## POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS IN SRI LANKA

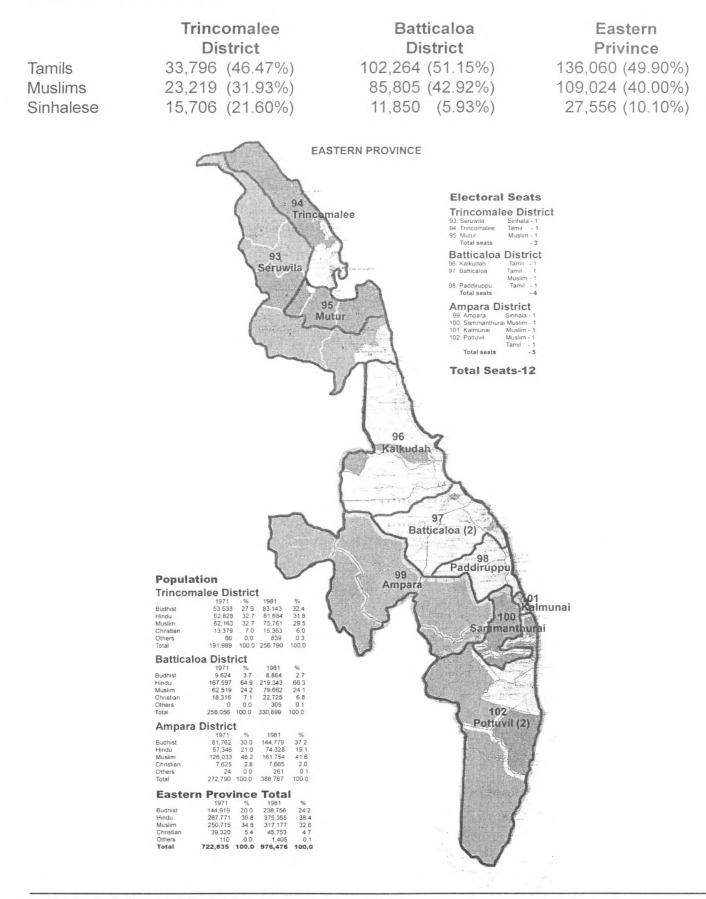
[		Total	Muslim		Area	DRO	AGA	DS	Parl.	Prov.	Loc	al Bo	odies
Prov.	District	Pop. 1981	Pop. 1981	%	Sq. km	Div.	Div.	Div.	Mem.	Mem.	мс	UC	PS
WP		3,910,001	279,587	7	3,709	17	32	33	50	102	3	14	27
	Colombo	1,693,322	168,956	10	2,093	11	9	10	21	43	2	4	6
	Gampaha	1,389,490	47,850	3	-	-	13	13	18	36	1	6	11
	Kalutara	827,189	62,781	8	1,616	6	10	10	11	23	-	4	10
СР		2,005,956	168,040	8	5,015	20	33	31	23	56	3	6	33
	Kandy	1,126,296	125,646	11	2,367	11	17	16	12	28	1	4	17
	Matale	357,441	26,603	7	1,994	5	11	10	5	11	1	-	11
	Nuwara Eliya	522,219	15,791	3	1,228	4	5	5	6	17	1	2	5
SP		1,882,912	52,545	3	5,556	17	36	38	27	53	1	5	36
	Galle	814,579	26,359	3	1,689	7	16	17	11	22	1	1	15
	Matara	644,231	16,853	3	1,246	6	12	12	9	17	-	2	12
	Hambantota	424,102	9,333	2	2,621	4	. 8	9	7	14	-	2	9
NP		1,111,468	62,609	6	8,879	20	28	31	_ 16	36	1	4	27
	Jaffna	831,112	14,169	2	2,584	12	13	15	11.	19	1	3	12
	Kilinochchi	-	-	-	-	-	3	3	1	3	-	-	3
	Mannar	106,940	30,079	28	2,497	3	4	4	1	5	-	-	4
	Vavuniya	95,904	6,764	7	3,797	5	4	5	2	4		1	4
	Mullaithievu	77,512	11,597	15	-	-	4	4	1	5	-	-	4
EP		975,975	317,177	33	9,943	17	30	36	14	35	1	2	36
	Batticaloa	330,899	79,662	24	2,631	5	8	11	4	. 11	1	-	11
	Trincomalee	256,790	75,761	30	2,714	6	10	10	. 4	10	-	1	15
-	Ampara	388,786	161,754	42	4,597	6	12	15	6	14	-	1	10
NWP.		<b>1</b> ,7 <b>0</b> 6,099	114,459	7	7,811	16	28	25	23	50	1	3	27
	Kurunegala	1,212,755	64,213	5	4,776	10	18	16	16	35	1	1	17
	Puttalam	493,344	50,246	10	3,035	6	10	9	7	15	-	2	10
NCP		850,582	61,422	7	10,720	<u> </u>	24	24	11	31	-	1	24
· ·	Anuradhapura	587,829	43,801	7	7,273	9	19	18	· · 7	21	-	1	18
	Polonnaruwa	262,753	17,621	7	3,447	2	5.	6	4	10	-	-	6
Uva		922,636	34,509	4	8,487	9	23	25	12	32	1	2	24
	Badulla	642,893	28,759	4	2,823	5	14	14	8	19	1	2	14
	Moneragala	279,743	5,750	2	5,664	4	9	11	4	13	-	-	10
Sab.		1,478,879	51,989	4	4,900	11	22	23	20	42	1	2	23
	Ratnapura	796,468	15,441	2	3,237	6	12	, . 13	. 10	23	1	1	13
	Kegalle	682,411	36,548	5	1,663	5	10	10	10	19	-	1	10
	TOTAL	14,050,001	1,134,556	8	65,620	138	256	266	196	437	12	39	257

## REGISTERED VOTERS - PARLIAMENTARY GENERAL ELECTION APRIL 02, 2004 (WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO MUSLIM VOTERS)

	Electoral Dist (Number of Cano to be nomina	didates	No. of Seats	Regd. Votes 2004	Muslim %	Muslim Regd. Votes 2004	% of Valid Regd. Votes (2001)	Valid Regd. Votes (2004)	Valid Muslim Votes (2004)
1	Digamadulla	(10)	7	379,044	41.6	157,682	77.73	294,631	122,566
2	Trincomalee	(07)	4	224,307	38.8	87,031	75.91	170,271	66,065
3	Batticaloa	(08)	5	303,928	36.1	109,718	63.5	192,994	(75%) 82,289
		(25)	16	907,279	39.1	354,431		657,896	270,920
4	Vanni	(09)	6	226,604	13.8	31,271	43.18	97,848	(75%) 23453
5	Jaffna	(12)	9	644,279	2.3	14,619	28.96	186,598	(75%) 10964
	1	(21)	15	870,883	5.3	45,890		284,446	34,417
		(46)	31	1,778,162	22.5	400,321		942,342	305,337
6	Puttalam	(11)	8	450,057	10.6	47,706	68.09	306,444	32,483
7	Kandy	(15)	12	880,632	10.2	89,824	71.01	625,337	. 63,784
8	Colombo	(23)	20	1,467,751	7.6	111,549	73.47	1,078,357	81,955
9	Polonnaruwa	(08)	5	254,061	7.6	19,309	75.48	191,765	14,574
10	Anuradhapura	(11)	8	514,149	7.1	36,505	73.37	377,231	26,784
11	Kalutara	(13)	10	746,138	6.9	51,483	77.13	575,496	39,709
12	Matale	(08)	5	312,556	6.7	20,941	72.79	227,510	15,243
		(89)	68	4,625,344	8.16	377,317		3,382,140	274,532
13	Nuwara Eliya	(10)	7	436,236	2.6	11,342	75.53	, 329,489	8,567
14	Gampaha	(20)	17	1,327,145	3.6	~ 47,777	73.39	973,992	35,064
15	Galle	(13)	10	716,608	2.8	20,065	77.58	555,944	15,566
16	Matara	(11)	8	550,503	2.6	14,313	75.55	415,905	10,813
17	Kurunegala	(19)	16	1,089,482	4.6	50,116	75.53	822,886	37,853
18	Badulla	(11)	8	511,115	4.2	21,467	76.09	388,907	16,334
19	Moneragala	(08)	5	262,742	2.1	5,517	72.12	189,490	3,979
20	Ratnapura	(13)	10	647,035	1.6	10,352	78.52	508,052	8,128
21	Kegalle	(12)	9	570,299	4.8	27,374	76.01	433,484	20,807
22	Hambantota	(10)	···: 7:	384,361	2.8	10,762	76.18		8,198
		(127)	97	6,495,526	3.4	219,085		4,910,955	165,310
	Total	262	196	12,899,032	7.8	996,723		9,235,437	745,179

#### EASTERN PROVINCE

Eastern Province is 3,839 sq. miles in extent, bounded - North-Maha Oya, East-Bay of Bengal, South-Kumbukan Oya and West-Monaragala, Badulla, Matale, Polonnaruwa and Anuradhapura District. Originally Trincomalee and, Batticaloa were the two districts in this province. 1956 census recorded the following population:



Batticaloa District was divided into the present Ampara and Batticaloa Districts in 1961.

Detail of 1981 population in the Easter Province

	Trincomalee District	Batticaloa District	Ampara District	Eastern Province
Tamils	93,510	238,216	79,725	411,451
	(39.78%)	(72.59%)	(20.57%)	(42.42%)
Muslims	74,403	79,317	<b>116,481</b>	315,201
	(29.26%)	(24.17%)	(41.66%)	(32.49%)
Sinhalese	89,341	10,646	146,371	243,358
	(33.96%)	(3.24%)	(37.77%)	(25.09%)
Total	245,250	328,170	387,577	<sup>°</sup> 970,010

Tamil population increased between 1949 and 1981 from 136,059 to 411,451 – 302%, Muslim population increased from 109,024 to 315,201 – 289%, Sinhalese population increased from 27,556 to 243,358 – 883%. The National average increase of Sinhalese during this period is only 238%.

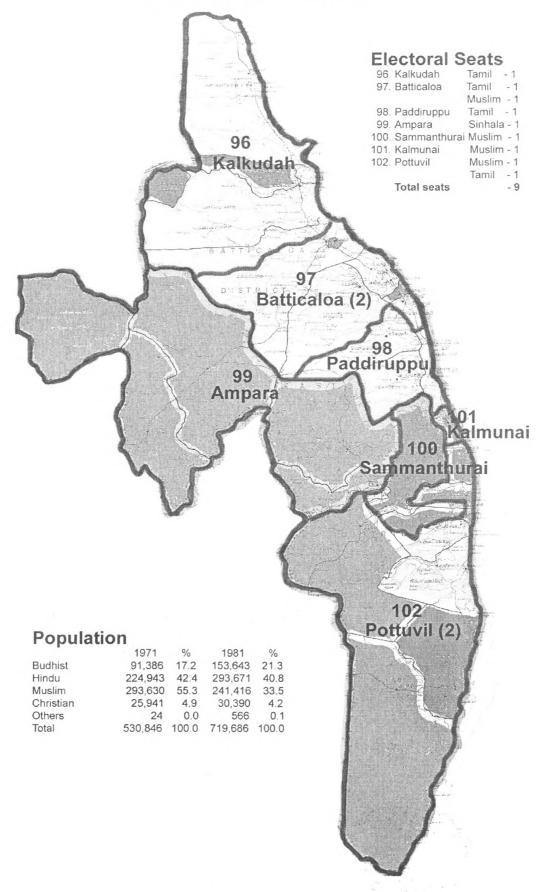
The sudden increase of Sinhala population is the result of Government planed Sinhala Colonization in Gal-oya, Pannala-oya, and Ambalam-oya in Ampara District, and Kanthalai, Allai, Morawewa, Muthalikkulam, Pathaviya (Part), and Mahadiuluwewa schemes in Trincomalee District.

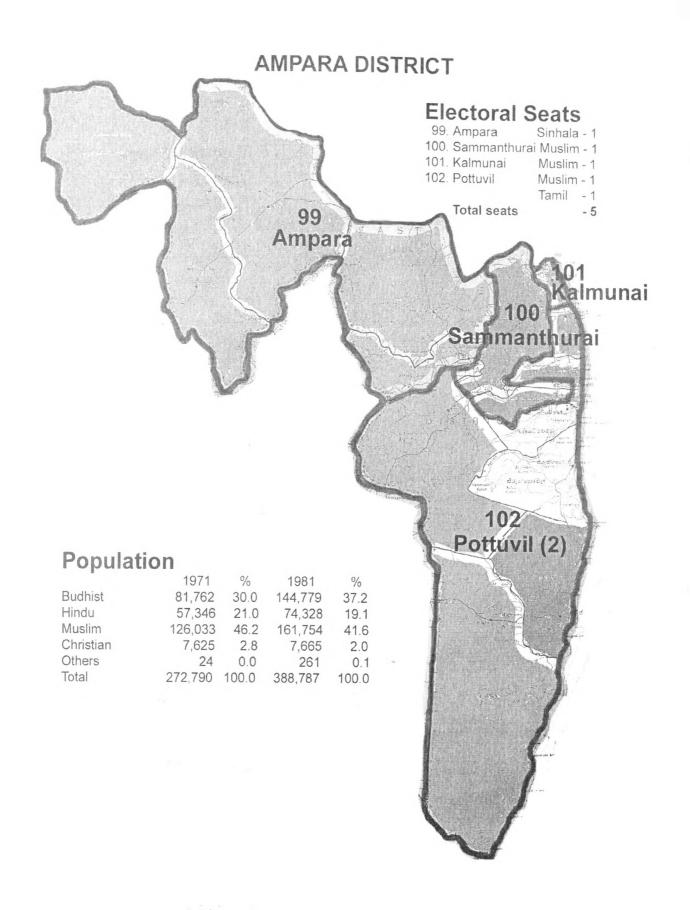
Registered Muslim Voters in the Eastern Province according to District and Electorates - 2004

1. Electoral Distri	ct No.13 Digamadulla			
Electorate	District	Total	Muslims	Total
	M.P.		%	
A. Ampara	1	132,371	0.08	1,058
B. Sammanthurai	1	63,166	74.8	47,248
C. Kalmunai	1	60,456	69.6	42,077
D. Pottuvil	2	123,051	50.6	62,263
Total	5	379,044	39.8	152,646
2. Electoral Distri	ct No.12 Batticaloa			
Electorate	District	Total	Muslims	Total
	<b>M</b> .P.		%	
A. Kalkuda	1	86,626	29.3	25,381
B. Batticaloa	2	141,190	34.2	48,286
C. Pattiruppu	1	76,112	0.7	532
Total	4	303,928	24.6	74,199
3. Electoral Distric	ct No.14 Trincomalee			
Electorate	District	Total	Muslims	Total
	M.P.		%	
A. Seruvila	1	63,161	13.7	8,653
B. Trincomalee		86,277	18.7	16,133
C. Mutur	1	74,869	66.1	49,488
Total	3	224,307	33.2	74,274

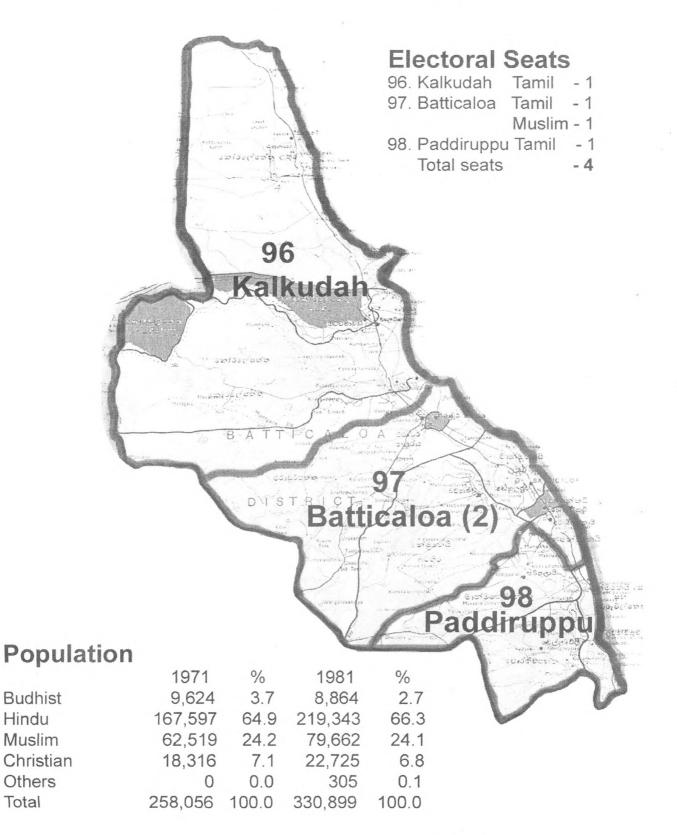
Eastern Province Muslim Politics, Ethnic Conflict and Discriminations

## **OLD BATTICALOA DISTRICT**

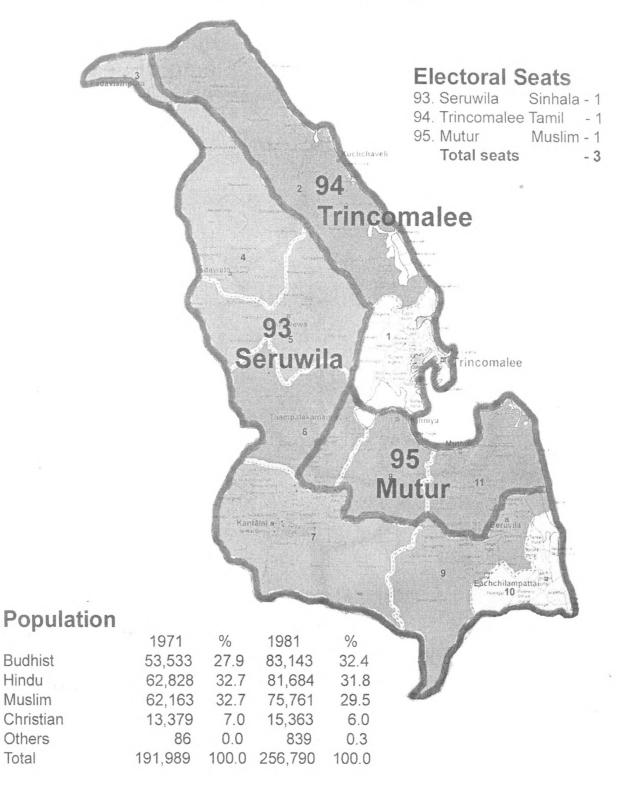


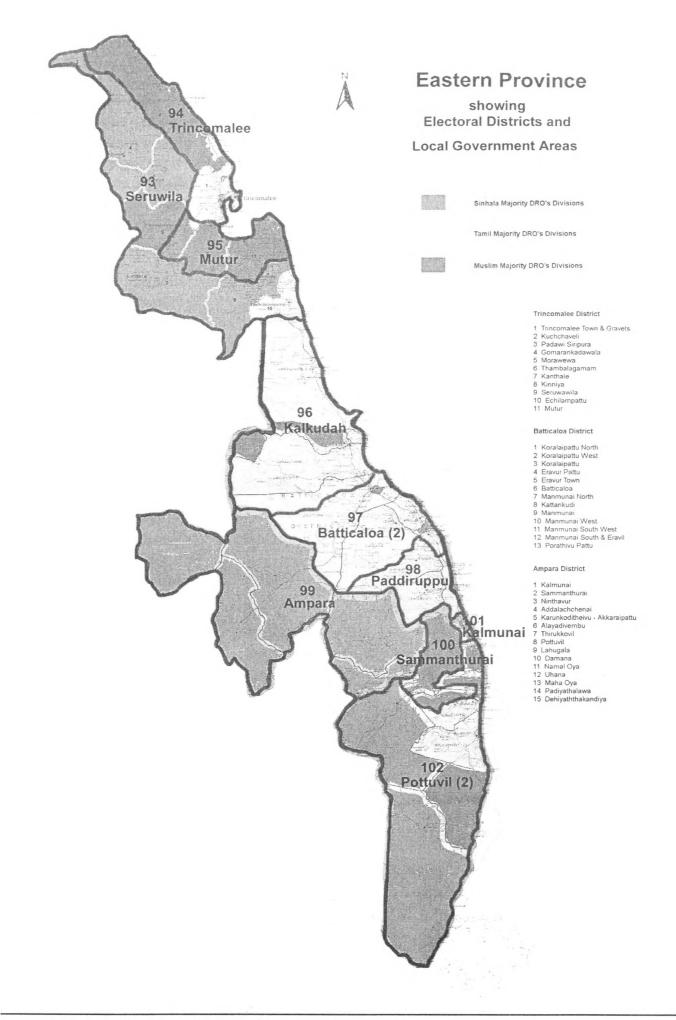


# **BATTICALOA DISTRICT**



## TRINCOMALEE DISTRICT





## EASTERN PROVINCE ELECTED PEOPLES' REPRESENTATIVES TO THE PARLIAMENT

Kalmunai

- 1947 M.S. Kariyappar (UNP)
- 1952 S.M. Mersa (Independent)
- 1956 M.S. Kariyappar (FP)
- 1960 March M.S. Kariyappar (LPP) July - M.C. Ahamed (SLFP)
- 1965 M.S. Kariyappar (Independent)
- 1966 M.C. Ahamed (SLFP)
- 1970 M.C. Ahamed (SLFP)
- 1977 A.R. Mansoor (UNP)

Pottuvil

- 1947 M.S. Ibrahim (Independent)
- 1952 M.S. Inbrahim (UNP)
- 1956 M.M. Mustaffa (FP)
- 1960 March M.A. Abdul Majeed (Independent) July - M.A. Abdul Majeed (Independent)
- 1965 M.A. Abdul Majeed (UNP)
- 1970 M.A. Abdul Majeed (UNP)
- 1977 M.A.M. Jalaldeen 1<sup>st</sup> (UNP)
  - M. Kanagarathnam 2<sup>nd</sup> (TULF)
- 1980 Ranganayaki (UNP)
- 1983 M.I. Uthumalebbe (UNP)

#### Ninthavur

- 1960 March M.I. Abdul Majeed (Independent) July - M.I. Abdul Majeed (Independent)
- 1965 M.M. Mustaffa (UNP)
- 1970 M.M. Mustaffa (UNP)
- 1975 M.M. Mustaffa (UNP)

#### Sammanthurai

1977 - M.A. Abdul Majeed (UNP)

#### Ampara

- 1960 March Wijebahu wijesinhe (SLFP) July - Indrasena De Soysa (SLFP)
- 1965 Senerath Somarathne (SLFP)
- 1970 Senerath Somarathne (SLFP)
- 1977 P. Dayarathne (UNP)

## Kalkuda

- 1947 V. Nallia (Independent)
- 1952 V. Nallia (UNP)
- 1956 A.H. Mackan Mackar (Independent)
- 1960 March Ambalawan (FP) July - Ambalawanan (FP)
- 1965 K.W. Dewanayaganan (UNP)
- 1970 K.W. Dewanayagam (UNP)
- 1977 K.W. Dewanayagam (UNP)

## Batticaloa

- 1931 Mohamed Mackan Mackar Minister of Transport
- 1936 N. Kanagarathnam
  - S. Drmaratnam
- 1947 M. Sinnalebbe (UNP)
- 1952 S. Kanagasabai (Independent)
- 1956 S. Rajathurai (FP) 2<sup>nd</sup> Scat
- 1960 March S. Rajathurai 1st (FP)

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A.H. Markan Mackar 2<sup>nd</sup> (UNP)
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- July S. Rajathurai 1<sup>st</sup> (FP)
  - A.H. Markan Mackar 2<sup>nd</sup> (UNP)
- 1965 S. Rajathurai 1<sup>st</sup> (FP)
  - A.L. Sinnalebbe 2<sup>nd</sup> (UNP)
- 1970 S. Rajathurai 1<sup>st</sup> (FP) A.R. Selvanayaham 2<sup>nd</sup> (Independent)
- 1977 S. Rajathurai 1<sup>st</sup> (FP) Dr. Fareed Meeralebbe 2<sup>nd</sup> (UNP)
- 1981 S. Rajathurai (FP)

## Paddiruppu

- 1947 S.U. Edirmanasingham (Independent)
- 1952 S.U. Edirmanasingham (Independent)
- 1956 S.M. Rasamanikkam (FP)
- 1960 March S.M. Rasamanikkam (FP) July - S.M. Rasamanikkam (FP)
- 1965 S.M. Rasamanikkam (FP)
- 1970 S.U. Thambirasa (UNP)
- 1977 P. Ganesalingam (TULF)



#### Trincomalee

1931 - M. Subramaniyam

1936 - A.R. Thambimutthu

- 1942 A. Nallaiya
- 1947 V. Sivapalan (FP)
- 1952 M. Rajeverothayam (FP)
- 1956 M. Rajeverothayam (FP)
- 1960 March M. Rajeverothayam (FP) July - M. Rajeverothayam (FP)
- 1965 S.M. Manikkarasa (FP)
- 1970 B. Neminathan (FP)
- 1977 R. Sambanthan (TULF)

#### Muthur

1947 - A.R.M. Aboobakkar (UNP)

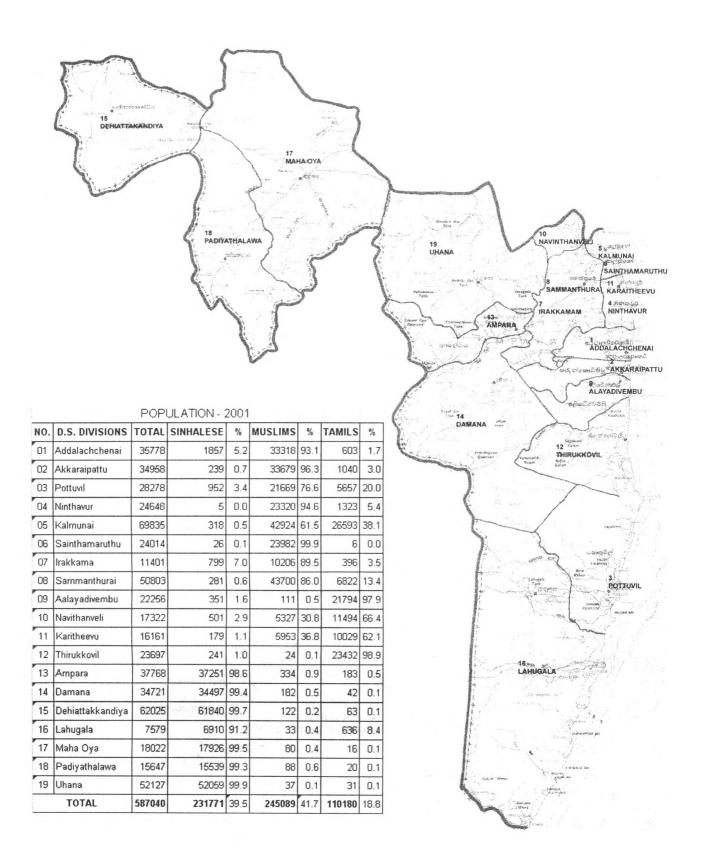
1952 - M.H. Mohamed Ali (Independent)

- 1956 M.H. Mohamed Ali (Independent)
- 1960 March S. Ahambaram (FP)
  - M.H. Mohamed Ali (Independent)
  - July A.L. Abdul Majeed (SLFP)
    - S. Ahambaram (FP)
- 1962 M.H. Mohamed Ali (FP)
  - A.L. Abdul Majeed (SLFP)
- 1965 M.A.H. Mohamed (FP)
- A.L. Abdul Majeed (SLFP)
- 1970 A.L. Abdul Majeed (SLFP)
- A. Thangathurai (FP)
- 1977 M.A.H. Mahroof (UNP)

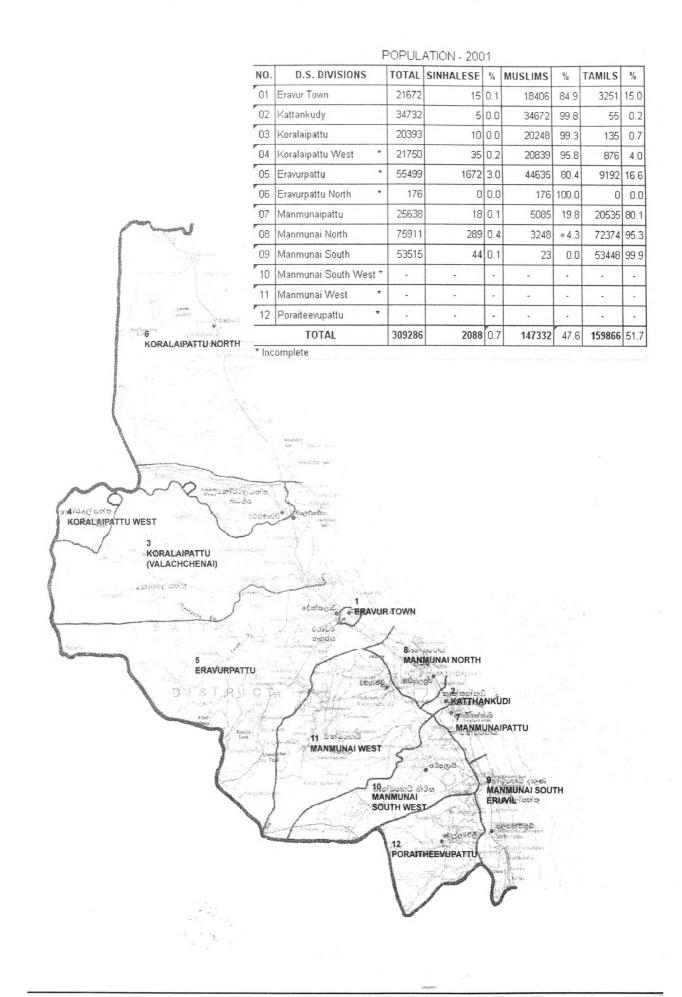
#### Seruvila

1977 - M.D.L. Leelarathne (UNP)

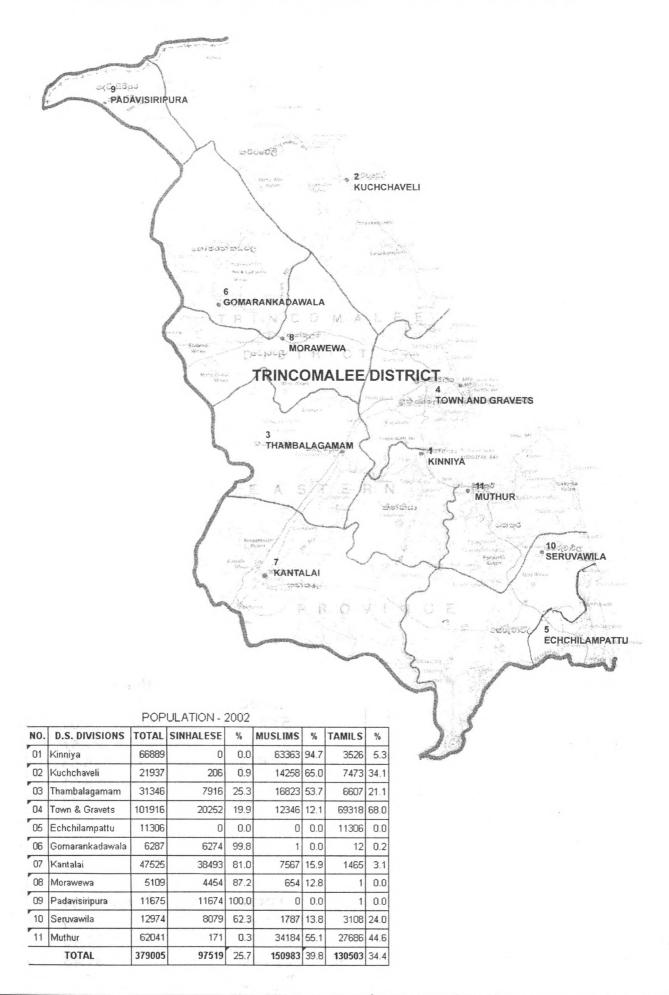




#### BATTICALOA DISTRICT DIVISIONAL SECRETARIAT DIVISIONS



#### TRINCOMALEE DISTRICT DIVISIONAL SECRETARIAT DIVISIONS



## General Election – 2004 Votes Received by Main Political Parties/ Independent Groups

#### Pottuvil

	Votes Obtained	Percentage (%)
Sri Lanka Muslim Congress	33,787	35.53
Illankai Tamil Arasu Katchi	31,890	33.53
United People's Freedom Alliance	22,192	23.33
United National Party	5,723	6.02
Elam Peoples Democratic Party	923	0.97
Sri Lanka Progressive Front	122	0.13
Jathika Hel <b>a</b> Urumaya	81	ິ0.09
United Muslim People's Alliance	71	0.07

## Samm**anthurai**

	Votes Obtained	Percentage (%)
United People's Freedom Alliance	19,117	39.88
Sri Lanka Muslim Congress	17,688	36.90
Illankai Tamil Arasu Katchi	8,976	18.72
United National Party	1,664	3.47

#### Kalmunai

	Votes Obtained	Percentage (%)
Sri Lanka Muslim Congress	21,978	47.04
Illankai Tamil Arasu Katchi	13,842	29.62
United People's Freedom Alliance	9,189	19.67
United National Party	971	2.08
Elam Peoples Democratic Party	252	0.54
Independent Party 2-Digamadull District	94	0.20

## Batticaloa

- p	Votes	Percentage
	Obtained	(%)
Illankai Tamil Arasu Katchi	57,144	54.01
United People's Freedom Alliance	22,716	21.47
Sri Lanka Muslim Congress	19,612	18.53
United National Party	3,819	3.61
Elam Peoples Democratic Party	1,099	1.04
Democratic Peoples Liberation Front	711	0.67
United Muslim People's Alliance	307	0.29

## Kalkudah

	Votes	Percentage
	Obtained	(%)
Illankai Tamil Arasu Katchi	43,503	61.46
Sri Lanka Muslim Congress	22,244	31.43

United People's Freedom Alliance	2,706	3.82
United National Party	1,364	1.93
Elam Peoples Democratic Party	568	0.80
Sri Lanka Progressive Front	75	0.11
Independent Party 1-Batticaloa District	52	0.07
Democratic Peoples Liberation Front	44	0.06
New Left Front	41	0.06
United Muslim People's Alliance	38	0.05

## Mutur

	Votes	Percentage
	Obtained	(%)
Sri Lanka Muslim Congress	45,523	69.58
Illankai Tamil Arasu Katchi	17,005	25.99
United People's Freedom Alliance	1,854	2.83
United National Party	689	1.05
Ruhunu Janatha Party	53	0.08
United Muslim People's Alliance	50	0.08
Elam Peoples Democratic Party	49	0.07

## Trincomalee

	Votes Obtained	Percentage (%)
Illankai Tamil Arasu Katchi	43,880	65.16
Sri Lanka Muslim Congress	13,378	19.86
United People's Freedom Alliance	6,229	9.25
United National Party	3,193	4.74
Elam Peoples Democratic Party	393	0.58
Jathika Hela Urumaya	119	0.18
New Left Front	35	0.05
United Muslim People's Alliance	33	0.05

## Seruwila

	Votes	Percentage
	Obtained	(%)
United People's Freedom Alliance	19,607	47.22
United National Party	10,346	24.92
Illankai Tamil Arasu Katchi	6,178	14.88
Sri Lanka Muslim Congress	4,647	11.19
Jathika Hela Urumaya	563	1.36
Elam Peoples Democratic Party	61	0.15
United Muslim People's Alliance	32	0.08

## Parliamentary Election – 1994

## Sri Lanka Muslim Congress

<u>Digamadulla</u>	<u>Votes</u>
1.M.H.M. Ashraff	69,076
2.U.L.M. Mohideen	26,19 <b>4</b>
3.M.M. Mustaffa	25,356
4.A.L.M. Athaulla	22,266
5.M. Hussain Abosali	13,327
6.A.L.M. Carrim Moulavi	11,970
7.A.L. Mohideen Bawa	11,059
8.M.A.M. Jalaldeen	10,820
9.S. Muthumeeran	8,873

## **United National Party**

Digamadulla	<u>Votes</u>
1.P. Dayaratna	45,411
2.A.P. Galapathi	40,675
3.N.U. Bakmeewewa	28,061
4.A.R. Mansoor	21,650
5.A. Majeed Meerasahib	21,448
6.A.A.M. Mohamed Ali	20,428
7.A.D. De Silva	18,958
8.M. Sinnalebbe	3,100
9.J. Thiviyanathan	2,449

## **People's Alliance**

<u>Votes</u>
36,276
33,728
20,446
18,759
8,871
7,803
3,340
3,025
1,466

#### General Election – 2004 Candidates Elected

## **People's Alliance**

Digamadulla	<u>Votes</u>
1.Ferial Asraff	52,223
2.A.L.M. Athavulla	39,773

## **United National Party**

Digamadulla	<u>Votes</u>
1. B. Dayarathna	31,215

<b>Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna</b> <u>Digamadulla</u> 1. Vasantha Piyathissa	<u>Votes</u> 45,975
<b>Sri Lanka Muslim Congress</b> <u>Digamadulla</u> 1. Abdul Rauff Hakeem 2. Faisal Mohamed Hasik	<u>Votes</u> 68,627 20,724
<u>Batticaloa</u>	<u>Votes</u>
1. Ameer Ali Sihabdeen	21,216
<u>Trincomalee</u>	<u>Votes</u>
1. Najeeb A. Majeed	26,948
Illankai Tamil Arasu Katchi <u>Trincomalee</u> 1.Ira. Sambandan 2.K. Thurairatnasingam	<u>Votes</u> 47,735 34,773
<u>Batticaloa</u>	<u>Votes</u>
1.Thamban Pillai Kanahasabai	57,843
2.Miss. Thangeswari Kathiraman	50,545
3.S. Jeyananda Moorthi	44,547
4.Kingsli Irasanayaham	38,633
<u>Digamadulla</u>	<u>Votes</u>
1. Kanahasabai Pathmanadan	29,002

• • • •

Details of Voters in 1991 in the Assistant Government's Divisions in the Eastern Province

A.G.A. Division Names	Total Voters	Province %	District %	Sinhala Voters	Province %	District %
Ampara District						
<ol> <li>Padiyathalawa</li> <li>Maha-oya</li> <li>Uhana</li> <li>Smmanthurai</li> <li>Kalmunai</li> <li>Ninthavur</li> <li>Addalaichenai</li> <li>Akkaraipattu</li> </ol>	30,967 19,061 45,096 38,732 47,147 21,126 15,557 27,024	0.1 1.1 3.5 5.7 7.0 3.1 2.3 4.0	2.2 2.6 8.1 13.4 16.3 7.3 5.4 9.3	30,348 18,756 43,478 1,356 566 85 1,229 1,594	4.5 2.8 6.3 0.2 0 <sup>°</sup> 1 0.0 0.2 0.2	10.5 6.4 15.0 0.5 0.2 0.0 0.4
9. Dhamana 10. Thirukkovil 11. Pottuvil 12: Lahugala <b>District Total</b>	17,353 11,529 12,543 3,537 <b>289,672</b>	2.6 1.7 1.9 0.5 <b>42.7</b>	6.0 4.0 4.3 1.2 <b>100</b>	16,850 138 778 3,148 <b>118,321</b>	0.2 2.5 0.0 0.1 0.5 <b>17.4</b>	0.6 5.8 0.1 0.2 1.1 <b>40.8</b>
Batticaloa District						
<ol> <li>Koralaipattu</li> <li>Koralaipattu South</li> <li>Eravurpattu</li> <li>Manmunai North</li> <li>Manmunai West</li> <li>Manmunai S.West</li> <li>Eruvil Man. South</li> <li>Poraitheevu</li> <li>District Total</li> </ol>	26,310 7,207 47,151 79,439 16,494 10,924 26,589 20,907 <b>229,021</b>	3.9 1.1 7.0 11.7 1.6 1.6 3.9 3.1 <b>33.7</b>	11.5 3.1 20.6 34.7 4.6 4.8 11.6 9.1 <b>100</b>	710 721 2,829 2,383 210 76 105 690 <b>7,725</b>	0.1 0.5 0.3 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.1 <b>1.1</b>	0.3 0.3 1.3 1.0 0.1 0.0 0.0 0.4 <b>3.4</b>
Trincomalee District						
<ol> <li>Pathavisiripura</li> <li>Kuchchaveli</li> <li>Gomarangkadawela</li> <li>Morawewa</li> <li>Town and Gravette</li> <li>Thambalakamam</li> <li>Kinniya</li> <li>Mutur</li> <li>Seruvila</li> <li>Kanthalai</li> </ol>	6,454 13,210 3,692 5,102 42,898 12,412 20,922 23,297 8,981 23,125	1.0 2.0 0.5 0.8 6.3 1.8 3.1 3.4 1.3 3.4	4.0 8.3 2.3 3.9 26.8 7.8 13.1 14.6 5.6 14.4	6,435 1,995 3,651 2,847 12,355 3,935 105 559 4,966 18,893	0.9 0.3 0.5 0.4 1.9 0.6 0.0 0.1 0.8 2.9	4.0 1.2 2.4 1.8 7.7 2.5 0.1 0.3 3.1 11.7
District Total Province Total	160,093 678,786	23.6 100	100	55,741 181,787	8.4 26.8	34.8

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A.G.A Division	Tamil Voters	Province %	District %	AGA. Division	Muslim Voters	Province %		A.G.A. Division
98.0	372	0.1	0.5	1.2	247	0.0	0.1	0.8
98.4	229	0.0	0.1	1.2	19	0.0	0.0	0.1
96.4	1,263	0.2	0.4	2.8	180	0.0	0.1	0.4
8.5	10,651	1.5	3.8	27.5	26,609	3.9	9.2	68.7
1.2 0.4	13,437 5,789	2.0 0.8	4.6 3.0	28.5 27.4	32,814 15,211	4.8 2.2	11.3 5.3	69.6 72.0
7.9	887	0.0	0.3	5.7	13,410	2.2	4.6	86.2
5.9	8,675	1.3	3.0	32.1	16,647	2.5	5.8	61.6
97.1	416	0.1	0.1	2.4	87	0.0	0.0	0.5
1.2	11,321	1.7	3.9	98.2	58	0.0	0.0	0.5
6.2	3,261	0.5	1.1	26.0	8,467	1.2	2.8	67.5
89.0	347	0.1	0.1	9.8	39	0.0	0.1	1.1
	56,648	8.3	19.6	·	113,788	16.8	39.3	
								°
2.7	13,918	2.1	6.1	52.9	11,576	1.7	5.1	44.0
10.0	5,960	0.9	2.6	82.7	526	0.1	0.2	7.3
6.0	29,469	4.3	12.9	62.5	14,805	2.2	6.5	31.4
3.0	49,172	7.1	21.5	61.9	26,056	2.6	11.3	32.8
2.0 0.7	10,053 10,815	1.5 1.6	4.4 4.7	95.8 99.0	231 34	0.0 0.0	0.1 0.0	2.2 0.3
0.7	26,429	3.8	11.5	99.0 99.4	27	0.0	0.0	0.3
3.0	20,196	3.0	8.8	96.6	21	0.0	0.0	0.1
0.0	166,012	24.3	72.5	0010	53,276	7.0	23.3	0.1
					·			
99.7	129	0.0	0.0	0.2	000	0.0	0.0	. 0.0
15.1	5,812	1.0	3.6	44.0	5,390	0.8	3.3	40.8
98.9	33	0.0	0.0	0.9	. 7	0.0	0.0	0.2
55.8	1,589	0.2	1.0	35.3	444	0.1	0.3	8.7
28.8	25,138	3.8	15.8	58.6	4,204	0.6	2.6	9.8
31.7	3,699	0.5	2.3	29.8	4,779	0.7	3.0	38.5
0.5 2.4	1,548 11,602	0.2 1.7	1.0 7.2	7.4 49.8	19,248 11,136	2.8 1.6	12.0	92.0
55.3	3,440	0.5	2.1	49.8 38.3	566	0.1	7.0 0.4	47.8 6.3
81.7	1,249	0.2	0.2	5.4	2,891	0.1	1.8	12.5
	54,122 276,782	8.1 40.8	33.8		48,602 215,669	6.9 31.8	30.4	. •

#### State aided Sinhala Colonization in the Eastern Province

Colonization has been accepted as one of the main grievances affecting the Tamil and Muslim people in Sri Lanka. Land policies pursued hitherto in the North East have had their far reaching adverse effects.

According to 1921 census, the Sinhalese were 3% of the Population in the Trincomalee District and 4.5% in the combined Batticaloa and Ampara District. The Sinhalese were less than 4% in the whole Eastern Province. However according to 1981 census the Sinhala Population in the Eastern Province is 25%.

Gal Oya Scheme in Ampara District, Allai, Kanthalai, Morawewa and Padavia Schemes in Trincomalee Districts are examples of planned Sinhala Colonization in the Eastern Province. These colonisations were carried out in violation of the Land Development Ordinance. The Muslims who were the first majority in the Gal Oya Area, Ampara District, were made minorities by State Aided Sinhala Colonisation.

When the major Irrigation Schemes were inaugurated in the East, immediately after the independence, the late Mr. D.S. Senanayake said that the lands that were to become arable would be alienated among the local farmers and the would be Sinhala Colonists from outside the province, on a 50 - 50 basis. The successive Governments, whether UNP or SLFP, not only failed to implement the promise but also adopted various methods to ensure the economic and political weakening of the Tamils and Muslims in the Eastern province.

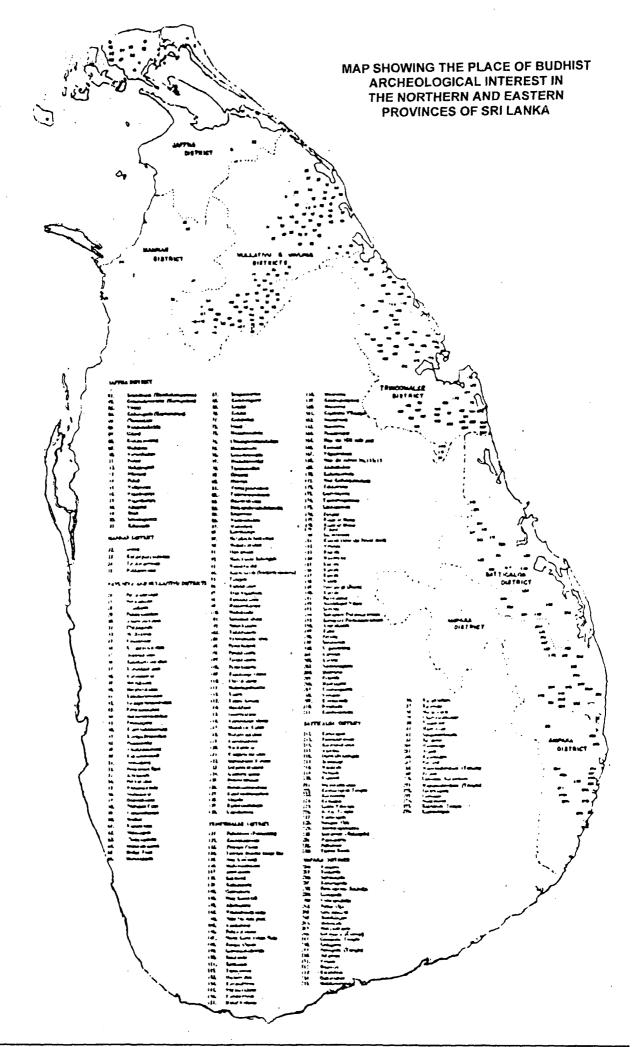
Further, the Commissioner of Archeology has stated that 273 sites in the Northern and Eastern provinces have already been excavated and soon Buddhists will be settled in these places. According to Hansard volume 25 No. 10 of Friday 7<sup>th</sup> October, 1983, there are 43 placed of Archeological interests in the predominant Muslim areas of Ampara.

Land Policies covering subjects such as Land Use, Land Development, Land Settlement and allied matters are of utmost importance. Land use and Settlement have come to be acknowledged in Sri Lanka as "Colonisation" in effect "State Aided Colonisation". Colonisation has been accepted as one of the main grievances affecting the minorities – Tamils and Muslims in Sri Lanka.

The United National Party in its Election Manifesto of 1977, identified Colonisation as being one of the several grievances that had let to the present communal unrest in the country.

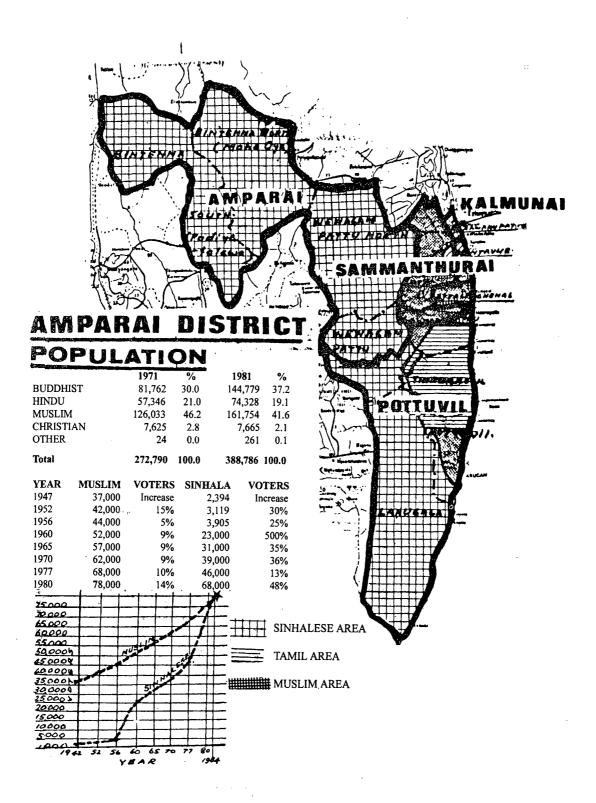
The History of Colonisation dates back to 1932, when Representative Government started the experiment of settling the landless peasants in area which had been provided with facilities at State expenses. The main object of State Aided Settlement is to provide land to the landless, both Agricultural and Residential Land. Alienation of State Land in Colonisation Schemes, involves the expenditure of large amount of State Funds in Land Development, provision of irrigation facilities, various subsidies, housing and other infrastructures. In short the State does everything for the allotees, to start a new life away from home.

In our economic development land and water are the most versatile National Resources. With the attainment of Self-Government, they were being developed in a spirit of sharing these resources equally among all Sri Lankans. Unfortunately the Land Policies pursued hitherto by successive Governments after the Independence have had their far reaching adverse effects.



- 1. The Minorities have been denied their legitimate share of Developed State Land.
- 2. Deprivation of Land, more particularly developed land, to landless people in the Districts of Land alienation.
- 3. Substantial alteration in the Ethnic composition of the Districts in which State Land have been alienated.

This has contributed to the growth of tension and hostilities amongst different communities resulting in Ethnic Violence. The victims of such violence have always been the Minorities.



When Gal Oya Development Scheme was inaugurated the late Hon. D.S. Senanayake stated that the lands that were to become arable would be distributed among the local peasants. It was said that it was the Policy of the Government that at least 50% of the new lands that were to become cultivatable under the Gal Oya Development Scheme would be distributed on a 50 - 50 basis between the local citizens of the Batticaloa district and the would be colonists from outside Batticaloa district.

It was on the strength of this promise and the policy of the Government the local Muslims who were noted for their fearlessness and ability for opening thick jungles, risked their lives and came forward to work under the Gal Oya Scheme. The successive Governments, whether they are UNP or SLFP, not only failed to implement the so called policy of 50 – 50 distribution but also adopted various methods to ensure the economic and political weakening of the Muslims in the Gal Oya Valley.

Opening of the Gal Oya Scheme was a great boon to the people of Sri Lanka. However, this has been used as a device to deprive the Muslims to live and own lands under this Scheme. This would be seen from the Settlement Policy worked out since the opening of the Gal Oya Scheme.

## Muslim Lands Forcibly Colonized by the Sinhalese in Ampara District

This area is about 5 miles from the predominant Muslim Village of Akkaraipattu 1,400 acres was given to the Muslims under LDO Permit to open out the jungle and cultivate paddy. The Muslims developed this area at great expense even at the loss of life and limbs. They became some of the finest paddy fields in this area.

The River Valley Development Board the successor to the Gal Oya Board, without any notice or compensation to these Muslim cultivators with LDO Permits, handed over the whole area to the Sugar Corporation. They sent the Bull-dozers to destroy the paddy fields and took over the land for sugar cultivation. Hundreds of Muslims were thrown out on the road.

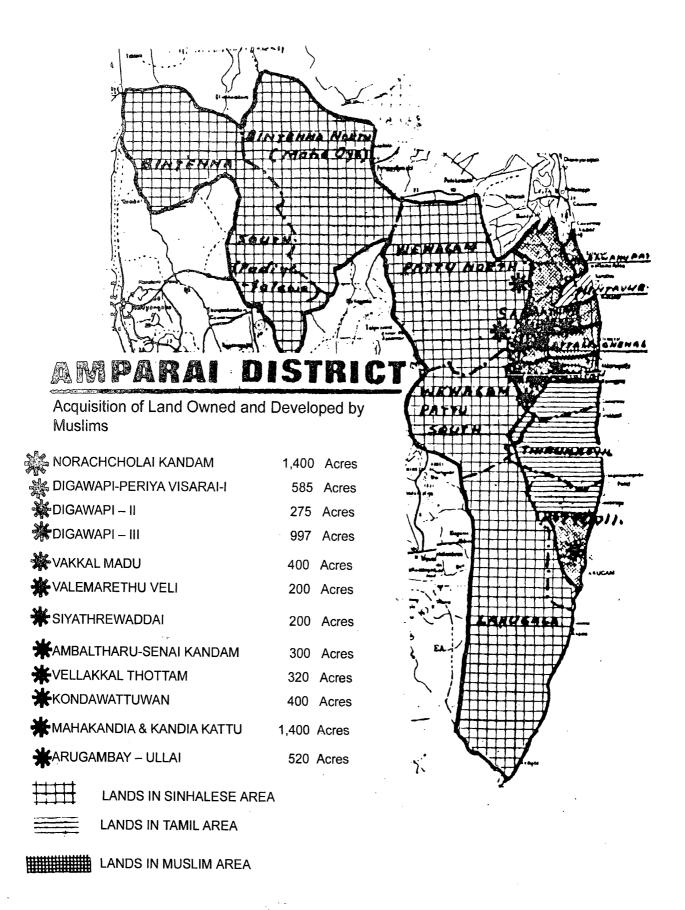
The land taken over chasing the Muslims proved a dismal failure for sugar cultivation. One thousand four hundred acres of fertile paddy fields were reduced to shrub jungle. The Government had settled Sinhalese brought from outside instead of giving the land back to the Muslims who developed these lands on LDO Permits or to their dependants.

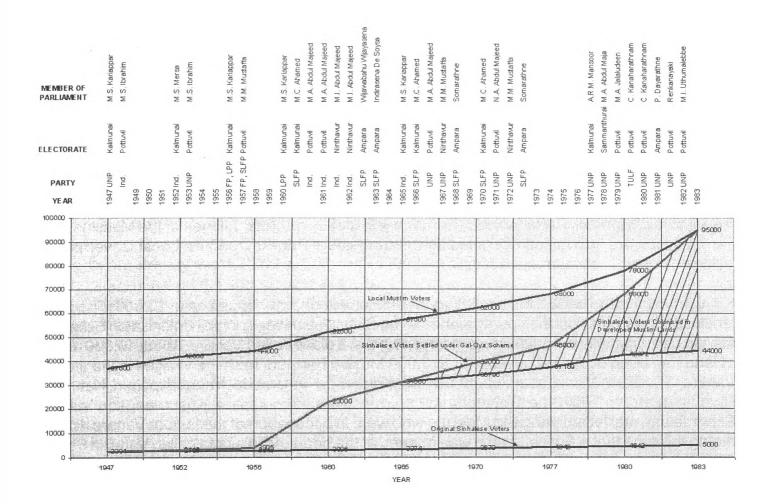
Similarly Muslims who developed the State land with LDO Permits have been chased out from Valamarethveli Kandam, Ambaltharu Kandam and Ambalam Oya Kandam, Chenai Kandam. Total land from which Muslims have been chased away with their LDO Permits (and given to Sinhalese brought from outside) amounts to more than 7,000 acres.

The Sri Lanka Sugar Corporation at Ingurana, Gal Oya Tile Factory under Ministry of Industries at Irrakkamam. The River Valley Development Board – the successor to the Gal Oya Development Board, took over the fertile paddy fields of the Muslims without due regard to the provisions of the law relating to acquisition of land. This has resulted in the Muslims not getting alternate land or compensation.

It is a different story altogether in the Sevanagala Sugar Development Project in the Uda Walawa Scheme in Embilipitiya. Thousands of unauthorized squatters who did not have even the LDO Permits were given first the compensation and a subsistence of Rs. 550/- per month, till the land illegally occupied by them is fully developed for sugar cultivation and given back to them at the rate of three to five acres. They are also given a developed plot of one acre high land and a free

house. No one is displaced on account of Sugar cultivation project as happened in Gal Oya and not a single Muslim or Tamil is brought from outside the area. What happened in Gal Oya Development Scheme is a deliberate discrimination against the Muslims.





## Distribution of population of Sri Lanka by District, Province and race - census - 1981

DISTRICTS	All Races Total	Sinhalese Total	%	Ceylon Tamils Total	%	Indian Tamils Total	%	Tamils Total	%	Moors Total	%	Burghers Total	%	Malays Total	%	
WEST. PROV.	3,903,414	3,325,635	85.20	220,360	5.65	60,746	1.56	281,106	7.20	240,774	6.17	27,069	0.69	28,830	0.74	
1.COLOMBO	1,689,613	1,322,658	78.28	165,952	9.82	21,504	1.27	187,456	11.09	140,461	8.31	18,997	1.12	20,041	1.19	
2. GAMPAHA	1,386,867	1,280,902	92.36	45,807	3.30	5,732	0.41	51,539	3.72	38,607	2.78	7,742	0.56	8,077	0.58	
3.KALUTARA	826,934	722,075	87.32	8,601	1.04	33,510	4.05	42,111	5.09	61,706	7.46	330	0.04	712	0.09	
CENTRAL PROV.	2,000,041	1,317,119	65.85	147,082	7.35	376,055	18.80	523,137	26.16	152,556	7.63	2,954	0.15	4,275	0.21	
4.KANDY	1,121,942	844,325	75.26	55,675	4.96	104,840	9.34	160,515	14.31	112,052	9.99	2,402	0.21	2,648	0.24	
5.MATALE	357,134	285,514	79.95	20,936	5.86	24,084	6.74	45,020	12.61	25,836	7.23	250	0.07	514	0.14	
6.NU. ELIYA	520,965	187,280	35.95	70,471	13.53	247,131	47.44	317,602	60.96	14,668	2.82	302	0.06	1,113	0.21	
SOUTH PROV.	1,881,349	1,792,260	95.26	11,564	0.61	25,308	1.35	36,872	1.96	47,085	2.50	533	0.03	4,599	0.24	
7.GALLE	813,360	769,928	94.66	6,093	0.75	11,069	1.36	17,162	2.11	25,896	3.18	216	0.03	158	0.02	
8.MATARA	643,988	609,367	94.62	3,918	0.61	13,931	2.16	17,849	2.77	16,457	2.56	254	0.04	61	0.01	
9. HAMBANTOTA	424,001	412,965	97.40	1,553	0.37	308	0.07	1,861	0.44	4,732	1.12	63	0.01	4,380	1.03	
NORTH PROV.	1,109,637	33,149	2.99	959,797	86.50	63,431	5.72	1,023,228	92.21	52,638	4.74	505	0.05	117	0.01	
10.JAFFNA	831,015	4,615	0.56	792,246	95.33	20,001	2.41	812,247	97.74	13,757	1.66	350	0.04	46	0.01	
11.MANNAR	105,416	8,710	8.26	54,106	51.33	14,072	13.35	68,178	64.68	28,464	27.00	41	0.04	23	0.02	
12.VAVUNIYA	95,701	15,876	16.59	54,541	56.99	18,592	19.43	73,133	76.42	6,640	6.94	21	0.02	31	0.03	
13.MULLATIVU	77,505	3,948	5.09	58,904	76.00	10,766	13.89	69,670	89.89	3,777	4.87	93	0.12	17	0.02	
EAST. PROV.	974,127	242,358	24.88	399,406	41.00	12,045	1.24	411,451	42.24	315,201	32.36	4,154	0.43	963	0.10	
14.BATTICALOA	330,528	10,646	3.22	234,348	70.90	3,868	1.17	238,216	72.07	79,317	24.00	2,300	0.70	49	0.01	
15.AMPARA	388,399	146,371	37.69	78,315	20.16	1,410	0.36	79,725	20.53	161,481	41.58	643	0.17	179	0.05	
16.TRINCOMALEE	255,200	85.341	33.44	86,743	33.99	6,767	2.65	93,510	36.64	74,403	29.15	1,211	0.47	735	0.29	
N.W.P. PROV.	3,433,052	3,117,395	90.81	72,625	2.12	11,321	0.33	83,946	2.45	227,149	6.62	1,723	0.05	2,839	0.08	
17.KURUNEGALA	1.211.561	1,128,548	93.15	13,438	1.11	6,427	0.53	19,865	1.64	61,342	5.06	605	0.05	1,201	0.10	
18.PUTTALAM	522,920	437,453	83.66	33,218	6.35	2,964	0.57	36,182	6.92	47,959	9.17	444	0.08	882	0.17	
N.C.P. PROV.	849,332	775,702	91.33	12,981	1.53	990	0.12	13,971	1.64	58,924	6.94	337	0.04	398	0.05	
<b>19.ANURADHAPURA</b>	587,076	536,889	91.45	7,113	1.21	735	0.13	7,848	1.34	41,833	7.13	280	0.05	226	0.04	
20.POLONNARUWA	262,163	238,803	91.09	5,875	2.24	205	0.08	6,080	2.32	17,091	6.52	57	0.02	132	0.05	
UVA PROV.	920,950	700,070	76.02	41,618	4.52	144,959	15.74	186,577	20.26	32,130	3.49	721	0.08	1,452	0.16	
21.BADULLA	641,384	440,245	68.64	36,595	5.71	135,795	21.17	172,390	26.88	26,808	4.18	641	0.10	1,300	0.20	
22.MONARAGALA	279,566	259,825	92.94	5,023	1.80	9,164	3.28	14,187	5.07	5,322	1.90	80	0.03	152	0.05	
SAB. PROV.	1,477,348	1,263,332	85.51	32,074	2.17	132,304	8.96	164,378	11.13	48,363	3.27	614	0.04	661	0.04	
23.RATNAPURA	795,456	674,657	84.81	17,979	2.26	88,429	11.12	106,408	. 13.38	13,531	1.70	450	0.06	410	0.05	
24.KEGALLE	681,892	588,675	86.33	14,095	2.07	43,875	6.43	57,970	8.50	34,832	5.11	164	0.02	251	0.04	
TOTAL	15,699,918		75.10	1,884,526	12.00	826,169	5.26	2,710,695	17.27	1,115,896	7.11	38,273	0.24	43,736	0.28	

Eastern Province Muslim Politics, Ethnic Conflict and Discriminations

## Muslim Lands Forcibly Colonized by Sinhalese in Trincomalee District

Before the introduction of the Kantalai and Allai Colonisation Schemes, Kantalai was predominantly a Muslim Village with a small Tamil population. During this time Muslims cultivated about 4,000 acres of paddy land at a place called Pottanai in Thampalakamam Pattu. When Kantalai Colonisation Scheme came in 1952 the promise and the Policy of the Government was 50% for the local and 50% for others. Quite contrary to this, the Muslim cultivators who had been in the land for more than 30 years were chased away without any compensation. These lands were given to the Sinhalese in 1954.

The Battukachchi area which is presently called Akbarpuram were earlier pasture land of the people of the area. Here also they chased the Muslims and colonized with Sinhalese. Even now there is a Mosque and a Muslim school. When Kanthalai Sugar Corporation was established in 1958, more Sinhalese came in and occupied land along Alakantalai Road, depriving the lands of the Muslims. Kantalai, Pottanaikadu, Peraru are few of the purana Villages of the Muslims and Tamils which are now being occupied by the Sinhalese. Prior to 1965the Local Government Village Council Chairman was a Muslim.

Kinniya which is the largest Muslim Village in Trincomalee has a population of 40,000. The poor landless farmers who lost their purana lands to the Sinhalese under Kantalai Colonisaton Scheme, started clearing their immediate neighboring jungle at a place called Vanaru. About 10,000 acres of land had been occupied by more than 3,000 Muslim Farmers from the villages in the area – Vanaru, Sundiaru, Maniarasankulam, Savaru, Kalaruppu, Valamadu, Vannathipalam, Katukuli, Naduluthu etc. In 1967, the Government introduced a scheme called Kusumangada Vanala Scheme and started chasing the Muslims who were in occupation of the land at Vanaru. It was during this time that a Police Station was opened at the heart of the jungle called Van-Ela Police Station to chase away the Muslims to were in occupation of the land and to help the Sinhalese to take possession of the lands developed by the Muslims.

The land available between Kinniya-Thampalakamam Road and Alaikanthalai Road was originally reserved for the village expansion of Kinniya, Kurunjakerney Alankerney and Thampalakamam. When the Tobacco Corporation came in at a place called Chondankadu area, closer to Mudalaimadu, the employees of the corporation started encroaching into these areas.

The lands owned by the Muslims are now forcibly being occupied by the Sinhalese. There is serious discrimination in Trincomalee Kachcheri. Annual Temporary LDO Permits were not renewed for the lands cleared and cultivated by the Muslims. But new Permits are issued to the Sinhalese who suddenly come and occupy the developed land of the Muslims. Muslims are thrown out without any compensation or alternate land.

In the Padavia Colonisation Scheme in that portion of the land that falls within the Trincomalee District in the Eastern Province, the entirety of the land was alienated to the Sinhalese. Needless to say that the entirety of the land under the Padavia Scheme that fell within the North Central Province was also given to the Sinhalese. Today, the Tamil Speaking people, Tamils and Muslims who held land on State Permits within the Trincomalee District very much before the implementation of Padavia, Allai and Kantalai colonization schemes, on the boundary of such schemes are being compelled to vacate such lands.

Ampara District is 1,775 square miles in extent. According to the census of 1981, the Sinhalese who are 37.2% are eligible for 660 square miles. But they have 76% or 1,340 square miles in the

predominant Sinhalese areas. Muslims are 41.6% and eligible for 728 square miles. But the Muslims in their area have only 263 square miles which is only 15% of the land in Ampara District. Please see annexure.

However, the political authority of the previous government and the District Minister in the present government are very keen to grab the developed and ready made paddy fields of the Muslims and settle Sinhalese relatives brought from other districts. These are the illegal politically aided settlements of Sinhalese in Muslim areas which is over and above the 38 settlements of Sinhalese under the Gal Oya scheme 1960-63. This maneuver has very seriously affected the economy and the political strength of the Indigenous Muslim population of Ampara District. Please see annexure.

## Muslim Lands Forcibly Occupied in the Name of Buddhist Religion and Culture

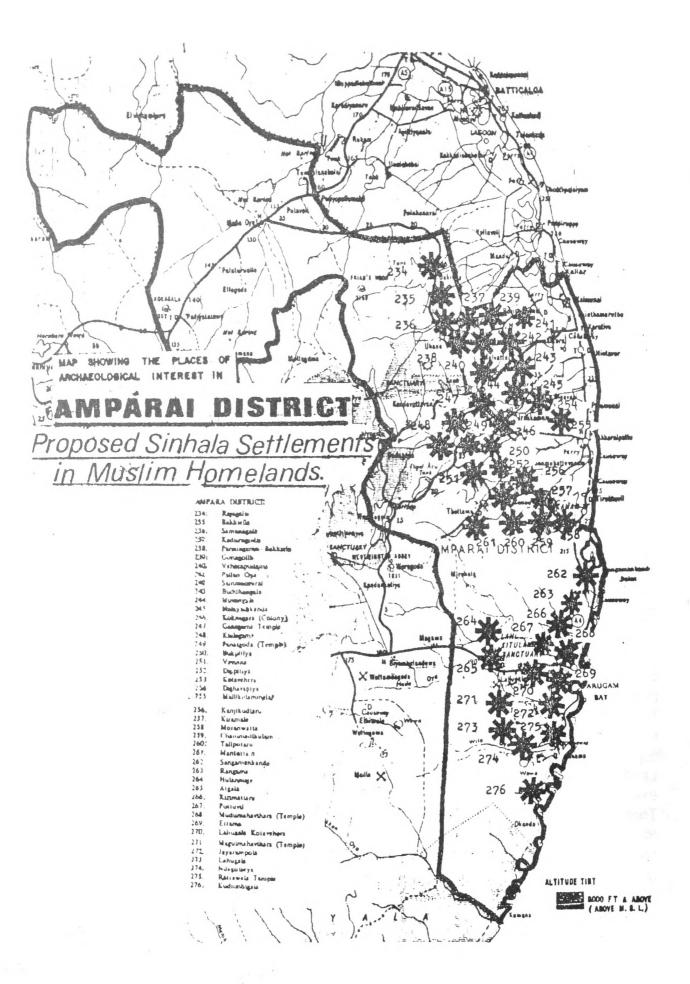
Adding insult to injury action are still continued to deprive the Muslims from even the 15% of the land holdings in Ampara District. It is sad to observe that these actions are being contemplated in the name of religion ad culture. Certain areas where Muslims have been living traditionally have been already earmarked as places of Archeological Interest. The Commissioner of Archeology has stated in the "Silumina" on the 1<sup>st</sup> January, 1984 that 273 sites in the North and East have been excavated and Buddhist Priests and Buddhist Sinhalese are to be settled in these places. According to Hansard Volume 25 No. 10 of Friday 7<sup>th</sup> October, 1983, there are 43 places of Archeological Interest in the predominantly Muslim areas of Ampara District.

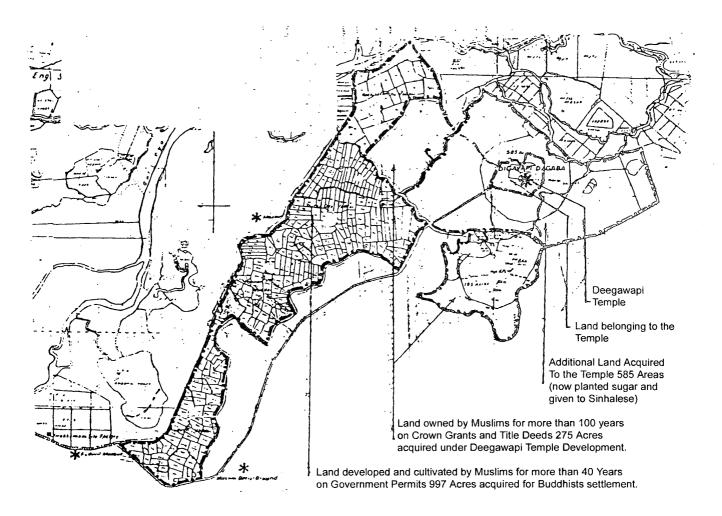
Some of the Buddhist Priests and Sinhalese have tried to make out that even the Northern & Eastern Provinces were peopled by Sinhalese several centuries ago. They referred to the presence of Buddhist ruins as proof of this fact. They should remember the fact that the whole of South India and the majority of the Tamil speaking people were Buddhists in the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries AD. The well known Tamil Literary epic Manimekalai and several other Tamil literary works of this period bear ample testimony to this. These ruins in the North and East were places worshiped by Tamil speaking Buddhists.

The claims that are being made to even the Northern and Eastern Provinces as Sinhalese territory are on par with the claims of the Jews in Palestine.

Successive governments have pursued the same policies as the Jews are pursuing in Palestine in dispossessing the Arabs of their land and driving them from their homes. Today we find a frantic search for Buddhist shrines, not for the love of Buddhism but to chase away the Muslims from their lands.

Land acquisition and ejection of Muslims in Digawapi area in Ampara District is a very good example. It was around 1940 that a Buddhist priest came to reside at the site of the Chaitiya. There were no Buddhist to give Dana. The Muslims in this area helped the priest. The land around the Chaitiya was planted with coconut by the Muslims of the area for the priest. Suddenly in 1960 some Buddhist wanted all the land around the Chaitiya to be taken over by the government for Buddhist purpose.

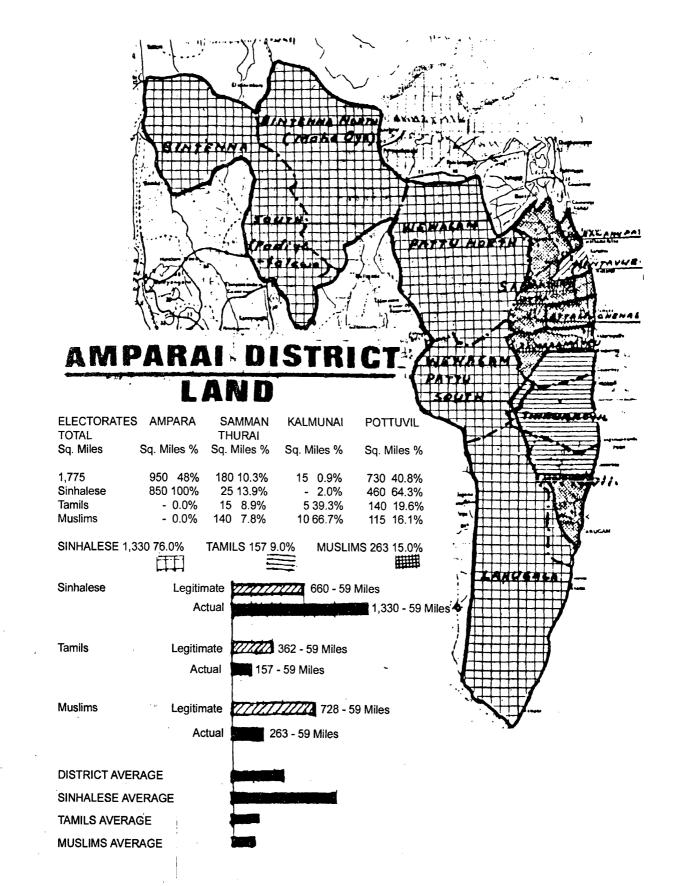




The Government, in 1968 appointed a committee headed by Mr. Ratnethunge, the former Surveyor General, to investigate and submit a report. Number of Buddhist Organisations made representations and finally the Committee recommended to take over 500 acres around the Chaitiya. It was agreed with the Muslims that no more land would be taken. Quite contrary to this agreement and promise by the Sinhala Buddhists, there was a sudden move to acquire another 1,000 acres of paddy land belonging to the Muslims. The Government, without any regard for Law and Order send the bulldozers destroying 185 acres of paddy cultivation in the Periyavisaraikandam owned by the Muslims on Crown Grant Title Deeds. What is happening in the Ampara District is deliberate discrimination against the Muslims.

Sinhalese are more than 74% of the population in the Sinhala Speaking area. Statistics have shown that the Sinhalese have had most of the State land alienated to them under various settlement schemes up to now. They are also occupying, under various pretext, more than 80% of the State land under major colonization schemes in the Tamil Speaking area, Northern and Eastern Provinces. The newly demarcated Ampara Electorate in Ampara District and Seruvila Electorate in Trincomalee District for the new Sinhala settlers in Gal Oya, Padavia, Allai and Kantalai Schemes, cover than 65% of the land area in these Districts.

Muslims are less than 7.6% - the National Ethnic ratio, in 18 Districts and more than 7.6% in other Districts. Most of the District in which the Muslims are less than the National Ethnic Ratio are in the Sinhalese speaking areas and the main occupation of these Muslims is Trading for which land is not important. These Muslims do not require even 1% of their Ethnic Quota for commercial and residential purposes. As it happened in the previous Land Settlement Schemes, all the land including the quota for Muslims will be taken over by the Sinhalese in the Sinhalese Areas.



On the other hand, where the Muslims are more than 7.6% live in the Tamil speaking area, Northern and Eastern Provinces. The occupation is agriculture. For them land is very important. These are the Districts of Ampara, Batticaloa, Trincomale, Mannar, Puttalam etc. According to the colonization policy of the government – to colonise all districts with 74% Sinhalese, Muslims in these districts will also become eligible to only 7.6% of the land that would be alienated under any colonization

scheme in the future. In other words, although the Muslims were more than 65% before Gal Oya Scheme and 42% of the population of the Ampara District in 1981 census, they are eligible to only 7.6% of the land. The Sinhalese who were less than 5% in 1921 and 38% in 1981 will become eligible for 74% of the land in Ampara District in future.

As mentioned earlier, the extent of land available in Muslim area for the 42% Muslims in Ampara District is only 264 sq. miles, whereas the extent of the land available in the Sinhalese area for the 37% Sinhalese is 1,340 sq. miles. Even at 1981 census, there is already a short fall of 465 sq. miles of land for the Muslims and an excess of 680 sq. miles for the Sinhalese in the Ampara District. With the new policy of the UPFA Government, the Muslims will loose another 137 sq. miles to the Sinhalese. This would mean a serious social and economical discrimination against the Muslims in Ampara District. It would be worse for the Muslims in Batticaloa, Trincomalee, Mannar Districts.

More than 69.3% of the Muslim population of the Island are found in the 18 Electoral Districts where they are less than 12.5% in these District population. Only 30.7% of Muslims living in 4 Electoral Districts are more than 12.5% of the population here. Therefore, more than two-third of the Muslim Community are deprived of the opportunity of being represented by members of their own community, an opportunity which other communities have in ample measure. It needs no repetition that in a parliamentary democracy this human right has been taken away from the majority of the Muslim Community by the provisions in Chapter XIV, Article 99 (5) (a) of the Dharmista Constitution of 1978.

We have already observed from the annexure, that in Ampara, Batticaloa, Trincomalee and Mannar Districts, the Muslim Community is found concentrated in sizeable proportions and there it has the opportunity of being represented by Muslims of its own choice. In view of the present colonization policy of the Government, the question naturally arises how long will that opportunity last? In the census of 1921, the Sinhalese population of the combined Ampara and Batticaloa Districts was less than 5%. After the Gal Oya Scheme settlements, the 1971 census revealed that Ampara had 126,033 Muslims out of the total population of 272,605 - that is to say, the Muslims constituted 46.2% of the population of Ampara District. The same census showed that the Sinhalese population was 82,868 or 30.39% of the total population. By the process of the natural increase at 2% per annum, one would expect the number to rise to 101,015 in 1981. But their number according to the census of 1981 is 146,371. That is to say 45,356 Sinhalese have been brought in to Ampara, after the Gal Oya Settlements, by illegal settlements and this exercise has reduced the Muslim strength from 46.2% and increased the Sinhalese strength from 30.39% to 37.6%. The same trend is noticeable in the Trincomalee District as well. It is therefore a mere matter of time for the Muslims to become less than 7.6% in Ampara, Batticaloa, Trincomalee and Mannar Districts, when the present policy of the Government to colonise all Districts with 74% is implemented. This will completely eliminate Muslim elected representation to the legislature. This policy of colonizing all districts according to National Ethnic Ratio seems to be directed against the Muslim Community rather than any other community in Sri Lanka, to destroy their traditional home land, independent economy and the right to elect their own political representation to the legislature.

Inter-racial colonization schemes have proved dismal failure far from leading to integration within the schemes itself, they have led to disintegration in the whole country, emphasizing the realities for diversity. Inter-racial colorizations have proved catastrophic as far as the Muslims are concerned. There was to be new and more healthy thinking on this matter. We have become sick of the maneuver and manipulations of Ministers and Public Officials entrusted with land.

#### UNLAWFUL OCCUPATION OF MUSLIM LANDS BY THE TAMILS IN THE NORTH EAST

Muslim villages in the North East are interspersed with a Tamil village and vice versa. Substantial share of agricultural lands owned by the Muslims are adjacent to the Tamil villages.

There have been intermittent clashes over the years on comparatively trivial issues such as Muslim farmers being harassed by Tamils when they pass through Tamil areas, waylaying of vehicles, robbing of paddy and cattle belonging to the Muslims. After 1983 ethnic violence, it was found that the Tamils in the North have started to forcibly occupy the lands belonging to the Muslims in areas close to the Tamil villages. There are about 490 locations in the North East where the Tamils are forcibly occupying about 100,000 acres of agricultural lands belonging to more than 40,000 North East Muslim Families.

When questioned during the Media Conference which was described as the largest media event in Sri Lanka organised by the Tamil Tigers on 10<sup>th</sup> April 2002; about the forcible expulsion of tens of thousands of Muslim families by the LTTE in October 1990 from Tamil dominated areas in the North and the massacre of Muslims inside mosques in the East, LTTE Political Advisor Anton Balasingam said "It is I who made an apology to the Muslim people in public for what has happened in the past and that we are willing to talk to them and resolve these issues."

Responding to another question whether he has taken any concrete steps to allow the displaced Muslim people living in refugee camps for the last 16 years to come back to North, Mr Velupillai Pirabaharan said "proper objective conditions should be created for these people to come back. After these conditions are in place, I will make an appeal for the Muslims to come back."

Questioned about harassment of Muslims in the eastern province and the statement that the LTTE's eastern commander, Karikalan had reported to have made that the Muslims had no land rights in the Eastern province, Mr. Anton Balasingam replied, "we want to tell you that we have called the senior commanders of the eastern province to discuss the alleged harassment of Muslim people. We believe that there is no dispute as far as the LTTE leader is concerned on the issue of the Muslim people owning land in the North-East."

On an invitation from the LTTE Leader V. Pirapaharan, the Leader of the SLMC Minister Rauff Hackeem flew to the North with five of his party colleagues for a meeting on the 13th April, 2002.

Agreement was reached on important practical difficulties faced by the Muslims in the North-East. LTTE Leader Pirapaharan invited the displaced Muslims from Jaffna and Wanni to come and resettle in their own places. It was decided to establish joint committees of representative from the LTTE and SLMC to facilitate the resettlement. Similarly it was decided to create favorable conditions for the resettlement of the Muslims who were displaced from Muslims villages in the Eastern Province.

It was decided to help the Muslims to recultivate the uncultivated agricultural lands belonged to the Muslims in the North-East.

It was also agreed to appoint representatives from each district in the North East to discuss the problems faced by the Muslims with LTTE Senior Commanders and to strengthen Tamil Muslims relationship.

The resolution of the land question in the North-East would benefit more than 40,000 families – 125,000 men, women and children and will establish the basis for conflict resolution and help peaceful co-existence between the Tamils and Muslims. It would certainly go a long way to heal one of the worst wounds at the heart of the relations between the two communities.

## MUSLIM LANDS FORCIBLY OCCUPIED BY THE TAMILS IN THE EASTERN PROVINCE

## AMPARA DISTRICT

	Predominate	No. Cases		Extrent	
	Muslim Areas		Α	R	Ρ
1	Pottuvil	730	2592	3	-
2	Akkaraipattu	660	1785	3	23
3	Addalachenai	329	1072	3	34
4	Oluvil/ Palamunai	176	559	1	30
5	Ninthavur	583	2349	-	10
6	Sammanthurai	529	2513	-	22
7	Irakkamam	428	2092	-	32
8	Kalmunai	280	1433	1	33
9	Maruthamunai	496	2365	1	30
		4211	16764	1	14

## **BATTICALOA DISTRICT**

Predominate		No. Cases		Extrent		
	Muslim Areas		Α	R	Р	
1	Kattankudy	449	4231	1		12
2	Eravur	2263	12784	3		34
3	Oddamavady	1856	8710	1		37
4	Valaichenai	907	3086	1		30
		5475	28813	-		33

## TRINCOMALEE DISTRICT

	Predominate No. Cases			Extrent	
	Muslim Areas		Α	R	Р
1	Kinniya	2252	7209	2	6
2	Mutur	992	2577	-	36
3	Thopur	912	4617	2	17
4	Pulmoddai	566	1344	3	25
5	Morawewa	464	1343	1	22
		5186	17092	2	26
			Extent		
	EASTERN PROVINCE	No. Cases	Α	R	Р
	TOTAL	14872	62670	-	33



# MUSLIM LANDS FORCIBLY OCCUPIED BY THE TAMILS AFTER ETHNIC CLEANSING OF MUSLIMS IN OCTOBER 1990 FROM THE NORTHERN PROVINCE

District	DS Division	Cases	Extent		
			Α	R	Ρ
Mannar	1.Mannar	2,033	3,623	3	12
	2.Musali	2,966	11,700	3	6
	3.Manthai west	931	4,402	2	16
	4.Madu	417	2,825	1	15
	5.Nanattan	253	681	-	11
	Total	6,600	23,233	2	20
Jaffna	1.Jaffna	1,177	245	-	17
	2.Chavekachcheri	44	21	3	35
	3.Island south	28	65	1	-
	4.Vadamarachi north	2	1	-	10
	5 Valikamam south-west	3	-	3	6
	6.Valikamam north	2	14	-	20
	Total	1,256	348	1	8
Kilinochchi	1.Poonakari	114	283	3	25
	2.Karachchi	151	233	1	29
	3.Pachchilaipalli	7	8	-	10
	Total	272	525	1	24
Mullaitheevu	1.Maritimepattu	978	1,095	, <sup></sup> -	22
	2.Puthukudiyiruppu	16	53	1	12
	Total	994	1,148	1	34
Vavuniya	1.Vavuniya south	870	3,795	1	2
5	2.Venkalachchettikulam	1,066	1,327	· 1	20
	Total	1,936	5,122	2	22
NORTHERN PROVINCE TOTAL		11,058	30,378	1	28

#### Mediation

On a decision at the 5<sup>th</sup> session of the peace talks in Berlin on 7<sup>th</sup> & 8<sup>th</sup> of February 2003, LTTE – Muslim District Committees were established in all the three districts in the Eastern Province by the Government Peace Secretariat under the Prime Minister, to mediate lands and properties issues between the Tamils and Muslims.

The main reason for the present conflict between the Tamils and Muslims in the North East is the undue delay in implementing the agreements reached between the LTTE leader Pirabakaran and SLMC leader Rauff Hakeem on 13<sup>th</sup> April 2002 and the decision at the 5<sup>th</sup> Session of the peace talk held in Berlin during 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> February 2003 for the establishment of village level peace committees in the North East to mediate and resolve Tamil Muslim conflicts.

#### The Resolution of the Muslim Land Question in the North East Region

The resolution of the land question in the North East of Sri Lanka has become a dominant issue during the transition period between war to peace. The resolution of the land question will be a major contribution to the peace process in Sri Lanka, for it will create the basis for laying the foundation for co-existence between the Tamils and Muslims living in the North East.

#### Mediation and the Promotion of Co-existence

The transfer of the land will not be easy since Tamils have cultivated the land and some of it have been handed over to the families of Martyrs who had lost their lives or being injured in the war. Committee of the legal intricacies involved in such a transfer, alternative dispute resolution mechanisms and problem solving approaches will have to take place. It is therefore suggested that a proper framework be created which can help facilitate an orderly and structured process, which can ensure sustainable mediation and reconciliation.

#### Communications

Clear communications between all the stakeholders is essential for the success of the exercise. The communications strategy should keep all stakeholders fully informed and ally any fears and rumors, which could incite conflicts. The best way to do this would be to get the support of the Trustees of the Mosques the LTTE, NEMPA, SLMM and Members of Parliament in the region.

#### **Alternative Dispute Resolution**

Alternative dispute resolutions need to be setup in place for mediation and arbitration. Whilst the LTTE has promised to hand over the land to the Muslim owners, this is not easy since Tamils are already occupying or working on the land. Therefore alternative dispute resolution mechanisms, mediation and arbitrations may need to be put in place. Alternative dispute resolution means that measures should be found which would avoid a long and protracted cases in Court. In Sri Lanka it has been suggested that a **Mediation Commission** be appointed to deal with land disputes. Zonal special mediation boards could be appointed in each district composed of individuals from each community who can mediate on the issues. Currently the Ministry of Justice is framing legislative provisions to create such a Mediation Commission for the North Eastern region.

# **Mediation Centers**

Eventually mediation centers will have to be established in each village. The Muslim Peace Secretariat should explore the best possible way in which such mediation centers could be established in each district. The establishment of mediation centers of a permanent nature is essential since the region is composed of a multi-ethnic population.

#### **Confidence Building**

Confidence building between the Tamils and the Muslims in the North East was taken up as a priority item at the Peace Talks commenced on Thursday the 31<sup>st</sup> October 2002, at the Rose Garden Holiday Resort, Samoran, Nakhorn Pathong, Thailand.

It was agreed to take the following steps immediately to implement the joint agreements reached between the L TTE Leader Pirabhakaran and the SLMC Leader Rauff Hakeem at the discussion held on 13<sup>th</sup> April 2002 at Vanni.

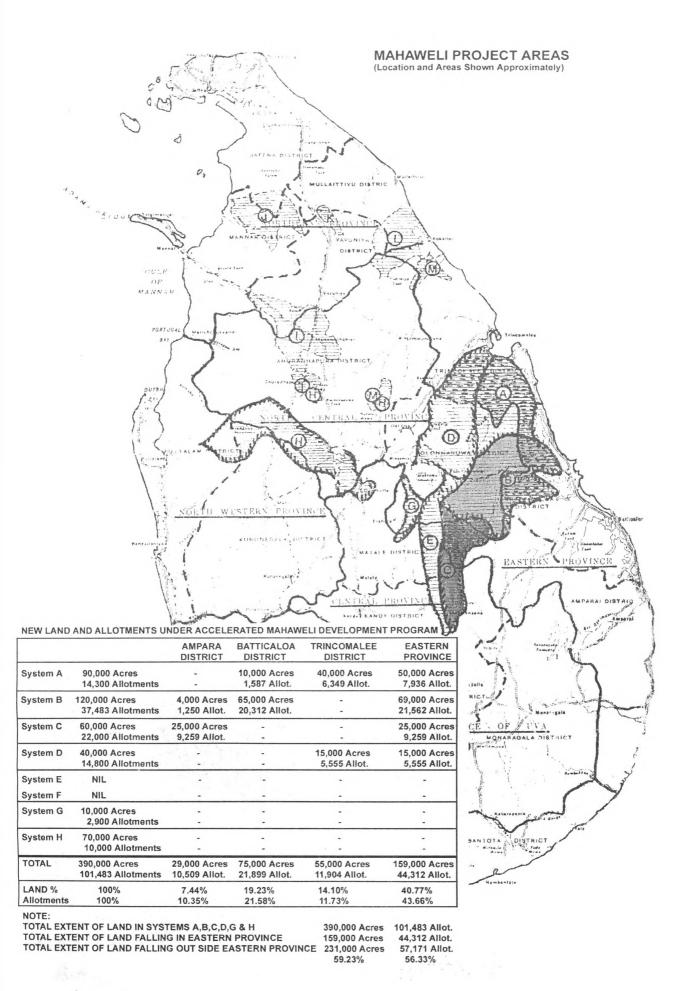
- 1. Establishment of Village level Tamil-Muslim Joint Committees to identify and resolve the problems faced by the Tamils and Muslims in the North East.
- 2. The Joint Committee to identify the lands belonging to the Muslims in the North-East unlawfully occupied by the Tamils to enable the take over by the Muslims:

- 3. The Joint Committee to identify the security problems faced by the Muslims in the North East in order to strengthen Muslim Security.
- 4. The Joint Committee to identify the administrative difficulties faced by the Muslims in the North Eastern Provincial Council, District Secretariats and the Divisional Secretariats in the North East to eliminate discrimination against the Muslims.
- 5. The Joint Committee to identify any other issues that would ensure the improvement of confidence building between the two communities.

# Committees to Address Land Issues and Other Areas of Mutual Concern in the Eastern Province

At the Fifth Session of Peace Talks held in Berlin on 7-8 February 2003 the parties agreed to establish three committees, one in each district of the Eastern Province, to address land issues and other areas of mutual concern. The committees will consist of six representatives of the Muslim population and six representatives of the LTTE. The work of the committees will start immediately. Similar committees will be appointed to address such issues relating to other communities as and when required.

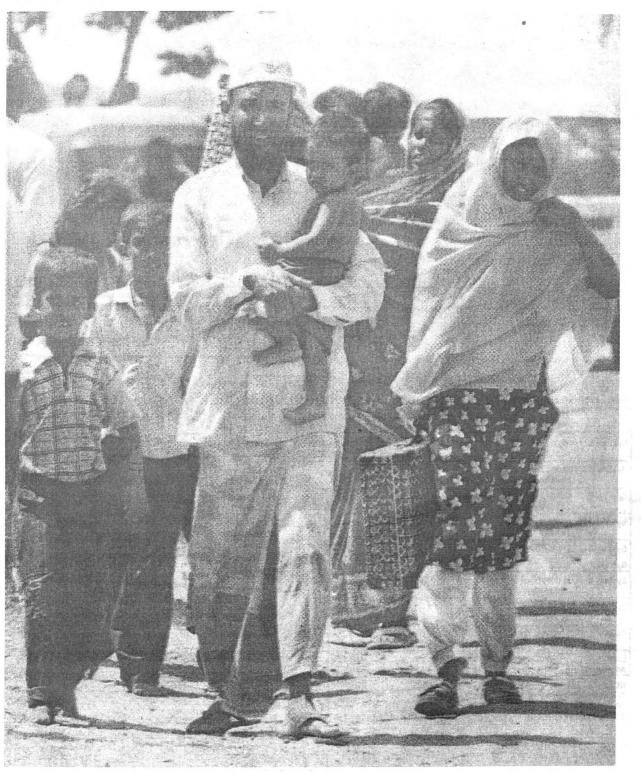
With all what had happened in the North-East, the Muslim issues are becoming graver daily. Muslim youths are becoming more desperate and they are agitating to take up to arms to resolve their problems if there is no favorable response to their grievances.



#### MASSACRE OF MUSLIMS IN MUTHUR - TRINCOMALEE

At least 200 Muslim youths have been abducted at the 64<sup>th</sup> mile post at Pachchanoor in Muthur on Friday the 04<sup>th</sup> August 2006. Some of the youths had managed to escape after artillery shells fell close to where they were detained.

Details of the atrocious and inhuman treatment meted out to the fleeing civilian population by LTTE cadres, in the vicinity of Pachchanoor on the Muthur – Kanthalai road, starkly exposes the LTTE's brutality. Thousands of civilians who left Muthur on an assurance by the LTTE that no harm would be caused to them if they chose to leave were subjected to such harassment and cruelty resulting in the Muslims realizing that as in earlier instances the LTTE's assurances could not be trusted anymore.



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From the morning of 4<sup>th</sup> August 2006, thousands of fleeing civilians including children, pregnant mothers and the elderly who have been subjected to virtual starvation for over forty eight hours as a result of attacks on Muthur both by the government forces and the LTTE, were forcibly diverted to Kiranthimunai, off the 64<sup>th</sup> milepost on the Muthur – Kanthalai Road.

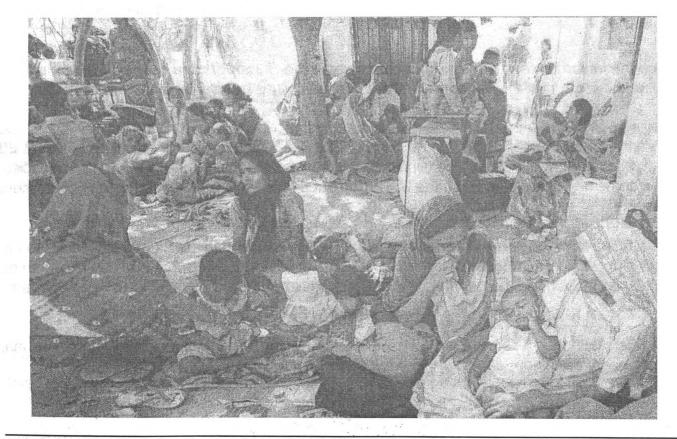
An artillery attack which targeted this checkpoint, according to scores of eyewitnesses resulted in the death of some civilians as well as a few LTTE cadres. In the ensuing confusion many civilians managed to escape from the LTTE cadres and reach Kanthalai after trekking for many hours through inhospitable terrain.

#### **Muslim Security Compromised**

In terms of the CFA it is the Government of Sri Lanka that is responsible for the protection of Human security particularly in government controlled areas. The events that have unfolded in the recent past reiterates the repeated call that the CFA must be reviewed and strengthened to address the legitimate concerns of all stakeholders and ensure security of the civilian population at all times.

When the LTTE closed the Mavillaru anicut the government and the Army never understood their true intention in order to capture Muthur. They strengthened the safety of the Mavillaru area neglecting the security of Muthur. The government had removed around 400 security forces personnel who were deployed in Muthur and posted them in the Mavilaru area and this had made Muthur more vulnerable to LTTE attacks.

The LTTE carefully observed the situation and entered Muthur on 02<sup>nd</sup> of August 2006 without any resistance from the security force. They disconnected the electricity. The Muslims without any protection were caught unaware. They vacated their homes and went into the mosques and Arabic College hoping that they will not be attacked in those places. However what happened was something else. The LTTE used the Muslims as human shields when the army attacked the LTTE.



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The Muslims got caught in the crossfire from both the army and the LTTE. Shells fell on Arabic College too. The number of deaths increased.

Since Muthur was totally surrounded by LTTE, the town could not function normally. Business came to stop. People did not have means to acquire their daily food, children suffered without milk, patience both from the hospital and the casualties suffered without treatment. The Muslims had to struggle for their mere existence.

If this situation continued all of them would have died either by hunger or by shells. Therefore decided to leave Muthur. Though they received repeated assurances from the army that they will be protected and asking them not to vacate Muthur, there was no protection forthcoming. Therefore the Muslims lost hope both in the government and the army and left for Kanthalai and Kinniya.

The Muslims while running for their lives suffering with hunger and thirst were also attacked by the LTTE on the way. The women and elderly were tortured and the youngsters were separated and murdered. The people remained in the local camps in Muthur too were faced with untold hardships and were suffering without proper amenities to eat, dress or sleep.

Trincomalee is almost the core of the power structure in the North and East and whoever is in control of the area will have the upper hand since it's the transit point between the North and East. Whoever wrests control in the area will have a say in the final solution – be it military or political.

The LTTE knew the importance of this place, infiltrated into the neighbourhood of Mavilaru since mid 1985 with the long term plan of taking control of the Trincomalee Harbour area.

Before the signing of the Ceasefire Agreement in February 2002 it was the Sri Lankan security forces that were in control of the Mavilaru area.

After infiltrating into the area, the LTTE used the area to monitor the activities in the Trincomalee harbour, where troops and cargo have been transported through the ships to the North, since 1985.

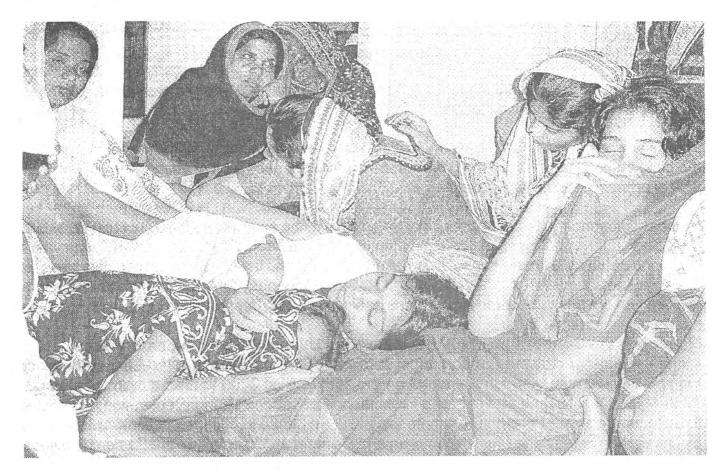
Since the infiltration and consolidation of power in the Sampoor area by the LTTE during this period, the security of the Trincomalee Harbour has always been at a risk.

They also attacked the Trincomalee Naval base using 122mm and 130mm, artillery guns and mortars from Sampoor area. These heavy weapons which have the capacity of about 20 kilometers range were captured from the military during the Mullaitivu and Elephant Pass debacles. Now for the first time in the East, the LTTE had used these weapons to attack the government military.

The attacks from these mass destructive heavy weapons remain the biggest challenge to the security forces carrying out operations in the Southern and Eastern parts of the Trincomalee district. Any mass movement of the security forces have been largely obstructed by these powerful big guns.

The Tigers launched a fierce attack on three main army camps in Trincomalee – Kattaparichchan, Gandhinagar and Thoppur.

They also stormed into the predominantly Muslim areas in Muthur in a bid to take control of the township that had throughout been under government control. Though the security forces faced some setback initially with this unexpected attack, within 72 hours they managed to take full control of the area. The LTTE lost nearly 300 cadres including a large number of female cadres in the battle for Muthur.



More or less a similar number of Muslim civilians too got killed, caught in the crossfire, with majority of deaths reported due to LTTE firing.

If the government had the common sense to realize the gravity of abandoning strategic locations, it would have saved this totally unwarranted loss of life and money.

LTTE had it's eyes on Muthur for a long time for they considered Muthur harbour to be an important place but because of the presence of the Muslims have found it difficult to capture this area. Therefore LTTE was keen on chasing the Muslims from Muthur.

This is the reason why there were continuous attacks, strikes and murders causing much loss to the lives and properties of Muslims of Muthur. Many times leaflets were distributed by the LTTE threatening the Muthur Muslims to vacate their homes, but the Muslims of Muthur were not scared and they did not evacuate the area. They were determined to stay in the land which is rightfully their.

The Army was not serious about the security of the Muslims. When Muthur Muslims expressed their concerns about the threats of LTTE, Muslim political leaders, made a mockery of it. They believed Tamil leaders' assurance that there will never be a repetition of what happened to the Northern Muslims.

The CFA has become a dead letter with both parties violating it with impunity while regular ethnic cleansing of the Muslims take place in the north east at the behest of the LTTE. The engagements between the government and the LTTE had only resulted in compromising civilian security, particularly that of the Muslim population. Both sides have shown absolute disregard for human security with the LTTE openly committing war crimes while innocent civilians were fleeing Muthur. 'Both parties while making pronouncements about being committed to peace, the CFA and human security have brought the country towards the brink of all out war.

The government in the initial stage was not prepared to deal with such a mass exodus and had difficulty in dealing with the situation.

The government had no warning. Knowing that there was an impending crisis in Muthur developing, the disaster preparedness of the government agencies leaves a lot of suspicions. In fact, their lack of preparedness was a disaster.

If Muthur happened to be a predominantly Sinhala town, the approach to flush out the LTTE would have been different. Likewise, the LTTE also would have used different tactics if Muthur was a Tamil populated area. In this sense, both the government and the LTTE did not care two hoots for the inhabitants who were largely Muslims. It was therefore easy for them to engage in absolute warfare and not think about Muslim civilians getting caught in between.

# Meeting of the Consortium of all the Jamiyathul Ullama Sabahs in Eastern Province

A meeting arranged by the Consortium of Jamiyathul Ullama Sabahs in the Eastern Province took place in Santhankerni in Kalmunai on the 16th August 2006 to draft a resolution named "Muthur Declaration" and also to hold a Seminar on Peace. The Muthur Declaration is expected to be forwarded to all Foreign Diplomats serving in Sri Lanka to enlighten the suppression and discrimination against the Muslim community in General and specially in the Eastern Province. Special emphasis is to be made on the sufferings of the Muslim community in Muthur who had to leave their dwellings where they have been living for ages and leaving behind all what they could call their own with only the clothes they were wearing. The meeting has been widely advertised in all places where Muslims are living. Representatives from all the districts are expected to attend the meeting and participate in the seminar.

# Harthal and Peace Rally in Ampara

A Harthal staged in Muslim areas of Ampara on the 16th August 2006 in response to the hand bills distributed by the Federation of all Mosques in the Eastern Province calling for a Harthal. Around 15 000 people had participated in the peace rally held in Kalmunai. A leaflet carrying their demands had been issued at the rally. The statements are as follows;

# **Muthur Declaration**

• We vehemently condemn the LTTE for making a historical error in their struggle for freedom by causing a forcible vacation of Muslims from their traditional residences in North and again in Muthur and Thoppur.

• We urge the government to take meaningful action to resettle the Muslim refugees in their own historical habitats before the end of the year 2006 and repeatedly request the LTTE to cooperate to the resettlement efforts by the government.

• We urge the government to immediately appoint a Commission comprising of three retired Supreme and Appeal court judges to inquire in to the affaires that led to the massacre and forcible eviction of Muslims and submit a report and to publish it in print and electronic media after submitting the report.

• We urge the NGOs and Human Rights Organization to take the issue of massacring of innocent civilians in to the international community.

• We request the LTTE and the government to recognize the just and equitable rights to eternal self determination of Muslims in the North and East.

• We request the LTTE and the government to resolve the national issue and find a lasting solution through a negotiated settlement.

# MUSLIMS HACKED TO DEATH IN POTTUVIL - AMPARA

Ten Muslim civilians hacked to death on Saturday – 16<sup>th</sup> September 2006 near the Radella tank in Pottuvil created tension and fear among the Muslim population. The government blamed the LTTE for this brutal killing but the civilians suspect the Government Special Task Force (STF).

According to the Ampara police the victims were workers employed by a Muslim contractor of the area and were reported missing hours after they went to carry out repairs to the Radella anicut on Saturday - 16<sup>th</sup> September 2006

Their hacked bodies were later found by a search team near the anicut in close proximity to the Panama STF camp. The hacked bodies of three of the victims were found near the anicut on Sunday - 17<sup>th</sup> September 2006 and the rest were found the following morning.

The victims, most were said to be around 18 years, identified as M. Anurdeen, M. Nafar, M. Samsudeen, A.M. Faizal, L. Anees, M. Jauffer, S.L. Rizard from Pottuvil, A.M. Ajmeer, M. Fairooz and M.I. Shiyam from Akkaraipattu.



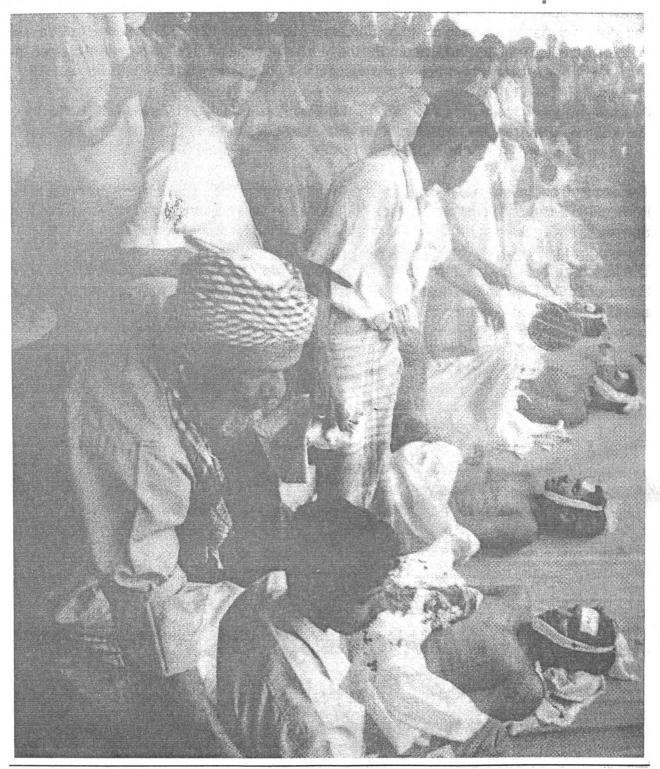
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Initially the police said eleven Muslims were killed, but a later count confirmed that 10 people died and one man had escaped with injuries.

The lone survivor Meera Mohideen (60), who was in a serious condition after suffering cut injuries was admitted to the Pottuvil hospital for treatment and was later transferred to Ampara.

According to Pettuvil division Acting ASP W.K. Sirisena, the survivor in a statement to police, had said that the LTTE had committed the brutal crime.

The killing sent shockwaves through the Pottuvil area resulting in virtually empty streets and closed shops. Police were patrolling the area to make sure law and order was maintained. But the calm was short-lived as Muslims angered by the incident pelted stones towards STF personnel and the vehicle of IGP Chandra Fernando who rushed to the site.



Eastern Province Muslim Politics, Ethnic Conflict and Discriminations

The bodies of the victims were later buried under tight security with family members, relatives and villagers in attendance.

The Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission (SLMM) said its monitors had decided not to visit the site of the massacre to carry out investigations as high tension prevailed in Pottuvil throughout the day.

A group of Muslim parliamentarians both from the government and opposition visited the site of the massacre together with media personnel from Colombo.

According to reports from the area the victims were found blindfolded, hands tied and hacked to death in a vicious and brutal manner in close proximity to the Panama STF camp, which was said to be an area with no jungle thicket as was earlier claimed. This area is fully under the control of the security forces so there does not seem the likelihood of the LTTE entering this area.



Meanwhile the journalists who visited Pottuvil on Monday the 18<sup>th</sup> September 2006 said the area was gripped by tension with civilians assigning the brutal attack was clearly the work of the security forces and not the LTTE.

# Muslim Council calls for International Inquiry

The Muslim Council of Sri Lanka, which is a network of more than 70 National Muslim organizations has expressed its shock and vehemently condemned the brutal massacre of the 11 Muslim youths in Pottuvil and has requested the President to appoint an independent International Commission of Inquiry to be nominated by the Commonwealth of Nations to probe, identify and bring to justice the perpetrators of the massacre and clear the minds of the Muslims.

"There is much doubts in the minds of the Muslims of the area as to who would have perpetrated this dastardly massacre of innocent Muslim who are in their prime of youth.

Questions have also been raised as to why the lone survivor Meera Mohideen (60) who was been transported to the Kalmunai Ashraf Memorial Hospital, in a critical condition was redirected to the Ampara Hospital by Sri Lankan armed forces personnel manning the check post at Karaithivu before being admitted to the Kalmunai hospital." The MCSL has said "We firmly believes that government should have provided adequate security and safety to the Muslims of the area since it is the primary duty of the government to safeguard the lives, property and rights of its citizens."

We request, President Mahinda Rajapakse to appoint an independent International Commission of Inquiry to be nominated by the Commonwealth of Nations to probe, identify and bring to justice the perpetrators of the massacre and clear the minds of the people of the area and the Muslims of Sri Lanka as to who the actual perpetrators were" the MCSL had said.

#### Pottuvil Massacre - No evidence to show LTTE has done it - "Ravaya"

Pottuvil people have rejected the attempt to hold the LTTE responsible for the massacre of 11 Muslim Youth who went to Radalla to repair the irrigation tank on the 18<sup>th</sup> of September and are demanding from the government to appoint an independent body to hold an inquiry.

A group of leading civilians in Pottuvil on conditions of anonymity disclosed that due to some disputes between some STF personnel and the civilians this massacre took place. They also expressed surprise why the 9 Sinhala workers who normally work with them did not report for work and suspect the STF may have pressurized them to keep away.

Two days before this incident an attempt had been made to bury a dead body of a Sinhala-Tamil mixed person in the Muslim burial ground and had been opposed by the Muslims of the area. Thereafter an attempt had been made by the STF to bury there but the Muslims had prevented that attempt.

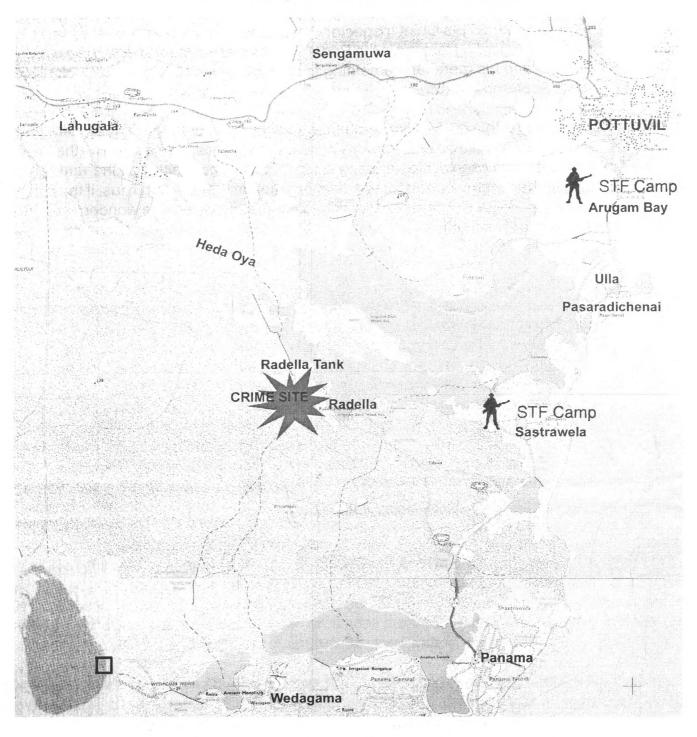
Next day when some Muslim carts had been taken to Radalla Wewa for washing a group of STF personnel had arrived and after removing all their clothes had assaulted them and framed bogus charges of cutting trees in the jungle and handed over to the police.

Thereafter when the only survivor in a critical condition from this barbarous attack was being rushed to the close by Ashraf Memorial Hospital at Kalmunai the STF at Ullai junction had prevented that and forced them to take the patient to the far away Amparai hospital. Furthermore they reject outright the police claim that the patient gave a statement that the LTTE was responsible for the attack as he was in critical condition and not in a position to make a statement.

In this regard when we inquired from the Director of Amparai hospital Dr. Jayasinghe he said that on 19<sup>th</sup> the OIC of Amparai police Mr. Jayantha Wickremasinghe visited the patient and arranged to get a statement. When we inquired about the patients state of health the Doctor said he had instructed not to allow anyone to talk to the patient as his condition is serious and not in a fit condition to talk and a tube has been inserted down his throat.

Lahugala Sinhala Majority A.G.A. Divisions was part of former Muslim Majority Panamapattu DRO's Division – Land area 472.1 sq miles. The balance area of Panamapattu is the new Muslim Majority Pottuvil A.G.A. Division, 1981 population 19,831, Land area only – 103.9 sq. miles - 22%, where as the population of the new Sinhala Majority Lahugala A.G.A. division combined Lahugala Village in the North and Panama Village in the South is only, 7085; but the Land area allocated for this Sinhala Majority Lahugala A.G.A. division is 368.2 sq. miles – 78%.

#### Plan Showing Crime Site and STF Camps



1991 Voters	Total	Sinhala	Tamil	Muslim	Area sq. mls
Pottuvil - Former DRO's Division	16,080 – 100%	3,926 – 24.4%	3,608 – 22.4%	8,506 - 53.1%	472.1 – 100%
Pottuvil AGA Division Lahugala AGA Division	12,543 – 100% 3,537 – 100%	778 – 6.2% 3,148 – 89.0%	3,261 – 26.0% 347 – 9.8%	8,467 – 67.7% 39 – 1.2%	103.9 – 22% 368.2 – 78%

#### **Disputed land**

The area of Radella has been a bone of contention between the Sinahal and the Muslim communities with both groups accusing each other of encroaching on state land. Radella was abandoned during the conflict and was reclaimed by mainly Muslim farmers who were in the habit of making temporary shelters during cultivation season and leaving the area once the crop

has been harvested. Some farmers complained that CI Gunaratne was vehemently opposed to Muslims even carrying out cultivation in the Radella area. He is alleged to have threatened them on several occasions not to encroach into the region. The antagonistic history between the people of the Pottuvil region with STF's Chief Inspector Gunaratne and some of the statements he is alleged to have made regarding farming in the Radella area have led most people to be convinced that the STF officer and his men had something to do with the massacre which took place on Saturday the 16<sup>th</sup> September 2006.

A feeling is developing within the Muslim community that, they are devoid of any security and the government too is disinterested in utilizing its resource when it comes to safeguarding the Muslims. It is the Muslims who have been at the receiving end of atrocities committed by the Tamil Militants for having not extended them support for the disintegration of the country. Thus, if the country's security forces too cause harm, harass and making their lives insecure one wonder to whom can the Muslims look up to for security.

#### **DE-MERGER OF EASTERN PROVINCES**

The Supreme Court on Monday the 16<sup>th</sup> October 2006, in a landmark judgment ruled that the merger of the Northern and the Eastern Provinces by a gazette notification on a Presidential directive was null and void.

Since 1988 successive Presidents have extended the unlawful merger through special gazette notifications as they were unable to carry out the referendum on the merger which was to decide the merger of the two provinces by the vote of the people in the Eastern province.

According to a condition in the Indo-Lanka Accord President J.R. Jayewardene merged the two provinces creating a single unit on September 7, 1988 by special gazette notification under the Public Security Act. According to Section 37 of the Provincial Councils Act No. 42, the President has to make the proclamation on the merger of the two provinces only after the armed groups operating in those areas have surrendered their weapons and all hostilities have ceased.

Although the two provinces were merged by a special Presidential declaration, the other conditions needed for the confirmation of the merger were not carried out as the hostilities broke out between the Indian Peace Keeping Force that was in the Country at that time and the LTTE which refused to completely surrender its weapons and join the democratic mainstream. Unable to hold the referendum in the Eastern province, the poll was postponed by special gazette notifications on Presidential directives, first to July 1989 and then to January 1990 and June 1990. Thereafter the referendum had been postponed annually.

With hostilities continuing between the government security forces and the LTTE after the IPKF had left the country, the three Presidents who succeeded President Jayewardene continued with the practice as it was a basis on which the Tamil political parties and groups continued to negotiate with the government.

The merger of the North and the East flared up opposition as it was paving the way to the creation of a single administrative entity that encompassed one third of the land area and two-third of the country's coast. Also the ethnic balance of the Eastern Province was another matter of contention. Whereas the Eastern Province as a single entity had an ethnic balance that did not give a majority to one ethnic group, the merger of the two provinces created a Tamil majority. This was strongly resisted by the Muslim and Sinhala communities in the Eastern province.

Even with strong opposition by the Sinhala and Muslim communities, successive Presidents namely Ranasinghe Premadasa, D.B. Wijetunga and Chandrika Kumaratunga continued the extension of the merger with the hope of arriving at a negotiated settlement to the national question and then deciding on the fate of the two provinces at a final solution.

With the split of Karuna from the LTTE, Tamil regionalism based on the Eastern province came to the fore adding a new dimension to the entire issue of the North-East merger.

However, this practice was brought to a halt by Supreme Court judgment on three fundamental rights violation petitions filed by JVP MP Jayantha Wijesekera of Kantale, A.S. Mohamed Buhari of Sammanthura and L.P. Wasantha Piyatissa of Uhana. The petitioners claimed that their fundamental rights were violated by the merger and the continued postponement of the Provincial Council election of the Eastern Province. The petitioners supported by three eminent lawyers Messrs. H.L. de Silva, S.L. Gunasekera and Gomin Dayasiri submitted that due to non observance of the mandatory conditions the merger should be declared null and void.

The five bench judges comprising Chief Justice Sarath N. Silva, Nihal Jayasinghe, Rajah Fernando, Nimal Gamini Amaratunga and N.K. Udalagama granted the relief prayed by the petitioners thus declaring the merger null and void.

#### **Politics of Merged North-East**

Majority of the citizens of the Eastern province, comprising Muslims and Sinhalese who have no desire to live within a Jaffna Tamil dominated merged North-Eastern province approved the verdict. Political leaders of the Eastern Tamils, who are culturally separate from the Jaffna Tamils have expressed their rejection of the Jaffna Tamil dominated outfit of Prabakaran.

The Muslims who have faced the brunt of ethnic cleansing from Jaffna and more recently in Mutur have absolutely no desire to subject themselves to further tyranny at the Tamil nationalist forces' hands, who have consistently tried to trap the Muslims in the politics of 'Tamil speaking peoples' and simultaneously subscribe to the concept of mono ethnic 'Tamil homelands'?

The Muslims unequivocally reject being lumped together as 'Tamil speaking people' as they consider themselves a separate ethnic identity distinct from the Tamils and recognize the politics of duplicity of the forces of Tamil nationalism and forcing the North East merger down the throats of the Muslims without their consent.

In the early days of the Tamil struggle, human rights was used as a political tool to support the claim for territorial claims, and with Western human rights organizations highlighting only human rights abuses of states, (because states could be held accountable,) the Tamil nationalists were easily able to muster international support in India as well as the Western democracies pointing exclusively to the human rights abuses of the Sri Lankan State.

This was corrected in the mid 1980's with groups such as Amnesty International highlighting human rights atrocities, irrespective of the identity of the perpetrator and it became obvious that the forces of Tamil nationalism were the gravest human rights violator in Sri Lanka. This resulted in 'human rights' losing its effectiveness in the arsenal of Tamil nationalism to advance their territorial claims.

In Sri Lanka with a 20 million population the forces of Tamil nationalism represent less than 633,000 votes. (at the last general election) and that's after massive electoral fraud as the report of the European Union monitors indicate.

Once this electoral fraud was addressed, the LTTE prevented the Tamils from voting at the Presidential election fearing that their true numbers will knock the bottom out of their territorial and other claims. The LTTE and the forces of Tamil nationalism fears democracy, because democracy will expose their fraud to themselves and the world.

Tamil nationalism is a potent and a fascist force that sincerely believes in their perceived 'Jaffna Tamil superiority' and by default 'Sinhalses/Eastern Tamil/Muslim/Indian Tamil/ inferiority.

The TNA, proxies of the proscribed terrorist organization the LTTE, are at present protesting in Parliament. It would be more appropriate for them to protest in Kilinochchi, as it is the LTTE, which has facilitated the present predicament.

Not only has Prabakaran's terror outfit rejected the Indo-Sri Lankan accord by waging war on the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) and then gone on to assassinate Rajiv Gandhi, Prabhakaran

and his Jaffna Tamil dominated outfit has failed to address the aspirations of the eastern Tamils and accommodate groups such as the TMVP, popularly known as the Karuna faction.

The Indo-Sri Lanka peace accord stipulated the disarmament of the militant groups as a condition of the accord, and the refusal of the LTTE to abide by the agreement and later waging war on the Indian Peace Keeping Force in effect was the unraveling of the North-East merger. In this regard the LTTE's refusal to abide by the provisions of the Indo-Sri Lanka peace accord should be viewed as the main reason for the present anguish of the forces of Tamil nationalism with regard to the North-East merger.

The position of the Rajapaksa administration is astute in this regard by maintaining that the North East issue should only be resolved by a popular vote of the citizens of the Eastern Province. This is a position that will have the support of the international community and is unassailable by the forces of Tamil nationalism. It will also have the support of an overwhelming majority of the Sri Lankans.

The Supreme Court ruling on the de-merger of the North and East provinces has caused political tension among various communities in the country. There are many divergent views on the matter and the timeliness or the un-timeliness of the ruling is debated on various forums among political leadership and civil society organizations.

#### Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement

#### **Resolved that:**

- 1. Since the Government of Sri Lanka proposes to permit adjoining Provinces to join to form one administrative unit and also by a Referendum to separate as may be permitted to the Northern and Eastern Provinces as outlined below:
- 2. During the period, which shall be considered an interim period, (i.e. from the date of the elections to the Provincial Council, as specified in para 2.8 to the date of the referendum as specified in para 2.3, the Northern and Eastern Provinces as now constituted, will form one administrative unit, having one elected Provincial Council., Such a unit will have one Governor, one Chief Minister and one Board of Ministers.
- 3. There will be a referendum on or before 31<sup>st</sup> December, 1988 to enable the people of the Eastern Province to decide whether:
  - (a) The Eastern Province should remain linked with the Northern Province as one administrative unit, and continue to be governed together with the Northern Province as specified in para 2.2,
  - (b) The Eastern Province should constitute a separate administrative unit having it own distinct Provincial Council with a separate Governor, Chief Minister and Board of Ministers.

The President may, at his discretion, decide to postpone such a referendum.

2.9 The Emergency will be lifted in the Eastern and Northern Provinces by August 15, 1987. A cessation of hostilities will com into effect all over the island within 48 hours of the signing of this Agreement. All arms presently held by militant groups will be surrendered in accordance with an agreed procedure to authorities to be designated by the Government of Sri Lanka.

Consequent to the cessation of hostilities and the surrender of arms by militant groups, the Army and other security personnel will be confined to barracks in camps as on 25 May 1987. The process of surrendering of arms and the confining of security personnel moving back to barracks shall be completed within 72 hours of the cessation of hostilities coming into effect.

#### Section 37 of the Provincial Councils Act. No. 42

(b) The President shall not make a Proclamation declaring that the Provisions of subsection I (a) shall apply to the Northern and Eastern Provinces unless he is satisfied that arms, ammunition, weapons, explosives and other military equipment, which on 19<sup>th</sup> July, 1987, were held or under the control of terrorist militant or other groups having as their objective the establishment of a separate State, have been surrendered to the Government of Sri Lanka or to authorities designated by it, and that there has been a cessation of hostilities and other acts of violence by such groups in the said Provinces.

(2) (a) Where a Proclamation is made under the provision of subsection (1) (a), the President shall by Order published in the Gazette, require a poll, to be held in each of the specified Provinces, and fix a date or dates, not later than 31<sup>st</sup> day of December 1988, for such poll, to enable to the electors of each such specified Province to decide whether;

(i) such Proivce should remain linked with the other specified Province or Provinces as one administrative unit, and continue to be administered together with such Province or Provinces; or

(ii) such Province should constitute a separate administrative unit, having its own distinct Provincial Council, with a separate Governor, Chief Minister and Board of Ministers.

#### 27 July 1987 –

Indo-Lanka peace accord signed

#### 30 July 1987 –

Arrival of the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF)

#### 14 November 1987 -

The 13<sup>th</sup> amendment to the constitution debated and passed in Parliament. This amendment among other things made provisions for the establishment of the Provincial Councils.

#### 28 April 1988 -

The first ever Provincial Council election for areas other than the North and the East.

#### 7 September 1988 -

President J.R. Jayewardene officially merges the Northern and Eastern provinces within a single North Eastern Province by special Gazette notification under the Public Security Act.

#### 19 November 1988 -

Elections were held for seats in the North East Provincial Concil.

#### 1 March 1990 -

EPRLF declares an "Independent Eelam" and renamed the provincial council as a Tamil National Assembly.

### March 1990 –

President R. Premadasa imposes direct control on Northeast Provincial Councils.

#### March 1990 -

North-East Chief Minister Vartharajah Perumal leaves the country surreptitiously with 250 of his supporters.

#### 16 October 2006 -

A five judge bench of the Supreme Court including Chief Justice Sarath N. Silva rules the North-East merger null and void.

#### From Where the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord left the North East Muslims

- 1. Indo-Sri Lanka Accord failed to recognize the North East area as a heterogeneous one.
  - The fundamental mistake was to treat the Northern and the Eastern provinces as areas of historical habitation of the "<u>Tamil speaking peoples</u>".
  - The fact that the Muslims though they speak Tamil language have been treated politically and ethnically as a separate and distinct community was not taken into account.
  - The Northern and the Eastern provinces should have been recognized as areas of historical habitation of Tamils and the Muslims instead of the general description "Tamil speaking peoples".
- 2. Although the Accord mentions that the amalgamation was only for an interim period of one year the proposed Referendum never took place although 18 years have passed.
  - At the discussions between the Tamil parties and the Muslim parties the Tamil parties have always taken up the position that although the Referendum was provided for in the Accord it was never intended to be held or implemented.
  - Muslims do not accept this position and vehemently object a Kashmir situation in the Eastern Province.
  - Any future settlement should avoid vagueness, uncertainties and contingencies.
- 3. Although Article 2:16 of the accord states that the Governments of India and Sri Lanka will cooperate in ensuring the physical security and safety of all communities inhabiting the Northern and Eastern provinces the <u>Muslim Community was subjected to untold harassment, genocide</u> <u>and ethnic cleansing</u>. Both Governments could not help us when we were at the receiving end at the hands of the Tamil militants and IPKF.
- 4. Although the Indo Sri Lanka Accord was signed subject to the acceptance of the proposals negotiated from 4-5-1986 to 19-12-1986 the agreement between President J R Jayawardene and the Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi to the effect that the Muslim M.P.'s of the Eastern Province may be invited to visit India and to discuss matters of mutual concern with the Tamil side under the auspices of the Government of India was never implemented.
  - The political future of the Muslims is one of the residual matters that should have been sorted out within a period of six weeks of signing the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord (Article 2:15).
  - However, we and our destinies were deserted soon after the accord was signed.
- 5. Indo-Lanka Accord failed to take into consideration the fact that the Muslim community became the sole victim as a result of the amalgamation of the two provinces.
  - The only province where the Muslims are living in substantial numbers is the Eastern province. The amalgamation renders them insecure and politically insignificant.

#### Human Right Violations against Muslims in the merged North East

Tamil Separatists brutally murdered Mr. Habeeb Mohamed, the Assistant Government Agent of Muthur on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of September 1987, which led to widespread protest – demonstrations by the Muslims throughout the Eastern province. Annoyed by this the Tamil Separatists organized a counter demonstration on the 10<sup>th</sup> of September 1987 in Kalmunai, which resulted in the Tamils attacking and burning Muslims owned shops, rice mills and houses in the predominant Muslim Town of Kalmunai, in the presence of the IPKF. Properties belonging to the Muslims damaged by the Tamils were valued approximately Rupees 67 Millions.

Mr. A.L. Abdul Majeed, a former M.P., and Deputy Minister of Muthur was killed on the 13<sup>th</sup> of November 1987. Mr. Abdul Majeed was actively involved in the relief assistance of the thousands of Muslim refugees who came from Muthur, consequent to Tamil armed separatists attack on the Muslim on the 12<sup>th</sup> of October in the presence of the IPKF.

About 26 Muslims were killed and another 200 were injured when the IPKF shelled Ottamawadi, a predominant Muslim Village in the Batticaloa District on 02<sup>nd</sup> December 1987. A Number of houses and shops belonging to Muslims were burned and destroyed. Some Muslims women were also reported to have been raped by the IPKF. About 14,000 Muslims became refugees and fled to the North – Central Province, Polonnaruwa.

Kattankudi, the home of nearly 60,000 Muslims, situated 4 miles down South of Batticaloa, was attacked by the armed Tamil separatists on the 30<sup>th</sup> of December 1987. In this fierce attack, nearly 60 Muslims were killed and more than 200 were injured. Proprieties worth 200 Millions belonging to the Muslims were burned and destroyed by armed Tamil militant. All these happened in the presence of the Indian Peace Keeping Forces – IPKF. Although the attack lasted for two days, Kattankudi was under siege until the 8<sup>th</sup> of January 1988. During this period, all movements, in and out of the area were blocked by the armed Tamil militants while the IPKF was supposed to be in control of the area.

Because of the attacks launched by the IPKF and armed Tamil militants, nearly 65,000 innocent Muslims who have lived for generation in Mannar, Jaffna, Mullathievu and Vavunia have abandoned their homes and are now living in refugee camps outside their homes.

#### Muslim Refugees in December 1987.

Muslim Population and Refugees of the Northern and the Eastern Provinces According to AGA Divisions.

Eastern Province	<u>1981</u>	<u>1987</u>	Muslim Refugees
Ampara District	161,754	193,797	-
Kalmunai	45,480	54,576	-
Sammanthurai	37,996	45,592	-
Ninthavur	20,716	24,860	•
Addalachchenai	20,140	24,168	-
Akkaraipattu	22,941	27,529	-
Pottuvil	13,433	16,120	
Batticaloa District	79,662	94,939	10,225
Batticaloa Town	3,725	4,432	-
Kattankudy	26,509	31,546	-

Eravur	21,582	25,683	-
Ottamawadi/Valachch	nenai27,2	9132,476	10,225
Trincomalee District	t 49,280	87,428	49,280
Trinco Town & Gravat	7,979	9,176	5,000
Mutur	19,184	22,062	16,000
Kinniya	28,669	32,969	18,000
Thambalakamam	8,008	9,209	6,280
Kuchchaveli	2,088	2,401	2,000
Kanthalai	4,406	5,067	2,000

#### Muslim Civilians Killed by Tamil Militants during the Merger.

- 26 Muslims were killed at Ottamawadi in December 1987
- 41 Muslims were killed at Karaitheevu in November 1987
- 35 Muslims were killed at Kinniya in April 1987
- 52 Muslims were killed at Mutur in October 1987
- 21 Muslims were killed at Sammanthurai Mosque in April 1989
- 67 Muslims were killed at Valaichchenai from April 1985 to July 2002
- 67 Muslims were killed at Kattankudy in December 1987
- 68 Muslims were killed at Kattankudy in July 1990
- 147 Muslims were killed at Kattankudy Mosque in August 1990
- 58 Muslims were killed at Akkaraipattu in July 1990
- 14 Muslims were killed at Kattankudy Mosque in July 1990
- 13 Muslims were killed in November 1989
- 19 Muslims were killed at Alimnagar in August 1990
- 126 Muslims were killed at Eravur in August 1990
- 53 Muslims were killed at Ambalanthurai in August 1990
- 23 Muslims were killed at Sainthamaruthu in September 1992
- 15 Muslims were killed at Addalachchenai in May 1990
- 37 Muslims were killed at Pallitthidal, Akbarpuram in October 1992
- 200 Muslims were killed at Kalmunai, Akkaraipattu and Pottuvil in June 1990
- 33 Muslim farmers were killed at Ampara in August 1990
- 147 Muslims were killed at Alingippottanai in April 1992
- 30 Muslims were killed at Pottuvil in June 1991

# **Duplicity in the Peace Process**

There are a number of events which are occurring in the East which directly affect the Muslim people. Muslim Villages are being threatened, the Muslims have a very clear sense of insecurity and this is leading to unrest among the Muslim youths in those areas who simply cannot understand why the Government is not taking their concerns seriously. They have the feeling that they are being left to the grace and favour of the mercy of the LTTE which as we all know is a heavily armed organisation with a record of atrocities against the Muslim community.

LTTE forcibly occupying 63,000 Acres of Agricultural land belonging to 14,872 Muslim Families in the East. During the ethnic cleansing in 1990, LTTE has chased 14,400 Muslim Families from the North, unlawfully occupying 11,100 Muslim Houses a11,058 Acres of Agricultural Land robbed

properties worth Rs. 5.0 billion from 13,682 Muslim Families and destroyed 148 Mosques – Muslim places of worship.

After the cease fire, the Muslims have been denied access to mosques during mass agitation promoted by the LTTE. Further, the incidents at Muttur, Kinniya, Valachenai, Eravur, Addalachchenai and Akkaraipattu where the LTTE and other Tamil militants have destroyed properties worth many Millions and abducted and killed hundreds of Muslims. Muslims in the Eastern Province are the victims of the current cease-fire.

The ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka has had a terrible effect on the Muslims in the North-East. The forcible eviction of more than one hundred thousand Muslims, the attacks on the mosques and other places of worship, the confiscation of land and attacks on innocent civilians have caused fear and insecurity in the hearts of the Muslims. Our primary concern is the safety and security of our people, rights for our areas of historical habitation, resettlement of the displaced Muslims and power sharing on the basis of our right to internal self-determination.

A politico military strategy of the LTTE has been to weaken the economic strength of the Muslim community. In order to realize this object, the LTTE, as is the case of other Tamil militants, have targeted economic ventures and business places of the Muslims.

The pattern of attacks that have been unleashed on the Eastern Muslims clearly demonstrates that there is a deliberate plan by the Tamils to weaken the economic and political strength of the Muslims and chase us away like what they did in the North and make the North-East a mono - ethnic Tamil region in order to create the "Tamil Elam" one day.

Muslims should consider more seriously the present trend and take immediate steps to safeguard our legitimate rights in an appropriate manner. If proper safeguards are not secured now it would amount to be the biggest betrayal of not only the present generation but also those yet to be born in the Eastern provinces as Muslims in the future.

If this state of affairs is allowed to continue unchecked we will have another looming problem of immense magnitude - that is, the possibility of Muslim youths taking to arms and seeking support from neighboring Muslim countries who will surely not allow their brothers and sisters here to be continuously left disregarded and even undefended. We will then have to face a situation where another dimension of our political problem will become internationalized.

Although the Government of India guaranteed and cooperated in many ways with the Government of Sri Lanka, none of the proposals of the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord of July 29, 1987, was implemented because of the unsettled situation still prevailing in the Northern and Eastern provinces. Cessation of hostilities did not come into effect. Arms and ammunitions were not surrendered by the Tamil Militants. The IPKF was unable to enforce the cessation of hostilities and ensure physical security and safety of all communities inhabiting the Eastern and Northern Provinces. The Provincial Council established for the temporarily merged North-East province had been dissolved. In short the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord is a total failure.

The geographical merger of the Northern and Eastern provinces to form a single region with adequate powers over the land have been the main demands of the LTTE. They hold the view that the Tamil Speaking area is one and indivisible and that the geographical contiguity and territorial unity of the Tamil Speaking area should be given unconditional recognition for any meaningful solution to the Tamil problem.

The expression "Tamil Speaking People" refers not to one community but to the Jaffna Tamils, Batticaloa Tamils, Sri Lanka Muslims and Indian Tamils. The expression "Tamil Speaking area" refers to the geographical area covering the Northern and Eastern provinces. Eastern province is the area of historical habitation of Batticaloa Tamils and Muslims. Traditionally the Jaffna Tamils and the Indian Tamils never lived in the Eastern province and it is not their homeland.

Mr. K.W. Devanayagam, former Minister of Home affairs and one time the Minister of Justice who had been a member of parliament from the Eastern province for a very long time had stated that the Tamils of Batticaloa regard themselves as a distinct group of people different from the Tamils of Jaffna and that they followed a different system of law. He has said that there is proof that the Tamils of Batticaloa are a different community and hence there was no question of a homeland for the Tamils of the North in the Eastern province. This view had been supported by former members of parliament Mr. C. Rajathurai, Mr. Thangathurai, Mr. Prince Cassinathar, Mr. Thivyanathan and many others.

The Northern and Eastern provinces extend from Point Pedro to Kumana and covers approximately one third of the land area and two-third of the sea coast of Sri Lanka.

The Northern province comprises 3,429 sq. miles and the population according to 1981 census is 1,111,468. Tamils 92%, Muslims 5%, and Sinhalese 3%. The Jaffna peninsula is approximately 440 sq. miles and it is in this 12.8% of land area that the 67%-738,788 of the Northern Province people live. All the Tamil militant groups and political parties have their base in the Jaffna peninsula and operate form there. All other districts in the Northern province-Mannar, Vavunia, Mullaithievu, and Kilinochi has a land area of 2,989 sq. miles – 82% of the land area of the Northern province but the population is only 370,616 which is 33% of the population of the Northern province.

The Eastern province has a land area of 3,839 sq. miles and the population according to 1981 census in 993,435 – Tamils 42% Muslims 33%, and Sinhalese 24%. Tamils are the majority only in the Batticaloa district which has a land area of 1,016 sq. miles – Tamils 73%, Muslims 24% and Sinhalese 3%. Tamils are the minorities in the rest of the Eastern province – both Trincomalee and Ampara districts – land area 2,823 sq. miles, 72% of the land area of the Eastern province Tamils 26%, Muslims 37% and Sinhalese 37%. In the Eastern province the Tamil and Sinhalese village are as noncontiguous as the Muslim villages. Today the Muslims are 41% and the first majority community in the Eastern Province.

However, it is because of our desire that the Tamils and Muslims should live in amity in the North and East as in the past, a Muslim delegation visited Madras on two occasions, in September 1987 and April 1988 and had wide ranging discussions with the Tamil moderates as well as the militant groups for peaceful coexistence in the North East.

After the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement in July 1987 and the 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the constitution, the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress took one step further by contesting the election in the Eastern province and helped the formation of the Provincial Council for the temporarily merged North-East province.

In September 1990, it was agreed between the Tamil parties and the Muslim parties that there shall be one provincial council and two ethnic councils of devolution with equal powers. It was categorically decided that the Muslim ethnic council should in no way be inferior to the Tamil ethnic council. It was also agreed that the Provincial Council should be a bicameral legislature with the second chamber having balanced representation for the minorities in the region.

But the Tamil parties have now taken up the position of not agreeing to create a separate unit of devolution for the Muslims in the Northern and Eastern provinces. They have also taken up the position that the 18% Muslims of the Northern and Eastern province should be contended with the constitutional safeguards only. If that is so, we cannot understand as to why the 10% Sri Lankan Tamils cannot be satisfied with similar constitutional safeguards only, without demanding any share of political power through the devolution process.

From the recent experience the Muslims have realized that there is a well planned conspiracy by the Tamils to chase the Muslims away and make the Northern and Eastern provinces a mono ethnic Tamil region in order to create one day the Tamil Ealam. Although patronizing remarks and promises have been made by the Tamil leaders, in actual practice every effort is being made to cripple and destroy the legitimate rights of the Muslims. It has therefore become an absolute necessity for the Muslims in the Northern and the Eastern provinces to take independent safeguards to protect our lives and properties.

#### 2004 DECEMBER 26 "TSUNAMI" DESTRUCTIONS TO MUSLIMS IN THE EASTERN PROVINCE

#### **Muslim Areas Discriminated**

It is widely criticized that the government has not treated the 'Tsunami' affected Muslim people equally. Also Muslim concerns were not given due publicity in the media. Thousands of Muslims have been languishing in several temporary camps without sufficient food, medicines and other basic facilities. Muslims who are trying to resettle in their own land are still confronting threats from the government bureaucracy. In fact they are deprived of their fundamental human rights.

Ampara, the country's worst affected district is a glaring example of how ineffective institutions, political rivalries and misinformation can make a mockery of disaster management. In the coastal Muslim areas of Maruthamunai, Kalmunai, Sainthamaruthu, Ninthavur, Oluvil, Addalachchenai, Akkaraipattu and Pottuvil. Kattankudy's boarder villages such as New Kattankudy, Palamunai and other Muslim concentrated areas still remain untouched.

Mutur, Kinniya, Kuchchaveli Pulmoddai and Trincomalee town are the main Divisional Secretariats Division in the Trincomalee District where thousands of Muslims have been affected by the Tsunami. Political confusion has greatly contributed to the mismanagement of relief. LTTE held areas in these district have come under LTTE-backed relief and resettlement works. But Muslim areas are still suffering form having not enough infrastructure development such as roads and hospitals.

The situation in the South is different. In Hambantota, the need is only 1057 houses. But the donors have been allocated, 4852 houses. The number of houses donors have been assigned was 11 times more than what was required within Hambantota.

Over 8,000 tsunami survivors have complained to the Disaster Relief Monitoring Unit (DRMU) of the Human Rights Commission of Sri Lanka about the delay and the violation of their rights.

#### Destructions

Families

2091

Families

15976

**1.0 Residential Destructions** 

1.1 Fully Damaged

Families	Land Value	louse Value	Total
6806	2,536,025,70	2,428,825,6	50 4,964,851,350
	(US\$ 25,360,257)	(US\$ 24,288,256.50)	(US\$ 49,648,513.50)

#### **1.2 Partialy Damaged**

Families 7079	Land Value 2,883,388,143 (US\$ 28,833,881.43)	House Value 2,363,360,600 (US\$ 23,633,606)	Total 5,246,748,743 (US\$ 52,467,487.43)
<b>1.3 Nature of</b> Families	f Damage Not Given	House Value	Total

Land Value 918,999,700 (US\$ 9,189,997) **1.4 Residential Destructions Total** Land Value 6,338,413,543

House Value 1,103,272,690 (US\$ 11,032,726.90)

House Value 5,895,458,940 (US\$ 58,954,589.40)

#### 2.0 Occupational Destructions

Families	Business Value	Other Value
20091	1,768,518,711	3,133,241,525
	(US\$ 17,685,187.11)	(US\$ 31,332,415.25)

(US\$ 63,384,135.43)

#### 2.1 Businessmen

Families **Business Value** Other Value 2383 391.348.494 517.125.949 (US\$ 3,913,484.94) (US\$ 5,171,259.49)

#### 2.2 Casual Labours

Families	Business Value	Other Value
4245	80,663,535	615,978,618
	(US\$ 806,635.35)	(US\$ 6,159,786.18)

2.3 Doctors Families **Business Value** 19 4,274,000 (US\$42,740)

2.4 Drivers Families

434

**Business Value** 22,820,550 (US\$ 228,205.50)

2.5 Farmers Families 1310

66,760,770 (US\$ 667,607.70)

**Business Value** 

Other Value 250,008,300 (US\$ 2,500,083)

Other Value

3,065,300

Other Value

101,107,000

(US\$ 1,011,070)

(US\$ 30,653)

Total 316,769,070 (US\$ 3,167,690.70)

2,022,272,390

(US\$ 20,222,723.90)

Total

(US\$ 122,338,724.83)

Total

4,901,760,236

(US\$49,017,602.36)

Total

908.474.443

(US\$ 9,084,744.43)

Total 696,642,153

(US\$6,966,421.53)

Total

7,339,300

(US\$ 73,393)

Total

123,927,550

(US\$ 1,239,275.50)

12,233,872,483

2.6 Fishermen Families **Business Value** 5762 921,187,479

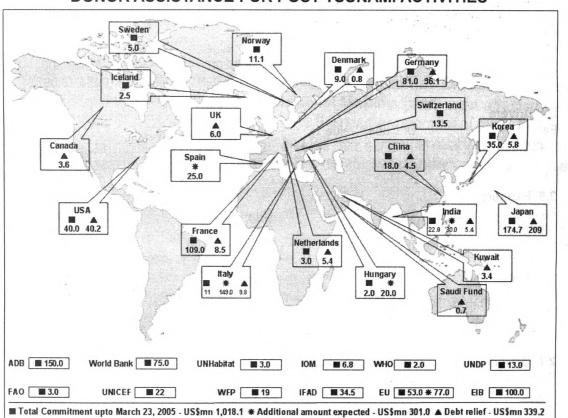
Other Value Total 692,674,008 1,613,861,487 (US\$ 6,926,740.08) (US\$ 16,138,614.87) (US\$ 9,211,874.79)

# 2.7 Government, State Employees and Retired

Families	Business Value	Other Value	Total
527	16,881,013	97,819,550	114,700,563
	(US\$ 168,810.13)	(US\$ 978,195.50)	(US\$ 1,147,005.63)

2.8 Skill Labours			
Families	<b>Business Value</b>	Other Value	Total
959	68,753,030	146,871,900	215,624,930
	(US\$ 687,530.30)	(US\$ 146,871,9)	(US\$ 2,156,249.30)
2.9 Tailors			
Families	<b>Business Value</b>	Other Value	Total
217	16,874,450	30,066,900	46,941,350
	(US\$ 168,744.50)	(US\$ 300,669)	(US\$ 469,413.50)
2.10 Teachers			
Families	<b>Business Value</b>	Other Value	Total
277	29,946,550	73,343,180	103,289,730
	(US\$ 299,465.50)	(US\$ 733,431.80)	(US\$ 1,032,897.30)
0.44 . 10/2			
2.11 Weavers			<b></b>
Families	Business Value	Other Value	Total
225	54,266,150	55,757,400	110,023,550
	(US\$ 542,661.50)	(US\$ 557,574)	(US\$ 1,100,235.50)
2.12 Others			
Families	Business Value	Other Value	Total
417	16,514,378	78,361,445	94,875,823
	(US\$ 165,143.78)	(US\$ 783,614.45)	(US\$ 948,758.23)
2.13 Occupation	Not Given		
Families	<b>Business Value</b>	Other Value	Total
3316	78,228,313	471,061,975	549,290,288
	(US\$ 782283.13)	(US\$ 4710619.75)	(US\$ 5492902.88)
Total			17,135,632,719

17,135,632,719 (US\$ 171,356,327.19)



DONOR ASSISTANCE FOR POST-TSUNAMI ACTIVITIES

Eastern Province Muslim Politics, Ethnic Conflict and Discriminations

#### UN Guiding Principles on Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) - Tsunami Victims

The Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement were adopted by the UN Commission on Human Rights and Economic and Social Council in 1998.

#### **Rights of IDPs**

Personas who have been forced to flee or to leave their homes or place of habitual residence, as a result of armed conflict, violence, natural or man-made disaster and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border, are known as Internally Displaced Persons. Those who have been displaced due to Tsunami fall into the category of IDPs. They are entitled to all human rights enjoyed by the other citizens. In addition, they have special needs which should be addressed by the state authorities.

#### **Choice of Residence**

Principle 15: The IDPs have the right to remain in the area they used to reside before the displacement or have the right to move to any other part of the country or another country on their will. This right is crucial for those who have lost their families, homes and belonging and have completely been uprooted.

#### Family Unit

Principle 16 and 17 highlight the importance of preserving the family unit. The responsible state authorities should help the IDPs in protecting the family unit by assisting in seeking family members who have been separated. A family unit provides security to a persons. Separation from one's family also leads to violation of other human rights. Where the families insist on remaining in the same location during the period of displacement the authorities should facilitate it.

#### Adequate Standard of Living

According to Principle 18, the state is responsible to provide the IDPs with an adequate standard of living including essential food, potable water, shelter, appropriate clothing, essential medical services and sanitation. The highest number of deaths among IDPs is caused by malnutrition. Vulnerable groups such as children, elderly and single heads of households should be given special attention in providing an adequate standard of living.

#### **Property Rights**

The IDPs have abandoned their property in haste and are not able to secure them. Especially, the boundaries of the lands may not be visible due to natural disasters such as the Tsunami. The property remaining in the possession of the IDPs is also prone to theft. The responsible authorities have to take steps to protect the property of the IDPs against such occurrences.

#### **Right to Return or Resettle**

IDPs have the right to return voluntarily, in safety and with dignity, to their previous homes or resettle voluntarily in another area of the country. Right Return or resettle is vital especially when the cause of the displacement is ceased. As for an example, Tsunami victims are entitled to return or resettle when the danger of another Tsunami is not in existence.

After resettlement, the IDPs should not face discrimination as a result of having been displaced. They, like all other citizens, have the equal right to participate in public affairs and to have access to public services.

#### SINHALISATION OF THE EAST

The 'nava pancha bala vegaya' striving very hard to alter the Eastern demography. The plan has the backing right at the top and involve sections of the Buddhist clergy, security forces, bureaucrats, businessmen and politicians.

The objectives of their agenda is to make Sinhala people the single largest ethnic group in the Eastern Province. The Master plan envisage, demographic changes through state aided settlements, tourism development and Buddhist revival in Ampara District and agro-business promotion in the Toppigala areas in Batticaloa District.

#### Population Increase between 1949 and 1981.

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

#### **State Aided Sinhala Colonizations**

The Land Policies pursued hitherto by successive Governments after the Independence have had their far reaching adverse effects.

- 1. The Minorities have been denied their legitimate share of Developed State Land.
- 2. Deprivation of Land, more particularly developed land, to landless people in the Districts of Land alienation.
- 3. Substantial alteration in the Ethnic composition of the Districts in which State Land have been alienated.

This has contributed to the growth of tension and hostilities among different communities resulting in Ethnic Violence. The victims of such violence have always been the Tamils and Muslims.

When Gal Oya Development Scheme was inaugurated the late Hon. D.S. Senanayake stated that at least 50% of the new lands that were to become cultivatable under the Gal Oya Development Scheme would be distributed on a 50 - 50 basis between the local citizens of the Batticaloa district and the would be colonists from outside.

However, the opening of the Gal Oya Scheme was a great boon to the Sinhala people and this has been used as a device to deprive the Muslims to live and own lands under this Scheme.

#### State Aided Colonization under Accelerated Mahaweli Programme

		AMPARA DISTRICT	BATTICALOA DISTRICT	TRINCOMALEE DISTRICT	EASTERN PROVINCE
System A	90,000 Acres 14,300 Allotments	-	10,000 Acres 1,587 Allot.	40,000 Acr <b>es</b> 6,349 Allot.	50,000 Acres 7,936 Allot.
System B	120,000 Acres 37,483 Allotments	4,000 Acres 1,250 Allot.	65,000 Acres 20,312 Allot.	- 	69,000 Acres 21,562 Allot.

System C	60,000 Acres 22,000 Allotments	25,000 Acres 9,259 Allot.	-	-	25,000 Acres 9,259 Allot.
System D	40,000 Acres 14,800 Allotments	-	-	15,000 Acres 5,555 Allot.	15,000 Acres 5,555 Allot.
TOTAL	390,000 Acres 101,483 Allotments	29,000 Acres 10,509 Allot.	75,000 Acres 21,899 Allot.	55,000 Acres 11,904 Allot.	159,000 Acres 44,312 Allot.

Under the accelerated Mahaweli programme, the land area coming under the Eastern Province is 159,000 acres - 44,312 allotments. More than 100,000 Sinhalese will be settled soon according to the new agenda. When the operation commence in the proposed Heda Oya Scheme in Pottuvil, Ampara District, the demography of the East will be changed to 55% Sinhalese.

Allocation of Land Areas in the Demarcation of Electoral and Administrative Units The 1976 Delimitation Commission demarcated Seruvila Electorate for the Sinhalese covering 700 sq. mils out of the 1048 sq. mils for the 24% Sinhalese in Trincomalee District. The land area for the 76% Tamils and Muslims was the balance 348 acres.

According to 1971 censers, the population of Ampara District - 47% Muslims, 30% Sinhalese, and 23% Tamils. The Ampara Electorate created for the newly settled Sinhalese under the Gal Oya state aided colonisation is 880 sq. mils. With the 370 sq. mils allocated for the Lahugala and Damana AGA Division the 30% Sinhalese were given 1,250 sq. mils - 70% Land area, where as the 70% Tamils and Muslims are left with only 30% of Land area - 525 sq. mils.

Former Muslim Majority Panamapattu DRO Division, 472 sq. mils, population 26,916. When redemarcating the new Administrative Divisions 19,831 - 74% Muslim Majority Pottuvil AGA Division was given only 22% - 103.9 sq. mils and the balance 78% - 368.2 sq. mils land area was allocated for the 7,085 - 26% Sinhala Majority Lahugala AGA Division.

In the Sammanthurai Muslim Majority DRO Division, nearly 50 sq. mils of land area covering the Hendy Institute, Ampara Tank and the Town area was separated and added with the Wewagampattu South – Uhana AGA Division.

When compaired the land area of Sinhala Majority Lahugala AGA Division with the Muslim Majority Kalmunai AGA Division, the Sinhalese are having 208 times more than the land area of the Muslims. When compared the land areas for the Sinhalese with the land area for the Muslims in the Muslim Majority Ampara District, the Sinhalese land area is 13 times more than the Muslim land area.

More than 65% of the people, Tamils and Muslim living in the coastal area of the Ampara District. But the Ampara Kachcheri continues the administration in Sinhala quiet contrarily to the constitutional requirement of the language of administration in Tamil.

#### **Master** Plan

There is an integrated development master plan for Trincomalee town and other surrounding areas. One of the proposed projects for Trincomalee under this plan is the special economic zone at Kappalthurai. The first phase costs Rs. 4,250 million and the second, Rs. 2,600 million. It will be completed in 2015. There will also be a small and medium industrial zone at Kappalthurai. The first phase costs Rs. 500 million and the second, Rs. 1,000 million. It will be set up in 2008.

A new administrative secretariat will be established for Rs. 300 million in 2008. A new fisheries harbour costing Rs. 1,000 million is to be constructed by 2010 at Pudavaikattu. A new town development scheme for Andankulam-China Bay is to be built by 2010 for Rs. 1,500 million.

A massive road project linking Uppuvely and Eechilampattu is to be constructed by 2010 for Rs. 10.3 billion. This proposed outer circular road will run through Sinhala areas of Seruwila division. This is an extension of a new road constructed in Trincomalee North. Two tourist resorts will be set up by 2010. They will be in Nilaweli and Verugal at a cost of Rs. 800 million and Rs. 1,750 million, respectively.

The other important project is the coal fired power plant to be set up with Indian assistance. Both phases of the project are expected to cost US\$ 500 million each and will be completed by 2012. Originally it was ear-marked for Kappalthurai but Colombo wanted to set it up later in Sampur. However, New Delhi has stood firm and it is likely to come up in Kappalthurai.

The groundwork is being laid cleverly for future 'Sinhalaisation'. The Road Development Authority has begun constructing an inner ring road and an outer ring road for Trincomalee. The inner ring road links Aathimottai on the Trincomalee-Nilaweli-Pulmottai Road, Kinniya on the A12 (Puttalam-Anuradhapura-Trincomalee Road) and 189km post on A-6 (Kandy-Habarana-Trincomalee Road).

#### Systematic Planed Encroachments by Sinhalese

The outer ring road planned will begin at Kuchchaveli on the Trincomalee-Nilaweli-Pulmottai Road, cross A12 near Pankulam and meet A6 between Kantalai and Tamplakamam and proceed to llankaiturai-Muhathuvaram and to Sampur.

The construction work is being undertaken by the Sri Lanka Army (SLA). The RDA Chief Engineer in Trincomalee works very closely with the SLA. The planning and designing are done in Colombo. The Provincial Director of the RDA based in Batticaloa is completely in the dark about the two ring road projects.

Arrangements are being made for the Sinhalese 'encroachers' to move in between A-6 and A12 on this ring road.

#### Sinhalisation of Administration in the Eastern Province

After de-merging the north and east in October 2006, the Eastern Province administration is being ethnically transformed. Former Trincomalee GAs Rodrigo and Nelundeniya are chief secretary and public administration secretary respectively. Former Matale GA, Udage is now the secretary of the provincial Public Services Commission.

There are also many ex-servicemen in key positions. The Governor is Rear Admiral Mohan Wijewickrema. The GA is Major General Ranjith de Silva. The Rehabilitation Coordinator is Major General Amaradeva. The Governor's Secretary is Capt. Patrick Jayasinghe.

Appointing ex-servicemen to key administrative posts has been criticized by member s of the administrative service. However, the fact remains that this combination of retired administrative and security officials is well-equipped to implement the 'Sinhalaisation' process in the East.

## MUSLIMS DISCRIMINATED IN REBUILDING AND REHABILITATION OF THE EAST

Soon after the demerger of the East by the Supreme Court and following the take over of the province by the armed forces, President Mahinda Rajapaksa led UPFA government having elaborate plans to rebuild and rehabilitate the East. However the Muslim community feels the government has not so far included them into the development process.

Sri Lanka Muslim Congress (SLMC) Leader and Minister Rauff Hakeem had deplored the government's decision to have development projects in the East supervised by the security forces and police. Before the government can think of rebuilding the infrastructure, the people must be given back their lost lands and freedom to engage in whatever livelihood they were engaged before.

#### Controversy over the New Flag

Sri Lanka government has designed a new flag for the Eastern Province. This new flag has caused much misunderstanding and confusion as the flag has failed to represent all the communities living in the East in a just and faire manners.

The new flag has three symbols – the lion, eagle and fish. The Muslims claimed that while the lion and fish represent the Sinhalese and Tamils respectively there is no symbol to represent the Muslims.

The Muslim community which is the largest ethnic group in the East today has raised serious concern over the failure of the government to recognize this community by not printing any symbols in the flag to represent the Muslims.

#### Para Military Forces harassing civilians

Law enforcement authorities in many parts of the Eastern province are allegedly turning a 'blind eye' to the continuous complaints made against Tamil terrorists.

Despite several political parties in the Batticaloa and Ampara districts taking up this issue with the law enforcement officers, they have failed to address this issue adequately.

Apart from encroaching lands belonging to Muslims, the Tamil terrorists have commenced taking ransom. Most victims have now stopped complaining to the police because when complaints were made to the police the details of those who made the complaints were leaked. As a result these families are intimidated and harassed.

Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission in its last weekly report states that the SLMM has received several complaints regarding extortion and harassment by the Tamil terrorists in Batticaloa and Ampara.

#### Batticaloa District -

Serious issues have been raised by Muslims of Batticaloa on the ongoing activities of the several international organizations assisted by the Government and the Tamil Makkal Viduthalai Pulikal (TMVP) in re-locating displaced Tamils on lands owned by Muslims.

After 1985, LTTE forcibly occupied Muslim residential, agricultural and cattle farming lands – more than 35,000 acres in areas under their control. The GOSL did nothing to restore these properties owned by the Muslims on title deeds, government permits and paddy cultivation register.

#### PROPOSALS FOR SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE MUSLIM AREAS IN THE EAST

An appeal to His Excellency President Mahinda Rajapaksa.

In view of the serious Security situation in the East the Muslims have to live in fear with their Democratic and Fundamental Rights denied by the terrorists.

We appeal to Your Excellency to implement immediately the most important election pledge given to the Muslims in the Mahinda Chintanaya regarding Security for Muslims in the Eastern Province. Form Mahinda Chintanaya Quote "I consider the need to dispel the fears of the people of the Eastern Province is of utmost importance. I am firmly of the view that no ethnic group should be reduced to being hostages of another group. I will therefore ensure that the security of the people of the Eastern Province is not threatened. I will pay special attention to the Security of the Muslim community".

The most effective way of achieving this objective will be by implementing immediately the following security measures.

- 1. Recruiting sufficient numbers of Muslim youths to the Sri Lanka Police force and deploying atleast 75% Muslim police personnel in each police station in predominantly Muslim areas in the Eastern Province with a Muslim DIG in charge and Muslim SSP's, SP's, ASP's and OIC's, so that the entire chain of command have full powers to take all decisions with respect to security threats in Muslim areas and maintain law and order.
- 2. Muslims should be enlisted to the regular Sri Lanka Army to serve in any battalion and in any part of the country. For this to be a success provision should be made for their religious 'obligations namely
  - a. Daily prayers
  - b. Provision of Halal food
  - c. Arrangements for Fasting during the month of Ramazan
- 3. Sufficient numbers of Home Guards should be recruited similar to the Sinhala areas.
- 4. Warning Sirens should be installed at strategic locations in vulnerable areas.
- 5. Vigilance Committees should be established in all Muslim areas to detect and prevent strangers infiltrating.
- 6. Army camps should be located at strategic locations in predominant Muslim areas as in the Sinhala areas.
- 7. Additional Police Stations must be established in predominant Muslim areas where necessary.

All previous governments have failed to take meaningful measures regarding Security of Muslims and they have been made to suffer in silence and left helpless and let down by everyone leading to a sense of being treated as second class citizens and left with a feeling that no matter who is involved and what the problem is, the Muslims have to always end up as the losers.

We are hopeful and fully confident that Your Excellency will see this monumental Injustice against the Muslims and order immediate remedial measures as outlined above.

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It is appropriate to mention here that a Buddhist country like Thailand had taken its Muslim citizens into confidence and appointed a Muslim General Sonthi Boonyaratkalin as Commander of the armed forces who subsequently became the de facto head of the country with the blessings of the Thai King, even at a time when a Muslim uprising was going on in the south of the country.

It may be easy for anyone with hidden motives to criticize this proposal but any such person should come up with an effective counter proposal acceptable to the Muslims in the East, who have sacrificed so much for so long for standing firm against the division of this country. Your Excellency must make the decision as to how an effective long term security system can be provided to the long suffering Eastern Muslims, without waiting for a consensus of the warring Muslim political leaders as the Muslim community rightly feels that unity among them for a common community cause is like waiting till the Sun rises from the West.

# MUSLIM POLITICAL LEADERS HAVE FAILED IN THE EAST

Successive governments have bought over Muslim politicians offering ministerial portfolios and high positions. Today all the Muslim Member of the Parliament are Ministers and Deputy Ministers but the Muslims have been cast away, ignored, subjected to illtreatment and denied protection.

Presently the Muslims are confronted with two challenges - the challenge from the Tamil Terrorists and the challenge from the Government forces. When an issue concerning the Tamils crops up there are interested groups across the world to raise their voice in support of them. When it concerns Muslims, voices are rarely heard, locally or internationally.

The government should at least now wake up to the dangerous scenario ahead and take every steps, necessary to protect the Muslims in the country. Those who were involved in the brutal murders of Muslims in Panama - Pottuvil and Muthur - Trincomalee should be brought to book. The members of the armed forces should be made protectors of all the people whichever community they may belong to.

Political leaders have failed and not capable of resolving the issues confronting the Muslims in the Eastern Province. They have tackled Muslim issues from and within the scope of their party politics and have sidelined the issues to suit their political agenda.

Whoever the perpetrators of the crimes may be, the government cannot shirk their responsibilities since the crimes have taken place in areas under the control of the government. A feeling is now developing within the Muslim community that they are discriminated and the government is disinterested in utilizing its resources when it comes to safe-guarding the interests of Muslims. It is the Muslims who have been at the receiving end of atrocities committed by the Tamil Terrorist for not extending support for the creation of a separate Tamil Elam state in the North East. If the Government and the security forces too cause harm, harass and making their lives miserable, one wonders to whom can the Muslims look up to for protection.

The Muslims can no longer be at the receiving end losing more and more lives and properties in the most horrendous manner for no fault of theirs. The Government must now clearly indicate without any hesitation that it is prepared to stand by the peaceful and unarmed Muslim community to resolve their legitimate grievances before it is too late.

# 011944

The ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka has had a terrible effect on the Muslims. The forcible eviction of more than one hundred thousand Muslims, the destruction of more than 150 mosques and other places of worship, the confiscation of land and attacks on innocent civilians have caused fear and insecurity in the hearts of the Muslims. Therefore, the Muslims have to be vigilant in the future. Our primary concern is the safety and security of our people, rights for our areas of historical habitation, resettlement of the forcibly displaced Muslims and power sharing on the basis of internal self-determination.

#### M.I.M. Mohideen

Chairman Muslim Rights Organisation (MRO), Secretary General North East Muslim Peace Assembly (NEMPA), Managing Director Muslim Reconstruction and Resettlement Organisation (MRRO), Coordinator for the Eastern Province Tamil Muslim Peace Committee for the resolution of ethnic conflict, and member of the Muslim team participated in the Peace Talks with the Government of Sri Lanka and Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam.

# **National Digitization Project**

#### National Science Foundation

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