

# **FACTS TO WORLD SOCIAL FORUM**

## **BELEM, BRAZIL**

**INFORMATION AU FORUM SOCIAL MONDIAL**

**INFORMATIVOS – FORUM SOCIAL MUNDIAL**

**27 JANUARY - 1 FEBRUARY 2009**

**THE TAMIL CENTRE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS (TCHR)  
IS A REGISTERED ORGANISATION IN THE WORLD SOCIAL FORUM**



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

**HEAD OFFICE**  
9, rue des Peupliers  
95140 - Garges les Gonesse  
FRANCE

**Tel/Fax : + 33 - 1 - 42 67 54 36  
+ 44 - 161 - 860 46 09**

**Email : [tchrgs@tchr.net](mailto:tchrgs@tchr.net) / [tchrgs@hotmail.com](mailto:tchrgs@hotmail.com)  
[tchrdip@tchr.net](mailto:tchrdip@tchr.net) / [tchrdip@hotmail.com](mailto:tchrdip@hotmail.com)**

### **BRANCHES**

**AUSTRALIA, CANADA, DENMARK, NORWAY, SWITZERLAND, THE NETHERLANDS, UNITED KINGDOM**

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>Appeal</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>History in a nutshell - English</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>Recorded figures – arrests, killings, disappearances, rapes, etc</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Colonisation</b>	<b>7</b>
Three Kingdoms	8
Five Provinces	9
The Nine Provinces	9
Since 1827 - Tamil and Sinhala populations in the Eastern province	
25 Districts	
Sinhala settlements	10
Since 1827 - Tamil and Sinhala populations in Batticaloa district	
The Gal Oya Project	
Tamil and Sinhala population in Amparai district – 1963	
Since 1827 - Tamil and Sinhala populations in Trincomalee	11
Padawiya Settlement	
Fishermen settlements	
<b>Proposed solutions to settle the ethnic conflict</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>Failed Talks and abrogation of pacts</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>Comparison with Kosovo</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>Why is the International Community silent?</b>	<b>17</b>
<b>SPANISH</b>	
<b>Historia de los tamiles (Ceilán/Sri Lanka) – Breve resumen cronológico</b>	<b>18</b>
<b>FRENCH</b>	
<b>Chiffres enregistre – arrestation, tues, disparition, viol, deplacee et blesse</b>	<b>24</b>
<b>Histoire des négociations, abrogations de pactes (En bref)</b>	<b>25</b>

**The Delegates,  
Participants and others  
World Social Forum  
Belem, Brazil**

### **Distinguished Delegates, Participants and others**

First of all, we extend our solidarity greetings to all delegates, participants and others in the World Social Forum 2009.

On a daily basis, over a hundred Tamils are being arrested and detained. The security forces and paramilitaries are given a free hand to abduct, arrest, rape and carry out arbitrary killings. Aerial bombing and artillery attacks on the civilian population are causing many deaths and severe problems in the North.

The situation of the Internally Displaced People (IDPs) in the North East remains critical. Press freedom and freedom of expression are in peril in Sri Lanka. Journalists are arrested, tortured, abducted, disappeared and killed over-night. Also more than 500,000 Tamils from the North East have sought asylum in foreign countries including many in Europe.

International human rights law and international humanitarian law are being massively violated by Sri Lanka.

Impunity is a very serious problem. Many notorious human rights violators in the Security forces especially in the Army, Police and the Paramilitary have received the best promotions and appointments as Ministers and to high profile jobs in the government. The government of Sri Lanka encourages and allows the perpetrators to move freely in society - and the violations continue.

In the Northeast the human rights situation has been deteriorating for many long years. Genocide, cultural genocide, multiple displacements are occurring and a systematic economic embargo to the North East is starving the people and depriving them of necessary medicines.

The security forces have created "High Security Zones" in the densely populated residential areas of the North East and are occupying civilian homes and public buildings.

***Misinformation is disseminated locally and internationally by the Sri Lankan government, to distort the real picture of what is happening in Sri Lanka.***

We urgently appeal to you all and other NGOs and solidarity organisations to seriously consider all available means and ways to ensure that the war is stopped and that the continuing genocide of Tamils in Sri Lanka is prevented.

In addition, we urge the participants of this forum to take immediate steps and prompt action to alleviate the humanitarian catastrophe that is being deliberately inflicted by the government of Sri Lanka on civilians in the North East.

The attached information shows how the international community is failing to take action against a government which denies equal rights to an ethnic group which the government claims to be its citizens, yet punishes them for demanding their fundamental political rights.

The Sri Lanka government is perpetrating war crimes and crimes against humanity against Tamil people who have been struggling for their Right to Self-determination for many decades.

A better world cannot be created while the right to self-determination of the Tamils in the island of Sri Lanka is ignored. Therefore we appeal to all participants of the World Social Forum to urgently act on facts given in this document and to support this long-standing legitimate cause.

Yours sincerely

**S. V. Kirubaharan  
General Secretary**

# History in a nutshell

- 1505** The Portuguese arrived in Ceylon during the existence of three sovereign kingdoms, one Tamil Kingdom in Jaffna, and two Sinhala Kingdoms in Kotte and Kandy.
- The island was divided into three kingdoms, a Tamil kingdom in the North East, the Kandy kingdom of the highlands and the Kotte kingdom situated in the South.
- 1619** Tamil sovereignty ended in June when the **Portuguese defeated the Tamil King**, and the Jaffna Kingdom became a Colony of the Portuguese.
- 1658** The Dutch arrived in Ceylon and the Jaffna Kingdom became a Dutch Colony.
- 1795** The British arrived in Ceylon and the Jaffna Kingdom became a British Colony.
- 1802** Ceylon became a British Crown Colony.
- 1833** For the first time in over 2,500 years of its recorded history, **the entire island of Ceylon was brought under a single administration** based on the recommendations of the **Colebrook-Cameron Report**.
- 1862** Tamils from Southern India were brought as labourers to work in the tea plantations in the hill country by the British. During the same period Tamil labourers from South India were taken to work in the sugar cane plantations in South Africa, Mauritius and in many other British colonies.
- 1885** Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan Tamil leader called for increased representation in Legislative council for Tamils.
- 1915** In June, **Sinhala Buddhist-Muslim riots in Ceylon**. Riots spread from the central province to the western and northwestern provinces.  
**There were heavy casualties amongst the Muslims. According to available records, 36 Muslims were killed and 205 Muslims were injured and raped. Nearly 85 mosques were damaged and more than 4,075 Muslim-owned shops were looted by the Sinhala rioters.**
- 1919** The Ceylon National Congress (CNC), the first full-fledged "Nationalist" political party was formed by a celebrated Tamil, Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam.
- 1921** Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam **quitted the CNC, denouncing it as a party** representing mainly a section of the Sinhalese.
- 1927-1931** Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan and Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam **had talks** with Sinhala leaders when the **Donoughmore Commission** announced its recommendations in 1927. The **talks ended in a failure** as the Sinhala leaders ignored the aspirations of the Tamils.
- 1944** The first Tamil political party, "All Ceylon Tamil Congress-ACTC" was founded by G. G. Ponnambalam to champion the cause of the Tamils against Sinhala Buddhist domination.
- 1947** The United National Party (UNP) was formed.  
The first constitution of Ceylon was adopted by an Order in Council rather than by a Constituent Assembly. It was known as the (Lord) "**Soulbury Constitution**" which remained in force until 1972.
- 1948** The British left Ceylon independence was granted to "Ceylon" and the power to govern Ceylon was handed over to the Sinhalese who were numerically superior.  
After the stringent 15 November **1948 Citizenship Act** and the laws of disenfranchisement were enacted and adopted, the Tamils of Indian origin Tamils in the hill country (plantation Tamils) were deprived of selecting their representatives to the Parliament. **More than a million plantation Tamil workers were rendered stateless.**
- 1948-50** The Government launched massive **Sinhala colonisation** schemes in the Eastern province. Gal oya in Batticaloa, Allai and Kathalai in Trincomalee were colonised under pretexts of development.
- 1949** Dissension with the "Tamil Congress" party led to the formation of the "**Tamil Federal Party**" (**FP**) under the leadership of S. J. V. Chelvanayagam.
- 1951** S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike broke away from UNP and forms the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP).
- 1956** On 14 June S. W. R. D. Bandaranayake **father of President Chandrika Kumaratunga** proclaimed the "**Sinhala Only Act**" which made the Sinhala language the only official language of Ceylon.

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

Year	Killing	Rape	Injuries	Displaced
1956	150	20	300	3000

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

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

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

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

Year	Killing	Rape	Injuries	Displaced
1958	355	100	350	35000

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- 1974** On 10 January, Sinhalese Police unleashed an unprovoked violent attack on those attending the prestigious “**4<sup>th</sup> Tamil Research Conference**” in Jaffna, leaving **nine innocent civilians dead**.

- 1975** On 5 May the Tamil New Tigers -TNT was renamed as **Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam LTTE**. Mr. V. Pirabaharan was named the Chairman and military commander of the LTTE.

- 1977** In July, Tamil United Liberation Front-TULF, contested and won overwhelmingly at the Parliamentary election giving them a mandate to establish **the “Right to Self-determination”** of Tamil Eelam in the North East. J. R. Jayewardena of UNP became the Prime Minister, with a five-sixth majority in the Parliament. The TULF became the major opposition party in the parliament.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- 1985-87** State repression and counter attacks intensified in the North East resulting in all-out war between the Sri Lankan state and the LTTE. LTTE effectively **took control of the Jaffna peninsula** and other Northern areas.

- 1986** In November, **talks** between the LTTE representatives and President J. R. Jayawardena took place through the mediation of the Indian Prime minister in Bangalore, India.

- 1987** On the 29th July 1987, a peace accord known as "**Indo-Lanka**" pact was signed between Sri Lanka and India. Even though this accord purported to bring an end to the island's ethnic crisis, it was signed by India and Sri Lanka without any consultation with LTTE and the Tamils of the North East of the Island.

The LTTE's first public meeting was held in Suthumalai on 4 August 1987. The LTTE Leader Mr. Pirabaharan's speech in this meeting became known as the "**Suthumalai Declaration**".

- 1989** **Talks** between the LTTE the President Premadasa took place in Colombo. LTTE's chief negotiator Dr. Anton Balasingham, Mrs Adel Balasingham and many other LTTE high-level leaders took part in the talks.

- 1990** At the beginning of **EELAM WAR II**. Hostilities broke out again between the Sri Lankan forces and the LTTE. Economic blockade was imposed causing severe shortage of food and medicine in the North
- 1994** The People's Alliance led by Chandrika Kumaratunge won the Parliamentary elections with the pledge to "end the war and bring peace". **The LTTE unilaterally announced a temporary ceasefire** to welcome the change of government.
- Talks between the LTTE and the PA government led by President Chandrika Kumaratunga commenced in Jaffna. Kumaratunge won the Presidential election. LTTE chief negotiator Dr. Anton Balasingham, and many other LTTE high-level leaders participated in the talks.
- 1995** On 5 January, the Government of Sri Lanka (**President Chandrika**) and the LTTE (**Leader V. Pirabahakaran**) signed **an agreement for cessation of hostilities**. The Government announced lifting of the economic embargo on some items **only on paper**, but the embargo continued. Later Chandrika government argued that there was no such thing as an economic embargo in the Tamil region. This was considered by civil society and the international humanitarian organisations as an "Utter lie with hidden agenda".  
The LTTE gave a two-week ultimatum in March to the government to implement what they had promised to the civilians. This ultimatum was later extended by another three weeks until **April 19th**. **Talks ended in failure**.  
Government launched a major offensive in July in several parts of the Jaffna peninsula after imposing a press censorship. This was the beginning of **EELAM WAR-III**.
- 2001** The LTTE have announced unilateral **cease-fires many a time. One lasted for four months**. President Chandrika's government refused to reciprocate the cease-fire declared by the LTTE and opted to continue with its military agenda.  
The Tamil political parties formed a front known as the "Tamil National Alliance (TNA)" and contested the Parliament elections in the North East on the 5th December 2001 and won in 16 electorates. **TNA's Election manifesto**.  
In December, the UNP government headed by the Prime Minister Ranil Wickremasinghe came into power with the mandate for peace and negotiations with LTTE. The LTTE declared a **one month cease-fire** and it was renewed. The government also declared one month cease-fire and renewed it.
- 2002** LTTE released 10 prisoners of war as a gesture of good will for peace.  
The Norwegian government re-activated its peace role. The Norwegian delegation led by Deputy Foreign Minister Vidar Helgesen and Mr. Eric Solheim met with the LTTE chief negotiator Dr. Anton Balasingham in London and the Prime Minister and other ministers in Sri Lanka.  
On 21 February, an historic **agreement, a "Memorandum of Understanding"** was signed between Mr. V. Pirabaharan, the leader of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam LTTE, and the Sri Lanka Prime Minister Mr. Ranil Wickremasinghe. This MOU was worked out under the facilitation of the Norwegian government.
- 2003** As there is non implementation of the out come of talks, **in May**, the peace talks between the LTTE and the government Sri Lanka came to a halt.  
**In November**, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) submitted its proposals for Interim Self-Governing Authority – IGSA in the North East region to the Sri Lankan Government through the Norwegian facilitators on November.  
This proposal was totally ignored by the Singhala leaders.
- 2004** In the General elections the political party "Tamil National Alliance (TNA)" won overwhelmingly in 22 electorates in the Tamil region, North East.  
Their election manifesto stated, "Accepting LTTE's leadership as the national leadership of the Tamil Eelam Tamils and the Liberation Tigers as the sole and authentic representatives of the Tamil people, let us devote our full cooperation for the ideals of the Liberation Tigers' struggle with honesty and steadfastness".
- 2005** On 15 July - Sri Lankan Supreme Court rejected PTOMS agreement signed between the GOSL and the LTTE, with the aim of ensuring equal distribution of Tsunami aid to the worst affected North East. (*Post Tsunami Operational Management Structure – PTOMS was signed between the GOSL and the LTTE – 24 June 2005*)  
In November, Mahinda Rajapaksa won the Presidential election with the support of the Sinhala extreme political parties.
- 2006** In February, and October. 1st round of peace talks in Geneva was after two and a half years of interval. As there is non implementation of the agreement signed in the 1st round of peace talks in Geneva, once again the 2nd round of peace talks came to a stalemate in October.
- 2006 April - Beginning of Eelam War – IV**  
**2006** On 16 October - Sri Lankan Supreme Court rejected the merger of North and Eastern provinces which were merged under the Indo-Lanka accord in 1987.
- 2008 January, Sri Lanka officially withdrew from the CFA on 3 January 2008**

# RECORDED FIGURES

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

**Tamil Centre for Human Rights - TCHR**

Email : tchr@tchr.net / tchr.dip@tchr.net Website : [www.tchr.net](http://www.tchr.net)

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

(actual figures higher than documented)

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

\* = Communal riots \*\* = Indian Peace Keeping Forces – IPKF

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

# SINHALA COLONISATION

## IN THE HEREDITARY TAMIL REGIONS OF THE ISLAND OF SRI LANKA

By K. Sachithanandan

(*Research officer - Colombo Fisheries Corporation. Lecturer at the University of Jaffna. Adviser to the United Nations on Food and Agriculture in twenty-three countries.*)

### CEYLON - THE ISLAND

Sri Lanka - Ceylon is a beautiful island. It lies on the southern side of the Sub-Continent of India. The island is in the shape of a mango.

This island is separated from India by Palk Strait in the North and Mannar Kudah in the South.

The island of Rameshwaram, Eramer Dam and Mannar Island separate Palk Strait and the Mannar Kudah.

To the south of the island is the Indian Ocean. The southern point is surrounded by sea and nothing else. The Bay of Bengal is on the eastern side and stretches as far as Sumatra.

Forty kilometers from the island of Sri Lanka (Ceylon) is Thamilaham (Tamil Nadu).

The Central region enjoys high rainfall and has mountains. The land here is fertile. The island's Eastern, Northern and North-Western regions are open flat land with rocks scattered all over.

Long before man wrote history, this island (Ilankai, as it was known then) was inhabited by hunters and cowherds. These were stone-age and iron-age people according to research. There is proof of this on the island.

The ancient instruments of this period and those used by people in Tamil Nadu are similar according to research on Ancient History.

Later, the discovery of ancient scripts and stone carvings have indicated that the inhabitants of Ilankai and Thamilaham were originally Tamil people.

Sivan and Elder Sivan were the kings who ruled the island, which is recorded in the island's history. That the Princes of Bengal and Kalingam and their people came to this island and married Pandian girls is recorded in the island's history.

In Tamil Nadu and in the island of Ceylon there were originally Tamil people. When Prince Vijayan came to the island, a dialect emerged. Many people speaking a new language were flooding into the island. This is the period when history was reversed, (1000 BC).

During the reign of King Asoka, 400 BC, Thamilaham and Ceylon had become lands where the Buddhist religion was being spread. King Asoka's son Mahinthan came to Ilankai and converted the King of the island to Buddhism. This is shown in the island's history. Later, King Asoka's daughter Sangamitta brought a white Bo branch from Goa and planted it in Anuradhapuram, when she came to Ilankai. These were historical events. This Bo tree is in Anuradhapura up to this day.

During the time of King Asoka, **a new language was being developed in Ceylon by combining, Sanskrit, Pali, Kalingam and Tamil**, and thus a new language was born. This language was then introduced to Prince Vijayan and **later became the Sinhalese language**.

During the time of Karikala Cholan (300 BC), he declared war on Ceylon. Karikalan wanted to build a dam by blocking the Kaveri River. To achieve this project Karikalan brought experts and labourers from Ceylon to Thamilaham. History states that Karikalan built a dam across the Kaveri River. After the invasion by Karikalan, Chola kings ruled Ceylon. One of the kings that ruled Ceylon was Ellalan. He ruled the entire island from 161 BC – 117 BC.

**"To the South is the sea, to the North are Tamils. How can I stretch and sleep?" asked the Sinhalese Prince Dutugemunu. From the description of this notorious prince, it is evident that his name Dutu referring to a thug in Sinhalese and Tamil.**

This notorious Sinhalese prince called Ellalan to battle. The elder Ellalan was unable to defeat the young and strong Dutugemunu. The Sinhalese thug murdered Ellalan - the Tamil king and captured the Tamil Kingdom. This was the beginning of the Tamil-Sinhalese conflict. **The Sinhalese captured the Tamil capital Anuradhapuram and made it their capital.** This was the first occurrence where the Sinhalese took possession of Tamil lands by battle, making it their own. This is worth noting.

The Tamils kept the rest of their land and the Sinhalese kept their land. The areas closer to Tamil Nadu, sea shores and open land, belonged to Tamils. The mountainous, central parts, far away from Tamil Nadu and the southern parts belonged to the Sinhalese people.

The Aalvaar and Nayanmaars (Saiva saints) started spreading the Saivite and Vaisnavite (in English - "Hindu") religions in Thamilaham, amongst the Tamil people. This happened during AD 550-800. In the island of Ilankai the Saivite religion was being promoted.

During the time of Raja Raja Cholan and Rajendra Cholan 993-1070 AD, the entire island was brought under Tamil rule.

With the re-introduction of Saivism the Tamils who lived in the island of Ilankai again became Saivaites. Those who became Buddhists disregarded Tamil and created the Sinhalese language in order to promote Buddhism.

In Polanuruvi the Chola capital was established and Sinhala people moved southwards. The island's mountainous region and the south became the homeland of the Sinhalese. The Eastern, Northern and North-Western regions were inhabited by Tamils. The Buddhist Sinhalese people occupied the mountainous and southern areas, while the Saivite Tamils occupied the East, North and North West regions.

Although the Sinhalese administration was somewhat strong they were unable to control the areas occupied by the Tamil people. In 1215 AD the Pandians declared war on the island. The Sinhalese rulers retreated to the south. Kandy and Kotte became Sinhala capitals. Polonnaruwa was the Chola capital. After the Pandian invasion Yaalpanam (Jaffna) became the Chola capital.

## Three Kingdoms

Now there were three kingdoms in the island of Ilankai. The South Western seashore and Southern seashore were administered by the **Kotte Sinhalese Kingdom**. The central mountain area was taken care of by the **Kandy Udarata Sinhalese Kingdom**. The East, North and North-West were administered by the **Tamil Kingdom**.

This situation remained during the arrival of the Europeans in 1505 and even after that. **Kotte** was the capital of the Sinhala Kingdom, which later fell to the Portuguese in 1505. **Nallur** was the capital of the Tamil Kingdom. This also fell to the Portuguese in 1619. The Kandy Udaratta Kingdom made **Kandy** its capital. In AD 1815 this was taken by the English.

When the Portuguese and the Dutch took over the island's seashores, they ruled the Tamils and Sinhalese separately.

The Greek explorer Ptolemy and the British who came later demarcated separately the Tamil and the Sinhala regions. They recorded this.

The Sinhalese termed their administration "Rata". The Tamils named their administration "Vannimai".

Rajarata, Mayarata, Udarata and Ruhunurata were the areas controlled by the Sinhalese, in their respective administrations.

The Tamils controlled and administered the following areas, Yaalpanam, Vanni, Kottiyaaru, Palukamam, Paanamai and Muthusilapam. These are large administrative areas. Within these large areas there are smaller areas called "Koralai" by the Sinhalese, and "Pattu" by the Tamils.

The maps and drawings from the time of *Ptolemy the Greek explorer* and later from the period when the English came to the island, show how they recorded the areas of the Tamils and the Sinhalese separately.

In 1796 the English took power, after the fall of the Kandian Kingdom. In 1815 the entire island came under English rule. On October 1<sup>st</sup> 1833 the Colebrook-Cameron reformation was introduced in the island's Administration. After the reforms in the administration, there came into being five Provinces under one administration, in the island.

## Five Provinces

**The Northern Province** - Nuvarekalvi. Anuradhpuram, Yaazhpanum, Vavuniya and Mannar remained in the Northern Province. **The capital was Yaazhpanum (Jaffna)**.

1. **Eastern Province** - Thampankadawai, Vindhanai, Kottiyanu, Palukamam Paanamai. All these included as Tamil zones. Trincomalee, Muttur, Mattakaluppu, Bintenne, Wekande, Kumana and Yala were remaind in this province. **The capital was Mattakalupu (Batticaloa)**.
2. **The Upper Province**. Katpiddi, Puttalam, Chilaw, Neerkozhipu (Negombo), Kotte, Panandurai, Kalutara, spreading as far as Kurunegala. **The capital was Colombo**.
3. **The Southern Province**. Galle, Thangalai, Matarai and Ambanthotai, stretching as far as Ratnapura. **The capital was Galle**.
4. **The Central Province**. Kandy, Udunuwara and Uva, which were mountain regions, came under Central Province. **Kandy was the capital**.

Each of these five provinces had government officials who were answerable to English governors in Colombo.

During Dutch rule, one Tamil Kingdom and two Sinhalese Kingdoms were functioning as Tamil administration, seashore Sinhalese administration and Kandian Sinhalese administration. Later under British rule, these three administrative areas were converted into five provinces.

## The Nine Provinces

In 1845 the North Western Province came into being. This consisted of Puttalam, Chilaw and Hotkorala. ***The capital was Kurunagala.***

In the year 1873 the North Central Province was created. Nuwarakalawewa district in the Northern Province; Thampankadawai district from the Eastern Province were included in the North Central Province. The Tamil patti area from the Northern Province was annexed to the North Western Province. ***The capital was Anuradhapura.***

In 1896 the Uva Province was created. The Central Province's Baddulla Bintenne were incorporated with Uva. ***The capital was Baddulla.***

The nine provinces were ruled from Colombo which was the capital, bringing all the provinces under one rule. This went on from 1833 to 1896.

***In this process of re-adjustment, the English did not take into account the ancestral heritage and the original homelands of the people of the island. As a result of this blunder, the ethnic conflict came into being in the island.***

Even though Anuradhapura was a Sinhalese area, this was annexed to Tamil capital Yaalpanam. Thampankadawai was Tamil area but later it was taken away from the Eastern Province and added to the North Central Province. The Tamils area was incorporated into the Northern Western Province. The Eastern Province Bintenne Vannimai were added to Uva Province.

**In these nine Provinces there were twenty districts.**

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

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

## 25 Districts

New changes were made to the borders in 1955. When a country gets its independence it must make its borders more viable for the sake of progress.

***The Eastern Province***, which was 10,440 square kms, was reduced to 9,931 square kms. It was reduced by 509 sq.km.

***Northern Central*** which measured 10,352 sq.km. was increased by adding 356 sq.km. now totalling 10,709 sq.km.

***The Uva Province*** which was 8,160 sq.km. was increased to 8,478 sq.km. by adding another 318 sq.km. to this province.

In this process of ***chop and change***, the district of Chilaw disappeared. ***Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa Districts were newly created.***

In 1959 Moneragala District was introduced. In 1963 the District of Amparai came into being. In 1978 the districts of Gampaha and Mullaitivu and in 1984 Kilinochchi, totalling five districts were newly created.

Not only the district borders but also the administrative borders were redemarcated. This happened many times.

The total extent of the island is 65,525 sq.km of this, 71% of the land is Sinhalese homeland. ***The Tamils have 29% of the land as their homeland (1901).***

**The island's coastal area measures a total of 1,770 sq.km. 35% of this area is Sinhalese and 65% belongs to the Tamils (1901).**

The total population of the island is approximately 180 lakhs, according to the 1995 survey. 74% is Sinhalese, 25% Tamils and 1% who speak other languages (1981).

In 1981, there were 68.5% Buddhists, 16% Hindus, 7.9% Christians and 7.6% Muslims. The island's total population is 18,000,000.

**The fertile areas** where the rainfall is plentiful and where there are many mountains, rivers and lakes is land that the **Sinhalese claim to be their ancestral homeland**. Tea, rubber, coffee and coconut palms grow very well in these regions.

The people in the Tamil homeland have to rely on rain brought by the rare winds to cultivate their dry land. There are very few rivers and dams there. **65% of the sea-coast is the ancestral possession of the Tamil people.**

## Sinhala settlements

After Independence from the British in 1948, the Colombo government started implementing new legislation to requisition land and settle the Sinhala population. **The government put into place a scheme plan so as to reduce the land of the Tamils and increase the land of the Sinhala population.**

In its plan was the demarcation of borders intended to reclaim Tamil land in order to benefit the Sinhala people.

### Since 1827 - Tamil and Sinhala populations in Batticaloa district

Table is shown on language basis  
(Until 1963 it includes Amparai district)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Tamil Speaking</u>	<u>Sinhala Speaking</u>
1827	99.62%	0.00%
1881	93.27%	4.75%
1891	93.2%	5.21%
1901	92.34%	5.21%
1911	92.95%	3.74%
1921	93.12%	4.56%
1946	92.55%	5.83%
1953	87.64%	11.52%
1963*	95.6%	3.35%*
1971	94.49%	4.49%
1981	95.95%	3.21%

\* Creation of Amparai district

## The Gal Oya Project

**In the year 1952 the Pattipolai River was renamed "Gal Oya" which is a Sinhalese name.** A dam was built across the river. The water pumped from this dam was used by the Sinhalese who settled there. This was another master plan to stifle the progress of the Tamil people.

1963 saw the creation of a new district known as Amparai (beautiful rock). Later an area was created for voters to assist the Sinhala people. This new area was called "Digamadulla" in the Sinhala language.

### Tamil and Sinhala population in Amparai district

Table is shown language basis  
(Amparai district was created in 1963)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Tamil Speaking</u>	<u>Sinhala Speaking</u>
1963	70.22%	29.34%
1971	69.47%	30.18%
1981	62.03%	37.64%

## Since 1827 - Tamil and Sinhala populations in Trincomalee district Table is shown on language basis

<u>Year</u>	<u>Tamil Speaking</u>	<u>Sinhala Speaking</u>
1827	98.45%	1.53%
1881	90.72%	4.21%
1891	91.44%	4.3%
1901	89.04%	4.22%
1911	90.54%	3.82%
1921	92.13%	4.38%
1946	75.09%	20.68%
1953	78.8%	18.22%
1963	79.25%	19.9%
1971	70.2%	28.8%
1981	65.38%	33.62%

### **Padawiya Settlement**

Padawiya is in the north of Thumpankadawa in the North Central Province. The government in its plan settled Sinhalese here also. Trincomalee's northern area is Kokilai. In the south of Kokilai lagoon lies Pulmoddai, a sea-shore town where Tamils lived. There was an abundance of corals in this coastal region. The government wanted to export this coral and it settled Sinhalese in this area, so as to enable them profit from the sale of the coral. The Sinhala government by means of its colonisation policy, settled many Sinhalese here. Padawiya Sripura administration came into being here.

On the borders of the District of Trincomalee, to the south there is Seruwila, to the west lies Kantalai, Morawewa, Kumpankadavai. To the north is Padawiya-Sripura became Sinhala settlements.

### **Fishermen settlements**

The Sri Lankan Government encouraged Sinhalese fishing families from the south to come to the eastern coast and trouble the Tamil families who lived there. In the areas where the Sinhala people live the sea is deep. There are about 200 such places. In the Tamil areas the sea deepens step by step. The sea deepens after a few kilometres.

The Tamils carry out their cultivation in all of the months except during the month of October-December. Initially, the Sinhala fishermen worked closely with the Tamil fishermen. However, the Sinhalese fishermen slowly drove the Tamils away and took control of Musali, Chilapatthurai, and Thalaimannar in the west and Nayar and Kalmunai which is a long stretch of sea coast land in the east.

As time went on the Sinhalese fishermen drove the Tamils away and occupied the following places; Nayar, Kokilai, Kuchaveli, the town of Trincomalee, Elakanthai, Verutal Panichan Kerni, Manokerni Punnaikuda Eravur, Batticaloa Chinna Mugathuvaaram Kumari, Thirukovil. These places were all taken by the Sinhalese with the help of the government, which wanted to drive away the Tamil people from the places they had always inhabited. (*Excerpts*)

*(The original text was produced in Tamil by the Author in 1980s)*

# PROPOSED SOLUTIONS TO SETTLE THE ETHNIC CONFLICT

TAMIL CENTRE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS – TCHR/CTDH – MARCH 2008

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>TYPE OF POLITICAL SOLUTION</u>	<u>RESULT</u>
1957	Banda-Chelva pact – Regional Councils	Unilaterally abrogated by GOSL
1965	Dudley-Chelva pact – District Councils	Unilaterally abrogated GOSL
1970	Proposals placed by the Tamil Federal Party <i>(A federal form of government with an autonomous Tamil-Muslims state and three autonomous Sinhala states)</i>	Rejected by the GOSL
1979	Presidential Commission to report on <i>(creation of District Development Councils)</i>	This did not fulfil the Tamils' aspirations. Not intended to provide a different political or administrative structure for any particular part of the country
1983	All Party Conference <i>(Proposals merely extended the scheme of decentralization at District level to the Provincial level with limited co-ordination)</i>	TULF rejected these proposals as it was not the originally formulated set of proposals, known as Annexure – C.
1985	In Thimpu - The devolution proposal by Sri Lanka <i>(District councils without executive power)</i> <b>Thimpu (principle) proposal placed by Tamils</b> <i>(Homeland, Nationhood, Right to self-determination and equal rights)</i>	Rejected by the Tamil representatives <b>Rejected by the GOSL</b> Talks collapsed because while the talks take place Sri Lanka renewed its military offensive in the North East
1986	"19 December" proposals by Indian envoys <i>(Formation of a new Eastern Province by excising Sinhalese majority areas and the creation of two Tamil Provincial Councils in the Northern and the reconstituted Eastern Province)</i>	GOSL expressed reservations and eventually rejected this proposal.
1987	Indo-Lanka Accord (Provincial Councils) <i>(North and Eastern Provinces were merged under this accord. 95% Tamils didn't support this accord)</i>	After 18 years, the Sri Lanka Supreme Court rejected this merger 16 October 2006
1989-90	Premadasa Talks East <i>(LTTE formed a political party-PFLT and prepared to contest in the elections)</i>	The holding of fresh elections in North never took place. Prevented LTTE from demonstrating its support from the people in North East
1992-93	Parliamentary Select Committee Reports <i>(President D.B.Wijetunga said that there is no 'ethnic problem')</i>	Eyewash to International Community No progress was made
1995	Devolution Package <i>(Refused to recognise the existence of the Tamil homeland, rejected an asymmetric approach, continued to treat all the provinces in the same way)</i>	Rejected by Buddhist Maha Sanga and other Sinhala political parties
2003	ISGA proposal by LTTE <i>(Interim Self-Governing Administration)</i>	Rejected by the GOSL and other extreme Sinhala political parties
2005	Post Tsunami Operational Management Structure – PTOMS	Rejected by the Sri Lanka Supreme Court
2007	All Party Conference* Sinhala political parties UNP, JVP, JHU strongly against its proposals	Not ALL political parties invited to participate in its discussions. Tamil National Alliance, especially was kept away.

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

# FAILED TALKS AND ABROGATION OF PACTS

TAMIL CENTRE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS – TCHR/CTDH – MARCH 2008

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>TALKS BETWEEN</u>	<u>RESULT</u>	<u>REASON/CONSEQUENCE</u>
1927	Sir Ponnambalam and Sinhala leader <i>(Recommendations of Donoughmore Commission)</i>	Failed	Tamils' point of view ignored
1957	S.J.V. Chelvanayagam and Bandaranayke <i>(In 1956 Sinhala Only act introduced by the PM Proposal for Regional Councils)</i>	Pact signed	'Banda-Chelva' pact unilaterally abrogated by Prime Minister SWRD Bandaranayke
1965	Chelvanayagam and Dudley Senanayake <i>(Proposal for Establishment of District Councils)</i>	Pact signed	'Banda-Dudley' pact unilaterally abrogated by Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake
1971	Tamil Leaders and Srimavo Bandaranayake PM <i>(Amendments to Republican constitution)</i>	Failed	Republican constitution was passed in 1972 without the support of Tamil parties
1977-1982	TULF and President J.R. Jayawardena <i>(In July 1977 general elections Tamil people gave a mandate to the Tamil United Liberation Front - TULF, to exercise the "Right to Self-determination" in the North East)</i>	Failed	The July 1983 riots followed. marking the beginning of Eelam War - I
1985	Tamil activists including the LTTE and GOSL <i>(Thimbu talks under Indian facilitation)</i>	Failed	GOSL rejected the Thimbu principle of Tamil homeland, Nationhood, Right to self-determination and Equal rights
1986	LTTE Leader and President J.R. Jayawardena  (Talks mediated by Indian Prime minister in Bangalore, India)	Failed	Jeyawardena refused to recognise the right to self-determination and the homeland of the Tamils
1987	India and Sri Lanka (Accord) <i>(under the guise of settling the Tamil ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka.)</i>  <i>Under this accord merger of North Eastern province took place on 8 Sep. 1988. But, after exactly 18 years, The Supreme Court delivered its political judgement on 16 October 2006, stating that the merger of these two provinces was invalid.</i>	Signed	Accord signed, without any consultation with Tamils, nor the LTTE, the main party to conflict. 95% Tamils didn't support this accord.
1989	LTTE and President Premadasa <i>(LTTE formed a political party and named it, "People's Front of the Liberation Tigers -PFLT". It was registered with the Election officials of Sri Lanka.)</i>	Failed	GOSL prevented International Community knowing the support for the LTTE among the Tamils.
1994	LTTE and President Kumaratunga GOSL <i>(President Chandrika and the LTTE signed an agreement for cessation of hostilities )</i>	Failed	Beginning of Eelam war-II.
1994	LTTE and President Kumaratunga GOSL <i>(President Chandrika and the LTTE signed an agreement for cessation of hostilities )</i>	Failed	Promised lifting of Economic embargo dragged on and on.
2002-2004	LTTE and Ranil Wickremasinghe PM the agreed outcomes of peace talks <i>(Under the facilitation of Norway a Cease Fire Agreement - CFA was signed on 22 February 2002 between the LTTE and government of Sri Lanka.)</i>	Failed	Beginning of Eelam war-III
			The GOSL failed to implement and the CFA. Several rounds of negotiations took place in Thailand, Norway, Germany and Geneva

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>TALKS BETWEEN</u>	<u>RESULT</u>	<u>REASON /CONSEQUENCE</u>
2005	LTTE and President Kumaratunga with the aim of ensuring equal distribution of Tsunami aid to the worst affected North East  <i>(Post Tsunami Operational Management Structure – PTOMS was signed between the GOSL and the LTTE – 24 June 2005)</i>	Failed	By a political judgement from the Supreme Court, PTOMS was made null and void – 15 July 2005
2006 February & October	LTTE and President Mahinda Rajapaksa <i>(Talks in Geneva, Switzerland on Paramilitary activities)</i>	Failed	GOSL failed to implement the agreed outcomes of Geneva talks in February  2006 April - Beginning of Eelam War – IV
2008 January			<b>Sri Lanka officially withdrew from the CFA on 3 January 2008</b>

**GOSL = Government of Sri Lanka**

\* \* \* \* \*

# THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION

## TAMILS OF SRI LANKA (CEYLON)

### COMPARISON WITH KOSOVO

TAMIL CENTRE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS – TCHR/CTDH – MARCH 2008

<b>KOSOVO</b> <i>UDI on 17 February 2008</i>		<b>TAMIL EELAM (NORTH EAST)</b> <i>(De-facto government for more than 17 years. Minimal initiative by the Community to recognize the right to self- determination)</i>
<i>International Tamils'</i>		
Sq. Kilo meters	10,887 km <sup>2</sup>	19,509 km <sup>2</sup>
Coastal area	----	More than 400 km
Capital	Pristina	Trincomalee
Annexed with	Serbia in 1989	Ceylon (Sri Lanka) in 1948
Conflicting peoples	Serbs vs Kosovars	Singhalese vs Tamils
Population	2,000,000	(3,598,000 - census in 1979 (93% Tamils in the North East
Domination by	Serbs	Singhalese of Sri Lanka
Military Composition	100% Serbs	99% Singhalese in all Forces
Colonisation	Kosovo region by Serbs	North East by Singhalese
Settlers	-----	over 300,000 Singhalese colonists
Negotiations started	1989	1927
Failed negotiations	Several	Between Sinhala and Tamil leaders 1927, 1971, 1977-82, 1985, 1986, 1989, 1994, 2003-2006 (see page 40)
Abrogation of pacts by State	yes Serbia-EU	Unilaterally abrogated by Sri Lanka 1956, 1965, 1987, 2002, 2005
Democratic mandate	September 1991 & May 1992	1977 General elections - Tamils voted overwhelmingly for independence
Armed conflict	March 1998	From July 1983, to date
Freedom fighters	Kosovo Liberation Army - KLA	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam – LTTE under the leadership of National Leader Pirabaharan
Civilians killed	over 5000	over 100,000
Disappearances	over 4000	over 28,000 to date
Rapes	20,000	over 12,600 to date
Mass graves	526	Many found in the North-East
Internally displaced	250,000 single displacement	over 800,000 multiple displacement
Refugees	61,000	over 600,000 in western countries and India
Press & Freedom of Movement	Denied	Denied
Property damaged	figures not known	over eight billion US Dollars
Houses destroyed	128,000	over 300,000 To date
Attacks on religious bld	500	2375 (both Christian and Hindu-Saivites)
Villages demolished	figures not known	over 500
Political prisoners	nearly 2000 (Dec.2001)	over 3000 (at present)

KOSOVO		TAMIL EELAM (NORTH EAST)
Ethnic cleansing / violence	1990	Since 1956 1956, 1958, 1977, 1981, 1983 onwards
Economic embargo	not enforced	since 1987 with few intervals. Now in force
Forces	Army	Tamil Eelam Army, Navy, Air force, Police and Auxiliary
Courts	Judicial Development Division - JDD	Tamil Eelam Courts including an Appeal Court and Law College
Human Rights institution	Ombudsperson Institution of Kosovo	North East Secretariat on Human Rights - NESOHR
Financial institutions	Banking and Payment Authority of Kosovo - BPK	Bank of Tamil Eelam with many branches
Education	Kosovar education system	Education Council of Tamil Eelam
Welfare & social Institutions	Institution of social welfare	Homes for the aged, widows, children and war affected adults and children
Violation of signed UN International instruments	Serbia has not signed many UN Human rights instruments	Sri Lanka has violated UN Charter, UDHR, ICCPR*, ICESCR, ICERD,CEDAW*, CAT and CRC*
Visit by High Commis. for Human Rights	Visited	Visited only the Sri Lankan government administrated areas
UN/EU intervention	yes	NONE
UN Resolutions	yes	NONE
International Monitoring	yes	NONE
Visit by VIPs	yes	VIPs MET WITH LTTE LEADERSHIP Spe.Rep of UN Sec Gen.Mr Olaru Ottunu- 1997 EU Commissioner – Mr Chris Patten Norway's Foreign Minister & Deputy Norway's Minister for Intern. Development Norwegian special envoy – Erik Solheim Japanese special envoy Yasushi Akashi US Congressman – Danny Davis Iceland's Foreign Ministry official–Bjarni V All EU and other Diplomats in Colombo UNICEF Executive Director UN Special Representative Allan Rock UN Spec.Rapporteur-Extra-judicial killings UN Spe.Rapporteur – Religious intolerance Head of UN agencies in Colombo
VIPs visits Prevented AREAS	-----	SRILANKA PREVENTED VISIT TO LTTE ADMIN  UN Secretary General Kofi Annan His Royal Highness Prince Charles – UK Ex-Presidents of USA W Bush and B
Clinton		Secretary of State, USA Prime Minister of Canada Prime Minister of South Korea Ministers from Japan, Netherlands, Finland, Germany and many other
countries		UN High Commissioner for Human Rights Spec. Rep of UN Sec Gen. Sir Holmes Spec. Rep of UN Sec Gen on IDPs UN Sep. Rapporteur on Torture

(Updated from the TCHR reports submitted in March 2001 and March 2007)

- ICCP\*\* - International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
- ICESCR - International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
- ICERD - International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination
- CEDAW\* - Convention on the elimination of Discrimination against Women
- CAT - Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment....
- CRC\* - Convention on the Rights of the Child

\* optional protocols

# **WHY IS THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY SILENT?**

**SILENT SOCIALISTS, ARDENT LIBERALS, AND ENLIGHTENED SOCIAL DEMOCRATS WHY YOU ARE SILENT?**

-- Dr Vickramabahu Karunaratna

I am very thankful to the organisers of this massive event for inviting me. I know that there were such mass meetings throughout the world.

Tamil people have rallied round to support the ongoing struggle for liberation. Some Tamils who had misgivings and criticism have come in to support the ongoing struggle at this critical moment.

We as the NSSP and the LEFT FRONT have supported consistently the liberation fighters and the fight since 1974. We have participated in Pongu Tamil and other mass actions with liberation fighters whenever we were invited. In future too we shall continue to support.

Mahinda Rajapaksa, with the support of the world powers and particularly the support of India has launched a ferocious war to recapture the Tamil homeland. Sinhala armed forces are given full backing by the Indian navy which covers the high sea surrounding the Tamil homeland. They have boasted that all resources coming by sea has been captured. At the same time world powers have hunted the Tamil Diaspora to eliminate the support for the Tamil liberation struggle.

After two and half years Mahinda dream has not come true. Lies distortions and pretensions have been used to cover up the truth. Truth has become a dirty word. Journalist and media organisations that have exposed fraud, corruption and inhumanity in the war conducted against the Tamil people are attacked. Both Tamil and Sinhala journalists are brutally attacked and some are killed. Muslim journalists are given special attacks to cow them down.

All this has not concealed the truth that the Tamil liberation struggle survives basically because majority of the Tamil people are supporting it. Supporters of the repressive regime, both local and abroad, call the Tamil struggle, a terrorist project. They have failed to explain how these oppressed poor Tamils surrounded by a formidable enemy with powerful friends, defending day by day, month by month and year by year. Clearly it is a Nation in uprising and not a sectarian exercise in terrorism!

Government has lost not only in the north but also in the south. Patriotic war by Sinhala heroes has seen to be corrupt, foolish, personal project of Mahinda and his yes men. Already the JVP has split away leaving the government unstable. They are launching struggle in all fronts facing violence and intimidation. Somawansa says this may be the last time they vote for the emergency! Inflation repression has pushed even the JVP to strike action. Mahinda says that the JVP now is backed by the LTTE.

Fools and knaves resort to anything to safe guard their misdeeds. We must expect in the coming period strong battles in the south destabilising Mahinda regime. This means the war has devastated the entire country. Not only the Tamils but also the Sinhala majority is made miserable.

We ask the international community why you are silent to this crime against humanity. With our appeal world socialists led by Fourth International have come out supporting the Tamil struggle for liberation. Other socialists are joining. Indian Left Front is for autonomy to the Tamil homeland.

We want to know from the silent socialists, ardent liberals, and enlightened social democrats why you are silent.

Look at this sea of people and tell these masses what you are prepared to do?

**Dr Vickramabahu Karunaratna  
Leader of the NSSP, Leftist Party in Sri Lanka  
July 2008**

# Historia de los tamiles

(Ceilán/Sri Lanka)

BREVE RESUMEN CRONOLOGICO

(*La historia, las negociaciones, la abrogación de los Pactos, etc.*)

CENTRO TAMIL PARA LOS DERECHOS HUMANOS

TAMIL CENTRE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS - TCHR

[www.tchr.net](http://www.tchr.net)

9, rue des Peupliers, 95140 - Garges les Gonesse, FRANCE

Email : [tchrgs@hotmail.com](mailto:tchrgs@hotmail.com) / [tchrdip@hotmail.com](mailto:tchrdip@hotmail.com) Fax : + 33 - 1 - 42 67 54 36

**Masivos bombardeos aéreos y de artillería por varios gobiernos en la isla de Sri Lanka han causado un masivo desastre humanitario y daño a la propiedad en la patria tamil (Noroeste)**

1505	<p><b>Los portugueses</b> llegaron a Ceilán cuando había tres reinos soberanos, una un Reino tamil en Jaffna y dos Reinos cingaleses en Kotte y Kandy. La isla fue dividida en tres reinos, un Reino tamil en el Noroeste, el Reino de Kandy de las llanuras y el Reino de Kotte ubicado en el Sur.</p>
1619	<p>La soberanía tamil cesó en Junio cuando los <b>portugueses vencieron el Rey tamil</b> y el Reino de Jaffna se volvió una colonia de los portugueses.</p>
1658	<p><b>Los holandeses</b> llegaron a Ceilán y el Reino de Jaffna pasó ser una colonia holandesa.</p>
1795	<p><b>Los británicos</b> llegaron a Ceilán y el Reino de Jaffna pasó ser una colonia británica.</p>
1802	<p>Ceilán se convirtió en una colonia de la corona británica.</p>
1833	<p>Por primera vez en 2500 años de la historia escrita, <b>la isla entera de Ceilán fue puesto bajo una sola administración</b> basada en las recomendaciones del <b>Informe Colebrook-Cameron</b>.</p>
1885	<p>Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan, líder tamil abogó por una mayor representación en el Consejo Legislativo para tamiles.</p>
1915	<p><b>En Junio, motines cingaleses budistas musulmanes</b> En Ceilán se extendieron desde la provincia central hasta las provincias del Oeste y Noroeste. <b>Hubo muchísimos muertos entre los musulmanes.</b> Según datos disponibles, 36 musulmanes fueron asesinados y 205 musulmanes fueron heridas y violadas. Casi 85 mezquitas fueron dañadas y más de 4075 tiendas de propiedad musulmana fueron quemadas por los amotinadores cingaleses.</p>
1927-1931	<p>Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan y Sir Ponnambalam Arunchalam <b>tuvieron consultas</b> con líderes cingaleses cuando la <b>Comisión Donoughmore</b> presentó sus recomendaciones en 1927. Las <b>negociaciones terminaron en un fracaso</b> por el hecho de que los líderes cingaleses ignoraron las aspiraciones de los tamiles.</p>
1944	<p>El primer partido político “All Ceylon Tamil Congress-ACTC” fue fundado por G.G. Ponnambalam para promover la causa de los tamiles contra la dominación cingalés budista.</p>
1948	<p>Los británicos abandonaron Ceilán, y la independencia fue instaurada y el poder para gobernar Ceilán fue transferida a los cingaleses quienes eran numéricamente superior.</p>
1948	<p>Después el riguroso <b>Citizenship Act 1948</b> del 15 de Noviembre y las leyes de desemancipación promulgados y adoptados, los tamiles de origen indio en las colinas</p>

	(tamiles de plantación) fueron privados de elegir sus representantes por el Parlamento. <b>Más de un millón de trabajadores tamiles de las plantaciones se encontraron sin nacionalidad.</b>
<b>1948-1950</b>	El gobierno lanzó esquemas por una <b>colonización cingalesa</b> masiva en la provincia del Este. Galo oya en Batticaloa, Allai y Kathalai en Trincomalee fueron colonizados bajo el pretexto de crear más desarrollo.
<b>1956</b>	<p>El <i>United National Party-UNP</i> fue eliminado por el poder en las elecciones generales por el partido <i>Sri Lanka Freedom Party-SLFP</i> que llevó la isla con una ola de nacionalismo cingalés budista con fuertes signos anti tamil.</p> <p>El 14 de Junio S.W.R.D. Bandaranayake, <b>padre de la presidenta Chandrika Kumaratunge</b> proclamó el “<b><i>Sinhala-Only Act</i></b>” que hizo el idioma singalés el único idioma oficial de Ceilán.</p> <p>La campaña pacífica <i>Satyagraha</i> empezada por los tamiles contra el “<i>Sinhala Only Act</i>” en el Galle Face Green delante del Parlamento en Colombo fue brutalmente suprimida por provocadores cingaleses con la connivencia del gobierno. Estallaron los <b>primeros motines anti tamil</b>. Murieron más de 150 tamiles, quemados y golpeados hasta la muerte y propiedades pertenecientes a tamiles fueron quemadas y destruida por un valor de un millón de rupees.</p>
<b>1957</b>	<p>Rápidamente después que el “<i>Sinhala Only Act</i>” fue adoptado en el Parlamento, iniciaron <b>negociaciones</b> entre el Primer Ministro S.W.R.D. Bandaranayake y el líder del partido federal S.J.V.Chelvanayagam.</p> <p>El 26 de Julio un acuerdo conocido como el <b>Pacto “Banda Chelva” fue firmado</b> entre Bandaranayake y Chelvanayagam. Este acuerdo fue basado en un sistema casi federal devolviendo ciertos poderes a los tamiles en las provincias del Noroeste.</p> <p>Una semana después de la firma del <b>Pacto “Banda-Chelva” éste fue unilateralmente abrogado</b> por el Primer Ministro Bandaranayake debido a las vehementes protestas hechas por el <i>UNP</i>, el clero budista y el <i>SLFP</i>. J.R. Jayewardena del partido <i>United National Party-UNP</i> decidió de marchar sobre Kandy en protesta contra este pacto.</p>
<b>1958</b>	<p><b>Pogromos anti tamil</b> estallaron en la isla. Muchos tamiles fueron masacrados y propiedades por un valor de un millón de rupees pertenecientes a tamiles fueron quemadas y destrozadas.</p> <p>El 25 de Mayo en el gobierno de las plantaciones de caña de azúcar en Polonnaruwa y Hingurakgoda, amotinados cingaleses atacaron abiertamente a los trabajadores tamiles. Los agresores cingaleses pusieron incendiaron las plantaciones de las cañas de azúcar, golpearon a muerte unos 500 tamiles en Polonnaruwa y Hingurakgoda. La violencia se extendió a la parte sur de la isla en todas partes donde viven tamiles.</p>
<b>1959</b>	El Primer Ministro S.W.R. Bandaranayake <b>fue asesinado por un monje budista.</b>
<b>1961</b>	<p>El Partido Federal lanzó una campaña no violenta de desobediencia.</p> <p>El gobierno reaccionó violentamente enviando fuerzas de policía y militares a Jaffna para aplastar la agitación: Un pogromo anti tamil estalló en las áreas donde los cingaleses eran la mayoría matando centenas de tamiles y dejando a miles sin techo.</p>
<b>1964</b>	<b>El Pacto Srimavo-Shashtri (India) fue firmado para la repatriación de la población tamil de origen india a quienes les había sido negada la nacionalidad como consecuencia del Citizenship Act de 1948. Habían vivido en la isla por más de 115 años.</b>
<b>1965</b>	Dudley Senanayake, líder del <i>UNP</i> formó un gobierno con la <b>ayuda del Federal Party</b> y otros partidos. <b>Negociaciones</b> tuvieron lugar entre el Primer Ministro Dudley Senanayake y S.J.V. Chelvanayagam.

<b>1965</b>	<p>El 24 de Marzo, un <b>acuerdo</b> conocido como el Pacto “<b>Dudley-Chelva</b>” fue firmado entre Dudley Senanayake y S.J.V. Chelvanayagam.</p> <p><b>El acuerdo fue abandonado</b> sin haber sido puesto en práctica debido a la oposición del <b>SLFP</b>, el clero budista y los seguidores del <b>UNP</b>.</p>
<b>1972</b>	<p>Ceilán se hizo “República” el 22 de Mayo y Ceilán fue oficialmente renombrado como “<b>República de Sri Lanka</b>”.</p> <p>El gobierno del <i>United Front</i> decretó una “<b>Constitución Republicana</b>” cingalés supremacista para el país, que hizo el budismo la religión del Estado.</p> <p>Formación de <i>Tamil United Front-TUF</i> compuesto por el <i>Federal Party</i> dirigido por S.J.V. Chelvanayagam, el <i>Tamil Congress-TC</i> dirigido por G.G. Ponnambalam y el <i>Ceylon Workers Congress-CWC</i> dirigido por Savariamoorthy Thondaman.</p> <p>La discriminación del estado en contra de la admisión de estudiantes tamiles a las universidades llegó a su máximo con la introducción de la “<b>Estandarización</b>”. La admisión a la universidad basada en el mérito fue deliberadamente abandonada para evitar a los estudiantes tamiles la entrada en las universidades.</p> <p>Un grupo de juventud incluyendo jóvenes de índole al auto sacrificio y a la disciplina llamado <b>Tamil New Tigers-TNT</b> fue creado por Sr. V. Pirabaharan para la lucha para el derecho a la libre determinación de los tamiles en el Noroeste.</p>
<b>1974</b>	<p>El 10 de Enero, la policía cingalesa lanzó un ataque violento asaltó sin que haya habido provocación contra los participantes de la prestigiosa <b>4ª Tamil Research Conference</b> en Jaffna dejando <b>9 civiles inocentes muertos</b>.</p>
<b>1975</b>	<p>El 5 de Mayo el <i>Tamil New Tigers-TNT</i> fue nombrado <b>Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam-LTTE</b>. Sr. V. Pirabaharan fue nombrado presidente y comandante militar del LTTE.</p>
<b>1976</b>	<p><b>El 14 de mayo, el Tamil United Front-TUF fue renombrado Tamil United Liberation Front-TULF. El TULF adoptó la “resolución Vaddukkodai” comprometiéndose a restaurar un Estado libre, soberano, secular socialista del Tamil Eelam basado en el derecho a la libre determinación y también para salvaguardar la existencia misma de la nación tamil en la isla.</b></p>
<b>1977</b>	<p>En Julio, el <i>Tamil United Liberation Front-TULF</i> disputó y ganó ampliamente las elecciones parlamentarias que le dio un mandato para establecer el <b>derecho a la libre determinación</b> del <i>Tamil Eelam</i> (patria tamil) en el Noroeste. J.R. Jayawardena del <i>UNP</i> fue nombrado Primer Ministro con una mayoría de 5/6 en el Parlamento. El <i>TULF</i> llegó a ser el principal partido de oposición en el Parlamento.</p> <p><b>Conversaciones tuvieron lugar</b> entre el primer Ministro J.R. Jayawardena y el <i>Tamil United Front</i>. <b>Ningún acuerdo fue logrado</b>. Un pogromo anti tamil tuvo lugar inmediatamente después de las elecciones en las áreas mayormente cingaleses donde mataron centenas de tamiles.</p>
<b>1978</b>	<p><b>Una nueva Constitución</b> fue promulgada y J.R. Jayawardena fue nombrado <b>primer presidente ejecutivo</b> del país. El nombre de “República de Sri Lanka” fue cambiado por “<b>República Democrática Socialista de Sri Lanka</b>”.</p>
<b>1979</b>	<p>El gobierno promulgó un <i>Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA)</i> draconiano, prohibiendo las organizaciones militantes tamiles. El 11 de Julio, la península de Jaffna fue en efecto puesta bajo la ley marcial con el <i>Public Security Ordinance</i>. Pogromos anti tamil estallaron en la isla. Muchos tamiles fueron muertos y la propiedad perteneciente a los tamiles fue quemada y destrozada.</p>
<b>1980</b>	<p>Muchos jóvenes tamiles fueron arbitrariamente matados por las fuerzas de seguridad, de la policía y del ejército esrilanqueses.</p>
<b>1981</b>	<p>En Junio, <b>otro pogromo anti tamil</b> fue lanzado. Hubo mayor represión militar en el Norte. La <b>Biblioteca Pública de Jaffna fue destruida en un incendio criminal</b> por parte de las fuerzas armadas esrilanqueses presumiblemente bajo la dirección de ex ministros del</p>

<b>1981</b>	gobierno, Gamini Dissanayake y Cyril Matthew. <b>95 000 volúmenes</b> de libros incluso numerosos e irremplazables manuscritos importantes y los edificios fueron totalmente destruidos por el incendio criminal. El mercado de la ciudad de Jaffna, la oficina del diario tamil “Eelanadu”, la oficina del partido político TULF, etc. Fueron quemados por las fuerzas de seguridad esrilanquesas.
	<b>Un pogromo anti tamil</b> estalló en la isla. Muchos tamiles fueron asesinados y el saqueo de la propiedad tamil fue extenso.
<b>1982</b>	El gobierno autorizó una <b>colonización cingalesa</b> en Mullaitivu, una región poblada por tamiles.
<b>1983</b>	<p><b>Masivos pogromos anti tamil</b> tuvieron lugar en Julio en todas partes de la isla con el apoyo abierto del gobierno. Durante los cuatro días de motines más de <b>6 000 tamiles fueron matados y más de 250 000 se tuvieron que refugiar</b>. Miles de tamiles huyeron del país hacia India y países occidentales. Propiedad tamil por miles de millones de rupees fueron quemadas y destruidas por amotinados cingaleses.</p> <p>Entre el 27-28 de Julio <b>53 presos tamiles fueron masacrados</b> dentro los muros de la prisión Welikadai en Colombo por otros detenidos cingaleses. El gobierno había planificado esta masacre y los amotinadores cingaleses fueron liberado de la prisión y premiados con casas y propiedades en la colonización cingalesa dentro el territorio tamil.</p> <p>Centenas de jóvenes adhirieron al movimiento LTTE y los miembros del TULF del Parlamento buscaron asilo en India.</p> <p>El gobierno de J.R. Jayawardena promulgó la <b>6ª enmienda</b> a la Constitución y rechazó el derecho a la libre determinación del pueblo tamil en la isla el <b>8 de agosto</b>. Esta enmienda puso fuera de la ley el mandato votado por los tamiles en las elecciones generales de 1977. La 6ª enmienda y el <i>Prevention of Terrorism Act</i> de 1979 junto a las disposiciones de la ley de emergencia constituyeron los instrumentos a través de los cuales la represión fue lanzada en contra al pueblo tamil.</p>
<b>1984</b>	Principio de la <b>Guerra Eelam-I</b> . Los tamiles que viven en el Noroeste fueron linchados, arrestados, torturados y asesinados. Mujeres y muchos hombres desaparecieron. Aviones bombarderos de las Fuerzas Aéreas esrilanqueses dejaron caer <b>bombas</b> letales de <b>napalm</b> en áreas residenciales causando pérdidas y daños masivos a la población tamil y a sus propiedades.
<b>1985</b>	<p><b>Negociaciones</b> intermediadas por India tuvieron lugar en Thimpu, la capital de Bhután, entre el LTTE incluyendo otros partidos tamiles y el gobierno de J.R. Jayawardena. Dos ruedas de negociaciones directas tuvieron lugar en Julio-Agosto y en el 17 de Septiembre.</p> <p>Todos los partidos tamiles formularon cuatro principios cardinales como base para las negociaciones, que hoy son conocidos como los <b>Principios de Thimpu</b>. La reticencia del gobierno esrilanqués para devolver poderes y su rechazo a reconocer los principios de Thimpu como base para las negociaciones resultaron en un cese abrupto prematuro de las negociaciones. <b>Ningún acuerdo fue logrado</b>.</p>
<b>1985-1987</b>	<p>La represión y los contra ataques del Estado se intensificaron en el Noroeste llegándose a una situación de guerra declarada entre el Estado de Sri Lanka y el LTTE. El LTTE efectivamente <b>tomó control de la península de Jaffna</b> y otras áreas en el Norte.</p> <p>Miles de tamiles fueron asesinados cuando la lucha se volvió brutal. No combatientes fueron sistemáticamente atacados por la policía de Sri Lanka, el ejército y la Marina, las Fuerzas Aéreas y las Fuerzas Especiales (STF).</p>
<b>1986</b>	<p>En Noviembre, <b>negociaciones</b> entre representantes del LTTE y el Presidente J.R. Jayawardena tuvieron lugar a través de la mediación del Primer Ministro de India en Bangalore, India.</p> <p><b>Las negociaciones se terminaron en fracaso</b>. J.R. Jayawardena negó reconocer el derecho a la libre determinación a una patria de los tamiles.</p>

<b>1987</b>	<p>El gobierno de Sri Lanka impuso un embargo económico a la península de Jaffna. El gobierno de Sri Lanka lanzó una operación militar llamada “<i>Operation Liberation</i>” para recapturar la península de Jaffna. Las dos brigadas armadas de Sri Lanka lanzaron una ofensiva en las primeras horas del 26 de Mayo en Vadamarachchi. La operación duró durante cinco días.</p> <p>El 29 de Julio de 1987 un acuerdo de paz conocido como el Pacto “<b>Indo-Lanka</b>” fue firmado entre Sri Lanka e India. Aunque este acuerdo entendió poner fin a la crisis étnica de la isla, fue firmado por India y Sri Lanka sin alguna consulta con el LTTE y los tamiles del noroeste de la isla.</p> <p>Decenas de miles de tropas indias conocidas como “<i>Indian Peace Keeping Force-IPKF</i>” llegaron en el Noroeste. Más tarde esta fuerza fue llamada por los tamiles y la sociedad civil como la “<i>Innocent Public Killing Force</i>”(IPKF).</p>
<b>1987</b>	<p>La primera reunión pública del LTTE tuvo lugar en Suthumalai el 4 de Agosto 1987. El discurso del líder Sr. Pirabahan se hizo conocer por la “<b>Declaración Suthumalai</b>”.</p> <p>El 5 de Agosto los <i>Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam</i>-LTTE y otros grupos militantes <b>entregaron sus armas al ejército indio</b>.</p> <p>El 3 de Octubre, 17 miembros del LTTE, incluso dos líderes, fueron interceptados en el mar cerca de las aguas de la costa de Point Pedro por la Marina de Sri Lanka y fueron detenidos en la base militar de Pallaly. Esto fue una violación del cese del fuego porque una amnistía había sido dada a los grupos militantes en el acuerdo “Indo-Lanka”. Cuando el ejército esrilanqués intentó de deportarlos forzosamente por vía aérea a Colombo, todos los 17 simultáneamente mordieron las capsulas de cianuro. Doce murieron inmediatamente y cinco sobrevivieron.</p> <p>El 10 de octubre, la <i>Indian Peace Keeping Force-IPKF</i> que había llegado para mantener la paz en el Noroeste empezó a atacar a los tamiles en el Noroeste asesinando más de 6000 civiles, violando innumerables mujeres, saqueando miles de millones de rupees de joyas. Empezó el combate entre el IPKF y el LTTE.</p>
<b>1988</b>	Ranasinghe Premadasa del <i>United National Party</i> ganó las elecciones presidenciales.
<b>1989</b>	<p><b>Negociaciones</b> entre el LTTE y Presidente Premadasa tuvieron lugar en Colombo. El negociador jefe del LTTE Dr. Antón Balasingham, Mrs. Adele Balasingham y muchos otros líderes de alto nivel del LTTE participaron en las conversaciones.</p> <p>Durante las negociaciones con el LTTE, el presidente Premadasa de Sri Lanka pidió al gobierno indio de retirar las tropas indias de Sri Lanka. Una rebelión del partido <i>Janatha Vimukthi Perumuna</i>-JVP fue reprimida por el gobierno y el líder JVP, Rohana Wijeweera y muchos otros fueron asesinados.</p> <p>El LTTE formó un partido político y lo llamó <i>People Front of the Liberation Tigers-PFLT</i>. El LTTE se preparó para participar en las elecciones para demostrar el apoyo popular al LTTE.</p>
<b>1990</b>	<p><b>En Marzo, el IPKF se retiró de la isla de Sri Lanka.</b></p> <p>Desde que el ejército indio había dejado la isla, el <b>Presidente Premadasa empezó a cambiar su táctica</b> y dilató los temas negociados con el LTTE. Por ejemplo la participación del LTTE en las elecciones para demostrar su apoyo del pueblo fue sistemáticamente evitado. Premadasa se preparó para una victoria bélica sobre el LTTE. <b>Las negociaciones cesaron sin acuerdo.</b></p> <p>Al comienzo de la <b>Guerra EELAM-II</b>, nuevas hostilidades estallaron entre las fuerzas esrilanqueses y el LTTE. Un blocus económico fue impuesto causando seria penuria de alimentos y de medicina en el Norte.</p>
<b>1994</b>	La <i>People's Alliance-PA</i> dirigida por Chandrika Kumaratunge ganó las elecciones parlamentarias con la propuesta de “terminar la guerra y llevar la paz”. <b>El LTTE anunció unilateralmente un cese del fuego temporáneo</b> para saludar el cambio de gobierno.

1995	<p>El 5 de Enero, el gobierno de Sri Lanka (<b>Presidenta Chandrika Kumaratunge</b>) y el LTTE (<b>Líder V. Pirabaharan</b>) <b>firmaron un acuerdo de cese de las hostilidades</b>. El gobierno anunció que levantaría el embargo económico sobre algunos productos pero <u>solamente en el papel</u>, porque el embargo continuó. Más tarde, el gobierno Chandrika Kumaratunge argumentó que no existía nada semejante a un embargo económico en la región tamil. Eso fue considerado por la sociedad civil y las organizaciones internacionales humanitarias como una “gran mentira detrás a un agenda encubierta”.</p> <p>El PA no fue absolutamente interesado en una solución política negociada del conflicto étnico sangriento. El gobierno del PA se preparó para un ataque militar al LTTE. De manera a ganar tiempo representantes no gubernamentales fueron enviados para conversar con el LTTE y dilataron sobre la promesa de levantar el embargo económico.</p>
1995	<p>El LTTE en Marzo dio un ultimátum de dos semanas al gobierno para implementar lo que había prometido a los civiles. El ultimátum fue prorrogado por tres semanas más hasta el 19 de Abril. Las <u>negociaciones terminaron en fracaso</u>.</p> <p>El gobierno lanzó una ofensiva mayor en Julio en varias partes de la península de Jaffna después de haber impuesto una censura mediática. Eso fue el principio de la <b>Guerra EELAM-III</b>.</p>
2002	<p>El gobierno noruego reactivó su papel de paz. La delegación noruega dirigida por le vice ministro Vidar Helgesen y Sr. Eric Solheim se encontraron con el negociador jefe del LTTE Dr. Antón Balasingham en Londres y el Primer Ministro y otros ministros en Sri Lanka.</p> <p>El 21 de Febrero, un <b>acuerdo histórico</b> un “<b>Memorandum of Understanding</b>-MOU (memorando de entendimiento) fue firmado entre Sr. V. Pirabaharan, el líder de los <i>Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam-LTTE</i> y el Primer Ministro de Sri Lanka Sr. Ranil Wickremasinghe. El MOU fue elaborado bajo los buenos oficios del gobierno noruego.</p> <p>Seis rondas de negociaciones de paz tuvieron lugar en Tailandia y el resultado de aquellas negociaciones no fue implementado por el gobierno de Sri Lanka.</p>
2003	<p>Dado que no hay implementación de los resultados de las negociaciones, <b>en Mayo</b> las negociaciones de paz entre el LTTE y el gobierno de Sri Lanka se pararon.</p> <p><b>En Noviembre</b>, los <i>Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam-LTTE</i> plantearon sus propuestas para un <i>Interim Self-Governing Authority-ISGA</i> (Autoridad de autogobierno interina) en la región del Noroeste al gobierno de Sri Lanka a través de los facilitadores noruegos en Noviembre.</p> <p>Esta propuesta fue totalmente ignorada por los líderes cingaleses.</p>
2004	<p>En las elecciones generales, el partido político <i>Tamil National Alliance-TNA</i> ganó en 22 electorados en la región tamil Noroeste.</p> <p>Sus manifiesto de elección proclamaba: “Aceptar el liderazgo del LTTE como liderazgo nacional de los tamiles de Eelam y los Tigres de Liberación como únicos y auténticos representantes del pueblo tamil, dedicaremos nuestra plena cooperación para los ideales de la lucha de Liberación de los Tigres con honestidad y firmeza”.</p>
2005	<p>En Noviembre, Mahinda Rajapaksa ganó las elecciones presidenciales con el apoyo de los partidos políticos cingaleses extremistas.</p>
2006	<p>En Febrero, la primera rueda de negociaciones de paz tuvo lugar en Ginebra. Eso, después de dos y medio años de suspensión.</p> <p>Como no hay ninguna implementación al acuerdo firmado en Ginebra en Febrero, una vez más las negociaciones de paz se pararon.</p>

18 Septiembre 2006

# CHIFFRES ENREGISTRE

**ARRESTATION, TUES, DISPARITION, VIOL, DEPLACEE ET BLESSE DANS LE NORD EST,  
COLOMBO ET AUTRE REGIONS – SRI LANKA  
(1956-juin 2008)**

**CENTRE TAMOUL POUR LES DROITS DE L'HOMME - CTDH**

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

<b>Anne</b>	<b>Arrest/Torture</b>	<b>Disap.***</b>	<b>Tues</b>	<b>Viol</b>	<b>Blesse</b>	<b>Deplacee</b>
<b>1956*</b>			150	20	300	3000
<b>1958*</b>			355	100	350	35000
<b>1960</b>	60			15	200	0
<b>1972</b>	37				18	0
<b>1973</b>	35				24	0
<b>1974</b>	25		9		15	0
<b>1977*</b>	45		150	90	35	15000
<b>1979</b>	150	22	13	13	15	0
<b>1981*</b>	200	4	35	50	37	5000
<b>1982</b>	300	0	47	45	22	0
<b>1983*</b>	1425	571	6000	750	3383	250000
<b>1984</b>	8257	203	872	214	1720	0
<b>1985</b>	3616	246	777	399	1372	1000
<b>1986</b>	4675	178	889	475	1560	0
<b>1987**</b>	2935	1303	3714	1257	8062	297250
<b>1988**</b>	2460	1253	2929	1219	4502	253000
<b>1989**</b>	4761	1528	1475	1031	2858	0
<b>1990</b>	2555	9381	5798	816	5601	78600
<b>1991</b>	3244	1847	4360	751	4917	1500
<b>1992</b>	2835	1780	3769	691	4020	0
<b>1993</b>	2929	676	2983	410	2885	0
<b>1994</b>	13363	536	2470	424	1663	0
<b>1995</b>	3565	934	3481	779	5028	500000
<b>1996</b>	18870	1678	4074	894	3265	335000
<b>1997</b>	5430	1463	4056	811	1731	255000
<b>1998</b>	9382	1338	2161	342	2909	34500
<b>1999</b>	16639	177	1661	339	1864	51000
<b>2000</b>	4217	134	1573	336	2442	192000
<b>2001</b>	182	5	88	131	120	67000
<b>2002</b>	16		32	21	101	16959
<b>2003</b>	22	5	45	4	52	0
<b>2004</b>	16	4	87	10	61	0
<b>2005</b>	177	194	243	45	338	0
<b>2006</b>	1175	1064	1292	85	2095	279200
<b>2007</b>	5657	408	834	35	739	Jan-Aout110000
<b>2008Juin</b>	14208	182	446	???	?????	???????
<b>Total</b>	<b>133463</b>	<b>27114</b>	<b>56868</b>	<b>12602</b>	<b>64304</b>	<b>2780009</b>

(chiffres actual plus que enregistre)

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

\* = emeute commun \*\* = Indian Peace Keeping Forces – IPKF (Army Indian)

\*\*\* =uniquement 2% de dipartion etais trouve

# Histoire des négociations, abrogations de pactes

## (En bref)

Centre Tamoul pour le Droits des l'Homme – CTDH  
Tamil Centre for Human Rights –TCHR

Email : tchrgs@tchr.net / [tchrdip@tchr.net](mailto:tchrdip@tchr.net)

*(Histoire des négociations, abrogations de pactes et opérations militaires au cours des quelles les Tamouls ont été dépossédés de leurs biens et persécutés au Sri Lanka dans leur patrie ancestrale tamoule.)*

- 1505 Arrivée des Portugais à Ceylan. A cette époque, trois royaumes se partagent l'île : un royaume Tamoul au nord-est à Jaffna, et deux royaumes Cinghalais, l'un dans les hautes-terres à Kandy et l'autre dans le sud à Kotte.
- 1619 En juin, après la victoire des **Portugais** sur le roi tamoul, la souveraineté tamoule s'éteint et le royaume de Jaffna devient colonie portugaise.
- 1658 Les **Hollandais** débarquent à Ceylan et le royaume de Jaffna devient colonie hollandaise.
- 1795 Arrivée des **Britanniques**. Le royaume de Jaffna devient colonie britannique.
- 1802 Ceylan devient colonie de la couronne britannique.
- 1833 Pour la première fois depuis 2500 ans de son histoire, **la totalité de Ceylan est gouvernée par administration unique** basée sur les recommandations du Rapport Cameron - Colebrook.
- 1862 Les Britanniques font venir des **Tamouls du sud de l'Inde pour travailler dans les plantations de thé de la région montagneuse**. A la même époque, des Tamouls du sud de l'Inde sont importés comme ouvrière agricoles dans les plantations de canne à sucre en Afrique du Sud, à l'île Maurice ainsi que dans d'autres colonies britanniques.
- 1885 Le dirigeant tamoul Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan lance un appel à une représentation accrue des Tamouls au Conseil Légitif.
- 1915 En juin des heurts **éclatent entre Cinghalais-bouddhistes et Musulmans** dans la province centrale, puis dans les provinces ouest et nord-ouest.  
Les Musulmans subissent de graves préjudice : selon des sources consultables, 36 Musulmans ont été tués, 205 violées et blessés, 85 mosquées ont été endommagées et plus de 4075 boutiques tenues par des Musulmans sont saccagées par des émeutiers cinghalais
- 1919 Le Congrès National de Ceylan (CNC), premier parti politique garanti "National", est formé avec un dirigeant tamoul célèbre, Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam.
- 1921 Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam **quitte le CNC, jugé trop nettement cinghalais**.
- 1927–1931 Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan et Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam s'entretiennent avec des dirigeants cinghalais au moment où la Commission Donoughmore publie ses recommandations en 1927. **Echec des pourparlers** en raison de l'ignorance des dirigeants cinghalais vis-à-vis des aspirations des Tamouls.
- 1944 Fondation du **premier parti politique tamoul**, le "Congrès des Tamouls de Ceylan-ACTC" par G.G.Ponnambalam destiné à faire triompher la cause Tamoule face à la domination Cinghalaise Bouddhiste.
- 1947 **Formation du Parti National Uni (UNP)**. La première constitution de Ceylan est adoptée par arrêté ministériel plutôt qu'en Assemblée Constituante. Connue sous le nom de "**Constitution (Lord) Soulbury**", elle restera en vigueur jusqu'en 1972.
- 1948 Départ des Britanniques. L'indépendance est garantie à Ceylan et le gouvernement du pays est détenu par les Cinghalais, numériquement supérieurs.

Après que l'Acte sur la Citoyenneté du 15 novembre 1948 décisif et les lois de **dés affranchissement** furent mises en place et adoptées, les Tamouls des plantations, originaires de l'Inde, furent privés de leurs droits civiques. **Plus d'un million de travailleurs tamouls des plantations se retrouvèrent apatrides.**

- 1948–1950 Le gouvernement élabore des plans de **colonisation massive de cinghalais** dans la province Est. Gal Oya dans la région de Batticaloa, Allai et Kanthalai dans celle de Trincomalee sont colonisées sous prétexte de développement.
- 1949 Dissension au sein du "Congrès des Tamouls" conduisant à la formation du '**Parti Fédéral Tamoul (FP)**' sous la direction de S.J.V.Chevanayagam.
- 1951 Première convention du Parti Fédéral où il est décidé à l'unanimité de faire campagne pour un gouvernement fédéral reconnaissant une autonomie régionale pour les Tamouls vivant au Nord et à l'Est.
- S.W.R.D.Bandaranaike rompt avec l'UNP et fonde le "Parti de la Liberté du Sri Lanka (SLFP)".**
- 1956 L'UNP est évincé du pouvoir lors des élections générales par le SLFP porté par une vague de nationalisme cinghalais-bouddhiste aux accents fortement anti-Tamouls.
- Le 14 Juin, S.W.R.D.Bandaranaike, père de la présidente Chandrika Kumaratunga, promulgue "**Acte sur le Cinghalais (Sinhala only Act)**", rendant le Cinghalais seule langue officielle du pays.
- La campagne Satyâgraha pacifique organisée par des Tamouls contre l'Acte sur la langue cinghalaise unique au Galle Face Green devant le Parlement à Colombo est sauvagement attaquée par des émeutiers Cinghalais avec la complicité du gouvernement. C'est le début des premières émeutes anti-Tamouls. Plus de 150 Tamouls sont brûlés ou tués à la hache et leurs biens et propriétés pillés et détruits.
- 1957 Peu après le vote au Parlement de la loi sur le cinghalais, des **pourparlers** sont engagés entre le Premier Ministre Bandaranayake et le dirigeant du PF, S.J.V. Chevanayagam. Le 26 juillet., un accord connu sous le nom de pacte "**Banda-chelva**" est signé entre les deux, sur la base de la reconnaissance d'un système quasi-fédéral de transfert de certains pouvoirs aux Tamouls dans les provinces Nord-Est. La semaine suivant la signature, le pacte "**Banda-Chelva**" est unilatéralement abrogé par le Premier Ministre à cause des protestations véhémentes de l'UNP, du clergé bouddhiste et du SLFP. J.R.Jeyawardena (UNP) organise une marche à Kandy contre ce pacte.
- 1958 **Un pogrom anti-Tamoul éclate** dans l'île où de nombreux Tamouls sont massacrés, leurs biens pillés et détruits. Le 25 mai, dans les plantations de canne à sucre gouvernementales à Polonnaruwa et Hingurakgoda, un groupe de Cinghalais attaquent impitoyablement des travailleurs Tamouls, en mettant le feu aux cannes et brûlant ou découplant à la hache 500 Tamouls. La violence s'étend à la partie méridionale de l'île, partout où vivent des Tamouls.
- 1959 **Assassinat du Premier Ministre** S.W.R.D. Bandaranayake par un moine bouddhiste.
- 1960 Mme Srimavo Bandaranayake, veuve de S.W.R.D. Bandaranayake et mère de la présidente Chandrika, devient Premier Ministre par intérim.
- 1961 Une campagne de désobéissance civile est organisée par le FP. Le gouvernement réagit violemment en envoyant à Jaffna la police et l'armée pour mater l'agitation. Des pogroms anti-Tamouls éclatent dans le régions à majorité cinghalaise, tuant des centaines de Tamouls et laissant sans-abri des milliers d'autres.
- 1964 Signature du pacte Srimavo-Shashtri sur le **rapatriements des Tamouls d'origine Indienne** privés de citoyenneté et de droits civiques par l'Acte de 1948. Ils vivaient dans l'île depuis 115 ans.
- 1965 Dudley Senanayake, dirigeant de l'UNP, forme un gouvernement avec l'aide du FP et d'autres partis. **Pourparlers entre Dudley Senanayake et Chevanayagam.** Le 24 mars, un accord "Dudley-Cheva" est signé entre les deux. L'accord est abandonné sans entrer en vigueur, suite aux pressions du SLFP, du clergé bouddhiste et de la base de l'UNP.

- 1967 Création du Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (**JVP – Front de libération du Peuple**).
- 1970 Mme Bandaranayake devient Premier ministre, lors que le Front Uni (UF- coalition du SLFP et de partis de gauche Cinghalais) obtient une majorité de 2/3 au Parlement.
- 1971 **Le soulèvement armé du JVP** est férolement réprimé par le gouvernement et des milliers de Cinghalais membres du JVP sont tués.
- Des pourparlers** entre différents dirigeants Tamouls et le Premier Ministre Srimavo ont lieu en vue d'amendements constitutionnels. Pas d'accord en vue, mais les dirigeants cinghalais font valoir leur constitution républicaine en faisant mine d'amender le peu de garanties accordées aux Tamouls par la première constitution.
- 1972 Le 22 mai, Ceylan devient une "république" et est rebaptisée "République du Sri Lanka".  
Le gouvernement UF promulgue une "**Constitution Républicaine**" à couleur de suprématie Cinghalaise pour le pays, faisant du bouddhisme une religion d'état.
- Un Front Uni Tamoul(TUF) est formé** à partir du FP de S.J.V. Chelvanayagam, du Congrès Tamoul(TC) de G.G. Ponnambalam et de Congrès des Travailleurs de Ceylan(CWC) dirigé par Savariamoorthy Thondaman.
- La discrimination officielle contre l'admission des étudiants Tamouls à l'Université atteint les sommets avec l'introduction de la "**Standardisation**", qui prône l'abandon de l'admission fondée sur le mérite, afin de freiner l'entrée aux Universités des étudiants Tamouls.  
Un groupe appelé **Nouveaux Tigres Tamouls(TNT)**, composés de jeunes disciplinés et prêts au sacrifice de leur vie est formé par M. V.Pirabhakaran, afin de préserver le droit à l'autodétermination des Tamouls du Nord Est.
- 1974 Le 10 janvier, la police lance sans raison un assaut violent contre les participants à la prestigieuse "quatrième Conférence de Recherche Tamoule" à Jaffna, causant la **mort de neuf civils innocents**.
- 1975 Le 5 mai, le **TNT est rebaptisé Tigres de Libération du Tamil Eelam- LTTE**. M. V. Pirabaharan est nommé président et commandant militaire du mouvement.
- 1976 Le 14 mai, le TUF est rebaptisé Front de Libération Tamoul Uni-TULF. Il fait passer la "**Résolution Vaddukkodai**" prônant la création d'un état socialiste du Tamil Eelam Libre, souverain, fondé sur le droit à l'autodétermination et la sauvegarde de l'existence d'une nation tamoule dans l'île.
- 1977 En juillet, le TULF participe à l'élection parlementaire et remporte la majorité des voix pour la région Nord-Est, lui donnant **un mandat pour faire valoir le "Droit à l'autodétermination"**. J.R.Jayawardene, UNP, devient Premier Ministre avec une majorité de 5/6<sup>e</sup> au Parlement. Le TULF devient le principal parti d'opposition au Parlement.
- Des pourparlers** ont lieu entre le Premier Ministre et le TULF. **Aucun accord n'est obtenu**. Des pogroms anti-tamouls éclatent immédiatement après l'élection, dans les régions où les Cinghalais sont en majorité, tuant des centaines de tamouls.
- 1978 **Une nouvelle Constitution** est promulguée et J. R. Jayawardene devient **Président Exécutif** du pays. La "République du Sri Lanka" est rebaptisée "République Socialiste du Sri Lanka". Les forces de sécurité commencent à perpétrer leurs atrocités meurtrières contre la jeunesse tamoule. Les actions de contre-insurrection contre les organisations militantes tamoules s'accroissent.
- 1979 Le gouvernement publie **l'Acte sur la Prévention du Terrorisme (PTA)**, interdisant les organisations militantes tamoules. Le 11 juillet, la loi martiale est appliquée dans la péninsule de Jaffna sous prétexte de sécurité publique.
- Un pogrom anti-Tamoul éclate** dans île et de nombreux Tamouls sont tués et leurs biens pillés et détruits.
- 1980 Plusieurs jeunes Tamouls sont abattus sommairement par les forces de sécurité, police comme armée.

- 1981 En juin, ***un autre pogrom anti-Tamoul éclate***. La répression militaire s'accroît dans le Nord. ***La Bibliothèque Publique de Jaffna est incendiée par l'armée sri lankaise*** peut-être sur ordre de deux ministres importants, Gamini Dissanayake et Cyril Matthiew. 95000 volumes ainsi que de nombreux manuscrits irremplaçables et culturellement importants et les bâtiments sont entièrement détruits lors de l'assaut. Le marché, le bureau du quotidien Tamoul "Eelanadu", le siège du TULF, etc. sont incendiés par les forces de sécurité sri lankaises. Un pogrom anti-Tamoul se produit dans l'île. Des Tamouls sont tués et leurs biens saccagés.
- 1982 Le gouvernement finance une ***colonie cinghalaise*** à Mullaitivu à population Tamoul.
- 1983 En juillet, ***un grand pogrom anti-Tamoul*** se propage dans toute l'île encouragé par le gouvernement. Durant quatre jours d'émeutes, plus de 6000 Tamouls sont tués et 250000 deviennent des réfugiés. Des milliers de Tamouls quittent le pays pour l'Inde ou les pays occidentaux. Le montant des dégâts et destructions commises par les émeutiers Cinghalais se chiffre en milliards de roupies.
- Entre le 27 et le 28 juillet, ***53 prisonniers politiques tamous sont massacrés dans la prison Welikadai de Colombo*** par des détenus Cinghalais. Le gouvernement a prémedité ce massacre et les prisonniers cinghalais sont libérés de prison et installés avec maison et titres de propriété dans des colonies cinghalaises en pays Tamoul. Des centaines de jeunes rejoignent le LTTE et les députés du TULF trouvent asile en Inde.
- Le gouvernement de J.R. Jayawardene ***promulgue le 6<sup>e</sup> Amendement à la constitution et rejète le droit à l'autodétermination de peuple Tamoul*** le 8 août. Cet amendement met hors-la-loi le mandat voté par les Tamouls lors de l'élection générale de 1977. Le 6<sup>e</sup> Amendement et le PTA de 1979 associés aux provisions de Loi d'Etat d'Urgence deviennent les instruments répressifs lâchés contre le peuple tamoul.
- 1984 ***Au début de la GUERRE D'EELAM - I***, les Tamouls vivant dans le Nord-Est sont lynchés arrêtés, tortures et tués. Des femmes et des hommes disparaissent. Les bombardiers de l'armée de l'air sri lankaise lâchent des bombes au napalm sur les zones résidentielles causant des pertes sévères et des dommages aux Tamouls et à leurs biens.
- 1985 ***Des pourparlers se tiennent à Thimbu***, Capitale du Bhoutan, sous la médiation de l'Inde, entre le LTTE ainsi que d'autres partis Tamouls et gouvernement de Jayawardene. Deux sessions de négociations directes ont lieu en juillet-août et le 17 septembre.
- Toutes les parties Tamoules font valoir quatre principes cardinaux, connus sous le nom de "***Principes de Thimbu***", comme base de négociation. La répugnance du gouvernement à décentraliser les pouvoirs et son refus de reconnaître les Principes de Thimbu comme base de discussion mettent prématurément fin à la négociation. ***Aucun accord n'est conclu***.
- 1985-1987 La répression et la contre-insurrection s'intensifient dans le Nord Est débouchant sur une guerre totale entre l'état sri lankais et le LTTE.
- Le LTTE prend effectivement le contrôle de la péninsule de Jaffna*** ainsi que d'autres régions du Nord Est. Des milliers de Tamouls sont tués au cours de la tournure brutale que prennent les combats. Les civils non-combattant sont systématiquement visés par le police, l'armée, la marine et la Force Spéciale (STF).
- 1986 En novembre, des ***pourparlers*** entre les représentants du LTTE et le Président Jayawardene prennent place à Bangalore, en Inde, sous la médiation du gouvernement indien. La délégation du LTTE est conduite par le président Pirabaharan et le Conseiller Dr Anton Balasingham. ***Les pourparlers n'aboutissent à rien***, J.R. Jayawardene refusant de reconnaître le droit à l'autodétermination et à une patrie pour les Tamouls.
- 1987 ***Embargo économique*** contre la péninsule de Jaffna et lancement de l'opération militaire "Opération Libération" pour reprendre la péninsule. Deux brigades de l'armée sri lankaise lancent une offensive à l'aube du 26 mai à Vadamarachchi. Elle se poursuit durant 5 jours.
- Le 29 juillet, un accord de paix appelé "***Pacte Indo-Lanka***" est signé entre le Sri Lanka et l'Inde. Même si cet accord avait pour but de mettre fin à la crise ethnique de l'île, il est signé par l'Inde et les Sri Lanka sans consultation du LTTE et des Tamouls du Nord Est.

La Force indienne de 10000 hommes appelée "Force Indienne de Maintien de la Paix-(IPKF)". arrive dans le Nord-Est. Plus tard, les Tamouls et la société civile la rebaptiseront "Force d'Assassinat de civils Innocents - (IPKF)".

Le JVP s'oppose vigoureusement au Pacte "Indo-Lanka".

Le 4 août, le LTTE tient son premier meeting public à Suthumalai au cours duquel le dirigeant du LTTE Pirabaharan prononce un discours appelé "**Déclaration de Suthumalai**".

Le 5 août, le LTTE et d'autres organisations rendent leurs armes à l'armée indienne.

Le 3 octobre, 17 membres du LTTE, dont deux dirigeants, sont arrêtés en mer près de Point Pedro par la marine sri lankaise et détenus à la base militaire de Palaly. C'est une violation du cessez-le-feu, en raison de l'amnistie accordée aux groupes militants contenue dans le pacte Indo-Lanka. Quand l'armée tente de les transporter de force par avion à Colombo, les 17 avalent une capsule de cyanure. 12 décèdent et 5 survivent.

Le 10 octobre, *l'IPKF, qui venait maintenir la paix dans le Nord-Est, commence à attaquer les Tamouls*, tuant plus de 6000 civils, torturant, violant d'innombrables femmes et volant en bijoux des milliards de roupies. Début de combat entre l'IPKF et le LTTE.

1988 **Assassinat du dirigeant** de l'Alliance Socialiste Unie (USA), Vijaya Kumaratunge, mari de la présidente Chandrika, probablement par des membres du JVP. (Ironiquement, le JVP est à présent allié de la Présidente Chandrika).  
Ranasinghe Premadasa, UNP gagne l'élection présidentielle.

1989 **Des pourparlers** ont lieu à Colombo entre le LTTE et le Président Premadasa. La délégation du LTTE est conduite par le Dr Anton Balasingham, Mme Adel Balasingham et d'autres.

Alors en négociation avec le LTTE, le Président Premadasa demande au gouvernement indien le retrait de ses troupes du Sri Lanka. Un soulèvement du JVP est réprimé par le gouvernement et le **dirigeant du JVP, Rohana Wijeweera, ainsi que d'autres membres sont tués**.

Le LTTE forme un parti politique, le **Front Populaire de Libération des Tigres (PFLT)**. Le LTTE se prépare à participer aux élections pour démontrer le soutien de la population au LTTE.

Le 12 août, le PFLT envoie un observateur à la Conférence de Tous les Partis à Colombo, à laquelle participent 26 partis politiques.

1990 **En mars, l'IPKF quitte le Sri Lanka.** Aussitôt après le départ de l'armée indienne, le Président Premadasa change de tactique et freine les engagements négociés avec le LTTE. Par exemple, sa participation à une élection démontrant le soutien du peuple est alors, systématiquement empêchée. Premadasa prépare une victoire militaire sur le LTTE. **Les pourparlers finissent sur un échec.**

Début de la guerre **EELAM II** et reprise des hostilités entre le LTTE et l'armée sri lankaise. Le blocus économique est imposé dans le Nord par des restrictions sévères de nourriture et de médicaments.

Le 10 septembre, 185 civils tamouls originaires de Saththurukondan, Panichchaiyady, Kokkuvil, Pillaiyaraddy sont massacrés abominablement au camp militaire de Saththurukondan, district de Batticaloa.

1991 Dans le Nord Est, les Tamouls sont sujets aux arrestations arbitraires, détentions, torture, viol, exécutions sommaires et massacres. Les bombardements aériens et les tirs d'artillerie détruisent les biens et propriétés tamouls. Puis on lance l'opération militaire "**JAYASHAKTI**" depuis le camps militaire de Palaly et le terrain d'aviation.

En septembre, c'est l'opération "**BRISE DE MER**" sur Mullaithivu. Au cœur de la ville de Jaffna, sur le vieux Fort Hollandais, lancement de l'opération "**THRIVIDHA BALAYA**". Puis c'est "**BALAVEGAYA I**", la plus grande opération militaire à cette époque. "**AKUNUPAHARA**" vise Niththikaikulam et "**BALAVEGAYA II**", dans la péninsule de Jaffna.

Le 12 juin, 82 Tamouls sont massacrés dans les villages de Kokaddicholai, Mahiladi Thivu et Muthalai Kuddah, district de Batticaloa, et plus de 400 maisons sont pillées et brûlées par l'armée Sri Lankaise.

1992 Le 9 août, 32 Tamouls sont tués par l'armée Sri Lankaise à Mailanthannai, district de Batticaloa, la plupart à coup de hache.

1993 **Le Président Premadasa meurt** dans un attentat à la bombe lors du cortège du 1<sup>er</sup> mai à Colombo. Le premier Ministre d'alors, D.B. Wijetunge, assure la Présidence et le Ministre de Cabinet, Ranil Wickremasinghe, devient Premier Ministre.

1994 Victoire de l'Alliance du Peuple (PA) conduite par Chandrika Kumaratunga aux élections Législatives avec l'intention de "mettre fin à la guerre et promouvoir la paix". Le LTTE prononce un cessez-le-feu unilatéral provisoire en signe de bienvenue au nouveau gouvernement.

**Des pourparlers** entre le LTTE et le gouvernement se tiennent à Jaffna. La délégation du LTTE est conduite par le Dr Anton Balasingham ainsi que d'autres leaders.

1995 Le 5 janvier, signature **d'un accord de cessation des hostilités** entre Chandrika et le dirigeant du LTTE Pirabaharan. Le gouvernement annonce la levée de l'embargo sur certaines denrées, seulement sur le papier, mais celui-ci se poursuit. Plus tard, ce gouvernement prétendra qu'il n'existe pas d'embargo économique en pays tamoul. "Vaste mensonge à face cachée" selon la société civile et les ONG humanitaires.

Le PA ne s'intéresse pas du tout à une solution négociée politiquement. En fait, il prépare une offensive contre le LTTE. Afin de gagner du temps, il envoie des négociateurs officiels sans réel pouvoir pour discuter avec le LTTE et **fait traîner la levée de l'embargo**.

Le LTTE lance un ultimatum en mars au gouvernement, initialement de 2 semaines ; pour l'application de ce qui a été promis, puis prolonge celui-ci de 3 semaines, jusqu'au 19 avril. **Les pourparlers échouent**. En juillet, lancement d'une offensive majeure dans plusieurs parties de la péninsule de Jaffna après un décret de censure sur la presse. **C'est le début de la GUERRE D'EELAM III.**

Le 9 juillet, "**OPERATION BOND EN AVANT (Opération Leap Forwrd)**" depuis Palaly, Tellipallai et Mathagal sur Alaveddy, Sandilipay et Vaddukoddai.

A Naval ce même jour, **l'église St-Pierre**, qui sert de camp de réfugiés temporaire pour les personnes déplacées fuyant les zones de combats, est bombardée par l'aviation sri lankaise. **165 civils sont tués**, y compris des femmes et des enfants.

Le 22 septembre, l'aviation bombarde une école à Nagarkovil, district de Vadamarachi, tuant 71 écoliers dont 25 sur le coup. Le 1<sup>er</sup> octobre, opération "**TONNERRE (Thunder)**" à Vasavillan, Pathameni, Atchuveli et Puttur. Le 17 octobre, opération "**RIVIRESA I**" dans la région de Valikamam, péninsule de Jaffna. Durant cette opération, la plupart des habitants fuient Valikamam. L'armée sri lankaise occupe Valikamam et ville de Jaffna, provoquant la fuite de 500000 personnes vers les régions contrôlées par le LTTE, Vadamarachchi et Thenmarachchi dans la péninsule et vers Vanni. Le 30 octobre, Jaffna ressemble à une "ville fantôme", vide d'habitants.

1995 Le matin du 15 novembre, **le Forum des ONG se tient à l'hôtel Bentota Beach**, au sud du Sri Lanka. Des ONG locales et étrangères participent à ce Forum dont le but est de promouvoir la coopération entre ONG locales et internationales en vue d'un développement équitable. La rencontre est **perturbée par des manifestants anti-ONG**. Trois journalistes manquent d'être lynché à coup de marteau par des manifestants, qui se rassemblaient à l'extérieur de l'hôtel Bentota! Une voiture est saccagée et un journaliste est jeté dans la rivière. La police ne fait aucun effort pour empêcher l'agression ou secourir les victimes. On a émis l'hypothèse que certains membres du gouvernement se trouvaient dans la manifestation. Les organisateurs du Forum décident de transférer la rencontre dans la capitale, Colombo.

Le matin du 16 novembre , le Forum rouvre ses portes dans une salle de conférences de Ratmalana, banlieue sud de Colombo. Les participants, dont certains avaient été interrogés par la police à leur hôtel la nuit précédente, deviennent nerveux. Au moment où s'ouvrent les travaux du Forum, la police intervient pour "requérir" la **suspension** des séances, prétextant la conférence illégale! Celle-ci est annulée et tous les participants dispersés.

Dans l'après-midi du 16 novembre, le groupe Core du Forum internationale et le Groupe de travail du Sri Lanka se mettent d'accord pour se réunir d'urgence dans un bureau des ONG à Colombo et discuter des problèmes suite à la suspension des deux précédentes réunions en deux endroits différents. Malheureusement, cette réunion-là aussi **est interrompue** lorsqu'une foule en colère, informée par la radio, se dirige vers les lieux. Dans ce contexte, il évident qu'aucune discussion n'a pu se poursuivre.

1996 Les violations des droit de l'homme, dont le viol et les disparitions, augmentent dans la péninsule de Jaffna. Ce fait est mis en lumière par le viol et le meurtre d'une jeune lycéenne, Krishanthi Kumaraswamy. Sa mère, son frère et un voisin furent également assassinés alors qu'ils se rendaient au camp militaire pour enquêter sur le sort de la jeune fille.

Le LTTE relâche 16 pêcheurs cinghalais faits prisonniers, en gage de bonne volonté pour Noël et le Nouvel An. En avril-mai, les phases **2 et 3 de l'opération "RIVIRESA"** sont lancées à Thennamarachchi et Vadamarachchi dans la péninsule de Jaffna. En septembre, c'est l'opération **"SATHJAYA"** sur Kilinochchi et Paranthan.

1997 Les Forces armées Sri Lankaise lancent une autre offensive importante dans le Nord à Vavuniya ville. En février, c'est **"EDIBALA"** à Mannar. En mai, à Vanni, c'est **"JAYSIKURU"**, la plus vaste opération militaire. A Oddusudan ville et le long de la route Nedunkerny-Oddusudan, les 53<sup>e</sup> et 55<sup>e</sup> Division lancent l'opération **"RIVIBALA"**.

Le 25 septembre, le gouvernement ordonne à **38 ONG** présentes dans plusieurs endroits dans district de **Batticaloa de suspendre toutes leurs opérations** humanitaires. Ceci fait suite à la publication d'un décret du gouvernement interdisant aux ONG l'assistance aux populations du district de Batticaloa.

1998 Bombardement de la zone résidentielle de Karuvakeni. Poursuite de l'embargo médical dans le nord est. Les bombardiers Kfir pilonnent les villes. L'armée sri lankaise abat et trucide à la hache de nombreux civils Tamouls.

Le 5 juillet, un ancien caporal de lanciers révèle en Haute Cour à Colombo que des centaines d'hommes et de femmes arrêtés à Jaffna par l'armée ont **été tués et enterrés à Chemmani**".

#### **OPERATION RANAGOSA :**

**PHASE-I**, début mars dans les régions de Mundumurippu, Iranai, Ilupaikulam et Puwarasankulam.

**PHASE-II**, avec les 53<sup>e</sup> et 55<sup>e</sup> Divisions mi-mars, dans les régions de Madhu et Palampiddi.

**PHASE-III**, début mai à Periyamadu et le sud-ouest de Chiraddikulam.

**PHASE-IV**, mi-juin dans les régions de Papamodai, Vedithalativu et Welimarandmadu.

**OPERATION RIVIKIRANA I et II** : lancée sur Ariyalai, Thanakkillappu et Kaithaddy.

**OPERATION KINIHEERA I** : conduit par les 51<sup>e</sup>, 52<sup>e</sup>, 53<sup>e</sup> Divisions et lancée le long de la route Thanakkillappu-Chava.

**KINIHEERA II** : est lancée sur Kaithaddy, Nunavil, Thanakkillappu et Ariyalai.

**KINIHEERA III et IV** : sur Sarasalai, Puthur, Madduvil sud et Nunavil Est.

2000 janvier, l'avocat des droits de l'Homme **G. G. (Kumar) Ponnambalam est assassiné**, par les sbires du gouvernement de Chandrika semble-t-il.

Le gouvernement norvégien se propose de faciliter les pourparlers de paix entre le LTTE et le gouvernement de Chandrika. Le chef de la médiation norvégienne, M. Eric Solheim, fait la navette entre le LTTE et le gouvernement. Le délégué norvégien s'entretien à Londres avec le négociateur du LTTE Anton Balasingham aussi bien qu'à Vanni avec le dirigeant du mouvement V. Pirabaharan. Il rencontre également d'autres dirigeants politiques au Sri Lanka.

2001 **Des incidents éclatent entre Cinghalais-bouddhistes et Musulmans**, le 2 mai à Mawanella, entre Colombo et Kandy. Deux Musulmans sont tués, des maisons, et des boutiques tenues par des Musulmans sont incendiées par des émeutiers Cinghalais. Le vendredi suivant, des fidèles manifestent près d'une mosquée de Colombo contre les violences anti-Musulmanes de Mawanella.

D'autres incidents du même ordre éclatent à Muttur, district de Trincomalee à la suite des émeutes de Manawella. De nombreuses boutiques à Muttur sont complètement rasées.

Le LTTE annonce à plusieurs reprises un ***cessez-le-feu unilatéral***, l'un d'une durée de quatre mois. Le gouvernement de Chandrika refuse de donner le change et opte pour la poursuite de l'agenda militaire.

Le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères Lakshman Kadirgamar accuse le médiateur norvégien de donner trop d'importance aux Tamouls, demande sa mise à l'écart, en dehors de toute considération personnelle. Le 7 juin, Kadirgamar insiste auprès du gouvernement norvégien pour qu'il remplace Eric Solheim. La médiation reste au point mort.

Les partis politiques tamouls ***forment un front du nom de "Alliance Nationale Tamoule" (TNA)*** qui participe aux élections législatives pour la région Nord-Est le 5 décembre, où ils remportent 16 sièges, sur la base du "Manifeste du TNA".

Ce même mois, le gouvernement UNP conduit par le Premier Ministre Ranil Wickremasinghe prend le pouvoir avec un programme de paix et de négociation avec le LTTE. Le LTTE déclare aussi un cessez-le-feu également reconduit.

- 2002 Le LTTE relâche 10 prisonniers de guerre en gage de bonne volonté de paix. Le gouvernement norvégien relance sa proposition. La délégation norvégienne conduite par le Vice-Ministre des Affaires Etrangères Vidar Helgesen et M. Eric Solheim rencontre le chef de la délégation du LTTE, le Dr Anton Balasingham à Londres et le Premier Ministre ainsi que d'autres ministres au Sri Lanka.

***Le 21 février, un accord historique appelé "Mémorandum d'Entente" est signé*** entre V. Pirabaharan, dirigeant du LTTE, et le Premier Ministre Sri Lankais, Ranil Wickremasinghe. Ce Mémorandum a été obtenu grâce au gouvernement norvégien.

\* \* \* \* \*