxious ingredients of terrorism as it prevails at**  present are, surprise, sudden, unknown, ruthless, leaving little or no room to escape or to protect.

Sri Lanka which is nowhere close to a military super power yet, became the only country in the world to eradicate terrorism from its country and destroy the leadership of those who perpetrated terrorism. No country in the world, whether, in western Europe, Eastern Europe or in U.S.A. had ever succeeded in eradicating terrorism wherever it occurred, in particular, in Vietnam, Afghanistan or elsewhere. Terrorism is continuing to haunt different countries in, Asia, Africa and in the Middle East, Killing hundreds of civilians and causing enormous destruction to valuable assets in the respective countries, while being watched helplessly by their governments and their security forces.

No super power in the world or the U.N.O or any other international organisation has evolved a method or has offered a solution to deal with the problem of terrorism. Evolving a method to deal with or offering a solution to this catastrophy has become extremely hazardous due to the peculiar nature and characteristics of terrorism.

However, Sri Lanka a comparatively smaller country in the Indian Ocean with comparatively limited military resources and capacity, made a (humanitarian effort) to successfully eradicate the ruthless LTTE, the most organised terrorist group in the world, and eradicated its leadership. **Thus Sri Lanka earned the reputation of being the first country in the world to eradicate terrorism from its country.** 

Terrorism is the worst catastrophy humanity had to confront in the twentieth and the twenty first centuries. According to the Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary of Current English (7th edition) a catastrophy "is a sudden event that causes many people to suffer". A catastrophy can also be caused by a natural disaster or due to a deliberate attempt or action initiated and taken by a human being and or a group of human beings.

Terrorism which is initiated and executed either by a person or a group of persons is the worst catastrophy which has ravaged the world in the 20th and the 21st centuries. According to the "Dictionary of Political Science" "terrorism is described as the use of violence or indulgence in violent activities to achieve any political end or in order to infuse fear among the people". It is "violence of a random and an arbitrary kind". The "Chamber's Compact Dictionary" describes "terrorism as the systematic use of violence and intimidation to force a government or the community etc. to act in a certain way or accept certain demands".

As per the above definitions the following are the different components of terrorism. Viz - use of violence to achieve a political objective, to infuse fear in the minds of the people, it is random and arbitrary and not continuous. Terrorism which ever form it takes, and irrespective of where it occurs, spells disaster and destruction.

Mankind evolved to be civilized from the Stone Age to the middle age and from there to the modern age due to various developments that took place during those periods. However mankind was morally refined and made to understand the rights of other living beings and to recognize the value and importance of peaceful co-existence only after the birth of the religious leaders.

The Buddha, the Enlightened one, lived and preached his religious philosophy in India, in the 5th century BC. His religious teachings came to be known as "Buddhism". Jesus Christ was born and lived in Jerusalem in the 1st century AD. Prophet Mohamed who lived in Mecca preached the religion which came to be known as "Islam".

The religious leaders through their religious teachings refined mankind by laying down the codes of conduct to be practiced in their day to day lives. As stated earlier despite all other developments, it is these religious practices which made it possible for people to live in harmony, by, recognizing the rights of others to live.

It must be stated that the original religious practices and codes of ethics and conduct laid down by the great religious leaders cannot be denounced due to the subsequent formation of different denominations or sects of these religions and causing different problems which may never have been envisaged by those great and outstanding religious leaders.

All three major religions which have done an enormous contribution to civilization and to the moral development and upliftment of mankind sprang from Asia and the Middle East. It is a tragedy that terrorism the most destructive method of militancy, which is currently the greatest danger confronted by humanity also initially emerged in the very great lands in which the great religions of the world were born. The curse of terrorism too emerged first in the Middle East and in Asia.

The emergence of terrorism in the Middle East could or may have been a reaction to the dictatorial forms of government that prevailed in those countries resulting in oppression, denial of basic human rights, abject poverty acute inequality in the distributions of wealth, lack of basic welfare facilities and poor quality of life etc. Added to these reasons was the emergence of religious fundamentalism in Iran after ousting the Shah of the then Persia by the Muslim fundamentalist led by Ayatollah Koumeni.

One of the earliest terrorist organizations that came into existence was the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), founded by Yasser Arfath the national leader of Palestine. The PLO was established as a reaction to Israel, to reclaim the sovereign rights of Palestine as an independent state. Thereafter several other terrorist organizations such as Hisbullah, Alfatah, Hamas, Al-Queda, Taliban sprang in the Middle Eastern region. The Maoist's and Naxalites are operating in the Northern and the North West Asian Region.

### Terrorism wherever it occurs is an extreme and a violent method adopted to achieve political ends. Wherever it occurs it had resulted in destruction and disaster.

The Buddha denounced the adoption of extreme forms or methods of achieving one's objectives. Prince Siddhartha, having renounced his lay life went in search of some of the well-known religious leaders at the time in India, and sought their advice regarding the methods and practices to be adopted to cleanse his mind of the desires and defilements which were the causes of suffering and rebirth. They advised him to inflict as much suffering as possible to his physique. Following the advice of these teachers the ascetic Gauthama consumed only a very small quantity of food and drank much less water than what was required for the sustenance of his body. Due to this, his body became extremely emaciated and his mind became weak. Hence he realized the futility of this painful exercise to achieve his objective. It only resulted in exhaustion of his energy. He realized that his objective cannot be achieved with an utterly exhausted body and that physical fitness was essential for spiritual progress. Hence he abandoned forever this painful extreme called "Attakilamathanuyogaya". He had already realized that the other extreme of indulging in extreme happiness, fun and joy will retard moral progress. This was called the "Kamasukallikanuyogaya", which he has already experienced when he led the life of a Royal Prince.

There-upon he conceived the idea of adopting the Golden Mean "The Middle Path". Which later became one of the salient features of his teachings". Consequently he decided to nourish his body sparingly and took coarse food both hard and soft. Having regained his lost strength he succeeded in gradually proceeding towards achieving his desired noble objective.

As stated earlier the Buddha lived and delivered his religious discourses in the 5th Century BC. What he preached was the need to avoid the extremes and to follow the "Middle Path" to successfully achieve one's objectives, has stood the test of time, even after the lapse of twenty five centuries. No mighty person, a philosopher or an inventor has hitherto succeeded in challenging the validity of this truth, and will not be possible to do it even in the future. It is in fact an eternal truth which will prevail for ever.

As stated before, terrorism is an extreme method of achieving political objectives. Such an extreme method if pursued will result in violence and destruction to human life and valuable assets, and yet in the end it will fail to achieve its objectives.

Terrorism which originated due to human action first sprang in the twentieth century. Since then it is the most dangerous disaster confronting the world. The impact of terrorism is worsened due to its sudden and unpredictable nature. Consequently terrorism has resulted in loss of life to thousands of people in the crudest and the most inhuman manner. Terrorism has no political and or territorial barriers. It all depends on the intentions and objectives of those who are planning and perpetrating these crimes. It is currently a global threat. No country in the world can safely assume that it will not be a target of terrorism. A reason would arise internally or externally, within a short span of time to justify a terrorist attack on a particular country. The reasons will be found and justified by the attackers. These attacks would be carried out either by organized groups or by individuals. The Nine Eleven attack of 11th September 2004 on USA was undertaken by the well-known terrorist organization, Al Qaida led by Bin Laden. Thereafter similar attacks were carried out on some countries in Europe which were undertaken by terrorist groups or by individuals who are linked to terrorist organizations.

Due to the prevailing chaotic political and religious problems prevailing in the Middle East and in some Northern Asian countries frequent terrorist attacks had become a regular and a common feature. This has resulted in creating an unsettled and a chaotic situation in those countries.

Apart from the deaths caused to a considerable number of innocent civilians, such attacks had resulted in the destruction of valuable assets of those countries.

In view of the fact that terrorism has become a global threat all countries in the world irrespective of their political differences or ideologies should form a joint front not only to counter terrorism but also to eradicate this menace from the face of the earth. No country in the world developed or developing should encourage the development of terrorism by sympathising the cause of the so called freedom fighters or liberators without a comprehensive analytical study of the genuineness of their cause and objectives.

A classic example was the outcome of a blunderous decision taken by the Indian Government in the first half of the 1980's to militarily train and equip the young men and women belonging to the various terrorist groups that sprang up in the Northern and the Eastern provinces of Sri Lanka. The Central Government in India adopted and pursued this policy due to the immense pressure exerted by the racist politicians of the southern state of Tamil Nadu. In addition comparative differences in political and economic policies of the Indian and the Sri Lankan Governments at the time, was also another reason for the hostilities to prevail between the two countries. **Consequent to this blunderous decision taken by the government** of India, Sri Lanka had to go through the nasty experience of a "reign of terror" for nearly thirty years which was an unforgettable experience in the history of Sri Lanka.

India, a country with great religious and cultural traditions failed to realize that the terrorists have no regard or respect for religious or ethical practices. They have not heard of the virtue of "gratitude". Hence the LTTE which emerged to be the most organized and powerful terrorist group in the world, rewarded India for training and equipping their cadres by meticulously planning and assassinating Rajiv Ghandi a former Prime Minister who was to be the future political hope of India. **This assassination executed by the LTTE is clear evidence of the lack of trust that could be placed on a terrorist organization.** 

The assassination of thirteen soldiers of the Sri Lankan Army by Prabhakaran and his gang of terrorists in Jaffna in 1983 resulted in a massive backlash by the people of the South. This was supported to a certain extent by the government in power at the time, who thought that it was the ideal time to teach an unforgettable lesson to the people of the North. This was due to a wrong decision taken by the government without ascertaining as to who was responsible for launching this attack. However the government may not have been aware that they played into the hands of the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) whose leader was the "god father" of the LTTE. The backlash that erupted had been a part of an overall plan shrewdly formulated by the racist Vellala politicians of the TULF. They may have planned to take maximum advantage of the outcome of the backlash, which came to be known as "Black July". Out of all the terrorist groups which sprang up in the Northern region as a reaction to the "Black July" the TULF selected the LTTE led by Prabhakaran to be the most effective terrorist group to implement their "master plan" to establish their proposed state of Eelam, combining the North and the East of the country.

The shrewd leaders of the TULF were well aware that a large volume of funds will be required to implement the master plan they have formulated to setup the state of Ealam. Hence they thought that in the circumstances the ideal strategy to be adopted was to explore the possibility of sending as many Tamil people as possible to foreign countries and extort a part of the money paid to them as a living allowance, or a dole to develop a fund which was required to sustain military activities against the security forces of the government.

With this objective in view the TULF leaders appealed to all the diplomatic missions in the country and informed them that it was no longer safe for the people of the Tamil community to live in Sri Lanka and to permit as many people as possible to migrate to their countries as refugees. These appeals were made to the Western European Countries as well as to Canada, Australia and New Zealand etc. These countries were not fully aware of the ground situation and the realities prevailing in Sri Lanka when they first permitted large numbers of Tamils to migrate to their countries as refugees. They merely believed and gave into the trickery of the Tamil leaders of the TULF. It must be recalled that the Vaddukkodai declaration made in 1967 by the TULF, Amirthalingam advised the young emerging terrorist groups that if necessary they should seek foreign assistance in pursuit of their objectives. The Tamil leaders did not make any appeals to the East European countries, to India, or any East Asian countries to obtain refugee status to Tamil people as they knew that it was not comparatively advantageous to do so. In addition these countries in contrast to the countries in Europe were comparatively conversant with the prevailing conditions and the ground situation in Sri Lanka. It must be stated that by making this request for refugee status to the Sri Lankan Tamils, those countries mentioned above were completely misled by false representations regarding the situation then prevailing in Sri Lanka. This was proved by the fact that if Sri Lanka was not safe for the Tamil people to live, why didn't the leaders of the TULF, who are also Tamils make a request to grant refugee or asylum status to them.

The Tamils who migrated to Western Europe, Canada and Australia formed a solid base in the form of a diaspora for the Tamil racist and the separatist to extort funds to be used to perpetrate their planned terrorist activities. For this purpose they organized a wellplanned and an effective network to extort the funds from each and every person without an exception, who migrated and wherever they lived. None was able to refuse contributions as the particulars of their relatives in Sri Lanka were available with the terrorist to take them to task in case any refugees defaulted in paying their respective contributions. Through this organized and effective network they were able to collect a large volume of funds and continued the process to ensure the collection of funds at the highest possible levels. They used these funds to develop the terrorist activities of the LTTE to make it the most organized and the destructive terrorist group in the world.

It is clear that at the inception, the educated, experienced and the shrewd leadership of the TULF would have formulated the plans and worked out the strategies for the implementation of these plans. Thereafter they advised and guided the LTTE, as the leader of this group viz Prabhakaran initially lacked the necessary knowledge and experience to get himself fully organized. **Having got themselves well and fully established the LTTE came to be identified by the "Time" magazine to be "the most organized terrorist group in the world"**. Thereafter the LTTE, eliminated the key leaders of the TULF including their god father A. Amirthalingam. Hence it is clear that the risk to the lives of the leaders of the TULF arose not from the Sinhalese, the majority community living in the country but from the very LTTE terrorist whom the TULF nurtured and developed to be the most organized and ruthless terrorist group in the world.

The Sri Lankan experience is a good lesson to those countries which provide the facility of "refugee status" to some citizens of countries who attempt to migrate to other countries on the pretext of "denial of human rights" or "lack of security for them" to continue to live in their countries of birth.

In Sri Lanka as stated above the Tamil leaders forwarded grievances that, it was no longer safe for the Tamils to live in this country and their lives were insecure and they were deprived of human rights. The Tamils who were able to afford the travel costs etc migrated to those countries which were prepared to accept them as refugees. However the majority of Tamils continued to remain in the country without any fear whilst continuing to enjoy the same human rights and privileges enjoyed by the people of all other communities living in the country.

As per the census of population taken in 2012 the total population of Sri Lanka was 20,328 million. Out of this total 11.2% were Sri Lankan Tamils and 4.2% were Indian Tamils. The people of the three ethnic communities viz the Sinhala, Tamil and the Moors continue in live in all the 9 provinces in the country, in harmony without been subject to any form of discrimination. The grievances forwarded by the leaders of the TULF to obtain refugee status to the Tamil people was a mere ruse to mislead the countries to which they appealed for refugee status, to be given to them.

They were not much concerned about the safety and security of the majority of the Tamil community and their concealed objective was to encourage as many Tamil people as possible to migrate to the developed countries, so that it will constitute a strong base through which they could extort money to develop a massive fund. As stated above **the LTTE utilized these funds to strengthen itself to be a most organized and powerful terrorist outfit in the world.** Perhaps the countries which granted refugees status to the Tamil people were not aware of the concealed objectives of the TULF leadership and the ground situation that prevailed in Sri Lanka at the time.

The terrorist adopted the city of London as the Financial Hub or Centre of their operations. All the money extorted from the Tamil Diaspora living in different countries in the world or incomes realised from the other illegal operations such as trafficking in narcotics or the illegal arms trade, were channelled to their financial centre in London where the fund management of the LTTE was done. Exact information or data of the volume and the value of the total collections for a specific period of one year was not available. However, it was known that the total collections from the different sources for an year amounted to several million UK pounds or US dollars.

It is a matter for regret that despite the fact that Britain banned the LTTE as a terrorist organization the British Government misled Sri Lanka and the rest of the world by continuing to permit the LTTE to use London as their financial base. It must be pointed out that despite the fact that Sri Lanka is a member of the Commonwealth, the British Government was not concerned in safeguarding the political interests of Sri Lanka and continued to support the LTTE for some unknown reason by permitting them to continue their financial operations in London.

Britain is said to be the seat of "parliamentary democracy". However parliamentary democracy does not mean permitting an illegal organization to carry out their subversive activities within their country. The British authorities may be permitting the LTTE to continue to operate in London on the presumption that the LTTE will not be a danger to Britain. If true, it would be a contradiction to their own decision to ban the LTTE as a terrorist organization. However, it must be stated that the activities of a terrorist organization cannot be predicted with any degree of certainty.

It is also necessary for countries in the developed or developing world to exercise caution when granting "refugee status" to people of another country, on grounds of violation of human rights or inadequate security for them to live in their respective countries of their birth. When such requests are made it is necessary to ascertain the bonafide reasons for such requests or whether the reasons provided are dubious or due to concealed objectives. As in the case of Sri Lanka it could perhaps be a ruse for assisting a terrorist organization or to support any other subversive activities.

As stated earlier terrorism wherever it occurs spells disaster or destruction. It can occur in any place or any country. No country in the world could safely assume that they would not be the target of a terrorist attacks. This is due to the fact that the attacks of the terrorist organizations are sudden and unpredictable. Hence as terrorism is a global threat, no country in the world should show any sympathy towards their endeavours to justify their existence and should desist from providing any form of assistance or encouragement for its development. Sri Lanka had the sad experience of terrorism for thirty long years. Due to the curse of terrorism Sri Lanka lost approximately one hundred thousand valuable human lives, including that of the security forces, and caused destruction to a large volume of valuable assets of the country and retarded its progress for three decades. However notwithstanding many obstacles, Sri Lanka was able to completely eradicate terrorism from the country and to destroy its leadership due to the determined and concerted action taken by the government of President Mahinda Rajapaksha with the able assistance of the heroic security forces.

This should be considered as a historic achievement as it is the first instance in which a powerful terrorist organization had been completely eradicated and its leadership had been destroyed. No other country in the world irrespective of their military strength had succeeded in destroying a terrorist organization or movement. Wherever they tried to do so even by using the mightiest military strength, they have not succeeded. Hence, the Sri Lankan security forces deserve the commendation of the world. A greater achievement was that the Sri Lankan security forces proved to the world, that contrary to the view held, that irrespective of the strength and the capabilities of a terrorist organization it could be destroyed and its leadership could be eliminated with strategic military planning, supported by a firm determination and commitment.

However it is a matter for regret that instead of commending and appreciating this great achievement some countries in the world and the Human Rights organizations probably backed by the enormous funds of the LTTE are trying to dilute this achievement by levelling false and unfound allegations of violating human rights by the Sri Lankan security forces in the final phase of the war against the LTTE. Authentic information as to what happened in the final stage of the war is provided for the information of the readers.

The policy adopted by the security forces throughout the fourth phase of the Ealam war, on the specific directives of the Commander In Chief of the security forces, the President, was "minimum casualty to civilians". In conformity with this directive, whilst battling the LTTE the security forces demarcated "No Fire Zones" to enable the civilians to escape to these zones for safety. However the terrorist who were not guided or disciplined by any code of ethics or accepted military practices, on the instructions of their leaders infiltrated into the no fire zones, also dressed in civilian clothes and not in the LTTE attire, and launched attacks on the advancing security forces whilst mingling with the civilians who have crossed over to the no fire zones for safety. Consequently the security forces had admitted that in the ensuing cross fires there may have been some civilians causalities which was unavoidable as the terrorist were continuously using the innocent civilians as human barriers.

Due to the continuous attacks by the terrorist within the no fire zones the security forces were not able even to identify the casualties even to be dispatched to the hospitals for treatment.

Sri Lankan security forces have been professionally trained according to British Military Standards and Practices. In contrast the terrorists have undergone a different form of military training contrary to the accepted international standards and practices. Hence their conduct in the battle field was not governed by any military laws and practices. In fact they were governed by the "laws of the jungle". Their objective whilst in the battle field was the destruction of the enemy by any means. Hence it is clear that even when the professionally trained soldiers confronted the terrorists, it is probable and possible to confront some unexpected experiences and consequences. Hence without giving adequate attentions to these considerations the criticisms levelled against the Sri Lankan security forces are unacceptable and cannot be justified.

If a global attempt is made to eradicate terrorism from the face of the earth no country, or any international organization, nor an international media organization, or an important political personality should make any utterances or statements in support or in defence of a terrorist organization. It amounts to encouragement and resurgence of terrorism. The worst would be the criticisms levelled against a country which had succeeded in eradicating terrorism, on various pretexts including violation of human rights without ascertaining the authentic information and proof etc. There is no doubt that inducements and encouragements should not be

### given for the development of terrorism and even to the resurgence of a terrorist organization which had been destroyed or completely eliminated.

#### **1.1** Terror attacks in Europe, and the LTTE<sup>1</sup>

As Sri Lankans, our hearts reach out for the victims of the horrific terror attacks in London and Manchester. Having undergone such horrors for almost three decades, we can understand their fears, physical pains, and tears shed by victims and their loved ones. However, there are parallels between these current horrors and what we Sri Lankans faced, that need to be explored by security experts and historians.

Sri Lanka faced terrors that were hundred-fold more than what London is facing because of LTTE, (Liberation Tigers) which was determined to establish a separate state. The brutality of LTTE was unsurpassed. It pioneered the use of suicide bombers (especially females). According to the FBI and reported in the TIME magazine, they invented the suicide vest, similar to the fake one worn by the attacker in Manchester.. (See "A Brief History of The Tarnil Tigers By Kate Pickert TIME Jan. 04, 2009"). The same source states that the LTTE is the only terrorist group to have assassinated two world leaders (The President of Sri Lanka Mr. Ranasinghe Premdasa and former[Indian PM Mr Rajiv Gandhi) and indicates how they used almost 200 suicide attacks in our small country.

The LTTE's attacks in Sri Lanka were also aimed at maximizing civilian casualties, similar to what the terrorists in the UK are doing now. They attacked civilians in places of religious worship using machine guns (rather than knife attacks in London). They used suicide bombers (usually females-who were coerced) in crowded places (as in Manchester) and the latter almost annihilated the - country's democratic machinery. Their tally included one elected president, two presidential candidates, a president blinded but escaping death, 3 cabinet ministers, Tamil political leaders, and civilian institutions. They used bomb-laden, vans to explode the Central Bank, Colombo's World Trade Centre, Colombo airport, train stations in the capital, and the main bus terminal in Colombo. In

<sup>1.</sup> Courtesy - "Opinion column, The Island newspaper (8 June-2017)

2009, they conducted air raids over Colombo In effect, Sri Lanka endured many horrors similar to 9/11 for 30 years, and thousands - fold more than what Europe is undergoing now.

According to press reports from Al Jazeera, LTTE maintained close contact with the Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) sent explosive experts to the southern Philippines to train members of the Moro Islamic Liberation Front. Falk Rovik, the chief spokesperson for Norwegians Against Terrorism, has described how the LTTE sold hundreds of stolen Norwegian passports to AL Qaeda. (http://www.aljazeera.com/focus/200 8/'J.1/2008112019115851343.html). Just like current terror groups active in the Middle East, they pioneered the use of child soldiers (see report by Human Rights Watch in https://web.archive.org/web/20070516141422/ http://www.hrw.org/reports/ 2004/ child soldiers0104/16.htm)

The LTTE funding machine and extortions were active at least until a decade ago (see the report by Human Rights Watch in https://www.hrw.org/report/2006/03/14/funding-final-war/ltte-intimidation and-extortion-Tamil-diaspora).

Regrettably, when these horrors were being orchestrated, the UK allowed the LTTE headquarters to be situated in Eelam House located at 202, Long Lane, London SE1. Even now, European governments continue to pressure Sri Lanka to prosecute some segments of the armed forces for excesses, little realizing that we went through hell.

It's pertinent to mention that the Australian woman, Adele Balasingham, wife of late, Anton Balasingham the political adviser to the LTTE, was the woman who was in charge of training of the LTTE's women's suicide squad, went back to England from where she came to Sri lanka, after the defeat of the LTTE in May 2009. It has now been understood that she is still been given safe living facilities in Wales England.

It's time for the political leadership in Britain to think that there is nothing to preclude her from undertaking another training programme for a squad of women Jihadist's which could be fatal to England or to any other countries in Europe .Hence it is prudent for authorities in Britain to consider weather Adele should be permitted to continue to live in Britain or she should be extradited to her country of origin (Australia) which has now imposed severe restrictions on immigration to prevent undesirables from entering their country.

Thus the current spate of terrorist acts in the Western capitals begs the following questions: What was the role of the LTTE in influencing these currently active terror outfits? Are former LTTE operatives still playing a role in terror attacks in Europe by providing logistic and technical support? Would the current activities of terror groups in Europe evolve in the same path as the LTTE?

### **1.2** Terrorism breeds terrorism<sup>2</sup>

...... British Prime Minister May, addressing the media outside No 10 Downing Street on Sunday morning, after chairing the COBRA security meeting, thundered, "Enough is enough. Terrorism breeds terrorism. Things need to change". She further stated, "We cannot and must not pretend that things can continue as they are. Britain has been too tolerant of Islamist extremism" and called for "international agreements to regulate cyber space".

Islamist terrorism in the West is relatively new. It began with 9/11 in USA, followed by the Madrid train bombings in March 2004 and London public transport bombings in July 2005. Hitherto terrorism in Britain was limited to acts of terror by the IRA, and in Europe by groups of disgruntled locals such as Red Brigade (Italy) and Baader Meinhof Gang (Germany) who, was similar to JVP in Sri Lanka, had ideological differences with established governments. South Moluccan (Netherlands) and Algerian, (France) terrorists were fighting for independence. The only exception was the massacre of Israeli athletes during the 1972 summer Olympics by Palestinian terror group Black September. However the massacre was not directed at the Germans.

The short and medium-term measures undertaken by British authorities to contain terrorism, not withstanding, it is a case of the symptom rather than the root cause for the disease known as 'terrorism'. London Mayor Sadiq Khan among others are busy insisting Britain will "never give into terrorists" and need to 'Protect "our values and way of

<sup>2</sup> Courtesy - "Opinion column, The Island newspaper (8 June-2017

life". What Britain and other western countries need to realise is, that countries outside the West, Iraq, Afghanistan and Libya to name a few, have their own 'values and way of life'. In as much as their values and way of life may be repugnant to the West and even to some of us, it is for those communities to decide, if they should live by western or their own values and way of life. The 'democracy' projects undertaken by western nations in Iraq, Afghanistan, Libya and Syria, besides in many other countries, have gone awry.

They have resulted in unimaginable misery, death and destruction to people in those countries. It has also hardened and radicalized them. Saddam Hussain's one million strong army being dismissed and let loose in the streets of Baghdad after the US and British intervention is a hallmark of the West's misbegotten wisdom.

It was a ready-made group of disgruntled men, trained in modern weaponry, for ISIS recruiters. Sectarian violence and hundreds of deaths, so common in post 2003 Iraq was unheard of during decades of Saddam Hussain's rule. The British and French democracy project in Libya had similar results. What is happening in western countries today is a case of reaping the whirlwind of the winds they sowed. Prime Minister May was spot on when she said" Terrorism breeds Terrorism"

A new trend emerging in Britain is the radicalization of young men, born in Britain to Muslim immigrants, such the likes of London Bridge assailant Khalid Masood, Manchester suicide bomber Salman Abeidi and Borrow Market assailant Khuram Butt. They are all British born. They received their education in Britain. They had every opportunity afforded by Britain to other British born persons. Abeidi's father and mother owed their lives to the magnanimity of Britain, who granted them political asylum. The radicalization of such persons and their willingness to murder innocent men, women and children for their cause gives credence to declarations by former British Prime Minister David Cameron and German Chancellor Angela Merkel a few years ago of multi-culturism as a failure. Needless to say, the loss of human life is a tragedy, may it be in London, Mosul, Kabul or elsewhere. It is said, "in a democracy, people get the leaders they deserve". British polity afforded an opportunity to elect their rulers every five years or less, are not totally blameless. In the 2001 Parliamentary elections• in Britain, Tony Blair and his Labour party won 403 out of 659 seats in parliament. In 2003, Blair took Britain to war in Iraq together with USA without UN sanction, justification being that Saddam Hussain possessed, WMDs (weapons of mass destruction) capable of reaching Britain in 45 minutes. Despite no WMDs being found in Iraq, resulted in ejecting Blair and his Labour Party from government for bogus WMDs, the British polity re-elected him and his party in 2005 elections. Which managed to win 355 seats. It need be stated, in the western psyche, arms and trade deals worth billions of dollars take precedence over Democracy projects outside the West. They opt to support nations such as Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Qatar, still practicing hereditary rule, while destabilizing Iran, a country that has held regular Presidential elections for decades.

Premature elections were called by Prime Minister May to strengthen her government's hand in negotiating a favorable Brexit deal for Britain. Until a few days ago, the primary election issue was the NHS (National Health Service), an extremely sensitive subject in Britain at any given time. Security was a close second. There is no call from the polity for a long-term solution to the disease terrorism', that is to abandon 'democracy projects' in countries outside the West in the future. To do so would mean giving up Britains second-tier position at the top table of the world's movers and shakers. Britain goes into a general election on Thursday, an already divided nation over Brexit. Amidst the current wave of terrorism, its liberal and tolerant values at home are being tested as never before. **There is an adage in Sri Lanka** "That if you knowingly permit venomous serpents to creep into your garb, thereafter do not yell in pain that these serpents are stinging you, which could ultimately even cause your death."

# PART II (A)

## **CHAPTER 2**

# THE OBJECTIVE OF THE HUMANITARIAN OPERATION

When the operations of the LTTE terrorists were at their height none thought that the world's most merciless terror outfit could ever be destroyed militarily. There were enough and more reasons for that belief as the LTTE took successive leaders of Sri Lanka for rides in the name of peace talks.

They used the negotiating table and the periods of peace talks to reinforce and strengthen their military capability. However, all former Presidents of Sri Lanka, from the Late J.R. Jayewardene to Chandrika Bandaranaike, had little or no option due to tremendous international pressure.

All that the LTTE did was to show some interest on peace talks to mislead the international community.

Each time the Tigers ran short of weapons and were militarily in a disadvantageous position due the Security Forces' operations, they opted for peace talks to halt the advancing troops. The previous Presidents of Sri Lanka bowed down to international pressure and fell into the LTTE's trap.

However, it was an altogether different story after President Mahinda Rajapaksa was elected President on November 18, 2005. The LTTE thought that they could command the bargaining power at the negotiating table at all times. After a couple of rounds at the negotiating table, the LTTE unilaterally walked out of the peace talks in 2006 without any valid reason whatsoever.

They not only abandoned the peace talks, but went a step further to show their might by closing down the Mavil Aru anicut, **an action that** 

# proved too costly and ultimately led to the end of Prabhakaran and his terror outfit.

When the Tigers closed down the Mavil Aru anicut and deprived the farmers in the area of their basic need of water, President Rajapaksa did not think twice in ordering the Security Force to begin a "humanitarian operation" to liberate the area to enable the farmers to have free access to water.

That eventually became the beginning of the world's largest human rescue mission as over 500,000 civilians in the North and the East were liberated from the clutches of the LTTE terror.

The Security Forces, which began their operation from Mavil Aru, did not look back as they had the political sagacity of President Rajapaksa which was a tower of strength to inspire the true sons of our soil.

#### 2.1 International pressure

Though all his predecessors bowed down to international pressure and abandoned various military operations against LTTE, **President Rajapaksa was not prepared to let down the efforts of the Security Forces.** He gave the fullest support and the much needed political leadership for the Security Forces to accomplish the mission impossible, in little over three years. Moreover, the first-hand experience and unmatched military strategies of Defence Secretary **Gotabaya Rajapaksa, assisted by the Commanders of the respective Security Forces proved to be too much for the Tigers who lost their grip in every area they forcibly held until they were eradicated at the Nandikadal lagoon on May 18, 2009.** 

On May 14, 1985, the Tiger terrorists attacked the Sacred Jaya Sri Maha Bodhi and brutally killed over 146 civilians and wounded another 85 people. Many Bhikkhus and pilgrims who were inside the Sri Maha Bodhi premises were among the dead. On their way back from Anuradhapura, the LTTE entered the Wilpattu Forest Reserve and shot dead another 18 Sinhalese villagers.

Those Western forces who now make a hue and cry, and yell from the rooftops regarding the human rights of Tiger cadres killed

in action didn't utter a word when all Sri Lankans were threatened by LTTE terror. Now that our Security Forces have liberated the country, there are many godfathers of human rights to voice strongly on behalf of the dead Tigers and question so-called acts against humanity. Yet, they never ever criticised those barbaric acts of the LTTE as acts against mankind.

As stated earlier the entire nation and the Buddhist world were shocked at the news of the barbarism displayed by the LTTE, as unarmed and innocent civilian devotees including the clergy, women and children were massacred. As later revealed, the attack was masterminded by none other than the megalomaniac terrorist leader Prabhakaran himself.

It was intended at flaming communal hatred and a spree of island-wide mob attacks targeting innocent Tamil civilians. However, Prabhakaran could not put his ultimate plan into action as Sri Lankans including Buddhists responded with extreme resilience,

#### 2.2 Battle against terrorism

What is most pathetic is the attitude of certain countries in the West who only want to dig old wounds. They are only interested in finding out about the final two weeks of the battle against terrorism, not the entire 30-year period during which the LTTE had brought misery to the lives of over 20 million people of all communities living in the country.

The West must look positively at the progress Sri Lanka has made since terrorism was crushed four years ago. Even the Asian Development Bank (ADB) officials and SAARC Ministers have commended Sri Lanka, for the progress made in development projects after the dawn of peace.

#### 2.3 David Cameron's Visit to Sri Lanka

The British Prime Minister **David Cameron who visited Sri Lanka**, in November 2013 to participate in the Meeting of the Commonwealth Heads of State (CHOGM) even after visiting the Northern Province of Sri Lanka and Seeing with his own eyes the developments that have taken place, socially and economically, within a short span of four years and despite the explanations given by the Sri Lankan President, when Cameron met him, he had stated that we would give time till next March (next year (2014) for Sri Lanka to hold its own investigations on alleged human rights violations.

However among others, whom Cameron met during his stay in Sri Lanka was Sri Lanka's International Cricketing celebrity Muththaiah Muralitharan who is a Sri Lankan Tamil. He told Cameron that he preferred to continue to live in Sri Lanka, with dignity, despite his wife being an Indian Citizen. He gave a bit of his mind to Cameron, when he met Muralitharan in Colombo explaining the ground situation prevailing in Sri Lanka and not to be misled by the distorted information provided by those who are sympathetic to the terrorists.

Cameron finally had to admit the peaceful situation in Sri Lanka when he had to face a barrage of questions in the British Parliament (the House of Commons) questioned whether the British Government would entertain asylum seekers from Sri Lanka, re-stated that Sri Lanka is safe and has a peaceful atmosphere after the eradication of terrorism.

It can be construed from what he said that he himself was convinced that due to the peaceful atmosphere prevailing in Sri Lanka there is no need for those who are living in Sri Lanka to seek asylum in any other country.

Despite the fact that Cameron visited Sri Lanka mainly to participate in the meeting of the Commonwealth Heads of State he laid greater emphasis on undertaking the task of "witch hunting" to impute blame on the Sri Lankan Government for alleged war crimes, during the final phase of the Ealam war.

Thereafter on the basis of the information made available to him by the sympathisers of the LTTE terrorist, without any verification of the authenticity of the information, stated that, before March 2014, the government of Sri Lanka should conduct its own investigations regarding the alleged violation of human rights and should submit the findings before the deadline stipulated by him. The statement made by him did not sound like a request but it took the form of a statement made with authority. If so he should have disclosed as to who delegated this authority to him.

It is a pity that Cameron failed to realize that Sri Lanka is no longer a British Colony and he had no authority or right to lay down stipulations, conditions or deadlines to another independent sovereign state, which is a fully-fledged member of the United Nations Organization (U.N.O).

It is relevant to point out that these mighty big powers of the West, who have failed in quelling terrorism where ever they tried, should put their records right, regarding their violation of human rights. Leave alone, when they were colonial powers, even the violations they have done in the recent past, before pointing an accusing finger at their younger brothers in Asia and in the developing countries in the world.

It is a matter for regret that Cameron was unaware or presumed to be unaware of the human rights violations by the British forces in recent times. In fact it is possible to provide enough and more information regarding human rights violations by the British forces, in the recent past. Hence Britain must clear the loads of rubbish in their own backyards before pointing an accusing finger on Sri Lanka.

Soldiers from an undercover unit of the British Army in Northern Ireland killed scores of unarmed civilians. Speaking publicly for the first time, the ex-members of the Military Reaction FORCE (MRF) which was disbanded in 1973 have said that they had been tasked with hunting down IRA members in Belfast. The former members of the Military Reaction Force have said that their group consisted about 40 men handpicked from across the British Army.

Three former members of the unit have said that they had posed as Belfast city council road cleaners, dust man and even "meth's drinkers" carrying out surveillance from street gutters. One of the soldiers said that they had also fired on suspected IRA members. Another former member of the unit has said that they never wore uniforms and only a few knew what the ranks of the others were. In 1972 there had been more than 10,000 shootings in Northern Ireland.

The former members of the MRF has said that it is not possible to say as to how many killings the unit was involved in. The MRF's operational records have been destroyed and its former members refused to incriminate themselves or their comrades in specific incidents. But they have admitted shooting and killing unarmed civilians.

Cameron's accusations Contradicts the U.K's conduct in recent times as a U.S. ally in the NATO forces in Iraq and Afghanistan which had left thousands of hapless civilians, innocent victims of war. This accusations on Sri Lanka comes from the man both covering up the genesis of massacres of genocide magnitude and who enjoined in the near destruction of Libya; the resultant lynching of the country's leader, the murder of his sons and small grandchildren. An article published in the "Global Research" stated that Cameron's Libya is Blairs Iraq.

The pontification is also from a Prime Minister backing funding for the cannibalistic orientated insurgents in Syria; the beheading, dismembering, looting, displacing, Kidnapping chemical weapons lobbying, child killing, infanticide, including those from his own country.

It is a pity that Cameron has ignored the fact that Sri Lanka is the only country in South Asia rated high on the Human Development Index. The recent victims of U.K. and its allies namely Iraq, Libya, Afghanistan barely make it to the bottom.

Though the West makes a big hue and cry over media freedom, Cameron conducted his CHOGM press conference in his own style. When Cameron walked into the Press Conference head table, his favourite media personalities too walked along with him and occupied the front row seats reserved for them.

Cameron opened the floor for questions but from only his selected media personalities. Only one local media personality was permitted to ask questions. Hard Critics of British Policy in the local media were prevented asking questions from Cameron. Is this the media freedom the west is practicing? As mentioned earlier full credit should be given to Muththaih Muralitharan for the manner in which he opened the eyes of Cameron.

After a short tour of the North and meeting only a few LTTE sympathies who posed as ordinary Tamil Citizens Cameron had returned to Colombo with a negative picture.

But Murali in his meeting with Cameron at the Colombo Cricket Club (CCC) grounds taught the British Premier an unforgettable lesson. Murali enlightened Cameron by stating that the North has improved and developed more than 1000 percent. Though he looked shocked at once, Cameron himself had later admitted that Murali was right.

Murali bowled another doosra at the controversial Channel Four which is notorious for doctored Video clippings. When channel tried and failed to use Murali and get critical comments from the celebrated cricketer the notorious Macrae who is heavily backed with the funds of the Tamil Diaspora to distort facts and figures in their favour, assisted by his team, cut short the intended 45 minute television interview with the world record holder to less than four minutes. **Murali later said that Channel 4 had lost its credibility in his eyes. In the interview the Murali had with Channel 4, he had stated the truth and nothing but the truth which was quite contrary to what was expected by channel 4 from Murali.** 

There is no doubt that Cameron had overstepped his limits, and the Commonwealth Protocol in intimidating the host nation. He has no right whatsoever to act in such an undiplomatic manner through which he tried to tarnish the image of Sri Lanka.

What baffles all peace-loving Sri Lankans is the stance of the United States and its allies who brought two resolutions at the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) in successive years.

That was purely against Sri Lanka's battle against terrorism and only questioning the last two weeks of the humanitarian operation.

They have no right to exert pressure on Sri Lanka, citing human rights violation and the so-called allegations on acts against mankind.

The US never compromises when it comes to its national security and they have all the right to do that.

The US has been launching regular drone attacks in Pakistan which had killed many innocent civilians, but none of the world's human rights watchdogs had uttered a word.

We do not challenge the right of U.S. to its national security. They have every right to go that extra mile and protect American citizens. At the same time, every sovereign nation has a right to take action against terrorism and national security of their countries.

In conducting a military operations against the LTTE's ruthless terrorism, Sri Lanka too has only exercised its legitimate right as a sovereign nation. Irrespective of its extent of military capability, every sovereign country has a right to take legitimate action against terrorism and protect its people.

Hence, the West must keep in mind that there can't be a different policy or attitude by the UNCHR when it comes to this part of the world. Has the UNCHR chief, Navi Pillay, who has been a strong campaigner on human rights of LTTE terrorists killed in action, ever uttered a word on behalf of the innocent civilians killed in Pakistan due to US drone attacks?

Unless the United Nations comes out with one policy for all its member countries, the credibility of the world body would erode soon.

The UNCHR should not use human rights as a tool to intimidate small countries while turning a blind eye on gross human rights violations carried out by the so-called big countries.

Some common words in the Western jargon such as "freedom of expression", "human rights", "acts against mankind" and "accountability" have often been used to intimidate countries such as Sri Lanka which has a fearless foreign policy and do not dance to the melody of the West.

At the same time, these countries would allow even a small country to do anything as far as they are under the control of countries in the West. This is typical Western hypocrisy adopted

#### purely to suit their agendas and intimidate any country which does not fall in line with their actions.

It is a pity that the UNCHR is acting like a puppet of a few Western countries which continue to use human rights as a tool to intimidate any country which opposes their acts.

If Navi Pillay and the UNCHR were genuinely concerned about the human rights of people across the globe, they should wake up and order immediate investigations on US drone attacks in countries such as Pakistan.

#### 2.4 Cause for alarm

US President Barack Obama's administration recently underwent its first UN treaty body review, and the resulting concluding observations made public should be a cause for alarm. The observations, issued by independent UN experts tasked with monitoring compliance with the international treaty on the rights of children in armed conflict (formally known as OPAC), paint a dark picture of the treatment of juveniles by the US military in Afghanistan.

Hundreds of children have been killed in attacks and air strikes by US military forces and those responsible for the killings have not been held to account even as the number of children killed doubled from 2010 to 2011, where children under 18 languish in detention facilities without access to legal or full humanitarian assistance, or adequate resources to aid in their recovery and reintegration as required under international law. Some children were abused in US detention facilities, and others are faced with the prospect of torture and ill-treatment if they are transferred to Afghan custody.

These are the people who try to pontificate to us on human rights and accountability.

The UN must prove that it is no more a toothless tiger by taking action against those human rights violators of the west, as they regularly do when it comes to smaller nations.

Once again, we wish to reiterate the fact that, whilst US has every right to defend itself and protect its people. All that we would like to stress is that Sri Lanka, like any other sovereign nation, has a right to protect its people and the Security Forces only exercised that right under the Commander-in-Chief, President Rajapaksa, to liberate the people from the clutches of LTTE terror and ushered in peace to over 20 million people.

# PART II (A)

# **CHAPTER 3**

# SHOULD SRI LANKA APOLOGISE FOR ERADICATING TERRORISM ?

The world has faced the crude experience of two world wars in the  $20_{\rm th}$  century. A war wherever it occurs or whichever form it takes ends up in destruction and disaster.

Any country or any person which, or had initiated or brought about conditions which would lead to a war, could never be contended that the country or the person has emerged to be the winner, when, considering the sacrifices that had been made in terms of valuable human lives and the destruction caused to scarce and valuable economic resources and assets which have been wastefully expended in achieving that victory. **Consequently a victory to a country or to a person would mean disaster or destruction to another country or to the whole world and other human beings living on earth.** 

In addition two world wars that were experienced in the  $20_{th}$  century, there were certain major political upheavals which took the form of revolutions or liberation movements in several countries in the world such as Russia, China, Cuba, South Africa etc.

The 20th century witnessed the disintegration of the colonial powers and colonialism in the world. The colonies of the colonial powers revolted against colonial rule and demanded the right to self-government. In particular, due to various developments since world war II the colonial powers were pushed to a position where the pressure of the demand reached such a magnitude that most colonial powers were left with no alternative other than to give into their demands for self-government of the colonies. Hence most colonies became independent and became sovereign states to qualify for membership of the United Nations. In the case of those countries which revolted against the existing regimes, succeeded in establishing different political systems in their respective countries.

The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Ealam (LTTE) had its militant cadres vanquished by the Security Forces of Sri Lanka on May 19, 2009, after making several appeals by the Sri Lankan President to agree to negotiate to evolve a peaceful settlement. In battling with the Sri Lankan Security Forces the LTTE lost the lives of nearly 12,600 cadres and the Sri Lankan Security Forces ended sacrificing close to 6,000 lives and making several thousand disabled in the fourth phase of the war, to save 294,000 Tamil civilians who had been herded by the LTTE to be used as civilian combatants or human barriers.

The world's most brutal terrorist organisation, banned internationally by 32 nations, had been finally defeated on its own home soil was a shock to all. The war against the Sri Lanka's terrorism was categorized as an "unwinnable war" and it suited the world to allow Sri Lanka to be a victim while it was happy to keep statistics on the number of peace talks, cease fires and negotiations held.

While it was always the Sri Lankan government that had to offer the compromises, the LTTE got away with countless crimes, all of which the international community put into a bag, terming that "both sides committed atrocities", yet it is always the Sri Lankan government that continued to be hounded and questioned on accountability.

Why are these questions not posed to Father Emmanuel, Rudrakumaran, of the TNA leadership, Father Rayappu Joseph, Surendiran, Nediyavan and a host of others in Tamil Nadu all of whom have had close links with the LTTE and had indirectly and directly played a role in LTTE terror? They need to be questioned and asked to prove their innocence because, according to Criminal Law by association too, they cannot escape their guilt.

We next come to the question of why some opine that, Sri Lanka should not celebrate the victory over LTTE terrorism and call for May 19th to be declared as 'Reconciliation Day'. These opinions came from the very sources that are funding to tarnish Sri Lanka and destabilize it and the groups that have also had ties with the LTTE over the years. Their names need to be brought out into the open and they too need to be challenged on proving their innocence.

It was on May 1, 2011, that US President Barak Obama, his Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and the heads of the US Armed Forces watched from the White House as US Navy Seals violated the sovereignty of Pakistan, entered a compound in Ahamadabad and shot an unarmed Osama Bin Laden and several others including his son.

#### 3.1 Profoundly important moment

President Bill Clinton's message was that the death of Osama was "a profoundly important moment for people all over the world who want to build a common future of peace, freedom and cooperation for our children".

The New York City Mayor announced that he hoped the death of Bin Laden "would comfort those who lost loved ones" in the 9/11 attacks.

Condoleezza Rice, the former National Security Advisor and Secretary of State said that she was "over whelmed with gratitude and continues to be amazed at what our military has achieved".

The former Supreme Court Justice Paul Stevens said that "it was not merely to do justice and avenge September 11, but to remove an enemy who had been trying every day to attack the United States. I haven't the slightest doubt it was entirely appropriate for American forces to act" as they did.

Why then did Sri Lanka's victory and celebration get the crucifix with the UN Chief Ban Ki-moon asking Sri Lanka not to indulge in "triumphalism". We know the speech writer chose the word, but on what grounds did the US celebrate a killing of an unarmed man and several others including his unarmed son by violating the territorial sovereignty of an independent country for just a single attack on the US in 2011, when there is sufficient evidence of LTTE atrocities over three decades and far more civilian deaths to count.

## If former President Clinton is happy that the children are now safer without Bin Laden, shouldn't Sri Lanka be happier without Prabhakaran, given that he kidnapped scores of poor and low-caste children and turned them into child soldiers?

If the New York Mayor is happy that the death of Bin Laden has "comforted" those who lost their loved ones in 9/11, what about the Sri Lankan people whose loved ones were lost since the early 1980s due to LTTE suicide missions numbering over 250 bombs and assassinations that ran into three decades, targeting the young the clergy, innocent unarmed villagers who were living in villages neighbouring the North and the East, year-old babies cut into pieces, pregnant women with their stomachs slit, students on their way to school, passengers travelling in buses, politicians and even Tamil leaders who were against the LTTE?

#### 3.2 Overwhelmed with gratitude

If Condoleezza Rice can be "over whelmed with gratitude" and continue to be "amazed" at what the US military has achieved, why can't Sri Lanka, given that our tiny island remains the ONLY nation to have defeated and crushed the deadliest terrorist movement on earth far more dangerous than Al-Qaeda? Bin Laden never ran terrorist air-craft, Al-Qaeda didn't have its own fleet of ships to smuggle arms and engage in international rackets, Bin Laden didn't have a terrorist naval unit that carried out specialised suicide missions.

We next come to the topic of accountability and reconciliation. This is an opportune time to look at Hitler's Holocaust and the denazification that resulted after the defeat of the enemy by Allied troops.

The term 'denazification' was coined by the US Pentagon and became a legal term in 1943. Denazification directives were on identified people/groups and outlined judicial procedures to handle them.

It meant the removal of all symbols associated with the Nazi regime. This included the *swastika*.

Sri Lanka needs to immediately apply the denazification directive to all LTTE emblems and signages and take steps to demand all political parties using the word 'Eelam' to change their name and everyone associated with the LTTE to be put on trial, no different to the trial for war crimes at Nuremberg.

Denazification meant that people were put into categories major offenders, lesser offenders, followers and exonerated persons and America applied this to every German over the age of 18 years.

The punishment for the major offenders was immediate arrest, death, imprisonment; the offenders were those who were activists, militants, profiteers and they were subject to 10 years imprisonment or reconstruction work; the Lesser offenders were placed on probation for two to three years but with no internment; the followers had to face restrictions on travel, employment, political rights and even fines; while the exonerated persons did not face any sanctions.

Perhaps the US State Department officials may like to go through these documents before pointing fingers at Sri Lanka?

#### 3.3 Third World Nations

When the very nations pointing fingers have yet to compensate the Third World nations that they plundered, the people they murdered, the environmental disasters that they now suffer because these nations were used to grow crops that were meant for their use and introduced administrative systems and legal systems that continue to divide people and legally protect the Western imperialists.

#### 3.4 Should Sri Lanka apologise?

Do we apologise for defeating one of the world's most feared terrorist organisations?

Do we apologise because the West can no longer use the LTTE as a force to advance their agendas in Sri Lanka and the rest of South Asia? Do we apologise because we have angered many an NGO who now have no reason to remain in Sri Lanka and whose livelihood is at stake?

Are we to apologise because a lot of other people who stood to gain while the LTTE prevailed and the discussions for political solutions meant that many were enjoying additional perks and privileges?

Do we apologise because a handful of Tamils using the Sri Lankan situation as a plank to obtain refugee status now find themselves called "economic refugees" and are being sent home?

Do we also apologise because those that made merry out of the troubles in Sri Lanka, pocketing from the US\$ 300 million LTTE kitty, are now having to devise other ways to keep the show running?

#### 3.5 Rehabilitation programme

Do we apologise for creating an indigenous rehabilitation programme and reintegrating close to 12,000 former LTTE combatants who now lead a life of normality?

Do we also apologise for giving a Presidential Pardon to 594 former child soldiers because the Sri Lankan State considered them victims rather than perpetrators?

Do we also apologise for putting these surrendered former LTTErs through proper education and vocational programmes and allowing them to sit the GCE O/L and A/L examinations and embarking on careers or further education?

Do we also apologise for introducing these former Tiger combatants to society just as some laughed at the manner in which the former female Tigers modelled clothes on the cat-walk? Would those that laughed at these girls prefer them to be holding guns?

Are these people laughing because these former combatants were married in a ceremony organized by the Army, are these people envious that these former combatants are now singing, dancing and even acting? Do we apologise for ending terrorism and the manner in which the LTTE kidnapped poor and low-caste Tamil Children and turned them into LTTE child soldiers? These children never made the news because of the rigid Tamil caste system, not a single Tamil politician, not a single member of the Tamil Diaspora cared what happened to these child soldiers, because they were not only poor, they were of the low caste thus outcasts of Tamil society!

Do we apologise for taking vast amounts of loans, some of which were supposed to be for development of the South and instead spent on developing the entire infrastructure framework of the North that had been totally destroyed by the LTTE and their stooges?

Do we apologise for giving electricity to Kilinochchi and Mullaitivu areas where for three decades, the people were denied electricity because the LTTE blew up the transformers, wanting to keep the people in the "dark"?

Do we apologise for maintaining a military presence in the North because we are well aware that the destabilizing operators are still haunting to carry out some type of covert operation? Are we insane to recall the military from the North when we know the ground realities?

And who says the military is not welcome in the North? The people of the North prefer the military among them, and more than they the politicians and this is visibly clear in Mullaitivu. We are well aware what media campaigns are capable of doing and that the media personnel who enjoyed putting spings.<sup>1</sup>

#### 3.6 Bringing Peace

Do we also apologise for bringing normalcy to the entire country? For bringing peace, for making sure not a single bomb has gone off, for ensuring not a single assassination has taken place by the LTTE in four years?

When not hundreds or thousands, but millions languished when the displaced persons were settled in their own lands, who were suffering

<sup>1</sup> Courtesy - A Publication of Titled Strategic Initiatives for the Protection of Sri Lanka.

as refugees in distant lands.

Sri Lanka has resettled every Tamil civilian who was herded by the LTTE from their homes, having virtually de-mined all areas were declared safe for people to travel. Sri Lanka's success story deserves plaudits and not the brickbats that are being thrown its way unfairly and unjustly.

Anyone visiting the North could witness this progress and the developments. It is not Sri Lanka that needs to do the apologizing, but many people who include locals, local politicians, local businessmen, local public officials, even some military personnel who for various benefits betrayed their own comrades and that list of apologists include foreign governments, foreign politicians, media personnel, some elements of the clergy, NGO and INGO heads and many others who have knowingly watched and tolerated the atrocities committed by the ruthless LTTE, and supported it to prevail. No apology should come unless the international community neglects and ignores the scores of LTTE representatives who function from their nations openly, under bogus charity names and associations and who have by association with the LTTE revealed their guilt.

It is this list of people who need to be rounded up and questioned and made to apologise for the soldiers who died unnecessarily, for the civilians who became target practice and for the economy which was affected through three decades. Hence it is not Sri Lanka which should apologize for eradicating terrorism and ending a period of terror which lasted for nearly three decades, and relieving the people of the country from absolute misery.

Our victory is a salute to our war heroes all those who are now no more, all those who suffered loss of limb and are confined to wheelchairs and suffering other traumas and to the Armed Forces and Police personnel who played a major role in that victory, to the Defence Secretary who showed tremendous resolve in giving the backing to the Armed Forces heads and to the Sri Lankan President who weathered the diplomatic battle. Sri Lanka stands proud of

#### every one of them.

It must be mentioned with gratitude that the Sri Lankan security forces succeeded in creating history by being the first country in the world to eradicate the menaces of terrorism from its country, inter-alia due to the assistance given by its friends, namely China, Pakistan and Russia. No doubt Sri Lankans will ever be grateful to them for their assistance.

# PART II (A)

# **CHAPTER 4**

# ARE THE SRI LANKAN SECURITY FORCES GUILTY OF GENOCIDE

The government and the people of Sri Lanka fought and prevailed against the world's most ruthless terrorist outfit, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). It was a war no one wanted, except the deranged the fanatical and those who were brainwashed to think that it was the highest virtue to sacrifice and happily embracing death, dismemberment and other war-wrought deprivations.

All wars end, sooner or later, and so did this, after three long, bloody and fear-terror filled decades. In the final months of the war, close to 295,000 civilians held hostage by the LTTE were rescued by the Sri Lankan security forces, formally registered at the centres set up to receive them. A total of approximately 300,000 people estimated to be living in the territories occupied by the terrorists were liberated. Over 4000 LTTE cadres had perished according to the last LTTE communication intercepted by the security forces.

The Editorial of "The Island" News Paper dated 30th September 2017 titled "Deaths and UN stats" Observed that, *Quote* -

"A UN panel of experts appointed by the then UNSG Ban Ki- moon, claimed that as many as 40,000 civilians had been killed during the final phase of the war in 2009. Strangely, the identities of those whose evidence constituted the basis of the panel's conclusion won't be divulged for a period of 20 years."

"The Statistical claims made by the UN panel of experts should be viewed against the UN's official report on the war dead. The UN stated that 7,721 combatants and civilians had perished in the war from August 2008 to May 13, 2009. Moreover, Amnesty International, using information it had gathered independently, said 10,000 civilians had been killed during the closing stages of the Vanni War."

"One may try to argue, in defence of the UN panel of experts, that they were not allowed to visit this country and , therefore, some flaws were to be expected in their findings. This argument does not hold water in that they insisted they had access to reliable information. Compared to the official UN figures those provided by the panel of experts seem to have been plucked out of the air.

What were lost during the war were human lives and, therefore, the need for accurate information cannot be overemphasised. The glaring discrepancies between the official UN figures and those publicised by the panel of experts are an insult to human intelligence."

The British parliament has been told that 40,000 civilians and 60,000 LTTE cadres got killed between January and May 2009. What transpires in the House of Commons as regards Sri Lanka is not to be taken seriously because some of its lawmakers are mouthpieces of lobbying groups. Intriguingly, the UN has not made any effort to explain the statistical mismatch at issue." End of quote.

"The Island" newspaper of 21st October 2017 reported a statement made by the former Defence Secretary, quote "The very basic of the controversial Geneva Resolution 30/1 had been strongly disputed by Michael Morris, Baron Naseby, PC during a debate on Sri Lanka in the British Parliament, Thursday last week.

The former Defence Secretary further said that "the international community couldn't ignore Baron Naseby's request to the May government to convince the UN as well as the Geneva-based United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) to accept casualty figure of 7,000 to 8,000". He further stated that "Baron Naseby's request should be examined against the backdrop of the UK being a member of the UNHRC with a membership of 47 countries. The UK represents Western Europe and Other States, a grouping that pushed strongly for war crimes probe against Sri Lanka."

The former Defence Secretary further said that the British government's response to Baron Naseby's call really surprised him. Instead of reiterating the government's commitment to the main allegation that had been widely quoted by many, the Minister of State, Foreign and Commonwealth Office (Lord Ahmad of Wimbledon-Conservative Party) had said that though there was a discrepancy in the number of civilians killed, a number of civilians died 'in the final stages of the war and there was a still serious allegations of human rights abuses against both the Sri Lankan military and The Tamil Tigers"

"The minister had refrained from responding to Baron Naseby suggestion that the rules of engagement in respect of Sri Lanka's war against terrorism were based on international humanitarian law not on the basis of the European Convention on Human Rights", Defence Secretary pointed out.

Through all these terrible times, the Government of Sri Lanka spared no pains to ensure that food, medicine and other supplies were provided to the civilians held hostage by the LTTE, even though it was an established fact that the LTTE pilfered at will whilst placing as many obstacles as possible. The Government used the good offices of the World Food Programme, the World Health Organization and other charitable multilateral organizations and international NGOs to secure enough supplies and the ICRC to ensure that whatever was necessary was delivered.

Throughout the three decades of the conflict, successive governments continued to pay the salaries of state sector employees, including doctors, teachers, midwives, nurses, attendants and other personnel, serving in LTTE-held areas even though it was well known that they willingly or unwillingly acted according to the LTTE dictate. It is well known that there was never any scarcity, even in those unhappy times and unhappy places.

In September 2006, the Government of Sri Lanka established a consultative apex body to provide humanitarian assistance to the conflict affected populations in a co-ordinated manner. This was in response to a request made by the 'Co-Chairs to the Peace Process' (made of representatives from the USA, Japan, Norway and the European Union), and designed to complement in a more systematic manner the regular humanitarian efforts of the state under trying and forbidding conditions. This body known as CCHA (Consultative Committee on Humanitarian Assistance), was made up of the Co-Chairs, the Minister of Disaster Management and Human Rights, the Senior Advisor to the President, Secretary of the Ministry of Defence and other Secretaries of relevant line ministries including those pertaining to the subjects of health and education, the Commissioner General of Essential Services, the Government agents serving in these areas, all heads of UN agencies, heads of ICRC, ECHO and the Consortium of Humanitarian Agencies and representatives of the security forces and the Police.

This committee met regularly, formulated policies, revised them as and when necessary and **helped ensure that the needful got done with respect to an adequate and consistent flow of supplies to these areas.** Supplies were sent to IDPs<sup>1</sup> under the World Food Programme, essential items were also supplied to those who have been displaced prior to 2005. Multi-Purpose Cooperative Societies were also provided with adequate quantities of supplies to be distributed commercially. Quantities were decided through consultation between the World Food Programme, the Ministry of Resettlement and the respective Government Agents. The Regional Directors of Health Services were consulted regarding quantities of medical supplies and requests for additional supplies always responded to, positively.

A special logistical hub was set up in Vavuniya with support from the WFP and UN agencies to facilitate the storage of nearly 5000 MT of food and non-food items in order to accelerate supplies to the un-cleared areas and distribution thereafter. Shortfalls and bottlenecks were brought to the notice of all relevant authorities and prompt action was taken to remedy the situation. All this is recorded and acknowledged by the multilateral agencies facilitating operations and providing supplies. It must be noted that even as the retreating terrorists dragged with them the civilian population for humanshield purposes, these stocks were also relocated on the instructions of the government, so that access remained and people did not

1. Internally Displased Persons

starve, even though the LTTE, always, pinched the larger share for cadre comfort. It is noteworthy that excess stocks of rice were found in warehouses in Mullaitivu at the conclusion of rescue operations.

What genocidal entity would in its right mind go out of its way to service a population if marked for slaughter? Wouldn't it be crazy for them to ensure that there was always a minimum of a 3-month buffer stock of supplies in these areas right until the end of the conflict?

In the early months of the year 2009, with end of the conflict in sight, the Government took steps to deal effectively with the envisaged and formidable IDP situation. Over 290,000 people fled into Government held areas. They had to be protected and taken care of. **No government with genocidal intent would go to this extent to provide for a group of people they intended to harm**. But the Government was prepared to receive close to three hundred thousand hostages once they were freed from their long years of misery at the hands of the LTTE. They were fed and clothed; their illnesses checked by doctors and prescribed medicines were provided. They were reunited with their families. The children, who would otherwise have been forcibly turned into child-combatants, recovered their childhood and the opportunity to pursue education.

No government with genocidal intent would not only secure the release of close to three hundred thousand intended victims, many if not the vast majority who could reasonably be suspected to have supported the LTTE one way or other, **but go on to care for them**, **see to their health needs, education and other matters in ways that few displaced people anywhere on earth have been treated.** Neither would a genocidal government treat captured or surrendered combatants (of a brutal terrorist organization with a horrendous track record) with cordiality and respect. They were not only fed and clothed, but their health and psychological needs were also taken care of. They were given skills so they could be gainfully employed. Those of school going age were accorded the necessary facilities to sit for examinations. More than 500 child combatants were duly reunited with their parents.

#### If genocide was intended, the government would not have

# risked the lives of a single soldier. Over 4,000 perished in the final phase of the operation to rid the country of terrorism and to free close to 300,000 civilians.

#### That's hardly efficient in the matter of perpetrating genocide.

Why should a government intent on, a military offensive at-anycost bother to send food and medicines to conflict-ridden areas? Why pay salaries to those intended for genocidal guillotine? Why sacrifice life and limb to help pregnant women, the sick, the elderly, infants and children?

The truth is that right up to the end of the war there was enough food and medicine for the populace. In addition to the supplies sent to these areas, there were successive bumper harvests of rice which was more than ample to feed the hungry, even after the LTTE exacted portions by way of coerced taxation and outright pilfering of supplies. Why feed those, you plan to kill anyway? Does not make sense.

The LTTE regularly attacked or sought to attack ships transporting food, medicine and other supplies to the Jaffna Peninsula after the A-9 Highway was shut. The ICRC, unfortunately, refused to lend its flag to enable safe passage of supplies by sea. In January 2007, LTTE suicide boats attacked MV Liverpool, a civilian cargo vessel which was unloading essential supplies at the Point Pedro Harbour. This led to other civilian vessels refusing to carry supplies. The Point Pedro Harbour was shut down since it was vulnerable to further LTTE attacks and a small fisheries harbour at Myliddy was renovated in record time with the construction of a new pier by the Sri Lanka Navy in order to unload cargo.

# Why bother, if the Government was not concerned about Tamils in these areas? Why bother if there was a genocidal policy?

Professor Rohan Gunaratna the Head of the International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research and Professor of Security Studies at the S. Rajarathnam School of International Studies at the Nanyang Technology University, Singapore who was invited as a keynote speaker stated at the International Seminar on Defeating Terrorism: held in Colombo.

"Civilian fatalities and casualties are inevitable in counter-terrorist and counter-insurgency campaigns. I do not know of any war in the world where civilians have not suffered death, maiming or injury. The Sri Lankan war was not an exception."

"To prevent misinterpretation of events, the Sri Lankan government must complete the census it belatedly, initiated to identify both the LTTE and civilian deaths. This is exceptionally difficult because the LTTE was notorious for exploiting civilians both to staff the Forward Defence Lines (FDLs) and to support its fighters. Nonetheless, this is an exercise that will set the record straight, to prevent the LTTE cooking figures of dead civilians and caution genuine NGOs from using them. The Sri Lankan government now has a responsibility to collect, collate, and compute the number of civilian and LTTE deaths."

As stated earlier, in conformity with the Army operational order, the Sri Lankan Army advocated a "zero tolerance casualty" approach. However, the reality of war in every country deviates from that ideal. For Source - Army Media Unit / ANCL Publication "Daily News"1st June 2011 / "Sunday Observer" June 12th 2011 instance, between Dec. 4 and 7, 2001, B-52 bombers dropped 700,000 pounds, including 15,000 pound Daisy Cutters in Afghanistan to kill Al-Qaeda, Taliban and other terrorists resulting in civilian deaths.

On May 2, 2011, the US reported that when the US Navy Seals intervened to target Osama bin Laden, an Al-Qaeda terrorist held a woman as a human shield and the US operator opened fire killing both the terrorists and the woman.

## "It would have been better had Sri Lanka issued a White Paper immediately after defeating the LTTE."

The LTTE front, cover and sympathetic groups exaggerated the civilian losses, distorted the developments on the ground, and created its version of events.

Professor Rohan Gunaratna further stated that, although the Army Seminar explained the sequence of events in the last No Fire Zone where the LTTE moved its guns and held the civilian population hostage as well as state response, the government must produce a comprehensive paper on what happened on the ground.

Otherwise, there will be a gap between the truth and perception and that will be exploited by the LTTE and parties with vested interests.

As a stated Policy the Sri Lankan military did not target civilians, but it is very likely that there were individual and isolated cases.

"I have not come across any war devoid of such killings and torture".

"In the US detention centres in Guantanamo Bay, Abu Gharid, Bagram and several CIA black sites as well as in other facilities in Egypt and elsewhere, terrorist suspects and convicts faced torture, contract torture and death", stated Professor Gunaratne.

"In all armies there are soldiers who take the law onto their hands. Although no professional soldier should engage in atrocities, such extra judicial killings have taken place in Iraq, Afghanistan, Israel, Chechnya and in China".

"As such, it is essential that the world address these issues collectively, rather than single out Sri Lanka or any other country, there must be an investigation into such allegations globally from Egypt to Kashmir and Iraq to Afghanistan".

"It is paramount that Sri Lanka should respond to the controversial Darusman Report. Each and every allegation must be addressed comprehensively".

"Without the approval of the UN Security Council the UN Secretary General had no mandate to commission a panel report on Sri Lanka".

"As two wrongs do not make a right, my own advice to the Sri Lankan government was to invite the panelists to Sri Lanka".

"As the panelists had no understanding of the Sri Lankan conflict it was very clear from the onset that they will produce a document that will be influenced deeply by LTTE propaganda." "The UN panel report had been cited from LTTE front Organisation such as the Tamil Rehabilitation Organisation and from other tainted sources of information". "As such a panel report can affect the reputation, image and the prestige of the Sri Lankan security forces, the government and the country, I was keen that the Sri Lankan government invite the Darusman panel to visit the North and the East."

"I was keen for them to hear, see, learn and understand first-hand about the Sri Lankan conflict, without making judgements based on a one-sided view and rushing into conclusions."

"If the Darusman Panel wanted their report to be taken seriously, they should have come up with a list of 40,000 civilian names supposed to have been killed or missing that could be verified".

"The Sri Lankan government must learn from what happened they must develop a policy and a practice to engage everyone including those who are misled or do not mean well for Sri Lanka".

"Instead of contributing to peace and stability that has been achieved at great cost, the Darusman panel report has created the environment for the revival of the LTTE remnants."

The activities of the LTTE factions overseas that had taken a back seat in late 2009 and 2010, were revived after the release of the Darusman report.

"After the LTTE was dismantled in Sri Lanka, the Darusman report was the best gift one could give a dying LTTE".

"Both India and Sri Lanka paid a heavy price for not understanding each other. Sri Lanka must be sensitive to India's geopolitical concerns".

"While Sri Lanka should maintain its economic friendship with China, Sri Lanka must maintain a very close political relationship with New Delhi and with Tamil Nadu".

"Although Tamil Nadu politicians are corrupt and its politics cheap, Sri Lanka must strive to build a strategic partnership both with Indian Tamil politicians and officials and invite them to visit Sri Lanka. Tamil Nadu is as vital as New Delhi". "Sri Lanka will return to violence only under two conditions".

"First India's security and intelligence services will start to tolerate the buildup in Tamil Nadu of LTTE cells."

"Second, Western countries will turn a blind eye to the activities of the LTTE whilst second and third tier leaders of the LTTE living on their soil are politicizing, radicalizing and mobilizing another generation of youth".

"With Sino-Lankan ties growing, it is paramount for Sri Lankan leaders to recognize that both these may be happening at this point".

"Today, Sri Lanka is challenged by a segment of Western nations not because it did something wrong but because it failed to develop an information and a public relations strategy. Even today, most Sri Lankan leaders do not understand that information is a force multiplier. Sri Lanka needs to address this issue seriously".

4.1 The panel appointed by the UN Secretary General Headed by Darusman to report on the Alleged Violation of Human Rights by the Security Forces in the final stages of the Ealam war against the LTTE terrorists.<sup>2</sup>

Ban Ki-moon's Panel of Experts has no legitimacy. The UN can be best described as an organization of sovereign nations established to achieve a set of specific objectives such as maintaining international peace and security. Sri Lanka is one of its 192 member countries. Its working is governed by its constitution known as the Charter of the United Nations adopted on 26th June 1945. The Charter has established six principal organs namely, the General Assembly , the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice and the Secretariat and allows for the establishment of subsidiary organs as may be found necessary (Article 7). Chapter XV of the Charter which deals with the composition, powers and functions of the Secretariat says under article 97, "The Secretariat shall comprise a Secretary General (SG) and such staff as the Organisation may require. The Secretary General shall be appointed by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security

<sup>2.</sup> Courtesy - A Media publication of the Upali Group Newspapers (Pvt) Ltd.

Council. He shall be the chief administrative officer of the Organisation". Article 98 says "The Secretary General shall act in that capacity in all meetings of the General Assembly, of the Security General shall act in that capacity in all meetings of the General Assembly, of the Security Council, of the Economic and Social Council, and of the Trusteeship Council and shall perform such other functions as are entrusted to him by these organs" **Thus the SG (Secretary General) has no authority to initiate or take unilateral action in respect of a member country unless he is authorized by all or one of these principal organs or a subsidiary organ such as the Human Rights Council. As such the Panel of Experts on Sri Lanka appointed by Ban Ki-moon, UNSG without him being entrusted by any of these organs, has no legitimacy what so ever and is a clear violation of the UN Charter under which he had been appointed to the position of the Secretary General.** 

#### A Process of deception

In the case of the Panel of Experts, right from the beginning, the UNSG has acted in a deceptive manner and has misled the international community repeatedly stating one thing in public and doing the complete opposite later. When the idea of establishing a panel of experts on Sri Lanka was first mooted in New York in early 2010 the Government of Sri Lanka (GOSL) vehemently opposed the move and on the initiative of GOSL the Non Aligned Movement (NAM) too conveyed its disapproval to the Secretary General. Ban Ki-moon responding to these reaction told journalists in New York on 16 March 2010 that the panel of experts being set up by the United Nations as part of an accountability process following the end of the civil war in Sri Lanka will not infringe on the country's sovereignty". (www.un.org/ news) Although the idea of a panel was his own child, Ban wanted to present it as an act of the UN when the UN entity has not even made a suggestion to that effect. He ignored the fact that, according to the UN Charter the SG is only :the chief administrative officer of the Organisation" and he has to act on the directives of above mentioned UN organs. The term "civil war" he used to describe Sri Lanka's secessionist conflict was also biased and politically wrong. This is a term used by Ealamist forces of all hues. Addressing

journalists he further said "Now this panel will report to me directly and not to another body". If he was telling the truth the Panel report was to be a confidential document that only he has access to. Contrary to what he said then, his Panel's report was made a public document that can be accessed by anyone who is interested. Ban seems to have his own interpretation of the term "sovereignty". Whatever his interpretation may be, his Panel and its report that recommend, based on unsubstantiated claims, an international probe on alleged war crimes in Sri Lanka, which can finally lead to a case before the International Criminal Court (ICC) certainly infringe on country's sovereignty.

The media release, dated 22 June 2010, issued by the UN Department of Public Information (DPI), New York, announcing the establishment of the Panel said "Secretary General Ban Ki-moon today appointed a panel of experts to advise him on accountability issues relating to alleged violations of international human rights and humanitarian law during the final stages of the conflict in Sri Lanka that ended last year". The Panel was to advise him-the UN Secretary General on accountability issues relating to alleged violation of human rights and humanitarian law but not to investigate any such allegation. The UNSG's spokesperson in response to a question raised by a journalist named Mathew Lee at the daily press briefing at the UN headquarters in New York on 20 October 2010 said that the SG's Panel on Sri Lanka had circulated a notice advising that it had commenced its work and providing an address where interested organization, academic institutions or individuals can make written submissions or otherwise correspond with the Panel. (The address given was panel of expertsregistry@ un.org). The cat was out of the bag! A panel established, in UNSG's own words to advise him, was now calling for written submissions from interested parties! Said, among other things, ".... The Panel officially began its work on 16 September 2010.... The Panel which advises the Secretary General is not an investigative or fact finding body". Then the same notice invited "Anyone wishing to make submissions in respect of the above what to be done ..." If the Panel was not, in its own words, and investigative or fact finding body what was the rationale in calling for submissions from interested parties.

Ban Ki-moon repeatedly stressed that the Panel was being established "in line with a joint statement he issued with Sri Lankan President Mahinda Rajapaksa during his visit to the country last May after government forces defeated the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)" (DRP News Release, 16 March 2010). In fact the joint statement issued on 24 May 2009 at the end of the UNSG's visit to Sri Lanka didn't have a single word or even a hint about an expert panel to be established by the UNSG. Here is the relevant segment of the joint statement: "Sri Lanka reiterated its strongest commitment to the promotion and protection of human rights in keeping with international human rights standards and Sri Lanka's international obligations. The Secretary General underlined the importance of an accountability process for addressing violations of international humanitarian and human rights law. The Government will take measures to address those grievances".

According to the joint statement the commitment was on the part of GOSL while UNSG only underlined the importance of an accountability process. The GOSL in keeping with its promise established the Lesson Learnt and Reconciliation Commission (LLRC) and its report was submitted. The UNSG making unilateral interpretations to the content of the joint statement went ahead with setting up of an expert panel that was not mentioned in the statement.

Ban Ki moon, UNSG appreciably displays a deep concern over violations of human rights and humanitarian law. However his concern is clearly confined to poor, small and weak countries like Sri Lanka. Large scale and blatant violations of human rights and humanitarian law have been taking place for a long time on a daily basis in Iraq. Afghanistan, Pakistan, Gaza, Palestine, Lebanon, Somalia and in Libya, Bahrain and Yemen for which NATO countries led by the United States or countries who are close allies of USA are directly responsible. There are widely circulated estimates suggest that 2.6 million violent and nonviolent deaths have occurred since March 2003 as a direct result of invasion and occupation of Iraq by US led countries. (www.countercurrents.org) The United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) said in a recent report that in 2010 the highest number of civilian deaths were close to 2500 in Afghanistan. These deaths were largely due to drone attacks by the US and its allies fighting Taliban forces in that country. Torture camps maintained by the US in Abugraib in Iraq and Guantanamo in Cuba are too well known. In the face of these mass violations of human rights and humanitarian law by rich and powerful countries the UNSG continues with the policy of see no evil; hear no evil; talk no evil. It was Sri Lanka's determined fight to the finish against LTTE armed separatism marked with acts of brutal terrorism that prompted a few Western Nations in the guise of international community (IC) with the support of the UN to institute an international probe into alleged war crimes in Sri Lanka. For nearly three decades LTTE has been on a rampage of killing at will thousands of civilians-men women and children belonging to all communities and destroying billions worth civilian and legitimate military property. The UN was very well aware of LTTE's child recruitment into its fighting units in violation of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and other relevant international treaties. The so called IC including the UN remained passive and silent.

The maximum they did was to issue a lightly worded statement condemning the act of terrorism without ever naming the LTTE as if the acts of terrorism were carried out by some unknown factor. Every time LTTE committed such atrocities the IC found fault with GOSL not with the perpetrator. At the end the LTTE began bombing selected targets in the capital city of Sri Lanka from light aircrafts.

What does the IC expect from a state in such a danger? They seem to expect Sri Lanka do nothing? It is the legitimate right and the prime responsibility of any state to ensure the security of the state and its people.

Ban Ki's Panel report while directing 95 per cent of the blame at GOSL has found that LTTE too was responsible for violations of human rights and humanitarian law during the last stages of the conflict. In short blaming LTTE is only an eye wash. Both Ban Ki-moon and his Panel members are very well aware that holding LTTE responsible for such leadership who used hundreds of thousands of innocent Tamil civilians as a human shield in the face of advancing Sri Lankan forces, is now gone. When the LTTE leaders were alive and on a killing spree none

of those good Samaritans raised even a murmur against them. When E. Kaushalyan, and LTTE local leader responsible for many massacre in the East was killed, Kofi Annan, UNSG before Ban Ki-moon, issued a statement in New York on 8 February 2005 condemning the killing and calling Kaushalyan "a senior political leader of the LTTE in the Eastern Province Division". Blaming the LTTE by the Panel is aimed at giving its report based on unsubstantiated claims a semblance of impartiality and legitimacy.

#### **Double Standards of UN**

Chapter 1 article 2 of the UN Charter has laid down 7 principles for the Organization. Number 1 says "The Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its members".

There is perception that the UN is adopting double standards in dealing with rich and powerful countries in contrast to poor and smaller countries in respect to dealing with alleged violation of international humanitarian laws and Human Rights.

The principle Number 7 is "Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter". It appears that the UNSG has not taken cognizance of this requirement, when he established an expert panel to look into a matter which Sri Lanka considers within its domestic jurisdiction and made its report public. Sri Lanka's position was made clear when it promised, in the joint statement it issued with the UNSG, at the end of the latter's visit to the country in May 2009, that "The Government will take measures to address those grievances". If the matter in question is to be considered a matter of international concern and not within domestic jurisdiction it has to be decided not by the UNSG but by one of the principal organs such as the General Assembly or the Security Council.

#### UNSG acting as proxy

The UN has a total membership of 192 nations. Of them only a handful of rich and powerful countries namely the USA and leading members of the European Union, representing around 20 per cent of the world population, requested the UN to initiate an international probe over alleged war crimes committed during the last stages of the conflict in Sri Lanka. Apart from them several INGOs such as Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International and International Crises Group who solely depend on funds provided by those very nations and who always act in accordance with the West's geo-political agenda also made similar requests.

None of the UN member nations from Asia, Africa and Latin America including major international actors such as Russia, China, India and Brazil representing 80 per cent of the world population have ever made such a request. Many neutral observers are of the view that Ban Ki-moon's unilateral decision to establish an expert panel on Sri Lanka without consulting the vast majority of member nations was to please those countries and their INGO/NGO cohort who, right throughout, have been supportive of the LTTE project.

### **Questionable credentials**

The three members of the Panel namely Marzuki Darusman of Indonesia (Chair), Steven Ratner of the US and Yasmin Sooka of South Africa are of dubious credentials. "The Island" newspaper in its many editorials on the issue pointed this out with solid evidence. The Panel members were handpicked by the Secretary General apparently to suit the designed agenda. All three have spoken and written against Sri Lanka in the past. So they were biased. Marzuki Darusman served as a member of the International Group of Eminent Persons on Sri Lanka which abruptly ended its deliberations and left the country in a huff after hurling various allegations against the government. Steven Ratner has spoken and written in support of the cause of Eelam. Yasmin Sooka is an NGO activist who has been receiving large amount of funds from the European Union, one of the key actors in the campaign discrediting Sri Lanka. As such it is an utter waste of

# time and energy to discuss the impartiality of the Panel members. Re igniting ethnic discord

At a time when the United Nations, in line with its stated noble objectives, should help Sri Lanka, one of its member countries, to achieve national reconciliation and development after a bitter, prolonged and devastating conflict, the report of the "expert panel" had sown seeds of ethnic discord among the two major communities in the country. **The report by his Panel has already reopened old wounds instead of healing them. The report has also given a new lease of life to separatist forces both here and abroad.** This is evident by the statement issued by the Tamil National Alliance (TNA) which whole heartedly approved the Panel report and when Rudrakumaran, the current LTTE leader residing in the US, said that the report was the first step in the journey towards the separate state of Tamil Ealam.

The Panel report is thus creating a situation which Could lead to the resurgence of a Conflict situation.

## Ultimate aim

This whole exercise is part of a sinister plan similar to the process that eventually led to the disintegration of Yugoslavia and finally seceded Kosovo from Serbia in which the UN was used as a tool by hegemonic powers.

During this process that commenced with an international probe into war crimes said to had been committed by Serbia the UN's special envoy for Kosovo Martti Ahtisaari played a crucial role in support of the Serbian province of Kosovo to break away from Serbia once and for all "to be supervised for an initial period by the international community".

Imperial powers who are striving to perpetuate their hegemony over rest of the world need more and more divided nations so that they can continue with plundering resources of other peoples. They also are determined to punish tiny Sri Lanka which did not succumb to their threats and intimidations in its fight against LTTE terrorism. Further, they want to do that as a warning to other weak nations who might try to emulate the example set by Sri Lanka. Most importantly once the imperial powers can have a foot hold here they can make use of this strategically located territory to destabilize India and China who are threatening with their global economic domination. By using the UN as a tool in this endeavour, which still enjoys recognition as an impartial international organisation, they think that they can conceal their sinister goals.

## 4.2 Paranagama Commission Rejects Darusman Findings

Consequent to the recommendation made by The Lessons Learnt and The Reconciliation Commission (LLRC) Past President Mr. Mahinda Rajapaksa appointed a Commission of Inquiry headed by the Retired Senior Judge Maxwell Paranagama to inquire into The Abductions and disappearances in the North and the East during the period 1992 to May 1999.

The other members of the Committee were Suranjana Vidyaratne, Mano Ramanathan, W.A.T Ratnayake and H.Sumanapala.

The Commission of Inquiry conducted (12) twelve public sittings in the North and the East and each public sitting was spread over a period of four days.

The report of the Commission of Inquiry was tabled in Parliament on 20th October 2015. Some other findings and recommendation of the Commission Report as published in "The Island" newspaper of 21st October are quoted below for the information of the readers.

Quote:- "Paranagama Commission Rejects Darusman Findings"

The Commission of Inquiry that probed Abductions and Disappearances (Better known as Maxwell Paranagama Commission has found that it was the LTTE which killed majority of Tamil civilians during the last 12 hours of the final stage of the war, according to the commission report tabled in Parliament yesterday.

Prime Minister Ranil Wickremesinghe tabled the Maxwell Paranagama Commission report and the Udalagama Commission report along with the UNHRC report on alleged human rights violations in Sri Lanka. The Paranagama Commission report has said:

"In coming to its findings about the LTTE, the Commission was cognisant of the fact that every major NGO and many international organisations recognized the parasitic conduct to the LTTE in its treatment of "Tamil civilian population, including the forcible recruitment of children as soldiers, particularly in the last stages of the war. It has been estimated by a respected Jaffna based NGO that in the final 12 hours of the conflict the majority of the Tamil civilian casualties were caused by the LTTE,"

The report "rejects the suggestion that civilians were either targeted directly or indiscriminately by the SLA as a part of an alleged genocide plan"

"The Commission finds that the Darusman Report, as well as other reports, have taken a particularly narrow and restricted view of the obligation upon the GOSL to persecute international crimes".

The report says, "The LTTE was principally responsible for the loss of civilian life during the final phase of the armed conflict through their actions which included taking 300,000 to 330,000 civilians hostage, implementing a strategy of killing Tamil civilians to suit their military aims, using civilians as a strategic human buffer leading to considerable loss of civilian life, using hostages to dig trenches and build fortifications thereby exposing them to harm, sacrificing countless civilian hostages to keep the LTTE leadership in power, arming hostages and forcing them into the front line leading to the deaths of large numbers, forcing a great number of children to man the front lines; deliberately preventing civilians, under their effective control, from fleeting to areas away from the fighting and executing civilian hostages for attempting to escape their captivity; shelling civilian hostages in order that the LTTE might assign those deaths to the SLA for media purposes to provoke international humanitarian intervention; placing their heavy weaponry amid civilians making it inevitable that there would be civilian casualties; killing civilians through the use of suicide bombers; placing mines and other explosive devices that resulted in civilian deaths; causing the deaths of civilians who drowned in an attempt to flee their LTTE captors; and adopting a practice whereby a significant number of its cadres fought

in civilian clothes, thus blurring the distinction between combatants and civilians inevitably leading to civilian deaths."

"Commission is of the view that the principal reason for the loss of civilian life during the final phase of the war was the hostage taking and use of human shields by the LTTE"

The commission accepted that shelling by the SLA undoubtedly led to a number of civilian deaths, "but the commission stresses that this was an inevitable consequence of the LTTE's refusal to permit civilians to leave their control in order to use them both as a shield and a pool for recruitment, even when the GOSL, permitted a ceasefire on April 12th No government could be expected to permit young children to be forced into the front lines without taking all available measures to put an end to such ruthless exploitation of a civilian population."

"The commission rejects the Darusman Report's finding that 'a number of credible sources' have estimated that there could have been as many as 40,000 civilian deaths."

The Commission has recommended dealing with the issue of missing persons and the establishment of effective mechanisms at various levels for that purpose. "Different contexts might require different solutions and no approach that fits every situation has yet been identified. Coordinating mechanisms and national mechanisms should always liaise with the families and communities concerned about their work, its limitations, the chances of success and the probability of finding the missing person alive or of finding the remains through exhumation and forensic identification. In addition, families should be informed about whether and how they might obtain assistance and reparation and about the possibilities for punishing those responsible for the disappearance of their loved ones.

"Several complainants stated that their family members who were abducted or caused enforced disappearance were from their place of residence, while some stated that their members were abducted from places other than their homes, which information were transmitted to the members of the family by a third party."

The commission recommends the legal process against the inmates held in prisons related to LTTE activities, should be expedited.

Livelihood assistance should be provided to families of missing persons by providing assistance so that they can sustain a continued livelihood for a period of time until such time they are able to sustain themselves independently. It has been observed by the Commission that livelihood is being drawn back due to the traumatic conditions of the missing persons family as a result of the war.

The Commissions also suggested a process of counselling and psycho social related services.

### **Author's Comments**

The findings of the Paranagama Commission of Inquiry is adequate evidence to substantiate the authenticity of the information furnished in this book titled "SHOULD SRI LANKA APOLOGISE FOR ERADICATING TERRORISM".

As stated in the Paranagama report the civilians deaths that occurred due to Sri Lankan security forces responding to the LTTE attacks conducted from among civilians used as "human shields" was a collateral damage. Both the Paranagama report and the LLRC report through a stringent analysis of the last stages of the war concluded that sri lankan security forces did not as a policy and a strategy fired directly at civilians as they abided by the Principles enunciated in International humanitarian laws (IHL)

Towards the end of the war it became clearly evident to the leadership of the LTTE, that they were fighting a losing battle. Hence they formulated and executed a schematic plan and would have advised their terrorist gang to conduct in a manner to cause confusion and place as many obstacles and impediments as possible to make things difficult for the advancing security forces. Thereby, their shrewd objective was to impute the blame on the security forces for civilian deaths that were caused by the LTTE violating the International Humanitarian laws in the no fire zones and for violating human rights. This was intended to discredit and tarnish the image of the security forces and to underscore their heroic victory against the LTTE Terrorists whom were thought to be indestructible.

### 4.3 Darusman Report - A mere cat's Paw

# Former Director Operations of Sri Lanka Army denies war crimes allegations

In an interview with a weekend publication of Associated News Papers of Ceylon Limited (ANCL) Maj. Gen. Udaya Perera who functioned as Sri Lanka Army's Director Operations during the humanitarian operation vehemently refuted the allegations levelled against the Sri Lankan Government and the military, on war crimes during the final stage of the end battle in 2009.<sup>3</sup>

"Most of the directives were issued to the soldiers through the Army Headquarters. The rules of engagement came from the Commander-in Chief of the Armed Forces, the President to maintain zero casualty, which was very difficult in a conventional or any other war. We are proud as a nation and also as soldiers as we maintained that policy since the inception of the battle to liberate the East he said.

I don't consider it a UN report as it has been prepared by three individuals outside the UN system appointed by the UN Secretary General to advise him. Therefore, firstly it has not been sanctioned by any UN Body to be a UN report and secondly as it is a document prepared to advise him it should have maintained the highest level of confidentiality. Where advice is sought by an individual such advice should be given only to that individual and not to anyone else.

Therefore, if some intends to publicize it, I consider it is unethical by any standard. Already some portion of the advice given to the Secretary General has been published by the print media which is unacceptable.

Unfortunately those printed contents contain basically the voice of the LTTE and their proxy Transitional Government of Tamil Eelam (TGTE) in verbatim. If the contents of the advisory report was true, the question of Rudrakumaran's involvement in preparing the report may raise a credibility issue as he is well-known to be a fund raiser for the LTTE who used such funds in committing atrocities in Sri Lanka. How can a terrorist get involved in such a process? I can clearly say that these allegations are false.

3. Source - ANCL Publication "Sunday Observer 1<sup>st</sup> May 2011"

I know what really took place in Sri Lanka. Most of the directions were passed down to soldiers through the Army Headquarters. The rules of engagements came from the Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces who is the President, to maintain zero casualty, which was very difficult to maintain in a conventional or any other war. We are proud as a nation and also as soldiers as we maintained that policy since the inception of the battle to liberate the East. At that time, the extremists' elements and even the LTTE did not complain that the military caused harm or killed civilians. We were able to rescue 200.000 civilians who suffered under the LTTE control. In the battle to liberate the East, we adopted a strategy to capture the populated areas under LTTE control in opening up corridors for the civilians to flee to government controlled areas while the LTTE was pushed gradually into the jungles. After gaining control in South of Vakarai, the civilians started fleeing into the government held areas in large numbers and the final battle to liberate the East was fought in the jungles of Thoppigala, where the terrorists were isolated.

It was not an easy task for the military to use minimum fire power to get civilians into our control areas and to push the terrorists into jungles. At that time, we also created channels for the LTTE to withdraw into the jungles. As we allowed them to withdraw into jungles to isolate them from the civilians, the terrorists used that opportunity to move their heavy guns which they used to attack the soldiers. It is a huge risk for the military.

That strategy was fully successful. Though it was a very difficult task the military was compelled to follow the instructions as the government strongly ordered to maintain zero casualty policy throughout the battle. We established democracy in the East. The military captured large hauls of weapons from the LTTE in the East and it also caused heavy death toll to the outfit.

Most of the LTTE cadres died in the East were in civilian clothes but no one including the so-called human rights activists of the international community or Tamil Diaspora, which never wanted the government to defeat LTTE terrorism, complained any harm to the civilians in the East. The reason was then the government was not a challenge to them as they never expected that the LTTE would be defeated. They were of the view that defeating the LTTE was an impossible task for the government. The Sri Lanka Army launched the 57 division against the LTTE domination in the North while its troops were fighting to liberate the East. While the battle to liberate the North was progressing, the military adopted the same strategy to maintain zero casualty policy. We opened designated corridors for civilians to come out while pushing the LTTE to the North East. Leaflets were dropped instructing the civilians to use the designated corridors to flee the LTTE domination, but the terrorists who got leaflets used their fire power to prevent civilians from abandoning them. The government did not have any choice but continued with the humanitarian operation to rescue thousands of civilians from the LTTE's atrocities.

The government throughout continued to send food, medicine and other necessary requirements such as medical facilities etc. Schools, hospitals and other administrative services were functioning and food for over 500,000 people was also dispatched knowing very well that the lion's share of it would go to the LTTE.

Strategically and militarily it was a huge disadvantage for us as we were feeding the terrorists. Even in a conventional battle, the first thing the military does is that it discontinues the logistics but here we fed the LTTE.

Since the government was fully committed to rescue civilians, it first opened up corridors and then declared a No Fire Zone (NFZ) to save the innocent lives. We would not have provided such facilities if we wanted to kill the innocent civilians. What the LTTE did was, killing the civilians who tried to flee, recruiting under-aged children and ordinary civilians forcibly and attacking the advancing troops with heavy weapons mounted among civilians in the NFZ. The government kept on expanding the NFZ further to save the lives of innocent civilians. The military never attacked the NFZs and used infantry (in a conventional set up) to attack the terrorists. Sri Lanka Army had about 16 Infantry Divisions and in a conventional setup there will be a minimum of four to five Artillery Divisions and three to four Armoured Divisions to support the Infantry Divisions. When we were fighting the Wanni battle we had only one Artillery Brigade and one Armour Brigade. You must understand my difficulty as Director/ Operations in shifting guns from one area to the other. Sometimes a division was given one or two guns to fight a battle and a Divisional Commander would never ever accept this in any other Army. We fought with much constraint and the hands of the military were tied up to save more lives though we suffered heavy damages.

The government did not intentionally provide the required weapons in order to maintain the zero casualty policy.

While the troops were advancing and the terrorists were herding the civilians as hostages, the government further expanded the NFZ. When the battle lines were shifted, we came across schools, hospitals, UN and ICRC centres and many other state buildings abandoned by the civilians as they were chased out by the LTTE. The LTTE used such buildings to attack the troops.

With confidence I can say, the military did not attack intentionally any of those public buildings which we had identified early through sophisticated equipment. Through the UAV images the entire world saw how mercilessly the terrorists were attacking the innocent civilians running for life. The LTTE who were inside the hospitals and schools attacked the soldiers.

If we want to attack hospitals and schools we would not have provided food and medicine for the civilians.

As the soldiers were ordered to adhere to the zero casualty policy and they were committed to save the civilian lives, but remember it was a huge task for the military.

We are proud that we achieved the target. However collateral damage is possible under those circumstances. Intentionally no civilian targets were attacked at all.

What are the main factors that contributed to the victory. It is not a single factor but a combination of many. The main factor was the strong political leadership committed to end the scourge of the 30-year-old terrorism. The other is the dedication and expertise of Defence Secretary Gotabaya Rajapaksa, who felt the pulse of the military. He always maintained a close rapport with the top and the lower rungs often meeting them at least once a month to evaluate the progress and short-comings of the battle and took steps to rescue the civilians. He addressed not only the commanders of certain levels but also the soldiers and the message was delivered that no civilian casualties would be allowed. All soldiers were committed to it and if anyone accuses our soldiers for killing civilians he should watch the videos to see how our soldiers rescued the innocent Tamil civilians feeding them with their own rations and giving them medical treatment for injuries inflicted by the LTTE attacks.

When you come to the last stage of the battle fought in close quarters there could be co-lateral damages.

We had a very good grip over the artillery and armour as we had one for each brigade. Tough control was there over the guns because of the very small structure we had. The two brigade commanders knew what kind of guns they had used, the time of firing and the location. Last but not the least is the support we received from the Tamil community in the country and if not for their support defeating LTTE would have been more difficult.

Has the Army a valid account for all the weapons it used in the end battle? Yes, they were responsible for each and every weapon they used. In making an allegation if anybody gives the time, place and the type of guns fired at a particular place, surely the brigade commanders should know all about it. I must say this is only one side of the story.

Those who make allegations against the Sri Lankan military on war crimes should look at the other side of the story too, where the LTTE leadership held over 300,000 civilians as hostage due to hopes given by some segments of the international community that it will be saved even at the last moment.

Disillusioned by that hope Prabhakaran held the civilians as a buffer until the so-called international community came to save him and his mission. When such a hope is given to a maniac like Prabhakaran, he held in hostage of over 300,000 civilians in a small stretch of land subjecting them to dangers and death if ever any of them dared to escape. This scenario would have been different if the international saviours had not given him hopes.

Those who are now talking about civilian casualties should have spoken about them at that time and given a clear message to Prabhakaran that he should abandon his failed mission to save the lives of the innocent civilians. But they never did it.

Another fact was that most of the terrorists, who were recruited forcibly and were ill trained, fought the soldiers in civilian clothes. Due to this reason the soldiers were not able to identify them when they were fighting in close quarters.

We had to engage; otherwise we would have lost the battle. Having deployed the ill-trained cadres to fight the well-trained soldiers Prabhakaran had kept his experience cadres to protect him. We cannot be held accountable for the deaths of terrorists who were fighting the soldiers in civilian clothes. Over 30,000 LTTE cadres died.

The Sri Lankan solders faced allegations of rape and the harassment of civilians during some of the previous battles. The Army gave tough punishments to the soldiers if they were involved in these incidents?

Tough measures were taken to maintain their discipline. Orders were given to all ground commanders to enforce it and also ensure that the soldiers were committed to maintain it 100 per cent.

The main reason for the good record of the security faces was that we have a very experienced and professional force. When we launched the battle against terrorism in 1983, our soldiers did not have the expertise, and experience (and strategy) and several of such instances were reported. But when it came to 2006 it was not the same Army, which was fighting then. The new political leadership and professional military outfit never tolerated such incidents. We wanted to isolate the LTTE by building confidence in the military among the civilians to get them on to our side. Almost all soldiers obeyed these orders fully.

Can the LTTE make a comeback. The LTTE as a fighting force will never come back. The Sri Lankans, who suffered due to LTTE terrorism for nearly 30-years, irrespective of their ethnicity will not allow the LTTE to come back.

It is said that the pro-LTTE Tamil Diaspora despite all the negative responses towards the LTTE, is still clamouring to support the LTTE and trying to fight the government, which launched a gigantic task of rebuilding the lives of those who suffered under the LTTE. They are still in a failed attempt to create the Eelam while all communities are living peacefully in a united Sri Lanka.

Can Rudrakumaran become Prime Minister if he quits the TGTE? Can he get this through democratic means and who will respect him?

I am sure he will give up the Eelam dream because of wealth and power. It is a shame that the Catholic Priest Emmanuel was propagating the LTTE ideology. As these people cannot be without organisations like GTF, they will carry forward these pro-LTTE movements for their survival.

I don't think that the ordinary Tamils here and abroad and also certain sections of the international community which has now realized the truth will support them anymore. However, these pro LTTE groups will remain as they need to survive through propagating the LTTE ideology. This will come to an end the day these pro-LTTE elements are convinced that they are still in a failed mission for which they could muster no faith or support from the Tamils worldwide.

<sup>4</sup>4.4 <sup>5</sup>The International Seminar was convened by the Sri Lanka Army on "Defeating Terrorism Sri Lanka Experience" The Seminar Confounded the Critics. The Keynote Address was delivered by Prof. Rohan Gunaratna.

Prof. Gunaratna the Head of the International Centre for Political

<sup>4</sup> Source – ANCL Publication "Daily News 1<sup>st</sup> June 2011"

Violence and Terrorism Research and Professor of Security Studies at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies at the Nanyang Technology University, Singapore, who was the keynote speaker at the above seminar said that although no professional soldier should engage in atrocities, such extra judicial killings have taken place in Iraq. Afghanistan, Israel, Chechnya and in China. "As such it is essential that the world addresses these issues collectively, rather than single out Sri Lanka or any other country, there must be an investigation on such allegations globally from Egypt to Kashmir and Iraq to Afghanistan".

Prof. Gunaratna, who was in Sri Lanka attending the above seminar on 'Defeating Terrorism: Sri Lankan Experience', said that the most important lesson the international military experts learned from Sri Lanka's experience was that 'terrorism and insurgency can be defeated'.

He also said that it was paramount for Sri Lanka also to respond to the controversial Darusman Report to address each and every allegation comprehensively.

## "As a stated policy the Sri Lankan military did not target civilians, but it is very likely that there were individual and isolated cases.

I have not come across any war devoid of such killings and torture. In the US detention centres in Guantanamo Bay, Abu Gharib, Bagram and several CIA black sites as well as in other facilities in Egypt and elsewhere, terrorist suspects and convicts faced torture contract torture and death", he said.



Commenting on Human Rights Watch's call to boycott the seminar, he said that if there was a plan either by a government or an NGO to boycott the Army seminar, it did not succeed. "Among the distinguished participants from the West included Dr. David Kilcullen, one of the World's foremost counter-insurgency and counter-terrorism specialists', he said.

### **Defeating Terrorism**

The Sri Lanka Army seminar "Defeating Terrorism, The Sri Lanka Experience" was an immense success.

Having defeated the ruthless terriorism of the LTTE, the Sri Lanka Army organized a world-class seminar. It was a full disclosure of the grand strategy, operations, procedures, tactics and techniques that were used to defeat the LTTE. Furthermore, the Army has publicized all their presentations on the web for a full review by interested parties and for record for posterity. The most important lesson was that terrorism and insurgency could be defeated. The Sri Lankan Army shared with the international community how an insurgent and a terrorist group as ruthless, cunning and deceptive as the LTTE could be defeated.

This included nations struggling in Asia, Africa the Middle East and Latin America where 95 per cent of the conflicts are located as well as the West, where its Armies had not done too well recently.

The friendly relations between the speakers and the participants prompted Sri Lanka to offer training and support. To maintain the continuity of its expertise and share it's invaluable experience with partner nations. Sri Lanka is likely to build a Centre of Excellence in Homeland Security (CEHS) in the coming year.

# The Army seminar was the first meaningful step taken to counter such allegations by human rights and other activists lobbied by the LTTE front and cover and sympathetic organisations.

It was only the beginning of creating a capability to engage the NGOs, step by step especially the advocacy NGOs and politicians lobbied by the LTTE.

The last two years were exploited by the LTTE to create a victims narrative and influence a few but important human rights groups and co-opt Western politicians susceptible to constituency and electoral pressure.

In turn, they influenced a narrow segment of the international community. I wish that the Sri Lanka Army did not wait for two long years to share the ground reality of the battle field. But the wheels of government turn very slowly.

With LTTE activities shifting from the domestic to the international arena, the Sri Lanka Army should have created an Army Information Service (AIS) to counter the false allegations and to publicise the massive humanitarian project undertaken by the military personnel.

In the past, the Sri Lanka Army neglected Information Operations (IO) and the US trained Sri Lankan IO personnel were sent to the battlefield.

Like all other armies engaged in fighting, they must have information operations capabilities to counter false allegations and share the truth.

On the contrary, the Army Seminar was a free candid and an open discussion.

Furthermore, all the proceedings both presentations and Question and Answers are on the web, open for international scrutiny.

It is possible that HRW perceived prior to the seminar that the Sri Lanka Army wanted to hide some phases of the operations such as the final phase.

# However, the formation commanders who conducted the battle personally presented and were examined by an international audience through question and answer.

The only question that was subjudice and not answered by General Shavendra Silva was answered by Colonel Larry Smith, the respected defence attaché at the US Embassy since June 2008. Although the US government said, it was his personal view, Colonel Smith said, "Regarding the various versions of events that came out in the final hours and days of the conflict from what I was privileged to hear and to see, the offers to surrender that I am aware of seemed to come from the mouthpieces of the LTTE. Nadesan, KP who weren't and never had really demonstrated any control over the leadership or the combat power of the LTTE.

So their offers were a bit suspect anyway, and they tended to

vary in content hour by hour, day by day.

I think we need to examine the credibility of those offers before we leap to conclusions that such offers were in fact real. And I think the same is true for the version of events.

It's not so uncommon in combat operations, in the fog of war, as we all get our reports second, third and fourth hand from various levels that the stories don't seem to all quite match up.

But I can say that the version presented here so far in this is what I heard as I was here during that time. And I think I better leave it at that before I get into trouble."

The US Defence Attaché Col. Larry Smith's candid answer also reflected the political nature of human rights where Western, National and West-funded NGOs use human rights as a political weapon.

In Iraq and Afghanistan, one million civilians died. But the international NGO's focused on the deaths in Chechnya in Russia and Xingjiang in China.

Unlike Russia and China, Sri Lanka cannot afford to ignore criticism irrespective of how unfair or false they may be.

Both HRW and other advocacy NGOs should be invited by the Sri Lankan government to discuss these allegations.

At this time, these NGOs have been heavily lobbied by LTTE front, cover and sympathetic groups.

Furthermore, the Sri Lankan External Affairs Ministry should create an NGO Advocacy Division, at least, a Unit, to prevent international rights groups only receiving the LTTE version of events.

If there was a plan either by a government or a NGO to boycott the Army Seminar, it did not succeed.

Among the distinguished participants from the West included Dr. David Kilcullen, one of the world's foremost counter-insurgency and counter-terrorism specialists. The counter-insurgency advisor to the then American Secretary of State Rice, Dr. Kilcullen is considered the most influential counter insurgency advisor to General Petreasus, the US commander in Afghanistan.

Governments want to learn from the successes and the failures of the Sri Lankan campaign I do not think anyone can or anyone should stop the process of learning! Terrorists are the worst human right violators. Most security forces world-wide react to terrorism and insurgency.

**No professional soldier will intentionally target or deliberately kill civilians.** For instance, the US military intervened in Afghanistan after Al Qaeda used Taliban sanctuary in Afghanistan to strike the US mainland.

The Sri Lankan military too responded to terrorist attacks. As a result of collateral damage, civilians died, but there was no intentional military operations aimed at killing civilians.

In my view, (Dr. Kilcullen) Sri Lankan government together with other governments challenged by insurgencies and terrorist campaigns should convene a Summit for NGOs especially for advocacy NGOs such as HRW and discuss these contentious issues.

Civilian fatalities and casualties are inevitable in counter-terrorist and counter insurgency campaigns. I do not know of any war in the world where civilians have not suffered death, maiming or injury. The Sri Lankan war was not an exception.

To prevent misinterpretation of events, the Sri Lankan government must complete the census it belatedly initiated to identify both the LTTE and civilian deaths. This is exceptionally difficult because the LTTE was notorious for exploiting civilians both to staff the FDLs and to support its fighters.

Nonetheless, this is an exercise that will set the record straight.

To prevent the LTTE cooking figures of dead civilians and caution genuine NGOs from using them, the Sri Lankan government now has a responsibility to collect, collate, and compute the number of civilian and LTTE deaths. As stated in the army operational orders at the very top, as a policy the Sri Lankan army advocated a zero tolerance casualty approach. However, the reality of war in every country deviated from that ideal. For instance, between Dec. 4 and 7, 2001, B-52 bombers dropped 700,000 pounds, including 15,000 pound Daisy Cutters in Afghanistan to kill al Queda, Taliban and other terrorists resulting in civilian deaths.

On May 2, 2011, the US reported that when the US Navy SEALS intervened to target Osama bin Laden, an al Qaeda terrorist held a woman as a human shield and the US operator opened fire killing both the terrorists and the woman.

It would have been better had Sri Lanka issued a White Paper immediately after defeating the LTTE.

The LTTE front, cover and sympathetic groups exaggerated the civilian losses, distorted the developments on the ground, and created its version of events.

Although the Army Seminar explained the sequence of events in the last No Fire Zone where the LTTE moved its guns and held the civilian population hostage as well as state response, the government must now produce a comprehensive paper on what happened on the ground.

Otherwise, there will be a gap between truth and perception and that will be exploited by the LTTE and parties with vested interest.

Whether they are true or not, the Sri Lankan government must investigate and respond to all allegations.

As a Stated Policy the Sri Lankan military did not target civilians, but it is very likely that there were individual and isolated cases.

I have not come across any war devoid of such killings and torture.

In the US detention centres in Guantanamo Bay Abu Gharib, Bagram and several CIA black sites as well as in other facilities in Egypt and elsewhere terrorist suspects and convicts faced torture, contract torture and death.

In all armies there are soldiers who take the law unto their hands.

Although no professional soldier should engage in atrocities, such as extra judicial killings have taken place in Iraq, Afghanistan, Israel, Chechnya and in China.

As such, it is essential that the world address these issues collectively, rather than single out Sri Lanka or any other country, there must be an investigation into such allegations globally from Egypt to Kashmir and Iraq to Afghanistan.

### Should Sri Lanka reply

It is paramount for Sri Lanka to respond to the controversial Darusman Report. Each, and every allegation must be addressed comprehensively. Without the approval of the UN Security Council or the UN General Assembly, the UN Secretary General had no mandate to commission a panel report on Sri Lanka.

As two wrongs do not make a right, my own advice to the Sri Lankan government was to invite the panellists to Sri Lanka.

As the panellists had no understanding of the Sri Lanka conflict, it was very clear from the onset that they will produce a document that will be influenced deeply by LTTE propaganda.

The UN panel report cite from LTTE front organisations such as the Tamil Rehabilitation Organisation (TRO) and from other tainted sources of information.

While the UN is concerned about North Korea's role, it is ironic that a panel commissioned by the UN Secretary General relying on reporting by the TRO that raised and channelled millions of dollars to procure from North Korea arms, ammunition and explosives to explosives to kill, maim and injure civilians.

As such a panel report can affect the reputation image and the prestige of the Sri Lankan security forces, the government and the country, I was keen that the Sri Lankan government invite the Darusman panel to visit the North and the East. I was keen for them to hear, see, learn and understand firsthand about the Sri Lankan conflict, without making judgements based on a one sided view and rushing into conclusions.

For instance the report states that 40,000 civilians died in the NFZ.

### The number is a direct extract from LTTE propaganda.

If the Darusman Panel wanted their report to be taken seriously, they should have come up with a list of 40,000 civilian names that could be verified.

The Sri Lankan government must investigate as to what happened they must develop a policy and a practice to engage everyone including those who are misled or do not mean well for Sri Lanka.

Instead of contributing to peace and stability that has been achieved at great cost, the Darusman panel report has created the environment for the revival of the LTTE remnants.

The fallout from the LTTE forced recruitment in Sri Lanka and coercion of the diaspora for funds, the LTTE was rejected after its defeat in May 2009.

The Tamils in Sri Lanka and overseas started to distance itself from the LTTE and started to participate in the development projects in the North and the East, when the Darusman report was released on the eve of the Sinhala and Hindu New Year.

The activities of the LTTE factions overseas that had taken a back seat in late 2009 and 2010 were revived after the release of the Darusman report.

After the LTTE was dismantled in Sri Lanka, the Darusman report was the best gift one could give a dying LTTE!

Is it the way the UN is assisting to eliminate the curse of terrorism the greatest threat to the world?

## **Relations with India**<sup>6</sup>

Why and how important it is for the government to maintain good relations with India in future? Over geopolitical and geostrategic differences, India armed trained, financed and directed over 20,000 terrorists from its soil to Sri Lanka from 1983 August to 1987 July.

Both India and Sri Lanka paid a heavy price for not being able to understand each other. Sri Lanka must be sensitive to India's geopolitical concerns.

While Sri Lanka should maintain its economic friendship with China, Sri Lanka must maintain a very close political relationship with New Delhi and with Tamil Nadu.

Although Tamil Nadu politicians are corrupt and its politics cheap, Sri Lanka must strive to build a strategic partnership both with Indian Tamil politicians and officials and invite them to visit Sri Lanka. Tamil Nadu is as vital as New Delhi.

Sri Lanka will return to violence only under two conditions.

First, India's security and intelligence services will start to tolerate the build-up in Tamil Nadu of LTTE cells. Second, Western countries will turn a blind eye to the activities of LTTE while second and third tier leaders living on their soil and politicizing, radicalizing and mobilizing another generation of youth.

With Sino-Lankan ties growing, it is paramount for Sri Lankan leaders to recognize that both these may be happening at this point.

Today, Sri Lanka is challenged by a segment of western nations not because it did something wrong but because it failed to develop an information and a public relations strategy.

Even today, most Sri Lankan leaders do not understand that information is a force multiplier. Sri Lanka needs to address this issue seriously.

4.5 Report of the Court of Inquiry (C of I) on some observations made by the Lessons Learnt and the Reconciliation

6. Courtesy ANCL Publications Website

# Commission (LLRC) pertaining to the Army and the allegations made by Channel Four.

The Lessons Learnt and Reconciliation Commission (LLRC) appointed by President Mahinda Rajapaksa had made some observations pertaining to the Army and the allegations made by Channel 4. Thereafter in terms of Regulation 4 of the Courts of Inquiry Regulations 1952, the Commander of the Army convened a Court of Inquiry (C of to investigate and submit a report on the said observations made by the LLRC.

The Court of Inquiry comprised Major General A.W.J.C. de Silva (President), General A.K.S.Perera (Member), Brigadier J.R.Kulatunga (Member), Brigadier W.R.P. de Silva (Member), Brigadier A.S.Wijewickrama (Member) and Lieutenant Colonel H.M.L.D.Herath (Secretary).

The Commander of the Army, Lieutenant General Jagath Jayasuriya, recently handed over the first part of the Court of Inquiry Report to the Secretary, Ministry of Defence, Gotabaya Rajapaksa at the Ministry of Defence.

The Court examined Senior Field Commanders and infantry, armour, artillery, intelligence, civil affairs and medical officers who had participated in the Humanitarian Operation. From the evidence presented, the Court of Inquiry concluded that LTTE terrorists had violated international law with impunity by committing various unlawful acts interalia, using civilians as human shields, placing artillery and other heavy weapons amidst civilian concentrations and illegal conscription of civilians, including children and old people, for combat purposes thus exposing them to danger.

Evidence before the Court has conclusively established that the Humanitarian Operation was conducted strictly in accordance with the "Zero Civilian Casualty" directive made by President Mahinda Rajapaksa and the Commanders at all times obeyed the said directive and even when the LTTE terrorists had fired from No Fire Zones (NFZs), Commanders refrained from firing at such NFZs.

It has also been revealed that as an additional measure of safety,

Artillery Commanders had added 500 mts, more to the boundaries at all times and obeyed the said directive and even when the LTTE terrorists had fired from No Fire Zones (NFZs), Commanders refrained from firing at such NFZs.

During the Court of Inquiry it transpired that LTTE terrorists had placed artillery and other heavy weapons amidst civilian concentrations and from such locations they repeatedly fired at Sri Lankan Army positions. However despite heavy bombardments by LTTE terrorists, Sri Lankan Army troops had refrained from firing heavy weapons and this self-imposed moratorium had caused heavy casualties to troops. Evidence revealed that at all stages of the Humanitarian Operation, the Sri Lanka Army behaved as a welldisciplined military force observing International Humanitarian Law (IHL) and the law of war and they took all precautions to avoid civilian casualties and all those who came under the control of the Sri Lanka Army, including surrendered and captured LTTE cadres, were treated humanely observing the IHL to the letter.

On the contrary, shocking details of war crimes committed by LTTE terrorists such as using of civilians as human shields, summary executions of civilians who attempted to escape to army lines, forced conscription of children for combat purposes, were revealed at the inquiry. The Court noted that the international community had failed in their duty to stop the war crimes committed by the LTTE terrorists.

From the testimony presented, the C of I concluded that the instances of shelling referred to in the LLRC Report were not caused by the Sri Lanka Army and civilian casualties were not caused by the Army. They may have occurred due to unlawful acts by LTTE. These acts include firing at civilians fleeing to the safety of, Army held areas, falling of artillery shells fired by untrained LTTE gunners on to civilian concentrations, deployment of sub-standard artillery shells obtained from illegal sources by the LTTE, forced conscription of civilians, including children and old people by the LTTE for combat purposes, thus exposing them to danger.

In the concluding remarks the Commander of the Army had

stated that in any war even those fought by western powers using State-of-the-art hi-tech equipment, civilian casualties are inevitable due to the vagaries of war and although the evidence presented before the Court of Inquiry does not attach blame to any Sri Lankan Army member, if new evidence is presented by any person giving precise information on civilian causalities such instances will be investigated further by giving such persons the opportunity to present their evidence.

The C of I will now proceed to investigate the second part of their mandate, the Channel 4 allegation on summary executions of captured LTTE terrorists.

### 4.6 <sup>7</sup>Darusman Report and Western manipulation

The Report of the Darusman Committee commissioned by Secretary-General of the UN Moon has been published. It is necessary for the government of Sri Lanka to understand why this Report was published to formulate its response and how to meet its challenge.

According to the Darusman Report the LTTE had a disciplined army. In this context it is necessary to understand what type of organization the LTTE was. I quote from the Judgment of the Supreme Court of India, relating to the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi by the LTTE "There is not even a speck of doubt in our mind that the criminal conspiracy to murder Rajiv Gandhi was hatched by at least four persons comprising Vellupillai Prabhakaran, Pottu Amman, Sivarasan and Akila"... "The assassination sent shock waves in the country. General elections had to be postponed... a former Prime Minister of the country had entered into an agreement with a foreign country in excess of its sovereign powers. Rajiv Gandhi being the head of government at that time was signatory to the Accord which was also signed by the head of the government of Sri Lanka".

"The Accord had the approval of the Parliament. It was not that Rajiv Gandhi has entered into this Accord in his personal capacity or for his own benefit."

<sup>7.</sup> Source - ANCL Publication "Daily News 7th June 2011"

#### **Regional power**

The LTTE was a party led by Prabhakaran and a set of murderers, a party which killed Rajiv Gandhi the ex-Prime Minister. India was the biggest democracy in the world with a population of over one billion people. It has one of the fastest growing economies in the world. It was a regional power. By murdering Rajiv Gandhi, Prabhakaran and his gang of murderers was challenging India. This is the type of terrorist that the Sri Lankan government had to meet and fight. These murderers headed by Prabhakaran were under sentence of death.

### The troubles in 1983

After the ethnic troubles in 1983 there were a number of terrorists groups such as PLOTE, EPRLF, EROS etc. Prabhakaran murdered virtually all the leaders and many thousands of party members of these groups. Thousands of Tamil youth were murdered by Prabhakaran and the LTTE.

Thereafter he murdered Amirthalingam the leader of the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF). The LTTE thereafter gunned down the elected leadership of TULF at Bauddhaloka Mawatha, Colombo 7. Because of the security provided by the government, some of them escaped with their lives even though gunned by the Terrorists.

The rump of the TULF now led by Sampanthan is permitted to live because they have submitted to the dictates of the LTTE. Sampanthan of the TULF has never condemned the murder of the leader of the TULF Amirthalingam by the LTTE or other leaders such as Thiruchelvam etc.

Sampanthan, before the killing of Prabhakaran said that the LTTE was the sole representative of the Tamil people. If a party says that it is the sole representative of the people, then it is a fascist set up. The rump of the TULF led by Sampanthan parroting the LTTE line, becomes a part of this fascist set up. The reward that Sampanthan and the rump got for this servility was that they were

permitted to live without being murdered.

The global grand strategy of the neocolonial powers is to ensure that the developing countries are kept unstable. Then it makes it easier for them to manoeuvre and influence the policies of these countries.

They do so by financing the fissiparous separatist and other groups which will make the developing countries weak and unstable.

For example in Sri Lanka, they financed and carried out a propaganda campaign that the war with the Tiger terrorists was an 'Un winnable War.'

## This statement was parroted by the then President Chandrika Kumaratunga. This is how they were able to brainwash large sections of the population to prolong terrorism so that the country remains weak and unstable.

I wish to draw the attention of the readers to the classic case of what this influence had on President Premadasa.

In fact, it could be said that he was completely influenced by the Americans. He believed in the Western doctrine of a negotiated settlement. He ordered the Army and the Police to surrender to the Tigers.

The Army refused and fought their way to freedom. The Police obeyed the order of the President and Tigers slaughtered 600 Police personnel in one instantance. This is what happened.

I quote from the book by Tassie Seneviratne, Superintendent of Police. 'A quest began way back in June 1990 when he traced the bloody and tragic path that several of his brother officers and juniors were ordered to take lambs to the slaughter.." blindfolded, their hands tied to their backs made to lie down in a row about 25 metres long. Sprayed machine gun bullets in the back of their heads, their bodies dragged by their feet into a heap, oil poured over their bodies and burnt...' Six hundred members of our Police lost their lives in this single episode. No government has embarked on an official investigation into this slaughter.

The families of these brave men will never know where their

### remains lie."

### Human rights violations

What was Ban Ki Moon doing when Prabhakaran was carrying out these human rights violations? What was he doing when Rajiv Gandhi, ex-Prime Minister of India was murdered? What was he doing, when thousands of Tamil youth were being murdered by this convicted criminal? What was he doing, when democratically elected TULF leaders were killed?

What was Ban Ki-Moon doing when President Premadasa, the democratically elected President was assassinated by the LTTE? I am not referring to the other numerous murders, the details of which are furnished in a separate book written by me "Prabhakaran a Ruthless Killer in the guides in the Liberator" to be published in the near future.

It has to be borne in mind by the government of Sri Lanka that it had to meet the challenge posed by a convicted murderer of this calibre.

#### **Neo colonial powers**

When all these human rights violations were being committed by Prabhakaran and his gang of murderers was Ban Ki Moon asleep or was he wearing a pair of blinkers or did he suddenly wake up now?

Ban ki Moon's present action to have this committee and publish a Report critical of the government of Sri Lanka is at the behest of the neocolonial powers. The object of neo-colonial powers is to build up world opinion against the them Sri Lankan government.

### UN and how it is manipulated

The geo-strategic objective of the neo colonial powers is to affect a regime change and install a pliable government which will carry out their dictates.

The options of the neo-colonial powers are restricted as far as Sri Lanka is concerned because of India.

Any military intervention in Sri Lanka will find an immediate

response from India. The neo-colonialists cannot afford to act in a manner that will annoy India.

It is necessary for me to point out the fact that for nearly 20 years, a quarter of the world's population was not represented in the UN. The People's Republic of China was established in 1949. It was a Communist government.

The Western Powers led by the US were hostile to this government. They manipulated the UN for about 20 years, so that the People's Republic of China, could not become a member.

# It was so manipulated that Taiwan was considered China. After about 20 years when it was considered favourable for the Western powers to have China then, the People's Republic of China was admitted as a member of the UN.

I wish to illustrate the total control of the UN by the United States of America. It is a practice in the UN that the Secretary General gets a second term of office excepting on one occasion.

# This was when Boutrous Boutrous Ghali was Secretary General. He was earlier the Foreign Minister of Egypt.

A Coptic Christian - When the question of the second term for him as Secretary-General came up, it was objected only by the United States of America. Other Western powers, such as, Britain, France and Germany and other member countries did not object.

The United States of America led by President Clinton objected and Boutrous Boutrous Ghali was not given a second term of office. I am bringing these facts to show the total control US has over the UN. I am not going into the historical reasons as to how US was able to get this control.

Ban Ki Moon was canvassing for a second term in office and had to go to Russia seeking its support. Ban Ki Moon had to satisfy US and the other Western powers to get a second term in office. The government of Lanka must get the support of India, China, Russia and the non-aligned movement and expose the machinations of the western neo-colonial powers, to effect a regime change and install a client government.

## 4.7 The `Great Rescue Mission\*

The last surge of civilians have now arrived, fleeing from their liberators turned captors, into the cleared areas, snowballing the figures to around 250,000 displaced.<sup>8</sup>

These civilians were liberated by the security forces ending one of the longest and bloodiest hostage dramas in known memory. TV footage showed these hapless people arriving in the Government controlled areas, a majority of them in various forms of degradation and mutilation, the result of LTTE firing at those who here fleeing. All civilians though in a state of anguish praised the Security Forces for rescuing them.

This episode speaks eloquently to the world as to who the true liberators were. But what one cannot fathom is why even at the last stages of the hostage drama the Western Governments calling for a Ceasefire from the Government. There had been strident calls by Britain, the US and the EU calling on the Government to go for a ceasefire to allow the civilians to go while leaving out the LTTE in the bargain. Wasn't it evident to them that the initial rescue operation was carried out with no Ceasefire on the side of the LTTE.

Isn't this call for another ceasefire from the Government an attempt to revive a dying outfit to serve the ulterior motives of these Western powers?

Why aren't the UN and the EU who shows so much concern for the civilians not even acknowledge the role of the Security Forces for freeing all these civilians without causing any harm? Had they not intervened would not these hapless people be condemned to a much worse suffering?

It looks as if the international community has lost its leverage 8. Source ANCL Publications/Website on the Government when all the civilians have come to the safety of the Government controlled areas. It is obvious that they had been using the civilians as an excuse to secure a Ceasefire and thereby allow some breathing space for the LTTE. The civilians it appears had never been in the forefront of their concerns.

If not how could one view the efforts being made by various parties to block the economic aid from coming to Sri Lanka? At that time US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton said that Sri Lanka was not in a position to receive the IMF loan without putting a peace process in place.

While conceding that a peace process would have to be evolved sometime soon for an ultimate solution to the problem is this such an overpowering need at that juncture when the Government's compelling priority need was dealing with the unfolding humanitarian problem? Is not the West, whose hearts bleed for the plight of civilians, by trying to stall economic assistance to Sri Lanka, in effect, contributing placing those civilians into a worst plight now that they have sought freedom with the Government. Isn't it by giving all the necessary assistance that the welfare of the civilians could be assured. It is time the West stops it's duplicity and help Sri Lanka address the problem the way she sees fit. The insistence by Britain to allow humanitarian agencies access into IDP camps too smacks of this duplicity. Why in the first place they did not force the LTTE to let the civilians go? Why only now the urgency to attend to the civilians after the security forces had already liberated the civilians from the loosening grip of the terrorists.

The Government should be firm in resisting such pressures as it has done so far, lest these international do-gooders use the plight of the civilians to sow the seeds of hatred by the rest of the world towards Sri Lanka. **True, we need all the assistance we can get to ameliorate the conditions of the civilians, but this should not be at the cost of blighting the image of the country**. We already saw how certain Western media had described IDP transit centres as concentration camps. Sri Lanka can well do without such adverse publicity. Already there will be many good Samaritans swarming into the country with the assistance to civilians. The Government would do well to harken to the famous saying "Don't trust Greeks who bear gifts."

## 4.8 <sup>9</sup>The truth will prevail

Over few years have clasped since Sri Lanka achieved that great victory against the LTTE, described by the United States as the most ruthless terror outfit in the world, worse than Hamas guerrillas of Palestine. Whatever, the enormity of the victory in the context of Sri Lanka, throughout the past few years, different people tend to observe this victory from different perspectives.

The Western world saw this as a victory of a majority community against a minority community while the Global Tamil Community saw this as an invasion of Tamil habitats in the North and the East against their wish by the Security Forces. For human rights bodies, the victory of the Security Forces is a bundle of human rights and humanitarian law, violations against the 'innocent' LTTE cadres and Tamil civilians.

They all have the right to make their own observations based on the feedback about the conflict in Sri Lanka and nobody can deny them of that opportunity. Whatever, the comment or observation they made on the victory achieved by the valiant Security Forces in Sri Lanka on May 19, 2009 they have to keep in mind, that only the people of this country whether they live in the North, South, East or the West, are the only segment who can make a true assessment of the terrorism they underwent for nearly three decades and that came to an end on May 19, 2009.

Any of us in this country will not disagree under any circumstances that with the defeat of the LTTE terrorism, it eliminated the root cause that kept the entire nation inter-alia constant fear of life for decades. Therefore, as the people walk freely on the streets of Colombo or in the North and the East today feel the true meaning of defeating that terror outfit once and for all. If anyone is looking at the process differently he is doing so with a biased mind and with a sense of creating an issue.

Truly speaking the process of defeating the terrorists was not a

<sup>9.</sup> Source - ANCL Publication / Web Site

simple task. A defence correspondent who was intensely engaged in covering terrorism in Sri Lanka has expressed the seriousness of that effort made by the Security Forces. Therefore, it was a process of fighting against the evil force after filtering them from the common masses.

The people who have witnessed, the way bullets came from Tiger guns and ripped through fellow citizen, the way people who have no connection with terrorism were blown off into pieces in bomb blasts and the way truly democratic leaders who made tireless efforts to see that the conflict was resolved in a peaceful manner were shot down mercilessly for providing their strong support for the Government to go ahead with the humanitarian operation. The conflict reached a momentum with the closure of the 'Mavil Aru' sluice gate on July 22, 2006.

The so-called groups who backed the LTTE at the time would never have thought that 'Mavil Aru' was only a trap the LTTE had created to push the Security Forces to fire the first bullet in the battle and then becoming the victim. The true intention of liberating the people from the clutches of the terrorism finally made the Security Forces victorious less than in three years after the military operations commenced to eliminate the LTTE.

Though the Mavil Aru' operation was only a reaction to the situation, the remaining humanitarian operation was well planned. Never in the three decades of terrorism no such calculated and well organized effort was made to defeat the LTTE and the LTTE also never thought for a moment that they would face such a miserable situation during their existence But it was the endurance of the Security Forces even in the worst situation they faced, was the basic element that led to the victory of the Security Forces.

The Security Forces ability to withstand the massive attack launched on the Kattarparichchan Army detachment on August 2 2006 that continued for more than five days and the massive attack by the LTTE on the Kilali, Muhamalai and Nagar Kovil Forward Defence Line on August 11, 2006 were the key victories for the Security Forces that enabled them to achieve continued successes in the Eastern, Wanni and Northern operation without any setback. Even today the battles fought in Kattaparichchan and Muhamalai are recalled with gratitude for the troops who withstood the massive attack launched by the LTTE.

Though the initial battles were planned as reactions to the LTTE attacks the rest of the humanitarian operation was planned for the LTTE to react to the situation. It was so systematically planned to eliminate all roots of terror outfit confronting them at regional level and confronting the top leaders at the tail end of the humanitarian operation leaving the Tiger leader Velupillai Prabhakaran to fight to the end until he faced his death in the mangroves on the banks of Nanthikadal lagoon in Mullaitivu on May 19, 2009.

Even though over a decade has already elapsed from the date the Humanitarian operation was started from Mavil Aru in July 2006, the photographic memory of those unforgettable events unfold one's mind like a film that highlight the battle of humanity vs inhumanity.

From the success beginning from Mavil Aru in July 2006, the victorious troops marched on their path clearing the LTTE strongholds Sampur on September 2,2006. Vakarai on January 19,2007, the liberation of East of A-5 Chenkaladi Maha Oya road on April 10, 2007 and capturing the Thoppigala or the Baron's Cap on July 11, 2007 to declare that the Eastern province is free of Tiger strongholds.

The Sri Lanka Air Force and the Sri Lanka Navy made their contribution by way of providing air support and the Navy by making the LTTE starve of armaments to fight the war. The destruction of the floating warehouses of the LTTE by the Sri Lanka Navy made them more miserable.

The political leadership of President Mahinda Rajapaksa combined with the military leadership, of the ground commanders, the bravery of the soldiers and the strong support that came from the civilian population towards the Security Forces effort with the flow of youth to join the Security Forces made the victory more inevitable for the Security Forces. **The approach made by the ground troops by creating a massive front in the Wanni theatre with the formation of 57 Division, 59 Division**, Task Force I which was later converted into 58 Division and eight Task Forces formed in the Wanni theatre made the LTTE untenable in the same soil they fought against the Security Forces for more than two decades.

That led to sweeping the LTTE from their strong holds in Pooneryn, Elephant Pass, Kilinochchi and Mullaitivu leaving them to fight the final battle in Puthukudiyiruppu and Wellamulliwaikal in the banks of Nanthikadal lagoon after the Northern front also combined with the Wanni troops following the capture of Elephant Pass in January 2009.

Though the capturing of their strongholds were significant in a militaristic sense the most prominent feature of this humanitarian operation was the Security Forces ability to liberate the civilians who lived a pathetic life under the LTTE rule becoming a shield for their military purposes.

Therefore, the civilians flooded from Puthumathalan became the central point of the victory of the Security Forces throughout the entire humanitarian operation as they could prove to the world about their capability to fight a war whilst safeguarding the rights of the people to live.

That may be the prime reason to augur heavy criticism over the final stages of the humanitarian operation over an imaginary figure of civilian deaths which may have calculated by them using their own criteria.

Those critics who are making baseless allegations through the Darusman Report and through many other international media totally biased on the Tamil Diaspora have never considered that the LTTE never had the intention of protecting the lives of the civilians.

But it was the prime duty of the Security Forces to take even greater risks in protecting their lives.

Therefore, it is sad to observe that the Security Forces who had fearlessly fought a war against the most ruthless terror outfit armed with their band of suicide cadre have to fight another battle with those so called critics making their observations without considering the ground reality of the Sri Lankan conflict. But it is patently clear that the truth will prevail over the millions of lies and imaginations as Security Forces who fought this battle had the true intention of liberating the civilians.

#### **4.9** <sup>10</sup>Does the US practice what it preaches?

The United States brought two successive Resolutions against Sri Lanka at the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC), alleging human rights violations during the final phase of Sri Lanka's battle against terrorism.

But Sri Lanka, as a sovereign nation, has every right to do so when the lives of its 21 million people are at risk. Sri Lanka exercised that right when the nation was in danger, subjecting to LTTE's merciless terrorist attacks.

Time is now opportune to question how reasonable the US has been with its wild allegations against Sri Lanka at the UNHRC. Do they practice what they preach? While the US goes that extra mile, or beyond that, in the guise of their national security, they prevent sovereign nations such as Sri Lanka from exercising its legitimate right to protect its civilians from terrorist attacks.

#### No-spy deal

In contrast, the UNHRC chief Navi Pillay who has been hard on Sri Lanka, appears to be a toothless tiger when it comes to US drone attacks in Pakistan which has killed hundreds of innocent civilians, but she continues to harp on human rights of LTTE terrorists killed in action while confronting Sri Lanka's legitimate army.

The US has even gone to the extent of spying in Europe. Germany now plans to send its top intelligence chiefs to Washington to 'push forward' an investigation into allegations that the US spied on its leader Angela Merkel. The heads of foreign and domestic intelligence would hold talks with the White House and the National Security Agency, a

<sup>10.</sup> Source - ANCL Publication / Web Site

government spokesperson said.

Germany and France said they want the United States to sign a no-spy deal by the end of the year. Leaders of the European Union have warned the US that a lack of trust could harm the fight against terrorism, as well as the bugging of Mrs Merkel's phone, there are claims that the NSA has monitored millions of telephone calls of both German and French citizens.

Spain followed Germany and France in summoning the US ambassador to explain reports of spying on their country. Italy has also expressed anger at reports that it too has been spied on. US State Department has admitted what they have done.

#### **Foreign Policy**

Its spokesperson Jen Psaki acknowledged that the revelations most of them sourced to former US intelligence worker Edward Snowden have "posed a moment of tension with some of our allies".

"We are having discussions with those allies, those will continue, as is evidenced by the German delegation that will be coming here in the coming weeks", she was quoted as saying.

Psaki has said a review of US intelligence gathering, called for by US President Barack Obama, would look at how it affects foreign policy. German Chancellor Merkel made clear her anger at the allegations, which emerged in the German media, when she went to Brussels for the EU Summit.

She told reporters after the first day that "once the seeds of mistrust have been sown it doesn't facilitate our co-operation... it makes it more difficult".

She said Germany would be pressing for a "Joint understanding by the end of the year for the co-operation of the (intelligence agencies between Germany and the US, and France and the US, to create a framework for the co-operation."

Meanwhile, Amnesty International (Al) accused the United States

of unlawful killings in Pakistan which amounts to war crimes. The world human rights watchdog, in a document titled "When Will be the next US drone strikes in Pakistan" accused the US of unlawful killings through drone attacks in Pakistan.

It is said that secrecy surrounding the drones program gives the US administration a license to kill beyond the reach of the courts or basic standards of International law. Hence, the AI urged the USA to come clean about the drones program and hold those responsible for these violations to account.

Mustafa Qadri, Amnesty International's Pakistan Researcher has said that the Al reviewed 45 known drone strikes in northwest Pakistan between January 2012 and August 2013 and carried detailed research into nine strikes which showed a serious violations of international law and could in fact amount to war crimes or extra judicial killings.

Among the many documented killings of non-combatants is that of Mamano Bibi, a 68-year-old grandmother killed by a Hellfire missile whilst collecting vegetables in the family's field surrounded by her grandchildren. Her grandchildren told AI that a number of others were also wounded in the attack.

July 2012 witnessed an even deadlier attack in North Waziristan where witness said a group of labourers had gathered for their evening meal after work.

A volley of missiles hit the tent they had gathered in and then a second strike hit those who came to help the wounded, **Eighteen innocent** including a fourteen-year-old boy were killed in the attack. This was not the only 'rescuer attack' people who come to help the wounded, themselves were targeted in rapid follow on attacks.

Genuine threats contrary to official claims that those killed were "terrorists", Amnesty International's research showed the victims of the attacks were not involved in fighting and posed no threat to life. Could the US find any justification for these killings? There are genuine threats to the USA and its allies in the region, and drone strikes may be lawful in some circumstances. But the US should bear in mind that other sovereign nations too enjoy the same right.

For an example, Sri Lanka's Security Forces had been battling with the most ruthless terrorist outfit in the world.

The LTTE had brutally killed thousands of hapless civilians and even forcibly held over half a million civilians as a human shield.

Hence, Sri Lanka had every right to crush the LTTE militarily as the Tigers have unleashed nothing but misery to millions of people in every corner of the country.

#### 'Global war'

### If the US is sincere with its battle against terrorism, they should not suspect their European allies.

Could the US justify its spying in Europe? Won't it affect the worldwide battle against terrorism? If not, the so-called worldwide battle against terrorism is intended at silencing countries which do not dance to the White House melody?

The USA continues to rely on a 'global war' doctrine to attempt to justify a borderless war with, al-Qaida, the Taliban and those perceived to be their allies.

The USA's promise to increase transparency around drone strikes, underscored by a major policy speech by President Barack Obama made in May 2013, has yet to become a reality, and the USA still refuses to divulge even basic factual and legal information.

This secrecy has enabled the USA to act with impunity and block victims from receiving justice or compensation. Amnesty International claims that no US official has ever been held to account for unlawful killings by drones in Pakistan. Is this the transparency and accountability the US often pontificates to countries such as Sri Lanka? The United States has every right to protect its people, take every possible step within the legitimate framework. **But what we try to point out is that Sri Lanka too enjoys similar inalienable rights.** 

#### Peaceful

The LTTE is notorious for the most ruthless terrorist attacks in the world and mass-scale killings than any other terrorist outfit in the world. Hence, Sri Lanka had every right to crush the LTTE at any cost to secure the lives of over 21 million people. Isn't that more important than human rights of a few Tiger terrorists killed in action?

Having emerged from a three decade long battle against terrorism in little over four years, Sri Lanka today is one of the most peaceful and stable countries in the world. It is also a country in the midst of a wide spread and far reaching economic development thrust. What is required at this time is for all stakeholders to work together with vision, dedication and commitment to drive the nation's development.

As Secretary to the Ministry of Defence and Urban Development Gotabaya Rajapaksa has pointed out at the inaugural National Engineering Conference 2013, "when all options for a peaceful settlement had been exhausted, Sri Lanka had no option but the crush the LTTE militarily."

President Mahinda Rajapaksa had the foresight, courage and confidence to launch the humanitarian operation and as a result, peace and stability has been restored within just three and a half years. This is the impact that positive thinking and bold decisions can have.

With the dawn of peace, the then Government inter-alia is worked hard to develop Sri Lanka and a key part of this effort is the uplifting of Colombo into a clean, green, people friendly, world-class city.

Five years ago, we could never have thought of hosting an international summit with the Heads of States in the world.

But Sri Lanka has now hosted the biggest international summit since the 1976, The Non-Aligned Summit when Colombo hosted the Commonwealth Heads of Government (CHOGM) meeting in November 2013.

It's time the world leaders have a closer look at Sri Lanka and the dividends of peace enjoyed by one and all. Leaders of the Commonwealth states got an ideal opportunity to verify the truth of claims made by the LTTE rump.

They gained first-hand experience on the peaceful coexistence among all communities.

It is time that the international community gets a true and broader picture on Sri Lanka, without digging old wounds and making a big hue and cry over the so-called human rights violations.

### 4.10 <sup>11</sup>Some advice for the "Western Powers" By Stephen Long Los Angeles, California, U.S.A

I just returned from a lengthy visit to Sri Lanka, and I witnessed first-hand the Government's splendid victory over the LTTE terrorists. Every day I read with great interest the many comments and opinions that were written on the conflict by both Sri Lankan and international journalists. From my perspective, I can assure you that the Government acted with restraint and compassion throughout the entire ordeal. I also saw that the so-called "Western Powers" were totally misinformed on the situation, which resulted in their passing a hasty judgment that condemned the Government's conduct toward the IDP's and the human shields still trapped in the No Fire Zone.

Having said this, I am grateful for US Congressional Representative Heath Schuler of North Carolina for his support of the Government's relief efforts yesterday, and for accurately reporting what he saw with his own eyes in the IDP camps in the North. I'm sure his report will go a long way towards correcting misperceptions in America.

A couple of things I could never understand: The first is why were the "Western Powers" so interested in preserving the life of the terrorist leader, Prabhakaran? Secondly, why was the US Ambassador Robert Blake, feeding his boss, Hillary Clinton, such

<sup>11.</sup> Source Asian Tribune

erroneous and false information that lead to her "disappointment" with the Sri Lankan Government, and her eventual condemnation? I'm sure the answers to these questions will eventually surface over time, but examining them here is not the focus of this article.

I would like to offer some advice to the "Western Powers" in regard to re-examining their policy and approach to dealing with Sri Lanka.

During the thirty-year conflict many people of all ethnicities left Sri Lanka to seek greener pastures in Western countries. There are approximately 300,000 of them in Canada, 200,000 in the US, and another 300,000 in European countries. Many of these immigrants used the "political asylum" card, and as we have later discovered, many of those were lying about the persecution they claimed to have received at home. I'm not singling out only the Tamils in this respect; Sinhalese and Muslim immigrants also played the same hand.

Now, that the war against the LTTE is over, the "Western Powers" need not accept any more immigrants from Sri Lanka who attempt to seek political asylum. This should come as a great relief to many of those countries who now find themselves embroiled in protests from two fronts" caught in the middle between trying to please new political constituents, and simply doing the right thing by protecting Sri Lankan embassies, places of worship, helping out with the IDP's in the North, etc.

Secondly, drug trafficking was one of the primary ways the LTTE raised money to finance its war in Sri Lanka. Now that the war is over, the LTTE drug trafficking should cease. There are still LTTE front organizations in the Western countries, however, I suggest you put an end to them just as Canada banned the World Tamil Movement. Many members of these organizations still have the LTTE dream in their heads, and perhaps they need to be taught that the dream was really a nightmare, and that their donations had actually helped to fund death and destruction instead of their mythical Eelam.

The LTTE, as it has been revealed, was closely associated with a variety of extremist groups in other countries, and they helped each other to train their cadres in the fine points of suicide bombing, guerilla warfare and weapons use among other things. They also assisted one another in the smuggling of weapons. Now that the LTTE, has been crushed there should be fewer light aircraft, submarines, tanks, and other weapons smuggled from former countries of the Soviet Republic, South-east Asian countries, and other countries. I know it may only make a dent in the huge international illicit weapons trade, but every little bit counts. Still, don't give up on "following the money trail," and do your best to expose those who supplied the LTTE with weapons until they are prosecuted in every country.

I suggest that Senator Patrick Leashey and Hillary Clinton stop listening to the rubbish of Bruce Fein, the mercenary former Deputy US Attorney, Washington lobbyist, and spokesperson for various LTTE front organizations in North America. He is reported being paid \$100,000 a month to tell lies about the GOSL and the Rajapaksa brothers, and currently works for an American organization called "Tamils Against Genocide". Just to show you where his morals are, while he condemns the actions of the GOSL against the LTTE, terrorists, he also represents the Turkish Government and condemns the actions of the Kurdish terrorists against the government. It's the same issue and gets money from both sides from two clients. Very clever. Mr. Fein is hardly a credible, unbiased source of information, and when he calls on influential policy makers in Washington, I suggest they lock their doors.

It is obvious that both Senator Leashey and Secretary of State Hillary Clinton have been "pitched" by Mr. Fein, since their leanings on the Sri Lanka issue are toward his point of view. I'm sad to say that it appears they have paid attention to this materialistic Beltway prostitute, and the Government of Sri Lanka(GOSL) has suffered unfairly as a consequence. I suggest they start investigating how Bruce Fein can represent banned terrorist front organizations and get away with it for nearly two years and still be a practicing member of the American Bar Association.

With regard to prosecuting Defence Secretary Gotabaya Rajapaksa, and Army Commander General Sarath Fonseka for genocide in the international courts, I think the "Western Powers" should give up this ridiculous pursuit. The UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Ms Navi Pillay of South Africa, wants to investigate this silly allegation, but she should stop and listen to her comrades who supported Sri Lanka in the UN resolution in Geneva. Perhaps she has been listening to Bruce Fein, too. I suggest that the UN and the "Western Powers" start concentrating on how they can help the IDP's in the North seriously and quickly and accept the fact that the authorities in Sri Lanka simply did what they had to do to rid their country of a terrorist scourage (the same that they would have done on their own turfs).

I think it's time the media in Western countries takes an honest, serious look at the great progress Sri Lanka has made on a number of fronts in spite of dealing with a 30 year war against terrorism: the elections and massive re-development programs in the Eastern Province, the appointment of a former child soldier of the LTTE as Chief Minister for the Eastern Province, the Government's excellent health care and educational systems, the rehabilitation and appointment of former LTTE chief "Karuna" as Vice President of the largest political party in the country, the rapid rebuilding of tsunami areas (and compare this to post-Katrina New Orleans), and many others. Instead of repeating it the Western journalists can show the world how beautiful Sri Lanka is, and what a great place it is for tourists.

Lastly, the "Western Powers should be very careful about pushing Sri Lanka too closely into the arms of China, Russia, Pakistan, India, and other neighbors in the Asian region. A close relationship with China, for example, developed during the war against the LTTE when the GOSL couldn't get arms from anywhere else. Now China is building a US\$1 billion seaport in Sri Lanka's south, and is financially helping the Governments care for the IDP's in the north. The "Western Powers" should be thinking about the balance of power in the region, and figuring out ways it can mend some fences with the GOSL fast. The "Western Powers" don't seem to understand that every country has to have friends and allies in order to survive, and if they are abandoned by the West, then they have no choice but join the camps of China, and its Asian neighbors who are perhaps more friendly and sympathetic to their needs and goals.

The policies and neo-colonial interest of the "Western Powers"

need to be examined closely by all parties from this point forward. Everyone should learn to respect Sri Lanka as a democratic, free, sovereign nation that deserves a decent place in the international community. Give Sri Lanka a break. Stop wasting time trying to make an enemy, and concentrate on making a good friend instead.

## PART II (A)

## **CHAPTER 5**

## THE FINDINGS AND OBSERVATIONS OF THE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY ON LESSONS LEARNT AND RECONCILIATION (LLRC) REGARDING THE ALLEGED VIOLATION OF INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAWS (IHL)<sup>1</sup>

Published In The Commission Report Of November 2011 (Extracted from pages 115 to 146 of the LLRC Report)

The findings, Observations and the Recommendations of the Commission of Inquiry on Lessons Learnt and Reconciliation was Published in their report of November 2011.

The Lessons Learn and Reconciliation Committee was appointed by his Excellency President Mahinda Rajapaksha in terms of the presidential warrant dated 15th May 2010.

The commissions mandate was to look back at the conflict Sri Lanka suffered as well as to look ahead for an era of healing and peace building in the country.

The commission proceeded with its work acknowledging a clear need to heal the wounds of the past and to make recommendations to reconcile the nation by recognizing all the victims of the conflict providing redress to them and thereby promoting national unity peace and harmony.

<sup>1.</sup> Source Report of the commission of inquiry on Lesson Learnt and Reconciliation/November 2011

#### SECTION III

## **Evaluation of the Sri Lanka Experience in the context of allegations of violations of IHL**

#### Introduction

4.261 It has been stated that a State that is engaged in an armed conflict must ensure that procedures and practices for identifying lawful targets are extremely robust. Advanced technologies help to make targeting even more precise. The principle of distinction and proportionality should not remain theoretical and should be implemented rigorously throughout the planning and execution of military operations in order to ensure that such operations are conducted in accordance with the applicable law.<sup>2</sup> These propositions applicable to both international and noninternational armed conflicts, give full meaning and content to the core principles of IHL.

#### Measures to safeguard civilians and avoid civilian casualties

4.262 In evaluating the Sri Lanka experience in the context of allegations of violations of IHL, the Commission is satisfied that the military strategy that was adopted to secure the LTTE held areas was one that was carefully conceived, in which the protection of the civilian population was given the highest priority. In reaching this conclusion the Commission has taken due account of all the material placed before it which had outlined in detail, inter alia, steps taken to identify precise targets, such as deployment of long range reconnaissance patrols, procedures followed in carrying out air strikes, utilization of UAVs etc. The Commission has also taken cognizance of the fact hat substantial investment had been made by the Defence Establishment on sophisticated

See for example response of Harold Koh Legal Advisor US State Department on questions raised regarding the lawfulness of the US operation against Al Qaeda and Osama bin Laden. Refer http://opiniojuris org/2011/05/19/ the-lawfulness-of-the-US- operation-against-osama-bin-laden

surveillance equipment. The Commission also notes in this regard that the movement of the Security Forces in conducting their operations was deliberately slow during the final stages of the conflict, thereby evidencing a carefully worked out strategy of avoiding civilian casualties or minimizing them.

- **4.263** These factors are consistent with the position that protection of civilian life was a key factor in the formulation of a policy for carrying out military operations. They militate against any proposition that deliberate targeting of civilians was part and parcel of a policy, although specific episodes which warrant further investigation are referred to above in Section II vide paragraphs 4.106, 4.107, 4.109, 4.110, and 4.111.
- 4.264 To appreciate the challenge confronting the Security Forces, account must also be taken of the fact that military operations had to be conducted against an enemy who had no qualms in resorting to a combat strategy which paid little heed to the safety of the civilian population and in fact made the civilian population very much a part of such strategy.
- 4.265 The military policy referred to above, must be carefully examined in the context of the multiple challenges arising from the ground situation which existed during the final phase of the conflict, before reaching a definitive conclusion on whether in fact there had been any violations of IHL during this period.

## No Fire Zones (NFZs)

4.266 Among the critical situations presented by the ground realties which demanded the particular attention of the Commission and a considered conclusion, was the civilian presence in the NFZs and the surrounding areas.

- 4.267 The Commission notes that no formal agreement had come into existence between the Government and the LTTE, regarding the promulgation of NFZs, which would normally be the case in establishing such zones and which would have prescribed mutual rights and obligations of the parties. However, the correspondence between the Commander of the Army and the Head of Delegation of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) made available to the Commission, has provided the Commission an insight into the circumstances under which such zones were set up. In a letter dated 19th January 2009 from the Army Commander to the Head of Delegation of the ICRC it is stated that, "with the intense fighting in the Wanni area, many civilians have moved from their original lands and have become displaced mainly in and around the outskirts of Visuamadu and Puthukudiviruppu." The letter further observes that with the progress of the operations deeper into LTTE held territory, the presence of the IDPs and civilians should be taken into account to guarantee their safety and security, in order to avoid collateral damage. Accordingly, the letter suggests that considering the above and the safety and security of IDPs, a "NFZ/Safe Area" for IDPs/Civilians be demarcated in order to keep the IDPs/ civilians away from the fighting and to reduce greatly the number of potential casualties. The letter also reflects the fact that the first NFZ had been well demarcated, and with much attention being paid to the requisite details.
- 4.268 However, the material also revealed the fact that the NFZ was located in fairly close proximity to the Army frontlines. The situation had become complicated by the fact that the LTTE had moved into the NFZ together with their heavy weapons and placed them amidst civilians. This had converted the NFZ into a virtual operational base from which the LTTE had directed fire against the Security Forces.

- 4.269 This appeared to have led to a situation where the Security Forces had been compelled to resort to return fire in response to LTTE attacks from within the NFZ, thereby exposing the civilian being held hostage by the LTTE in the NFZ to danger.
- 4.270 The fact that the LTTE had moved heavy artillery into the NFZs and had taken cover behind civilian lines and had used the NFZ to carry out attacks against the Security Forces is reflected in the representations by a civilian, e.g.;

"In the NFZ, the LTTE comes and places their guns and when the LTTE comes and place their guns in the midst of the people and they start firing at the Army, then the firing is returned."<sup>3</sup>

- 4.271 It further transpired from these and other representations that the Army had never initiated attacks in the Safety Zones and return fire was in response to LTTE attacks.
- 4.272 It also became evident that the creation of the 'safe corridors' was to facilitate the safe movement of civilians out of the NFZs into Government held areas. The material further discloses that this in fact did happen until the LTTE resorted to the use of suicide cadres and prevented the IDPs/civilians from moving, with a view to using them as a human shield.
- 4.273 The material discloses the fact that, as the operations progressed, the LTTE had continued to prevent the civilians from moving into the Government held areas and had drawn them further into areas held by them. As a result of this, the Security Forces had been compelled to re-demarcate the

<sup>3.</sup> Representations made by a civilian before the LLRC. Transcript No. LLRC/ IS/28.02.11/01

boundaries of the NFZ and create a second and a third zone to match the evolving situation. This is evidenced by the correspondence between the Sri Lanka Army and the Head of Delegation of the ICRC on the demarcation of the No Fire Zones. <sup>4</sup> Thus in a letter dated 11<sup>th</sup> February 2009 from the Army to the Head of Delegation of the ICRC, it is stated, inter alia, "considering the intense fighting deeper into the LTTE held areas and safety and security of internally displaced persons

(IDPs)/civilians during operations, it is suggested that previously defined "No Fire Zone/Safe Area" be modified to match with the present situation. This would not only keep the IDPs/civilians away from the fighting, it would also reduce greatly the number of potential civilian casualties." The above must also be viewed together with the action of the Security Forces to regularly air drop leaflets encouraging civilians to move to Government held areas and assuring them of their readiness to receive them. This manifests the continuing commitment of the Security Forces to take all feasible precautions to protect civilians as the conflict evolved.

4.274 The conclusions to be drawn from these representations is that the conduct of the LTTE, in gross violation of IHL obligations on the protection of civilians, radically transformed the very character of the NFZ and made it an integral part of the LTTE's combat operations to achieve their military objectives. The necessary inference is that this strategy was directed towards provoking the Army to return fire. Had the NFZs been established following the general practice in interstate conflicts i.e. through a mutually negotiated agreement, the Government confronted with such a situation would have been entirely justified in terminating the agreement and ceasing the protection afforded to the NFZ, on the basis of a material breach of the agreement. These factors should not however detract from the fundamental humanitarian

<sup>4.</sup> See SLA letter dated 19 January, 2010 to ICRC attached as Annex 4.3. See footnote 47.

# considerations that need to be taken into account, given the large concentration of civilians within the safety zones.

- 4.275 The forced movement of civilians generated by the LTTE, into a narrow strip of land bounded on two sides by water, presented its own dynamics and challenges in terms of terrain and geographical realities. This factor, taken together with the LTTE strategy of continuing to place mobile artillery amidst civilians, the aggressive conscription of civilians by the LTTE including young children from within the safety zones, the continued provision. largely through coercion, of a range of support services by civilians to the LTTE establishment and the LTTE cadres fighting in civilian clothing, combined to present a complex challenge in the full realization of the humanitarian objective which was the underlying basis for the creation of NFZs and the demarcating of the safe corridors for civilians to move into Government held areas. This unprecedented situation also brought to surface, the shortcomings of the existing IHL regime in its application to internal conflicts between States and non-State armed groups, an aspect that is adverted to subsequently.
- 4.276 The material presented, discloses the fact that the objective behind the establishment of the NFZs, namely the protection of civilian life, was realized when a large number of civilians held as a 'human shield' by the LTTE came over to the Government areas using the 'safe corridors' demarcated to facilitate the movement of civilians into Government held areas.
- 4.277 The sequence of events that followed after the creation of the First NFZ as described above, and the LTTE practice of shooting civilians who were trying to escape into Government held areas, and forcing them to move with the LTTE, and using suicide bombers to discourage civilians moving into safe areas, presents a more complex picture, which did not lend itself to well demarcated safe corridors, making the movement of civilians into

Government held areas more difficult, thus exposing the civilians to danger, as the conflict intensified. Therefore the declaration of the Second and Third NFZs appear to have been forced by the prevailing circumstances which left no choice to the Security Forces. This was in contrast to the situation in the First No Fire Zone. Nevertheless despite these challenges the fact remains that civilians continued to move into Government held areas from various points in the Second and Third NFZs.

- 4.278 It would appear that given the conduct of the LTTE within the NFZs, particularly in the Puthumatthalan stretch going down to Mullaivaikkal, which had the effect of merging the NFZ into the theatre of military operations, the Field Commanders would have been confronted with a difficult choice, i.e., either returning fire and neutralizing the LTTE gun positions from which they were firing at the Security Forces or refraining from directing return fire towards such positions. The first course of action, no doubt places the civilians who would have expected conditions of safety in considerable jeopardy. At the same time, the return fire to neutralize the LTTE gun positions would have been necessary to preserve to the maximum extent possible the continued existence of the NFZ for the protection of the civilians.
- 4.279 The second course of action of refraining from returning fire would have defeated the very purpose of the entire objective of the operations, leaving the Security Forces no option but to virtually surrender. As already explained, much would depend on the precise circumstances prevailing at a given time and Field Commanders would be presented with difficult choices between protecting civilians and also protecting their own troops. In this regard it would also be pertinent to recall that several States have interpreted the term 'military advantage' in relation to the Principle of Proportionality in attack, as including the security of the attacking forces.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>5.</sup> Customary International Humanitarian Law. Volume 1 Chapter 4 page 50 footnote 30

- 4.280 The Commission is constrained to observe that the above scenario presents a major dilemma to Field Commanders, who would be required to take quick decisions in situ, weighing contending considerations of ensuring the protection of civilians, while securing a military advantage. Such decisions would have to be based on their assessment of the information from all sources available to them at the relevant time. In such circumstances it is not easy to second guess with the benefit of hindsight, difficult decisions that are made in the heat and confusion of an armed conflict.
- 4.281 The Commission also notes in this regard a State's obligation to select an objective, the attack on which may be expected to cause the least danger to civilian lives, and to civilian objects, is not an absolute obligation as it only applies when a 'choice is possible'.<sup>6</sup>
- 4.282 On consideration of all facts and circumstances before it, the Commission concludes that the Security Forces had not deliberately targeted the civilians in the NFZs, although civilian casualties had in fact occurred in the course of crossfire. Further, the LTTE targeting and killing of civilians who attempted to flee the conflict into safe areas, the threat posed by land mines and resultant death and injuries to civilians, and the perils inherent in crossing the Nanthi Kadal Lagoon, had all collectively contributed to civilian casualties. It would also be reasonable to conclude that there appears to have been a bona fide expectation that an attack on LTTE gun positions would make a relevant and proportional contribution to the objective of the military attack involved.
- 4.283 Having reached the above conclusions, it is also incumbent on the Commission to consider the question, while there was no deliberate targeting of civilians by the Security Forces,

<sup>6.</sup> Customary International Humanitarian Law Volume 1 Chapter 5 page 67 footnote 103 '.....thus 'an attacker may comply with it if it is possible to do so, subject to mission accomplishment and allowable risk, or he may determine that it is impossible to do so'.

whether the action of the Security Forces of returning fire into the NFZs was excessive in the context of the Principle of Proportionality. Given the complexity of the situation that presented itself as described above, the Commission after most careful consideration of all aspects, is of the view that the Security Forces were confronted with an unprecedented situation when no other choice was possible and all "feasible precautions" that were practicable in the circumstances had been taken.

- 4.284 In this context, the Commission wishes to recall the difficulties involved in the practical application of the Proportionality Principle referred to in Section I above, in determining the excessiveness or otherwise of an attack in relation to incidental loss of civilian life, much being left to the judgment of Field Commanders in a given situation.<sup>7</sup>
- 4.285 It would also be pertinent in this context to recall that, in determining questions of State responsibility in respect of death, injury or property damage in the course of military operations, i nternational tribunals referring to doctrinal authorities, have described as "next to impossible", the obtaining of a reconstruction in front of a tribunal of all the conditions under which the "combat action" took place with an adequate reporting of all accompanying circumstances.<sup>8</sup>

#### Some Specific Instances of Death or Injury to Civilians

4.286 The Commission is faced with similar difficulties in attempting a re-construction of certain incidents involving the loss of civilian lives which have been brought to the attention of the Commission. While the Commission finds it difficult to

<sup>7.</sup> IHL Principles Section I

In the matter of arbitration between Asian Agricultural Products Ltd (AAPL) v. Republic of Sri Lanka, International Centre for the settlement of investment disputes (ICSID) case no. ARB/87/3 June 27th 1990.

determine the precise circumstances under which such incidents occurred (as described in Section II above, vide paragraphs 4.106, 4.107, 4.109, 4.110, and 4.111) the material nevertheless points towards possible implications of the Security Forces for the resulting death or injury to civilians, even though this may not have been with an intent to cause harm. In these circumstances the Commission stresses that there is a duty on the part of the State to ascertain more fully, the circumstances under which such incidents could have occurred, and if such investigations disclose wrongful conduct, to prosecute and punish the wrong doers. Consideration should also be given to providing appropriate redress to the next of in of those killed and those injured as a humanitarian gesture that would help the victims to come to terms with personal tragedy, both in relation to the incidents referred to above and any other incidents which further investigations may reveal.

### Hospitals /Makeshift Hospitals

4.287 Hospitals providing care for the wounded and the sick, both civilian and non-combatants enjoy protection under IHL. The Commission received considerable material on instances of shells falling on hospitals as described in Section II above.

## The overall picture that emerges from this material is as follows:

(i) Intensive fighting was going on in close proximity to hospitals. The LTTE had gun positions/armouries in close proximity to hospitals, including within the one kilometer radius safe areas demarcated for certain hospitals. In one instance it was stated that the LTTE had mounted heavy artillery at the boundary of the hospital premises. In some other instances the LTTE had made use of hospital premises for parking their vehicles and even 'to lead operations against the Army'<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Representations made by a civilian before the LLRC. Transcript No LLRC/ IS/10.03.11/01

- (ii) These factors disclose a trend whereby the LTTE had merged protected premises to be an integral zart of their combat strategy;
- (iii) The Commission also notes that some medical facilities described as 'makeshift hospitals', although under the formal supervision of the Government Medical Superintendant, the LTTE had exerted, de facto, considerable control over them. This was evidenced also by the statement of one medical doctor who explained to the Commission the difficulties encountered in working in a 'hostile environment' where they had to satisfy two 'governments', the LTTE and the Government and at the same time provide services to the people.
- 4.288 The Commission is satisfied, on a careful consideration of all the circumstances that shells had in fact fallen on hospitals causing damage and resulting in casualties. However, the material placed before the Commission points to a somewhat confused picture as to the precise nature of events, from the perspective of time, exact location and direction of fire.
- 4.289 There was a substantial volume of material relating to the damage caused to the Puthukudiyiruppu Hospital and this is a matter of particular concern to the Commission.
- 4.290 In this backdrop, the challenge faced by the Commission is the determination of responsibility for the acts in question, on the basis of concrete evidence.
- 4.291 It is well recognized that determining the precise source of shelling or direction of artillery fire is a complex task and much would depend primarily on the correct technical methodology, such as crater analysis being undertaken contemporaneously with

an incident, supported by witness testimony on the direction of fire, having regard to his or her vantage point.

- 4.292 In making this determination, the difficulty faced by the Commission is twofold;
  - (i) It is evident to the Commission that no immediate investigation in the nature of a crater analysis had been undertaken, presumably given the intensity of the conflict, in the areas in question.
  - (ii) None of the persons making representations was able to state with certainty that they were in a position to definitely confirm that the shells which fell on the hospitals, originated exclusively from the side of the Sri Lanka Army or from the LTTE. Civilians who appeared before the Commission stated that there had been shelling from both sides. One civilian stated that 'when a shell lands, the general anticipation was that it was the Army – cannot state exactly'.<sup>10</sup> Another ex LTTE cadre in the course of his representations had stated that the Puthumathalan hospital was in fact accidentally shelled by the LTTE for which they had subsequently apologized.<sup>11</sup>
- 4.293 Thus the Commission's task of reaching a definite conclusion as to who was responsible for the shelling of hospitals and loss of lives / damage to property is made extremely difficult by the non – availability of primary evidence of a technical nature and also the fact that supportive civilian evidence is equivocal in nature and does not warrant a definitive conclusion that one party or the other was responsible for the shelling.

<sup>10.</sup> Representations made by a civilian before the LLRC. Transcript No LLRC/ IS/01.07.11/01

<sup>11.</sup> Representations made in camera

4.294 Although the Commission is not in a position to come to a definitive conclusion in determining responsibility that one party or the other was responsible for the shelling, nevertheless given the number of representations made by civilians that shells had in fact fallen on hospitals causing damage to the hospitals and in some instances loss or injury to civilian lives, consideration should be given to the expeditious grant of appropriate redress to those affected after due inquiry as a humanitarian gesture which would in still confidence in the reconciliation process.

Supply of humanitarian relief, including food and medicine to civilians in conflict areas

4.295 The Commission wishes to note the strong humanitarian tradition and welfare policies and practices in Sri Lanka in extending assistance to people in distress, whether during conflict or during natural disasters such as the tsunami. It would be pertinent to recall in this context that the UN Special Rapporteur Francis Deng had observed that "Sri Lanka presents the unusual situation of a Central Government providing relief to aid persons under the control of the main opposition group. In a world replete with examples of Governments and rebel groups using food as a weapon against civilian populations, the situation in Sri Lanka is one that deserves closer attention if not more publicity as an important precedent." <sup>12</sup>Although the comment was made in 1991, the Commission observed that successive Governments have continued to follow this policy.

# 4.296 Representations made before the Commission, especially by ordinary people and civil society groups, have shown that this

Report of the Representative of the Secretary General, Mr. Francis Deng submitted pursuant to the Commission on Human Rights Resolution 1993/95 at the 50th Session of the Commission on Human Rights relating to Internally Displaced Persons. Available at http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOCGEN/ G94/103/57/IMG/G9410357.pdf?OpenElement

tradition and these practices have continued during several decades of the conflict and against overwhelming odds, during the terminal phase of the conflict. The Commission also wishes to note that there had been no major concerns expressed by the international community regarding the supply of humanitarian relief to affected persons whether due to the conflict or natural disasters until the final phase of the conflict.

- 4.297 As observed above in Section I, IHL requires that parties to a conflict must allow and facilitate rapid and unimpeded passage of humanitarian relief for civilians in need. In this context, the Commission notes the large scale effort over the years by the Government, civil society groups and other national and international agencies to provide essential food, medicine and other supplies to the conflict affected areas with the full knowledge that a certain portion of such supplies was being appropriated by the LTTE in areas where they were dominant.
- 4.298 The Commission also notes that the supply of food to the civilians held by the LTTE up to early 2009 was at reasonably adequate levels approximating by and large to the internationally accepted nutrition intake for refugees. This was possible through the food convoys sent by land up to January 2009. However, these adequacy levels appear to have declined during the months of February, March, April and the first half of May 2009 as the conflict intensified and the Government was compelled to resort to a sea supply route to provide essential supplies to a large number of people held by the LTTE in the narrow stretch of land in Puthumatthalan area across the Nanthi Kadal lagoon. It becomes evident to the Commission from the material before it that these supplies had been taken despite enormous logistical difficulties of sustaining a continuous flow of humanitarian supplies amidst an on-going conflict.

- 4.299 It must be acknowledged that the maximum quantities of food supplies, that were possible under the prevailing circumstances had been delivered by the sea route to ameliorate the conditions confronting the affected civilians mainly due to the collective efforts of the Government, in particular the GAs and the Security Forces as well as international agencies such as the ICRC and WFP, and other volunteers who had provided selfless service on the spot in the final No Fire Zones.
- 4.300 Despite the unprecedented constraints imposed by the dynamics of the conflict and the deficiencies in the distribution system evident under those circumstances, the practices of the LTTE to appropriate food supplies that restricted a reasonable and equitable distribution of the limited supplies available, the Government, especially the CGES, the international agencies such as those referred to above and other volunteer organizations, provided praiseworthy services and assistance in ensuring the maximum possible supplies to those affected persons during the last several weeks of the conflict.
- 4.301 However, notwithstanding these efforts the fact remains that the civilians had been affected in terms of the adequacy of readily available food supplies to meet their nutritional needs particularly with the intensification of the conflict. The extreme conditions which appear to have prevailed after February 2009 are set out in detail in Section II above.
- 4.302 The Commission wishes to recall in the above context, the wellrecognized requirement that a State faced with difficulties of the type encountered by the Government in providing humanitarian supplies, should seek necessary international assistance to ensure uninterrupted supply of such assistance to affected civilians.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13.</sup> In this regard see the General Comment No. 29 of the Human Rights Committee in the context of the Right to food under the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.

<sup>&</sup>quot;State Parties will take appropriate steps to ensure the realization of this right, recognizing to this effect the essential importance of international co-operation based on free consent.'

- 4.303 Having examined the material before it, the Commission is of the view that the Government with the co-operation of the international community, in particular the agencies referred to above as well as civil society groups had, in a spirit of international co-operation and solidarity, taken all possible steps in getting food and medical supplies and other essential items across to the entrapped civilians despite enormous logistical difficulties of the operation.
- 4.304 The Commission also wishes to refer to the fact that it had before it material giving varying estimates of the number of civilians who were held hostage by the LTTE in the NFZs. Despite the Commission's best efforts to verify the estimates with documentary evidence from relevant civilian authorities, it has not been possible to secure any original documentation. However, the non-availability of such documentation does not have a decisive bearing on the fact that what was practically feasible under the circumstances was undertaken. The strenuous efforts taken by the Government in co- ordination with international agencies such as the ICRC and WFP, as described above, does not warrant any possible inference that there was a deliberate intention to downplay the number of civilians in the NFZs for the purpose of starving the civilian population as a method of combat.
- 4.305 In dealing with the question of Humanitarian Supplies, it is necessary for the Commission to advert to the question of medical facilities and supply of medicines during the final stages of the conflict. The overall picture that emerges from the material before the Commission is that until January 2009, the necessary infrastructure to deal with emergency situations had existed with permanent hospital infrastructure in the Wanni by and large being used to cater to the evolving civilian needs. It also transpires that the Ministry of Health had provided the necessary medicines and other supplies required for hospitals.

- 4.306 However this position appears to have changed significantly as the conflict intensified, the primary factor being the close proximity of the hospitals to the theatre of conflict, which resulted in a need to 'shift' hospitals to makeshift facilities basically in school buildings which could not under the circumstances replicate fully functional hospitals with all attendant infrastructure facilities.
- 4.307 This situation was compounded by the fact that whatever supplies and facilities that were available had to be shared in the treatment of civilians as well as injured LTTE cadres. In fact there is material to show that even at the PTK hospital the LTTE had maintained a separate ward for its injured cadres. While recognizing that non-combatants are entitled to medical treatment, it must be noted that this would have exacerbated the demand for medical supplies and facilities under difficult circumstances and to that extent, the availability of medical supplies and facilities for the treatment of civilians would have diminished.
- 4.308 The Commission acknowledges that under these trying conditions, civilian patients had undergone considerable hardship. In connection with the supply of medicines, the Commission also notes the references made regarding the inadequacy of medicines, referred to in Section II above.<sup>14</sup>
- 4.309 Notwithstanding all these, the fact remains that civilians had received medical attention to theextent practically possible amidst an on- going conflict and evacuation of patients had taken place with the assistance of the ICRC, despite the LTTE imposing restrictions on the movement of injured civilians. Medicines had also been supplied through the sea route even as late as May 2009.

<sup>14.</sup> See further paragraphs 4.186 – 4.189 above.

- 4.310 The only possible conclusion that the Commission could arrive at on a consideration of all these factors is that by objective standards applicable under normal circumstances, there appears to have been a paucity of medicines and the medical facilities appear to have been inadequate. However this factor has to be placed in the context of the extraordinary conditions which prevailed amidst the intensity of the conflict and the proximity of the hospitals to the theatre of conflict.
- 4.311 The Commission also recognizes that given the inconclusive nature of the material before it, and taking into account the humanitarian considerations, the issue of medical supplies to civilians in the conflict areas during the final days of the conflict is a matter that requires further examination. Such an examination should take into consideration all relevant factors such as the number of civilians injured, the types of injuries, the number of LTTE cadres injured and treated, and the capacity to treat the injured in the makeshift hospitals, against which the actual supplies could be assessed.

## Conclusions regarding the conduct of the Sri Lankan Security Forces during the movement of civilians and combatants into cleared areas

- 4.312 The requirements of IHL pertaining to the treatment of surrendees are set out in Section I above. These requirements would apply with equal force to civilians who moved into the safety of cleared areas from the conflict zone.
- 4.313 On an examination of the totality of the material presented, it appears to the Commission that until about January 2009, there had been a general adherence to required procedures for registration of surrendees and of civilians who crossed over to the safety of cleared areas. The material discloses that field headquarters in the frontlines maintained detailed registers.

- 4.314 However, the situation appears to have changed thereafter when there had been an influx of civilians coming over to the cleared areas. This situation had been compounded by the fact that LTTE cadres had also intermingled with civilians who came over. It had been complicated by several LTTE suicide attacks which had taken place in the midst of civilians who were crossing over to cleared areas. Therefore detailed registrations had not been practically feasible and only headcounts had been taken – namely men, women, children and families after which they had been transported to Omanthai where detailed registrations had been done.
- 4.315 In the final few days in May 2009, with the huge influx, a situation had arisen where it had been virtually impossible to carry out registrations in situ at the point of cross over and civilians and combatants had been sent to IDP centres at Vavuniya. Announcements had been made at these Centres requesting any person who had even had one day's association with the LTTE to declare themselves. According to several detainees conditions had not been conducive to making a detailed statement at the time of surrender regarding the nature and extent of their involvement with the LTTE, whether they were conscripts or those who had joined voluntarily.
- 4.316 The Commission also received representations from both civilians and detainees concerning the treatment accorded by the Army when they crossed to the cleared areas. It was stated that those who waded across the Nanthi Kadal lagoon were rescued by the Army and provided with food and medical assistance where required. Others spoke of assistance rendered by the Army in helping civilians to avoid land mines as they crossed over to cleared areas. In the Commission's view this is exemplary conduct on the part of the Sri Lanka Army which is consistent with the requirements of IHL and a task undertaken under the constraints of a continuing conflict

situation, even in some cases exposing themselves to physical danger as the LTTE had been firing at civilians who were crossing over to the cleared areas.

- 4.317 There were also representations made to the Commission by both civilians and detainees which point to the fact that wherever civilians and combatants had crossed raising a white flag when moving to cleared areas, the Army had facilitated their movement. However one instance of an alleged firing by the Navy at a boat carrying people trying to escape from the clutches of the LTTE while white flags were being raised by the people in the boat, was brought to the attention of the Commission. In this incident the Navy had apologized on the basis of a mistaken identity. The Commission's observations on this incident are set out in paragraph 4.286 above.
- 4.318 In the midst of these positive elements in the conduct of the Sri Lanka Army, there is a matter of grave concern to the Commission from the IHL and HR perspective. The Commission received a number of representations concerning alleged disappearances of LTTE cadres who had surrendered to or had been arrested by the Sri Lanka Army particularly in the final days. Family members of these cadres including some key members of the LTTE stated (refer Section II paragraphs 4.242 to 4.258 and 4.260) that when they along with their husbands had reported at Army points, they had been told that their husbands were required for investigation and were being detained and the family members were asked to proceed to the IDP camps. In some other cases, the spouses had seen their husbands surrendering to the Sri Lanka Army. The Commission also heard instances of families surrendering to the Army. The consistent theme that emerges from these representations is that the last they had seen of their husbands was their surrendering to the custody of the Sri Lanka Army but had not heard or seen them since then.

4.319 The Commission must emphasize that in respect of these representations from a number of people who stated that they had directly witnessed certain persons surrendering to the custody of the Army, it is the clear duty of the State to cause necessary investigations into such specific allegations and where such investigations produce evidence of any unlawful act on the part of individual members of the Army, to prosecute and punish the wrongdoers. The Commission must also stress in this regard that if a case is established of a disappearance after surrender to official custody, this would constitute an offence entailing penal consequences. Thus the launching of a full investigation into these incidents and where necessary instituting prosecutions is an imperative also to clear the good name of the Army who have by and large conducted themselves in an exemplary manner in the surrender process and when civilians were crossing over to cleared areas, which conduct should not be tarnished by the actions of a few.

## The Conduct of the LTTE

- 4.320 The grave violations of Human Rights by the LTTE have been dealt with in detail in the succeeding Chapter on Human Rights and in the accompanying Annexures
- 4.321 The grave violations of core Principles of IHL by the LTTE are referred to above, particularly with regard to the NFZs as described in Section II. However by way of concluding observations, it is incumbent on the Commission to advert to the following:

The very fact of using civilians as human shields to advance their military strategy, together with;

- the practice of placing and using military equipment in civilian centres,
- the shooting at civilians trying to escape into safe areas,

- the conscription of young children to engage in combat even in the final stages of the conflict,
- the laying of landmines and Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs) knowing that civilians would be exposed to danger even outside the conflict zone,
- the forcible use of civilians to provide support services to them to carry out their military objectives – thereby making the identification of civilians and combatants an almost impossible task particularly in the congested final NFZs, and
- the continued use of suicide attacks causing loss of innocent civilian lives,

underpins not only the blatant disregard of Principles of IHL by the LTTE, but also highlights the task that the Security Forces were faced with in securing a military advantage while combating an enemy which had no respect for civilian life.

In framing charges against LLTE cadres against whom investigations reveal prima facie material for prosecution, due account must be taken of the violation of core Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law Principles so that appropriate punishment, commensurate with the grave nature of such crimes could be meted out.

4.322 The section that follows deals comprehensively with the lacunae in the existing legal framework to deal with acts of Non State Armed Groups such as the LTTE and the imperative need to address this issue.

# Concluding Observations on the IHL regime in its application to Internal Conflicts

4.323 In the light of what has been discussed above concerning the Sri Lanka experience, it would be pertinent for the Commission to make some concluding observations on the broader question of the application of IHL principles to internal conflicts involving non state armed groups.

- 4.324 The question of NFZs in the Sri Lanka experience brings to the forefront the complexities and challenges involved when applying IHL principles in internal conflict situations where non state armed groups act in blatant disregard of the Principle of IHL. The laws of armed conflict were conceived in the context of inter- state conflicts where clear battle lines were drawn, with armies facing each other on the battlefield and where, one's enemy was clearly distinguishable. The civilian remained distant from the battlefield. Traditional IHL principles and concepts such as the 'Safe Zone concept' were accordingly developed in a context where the boundaries of the theatre of conflict were well defined, and parties mutually agreed on well demarcated 'safety' or 'neutralized' zones for the protection of civilians and which the States concerned respected in the conduct of hostilities.
- 4.325 In the recent and growing phenomenon of internal conflicts involving States and non-state armed groups, the well demarcated traditional battle ground has receded to the background. In this scenario a serious dimension emerges, where the civilian and civilian installations including 'Safety Zones' merge into the theatre of conflict and are integrated into the overall combat strategy of the non-state armed groups, including the use of civilians as human shields for the prevention of military advancement. In one of the cruellest ironies of present times, laws meant to protect the civilian are cynically manipulated by the non-state armed groups for military advancement, to the ultimate detriment of the civilian.<sup>15</sup>
- 4.326 In this context, it is interesting to note from the legal literature, that during the Diplomatic Conference of 1977, which adopted

<sup>15.</sup> Underlining the complexities present in such situations the Legal Advisor to the US Department of State, referring to the Al Qaeda and the killing of Osama Bin Laden has stated that '....this is a conflict with an organized terrorist enemy that does not have conventional forces, but that plans and executes its attacks against us and our allies while hiding among civilian populations. That behavior simultaneously makes the application of international law more difficult and more critical for the protection of innocent civilians'. Refer http://opiniojuris.org/2011/05/19/the lawfulness of the US operation against Osama Bin Laden.

Additional Protocols I and II to the Geneva Conventions, States, particularly those confronted with internal armed conflicts adopted a somewhat cautious approach towards Additional Protocol II applicable to internal armed conflicts resulting in an instrument minimalist in nature in contrast to Additional Protocol 1.<sup>16</sup> This position could be explained, both on the basis of the legal complexity involved in the application of some of these principles in an intra-state context, and more particularly, the political sensitivity of States, in the introduction into the domestic domain, of a body of Principles which had emerged and traditionally applied in the context of inter- state hostilities. Internal conflicts were generally treated as a matter pertaining essentially to domestic law enforcement, hence the reluctance to the formulation of an elaborate set of international legal principles relating to internal conflicts. However, contemporary developments, as demonstrated above, require a careful reevaluation of these principles.

- 4.327 Given the rudimentary nature of the legal framework regulating internal conflicts involving non state armed groups, issues which constantly arise in such situations such as, the cynical disregard by the non-state armed groups to the traditional protection afforded to the civilian e.g. integration of 'Safety Zones' into combat strategy and the use of civilians as human shields, leave grey areas in the existing legal framework applicable to internal conflicts involving states and non-state armed groups. The resulting position is that the civilian is placed in jeopardy when the state is compelled to resort to counter measures to deal with the combat strategy of the non-state armed groups, such as in situations which require neutralizing military positions established within civilian 'Safety Zones'.
- 4.328 The Commission also notes in this regard that the ICRC has recently taken the initiative of addressing these grey areas in the application of IHL principles to internal conflicts. The

<sup>16.</sup> Additional Protocol 1 contains 80 Articles whereas Additional Protocol 11 a mere 15 Articles

"Interpretive Guidance on the Notion of Direct Participation in Hostilities under International Humanitarian Law" 'in addressing the issue of civilian participation in hostilities, recognizes that recent decades have seen a significant change from the traditional pattern where the civilians remained distant from the battlefield, and states:

> 'a continuous shift of the conduct of hostilities into civilian population centres has led to an increased intermingling of civilians.

with armed actors and has facilitated their involvement in activities more closely related to military operations..... all of these aspects of contemporary warfare have given rise to confusion and uncertainty as to the distinction between legitimate military targets and persons protected against direct attacks. These difficulties are aggravated where armed actors do not distinguish themselves from the civilian population, for e.g. during undercover military operations or when acting as farmers by day and fighters by night. As a result, civilians are more likely to fall victim to erroneous or arbitrary targeting, while armed forces – unable to properly identify their adversary – run an increased risk of being attacked by persons they cannot distinguish from the civilian population.'<sup>17</sup>

1.329

a) Common Article 3 to the 1949 Geneva Conventions, which is also recognized as customary IHL, serves as a 'minimum baseline' of applicable IHL rules concerning the protection of the civilian. IHL requires that civilians must be protected 'unless and for such time as they take a direct part in hostilities'. Direct participation in hostilities would make the civilian subject to the risk of attack, without enjoying the privileges afforded to combatants. It has been stated in this regard that, for the duration of their direct participation in

<sup>17.</sup> International Humanitarian Law Research Initiative – Program on Humanitarian Policy and Conflict Research, Harvard University (May 2008) page 3.

hostilities, these actors may be directly attacked as if they were combatants.<sup>18</sup>

- b) The lack of a definition of the term 'direct participation in hostilities' as well as the terms 'civilian' and 'civilian population' in the key IHL instruments pose a great dilemma to States caught up in an armed conflict with an enemy who has no qualms in using the civilian as part of its overall combat strategy. As the Sri Lanka experience has shown, armed groups do not as a matter of strategy distinguish themselves from civilians, conceal their identity amidst civilians, move their weapons to civilian centres and fight in civilian clothes. Further, the involvement of the civilian either voluntarily or under coercion in military operations of non-state armed groups or in activities related to military operations, ranging from gathering intelligence, procuring weapons and logistical support as well as providing ancillary services such as food and shelter, adds to the complexity of the problem and pose difficult questions which are not susceptible to easy solutions within the existing framework of IHL.
- 4.330 In addressing the uncertainty surrounding the meaning and content of the term 'direct participation in hostilities' the Interpretive Guidance identifies the following three (3) key legal questions: Who is considered a civilian for the purposes of the principle of distinction; what conduct amounts to 'direct participation in hostilities'; and

What modalities govern the loss of protection against direct attack, and states that:

'in non-international armed conflicts organized armed groups constitute the armed forces of a non-state party to the conflict and consist only of individuals whose continuous function it is to take a direct part in hostilities' ('continuous combat function')

Interpretive Guidance on the Notion of Direct Participation in Hostilities under International Humanitarian Law – Nils Melzer ICRC 2009 pp.11-12

4.331 Thereafter the Guide deals with the constitutive elements of 'Direct Participation in Hostilities' and sets out the following cumulative criteria:

The act must be likely to adversely affect the military operations or military capacity of a party to an armed conflict or, alternatively, to inflict death, injury, or destruction on persons or objects protected against direct attack (threshold of harm); and there must be a direct causal link between the act and the harm likely to result either from that act, or from a coordinated military operation of which that act constitutes an integral part (direct causation); and the act must be specifically designed to directly cause the required threshold of harm in support of a party to the conflict and to the detriment of another (belligerent nexus).<sup>19</sup>

4.332 While the stated objective of the ICRC Guide is to provide greater clarity to the grey areas which have arisen in the context of internal conflicts, the high threshold that has been set such as the notion of 'continuous combat function'; the 'threshold of harm';

'direct causation' and 'belligerent nexus' described above, is likely to have the effect of excluding a range of activities where a 'civilian' is directly/indirectly involved in combat related operations although they may not be in 'continuous combat function' as stipulated by the Guide or meet the other threshold criteria set out above. In this sense, the complex situation that arose in the Sri Lanka context, where the non-state armed group cynically manipulated the IHL concepts such as Safety Zones meant to protect the civilian, for military advantage, remains unaddressed.

4.333 An issue of critical importance that must be addressed in the context of conflicts between states and non-state armed groups, is the question of declaring No Fire Zones/Safety Zones in situations where the State is compelled to declaresuch Zones

<sup>19.</sup> Interpretive Guidance on the Notion of Direct Participation in Hostilities under International Humanitarian Law – Nils Melzer ICRC 2009

unilaterally, when confronted with an intransigent armed group.

- 4.334 As the unprecedented Sri Lankan experience has demonstrated, where the non-state armed group has no intention whatsoever of agreeing to a negotiated declaration of such zones providing for civilian protection and once unilaterally declared by the State, utilize them to advance its combat strategy and operations (for example, using civilians within the zone as human shields), the State and Field Commanders are faced with the dilemma of protecting civilians on the one hand and neutralizing the enemy fire power emanating from within the NFZ, on the other.
- 4.335 The Sri Lankan experience has in fact given rise to a debate as to whether, by unilateral declaration of a No Fire Zone, the Government unwittingly provided the LTTE an opportunity to consolidate itself amongst the civilian enclave for strategic purposes.
- 4.336 A host of such difficult issues arise, including the question of verification of actions of non-state armed groups in relation to compliance with IHL requirements relating to the preservation of the sanctity of No Fire Zones. The development of appropriate standards and procedures to deal with such situations becomes an imperative need in addressing contemporary challenges to the existing IHL regime in internal conflict situations.
- 4.337 a) It is pertinent to note in this regard that Judge Richard Goldstone, who chaired the UN Fact Finding Mission on the Gaza conflict, has recently observed: 'ensuring that non state actors respect these (IHL) principles and are investigated when they fail to do is one of the most significant challenges facing the law of armed conflict.

Only if all parties to armed conflicts are held to standards, will we be able to protect civilians who through no choice of their own are caught up in war.<sup>20</sup>

- b) While these words echo the growing concern of the international community regarding the contemporary realities of internal conflicts involving non state armed groups, it is a matter of some doubt whether the law of armed conflict framed in the post war period to address the realities of the day, could effectively make an impact in addressing complexities which arise in present day internal conflicts, fought out amidst the civilian population and carried out by combatants who in every aspect, other than in their mind set, resemble the civilian.
- 4.338 The careful construction of a legal framework governing conflicts between States and non-state armed groups as in the case of general principles of international law governing inter - state conflicts, taking into account all the complexities and challenges posed by internal conflicts as described above, could provide the answer in ensuring greater compliance with IHL principles by the non-state armed groups. These complex issues of contemporary relevance to the application of IHL must engage the immediate attention of the international community of States and relevant international organizations such as the UN and the ICRC, so that appropriate legal instruments are put in place to fill the existing lacunae in IHL in its application to internal conflicts.
- 4.339 This is a clear lesson that could be learnt from the Sri Lanka conflict spanning 30 years causing the tragic loss of innocent human lives. Formulating an effective legal framework drawing from these experiences is a clear obligation that the international community owes to all victims of conflict.

<sup>20.</sup> Richard Goldstone – Reconsidering the Goldstone Report on Israel and war crimes – 1st April 2011

- 4.340 A key question that the Commission addressed in the light of the first-hand accounts placed before it and published reports, was the scale of civilian casualties, especially during the final phase of the conflict; January to May 2009. The Commission gave this matter the highest priority given the conflicting nature of statements made by various persons including media reports. The need to have an estimate of casualties was also crucial to the mandate of the Commission in addressing the question of possible violations of International Humanitarian Law and Human Rights Law during this period.
- 4.341 The Commission heard the presentations of senior officials of the Ministry of Health and medical officers who were on site, senior military and other officials of the Ministry of Defense, eye witnesses who were affected by the conflict, and other persons and entities who have presented material on this subject. The Commission made a particular effort to hear the eye witness accounts from civilians who had been in the IDP centres in Vavuniya, as well as from those described by the authorities as hard core LTTE cadres. The Commission heard the latter when it visited places of detention and rehabilitation in Vavuniya and the detention facility at Boossa. In addition, the Commission examined the video footage recorded by the UAVs of the Sri Lanka Air Force which reportedly covered, on a real time basis, the areas of military operations and civilian movements.
- 4.342 The Commission also noted that a number of organizations outside Sri Lanka provided 'rounded off' estimates of civilian deaths in reports said to be based on 'own sources'. These figures ranged from 40,000<sup>21</sup> to 'tens of thousands'<sup>22</sup>. The Commission

<sup>21. &</sup>quot;Amnesty International says 7,000 to 40,000 are estimated to have died in the final five months as the two sides exchanged artillery and other fire". <u>http://hosted2.ap.org/APDEFAULT/54828a5</u> <u>e8d9d48b7ba8b94ba</u> 38a9ef22/Article\_2011-03-05- Sri%20Lanka/id-8e2ca01f23ef445986a9ca 7bd91eb5eb

<sup>22. &</sup>quot;War Crimes in Sri Lanka" International Crisis Group, Crisis Group Asia Report No.191, 17th May 2010, Pg 5

invited some of these organizations<sup>23</sup> to make representations regarding these figures and related matters to facilitate its work but regrettably they have found reason not to do so.<sup>24</sup>

- 4.343 It was also noted that there were media dispatches e.g. from the London Times<sup>25</sup> and the Independent<sup>26</sup> reporting alleged civilian death tolls of 20,000 and 40,000, respectively. There was no specific time period provided for these figures. Other press reports quoted an 'internal document' alleged to have been leaked by the UN office in Sri Lanka<sup>27</sup>, stating a figure of 2,683 civilian deaths for the period January to 7th March 2009, and another figure of 'nearly 7000 civilian deaths in the No Fire Zone up to the end of April' based on 'confidential UN documents.'<sup>28</sup> The UN reportedly stated that their figure was 'far too questionable for official publication.'<sup>29</sup>
- 4.344 The U.S. State Department<sup>30</sup> gave a figure of 6,710 deaths for the period Jan 20th to April 20th 2009, stating that the source did not differentiate between civilians and LTTE cadres. The UN Secretary General's Panel of Experts on Accountability in Sri Lanka estimated the figure to be both 40,000 and 'in tens of thousands' at different points in the report<sup>31</sup>.

<sup>23.</sup> Refer Annex 4.16. for letters inviting the International Crisis Group (ICG), Human Rights Watch (HRW), and Amnesty International (AI) to make representations before the Commission

<sup>24.</sup> Refer Annex 4.17 for replies to the Commission by International Crisis Group, Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International and the response of the Commission

<sup>25.</sup> The hidden massacre: Sri Lanka's final offensive against Tamil Tigers" By

<sup>26.</sup> Catherine Philip in Colombo May 29th, 2009 in The Times.

<sup>27. &#</sup>x27;Up to 40,000 civilians 'died in Sri Lanka offensive', By Andrew Buncombe, Asia Correspondent, Friday, 12th February 2010 in The Independent, and UN Statement on Former Spokesman's Views, Office of the Resident/

<sup>28.</sup> Humanitarian Coordinator, Colombo Sri Lanka, 15th February 2010.

<sup>29. &#</sup>x27;In Sri Lanka, UN Knows of 2,683 Civilian Killings This Year, Leaked Documents Show' by Matthew Russell Lee of Inner City Press at the UN, 18th March 2009.

<sup>30.</sup> The hidden massacre: Sri Lanka's final offensive against Tamil Tigers" By Catherine Philip in Colombo May 29th, 2009 in The Times.

<sup>31.</sup> Paragraph 137 and 195 respectively, in Report of the Secretary General's Panel of Experts on Accountability in Sri Lanka, 31st March 2011

- 4.345 In response to press reports alleging 'tens of thousands' of civilians killed at that time, a Government official was quoted as saying the range for estimated casualties was 3,000 to 5,000.<sup>32</sup>
- 4.346 With a view to ascertaining the scale of the damage caused to civilian lives and property the Commission conducted interviews with civilian officials, including Chief Secretaries, District Secretaries and the Divisional Secretaries of the affected districts of Kilinochchi, Mullaittivu, Mannar as well as with the senior officials of the Ministry of Health.
- 4.347 The representations made by other civilian officials to the Commission indicate that they were not in a position, under the circumstances of conflict, to carry out any assessment of civilian casualties. Consequently, no estimated or verified figures of civilian casualties were available with them. The Ministry of Health was able to provide the Commission with documented data of casualties based on hospital admission records. Data was presented in terms of registration at medical units and hospitals disaggregated by type of medical condition, gender and age. Records of deaths disaggregated by cause of death and maintained by the medical units of the Ministry of Health were made available to the Commission primarily by the Vavuniya Base Hospital JMO unit. 1,353 deaths have been recorded as occurring post admission at the Government hospitals in the Northern Province during the period January to June 2009 and a further 106 deaths of patients transferred to hospitals outside the conflict area33

The Medico-legal examination data of the Vavuniya Base Hospital has registered a total of 870 deaths during the same period. Of these 257 deaths have been registered as due to firearm and blast injuries<sup>34</sup> However, as medical care did not differentiate

 <sup>&</sup>quot;Sri Lanka says up to 5,000 civilians died in Tigers Battle", By Julian Borger in the Guardian, Thursday 4<sup>th</sup> June 2009

<sup>33.</sup> Calculated from Ministry of Health Database provided to the Commission, June 2011

<sup>34.</sup> Documents provided to the Commission by Ministry of Health, 7th April 2011. Transcript No. LLRC/ IS/07.04.11/01

between groups, records do not distinguish between civilians and LTTE cadres.

- 4.348 The MoD officials, who appeared before the Commission, stated that while data on military and estimated LTTE deaths were available, an estimate of civilian deaths was not available with them. They estimated LTTE deaths to be 22,247 for the period July 2006 to May 2009<sup>35</sup> while 4,264 have been confirmed by name for the period January 2009 to May 2009<sup>36</sup>. According to these submissions these LTTE cadres had perished either in combat or in suicide action. The security forces casualties were given as 5,556 killed, 28,414 injured and 169 missing in action for the period July 2006 to May 2009<sup>37</sup>.
- 4.349 Military officials who appeared before the Commission emphasized that the whole strategy of the Security Forces was designed to avoid or minimize harm to civilians and civilian property. They contended that, this strategy was carefully conceived and executed as it would give confidence to the hundreds of thousands of people held hostage by the LTTE, to move out of that situation into the safety of the cleared areas, an element integral to both strategic and tactical objectives of the Government Operation. They also maintained that measures such as the two No Fire periods proclaimed by the Government (29th January to 1st February 2009 and 12th April to 14<sup>th</sup> April 2009), the declaration of the non-use of heavy calibre manifestations of this policy. They further explained that the use of small groups of infantry and Special Forces was a strategy adopted throughout the military activities in the North to ensure precision where sensitive operations which could endanger civilian lives were involved. They pointed out that these measures were implemented at considerable tactical and strategic cost to the military operation.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>35.</sup> Source : Ministry of Defence

<sup>36.</sup> Ibid

<sup>37.</sup> Ibid

- 4.350 According to the material placed before the Commission by civilians, the LTTE was violating the consecutive NFZs by amassing arms and ammunition and in particular placing heavy weapons amongst civilians in the NFZs. These weapons were used to fire at the Security Forces from behind civilian clusters in the No Fire Zones thus converting the NFZ into a virtual operational base for military engagement with the security forces<sup>39</sup>. Several representations were also made that the LTTE was holding thousands of civilians as a human shield both within and outside the NFZs<sup>40</sup>
- 4.351 Given the abuse of the sanctity of the NFZ by the LTTE, the absence of any agreed arrangement to ensure the LTTE compliance with the intended humanitarian objectives of the NFZs, and the fact that there was no verifiable way to ensure that the LTTE complied with the status of the Government's unilaterally declared NFZ arrangement, it would be reasonable to conclude that civilian casualties must have occurred when Security Forces returned fire at LTTE gun positions in the NFZ from which the LTTE was firing.
- 4.352 There was no material placed before the Commission suggesting any policy or incident of deliberately targeting civilian concentrations in the NFZs or elsewhere by the Security Forces, except for three incidents described by three persons: One alluded to by an LTTE inmate at the Boossa Camp<sup>41</sup> and two incidents of alleged Navy fire,<sup>42</sup> described by civilians who appeared before the Commission.

<sup>40.</sup> Government of Sri Lanka Press Release dated 27th April 2009 Representations before the LLRC by civilians at Kandawalai on 19th September 2010. Transcript No. LLRC/FV/19.09.10/02;, at Poonagary on 19th September 2010. Transcript No. LLRC/FV/19.09.10/01; at Colombo on 10th March. 2011. Transcript No. LLRC/IS/10.03.11/01, video footage provided by Rupavahini Corporation.

<sup>41.</sup> Refer representations made by Mr. Gotabhaya Rajapaksa before the LLRC at Colombo on 17th August 2010; Lt. Gen. Jagath Jayasuriya, Maj. Gen. Kamal Gunaratne, Maj. Gen. Shavendra Siva and Air Marshal WDRMJ Goonetilleke on 08th September 2010. Representation by a disabled soldier at Ragama on 04th April 2011. Transcript No. LLRC/IS/04.04.11/01 Representations made in camera

Representations made by civilians at Kudathanai East on 13<sup>th</sup> November 2010. Transcript No. LLRC/FV/13.11.10/01 and at Mullaittivu on 20th September 2010. Transcript No. LLRC/ FV/20.09.10/01.

- 4.353 Submissions by civilians to the Commission described how the LTTE was firing at people who were trying to escape from the human shield situation and go across the front line and the bund into the areas controlled by the Security Forces<sup>43</sup>. There were many accounts of the LTTE firing at civilians in order to prevent them from escaping the hostage situation created by the LTTE as part of its combat strategy.<sup>44</sup> This was also evident from the UAV footage seen by the Commission.
- 4.354 There was also material placed before the Commission that the LTTE had intensified forcible recruitment of individuals including under age children, for combat duty during their last stand.<sup>45</sup> The LTTE strategy of suicide attacks on civilian targets continued during the last phases of the conflict as well. On 9th February 2009, a female LTTE suicide attacker who had entered the IDP reception centre at Suhandirapuram in the Mullaitivu district posing as a civilian killed 8 and injured over 40 IDPs including children.
- 4.355 In the light of the above, the Commission sought to ascertain further information on the scale and the nature of the casualties through interviews (some in camera) with eye witnesses including those at the detention centres in Omanthai and Boossa.
- 4.356 A former LTTE cadre<sup>46</sup>, who claimed he was tasked by the LTTE to remove dead bodies, stated that there were times he used to load 50 or more bodies into his truck. In response to questions by the Commission, he stated that the increase in collection of dead bodies happened during the month of May 2009. He indicated that from 1st January 2009 to 10th May 2009 (when he left

<sup>43.</sup> Representations made by civilians before the LLRC at Kandawalai on 19th September 2010. Transcript No. LLRC/FV/19.09.10/02, at Poonagary on 19th September 2010. Transcript No. LLRC/FV/19.09.2010/01, by Dr. S. Sivapalan at Colombo on 24th November 2010.

<sup>44.</sup> Representations made in camera.

<sup>45.</sup> Representations made by civilians at Neervely on 11th November 2010. Transcript No. LLRC/ FV/11.11.10/02, at Sittankeny on 12th November 2010. Transcript No. LLRC/FV/12.11.02/01 and by a disabled soldier at Ragama on 4th April 2011. Transcript No. LLRC/04.04.11/01.

<sup>46.</sup> Representations made in camera.

the conflict zone) he had collected altogether about 1,000 dead bodies. It is not clear if he was referring to civilians only or LTTE bodies as well. A civilian who appeared before the Commission provided a figure of 200 to 350 casualties. He initially stated this was a daily count, subsequently revised his position stating the incidents occurred about twice or thrice a week when there was heavy fighting.<sup>47</sup> An 'Inquirer into sudden deaths' who had been in the Puthukudiyirrippu area from 09<sup>th</sup> January to 09<sup>th</sup> April when interviewed by the Commission stated 'in the Puthukudiyirrippu, Iranapali, Vallipunam and Thevipuram area I have conducted more than 3,000 inquests .' He went on to state that the deaths had been caused by shell injuries but could not conclusively identify whether the deceased were LTTE cadres or civilians.<sup>48</sup>

4.357 With regard to estimating civilian deaths, civilians and the Defense Ministry officials who appeared before the Commission submitted that towards the latter part of the operations the LTTE adopted a strategy of mingling with the civilians and were often seen fighting in civilian clothes.<sup>49</sup> The MoD officials contended that it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish between LTTE and civilian casualties. A number of civilians and LTTE members who had witnessed the last few days of the conflict, who appeared before the Commission confirmed the LTTE cadres' practice of fighting in civilian clothes<sup>50</sup> and the LTTE's intensified forcible engagement of under age children and other civilians in combat during the final phase of the conflict. Both these points were confirmed in submissions by LTTE members<sup>51</sup> Material placed before the Commission by the military also pointed out to the long standing practice of the LTTE accepting bodies in civilian clothes as its own cadrethrough the ICRC52

<sup>47.</sup> Representations made by a civilian at Poonagary on 19th October 2010. Transcript No. LLRC/ FV/19.10.10/01 and at Colombo on 10th March 2011. LLRC/FV/10.03.1011/01

<sup>48.</sup> Representations made by a civilian before the LLRC. Transcript No. LLRC/ IS/20.08.11/01

<sup>49.</sup> Representations made by a disabled soldier. Transcript No. LLRC/ IS/04.04.11/01

<sup>50.</sup> Majority of representations made in camera show that LTTE cadres mingled with civilians during combat as well as during the crossing towards the army lines.

<sup>51.</sup> Representations made by a civilian before the LLRC. Transcript No. LLRC/ IS/28.02.11/01. Representation made in camera.

<sup>52.</sup> Maj. Gen. Shavendra Silva before the LLRC at Colombo on 8th September 2010 gave the example of Charles Antony etc.

- 4.358 The Commission notes the following :
  - The civilians who appeared before the Commission stated that there were many civilian deaths and injuries during the final phase of operations.
  - To the question posed by the Commission as to the extent of civilian casualties, the answers were vague. People could not give numbers other than to say that there was heavy firing from both sides. Some of the civilians gave accounts of what they described as shells landing near them due to exchange of fire between the LTTE and the Army.
  - The civilian, LTTE and MoD submissions indicate that the LTTE cadres intentionally located themselves among the civilians during the last months of the conflict, particularly within the NFZs and in close proximity to some hospitals. The LTTE cadres routinely wore civilian clothes during combat. This was evident when the bodies of top level members of the LTTE hierarchy were identified in civilian clothes.
  - A Large number of civilians, of all ages and gender, were conscripted by the LTTE to engage in active combat or coerced to provide support Maj. Gen. Shavendra Silva before the LLRC at Colombo on 8th September 2010 gave the example of Charles Antony etc. services to the LTTE. This practice gained momentum as the conflict intensified.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>53.</sup> Representations made before the LLRC by civilians at Vavuniya on 14th August 2010. Transcript No. LLRC/FV/14.08.10/01; at Nedunkerny on 15th August 2010. Transcript No. LLRC/FV/15.08.10/01; at Poonagary on 19th September 2010 Transcript No. LLRC/FV/19.09.10/02, and by a disabled soldier at Ragama on 04th April 2010. Transcript No.LLRC/IS/04.04.11/01. ;, "The Landscape of the LTTE's Last Redoubt, May 2009", Michael Roberts, 7th June, http://thuppahi. wordpress.com/2011/06/07/the-landscape-of-the-ltte%E2%80%99s-last-redoubt-may-2009/

- 4.359 Accordingly, the Commission has the following observations to make.
  - i. Based on the firsthand accounts and other material placed before it by the affected civilians and detainees, it was clear to the Commission that despite the efforts by the Security Forces to avoid harm to people<sup>54</sup>, there have been instances of exchanges of fire over the civilian areas including NFZs causing death and injury to civilians.<sup>55</sup>
  - ii. When the NFZs were declared, the LTTE deliberately clustered the civilian population into these zones and positioned their military hardware including long range weapons, among the civilians. There was material to indicate that they had in fact fired from among civilians<sup>36</sup> It was also evident that the Security Forces had returned fire.
  - iii. Although the material before the Commission did not make it explicit whether the LTTE intended to draw fire from the Security Forces when they fired from the NFZ, and thereby cause civilian casualties in order to blame the Security Forces, nevertheless this is a reasonable inference that could be drawn. The Security Forces maintained that they had to return fire in order to neutralize those LTTE gun positions and preserve the status of the NFZs (since the sole objective of the NFZ was to create a safe area for protecting civilians) and not to provide 'military advantage' to the LTTE.

Representations made by 2 disabled soldiers before the LLRC at Ragama on 4th April 2011. Transcript No. LLRC/IS/04.04.11/01.

<sup>55.</sup> Representations made before the LLRC by a civilian at Poonagary on 19th October 2010, Transcript No. LLRC/FV/19.10.10/02 and at Colombo on 10th March 2011, Transcript No. LLRC/IS/10.03.11/01. ; Mrs. Imelda Sukumar before the LLRC at Colombo on 04th November 2010; Dr S. Sivapalan at Colombo on 24th November. 2010; and representations made by 3 civilians at Kayts on 14th November 2010. Transcript No. LLRC/ FV/14.11.10/01. See also Section II of this Chapter.

<sup>56.</sup> Representation made by a disabled soldier at Ragama on 4th April 2011, Transcript No. LLRC/ FV/04.04.11/01.

- iv. The representations heard by the Commission, clearly showed the complexity and risks of unilaterally declaring an unverifiable NFZ in close proximity to the conflict area, however laudable the intention may have been from the perspective of protection of civilians. The Commission is of the view that this situation presents a dichotomy that needs further study and clarification from the stand point of humanitarian concern of protecting civilians on the one hand and the dilemma confronting Field Commanders as to how best to approach the situation before them in the context of an intra-state conflict, on the other. For further discussion on this aspect see paragraphs 4.333 to 4.336.
- v. The Commission heard no representations from civilians or LTTE cadres that the Security Forces deliberately targeted civilians although most civilians referred to much death and injury caused as a result of 'shell fire' between the Army and the LTTE. The Commission also heard representations detailing tragic accounts of death and injury caused due to cross fire and of humane endeavors of security personnel risking their lives to take care of the civilian victims of this brutal conflict.
- vi. The Commission considered the following three instances referred to previously<sup>57</sup> with a view to ascertaining whether civilians had suffered harm by direct fire:
  - a. An incident in which an allegation was made that civilians were compelled by the Security Forces, to retrieve the dead body of a fallen army officer and in the process, a group of civilians suffered death and injury, due to being caught in the cross fire. However, the Commission was not able to verify and confirm this account given by a person who described himself as an 'intelligence officer of the LTTE'.

<sup>57.</sup> See paragraph 4.352.

- b. Two further incidents involved the Navy and both had occurred in the early hours of the morning, stated as around 2 a.m. and 3 a.m. It appeared to the Commission to be a case of mistaken identity by the Navy and not one of deliberate targeting. The fact that the affected persons themselves stated that the Navy had subsequently rescued them and provided medical care becomes particularly relevant in this regard.
- vii. However, the civilians described many instances where the LTTE was deliberately firing at people held hostage by them when civilians attempted to flee into the 'Army controlled areas'. Accounts by LTTE members and civilians<sup>58</sup> and the UAV footage seen by the Commission confirm these instances of deliberate firing by the LTTE.
- viii. The Commission noted that taking into account the large number of LTTE cadres involved in the conflict, as against the numbers that have surrendered and LTTE bodies identified by the military, a considerable number of LTTE cadre would have been among any estimate of casualty figures<sup>59</sup>.
- ix. The Commission recognizes the complex challenge faced by the Security Forces in neutralizing a suicide cult based terrorist group seeking security behind a human shield. It also appreciates that the priority, and indeed the natural instinct, of the Security Forces and other authorities was to 'save lives rather than count bodies.'<sup>60</sup>

<sup>58.</sup> Representations made in camera.

As per MoD estimates LTTE cadre in the North was 21,500 and 4,264 bodies have been identified as LTTE, surrendered LTTE cadres 11,700.

<sup>60.</sup> Government Press Release dated 27th April 2009 "our security forces will confine their attempts to rescuing civilians who are held hostage and give foremost priority to saving civilians." There was substantial material placed before the Commission by IDPs, medical personnel as well as the military that the priority was given to saving lives and attending to injured rather than collecting data

The Commission however notes with regret that there is no official record or a post conflict estimate of civilian casualties either by the civilian administrative authorities in the area or by the defense authorities. Whilst the Security Forces had their own casualty figures and an estimate of the LTTE casualties, the absence of authoritative civilian casualty records, with the exception of the limited data from the Ministry of Health, has led to widely varying figures of civilian casualty estimates by different entities, media organizations and authorities.

- x. The Commission is also cognizant of the fact that the United Nations Humanitarian Agencies who had had in situ information about the casualty figures from January to April 2009 and thereafter 'secondary source' information from April to May, have indicated that whilst there must have been significant civilian casualties, it is not possible to establish a verified figure given the difficult circumstances of the situation, and the fact that UN representatives were not there on the ground during the final stages.<sup>61</sup>
- xi. The fact that there was no proper verification process, either by the civilian administration or by the military has contributed to the unverified sweeping generalizations, of a highly speculative nature as regards casualty figures.
- xii. It is the considered view of the Commission however, that eye witness accounts and other material available to it indicate that considerable civilian casualties had in fact occurred during the final phase of the conflict. This appears to be due to cross fire, the LTTE's targeted and deliberate firing at civilians, as well as due to the dynamics of the

Briefing to the Security Council on the humanitarian situation in Sri Lanka Statement by Mr. John Holmes, Under Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs and Emergency Relief Coordinator, 26th March 200

conflict situation, the perils of the geographical terrain, the LTTE using civilians as human shields and the LTTEs refusal to let the hostages get out of harm's way.

#### Recommendations

- 4.360 The Commission therefore recommends that action be taken to;
  - Investigate the specific instances referred to in observa tions at paragraphs 4.359, vi (a) and (b) above and any reported cases of deliberate attacks on civilians. If inves tigations of any offences, appropriate legal action should be taken to prosecute/punish the offenders.
  - 2) Conduct a professionally designed household survey covering all affected families in all parts of The Island to ascertain first-hand the scale and the circumstances of death and injury to civilians, as well as damage to property during the period of the conflict.

### PART II (B)

### CHAPTER 6

#### \*HOW THE LTTE VIOLATED HUMAN RIGHTS AND INTENTIONALLY COMMITTED GENOCIDE DURING THE EELAM WAR

The LTTE violated human rights and intentionally committed genocide in the final stages of the war by committing the following acts of atrocity:<sup>1</sup>

- \* Sacrificing innocent unarmed Civilians as human barriers.
- \* Abducting children from their parents, or from the places where the parents kept them in hiding to prevent the LTTE from taking them away, and using them as child soldiers to confront the security forces and making them the sacrificial lambs.
- \* Ruining the lives of young men and women by brainwashing training and using them as suicide cadres.
- \* Destroying the lives of injured Combatants of the LTTE.
- \* Inducing the captives to self-destruction by consuming the cyanide capsules.

#### 6.1 Sacrificing innocent unarmed civilians as human barriers.

Prabhakaran pretended to be a liberator of his own people. He clearly and shrewdly brainwashed and won over young Tamil men and women to sacrifice their valuable lives for his cause. These thoughts

ANCL Publications - Daily News / Sunday Observer Web Sites UNPARDONABLE CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY (Published by Strategic Initiatives for the Protection of Sri Lanka) LTTE : A TRAIL OF ATROCITIES (Published by Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Sri Lanka - July 2007)

and actions may have been genuine at the inception of his movement. However with the passage of time as he proceeded implementing his megalomaniac policies and tactics, he lost sight of his original objective and strayed desperately and selfishly doing anything and everything possible for his survival.

One could argue that he could be justified in sacrificing his militia to battle against the security forces. Some of the well-known genuine leaders of the world who lived in the twentieth century in the West as well as in the East gave leadership to their men and led them to oust the existing regimes to achieve liberation.

Such leaders had never unjustifiably sacrificed their men to achieve their objectives. They fought on behalf of their people for the genuine cause of liberation. They achieved success as they had a clear vision and an objective. In addition, they possessed sound knowledge of military activities, tactics and strategies. As they valued the lives of the men in their militia, their lives were sacrificed only when and where necessary.

In contrast, Prabhakaran lacked the knowledge, attributes and qualities for successfully achieving liberation in his many attempts. No doubt Prabhakaran had a sharp and a shrewd mind. He also possessed some qualities of leadership. These were not acquired by him but were inherited by birth. Unfortunately, what he may have acquired by birth was not adequate, to achieve the success which was achieved by the other great liberators recorded in world history of the twentieth century.

Prabhakaran only had limited educational knowledge. He lacked any knowledge or training in military warfare, guerilla warfare, handling and using military equipment. His knowledge was limited only to what he had read or what he had seen.

Besides these disadvantages, being a megalomaniac he was hard headed, and he did not seek the advice of others where he lacked knowledge. Despite the fact that he got his men trained in military activities, guerilla warfare and the manufacture and use of explosives, he hardly consulted them when necessary. This was due to the fact that he thought that his knowledge in anything and everything was superior to that of all others. In addition, he also had the weakness of not having trust and confidence in any of his men in the superior ranks of the LTTE, as he thought of them as a threat to his leadership. Hence he ruthlessly eliminated some of his key men when he felt they were a threat to him.

The only person he respected and sought advice on political matters was Anton Balasingham. However, towards the end of the fourth phase of the Eelam war, when Balasingham witnessed that the LTTE could not stand against the highly trained and well equipped security forces, he is said to have advised Prabhakaran to give up the call for a separate state and to consent for a peaceful settlement.

However, Prabhakaran had refused to heed to the advice given by Balasingham and decided to continue to confront the security forces, thereby facing a disastrous end to himself and to his leadership.

When Mahinda Rajapakse was elected President in 2005, he initially attempted to negotiate with Prabhakaran for a peaceful settlement for the so called ethnic problem said to be confronted by the Tamil community.

However, when it was revealed that Prabhakaran adopted an indifferent attitude to a settlement through negotiations, President Rajapakse had to seek advice of the Secretary Defence and the Commanders of the respective security forces to think of an alternative solution.

When the anicut at Mavil Aru in the Eastern Province was closed by the LTTE, thus depriving several thousands of innocent peasants even with their basic need of drinking water, the President had no alternative but to resort to military action against the LTTE, to re-open the anicut to provide the basic needs of the innocent peasants, who were dependent entirely on the water supply through this anicut for drinking and for agriculture.

In ordering the security forces to restore this anicut, specific instructions were given that it should be a "humanitarian operation", thus causing minimum harm to the innocent civilians, irrespective of whether they were Sinhalese, Tamils or Muslims.

When the security forces successfully accomplished the recapture of the Mavil Aru anicut, the President on the advice of the Secretary Defence and the Commanders of the respective forces, decided to proceed with the humanitarian operation to recapture the other territories held by the LTTE.

However specific instructions were given to the security forces by the Commander In Chief of the Security Forces, to ensure that any adverse impact of the military operations to the civilians should be minimized.

As the security forces proceeded in recapturing the territories occupied by the LTTE, they decided to declare "no fire zones" to provide an opportunity for the innocent unarmed civilians, the Sinhalese, the Tamils and the Muslims who were earlier in the areas occupied by the LTTE to migrate to the "no fire zones" for their safety.

The ruthless LTTE leadership which took advantage of the policy of the security forces, instructed their cadres to penetrate the "no fire zones" and to mingle with the civilians while continuing their operations against the security forces.

Consequently the security forces were compelled to face quite an unexpected problem. The LTTE cadres started attacking the security forces whilst being among the civilians who managed to migrate to the "no fire zones" in the respective areas for their own security and safety.

Confronted with this unexpected situation, the security forces had no alternative but to fire back to respond the LTTE cadres who were mingling among the innocent civilians, dressed in civilians clothes and not in their attire. The LTTE was in fact using the innocent civilians as "human barriers" to defend themselves.

When the security forces fired back to attack the LTTE cadres, it was a physically impossible task to identify the terrorists from the innocent civilians, particularly due to the fact that the dress of the LTTE cadres was similar to that of the civilians. This obviously resulted in causing injuries and in certain instances death to some innocent civilians. The worst situation was that the security forces were unable to enter the "no fire zones" amidst the attacks of the LTTE cadres, to identify the injured civilians and to dispatch them to the hospitals for treatment. This inevitably caused some deaths among civilians whose lives could have been saved had they been dispatched immediately to the hospitals for treatment.

Despite the fact that this situation arose due to the ruthless policies adopted by the LTTE, with absolutely no concern for the safety of the innocent civilians, the terrorists took maximum advantage of the adverse consequences arising from this situation by unjustly criticizing the security forces of killing innocent civilians.

It is clear from what is stated above, that the situation arose due to the policies adopted by Prabhakaran to use the innocent civilians as "human barriers" or "sacrificial lambs" for which the security forces cannot be held responsible or blamed. They were compelled to confront this situation in the absence of any other alternative. Causing death and injuries to civilians, was never the policy of the government and the security forces.

In fact, it was quite contrary to the policy of the government and the security forces, as the battle against the LTTE was a "humanitarian operation", whilst adopting the policy of "zero casualties", intending to minimize the impact on the civilians in the battle against the terrorists.

It is regretful that the humanitarian organizations in the West are unjustly criticizing the Sri Lankan security forces without any clear understanding of the facts relating to these accusations. They have not understood clearly, or have pretended ignorance of the fact, that due to the selfish policies adopted by Prabhakaran and the LTTE leadership in using the innocent civilians as "human barriers" or as "sacrificial lambs", the security forces were left with no alternative and were unwillingly compelled to confront a situation which caused injuries to the civilians as stated above.

It is a cause for concern that the human rights organizations in the West, are still continuing to level false allegations against the security forces for violating human rights in particular during the last phase of the Eelam war, without ascertaining or refusing to ascertain or explore the authentic information relating to these accusations.

These allegations would never have been levelled against the security forces, if the foreign allies of the LTTE succeeded in their attempt to provide safe passage to Prabhakaran out of the country during the last phase of the Eelam war, when he timidly hid himself in the Nandikhadal Lagoon. However, due to the excellent vigilance, in particular of the Sri Lankan Navy the plans formulated by the allies of the LTTE for Prabhakaran to escape did not succeed.

It is the responsibility of the governments to reveal and make available all authentic information to the humanitarian organizations in the West, who are backed and financially supported by the enormous funds of the LTTE. This would redeem the country of unjust allegations and accusations which have turned out to be a tremendous obstacle to the reconciliation and development efforts of the government.

It is clearly evident from what is stated above that the LTTE used the innocent civilians as human barriers in the final stages of the war, when confronting the security forces. It is apparent that this was due to two reasons:-

Firstly the LTTE used the Innocent civilians as a barrier or an obstacle to confuse the advancing security forces by preventing them from distinguishing the terrorists from the civilians. This was due to the reason that both categories of people were dressed in civilian clothes. It made it difficult for the security forces to identify the terrorist to counter their attacks.

Secondly the human barriers enabled the LTTE terrorists to infiltrate into the No Fire Zones, declared by the security forces, and under this cover of the human barriers the LTTE fired at the advancing security forces. The LTTE knew that this would neutralize the effect of the No Fire Zones, as it would enable in the absence of an alternative to compel the security forces to fire back in response to an unidentifiable group of people not been able to distinguish the terrorists from the innocent civilians. It would lead to the inevitable result of either causing death or at the least, injuring the innocent civilians. This would enable the LTTE and their backers to accuse the security forces of committing genocide. It must be mentioned that, in confronting the terrorist the security forces were not permitted to use heavy arms and were permitted to use only light arms to ensure the compliance of the "zero casualty" policy of the security forces. This could be construed as a shrewd tactic of the LTTE, to impute the blame on the security forces. This would nullify the "zero casualty policy" of the security forces and continued to level allegations against the security forces of committing genocide of the innocent civilians.

It was one of the main allegations levelled against the security forces irrespective of as to how and what these in fact happened, when the security forces confronted the terrorist in the battle field.

### How the LTTE used Innocent unarmed civilians as human barriers in the earlier stages of the Ealam War.

As stated above it is clearly evident that the LTTE used innocent civilians as human barriers in the final stages of the Ealam war. However there is adequate evidence that the LTTE had even used the innocent unarmed civilians as human barriers even in the earlier stages of the war when they confronted the security forces.

The following are some other instances in which the LTTE has used the Tamil civilians as human barriers and as sacrificial lambs in the earlier stages of the Eelam War in confronting both the Sri Lankan Security Forces and the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF).

#### 1. How LTTE sacrificed the civilians in battling the Indian Peace Keeping Force – 16<sup>TH</sup> December 1987

As stated above innocent civilians have been victims of cross fire between LTTE and the government forces and the LTTE and the IPKF, when the latter was present in Sri Lanka.

Twenty (20) Tamil civilians were killed in the exchange of fire between the LTTE and the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) forces in Mullaitivu on 16<sup>th</sup> December 1987. This happened when the IPKF was attacking the LTTE for the cold blooded shooting of a group of Indian paratroopers when they were in the process of landing by the Tigers and thereby violating all norms and conventions of war.

During fighting a number of LTTE cadres were killed at the hands of the IPKF including one of the district commanders. Due to the hit and run attacks of the LTTE on the IPKF, it resulted in fierce retaliation by the Jawans against the civil population. The LTTE in its retaliatory action, did not care for the consequences of their actions to the civilians. The LTTE also dealt a severe blow to the livelihood of the people by ordering boycotts and harthals in their battle for supremacy against the Indian army. The poor employees had to sacrifice their salaries for the days they were prevented from working.

The strategy of the LTTE was to cripple economic activities by ordering work stoppages to gain some ascendancy over the IPKF and the security forces of the government. On that day the LTTE Batticaloa leader Sitta warned workers of the Vallachenai Paper Factory not to report for work. He similarly ordered the workers of the Prima factory in Trincomalee.

The hapless civilians were caught between two contending forces in their bid for supremacy, resulting in plunging the lives of the civilians into despair and misery. **This formed the patterns of life of the civilians till end of the war in May 2009.** 

This incident clearly demonstrated the lengths to which the LTTE went to achieving their blood thirsty goals, **contrary to the popular conception that its leader never interfered with the normal life of the people amidst fighting.** 

#### 2. Two thousand five hundred civilians held as human barriers -April 1991

Two thousand five hundred Tamil civilians who were being detained at the LTTE base at Thandikulam were finally allowed to leave, but were forced to turn back and return to the North instead of proceeding to the South. The LTTE prevented them from proceeding to the south, as they wanted to use them as human barriers when necessary.

#### 3. Human shield at Vakarai - 8<sup>th</sup> November 2006

LTTE used civilians trapped in the uncleared areas as a human shield to cover up its artillery and mortar positions and to tarnish the image of the Security Forces, when civilians get caught in the retaliatory fire. As a result of the LTTE holding hapless civilians as a human shield, Tamil people were killed under tragic circumstances and over 135 people sustained injuries in Vakarai.

## 4. More than 700 civilians in Uyilankulam in Mannar entered cleared areas - 12<sup>th</sup> November 2006

More than 700 civilians, who had been subjected to untold privations in the LTTE held areas in Uyilankulam in Mannar, dismantled a Tiger roadblock to enter the cleared areas and sought protection of the Security Forces. Many of the civilians had been detained by the LTTE in Madhu while they were travelling between Vavuniya and Jaffna. They had been treated with disdain by the Tigers during the enforced stay.

### 5. Thousands of Tamil civilians in Batticaloa crossed into cleared areas - 21<sup>st</sup> November 2006

Thousands of Tamil civilians staged a protest in Batticaloa and Mankerni demanding the LTTE to allow more than 30,000 civilians forcibly kept by them in Vakarai and Mankerni areas to cross into cleared areas in Batticaloa. More than 1,500 people in Mankerni were engaged in the protest demanding the LTTE to allow civilians to move to Government controlled areas.

## 6. Over 85 civilians entered the Government controlled areas - 12<sup>th</sup> December 2006

Over 85 civilians, who had been subjected to untold privations under LTTE terror rule, entered the Government controlled area enduring severe hardships. They were provided shelter, food and medicine at the Army camps.

### 7. The request made by SLMM to LTTE to stop using human shields - 13<sup>th</sup> December, 2006

Condemning the fierce fighting in the East, the SLMM (The Ceasefire Monitoring Mission) called upon the LTTE to allow civilians trapped in the fighting to reach safe ground without hindering their exit. The monitoring body criticized the LTTE for its failure "to protect civilians in Vakarai by restricting their movements." They urged the LTTE to stop its brutal use of civilians as a human shield to take cover and attack the military forces.

### 8. Civilians in Vakarai, Kathirveli took refuge in Government controlled areas - 18<sup>th</sup> December 2006

Tamil civilians who had been subjected to untold privations in the LTTE held areas sought protection of the Security Forces. The civilian population trapped by them for one and a half months in Vakarai and Kathirveli continued to pour into Government held areas in Valachchenai. In Welikanda nearly 24,000 civilians took refuge in areas cleared by the security forces in Batticaloa.

#### 9. Statement of intellectuals on violation of human rights - 4<sup>th</sup> September 2008

Intellectuals for Human Rights in a statement urged the LTTE to immediately stop forcible use of innocent civilians as a shield in its war activities, since they believe that the LTTE is bent on keeping the innocent civilians in the Wanni against their will, when the Government is requesting these people who have become refugees in Wanni to settle in the cleared areas.

### 10. Civilians of Thanankilappu, Jaffna, seeking protection of security forces - 11<sup>th</sup> November 2008

LTTE intensified its attacks targeting civilians and as a result a group of Tamil civilians escaping from the LTTE grip came to the cleared area seeking protection of the Security Forces in Thanankilappu, Jaffna. 15 civilians comprising five males, eight females and two children had crossed Kilaly lagoon from their homes in the uncleared area of Paranthan.

11. United Nations called the LTTE to allow civilians in Vanni to move into government controlled areas - 16<sup>th</sup> January 2009

The United Nations called on the LTTE to allow civilians in the Vanni region to move into government controlled areas without keeping them as a human shield in the face of the military advance. There were increasing reports of over 100,000 Tamil civilians, including women and children and the aged, being forcibly prevented from entering the safety of Government controlled areas in the North, to be used as human shields against Security Forces advancing into the LTTE held areas of the Mullaitivu district.

#### 12. Thirteen year old suicide bomber - 4th February 2009

LTTE terrorists used a 13 year old child suicide bomber against the advancing 55 Division troops in Chalai on 4th February 2009.

## LTTE human bomb killed 28 and injured 60 - 8<sup>th</sup> February 2009

LTTE woman suicide bomber mingling with a group of displaced civilians coming from uncleared areas blew herself up at Sughandhirippunam North of Vivamadu on Monday 8th February 2009 killing twenty eight (28) innocent civilians and injuring sixty (60) others. Among the dead were 8 civilians and twenty (20) security personnel which included female soldiers. In addition among those who were injured there were twenty four (24) soldiers. The report stated that the suicide bomber who had come with around one thousand displaced civilians from the uncleared area of Mulaitivu had blown herself around 11.40 p.m. when a woman soldier had tried to body check her at the checkpoint prior to be taken into a transit welfare centre.

A large number of civilians who had braved the tiger clutches to reach Vishvamadu area were either injured or dead. The authority had rushed medical units and the injured had been taken to Hospitals in

#### Kilinochchi, Vavuniya and Anuradhapura. The authorities stated that this was a desperate attempt by the LTTE to prevent thousands of displaced civilians from fleeing the uncleared areas.

It was further stated that despite the Tiger threats more than twelve thousand civilians from the uncleared areas had sought refuge with the security forces of the government during the 7 days within which this incident occurred.

The security forces stated that steps were taken to enable the civilians trapped in the remaining uncleared pockets in the Mullaitivu to reach safer environs.

#### 14. Attacking Tamil civilians in captivity - 11th February 2009

One thousand and fifty seven civilians who were under LTTE captivity were making their way from Mullaitivu jungle to reach the government controlled territory. They were fired at by the LTTE to prevent them from escaping and among the injured were 11 children twenty six women of whom 30 were critically wounded.

# 15. LTTE detains one thousand five hundred civilians - 10<sup>th</sup> May 2009

Over one thousand five hundred civilians who were forcibly held by the LTTE terrorists crossed over to the cleared areas.

Troops advancing further into the "No Fire Zones" amidst heavy resistance by the LTTE freed over six hundred and fifty civilians, while the Sri Lanka Navy freed over three hundred who were attempting to flee the area by boats.

#### 16. Two thousand five hundred (2500) Tamils civilians detained by the LTTE - 29<sup>th</sup> July 2009

Two thousand five hundred (2500) Tamil civilians detained by the LTTE in their barrier at Thandikulam were finally allowed to leave the area. However, in turn they were forced to return back to the North, after permitting them as they wanted to keep them as a human barrier.

IT clearly meant that the LTTE were more concerned regarding their safety against the advancing security forces than in safe guarding the lives of the civilian population.

6.2 Abducting children from their parents or from places where the parents kept them hidden to prevent the LTTE from taking them away and using them with or without any form of military training to confront the security forces and goading them as sacrificial lambs.

One of the worst crimes perpetrated by Prabhakaran was the conscription of innocent children and sacrificing them to achieve his megalomaniac objective of a separate state.

The children who had been conscripted by the LTTE were of a tender age of twelve years and above. They were of the growing age when they were forcibly taken by the LTTE to be trained in military activities. The minimum age to be qualified for recruitment to the security forces is eighteen years. The basic training in military warfare for a new recruit is for a period of six months. Apart from the prescribed age, a person recruited for training to the security forces should be in good health and should be in a physical condition to undergo a rigorous form of training normally under hazardous conditions.

It is evident that a child just above the ages of twelve or thirteen does not have the physical or mental capacity to undergo the hardship of military training.

Under such conditions, it is obvious that a child is denied of not, one but, all the rights of children, as stipulated in the United Nations Convention on the rights of children.

Apart from lacking the mental and physical capacity to undergo military training, it is not certain whether these children who were of a very tender age were able to carry the rifle, as some of them may not have been, even as tall as the rifle they carried, when it was kept vertically on the ground.

Hence, it is clear that due to the limited mental and physical capacity of these child soldiers, the military training provided to them

should have been of a very basic nature which cannot be compared to the professional training provided to the recruits to the security forces.

It is clear from what is stated above and the basis of the confessions and experiences related by the ex-child soldiers it had been revealed, that towards the end of the war the LTTE was desperately trying to recruit additional men to confront the advancing security forces. **Hence they did everything in their power to recruit child soldiers. It is not known how they deployed the child soldiers to confront the security forces. It is clear that even if they were among the senior cadres in the battle field, they would have been eliminated without difficulty due to their limited ability and training.** 

Sri Lanka is a country in Asia which has adopted and practiced an advanced legal system dating back to move them one and a half centuries. Sri Lankan Law prohibits the employment of any persons below the age of eighteen years. Accordingly, employment of child labour is banned in Sri Lanka.

In addition, child abuse of any form is an offence, punishable by law. In Sri Lanka a separate Government Department has been established to ensure the enforcement of the laws intended to protect the interests of children.

However the government could not prevent the LTTE from abducting children secretly at gun point from their parents and using them as child soldiers for terrorism. The parents did not complain to the police or the security forces due to fear of reprisal action against them by the LTTE.

#### In 2007, the LTTE forced each family to hand over one child, which was subsequently increased to two children in 2008, when they realized that their cadres were getting exhausted due to the activities of the advancing security forces.

<sup>2</sup>James Elder a spokesman for UNICEF, and one of the most reputed and respected journalist in an article to the "Economist", had stated that from 2003 to the end of 2008, more than six thousand instances of child

<sup>2.</sup> Source - Economist Magazine

recruitment by the LTTE had occurred in the North and the East of Sri Lanka. However, the Organization (UNICEF) speculated that only a third of such cases were reported to them.

# According to UNICEF figures since signing the cease fire agreement in July 1987, the LTTE had abducted five thousand six hundred and sixty six children up to July 2006.

However, the Organization speculated that only about a third of such cases were reported to them. It was also reported that the forces nicknamed one unit of the LTTE as the "Baby Battalion" or the "Baby Brigade", as it consisted only of children.

#### A child under fifteen years is universally recognized as having the right to decide against participating in active military combat.

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, is an international treaty setting out the civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights of children adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on November 20th 1989. In article 38 it states that, "parties shall take all feasible measures to ensure that persons who have not attained the age of fifteen years will not take a direct part in hostilities".

Furthermore, the optional protocol on the involvement of children in armed conflict (which came into force in 2002), which is an adjustment to the main convention, provides that all states "shall take all feasible measures to ensure that individuals below the age of eighteen do not take a direct part in hostilities and that they are not compulsorily recruited into the Armed Forces". The protocol further states, "that all feasible measures should be taken to prevent such recruitment and to adopt legal measures to prohibit and criminalize such practices".

Prabhakaran was the father of two boys and one girl. He treated his own children differently to those children of his community, who were conscripted forcibly to be child soldiers. He denied the rights of these children, depriving them of their education and all other rights which were entitled to them. In the end, they were deprived of their very right to live as human beings. However, Prabhakaran ensured that his own children received a proper education and in fact both his elder children were educated overseas. They were given the best of facilities and their protection was ensured wherever they lived.

It is true that the elder son of Prabhakaran joined the LTTE cadres. But it was after the completion of his overseas education, that he was trained in terrorist warfare. He was probably expected and was groomed to succeed Prabhakaran as the leader of the proposed state of Eelam. He refrained from compelling his daughter to join the ranks of the LTTE women's cadre.

#### The parents of the young lovable children who were forcibly conscripted by the LTTE and who were relentlessly lamenting would have even cursed the ruthless LTTE leader, Prabhakaran.

In addition, there were eye witnesses who reported on the atrocities committed by the LTTE to the child soldiers in desperation, during the last days of the battle the security forces launched against terrorism.

The Catholic Priest at St Mary's church, Valayamadam in north Mullaitivu described about the forced recruitment of under aged children to fight the war. He revealed how the LTTE stormed the church premises, where displaced civilians and orphans had been accommodated.

St. Mary's church, Valayamadam was in the "no fire zone" and was the last refuge for children brought in by their parents who were terrified that the children would be forcibly taken away by the LTTE to fight the last battle. **Reverend Father James Paththinandan who** was the resident priest of the church witnessed the heinous crimes committed by the LTTE, and stated that, "It was an intense situation where the Army was advancing and the Tigers were resisting. The church was not meant to be a refuge for people due to its very small size of 60 x 30 feet. However not only children and adults, but Tiger deserters also sought shelter in the church. We received information that the Tigers were going to raid the place and take the children. As I was in charge of the church, I repeatedly requested the LTTE, to avoid stepping into the church as there should be no violence. Announcements were also made for people to find alternate safe places. Despite our protests, the LTTE took control of the church on March 21st 2009 and installed heavy weapons within the premises. The terrorists moved in and took out over six hundred civilians that time. There was nothing I could do to prevent the abduction" he stated.

Among the eye witnesses to the LTTE's forced conscription was Madavaraja, President of the Vallipuram Regional Development Society who recalled an unforgettable incident where the LTTE dragged out under aged children who were crying and pleading with their helpless parents to save them from the terrorists.

It is evident from the above that Prabhakaran has committed an unpardonable criminal act by conscripting children below the age of eighteen as soldiers of his terrorist Army.

Apart from the laws prevailing in Sri Lanka, he had blatantly violated the conditions of the United Nations Conventions of 20th November 1989 on the "rights of children" and the "optional protocol on the involvement of children in armed conflict" which came into force in 2002, which is an adjunct to the main convention. It provides that state parties shall take all feasible measures to ensure that persons who have not reached the age of fifteen years do not take a direct part in hostilities.

Despite the fact that in terms of the UN Convention, the government had the authority to prevent the conscription of under aged children, the LTTE did the proscription of children in areas which were under their control. Hence the LTTE was able to engage in their ruthless and inhuman activities in the way they desired.

The perverse effects of the crime of child conscription could be understood only if analyzed in the perspective of the rights of children as stipulated in the UN Convention.

It is clear from the above description that towards the final stage of the Ealam War the LTTE accelerated their process of conscripting innocent children and forcibly took them away from their parents or from wherever they were kept hidden by their parents and thrusting a gun in their hands, with or without any form of military training and forcibly sent them to the battle front by being fully aware of their inability to confront the security forces and innocently becoming sacrificial lambs.

Despite this tremendous drawback and being aware of the impending risks and dangers the LTTE leadership intentionally sacrificed the lives of these innocent and helpless children and cannot escape of being guilty of intentionally committing genocide by enabling this to happen in the final stages of the Ealam War.

6.3 Ruining the lives of young men and women by brainwashing training and using them as suicide cadres.

Human Rights Watch (HRW) expressed its unequivocal view that suicide bombing is a crime against humanity. HRW also claims that the political elites, commanders, and those that organize, facilitate, and encourage these suicide attacks are likewise guilty of conduct that offends against prevailing norms of international criminal law.

[Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, Article 28 (b), U.N.Doc. No. A/CONF. 183/9 (17 July, 1998), 37 I.L.M. 999]

In the words of Kenneth Roth, the Executive Director of Human Rights Watch, "The people who carry out suicide bombings are not martyrs, they're war criminals, and so are the people who help to plan such attacks." As such, Adele Balasingham, a key member of the LTTE and head trainer of the LTTE's female cadres needs to stand trial for her crimes against humanity. India and Sri Lanka need to step up demands from the UK Government for action. Adele was a woman born in Australia and later became the wife of Anton Balasingham who became the chief political advisor of Velupillai Prabhakaran. Balasingham was a Sri Lankan Tamil who migrated to England and lived there with Adele. After establishing the LTTE by Prabhakaran, together with his other comrades, they invited Balasingham to come over to Sri Lanka who was at the time attached to the London branch office of the LTTE. Balasingham who was sympathetic to the cause of the LTTE accepted the invitation and came over to Sri Lanka with his wife Adele and served as the political advisor of Prabhakaran. Adele who was a nurse by profession also came to be associated with terrorism in Sri Lanka and took charge of the LTTE women's cadre. It was not known whether she herself had any training in terrorism. However, she took charge of developing the women's cadre of LTTE to be an extremely ruthless wing of the LTTE.

The LTTE has a habit of drawing attention to the development of the ruthlessness of their terrorist activities. That attention has propelled the LTTE to be classified and viewed at a level higher than other terrorist organizations. Not many of them can pride in the ability to manufacture ready batches of girls with guns, making themselves the pioneers of modern-day suicide bombing, willing to even export them.

The new method of guerilla warfare was championed by the LTTE with their first suicide mission carried out in 1987 followed by several hundred over the three decades of militant rule in the areas forcibly captured by them and in the other areas of the country. The LTTE account for one third of all suicide attacks in the world. With the Tiger leader treating himself as a demi-god, it is no surprise that he would opt to instil the culture of sacrifice and martyrdom amongst his worshipping killer force. The female killer force was trained by none other than Adele Balasingham.

The LTTE never kept its killing or killer trainings a secret. In 2002 TIME magazine was given a first-hand look at a female LTTE Tiger base. Hundreds of INGOs present in the North had close links to the LTTE and cannot deny that they were not aware of LTTE's recruitment of children. None cried foul or cared to even report to the UN or their governments.

A world that pays rigid attention to the words "human rights" what stopped them from demanding why children were being manufactured into killers and told to commit suicide when caught? What have the international authorities, mandated to protect children, done, except issue publications year in and year out while giving heartening speeches at annual conferences? What is stopping action against the criminal Adele Balasingham? Unlike other terrorist organisations, the LTTE has found fund-raising and influencing through funds the perfect means to silence critics. The LTTE Diaspora has infiltrated the weaknesses of Western politicians and decision-makers using the strength of dollars and pounds gained illicitly by fooling foreign citizens through LTTE scams, human smuggling and now bogus refugee claims which is becoming a growing nuisance.

Another word gaining fashionable prominence amongst international mouthpieces is "accountability". Accountability must rightfully start with those responsible for turning men, women and children into killers, kidnapping them from their parents, giving them training in arms, placing suicide vests on them, drugging them and brainwashing them into killing others and themselves This is nothing any human being should feel proud of, most of all Adele Balasingham, a nurse who is adopting euthanasia into terrorism and terrorists who she has trained.

What critics need to first take note of is that a state military does not give orders to kill. Orders are given to only protect a nation's sovereignty and its people from those who pose a threat to that sovereignty. Therefore, it is very important to differentiate orders from State military and those that terrorists give. Whatever arguments given for the LTTE to exist or prevail, Adele Balasingham, though spouse of the LTTE's Political advisor Anton Balasingham, was a nurse by profession, a woman who came from the West taking pride in training young girls as young as 10 years to kill.

She proudly hands the only piece of jewellery these LTTE women are likely to ever wear a tag on wrist, neck and waist for identification purposes. Their only hairstyle is two plats and the only songs these girls would ever sing were hosannas to Prabhakaran.

Due to the rehabilitation of these young women during the postconflict period, they are now seen on the catwalk modeling fashions whilst some have taken up hairdressing and beauty culture. It is not difficult to understand what the LTTE and Adele have denied these young females.

Adele was responsible for training, arming and tying a cyanide vial around the necks of these innocent children. Orders were simple if captured, commit suicide by taking the cyanide. Terrorists giving such orders is excusable, but a Western woman with a western background and a nurse at that, is nothing compared to her parents being proud of their daughter training child soldiers.

The UK authorities appear unconcerned about a war criminal at present living happily in Surrey, England after driving thousands of young girls to their graves. Of course, those authorities have done little over the years to really clamp down on LTTE terrorism and one wonders why it would even allow its capital to be used as the international headquarters of the LTTE despite the LTTE being banned in the UK. Why ban an entity as a terrorist organisation if the UK allows it to hold demonstrations, collect funds, influence its politicians, have them speak on LTTE stages, strange indeed.

The tragedy is that Adele and the LTTE were responsible for turning probably talented individuals into killers, many of whom have committed suicide on the orders given. None of these Black Tigers had any evidence of psychological disorder, nor were they mentally imbalanced. Therefore, the responsibility of denying them their youth falls at the feet of the LTTE and Adele. This was very clearly established when the government of Sri Lanka decided to rehabilitate them, and returned them back to civil society having trained them in skills in which they displayed some talent.

Contrary to the promoted norm of self-sacrifice, the reality is that these women suffered from peer pressure, social stigma and fear, what made the suicide service possible. A third of the LTTE comprised women and it is believed that 6000 of them died in combat and Adele Balasingham is directly culpable for their deaths and the parents of these young girls should take legal action. The LTTE has killed a large number of Tamils who were of their own community, half of which have been killed during ceasefires. It has recruited close to 5,000 Tamil children, most of whom are from low-income, low caste families which is why not too many high caste Tamils abroad or those living in Sri Lanka's south or Tamil politicians have ever cared to denounce the recruitment of child combatants. The LTTE's female military unit was headed by Adele Balasingham; she christened them "Freedom Birds" with no worries economically, socially or politically, all these girls were focused towards, to kill. If these cadre had freedom, why would there be any need to keep them under tight surveillance and accompany them even to the washroom and be severely punished for wanting to leave?

The "freedom" the LTTE had given Tamil women and in fact all of its cadres is by breaking their will to think, their ability to analyse right from wrong and hypnotized them into killer machines. Once their natural thinking abilities have been broken, it is easy for any group to have its followers function as zombies, remotecontrolled. The trust these young girls had placed in Adele was such that she was even referred to as "Aunty" what aunty would lead children as young as 10 to their deaths?

Where is the "freedom" when anyone attempting to leave faces summary execution? The code of ethics applicable to the members of the LTTE formulated by its leader Prabhakaran had even denied them of basic human desires and tendencies such as love or sex etc. Any members of the LTTE who even if accidentally violated any of these restrictions were not excused or pardoned. Instead they were summarily done away with. When there are enough of men who desert the Army, and the other security forces there are hardly a handful of surviving LTTE'ers who have managed to successfully flee the LTTE! Given the argument that these females, or males for that matter, have self-sacrificed their lives to free Tamils from the Sinhalese the all-important question is why are there no suicide attempts after the demise of the LTTE, especially since there is a big hue and cry over "militarization" of the North?

This categorically proves that Tamil women were misled to their deaths by a programme enticing them to kill and be killed, spearheaded by the LTTE and facilitated by Adele Balasingham. It is clear that LTTE suicide killers never functioned in a vacuum and as Simone de Beauvoir aptly says, "suicide bombers are not born, they are made."

Proof of Adele Balasingham being an LTTE key member is given in the Norwegian Government website (SL) where she is a member of the LTTE delegation during the 2002, the world peace talk sessions held in Thailand (three sessions), Oslo Germany and Japan.

If suicide bombers are made, its relevance to terrorism is not far behind. Given the inaction of global authorities towards eliminating terrorism, it is for us to accept that terrorism is nothing today, but an international political tool used to manipulate and influence governments.

Suicide is being used as a strategy and form of protest, we cannot depart or hide from the fact that it is nothing more than mass murder, coercion towards death, destruction of life and intentional killing of others.

Where can there be any legitimacy for such crimes under international or local laws? Is there a "just cause" in homicide? Terrorist organisations can call themselves what they like, they can have an umpteen number of reasons to wage wars, but they have no validity under international law or the law of the territory and representatives of international bodies must desist from misusing their office to promote their personal theories.

All suicide bombings are crimes against humanity whatever ways treaties describe them. No suicide bomber or its supervisor can be more important than the life or lives that they have intentionally planned and snuffed out. Suicide attacks fall into the category of murder with a mens rea willingness to kill and willingness to die.

What the LTTE and Adele Balasingham and all others whether international and local, promoting and excusing LTTE terror all these decades, have left the people of the North and Eastern regions of Sri Lanka, a legacy of violence and killing with impunity and that culture of habit is now being tested minus the LTTE.

It is only a matter of time that the pieces of lies that made up the LTTE propaganda machinery, duping people into giving money towards some "cause" for liberation from the Sinhalese would come to mean nothing other than filling one's own coffers and living it good on foreign soil.

Raj Rajaratnam finds himself in prison and others are likely to follow with time. With the LTTE fighting force gone, there is a scramble

for the LTTE wealth and accusations are galore that Adele has part of those ill-gotten funds including millions of dollars from ransoms, scams and illegal businesses across the globe. Therefore, we have a right to inquire whether the mansion Adele has in Surrey is from those funds and why UK authorities do not wish to investigate?

From the theatrics taking place, it is our turn to ask for balcony tickets to watch LTTE representatives now scramble and scammer for supremacy, fighting for leadership of the LTTE, but the real catch is they are all fighting for that pot of wealth and care little for any Tamils in Sri Lanka. **Greed will be the eventual downfall of the foreign LTTE.** 

For foreign governments to be concerned, it is when they know that their names are associated with secrets they desire to keep hidden. Adele's safety is assured as long as she does not ruffle any State secrets. But that should not stop justice. She should not remain a free bird when she killed a lot of birds with freedom, training to kill and commit suicide.

Adele Balasingham's war crimes cover 10,000 or more female LTTE'ers who had been trained to kill and to die when caught. It is time to seek justice for those crimes and the parents of these dead girls can help build a case for which the UK Government must also take action without silently harbouring a war criminal on UK soil.

#### 6.4. Destroying the lives of injured LTTE combatants

#### The ruthless massacre of injured tiger comrades

The laws and the ethics of the civilized world, has recognized the right for human beings to live even if severely wounded or paralyzed until he breathes his last.

## The horrible incidents related below took place during the final stages of the battle fought between the security forces and the LTTE in Vellamullivaikkal and Wadduwakkal in May 2009.

Unaware of the fate that would befall them within the next few minutes, dozens of wounded Tiger terrorists, including forcibly conscripted children brought from the battlefield in a Rosa bus were helplessly gasping for life. Another group of Tigers who were guarding another bus load of wounded youth a few metres away, were impatiently watching for the final nod from their superior to finish off their task. Their intention was to get rid of the "burden" and also not to leave any room for the wounded to be interrogated in the event of their capture.

While those who fought unwillingly to make the dream of their megalomaniac leader a reality were struggling to breathe, the Tigers hurriedly strapped explosives around the buses. In the last minute everything disappeared under heavy black smoke triggered by a thundering explosion.

The two badly damaged buses were between Wellamullivaikkal and Wadduvaikkal.

We cannot forget for a moment that those who suffered the disastrous end were themselves ruthless Tigers. However, cannot this be considered as one of the most atrocious crimes committed against badly injured helpless human beings placed in a desperate state?

The new found peace and the fear free environment after the elimination of terror, restored the freedom of speech in the North of the country enabling people who had been suppressed and oppressed to come out to express their views and those who had been trampled under a terror filled era to reveal the atrocities committed by the ruthless LTTE against humanity.

Thiruchelvam Varadarasa from Wattappalai who was temporarily accommodated two hundred metres away from the location of the above disaster was an eyewitness to a mass murder that had been intended to remain hidden forever.

He stated the following. "The LTTE forcibly brought a bus full of boys, girls and elders from the battlefront. The bus was then exploded with the passengers inside it, under the instructions of a leader of the LTTE, by the name Nedumaran. I witnessed this with my own eyes".

This was a firsthand account of a civilian who narrated his agony two and a half years ago in the latest video titled "Ruthless", released by the Ministry of Defence to show the world, just how ruthless the LTTE was. It is an account that provides concrete evidence about the LTTE's ruthlessness towards their people. It was on May 17th 2009 in the wee hours that the murder described above took place, while the soldiers were squeezing the terrorists into their last patch of land in the edge of Mullaitivu.

Two days before the LTTE was annihilated in the waters of the Nandikaddhal lagoon, the LTTE leader had instructed his subordinates to destroy their battle casualties who had been forcibly taken and were not adequately trained and conscripted to fight the advancing security forces. All of them were severely injured and were in a disabled condition but were still living. The ruthless LTTE had loaded the disabled and wounded cadres into a bus from the makeshift hospital, (a Rosa bus) on May 16th "I pleaded with them to release my step brother, who was injured and was in the bus" but they refused to release him. Next morning around 3.30 a.m I heard a thundering blast and when I arrived at the site, people were running in all directions as the buses had caught fire after the blast. Even at the time those who were in the bus were scattered all over due to the blast and some were still screaming with wounds. He further stated that he recalled spotting the burning bus in which his step brother was lying semi-conscious.

"As the LTTE chased us we had to leave in tears", stated Jesikumar an ex-LTTE cadre who was marched away while returning from school in 2007 and who was an eye witness to the bus bomb blast to destroy the LTTE casualties.

"On 17th May we were fleeing as the soldiers were taking control of the land. It was 4.00 a.m. and while we were nearing the bridge an LTTE cadre tried to prevent us proceeding further, as they were preparing to explode a bus containing injured soldiers. A few minutes later the bus went up in flames" stated Jesikumar who had sustained injuries while fighting in Pooneryn and Mannar.

Apart from eye witness accounts on the atrocities during the last days of the battle against terrorism, victims, parents, a member of the clergy and an ex LTTE cadre have testified about their nightmarish experiences on the LTTE's forced conscription of under aged children as child soldiers.

## 1. Execution of deserters to stop dilution of their group - 21<sup>st</sup> July 1992

At this time some of the LTTE cadres in the North began to feel that the Armed Forces would defeat them, as a number of their positions were overrun by the Army. Some young cadres began deserting the terrorist ranks as they were facing defeat, particularly in the North where the number of terrorists killed was high.

The LTTE leaders and the senior cadres were beginning to feel that some action had to be taken to stop the dilution of their group.

Hence on the final week of July, it was reported that the LTTE traced twenty three of the deserters and executed them in public at two places in Jaffna.

### 2. How Tigers execute two deserters on 14<sup>th</sup> January 2007

LTTE cadres shot dead two deserters from their ranks identified as T. Mohan and K. Srikumaran after storming their residence at Kondayankerni junction in Valachchenai in the Batticaloa district.

## 3. How the liberator killed his own people - 9th February 2009

The year 2009 came exactly after three decades since separatist terrorism was hatched by the racist politicians of the North especially those like Amirthalingham. He was the front figure of the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF), who openly invited the disobedient politicized youth of the North to resort to violence with a view to creating a separate state for the Sri Lankan Tamils by separating the two provinces of the North and the East.

However, long after Amirthalingam was killed by the very forces he created, the most ruthless killer among the separatist terrorists, Velupillai Prabhakaran who was to be what the LTTE termed the "sole leader of the Tamil people".

As stated earlier he resorted to eliminating all Tamil political leaders and all other terrorist leaders including some of his close associates, in order to become the most feared man heading a terrorist group with international links and with well-wishers, both at home and overseas. Yet perhaps he (Prabhakaran) would never have imagined even in his wildest dreams, **that the year 2009 would be his last on this earth**, as the Sri Lankan security forces would rout his powerful terrorist group, known to be the most dreaded terrorist force on earth.

As witnessed, nearly all previous attacks carried out by the terrorists were cowardly and aimed at unarmed innocent civilians at the most unlikely places where violence could take place.

By the end of 2008 and the beginning of 2009, the security forces successfully recaptured the territory held by the terrorists in the North and the East for decades, resulting in the LTTE suffering one military defeat after another.

Some of the civilians of the North were aware for the first time in three decades that the areas brought under government control after the forces defeated the terrorists, were safer and more secure. They were now confident that their children would not be dragged out of their homes and schools and given a military training forcibly. When the LTTE saw the exodus, their wrath turned on the people of the North, whom they claimed to represent.

On 9th February 2009, a large group of civilians who had fled the area under LTTE control came to Visvamadu seeking freedom, but the LTTE sent a woman suicide bomber disguised as a freedom seeker who fled with the others and exploded herself. **Twenty eight civilians** including twenty Army personnel who were waiting to receive the civilians were killed in the attack. Another sixty were injured.

The following day, the LTTE once again attacked civilians fleeing the area under their control by killing nineteen and injuring another seventy five at Udayakathu,

# 6.5 Inducing LTTE captives to self-destruction by consuming the cyanide capsule

As stated earlier Prabhakaran who did not attach any value to human life **devised two methods which caused destruction to his followers**. The first method was to brainwash the followers and to create the impression that they are considered to be heroes and **to induce them**  to sacrifice their lives by carrying out suicide attacks against the so called enemies of the Tamil people or those who crossed his path or those who were a challenge to his leadership.

The second method of self-destruction was biting a cyanide vile, if in the event any member of the LTTE was taken captive by the security forces to prevent them from providing information to the security forces. In most cases they strictly complied with the instructions given to them by the leader. Both methods lead to the destruction of valuable human lives.

Long before formulating the modern legal systems that selfmortification was acknowledging of criminal offence, the Buddha who lived in the 5th century BC preached the five precepts which people should follow in their day to day lives. The first of the five precepts he preached was "Panathipatha", that is to refrain from taking away the life of another living being which he preached was a grave sin.

The Buddha who attached enormous value to human life preached that "Panathipatha" includes self-destruction by a human being or killing oneself, is a grave sin. He further preached that due to the commission of this grave sin, a living being in his journey through "Sansara" (birth, death and re-birth) will never be born again as a human being. It meant that in his journey through "Sansara" will never have the opportunity to indulge in meritorious deeds which in turn will preclude him from achieving the salvation which he preached to be "Nirvana", the state which will end suffering and re-birth.

The first incident of self-mortification in the 20th century which had taken place in a war environment was reported from Germany towards the end of the World War II). In about March 1945 Hitler had taken up residence in his bunker under the Reich Chancery in Berlin. At that time the Russians were advancing from the East of Germany, the British and the Americans from the West.

Eva Braun, Hitler's mistress is said to have committed suicide when the allied forces were marching towards Berlin to capture them. She is said to have committed suicide by biting a cyanide capsule on 30<sup>th</sup> April 1945, twelve days before the end of World War II. Immediately after, Hitler is said to have shot himself dead. Hence the allied forces were not able to capture Hitler alive. This act on the part of Hitler displayed the quality of his leadership, even though he himself was a ruthless killer, indulging in ethnic cleansing, by killing millions of Jews. Due to his enormous pride as a leader he never wanted to surrender alive or to permit his enemies to kill him.

This was quite a contrast to the conduct of Prabhakaran, when the security forces were pursuing him to capture him dead or alive. By hiding in the Nandikhadal Lagoon, he was expecting his foreign allies to rescue him and make way for his escape leaving behind the members of his family, his faithful leaders and all other cadres of his terrorist outfit, to be captured by the security forces. However, as per the instructions given to the security forces they received all the civilians and the LTTE cadres who surrendered to the security forces, and treated them as human beings without indulging in any form of harassment.

Even though the security forces did not succeed in capturing Prabhakaran alive he died due to a gunshot injury fired in the direction of the Nandikhadal Lagoon to counter the attacks launched by the bodyguards of Prabhakaran, who provided protection to enable their leader to escape. However, even on the verge of capturing him by the security forces he never wanted to kill himself by biting a cyanide vile. The conduct of Prabhakaran in this instance was in violation of his own code of conduct which he has stipulated to his followers. In fact he truly displayed his cowardice to sacrifice his life for his cause. In contrast to Adolf Hitler would it be possible to consider Vellupillai Prabhakaran to be a genuine and a courageous leader.

Prabhakaran's code of conduct stipulated that in the event any of his cadres were captured by the security forces, they should kill themselves by biting the cyanide vile capsule tied around their necks. This was to prevent them from disclosing any information to the security forces. This is another instance in which the leader violated the stringent stipulations of his code of conduct.

In contrast to the conduct of the leader, the disciples of Prabhakaran strictly complied with this stipulation whenever they were captured by the security forces. If caught or detected by the security forces when on a suicide mission, the particular LTTE cadre pressed the button in the explosive kit he wore and killed himself instantaneously, thus sacrificing his life for the cause of the LTTE or to that of his leader. If caught or detected by the security forces when on any other mission the LTTE cadres killed themselves by biting the cyanide capsule hung around their necks. By adopting these crude methods of self-mortification Prabhakaran ruthlessly ended the valuable lives of many young men and women who were his faithful and committed disciples. They would have regretted very much if they knew that their leader did not follow suit when he was about to be captured by the security forces, whilst hiding in the Nandikhadal Lagoon with the hope of escaping without been captured by the security forces in the final phase of the Eelam war in May 2009.

He died due to a gunshot injury to his head which was caused by the security forces when they were spraying bullets in the dark in the direction of the Nandikhadal Lagoon, suspecting that he could be hiding in the Lagoon.

Would it not be possible to consider that the manner in which he died was an unpardonable betrayal of the young men and women who sacrificed their valuable lives for the cause of the LTTE.

# 6.6 How Prabakaran denied the basic needs of the innocent civilians to live.

# 6.6.1 Closure of Mavil Aru Anicut, depriving innocent civilians drinking water and water for cultivation of their food.

In addition to consciously planning and decimating innocent civilians through brutal crimes, Prabhakaran also made it extremely difficult for the civilians to live during the period of the war against the LTTE.

Hon Mahinda Rajapaksa was elected President of Sri Lanka in November 2005. One of the biggest problems in the country confronted by him was the problem of terrorism perpetrated by the LTTE led by Prabhakaran.

Initially, he endeavoured to settle their problem through negotiations. At the time the LTTE had a bloated opinion of themselves

that they are the most organized terrorist group in the world and that they could command the bargaining power at the negotiating table. Hence, after a couple of rounds of discussions table the LTTE unitarily abandoned the peace talk and it was apparent that they were prepared to resolve their problems only through military means. Consequently, President Rajapaksa had no alternative but to resort to military action.

The immediate cause for the President to take military action against the LTTE was, the arbitrary action taken by the LTTE to close down the 'Mavil Aru Anicut' in 2006.

This was the first instance in which Prabhakaran deprived the innocent farmers of their right to the use of drinking water and water for their agricultural purposes. There was no doubt that it was the responsibility of the government to take appropriate action to relieve the innocent civilians of their need to obtain water for drinking and for agriculture. The only action available for the government was to resort to military action against the LTTE to open the 'Mavil Aru Anicut'.

President Rajapakse instructed the then Secretary of the Ministry of Defence Mr Gotabaya Rajapaksa to launch military operation with the assistance of the Security Forces, namely the Army, the Navy, the Air force assisted by the Police.

The sole objective of the military operation was initially to reopen the 'Mavil Aru Anicut' by causing minimum injuries or harm to the civilians and their properties. Accordingly, the military operation was declared to be a 'humanitarian operation'.

As stated in Chapter 1 of Part One of this book, Prabhakaran had no consideration for the value of human life. Hence, he did not realize their needs for existence namely food, water etc.

The Security Forces due to a dedicated and the committed military operation was able to take possession of the 'Mavil Aru Anicut' and satisfy the needs of the innocent civilians.

On successful completion of the Mavil Aru operation the President in association with the Secretary Defence and the Commanders of the respective Security Forces decided to continue to confront the LTTE with the objective of eradicating terrorism from the country which had become a serious problem to the country and its development.

- 6.6.2 Prabakaran denied the people in the North and the East their right to live refer part 1 of book and have access to food part 1 of book
- 6.6.3 How Civilians were dined of their Medical Facilities (Refer part 1 of book)
- 6.6.4 Depriving the innocent children of their education (Refer part 1 of book)

## PART II (B)

## **CHAPTER 7**

## \*HOW PRABHAKARAN THE LIBERATOR COMMITTED

## GENOCIDE BY CONSCIOUSLY PLANNING AND DECIMATING PEOPLE OF HIS OWN COMMUNITY AND THAT OF OTHER COMMUNITIES BY ENFORCING SEVERE HAZARDS AND IMPEDIMENTS ON THE INNOCENT AND HELPLESS CIVILIANS IN THE NORTH AND THE EAST IN OBTAINING THEIR BASIC NEEDS AND DEPRIVING OF THEIR RIGHT TO LIVE

# Please refer the following pages of Part 1 of the book:

- 7. Path to destruction through Tamil Blood (Refer Page 283)
- \*7.1. How Prabhakaran killed People of his own community in his march towards liberation of the Tamil speaking people. (*Please refer page 283 of Part I of book*)
- 7.1.1. Brutal assassination of innocent Tamil civilians. (*Please refer page 283 – 288 of Part I of book*)
- 7.1.2. Assassination of Tamil members of parliament. (Please refer page 288 – 296 of Part I of book)
- 7.1.3. Assassination of leaders of Tamil political parties. (Please refer page 296 – 299 of Part I of book)
- 7.1.4. Assassination of provincial council Tamil ministers in the north and the east.

(Please refer page 299 - 300 of Part I of book)

\* Source: Publications of Associated News Papers of Ceylon Ltd (ANCL). Publication Titled – "Path to Destruction through Tamil Blood"

- 7.1.5. Assassination of Tamil Mayors of Municipal Council. (Please refer page 300 - 302 of Part I of book)
- 7.1.6. Assassination of Tamil Chairmen of Pradesheeya Sabhas. (Please refer page 303 - 305 of Part I of book)
- 7.1.7. Assassination of Tamil Members of Pradesheeya Sabhas. (Please refer page 305 - 307 of Part 1 of book)
- 7.1.8. Assassination of district Tamil organisers of political parties. (*Please refer page 307 311 of Part I of book*)
- 7.1.9. Assassination of Tamil Electoral Candidates. (*Please refer page - 311 of Part I of book*)
- 7.1.10. Assassination of Religious Prelates. (Please refer page 311- 312 of Part I of book)
- 7.1.11. Assassination of Tamil Intellectuals. (Please refer page 313-315 of Part I of book)
- 7.1.12. Assassination of Tamil Journalists and Media Personnel. (*Please refer page 316-319 of Part I of book*)
- 7.1.13. Assassination of Tamil Police Officers. (Please refer page 319 - 321 of Part I of book)
- 7.1.14. Assassination of other police personnel. (*Please refer page 321- 322 of Part I of book*)
- 7.1.15. Assassination of some other Tamil civilians. (Please refer page 323 - 325 of Part I of book)
- 7.2. Attacks and assassination of rival groups and leaders of rival groups. (*Please refer page 326-361 of Part I of book*)

## PART II (B)

## **CHAPTER 8**

## HOW PRABAKARAN CONTINUED TO COMMIT GENOCIDE BY ASSASSINATING IMPORTANT PERRONS (POLITICIANS/INTELLECTUALS/ PROFESSIONALS/ EDUCATIONISTS AND SOCIAL WORKS).

- Assassination of important persons (Politicians, Intellectuals, Professionals, Educationists and Social workers). (Part I of the Book)
  - 8.1. Assassination of Tamil Politicians. (Please refer page 419-447 of Part I)
  - 8.1. Assassination Sinhala and Muslim Politicians (*Please refer page 448-456 of Part I*)
  - 8.3. Assassination of Public Officers (*Please refer page 457 of Part I*)
  - 8.4. Assassination of Sinhala and Tamil intellectuals and social workers. (*Please refer page 458-461 of Part I*)

## PART II (C)

## **CHAPTER 9**

## THE SUCCESS STORY OF REHABILITATION OF EX-COMBATANTS OF THE LTTE

#### INTRODUCTION

Sri Lanka which is hardly anywhere near a military super power established a global record by being the first country in the world, to eradicate terrorism from its country perpetrated by the ruthless LTTE and to destroy its leadership. Sri Lankan security forces confronted the most organized terrorist group in the world, by having a comparatively smaller but a professionally trained and a disciplined military force in the form of an Army, Navy and an Air Force.

Sri Lanka achieved what the military super powers in the world failed to achieve. The USA despite its enormous military strength suffered a humiliating defeat in South Vietnam by failing to crush the Viet Cong rebels. The Soviet Union suffered a similar defeat in Afghanistan, in its attempt to crush the terrorist in the period prior to the terrorism of Bin Laden in that country. Hence the Soviet Union was compelled to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan admitting that they failed in Afghanistan. Subsequently the mission was undertaken by USA, despite its humiliating defeat in Vietnam.

<sup>7</sup>The USA administration withdrew its forces from Afghanistan as they too have failed in destroying the terrorist organization operating there despite the assassination of Bin Laden the leader of AL Qaida who was hiding in Pakistan.

However, as stated earlier Sri Lanka with a comparatively limited military strength succeeded in destroying the LTTE which was identified as the most organized and ruthless terrorist group in the world. It was thought and advocated that considering the strength of the LTTE, it

<sup>1.</sup> Source- Report published by The Commissioner General of Rehabilitation.

was militarily indestructible. However, the Sri Lankan government with the support of its heroic security forces won an un-winnable war and destroyed the LTTE within a period of 3 years, which ravaged the country for thirty years.

The secret of success was, the determined and unwavering political leadership, dedicated and committed effort of the respective commanders of the security forces and their personnel, adoption of wellplanned military strategies, and the undivided support of the people of the country who realized the need to end the intolerable trauma and the fear of life, they had undergone for a period of nearly 30 years.

Hence Sri Lanka created history by being the first country in the world to eradicate terrorism from its country and to destroy its leadership.

In addition Sri Lanka established another record by being the first country in the world to successfully plan and organize to rehabilitate the ex-combatants of the LTTE who were brainwashed and their physique trained and conditioned to indulge in a form of terrorism not practiced anywhere else in the world, by any terrorist organization, operating in any other country, in Asia, the Middle East or anywhere else in the world.

The great Chinese Liberator and the renowned guerilla strategist the Late Mao-Tse-Tung of China once stated that "Once a terrorist, a person will continue to be a terrorist throughout his life." What he implied was that a terrorist can never be reformed.

## In fact no other county in Asia, the Middle East, in Europe or in America have never experimented or attempted to reform or rehabilitate a terrorist.

Instead, if or when a terrorist was detected and caught he was summarily destroyed as **they thought that it was impossible to reform or rehabilitate a terrorist.** 

A terrorist was thought to be so dangerous that in order to ensure his death they killed him by shooting him on his head. However with due respect to what was said by the late Chinese leader Mao-Tse-Tung, **Sri Lanka experimented and formulated methods and systems and**  embarked on a successful programme to reform and rehabilitate a total of 10,790 ex-combatants of the LTTE who voluntarily surrendered to the security forces at the conclusion of the war.

This was made possible mainly due to the fact that the thinking of the leaders of the Sri Lankan Government were guided by the teachings of the Enlightened one the Buddha. The Buddha in his discourses preached the value of "human life" in contrast to Prabhakaran the terrorist leader who attached no value to human life and not even as much as a lump of spit he threw out from his mouth.

The Buddha has preached that in the sojourn through "Sansara" (the cycle of birth and rebirth) it is a rare opportunity for a living being to be born in the human world. It is only a human being, in-contrast to an animal who could possess a mind. It is the mind that could identify what is good and what is bad and what is right and what is wrong. Hence the Buddha attached a tremendous value to human life. These teachings undoubtedly influenced the thinking of the Sri Lankan leaders when waging the war against the ruthless terrorist of the LTTE.

The fourth phase of the "Eelam war " started in July 1996 when the terrorists embarked on a ruthless course of action by closing down the anicut at Mavilaru, thereby depriving a large number of innocent peasants even of drinking water to quench their thirst, and to engage in their cultivation activities. This compelled the government to take action to re-open the Mavilaru anicut to ease their sufferings. However in conformity with the Buddhist principles of compassion and loving kindness ordered the security forces to conduct a "humanitarian operation" to minimize the causalities likely to result in executing their operation. The instructions given regarding a "humanitarian operation" continued throughout the fourth phase of the Ealam war.

It was the first occasion in the world in which a policy of a "humanitarian operation" was adopted in a war whether it was a war between countries or in a civil war that had occurred in a particular country in the world. It meant that the government of Sri Lanka did not express any vengeance or hatred towards the LTTE leadership or its cadres. On successful completion of the battle against the terrorists the government of Sri Lanka experimented and formulated methods of rehabilitating the ex-combatants of the LTTE who voluntarily surrendered to the security forces and succeeded in reforming them to be re-absorbed into the civil society, to enable their services to be utilized for the development of the country, the details of which are provided in Chapter 13. It must be recorded that it is the first instance, in the world in which an attempt was made to rehabilitate a group of ruthless terrorists, and as stated above succeeded in reforming them to absorb them into the society, to utilize their services for the development of the country.

#### 9.1 Rehabilitation of ex-combatants<sup>2</sup>

As stated earlier the great Chinese liberator Mao Tsetung who led a revolutionary movement of the masses against the then prevailing political regime in his country had stated that "once a terrorist, a person will continue to be a terrorist". Accordingly, what is implied was that a terrorist is a person with a distorted mind and of a violent conduct, and hence cannot be reformed.

However, The government of Sri Lanka headed by a President who is guided by the Buddhist principles of forgiveness and compassion knew the value of human life, thought that, as the terrorists are human beings whose minds have been were distorted, and hence misguided, could be reformed and could be rehabilitated to enlist their services as useful citizens of the country. For this purpose, he sought the assistance of the very Security Forces which led a humanitarian war against the terrorists.

In contrast, in other countries where terrorists had been active and when they were detected and captured they were summarily killed as they work on the presumption that they cannot be reformed and rehabilitated. As stated earlier in order to ensure their destruction, they were shot on the head leaving no chance of survival. **Apart from human considerations, Sri Lanka cannot afford to lose the lives of valuable human beings as Sri Lanka is increasing its population at a decreasing rate.** 

2. Courtesy Report published by The Commissioner General of Rehabilitation.

This is the success story of rehabilitating the diehard ruthless terrorists of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) by the Government of Sri Lanka with the assistance of the Security Forces led by the Sri Lanka Army and to re-amalgamate them to the society as useful and productive citizens.

The pluralistic society of Sri Lanka consisting predominantly of Sinhalese along with Tamils and Muslims have had harmonious and cordial relations with one another for many centuries. However, the past three decades have pushed the very same people to live amidst dangerous experiences of a brutal war instigated by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam. (LTTE)

Sri Lankans in the North and the South encompassing all races, religions and all communities in general suffered from the brutalities of the LTTE for 30 long years. Further, the LTTE hindered the nation's progress for almost three decades. The LTTE was known as the most ruthless and the organized terrorist organization in the world.

However as described earlier the Sri Lankan Armed Forces militarily defeated the LTTE by May 2009 and eradicated terrorism from the Sri Lankan soil. Thereafter one of the world's largest rescue operations in living memory was launched with a strategy to ensure that the people of the country will no longer experience the horror of brutal death, destruction and desolation and instead a future of hope, prosperity, peace and reconciliation.

When the Security Forces launched the "humanitarian operation" to liberate innocent civilians in the North and the East who were held virtually hostage by the LTTE, a parallel operation was executed to ensure the safety of the civilians who were either rescued or who escaped from the LTTE.

The government realized that winning the confidence of the refugees was important to enable them to walk into the areas held by the Security Forces without any fear, in particular during the latter stages of the war. Hence, as stated earlier "No Fire Zones" were declared, to ensure the safety of the civilian refugees. The areas in which civilians were concentrated were spotted through UAV images which were avoided for ground and air assaults.

In addition, the government machinery financed and actively supplied the essential requirements i.e. food, medicine etc., and maintained the services even in the then un-cleared areas during the height of the war, despite the fact that the government knew that most of the supplies which were meant for the civilians would be plundered by the LTTE. The public was kept informed of the entry points to the "No Fire Zones" through leaflets, by public address systems and other means.

Continuation of viable civil military coordination, enabled immediate casualty response and evacuation to hospitals and preparation of secure villages with food, health and other basic facilities to shelter the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPS), giving them hope for a new life in a safe and a secure environment. All declared entry points were secured and front line soldiers were advised and instructed to receive the civilians who surrendered, with respect and care.

In addition, a considerable number of safe passages were made available for the people to reach the government controlled areas. As the civilians approached the government controlled areas, every individual refugee was given a bottle of water at the entry point followed up with immediate medical attention. Required arrangements were made to establish transit centers closer to every entry point with medical, food, water, sanitation facilities and clothes.

Simultaneously arrangements were made to air-lift critically ill and wounded to hospitals with special medical attention. Those people who migrated from the LTTE held areas were accompanied to the registration centers and registration of persons was done with the assistance of ICRC and other UN agencies including UNHRC.

In keeping with the international norms and regulations, separation of ex-combatants from the civilians was mandatory.

Hence, Security Forces requested all ex-combatants to report to designated centers in the presence of the ICRC. Thereafter a large number of ex-combatants willingly reported for rehabilitation having complete confidence in the Security Forces. Twenty four (24) Protective Accommodation and Rehabilitation Centers were established at the initial stages and they functioned separately

## for children, females and males. As per the international norms, surrenders' statements and letters of consent were obtained from the surrendered ex-combatants to follow the rehabilitation programme.

The first traces of rehabilitation began when the Sri Lankan Forces laid down their arms to quench the thirst, feed the hungry, nursed the wounded, carry the elders and the disabled, trace the relatives and brought the children who wore the cyanide capsule and carrying a gun back to their parents.

The armed conflict in Sri Lanka against the LTTE was almost similar to the armed conflicts in most of the other countries in the world. The conflict with the LTTE was comparable to a tip of an iceberg. Although we could physically witness only an armed conflict, there were many other complicated issues behind the conflict such as distorted history of the country, social grievances arising from the strict caste system that prevailed in the North and the East, brainwashed psychology, (distorted people) remnants of unsolved issues from colonization etc.

These issues were used to the maximum by the LTTE leadership to brain-wash the Tamil youth and to misguide them, to resort to violence to achieve the ulterior motives of the LTTE leadership. Hence, it was important and essential to rehabilitate the ex-combatants with a view to guiding them to the correct path and transforming them to be peace loving useful citizens of this country.

In view of above, the state recognized the importance of rehabilitating this segment who were the members of the most dangerous and ruthless terrorist organization in the world. Thereafter the government gave its highest priority for rehabilitation and goals were set within a conceptualized frame-work, based on well formulated policies, a national action plan and the legal frame-work were formulated to facilitate the designed objectives. The Bureau of the Commissioner General of Rehabilitation, was established to take the lead role together with the other relevant institutions and line ministries. The Sri Lankan government adhered to a three pronged approach when dealing with the ex-combatants. Accordingly those ex-combatants who were to be investigated and prosecuted, due to their higher involvement in various terrorist activities were tried in accordance with the law of the land. Those to be rehabilitated were directed to the Bureau of Commissioner General of Rehabilitation and on confirmation by the intelligence agencies, some were released due to their marginal involvement in LTTE activities.

Consequent to the separation of ex-combatants from normal IDPS, they were accommodated at 24 Protective Accommodation and Rehabilitation Centers (PARCs). All PARCs were provided with:

- Security
- Water
- Sanitation
- Food and Nutrition
- Health and Psychosocial Support
- Non-food Relief Items
- Providing opportunities to make contacts with their family and friends.
- Access was provided to all UN Agencies

At these centres, a comprehensive study on all ex-combatants was carried out with intelligence agencies following it up with a dynamic psycho-social and socio economic profiling in liaison with profiling experts such as Clinical Psychologists, Psychiatrists, Medical Officers, and Counsellors.

The Areas covered in each profile were:-

## A. Psycho Social Profiling

- Age
- Gender/Marital Status
- Level of Radicalization

#### **B.** Socio Economic Profiling

- According to the Professional Skills and Education
- Talents and Past Experiences

Under these profiling, levels of radicalization, talents and experiences were assessed. As per the findings of the profiling, rehabilitees were guided to undergo educational, vocational, and skills development programmes along with development of mental tranquillity, spiritual enhancement and expansion of moral values to prepare them to re-joins the community. Personal files were developed and maintained in respect of each rehabilitee to assess their progress in rehabilitation and de radicalization. The legal frame-work for rehabilitation was approved by the Attorney General's Department and all Rehabilitation Centers were gazetted.

Use of language was given the highest priority from the commencement of the rehabilitation programme to prevent continuation of the stigmatization on rehabilitees. Further, a friendly atmosphere was developed for the ex-combatants to feel safe and responsive during the rehabilitation process due to proper use of language. All ex-combatants became beneficiaries of rehabilitation and all child soldiers became our children.

Number of countries who were and are conducting similar rehabilitation programmes have adopted the Sri Lankan model specially in the use of the language. Out of approximately 300,000 Internally Displaced Persons, 10,790 ex-combatants were either surrendered or motivated to surrender. Thereafter care was taken to ensure their security and well-being in order to ensure the smooth transition of ex-combatants to be peace loving useful citizens of this country.

Number of Rehabilitees		surrendered	-	10,790
*	Under age (12-18)	Boys	-	364
		girls	-	230
*	Gender :	Females	-	1823
		Males	-	8373
*	Civil Status	Married	-	3658
		single	-	7035
		Widows	-	97
*	Religious Denominations -Hindu		-	9967
		Christian	-	814
		Muslim	-	03
		Buddhist	-	06

The statistical Analysis of those who surrendered are as follows:

The Sri Lankan model of rehabilitation for ex-combatants was initiated designed, developed and implemented by the Sri Lanka Army. However, the assistance of a number of Professionals, Intellectuals, Academics and many experts in the respective fields were obtained when rehabilitation components were designed. Further, rehabilitation components were specially developed and designed to suit the culture and ethics, norms and values and religious sentiments of Sri Lankans especially to suit the Tamil speaking people in the North and East of Sri Lanka.

It is important to note that when preparing the components of the rehabilitation programme, special attention was paid to the opportunities which were denied to the LTTE cadres by their hierarchy during their stay with the LTTE.

The Sri Lankan rehabilitation model designed and implemented by the Sri Lanka Army had six main components with a special programme for the community as indicated below:

Awareness Programmes were conducted regularly for religious leaders and community leaders on rehabilitation and reintegration of ex-combatants into the community. These programmes were organized mainly to educate different segments in the society on the rehabilitation and reintegration process, in order to clear doubts and uncertainties of the community, in accepting these rehabilitation beneficiaries to work together for unity and peace.

However, it has been found that in certain areas, ex-combatants have encountered many problems from the community once they go back to the society after rehabilitation, due to their unacceptable behaviour in respective areas with a gun in their hands, just few years back. There are also cases where ex-combatants had forcibly taken children from their parents during the conflict period and most of those children are not living anymore and when these ex-combatants go back to the society, the parents who lost their children would likely to harass and take revenge from ex-combatants. As such, **awareness programmes for the community was a mandatory requirement to ensure the successful reintegration of ex-combatants into the society. (Let us now see the activities done under each component.)** 

#### 1. Spiritual Religious and Cultural Component

The ex-combatants were guided to attend a number of meditation programmes with a view to developing their mind and also to inculcate the habits of kindness, compassion and good behaviour. All possible arrangements were made in the respective rehabilitation centres to celebrate Hindu religious events like Thaipongal, Deepavali, Sinhala and Tamil New Year festival and even Christmas celebrations and Vesak celebrations. It is important to note that the ex-combatants never had any opportunities to participate in such events when they were with the LTTE and these celebrations were something new to their lives. Ex-combatants participated in the said events with lot of enthusiasm and interest.

A mass marriage ceremony was held on 13 June 2010 where 53 couples were formally given in marriage with the consent of their parents / families. Their marriages were conducted as per the religious customs, traditions and rituals by the respective religious dignitaries. A number of VIPs, parents and well-wishers attended the ceremony including Bollywood stars. The Bureau facilitated the entire ceremony including:

- a. Wedding Dresses Sarees, Waittees.
- b. Flower Garlands.
- c. Pottu, Thalis.
- d. Bridal Dressing by experts.
- e. Individual Wedding Photographs.
- f. Wedding Gifts in the form of Rs 5000/- deposited in joint saving accounts.

The peace village was established to facilitate reunification of married ex-combatants who were undergoing rehabilitation separately at different centers. 53 couples who had the privilege of being the members of the first mass marriage ceremony in Sri Lanka were housed in the peace village with a plot of land for cultivation. These beneficiaries underwent rehabilitation and vocational training programmes whilst living under one roof as a family unit.

On another occasion, the Bureau of the Commissioner General of Rehabilitation arranged a wedding ceremony for an ex-combatant who had been forcibly taken to the organization by the LTTE when he was in an orphanage. This particular ex-combatant had lost his parents when he was a small kid and he was not aware of his relatives and after completing his rehabilitation period there was no one to take care of him. Therefore the Bureau found a partner for him from Killinochchi area and with the consent of her parents, the Bureau organized his wedding ceremony at one of the rehabilitation centres.

It is important to highlight here that the Bureau of the Commissioner General of Rehabilitation always encouraged the ex-combatants to get married and settle down in the society as a family unit. Family culture was something new to the majority of ex-combatants as they had joined the LTTE during their childhood. Most of them did not know the responsibilities of a husband / father towards his wife and his children and even to his parents. Similarly most of the female ex-combatants did not know the responsibilities of a house wife and most importantly the responsibilities of a mother and that of the family unit towards the society. It all happened due to their involvement in a guerrilla organization

## in which they thought that they can get everything done through violent means. Most of them were used only to the gun culture and not to a civilized life.

On an another occasion, a female ex-combatant was given in marriage to a partner whom she found with the consent of her parents.

The ex-female cadres were given the opportunity to participate in a number of training programmes in different fields. Subsequently these female ex-combatants came to a stage where they performed even cultural shows for the general public. **Participating in cultural activities by the ex-combatants who used to live inside a bunker with a gun was a significant change.** They did all these things with lot of enthusiasm as most of the ex-combatants were in their prime youth.

# Cultural Excursions were organized regularly to visit various religious places in the South.

99% of the ex-combatants had not travelled beyond Vavuniya towards the South of the country and they had thought that the people of the Sinhalese community do not allow the Tamil people to live in the Southern part of Sri Lanka. Further, they were under the impression that Sinhalese do not allow any Hindu temples to exist in the Southern part of Sri Lanka. Hence, during the rehabilitation period, special arrangements were made to show the ex-combatants how the Tamil community is living peacefully in most areas in the Southern part of Sri Lanka without any difficulties from anybody and in harmony with the Sinhalese and Muslim communities.

The ex-combatants were shown the large number of Hindu temples in the Southern part of Sri Lanka, and how the people of the Tamil community together with the Sinhalese participate in religious rituals conducted in those Hindu temples. The visit to the Sacred Katharagama Dewalaya (one of the most sacred Hindu temples in Sri Lanka) was an unforgettable experience to these ex-combatants.

The ex-combatants even attended the Buddhist rituals at the sacred Kirivehera temple at Katharagama and the sacred Buddhist temple at Mahiyanganaya and invoked blessings on them by the Buddhist priest. These ex-combatants had the opportunity to visit most of the Hindu temples in the Southern part of Sri Lanka during their visits to the South from time to time.

Ex-combatants visit to the Sacred Tooth Relic at Dalada Maligawa in Kandy was a another unique experience to them, as they tried to destroy the temple of the Sacred Tooth Relic (Dalada Maligawa) at Kandy.

## 2. Social, Community and the Family Component

The ex-combatants who had important and urgent needs in their families were granted home leave to visit their families and attend to their needs and requirements. At the same time, the families of ex-combatants were allowed to visit the rehabilitation centres and to see their loved ones.

Further, a job fair was organized in Vavuniya in liaison with the Public and Corporate sector institutes with a view to educating excombatants on the most demanding jobs available in the country.

Bridal dressing courses, Hair dressing and Make up courses, were conducted extensively for the female ex-combatants and they were really keen to learn these new subjects like any other girls in society.

A number of Bridal Shows were held with the participation of female ex-combatants. It may be surprising to see former female excombatants who used to dress in camouflage uniforms with a cyanide capsule around their necks, are in bridal shows just like professional models.

Courses in Cookery, Nursery Management in Agriculture and Tailoring activities were conducted regularly for the rehabilitees.

## 3. Psychological and Creative Therapy component

The training of trainers attached to the rehabilitation centres was one of the most important activities in this component. All administrators were directed to a number of counselling programmes to adjust their mindset to treat the rehabilitees kindly and humanely. Counselling programmes were conducted to the rehabilitees extensively, in order to develop their mind to understand the importance of living harmoniously. Pre-reintegration Mentorship Programmes were conducted one week prior to their departure from rehabilitation centres to educate them (rehabilitees) on family culture. During this programme special attention was paid to educate rehabilitees on diversity and harmonious living, peace building, role of a man and a woman in society and interpersonal relationship and empowerment.

Developing skills in arts was another important and interesting activity for rehabilitees and it had a remarkable impact on the deradicalization of ex-combatants. There were many ex-combatants who had the potential to develop skills in arts and cultural activities such as painting, dancing, singing and playing musical instruments. A number of art exhibitions were held in different parts of Sri Lanka to display the paintings etc done by the rehabilitees.

Drama Therapy was another interesting activity conducted during the rehabilitation process and special Drama and Cultural programmes and art exhibitions were conducted to select ex-combatants who had the talent in singing, acting, dancing and in painting etc.

Today many ex-combatants have become professional actors singers and some have formed even their own western musical bands. There were some ex-combatants who had joined even performing art groups and they perform skillfully in public shows.

### 4. Sports and Extra Curricular Activities Component

Rehabilitees were given maximum opportunities to participate in a number of sports activities at the rehabilitation centres and many of them preferred to play cricket. The Bureau of the Commissioner General of Rehabilitation arranged **ex-combatants to play many cricket matches** with a number of sports clubs in the South. It was a great opportunity for the youth in the North to interact with the youth in the South.

Ex-combatants were very keen to play even Football and Volleyball. Matches were organized with various sports bodies in the South from time to time. Tug-of-War was another interesting event for rehabilitees. Special arrangements were made in liaison with the Ministry of Sports to identify talented youth in various sports with a view to grooming them up to national level. Accordingly 135 ex-combatants who excelled in various sports were brought to the Ministry of Sports in Colombo and national coaches were directed to select potential players in various sports. Different tests were done to select the most suitable players. **Three ex-combatants were selected for shooting, two ex-combatants were selected for Cricket, eleven ex-combatants were selected for swimming and one was selected for Karate.** 

Three ex-combatants were trained in shooting at the Ministry of Sports and it was revealed that they have the potential to represent Sri Lanka in international events in the near future.

The rehabilitees participated at "Deyata Kirula" national development exhibitions with different items produced by them during their rehabilitation period. It was found that there was a very big demand at the "Deyata Kirula" exhibition for the handicrafts made by the rehabilitees.

Developing a musical band with the rehabilitees who had a good talent in singing and playing musical instruments was another important achievement in the rehabilitation of ex-combatants. "Friends of Peace" band consisting of ex-combatants performed a number of musical shows in many places in Sri Lanka.

#### 5. Visits to the South

A number of excursions were organized for the rehabilitees to interact with the people in the South and the upcountry areas to understand the concept of brotherhood. As taught by the LTTE it came to be known that the ex-combatants were under the impression that Sinhalese people do not allow Tamil people to visit anywhere in the Southern parts of Sri Lanka. But they were surprised when Sinhalese people gave them a very warm welcome at each and every place they visited and it was a unique opportunity for them to understand the desire of the Sinhalese people to live with Tamils peacefully and harmoniously. A large number of politicians attended the functions organized at various places in the South to welcome the excombatants. The visits to the South by the ex-combatants was a life time experience for them as it was the first time in life, they got an opportunity to visit interesting and important locations in the South.

Once ex-combatants had the opportunity to visit the Hambantota harbour during its construction stage and it was a rare opportunity for anybody to have an opportunity to visit a harbour during its construction stage. Ex-combatants were given the opportunity to visit even Mattala International Airport during one of the visits to the South.

Once Ex-combatants were taken to Dambana where Veddha community (ancient settlers) is living and they gave a warm welcome to the ex-combatants. When the ex-combatants met the Chief of this community, he stressed the necessity to maintain cordial relations with the Sinhalese and the Tamil communities for the betterment and development of the country.

Hakgala Botanical Gardens was another interesting location where ex-combatants visited during their visit to the hill country.

Ex-combatants were highly thrilled to enjoy the weather conditions in Nuwara Eliya and their visit to Ambuluwa complex was another life time experience. Hon Prime Minister warmly welcomed the excombatants and had a very friendly conversation with them at Ambuluwa.

National Youth Corps at Gampola entertained the ex-combatants with many cultural programmes when they visited Gampola.

Narampanawa and Deniyaya are two Sinhalese villages situated in the Kandy district and down South. The ex-combatants were taken to Narampanawa and Deniyaya with a view to giving them an idea of the culture in remote Sinhalese villages. They spent the whole day at Narampanawa village having a good bath in a branch of Mahaweli river and thereafter they were hosted for lunch prepared by the villagers. Even at Deniyaya, they spent the whole day having a bath in a branch of Nilwala river and enjoyed the meals prepared by the villagers.

Ex-combatants were even taken to interesting places in the city of Colombo and they really enjoyed these tours as they had not got any such opportunities during their stay with the LTTE. Once, they had the opportunity of visiting the official residence of Hon Speaker and they were even given the opportunity to visit the parliament.

In one of the visits to the South, the ex-combatants had an opportunity to attend a special "Bhajan Pooja" at the Sai Mandhir at Barnes Place, Colombo.

#### 6. Vocational and Livelihood Component

This could be considered as the most important component of the rehabilitation programme as it had a great impact on the livelihood of ex-combatants once they were released to the society. In fact, a large number of Vocational Training programmes were conducted for the rehabilitees and many ex-combatants followed these training programmes successfully.

A fully equipped mini computer lab with 30 computers was established to enhance their IT related knowledge and vocational training. This Computer Lab was declared open by HE the President on 01st April 2010. It had the capacity to train approximately 100 persons at a time. Over 1000 ex-combatants received and got qualified in IT using the facilities of this lab.

In the year 2011, new schemes were introduced to the vocational training programme for ex-combatants, in liaison with the National Apprentice and Industrial Training Authority (NAITA). Accordingly the ex-combatants were awarded the National Vocational Qualification (NVQ) certificate on completion of their respective vocational training. It is a qualification which has a great demand for job opportunities locally and internationally.

A large number of female ex-combatants had the opportunity to undergo Juki Sewing Machine Operator Training programmes and many of them are currently employed in a number of leading Garment Factories.

The courses leading to a Diploma in Pre-School Teachers Training had a very high demand from the female ex-combatants.

Further, programmes on Sugar Cane Cultivation, use of Chemical Fertilizers, Coconut Cultivation, Advanced Modelling and Bridal Dressing, Aquarium and Rearing Fish, Bakery Production were also conducted for ex-combatants very successfully.

#### 7. Educational Component

There were many activities under the Educational Component specially for those ex-combatants who were keen to pursue higher studies. All possible arrangements were made for the ex-combatants to appear at GCE (O/L) and GCE (A/L) examinations by arranging special classes within the Rehabilitation Centers.

#### 8. Facilitating "Catch up" Education

Special Educational Programmes were arranged for adults who missed the opportunity of continuing their formal education. The Bureau of the Commissioner General of Rehabilitation in liaison with the Examination Department conducted an accelerated "Catch up" Education Programmes for those who opted to appear for national examinations.

## Following are the results of child combatants who sat the GCE (O/L) Examination in 2010:

	No of Students	Qualified to sit the G.C.E (A/L)	Failed	Total
Female	38	21	17	38
Male	128	70	58	128
Total	166	91	75	166

Results of child combatants who sat the GCE (O/L) Examination in 2011.

	No of Students	Failed	Passed	Eligible for A/L
Female	18	5	13	4
Male	44	16	28	11
Total	62	21	41	15

No of Students	Passed	Failed	Eligible for A/L
72	14	56	02

#### Result of GCE (O/L) Examination in 2012.

#### Result of GCE (A/L) Examination in 2011

	No of Students	Failed	Passed
Female	6	3	3
Male	298	258	40
Total	304	261	43

#### Result of GCE (A/L) Examination in 2012

No of Students	Failed	Passed
84	76	08

#### **Ex-combatants selected to the Universities**

Ser	Description	No of Students	Failed	Passed
1	Undergraduates who were released to the Universities	85	47	132
2	Year 2010	08	29	37
3	Year 2011	04	01	05
	Total	97	77	174

	Ma	Maths	Bio		Comr	Commerce	Arts	ts	Passed Failed	Failed	Total
	Passed	Failed	Passed	Failed	Passed	Failed	Passed Failed Passed Failed Passed Failed Passed Failed	Failed			
Female	1	3	1	7	6	9	6 54	28	65	44	109
Male	3	11 6	9	2	26	31 112	112	58	146	105	105 252
Total	4	14	7	12	35	37 166	166	86	86 212	149 361	361

eld in 2010	
<b>Examination</b> h	
Results of GCE (A/L) ]	

Under the Educational Component, courses in Sinhala and English languages were conducted regularly with a view to overcoming the language barrier among the communities. It is important to state here that many government sector and corporate sector institutions and a number of INGOs and NGOs assisted the rehabilitation programmes in various capacities and some offered even scholarships to talented students.

The Community Awareness Programmes were conducted regularly to educate the general public on the importance and necessity to accept the ex-combatants when they reverted back to the society after rehabilitation.

AGE	BOYS	GIRLS	AGE	BOYS	GIRLS
13	-	2	17	166	58
14	1	2	18	131	87
15	11	13	19	2	5
16	53	40	ABOVE 19	-	23
TOTAL				364	230

Children (Ex- Child Combatants) Statistics Pertaining to the Former Child Combatants.

**Ex-combatants were treated like our own children** and apart from formal education they had the opportunity to attend scouting programmes and even certain Radio Programmes at the Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation.

#### 8. Statistics of Rehabilitation Beneficiaries. **Ex-Combatant Reintegrated as at 27.05.2013**

Ser	Protective Accommodation and Rehabilitation Centres	Male	Female	Total
1	Co-ordinating Officer – Vavuniya	7850	1924	9774
2	Co-ordinating Officer – Jaffna	250	104	354
3	Co-ordinating Officer – East	871	0	871
	Sub Total	8971	2028	10999

Ser	Protective Accommodation and Rehabilitation Centres	Male	Female	Total
1	Hindu College – Rathmalana	154	118	272
2	Poonthottam	210	112	322
3	Sub Total	364	230	594
	Sub Total	9335	2258	11593

District	Male	Female	Total
Vavuniya	1022	202	1224
Mannar	589	160	749
Ampara	70	11	81
Batticaloa	415	62	477
Trincomalee	449	89	538
Polonnaruwa	12	-	12
Kilinochchi	2313	560	2873
Mullaitivu	1929	450	2379
Jaffna	2448	683	3131
Badulla	5	-	5
Monaragala	1	-	1
Colombo	7	-	7
Gampaha	2	1	3
Galle	2	-	2
Kandy	5	1	6
Matale	-	1	1
Nuwara eliya	8	2	10
Kegalle	1	-	1
Rathnapura	3	-	3
Puththalam	2	4	6
Kurunegala	1	-	1
Addresses not clear			83
Total	9284	2226	11593

#### \* Reintegration as per Districts

Ser	Protective Accommodation and Rehabilitation Centres (PARCS)	NIGLO	Female	Total
1	Poonthottam Centre (Male)	106	-	106
2	Welikanda Centre	118	-	118
3	Kandakadu Centre	100	-	100
4	Poonthottam Centre (Female)	-	17	17
	Grand Total	324	17	341

#### \* Current Status as at 27.05.2013.(All Adults)

#### \* Number of Beneficiaries completed Vocational Training

Ser	Type of Vocational Training Course	No of Participants
1	Electrician	245
2	Carpentry	407
3	Masonry	1043
4	Plumbing	302
5	Steel Fabrication	30
6	Beauty Culture	144
7	Tailoring	234
8	Computer	174
9	Typing and Shorthand	44
10	Accelerated Skills Acquisition Programme (ASAP)	1003
11	Heavy Machinery Training (Dozer)	30
12	House Wiring	171
13	Driving and Motor Traffic	50
14	Coconut Cultivation Course	1031
15	Nursery Management	332
16	Mushroom Cultivation	100
17	Garment Training	662
18	Agriculture Course	3327
19	Advanced Modelling Concepts Train ing Programme	30
20	Modelling and Bridal Dressing	36
21	Three Wheel Repairing Course	150
22	Pre-School Diploma Course	31

	Total	13145
48	Industrial Fisheries Programme	45
47	Programme on Protecting the Environment	200
46	Art/ Paintings Training Programme	421
45	Handicrafts Course (Coconut Shell )	28
44	Bakery Course	222
43	Aquarium and Fish Keeping Course	12
42	Milk Products Programme	411
41	Course on Manufacture of VHF/UHF TV Antenna	49
40	Fabric Painting Course	30
39	Cake and Pastry Course	30
38	Land Scalping Course	30
37	Cookery Course	87
36	Post Agriculture Technology Course	208
35	Motor Mechanism Course	53
34	Entrepreneurship & Micro Enterprise Development Course	687
33	Food Production Course	40
32	Wool Course	30
31	Handloom Training Course	17
30	Aluminum Fabrication Course	102
20	Leather Work Training Course	25
27	Vehicle Tinkering Course	15
26 27	Course on Handicrafts using Palmyra Leaves Paper Work Training	<u>91</u> 30
25	Certificate Programme on Psychosocial	481
24	Sugar-Cane Cultivation	100
23	Motor Boat Engineering Course	125

\* Number of Beneficiaries who completed other types of Courses/ Workshops

Ser	Type of Courses/Workshop	No of Participants
1	Aesthetic (Music)	174
2	Sinhala Language Course	136
3	Emotional Intelligence and Strengthof Life Skills Programme	745
4	Pre-reintegration Mentorship Programme	892
5	Art of Living Programme	881
6	Banking Awareness Programme	500
7	Self-Employment Workshop	100
8	English Language Course	60
9	Meditation Programme	4916
10	Awareness Workshop on Dangerous Drugs	456
11	Family Planning Programme	118
12	Counselling Programme	421
13	Christian Religious Programme	729
14	Awareness Programme on Conservation of Water	175
15	Programme on HIV/AIDS	78
	Total	10381

Ser	Activities	Place	No of	Duration	Duration
1	Masonry Course	Poonthottam	80	15.11.2012	15.06.2013
2	Carpentry Course	Poonthottam (Male)	30	03.12.2012	02.06.2013
3	Beauty Culture Course	Poonthottam (Female)	17	16.01.2013	15.06.2013
4	House Wiring Course	Welikanda (Male)	32	21.01.2013	20.06.2013
5	Sinhala Language Course	Poonthottam (Female)	17	21.01.2013	20.06.2013
6	English Language Course	Poonthottam (Female)	17	22.01.2013	20.06.2013
7	Masonry Course	Kandakadu (Male)	16	15.02.2013	14.08.2014
8	Carpentry Course	Kandakadu (Male)	16	15.02.2013	14.08.2014
		Total	225		

\* Vocational Training Programmes currently in progress as at 27<sup>th</sup> May 2013.

#### 9. Other Activities

All ex-combatants who have lost or not in possession of National ID Cards, Birth Certificates, Marriage Certificates and Education Certificates were assisted to obtain these certificates arranging a special programme in liaison with the Registrar General's Department and Education Department to obtain the relevant documents.

It is important to indicate the type of interaction the ex-combatants had with the staff of the Rehabilitation Centres. Although the Government Forces fought with the LTTE almost three decades, when it came to the rehabilitation of ex-combatants, the personnel of the Army, Navy, Air Force and Police who handled the administration of every Rehabilitation Centre became their friends. Our officers and other ranks treated excombatants very kindly and humanely. This kindness towards them by the members of the Armed Forces had a great impact to deradicalize the ex-combatants and it was something that they never expected from the Security Forces. Special arrangements were made to conduct Business Counseling Programmes to those who were keen on business enterprises.

Medical camps were conducted at the rehabilitation centres regularly to ascertain the health conditions of the ex-combatants as they hardly had proper health facilities when they were serving the LTTE.

On another occasion the disabled ex-combatants felicitated the first ever Sri Lankan to win a medal at the Para Olympics held in London in 2012. It was disabled Staff Sergeant Pradeep Sanjaya of the Sri Lanka Army, who won a bronze medal in 400 metres race.

Eye Clinics, Mental Health Workshops were also conducted regularly for the ex-combatants. A course on Dairy Products was also conducted to the rehabilitees recently on their request which will have a direct impact on their livelihood once they go back to the society.

The Bureau of the Commissioner General of Rehabilitation had a special programme to meet those who were rehabilitated and released in their respective areas to identify their difficulties and to assist them to stand on their own feet, and to re-amalgamate with the rest of the society. A number of such programmes were conducted in the North the East from time to time and assisted to solve most of their problems in liaison with respective authorities.

Whilst going through all programmes related to rehabilitation the ex-combatants were happy to participate even in the National Tree Planting Programmes with lot of enthusiasm.

Recently a new project was initiated in liaison with a finance company in the Private Sector (the Alliance Finance Company) to provide Three Wheeler vehicles to rehabilitated ex-combatants without any initial payment. They were given the opportunity to pay back the money in installments from the income received from the Three Wheeler.

At the same time various NGOs assisted the reintegrated excombatants to establish their livelihood, such as providing water pumps to help them in their agricultural projects.

Last year the Chief of the Army Staff of the Indian Army visited the female ex-combatants Rehabilitation Centre in Vavuniya and he commended the rehabilitation programmes conducted to the female ex-combatants.

Pol Ruppawen Thal Ruppawata (from South to North) was another programme launched to improve the relationship between the people in the South with the people in the North. Under this programme approximately 100 people from Southern Provincial Council and some villagers from the South visited a remote village in Mullattivu District and spent the whole day with them.

The Hon. Minister of Rehabilitation and Prison Reforms also participated in this event. People who went from the South assisted the villagers to renovate their houses and also to put up their fences. Some coconut plants were also distributed to villagers during this programme.

Awareness Programmes on HIV/ AIDS were part of the rehabilitation process as ex-combatants were a new segment of people who joined the society after a long spell of their life inside jungles and bunkers.

#### 10. Ceremonies held for Reintegration

Reintegration Ceremonies were given prominence whenever it was possible as it is the day that these ex-combatants start their new life.

Livelihood Assistance to Reintegrate Ex-Combatants:

- Granting a loan up to Rs. 250,000/- at a 4% interest to initiate Self Employment Projects. Approximately 1800 ex-combatants have received loans by 30th April 2013.
- Arrangements have been made in liaison with the Foreign Employment Bureau and with a number of Foreign Recruiting Agencies to obtain employment opportunities in the Middle East Countries and in South Korea.
- Conducting Pre-School Teacher Diploma courses continuously in Vavuniya.
- Obtaining employment opportunities in the construction/ development work taking place in the North and East of Sri Lanka through the Public / Corporate Sector Institutions.

- Providing required resources to initiate Agriculture Projects in Vavuniya through various NGO's on the basis of buying the harvest by respective NGO's.
- Arranging Vocational Training Courses in Vavuniya and Jaffna targeting the most demanding jobs in the market.
- Initiating an Aloe Vera farming project in the Jaffna peninsula.
- Assistance to obtain bank loans for Self Employment Projects at regional and local level.
- Initiating Crab Fattening Project in the Jaffna peninsula.
- Establishing a Cement Brick Making Project in the Jaffna peninsula.
- Providing water pumps for agriculture purposes in Vavuniya.
- Providing sewing machines for self-employment in Vavuniya.
- Providing boats and required equipment for fishing in Mullaitivu.
- Obtaining IT related business process outsourcing programmes from the corporate sector.
- Absorbing to the Civil Security Department to be deployed for development of agricultural projects.

#### Future plans for reintegrated ex-combatants.

- To obtain foreign employment opportunities.
- To provide a monthly allowance of Rs.3000/= to all disabled ex-combatants who do not have a stable income.
- To obtain artificial limbs to all disabled ex-combatants.
- To provide a grant of Rs.25000/= to all disabled ex-combatants.
- To obtain assistance to construct houses for the needy disabled ex-combatants.

(up to the cost of Rs.250,000/=)

- To provide necessary medical attention through specialized doctors to required ex-combatants who were wounded during the battles.
- To obtain suitable employment opportunities to rehabilitated and reintegrated ex-combatants through various INGOs / NGOs and Corporate sector.

### 9.2 Success story of the resettlement of Internally Displaced Persons (IDP's)<sup>1</sup>

The main objective of His Excellency The President Mahinda Rajapakse in establishing the Ministry of Resettlement during the latter part of 2005, was to resettle the affected and displaced people in the Northern and the Eastern Provinces due to the terrorist activities of the LTTE that prevailed for nearly three decades.

With the intention of widening and strengthening the functions of the Ministry, it was re-named as Ministry of Resettlement and Disaster Relief Services as gazetted in Gazette no. 1482/9 of 29.01.2007.

This Ministry was entrusted with the responsibility of implementing short-term and long-term projects required to provide immediate relief for the people who were affected by the war, natural and man-made disasters and to upgrade their living conditions.

Under this programme all the displaced people more than two hundred thousand in total from the Northern and Eastern provinces had been successfully resettled and the task has been appreciated by the International community.

Consequent to the completion of humanitarian activities by the Government in the Northern Province, there were around 300,000 displaced people and they were sheltered in the relief villages in Vavuniya. (Menik-farm), Jaffna and Pulmoddai where the required facilities were provided.

#### De-mining land-mines in the Northern Province was carried out with the assistance of the Security forces and on completion of the task, resettlement activities were undertaken step by step.

Resettlement activities were initially commenced in the areas of Mannar and Musali Divisional Secretariats and as at 30th of September 2012, around 496,547 persons belonging to 150,202 families have been resettled in the Northern Province and the majority of them in the Menik-Farm relief villages.

<sup>1.</sup> Source - Report of the Ministry of Resettlement and Disaster Relief Services.

Hence, 752,114 persons belonging to 222,313 families were resettled in the Northern and Eastern Provinces in accordance with the International standards of Resettlement.

#### 9.2.1 Policies and Strategies of the Ministry

#### 1. Objectives of the Ministry of Resettlement

- Provision of shelter humanitarian aid and other basic facilities to those internally displaced and were accommodated in the relief villages.
- Resettlement of the internally displaced people and the Sri Lankan refugees returning from other countries, in their original places.
- Resettlement of the internally displaced people in alternative places and provision of necessary facilities.
- Ensure the provision of facilities required by the displaced people in co-ordination with the Government and Non-Governmental organizations.
- Ensure that the resources received from donors are utilized effectively and efficiently.
- Ensure effective participation of the resettled people in the development process of the country.

#### 2. Programmes implemented by the Ministry

- Formulation of plans and programmes for the resettlement of the people affected by the war.
- Coordination of the functions of the projects for resettlement that were funded by United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), World Bank and Asian Development Bank (ADB).

- Resettlement of Refugees.
- Coordination of Resettlement and Development activities.
- Assisting the Government Agencies and Non-Governmental Organizations to restore the normal life of displaced persons.
- Facilitating the coordination among the Government, funding agencies, non-governmental organizations and civil society in resettlement activities.
- Resettlement of IDPS and closure of the Welfare Centres.

#### 3. Provision of Facilities for the Displaced People

#### 1. Security

Maintaining the welfare centres and ensuring their security, had been the responsibilities of the Ministry of Resettlement and the task had been performed before successful resettlement.

#### 2. Resettlement

The basic criterion of resettlement, is resettling the displaced people in their original places of living or in alternative places with their consent. In the areas where there had been landmines, resettlement was carried-out after confirmation of safety. Displaced people have the right of being resettled in their original places and enjoying their properties. The major responsibility in the process of resettlement is to enable the displaced people to live in harmony with dignity. The Ministry has taken necessary action to provide dried-food items sufficient for six-months under the World Food Programme and to provide Rs. 25,000/= to each resettled family with the assistance of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Further, agricultural tool-kits, transport, drinking water and livelihood facilities

were provided in order to ensure future prospects for those concerned.

#### 3. Provision of Essential Services

The main objective of the Ministry of Resettlement was to provide food, shelter, security and essential services to the internally displaced

people due to the conflicts in the Northern and the Eastern provinces. The Ministry had taken action to maintain welfare centres and relief villages for those displaced people with necessary facilities and also to look after their needs.

## 4. Provision of infrastructure Facilities and livelihood Assistance

The Ministry of Resettlement had to provide economic, Social and infrastructure facilities to the displaced people before implementing the process of resettlement. Therefore, internal roads, water-supply, houses, hospitals, electricity, schools etc., had to be made available in order to make the resettlement process a success. The Government also took action to accelerate the process of reconstruction with the assistance of local and international non-governmental organizations. Provision of livelihood and human resources development activities, too were carried out by the Ministry of Resettlement.

#### 5. Management and Coordination of Activities

The implementation of the resettlement process was carried out by the Ministry of Resettlement in coordination with the World Bank, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), and other International nongovernmental organizations.

#### 6. Protecting the Rights of the Displaced People

Actions have been taken in accordance with the international standards of resettlement to resettle those concerned with provision of economic and social facilities in their places of original residences or in alternate places selected with their consent. In this regard, the Ministry of Resettlement also took necessary action in coordination with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) and Human Rights Commission in implementing the task successfully.

#### 7. Creating Co-Existence between the Displaced People and the Host-Community

It was the prime responsibility of the ministry to ensure the development of cordial relationship between the people who were resettled or relocated and the host community in the area concerned. For this purpose special programmes were performed.

The following agencies and special projects functioned under the Ministry of Resettlement during the year under review, to implement the0 plans and programmes formulated by the Ministry. They also bore responsibility in performing their respective duties in a collective manner in achieving the goals of the Ministry.

- a) Resettlement Authority
- b) National Projects Co-ordination Unit
- c) Puttalam Housing and Infrastructure Development Project.

## 9.2.2 Introduction to the Agencies Functioning Under the Ministry of Resettlement

#### 1. Resettlement Authority

Resettlement Authority was established in terms of the Act no.09 of 2007 with the aim of formulating and implementing sustainable programmes in order to resettle the displaced people in their original places voluntarily or with the assistance of the Government.

#### 2. The Objectives of the Resettlement Authority

- To formulate the programmes for Resettlement or Relocation of the internally displaced people and refugees with dignity and safety.
- To facilitate resettlement of the internally displaced people and refugees and to enable them to participate in the development process of the country.
- Coordination with the efforts of various institutions with necessary resources and power, in order to prevent any future displacements.
- Formulating and implementing projects and programmes for the tasks, such as provision of education, health, livelihood assistance and housing facilities, ensuring the basic Humanrights and to accelerate the resettlement process through demining and removal of debris.

#### 3. Functions of the Resettlement Authority

- To formulate and implement a Policy for resettling the internally displaced people and refugees.
- To coordinate the efforts of government, donors, international NGOs, Civil Society agencies and others processing the required mandates and resources in order to avoid displacement of people.
- To formulate and implement specific programmes and projects for resettlement and relocation of the internally displaced people and refugees in a safe and dignified manner.
- To assist the IDPs and refugees to obtain their lost documents such as birth/death certificates, marriage certificates, national identity cards, deeds of properties and any other documents required from the state departments.
- To assist in providing infrastructure facilities, education and health facilities.

- To implement resettlement programmes including housing schemes to facilitate the resettlement and relocation.
- To assist in utilizing the local and foreign monetary resources for implementing the planned resettlement programmes.
- To provide facilities in resolving problems relating to ownership and possession rights for moveable and immoveable properties.
- To facilitate the restoration of Basic Human Rights including the cultural rights in order to empower the internally displaced people.
- To receive the representations regarding the requirements of the displaced people, considering them and forwarding them to the respective authorized agencies for necessary action.
- To mobilize the displaced to initiate and implement partnerships for recovery and development in accordance with individual or community needs.
- To promote the livelihood activities among the displaced and the refugees.
- To provide a reasonable access to information on policies, resources and progress on activities earmarked for their recovery and facilitate dialogue with the concerned intervening agencies.
- To ensure a conducive physical environment for resettlement by demining and removing debris and repairing damaged infrastructure facilities.

#### 4. National Project Coordination Unit

The National Project Coordination Unit was established as a Special Unit under the Ministry of Resettlement with the financial provisions of "The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)" in the year of 2007 to provide Humanitarian and other facilities for the displaced people from the Northern and the Eastern Provinces.

#### 9.2.3 Objectives of the National Project Coordination Unit

- Provision of welfare facilities, humanitarian needs and other infrastructure facilities to the displaced people in the Northern and Eastern provinces.
- Taking expeditious action to fulfill the requirements of the displaced people
- Giving necessary contributions for the resettlement process by helping the de-mining process and reconstructing the houses and infrastructure facilities.
- Facilitating the coordination among U.N. organizations, International and local NGOs in the implementation of resettlement programmes of the Government.
- Implementing the programmes to facilitate the return of refugees who are living abroad as a result of the war.
- Provision of secured temporary shelters, food, drinking water, health and sanitation facilities, education and other necessity facilities to the displaced people with the assistance of Government Departments, UNO and NGOs.
- Implementing the programmes under the sponsorship of UNCHR to provide facilities, to displaced people ensuring effective coordination with the project unit of the Ministry.
- Carrying out detailed census of the displaced people. Making necessary arrangements to introduce new livelihood avenues to the displaced people by uniting them, promoting educational facilities, collecting information of the earlier income sources etc.

• Implementation of various projects through coordination of humanitarian activities for the welfare of the displaced people with United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), International Organization for Migration (IOM), World Food Programme (WFP), United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and other international and local NGOs.

#### 1. Puttalam Housing and Infrastructure Development Project

This project was established on 27th August 2007 under the World Bank aid to provide houses, sanitation facilities, roads and implementing drinking water schemes for the displaced families living in the Puttalam District. The World Bank had allocated US\$ 32 million for this project and the local contribution was Rs.22 million.

#### 9.2.4 Objective of the Project

Improving the quality of life of the displaced people living in the Puttalam District and neighbouring host families in order to promote cooperation between them by providing housing, drinking water, roads and sanitation facilities. Under this project 5541 new houses have been constructed for the benefit of those displace and temporary houses in the Puttalam District at the total cost of 1,923.3 million.

- a. Performance and Progress During the year 2012
- b. Action Plan and Progress

A sum of Rs. 260 million has been allocated to the Ministry of Resettlement for development activities during the year of 2012. A sum of Rs. 100 million for maintaining the relief villages, and Rs. 10 million for DEYATA-KIRULA programme and a further sum of Rs. 150 million was allocated to construct 500 houses in Welioya.

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Serial	District	No.of	Nature of the project	Allocation	Capital Expenditure
No.		Project		(Rs. Million )	(Rs.Million)
01	Mullaitivu	11	1. Provision of permanent houses in Kompavil	217.38	176.29
			2. Provision of general facilities to the displaced people under theimplementation of resettlement work plan		
			<ol><li>With regard to security identifying the areas that have not yet been demined</li></ol>		
			<ol><li>Maintaining the preschool in the resettled area of Kompavil</li></ol>		
			<ol><li>Provision of cookd meals to the resettled people.</li></ol>		
			<ol><li>Provision of necessary facilities to the relief villages</li></ol>		
			7. Resettlement programme at Ampalavanpokkanai, Mullivaikal-West and Keppapulavu.		
			<ol><li>Beforestation under resettlement programme in Keppapulavu</li></ol>		
			<ol><li>Provision of health facilities at Kompavil</li></ol>		
			10. Provision of infrastructure facilities at Keppapulavu		
			11. Construction of 500 permanent houses in		
02.	Anuradhapura	90	1. Project for health facilities to 108 families in Welioya	9.10	7.40
			<ol><li>Welioya drinking water scheme.</li></ol>		
			<ol><li>Ashramam for Buddhist nuns-Welioya.</li></ol>		
			<ol><li>Community centre Welioya.</li></ol>		
			5. Children's park.		
03.	Trincomalee	03	1. Seethanaveli housing project	14.98	10.01
			<ol><li>Maintenance of relief centre</li></ol>		
			<ol><li>Provision of drinking water, dried food.</li></ol>		
04.	Jaffna	04	<ol> <li>Provision of facilities to the resettled people at Maruthankeni and Tellipalai.</li> </ol>	4.42	0.57
			<ol><li>Provision of drinking water and health facilities at Chankanai</li></ol>		
			<ol><li>Provision of drinking water and health facilities at Tellippalai</li></ol>		
			<ol><li>Drinking water scheme at Uduvil</li></ol>		
05.	Kilinochchi	01	1. Resettlement work plan at Killinochchi	0.95	0.28
90	Vavuniya	01	1. Maintenance of relief villages	1.85	1.7
07.	Others	02	<ol> <li>Work plan for return of Sri Lankan refugees in India.</li> </ol>	1.24	0.75
			<ol><li>Provision of full fledged facilities to the work plan resettlement</li></ol>		
			Total	20070	107 DE

Serial No	Subject	Allocation of Rs. Million
1.	Work Plan for Resettlement	15.31
2.	Drinking Water and Sanitation	6.62
3.	Housing	16.38
4.	Deyata - Kirula	7.40
5.	Welioya Housing Project	150.00
6.	Jungle Clearing	0.61
7.	Others	0.73
	Total	197.05

#### 9.2.5 Programme for Resettlement

The main objectives of the programme are the resettlement of the displaced people in a dignified manner, facilitation of livelihood development, community development, health, electricity and other necessary services. Accordingly Work plans have been implemented in order to ensure participation of the displaced people in the development projects implemented for their benefit. For implementation of these projects a sum of Rs. 16 million was incurred by the Ministry of Resettlement in 2012. In the year of 2012, 6636 persons belonging to 2042 families who were housed at the Menik Farm Relief Villages had been resettled. Further, 6914 persons from 2045 families who were staying with their relatives and friends also were resettled in the Districts of Jaffna and Kilinochchi during the year under review.

#### 1. Provision of Drinking Water and Sanitation Facilities

To ensure provision of drinking water and sanitation facilities to the displaced people, tube wells and toilets at a cost of Rs. 6.62 million, were constructed. Accordingly, 04 drinking water schemes have been implemented in Jaffna, Weli-oya, Kompavil and Seethanveli 370 toilets were constructed at Seethanveli, Weli-oya and Kompavil.

#### 2. **Provision of Housing Facilities**

With the provision of housing facilities priority has been given to those who were displaced and were unable to return to their original places of residance. Accordingly Rs. 16.38 million have been spend in the Northern and Eastern Provinces. Under the Seethanaveli Housing Project in Trincomalee, a sum of Rs. 300,000 was spent for a housing unit constraucted with the assistance of Security Forces but the actual cost of a house could be estimated at Rs. 500,000. Under this Housing Project 265 houses were constructed and handed over to IDP beneficiaries in 2012.

#### 3. Deyata Kirula 2012

Weli-Oya development work plan was implemented under Deyata-Kirula Project for 2012. Under this project, a sum of Rs. 7.4 million was incurred for the provision of Health and Drinking water facilities, a children's - park and for the construction of "Aramaya" for Buddhist Nuns, in the area of the Divisional Secretariat of Weli-Oya, during 2012.

#### 4. Weli-oya Housing Project

The Weli-oya Housing Project was commenced to construct 500 houses for 500 resettled families in the area of Weli-oya Divisional Secretariat. Ministry of Resettlement, Ministry of Engineering Construction Services Housing and Common Amenities and Ministry of irrigation, Water Management have jointly implemented this project. The capital expenditure ear-marked for this project is Rs. 150 million. The project was opened in December 2012.

#### 5. Clearing of Jungle for Resettlement

In order to provide infrastructure facilities in the areas of resettlement the project to clear jungles was implemented at a cost of Rs. 0.61 milion.

#### 6. Others

In order to provide various facilities to the resettled people, a sum of Rs. 0.73 million has been spent. Under this Project, improvement of facilities for education, road development, electricity, health, and liveli-hood development have been implemented. These projects have improved the livelihood and economic status of the resettled people and also have encouraged them to participate in the development activities concerning them enthusiastically

#### 9.2.6. Resettlement in the Eastern Province

This project was implemented in order to resettle the displaced people, no sooner the Eastern province was liberated free from terrorist activities.

Around 126,766 displaced people in the District of Batticola, 1175 in the District of Ampara and 127626 in the District of Trincomalee were resettled. These resettlements were made in accordance with the international standards of resettlement activities.

Serial	Areas of Divisional Secretariats	No. of	No of
No	where Resettlements were made	Families	Members
1	Manmunai West Vavunatheevu	8028	27575
2	Eravurpattu-Chenkalady	4281	15142
3	Koralaipattu-South Kiran	3199	12346
4	Manmunai South-West Paddipalai	6437	21596
5	Porativupattu-Vellaveli	9709	32038
6	Koralapattu North Vaharai	4545	15524
7	People who were in the Vavuniya		
8	District and resettled in the		
9	Batticaloa District.	1074	2545
	Total	37273	126766

Table 3.3 Summary of Resettlement in the			
<b>District of Batticaloa</b>			

Serial No	Divisional Secretariat Area Resettlement	Families	Persons
1	Ampara	337	1175

#### Table 3.4 Resettlement in Ampara District

Serial No	Areas of Divisional Secretariats where Resettlements were effected	No.Resettled		
		Families	Persons	
01	Verugal	3033	10697	
02	Mutur	15631	57718	
03	Seruwila	2408	8873	
04	Morawewa	16644	5955	
05	Komarankadawela	464	1486	
06	Kinniya	1115	4615	
07	Near the City (Trincomalee)	963	3499	
08	Padavi Sripura	45	98	
09	Thambalakamam	423	1267	
10	Kuchchaveli	8748	33339	
11	Kantale	27	79	
	Total	34501	127626	

#### Table 3.5 Resettlement in Trincomalee District

#### Table 3.6 Resettlement in Eastern Province

Serial No.	District	Resettlements		
		Families	Persons	
01	Ampara	337	1175	
02	Batticaloa	37273	126766	
03	Trincomalee	34501	127626	
	Total	72111	255567	

#### Resettlement of those who were in the Relief Village of Ramavil, Jaffna as at 2011.08.04

#### 1. Closure of VAVUNIYA Menik-Farm Relief village

Consequent to the humanitarian operations by the Security Forces, the people entered the Government controlled areas during the early part of 2009. They reached Vavuniya through the security check point at Omanthai and further groups of people proceeded to Jaffna and Trincomalee. They were temporarily accommodated at schools and places of worship and provided with necessary facilities. As a large number of people came to Vavuniya and in order to provide security and other facilities, the Relief Villages Anandakumaraswamy, Arunachalam, Kadirgamar and Ramanathan were setup in the Menik-Farm area by the Ministry of Resettlement and with the assistance of other Ministries. The displaced people were accommodated in those Relief Villages and necessary facilities were provided.

In order to accommodate the displaced people who were temporarily allowed to stay at the Schools in Vavuniya, further relief villages were formed in Menik-Farm as zones 4,5 and 6. The Government took necessary action to provide meals (cooked and dried), drinking water toilet facilities, schools, pre-schools, libraries, hospitals, post offices, telephone facilities, banks, cooperative shops, stalls for vegetable and fish stalls, saloons, electricity, children's parks and vocational centres for the displaced people in the relief villages. Subsequent to the successful implementation of the process of resettlement the said Relief Villages were closed one by one. On the 24th of September, 2012, all the displaced people who stayed at the Kadirgamar and Ananthakumaraswami Relief - Villages were resettled in their original or alternate places and consequently the Relief-Villages were also closed.

#### 2. Maintenance of the Relief Villages

A sum of Rs. 2,777.03 million had been spent for maintaining the relief villages during the period of August 2009 to September 2012. The facilities such as accommodation, food (Cooked and dried), drinking water, toilets, schools, Pre-schools, libraries, hospitals, dispensaries, post offices, telephone facilities, banks, co-operative shops, vegetable and fish stalls, saloons, electricity, children's parks, vocational training centres and mobile-health services were provided to those who were accommodated in the relief villages. Around 297,000 displaced people have since been resettled.

# Table 3.7Expenditure for Maintenanceof Relief Villages

Year	Total Rs. Million
2009	2088.00
2010	571.00
2011	110.00
2012	8.03
Total	2777.03

#### • Resettlement of those who were Accommodated in the Menik-farm Relief -Villages.

The resettlement process of the internally displaced people who were accommodated in the relief villages of Menik-Farm at Cheddikulam in Vavuniya was commenced in the month of August 2009 and completed on 24th of September 2012. The particulars are at Table 3.8.

Serial No	Districts in wich IDPs Resettled		No.of Families	No.of Persons
1	Vavuniya,	Vavuniya	8406	27364
2	Mannar	Kilinochchi	19780	66410
3		Mullaitivu	16041	52181
4.		Mannar	4532	15265
5.		Jaffna	23096	70506
6.		Batticaloa	897	2514
7.		Trincomalee	2112	6704
8.		Polonnaruwa	1	1
9.		Kandy	5	26
10.		Ampara	191	591
11.		Puttalam	10	33
12.		Kegalle	4	14
13.		Baddulla	1	2
14.		Colombo	2	5
15.		Gampaha	1	3
16.		Nuwara-Eliya	2	4
17.		Galle	1	1
18.		Matara	1	3
19.		Kurunegala	2	9
20.		Other districts	14	29
	The number of	of people resettled from	75085	2.420.65
	those who we	those who were in the Manik-farm		243065
	The number of people who were released from the Manik -farm villages for various reasons.			
21				27720
	Total			270785

## Table 3.8 - Resettlement of IDP in Manik-Farm whowere in Makic Farm

	Table 5.9		
Serial	Relief village where the displaced were	The Districts where resettled	
No	accommodated prior to Resettlement	Families	Persons
01	Jaffna Ramavil village Jaffna, Mannar, Vavuniya,and Trincomalee	3658	10916
	Total	3658	10916

Table 3.9

**Table 3.10 Resettlement Northern and Eastern Provinces** 

Serial	Ducyinac	Resettled	
No.	Province	Families	Persons
01	Eastern		
02	Northern	150202	496547
	Total	222313	752114

#### 9.2.8 Basic Facilities provided at the time of Resettlement

- A Cash grant of Rs. 25,000/= was provided by the UNHCR to each resettled family to build temporary houses. Up-to date, a sum of Rs.2241 million had been granted to 89648 families.
- Action had been taken for the provision of dry-rations under the World Food Programme for a period of six months since the date of resettlement.
- Packets of non-food items were provided by the UNHCR, each consisting of mosquito nets, towels, kitchen-utensils, mats, basins, buckets, clothes etc. The value of a packet is Rs. 9000/=.
- Agricultural tools to the value of Rs. 208 million, had also been provided to 95000 Resettled families with the assistance of the Government of India.
- 930027 roofing-sheets had been provided to 77502 families on the basis of twelve sheets to a family.
- The International Organization for Migration provided necessary transport facilities to enable the re-settlers go back to their places of origin.
- Necessary fertilizer and seed material had been provided to commence agricultural activities.

#### 9.10.9 The return of the Sri Lankan Refugees in India

As recommended by "The Lessons learnt and Reconciliation commission" action had been taken to resettle the Sri-Lankan refugees returning from India. Accordingly, those who were staying in 114 relief centres and with host families in India have started to return to Sri Lanka. At present 2779 persons belonging to 924 families have returned. They have been provided with the under-mentioned facilities with the assistance of the office of the UNHCR.

- Provision of Permits to travel by Air.
- Provision of Air tickets.
- A sum of Rs. 10,000.00 to each person over 18 years of age, Rs. 7500.00 to each person under 18 years of age and Rs. 4000.00 per person for transportation, were granted.
- Each family was provided with Non-Food relief Items to the value of Rs. 10,000.00 at the time of resettlement.

In addition to above, mobile consular services were also provided to the returning Sri Lankan refugees by the Sri Lankan High Commission in Chennai.

#### 1. Infrastructure Facilities and Housing Development Project-Puttalam

Infrastructure and Housing Development Project was implemented in the District of Puttalam from 2009 August to June 2012, to construct houses and make availability of infrastructure facilities for the displaced people and the host community in the Puttalam District.

#### 2. Construction of Houses

#### • New Houses

In accordance with the construction programme of houses for the resettled people 5441 houses have been completed. The estimated cost for a house was Rs.325,000. Funds were released in 7 phases and construction work were done by the beneficiaries.

#### • Repairs and Renovation of Houses.

Under the housing programme, 1493 houses were also repaired in Puttalam. The estimated cost for repairs of a house is Rs.100,000. The funds were released on 2 phases and the repairs and renovations were made by the beneficiaries.

New Houses	No of Houses Repaired	ExpenditureRs. Million
231	291	131.2
973	3	376.8
1826	460	611.8
2226	739	576.7
185	-	226.8
5441	1493	1923.3

**Table 3.11 Progress of Construction of Houses** 

## 9.2.10 Housing grant for the rural people living in close proximity of the resettled people.

Under this project construction of houses was made for the selected families living in close proximity to the resettled families. Accordingly, 560 houses were constructed.

#### 1. Provision of Drinking Water

Under this project, 08 drinking water projects had been implemented at Kanthakuli, Pallivasal-Thurai Thehali, Vaddakkandal, Nuraicholai, Alankudah, Puttalam and Muthalapali and 27545 families had been benefitted.

#### 2. Provision of Sanitation Facilities

Along with the provision of housing and infrastructure facilities, action was taken to construct 1669 toilets at an estimated unit cost of Rs.25000/=. Funds for this purpose were released on 3 phases and a total sum of Rs. 45 million had been spent and the number of beneficiaries were 1669 families.

Sanitation facilities under the Project									
No	Provision of drinking water				Provision of sanitation facilities				
	Year	Amount Expended (Rs Million)	No of Benificia- ries	Provi- sion of water	No of house own- ers	AIIIOUIII	•	Construc- tion of toilets	No of house owners
01	2009	70.9							
02	2010	142.5	11880	2640	2640	12.115	809	73	73
03	2011	209.1	15665	3481	3481	32.395	1045	1596	1596
04	2012								
	Total	422.5	27545	6121		44.51	1854	1669	1669

# Table 3.12 Provision of Drinking Water andSanitation facilities under the Project

### 3. Development of Internal-Roads

Under this project construction of 11 Internal-road development projects were undertaken to the length of 176.4 Km benefitting 13,638 families. Accordingly all the projects have been completed.

# Table 3.13 The Proposed Programmes to beImplemented during the Year 2013

	Development Programme	Estimated total cost
		(Rs. million)
01	Implementation of relocaed 6959 families who were living with relatives and friends and 1336 families in 44 Welfare Centres in the District of Jaffna. <sup>[P]</sup>	28.50
02	Provision of housing scheme to 357 families under second phase of resettlement in Welioya.	107.00
03	Work plan of relocation of 109 families at Kep- papulavu in the District of Mullaitivu.	32.00
04	Provision of water and health facilities to the reset- tled families in the Districts of Vavuniya, Mullai- tivu, Kilinochchi, Mannar and Trincomalee	145.00
	Total	312.50

#### 9.2.11. Activities Planned and being implemental for Implementation During the year of 2013

Implementation of formal discussion with the Government of India in order to implement necessary plans to encourage the return of around 100,000 Sri Lankan refugees currently in India.

Provision of especially, drinking water and other sanitation facilities to the relocated and resettled people.

Provision of necessary facilities to the Muslim families who were forcibly ejected by the LTTE, from the Northern Province in the year of 1990. Due to their increase in population, providing adequate land to them has become a serious problem. In this regard, an Inter-Agency committee has been formed under the Chairman-ship of the Secretary to the Ministry of Resettlement and the Committee has recommended the release of 1,500 acres of land in the District of Mannar for this purpose. Necessary action is in progress in the Districts of Vavuniya, Kilinochchi and Mullaitvu to locate state land for this purpose and it is expected to complete the programme during the first half of the year of 2013.

### Conclusion

Rehabilitation of approximately 12,000 ex-LTTE cadres who surrendered to the Security Forces of the government during the final stage of the humanitarian operations was a critical issue to the government since they as members of the LTTE who served the most ruthless terrorist organization in the world. Further, they have been motivated and trained in the gun culture to kill innocent civilians and destroy public properties and also to commit suicide for their cause.

However, despite the fact that all of them had been engaged in some form of terrorist activities, the government took a decision to rehabilitate and reintegrate them into the society without prosecuting them and sending them to the jail. It was a decision that speaks volumes for the government's commitment to reconciliation and it should be noted that such generosity has rarely been shown in similar cases in other parts of the world.

Psychological Care, Spiritual Therapies and Vocational Training were provided to the ex-combatants during their stay at the Rehabilitation Centres and a majority of them have now been reintegrated into the society with sufficient knowledge and skills to live a peaceful and a contented life with their loved ones, and the rest of the community. Only a small number of cadres with known higher-level involvement in LTTE activities have been prosecuted up to now.

It is important to mention that there have not been any major issues or complains reported from any part of the country with regard to the behaviour or the activities of the ex-LTTE cadres who have been released to the society after rehabilitation since 2010.

Professor Arie Kruglanski, a Professor of Social Psychology of the Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Response to Terrorism (START) at the University of Maryland in the USA who spoke at the Defence Seminar held in August 2012 in Colombo stated that a scientific study conducted by him provides statistically significant proof that Sri Lanka's rehabilitation programme and the staff interactions have a direct impact on de-radicalization of ex-combatants. It should be noted that the Sri Lankan Government is committed 100% to make the ex-combatants to be useful citizens in our country who can contribute positively towards the development and the reconciliation process.

Finally, when ex-combatants surrendered to the Government Forces in May 2009, their future was determined on Buddhist principles observed by the government. As the military and political leadership of Sri Lanka were predominantly Buddhist, it was not the rule of law but the tenants of Buddhism that applied to the defeated ex-combatants. They were **Metta** - the wish that all sentient beings, without any exception, be happy, **Karuna** - the wish for all sentient beings to be free from suffering, **Muditha** - the wholesome attitude of rejoicing in the happiness and virtues of all sentient beings, Upekkha - not to distinguish between friend and enemy or stranger, but regard every sentient beings as equal. **These Buddhist concepts were applied to their defeated enemy by the political leadership and the Security Force personnel, in its endeavour to transform them to be useful citizens of the country.** 

In the heat of the battle, Sri Lankan soldiers targeted their enemy. However, vengeance and punishment were not their motives. Instead, even in the battle field, Buddhist concepts of Metta, Karuna, Mudita and Upekkha prevailed, where water, food and medicine being the basic needs in the context of that situation were provided by the soldiers to others. No soldier ate before feeding those who were before him. Buddhist concepts have been in the minds of political and military leadership throughout the humanitarian operation.

At the end of the humanitarian operations, rather than adopting retributive justice, the government adopted restorative justice. That is to restore life by rehabilitating the misguided former LTTE cadres and reintegrating them to the society.

With due respect to the great Chinese Leader Mao Tsetung, contrary to the views expressed by him regarding the conditioned mind and conduct of a terrorist, Sri Lanka was again the first to prove to the world that even the diehard terrorists could be successfully rehabilitated and revert them back to the society to be useful and productive citizens.

# ARE THE SRI LANKAN SECURITY FORCES GUILTY OF GENOCIDE?

### HOW THE LTTE VIOLATED HUMAN RIGHTS BY INTENTIONALLY COMMITTING GENOCIDE

# THE SUCCESS STORY OF REHABILITATION & RESETTLEMENT

**PICTURES FOR PART II** 

#### THE LTTE CHILD SOLDIERS



#### TRAINING THE LTTE WOMEN SUICIDE SQUAD



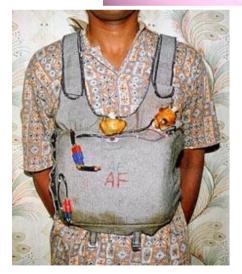


Adale Balasinham the Trainer with a Member of the Suicide Squad

## SUICIDE BOMB JACKETS









# LTTE CADRE WEARING THE JACKET

## LTTE CADRE WEARING THE CYANIDE CAPSULE



# KARUNA AND DAYA MASTER ASSIST THE ARMY TO IDENTIFY PRABHAKARAN'S DEAD BODY



HOW THE SECURITY FORCES, THE ALLEGED CRIMINALS TREATED THE INNOCENT CIVILIANS WHO ESCAPED FROM THE LTTE AND SOUGHT THE ASSISTANCE OF THE SECURITY FORCES



ASSISTANCE GIVEN BY THE SECURITY FORCES WHEN THE INNOCENT CIVILIANS ESCAPED TO THE SAFE AREAS



#### HOW THE EX-LTTE COMBATANTS WERE REHABILITATED



Educational Rehabilitation was to strengthen the mislead youth through education, to reduce their lack of education and prevent them from being manipulated by violent extremist groups.



Organized Vocational Training Courses targeting the most demanding jobs in the market.



Counselling programmes for rehabilitees were conducted extensively in order to adjust their minds, for harmonious living in society



Obtained IT related business out-processing programmes from recognized private companies.



Rehabilitees were given maximum opportunities to participate in a number of sports activities at the rehabilitation centres



53 couples had the privilege of being the members of the first mass marriage ceremony of Sri Lanka held in the peace village with a plot of land for cultivation. These beneficiaries underwent rehabilitation and vocational training programmes whilst living under one roof as a family unit.

### EXPECTED OUTCOME

Through a very comprehensive programme to address their Ideological, Emotional, Social, Religious, Cultural, Economic and Political needs to Transform Radicalized Elements to be Peace loving, Harmonious and Responsible members of the society and to the social fabric.

**BEFORE REHABILITATION** 



**BEFORE REHABILITATION** 



**BEFORE REHABILITATION** 



AFTER REHABILITATION



AFTER REHABILITATION



AFTER REHABILITATION



#### **BEFORE REHABILITATION**



#### AFTER REHABILITATION



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#### The Author

J.R Ranjith Perera, was a former Director General of the Ceylon Tourist Board, the National Tourist Organization of Sri Lanka.

He was associated with organized Tourism Development in Sri Lanka, almost from its inception in the late nineteen sixties. He was recruited to the Ceylon Tourist Board (C.T.B.). As an executive in 1967.

Later he held the position of Director of the Standard's Division of the Board. During this tenure of service, he received advanced training in quality standards of tourist services and facilities in some of the leading tourist destinations in the West and the East.

On his retirement from the services of the C.T.B. he was awarded a World Bank assignment in co-ordination with The World Tourism Organisation (WTO) to serve as an advisor on tourism to the State of Eritrea in North East Africa.

On his return to Sri Lanka after the overseas assignment the C.T.B. appointed him as the Chairman of The Hotels Classification committee, the Statuary committee for classification and determination of star class tourist hotels. He served in this capacity for four years.

During this period among other things, on a request made by the Chairman and the Board of the C.T.B, the author undertook to write a book containing authentic information on different aspects and attractions of Sri Lanka as a tourist destination.

The book titled, "A Comprehensive Guide to Information on Sri Lanka" was acclaimed as an "Encyclopedic" Publication as it contain in one book, authentic and comprehensive information on Sri Lanka required by a foreigners visiting Sri Lanka for any purpose viz, holiday, pleasure, water sports, wildlife, spiritual advancement, historical research investment etc. This book is also intended to be an ideal reference book for providers of tour guide services, and for students. The services of the author have been enlisted by the Ceylon Tourist Board and thereafter The Sri Lanka Tourism Develop1nent Authority for several consultancy assignments, including the Committee of experts appointed for the formulation and determination minimum quality requirements for the registration and licensing of tourist services and facilities.

The author has over 30 years senior executive experience having held senior executive positions in the state and the private sectors in Sri Lanka.

In the recent past the author took an interest in writing books for posterity on different aspects of eradicating terrorism from the country and the atrocities committed by the ruthless Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam (L.T.T.E.) and the action taken by the heroic security forces to eliminate the curse of terrorism. Altogether four books have been written on the above aspects, three in English and one in Sinhala.

The author in Association with Informatics (Pvt) Ltd established the first private sector educational institute in Sri Lanka in association with a reputed British University to conduct a Degree Programme in Information Technology. He also took charge of publishing the first English/Sinhala Computer Dictionary for the propogation of IT education in Sri Lanka.

He has also actively participated in providing voluntary community and social services holding senior positions in International voluntary service organizations in Sri Lanka.

The author was a past student of Ananda College Colombo and Aquinas University College Colombo, which was affiliated to the University of London.

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PRABHAKARAN'S, RUTHLESS TERRORISM IN THE GUISE OF LIBERATION

THE STORY OF THE CARNAGE UNLEASHED BY PRABHAKARAN, THE RUTHLESS TERRORIST LEADER OF THE LIBERATION TIGER'S OF TAMIL EELAM (LTTE) DURING A THIRTY YEAR PERIOD OF HORROR IN THE PEACEFUL ISLAND OF SRI LANKA.

ARE THE SRI LANKAN SECURITY FORCES GUILTY OF GENOCIDE?

TO REFUTE THE UNJUST ALLEGATIONS AGAINST THE HEROIC SRI LANKAN SECURITY FORCES FOR ALLEGED VIOLATION OF INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAWS (IHL) IN ERADICATING THE TERRORISM OF THE LTTE.

# HOW THE LTTE VIOLATED HUMAN RIGHTS BY INTENTIONALLY COMMITTING GENOCIDE

NARRATES THE RUTHLESS AND UNPARDONABLE CRIMES INTENTIONALLY PLANNED AND COMMITTED BY THE LTTE LED BY PRABHAKARAN.

# THE SUCCESS STORY OF REHABILITATION & RESETTLEMENT

HOW THE VERY SECURITY FORCES WHICH ANNIHILATED TERRORISM, SUCCESSFULLY REFORMED AND REHABILITATED THE PERSONS WHO WERE MENTALLY DEFORMED AND TRAINED TO BE TERRORISTS, TO BE USEFUL AND PRODUCTIVE CITIZENS OF THE COUNTRY.

THEREAFTER, HOW THEY WERE RESETTLED TO LEAD A SUCCESSFUL LIFE.

THIS REHABILITATION AND RESETTLEMENT PROGRAMME BECAME A UNIQUE EXAMPLE TO THE WORLD.